

The Irish of Iorras Aithneach
County Galway
Volume II

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Volume II

by
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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:

<i>culait</i> > <i>cultracháí</i>	← root <i>cul-</i> + extension <i>t</i> + extension <i>r</i> + suffix <i>acháí</i>
<i>bróig</i> > <i>brógaí</i>	← root <i>bróig</i> + extension ‘depalatalisation’ + suffix <i>aí</i>
<i>ionga</i> > <i>ingneócháí</i>	← root <i>iong-</i> + suffix ‘palatalisation’ + extension <i>n</i> + extension <i>V_i</i> + suffix <i>acháí</i>
<i>lao</i> > <i>laontáí</i>	← root <i>lao</i> + suffix <i>annaí</i> + extension <i>t</i> (infix 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 infix in a long or nonschwa vowel (i.e. *V_i*). The status and analysis of some endings are doubtful; for instance, *əvə* and *əvi* 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 *əntə* to be derived from *əni*, i.e. *əni* + *t* extension (infix), or from some combination of the *n* extension, i.e. *ə* + *n* + *t* + *i*? Similarly, the suffix *ən’* resembles the *n* extension and both are common with 5D nouns. The suffix *u* resembles the *u*: variant of the long vowel (*V_i*) 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[˘]ə* is classified under *C[˘]’*; nevertheless, rare *C[˘]u:vi* is classified under *əvə*. The rare ending *fə* and related plurals are also listed under *əvə*.

4.2 Suffixes and extensions listed

There are eleven suffixes:

1. C' > C'
2. ə
3. i:
4. əni:
5. əxi: / əxə
6. əvə / əvi:
7. ən' (əN')
8. i:l'
9. u:
10. əv'
11. (ə)s / (ə)z

There are eight extensions:¹

1. C' > C'
2. h (x')
3. t
4. r
5. n
6. k
7. V:
8. a:l'

For possible extensions **-d(')** and **-əl-**, 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 ə and i:, excluding (Vxi:) plurals. Vxi: represents all plural endings containing a vowel + xi: (or implicitly + xə), i.e. əxə əxi: rəxi: u:xi: t'e:xi: tr'o:xi:, etc. More explicitly (Vxi:) = vowel + xi: in contrast with (VxV) = vowel + xə as well as vowel + xi:. Furthermore, (V:xi:) represents all plural endings containing any vowel other than ə + xi: (or xə), i.e. u:xi: t'e:xi: tr'o:xi:, etc. Note that final /i:/ is sometimes transcribed as [i] (≠ [ɪ]), 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' ('infixes consonants') but I prefer 'sínteach' (i.e. 'extension'); cp. infixes extensions (which one can term 'síntigh insáite'), e.g. vowel (V:) in *Corcóchaí* < *Corcaíoch*. 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		Complex		
1 element	2 elements	3 elements		
C'	C'ə	< C' + ə	Ct'ə	< C' + t + ə
	C'i:	< C' + i:	Ct'i:	< C' + t + i:
	C'əni:	< C' + əni:	C'V:xi:	< C' + V: + əxi:
	C'əxi:	< C' + əxi:	Cr'əxi:	< C' + r + əxi:
			rC'əxi:	< r + C' + əxi:
			Cn'ə	< C' + n + ə
			Cn'i:	< C' + n + i:
			Cr'i:	< C' + r + i:
			Cn'əxi:	< C' + n + əxi:
	C'əvi:	< C' + əvi:	C'u:vi:	< C' + u: + əvi:
	C'u:	< C' + u:	C'ui:	< C' + u: + i:
	C's	< C' + s	cp. fC'ə	< əvə + h + C'
			cp. fC'i:	< əvi: + h + C'
			4 elements	
			Cr'V:xi:	< C' + r + V: + əxi:
			rhC'əxi:	< r + h + C' + əxi:
			Cn'V:xi:	< C' + n + V: + əxi:
			cp. C'ufə	< C' + u: + əvə + h

2. ə suffix	Complex	
1 element	2 elements	3 elements
ə	C`ə < C` + ə	C`hə < C` + h + ə
	hə < h + ə	C`tə < C` + t + ə
	tə < t + ə	
	rə < r + ə	hrə < h + r + ə

3. i: suffix	Complex			
1 element	2 elements	3 elements	4 elements	
i:	C`i: < C` + i: hi: < h + i: ti: < t + i: ri: < r + i: ni: < n + i: iəxi: < i: + əxi:	i:hə < i: + h + ə C`ti: < C` + t + i: hri: < h + r + i:	hi:hə < h + i: + h + ə	

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

əni:	< ənə + i:
əxi:	< əxə + i:

4. əni: suffix		Complex
1 element	2 elements	3 elements
əni: (ənə)	ənti: < əni: + t or həni: < h + əni: əntə < ənə + t or C`əni: < C` + əni:	< əni: + t + i: (?) hənti: < h + əni: + t or 4 elements əntə < əni: + t + ə (?) həntə < h + ənə + t or 4 elements C`kəni: < C` + k + əni:
		or 4 elements
		həntə < h + əni: + t + ə
		hənti: < h + əni: + t + i:

5. əxi: / əxə suffix

1 element
əxi: / əxə

		Complex
2 elements	3 elements	4 elements
C`əxi: < C` + əxi: həxi: < h + əxi: nəxi: < n + əxi: təxi: < t + əxi: rəxi: < r + əxi:	C`rəxi: < C` + r + əxi: C`kəxi: < C` + k + əxi: C`nəxi: < C` + n + əxi: C`həxi: < C` + h + əxi: hrəxi: < h + r + əxi: trəxi: < t + r + əxi: ʔləxi: < ʔl + C` + əxi:	tʔləxi: < t + ʔl + C` + əxi: rʔləxi: < r + ʔl + C` + əxi:

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

V:xi: < V: + əxi:	C`V:xi: < C` + V: + əxi: tV:xi: < t + V: + əxi: C`V:xi: < C` + V: + əxi: nV:xi: < n + V: + əxi: rV:xi: < r + V: + əxi: hV:xi: < h + V: + əxi:	trV:xi: < t + r + V: + əxi: Cn`V:xi: < C` + n + V: + əxi: Cr`V:xi: < C` + r + V: + əxi: C`hV:xi: < C` + h + V: + əxi:
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6. əwə / əvi: suffix

		Complex
1 element	2 elements	3 elements
əwə / əvi:	əwəxi: < əwə + əxi: u:vi: < u: + əvi: cp. fə < əwə + h	C`wəxi: < C` + əwə + əxi:

7. ən' suffix	Complex	
1 element	2 elements	3 elements
ən' (əN')	ən' ə < ən' + ə ən' i: < ən' + i: əN' əxi: < əN' + əxi: n' əxi: < ən' + əxi:	ənəxi: < ən' + C' + əxi: 4 elements C' ən' V:xi: < C' + ən' + V: + əxi:

8. i:l' suffix	Complex	
1 element	2 elements	3 elements
i:l'	hi:l' < h + i:l' i:l' əxi: < i:l' + əxi:	i:ləxi: < i:l' + C' + əxi:

9. u: suffix	Complex
1 element	2 elements
u:	u:i: < u: + i: u:xi: < u: + əxi: u:vi: < u: + əvi:

10. əv' suffix	Complex
1 element	2 elements
əv'	cp. əvə

11. (ə)s/z suffix	Complex	
1 element	2 elements	3 elements
(ə)s/z	əʃ < əs + C' əsi: < əs + i: səxi: < s + əxi: (ʃ < s + C') zi: < z + i:	ʃə < s + C' + ə əʃi: < əs + C' + i: so:xi: < s + V: + əxi: əʃəxi: < əs + C' + əxi:

4.4 Extensions

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

Extension	2 elements	3 elements	4 elements	Total
1. C'	C' ə, C' i:, C' əni:, C' əxi:	C' hə, C' tə, C' rəxi:, C' kəxi:, C' nəxi:, C' həxi:, a:ləxi:, ənəxi:, i:ləxi:	C' hV:xi:, tələxi:, rələxi:	16
2. h	hə, hi:, həni:, həxi:, hi:l' (cp. (h)i:hə, fə)	C' hə, hənti:, hrəxi:, hrə, hri:, i:hə, V:xi: (cp. fC' ə, f(C')i:)	hi:hə, C' hV:xi: (cp. C' u:fə)	14

Extension	2 elements	3 elements	4 elements	Total
3. t	tə, ti:, ənti:, təxi:	Cʰə, Cʰi:, Cʰtə, Cʰti:, hənti:, əntə, trəxi:, tV:xi:	həntə, tələxi:, trV:xi:	15
4. r	rə, ri:, rəxi:	Crʰi:, Crʰəxi:, rCʰəxi:, trəxi:, hrə, hri:, hrəxi:	rələxi:, trV:xi:, CrʰV:xi:, Crʰhəxi:	14
5. n	nəxi:, ni:	Cnʰə, Cnʰi:, Cnʰəxi:, Cʰnəxi:, nV:xi:	CnʰV:xi:	8
6. k		Cʰkəni:, Cʰkəxi:		2
7. V:	V:xi:	CʰV:xi:, tV:xi:, hV:xi:, nV:xi:, sɔ:xi:	CrʰV:xi:, Crʰhəxi:, CnʰV:xi:, trV:xi:, CʰhV:xi:	11
8. ɔʰ		ɔʰləxi:	tələxi:, rələxi:	3
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. **ɔʰ** (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, **CnʰV:xi:** (taken here to contain four elements), can be analysed as containing five elements (i.e. $C' + n + V: + əxə + i:$ or $C' + n + V: + x + i:$), six (i.e. $C' + n + V: + ə + x + i:$) or seven elements (i.e. $C' + n + V: + ə + x + ə + i:$). 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)i:hə** is difficult to classify. The categorisation adopted here is that **i:hə** contains the plural suffix **i:** followed by infixed extension **h** followed by suffix **ə**. This places **h** in an exceptional infixed position and **hi:hə** will have extension **h** twice. Another approach would be to treat **i:hə** as an independent suffix resembling **əni:**, etc., but this analysis would ignore the fact that **i:hə** regularly alternates with **i:**. Related to the **i:hə** ending is the rare and obsolescent realisation of **xʰ** (for common **h**) in plural **i:xʰə** and also in *cleith kl'e > kl'ex'urwi* (heard once). The simplest analysis is to take **xʰ** as an extension. It is,

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. **fə** mostly with *teach* > **f'i(:)fə** *tíofa*. Such nouns often have (many) other more regular plural endings, e.g. *teach* > **f'i(:)hə** *títhe*. 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 -əi-

The numerals *déag*, *fiche*, *tríocha*, *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:

-di:, **-d'i:**,¹ **-d'ə**, **-dəxi:** (presumably also **-d'əxi:**), **-ədi:**,
also plural in final **-əxi:**,
also **32J** (4.27): **-C'ədi:**, **-(C')ədi:**, **-e:di:**, **-e:d'əxi:**, **-d'e:gi:**, **-di:**.

Examples:

- d'ə** **f'ix'əd'ə** *S fichide*;
- d'i:** **f'ix'əd'i:** *S fichidí*; cp. *seachtaidí* (in *Iorras Aithneach* — 2004: 41);
- di:** **ki:gədi:** **26Pc** *caogadaí*, **snə fə:skədi:** **26Pc** *sna seascadaí*;
 snə k'ærəxdi: **32J** *sna ceathrachaí*;
- ədi:** *déag* > *déaga* 'teens'; but also **d'e:gədi:** **70Se** *déagadaí*;
- dəxi:** **ki:gədəxi:** **60M** *caogadachaí* '(19)50s', **fə:skədəxi:** **60M**
 seascadachaí '(19)60s';
- (əx)i:** **snə k'æ(·)hərəxi** **26Pc**, **27Cl** *sna ceathrachaí*;
 cp. **fə:sku:** [sic] *seasca* > **snə fə:skəxi:** *sna seascachaí*;²
- e:di:** **snə f'ix'e:di:** **32J** *sna fichéadaí*;
- e:d'əxi:** **nə f'ix'e:d'əxi:** **32J** *na fichéideachaí*;
- C'ədi:** **snə ki:g'ədi:** **32J** *sna caoigeadaí* (perhaps influenced by *cúig(iú)*);
- o:di:** **ox d'e:g ki:gə s ə dō: nu: | snə ki:gō:di: ... fə:skō:di:** **32J**
 ocht déag caoga is a dó nó sna caogódaí ... seascódaí (for *-ó-* cp.
 seachtó, ochtó), cp. **fə:skə** **32J** *séasca*;
- C'ədi:** **snə hox't'ədi:** **32J** *sna hoichteodaí*;
- d'e:gi:** **nə ni:d'e:gi:** **32J** *na naoidéagaí* '(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 **-(C')V:di:** and **-ədi:**.

The ending **-i:l'** is classified here as an independent suffix. It is commonly combined with **-əxi:** in *múr* > **mu:ri:l(·)əxi:**. Speaker **60Mq**'s form of this plural, which is **mu:rələxi:**, can be classified, in the historical context and in the synchronic context of the speech community, as an infixation of **ə** into the vowel

¹ Also heard from speakers from Cois Fharraige and from Micil Chanraí, Ráth Cairn, originally of An Máimín, Oileán Gharamna, West Cois Fharraige.

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

slot more commonly filled by **-i-** in **-i:l(')**; alternatively, in the individual synchronic system of this speaker, one can classify **-əl-** as an extension (similar to **-a:l-**). Compare similar second-syllable short vowel in plurals *sochraíd* > *sochraideachaí* **60Mq** (1.261), *kojm'ig'əxi* **60M** *coismeigeachaí*; also *deis* > *d'əjəlxəxi*: *deisealachtaí* (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 *sr/rs* clusters within roots. To the examples of *léas* and *eiris* immediately below, one can add *glaise*: **glafrəxi**: >> **glasrV:xi**: (cp. **glasnəxi**:; also **-frəxi**: **-sru:xi**: **-sriəxi**: indicated for Ros Muc and Leitir Móir in LFRM s.v. *glaise*), and *lasair* > **la'srəxi**: **la:frɪ**: **la:frurxi** **17M**, and *seas* > **ʃæ:ʃra:ləxi** **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* > **krunhi**:; *tréith tr'e*: > **tre:rhi**:; *bóthar bóthər* > **bə:r'hi**:; optionally with radical **s** and extension **r** in *déas* and *léas*, e.g. **l'e:rsəxi**: **l'e:frəxi**: **l'e:rʃəxi**: **l'e:rsəxi**:. (Cp. **26Pq**'s sequence of plurals of *eiris*: **əfrəxi**: **orʃəxi**: **orsə-** **orʃəxi**:, 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 **ə** in some vocalic sequences.

Voice

Voice and aspiration assimilation and dissimilation of **-t'ə** varies in a few instances:

claimhe klav'ə > **klav't'ə**;

sliabh > **ʃl'e:v't'ə** **ʃl'e:ft'ə** with both alternants very common;

64Mq has *claimhe* > **klav't'rəxi**:; *sliabh* > **kl'e:v't'rəxi**;

75Nq has *sop* > **səpt'ə** **sept'ə** but also *scalp* > **skæ:lpd'ə** and compare her uncertain production in *fód* > **fə:d-t'ə**.

4.7 Quality

Non-assimilation of quality is not common but does occur sporadically:

-C`r'- in syncope in *iomair umər*' > **um-r'əxi**: **01J**.

-C'r- *áit* > **a:t'rəxi**: **50N**; *léim* **l'e:m'** > **l'e:m'rəxi**: **M**; *carraig* > **karəg'rəxi** **M**; *stéig* > **ʃt'e:g'rəxi**: [x3] **36Sq**;

in syncope in *col cúigear* > **kə:l ku:g'ərəxi**:, **kə:l ku:g'rəxi**: **SM**.

-l't- *gail* > **ga:l'trəxi**: **P**, but **Mq** (in order of production): **gæl'trəxi**: **gæl'əni**: **ga:l'trəxi**: **Mq** (alveolar *l* in the final token). Note the sequence in conversation in *scoil* > **skə:l'təxi**: ... **skə:l'təxi**: ... **skə:l'təxi**: **30P**. In query *gabháil* > **go:l'te:xi**: **04Brq**.

-v-d'- in syncope in *námhaid* > **nə:v-d'i**:, but with assimilation **nə:v-d'ə** **35Eq**. Unsyncopated by-forms, e.g. **nə:vəd'i**:, are more common.

-C'tr- *scalp* > **skæ:lp'trəxi**: [x5] **36Sq**.

- C`n`- *ruacan* > **ro:k-n'ə** 71Dq;
cp. *anam* > **anəm-n'əxi**: the form produced by Mq when asked for a plural of *anam* with an **n** extension, her own form is *anamachaí* M.
- l-n`- in syncope in *gualainn* > **guəl-n'i**: [x3] Mq and her son 52Jq, also 29C, 73Pq.
- b-l'- in syncope in *drioball* > **dr'ub-l'ə** 71Dq.
- sl'- in syncope in *asal* > **tr'i: k'i:ŋ gæ:sl'ə** 21Pt *trí cinn dh'asle*; **fa:x g'i:ŋ gæ:sl'ə** Mq(1, 2) *seacht gcinn dh'asail*, **fa:x g'i:ŋ gæ:sl'ə** Mq(3) *seacht gcinn dh'asle*. The palatal cluster *sl* is regularly **-fl'-**. In **-sl'-** there is thus both quality (*s* for *ʃ*) and place (*l'* for *l'*) juncture, reflecting *s* and *l'* of more common **æ:sl'ə** *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 **pl'** / **bl'** (cf. 4.11):

- pl'- *capall* **kapəl** > **kapəl'** (regressive), **kapl'ə**, but often **kapl'ə** 04Brq, 15Wq, M, 52Jq, **kæ:pl'ə** 64Mq; note vocalic variance following *p* in **kæ:pl'ə** ~ **ka:p'ə** 894C, **kapl'ə** ~ **ka:p'ə** 01P;
- bl'- *drioball* **dr'ibəl** > **dr'ibəl'** (regressive), **dr'ibl'ə**, but often **dr'ibl'ə** 04Brq, 15Wq, Mq, 25Mq, 52Jq;
giobal **g'ibəl** > **g'ibəl'** S, **g'ibəl'əxi**, but also **g'ibl'ə** 26Pcq, 52Jq.
- Cf. **-sl'** (4.7). Note also:
- kn'- *leiceann* > **l'ekn'ə** generally, also **l'ekn'əxi**, but a younger speaker has **l'ekn'ə** 78Cq.

There is, in query, rare and anomalous loss of radical palatal *r* in clusters before *-achaí* in:

leitir > **l'et'əxi** 04Fq, *paidir* > **pa'd'əxi** 04Fq;

Bairbre **ba'r'əbr'ə** > **ba'r'əb'əxi** 64Mq.

This loss may be attributed morphologically, perhaps particularly in the plural query session, to the common alternation of *r* as extension: <**əxi**> ~ <**r'əxi**>, e.g. *ainm* > *ainmeachaí* ~ *ainmreachaí*.

4.9 Vowels

Roots in stressed final long vowels (i.e. *V*) can take the **əni**: (also **ənti**) suffix without vowel coalescence, including syllabic *n*, e.g.

- i**: *gaoith(e)* > **gi:əni**: 21Ptq; *lao* > **li:ənti**: 21Pi, Mq, **li:nti** 46.18; *mí* > **m'i:əni**: 892M1507, *míeannaí* 869P4;
- ɑ**: *bláth* > **blɑ:əni**: 15W, so also (her father's) *blá-annaí* 869PRBÉ; *fáth* > **fɑ:əni**; *féa f'ɑ*: > **f'ɑ:əni**: 46.364 (cp. in slow speech **f'ɑ:ni**: 899D6010); *láí* > **lɑ:əni**: 892M2069; *trá* > **trɑ:əni**: (regular); *lái* > **lɑ:ənti**: Mq, **lɑ:nti**: 20At, but most often **lɑ:nti**: M;
- o**: *bró* > **bro:əni**: 03C;
- u**: *criú* > **kr'u:əni**: 18J8174; *cú* > **ku:əni**; *scriú* > **ʃkr'u:əni**: Mq.

As can be seen from the examples, noncoalescence following **ɑ**: is widespread. Contrast short radical vowels, where **h** is common before suffixes, but not

obligatory, e.g. *cleith* > **kl'eni**: Mq, *Craith* > **kraní**·.

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

Rare uncoalesced variants of **V:xi**·, i.e. **əV:xi**·, can be taken as juncture with retention of unstressed ə:

gloine **glin'ə** > **glin'əəxi**: M85; *cine* > **k'in'əəxi**: **21Pt**;

for **i:əxi**·, **əəxi**· and **eəxi**·, see 4.61 ff.; cf. radical i(:) + **əxi**: (4.19).

Final **-u**·, for instance in *colbha* **kolu**·, generally yields plural **-u:xi**: **-u:əxi**: **-V:xi**: **-əxi**·, but also **koluəxi**: **52Jq**.

4.10 Schwa insertion

In some clusters there is relatively rare insertion of ə:

-r*əxi: > **-ər*əxi**: /C^{stop} _

gad > **ga:dəxi**: **21Pt**; *spreab* > **spr'əbərəxi**: **01P**; *stéig* > **ʃt'e:gəxi**: **ʃt'e:gr'əxi**: **ʃt'e:g'ərəxi**: S; *ionga* **uŋgə** > **iŋgr'əxi**: **iŋg'r'əxi**: **iŋg'ər'əxi**: M; *fód* > **fə:dərəxi**: **64Mq**; *carraig* > **karəg'ər'əxi** **00C**.

Arguably following syncope in *tobar* > **taibr'əxi** **taib'ər'əxi** **73Pq** (cp. rare **teb'ər'əxi** **05M**).

The stop consonant may be an extension: *scoil* > **skoltərəxi**: S; *meall* > **m'a:ltərəxi** **11Jq**; *aill* > **a:ltərəxi**: **73Pq**.

A rare example following a continuant is *glaise* > **glə:fər'əxi**: **64Mq**.

Weaker nonsyllabic schwa is common in the speech of some speakers:

15Pt: *slat* > **slə:tərəxi**: **slə:t'ərəxi**·.

11Jq *fód* > **fə:d'r'əxi**·; *stail* > **stə:lt'ərəxi**·. Note this speaker's lack of syncope in *eochair* > **əxərəxi**·.

64Mq *claimhe* > **kləv'tərəxi**·; *cliabh* > **kl'e:v'tərəxi**·; note his tokens of *fód* > **fə:dərəxi**: and *glaise* > **glə:fər'əxi**: cited above.

Insertion of ə is regular in a few nouns. Before extension **r** in:

gníomh > **gr'i:ŋəri**: **11C**, *g'r'i:wərhi* and *g'r'i:wərə* !ZCP.

There is variation with extension **n** in **-n'i**: ~ **-ən'i**:; **-n'əxi**: ~ **-ən'əxi**:, etc., /C^{stop} _ (these cases are also interpretable as combinations of the suffix **ən'** which is equivalent to the stem of 5D nouns):

ionga > **uŋg'ən'i**: **iŋg'n'i**: **iŋgn'i**: Sq. Seán also has (V:xi) plurals with *ionga*; cp. *iŋ'i'n'ě* 46.453; also **iŋg'ən'əxi**: **iŋ'ən'əxi**: Pq; **iŋg'ər'əxi**: Mq.

lorga > **lor'əgn'ə** **lor'əg'ən'i**: **51Pq**.

Cp. cases of nonsyncope or 'incomplete syncope':

drioball > **dr'ubə'l'ə** | **01P**, **dr'ubə'l'ə** **56Bq**, **dr'ibə'l'ə** **64Mq**, **dr'ib'ə'l'əxi**: [x2] **dr'ib'ɹ'ə** [x1] **dr'ib'ə'l'ə** [x3] Pq;

capall > **kəp'ə'l'ə** **894C**; *giobal* > **g'ib'ə'l'əxi** [x2] Pq;

gualainn > **guələ'n'i**: **64Mq**; *leiceann* (4.11);

cf. optional non-assimilation of **L'** > expected **I'** in these nouns (4.8).

Also *iomaire* > **umərəxi**·. There appears to be a rare example of nonsyncope in the plural of *focal* from **892M**, a speaker who has pervasive (phrasal) epenthesis,

in *nə fəˈkəl ə duːrt̪ s' e' 892M4746 na fəˈkəl ə duːrt̪ sé*. This speaker also has the more common *fəˈkəl 892M5920*.

Consonantal insertion (of *t̪* between *n* and *s*) may be a result of juncture in *banais* > *baˈn' t̪əˈxiː* Sq, *baˈn' t̪əˈxiː 25Mq*. Note also examples produced in query by less traditional speakers: *easna* > *æːsknəˈxi 75Nq*; *galra* > *galtrəˈxiː 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. *ascaill* > *æːskl̥iː æːskələˈxiː* Pq.

Words are listed here according to the syncopating syllable.¹ (Not all possible variants, e.g. regarding vowels, extensions, *-ə/iː*, 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`*.

Syllable	Lexeme	Syncope	Nonsyncope
-səd	<i>sluasa(i)d</i>	<i>sluəft̪ ə</i> , <i>sluəft̪ iː</i> , <i>sluəft̪ əˈxiː</i>	<i>sluəsəd əˈxiː 23B</i> , <i>60M</i> , <i>sluəsədəˈxiː 01J</i>
-vəd ²	<i>námhaid</i>	<i>nəːvd ə 35Eq</i>	<i>nəːvəd iː</i> , <i>nəːvəd əˈxiː</i>
-nəm ³	<i>ainm</i>	exceptionally <i>æːnmn̩ əˈxə</i> <i>29Cq</i> , <i>æːnmr̩ əˈxiː 36Pq</i>	<i>æːn əmr̩ əˈxiː 36Pq</i>
-kən	<i>leiceann</i>	<i>l̥ ɛkn ə</i> generally, <i>l̥ ɛkn ə</i> <i>78Cq</i> , <i>l̥ ɛkn əˈxiː</i>	<i>leicint̪ !894C9</i> , <i>l̥ ɛk ən ə 10Bq</i>
-gən	<i>cloigeann</i>	<i>klogn ə</i>	<i>klog ən ə 10Bq</i>
-vən	<i>gamhain</i> <i>cliamhain</i>	<i>gavnə</i> <i>kl̥ avniːhə</i> , <i>kl̥ avniː SM</i>	<i>kl̥ iəvnən əˈxiː SM</i> , <i>kl̥ æːvəniː S</i>
-lən	<i>gualainn</i> <i>muileann</i> cp. <i>scillinn</i>	<i>guəl̥ iː</i> , <i>guəl̥ -n̩ iː Mq</i> , <i>29C</i> , <i>52Jq</i> , <i>73Pq</i> <i>miL̥ n̩ ə 35Eq</i> , cp. <i>miL̥ t̪ ə</i> <i>ʃk̥ iL̥ əˈxiː</i>	<i>guəl̥ ən̩ iː 64Mq</i> , <i>guəl̥ ən̩ əˈxiː Pq</i> <i>miL̥ t̪ əˈxiː</i>
-rən	<i>foireann</i>	<i>for̩ n̩ ə 18J</i>	<i>for̩ ənəˈxiː</i>
-sən	<i>ursainn</i>	<i>urf̩ n̩ əˈxiː</i> , <i>orf̩ n̩ əˈxiː</i>	<i>urf̩ ən̩ əˈxiː</i>
-hən	<i>aithinn(e)</i>	<i>ah̩ n̩ əˈxiː</i>	<i>ah̩ ən̩ əˈxiː</i>

¹ The relevant syllables are listed here without quality mark.

² The plural of *námhaid* is spelt *náimhdí* in a local song cited in SÓC1.83 and dated to circa 1815–21 but *námhaidí* scans better.

³ Cp. **-rəb-** exceptional in *Bairbre* *bar əbr̩ ə* > *barbr̩ əˈxiː* (sometimes in query). Interestingly, the stressed syllable in both *ainm* and *Bairbre* contains the low vowel /a/. Cf. 1.356.

Syllable	Lexeme	Syncope	Nonsyncope
-pəl	<i>capall</i>	kapl'ə kapl'ə	ka'p'ə'ɫ'ə 894C, ka'p'ə'ɫ'ə 01P
-bəl	<i>drioball</i>	dr'ib'ə dr'ib'ə	dr'ub'ɫ'ə 01P, dr'ib'ə'ɫ'ə 64Mq, dr'ib'ə'ɫ'əxi:, dr'ib'ɫ'ə, dr'ib'ə'ɫ'ə Pq
	<i>giobal</i>	g'ib'ə	g'ib'ə'ɫ'ə 52Jq, g'ib'ə'ɫ'əxi:, g'ib'ə'ɫ'əxi Pq
-kəl	<i>pobal</i> <i>ascaill</i>	paib'əxi: 899D6341 askl'əxi:	æ:skəli: 26Pq, askə'ɫ'əxi:; æ:skli: æ:skə'ɫ'əxi Pq
	<i>fiacail</i> <i>focal</i>	f'ia'klə f'oklə	f'okə'ɫə [?] 892M
-nəl	<i>coinneal</i>	ki:nl'ə	
-səl	<i>asal</i>	æ:sl'ə Mq	
-bər	<i>obair</i> <i>tobar</i>	aibr'əxi: taibr'əxi:	taib'ər'əxi 73Pq, teb'ər'əxi 05M (4.45)
-tər	<i>leitir</i> <i>scoltair</i>	ɫ'etr'əxi: often, also 11Ct skoltr'əxi:	ɫ'et'ər'əxi: 11Ct skoltər'əxi: 894Cs
-dər	<i>paidir</i>	pai:dr'əxi:, pɑ:dr'əxi:	pɑ:d'ər'əxi:
-gər	<i>col cúigear</i> <i>lagar</i>	kol ku:g'rəxi: SM << lagr'əxi:, lágrachaí 866E	kol ku:g'ər'əxi: SM lagarachaí 894C2
-xər	<i>eochair</i>	oxr'əxi: >>	oxər'əxi: 11Jq, 23B, oxər'əxi:
-mər	<i>iomair</i> <i>iomaire</i>	um-r'əxi: 01J umr'əxi:	umər'əxi:, umər'əxi:
-vər	<i>fómhar</i>	fu:v'rəxi: 36Pq <<	fu:v'rəxi:
-sər	<i>lasair</i>	la:s'rəxi:, la:f'ri:, la:f'ru'xi	lasər'əxi:
-hər	<i>bóthar</i> <i>athair</i> <i>srathair</i> <i>srathar</i> <i>Sathrann</i>	bó:r'hi: ar'həxi: << sra:r'həxi:, sra'r'həxi: sra:r'həxə 20C sahrənəxi:	ahər'əxi: frahər'əxi: sahrənəxə banəfəxi:
-nəs	<i>banais</i>	banfəxi:	
-rəs	<i>doras</i> <i>eiris</i>	dorfə, Dorfj: orfəxi:	er'əfəxi:

4.12 Vocalic changes

Some of the more noteworthy vocalic changes include:

ɑ:	>	e:, e/o	lá la: > le:hən(t)i:, le:hənti:, lohənti:
ɑ:	>	i:	muineál min'ɑ:l > min'i:l'
ai	>	o	clái klai > kləhəxi:
ai, e:	>	o	glái glai, also glae gle: 29C > gləhəxi: 29C

iə	>	ā/a	<i>cliamhain</i> kl'iaŋən' > kl'āvni:(hə), kl'avni:(hə)
i	>	a	<i>cith</i> k'i > k'æhəxi: 04B
a	>	i	<i>teach</i> t'ax > t'ihəwi:
a	>	i:	<i>teach</i> t'ax > t'ihəwi:
o	>	i	<i>reithe</i> rohə > rifi: [f' ?] 36Mq

For the AM class, e.g. *am* > *amənti:*, *uiggə ionga* > *i:gn' exi:*, see 4.86.

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

monosyllabic bases	> <i>əni:</i>	<i>bun</i> > <i>bunannaí</i> <i>múr</i> > <i>múrannaí</i>
borrowed		<i>meaits</i> [< match] > <i>meaitseannaí</i>
polysyllabic bases	> <i>əxi:</i>	<i>punann</i> > <i>punannachaí</i> <i>múr</i> (> <i>múraíl</i>) > <i>múraíleachaí</i>
borrowed		<i>peaicits</i> [< package] > <i>peaicitseachaí</i>

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 <əxə> according to the following constraint (with examples):

ideal syllable count for <i>əxi:</i> = 3	<i>dris</i> > <i>dr'ifəxi:</i> 36Sq
ideal syllable count for <i>əxə</i> > 3	<i>baithis</i> > <i>bahəfəxə</i> 36Sq
	<i>bildeáil</i> > <i>b'il dā:ləxə</i> 20Myq
including alternants in syncope	<i>aithinn(e)</i> > <i>æ'n' əxi</i> 29Nq, <i>æhə'n' əxə</i> 29Nq
including other plural suffixes	<i>múr</i> > <i>muri:ləxə</i>

including borrowings ‘orange’ > **arəndʒəxə** **04Br**,
 ‘rattle’ > **raʔlʲəxə** **36S**

The majority of speakers do not use <əxə> (except in *scilleacha*, etc., 4.39), or use it only with a handful of words. The plural ending <əxə> can be taken to be regressive or obsolete with the monosyllabic stems in *sleagh* > *sleacha* **869P**, *sneá* > **ʃnʲa:xə** **20Páq** and *bua* > **nə buəxə** (MP)**04B** *na buacha*, cp. *teach* > **tʲi:uʔə tʲi:u:xə** **15Pt**. There is an interesting illustration of the application of the tetrasyllabic constraint, although not required by the surface form, in:

l'e nə grʲiələxə ʃinʲ 04Br *le na Grial[aise]acha sin*,

where there is a slip of the tongue (perhaps through haplology before *sin*) for correct **grʲiələʃ** > **grʲiələʃəxə** (which was used later in the same recording by speaker **04Br**). Although the -əʃ- syllable was erroneously elided, it was counted to give <əxə>. Speakers who apply this constraint regularly will therefore have a general contrast of 1σ+əni: vs. 2⁽⁺⁾σ+əxə 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* **866ESc**107.11.

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

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

disyllabic nouns (i.e. monosyllabic roots) in -əx > -ə or -i: or -əxi:
 polysyllabic roots and stems in -əx > (-ə or) -i: or -əxi: or -əxə

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

ronnach > **runə runi: runəxi:**;

gearrbhodach > **gʲar:wodəxi: 20Myq**; *Lochrannach* > *lochrannachai* **894C**;

Loideánach > *na Loideánaí* **!894C9**;

Clochartach > **kloxərtəxə 20Cq**, but also **kloxərtə**.

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

monosyllable + -ach >	-ə	>>	-i:	≥	-əxi:
polysyllable + -ach >	-i:	>>	-əxi:	>>	-ə

(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 -əxi: 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 <Vxə> 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	<i>dris</i> > dr'ifəxi: 36S
ideal number of consonants preceding Vxə > 1	<i>easna</i> > æ:snəxə 36S
	<i>fréamh</i> > fr'e:wrəxə 29C
borrowed	'drain' > dr'en'ɾəxə 20C

It follows from this and the tetrasyllabic constraint that phonological weight is an important conditioning factor on plural formation in -əxə / -əxi:. 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. *téad* > *téad#racha*, have more examples of <əxə> than stems in a single consonant without extension, e.g. *téad* > *téad#achaí*, but fewer examples of <əxi> than words with syncope, e.g. *paidir* > *paidr#eacha*. 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 <əxə> in syncope words than in words with stem plus extension. Too few words with radical consonant cluster, e.g. *splanc* > *splanc#acha*, have been investigated for speakers who regularly use <əxə>, to enable us to compare the factors of morpheme position and syncope, and also the factor of consonant types, in clusters. Given the position of the morpheme boundary in *splanc#acha* one might predict it to pattern more like syncope words of the *paidr#eacha* type than the extensional *téad#racha* type.

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

$$(VxV) \rightarrow n\langle Vxə \rangle / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \sigma > 1 \\ (1\sigma)C^{>1} \end{array} \right\} \text{ — } ; n = f(\text{network, age, following context})^1$$

These syllabic weight constraints on <Vxə> 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) → <ə> <i:> (e.g. the plural type exemplified by *bróig* > *bróga*, *brógaí*). Here also a cluster generally selects -ə in preference to -i:; in shorthand:

-C^AC^Bə vs. -C^Ci:,

where C^AC^B = -nt+ə, -ln+ə; C^C = -t+i:, -l+i:. For example, *rón* > *róinte* is very common whereas *ró* > *róite* is not found in my notes from conversation (but *róite* **20Cq**, also *gró* > *gróite*); *gualainn* > **guəl'i:** *guailí* is regular (but **guəl'ə** 46.385), whereas a variant with an intervocalic cluster was noted with -ə and -i:.

¹ These constraints are discussed below; especially 4.111 and 4.130.

guəLN'ə guəl-N'i: guəLN'i: *gualnelí*. So also *oícheanta* ~ *oícheantaí* but the by-form without *-t-*, i.e. *oícheannaí*, is attested with *-aí* only. Cp. *námhaid* > *námhaidí*, *náimhde*.

4.17 Final phone and extension

The quality of consonantal extensions most often agrees with that of the stem final, unless extensional depalatalisation or suffixal 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.

<u>V + t</u>	<u>V + t'ə</u> <i>gró gro:</i> > <i>gro:t'ə</i>	
<u>V + (h)r</u> rarely	<u>V + (h)r'əxi:</u> <i>glai</i> > <i>glair'əxi:</i> <i>glaihr'əxi:</i> <i>tréith</i> > <i>tr'e:rhí:</i>	
Cp. <u>h + r</u>		
<u>C^{Son} + h</u> <u>r + h</u>	<u>r + hu:xi:</u> <i>seire</i> <i>fer'ə</i> > <i>fer'hu:xi:</i>	<u>r + hə</u> <i>púir pu:r'</i> > <i>pu:rhə</i> 52Jq
<u>C^{Son} + t(r)</u> <u>l, n + t</u>	<u>l + t'ə</u> <i>coill kail'</i> > <i>kail:t'ə</i> <u>l + t(r)əxi:</u> <i>stail stal'</i> > <i>stalt(r)əxi:</i>	<u>n + tə</u> <i>gleann gl'a:n</i> > <i>gl'a:ntə</i> <u>n + t(r)əxi:</u> <i>gleann gl'a:n</i> > <i>gl'a:nt(r)əxi:</i> <i>cráin kra:n'</i> > <i>kra:ntəxi:</i>
<u>C^{Son} + r</u> <u>l + r</u>	<u>l + rəxi:</u> <i>ascaill askəl'</i> > <i>askəlrəxi:</i> M	
<u>C^{Son} + n or r</u> <u>m + n or r</u>	<u>m + nəxi:</u> <i>ainm an'əm'</i> > <i>an'əmn'əxi:</i> <i>anam anəm</i> > <i>anəmnəxi:</i> <i>slám slá:m</i> > <i>slá:mhə</i> 52Jq	<u>m + rəxi:</u> <i>ainm an'əm'</i> > <i>an'əmr'əxi:</i> <i>fréimh fr'e:m'</i> > <i>fr'e:mr'əxi:</i>
<u>m + h</u> very rare <u>ŋ(g) + r or n</u>	<u>ŋ(g) + r'Vxi:</u> <i>ionga uŋgə</i> > <i>ŋ(g)r'e:xi:</i>	<u>ŋ(g) + n'Vxi:</u> <i>ionga uŋgə</i> > <i>ŋ(g)n'e:xi:</i>
Less often stops <u>C^{Stop} + r >> n</u> <u>p', b, t, d, k, g', ŋ(g)</u> <u>+ r</u>	<u>p, b + rəxi:</u> <i>scailp skalp'</i> > <i>skalpr'əxi:</i> <i>leaba l'abə</i> > <i>l'aprəxi:</i> <u>k, g' + rəxi:</u> <i>leac l'ak</i> > <i>l'akrəxi:</i> <i>carraig karəg'</i> > <i>karəgr'əxi:</i>	<u>t, d + rəxi:</u> <i>slat slat</i> > <i>slatrəxi:</i> <i>áit a:t'</i> > <i>a:tr'əxi:</i> 01P <i>gad gad</i> > <i>gadrəxi:</i> <u>ŋ(g) + r'Vxi:</u> <i>ionga uŋgə</i> > <i>ŋ(g)r'e:xi:</i> <u>d + ri:</u> <i>mada madə</i> > <i>mə:dri:</i> <u>g + n'i:</u> <i>dealg d'aləg</i> > <i>d'el'əgn'i:</i>
<u>ŋ(g) / g + n</u>	<u>ŋ(g) + n'Vxi:</u> <i>ionga uŋgə</i> > <i>ŋ(g)n'e:xi:</i>	
<u>g' + n'əxi:</u>	<u>g' + n'əxi:</u> <i>carraig karəg'</i> > <i>karəgn'əxi:</i> <i>coismeig</i> > <i>kofm'egn'əxi:</i> 76Nq (?)	

<u>C^{Stop} + t(r)</u>		
d + t	<u>d + tə, ti:</u> <i>céad</i> k'e:d > k'e:tə, k'e:ti:	
p + tr, t	<u>p + trəxi:</u> <i>scailp</i> skalp' > skalp'trəxi: 36Sq	<u>p + tə</u> <i>plump</i> plump > plumptə 52Jq
<u>Sibilant + t, r, n</u>		
s, f + t, r	<u>s, f + ti:</u> <i>rása</i> rəsə > rə:sti: <i>gaise</i> gafə > gasti: (in run)	<u>s, f + rəxi: / rə:ləxi:</u> <i>déas</i> d'e:s > d'e:frəxi: <i>cis</i> k'if > k'ifrəxi:
f + n	<u>f + N'u:xi:</u> <i>glaise</i> > glafN'u:xi:	<u>glaise</u> glafə > glaf'rəxi: <i>seas</i> fəs > fəsra:ləxi:
<u>Sibilant + k</u>	<u>f + kəni:</u> <i>glaise</i> > glaskəni:	<u>f + kəxi:</u> <i>glaise</i> > glaskəxi:
<u>Sibilant + (t/r)ə:l(')</u>¹	<u>s, f + ə:ləxi:</u> <i>seas</i> > fəsə:ləxi: <i>deis</i> > d'e:fə:ləxə	<u>s + rə:ləxi:</u> <i>seas</i> > fəsra:ləxi: <u>s + tə:ləxi:</u> <i>leigheas</i> > l'aistə:ləxi:
Other fricatives (rarely)		
v + t(r)	<u>v + t'ə</u> <i>sliabh</i> fL' iəv > fL'e:v't'ə <i>claimhe</i> klav' ə > klav't'ə	<u>v + trəxi:</u> <i>cliabh</i> > kl'e:v't'rəxi: 64Mq
v + r	<u>v + rəxi:</u> <i>fréamh</i> fr'e:w > fr'e:wrəxi: <i>craobh</i> kri:w > kri:wrəxi:	
x + r	<u>x + ri:</u> <i>each</i> ax > axri:	

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 *scaitheamh* skahə > skat'i:. Second syllable position is typical for the **h** extension. A rare example of third syllable position occurs in *soláthraí* (agentive < *soláthar* sulə:r):

sulə:ri: > **sulə:rhəxi:** **sulə:rəxi:** 20Cq, perhaps influenced by **si:rhi:** *saothraí*, cp. 20C's **hu:xi:** (4.181).

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

i:nəx *aonach* > **i:nti:**; *fásach* > *fástai*;

toləx *tulach* > **toltəxi:** **toltrəxi:**.

Cases of apparent infixation of extensions are not included in the description immediately above. The extension **t** appears to be infixed in the endings **əntə** **ənti:** (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**, **uəi**. For example, *lao*, *lái*, *garraí*, *oíche* (**i:**), *lá* > *laeth-* (**e:**), *dorú* (**u:**), *iarraidh* (**iə**), *uair* (**uə**), *buaf*, *luaf* (**uəi**). There are two important exceptions: *am* **ə:m** > **amənti:** generally, which

¹ There are also forms *deis* > **d'e:fə:ləxti:** *deisealachtaí* (cp. adjective *deiseal*), **d'e:fu:ləxti:** (similar to the abstract noun *deisiúlacht* < adjective *deisiúil*). Since neither **-əl-** nor **-əxti:** are distinct plural formatives in any other noun (except innovative *múr* > **mur:rə:ləxi:** 60Mq, 4.5, 4.26), both **d'e:fə:ləxti:** and **d'e:fu:ləxti:** are classified as irregular (4.74). Cp. *deiseálachai* LFRM s.v. *deis* 3; *deiseáil* GCF §466; also *táirneálachai*.

fulfils the semantic criteria of ‘time’ associated with some nouns in **ənti:** (4.46); and *slám* > **slámənti:** attested only in *ag imeacht ‘na slámantaí* !894C9, generally **sláməni:**. (Contrast *dream* **dr̥a:m** > **dr̥a:məni:** >> **dr̥æ:məni:**, without **ənti:**; similarly, *fuaigh* > **fuəni:** only.) This apparent high vowel constraint for **əntə/i:** contrasts with the low vowel preference evident with **trəxi:** (4.96).

One possible analysis of the endings (C')**fə** and (C')**fi:** with some nouns would derive them from infixed **h** in **əwə əwi:**. Alternatively, for example, *teach* > **t̪i:fi:** could be derived from **t̪i:hwi:**, a syncopated alternant of **t̪i:həwi:**.

4.19 (V:xi:)

The plural variable (V:xi:) is taken as having two subvariables (**əxi:**) and (V:xi:). The default or unmarked variable is (**əxi:**). This (**əxi:**) 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 (**əxi:**). 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(:) > V:xi:, i.e. (with examples)

1σCə	<i>lata</i> > late:xi:
1σCV:	<i>cruinniú</i> > krin' e:xi:
1σCV:C	<i>Ciarraíoch</i> > k' iəre:xi:

(It follows that (**əxi:**) is the norm for (V:xi:) plurals with monosyllabic and trisyllabic bases.) This phonological condition governing the two alternants (**əxi:**) vs. (V:xi:) is optional, i.e. **əxi:** 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 > *bitsiúchaí*, ‘Conroy’ > *Canraechaí*, ‘wheelbarrow’ > *faíl-bearaechaí*, *céilí* > *céileáchaí*. Many of the youngest speakers use **əxi:** for older (V:xi:). There are many nouns in final -CV which take other endings, optionally or exclusively, e.g. **i:** exclusively in:

úlla > *úllaí*; *mála* > *málaí*; *rópa* > *rópaí*; I have heard only **i:** in *acra*, *baóite*, *bata*, *bosca*, *bráca*, *brainse*, *bríce*, *briosca*, *cáca*, *calpa*, *cárla*, *cárta*, *céachta*, *clabhtha*, *cláife*, *clóca*, *cluífe*, *cnaípe*, *cnuga*, *coca*, *cóiste*, *cósta*, *cóta*, *cuachma*, *cúpla*, *cúrsa*, *dáta*, *fága*, *fata*, *fuagra*, *gála*, *garda*, *geata*, *giarsa*, *glamba*, *gúna*, *gunna*, *halla*, *hata*, *inse*, *liopa*, *maide*, *mapa*, *píce*, *pionna* ‘pin’, *pionta*, *planda*, *pláta*, *póca*, *pointe*, *pota*, *rabharta*, *raca*, *ráille*, *rata*, *ráta*, *runga*, *rusta*, *rúta*, *seافتa*, *seomra*, *síoda* > **fi:di:** 866Et, *siopa*, *sonda*, *staighre*, *stoca*, *stráca*, *stuca*, *taca*, *tiarna*, *tonna*, *tuáille*, *unsa*; also *rufaí* ‘ruffs, sea-belt (weed)’, *na Státaí*; only **i:** heard in these

trisyllables: *comhartha*, *farraige*, *seilméide*, *smugairle*, *spéireata*, *tunónta*, including common nouns in *-ire*: *ancaire*, *dréimire*, *polláire*, agentives *iascaire*, *súmaire*. Cp. *slabhra* > *slabhraí*, rare *slabhrthaí*.

In my analysis, the (V:xi:) class of nouns includes only those nouns that fulfil both the phonological and lexical conditions for (V:xi:). 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:xi::

bonn (most frequently) > **buniəxi:** **buno:xi:**;

deoir > **d'or'e:xi:** **d'ore:xi:**;

mion (adjective): (noun in plural only) **m'unexi:** **m'unoxi:** *mionachaí*;¹

also, rare, *ciumhais* > **k'u:fo:xi:** **37Jq**; *gad* > **ga:dr̥iəxi:** **ga:dəni:** **27Mq**;

spreab > **spr'æ:be:əxi:** **01P**.

Two nouns in singular final *-ai* and one in historical final *-í* also have optional (V:xi:):

clai > **klohə:xi:**, *glai* > **glaiho:xi:** **glaihe:xi:** **glohe:xi:**, *l'íəho:xi:* *M líochaí*.

In these nouns a plural form such as **glai(ə)xi:** is liable to be (re-)interpreted as root + **iəxi:** (i.e. V:xi:) yielding **glai** + **h** + **o:xi:**, etc.

Note that two nouns generally used in the plural only, cited above, have optional V:xi: as well as əxi::

l'íəho:xi: *M líochaí* (< *lí*); **m'unexi:** **m'unoxi:** *mionachaí* (related to *mion*).

4.20 Position of (V:)

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

- (i) disyllables in final open syllables, the majority of V:xi: plurals, e.g. *buinne* **biN'ə** > **biN'e:xi:**; syllable count begins with the first stressed syllable, yielding regular *tráthnóna* **trən'hu:nə** > **trən'hu:ne:xi:**;
- (ii) syncopeating polysyllables, e.g. *banais* **banəf** > **banfu:xi:**;
- (iii) nouns with V(̥) in the second closed syllable, generally **iəx**, which may have replacement by V: in the stem, e.g. *Ciarraíoch* > **k'iarə:xi:**, *barriall* **bare:l** > **barə:ləxi:**, and, less commonly, *díthriúch* > **d'ir'hə:xi:**;
- (iv) rare plurals in V:d(̥)it̥, e.g. *fiche* > **f'ix'e:di:** **f'ix'e:d'əxi:** **32J**.

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

1. ± Syncope:

aithinn(e) > **æ:n'hu:xi:** **20Cq** (x2) vs. **æhən'əxi:** **20Cq** (x2);

iomaire > **umre:xi:** vs. **umərəxi:** for some speakers, even more have **uməre:xi:**;

lasair > **la'sər'əxi:**, **la'srəxi:** **17M**, **la'fri:** **17M**, **la'frur'xi** **17M**;

srathair > **srarho:xi:** **37Jq** vs. **srəhər'əxi:** **37Jq**.

2. Nouns in agentive *-í*:

¹ The extension vowel can be realised short, as **e** and **o** here; cf. 4.61.

saothraí > *siri: siri:hə siri:xi:*, also *gréasaí*, etc.;
comrádaí > *ku:mrə:di: ku:mrə:di:hə ku:mrə:dəxi:*, also *soláthraí*.

3. Other obviously productive plurals:

Beairtle > *b'æ:rtʃl'e:xi:* 20Cq, but *Pádraic* > *pə:rək'əxi:* 20C;
Máire > *mə:r'e:xi:* 20Cq, *mə:r'ə:xi:* 21Jq;
Bairbre > *barbr'ə:xi:* 43Mpq but *ba:r'əbr'əxi:* 20Cq;
Sorcha > *sore:xi:* *sorhu:xi:* *sorəxi:* 20Cq but **Sorachaechaí*
 **Sorachachaí* 20CØperm.

The personal name *Moinice* *min'ək'ə* 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 *Moinice* was:

tə gə l'ə:r min'ək'ə^x, min'ək'əxi: er' ə ma:l'ə fə 20Cq

tá go leor Moinéiceach-, Moiniceachaí ar an mbaile seo,

where he initially infixed V: in second syllable position but selfcorrected to the more usual *əxi:* suffixation. The response to *Moinice* from speaker 30Pq was similar:

min'ə:, min'ə, ... min'ək'i: ... min'ək'əxi: 30Pq.

Compare speaker 52Jq's slip of the tongue during the plural questionnaire when he produced *Corcaíoch* > *korkəxiəx*. This slip supports a suffix replacement theory (in words which contain final *iəx* in the singular) rather than infixation. A posited replacement with the plural ending involves elision of the whole singular suffix *iəx* and replacement by *V:xi:*; whereas infixation would involve only the vowel *iə* of the singular suffix being changed. Replacement interprets *kork+əx+iəx*. If underlying infixation were present, one might expect a similar slip of the tongue to yield **kork+ə-iəx*. Cf. 4.25.

4.21 Exceptions; Combinations

Counterexamples to the second syllable position of V: in *V:xi:* 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 *iomaire* > *um(ə)ro:xi:* *um(ə)re:xi:* *umər'i:*, etc. Also, in query, *iomramh* *um(ə)rə* > *uməro:xi:* Mq. Similarly optional second and third syllable position for V: occurs in *ionga*. Examples of third syllable position are *ing'ən'exi:* *ing'ən'exi:* Pq; *ing'ər'əxi:* Mq. Examples such as *tuairiscíochaí* and *carasaíochaí* *Críost* 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 *carasaí* *Chríost* (Mac Clúin 1940 s.v. *carasaidhe*). This would imply that singular *carasaí* may once have been current in our dialect or at least suggests that the *-aí-* in plural *carasaíochaí* may contain or have been influenced by the agentive suffix *-aí*. Note also the alternate plural *tuairisc* > *tuairiscí* FGB. There is a rare instance in *ainm* > *æ:n'əm'oxə'* 43Mpq. An example which combines more common *ceirtlín* > *ceirtlíni* and *ceirtlíneachaí* is *k'ortl'i:n'iaxi:* 32J *ceirtlíneachaí*. Third syllable position of the extension vowel is exceptionally also found with examples of *iə:xi:* in juncture causing the retention of final *i:* in *béilí* *b'e:l'i:* > *b'e:l'iə:xi:*, more frequently *b'e:l'ə:xi:*, etc.

The combination of the two constraints described above (i.e. tetrasyllabic <*əxə*>, as well as <*Vxə*>, and disyllabic (*V:xi:*)) limits the occurrence of surface <*V:xiə*>.

This <V:ɪxə> does occur, however, in speakers who have trisyllabic <əxə>. The only speaker in my sample with (presumably) regular optional <ɛ:xə> is **894Cs**, seen in his *sná:he:xi tairn'i: ... sná:h'e:əxə tairn'i: ... 894Cs snáithéacháí tairnúthe ...*. Speaker **894Cs**'s use here follows his weak or non-application of the tetrasyllabic <əxə> constraint. (See 4.158 for more detail on **894Cs**'s plurals.) Even **20Cq**, who uses <əxə> relatively frequently with monosyllabic roots, was noted with only one token of <ɛ:xə>: in the sequence *snáithe* > *sná:he:xi: sná:he:xə sná:he:xi:* (the third token reiterated as if to emphasise his preferred *ɛ:xi:*). In speaker **73Pq**'s usage <iəxə> also occurs: *cruinne* > *krin' iəxə*. He is the youngest speaker in my sample who has trisyllabic <əxə>.

4.22 Quality constraint

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

C ^{αpal}	> V _i ^{βfront} xi:, i.e. (with examples)
C ^{-pal}	> iəxi: / ɛ:xi: <i>bonn bu:n</i> > <i>buniəxi:</i> ; <i>garla</i> > <i>garle:xi:</i> ;
C ^{+pal}	> u:xi: / o:xi: <i>buille bil'ə</i> > <i>bil' o:xi:</i> ; <i>banais</i> > <i>banfu:xi:</i> .

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. *iomaire umər'ə* > *umriəxi:*, are classified as nonpalatal;
- (ii) -C` > -C', e.g. *ionga ungə* > *ign' ɛ:xi:*, are classified as palatal;
- (iii) -Vhə, e.g. *ráithe rə:hə* > *rə:he:xi:*, are classified separately.

Finally, we note that the low variant <a(:)xi> may be more common following stressed nonhigh vowels, particularly **a** and **ɑ:**, in a type of vowel harmony, e.g.

snáithe > *sná:hə:xi* **05Mq**,

artha > *a'rhə:xi* **60Mq**.

The latter example is **60Mq**'s single most likely token, at least in perception, of <a(:)xi>; in (V:ɪi) class words he otherwise has some tokens of <iəxi>, <ɛ:xi> and <u(:)xi> but far more commonly <əxi>.

4.23 Words in -Vhə

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 -Vhə, but rather to use their predominant (or unmarked) (V:ɪi) variant. This appears to be the case for some speakers at least. For example, in **21Ptq** the predominant variant is <o:xi>. Non-Vhə nouns have proportionately less <o:xi> at a ratio of 51:17 than -Vhə nouns with <o:xi> (x10) and <ɛ:xi> (x1) (although it must be remembered that there are more nouns with palatal -C' than nonpalatal in the sample, <o:xi> being weakly conditioned by the quality constraint). Similarly, **20Tq** has 3 out of 3 -Vhə nouns with <iəxi>, his main variant. So also **30Pq** who has 5 -Vhə nouns with <o:xi>, his main variant, and 1 (*leithe*) with both <ɛ:xi> and <o:xi>. Some speakers, however,

show no skewing towards their main variant in this -Vhə subclass. Speaker **36Pq**, for example, has examples of all his variants here. More tokens of -Vhə 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 -Vhə 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 (V:xi:), e.g.

gréasaí gr’esi: > gr’eso:xi: **21Ptq**;

giorria g’uríə > g’uro:xi: M, g’ura:xi: **43M**;

colbha kolu: > kolo:xi: **37Jq**, kole:xi **36Sq**.

In these nouns, as in the examples, the speaker may use his ‘default’ or most productive (V:xi:) variant(s). There is a tendency, however, to retain or approximate the quality of the radical V: in these (V:xi:) plurals. For example, speakers who have very little or no occurrence of <iəxi:> as an independent variant of (V:xi:) (e.g. Máire and **21Pt**) may have iəxi: with nouns in radical -i:, e.g. *céilí* k’e:l’i: > k’e:l’iəxi: Mq, **21Ptq**. Similarly, *condae* will have a plural in e:xi: more probably than nouns in -Cə; the plural *colbha* kolu: is more likely to be kolu:xi:, and so on. The only examples of u:xi: in **20Myq**, for example, are *colbha* > kolu:xi: and *athrú* > arhu:xi:. The only V:xi: realisation recorded for *condae* is e:xi:. Approximation rather than an identical match of the radical quality in the (V:xi:) plural is evident, for example, in **21Ptq**’s use. His prominent variant is <o:xi:> but one of his few <e:xi:> tokens is *tanaí* > ta:ne:əxi:. For the similar phenomenon in verbal nouns in -ú (e.g. *gortú* > gortaechat), see 4.31. A ‘mixed’ form (underlined) occurs not infrequently among the various forms of *béilí*:

béilí > b’e:l’iəxi: b’e:l’o:xi: b’e:l’iəxi: b’e:l’e:xi: b’e:l’əxi:;

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

1. Retention	radical u:	>	u:xi:
	(radical e:	>	e:xi:)
2. Approximation	radical i: iə	>	e:xi:
3. Transference	radical u:	>	e:xi:

(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 *athrú* which have both been recorded with the whole range of the (V:xi:) variable:

artha and *athrú* > arhiəxi:, arhe:xi:, arha:xi:, arho:xi:, arhu:xi:.

Speaker **21Pt**, for example, was noted with:

artha > in conversation **arhu:xi**; in query (pronounced more deliberately) **arhiəxi**;

athrú > initial response in query **arhə:xi**; more deliberately **arhiəxi**.

Speaker 43Mq has *artha* and *athrú* > **ærhə:xi**. So also in the pair *cruinne* and *cruinniú* > **krin'ə:xi** 21Ptq; also *giorria* and *giorrú* > **g'uro:xi** Mq. In query quite a few speakers produce, for example, *athrú* > **arhe:xi**; and then recall or notice the neutralisation with the plural of *artha* and produce the preferred *athrú* > **arhu:xi** with deliberate retention of the radical vowel quality. In one session 20Cq responded *athrú* > **arhu:xi** while 20My responded simultaneously with **arhe:xi**. Speaker 20C then repeated **arhu:xi** with added emphasis on the **u**: of his token and went on to explain the contrast with *artha* > **arhe:xi** (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* > **gorte:xi**. Recall that *gortú* is not in practical contrast with (rather rare) *gorta*. Cp. *colbha* > **kolu:xi** vs. *collach* > **kolə:xi**. Also 21Ptq's *deaide* > **d'æ:d'ə:xi** which is distinguishable from the possible plural in *-achaí* of *deaideo* 'd'æ:d'ə: only by the different stress pattern (but attested 'd'æ:d'ə:ni:). Note further that the plural of *áitiú* was given by Mq as *áiteachaí* the same as the plural of *áit*, although she was doubtful as to its actual use. Speaker 21Ptq also proffered *áitiú* > *áiteachaí*. In conversation the older speaker 881J has *áitiú* > **ā:t'ui:** *áitiú*.

4.25 Disyllabic -ch

Disyllabic nouns in (generally) final -ch (2sch#), which may take this (V:xi) 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 **iəx** in the second syllable:

Ciarraíoch **k'iaríəx** > **k'iaríəxi**; **k'iarə:xi**; **k'iarə:xi**; **k'iarə:xi**; also **k'iarə:xi**;

Corcaíoch **korkíəx** > **korkíəxi**; **korkə:xi**; **korkə:xi**; **korkə:xi**;

gaiscíoch **gafk'íəx** > **gafk'íəxi**; **gafk'ə:xi**; (but singular also *gaiscí* with different personal suffix);

one noun containing **u:x** in the second syllable:

díthriúch **d'ir'hu:x** > **d'ir'ho:xi**; but preferred **d'ir'hu:xi**; **d'ir'u:xi** Mq.

Note also *Sorcha* **sorəxə** > **sore:xi**; **sorhu:xi**; **sorə:xi** 20Cq. In a plural query session 52Jq offered the following for *Corcaíoch* (in order of response): **korkaxíəx** **korkaxíəx** **korki:** **korkaxíəx**; when 'corrected' by me he accepted **korkaxi:** as the intended form (4.20). Similarly, the effect of haplology between velars is clear in 56Bq, who produced *Nollaig* **nolək'** > **noləxi**, *dealg* **d'æ'ləg** > **d'æ'ləxi**; apparently erroneously in the query situation, accepting proffered **nolək'əxi**: *Nollaigeachaí* and **d'æ'ləgəxi**: *dealgachaí* as the intended forms.

4.26 Infixation

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

barriall **bare:l** > **barə:ləxi**; **bariəl** > **bare:ləxi** (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:

*bonnbhualadh bunuəl > buniəliəxi: nu buəɫʼə klo, buəleˈxi klox
buniələxi bun [short hesitation] bunuələxiˈ bunuələxiˈ 20Aq
bonnbhualachai nó buailte cloch ...*

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

*barriall baˈliər > baˈloːrəxiˈ (x2),
bonnbhualadh bunəl > bunəːləxi (x2),
timpiste ʔimpʼəftʼə > ʔimpʼəːftʼəxəʳ (x2).*

Infixation, then, has been noted with *V*: realised as *iə* *e*: *ə*: and *o*:. The infixation of *ə* occurs in *barriall* *baˈleːr* > *baˈlərəxi*: [x3] **51Pq**; this speaker has very little <*V*:*xi*:>. Similarly, speaker **29Cq** has *bariəl* > *bariələxə* [x3], *baˈrələxə* [x1]. Speaker **60Mq**, whose main variant by far in the (<*V*:*xi*:>) class of words is <*ə*:*xi*:>, has what can be described as <*e*:*xi*:> infixation in *barriall* *baˈləːr* > *baˈləːrəxi*:, and *ə* infixation in *sochraíd* *soxriːdʼ* > *soxriːdʼəxi*: (1.261). Speaker **60Mq** also has second-syllable *ə* in *múr* > *muːrələxi*ˈ, whereas the dialect norm is *muːriːlʲ(ʰ)əxi*: (4.5, 4.65). Similarly, speaker **78BAO** has *dreofúr* *drʼefuːr* > *drʼefərəxi*. Cp. *deis* > *deisealachtaí* related to alternate *deiseálacha(í)* (p. 675 n. 1).

4.27 Speaker 32J's -éadaí, etc.

Speaker **32J** extends the variation of plural *ə* ~ *V*: in second syllable position (actually *ə* ~ *o*: ~ *e*: in his examples) to the endings containing *-dʲ(ʰ)-* used in (mostly borrowed) multiple numerals of ten. These nouns have canonical (<*V*:*xi*:>) type bases: 1σ*Cə* and 1σ*CV*:. His attested surface endings with these numerals are *-Cʼədi*:, *-oːdi*:, *-Cʼoːdi*:, *-eːdi*:, *-eːdʲəxi*:, *-dʲeːgi*:, and *-di*:, e.g.

fiche > *fʼixʼeːdi*: *fʼixʼeːdʲəxi*: **32J** *fichéadaí*, *fichéideachaí*;
caoga > *kiːgʼədi*: *kiːgoːdi*: **32J** *caoigeadaí*, *caogódaí*; cf. 4.5.

An example of a plural in (<*V*:*xi*:>) from **32J** contains the variant <*o*:*xi*:>: *kʼæʔfoːxi*: **32J** *Ceaitseóchaí*. This use of *V*:*xi*: and *V*:*di*: could be schematised as (<*V*:*Ci*:>) plurals. The *-di*: ending, which speaker **32J** adds to form a plural of *ceathracha* > *kʼæːrəxdi*: **32J**, seems to be a combination of *əxi*: and *ədi*: (the second syllable vowel of the plural suffixes, in this case *ə*, is in position (mirroring the noun base), this is then followed by *x* of *əxi*: (again mirroring the noun base) and then by *d* of *ədi*:, then followed by third syllable *i*:). The form *naocha* > *niːdʲeːgi*: **32J** *naoidéagaí* shows influence of *déag* (and perhaps *naoi gcéad déag*); in fact, *déag* may also possibly influence the *e*: in *fʼixʼeːdi*:, 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.

4.28 Declensional; Morphophonological

Declensional

1D nouns $-C > C'$, e.g. *fear*, gen sg *fir*, pl *fir*. 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 $-ə$ *-igh* corresponding to the genitive singular (4.88 ff.).

2D nouns $> + ə$ as well as $+ i$: regularly, e.g. *bróig* $>$ *bróga* and *brógaí*. Note $\text{f}k'ax$ *sceach*, pl $\text{f}k'æ:xəni$ M, but also $\text{f}k'æhəxi$ M, $\text{f}k'ehəxi$, perhaps conditioned by genitive singular $\text{f}k'ehi$.

2D nouns in *-ach* $>$ *-acha*, *-achaí*, e.g. *deatach* $>$ $\text{d}'ætəxi$: 23M. 2D nouns in unstressed *-óg*, *-óig* mostly have plural *-ógaí* (4.87).

2D nouns $C' > -C'$, i.e. have nonpalatal roots in the plural, e.g. *bróig*, *ciaróig*, *adhairc*, *cois*, *binn*.

3D nouns often have depalatalisation ($C' > C''$) in the plural, resembling the genitive singular stem, e.g.

droim, gen sg *drama*, pl *drama*, *dramannaí*, *dramachaí* (also *droimeannaí*);

dreatháir, gen sg *dreathára*, pl $\text{dr}'eha:rəxi$: (also $\text{dr}'eha:r'əxi$);

altóir, gen sg *altóra*, pl alto:rəxi : (also alto:r'əxi);

regularly in polysyllabic nouns in *-áil*, e.g.

súileáil, gen sg *súileála*, pl si:l'áləxi : (also si:l'ál'əxi).

5D nouns $> + ən'$ 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 $> + əxi$: , e.g. *cairt*, 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* $>$ le:hən(t)i : *laethann(t)áí*; *teach*, genitive *tí* $>$ t'i:həwi : , etc.

Morphophonological

For some speakers the position of the morphemic boundary, differentiating extensional plural stems from syncopated plural stems, affects the choice of $<əxə>$ or $<əxi>$. Cf. 4.14, 4.111. For agentives in *-í* and *-ach* with plurals in $-i:(hə)$, 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 *fóide*, *fóidreachaí*, etc., verb *fódaigh*, *fóidigh*, *fóidrih*; *ainm* $>$ plural *ainm(n)eachaí*, etc., verb *ainm(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 $-al-$ found in a few plurals (4.60; also corresponding to *-áil* $>$ *-ála* of the 3D genitive singular and the plural of nouns in *-áil* $>$ *-álachaí*).

4.30 Plurale tantum

Some nouns are found only in the plural: *cianta*, *fágaí* SM (but sg *fága* 20C), *feire glinntí*, *gréí*, *líochaí*, *magarlaí* (for some younger speakers), *mionachaí*, *oighearachaí*, *peirtheachaí*, also *táirneálachaí* (heard from Seán in plural only); with numeral *seacht ranna*; words for ‘old clothes’: *gioblóidí* (cp. *giobal*), *giúslaí*, *seanbhalcaisí*. Compare rare *geis* (e.g. 869P2) with common *geasalí*, *geasaibh*; in meaning ‘out of order’ *lúdrachaí* >> *lúd*. Speaker 34Mq has **kʷuní**: **kʷunəɾ** *cnothannaí* with a doubtful singular **kʷunə** 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 *earra* 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*). Cp. *arúintí an bháis* 852S and older *airrdhe*. Cp. *ábhars*. 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 > **tə ti**: and **i:(hə)**, i.e. plural forms which are identical or similar to the verbal adjective (1 Conjugation verbal nouns take **tə ti**; 2 Conjugation **i:(hə)**). The **i:(hə)** variant seems to be a conservative ending in the plural. It is robust, for example, in 869P’s speech (cf. 4.146).
- (ii) VN > V:**xi**:, especially **iəxi**:, which is related to the **i**: of the verbal adjective. The V:**xi**: ending corresponds to the formation of unmarked nouns which have final **-ə** in the second syllable (1σCV). The 1σCV(:) structure is usual in VNs (common **-ə** *-adh*, **-u**: *-ú*).

Since verbal nouns occur infrequently in the plural, their historical plural endings have in many cases not been lexicalised. Instead, (V:**xi**:) 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’i:nə** *déanamh* ‘make’ (of product, e.g. of car) is common in the plural, e.g. **d’i:nexi**: *déanaecharaí*. Cp. **go:l** *gabháil* > **go:ltrəxi**: *gabháiltrachaí*.

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** *béic*, *béiciúch*; *búir*, *búirthiúch*;
- í** *brionglóid*, *brionglóidí*;
- íl** *geoin*, *geonaíl* (for example, in a typical response to a query for the plural of *geoin*, Seán gave **dæ:r’ə m’e n ju:ni:l** *S d’airigh mé an gheonaíl*); *gusta*, *gustaíl* 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’arəni**: 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 (V:**xi**:) plurals, e.g. *athrú* > **arhu:xi**: 20Cq. On the other hand, also like other nouns in final long vocoids, another (V:**xi**:) variant may be used, usually the speaker’s

predominant variant, e.g. **20Cq**'s *gortú* > **gortexi**: (this speaker's main variant is <e:xi:>), **37Jq**'s *athrú* > **arho:xi**: (whose main variant is <o:xi:>).

Some verbal nouns attested in (V:xi:) are:

with front variants:

<iəxi:>: *athrú, gearradh*;

<e:xi:>: *fiuchadh* > **f'oxe:xi**:, so also *bualadh, casadh, déanamh, pósadh, réabadh*, cp. also *scanradh* > *scanraechaí*; also *gortú, athrú*;

<axi:>: *déanamh*;

with back variants:

<u:xi:>: *athrú*;

<o:xi:>: *gearradh, athrú*;

<a:xi:>: *déanamh, athrú, gortú*.

Note also the <iəxi> plural of *vastú* (from *i bhfastú*, historically a verbal noun) > **wæstiəxi** **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):

- | | N1 | + | N2 | |
|-----|-----------|---|------------------|--|
| (1) | pl | + | (g)sg | the first noun only is plural |
| (2) | pl | + | gpl | the first noun is plural and the second noun genitive plural |
| (3) | sg | + | pl | the second noun only is plural |
| (4) | pl | + | pl (rare) | both nouns are nominative plural |

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

Type (1) is expected where the first element only is logically plural, e.g. *barraí iarainn*. Types (2) and (4) are logical where plural number is involved in both elements, e.g. (appositional) *crántachaí muc*. Type (3) is expected where the second element only is logically plural, e.g. *scamhach t'iongachaí*. Clearly, illogical use of type (3) is common where phrases are highly lexicalised, e.g. *tinneas cínneannaí*. Types (2) and (4) have also extended beyond strictly logical use, e.g. (2) *balltaí éadach*, (4) *deideannaí-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 *crann úllaí* > *croinnte úlla*.

4.33 (1) N1pl + N2(g)sg

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

bád seoil > *báid seoil* **11C**;

barra iarainn > *barraí iarainn* **894Cs**;
blao chluaise > **bli:əni kluəfə** M *blaonnaí cluaise*;
caras Críost **karəs kr'ist** > *carasaíochaí Críost* **869P2**;
cois píce > *cosa píce* S;
each luachra > **axri: luəxrə**, **axə luəxrə** P, **axəni: luəxrə** **43M**;
each uisce > *eachannaí uisce* **892M2873**;
faocha chapaill > **fi:xəŋ' xə:pəl'** *faochain chapaill* (i.e. **faochain chaiple* not permitted);
fear bréige > **nə f'ir' vr'e:g'ə** M *na fir bhréige*;
gad maóile > **ga:drəxi: mi:l'ə** S *gadrachaí maóile*;
glaise phoint > **gla:skəni: pi:nt'** S *glascannaí point*, **gla:fəxi: pi:nt'** S *glaiseachaí point*;
iomaire cloiche > *iomaireacha cloiche* **894Cs** (x2);
madra uisce > *mádarai uisce* (similarly *madra alla* > **madəri' ələ** Mq), also type (3b) (4.35);
mála céid > **mə:li: k'e:d' / l'ex'e:d'** *málaí céid / leithchéid*;
scian mhara > **ʃk' æ:nə ma:rə** P *sceana mara*;
sine Mhuire > **ʃin' o:xi: mir'ə** M *sineóchaí Muire*;
slat mhara > **slə:tə ma:rə** M *slata mara*;
smig (sprig) neanta > **spr' u:gəni: n' ə:ntə** S *sprigannaí neanta*, also type (3);
soitheach seoil > *soithí seoil* **899D6221**;
súmaire cladaigh > **nə su:mər'i: klə:də** Mq *na súmaíri cladaigh*;
tiarna talúna > *tiarnaí talúna* **11C**;
 cp. *dhá scór píosaí eangaí* **01C6304**.
 This is the general use in Clad1, e.g. *crosán faoilleáin* > *crosáin faoilleáin* 36, *portán faoileann* > *portáin faoileann* 83, *smugairle róin* > *smugairlí róin* 41, similar plurals Clad142, 49, 50, 54, 60, 62, 82, 232, 234–5, 238. Contrast {N1pl + N2pl} (with N3sg) in *iasgán an ghaith nimhe* > *iasgáin na ngaithí nimhe* Clad195.

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*, **kakəni: muk** M *cacannaí muc* (both sg and pl used as expletives); **krə:n' wik'ə** M *cráin mhuice*, **krə:ntəxi: muk** M *crántachaí muc*;
sir: klohə M *saor cloiche*, **sir:hə klox** M *saortha cloch*; *beirt, saortha cloiche dhe mhuintir ...* **872Pt**; cp. **ə:ltrəxi: klox** M *alltrachaí cloch*; but **bali: klohə** P *ballaí cloiche*; cp. **51P'** s *saor cloch, saor cloiche, saor clocha*;
stə:l' xə:pəl' S *stail chapaill*, **stə:ltrəxi: ka:pəl** S *staltrachaí capall*; *carr capaill* > **kə:rəni: ka:pəl** **05M**, also **karəni: ka:pəl'** **11C** *carrannaí capa(i)ll*;
deh iəkəl' *doigh fhiacail* > **dohəxi: / doxi: f' iəkəl** M *doightheachaí fiacal*, also **dohəxi: f' iəklə**, and **doxi: iəklə** **56B**; **29Cq** has **doh iəkəl** > **dohəxi f' iəkəl**;
fi:xə ɣl'umə *faocha ghliomaigh*, **nə fi:xən' ɣl'umə** Mq *na faochain ghliomaigh*, cp. **nə fi:xən' ɣl'uməx** Mperm *na faochain ghliomach*;
krə:n u:lɪ: 35E *crann úllaí* (x2), **kri:nt' i: u:lə 35E** *croinntí úlla* (cp. **snə kri:nt' ə 35E** *sna croinnnte*), similarly ... **krə:nti: u:l ə:n ...** S *cranntaí úlla ann*; but

krɑ:n u:li: M *crann úllaí*, **kri:nʰə u:li:** M *croinnte úllaí*;
bualadh cloiche > **buəɫʰə klo**, **buəɫəxi klox** 20Aq *buaillte clo-* [selfcorrected
to] *bualaechaí cloch*;
slat choill slat xauɫʰ > *slatachaí coll kaul* 27Mdq, also *slatachaí coill kauɫʰ*
21Ptq;
kru lorəgə 36P *cneidh lorga* > **kruni: lorəgən 36Pq** *cneidheannaí lorgan*; sg
also *cneidh lorgan* (e.g. FFG *cneidh*);
ordóg portáin > *na hordógaí portán* 892M;
rása coise > *rástaí cos*;
seol báid > *seolta bád* 03S.

The dependent form is noteworthy in:

sg **ba:l e:ɔə** M *ball éadaigh*,

pl **ba:lti:** ~ **ba:ltrəxi:** ~ **ba:ltəxi:** **e:ɔəx** M *balltaí* ~ *balltrachaí* ~ *balltachaí*
éadach.

The plural of *is éadach* is **e:di:** *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* > *iongachaí*.

Others conform to the syllable count and phonological shape of the second noun, monosyllables taking **-əni:**, regardless of the independent plural of the second noun, e.g.

(3b) *tinneas cinn* > **t'ɪnʰəf k'i:nʰəni:**, e.g. **nə t'ɪnʰəf k'i:nʰəni:** **ʃo** M *na tinneas cinneannaí seo* (independent plural *ceann* > **k'i:nʰ**);

Máire an Ghabha > **mɑ:rʰə ɣauəni:**, in **v'i' gə ɫ'o:r mɑ:rʰə ɣauəni: ən wɪl' is æd** S *bhí go leor Máire an Ghabhannaí ann an bhfuil fhios a'd?* (there was more than one woman of this name; independent plural *gabha* > **gaivnʰə**);

hóra-mhíle-grá > **ho:rə v'i:ɫə gra:əni:**, e.g. *bhíodar ag rá hóra-mhíle-grá-annaí* S (independent plural of *grá* not heard);

gléas ceoil: choinic sé, gléas ceoil a bhíodh ag imeacht ag, bhíodh gléas ceoileannaí ag, daoíní an dtigeann tú ... 881Jtn (independent plural *ceol* > *ceolta*) more usually *gléasannaí ceoil*.

Polysyllables and nouns in **-Cə** may take **-i:**, **-əxə**, **-əxi:** or **-V:xi:** as appropriate, e.g.

(3b) *madra uisce* > **mɑ:dr ɪʃk'i:** 18Bmq;

oighe chuimealta > **ai ximʰəltəxi:** SM, 14M;

rite reaite > **ritʰə ræ:tʰəxi:** 36Pq, **ritʰə ræ:tʰəxi:** 36Pq;

spig neanta > **sp'ig' n'anti:** M, **sp'ig' n'æntəxi:** 21Ptq, **m'ig' ʃn'antəxi:** 51Pq, **m'ig' ʃn'antəxi:** 51Pq;

c(h)roich chéasta > **ko:rə x'e:ste:xi:** 20Cq, 36Pq, **xri x'e:sto:xi:** 21Ptq, also **xorʰə x'e:sti:** 36Nq, **kohə:rə x'e:sti:** 29Cq.

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

- (3c) **nə koləm sa:l't'i:n's 04Br** *na Colm Sáiltíns* ('C. S.'s descendants', including Seán, my speaker **12S**);
na Jó Mharcaisínz; nə d'ia:rməd l'ia:ms fín' 14M *na Diarmaid Liamsín*;
nə pa:rək'i:n' wa:kis 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. **-əxi:**, e.g.

- (3d) *deich gcinn > deich gcínneachaí 43M* 'tens' or 'packets of ten';
tinneas cinn > tinneas cínneachaí 48M (contrast (3b) *tinneas cínneannaí M*);
 cp. *chúig phunt > chúig phuint* 'five pound notes' but also **nə xu:g' pi:n't'əxi: 43M** *na chúig puinteachaí*;
bail-ó-Dhia > bal' o: jiəxi: in *xur fe gə l'or 'drox'wal' o: 'jiəxi: orəm*
Mtrans chuir sé go leor droch-bhail-ó-Dhiachaí orm (contrast Máire's, and other speakers', simple plural of *Dia > d'ia:ni:*).

{N1sg + N2pl} is also the norm for relations with the element *col*:

- kol k'æ'hərəxi 04B** *col ceatharachaí*,
kol ku:g'ərəxi:, **kol ku:g'rəxi:** *col cúigearachaí*,
kol fe:fər(')əxi:, **kol fe:fərxəxi:** *col seisearachaí*,
kol ɔxtərəxi: *col ochtarachaí*.

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(i)ch luai > clocha luannaí 892M, *clocha luantaí 06C*;
fatə fja:l' and fatə fja:l M *fata sí(o)l > fati: fja:l'tə SM fataí síolta* (sg also *fata síl fja:l'*);
scadán eochraí > scadáin eocharachaí M;
pota gliomach > potaí gliomacha (commonly, e.g. *Clad125, 11C, M*), also *potaí gliomachaí 19J, 66N*; contrast type (2) *eangachaí ronnach 18J*.

The form cited is the only example heard of *eochraí > eocharachaí* (dependent plural). It contrasts with regular **gl'um ɔxri: [x2] 43Jt** *gliomaigh eochraí*. The regular plurals of *gliomach* are *-aigh*, *-achaí*, *-aí*; in *potaí gliomacha* the ending *-acha* more resembles an adjective (similar to *báid iascacha*). In conversation, speaker **66N** has *potaí gliomachaí 66N* but in response to query *na potaí gliomaigh / gliomach 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

Lexeme N2(g)sg	N1pl + N2(g)sg	N1pl + N2pl	N1sg + N2pl
<i>cloch liabhrán</i> <i>damhán alla</i> <i>fál figín</i> <i>ribe rálóibéis</i> ¹	kloxə l' iəbrən S du:wən' a:lə Mq, du:wən' æ:lə Mq <i>ribí róibéis</i> DT94, rib'əxi: rə:b'e:f S, rib'əxi: rə:b'e:f M, rib'əxi rə:b'e:f 25Mq , cp. rib'əxi 78B (second element elided) p'isi: kru:nəx regularly <i>carasaíochaí</i> / <i>carasacha Críost(a)</i> 869P, 875T	fə:ltə f'ig'i:n'i: S -i: -is, -əxi: -əxi: Mq cp. kə:rənən' i:l'ə 35Eq, kə:rdənəxi: i:l'əx 60Mq skudən' oxri: M	klox l' iəbrən' M du:wən a:li: Sq, du:wən a:ləxi: Sq fə:l f'ig'i:n'i: SM rib'ə rə:b'e:fəxi: S, rib'ə rə:b'e:fəxi: M , cp. Ø plural marker SM, 60M p'isi: kru:ntəxi: ? kə:rəs kr'isti:hə Mq hib'əl'ə hæb'əl'əs [ʔ] Mq -ə -əs Mq ... i:l'əxi: 20Cq, ... i:l'i: 27Mq, ... i:l'ə 36Nq
<i>píosa corónach</i> <i>caras Críost(a)</i> <i>hibile haibile</i> <i>hubairle habairle</i> <i>carn aoiligh</i> <i>scadán eochraí</i>	maid' i: krof 21Pt, 43M , but also maid'əni: krof 43M ² su:l'ə rib'ə M, 29Cq, su:l'i: rib'ə M, 29Cq, su:l'əxi: rib'ə 29P, su:l'əni: rib'ə 45Mnq	su:l'əxi: rib'əxi: M <<	Special N2pl skudən' ox(ə)rəxi: M su:l' rib'əxi: M (commonest)
N2gpl (nsg)	f'i:nt'ə krā:w S , also <i>teinte cnámh</i> 852Sb LL91 f'i:nt'ə krā:wə 05M, f'intr'əxi: krā:wə S		Special N2pl poti: gl'uməxə 11C, M, -xi: (rare)
<i>tine c(h)námh</i> <i>pota gliomach</i>	poti: gl'uməx		
Double stress, etc.,			
<i>deideighe 'd̪e'd̪ai</i> <i>béithé</i> ³ <i>deargadaol</i> <i>síneadh fada</i> ⁴	'd̪ æ:rəgi:'di:l 03V, 'd̪ er'əg'ə'di:l 27Mdq f'i:n'əxi: fə:də, f'i:nt'ə fə:də	'd̪e'd̪əni: 'd̪ais S <<	'd̪e'd̪aiəni: S b' e'həni: S 'd̪ æ:rəgə'di:l 21Ptq, 27Mdperm f'i:n'ə fə:dəxi:

¹ In the following order in conversation **nə rib'ə rə:b'e:f**, **nə rib'ə rə:b'e:fəxi:**, **nə rib'əxi: rə:b'e:f S**.² Produced, in conversation, by **43M** with some hesitancy.³ Singular **'b' e:he: béithé**, plural (**ri:n'ə fíəd**) **'b' e'həni: (ji: pe:n')** *S rinne siad béithéannaí dhíobh héin*.⁴ In **f'i:n'ə fə:dəxi: ş pugkəni: v'i: æ:n'ə S síneadh fadachaí is poncannaí a bhí a'inne**.

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 > **kɑːrnɑːn' i:l'ə**; *siúl ribe* > **su:l'tə rib'ə**;
croich chéasta > **krohə k'ɛːstə**; but *spig neanta* > **sp'ig' n'ɑːntəxi**.

A noun in the plural with (plural) adjective is of course the norm. Note lexicalised *síneadh fada* in Table 4.1 and regular *Máire fhada* > **mɑːr'əxiː fɑːdə** SM *Máireachaí fada*, but compare the doubtful plural in the second phrase in:

'kaur,ʃkr'eːxəːgiː, mɑːr' əːdɔːgiː Sq *corrscréachógaí, Máire fhadógaí*, with *-ógaí* transferred from the first, synonymous phrase.

4.38 Further phrasal plurals

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

crasbhóthar > *crasbhóithrelí* generally (as base *bóthar* > *bóithrelí*), but **'kros,worəxiː 76Mt** *crasbhótharachai*.

cúltsruth > **'ku:l,truɦəxi** [perhaps **-ɦəxi**] **35E** *cúltsruthachai*, also **'ku:l,truɦəniː 35Eq** *cúltsruthannaí*.

deaideo > **'d'æːd'əːniː 56Tt** *deaideonnaí*.

mamó > **'ma'moz 76Mt** *mamóz*.

patar uisce **patə rɪʃk'ə** << **pat rɪʃk'ə M**, **pat rɪʃk'ə 25Mnq** (the singular reflects earlier *patraisc*), *patar uisce* FFG > **pa'tər'iː ɪʃk'ə M**, **25Mnq**, *patairí uisce* FFG. Cp. *madr' uisce* > *madaraí uisce*; *cearc(aí) uisce*.

polladh péisteach: as singular **ən folə p'eːʃt'əx Mq** but later rejected by Mq; cf. 4.49.

briseadh amach > **br'ɪʃə'xiː ma'x 21Pt** *briseóchaí amach* 'eruptions (on skin)'.

ochtú cuid > **oxtuː kɪd'əniː 43Mq** *ochtú cuideannaí*.

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.

<i>seacht mbliana</i>	vs.	<i>leis na blianta(i)</i> (* <i>bliana</i>);
<i>seacht dteangain</i>	vs.	<i>leis na teangaí / teangachaí / teangaíochaí</i>
(<i>dteangaí / dteangachaí</i>)		(* <i>teangain</i>).

The nouns are listed here with further detail in footnotes; also 4.43 (*baile*).

	Pl ₁ with Numeral	vs.	Pl ₂ without Numeral
<i>baile</i>	bal' i:		bal't'ə/i:, bal't'əxi:, bal't'r'əxi:
<i>bliain</i>	bl' iənə		bl' iəntə/i:
<i>coirnéal</i> ¹	kaurN' e:lə/i:		kaurN' e:l'
<i>coisméig</i> ²	kufm' eg' əxə		kufm' eg' əxi:
<i>feoirlinn</i>	f' o:rl' əN' əxə		
<i>fiche</i>	f' ihəd'		f' ihədi:, etc.
<i>leath</i> ³	l' e leith		l' ehəni:, l' əhəni:, l' ehəxi:
<i>pínn</i> ⁴	p' i:N' ə		p' i:N' əxi:
<i>scillinn</i> ⁵	ʃk' il' əxə		ʃk' il' əxi:
<i>scór</i> 'twenty'	sko:r'		sko:r'hə, sko:r'hi:
<i>teanga</i> ⁶	t' əggəN'		t' əggəxi:, etc.
<i>uair</i>	uər' ə		uər' ənti:
<i>ubh</i>	iv' ə		iv' əxi:

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 seachtaineachaí*.

Nouns in this class are listed here.

	Pl ₁ with numeral	vs.	Pl _{1,2} without numeral
<i>seachtain</i> ⁷	ʃaxtəN' i:		ʃaxtəN' i:, ʃaxtəN' əxi:
<i>slat</i> ⁸	slatə		slatə, slat(r)əxi:
<i>troigh</i> ⁹	trohə		trohə, trohəni:, etc.
<i>Cp. tine</i> ¹⁰	tinte		tinte, tint(r)eachaí, rarer tintíochaí

¹ Three forms occur with numerals (*trí* and *cheithre* attested): *coirnéala(f)* (least common), *coirnéil* (type (b), 4.40), as well as the singular (most common):

ar cheithre coirnéalaí an domhain 852S2; *sna cheire coirnéala mar leagthá ceire coirnéalaí an tí* 892M1461;

go cheithre choirnéil an tí 894C9, *ceire coirnéil* 11C1348, *trí coirnéil*;

generally singular, including **x' er' ə xaurN' e:l ə f' i:** Mq *cheithre choirnéal an tí*.

Plural *coirnéil* only, without numerals.

² Some speakers who have categorical, or near categorical, <əxi> may nevertheless have (optional) <əxə> with *coisméig* when governed by a numeral; other speakers have <əxi> here, or the singular form. This is implied by speaker 20A's data, which have categorical <əxi> in all other nouns, but:

xu:g' kufm' eg' əxi: ... nə xu:g' kufm' eg' əxə ʃin' 20A

chúig coisméigeachaí ... na chúig coisméigeacha sin.

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 pínn vs. *cheithre phínn fhichead* 05M (explaining *dhá scillinn*).

⁵ So also SIDIII point 60, q 319.

⁶ In *na seacht dteangain*. Also *na seacht dteangaí a léabh* 20Pá, *na seacht dteangachaí a léabh* 20Pá.

⁷ Cf. 4.43.

⁸ Cf. 4.43, 4.44.

⁹ An example of *trohə* without the numeral is:

xur ʃe ri:N' wə: trohə f' eʃ M *chuir sé roinnt mhaith troithe leis*.

¹⁰ Plural with numeral noted in: '*dhóghfainn idir cheithre teinte* [i.e. *tinte*] *cnámh é,*' *adeir Artúr* 852SbLL91.

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* = **gə**, **ə**, **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 **-ə** and less commonly **-i**:

	Num <i>nó</i> Num <i>dhe</i> Pl ₁	vs.	Pl ₂ elsewhere
<i>ceann</i>	k'anə		k'i:n'
<i>céad</i>	k'e:də		k'e:tə/i:
<i>cliabh</i>	kl'ia:və		kl'e:v', (kl'e:vt'ə, kl'e:v't'rəxi')
<i>cuairt</i>	kuərtə/i:		kuərt'əni:
<i>punt</i>	puntə/i:		(puntə/i:) pi:n't', pi:n't'

ceann **k'an** > **k'anə** *ceanna*, e.g. **do: nu: tr'i: gə x'anə** (**bula:n'**) *dó nó trí dhe cheanna* (*bulláin*); **naoi nú deich dhe cheanna d'ə gə x'ænə** *muiríní beaga* **16P**; **trí nú ceathair 'e cheanna píosaí maidí** **872Pt**; **trí nú ceathair dhe cheanna troitheannaí** **69S**. Cf. 4.46.

céad **k'ed** > *céada*, e.g. *dó nó trí go chéada* ... **869P2-5**; *cúig nó sé dhe chéada shlat thimpeall an oileáin* **06C**. Now usually *céadta*, e.g. *trí nó ceathair dhe chéadta slat* S (which I recall from memory).

cliabh > *cliabha*, e.g. *trí nú ceathair* [i.e. *ceathair*] *go chliabha eile muna* **894C2**, *cúg* [i.e. *cúig*] *nú sé dhe chliabha carraigín* **30Mst**; note **ku:g' nu fe: gə x'l'ia:və** Mperm *cúig nó sé dhe chliabha* but Máire's own use is *cúig nó sé dhe chléibh gə x'l'e:v'* Mq.

cuairt > *cuarta(i)*: *dó nú trí dhe chuarta* S; **tr'i: nu k'æhər gə xuərti: ɑ̃n** P *trí nó ceathair dhe chuartaí ann*.

punt > *punta(i)*, see 4.42.

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

níl siad ag cuir na lochtaíl chucub ... *chaitheadh dó nú trí dhe lochta a cheannacht loxt ə x'ænəx[t ?] sa mbliain di sin* ... **892Mg**.

There is a long (anomalous MØperm) plural in **tr'i: nu: k'æ:r' gə ɣaurnə:nəxi:** M *trí nó ceathair dhe dhornánachaí*. Speaker **52Jq** claims his plural for *múr* is (*na*) *múraíl* but that he would use *trí nó ceathair dhe mhúrtha* (produced twice); so also for his *sian* > *sianaíl* **fi:ni:l'** but *trí nó ceathair dhe shianta hi:ntə (cp. his *plump* > *plumptá* for older *plumpaíl*).*

There is a remarkable synchronic change of *n*- > *mh*- in *nóiméad* **nu:m'e:d** which has regular plurals **nu:m'e:d', nu:m'e:di:, nu:m'e:dəxi:**. Lenited following *dhe* there is, however, a by-form **wu:m'e:di:** which is anomalous for our dialect; noted in:

ceathair nú cú' dhe mhóiméadaí wu:m'e:di: **11C**.

trí cinn dhe ...

The noun *asal* has been recorded in plural **æ:sl'ə** preceded by a numeral and *cinn dhe*:

¹ Cp. Ó Buachalla (2003) with more dative plural forms in this conjunctive structure §7.7.1 than following *cinn de* §7.4.1.

tr'i: k'i:ŋ gæ:sl'ə trí cinn dh'asle 21Pt;
ʃa:x g'i:ŋ gæ:sl'ə Mq(3) seacht gcinn dh'asle.

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).

feá > *feánnaí*: the singular is **f'ɑ:** (historically a plural *feadh*); it is used with numerals, and is optionally lenited only with *dhá*. There is an example of **f'æ:** (historically equivalent to singular *feadh*) in '25' and possibly in '12'.

- 1½, 2 **feá go leith nú dhá feá 892Mg**
 2½ **ʏɑ: ɑ: gə l'ə 21Pt dhá fheá go leith**
 5, 6 **xu:g', ʃe: f'ɑ: 15Pr, sé feá Clad162, 35E**
 10 **d'ə v'ɑ: 15Pr**
 11 **e:n' f'ɑ: d'ə:g Mq**
 12 **ʏɑ: f'ɑ: / ɑ: d'ə:g Mq**, perhaps also **f'æ:** but not heard distinctly
 13–16 **tr'i:, x'er'ə, xu:g', ʃe: f'ɑ: d'ə:g Mq; 14 also 21Pt**
 18 **ox̩t v'ɑ: d'ə:g 21Pt**
 20 **f'ix'ə f'ɑ: SM, P**
 25 **xu:g' f'æ: f'ix'əd 21Pt**
 40 **ʏɑ: ix'əd f'ɑ: 15Pr**

Plural **f'ɑ:(ə)ni:**, e.g. *naoi nó deich d'fheánna Clad163; f'ɑ:ən.i:* 46.364.

fear f'ar has a special plural **f'arə** *feara* before *déag*, *fichead*, *fichid* (and combinations) following numerals higher than '2', e.g. **tr'i: f'arə d'ə:g trí feara déag; ni: v'æ:rə d'ə:g naoi bhfeara déag; tr'i: f'arə f'ix'əd trí feara fichead; deich bhfeara agus trí fichid**. Otherwise, plural **f'ir'**, voc pl *a fheara(ibh)*, also *feara Fáil*; obsolescent *feara* in dative context: *bhíodh mná dhá bhfuadach fadó ag feara. 864MDT31* (only example).

fiche f'ix'ə > **f'ix'əd** 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. **ʏɑ: vl'ien' ix'əd dhá bhliain fhichead; tr'i: bl'ienə f'ix'əd trí bliana fichead; ʏɑ: ix'əd dhá fhichead**. Contrast *trí fichid* '60' with *trí fichead* '23 shillings'. For *ficheadaí*, etc., '20s', see 4.5.

punt has two plurals: *punta(í)* 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 *puint*.¹ Cp. *troigh* further below in this list.

puntə in:

- /_ **d'ə:g / je:g**, e.g. **e:n funtə d'ə:g S (MØperm) aon phunta déag, e:n funtə je:g M aon phunta dhéag, x'er'ə funtə je:g cheithre phunta dhéag.**
 /skor^(r)_, e.g. **johə: skor: puntə ʃu:rə:l'ə S gheothá scór punta siúráilte, hug m'e skor: puntə ji P thug mé scór punta dhi, k'e:d əgəʃ tr'i:**

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

sko:r' funtə S *céad agus trí scóir phunta, x'er'ə sko:r' funtə* SM *cheithre scóir phunta*.

/Num nó Num dhe gə_, e.g. **do: nu: tr'i: gə funtə** *dó nó trí dhe phunta*.

Also **punti:** *chúig phuntaí dhéag* S84, **sko:r punti: 20Ml** *scór puntaí; xu:g' nu: fe: gə funti:* M *chúig nó sé dhe phuntaí*.

pi:n't' and **pi:n't'** elsewhere:

pi:n't': d'e bi:n't' ogəs d'e bi:n't' M *deich bpuint agus deich bpuint*.

pi:n't': d'etə: rə: gər b'og ə lən pi:n't' ə johəx ... 16B *d'fhéadthá a rá gur beag an lán puint a gheothadh ... , tə: fe e:skə pi:n't' ə x'æ:nəxt* M *tá sé éasca puint a cheannacht*.

The singular normally follows 3–10, the plural *puint* following 5 and 10 can then have the meaning 'pound notes', e.g.

-xu:g' funt əgəs d'e bunt M *Chúig phunt agus deich bpunt*. 'five pounds and ten pounds'

-hə S Hea?

-xu:g' fi:n't' əgəs d'e bi:n't' M *Chúig phuint agus deich bpuint*. 'five pound notes and ten pound notes'.

Also **nə xu:g' pi:n't' əxi: 43M** *na chúig puinteachaí* 'the five pound notes'.

troigh (4.47) has a semantic contrast between anatomical **trohəxi: də xos** SM *troitheachaí do chos* and the unit of measurement. The latter has **trohə** with numerals and **trohə ~ trohəxi:** without numerals. The 'plural' **trohə** (unit of measurement) is also found in *aon ... déag* in:

deich dtroithe nó aon troithe 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 *troithe* 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'ə yaurna:n** 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-aitheanta* commonly, *deich n-aitheantaí* Dé 894C, also in singular: *trí aithne* 894C9, cp. *seacht n-aithine* 894C.

asal: **tr'i: ə:səl' !37M** *trí asail*; generally in singular, e.g. *trí asal* (cp. 4.41).

bád: *trí báid* 872Pt (conversation; speaker is a boatwright); cp. **xi:x tu: nə ni: mə:d'** (Atb)Pt *chaoch tú na naoi mbáid*; generally in singular.

baile: *ní raibh aon eangach amháin thart, sna trí bailteachaí seo*. 06C. Common in: *seacht mbailte caisleáin* LL178; **fa:xt g'rik', fa:xt gl'ən, fa:xt mal'i: ki:fl'ən' ...** (Smré)04B *seacht gcnoic, seacht gleann, seacht mbailí caisleáin ...*; **fa:xt 'mal'i: 'ki:fl'ən'** (run)11C *seacht mbailí caisleáin*. In the same tale run, 19P uses the more progressive singular: **fa:xt ma:l'ə ku:fl'ən' əgəs b'i:d'i:f ə:n** (run)Pt *seacht mbaile caisleáin agus bídis 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.

- bara:* **tr'í: wa:r o:r' ... nu: fín' tr'í: ba:ri: o:r' 11Cta** *trí bhara óir ... nó sin trí baráí óir* and thereafter in the tale **tr'í: ba:ri: 11Cta** *trí baráí* 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 bairr móna bainte ann. 892Mt.*
- bás:* singular generally, e.g. *trí bhás 894C2*, but plural occurs optionally in set phrases, e.g. **nə fa:xt mɑ:f M** *na seacht mbáis*, and in story: *bhí na trí báis fáite [faighte] ansin aige LL166.*
- buidéal:* *trí buidéil 875T1*; now regularly singular.
- builín* *ceithre builíní 864MDT30*; now regularly singular.
- carnán:* singular generally, but *ina thrí* [i.e. **hr'í:**] *cárnáin ar an urlár LL87.*
- carr:* plural sometimes, in the meaning 'cart' only: *sé carrannaí beaga múna ... cheithre carrannaí ... 892Mg; deich gcarrannaí múna ... seach(t) gcarrannaí ... dhe thrí hr'í: chár é, ... dhe thrí hr'í: chár, ... go mbeidh cheithre chár a'd ann, ach bhí cheithre charrannaí go leith múna aige. 20At*; generally singular, e.g. *cheithre chár múna S.*
- ceann* plural regularly as indefinite pronoun, e.g. *trí cinn*; singular meaning 'head, roof', e.g. *trí cheann*. Cf. 4.47.
- ceathrú:* of measurement: plural with numeral *trí ceathrúnaí uaire / orlaigh, trí ceathrúnaí troigh 11C*; 'thigh' singular with numeral *trí cheathrú caoróla.*
- clár:* *ceithre clár 892M1392*; generally singular.
- cliabh:* *deich gcléibh fhataí S, cheire cléibh fhichead ar an ngarraí sin S*; also singular.
- cloch:* of weight, often plural, *clocha*, with numeral, but singular also common, e.g. **tr'í: xlox ... fa:x gloxə 18Bm** *trí chloch ... seacht gclocha*, **tr'í: kloxə m'ɑ:xən' M** *trí clocha meáchain*. 'rock' generally singular with numeral, e.g. *tabhair leat trí chloch*, but there is a plural example in secondary source (ABg).
- cloigeann:* *seacht gcloigne / gcloigní uirthi 866ESc, na trí cloigne bainte den fhathach 866ESc95.27; trí chloigeann fathach crochta 866ESc96.10*; generally singular.
- cneidh:* **x'ər'ə kr'ihəxi: mɔ:rə trumə (Smbb)04B** *cheithre cneitheachaí móra troma.*
- cnoc:* **fa:xt g'rik', fa:xt gl'ɑ:n, fa:xt mal'í: kifl'ɑ:n' ... (Smré)04B** *seacht gcnoc, seacht gleann, seacht mbailí caisleáin ...*; generally singular.
- cois:* **tr'í: kosi: orhəb 16P** *trí cosaí orthub*. Cp. *potáí trí cos / chois / chos.*
- coisméig:* **d'ɛ gɪf'm'ɛg'əxi wɛm' (Smds)04B** *deich gcoisméigeachaí uaim; gur ordaigh Dia ... dho chuile dhuine ... trí coisméigeachaí na trócaire a shiúl leis an marbhán. 11C; trí chuismeig ... cheithre chuismeig ... cheithre chuismeigeachaí ... cheithre chuismeig 21Pt*; singular is common. Cf. 4.39 p. 691 n. 2.
- crann:* *soithigh* [i.e. *soithí*] *thrí* [i.e. **hr'í:**] *crainnte* SeolG44; singular is common.
- deabhal:* singular is general, but plural is common in set phrases, e.g. **nə fa:x n'aul' P** *na seacht ndeabhail*. Younger speaker **66N**, however, has singular in: *... seacht míle deabhal ortha 66N.*
- dual:* *dhá chluais, a bhíodh ag coinneál, an fhearsad, ... ar dhíonamh an chrios, dhe thuí ... é dhíonamh le trí duail 894Cst.*
- éadach:* (common in set phrases) **snɑ:hə gə nə fa:xt n'ɛ:di: M** *snáithe dhe na seacht n-éadaí 'any clothes', Ní raibh falach na seacht n-éadaí orm FFG s.v. falach.*

- eite*: *cheire eite an tí ~ cheire eiteachaí an tí* S.
- fiacail*: *trí fiacail* **852Sb**LL91, etc., **869P** in story, *trí fiacail ~ trí fhiacail* **875T** in story; generally singular.
- fód*: (plural use is obsolescent) *deich bhfód(e) ar leithead* **899P**, *sé fód(e) ar airde* **899P** (unclear whether *fóid* or *fóide*), plural also **19B**, **37J**; singular progressive: *trí fhód* **897P**, *fa:xt woid, oxt wo: d'e:g mu:nə* M *seacht bhfód, ocht bhfód déag móna*.
- galún*: *buicéad trí galúin* **01P**.
- gaoth*: *ar cheithre gaothannaí* **852S2** (only plural example with numeral).
- lá(i)mh*: *ó thrí hr'i: lámha déag go dtí cheithre lámha déag* **889P** (height of horse).
- leithead*: *trí leithid* **11C**1250.
- malach*: *d'e malhi: ~ d'e malhəx* P *deich malaí ~ deich malach*.
- mordar*: in *na míle mordair, na míle mordars*.
- oileán*: with *trí* in nonspecific reference to Ireland, England and Scotland: *suas, san fharraige ó thuaidh dhínn anseo 'gus dhe na, trí hoileáin seo*. **06C**; *sna trí hoileáin* FFG s.v. *oileán* 3; generally singular.
- orlach*: *xu:g' aurlí: M chúig orlaí, d'e naurli: M deich n-orlaí*; plural regular.
- paidir*: (the Lord's Prayer) *fa:xt ba:dr'əxi əgəs fa:xt 'nə'm'e: mɑ:r'i'e* **04B** *seacht bPaidreachaí agus seacht n-Aimé Máiría*, also **869PABg**338; generally singular.
- port*: *na trí phoirt chéanna* **894C6**; generally singular.
- punann*: *leathbheart ... Sin deich bpunann. ... deich bpunannachaí, ... i mbun an stuca*. **894Cs**; singular most common.
- ríocht*: *cén áit ar fud na seacht ríochta* **866ESc**75.35, ... *is breácha sna seacht ríochta* **870B1**.155, 156.
- ród*: *i gcúngar na dtrí róid* **11Ctn**.
- saol*: *chua' sí thrí na seacht saoil* **35E**.
- seachtain*: *tr'i: fa:xtən'i: M trí seachtainí*. In progressive use also singular. Speaker **84P** has singular most often, e.g. *trí sheachtain uilig* **84P**, but with *dhá* both singular and anomalous plural in *dhá sheachtain eile* **84P** (often), *dhá sheachtainí ó Dé Domhnaigh* **84P**. Cp. anomalous *tr'i: hæ:xtən'ə* **79S** *trí sheachtaine* (equivalent to traditional genitive; in this context perhaps a blend between traditional plural and progressive singular).
- seol*: *bád trí seolta dúbha a' tíocht* **894C2**, *na trí seolta* SeolG57, *trí seolta* **899D**6092. 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 shlat* **892M**1481–3, *ocht slata déag* [x4] ARN1481–7.
- teampall*: *fa:x d'æmpəl' 04B seacht dteampaill*.
- trian*: *na trí treana* in stories, e.g. **866ESc**, also *na trian treana* **866ESc**; *nə tr'i: tr'i:ni: 11C na trí trianaí*.
- ubh*: *tr'i: hi'v'ə trí huibhe, fe: hi'v'ə sé huibhe*, etc., generally. The singular was used, when qualified, in:
n'i rauəs əm gə rə fe: uv ə b'i f'i M
ní raibh fhios a'm go raibh sé ubh ar bith istigh.
 Younger speakers: *cheithre huibhe ~ sé ubh* **66N**, *trí ubh* **77Cq**.

Finally, one can note the use of plural *ranna* following numerals, e.g. *seacht ranna an domhain* **866ESc**105.38, 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, feoirinn, fiche, leath, pínn, scillinn, scór, uair* (4.39); *seachtain, slat, troigh* (4.40); *ceann* (cf. 4.47), *céad, cliabh, cuairt, punt, nóiméad* (4.41); *feá, fiche, punt, troigh* (4.42); *bara, buidéal, carnán, carr, ceathrú, cliabh, cloch, cois, coisméig, eite, galún, láimh, leithead, orlach, punann, trian* (4.43). This includes geographical and spatial terms: *baile, coirnéal* (4.39); *baile, cnoc, oileán, ríocht, ranna, ród* (4.43).
2. Agriculture: *ubh* (4.39); *slat* (4.40); *cliabh, asal* (4.41); *asal, barr, carr, cliabh, cloch, dual, fód, gaoth, malach, punann* (4.43).
3. Metaphysics: *teanga* (4.39); *tine chnámh* (4.40); *aithne, 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).
5. Maritime: *bád, crann, gaoth, seol* (cp. *clár*) (4.43).
6. Others: *builín, clár, port* (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 **baɫʲə** *bailte* proportionately more in collocation with *mór*, i.e. **baɫʲə mɔːrə** *bailte móra* ‘towns’ and **baɫʲəxiː** *bailteachaí* more often elsewhere: *sna bailte móra* vs. (*s*)*na bailteachaí* **01J**, similarly *sna bailte móra* M. Cp. *seacht mbailte / mbailí cuisleáin* (run) vs. *trí bailteachaí* (4.43).

BOCHT: generally **boxʲ**. Before dependent *Dé* one finds **boxʲə** (in song):

boxʲə dʲeː (Acsb) **39J** *boichte Dé* (x2); *ar bhoichte Dé* **!894C9**.

This is probably also vernacular use, given *boichte Dé* FFG20 s.v. *Dia* 5. In fact **boicht Dé* (without the vowel desinence) would be homophonous with the singular through consonant coalescence in sandhi (***boxʲ(tʲ) dʲeː**). Also *ar bhochta na sráide* ABg4.199. Cp. *capall rása* > *caiple rása(i)* below.

CAPALL: for *caiple rása(i)*, cf. **869P** (4.144).

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

sən aɫ ə gætʲiː nə klɑːrʲ ... gər ən dʲiːn-fʲiː n xuntʲrə S
san áit a gcaitʲ na cláir ... gur ann a déanfʲ an chonra.

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.

dʲɑːrnuː klɑːrə bʲogə gən wɑːd, rɪnʲə ʃe klɑːrə bʲogə ʃi S
dearnadh clára beaga dhen bhád, rinne sé clára beaga dhi.

In many other environments *clárachai* was recorded:

kæt'i: nə klær' ... jin' x'er'ə k'i:n' gə xlarəxi: ya hro jəg St
caití na cláir ... sin cheithre cinn dhe chlárachai dhá throigh dhéag.

Note also the proverb:

ball uirnis a bhí ag cúipéara a thóigeanns na cláir S84;
an soitheach a mbíonn an fion ann fanann roinnt dhe sna cláir.

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

CLEAS: *cleis, clis, cleasannaí, cliseannaí* (4.81); but *cleasa lúth (agus gaisce)*, which, however, is singular for at least some speakers, e.g. *sé an cleasa lúth* 11C, cp. *le chuile chleasa luath* (Smbb)04B.

CLEITH: Máire uses the plural *cleitheachai* commonly in the phrase

tí' f'i gə x'ohəxi' n dor'əf M taobh istigh dhe chleitheachai an doiris.

Otherwise the plural of the noun **kl'e cleith** (e.g. in a boat) is consistently **kl'eni**: Mq *cleitheannaí*; also **kl'ex'ui**. Cp. *giall* below, *leitheachai* (14 *leith*).

FIANNA: **f'ianə f'ianəv' f'ianuw f'ianu: f'iantə** (the last mostly in higher register). (Probably also ***f'ianəw**.) Speakers generally show regular collocational distinctions among these variants.

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

	<i>Fianna</i>	<i>Fiannaibh</i>	<i>Fiannú</i>	<i>Fianta</i>
ZCP:	~ max ~ <i>amach</i> ~, ~ n ~ <i>an</i> <i>ag na</i> ~ <i>Éireann</i> <i>dena</i> ~, <i>ar na</i> ~, (x2) ~, <i>Éireann</i> , ! <i>na</i> ~ <i>fuascailt</i> !	<i>bhí na</i> ~ <i>Éireann</i> <i>ar na</i> ~ <i>Éireann</i> f'ianəb' [sic] <i>ar na</i> ~ <i>go brách</i>	Ø	<i>ar Fh- Fionn</i> ! <i>le</i> ~ <i>Finn</i> !
RBÉ:	Ø	<i>go chlann na bh</i> ~, <i>na</i> ~ <i>a' diana</i> <i>ar na</i> ~ <i>ar fad</i> (x2) <i>ar na</i> ~ ...	<i>na bh</i> ~ <i>Éireann</i> (gpl) <i>na</i> ~ <i>Éireann</i> <i>na</i> ~ <i>Éireann</i>	
869Pt :	v'i: f'ianu: w'e:r'ən			

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*; *Fiannú* occurs before *Éireann*.

875T (brother of **869P**) has four variants *Fianna*, *Fiannu*, *Fiannú*, *Fiannaibh* (final -u alternating with -ú possibly reflects the alternation of **f'ianu** **w'e:r'ən** with **f'ianu: (w)e:r'ən**).

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., **875T1**.

There are three variants in his audio recording: *nə f'ianū 'we:r'ən' | ... nə f'ianū 'ye:r'ən' | ... nə f'ianən 'e:r'ən' ... 875T* *na Fiannaibh Éireann*.

892M was noted with *fianə* except before *Éireann* where he has *f'ianu: e:r'ən*.

04B has three variants *f'ianə f'ianu:w f'iantə*, *gpl nə v'ian*.

Before *Éireann* he has *f'ianu:w: f'ianu: we:r'ən*, *gen pl nə v'ianu we:r'ən 04B1*, *voc pl ianū: we:r'ən 04B1*;

before *Fáil* he has *f'iantə: g'iantə fa:l' (Lam)04B dh'Fhiannta Fáil, er'iantə fa:l' (Lam)04B ar Fhiannta Fáil*;

elsewhere, *f'ianə: nə f'ianə, 04B1 na Fianna*;

genitive plural: *ə ri: nə v'ian 04B1 a Rí na bhFiann*.

11J has *f'ianəv'* (in conversation, before pausa; he claims to have forgotten his father's (**875T**) tales since his (**11J**'s) long stay in England).

GIALL: Máire uses *giallachai* consistently in:

f'i: jialəxi' ən t'i: M faoi ghiallachai an tí (cf. *cleith* above).

Otherwise *gialltrachai*, *giallannaí*, etc., e.g. *də jialtrəxi M do ghialltrachai, ɾe g'ialəni g'e:ra M le giallannaí géara*, but note also anatomical *də jialəxi Mperm do ghiallachai*.

LÉIM: the semantics and syntax of 'jumping' contrast with 'mounting' in:

ka:hə ɽ'e:m'əxi: M87 caitheamh léimrachai 'jumping', cp. (V)N léimreach,

tɽ'i: nu: k'əhər gə ɽ'e:m'əni: fa:t' ek'ə M

trí nó ceathair dhe léimeannaí faighte aici

'mounting in service' (of cow by bull).

MAOR: generally *mirhə SM*, *P maortha*, but *mir:hi*: consistently in the phrase:

f'i: wir:hi: ən daun' P faoi mhaorthai an domhain, FFG s.v. *maorthai*.

Speaker **894Cs** also has *mir:hi*: outside this phrase; *maorthai* also in CABI §130(a) v. 3.

RÁ: generally *ráití* in *ma:s f'iar nə ra:t'i: S más fíor na ráití*; elsewhere often *ráiteachai*, e.g. *nə 'fæ:m'fort' əgəs nə 'fæ:n'ra:t'əxi: S na seanphoirt is na sean-ráiteachai*.

RACHT: usually *rachtaíl* in collocations that also occur as verbal nouns, e.g. *ra:xti:l' ɣa:r'i: S rachtaíl gháirí*, also *ag rachtaíl gháirí*; *rachtannaí* more frequent independently, e.g. *ra:xtəni: (ka:səxt) 43M rachtannaí (casacht)*.

SEOL: generally *seolta(i)* but *seoil* occurs in one recorded instance *d'ardaíodar a gcuid seoil, 11C* which may be a plural back formation based on the historical genitive plural as found in *a gcuid seol 875PABg20*. (Perhaps also influenced by the possible collective connotation following *cuid*, 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 slatachái ... potaí slat a bheadh íontub 21Pt.

SMÉIR: general *sméara* but *jaim sméars* (4.68).

TINE: two basic plurals *tinte* and *tint(r)eachaí*, rarer *tintíochaí*. Only the shorter form is heard in the set plurals *tinte lathach* and *tinte ceatha*, *tintí ceatha*. Cp. *cheithre teinte cnámh* LL91.

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, **kr̥anti: u:l̥ a:n** *S cranntaí úlla ann* for regular *crann* > *croinntelí*. When queried later concerning this aberrant plural, Seán was doubtful about its permissibility. Similarly,

- ... *tobar Cholm Cille?* **69A**

- ... *Tá tobar Cholm Cille — tá neart toibreachaí teb'ər'əxi Cholm Cille, moladh le Dia, thart tímpeall* **05M**.

Otherwise only **taibr'əxi: toibreachaí** has been heard in conversation. So also the plural of *píosa* in:

p'isəxi: ka:f̥ 43Jt *píosachaí cáis*,

which was otherwise noted as *píosa* > *píosaí* only.

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

gol' eg' t'əxəni: d̥ams̥ əs mar̥ fin' | 899N

ag goil ag teachannaí dams̥a is mar̥ sin;

s ə ro t'əxəni: mahə lo:f̥t̥ i:n' agi: 10A

is an raibh teachannaí maithe lóistín agaibh?

... *dhe na sean-seanteachannaí 'f̥æn | 'f̥æn' t'əxəni: a bhí fadó ann é* **79A**;

for normal *tithiúí* (*damsa*, *lóistín*) and *seantithiúí*, etc. Similarly, *seanfhocal* > *seanfhocla* generally but also **'f̥æn,okələxi: el'ə 60M** *seanfhocalachaí 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:

nə buəi p'etər' fin' 16P *na buaí péatair sin*,

for usual **buəni:** (including **bu:əni: 16P**), **buənti:** *buann(t)áí* (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.

ənti: (lesser by-form **əntə**) is common with, but not exclusive to, nouns of time, i.e. *uair* **uər' > uər'ənti:**; *am* > **amənti:**; *oíche* **i:hə > i:hənti:**, *lá* **l̥a: > l̥ə:hənti:**. The last three also have less common, obsolescent **aməni:**, **i:həni:**, **l̥ə:həni:**. These obsolescent by-forms were noted as follows: both *oíche* and *lá* from **866Et**, **892M**, **892Mg**, **899D**; *am* and *lá* from **876Jt**; *am* from **872P**, **52P**; *am* from **889P**, **892M**, **899D**; *amantaí* but also *amannaí* **869PRBÉ2**; *am* but not *lá* in *amanna* **875PABg24**, *laethanta* **875PABg24**. For more innovative *mí* > *míontaí*, see 4.48. The ending **ənti:** is also present in *láí* > **l̥ə:nti:**, *luaí* > **luənti:** generally but also **əni:** in **l̥ə:əni:**, **luəni:** **892M**, cp. *buaí* > **buənti:** frequently but also **buəni:** **899D**,

bu:əni: 16P; *lao* > **li:(ə)nti:**, but **li:əni: 14M** and *lá* > **le:əni: 14M**. In fact, the only **ənti:** plural recorded from **892M** is *garraí* > **garənti:**; *garrannaí* P is rare. Speaker **16M** generally has **-ənti:** in these lexemes (she accurately claims she does not use *oícheannaí*) but *am* occasionally varies: **amənti:** usually but also **aməni:** and **aməni:** M. Similarly, **amənti:** >>> **aməni:** S (4.78). For other words and possible phonological conditioning, see 4.18.

əsi: is confined to three nouns related to card playing: *triuf tr'uf* > **tr'ufəsi:**; *hairt hart'* > **hart'əsi:**; *drámh drā:v* > **drā:vəsi:**; *mámh mā:v* > **mā:wəsi:** S, generally *mámhannaí*; cp. Cois Fharraige pl *páirteasaí* (< *páirtí*, s.v. *tairrngim*), *tabhairt* pl *-easaí*, *-eannaí* de Bhaldraithe 1949: 132–3.)

s (borrowed) is common with personal names, e.g. **nə he:ŋ'u:s** na *hÉinniús*, **nə d'íərməd l'íəms** na *Diarmaid Liams* (4.35 (3c), 12.9, 12.14). Note *bramans*, *ábhars* (both humorous) and *broibhs* perhaps through association with children (cf. p. 2025 n. 1).

ədi:, **di:**, **d'i:**, **d'ə**, **dəxi:**, also innovative (**C'ədi: 32J**, **e:d(əx)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 *tosáí*) > *tosaíthe*; *crú* > **krihi:hə** (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*, *eite*, *lá(i)mh*, *paidir*, *slat* (4.43).

- barr:* in turf cutting: **bə:r'**, **barəni:**, **bə:rəni:**, **bə:ri:l'**; fingers and toes: **barə**; in other contexts: *barraí* 'crops' Clad241, **barə**, **barəni:**, **bə:rəni:**, **bə:rt'ə 36Pq**. Cp. new sg **barəŋ'** *barrainn* < *barrannaí*.
- bean:* generally **mra:** *mná*, but in marked use **b'anəxi:** *beanachaí*. 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 sleaig* [< slang] *ab ea?* Cf. M. Ó Direáin (1961: 12) for *beanachaí* and *fearachaí*.
- beithíoch:* generally **b'ehi:** reduced to **b'ei** often by, for example, **19P**; in humorous use: **b'ex'ə**, **b'ehə** S (based on alternations: rare obsolescent morphological **x' ~ h**, and common plural **i: ~ ə**; cf. 4.78). Questioned about **b'ex'ə**, Máire said *ní abraíonn muid é sin, ... sórt magadh é 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:
k'e ro nə b'ex'ə S *Cé raibh na beithigh?*
wa:kə tu: nə b'ehə S *An bhfaca tú na beithigh?*
- bonn:* 'coin': **bi:ŋ'**; in other meanings, typically 'sole': **bi:ŋ'**, **bunəxi:**, **bunV:xi:**; in tale

- run **bin'i**: occurs in the phrase **bin'i: b'e:rə boinní béara**.
- bord*: generally **baurd'**; of boat **baurd' 32J, baurdə S**; explained by Seán as: **hug fi: baurd mar fin', fin' baurdə S thug sí bord mar sin, sin borda**.
- breac*: *breac* (sg) is very common meaning 'fish' (sg); in the plural *éisc* is more common and *bric* may be used more in the meaning 'trouts'.
- ceann*: generally *cinn*, including following numerals, e.g. *trí cinn*; plural *ceanna* occurs in the phrase *ceanna beithíoch* 'a lot of cattle', e.g. *tá ceanna beithíoch aigesan 21Ptq* (with *beithí* only **21Ptq**; query based on FFG *ceann* 4). Also *cárnán dá gceanna LL153* (higher register); also *ceanna slat* (type of seaweed). Otherwise *ceanna* occurs with alternate numerals, and *cinn* elsewhere (4.41). Exceptionally, *ceanna* is also found in the hesitant form **wil' e:ŋ x'ɑ:n. k'æ:nə l'æ:hən ɑ:n 62J** *An bhfuil aon cheann — ceanna leathan ann?* perhaps influenced by the younger speaker's wider than average network. Speaker **898Pt**, however, has **k'i:nt'ə cinnte** meaning 'roofs' (cf. 4.43). Speaker **66N** has general plural *cinn* but *ceanna* meaning 'jokes'. Her mother is from An Cheathrú Rua, in East Conamara where plural *ceanna* is common in unmarked use. Speaker **25S** (Carna) uses *ceanna* without numerals, e.g. ... *na ceanna ceart aige*, which he seems to have acquired from his period in West Cois Fharraige (as schoolteacher in Innis Bearchain).
- cois*: *cosaí* generally; for *cosannaí* 'handles', see 4.79.
- deis*: 'knack, contraption, rounders' > **d'efəni:**; 'contraptions' > **d'efə:ləxə 31P, d'efə:ləxti: 18J, d'efu:ləxti: 25M**.
- duán*: 'hook' > **du:ɑ:n' S**; 'kidney' > **du:ɑ:ni: S, 52J, du:ɑ:n' 52J**; cp. the surname *Duán* > **du:wɑ:n' 23M, S du:wɑ:ni: 52J**.
- glúin*: 'generation' > **glu:nt' ə/i:**; 'knee' > **glu:n' ə/i: ~ glu:nt' ə/i:**.
- gníomh*: in religious context **gr'i:vər'hə gr'i:vərə gr'i:vəri: , gr'i:vərə !05M**; of action and valour **gr'i:vər'hə gr'i:vərə gr'i:vəri: gr'i:vəni:**; of clamp (peat, etc.) the plural in query is **gr'i:vəni: >> gr'i:fə**.
- meall*: of sickness in throat (especially 'mumps'), generally **m'ail'**, also apparently **m'əltrəxi:**, etc.; otherwise **m'alə m'aləni: m'əltəxi: m'əltrəxi: m'ə:ləni: m'əltə**, etc.; note **ə:nə v'æ'lə 25M** *ina mhealla* (of mist or haze), *ina mealla bána* FFG; **m'ail' yubə:ft'ə 36M** Øperm **meill ghabáiste*. Cf. *duibhmheall* > **d'i'v'ail' Mq** *duibhmheill*, **d'i'v'əltrəxi: Mperm** *duibhmhealltrachaí*.
- míol*: '(sea) creatures' *mílte*; 'lice' *míola*; 'whales' *míolta móra* (4.231).
- múr*: of welcome: **mu:r'hə mu:rhi:l'**; otherwise 'shower' **mu:ri:l', mu:ri:l(')əxi:, mu:rələxi:** (but **52Jq** claims to have **mu:r'hə** also here).
- scór*: 'twenty' syntactically determined variants *scóir* and *scórtha*; 'number of points in game' *scórannaí*. Cp. *stór* below.
- slat*: 'yard' generally *slata*; otherwise *slat(r)achaí*.
- sliabh*: 'mountain' generally **fl'e:ft'ə , fl'e:vt'ə**;

- but note **ʃL'iaɲəni: 01J** 'moorlands'.
- sop:* the tendency is: 'weed' **sep'** vs. 'wisp' **sep'əxi:**, **sepr'əxi:** (3.14, 4.50).
- stór:* 'story (of house)' generally *stóir*;
'store' generally *stórtha*;
'darling' vocative plural *a stórachaí*.
- troigh:* anatomy, **trohəxi: də xos** SM *troitheachaí do chos*; otherwise of measurement, with numeral **trohə**, without numeral **trohə trohəxi: trohəni:**.

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 lena 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(ibh) na marbh* or related to the ambiguity of *an(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 **V:xi:** 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 *athrú* > **arhu:xi:** avoids clashing with (FGB *ortha*) *artha* > **arhiəxi:**. 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 **-əx** *-ach* which has **əxə/i:** *-acha(i)* in the plural: *comhairleach* > *comhairleacha(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 *-annaí* and *-osa*, but it has been noted only from a younger speaker with the expected (time noun) plural suffix *-antaí*: **m'ianti:** ~ **m'iani:** **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* > *mianta(i)*. Cp. *crann* > **cranntachaí* (4.77). Compare also *capall* > *capaill* but *caiple rása(i)* **869P** (4.144), a collocational choice perhaps in order to avoid the homophony that sandhi (**ɫ** > **l**, before **r**) would cause in **kapəl rəsə/i:** *capa(i)ll rása(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 bpianta Phurgadóra* CGT §110, but *le h-anamanna do mharbh* 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 kahī**: *S in aghaidh na cathaíthe* may be a blend of nominative plural and genitive singular (3.5). (Historically one would expect a variant ***kahī:hā** (gsg, npl) but in my examples the form is consistently **kahī**: possibly through dissimilation of **h**.)

cuain, singular apparently **kun' o:g** *S cuain óg* 'young litter'; plural in **kun' o:gā, mā:hār nā gu:n** *M cuain óga, máthair na gcuaín* '... puppies'.

easpaí, singular meaning in **æspi: er' t'iskəl', æspi: d'int eg' lot ort**, *M easpaí ar t'fhiacail, easpaí déanta ag lot ort*; plural syntax in **nā hæspi: M na heaspaí**. (FGB *easpa* 'abscess'.)

fiacha, with plural article but singular anaphora in:

tabhair leat na fiacha seo **11C** 'take this debt / money owed',

-*Tá, sru siadsan, chúig phunt fiacha atá ar an bhfear seo agus ní fhéadann muid é chuir go deo mara n-íoctar é.* **11C**.

polladh péist(each) as singular **ən folə p'e:ft'əx** *Mq* but later rejected by *Mq*; sg also **paul / polə p'e:ft'əx** *Mq*, **pol p'e:ft'əx** *Mperm*; as plural: **wə:kə tu nā polə p'e:ft'əx | ə v'i: ə sə wə:tə jin'** *Mq an bhfaca tá na polladh péisteach a bhí sa bhfata sin?* In conversation: **poləxi: p'e:ft' orhu: M pollachaí péist orthú**. Attributively **fəti: polə p'e:ft'əx(ə)** *fataí polladh péisteach(a)*.

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

ə dr'ɑ:m o:gā *P an dream óga*, **nā dr'ɑ:m o:gā** *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'æ:kən** *S*; (wild plant) heard in conversation in plural *meacna*. Singular also **m'æ:kən'** **19J**, **20Cq**, also **869P5.217** (x2), **m'æ:kən'** [perhaps **-n'**] **20Myq**, as mass noun in *tá an garraí sin lán le meacain* **20Cq**. When asked for plural, **20C** produced *meacaineacha* with confidence. In conversation and query, speaker **20My** produced sg **m'æ:kən'** [perhaps **-n'**] *meacain* and pl **m'æ:k-n'ə** *meacne*, as well as (preferred) **m'æ:knə** *meacna*. In conversation **32J** has *bhíodh meacna ... luibh ... a dtugaidís an meacna air ... an meacna ... aige* [referring to *meacna*] ... **32Jt**. Cp. *mion meacain, míor meacain*.

ruacan: singular often **ruəkən** but **ruəkən'** is given as singular in 46.1126 and in other replies to query; plural **ruəkən', røkəms, ruəkəns**, 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 *aimsireachaí* **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 hæmfər'əxi jin' **18J** *na haimsireachaí sin*.

- deatach:* **d'ætəxi moirə 05M** *deatachaí móra*
'great bouts of smoke / smoking' (tobacco).
- feamainn:* *Níl mórán eolais a'msa ar na feamainneachaí sin S.*
- féar:* **n'i: f'e:r ə tɑ: a:n ax f'e:rəxi:, fɑ:x g'ina:l S**
Ní féar atá ann ach féarachaí, seacht gcineál.
- feoil:* **f'ek'ər um gə b'e: n'ol' əs a:r l'um gə nə f'oləni: l'ug M**
feicthear dhom gob é an fheoil is fhearr liom dhe na feolannaí uiliug;
nə kahi: mɑ:x nə f'oləni: f'in' 52J
ná caithí amach na feolannaí sin (small pieces).
- gloine:* 'pieces of glass':
tá an áit sin beo le gloineachaí glin'əxi: 60M;
Fainic sib héin ar an gloineóchaí sin gá ngabhthadh ceann isteach ina súil M.
- mearúll:* e.g. (discussing will-o'-the-wisp)
Déarthadh daoine gur mearúill iad ARN4833.
- sioc:* e.g. *siocannaí ... i bhfad ... ní ba mheasa 32Jst.*
- soil:* **se'ləni: 32J** *soileannaí* 'sally rods'.
- sop:* both a count noun 'wisp, fragment (of straw)' and a mass noun 'weeds, bedding'. Máire uses **sep'əxi:**, **sopr'əxi:**, **sepr'əxi:** when describing particles of chaff, etc., for instance, in bran (e.g. **ta fe la:n l'e sepr'əxi: 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 Sc158.1;
xil'ə x'inə:ləxi: t'æ:bl'əts 51M *chuile chineálachaí 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 *puiteachaí* 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 *raithneachaí*. (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 bpuiteachaí 869P5; pit'əxi: P;*
o: iʃə tɑ pit'əxi: n'ʃo 47P *ó uise tá puiteachaí anseo.*
- raithneach:* *Raithneachaí, raithneachaí, is mairg nach mbaintheadh í S;*
ræ:n'həxi: P, ag gearradh raithneachaí P.
- lagar:* *tháinig lagar orm ~ tháinig lagrachaí orm S.*
- láib:* (context: sea-bed, shore)
Tháinig muca mara — cluiche acub — isteach insna láibeanna i
gCuan na hÁirde DT89; soir ar na láibeannaí 11P;
sna puiteachaí sin, na láibeannaí sin 31D.
- lathach:* *lathachaí (ar Chroc Mourdáin) 869P5.*

It seems significant that three of these words are feminine (2D) nouns in *-ach*. The obsolescent dative singular of these nouns is *-igh* (historically **-əj*). This dative may have developed to *-acháí* 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 *raithneachaí* (cited above) with the (dative) singular of other versions:

Hurú le raithnigh, is mairg nach mbainfeadh í BBeo.193;

Raithneach é, raithneach é, is mairg nach mbainfeadh é (T. S. Ó Máille 1948 §588).

In fact *raithneach í* > *raithneachaí* is also a possibility here. Cp. masculine (1D) plural *-igh* ~ *-acháí*; also nouns such as *an chonfairte, na confairte, na confairteachaí* (4.72).

A few other words are almost equivalent in singular and plural: *aobh* and *aobha*; *bálta* and *báltaí* 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 āvəs* > *āvəf*; *aspal aspəl* > *aspəl'*; *bád bād* > *bād'*; *barr bār* > *bār'*; *béal b'e:l* > *b'e:l'*; *clochar kloxər* > *kloxər'* [x1] 18JARN; *cnoc krūk* > *krik'*; *corc kork* > *kork'*; *cudal kudəl* > *kudəl'* M; *drioball dr'ibəl* > *dr'ibəl'*; *gabhar gaur* > *gaur'*; *gort* > *gort'* 894C; *iarann* > *iərən'*; *mart* > *mairt* 866ESc32; *mearúll* > *m'ærū:l'*; *molt mult* > *miłt'*; *muileann* > *muilinn*; *ord* > *aurd'*; *punt punt* > *pint'*; *stafəl* > *stafəl'* 892MARN; *teampall* > *t'æ:mpəl'* SM; *trosc* > *trejk'* 892M; *ucht oxt* > *oxť*; also *cogús (coguas)* > *kogu:f* Sq, *corcal* > *korkəl'* S, *cumann kumən* > *kumən'* S (political), *smut* > *smuít*. So also, nouns in *-án*, e.g. *líonán* > *líonáin*; *tulán tulán* M > *tulán'* M; nouns in *-éad*, e.g. *fáiméad* > *fáiméid*, *spilléad* > *sp'íl'e:d'* 899D, 01C, M, also *gimiléad*, *nóiméad*; in *-ar*, *-éar*, *-éal*, e.g. *orchar* > *orəxər'* M, *sinsear* > *ʃi:nʃər'* 04B, *siotar* > *ʃutər'* M, *simléar* > *ʃim'əl'e:r'* M, *boimbéal* > *bi:mb'e:l'* S, *siséal* > *ʃife:l'* 07C; in *-ard*, e.g. *locard* > *locaird* Clad194. In nominalised adjectives *bocht* > *boxť*, *marbh* > *ma'r'əv'*. 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'íəl* > *g'e:l'*; *meall m'ad* > *m'ail'*; *ard ard* > *aird'*. Epenthetic groups: *Colm colm koləm* > *kol'əm' kel'əm'* (in three senses: as proper name, 'pigeon', 'scar'); *tarbh taru:* > *ter'əv'*; *lorg* in (Lam)04B1:

f'ia b'æ'nəx borəb ogəs əŋ gair ... ə ta'fən gə g'e:r er' ə lor'əg'
fia beannach borb agus an gadhar ... ag tafann go géar ar a loirg.

Similarly, *deargadaol* > *d'er'əg'əd'i:l* 27Mdq, also *d'ærəgə'di:l'* 21Ptq, 27Md-perm. Nouns in *-ach* (4.88 ff.) *-əx* > *-ə* *-igh*, e.g. *bacach* > *bakə*, including *fiach dubh* > *f'ia yuvə fiaigh dhubha*. Some borrowings in *-r* and *-n*, which also have 1D genitive singular, take this plural (e.g. 11.159). Anomalous 2D *dealg d'aləg* >

(by-form) **d'el'əg'**. Nonfinal consonant is palatalised in *caora* **kirə** > **kir'ə** (also **kir'i**).¹

4.53 Complex

C` > C'ə

fód > *fóide*; *ubh* > *uibhe*. Generally with syncope: *bóthar* > **bo:r'hə**; *capall* **kapəl** > **kap'l'ə** **kap'l'ə**; *doras* > **dorjə**; *drioball* > **dr'ibl'ə** **dr'ibl'ə** **dr'ubəl'ə**, **dr'i:bl'ə** 04F. Both final and nonfinal consonant are palatalised in less common *capall* > **ka'p'ə** 894C, **ka'p'ə** 01P; *drioball* > **dr'ib'ə** Pq.

C` > C'i:

Mostly nouns in *-úr*: *casúr* > *casúirí*; *dochtúr* > *dochtúirí*; *rásúr* > *rásúirí*; *siosúr* > *siosúirí*; so also *drisiúr*, *pionsúr*, *saighdiúr*, *táilliúr*; *uachtar* > **uəxtər'i**; in *-as*: *comórtas* > *comórtaisí* 03St; *costas* > *costaisí* Sq; *iontas* > *iontaisí* 894C2, 35E; also *cúram* > **ku:rəm'i**; rare *-án* in *taobhán* > *taobháiní* is *rataí* SeolG40. With syncope *bóthar* > **bo:r'hi**; *doras* > **dorji**. In *créatúr* > vocative plural **ə xr'etut'i**: *a chréatúirí*. Nonfinal consonant in *caora* **kirə** > **kir'i**; *dorna* **daurnə** > **daurn'i**; *mala* **malə** > **mal'i**; (e.g. *mə:lə* pl *ma:l'i*: 46.424), contrast singular **mal'ə** > **mal'i**: M.

C` > C'əni:

ard **ard** > **aird'əni**; *boc* **bok** > **bik'əni**; *prós* > *próiseannaí* 869P5.

C` > C'əxi:

ancard **āŋkərd** > **āŋkərd'əxi**: 894Cs; *ceantar* > *ceantaireachaí*; *cúram* > *cúraimeachaí*; *fód* > *fóideachaí* (e.g. *fóideachaí mína* 20T, *caith ceathair nú cúig dh'fhóideachaí ánn* 19P); *siosúr* **fisur** > **fisur'əxi**: 20Cq; *sciathán* **ʃk'ihən** > **ʃk'ihən'əxi**: M (see 4.82 (list effect) and 4.79 (aberrant forms) for *siosúr* and *sciathán*); *tuicéad* > **tik'e:d'əxi**; cp. *amhrán* **o:ran** > **nə ho:ran'əxi**: S. With vowel change *ubh* **uv** > **iv'əxi**: (progressive **uvəxi**: 79Jg and sister 82B); *sceach* > **ʃk'ehəxi**. In an epenthetic type cluster *blogam* > **bleg'əm'əxə** 20Cq. The palatalisation is a reflection of the genitive singular in *-... d'e lu:n' ... BÓC ... Dé Luain ... -lu:n'əxi: el'ə ...* 15W *Luaineachaí eile ...*. The palatalisation resembles vocative singular in *créatúr* > vocative plural **ə xr'etut'i**: *a chréatúireachaí*, as well as *a chréatúirí*. With syncope and diphthongisation in *pobal* > **paibl'əxi**; *tobar* > **taibr'əxi**. Double palatalisation in *giobal* > **g'ib'əl'əxi** Pq; *drioball* > **dr'ib'əl'əxi**; rare *tobar* > **teb'ər'əxi** 05M.

C`(V) > C'V:xi:

fód > **foid'iəxi**: 20Tq; *mala* **malə** > **mal'iəxi**: (more often **mal'i**).
teach > **t'i:uxə** **t'i:huxi** **t'i:hoxi** 15Pt.
damhsa > **dā'vʃu'xi** **dā'vʃo'xi** 04Fq (cp. VN *daimhsíú*).

¹ The plural **kir'ə** is not followed by lenition of attributive nouns or adjectives, e.g. *caoire bána*. This nonlenition indicates that the status of final plural **-ə** in **kir'ə** is not equivalent to plural **-ə** < sg **-əx** in the BACACH class which does cause lenition, e.g. **bakə** **v'ogə** *bacaigh 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) **kirəx** *caorach*.

C` > C'əvi:

teach t'ax > t'ihəvi:.

C` > C'u:vi:

teach t'ax > t'ihu:vi:.

C` > C'ui:

teach t'ax > t'ihu:i:.

C` > Ctə

srón > fʀu:ntə; *rón* ru:n > ru:ntə; *dronn dru:n* > dru:ntə Mq; *cuan* > cuainte. With vowel change *crann kra:n* > kri:ntə; *sliabh fl'ia:v* > fl'e:vtə fl'e:ftə; *cliabh* > kl'e:vtə 20Aq, 25Mnq.

C` > Ct'i:

sliabh fl'ia:v > fl'e:vt'i:; *rón* ru:n > ru:nt'i:. Cp. rare *rása ra:sə* > ra:ft'i: [x2] 21Pg1587 (slightly unclear in recording, more usually ra:sti:).

C` > Cnə

ionga uŋgə > iŋgnə; *dealg d'aləg* > d'el'əgnə.

C` > Cr'i:

ionga uŋgə > iŋgr'i:.

C` > Cn'i:

ionga > ingní; in epenthetic clusters: *dealg d'aləg* > d'el'əgn'i:, *lorga lorəgə* > ler'əgn'i:.

C` > Cn'əxi:

ionga uŋgə > iŋgn'əxi; *dealg* > d'el'əgn'əxi:.

C` > Cn'V:xi:

ionga uŋgə > iŋgn'e:xi:.

C`V > Cr'əxi:

ionga uŋgə > iŋgr'əxi:.

V + rC'əxi:

glat > glair'əxi: S, MØperm.

V + hrC'əxi:

glat > glaihr'əxi: S (possibly glair'həxi:), MØperm.

C` > Cr'V:xi:

ionga uŋgə > iŋgr'V:xi:.

C` > C's

Cp. *seileastarn* > f'el'əstərən's 04Br. In the borrowings *boc bok* > bek's; with vowel raising *bloc* > blik's.

See also palatalisation in combination with əvə (4.63).

4.54 -a / -e -ə

Simple C > Cə

Regularly in many monosyllabic nouns, especially 2D: *cos kos* > kosə; *cruach kruəx* > kruəxə; *slat slat* > slatə; *preab* > sna preaba deiridh FFG s.v. preab 1; *sciath f'k'ia* > f'k'i:hə (Smbb)04B; *spág* > spə:gə; also *cíoch, cloch, cruach, cuach, muc, péist, screamh; méar* (also méir) > méara DT92; with vowel change *clann kla:n* > kla'nə ARN5707; *trian* > treana (in tale run). Also *aobh i:v* > i:və; *breith* > br'ehə; *glúin* > glúine; *ríocht* > ríochta Sc38. With syncope *bráthair* > bra:r'hə bráithre; *cloigeann klog'an* > klog'nə; *fiacail* > fiacila; *focal* > focla;

gamhain **gavə́n'** > **gavnə́**; *leiceann* > **l'ekn'ə**; *sluasaid* > *sluaiste*; and vowel lengthening *coinneal* **kin'əl** > **ki:nl'ə**.

Complex

C' > C`ə

Many monosyllabic nouns (many of which are 2D): *bróig* > *bróga*; *cois* **kof** > **kosə́**; *creig* > *creaga* **35E**; *crúib* > *crúba*; so also *bliain*, *cluais*, *deoir*, *lámh*, *pluic*; *sáil*, *sméir*. With vowel change *droim* **dri:m'** > *drama* **dramə́**. Also polysyllabic *foirgint* > *foirgeanta* **869P3**.

+ hə

Added to final **r**: *leabhar* **l'aur** > **l'aurhə́**; *maor* **mi:r** > **mi:rhə́**; *sméar* > **sm'era sm'eri:hə́** **12Jq**. Added to final long vowel in **i:**, e.g. *ní* **N'i:** > **N'i:hə́**; *rí* **ri:** > **ri:hə́**; *gréasaí* **gr'e:si:** > **gr'e:si:hə́**; *leadaí* **l'adi:** > **l'adi:hə́**; *leoraí* > *leoraíthe*.

C' > C`hə

sméir > **sm'eri:hə́**; *spéir* > **sp'eri:hə́**.

+ tə

l, n + tə: *gleann* **gl'a:n** > **gl'a:ntə́**; *míle* **m'i:l'a** > **m'i:l'tə́**; *míol mór* > *míolta móra*; *rón* > **ru:ntə́**; so also *ál*, *cuan*, *díle*, *pian*, *scéal*, *sleán*, *srian*, *tuile*. Replacement of stem in *aonach* > **i:ntə́**. Also *claimhe* **klav'a** > **klav'tə́**; *rása* > **ra:stə́** in *rásta capall* **21Pt**, more often **ra:sti:**.

+ t'ə

Following a vowel in a monosyllable the form is **t'ə**: *bró* > **bro:t'a**; *gró* > **gro:t'a**; *grua* > **gruə:t'a** **20Cq**, **20Myq**; *tlú* > **tlu:t'a** **20Cq**, **20Myq**; *tua* > **tuə:t'a**; *ró* > **róite** **20Cq**. Also *taoille* > **ti:l't'a** **60Mq**. There is no instance of short **V(th-)** taking *-te*, e.g. *gotha* > *goití*, not **goite*.

C' > Ctə

bliain **bl'iən'** > **bl'iəntə́**.

V + na

cp. *ionga* > *íongna* **!894C6**.

Vh + rə

tréith **tr'e:** > **tre:rhə́** (with phonotactic metathesis of **hr** > **rh**).

The ending **-rə** is perhaps simply a weakened variant of **h + rə** with loss of **h**, i.e. *tréith* **tr'e:** > **/tr'e:hrə/** > **tr'e:rə**.

C + hrə or rhə (rə)

gníomh **gr'i:v** > **gr'i:vrə́** **!05M**.

With additional 'juncture' **ə** in *gníomh* > **g'r'i:wər'hə́**, **g'r'i:wərə́**, **g'r'i:ṽəṽi:**; also analysable as **C + ə(h)rə** or **ər(h)ə́**.

4.55 -í -i:

Simple C(V) + i:

Monosyllables: *corc* > **korki:** **06C**; *cóir* > *cóirí catha* **FFG.4**; *cos* **kos** > **kosi:**; *feacht* > *feachtaí móra troma* **Clad124**; *tomhais* **tef** 'measurement' > **tefi:** **52J**; also *gág*, *lámh*, *rud*. Disyllables: *barann*, *bastard*, *bráillín*, *buachaill*, *dearmad*, *éalann*, *eascann*, *námhaid*, *rungás*, *snáthad*; younger speaker's *dealg* > **d'æ:ləgi:** **66N**. Trisyllable: *foirgint* > **fer'əg'ənt'i:**; *comhartha* > **kohəri:**; *duiséinne* > **duʃe:n'i:**; *muthairle* > *muthairlí*, *spreangaide* > **spr'əngəd'i:** **S**; also *aicearra*,

coláiste, formna > **forəmni:**; *margadh, oistire, smugairle, tubaiste*, and *máistreás* ~ *máistireás, uacáide*. Many nouns in final -CV *bóna bu:nə* > **bu:ni:** M, *corna kaurnə* > **kaurni:** !(Acm)43Js, *cromadh krumə* > **krumi:**, *réama* > **re:mi:** SM, *siolla* > **ju:li:** SM, so also *buille, caidhleadh kail'ə* > **kail'i:** S, *cábla, canda* (Clad50), *cille* (Clad1216), *claimhe, coca, cófra kørhə* > **kørhi:**, *crampa, crúca, crusta, cuimhne, earra, easca* Mq, *fána* Mq, *fabhra, fonsa* ARN, *geáitse* (sg FFG), *lota, leasfhreagra* > **'L'æ:s,r'ɑ:grɪ:** M, *líosa, pléata, ráilse* > **ra:lfi:** 09S, S, 36S, *rása, rata, rotha, scláta, seáirse, siúnta, sonda, sparra, téarma, úlla, útha*. Also *fága* 20C (sg not known to Sq, Mq) > *fágaí* 46.1061; *plumaí plu:mi:* !(sns)ZCP159. Cp. singular *leacht* ~ *leachta* > *leachtaí*. Regularly with polysyllabic 2D nouns in -ó(i)g and -ach, e.g. *stopóg, bearach, cailleach; sailcheánach* > **sail'hə:nəxi** 18J. Regularly with nouns in (diminutive) -ín, e.g. *climín* > *climíní*; *cloigín* > *cloigíní*; *peaicitsín* > *peaicitsíní*; *spailpín* > *spailpíní*; (contrast nonderived *ceirtlín* > -í often, but also -eachaí, -íochaí); nouns in -acht, e.g. *beannacht, donacht* (*donachtaí* 'illnesses'), *mallacht*; personal and agentive nouns in -aíoch, -úch, -aire, -éara, -óir, e.g. *Corcaíoch, díthriúch, mucaire, cuisliméara, sclaibéara, fíodóir*. Some nouns in -án, -ún, e.g. *loideán* > *loideánaí*; *sciathán* > **ʃk'ihə:ni:**; *galún* > *galúnaí*; *gorún* > **goru:nɪ:** Mp 133, *milliún* > *milliúnaí* Sc189.23, *pratastún* > *pratastúnaí*; in -éar: *slipéar* > **ʃl'ip'eri:** M, *tráiléar* > *tráiléaraí*; in -éad: *nóiméad, ráibéad, ráipéad*; in -óid: *smiochóid, sméaróid*. The spelling *mionsprúdhánaigh* 876JDT98 probably stands for plural -a:ni: (sg *mionsprúán*), as does *sciathána* 852SDT9. With syncope *coinneal kin'əl* > **kin:l'i:**; *focal* > *foclaí*; *fiacail* > *fiaclaí*; *gamhain gavən'* > **gavni:**; *leiceann* > *leicní*; *sluasaid* > *sluaistí*. Without syncope in *sciobal* > **ʃk'ibəli:** M. More rarely added to nouns in long unstressed final vowel: *áitiú* > **ɑ:t'u:i:** [x2] 881J.

4.56 Complex

C' > C'i:

Many of the nouns here are in the 2D: *bodóg* > *bodógaí*; *cois* > *cosaí*; *fuinneog* > *fuinneogaí*; *ioscaid* > *ioscadaí*; *snáthaid* > *snáthadaí*; and *cluais, láimh, pluic*; so also many monosyllabic nouns *cnáimh* > *cnámhaí*; *sáil* > *sálaí*. Also *caraid* > *caradaí* in *le hanam a gcaradaí gaoil* RBÉ2 (speaker identity not noted); *spéaclóir* > **sp'e:klər'i:**, note: **sp'e:klər' sp'e:klər',** pl **sp'e:klər'i: sp'e:klər'i:** Mq (produced in order given here), on another occasion sg **sp'e:klər'ə** Mq.

+ hi:

maor mi:r > **mi:rhi:**; *slabhra* > **slaurhi:**; *toradh torə* > **torhi:**; *tuar tuər* > *tuarthaí* !894C9; *condae* > **ku:ndehi:** 20Myq.

+ ri:

each ax > **axri:**; with vowel lengthening *mada madə* > **ma:dri:**. Following V(h) in *tréith tr'e:* > **tr'e:ri:** (i.e. //tr'e:h+ri://, or analysable as //tr'e+hri://).

+ hri:

with additional ə in *gníomh* > **gr'i:wərhi:**. For alternative analysis, i.e. -ərhi:, cf. 4.54.

+ ni:

cno kru > **krunhi:** (< //kruh+ni://).

+ **ti:**

Following *-l, -n*: *gleann* **gl'ɑ:n** > **gl'ɑ:nti:**; so also *caladh* **kalhə** > **kalti:**; *ionadh* **i:nə** > **i:nti:**; *talamh* > *taltaí*. Replacement of stem in *aonach* > **i:nti:**; *fásach* > *fástaí*. Following *-sa*: *rása* > *rástaí*; similar to VN *casadh* > *castaí* Clad63.

céad > **k'e:ti:** < **k'e:d+ti:** (or **k'e:d+hi:**); similarly ambiguous *céad* > **k'e:tə** (spelling *céadtha* Clad1191 = **k'e:d+hə**).

+ **t'i:** following a vowel or **Vh** the form is **t'i:**: *crú* > *crúití*; *mí* > *mítí*; *rá* > *ráití*; *gotha* > **ge't'i:**; *scaitreamh* **skahə** > **skaf'i:**.

C' + Cti:

bliain **bl'iən'** > **bl'iənti:**; *gaise* > **gasti:** (in tale run, unless this form is the adjective *gasta* > *gastaí* in higher register, cf. 10.53).

+ **i:hə**

dílleachta > *na dílleachtaíth' aici* **894C9** (*aici* < *ag*; *chuici* not intended); *lugach* **lugəx** > **lugi:hə**; *mionna* > **m'inihə** !ZCP161; cp. *tosach* > *tosuighth' air mo bhrógaí* !**894C9**; *iarraidh* > *iarraidhthe* ABg. **-Cu:** > **-Ci:hə** in *colbha* > **koli:hə** **21Pt**; in verbal nouns, e.g. *ordú* > **aurdi:hə**. Cp. *crú* > **krihi:hə** (4.74). Surface **i:hə** (< **i:+hə**) is a common plural form in nouns in *-i*, e.g. *sclábhaí* > **sklɑ:wihə**.

Palatal **h'** in *Críostaí* > **kr'i:sti:h'ə** **04B**; *gréasaí* > **g'r'e:sih'ə** 46.723, rare **x'** in *marcaí* > **mā'rki:x'ə** **897P** *marcaithe*.

+ **hi:hə**

With vowel shortening in rare *crú* > **krihi:hə**.

+ **iəxi:**

bibe > *bibí* ~ *bibíochaí*, cp. 4.61 (**V:xi:**).

+ **is ?**

raibhit > *raibhití* SM but there is also a form *raibhitíos* M, perhaps plural.

4.57 -**annaí -əni:**

The variant <**ənə**> is rare indeed and is discussed under the individual speakers **869P** (4.147), **20C** (4.179) and **73P** (4.222). Cp. **-əntə** (4.58).

Simple C/V + **əni:**

Regularly and almost exclusively monosyllables from all declensions: *bior* **b'or** > **b'orəni:** SM; *bun* > *bunannaí*; *cás* **kɑ:s** > **kɑ:səni:**; *ceap* **k'æp** > **k'æpəni:** M (plants); *cíos* **k'is** > **k'isəni:**; *cno* > **kruhəni:**; *crios* **kr'is** > **kr'isəni:** M; *drú* > **dru:əni:** **60Mq**; *fuaigh* **fuə** > **fuəni:**; *goin* > **gin'əni:** Mq; *loch* > *lochannaí*; *mac mak* > **makəni:**; *moing* **miŋg' mi:ŋg'** > **miŋg'əni:**; *práisc* > **prɑ:fk'əni:** S; *rabhait* > **rauʔəni:** S; *rais* > *raiseannaí* FFG; *sceid* > **ʃk'ed'əni:** SM; *sceilp* > **ʃk'elp'əni:** **892M**, **07C**; *sceith* > *sceitheanna róin* Clad45; *scrúin* > **skri:n'əni:** Mq; *seacht* > **ʃaxtəni:** M; *siobh* > **ʃi:wəni:** **899D**, **21Pg**; *sioc* **ʃuk** > **ʃukəni:** **01P**; *smid* > **sm'id'əni:** M; *sól* > *sólanna* Clad1130; *spailp* > **spalp'əni:** **35E**; *speic* > **sp'ek'əni:** **07C**; *stad* > **stadəni:** M; *staon* > **sti:nəni:** M; *strainc* > *strainceannaí*; *taobh* > *taobhannaí*; *tlú* **tlu:** > **tlu:ni:**. So also *aghaidh*, *am*, *baog*, *bruach*, *cabhail*, *caint*, *caoi*, *céibh*, *céim*, *ceird*, *ceist*, *ciumhais*, *clúid*, *cor*, *crois*, *cúl* (*cúlannaí breá gruaige* **899N**), *dlíobh*, *plás* both 'spread' and 'plaiice' (latter in *plásanna* Clad1132), *riasc*, *scréach* **29Nq**, *seas*, *sráid*, *sruth*, *stuf* **20Mlt**, *tál*

Clad195, *tomhais*. In compound *seanreacht* > *na seanreachtannaí* 'ʃan,ra:xtəni: *a bhí i Maínis* 25Tt. With vowel shortening, e.g. *barr bá:r* > *barəni:*. Regularly with monosyllabic borrowings (11.160). Disyllabic *comharsa kʊ:rʃə* > *kʊ:rʃəni:*; *comhla* > *comhlannaí*; *cuisle* > *cuisleannaí*; also *oíche*, *ráithe*. With elision of i(:) in the trimoric vocalic sequence in *buaí buəi* > *buəni:*; *luaí luəi* > *luəni:*; also *lái* > *ləəni:*; in rare *garraí* > *garəni:*. Some native and borrowed multi-stress nouns with monosyllabic stressed elements also take *əni:* (4.37, Table 4.1, 11.164).

4.58 Complex

C' > C`əni:

3D: *cuid* > *codannaí* 894C2; *droim dri:m'* > *draməni:*; *greim gr'i:m'* > *gr'aməni:*; *snaidhm sni:m'* > *snaməni:*. Also *blaoisc* > *blaoscannaí* 894C2, 60Mq; *páin pa:n'* > *pánannaí* Mq in *pa:nni:* [= /pa:nəni:/] *tu:nəx tónach* Mq.

V + həni:

cú > *kʊ:həni:* *kʊ:əni:* 60Mq, *útha* > *u:həni:* [x2] 60Mq (father from Doire an Locháin where singular *úth* is monosyllabic). (Plural *kʊ:həni:* is unique and *u:həni:* 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 (synchronically probably Vh): *cno knō'* > *knuhəni* 46.649, *stoith sto* > *stohəni:*. With historical final th: *tráth tra:* > *trahəni:*. With exceptional vowel change, as in genitive singular, in *lá la:* > *le:həni:*.

V + əntə

garraí > *garəntə*; *lao li:* > *li:ntə*; *oíche* > *i:həntə*; with vowel alternance in *lá* > *le:həntə* 894Cs; with elision of i(:) in vocalic sequences in *buaí buəi* > *buəntə*; *lái lai:* > *la:ntə*; with loss of final u: in *dorú doru:* > *dorəntə* 45Mq.

V + ənti:

iarraidh iəɾə > *iəɾənti:*; *am a:m* > *amənti:* *a:mənti:*; *lao li:* > *li:nti:*; *oíche i:hə* > *i:hənti:*; *uair* > *uairəntaí*; with elision of i(:) in *lái lai:* > *la:nti:*; *buaí buəi* > *buənti:*; *luaí* > *luantaí*; so also *garraí* > *garrantaí*; *béilí* > *b'e:l'ənti:*; with loss of final u: in *dorú doru:* > *dorənti:* 05Mq; *athrú a'rhū:* > *a'rhənti:* (1) *a'rhəxi:* (2, 3) 29Nq (produced in order 1–3). Cp. *ró* > *rə:ənt'i:* *rə:t'i:* *rə:ənti:* 32Mq.

V + hənti:

With exceptional vowel change, as in genitive singular, in *lá la:* > *le:hənti:*, also shortened *lehənti:* 53J, less common *lohənti:* 889P.

With plural *-həntə/i:* one can compare irregular *aithne æn'hə* > *æhəntə æhənti:*.

C'V > Ckəni:

In *glaise glafə* > *glaskəni:*.

4.59 -achaí / -acha -əxi: / -əxə

For a minority of speakers <əxə> 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 <əxə> is common and regular in the plural of one noun

only: *scillinn* used with a numeral, e.g. *fe: f'k'íl'əxə sé scilleacha* (also in rarer *feoirinn*, *coisméig*, 4.39). Also (presumably once common) in *sleagh* > *f'l'a:xə* 46 s.v. *sleagh*; cp. *sneá* > *f'N'a:xə* 20Páq (4.71); cp. *bua* > *buacha*.

Simple C(V) + əxi:

With certain monosyllables: *áit* > *áiteachaí*, *bonn* > *bonnachai*; *clár* > *cláreachaí*; *cor* > *corachaí* S; *creig* > *creigeachaí* 37Jq; *croth* > *crothachaí*; *dab* > *dabachaí*; *dris* > *driseachaí*; *éan* > *éanachaí*; *pínn* *p'ín'* > *p'ín'əxi*; *splainc* > *splainceachaí* 66N; so also *brat*, *braon*, *broigheall*, *ceirt*, *cnap* (> *krā:pəxi*: 889P), *craobh*, *cuilt*, *cúirt* (*cúirteachaí* 894C2), *das*, *déas*, *fréamh*, *gág*, *ladhar*, *mám* 60Mq, *méar*, *naomh*, *pluid*, *sraith* > *skrahəxi*; *slat*, *stéig*, *tom*. Vowel final monosyllable *rí* 'forearm' *ri:u* pl *ri:əxi* SID.46 Vocab s.v. *righe* (for expected sg *ri*: pl *ri:əxi*; sic 12Sq, although 12Sq was slightly unsure); also by-form in *clái klai* > *kla:əxi*: *cláiochaí*. Cp. *sleagh* and *bua* directly above.

Very common and productive with polysyllables: *baithis bahəf* > *bahəfəxi*; *calm ka'ləm* > *ka'ləməxi* M; *comhaois* > *kuhi:fəxi* M, *kui:fəxi* M; *colm* 'scar' > *koləməxi*: 25M; *contúirt ku(:)ntu:rt'* > *contúirteachaí* 889Pt; *cruthúnas kruhu:nəs* > *krūhū:nəsəxi*: 18J8428; *fearsad f'arsəd* > *f'arsədəxi*; *maidin* > *mad'ənəxi*; *muirtéis* > *murt'e:fəxi* SM; *purgóid* > *porəgo:d'əxi* M, *purgóideachaí* 869P5; *seafóid* > *fafo:d'əxi* P; *séanas* > *fe:nəsəxi* M; *seanmóir* > *fanəmóir'əxi* S; *teagasc* > *t'agəskəxi* S; borrowed *raitl ræf'l'* > *ræf'l'əxə mórə bə:f'l'* 36S *raitleacha móra báistí*; polysyllabic nouns in *-áil*, e.g. *suiléáil* > *si:l'ə:fəxi*. So also *Aifreann*, *ainm*, *aistir*, *Árainn*, *blogam*, *caraid*, *cleamhnas*, *colbha*, *comhairle*, *compás*, *condae*, *costas*, *deimheas*, *fainic*, *iothlainn*, *laidin*, *nioscóid*, *námhaid*, *parúl* Sc158.1, *piocóid*, *punann*, *rillic*, *socaed*, *stoiric* M, *tamall* 866ESc223.15, *tiocair*, *titim*, *toirpéis*, *tuairim*, *uil(l)inn*, *uncail*. Cp. *scannán* > *skunə:nəxi* M; *dornán* > *dornánachaí* M, MØperm (influenced by *punann*). With optional syncope in *aithinn* > *ahən'əxi*: *an'həxi*; *ascaill* > *askəl'əxi*: *askləxi*; *athair* > *ahər'əxi*: *ar'həxi*: (e.g. *'fā'n.ər'həxi*: 11C *seanaithreachaí*); *banais* > *banəfəxi*: *banfəxi*; *eiris* > *er'əfəxi*: *orfəxi*; *eochar* > *oxər'əxi*: << *oxrəxi*; *iomaire umər'əxi*: *umrəxi*; *lagar* > *lagarachaí* 894C2, *lagrəxi*; *ursainn* > *urfən'əxi*: *urf'n'əxi* 21Pt, *orf'n'əxi* M, 21Pt; *paidir* > *paidireachaí*, *paidreachaí*; cp. *Sathrann* > *sahərənəxə*, *sahrənəxi*. With syncope and diphthongisation in *obair* > *aibr'əxi*. With syncope and consonant coalescence (or, more synchronically, *-inn* deletion) in *scillinn* > *f'k'íl'əxi*. Optional deletion of radical *h* is common in some words, e.g. *féithe* > *f'e:həxi*: *f'e:əxi*; etc.; *doigh fhiacail* > *dohəxi*: / *doxi*: *f'ikəl* M *doigh(th)eachaí fiacal*.

4.60 Complex

C' > C'əxi:

In monosyllables *deoir d'oir'* > *d'oir'əxi*; *láir* > *lárachaí*; *méir m'eir'* > *m'eir'əxi*; *scailp* > *ska'lpəxi*: 21Ptq; *scair* > *sgarachaí* Clad119; *úim u:m'* > *u:məxi*.

In disyllables *ascaill askəl'* > *askələxi*; *dreatháir* > *dr'eha:rəxi*; *altóir* > *alto:rəxə*; *barúil* > *baru:ləxi* 21M; regularly in polysyllabic nouns in *-áil*, e.g. *anáil* > *ánálachaí* 866ESc61.1, *suiléáil* > *si:l'ə:fəxi*.

Speakers who do not depalatalise verbal *-áil* (SÁBHÁIL class) through

suffixation may nonetheless depalatalise in the case of plural nouns in base suffix *-áil*. Speaker **20C** is such a speaker, i.e. verbal future *-a:l'h-* but noun plural *-a:ləxə*. Similarly, in suffixation, speaker **36S** retains palatalisation in *-íl* and verbal *-áil* but depalatalises plural *-áil*, i.e. *múraíleacha*, *sábháilthidh* but *suileálacha*, *bildeálacha*, also *seasrálachai* (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 *l* in *-áil-* in both verb and noun, i.e. *gə sə:wa:l'əx* **05M** *go sábháiltheadh*, *sə:va:l'ə* **56Bq** *sábháilthidh*; *bildeáil* > *b'il'ða:l'əxi*: **05M**, *suileáil* > *si:l'ə:l'əxi*: **56Bq**. Unfortunately, no relevant plural extension, as in *seas* > *seasrálachai*, was noted from a speaker such as **05M**.

With syncope in *srathair* > *srarhəxi*:. Cp. *cathair* > *kahəərəxə nə f'e:n'ə* **11C** *catharacha na Féinne* (in traditional beginning of Fenian tale).

C' + C`rəxi:

scailp skalp' > *skalprəxi*:; *stéig f't'e:d'* **36P** > *f't'e:drəxi* **36P** and *f'k'e:d'* > *f'k'e:dr'əxə f'k'e:drəxə* **36Nq**; cp. *leac / leic* > *l'akrəxi*: (*l'ekr'əxi*: **M** heard in conversation, but **MØperm**).

C'ə + C`kəxi:

glaise > *glə:skəxər'* **34Mq**, *glaskəxi*: **21Ptq** (perhaps a slip of the tongue in **21Ptq**), cp. common *glaskəni*:.

C'ə + C`nəxi:

glasnəxi: **27Mq**, cp. common *glaskəni*:.

C(V) + həxi:

leaba l'abə > *l'apəxi*:; *tír* > *t'i:r'həxi*: **60M**.

C(V) + hrəxi:

leaba l'abə > *l'apəxi*:.

C' + C`həxi:

Cp. *scair* > *scarthachai* **!894C9**.

C(V) + təxi:

Following *l, n*: *baile bal'ə* > *bal'təxi*:; *seoladh fə:lə* 'address' > *fə:l'təxi*: **25S**; *tine* > *t'int'əxi*: *t'i:nt'əxi*:.

Vowel followed by *t'əxi*: (monosyllable in **V**): *rá* > *ráiteachai* (cp. *ráiteas*, vadj *ráite*).

-C' > Ctəxi:

Following *l, n*: *coróin kru:n'* > *kru:ntəxi*:; *scoil skol'* > *skoltəxi*:; including the well-established borrowings *draein* > *dre:ntəxi*: and *traein* > *tre:ntəxi*:.

-C(V) + trəxi:

Following *l, n*: *giall* > *g'iəltrəxi*:; *gleann gl'a:n* > *gl'a:ntərəxi*:; *meall* > *m'a:ltrəxi*:; *tonn tu:n* > *tuntrəxi*: *tu:ntərəxi*:.

aill > *ailltreachai* **875T1**, etc.; *baile bal'ə* > *bal'tr'əxi*:; *tine* > *t'itr'əxi*: *t'i:nt'r'əxi*:.

Exceptionally following *-lp* in *scailp* > *skælp'trəxi*: [x5] **36Sq**.

C' > Ctrəxi:

Following *l, n*: *aill a:l'* > *a:ltrəxi*:; *bléin* > *bl'e:ntərəxi*: **M**; *scail skal'* > *skaltərəxi*:; *scoil skol'* > *skoltərəxi*:; with vowel change *ginn g'i:n'* > *g'a:ntərəxi*:; *sail sal'* > *saltrəxi*: *sə:ltrəxi*:; *slinn fl'i:n'* > *fl'a:ntərəxi*:; well-established borrowings *draein* > *dre:ntərəxi*: and *traein* > *tre:ntərəxi*:.

C + rəxi:

Following *s, m, b, p, d, t, c, g*: *das* > *dasrachaí*; *eiris* > **orfrəxi:**; *ainm* **ænám** > **ænám rəxi:**; also *stoirm*; *lúb* > *lúbrachaí*; *scailp* **skalp** > **skalprəxi:**; *téad* **téad** > **téadrəxi:**; *áit* > **aitrəxi:** **01P**; *leac* **Lak** > **Lakrəxi:**; *staic* > **stækrəxi:** **P**; *carraig* > **karəgrəxi:**.

C + nəxi:

Following *m, g*: *anam* **anəm** > **anəmnəxi:**; *ainm* **anám** > **anəmnəxi:**; *maidhm* **mi:m** > **mi:mnəxi:** [x2] **35Eq** (generally **mi:məni:**); also *feilm*, *stoirm*; *carraig* **karəg** > **karəgnəxi:** **29Nq**, **karəgnəxi:**; also *coismeig* > *coismeigneachaí* [?] **76Nq**.

C + ə:ləxi:

deis > **d'efə:ləxə d'efə:ləxi:**; *seas* > **fasə:ləxi:**.

C + tə:ləxi:

leigheas > **L'aista:ləxi:**.

C + rə:ləxi:

seas > **fasrə:ləxi: fəfrə:ləxi:**.

4.61 -aíochaí, etc., (V:xi:)

For most nouns in the (V:xi:) class the long vowel (V:) 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 **ui:** ~ **u:xi:** as in *leithe* > **L'ehui: L'ehu:xi:**, or **i:** ~ **iəxi:** as in *cleite* > **kl'et'i: kl'et'iəxi:**, the variants can be interpreted as plural suffixes in combination, e.g. //L'ehə+u:əxi://. 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, only gradual 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. **iəxi: rəxi: ɛ:əxi: e:əxi: ɛ:xi: ɛ:əxi: ɛ:xi: æxi: axi:**, etc. The main variants for analysis, following the cardinal vowel division of the vowel space, are:

i:	e:	a	ə:	ɑ:	o:	u:
i:əxi:	e:əxi:	axi:	əəxi:	ɑ:xi:	o:xi:	u:xi:
iəxi:	ɛ:xi:		ə:xi:	ɑ:xi:		
(i:xi:)			əxi:			

In combination with consonantal extensions and suffix **s**:

t	t' iəxi:	t() e:xi:		t' ɑ:xi:	t' o:xi:	
tr				tr' ɑ:xi:	tr' o:xi:	
n	n' iəxi:	n' e:xi:	n' axi:	n' ɑ:xi:	n' o:xi:	n' /N' u:xi:
r	r' iəxi:	r' e:xi:		r ɑ:xi:		
h		he:xi:		h ɑ:xi:	(C`)ho:xi:	(C`)hu:xi:
s					so:xi:	

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

buniə:ləxi: bare:ləxi: bunə:ləxi: barə:ləxi:
t'imp' o:ft' əxi:

4.62 Examples

- i:xi: *ribe* > **rib'í:xi:** 27Mq; *ciste* > *cistidheacha* 864MDT21.
 iəxi: *ionga* > **uŋgiəxi:**; *athrú* > **arhiəxi:**; *ceirtlín* > **k'orɫl'í:n'í:xi:** 32J; *sclaití* > **sklaɾ'í:xi:** Mq.
 i:xi: cp. *béilí* > **b'e:l'í:xi:**.
 e:xi: *céilí* > **k'e:l'e:xi:**; *comhairle* > **ku:rl'e:xi:** 45C; *tanat* > **ta'ne:xi:**; *ionga* > **uŋge:xi:**; cp. *condae* > **kunde:xi:** *kundeəxi*.
 e:xi: *gloine* > **glin'e:xi:**; *ionga* > **ign'e:xi:**.
 axi: *bonn bu:n* > **bunaxi:** 20Myq; *gortú* > **gortaxi:** 64Mq.
 əxi: *súil ribe su:l' rib'ə* > **su:l' rib'əxi:**.
 əxi: *tráthnóna* > **trən'hu:nəxi:**; *gadaí* > **ga'də:xi:**; *súil ribe su:l' rib'ə* > **su:l' rib'əxi:**.
 a:xi: *athrú* > **æ'rha:xi:** 21Ptq; *scáinne* > **skɑ:n'a:xi:** 21Ptq; *gearradh* > **g'ær'r<axi** 64Mq.
 o:xi: *cleite* > **kl'et'o:xi:**; *feire* > **f'er'o:xi:**; *giorria* > **g'uro:xi:**; *béilí b'e:l'í:* > **b'e:l'o:xi:**.
 u:xi: *cleite kl'et'ə* > **kl'et'u:xi:**; *lanna* > **lanu:xi:**.

In combination with palatalisation, e.g. *mala malə* > **mal'í:xi:**.

In combination with extensions:

- t'í:xi: *tine* > **t'í:n'í:xi:** 04Brq.
 t'e:xi: / te:xi: *baile* > **bal't'e:xi:**; *léine* > **l'e:n't'e:xi:**; *gabháil* > **go:l'te:xi:** 04Brq.
 t'a:xi: *léine* > **l'e:n't'a:xi:**.
 to:xi: / t'o:xi: *culaithe* > **kolto:xi:**; *baile* > **bal't'o:xi:**; *teile t'el'ə* > **t'el't'o:xi:**.
 tr'o:xi: *teile t'el'ə* > **t'el't'r'o:xi:**.
 tr'a:xi: *díle* > **d'í:l't'r'a:xi:**.
 n'í:xi: ~ n'e:xi: ~ n'o:xi: ~ n'a:xi:
ionga uŋgə > **ign'í:xi:**; ~ **ign'e:xi:**; ~ **ign'o:xi:**; ~ **ign'a:xi:**.
 n'u:xi:, N'u:xi: *ionga uŋgə* > **ign'u:xi:**; *glaise glafə* > **glaf'N'u:xi:** (N'u:xi: here can be analysed as assimilated n'u:xi: or nu:xi:; the latter is perhaps the simplest interpretation).
 r'í:xi: *ribe* > **rib'r'í:xi:** 15Wq.
 r'e:xi: *ionga* > **iggr'e:xi:** 04B.
 rəxi: *glaise* > **glaf'rə:xi:**.
 he:xi: *sine fin'ə* > **fin'he:xi:**.
 hu:xi: *seire* > **fer'hu:xi:**.
 ho:xi: *seire* > **fer'ho:xi:**.
 ho:xi: ~ ha:xi: *clat* > **klohoxi:**; *klohaxi:*; *glae* > **glaihaxi:**.
 C' > C`e:xi: *barriall ba'lar'* > **ba'le'rəxi:** 60Mq.
 C' > C`o:xi: *srathair* > **frarho:xi:**.
 C' > C`hu:xi: *seire fer'ə* > ***forhu:xi:** (4.182).
 so:xi: *sum sum* > **sumso:xi:** (unique example, cf. 4.82).

Gaps in my examples of combinations with extensions are in many instances 'accidental', e.g. <r'o:xi> and <r'u:xi> are (or were) no doubt also found with *ionga*.

4.63 -abha -əvə

The realisation of the intervocalic labial continuant here is regularly [w], except in plurals of *gé* where [w] alternates with [v]. Plurals in -Cəwi: in Iorras Aithneach are a recent development from -Cui: < -Cu: (4.132 ff.).

Simple + əvə

One item only: *gé g'e* > *g'e:və*.

Complex

V + əvi:

gé g'e > *ge:vi*; *leithe l'ehə* > *l'ehəvi*; e.g. *leitheabhaí* DT93; *reithe rohə* > *rohəwi*; *breitheamh br'ehə* > *br'ehəwi*; *gearrchaile* > *'g'ar:χal'əvi* 26Pq.

C > C'əvi:

teach t'ax > *t'ihəwi*.

Cp. hV + əwəxi:

leithe > *l'ehəwəxi* 30Pq, perhaps a slip of the tongue or mistake in response to query.

C > C'(ə)wəxi:

teach > *t'i:wəxi* 43M (seldom), cp. *t'ifəxi* 51Pq (i.e. C > C'fəxi).

hV + u:vi:

leithe l'ehə > *l'ehu:wi*.

C > C'u:vi:

teach t'ax > *t'ihu:wi*.

h + x'u:vi:

cleith kl'e > *kl'ex'urwi*.

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

hV > fi:

reithe rohə > *rifi*: [f' ?] 36Mq.

V > -fa

dlaoi > *dlaofa* !894C.

V > f'ə, f'i:

crú > *krif'ə*; *drú* > *druif'i*.

C > C'fə, C'fi:, Cf'i:

teach > *t'ifə*, *t'ifə*, *t'ifi:*, *t'ifi:*, *t'if'i:*, *t'if'i:*. (Palatal **f'** is from in my earlier transcriptions only and is perhaps mistaken.)

C > C'əfi:

teach t'ifə 56Bq.

C > C'ufə

teach t'iu:fə 15Pt, also *t'ifə t'iu:xə* 15Pt.

4.64 -in -ən'

Simple + ən'

In 5D *bró* > *bru:n'* 893P (uncommon), *comharsa* > *ku:rʃən'* S *comharsain* (but *comharsanaí* more often), *cú* > *coin* 869P3; *faocha fi:xə* > *fi:xən'*; *lacha laxə* > *laxən'*; also (nouns without specific 5D genitive singular) *luch* > *luchain*, *meach* > *meachain*.

(Simple + əɴ

In 5D *cora* > **kəɾəɴ** 46 s.v. Given alternate (dative) singular **kəɾəɴ** and plural **kəɾəɴəxi:**, and given that unstressed final /əɴ/ is often transcribed as əɴ in SID.46 (1.417), it seems əɴ is the actual plural ending here.)

Complex

+ əɴt'ə (< əɴ + t'ə)

In 5D *bró* **bro:** > **bro:nt'ə**, **bru:nt'ə**.

+ əɴ'əxi:

In 5D *cora* > **kəɾəɴ'əxi:**. Also *comhla* > *comhlainneachaí* 26Pcq.

+ əɴəxi:

In 5D *ceárta* > **k'ə:rtəɴəxi:** [x3] 36Pq; *cora* > *corranachaí* Clad123. Cp. **nəxi:** (4.60), **C'əɴ'i:** and **C'əɴ'V:xi:** (4.10).

4.65 -í/ -i:l'**Simple C + i:l'**

barr **bær** > **bə:ri:l'** 45C, **bə:ri:l'**; *tom tum* ~ **tum** > **tumi:l'**. As corresponding (verbal) noun in *brúcht* > **bru:xti:l'**; *locht* and *lucht* > **loxti:l'**; *múr* **mur** > **mu:ri:l'**; *plump* **plump** > **plumpi:l'**; *scuid* > *scuidil'*; *sian* > **ʃi:ni:l'**; *speach* **sp'ax** > **sp'axi:l'**. Perhaps also *coch* > **koxi:l'**.

Complex

C + hi:l'

múr **mur** > **mu:hi:l'**.

C + i:l'əxi:

múr **mur** > **mu:ri:l'əxi:**.

C + i:ləxi:

múr **mur** > **mu:ri:ləxi:** ~ **mu:ri:ləxə**.

Cp. **C + ələxi:** in *múr* > **mu:rələxi:** 60Mq.

4.66 -ú -u:**Simple Cə + u:**

gearrchaile **g'ə:rxal'ə** > **g'ə:rxal'u:** (no longer productive for those speakers who were questioned); *reithe* > **rohu:** **rehu:** 25Mnq, **rohu:** 36Nq (both speakers from Loch Con Aortha). Plural **f'ienu:** **e:r'an** 892M also **f'ienu:** **we:r'an** *Fiannaibh Éireann*.

Complex, cf. V:xi: (4.61) and əvə (4.63)

Cə + u:xi:

gearrchaile **g'ə:rxal'ə** > **g'ə:rxal'u:xi:**.

Cə + u:i:

leithe > **l'ehu:i:**; *reithe* > **rohu:i:**.

+ **C'u:**

teach > **t'ihu:** 881J.

+ **C'u:i:**

teach > **t'ihu:i:**, **t'ihu:i:**.

+ C' u:xi:
teach > t'ihu:xi:, t'ihu:xi:.

4.67 -ibh -əv'

The -əv' (-əv) ending is obsolescent. It is clearly related to certain by-forms in -uw and -u:. 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:

(fi:) *jasəv'* (*faoi*) *gheasaibh*, *f'ianəv'* *Fiannaibh*, also *nə f'ianū* 'ye:r'ə'n' |
 ... *nə f'ianəv* 'e:r'ə'n' ... 875T *na Fiannaibh Éireann*;
 cp. *nə der'u:* commonly, but also *nə der'əv* *na Doiriú*.

-əv' also in the special vocative plural of *fear*: *ærəv'* *a fhearaibh* (also *ærə a fheara*).

4.68 -s -(ə)s / -(ə)z

Simple + s / z

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

'bream' *bre:m'* > *bre:m'z* 889P; 'flower' *flaur* > *flaurs*;
boc > *boks*; *truic* > *trik's* Mq; *veaigeabón* > *v'æ:g'əbɔ:ns*;
céilí > *k'e:l'i:z*; *clabhtar* *klaustər* > *klaustərs* M; *scibhear* > *ʃk'iv'ərs* S;

also *əs* / *is* ~ *əz* / *iz* in borrowings as in English, e.g. 'sausages' *sə:səðʒis*.

In a borrowing containing the Irish suffix -óg: *cabóg* > *kabɔ:gs* S 'cobwebs', also regular *kabɔ:gi*: SM. Also older borrowings under continuing English influence: *Pradastún* > *Pradastúns* P.

With native (*brobh* rare singular >) *broibh* 'rushes' (collective) also *brev's*;
ruacan > *rɔ:kəms* M, 60M, *ruəkəns* P, *ruəkəms*; *seileastaram* > *ʃel'əstərəms*;
sméir > *jaim sméars* (otherwise *sméara*, rare *sméartha*); cf. p. 2025 n. 1. With a few agentive nouns: *Gaidí* > *ga'd'i:z* 892Mg, *gréasaí* *gr'esi:* > *gr'esi:s* 05M,
Ciarraíoch (< *Ciarraí*) *k'iaríəx* > *k'iarí:s* 05Mq, *siorriam* > *ʃoriəms* 11C. Also with personal names: (a) group appellations, e.g. *Aindriú* > *nə hæ:ndr'u:s*, *Cól* > *nə kɔ:l* *na Cól*s, *Éimniú* > *nə he:n'u:s*; (b) individuals with the name, e.g. *Riocard* > *rukərd*s 21J. Cf. 12.9, 12.14. Also in humorous *ábhars* (perhaps plurale tantum), *bramans*. Cp. *scib sceab* *ʃk'ib' ʃk'ab'* > *ʃk'ib' ʃk'æ:b's* Mq.

4.69 Complex

+ əf

lo(i)ng > *ling'əf* in *na loingis mhór(a) i dtír* 11C5144 (-f- is analysable as //s + C'//).

+ ʃə

drár (< drawer(s)) > *drærʃə* S.

+ əsi:

hairt hart' > *hart'əsi:*; *drámh* > *drámhasaí*; *triuf* > *triufasaí*.

+ əʃi:

paca pakə > *pakəʃi:*, *puca* > *pucaisí*; cp. *træ:p'əʃi:* SM, *traipisí* ... and Seán's comment in explaining its use *kosu:l' l'e træ:p'əni: e S cosúil le traipseannaí é*; compare also *tugk tonc* with singular collective noun *tugkəʃi:* M *tuncaisí* (plural in FFG20).

+ **fəxi:**

‘fee(s)’ > *físeachaí* !894C; cp. *tóraiseacha* ABg ‘tories’.

+ **əfəxi:**

loing **liŋ** 04B1 > *nə* **liŋg’əfəxə** 04B1 *na loingiseacha* (the noun *loingeas* FGB is not known).

+ **s/zəxi:**

céilí > **k’e:l’i:zəxə** (1), **k’e:l’i:səxə** (7–9) 51Pq; cp. ‘Mulkerrins’ **məl’k’erns** > **məl’k’ernsəxi:**.

+ **so:xi:**

sum **sum** > **sumso:xi:** (unique example, 4.82).

+ **zi:**

leaid > **l’ædzi:** **o:ɡə** 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 **l’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):

nə buəi p’e:tər^(v) fin’ 16P *na buai péatair sin*.

4.71 (i) Final vowel

breith, **k’e:** **nə br’e v’i:** **je ho:rt’ orəm** Mq *cé na breith a bhí sé a thabhairt orm?*

file, sg *file* ~ *filí*, pl generally *filí*, *filíthe*, also less commonly *filéachaí*. Two examples of plural *file* were recorded from 11C (3.155):

gur i gCúige Mumhan is fearr a bhí file uilig. ARN5567;

i dtaobh 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 caiptíní agus na fir ceirde agus na gabha. 892M2130–45.

gnotha, sg *ins an ngnotha céadna* Clad1209, *an grutha* 892M1727, **əŋ ɣruhə** P *an ghnotha*, gsg *Sí an ordóg atá a’ déanamh na graithe dhó* DT96, pl **nə gruhə** P (in the phrase *déantha’ sé sin na gnotha* P), *faitíos nach ndíonfad sí na groithe ceart* 852SbTS146, *a rinne na gnotha*. Clad1203, *leis na gnotha a dhéanamh* Clad1222, *bhí na gnotha gřūhə le bheith díonta acub.* 35E8376. Also plural **gruhi:** >> **grahi:**, e.g. *go ndéanfá na gnaithí ... dhéanfá na gnaithí* LL148, *Tá na gnaithí déanta anois* 870BBDT31. My examples show plural **gruhə** 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 *grást*, *grásta*, and possibly *grás*; cf. 3.47.

langa, (example of singular **la:ŋɡə** 46.1167) the plural is generally **langgi:** (e.g.

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

lao, obsolete plural **li**, now **li:ntə**, **li:nti**. Speaker **894Cs** is the only speaker recorded with plural **li**: *lao*; twice in *thugadh muid amach na lao*, ... *dho na lao amuich*, **894Cs** (also **li:nti**: [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 in traditional narrative *buachail na lao* **866ESc135.35** and in the field-names, e.g. *Garraí Beag na Lao* in Máinis.

mionna (*mionn* FGB), sg **m'unə** SM, pl *mionnaí* S, **m'inihə** !ZCP161, but *mionna móra* **m'unə mo:rə** **889P** (in context: *-Bíodh acub, is dúirt mé focal eicint, mionna móra. 889P*); gen pl in (proverb) *léis na mionn is fearr na mrá* **894C9**. Also sg *mionna* FFG24, 31.

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

peaca, *ag scuabadh amach na bpeaca* **11C**, *insna peaca seo* !(Aíf)**05M** (3.14). Also *peacaí*, *peacachaí*. 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 **ʃn'ə**: SM (independently), but when queried, Seán offered plural **ʃn'ə(ə)xi**: Sq (adding s **dó:hi**: *is dóichí*), and Máire offered **ʃn'ə:ni**: Mq; also **ʃn'ə:xə** **20Páq**, **ʃn'ə:ntə** ? **51Pq**. I have one example which may have been taken down from conversation: *ta ʃn'ə:ni n də xlog'an M tá sneánnáí in do chloigeann*. The form *sneá* is originally plural (< *sneadh*); one would expect singular **snea* (as in GCF *snea* > *sneá* §126(c)). We can compare regular singular **ʃl'æ** < *sleagh* and singular *feá* < plural *feadh* (4.42).

So also, nouns in *-í*: *bannaí* (but *i gcómh-mbannaithe* **!894C9** with pl **-i:hə**); one of the plurals of *achainí*, *ainmhí*, *urnaí*. Cp. *cith* in *ins na cith teintí* ABg4, 11.212 'very fast'. Note the use of *cheithre bhuille* to stand for *corach(aí) cheire bhuille*, in the plural, e.g.

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

Contrast, for example, *chúig phuint* '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*, *ceannfort*, *cionndáirt*); and there is one further clear derivative (mass noun *confairt*, cp. *ceannfort*). There are borrowings *ancard*, *hairt*, *scolabard*, *sirriam*, *triuf*. There are interestingly four in **-rt'**, 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/d* are:

ancard, *tancard* FFG, *ancart* 46 s.v. (all three forms implying plurals **ancaird*, **tancaird*, **ancairt*), singular also *ancaird*, *ancairt*; plural **æŋkərd'əxi** **894Cs**.

ceannfort, plural *ceannfoirt*, but many speakers have sg and pl **k'ənfərt' M**. There is also a plural based on the palatal singular *ceannfoirt* > **k'ənfərt'əxi: S** (Mperm). Obsolete plural in: *cínn-phoirt Shasana* !894C9 (composition by local poet) CABI §528(b) v. 4. Transcriptions of this same speaker have both *ceannfort* !894C9 and *ceánnfoirt* 894C3 in the singular.

cionndáirt k'unərt', sg = pl Mq, pl **k'unərt'əxi: Sq**.

confairt sg and pl, also pl *na confairteachaí*.

hairt, hug fe tr'i: nu k'əhər gə x'ə:nə ha:rt' yum M *thug sé trí nó ceathair dhe cheanna hairt dhom*. Cp. *triuf* below.

ceannchohall sg in RBÉ, pl *ceannchochail* in RBÉ material, but both sg and pl **'k'əŋxəxəl' 11Ct** *ceannchochail*.

scolabard, singular *scolabard* 899D6557, *sgolaburd* Clad115; plural *scolabaird* 01C6553–4, **21Pg**6566, *sgolabuir* Clad115, *sgolabuir* Clad113, but *scolabaird* [x4] is singular in 01C6528–30, 6552.

There are three (or four) other words, also in final palatalised coronals (*d*, *l*, *s*):

diallaid, pl *na diallaid ar a ndruím ... a'd* 852S2; also *diallaideachaí*.

ribe róibéis, cf. phrasal plurals (4.37, Table 4.1).

uirnis, used regularly as sg **k'en aurn'eʃ nu d'eʃ ... 20S** *cén uirnis nó deis ...*, as collective, e.g. *bosca na huirnéise* Clad1179, but also as plural *na huirnis*. As a specific singular or singulative, *ball uirnis* is common; as plural *uirniseachaí* 894C2.

Cp. *láir, la:r'* sg = pl Mq, also *lárachaí*.

Exception: nonpalatal final labial in one or two early borrowings:

sirriam, (possibly plural in) *ag tiarnaí talhúna 7 báillí 7 siríam a leanúint ...* 869P4;

triuf > *triuf* S (also *trif*, *triufasaí*). Cp. *hairt* above.

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

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

-í > -i:, -i:hə, -V:xi:, -əxi:, -i:s/z;¹ also -i:x'ə, -i:ə and -íthí.

There is one example of extension **r** + **əxi:** in *leadaí* > **l'æ:drəxi 27Mq**. Obsolescent -i:x'ə has been recorded only in *marcaí* > **mā:rk'i:x'ə 897P** *marcaíthe*. Two tokens of -íthí have been noted in: (dative) *gadaíthe go rubáilíthí* 869P2, and verbal noun *go na héiríthí dona* 869P5. The ending -i:ə is intermediate between -i: and -i:hə and can reasonably be taken to be a reduced form of the latter. For orthographic -ichi, ambiguous regarding its phonetic and phonemic interpretation, see speaker 852S's individual material below (4.140). (The variants -i:x'ə -i:hə -i:ə -i: are found in the diachronically and phonologically equivalent paradigms of the verbal adjective and verbal noun.) Nonpersonal nouns in final singular -i:, in contrast, have limited use of -i:hə and even less -i:,

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 Fharraige it seems there was no pressing need for a clear substitute (such as -s) for historical -íthe.

preferring especially V(:)xi: (e.g. *béilí*, *tanaí*, 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, -(i)och

Word	Plurals					
in -í	i:hə	i:ə	i:	is, iz	V:xi:	əxi:
<i>aturnaí</i>	894CRBÉ		+ M			
<i>bacsálaí</i>						+
<i>brútaí</i>			S			
<i>carai</i>	869P ZCP					
<i>coisí</i>	+		+		+	+
<i>comrádaí</i>	894Cs		+			+
<i>cuartaí</i>	46.684		06C			
<i>faighlí</i>		M	M			
<i>filí</i>	+	+	+		+	
<i>gadaí</i>	+	S	<i>na gadaí</i> Mlt		+	
<i>Gaidí</i>				892Mg		
<i>Giúdaí</i>	894Cs					
<i>gréasaí</i>	+	+	+	+, 05Mq	+, 36Pq	+
<i>jacaí</i>		869Pt				
<i>leadaí</i>	+			+	36Pq	+
<i>piolóití</i>			ABg4.253			
<i>póilí</i>			ABg91	+		
<i>saothraí</i>	+		+		36Pq	
<i>scéalaí</i>	11C					
<i>sclábhaí</i>	+	+			+	
<i>scódaí</i>	Mq		Mq	Mq		
<i>soláthraí</i>			21Ptq			
<i>talmhaí</i>			<i>talthawaí</i> !894C9			
<i>trodaí</i>	892MARN					
<i>trustaí</i>	<i>trustaíthe</i> 894C9					
in -ach						
<i>Giúdach</i>	46.368					
<i>robálach</i>	ABg4.201–2					S
in -íoch						
<i>Ciarratíoch</i>	Mq		Mq	05M	Mq	+
<i>gaiscíoch</i>	+	(e.g. 11C)	+		+	+

Speaker **20Cq**'s responses to queried personal nouns in -í are presented in Table 4.3. They show a fairly typical preference for i:hə 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

	e:xi:	i:hə
<i>coisí</i>	about to respond kofe:xi:	but echoed and preferred 20Myq 's kofi:hə
<i>ceannaí</i>		initial response k'æ:ni:hə
<i>sclábhaí</i>	initial response skla:we:xi:	selfcorrected to skla:wi:hə ... <i>an rud ceart</i>
<i>gréasaí</i>	initial response gr'e:se:xi:	selfcorrected to gr'e:si:hə ... <i>an rud ceart</i>
<i>páirtí</i>		echoed and agreed with 20My 's part'i:hə
<i>taisí</i>	tæ:fe:xi:	
	əxi:	
<i>soláthraí</i>	sula:rhəxi: sula:rəxi:	

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

- íoch*: *Ciarraíoch* (based on *Ciarraí*) > *k'íəro:xi:*, *k'íəri:hə*, *k'íəri:* Mq, *k'íəri:s* 05M, also *k'íəriəxi:* *k'íəre:xi:*; *gaiscíoch* > *gaiscíochai*, *gaiscíthe*, *gaiscí*.
-ach: *robálach* [x3] > *robálaidhthe* ABg4.201–2; *Giúdach* > *Giúdaíthe* 46.368.

Another personal noun with *i:hə* plural is:

caras Críost > *də xid' karəs kr'isti:hə* Mq *do chuid 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* ~ *-achai* can occur with either suffix as base. The plurals *rubaləxi:* or *rubali:*, for example, may derive from either the singular *rubaləx* *robálach* or the singular *rubali:* *robálaí*. Quite a few speakers, when prompted with *robálaí* in plural query sessions, took *robálaí* as plural of *robálach*, some adding the other plural by-form *robálachai*. Plurals in *-əxə*, expected from certain speakers, were not heard in such agent nouns with polysyllabic stems. If this lack of *-əxə* is not merely coincidental, the use of final *-i:* in plural *-əxi:* (by speakers who otherwise have tetrasyllabic *-əxə*) may reflect agentive *-i:* of the singular. For example, speaker 20C (4.179), who has prevalent tetrasyllabic *-əxə*, has *-əxi:* in *soláthraí* > *sula:rhəxi:* *sula:əxi:* (Table 4.3). Given the link between agentive *i:* and plurals in (V:*xi:*), the lack of *-əxə* in this environment may also be related to the infrequency of <V:*xə*> (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 aunn' > *aivn'əxi:* (*aivn'ə* 45B, a speaker no longer resident in the Gaeltacht); cp. *gabha* below.

aithne ən'hə > *əhəntə əhənti:*, common in *na deich n-aitheanta(í)*; cp. *seacht n-aithine* 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*.

chliamhain > *kl'íəvən'əxi:*, *kl'ävni:hə*, *kl'ävni:* SM, *kl'æ:vəni:* S, *dá chliamhain* ... *agus a bheirt chliamhanachai* 866ESc158.9, 170.33.

colbha > regular *kolui:*, *kolV:xi:*, *koli:* S, *koləxi:* 45B (found humorous by the speaker, as it is homophonous with *collachai*), *koləxi:* 52Jq, *koli:hə*; anomalous *kolo:gi* 01P (perhaps for *kolo:xi:* but cp. *leithe* > *leitheogai* 52Jq, also *leithiúi*, *leitheóchai*, etc., and *spig neanta* > *sp'i n'æ:ntə:gəxi:* 76Nq (influenced by *neantóg*, speaker 76N's singular not noted)).

crú > *krif'ə*, *kru:t'i:*, *kru:t'ə*, *crúithe*, *kruhi:*, *krohi:*, *krihə*, *kri:hə*, *cruithí*, *krihi:hə*. The most anomalous form is the rare *krihi:hə* *cruithíthe*, arguably

containing two **h** extensions: **kri+h+i:hə** (with ending **i:hə** < **i:h+ə**). At the lexical or diachronic level one can interpret this **krihi:hə** as a combination of **kri:hə** *craoithe* and **krihə kruhi:** *cruithelí* (and even **krif'ə** *cruife*).

deis > **d'efəni:**, **d'efə:ləxə** 31P, *deiseálacha le haghaidh iascaigh* ABg4, **d'efə:ləxti:** 18J, **d'efu:ləxti:** 25M; the last three forms, in *-álalúlach-*, have been recorded in the meaning 'gadgets, contraptions'; the form **d'efəni:** is not restricted in meaning.

doigh **do** > **doxi:**, **dohəxi:**, **dehəxi:**, **dahəxi:**, **dohə:xi:**, **dehiəxi:**, **dehe:xi:**, **dohəxi:**.

dorú: some speakers have sg **dr-** vs. pl **dVr-**, e.g. **dru:** > **dīríf'ə** 46.1116, **dru:** > **də'ruf'ə** 896P; another speaker in query has sg **dVr-** vs. pl **dr-** ~ **dVr**, i.e. **doru:** > **drif'ə** **dorəntə** 45Mq; most speakers have consistent sg and pl **dr-** or sg and pl **dVr-**; other plural by-forms are **dir'iv** 27Mq, **dorənti:**, **dorəf'ə**, **dru:t'ə**, **dru:t'i:**, *druift*.

duine **din'ə** > **di:n'ə** *daoine*, **di:n'i:** *daoiní*.

éan > **e:nəxi:** generally, but *duibhéin* 864MABg, **nə 'f'iar,ē:n** 869Pt *na fíoréin*, also obsolescent **e:nlə** (perhaps usually in the context of 'fowl'), e.g. **ē:nəxi:** (or **nə hē:nlə**) 46.822; in gen pl context *ceol na n-éanla faoi chiúis na coille craoí* !01S CABI §231(b) v. 5; *leaba chlúmhach na n-éanlaithe* **ē:nənləhə** | !39D.

faoilleán sg **faiL'a:n** > regularly **faiL'a:n**, but rarely (with irregular vowel alternation) **faiL'e:n** P, Sq (similar to *duibhéin* (*fíoréin*) above).

fiche > *fichid*, with *dhá* > *dhá fhichead*; meaning 'twenties': *ficheadaí*, *fichide*, *fichidí*, *fichéadaí*, *fichéideachaí*.

gabha **gau** > **gaivn'ə**, **gauni:**, *gaibhneacha* ABg4.251; cp. **g'aivn'ə** 51Pq.

*gloine*¹ **glin'ə** > **gla:n'ə:xi:** S, P *glaineóchaí*, also regularly (the majority of speakers retain radical **i**) **glin'ə:xi:** (etc.) SM *glaineóchaí*, **glin'i:** *gloiní*.

leath **L'a** > **L'e** *leith*, also **L'ehəni:**, **L'ahəni:**, **L'ehəxi:**.

leithe has regular plurals **L'ehəxi:**, **L'ehV:xi:**, **L'ehu:i:**, **L'ehu:wi:**, **L'ehəvi:** (**L'ehəvəxi:**); according to 52Jq he has suppletion in *leithe* > *leitheogáí* (which resembles *leitheóchaí*) based on the synonymous sg *leitheog*.

naocha **ni:xə** > **ni:d'e:gi:** 32J *naoidéagaí*.

nóiméad **nu:m'e:d** > regular **nu:m'e:d'**, **nu:m'e:di:**, **nu:m'e:dəxi:**; anomalous ***mu:m'e:di:** in *ceathair nú cú' dhe mhóiméadaí* **wu:m'e:di:** 11C. Cp. SIDI.234 for regular *móiméad* in North Connacht dialects.

smaoiniú (rarer *smaoitíú* !881J) > **smi:n't'ə** !05M, *na smaointíthe* 869P4; with loss of **n** in **smwi:t'i:** !869PZCP, *smaoití* !894C9, *smaoitíghthe* !894C9. (Cp. sg *smaoiteamh* in Ulster.)

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 Máire, by people from the district 'thart anseo', e.g. **torəm ə ɣla:n'ə ʃin'**, **gla:n'ə ʃiʃk'ə** Mq *tabhair dhom an ghlaire sin, glaine fuisce*. On a separate occasion, when discussing **V:xi:** plurals with myself and speaker 66N, without any *gloine* prompt, Máire informed us that **d'erhə kíd' a:kəb gla:n'ə:xi:**, **gla:n'ə:xi:**, **ax n'í:l' ʃe K'ərt M déarthaidh cuid acub 'glaineóchaí, glaineóchaí,' ach níl sé ceart**, implying a connection between the **a** vocalism and the plural form, as evident in my notes from Seán and Pádraig. The *a* in *glaine* (historically < *gla:n*) is found in the singular in local poetry (10.13) and in dialects to the north, e.g. SIDI.122; its use (or retention) in the plural may perhaps be affected by vowel dissimilation: *a_ú* in *glainiúchaí*.

gualainn > *guailt*; *muileann* > *muilte*; *scillinn* > **ʃkʲil'əxi**.

For some speakers historical final *mh* is realised differently from internal *mh* in:

fréamh **fr'e:m** > **fr'e:wrəxi**.

Note further the place-name **nə der'u**: ~ **nə der'əv** historically *na Doireadha*.

There is a form of substitution of related stems in plurals such as:

cailleadh / *cailliúint* > *cailliúintí*, *cailliúinteachaí*;

gealladh / *geallúint* / *geallúntas* > *geallúintí*, *geallúinteachaí*, *geallúntais*.

Cp. the type of alternative agentive suffix in nouns 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

1. (**o:g**) → **<o:gi>** **<o:gəxi>** (4.87)
e.g. *coirceog* > *coirceogaí* ~ *coirceogachaí*.
2. (**əx**) → **<ə>** **<əxə>** **<əxi>** **<i>** (4.88 ff.)
e.g. *Clochartach* > *Clochartaigh* ~ *Clochartacha* ~ *Clochartachaí* ~ *Clochartaí*.
3. (**r**) → **<r>** **<Ø>** (4.93 ff.)
e.g. *culaith* > *cultrachaí* ~ *cultachaí*; *leaba* > *leaprachaí* ~ *leapachaí*.
4. (**V**) → **<ə>** **<i>** (4.101 ff.)
e.g. *bróig* > *bróga* ~ *brógaí*; *scéal* > *scéalta* ~ *scéaltaí*.
5. (**VxV**) → **<Vxə>** **<Vxi>** (4.111 ff.)
e.g. *culaith* > *cultracha* ~ *cultrachaí*;
carraig > *carraigeacha* ~ *carraigeachaí*.
6. (**V:xi**) → **<iəxi>** **<u:xi>** **<o:xi>** **<ə:xi>** **<axi>**, etc., (4.118 ff.)
e.g. *ionga* > *ingníochaí* ~ *ingniúchaí* ~ *ingneóchaí* ~ *ingneáchaí*, etc.
7. (**u:wi**) → **<ui>** **<u:wi>** **<uwi>** **<əwi>** **<wi>**, etc., (4.132 ff.)
e.g. *teach* > *tithiúí* ~ *tithiúbhaí* ~ *titheabhaí* ~ *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 **-əxə**) **L'æ:gə'nəxə ka:n't'ə 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'íl'oxi:**, but then added *déarthainn gob é 'n rud ceart b'íl'i: a rá* Sq.
- fiach dubh*: Mq first produced **f'ia yuvə fiaigh dhubha** adding that it was **n rud k'ært an rud ceart**; she then offered the alternative form **f'iaxəni: duvə fiachannaí dubha** which she seemed to feel was 'easier'.
- pluic plik'*: Mq produced **pluki:**, **plik'əni:**, **plukəni:**, and added **pluki: n rud k'ært 'plucaí an rud ceart** (in conversation *plucaí* is also her commonest form).
- ruacan*: Máire's form in conversation and query is **ro:kəms** M. Queried about **ruəkəns**, her brother Pádraig's form, Máire said *ní dhéarthá go deo é* M.
- col ceathar*: > *col ceatharachai*; *col cúigearachai*, etc., were produced without trouble or comment by Seán and Máire but neither of them liked *col ochtarachai* 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.
- clai*: Seán and Máire generally use **klohə/axi:**; their son **52Jq** offered **klaí(h)əxi** as his form. When queried regarding **klohə/axi:**, he claimed **klohəxi:** 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 **klo(x) clo(i)ch** (4.230). Speaker **52J** may have been influenced by other lects where **klaí(ə)xi:** is the norm, e.g. by his wife's speech (**56N** from Ros Muc). In conversation with **56N**'s brother **59P** (whose plural is **klaíəxi:**) my own *ag díonamh klohəxi:* was mis-interpreted by him as (*ag díonamh ballaí cloch(a)*).
- cú*: Mq produced *coín* and *cúite* on separate occasions but reacted negatively to suggested *cúinnaí*, **n'i: e:rhə: ku:ni:** M *ní dhéarthá 'cúinnaí'*, a form accepted by Sq.
- déas*: **d'e:frəxi:** Mq and **d'e:səxi:** Mperm but **d'ə:frəxi:** MØperm (cp. **894Cs**, 4.158, 4.159).
- crann kra:n*: Seán's usual plural, as most speakers, is **kri:n'tə**, but he produced ... **kra:nti: u:l ə:n** ... S *cranntaí úlla ann* in conversation. When queried about the latter, he answered:
N'i:l' əs am fi: kra:nti:, kra:n't'i:, kra:n'təxi: S
níl fhios a'm faoi 'cranntaí, crainntí, crán(n)tachaí',
 laughing at the last form, which is (also) Seán's (and the general) plural for **kra:n' cráin**.
- deireadh*: Sq produced **d'er'əxi:**, **d'er'uxi:** and finally, with a laugh,

- d'éu:əni:** Sq. Such a combination of plural allomorphs ***+u:əni:** is not tolerated in the dialect. In sandhi, however, singular **d'éu:** occurs so that **d'éu:əni:** is possible but ***d'éu:əni:** more so.
- leac, leic:* Máire used **l'ekr'əxi:** in conversation, but when questioned about it gave her preferred form:
'*leacracháí* **l'æk'rəxi:** *a d'abraíonnns muide.*
- seas:* Seán and Máire's general plural of *seas* is **ʃæ:srəxi:** SM *seasracháí*, but when **ʃæ:srələxi:** *seasrálacháí* was queried it was decidedly preferred: **ʃin e: n tæ:n'əm' k'æ:rt l'en ai** SM *sin é an t-ainm ceart lena aghaidh*. Neither speaker, however, was noted with *seasrálacháí* 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

k'ær a:gə mid' nə lə:əni:, nə lə:ntə, nə lə:əno S
cér fhága muid na lánnaí, na lánta, na lánna?

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

ə:məni: ... brə:məni: *S amannaí ... bramannaí,*

where the latter word was produced to rhyme with the former. Seán's normal form is *am* > **ə:mənti:** *amantaí*. 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:

æ:n'əmtəxi: e'l ə 21C ainmtachaí 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:* **ri'n ə m'e nə b'ærɔ:əni:, nə, nə b'æ:nə wil'əs æ:d 23M**
rinne mé na beárjannaí, na — na beanna an bhfuil fhios a'd?
with hesitation before *beanna*, seemingly in an effort to remember the plural (perhaps the speaker was about to produce a plural in *-annaí* through interference from *beárjannaí*).
an bhínn ... na [hesitation] bínn [plural], ... na bínn [plural] ... 64M.

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

- broc*: **brok ... nə | brək' 36S** *broc ... na, broic*.
The hesitation following *na* may have been caused by the speaker trying to produce an appropriate plural for this relatively rare word and generally solitary animal.
- buidéal*: **ɴ̩æ:rt̪ l̪e n̩iθə s b̪id̪e:l̪əxi: p̪o:rt̪ə' P**
neart le n-iθe is buidéileachaí pórtair;
taken as a slip of the tongue, which caused suffixation of the very productive **əxi:** ending to regular *buidéil*.
- ceist*: the following occurred in the context of the English word 'question' (used in a programme on television at the time):
Ó go deimhin tá ceisteannachaí ... Ar an méid ceisteannachaí ... ceisteannaí aisteacha M;
here Máire seems to have mixed 'question'-*achaí* and *ceisteannaí*.
- cloch*: **ku' h̪ə mid̪ə klox̪əni: je, t̪ə ... ɴ̩æ:rt klox̪ə n̩'jin' P**
cuirthidh muid clochannaí dhe, tá neart clocha ansin;
taken as a slip of the tongue, which caused suffixation of the very productive **əni:** ending for regular *clocha(t)*.
- cois*: *-Ar féidir cosannaí fháil leihí píce? M*
-Hea? S
-Ar féidir co-, co-, co-, cois fháil leihí píce? M
-Ó! is féidir S.
Later on, Seán went to buy a *cois píce* ('pitchfork handle') and, without hesitation, asked the shopkeeper:
Bhfuil cosa píce a'd? S.
- craiceann*: *Ná bí ag caitheamh craiceann(,)-aí M*, with hesitation in the pronunciation of this aberrant plural in *-annaí*. Máire generally has *craicne*.
- gasúr*: **b̪e:r' g̪ə w̪il̪ mid̪ə du:f̪əx nə ɣ̪a:su:r̪əxi: ... nə ɣ̪a:su:r̪ 49M**
b'fhéidir go bhfuil muid ag dúiseacht na ngasúireachaí [anomalous] ... na ngasúir [regular].
- gualainn*: Máire has been recorded twice hesitating in conversation while producing **ɡuəl̪əɴ̩əxi:**, e.g.
t̪ə ɡuəl̪(,).l̪əɴ̩əxi: mo:r̪ə ... M tá gualainneachaí móra
Without hesitation she has **ɡuəl̪'i:**, etc.
- iasc*: There is clear selfcorrection in:
iəskən | e:fk' v̪ogə iascann-, éisc bheaga ...
(speaker Máirtín Ó Gríofa, from Ceantar na nOileán, resident in Maínis, noted 1998).
- ioscaid*: **-ka:l̪əpi: t̪'i:ɴ̩ ort M (Tá / An bhfuil) calpaí tinn ort.**
-uskəd̪'i: BóC Ioscáidí.
-uskəd̪əxi: | uskəd̪i: M (...) *ioscadachaí, ioscadaí*;
where Máire seems to have repeated the plural, showing preference for nonpalatal **-d-**, and finally settling for her own preferred version.
- poll*: **ɡə l̪o:r̪ p̪aɪl̪əxi: daun̪' P(?)** *go leor poilleachaí domhain*;
for regular **p̪aɪl̪'** *poill*.
- posta*: (during a post office strike)
- ... nə postə (l̪)əxi: ... M -... na posta — acháí ...
-h̪ə 52Cr -Hu?
- ... nə postə | M - ... na posta.
In the first instance, there was hesitation during the **ə** of *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 dō:hi: gə m'ei nə postaxi: 'o'skli: ə'ma:r'əx M
is dóichí go mbeidh na postáchaí osclaí amáireach.

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

tə fe gə ji:nə snə postaxi: M tá sé dhá dhéanamh sna postáchaí.

Another example of hesitation with *posta*, perhaps also caused by plural formation, occurred in:

o: tə n | ən | postəxi: tə: ɣa:l'ə tə: fe: u:hə:səx M
ó! tá an — an — postáchaí atá i nGaillimh, tá sé uafásach.

Compare Máire's form *postaí* in writing:

tá an deabhal ar na postaí anois aríst a Bhrian Mlt,
bhí go leor litreachaí robáilte ó shoin sna postaí Mlt.

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

punt: **nə xu:g' pi:n'əxi: 43M** *na chúig puínteachaí* 'five pound notes';
páipéir chúig phunt or *chúig phuint* are more usual.

sciathán: **ə xud', ə xud' f'k'ihə:nəxi: ort M**
a chuid — a chuid sciathánachaí ort.
 Máire usually has regular **f'k'ihə:n' sciatháin**.

4.80 Emigrants; Singular

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 **45B**, in conversation on the telephone from Tipperary, her marital home, hesitated in:

nə, nə haivn'ə wil'əs æd 45B *na — na haibhne an bhfuil fhios a'd.*

The form she actually produced is otherwise only heard in the genitive singular (instead of traditional plural **aivn'əxi:** *aibhneachaí* < **aun' abhainn**). The actual morphology of *aibhne*, however, is not aberrant for a plural form and is the historical plural (e.g. DIL s.v. *ab*¹, FGB s.v. *aibhne*).

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 **37Jq** commented that *lanna* '(fish) scale' was probably (*is dóichí*) the singular of his *lannóchaí*. Speaker **52P** had difficulty in conversation with singular *cocha* ~ *coch* for more common plural *cochannaí* ~ *cocháil* (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.

- ceann:* -**nə k'æ:nə bir'ənə fo** ... (interviewer) *Na ceanna bainearna seo* ...
 -**gən nə k'ænə bin'ənə** ... **30Ms** *Gan na ceanna bainearna*
 Although found further east, the use of **k'æ:nə ceanna** as an unmarked plural of *ceann* is not native to Iorras Aithneach (4.47). In the recorded interview, speaker **30Ms** approximates extraneous *ceanna* with this once-off form **k'ænə** .
- cleas:* -... **kl'æ:səni:** ... **M** ... *cleasannaí* ...
 -... **nə kl'i | kl'ifəni: fín' S** ... *na cl — cliseannaí sin*.
 Here Seán seems influenced by Máire's *-annaí*, and combines what he seemed to be about to say, *clis*, with the suffix she had just used. He was otherwise noted only with *clis* and *cleasannaí*.
- reithe:* -... **nə rohəxi:** ... **20MI** ... *na reitheachaí* ...
 -... **nə rohi:** ... **18Bm** ... *na reithí* ...
 -... **nə rohi:əxi:** ... **20MI** ... *na reithíochaí*
 Again, the last form in the series is a combination influenced by the preceding context.
- slat:* ... **[slat'rəxi: ?]** ... **v'i: slatəxi:** ... **v'i:n' hem' ə tarənt nə slatə** ...
v'i: nə slatə ... **P** ... (*slatrachaí ?*) ... *bhí slatachaí* ... *bhínn héin ag tarraint na slata* ... *bhí 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.
- spreab:* -... **spr'æ:bə:əxi:** ... **01P** *spreabaíochaí*
 -... **spr'æ:brəxi:** Pádraig Mac Donncha (interviewer) *spreabrachaí*
 -... **spr'æ:bə:əxi:** **01P** *spreabrachaí*.
- teach:* -... **t'ifə** ... **48M** *tíofa* (her usual form; **48M** (wife of **44Pn**) is from Leitir hArd)
 -... **t'ifəi:** ... **44Pn** *tíofaí* (**44Pn** from Maínis where *tíofa(i)* is a minor variant; his **əfi:** may be a blend of **fə** (common in Leitir hArd) and **əwi:** (common in Maínis))
 -... **t'i:həwi:** ... **B6C** *títheabhaí*
 -**t'i:həwi:** ... **44Pn** *títheabhaí*.

Other possible examples of serial effect occur in:

- dealg:* CladI has four variants in nine plural tokens of *dealg* (cp. 4.82) noted in four parts of the book:
deilgní [x1]: *a mbíonn deilgní láidre* 38;
deilg [x4]: *le deilg láidre* ... *na deilg sin* 83, *Tá deilg ghéara as* 105, *agus deilg ghéara as* 107;
deilgne [x1]: *go leor deilgne ar* 113;
dealga [x3]: *go bhfuil dealga an-ghéara* ... , *dealga an-ghéara* 121, *go leor dealga géara* 122.
- ronnach:* -... **runəxi:** ... **B6C** ... *ronnacháí* ...
 -... **runəxi:** ... **d'íəl runə** ... **runə P**

- ... *ronnachai* ... *ag díol ronnaigh* ... *ronnaigh*.
gabha: *Bhí cuid de na Guairimeacha ina ngaibhneacha*. ABg4.251.
 Serial effect is the probable cause of *gaibhneacha* here, for otherwise consistent *gaibhne*.
traim: plural usually *traimeannaí*, but: ... *eangachaí*, *tramachaí*. 72N.
Cp. bonn: *gastaí géara, boinní béara* is part of a tale run. Also *boinní béara*, *gastaí géara*. It seems possible that a historically correct **boinn bhéara* or **bonnaibh béara* might have been amended through parallelism with *gastaí 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:

- susu:r* BóC *Siosúr*. (prompt)
 -*fisu:r* ʔxə 20C *Siosúireacha*.
 -*fisu:r* i: ... ʔ d'ɛrhəŋʃə ... 20My *Siosúirí* ... a *déarthainnse* ...
 -*B'fhéidir go bhfuil tú curtha thrína chéile ag na cinn eile?* BóC (addressing 20C)
 -*ta:, a tərðər he:n' ʔ na:n, kir' ʔft'æ:x er' ʔ x'e:l'ə* 20C
Tá, á! tádar héin i ndan cuir isteach ar a chéile.

Despite the admitted serial effect here, *fisu:r* ʔxə 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'æ:ləgəxə*, where speaker 20C then quickly added *nó d'el'əg'*, which was preferred. A few queries later, *lorga* > *ler'əgn'i:* was produced, and, shortly after that, *dealg* was prompted again, this time producing *d'el'əgn'i:* 20Cq. Yet another possible example from 20Cq is the following sequence:

- ginn* > *g'antəxə* 20C, *g'antrəxi:* 20My, *g'antəxi:* 20C,

with -i: being copied in this instance.

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

- lorəgəxi* 23B, *lorəgəxi* 12J, *lor'əgn'i* [x3] 23B, *lorəgnəxi* 12J, *lor'əgn'i:* [x3] 12J, *lor'əgn'i* 12J;
d'el'əg' 12J, *d'æ:ləgəxi* 12J, *d'el'əgn'əxi* 23B, *d'el'əg'əxi* 12J.

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

The only noted token of the ending *sə:xi:* < s + *ə:xi:*, in *sumsə:xi:* *d'ukər'ə* 10B *sumsóchaí* [< sum] *diocaire*, was heard in conversation about 10–15 minutes after a plural query session with speaker 10B. She had produced many tokens of *ə:xi:*, her main (Vxi) variant (which is her default ending for nouns in 1σCə, 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):

-sumso:xi: d'ukər'ə [laughter] n'ir xuələ m'e r'iaw ax sums, suməni:,
sumso:xi: d'ukər'ə nax br'ɑ: ŋ ye:lg' i:jin' M
'Sumsóchaí diocaire' níor chuala mé ariamh ach 'sums, sumannaí.'
'Sumsóchaí diocaire,' nach breá an Ghaeilge í 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* + V:xi:, rather than the plural most heard in conversation (by me): *glascannaí*. 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 **bro:t'ě** (**brɔ:n't'ě**) *bró(i)n*te; whereas in RBÉ material speaker **869P4** has the most 'independent' plural form (or form furthest from the base) in *brúinte*.

4.83 Aberrant responses

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

slat, 'Slatá nú 'slatracháí', 'sluit', 'rud céanna é Sq,
gə ɫ'ər slit', slit', sla:trəxi: nu: sla:ti: ta tu na:n ə ra:, sla:tə, n'æ:rt
gən tli:t' ... Mq go leor sluit, sluit, slatracháí nó slataí tá tú i ndan a rá,
slata, neart 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 Máinis, when queried about **klohəxi:** (the most common plural form of *clai* in Máinis), in contrast with his proffered **klaiaəxi:**, claimed that the former was the plural of *clach* and that it was therefore illogical. Speaker **43M**, in query produced **gla:fraxi:** as the plural of *glaise*. When queried about **glaskəni:**, the only plural form heard from her in conversation, she claimed there is a semantic distinction between the two plurals. According to **43M**, **glaskəni:** has a more mass noun or noncount noun quality, being, furthermore, especially prevalent in *glascannaí 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* > *sróna*, *sróna*, *sróna*, *sróinte*, *srónannaí* 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 **du:ən a:lə** was requested from Seán and he proffered:

du:ən a:lɪ, ... du:ən a:ləxi: ax f'ek'ər um nax wil' ʃe saun'ɔ:l' k'æ:rt
 Sq *damhán allai, ... damhán allachai ach feictheas dhom nach bhfuil sé ag sabhaindeáil* (< 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' > *pósachai*, speaker **20C**'s comment is quite typical: *D'fhéadhá 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 bearraeachai amach* 'shaving on,' 'doing the odd shave' and *ag baint bearraeachai 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) (**ə** 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* > *lochtail* but more commonly *lochtaí*; *múr* > *múraíl* but also *múrannaí* **62J**.

Three endings are productive with borrowings in traditional dialect: *-C'*, and particularly **əni:** and **V(:)xi:**. The spread of **əni:** and **əxi:** ~ **V:xi:** within the native stock is pervasive. For example, *splancaí* 46.549 and *scailpí* **894C9** with **i:**, are replaced currently by *splanca(r)achai* (including *splancachai* **869Pt**) and *scailp(r)eachai* (and *scalprachai* **894C**), the latter also by *scailpeannaí*; similarly, *meáll* > *mealla* ~ *meálltrachai* **894C**. So also, singular *-í* > plural *-íthe* of older speakers is now more often *-í* > **əxi:** ~ **V:xi:** for younger speakers.

4.86 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. $V; > V/_CV$; these can be termed the AM class. This synchronic shortening rule is obsolete for some younger speakers.

am **am** > **aməni**: *amannaí* (mostly older), generally **amənti**: *amantaí*, but also **amənti**:, and **aməni**: **66N**. Note **amənti**: ... **amənti**: ... **amənti**: ... **amənti**: **18J** in close succession. The oldest speaker attested with unhistorical **a**: in the plural is **894C**: *amantaí* ~ *ámantaí* [x2] **894C9**. Speaker **16M** generally has **amənti**: but also **aməni**: and **aməni**:. Speaker **20At** has consistent **aməni**: (cp. his *oíche* > *i:hənti*).

barr **bar** > *bárrannaí* **!894C9**, *bárra* **894C9**, *barra* ... *ar an arbhar* **869P**; *baint mo chróchair ge bhárra géaga* **!01S**, *ar bhárraí a méar* **!869P**, *ba:ri:l'* **45C** (who found *ba:ri:l'* aberrant), *barə*, *barəni*:, *barəni*:, *ba:ri:l'*, *ba:r'*, also *ba:rt'ə* **36Pq**.

bonn **bu:n** > *buniəxi*: *buno:xi*: (also *bi:n'*). Long **bu:n**- is not used in the plural except in one response to query: **bu:nəxi** **15Ptq**, *MØperm*.

carr **kar** > generally **karəni**: *carrannaí*, but some young speakers have frequent if not categorical, **karəni**:, e.g. **66N**. Interestingly, Máire regularly has **karəni**: but in a letter she spells *cáraní* Mlt. Cp. **karə:ə(xt)** *carraera(cht)* with short stem only.

dream **dr' am** > **dr' aməni**: **01J**, S, [x4] ARN, >> **dr' æ:məni**: S.

streall **str' al** > **str' aləni**: M *streallannaí*.

treall **tr' al** > **tr' aləni**: S *treallannaí*.

Cp. plural verbal nouns of the GEARR class, with retention of long alternants in the younger generation, e.g. *gearradh* (**g' æ:rə** queried)

> **g' æ:rəxi**: **g' arəxi**: **51Pq** (in that order), **g' arəni**: **56Bq**.

Another class changes the long vocoid quality through palatalisation or depalatalisation, e.g. **bu:n** *bonn* > **bi:n'** *boinn*, *gínn* > *geánntrachaí*. Yet another class lengthens radical vowels before clusters brought about in plural formation through syncope or extension suffixation, e.g. *drioball* > (rare) *dríble*, *lagar* > (rare) *lágrachaí*, *sail* > *sáltrachaí*.

Examples collated from speaker **869P**'s material (SID.46, RBÉ, audio recordings; cp. *mada* > **mə:di** 202):

dall > *dáill* (1), *doyill* (2–3), i.e. **dail'**; the initial token is more progressive;

barr > *barra ná ceánn ar an arbhar* RBÉ4, *bíonn a ngrá acub ar bhárraí a méar* **!869P** CABI §38(b) v. 6;

bin > **b' a:n.ə** 485; *lann* > **lənə** ~ **lanə** **!ZCP**; *muíng* > *muingeannaí* RBÉ5;

am > *amantaí* **a:-** 757, **a:-** s.v. *am*, s.v. *corr scréachóig*, *amantaí* ~ *amannaí* RBÉ2.

tuile > **ti:l' t' i** *ogəs* **!ZCP** *tuilte agus; paidir* > **pə:dr' əxi** **869Pt**.

4.87 -óg > -ógaí ~ -ógachaí

The ending **-əxi**: *-achaí* 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 **-ə**, noted from one speaker: **894Cs**, 4.157). These nouns still have dominant plural **-ógaí**, e.g.

féasóg > **f' i:so:gi**: M;

coirceog > **kɔr'ək'ɔ:gi m'æ:xən** (Smds)04B *coirceogaí meachan*.

However, *-ógachaí* does occur, e.g.

ciseog > **nə k'if'ɔ:gəxi: 13Jdt** (only example);

coirceog > **kɔr'ək'ɔ:gəxi: ... kɔr'ək'ɔ:gi: ... kɔr'ək'ɔ:gi: ... Mtí;**

tornóg > **ənsnə | taurnɔ:gəxi: 20A** *insna tornógachaí*.

Rare: *fíósóig* (cp. adjective *fíósóigeach* S) > *fíósóigeachaí* S, *fíósóigí* 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 *-ógachaí*. Speaker **20C** responded on separate occasions with *-achaí* in three nouns. It appears the noun in *-óg* with most *-achaí* in the plural is *coirceog*, which is a tri-syllabic stem (longer than the usual disyllabic stems with *-óg*). Cp. semantically related *punannachaí* (common) and *dornánachaí* (rare) (4.59).

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

	-ɔ:gi: M, Mq	-ɔ:gəxi: Mperm	20Cq	12Jq
<i>bodóg</i>	+	Øperm	-i:	
<i>putóg</i>	+	Øperm	-i:	
<i>fuinneog</i>	+	Øperm	-i:	
<i>gleoiteog</i>	+	?Øperm	-i:	
<i>gráinneog</i>	+	✓	-i:	-i:
<i>easóg</i>	+	✓	-i: ¹	
<i>cuasnóg</i>	+	✓	-əxi: -i:	-i:
<i>bruithneog</i>	+	✓	-əxi:	-i:
<i>coirceog</i>	+	M, ✓	-əxi:	-əxi:
<i>tamhnóg</i>	+	✓	(ta'vnəxi:)	(ta'vnəxi:)

4.88 Masculine *-ach* > *-aigh* ~ *-aí* ~ *-acha(í)*

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

	Radical syllables	Plural	e.g.
I	a Monosyllabic roots	-ə, -i:, -əxi:	<i>bairneach</i>
	b	-i:	<i>bealach</i>
	c	-i:, -əxi:	<i>giolcach</i>
	d	-əxi:	<i>scoirneach</i>
II	a Polysyllabic roots	-i:, -əxi:	<i>Sasanach</i>
	b	-ə, -i:, -əxi:	<i>Clochartach</i>

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

Ia Most singular disyllabic nouns take three plural endings: *-ə*, *-i:*, *-əxi:*, e.g.

¹ From initial response **æ:sɔ:gə^k | 20Cq**, where the speaker was about to use the plural in **əxi:**.

² For marginal plural alternants in **-i:hə** (*tosach* and *lugach* being the most anomalous), see *lugach*, *robálach*, *tosach* (4.90; cp. plurals of nouns in singular *-í*, 4.73, and related *Giúdach* > *Giúdaíthe* SID.46.368, etc.). Cp. *crú* > **krihi:hə** (4.74).

bairn'əx *bairneach* > **bairn'ə** *bairn'i*: **bairn'əxi**.

- Ib** A few disyllabic singular nouns generally take plural **-i**: only:
bealach,¹ *cladach*, *éadach*, *orlach* and (generally) *criathrach*,
portach and *ualach*, perhaps also *clúdach*.
- Ic** Another small subset takes **-i**: and **-əxi**: (but no **-ə**):
Domhnach, *giolcach*, *fuilleach* (rarely *portach*; for some speakers
 (in query) also *ualach*).
- Id** A few monosyllabic roots (attested frequently in the plural) take **-əxi**: only:
corach, *collach*, *scoirneach*, *speirtheach*.
- Ila** Polysyllabic roots regularly take **-i**, **-əxi**: , e.g.
sasənəx *Sasanach* > **sasəni**: **sasənəxi**: ,
o:ga:nəx *ógánach* > **o:ga:ni**: **o:ga:nəxi**: ,
ʃe:pl'i:n'əx *séiplíneach* > **ʃe:pl'i:n'i**: **ʃe:pl'i:n'əxi**: .
 Only five trisyllabic roots occur in my material, they have **-i**: , **-əxi**: , i.e.
Albanach > *Albanaí*, *Albanachaí*;
Caitliceach > *Caitilicí*, *Caitiliceachaí*;
Meireacánach > *Meireacánaí*;²
Gearmánach > *Gearmánaí*, *Gearmánachaí*;
 cp. *Aifriceánach* > *Aifriceánachaí* **35E** (highly literate speaker).
- Ilb** The plural in **-ə** occurs in particular with monosyllabic roots (Ia). There are, however, a few exceptions in the data. Trisyllabic singulars in **-əx** are mostly proper names. Plural **-ə** use in these nouns is obsolescent in contrast with **-i**: , **-əxi**: . Those which were recorded with plural **-ə** are surnames:

nə kahəsə **18J7094** *na Cathasaigh*,
nə kloxərtə **892MARN**, **18JARN**, **20C** *na Clochartaigh*,
na Cualánaigh **892M1590**,
nə flahərtə wə:rə **S** *na Flathartaigh mhóra* (also **869P**);
 (cp. surnames in monosyllabic roots:
bu:r:kə *Búrcaigh*, **ki:lə** *Caolaigh*, **gi:rə** *Gaoraigh*, **ma:l'ə** *Máilligh*,
pe:rə *Paoraigh*, **pə:lə** *Pólaigh*, but *Ceallaigh* ~ *Ceallachaí*,
ʃo:g'ə >> **ʃo:g'i**: *Seoighigh*, *Seoigí*;
 cp. surname in disyllabic root: *Ciobúnachaí*);
 and nationalities:
Éireanna ~ *Éireannaí* **852S**,
loxrənə ~ **loxrəni**: **894Cs** *Lochrannaigh* ~ *Lochrannaí*.

Cp. the monosyllable in *-ch*, *fiach dubh f'iax duw* > **f'ia** **ɣuvə** **Mq**, **f'iaxəni**: **duvə** **Mq** (4.77).

4.89 Avoidance of homophony

Table 4.5 presents the plural forms heard in masculine nouns in **-əx**. 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 bealacháí eile* **60M**, and *bealacháí eile* **66N**, heard from these two younger speakers only.

² I cannot find **Meireacánachaí* (cp. *Aifriceánachaí*) in my notes but it almost certainly occurs, though less frequently than *Meireacánaí* and the latter is probably preferred by speakers.

maintain a distinction between *corachaí* and *coraí* (the genitive singular in dialects to the south, where *corach* is feminine and where plural *corachaí* 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. **kol'ə** *coiligh*, with the noun **kolhə** *culaith*, and **kolə** *codladh* and verbal adjective **koli:** *codlaí(the)*). The fish-name *ballach* has been heard with both **-ə** and **-əxi:** very frequently in the plural but more rarely with **-i:**. 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 *féarachaí* of *féarach*, a noun rarely used in the plural. See also material from **852S** (4.138) and **869P** (4.145) below. Cp. genitive singular **-əx** > **-ə** ~ **-i:** dependent on syllable count and other criteria (3.19).

4.90 List

Although further research is necessary, there is some indication that **-i:** and **-əxi:** are general in East Iorras Aithneach. No token of **-ə** 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*

Word	-ə	-i:	-əxi:
cp. <i>Aifriceánach</i>			-əxi: 35E
<i>Albanach</i>		+	-əxi: 64M
<i>Árainneach</i>			-əxi: M
<i>bairneach</i>	bairn'ə SM, 52J	+	bairn'əxi: , e.g. M
<i>ballach</i>	ba:lə M	18J7791	ba:ləxi: 01J , M
<i>bacach</i>	20Cq , 20Myq	+	+
<i>Bairéad(ach)</i>		bir'e:di 01J , Mq	
<i>bealach</i>		b'æ:li:	<i>bealachai eile</i> 66N
<i>bithiúnach</i>		Mq	b'ihu:nəxi: S
<i>bodach</i>			bodəxi: mo:rə P
<i>bogach</i>	bogə !19J		bogəxi: M
<i>breallach</i>	br'æ:lə M		br'æ:ləxi: M , <i>breallacha</i> Clad171
<i>Breatnach</i> ¹	-nhə S , x1 11CARN , Mq		
<i>brollach</i>	brələ S		
<i>bromach</i>	brumə M , x2 892MARN		bruməxi: 32J
<i>Búrca(ch)</i>	869P , 892MARN , 18JARN		
<i>búrcach</i> (potato)	burkə S , 01J	bur:ki: 01J	
<i>Cait(i)liceach</i>		<i>Caitilicí</i> S ,	<i>Caitiliceachaí</i> S ,

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

-br'æ:nhə **n' tr'ur æn' ə'd'er fí:** *Breatnaigh an triúr a'inn, a deir sí.*

-f'ek'am' fí:b' ə'du:r't' m'e hən' S *Feicim sib, a dúirt mé hén.*

Word	-ə	-i:	-əxi:
		<i>Caitiligi</i> x1 35EARN	<i>Caitileachaf</i> 892M, S, <i>Caitiligeachaf</i> 869P
<i>Caolach</i>	x1 01CARN		
<i>Cathasach</i>	kahəsə ARN7094	kahəsi: 899P	
<i>Ceallach</i>	k'æ:lə 892MARN		k'æ:ləxi:
<i>ceithearnach</i>		k' ehərni: Mq	
<i>Ciobúnach</i>			k'ibu:nəxi: 03C
<i>cionach</i>			k'unhəxi: M
<i>ciontach</i>		gə x'unti: nə he:r'ən', (MP)04B <i>dhe chiontaí na hÉirinn</i>	
<i>cladach</i>		+	
<i>cléireach</i>			11C
<i>Clochánach</i>		ARN7857	
<i>Clochartach</i>	20C, 892M, 18J (ARN x4)	kloxərti: 899P	kloxərtəxə 20C
<i>chlúdach</i>			+, e.g. 01CARN
<i>coileach</i>	kol'ə v'ogə S	!19J	52Jq
<i>collach</i>			SM
<i>comhairleach</i>			852SRBÉ
<i>comhráiteach</i>			ko:ra:f'əxi: S
<i>corach</i>			+, e.g. 869P, ARN x17
<i>créachtach</i>		869P	
<i>criathrach</i>	kr' iərħə S	<< kr' iərhi: S	+
<i>Cú(a)lánach</i>	892M1590	11C5313, Mq	+
<i>Domhnach</i>		+	+
<i>cp. Dubhchrónach</i>		11CARN	
<i>éadach</i>		+	
<i>earrach</i>	29Cq	29Cq, 52Jq	21Ptq
<i>Éireannach</i>	Éireanna 852S	+	875T, 01J
<i>fathach</i>	04Btn, 11Ctn, 20Cq, 20Myq	fahi: M	M, Semr124
<i>féarach</i>			-əxi: S
<i>fíogach</i>	x2 01CARN	x1 21PgARN	x2 894C9
<i>Flathartach</i>	nə flahərtə wo:rə S	03V, Mq	
<i>folach</i>			869P
<i>fothrach</i>		forhəxi ən f'e:p'e:l' 04B ~ <i>chaí an tséipéil</i>	
<i>Francach</i>	nə fra:/æŋkə 01J, ARN x4	852S, 21PgARN (x1)	
<i>francach</i>	fraŋkə 43M, fræŋkə wo:rə S		
<i>freangach</i>	80C		
<i>fuílleach</i>		fuighligh LL102 ⇒ fuíllí	M
<i>Gaorach</i>	892MARN, 18JARN		
<i>Gearaltach</i>		x1 892MARN	
<i>Gearmánach</i>		x1 892MARN	+
<i>gearrbhodach</i>		g' a:rwoði: SM	20Myq
<i>geolbhach</i>			g' o:lwəxi: S
<i>giolcach</i>		+	893P
<i>gliomach</i>	M, 26Pq, 52Jq, 80C	29Cq	894C, M, 29Cq
<i>gnothach</i>		gruhi: M	
<i>grabhlach</i>			grauləxi M
<i>Gréigeach</i>	46.I.48	852S	
<i>Guairimeach</i>			x1 21PgARN
<i>iolrach</i>		olri: Mq	
<i>lannach</i>			la:nəxi: 01J
<i>Lochl/rannach</i>	x1 892MARN, 894Cs x2	894Cs x2, x3 ARN, + >>	+

740 Plural of nouns

Word	-ə	-i:	-əxi:
<i>Loingseach</i>	869P		
<i>lugach</i> ¹	lugə S	46.1121, pl and gpl ə bant' lugi: ... lugi: P ag <i>baint lugaí ... lugaí</i>	lugəxi: S, 80C , <i>lugacha</i> Clad132
<i>Máille(ach)</i>	nə ma:l'ə 11C , S >>	+	
<i>Máirtíneach</i>		869P	+
<i>mairnéalach</i>		869P	
<i>malach</i>		malhi: S, P	
<i>manach</i>		04B	
<i>mangach</i>	S, 20Cq , 80C	+	M, P
<i>marcach</i>	cp. !894C9		
<i>malrach</i>		<i>malraí</i> Sq	<i>marlachai</i> 21Ptq
<i>Meireacánach</i>		x1 11CARN	
<i>M/muimhneach</i>	852S , 04B!	852S	SM; also <i>na hathmhuimhneachai</i> S
<i>muirbheach</i> ± fem (3.4)			S, 20A
<i>ógánach</i>		+	-acha 869PDT21
<i>orlach</i>		+	
<i>págánach</i>		S	852S , S
<i>Paorach</i>	S, 21J and his brother		
<i>Pólach</i>	nə po:lə S, 27Cl		
<i>portach</i>		x5 ARN, porti: S >>>	portəxi: S; <i>portacha</i> 875PABg62
<i>príosúnach</i>			pr'isu:nəxi: S
<i>réiteach</i>			S, x1 35EARN
<i>robálach</i> ²			S
<i>ronnach</i>	x4 894C9 , SM, P, 21Ptq , 29Cq	+	M, P, 26Pq , 52Jq
<i>ruiŋneach</i>			Mq
<i>ruilleach</i> (<i>roilleach</i>)			<i>roilleacha</i> 875P ABg23, Clad59
<i>Sasanach</i>		sə:səni: SM	sə:sənəxi: P
<i>scoirneach</i>			46.1167, 892M , 896P , 06C , 11C , SM
<i>scorach</i>			+
<i>searrach</i>	færə 20Mlt , 23M	+	
<i>seiplíneach</i>		11CARN	01J
<i>Seoige(ach)</i>	nə fo:g'ə (/ _pausa, ə) 11C , 27Md , etc.,	<i>Seoigí Innis Bhearchain</i> !21J	
<i>sionnach</i>	funə SM, funhə 21Ptq , 52Jq	+	S, 52Jq
<i>Spáinneach</i>	x16 ARN	+, !39D	x1 21Pg ARN
<i>speirtheach</i>			sp'ər'həxi: 23B , sp'or'əxi: M, sp'orhəxi: 64Me
cp. <i>spriollach</i>			FFG
<i>stócach</i>	869P , 11C , 01M , ARN x3	869P	875TLL
<i>tamhnach</i> ± fem (3.32)	ta:vnə Sq		S >>
<i>teallach</i>		!ZCP, 892M 1179, 894C , Sq, Mq, 11CARN	cp. t'æltrəxi: Sq
<i>tíoránach</i>		11CARN	881J
<i>tosach</i> ³	tosə S	tosi: S	
<i>Turcach</i>		852SRBÉ	
<i>ualach</i>		uəli: >>	uələxi: 20Cq , 20Myq

¹ Also **lugi:hə**. Cp. alternative singular forms cited in FGB *lug*, *luga*, *lugán*.

² Also **rubəli:hə**. Cp. alternate singular *robálaí*.

³ Also **tosi:hə**, influenced by (plural by-form of) VN and noun *tosáí*.

4.91 Variation; -úch; Gender

An instance of alternation in close succession is:

- ... lɑ:n ɪ̯e ʃunə M ... lán le sionnaigh.
- hæ S Ha?
- ɪ̯e ʃunə M Le sionnaigh.
- o: ɪ̯e ʃunəxi: S Ó! le sionnacháí.

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

Nouns in -úch have (been noted with) -úcháí plurals only:

- cearrbhach* > k'æ:rhuxi: 21Pt *cearrbhacháí*;
- díthriúch* > d'í:r'huxi: M *díthriúcháí*.

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

Feminine nouns regularly take əxi:, e.g. *cailleach* > *cailleacháí*. But some have əxi: ~ i:, e.g. *procach* > *proki* 46.149. Others may in fact be masculine or have both genders, e.g. *bualtrach* > *bualtraígh* 866ESemr86, *buáltri*: 01P, *buáltri*: [genitive singular and plural] S, *bualtracháí*; recall *giolcach* in Table 4.5 > *na giolcaigh* [x3] 869P5 => g'ulki:, *giolcacháí* (feminine in FGB but masculine 1D gen sg *giolca* in our dialect, cp. gen sg *giolca* LFRM s.v. *móin*. Note *bratach* (feminine) 'flag' > brætəxi:, e.g. 06Mc.

4.92 Conditioning by following context

As mentioned in 4.89, *ballach* has common plurals ba'lə and ba'ləxi:. The plural token of *ballach* > ba'li: recorded in my notes occurs in a phrase before a full vowel, i.e.

bhí 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:

... gə ɣl'umi: o:gə | ... k'æ'nəxt gl'umə ... gə ɣl'umə ɪ̯e ... nə gl'umə | 25M ... dhe ghliomaigh óga, ... ag ceannacht gliomaigh ... dhe ghliomaigh le ... na gliomaigh.

(Contrast plural gl'um oxri: [x2] 43Jt *gliomaigh 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 *gliomaí* suggest a similar constraint affects ə ~ 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

	+ <i>-acha(i)</i>	+ <i>-r(e)acha(i)</i>	other
<i>ainm</i>		20Myq	<i>-neacha</i> 20Cq
<i>anam</i>	21Ptq		
<i>stoirm</i>	20Cq, 21Ptq		
<i>carraig</i>	20Cq	20Myq	
<i>splanc</i>	20Cq	20Myq	
<i>nead</i>	20Cq		
<i>gad</i>		21Ptq	
<i>scailp</i>	21Ptq skalp-		
<i>spreab</i>	21Ptq		
<i>blaosc</i>	20Cq, 21Ptq		
<i>téad</i>	20Cq	20Myq, 20Cq (following 20Myq)	
<i>fréamh</i>		20Cq, 21Ptq	
<i>stéig</i>	20MMq, 21Ptq		
	+ <i>t(e)acha(i)</i>	+ <i>-tr(e)acha(i)</i>	
<i>draein</i>	21Ptq	20Cq, 20Myq,	
<i>traein</i>		20Cq, 20Myq	
<i>aill</i>	20Cq a:ltəxə		
<i>meall</i>	20Cq	20Myq, 21Ptq	
<i>ginn</i>	20Cq g' a:ntəxə / i:	20Myq g' a:ntərəxi:, 21Ptq g' æ:ntərəxi: 21Ptq	
<i>giall</i>			
<i>scoil</i>	20Cq		
<i>sleán</i>	20Cq		
<i>slinn</i>	21Ptq fl' a:n-		
<i>baile</i>	20Cq		
<i>caladh</i>	20Cq		
<i>culaith</i>	20Cq, 21Ptq		
<i>stail</i>		21Ptq	
<i>gail</i>	20Cq		
<i>léine</i>	20Cq, 20Myq		
	+ <i>téachaí</i>		
<i>béilí</i>	20Cq, 20Myq		<i>-éachaí</i> 20Cq, 20Myq, <i>-óchaí</i> 21Ptq
<i>léine</i>	20Cq		
<i>cine</i>	20Myq k' i:nt' e:xi:		
<i>tine</i>	21Ptq t' i:nt' -		

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 **əxi**: in two sets, i.e.

± **r** preceded by the extension **t**: <**trəxi**> ~ <**təxi**>, e.g.

léine > *léintreachaí* ~ *léinteachaí*;

± **r** without the extension **t**: <**rəxi**> ~ <**əxi**>, e.g.

splanc > *splancrachaí* ~ *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 <∅> (where ∅ = absence of <**r**>). One can classify three main types of speaker:

1. Speakers who use <**r**> more often than <∅> (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 **rəxi**: than **trəxi**;
 - 2b Speakers who use more **trəxi**: than **rəxi**;
3. Speakers who use <∅> 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 4.7 Speaker classes in (r)

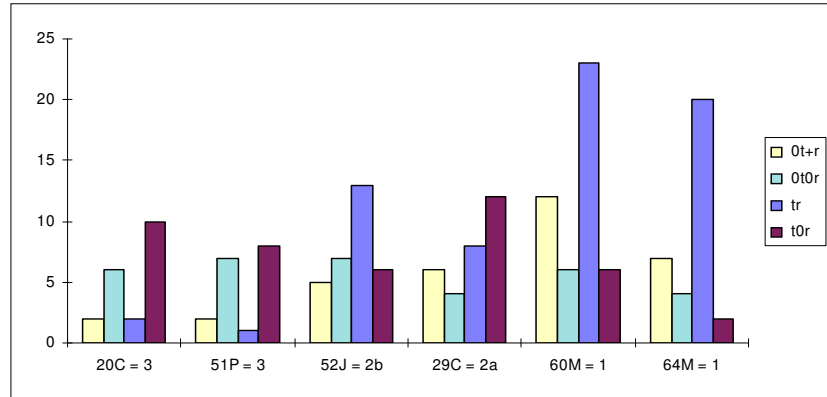
Class	rəxi : >>/= əxi :	trəxi : >> təxi :	Number of speakers
1	+	+	18
2a	+	–	11
2b	–	+	4
3	–	–	4

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: **0t+r** = <**rəxi**>, **0t0r** = <**əxi**>; **tr** = <**trəxi**>, **t0r** = <**təxi**>. In the tables I use **0t+r** = <**rəxi**>, 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 <**trəxi**>, higher than any older

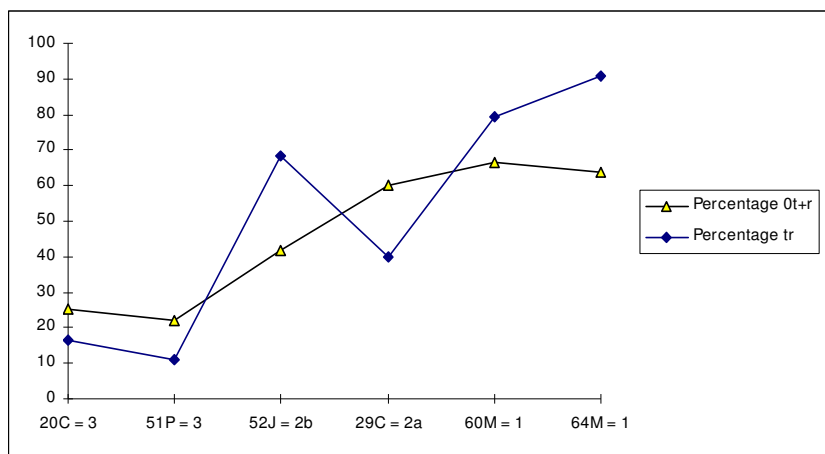
¹ To mention only one point of detail: his duplicational analysis (R. Hickey 1985: 149–50) of, for example, *carraig* > *carraigreachaí* (claiming extension *r* is duplicated from root *-r-*), needs to be revised given plurals such as *carraigneachaí* (where extension *r* >> *n*), and words without *r* in the root such as *blaoscrachaí*, *leaprachaí*, *scalprachaí*, 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)aí* 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'ltrəxi:** **60M**, *cliabh* > **kl'eiv't'rəxi:** **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 <**rəxi:**> (classes 1 and 2a), that most speakers have more <**rəxi:**> than <**təxi:**> (classes 1 and 2b), but that a high proportion also have the opposite pattern, i.e. higher <**təxi:**> (class 2a). A small minority have a very low yield of **r** all round (class 3). An equally small minority have relatively low <**rəxi:**> but relatively high <**trəxi:**> (class 2b). In Figure 4.2 the percentage proportion of <**rəxi:**> and <**trəxi:**> is given for the same six representative speakers. This presentation makes clear the greater range of variation within the variable class of (<**trəxi:**>) words (a range of 80% between the lowest and highest users of <**trəxi:**>) than within the variable class of (<**rəxi:**>) words (a range of 40%). It appears, therefore, that <**rəxi:**> is more constant than <**trəxi:**> in two ways: (i) 29 out of 37, i.e. 78% of speakers sampled, have higher <**rəxi:**> than <**təxi:**>; (ii) the variant <**rəxi:**> has a narrower range of variation with a higher bottom limit and lower upper limit than <**trəxi:**>.

Figure 4.2 Characteristic speakers in classes 1, 2a–b, 3; percentage <r> use

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

The lexical class of nouns which take <trəxi:> 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 <trəxi:> in contrast with <təxi:> as:

- (i) Words where <trəxi:> is dominant, i.e. **trəxi:** >> **təxi:**;
- (ii) Words where both variants are fairly equally common, i.e. **trəxi:** ≈ **təxi:**;
- (iii) Words where <təxi:> is dominant, i.e. **təxi:** >> **trəxi:**.

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.

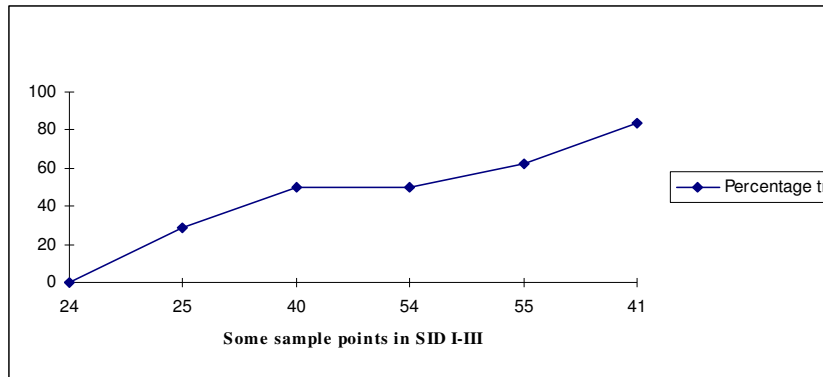
From column (i) in Table 4.8 it is obvious that, for example, far more tokens of *alltracha(i)* have been recorded than *alltachai*. In column (ii) one can see that, for example, the number of attested *scoltrachai* and *scoltachai* are fairly equal. In column (iii) it is clear that *trae(i)ntachai* and *drae(i)ntachai* are the most frequent. (A few words, i.e. *díle*, *teile* (but **t'eltr'oxi:**), without definite attestations of <trəxi:>, have been included in this class as I believe they most probably have <trəxi:> variants. Note *cráin* > *crántrachai* elsewhere in my notes and in Table 4.9 from SID, and *díltreáchai* IA.)

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

(i) trəxi: >> təxi:	(ii) trəxi: ≈ təxi:	(iii) trəxi: << təxi:
<i>aill</i> 18 2	<i>baile</i> 5 8	<i>béilí</i> 1 4
<i>ál</i> 8 1	<i>caladh</i> 4 4	<i>cráin</i> 0 9
<i>*cabhail</i> 2 1	<i>culaith</i> 8 12	<i>díle</i> 0 (1) 9
<i>gabháil</i> 4 1	<i>*ginn</i> 15 9	<i>draein</i> 6 16
<i>*gail</i> 3 1	<i>léine</i> 6 9	<i>teile</i> 0 (1) 8
<i>giall</i> 16 3	<i>líne</i> 4 4	<i>tine</i> 4 14
<i>meall</i> 27 2	<i>pian</i> 3 2	<i>tolach</i> 1 6
<i>sail</i> 8 1	<i>scoil</i> 10 9	<i>traein</i> 4 10
<i>sleán</i> 7 2	<i>slinn</i> 2 3	<i>teallach</i> 1
<i>speal</i> 11 2	<i>tonn</i> 2 2	
<i>stail</i> 13 2	<i>tuile</i> 2 3	
<i>stól</i> 9 3		

4.96 (trəxi:) 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 <trəxi:> is strongest in the west, although the sample is very small. Similar to interspeaker variation in Iorras Aithneach, some points have little or no <trəxi:>; whereas others have frequent <trəxi:>. Six characteristic points are arrayed in Figure 4.3 according to the percentage of <trəxi:> found in the attested words.

Figure 4.3 Characteristic points in SID; proportion of <trəxi:> vs. <təxi:>

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: *aill* 267 (points 51 and 53–9, with singular *áil*, must be disregarded); SIDII–III: *cráin* 10, 110, 114; *culaith* 283; *ding*, *ginn* 536; *gleann* 1078 (no example of *-tracha(i)*); *léine* 284–6; *speal* 589–92; *stail* 169; *tine* 540–50; *tonn* 1060–1.

Table 4.9 Membership and classification of (træxi:); SIDi–III points 22–63, 87

tr >> tØr			tr ≈ tØr			tØr >> tr		
<i>aill</i>	20	0	<i>stail</i>	7	12	<i>cráin</i>	13	1
<i>ginn</i>	17	3				<i>culaith</i>	9	2
<i>speal</i>	10	1				<i>léine</i>	24	1
<i>tonn</i>	14	3				<i>tine</i>	15	2

Four words — *aill*, *speal*, *cráin* and *tine* — are in the same category (i.e. column) in both samples (Iorras Aithneach Table 4.8, and SIDi–III Table 4.9). Other words are in different categories but not altogether randomly; words change, left or right, by one column only: *stail*, *culaith* and *léine* have more <træxi:> in Iorras Aithneach; *ginn* and *tonn* have more <træxi:> in SID. From this evidence it appears that similar conditions are in force all over Connacht. The phonological base most favourable for <træxi:> 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 / -a:l** are highly favourable for a nonpalatal <træxi:> 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 <træxi:> than *béilí* presumably because of, in some degree, the former's low stressed vowel. What seems to differentiate *léine*, *líne* and *caladh*, *culaith* with greater use of <træxi:> from *teile*, *tine*, *tolach* and *díle* is the initial consonant. It may be that initial single coronals favour single coronal extension <tæxi:>, 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 <træxi:> through dissimilation; *cráin* especially so, perhaps to avoid a **kr...tr** sequence.

The phonological facultative conditioning of <træxi:> apparent in the data is therefore quite complex. The dominant condition is the status of the stem coda on the sonority hierarchy, **-al / -a:l** (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) **V:xi:** plurals where **V:** 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:

- <tæxi:> dominance (indicated by an asterisk, e.g. *23),
- <tæxi:> ≈ <træxi:>, equal tokens of both variants (underlined, e.g. 39),
- <træxi:> dominance (indicated in bold, e.g. 41).

Table 4.10 (<trəxi>) in SIDI-III, points 22–64, 87

	-tracháí	-tacháí		-tracháí	-tacháí		-tracháí	-tacháí
22	1	0	<u>39</u>	2	2	50	3	2
*23	0	3	<u>40</u>	3	3	<u>51</u>	3	3
*24	0	4	41	5	1	<u>53</u>	3	3
*25	2	5	42	2	1	<u>54</u>	4	4
33	0	1	<u>43</u>	3	2	55	5	3
*35	0	3	<u>43a</u>	3	2	56	4	3
36	1	0	43b(b)	5	2	<u>57</u>	3	3
*37	1	3	44	3	1	58	4	2
*38	1	4	45	1	1	<u>59</u>	3	3
*47	1	3	<u>46</u>	3	3	60	0	1
*43b(a)	2	4	48	1	1	61	1	1
*49	0	3						

There is clearly a contrast between points 23–38 and 49 on the one hand, in Co. Clare and East Galway, which have little <trəxi>, and the rest of Connacht on the other, which has <trəxi> (often more than it has <təxi>). The only western exceptions are points 43b(a) and 47 (cp. point 49) in West Conamara with dominant <təxi>. 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 <trəxi>. On the other hand, it also reflects the general variability of usage and the large <təxi>-dominant minority pattern similar to points 43b(a), 47, 49 and the majority pattern further east.

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

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

- (i) Words where <rəxi> is dominant, i.e. **rəxi** >> **əxi**;
- (ii) Words where both variants are fairly equally common, i.e. **rəxi** ≈ **əxi**;
- (iii) Words where <əxi> is dominant, i.e. **rəxi** << **əxi**.

Table 4.11 lists the relevant lexemes, with the number of tokens recorded.¹ One can see from Table 4.11 that *téadracháí*, for example, in column (i) is far more common than *téadacháí* but that *áitracháí* (i.e. **a:t rəxi**), for example, in column (iii) is far less common than *áiteacháí*.

¹ The usual realisation of words in column (iii) is <əxi>. Tokens of <əxi> were not counted except in the case of *coirb* (nowadays an infrequent word). In the case of *cis*, *slám* and *stríoc*, plurals *ciseannaí*, *slámannaí* and *stríocannaí* are most common; so also *stumpa* > *stumpaí*. In the case of *seas* extension -*ál*- is optional. The forms *eanga* > *eangacháí* / *eangaí*, rarely *eangracháí* (Ó Curnáin 1997: 169), are mistaken for *eangach* > *eangacháí* by Stenson (2003: xxxvi).

Table 4.11 Membership and classification of (rəxi:)

(i) rəxi: >> əxi:	(ii) rəxi: ≈ əxi:	(iii) rəxi: << əxi:
<i>fód</i> 11 1	<i>ainm</i> 4 7	<i>áit</i> 2 <<
<i>fréamh</i> 21 4	<i>blaosc</i> 5 6	<i>ascaill</i> 1 <<
<i>gad</i> 4 1	<i>carraig</i> 17 12	<i>cis</i> 1 <<
<i>leac</i> 15 2	<i>craobh</i> 5 5	<i>cleite</i> 1 <<
<i>léas</i> 11 1	<i>déas</i> 5 7	<i>coirb</i> 1 7
<i>nead</i> 20 3	<i>eiris</i> 5 6	<i>eanga</i> 1 <<
<i>scailp</i> 12 3	<i>glaise</i> 5 3	<i>lata</i> 3 <<
<i>sop</i> 5 0	<i>leaba</i> 4 2	<i>leide</i> 1 <<
<i>téad</i> 21 1	<i>seas</i> 9 5	<i>leidhce</i> 1 <<
	<i>slat</i> 11 7	<i>lota</i> 1 <<
	<i>splanc</i> 10 11	<i>slám</i> 1 <<
	<i>spreab</i> 9 6	<i>stríoc</i> 1 <<
	<i>stéig</i> 4 6	<i>stumpa</i> 1 <<
	<i>pluid</i> 1 2	

4.99 (rəxi:) in SID

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

Table 4.12 Some lexemes with (rəxi:) from SIDI–III (Clare and Connacht)

	rəxi:	əxi:
(i) rəxi: >> əxi:	<i>seas</i> 5	1
	<i>dias</i> 8	4
	<i>splanc</i> 4	2
	(<i>leac</i> 1)	0)
(ii) rəxi: ≈ əxi:	<i>clglaise</i> 3	2
	<i>díog</i> 9	8
	<i>fód</i> 3	3
	<i>carraig</i> 11	15 (+ 1 n)
	(<i>craobh</i> 2)	1)
(iii) rəxi: << əxi:	<i>leaba</i> 3	34
	<i>ainm</i> 1	(9 nəxi:)
	<i>ionga</i> 0	12 (+ 8 n / l)
	<i>cleite</i> 0	24
	<i>áit</i> 0	28

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 *fód* and

¹ SIDi: *cleite* 36; *ionga* 136; *fód* 167; SIDII–III: *áit* 249; *leaba* 499; *splanc* 549; *clglaise* or *díog* 630; *dias* (also *déas*) 661; *craobh* 970; *carraig* 1082; *seas* 1092; *ainm* 1145; *leac* Vocab. point 26.

leaba which have less <ɾəxi> 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 <ɾəxi> 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 <ɾəxi>, 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 <ɾəxi> in Connacht. The factors involved are much less transparent than those for (trəxi) (4.96). Words ending in ə in the singular tend not to have <ɾəxi> (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 <ɾəxi> (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 <ɾəxi>, is quite marginal in the overall patterning of (ɾəxi).

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 <əxi> far more often than <ɾəxi> tend to be the speakers who use <əxi> with words that, in the dialect as a whole, generally have <ɾəxi>. That is to say that speakers of class 3 in Table 4.7 above tend to have <əxi> with words of class (i) in Table 4.11. Similarly, lexically uncommon <trəxi> is found mostly from speakers in the majority class 1 in Table 4.7 above, i.e. strong <trəxi> users. This noncategorical relationship is confirmed by the following two tables.

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

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

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

Speaker Class	Speaker	Ratio
1	20My, 30P, 36N, 60M, 64M, 78C, 78R	<u>7:18</u>
2a	25Mn, 43M	2:11
2b	52J	1:3
3	20C	1:4

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.¹

4.101 Variable (V) → <ə> <i>

Variation between the plural suffixes <ə> and <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:

- aobh*: *aobha* in **gə nə hi:w e P dhe na haobha é; nə hi:wə ʎ'o:həb 01J** *na haobha leothub*; also SID.46 q 47; but *aobhaí* FFG s.v.
- bliain*: *ná bliantaí as cíonn blianta 'na dhiaidh. 11C*;
-b'i:n nə bl'iantə flaiə:ʎ 01J *Bíonn na blianta ag flaidheáil.*
-ha Ha?
- ... im'i:ns nə bl'iantə, bl'ianti: 01J ... *imíonn na blianta, bliantaí.*
- caora*: *caoire* is most common but *caoirí* seems more common for some speakers in North-West Iorras Aithneach.
- céad*: mostly **K'e:tə** but: **ʎ'e K'e:ti: bl'ian' (MP, prose) 04B** *le céadtaí bliain.*
- cloch*: **træk dər bi: xuə ʃiər er bə:l əgəs kloxi: er' gə d'iv'ən' tə kloxə tarn'i: ækəb** *M traictar buí a chuaigh siar ar ball agus clochaí air, go deimhin tá clocha tairníthe acub*;
... m'e:q ʃin' kloxə gol', ... hi:ʎ'ha: gə m'ox N'æ:rt kloxi: æs ə ml'æ:ʃtə:ʎ *M ... méid sin clocha ag goil, ... shíltheá go mbeadh neart clochaí as an mbleaistédail.*
 In these sequences it is noteworthy that Máire has **i:** preceding full vowels, i.e. (V) > <i> / _V, similar to 11C's example of *bliantaí* above.
- cois*: **-ənə xid guə:ʎ'i: s ənə xosi: M** *-Ina a chuid guailí is ina chosaí.*
-ənə xosi: -Ina chosaí?
-ənə xosə froʃin' M *-Ina chosa froisin.*
 Also in an instance where **i:** seems preferred in pausa:
- ... də xosi: | M ... do chosaí.
-hə S Hu?
-də xosə xir' suəs ... də xosə ... M *Do chosa a chuir suas ... do chosa ...*
 Note **-ə** vs. **-i:** in **b'æ:n nə gosə 01J** *bean na gcosa* (chiroprapist) vs. **mə xosi: 01J** *mo chosaí*. Perhaps **ə** is attributable to the genitive plural context in the former (i.e. older *bean na gcos*). Cp. example of *slat* > *slata* in genitive plural (3.14).
- duine*: **ə 'm'e:d 'di:n'ə ʎ'i: ā:n | əgəs nə 'di:n'ɪ:ʎ | ə ʎ [slip] ʎ'i: 'b'o: 'ā:n ... 852Stn** *an méid daoine a bhí ann, agus na daoíní a bhí beo ann ...*
 In reasonably close succession in:
b'æ:k' di:n'ə | ... dr'ibəl di:n'i: er' ə m'æ:n ... dr'ibəl di:n' orhə ... ə mud nə ni:n' ən'ʃin' a:kəb ... ə wud nə ni:n'i: a:kəb ... ə mud nə ni:n'ə | 24N *beaic daoine, ... drioball daoíní ar an mbean ... drioball daoine ortha ... i bhfud (mbud ?) na ndaoine ansin acub ... i bhfud na ndaoíní acub ... i bhfud na ndaoine.*
- scéal*: *chuir i gcló na scéalta ar fad 869P5; e:n' ʃk'e:ltə ʎit' 04Br* *aon scéalta dhuit?*; *scéaltaí acub 15W*; *scéalta gearr Mq; b'an-bhean scéalta a bhí inti seo 18JARN*;

¹ There is only one word which has been noted with both <ɾəxi> and <trəxi>: *scailp* > *sca(i)lp(r)(e)achaí* generally, but *scailp|tr
| |
achaí* 36S (but **scailp|tr
| |
achaí* is not attested). I do not classify this form *scailp|tr
| |
achaí* in this analysis as an ‘uncommon’ example of <trəxi> given that ‘uncommon’ <trəxi> contrasts with <ɾəxi> in all other cases.

mar a deireadh na seanscéalta. ARN8811; *tá na scéalta 's achuile shórt* **10B**;
sórt scéalta beaga tá a'inne **11C**, *críochnú na scéalta aige* **11C**,
ʃk' e:lti: a:lən' ukəb 11Ct scéaltaí álainn acub.

sliabh: **ʃl' e:vʲ i' wad o hir' ... o: h' e:vʲ ə l' e ... !04B**

sléibhtí i bhfad ó thúr ... ó shléibhte le ...

taoille: *taoillte ~ taoilltí* Mq.

4.102 Other descriptions

This *ə ~ i:* variation in the plural has been discussed by several scholars. Wigger (1970: 68) describes *ə ~ 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’ *ə* 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 *ə*, e.g. **ku:g' klagn' ə cúig cloigne** (also SIDIII.56.362); but also in *i:*, e.g. **k' er' ə slatɪ ceithre slataí ar fad** SIDIII.56.361. Indeed, the material in SID (for example, **krə:ntəxə crántacha** (probably prepausa) 110, cf. 349, **ər 'v' iəxi f' èm' ar bhfiachaí féin** 344, **m' e:ri də 'xos méaraí do chos** 463b, cp. 159, SIDIII.56, **slatɪ: 'marə slataí mara** SID I Mp 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 <*ə*> and <*i:*> appear in the plural for that speaker. For example, one cannot be certain that a speaker uses *bliantaí* 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 *-óg* do not belong to the class of nouns which show plural *ə ~ i:* alternation, e.g. *neantóg > neantógaí* only. One speaker, **894Cs**, however, has both *neantóga* and *neantógaí*. Similarly, *-antaí* is general, e.g. *oíche > oícheantaí*, although *oícheanta* has been noted, as discussed in 4.105. Many masculine nouns in singular *-əx -ach* also

vary plural **-ə** *-igh* 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 **ʃk'æ'nə** 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: **ʃ'e ʃk'æ'ni: | 01P le sceanaí, ʃk'æ'ni: moirə 20A sceanaí 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 <ə> and <i> in the following words in the material collated from speaker **869P** (SID.46, RBÉ, audio recordings), An Coillín:

caor, céad, cearc, cloch, cluais, cois, cuan, (-)duine, fiacail, gé, geasa, gníomh, gualainn, láimh, míle, ní, péist, pian, ríocht, scéal, scuab, súil.

E.g. *faoi gheasa ag 869Pt, faoi gheasa Fíonn 869Pt; faoi gheasa RBÉ often, but also faoi gheasaí before pausa RBÉ.*

These nouns are certainly members of his (V) class. Plural <ə> is the most frequent variant overall. Many tokens of <ə> were not counted, so that the figures for <ə> 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 <ə> 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

	Total	Consonant	Schwa	Vowel	Pausa	No environment noted
<i>-a</i>	44	20	10	15	8	11
<i>-í</i>	28	6	4	11	8	5

Most lexemes in this class show similar weighting between the two variants, i.e. dominant <ə>. 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 *súil* have been noted.

[<ə> >> <i>]	<i>caor, céad, cois, (-)duine, fiacail, gheasa, míle, ní, scéal;</i>
[<ə> ≈ <i>]	<i>(cearc), gé, péist, (pian), súil;</i>
[<i> >> <ə>]	<i>scuab.</i>

4.105 Examples

The marked nature of <i> for many members of the [<ə> >> <i>] subclass seems apparent in the single token of *míle* > *míltí* 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)í:

na druideachaí 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 cuíorthainn orthub. ... cuíora caorthainn ... RBÉ5.

Only two examples of *daoíní* were noted:

daoíní óga (also *daoine óga*); *Phósach daoíní 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, *cíoch* > *k'iaxi* 477, could not be strictly classified. Similarly, plurals in -ntaí (and -ltaí) overwhelmingly have <i> (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:

laontaí 18; *garrantaí* 622; *amantaí* 757, s.v. *am*, s.v. *corr scréachóig*, *amantaí* but also *amannaí* RBÉ2; *laethantaí* 1042; *oícheantaí* 1043, RBÉ2;

cp. *aonach* > *uíontaí* RBÉ4;

talamh > *ta:lti*: 961, *i dtaltaí mína* RBÉ5.

Only one exception was noted:

oícheanta airneáin géimhre RBÉ5.

So also, <i> occurs in -n'í: in *d'el'ig n'í*: 973 *deilgní*; *loirgní* often RBÉ; but <ə> in *ionga* > *i:ŋ'í n'ě* 453.

4.106 Potential (V) members

On the other hand, potential members of the (V) class, which have been noted with several tokens, show <ə> only. Numbers given are minimal figures, many of these words are very frequent:

adharc (2), *béas* (2), *briathar* (3), *bróig* (9), *caora* (2) also SID.46, *capall* (7), *cruach* (1), *drioball* (2), *glúin* (1), *saor* (3), *slat* (2), *sméara dubha* 650, *tír* (1).

Other potential members noted with <ə> only are:

ar uíobha na ... RBÉ4 (= *aobha*); *beanna* 485, s.v. *binn*; *gá mbosa faoi ...* RBÉ2; *gamhna* 19; *gaibhne* 715; *leabhartha* RBÉ4; *maortha bhíodh* I.12; *póga é ... deora é* RBÉ2; *sála* **869Pt**, RBÉ2.

These include many monosyllabic consonantal final roots in plural -tə and related forms:

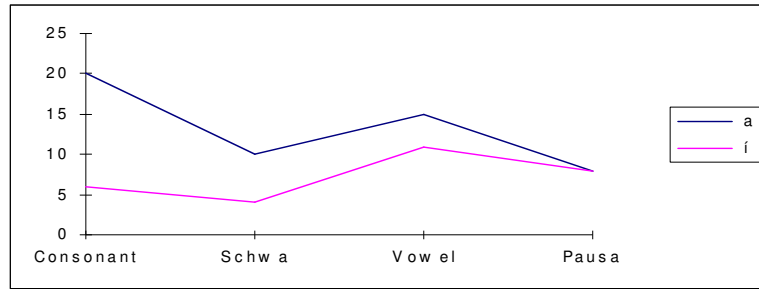
blianta (3+); *líonta* 1108; *seolta* (4); *síolta* 628 = Mp 182; *tonnta tū:ntə* 1060; *arán* > *ra:ntə* s.v. *arán*; *sluaiste* 632; *tine* (1), *bro:t'ě* bróite *bro:n't'ě* bróinte 680, *brúinte* RBÉ4; *ʃl'e:f't'ě* / -v't'ě *sléibhte* 957; *coillte* RBÉ (x2), **869Pt**, also ambiguous *kōil't'í* 967; *rón* > *ru:n't'ě* 1168; *croinnite* Mp 248; *muilte* RBÉ5. Cp. *lái* > *la:n't'í* 635 either *láinte* or *láintí* (for more common *lánta(i)*).

Contrast *ró* > *róití* RBÉ2 with *rí* > *as Teamhair na ríte* !ZCP161, but the number of tokens noted is insufficient to classify the lexemes.

Note further <ə> in:

na héanlaith nā hē:nlā 46.822, *chuile chineál éanla* RBÉ2.

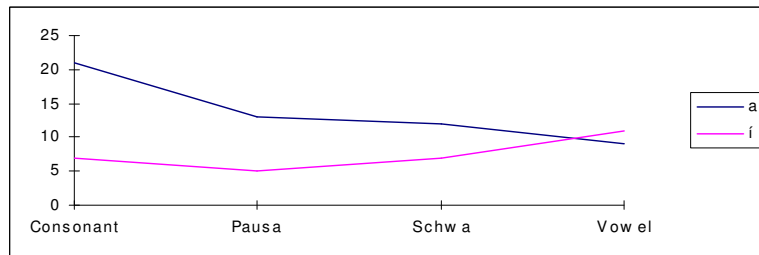
Figure 4.4 (V) and following context, 869P¹



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 <ə> before consonants but <ə> occurs least frequently before pausa for 869P whereas it is least frequent before full vowels for 894C, i.e.

<ə> for 869P	Consonant >> Schwa >> Vowel >> Pausa
<ə> for 894C	Consonant >> Pausa >> Schwa >> Vowel

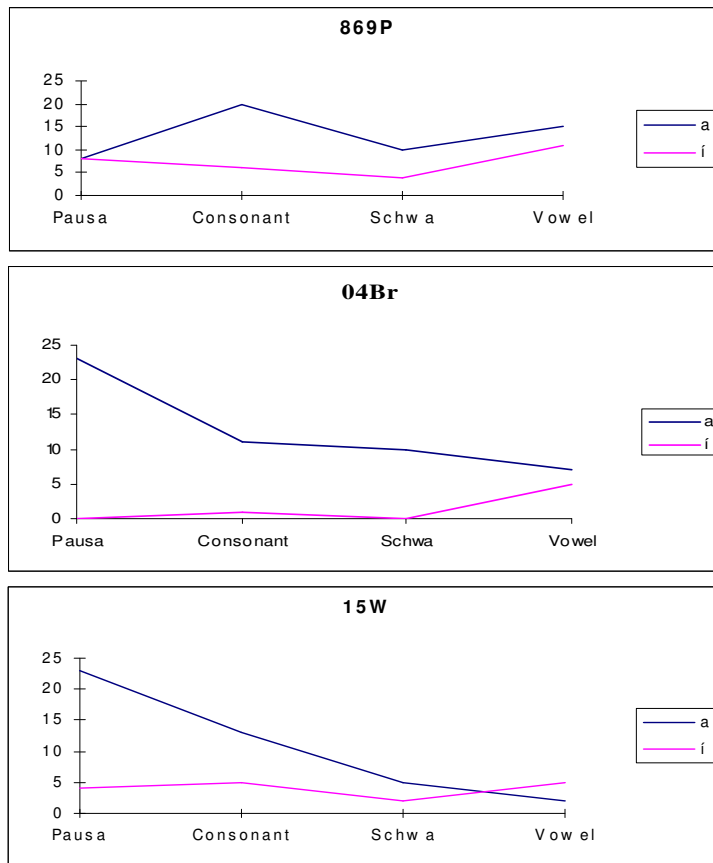
It is argued in 4.129 ff., that the conditioning factors in this scale also apply with respect to <ə>, in the (VxV) variable. This indicates the morphological relationship between (V) and (VxV). In fact certain speakers have the same ordering of conditions for the following context with (VxV) as speaker 869P has with (V).

¹ In these figures *a* represents <ə>, and *i* represents <i>.

4.108 Family: Pádraigín Mhacáí and his daughters

The sampled usage of Pádraigín Mhacáí '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 <ə> is the most favourable for his daughters:

<ə> for **869P** Consonant >> Schwa >> Vowel >> Pausa
 <ə> 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 <ə> 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% <ə>, whereas her sister **15W** has

65% <ə>. It is evident even from the sisters' conversation, without counting any variants, that **15W** is more 'fond' of <i> than **04Br**. For example, **15W** has:

*fuaraíocht na gclochaí, na tíobhaí [< teach] tá díonta le clochaí,
scéaltaí acub, na súilí go maith anois, na cearcaí 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 <ə> (and related <Vxə> for **866E**, **894Cs**, **29PM**):

869P ; <Vxə> for 894Cs and 29PM	Consonant >> Schwa >> Vowel >> Pausa
894Cs (4.157, Figure 4.18);	Consonant >> Schwa >> Pausa >> Vowel
<Vxə> for 866E (pausa and vowel)	
894C	Consonant >> Pausa >> Schwa >> Vowel
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 *súile dearga, bailte móra breá, daoine a bhí*, and *daoiní ###* from the short recording of my oldest speaker, **852S**, one can postulate the order of scaling for <ə> 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 pausa 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 pausa is independent of that phonetic contrast. It is for that reason that each dialect is free to define its own position.¹

Diachronically speaking, if our dialectal <i> is a reflex of *-ibh* (and <ə> 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 pausa, 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 <ə>, and both **894Cs** and **29PM** for <Vxə>. It is, therefore, tempting to see these speakers and variables as most conservative. On the other hand, if <i> (whatever its origin: < *-ibh* and / or *-idhe*)

¹ Cf. Hinskens (1996: 301–2) for similar variable conditioning of *n*-deletion in the Limburg dialect of Dutch. Cp. Yaeger-Dror (1993) with regard to the possible 'cognitive salience' of pausa in Hebrew stylistic conditioning.

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 <**Vxəi:**> 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 <**ə**

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) → <**VxəVxi:**>

Although <**Vxi:**> is by far the commonest realisation of this variable, e.g.

áit > **á:t əxi:**, *leac* > **l' akrəxi:**, *banais* > **banfə:xi:**,
dreatháir > **dr' ehə:rəxi:**,

plurals such as:

áit > **á:t əxə**, *leac* > **l' akrəxə**, *banais* > **banfə:xə**,
dreatháir > **dr' ehə:rəxə**,

are frequently heard from a small minority of speakers in Iorras Aithneach and from speakers in other parts of Conamara. This minority <**VxəVxəVxəVxə20C**'s usage:

1σC	> 1σCC+<əxə>	vs.	1σCə	> 1σCC+<əxi>	1σCC+<V:xi>
<i>gail</i>	> <i>galtacha</i>		<i>caladh</i>	> <i>caltacháí</i>	<i>caltaecharáí</i>
<i>scoil</i>	> <i>scoltacha</i>		<i>díle</i>	> <i>dílteacháí</i>	<i>dílteócharáí</i>

These can be contrasted with one interpretation of morpheme-boundaries: *gal#t#acha* vs. *cal#t#a#cháí*. Given my analysis, based on phonological substance one might expect that the extension vowel V:, being more substantial than ə, would perhaps favour <V:xi>. A possible explanation for the prevalence of <V:xi> is that this variant is most closely related to the surface alternate of the plural of many 1σC(C)ə nouns, which have (historically) final long-vowel plurals, some in -u:, more in -i:. For example, the final -i: of *caltacháí* and *caltaecharáí* both preserve or reflect (older) *caltai* better than *caltacha* (as though -V(:)x- was infixes preceding -i:). Another or additional, possibly related, explanation is more diachronic than the previous one. This explanation would hold that <əxə> has been added to 1σC type nouns earlier than to 1σCə nouns so that the latter take the more progressive -xi: 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.

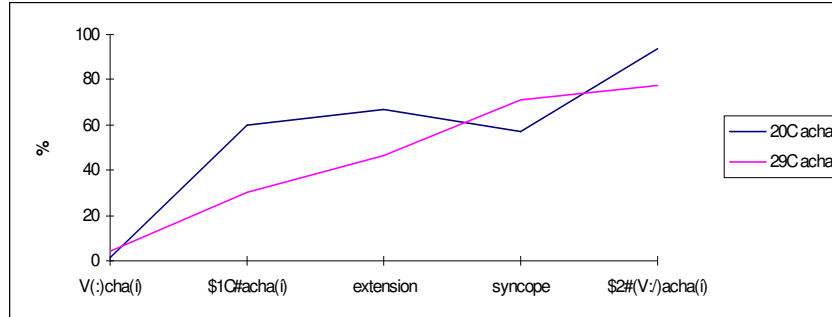
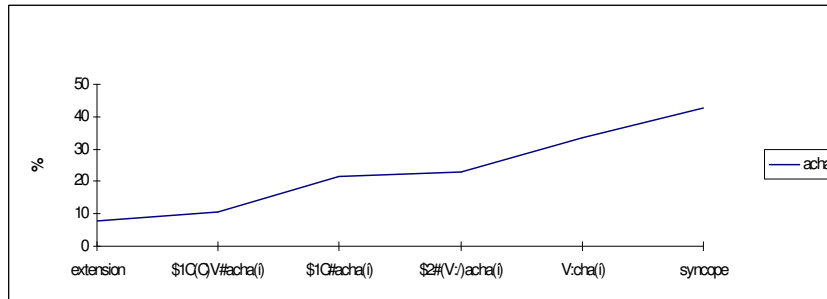
4.112 Idiolects

Speaker **29C** has a clear implicational ordered distribution of the (VxV) variants. Figure 4.7 displays her percentage usage and that of speaker **20C**.¹ (\$ = σ, i.e. syllable, in these figures, thus \$1 = 1σ, \$2 = 2σ.) This figure shows that <Vxə> is least common in the (V:xi:) class of words. Thereafter the <əxə> 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 <əxə> 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 (V:xi:) class conditions. The other conditions are not differentiated and all yield c. 60% <əxə>.

It is tempting to speculate that **29C**'s more differentiated usage represents a progression from an older system (where <əxi> is used almost categorically in the (V:xi:) class, facultatively with trisyllabic plurals, and almost not at all with tetrasyllabic plurals), to a more progressive system with higher use of <əxi> spreading (implicational) through types of trisyllabic plurals. This pattern is, however, not apparent in speaker **73P**'s usage, the youngest speaker with <əxə>. 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.²

¹ The percentages are based on the following numbers of tokens, in the morphonological order of Figure 4.7, i.e. V(:)cha(i), then \$1C#acha(i), etc.: 46, 10, 26, 7, 18 for **29C**; 58, 5, 15, 7, 31 for **20C**.

² 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.

Figure 4.7 (VxV) → <Vxə> and (morpho)phonology, 20C, 29C**Figure 4.8** (VxV) → <Vxə> and (morpho)phonology, 73P

Although I have heard the plural of *dreatháir* with <əxə> from a woman born c. 1960 in central Máinis, the youngest speaker in my material for whom we have evidence of possibly higher <əxə> use than **73P** is speaker **51P** (Máinis). The proportion of <əxə> to <əxi> in tetrasyllabic plurals in my material from speaker **51P** is 5:9.

4.113 (VxV) and <V:xə>

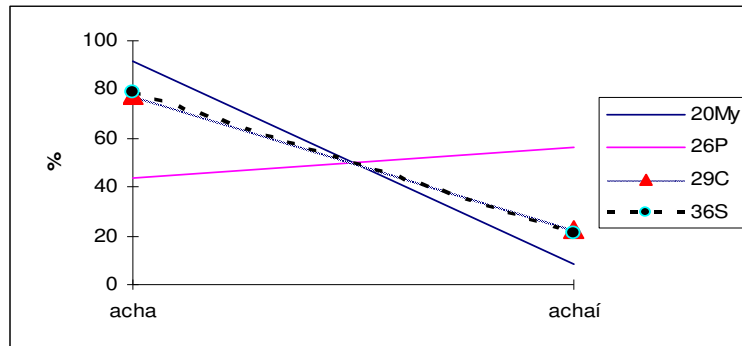
According to the implicational scale discovered for <Vxə>, it appears that the most likely positions for <V:xə> to occur is following syncopated or polysyllabic bases. In fact, although the data are very limited, they do support this prediction. The only example of <V:xə> noted from speakers, **20C** and **29C**, on whom the implicational scale is based, occurs following a syncopated word: *banais* > *banfe:xə*. For other speakers, *e:xə* occurs more freely. Speaker **894Cs** has *snáithe* > *sná:ĩ e'əxə*, and speaker **19B** of Doire an Locháin has *bun* > *bune:xə*, *snáithe* > *sná:e:xə*, *giorria* > *g'ure:əxə*. In fact, all six examples noted of <V:xə> are in *e:xə*. It is perhaps significant that speaker **19B** (Doire an Locháin) has three *e:xə* tokens out of nine <e:xV> variants but no **u:xə* tokens out of eighteen <u:xV> variants (i.e. <u:xi> only). The main possible explanation I can offer for this apparent preponderance of the extension vowel *e*: to be followed by final *-xə* is that the front vowel variants, in particular <iaxV>, may be less likely

to add final *-i:*, given the presence of preceding *i:*. The variant <e:ɤ> may then reflect a common earlier <iɤɤ>. It is also possible that <iɤɤ> might reflect its southern, Munster, equivalents, whereas <u:xi> reflects its northern, Connacht, domain.

4.114 Family networks and scaling

Speakers who have <Vɤ>, and whose family members can be investigated, belong on the whole to families who commonly have <Vɤ>. This close affiliation is evident in, for example, Maidhcil Mhaitiú Ó Maoil Chiaráin's family. Figure 4.9 shows that, in tetrasyllabic plurals, every member of the family questioned has <ɤɤ>, almost in the same proportion.

Figure 4.9 (VɤV) in tetrasyllables, clann Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin¹



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 <Vɤ> in tetrasyllabic plurals he or she will not have <Vɤ> at all (but belong to the majority class D speakers). On the other hand, if a speaker has <Vɤ> in monosyllabic stems which end in a single consonant he or she will have <Vɤ> in the other two categories. Similarly, speakers who have no <Vɤ> following monosyllables with final consonant clusters have no <Vɤ> following monosyllables in final simple consonants.

There are other speakers who properly belong to class C but their yield of <Vɤ> is so low that they are included in class D. Seán (speaker **12S**) is one such speaker; he has only *balliarr* > *balliarracha* ~ *balliarrachaí* in query. One exceptional speaker has been found, **52J** (son of **12S**), who in query has <ɤɤ> 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 <ɤɤ> in *balliarracha* only and his mother and sisters have no <ɤɤ> at all. His wife, from Ros Muc, has <ɤɤ> and **52J** may have acquired this rule from her. This might explain his exceptional usage. His wife also has <əɤ>, 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 <ɤɤ> yield following syncopated stems, therefore resembling

¹ The values for **29C** and **36S** are so close that they all but coalesce in the figure.

speaker **52J**. Both speaker **73P**'s paternal and maternal family networks have <əxə>. He is a grandson of Jó Bhairbre Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin (Table 4.16), and both his uncle Cóilín Jó Bhairbre (**20C**, Máfnis) and his mother Catherine Chonra (**27C**, An Coillín) have common <əxə>.

Table 4.16 Implicational scale of <əxə>

Speakers	Constraints		
	Monosyllabic	Consonant cluster	Tetrasyllabic
	1σ# <i>acha</i>	1σC ^{>1} # <i>acha</i>	2(+) <i>σ</i> # <i>acha</i>
A 894Cs , 20C , 29C , 73P	+	+	+
B 866E , 869P , 04Br , 36S	–	+	+
C 894C , 15W , 20My , 11J , 25M , 26P , 36P , 46S , 51P	–	–	+
D Others = (majority)	–	–	–

speaker = Macaí 'ac Con Iomaire's children, grandchildren and greatgrandson, An Coillín

speaker = Maidhcil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin's children, Central Máfnis

speaker = Jó Bhairbre Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin's children and grandchildren, West Máfnis

Quantitatively, as seen in the figures above, the highest <Vxə> 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 <Vxə> 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 Mhaitiú's family have less <əxə> 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 Mhacáí 'ac Con Iomaire network there is a neat correspondence of age and spread of <əxə> 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 <əxə>. He believed that his mother's and aunt's <əxə> 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'ín'əxə* *iníneacha* in conversation. On the other hand, users of <əxə> also seem unaware of their usage being exceptional or belonging to a minority.

4.115 Other Conamara dialects

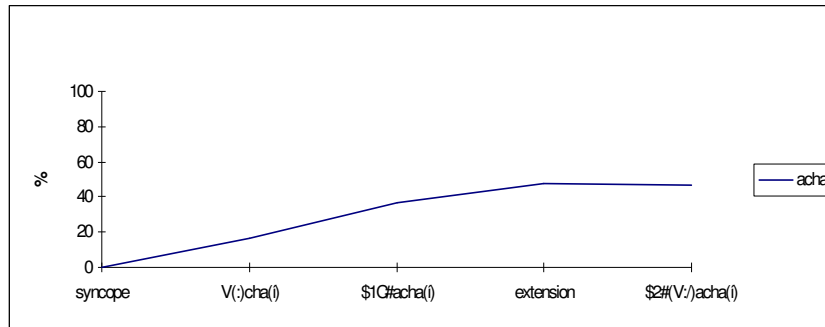
The position of <əxə>, commonly following disyllables, seems quite unsalient, even for some investigators. I myself only became aware of <əxə> when querying **36S**, **20C** and **20My** for other plural types. A few disyllables were interspersed in the plural questionnaire to avoid list effect in the other plurals, but <əxə> 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 <əxə>. It appears that de Bhaldraithe committed the same error in his monographs on Cois Fharraige. He records <əxə>, without any commentary, only as an alternate with *scillinn* > *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 <əxə>, all of which occur with disyllabic stems, alternating with <əxi:~> which occurs with five disyllabic stems.¹

Use of <əxə> in genuine conversational style is rare and the two speakers who do have genuine <əxə>, speakers **20C** and **73P**, are, as we have seen (Table 4.16), in class A regarding <əxə> and are in the same family network, descendants of Jó Bhairbre Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin.

We have seen evidence for <əxə> in Iorras Aithneach and Cois Fharraige 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 <əxə> in query.²

Figure 4.10 (VxV) → <Vxə> and (morpho)phonology, 19B (Doire an Locháin)



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 <Vxə>:

¹ SIDi–III point 40:

-*acha* (nine tokens, all of which are disyllables):

m'uilineacha 443b, *Caitiligeacha* 777, *múraíolacha* 856, *carraigeacha* 1067, *carraigreacha* 1082, *giúirlineacha* 1089, *seasrálacha* 1092, *ruiliceacha* 1092, *ainmneacha* 1145;

-*achaí* with disyllables; five tokens:

cathaoir Mp 153, *tairnéalachaí* 198, *dreatháir* 345, *iomarachaí* 627, *cineál* 654; note monosyllabic *dreifíur* 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(i), etc.

866E An Aird Mhóir	? 2σ >> <u>syncopated</u> , 1σ+extension
869P An Coillín	2σ, 1σ+extension >> <u>syncopated</u>
04Br An Coillín	2σ >> 1σ+extension (? >> <u>syncopated</u>)
20C Maínis	2σ >> <u>syncopated</u> , 1σ+extension, 1σC# >> (V:xə)
29C Maínis	2σ >> <u>syncopated</u> >> 1σ+extension >> 1σC# >> (V:xə)
19B D. an L. ^a	2σ >> 1σ+extension >> 1σC# >> (V:xə) >> <u>syncopated</u>
52J Maínis ^β	<u>syncopated</u> , 1σCC
73P Maínis	<u>syncopated</u> , (V:xə) >> 2σ, 1σC#, 1σ+extension

^a Doire an Locháin, East Cois Fharraige.

^β Perhaps influenced by his wife who is a native of Ros Muc.

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 <əxə> yield. Other Iorras Aithneach speakers in the list above have the reversed order, in that extension plurals have higher <əxə> 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 <əxə> 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) → <ə> <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 ə of both (V) and (VxV) variants, still used in the written standard as *-a* and *-acha*, is retained following long forms, whereas i: 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.

4.118 Variable (V:xi:) → <iəxi:> <e:xi:> <axi:> <ɑ:xi:>, etc.

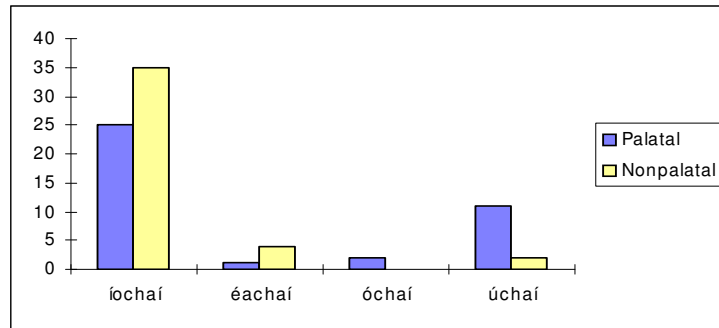
The range of (V:xi:) variants is generally narrower in a given speaker's repertoire than the full possible range found intradialectally (4.61, 4.125). The most frequent variant of the (V:xi:) variable is <e:xi:>. It occurs regularly in the speech of some of my oldest informants. The second most frequent variant is <o:xi:>. In other words <e:xi:> >> <o:xi:> is the dominant pattern in the dialect. Interdialectally and diachronically <iəxi:> and <u:xi:> 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 <iəxi:> vs. <u:xi:>. Nor is the development to a more progressive system of <e:xi:> vs. <o:xi:> 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 <u:xi:> generally becomes (in apparent time) the least common. For the majority of speakers <e:xi:> becomes the dominant variant with reduction or absence of consonant-quality conditioning. For others, <o:xi:> becomes the dominant variant, generally retaining quality conditioning better than <e:xi:>. Some speakers, particularly speakers born after the 1930s, have a single unconditioned variant. Generally speaking, pre-1940 speakers have <e:xi:> >> <o:xi:>. Post-1940, <ɑ:xi:> becomes common. The forms <ɑxi:> ~ <axi:> can be dialectally described as a final stage in the lowering and reduction in the phonological distance between older <iəxi:> and <u:xi:> now 'collapsed' with a concurrent 'collapsing' of older conditions. The class of (V:xi:) nouns, or in other words the general (V:xi:) 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 'comhfhoirmeacha' (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 -íochaí and -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:xi:) 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:xi:) 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 /ɑ:l/, ... is the occurrence of a long vowel before /x/ 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, iəxi:').

§107, n. 2, ‘is coitianta de bheagán **u:xi:**.’ §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 (V:xi:) 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* > *bitséachaí* from speakers born in An Máimín, *bitseóchaí* 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* > **oliəxi:** (only in GCF) ~ **olu:xi:** is a potentially significant addition to our knowledge of dialectal features, but no precise source for the form is given.

This (V:xi:) 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 (V:xi:) plural or both to 1σCV(:) 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’ **e:əxi:** or **iəxi:** may contrast with ‘casual’ **exi:**. Speaker **43M** has frequent **əxi:** in her ‘casual’ usage and **ɑ:xi:** in her more ‘careful’ examples. Her mother Máire (**16M**) similarly has **o:xi:** for more casual **ɑ(·)xi:**. Two speakers showed the apparent influence of spelling in their description of (V:xi:) or of words which contain (V:xi:). Pádraig (**19P**) has a higher standard of Irish literacy than average and when queried directly about (V:xi:) he preferred <**əxi:**> to his own main variant <**e:xi:**>. He used

the English term ‘bad grammar’ to describe <ɔ:xi> (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’ *iomrachaí* but added that *fear Chonamara* says *iomraechaí*. She no doubt includes herself in the category *fear Chonamara* since <e:xi> 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 <ɔ:xi>) is unaware that her brother’s main variant is <e:xi> and vice versa. Her children are unaware of their parents’ main variant. Máire is unaware that there is a local <u:xi> variant (albeit the least common variant). Husband and wife, 21J (main variant <e:xi>) and 24Mr (main variant, at least in the palatal context, <ɔ:xi>), 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:xi) 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:xi) 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:xi) variants:

- | | | |
|-----|---|-----------|
| I | <iəxi> users (i.e. synchronically main variant is front), | e.g. 869P |
| II | <iəxi> ~ <u:xi> users (i.e. high yield of both front and back), | e.g. 20A |
| III | <u:xi> users (i.e. synchronically main variant is back), | e.g. 04F |
| IV | <əxi> users (i.e. non-(V:xi) speakers, main variant is <əxi>), | e.g. 12J |

Group I resembles closest the neighbouring southern Irish (Munster) dialects which have *iəxə* only (corresponding to (V:xi) in Connacht). It is difficult to know how old or established the minority group IV is. It reflects a tendency to substitute <əxi> for *i:* and *u:* plurals. This may be contemporaneous with, or subsequent to the strategy of adding *əxi:* to *i:* and *u:*; addition yielding *iəxi:* and *u:xi:*. Once the lowered variants, in *e:*, *o:*, 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 <e:xi> and <ɔ:xi>, with quality conditioning on the latter,

i.e. resembling the uneven bimodal distribution of **20My** (a family member in Figure 4.13).

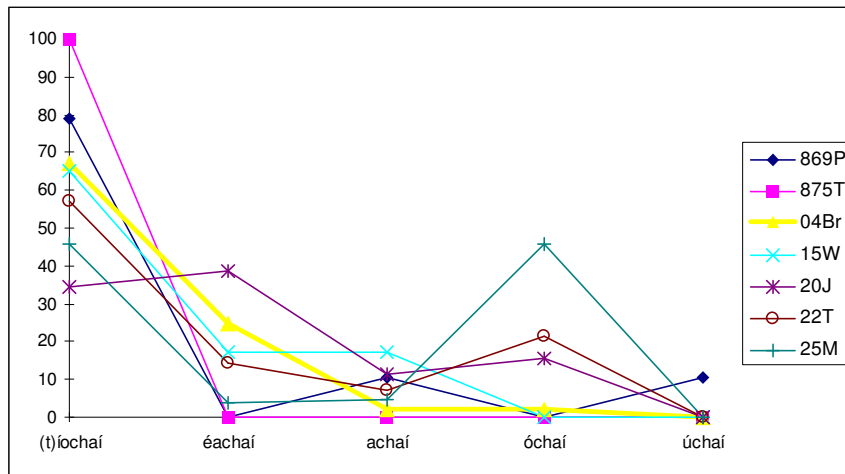
4.121 Some representative family networks

As with other phonological and morphological features, family members very often have similar (V:xi:) 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 Mhacáí ’ac Con Iomaire

Macáí ’ac Con Iomaire’s descendants are the deepest network I have researched. Figure 4.12 presents their (V:xi:) plural distribution.¹

Figure 4.12 Percentage (V:xi:), clann Mhacáí ’ac Con Iomaire



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 <iəxi>. 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 <iəxi> network. Dynamically, <e:xi> becomes common in the second generation, i.e. the 1900–10s generation. The high back variant <u:xi> is infrequent and attested from **869P** only, whereas <o:xi> becomes common in the 1910–20s generation and is most conspicuous in the two younger speakers’ usage. Given the low internal network usage of <u:xi>, the source of the higher <o:xi> usage is external to the network, i.e. local community usage. During his query session, **25M** slowly raised the proportion of his <iəxi> 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

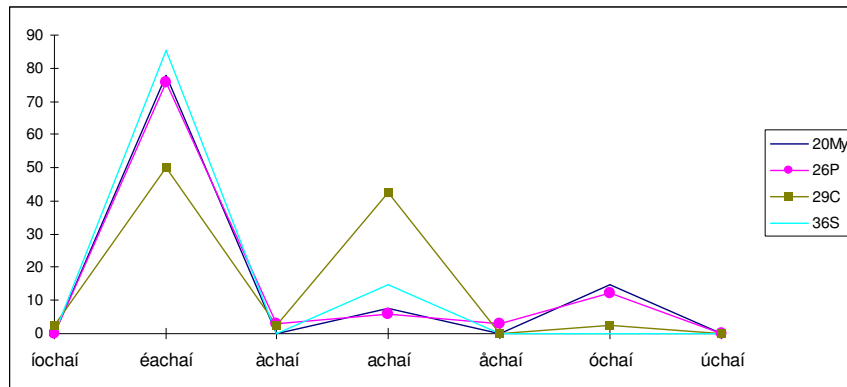
¹ In these figures for (V:xi:), where relevant, ácháí = a:xi:; ácháí = a:xi:; ácháí = a:xi:; éacháí = e:xi:.

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 (V:xi), clann Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin



This is clearly an <e:xi> network. In the later 1920s age-group <o:xi> becomes very rare until it actually ‘disappears’ in speaker 36S. Therefore, while <o:xi> 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

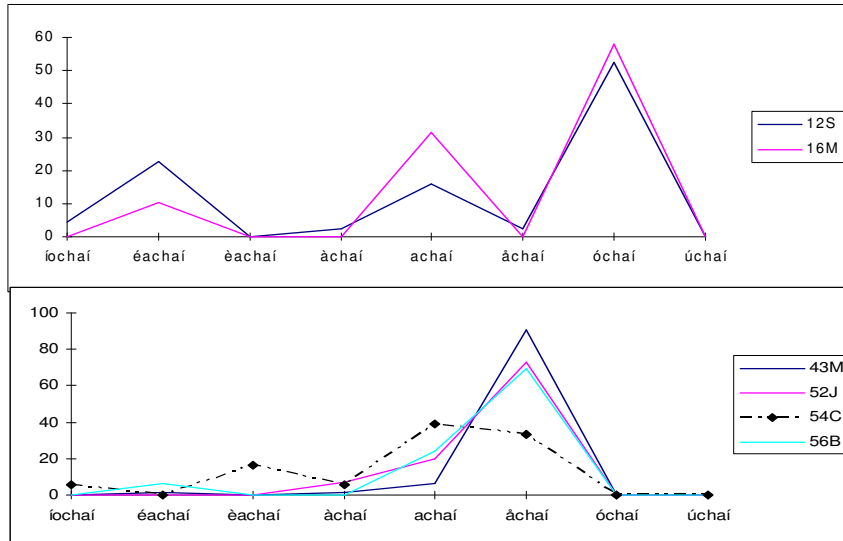
The systems of Seán (from Carna) and Máire (from Maínis) Chúláin and their family (from an Aird Mhóir and Maínis) is illustrated in Figure 4.14. For this network we have information from both mother and father.² In contrast with the two previous networks, this family has dominant back variants. The father, 12S, has the highest front variant usage, he has a little <iəxi> and quite a few <e:xi>. The mother, 16M, has no <iəxi> but a little <e:xi>. The dominant variant for both parents is <o:xi>. They have little or no <u:xi> and little <a:xi> and <axi>. Their children have almost no front variants.

¹ This network of clann Mhacaí seems to have a few southern dialectal traits. Locally <iəxi> 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 (V:xi) use of the two mothers in this network is a major lacuna here. Perhaps <o:xi> has a maternal source. Cp. 4.147 for speculation on the possible maternal source of prevalent <əxə> 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 (V:xi) variants until 1994. I have a fond memory of the circumstance that brought about my (V:xi) ‘epiphany’. Seán noticed lengths of wire (for rabbit-snares) and asked what they were for. Máire had to repeat her plural of *súil ribe* since Seán was hard of hearing: ‘Cé leihí aige iad?’ (‘What does he want them for?’) asked Seán. Máire replied: ‘Leihí (‘for’) *su:l’ rib’əxi*, *su:l’ rib’əxi*, *su:l’ rib’əxi*, etc.’ That evening I had based a list of possible (V:xi) plurals on GCF pp. 47–8, and Máire, in a thorough query session, gave me her versions: <o:xi> was her main variant.

Their main variant is <ɑ:xi> / <ɑxi>, 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 Chúláin and their family



4.124 Máire an Ghabha Uí Cheannabháin and family

Máire an Ghabha, speaker **05Mq**, has [<e:xi>] >>> [<ɑ:xi>]. Two of **05M**'s children, **29N** and **37M**, were queried and they also have predominant <e:xi> in: [<e:xi>] >>> [<ɑ:xi>] **29Nq** and [<e:xi>] >> [<ɑ:xi>] **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 <ɑ:xi> as his main variant. Speaker **51P**'s father, speaker **20Páq** (with 10 lexemes attested), has main variant <e:xi> (following both palatal and nonpalatal stems) and minor <ɑ:xi> (following palatal stems) and least frequently <iəxi> (with *tórramh*). Speaker **51P** therefore seems to have promoted his parents' minor variant <ɑ:xi> to his own major, although infrequent, variant. Another grandson, **64M** (son of sadly deceased **30B**), has a robust (V:xi:) category with predominant <ɑxi>. Máire an Ghabha's granddaughters who were queried have little or no (V:xi:), i.e. **74Nq** has <ɑ:xi> 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 [<e:xi>] >> [<ɑ:xi>]. She lives with her parents next-door to her grandmother **05M**. Her mother, speaker **36Nq**, has <ɑ:xi> 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.

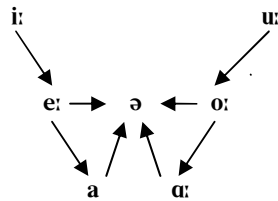
iomaire > **umre:əxi: 05Mq** ((grand)mother) → **umre:əxi: 37Mq** (father);
umro:xi: 36Nq (daughter-in-law, mother) → **umro:xi: 74Nq**.

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 <ɔ:xi>, and her brother Pádraig (19P), who has mostly <ɛ:xi> and <axi>.

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 <əxi> there is both (i) a type of phonologically abrupt approximation (i.e. the peripheral vowels, i: and u:, become centralised to ə) and (ii) morphemic transfer (i.e. the V:xi: ending is replaced by the əxi: 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.



An important question regarding parallel changes in language in general is whether the changes occur simultaneously or consecutively. Given that <ɔ:xi> is more common than <ɛ:xi> in SID, and that <u:xi> is the least common variant in Iorras Aithneach (in contrast with <iəxi> 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 <ɛ:xi> is a function of <ɔ:xi>, i.e. if a speaker has both front and back variants and if that speaker has the front mid variant <ɛ:xi>, then the speaker's back variant must be <ɔ: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: extension in Iorras Aithneach are:

Lowered variant	Speaker's date of birth
e:xi:	1852
e:əxi:	1869
e:əxi: o:xi:	1878
exi:	1889
exi:	1902
ɑ:xi:	1905
axi:	1912
ə'xi: ɒxi:	1916

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):

Main variant(s)	Speaker's date of birth
? <iəxi:>	1852
? <u:xi:>	1866
<iəxi:>	1869
? <e:xi:> <o:xi:>	1887
? <e:xi:> <u:xi:>	1902
<e:xi:> <o:xi:>	1904
<e:xi:>	1905
<o:xi:>	1916
<ɑ:xi: axi:>	1943
<axi:>	1952
<axi:>	1964

As for unimodal systems (i.e. one-variant systems), the speakers earliest noted are: **26Pc** <e:xi:>, **36S** <e:xi:> (**20M**,¹ **37J** almost <o:xi:> only), **36N** <o:xi:> and **43Mp** <o:xi:>. 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 <o:xi:> (progressive) against **27M** with main variant <iəxi:> (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 (V:xi:) 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.² In fact, the vocalic lowering of these plurals coincides with

¹ From a very short questionnaire: <o:xi:> in *sine, faithne, gloine, eite*; <e(')xi:> in *giorria*; otherwise <əxi:> (x6).

² For example, in the second conjugation nonpersonal future (*óidh*) → <o: > >> <ɑ: >; and the related past habitual and conditional second singular (*óthá*) → [<ɑ: >] >> [<ɑ:ha: > <əha: >] >> [<o:ha: >], etc.;

consonantal weakening in speaker **889P** (1.405). This speaker has plurals *caile* > **ka'li:əhə**, *céilí* > **k'e:li:əhi:**, *damhsa* > **dāvsexi dāvsehi**. The (morpho)-phonologically closest comparisons to (V:xi:) plurals are plural adjectives in *-iocha*, *-úcha*, *-úla* but these have no significant lowering. The sheer frequency of occurrence 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 Vxi: plural the range of vocalic possibilities before xi: is large, from **iə** to **ə** to **u:**. Given that **ə** 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 <**iəxi:**> variant would tend to be greater than that of the high back <**u:xi:**> variant. This would explain the precipitated fall of the back variant. (In fact East Galway, which has productive independent plural suffix **-u(:)** (< *-ibh*), has no lowered back variants in SID. On the other hand, there are tokens of <**o:xi:**> in the mixed lects of East Mayo which have relatively frequent independent **-u:**.)

4.127 Diachrony and dialectology of (V:xi:)

Diachronically, the plurals **i:** and **u:** have been appendaged with the plurals **əxə** / **əxi:** to give new complex plurals in (V:xi:).¹ Plural **i:** derives historically from *-idhe* (all over Ireland), and **u:** from *-adha* (in Connacht). There is a plural **u(:)** of different origin (< *-abh* < *-ibh*) 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 *-ibh*. 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 **kl'et'u:xi:** is a reflex of *cleiteadha-achaí*, and that **latiəxi:** reflects *lataidhe-achaí*. On the other hand, **bonn** > **buniəxi:** and **bunu:xi:** may reflect *bonnaibh-eachaí* and *bonnabh-achaí* respectively, given the frequency of phrases such as *dhe na bonnaibh*, *sna bonnaibh* and the historical nominal plural *boinn*. There are, of course, other derivations for **iəxi:**, for example, palatalisation plus *-achaí*: *cuireadh* →

lowering is common before velars in historical phonology, e.g. before *ch*, *béiciúch* **b'e:k'u:x** >> **b'e:k'ox**; *Ciarraíoch* **k'iaríəx** >> **k'iarə:x**, 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 (*eó* in the case of the *é*-future). In fact it may have been the dissimilatory function which caused *eó* 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 **əi** in the south, unstressed *-adha* could become **i:**; an explanation, perhaps, for the lack of plural **u:** in Munster. In Scotland there was a tendency for *-adha* and *-acha* to coalesce as a voiceless variant; an explanation, perhaps for the lack of plural **u:** < *-adha* in Ulster. (I am grateful to Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh for drawing my attention to these two points. Cf. Ó Maolalaigh 1999b.)

cuiridheachaí; tórramh → *tórraimheachaí*; and for **u:xi:**, for example, *fobhra* → *forabhachaí, tórramh* → *tórramhachaí*.

In order to discover the basic dialectal dispersion of (V:**xi:**) 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, *mala* q 424, *fabhra* q 425, *gloine* q 426, *faithne* q 436, *iomaire* q 627, *claise* q 630, *gráinne* q 660, *conra* q 711, *tórramh* q 703, *eite* q 1133, *lann* q 1136. The majority are disyllables of the structure 1σCə, which are, as we have seen, typical (V:**xi:**) members in Iorras Aithneach.¹

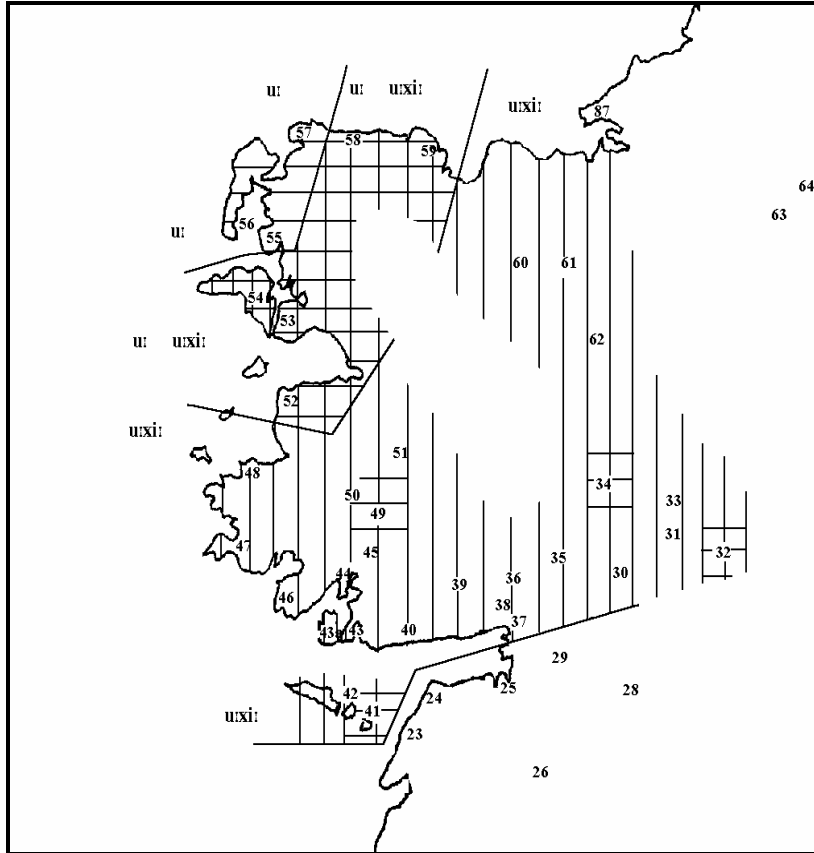
Plural **iəxə** / **iəxi:** is widespread throughout Ireland, **u:xi:** is common in central and southern Connacht only, as shown in Map 4.1. This <**u:xi:**> then is an important morphological characteristic of Connacht Irish which is found (in the fifteen words checked) north of a line which extends 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 <**u:xi:**> 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 north-western corner of Co. Mayo, Iorras, points 55–57, constitutes a relic area which contains **u:** only. Mixed dialects with both **u:** and **u:xi:** 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)).

¹ Cp. D. Greene (1974: 195).

² The Acaill variant is **əvaxə/əwaxə/uʷaxə**, in both the island and in An Corrán, but it can be classified as <**u:xi:**> 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 fan'huʷaxə* (IAIM p. 321 §1402) although **u:** is more common. This is the only point where contains information extraneous to SID. It is striking that **u:(xə)** 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 *-adha* has left now trace of **u:(xə)** 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 *eitiú* in query from Bríd Ní Dhireáin, Fearann an Chiorce, Árainn (An tOileán Mór), born in 1895. North Conamara (Bun a Cnoc) and South Mayo (pt 50) have *crú* > *cruithiú* (4.132). Through oversight I failed to include SID Mp 57 *cruidhte* in my calculations for (V:**xi:**); plural *crúiochaí* is general in central East Galway, points 28, 36–8, as well as *cruithiochaí* pt 39.

Map 4.1 Occurrence of u: and u:xi: in SID (fifteen words)



This area (points 30–62, except for 55–57) is therefore the domain of (V:xi:), 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:xi:) 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:xi:) are found in SID. The high variants <iəxi:> and <u:xi:> 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 <o:xi:> (point 42 has 4 examples; and, in a

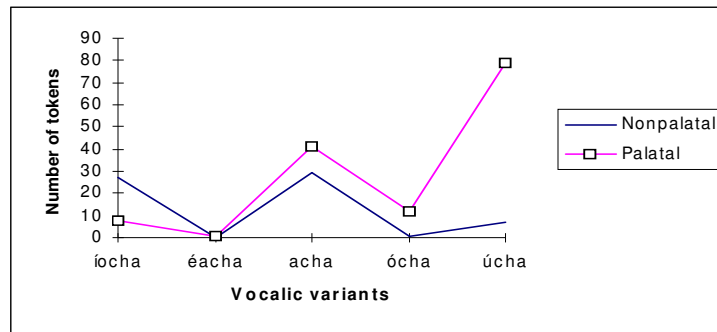
¹ The supplementary point 43b (Stenson and Ó Ciardha 1986) was not analysed, through an oversight, with the bulk of the SID material. The relevant details for 43b are as follows ('a' and 'b' refer to the older and younger main speakers respectively; 'Sa', 'Ma' to siblings of 'a', 'PC' to another younger speaker):

<əxi:>	teanga (a, b); iomaire (b); tórramh (b); eite (Sa);
<iəxi:>	iomaire (a); conra (Sa);
<o:xi:>	faithne (a, b); conra (b); eite (Ma);
cp. i:	mala (a, b); fabhra (a, b); glaise (b); conra (PC); tórramh (a); lann (a, b);
cp. əni:	teanga (b); kəni: 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 <e:xi> 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; 'íocha' = -íocha and -íochaí, etc.) taken together: an abstract view of Connacht (V:xi), 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 (V:xi) and quality of preceding consonant, pts 30–62 SID, III



The overall range and quality conditioning for Connacht can be formulated as:

range and quality conditioning of (V:xi) in SID $\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} [<\mathbf{i}\mathbf{\acute{a}}\mathbf{x}\mathbf{i}> >>> <\mathbf{e}:\mathbf{x}\mathbf{i}>] < [<\mathbf{u}:\mathbf{x}\mathbf{i}> >> <\mathbf{o}:\mathbf{x}\mathbf{i}>] \\ \text{nonpalatal} & (<) \text{palatal} \end{array} \right.$

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 **u/o:xi**: with *fabhra*: 33, 49, 51, 58, (59 **u:**), 60, 62; with *ionga*: 38, 43;

front variant **i\acute{a}/e:xi**: 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 <i\acute{a}xi> (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 <u:xi>, 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 **u:** 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 (V:xi:) 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 <iəxi:>, except point 41 which has <əxi:> and the younger speaker in point 43b who also has <əxi:> [x3] (in contrast with the older speaker's <iəxi:> [x3] point 43b). These <iəxi:> plurals can be interpreted as i:(ə)+əxi:; they show no indication of lowering or change in quality which would suggest (V:xi:) 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 *scanrú* > *scanraíochaí* (as well as retention: *míniú* > *míniúchaí*, and other plurals). Otherwise there is no evidence of quality change in (V:xi:) plurals in GCF. More definite evidence of (V:xi:) with the class of words in final long vocoid does occur, and can be taken as instances of transference. There is **i:** > **u:xi:** in, for example, *glainí* > *glainiúchaí* point 48 (SID Mp 122, q 426), and **u:** > **iəxi:** is common, for instance, in *caladh*, *cuireadh*, *creideamh* > *calaíochaí*, *cuiríochaí*, *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 (termed 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.

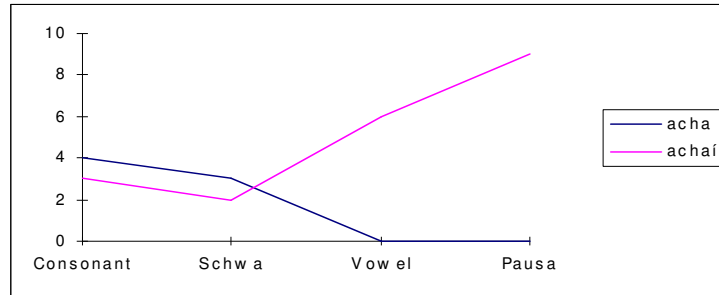
4.129 Variable (VxV) → <Vxi:> <Vxə>

The evidence presented in 4.101 ff., has shown that the use of (V) → <ə> <i:> depends facultatively on the following syntactic environment. It follows that similar conditioning would be expected for (VxV) → <Vxi:> <Vxə>. 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 <Vxə> 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:xə>), that <Vxi> occurs most frequently before full vowels and before pausa.

Figure 4.16 (VxV) and following context, 894Cs



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:

- daoíní as* vs. *daoine maithe*, i.e. in the variable (V) the following vowel effects <i:> vs. <ə> before a consonant;
 - i ngloineóchaí é* vs. *snáithéacha tairní* [tarraingthe], i.e. quality constraint for (V:xi:), and the following vowel effects <V:xi:> vs. <V:xə> before a consonant;
 - áiteachaí, driseachaí* (both prepausa) vs. *iomaireacha ceapthaí*, i.e. <əxi:> with monosyllabic base and prepausa vs. <əxə> with polysyllabic base and before a consonant;
 - neantóga is driseachaí*, i.e. <ə> 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 <əxə> 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: **dr'eha:rəxə** [x3] *dreatháracha*;
- before a full vowel: **o:nə 'nr'eha:rəxi jɪ** | *óna ndreathárachaí í*.

Although his number of examples is small, the four tokens do follow the implicational scale of [pausa >> vowel] for <Vxə>.

Speaker **894Cs** has <Vxə> 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 <Vxə> 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 <Vxə> 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 <Vxə> are illustrated in:

- 894Cs** (VxV) → n<Vxə>; $n = f(1\sigma, \text{etc.}, 2\sigma, \text{following context})$
04Br (VxV) → n<Vxə> /*2σ₋; $n = f(1\sigma\text{CC})$
20My (VxV) → <Vxə> /2σ₋
26P (VxV) → n<Vxə> /2σ₋; $n = f(\text{following context})$
 (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 <Vxə>. 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 <Vxə> can be formulated as a variable rule:

$$(\text{VxV}) \rightarrow n\langle \text{Vxə} \rangle / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \sigma > 1 \\ (1\sigma) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} C^{>1}\# \\ C\#C \end{array} \right\} \\ (1\sigma)C^{(>1)}V\# \end{array} \right\} \text{---}\#\# \left\{ \begin{array}{l} V \\ \text{Schwa} \\ C \\ \#\#\# \end{array} \right\}; n = f(\text{network, age})^1$$

4.131 Complexities of (VxV): (V|x|V), (V|xV), (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 (əxV) and (V:xi) 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 (V:xi) class. Conditions pertaining to the following context are: V = vowel; Schwa; C = consonant; $\#\#\#$ = pausa. 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.¹ 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 əxi:. It is the commonest system in my sample. The loss of (V:xi:) in the younger generation brings us closer to a simple indivisible plural ending əxi: system D. To include speakers with <əna>, it is clear that the four systems shown here would have to be expanded.

	(V x V)	→	<əxə> <əxi:>	← tetrasyllable, cluster, following context
	↑ ↑			
A	(V)	→	<ə> <i:>	← (cluster), following context
	↓ ↓			
	(V: x V)	→	<V:ə> <V:xi:>	← tetrasyllable, cluster, following context
<hr/>				
	(V xV)	→	<əxə>	← tetrasyllable
	↑ ↑			
B	(V: xV)		<V:xi:>	
<hr/>				
	(V xV)	→	<əxi:>	
	↑ ↓			
C	(V: xV)		<V:xi:>	
<hr/>				
D	(VxV)	→	<əxi:>	

In fact, further complexity is evident, especially with (V:xV). It can convincingly be analysed as (V: | əx | V) where V: is either an extension or, less frequently, a plural ending, i.e.

¹ The problems of ‘diasystemic’ and ‘polylectal’ 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.

$$\begin{aligned}
 (V: | \text{əx} | V) &= V: (\text{extension}) + \text{əx} V (\text{ending}) \\
 &= V: (\text{ending}) + \text{əx} V (\text{ending}), \text{e.g.} \\
 &\quad \text{lata} > \text{lataí} \sim \text{lataíochaí}, \\
 &\quad \text{gearrchaile} > \text{gearrchailiú} \sim \text{gearrchailiúchaí}.
 \end{aligned}$$

Phonetically front nonlow variants are actually often trisyllabic, i.e. **i:əxi:**, **e:əxi:**. In careful emphatic pronunciation during query, one speaker, at least, produced:

sine > 'fín' 'e: 'ə 'xi: **19P** *sinéachaí*

(which he then realised was homophonous with one pronunciation of *sin é an chaoi*).

Plurals in -u:i: and -əwi:

The plural endings **-u:i:** and **-əwi:** (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 -u: plus -i: yields -u:i:

As shown in the historical exposition of (V:xi:) (4.127), in particular regarding <u:xi>, the geographic and lexical domain of the independent plural suffix **-u:** has diminished in Connacht. In SIDI and III, from point 30 to point 51, independent **-u:** (that does not alternate with reflexes of *-ibh* in East Galway) is very limited: *siniú* 32, 34, 49; *etiú* 41; *gearrchailiú* 38. Supplementary information to SID for West Conamara is available: An Clochán,² Bun a Cnoc³ (north of Sraith Salach), An Mám,⁴ An Lónán,⁵ Innis Nia⁶ (near Cloch na Rón); and areas covered in SID: Ros Muc⁷ (44) and Cois Fharraige⁸ (40). The evidence for **-u:** 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 *Doiriú*), words in *-thi-* make up this limited class with **-u:**, for which we have a continuum of examples especially in West Galway and South Mayo.⁹ I have shown that the majority of historical *-ú* plurals have become *-úchaí* plurals (4.127). But in the area where the subclass *-thiú* survived, while other *-ú* nouns transferred, the *-thiú* class tended to take the ending *-í* instead of becoming *-úchaí*. In An Clochán, Bun a Cnoc (and in Ros Muc) this combination yields *-thiúi* and *-theabhaí*, the endings **-u:i:** and **-əwi:**.

¹ A version (in Irish) of this section forms the main part of Ó Curnáin (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.

⁵ S. de Búrca (1966: 128).

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 Iorras Mayo (IEM §527).

West Conamara	Words with plural <i>-ú</i>	
Cois Fharraige	<i>Doiriú, gearrchailiú</i> ¹	} Plural class in -thiú
Ros Muc	<i>Doiriú, leithiú, reithiú, tighthiú</i>	
Iorras Aithneach	<i>Doiriú, gearrchailiú, reithiú, tighthiú</i> ²	
Point 47	<i>tighthiú</i>	
Bun a Cnoc	<i>cruithiú, Doiriú, gearrchailiú, tighthiú</i>	
An Máam	<i>tighthiú</i>	
Point 49	<i>siniú</i>	
Point 50	<i>cruithiú, tighthiú</i>	
Point 51	<i>tighthiú</i>	
An Liónán	<i>tighthiú</i>	

The evidence for *-thiú* is:³

(Ros Muc	<i>tighthiú;</i>)
Iorras Aithneach	<i>reithiú, leithiú, tighthiú;</i>
(cp. An Clochán	<i>tehoveah</i> and <i>teioveah</i>)
Bun a Cnoc	<i>cruithiú, tighthiú.</i>

The two basic independent elements, as well as their combination, are found in one revealing answer in SIDIII point 44 (Ros Muc) q 483: *t'ihy*; (or *t'ihí*) (also *t'ihui*). The speaker may well have proffered an extradialectal form in his last answer,⁴ given that I have heard only *-u*, *-i*, *-ə* in the plural of *teach* from the conversation of Ros Muc speakers. (This includes *t'uhu*. Nonetheless, a Ros Muc speaker from An Aill Bhuí (born c. 1950), whose mother and wife come from West Iorras Aithneach, had *tithiú* in query.)

The innovation and development which occurred can be taken to be as follows (each stage has been recorded): *-u* → *-ui* → *-uwi* → *-uwi* → *-əwi*. 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; *-uwi* might not be a necessary intermediate stage in every instance; perhaps *-əv* → *-əvi* also occurred. Contemporaneous forms such as *-ui* and *-əwi* could influence each other to give *-uwi*. Some speakers alternate *-ui* with *-əwi*, e.g. *reithe* > *rohəwi*: 35E and *teach* > *t'ihui*: 35E. There seems to have been a (facultative) dissimilation blocking the sequence **hu:xi* or **h'u:xi* or **x'u:xi* which would contain two related fricatives. As a result the normal *-úchái* was avoided.⁵ That is to say:

¹ Cp. *bara* FFG19, *bara* ~ *barú* ~ *barúintí* 'intention' FFG20.

² Also *leatha* (*leithe*) > *leathadha* Clad13.

³ There is a minor lapse of judgement (metanalysis in fact) in GCF §154, note 4, where it is claimed that *'ui*: as a plural suffix' is found in words such as *colbha*, *finiú* in §103(d). In fact *i*: is the suffix in §103, as stated there, i.e. *u*:(stem)+*i*:(plural). The existence of surface plurals in *-ui*: as attested in *áitiú* > *áit'ui*: 881J *áitiú* (and GCF §154), however, might support the development of *-ui*: 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 SIDi. 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'.

sine: $\text{fin}^{\text{u}} + \text{əxi} \rightarrow \text{fin}^{\text{u}}\text{xi}$:

reithe: $\text{rohu} + \text{əxi}$; but block on $*\text{h/h'}/\text{x}^{\text{u}}\text{xi}$; therefore $+ \text{i} \rightarrow \text{rohu}^{\text{i}}$.

The only exception with regard to this *-thiú* class is the plural *gearrchaileabhaí* but *gearrchailiúchaí* is much more common. One can postulate two stages: first, a dissimilatory constraint on the agglutinative *-hu*: $> *-\text{hu}^{\text{u}}\text{xi}$; second, an innovative solution: *-u*: $> -\text{u}^{\text{i}}$. It may be due to the short delay in ‘finding a solution’ that, in general, plurals such as *reithiú* lasted longer than plurals such as *siniú*.

4.133 Form *-uⁱ*: becomes *-əwi*:

The development *-uⁱ*: $\rightarrow (-\text{u}^{\text{u}}\text{wi} \rightarrow) -\text{əwi}$: 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, *u^a*: alternates with *u(:)w^a*, *i^u*: with *i^uw^a*, and *uⁱ*: with *u^uwⁱ*:.¹

In Iorras Aithneach one finds *du^an alə* alongside more frequent *du^a:n alə* *damhán alla* and although *u^a*:, without an intervening glide or consonant, is most common in SIDIII 683 ‘spider’, a consonant does also occur: *u^uw^a*: (35), *u^uw^a*: (44), *u^uw^a*: (45), *u^uw^a*: (47) (cf. q 471 ‘kidney’); also $\pm w/v$ in Connacht and Munster in SIDi 277 *dubhán* ‘hook’; one finds *gr^u:u^an*, *gr^u:u^a:n* (cp. *griúán* FFG) in Iorras Aithneach and similar *gr^u:u^an*, *gr^u:u^a:n* s.v. *griubhán* in Ros Muc (LFRM); in Iorras Aithneach *gri:w^ul* alongside much more common *gri:w^ul* *gnaíúil*, *gr^u:v^ul* SIDIII, point 38, 768 and *gni:v^ul* point 34, 768; in Árainn (An tOileán Mór) *dāw^ul* *dathúil*, *le:w^ul* *laethúil* (Pedersen 1909: 386); *síúlacht* *fi:w^uləxt* ~ *fi:w^uləxt* in Mionlach (FFG); *k^uv^ul* *caoithiúil* SIDIII, point 34, 982; adjectival *-u^l*, *-w^l* in IEM §542 < *-amhail*; in ordinals alternation as in *tríú* ~ *tríobha* is common; and, further afield, *truán* > *trubhán* in Corca Dhuibhne (Ó Sé 1997: 215; cf. O’Rahilly 1942: 137). We can compare the general loss of intervocalic *mh* in *mímhúinte* *mⁱ:u^u:nt^ə* with the minor by-form *mⁱ:w^u:nt^ə* 872P. Historical *súidhe* is generally *suⁱ*: in South Galway but also rarely *su^u:wⁱ*: (e.g. SIDIII 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* > *kol^u:w^uxi* 12Jq, more often *kol^u:xi*. A similar phenomenon is found in Acaill in a combined plural, where the suffix *-u*: (< *-adha*) alternates with *-əvaxə* ~ *əwaxə* ~ *u^uwaxə* ~ *u^uwaxə* (cf. 4.127 p. 774 n. 2). As well as *-u*:, still found today in Iorras Aithneach, *-əv* (< *-ibh*) may also have been a basic element which could influence glide formation in the plural. Since, however, *-əv* is not found with any lexeme which has *-əwi*:, 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*

¹ The possible origin of ‘eclipsis’ in historical *ní bhfuil*, *ní bhfuigh*-, etc., has been explained as a glide by O’Rahilly (1932: 44) and as actual eclipsis, reinforced by the gliding tendency, by McCaughey (1968). Cf. Ó Buachalla (1977: 100–1). Note also intervocalic sandhi *w* in the Irish of Acaill (IAIM §1595), e.g. *y^a: wu^ul^ə dhá uair*.

² Compare *breitheamh* *br^u:ehə* (historically *br^u:ehəv*). I have heard *br^u:ehəwⁱ*: in the plural both in a tale (11C) and in query. Other plurals are *breithí*, *breite*, *breití* and *breitheóchaí*; the last three heard in query only. Note also *Doireadha* *der^u*: which is more common than *der^{əv}* 43Mp.

tokens in *tightheabhaí* (and *g'ar:xaí:əvi:* < *gearrchaile* heard once in query), the most common realisation by far is **-w-**. This is in striking contrast to the plural of *gé* which often has **-v-**: *g'e:və ~ g'e:vi:*. This very 'allophonic contrast' (to use a contradiction in terms) occurs in *t'í:wi:* vs. *g'e:vi:*. SID1, 147 and 44, point 46. This distribution in the case of *tightheabhaí* and *géabha(i)* corresponds to their respective (diachronic) sources of glide and consonant. In fact this type of (facultative) 'noncontrastive' distinction was emphasised by Wagner in his work but it slipped his attention in this instance (Wagner 1982: 109).

4.134 Morphology

On the morphological level **-əwi:** corresponds to the consonantal and syllabic structure of the highly productive suffixes **-əni:** and **-əxi:** (i.e. ə + C^{cont} + i:). It could be argued that there is a synchronic relation between *g'e:və ~ g'e:vi:* ~ *g'e:wə ~ g'e:wi:* and the **-əwi:** class, given that it can be derived from *g'e:* + *əwə ~ əwi:* and that *g'e:wə ~ g'e:wi:* may support the development of an **-əwi:** suffix. Similarly, the class in **-əwə ~ -əwi:** could be increased on the synchronic level by deriving *t'í:fə ~ t'í:fi:* *tíofa(i)* (< *teach*), a common variant in West Iorras Aithneach and further to the west and northwest, from **-əwə ~ -əwi:** plus infixed extension **h**, i.e. **-əwə ~ -əwi:** + **h** → **-əwhə ~ -əwhi:** → **-əfə ~ -əfi:**. If, however, there is a relation between **-əwi:** in *géabha(i)* and *tíofa(i)* it is quite abstract (but cf. *t'í:əfi:* 44Pn, 4.80). I have not heard **g'e:əwə ~ *g'e:əwi:* (in conversation) in contrast with, for example, *tránnaí tra:əni:*, *tray-annaí tre:əni:*, *glaeachaí glai:əxi:* where the schwa of the suffixes **-əni:** and **-əxi:** 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'e:wi:n'í:* ~ *g'e:v'í:n'í:* (the latter probably preferred by Mq), *tightheabhaí* → *t'í:həwi:n'í:*. 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'í:wi:* may well be primarily a phonologically reduced form of *t'í:(i)həwi:*; the latter has many current by-forms: *t'í:əwi:*, *t'í:hwi:*, *t'í:əwi:*, *t'í:əwi:*, *t'í:əwi:*, *t'í:əwi:*, *t'í:əwi:*. It is noteworthy that *t'í:wi:* is the quotation form in point 46 and is the unmarked form for 869P's daughters. Professor Máirtín Ó Murchú suggests to me that (**t'í:u:* > *t'í:ui:* > *t'í:wi:*) is also a possible derivation. Compare the weak **h** in neighbouring point 47 *t'í:hú* SID.Mp 147 and An Clochán *tehoveah ~ teioveah*. There may be both internal and external pressure on trisyllabic *t'í:(i)həwi:* to be disyllabic and thus structurally resemble other plurals of *teach* in Iorras Aithneach and its environs (mainly *t'í:(i)fə/i:*, *t'í:(i)hə/i:*).¹

Only the first stage of the innovation, **-ui:**, is found in Bun a Cnoc. In Iorras Aithneach **-əwi:** is probably more common than **-ui:**. Only *tehoveah* and *teioveah* (perhaps for *[t'í:(hə)vi:]*) have been noted for An Clochán. On the diachronic and geographic level it is clear that **-ui:** is the result of a choice between two plural suffixes: regressive **-u:** and progressive **-i:**. Given that both historical suffixes are available throughout Connacht, the ending **-ui:** was a possible development in the

¹ Speaker 11C (Maoras) has many recorded tokens of his plural forms of *teach*. He has two variants: *t'í:fi:* >> *t'í:hi:*. Note the variation in the following passage:

Nuair nar raibh aon títhí ceann scláta sa tír seo, ná rud a bith cosúil leis, séard a bhí ann tíofaí ceann tuí uilig, agus ceann cíbe. 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 **-u:i** is found only in areas which have or had *tighthiú* as plural of *teach*, i.e. the domain of **-u:i** is a subdomain of *tighthiú*. Perhaps this common word *tighthiú*, surrounded by and intermingling with areas with *tíofaí*, *tighthí*, etc., was the pivot for the small class of words containing plural *-thiú*. The innovative **-u:i** 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: **-u:** 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 **-u:i** and **-əwi:**

The diachronic morphological and phonological basis of **-u:i** and **-əwi:** 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 **-u:i** or **-əwi:**, or both, are:

Iorras Aithneach (**IA**) *breitheamh*, *cleith*, *gearrchaile*, *leithe*, *reithe*, *teach*;

Innis Nia (**IN**) and An Clochán (**CI**) *teach*;

Bun a Cnoc (**BC**) *cró*, *crú*, *teach*.

(*crú* > *cruife*, *crúití*, etc., in Iorras Aithneach; *-ú* 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 **-u:** for each lexeme and each of the four areas.

Table 4.17 Lexemes with *-ú*, *-úí*, *-abhaí*, *-úchaí*, *-óchaí* in four areas

Lexeme	-u:	-u:i	-u:wi:	-əwi:	-u:xi:	-o:xi:
<i>teach</i>	BC, IA	BC, IA	IA	CI, IN, IA	IA	
<i>cró</i> , <i>crú</i>	BC	BC				
<i>gearrchaile</i>	BC, IA			IA	IA	IA
<i>reithe</i>	BC, IA	IA	IA	IA		IA
<i>leithe</i>	(IA Cladī)	IA	IA	IA	IA	IA
<i>breitheamh</i>				IA		IA
<i>cleith</i>			IA			

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 **-əwi:** ([əvi:] perhaps) was born in 1832 in An Clochán. Although **-u:i**/**-əwi:** occurred in Iorras Aithneach in the mid-nineteenth century (in apparent time) and probably earlier, **-u:** remained as an alternate plural for *teach* until very recently and **-u:** still occurs, uncommonly, for *reithe* (note that *reithiú* is the only plural in Bun a Cnoc). The last area to introduce **-u:i** 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 Cladī in *leathadha*, *bó-leathadha* and *dubh-leathadha* where *-adha* unambiguously indicates *-u*: (e.g. Cladī13, 129, 131–3, 142, writer born in 1891).

Table 4.18 Real-time *-ú*, *-úí*, *-abhaí*

Speaker(s) date of birth	<i>teach</i> BC	<i>teach</i> CI	<i>teach</i> IA	<i>cró, crú</i> BC
1832	<i>tehlíoveah</i>			
1852 ¹	<i>tightheadhaí</i>			
1866 ²	<i>títhiú</i>			
	<i>títhiúí, t'í:hui:</i>			
1869 ³	<i>t'íhuwi, t'í:wi:</i>			
1875 ⁴	<i>tightheadha</i>			
1879 ⁵	<i>tightheadha</i>			
1881 ⁶	<i>t'íhu:, t'í(:)hui:</i>			
c. 1900 and earlier	<i>t'íx'u:</i>			<i>krix'u:</i>
c. 1915	<i>t'íx'ui:</i>			<i>krix'ui:</i>

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.).⁷ 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

¹ Speaker **852SDT8**; also recorded from this speaker is *tighthe* in RBÉ, volume 657: 355. Also, *tightheadhaí* **864MDT37**.

² Speaker **866E**: *títhiú / títhiúí* and *tighthe* in P. Ó Ceannabháin (1983: 222, 309) and *títhe* in RBÉ, volume 589: 506. In his sound recording: *t'í:hui:*.

³ Speaker **869P**'s plurals are: *t'í:wi:* 46, map 147; *t'íhuwi* 46.484, *beanna na d'í:hě* 46.485 (x2); *títhiúí* (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 *t'í:hə*, *t'í:huwi*; and, in the following conversation, *t'í:hui:*; asked whether he believed his father had *t'í:hu:*, as indicated by DT, **27Cb** replied his father did indeed have *t'í:hu:*.

⁶ Speaker **881J** from Caladh Fhínse. His relevant passage is transcribed as:

| rí:n'í:dər t'í:hui: n'í'fín' nə x'ed t'í:hu: ə v'í:dər ən'í'fín' | ... nə t'í:hui: | b'ogə fín' ... nə x'ed t'í:hui: ə rí:n'í:dər **881J** rinníodar títhiúí ansin, na chéad títhiú a bhíodar ansin, ... na títhiúí beaga sin ... na chéad títhiúí a rinníodar.

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 Sheoigheach.

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 *-əwi:* 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 *-əwi:* is exclusive to *teach*. There are plenty of older speakers, born since the 1910s (at least) and plenty of social networks which have *-əwi:* in *teach* only. It is likely that membership of the *-əwi:* class was never lexically categorical and words are increasingly joining other plural classes; especially *-ə* (*crú, teach*), *-i:* (*breitheamh, crú, reithe, teach*) and the dissimilatory block, which was posited above to have brought about *-u:*, is cancelled with plurals in *-iəxi:* ~ *-uəxi:* ~ *-əxi:* found with *breitheamh, leithe, reithe* and rare plurals of *teach* > *í:hu:xi:* *í:ho:xi:* *í:uə:xi:* *í:hə:xi:* *í:fə:xi:* *í:wə:xi:*. It can be claimed that *-əwi:* began to lose ground before it had completely replaced regressive *-u:*; recall that *reithe* > *reithiú* is still heard. Recall also that *-u:* ~ *-əwi:* 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 *-əwi:* and the back subclass of (V:xi:) plurals, particularly <əxi>. In concrete terms this means that speakers (e.g. 26P) who have limited back variant use, may well use <əxi> in lexemes that have for them alternate *-əwi:*. This *-əwi:* and <əxi> class relation reflects the (historical) *-u:* and <u:xi> relation and is perhaps one reason for the virtually complete absence of an *-əwi:* > *-əwəxi:* development.

The demise of *-əwi:* 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 *í:həwi:* used to be his form *roimhe seo* 'previously', which corresponds to his parents' and sisters' usage, but that he has 'recently' taken to *í:hə*, through the 'habit of hearing it from others'. In fact, one of his sisters, 54Cq, also uses *í:hə* 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 *í(i):həwi:*, 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. *í:həwi:* 76M and 77B (both from An Aird Thoir), *í:huri:* 73N (An Crompán), *í:hui:* 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: *í:fə* 70M (An Aird Thoir), 71D (Damhras), 79J (Maínis), 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.

4.137 Previous explanations of *tightheabhaí*

The abstract relation between the suffixes in *tí(i)həwí* and *g'ə:wí* 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 *t'í:wí* of our point 46, a 'strange form' as Wagner calls it, through analogy with *g'ə:wí*. It is argued that the analogy would be:

gé : géabhaí :: tí- : x ; x → tíobhaí.

Wagner makes no mention of *-u:* 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 *reithe > reitheabhaí*. Wagner's explanation fails to cover two important tokens from his own material already cited above (4.132), i.e. *t'ihuwi* (point 46, 484) and *t'ihui* (point 44, 483).¹ There is a further difficulty with Wagner's analogical base of *géabhaí*. Given the by-form *géabha*, one would expect **tíobha* and **títheabha* but these are not attested. Why *-i:* and not *-ə* was added to *tighthiú* can be presumably explained in terms of the salience and productivity of *-i:* in this position. Adding *-ə* would most likely involve adding *-hə*, which is slightly regressive in *-i:hə* plurals, and which would clash with the *h* of the stem anyway. Wagner's explanation of the long stem vowel in *t'í:wí* is perhaps also inadequate. He derives *i:* from the loss of intervocalic *h*, i.e. *t'ihə > t'í:* as is regular in Cois Fharraige and Árann, 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 *tighe > t'í:* + *-the > t'í:hə*, (b) *-ighth-* gives *i:h* in other contexts (e.g. verbal adjective *-i:hə -ighthe*), (c) paradigmatic levelling where *i:* is regular in genitive *tighe* and is also the vowel of dative *tigh*, (d) the influence of other 'irregular' plurals such as *crú > craoithe*, *drú > draoithe*.

We cannot be certain what the progenitor of the *-u:* plural in *teach* was, owing to lack of diachronic evidence. Based on what we have, however, in particular the common use of *tighthibh* in East Galway, it may, as Wagner (1982: 108) suggested, derive from *tighthibh*.² This has by now fallen together with other plural nouns containing medial palatal *th* which have *-u:* from historic *-eadha*, e.g. *reitheadha*. The ending *-ibh* 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 Schøsler 1988: 506).³ Given that *-ibh* and *-adha*, 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 *tighthibh* may explain why Wagner derived *tíobhaí* through analogy with *g'ə:wə < géadha* rather than as an instance of phonological change *-dh- > -w-* in *tightheadha*. Interestingly, one finds *w* in by-forms of the related abstract noun *tigheadhas t'ífəs, t'í:wís* (cp. *tíobhús* FFG20), *t'í:wəs*. The real-time evidence for plural *-u:* *> -u:* *> -əwí:*, however, belies a historical consonantal change analogous with *géadha > g'ə:wə*.

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 ~ -adha* developments in Connacht. In the Donegal instance one

mention other endings, have quite a few identical reflexes, the problem is a general one in the diachrony of nominal plurals.

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 <əxə>, extensions and irregular plurals.

4.138 852S, Seán Veail 'ac Con Raoi

Masculine *-ach* > *-igh* ~ *-í* ~ *-acha(í)*

If one reads ə for manuscript *-ale*, and i: 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 4.19 Masculine *-ach* > *-ale* ~ *-igh* ~ *-(ach)aí*, 852S

Word	ə	i:	əxi: >> əxə
monosyllabic root			
<i>Gréigeach</i>	1	3	
<i>Turcach</i>		1	
<i>Muimhneach</i>	7	1	
<i>fathach</i>	1 <i>Fátha</i>		
<i>Francach</i>		3	
<i>Spáinneach</i>		5	
from -CV base			
<i>comhairleach</i>			5
polysyllabic root			
<i>Éireannach</i>	4	5	1 (from serial effect)
<i>Albanach</i>		1	
<i>Connachtach</i>		3	
<i>Lochlannach</i>		2	
<i>Sasanach</i>		1	
<i>Caitliceach</i>		13 <i>Caitlicí, Caitliocaí</i>	12 <i>Caitliocachaí</i>
<i>Págánach</i>			1

All three endings (ə, i:, əxə/i:) are found with polysyllabic roots. The commonest ending for both classes is i:. Monosyllables take ə more often than polysyllables. Polysyllables take əxə/i: more often than monosyllables. There is one polysyllabic root with plural ə: *Éireannach* > *Éireanna*. There is one stem in -CV

of the three variants of *-ibh* spreads to historical *-adh* contexts, i.e. *-ibh* = **ur**, **uw**, **əv'** : *-adh* = **ur**, **uw**, **x** ; **x** → **əv'**, e.g. *tine* > gen sg **t'ín'ur** : **t'ín'əv'** *tineadh*. Cf. Ó Curnáin (2001: 175).

with plural əxə/i: , namely *comhairleach* > *comhairleacha(i)* (*comhairleach* > *comhairle* (i.e. ku:rl'ə **comhairligh*) or *comhairlí* could perhaps otherwise be confused with the singular and plural of *comhairle*).

4.139 (V) → <ə> <i:>

Plurals with *-a/e* ~ *-í* are quite common in the material from Seán Veail 'ac Con Raoi (852S). His attested as well as potential members of the (V) class are listed here:

- a/e ~ -í *duine, tír, cloch, ríocht, Fiann, bliain, caora;*
- í *súil, cluais, fiacail, céad, dealg* > *deilgní*, (cp. *lorga* > *loirgní*);
- a/e *slat, crann* > *croínte, cuan* > *cuanta, baile,*
 rí > *righte* (which indicates rit'ə), *cloigeann* > *cloigne,*
 cnáimh > *cnámha* !, *glúin* > *glúna, aingeal* > *aingle, míle* > *mílte*.

The only noun where any pattern is immediately apparent is *duine*. Plural *daoine* occurs regularly both before vowels and consonants while *daoíní* occurs, in 12 tokens out of 12, before vowels. On the other hand, *caoire* and *caoirí* do not show such a clear sandhi pattern (< *caoirigh*). Cf. 4.109 for his four audio-recorded tokens.

<Vxə>

-acha is fairly common although less frequent than *-achaí*; some examples are:
gaiscíoch > *gaiscíocha* (gafk'ixi : in his recording), *námhaideacha,*
comhairleach > *cúirleacha*.

(V:xi:)

Only *-iochaí* has been noted, implying that < ixi: > is his dominant variant, perhaps similar to speaker 869P. The examples are:

- C' *na hIndiacha(i); gloiníochaí;*
- C` *gearradh* > *gearraíochaí;*
- cp. -iə *giorriadhachaí.*
 Cp. *gaiscíocha(i)*; corresponding to gafk'ixi : in his recording.

Note *-acha(i)* in *cleite* 852S2 and *ribe* !852S5.

4.140 Agent -í and other plurals

Agent *-í* > *-í* ~ *-ichi* << *-ighthe*, in *Giúdaí* > *Giúdaí* (x4), *Giúdaichi* << *Giúdaighthe* (x15). The spelling *-ichi* is difficult to interpret. It may indicate əx'ə but one would expect this to be spelt *-iche*, so that ix'i (phonemically ix'i:) or even əx'i: are possible. Apart from general i:hə , only i:x'ə is attested from recordings but *-íthí*, one of 869PRBÉ's rarer variants, might lend support to the i:x'i: interpretation of *Giúdaichi*. (It is perhaps worth comparing obsolescent by-forms of *crú* > kri:hə , *cruíthí*, krihi:hə .) In 852S's recording one notes ri: nə $\text{ŋ'u:di:} \sim \text{ŋ'u:di:ə} \sim \text{ŋ'u:di:ən}$ 852S *Rí na nGiúdaíthe* where both *-ə* and *-ən* may be phonetic off-glides. Cp. plural *searbhóntaí* (singular in IA farəwə:ntə).

Other plurals

- anna(i) *Dia* > *Diannaí*; *cú* > *cúannaí* RBÉ, *na cúanna* ABg47. Cp. in higher register *ag tomhais na léimeanna brice* !852S3.

-the in plural of *ní*; note *claimhe* > *claidhmhí* RBÉ, *claidhmhtí* LL50, but cp. *claibhthe* RBÉ, which may be an alternate plural.

Note further: *dorna* > *doghrnaí* (x1) ~ *doghairní* (x2); *sceach* > *sceitheachaí* 7 *droighneachaí*; *teach* > *tighthe* 852S2, *tightheadhaí* DT8. 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

(V:xi:)

The few (V:xi:) examples from Seán Éadbhaird Ó Briain show preference for <iəxi> in nonpalatal environment:

eala > *ealaidheacha* LL130; *gearradh* > *gearraidheacha* [x2] LL130;
also *na hIndiacha Thiar* LL34.

In the only audio-recorded token which I have noted from 852Sb, one finds the earliest example, in apparent time, of <e:xi> in Iorras Aithneach:

nə hale:əxi: 852Sb *na healaíochaí*.

This suggests, given *ealaidheacha* 852SbLL130, that actual <e:xi> 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* LL25, but *fréamhachaí* LL4.
-t- *taltaí an domhain* LL121.

Other plurals

-C' *colm* > *cuilm gheala* LL143, **kol'əm' 852Sbt**.
-a *na cnámha abhaile leis* LL128.
-í *leathscór puntaí airgid* LL30. Also *bútaisí* LL6; *ascallaí* LL7.
Also: (*brat* ‘flag’) > *faoi bhratanna geala* LL27;
cnéidh > *creicheacha* in note in LL129, possibly ***kr' ex' əxə** or ***kr' ehəxə**.
cró (glossary) > *crotha'ní* (in note on *crothaint*) LL3 (the spellings *-tha'ní* ~ *-thainí* perhaps indicate that Mac Giollarnáth was unsure of the palatality of *n* here or the by-form *crotha'ní* may reflect, or be affected by, the variant **krunhi:**).

4.142 864M, Maidhcil 'ac Dhonncha

(V:xi:)

Maidhcil 'ac Dhonncha (864M) has only one token here but it is significant in indicating <iəxi> in the palatal environment:

buaile > *buailidheacha* [x2] ABg277; cp. *gráinneacha* ABg274, 296.

Other plurals

-C' *duibhéin* ABg314.
-a *cloigne* LL87.
-anna *sábhanna agus tuaghanna* LL82; plural *brobhanna*, gpl *brobh* ABg285.
-r- extension in *neadracha* ABg249.
Also *capall* > *go leor caiple aige* LL77, *set caiple donna* LL81; *gróití* LL166;
broigheallacha [x2] ABg314;
cliamhain > *cleamhnacha* ABg136; *lao* > *laoghanta* ABg280;
dlaotha !ABg31; *iarla* > *iarlacha* ABg301; *teach* > *tighthe pobail* ABg287.
In borrowing ‘*tories*’ > *tóraiseacha* ABg117.

Dative plural: *iasc* (in runs) > *ag éisce, róinte, míolta móra* LL148 (all three noun plurals in the phrase are disyllabic);
ceann > *cárnán dá gceanna* LL153.

4.143 866E, Éamann Liam a Búrc

(VxV) → <əxi> ~ <əxə>

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^{stop}r), i.e. in monosyllabic root *leacracha* (more often *leacracháí*) and in syncopated *toibreacha*. Also, *-acha* is common in polysyllabic *barriall* > *baruíolacha* which occurs in runs (but which was noted from 12S, for example, as his only <əxə> token). Other *-acha* tokens are in polysyllabic roots or compound words, e.g.

carcaireacha giúsaí Sc87.22; *mo dhreithiúracha agus* Semr50; *tamallacha den bhealach* Sc223.15; *agus olphéisteacha agus* Sc107.11; *mo chuid sean-(t)seanaithreacha romham* Sc47, 49; *a chuid seanmháthreacha 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 (866Et), the plural of *dreatháir* occurs in the following contexts:

> -əxə /_pausa (x3) *dr'eha:rəxə* |; > -əxi: /_Vowel (x1) *o:nə 'nr'eha:rəxi j'i* |
dreatháracha *óna ndreatháracháí í*

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 <əxə> use. One also finds examples of *-acha* with monosyllabic roots, in single final consonants, before epithets in initial consonants, e.g.

na deoracha móra troma Sc210.26.

(V:xi:)

The (V:xi:) variable has been noted only in the plurals *gloine* > *gloiníocháí* Sc104.7, *eala* > *ealúcháí* Semr42, 46. This is early evidence of <u:xi>, with *eala* in the nonpalatal environment and suggests an early system at variance with speakers 852Sb, 869P and (869P's brother) 875T (and implicationally with other older speakers) who have *ealaíocháí*, in recordings *e:(ə)xi:*. Singular *gaiscíoch* takes *iəxi:* *i:hə* and *i:*: *gaiscíocháí* >> *gaiscithe*, *gaiscígh*. Cp. *dearna* > *dearnacháí* Sc274.2, 5.

Other plurals

Extension *r* occurs in *tine* > *tíntreacháí*, *fréamh* > *fréamhracháí*, *leac* > *leacracha(i)*.

Note *teach* > *tighthe*, *títhe*, *tithiú*, *tithiúí*, *t'í:hurí*.

More extensive examination of 866E's copious folklore corpus would be worth while; particularly concerning (V:xi:) and it would be interesting to know how his plural conditioning of (V) (including (VxV)) → <ə> ~ <i> compares with his verbal adjective conditioning of <ə> ~ <i> ('Sandhi' 2.67). The prepausa <əxə>

vs. prevocalic <əxi> of his audio-recorded *dreatháracha(i)* 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 Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire

capaill ~ caiple

As presented in Table 4.20, the simple ending of palatalisation, i.e. -C', alternates almost in equal proportion with complex -C'ə in the plural tokens of *capall* which I have noted.

Table 4.20 *capall > capaill, caiple*, **869P**

Source	<i>capaill</i> (x10)	<i>caiple</i> (x7)
ZCP order (1-6)	<i>dena ~ a bhí ag rith</i> (2) <i>go bhfaca sé na ~ chor ar bith</i> (3) <i>ar na ~ nó ...</i> (4) <i>leis na ~ —</i> (6)	<i>bhí ~ breá <u>rásaí</u> ag an rí</i> (1) <i>ar na ~ ag rith</i> (5)
order (1-2)	<i>marcaíthe agus capaill agus coisíthe</i> (1)	<i>leis na ~ <u>rása</u></i> (2)
cp. gen pl	<i>aldo chuid capall</i> (x3); ... <i>na gcapall</i> (x1)	
SID.46		~ 168
869Pt	<i>na jacaí(th)e ar ch~, xa:pəl' (1)</i>	<i>dhe na ~ <u>rása</u>, kəpɪ'ə (2)</i>
RBÉ	<i>na ~ (x2) RBÉ2</i> <i>capaill ... go chapaill</i> RBÉ5	<i>a gcuid ~ 7 confoirt</i> (1) RBÉ3 <i>na ~ 7 a chonfoirt</i> (2) RBÉ3

At least one collocational condition seems apparent: that of *caiple* (...) *rása(i)* (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 *capaill rása* (which would yield *kəpəl rəsə*). Otherwise *capaill* is the main variant. Cp. *d'rib'ə* 46.1; *drible* RBÉ5. Speaker **875T** (**869P**'s brother) also has *capaill ~ caiple*.

4.145 Masculine -ach > -aigh, -aí, -achaí

Overall, monosyllabic bases have more <ə> than <i> or <əxi>. There are 13 words with <ə> against 7 with <i> and 6 with <əxi>, as shown in Table 4.21 (where 1084 = 46.1084, 134 = 46.134, etc.). Two words show alternation: *stócach* <ə> and <i>; *gliomach* <ə> and <əxi>.

Table 4.21 Monosyllabic masculine roots + -ach > -(a)igh, -(a)í, -(e)achaí, **869P**

Total 25	ə (x13)	i: (x7)	əxi: (x6)
<i>bairneach</i>	1084		
<i>Búrcach</i>	RBÉ5		
<i>cladach</i>		869Pt	
<i>coileach</i>	134, 137		
<i>collach</i>			kələxi: 111
<i>corach</i>			1091
<i>créachtach</i>		RBÉ5	

Total 25	ə (x13)	i: (x7)	əxi: (x6)
<i>fathach</i>	46 s.v., RBÉ3		
<i>fiogach</i>	1167		
<i>folach</i>			<i>folachai leapa</i>
<i>Frannach</i>	46 s.v.		
<i>gliomach</i>	581, 1124 (1)		g' L' ɔməxi: 1124 (2)
<i>Gréigeach</i>	1.48		
<i>Loingseach</i>	RBÉ4		
<i>lugach</i>		1121	
<i>portach</i>	porti ZCP, RBÉ5, including <i>lagphortaigh</i> RBÉ5		
<i>ronnach</i>	(x3) RBÉ4		
<i>scoirneach</i>			skaurN' əxi: 1167
<i>sarrach</i>	Mp 53		
<i>sionnach</i>	141		
<i>stócach</i>	RBÉ4	RBÉ4	
cp. <i>Tamhnach</i>			(x5) RBÉ5
<i>teallach</i>		t' ali !ZCP	
<i>ualach</i>		606, RBÉ5	

Polysyllabic masculine roots with *-ach* regularly take **i:** >> **əxi:** >> **ə** (interpreting *-igh* as **i:** in RBÉ, where *-ale* stands for **ə** generally):

- i:** **loxrəni** !ZCP, *Sasanaigh* [x2], *Máirtínigh*, *Éireannaigh* [x2] RBÉ4, 5, *máirnéalaigh*, *págánaigh* RBÉ4, 5;
əxi: *Caitiligeachai* [x4] RBÉ4, 5; *príosúnachai* RBÉ4, *tíoránachai* RBÉ4, 5;
ə: *Flathartach* RBÉ3, 5.

Note: *na giolcaigh* [x3] RBÉ5 = **i:**; and feminine *procach* > **proki** 149; agentive *Giúdach* > *Giúdaíthe* 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 **i:hə**, in contrast with the more progressive **V(:)xi:** of many younger speakers (cp. his verbal adjective which is also consistently <**i:hə**>, 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 **i:hə**, **ihə**, **iə**, **i:**, and the ending *-íthí* (**869P** only (cp. 4.140), both tokens of *-íthí* are in dative plural contexts).

- RBÉ: *-íthe* *bhíodar ina gcaraithe thar cíonn* RBÉ2; *na páirtithe* RBÉ3; *scéalaíthe* [x3] RBÉ5; *seanchaíthe* RBÉ5.
-í *cuimse gon tsaol gadhar 7 capall 7 coisí acub ...* RBÉ 3; *na seanscéalaí', thugaidís ...* RBÉ5.
-íthí *gadaíthe go rubáilíthí* RBÉ2, cp. *éiríthí* below.
 Cp. *-achai* (see also *gaiscíoch*) in *na triúr rubálachai* RBÉ2.
869P6 *-í* *A Rí shaor na gadaidhe ar chrán na Páise* !**869P6**.

- ZCP: **ihə** *Críostaí k' r' i:stihə, marcaí > markihə, coisí > kōfihə*.
 Cp. *gaiscíoch > gaɟg'ihə* ZCP.
iə *caraí > nə kariə tɑ: !ZCP na caraíthe atá ...*
 cp. **i:** in *mionna* below.
- 46: **ihə** cp. *cliamhain > k'Y auniə* s.v. (now generally *cliamhaineachaí*).
ihě *cuartaí > kuəɾtiə 684; cp. Giúdach > g' u:diə 368;*
ih'ě *gréasaí > g' r' e:sih'ě 723;*
- 869Pt: **i:hə** *coisí > kofji:hə*.
i:ə *nə ɟa:ki:ə | er' xa:pəɫ' ... kofji:hə ... nə kofji:hə ... nə ɟa:ki:ə*
na jacaíthe ar chapail ... coisíthe ... na coisíthe ... na jacaíthe.
- Cp. singular *gaiscíoch* (and *gaiscí*?) plural in **i:hə**, **i:**, **iəxi:**: *gaɟg'ihə* ZCP, *gaiscí* [x2], *gaiscíthe móra* [x1], *na gaiscíochaí* [x5] RBÉ2.
 Cp. **farəwɑ:ntə > farəwɑ:nti** ZCP; *tunóntaí* RBÉ4.
- Verbal nouns and similar nouns in *-í > -íthe, -íthí*:
urnaí > aurnihə !ZCP; a n-ournaíthe RBÉ5;
na trí éirí is dona ... go na héiríthí dona seo ... éirí ó Aifreann gan éisteacht
 RBÉ5;
 cp. *tosach (tosaí) > ó na céad tosaíthe anuas go dtí ...* RBÉ5.
- Nouns in *-ú > -íthe*:
colbha > colaíthe RBÉ5;
 cp. *mionna* (related to *mionnú*, *vadj mionnaíthe*) > **m'ini: m'inihə** !ZCP.
- Nouns in *-ae > -aethe*:
condae > na cúndaethe RBÉ4.

4.147 (ənv) → <ənv>; (VxV) → <əvx>

Only two occurrences of <ənv> were noted. There is *-anna* before a consonant-initial epithet in:

'na dhlaoíanna fada caola. ... 'na dhlaoíannaí caola ... RBÉ5.

The transcriptions **ku:ənv ~ ku:i** occur in:

Í an fe: he:n' agəs nə ku:ənv / ku:i agəs v' i:ðər nə d' iə agəs ... ZCP,
 transcribed in ZCP as:

Lean sé féin agus na cúinna / cúí agus bhíodar ina diaidh agus ...

The pronouns *é* and *í* are, however, often missing in ZCP so that some phrase resembling *na cúinna(í) í* or *na coin í* was perhaps meant by the speaker. Cp. this speaker's *coin* (4.150) and his brother's *cúanna* 875TLL67.

Tokens with <əvx> 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 <əvx> (tale runs and song), both lexemes are polysyllabic and are followed by a consonant-initial qualifier:

ya: ra:mətaxə ji:məsəxə 869Pt dhá ramatacha dhíomasacha [sic] 869P2;¹
nə karəsəxə k'ri:st !ZCP na carasacha Críost.

¹ The token corresponding to my **ra:mətaxə** is transcribed as **ra:mətaxə rámatacha** in ZCP. Speaker 869P has a noticeable tendency for back variants of /a/, sometimes phonetically [ɑ:]. Wagner often transcribes this back allophone as **ɑ:**; more often than I would. The token in 869Pt 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* (~ *ramaid*) 'wretch'.

In SID.46, <əxə> is remarkably rare:	monosyllabic	polysyllabic
<əxi:>	20	12
<əxə>	2	1

<əxə> in: monosyllabic: *sleán* > ʃl̪ːaːntrəxə; *sail* saːltrəxə s.v. *sáltracha*;
 polysyllabic: *cathaoir* > kəhiːr̪ːəxə Mp 153 (also *cathaoireachaí* RBÉ2).

Speaker **869P**'s <əxə> 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 <əxə> 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 <əxə>). It seems, therefore, that **04Br** and **15W** have not acquired their prevalent polysyllabic <əxə> 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:xi:)

According to my interpretation of the recent and more established developments of (V:xi:), 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 <e:əxi:> token. Nevertheless, the mid vowel token is one of only two (V:xi:) 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 <e:əxi:> token from a possible <ɪ:əxi:>.

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:

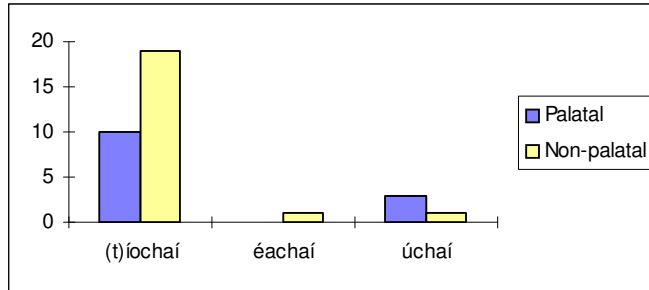
range and quality conditioning of (V:xi:)	{	[<ɪ:əxi:> >>> <e:əxi:>]	vs.	[<u:xi:>]
				palatal

Table 4.22 lists his tokens in full.

Table 4.22 (V:xi), 869P and SID.46

Word	iəxi:	Source	Word	u:xi:	Source
-C' (-)			-C' -		
<i>gloine</i>	gl̪iːn' i:əxi:	426	<i>sine</i>	ʃiːn' u:xi	Mp 18
	<i>gloiníochaí</i>	RBÉ5	<i>eite</i>	eɪ' u:xi:	1133
<i>faithne</i>	fān' hi:əxi	436		<i>eitiúchaí</i>	RBÉ2
<i>glaise</i>	gl̪a:ʃiəxi	630			
	also <i>glaisreachaí</i> (x2)	RBÉ5			
<i>gráinne</i>	gr̪a:ːn' iəxi	660			
	also gr̪a:ːn' əxi:	869Pt			
	<i>gráinneachaí</i>	RBÉ5			
<i>banais</i>	<i>bainsíochaí</i>	RBÉ2			
(<i>cine</i>)	<i>teintíochaí</i>	(MP)RBÉ2			
<i>Inn-</i>	<i>Inníochaí</i> (x2+)	RBÉ3			
<i>tuairisc</i>	<i>tuairiscíochaí</i>	RBÉ3			
Total Words 8; tokens 10			Total words 2; tokens 3		
-C` (-)			-C` -		
<i>ionga</i>	iːŋgɹ:əxi	Mp 136	<i>lanna</i>	l̪a:nɹ:xi:	1136
	also i:ŋ' iːn' ě	453		given as alternant of l̪a:nəxi:	
<i>teanga</i>	t̪' a:ŋgɹ:əxi	247			
<i>tórramh</i>	t̪o:ri:əxi:	703			
<i>conra</i>	k̪oːnri:əxi:	711			
<i>bonn</i>	b̪uːni:əxi:	869Pt			
	<i>bonnaíochaí</i>	RBÉ4, ABg			
<i>artha</i>	<i>arthaíochaí</i> often	RBÉ5			
<i>gearradh</i>	<i>gearraíochaí</i>	RBÉ5			
<i>caras</i>	<i>carasaíochaí Críost</i>	RBÉ2			
	also karəsəxə k' ri:st	!ZCP			
-V:					
<i>giorria</i>	g' iːri:əxi: , -riə-	151, ZCP			
	<i>giorraíochaí</i>	RBÉ5			
-hə					
<i>snáithe</i>	<i>snáthaíochaí</i> (x2)	RBÉ5			
indicating	elided <i>th</i> in	RBÉ4			
<i>sná(th)aíochaí</i>					
e:əxi:					
<i>eala</i>	a:le:əxi:	869Pt			
Total words 11; tokens c. 20			Total words 1; tokens 1		

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.

Figure 4.17 (V:xi), 869P and SID.46

Note the two examples which violate the second syllable position constraint on the V: in (V:xi): *tuairiscíochaí* and *carasaíochaí* (~ -səxə ZCP).

Cp. **869P**'s <əxi> in certain nouns which are prevalent in the (V:xi) class:

cleite > k'ɪ'et'əxi: Mp 36, !ZCP, **869Pt**; *iomaire* > *iomarachaí fataí* RBÉ5;

gráinne > grɑ:n'iaxi 46.660, grɑ:n'əxi: **869Pt**;

and, with less prevalent (V:xi) in the dialect: *easna* > asnəxi: 1092, ZCP.

Cp. nouns in final V: and plurals in i: (4.146), many of which have (V:xi) intradialectally, but not for **869P**.

4.149 Extensions

Table 4.23 lists words from the plural classes in (r)əxi: and t(r)əxi:.

Table 4.23 r-extension, 869P and SID.46

r	Ø r
<i>nead</i> > n'ɑ:drəxi ZCP	<i>déas</i> > d'e:səxi: 661, 869Pt
<i>striocrachaí</i> RBÉ5 ¹	<i>leaba</i> > l'apəxi: s.v. <i>dreanncaid</i> , also 499, RBÉ2, 5
<i>téadrachaí</i> RBÉ5	<i>splancachaí</i> 869Pt
<i>craobhrachaí</i> RBÉ5	<i>slatachaí</i> (x2) RBÉ5, ABg47
<i>fréamhrachaí</i> (x2) RBÉ5	
<i>carraigreachaí</i> RBÉ4	
<i>glaisreachaí</i> (x2) RBÉ5	cp. glɑ:fiaxi 630
tr	tØr
<i>stail</i> > stɑ:ltrəxi 169	<i>cráin</i> > krɑ:ntəxi 110
<i>sleán</i> > sl'ɑ:ntərəxə 524	<i>léine</i> > l'e:n't'əxi: 284
<i>ginn</i> > g'ia:ntərəxi: 536	<i>bailteachaí</i> RBÉ4
<i>aill</i> Mp 267, RBÉ4	
<i>speal</i> > sb'a:ltrəxi: 589	
<i>sail</i> > sɑ:ltrəxə s.v. <i>sáltracha</i>	

Cp. -*annaí*, rather than optional -(t)*rachaí*, in *pluideannaí* RBÉ5, *seanscoileannaí* RBÉ5.

¹ Plural *strioc* > *striocrachaí* has been noted here only.

Other extensions

n-extension	<i>anamn</i> - ZCP, RBÉ5; <i>feilm</i> > <i>na feilmneachaí</i> RBÉ4 (noted, in IA, from 869P only).	
t-extension	+t	Ø t
<i>claimhe</i>		<i>claidhmhí</i> ZCP, RBÉ2
<i>rása</i> ZCP		<i>bhí caiple breá rásaí ag an rí</i> 138.3 <i>ar rásaí na gcapall</i> 140.9
<i>rí</i>	<i>ar rastaí na gcapall</i> 139.29	
<i>ró</i>	<i>as Teamhair na ríte</i> !ZCP	
<i>taoille</i>	<i>róití</i> RBÉ2	<i>taoillí</i> s.v. <i>laghduigh</i> , <i>taoillí móra</i> 869Pt
h-extension	<i>leabhar</i> > <i>leabhartha</i> RBÉ4; <i>tír</i> > <i>tí:rhə</i> 869Pt <i>tíortha</i> ; <i>toradh</i> > <i>tərhi</i> ZCP <i>torthaí</i> .	
h ~ Ø	<i>caor</i> > <i>tərhi kī:rə kī:rhən' ... donə kī:rə kī:rhən'</i> ZCP <i>torthaí caortha caorthainn ... dhena caortha caorthainn</i> , <i>cuíora</i> / <i>cuíoraí cuíorthainn</i> RBÉ5; <i>earra</i> > <i>ari: a:rhə</i> ZCP.	
Ø	<i>cíor</i> > <i>go chíora</i> RBÉ3; <i>sméar</i> > <i>sméara</i> often RBÉ5.	

4.150 Other plurals

For **869P**'s AM class, see 4.86.

-C' in	<i>na hânlaçain</i> RBÉ4; <i>asail</i> 185; <i>coirc</i> 1112; <i>duail</i> RBÉ2; <i>fóid</i> Mp 167; <i>lóid</i> RBÉ5; <i>pátruin</i> RBÉ5; <i>spuir spoir</i> RBÉ4; <i>stíobhaird</i> RBÉ4; <i>troscán</i> > <i>truskə:n'</i> 869Pt .		
-í in	<i>aithgiorraí</i> RBÉ4 <i>báillí</i> RBÉ4 <i>breitheamh</i> > <i>b'rehi:</i> s.v. <i>buillí</i> RBÉ4 <i>cúthlaí</i> RBÉ4 <i>dournaí</i> RBÉ5	<i>lataí</i> RBÉ4 <i>maistirí</i> RBÉ5 <i>meanthaí</i> RBÉ2 <i>míorúiltí</i> RBÉ4 <i>oistire</i> > <i>eʃt'ər'i:</i> 1126 <i>péirsí</i> RBÉ5	<i>púitsí</i> RBÉ5 <i>rínsí</i> (x2) RBÉ5 <i>rotha</i> > <i>rohi:</i> 199 <i>táclaí</i> RBÉ4
-í ~ -achaí:	<i>splanc</i> > <i>sblə:ŋki:</i> 549, <i>splancachaí</i> 869Pt (<i>splanc(r)achaí</i> is now general).		
-annaí	<i>cíosannaí</i> RBÉ4; <i>drochbheartannaí</i> RBÉ4; <i>creachannaí</i> RBÉ4.		
-achaí	<i>altóir</i> > <i>alto:rəxi</i> !ZCP <i>comórtasachaí</i> RBÉ5 <i>falainneachaí</i> RBÉ2 <i>fuireannachaí</i> RBÉ4	<i>laidhreachaí</i> RBÉ3 <i>ócáideachaí</i> RBÉ4 <i>píolóideachaí</i> RBÉ4	<i>purgóideachaí</i> RBÉ5 <i>tinneasachaí</i> RBÉ5 <i>turasachaí</i> RBÉ4

Further examples from **869P** are listed here.

aobh > *i:v' i:wə* 471.

broibh 43; *na broibh luachair* RBÉ5, genitive plural in *crosóg brobh* RBÉ5.

cith > *k'əhəni* 856.

clai > *klöiəxi* Mp 6, *klöiəxi:* 183, *kləjəxi* !ZCP; *claidheachaí* RBÉ5; most often *kləhəxi:* in West IA.

cno > *knuhəni* 649.

crú > *krihə* 181; *kröhi:* *kru:t'ə* Mp 57.

cú > *ku:əə* / *ku:i* ZCP, ¹*kīn'* !ZCP; *coin* ₇ *gadhair* RBÉ3.

dealg > *d'el'ig'n'i:* 973; *deilgní móra* RBÉ5, *deilg* RBÉ5, *na deilg ghéara* RBÉ5; *deilg mhaithhe chrua ghéara láidir ar ...* RBÉ5.

¹ See discussion of these forms in 4.147 above.

800 Plural of nouns

dorú **dr̥u:** > **ḃ̥r̥i̯f̥ə** 1116.

feá f̥a: > **f̥a:ən.i:** 364.

fia > **f̥i̯əni:** ZCP; *fiannaí* RBÉ2.

foirgneamh FGB, *foirgint* **11C** > *foirgeanta* RBÉ3.

gníomh > **g̥r̥i̯:wər̥hi g̥r̥i̯:wər̥ə** !ZCP.

gorún > **goru:n̥i:** Mp 133.

lái > **l̥a:n̥t̥i** 635.

mala > *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* **04Brq**, **15W** (~ *mailíochaí* **04Br**).

mí > *mieannaí* RBÉ4.

múr > **muri:l̥əxi** 856.

prós RBÉ5 > *próiseannaí* RBÉ5.

rón > **ru:n̥t̥ə** 1168.

sleagh > **ʃl̥a:xə** s.v. *sleagh*.

smaoiniú > *na smaointíthe* RBÉ4, **smwi:t̥i:** !ZCP.

solas > *na solais* RBÉ3 often.

teach > **t̥i:rw̥** Mp 147; **t̥ihuwi** 484, *beanna n̥ə d̥i:h̥ə* 485 (x2); *tithiúí* (x2) RBÉ2.

tom > *tomachaí* RBÉ4.

uaigh > **uəni** 712.

Formal continuity can be seen with his daughter, **15W**, in *clai* > **kla:iəxi:** **15W**, and *bláth* > *blá-annaí* **869PRBÉ**, **bl̥a:əni:** **15W**.

4.151 875P, Peait Bhile 'ac Dhonncha

Peait Bhile 'ac Dhonncha's (V̥xi:) plurals show <iəxi:> in the nonpalatal environment:

bonnaidheacha ABg94, 99, 329; *orthaidheacha* [x2] ABg230.

Other plurals

Extensions: *r* in *scailpreacha* ABg25, *téadracha* ABg99; *t* in *rástaí cos* ABg18; *bailteacha* ABg322.

-igh, -acha (for -achaí) in *roilleacha* ABg23, *crotaigh* ABg23; *ach lochanna is portacha is criathrach* ABg62 (speaker identity is uncertain in ABg62).

-anna, -anta in *amanna* ABg24, *laethanta* ABg24.

drú > *druifí agus baoití a bhí againn* ABg332; *teach* > *tightheadha* ABg170, 178, 266; *sluasaidí* ABg163; *fearsaidí* ABg267; *naomh* > *naomhacha* ABg259. Genitive plural *a gcuid seol* ABg20. Borrowing in *na póilí ar ais* ABg91.

4.152 875T, Team Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire

(V̥xə)

Only -achaí has been noted from relevant sources (i.e. accurate transcriptions in RBÉ), e.g. *casaoideachaí* **875T1**; also **kahi:r̥əxi:** in *dho na cathaoireachaí a raibh ... na cathaoireachaí dhen urlár*. **875Tt**.

(V̥xi:)

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 <iəxi:> as the dominant variant in this class. This correlates with his sons, **11J**, **20T** and **25M**, who have stronger use of <iəxi:> than is now usual in Iorras Aithneach. Only one word was noted with palatal consonant before (V̥xi:):

comhairle > *cúirlíochaí* [x4], contrast *comhairle* > *na comhairleacha* LL59.

The other three words noted are:

eala > *ealaíochaí* [x2]; *ola* > *olaidheacha* LL64; *bonn* > *bonnaidheachaí*, contrast *bonnach* LL190; and cp. *giorria* > *giorraíochaí* often, also *gírrfhiadhacha* LL168. These four words are the same for **869P**. Cp. *gaiscíochaí* RBÉ, *gaiscidheacha* LL181.

Compare *carasacha Críosta* ABg298 with *carasacha Críost* **869P** !ZCP and *carasaíochaí Críost* **869P**.

Other plurals

-anna	<i>cúanna</i> LL67.
-igh, -achaí	<i>na fathaigh</i> LL173; <i>na stócaí</i> LL39.
t-extension	<i>rástaí capall</i> LL39, 40; <i>claidhmhtí</i> LL43; <i>seacht mbailte caisleáin</i> LL178.
Others	<i>búitisí</i> LL173; <i>capall</i> > <i>Bhí na caiple ag rith agus ...</i> LL37, ... <i>ba luaithe ná na capaill</i> LL37, <i>na caiple le dhul ag rith i ngeall</i> LL38; <i>fréamhacha</i> 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 <ə> to <i> in the noted examples is roughly 2:1, but (as with **869P**) many <ə> 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 <ə> except *súil* which has 2 tokens of <ə> 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 <ə>, are not homophonous with any singular case.

Potential members of this class attested with <ə> only are:

bróg, caora; glór > glórtha !, meall > mealla (also meálltrachaí); póg, scéal, lámh, coill, bliain, muileann, rón > rúinte.

The plural *mucaí* occurs in:

... *b'ehi, ki:r'ə, muki, ogəs ka:pl'ə ogəs ...*

... *beithí, caoirigh, mucaí, agus caiple agus ...*

For **894C**'s more frequent use of <i> in songs, see 10.51.

<əxə>

Only two tokens were noted in vernacular use, alternating with *-achaí* in one instance. There occur in polysyllabic roots:

na spioraideacha seo **894C9**; *na giúistíseachaí isteach* **894C2.135**,

na hatournaíthe 7 na giúistíseacha 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, *-íochaí*, *-óchaí* and *-úchaí* are attested. It is likely

that <e:xi> also belongs among his variants. The examples in 894C2-9 of *comhairle* > *cúirleachaí*, *ribe* > *ribeachaí*, *deireadh* > *deireachaí*, *gloine* > *gloineachaí* may well be examples of <e:xi> which were not indicated or heard by the transcribers, *-aechaí* and *-óchaí* being used very rarely indeed in RBÉ material and in writing in general. His minimal pattern then seems to be:

range and quality conditioning of (V:xi) { [*<iəxi>* (<e:xi> ?)] vs. [*<u:xi>* <o:xi>] palatal

The examples are: *féithe* > *féithíochaí*; cp. *giorria* > *giorraíochaí*;
déirce > *déirciúchaí*;
claidhre > *claidhreóchaí*; *gloine* > *glin' o:xi*.

4.155 Agent and other instances of *-íthe* plurals; Extensions

Speaker 894C shows regular ('conservative') <i:hə> >> <i:> rather than (V:xi) in this class, he also shows a more extensive use of <i:hə>, at least in the example of *tosach*, than is the case in younger speakers:

-íthe *filí* > *filíthe* !894Ct; *atournaíthe* 894C2; *dílleachta* > *na ndílleachtaíthe* 'aici' 894C9 (prose) (*chuici* not intended); cp. *-íthe* in *tosuighth' air mo bhrógaí agus ...* !894C9.
-í *na Giúdaí é* !894C9.

Extensions

Table 4.24 presents a sample of extensions in *rəxi:* and *t(r)əxi:*.

Table 4.24 Extensions, 894C

<i>rəxi:</i>	<i>trəxi:</i>	<i>(t)əxi:</i>
<i>scailp</i> > <i>scalprachaí</i>	<i>gínn</i> > <i>geánntrachaí</i>	<i>slínn</i> > <i>sleánntachai</i>
<i>fód</i> > <i>fóidreachaí</i>	<i>meall</i>	<i>slat</i>
<i>leac</i>	<i>aill</i>	
<i>téad</i>		

Cp. *cabhaltrachaí Rí Seoirse* !894C; note singular *cabhaltach* 11Ctn.

4.156 Other plurals

AM class *bárrannaí* !894C9, *bárra* 894C9; *amantaí* ~ *ámantaí* [x2] 894C9.
-C' *goirt* 894Ct; *spor'* 894Ct *spoir*.
-a *na héanla'* 894C9.
-í *scailp* > *na scailpí* 894C9 also *scalprachaí* (both *-annaí* and *-(r)achaí* are prevalent in IA); *bláth na n-áirní* !894C9; *eistirí* 894C9; *fáiltí* 894Ct.
-annaí *cnáimh* > *crámhannaí* [x2] 894Ct (of skeleton), 894C2; *blaosc* > *blaoscannaí* 894C2; *seas* > *seasannaí* 894C9; *tráth* > *tráthannaí* 894C9; *beatha* 894C9; *beart* > *beartannaí* 894C9.
-ntaí *garrantaí* 894Ct, *lái* > *la:nti* 894Ct; *laontaí* 894C2; *amantaí*, *ámantaí* 894C2; *laethantaí*; cp. *ag imeacht 'na slámantaí* !894C9; clearly a member of the majority regarding *-ntaí* plurals (4.46);
-ntaí ~ *-anta* *deich n-aitheantaí Dé*, *na haitheanta anois*, also in singular *trí aithne* 894C9 and possibly mixed form *seacht n-aithine*.
Cp. *-(t(a))í* *rí* > *rítí*; *ál* > *áltaí* !(894C)894C9.

-achai	torəsəxi: 894Ct, turasachai 894C2; ouirniseachai 894C2; stíoróipeachai 894C2; cúirteachai 894C2; roithléarachai 894C9.
Other	a chuid scitheánaí [x2] 894C9; Cp. dlaoi > dlaofa donn go taltha 894C9; gábh > in aimsir ghábhaí 894C9; magairle > do mhagarlaí 894C9; crú > cruidhthí 894C; ionga > iongna 894C6.

4.157 894Cs, Colm Ó Dubháin

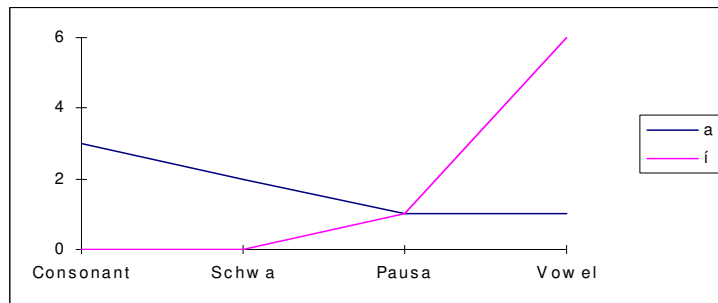
(V)

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 <ə> and <i> alternate in the same word in the plurals *cluasa(í)*, *daoine(í)* and *fiac(í)*. The three <i> tokens occur before full vowels (vowels other than schwa), whereas the four <ə> tokens occur elsewhere, i.e. before consonants, schwa and pausa:

<i>cluais</i>	kluəsə ... snə kluəsɪ a'kəb cluasa, ... sna cluasaí acub;
<i>duine</i>	di:n'ɪ əs ... di:n'ɪ əs ... ɪ'ɛf nə di:n'ə māhə ... di:n'ə māhə daoiní as ... [x2] ... daoine maith [x2];
<i>fiacail</i>	f'ɪəkli: ən ... lən f'ɪəklə ɪ'ig' gə ɪəklə b'ogə ki:lə wai'r fiac(í) ann, ... lán fiac(í) uilig, dhe fhiac(í) beaga caola vaidhear;
cp. <i>cois</i>	kosi: əməd' cos(í) adhmaid.

The number of examples is unfortunately very small. Nouns with ə ~ i: in the dialect in general (i.e. the (V) class in Iorras Aithneach) provide examples of <ə> preceding vowels other than schwa, e.g. ɪ'e' nə lā:wə i: | *lena lámha í*, and of the opposite, e.g. li:nti: ɪ'e' to:g'ə:l laontaí le tóigeál. Speaker 894Cs's data, encapsulated in Figure 4.18, are, however, suggestive of a prevocalic conditioning sandhi typical for ə ~ 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'ænto:g əf dr'ɪfəxi ... ax dr'ɪfəxi gəf n'ænto:gi' |
ach neantóga is driseachai ... ach driseachai agus neantógaí.

This is the only example I have of unstressed -óg > -o:gə -óga. Note that the environmental conditioning of (V) seems to be relevant for -o:gə -óga in that it is attested before schwa, with -ógaí before pausa.

4.158 (VxV) → <əxə> <əxi:>

894Cs's use of the variants <əxə> ~ <əxi:> 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 *snáithéacha(t)*, as indicated). Cf. 4.129. In summary, in monosyllabic nouns and (V:xi:) class nouns the proportion of <Vxə> to <Vxi:> 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 <əni:> only is attested, but with few tokens, e.g. *marc* > *marcannaí*.

4.159 (V:xi:) and other plurals

Only two words were noted with the (V:xi:) variable, the last three tokens given in Table 4.25 above. From these two words one can derive a tentative minimal distribution of (V:xi:) for **894Cs** as follows:

range and quality conditioning of (V:xi:)	{	<e:xə/i:>	vs.	<o:xi:>
		following h		palatal

Note his lack of syncope and non-(V:xi:) variant in *iomaire* > **umər'əxə**. It is likely that his brother, J6 Ó Dubháin (**881J**), also has palatal conditioning on his back variant, attested in one word: *creideamh* > **kr'ed'o:xi: kr'ed'u:xi: 881J**.

Table 4.25 <əxə> <əxi>, 894Cs

əxə		əxi:	
monosyllabic roots including (V:xi:) class	polysyllabic roots	monosyllabic roots including (V:xi:) class	polysyllabic roots
	p'ərsənəxə d'ər'ənəxə d'e:nəxə ! <i>pearsanacha deireanacha déanacha</i>	N'əntə:g əf dr'ifəxi <i>neantóga is driseachaí</i>	
l'ə:pəxə rəhn'hi: <i>leapacha raithní</i>		kahər'əxi ax dr'ifəxi gəf ... <i>cathaireachaí ach driseachaí agus</i>	kahər'əxi ax dr'ifəxi gəf ... <i>cathaireachaí ach driseachaí agus</i>
ā:t'əxə gunə'ma'rə <i>áiteacha i gConamara</i>		ogəs l'ə:pəxi', agus leapachaí¹ <i>skrahəxi' er' scraithreachaí air</i>	ə'ŋkərd'əxi', ancairdeachaí
		ā:t'əxi:, [x3] áiteachaí ā:t'əxi: gə ... áiteachaí go ...	
	də xud' umər'əxə(,) k'ə'pi: <i>do chuid iomaireacha ceapthaí</i>	ā:t'əxi el'ə, áiteachaí eile,	skoltər'əxi', scoltaireachaí xarəgr'əxi, charraigreachaí
nə N'ə:srəxə(,) tər' ... <i>na ndéasracha atá ...</i>		d'ə:s'əxi kurhə déasrachaí curtha d'ə:ʃrəxi mə'x, déasrachaí amach	d'e, bunənəxi', deich bpunannachaí nə ril'ər'əxi' a'kəb <i>ina roilléireachaí acub</i>
	nə ril'ər'əx ən'ʃin' <i>ina roilléireacha ansin</i>	nə v'əltrəxi əs ina mhealltrachaí as	,hə'n'ɖl'əxi, haindleachaí
snā:ħ'e'əxə tər'n'i: <i>snáithéacha tairníthe (2)²</i>		snā:he:əxi tər'n'i: <i>snáithéachaí tairníthe ... (1)</i>	
		ə ŋlin'ə:xi' e', i ngloineóchaí é	

¹ Immediately preceding l'ə:pəxə .² (1)–(2) = order.

Other plurals

Extensions show typical optional lexicalisation: no **r** in *leapachai*; **r** in *carraigreachai*, *mealltrachai*; *déas* > **d'asrəxi**.

The vowel change in the plural *déas* > **d'asrəxi**: (also **d'as'əxi**, **d'ɑ:ʁəxi**) 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 Iorras Aithneach, we can see that the base vocalism of **e**: (as against **iə**) 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'e:əs** (**d'e:s**) > **d'ɛ:ʁəxi** point 35.661. There is, however, no **ɑ**: vowel recorded for any point.

Speaker **894Cs** is also the only speaker recorded with obsolete *lao* > plural **li**: [x2] (also **li:nti**: [x3]).

4.160 04B, Beairtle Beag Ó Con Fhaola

(**V:xi**)

Beairtle Beag Ó Con Fhaola'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)	{	<e:xi>	vs.	<u:xi>
		both palatal and nonpalatal		palatal

Note that **<e:xi>** includes lowered **əxi**:. The tokens are: *cuisle* > **kɪʃl'ɥ:xi** vs. *bonn* > **bunəxi bunəxi**; *ionga* > **ɪŋgɾ'əxi**: (Smbb)**04B**.

Cp. **<əxi>** in *easna* > **æ:snəxi**: (Smbb)**04B**, and note **wə:re'ləxi' mə vɾo:g** (Smbb)**04B** *bharriallachai mo bhróg*.

We can contrast his son, **35Eq**, who has a pattern of [**<iəxi>**] << [**<o:xi>**]. **35Eq**'s corresponding lexemes are:

cuisle > **kʊʃl'ɔ:xi**: **35Eq**, *bonn* > **bunɪəxi**: **35Eq**, *ionga* > **ɪŋgɾ'əxi**: **35Eq**.

Extensions

04B has the **r** extension in *leac*, typical for IA: **er' ʎæ'krəxi' gla:sə** (Smbb)**04B** *ar leacrachai glasa*; without **r** in *mada* in *bhlaoigh 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: **<əxi>** is infrequent in this class. His basic pattern is as follows:

range and quality conditioning of (V:xi)	{	[<e:xi>]	vs.	<o:xi>
				palatal

4.163 05M, Máire an Ghabha Uí Cheannabháin

(V:xi:)

Máire an Ghabha Uí Cheannabháin (05M) has a high proportional realisation of V:xi: variants in the (V:xi:) class. Her main variant is <e:xi:>, realised as **e'xi'** **exi'** (heard in conversation), and, in more deliberate articulation, regularly as **e:xi:** (heard in elicitation). Of 25 attested tokens in all, 22 are <e:xi:> and 3 <a:xi:>. No tokens of <iəxi:> or <o:xi:> were noted, but the lack of <o:xi:> tokens may well be due to the (lexical) gaps in the data. Her <e:xi:> tokens in the palatal environment are (from 05Mq):

ionga > **iŋgn'e:xi'**; *cuisle* > **kiʃl'e:xi:** (2–4) **kiʃl'əxi:** (1);
gráinne > **grɑ:n'e:xi'** 05Mq.

Her <e:xi:> variants include radical **iə** in:

Ciarraíoch > **k'iaɾe'xi'** [x2] 05M, **k'iaɾe:xi:** 05Mq.

The form <a:xi:> occurs (following stressed low vowels) in:

garla > **ga:rlɑ:xi:**; *snáithe* > **sna:hɑ:xi'** **sna:hɑ:xi:**.

Other plurals

Loss of **h** was observed in (**f'e:hə** 37M) *féithe* > **f'e:xi:** [x2] 05Mq.

Agent -í > **i:** in *comrádaí* > **kumrɑ:di:** 05Mq;
 > **i:hə** in *Críostaí* > **kr'isti:hə** 05M;
 > **i:s** in *gréasaí* > **gr'e:si:s** 05M;
 cp. *Ciarraíoch* ~ *muintir Chiarraí* > **nə k'iaɾi:s** 05Mq *na Ciarraíos*.

Note also: *teach* > **t'ihu:i'** [x3] 05Mq; *dorú* **doru:** > **dorənti:** 05Mq;
crú > **krihi:hə** 05M.

4.164 11J, Jó Team Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire

Jó Team Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire (11Jq) has <əxə> in two polysyllabic words out of eleven, i.e. <əxə> 2 vs. <əxi:> 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:)

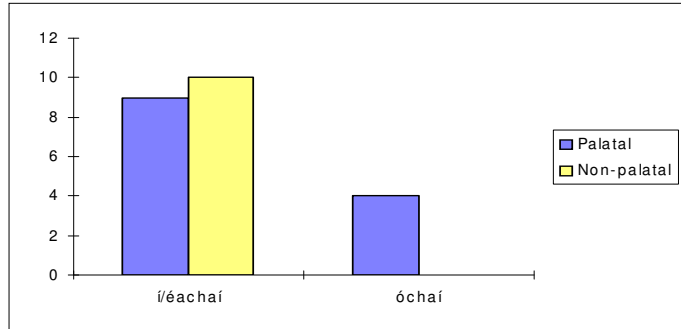
Speaker 11J's material on (V:xi:) is very limited, only 28 words in all. The variants <iəxi:> and <e:xi:> are given both independently and combined in Table 4.27 and combined in Figure 4.20.

Table 4.27 (V:xi:), 11J

	<i>íochaí</i>	<i>éachaí</i>	<i>íléachaí</i>	<i>óchaí</i>	<i>achaí</i>
Palatal	6	3	9	4	3
Nonpalatal	3	7	10		
h	2		2		

His <iəxi:> and <e:xi:> 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 <e:xi:> often closer to /iəxi:/ than to /e:(ə)xi:/.

Figure 4.20 (V:xi), 11J



Some words, which are in the (V:xi) class for other speakers (**20C**, **25M**), take <əxi> here: *sloinne*; *srathair* > *ʃraˈr̥həxiː*.

Extensions

The words in the extension class are noted here for completeness.

nəxi:	rəxi:	əxi:	trəxi:	təxi:	təxi:
<i>anam</i>	<i>fód</i>	<i>sloinne</i>	<i>meall</i>	<i>ginn</i> > <i>gˈaːnt-</i>	<i>cráin</i>
	<i>fréamh</i>			<i>draein</i>	<i>líne</i>

For examples of juncture ˢ and ə, which are relatively prevalent in **11J**'s speech before *r*, see 4.10.

Other plurals

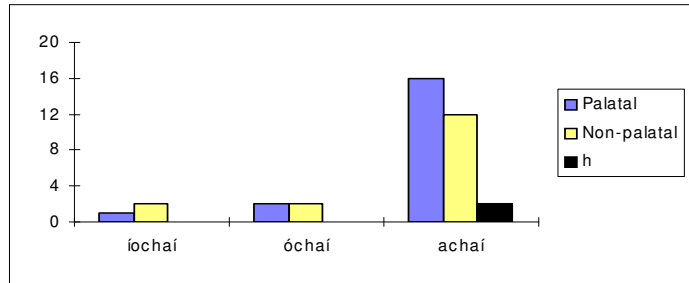
Speaker **11J** has all three (əwi:) plurals: *teach* > *t̪ihəwiː*; *leithe* > *l̪ˈehəwiː*; *reithe* > *rohəwiː*. Also note *dealg* > *deilg*, as in the speech of **869P** his uncle (4.150), but generally *deilgnel̪* in Iorras Aithneach.

4.165 12J, Janaí Shéamais Ó Uaithnín

Janaí Shéamais Ó Uaithnín (**12J**) has the most limited (V:xi) 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 əxi: in his data, e.g. *ribe*, *cuisle*, *banais*, *gine*, *gráinne*, *faithne*, *cogadh*. His range of variants in this class does nonetheless correspond to his contemporaries: <iəxi> and <o:xi>. His comparatively high use of <əxi> in words of the (V:xi) class is immediately obvious from Figure 4.21. It is perhaps pertinent that **12J**'s wife (**23B**) has even less (V:xi) use than **12J**. His words in (V:xi) are intradialectally perhaps the more core members of this class:

- <iəxi> *iomaire* > *uməriəxiː*; *cruinne* > *kriˈn̪ˠiəxiː*; *eala* > *aˈliəxiː* *aˈləxiː*
 <o:xi> *artha* > *arhoːxiː*; *conra* > *kun̪ˠroxiː*;
gloine > *glin̪ˠo:xiː*; *buille* > *bil̪ˠo:xiː*.

Figure 4.21 (V:xi), 12J



Forms less clearly audible are *scátha* > **skɑ:hɑxi:**; (*ceannaghaidh* > **k'æ'nurxi:** ?). Words with radical V: are not included in this (V:xi) class as the vowel is retained:

- i: *tanaí* > **tɑ'niəxi:**; *saothraí* > **si:rhi:əxi:**; *céilí* > **k'el'iaxi:**;
- iə *giorria* > **g'uriəxi:**; *Ciarraíoch* > **k'iairiəxi:**;
- u: *colbha* > **kolu:'əxi:**.

4.166 Extensions

Table 4.28 sets out **12Jq**'s use of **t** and **r** extensions.

Table 4.28 Extensions, 12J

tə	əxi:	rəxi:	təxi:	trəxi:	trəxi:
<i>cuan</i>	<i>anam</i>	<i>nead</i>	<i>buille</i> ~ bil' o-	<i>ál</i>	<i>speal</i>
<i>sleán</i>	<i>stoirm</i>	<i>téad</i>	<i>sloinne</i>	<i>giall</i>	<i>meall</i>
<i>stól</i>		<i>scailp</i> > skalp'	<i>teile</i>	<i>culaithe</i>	
<i>aonach</i>		<i>carraig</i>	<i>slinn</i> > ʃl'i:n'	<i>caladh</i>	
<i>seál</i>	nəxi:	<i>seas</i>	<i>fuinne</i> > <i>fuinnt-</i> ?	<i>stail</i> > sta'l-	
	<i>ainm</i>	<i>ainm</i>	<i>cráin</i>	<i>aill</i>	
ti:		<i>splanc</i>	<i>talamh</i>		
<i>rása</i>		<i>fréamh</i>	<i>tolach</i>		
<i>comhla</i>		<i>eiris</i> > orjɾ-	<i>gearrchaile</i> > 'g'ɑ:r,xal't'əxi:		
t'ə	t'ə	t'ə			
<i>gró</i>	<i>sliabh</i>	<i>tlú</i>			
<i>taoille</i>	<i>rón</i>	<i>tua</i>			
<i>ró</i>	<i>cró</i>				
<i>breitheamh</i> > br'et'ə br'et'i: br'ehi:					
<i>crú</i> > krit'ə krihi:					
<i>binn</i> > b'i:n't'ə but b'æ'nə preferred					

Other plurals

- C' *brobh* > **brev'**; *muileann* > **mil'ən' mil't'ə**.
 - əni: *peann* > **p'ɑ:nəni:**.
 - əxi: *cis* > **k'ifəxi:**.
 - hə *cnead* > **kr'ætə**; *gníomh* (*ar mhóin*) > **gr'i:fə**;
 - sméar* (*dubh, dearg*) **sm'e:r** > **sm'e:rə duvə**, **sm'e:rə d'æ'ræg**, **sm'e:rhə**.
- Note further *dealg* > **d'el'æg d'æ'lægəxi:** **d'el'əgn'əxi:** **d'el'æg'əxi:**.

drioball > **dr'ibələxi:** (conversation), **dr'ib'əL'əxi:** (query).
béilf > **b'e:f'ənti:** (deemed by **12J** to be correct and permitted).

4.167 12S (S), Seán Choilm Chúláin

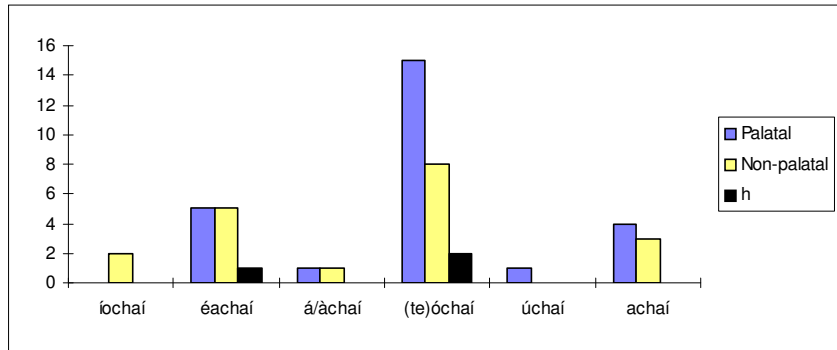
<əxə>

The variant <əxə> is rare in Seán's speech. It occurs once in his plural question-naire: *barriall* > **ba:liəɾəxi:** (1, 3) ~ **ba:liəɾəxə** (2).

(V:xi:)

Seán has a frequent realisation of the (V:xi:) variants in proportion to <əxi:>, 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 <o:xi:> with frequent <e:xi:> and infrequent <iəxi:>, <a:xi:> and <xixi:>. Only <o:xi:> seems constrained by the consonant-quality condition.

Figure 4.22 (V:xi:), S



There is frequent alternation within the same lexeme, as is clear from his examples listed here.

Variant / Stem	Word	Word	Word	Word
<iəxi:>	<i>casadh</i> >	<i>casafochaí</i> (conversation)		
<iəxi:> <o:xi:> in				
-CV	<i>cogadh</i> >	kogixi: kogoxi:		
-CV:	<i>giorria</i> >	g'urixi: g'uro:xi:		
<iəxi:> = /i:ə/ in				
-CV:	<i>béilf</i> >	b'e:f'ioxi:	<i>giorria</i> >	g'urioxixi?
<e:xi:> in				
-C	<i>bonn</i> >	bun-	<i>deoir</i> >	d'orexi:
-C'	<i>ribe</i> >	rib'-	<i>sine</i> >	fin'exi:
-C'	<i>conra</i> >	kun^drexi:		
±sync	<i>iomaire</i> >	umərexi:		
<e:xi:> <o:xi:> in				
-C'	<i>tórramh</i> >	tə:rhexi: tə:rhəxi:	<i>bearna</i> >	b'ə:rn-
-C'	<i>faithne</i> >	fan'h-		
<o:xi:> in				
-hə	<i>leithe</i> >	L'eh-		

Variant / Stem	Word	Word	Word
-C'	<i>aithinn(e) ></i>	æ'N'h-	<i>seire ></i> fer' o:xi:
	<i>cleite ></i>	kl'et' ɔxi:	
-C'	<i>eala ></i>	a:l-	<i>samhradh ></i> savr-
n' o:xi:	<i>ionga ></i>	ɪŋn' o:xi:	
t' o:xi:	<i>sloinne ></i>	slint' ɔxi:	
<u:xi>	<i>deireadh ></i>	d'er' u:xi:	
<o:xi> <axi> <əxi>	<i>bitse ></i>	b'itʃ-	
<a:xi>	<i>ionga ></i>	uŋgahi , (h taken as weakened x)	
<o:xi> <əxi>	<i>buinne ></i>	biN' -	<i>snáithe ></i> snə:həxi: snə:həxi:
əxi:	<i>teanga ></i>	t'æ'ŋg-	
+sync	<i>banais ></i>	banʃəxi:	

Seán's single token of **<u:xi>** occurs with *deireadh*, which has the singular by-forms **d'er'u:** and **d'er'əw** in specific sandhi (2.53). Note his plural of *seire* **fer'ə fer'hə > fer' o:xi:** 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* **glin'ə > glin'e:xi: glin'e:xi:**.

16M, M, Máire Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola

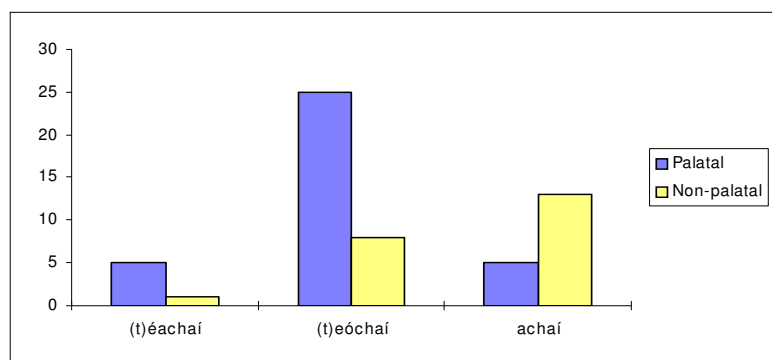
4.168 (V:xi:) and (V:xi:)

Máire Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola (speaker **16M**, also abbreviated as M) has dominant **<o:xi>** in the (V:xi:) class. This **<o:xi>** is palatally conditioned in contrast with her **<əxi>** plurals but not in contrast with her **<e:xi>** variant. The nonpalatal environment shows a steady increase from **<e:xi>** through **<o:xi>** to **<əxi>**, 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 { [**<e:xi>** << **<o:xi>**] vs. **<əxi>**
palatal nonpalatal

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 **<iəxi>** variant and the consonant-quality conditioning on the related front variant **<e:xi>**, instead [**<e:xi>** << **<o:xi>**] pattern together while **<əxi>** favours the nonpalatal position. The variant **<a:xi>** occurs, but quite rarely, regularly as a weakened version of **<o:xi>**; this **<a:xi>** can be difficult to distinguish from **ɔxi:** (interpreted as **<o:xi>**). I noticed it too late, when relistening to her recordings, for inclusion in my present calculations.

Figure 4.23 (Vxi:), M(q)



4.169 Words in final unstressed V:(C)

Máire has surface <iəxi:> only in words in final unstressed V:(C) as a reflex of radical -i: and -iə which also varies with <o:xi:> or <əxi:>:

radical	> o:xi:	vs. radical retained
i:	béilí > b'e:l' o:xi: leoraí > l'oro:xi: (3) gadaí > ga'də:xi: taisí > tæ:fə:xi: saothraí > si:rho:xi: geansaí > g'ænso:xi: Ciarraíoch > k'ia:roxi:	i: > iəxi: leoraí > l'oriəxi: (1-2) ¹ céilí > k'e:l' iəxi: ~ -əxi:
iəx	giorria > g'uro:xi: (generally)	iə > iəxi: giorria > g'uriəxi: in more conscious production
ɑ:	comhrá > ko:ro:xi:	e: > e:xi: condae > kunde:əxi: -əxi
u:	cruinniú > krin' o:xi: ² breathnú > br'ænhə:xi:	
u:x	díthriúch > d'i:r' ho:xi:	> u:xi: díthriúch > d'i:r' (h)u:xi: q 97 radical approximated
i:	coisí > kofo:xi: (2)	i: > e:xi: kofe:xi: (1)

Máire also provides many examples of radical -V: > əxi: :

gréasaí > gr'e:səxi:; leadaí > leadachaí, etc.,

and in the third syllable position əxi: is the only (Vxi:) variant:

bacsálaí > bacsálachaí; comrádaí > ku:mrə:dəxi:.

Agent -í can also take, perhaps most often, i:, but also, especially in more conscious production, i:hə, rarely i:s, e.g.

æ'taurni: M singular and plural; scódaí > -i:, -i:hə, -i:s Mq.

Cp. də xid' karəs kr'isti:i:hə Mq do chuid caras Críostaíthe.

¹ Here Máire was asked to provide an Irish plural ending for 'lorry'; leoraíos only was noted from her and most other speakers in conversation; she finally produced plural l'ori: (4-5) which is her preferred native plural for this borrowing. Cp. l'ori:hə 892Mg, Mperm.

² Optionally homophonous with cruinne > krin' o:xi:; note alternative and slightly preferred cruinniú > krin' i:hə.

Phonetically the *V* in Máire's <*o:xi*> is very often short and realised as ɔ, ɔ̃ and ɔ̃, the *V* in her <*e:xi*> is often realised as *e:ə*, e.g. *conra* > *kundre:əxi*; also as *e'ə*, *əə* and *ə*. Sometimes *ə* or *ə:* occur, e.g. *tráthnóna* > *trən'hunə:xi*, *sloinne* > *slin'ə:xi* *di:n'ə* *M sloinneachaí daoine*. Also *əə* in *súil ribe* *sul' rib'ə* > *sul' rib'əəxi* (n. 2 p. 769).

A sample of the words noted with variable (*Vxi*) forms and some other plurals (see also *gearrchaile*, 4.170 below) are listed here.

Variants in	Word	root / form	Word	root
<i>o:xi</i> <i>e:xi</i>	<i>gine</i>	<i>g'in' -</i>	<i>ribe</i>	<i>rib' -</i>
	<i>cuisle</i>	<i>kiʃl' -</i>	<i>faithne</i>	<i>fan'h -</i>
<i>o:xi</i> <i>əxi</i>	<i>cleite</i>	<i>kl'et' -</i>	<i>aithinn</i>	<i>æn'h -</i>
	<i>eite</i>	<i>et' -</i>		
<i>o:xi</i> <i>əxi</i> <i>i:</i>	<i>artha</i>	<i>arh -</i>		
<i>o:xi</i> <i>i:</i>	<i>cuireadh</i>	<i>kir'o:xi</i> (1) <i>kir'i:</i> (2, 3)	<i>eala</i>	<i>al -</i>
	<i>gloine</i>	<i>glin' -</i>	<i>sine</i>	<i>fin' -</i>
	<i>ionga</i>	<i>uŋgi: iŋgr'i: iŋg'ən'i: iŋg'ər'əxi</i>		
<i>e:xi</i> <i>əxi</i>	<i>bonn</i>	<i>bun- e:xi</i> >> <i>əxi</i>		
<i>əxi</i> <i>i:</i>	<i>bearna</i>	<i>b'arn -</i>	<i>spig neánta</i>	<i>'sp'ig'N'ant -</i>

Note the third syllable position of *V* in by-forms of *ionga* > *iŋg'ər'əxi* and *iomramh* > *uməro:xi* (verbal noun, 4.171). Máire regularly has (*V:xi*) in at least two words which are basically used only in the plural:

əənə l' iəhə:xi *M ina líochaí* (plural of *lí*); *m'unexi: m'unoxi: mionachaí*.

Máire has no infixation in *barriall* *bariəl* > *bariələxi*.

4.170 (*Vxi*) plural scale and permissibility

In a separate query session, Máire was asked to produce, for each word prompted, as many plural forms as possible in the local dialect, not just in her own speech, with particular emphasis on the (*V:xi*) plural scale. She was also queried as to the permissibility of some forms. In order to compare and quantify her data a scoring scale of production and permissibility was devised as follows:

5 = produced by Mq;

4 = permitted and generally echoed confidently by Mq from my prompt;

3 = questionably permissible;

1 = not permitted unless exceptionally so;

0 = definitely not permitted.

Table 4.29 presents the lexemes queried and their scores. A main point to be noted is that, apart from *gearrchaile* with *o:xi* *u:xi* *əxi* *i:* produced by Máire and *u:* permitted by her (Mperm), no <*u:xi*> form is permitted. Máire seems therefore to be unaware of a major variant in the dialect which is used productively even by speakers younger than herself, e.g. **21Pt** a friend and one-time neighbour of hers. Queried about the <*axi*> variant, for example in *sine* > *fin'a:xi*, Máire was doubtful it was a local form: *Is dóichí go ndéar(th)ann cuid acú é, ach níl sé sa taobh seo*. In fact, it is common, for example, in her younger brother's speech, **19P** (4.173).

Table 4.29 (V:xi:), range and permissibility, Mq

Score	Typical members	iəxi:	e:xi:	o:xi:	əxi:
20	<i>conra</i>	5	5	5	5
19	<i>giorria</i>	5	4	5	5
	<i>béilí</i>	5	5	5	4
	<i>aithinn</i>	5	5	4	5
18	<i>ionga</i> ign' -	4	5	4	5
17	<i>tráthnóna</i> ¹	4	4	4	5
16	<i>sine</i>	1	5	5	5
	<i>glaise</i> glə:fr-	4	4	4	5
15	<i>bitse</i>	0	5	5	5
	<i>cleite</i>	0	5	5	5
	<i>cuisle</i> ²	5	5	5	0
	<i>léine</i> l'e:nt'		5	5	5
12	<i>eite</i>	1	1	5	5
11	<i>culaith</i> koltr-		1	5	5
10	<i>gadaí</i>	5	5	0	0
	<i>léine</i> l'e:nt'r-			5	5
8	<i>culaith</i> kolt-			3	5
Score	Atypical members	iəxi:	e:xi:	o:xi:	əxi:
19	<i>splainc</i> spləŋk(r)' -	4	5	5	5
18	<i>ainm</i> an'əmn' -	4	4	5	5
17	<i>meall</i> m'a:ltr-	4	4	4	5
15	<i>gad</i> gadr-	1	4	4	5
	<i>ceirt</i>	5	5	0	5
13	<i>tuairisc</i>	4	4	0	5
	<i>scoil</i> skoltr-		5	4	5
	<i>dris</i>	3	5	0	5
	<i>sochraíde</i>	3	5	0	5
10	<i>peaicits</i>	0	5	0	5
	<i>carraig</i> karəg'r-		5	0	5

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 <u:xi:> and <əxi:> 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 Máire's evidence is that <əxi:> can practically always be substituted for (V:xi:). It is given a score of 5 in all words except:

- (a) *béilí* with 4, but Máire does use **b'e:l'əxi:** in conversation;
- (b) *gadaí* with 0, but Máire uses **ga'dəxi:** **ga'dəxi:** and **ga'di:** 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 *béilí* and *gadaí*. It is difficult to explain the constraint in *cuisle* where **əxi:** is not permitted (in contrast to **12Jq** and **34Mq**). Perhaps this is due to the influence of her own alternative *cuislí*, and perhaps the intradialectal alternative *cuisleannaí* and the high frequency of (V:xi:) with this word.

Words with **əxi:** only, i.e. Øperm in V:xi:, are: *coismeig*, *cathaoir*, *námhaid*; *scoil skolt-*; *ainm an'əmn'-*; *cráin* **krənt-**; *draein* **dre:nt-**. The higher scores of two **tr**

¹ **trə'n'hu:nəxi:** is her general conversational form.

² Also *cuislí*.

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:

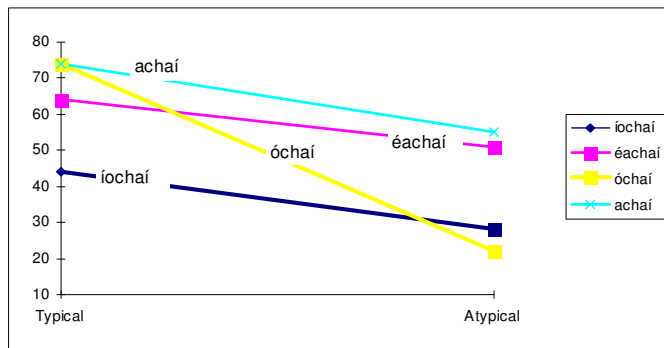
<i>culaith</i> :	koltr- 11	vs.	kolt- 8
<i>scoil</i> :	skoltr- 13	vs.	skolt- 5
<i>ainm</i> :	an'əmn'- 18	vs.	an'əm'- 5

It is interesting to contrast Máire's results (concerning the variant permitted) in words that fulfil the (V:xi:) membership criteria, i.e. typical (V:xi:) members, with words that do not fulfil these criteria and are not generally used in the (V:xi:) class, i.e. atypical members. Dominant <oxi:> in the typical (V:xi:) 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 4.30 Score given to each (Vxi:) variant in Mq

	iə	e:	o:	ə
Typical (V:xi:) class	44	64	74	74
Atypical for (V:xi:) class	28	51	22	55
Implicational Scale				
Typical (V:xi:) class	ə =	o: >>	e: >>	iə
Atypical for (V:xi:) class	ə ≈	e: >>	iə >>	o:

Figure 4.24 (Vxi:) score for typical and atypical words, Mq



The high productivity of **əxi:** is very evident. Concerning the atypical (V:xi:) class words, at least some explanation, both for the permissibility of (V:xi:) 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 <iəxi:> and its related by-form <exi:>. Many of the higher-scoring words have alternate plurals in -a or -í, obviously related to the -íocháí / -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 *-ú* 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:

iə- = <iəxi>, **e-** = <e:xi>, **o:-** = <o:xi>; **ə-** = <əxi>; **i:** = **-i:**, etc.;

+ = produced by Mq; **+**? produced but doubtful;

✓ = Mperm, permitted; **Ø** = MØperm, not permitted.

Table 4.31 Verbal nouns in V:xi:, etc., Mq

Verbal Noun	iə-	e:-	o:-	i:	í i:	ə-	i:hə	ti:	í ə	tə	hə	Other
<i>-adh</i>												
<i>casadh</i>		+	+									
<i>lascadh</i>	+		Ø									-əni:
<i>báthadh</i>			+	+	✓							
<i>gearradh</i>			+	+								
<i>lobhadh</i> ¹			+	+		+						-a:xi:
<i>ceapadh</i>				+?			+?					
<i>ropadh</i>			+	+			+					
<i>réabadh</i> ²							+					
<i>lasadh</i> ³			✓			+						
<i>bearradh</i> ⁴			+									
<i>searradh</i>			+	+								
<i>déanamh</i>						+		+				-təxi:
<i>tolladh</i> ⁵			+			+		+?				
<i>dúnadh</i>			+		+							
<i>fiuchadh</i>			Ø	+								
<i>feannadh</i> ⁶			+					+	+			
<i>suathadh</i>			+		+							
<i>síneadh</i>					+							
<i>briseadh</i>					+							
<i>mealladh</i> ⁷			+					+				
<i>gealladh</i> ⁸			+		+			+				
<i>fillleadh</i> ⁹			+	+		+			+			
<i>fliuchadh</i> ¹⁰			+			+						

¹ lofə:xi:, lofo:xi:, lowi:, lofi:.

² re:bi:hə.

³ la:sro:xi:, la:frəxi:.

⁴ b'æ:roxi, b'ə:roxi.

⁵ tolo:xi:, taulti:.

⁶ f'ano:xi:, f'anti:, f'ant'ə.

⁷ m'alo:xi:, m'alti:.

⁸ g'alo:xi:, g'alti:, g'al'í:.

⁹ f'il'ə:xi:, f'il'ə, f'il'í:, f'il'əxi:.

¹⁰ fl'ohə:xi:, fl'ehə:xi:, fl'ohəxi:, e.g. nə fl'ohə:xi: ə'í'ig' ə fuə' m'e na fleicheóchaí uilig a fuair mé.

Verbal Noun	iə-	e:-	o:-	i:	ʔi:	ə-	i:hə	ti:	ʔə	tə	hə	Other
<i>faireadh</i>			+	+								
<i>coilleadh</i> ¹			+		+							
<i>milleadh</i> ²					+							
<i>cartadh</i>			+	+			+					
<i>cailleadh</i> ³			Ø									(-u:ntʰəxi:)
<i>iomramh</i> ⁴			+	+								
<i>creathadh</i>					+							
<i>buachadh</i>										+		
<i>sclamhadh</i> ⁵									+			
<i>lomadh</i> ⁶			+?			+						
<i>cíoradh</i>											+	
<i>scríobadh</i> ⁷			+	+								
<i>srannadh</i>			+?									
<i>scaradh</i>						+						
<i>scoilteadh</i>						+						
<i>bronnadh</i> ⁸					+							
<i>bualadh</i>					+							
Other												
<i>dó</i> ⁹			+?									
<i>bruith</i> ¹⁰												-ə
-ú												
<i>breathnú</i>			+									
<i>cruinniú</i>		+	+	+			+					
<i>fadú</i> ¹¹				+			+					
<i>beannú</i>							+					
<i>cuímhniú</i>		+				+						
<i>bailiú</i> ¹²							+					
<i>triomú</i>		+										
<i>giorrú</i>			+									

Verbal nouns in final consonant (-C) take *-achai* and less often *-í*: *bagairt* > *bagairteachai*; *cuimilt* > *cuimilteachai*; *féachaint* > *ʔiəxəntʰi: ʔe:χəntʰi:*; *fuagairt* > *fuagairteachai*; *oscailt* > *oscailteachai*.¹³ The variant *u:xi:* was queried but not permitted for any verbal noun. For each verbal noun there is an average of close to two endings.

¹ *keLʰo:xi: , kailʔi:*.

² *mʰi:lʔi: mɔ:rə milltí móra.*

³ *ka:lʰu:ntʰəxi:*.

⁴ *uməro:xi: , uməri:, umərʰi:*.

⁵ *sklā-vʔə.*

⁶ *lumə:xi: , lumrəxi: , lumrə:xi:*.

⁷ *ʃkrʰi:bə:xi: , ʃkrʰi:bi:*.

⁸ *bru:ntʰi:*.

⁹ *də:ho:xi:*.

¹⁰ *briχə , brəhə.*

¹¹ *ʔiʔəs kʰən ædu: tə ... nə fədi: ... nə fədi:hə níl fhios cén fhadú atá ... na fadaí ... na fadaíthe.*

¹² *bəʔi:hə.*

¹³ *oskəltʰəxi: , ʃkilʔəxi:*.

Verbal nouns in -V(:) pattern much like other nouns, most having (V:xi:), 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 *lomadh* and *lasadh*, both of which seem influenced by related lexemes, *lomra* and *lasair* respectively. Table 4.32 presents the totals for each ending.

Table 4.32 Verbal nouns in -V(:), plural totals, Mq

-lochaí	-éachaí	-óchaí	-áchaí	-í	-tí	-achaí	-íthe	-taí	-te	other	-ta	-tha	(-úchaí
1	4	26	1	14	13	9	7	3	3	3	1	1	0)

The formation of verbal noun plurals, therefore, has two main sources: a phonologically conditioned V(:)xi: plural, added to verbal nouns in singular -ə (*-adh*, *-a/e*) and -u: (*-ú*), 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

Verbal noun V(:)xi:	→	Plurals	← Verbal adjective	←	Other formant
<i>lascadh</i>	-iəxi: →	<i>laskiəxi:</i> <i>laskəni:</i>	← <i>laski:</i>	←	<i>laisc</i> (noun)
<i>gearradh</i>	-o:xi: →	<i>g’æro:xi:</i> <i>g’æri:</i>		←	-i:
<i>lobhadh</i>	-o:xi: → -a:xi: → -əxi: →	<i>lofo:xi:</i> <i>lofa:xi:</i> <i>lofəxi:</i> <i>lofi:</i> <i>lowi:</i>	← <i>lofə</i> ← <i>lofə</i> ← <i>lofə</i> ← <i>lofə</i>	← ← ← ←	-hə -hi: -i:
<i>ropadh</i>	-o:xi: →	<i>ropo:xi:</i> <i>ropi:</i> <i>ropi:hə</i>	← <i>ropi:</i> ← <i>ropi:hə</i>	← ←	-i: -i:hə
<i>lasadh</i>	-o:xi: → -əxi: →	<i>lasro:xi:</i> <i>lafrəxi:</i>		← ←	<i>lasər’</i> (noun) <i>lasər’</i> (noun)
<i>déanamh</i>	-əxi: →	<i>d’i:ntəxi:</i> <i>d’i:ntə</i> <i>d’i:nti:</i>	← <i>d’i:ntə</i> ← <i>d’i:ntə</i> ← <i>d’i:ntə</i>	← ← ←	-tə -ti:
<i>tolladh</i>	-o:xi: →	<i>tolo:xi:</i> <i>taulti:</i>	← <i>taultə</i>	←	-ti:
<i>feannadh</i>	-o:xi: →	<i>f’ano:xi:</i> <i>f’a:nti:</i> <i>f’a:nt’ə</i>	← <i>f’a:ntə</i> ← <i>f’a:ntə</i>	← ←	-ti: -t’ə
<i>sineadh</i>		<i>fi:nt’i:</i>	← <i>fi:nt’ə</i>	←	-t’i:
<i>gealladh</i>	-o:xi: →	<i>g’alo:xi:</i> <i>g’a:lti:</i> <i>g’a:lt’i:</i>	← <i>g’a:ltə</i> ← <i>g’a:ltə</i>	← ←	-ti: -t’i:

Verbal noun V(í)xi:	→	Plurals	←	Verbal adjective	←	Other formant
<i>filleadh</i>	-o:xi: → -əxi: →	f'íl' o:xi: f'íl' əxi: f'í:l'ə f'í:l'í:	←	f'í:l'ə	←	-i:
<i>fliuchadh</i>	-o:xi: → -əxi: →	fl' o/ehə:xi: fl' ohəxi:	←		←	fl' ehə comparative adjective
<i>buachadh</i>		buəxtə	←	buəxtə		
<i>sclamhadh</i>		sklā'v'ə	←	sklā'v'tə	←	-t'ə
<i>cíoradh</i>		k'íər'hə	←	k'íər'hə		
<i>cruinniú</i>	-e:xi: → -o:xi: →	krin' e:xi: krin' o:xi: krin' i: krin' i:hə	←	krin' i: krin' i:hə		
<i>cuimhniú</i>	-e:xi: → -əxi: →	kí:vr' e:xi: kí:vr' əxi:			←	<i>cuimhne</i> noun <i>cuimhneach</i> adj

4.172 Extensions and other plurals

Máire, 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)

nəxi:	rəxi:	rəxi:	əxi:	trəxi:	trəxi:	təxi:
	<i>glaise</i> ¹	<i>fréamh</i>	<i>ainm</i>	<i>ál</i>	<i>gleann</i>	<i>gleann</i>
	<i>carraig</i>	<i>gad</i>	<i>anam</i>	<i>pian</i>	<i>stól</i>	<i>stól</i>
<i>ionga</i>	<i>ionga</i>	<i>leac</i>	<i>stoirm</i>	<i>caladh</i>	<i>ball</i>	<i>ball</i>
	<i>splainc</i>	<i>ascaill</i> > askəl- <<	<i>ascaill</i> > askəl-	<i>spalla</i> ²	<i>meall</i>	<i>glan</i>
	<i>blaosc</i>	<i>léas</i>	<i>eiris</i>	<i>aill</i>	<i>néal</i>	<i>draein</i>
	<i>cuilt</i>	<i>léim</i>	<i>stróic</i> ³	<i>gabháil</i>	<i>scalladh</i>	<i>traein</i>
	<i>déas</i>	<i>nead</i>	<i>cuilt</i>	<i>gail</i>	<i>slinn</i>	
	<i>craobh</i>	<i>sailp</i>	<i>baladh</i> ⁴	<i>ginn</i>	<i>speal</i>	
	<i>scealp</i> ⁵	<i>seas</i>		<i>stail</i>		
	<i>slat</i>	<i>téad</i>				

Other plurals

-C' ~ -achai: *crúimeasc* > **kru:m'æ:fk'** **kru:m'æskəxi:**.

-C' ~ - C'ə: *driobaill* ~ *drible*.

-í: *buinne* > *buinní*; *ceártaí*; *cogadh* > *cogaí*; *cófra* > **kə:rhí**;
comhla > **ku:lhi:**; *cine* > *ciní*; *comhrá* > **kə:ro:xi:** (1, 4) ~ **kə:ri:** (2, 3);
fascadh > *fascaí*; *galra* > **ga'l^dri:**; *ealaí*; *ócáidí*; *obair* > *oibrí*; *olaí*; *sloinní*;
teangaí.

-tí: *scátha* > *scáití* Mq; *teiltí*.

¹ In conversation mostly *glascannaí* M.

² But *spallaí* is her usual and preferred form.

³ *stróicreachaí* also permitted Mq.

⁴ Note **baltrachaí* MØperm.

⁵ Also *scealpannaí* Mq.

- annaí: *brobh* > *briv'əni*; *cráig kra:g' > kra:g'əni*;
 crúib > *kru:b'əni*; *kru:bəni*;
 -achaí: *cleitheachaí*; *orsainn* > *orfN'əxi*; *iomaire* > *uməɾəxi*;
 úchta > *úchtachaí*.

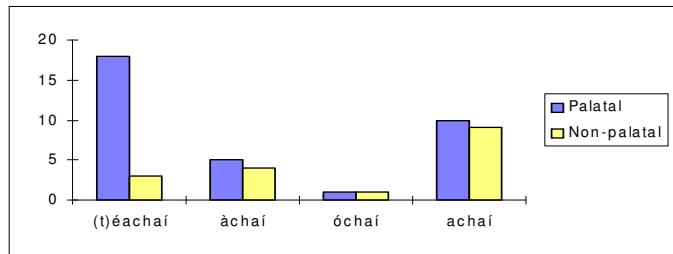
Note *condae* > *ku:nde:i*, phonetically [ei] with both vowels of equal length, which is phonetically distinct from the (morpho-)phonemic diphthong /ei/ [eɪ], e.g. /b'eɪ/ *beidh*.

4.173 19P (P), Pádraig Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola

(V:xi:)

Pádraig Mhicil Uí 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 <ɔ:xi:> (4.168), whereas Pádraig has predominant <e:xi:> with rather frequent use of <axi:>, denoted in Figure 4.25 by 'àchaí', a variant not recorded from Máire or permitted by her for Iorras Aithneach. Her brother, Pádraig, has only a very marginal occurrence of <ɔ:xi:> and he has the variant <əxi:> 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 <e:xi:> seems to favour the palatal environment more than <axi:> (or <ɔ:xi:>) does. It is very difficult to draw any conclusions from his query session as he used more <axi:> initially but then used <e:xi:> 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 <əxi:> 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 *ionga* and *iomaire*, and compare the examples of nonsyncope in *drioball*, etc., in the following section.)

Table 4.35 (V:xi:), 19P (Pq)

Environment	Word	Word
		<e:xi:> in:
-C'V	<i>laiste</i> >	<i>la'f'f'əxi</i>
-C'V	<i>samhradh</i> >	<i>sa'v're:xi</i>
-CV:	<i>giorria</i> >	<i>g'urexi</i>
t'e:xi:	<i>sloinne</i> >	<i>slint'e:xi</i>
		<i>eite</i> > <i>e't'əxi</i>

Environment	Word	Word	Word
n'V:xi:	<i>ionga</i> >	ing'ən'xi: ing'ən'xi:	
		<axi:> in:	
-C'V	<i>gráinne</i> >	grá:n'axi:	<i>leide</i> > l'ed'axi'
-C'V	<i>ceárta</i> >	k'artaxi:	
+ syncope	<i>iomaire</i> >	uməraxi:	<i>banais</i> > banfaxi'
final -C	<i>bonn</i> >	bunaxi:	
		<oxi:> in:	
-C'V	<i>tórramh</i> >	tə:roxí:	
Alternants			
e:xi: əxi:	<i>ribe</i> >	rib'xi: rib'əxi:	<i>lointhe</i> > lin'əxi'
	<i>bibe</i> >	b'ib'əxi: b'ib'əxi:	lin'əxi'
e:xi: o:xi:	<i>buinne</i> >	bi:n'xi: bi:n'oxi:	
e:xi: axi:	<i>tráthnóna</i> >	tər'hunexi: tər'hunaxi:	
axi: əxi:	<i>glaise</i> >	gləfaxi: gləfəxi:	<i>ceárta</i> > k'artaxi:
-CV: in	<i>béilí</i> >	b'e:l'axi: b'e:l'əxi:	k'artəxi:
əxi: i:	<i>eala</i> >	a:ləxi: a'li:	

Pádraig has consistent *gloine* **glin'ə** > **glə'n'əxi:** (>>> **glin'əxi:**). Some nouns commonly in the (V:xi:) class take **əxi:** only in his responses: *bearna*, *easna*, *cleite*, *aithinn* singular **æ:n'hə** > **æ:n'həxi:**, *teanga*, *conra*, *seire*. He has *barriall* **ba:riəl** > **ba:riələxi:** (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: ə'l'ig' iəd P** 'achai', 'achai' *uilig iad* ([o] here represents stressed /ə/). Even following his own <**e:xi:**> response he comments that they are all: **oxi:** 'achai'. Following his own <**o:xi:**> he commented **o:, oxi: ... 'ó-**, 'achai' *uilig iad*, as if correcting or avoiding the <**o:xi:**> variant in paralinguistic use. Queried about *sine* > **fin'u:xi:**, he rejected the form and emphatically pronounced **fin' e: ə xi:**, **fin' e: ə xi:**, ... **fin'əxi:** *sinéachai*, ... *sineachai*, with his final form avoiding the (V:xi:) variant completely. Queried about *eala* > **alo:xi:**, his sister Máire's form, he again rejected it as 'bad grammar'. Given 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 <**e:xi:**> 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 **rəxi:** and **trəxi:**:

tə	əxi:	rəxi:	trəxi:	trəxi:
<i>líne</i>	<i>craobh</i>	<i>fód</i> > fə:d'	<i>scoil</i>	<i>sleán</i>
<i>seol</i>		<i>eiris</i> > orj-	<i>giall</i> (~ <i>géill</i>)	<i>meall</i>
		<i>spreab</i>	<i>ginn</i> > g'a:n-	<i>ál</i>
		<i>fréamh</i>		

Other plurals

In three out of three words Pádraig elides the **h** of the singular stem in the plural, i.e. **-ChV** > **-CV(:)xi:**:

tórramh **tó:rhə** > **tó:roxí**; *faithne* **fa'n'hə** > **fa'n'exí**;
loine **lin'hə** > **lin'e'xi**, **lin'əxi**.

This pattern of usage has been noted as a tendency in conversation from other speakers.

He has nonsyncope in:

drioball **dr'ubəl** > **dr'ib'əl'əxi**; *dr'ib'əl'ə*, *dr'ib'əl'ə*;
giobal > **g'ib'əl'əxi**; *ascaill* > **æ:skli: æ'skələxi**; *gualainn* > **guələn'əxi**.

He has syncope in:

eochair > **oxrəxi**; *paidir* > **pə'dr'əxi**; *leitir* > **l'etr'əxi**;
orsainn > **orf'n'əxi**; *eiris* > **orf'rəxi**.

Note *fréamh* **fr'e:m** [sic] > **fr'e:wrəxi**; *dronn dru:n* > **druntə** (?); *speal* > *speil*; *slat* > *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

(**u:wi:**)

Speaker **20Páq** has regular **u:wi:**: *teach* > **t'ihuwi**, *leithe* > **l'ehuwi**, *reithe* > **rohuwi**. He is the only speaker recorded with **kl'e cleith** in this class: **kl'ex'urwi**. For his (**V:xi:**) use, see 4.124.

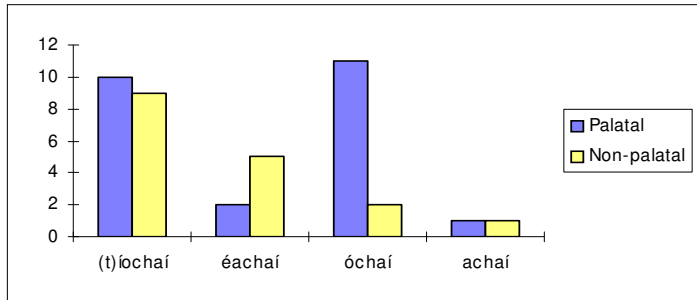
4.176 20A, Antaine Ó Máille

(**V:xi:**)

As can be seen from Figure 4.26, Antaine Ó Máille's (**20A**) dominant variant is <**iəxi:**> but <**o:xi:**> is also frequent. In the course of the query session <**iəxi:**> 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 <**o:xi:**> which occurs mainly with nouns in final palatal consonants. If <**iəxi:**> and <**e:xi:**> are considered together, although only a few words have both variants, they show very weak preference for the nonpalatal environment. The endings <**iəxi:**> and <**e:xi:**> 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: <**iəxi:**> is sometimes **jəxi:**, and <**e:xi:**> is generally **e:əxi:**, sometimes **e:əxi:**. The distribution can be interpreted as follows:

range and quality conditioning of (V:xi:)	{	[< iəxi: > < e:xi: >] perhaps nonpalatal (weak)	vs.	[< o:xi: >] palatal
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Figure 4.26 (V:xi), 20A



I suspect that <e:xi> would be more common in spontaneous production. Twice the speaker interrupted his production of <e:xi>, in one instance with the noun *tanaí*, to resort to <iəxi>. The subclass of words in palatal consonant (-C') with <o:xi> contains those words which are more typically members of the (V:xi) 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 <iəxi> ~ <e:xi> are overall intradialectally less prevalent members of the (V:xi) class. They therefore take the speaker's main productive variant of the (V:xi) class. The lexemes in question (with -C' + o:xi / iəxi / e:xi) are:

-C' > <o:xi>	<i>banais, ionga, ribe, baiste, bitse, glúin;</i>
<o:xi> ~ <iəxi>	<i>geimhreadh;</i>
<o:xi> ~ <e:xi>	<i>sine;</i>
<iəxi>	<i>drioball, fáinne, orsainn, díle, Aoine, glaise, Saile, bibe, faithne;</i>
<e:xi>	<i>Máire.</i>

Two further tokens of <o:xi> occur in conversation recorded by Hartmann in 1964:

-C' > <o:xi> *gráinne, tine* > t'ínt' o:xi'.

The palatal constraint on <o:xi> 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 <a:xi> were not included in his chart as they are not acoustically very clear and may actually be short <o:xi> variants; the forms are:

bonn > **buno:xi**; **bunaxi**; perhaps **bunəxi**: [?] 20Aq;

déanamh > d'í:naxi' 20A (conversation).

Three nouns with syncopated plurals show (V:xi) forms:

banais > **ba'nfə:xi**; *drioball* > **dr'ibf' iəxi**: (x3); *orsainn* > **orfN' iəxi**: (x2).

Compare optionally syncopating *iomaire* > **umər'i**: (early in plural elicitation), **umərəxi**: (later in session); and **umərəxi**: ... **umrəxi**: ... **umərəxi**: ... **umrəxi**: ... **um'rəxi**: ... **umərəxi**: ... **um'rəxi**: (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 *-ú* may be realised as <iəxi>:

Radical	retained	or approximated	Radical	approximated
i:	> iəxi:	<i>tanaí</i> > ta'niəxi: ta'ne' , <i>Ciarraíoch</i> > k'ia'riəxi: <i>giorria</i> > g'uriəxi:	u:	> ɔxi: <i>athrú</i> > a'rho:xi:
iə				
	transferred			
u:	> iəxi:	<i>gortú</i> > gortiaxi:		

For discussion of 20A's example of infixation *bonnbhualadh bunuəl* > **buniələxi:**, etc., see 4.26; note the non-infixation or retention of radical **iə** in *barriall bariəl* > **bariələxi:**. 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 *céilí* in conversation. About to echo my conversational (V:xi:) use with *céilí* he began **k'e:l'ia**, but selfcorrected to **k'e:l'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'e:l'iaxi:** as a plural form. Cp. *Saera* which, when prompted in elicitation, was initially answered as *Sailíochai* (< *Saile*).

Variants of (V:xi:) and other plural endings occur with the same lexeme as follows:

Variants in	Word	root / form	Word	root
iəxi: ɔxi:	<i>geimhreadh</i>	g'i:vr'ɔxi: (1), perhaps g'i:vr'iaxi: (2)		
iəxi: e:xi:	<i>tanaí</i>	ta'niəxi: ta'ne' ,		
iəxi: i:	<i>díle</i>	d'i:l't'	<i>Saera</i>	se:r-
ɔxi: i:	<i>ionga</i>	ign'ɔxi: ign'n'i: ignn'i: ignn'ɔxi:		
ɔxi: e:xi:	<i>sine</i>	fin'		
ɔxi: t'ə	<i>glúin</i>	glu:n't'ə glu:n'ɔxi:		

Finally, note the alternation of **h** in *sine fin'ə* > **fin'ho:xi:** **fin'he:xi:**.

4.177 Extensions

In Table 4.36 speaker 20A shows relatively restricted use of the **r** extension.

Table 4.36 Extensions, 20A

t'ə	əxi:	əxi:	rəxi:	təxi:
<i>cuan</i>	<i>coirb</i>	<i>craobh</i>	<i>craobh</i>	<i>scoil</i>
<i>claimhe</i>	<i>déas</i>	<i>carraig</i>	<i>fréamh</i>	<i>giall</i>
<i>cliabh</i>	<i>stoirm</i>	<i>fód</i> > fɔ:d'	<i>stéig</i> > ʃt'e:g r-	<i>meall</i>
<i>rón</i>	<i>tolach</i>	<i>blaosc</i>		<i>slinn</i> > ʃl'æ'n-
<i>srón</i>	<i>anam</i>			trəxi:
ti:				<i>ginn</i> > g'æ'n-
<i>aonach</i>				<i>aill</i>
<i>seol</i>				

Other plurals: *reithe* > **rohi:** with permitted by-form **rohu:i:**.

4.178 20C, Cólín Jó Bhairbre Ó Maoil Chiaráin

The data for Cólín Jó Bhairbre Ó Maoil Chiaráin (20C) and his wife Méaráí Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil 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 (V:xi:) in the (V:xi:) environment. More precisely, in disyllabic roots in final -CV he has a high preference for (V:xi:) as against (i:), and for (V:xi:) as against <əxi>. This propensity of course furnishes many tokens for the analysis of the (V:xi:) variable. Some of his few examples of i: in this class are: *cófra kórha* > *kō:rhī*: [sic]; *taca* > *tæ:ki*:; cp. also *timpiste* > *t'imp'əft'i*:. An example of əxi: is *baile* > *ba:lʲəxi*:, other əxi: tokens alternate with V:xi: and are given in 4.183. His use of əxi: in nouns in -óg is exemplified in 4.87. See 4.93 for **20C**'s and **20My**'s use of the r-extension.

4.179 <ənə> ~ <əni>; <əxə> ~ <əxi>

Speaker **20Cq** is one of only two speakers noted with regular <ənə>. This <ənə> 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 <əxə> in elicitation, I queried him whether he would genuinely use such *ənə* forms, for example, in *fuaigh* > *fuənə*. He responded quite negatively,¹ and echoed the preferred *fuəni*: from **20My** and myself but immediately followed the following prompt *dream* with *dr'ə:mənə* (x2) and appeared unconscious of his frequent use of *ənə* subsequently. Other examples are *cleith* > *kl'ehənə*; *hairt* > *ha:rt'ənə*; *sruth* > *sruhənə*; *tóin tu:n'* > *tu:n'ənə*; and many monosyllabic borrowings.

Speaker **20Cq** regularly uses <əxə>, especially, but by no means exclusively, with polysyllabic stems. In fact <əxə> occurs more often than <əxi> with such stems. He provides 29 tokens of <əxə> in the first query session, e.g. *drioballacha*, *eascannacha*, *coismeig* > *kiʃm'eg'əxə*, *éadan* > *ɛ:dənəxə*, *muileannacha* and with the borrowing *beairiceacha*; from the second session also borrowings in -áil, e.g. *bildeáil* > *b'il'da:ləxə*. So also *Clochartach* > *kloxərtəxə*. Alternate <əxi> is not infrequent here, e.g. *arrainn* > *arən'əxi*:, *ballaer* (*barriall*) > *ba'le:rəxi*:; *geallúinteachaí*, *uachtarachaí*. The variant <əxə> 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-(V:xi:) class: *splancacha*, *téad(r)acha*, *blaoscacha*, *streallacha*, *ladharacha*, *fréamhracha*, *galtacha*, *scoltacha* (sic both sessions), *sleántacha*, *draeintracha* *dre:n'ʲrəxə* **20C**,² *traeintracha*, *leiceann* > *leicneacha*, *srathracha*, *paidir* > *paidreacha* *pa:dr'əxə* *pa:dr'əxə*. In such words <əxi> also occurs, e.g. *neadachaí*, *eocharachaí*, *leitreachaí*. In contrast with the <əxə> variant of the non-(V:xi:) class, nouns which at least fulfil (V:xi:) class syllabic and phonotactic requirements, some of which have optional V:xi: forms, all show <əxi>: *bailteachaí*, *caladh* > *caltachaí*, *ceártachaí*, *léinteachaí*. Note also *mangach* > *mangachaí*. For discussion of atypical *əxə* (a solitary token), see 4.21.

Speaker **20C** has the highest frequency of <əxə> 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'? B6C
-b'ɛ:d'ər' gə n'ɛ:rhə: ʃ ɣa: v'ɛ:d'ər' d'ɛ:g nax n'ɛ:rhə: froʃən' **20Cq**
B'fhéidir go ndéarthá is dhá bh'fhéidir déag nach ndéarthá froisin.

² This speaker's /r/ 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 <əxə> but follows the polysyllabic condition). Both **20C** and **20My** appeared to be unconscious of their <əxə> ~ <əxi> alternation as did all other speakers noted with this variable. For **20C**'s <əxə> morphophonological conditioning, see p. 760 Figure 4.7.

4.180 (V:xi)

In (V:xi) plurals it is clear from Figure 4.27 that **20Cq**'s most prominent variant is <e:xi>, which seems only slightly, if at all significantly, skewed in favour of the nonpalatal environment. His <o:xi> use is skewed more definitely in the opposite direction following the palatal constraint on back vowels in (V:xi). All words with <o:xi> follow this constraint except two, *eala* and *leithe*. The other back vowel variant, <u:xi>, on the other hand, does not follow the palatal constraint, but rather patterns regarding quality similar to <e:xi>. **20Cq** seems to have a system where [<u:xi> << <e:xi>] pattern together as weighted by-forms only weakly favouring the nonpalatal environment, <e:xi> being more frequent. These contrast with less frequent [<o:xi>] which favours the palatal environment:

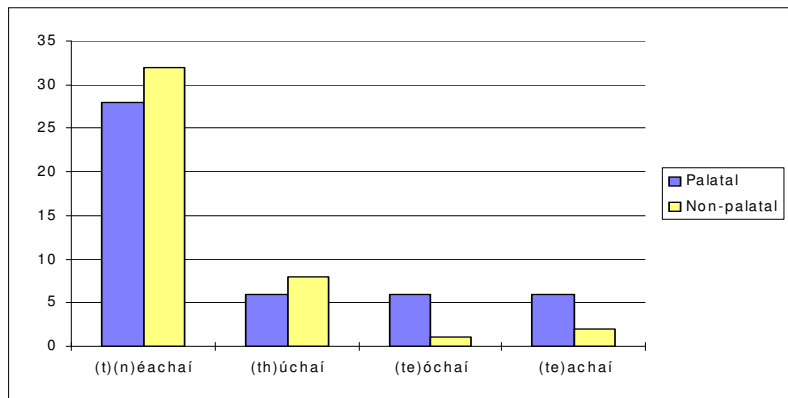
range and quality conditioning on (V:xi)	{	[<u:xi> << <e:xi>]	vs.	[<o:xi>]
		nonpalatal (weak)		palatal (strong)

The analysis of [<u:xi> << <e:xi>] 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 (V:xi) 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	{	[<u:xi> << <e:xi>]	vs.	[<o:xi> ~ <əxi>]
		nonpalatal (weak)		palatal

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 (V:xi), **20Cq**



Further indication of the strength of the variant <e:xi> in **20C**'s use is the plural *deoir* > **d'or'e:xi** (3 tokens), noted from few other speakers. The analysis and

Figure 4.27 are based on the (V:xi:) 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 (V:xi:) in the vocalic range **t'e:xi:**, **t'o:xi:**, **hu:xi:**, **n'e:xi:**.

Table 4.37 (V:xi:) class, 20Cq

e:xi:	u:xi:	o:xi:	ə:xi:	hu:xi:	t'ə:xi:	t'o:xi:
éachaí	úchaí	óchaí	achaí	thúchaí	teachaí	teóchaí
61	11	6	5	3	3	2
kəni:	t'e:xi:	n'e:xi:	n'u:xi:	hə:xi:	(V:xi:)	
canaí	téachaí	néachaí	niúchaí	thachaí	Total	
1	1	1	1	1	96	

(There is one more word with <ə:xi:> in Table 4.37 than shown in Figure 4.27. This is because *leithe* (a word in -hV) is not included in Figure 4.27.)

4.181 <u:xi:>

The total number of <u:xi:> tokens is raised by two rather idiosyncratic forms in 20Cq: that of **hu:xi:** infixed to radical -r in *Sorcha*, and the form *glaise* > **gla:fN'u:xi:** (both words produced several times). It seems that <u:xi:> is productive in a quantitatively qualified sense for 20C, given:

- (i) the distributional similarity with obviously productive <e:xi:>,
- (ii) its higher occurrence (14 words in all) than any other variant after <e:xi:>,
- (iii) its use with borrowed *bitse* > **b'if'u:xi:**.

Speaker 20C is the only speaker in my sample with clearly productive <u:xi:>, the least productive conservative variant intradialectally. (He also has very high percentage use of conservative features such as 2sg conditional and subjunctive <ta:> (5.43) and <a:ha:> (5.69), the subjunctive mood (5.396 ff.), and his almost categorical verbal adjective <i:hə> (cp. 5.229).) Note further that <u:xi:> is in fact used with *easna* > **æ:snu:xi:**, a lexeme which frequently intradialectally takes <ə:xi:>. In fact, lexical marking for <u:xi:> is also apparent in at least two other words, both of which follow the palatal constraint: *gearrchaile* > **g'ar:xa'l'u:xi:**, and *seire* > **fer'hu:xi:**. Note also *srathair* > **srarhu:xi:** which is also a member of the back (V:xi:) subclass for other speakers, e.g. 25M. Finally, although not checked proportionately, it is perhaps worth noting that 20C has more **u:xi:** in the second than in the first query session, perhaps because 20My, who has little or no **u:xi:**, was less involved in the second session.

The variant <u:xi:> appears especially productive in contrast with <ə:xi:> (8 in all). This <ə:xi:> is, as mentioned, constrained by the palatal condition. The only two nouns in <ə:xi:> not following this constraint, *eala* and *leithe*, are lexically marked for the back variants of (V:xi:) and can be explained diachronically (more closely related to the dental -adh- plural, *eala* > *ealadha* > *ealúchaí* 866ESemr) and dialectally (*leithe* > **l'ehəwi:** **l'ehu:wi:** **l'ehu:**; undoubtedly from a precursor **l'ehu:** *leitheadha* as currently in IEM §527). Two general principles of use of <u:xi:> 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) <u:xi:> generally follows the palatality constraint.

As stated, however, his <o:xi:> variant does in fact follow the palatality constraint. It is tempting to see in **20C**'s use of <u:xi:> 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 <e:xi:> vs. <o:xi:>.

4.182 *glaise* > *glaisniúchaí*

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 **gl̪a:ɲ̪ːu:xi:** can be compared with the wider dialectal distribution. North and east of Conamara the corresponding lexeme is generally *díog*. The southern short plural form *clasa* extends as far north as points 24 and 41. The distribution of long plural endings, (Vxi:) and (əni:) is as follows:

Plural ending	Point	Note
əxi:	38	
rəxə/i:	25, 42 (North Clare and Innis Meáin), 49	± metathesis with <i>s</i>
iəxi	46	also variant in GCF
kən/ni:	35, 39, 40, 43b (a), 45, 47	also variant in GCF

All these endings, and others, occur in Iorras Aithneach. Neither the extension **n** nor <u:xi:> are found in **SIDIII**. The model for **20C**'s form can be found in other local plurals of *glaise*, cp. ± **r** and ± V:xi: in **gl̪a:ɲ̪ːiəxi:** 46.630, *glaisreachaí* **869P5**, **gl̪a:ɲ̪ːro:xi:** **36Sq** and the **n** extension in **glasnəxi:** **27Mq**; Ros Muc **glasgəxi:**, **glas' r' əxi:**, **glasru:xi:**, Leitir Móir **glasriəxi:** **LFRM** (s.v. *glaise*, with most common *glascannaí* in the text and cited examples). (The **e:** vowel occurs in **n' e:xi:** in **20C**'s plural form of *ionga* **ih̪n' e:xi:** (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 **gl̪a:ɲ̪ːu:xi:** while **20Myq** in a quieter voice started her **gl̪a:s^k** response but desisted in a short **ɦm Hm** 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) **gl̪a:fexi:** and, waiting a while, again not to be over-assertive, added *nó d'fhéadhá gl̪a:skəni:* 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 **gl̪a:skəni:**, whilst on this occasion **20C** interrupted his **gl̪a:ɲ̪ː** response and immediately echoed **gl̪a:skəni:**. I then added, to test **20C**'s preference:

-Daoiní eile, déarthaidh siad 'glaisniúchaí.' **B6C**

20C responded in his humorous and disowning manner:

-Déarthadh, ach níl fhios a'm cén t-údar a n-abraíonn siad é ach an oiread.

- C` + e:xi: *bualadh, casadh, fiuchadh, pósadh*, cp. also *scanradh* > *scanraechaí*;
 -C` + u:xi: *réabadh*;
 -Cu: > u:xi: *athrú*.

Two of these, *bualaechaí* and *réabúchaí*, 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 <e:xi:> variant than <u:xi:>, <u:xi:> being interpretable as u: + əxi: in this class due to its exclusive use with final radical u: :

Radical	> e:xi:	vs. radical	retained
i:	<i>béilí</i> > <i>b'e:l'e:xi:</i> <i>taisí</i> > <i>tæ:f'e:xi:</i>	u:	> u:xi: <i>colbha</i> > <i>kolu:xi:</i>
iə	<i>Ciarraíoch</i> > <i>k'jəre:xi:</i> <i>giorria</i> > <i>g'ure:xi:</i>		
e:	<i>condae</i> > <i>ku:nde:xi:</i>		
u:	<i>gortú</i> > <i>gorte:xi:</i>		

For 20C's plurals of agent -í in e:xi: and i:hə, see 4.73, Table 4.3. Given the productivity of 20C's <e:xi:>, his *barriall* *ba'le:r* > *ba'le:rəxi:* is to be expected.

4.184 20My, Méaraí Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin

<əxə> <əxi:>; <ənə>

Like her brother 36S (4.207), Méaraí Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin (20Myq) has a very high proportion of <əxə> as opposed to <əxi:> in polysyllabic roots: 21:2 in the first query session (cf. 4.178). Her <əxə> is confined to polysyllabic stems, e.g. *fómhar* > *fu:vəxə*; *sochraí(e)* > *soxri:d'əxə*; rarer <əxi:> here, e.g. *crúimeasc* > *kru:m'æ:skəxi:*; *beairic* > *b'ær'ək'əxi:*. Cf. 4.114, Figure 4.9. She has one token of (non-echoed) <ənə> in *sruth* > *fruhənə*.

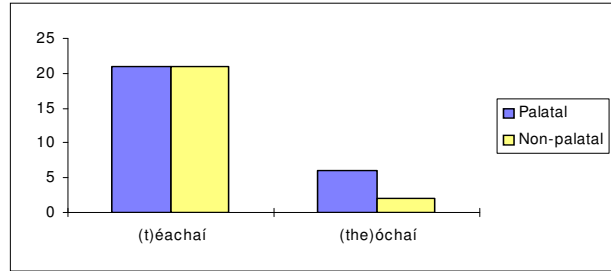
4.185 (V:xi:)

20Myq shows what may well be the dominant distribution of the (V:xi:) variants in the dialect. Her range is <e:xi:> and <o:xi:>, <e:xi:> being her most prominent variant with equal distribution between the palatal and nonpalatal environment. On the other hand, <o:xi:> shows palatal conditioning. It occurs in three nonpalatal words, *eala*, *leithe* and *athrú*. The nouns *eala* and *leithe* are discussed above in 20C's description (4.180). The realisation *athrú* > *arho:xi:* can be taken as an approximation of the quality of the radical V: as is evident in this class of nouns. 20Myq also has <e:xi:> (and echoing 20C, <u:xi:>) with *athrú* (cf. 4.24). Other words in final V: take e:xi:, i.e. *giorria* and *ceannaghaidh*. Her range and use, then, can be taken as:

range and quality conditioning of (V:xi:)	{	[<e:xi:>]	vs.	[<o:xi:>]
				palatal

We can compare the narrower range of 20Myq, as shown in Figure 4.28, with that of other speakers.

Figure 4.28 (V:xi:), 20Myq



Individual words show variation within her (V:xi:) range as follows:

Variants in	Word	root / form
e:xi: o:xi:	<i>gloine</i>	glin'-
	<i>gine</i>	g'in'-
	<i>buille</i>	bil'-
e:xi: ʰe:xi:	<i>béilí</i>	b'e:l'/l'-
o:xi: ə:xi:	<i>cleite</i>	kl'eɪ'-
e:xi: ə:xi:	<i>Ciarraíoch</i>	k'iar-

Some of these variants are echoes of 20Cq's forms.

Words in -Vhə have a proportion of 4:2 in <e:xi:> vs. <o:xi:>:

<e:xi:>: *áithe* > **a:he:xi:**; *ráithe* > **ra:he:xi:**; *snáithe* > **snə:he:xi:**; *gaoith(e)* > **gi:he:xi:**; including the verbal noun *báthadh* > **bə:he:xi:**;
 <o:xi:>: *leithe* > **l'əho:xi:**; *oíche* > **i:ho:xi:**.

Speaker 20Myq's verbal noun use is essentially that of other nouns, i.e. mostly in <e:xi:>. The variant <e:xi:> occurs in 9 out of 10 verbal nouns including *míniú* > **m'i:n'e:xi:**; *drochbhreathnú* > **drox'vr'ənhə:xi:**. The only verbal noun which has a distinctive verbal noun plural suffix is *ordú* > **aurdi:hə**. This verbal noun is lexicalised as a common noun and widely used in the plural.

4.186 20T, Teaimín Team Mhacáí 'ac Con Iomaire

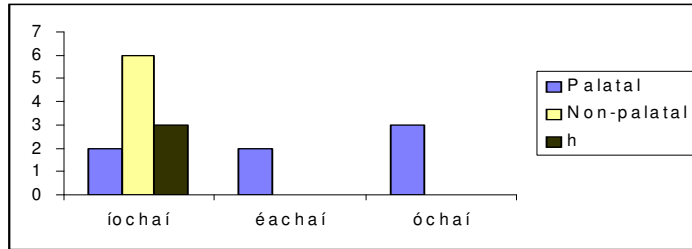
(V:xi:)

Although only 16 tokens in all were noted from Teaimín Team Mhacáí '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:) { [**i:xi:**] nonpalatal vs. [**o:xi:**] palatal (also <e:xi:>)

There is one example of <a:xi> in *eite* > eí'ɔxi: eí'axi: not included in my calculations. It has been omitted from Figure 4.29 which displays his variants.

Figure 4.29 (V:xi:), 20T



4.187 21Pt, Peait Mháire Veail Uí Dhonnchú

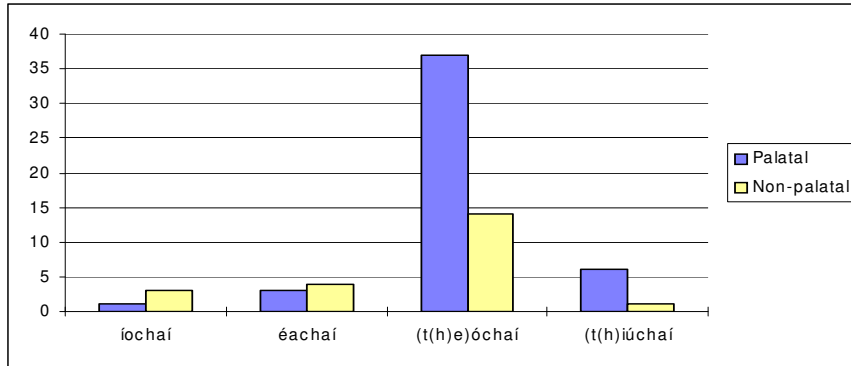
(V:xi:)

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 <o:xi>; in all there are 61 tokens of <o:xi> 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 <a:xi> (*athrú* > æ'rha:xi:; *leonadh* > L'u:na:xi:; *scáinne* and *scáile*) are classified with <o:xi> here for ease of comparison and display, as they pattern similar to <o:xi> 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:

range and quality	{	<iəxi> << e:xi>	vs.	[<o:xi> >> <u:xi>]
conditioning of (V:xi:)				

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. <o:xi>, 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 <o:xi> 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:xi), 21Pt



Words with alternate endings in (V:xi) or other variables are:

Variants in	Word	root / form	Word	root
iəxi: eəxi:	<i>ionga</i>	uŋg-		
eəxi: e:xi: o:xi: əxi:	<i>gloine</i>	glin'		
o:xi: a:xi:	<i>scáinne</i>	skɑ:n' -	<i>leonadh</i>	l' u:n-
	<i>scáile</i>	skɑ:l' -		
iəxi: e:xi: u:xi:	<i>céilí</i>	k'e:l' -		
iəxi: a:xi:	<i>athrú</i>	ærh-		
iəxi: u:xi:	<i>artha</i>	ærh-		
e:xi: o:xi:	<i>rotha</i>	roh-	<i>cine</i>	k'in' -
e:xi: əxi:	<i>ceárta</i>	k'ɑ:rt-		
u:xi: o:xi:	<i>gearrchaile</i>	'g'ɑ:r,xal' -		
t'u:xi: t'əxi:	<i>tuile</i>	ti'l' -		
t'u:xi: t'əxi: t'ə	<i>líne</i>	l'i:n' -		
infixes o: ~ radical e:	<i>barriall</i>	bɑ'le:r > bɑ:lɔ:rəxi: (1), bɑ'le:rəxi: (2-3) ¹		
hu:xi: ho:xi: əxi:	<i>seire</i>	fer' -		
o:xi: əxi:	<i>teanga</i>	t'æŋg-		
kəni: kəxi:	<i>glaise</i>	glɑ:skəni:, also (almost a slip of the tongue) glaskəxi:		
o:xi: əni: ²	<i>gaoithe</i>	gi:həxi: gi:əni:		

The form *scornach* > **sko:rno:xi:** was repeated by 21Pt five times while searching for a suitable form, and use, of the plural, which was found in **sko:rno:xi:**. The latter is most likely his more typical form, independent of the list effect. Similarly, *Bairbre* > **ba:r'əbr'o:xi:** (1) but more comfortably **ba:r'əbr'əxi:** (2-4). These two marginal formations illustrate the series effect of the repetitive query situation, and 21Pt's use of his most productive (V:xi) suffix in such instances. Borrowings also take <o:xi>, e.g. *bitse* > **b'itfə:xi:**, and *iəxi: e:xi: u:xi:* as in *céilí* above. Nouns in final -hə take <o:xi> (x10), <e:xi> (x1), e.g.

breitheamh > **br'ehə:xi:**; *snáithe* > **sna:hə:xi:**; *ráithe* > **ra:hə:xi:**;
rotha > **rohe:xi:**.

¹ 1-3 = order of production.

² These two plural forms can be best understood in the context of the two by-forms of the singular **gi:hə** *gaoithe* (> o:xi:) and **gi:** *gaoth* (> əni:).

So also compound nouns, e.g. *carn aoiligh* > **kərn i:l' o:xi:**.

The class of nouns in final V: shows both use and approximation (in *céiliúchaí*) of the main variant <o:xi:>, and retention and approximation of the radical V::

V: > main (V:xi:) variant			vs. retained or approximated		
i:	> o:xi:	<i>béilí</i> > b'e:l' o:xi:			
Note agent in -í					
		<i>gréasaí</i> > gr'e:s o:xi:			
u:		<i>gortú</i> > gorto:xi:	u:	u:xi:	<i>míniú</i> > m' i:n' u:xi:
i:	> u:xi:	<i>céilí</i> (as cited above)	i:	> iə e:ə ¹	<i>céilí</i> as above
					<i>tanaí</i> > ta'ne:əxi:

The noun *luaí* > **luəiəxi:** (x5+) is perhaps best analysed as **luəi** + **əxi:**.

The extensions **t** and **h** combine with palatal consonant and both <u:xi:> and <o:xi:> in:

líníocháí ~ *líníúcháí*; *tuilíocháí* ~ *tuilíúcháí*; *teile* > *teilíocháí*;
seire > *seiríocháí* ~ *seiríúcháí*.

All six verbal nouns in -adh noted take **o:xi:**, showing <o:xi:> dominance as in other nouns, e.g.

báthadh > **bəho:xi:**; *gearradh* > **g'æro:xi:**; *baiste(adh)* > **ba:ft' o:xi:**.

Also noted from conversation (not included in the statistics above):

briseadh amach > *gá mbeadh beithíoch ann a mbeadh briseóchaí amach air a m'ex*
br' ifo:xi' ma'x er' '(skin) eruptions';

filleadh > *filleóchaí* (*sa treabhsar*).

Verbal nouns in -ú, as cited: *gortú* > **gorto:xi:**; *míniú* > **m' in' u:xi:**.

4.188 23B, Béib Mheárgrait Bean Uí Uaithnín

Béib Mheárgrait bean Uí Uaithnín (23B) has the smallest (V:xi:) 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 <iəxi:> only in nouns with radical -i:. The complete list of tokens recorded from her is as follows:

-Cə > <e:xi:> *eala* > **æ'lexi:** << æ'ləxi:
 <a:xi:> *iomaire* > **umraxi:**
 -Ciə > <e:xi:> *giorria* > **g' ure:xi:** **g' urəxi:**

Noun in -i: > <iəxi:> (with deliberate pronunciation):

geansaí > **g' æ:n' si:s** **g' æ:n' səxi:** >> **g' æ:n' siəxi:**.

4.189 25M, Maidhcil Team Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire

(VxV)

The variant <əxə> occurs in two polysyllabic roots in the data: *barriall* > **ba'riələxə** (x3); *anam* > **a'nəmnəxə**, **a'nəmnəxə nə ma:ru**, *anamnacha*, *anamnacha na marbh*. Note the possible higher register connotation and the pre-consonantal environment of the latter example. All other polysyllables take <əxi:>, e.g. *ainm* > **æ:n' əmn' əxi:**; *eaglais* > **ə:gləfəxi:**.

¹ Further noted from conversation (not included in the statistics above): borrowing 'rally' *railí* > **ræ'f'əxi:**.

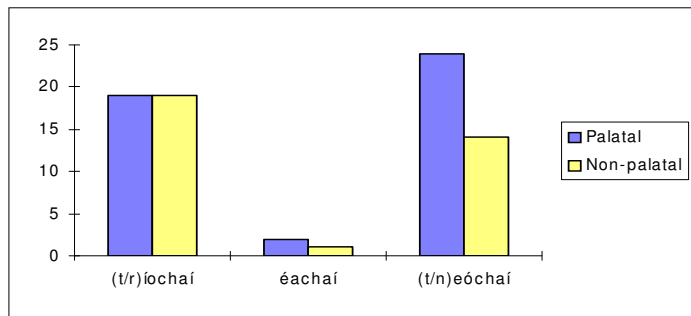
4.190 (V:xi:)

Maidhcil Team Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire (**25M**) has an exceptionally quantitatively 'well balanced' distribution of the front and back variants which are for him <iəxi:> and <o:xi:> respectively.

range and quality conditioning of (V:xi:) { [<iəxi:>] vs. [<o:xi:>]
palatal

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 <iəxi:> variant. This high percentage use of <iəxi:> has been found mainly in this close-knit clann Mhacaí 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 <iəxi:> 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 <u:xi:> which is **869P**'s only back variant recorded, but **25M**'s <o:xi:> is roughly equally as frequent as <iəxi:>, in contrast with the low yield of **869P**'s <u:xi:>.

Figure 4.31 (V:xi:), 25M



The variant <e:xi:> occurs in only three tokens, two of which are recorded with other variants (further below):

ribe róibéis > **rib' exi ro:b' e:f**.

Phonetically his vowels in (V:xi:) are clear and long, especially in comparison, for example, with Máire. The variable (V:xi:) occurs with four nouns in the **Vhə** subclass with two tokens of each main variant, e.g.

báthadh > **bə:həxi:**; *creathadh* > **kr'æho:xi:**.

(Speaker **25M** claimed not to have heard these two tokens in actual use.)

My impression is that at least in some words the <iəxi:> variant was the more targeted variant of the three variants. For instance, one token was interrupted and repeated in *leide* > **l'id' o, l'id' iəxi:**. This is also implied by repeated variants of *cuisle* in the list below which move from initial <e:xi:> to <iəxi:>. Nonetheless, the opposite direction in repeats is not uncommon as seen in *samhradh* below and *cuireadh* > **kir' iəxi:** (1) **kir' o:xi:** (2).

Individual words show variation within his (V:xi:) range (numbers indicate order of production):

Variants in	Word
e:xi: o:xi:	<i>samhradh</i> > sā:vre:xi (1), sauro:xi (2)
i:xi: e:xi: e:xi:	<i>cuisle</i> > kifl'e:xi (1), kifl'e:xi (2), kifl'i:xi (3, 4)
i:xi: o:xi:	<i>artha, buinne, leide L'id' -, teanga, cuireadh</i>

(V:xi:) occurs in third syllable position frequently in *iomaire* > **uməro:xi**.

Note the borrowing *bitse* > **b'iffo:xi**. (V:xi:) combines with the extensions **t**, **n** and **r**:

t in **t'i:xi**; e.g. *líne* > **L'in't'i:xi**, and **t'o:xi** in *teile* > **t'elt'o:xi**;

n in **n'o:xi** in *ionga* > **ingn'o:xi**;

r in the uncertain form *teálta* > **t'altri:xi**.

Cp. *srathair* > **fra'rho:xi**. Not surprisingly, given his frequent use of <i:xi>, *barriall* **ba:riəl** does not infix <o:xi>.

Words in radical -V: show both approximation and replacement:

Radical	> o:xi:	vs. radical	retained
i:	<i>béilí</i> > b'e:l'o:xi	i:	> i:xi: <i>céilí</i> > k'e:l'i:xi
iə	<i>giorria</i> > g'uro:xi		<i>tanaí</i> > tani:xi
u:	<i>gortú</i> > gorto:xi		
	<i>cruinniú</i> > krin'o:xi ; also plural of <i>cruinne</i>		

Verbal Noun

All (c. 10) verbal nouns have (V:xi:) plurals, i.e. plural similar to other (nonverbal) nouns in the (V:xi:) class, e.g.

athrú > **a'rhia:xi**; *míniú* > **m'i:n'o:xi**; *bearradh* > **b'æ'ria:xi**.

Agent nouns in -í, only two examples queried, show -i:hə, i.e. *gréasaí* > **gr'e:si:hə**; *comrádaí* > **kumra:di:hə**. This implies a conservative non-(V:xi:) use, at least in elicitation, as noted in his uncle **869P**'s data (4.146).

4.191 Clann Mhacaí compared

In Table 4.38 one can make a lexical comparison of (V:xi:) use between the brothers **869P**, **875T**, the former's daughters **04Br** and **15W**, and **875T**'s sons **11J**, **20T** and **25M**. In the table **iə** stands for <i:xi>, **o:** for <o:xi>, etc.; contrast with **869P**'s form in vowel height only, e.g. *gearradh* <i:xi> **869P** vs. <e:xi> **04Br**, is presented in a light outline; distinction on the front-back axis, e.g. *gloine* <i:xi> **869P** vs. <o:xi> **04Br**, is given a heavy outline.

Compare also *teintíochaí* (MP)**869P** (< cine), with **25M**'s *cine* > **k'in'i:xi**; and **25M**'s <t'i:xi> in *líne, síneadh, sloinne* and *sile*. Note further *aice* > **æ'k'o:xi** **25Mt** (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:xi> in *faithne* 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:xi> 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:xi:) in clann Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire, 1869–1925

Word	869P	875T	04Br	11J	15W	20T	25M
<i>bonn</i>	iə	iə	iə	iə	iə		iə
<i>Inniachaí</i>	iə		e:				iə
<i>snáithe</i>	iə		iə	iə	e:		
<i>teanga</i>	iə		iə	e:			iə ~ ɔ:
<i>artha</i>	iə		iə	iə	iə ~ ə		iə ~ ɔ:
<i>giorria</i>	iə	iə	iə	iə	iə		ɔ:
<i>gearradh</i>	iə		e:	iə	iə	iə	ɔ:
<i>conra</i>	iə		iə	ɛə	e:		ɔ:
<i>eala</i>	e:ə	iə	e:	ɛ:	e:		ɔ:
<i>ionga</i> ¹	iə		e:		e:		ɔ:
<i>banais</i>	iə		iə	e:	iə		ɔ:
<i>faithne</i>	iə		iə	ɔ:	iə	ɔ:	ɔ:
<i>gloine</i>	iə		ɔ:	ɔ:	iə	ɔ:	ɔ: ~ iə
<i>gráinne</i>	iə ~ ə		e:		iə		ə
<i>glaise</i> ²	iə ~ ə		e:		e:		
<i>cleite</i>	ə		iə ~ ə	ə >> iə	ə	e:	ɔ:
<i>iomaire</i> ³	ə		iə	e:	iə	iə	ɔ:
<i>easna</i>	ə		iə		iə ~ ə		ə
<i>eite</i>	u:			ɔ:		ɔ: (a)	ɔ:
<i>sine</i>	u:		iə		iə		ɔ:

4.192 Extensions

Table 4.39 summarises 25M's extensional use.

Table 4.39 Extensions, 25M

nəxi:	rəxi:	rəxi:	əxi:	trəxi:	təxi:
<i>ainm</i>	<i>eiris > orf-</i>	<i>fréamh</i>	<i>eiris > orf-</i>	<i>ginn > g' a:ntr-</i>	<i>scoil</i>
<i>anam</i>	<i>carraig</i>	<i>splanc</i>	<i>stoirm</i>	<i>aill</i>	<i>draein</i>
<i>ionga</i>	<i>nead</i>	<i>blaosc</i>	<i>mairg</i> ⁴	<i>sleán</i>	<i>tine</i>
	<i>spreab</i>		<i>scailp > skalp-</i>		
	<i>slat</i>		<i>slat</i>		

Note further two forms produced while the speaker searched for an acceptable plural: *béilí* > *b' e:l' trəxi:*; *teálta* > *t' a:ltriəxi:*.

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 *əxə* and *ənə* as well as

¹ *iongaíochaí* 869P, *ign'e:xi:* 04Br, *ign'e:xi:* 15W, *ingneóchaí* 25M.

² Brothers 11J, 20T and 25M have the more common *glaise* > *glascannaí* for 869P's *glaisíochaí* ~ *glaisreachaí*.

³ *iomarachaí* 869P, *iomaraechaí* 11J, *iomaróchaí* 25M; but *iomraíochaí* 04Br, 15W, 20T, as well as *iomairí* 15W.

⁴ 25Mq claims not to have heard his *ma'r'əg'ər'əxi* used, nor is the word likely to be used in the plural in his opinion.

her very frequent use of the short *i*: plural, will not be analysed within the present work. Her (V:*xi*) and extensional forms, perhaps, reflect the local use of Loch Con Aortha. Her forms are of interest especially in her relatively conservative use in (V:*xi*), perhaps resembling the use of **852Sb**, her grandfather.

4.194 (V:*xi*)

As can be seen from Figure 4.32, the main variant for **25Mn** is <*iəxi*>, including with verbal nouns in *-ú*, e.g. *athrú* > **a'rhíəxi**. The two other variants are very limited in distribution. The variant <*e:xi*> occurs (in the form **eəxi**) as a variant of <*iəxi*> in:

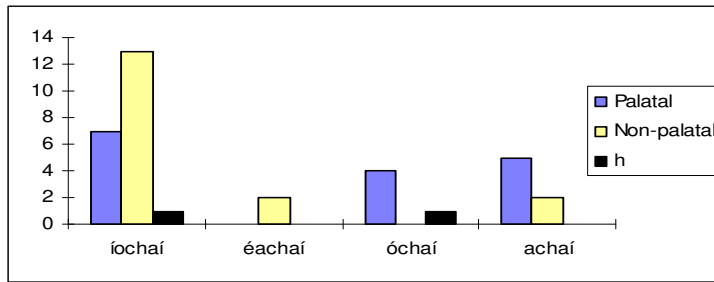
iomaire > **umrē:əxi**: (1) **umriəxi**: (2, 3); *conra* > **kun^driəxi**: (1) **kun^trē:əxi**:

The variant <*o:xi*> seems lexically marked for a small set of nouns, most of which have final palatal consonant:

sine, *leithe*, *bitse*, *eite*; and *gloine* > **glin' o:xi** **glin' iəxi**.

Note her *artha* > **arhiəxi**: **arhiəxə**.

Figure 4.32 (V:*xi*), 25Mn



4.195 Extensions and other plurals

Table 4.40 Extensions, 25Mn

tə	əxi:/ə	rəxi:/ə	təxi:/ə	trəxi:/ə
<i>cuan</i>	<i>carraig</i>	<< <i>carraig</i>	<i>scoil</i>	<i>ginn</i> > g' æ'n-
<i>speal</i>	<i>stoirm</i>	<i>léas</i>	<i>stail</i> > sta'l-	<i>meall</i>
<i>sleán</i>	<i>fréamh</i>	<i>téad</i>	<i>traein</i>	<i>aill</i>
<i>stól</i>	<i>craobh</i>	<i>nead</i> > n' æ:d-	<i>draein</i>	<i>giall</i>
<i>aonach</i>	<i>coirb</i>	<i>leac</i>	<i>léine</i>	<i>tine</i> > t' in'-
<i>néal</i>	<i>slat</i>	<i>splanc</i>	<i>culaith</i>	
<i>srian</i>	<i>tolach</i>		t'ə	t'ə
<i>gleann</i>	<i>caladh</i> > ka'lhia-	nəxi:	<i>gró</i>	<i>rón</i>
<i>pian</i>		<i>ainm</i>	<i>taoille</i>	<i>comhrá</i>
<i>seol</i>			<i>tlú</i>	<i>srón</i>
ti:	i:		<i>cliabh</i> > <i>cléibhte</i>	<i>tuile</i>
<i>rása</i>	<< <i>rása</i>		<i>claimhe</i>	<i>croí</i>
			<i>bró</i>	<i>sloinne</i>
			<i>béilí</i> > b' e:l' t'ə b' e:l' i:hə	

Masculine -ach > -igh ~ -achai

i: *Domhnach, ronnach, gliomach, coileach;*
əxi: *ronnach, sionnach.*

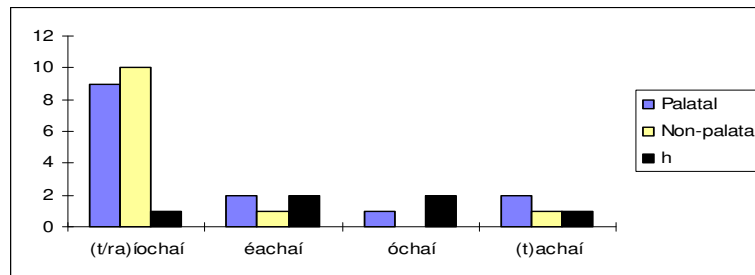
Other plurals

hi: *seire fer'ə > fer'hi:*.
i:hə *geanzaí, gortú, leadaí, cruinniú, céilí, gréasaí, coisí.*
ui: *teach > t'ihu'i; leithe > l'ehu'i.*
u: *reithe > rohu:* also *rehu:*, stressed **re-**, although found in other dialects, is perhaps a spelling pronunciation.

Note the plural form *Tomás > tumə:fəxi:* given by **25Mn** as an example of non-use of the plural of personal names.

4.196 27M, Máirtín Bheairtle Chanraí**(V:xi:)**

Máirtín Chonraí (**27M**) has a high yield in the (V:xi:) class, with very little <əxi:> realisation. His main variant is <iəxi:>. It may be significant that he has very frequent **i:** plurals where other speakers would have more (Vxi:), particularly (V:xi:), e.g. **i:** in *buille, úchta, leidhce, gráinne, lata, creideamh, cófra, eala, bibe, carn aoiligh*, etc.; note also *colbha > kóli:*. This high -i: production reduces the number of (V:xi:) 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 <iəxi:> 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 (V:xi:), 27M

His second most frequent variant, <e:xi:>, alternates with <iəxi:> in three out of the five words attested with <e:xi:>: *banais, doigh > dehiəxi: dehe:xi:*; *damsa*. Only *snáithe* and *cuisle* have non-alternating <e:xi:>. His least frequent variant, <o:xi:>, 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 (V:xi:) variant intradialectally and related to their alternate plurals in *əwi:*, etc. Nouns with <iəxi:>, often phonetically **i:əxi:**, include:

ribe, baiste, tórramh, Máire, feire, gearradh, tanaí, geimhreadh, conra, giorria.

Note that there is no example of a noun in final **i:** or **iə** taking any variant other than <**iəxi:**>. Extensions combined with (V:**xi:**) are **riəxi:** in *gad* > **ga:dr̥iəxi:** **ga:dəni:**; and **t̥'iəxi:**, e.g. *scáinne* > **sk̥a:nt̥'iəxi:**.

4.197 Extensions

Table 4.41 presents **27M**'s extensional use.

Table 4.41 Extensions, etc., **27M**

rəxi:	əxi:	trəxi:	təxi:	tə	t̥ə
<i>fréamh</i>	<i>stoirm</i>	<i>meall</i>	<i>scoil</i>	<i>gleann</i>	<i>Aoine</i>
<i>spread</i>	<i>eiris</i> > or̥j-	<i>speal</i>	<i>ginn</i> > g̊'i:n̥-	<i>stól</i>	<i>cuan</i>
<i>coirb</i>		<i>aill</i>	<i>tine</i> > t̥'i:n̥-	<i>stól</i>	<i>baile</i>
<i>carraig</i>			<i>culaith</i>	<i>sleán</i>	
<i>gad</i> > riəxi:			<i>léine</i>	<i>súil ribe</i>	
<i>leadaí</i> >	nəxi:		<i>díle</i>	<i>seol</i>	
l̥'æ:dr̥əxi	<i>ainm</i>		<i>líne</i>	<i>srian</i>	
	<i>anam</i>		<i>béilí</i>	<i>pian</i>	
	<i>glaise</i> > gl̥a:s-		<i>teile</i>		

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 *Stiofán* **ʃk'ifa:n** **ʃt'ifa:n**. Vocally **27M** has a tendency to pronounce final unstressed **i:** as **ə̆** ~ **ə̆̊**, not nearly as marked or regularly as **34M**, so that his plurals frequently show alternations as in:

scoil > **skoltəxi:** **skoltəxə̆̊**; *Ciarraíoch* > **k'iar̥iəxi:** **k'iar̥iəxə̆̊**.

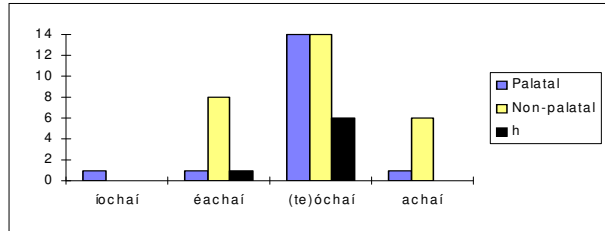
4.198 **30P**, Peaidí Phádraig Mhaidhc Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin

(V:**xi:**)

It is clear from Figure 4.34 containing Peaidí Phádraig Mhaidhc Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin's data (**30P**) that <**o:xi:**> is his main variant with no obvious consonant-quality conditioning. His second most frequent realisation is <**e:xi:**> occurring mostly in the nonpalatal environment. The (V:**xi:**) and (V:**xi:**) systems for **30P** can be characterised as follows:

range and quality conditioning of (V: xi:) forms	{	[< e:xi: >] nonpalatal	vs.	[< o:xi: >]
range and quality conditioning of (V: xi:) class	{	[< e:xi: > ~ < əxi: >] nonpalatal	vs.	[< o:xi: >]

Figure 4.34 (V:xi), 30P



The only <iəxi> example occurs in the sequence (baʃtʰə baiste prompt B6C):

baʃtʰi:w ... baʃtʰi:w ... baʃtʰiəxi: ... baʃtʰiəxi:
baistíodh ... baistíochai ... baisteóchai.

(It is hard to know whether -íodh can be taken as genuine 2 Conjugation here, or a confusion with -í plural in query.)

His <o:xi> plurals include gréasaí > gr'e:so:xi:; leatha > l'æho:xi:; cogadh > kogo:xi:; with infixing in *barriall* bale'r > balo'ræxi.

The variant <e:xi> is found in *iomaire* > umærexi umrexi; *Ciarraíoch* k'íære:æx > k'íære:xi; *ribe* (conversation and query), *tráthnóna*, *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:

Moinice > min'oi, min'ə, ... min'ək'i: ... min'ək'əxi:.

4.199 Extensions

This speaker has a relatively high use of the **r**, **t** and **tr** extensions.

Table 4.42 Extensions, 30P

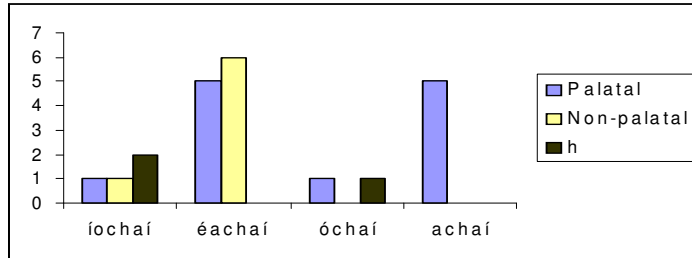
rəxi:	əxi:	trəxi:	trəxi:	təxi:
<i>carraig</i>	<i>stoirm</i>	<i>scoil</i> > skol-	<i>draein</i> > dre:n' t-	<i>draein</i> > dre:n' t-
<i>spreab</i>	<i>anam</i>	<i>srian</i>	<i>baile</i>	<i>traein</i> > tre:n' t-
<i>gad</i> > ga:d-	<i>coirb</i>	<i>pian</i> ~ <i>pianta</i>	<i>scéal</i>	<i>culaith</i>
<i>fréamh</i>		<i>líne</i>	<i>gaol</i>	<i>tine</i> > t'i:n' -
		<i>stail</i> > stai:-	<i>ginn</i> > g'æn-	<i>teile</i> > t'e:l' o:xi:
		<i>meall</i>	<i>sail</i> > sa'l-	
		<i>giall</i>	<i>béilí</i> > b'e:l'tr- b'e:l-	
		<i>speal</i>		

4.200 34M, Michael Kelly

(V:xi:)

Figure 4.35 shows a summary of Michael Kelly's data (speaker 34M). He has a fair proportion of (V:xi:) realisation. His main variant is <e:xi>, occurring in equal proportions in both palatal and nonpalatal environments in his data. Next in frequency is <iəxi>, the back variant <o:xi> being least frequent.

Figure 4.35 (Vixi), 34M



Speaker **34M**'s realisation of the front variants has most often two distinct vocalic elements, a long vowel followed by schwa: *i:əxər'* >> *iəxər'* and *e:əxər'* >> *eəxər'*. 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 *ər'*,
- (b) palatalised velars are often realised as palatals or alveo-palatals,
- (c) *r* very often realised as uvular *ʀ*,
- (d) */x/* generally realised as uvular *χ*.

Cp. **27M** (4.196) above and **43Mp** (4.213) below.

With these phonetic points in mind a sample of his plurals is given here.

Variant	Word	Word	Word
<i:xi>	<i>geansa</i> > <i>g'æ:n'sə</i> >	<i>g'æ:n'si:əxər'</i>	<i>reithe</i> > <i>ʀohiəxər'</i>
	<i>útha</i> >	<i>u:hi:əxər'</i>	
-CV:	<i>béilí</i> >	<i>b'e:l'íəxər'</i>	
<e:xi>			
-C	<i>bonn</i> >	<i>bunə:əxər'</i>	
-C'	<i>claimhe</i> >	<i>klæ:v'e:əxər'</i>	
-C'	<i>tórramh</i> >	<i>tə:ʀhe:əxər'</i>	
-CV:	<i>gortú</i> >	<i>gə:ʀte:əxər'</i>	<i>giorria</i> > <i>g'uke:əxər'</i>
-V:C	<i>Ciarraíoch</i> > <i>t'íəre:əχ</i>	<i>k'íəre:əxər'</i>	
+sync	<i>iomaire</i> >	<i>umʀe:əxər'</i>	
n'e:xi:	<i>ionga</i> >	<i>ingn'e:əxər'</i>	
<o:xi>	<i>leithe</i> >	<i>l'ehə:əxər'</i>	<i>bitse</i> > <i>b'itʃə:əxər'</i>
əxi:	<i>baiste</i> >	<i>bə:ʃt'əxər'</i>	<i>cuisle</i> > <i>kifl'əxər'</i>
+sync	<i>banais</i> >	<i>bə:nʃəxər'</i>	

Note the sandhi effect of nonpausa position in:

gine > *g'in'e:əxər'*, *g'in'e:əχi:* *bí:* *ginéachaí* *buí*.

4.201 Extensions and other plurals

This speaker shows frequent use of the *r* and *t* extensions. Other plurals worth noting are: *teach* > *t'ihəwər'*; *dealg* > *d'el'əd'əxər'* (perhaps *d'el'ədəxər'*); *rócam* > *ʀəkəms*; *cno* > *kʀuni:* *kʀunər'* with a doubtful singular *kʀunə*.

Table 4.43 Extensions, 34M

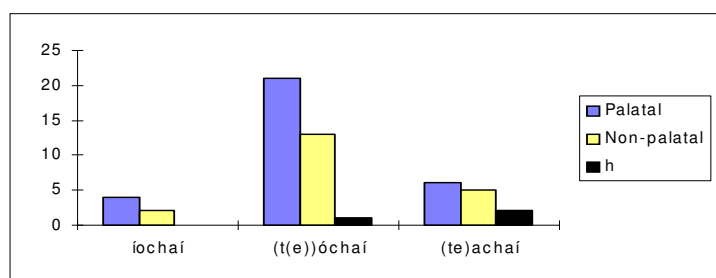
rəxi:	əxi:	trəxi:	trəxi:	təxi:
fód > fɔ:ɔɪ-	stoirm	scoil	stail	giall
déas	coirb	ginn > g' a:n-	baile	tine > t' in' -
nead	carraig	sleán	rón	srón
fréamh		meall	slat	
craobh		speal		

4.202 35E, Eidí Bheairtle Ó Con Fhaola

(V:xi:)

Eidí Bheairtle Ó Con Fhaola (speaker 35Eq) shows a typical proportion of (V:xi:) realisation in comparison with <əxi> in this class. As shown in Figure 4.36, his main variant is <əxi> where the palatal condition may be significant but not strongly so.

Figure 4.36 (V:xi:), 35E



Nouns with radical **i:** and **iə** in second syllable position are not included in Figure 4.36 as they all retain the **i:** quality having the <iəxi> variant realisation:

geansaí > g' ænz*iəxi*; *béilí*, *Ciarraíoch*, *Corcaíoch*, *giorria*.

The four nouns in -C or -ə with <iəxi> are:

bonn, *pósadh*, *ruainne*, *cine*.

The last word was initially produced as **k' in' o:xi:** but reiterated with more satisfaction as **k' in' iəxi:**. This is one of the few nouns that shows alternation in 35Eq.

Others with alternation have **o:xi:** ~ **əxi:**:

baiste and perhaps *fuinneamh*.

Verbal nouns in -ú take both <iəxi>, *cruinniú*, and <o:xi>, *athrú*; also **i:hə** in *socrú*. (In a separate recording also *vastú* (< i bhfastú) > **wæstiəxi** 35E.) The variant <o:xi> occurs in *gearradh*, *bearradh*. The extension **t** combines with **o:xi:** in the familiar

teile > t' el' t' o:xi; *sloinne* > slin' t' o:xi;

and in less common:

caladh > ka' l' t' o:xi: [x2] ~ ka' l' t' i:

Third syllable position occurs in *iomaire* > **uməro:xi:**.

4.203 Extensions

As can be seen in Table 4.44, extensions are very common in **35E**'s usage.

Table 4.44 Extensions, **35E**

nəxi:	əxi:	rəxi:	təxi:	trəxi:
<i>anam</i>	<i>anam</i>	<i>nead</i> > <i>ŋ'æ:d'əxi:</i>	<i>culaithe</i>	<i>ál</i>
<i>maidhm</i>	<i>stoirm</i>	<i>téad</i>	<i>stail</i> > <i>sta'l-</i>	<i>giall</i>
> <i>mi:mn'</i>	<i>tolach</i>	<i>scailp</i> > <i>ska'lp-</i>	<i>sloinne</i> > <i>-t' o:-</i>	<i>aill</i>
	<i>ainm</i>	<i>carraig</i>	<i>teile</i> > <i>-t' o:-</i>	<i>speal</i>
tə	tə	<i>seas</i> > <i>ʃæʃra:l-</i>	<i>caladh</i> > <i>-to:-</i>	<i>meall</i>
<i>cuan</i>	<i>slinn</i> > <i>ʃl' a:n-</i>	<i>splanc</i>	<i>tine</i> > <i>t' in' -</i>	<i>sleán</i>
<i>stól</i>	<i>dán</i>	<i>fréamh</i>	<i>traein</i> > <i>tre:n-</i>	<i>sail</i> > <i>sa'l-</i>
<i>seol</i>	<i>srón</i>	<i>fód</i> > <i>fo:d-</i>	<i>draein</i> > <i>dren't-</i>	<i>slat</i>
<i>ál</i>	<i>srian</i>	<i>gad</i>	<i>síneadh</i>	<i>scoil</i> > <i>skol-</i>
<i>sleán</i>	<i>pian</i>	<i>craobh</i>		<i>ginn</i> > <i>g' a:n-</i>
<i>Luan</i>	<i>fál</i> (~ <i>fáil</i>)	<i>sop</i>		
<i>scéal</i>	<i>néal</i>	<i>stéig</i>		
<i>gleann</i>	<i>Domhnach</i>	<i>léas</i> > <i>l' e:sr-</i>		
		<i>leac</i>		
		<i>déas</i> > <i>d' e:rf- d' e:sr-</i>	i:	
t'ə	t'ə	ti:	<i>rása</i>	
<i>gró</i>	<i>croí</i>	<i>tráthnóna</i>	ənti:	
<i>taoille</i> ¹	<i>rón</i>	<i>aonach</i>	<i>oíche</i>	
<i>tlú</i>	<i>claimhe</i>	<i>láí</i> > <i>la:nti:</i>		
<i>tua</i>	<i>díle</i>			
<i>ró</i>				

Other plurals

- ə *ruacan* > *ruæk'n'ə*; *námhaid* > *na:v'd'ə*; *muileann* > *mi:l'n'ə*.
- əni: *spailp*, *fuaigh*, *strainc*.
- əxi: *Satharn* > *sahərnəxi:*; *Céadaoin*, *Déardaoín*, *Aoine*.
- i:l' *slám* > *slə:məni:*; *slə:məxi:*; *slə:mi:l'*.
- əwi: *reithe* > *rəhəwi:*.
- u:i: *teach* > *t'ihu:i:*.

4.204 36M, Marcas Mhaidhc Teamannaí Uí Cheannabháin

Marcas Mhaidhc Teamannaí Uí 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 <e:xi:> and <o:xi:> variants in the (V:xi:) variable. He also has <əxə> which seems to be involved in the serial effect in the recorded data. His initial <əxə> token occurs in the disyllabic stem *súileáil* > *si:l' a:ləxə*, and following plurals, even though interspersed with *əxi:* from **04F** and by general conversation, contain *əxə* with mostly monosyllabic bases: *léas* > *l' e:srəxə*; *blogam* > *bləgəməxə*; *scoilteadh* > *skolt' əxə*; *seire* > *ʃer' əxə*. Other plurals from him include: *dorú* *doru:* > *drif'ə dorəntə*. Note the palatalising (-C') plurals offered in *bonnbhualadh* *bu:nə:l* > *bu:nə:l'*; *blogam* > *bləg'əmə bləgəməxə*; *ruacan* *ro:kəm* > *ro:kəm'*.

¹ Also *taoillí*.

4.205 36P, Pádraig Team Phaits Uí Cheannabháin

<əxə>

Pádraig Team Phaits Uí Cheannabháin (speaker **36P**) seldom uses <əxə> but all four tokens noted are in tetrasyllables:

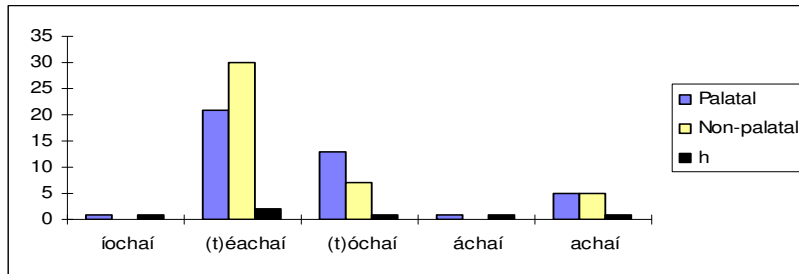
stoirmeacha, Aifreannacha, múraíleacha, blogamacha.

(V:xi)

Speaker **36P** shows a robust (V:xi) class. As is clear from Figure 4.37, his major variant in this class is <e:xi> (as with the majority of speakers). Both of his main variants <e:xi> and <o:xi> are weakly constrained by the quality condition:

range and quality conditioning
of (V:xi) { <e:xi> nonpalatal vs. <o:xi> palatal

Figure 4.37 (V:xi), 36P



The variant <iəxi> occurs in *béilí* > *b'e:l'iaxi*, and *clai* > *klaihiəxi* (cp. *klaihiəxi*; **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 *klaiəxi*. Queried about *kləhiəxi*, the commonest form in the western half of Iorras Aithneach, the speaker claimed it was the best form.

The variant <a:xi> occurs in only two tokens: *aithinn* > *æ'n'haxi*; *doigh* > *dohaxi*; both containing stressed nonhigh radical vowels.

The list of nouns with <o:xi> is:

sine, leithe, glaise > *gla:fo:xi*; *conra, sprid neanta, deaide, teile* > *teilteóchaí, lascadh, scoilteadh, lointhe, buille, sloinne, baile* > *bailteóchaí* ~ *bailte, cuireadh, seire, pinse, rite reaite* > *rite reaiteóchaí* ~ *rite reaitéachaí*. Also in borrowings (below).

Nouns in radical -V: show a tendency for approximation of the radical vowel:

-u: > e:xi: o:xi: *cruinne* > *krin'e:xi: krin'o:xi:*; *socrú* > *sokre:xi:*; *gortú* > *gorte:xi:*;

-i: > iəxi: in *béilí* and *clai* as described above;

-i: -iə > e:xi: (including personal nouns): *tanaí, geansaí, giorria, coisí, saothraí, gréasaí, leadaí*.

Nouns in *-íoch* have *e:* in singular and plural alike: *Ciarraíoch* *k'íəre:x* > *k'íəre:xi:*; *Corcaíoch* *korke:x* > *korke:xi:*. So also *sclábhaíocht* *sklæwe'xt*.

(*V:xi:*) occurs with borrowings:

<*e:xi:*> with 'Conroy' *ka'n^dri:* > *ka'nre:xi:*;

<*o:xi:*> with 'wheelbarrow' > *'fi:l',b'æ'ro:xi:*; *bitse* > *b'itʃo:xi:*.

4.206 Extensions

36Pq has the pattern *rəxi:* >> *əxi:*; *təxi:* >> *trəxi:*. (Type 2a speaker in Table 4.7, p. 743.)

Table 4.45 Extensions, 36Pq

<i>rəxi:</i>	<i>əxi:</i>	<i>trəxi:</i>	<i>təxi:</i>	<i>tə</i>
<i>gad</i>	<i>splanc</i>	<i>giall</i>	<i>culaith</i>	<i>stól</i>
<i>leac</i>	<i>scailp</i> > <i>skalp-</i>	<i>meall</i>	<i>léine</i>	<i>stól</i>
<i>nead</i>	<i>stoirm</i>	<i>lata</i>	<i>tine</i> > <i>t'i:n't'e-</i>	<i>scéal</i>
<i>téad</i>	<i>coirb</i>	<i>ál</i>	<i>teile</i> > <i>t'e:l't'o-</i>	<i>gleann</i>
<i>ainm</i> ¹	<i>anam</i>		<i>cine</i> <i>k'in'ə</i>	<i>srian</i>
<i>fréamh</i>			<i>baile</i> > <i>ba'l't'o-</i>	<i>speal</i>
<i>eiris</i> > <i>orʃr-</i>			<i>scoil</i>	<i>ginn</i> > <i>g'æ:ntə</i>
<i>spreab</i> ~ <i>spreabannaí</i>			<i>líne</i>	<i>seol</i>
<i>carraig</i>			<i>draein</i>	
<i>slat</i>				
		<i>t'ə</i>	<i>t'ə</i>	
		<i>rón</i>	<i>gró</i>	
		<i>gaoith</i>	<i>úin talúna</i> > <i>u:n't'ə</i> ~	
		<i>baile</i>	<i>srón</i>	
		<i>crú</i>	<i>barr</i> ²	
		<i>cuan</i>	<i>glúin</i>	
		<i>súil ribe</i> > <i>súilte ribe</i>	<i>sian</i>	

Other plurals include *ceárta* > *k'ə:rtənəxi:*; *cno kru* > *kruhəni:*; *gabha* > *gaivn'ə gauni:*. Cp. *ramallae* > *ra:məle:rəxi:* *ra:məle:rəxi:*, 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:

- almost categorical application of the polysyllabic constraint in <*əxə*> use,
- <*e:xi:*> as the major variant in the (*V:xi:*) class.

<*əxə*>

Speaker **36S**'s data contain in total 14 words with <*əxə*>; 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 *əxi:*, and, in the case of *Corcaíoch* with *iəxi:*; 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. *paidir* > *pa'dr'əxə*. Note that all three have consonant clusters before the plural ending.

¹ *æ'n'əmr'əxi:* *æ:nmr'əxi:*; cp. his syncope in *fómhar* > *fu:v'rəxi:*.

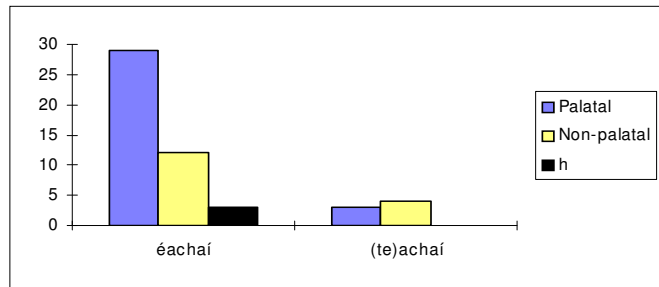
² Given without hesitation or doubt. This is the only attestation.

The variants <əxə> and <əxi:> are in almost complementary distribution. Only 3 polysyllabic roots in his data take əxi:; in two words there is alternation with (V:xi:), alternation with exi: in *iomaire* and with rəxi: in *seas* > ʃæ:ʃrəxi: (1) ʃæ:ʃrə:ləxi: (2); the only other polysyllabic stem with əxi: is kru:m'æ:sk *crúimeasc* which is phonotactically marked in having a clear (short) vowel in the final syllable (similar to a syllable with secondary stress).

4.208 (V:xi:)

Speaker 36S has frequent realisation of (V:xi:) variants. Words which take (V:xi:) 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 (V:xi:) are realised with <əxi:> only (with the exception of words in iəx in the stem, *Ciarraíoch* and *Corcaíoch*, which have iəxi: and e:xi: and are not included in Figure 4.38). No instances of <o:xi:> or any other variant, apart from <əxi:>, were noted. Words in final i: iə and u: regularly take <əxi:>, e.g. *tanaí* > ta'ne'xi:; *giorria*, *béillí*, *céillí*, *colbha* *kolu:* > kole'xi (the last cited being doubtful in actual performance). Note also the third syllable position typical in *iomaire* > umə'rexi.

Figure 4.38 (V:xi:), 36S



4.209 Extensions

Table 4.46 presents 36S's extensional use.

Table 4.46 Extensions, 36S

rəxi:/ə	rəxi:/ə	əxi:/ə	trəxi:	təxi:
<i>blaosc</i>	<i>cis</i>	<i>mairg</i>	<i>scailp</i> > skæ:lp' trəxi:	<i>draein</i>
<i>carraig</i>	<i>stéig</i> > ʃt'e:g' r-	<i>craobh</i>	<i>scoil</i> > skol-	<i>traein</i>
<i>ainm</i>	<i>spreab</i>	<i>ainm</i>	<i>stail</i> > stail-	<i>culaith</i>
<i>fréamh</i>	<i>gad</i> > ga:d-	<i>stoirm</i>	<i>speal</i>	<i>pian</i>
<i>seas</i> > -ʃr(ɑ:l)-	<i>sop</i> > sop-	<i>anam</i>	<i>giall</i>	<i>teile</i>
<i>glaise</i> > gla:ʃr-			<i>ginn</i> > g'ɑ:n-	<i>líne</i>
~ gla:skəni:			<i>meall</i>	<i>tine</i> > t'i:n' -

4.210 37J, Janaí Mháirtín Learaí 'ac Dhonncha

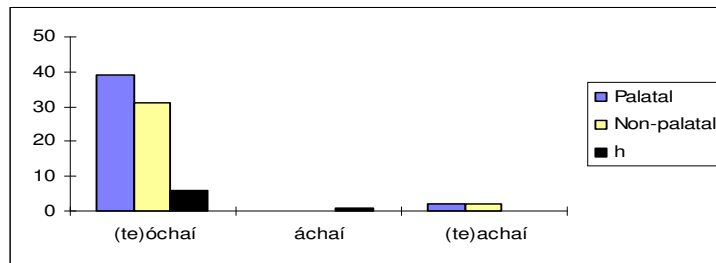
<əxə>

The variant <əxə> occurs along with <ənə> initially in the elicitation session of Janaí Mháirtín Learaí 'ac Dhonncha (speaker 37J) but these forms are soon dropped for <əxi> and <əni>, more common in the dialect. Later on in the session, however, <əxə> occurs in the polysyllabic stems *seas* > *ʃæsra:ləxə* (x3) and *coiscéim* > *kɪʃm'eg'əxə* indicating a weak (lexically motivated or perhaps attributable to the clear vowel in the second syllable) polysyllabic constraint on <əxə>.

(V:xi:)

As can be seen in Figure 4.39, 37J has a high realisation of the (V:xi:) class. He has practically only one variant: <ə:xi>. There is one token of <ɑ:xi> in *snáithe* > *snɑ:hə:xi:* (1) *snɑ:hə:xi:* (2). The only example of <iəxi>, *Ciarraíoch* > *k'iarriəxi:*, is not included in the chart and is taken as an instance of retention of the radical vowel.

Figure 4.39 (V:xi:), 37J



Nouns attested include common (V:xi:) members such as:

bonn, *banais*, *iomaire* > *umro:xi:*; *gloine*, *eala*, *cogadh*, *reithe*, *gráinne*, *féithe*, *snáithe*, *srathair* > *ʃrarho:xi:* *ʃrahər'əxi:*, *carn aoiligh*.

Verbal nouns:

gearradh, *scanradh*, *pósadh*, *síneadh*, *searradh* (plural not used in speech 37Jq), *báthadh*.

Nouns in -Cə not so commonly members of this class are:

culaith > *kolto:xi:*; *masla*, *tuile* > *til'ə:xi:*; *baile* > *bal't'ə:xi:*; *gaoithe* > *gi:ho:xi:* (plural not heard in speech 37Jq); *tine* > *t'int'ə:xi:*.

Note also *glai* > *glaiho:xi:*; *ciumhais* > *k'u:fo:xi:*; *fómhar* > *fū:vəro:xi:* (unless the *o* heard here is attributable to allophonic rounding or backing and raising of /ə/ beside *r*).

Nouns in -V: as a rule take <ə:xi>:

- i: *céilí*, *geansaí* > *g'ə'n'zo:xi:*; *tanaí*,
- agent -í in *saothraí*, *coisí* > *kofo:xi:* (1) *koʃi:* (2);
- gréasaí* > *gr'ə:so:xi:* but preferred *gr'əs:i:hə*;
- u: *colbha*,
- verbal *socrú*.

Agent *-í* > *-í*, *-óchaí* and *-íthe*; also in *cliamhain* > **kl'ævni:hə**, a relatively rare form. Note the combination or confusion of the (V:xi:) and i:hə endings in the uncertain form:

comrádaí > **kumrahə:di**; **kumrə'hə:di**.

Alternation with <əxi:> is relatively infrequent, it occurs in:

lanna **la'nə** (given as the probable singular, with comment 'is dóichí') >

la'nəxi' (1) **la'noxí'** (2-3);

scáinne > **skə:n'əxi:**; *scáineadh* > **skə:n't'əxi:** (1) **skə:n't'əxi:** (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

nəxi:	əxi:	rəxi:	təxi:	trəxi:
<i>anam</i>	<i>tólach</i>	<i>nead</i> > n'æ:d'p'rəxi:	<i>sloinne</i> > -t'ə:-	<i>giall</i>
<i>ainm</i>	<i>stoirm</i>	<i>scailp</i> > skalp'	<i>teile</i> > -t'ə:-	<i>sleán</i>
	<i>craobh</i>	<i>carraig</i>	<i>culaith</i> > -tə:-	<i>meall</i>
	<i>déas</i>	<i>léas</i> > l'əsɹ-	<i>tine</i> > t'ɪnt'-	<i>aill</i>
	<i>creig</i>	<i>leac</i>	<i>draein</i> > dre:n't-	<i>stail</i> > sta'l-
tə	tə	<i>splan</i>		<i>speal</i>
<i>glúin</i>	<i>dán</i>	<i>seas</i> > fæsɹa:ləxə		<i>slat</i> > ~rachai
<i>stól</i>	<i>srón</i>	<i>gad</i>	i:	<i>stól</i>
<i>seol</i>	<i>srian</i>	t'ə	<i>rása</i>	<i>fál</i> (~ <i>fálta</i>)
<i>scéal</i>	<i>pian</i>	<i>gró</i>	ənti:	ti:
<i>gleann</i>	<i>fál</i>	<i>rón</i>	<i>láí</i> > lə:nti:	<i>caladh</i>
<i>néal</i>	<i>aonach</i>	<i>díle</i>	<i>oíche</i>	

4.212 43M, Máirín Brown

(V:xi:)

Speaker **43M**'s main variant is <əxi:> (4.123,

Figure 4.14). She has *clai* > **kləhə:xi:** in contrast with her mother's **klə(h)əxi:** M.

4.213 43Mp, Maidhcil Phít Teaimín Uí Mháille

(V:xi:)

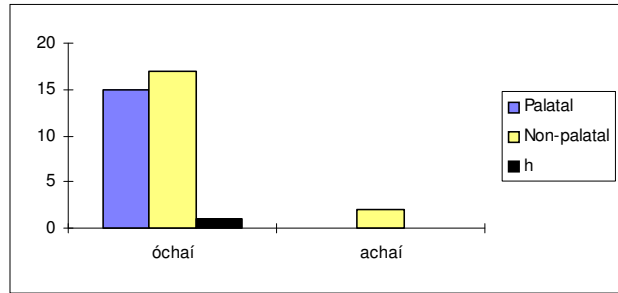
Maidhcil Phít Teaimín Uí Mháille (**43Mp**) has a high realisation of (V:xi:) in this class. Of his 33 words queried in this class all are realised as <əxi:> apart from 2 instances of **əxi:** in *ceárta* and *easna* (others take **i:**, e.g. *lata*, *cófra*). His data are displayed in Figure 4.40 for ease of comparison with other speakers. The typical (V:xi:) nouns are members of his class (taking <əxi:>):

iomaire > **umrə:xi'**; *bonn*, *banais*, *sine*, *tanaí*, *colbha*, *tórramh*, *leatha*, *athrú*, *gortú*, *creideamh*, *Corcaíoch*, *Ciarraíoch*, *giorria*, *sprig neanta*, *súil ribe*.

Note also *ainm* > **æ:n'əm'əxə'** with third syllable position (actually permitted, independently, by Máire, 4.170). Also *Bairbre* > **barbr'əxi** without the open-

thetic vowel (i.e. with synchronic syncope or perhaps influenced by spelling and even English 'Barbara').

Figure 4.40 (V:xi:), 43Mp



Speaker **43Mp** has the most productive use of infixed (V:xi:) 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 intradialectally. Other nouns with V: in second syllable position and nouns with -ə- in this position do not infix, e.g.

nóiméad > *nu:m'edəxi:*; *snáthaid* > *snə:hədəxi:*; *Moinice* > *Moiniceachaí*; *tolach* > *toləxə'*.

Speaker **43Mp** has the alternation of final unstressed i: with ə' and of x with χ; both traits noted most regularly in speaker **34M** (4.200) and to a lesser extent (concerning the ə' realisation) in **27M** (4.196). Surface forms as follows occur:

bara > *ba'ro:χi'*; *tanai* > *ta'no'χi:*; *bonn* > *buno:χə'*; *banais* > *ba'nfəχə'*; *aithinn* > *æ'N'ho:χə'*.

4.214 Extensions and other plurals

Table 4.48 presents **43Mp**'s extensional use.

Table 4.48 Extensions, 43Mp

rəxi:	əxi:	trəxi:	təxi:
<i>fód</i> > <i>fə:d'</i> -	<i>stoirm</i>	<i>scoil</i> > <i>skol-</i>	<i>díle</i>
<i>spreab</i>	<i>blaosc</i>	<i>giall</i>	<i>tuile</i>
<i>glaise</i> > <i>glə:fro:-</i>	<i>anam</i>	<i>ginn</i> > <i>g'i:n' tr- ?</i>	
	<i>ainm</i> > <i>æ:n'əm'o:-</i>	<i>meall</i>	
	<i>carraig</i>	<i>líne</i>	
	<i>coirb</i>		

Other plurals include:

- ə *bruacha*, *soilse*, *leicne*, *drible* *dr'ibl'ə*;
- i: *iongaí*, *guailí*, *fáinní*, *lataí*, *gunnaí*, *cófraí* *ko:rhi:*, *reithí*;
- tə *cuan*, *sleán*, *seol*, *speal*, *aonach*;
- t'ə *grua*, *tlú*, *drú*;
- ti: *ái*;
- ach > i: *ronnach* > *runi:*; *gliomach* > *gl'umi:*.

4.215 51P, Pádraigín Bairéad

(VxV) → <əxə> ~ <əxi:>

In Pádraigín Bairéad's material (speaker **51P**) the variant <əxə> is conditioned by syllable count; all 5 words with <əxə> are polysyllabic stems, a further 4 polysyllables occur with <əxi:>. There is a striking application of the constraint in alternate repetitions and accommodations in the query session (1–9 = order of occurrence) in:

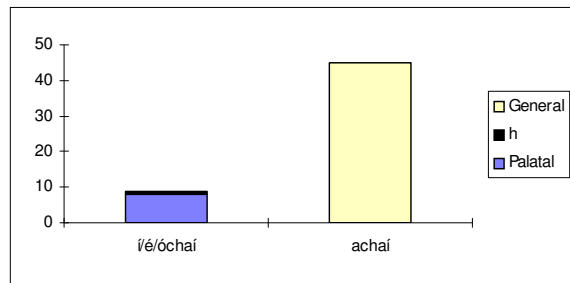
céilí > *k'e:l'izəxə* (1), (*k'e:l'e:xi:* (2) **29N**, his mother), *k'e:l'izəxə* (3),
k'e:l'əxi: (4–5), (*k'e:l'isəxə* (6) BóC), *k'e:l'isəxə* (7–9), (*k'e:l'is*) *k'e:l'is*.

In conversation <əxə> was observed with polysyllables only, including the borrowing *aranj* > *a:rən'ɟəxə*.

4.216 (V:xi:)

Speaker **51P** shows a limited number of (V:xi:) class words. His main variant is <əxi:>; in the query session two of his three <əxi:> tokens are echoes of **29N**'s responses, and one of his <əxi:> tokens is an echo of **29N**'s <əxi:>. As can be seen in Figure 4.41, his (V:xi:) class is comparatively speaking greatly diminished and marginal (cf. 4.124).

Figure 4.41 (V:xi:), 51P



His total number of examples are as follows, <iəxi:> (x1); <əxi:> (x3); <əxi:> (x5):

<i>iəxi:</i> ~ <i>əxi:</i>	<i>cruinne</i>
<i>əxi:</i>	<i>báthadh</i> echoed from 29Nq
<i>əxi:</i> ~ <i>əxi:</i>	<i>ribe</i> echoed from 29Nq
<i>əxi:</i> ~ <i>əxi:</i> ~ <i>əxi:</i>	<i>buinne</i>
<i>əxi:</i>	<i>gloine, bitse, ionga</i> > <i>ɪɲn'əxi:</i> (x2), <i>ɪɲɲn'əxi:</i> (x1)
<i>əxi:</i> ~ <i>əxi:</i>	<i>banais</i>

Note his form *barriall* *ba'le:r* > *ba'lərəxi:* (x3); also his -V: plurals: *gréasaí* > *gr'e:səxi:*; *tanaí* > *tanachaí*; *giorra* > *g'urəxi:*.

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 *gotha* > *gohəxi:* (*goití* BóC), *got'əxi:*.

Table 4.49 Extensions, 51Pq

rəxə/i: (x2)	əxə/i:	əxə/i:	trəxi:	təxi:	t'əxi:
<i>mig sneánta</i>	<i>mig sneánta</i>	<i>tolach</i>	<i>scoil</i>	<i>aill</i>	<i>léine</i>
<i>leac</i>	<i>carraig</i>	<i>caladh</i>		<i>sail sa:lt-</i>	<i>taoille</i> ¹
	<i>spreab</i>	<i>anam</i>		<i>ginn</i>	<i>cuireadh</i> ²
	<i>scailp ska'lp-</i>	<i>gad</i>		<i>draein</i>	<i>díle</i> ³
	<i>slat</i>			<i>culaith</i>	<i>teile</i>
					<i>giall</i>

Other plurals

Speaker **51P** has a plural variant of *teach* used by very few others. His forms are:

teach > t'i:həxi: (query and conversation), t'i.əwi: (conversation), t'i:fəxi: (query).

The last form was noted in query only and occurred following t'ihəwi: from another speaker.

His high use of *-t(e)achai* has been demonstrated in Table 4.49. Speaker **51Pq** has, further, relatively high *-t'ə* use, i.e. in *ró* > *róite* and *tlú* > *flu:t'ə* ~ *flu:əni*. His form from conversation is striking: *pól* ('pole') > *pól-t'ə*. This apparently strong use of *-t'ə* is of relevance for the spread of *-t'ə* in some younger speakers, e.g. **75Cq** (4.226). In response to *sneá* **51Pq** offered with some doubt *ʃn'ɑ:ntə*; also doubtful was *sile* > *ʃil'hə*. Note his plural of (*punann* >) *punán* > *puna:nəxi*. Finally, note his *gabha gau* > *g'aivN'ə* [sic] (x2) both singular and plural articulated without any hesitation.

4.218 64M, Marcas Sheáinín Sheáin Mhicil Ó Gaora

(V:xi:)

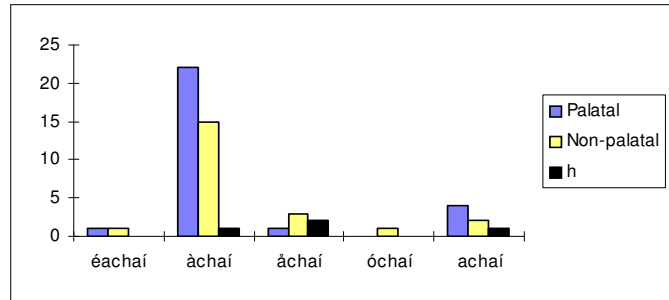
Marcas Sheáinín Sheáin Mhicil Ó Gaora (speaker **64M**) is the youngest speaker I have noted in conversation with frequent use of the (V:xi:) class and I therefore recorded a plural query session with him. The results of **64Mq** do indeed show extensive (V:xi:) tokens, more so than many speakers much 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 <axi:> ('áchaí'), with <əxi:> ('áchaí') and <exi:> occurring much less commonly and <oxi:> 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 <axi:> 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 (V:xi:) or between (V:xi:) and əxi:. The few nouns that follow the (V:xi:) class environment but which take əxi: include *bearna* which is not in this class for many speakers.

¹ ti:l't'ə ti:l'əxi: ti:l't'əxi:.

² kurt'əxi: kir'əxi:.

³ Also *díle*, echoing **20Pá** and **29N**.

Figure 4.42 (V:xi), 64M



Some of his examples are listed here:

Environment	Word		Word	
-C'V	<i>gine</i> >	g'in'axi'	<i>sine</i> >	fin'hæxi'
	<i>ribe</i> >	rib'axi'	<i>cuisle</i> >	kifl'axi'
	<i>bitse</i> >	b'if'axi'	<i>Beairtle</i> >	-l'exi'
	<i>carn aoiligh</i>	kær'ni:l'axi'		
-C'V	<i>tórramh</i> >	to:rhaxi'	<i>masla</i> >	maslaxi'
	<i>tráthnóna</i> >	trə'nu:nhaxi' (2) ¹	<i>eanga</i> >	æ:ngə'xi'
+ syncope	<i>iomaire</i> >	umraxi'	<i>banais</i> >	banf'axi'
final -C				
typical	<i>bonn</i> >	bunaxi'		
atypical	<i>ginn</i> >	g'i:ŋ'axi'	<i>srian</i> >	fri:nhaxi'
	<i>scuig</i> >	sklig'axi'	cp. <i>pins</i> >	p'infaxi'
n'V:xi:	<i>ionga</i> >	iggn'axi:		
VN - <i>adh/mh</i>	<i>pósadh</i> >	pə:saxi'	<i>baiste</i> >	ba:ft'axi:
	<i>gearradh</i> >	g'æ:rəxi'	<i>déanamh</i>	d'i:naxi'
VN - <i>ú</i>	<i>athrú</i> >	a'rhaxi'	<i>gortú</i> >	gortaxi'
	<i>leasú</i> >	l'æ:saxi'		
Alternants				
axi: axi:	<i>snáithe</i>			
axi: əxi:	<i>banais</i>		<i>gotha</i>	

It is pertinent to note here that 64M has some reduction and centralisation of unstressed long vowels outside the (V:xi:) class, e.g. *barriall* *ba'le:r* (almost *ba'ler*) > *ba'le:rəxi'*, with more careful articulation singular *ba'liər*. So also *Ciarraíoch* *k'iarəx* > *k'iarəxi:*. 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).

¹ *tru:nhəxi:* (1).

Table 4.50 Extensions, 64M

tə	əxi:	rəxi:	trəxi:	
gleann	blaosc	nead	scoil	sleán
pian	carraig	téad	giall	meall
cuan	ál	scailp > skalp-	scoilteadh > skol-	(scéal 1-2) (scéalta 3)
	anam	slám	culaith	baile > bal- ¹
	spreab	plump	caladh	
tʰə		lota	claimhe > klavʰtʰrəxi:	
gró			cliabh > klʰe:vʰtʰrəxi:	
croí		təxi:	aill	speal
trə		díle	tonn > tu:n-	lái > la:n-
seol			trʰəxi:	
			tine > tʰi:nʰ-	slinn > flʰi:nʰ-
ti:			tuile > tiulʰ-	sail > salʰ-
rása			stail > stæ:lʰ-	líne > lʰi:nʰ-

Other plurals

Agent *í* in *saothraí* singular = plural.

droim > dra:məxi: (x2 with certainty); *Bairbre* ba:rʰəbrʰə > ba:rʰəbʰəxi:; *margadh* > ma:rəgəxi:; *crú* krohə > krohi:; *rócan* ruəkəm > ruəkəms; *teach* > tʰi:howi: (1), tʰi:χʰu:wí (2).

4.220 66N, Nóra Janaí Clogherty

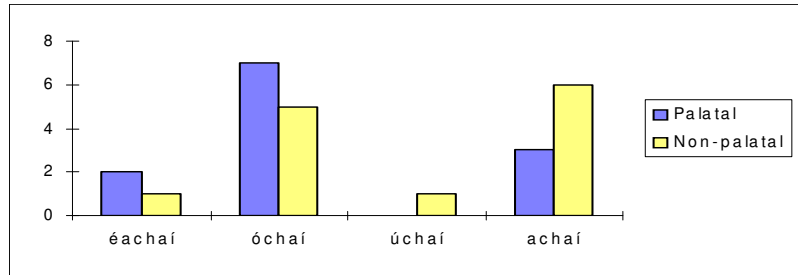
Variants of (V:xi:) were not produced by 66Nq in a short questionnaire on this class, nor has it been heard from her conversation. The nouns *sine*, *gloine*, *tórramh*, *glaise*, *gine* all take <əxi:>. She claimed, in fact, not to use any (V:xi:) variant.

4.221 71D, Dónall Pheait Chóil Ó Uaithnín**(V:xi:)**

There is limited use of (V:xi:) variants in Dónall Pheait Chóil Ó Uaithnín's material (speaker 71D); <əxi:> would seem to be more common in nonpalatal position, (V:xi:) in palatal position, but the amount of examples are too small for any definite conclusions. As illustrated in Figure 4.43, <o:xi:> is 71D's main variant, realised consistently as oxi o:xi. The only example of <u:xi:> occurs in retention of -ú in *gortú* > gortu:xi.

¹ bal'axi: (1).

Figure 4.43 (V:xi), 71D



Other plurals

The ending **tʰə** shows no significant spread in comparison with some other speakers of his age (e.g. *baile* > **baɪtʰə**; *síneadh* > **ʃi:nʰə**; *claimhe* > **klæ:vʰə**).

The extension **r** occurs in *fód* > **fɔ:drəxi**; *glaise* > **glə:frəxi**; **t** in *culaith* > **koltəxi**.

Note *ruacan* singular **rukən** (?) > **rɔ:k-nʰə**; *drioball* > **drʰub-lʰə**; *banais* > **ba:nʰə**; *craobh* > **kri:fə** ? (1) **kri:və** (2–3). Also *tobar* > **tobər**; *-annaí* in *piocadh*, *ginn*.

4.222 73P, Pádraig Thaidhg Ó Maoil Chiaráin

(Vxi:) → <əxə> <əxi>

Pádraig Thaidhg Ó Maoil Chiaráin (speaker **73P**) is the youngest person in my survey with a large proportion of <əxə> and <ənə>. The realisation <ənə> is probably a ‘genuinely’ intradialectal form for him although when queried about it he was unsure. It occurs at least seven times in a query session (**73Pq**). The variant <əxə> has been heard in his conversation with cohorts (where no-one seemed to take notice of his use of <əxə>), e.g. monosyllabic *méar* in the following exchange with his sister:

- ... **vʰi** ... **nə mʰerəxə tʰe**, ... **də vʰerəxəsə** **73P**
... *bhí* ... *na méaracha te* (predicative adjective), ... *do mhéarachasa*
- ... **mʰerəxi** **72C** ... *méarachai*
- ... **mʰerəxi** **73P** ... *méarachai*.

His <əxə> use is quantitatively conditioned by the polysyllabic constraint; 14% (11 out of 79) of monosyllables in **73Pq** have <əxə>, whereas 45% (7 out of 16) of polysyllables have <əxə>. His usage is set out for the sake of comparison with older speakers in 4.112, Figure 4.8. Note his tokens of <iəxə> below.

(Vxi:) is a very frequent variable in **73Pq**. It occurs not only in many polysyllables which have optional *-í* ~ *-achai* intradialectally, but also in environments where it is not heard from older speakers:

- replacing *-ale* in *gamhain* > **gavənʰəxi**; *péist* > **péisteacha**;
- replacing *-í* in *tairne* > **tairneachai**; *máistreás* > **máistreásachai**;
- replacing *-Cʰ* plural in *robar* > **robarachai**, so also *traictar*, *portán*, *ardán*;
- optionally alternating with preferred **i**: in agent nouns in *-éara*: *saidhcléara* > **saiklʰerəxi**; *feilméara* > **fʰelʰəmʰerəxi**.

Speaker **69S**, brother of **73P**, has similarly frequent **əxi:**, e.g. *amhrán*, *traictar*, *saidhcléara*, and *portán* (also plural *portáin*), as well as *tiúraist* (all noted with **əxi:** in **69S**'s conversation). See also *-teachaí* 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:

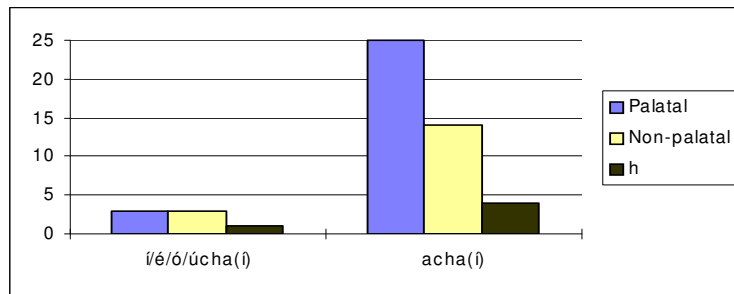
<iəxə> in *cruinne* > **kriN' iəxə**

<e:xi:> in *glai* > **glohe:xi:**

<o:xi:> in *iomaire* > **uməɔxi uməɔxi**; *sine*; *gloine*; *ionga* > **uŋgoxi uŋgoxi**

<u:xi:> in *sine* > **f'in' 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 <əxi:> and <əxə> he produced and with the larger class of most older speakers. Words in final -í take <iəxə> in *geansaí* > **g' ənsiəxə** and <i: xə> in *béilí* > **b' e:l' i: xə**; *tanaí* > **tani: xə**; all three can be taken as examples of -i: + əxə.

4.224 Extensions and other plurals

There is little evidence of the **r** extension, e.g. *spreab* > *spreabachaí*. The **t** extension, on the other hand, is very frequent in the form **t' əxi:**:

in intradialectally common *béilí* > **béilteachaí**; *filleadh* > **f' il't' əxi:**; *líne* > **lín'teachaí**; *tine* > **tint'eachaí**; *tuile* > **tuil'teachaí**;

but also in forms heard from **73Pq** only in *cuireadh* > **kurt' əxi:** **kir' əxi:**; *buille* > **bilt' əxi:**; *ola* > **olt' əxi:**; *rón* > **ru:n't' əxi:** also produced but doubted for *ruainne* which has preferred plural in the diminutive only, i.e. *ruainníní*.

Other plurals:

múr > *múrannaí* (as his sister **72C**); *srón* > **sru:n't' ə**.

4.225 74N, Nóirín Mhaidhcil Uí Cheannabháin

Nóirín Mhaidhcil Mháire an Ghabha Ní Cheannabháin (speaker **74Nq**), sister of Caitríona (speaker **75C**) and cousin of Neain (**76N**) below, shows great change from the traditional dialect. Spread of **t' ə** in *scáile* > **skə:lt' ə**; *stail* > **stə:lt' ə**; *speal* > **sp' ə:l-t' ə** **sp' ə:ltə**. Also spread of **tə** *droim* > **dra:mtə**. (V:xi:) is

retained as <ɔ:xi> in at least one word *iomaire* > **umrɔ:xi**. Note also *rócan* > **rɔ:k-n'ə** and *i* in *slat* > **slat:ti**.

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 (V:xi:) is lost completely in her material, (V:xi:) words generally taking **əxi**; but also **əni**; and **i**:. The ending **t'ə** 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. *clat* > **klaɪəɲə** ? **klaɪt'ə** ? **klaɪhəxi**. As the last example shows, **76N** believed but was unable to tell with certainty whether she genuinely uses **əɲə** and **əxə** 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 *clat* > **klaɪt'ə** **klaɪəni** **36Nq**, both of which are unusual for her generation.

Plurals in **t'ə**

There is wider use of **-t'ə** in comparison with traditional speakers:

traditional in *baile*, *rón*, *srón*, (*taoille*);

-tə retained in *cuan*, *seol*, *siol*, *gleann*, *srian*;

other traditional **t** extension ending replaced in *speal* > **sp'æ:lt'ə**;

not common in traditional *cliabh* > **kl'e:vt'ə**;

not traditional in *gabháil* > **gɔ:lt'ə** **gɔ:l'əni**; *clat*, *scaip* > **skæ:lp't'ə** **skæ:lp'əɲə**;

uncertain production in untraditional *droim* > **dri:mt'ə** ? **dra:mi**; *slinn* > **ʃl'i:nt'ə** ?

4.227 Extensions and other plurals; -i:hə, -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 4.51 Extensions, **75Cq**

rəxi:	əxi:	trəxi:	trəxi:
<i>téad</i>	<i>carraig</i>	<i>giall</i>	<i>aill</i>
<i>leac</i>	<i>tolach</i>	<i>meall</i>	<i>stól</i> ~ <i>stólta</i>
<i>nead</i>	<i>strainc</i> ~ <i>-annaí</i>	<i>féile</i>	<i>garla</i> > galtrəxi:
<i>splanc</i>		<i>blaosc</i>	
nəxi:		<i>traein</i> > tre:n' tr-	
<i>anam</i>		<i>draein</i> > dre:n' tr-	
<i>ainm</i>		<i>léine</i> ʎe:n'ə > ʎe:nt' -	

The ending **i:hə** is used with agent nouns in *-í*: *ceannaí*, *gréasaí*, also in *geansaí* and *tanaí* (rarely used with **i:hə** by traditional speakers), also in the uncertain *creideamh* > **kr'ed'i:hə**. Palatalisation (**-C'**) in *dealg* > **d'el'əɟ'** and in the uncertain form *slat* > **slat'**. Note *leiceann* > **ʎ'ekN'ə**.

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:xi) are not found. Two endings, **t̪ə** and **i:hə**, 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* > **galər̪**; *Nollaig* **noləg̊** > **noləg̊ əχi**. She has frequent **χ** realisation of *ch*.

Plurals in **t̪ə** **tə**

The two endings **t̪ə** and **tə**, the palatal variant in particular, have wide application at variance with traditional speech (? = speaker uncertain of plural form, ?? = speaker very uncertain):

- tə** traditional in *pian*, *néal*, but not very common in traditional dialect in *giall*, *meall*.
- t̪ə** traditional in *gró* > **grɔ:t̪ə**; *tine* > **t̪i:nt̪ə**; *srón*, *rón*;
traditional **tə** replaced by **t̪ə** in *sleán* > **ʃl̪̪ ænt̪ə**; *seol* > **ʃo:lt̪ə**; *aonach* > **i:nt̪ə**;
t̪ə replaces other traditional **t** extension endings in *lái* > **laít̪ə**; *scoil* > **skɔ:lt̪ə**; *slinn* > **ʃl̪̪ i:nt̪ə**; *speal* > **sp̪̪ æl-t̪ə**; *stail* > **stælt̪ə**;
aberrant (from the standpoint of traditional speech) in *aithinn* > **æhənt̪ə**;
cine; *clai*; *cruach*; *faithne* > **fənt̪ə**; *gamhain* (**gaun̪** interrogator) > **gaunt̪ə**; *scailp* > **skæ:lpd̪ə**; *sop* > **sɔpt̪ə** **sept̪ə**;
uncertain production in traditional *tuile* > **tilt̪ə**;
uncertain production in innovative *fód* > **fɔ:d-t̪ə**; *sian* > **ʃi:nt̪ə**; *tórramh* > **tɔ:rt̪ə** (?).

With 76N's *clai* > **klaít̪ə** in query we can compare her brother's conversation:

træsna nə glaipti ... nə klohəxi 79Jg trasna na glaíontaí ... na clothacháí.

4.229 Plurals in **-i:hə**; Other plurals

Plural ending **i:hə** is used with agent nouns in **-í**: *sclábhaí*, *gréasaí*, also in *geansaí* (rarely actually used with **i:hə** by traditional speakers). In new contexts, however, **i:hə** also occurs:

obair > **aibr̪ i:hə**; *Peaidí*, *pósadh*, *giobal* > **g̊ ubli:hə**; *comhairle*; also in uncertainly produced *fréamh* > **pl̪̪ e:i:hə** (??); *gine*, *iomaire* > **umri:hə**, *stoirm*, *aonach* > **i:ni:hə**; *magairle* > **mə'gəuli:hə**.

Other plurals

coismeig > **kɔfm̪̪ egn̪̪ əχi** (?); *easna* > **æsknəχi**; *teach* > **t̪i:hə**; *súileáil* > **si:l̪̪ ɛrəχi**. Note *spig neanta* > **sp̪̪ i̪̪ n̪̪ ænto:gəχi**. Also *ruacan* > **ro:k-n̪̪ ə**.

Plurals of the following words are not known: *cuisle*, *tobar*, *culaith*, *lamma* (the speaker claims that *scálaí* is her corresponding word, clearly a loan translation).

4.230 Other younger people's plurals

Speaker 78U has *béilí* > **béilíthe**, *iasc* > **mórán iaisc** [sic]. Speaker 86Nq *clai* > **claíte** (?), *claiochaí*. In her recorded conversation, speaker 78Rb used *ballaí* for

(what are referred to in traditional dialect as) *clothachai* (plural of *clai*). This seems to be one solution to the ‘problem’ of traditional *clothachai* (a rather opaque form which resembles plural *clochai* ‘stones’, the usual building material for *clothachai* ‘fences’ in Conamara). Speaker **66N** has *clai* > *klaiañi* (in conversation). Cp. *clai* **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* > *bo:həri:*, *eochair* > *oxər'i:*, as well as *snáthaid* > *sna:həd'i:* (**79S** all). The rise in the use of *-t̪ə* *-te* in younger speakers is astonishing (4.215, 4.225 ff.). Highly common endings *-annaí* and *-achai*, which are traditional productive endings with borrowings, in contrast with unproductive *-te*, would be expected to oust 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 *-achai*, e.g. *-achai* in *leabhar* > *l̪ˠauər̪həxi* from speaker **69S** and instances from his brother **73P** (4.222). The only reason for the expansion of *-t̪ə* that I can suggest is that *-t̪ə* is phonetically the closest native analogue to English plural ‘s’. Both *-t̪ə* and ‘s’ are, wholly or partly, alveolar, the alveo-palatal *t̪* 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’ *-t̪ə*, 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 *-t̪ə* plural with ‘pole’, i.e. *pɔ:l-t̪ə* **51P** (which is more traditionally *pɔ:ls*, *pɔ:ləni*). Cp. *sianta*, *plumpta* **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 *əno* / *əni*: and *əxə* / *əxi:*, and many simplex *ə* / *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 (V:*xi*:) is used to denote any of the variants <*iəxi*>, <*u:xi*>, <*o:xi*>, etc.¹

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>abhainn</i>	<i>aun̪</i>	<i>aivn̪ ʔxi:</i> , (<i>aivn̪ ʔ</i> 45B)
<i>achainí</i>	<i>axən̪'i:</i>	<i>axən̪'i:</i> , <i>axən̪ ʔxi:</i> , <i>axən̪ V:xi:</i>
<i>afrac</i> (<i>amharc</i>)	<i>afrək</i>	<i>-əxi:</i> 25Mq
<i>agailt</i>	<i>agəɫ̪</i>	<i>-əxi:</i> M
<i>aice</i>	<i>ak̪ ʔ</i>	<i>-əxi:</i> , <i>-V:xi:</i> , e.g. < <i>o:xi</i> > 21J , 25M
<i>aicearra</i>	<i>ak̪ ʔərə</i>	<i>-əri:</i> 869P2-5 , S , <i>-əxi:</i> S

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 *-í*, 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 *-éara* > *-éarachai*, 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.

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>Aifreann</i>	afr'ən	afr'ən', afr'ənəxi:
<i>aighre</i>	aír'ə	-i: S, -əxi: S, -V:xi:
<i>aill</i>	aíl'	aíltrəxi: M, aíltxəxi:, <i>ailltreachaí</i> 875T1, aíltr'əxi: Mperm
<i>aimsir</i>	æmfər'	-əxi: 18J
<i>ainm</i>	an'əm'	-m'əxi:, -mn'əxi:, -mr'əxi:, -m'oxi: , æ:nmn'əxə 29Cq, æ:nmr'əxi: 36Pq
<i>aingeal</i>	ægg'əl	ægg'əl, ægg'li:, ægg'əl'
<i>aistir</i>	aíft'ər'	-əxi:, e.g. 01C6220
<i>áit</i>	aít'	aít'əxi:, aít'rəxi:, aít'r'əxi: 01PDO, 13JdLC
<i>áithe</i>	a:hə	a:həxi:, a:hV:xi:
<i>aithinn(e)</i>	ahən' ahən'ə	ahən'əxi:, ahə'əxi:, ahə'V:xi:, æn'V:xi:
<i>ál</i>	a:l	a:ltxə S, a:l't'ə S, a:l'ti:, a:l'trəxi:, -əni: 56Bq
<i>am</i>	a:m	aməni:, amənti:, a:mənti:, a:məni:
<i>amhrán</i>	o:ra:n	-n' regularly, -n'əxi: S (type of slip of the tongue), -nəxi: 69S, 86R (in 1993, aged 7)
<i>anam</i>	anəm	anəməxi:, anəmnəxi:, anəmrəxi:
<i>anca(i)rd</i>	āŋkərd (-rd')	æŋkərd'əxi 894Cs
<i>anrait (anaírt)</i>	a/a:nt'əɹ'	a'nt'əɹ'əxi 18J
<i>Antaine</i>	antən'ə ~ a:n-	a:ntən'əxi: 32J
<i>aobh</i>	i:w	i:v' and i:wə 46.471, <i>aobhaí</i>
<i>Aoine</i>	i:n'ə	i:n'əxi:, i:n'V:xi:, i:nt'ə
<i>aonach</i>	i:nəx	i:nəxi:, i:ntə, i:nti:, i:ni: 52J
<i>ard</i>	a:rd	aírd' 66N, aírd'əni: 66N, a:rd'əni: 69S, a:rdəxi: 79Ml, cp. place-name ən a:rd' <i>An Aird (Thoir /</i> <i>Thiar)</i> > nə hɑ:rd'əni: <i>Na hAirdeannaí</i>
<i>artha (ortha)</i>	arhə	arhi:, arhəxi:, arhV:xi:, arV:xi:
<i>athrú</i>	arhu:	arhi:hə, arhu:i:, arhəxi:, arhV:xi:
<i>ascaill</i>	askəl'	askəli:, askələxi: M, askəlrəxi: M, askəl'əxi:, askləxi:
<i>athair</i>	ahər'	ahər'əxi:, arh'əxi:
<i>bacach</i>	bakəx	bakə, baki:, bakəxi:
<i>bacsálaí</i>	baksə:li:	baksə:li:, baksə:ləxi:
<i>baile</i>	bal'ə	bal'i:, bal't'ə, bal't'əxi:, bal't'r'əxi:, bal'trəxi: 64Mq, bal'V:xi:, bal't'V:xi:
<i>báire</i>	bɑ:r'ə	bɑ:r'i: M, bɑ:r'əxi:, bɑ:r'V:xi:
<i>baiste</i>	baf't'ə	baf't'i:, baf't'əxi:, baf't'V:xi:
<i>baladh (boladh)</i>	balhə	balhi: S, balhəxi: Mq
<i>ball</i>	bɑ:l	bɑ:l'ti: ~ bɑ:l'trəxi: ~ bɑ:l'təxi: e:dəx M ... <i>éadach</i>
<i>ballach</i>	baləx	balə, bali:, baləxi:
<i>balscóid</i>	bulsko:d', etc.,	bulsko:d'əxi: M
<i>banais (bainis)</i>	banəf	banfəxi:, banfV:xi:, ba'nfə 71Dq, ba'nf'i: 73Pq
<i>banríon</i>	banriən	<i>banraíonachaí</i> [x1] 11CARN
<i>baog</i>	bi:g	-əni: SM
<i>bara</i>	barə	-i: 52J, -əxi: M, ba'ro:xi: 43Mp
<i>barr</i>	bɑ:r	bɑ:r', barə, barraí Clad241, bárra 894C9, barəni:, bɑ:rəni:, ba'ri:l' 45C, bɑ:ri:l', bɑ:r't'ə 36Pq
<i>barrann</i>	barən	-i: generally (including 76M), also -əxi: 76M
<i>barriall</i>	bariəl baliər	bariələxi:, baliərəxi:, barV:ləxi:, balV:rəxi:, balərəxi:
<i>bastard</i>	bastərd	-i: M

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>báthadh</i>	bá:hə	bá:hi: , bá:t'i: , bá:hV:xi:
<i>bean</i>	b'an	mra: , b'anəxi:
<i>bearna</i>	b'ɑ:rnə	-i: , -əxi: , -V:xi:
<i>béilí</i>	be:l'i:	be:l'əxi: , be:l'iaxi: , be:l'V:xi: , be:l'ixi: , be:l't'əxi: , b'e:l't'r'əxi: , be:l't'V:xi: , b'e:l't'ənti: 12Jq , b'e:l't'ə 25Mnq , b'e:l't'ihə 25Mnq , b'e:l't'rəxi: 30Pq , b'e:l't'rəxi: 30Pq
<i>bibe</i>	b'ib'ə	b'ib'i: , b'ib'əxi: , b'ib'V:xi:
<i>bille</i>	b'il'ə	b'il'əxi: , b'il'i:
<i>binn</i>	b'i:n'	b'anə , b'i:n'əni: 62J , 66Nq , b'i:n't'ə 12Jq , (?) 66Nq
<i>bior</i>	b'or	b'æ:rə 20My , b'orəni: SM
<i>bitse</i>	b'if'ə	bif'əxi: , b'if'V:xi: , cp. b'if'əs < b'if' M
<i>blaosc</i>	bli:sk	bli:skəni: , bli:skəxi: , bli:skrəxi: , bli:sktrəxi:
<i>Bleá Cliach</i>	bl'ɑ: kl'iax	bl'ɑ: kl'iaxi:
<i>bléin</i>	bl'e:n'	bl'e:n't'r'əxi: 20C , bl'e:n't'rəxi: 37Mq
<i>bliain</i>	bl'ian'	bl'ianə , bl'iantə , bl'ianti:
<i>blogam (bolgam)</i>	blogəm	-əxi: , bleg'əm' q , bleg'əm'əxə q , blogəmi:l' ? M
<i>bloc</i>		blik's 05M
<i>boc</i>	bok	bik' SM , bokəni: , boks , bik's M , bik'əni: SM
<i>bocht</i>	boxt	<i>ar bhochta na sráide</i> ABg4.199 , <i>boichte Dé</i> (Acsb) 881Jt , boxt'
<i>bonn</i>	bun	bi:n' , bunəxi: , bunV:xi: , bi'n'i: in run: snə bi'n'i: b'e:rhə Pt , bi'n'i: b'e:rə 11Ct (<i>sna</i>) <i>boinní</i> <i>béar(th)a</i> , nə buniaxi: ka:l't' eg' nə buətəfi: 11Ct na bonnaíochaí caillte ag na buataisí
<i>bonnbhualadh</i>	bunuəl	buniələxi: , buno:ləxi: , bu:nə:l > bu:nə:l' 36Mq
<i>bord</i>	baurd	baurd' , baurdə S
<i>bois</i>	boj	bosə [x1] 892M , bosi:
<i>bóthar</i>	bo:hər	bo:rh'i: , bo:r'hə , bo:həri: 79S ; similarly ' kras,wor'hə/i: <i>crasbhóithreli</i> , but ' kros,wor:əxi: 76Mt <i>crosbhótharachai</i>
<i>bran</i>	bran	-n' [x3] 892MARn
<i>brat</i>	brat	brót' , bret' , bratə , bratəxi: , <i>bratanna LL</i>
<i>breac</i>	br'ak	-əni: 19P 'fish', br'ik'
<i>breith</i>	br'e	br'eni: Mq , br'ehəni: Sq , br'ehə Mq , br'ehi: Sq , br'e Mq
<i>breitheamh</i>	br'ehə	b'rehi: 46 s.v. , br'ehV:xi: , br'ehəxi: , br'ehəwi: , br'et'ə q , br'et'i: q
<i>brionglóid(i)</i>	br'inglō:d'(i)	br'i:glō:d'əxə 36S
<i>briseadh</i>	br'if'ə	br'ift'i: M , br'if'əxi: , br'if'V:xi:
<i>bró</i>	bro:	bro:ni: , bro:əni: 896P , 03C , bro:t'ə (46.680) , bro:t'i: , bru:n't'ə , e.g. bru:n't'ə klox 04Bl <i>bróinte cloch</i> ; bru:n't'i: , bru:n' 893P , bro:n't'ə 893P (46.680) ; bro:əxə wil'ən' 60Mq ?? <i>brócha mhuilinn</i>
<i>brobh</i>	brov	brev' 01J , brev's S , briv's S , briv'əni: Mq , <i>brobhanna 864MABg</i>
<i>broc</i>	brok	brek' M , brukəni: 60C
<i>broigheall</i>	brail	<i>broigheallacha [x2] 852SbABg314</i>
<i>bronnatanas</i>	bruntənəs	nə bru:n'tənəfi: 04B

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>bruach</i>	bruəx	bruəxə M, bruəxi ; bruəxəni : M, bruəxi:l' P, 29C
<i>bruth</i>	bru	-həni ; <i>Brutha móra</i> Clad16
<i>bua</i>	buə	nə buəxə (MP)04B <i>na buacha</i> ,
<i>bua</i> (traditional <i>buaf</i>)		-hənə 73Pq, buənə 73Pq
<i>buaf</i>	buəi	buəni ; bu:əni ; buəntə 36Mq, buənti ; buə'tə 36Mq
<i>buaile</i>	buə'l'ə	<i>buailidheacha</i> ABg277, <i>Deirtear 'buailíochaí' agus 'buailéachaí'</i> sóc3.159.n1
<i>bualtrach</i>	buəltrəx	buəltrəxi ; <i>bualtraígh</i> 866ESemr86, buəltrí : 01P, buəltrí : gen sg and nom pl S
<i>buille</i>	bi'l'ə	bi'l'i ; bi'l'əxi : S, bi'l'V:xi ; bi'l't'əxi : 12Jq
<i>buinne</i>	bi'n'ə	-i ; -əxi ; -V:xi :
<i>bulk</i>	bulk	bilk' Mq, bulkəni : Sq
<i>bun</i>	bun	-əni ; bunəxə 19B (Doire an Locháin)
<i>cabhail</i>	kaul'	-əni ; kaultəxi ; kaultəxi : 36Mq
<i>cabóg</i>	kabə:g	-i : SM, -s S
<i>caile</i>	kal'ə	gə xa'l'i:əhə br'ə : 889Ptn <i>dhe chailíocha breá</i> , cf. <i>gearrchaile</i>
<i>caladh</i>	kalhə	kalhi : Mperm, Clad1, kalhəxi ; kalhV:xi ; kalti : Mperm, kaltəxi ; kaltəxi : Mq, kaltV:xi :
<i>Canraí</i>	kanri :	kanri:s , kanrV:xi :
<i>caoga</i>	ki:gə	ki:gədi ; ki:gədəxi ; ki:g'ədi : 32J, ki:gə:di : 32J
<i>caora</i>	ki:rə	ki:r'ə ; ki:r'i :
<i>capall</i>	kapəl	kapəl' , kapl'ə , kapl'ə , kapl'i ; kap'əl'ə
<i>cara</i> 'causeway' (<i>cora</i>)	karə	karəxi : !P, -i : Mq, -V:xi :
<i>caraid, cara</i>	karəd'	<i>le hanam a gcaradaí gaoil</i> RBÉ2, <i>lena cháirdí dá ...</i> ABg4.103, <i>cáirde gaol</i> Mq, <i>cáirde, caraideachaí</i> (gaoil) 21Ptq, karəxi : 30Pq
<i>caras Críost</i>	karəs kr'i:st	<i>carasacha Críosta</i> 875TABg, <i>carasacha Críost</i> !869PZCP166, <i>carasaíochaí Críost</i> 869P, karəs kr'i:sti:hə Mq
<i>carraig</i>	karəg'	-g'əxi ; -gr'əxi ; -g'rəxi ; -gn'əxi :
<i>cása</i>	kə:sə	-i ; -əni ; -əxi : S
<i>casúr</i>	kasu:r	kasu:r' , kasu:r'i :
<i>cathair</i>	kahər'	kahər'əxi ; kahərəxə
<i>céad</i>	k'e:d	k'e:də Sq, k'e:tə , k'e:drəxi : Sq, x'e:drəxi : 01J (9.109)
<i>ceann</i>	k'an	k'i:n' , k'anə
<i>ceannaghaidh</i>	k'ani :	k'ani : !11C, k'ani:hə S, k'anV:xi :
<i>ceannaí</i>	k'ani :	k'ani ; k'ani:hə , k'anV:xi :
<i>ceannchochall</i>	'k'ə:ŋ,xoxəl	-ill 875T1, singular = plural 'k'ə:ŋ,xoxəl' 11Ct
<i>ceannfóirt</i> [sic]	k'ə:nfərt'	k'ə:nfərt' M, k'ə:nfərt'əxi : S (also Mperm), <i>cínn-phóirt Shasana</i> !894C9 (by local poet <i>Séán 'a Guairim</i>)
<i>ceantar</i>	k'a:ntər	-r' , -əxi ; -r'əxi ; k'antrəxi :
<i>ceárta</i>	k'ərtə	-rti : M, -rtəxi ; -rtV:xi ; -rtənəxi : 36Pq
<i>ceathracha</i>	k'əh(ə)rəxə	k'əxəxi ; k'əxəxi : 32J, k'əhəxi :
<i>céilt</i>	k'e:l'i :	k'e:l'i:əxi ; k'e:l'i:əxi ; k'e:l'əxi ; k'e:l'V:xi ; k'e:l'is , k'e:l'i:əxə , k'e:l'i:zəxə
<i>ceirtlín</i>	k'e:ortl'in'	-i ; -əxi ; -iəxi : 32J
<i>Ciarraíoch</i>	k'iarəx	-riəxi ; -rV:xi ; -rəxi ; -ri:s , -ri:hə Mq, -ri : Mq

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>cine</i>	k'in'ə	k'in'i:, k'in'əxi:, k'in'V:xi:, k'int'e:xi: 20Myq, k'i:nt'e:xi:, k'int'əxi:
<i>cis</i>	k'if	-əni: generally, k'ifəxi: 12Jq, k'ifrəxi: 36Sq
<i>ciseog</i>	k'ifə:g	-i: generally, -əxi: 13Jdt
<i>ciumhais</i>	k'u:f	-əni:, -o:xi: 37Jq
<i>cladhaire</i>	klair'ə	-i:, klair'əxi: P, <i>cladhaireóchaí</i>
<i>clai</i>	klai	klohəxi:, klajhəxi: 36Pq, klaihəxi: 25Mnq, klaiəxi: 60M, klai'ni: 01P, klait'ə 76Nq, klaiŋti 79Jg
<i>claimhe (clafomh)</i>	klav'ə	klav'i:, klav't'ə, klav't'i:, klav'V:xi:, cp. <i>claibhthe</i> 852S (indicating klaf'ə)
<i>claise</i> cf. <i>glaise</i>	klafə	klaskəni: 20A
<i>clann</i>	klā:n	<i>clanna</i> Gael, <i>klanə</i> ~ <i>klā:nə</i> bwi:f'n'ə ZCP150 <i>clanna</i> Baoiscne, nontraditional gə l'ə:r klin'ə 78B <i>go leor cloinne</i> 'many families'
<i>clanna</i>	klanə	klani: S
<i>clár</i>	klā:r	klār', klārəxi:, klārə, klār:hə. Note <i>na</i> <i>clárathí</i> 869P2 (perhaps a unique example in RBÉ of weakening of intervocalic -ch-, or a mixed plural from <i>clárachaí</i> ~ <i>clártha</i>)
<i>cleas</i>	kl'æs	kl'if, kl'æsəni: M, P, kl'ifəni: S (4.80), <i>cleasa</i> <i>lúth</i> , <i>cleis</i>
<i>cleite</i>	kl'et'ə	kl'et'i:, kl'et'əxi:, kl'et'V:xi:, kl'etr'əxi: 60Mq
<i>cleith</i>	kl'e	kl'ohəxi: M, kl'eni: M, kl'ehəni:, kl'eəni:, kl'ex'w'i:, sg kl'e: pl kl'e:hə 73Pq
<i>cliabh</i>	kl'iv	kl'e:v', kl'e:ft'ə 04Fq (unsure), kl'e:vt'ə 20Aq, 25Mnq, kl'e:v't'əxi: 64Mq, kl'ivə, kl'ivəni: 45B, 60Mq
<i>cliamhain</i>	kl'ivən'	kl'ivən'əxi:, kl'avni:hə, kl'avni: SM, kl'æ:vəni: S, <i>cleamhacha</i> 864MABg, <i>chliamhanachaí</i> 866ESc
<i>cloch</i>	klox	kloxə, klox:i:, kloxəni: P
<i>cloigeann</i>	kleg'ən	klegn'ə generally, including 899ESemr, also <i>cloigni</i> ; <i>cárnán gá gcloiginn</i> (run)Semr.90, 155; Sc74.18
<i>clúid</i>	klu:d'	-əni: S, -əxə -əni: -i: 73Pq
<i>cnáimh</i>	kra:v'	kra:və, kra:vi:, kra:vəni:
<i>cnead</i>	kr'æ'd	-əni: 21Ptq, -i:l' (VN), kr'ætə 12Jq
<i>cneidh (cneá)</i>	kr'i	<i>creicheacha</i> 852S (in note in LL129), kr'ihəxi: kr'ehəxi: ... kr'əhəxi: (Smbb)04B, cp. 'mo:r.xr'ihəxi: (Smbb)04B <i>mórchneitheachaí</i> ~ <i>lorga(n)</i> kru lorəgə 36P > kruni: lorəgən 36Pq
<i>cno (cnó)</i>	kru	knə' > knuhəni 46.649; krunhi:, kruhəni: ; also sg krunhə 43Mp > krunhi: 43Mp, sg (doubt- ful for 34Mq) krunə > kruni: / krunə'r 34Mq
<i>co(i)s</i>	kof ~ kos	kosə, kos:i:, kosəni: [?] M 'handles'
<i>coch</i>	kox (~ ko S)	koxəni: P, kohəni: S
<i>cogadh</i>	kogə	kogi:, kogəxi: 01J, kogV:xi:
<i>coileach</i>	kof'əx	kof'ə, kof'i:, kof'əxi:
<i>coirb</i>	kor'əb'	kor'əb'əxi:, kor'əbr'əxi:
<i>coirnéal</i>	kaur'ne:l	l', -ə 892MARN, -i: 892MARN
<i>coisí</i>	kofi:	kofi:hə, kofi:, kofV:xi:, kofəxi:

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>coismeig</i>	kifm'eg'	-əxə, -əxi:, -n'əxi:
<i>coláiste</i>	kula:ʃt'ə	-t'i: most often, -t'əxi: S, 43M
<i>colbha</i>	kolu:	kolu:i:, kolV:xi:, koli: S, koləxi: 45B, kolu:"əxi: 12Jq, koluəxi: 52Jq, koli:hə, kolə:gi 01P
<i>comhairle</i>	ku:rl'ə	ku:rl'i:, ku:rl'əxi:, ku:rl'V:xi:
<i>comharsa</i>	ku:rfə	ku:rfəni 04B, S ku:rfən' S, ku:rfi: 71D
<i>comhla</i>	ku:lhə	-lhi:, -lhəxi:, -lhV:xi:, <i>cúlthannaí</i> 894C, -lhəni: M, -lti: 12Jq, <i>comhlainneachaí</i> 26Pcq
<i>comhluadar</i>	ku:lə:dər	ku:lə:dər' 18J, kü:lə:dərəxi: 07C
<i>comhrá</i>	kə:rə:	kə:ri: Mq, kə:rV:xi:, kə:rə:t'i:, kə:rə:t'ə 25Mnq, kə:rə:t'əxi 60Mq (cp. VN <i>comhráil</i> 64M)
<i>compás</i>	kumpə:s	-əxi: 01J, kumpə:f 01C6226
<i>comrádaí</i>	ku:mra:di:	ku:mra:di:, ku:mra:di:hə, ku:mra:dəxi:
<i>condae</i>	ku:nde:	ku:nde:əxi:, ku:nde:xi:, ku:nde:i:, -e:hi:, <i>na</i> <i>cúndaethe</i> 869P4, -hə 73Pq
<i>confairt</i>	kunfərt'	sg = pl, -əxi: SM
<i>conra (cónra)</i>	kunrə	kunri:, kunrəxi:, kunrV:xi:
<i>cor</i>	kor	<i>cora</i> FFG.6, -əxi: S, -əni: 56B
<i>cora</i>	korə	-i: SM, -əxi: SM, korən'əxi:, kərən' 46 s.v., <i>corranachaí</i> Clad123
<i>corc</i>	kork	kork' 01J and 21Pt (as buoys), korki: 06C [x2] (as buoys), korkəni: M (in bottles)
<i>Corcaíoch</i>	korkiəx	korkəxi:, korkiəxi:, korkV:xi:
<i>coróin</i>	kru:n'	kru:ntəxi:
<i>costas</i>	kostəs	kostəsəxi: S, kostəʃi: Sq
<i>cráig</i>	kræ:g'	kræ:gə, kræ:gi:, kræ:g'əni:
<i>cráin</i>	kræ:n'	kræ:ntəxi:, kræ:ntəxi:
<i>crann</i>	kræ:n	kri:nt'ə, kri:nt'i:, (? kræ:nti: S, cf. 4.77)
<i>craobh</i>	kri:v	-vəxi:, -vrəxi:, -vəni: Mq
<i>créatúr</i>	kr'e:tʊr	-r', vocative -r'əxi: 10B, -r'i' SM
<i>creideamh</i>	kr'ed'ə	-i:, -əxi:, -V:xi:, -əni: Mq
<i>creig</i>	kr'eg'	-əni:, -əxi:, kr'agə
<i>criathrach</i>	kr'iərhəx	kr'iərhə, kr'iərhəi:, kr'iərhəxi:
<i>Críostaí</i>	kr'i:sti:	kr'i:sti:h'ə 04B
<i>cró</i>	krø:	krø:t'ə (<i>snáthaide</i>) Mq, krø:əni: (<i>lái</i> , etc.) S
<i>croí</i>	kri:	-i:ni:, -i:əni:, -i:hə, -i:t'ə, -i:t'i:, -i:həni 73Pq
<i>croimeasc</i>	krim'ask	krim'afk' M, krim'askəxi:, 'kru:(.)m'æskəni: Mq, 'kru:(.)m'æskəxi: Mq, kru:m'æ:fk' Mq
<i>crú</i>	kru:	krif'ə, kru:t'i:, kruhi: 894M, S, 29Nq, kru:t'ě Mp 57, 45B, krihə 46.181, kri:hə 26P, <i>cruíthí</i> [x2] FFG s.v. <i>corcálann</i> 2, kröhi: Mp 57, krohi:, krui:ə 892M2130, <i>crúithe</i> [x1] 892MARN, krihi: 12Jq, krihi:hə 892M, 05Mq, krit'ə 04Fq, 12Jq; sg krohə > krohi: 64Mq
<i>crúib</i>	kru:b'	kru:bə, kru:b'əni:, kru:bəni:
<i>cruinne</i>	krin'ə	krin'əxi:, krin'V:xi:, kri:nt'əxi: 52Jq
<i>cruinniú</i>	krin'u:	krin'i:hə, krin'i: Mq, krin'əxi:, krin'V:xi:
<i>cú</i>	ku:	ku:t'i:, ku:əni: (e.g. 60Mq), ku:ni: S, ku:t'ə Mq, ku:həni: 60Mq, ku:əni / ku:i 869PZCP, ¹ kīn' !869PZCP, kin' Mq; <i>coin</i> ... <i>gadhair</i> 869P3

¹ See discussion above (4.147) dealing with 869P.

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>cuan</i>	ku:n	ku:ntə, ku:nti:, ku:nt'ə, ku:ntəxi: 60Mq
<i>cuid</i>	kid'	kid'əni: S, codannaí 894C2
<i>cuilt</i>	ku:l't	-əxi: M, -r'əxi: M, -əni: M
<i>cuireadh</i>	kir'ə	-i:, -əxi:, kir'V:xi:, kirt'əxi:
<i>cúirt</i>	ku:r't	cúirteachaí 894C2, cúirteannaí
<i>cuisle</i>	kiʃl'ə	-i:, -əxi:, -V:xi:, -əni:
<i>culaith</i>	kolhə	-i:, -təxi:, -trəxi:, -V:xi:, -to:xi:, -ti: (Aag)03C
<i>cúram</i>	ku:rəm	ku:rəm'i:, ku:rəm'əxi: S
<i>dab</i>	dab	-əni: M, -əxi: M
<i>dáir</i>	də:r'	-əni: S
<i>dán</i>	də:n	də:ntə Sq, də:nt'ə Sq, də:nti:, də:nəni:, də:ntəxi: 60Mq
<i>daoradh</i>	dɪ:rə	dɪ:ri:, dɪ:rəxi:, dɪ:rV:xi:
<i>das</i>	dæ:s	-əni: M, -əxi:, -rəxi:
<i>deabhal</i>	d'aul	d'aul', d'aulə
<i>déag</i>	d'e:g	d'e:gə M, d'e:gədi: 70Se
<i>deaide</i>	d'ad'ə	d'ad'əxi:, d'ad'V:xi:
<i>dealg</i>	d'aləg	d'el'əg', d'el'əgn'ə, d'el'əgn'i:, d'aləgəxə, d'el'əgn'əxi:, d'el'əgn'əxi: 60M, d'el'əg'əxi:, d'æləgi: 66N, dealga Clad121
<i>déanamh</i>	d'i:nə	d'i:nəxi:, d'inV:xi:, d'intəxi: Mq, d'intə Mq, d'inti: Mq
<i>deargadaol</i>	'd'ærəgə'di:l	'd'ærəgi:di:l 03V, 'd'ærəgə'di:l' 21Ptq, 27Mdperm, 'd'er'əg'ə'di:l 27Mdq
<i>dearmad</i>	d'arəməd	-i: 892MARN
<i>déas</i>	d'e:s	d'e:səxi: Mperm, 60Mq, d'e:srəxi:, d'e:frəxi: M, d'əs:rəxə d'əs'əxi d'ə:frəxi 894Cs, d'e:rfəxi: 35Eq, cp. <i>déasa</i> (in gen pl) !894C
<i>deireadh</i>	d'er'ə	d'er'əxi: S, d'er'u:xi: S
<i>deis</i>	d'ej	-əni:, -ələxə, -u:ləxti:, -ələxti:
<i>deoir</i>	d'o:r'	d'o:rə, d'o:ri:, d'o:r'hə, d'o:rhi:, d'o:rəxi:, d'o:rV:xi:, d'o:r'V:xi:
<i>dia</i>	d'ia	Diannaí 852S, d'ia:ni: M
<i>dide</i>	d'id'ə	d'id'i:, d'id'əxi:, d'id'V:xi:
<i>dile</i>	d'i:l'ə	d'i:l't'ə, d'i:l't'i:, d'i:l't'əxi:, d'i:l't'V:xi:, d'i:l't'i: fu:vər' 25Mq <i>díltí fómhair</i>, d'i:l't'r'əxi:, d'i:l'əxi: 60Mq
<i>dinnéar</i>	d'i:n'ər	-r' 11CARN, -əxi: S, 60Mq
<i>díthriúch</i>	d'i:r'hux	-i:, d'i:r'hoxi: M
<i>díog (díogainn CAR)</i>	d'i:g	<i>díogannaí</i> (but the plural is to be avoided) 21Ptq
<i>dlaoi</i>	dli:	dli:ni: 25M, dli:hə !, <i>dlaofa</i> !894C
<i>dlíobh (dli)</i>	dli:v	dli:t'ə SM, dli:vəni: S
<i>dochtúir</i>	doxtu:r	-r'i: 06C, M, 21Pt
<i>doigh</i>	do	dəxi:, dohəxi:, dehəxi:, dahəxi:, doho:xi:, dehiəxi:, dehe:xi:, dohəxi:
<i>doirse (interj)</i>	dorʃə	-əxi: M
<i>Domhnach</i>	du:nəx	du:ni:, du:nəxi:, du:ntə
<i>doras</i>	dorəs	dorʃə, dorʃi:, dorʃəxi: Mq, dorəsəni: in: ə dorəs ʃin' xə hærd l'e dorəsəni: el'ə 56N, (nfl) <i>an doras sin chomh hard le dorasannaí</i> <i>eile</i>
<i>dorna</i>	daurnə	daurn'i: M, daurni:, daurnəxi: 56Bq

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>dornán</i> <i>dorú</i>	daurna:n doru: dru:	-n' generally (-əxi: M, but MØperm) drif'ə , dorəntə 36Mq , ḍirif'ə 46.1116, dəruf'ə 896P , dir'iv' 27Mq, dorənti: , dorəf'ə , dru:t'ə , dru:t'i: , dru:əni: 60Mq, <i>druifí</i> dre:ntəxi: , dre:ntəxi: , dre:n'təxi: , dre:n'əxi: 56Bq, dre:n'əni: 06S
<i>draein</i>	dre:n'	draiə:nəni: 889P
<i>draighean</i>	drain	-əni: 11CARN
<i>draíocht</i>	dri:xt	drā:vəsi: S
<i>drámh</i>	drə:v	dr'ə:məni: 01J, S, [x4] ARN, dr'æ:məni: S
<i>dream</i>	dr'ə:m	-əxi:, dr'efəgəxi 78B
<i>dreithiúr</i>	dr'eh/fu:r	dr'ibəl' , dr'ib'ə , dr'ib'ə , dr'i:bl'ə , dr'ibələxi: , dr'ib'ə'əxi: , dr'ub-ł' , dr'ub'ł' 01P, dr'ubəl'ə 56Bq, dr'ibəl'ə 64Mq, dr'ib'ə'əxi: [x2] dr'ib'ł' [x1] dr'ib'ə'ə [x3] Pq, dr'ib'ł'əxi: 20Aq
<i>drioball</i> (<i>eireaball</i>)	dr'ibəl	-əni: M -r' S, -r'i: S dramə , draməni: 01J, dri:m'əni: , draməxi: -əni: [?] 25M, druntə [?] P (similar to <i>tonn</i>) <i>duail</i> 869P2, duələni: 01C6037 -n', -ni:, -nəxi: 10Bq ḍi'v'ail' Mq, 'ḍi'v'ə:ltrəxi: Mperm, cf. <i>meall</i> du:həxi: S, -V:xi: -i: 27Cl, -əxi: 26Pc a'xri: 11Ct, axəni: 892M, ARN (x5), <i>eacha</i> Sc193.22; <i>each luachra:</i> axri: luəxrə , axə luəxrə P, axəni: luəxrə 43M a:xtri: (Smbb)04B <i>eachtraí</i> -n', -nəxi: 07C (ends of lobster-pots) ali: , aləxi: , alV:xi: , altə 52Jq, a'ltrəxi: 60Mq -i: M -əxi: generally, but <i>duibhéin</i> 864MABg, nə 'f'iar.ē:n' 869Pt <i>na fíoréin</i> , also e:nlə éanlaith , e:nləhə éanlaithe anggi: , anggəxi: , angV:xi: , anggrəxi: ari: 869PZCP, S, arhə 869PZCP ærə , æri: , ærəxi: 60Mq æ:ski: Mq askənəxə , askəni: , perhaps æ:skən'əxi: 52Jq asni: , asnəxi: , asnV:xi: , æ:sknəxi 75Nq er'əfəxi: S, or'fəxi: , or'frəxi: et'i: , et'əxi: , et'V:xi: oxrəxi: , oxəgəxi: , oxə'əxi: , oxə'ri: 79S -i: Mq fail'i: M, fail'i M -d' M -i: M, -əxi: SM -N'i:, -N'iaxi: fan'h'i: , fan'h'əxi: , fan'h'V:xi: , fan'əxi: , fan'V:xi:
<i>driog</i>	dr'ug	
<i>drisúr</i>	dr'ifu:r	
<i>droim</i>	dri:m'	
<i>dronn</i>	dru:n	
<i>dual</i>	duəl	
<i>duán</i>	duwə:n / du:ə:n	
<i>duibhmheall</i>	ḍi'v'ə:l	
<i>dúiche</i>	du:hə	
<i>duiséinne</i>	dife:n'ə	
<i>each</i>	ax	
<i>eachtra</i>	axtrə	
<i>éadan</i>	e:dən	
<i>eala</i>	alə	
<i>éalann</i>	e:lən	
<i>éan</i>	e:n	
<i>eanga</i>	angə	
<i>earra</i>	arə	
<i>earrach</i>	arəx	
<i>easca</i>	askə	
<i>eascann</i>	askən	
<i>easna</i>	asnə	
<i>eirís</i>	er'əf	
<i>éite</i>	et'ə	
<i>eochair</i>	oxər'	
<i>eorna</i>	o:rnə	
<i>faighlí (féilí)</i>	fail'i:	
<i>fáiméad</i>	fə:m'e:d	
<i>fainic</i>	fan'ək'	
<i>fáinne</i>	fə:n'ə	
<i>faithne</i>	fan'h'ə	

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>fál</i>	fɑ:l	-l, -tə, -ti: 29Cq, -trəxi:, -əni: Mq, -tə f'ig'i:n'i: S ~ta figíní
<i>faoille</i>	fi:l'ə	-i: mɔ:rə M ~ móra
<i>fásach</i>	fɑ:səx	<i>fástaí</i> 869PDT21
<i>fasair</i>	fasər'	-i: M
<i>fascadh (foscadh)</i>	faskə	faski:, faskəxi:, faskV:xi:
<i>fathach</i>	fahəx	fahə, fahi:, fahəxi:
<i>feamainn</i>	f'aməN'	-əxi: S
<i>fear</i>	f'ar	f'ir', f'arə, vocative a fheara(íbh)
<i>féar</i>	f'e:r	f'e:rəxi: S
<i>féarach</i>	f'e:rəx	f'e:ri: 01P, f'e:rəxi: S
<i>fearsad</i>	f'ærjəd	-əxi: 894Ct, S, <i>fearsaidí</i> 875PABg
<i>féile</i>	f'e:l'ə	f'e:l'ə, f'e:l't'i:, f'e:l't'r'əxi:
<i>feileas</i>	f'e:l'əs	-əxi: M
<i>feilm</i>	f'e:l'əm'	f'e:l'əm'əxi:, f'e:l'əm'r'əxi:, <i>feilmneachaí</i> 869PRBÉ
<i>feire</i>	f'er'ə	f'er'əxi:, f'er'V:xi:
<i>feire glinnt-</i>	f'er'ə gl'i:nt'-	-əxi: 11C, -i: M
<i>feis</i>	f'ej	-əni: S
<i>féithe</i>	f'e:hə	f'e:həxi: S, f'e:əxi: 05M, SM, f'e:hV:xi:; f'e: > f'e:t'ə 04Fq
<i>feoil</i>	f'o:l'	f'o:ləni: SM, 52J
<i>fia</i>	f'ia	f'iani: 869PZCP, SM; <i>fiannaí</i> 869P2
<i>fiach dubh</i>	f'iax duw	f'ia yuvə M, f'iaxəni: duvə M
<i>fiacha (plural)</i>	f'iaxə	f'iaxə generally, i bhfiachaí i ... na fiachaí ar fad ABg4.197, ... na fiachaí íoctha ABg4.198
<i>Fiann</i>	f'ian	-tə, -ti:, -ə, -əv', -uw, -u:
<i>fiche</i>	f'ix' (ə)	f'ix'əd, f'ix'ədii:, f'ix'əd'ə St3b, f'ix'əd'i: S, f'ix'e:di: 32J, f'ix'e:d'əxi: 32J
<i>figiúr</i>	f'ig'ur	-əxi: M
<i>file</i>	f'il'ə, f'il'i:	f'il'ə, f'il'i:, f'il'i:hə, f'il'əxi:, f'il'e:xi:
<i>fillleadh</i>	f'il'ə	-əxi: b'ogə M 'folds', <i>filltí</i> Clad1209, f'il't'V:xi:, f'il't'əxi:
<i>fíon</i>	f'i:n	-əni: M
<i>focal</i>	fokəl	-l, foklə, e.g. 892MARN (x3), fokli:, <i>focala</i> 892MARN (x2)
<i>fód</i>	fɔ:d	fɔ:d', fɔ:d'ə, fɔ:d'əxi:, fɔ:d'iaxi:, fɔ:dr'əxi:, fɔ:drəxi:, fɔ:dəxi:
<i>foireann</i>	for'an	forN'ə 18J, for'anəxi:
<i>foirgint</i>	fer'əg'ənt'	<i>foirgeanta</i> 869P3, <i>foirgintí</i>
<i>foirim < foireann</i>	for'am'	-əxi: Mq
<i>foisear</i>	fɔ:jər	-s 32J
<i>folt</i>	fult	fult' M
<i>fómhar</i>	fu:vər	fu:vər', fu:vərəxi:, fu:vrəxi:
<i>forma</i>	forəmə	-məxə Pq, -məxi: P
<i>formna</i>	forəmnə	-mni: 18J8815
<i>freagra</i>	fr'æ:grə	-ri: M, -rəxi: M
<i>fréamh</i>	fr'e:v	fr'e:vəxi:, fr'e:vrəxi: S, fr'e:mr'əxi: S
<i>froigh (fraigh)</i>	fro	frohəxi:
<i>fuilleach</i>	fi:l'əx	-xi: M
<i>fuinneamh</i>	fiN'ə	fiN'i:, fiN'əxi:, fiN'V:xi:
<i>fuisce</i>	fij'k'ə	fij'k'i:, fij'k'əxi:, fij'k'V:xi:

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>gabha</i>	gau	gaivN'ə generally, including 36Pq ; g'aivN'ə [x2] 51Pq , gauni ; 36Pq , gaivN'ə 36Sq , <i>gaibhneacha</i> ABg, <i>gabha</i> [x1] ARN
<i>gabháil</i>	go:l'	-əni ; go:ltrəxi : SM <i>góiltreachaí</i> [x1] 892MARN , -əxi : 56Bq , <i>góilte</i> , <i>góileannaí</i>
<i>gabhal</i> <i>gabháltas</i> <i>gad</i>	gaul go:ltəs gad	gaul't'ə Sq -əxi : S gadəxi : , gadrəxi : SM, gadriəxi , ga:drəxi : , ga:d' 26Pq , 52Jq , ga:dəni : 27Mq , 37Mq
<i>gadaí</i> <i>Gaeilge</i> <i>gág</i> <i>gail</i>	gadi : ge:lg'ə gəg gal'	gadi : , gadi:hə , gadəxi : , gadV:xi : ge:lg'əxi : , ge:lg'V:xi : -i : M, -əxi : 20My , 54C ga'ltrəxi P, ga'ltəxə , gæl'trəxi , gæl'əni , ga'ltərəxi Mq
<i>gais(e)</i> <i>gaiscí</i> <i>galra (galar)</i> <i>galún</i>	gaʃ(ə) gaʃk'i : galrə galu:n	-əxi : M, P, -əni : S, -i : (run)P -i:hə 32J galri : , galrəxi : , galrV:xi : ... <i>nó cúig go ghalúnaí meala</i> RBÉ3; <i>go leathghalúnaí pórtair</i> RBÉ5; <i>trí galúin</i> ; <i>dhá ghalúna déag</i>
<i>gamhain</i> <i>gaoithe, gaoth</i>	gavəN' gi:(hə)	gavnə , gavni : , gavəN'əxi : 73Pq gi:həni : , gi:əni : , -hənti 73Pq , -həxi 73Pq , -hV:xi :
<i>gaol</i> <i>garraí</i>	gi:l gari :	-tə , -ti : 01J , -trəxi : 30Pq garəni : P [x1], garənti : P, garəntə , garənti : 21C [x1]
<i>gealach</i> <i>geall</i> <i>gealladh</i> <i>gealltanais</i> <i>geansaí</i>	g'aləx g'al g'alə g'altənəs g'ansi :	g'æləxi : S -tə , -ti : g'æl'trəxi : 60Mq -f 29Cq g'ansi:əxi : , g'ansəxi : , g'ansV:xi : , g'ansi:s , g'ansi:hə
<i>gearradh</i>	g'arə	g'ari : , g'arəxi : , g'arV:xi : , g'arəxi : 51Pq , g'arəni : 56Bq
<i>gearrchaile</i>	g'arxal'ə	g'arxal'i : , g'arxal'u : , g'arxal'əxi : , g'arxal'V:xi : , 'g'arxal't'əxi : 12Jq , 'g'arxal'əvi : 26Pq , cf. <i>caile</i>
<i>geimhreadh</i> <i>géimstar</i> <i>geis</i> <i>giall</i> <i>giarsa</i> <i>gimléad</i> <i>gine</i> <i>ginn</i>	g'i:vr'ə g'e:m'stər <i>geis</i> 869P2 g'iəl g'iərfə g'im'əl'e:d g'in'ə g'i:N'	-i : , -əxi : , -V:xi : -r' M, -r'i' M g'asi : , g'asə , g'asəv' g'e:l' , -tə , -ti : , -təxi : , -trəxi : , -əxi : , -əni : g'iərfi : S, 52J g'im'əl'e:d' SM g'in'i : , g'in'əxi : , g'in'V:xi : g'antəxi : , g'antəxi : , g'antrəxi : , g'antərəxi : S, g'i:N'əni : , g'i:Ntr'əxi : , g'æ:ntə 36Pq
<i>giobal</i>	g'ibəl	-l' S, -l'əxi : , g'ibl'əxi : , g'ib'əl'əxi : , -l'əxi : , g'ibl'ə
<i>giorria</i> <i>Giúdaí</i> <i>Ghiúdás</i>	g'uriə ~ -ri : g'u:di : ju:dəs	g'urəxi : , g'uriəxi : , g'urV:xi : ~ S, -i:hə -əxi : 56B

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>glai</i> (<i>glae</i>)	glai	glaiəxi: SM, gle:əxi: , glaihəxi: SM, glair'əxi: S, glaihr'əxi: S (MØperm), glohəxi: , gloho:xi: , gloəxi: 43M
<i>glaise</i>	glafə	glafəxi: , glaf'rəxi: , glafV:xi: , glaf'rV:xi: , glafN'V:xi: , glasrV:xi: , glaskəni: , glas:nəxi: 27Mq, glas:skəxər 34Mq (glaskəxi: 21Ptq)
<i>glas</i>	glas	glɔf S, glasəni: M
<i>gleann</i>	gl'a:n	gl'a:ntə , gl'a:nti: , gl'a:ntəxi: , gl'a:nt'rəxi:
<i>glib</i>	gl'ib'	-əni: Mq
<i>glibs</i>	gl'ibf	-əni Mq
<i>glinne</i>	gl'in'ə	gl'in'ū:xi: 07C, -əxi: -o:xi: Mq
<i>gliomach</i>	gl'uməx	gl'umə , gl'umi: , gl'uməxi:
<i>gloine</i>	glin'ə	glin'i: , glin'əxi: , glin'V:xi: , glan'əxi: , glan'V:xi:
<i>glúin</i>	glu:n'	glu:n'ə , glu:n'i: (e.g. ta f'e:r gə glu:n'i: an 43M tá féar go glúiní ann), glu:nt'ə , glu:nt'i: , glu:n'əxi: 20Aq
<i>gníomh</i>	gr'i:v	gr'i:vəni: , -annaf 875T1, gr'i:vərhə , gr'i:vərhí: , gr'i:vərə , gr'i:vərə !05M; 'clamp' gr'ifə 12Jq
<i>gob</i>	gob	-b' 60M
<i>gogai</i>	gugi:	-s Mq
<i>gogaide</i>	gugəd'ə	-i: 35E9134
<i>goile</i>	gef'ə	-əxi: 20Cq
<i>gort</i>	gort	-r' Sq
<i>gortú</i>	gortu:	gorti:hə , gortəxi: , gortV:xi:
<i>gorún</i>	goru:n	goru:n: Mp 133
<i>gotha</i>	gohə	gohi: , got'i: , gohəxi: , gohaxi: , (got'əxi: q)
<i>gráinne</i>	grə:N'ə	grə:N'i: , grə:N'əxi: , grə:N'V:xi:
<i>gréasaí</i>	gr'e:si:	gr'e:si: , gr'e:si:hə , gr'e:sV:xi: , gr'e:si:s
<i>greideall</i>	gr'ed'al	-L' 892M1174, -L'i: 892M1178
<i>gró</i>	gro:	gro:əni: , gro:t'ə , gro:t'i: , e.g. nə gro:t'i: 04B
<i>grua</i>	gruə	-əni: , -ntə , -nti: , -f'ə , -hənə 73Pq
<i>guaire</i>	guər'ə	-i: 04Br, -əxi: S
<i>gualainn</i>	guələn'	guəl'i: , guəl'ə 46.385, guəlN'ə 18Bm, guəl-N'i: , guəlN'i: , guələn'əxi: , guəl'ən'i: 18B, guəlN'i: Mq, guəlL'əxi: 56Bq, guəl'əxi: 56Bq
<i>guth</i>	gu	guhi: 10B 'song airs'
<i>habal</i>	ha:bəl	-s S, -əxi: S
<i>haighe deá</i>	'hai'də:	'hai'də:əni: Sq, 'hai'də:s Sq
<i>hairt</i>	hart'	hart' M, hart'əni: S, hart'əsi: S
<i>heictar</i>	hek'dər	-rs , -r' Mq
<i>hibile haibile</i>	hib'al'ə hæ'b'al'ə	-ə -əs (?) Mq
<i>hubairle habairle</i>	hubərl'ə ha:bərl'ə	-i: -i:s, -ə -əs, -əxi: -əxi: Mq
<i>iarann</i>	iərən	iərən' 899D6126
<i>iarraidh</i>	iərə	iərənti: , loc na trí hiarraidhthe air ABg17.83
<i>iasc</i>	iəsk	e:fk' , ag éisce (run) 864M _{LL}
<i>indealóp</i>	ind'əlo:p	ind'əlo:p's Mq
<i>Indiachái</i> (plural)		in'əxi: , in'V:xi:
<i>inneall</i>	in'al	-ill 11C _{ARN} , -llachái 20At

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>íochtár</i>	íochtár	-r', -əxi: M
<i>ioma(i)r</i>	umər(')	singular umər' 01J > um-r'əxi: 01J
<i>iomaire</i>	umər'ə	umər'i:, umər'əxi:, umrəxi:, umərəxi:, umrV:xi:, umərV:xi:
<i>ionga</i>	uŋgə	ign'ə, ign'i:, ign'əxi:, ign'V:xi:, ingr'əxi: M, ingr'əxi: M, ingər'əxi: M, ingr'V:xi:, iŋ'ɪn'ě 46.453, iŋgn'ə, iŋgn'i:, uŋgi:, uŋgəxi: 66N, 'ingrəxi: Mp 136, uŋgV:xi:, ingən'i: S, iongna !894C6
<i>ioscaid</i>	iskəd'	uskədəxi: M, iskəd'əxi: SM, iskədi: Mperm, iskəd'i: Mperm, ioscaidí 18JARN
<i>ithir</i>	ehər'	er'həxi: S
<i>lá</i>	lɑ:	le:həntə 894Cs, le:hənti:, le:hənti: 53J, lohənti: 889P, le:həni: 52P, le:əni: 14M, 52P, le:nə 04Br (lɑ: gənə le:nə n'jin' 08B lá dhe na laenna ansin), (rarely) lɑ:nti: 881N, M, 54C, le:həni: ... lɑ:əni: (with c. 10 minutes between forms) 35N
<i>ladhar</i>	lair	lair' S, lairəxi: S, laidhreachaí 869P3
<i>lái</i>	lɑ:i:	lɑ:ntə S, lɑ:nti: S, lɑ:əni: S, lánnaí [x1] 892MARN, (lɑ:ənə S), lɑ:t'ə 56Bq, lɑ:iəxi 56Bq, lɑ:ntərəxi: 64Mq
<i>láinnéar</i>	lɑ:n'e:r	-r' 01C6072
<i>láir</i>	lɑ:r'	-əni: S, lárachaí, lɑ:rərəxi: (?) S, lɑ:r' M singular = plural
<i>laiste</i>	lɑ:f't'ə	lɑ:f't'əxi: Pq
<i>langa</i>	lɑŋgə	-i:, -əxi:; perhaps lɑŋgə pl in 01C6539 (6547)
<i>lanna, lannach</i>	lanə, lanəx	lani: SM << lanəxi: SM, lanV:xi:, lanhəxi: 01C6493
<i>lao</i>	li:	li:əni: 14M, li:, li:ntə, li:nti:
<i>lása</i>	lɑ:sə	-i: 05M
<i>lasair</i>	lasər'	lasər'əxi:, lɑ:srəxi:, lɑ:fri:, lɑ:fri:xi 17M
<i>lascadh</i>	laskə	laski:, laskəxi:, laskV:xi:, laskəni: Mq
<i>lata</i>	latə	lati:, latV:xi:, latrəxi: q
<i>leaba</i>	l'abə	l'əpəxi:, l'əpərəxi:
<i>leabhar</i>	l'aur	l'aur', l'aurhə S, l'aurhi: 18B, l'aurhəxi 69S
<i>leac</i>	l'ak	l'akəxi:, l'akrəxi:, l'ekr'əxi: M
<i>leachta</i>	l'axtə	-i: 889P
<i>leadaí</i>	l'adi:	l'adi:hə 14M, M, l'adəxi:, l'adV:xi:, l'adrəxi:, l'adi:s
<i>leagan</i>	l'agən	l'ægəni' P, -əxi:, -i: ka:nt'ə S ~-aí cainte
<i>leanúint</i>	l'anu:nt'	-əxi: [x4] 18JARN
<i>léas</i>	l'e:s	l'e:səxi:, l'e:srəxi: 20My, l'e:frəxi: M, l'e:rsəxi: Mq, l'e:rfəxi: M, l'e:səni: 21Pt, l'e:si: 27Mq
<i>leasfhreagra</i>	l'af,rə:grə	-i: M, -əxi: M
<i>leasmháthair</i>	l'as,wə:hər'	-əxi: St
<i>leath</i>	l'a	l'əhəni: M, l'ehəni: M, cp. fi: l'ehəxi: n daun' S faoi leitheachaí an domhain, l'e
<i>leathcheann</i>	l'a,x'ə:n	l'ə:x'i:n' S
<i>leatha</i>	l'ahə	l'əho:xi: 30Pq
<i>leathar</i>	l'ahər	-r' SM

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>leibhit</i>	l'ev'əʃ	-əxi, -s Mq
<i>leiceann</i>	l'ek'an	l'ekn'ə, l'ekn'i, l'ekn'ə, l'ekn'əxə, l'ek'an'ə, <i>leicint</i>
<i>leide</i>	l'ed'ə	l'ed'i, l'ed'əxi, l'ed'V:xi
<i>leidhce</i>	l'aik'ə	-i, -o:xi: 21Ptq, l'aik'rəxi: 60Mq
<i>léig</i>	l'e:g'	l'e:g'ə SM, l'e:k'i: 11Ct, l'e:gr'əxi: S, <i>liaga</i> S85
<i>leigheas</i>	l'ais	-əni:, -ta:ləxi (Scbér)04B, -əxi: [x1] 21Pg2527, l'aiʃ 29C
<i>léim</i>	l'e:m'	l'e:m'rəxi: M87, l'e:m'trəxi: 21Pt, -əni: M, 27Mdq, l'e:m't'əxi: 27Mdq
<i>léine</i>	l'e:m'ə	l'e:nt'ə, l'e:nt'əxi:, l'e:nt'r'əxi:
<i>leipe</i>	l'ep'ə	-i:, -əxi M
<i>leithscéal</i>	l'ef'k'e:l	-əxi: M
<i>leithe</i>	l'ehə	l'ehəxi:, l'ehV:xi:, l'ehui:, l'ehu:wit, l'ehəvi:, l'ehəvəxi:, l'ehə:gi: 52Jq
<i>leithead</i>	l'ehəd	-d' 11CARN, -di: 01CARN
<i>leitir</i>	l'et'ər'	l'et'ər'əxi: 11Ct, l'etr'əxi: 11Ct, l'et'əxi: 04Fq
<i>leoraí</i>	l'ori:	l'oris, l'orihə, l'orV:xi: Mq, l'ori: Mq
<i>lí</i>	*l'i:	l'iaxi: M, l'iahəxi: M, l'iahə:xi: M, l'ehəxi: S, l'e:həxi: S, l'eəxi: M
<i>liamán</i>	l'i:ma:n	-n' 892MARN
<i>liathróid</i>	l'iarhə:d'	-əxi: SM, ~eacha Clad151
<i>líne</i>	l'i:n'ə	l'i:nt'ə, l'i:nt'it, l'i:ntəxi:, l'i:nt'r'əxi: SM, l'i:nt'əxi: M, l'i:nt'V:xi:, l'i:nt'V:xi:
<i>líon</i>	l'i:n	l'i:ntə 01J
<i>líonán</i>	l'i:na:n	-n' S
<i>líosa</i>	l'i:sə	-i: S
<i>locht</i>	loxt	loxt', loxtəni:, loxti:l' S, as <i>lucht</i> below; loxti: 21Jq and son Seán
<i>lód</i>	lə:d	-əni, -d' Mq
<i>loideán</i>	lid'a:n	lid'a:n', lid'a:ni:
<i>loilíoch</i>	lol'iax	-i: M, lor'həxi 36P
<i>loine</i>	lin'hə	-əxi: S, lint'ə Sq, lint'əxi: Sq, -V:xi:, lin'V:xi:
<i>lo(i)ng</i>	lugg' ligg'	lugg'əfəxə, lugg'əni:, ligg'əf
<i>lorg</i>	lorəg	ler'əg', lorəgəxi: b'og a'n P <i>lorgachaí beaga</i> <i>ann</i>
<i>lorga</i>	lorəgə	ler'əgn'ə, ler'əgn'i:, lorəgəxi q, lorəgnəxi q
<i>lot</i>	lot	lot' 11Ct
<i>lota</i>	lotə	loti:, lotəxi:, lotV:xi:
<i>luachair</i>	luəxər'	luəxrə S
<i>luái</i>	luəi	luəni: M, luənti: M, luənt'i: M, luəiaxi: ; in <i>clo(i)ch luái > clocha luannaí / luannaí</i>
<i>Luan</i>	lu:n	-əni: S, -tə, lu:n'əxi: 15W
<i>lúb</i>	lu:b	-rəxi: S, -əni: M
<i>lucht</i>	loxt	loxt', loxtəni:, loxti:, loxti:l' S
<i>lugach</i>	lugəx	lugə, lugi:, lugəxi:, lugi:hə
<i>luibh</i>	liv'	-əni: St
<i>mada</i>	madə	ai nə gut s nə mādri: er' Mq <i>oidhe na gcát is</i> <i>na madraí air; mā:di 46.202, madaí (run)04B;</i> <i>madə ra:lə Mq madra alla, madəri: ə:lə Mq</i> <i>madraí alla</i>

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>maidhm</i>	mi:m'	-əni: generally, -n'əxi: 35E, 35Eq
<i>Máire</i>	ma:r'ə	ma:r'əxi: , ma:r'V:xi:
<i>mairg</i>	mar'əg'	-i: Mq, -əxi: 25Mq
<i>máistir</i>	ma:ft'ər'	ma:ft'ər'i: , ma:ft'r'i: , ma:ft'ər'əxi: 881N, 10B
<i>maistireadh</i>	ma:ft'ər'ə	<i>maistirí</i> 869P5
<i>máistreás</i>	mā:ft'r'as	-i: M, -əxi: M, 73Pq
<i>mala</i>	malə ~ mal'ə	ma:l'i: 46.424, M, ma:l'hi: S, ma:l'iaxi:
<i>mám</i>	ma:m	-əni: M (note ma:mi:l' as VN only, according to M), -əxi: 60Mq
<i>mámh</i>	ma:w	-əsi: S, -əni:
<i>manach</i>	manəx	ma'ni: 04B
<i>mangach</i>	mangəx	mangə , manggi: , mangəxi:
<i>maor</i>	mi:r	-hə (Scbér)04B (x4); -hə SM, P, also fi: wi:rhi: <i>ən daun' P faoi mhaorthaí an domhain</i>
<i>margadh</i>	marəgə	marəgi: , marəgəxi: , marəgV:xi:
<i>mart</i>	mart	-t' SM, -əni: 12Sperm
<i>marthainn</i>	marhən'	<i>na marthainí seo</i> !RBÉ2
<i>mása</i>	ma:sə	-i: Mq
<i>masla</i>	maslə	-i: S, -V:xi:
<i>máthair</i>	ma:hər'	ma:hər'əxi: , ma:rh'əxi:
<i>meacan</i>	m'æ:kən(')	-knə, <i>meacaineacha</i> 20Cq, (-k-n'ə 20Myq)
<i>meall</i>	m'æl	m'ail' , m'alə SM, ənə v'æ:lə 25M <i>ina mhealla</i> , <i>ina mealla bána</i> FFG, m'aləni: S, m'aləni: , m'alə S, m'aləxi: , m'altrəxi: M, cf. <i>duibhmheall</i>
<i>meandar</i>	m'an'dər	-s Mq
<i>méir</i>	m'e:r'	-rəxi: generally, but <i>méara</i> DT92
<i>meirfean</i>	m'er'əf'ən	-əxi: M
<i>meitheal</i>	m'ehəl	-l' M, -əxi: St
<i>mí</i>	m'i:	m'i:əni: M, m'i:sə 57P, m'i:t'i: 52C, m'ienti: 66N
<i>mianach</i>	m'i:nəx	m'i:nu:xi: 21J
<i>mias</i>	m'ias	-ə, -i:, -əni:
<i>míle</i>	m'i:l'ə	-l't'ə, -l't'i:
<i>míniú</i>	m'i:n'u:	m'i:n'i:hə , m'i:n'əxi: , m'i:n'u:xi: , m'i:n'V:xi:
<i>míol</i>	m'íal 'creature' 'louse' 'whale'	m'i:l't'ə (run)05Md (in <i>róinte</i> , <i>mílte</i> , <i>beithí</i> <i>bheaga bhéildearg na farraige</i> ...) m'íalə <i>míola</i> m'íaltə mo:rə <i>míolta móra</i>
<i>míon, mionach</i>	m'un, m'unəx	m'unəxi: , m'unhəxi: , m'une:xi: , m'unəxi:
<i>mionna</i>	m'unə	-i: M, m'ini: m'inihə !869PZCP, <i>mionna móra</i> 889P (cp. <i>mionn</i>)
<i>mionsprúán</i>	'm'in'spru:ən	-n', <i>mionsprúdhánaigh</i> 876JDT98 ⇒ -əni:
<i>míorúilté</i>	m'ioru:l't'ə	-əxi:, -i:
<i>móin</i>	mu:n'	mu:n't'ə !869PZCP
<i>mordar</i>	mordər	<i>míle mordar</i> , <i>míle mordars</i> , <i>míle mordair</i>
<i>muc</i>	muk	mukə , muki: 01J
<i>muileann</i>	mil'ən	mil'ən' SM, mil't'ə S, -əxi: S, mil.N'ə 35Eq
<i>muileata</i>	mil'ətə	-i: S
<i>muthaille</i>	muhə(r)l'ə	-i:, -əxi:, e.g. mül'in'i: 46.287, muhərl'i: SM, muhərl'i: 31M, muhərl'əxi: SM, muhərl'əxi: 34Mq, muhərl'əxi: 36Nq

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>múr</i>	<i>mu:r</i>	<i>mu:ri:l</i> , <i>mu:ri:l'əxi</i> , <i>mu:ri:ləxi</i> , <i>mu:rhə</i> , <i>mu:rhil</i> , <i>mu:rələxi</i> 64Mq, <i>mu:rəni</i> 72C, <i>mu:rəxi</i> : [x2] 52M
<i>námhaid</i>	<i>na:wəd'</i>	<i>na:wəd'i</i> , <i>na:wəd'əxi</i> : M, <i>na:v-d'i</i> , <i>na:vd'ə</i>
<i>naocha</i>	<i>ni:xə</i>	<i>ni:xədi</i> , <i>ni:d'e:gi</i> : 32J
<i>naomh</i>	<i>ni:v</i>	-v' 21PgARN, <i>naomhacha</i> 875PABg
<i>nead</i>	<i>N'ad</i>	<i>N'adəxi</i> , <i>N'adrəxi</i> : P, <i>N'adrəxi</i> : S
<i>neaim neaim</i>	<i>N'am' N'am'</i>	<i>N'am' N'am's</i> Mq
<i>néal</i>	<i>N'e:l</i>	-əni: M, -tə, -ti: , note also -tə / -trə / -trəxi <i>tə'ba:k</i> Mq ... <i>tobac</i> , -L'ə 52Jq
<i>ní</i>	<i>N'i:</i>	<i>N'ihə</i> 04Br, <i>N'ihə</i>
<i>nóiméad</i>	<i>nu:m'e:d</i>	<i>nu:m'e:di</i> , <i>nu:m'e:dəxi</i> : , also <i>mu:m'e:di</i> : 11C
<i>Nóra</i>	<i>nu:rə</i>	<i>nu:rəxi</i> , <i>nu:rV:xi</i> :
<i>obair</i>	<i>obər'</i>	<i>aibr'əxi</i> , <i>aibr'iaxi</i> : , <i>aibr'i</i> : Mq
<i>ochtó</i>	<i>oxto:</i>	<i>oxto:di</i> , <i>ox't'ə:di</i> : 32J
<i>oíche</i>	<i>i:hə</i>	<i>i:həni</i> : , <i>i:hənti</i> : , <i>i:hV:xi</i> :
<i>oighre</i>	<i>air'ə</i>	<i>air'i</i> : , <i>air'əxi</i> : , <i>air'V:xi</i> :
<i>oistire</i>	<i>ef't'ər'ə</i>	<i>ef't'ər'i</i> : >> <i>ef't'r'i</i> :
<i>ola</i>	<i>olə</i>	<i>oli</i> : , <i>oləxi</i> : , <i>olV:xi</i> :
<i>ollphéist</i>	<i>ol-f'e:j't'</i>	<i>olphéisteacha</i> 866ESc107.11, cp. <i>péist</i>
<i>orsainn</i>	<i>orjəN'</i>	<i>orjəN'əxi</i> : , <i>orjN'əxi</i> : , <i>orjN'iaxi</i> : 20Aq, cf. <i>ursainn</i>
<i>paca</i>	<i>pakə</i>	<i>pə:ki</i> : S, cp. <i>pacaisi</i>
<i>paidir</i>	<i>pad'ər'</i>	<i>pə:d'ər'əxi</i> : S, P, <i>pə:d'ər'əxi</i> : , <i>pə:dr'əxi</i> : S, P, <i>pə:dr'əxi</i> : M, 23B
<i>páirtí</i>	<i>pə:rt'i:</i>	<i>pə:rt'i</i> : S, <i>pə:rt'i:hə</i> 14M, <i>pə:rt'əxi</i> : q
<i>peaca</i>	<i>p'ækə</i>	<i>p'ækə</i> 11C, !(Aff)05M, -i: S, -əxi: P
<i>peann</i>	<i>p'an</i>	<i>p'an</i> : M, -əni: SM, 47P, <i>p'in</i> (?) 20Myq; <i>p'in</i> : (?) 20Cq
<i>péarsalaí</i>		<i>p'e:rsəli</i> : 14M, <i>p'e:rj'ələxi</i> 46.38, <i>p'e:rsləxi</i> : 60Mq
<i>peictiúr</i>	<i>p'ekd'u:r</i>	-r' S, 37J, 63S, -r'i: 57P
<i>peilséad</i>	<i>p'ailf'e:d</i>	-d' S
<i>peilséar</i>	<i>p'ailf'e:r</i>	-r' S, -i: S
<i>peir-</i>	<i>p'er-</i>	<i>peirheachaí</i> S84, <i>pioraíochaí</i> S
<i>péire</i>	<i>p'e:r'ə</i>	-r'əxi: P, -r'i:
<i>péirse</i>	<i>p'e:rjə</i>	-i: (run)11Ct
<i>péist</i>	<i>p'e:j't'</i>	-ə generally, -əxi: 73Pq, cp. <i>ollphéist</i>
<i>pian</i>	<i>p'ian</i>	-ntə M, -nti: M, -ntəxi: , -ntərəxi: , -nəni: 60C
<i>pílear</i>	<i>p'i:l'ər</i>	-s M, <i>pílar</i> Clad195, Mperm
<i>pínn</i>	<i>p'i:n'</i>	<i>p'i:n'ə</i> (with numeral), <i>p'i:n'əxi</i> :
<i>pinse</i>	<i>p'i:njə</i>	<i>p'i:nji</i> : , <i>p'i:njəxi</i> : , <i>p'i:njV:xi</i> :
<i>pionsiúr</i>	<i>p'i:nsu:r</i>	<i>p'i:nsu:r'</i> SM, <i>p'i:nsu:r'i</i> : 12Sperm
<i>pionta</i>	<i>p'i:ntə</i>	-i: , -əxi: P (rare)
<i>píosa</i>	<i>p'i:sə</i>	-i: , <i>p'i:səxi</i> : <i>kə:f</i> 43Jt <i>píosachaí cáis</i>
<i>piusar</i>	<i>p'isər</i>	-s M
<i>plait</i>	<i>plək'</i>	<i>plə:ki:l</i> P, -əni: P
<i>plait</i>	<i>plət'</i>	-əni: SM, -əxi: 47P
<i>plás</i>	<i>plə:s</i>	-əni: 896P, -əni: <i>f'æ:məN'ə</i> M - <i>annaí feamainne</i>
<i>pleotar</i>	<i>pl'otər</i>	-s M
<i>pluc</i>	<i>pluk</i>	<i>plik'</i> M, -kə, -ki: M, <i>plik'əni</i> : M, -kəni: M
<i>pluid</i>	<i>plid'</i>	<i>plid'əni</i> : , <i>plid'əxi</i> : 47P, 56B, <i>plidr'əxi</i> : 56B

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>plump</i>	plump	plumpəni : P, plumpi:l' , -tə 52Jq, -rəxi: 64Mq
<i>pobal</i>	pobəl	paibl'əxi : 899D6341
<i>póilí</i>	'po:l'i :	<i>póilí</i> [sic] ABg91, 'po:l'i:s/z
<i>póirse</i>	po:rʃə	-i: M
<i>pól</i>	pə:l	pə:ləni , pə:ls , pə:l-t' ə
<i>port</i>	port	port'
<i>portán</i>	porta:n	-n' generally, but -əxi: 73P
<i>pósadh</i>	pə:sə	pə:sti , pə:səxi , pə:sV:xi , pə:si:hə
<i>posta</i>	postə	posti , postəni , postəxi , postV:xi :
<i>Pradastún</i>	pradəstun	-n', -s P, <i>Pratastúin</i> [x7] 11CARN, 892MARN, prætəstun:i : 06C
<i>próis</i>	pro:ʃ	-əni: also <i>prós</i> > <i>próiseannaí</i> 869P5
<i>próiste</i>	pro:ʃt'ə	-i: 894Cs
<i>puca</i>	pukə	puki : SM, pukəʃi : M
<i>púir</i>	pu:r'	pu:r'əni : M, pu:rhə 52Jq
<i>punann</i>	punən	-i: M, -əxi:
<i>punt</i>	punt	pint' , pi:n't , puntə , punti :, cp. <i>chúig puinteachaí</i>
<i>púr-habhs</i>	'pu:r'haus , pu:r'haus	-əni Mq, -ʃ Mq, -əxi: Sq
<i>rá</i>	rə:	-t' i: S, -t' əxi: S
<i>racht</i>	raxt	-i:l' S, -əni: 43M
<i>ráibéad</i>	rə:b'e:d	-d' M, -əxi: Mq, -i: Mperm (also <i>ráipéad</i>)
<i>raibhit</i>	rəv'əʃ	-i: SM, -əxi:
<i>ráithe</i>	rə:hə	-əni: S, Mq, -e:xi: 36Pq
<i>ramallae</i>	raməle:	raməle:xi , raməlv:xi , ra'mələxi mə:rə P, gə l'ə:r ra'məli : er' Mq <i>go leor ramallaí air</i> , ra:məle:rəxi : ra:məlv:rəxi : 36Pq
<i>rása</i>	rə:sə	rə:si , rə:sti , rə:ʃt' i : [x2] 21Pg1587 (slightly unclear), rə:stə in <i>rásta capall</i> 21Pt
<i>réabadh</i>	re:bə	re:bi :, re:bi:hə , re:bəxi , re:bV:xi :
<i>réalt</i>	re:lt	-ə (Asp) 11C, S, -i:
<i>reithe</i>	rohə	rohi :, rohu :, rohu:i :, rohəxi :, rohV:xi :, rohəvi :, rifi : [f' ?] 36Mq
<i>rí¹</i> 'king'	ri:	-t' ə, -hə, -t' i:
<i>rí²</i> 'wrist'	ri:	ri:həxi (Smds) 04B
<i>ribe</i>	rib'ə	rib' i :, rib'əxi :, rib'V:xi :
<i>rinse</i>	ri:nʃə	ri:nʃi : M, ri:nʃəxi : M, ri:nʃV:xi :
<i>ríocht</i>	riəxt	-a and -aí 852S
<i>ríongás</i>	ruŋgə:s	<i>ríongáis</i> Cladt177, ri:ŋgə:si : S, ruŋgə:si : S, ruŋgə:ʃəxi : 21Jq, ruŋgə:səxi : 63S
<i>ró</i>	rə:	-t' ə M, -t' i: M, 29Nq, rə:ənti : 29Nq, rə:ənt' i : 29Nq, -ni: 47P
<i>robar</i>	robər	-s, -r', also -əxi: 73Pq
<i>roc</i>	rok	rek' M 'ray', 'wrinkle'; -əni: 80C 'ray'
<i>rócam</i> , etc.,	rə:kəm	-s M, 24Mt, 27Mq, rə:kəm' 36Mq
	ruəkəm	-s 05M, 64Mq (05M's grandson)
	ruəkən	-n' M, ruəkəns P, MØperm, ruəkən' ə , rə:kən'
	rə:kən'	rə:kən'z 18Bmq, rə:kən's 26Pq, rə:k-n' ə , rə:k-n' i :
	rə:kə:n	-n' 18Bmq
	ruəkə:n	-n'
<i>roilléire</i>	ri:l'ər(')ə	-ri: M, -rəxi: SM, -r' əxi:

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>rón</i>	<i>ru:n</i>	<i>ru:ntə</i> , <i>ru:nti:</i> , <i>ru:nt'ə</i> SM, <i>ru:nt'i:</i> , <i>ru:ntṛəxi:</i> 34Mq
<i>ronnach</i>	<i>runəx</i>	<i>runə</i> , <i>runi:</i> , <i>runəxi:</i>
<i>rotha</i>	<i>rohə</i>	<i>rohi:</i> , <i>rohV:xi:</i>
<i>rothar</i>	<i>rohər</i>	<i>-r' ARN</i> , <i>-əxi:</i> ARN
<i>ruainne</i>	<i>ru:n'ə</i>	<i>ru:n'i:</i> , <i>ru:n'əxi:</i> , <i>ru:n'V:xi:</i>
<i>saighdiúr</i>	<i>said'u:r</i>	<i>-r' S</i> , <i>-r'i:</i> 897S
<i>saighhead</i>	<i>said</i>	<i>-d' !39D</i>
<i>sail</i>	<i>sal'</i>	<i>saltəxi:</i> , <i>saltṛəxi:</i> , <i>saltəxi:</i> , <i>saltṛəxi:</i> , <i>saltr'əxi:</i> 64Mq
<i>sáil</i>	<i>sá:l'</i>	<i>-lə</i> , <i>-li:</i> M
<i>samhradh</i>	<i>savrə</i>	<i>savri:</i> , <i>savṛəxi:</i> , <i>savrV:xi:</i>
<i>saor</i>	<i>sir</i>	<i>-hə</i> , <i>-hi:</i>
<i>saothraí</i>	<i>sir:hi:</i>	<i>sir:hi:</i> , <i>sir:hi:hə</i> , <i>sir:həxi:</i> , <i>sir:hV:xi:</i>
<i>Satharn</i>	<i>sarhən</i>	<i>sarhənəxi:</i> SM
<i>scail</i>	<i>skal'</i>	<i>skaltṛəxi:</i> S
<i>scáile</i>	<i>ská:l'ə</i>	<i>ská:l'i:</i> , <i>ská:l'əxi:</i> , <i>ská:l'V:xi:</i> , <i>skaltṛəxi:</i> 60Mq
<i>scailp</i>	<i>skalp'</i>	<i>skalp'əni:</i> , <i>skalpəxi:</i> , <i>skalp'əxi:</i> , <i>skalpr'əxi:</i> 01J, <i>skalp'rəxi:</i> , <i>skalprəxi:</i> , <i>skalp'rəxi:</i> , <i>scailpf</i> 894C9, <i>skalpd'ə q</i>
<i>scáineadh</i>	<i>ská:n'ə</i>	<i>-i:</i> , <i>-V:xi:</i> , <i>scáintf</i> Clad118, <i>-nt'i:</i> Mq, <i>ská:n'əxi:</i>
<i>scáinne</i> (thread)	<i>ská:n'ə</i>	<i>S</i> , <i>ská:nt'əxi:</i> 37Jq, <i>ská:nt'əxi:</i> 37Jq
	<i>ská:n'ə</i>	<i>ská:n'i:</i> S, <i>ská:n'əxi:</i> , <i>ská:n'V:xi:</i> , <i>ská:nt'iaxi:</i> 27Mq
<i>scair</i>	<i>skar'</i>	<i>sgarachaí</i> Clad119, <i>scarthachaí</i> !894C9
<i>scalladh</i> 'scald'	<i>skalə</i>	<i>ská:li:</i> Mq, 29Cq, <i>skaltṛəxi:</i> Mperm
<i>scátha</i>	<i>ská:hə</i>	<i>ská:t'i:</i> Mq, perhaps also <i>ská:həxi:</i> 12Jq
<i>sceach</i>	<i>fk'ax</i>	<i>fk'æ:xəni</i> 11C, M, <i>fk'æhəxi</i> M, <i>fk'axi:l'</i> (?) M, <i>sceitheachaí</i> 852S2, <i>fk'ehəxi:</i> [x4] 892MARN
<i>scéal</i>	<i>fk'e:l</i>	<i>fk'e:lṫə</i> , <i>fk'e:liti:</i> 01J, <i>fk'e:lṫəxi:</i>
<i>scealp</i>	<i>fk'alp</i>	<i>-əni:</i> Mq, <i>-rəxi:</i> Mq, cp. <i>sceilp</i>
<i>Sceirde</i>	<i>fk'aird'ə</i>	<i>-i:</i> 11Ct
<i>scian</i>	<i>fk'i:n</i>	<i>fk'ænə</i> SM, <i>fk'əni:</i> 01P, 20A
<i>sciathán</i>	<i>fk'ihə:n</i>	<i>fk'ihə:n'</i> , <i>fk'ihə:ni:</i> , <i>fk'ihə:nəxi:</i> M, <i>fk'ihə:n'əxi:</i>
<i>scillinn</i>	<i>fk'il'ən'</i>	<i>fk'il'əxi:</i> M, <i>fk'il'əxə</i>
<i>sclábhaí</i>	<i>sklɑ:vi:</i>	<i>sklɑ:vi:</i> , <i>sklɑ:vi:hə</i> , <i>sklɑ:vV:xi:</i>
<i>sclag</i>	<i>sklag</i>	<i>-əni:</i> M, <i>-i:l'</i> S
<i>sclaití</i>	<i>sklaʔi:</i>	<i>-s</i> Mq, <i>sklaʔiəxi:</i> Mq
<i>scoil</i>	<i>skol'</i>	<i>skol'əni:</i> , <i>skoltəxi:</i> , <i>skoltrəxi:</i> , <i>skolt'ə q</i>
<i>scoilt</i>	<i>skolt'</i>	<i>-əxi:</i> M
<i>scoilteadh</i>	<i>skolt'ə</i>	<i>skolt'əxi:</i> , <i>skolt'V:xi:</i> , <i>skoltrəxi:</i> 64Mq
<i>scolb</i>	<i>skoləb</i>	<i>skol'əb' S</i>
<i>scolabard</i>	<i>skoləbərd</i>	<i>-d' ARN</i>
<i>scoltair</i>	<i>skoltər'</i>	<i>skoltrəxi:</i> , <i>skoltər'əxi:</i>
<i>sconsa</i>	<i>skunsə</i>	<i>sku:nsi:</i> S, <i>sku:nsəxi:</i> 60C
<i>scór</i> 'twenty'	<i>sko:r</i>	<i>sko:r'</i> , <i>sko:rhə</i> , <i>sko:rho:</i>
<i>scornach</i>	<i>sko:rnəx</i>	<i>sko:rnit:</i> , <i>sko:rnəxi:</i>
<i>screamh</i>	<i>fk'r'aw</i>	<i>-ə</i> 21Ptq, <i>-i:</i> (AnB)21Pt
<i>scuaid</i>	<i>skuəd'</i>	<i>-əni:</i> Sq, <i>-i:l'</i> S
<i>seachtain</i>	<i>fəxtən'</i>	<i>fəxtən'i:</i> , <i>fəxtən'əxi:</i> M, <i>fəxtən'ə</i>
<i>seál</i>	<i>fə:l</i>	<i>-tə</i> , <i>-əni:</i> , <i>-trəxi:</i> 78B
<i>seanfhocal</i>	<i>'fə:n,okəl</i>	<i>-klə</i> S, <i>'fə:n,okələxi:</i> 60M

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>searrach</i> <i>seas</i>	<i>farəx</i> <i>fas</i>	<i>færə</i> 20Mlt, <i>færi</i> : <i>fasəni</i> : , <i>fæ:srəxi</i> : SM, <i>fasra:ləxi</i> : 12Sperm, Mperm, 36P, <i>fæ:fra:ləxi</i> : 36P, <i>fæ:sa:ləxi</i> : 04Fq, 36Mq, <i>fæ:səxi</i> : 60Mq
<i>seasca</i>	<i>faskə fe:skə</i>	<i>faskədi</i> : , <i>faskədəxi</i> : , <i>faskəxi</i> : (non-IA), <i>fæ'skə'di</i> : 32J
<i>seire</i>	<i>fer'ə fer'hə</i>	<i>fer'i</i> : , <i>ferh'i</i> : , <i>fer'əxi</i> : , <i>fer'V:xi</i> : , <i>fer'hV:xi</i> : , <i>forhəxi</i> : , * <i>forhV:xi</i> :
<i>seoid</i> <i>seol</i> <i>sian</i> <i>Sile</i> <i>sine</i> <i>sineadh</i> <i>siol</i> <i>sionnach</i> <i>siorriam</i> <i>siosúr</i> <i>slabhra</i>	<i>fə:d'</i> <i>fə:l</i> <i>fj:n</i> <i>fj:l'ə</i> <i>fj:n'ə fj:n'hə</i> <i>fj:n'ə</i> <i>fjəl</i> <i>fj:nəx</i> <i>fj:ri:m</i> <i>fj:su:r</i> <i>slaurə</i>	<i>fə:di</i> : (Smds)04B, <i>na trí seoid</i> <i>fə:d'ə</i> !05M -tə , -ti: , <i>a gcuid seol</i> , <i>a gcuid seoil</i> , -L'ə <i>fj:ni:l'</i> , <i>fj:ntə</i> 52Jq, <i>fj:nt'ə</i> 36Pq <i>fj:l'əxi</i> : , <i>fj:l'V:xi</i> : <i>fj:n'i</i> : , <i>fj:n'hi</i> : , <i>fj:n'əxi</i> : , <i>fj:n'V:xi</i> : , <i>fj:n'hV:xi</i> : <i>fj:nt'i</i> : , <i>fj:nt'əxi</i> : , <i>fj:nt'əxi</i> : , <i>fj:n'əxi</i> : , <i>fj:nt'ə</i> <i>fjəltə</i> , <i>fjəlti</i> : <i>fj:nə</i> , <i>fj:ni</i> : , <i>fj:nəxi</i> : , <i>fj:ntə</i> 52Jq <i>siorriam</i> 894C, -s ARN -r' S, <i>sjsu:r</i> M, <i>fj:su:r'i</i> : , <i>fj:su:r'əxə</i> 20Cq generally <i>slauri</i> : , note sg <i>slaurə</i> > pl <i>slaurhi</i> : 04B
<i>slám</i>	<i>slə:m</i>	-əni: 01J, M, -i:l' Mq, <i>slə:mhə</i> 52Jq, <i>slámantaí</i> !894C9, <i>slámracháí</i> 64Mq
<i>slat</i>	<i>slat</i>	<i>slatə</i> , <i>slatəxi</i> : S, <i>slatrəxi</i> : M, <i>slat:ti</i> : 72Nq, <i>slat'</i> ? 75Cq
<i>sleagh</i> <i>sleán</i>	<i>fl'a</i> <i>fl'a:n</i>	<i>sleacha</i> 869P, <i>sleathannaí</i> [x1] 18JARN <i>fl'a:ntə</i> S, <i>fl'a:nti</i> : , <i>fl'a:nt'ə</i> S, 29C, <i>fl'a:ntəxi</i> : , <i>fl'a:ntəxi</i> :
<i>sliabh</i>	<i>fl'iəw</i>	<i>fl'e:ft'ə</i> , <i>fl'e:vt'ə</i> , <i>fl'e:vt'i</i> !04B, <i>fl'iəvəni</i> : 01J 'moorlands'
<i>slinn</i>	<i>fl'i:n'</i>	<i>fl'a:ntəxi</i> : SM, <i>fl'a:ntəxi</i> : , <i>fl'a:ntəxi</i> : , <i>fl'i:nt'əxi</i> : 12Jq, <i>fl'a:ntə</i> 35Eq, <i>fl'i:nt'əxi</i> : 64Mq, <i>fl'i:nt'ə</i> q, <i>fl'i:n'əni</i> : 60Mq
<i>sloinne</i>	<i>slin'ə</i>	-i: , -əxi: 20C88, 01J, -V:xi: , <i>slint'V:xi</i> : , <i>slintr'əxi</i> : 60Mq, <i>sloinnite</i>
<i>slua</i> <i>sluasa(i)d</i>	<i>sluə</i> <i>sluəsəd(')</i>	-t'ə , -t'i: <i>sluəft'ə</i> , <i>sluəft'i</i> : , <i>sluəft'əxi</i> : M, <i>sluasaidí</i> 875PABg, <i>sluəsəd'əxi</i> : 23B, 60M, <i>sluəsədəxi</i> : 01J
<i>smaoiniú</i>	<i>smi:n'u:</i>	<i>smaoití</i> !894C9, 869PZCP, <i>smaoitíghthe</i> !894C9, <i>smaointíthe</i> 869P4, <i>smaointe</i>
<i>smaois</i> <i>sméar</i>	<i>smi:f</i> <i>sm'e:r</i>	-ənə 25Mnq, -əxi: 37Mq <i>sm'e:rə</i> , <i>sm'e:rhə</i> , <i>sm'e:rhí</i> : , <i>sm'e:rs</i> in <i>dʒæm'</i> <i>sm'e:rs</i> S <i>jaim sméars</i>
<i>smíochóid</i> <i>sméaróid</i> <i>smut</i> <i>snáithe</i> <i>snáthad</i> <i>sneá</i> [sic sg] (<i>sníodh</i>) <i>fN'a:</i>	<i>sm'uxo:d'</i> <i>sm'iarho:d'</i> <i>smut</i> <i>snə:hə</i> <i>snə:həd</i>	<i>sm'uxo:d'i</i> : , <i>sm'uxo:d'əxi</i> : -əxi Mq, -i: Mq <i>smit'</i> !P, <i>smut'</i> S <i>snə:həxi</i> : , <i>snə:hV:xi</i> : -di: M, -dəxi: , -d'əxi: , -d'əxə 73Pq, -d'i: 79S <i>fN'a:</i> , <i>fN'a:əni</i> : Mq, <i>fN'a:(ə)xi</i> : Sq, <i>fN'a:xə</i> 20Páq, <i>fN'a:ntə</i> ? 51Pq
<i>socaed</i> <i>sochraíd(e)</i>	<i>suke:d</i> <i>soxri:d'(ə)</i>	-d' 21Jq, -əxi: 21Jperm <i>soxri:d'i</i> : Mq, <i>soxri:d'əxi</i> : M, <i>soxri:d'əxi</i> : 60Mq

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>socrú</i>	sokru:	sokri:hə, sokrəxi:, sokrV:xi:
<i>sodar</i>	sodər	-r' S, sedərs S
<i>soitheach</i>	sohəx	sehi: generally, sehi: fə:l' 50N <i>soithf seoil</i> , soh- əxi: fə:l' S <i>soitheachaf seoil</i> , nə sohi: 64Me
<i>solas</i>	soləs	soləf, sailfə, sailfi:
<i>soláthraí</i>	sulə:ri:	sulə:ri: M, sulə:ri:hə, sulə:rəxi:, sulə:rəxi:
<i>sonda</i>	su:ndə	su:ndi:
<i>sop</i>	sop	sop', sep' 23B, sopəni:, sep'əxi: M, sopr'əxi: M, sepr'əxi: M, soprəxi: 60Mq
<i>speech</i>	sp'ax	hosə m'e go:l' gə sp'ə:xi:l' er' (SmDs)04B <i>thosaigh mé ag gabháil dhe speachaíl air</i>
<i>speal</i>	sp'al	sp'altə, sp'alti:, sp'altəxi:, sp'altrəxi: M
<i>spig neanta</i> (<i>speig neanta</i>)	sp'ig' n'antə	sp'ig' n'anti: M, 45Mnq, sp'ig' n'antəxi: M, sp'ig' n'anti: M, sp'ig' n'antəxi: M, sp'ig' n'əntəxi: 21Ptq, spr'ugəni: n'antə S, m'ig' fn'antəxi: 51Pq, m'ig' fn'antəxi: 51Pq
<i>spirid</i>	sp'ir'əd'	-əxi: M
<i>splanc</i>	spləŋk	-i: 46.549, spləŋkəxi:, spləŋkrəxi: SM, sg splə:ŋk' 66N, splə:ŋk'əxi: 66N, 60Mq, splə:ŋkr'əxi: 60Mq
<i>spleantar</i>	sp'l'antər	sp'l'antər' S, sp'l'antərəxi:, sp'l'antəxi: S, sp'l'antərs S
<i>spreab</i>	spr'ab	spr'abəni:, spr'abəxi:, spr'abrəxi:, spr'ə:bəxi: 01P, spr'ə:be:xi: 01P
<i>srathair</i>	srahər'	sra:r'həxi:, sra'rəxi:, sra:rhəxi:, sra:hər'əxi:
<i>srian</i>	fri:n	fri:n'tə S, 52Jq, -tə, -trəxi: 30Pq, -həxi: 64Mq
<i>srón</i>	friu:n	friu:nəni:, friu:ntə, friu:nti:, friu:n'tə, sru:ntəxi: 34Mq
<i>sruthán</i>	friu:hə:n	friu:hə:n' !11Ct
<i>sruthar</i> 'current'	sruhər	-r' Mq, -əxi: Mperm (but -r' preferred)
<i>staic</i>	stak'	-əni:, -r'əxi: P
<i>stail</i>	stal'	staltəxi:, staltəxi: SM, stə:lt'əxi: 11Jq, stə:ltr'əxi: 64Mq, stə:lt'ə 74Nq
<i>stéig</i>	st'e:g' sk'e:d' st'e:d'	st'e:g'əxi:, st'e:gr'əxi:, st'e:g'rəxi: 20Aq fk'e:dr'əxə ~ fk'e:drəxə 36Nq ft'e:drəxi 36P
<i>stócach</i>	stə:kəx	<i>stócaigh ~ stócaí</i> 869P4, stə:kə 11C, <i>stócachaf</i>
<i>stoirm</i>	stər'əm'	stər'əm'əxi:, stər'əmn'əxi:, stər'əmr'əxi:
<i>stól</i>	stə:l	stə:ləni:, stə:ltə M, P, stə:lti:, stə:ltəxi: P, stə:ltrəxi:, stə:lt'ə S
<i>stolladh</i>	stələ	-i:, -V:xi: (?) M
<i>stór</i>	stə:r	stə:r' M, stə:rə M, stə:rhi:, a <i>stórachaf</i>
<i>strainc</i>	strəŋk'	-əni:, -əxi: (in my experience -əni: >> -əxi:)
<i>streall</i>	ftr'ə:l	-əni: M, <i>streallacha</i> 20Cq
<i>stríoc</i>	ftr'i:k	-əni:, -əxi:, -rəxi:, <i>stríocaí caola órdha</i> Clad154
<i>stumpá</i>	stu:mpə	-pi:, -mpəxi:, -mprəxi:
<i>súil</i>	su:l'	-ə, -i: St
<i>súil ribe</i>	su:l' rib'ə	su:ltə rib'ə 27M, su:l'tə rib'ə 35Eq, su:l'əni: rib'ə 45Mnq, su:l'i: rib'ə M, su:l'əxi: rib'ə 29P, su:l' rib'V:xi:, su:l' rib'əxi:, su:l'əxi: rib'əxi: M
<i>súileáil</i>	si:l'a:l'	si:l'a:l'əxi:, si:l'a:l'əxi:, si:l'e:rəxi:

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>sutar</i>	sutər	sitər' M, sutər' M
<i>táilliúr</i>	tæ:l' u:r	-r' commonly, -r' i: 11C
<i>tairne</i>	tæ:rN' ə	-i: generally, -əxi: 73Pq
<i>taisí</i>	tafi:	tæ:fi: SM, tafV:xi:
<i>talamh</i>	talhə	ta:l'tə S, talti: , talhi: 11C, talhəxi: (holdings) 21C, taltəxi: 12Jq
<i>tamall</i>	taməl	<i>-acha</i> (in <i>ag iompar an mhála tamallacha den bhealach dó</i> 866ESc223.15)
<i>tanaí</i>	tani:	tanəxi: , tanV:xi: , tani:hə
<i>taobhán</i>	ti:wə:n	-n' S, <i>taobháiní is rataí</i> SeolG40
<i>taoille</i>	ti:l' ə	-i: , -l't' ə , -l't' i: , -l't' əxi: , -əxi:
<i>taspánadh</i>	tuspa:nə	-əxi: S
<i>teach</i>	t' ax	with qualifier, cf. 4.45
	t' ihəwi:	881N, 01J, 04Br, M, 20C, 20M, 32C, 52J
	t' ohəwi:	20C, 25M, 33P, 52J
	t' uhəwi:	
	t' uwhi:	M
	t' u"əwi:	25C
	t' i.əwi:	SM, 51P (conversation), 60M
	t' iuwi:	21Pg
	t' i'wi:	M
	t' ovi:	
	t' uwi:	M
	t' i:hu'wi:	892M
	t' i:hui	892M
	t' i:hui	892M
	t' i:hu'i	892M
	t' i:u'i	
	t' i:həwi:	18Pc, 36T, 36S
	t' i:hwi:	04Br, 43M
	t' i:h.wi:	892M1573
	t' i:we:	SID.Mp 147
	t' i:wi:	04Br, 15W, M, note t' i:wi' skol' a:n 35M <i>tiobhaí scoile ann</i>
	t' ihu:	881J
	t' ihuci:	881J, 05M
	t' i:huci:	881J, 892Mg
	t' i:u'i	892M2754
	t' ihu:vi:	
	t' i:hV:vi:	
	t' ihu:xi:	
	t' i:hu:xi:	15Pt
	t' i:ho:xi:	15Pt
	t' ihə	'fæN', t' ihə 18J
	t' iX' ə	t' i'X' ə 36Nq
	ʃfi:χ' u'wi:	64Mq, also ʃfi:həwi: 64Mq
	t' i:hə	S, 18B, 52P
	t' i:	52P (mother from An Cheathrú Rua)
	t' i:hi:	11C
	t' i:fə	24N, S, 15Pt, 27Md, 48M, 71D, 79J, 81C
	t' i:fi:	11C, S, 36M, 37J, 37T, 43M
	t' i:əfi:	20M, 56Bq
	t' ufi:	M

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
	ʽi:ʊfə	15Pt
	ʽi:u:xə	15Pt
	ʽi:həxi:	51P (query and conversation)
	ʽi:fəxi:	51Pq
	ʽi:wəxi:	43M
	ʽi:f'ə, ʽi:f'ə; <i>tíff</i> FFG s.v. <i>deatach</i> , <i>tíff</i> FFG s.v. <i>fód</i> 6.	
<i>téad</i>	ʽe:d	ʽe:dəxi:, ʽe:drəxi:
<i>teallach</i>	ʽaləx	ʽæ:li: Sq, Mq, ʽæltrəxi: Sq
<i>teálta</i>	ʽaltə	ʽaltli:, ʽaltəxi:, ʽaltV:xi:, also uncertain ʽaltlriəxi: 25Mq
<i>teanga</i>	ʽaggə	ʽaggən', ʽaggi:, ʽaggəxi:, ʽaggV:xi:
<i>teile</i>	ʽel'ə	ʽel'əxi:, ʽel'V:xi:, ʽel'li: 52Jq
<i>timpiste</i>	ʽimp'əʃt'ə	ʽimp'əʃt'li:, ʽimp'əʃt'əxi:, ʽimp'əʃt'əxi:
<i>tine</i>	ʽin'ə	ʽint'ə 03C, ʽint'ə, ʽint'li:, ʽint'əxi: 03C, ʽint'əxi:, ʽintr'əxi: SM, ʽint'V:xi:
<i>tinneas</i>	ʽin'əs	-əxi: 60C
<i>tír</i>	ʽir'	ʽir'hə, ʽir'hi:, ʽir'həxi: 60M
<i>titim</i>	ʽit'əm'	-əxi: S (in ʽit'əm'əxi: ka:n't'ə Sq ... <i>cainte</i>)
<i>tlú</i>	ʽlu: tolu:	ʽlu:ni:, ʽlu:əni:, ʽlu:xi:, ʽlu:əni: [x2] 37Mq, ʽlu:t'ə 43Mp
<i>tobar</i>	tobər	taibr'əxi:, taibr'ə Mq, taibr'li: Mq
<i>tointe</i>	ti:n't'ə	-n't'li:, -n't'əxi:, -n't'V:xi:, -ntr'əxi:, -ntr'V:xi:
<i>toirpéis</i>	tərp'e:ʃ	tərp'e:ʃəxi mo:rə Mq <i>toirpéiseachaí móra</i>
<i>tolach</i>	toləx	toləxi: S, tuləxi: M, toltəxi:, toltrəxi:, toltli:
<i>tom</i>	tum	tuməxi:, tumənə 20Cq, tumi:l', tumi:l'əxi:
<i>tonn</i>	tu:n	tu:ntə, tu:nti:, tu:ntəxi:, tu:ntəxi:, also tun-
<i>toradh</i>	torə	torhi:, (gen) plural nə dori: (SmDs)04B
<i>tórramh</i>	tə:r'hə	tə:r'hi:, tə:r'həxi:, tə:r'hV:xi:
<i>traein</i>	tre:n'	tre:ntəxi:, tre:ntəxi:, tre:n'təxi:, tre:n'əxi: 56Bq, tre:n'əni: 43M
<i>tráiléar</i>	trə:l'e:r	-r', -li:, -əxi: q
<i>traim</i>	tram'	-m'əni:, -məxi:
<i>tráthnóna</i>	trən'hu:nə	trən'hu:ntə, trən'hu:nti:, trən'hu:nəxi:, trən'hu:nV:xi:, tru:nəxi: 64M
<i>treall</i>	tr'ə:l	-əni: S
<i>tréith</i>	tr'e:	tr'iarhi: S, tr'iarhə M, tr'erhi:, tr'erhə
<i>trian</i>	tr'ian, also -i:-	tr'ini: 11Ctn, <i>treana</i> 866ESc
<i>trioblóid</i>	tr'iblo:d'	-əxi: 50N
<i>triuf</i>	tr'uf	tr'if' M, tr'uf S, tr'ufəsi: S
<i>troigh</i>	tro	trohə, trohəni:, troəni: (e.g. <i>trí nú ceathair dhe throigheannaí</i> 60M), tro't'ə 48J (in <i>xu:g' nu: k'ahər' gə hrot' er' fa:d chúig nó ceathair dhe throite ar fad</i>), trohəxi: SM
<i>trosc</i>	trosk	-ʃk' 892MARN, treʃk' 896P
<i>tua</i>	tuə	tuəni: 03Ct, S, tuə't'ə, tuə't'li:
<i>tuairisc</i>	tuə'r'əʃk'	-əxi: M, -iochaí 869P
<i>tuile</i>	til'ə	til't'ə, til't'li:, til't'ə M, til't'li: S, til't'əxi:, til't'V:xi:, til't'r'əxi:
<i>turas</i>	torəs	-ʃ M, -əxi: 894C, S
<i>uacáide</i>	uəka:d'ə	uəka:d'li:, uəka:d'əxi:
<i>uachtar</i>	uəxtər	-r' M, -r'li: M, 34Mq, -rəxi:

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>uaí</i>	u:m'	u:məxi: S
<i>uasal</i> (adj)	uəsəl	uəfɫ'ə 11C, uəfɫ'i: !03V
<i>ubh</i>	uv	iv'ə, iv'əxi:; uvəxi: 71D, also 79Jg and sister 82B
<i>ucht</i>	oxɫ	oxɫ', oxɫəni: 37Mq, 60Mq
<i>úchta</i>	u:xtə	u:xti:, u:xtəxi:, u:xtV:xi:
<i>údar</i>	u:dər	-r' SM
<i>uillinn</i>	il'ən'	<i>uilleannacha</i> 852SLL48, <i>uillinneachaí</i> 18J
<i>uncail</i>	uŋkəl'	-əxi: S, u:ŋkəl'əxi: St
<i>ursainn</i>	urɟən'	-əxi: S, 21Pt, urɟN'əxi: 21Pt, cf. <i>orsainn</i>
<i>útha</i>	u:hə	-i: M, -V:xi:; u:həni: 60Mq
<i>veaigeabón</i>	v'æ:g'əbo:n	-s Mq, v'æ:g'əbu:nz 892M2099

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 Críostaí* (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 mhéarthóg, agus bhuail an mhúrdhuach ar a mala. ... Bíodh tada le déanamh aige leis nó ná bíodh, an fear a chaith an chloch níor chuir sé ceann na bliana isteach beo. **876JDT85**;

Bhí an taobh a bhí fúithi ... lofa ... , agus bhí an leicean ... lofa, agus bíodh tad’ eile nú ná bíodh. Ach nuair a dhúisigh sí ... **852SbTS142**.

An example of the 2sg (including a nonpersonal form in Echo (5.97) function) in conditional use is:

nuair a ghothas tú suas un Comaoineach, bí ag goil un Comaoineach nú ná bíodh, má theigheann tú suas, cuire sé, cuide dhen luaithreadh ar do bhaithis. **05M**.

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:

f̥aːxt ma:l̥ ə kuʃl̥ aːn̥ əgəs b̥iːd̥ iːf̥ aːn̥ Pt

seacht mbaile caisleáin agus bídís ann;

f̥aːxt ˈmaːl̥ iː ˈkiʃl̥ āːn̥ gā ˈm̥ eːd̥ iːf̥ ˈāːn̥ | **11Ct**

seacht mbailí caisleáin dhá mbeidís ann;

both meaning ‘... even (if there were) seven castled towns’.

Also:

Ach ansin, dhá mbeadh bád a’d, dhá mbeadh bád a’d u- mar déarthá, dhá mbeadh — Bíodh bád, corach a’d nú bád, ’gus bí ar na carraigreacha, agus, teire amach, agus bí ag faire, u-, bí ag iomradh leat, ó mhullán go mullán, insan áit, a bhfuil an carraigín fiáin, b’fhéidir go ndíonhá trí phunt. B’fhéidir go mbaintheá trí clocha carraigín. **894Cs**.

This 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 chuile theach, feaimilí ann ná as. **32Jst**
 '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' gul a' scaradh leat, ar aon bhealach ná tabhair aon ghéilleadh do chomhrá mrá! **866ESemr64**;
... d'ínta sa:l ə wíl ə mu:r ə:n **11C** ... *déanta sála bhfuil an múr 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 subjunctive 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 bhfad shula xal ar bhfuil cuimre a bith a' msa air ach go gcuala mé caint orthub. **892M1291**.

There is an unusual use of the present tense in *is beag nach maraítear é* **875T1.335**, 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 *maraití* (*maraithe*). Perhaps the present tense form of the copula caused confusion, *ba bheag nach maraití* would show greater congruity.

5.4 Habitual present

Note the difference of usage shown by the habitual present progressive (*bíonn* + *ag* + verbal noun) and the simple present in this conversation:

-m'ín dā wə:hər ə kahə gu:ní: M
An mbíonn do mháthair ag caitheamh i gcónaí?
 'Does your mother still smoke?'

-b'ín BóC Bíonn.
-gahən tahər 'dɛ:ri:bən ə gu:ní: sə t̪e: M
An gcaitheann 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 ithe? adeir an rí leis a' gCeannaí Fionn. **DT17**

The habitual present here corresponds to the imperative progressive *bí ag ithe* 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’álainn 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

hi:l’hə: gə wíl’ uw eg’ə fín’ S shúltheá go bhfuil ubh aige sin

was explained as:

‘Ní: rə tu: d’i:n e’n t’i:v’r’əs S ní raibh tú ag déanamh aon tsuaimhneas.

The saying *ó chaith tú an choinneal caith an t-orkach* was explained in:

gə m’ohə:sə fa:nəxt ə’n’i:f’ l’e tæ:də gəs d’erhə m’e b wa l’æt yol’ kə:rənə nu t [sic] fe suəs er’ ən ə:m gəs g rə fe l’e v’e ə:n əs N’i: rə fe t’iəxt əgəs ε, v’i: d’ef’ər’ ort d’erhəx dín’ə k’i:n’t’ el’ə v’i: n’e’n’əx l’æt to:g’ tə:m o xa tu ŋ xín’əl kah ə taurləx St

dhá mbeitheása ag fanacht anois le tada agus déarthaidh 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 ort déarthadh duine eicint eile a bhí in éineacht leat ‘Tóig t’am, ó chaith tú an choinneal caith an t-orkach.’

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:

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:

‘tá sí i dtinneas an pháiste,’ níor dhúirt siad ‘tá sí i dtrioblóid 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:

ro tsə l’e yol’ eg’ ən æ:fr’ə:n ə vrain M
an raibh tusa le ghoil ag an Aifreann, a Bhraidhean?
‘were / 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.

Bhí aithne ag mo sheanmháthair air, CHUÍMHRÍOT 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.

THAGACH fear siúil i dteach uair ... 869P4.

Also from 03V, 11C and 12S, e.g.

BHÍODH sagart ánn uair amháin agus shéan sé an Eaglais. 03V;
Bhuel anis, scéal eile, níl mé críochnaíthe fós! THÉIDÍS hed’i:f geábh eile
ansin ag iascach go Gaillimh, ag iascach scudáin agus tháinic an aimsir
go dona. 11C;

Choinic me rud eile ar an teilibhisean, BHÍODH sagairt ann is bhí fear eile ann ... 12S.

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**:

wæ:n' fε p'i:sə gə hi:w du:r ogəs tr'i: f'i:sə gə hi:w dær' gə gæ:t fε ma:, gə n'i:nət fε sohəx 'læn'loxtəx 'læn'sailfəx, gə muəl'ət [muəl'hət ?] fε hæl' ə wuətəf i' s gə gir'ət fε fa:xt N'umər'ə fa:xt L'eg'ə sə wai:rəg' I s gə m'et fε hən' er' ə L'e:m', er' dik' eg'ə, gə næ:rdi:t fε suəs ə x'oltə mœ:rə buko:d'əxi bə:ko:d'əxi, gə mæ:rə nə græn nax rə:gə fε ... tæl:hə gən tumə, tr'auə nə faltənəx fəltənəx g'er yaun', s nax dr'auu ə'r'i:f [ə'r'i:ft ?] ... gə n'air'ix nə sruhənəxi k'er:fənəxi, kuərsənəxi [-sənəxi ?], gæn'ə m'in' ə gol' ən' iəxtər, ... gə n'air'it fε suəs ə grænə guəxtə gə v'ek'əd fε ... tər pr'ixə:n gər ən' ə wai:d wai mæ:r ə wai:d wai n'i nər dər, gə dugəd fε yə: dr'in' fo:l' ogəf tr'in' fo:l' ε, gə dugəd fε d'ir' I, s gə dugəd fε f'ɛfk'əs le: s li: vl'ienə orhə, kir' ə gəs nax m'et f'i: ən' L'əhuər', gə muəl'əd fε suəs ə t'il'ən gə ɲl'əsəd fε suəs ənə xolə yə:fk'ix e' hən', ... gə muəl'əd fε ɲ kuərl'ə kūrək' s nax wə:gəd fε ən' li:, fæ:rəx, iəsk er' L'i:n', g'uriə hə dim', L'æn' ə mri:n', nax mæn'hət fε tr'i: umpur' b'ə: ogəs mæ:ru' əs, ogəs er' untu er' əf, ə'r'i:ft gə n'air'ix ə baulskər'ə baurd ə mæ:r nə ku:rt'ə s gə N'ierhət fε k'erd ə v'i wai, gə nə:brɔ:t fε gə rə fε g' iərə fa:xt g'ed ... wai fin' ə'məx, gə d'aix fε hri:həb mæ:r yohəx fauk hri: enəxi nu pr'ixə:n du hri: X'ærkə gə N'inhət fε kær:nən gə lā:wə,

Bhain sé píosa dhe thaobh dúr agus trí phíosa dhe thaobh dair go GCAITHEADH sé amach [iad / é] go NDÉANADH sé soitheach lánlochtach lán-soilseach, go MBUAILEADH [mbuailtheadh ?] sé dhe sháil a bhuatais í is go GCUIREADH sé seacht n-iomaire seacht léige sa [or léig isa] bhfarraige í is go MBEADH sé héin ar a léim ar dic aige.¹ Go N-ARDAÍODH sé suas a sheolta móra bocóideachaí bacóideachaí go mbarra na gcrann. Nachr fhága sé ... talamh gan tumadh, ag treabhadh na faltanach [leg. farraige] faltanach géar dhomhain, is nach dtreabhadh [leg. dtreabhfeair] aríst ... go N-ÉIRÍODH na sruthánachaí ciarsánachaí cuarsánachaí, gaineamh mín ag goil in íochtar, ... go N-ÉIRÍODH sé suas i gcranna gcumhachta go BHFEICEADH sé ... tór préachán gur ann i bhfad uaidh mara i bhfad uaidh ní i ngar dó, go DTUGADH sé dhá dtrian seoil agus trian seoil [leg. siúil] dhi. Go DTUGADH sé i dtír í is go DTUGADH sé feisteas lae is luí bhliana uirthi, cuir i gcás nach mbeadh sí ann leathuair. Go MBUAILEADH sé suas an t-oileán go NGLÉASADH sé suas ina chulaith ghaiscíoch é héin ... Go MBUAILEADH sé an cuai(r)lle comhraic is nach BHFÁGADH sé an lao, searrach, iasc ar linn, giorria i dtoim, leanabh i mbroinn nach MBAINTHEADH sé trí iompú beo agus marbh as agus é a iontú ar ais aríst. Go N-ÉIRÍODH an bolscaire bord i mbarr na cúirte is go N-IARRTHADH sé céard a bhí uaidh. Go N-ABRÓDH sé go raibh sé

¹ Here *aige* seems only to confuse the meaning and can be ignored for clearer sense of the sentence, although the phrase *dhe léim 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 DTÉADH sé thríothub mar a ghothadh seabhac thrí éanachaí nó préachán dubh thrí chearca. Go NDÉAN-ADH sé carnán dhá lámha, ...

Speaker **19B** (East Cois Fharraige, Doire an Locháin, married in Máinis) also has this usage:

BHÍODH beirt ... casadh ar a chéile BHÍNN héin lá ar an trá ... bhí 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 endings. Speaker **71D** is the youngest speaker noted with clear and frequent past habitual usage in 2 Conjugation verbs, e.g. *d'airínn, thairnínn, thairníodh, thastaíodh*. The past habitual may be best retained in irregular verbs, e.g. *bhíodh 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 inseócha tú domsa [é]. Ná tabhair cead don laogh ... **852S3**.

There is similarly imperative force in the coordinated negative future of:

'Ach tiúra mé leabhar dhuit', adeir sé, 'a dhianfas maith dhuit go brách', adeir sé, 'ach nach n-oscló tú é', adeir sé, 'go ceann seacht mbliana.' **866E**,

which corresponds to the imperative in other versions of the same story:

'Seo anois leabhar 'uit,' a deir sé, '7 ná hoscail go ceánn seacht mbliana é,' **866E**ÓC211 (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:

bə:tʃ ʃibʃ iəd bádʰ sibse iad, bə:tʃ g'i:ʃ iəd báigʲse iad; sə:tʃ i: e sáigʲ é; ma ɣum e maith dhom é, mahə tu ɣum e maithidh tú dhom é, mahə ʃibʃ ɣum maithidh sib dhom; skrahəgʲ i: scraithigʲ **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 postə:lə ʃe l'et'ər' ɣum ʃ d'aul l'et'ər' ə fostə:ləs ʃe nax n'im'ə: M is postálthaidh sé leitir dhom is deabhal leitir a phostálthas sé nach n-imeoidh.

With 'verba sentiendi' the future may have a present or modal meaning, e.g.

rud'in'i b'ogə b'i:d'əx n'i:l' ə:n ax gə v'ek'ə tu iəd M ruidíní beaga bídeach níl 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 tú imeacht* 'you can go'. The slip of the tongue in *n'i e:ɪtən ɔ:k'i' ... M ní *fhéatann Jaicí ...* (for *ní fhéadann*) 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.

-k'ɛ:n i:f ə v'etʃe S *Cén aois a bheadh sé?*

‘What age might he have been?’ or ‘What age would he be?’

-etʃi: faiv' 18Bm ‘Eighty five’.

-ə rə S *An raibh?*

and

-hi:l' hɑ: gər bɑ:riələxi: ɔ:r tɑ æ:dsə er' də xid' brɔ:gə S

Shíltheá gur barriallachai ór tá a'dsa ar do chuid bróga.

-hæ k'ɛ:rd ə v'ox ek'ə M *Hea, céard a bheadh aici?* ‘What might be wrong with it?’ or ‘What (are you saying) about the shoes?’

Similarly, in the meaning ‘in order to be’ in:

Cé mhéad vót a bheadh a'd nuair a bheitheá leicteáilte? M

‘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 *caraíocht* of long ago in a tale run)

wuəl'həd'i:f ... wuəl'həd'i:f ... gə n'ɑ:rnədər ... 11Ct

bhuailthidís ... bhuailthidís ... go ndearnadar.

This example would parallel a habitual present action being described by a sequence of future ... future ... present, e.g. *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:

ɑ:t' ə gi'n'ɔ:d'i:f nə b'ehi: ... xi'n'i:d'i:f nə b'ehi: sən i:hə 33P

áit a gcoinneoidís na beithí ... choinnídís 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.

nir' ə v'exʃe ɔ:g v'exʃe ... 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. *shula bhfuil*, 5.3).

Present subjunctive

In optative following *go*, *nár*, e.g.

i:hə wā: | nɑr xoli' tu n'ɛ:l S *Oíche mhaith, nár chodlaí tú néal!*

Conjunctions which concur with the present subjunctive are:

ach a: **go raibh sé féin agus an iníon le pósadh ach a dtige sí. 866ESc128.39;**

ax ə wɑ: m'e gr'i:m' ɔrt Mq *ach a bhfaighe mé greim ort;*

ax ə d'ukə / d'æ:gə / d'ugə ... Mq

ach a dtiocthaidh [fut] / dteaga / dtioga ...

go: **rus gə m'et'a: nə [slip] 'nā'n iəd 'ek'ɑ:l 03S**

i riocht is go mbeiteá i ndan iad a fheiceál.

cáide: **kud'ə d'æ:gəʃiəd cáide dteaga siad?**

mara: **marə d'æ:gə he:n' M mara dteaga héin.**

Past subjunctive

ach a: “‘gus díontha’ muid rí dhíotsa, ar a leithide seo dh’áit, ach a ligtaí
ax L’ig’ti: anall muid.” 892Mtn.

cáide: ... kɑ:d’ə d’ugəd’i:f M ... cáide dtiugaidís.

féach a: f’e:x ə d’ugəd’i:f b’æ:k’ ənə m’æ:ləx he:n’ ər’i:ft’ 27Cl
féach a dtiugaidís beaic ina mbealach héin aríst.

dhá: ga dʊgɑ: M dhá dtugá,
ga v’e:da: o:l M dhá bhféadá a ól (agus bainne thríd).

mara: marə d’ægəx he:n’ M mara dteagadh héin.

go: leag mé peánn is páipéar ansin go dtóiginn síos gə dɔ:g’əN’ f’is na
rudaí, an bhfuil fhios a’d? M.

Also nó go, cáide go, sa gcaoi go, etc., including:

hóbair go: hóbair go maraíoch an ‘Dia’ atá agaí mé 852S4;
hóbair go dtéidís dá pléascadh nuair nach n-inseodh sí Sc154.26.

5.10 Other instances

Given attested {féach a^N + past subjunctive} one would expect that 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 go, in a traditional prayer:

*Altú leat, a Rí na ríthe, [...] ar shon a bhfuair muid ariamh,
Agus ar shon a bhfaigheamuid go bhfaigheamuid bás. !05M.*

There is also an instance following dhá (< dhe + cataphoric a^N) in an instructive tale:

*Agus mar sin, a dhuine óig, atá i dtús do shaoil, mo chomhairle dhuit, chuile
lá gá n-éirí ort, bí ag baint cloch as do bhearna! 35Et.*

The conditional subordinating phrase cuir i gcás nach may be followed by the present and past subjunctive, particularly if preceded in the utterance by a subjunctive form:

t’ukə m’e ... ax kir’ ə gɑ:s nax d’ukə / d’æ:gə Mq
tiocthaidh mé ... ach cuir i gcás nach dtiocthaidh / dteaga;
gɑ: d’ægəN’ ... kir’ ə gɑ:s nax d’ægəN’ Mq
dhá dteagainn ... cuir i gcás nach dteagainn;
ma:rə d’æ:gə / d’ugə ... (ax) kir’ ə gɑ:s nax d’æ:gə / d’æ:gər’ Mq
mara dteaga / dtioga ... (ach) cuir i gcás nach dteaga / dteagair.

The positive cuir i gcás go seems not to allow subjunctive as much as the negative:

kir’ ə gɑ:s gə d’æ:gə / d’æ:gər’ Mq cuir i gcás go dteaga / dteagair,
but *cuir i gcás go dteagainn MØperm.

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 GGBC §§339–42 (§§14.10–13). One use of the *thar éis* perfect is worthy of note here: *thar éis* is often used with a *bheith* + VN, e.g.

nax wil’ m’e he:f ə v’e g’ ihə mə ji:n’e:r 14M
nach bhfuil mé *thar éis* a *bheith* ag *ithe* mo dhínnéar!

Prepositional phrases can qualify verbal noun phrases without being integrated into the aspectual system:

ar bhuille ‘about to’ in **er wil’ə v’ e re**: M (*tá sé*) *ar bhuille a bheith réidh*;
le linn ‘about to’ in **v’ et f’i: f’ e l’ i: n’ br’ e** Mq *bheadh sí le linn breith*;
 cp. *ar thí* ‘intend to’, in a traditional tale, e.g. *-Rud a bith fhéadthas mise a dhíona ar an rí sin, a dúirt an Grabaire, tá mé ar thí é dhíona*. **869Pt**.

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):
sə:wə:ləx mid’ ... nu’ nax sə:wə:ləx SqEcho, PqEcho
sábháladh muid ... nó nach sábháladh.
 Cp. **k’æ:ni:m’ e nu’ nax k’æ:ni:m’ e ceannaím é** *nó nach ceannaím é*.
- (b) imperative ... PRESENT (Echo):
f’ek’əm’ ... nu nax f’ek’ən *feicim ... nó nach feiceann*.
- (c) imperative ... FUTURE (Echo):
lu:bə mid’ e nu: nax lu:pə *lúba muid é nó nach lúbthaidh*;
tri:ələmid’ e nu nax tri:əl’ə *traíálamuid é nó nach traíálthaidh*;
k’æ:ni:m’ ... nu nax g’æ:nə’ *ceannaím ... nó nach gceannóidh*.
- (d) imperative ... PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE (Echo):
buəl’əd’i:f e nu nā: buəl’ə *buailidís é nó ná buaile*;
sə:wə:ləməd’ ... nu: nax sə:və:lə *sábhálamuid ... nó nach sábhála*;
fə:gə mid’ ə t’æ:x ... nu nā: fə:gə *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 *nó mara*, as in:

sə:və:ləməd’ ... nu: mārə sə:və:lə *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.

Bhuel a dhaoíní uaisle, MEASTÚ cé mb'fhearr lib scéal fada bog binn ná scéal gearr 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:

ga mā a:rən' f' el'ə v'ox ən'jin' v'ox də na:pru:m bə:t'ə M

dhá mba aranj [< orange] *eile a bheadh ansin bheadh DO na:prún 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'aul bla's ka:l' er' X ax b'ar' l'æt' Y

deabhal blas caille ar X ach b'fhearr 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'.

uər' ək'i:n't' el'ə vrain, nor' ə v'eis mid' n'is [a:r understood]

uair eicint eile, a Bhraidhean, nuair a bheidheas MUID níos [fhearr]

'[you will come again] some other time ... when I am better';

o:l'hə tu brin' t'e: o b a:nə l'in' hu ek'al **23C** *ólthaidh tú braon tae ó b'annamh LINN thú a fheiceál* (speaker living alone in his house);

Ní chaitheann MUID í ach nuair atá MUID ag goil in áit áirthid M (of garment or jewellery);

Tá sí [pregnant woman] *ag breathú* [= *breathnú*] *go breá anis — ó! Mhaighdean nuair a bhí MUIDE mar sin ní raibh mórán caoi ORAINN M*;

-N'i:l' fi: n'e:n'əx l'æt' Níl sí in éineacht leat?

-N'i: f'e:d'ər' l'in' i: v'e n'e:n'əx l'in' ə gu:ni: **52Cr**

Ní féidir LINN í bheith in éineacht LINN i gcónaí.

Cp. **f'ek'amid' ər'i:ft' u' ə vrain** **20C** *FEICTHEAMUID 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 bhí mé in aiféala nar 'úirt leis go ngothainn soir in éanacht leis.*
S;
N'ir urt' m'e tædæ ... v'ir æf' e'l orəm ənə jə nar urt' t'il ə l'ehə M Níor
dhuirt mé tada ... bhí aiféala orm ina dhiaidh sin nar dhúirt tuilleadh léithi.
(Bhí mé lucaí Dé Sathrainn) nar tháinic aniar. 64M.
- 1sg ... *... choinnigh muid ... 'gus fuair mé cláirín beag ar urlár an bháid, scoilt mé an*
1pl *clár leis an scian, 'gus, bhí róipín a'm, agus, chuir mé splaidhis ar an gcleith*
aríst. 'Gus nuair a bhí an splaidhis curtha ar an gcleith a'm, d'ardaigh seol,
'gus a haghaidh ar an Leath-Mhás, agus, nuair, a chuaigh sí un seoil, ní raibh
traein [i] Londain bhí chomh luath léithi, goil thrí fharraige, go dtáinic sí go
Béal an Leath-Mháis. 'Gus nuair a bhí si(nn) g-, ag, sin [sinn ?] ag Ceann Mása,
thóig soit beag eile potaí bhí ansin, 'gus chuir aríst i mBéal an Leath-Mháis iad,
ar an domhain. Bhuel thóig isteach na traimeannaí, aríst, agus má thóig héin, sé
an chaoi raibheadar an uair sin, lán le ballaigh bheaga agus le trais éisc bheag
nar raibh maith a bith iontub, ach ag tabhairt trioblóid an domhain orainne, á
nglanadh astub. Tháinic aníos un an chalthadh ansin, agus nuair a tháinic is
d'fheist í, ní raibh sé i ndan, a ghoil amach ar cheann na céibheach aríst, nú gur
caitheadh, ocht nú naoi dhe laethannaí réis an am sin. 892M.
- 3m *... chuaigh sé ar an taobh ó thuaidh, agus chuir sé a chloich mhuráite i dtír, agus*
thug amach a chlórd, agus thug a aghaidh suas, ar Dhu-, ar an Dún, go
ndeachaigh sé, agus thosaigh ag baint píosa dhe, ó orlach go horlach, 'gus bhí
sé léithi ariamh, go raibh sí — chuir sé i bhfarraige í. 06C.
- 3f *... agus nuair a bhreathaigh sé thairis choinic sé mada mór, cú a bhí ann, ag siúl*
isteach an doras, tháinic anuas agus d'uscail sí a béal agus rug sí ar an mbanbh
ina béal, agus amach léithi an doras. 11Ctn.
- 1pl *Bhuel, leag muid a sé bhuille ortha i gCalthadh ' Bháid agus thug a haghaidh*
amach, agus bhí ar nús an fhaoilleáin ag faire farraigí, go ndeachaigh muid sa
gceann siar dhe na potaí. 892M (13.7, lines 6–8);
- ... Bhuel chuaigh muid a chodladh, a deir sé, bhí muid trom toirseach. 'Gus ar
maidin nuair a d'éirigh, 'gus chuaigh amach, dheamhan gráinne dhen arbhar,
dhe na stucaí ná dhen chruach, nar raibh goidthíthe. 892M2088;
N'í: kəs du:n e nax N'æxə ser' S ní cás dúinn é nach ndeachaigh soir 'we are
fortunate not to have gone east'.
- 3pl *agus iad faoi dheifir ... , sin é an uair a bheadh aithmhéala ortha nár dhúin an*
scoilteadh malluighthe roimhe sin. Clad1235.

This use is less prominent in younger speakers.

5.15 Impersonal

Intransitive impersonal verbs are not uncommon, e.g.

fʊ:l'u: suəs gə d'i: rə:bərt k'in'ədi: ... S siúileadh suas go dtí 'Robert
Kennedy' ... 'someone walked up to R. K. (and shot him)'.

General use of the verb *bí* (and other intransitive verbs) in the impersonal is limited to a minority of speakers, some of whom use it quite extensively, e.g.

... nax wíl'u: ... tər'u: gə ... v'if'ər ... kəf'ər 79A

... nach bhfuileadh ... tádh dhá ... bhífear 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:

Chuardar isteach sa mbráicín, beirt, agus bhí máilín ... **852SbLL3**;
Chrochadar leo triúr **852SbLL92**, cp. *Chrochadar leo go ...* **LL94** (= *d'imíodar leo go ...*);
D'éiríodar triúr de léim ... Bhí siad triúr marbh ansin. **866ESc36.16, 39**;
d'imíodar t'ruir aküb as afark **46.L36** *d'imíodar triúr acub as amharc*;
gohə mid' 'tr'ur hæñ ə ,N'e:n'əxt [-x ?] əgəs ... **01P**
gothaidh muid triúr a'inn in éineacht agus ... gothaidh muid héin ann.

There is also an example in the 1 plural with *lán tí*:

-Támuir lán tí 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:

ní raibh ann ach go raibh sé ceanglaithe agam, nuair a bhuail an fharraige an bád agus muid triúr ar an téad. **866ESc26.7**;
gan aon duine ... a bhain linn, ach muid féin triúr — ina ndílleachtaí **866ESc57.7**;
rugadar ar Dhéirdre idir iad triúr agus d'fháisceadar iad féin timpeall uirthi. **866ESc36.14**.

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;¹
- 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) > **marə** *maraiigh* 2 Conjugation. Cp. *críoch* (now obsolescent or obsolete) > *críochnaigh* 2 Conjugation. Derivations may become semantically obscure, e.g. *leas* 'benefit' (noun) > *leasaigh* 'fertilise'.

5.18 I.a–b First Conjugation

I.a 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. *ə* *-igh*, *i* *-i-*, *o* *-ó-*.

unstressed schwa in *coca* > *coc* (see also III.c, 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 *l’iə́t’ə* generally, but *l’iə́t’ə* ~ *l’e:t’ə* *l’e grá:n’ liaite* ~ *léite le gráin* (5.179) where *léite* < *léith*.

Noun *triall* > verb *trial* ~ *trial* ‘journey, head (for)’: present subjunctive *marə dr’iə́l’əmid’* 04B *mara dtrialleamuid*; pstsbj (cond) *gə: dr’iə́ləx mid’* !!(Acm)43Js *dhá dtrialadh muid*; past *hr’iə́l m’e* 889P, *hr’iə́l er’* 11C *thrial ar*. This verb has been noted with both palatal and nonpalatal final consonant in the past; in the verbal noun with nonpalatal only (examples from Máire): past *mar’əg’ ə hr’iə́l ort mairg a thrial ort* and in explaining this expression *gər hr’iə́l tu ... gur thriail tú ...* also past *hr’iə́l tu / m’e thrial tú / mé*, future *tr’iə́lhə je trialthaidh sé*, VN *tr’iə́l* M, Mq *trial*.

There are remnants of this formation in the root *coisc* (with regular palatal coda pst *xəf’k’*, vadj *kəf’k’i*, VN *kəf’k’ə*) which has nonpalatal final in the phrase *kəsk ort Cosc ort!* (possibly nominal, although given under the verb *coscann* FFG20, fut *coiscfidh* FFG20).

Cp. the root *searg* (1 and 2 Conjugation, 5.168) which has a less common by-form *seirg* (vadj *fer’ək’i* Mperm).

5.19 II.a–c Second Conjugation -igh

Examples: adjectives *bocht* > *bochtaigh*; *ceart* > *ceartaigh* *caol* > *caolaigh*; *dorcha* > *dorchaigh* (pst Sc268); *íseal* > *ísligh*; nouns *caint* > *caintigh*; *dath* > *dathaigh*; *fáinne* > *fáinnigh* (pst Sc272); *loxt lucht* > *loxtə luchtaigh*; *mion* > *mionaigh*; *mionna* > *mionnaigh*; *si:hər saothar* > *sir:hə saothraigh*. Cp. *gág* > adjective *gágaíthe*.¹

Adjective *fa’rfə́n’ fairsinn* > *for’fə́n’ə fairsnigh*, the more traditional stem (resembling the comparative, *n’is for’fə́n’ə níos fairsne*), VN *for’fə́n’u*; but also unsyn-copated *fairsinnigh*: psthb *da’rfə́n’i:x* 21Pt, psthb imprs *da’rfə́n’i:t’i* M, cond *gə wa’rfə́n’ə:x* 21Pt, vadj *fa’rfə́n’i:hə* 20T, VN *fa’rfə́n’u* 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

dāvsə daməsə damhsa (noun) > *dævfə dæmfə daimhsigh*.

falhə falamh (adjective) > *fa’l’hə* M *failmhigh*, with general palatalisation, fut *fa’l’ho*: >> *fa’l’ho*: M, VN *fa’l’hu*; generally, also more consistently nonpalatal for 20Mq and her brother 36Sq, e.g. vadj *falhi*: 36Sq, VN *falhu*: 36Sq; also VN *falhə* 43M (interpretable as 1 Conjugation).

fód (noun) takes -*aigh* with optional palatalisation and optional -*r*:- *fódaigh*, *fóidigh*, *fóidrih*:

fə:d-: d’e:tə: v’e fə:di:hə S *d’fhéadthá bheith fódaíthe*, VN *a fhódú* Clad1208;

¹ In ... *taltha gágaíthe le gréin-scoiltíthe* 894C9 (3.84 p. 583 n. 1).

fó:d'-: VN **fó:d'u:**;

fó:dr'-: psthab **do:dr'i:t'i** Mq, fut **fó:dr'o: m'e:** Mq, VN **fó:dr'u:** Mq.

There are four alternants in:

dubh (adjective) > *dubh* ~ *dubhaigh* ~ *duibh* ~ *duibhigh*.

The adjective *éadrom* > *éadromaigh* (including VN *éadromú*) S, Mq, *éadroimigh* (including VN *éadroimiú*) **889P**.

In *deas* > *deasaigh* ~ *deisigh* the semantics of the verb are more opaquely related to the adjective base. The noun *deis* might also be relevant. In the meaning 'thatch', only the nonpalatal root (*deasaigh*) was heard.

There is depalatalisation in the adjectival root **t'ér'əm'** *tirim* > **tr'umə** *triomaigh*, as in the comparative **tr'umə** *trioma*; in nominal root **kaur'** *cabhair* > **kaurə** *cabhraigh* as in genitive **kaurəx** *cabhrach*.

II.c Stem extensions with Second Conjugation -igh

The now nonproductive stem extensions are *r*, *tr*, *t*, *n* and *s*:

r *glas* > *glasraigh* (~ *glas*), *fód* > *fódaigh* ~ *fóidigh* ~ *fóidriugh*;

siól > VN *siólrú*, *sióltrú*, metathesised *siórlú*, but less commonly *siólú*;

tr **g'i:n'** *ginn* (plural *geanntreachaí*) > **g'ə:ntərə** Mq *geanntreachaigh* (~ *geanntáil*);

t *gearr* (adjective with root *giorr-*) and *giortach* (adjective) take -*aigh* with optional -*t*-; *giorraigh*, *giortaigh*:

g'ur-: **jurə tu: n bo:hər** **54M** *ghiorraigh tú an bóthar*;

g'urt-: **g'urto' m'if ən fænəxəs** **!37M** *giortóidh mise an seanchas*.

Cp. **re:** *réidh* (adjective, also *réiteach* noun) > **re:t'ə** *réitigh*.

n *bréag* > *bréagnaigh*, *ceist* > *ceistigh* ~ *ceistnigh* ~ *ceisnigh*;

snaidhm > *snadhmnaigh* (note depalatalisation) ~ *snaidhmeáil* ~ *snadhmáil*, also VN *snaidheamadh*;

ainm > *ainmnigh* generally (perhaps), but **dæn'əm'əd'i:f** **892M** *d'ainmidis*, **hæn'əm'i:uw e:** **892M4245** *hainmíodh é*.

s *daor* > *daoirsigh*; in contrast with 1 Conjugation verb *daor* of different meaning;

lá(i)mh > *láimhsigh* ~ *láimhseáil*.

5.20 Suffixation with -áil; III.a–b

The only productive derivational verbal suffix is 1 Conjugation -*áil* (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 -*áil*);

III.d an ever increasing number of borrowed roots.

III.a Native roots including older borrowings

Derived verbs in -*áil* only.

arm, *armáil*; *baoite*, *baoiteáil*; *bord*, *bordáil*; *calm*, *calmáil* **M**, **21Pt**; *corc*, *corcáil*; *cóta*, *cótáil* **01C6296**; *criú*, *criúáil* **899D6290**; *cuilt*, *cuilteáil* **FFG19**, **20**; *dorna*, *dornáil*; *draoib*, *draoibeáil* **SM**; *droim*, *droimeáil* **S**; *dusta*, *dustáil*; (*faobhar*, *faobharáil* **05M**, **P** as VN); *fráma*, *frámáil*; *fuigh*, **fihə:l'** **M** *fuightheáil*; *garda*, *gardáil*; *glas*, *glasáil*; *gob*, *gobáil* **M** (cp. verb *gob*, common VN *gobadh*, with basic meaning); *lansa*, *lansáil*; *laiste*, *laisteáil*; *leidhce*, *leidhceáil* **M**; *marc*, *marcáil*; *margadh*, *margáil* (in *é héin a mhargáil é* **S**); *masc*,

mascáil S; *meadar*, *meadaráil*; *paca*, *pacáil*; *paiste*, *paisteáil*; *píce*, *píceáil*; *plábar*, *plábaráil*; *plána*, *plánaíl*; *planda*, *plandaíl*; *pléata*, *pléatáil* (e.g. *bhí na seolta pléatáilte* Clad181); *puth*, *putháil*; *rap*, *rapáil* **864MDT47** (as VN); *sciúrsa*, *sciúrsáil*; *scráib*, *scráibeáil*; *sceid*, *sceideáil*; *slis*, *sliseáil*; *sluasa(i)d*, *sluasteáil*; *smig* (*smeaig*), *smigedáil*; *spág*, *spágáil*; *spalla*, *spalláil*; *spleabhta*, *spleabháil*; *stór*, *stóráil*; *taca*, *tacáil* (e.g. *seolta ... tacáilte* Clad174, also LFRM s.v. *tacáil*); *teara*, *tearáil*; *tonc*, *toncáil*; *trap*, *trapáil*; *trót*, *trótáil* (e.g. *seolta ... trótáilte* Clad174, also LFRM s.v. *trót*).

Younger speaker: *slaidhis ímeáilte cheana héin* **73P** (< *im*).

Depalatalisation: *cráig* (plural *crága*), *crágáil*. Syncope (and coalescence): *gualainn* (plural *guaillí*), *guailléáil* S; *spleantar*, *spleantráil*. With replacement of *-án* in *rukā:n racán* (cp. *rukə raca*) > *rukā:l' racáil*.

Cp. derived *-áil* used as verbal noun with *ag* in progressive aspect, e.g. *cacamas*, *cacamasáil* S; in the echo word *scib sceaiib*, *scib-sceaiibeáil*. With optional depalatalisation in the verbal noun *goineáil* Mq, *gonáil* **20Cq** (< *goín*). With replacement of the nominal suffix *-óg* 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. *cárta*, *cárdáil*.

There are verbs in *-áil* which are not synchronically derived: *robáil*, *sábháil*, *spáráil*, *traíáil*. (These are older borrowings without borrowed nominal bases.) There is an example of *tuairteál* in **866ESemr84** with aberrant *-ál* 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 *-ál* occurs as a verbal noun allomorph, e.g. verb *clois* > VN *cloisteál*.

III.b With the (obsolete) stem extensions *s*, *t*

láimh, *láimhseáil* (also *láimhsigh* III.c). Cf. *-(e)áil* (3.161).

ginn (plural *geannt(r)achaí*), *geanntáil*. Cf. *geannttraigh* (5.19).

5.21 III.c Verbs in *-áil* with alternants

There are derived verbs which alternate between (nonproductive) verbal derivation and *-áil* suffixation.

bealadh the noun has verbal stems *bealaigh* (e.g. *vadj b'æ:li:(hə)* S *bealaíthe*) and *bealáil* (e.g. *psthab gə 'm'æ:lə:ləd' i:f* **01C6057** *go mbealálaidís*).

coca the noun yields the verb *coc* generally but for at least one younger speaker *cocáil* **64Me**; there is a separate verb *coc* S 'calk' which also has a variant *cocáil* S.

cornea > *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 Máire also permitted 2Conj pres *kaurni:n cornatonn*, 1Conj fut *kaurnhə cornthaidh*, and 2Conj *vadj kaurni: cornaí(the)*. The phonotactically impermissible final stressed cluster *rn* dictates, for the stem without *-áil*, that 2sg imperative and nonpersonal past end in *-ə* (i.e. are 2Conj, 5.170). Cf. GCF §189 (final paragraph), and *fuirisigh* (5.313).

cúl (noun) > *cúl* ~ *cúlaigh* generally, but also VN *cúláil* **60M**.

Cp. *ghiúmar* (borrowing) noun and verb, but *ghiúmaráil* is now the more common verb.

lá(i)mh > *lámhsigh* ~ *lámhseáil*. **27Mdq** had *-áil* in the VN only: *é a lámhseáil ... lámhsigh ... lámhseoidh ... lámhsiú*. **27Mdq**. Also VN *lámhsiú* **06C**.

lán > *lán*, VN *lánadh* in traditional dialect, but note a younger speaker's VN in *iad a lánáil* 72C.

sáinn > *sáinnigh* ~ *sáinneáil* SM.

séala > *séalaigh* 'seal', pst *he:lhə* 27Mdq; also *séaláil*, pst *he:lə:l'* 27Mdq, vadj *ʃe:lhə:l't ə* 18J.

snag > *snag*, *snagáil*.

sn:i:m' *snaidhm* (nominative) is the base for **sn:i:m'ə:l'** FFG *snaidhmeáil* and VN **sn:i:mə** *snaidheamadh* FFG s.v. *snadhmadh*; the root in plural **snaməni:** *snadhmannaí* may be taken as the base for **snamnu:** M *snadhmnú* (vadj **snamni:** Mq, VN **e hnamnu:** Mq), **snamə:l'** SM *snadhmáil*, (impv **snamə:l'** e S, pst **snamə:l'** m'e e S, fut **snamə:lə** m'e e S).

speidhear noun and verb: impv **na sp'air** e M, pres **sp'airən** Mq, fut **sp'airhə** tu: M. Also *speidhearáil*, e.g. fut **sp'aira:lə** tu: Mq, vadj **sp'aira:l't ə** Mq.

spriog > *spriog* << *spriogáil*.

5.22 Non-derived -áil alternant; III.d

There are also non-derived 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 **fuə** (psthab *d'fhuadh sé*, imprs *fuaití*, cond *d'fhuathá*, *d'fhuaoídís*, vadj *fuaite*) and VN *fuáil* (ARN). (This shows the same conservative use of -ə:l' confined to the verbal noun of this root found in GCF §§182, 186). Speaker 11C has pst **duə**, VN **fuə:l'**. 27Mdq has pst **duə**, fut **fuəhə**, vadj **fuə't ə**, VN **fuə:l'**. Máire has impv **fuə** M, fut **fuə:lə** m'e M, vadj **fuə't ə** M. Her use of **fuə:lə** in the future is perhaps an avoidance of the possible choice between **fuəhə** and ***fuəo:** if inflected like the CRUAIGH subclass (5.171). Speaker 21Ptq has pst **duə:l'** (also **duə**, following queried ***fuəo:**), fut **fuə:lə**, cond **gə: wuəhə:** (x2) (following queried **gə: wuəə:**), vadj **fuə't ə**. It appears the verbal adjective best retains the older *fuaigh* inflection. In native-speaker writing (in order): *fuála* [gen VN] ... *aon fhuáil* ... *fuálfa mise* [fut] ... *fuáilte* [vadj] B19.59 (I have normalised from the source spelling *fuagháil*-).

brúigh (arguably derived from noun *brú*) is the general variant of this verb, less often *brúáil* S, P, 43M, 69S, influenced by common *puiseáil* < English 'push'.

maircigh and *marcáil* are both rare; VN *maircíocht*, *marcaíocht*.

Compare seldom inflected *climir*, which has a common verbal noun and noun *climirt*, with *climseáil*, which is a full verb, a verbal noun and a noun and by far the more often verbally inflected form (Mq, 21Jq). Also VN *caidhleadh* (*cadhail* not recorded as inflected verb), full verb *caidhleáil*. The verb *rop* (vadj *ropthaí*, VN *ropadh*) can be related to *ropáilte* SM 'roughed up' and VN *ag ropáil leat* Sq. Cp. *scoráil* CAR (for *scoradh* FGB, VN of *scor*⁴).

Note: ... **gə m'í:n' ʃi: smugərl'ə:l'**, **kahə max smugərl'í:** P

... *go mbíonn sí ag smugairleáil*, *ag caitheamh amach smugairlí*, said by Pádraig (P) with uncertainty in his voice when pronouncing **smugərl'ə:l'** 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:

-ə n'ɛ:rhə: smugərɫ'ɑ:l' BóC *An ndéarthá 'smugairleáil'?*

-d'ɛ:rhə: ... kahə mɑ:x smugərɫ'i: d'ɛ:rhəx mid'ə ... sp'it'ɑ:l' S

Déarthá ... ag caitheamh amach smugairlí a déarthadh muidé ... ag spiteáil [*< spit*].

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 *siopadóireacht* and more recent *seapáil* (*< 'shop'*), in the following passage:

ə d'ɛ:l'ɑ:l' | əgəs ə fupɑ: | ə fapə | ə fupədɔ:r'əxt ə glɔx nə 'rū:ən |
892M3326 *ag déileáil agus ag siopá(il), ag seapa-, ag siopadóireacht 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, bulcáil; farc, farcáil M. See verbal *-áil* 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'oxə gilfhiuchadh* is used by Máire only as a verbal noun. For example, **'jil'ox m'e iəd *ghilfhiuch mé iad*, and **'g'il'oxə m'e iəd *gilfhiuchthaidh mé iad* are not permitted by Máire. Similarly, *leáigh* is a full verb but *díleábh* was noted as a noun only, the verbal adjective *'d'i:l'ɑ:t'ə díleáite* was permitted by Máire but no other inflection; nor has the noun *díchuimhne* a corresponding inflected verb (Mq). Cf. *síor-* 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 *seachtmbearrthaidh mé thú* MØperm. So also *bunchaite*, *bunchaitheamh* but **bhunchaith sé go maith é* M-Øperm; *ríghearrtha*, *ríghearradh* but *ghearr sé é is *ríghearr sé é* MØ???perm.

Verbs with *ath-* are, however, found, e.g. *athghróig*: past *d'athghróig muid* S. 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 *dæl'æso d'athleasaigh* and future *æɫ'æso: athleasóidh* Mperm.

The verb *ruadhóigh* (*rua+dóigh*) inflects in all tenses (stress in *'ruə,yo:* and *ruə,yo:* were difficult to distinguish): impv *ruə,yo:* P, pres *ruə,yo:'n* Mq, pst *ruə,yo:* Mq, fut *ruə,yo:hə* Mq, vadj *'ruə,yo:t'ə* M, VN *ruə,yo:* Mq.

The verb *'mo:r'xu:nə mórchónaigh* 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,

N'ir 'wɔr'xũ:nə fe 11Ct, N'ir 'wɔr'xũ:nə fe 04B10tn;
 N'ir 'wɔr'xɔ:nidər ə'r'is' 04B1 níor mhórchónaíodar ariamh;
 ... agus dúirt idir a mbeo agus a marbh nach stopfaidís is nach mór-
 chónóidís go bhfeicidís cén bád a bhí seasta. 876JDT97;
 ... N'í 'wɔr'xɔ:nə' fe Mq, ní stopfa mise ... ní mhórchônó' mé ... 869P2.

The prefix *rí-* is found in the lexeme *rímhair* and is inflected in phrases such as *Go maire tú is go rímhaire tú é* FFG, 'ri;war'ə M. On this pattern, Máire produced *ro-mhair* naturally:

gə mair'ə tu is gə ,rə'war'ə tu' Mq *go maire tú is go ro-mhaire tú*,
 but did not permit other combinations, e.g. *b'i:n'war'ə *binnmhaire MØperm.
 The verb *mórmharaigh* can be used in the verbal adjective:

ta m'e 'mɔr'waru / 'mɔr'wari' eg'ə Mq
 tá mé mórmharbh / -mharaíthe aige,

and in repetitious use similar to *rímhair*, e.g.

warə fe ogəs 'wɔr'warə fe m'e Mq
 mharaigh sé agus mhórmharaigh sé mé.

Other prefixed verbs which were noted in verbal adjective form only are:

'ruə,xat'ə M *rua-chaite*; 'mɔr,yot'ə S *mórdhóite*.

5.24 Auxiliary *díon* (*déan*)

The verb *díon* (standard *déan*) is used as an auxiliary with the verbal noun, e.g.

Dhíon mé taibhsiú aréir go bhfuair mé airgead ... FFG s.v. *taibhstonn*;
Chua' se suas go ndíó-, go, go ndíonad se an, an eochair a chasadh sa
doras. 889Pt;
Diabhal labhairt ar bith a rinne Déirdre leis, agus labhair sé léi. 866E-
 Sc33.14;
Chuaidh sé isteach ... D'éiríodar ina seasamh agus is beagnach a phlúch-
adh a rinneadar ... 852SbLL145;
-B'fhéidir gurb é do mharú a dhéanfadh sé. 864MDT58.

The logical object of the verbal noun can be governed by *déan dhe*, e.g.

Ní dhearna mise dhi ach í tharraint síos 03Ct
 'I just pulled her (boat) down'.

Without the verbal noun, in Echo function, *déan* 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 insa teach an tslaitín,' a deir
 Cloigeann Práis, 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, *déan* may serve to answer two verbs in:

-*Ar saolaíobh síoga agus a bhfuairéadar bás?* 69A
 -*Nach* — 05M
 -*Saolaíobh is (dóichí).* 69A
 -*o: d'arnu:* 05M -*Ó! dearnadh.*

Similarly, on one occasion when the meaning of a question and its main verb seemed to be guessed from the context, Seán answered, with some hesitation, *rin'əs S Rinneas*. On another occasion *déan* seems to have been used to avoid what might have been felt as an awkward borrowing:

xlaim'ɑ:l' m'e ni: nuə'ə xruəx ɛr xumə r b'i, ri'nəs, ɑx ... 18J
chlaidhmeáil [< climb] *mé naoi n-uaire an Chruach ar chuma ar bith.*
Rinneas, ach ... ;
cp. rapóirteáileadh mo dhreatháir ... d'fhéadhá rá gur deárnadh. 64M.

Other verbs such as *cuir* and *tabhair* are used similar to auxiliaries, e.g.

Cuir díbirt ar an deabhal! 866Et 'Expel the scoundrel!'

rud a dtugaidís dó air 892Mg 'a thing which they used to burn' (cf. 14 *tabhair ar 3*).

Compare *déan ar in*, for example:

gə n'inhəd'i:f | fɑ:x dɑ'rənt' ɔrhəb 21Pt

go ndéanthaidís seacht dtarraint orthub 'that they would haul them (lobster-pots) seven times' or 'do seven hauls'.

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)á* (5.41 ff.), *-t(e)ar* and *-t(a)í* (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 *-igíse*;

3pl past *-dar*, *-darsan*, past habitual *-idís*, *-idíssean*;

impersonal past *-íodh*, conditional *-fí*.

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. Polysyllabic 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*, *-f'u/or* *-fear*, *-t'u/or* *-tear*, *-hox* *-thadh*. For irregular (non-emphatic) stress in verbs such as *imigh* and *oscail*, including **nax nəskə'l'əx tʃe 66N** *nach n-oscaileadh sé*, see 1.380.

1sg present *-ímse*

Secondary stress:

'd'u:l'ti:mʃə ji:b' ... d'u:l'ti:m' d'i 897S *diúltaímse dhíb ... diúltaím di.*

2sg conditional *-thá*

In Echo context:

-Ó! d'fhéadthá í dhó aríst athuair? P. Mac Dhonncha
d'e:ta: | 'na:huər' | 'd'e:ta: | 889P D'fhéadthá, an athuair, d'fhéadthá.

2pl imperative *-igíse*

Primary stress:

fə'g'i:fə gr'i:m' ... S faighigíse greim ... ;
skræ'ə'g'i:f əm portəx 69Sq scraithigíse an portach.

3pl past *-dar(san)*

Primary stress:

v'i'dor ~ v'i'dur bhíodar;
v'i'dursən nə rə'poblək'ən's 15W bhíodarsan ina 'republicans'.

Note the realisation of *-dar* with secondary stress due to a short stop in the flow of speech:

,v'i:²,dur t'ixt ənuəs ... M bhíodar ag tíocht anuas

3pl past habitual *-aidís(sean)*

Equal primary stress, in the following example probably due to rhythmic sentence stress:

ʃl'ifə:l ə 'hugə 'd'i:f ɛr' P sliséil a thugaidís air.

Primary stress, in (contrastive) emphasis:

gə v'ɛ:tə'd'i:f M go bhféadthaidís! (not prosodically equivalent to
'v'ɛ:tə'd'i:f which has more equal stress on the initial and final syllables);

ho:g'ə'd'i:f 31D thóigidís!; n'i' yohə'd'i:f 31D ní ghothaidís;

hə:ə'd'i:f ɛ' 77Cq sháidís é;

| əgs ,dabri'd'i:fən na r ɛ'ŋ 'xi: ɛr' | 11C

agus d'abraídisean nar raibh aon chaoi air.

Compare use in a recording where Máire had been asked to use 3pl forms in her description:

'xahə'd'i:f ə ʏol' ... sən ɑ:t ə spr'u'gə:l'd'i:f Mt2-dís
chaithidís a ghoil san áit a spriogáilidís.

Impersonal: past *-íodh* and conditional *-fí*

Speaker 892M commonly adds stresses in emphatic or dramatic use. Added to impersonal *-íodh* in:

| 'in'ʃi:v ɛr' v'ẽhã:l ək 'saivn' ɔ̃ | ... 892M5104

insíodh ar Mhícheál '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/wə:f'i: b(h)áifí.

-b/wə:f'i: b(h)áifí! (speaker 53J's elder brother).

5.27 Query: other endings under stress

Table 5.1 presents the results of queries about these 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

Ending	Word	Mq	Mperm
nonpers pres	<i>go gcuireann</i>		gə 'gir'ən 27Mdperm
nonpers cond	<i>nach gcuirtheadh</i>	nax 'gir'hox [x2] 27Mdq	
2sg cond	<i>cheann(óth)á</i>	'x æ:nə:	'x æ:nə:
3pl pst	<i>cheannaíodar</i>	'x æ'ni:'dor	
3pl cond	<i>bheidís</i>	'v e,d'i:f	v e'd'i:f
1sg cond	<i>d'ólthainn</i>	'do:l'həN'	do:l'həN'
1sg pst Echo	<i>d'ólas</i>	'do:ləs	do:ləs
1sg pst Echo	<i>cheannaíos</i>	'x æ'ni:s	'x æ'ni:s
2sg pst Echo	<i>d'ólair</i>		do:lər' ?
1sg fut Echo	<i>ólthad</i>	'o:l'həd, 'o:l'həd	'o:l'həd
1sg fut Echo	<i>ceannód</i>	k'æ'no:d	
imprs pres	<i>báitear</i>	'ba:'t'or	
	<i>ceannaítear</i>	'k æ'ni:'t'ur 21Ptq	
imprs fut	<i>báifear</i>	'ba:'f'or	
	<i>ceannóifear</i>	'k æ'no:'f'ur 21Ptq	
imprs psthab	<i>báití</i>	'ba:'t'i:	

Vowels

5.28 Elision of schwa

Coalescence of vowels across morpheme boundaries generally involves loss of schwa, i.e. ə > Ø /V/. This is, however, not always the case, with schwa being retained (mainly in second syllable position in the word), e.g.

- impv -igí: kɾa:əg'i: Sq *cráigí*;
 in SID.46 there is coalescence in 't'eig'i:fě 732, b'i:g'i s.v. *tá*,
 t'eig'i s.v. *téighim*, partial coalescence in si:g'i: f'i:s 504 and
 noncoalescence in g'ig'i s.v. *téighim*;
 pres -im: L'e:m' L'aur 46.1032 *léim leabhar*;
 'laiimf er' ə 'L'æ:bə fo !05M *Loighimse ar an leaba seo*;
 pres -ann: cén áit a loigheann laien' sé sin 18J8019;
 bl'i:ən mĩd' 46.56 *blíonn muid*;
 pst -adar: xɾa:ədər S (regularly) *chrádar*;
 hi:ədər f'i:s 889P, 11C *shuíodar síos*; note the exchange:
 -v'i:ədər a:n 21Pg *Bhíodar ann*.
 -s do:x, v'i:ədər a:n, s do:x, v'i:ədər a:n 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 ə. In other instances I heard o, and in others u.

Is dóch bhíodar ann ...

The coalesced **v' i:ðər** is by far more common.

2 Conjugation is regularly **-i:ðər** but note the weak schwa in **hərni:ðər** 604 *thairníodar*.

pst -as: **xrəəs** Sq *chrás*.

pst imprs -adh: **f' r' i:uəw** Mp 77 (= 277), **krə:uəw m' e** Sq *crádh mé*.

Even in the third syllable in 2Conj, e.g. **kori:əw** 01CARN *corraíodh, n' i:r f' iərhi:əw f' iər er' hæ:d ən* M *níor fiathraíodh siar ar thada ann*, cp. **məri:üv** 46 s.v. *hobair*.

For further past impersonal examples, see 5.80 ff., particularly Table 5.29 and Table 5.30.

psthab -adh: **n' i: hi:ət fe** S *ní shuíodh sé, si:əd fe* 35E *suíodh sé;*

γli:ət f' iəd << γli:t f' iəd 20Mlt *ghlaodh siad*.

prsbj -e/a: | f'u: 'wet' ə'n' i:f ə d' er fe ... gə dugə mid' ə ... gə dugə, **briχ' ə m' e gəs gə nɔ:ə m' e' n' fo we** | 11C

-Siúil uait anois, a deir sé, ... go dtuga muid an ... go dtuga [speaker retake] *bruithe mé agus go ndó mé anseo é;*

t' u:r'hə m' e l' um e gə l' e:ə pə:rək' v' ik' əl' e M

tiúrtáidh mé liom é go lé Pádraig Mhicil é;

gə l' a:ə fə 20Cq *go leá sé;*

[gə n' i: m' e e] P *go ní [< nigh] mé é;*

cp. **nu: gə | gə mli: ən 'kol' əx** | 05M

nó go mblaoghe an coileach.

pstsbj -inn: **gə' nɔ:əN' ə 't' a:x** 11C *gá ndóinn an teach;*

gə n' i:əN' e 20Myq *go ninn [< nigh] é.*

pstsbj -adh: **gə: su:ət f' i:** 889P *gá súdh sí.*

2Conj -igh: *beoigh* with past *Bheódha'* (*bheó'a'*) *sé ...* 866ESemr66 where the transcription implies a pronunciation **v' o:ə**.

VN -dh: **kruəəv** S *cruadh*.

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. **ha:əd' i:f 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 **-əv** as illustrated in Table 5.30, p. 955.

5.29 Diphthongs

Centralising diphthongs in vocalic juncture have variable surface realisations:

iə(h)+ə >	iəə	e.g. b' iəəw M <i>biadh</i> ;
	i:ə	e.g. l' i:əm' Sq <i>liathaim</i> , l' i:əs Sq <i>liathas</i> ;
	iə	e.g. b' iəv M <i>biadh</i> , l' iən' f' iəd Mq <i>liathann siad</i> ;
uə+ə >	uəə	e.g. fuəəw 04B <i>fuadh</i> , kruəəv S <i>cruadh</i> ;
	uə	e.g. kruəw M <i>cruadh</i> ;

uə+i: >	uəi	e.g. kruəihə 20At <i>cruaíthe</i> ;
	uəi:	e.g. kruəi:t'ər 20Aq <i>cruaítear</i> ;
uə+a: >	u:a:	e.g. fu:a:l' fudáil ;
uə+o: >	uəo:	e.g. kruəo:fər 20At <i>cruaófar</i> ;
uə+u: >	uəu:	e.g. kruəu: <i>S cruadh</i> ;
	uəu	e.g. kruəu 20Mlt <i>cruadh</i> .

We can compare the variable results of suffixation of **ə** in members of the LOBH class:

auə	e.g. tr'auə S <i>treabhadh</i> , gau^ə M <i>gabhadh</i> ;
au	e.g. tr'au S <i>treabhadh</i> , gau M <i>gabhadh</i> .

The 2 Conjugation past habitual and past subjunctive ending is generally **-i:x** (abstractly derivable from **i:+əx**) but definite examples of diphthongal **-iəx** have been noted in:

n'im'iax 01C and **899D6895-7 n-imíodh**.

5.30 Variation of unstressed (o:) > o: ɔ: a:

Unstressed **o:** as a morphological element both in nominal and verbal inflection may be variably realised; in verbal inflection it tends to range between **o:** and **a:**. Examples of **a:**, **a'** are:

ə da'rɔ'n'a: tu *Sq an dtairneoidh tú*, **gə da'rən'a:n' M** *go dtarrainneoinn*,
toxrəf'a' Mq *tochraiseoidh*, **diskl'a:t'i: 05M** *d'usclóitf*.

Generally in the 2 Conjugation **-o:(-)** is more common than **-a:(-)**; in the conditional **-o:x** is more common than **-a:x** for most if not all speakers. For some speakers, e.g. **19P** (P), **-a:** (nonpersonal future) is common. In the impersonal **-o:f'ər -a:f'ər -óifear**, **-o:f'i: -a:f'i: -óifí** are common alternants for speakers SM, P, **43M**. Máire sometimes uses **-ɔ:x** and **-a:x**, e.g. **d'im'a:x d'imeodh**. When queried, Máire replied **d'im'ox e ax kosu:l' l'e a: he:n' e M** 'd'imeodh' é *ach cosúil le 'á' héin é*. Speaker **43M** also recognised **-a:(-)** as a genuine variant.

There is a seemingly sporadic example of **-a:x** in the 1 Conjugation verb *sábháil*, probably due to vowel harmony, in conditional **sa:wa:l'a:x** *PqEcho sábhálthadh*. Only **-əx** has been noted in other instances and it is the only permissible form for Máire: **spa:ra:ləx Mq** *spárálthadh*.

Voice assimilation and dissimilation

5.31 -h- forms

When **h** follows a voiceless consonant it is elided leaving no trace, i.e.

-C^{-voice} + h > -C^{-voice}, e.g.

skæp' + hi: > **skæp'i:** *scaipthe* (verbal adjective);

kuəx + hə > **kuəxə fe fin' hu:** *M cuachthaidh sé sin thú* (future).

Exceptionally **[hl^h] + h > [hlh]** in 1 Conjugation forms of *falmhaigh* noted from **43M**; contrast her:

VN fa'lhə [fa'hl^hə] *falmhadh* vs. fut **fa'hlhə [fa'hlhə]** *falmhthaidh*.

Voiced consonants are devoiced by following **h**, i.e.

-C^{+voice} + h > -C^{-voice}, e.g.

skuəb + hi > **skuəpi**: *scuabthaí* (vadj);
snə:v + hə > **snə:f ə** *snáimhthidh* (fut), **hnə:f ən** *shnáimhthinn* (cond).

The final consonant of verbs ending in **-v** may exceptionally remain voiced with loss of **h**. This was noted in the verb *snáimh*, in one future token and a likely conditional token:

nuər ə snə:v əs ə 'bə:d | 01P

nuair a snáimh[th]eas an bád, tiúrtaidh tú ...;

hna:v əd ʃe nə:rəg ə wo:r 23Ms *shnáimh[th]eadh sé an fharraige mhór*;

and in the rarely inflected verb *guibh*; with regular impv **gív**, pst **yív** Sq, fut **gíf** ə Sq, but 2sg conditional:

yív a: S *ghuibh[th]eá*, cp. vadj **gívt ə** Sq.

For the absence of **h** in *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. **wə:g^khi**: **66N** *bhfhágthaí*, which **66N** also commonly realises as **wə:ki**; also **də:ghi**: **60M** *d'fhágthaí* (for general western Iorras Aithneach **wə:g^f(i)**). Speaker **44P** has impersonal **f** in query and conversation but when asked to produce the apparently obsolescent **h** variant he proffered, for example, **tə:g^hhər** **44Pq** *tóigthear*.

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:

$-C^{\pm\text{voice}} > C^{\sim\text{voice}} / _t, [d] < t.^1$

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. **skə:p^tta**: *scaiptá* 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 **sgla:fdə** *sglamht(h)a* GCF §180(iii), imprs **tr'ofdər** *treabhtar* GCF §180 note 4); *tt* and *dt* are given as **t** only.

In summary, the variants noted from de Bhaldraithe's work are:

		C ^{-voice} t	C ^{-voice} d		C ^{+voice} t
Voiceless radical	<i>ct</i>		[kd] obligatory GCF p. 70 notes 2, 3		
	<i>pt</i>	[pt]			
	<i>tt</i>	[t]			
Voiced radical	<i>gt</i>		[kd] 'sometimes' ICF §145		[gt]
	<i>bt</i>				
	<i>dt</i>	[t]			
	<i>bht</i>		[fd]		

The Iorras Aithneach data appear more consistent in comparison, filling in expected variants which are missing in de Bhaldraithe's pioneering description.

					C ^{-voice} t	C ^{-voice} d			
Voiceless radical	<i>ct</i>	k + t	>	[kt]		[kd]			
	<i>pt</i>	p + t	>	[pt]		[pd]			
	<i>tt</i>	t + t	>	[t]		[td]			
Voiced radical	<i>gt</i>	g + t	>	[kt]	[g ₀ t]	[kd]	C ^{-voice} d ₀ [k ₀ d]	C ^{+voice} t [gt]	C ^{±voice} t ₀ [g ₀ t]
	<i>bt</i>	b + t	>		[b ₀ t]				[p ₀ t]
	<i>dt</i>	d + t	>	[t]				[dt]	[t]
	<i>bht</i>	v + t	>	[ft]		[fd]		[vt]	

The various morphemes containing **t** behave differently, quantitatively at least, with regard to assimilation. There are four morphemes in question:

- I** verbal adjective **-tā**,
- II** 2 singular past habitual / past subjunctive **-tā**,
- III** impersonal present, imperative (also present subjunctive) **-tār**,
- IV** impersonal past habitual / past subjunctive **-tī**.

I With **-ta** of the verbal adjective, i.e. /_tā, the following realisations of attested *ct*, *pt*, *tt*, *dt* and *bht* have been noted:

- ct* [kt] glā:kt eg'ā glacta aige, Mperm (in vadj query).
- [kd] is common: ba:kdā bacta Mq; m'æ:skdā meascta, p'ukdā piocta, ftr'i:kdā stríocta, etc., Mperm (in vadj query).
- pt* [pt] skæ:pt'ā ~ skæ:pd'ā scaipte Mperm (in vadj query).
- [pd] kra:pdā crapta, ropdā ropta, skæ:pd'ā scaipte Mperm (in vadj query).
- tt* [t] only, e.g. t'it'i: titthí > tití.
- dt* [t] only, e.g. get'i: goidthí.
- bht* [ft] fkr'i:ftā scríobhta [x2] P, snæ:ft' eg'ā snáimhte SM, dift' ek'ā duibhte aici Mq.
- [fd] sklā:fdā sclamhta M.
- [vt] givt'ā guibhte Sq, f'it'v'ā sníomhte S (< sníomh), sklā:vtā sclamhta SM.

II With **-tá** of the 2sg, i.e. /_tā, the following realisations of attested *ct*, *gt*, *bt* and *dt* were noted, mainly from 20C:

- ct* [kd] ga: v'ek'dā dhá bhfeictá.
- gt* [gt] ga d'ig'tā dhá dtigtá (< teara).
- [gd] ga l'ig'dā dhá ligitá.
- bt* [pt] (ga:) lu:ptā dhá lúbtá.
- [b₀t] ga: lu:b₀tā: dhá lúbtá 21Ptq.
- dt* [dt] ga ŋo^d:tā: dhá ngoidtá.
- [t] ga fe:tā: dhá séidtá.

III With the impersonal in **-tar**, i.e. /_tār, the following variants of attested *ct*, *pt*, *tt*, *gt*, *dt* and *bht* were noted:

- ct* [kt] tre:fk'tār troisctar 8 Mq2, p'uktār pioctar Mq.
- [kd] stro:k'dār stróictar.
- pt* [pd] skæ:pd'ār scaiptear Mqsl5.94b.
- skæ:p'dār scaiptar 21Ptq.
- tt* [t] general (but no specific example noted).
- [td] t'itdār tittar, do:rt'dār dóirttar, etc., cf. 5.44, 5.47 below.
- gt* [gt] l'ig'tār ligtar, t'ig'tār tigtar.
- dt* [t] gof'ār goidtear, cf. 5.44, 5.47 below.

- [dt] trodʰər troidtear, ʃe:dtər séidtar Mq.
 bht [ft] tr'oft'ər treabhtear 12Sperm.
 [vt] ʃN'i:vti: sníomhtaí [x2] 05M, snə:vʰər snáimhtear Mq.

IV With the impersonal in *-t(a)í*, i.e. /_ti/, the variants from Máire are:

- ct [kt] d'ekʰi: d'fheictí, lokʰi: loictí, la:sk-ʰi: lasctí.
 Máire as a rule does not apply the *-ct-* > [kd] here.
 pt [pt] not recorded from Máire but my recollection is of forms such as k'apti: ceaptaí.
 gt [kt] tukti: tugtaí Mt-tí.
 [gt] ʰigʰi: tigti, ʰigʰi: tigtaí, tugti: tugtaí, da:gti: d'fhágtai Mt-tí, Mq-tí;
 la:g-ʰi: lagti Mq2.
 bht [ft] tr'oft'í: 12Sperm treabhí.
 Note: (i) *gt* > gti: >> kti: in Mt-tí, e.g. tugti: (x9) >> tukti: (x4) tugtaí;
 (ii) *gt* > [kd] does not seem to be very common among speakers in the impersonal *-t(a)í*.

Similarly, other speakers:

- gt [kd] ʰæk-d'í: leagti 35E9226.
 [kq] tukqi: tugtaí 01C6422.
 [gt] tugti: tugtaí 899D6411 (less clearly ARN6761).
 [gt] to:gʰi: tóigtaí 01C6033.

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)í* 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)í* 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.

$-C^{+fric+labial} > \emptyset / _f$.

E.g. *scríobh* ʃkr'i:v + ʰər > ʃkr'i:ʰər ~ ʃkr'i:f'ər (for quality, see 5.54). Rare noncoalescence in query: giy'f'ər 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. ʃe:ʰf'i: P *séidfí*. 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 *bamf'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 > [xd̪ʲ]

-st, sʲ > [sd̪ʲ], [ʃd̪ʲ]

As noted, this is generally the case where both continuant and stop are contained within morphs, e.g. **boxt** *bocht* > [boxd̪ə] *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 **-tə** and with 2 singular **-ta**; it varies with the impersonal endings **-tər** and **-ti**.

- I** **-tə** [buəxd̪ə] *buachta*, [lasd̪ə] *lasta*. (Contrast Máire's emphatic pronunciation for Seán who is hard of hearing 'fri:x | 'tə M *fraochta*.)
- II** **-ta** ga gasda' dhá gcastá, xroxda' chrochtá, vr'ifd̪'a: bhristeá (examples from 20Cq).
- III** **-tər** [f'oxdər mu:xtər kroxd̪'ər] *fiuchtar*, *múchtar*, *crochtear*; with consonant loss [lastər] *lasctar*.
- IV** **-ti** [mu:xd̪'i: buəxt̪'i:] *múchtí*, *buachtí*; following consonant loss, e.g. [m'æ:sdi:] *measctá*.
(All verbal adjective (I) and impersonal (III, IV) examples from M, Mt-tí, Mq-tí.)

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'í** > **get'í**: *goidtí* (impr. psthb). For exceptions such as **trod'tər** *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 **l'** with palatal **n'** is regular, i.e.

-l(') + t' > -lt'; **-n(') + t' > -nt'**; **-l' - n' > -ln'**.¹

This assimilation is, however, not absolutely universal:

-l(') + t'í: generally > **-lt'í**, e.g. **buəlt'í**: Mt-tí *buailtí*, **fraiə:lt'í**: Mt-tí *fraidheáiltí*; but also **buəlt'í**: Mt-tí *buailtí*, **spre:əlt'í**: Mt-tí *spraedáiltí*;

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 (LIX). For example, the medial clusters of **buəlt'í**, **buəlt'í**: *buailtí*; **ban't'í**, **ban't'í**: *baintí*; **feil'í**: *foilneoidh*; **toft'ə** *toghte*; **lu:bt'ər** *lúbtéar*; **rix'ər** *rithféar* could be transcribed more explicitly (but less economically) as **-l't'**, **-l't'**; **-n't'**, **-n't'**; **-l'n'**; **-f't'**; **-b't'**; **-x't'**. Exceptional clusters are **xt'**, **rt'**, **rd'**, **rn'**, **rl'**, 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 **ix't'ər** *ithtéar*. 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.

for regular **-lʲ-** but also **-lʲʲ-** (as well as **-lʲʲ-**) in the **SÁBHÁIL** class, see 5.135.

-nʲ() + **tʲi:** generally > **-nʲʲi:**, e.g. **bantʲi:** [x10] but **bantʲʲi:** [x5] *Mt-tí baintí*;
-nʲ() + **tʲə** generally > **-nʲʲə**, e.g. **gintʲə** but perhaps also >> **gintʲʲə** *M gointe*.

-lʲəNʲ in syncope generally > **-lʲNʲ-**, e.g. **felNʲo:** **felNʲʲi:hə** *M foilneoidh, foilnítthe*, but in query I have also noted **dolNʲo:dʲi:f** **20Cq** *d'fhoilneoidís, folNʲʲi:hə **20Myq** *foilnítthe*, with which we can compare uncoalesced semi-syncope **dəlʲNʲʲo:Nʲ** ... **16B** *d'fhoilinneoinn* from conversation.*

Similarly, **-rʲ** is generally depalatalised before **tʲ**, i.e. **rʲ** + **tʲ** > **-rtʲ**, e.g.

dærtʲi: *d'fhairtí*, **kirtʲi:** *cuirtí*, **kurtʲi:** *comhairtí* *Mt-tí*;

but also very rarely **rʲʲ**, noted in:

kirʲʲtʲi: *Mt-tí cuirtí*.

I have also transcribed palatalised labials before **tʲ**, i.e. **-f/v/b + tʲ** > **-f/v/bʲ**, in:

trʲoftʲər **12Sperm** *treabhítear*, **trʲoftʲʲi:** **12Sperm** *treabhítí*,

ʲNʲʲi:vtʲə **S** *sníomhte*, **toftʲə** **M** *toghte*; **lu:bʲtʲər** **M** *lúbítear*.

Alveolar articulation

There is (optional) alveolarisation of a palatal stop before **lʲ** in syncope in *eiteal* > **dʲetʲlʲi:dʲi:f** **20Cq** *d'eitlídís*, the more regular realisation is seen in **dʲetʲlʲi:dər** **Mq** *d'eitlíodar*.

There are examples of alveolarisation of **dʲ** *d* and **lʲ** *ll* before the palatalised labial, **fʲ**, of the impersonal (cp. 'Sandhi' 2.23):

ʲe:dʲ + **fʲi:** > **ʲe:tʲfʲi:** *P séidfí*;

ka:lʲ + **fʲi:** > **ka:lʲfʲi:** **20Cq** *caillfí*.

The nonpalatal quality of *r* before *-fí* can be attributed to the depalatalising effect of the palatalised labial in:

gə gur-fʲi: *M go gcuirfí*,

possibly [**gur-fʲi:**], 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 **i(:)** the *n* can in fact be palatalised similar to sandhi (2.22), e.g.

hain's **!11C** *théanns*, **xri:n's** **20Pá** *chruthaíonnns*.

Depalatalisation

Palatalised alveolar *n* is depalatalised before nonpalatal **t**, e.g. *duín* > **du:ntər** **43M** *duíntar*, *bain* > **ba:ntər** **43M** *baintar* (both alternating with more general **du:ntʲər** and **bantʲər**).

There is a rare example of depalatalisation of **-gʲ** + **ti:** > **-gti:** in **tʲigtí**: **Mq2.11** *tigtaí* (< *tuig* 'understand'). Also rare is the first token in the series **fə:skdər** **fə:ʃkdər**, **fə:ʃdər** **Mqsl5.94b** *fáiscetar*. Similarly, the partial depalatalisation (to alveolar articulation) in **gođtər** *goidtar* alternates with more common **gotʲər**.

Palatalised alveolar *n* is depalatalised before **f** in **Nʲi:** **klūnfəĩ** **892M4310** *ní cluinfar*. Cp. possible **klun-fʲi:** **!(Asp)11C** *cluinfí*. Other consonants remain

palatalised before **-fər** (a less common allomorph than **-f'ər**), 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: **-l'**, **-l**, **-n'**, **-n**, **-r'**, cf. 5.164 and 5.166). In **kodəl'** *codail* the **d** and **l'** 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):

agər' *agair* > prsbj **agri:**; **kaggəl'** *cangail* > fut **kagglo:**.

Exception: **tarən'** *tarrainn* retains palatal **n'** and, because *rn* clusters are anomalous, nonpalatal **r**, e.g. fut **tarən'ə:**, vadj **tarən'i:hə**. Regularised to **-rn-** in pst **harnə m'ifə** (heard from a young girl born c. 1985).

(ii) Nonsyncope with quality assimilation (depalatalisation), noted in tokens of *cangail*, *ceangail*, *freastail*, *fuagair*, *iomair*, *oscail*, e.g.

SID.46.34 provides the following forms of *cangail*: **n'i: xq.ɣglom' tə'bq:k** ... **ní changlóinn tobac**; **gaggəla:** *an gcangalá?*; **xq.ɣglom' changalóinn**, where the unsyncope variants seem to be in phrasal pausa position;

SID.46.39 provides two inflected forms of *ceangail*: pres **k'aggli:m mīd'** *ceanglaíonn muid*; psthb **x'aggəli:d fīəd**; source 869P2–5 shows syncope in such forms, e.g. cond *changelóch* (< *cangail*); *cheanglaídís*;

a further example of nonsyncope is: **k'æggəli:x mīd' P**;

with partial syncope in vadj **k'æggli: suəs M ceanglaí suas**;

eiteal > fut **et'əl'ə: fə Mq**;

fr'æstəl' freastail > vadj **fr'æ:stəli:hə**;

fuəgər' fuagair > **fuəgəro: m'e: 889P fuagróidh mé**;

duəgri:x ə fā'nar ... duəgəri:d fə ... 11C d'fhuagraíodh an seanfhear ... d'fhuagraíodh sé ...;

duəgro:x/d ~ duəgəro:x/d 35E d'fhuagróidh;

... oskəli:x ... dəkəlo:x 894Cs ... osclaíodh ... d'osclóidh.

The final consonant in the unsyncope form is generally palatal if the final consonant is palatal in the syncope cluster. Examples were noted in *cuimil*, *imir*, *tarrainn*, e.g.

cuimil 3pl pst **xim'əl'ədər M**;

imir psthb imprs **d'imr'i:t'i: iəd ... n'im'ər'i:t'i: iəd 10N**;

tarrainn 2sg cond **ə dar'n'ə: tu ... nax darən'ə: SqEcho**, 3pl cond

hərən'ə:d'i:f [x3] hār'n'ə:d'i:f [x1] 23B;

partial syncope in psthb **tar'n'i:t'i: M**.

Similarly, *fairsinnigh* and rarely *innis* (5.166), e.g.

fairinnigh psthb **daʀfən'ix 21Pt**, psthb imprs **daʀfən'i:t'i M**, cond **gə waʀfən'o:x 21Pt**.

5.37 Nonsyncope

(iii) Nonsyncope with non-assimilation in *eiteal* (from query only, earlier *ar eiltreog* now obsolescent, replaced by 'fly'-*díl*) and *oscail*:

eiteal: pres **eʃ'əli:n Mq**, **eʃ'ələn Mperm**, fut **eʃ'elə Mq**, also with palatal assimilation fut **eʃ'əl'o:ʃe Mq**;

oscail: cond **diskəl'o:x [x3] 50N**, cf. **-kəl- 894Cs (5.36)** and **66N**'s examples further below.

A minority of speakers tend not to syncope verbs of this kind. Pádraig Ó Nía (**01P**) is typical of such speakers:

	Ø syncope	+ syncope
<i>abair</i>	fut a'bəro: tu'	abro: mid'
<i>fuagair</i>	pst imprs fuəgəri:v ... duəgəri:w	
<i>iomair</i>	fut uməro: tu:, VN əg' umərə	(all 01P)

Also syncopated by **01P**: *tarrainn* > 3pl psthb **haʀn'íd'i:ʃ**, vadj **taʀn'íə**. This speaker also has epenthesis in (historical) medial clusters containing (mostly) plosives followed by sonorants ('Epenthesis 2' 1.359 ff.) and similar epenthesised or unsyncopated noun plurals, e.g. *capall* > **ka'p'əl'ə** << **ka'pl'ə 01P caiple**.

Speaker **66N** depalatalises but does not syncope *ceangail* and *oscail* preceding the innovative 1 Conjugation future impersonal ending in **x'æ'ngəl-f'ər 66N cheangalfear**, **uskəl-f'ər 66N oscalfear**. There is loss of **r** of the root in her **ump-f'ər 66N** for traditional *iompróifear*. She also has 1 Conjugation personal endings without depalatalisation in *oscail*: **ə'skil'hə 66N oscailthidh**, ... **nax nəskəl'əx ʃe ... 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 **ʃ** *s* are noteworthy:

-r'həʃ > -r'hʃ-	ær'hʃo: Mq aithriseoidh
-xəʃ > -xʃ-	tox-fo: 20Cq tochaiseoidh, tox-fi:hə 20Cq tochaisíthe
-xrəʃ > -xrʃ-	toxr-fi:hə 20Cq tochraisíthe
-ʃrək' > -ʃr-k'-	ka'ʃr-k'o: M caisriceoidh
-ʃrək'+t' > -ʃr-kt'-	koʃr-kt'i: Mq-tí coisricí

For rare **-s-d'-**, see 5.50.

As mentioned concerning alveolar assimilation (5.35), there is coalescence to **tʃ** in *eiteal*: 3pl psthb **d'etʃ'i:d'i:ʃ 20Cq**, more regularly **tʃ**, e.g. 3pl pst **d'etʃ'i:dər Mq**. For **-t'd-**, **-td-**, **-dt-**, **-dʃ-**, etc., see 5.32 and 5.35 above.

Often, the cluster comes about by less regular syncope:

-rnəd- > -rnd-	ɴ̃ɑ:rndər 11Ct <i>ndearnadar</i>
-xtəd- > -xtd-	xl̥ʰæ:xtədər St <i>chleachtadar</i> (distinct delay in voicing before the second dental)

The cluster can also be a result of non-assimilation or noncoalescence at morpheme boundary, particularly before an impersonal suffix:

-hl^h+h- > -hlh-	fɑ:hlhə 43M <i>falmhthaidh</i> (fut < <i>falmhaigh</i> , 5.31)
-x^h+t^h- > -x^ht^h-	ix^ht^hər S <i>ithtear</i>
-h+t- > -ht-	ih̥tər 43M <i>ithtar</i>

Due to innovative use of 1 Conjugation inflection with historical 2 Conjugation verbs in:

-mpr-+f^h- > -mp-f^h-	ump-f^hər [sic] 66N for traditional <i>iompróifear</i>
-ntr-+f^h- > -ntr-f^h-	skɑ:ntr-f^hi: 66N for traditional <i>scanróifí</i> (with psthab meaning)

Another innovative form was noted in:

-məl^h- > -m-l^h-	kuməl^h > kum-l^hi:hə 84Pq (for traditional -m^həl^h- > -ml^h-)
cp. -m-r^h-	ki:m-r^həxtɑ:l^h 66L (for traditional -mr^h- , -vr^h- , etc.)

Cluster simplification is not common; there is, however, loss of **k** in **-sk+t-** > **-st-** in:

measctáí, m'æ:sdi: (x4/4) in *Mt-tí*, *m'æ:sk-t^hi:* in *Mq-tí*;
lasctar, la'stər 4, la'sktər 5, *Mq-tí* (4, 5 = order of production);
loiscte, lojd'ə brit'ə do:t'ə Mq loiscte bruíte dóite;
d'fháiscí, da:f^hi: *Mq-tí*; in *Msl5.94* *imprs pres: fa:skdər, fa:fk'dər, fa:fdər fáiscar* (NB **d** ≠ **t** here).

In *Mq-tí*, however, most **-sct-** clusters are retained:

throjkt^hi: *throisctí*, **trejkt^htər** *troisctear*, **pl'e:sk-t^hi:** *pléascí*.

Note the example of loss of **r** in the anomalous base cluster **-mpr-+f^h-** > **-mp-f^h-** in **ump-f^hər 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 **ŋ** in clusters for more general **ŋg**; this use of **ŋ** 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 nonpalatal. 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)í* 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 -tə -t'ə (obsolescent also -ti: -t'i:),
- II 2 singular past habitual / past subjunctive -ta: -t'a: ,
- III impersonal present, imperative, present subjunctive -tər -t'ər ,
- IV impersonal past habitual / past subjunctive -ti: -t'i: .

(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** **t'** ~ **d** **d'**, see 5.32 above.)

The *t* of **II–IV** (2sg -*t(e)á* and impersonal -*t(e)ar* and -*t(a)í*) is usually palatal following vowels¹ 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 -t'- 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)í* 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'etər** *creidtar* for expected (and older) **kr'et'ər** *creidtear*. 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** > -**xtər** but less often > -**xt'ər** and with -*t(a)í* she has **x**, **r** > -**xt'i:**, -**rt'i:**. This example indicates greater differentiation between **III** -*t(e)ar* and **IV** -*t(a)í* in younger speakers (as the older system undergoes gradual change). This distinc-

¹ This includes verbs of the CAITH class which are treated as vowel-final for *t*-suffixes.

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 **-tār** optionally expanding to all environments. (I have heard this expansion of **-tār** from other speakers of her age-group from the Cois Fharraige area, e.g. **gli:tār** *glaotar*, **b'í:tār** *bíotar*.)

Palatal **-t'** is regular with the **SÁBHÁIL** class of verbs, e.g. **sə:wə:lt'í** *sábháiltí* (5.135). This can be analysed as direct suffixation to the verbal root, i.e. **-t' + t'**. Given contrasts such as:

buə:lt'ər [only] **12S** *buailtear* vs. **sə:k'ə:ltār** [rare] **12S** *saiceáltar*,
buə:lt'í **872P** *buailtí* vs. **ʃt'ə:fə:lti** **872P** *sleaiséaltai*,

it seems that use of nonpalatal **-t-** can be analysed as suffixation to the verbal stem of the **SÁBHÁIL** class, i.e. **-t + t-**. In contrast, the example in **n'í** **v'ə:lə:lt'í** **01C** *ní bhealáltí* can be analysed as suffixation of **-t'** to the verbal stem, i.e. **-t' + t'**.

I Verbal adjective *-ta/e*

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* > **ʃn'í:t'ə** **S** *sníomhte*, *togh* > **toft'ə** **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(e)á*

Although examples of the 2sg past habitual ending in *-t(e)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 psthb *-t(e)á* examples, but there is one example from **875T1**: *bhuailteá* (cp. *thíteá* **875T1**). Only two of my field informants regularly use this ending: **20C** and, to a lesser extent, **21Pt**. Examples from **20Cq** include:

hig'ta: *hæ:rt ən'ʃo ... thigtá thart anseo*, **do:ltə**: *d'óltá*,
xurt'ə: *chuirteá*, **vr'íʃd'ə**: *bhristeá*, **v'í:t'ə**: *bhíteá*, **xroxda'** *chrochtá*,
lu:pt'ə *lúbtá*.

5.42 2sg past subjunctive *-t(e)á*

The three speakers for whom I have substantial data resemble each other in 2sg past subjunctive *-t(e)á*. They differ only when *-t(e)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'ə: follows vowels and palatalised nonvelars, i.e. *faigh* > **gə wa:t'ə** *go*

bhfaighteá, dúin > **gə nū:nʲɑ:** *go ndúinteá* (and no doubt after palatals);
-ha: also follows vowels, i.e. *teighre gə dʲe:ha:*.

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**):

- ta:** follows nonpalatal consonants, palatalised velars (**kʲ gʲ**) and **rʲ**;
- tʲɑ:** follows vowels and palatalised nonvelars (**ʃ, ʲ** and **nʲ** 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 5.2 2sg past subjunctive -*t(e)á* and stem final, 894C

- ta: - <i>tá</i>				- tʲɑ: - <i>teá</i>			
Nonpalatal	Palatalised (+back)			Palatalised (–back)			Vowel
g	kʲ	gʲ	rʲ > r	ʃ	ʲ	nʲ	a
<i>fág</i>	<i>feic</i>	<i>lig</i>	<i>cuir</i>	<i>bris</i>	<i>siúil</i>	<i>bain</i>	<i>caith</i>

Table 5.3 2sg past subjunctive -*t(e)á*, main examples, 894C

- ta: - <i>tá</i>		- tʲɑ: - <i>teá</i>	
Nonpalatal	Palatalised (+back)	Palatalised (–back)	Vowel
e.g. <i>fág, tag-, geall, ól, díol, glan</i> 894C6 , 9 <i>fág, tag-, díol</i> 894C2	- kʲ <i>feic</i> (x5+) 894C6 , 9 - gʲ <i>lig</i> [x1] 894C6 , 9 > <i>lic-</i> 894C2 <i>tig</i> (x3) - rʲ > - r <i>cuir</i> 894C2 , 6, 9 <i>mair</i> [x1] ma:rtɑ:	- ʃ <i>siúil</i> - ʲ <i>bris</i> 894C2 , 6, 9 <i>clis</i> 894C2 - nʲ <i>bain</i>	e.g. <i>caith, bhfaighteá,</i> cp. <i>psthab níteá</i> (< <i>déan</i>)

5.43 20C, Cólín 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:

- ta:** follows nonpalatal consonants and palatalised stops (**kʲ gʲ dʲ**);
- tʲɑ:** follows vowels and palatalised continuants (**rʲ ʃ nʲ ʲ**; -**ʃtʲ** is treated as -**ʃ**).¹

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* > **e:ʃtʲɑ:** that the rule is applied twice, the first part yielding ***e:ʃta:**, the second **e:ʃtʲɑ:**. This would then be comparable with the postulated double application of **rʲ + t > rtʲ > rt**, mentioned in 5.40.

Table 5.4 2sg past habitual, past subjunctive *-t(e)á* and stem final, 20C(q)

-ta: -tá				
Nonpalatal		Palatalised (+stop)		
	k'	g'	d'	
ga gasda', grumta', n'inta: 20C, no:ltá; xroxda', lu:ptá', do:ltá:	ga: v'ek'da'	ga d'ig'ta', l'ig'da'	ga ɲo ^d ta:, fe:tá'	
cas, crom, croch, déan, lúb, ól	feic	tig, lig	goid, séid	
-t'á: -teá				
Vowel	Palatalised (–stop)			
	r'	f(t')	l', l'	n'
ga ga't'á', n'it'á':, ma't'á', m'at'á':, n'it'á', d'et'á':; v'it'á':	ga gurt'á': Perm: ma'gərt'á', wuəgərt'á'	vr'ifd'á':, ga n'e:j't'á':	ga m'i:l't'á':, nuskəlt'á': Perm: ga'ŋgəlt'á'	ga mant'á'
caith, faigh, ith, maith, meáigh, nigh, teighre, bí	cuir (x2) bagair, fuagair	bris, éist	mill, oscail cangail	bain

One exceptional form was repeated by 20Cq from my query. He permitted and repeated: **ga glunta' e dhá gclu(i)ntá 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 *cluín* (before *t*) has been reanalysed as **clun* as a result of the once common expression **a glun tu an gcluín tú**, where *n* is depalatalised in (original) sandhi. Cp. nonpalatal realisation before **f** in **n'í: klūnf̥ə̃r** 892M4310 *ní cluinfar*, possible **klun-f'í: !**(Asp)11C *cluinf̥í*, 5.35.) Speaker 20C's own form in conversation is **ga glin'há: dhá gcluíntheá**. Contrast regular **ga glint'á** (brother of 21J) *dhá gcluíntheá*.

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'tər *ligtar* is most frequent;

sæ:k'altər *S saiceáltar* is rare (for Seán and generally);

buəltər 36N *buailtar* implies that 36N may have greater than usual use of **tər**;

katər 43M *caithtar* is characteristic of 43M.

There are two impersonal endings, **III** *-t(e)ar* and **IV** *-t(a)í*, which have **t** alternating with **t'**. They do not have the same proportion of **t** and **t'**. Of the two endings, *-t(a)í* has the highest **t'** usage in my sample. It follows that speakers do not necessarily have **t'ər** in the same stem-final contexts as **t'í**:

Anomalous examples in the impersonal of *treabh* (LOBH class), i.e. **tr'oft'ər** 12Sperm, **tr'oft'í**: 12Sperm, may be due to the query context and therefore not 'vernacular', or are perhaps (also) influenced by more regular **tr'aut'í**, etc. Cp. the rare examples of **-ft'** in the verbal adjective of *togh* (5.141) and **-vt'** in *sníomhte* (5.40).

5.45 III Imperative, present, present subjunctive *-t(e)ar*

The general use of *-t(e)ar* is as follows:

- tār** follows nonpalatal consonants, i.e. -C`**tār**, and palatalised velars (k' g');
- tār** ~ -t'ār follow r' and palatalised stops (probably -**tār** >> -t'ār with r');
- t'ār follows vowels and palatalised continuants.

Older speakers tend to avoid -**tār** with palatalised nonvelar consonants. Some younger speakers have a propensity for -**tār** 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:

- tār** follows nonpalatal consonants, palatalised velars (k' g') and r' (rarely -áltar);
- t'ār follows vowels and other palatalised continuants (and no doubt other palatalised stops).

Table 5.5 shows his system with examples.

Table 5.5 Impersonal *-t(e)ar* and stem final, 869P, SID.46

-tār -tar				-t'ār -tear	
Nonpal's	Depalatalised	Palatalised velars		Vowels	Pal continuants
	-r' > -r	-k'	-g'		
	<i>curtar,</i> <i>beirtar</i>	<i>feictar,</i> f'ik'tār 46 s.v. <i>tchím</i>	<i>ligtar</i>		exception <i>stóráltar</i>

894C, Colm Ó Caoidheáin, Glinsce

Two important examples can be gleaned from **!894C9** ('!' indicating higher register) and **894C2**, 3 as given in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6 Impersonal *-t(e)ar*; 894C's small sample

-tār -tar	-t'ār -tear	
-l'	Vowel	-r'
<i>buailtar</i> 894C2 , 3		<i>cuirtear</i> !894C9

Contrast his common 2sg (g)*curtá* **894C** (Table 5.3 above).

Speaker 04B's data are very limited but they are presented in Table 5.7 for completeness.

Table 5.7 Impersonal *-t(e)ar*, 04B's small sample

-tār -tar		-t'ār -tear
2 Conjugation	-r'	
infi:tār 9n	d'ertār (x2) 9n <i>deirtar</i>	kurt'ār (x2) <i>cuirtear</i>

The 2 Conjugation **-it̪ər** token occurs in a sequence involving a slip of the tongue:

sumu: ʃk'el ə hin¹,i:t̪ər, infi:t̪ər fin v'ær k'e:nə 04B9n
is iomú scéal a hinsíotar faoin bhfear céanna.

Speaker 10B has **kurt̪ər** [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 Mqsl5.94a and Mqsl5.94b), 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.)

Mqsl5.94a (impersonal, various tenses):

e:ʃd'ər éistear, do:r̪t̪ dər dóirttar, kl'ifd'ər clistear, goɔt̪ər gof'ər goidt(e)ar, br'ijf'ər bristear, bla:ʃd'ər blaistear, ba:ʃt̪'ər baistear, t̪'itdər tittar, loʃkt̪'ər loisctear, ku:kəl-t̪'ər cúcáltear, koʃrəkt̪'ər coisrictear, snə:v̪t̪'ər snáimhteare, t̪'ig̪t̪ər tigtar (FGB *tuig*), **trod̪t̪'ər troidtear, tr'e:g̪t̪ər tréigtar, to:g̪t̪ər tóigtar, tæ:r̪əg̪t̪'ər tairgtear, sligt̪'ər sloigtear, ʃe:ɔt̪ər séidtar, ruəg̪t̪'ər ruaigtear.**

Mqsl5.94b (impersonal present):

trusdər trustar, tu:ʃd'ər tomhaistear, tef̪d'ər toistear, t̪'itdər (t̪'it̪ dər) tittar, tæ:xdər tachtar, stro:k̪ dər stróictar, ʃtr̪i:kt̪ər stríoctar, skolt̪'ər scoiltear, skæ:pd̪'ər scaiptear, p̪'ukt̪ər pióctar, lokt̪'ər loictear, f̪'e:ʃd'ər feistear, fæ:skdər fá:ʃk̪ dər, fá:ʃdər fáisc̪tar.

To provide further examples, Máire translated a short list of **-r'** verbs 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-*t̪*), 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) **-t̪ər** follows nonpalatal consonants categorically (except **b** and **x**);
- (ii) **-t̪ər** ~ **-t̪'ər** follow palatalised stops (**g' k' ʃk' (t')** **r̪t̪' d' p'**) and non-palatal **b**, and **x** which takes **-t̪ər** >> **-t̪'ər** (but **-t̪'ər** with **g' k'** noted in query only);
- (iii) **-t̪'ər** follows vowels and palatalised continuants (**r' ʃ l' n' v'**; clusters **ʃt̪'** and **lt̪'** seem to pattern as **ʃ, lt̪'**).¹

This distribution can be restated in Table 5.8, the tabular form aiding comparison with other speakers.

Table 5.8 Impersonal -t(e)ar and stem final, M(q)

	-t̪'ər -tear			
	-t̪ər -tar			
Nonpalatals	except x b	Palatalised stops	Palatalised continuants	Vowels

¹ Cp. 5.40 p. 914 n. 1.

Her examples are listed and classified according to (i)–(iii) here. (Numbers represent order of occurrence, e.g. token ‘5’ followed directly ‘4’.)

(i) **-tər** follows nonpalatal consonants, i.e. **-l**, **-n**, **-s**, **-k** + **-tər** in Mq2:

d’i:ntər 1 *déantar*, **la’stər** 4, **la’sktər** 5 and in general for *lasctar*,

lastər *lastar*, **o:ltər** *óltar*, **g’ærtər** *gearrtar* M;

except for **x** which, in Mq2, takes **-tər** (x3), **-t’ər** (x2):

-tər: **mux:tər** 8 *múchtar*, **f’oxdər** 7 *fiúchtar*, **fl’oxdər** 6 *fliúchtar*;

-t’ər: **buəxd’ər** 1bis *buachtar*, **kroxd’ər** 2 *crochtar*.

(ii) **-tər** ~ **-t’ər** (probably **-tər** >> **-t’ər** with **k’** **g’**) follow palatalised stops, i.e. **g’** **k’** **ʃk’** (**t’**) **r’t’** **d’** (**p’**) as listed immediately below.

Palatalised stops with **-t(e)ar**, M(q):

Root	Cluster	Examples	Cluster	Examples
		-tər		-t’ər
-d’	d’t	kred’tər <i>creidtar</i>	dt’	trod’t’ər <i>troidtear</i>
	ɔt	goɔtər <i>goidtear</i>	t’	got’ər <i>goidtear</i>
	dt	kr’edtər M <i>creidtar</i>		
-t’	t’d	do:rt’dər <i>dóirttar</i> , (t’it’dər) <i>tittar</i>		
	td	t’itdər <i>tittar</i>		
-g’	g’t	l’ig’tər M <i>ligtar</i> ,	gt’	tæ:r’əgt’ər <i>tairtgear</i>
		t’ig’tər 3 Mq2 <i>tígtar</i> (FGB <i>tuig</i>)		
-k’	k’t	trɛʃk’tər 8 Mq2 <i>troisctar</i>	kt’	loʃkt’ər <i>loisctear</i>
	k’d	stro:k’dər <i>stróictar</i>		
-p’			pd’	skæ:pd’ər <i>scaiptear</i>
-tər ~ -t’ər	also follow b in:		bt’	lu:bt’ər <i>lúbtar</i>
	b	bt		

(iii) **-t’ər** follows vowels and palatalised continuants (**r’** **ʃ** **l’** **n’** **v’**; clusters **ʃt’** and **l’t’** seem to pattern as **ʃ**, **l’**):

kæ:t’ər M *caítear*, similarly, 2 Conjugation **-i:t’ər**, e.g. **mar:i:t’ər** M *maráítear*; **ba:n’t’ər** *baintear*, **buə:l’t’ər** *buailtear*; **br’iʃt’ər** M *bristear*; **-rt’ər** in Mq1: **fæ:rt’ər** *é fairtear* *é*, **ku:rt’ər** *kirt’ər cuirtear*, **ma:rt’ər** *ann mairtear ann*, **ku:rt’ər** *comhairtear*; **snæ:v’t’ər** *snáimhteair*; including the SÁBHÁIL class: **spæ:ra:l’t’ər** *spáráiltear* but note the rare **ku:k’a:l’t’ər** *cúcaltear* Mqs15.94a.

Note the surface form **ʃd** in **fæ:ʃdər** one variant of **fæ:ʃk’dər** *fáiscstar* with alternative assimilation in **fæ:skdər**.

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 **-tər** but other less common verbs in **-g’** 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 **-t’ər** with palatal stops not found in **-g’** verbs in Máire’s spontaneous conversation. Generally speaking, speaker **43M**’s responses to query definitely show a preference for **-t’ər** in comparison with her conversation although even in query her fondness for **-tər** is evident. Máire’s higher use of palatal **-t’i:** in comparison with palatal **-t’ər** is striking, as is her daughter’s (**43M**) higher use of **-t’i:** in comparison with **-t’ər**, albeit in different proportions. (Few **-t(a)í** forms have yet been noted from **43M**, one with **-ti:**.)

Table 5.9 *-t(e)ar* and stem final, examples; M(q)Consistently *-tar*:

	k	t	l	r	s	n
<i>-tar</i>	fʰtʰrʰi:ktər pʰuktər la:stər, la:sktər	trusdər ta:xdər	o:ltər	gʰa:rtər	lastər	dʰi:ntər

Consistently *-tear*:

	rʰ	f	fʰ	lʰ	a:lʰ	nʰ	V	-i:- 2Conj
<i>-tear</i>	fʰa:rtʰər ku:rtʰər kirtʰər ma:rtʰər ku:rtʰər	klʰi:fdʰər brʰi:ftʰər bla:fdʰər tu:fdʰər te:fdʰər brʰi:ftʰər	e:fdʰər ba:ftʰər fʰe:fdʰər	buə:ltʰər	ku:kə:l-tʰər spə:rə:ltʰər	bantʰər	kæ:tʰər	mari:tʰər

Variable with both *-tar* and *-tear*:

	kʰ	fʰkʰ	gʰ	tʰ	cp. fʰ	cp. lʰ
<i>-tar</i>	strə:kʰdər	fʰa:skdər, fʰa:fʰkʰdər, fʰa:fdər <i>fʰa:isctar</i> trə:fʰkʰtər	tʰigʰtər trʰe:gʰtər tə:gʰtər lʰigʰtər tʰigʰtər	tʰitdər tʰitdər (tʰitʰdər)		
<i>-tear</i>	kə:frəktʰər ləktʰər	ləfktʰər	tə:rʰəgtʰər sligtʰər ruəgtʰər		e:fdʰər ba:ftʰər fʰe:fdʰər	skə:ltʰər

	rʰ	dʰ	x
<i>-tar</i>	də:rtʰdər	gə:dtər fə:dtər krʰedʰtər krʰedʰtər	mu:xtər fʰə:xdər flʰə:xdər
<i>-tear</i>		gə:tʰər trə:dtʰər	buə:xdʰər krə:xdʰər

Too few examples to generalise:

	pʰ	vʰ	lʰ	b
<i>-tar</i>				lu:bʰtər
<i>-tear</i>	skæ:pʰdʰər	snə:vʰtʰər	skə:ltʰər	lu:bʰtʰər

5.48 20A, Antaine Ó Máille, Doire IorraisSpeaker **20A**'s 1 Conjugation use is typical (with some gaps of attestation):

- tər** follows nonpalatal consonants, i.e. *skartər* *scartar*; exception: *bʰi:ntʰər* *bʰionntear* reflecting his more common, and doubtless more acceptable *bʰi:tʰər* *bʰítear*;
- tər ~ -tʰər** follow **rʰ**, i.e. *kurtʰər* [x4] *kurtər* [x1] *cúirt(e)ar*;
- tʰər** follows vowels, i.e. *bʰi:tʰər* *bʰítear*, *tʰaitʰər* *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-)* agrees with the preceding consonant or consonant group (more strictly speaking the final consonant in a consonant group, in the case of **-rʰ-** but for variant **tə:rʰi:tər** **20Aq**, see further below). His 2 Conjugation thereby follows the (historical) consonantal rule of the 1 Conjugation, i.e. **-i:tər** follows roots in non-palatal finals, **-i:tʰər** follows roots in palatal finals:

C`-i:tər
klw:di:tər (x2) *clúdaíotar*
umpi:tər *iompaíotar*
tos:i:tər *tosaíotar*

C'-i:t'ər
aibr'i:t'ər *oibrítear*
tærn'i:t'ər *tairnítear*

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'-i:t'ər: **tærn'i:t'ər** (1) **tærn'i:t'ər** (2) **20Aq** *tairnítear tairníotar*. The latter is perhaps influenced by either the nonpalatal **r** in the -rn'- cluster or the nonpalatal **r** in unsynopated *tarrainn* or possibly by both instances of **r**. He also has nonpalatal **f** in **tærn'ofər** **20Aq** *tairneofar*. 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/i:~t'ər: **kruəi:t'ər** [x3] **20Aq** *cruaítear*.

Speaker **20Aq** applies the equivalent consonant-quality harmony rule in the future impersonal f' (5.56), i.e.

C`-o:fər ~ C'-o:f'ər ~ V-o:f'ər.

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 -ítt ~ -íotaí, see 5.53.

5.49 43M, Máirín de Brún; Others

43M, Máirín de Brún, An Aird Mhóir and Mainis (Máire's (16M) daughter)

Speaker **43M** uses -t'ər forms in the usual postvocalic and palatal continuant environments. However, she also uses -tər in these environments. Although data from her are limited, her overall pattern is as follows:

-tər follows nonpalatal consonants;

-tər ~ -t'ər follow vowels (including 2 Conjugation) (-t'ər >> -tər) and palatal consonants (including -a:l'), except L' which takes -t'ər 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(e)ar and stem final, 43M's proclivity to -tar

	-tər -tar					
	-t'ər -tear					
Nonpal	x', V	r'	n'	Vowels	a:l'	L'
tugtər	ih̥tər ²	kurtər	du:ntər ba:ntər	gli:tər m'a:tər ka:tər a:rdi:tər ³	-a:l'tər (lexeme not noted)	
	ri:t'ər q	kirt'ər	du:nt'ər q,	gli:t'ər q,	p'e:n't - a:l't'ər	ka:l't'ər

¹ Compare harmony in labial-initial proclitics exemplified in **bə duna** *ba dona* vs. **b'ə d'as** *ba deas* (Tom Kelly, *Baile an Phoill, An Caisleán Gearr*); also unstressed initials in Munster following forward stress shift, alternating with assimilated cluster (Ó Sé 1984).

² In **n'i: ih̥tər iəd | n'i: ih̥tər xər ə b'ih̥ iəd** **43M** *ní ihtar iad, ní ihtar ar chor ar bith iad*.

³ Note the context of this instance with preceding -tər:

nur' ə xurtər er' ə h̥iv, nur' ə [h?]a:rdi:tər **ə** **43M**
nuair a chuirtear ar a thaobh — nuair a hardaíotar é.

But many other examples of 2Conj -i:tər in conversation show no possibility of list effect, e.g.

... **ma:ri:tər iəd** **43M** ... *maraíotar iad*.

-tər -tar						
-t'ər -tear						
			bant'ər	N'it'ər kat'ər sali:t'ər q		
tug	ith, rith	cuir	dúin, bain	glaoigh, meáigh, caith, ardaigh, nigh, salaigh	péintéil	caill

Variation between mother and daughter was noted in conversation:

-N'í: yu:ntər, ə nu:ntər **43M** *Ní dhúintar, an ndúintar?*

-N'í: yu:nt'ər **M** *Ní dhúintear.*

Here Máire reproduced **43M**'s lenition (cf. 8.43) but not her -tər.

Speakers with few examples

12S sæ:k'altər *saicedáltar*, an uncommon form for Seán;

-r' > rt' in dort'ər *S doirtear*.

14M -r' > rt in kurtər *cuirtar*.

20C to:g'tər *tóigtar*.

23M -tər seems quite frequent: kurtər **23M**, **23Mq** *cuirtar*, bantər **23M** (but bant'ər q) *baint(e)ar* and note also -ti: in kurti: *cuirtaí*.

36M nax ju:saltər *nach ghiúsáltar* (< use).

5.50 IV Past habitual, past subjunctive -t(a)í

The general use of -t(a)í 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)í. 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)í following g' from conversation almost all have -g'ti:, e.g.

to:g'ti: *S tóigtaí*, l'ig'ti: *ligtaí* **27M**.

We note, however, l'igt'i: *ligtí* **35E9135**; following g also rare fag-t'i: *fágtí* **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. ga gurti: **10N** *dhá gcuirtaí*, curtaí **869P**, **875T1**, **894C**, **897P**, **899D6015**, **6159**, **11C**, **SÓC3.159**; beirtaí **894C**, cp. b'e:rti: *S béartaí* (< beir).

-rt'i:, e.g. kirt'i: **01C6076**, **12S**, kurt'i: **05M**, cuirtí **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 -i:ti: -íotaí tokens:

kirt'i: f'tæ:x iəd əgəs kin'i:ti: f'ti hiəd **20M1**

cuirtí isteach iad agus coinníotaí istigh iad;

d'i:br'i:ti: iəd **21C** *díbríotaí iad*; as well as **20Aq** (5.53).

There are also the interesting oppositions in:

kas-d'i: **35E8298** *castí* << kasdi: **35E** (e.g. **ARN8301**) (x2) *castaí*;

ræk'al'ti: **897P** *raiceáiltaí*, (contrast his assimilation in kurti: *cuirtaí*);

n'i: v'ælal't'i: **01C6059** *ní bhealáltí*.

In the following exchange there is an example of 2 Conjugation **-i:ti:** from a younger speaker, who was reading from an interview questionnaire; and of the sequence **-f:ti:** from an older speaker, perhaps influenced by the preceding **-si:ti:** form:

... *sulə dosi:ti: ə to:g a:l ə t'i:* **69A** ... *sula dtosaíotaí ag tóigeál an tí?*
wel' ... tɛftʰi: ... tɛftʰi: ... **05M** *-Bhuel ... toistaí ... toistaí ...*

5.51 Individual speakers

852S, Seán Veail 'ac Con Raoi has one example, with regular nonpalatal *-taí* with nonpalatal stop, i.e. *-g > -gtaí: dhá bhfágtai* **852S2**.

869P2–5, SID.46, Pádraigín Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire shows typical usage:

-ti: follows nonpalatal consonants and palatalised velars (**k' g'**),

-ti: >> **-t'i:** follow **-r'**,

-t'i: 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(e)ar* (Table 5.5) except that his palatal variant **-t'i:** is attested (as a less frequent variant) following **r'**.

Table 5.11 Impersonal (-t(a)i), 869P2–5, SID.46

-ti: -taí		-t'i: -tí		
Nonpalatal	Palatal (+back) k'	r'	Palatal (-back)	Vowel
e.g. <i>glantaí</i>	<i>Ní feictaí</i>	<i>curtaí</i> (x5+) <i>beirtaí, cuirtí</i> (x1)	e.g. <i>baintí</i>	e.g. <i>ithtí</i>

875T1, Team Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire has, from his three examples, a similar pattern: **-r' > curtaí** (x1); **-l' > buailtí** (x2).

894C, Colm Ó Caoidheáin has an identical pattern with speaker **869P** above, including **-ti: >> -t'i:** with **-r'**. Table 5.12 displays his examples.

Table 5.12 Impersonal (-t(a)i), items attested and their frequency, 894C

-ti: -taí		-t'i: -tí	
Nonpalatal	Palatal (+back) k'	r'	Palatal (-back)
regular	<i>feic</i> 894C6/9	<i>córtaí</i> (< <i>comhairtaí</i>), <i>curtaí</i> (x3), <i>beirtaí</i> 894C6 , 9, <i>curtaí</i> (x2) 894C2 <i>cuirtí</i> (x3)	<i>buail</i>

There is, however, an example with a SÁBHÁIL class verb in nonpalatal **-ti:** 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):

-ti: follows nonpalatal consonants, i.e. **tukdi:** 6422 *tugtaí*, and palatalised velars, i.e. **to:g'fi:** 6033 *tóigtaí*;

-t'i: follows r', i.e. **kirt'i**: 6076 *cuirtí* (contrasting with present **kurtar** 6270 *cuirtar*, as do other speakers);

-t'i: follows vowels and palatalised continuants, i.e. **fuat'i**: 6048 *fuaití*,
teft'i: 6076 *toistí*.

Note also his **n'i**: **v'æ:lal't'i**: 6059 *ní bhealáltí* (5.135).

04B, Beairtle Ó Con Fhaola has -rt' - in **gar gurt'i**: 10tn *dhá gcuirí*.

5.52 16M, Máire Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola, Mainis

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 im fadó?* From analysis of the taped material a list of verbs in -x, -r, -g', -k', -sk and -jk' was prepared which Máire was then asked to translate from English prompts or change the imperative Irish form into the impersonal past habitual and past subjunctive. These translations are denoted here by Mq2. Numbers refer to the order of responses in Mq2. The results of this questionnaire, however, show an uncharacteristically heavy bias for the -t'i: form. For instance, in Mq2 -gt'i: occurs in almost equal proportion to -g'ti: (4:3) and both -k > -k-t'i: and -k > -kt'i: are attested. In Mt-tí, in contrast, only -g'ti: (x3) and -k'ti: (x1) are found. Note also that **L'igt'ð** was interrupted and selfcorrected to **L'igt'i: ligtaí**. (Cf. impersonal present -t(e)ar (5.47, Table 5.9) for further data from Mq2.)

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) -ti: 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' l' n' r'**), and consonants which do not themselves become palatal in this context (**x** and **r**, or -t'i: >> -ti: for **r**).

When query responses are taken into consideration, there is no environment which has categorical -ti:. 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. (Numbers indicate order of production.)

- (i) -ti: 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'**).

(a) nonpalatal consonants:

k in Mt-tí: **m'æ:sdi**: (x4) *measctaí*, **p'ukti**: *pioctaí* (echoing my form here);

g in Msl: **ga wa:gti**: *dhá bhfágtáí*; in Mt-tí: **da:gti**: (x3) *d'fhágtáí*, **tugti**: (x9) *tugtáí*;

n in Mt-tí, e.g. **d'i:nti**: *déantaí*, **glanti** [sic] *glantaí*, also in Mq2, e.g. **d'i:nti**: 20 *déantaí*.

(b) palatalised velars:

k in Mt-tí: **d'ek'ti**: (x1) *d'fheictaí*;

g in Mt-tí: **ho:g'ti**: (x1) (and selfcorrected to) **to:g'ti**: (x2) *t(h)óigtaí*, **d'ek'ti**: (x1) *d'fheictaí*; in Mq2 > **-g'ti**: (x2) (3 including **-gti**) **t'ig'ti**: 10 *tigtaí*, **l'ig'ti**: 16 *ligtaí*. One instance of **-gti** in **t'igti**: 11 *tigtaí*.

(c) in query also **-t'i**:

k in Mq2: **la:sk-t'i**: 4 *lasctí*, **m'æ:sk-t'i**: 5 *measctí*, **wa:sk-t'i**: *bhasctí* 15, **fl'e:sk-t'i**: 17 and **pl'e:sk-t'i**: 18 *p(h)léasctí*;

g in Mq2: **la:g-t'i**: *lagtí*;

n in Mq2: **la:n'ti**: 22 *lántí*, **da:n'ti**: 24 *d'fhantí*;

k (x5) in Mq2: **hro:kt'i**: [no number (regarding order of production)] *throisctí*, **da:ft'i**: 14 [sic] *d'fháiscctí*, **lokt'i**: 15 *loictí*, **d'ekt'i**: 6 *d'fheictí*, **ko:fr-kt'i**: 7 [sic] *coisriectí*;

g (x4) in Mq: **t'igt'i**: 3bis *tigtí* 'understand', **hæ:r'ægt'i**: 13 *thairgtí*, **tr'e:gt'i**: 19 *tréigtí*, **to:gt'i**: 20 *tóigtí*.

(ii) **-t'i**: follows (a) vowels, (b) palatalised continuants (**l' l' n' r'**), and (c) consonants which do not themselves become palatal in this context (**x** and **r**, or **-t'i**: >> **-ti**: for **r**).

(a) vowels: Mt-tí: **da:t'i**: *d'fhaightí*, **bl'i:t'i**: **blit'i**: *blítí*, *blití*, **kræ:t'i**: *craití*, **spr'e:t'i**: *spréití*, **do:t'i**: *dóití* and in general M. Similarly, 2 Conjugation **-it'i**: **kin'i:t'i**: *coinnítí*, **fo:d'i:t'i**: *fóidítí*, **k'æ:ngli:t'i**: *ceanglaítí*, **ta:r'n'i:t'i**: *tarrainmítí*, and in general M, cp. the mixed form **-o:t'i**: Mt-tí2.

(b) palatalised continuants and **r'**: **ga ga:l't'i**: Msl *dhá gcailltí*; Mt-tí: **buæ:l't'i**: *buailtí*; including the SÁBHÁIL class, e.g. **spr'uga:l't'i**: *sprigáiltí*, **fraia:l't'i**: *fraidheáiltí*; **dint'i**: *d'fhuintí*, **bant'i**: *baintí*, **fi:nt'i**: *sintí* and in general M; **dært'i**: *d'fhairtí*, **kirt'i**: *cuirtí*, **kurt'i**: Mq1 *comhairtí*, **nort'i**: *ndoirtí*, **kurt'i**: Mt-tí (with example of noncoalescence at juncture in) **kir't'i**: Mt-tí *cuirtí*.

(c) consonants which do not themselves become palatal in this context:

x in Mt-tí: **kroxt'i**: (x1), **kroxd'i**: (x1) *crochtí*; in Mq2: **kroxd'i**: 1 *crochtí*, **buæxt'i**: 2bis *buachtí*, **mu:xd'i**: 9 *múchtí*;

r in Mt-tí **skart'i**: (x2) *scartí*, **g'art'i**: (x2) *gearrtí*, note the small degree of anticipatory assimilation in **skar't'i**: *scartí*; in Mq2 **g'art'i**: 8, 12 *gearrtí*, **fk'urt'i**: 2 *sciortí*, **d'iar't'i**: 21 *d'iarrtí*; but also **g'arti**: *gearrtáí* Mt-tí in a repetition of my form in query.

Table 5.13 summarises her use.

Table 5.13 Impersonal (*t(a)í*) and stem final, M(q)

-ti : <i>-taí</i>		-t'i : <i>-tí</i>		
Nonpalatal	Palatal stops (+back)	Nonpalatalised x, r	Palatal continuant	Vowel
e.g. da:gti :	e.g. d'ek'ti :	e.g. kroxd'i : g'art'i :	e.g. dint'i :	e.g. kræ:t'i :
in query also -t'i : <i>-tí</i>				
e.g. la:g-t'i :	e.g. d'ekt'i :			

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* / *-ófaí* in this function (mostly or exclusively) in his vernacular. In query, when prompted with

k'ænit'i: *ceannaítí* from me and only the stem of other verbs, he produced (the order of his responses is retained within each column):

C`-it'i: (x2), C`-it'i: (x3)	C'-it'i:	V-it'i:
k'ænit'i: <i>ceannaítí</i>	tæ'rn'it'i: <i>tairníttí</i>	kruəit'i: <i>cruaítí</i>
k'ænit'i: <i>ceannaítí</i>	krin'it'i: <i>cruinnítí</i>	
tosit'i: , hesit'i: <i>t(h)osaítí</i>		
k'æŋli:ti: <i>ceanglaítí</i>		

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`-it'i:. This might indicate a greater use of palatal -t'i: than palatal -t'ər, as found in other speakers.

27Cl, Cólín Ó Loideáin has **v'it'i:** *bhítí*, **g'eri:t'i:** *géaraítí*; **gə' gæsti:** *dhá gcastaí*; **kurti:** *cuirtaí*.

35E, Eidi 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'	kurt'i: <i>cuirtí</i> ; following r(') in laurt'i: <i>labhairtí</i> ;
following g'	l'igt'i: <i>ligtí</i> ARN9135;
following g	l'æk-d'i: <i>leagtí</i> ARN9226, -9; fágtí fə:g-t'i: ARN9275;
following s	kas-d'i: <i>castí</i> 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'ər (Table 5.10). In her limited number of examples:

- ti: follows nonpalatal consonants (l),
- t'i: follows vowels, palatalised continuants (l' r').

Table 5.14 Impersonal (-t(a)t), 43M

ti: -taí	t'i: -tí		
Nonpalatal	r'	l'	Vowel
do:ti: q	xurt'i: , dært'i: q	f'e:nt'ə:l'i: q	x'æ:ŋgli:t'i: q, d'iarhi:t'i: q, kin'it'i: (imperative) q
<i>ól</i>	<i>cuir, fair</i>	<i>péinteáil</i>	<i>ceangail, fiathraigh, coinnigh</i>

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'ər -o:f'ər**, conditional **-f'i: -o:f'i:**. There are hints that the now obsolescent **f** was once more common. Evidence on this point transcribed by Liam Mac Coisteala in folklore material in Roinn Bhéaloidéas Éireann 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 *bhfágfaí*, *dúinfí* **894C3**; 2 Conjugation *-eofar*, *-eofaí* **894C2**, 3. From **894C**'s audio recordings I have noted (eliminating eclipsis): *d'í:ñfi*: *déanfaí*, *kānt' o:f' i*: *cainteoiñí*, 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 Máire, 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**

Root in -v	→ -f- ~	-f'	Root in -v' →	-f'
<i>scríobh</i>	<i>ʃkr'ifər</i>	<i>ʃkr'if'ər</i>	<i>guibh</i>	<i>giy'f'ər</i>
<i>sníomh</i>		<i>ʃN'if'ər</i>	<i>snáimh</i>	<i>(sna:y'f'ər)</i> , <i>sna:f'ər</i>

(Source Mq5.94.)

Similarly, *faigh*, with **jof-** and **jeh-** future stems, has **jofər** 46.1017 and **jof'ər**, conditional **jef' i**; *treabh* has **nāx dr' of'ər** ... **11C** *nach dtreabhfeər*

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. **sə:wəl-f'ər** *sábhálfeər*, **sə:wəl-f' i**: *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.

sə:k' ə:l'f' i: **19P5** *saiceálfí*.

The verb *tomáin* is a member of the SÁBHÁIL class (for many speakers) and Máire shows a vocalic insertion, rare in her overall verbal system but fairly frequently in this environment, between stem and **(-f)**:

tumə:nəf'ər (x6(+)) **tumə:n' əfər** **tumə:nf'ər** M *tománfeər*

(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 **-əl-t'** (far less common than **-əl-f'**):

N' i: **v' ə:l'ə:l'f' 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 Mhacáí '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

	Future <i>-f(e)ar</i>		Conditional <i>-f(a)í</i>	
	<i>f'ər</i>	<i>fər</i>	<i>f'í:</i>	<i>fi:</i> , <i>f'wí:</i> , <i>fi:</i> , <i>f'wí:</i>
-V	<i>bə:f'ər</i> 1159 <i>kaf'ər</i> 36	<i>ŋ'əŋlɔ:fər loiseac</i>		<i>bə:fi</i> 1159 <i>nɔ:f'wí:</i> 1.41 <i>kaf'wí:</i> <i>caithim</i>
<i>faigh</i>		<i>jɔfər</i> 1017	<i>je'f'í:</i> 280	
<i>-bh, -mh</i>		<i>ʃn'í:fər</i> 230		<i>ʃg'ri:fi:</i> 1.40
-C'	<i>kírf'ər</i> Mp 193 <i>f'í:l'f'ər</i> VIII.9 <i>b'ər'f'ər</i> 1017		<i>v'ek'f'í:</i> <i>tchím</i>	<i>buəl'f'wí:</i> <i>bualadh</i>
-C		<i>pɔ:sfər</i> Mp 192 <i>ə'd'íərfər</i> <i>deirim</i>	<i>gə:sf'í:</i> 930	<i>d'íərfí:</i> <i>deirim</i>
Total	5	5	3	6

SID.46, therefore, has nonpalatal *f* more frequently and in a greater range with *-f(a)í* than with *-f(e)ar*. Following vowels *f'wí:* in particular is noteworthy. Otherwise, no clear pattern is discernible. Cp. **869P2**–5: *cathfaí* [often] **869P2** agreeing with SID.46 but *buailfí* **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'í:* only (disregarding eclipsis):

buail > *buəl'f'í:* (x2), *caill* > *kə:l'f'í:*, *cuir* > *kírf'í:*;

tabhair > *t'ur-f'í:*, *cas* > *kə:s-f'í:* (x4);

with one future tense token, which is perhaps palatal:

? *nā'x n'í:n-f'ər* *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.1 xxiv, second footnote; a statement with which I concur). But it seems unlikely that he would mistranscribe the nonpalatal glide in *f'wí:*, particularly following back vowels. It may be significant that *f'wí:* 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, Maínis

This speaker has *fi:* with nonpalatals (*ceap*, *déan*, *fág*) as well as palatals (*bain*, *fáisc*, *feic*). He has *f'í:* with *cuir* as well as with vowels (*caith*), including *o:f'í:* (*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**_{ARN}). He has *f'* following vowels, and *f* elsewhere, including following palatal consonants.

Table 5.17 Impersonal *f ~ f'*, 892M(ARN)

	Vowel + <i>f'</i>	Consonant + <i>f</i>	
		Nonpalatal + <i>f</i>	Palatal + <i>f</i>
Fut	bə:f'ər	ɲ'ɪ:nfər 3628	ɲ'ɪ: kl̪ɪn̪f'ər̪ 4310
Cond	xə:f' i: , bə:f' i: , lauro:f' i: 4342	d' i:n̪f'i: 2857, b' e:r̪f'i: 5515, 1090, t' u:r̪f'i: 1295	gə ga:l' fi: (x2) 1253, –5, –60, kə:l' fi: 1401, kr' ed' fi: , kir' fi: , do:g' fi: 3701, f' ek' fi: 3718
Verb	<i>báigh, caith,</i> <i>tabhair</i> (2Conj)	<i>beir</i> (<i>béar-</i>), <i>déan, leag,</i> <i>tabhair</i> (<i>tiúr-</i>)	<i>caill, creid, chuín, cuir, feic, tóig</i>

Note that his **-ti:** allomorph follows the common rules regarding palatality, e.g. **ruəg'ti:** *ruaigtaí, cuirtaí*.

5.56 16M — 36P

16M, Máire Mhicil Ó Con Fhaola, Máinis

Máire has regular **-f'** in the impersonal, only a few examples have been noted with **-fi:**, i.e. **gə wə:gfi:** *go bhfágfaí*, **də:gfr' mɪx' ə'l'ig' i d'fhágfaí *amuigh uilig í*, and **ɪ:kfi:** *íocfaí*. These examples follow nonpalatal velars. Even here **-f' i:** is more common for Máire. It is hard to tell whether she also has **-fər** as a less common alternant in this context, palatal quality being less clearly audible before schwa in **-f*ər** in contrast with **i:** in **-f* i:**.**

20A, Antaine Ó Máille, Doire Iorrais

Speaker 20Aq has nonpalatal **f** following nonpalatal root-final consonants and palatal **f'** following palatal root-final consonants and root-final vowels. This rule applies equally in 1 and 2 Conjugations (20Aq):

C'f'ər **du:nf'ər** *dúinfear*;
C'-o:fər **toso:fər** *tosófar*, **k'æ:ŋlo:fər** *ceanglófar*;
C'-o:f'ər **krɪn'o:f'ər** *cruinneoifear*;
V-o:f'ər **kruəo:f'ər** *cruaóifear*.

The only exception noted in query involves a cluster with contrasting quality (nonpalatal **r** followed by palatal **ɲ'**) in a syncopating verb:

rɲ'-o:fər **tæ:rɲ'o:fər** *tairneofar* < *tarrainn*.

Speaker 20A also applies this harmony rule of consonant quality in **-t-** 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 **-o:fər** and **-a:lfər** (following back vowels) but one may transcribe **je:f'ər** *gheifear* from the quality of the vowel before *f*, even though the quality of the intervocalic *f* seems quite neutral.

36P, Pádraig Team Phaitis 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. *meáifear, milfear, cuirfear*. 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*, *-íodar*, *-ídís* by 1 Conjugation *-igí*, *-adar*, *-idís*.

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'í m'ě ,rǫd ə 'b'e, ə x'ur:həs tu ɣǫm (alt. ,rǫd ə 'b'ix' h'urfəs tu ɣǫm 'isə m'ε ε,) *ithidh mé rud ar bith a thiúrthas tú dhom*, (alt. *rud ar bith a thiúrfas tú dhom íosaidh mé é*).

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: *x'ur:h-* ... *h'urf-*. (It is, however, possible that the second token was misheard by Wagner through misperception of the position of the more strident segment; hearing *h'--f* for what may actually have been *x'--h*. Cp. Laver 1994: 262–3.) Note that the future stem of *sri:* *sraoth* is *sri:f* >> *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* !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 *súidhfeach* 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 $\pm h$ in the root of the CAITH and BRUITH classes (5.124, 5.134), and in the description of $\pm h$ 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(ˈ) ~ h / Ø

In the impersonal future stem in the area of Iorras Aithneach west of Roisín na Mainchíoch **-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***-forms¹ in the impersonal conditional:

b'e:d'ər' nax' vihi: 46.1017 *b'fhéidir nach bhfuighthí.*

(See Table 5.20 p. 936 for this speaker's past habitual *-thí* and other (obsolescent) endings.)

West of Roisín na Mainchíoch **-f***- is, by now, almost universal. Of the **-hi:** forms Máire commented:

... **wi:hi:** **n a:t' əxi:** **e:l' aku:** **wi:f'i:** **ə d'ər'həx mid'ə Mq**

... '*bhfuighthí*' in *áiteachaí eile acú*, '*bhfuighfí*' a *déarthadh muide*.

Nonetheless, rare examples of **-si:** *-sfí* occur in this western area. In Máire's speech **-si:** is very rare indeed but one example was recorded (out of ca. 160 **f'** and **t** forms) in **kasi:** **er'** *Mt-tí casfí air*, with past habitual meaning (possibly to be taken as past habitual form). The only example noted from Pádraig, Máire's brother, is:

gə bə:si: **mid' l'e x'e:l'ə ~ ... bə:s-f'i:** ... !*P go bpósfí muid le chéile.*

The realisation **-si:** *-sfí* for the far more common **-s-f'i:** *-sfí* 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. **əs ar** *is fearr* (9.127, cp. 1.404). The younger speaker **72C** (Maínis) has **hi:** in **n'i xal'hi:** **72C ní chailthí**, **l'ik'i' 72C lighthí** (both forms recorded in 1994). She may have acquired this from her partner (and his network) who is from Ceantar na nOileán where **hi:** is the norm.² A speaker from Gabhla (North-West Iorras Aithneach) has past habitual **i:ki:** **05J íocthaí**. The last and only recorded native speaker from Leitheadach (North-West Iorras Aithneach) has mostly **f'ər/f'i:** but also conditional **grupi:** **20MI 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 Mainchíoch 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(ˈ)** only as in West Iorras Aithneach. For example, **01P** (Doire Iorrais) has *-fear* (x5), *-fí* (x8); past habitual *-(a)í* (x2). Similarly, in their recording **13Jd** and **22M** (of Loch Con Aortha and Coill Sáile respectively) together have 9 tokens out of 9 in **f'** *-f-*. In query and conversation, speaker **44P** (Loch Con Aortha, **22M**'s son) has *-fear*, *-fí*; past habitual *-tí*. 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) **bohər 72C bóthar** and *mar sin > mar hin* both of which she may have acquired from the speech of Ceantar na nOileáin.

*-óithí **44P**Øperm. Speakers from East Iorras Aithneach who have forms in **h** are listed here.

885Sb, Seán Éadbhaird Uí 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	<i>f</i>	<i>béarfar</i> 148;
conditional	<i>f</i>	<i>béarfaoi</i> 152;
	<i>th</i>	<i>go bhfuighthí</i> 152, similar to Table 5.20 (and discussion);
	<i>ch</i>	<i>coinneóchaí</i> 136, perhaps (misheard) for -o:hi . 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 *castaí* and past subjunctive *dhá scuabtaí*, *go ndíontaí*; **hi**: or **f**:i: in *go mbainfí*. Otherwise conditional and past habitual have **f**, e.g. *bainfí* (x2), *cuirfí*, *milfí*, *go ndíonfí*, *chaithfí*, *líonfí*, *casfí*, *ní haithneofí*; 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 **h**, two past habituals with **t** alternating with **h**, and two conditionals in **f**('). Both **h**-tokens occur in the common 1 Conjugation verb in vocalic root, *caith*:

future	h	kahər <i>caithear</i> ;
past habitual	t ~ h	ræ:k'ɑ:l'ti : <i>raicedáiltaí</i> , <i>theagadh</i> ... xahi : <i>chaithí boltaí a chuir</i> ;
conditional	f (')	<i>bhí fáitíos ar an athair go leagfaí</i> [-fi :, probably non-palatal] <i>an teach</i> , <i>cé casfí dhó</i> .

His neighbour **899P** (Loch Con Aortha) also has conditional **f**('): *cuirfí* **899P**.

899D, Mac Dara Ó Loideáin (Roisín na Mainchíoch) has past habitual **tugti**: ARN6411 and **tuki**: (perhaps **tuk̪i**:) ARN6422 *tugt(h)aí*.

03V, Veail Ó Donnchú (An Bhánrach Ard) has **-hər** in future **tɔ:k'ər** **03V** *tóigthear*; similarly in subjunctive position **mə:rə dɔ:k'ər** **03V** *mara dtóigthear*.

15Pn, Peait Cheoinín (Fínis) was noted with regular **f** but also 1 **h** token: **kir'hər** *cuirthear*.

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 Ø), 23 **f**(') tokens, and 1 **t**' token. The **t**' is found in past habitual *bhítí*. The tenses occur as follows:

¹ Cf. p. 934, including n. 1.

future	h	2	kur'hər <i>cuirthear</i> , t'urhu:r <i>tiúrthar</i> ;
	f(')	20	<i>buail-</i> , <i>caith-</i> (x3), <i>cas-</i> <i>craith-</i> , <i>cuir-</i> , <i>fhág-</i> , <i>gabh-</i> , <i>glan-</i> , <i>líon-</i> , <i>rucáil-</i> , <i>scaip-</i> , <i>spréigh-</i> ; <i>-ó(i)f(e)ar</i> (x6).
psthab / cond	h	2	xasi: <i>chasthaí</i> , kir'i: <i>cuirthí</i> ;
	f(')	3	<i>buail-</i> , <i>d'fhág-</i> ; <i>-ó(i)f(a)í</i> ;
	t'	1	<i>bhí-</i> .

These data suggest that there may be a greater use of **h** in the psthab / cond than in the future, i.e. **hi:** (2/6) >> **hər** (2/22). The allomorphs in **h** follow stem-final *-r* (x3) and *-s* (x1). One aberrant token is unique in my survey:

| t'urhu:r 'k'æd 'f'æf ən'fin' ,o: | 20A *Tiúrthar cead fáis ansin dhó.*

The simplest analysis of this **-ur** is to take it as a rare type of vowel harmony. (Compare, however, the historical long vowels in future **-ir** (in **ka:l'ir** *caillfidhear*) heard from a speaker, born c. 1930, from Cladhnach, An Cheathrú Rua and **xal'ir** 59P (Ros Muc); and a lowered by-form in **-er** in **słə ga:l'er** *sula gcaillthíor* heard from Seán Bán Breatnach (RnG) from Cois Fharraige; also **-(h)ar** GCF §§168, 189. Compare also the by-form **ji:** **hæn'he:r** containing *aithníthea* (5.63), and 2Conj pres **-ir** GCF §189 as well as *má choinníthea ma xin'ir* which I have in my notes on a speaker from Ros an Mhíl.)¹

21J, Jó Guairim (Roisín na Mainchíoch, mother from Loch Con Aortha) was noted in conversation with conditional **kur'hi:** 21J *cuirthí*, **gə wii:** 21J *go bhfuighthí*. In query he produced **-f'i:** **-f'ər** **-ti:** **-o:f'i:**, and permitted **-hi:**. He was doubtful regarding **-hər** and did not permit ***-o:hi:** (note attested **-o:i:** 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^{-voice} only, in the conditional (and past habitual).

Table 5.18 Impersonal **f'**, **t** >> **h**, 31D

	-tər	-t*í:	-f'i:	-hi:	-f'ər	-it'í:
With verb in -C	1	3	8	2	2	
With verb in -V		5	4			1

His two examples containing **-hi:** follow stem-final *-r* and *-g*. They are:

g'arhi: *gearrthaí* (psthab), **n'ir ho:k'i:** (perhaps **-g'h-**) *ní thóigthí* (cond).

49J, Jósaf Cúg (Aill na Brón, mother from Ros Muc) has considerable influence from

¹ Contrary to D. Greene (1973: 130), future 1Conj **-(h)ar** and 2Conj **-ar** in GCF §§168, 189 are not reflexes of lengthened **-ər** but are best explained as lowered forms of **-ir** and **-or**; presumably also Donegal **-hər** < *-fidhear*, 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 Chaisleáin Ghearr) undergo parallel lowering to **-ar** in GCF (i.e. **-ir** > **-er** > **-ar**; **-or** > **-ar**; cp. 2Conj future stem **o:** ~ **a:**, 5.30, and 2sg *-óthá* and *-itheá* having reflexes in **-o:ha:**, **-a:ha:**, **-əha:** (including **-eha:**), **-i:ha:**, 5.67). We can compare the similar variants and lowering in (V:xi) 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'urhu:r**, that the high back vowel of **-ur** is in some way analogous with nominal plural <**u:xi**> (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'ər** ~ **-hər**, conditional **-f'i**: << **-hi**:; 2Conj future **-o:f'ər** ~ **-o:hər**, conditional **-o'hi**.

60M, Mícheál Ó Hoipicín (Maínis, father from Doire an Locháin, East Cois Fharraige) has conditional **-hi**: in:

x' u:l'i: ən'fin' ort əs dɑ:ghi: ən'fin' hu 60M
shiúilthí ansin ort is d'fhágthaí ansin thú.

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 **-o:f'i**:, i.e. not ***-o:hi**:. Table 5.19 presents her examples.

Table 5.19 Impersonal **h** ~ **f'**, etc., **66N**

Future	-f'ər	Verbs			
Examples 1Conj	ŋ'i: xɑ:f'ər , ŋ'i: x' u:r-f'ər	<i>caith, tabhair</i>			
No. of exx noted	Often				
2 Conjugation	-f'ər	-fər	Verbs	-o:f'ər	Verb
	ɣort-f'ər , ump-f'ər , ¹ i:ŋf'ər , x' æŋgəl-f'ər , uskəl-f'ər	ɣortfər	<i>gortaigh,</i> <i>iompair,</i> <i>innis,</i> <i>ceangail,</i> <i>oscail</i>	æn'o:f'ər	<i>aithnigh</i>
No. of exx noted	8+, 5q	1		1, 7q	
Conditional	-f'i :	Verbs	-hi :	Verbs	
Examples 1Conj	kaf'i : , xaf'i : ; q: ŋ'i xrox-f'i :	<i>caith,</i> <i>croch</i>	hu:rh'v'i : , je:r'x'i : , wɑ:g^hhi : , gɑ wi:hi : , xahi : , hɔ:g'hi :	<i>tabhair, abair, fág,</i> <i>faigh, caith, tóig</i>	
			also -i :		
No. of exx noted	3+		xir'i : , d'u:ri : -hi : 15+, -i : 2	<i>cuir, tabhair</i>	
2 Conjugation	-f'i :	Verbs	-(h)i :	-o:f'i :	Verbs
	skɑ:ntr-f'i : <i>scanraigh</i> ; q: ɣort-f'i : <i>gortaigh</i>	ŋ'i ɣorti :	ma'ro'f'i : q: dɑ' ɣorto:f'i :	<i>maraigh</i> <i>gortaigh</i>	
No. of exx noted	2(+) ²	1	2(+)		

Note **gə mr'if.i**: **66N** *go mbristhí* 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 **hər**. For example, **hi**: has been recorded from more speakers than **hər** (**hi**: ,

¹ For traditional *iompróifear*.

² Use of '(+)' indicates that these forms have probably been heard more than the amount shown.

11 speakers, including 4 in West Iorras Aithneach; **hər**, 2 speakers, in East Iorras Aithneach only). Speaker **20A** has **hi**: proportionally more than **hər**. Speaker **21Jq**, as pointed out above, also indicated **-hi**: **21Jperm** but **-hər 21J??perm**. Similarly, speaker **66N** has both **hi**: and **f' i**: but **f(')ər** only.

5.63 Impersonal **-t- ~ -th- (-f- ~ -th-)**, and **-í ~ -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:

pres / prsbj 2 Conj	-i:hər	< <i>-ighthear</i>	(current -i:t(')ər)
psthab / pstsbj 1 Conj	-hi :	< <i>-thí</i>	(current -t(')i :/)
psthab / pstsbj 2 Conj	-íthí ~ -i:hə	< <i>-ighthí ~ -ighthe</i>	(current -i:t' i :/)

Pres / prsbj **-i:hər** is now seldom heard. The ending **-íthí** (representing **-i:hi**:/, from RBÉ, noted in only three examples) is now obsolete and **-i:hə -íthe** is obsolescent (this **-íthe** is homophonous with verbal adjective **-i:hə**:/). There is also one noted token of 2 Conjugation **-í** from **866E**, one of the oldest speakers. E.g.

-íthí, -íthe, -íti have been noted from **869P2-5**;

-íthí in *sula n-airíthí iad* **866E**Sc229.31 (cp. *nó go gcríochnaíthear thú* Sc276.14);

-i:hə from **880P, 27Cb**, **-íthe** from SÓC3.159;

-i:hə and **-íthí** (in a local song, cp. *-ítear* and *-íthear* also in song) from **894C**.

There are three further obsolescent forms best classified as <**h**>-less variants:

prsbj 2 Conj	-i:r	reduced form of -i:hər	(current -i:t(')ər)
cond 2 Conj	-o:i :	* -o:hi :/, cp. <i>-óchaí</i> ¹	(current -o:f' i :/)
pstsbj 2 Conj	-í		(current -i:t' i :/)

Loss of <**h**> is common in other regressive 2 Conjugation endings, e.g. 2sg **-o:hə**:/ ~ **-o:ə**:/, etc., (5.65), verbal adjective **-i:hə ~ -i:ə ~ -i**:/, etc., (5.172 ff., especially 5.181).

In fact, present indicative **-i:hər** has been noted from a traditional narrative in the verb *marai*gh and from conversation only in the verb *abair*, i.e.

mə marí:hər e **898P**tn *má maraíthear é*;

n'í m'in'ək' ə ha'brí:hər e **25M** *ní minic a habraíthear é*;

gər m'in'ək' ha' | ə ha'brí:hər ... **25M** *gur minic a habraíthear an focal*.

(Speaker **25M** is a nephew of **869P** (Table 5.20) who has important obsolescent **-th-** usage, including *-íthear*.) The form is permitted by Máire, commenting:

abri:t'ər abri:ns mud' ax ta: tu: na:n ə dər rud ə rər

'abraítear' a abraíonns muide ach tá tú i ndan an dá rud a rá.

The forms **-i:hər, -i:ər, -i:r**, etc., are present in the interjection:

jiə hæ'n'hiər **84P**; **jiər han'hi**: **14M**; **i: hæ'n'i:hiər** **SM**; **i: hæ'n'i:ər** **SM**; **i: hæ'n'hi:r** **M**; **n' i: ha'n'hiəx** **S**; **i: hæ'n'ər** **S**; **ji: hæ'n'he:r** **S**.

¹ ***-o:hi**:/ is unattested in Iorras Aithneach. In Ros Muc (directly to the east of Iorras Aithneach), **-o:hi**:/ 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*) *Dhia haithníthea*, following FFG s.v. *aithníonn*² (**84P** was not queried). An example of *-íthea* in the present subjunctive from speaker **866E** is:

nó go gcríochnaíthea thú **866E**Sc276.14.

In the present subjunctive it seems that *-i:hə* is prevalent in speaker **892M** (cp. his conditional *-oi:* directly below); attested in *mari:hə* in:

- ... *níl tusa le aon bhás a fháil choíchin, a deir sí, go maraíthea le gunna thú. ... — ... go maraíthea le gunna mé.* **892M**4471–5.

The endings *-i:hə* ~ *-i:r* are currently heard in the greeting:

gə m'əni:hə / m'əni:r dít' go mbeannaíthea duit, etc.

Conditional 2 Conjugation *-oi:* was noted from **892M** only:

ńi: k'ə'noi: (nə) gl'umə wai ARN2500, 2502

ní ceannóithí (na) gliomaigh uaidh;

cp. *ə klif' u:ðən ə himr'oi: o: wad'ən' ...* !(Ascen)**04B**

an cluiche údán a himreothí ó mhaidin ...

The spelling *-óchaí*, transcribed from some of our oldest speakers (from Loch Con Aortha and Roisín na Mainchíoch), may be best taken to reflect actual *-o:hi:*, as still heard in Ros Muc (p. 934 n. 1; but **-o:xi:* is a remote possibility, cp. *-óchamaois*, 5.94, and spelling *-óchá* (e.g. **864M**DT60), no doubt for *-o:ha:*):

níos túisce ná coimneóchaí sa gcathaoir í **852S**bTS136;

-Marbhóchaidhe mé ... -Marbhóchaidhe mise **864M**DT47.

The single example I have of *-í* in the 2 Conjugation is: *dá n-insí aon* Sc168.29.

5.64 869P, Pádraig 'ac Con Iomaire

It appears that speaker **869P**–5 (Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann) has a wide range in this variable: *-ít(h)ear*, *-t(h)í*, *-ít(h)í*, *-íthe*, as set out in Table 5.20, supplemented by **SID.46** and **869P**t 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 áit nach bhfuíthí [bhfuighthí] amach é **869P**2;

b'e:d'ər' nax'vihi: 46.1017 *b'fhéidir nach bhfuighthí*.

This means that **869P** has *-t*i:* >>> *-hi:* and *-f*i:* >>> *-hi:* (although the **h** variants are confined in the conditional to the verb *faigh* in my sample).

The transcriptions of *-íth(e)* from Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann are corroborated by one published token (**SÓC**), by two tokens of *-i:hə* from audio recordings (**880P**, **894C**) and one from conversation (**27Cb**, the youngest speaker with this form and neighbour of **SÓC**):

Deasaíthe le fraoch is fiontarnach é, agus caithtí scrathachaí ... **SÓC**3.159;

k'əni:hə **880P** ceannaíthe;

nor' ə tuɣti: nuəs ə mɔ:l uɣəs oskli:h e **894C**

nuair a tugtaí anuas an mála agus osclaíthe é;

ŋ xi: 'na:brɪ:h e | **27Cb** *an chaoi a n-abraíthe é.*

Note that *-ítear* ~ *-íthea* and also *-íthí* are attested for **894C**:

pres: ... *himrightear*. **894C**9; prsbj: *nó go n-athraíthea* **894C**9;

pstsbj *Dhá maraíthí céad a'ainn* **894C**9 (in song by **852S**).

Historical *-thear* is current in the present impersonal of irregular *feic*. As described in 5.60, east of Carna **t** 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 *-í* ~ *-e*, 869P

	Obsolescent <h> forms			Current <t> forms	
	1Conj	2Conj	2Conj	1Conj	2Conj
		-íthear		-t(e)ar	-ítear
<u>Pres</u>		<i>strachlaíthear</i> <i>triomaíthear</i>		m'íl't'ər 46.679a <i>miltear</i>	regularly
<u>Total</u>		3			
<u>Prsbj</u>		<i>shul á</i> <i>ndaingníthear</i>			
<u>Total</u>		2			
	-thí	-íthí	-íthe	-t(a)í	-ítí
<u>Psthab</u>	<i>a dteighthí</i> <i>ag iarra</i> <i>leigheas</i>	<i>réitíthí</i> <i>beatha</i>	<i>coinníthe a chuid</i> <i>a dtarníthe as ...</i>	regularly, e.g. <i>caíhtí, glantaí</i> <i>ag íthe na gcoirp a maraíthe</i> <i>(marbhaighthí) nú a báití,</i>	regularly
<u>Total</u>	1	1	3		
<u>Pstsbj</u>			<i>gá maraíthe (.i.</i> <i>maraití) le urachar é.</i> <i>gá gcuimlíthe (= dá</i> <i>gcuimlighthí) cuide ...</i> <i>gá n-eitíthe an fear</i> <i>mara mbagraíth' air.</i>	regularly, e.g. <i>gá</i> <i>bhfáití (faigh)</i> holə ʏa:t' i 46.280 <i>gá n-ithí</i>	regularly
<u>Total</u>			5		

Allomorphy of verbal endings

5.65 2sg psthab, pstsbj, cond *-ightheá*, *-óghthá*, *-t(h)(e)á*

The clear vowel *-á* of the 2sg (pstsbj, psthab, cond) is consistently realised as **ɑ**. There are, however, examples of **æ** from one older speaker:

gə m'ehæ³ | nã'n ... 894P *go mbeithéa i ndan ...* ,
gə gĩn'āhæ də ʏo:hən' ... 894P *dhá gcoinneáthea 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 < *-óghtha*, *-óghthá*;
- 1 Conjugation past habitual, past subjunctive < *-t(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 conjuga-

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.

	A	B
i. 2Conj psthab, pstsbj	-i:ha: ~ -óthá	-o:ha: (-o:a:) ~ -o:hə ~ -a:ha: ~ -a:hə ~ -əha: ~ -əa: ~ -əhə (~ -t* a:)
ii. 2Conj cond	-óthá ~ -óá	-o:ha: ~ -a:ha:, etc.
iii. 1Conj pstsbj	-t(e)á ~ -th(e)á	-t* a: ~ -ha:
iv. 1Conj psthab	-t(e)á ~ -th(e)á	-t* a: ~ -ha:
	C	D (E)
i. 2Conj psthab, pstsbj	-a:	-a: -o:x ~ -həx
ii. 2Conj cond	-a:	-a: -o:x ~ -həx
iii. 1Conj pstsbj	-a: ~ -ha:	-ha: -həx
iv. 1Conj psthab	(-a:) -ha:	-ha: -həx

Table 5.22 Salient developments in (-óthá), (-t(e)á), etc.

	A	B	C	D	(E)
i. 2Conj psthab, pstsbj	-i:ha:	-a:ha: (-o:ha:)	-a:	-a:	-həx
ii. 2Conj cond	-óthá	-a:ha: (-o:ha:)	-a:	-a:	-həx
iii. 1Conj pstsbj	-t(e)á	-t* a:	-a:	-ha:	-həx
iv. 1Conj psthab	-t(e)á	-t* a:	(-a:) -ha:	-ha:	-həx

Table 5.23 Conservative use of (-óthá), (-t(e)á), etc.

	A	B
i. 2Conj psthab, pstsbj	894Cs, 894C, 899D	SID.46 and 869P, 04Br, 10B, 11C, 20C, 20My, 21Pt, 23M, 25M, 29N, 37M, 51P
ii. 2Conj cond	852S, SID.46, 894C	as i. also 886E, 889P, 894Cs, 01C
iii. 1Conj pstsbj	as B	869P, 875T, 894Cs, 894C, 04B, 10N, 20C, 20My
iv. 1Conj psthab	as B	20C
	C	D
i. 2Conj psthab, pstsbj	SM, 25M	52J
ii. 2Conj cond	as i. and 866E, 894C	as i.
iii. 1Conj pstsbj	SM	852S, 869P, 894C, 04B, 52J
iv. 1Conj psthab	-a: : SM, 20My, 23M (?), 51P	869P, 52J

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

-i:ha: 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 **-ə:ha:** and **-a:ha:** use. Speakers are classified according to their most conservative common variants, except in **Civ** where **-a:** 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 **-ítheá** 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 **-a:** 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 **Biii** 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 **ə g'a:n:a: bə:** *an gceannóthá bó*. When queried, however, about **-a:**, **-a:ha:** and **-o:ha:** in, for example, *an gceannóthá bó* he produced:

ə g'a:n:a: bə:

ə g'a:n:a:ha: bə:

ə g'a:n:ə:ha: bə:

commenting **tə: n də: rud a:n 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 **-a:**, **-o:-** 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. **do:ltə: 23M d'óltá**, 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 *bhuailteá fadó mé S*, she gave *bhítheá 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):

pstsbj **gə: gə:x'a: 889P dhá gcaitheá** vs. cond 2sg **xə:ha: chaitheá**

for commonly homophonous 2sg pstsbj **gə: gə:ha:** (5.124). Although synchronically irregular, the contrast for speaker **889P** (Coill Sáile, North-East Iorras Aithneach) can be explained diachronically as (disregarding mutations):

pstsbj **kəx'a: > kəx'a:** vs. cond **kəx'a:ha: > kə:ha:**.

Membership within each group appears to be fairly implicational, 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 **-o:ha:** **-a:ha:**, 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 **-hən'** : **-ha:** : **-həx** : etc., :: past subjunctive **-ən'** : y : **-əx** : etc.,
y (**-ha:** ~ **-ta:**) → **-a:**.¹

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 conjugational 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:ha:** (**Bi**, **Bii**) but 1 Conjugation **-ta:** (**Biii**, noted in *déan*) and **-a:** (**Civ**).

5.67 Examples

Ai -i:ha:

-i:ha: was noted from a recording (in the verb *tarrainn*):

gə da'rn'ihə r'ist' iəd 899D6393 go dtairnítheá aríst iad.

The high front vowel is reduced but can be analysed as /i:/ in:

nū' gə d | dæɾN'ĩhũ | nū' gə | dugtə' ma'x | ən lɔxt | gə dæɾN'ĩhũ ma'x ə
'lɔxt | 894Cs

nó go dtairnítheá, nó go dtugta amach an lucht, go dtairnítheá amach an lucht.

This nonhistorical suffix is found in other dialects, which, it seems, generally lack *-fa*: *-fá* as a major variant. In GCF §168, for example, analogical 2sg past subjunctive *-a* (without devoicing) is reported as well as an impersonal which I have not found in Iorras Aithneach, i.e. past subjunctive *-i* (without devoicing) based on the same analogy. Classification of past subjunctive *-a* and *-i* 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 *h*-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 Sé 1990, Ó Baoill 2001: 85), reanalysis of *-p* < *-bf-* < *-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).

This speaker, **894Cs**, also has subjunctive (function) **Bi** and conditional **Bii -a(·/·)ha**. The spelling *-ítheá*, representing **-i:ha:**, was noted once in prose folklore transcription: *ghá n-abruítheá* **894C9**.

Rarer *-itheá*:

dá gcuimhnitheá air sin ... dhá gcuimreóthá ar an ... **852SbTS133**;
... gceannuitheása **894C2/3**.

This spelling may represent **-i:ha:** (resembling **-i'ha:**) or **-əha:** or it may be an error, in some instances, for *-ítheá* by omission of the accent.

Aii -óthá

In RBÉ sources *-óthá* may well often stand for **-a:ha:**, e.g. **852S4** *-óthá* (x2); **875T1** *-óthá* (x7).

Cp. *-óchá* **894C** (x1) (i.e. specially marked as short) representing either **oha:**, **aha:** or **əha:**.

Bi, ii -o:ha:

ga: n'im' o:ha: 46.1048 *dhá n-imeothá*.

da:roha 46.389 [sic] *d'aireothá*, the same verb and person are found in *go n-aireóhá* **869P5**.

Bi, ii -óá, representing -o:a:

gá dtogró(h)á héin é **869P2**, cp. *ní ourdó(ch)á* (< *ordaigh*), the brackets indicate silent letters here, therefore representing **-o:a:**.

-óá [x1] **894C** representing **-o:a:**.

Bi, ii -o:h /_##V

ga: na:bro'h op ... **15W** *dhá n-abróthá* 'up ...'.

The range of phonetic variation from **Aii**, **Bi, ii -o:ha:**, **-a:ha:** to **Ci, ii -a:** is exemplified in Table 5.24. It may be that some of these forms derive from *-ightheá* (with medial ə, i.e. **-əha:**) and possibly even *-ighthea l -ghtha* (in final ə). They can be classified synchronically as one variable, here indicated by (a:ha:).

Table 5.24 (a:ha:) → -o:ha:, -a:ha:, -əha:, etc.; various speakers

	Aii, Bi, ii								Ci, ii	
Speaker	o:ha:	o:a:	a:ha:	a:hə	əha:	a:h/_##V	əh/_##V	a:a:	a:	a/_##V
866E					əa:					
SID.46	✓									
869P2,5	✓	(✓)			(✓)					
889P			✓		✓					
894C		(✓)								
01C			✓							
04B									✓	
04Br			✓							
10B1			Echo						✓	
11C			✓							
20C			✓		✓	✓				
20My			✓							
20MI								a'a'	✓	a' (l_e é)
21Pt			✓	(✓)	✓	✓	✓			
23M			✓			✓			✓	✓
25M			✓							

	Aii, Bi, ii								Ci, ii	
Speaker	o:ha:	o:a:	a:ha:	a:hə	əha:	a:h/_##V	əh/_##V	a:a:	a:	a/_##V
31D				✓		✓	✓			
31M			a'ha'						✓	✓
Seán									✓	✓
Máire			a'ha' Echo						✓	✓
Pádraig			a:ha: Echo (x1)					a'a' Echo (x2)	✓	✓

Bi, ii -a:ha:

Pstsbj: ga' ma'ra'ha 894P dhá maróthá, ga' gaur'na'ha 11C go gcor'nothá, ga' dr'um'ha' 20Cq dhá dt'riomóthá, ga' n'i:n'faha: 20Cq dhá n-inseothá, n'im'aha 51P (chulá) n-imeothá.

Recall the realisation in -a:ha:

ga' g'i'n'āhæ də ɣo:hən' ... 894P dhá gcoinneothá do dhóthain ...

Psthab: dæ'da'ha' 889P d'fhadóthá (or cond), dabr'a'ha' 20Cq d'abróthá, x'æ'naha riv'ə fo 20Cq cheannóthá roimhe seo.

Bii -a:ha:

d'im'aha 889P d'imeothá, fa:n'ək' ... nā:vdaha ɣo' 11C fainic ... an amhdóthá dhó, næn'haha 11C1244 a n-aithneothá; dæ:n'ha:ha er' ə ba:ft'ə nax næn'haha 20My d'aithneothá ar an bpáiste nach n-aithneothá?; n'i: xola:ha' [x2] 37M ní chodlóthá; n'i æ:r'aha 04Br ní aireothá; n'i: xi:v'r'aha 23M ní chuimhneothá.

Bi -a:hə

Cp. d'im'a:hə r'i:ft' 21Pt d'imeothá aríst.

Bi -əha:

hæ:r'n'ihə: [x2] 889P thairneothá;

ga' n'im'e:ha 05M dhá n-imeothá;

ga da'r'n'ihə: 20Cq dhá dtairneothá; ma'rə da'r'n'ihə: 31D mara dtairneothá.

Bii -əha:

dæ:r'əha: | 31D d'aireothá.

Bi -a:h/_##V

ga fa'xna' he 20Cq dhá seachnóthá é.

Bii -a:h/_##V

dæ:r'a:h i: 23M (shortly followed by dæ:r'a: i: 23M) d'aireothá í.

xi:r'a hən'if' ... 31D chuimhneothá anois ...

It is worth noting that when checked against the recording played at reduced speed, my initial transcription *b'e:f' ga' g'æ'nə'h' e 11C b'fhéidir go gceannóthá é had to be revised to b'e:f' ga' g'æ'nə'ha e. Other examples of -a:h/_##V given here and transcribed from speech may also be less than accurate.

Contrast -a:ha:/_##V, for most speakers in B:

ga g'æ'naha' n wo: 20Cq dhá gceannóthá an bhó;

ga magraha' orəm 20Cq dhá mbagróthá orm.

Bii -əh/_##V

n'i: xi:r'ə he: fin' 31D ní chuimhneothá é sin.

Bi -a:a: (no examples from my notes to hand)**Bii -a:a:**

n'i: æ'r'a'a' xə mo:r ... dæ'r'a'a' so:rt sko:l'tə 20Ml

ní aireothá chomh mór ... d'aireothá sórt scólta.

Bii -a: or -əa:

mar tharrainneothá harən'ā' [perhaps harən'ā] dhe ghiorria é 866E (13.2, line 22).

Biv -t*ɑ: 2sg Past habitual, for examples, see **20C** (5.41), and **894C**'s list (5.68).

Ci -ɑ:
 ʏɑ: mɑ:rqɑ: fɪnəx 46.145 *dhá mará sionnach*.

Cii -ɑ:
 v' r' anha: 46 s.v. *breathnuigh*; gəŋgəla: 46.34 *an gcangalá?*
 əN' imr'ɑ, klɛf'ə 04B1 *an imreá cluiche*.
 xɪn'ɑ: 899P *choinneá*.
 N' i xi:v'ɑ: 23M *ní chuimhneá*.
 Similarly, also **Ci**, **Cii** -ɑ: /_##V, e.g. N' i' wa:ra: e M ní mhará é.

Ciii -ɑ:
 ga: duga: M *dhá dtugá*.

Civ -ɑ: 2sg Past habitual.

hæ:ga: 51P *theagá*. Unambiguous examples of 2sg past habitual -ɑ: are rare in my notes. Almost all examples of -ɑ: 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 -hɑ:. In a query session, however, with up to fifteen definitely possible surface **h** forms mostly beside sonorants, all were realised with **h** by Máire (MqEcho93) except the 2sg past habitual in xir'əN' ... ə gir'ɑ:sə *chuirinn ... an gcuireása?* Two other examples from deliberate queries (where Máire is unlikely to drop **h** in 2sg conditional forms) are do:lɑ: e fado: Mq94 *d'ólá é fadó* and wuəl'ɑ: gū:n' r' ... Mq94 *bhuaileá i gcónaí ...*. Compare *bhuailteá* Sq > *bhítheá* *dho mo bhualadh* Mq (5.65) where *bhítheá* is more clearly past habitual than *wuəl'ɑ:* (interpretable as 2sg conditional *bhuailtheá*).

5.68 Individual speakers; 852S — 11C

I deal individually below with those speakers whose overall system, including, where possible, 2sg -t(h)á, 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 -i:ha: (1/1), pstsbj 1Conj -t'ɑ: (*faigh, bain*; 3/3). Although network implications have not been systematically investigated, one can see family links between users of -ɑ:ha: / -əha: (and -o:h(ɑ:) 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**;

Máire an Ghabha Uí Cheannabháin and family: **05M**, her son **37M**, daughter **29N** and grandson **51P** (son of **29N**, his father, **20Pá**, also has -ɑ:ha:); speaker **51P** is the youngest speaker with this variant (also the youngest speaker I know with **Civ** -ɑ:); (for a similar coincidence of conservative usage between **37M** and nephew **51P**, see 5.135 SÁBHÁIL class; **51P** also has **Civ** -á).

852S, Seán 'ac Con Raoi

Aii -óthá: **852S4** (x2).

Aiii -t(e)á, -theá: This speaker has -t-forms following consonants and -th-forms following vowels:

-t(e)á	/n, g, c_	gá ... ndiantá 4	dtugtá 4	dá bhfeicteá 5
-theá	/N_	gá ... mbeitheá 4	maiththeá 4	dteightheá

The single relevant token in his recording, **ga** 'n̪ːm̪ːt̪ːn̪ 852Stn dhá ndéantá, concurs with the manuscript evidence in Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann.

869P2–5, SID.46, Pádraigín Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire

- Bi** -o.ha: : **ga**: n̪ːm̪ːt̪ːn̪ 1048 dhá n-imeothá.
Bii -oha: : **da:roha** 389 d'aireothá.
 Cp. 869P's daughter **ga** na:bro'h op ... 15W dhá n-abróthá 'up ... '.
Biii -ta: : **ga**: dagta: 949; **ga**: dogta: s.v. bheirim; go dtugta 869P4; Gá dtógtá 869P2. These examples are confined to verbal stems in -g.
 -ha: : **ga**: v̪ek'a: s.v. tchím; Gá bhfeictheá 869P2; **ga**: m'eha: II.3c, cp. **ga**: ŋoha: 734; **ga** d'ɔka: or **ga**: dagta: 949.
Biv -ha: : bhítheá ' rá 869P4.
Ci -q: : **ya**: m̪a:ra: 145.
Cii -a: : v̪r'anha: s.v. breathnuigh.

894C, Colm Ó Caoidheáin

Examples are taken mostly from songs (!894C6 and 9) and some prose.

- Ai** -itheá: (x1), in prose, representing -i.ha: : ghá n-abruítheá 9.
 -itheá: [x1] 894C2/3, ... gceannuithéasa, here interpreted as -əha: .
Aii -óthá: -óch(th)á [x2] and -óchá [x1] 894C2/3.
 -óá: -óá (x1), representing o:a: .
Aiii -th(e)á: with mbeitheá (only form of bí), bhfeictheá (x6), n-íochthá, siúlthá (only prose example);
 -t(e)á: all other verbs including feic (x4) and siúil, i.e. -t(e)á >> -th(e)á for 894C:

	-t(e)á	-thá ¹
Total for 894C6, 9	21	8
Total for 894C6, 9 and 894C2	26	9

- Aiv** -t(e)á: (no prose examples) líontá, d'fhaighteá, níteá (< déan).
 -th(e)á: e.g. in the irregular verb bí: bhítheá (x2).
Bi, ii -öchá: (x1) (i.e. specially marked as short) representing oha: or aha: or əha: .

11C, Cólín Mháirtín Sheáinín Uí Chúláin

- Bi** <a:ha>: nū: gə gaurnahə ARN1241 nó go gcornóthá
Bii <a:ha>: m'æsd̪u 'g̪ ænahə wem' e meas tú an gceannóthá uaim é?
 b'e:ʳ gə 'g̪ ænahə e b'fhéidir go gceannóthá é.

It seems that 11C has consistent 2 Conjugation <a:ha>.

5.69 20C, Cólín Ó Maoil Chiaráin

- Bi, ii** <a:ha>: this is by far 20C's most common form, realised as:
 [a:ha, a'ha, a'ha, aha, aha], [a'h] preceding vowels,
 [iha] also occurs, taken here tentatively as tokens of -əha: :
 ga da:rn̪ːtha 20Cq dhá dtairneothá.
 With 2 Conjugation verbs in -l̪ and -r̪ there are, however, also examples of -t̪a(:):
 20Cq: ga nuskəɫ̪a: dhá n-oscailteá;
 20Cperm: ga ma'gərt̪a dhá mbagairteá, ga'ŋgəɫ̪a gcangailteá, wuəgərt̪a bhfuagairteá.
 His initial tokens for the last three were in -a:ha: : ga magraha [sic],

¹ Excluding mbeitheá. See also 5.42.

ga'ŋ^hlahā', wuəgrahā'. Note that ***da da:rənt'a** **20C**Øperm *dá dtarraintéá* was not permitted (contrast **ga da:rənt'a** **25M** *dhá dtarraintéá*).

Biii, iv **-t*a: >>> -ha:** speakers **20C** and **21Pt** have the greatest proportion of **-t(e)á** use of my informants. For examples see Table 5.4 p. 915.

-ha: Only the irregular verbs, *bí*, *cluín*, and *teighre*, have been noted with **-th(e)á** in **Diii**: **ga(:) m'éha', ... glin'ha'**, and conditional root form ... **ŋoha'**. The form given is the only realisation noted for *bí* from **20C**; for *cluín*, **ga glunta'** was permitted; and for *teighre*, **ga d'et'a'** was noted. An example of variation in his speech occurs in:

ga ŋoha: suəs a:n əs bə wə: l'um ga: n'inta: e 20C

dhá ngabhthá suas ann, is ba mhaith liom dhá ndéantá é.

Biv **-t*a:** In the irregular verb *bí*, when one contrasts **ga(:) m'éha'** (often) *dhá mbeitheá* (**Diii**) with **v'i:t'a:** (x2) *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(e)á** system.

(**E**) **-o:x:** An **Eii**-type form occurred in the query situation in one token of 2 Conjugation conditional **-o:x tu' 20Cq**.

For speaker **36S**'s more frequent use of <**a:**> than <**a:ha:**> in Echo contexts and his possible hapologic use of <**a:**> with the verb **æn'hə aithnigh**, see 5.108 §4.

5.70 2pl imperative **-í ~ -igí**

In the 2 plural imperative both **-i:** and **-əg'i:** are common allomorphs, e.g.

go	>	goi:	gog'i:	<i>gabhaí, gabhaigí;</i>
do:	>	doi:	do:g'i:	<i>dóí, dóigí;</i>
l'ig'	>	l'ig'i:	l'ig'əg'i:	<i>ligí, ligigí;</i>
bagər'	>	bagri:	bagrəg'i:	<i>bagraí, bagraigí.</i>

In queries aimed at obtaining 2pl imperative forms, **-əg'i:** is the only form or prevalent form given by the vast majority of informants, including Seán, Máire, 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 alternants. (For rare 2 Conjugation **-i:g'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 **-əg'i:** following radical vowels. Conjugational conditioning is evident in the 2 Conjugation which favours **-əg'i:**. The monosyllabic variant **-i:** is clearly less distinctive in the 2 Conjugation than in the 1 Conjugation, e.g. 2sg **k'ænə ceannaigh** > 2pl **k'ænə+(ə)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, í, iad* in East Iorras Aithneach) can be **u:nti:** (2sg and 2pl, e.g. 2pl *iúntaí* **869P**, 5.72), but syncopating *bagair* (in the same context) contrasts

in **bagər** (2sg) and **bagri**: (2pl, e.g. **16M** below). There may therefore have been or may still be a greater prevalence of 2pl imperative **-i**: in 2 Conjugation synco-pating verbs. For possible lexical conditioning, see the high proportion of **kir'i**: *cuirí* tokens in Máire's usage (Table 5.27).

5.71 Individual speakers; 864M

Maidhcil 'ac Dhonncha's (**864M**) published examples give an idea of the variation involved in **-i**: ~ **-əg'i**:

'IOMRAIGÍ amach ... ' ABg140.

'TUGAIDH amach é ach ná HIMTHIGÍ as bruach na farraige chor ar bith leis, ach BÍDHIGÍ ag iomramh anonn is anall ..., ach TÉIGHIDH síos is suas
... ach ná TÉIGHIDH ar an domhain leis. ABg139.

'Ná BACAIDH leis an mbeirt fhear seo níos mó,' adeir sé, 'ach BÍGÍ ag aireachas ar dhroichead Luimnigh agus an chéad fhear a thioctas thar an droichead TÉIGHIGÍ roimhe, TUGAÍ lib é agus DÉANAIDH Lord Mayor dhe. ABg233.

'Anois,' adeir Céadtach, 'ITHIGÍ a mbricfeasta. ...' 'BÍGÍ ag caitheamh tobac,' adeir sé, 'agus FÉACHAIGÍ an mbeidh bhur ndóthain caithte agaibh nuair a bhéas siad marbh agamsa.' LL162–3.

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(dh)gí* (x3));
- (c) **-igí** occurs in the 1Conj following consonants and vowels;
- (d) **-igí** only is found in the 2Conj ((x2) *iomraigí*, *imthigí*).

This speaker's son, however, has two examples of 2Conj **-í**:

ná hathraí ... coinní ... cuirigí na ... 00Ttn.

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 **-i**: , **-əg'i**: , **-i:g'i**: ; SID.46, 869P2–5

-i : (i:, i) (x11)		-əg'i : (ig'i:, ig'í, 'g'í) (x17)	
-k , -g (x6)	1Conj (x3), 2Conj (x2)	1Conj, -g (x4), -V	2Conj (x3)
Total in SID.46: 5	1	9	3
or təgi : 313	əbri s.v. <i>deirim</i>	təgig'í : 313	na: mərig'í : fɪp'
		təgig'í :fě 313	'he:n' 148
		t' u:rig'í 313	i:n'f'ig'í 1146
		si:g'í : fɪ:ʔs 504	or əbrig'í s.v. <i>deirim</i>
əgəs f'ig'í : fɪk'í: 504		t' ei:g'í :fě 732	
təgi :fě 'ar'ě 1007		tagig'í : 949	i:g'í : (x1), 2Conj
or tagi or t'fagi 949		b'i:g'í s.v. <i>tá</i>	əbrig'í : s.v. <i>rádh</i>
		təig'í s.v. <i>téighim</i>	
		gəig'í s.v. <i>téighim</i>	

-i: (i:, i) (x11)		-əɣ' i: (ig' i:, ig' i, 'g' i:) (x17)
<i>tagaí</i> !869P	<i>ná bainí</i> ¹ <i>cuirí síos tine</i> <i>Dianaí aithrí</i> ² <i>iúntaí</i> ³	<i>ná fágaigí</i> !869P <i>teigí</i> (x3) <i>bígí</i>

From these examples one can conclude for SID.46 and **869P** as follows:

- (a) **-i:** occurs mostly after velar stops (6/10) but also in the 2 Conjugation (2/6);
- (b) **-əɣ' i:** occurs in most environments, including after **g**, and in 1 and 2 Conjugations;
- (c) **-əɣ' i:** only is found after vowels (x9);
- (d) **-i:g' i:** is a rare alternant in the 2 Conjugation (1/6).⁴

Given these results, the interpretation of SID.46 in M. Ó Murchú (1984: Map 4) must be emended by adding **-i:** (symbolised by Δ) to 'the predominant **-ig' i:** type' (symbolised by 0). That is to say, one should read 0⁺ Δ for point 46 (0⁺ pt 46 in Map 4 seems to be a misprint for 0⁺). The rather high yield of **-əɣ' i:** 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 **-i:** 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, Mícheál Ó Coirbín's examples, presented in Table 5.26, are based on Airneán II p. 30.

Table 5.26 2pl imperative, **892MARN**

	-i: (x10)			-əɣ' i: (x5)			-i:g' i: (x1)	
	-VV	-k, -g	1Conj	-VV	-g	1Conj	2Conj	2Conj
	<i>bac</i>	<i>caith</i>		<i>bí</i>	<i>teag</i>	<i>fan</i>	<i>tóraigh</i>	<i>cúimhnigh</i>
	<i>fág</i>	<i>cuir</i>		<i>teighre</i>				
	<i>tug</i> (x4)	<i>díon</i>						
Sub-total	0	6	4	2	1	1	1	1
Total	10			5			1	

These examples show the following pattern for **892MARN**:

- (a) **-i:** is most common following velar stops (6/7) and other consonants in the 1 Conjugation (4/5);
- (b) **-əɣ' i:** is the only variant following vowels (2/2); it also occurs following consonants including velar stops;
- (c) both **-əɣ' i:** and **-i:g' i:** occur in the 2 Conjugation.

¹ Occurs in *teigí ... ná bainí liomsa ...* **869P3**.

² In quotation.

³ Occurs in '*Teigí thríothub ... agus iúntaí aríst ...*' **869P4**.

⁴ I interpret the short vowel **i** of 2 Conjugation examples in SID.46 such as **mərig' i:** as /ə/ (rather than /i:/), as in 1 Conjugation **t'urig' i** 46.313.

04B, Beairtle Ó Con Fhaola has an example of **-əg' i:** following a velar:
tugəg' i: !04B3s *tugaigí*.

12S, Seán Ó Cúláin has the following examples:

Imrigí anis air sin tá sé ard;
Ná cuirí an bealach sin e, a deir sí. Iompaí — cuir an bhínn un an bhóthair;
Cuirí caoi ... ;
e:ʃt'əg' i: *l'um (...)* **t'æni:** **ma:x wem' ə'n' iʃ**
Eistigí liom. (...) Teannaí amach uaim anois!

The contrast between **-əg' 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* + **-əg' i:** + *le*} vs. {*teann* + **-i:** + *amach* + *ó*}.

5.74 16M, Máire Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola

Table 5.27 classifies examples noted directly from Máire's conversation.

Table 5.27 2pl imperative, **-í, -igí; M**

-g, -k with -i:	1Conj with -i:
tugi: ku:nə gə vrain	o:li: brin':i:n' t'e: <i>ólaí braoinín tae</i>
<i>tugaí cúnamh dho Bhraidhean</i>	kir'i: 'f'i:s t'il'ə t'os d'i:b' he:n' kir'i:
na' fə:gi: rə'æ:d e ná fə:gaí ro-fhada é	'f'i:s t'il'ə je <i>cuirí síos tuilleadh teósta díbh</i>
na l'ig'i: ori: he:n' tæ:də	<i>héin, cuirí síos tuilleadh dhe</i>
<i>ná ligí oraibh héin tada</i>	kir'i: sə:s er' <i>cuirí sás [sauce] air</i>
na ba:ki: l'e ma:r'ə v'ik'əl' ə'n' iʃ	<i>tá an citl fiuchta is díonaí tae</i>
<i>ná bacáí le Máire Mhicil anois</i>	buəl'i: bə:hər ə'n' iʃ <i>buailí bóthar anois</i>
l'ig'i: tugi: fə:gi: below	ih'i: kir'i: below
1Conj with -əg' i:	2Conj with -əg' i:
glanəg'i: l'ib' ə'ma:x (x2)	ax br'æhəg'i: n obər' ə ta er'
<i>glanaigí lib amach</i>	<i>ach breathaigí an obair atá air</i>
gohəg'i: ma:x gabhaigí amach	tə:r'n' əg'i: t'e: d'i: p'e:n'
gog'i: nuəs gabhaigí anuas	<i>tairnigí tae díbh héin</i>
gog'i: ʃt'æ:x əgəs o:ləg'i: brin' t'e:	f'iarhəg'i: kr'iaxnəg'i: below
<i>gabhaigí isteach agus ólaigí braon tae</i>	cp. gol'əg'i: below
iərəg'i: e iarraigí é	2Conj with -i:
na: b'i:g'i: ... na: g'a:ləg'i:	ba'gri: orə
<i>ná bígí ... ná geallaigí</i>	<i>bagraí uirthi</i>
kir'əg'i: ju:sə:ləg'i: sku:tə:ləg'i: below	
Mixed examples	
na' l'ig'i: ori: he:n tæ:də dʒus f'iarhəg'i: ... na' l'ig'i: ori: he:n tæ:də	
<i>ná ligí oraibh héin tada, 'just' fiathraigí ... ná ligí oraibh héin tada</i>	
kr'iaxnəg'i: n' iʃ e, tugi:, ih'i: l'ug e	
<i>críochnaigí anois é, tugaí — ithí uiliug é</i>	
gol'əg'i: ma:x əd'ər fe əgəs kir'əg'i: kir'i: ki: er' ə ru:bə:rb ʃin' her'	
<i>-Goilligí amach, a deir sé, agus cuirigí, cuirí caoi ar an rúbárb sin thoir.</i>	
na kir'i: na kir'i: na ju:sə:ləg'i: e fə <i>ná cuirí, ná cuirí, ná ghiúsálaigí é seo</i>	
fə:gi: gə luə ... sku:tə:ləg'i: fə:gaí go luath ... Scuíteálaigí!	

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) **-əg'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) **-əg'i:** is found with verbs in *-áil* (2/2).

Some lexical conditioning is likely given the high proportion of **kir'i:** *cuirí* tokens (6/7). In fact the single token of **kir'əg'i:** given above may well be an example of the series effect, **gol'əg'i:** ... **kir'əg'i:**, followed immediately by more common **kir'i:** (cp. the tokens of **o:li:** and **o:ləg'i:**, the latter following **gog'i:** *gabhaigt*). (It would be interesting to know if *goille* (sg) *goilligí* (pl) patterns like 2Conj verbs, with the apparent preference of *-igí* for *-i*.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. *spárálaí*.)

5.75 3pl past (-adar); (1) -dar

The 3pl past ending **-ədər** is regularly realised as **-dər** postvocally, e.g. *glaigh* > **ylidər** *ghlaodar*. Postconsonantly, **-dər** is found in two main contexts: (1) with *choinic*, *tháinig*; (2) following mostly continuants.

(1) **-dər** *-dar* is a reduced optional allomorph of **-ədər** *-adar*, lexically conditioned by the disyllabic stems **ha:n'ək'** *tháinig* and **xin'ək'** *choinic* (past of irregular *teara* and *feic* respectively). In fact **ha:n'ək'dər** (also **ha:n'əg'dər**) and **xin'ək'dər** are by far more common than **ha:n'ək'ədər** and **xin'ək'ədər**. Sometimes further reduction occurs, e.g. **haŋk'dər** 11Ct *tháinigeadar*. When *-adar* follows radical *-d*, there are instances of syllable elision, in haplology:

jarəmədər !04B, !19J, !19S *dhearmadadar* (Asc, three speakers);
d'fhéadadar generally **d'e:dədər**, but also:

xə skufə:nt əf 'd'e:dər e | 892M *chomh scafánta is d'fhéadadar é*.

Retention of **ə** is regular in monosyllabic roots, e.g. **wə'f'ədər he:n'** 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 *-íodar*, *-adar*, and *-dar*:

tarrainn: *tharnaíodar* 894C2, *tharrain'dur* 894C2;
innis: *d'inseadar* 894C3;
 cp. *labhair*: *labhradar* 894C2; *tóig*: *thóigdar* !894C9.

This speaker has been noted only with *-íodar* 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 flexion.

¹ Compare my daughter Muireann's response aged 2.4 to *Goille*, a *Mhuireann* B6C: *Goilleod*. (2Conj fut 1sg Echo).

5.76 (2)–(6) *-dar*

(2) *-dar* is a phonetically conditioned optional allomorph (of *-ədər*) 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 *-idər*; 1Conj *-ədər*; *-dar*, e.g. *hɑ:n'ək'dər* >> *hɑ:n'ək'ədər*,
həŋk'dər *tháinigeadar*.

Various clusters are attested:

-ldər *hri:əldər* 11Ct *thraíáladar*, *hain'əldər* S *shaidhneáladar*,
ja:l'dər [fricative l] S *ghealladar*, *xa:l'dər*¹ S *chailleadar*, *skaldər*
M *scalladar*;

-rdər *fuair'dar* 869P4, *ja:rdər* S *ghearradar*

-ndər *rin'dər* [three syllables] 04B1 *rinneadar*, *n'ɑ:rndər* 11Ct
ndearnadar, *hɑ:ndər* SM *theannadar*, *wa:n'dər* S *bhaineadar*;

-xdər *wuəxdər* [x2] M *bhuachadar*;

-tdər *xl'æ:xt'dər*² St *chleachtadar*;

-g'dər 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'ədər*, e.g. *rix'ədər* 11Ct *ritheadar*, is less common than *-i/udər*, e.g.

vrudər *bhruitheadar* Mq, *rudər* *ritheadar* S, Mq,
d'idər *d'itheadar* Mq, *n'ir idər* S *níor itheadar*.

(4) In the CAITH class *h*-less variants are common in the 3pl past (*-adar*), e.g.

xahədər ~ *xa:dər* *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 *ja:rdər*, for example, can be interpreted as showing a higher degree of morphological 'juncture' than *jærədər* (both *ghearradar*). The short vowel variant, the stem *jær-* in this instance, is confined to the context preceding vowel-initial suffixes; whereas the long vowel variant, stem *ja:r(-)*, is obligatory in word final position. Cf. 5.144 below.

Two further contexts for surface *-dar* are:

(5) The specific 2 Conjugation ending *-idər* can be replaced by *-ədər* (5.86). The latter when suffixed to the main category of 2 Conjugation verbs can be interpreted as 'stem'#*dar*, e.g.

krin'ə cruinnigh > 3pl past *xrin'ədər* (= *xrin'ə+dər*) *chruinneadar*.

(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, dər ga sæ:k'əlf 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-*.

v'ix, əʔdər frojín ə tɑ:m jín v'ix di:n'ə ... St1a
bhíodh, -(a)dar froisin an t-am sin bhíodh daoine

(I have no notated examples in the conditional but I recall hearing *bheadh*(,)dar in traditional speech.)

Note the slip of the tongue where *deir siad* was confused with past *d'insíodar*:

d'erfidər ə f'k'e:l dər ... d'infidər ... 04B1 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:

- SID.46 **hə:ník'ədər** 949, **hə:nig'dər** s.v. *tagaim*; **xün'ik'dər** 403. Note the ə in **hə:ník'ədər** 604 *thairníodar*.
869P2–5 Note *stripáladar* **869P5**, and also the occasional spelling *bhi'dur* for more frequent *bhíodar* in **869P2–5**.
875T1 *tháiniceadar* (x1+).
894C6, 9 prose has a greater proportion of *-adar* than **894C2, 3**.

This information, with further detail from speaker **04B**, is summarised in Table 5.28, from which it is clear that **-dər** is commonest for the oldest speakers with the past verbs *tháinic* and *choinic* (often transcribed in folklore material as *chonnaic*).

Table 5.28 <-adar> vs. <dar> with *tháinic*, *choinic*; older speakers

Verb	<i>tháinic</i>		<i>choinic</i>		Other verbs
Speaker	<i>-eadar</i>	<i>-dar</i>	<i>-eadar</i>	<i>-dar</i>	<i>-dar</i>
SID.46	1	1		1	
869P2–5	0	15+	1	10+	<i>fuair'dar</i> 869P4
870B1–2		2		1	
894C6, 9 prose	2	1	2	3	<i>thóigdar</i> 894C9
894C2, 3	3	12	0	8	
875T	1+				
04B	0	5		1	

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 **fíadsən** *siadsan* in preference to synthetic **-dərsən**. This is noticeable, for example, in:

... xəsədər | xəs fíadsən er' æ:f M chasadar, chas siadsan ar ais.

5.78 3pl past habitual, conditional, past subjunctive *-idís*

The form **-əd'i:ft'** was heard from one speaker only, **27Cb** (An Aird Thiar). Speaker **27Cb** has facultative **-əd'i:ft'** in prevocalic position (for general **-əd'i:f**). His overall use of **-əd'i:ft'** and **-əd'i:f** cannot be ascertained from our two hour conversation but he has frequent **hugəd'i:ft' er' thugaidíst air** in contrast with prevocalic **-əd'i:f** in other phrases. Prevocalic position is of relevance in the only

other example of use of **-əd'i:f** apart from speaker **27Cb**; this occurs in higher register from **04B** (An Aird Thiar): **gəs b'íd'i:f** **an** (run)**04B** *agus bídist 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 **-əd'i:f**, mostly in hesitant speech, added to the nonpersonal form of the verb *bí*, more rarely other verbs. Examples are:

- conditional: **ga, m'oxəd'i:f** **31D** *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'exdər**.
- past habitual: *minic a bh-, bh- bhíodh, -aidís ag iarraidh a bheith gá ndíonamh* ... **872Pt**;
b'fhéidir go mbíodh(,) -aidís deireanach ... **872Pt**;
v'ix [,?] **d'i:f** **ə** **kin'ail'** ... **03C** *bhíodh, -dís ag coinneáil*;
v'íd'i:f **v'íd'i:f** **v'ixd'i:f** **ə** **tarənt'** ... **S**
bhídís, bhídís, bhíodhdís ag tarraint ... ;
v'ixd'i:f **gol'** **fiər ənə gu:l** *St bhíodhdís ag goil siar ina gcúl*;
v'ixd'i:f **gol'** **ha:ləbən'** *St bhíodhdís ag goil, (go) hAlbain*;
nuər' **ə** **v'ix** **fi'n** **d'inti:** **akəb** | **v'er'əx** | **d'i:f** **er'** **ən** **olən** |
gəs **hosid'i:f** **də:** **'sp'ĩ:ənnə** | **894Cs**
nuair a bhíodh sin déantaí acub, bheireadh, -dís ar an olann, agus thosaídís dá spíonadh.

This usage is unacceptable for Máire:

- ə** **n'erha:** **v'ixd'i:f** **BóC** *An ndéarthá 'bhíodhdís'?*
-v'ixd'i:f **n'i:** **a'bra,** **v'íd'i:f** **M** *'Bhíodhdís'? Ní abra. 'Bhídís'.*

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'urq,** **x'urha,** **d'i:f** **l'ohəb** **Mt-tí** *thiúrthá, thiúrthá, -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. **'ha:həx'd'i:f** **64Mq** *sháitheadh-dís*, but regular **xahəd'i:f** **64Mq** *chaithidís*, **hu:rhəd'i:f** **64Mt** *thiúrthaidís*. 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 **dər**, e.g. **ha:həx** **dər** **72N** *sháitheadh dar*.

5.79 Nonpersonal **-ə** ~ **-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 **-ə**, 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 **-ə**

becomes **-i:** preceding the nonsubject pronouns *é, í, iad*: **-ə > -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 gcluindh siad ceol ... tuigfe siad é* **852S2**; cp. 2Conj *go marbhaí sé*;

before a vowel: *go lobhaidh an stropa ... go dtitidh sí* **852S2**;

but often *-ela*: ... *is go bhfeice ...* ; *go [time] dteaga siad; mara bhfágtha [bhfaighe] siad* **852S2**.

2 Conjugation past (*-a >> -í*):

subject pronoun: *Thosa sí ... Thosaighit sí Thosaí sí; Mharaí sí* **852S4**;

but mostly *-ela*: *d’iarra sé* **852S4** (i.e. *d’fhiathraigh sé*);

before a vowel: ... *a rinní an phéist ... go ndéarna sí ...* ; *Bhreathnaí achuile cheánn*. The prevocalic instance of *rinní* concurs with his recording:

agəs 'vř'ænhi' ə'xil'ə 'x'ā:n ā'ku: 'ēř' | 852S

agus bhreathnaigh achuile cheann acú air;

but also: *gá ndéarna aon fhear* **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:

g'ehə (or **g'jofə ... g'efi**) **tu:** 46 (s.v. *gheibhim*) *geithidh tú* with **-i:** in the last token in the list, perhaps the last alternant in certain lists being the most stressed, conservative, or deliberate or from the speaker’s higher register. Note, however, that **g'jofə** is the only form given with a stress mark; **g'efi** may even be a misprint for ***g'ef'i** which could be interpreted as ***/g'ef'ə/**;

si:ⁱ (or **si:hi:**) **m'è fias** 46 (s.v. *suidhim*) *suíthidh mé síos*. Here, also, **-i:** occurs in the last token, again perhaps the most stressed, conservative, deliberate or high-register form. On the other hand, **hi:** 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, ɪ, ɛ, ə** in palatal environments and **ə** in neutral environments. There is a definite example from the higher register in:

kūn'i: də hu:n' asnə d'rifəxi: 46.972

coinnigh do thóin as na driseachaí, 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 iníon* **870B2**.

Speaker **875T** has only one noted example; 2 Conjugation past with pronoun: *cér chónaí sé* **8751**.

Speaker **04B**: *nuər ə d'air'í je* **04B5** *nuair a d'éirigh sé ...*. The form *d'air'í je d'éirigh sé*, also in other speakers, e.g. **11C**, can be interpreted as a high allophone of *ə*.

5.80 Past impersonal -u: ~ -əw -adh

In the past impersonal 1 Conjugation the suffix **-u:** alternates with **-əw**; in the 2 Conjugation both these allomorphs can be suffixed to the 2 Conjugational stem yielding the main variants **-i:u:** and **-i:w**. Following radical consonants, **-u:** only occurs. One young speaker, **77C**, is exceptional in having **-əv** as a minor by-form postconsonantly, e.g.

g'ar:u: ~ g'arəv, m'ar:əv **77Cq** *gearradh, mealladh*.

Following radical vowels **-(ə)v** is his main variant in the CAITH class:

bə:hur t.l, bə:v e', bə:hur ~ bə:əv, krahu:, sə:v e, skrahu: **77Cq**
báithheadh (é), craithheadh, sáithheadh é, scaithheadh.

In the 2 Conjugation he has **-i:u:** ~ **-i:w**.

Following radical vowels and conjugational **-i:-**, speakers vary as to their (quantitative) preferences. Three main types of speakers can be classified:

- (i) phonologically conditioned: **-əw** is the main postvocalic variant, i.e.
-Cu: vs. -VVw (>> -VVu:);
- (ii) morphologically conditioned: **-əw** is the main 2Conj variant, i.e.
1Conj -VVu: vs. 2Conj **-i:w** (>> **-i:u:**);
- (iii) morphological syncretism: **-u:** is the only variant, i.e.
-Cu:, -VVu:, 2Conj **-i:u:**.

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 **-u:**. This may be a result of dissimilation in the environment most similar to **w**. It may be that syllabic **-u:** (and **-əw**) are more prominent following the back vowel, while coalesced **-w** (a back glide) may be contrastive enough following front vowels. This phonological bias for **-i:w** in (i) could easily be (re)interpreted as conjugational, as in (ii).

Note that the glide between vowels following **-u:** is sometimes as prominent as that in **-i:w**, etc., e.g.

n'í wuər'u we ní bhfuairheadh é;
ər ret'u: e: ~ ər ret'u we ar réiteadh é?

In fact phonetic variants of final **u:** and **(ə)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 **də:u:** *dódh* (before vowels) in his short recording.

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 o: , au in	dou 1.59 <i>dódh</i> , gouu: əŋ ... 1014 <i>gabhadh an ...</i> ,
	-uw	following i: in	f'r'i:uw Mp 77 (= 277) <i>fríodh</i> ;
2Conj	-i:v/w/üv	in mq:ri:v 1160, mari:w 1.59, mari:üv (s.v. <i>hobair</i>) <i>maráíodh</i> .	

04Br and **15W** (daughters of speaker **869P**) have 2Conj **-i:v** (x6) >> **-i:u:** (x1).

892MARN, Maidhcil Ó Coirbín. From his examples he can be classified as type (ii) (but mixed).

1Conj in -V:	-u:	following i: , o: in	bli:u' orəmsə 1735 <i>blaodh ormsa</i> , bli:u: er' 2063 <i>blaodh air</i> , dvo:u' ... d'vo:u' 2006 <i>dódh</i> ;
	~ -w	following i: in	<i>má blaodh héin bli:ʔ h'v'e:m'</i> 1735;
2Conj	-i:w	regularly, e.g. tarn'i:v ... lauri:v 2503 <i>tairníodh</i> ... <i>labhraíodh</i> ;	
	-i:u:	hæn'əm'i:uw e: 4245 <i>hainmíodh é</i> , mari:u: [x2] 4485 <i>maráíodh</i> .	

892Mg, Michael Keany, was noted with 2Conj **-i:u'** in: *tóigeadh to:g'u:* as an bpoll ansin aríst é is triomaíodh é. **tr'ümī:u'** e |.

04B, Beairtle Ó Con Fhaola's noted examples show the following pattern:

1Conj in -VV	-u:	following i: , uə in	bli:u' <i>blaodh</i> , fr'i:u' u he:n' <i>fríodh thú héin</i> , buəu' l'ε <i>buadh le</i> ;
	-əw	following uə in	fuəəw fa:x græk'ən <i>fuadh seacht gcraiceann</i> ;
2Conj	-i:v	in mari:v <i>maráíodh</i> ;	
	~ -i:u'	in hoskli:u' <i>hosclaíodh</i> .	

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, Béib Bean Uí Chúláin shows 1Conj -V: with **-u:** (x3); 2 Conjugation **-i:w**, i.e. type (ii).

11C, Cólín Ó Cúláin has 1Conj -V: with **-u:** in **fr'i:u:** *fríodh*, **gli:u:** ARN1430, -4 *glaodh*; very frequent 2Conj **-i:v/y**, e.g. **d'i:br'i:v**, but also **-i:u:** in **d'i:br'i:u'** *díbríodh*, **re:t'i:u:** ARN4097 *réitíodh*. His usage can be characterised as type (ii) >>> (iii).

5.82 16M — 43M

16M, Máire (M(q)) shows a marked preference for **-əw** following -VV (long vowels and diphthongs), both radical (i.e. 1Conj -VV) and conjugational (i.e. 2Conj **-i:-**). In summary, she has a type (i) contrast **-Cu:** vs. **-VVw** >> **-VVu:**. 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**, **-əv** and **-u:**. Diphthongs in general show preference for syllabic endings **-əv** 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

Vowel	Verb	-v	-əv	-u:
i:	<i>bligh</i> <i>faigh</i> <i>glaoigh</i> <i>ligh</i> <i>nigh</i>	ər bl'i:v ən wə: an bhó ər fr'i:v e ər gli:v er x'a:n ar Sheán ər l'i:v ən li: an lao N'i:v də xlog'ən M do chloigeann ər N'i:v mə xlog'ən mo chloigeann		
2Conj	<i>snoigh</i> <i>suigh</i> <i>ardaigh</i> <i>ceannaigh</i> <i>fiathraigh</i>	ər sni:w e ər si:v f'i:s ... síos ər hɑ:rdi:v suəs e suas é ər k'æ:ni:w ə wə: an bhó	N'ir f'iarhi:əv f'iar er' hænd ə'n M siar ar thada ann	
e:	<i>labhair</i> <i>léigh</i> <i>spréigh</i> <i>téigh</i>	ər l'e:v ə tæ:fr'ən an tAifreann ər spr'e:v ə ... an ər t'e:v, ə ... an		ər lauri'u: er ... [sic] ar
ɑ:	<i>cráigh</i> <i>leáigh</i> <i>meáigh</i>	ər krɑ:v e ər l'ɑ:v ən f'ik'i:n' an sicín ər m'ɑ:v ə wə: an bhó		
o:	<i>sáigh</i> <i>dóigh</i>	ər sɑ:v ən f'æ:r an fear ər dɔ:v e	ər dɔ:əw ən t'æ:x an teach b'ou (perhaps from my pronunciation)	sɑ:u: e Mq-sáigh-caith
(2Conj)	<i>beoigh</i>			
u:	<i>brúigh</i> <i>gnóthaigh</i> <i>súigh</i>	ər gnū:v ər su:v ən ...	ər gru:əv, also gnu:əv Mq (x2) ər su:əv suəs e suas é ər kruəv ə'n'e: e inné é ər fuəv ə t'e:dəx an t-éadach	ər bru:u f'i:s ... síos
uə	<i>cruaigh</i> <i>fuaigh</i> <i>luaigh</i>		ər luəv, (more certain)	
au	<i>togh</i>			ər tauu maik'əl (x3) Maidhcil
ai	<i>treabh</i> <i>loigh</i>		ər laiəv f'i:s er' ə l'æ:bə síos ar an leaba	ər tr'auu e (x2)

Finally, note the variation in the verb *sáigh* in the following exchange:

... sɑ:u: M, ... sɑ:v M, -sɑ:u: P, ... sɑ:u: e, M.

Table 5.30 contrasts the syllabic terminations in *-əv* or *-u:* of the impersonal ending with the nonsyllabic ending of the verbal noun in *-v*.

Table 5.30 Impersonal past *-əv*, *-u:* vs. verbal noun *-v*

	Impersonal <i>-əv</i> , <i>-u:</i>	vs.	Verbal noun <i>v/w</i>
M:	<i>cráigh</i> krɑ:ə ^v m' e Mq	vs.	gə mə xra:v ^f Mq
	cp. <i>sáigh</i> sɑ:u: e Mq	with	VN gə də hɑ: Mq
S:	<i>cráigh</i> krɑ:u ^y m' e Sq	vs.	gə mə xra:w S
	<i>sáigh</i> sɑ:u: e [x2] Sq, sɑ:u ^y [x1] Sq	vs.	gə mə hɑ:w S

The verbal noun suffix, however, may also be syllabic, e.g. *beoigh* VN b'ou:v [b'ou:w] M; some verbs even have VN *-u:* ~ *-əv*, e.g. *cruaigh* VN kruəu kruəu:

kruəv kruəw. 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 -i:w.

26Pq shows type (ii) usage: 1Conj -V: with -u: (x5); 2 Conj -i:w/v (x4).

29Cq (based on 7 tokens), **26P**'s sister, also has type (ii) 1Conj -V: + u:; 2Conj + i:v, also u: in CRUAIGH class **kruəu e cruadh é**.

43M, daughter of **16M**, shows frequent type (iii) in conversation and query, e.g. *bligh, glaoigh, nigh* > **bl'i:u' gli:u' n'i:u'** **43Mq**, but sometimes type (ii) 2Conj i:w.

5.83 Present relative -əns -anns and future relative -əs -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 -əns 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 *bí*:

- 852S4** *a ghnídheas muid ... a ghnídheanns na ...*
866E (-ns >> -s), *bí*: *is é a bhíos a' teagabháil ...* Semr84, also *bhíonns* Semr74;
 other verb: *nuair a thigeas muid* **866ESc**57.13.
869P2-5 (-ns >> -s): *nuair a bhíos* **869P5**.
894C (-ns >> -s), *bí*: *bhíos muid* **!894C9**, *bhíos lán* **!894C9**;
 other verb: *ínsíos amach* **894C9**.

As stated, there are fully reliable data for relative -əns -anns only, e.g. *bí* in SID.46 has -əns only (in contrast with **869P2-5**), e.g.

v'i:ns fíad 827 *bhíonns siad*, **v'i:ns nə 'xolə** 837 *bhíonns 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-.¹ The sequence -s f-, however, does sometimes occur in the relative verb:

- kauru'r ə v'i:ns fíad ig' 'im'əxt** 46.827
corruair a bhíonns siad ag imeacht;
ə v'e:f je ... ə v'eis je fin' 894Cs *bheidheas sé ... bheidheas sé sin*;
d'aul l'et'ər ə fosta:ləs je ... M *deabhal leitir a phostálthas sé ...*;
er' wu:n də xof ukəs je fin' M *ar bhonn do chois a thiocthas sé sin*;
f'ar ə v'eis fíb' bl'ian' o: nolək' jo **23M**

¹ This point is made by S. Ó Murchú (1989: 25). Cp. GCF §198 p. 70 n. 1, regularly f only, e.g. **ə xir'in' je**: *a chuireanns 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 **v'e:f je**: *bheas sé*, §534(c) **war'əf fíb'** *mhairfeas sibh*, **v'e:f fi**: *bheas sí*, **v'e fíad re**: *bheas siad réidh*, **hogro: je**: *thogróis sé*; ICF §248 **ner'ə xa:je** *nuair a chaithfeas 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:

k'e:n | uə́r' | ə | x'ukə | ʃe: Mq *cén uair a thiocthaidh sé?*

k'e:rd ə | o:lən' ʃe: Mq *céard a ólann sé?*

at an even slower rate:

k'e: | ə nuə́r' | æ' | hukəs ʃiəd Mq *cé an uair a¹ thiocthas siad?*

k'e | ən uə́r' | ə x'ukəs ʃe: Mq *cé an uair a thiocthas sé?*

... ə:kəs ʃe: | ... im'ə: ʃe | ... im'ə:s ʃe | ... Mq

fhágthas sé? ... imeoidh sé? ... imeos sé?

k'e:rd ə | o:ləns ʃe: Mq *céard a ólanns sé?*

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 *-nn sé ~ -nns sé* occur, the *-nn sé* type being perhaps the most frequent; in the plural *-nn siad* is more frequent than *-nns 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 s*:-

	Present	Future
<i>sé / sí</i>	<i>-nn sé >>? -nns sé</i>	<i>-a sé ~ -as sé</i>
<i>siad</i>	<i>-nn siad >> -nns siad</i>	<i>(-a siad) <<< -as siad</i>

(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, **v'i:n̩s ʃiəd** 827 *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:

fəds wə'r'hə tu 'r'i:ʃt̪ 03V *fad is mhairthea(s) tú aríst.*

There is an example of **-ən** in relative syntax before *tú* in:

... agus dhá leith díonta a'd díreach de, mar fheiceann tú | 'ma'r exk'ən tu:
[sic **-xk'**] *na siúinéaraí tá molta go maith dhíonamh anis.* 01Pt.

5.84 Conjugational syncretism

In traditional dialect all disyllabic 2 Conjugation personal endings, formed by the 2 Conjugation stem (**-i-**) and personal suffix, are in the process of being replaced, or have been replaced, by the corresponding disyllabic 1 Conjugation endings,

¹ This **æ'**, for regular relative **ə a**, is most likely a spelling pronunciation, rare for Máire.

e.g. 3pl past **-i:ðar** > **-aðar**. The other process of syncretism to the monosyllabic 1 Conjugation ending is shown above in the change of the 2sg **-a:ha:**, etc., to **-a:**. For the loss of past impersonal 2 Conjugation **-i:w** **-i:u:** **-íodh**, completed only in the youngest speakers, see ‘Developments’ (5.415, cp. 5.418). Cp. verbal adjective 2 Conjugation marker **-i:hə** > **-i:** (5.181 ff.).

5.85 2pl imperative **-ígí**

The specific 2 Conjugation 2pl imperative ending **-i:gí** **-ígí** is now obsolete. Only two examples were noted:

abri:gí **i:** 46 (s.v. *rádh*) *abraígí*; **ki:mní:gí** **i:** 892M *cuimhnígí*.

Speaker **894Cs** has 2 Conjugation 2sg subjunctive **-i:hə:**; and both **894Cs** and **11C** have regular 2 Conjugation 3pl **-i:dí:f** and **-i:ðar**, but these two speakers have imperative **-əgí** **i:** only, e.g.

marəgí **i:** 894Cs *maraígí* (only one token noted),

abrəgí **i:** [x3] 11C *abraígí*.

Similarly, Máire has **-əgí** **i:** only. Her 2 Conjugation 3pl past (habitual) **i:**-forms in *ceannaigh* contrast with 2pl imperative **-əgí** **i:**, produced in the order given here:

x'æni:dí:f **e**, **x'ænə** **fiəd** **e**, **x'æni:ðar**, **k'ænəgí** **i:** **e** M.

The more advanced syncretism in the 2pl to **-əgí** **i:** **-ígí** (if **-i:gí** **i:** **-ígí** 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 **-íodar** (pst), **-ídís** (psthb, etc.)

Past **-íodar** ~ **-adar**

The development of 2 Conjugation **-íodar** 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 **866ESc** and **869P3**.

866E, Éamann a Búrc has regular 2 Conjugation **-íodar**. In the tale *Eochair Mac Rí in Éirinn* (Semr), for example, all 23 synthetic 2 Conjugation verbs have **-íodar** 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:

fuaireadar ... chuireadar ... cheangladar ... cheangladar ... d'fhágadar ... ghabhadar ... tháinigeadar ... Dúirt siad ... go ndearna siad é — gur cheanglaíodar ...

866ESc140.3–9 (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:

¹*d'fhanadar ...* ²*rudar ...* ¹*chruinneadar ...* ²*chuadar ...* ³*dúradar ...* **869P3**.479.

892Mg: regular **-íodar** in the 2 Conjugation, e.g. *d'airíodar*, *d'imíodar*, *cheanglaíodar*.

897P: *d'aireadar*, *thairníodar*, *bhalaiodar*.

11C: regular 2 Conjugation **-i:ðar** and **-i:dí:f**.

10Bq: in query 2 Conjugation **-i:ðar** in *coinnigh*, *maraiigh*, *imigh*, *triomaigh*, but **-aðar** in *fiathraigh* (produced uncertainly as if the speaker noticed the conjugational anomaly: **d'iar(h)əðarə** **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'iarhədər (x3) *d'fhiathradar*; **xin'rdər** (x1) *choinníodar*;

in another discourse:

rodər ... d'im'ədər agəs x'ænədər ... d'im'ədər ... M
raibheadar ... d'imeadar agus cheannadar ... d'imeadar ...

In query or translating contexts Mq consistently uses **-i:ədər**, 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 ... thosadar ... choinneadar ... mharadar **21Jq**.

23Ms, Mícheál Ó Clochartaigh has:

thosadar héin ... [and in close sequence] *d'íslíodar ... d'ardaíodar ... d'íslíodar ... 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, Mícheál 'ac Con Iomaire has regular 2 Conjugation *-íodar*. One token of 2 Conjugation *-adar* was noted in possible serial effect:

agus d'fhiathraigh, d'fhiathradar dhe, dhen sean-Lochrannach, ... **25Mt**.

Cp. *d'fhiathradar* **10B**, **16M** above, perhaps influenced by *iarr* (> *d'iarradar*) which is similar in meaning.

77C: **xori:ədər** *chorraíodar*, **daɣhədər** *d'athradar*, **vr'æhndər** *bhreathnadar*.

Past habitual, past subjunctive (also imperative) *-ídís* ~ *-idís*

899D, ARN: *d'abraídís, thosaídís* 6626.

01C, ARN: *thairnídís* 6369.

11C: regular **-i:ɖ'i:j**.

21Jq: *mharaidís, choinnidís* ~ *choinnidís* (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.¹ 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 (*iarchlaonán* p. 84) and emphatic and non-emphatic pronouns are termed stressed and unstressed respectively (*(neamh)ai ceanta* 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 *-óchamaois*, 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 plural *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 'íodh mé ag goil 'n na scoile 15W*;

1sg cond *D'abródh 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' x'æpəx tu' ... 23B Bhuel cheapthadh tú ...

Examples of analytic reflexive use in the 1sg are:

reit'im m'e m'e hein' s' n'in m'e m'e hein' 52P

réitionn mé mé héin is nionn mé mé héin.

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 [1] 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**, Máinis).

Table 5.31 Synthetic and analytic *-im*, *-(th)inn*, *-(th)á*; 72C

	1sg pres		1sg cond/hb	2sg cond	
	non-emphatic	stressed	non-emphatic	non-emphatic	emphatic
synthetic	16		8	7	
analytic	1	2	0	1	2

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:

n'í ek'əŋ 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.¹ 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*, *bíonn mé*, in the following section):

m’ox tu: 72C *mbeadh tú* (x2).

5.88 1sg present *-im*

Phonetically the sequence *-əm’ m’e(i)* occurs and could be taken as straightforward regular sandhi realisation of analytic *-ən + m’e(i)*. That another interpretation is possible, i.e. of synthetic inflection with pronoun *-əm’ + m’e*, is clear from some written forms in *-m mé*, e.g.

fám [faighim] *mé rudaí ... 16Mlt*; *nach dtuigim 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 *táim* being used in Echo contexts), habitual present *bíonn mé* is rapidly replacing *bím*;
abair: quotative *a deir*: older *ə d’er’əmʃə a deirimse* (e.g. **892M1735**, regularly **889P**) and *ə d’er’əm’ p’e:n’ a deirim héin* (e.g. **892M**) is giving way to *ə d’er’ m’ifə a deir mise* (e.g. regularly **19P**) and *ə d’er’ m’e he:n’ a deir mé héin* (e.g. regularly **16M**). Still more progressive usage has the past tense *a dúirt 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 gir’ən tu: ... Nach gcuireann tú ...

-west’ m’it ə xir’əns m’e’ er’ M ‘Westmeath’ a chuireanns mé air.

d’i:nəm’ ... ʃe: hugəns m’e l’um 20A déanaim ... sé a thuganns mé liom.

Cp. relative *bí* in:

N’i: smókə:ləm’ ax nor’ v’i:ns m’e im’i: a:t’ ə’k’i:nt’ 18Bm

ní smócáilim [< smoke] ach nuair a bhíonns mé imí áit eicint.

- (iii) With emphatic subject pronoun, e.g.

mar cluineann mise klin’əm m’ifə 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.

... go n-íoctar é. -Má íocann mise é, dúirt seisean, an mbeidh sé ceart? ... nó
go n-íoctaí é. -Má íocann mise é, deir sé, an bhfuil sé ceart? ... **11C**;
n'í: mo:ra:ŋ kəkə ix'əm' m'ʲə M ní mórán cáca a itheann mise;
n'í iərnə:lən m'ijə xər ə b'ih e: ʃin' M
ní iarnálann mise ar chor ar bith é sin;
n'í xi:v'n'i:n m'ij er' e:n' x'a:n M ní chuimhníonn mise ar aon cheann.

Cp. má theagann mise nó thusa isteach **20S**.

With phonetic reduction and coalescence the synthetic form can be very similar to its analytic counterpart with emphatic clitic -se, e.g.

... xir'ə m'ijə **45B** ... chuireann mise.

Combination of (i) and (iii):

-do:ri:n tu' e **47P** An dtóráinn tú é?
-n'í ho:ri:n | d'eta: rə: nax do:ri: [sic] m'ij e M
Ní thóráinn, d'fhéadthá a rá nach dtóráinn mise é.

Combination of (ii) and (iii), e.g.

his sə ʃænt'æ:x ə xi:n'i:ns m'ij er' **12J**
thíos sa seanteach a chuimhníonnns mise air;
ə xir'əns m'ij an **23B** a chuireannns mise ann;
ə d'erəns m'ijə **23B** a déarannns mise.

Cp. -əns m'ijə [x2] **66N** -anns mise.

Other occurrences are noted here under (iv) and (v).

(iv) No obvious contextual conditioning, e.g.

du:ʃi:n m'e ... ə du:ʃəxt sə t'it'əm' ə mə xolə **S87**
dúisíonn mé ... ag dúiseacht is ag titim i mo chodladh.

Cp. tæ:sti:n [-m'] m'e sə ma:l'ə Pt tastaíonn mé sa mbaile. The common corresponding verbal noun construction also has the pronoun: tá mé ag tastáil sa mbaile.

(v) In writing, e.g. fáim [faighim] mé rudaí ... **16Mlt**, and compare an instance from the younger generation: nach dtuigim mé **68Klt**.

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:

-Ar airigh tú ariamh ... ?

-k'er dæ:r'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 mhaoin agam. Ní fheilfeadh mé di.' **876JAB**95–6.

This may be related to the example of *tastaíonn mé* given above (5.88).

(iii) With emphatic subject pronouns, e.g.

'... le go bhféadfadh mise an áit a bhfuil mé féin a fhágáil.' **875TLL**182;

fín' e' d'érhəx 'm'ifə xum ər b'i M
sin é a déarthadh mise ar chuma ar bith.

Cp. Seán in contrastive emphasis in:

-k'əŋ xi: skə:ŋ.ɔ:x 'm'if i: BóC *Cén chaoi a scanródh mise í?*

-k'əŋ xi: skə:ŋ.ɔ:x 'm'if i: S *Cén chaoi a scanródh mise í?*

There are furthermore three minor contexts.

(iv) No obvious contextual conditioning:

Níl aon mhaith inti sin ach ag íneacht dhom céard a dhíonhadh me M.

(v) In writing:

béidir go bhfeicfeadh 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. **-əx m'e:** often **66Nq.**

Combination of (i) and (iii) in:

d'érhəx kid'ə gə nə dī:n'í e' ax N'í: jər'həx m'if e **23Bq**

Déarthadh cuide dhe na daoíní 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 choinneal is beidh mise i m'fhéileacán !(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 ə yohəx tusə ma:x M85 *mar a ghabhthadh tusa amach;*

gə dri:əlx tusə l'if iəd M *dhá dtraíáladh tusa leis iad;*

k'ər da'brə:x t:sə [sic] [x2] M *Céard d'abródh tusa?*

Younger speakers: **-əx tusə 66N** often.

(iv) No obvious contextual conditioning, e.g. (unless, perhaps, due to *bí* 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 dtaghá ... gá dtagadh tú **43Mlt.**

Six examples were noted in Cladi (author born 1891), all in nonspecific function:

bheadh tú 14, 92, 235, 238, dá mbeadh tú 40 (bí x5); ní aireóchadh tú 14.

(vi) In query, translating: **-o:x tu' 20Cq;** psthb **d'əiəx du ... 66N** *dtéadh tú.*

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 **852SbLL**:
-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 LL:
'Á, 'sé croidhe an chuit a chuireamar ann, **864M** LL166;
fuaramar, ghabhamar, chuireamar, rabhamar, Chuireamar, dhúisigheamar, bhí muid, nach rabh muid féin ar fagháil, bhíomar **864M** ABg310–1.

866E has rare *-amar*:
'sna bairillí a d'fhágamar ina ndiaidh aréir. **866E** Sc229.

869P has been noted, in all, with four tokens of *-amar*. One from ABg:
chuamar ag tabhairt an turais **869P** ABg339–40.¹
 In **869P**2–5 only two tokens of *-amar* were noted, one in a quotation in a story, '... *a chéasamar*' **869P**4.537, and the other in an unmarked lower-register account:
chuamar gá dtarraint, **869P**4.491.
 Elsewhere he has analytic *muid*. The only emphatic form of *-amar* recorded phonetically from Iorras Aithneach comes from **SID**46:
n'í: əkəmər' n'ə (or n'í: akə mīd') 46.401 *ní fhacamarne* (or *ní fhaca muid*).
 (One would expect the phonetic realisation of the cluster to be *-ər'n'ə). 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 rin'əməɾ hén le chéile an talthamh nuair a cailleadh é* **881J**.

889P has *-amar* (1/1) in *əgəs du:ɾəməɾ l'e: x'e:l'ə* **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 **894C**2, 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:

xahə mīd' i:n nə k'æ:əg's ... xə' mīd' ... **899P**
chaith muid dhínn na ceaigs ... chaith muid ...

Unless it be some kind of slip of the tongue, the form *xahə mīd'* can be analysed as halfway between historical *chaitheamar* and *chaith muid*. Cp. equivalent *xahə mīd'* (sns)**869P** (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 **-əmi:f**, conditional **-həmi:f** and 2 Conjugation conditional **-o:mi:f**. 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 muist*, *-ódh muis(t)* (10.63) in our dialect, the endings **-əməf**, **-həməf** and **-o:məf**, **-o:x məf** 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 bímís,' *adeir an mac*, *Cod*. 121;
d'fhéadfamaois 8, *go mbéimís* 13;
 '... ar fhágamar baile dá bhfágamaois [bhfaigh-] triúr mac Rí an hOrbhuaidhe
 go dtugamaois ar cuairt chun ár ríoghacht' féin iad go ceann lá agus seacht
 mbliain go dtéighimís an fhad [chéadna] do'n Orbhuaidh arís.' [sic] 126,
 cp. *an Orbhuaidh* 139;
b(h)eadh muid 5, 8, 15, *go gcuirfeadh 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* / *-maois*.

Other speakers have analytic usage, e.g. **869P** (5.95):

le faithíos nach dtiocfadh muid ann arís choidhchin **869PABg**343.

Also **875T**, brother of **869P**: *thugadh muid* **875TABg**349. So also **894C2**, 6, 9 who has only *-dhl/-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. **-məð'**, **-mid'**, **mid'**. 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'ænglóməd' ε, d'ir'oməd' ε, o:lhəməd' ε **20C** (sbj query)
ceanglómuid é, díreomuid é, ólthamuid é!

As independent pronoun in future, *muid* is regular, e.g.

gə g'æno' mid' **31Msbjg** *go gceannóidh muid*.

Past

muid is clitic and reduced in:

hə:n'ək məd' nər' **27Cl** *tháinigmuid anoir*.

Present subjunctive

marə dr'ial'əmid' 04B *mara dtriaileamuid*;

gə muəl'əmid' 31M *sbjq go mbuaileamuid*.

Commonly as independent pronoun, e.g.

go n-ímrí muid 866E *Semr76*, *mara dtéighe muid 866E* *Semr78*.

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

	Imperative	Future		Past	
Synthetic	-mīdʻ	-ə mīdʻ (1Conj)	-o: mīdʻ (2Conj)	-mīdʻ	
	732 s.v. <i>ólaim</i> s.v. <i>tá</i>	858 -hīmīdʻ 449 (vs. Mp 137)	271 328	ja:xə mīdʻ 731 ʻo:lə mīdʻ 737 <i>fhoghlaím</i> vʻí i mīdʻ 57	
Total	3	2	2	3	
	Future		Past	Present	Conditional
Analytic	-ə mīdʻ	-o: mīdʻ	mīdʻ	-n mīdʻ	-x mīdʻ
	-hī Mp 137	603	303, 604, 1005, s.v. <i>tagaim</i> , etc.	e.g. 39, 43, 330, tə: mīdʻ 1020	501, 585, 733
	I.29		vʻí i: mīdʻ 57	rixʻə (<i>or</i> rixʻən) mīdʻə 173	
Total	2	1	14+	14	3

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

	852Sb	864M	869P	875T	876J	880M	Clad ¹	894C
<i>-amaois</i>	~ <i>muid</i>	+	<i>muid</i>	<i>muid</i>		+		<i>muid</i>
<i>-amar</i>	>> <i>muid</i>	>> <i>muid</i>	<i>muid</i> >>>	<i>muid</i>				<i>muid</i>
<i>-adh mé</i>				rare	rare			rare
<i>-adh tú</i>							rare	

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 *-idís* >> *-adar* (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 fheicthead (Echo), *beidh ...*, or

Feicthidh mé thú agus nuair a fheictheas (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.

tas eg’ e: tas *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.

- ... *Caithe tú fanacht go maidin.*

-*A! ní fhanthad, a deir sé. 11C;*

- ... *caithe tú bheith ag imeacht anois.*

-*Ní chaithead, a deir sé ...*

- ... *Caithe tú bheith ag imeacht anois ...*

-*Ní bheidhead, a deir sé ... 11C5554–7.*

The impersonal *leagadh* is used in Echo position corresponding to preceding *caithfear ... a leagan* in:

-*Caithfear, a deir sé, píos a dhi* [referring to *cúirt*] *a leagan, a deir Cearúlán, agus í dhíriú. Mar bhead sé an-diucair, a deir sé, ceann a chuir ar an teach* [referring to *cúirt*] *i ngeall air nach bhfuil sé cearnógach, scvaeráilte amach díreach. Leagadh. Agus thois sé amach agus dhírig sé ceart í agus bhíodar ag obair. 11C.*

The actual question can be implied from the indirect speech and the response in:

Dúirt sé leis a' máta a ghul sa gcrann agus breathnú uaidh féachaint an bhfeicfeadh sé rud ar bith a raibh cosúlacht aige le talamh.

-Ní fhacas, ar seisean [i.e. an máta]. -Ach ... 875PDT16.

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 cúirt álainn gá díonamh, agus d'iarr sé obair ar an bhfear a bhí i mbun na hoibre. Agus — 'Tiúrtad,' a deir se. 'Bhfuil tú i do shaor cloiche mhaith?' a deir se. 11C;

Chua' sí ag díonamh 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 aon tuairim 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 clái a rinne tú ina leithide seo dh'áit ar do chuid talthúna?

-Ó! tá fhios, a deir sé, go maith. 11C2684.

For related examples of extension of *bhí*, see 5.99.¹

The complete (1 Conjugation) Echo paradigm is:

sg	past	future	pres subj	pres ²	nonhab pres <i>bí</i>
1	-əs	-həd	-əd		-əm'
2	-əʃ ~ -ər'	-hər' ~ -həʃ	-ər' ~ -əʃ	-ər'	-ər'

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 **-əs** *-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:

-xuə m'e ... BóC Chuaigh mé ...

-ə n' æ'xər' M An ndeachair?

- ... xuələ m'e ... BóC ... chuala mé ...

-ə guələ'r' M An gcualair?

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 *táir* in the phrase *Cé mar táir?* 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 ... -Bhuel tá sé sin ceart, a deir an dochtúir, má bhír ach mara mbeidh, a deir sé, beidh an díobháil ann. 866ESc201.36.*

k'e: mar tair' / rin'ar' / xuər', xuəf / v'ij, v'ir' Mq
cé mar táir / rinnir / chuair, chuais / bhís, bhír.

An Echo form can be followed by *sin* used adverbially, e.g.

nar hægə tu ... nar hægər fin' 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:

Níor chualas [1sg] *gur rugthas ariamh ina dhiaidh sin air.* **864MABg243.**

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.

Thugas turas na Cruaiche faoi dhó. Chuadhas ar mhótar go Cathair na Mart, agus shiubhlas an bealach uaidh sin. ... chuaidh mé ... ,

and again very close to the end of the anecdote:

Choiniceas daoine a chuaidh suas anuas cosnochtaithe. ... **869P**^{TIA}468–9.

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:

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 crua.' **866E**Sc133.26.

A clear example of transcriber error (through duplication) is evidenced in:

-Ní ghabhfad, a deir sé, gabhfad chun an bhaile mhóir arís. **866E**Sc178.

This sentence in **866E**'s audio recording, from which the published tale was transcribed, actually contains an analytic form with complement:

-Ní ghabhthad, a deir sé, gabhthaidh mé un an, un an bhaile mhóir arís. **866E**(Sc178).

Otherwise, when a complement follows an Echo form the subject pronoun is added, with or without a preceding pause, e.g. (without pause)

-Ar chuala tú, a deir sé, aon chaint ar Chailleach na Luibhe ariamh?

-Muise m'anam go gcualas, a deir sé seo, go minic mé caint ar Chailleach na Luibhe. **11C**2649–50;

with pause:

-Ach d'fheoghlaim tú go leor páidreachaí uaithi? Pádraig Ó Catháin (RnG)

-Baidhe deaid d'fheoghlaimíos, [pause] mé go leor acub uaithi. **05M**.¹

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. Cp. Aimeán 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 gairí ariamh ná cuide dhá rinníos; Deabhal a fhios agam ná cuide dhá bhfuil fhios* FFG20 s.v. *cuid* 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 *bhí* 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.

- ... *tabhair isteach annis mé, a deir sé, ... Thug, -gadar isteach é agus, ar ndóigh rinne sé héin agus a bhean an dochtúracht air, ab fhearr a bhíodar i ndan, agus nuair a bhí, d'imigh sé agus é buailte.* **892M4027**;

Choinic mé an corrán briste acub i bhfoisceacht leatroigh dh'áit do láimhe, agus iad ag gearradh na feamainne leis. Agus chuaigh mé ag obair leis, agus má bhí héin ní raibh mé i ndan aon fheamainn a ghearradh leis, ní raibh aon chleachtadh a'm air. **01P**;

Agus an fhad a bhí sé go dona ar an leaba, céard a rinne sé ach suí faoi, agus tosaí ag cumadh an amhráin. Agus má bhí héin ba bhreá an t-amhrán 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/má 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.

d'im'ə ʃe ser' gə hiŋ'g'eri:, d'im'ə, n tahər' mi:lɾə, v'i:, f'ebri:i k'e n'æxə ʃe wai ʃin' əma:x, v'i:, ax v'i: ɔ:am' br'ɑ: d'intə ʃo' 03Ct

d'imigh sé soir go Huingéaraí, d'imigh, an tAthair Maolra, bhí, féibrí 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:

A		B	
(i)	obligatory synthetic	}	nonpersonal
(ii)	special Echo		
(iii)	nonpersonal		

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 impersonal verb which remains synthetic.

Examples of the two systems are:

A = Conservative	
(i)	obligatory synthetic: <i>Buailim é nach MBUAILIM?</i>
(ii)	special Echo: <i>Buailthidh tú é nach MBUAILTHIR?</i>
(iii)	analytic and optional synthetic: <i>Bhuailidís é nach MBUAILEADH?</i>

verb, i.e. B(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) *Bhuailidís 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 *tá*) 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(i) usage as well as conservative A(ii) usage.

5.101 Examples

A(i) (obligatory synthetic); 2sg conditional:

-hju:rən' p'isə tə'ba:k er' wuʃ S *Thiúraithinn píosa tobac ar bhuit.*
-x'u:rha: 25S *Thiúirthá.*

A(ii) 1sg pres *bí*:

-Níl tú pósta? a deir sí. -Nílim, a deir sé. 11C;
-Ó tá tú teagthaíthe ... -M'anam go bhfuilim 11C.

B(ii) Examples of non-use of special Echo form:

1sg past: **ə wa:kə m'e ... gə wa:kə 04B5** *an bhfaca mé ... ? ... go bhfaca.*
... féachaint an aireoinn tada. Níor airigh, agus ní fhacas. Ansin nuair nar airíos ...
892M2090-2.

1sg future: **ə skrahə m'e ... nu nax skrahə Mq** *an scraithidh mé ... nó nach scraithidh?*

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, **yail' ghoill**, was produced and only after the pattern *Ar bhris tú? Bhriseas* was reinforced by me did Máire then offer specific Echo **yail'əs**. 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:

-stro:k'ən ə ga:ri: er' f'intə po:rtər' ed'ər fe S
'Stróicthinn an garraí ar phionta pórtair,' a deir sé.
-du:rt' 25S *Dúirt.*
-du:rt' 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:

-Gá ndéarthainnse leatsa 'An raibheadar ann?' an ndéarthása 'Ní raibheadar?'
BóC

-'Ní ro'... ach bhí tú i ndan a rá 'Ní ro dur' froisin Sq.

At least one example of non-emphatic use has been noted, however, in the 3pl (perhaps owing to the coordinated noun phrase to which the verb *raibheadar* refers):

d'íarhə ʃi: rə brin' dən s ba:bə ʃt'ih əs du:rʃ m'ifə na' rədər M

*d'fhiathraigh sí an raibh Bruindean is Baba istigh is dúirt mise na raibheadar.*¹

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 **-əx** (rare, in traditional dialect especially, outside the 3sg and 1, 2, 3 plural). In 1sg imperative Echo contexts, in query both the synthetic **-ə́m'** form as well as the nonpersonal **-əx** occur; however, the nonpersonal present tense ending **-ən** also occurs (as if Echoing present tense 1sg **-ə́m'**). Similarly, in 1pl Echo contexts in query both the ending **-ə** and the nonpersonal **-əx** 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:

nuair a ghothas tú suas un Comaoineach, bí ag goil un Comaoineach nú ná bíodh, má theigheann tú suas, ... 05M.

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:

buail é nó ná buail! is used, and (from query)

buailleadh tú é nó ná buailleadh, but not

**buail é, buailleadh!*

In a translation exercise for the singular with adverbial *sin*, Máire permitted:

tabhair dhon bhó é, tabhair sin and déan é, déan sin, Mperm

(she was, however, unhappy with *buail í, buail sin!*). In the 2pl Máire produced:

na' buəl'əg' i' e' na' buəl'əg' i: Mq *ná buailigí é, ná buailigí!*

and did not permit incorrect:

***na: buəl'əg' i' e' na' buəl'əx** MØperm **ná buailigí é, ná buailleadh!*

Also:

buəl'əg' i' e nu' na' buəl'əg' i: Mq *buailigí é nó ná buailigí*

was produced, but interestingly:

buəl'əg' i' e nu' na' buəl'əx Mperm *buailigí é nó ná buailleadh*

was permitted as correct. Also note:

buailigí é, buailigí sin, and déanaigí é, déanaigí sin, and

déanaí é, déanaí 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 **-ə́m'** ~ **-ən** in the first person present subjunctive, as well as the specific Echo form **-əd**, e.g.

déan (in Echo context): **marə n' i:nəd**, but also

(in Echo context): **marə n' i:nəm'** ~ **marə n' i:nən** Mq.

So also in 2sg:

déan (in Echo context): **marə n' i:nər'** but also **marə n' i:nən** 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 ... *roí'ar* **79S** *an raibhfear?* 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: fíad* Mq *bhíodar*, *bhí siad*. Similarly, to the future question:

-*ə m'eif'ər əg obər' əma:r' əx* BóC *an mbeidhfear ag obair amáireach?*,
she offered

-*b' e, b' e fíad, '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:

-*ə m'i:t'ər kir' əft' əx ə wə:* BóC *An mbítear ag cuir isteach an bhó?*

-*b'i:t'ər* M *Bítear*.

As do all regular verbs:

-*ə ga:t'ər v' eh a:n* BóC *An gcaitear a bheith ann?*

-*ka:t'ər* M *Caitear*.

There are instances of the use of *féidir* in Echo contexts with *féad*:

-*Ní fhéadfear n' i: e:d-f'ər* *feoil a bi' iche Dé hAoine*. **66N**

-*Ní féidir*. M;

-*Gá bhféadthadh duine ...* BóC

-*Gá bh'fhéidir*. **12J**.

5.104 Individual speakers and usage; 852S — 12S**852S, Seán 'ac Con Raoi**

Note 2sg present non-Echo form, now regular in Iorras Aithneach: *má ghmídeann* **852S5**.

A(ii) (2Conj) 2sg past: *má mharbhaís* **852S1**.

869P, SID.46

A(ii)	pres	2sg	-ir, s.v. <i>tá</i>
	pst	1sg	-as, 387, 399, s.v. <i>tchím</i>
		2sg	-is, s.v. <i>cluínim</i>
			-ir, s.v. <i>tá</i>
	fut	1sg	-thad, 729, s.v. <i>ithim</i> .

892M, Maidhcil Ó Coirbín

B(i) pres 1sg -*ən*, -*An gcuímníonn tú, ... ? -Cuímníonn go maith, ...* ARN4037–8.

A(ii) pres 2sg *bí: -ir, -Nílir, ...* ARN4041.

894C, Colm Ó Caoidheáin

A(ii) pres 2sg *bí: -ir, marab fhuilir*

with *má: -ir* (x3) (interestingly, final g in all three roots):

ná tréig nó má thréigir, ... nár thóige tú ... má thóigir ... go dtóige tú ... **!894C9**

'... *seúmra thóirt dhom péin ...* ' *'Tiúrad,* *' aduairt a' boc mór.* 'Well, *má thugair 's go dtiúráir* [fut], *' adeir sé* **894C2**

974 Verbs

pst	2sg	-ais, níor chualais 894C6
fut	2sg	-ir, thiocair !894C6 , go dtiúirair 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, uscaíl an bosca sin ar an bpoínte, a deir sé, nú mara n-usclaí tá do chúirse thart. **11C2257**.

12S, Seán Ó Cúláin

B(i)	pres	1sg -ən
A(i), B(i)	cond	2sg -(h)ɑ:, -həx / -o:x.
A(ii)	pst	1sg -əs 1Conj, -əs, -i:s 2Conj
		2sg -əf, -ər 1Conj, -i:f 2Conj
	fut	2sg -hər 1Conj, -o:r 2Conj
	prsbj	2sg -i:f 2Conj permitted.

Some of Seán's examples are:

pst	1sg	-d'ausə tu: o: n' e: D'fheabhsaigh tú ó inné (...)
		-o: d'ausi:s S Ó! d'fheabhsaíos.
	2sg	-n'i:r' iərħə tu d'i M Níor fhiathraigh tú dī?
		-n'i:r' iərħəs S Níor fhiathras.
		-wə:kə tu ɑ:n ax iəd fín' S An bhfaca tú ann ach iad sin?
		-n'i: a:kəs M Ní fhacas -n'i: a:kər' S Ní fhacair? and
		-hug m'ifə mɑ:l æs Thug mise mála as. -ə dʊgəf S An dtugais?
		x'ænə tu: n wə: ər x'æ:ni:f S cheannaigh tú an bhó ar cheannaís?
cond	2sg	... ər o:ləf ~ o:lər' Sq ar ólais ~ ólair?
		xirh'ɑ: dín'ə b'i ser' əg' e:ft'əxt l'æ:t xirh'ɑ: S
		chuirtheá duine ar bith soir ag éisteacht leat, chuirtheá!
prsbj	2sg	nər' air'i: tu nər' air'i:f 12Sperm nár éirí tú nár éiris!

5.105 16M — 43M

16M, Máire Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola

A(ii)	pres	2sg bí -ər'
	pst	2sg -əf, -ər' 1Conj, -i:f, -i:r' 2Conj
	fut	2sg -hər' 1Conj, -o:r' 2Conj
	prsbj	2sg -ər' 1Conj.

Examples from Máire are:

pres	2sg	Níl tú i ndan iad sin a mheainijeáil, nílir M.
pst	2sg	-xín'ək' Choinic -ə wə:kər' M An bhfacair?
		ax ə guələr' M Ach an gcualair? ə guələr' M An gcualair? ə n'æ:xər'
		M An ndeachair? ər o:lər' Mq ar ólair?

- dol tu: ən ba:n'ə əɾ o:ləʃ** M *d'ól tú an bainne ar ólais?*
ʃ'ænə tu: ... əɾ ʃ'æ:nir' M *cheannaigh tú ar cheannair?*
k'e: mar tər' / rin'ər' / xuər' ~ xuəʃ / v'i:ʃ ~ v'i:r' Mq
cé mar táir / rinnir / chuair ~ chuais / bhís ~ bhír?
- fut 1sg **n'i: o:lhə m'e e:n' d'or' ə'r'i:ʃt' xi:hən' ə d'or' he:n' n'i: o:lhəd** M
ní ólthaidh mé aon deoir aríst choíchin an deoir héin ní ólthad.
- 2sg **ikə tu tərʃi: tri: paundʒ xul'ə hr'i: v'i: nax n'ikər'** M
íochtaidh tú 'thirty three pounds' chuile thrí mhí nach n-íochthair?
i:sə tu: ... ə n'isər' M *íosaidh tú ... an íosair?*
i:sə tu: bræk' nax n'isər' M *íosaidh tú braic nach n-íosair?*
-ər' is Máire's predominant form in the future; **jofər'** was often noted from conversation, e.g.
-johə m'e ... BóC Gheothaidh mé ... -jofər' M *Gheofair.*
 But **jofəʃ**, although not noted from conversation, was also permitted by Máire. On an earlier occasion (1987) Máire claimed not to use future **-həʃ** or **-o:ʃ**.
- prsbj 2sg **nər o:lə tu e:n' d'or' ... nər o:lər'** Mq *nár óla tú aon deoir ... nár ólair, ... ogəs ə'n'iar nər 'hair'* M *... agus aniar nár théir.*

43M, Máirín de Brún (daughter of 12S and 16M)

A(ii)

- pst 1sg **-əs** 1 and 2Conj, e.g. **-da:rhəs** 43M *D'athras;*
ər' imr'əs 43M *ar imreas?*
 2sg **-ər'** e.g. **v'i:r'** 43M *bhír, ə wa:kər' 43M *an bhfacair?**

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

Speaker	present	past		future	pres subj
		1Conj	2Conj		
852S	-ann				
869P		-as	-íos	-d	-d
892M	-ann	-as		-d	
12S	-im ~ -ann	-as	-as ~ -íos	-d	
16M		-as	-as ~ -íos	-d	
43M		-as	-as	-d	
73P		-as		-d	

Table 5.35 Speakers' endings in 2sg Echo

Speaker	pres <i>má</i>	pres <i>bí</i>	past		future		pres subj	
			1Conj	2Conj	1Conj	2Conj	1Conj	2Conj
852S	<i>-ann</i>			<i>-ís</i>				
SID.46		<i>-ir</i>	<i>-is ~ -ir</i>					
869P		<i>-ir</i>	<i>-is</i>		<i>-ir</i>			
892M		<i>-ir</i>	<i>-is</i>		<i>-ir</i>		<i>-ir</i>	
894C	<i>-ir ~ -ann</i>	<i>-ir</i>	<i>-is</i>		<i>-ir</i>		<i>-ir (!)</i>	
04B					<i>-ir</i>		<i>-ir</i>	cp. <i>-ís</i> ! ¹
11C		<i>-ir</i>	<i>-is</i>		<i>-ir</i>	<i>-óir</i>		
12S		<i>-ir</i>	<i>-is ~ -ir</i>	<i>-ís</i>	<i>-ir</i>	<i>-óir</i>		<i>-ís</i> (perm)
15W	<i>-ann</i> only	<i>-ir</i>	<i>-ir</i>					
16M	<i>-ann</i> only	<i>-ir</i>	<i>-is << -ir</i>	<i>-ís <<? -ir</i>	<i>-ir</i>	<i>-óir</i>		
18J					<i>-ir</i>			
25Mn			<i>-ir</i>		<i>-ir</i>			
43M	<i>-ann</i> only	<i>-ir</i>	<i>-ir</i>		<i>-ir</i>			
73P		<i>-ir</i>						

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

	Q.1		Q.2		Conversation		10B1		Total	
	+ E	– E	+ E	– E	+ E	– E	+ E	– E	+ E	– E
1sg									1sg	
Pst		3		3						6
Fut		3		3		1				7
Pres		4		2						6
Cond			3						3	
Psthab	1	2	2	1					3	3
Total	1	12	5	9		1			6	22

¹ With complement.

	Q.1		Q.2		Conversation		10B1		Total	
	+ E	- E	+ E	- E	+ E	- E	+ E	- E	+ E	- E
2sg									2sg	
Pst		3		3						6
Fut	2	1		3	1				3	4
Cond	2		3						5	
Psthab	2	1	2	1					4	2
Total	6	5	5	7	1				12	12

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

		Conversation	
		+ E	- E
1sg	Pst	5	5
	Fut	4	
	Total	9	5
2sg	Pst	1	

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

	Translation		Conversation	Total	
	+ E	- E		+ E	- E
1sg				1sg	
Pst		7	1	1	7
Fut	1	7		1	7
Pres		6			6
Impv		2			2
Cond	3	1		3	1
Psthab	1	2 (3)		1	3
Total				6	26

Translation		Conversation + E	Total	
+ E	- E		+ E	- E
2sg			2sg	
Pst	4			4
Fut	5			5
Cond	7		7	
Psthab	1 1 (2)		1	2
Total			8	11

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 pausa:

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:hɑ:**) variable occurs occasionally.

1. Endings tend to be syllabic, e.g. following a long vowel in:

krɑ:d'if m'e nu na kra:əx [x2] Sq *cráidís mé nó ná crádh;*
xrɑ:əs Sq *chrás.*

2. Examples of the unsynopated form:

ə da'ɾn'ɑ: tu ... nax darən'ɑ: SqEcho
an dtairneoidh tú ... nach dtarrainneoidh?

3. **h** tends to be retained.

- (i) The only tokens of **h** noted in the SÁBHÁIL class from Máire occur in this position:

muʃə wa'nəm d'e:tɑ: rɑ: gə dri:ɑ:l'həd | ... gə dri:ɑ:ləd | M
Muise a mh'anam d'fhéadthá a rá go dtraíálthad! ... go dtraíálthad!
tri:ɑ:ləmid' e nu nax tri:ɑ:l'hə MqEcho *traíálamuid é nó nach traíálthaidh.*

Similarly, the number of other examples noted of **-ɑ:lh-** is skewed towards Echo forms:

m'isɑ:l'həd 14M *miosálthad;* **ə dri:ɑ:l'hər' 37M** *an dtraíálthair?*

- (ii) In the CAITH class there are many examples of:

- (a) Ø in the form in the unmarked position alternating with ^h of the Echo environment, e.g.

ka:tʃ fe e nu' nɑ: ka:həx Sq (x2) *cáitheadh sé é nó ná cáitheadh.*

- (b) Ø in the form in the unmarked position alternating with **h** of the Echo environment, e.g.

l'iatʃ fe nu' nax l'iahəx | Mq *liathadh sé nó nach liathadh;*
sroʃ fe e nu nɑ' srohəx ax n'i' hrohə m'if e Mq
sroicheadh sé é nó ná sroicheadh ach ní shroichthidh mise é;
-ə ga:ən' fe e Sq *An gcáitheann sé é? -ka:hən Sq Cáitheann.*

Cp. also **-ər xræː tu e** Sq *Ar chraith tú é?* **-xrahəs** Sq *Chraitheas*.

(c) **h** in the form in the unmarked position alternating with **h** of the Echo environment, e.g.

kɑːhədˈiːf e nuː nɑ kɑːhəx Sq *cáithidís é nó ná cáitheadh*;

kræːhəf e nu nɑ krahəx Sq *craitheadh sé é nó ná craitheadh*;

sroːhəx ʃɑːn e nuː nɑ sroːhəx Sq *sroicheadh Seán 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:

krahət ʃe e nu nɑ krahəx Sq *craitheadh sé é nó ná craitheadh*;

mahəx nuː nɑ mahəx SMq *maithheadh nó ná maithheadh*;

skrahədˈiːf e nuː nɑ skrahəx 69Sq *scraithidís nó ná scraithheadh*.

(e) Loss of **h** in both forms:

bət ʃe nuː nɑ bɑːx 77Cq *báitheadh sé nó ná báitheadh*.

There are counterexamples with the exact opposite pattern:

(f) **h** in the unmarked form corresponds to \emptyset in the Echo position:

mɑː sroːhənˈ ʃɑːn e nuː marə sroə Sq

má sroicheann [sic, cp. 9.24] *Seán é nó mara sroichthidh*;

bɑːhət ʃe nuː nɑ bɑːx ... 77Cq *báitheadh sé nó ná báitheadh ...*.

4. The long **<a:ha>** variant of the **<a:ha>** variable (2Conj 2sg cond, etc., 5.65) has been noted in its longer form for some speakers in Echo position only, e.g.

dəsklɑː ... nax nəsklɑːˈɑː | MqEcho *d'osclá ... nach n-osclóthá*.

This token represents the only example of **<a:ha>** 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-pausa verbal adjective **<i:hə>** (5.191 ff.).

The opposite tendency, i.e. **h** elision in Echo contexts, is found in the **<a:ha>** 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 **<a:ha>** in Echo contexts but the opposite proportion in non-Echo contexts:

Echo			non-Echo		
<a:ha>	<<	<a>	<a:ha>	>>	<a>
2		4	7		1

The single token of non-Echo **<a>**, perhaps haplologic following radical **h**, is Echoed by **<a>**:

... nəːnˈ ɦɑː ... dəːnˈ ɦɑː 36S(trans) *... n-aithneá ... Mháirtín? D'aithneá*.

His most common pattern is illustrated in (36S(trans)):

ə ˈeːlɑːɦɑː ... ˈiː eːlɑː *an éalóthá ... ní éalá*;

ə vrːæːgrɑːɦɑː mˈeː ... ˈiː rːæːgrɑː *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 **-əm'** ~ **-əx** indicates, with the verb *cuir* for example, that **kir'əm'** *cuirim* alternates with **kir'əx m'e**: *cuireadh mé*. For quality allomorphy of suffixes (*-t-* and *-f-*), see 5.39 ff. In the following paradigms I write, for example, simply **-tər** (impersonal) to stand for **-tər** ~ **-t'ər**. 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 **i:**, **ə** word finally (2sg imperative, nonpersonal past; this **ə** can also be **i:** in certain sandhi positions) and **o:** (also **ɑ:**, 5.30) in the future stem. Clearly, the **ə** which follows the verbal root and precedes the consonant of the personal ending in the 1 Conjugation, e.g. **ə** in **-ən**, **-əd'i:f**, can be analysed either as part of the personal suffix or as a stem element. Conjugational syncretism, e.g. 2Conj 3pl **-i:d'i:f** > **-əd'i:f**, or 1Conj **-ən** > **-i:n**, is not indicated except where such use is pervasive, i.e. in the case of 2pl imperative **-i:g'i:** > **-əg'i:** and in Echo endings. There are instances of the use of future stem **o:** in a regular **i:** context: impersonal past habitual and past subjunctive **-o:t'i:** being a blend of **-i:t'i:** (psthb, pstsbj) and **-o:f'i:** (cond).

5.110 Imperative**First Conjugation**

		A
sg		pl 1 -(h)əm
		B
sg		pl
1 -əm' ~ -əx		1 -əmid' ~ -ə mid' ~ -əx
2 -∅ ~ -əx		2 -i: ~ -əg'i: ~ -əx
3 -əx		3 -əd'i:f ~ -əx
Imprs -tər		
		C
Imprs -ti:		
		Echo
sg		pl
1 -əm' ~ -ən ~ -əx		1 -ə ~ -əx ~ -hə
2 -∅ ~ -əx		2 -i: ~ -əg'i: ~ -əx
3 -əx		3 -əx

Second Conjugation

The stem vowel is **i:**, except for 2sg **-ə** with monosyllabic and syncopating roots; unsyncopated roots have 2sg **-∅**.

		A
sg		pl 2 -i:g'i:
		B
sg		pl
1 -i:m' ~ -i:x		1 -i:mid' ~ -i: mid' ~ -i:x
2 -ə ~ -i:x		2 -i: ~ -əg'i: ~ -i:x
3 -i:x		3 -i:d'i:f ~ -i:x
Imprs -it'ər		
		C
Imprs -it'i:		

5.111 Remarks

Examples of 1pl are:

1 Conjugation: **təfə mid' i: 11C Toise muid t!**

- 2 Conjugation: **im'i: mid' 11C** *Imí muid!*
| 'e:li: mid' f'ehən 'næn'ho:x mid' e' | 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 **hə**, a future *gabhthaidh muid*.

Example of 3sg:

-Ach, a deir sé, ná tarlaíod sé dhíb níos mú! ARN9394.

The 1pl ending **-əm** occurs in *fágam nach*, although it may perhaps (synchronically) be attributable to sandhi depalatalisation for *fágaim nach*, in:

An sprae atá ' teacht anís, ... beidh sé leáite istich i, i gceathrú uaire.

Fágam nach fə:gəm nə:x bhfuil aon mhaith ann. 01P '... that shows (me) that it is no good'.

The following is an apparent example of 1pl **-həm**, perhaps misheard:

a:x far'həm ə bok 08B *ach fairtheam an boc.*

Cp. 1pl impv *teanam* (irregular *teara*, 5.291).

C

Impersonal **-t'i:** and **-i:t'i:** have been recorded from speaker **43M** only, with imperative meaning:

nə klʊft'i: webf e 43M *ná cloistí uaibse é!*

nə kin'i:t'i: ori: e 43Mq *ná coinnítí oraibh é!*

In traditional dialect, this ending **-(i:t'i:)** 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 **gə:** *dhá* 'if' and **nə:** *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 **-ti:** in the conditional (5.119).

Given minor present and present subjunctive impersonal **-i:tər**, one would also expect imperative **-i:tər** but I have no examples from my notes.

5.112 Present**First Conjugation**

A	
rel <i>-as</i>	
<hr/>	
B	
sg	pl
1 <i>-əm'</i>	1 <i>-ən</i>
2 <i>-ən</i>	2 <i>-ən</i>
3 <i>-ən</i>	3 <i>-ən</i>
rel <i>-əns</i> (<i>-n's</i>)	
Imprs <i>-tər</i>	
<hr/>	
C	
sg	pl
1 <i>-ən</i> >> A	3 ~ <i>-əndər</i>
<hr/>	
D	
sg	pl
1, 2, 3 ~ <i>-i:n</i>	1, 2, 3 ~ <i>-i:n</i>
? Imprs <i>-ər</i>	
<hr/>	
E	
Imprs ~ <i>-əntər</i> ~ <i>-ənf'ər</i> (or <i>-ən tər</i> ~ <i>-ən f'ər</i>)	
<hr/>	
Echo A	
sg	
2 <i>-ir</i>	
<hr/>	
Echo B	
sg	
1 <i>-ən</i> (~ <i>-əm'</i>)	
<hr/>	

Second Conjugation

The stem vowel is *i:*, the only variance from the 1 Conjugation endings occurs in the obsolescent impersonal *-i:hər*.

A	
Imprs <i>-i:hər</i>	
<hr/>	
B	
sg	pl
1 <i>-i:m'</i>	1 <i>-i:n</i> (~ <i>-i:mid'</i>)
2 <i>-i:n</i>	2 <i>-i:n</i>
3 <i>-i:n</i>	3 <i>-i:n</i>
rel <i>-i:ns</i> (<i>-i:n's</i>)	
Imprs <i>-it'ər</i> >> <i>-itər</i>	
<hr/>	

		C
sg		pl 3 -i:ndər
		<hr/>
		D
sg		pl
1, 2, 3 ~ -ən		1, 2, 3 ~ -ən
		<hr/>
		Echo B
sg		
1 -i:n (~ -i:m')		
		<hr/>

5.113 Remarks

For -n+s > -n's in the relative, see 5.35.

D Impersonal -ər

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 Fharraige). He generally uses -tər; however, -ər was recorded once from him (in Echo position):

g'artər di:n'ə g'arər **60M** gearrtar duine gearrar

or the ending was perhaps phonetically [ar] = /a:r/, cp. GCF §168 fut imprs -(h)ar, -(h)ər, -f(')ər.

5.114 Past**First Conjugation**

		A
sg		pl
1 ~ -as		1 ~ -əmər, emphatic -əmər'n'ə (for expected *-əmər'n'ə, 5.93)
		<hr/>
		B
sg		pl
1 -Ø		1 -Ø
2 -Ø		2 -Ø
3 -Ø		3 -ədər ~ -dər ~ -Ø
Imprs -u:, -əv		
		<hr/>
		C
		pl
		3 ~ -dər >> B; ~ -ə dər
		<hr/>

Second Conjugation

The stem vowel is i:, except for -ə in the nonpersonal with monosyllabic and syncopating roots; unsyncopated roots have nonpersonal -Ø.

sg	pl
1 -ə	1 -ə
2 -ə	2 -ə
3 -ə	3 -i:dər ~ -ə
Imprs -i:w ~ (~ -i:əv), ~ i:u:	

First Conjugation	Echo Second Conjugation
sg	sg
1 -əs	1 -i:s ~ -əs
2 -əf ~ -ər'	2 -i:f ~ -i:r'

5.115 Past habitual

First Conjugation

A
pl
1 -amaois

	B
sg	pl
1 -əN'	1 -əx
2 -tɑ: ~ -hɑ:	2 -əx
3 -əx	3 -əd' i:f ~ -əx
Imprs West IA -ti: (~ hi:)	
East IA ~ hi:	

C
sg
2 -ɑ:

D
sg
2 -hɑ:

E
sg
1, 2 -əx >> B

Second Conjugation

The stem is -i:-.

A
Imprs -íthí ~ -i:ihə

B	
sg	pl
1 -i:ŋ'	1 -i:x
2 -i:ha: ~ -a:ha: ~ -t' a: , etc.,	2 -i:x
3 -i:x	3 -i:d'i:f ~ -i:x
Impers -it' i: >> -i:ti: (~ -o:t' i:)	

C	
sg	
1, 2 -i:x >> B	

5.116 Remarks

A For discussion of 1pl -*amaois*, see 5.94.

B 2sg -*t-* and **D** -*th-*, see 5.65. 2Conj -*teá* noted in conversation in **ga da:rənt' a: 25M** *dhá dtarraintéa*. See also **20C**, Table 5.4 p. 915.

C 2sg -*a:*, see 5.67 under **Civ**.

B Impersonal 2 Conjugation -*o:t' i:*, also with lowered stem vowel -*a:t' i:*, is a rare mixed form combining correct past habitual -(i):t' i: and conditional -o:(f' i:), 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 diskla:t' i: an doras dhóib, thitidís isteach ann.

05M;

Goiŋfí ... gheifí ... cuirfí ... gheithidís ... tiúrfí ... ghothá ... tairneoití tærŋ' o:t' i: ... cuirfí ... leagfí ... tosóifí ... **11C**1146–73.

Also attested in past subjunctive context: **ga gin' a:t' i: 56B** *dhá gcoinneoití*.

5.117 Future

First Conjugation

A	
sg	
1 - <i>fad</i>	
rel - <i>fəs</i>	

B	
sg	pl
1, 2, 3 - <i>hə</i>	1 - <i>hə</i> (- <i>həmid'</i>)
	2, 3 - <i>hə</i>
rel - <i>həs</i>	
Impers West IA - <i>f'ər</i> ~ - <i>fər</i>	
East IA ~ - <i>hər</i>	

A 1sg -*fad* in de Bhaldraithe (1980b) no doubt representing -*həd*:

Ní ghabhfad níos fuide faitíos báisteach **11C**.

For -*fəs*, see 5.58.

Second Conjugation

The stem is -o:.

sg	pl
1, 2, 3 -o:	1 -o: (-o:mid')
rel -o:s	2, 3 -o:
Imprs -o:fər ~ -o:fər	

Echo

First Conjugation

Second Conjugation

sg	sg
1 -həd	1 -o:d
2 -hər' ~ -həf	2 -o:r' ~ -o:f

5.118 Conditional**First Conjugation****A**

sg	pl
1 (-finn)	1 -famaois

B

sg	pl
1 -hən'	1 -həx
2 -hɑ:	2 -həx
3 -həx	3 -həd'i:f (-hədi:f) ~ -həx
Imprs	West IA -f'i: ~ -fi: (~ -fi:)
	East IA ~ -hi:

C

Imprs ~ -ti:

D

sg	pl
1, 2 ~ -həx >> B	3 ~ -həxdər

E

sg
1 -hi:n'

Second Conjugation

The verbal stem is o:, less often ɑ:.

A

Imprs -óchaí	pl
	1 -ó(cha)maois

B	
Imprs -o:í:	
C	
sg	pl
1 -o:í:	1 -o:x
2 -o:há: ~ o:a: ~ a:há: ~ əhá: ~ a:hə ~ əhə ~ a:a: ~ a: ~ t' a:	2 -o:x
3 -o:x	3 -o:d'í:f ~ -o:x
Imprs -o:f'í: ~ o:fi:, -a:f'í:, (-f'í:)	
D	
sg	pl
1, 2 ~ -o:x >> C	3 ~ -o:xdər
E	
Imprs -f'í: ~ -fi:	

5.119 Remarks

First Conjugation

For 1sg *-finn*, see **-h-** ~ **-f'** - in *suigh* of BLIGH class (5.138).

For the various 2sg forms, see 5.65.

3pl **-hədi:f** was noted in **d'ər:hədi:f** **34M** *déarthaidís* (13.22, line 57). I recall hearing other instances of 3pl **-di:f** 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 **-di:f** is systematic, with further analysis one might find, for example, past habitual ***-ədi:f**, 2Conj conditional ***-o:di:f**.

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'í:, kroxt'í: m'ə, dhá gcuirí:, 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 gcuirí:*. Cf. limited spread of **-ti:** to prohibitive use in this age-group (5.111). Cp. 5.392.

For **D** 1sg **-hi:**, see speaker **60M** (5.413).

Impersonal: for **-si:** < *-sfí* west of Roisín na Mainchíoch, see 5.59.

Second Conjugation

C Impersonal **-f'í:** (of 1Conj) in a rare example:

f'iarf'í: Str88, Mtr88, ~ **f'iarha:f'í:** Str88, **f'iarho:f'í:** Str88, Mq88,
d'iarho:f'í: M *fiathróifí, d'fhiathróifí.*

There seems to be a particular propensity to use 1 Conjugation 3pl past **-ədər** with *fiathraigh*. For example, noted in conversation from Máire: **d'iarhədər** [x3] M but **xin'í:ədər** M *choinníodar* 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**

sg
1, 2, 3 -ə
Imprs -tər

A

pl
1, 2, 3 -ə

Second Conjugation

The verbal stem is i:.

A

Imprs -i:hər ~ -i:r

B

sg
1, 2, 3 -i:

pl
1 -i: ~ -i:mid'
2, 3 -i:

Imprs -i:t'ər >> -i:tər

Echo

First Conjugation

Second Conjugation

sg
1 -əd (~ -əṁ' ~ -ən)
2 -ər' ~ -əf' (~ -ən)

sg
1 -i:d (~ -i:m' ~ -i:n)
2 -i:r' ~ -i:f' (~ -i:n)

5.121 Remarks

Examples of 2sg Echo are:

mé a ligean isteach ... nó mara ligir, beidh mé strumptha **875TLL176**;
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:

marə nu: ʃe: ʃin' m'e' ... marə nu:ʃi | ʃe: ʃin' m'e' 869P
mara ndúisí sé sin mé ... mara ndúisí 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**

sg
1 -əN'
2 -tɑ: ~ -hɑ: ~ -ɑ:
3 -əx
Imprs West IA -ti: (~ -hi:)
East IA ~ -hi:

A

pl
1 -əx
2 -əx
3 -əd'i:f ~ -əx

Note 2sg **ga: gaˈxˈa: 889P** *dhá gcaitheá* for common **ga: gaha:** (5.65, 5.124). In query, Máire has consistent **-ha:** following vocalic stems, e.g. **ga: nˈi:ha:**, **ga: mˈi:ha:** Mq *dhá nítheá, dhá mblítheá*. She does, however, permit **-a:** in this context, e.g. **ga: nˈi:a:** Mperm *dhá ní(th)eá*.

Second Conjugation

The verbal stem is **i:**.

A		
Imprs -íthí ~ -íthe ~ -í		
B		
sg		pl
1 -i:ˈNˈ		1 -i:x
2 -i:ha: ~ -o:ha: ~ -o:hə ~ -o:a: ~ -a:ha:		2 -i:x
~ -əha: ~ -a:hə ~ -a:a: ~ -a:		3 -i:dˈi:f ~ -i:x
3 -i:x (~ -i:əx)		
Imprs -i:tˈi: >> -i:ti: (~ -o:tˈi:)		

For less common **-i:əx**, see 5.29. Impersonal **-o:tˈi:** is a mixed form (5.116) attested in:

... **ga ginˈa:tˈi: ka:nˈt ʔ ɛʃ 56B** ... *dhá gcoinneoití 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).

- The CAITH class has variable prevocalic radical **-h**.
- The BRUITH class has alternating radical final **-Ø**, **-h**, and **-xˈ**.
- The SÁBHÁIL class has variable quality in the final consonant of the stem, e.g. **-ʔ** ~ **-l**, before verbal suffixes; also noteworthy variation in future **h**.
- The BLIGH class has variable root-final vowels: **i** ~ **i:**, **o** ~ **ai**.
- The LOBH class has alternating stem-final **-ow** **-aw**, **-o(h)** and **-au** **-o:**, marginally **-auw**, **-of**.
- 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 **ɑ:**, 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'ɑ:** was noted in **gɑ: gɑ'x'ɑ: 889P** (Coill Sáile) *dhá gcaitheá* for common **gɑ: gahɑ:**. This speaker has regular 2sg conditional **xahɑ:** *chaitheá*, future **kahə** *caithidh*, VN **kahə** *caitheamh* (all **889P**). It seems that his use of **-x'** is confined to 2sg (subjunctive) **-x'ɑ:** (and not that his CAITH verbs are members of the BRUITH class).

Table 5.39 The CAITH class

Short vowel			Long vowel	Diphthong	
a	e	o	ɑ:	iə	uə
<i>braich</i>	<i>sceith</i>	<i>sroich</i>	<i>báigh</i> (<i>báith</i>) FGB	<i>liath</i>	(<i>luaigh</i>)
<i>braith</i>	<i>teith</i> FGB	<i>gabh</i>	(<i>báidid</i> , <i>báithid</i> DIL)		<i>suaith</i>
<i>caith</i>	(<i>teichid</i> DIL)		<i>cáith</i>		
<i>craith</i>			<i>sáigh</i> (<i>sáith</i>) FGB		
<i>leath</i>			(<i>sáidid</i> DIL)		
<i>maith</i>					
<i>scraith</i>					

Other verbs which diachronically might be expected to belong to this class are in fact not members, e.g. **tri:** *traoith* FGB (*traethaid* DIL) > *traoigh* (e.g. pres **trin** *traonn*). 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. **sní(i):** *snoigh*, imperative **snih e M** *snoigh 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'ɛ:h** *léigh* which otherwise has stem **l'ɛ:**. For forms of *gabh* corresponding to this class, see the LOBH class (5.140 ff.).

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 Mhacáí 'ac Con Iomaire

<i>báigh:</i>	1	pst imprs	bɑ:hu: ni:nvər 46.1158	<i>báitheadh naonbhar</i>
<i>sáigh:</i>	1	3pl psthb	<i>sháidís</i> (<i>sháithidís</i>) 5	(pronunciation indicated in brackets)
	1, 0	VN	<i>í shátha síos</i> 2, <i>gá shá</i> . 4, <i>a shá</i> 4	

Cp. *sáthadh* FFG s.v. *sánn*¹.

899D, Mac Dara Ó Loideáin

<i>caith:</i>	0	3pl pst	n'ir̥ x̥a'dər ə 'wa'd er' 'fa'rəg' 'e:n uər' ARN6219 <i>níor chaitheadar i bhfad ar farraige aon uair</i>
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01S, Seán Ó Gaora (in song)

<i>liath:</i>	0	subjunctive	<i>go líaí 'n aois mo cheann</i> !01S CABI §70(a) v. 8
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04B, Beairtle Beag Ó Con Fhaola

<i>báigh:</i>	1	VN	gən bə:hə 2l <i>gan báthadh</i>
<i>caith:</i>	1	3pl pst	xahədər ən i:hə fin' (run) <i>chaitheadar an oíche sin</i>

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.

<i>báigh:</i>	2	pst before <i>t</i>	ə 'wə: hi' ... ə 'wə: hi' ARN3505–6 <i>a bháigh t</i>
	3	3pl pst	wə:hədər l'e d'or e (run) <i>bháitheadar le deora é;</i> gər wə:hədər [x2] ARN4255 <i>gur bháitheadar</i>
	1	imprs pst	bə:hu: e báitheadh é
	1	VN	gər mə:hə <i>gá mbáthadh</i>
<i>caith:</i>	1	3pl pst	xahədər ən i:hə fin' (run) <i>chaitheadar an oíche sin</i>
	1, 0	3g cond	xahət fe, xət fe, ɲ nə:t fe <i>chaitheadh sé, go gcaitheadh sé</i>
	0	2pl impv	-kæg i: 'fɪ'a'x sə 't'in' ,e: d'er ,fa kahu: fɪ'a'x -Caithigí <i>isteach sa tine é, a deir sé. Caitheadh isteach sa tine é.</i>
<i>léigh:</i>	1	nonpers	nar l'e:h ə təhər' p'ədər kə'nwe' ... ARN4383
		pst	<i>nar léigh an tAthair Peadar Canbhae ...</i>

18J, Jó Pheadair Uí Laidhe

<i>caith:</i>	0	3pl pst	xə'dər chaitheadar
cp. <i>leathaigh:</i>	1	nonpers	gər 'l'ā'h ən 't'a'x ə'mə'x xə 'mō:r ARN8860
		pst	<i>gur leathaigh an teach amach chomh mór.</i>

The latter example is taken to be *leathaigh*, 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 **l'əhə** *leathaigh* would then be related to **l'ənhə** *leathnaigh* as **br'əhə** *breathaigh* is to **br'ənhə** *breathnaigh*. On the other hand, the nasalisation of the verb and the **ən** form of the article may be due to emphatic use; alternatively the nasalisation could be simply allophonic for this speaker. Cp. vadj **l'ə:hi'hə** 20Pá.

5.126 12S, Seán Chúláin

The results of Seán's CAITH 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):

impv nonpers <i>nó ná</i>	srohix fən Seán e nu' na srohix
3pl impv <i>nó ná</i>	sroəd'i:f e nu' na srohix

Cp. 25M's 2Conj *teith* (5.170). For **u:** in *suaith* (cp. vadj **sut'ə** Sq), see 1.27.

Table 5.40 CAITH class, Sq

Verb	impv /_é	impv /_ə	impv _V	pres	q	> Echo	3sg impv	> Echo	3pl impv	3pl	3pl pst	imprs pst
<i>báigh</i>	bá: e, bá: u: he:n' S									psthab/cond		
<i>cáith</i>	ká: he		ká: a'ru:r <i>arbhar</i>	ká:həm'	ə ga:ən' fe e	ká:hən	ká:ɤ fe e nu'	ná: ká:həx	ká:həd'i:f nu:		xá:ədər	
					ə ga:ən tuma:s e	ká:hən	ká:ɤ fe e nu'	ná: ká:həx				
								ná ká:həx				
<i>sáigh</i>				sá:m' e	ə sá:n tuma:s <i>Tomás e</i>	sá:n					há:dər	sá:u: e (x2), sá:uy (x1)
<i>liath</i>				l'i:əm'					l'iəd'i:f, l'iehəd'i:f			
<i>suaith</i>		su: ən mort'e:l		su:əm'	ə su:ən' fe e	su:ən						
<i>craith</i>	kra he x2	kra' má:x e		kræhəm' ə'xíl'ə lá: e			krahəɤ fe e nu	ná krahəx		ŋ'i: xrahəd'i:f e:		
				kræhən' fə:n e, kræ'n' fə:n e			kræ'həffe e nu	ná krahəx				
				kræhən' fe e								
<i>sroich</i>	sro he: fin'	sro nu:n sro hə'nu:n <i>anonn</i>		má: srohən' fə:n Seán e nu:	ə sroən fe e	srohən	srohəx fə:n e nu:	ná srohəx			hrohədər e, ŋ'ir hrohədər,	
		sro ná:l <i>anall</i>		má hreən ... má hroən ...			srohəx fɪbɤ e (x2)					
				srohəm' e								

Verb	prsbj	2pl impv	2sg cond	1sg psthab/cond	1sg pst Echo	fut	VN
<i>báigh</i>							ga: wá:hə S
<i>cáith</i>		ká:əg'i:	ə ga:hə' e	xá:hən', ŋ'i xá:ən'fə e:		ŋ'i: xá:hə m'if e	ká:hə
<i>sáigh</i>		sá:g'i: e			há:s		gə mə há:w
<i>liath</i>					l'i:əs (x3)		l'iehən
<i>suaith</i>		su:əg'i: e			hu:əs		-h- S
<i>craith</i>	gə græ hən' d'aul <i>deabhal e</i>	kræəg'i: e			xrahəs		e: xrahə
<i>sroich</i>	gə srohə n d'aul e ; marə sroə	sroə'g'i:f e (x2) srohə'g'i:fə,		ŋ'i rəhən'f e	hrəhəs	ŋ'i srohə m'if e	ga rəhə

5.127 16M, Máire Chúláin

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 *báigh* (which I recall from her conversation) is: present **bá:n** >>> **bá:hən** and past impersonal **bá:hu:** >> **bá:u:**. 3sg pres **bá:hən fe** in **mar** | **bá:hən fe' n taurlar** M *mar báitheann sé an t-urlár*, is exceptional for Máire; she was perhaps about to use the future as habitual present; **bá:hən fe** Mperm is, however, permitted by her and **bá:hən** is found in Echo position in Mq.

Further examples from Seán and Máire, in conversation, not included in my calculations, are:

-ka nu:r e ji:nə M *Caithidh Nóra é a dhéanamh*.

-N'i: xahə lox ɔə:l 52Cr *Ní chaithidh lucht deól*.

-N'i: xahə M *Ní chaithidh*; also:

ka:n M *caitheann*, xadər M *chaitheadar*, xæ'ʃe S *chaitheadh sé*,

k'æ:rəl's ə xæ:.ən fe M *Cearails a chaitheanns sé*,

xah ʃe nax wil'is ... M *chaitheadh sé nach bhfuil a fhios ...*.

Also, Máire's brother: kaə tu ... P *caithidh tú*.

Table 5.41 CAITH class, Mq

Verb	impv / _é	impv / _ə	impv _V	pres	q	> Echo	3sg impv	> Echo	3pl impv	3pl psthab/cond	3pl pst
<i>báigh</i>	bá: iəd, bá: e			bá:n' fe nə kít' na cuít	ə ma:ən tumə's Tomás iəd	bá:hən	bá:t fe iəd nū	nə bá:əx		wá:əd'í:f iəd	wá:ədər iəd he:n'
				bá:həm' ə'xul'ə							
<i>cáith</i>	ká: he	ká: ə'ma:x ...	ká: a'rur nə bl'ianə norhə	ká:ən' fe e	ə ga:hən tuma's e	ká:hən	ká:t fe e nu	nə ká:həx		xá:əd'í:f e	xá:ədər
				ká:n mid' ə'xul'ə <i>achuile</i> ...	ə ga:n mid' ə kork'ə <i>coirce</i>	ká:hən					
<i>sáigh</i>	sá: iəd			sá:m' e	ə sən tumə's iəd nu	nax sən	sá:t fe m'e nu	nə sá:x			há:ədər e, há:dər e
								nə sá:əx	sá:d'í:f e nu:		
<i>liath</i>				L'ien' fíəd			L'íət fe nu'	nax L'íəhəx		L'íəd'í:f	L'íədər M
<i>suaith</i>				suən mid'ə			suət fe e nu'	nax suəhəx		huəd'í:f e	huədər
<i>braith</i>				brə:ən' fe		brahən					
<i>caith</i>	ka he M	ka uər' ... , ka hi:fəl <i>íseal</i> e (h')									
		ka 'æ:n'lá:d'ər' <i>an-láidir</i> e									
<i>craith</i>	kra he M	kra ə'max <i>amach</i> e	kra iəsk ... <i>iasc</i>	krahəm'	ə grahən tuma's e	krahən	kræət fe e nu'	nə krahəx	krahəd'í:f he:n' e		
	kræ hiəd				ə grahən' fíəd iəd						
<i>maith</i>				maən fe, mahəm'	ma:n' fən dum <i>Seán dom</i> e	mahən	ma'ət fe yum e nu	nax mahəx		wá:əd'í:f yum e	wá:ədər
<i>sraith</i>	skra he	skræ iəxtər ə <i>fortə íochtár an phortaigh</i>		skræ:ən' fe ...	ə skræ:n' fe ən <i>portəx an portach</i>	skrahən	skra'ət fe e ...	nax skrahəx		skrahəd'í:f	skraədər, skra:ədər
				skrahən 'mid'ə	ə skræ'n tumə's ...	skrahən					
				skræhim' ... skræhim'	ə skræ:ən tu						
<i>sroich</i>				sren' fíəd træ:snə <i>trasna</i> , gu:ni: <i>i gcónaí</i> ,		sron	sroð fe e nu	nə srohəx	sred'í:f	hroəd'í:f (x2)	ər hro - ər hrohədər - ər hrodər ə'nun

Verb	imprs pst	prsbj	2pl impv	2sg cond	1sg psthab	1sg Echo pst	fut	> Echo	VN
<i>báigh</i>	bá:hu:	har' ə mɑ:ə m'e iəd	bɑ:əg'i: fíb' hə:n'		wɑ:ən' hə:n' iəd	wɑ:həs	ɲ'i wɑ:hə m'if iəd		bɑ:hə
		gə mɑ:hə n d'aul <i>deabhal hu</i>	bɑ:i: iəd		wɑ:ən'f iəd				
<i>cáith</i>	kɑ:hu:	gə gɑ: ən d'aul e	kɑ:əg'i: (x2)	ə gɑ:hɑ:	xɑ:hən'	xɑ:həs	ə gɑ:hə m'e ... nu	nax gɑ:həd	gɑ xɑ:hə
<i>sáigh</i>	sɑ:w e	gə sɑ: ə d'aul hu	sɑ:əg'i: iəd	hɑ:hɑ:sə m'e	hɑ:hən', hɑ:ɲ'fe hu	hɑ:əs			gə də hɑ:
	ər sɑ:v M								
<i>liath</i>		gə l'íə ɲ' d'aul hu'					l'íəhə m'ifə M, l'íəhə fíəd		
<i>suaith</i>	ər suəhu' e	gə suə ɲ' d'u:n <i>deamhan ... gə</i> suə ɲ' d'aul	suəg'i:, suəi	huəhɑ' e			suəhə, ɲ'i' huəhə m'if'ə e		suəhə ... gɑ huəə
<i>braith</i>			brahəg'i:			ɲ'i:ʳ vrahəs			bra horəmsə
<i>caith</i>									
<i>craith</i>	krahu:		krəhəg'i:		xrahən'		ɲ'i: xrahə m'if e		krahə
<i>maith</i>	mahu	gə mahə	məəg'i:, məəg'i:, mahí:		ɲ'i: wæ.ɲ'	wɑ:əs			
<i>scraith</i>	skrahu:	gə skræə n d'aul	skrahəg'i:		skra ^h hən'	skrahəs	ə skrahə m'e ... nu	nax skrahə	skrahə
<i>sroich</i>							ɲ'i: hrohə m'if e		

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

Verb	3sg pres	3sg cond	3pl cond	3pl pst
<i>caith</i>	kahən' fɛ	xahət fɛ: gə ...	xahəd' i:f	xəədər
	prsbj (opt)	1sg psthab	VN	
	gə gahə	xahən'	ə xahə	

5.129 36S, Seán Ó Maoil Chiaráin

Table 5.43 presents the results of 36Sq's questionnaire.

Table 5.43 CAITH class, 36Sq

Verb	impv / _é	impv / _ə	impv _V	pres	3sg impv	> Echo
<i>báigh</i>	bə: hɛ, bə: ɛ¹		bə: a:N ə	bə:n' fɛ	bət fɛ iəd bə:t fɪbʃ iəd	
<i>sáigh</i> ²	sə: ɛ, sə: ɛ' nu: nə sə: əs ...				sət fɛ, sə:əx fə:n ɛ nu'	nə sə:əx,
<i>maith</i>		ma hə xuɖ p'æ:ki: yə: a <i>chuid peacaí dhó</i>		mahən	mahəx nu:	nə mahəx

Verb	3pl psthab/cond	3pl pst	imprs pst	prsbj	2pl impv	1sg cond
<i>báigh</i>	wə:əd' i:f ɛ	wə:ədər ɛ	bə:hu:	mə:ə, mə:hə	bə:əg' i:f iəd	
<i>sáigh</i>	hə:əd' i:f	hə:(ə)dər ɛ		sə:hə	sə:əg' i: ɛ	hə:hən' ɛ
<i>maith</i>	wahəd' i:f			mahə		
<i>scraith</i>	skrahəd' i:f	skrahədər			skrahəg' i:	skrahən'

Verb	1sg psthab	1sg Echo pst	fut	> Echo	VN
<i>báigh</i>	wə:nf iəd	ər wə: m' ɛ ɛ, wə:	mə:hə,	bə:hə	gə mə:hə
<i>sáigh</i>			sə:hə		gə hə:hə
<i>maith</i>	wahən'	ər wə m' ɛ' ... , wə:	mahə tu, mahə fɪb'		wahə

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 **wə:ədər** (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 **sə:** in conversation.

Table 5.44 CAITH class, 64Mq

Verb	impv / _é	3sg pres	cond q	3pl psthab	3pl pst	imprs pst
<i>sáigh</i>	sá: ǵ	sá:n fɛ			há:dər	
<i>caith</i>	ka he	kahən fə	gahəx tu e	xahəd'i:f	xaədər	kahu:
	2pl impv	3sg cond	fut	VN		
<i>sáigh</i>	sá:ǵ'i: ǵ	há:hət fɛ, 'há:həx'd'i:f	ŋ'i há:hə m'e e:	sá:		
<i>caith</i>	kaǵ'i	xahət fɛ	kahə, kahə m'ɛ	kahə		

Other CAITH types from 64Mt:

Verb	future	conditional	conditional -t f-
<i>caith</i>	ka m'e	xahəx	kat fə ... , xa't fɛ ... , gahəd fi ...
cp. <i>teighre < gabh</i>	ǵo tu	yohənf ...	

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 69Sq's questionnaire.

Table 5.45 CAITH class, 69Sq

Verb	impv / _é	impv / _ə	impv _V	pres	3sg impv	> Echo
<i>báigh</i>	bá: "e			bá:hən' fɛ		
<i>sáigh</i>	sá: e			sá:ən' fɛ	sá:hət fɛ	
<i>scraith</i>	skræ: e	skra hə portəx <i>portach</i>	skræ: i:fəl e	skrahən	skrahət fɛ e	nə skrahəx

Verb	3pl impv	3pl psthab/cond	imprs pst
<i>báigh</i>			bá:hu' e
<i>sáigh</i>	sá:həd'i:f m'e	há:həd'i:f	sá:u:
<i>scraith</i>	skrahəd'i:f e nu:		skræhu'

Verb	2pl impv	fut	VN
<i>báigh</i>	bá:ǵ'i:		bá:hə
<i>sáigh</i>	sá:ǵ'i:		ǵə mə há:, ə sá:v
<i>scraith</i>	skræ:ǵ'i:f əm portəx	skrahə m'ɛ	skrahə

5.132 77C, Colm Ó Cathasaigh

Table 5.46 gives the results of 77Cq's questionnaire.

Table 5.46 CAITH class, 77Cq

Verb	impv / _é, / _ə	pres	3sg impv	> Echo	3pl psthab/cond	3pl pst
<i>báigh</i>	ná: bá: e		bá:hət fɛ nu:	ná bá:x ... ,		wá:ədər
			bá:t fɛ ...	bá:x,		
<i>sáigh</i>	ná sá: e	sá:ən' fɛ ...	sá:ət ... nu: ná sá:t fɛ e ...	há:əd'i:f e'		há:ədər
<i>craith</i>	kra he		krahət ...	krahəx	xrahəd'i:f	xraədər
<i>scraith</i>	skra hən ...	skrahən	skrahət ...	skrahəx	skrahəd'i:f	skra:ədər

Verb	imprs pst	2pl impv	1sg psthab	VN
<i>báigh</i>	bá:hu' t.l, bá:v e', bá:hu' ~ bá:v	ná bá:ǵ'i:	wá:hən'	
<i>sáigh</i>	sá:v e	sá:ǵ'i:	há:hən'	ǵə mə há:

Verb	imprs pst	2pl impv	1sg psthab	VN
<i>craith</i>	krahu:	krahəg'i:	xrahən'	xrahə
<i>scraith</i>	skrahu:	skrahəg'i:, skrahi:		

5.133 Analysis

Attestations of other verbs are: *braich*, VN **ga vra'hə 20Mlt dhá bhraicheadh**; and *sceith*, pres **fk'ehən sceitheann**, VN **fk'ehə 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'iaxən**), *suaith* 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

	Sq	Mq
impv / _iad		na' kra: iəd
3sg pres	ə gra:n' fə hu	ə gra:n tumə's m'e
3sg pres Echo response		n' i xra:n
3pl impv <i>nó ná</i>	krə:d'if m'e nu na kra:əx (x2)	krə:d'if m'e nu na kra:x
3pl pst	xra:dər m'e (x2)	xra:ədər
pst imprs	kra:uy m'e	kra:ə"v m'e
2pl impv	na kra:əg'i: m'ifə	krə:ig'i: iəd, kra:i:
2sg psthab		xra:hə: m'e
1sg psthab		xra:ən' hu, xra:n' hu
1sg Echo response	xra:əs	xra:s
VN	gə mə xra:w S	gə mə xra:v^f
vadj	kra:t'ə	

Table 5.48 Non-CAITH class: *traoith*; Mq, M and S

3sg pst	hri: fi: S
3pl pst	hri:dər ~ hri:ədər Mq
3sg pres	tri:n fə S often
1sg prsbj / fut	gə dri: m'e Mq (x2), gə dri:hə m'e SM
vadj	tri:t'ə SM
VN	tri:v SM

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.

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

Radical in	a		o		ɑ:		iə/uə	
	h	Ø	h	Ø	h	Ø	h	Ø
All Tokens	81.5	31	17.5	12	35.5	50	7	22
% h	72%		58%		41%		24%	
Sq's tokens	11.5	3	14.5	8	8.5	8	1	10
Sq's % h	77%		63%		50%		9%	
Mq's tokens	29	20	3	4	16	22	6	12
Mq's % h	59%		43%		42%		33%	

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*, *-idís*;

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, chaitheas.

Figure 5.1 presents Mq's **h** realisation in each separate morphophonological environment.

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h ~ Ø roughly equally: *-a*, *-inn*, *-idís*;

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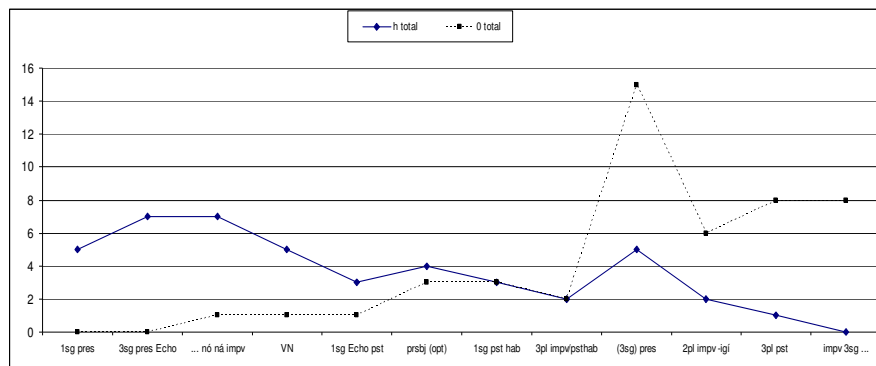
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Caitheadh sé é nó ná caitheadh;

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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** *-idís* >> *-igí* (>>) *-adar*

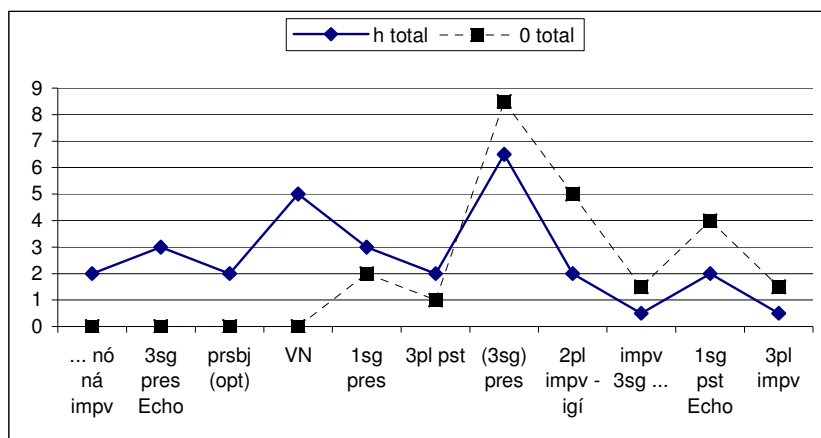
GEARR class short vowel *-igí* >> *-idís* >> *-adar*

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* (*cáith* 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'iañ' f'iað* vs. *l'iañh f'iað*.

Figure 5.2 CAITH class, morphophonology of h realisation, Sq



5.134 BRUITH class

In this class radical final χ' alternates with **h**. Roots have the surface shape **-ix'**, **-i**, **-u**. There are three members; all three, very common verbs:

$(\chi') \rightarrow \langle \chi' \rangle \langle h \rangle \langle \emptyset \rangle \{bruith, ith, rith\}$.

The verbal adjective does not vary: **brit'ə**, **it'ə**, **rit'ə**. For a similar lexical class, see 'Sandhi' (2.50). Alternants with no final consonant, i.e. $\langle \emptyset \rangle$, 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 SID.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 **vríx'ədər**, **rix'ədər**; imperative **i suəs**, **ix' suəs** *ith suas*. An example of **u** in *ith* occurs between nonpalatal consonants:

ʃe hʲiː r 'u mɪd' iə^d | 25M sé an chaoi ar ith muid iad.

Note the exceptional clusters in juncture in impersonal present of *ith*:

ix't'ər S, ihtər 43M.

There is an example of **n'í hit't'ər 05M ní hithtear**, perhaps a development from the **-x't'**- cluster or a mixed form from the future stem **i:s-**.

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:

/_C, before consonants	$\emptyset \gg \chi' \gg h$	\emptyset and χ' being very common
/V_V, intervocalically (within the word)	$\chi' \approx h \gg \emptyset$	\emptyset occurs optionally, only with 3pl pst <i>-adar</i>
/_##V, before vowels	$\chi' \gg \emptyset$	it is probable that h occurs here too
/_Pausa, finally	$\chi' \sim \emptyset$	

Table 5.50 BRUITH class and morphological and syntactic environment

		/_C			/_V_V		
		x'	h	Ø	x'	h	Ø
SID.46, 869P	<i>bruith</i> <i>ith</i>	brix' nā ... 640 d'ix' nā ... 260, əɾ ix' tu ... 304, n'i:rix' m'e ... 306		wɾi fɪ: 642 d'ɪ mĩd' 303	brɪ:x'ə m'e ... 644 ɾ'e: n'ix'ə 307 = Mp 102, ix'an ... 298, n'i: ix'im' ... 1165, ix'ɪ m'ə ... 305, ɾ'e nɪx'ə, d'ix'ədər 869Pt	g'ihā 302, 869Pt (cp. ix'an ... 298)	
	<i>rith</i>	rix' gɔ ... 175		<i>a' ru</i> (.i. <i>rith</i>) <i>uaidh</i> 869P2	rix'ə (or rix'an) mĩd'ə ... 173, rix'ɪ m'e ... 172		
04B		ə rix' fud nā sɾəd'ə			N'i:ɾ' ix'ədər, ɾ'e n'ix'ə		
11Ct				əgəs u dā v'e:l'i:, ... d'i fe ...	rix'ədər, rix'əg'i:		
S		ix't'ər iv'əxi: he:f nā kə:fk'			ix'əd'i:f e		n'i:ɾ idər
	<i>rith</i>	rix' m'e, rix' wunā		ru m'e (x2), ru fe			rudər
Mq	<i>bruith</i>	brɪx'ər 16, vrix' fɪəd 11		ə bru fə:ti: M, vri fɪəd 1, brɪf'i: 18, brɪf'ər 17	brɪx'an fɪəd 2, brɪx'əg'i: M		vrudər 12
	<i>ith</i>	... ix' fɪəd 14, ix' tu(:) (x2) M		d'i fɪ: (x2) M, i tu M	gə ix'ə 6, ix'an fɪəd 4, 5, d'ix'əs, d'ix'əs M	g'ihā M ih'an fɪəd 3, ih: M	d'idər 13 gər idər 15
	<i>rith</i>	rix'ər 20, rix' fɪəd 8		rɪf'i: 22, rɪf'ər 21		rih'an' fɪəd 23, 24	rudər 9, 10
17Mp	<i>rith</i>			rɪ m'e , probably ~ ru m'e			Echo ris ~ rus
35El		ix' dā yə:hən'		d'ɪ fe / fɪ: (x9), rɪ fɪ: (x1)	ɾ'e n'ix'ə (x7)	əg' ihā (x3)	
Others		vrix' m'e 66Nq, ... ix' tu ... 66N	ihər 43M	rɪg'i: 01P, rɪf'ər 43Mq, ru fɪəd fo Pt gə n'it'ɑ: 20Cq,	d'ix'əd fe (x1) 20My, ix'əg'i: (x2) 52P	ruhə mĩd' 01P, d'ihur' 66N, d'ihəd fe 20C, d'ihəd fe (x3) 20My, rihə fe, rihə n dæ: 43M, d'ihəd'i:f 20My, bruhur: 29C	

		/_V		/_ə	/_Pausa	
		x'	Ø	x'	x'	Ø
SID.46,	<i>bruith</i>	brɪx' i:əd 643				
869P	<i>rith</i>	ə rɪx' ɛr ... 171 = Mp 55, rɪx' ɛrnə ... 825				kaħə fɪ: rɪ VIII.5
04B				ə rɪx' ə	ə brɪx'	
S		rɪx' orħə	ə bru iv'əxi:			to:si: bru
Mq					ga vrix' 7, ə rɪx' 24, nar' ix', M	... ər i, ər i M
35E1				rɪx' ə ...		

Other examples from Máire of *bruith* VN:

bri sə fɪnt' sə fɛ:d'ə *ag bruith is ag fuint is ag séideadh*, **ə bru fa:ti:** ... **s ə bru əxil'ə**
ho:rt *ag bruith fataí ... is ag bruith achuile shórt*,
bru gəs do: ort *bruith agus dó ort!* 'a:m'vrix' *an-bhuith* (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 *rith* in a passage recorded from **897P**:

bhí siad ag rith ru | — ag cuir — ag tabhairt móna ... ag rith geall ə ri g'əl
| ... bhí sí ag rith rɪx' í héin ... rith sé ri fe ... bhí mé i ndan rith, rith mé
rɪx' | ru m'e ... rith chuile dhuine ru xur'ə [sic] yun'ə ... rith — Colm
rɪx' | koləm ... 897P.

In this small sample speaker **897P** has a surface pattern as expected:

/_C	ri (rɪx')	ri fe, ə ri g'əl (the unusual sandhi here indicates underlying rɪx')
	ru	ru m'e, ru xur'ə yun'ə; I take the initial prepausa ru as a likely hesitation for <i>ag rith móna</i> , i.e. a likely preconsonantal form
/_##V	rɪx'	rɪx' i: he:n'
/_Pausa	rɪx'	rɪx' (x2)

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'ɛ:r' i tu rud M *Cér ith tú rud?* **-ha 43M Ha?**
-k'ɛ:r' ix' tu rud M *Cér ith tú rud?* **-ha 43M Ha?**
-k'ɛ:r' ix' tu: rud M *Cér ith tú rud?*

As can be seen from the examples in Table 5.50, the VN of *ith* is often *ix'ə* but (for older speakers and certain younger speakers) with progressive *ag* it is generally *əg' ihə*, e.g.

... **g' ihə ... ga: ix'ə 20C** *ag ithe ... gá ithe*, **k'ɛ:n' ix'ə 20Cq** *cén ithe?*,
ix'ə vr'ɑ: 20Cq, 20Myq, ix'ə br'ɑ: 20Myq *ithe b(h)reá*.

Speaker **10B** was noted with *əg' ix'ə* (3/3), also *əg' ix'ə 52P*; speaker **74S** consistently uses *əg' ix'ə*, and **66N** uses both *g'ix'ə* and *g'ihə*. Speaker **77C** also shows *iəd ix'ə ...*, *e ix'ə ...*, *əg' ix'ə nə ... 77C1* *iad a ithe ...*, *é a ithe ...*, *ag*

ithe na 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 *ər ix' tu r' iəw iəd* 52M *ar ith tú ariamh iad?*

5.135 SÁBHÁIL class

Verbs containing the formant *-a:l'* 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 *-a:l'* in all environments, e.g. 05M, 20A, 36S. The majority of speakers, however, have nonpalatal *-a:l-* before verbal inflections except *-f'*. The verbal adjective is consistently palatal (i.e. *-a:l'ə*).¹ Some, more progressive, speakers sometimes have nonpalatal *-a:l-* before impersonal *t*. The majority rule can be stated as:

-C' > -C' /_# (other than */_#t'* (and *f'*)).

Most speakers seem to apply this rule categorically before vowels and have categorical palatal *l* before *t'*, e.g. 894C, 899P, 12S (almost categorical), 16M:

fua:l' fúdail > fua:lə m'e M; *plánáil > ə blana:ləð fe* 899P;
robáil > ruba:l'u M; *sábháil > sa:wa:l't ə* M, *sa:wa:l't ə* S;
straidhpeáil > straip'a:l'u M; *truisleáil > tri:l'a:l'u* 894C;
tri:a:l' traíáil > tri:a:ləm' M.

Other speakers have both *-a:l'* and *-a:l-* before vowels, e.g.

66N noted with both *-a:lən* (x1) and *-a:l'ən* (x1) and future *-a:l'ə* (x3).

Before impersonal *f'* I have too few examples to generalise for the community as a whole but *-a:l-f'* may be most common. Speaker 894Cs was noted with general *-a:l-f'* but one *-a:l'f'* token:

-a:l-f'ər *bulka:l-f'ər bulcálfear*; *presal-f'ər prosálfear* (second token);
-a:l'f'ər *presal'f'ər prosáilfear* (first token);
-a:l-f'i: *gə spa:al-f'i: go spaiteálfí* (all 894Cs).

Máire also has general *-a:l-f'* but she has one (hesitant) example of *-a:l'f'*:

-a:l-f'ər *badəra:l-f'ər badarálfear*; *sa:wa:l-f'ər sábhálfear*;
tri:a:l-f'ər traíálfear Mq;
-a:l-f'i: *ruka:l-f'i: Mt-tí rucálfí*, *tri:a:l-f'i: Mq traíálfí*,
sa:wa:l-f'i: Mq sábhálfí;
 also from Máire's brother *sæ:k'al'f'i: 19P5 saiceálfí*;
-a:l'f'i: *n'e:l'al'f'i: Mt-tí néileáil(,)fí* (with the slightest hesitation in speech rate between stem and suffix).
 Also *dig'al'f'i: 45B digéálfí*.

In a speaker who has predominant *-a:l-f'* it seems better to derive the odd (fluent) token of *-a:l'f'* via quality assimilation across morpheme boundary from *-a:l-f'* rather than from palatal stem *-a:l'+f'*.

Speaker 21Pt has regular *-f'ər* and *-f'i:*; in SÁBHÁIL verbs he has *-a:l'fər* and *-a:l-f'i:*, e.g. *sábháil > sa:wa:l'fər* [x2], *sa:wa:l-f'i:* [x2] 21Ptq. (Perhaps the high front vowel of the *-f'i:* ending prevents the quality assimilation which his *-f'ər* allomorph undergoes.)

¹ Following my transcriptional convention for clusters the *l* is palatal in *-l't'*, *-l'f'* and nonpalatal in *-l't'*, *-l'f'*. Cp. p. 907 n. 1.

Speaker **20A** has regular **-a:l'**- and regular **-f'ər** and **-f'i**: following palatals, his SÁBHÁIL verbs are therefore consistently palatal throughout, e.g.

mārka:l'ən 20A *marcáileann*,

ruka:l'ər [i.e. **-l'f'** = **-a:l' + f'**] **20A** *rucáilfear*.

Speaker **36P** has regular **-a:l'**-, e.g. **m'isa:l'ə 36P** *miosáilthidh*, **ə bosta:l'ə tusa 36Pq** *an bpostáilthidh tusa?*, **ga bosta:l'hə i' yum 36Pq** *dhá bpostáiltheá i' dhom*. This includes before impersonal *f* (which he has both palatal (conversation) and nonpalatal (query)): **postal'fər 36Pq** *postáilfar*.

Before impersonal *t* **-a:l't'**- is regular, including in Seán's speech; present **-a:ltər** is very rare in Seán's speech, noted only in **sæ:k'a:ltər S** *saicéaltar*. Speakers who have regular **-a:l'**-, no doubt generally have **-a:l't'**-, but can have **-a:l't'**-, e.g. **ræk'a:l'ti: 897P** *raiceáiltaí*. Speakers with regular **-a:l'**- often have **-a:l't'**- but cases of **-a:l-t'**- and **-a:lt-** have been noted (cp. 5.40):

kuk'a:l-t'ər Mqsl5.94a *cúcáltear* (rare for Máire);

gə 'm'æ:l'a:ld' i:f ... n' i: v'æ:l'a:l't' i: 01C6057-9 *go mbealálaidís ... ní bhealáltí* (speaker **01CARN** has regular prevocalic **-a:l-** 3/3);

ʃl'æ:f'a:l'ti: 872P *sleaiseáltaí* (speaker **872P** has pst imprs **-a:lu:**; contrast his **buə:l't' i: buailtí**; perhaps also **ga g'æ:n'ta:l'ti: 872P** *dhá gceainteáltaí*); cp. *dhá sliseáltaí* ! CABI §499 v. 3 (emended by me from *sliseáltaí*), perhaps transcribed from **894C**, cp. *buailtí 894C*.

Examples of **-a:l'**- may be more common, or easier to recognise, in the past impersonal, e.g. **straip'a:l'u' 20Mlt** *straidhpeáileadh*.

Speakers noted with nonapplication of the rule, i.e. with consistent **-a:l'**-, are:

897P (2/2, **xarða:l'əð ʃiəd 897P** *chardáileadh siad*, **ræk'a:l'ti: 897P** *raiceáiltaí*); **05M**; **20C** (e.g. pres **-a:l'ən**; fut **-a:l'hə**) and his wife **20My**; **35E** (e.g. past **-a:l'u'**, psthab and pstsbj **-a:l'əð' i:f**); **36P**; and **36S**.

Speaker **26P** has regular prevocalic **-a:l-**, in contrast with his sister **20My** and brother **36S**. Speaker **21J** has **-a:l-** (x4) in query but his son **55J**, also in query, has **-a:l'**- (x2). The palatal variant seems to be more common in the younger generations (beginning in the mid-1950s), e.g. **55Sq** (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 **-a:l-** vs. (youngest daughter) **56B** with **-a:l'**-.

5.136 Future h

For the majority of speakers the future marker **h** is not realised in verbs in **-áil**; this majority includes Seán and Máire and their children (Máire's only exception being the Echo form **tri:a:l'hə MqEcho** *traíálthaidh*), e.g.

2sg cond: **fa:ʃt'a:lə S** *phaisteálthá*, **din'ɔ:ga:lə e 43M** *d'injáálthá é*;

nonpers: **fr'i:a:lə ʃe M** *friothálthaidh sé*, **sə:wə:lə M, 21Pt** *sábhálthaidh*.

A minority of speakers, however, do consistently use **-a:lh-**, **a:l'h-**, e.g.

la:ʃt'a:l'hə 892M3469 *laisteálthá*, **n' i: rhri:a:l'hə m' ē 05M** *ní thraíálthidh mé*, **m'isa:l'həd 14M** *miosálthad*, **ʃt'ing'a:l'həd' i:f 20Pá** *stingeálthaidís*, **xarða:l'hə e 29C** *chardálthá é*, **ə dri:a:l'hər' 37M** *an draíálthair?*, **gə wo:a:l'hə m' i:fə 51P** *go bhfónálthaidh 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 **-a:lh-** 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 **-a:ha:** (5.68).

All verbs in unstressed final *l* may well follow this tendency not to realise **h**, e.g.

eiteal future **et' əlhə** [my pronunciation only] Mperm,

et' ələ fə Mq.

So also *tomáin* (5.137). For the apparent analogical spread of **h** loss to the future stem of *úsáid*, i.e. **u:sa:d'ə** *úsáididh* influenced by **ju:sa:lə** *ghíúsálthaidh*, 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 siúilheach duine* **869P5** with **x'ju:lm'** 46.645 *shiúilthainn*. 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 Fharraige (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*, *fual*, *leon*, *mún*, *seol*, *snáimh*, (*speidhear*), *triall*, *troisc*.

labhair, e.g. pres **laurən** **lauri:n**, fut **laur'hə** **laur'ə:** **laurə:**; for further examples, see CÚL class (5.170).

siúil, **-l-** is rare, if indeed transcribed correctly: 2pl impv **siúlaí** **uaib!** M, 2sg pstsbj **dhá siúilthá** **894C9**, cond **x'ju:lm'** 46.645;

-l' is commonest: cond *go siúilheach duine* **869P5**, 2pl impv **siúilí** **18JARN**, **siúilí** **uaib** **19P**, psthab **x'u:l'əð** **fí:** **11C**, cond **ju:l'hə:** **26P**, **x'u:l'əx** **64M**; note **-t'** in 2sg pstsbj **siúilteá** **894C**;

¹ Cp. Ó Cumáin (1999: 149).

vadj **fu:ltə** ~ **fu:lt'ə**, e.g. **fu:lt eg'ə 11Cta5 siúlta aige, fu:lt'ə SM** (quality alternation here can be described independently of the SÁBHÁIL class, see 'Verbal Adjective' 5.175).

VN generally **fu:l**, but **fu:l' 66N** (only speaker).

tomáin, pst imprs **tuma:nu: 899D6545**.

n' > n /_# optionally for M (with **n >> n'** here, note her medial **-nəf' - -n'əf-** in the impersonal, 5.54):

pst: **n : huma:nədər, tuma:nu:**

fut: **n : tuma:nə, huma:nəs,** **n' : tuma:n'əfər, tuma:nf'ər,**
tuma:nəf'ər x 6(+); tuma:n'ə m'e:

psthab imprs **tuma:nt'i:**, vadj **tuma:nt'ə**, VN **tuma:nt'.**

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: **bur:hə [x3], bur'hə [x1]** Mq, pst **wu:r fə** Mq; VN **bur'hux: bur'həxt bur'hil' Mq, bur'həx, bur'hux.**

dúin generally with palatal final, e.g. **du:n' e dúin é; du:n'hə m'e e dúinthe dh mé é.**

But noted with broad final in:

yum ə f'ær ... M (~ yu:n' ə f'ær dhú(i)n an fear),

gə nu:nə 20Csbjq go ndúna.

fual **I'** pst **D'fhuaíl sé / sí** FFG20.19, **duəl' Mperm, cond duəl'həd'i:f 24Mt;**

I Máire's use is consistently a nonpalatal **-l(-)** here:

pst **duəl ən f'ær M d'fhual an fear, ər uəl tu ... duələs M ar fhual ...? d'fhualas,** fut **fuəlhə fə M, pres fuələn fə M, impv na fuələg'i: M, vadj fuəlt eg'ə M fualta aige.**

When queried about **duəl' ən f'ær d'fhuaíl an fear**, Máire permitted it as a genuine form and added **fə: s a:r Mperm sé is fhearr**, then continued producing nonpalatal forms.

Vadj **fuəlt'ə 43M, fuəltə 43Mperm; 43M** claims she uses both forms.

leon **n'** pres **L'u:n'ən leoineann;**

n pst **l'u:n fə ə v'e:r 04Bl leon sé a mhéar,**

mə: l'u:nu: də lā:v' 04Bl má leonadh do láimh;

n' ~ n : L'u:n' ə f'ær ... ~ L'u:n ə ... Mq leoin an fear ... leon an

Vadj **L'u:ntə, VN L'u:nə.**

mún 'urinate' **n'** pst **wu:n' 27Mdq, fut mu:n'hə 27Mdq, 43M;**

n fut **mu:nhə Mq.**

Vadj **mu:nt'ə Mq, 27Mdq, VN mu:n M, mu:nə 27Mdq, 43M.**

Speakers **27Mdq** and **43M** may be influenced by *múin* 'teach' (VN *múinadh*) here. Speaker **27Mdq** claims that *fual* has now replaced this verb.

seol, generally *foil(-)*, e.g. pst *x'oilədər* 11C, *ə x'oil iəd* [x2] 899D6249 *a sheol iad*, VN *foilə seoladh*. But palatal final was noted from 01C in:

pst *ə x'oil' iəd* 01C6247 *a sheoil iad*, *gus hjoil' | 01C6147 agus sheoil*;
less clearly in psthab *x'oil' əx | 01C6147 sheoileadh*.

snáimh, generally with *v'*, e.g. *sná:v'*, *sná:v'ən*, *sná:f'ə*, vadj *sná:ft'ə sná:fdə*, VN *sná:w*, but pres *sná:vən* 60M, 66N, pst *s(h)námh* 26Pq, cond *sná:fən'* 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).

(*speidhear*, only nonpalatal *r* has been heard (i.e. regular verb): impv *nə sp'air e* M, pst *sp'aiər tu ... m'ə* Mq, pres *sp'airən* Mq, fut *sp'airhə tu:* M, vadj *ta m'ə sp'airh əd*, *sp'aiərhə* Mq, VN *gə mə sp'aiəərə* Mq. Also *speidhearáil*, pres *sp'airá:lən* M. Two tokens of palatal *r* were noted from Liam Mac Coisteala's transcription and one from FFG:

pst *speidhir Mac Rí in Éirinn* 866ESemr56, cond *go spaidhirhuch an Spáinneach* (TarCC)869P5, VN *speidhreadh* 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.)

trial, prsbj *marə dr'ial'əmid'* 04B; pstsbj (cond) *gə: dr'ialəx mid'* !!(Acm)43Js. This verb has been noted from Máire with both *l'* and *l*: pst *mar'əg' ə hr'ial ort* M *mairg a thrial ort*, in explaining this expression *gər hr'ial' tu ...* M *gur thrial tú ...* also pst *hr'ial tu / m'ə* Mq *thrial tú / mé*. Also 3sg pst ... *thriall*, 866ESemr48, *hr'ial m'ə* 889P, *hr'ial er'* 11C *thrial ar*; fut *tr'ialhə fe* Mq *trialthaidh sé*. VN *tr'ial* M, Mq *trial*.

troisc, unalternating palatalised stem for Máire in inflected verb, e.g. pst *hrofk'* Mq, 25Cq, fut *trofk'ə* M, 35E, VN *tre/ɔfk'ə* M, *troisce* 894C, but also *troskə* Mperm. Speaker 12Jq has pst *hrosk*, fut *troskə* (in contrast with his sister 25Cq).

For quality change in syncopating verbs, see 5.36. For verbal adjective *-r' + hə > -rhə*, e.g. *far' fair > farrhə 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 facultatively to most inflected contexts. The short variant has only marginally spread to unhistorical

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. **bl'ih i:** *bligh í*.

(a) i: ~ i u subclass

- bligh* impv **bl'i: i:** Mq, **bl'ih i:** Mperm *bligh í*;
 pres **bl'i:n**, innovative **bl'i:hən 66Nq**;
 pst **n'ir v'li: mīd'** (or **v'li:mīd'**) 46.57; *bhli' sí 869P4*; **ər vl'i: tu: n wo:** SM *ar bhligh tú an bhó*;
 psthab imprs **bl'it'i:** M88, **bl'it'i: ən wo: nu bl'it'i: n wo: 12Strans** 'blit' an bhó' nó 'blit' an bhó';
 cond **vl'i:hə:** M;
 vadj **i** only **bl'it'ə** is traditional, **bl'it'ə 66Nq, 77Cq**; VN **bl'a:n**. See also 'Minor Irregular Verbs' (5.303).
- figh* **i:** only in inflected examples: psthab 3pl *d'fhíghidís*; cond *d'fhíghfeach 869P2*; cond 2sg *a bhfíhá*, fut Echo 1sg *fíhead*, cond 1sg *bhfíhinn 894C2*; (the spelling psthab / pstsbj imprs *bhfightí* is ambiguous as to quantity);
 vadj **i** mostly: *fíte 894C2*, **f'it'ə**, but **f'it'ə ft'æx 21Pt** *fíte isteach*, rarer vadj **f'i:xənt'ə** S (based on verbal noun);
 VN **f'i:xən, f'i:xən** S.
- gligh* (~ *dligh*) pst **yl'i je ... yl'i(:)dər 27Mdq**, *duine a dhli' a bheagán ná a mhórán díob 869P2*;
 fut **dl'i:hə 27Mdq**;
 cond **yl'i:həʃ je M**;
 vadj **i** only **dl'it'ə ~ gl'it'ə S, gl'it'ə 21Ptq**; VN **gl'i:xta:l' M**.
- ligh* **i:** almost all examples; impv **l'i: mō hu:n'** 46 s.v. *tóin*, **l'i: mō hu:n' M, l'i: e M**;
i in one token only, in a subjunctive or future form: *shul á lighe (lihe) siad 869P5*;
 vadj **l'it'ə**; VN **l'i:xən**.
- nigh* impv **n'i, n'i:, n'i: e:** Mq, **n'ih e** Mperm, **n'i. də ... 46.445**;
 pres imprs **n'it'ər M**;
 pst **n'ir 'n'i: m'e: ... 46.448, n'r' m'e 46.448**; *ni' an Mhaighdean Mhuire ni' sí ... , ar ni' an Mhaighdean Mhuire, Ni an bhean ... ni' sí ... , ar ni' an Mhaighdean Mhuire 869P4*;
 fut **n'i:həs; n'i:hūmīd' 46.449**;
 psthab imprs **n'it'i: S**; prsbj **gə n'i: m'e e P go nighe mé é**;
 pstsbj *gá ní' eat sí 869P4*; **ga: n'it'ər, ga n'i:n' 20Cq**;
 vadj **n'it'ə ~ n'it'ə**; VN **n'i:xən**.
 (Spellings in RBÉ such as *nighe* and *nigh sé 869P2*, 4 are ambiguous.)

Examples of variation in conversation:

-go max əs n' i t' e: dən M *Gabh amach is nigh t'éadan.*

-hæ S *Hea?*

-go max əs n' i t' e: dən M *Gabh amach is nigh t'éadan*; also:

n' i: m' e e jin' ... o n' i m' e e M *nigh mé é sin ... ó nigh mé é.*

righ **i:** in all inflected examples: impv **ri:**, e.g. **ri: ort ə ro:pə** S *righ ort an rópa*; pst *rígh Muireán a' rópa* RBÉ; cond **ri:hə** 894Cs; vadj **rit' ə** SM, P, 60C, but **rit' ə** 60C. VN **ri:xən**. Note the variation in ... **gə m' ei fe ri:t' ə ... gə m' et fe ri:t' ə gə m' et fe rit' ə ri:t' ə** 60C *go mbeidh / mbeadh sé rite*, where the repetition would imply the speaker's uncertainty as to what quantity to select.

sníomh Generally root **fn' i:w**, VN **fn' i:w**, **fn' i:wəxən**. 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:vt' ə** 12S, more commonly **fn' i:vtə**.

27Mdq	fn' i:w	fn' i:
pres		fn' i:t' ə
pst	hn' i:v tu: (preferred), fn' i:wu:	hn' i: tu: , hn' i:dər (prompted)
fut		fn' i:hə
vadj		fn' i:t' ə
VN	fn' i:wəxən	

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 **sni:h e** M, **sni: e jin'** M, **sni: η xof** M *snoigh an chois*, **snu e jin'** M;

pres imprs **sni:t' ə** M, **sni:t' ə** M;

pst **hnu m' e n ma:d' ə** M *shnoigh mé an maide*, **ər hni tu ...** M, pst imprs **ər sni:w e** M;

fut **sni:hə m' e** M;

vadj **sni:t' ə** SM;

VN **sni:xən l' e f' k' i:n** M *snoíochán le scian*, **ə sni:xən f' iər s ə'n' iər** S *ag snoíochán siar is aniar*; *snoíochan* M.

sníomh vadj **fn' i:vt' ə** S, VN **fn' i:v** S, **v' i: m' e fn' i:v ə** n 'ma:d' ə Mq *bhí mé ag sníomh an maide*, **e hn' i:v l' e f' k' i:n** M *é a shníomh le scian*, **fn' i:vəxən ə'nu:n s ə'nə:l** S *sníomhachán anonn is anall*. Cp. *sníomhgar*, variant of *snoidheagar* Dinn.

snaidhm, vadj **tə: n ro:pə sni:mt' ə** S *tá an rópa snaidhmte*, cp. *snaidhmeáil* 2 FFG in *ag snaidhmeáil siar is aniar sa gcathaoir*; cp. *snumann* '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 pausa. It is not uncommon in the VN before *síos*. There is also one token of the short vowel in the VN before pausa. In the verbal adjective and genitive of the verbal noun the short vowel is the prevalent variant.

Examples of *suigh*:

Speaker			i:	i
SID.46, 869P	impv	2sg	si: fʲi:s ... s.v. <i>pimín</i>	si' fʲi:əs ... 504
		2pl	si:ɣ' i: fʲi:ʔs ... 504	
	pst	3pl	<i>Shuíodar</i> 869P2	
	cond	3sg	(<i>shul á</i>) <i>suíhat sí</i> 869P5	
		3pl	<i>shuíhidís</i> 869P5	
	VN		... <i>nə 'sɪ: èr'</i> ... 466	ta: fʲi nə 'sɪ, 466
			... <i>mö 'hi: èr'</i> ... 516	
			<i>mö 'hi: xof</i> ... 542	
875T1	impv	2sg	<i>sui isteach</i>	<i>sui síos</i>
894C2			<i>sui síos</i>	<i>sui' síos</i>
04B8l			si: <i>er fɛʃən ənsə rɔ:d</i>	
			- <i>Suigh, ar seisean, insa ród</i>	
04Br			cp. si: <i>ən'fɪn'</i> 15W (sister)	si fʲi:s (x2)
	past		hi: <i>fe</i>	
	VN		<i>mə hi: n'fɪn', gol' si: n'fo</i>	
12S	impv	2sg		su fʲi:s, si fʲi:s
36S			si:	su (phrasal, <i>Suigh!</i>)
			si: fʲi:s	si ~ su fʲi:s
16M		2pl	si:i: fʲi:s, si:ɣ' i:	sig' i: fʲi:s
875T1 ¹	past		<i>shuí mac</i>	<i>shui sé</i>
894C				<i>shui' mé !6, shui' sí 2</i>
04Bl			<i>gær hi: ən' in</i>	
			<i>dhár shuigh an Fhionn</i>	
11C			hi: <i>fe fʲi:s, hi: fʲi:, nə hi: fʲi:s,</i>	cp. impv si fʲi:s 11C
			etc., <i>hi:ədər fʲi:s</i>	
12S			hi: <i>fe fʲi:s</i>	hi <i>fe fʲi:s, hu fe fʲi:s</i>
04B5		3pl		<i>hidər fʲi:s</i>
12S, 16M			hi:ədər	
894C2 ²	psthab		<i>shuíot sé</i>	
04B10tn	fut		<i>ma:rə si:hə m'ifə</i>	
12S	cond		<i>nax si:hə:</i>	
16M	vadj		si:t'ə not uncommon, e.g. <i>ta</i>	si:t'ə mostly
			<i>fíad si:t'ə fʲi:s M tá siad ~</i>	including M
			<i>síos, si:t'ə k'ær:t M ~ ceart</i>	

VN si: (mostly), ənə hi: (mostly) ~ hi ~ hu fʲi:s *ina shuí síos*, mə hu [perhaps hi] fʲi:s regularly 10N, mə hu fʲi:s P, 20My, si fʲi:s 01J, də hi fʲi:s 20My *i do shuí síos*, mə hi fʲi:s Mperm *i mo shuí síos*.

VN gen si:t'ə; less frequently, but not rarely, si:t'ə: a:t' si:t'ə M *áit suíte*, a:t' si:t'ə b'ih æd M *áit suíte ar bith a'd*.

Note the regular alternation between long vowel in the future and short vowel in the prepronominal past in:

ma:rə si:hə m'ifə l'e də hi:v gə d'æ:gə fe, hi fe fʲi:s ... 04B10tn
'*mará suíthidh mise le do thaobh go dteaga sé.*' *Shuigh sé síos* ...

5.139 (b) ai ~ o e subclass: *loigh*

loigh ai (mostly); impv 2sg lai (mostly), with *síos lai fʲi:s ~ lo fʲi:s*;
pst lai ~ lo with pronoun subject or verbal suffix, otherwise lai (mostly):

¹ Cp. *suídhfeach* 875T1.

² Cp. *suídhfinn* with the note 'pron[ounced] *suíthinn* and *suífinn*' 894C9.

luigh ‘(pron[ounced] lye)’ *an beithíoch* 869P2; *lui’ na beithígh ... dár lui’ ó shoin* 870B1.150–1; *lui sí* 875T1; *loigh an chaora lo n xirə síos ar an gcnocán* 894Cs; *lai fíad er’ ...* 11Ctn *loigh siad ar ...*, *lai fē fīs* Mtrans, *lo fē fīs* Mperm; fut / cond *laih-* (generally); note *loigh lo sí amach mar loightheadh lehəð sí ... loigh lo sí* 18J8228–9; vadj *lait’ə ~ lot’ə*, e.g. ... *lait’ə ft’æx k’æ:rt* M *loite isteach ceart*; cp. *lot’əxəs* M, *let’əxəs* FFG s.v. *luiteachas*, etc.;

VN *lai*, also *lai.u:* 01P (Doire Iorrais); gen *ait lait’ə* M *ait loite*.

In SID.46 all examples have *ai*: impv *lōi fīəs* 503, pst *lōi fē*: 502, fut *Lōiə tu:* ... *Lōihə tu:* 500, cond *Lōiəx mīd’* 501, VN *nə ‘Lōi sə ...* 499; disyllabic in *Lajən fē*: 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 **-o:**. 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+h**, and surface **-oft’-**, as if possibly from **of+t’**. The maximum range is therefore:

-ow -aw, -o -oh, -au -o:, also **-auw -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 **go(h)**, 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. vads *got’ə* and *srot’ə*) 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’aufə** (fut, vadj) of *treabh* is a combination of **tr’ofə** and **tr’au**. The form **toft’ə** (vadj) of *togh* could be analysed as **tow+t’ə** but given that other verbs of this class do not have this formation and that surface **tow** is not found, I analyse **toft’ə** as based on older **tofə**. 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

Verb	ow	o	au	o:	aw	oh	auw	of
<i>gabh</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+		
<i>lobh</i>	+		+	+				
<i>togh</i>	+		+					+
<i>treabh</i>	+	+	+		+		+	
<i>gabh</i>	gov	gofə	go	got'ə	gouu:	go:l'	ɣa'v	gohən
<i>lobh</i>	lowən	lofə		lau.ə		lo: lo:w		
<i>togh</i>	tofə			tauf'ə				toft'ə
<i>treabh</i>	tr'ofə		tr'ot'ə	t'rou'		t' r' avə		tr' aufə

5.141 *gabh, lobh, togh, treabh**gabh* gov, go, 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:)	(VN go:l')	goh
'accept, offer (pardon)'	gov	go	gau	VN go:l'	gav
'take (captive)'	gov	go	gau	VN go:l'	
'sing'		go		VN go:l'	
'helm'		go		VN go:l', go:lt'	
'strike'				VN go:l', go:lt'	

1. 'Come, go' go, goh >> gau, go: (VN go:l').

gau and go: have been attested only once each, in the future stem:

fut	n'i: ɣau tu' r'i:ft' a:n P ní ghabhthaidh tú aríst ann;
cond	n'i: ɣəhəd (or ɣohəx or ɣo:d) fè 46.728.

go is the general stem:

impv	2sg	go l'e, etc., gabh i leith, go num gabh anonn, go na:l gabh anall, go wa:l'ə gabh abhaile;
	2pl	goi' 'ma:x ... goi' 'ma:x ə fa:kə b'if'əxi' [exi' ?] P gabhaí amach ... gabhaí amach, a phaca bitseachaí! gog' i 46 s.v. téighim; gog' i: generally, e.g. gog' i: wa:l'ə S gabhaigí abhaile;
past		obsolescent: ɣo 866Et, ɣo ji: ft'æx 04Bt ghabh sí isteach; l_V Gho an iníon 870B2;
	3pl	ɣöðər 46 s.v. gabhaim;
fut		e.g. from SID.46: n'i: ɣəhi m'e:; göhəd 729, k'e: ɣəhə tu 709, rel 'ɣəhəs Mp 197;
cond		e.g. from SID.46: n'i: ɣəhəd (or ɣohəx or ɣo:d) fè 728, marə ɣəhəx mid' 733, ga: ɣəha: 734, n'i: ɣəhəx s.v. gabhaim;
vadj		got'ə, in SID.46: gəft'ə s.v. gabhaim.

goh is general in the present, rare elsewhere:

- impv 2pl less often **gohəg'i**: M;
 pres **nuər ə ʔohəm ə xolə 05M** *nuair a ghothaim a chodladh,*
nor ə ʔohən fe d'ernəx ... 14M
nuair a ghothann sé deireanach,
m'e:di:n fe s gohən fe f'i:s ə'r'i:ft 18Bm
méadaíonn sé is gothann sé síos aríst,
fə:n ə ba:ləx ki:x o ka:t'ər ə fu:vər ... gohən fe ma:x er ə
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,*
ní ghothach an chaoi ort a ghoth ort 852S4.

Note the coalescence in:

- (i) **go l'e(h ən'fo)** *gabh i leith (anseo)*, sometimes **gol'e**, most often **gol'ə** and
 in 2pl imperative **gol'əg'i**; **gol'i**;
 (ii) **go ʔfo, goʔfo** *gabh anseo* (said to cow), sometimes reduced to **goʔfo**.
 Note that **-h** has not been heard in such phrases; for example, **go hən'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 go:l', gau(°).

- gov** pst **ʔov** M, fut **gofə** M, vadj **gofə** SM;
go impv **go**, pres **gom pardu:n æ:d 897S** *gabhaim pardún a'd*, pst **ʔo m'e** M;
gau impv **gau** S, pst **ʔau m'e** S, **ʔau fiəd** M, **ʔaudər** M, fut **gauhə** SM, **gauf'ər** M, vadj **gaut'ə** SM; note **gaut'ə** >> **gofə** (S), M;
gav pst **ʔav** 01J.

3. 'Take (captive)' **gov, go, gau, VN go:l', gau(°)**.

SID.46 and **869P2–5**:

- gov** impv **gov !11C**, vadj **gofə** 1016, *gofa 869P2, gofə 11C*;
go pst **ʔə fiəd** 1015 (cp. cond **ʔohəx !IV2.d**), *gaibhte (goite) ag na Giúdaíthe 869P4*, and note **-ou-** 1014 (as against **au**) in pst imprs;
gau pst imprs **gouu:** 1014, **gauu 11C**;
go: VN *le góil 869P2*, contrast Mq who has VN **gau(°)** and does not permit **go:l'** in this meaning.
 M: **gov** pst **ʔov fiəd** Mq, **ʔov nə ga:rdi: e** Mq *ghabh na gardaí é*,
gau vadj **gaut'ə** [x2] Mq, VN **ga ʔau** Mq, **ga ʔau** Mq *dhá ghabhadh*.

In a line of poetry recited by speaker **11C**, the meaning of jussive subjunctive **nā:r ʔovə** is 'may not go':

iəsk nā:r ʔovə n' t'ə:ŋgəx 11C5486 *iasc nár ghobha in t'eangach!*

but if one were to omit the preposition *in*, and without changing the rhythm, one could interpret ‘capture, catch’ (similar to cond **γohəx** !46.IV2.d). (The suggested reading *iasc nár ghobha t’eangach* would be homophonous with *iasc nár ghobha i t’eangach*.)

4. ‘Sing’ **go**, VN **go:l’**.

Impv **go**; fut **gohə m’e: n dā:n dīt’ 881J** *gabhtaidh mé an dán duit, gotha sé* !(894C)894C (now *abair*, e.g. *déarthaidh mé amhrán*, is general, except VN *gabháil* which is common in **ə go:l’ i:n’** *ag gabháil fhoimn*); VN **go:l’**.

5. ‘Helm’ pst **γo fe** S, imprs psthab *an bealach a ngoití* **γot’i: í 18J**, VN **go:l’**, **go:l’t’**. Also with stem **go:l’** (from verbal noun), e.g. pres *góileann* **10Bperm**, pst *ghóil sé* **10Bperm**, FFG s.v. *góileann* 3, vadj *góilte* **10Bperm** (5.314).

6. ‘Set about, strike’ VN **go:l’ 11Ct**, **go:l’t’ M**. In this meaning, only the verbal noun has been heard; with prepositions *dhe* (instrument) ... *ar l faoi* (object), used in two common variants **go:l’** and **go:l’t’**, e.g. *ag góilt dhe do chosa faoin urlár*.

lobh lov regularly, lau (also rare, obsolete, or mistranscribed lo:)

lov pres **lowən’ fe** S, fut **lofə** SM, prsbj **gə lowə fe** SM, VN generally **lovə**;

(**lo:** VN **lo:** 46.1081, **lo:w** Sq, used by other speakers according to Seán);

lau pres **laun’ fe 12Sperm**; pst cp. *lobhadar (lou-adar)* **869P4** perhaps for **lauədər** or **laudər** or **lowədər**;

in Doire Iorrais (North-East IA):

fut **lauhə 20A** (also **lofə 20A**), VN **lau.ə 01P**.

togh tau generally, tof-

Generally declined as a regular vowel-final verb in **au** (with **ov** base in vadj by-form), e.g. fut **tauhə**, vadj **tofə**, **taut’ə M, 27Mdq**, VN **tau**. But note the exceptional vadj’s based on **au** and **of** or **ov**:

au in **tauh eg’ə S toghtha aige**;

ov in **toft’ eg’ə M toifte aige**.

treabh tr’ov, tr’au, also tr’o, tr’av (tr’auw)

In SID.46 **tr’av**, **tr’ov**, **tr’au** occur:

tr’av VN **t’r’avə 609**, **t’r’qvə Mp 176**;

tr’ov vadj **t’r’ofə ...** (alt. **t’rofi:**) 609, cp. **-ou-** 609 in the alternative VN (rather than **au**);

tr’au VN or **t’r’ou^ə 609**.

Other speakers:

tr’ov pres imprs **tr’oft’ər 12Sperm**, psthab imprs **tr’oft’i: 12Sperm**, fut **tr’ofə** SM, vadj **tr’ofə** SM, VN **tr’ovə**; in traditional run: **ə tr’ovə** (VN) ... **tr’ovu** (pst imprs) ... **nāx dr’of’ər ...** (fut imprs) **11C**;

tr’o vadj **tr’ot’ə P**;

tr’au pst **hr’au** S, pst imprs **tr’auu 895M**, (run)35E, prsbj **gə dr’auə** S, psthab imprs **tr’aut’i: M**, fut **tr’auf’ər** (run)35E, cond **hr’auhən’** S, vadj **tr’aut’ə P**, VN **tr’auə 04B**, S, **895M**, **tr’au 04B**, S;

tr’auw fut **tr’aufə** M, vadj **tr’aufə** S.

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:¹

		No. of verbs	
a ~ a:	CAILL subclass	13	<i>caill, dall, feall, geall, mall, meall, scall, st(r)eall, feann, teann, bearr, gearr, cam</i>
i ~ i:	MILL subclass	8	<i>fill, mill, till, t(u)ill, cinn, roinn, scinn, seinn</i>
u ~ u:	BRONN subclass	5	<i>bronn, crom, cum, lom, tum</i>
o ~ ai	COILL subclass	3	<i>coill, goill, soill</i>
o ~ au	TOLL subclass	2	<i>toll, poll</i>

Maximum membership: 31.

The GEARR class is composed of monosyllables ending in sonorants, i.e. almost all 1 Conjugation verbs that have final **-l**, **-l'**, **-n**, **-n'**, **-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* Sq **ka'mtər**, *crom* **krum**. Note verbal adjectives **ku(:)mtə** *cumta* and exceptional **kumə 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 **g'in'ən 20A**, VN **g'in'u:n't'**, also, with noteworthy short vowel, **g'int' 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 **fra'nhə 21Ptq**; nor does *searr*, e.g. impv **fær**, pst *shearr* **866ESemr118** (i.e. not **sheárr*). It is hard to tell from my notes if **sp'inə** (VN) >> **sp'inə** (VN) 'tease' are two separate verbs or not. In reply to query, Máire (Mq) produced (in order) VNs **sp'inə** **sp'inə**, fut **sp'in'hə**, vadj **sp'in'tə**, psthab **sp'inəd'i:f**, impv **sp'inəg'i:** **sp'unəg'i:**, vadj **sp'untə**, although uncertain of the last form; she permitted psthab **sp'unəd'i:f** Mperm. Perhaps *spion* (FGB 'tease') and *spionn* (FGB 'enliven') have been confused in the dialect (cp. **sp'unə** *spionnadh* 'energy' in the dialect). The only verb in **-ŋ** 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**, **luŋ fe S**, **luggədər S**; VN **luggə SM**, less often **luŋə SM**, (**lu:ŋgə** Mperm but she claims **luggə** is her form).

The verb *oil* has **o ~ ai** alternation similar to the COILL subclass but only before *t* in **ailt'ə oilte** (5.170).

Diachronically the alternations in the GEARR class were phonologically, and most likely at one stage categorically (or nearly categorically), conditioned:

$V > VV / _C^{+son} \{ \#\#, C \}$.

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:

ʃilʲəmʲ gər bʲe: mʲ bʲæ:ləx ʲkʲæ:rt ʲenə rə 20Cq

sílim 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:

ri:nʲu:, e:, ri:nʲu:, ri:nʲu: ... 26Pc roinneadh — e [filler] — roinneadh ...,

where he selfcorrected to his preferred short version, thus opting for the homophonous clash with *rinneadh* of the verb *déan*. Compare an example of the same verbal form from an older speaker:

nər ə ri:nʲu: nə ʃlʲe:vt ə ʃinʲ xū:nde ə xla:ərʲ | 892Mg

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-application of the historical lengthening rule ($V > VV/_\{##, C\}$), in the traditional dialect:

$V > V/_\#C$:

dʲiarr siad soir iad go ngearrthaidís ɲʲæ:rhədʲi:ʃ píosa dhen- an maide.

11C1434;

| ogəs ʲma:ŋgə ʲwə:rə | ʲsə:ltʲə | ʲsə:ltʲə | gortʲ | 03C

agus mangaigh mhóra soillte goirt (predicative, note selfcorrection);

bʲe:dʲərʲ gə ɲʲæ:rə mʲe mæ:rʲəx ... M

bʲfhéidir go ngearrthaidh mé amáireach ...;

gʲæ:rhə 36S ((x2) in same conversation) *gearrthaidh*;

gʲæ:rhə ʃiər S gearrtha siar;

cp. **ta ʃe bʲæ:rhə | ... bʲa:rh əd 66N** *tá sé bearrtha, ... bearrtha aʲd*;

bruntə Sq bronnata, bruntər Mq bronnatar, brun-fʲər Sq bronnfear;

hæ:nhə: mæ:x [x3] 30Ms theanntá amach;

there is a probable example of serial effect in:

agus tú héin ag cailleadh ka:lʲə leis, ... cé chaoi a gcaillthinnse ga:lʲhənfə leis, 45N;

$V > V/_\#$:

dʲilʲ tu erʲ æ:f 20Mlt dʲfhill tú ar ais;

hol ə bə:d 32J tholl an bád ‘the boat was holed’ for more common **tolu: tolladh**.

The examples of **dʲilʲ dʲfhill** 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:

ʃk'in': ʃk'in' ʃe, VN **ʃk'in'ə** S85;

ʃk'in': VN ʃk'in'ə 29Cq;

ʃk'in: pst **ʃk'in' ʃe ma:x**, **ʃk'in ə la: ma:x** *scinn sé / an lá amach*, pres **ʃk'inən**, fut **ʃk'inhə**, vadj **ʃk'in'tə**, **ʃk'intə** Mq.

tuill 'earn, deserve,' (note initial **t-** ~ **t'-**) vadj **t'ill'tə** M, **till'tə** 29Cq, **till'tə æ:n'ə** 52P *tuillte a'inne*; for an instance of unhistorical **-il'h-** in this verb, see 1.160.

These four verbs, which have (optional) unhistorical short vowels in older speakers, all contain high vowels: **i** ~ **i:** in *fill*, *scinn*, *tuill*, and **u** ~ **u:** 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 [æ:] was probably historically an allophone of /a:/, so that, for example, **g'ærhə**, now analysed as /g'arhə/, probably once represented /g'arhə/ *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 **i:** attested, whereas in Sq the verb *bronn* has **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:

roinn >> (or *l*) *cinn* >> *scall* >> *gearr*.

This scale means that, for example, a speaker who uses the form **ri:n'ədər** *roinneadar* would also pronounce **x'in'ədər** *chinneadar*, **skalədər** *scalladar* and **jærədər** *ghearradar*. Correspondingly, a speaker who uses **jærədər** is likely to use **skalədər** *scalladar*, very likely to use **x'in'ədər** *chinneadar* and almost certainly **ri:n'ədər** *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-

tionally; in this case into implicational morphological frequency scales, for example:

1sg Echo		3pl		3pl		pres		verbal
past	>>	past	>>	psthab	>>	sbj	>>	noun
-as		-adar		-idís		-a		-adh (etc.)

For any given verb, therefore, a long vocoid found in the verbal noun, e.g. **g'arə gearradh**, implies the speaker is likely to use the long realisation in all other forms, e.g. **gə ŋ'arə go ngearra**, **jarəd'i:f ghearraidís**, **jarədər ghearradar**, **jarəs 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. *gheárr siad ~ gheárradar*; *gheárr (mé) ~ 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 *-idís*, 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 More data and multivariate analysis are needed for further detailed analysis of possible morphological causation.

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*:

lumə, lumədər, gə lumə (prsbj), lu:mhə, lu:mədər

where the vowel in both tokens of *lomadar* seems affected by preceding forms.

So also, perhaps, responses 30–32 vs. 5 for *bearr*:

gə m'ærə (prsbj) 30, v'arədər 31, b'arəg'i: 32 vs. b'ær'i: 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 **gə g'i:ŋ'ə ʃe: ort go gcinne sé ort!** is more likely to be Echoed by **gə g'i:ŋ'ə go gcinne!** than by **gə g'in'ə 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 tú ...? B Gheárras*.

5.145 Some examples

caill cé cailleadh k'ɛ ka:l'ʊ [x3] ... chaithfí duine eicint a chailleadh xa:l'ə i Máinis 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 Fhéidh (also spelt Doire an Fhéich; east of An Cheathrú Rua):

... e jæərə max as ... s b'og nar jarədər ə xof
é a ghearradh amach as ... is beag nar ghearradar a chois.

Although the VN **kail'ə** *cailleadh* occurs often, only **kal'(-)** ... occurs in phrases such as *níl caille ar bith air* where *caille* is a (nonverbal) noun. I have heard the suggestion that pst imprs **kail'u:** 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 **kail'u:** is probably more common in the general meaning 'lost' than in the meaning 'died'.

<i>cinn</i>	nu: gə g'in'ə fə ɔrt 898Ptn <i>nó go gcinne sé ɔrt.</i>
<i>crom</i>	ogəs xru:m fə fɪs 04B8l <i>agus chrom sé síos;</i> gə grumtə mɑ:x 20Cq <i>dhá gcromtá amach.</i>
<i>cum</i>	In one recording, speaker 03V has consistent u: before consonants (x2) and finally (c. 15) as well as in 1sg pst Echo xu:məs <i>chumas</i> ; but VN kumə <i>cumadh</i> . This contrasts with speaker 11C who has more u ~ u: variation in his recordings with -m in final position.
<i>gearr</i>	jærəd'i:f 899D6128 <i>ghearraidís.</i>
<i>goill</i>	geɫ'u: ɛr' wə:bə ... gail'ən fə ɔrhə ... 43M <i>ag goilliú ar Bhaba ... goilleann sé ɔrtha; ə gail'u: u:həsəx ɔrhə 43M</i> <i>ag goilliú úthásach ɔrtha.</i>
<i>mall</i>	pst wəl' fə fɪs , pres mələn' fə , fut məl'hə fə , vadj tə məl'ə fɪs ɛg'ə , məl'tə , VN tə fə ə məl'ə fɪs ə'xil'ə lə: tɑ sé <i>ag malladh síos achuile lá, ə məl'ə fɪs</i> (all Mq). Cp. <i>mallaigh</i> 'slow' fut məl'ə , vadj məli: (note <i>mallaigh</i> > vadj * mali: MØperm Mq; therefore contrasting with <i>mallaigh</i> 'curse' məl'ə).
<i>roinn</i>	pst 3pl ri:n'ədər S, pst imprs ri:n'u: 21C, 29P .
<i>seinn</i>	pst hɪn' fə 869P <i>sheinn sé</i> , but fut (in song) fɪn'hə !(Ats) 43Js , VN fɪn'əm' <i>seinn</i> . Cf. 5.322.
<i>teann</i>	VN t'anə ~ t'ɑ:nə 11Ct <i>teannadh</i> .

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 (**12Sq** and **29Cq**) and a sister (**66Lq**) seems to be, in some contexts, 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 **vru:n fə**, 2sg cond **vru:nha:**, VN **brunə** 46.1003;
cinn, psts bj *go gcinneat sé air* [x2] **869P2**;
cum, vadj **kumtə** 46 s.v. *cumta*;
roinn, pst imprs *roinniú* **869P4**;
teann, VN *a' teanna leis* [x2] **869P2**.

But one example was noted of unhistorical lengthening in:

geall: *má gheállann tú dhom ...* **869P4**,

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 *-idís* 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* ... *roínnidís* ... *thosóidís* **869P2**;
tum, 3pl *thúmaidís i ngeir* ... *iad* **869P5**.

5.148 12S, Seán Chúláin

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

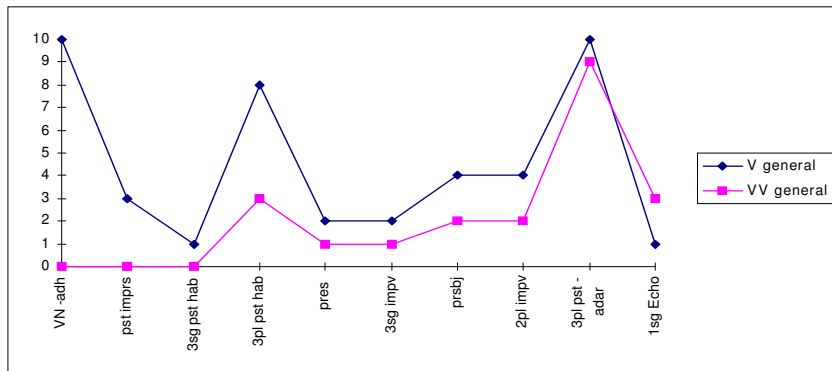
Verb	vadj t/h	fut h	3pl psthab (or pstsbj)	VN -ə	2pl impv (əg')i:	prsbj -ə	3pl pst ədər
<i>gearr</i>	g'ærhə	g'ærhə	jæ'rəd'i:f	g'ærə	g'ærəg'i:	ŋ'ærə	ja:rədər jærdər
<i>geall</i>	g'ailtə		jæ'ləd'i:f ɣ'ailəd'i:f	g'ælə S	g'æ'li:	ŋ'ælə	ja:lədər jældər
<i>caill</i> ¹			xa'l'əd'i:f ga'l'əd'i:f	ka'l'ə			xa:l'dər
<i>feann</i>	f'antə		d'anəd'i:f		f'anəg'i:fə (x2)		d'anədər
<i>teann</i>			hænəd'i:f				hæ:ndər hænədər hændər
<i>meall</i>			ɣ'ailəd'i:f ɣ'æləd'i:f				ɣ'ailədər ɣ'ælədər
<i>scall</i>	skæltə			ska:lə			ska'lədər ska:lədər ska'lədər
<i>mill</i>	m'il'ə		ɣ'il'əd'i:f	m'il'ə	m'il'əg'i: m'il'əg'i:	m'il'ə	ɣ'il'ədər x2 ɣ'il'ədər
<i>roinn</i>	cp. VN ri:n'					ri:n'ə	ri:n'ədər ri:n'ədər
<i>cinn</i>		k'i:n'hə				g'i:n'ə x'i:n'ə	
<i>fill</i>			d'il'əd'i:f	f'il'ə			d'il'ədər
<i>coill</i>				ko'l'ə	ko'l'əg'i:		xo'l'ədər
<i>soill</i>			he'l'əd'i:f	se'l'ə			he'l'ədər
<i>toll</i>	taultə S			to'lə S			ho'lədər
<i>poll</i>	paultə S			po'lə			fə'lədər
<i>bronn</i>	bruntə						
<i>cam</i>			xa:məd'i:f		ka:məg'i:	gamə ga:mə	xa:mədər (x2)
<i>crom</i>	kru:mtə	krumhə					xrumədər
<i>cum</i>	ku:mtə	kumhə ku:mhə kumhə		kumə			xumədər
<i>lom</i>	lu:mtə	lumhə					

¹ With a beat for the syncopated syllable in xa:l'dər *chailleadar*.

Verb	pres əm' / ən	pst imprs u:	3sg psthab əx	impv əx	1sg pst Echo	imprs ti: / tər	imprs f'ər
<i>gearr</i>	g'ærən	g'ærui:				g'ærtər	
<i>geall</i>				g'æləx			
<i>caill</i>					χa:l' χa:l'əs		
<i>feann</i>		f'ænu:	d'ænəʔ	f'anəx			
<i>scall</i>					skæləs		
<i>mill</i>		m'il'u:			v'il' v'il'əs v'il'əs v'il'		
<i>roinn</i>	ri:n'ən						
<i>cinn</i>	k'in'ən						
<i>coill</i>				kol'əx			
<i>bronn</i>							brun-f'ər
<i>cam</i>	kə'mən	kəmu:					

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



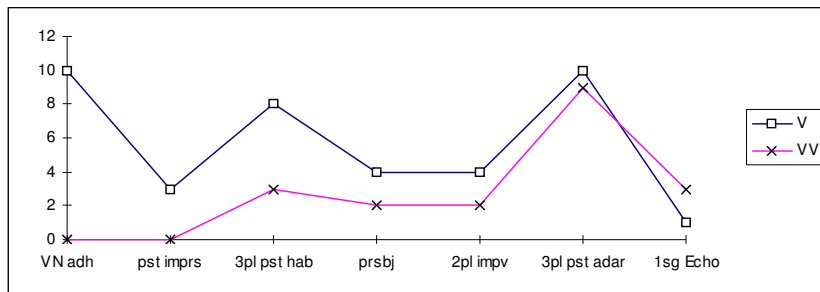
A clearer picture of Sq's morphological pattern can be seen in the seven endings presented in Figure 5.4. A decrease in the proportion of short vowels is evident, from the very high number in the verbal noun in *-adh* and past impersonal, less in 3pl past habitual, present subjunctive and 2pl imperative, 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 Chúláin

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

Verb	vadj t/h	fut h	3pl psthab (or pstsbj)	VN -V	2pl impv (əg')i:	prsbj -ə	3pl pst ədər
<i>gearr</i>	g'ærhə	g'ærhə	jærəd'i:f	g'ærə	g'ærəg'i: g'ær'i:	ŋ'ærə	jærədər
<i>bearr</i>	b'ærhə M		v'ærəd'i:f	b'ærə	b'ær'i: b'ærəg'i: b'ærəg'i:	m'ærə	v'ærədər x2
<i>geall</i>	g'ältə		jæld'i:f	g'ælə	g'æləg'i: g'æli:	ŋ'ælə	jældər
<i>caill</i>			xæl'əd'i:f	kaɪ'ə M	kaɪ'əg'i:	gaɪ'ə	xæl'ədər
<i>feann</i>	f'antə		d'æ'nəd'i:f		f'æ'nəg'i:fə	v'æ'nə x2	d'æ'nədər x2 d'æ'nədər
<i>teann</i> ¹			hænd'i:f	t'ænə	t'æni: t'ænəg'i:		hændədər hændər
<i>dall</i>	dältə		yə'ləd'i:f		dələg'i:		yələdər
<i>meall</i>		m'ältə	v'æləd'i:f	m'ælə	m'æləg'i:	m'ælə	v'ælədər
<i>scall</i>	skältə		skaləd'i:f	skälə	skäləg'i:	skälə	skalədər skaldər
<i>streall</i>	ftr'ältə	ftr'ältə	ftr'æləd'i:f	ftr'ælə x2	ftr'æləg'i:	ftr'ælə	ftr'ælədər

¹ With beat for syncopated syllable in *hænd'i:f theannaidis*.

Verb	vadj t/h	fut h	3pl psthab (or pstsbj)	VN -V	2pl impv (əg'i):	prsbj -ə	3pl pst ədər
<i>mill</i>	m'í:l't'ə	m'í:l'hə	v'í:l'əd'i:f	m'í:l'ə M	m'í:l'əg'i:	m'í:l'ə	v'í:l'ədər
<i>roinn</i>	ri:n't'ə		ri:n'əd'i:f		ri:n'əg'i:	ri:n'ə x2 ri:n'ə x2	ri:n'ədər
<i>cinn</i>		k'í:n'hə	x'í:n'əd'i:f			g'í:n'ə	x'í:n'ədər
<i>fill</i>	f'í:l't'ə M	f'í:l'hə	d'í:l'əd'i:f	f'í:l'ə	f'í:l'əg'i:	v'í:l'ə x2	d'í:l'ədər
<i>till</i>		t'í:l'hə	hi:l'əd'i:f				hi:l'ədər
<i>tuill</i>	t'í:l't'ə		hi:l'əd'i:f	t'í:l'ə	t'í:l'əg'i:		hi:l'ədər
<i>coill</i>		kai:l'hə	xai:l'əd'i:f	kol'ə	kol'əg'i: kol'i:	gol'ə	xai:l'ədər xol'ədər
<i>goill</i>		gai:l'hə	yo:l'əd'i:f	gel'u:nt'	gel'əg'i:		yo:l'ədər x2
<i>soill</i>	sai:l't'ə		hai:l'əd'i:f	se:l'ə	se:l'əg'i:	se:l'ə	he:l'ədər
<i>toll</i>	tault'ə M		hol'əd'i:f	tol'ə M	taul'əg'i:	dol'ə	haul'ədər x2
<i>bronn</i>	bru:nt'ə	bru:n'hə	vru:nəd'i:f	brun'ə	brun'əg'i:	mrun'ə	vru:nədər
<i>cam</i>	kɑ:mt'ə	kɑ:m'hə	xɑ:məd'i:f	kɑ:mə	kɑ:məg'i:	gɑ:mə x2	xɑ:mədər x2
<i>crom</i>	kru:m't'ə x2	kru:m'hə x2	xru:məd'i:f	kru:mə	kru:m'i: kru:məg'i:	gru:mə	xru:mədər
<i>cum</i> ¹	kum't'ə ku:mt'ə	ku:m'hə x2 ²	xu:məd'i:f	kumə x2	ku:məg'i: kuməg'i:		xu:mədər xumədər
<i>lom</i>	lu:mt'ə	lu:m'hə x2	luməd'i:f	lumə	luməg'i:	lumə	lumədər lumədər

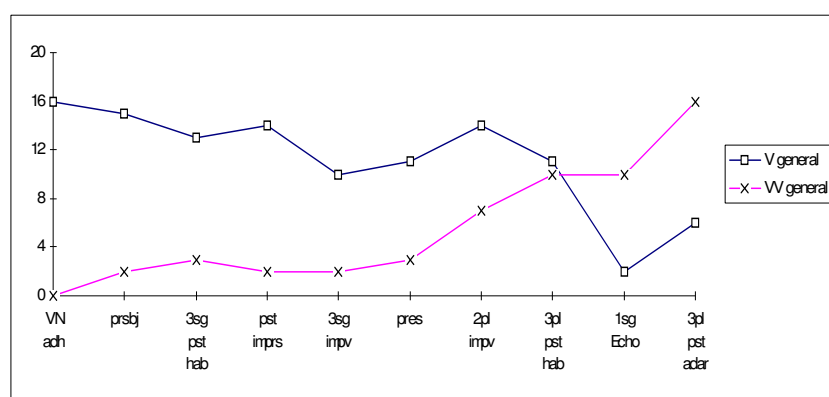
Verb	pres əm'ən	pst imprs u:	3sg psthab əx	impv əx	1sg pst Echo	imprs ti:tər
<i>gearr</i>	g'ærən	g'æru:	jærət	g'ærət		g'ærtər
<i>bearr</i>		b'ærur	v'ærət	b'ærət		b'ærtər
<i>geall</i>	g'ælən	g'ælu:	jælət	g'ælət		
<i>caill</i>	kai'l'ən	ka'l'u:	xa'l'ət		A xa:l' ? B xa:l'əs	
<i>feann</i>	f'ænən	f'ænu:	d'ænət	f'ænət	A a:n ? B d'ænəs	f'ærtər
<i>teann</i>	t'ænən	t'ænu:	hanət	t'ænət	A ha:n ? B ha:nəs	
<i>dall</i> ²		da'lu:	da'lət ya'lət	da'lət	A ya:l ? B ya:ləs	
<i>meall</i>		m'ælu:	v'ælət			m'ærtər
<i>scall</i>					A ska:l ? B ska:ləs	ska'l'tər x2
<i>streall</i>	ftr'ælən	ftr'ælu:		ftr'ælət	A ftr'a:l ? B ftr'a:ləs	ftr'a'l'tər
<i>mill</i>	m'í:l'ən	m'í:l'u:	v'í:l'ət		A v'í:l' ? B v'í:l'əs	
<i>roinn</i>	ri:n'ən	ri:n'u:	ri:n'ət	ri:n'ət		
<i>cinn</i>	k'í:n'ən M		x'í:n'ət	k'í:n'ət k'í:n'əx		
<i>fill</i>	f'í:l'ən	f'í:l'u:	d'í:l'ət	f'í:l'ət		f'í:l't'ər
<i>coill</i>	kol'ən	kol'u:	xai'l'ət xol'ət		A xai:l' ? B xai:l'əs	
<i>goill</i>	gol'ən	gol'u:	yo:l'ət		A ya:l' ? B ya:l' ya:l'əs	gai:l't'ər
<i>soill</i>	se:l'ən	se:l'u:	he:l'ət		A hai:l' ? B hai:l'əs	
<i>toll</i>	tol'ən	tolu:	hol'ət	tol'ət	A haul' ? B haul'əs	tault'ər

¹ Also conditional xu:mhət' fe.² Nonlenition in da'lət' dhalladh is due to the elicitation situation.

Verb	pres əm' ən	pst imprs u:	3sg psthab əx	impv əx	1sg pst Echo	imprs ti/tər
<i>bronn</i>					A vrun ? B vrunəs	bruntər x2
<i>cam</i>	kə'mən	kə:mu:				kə'mtər
<i>crom</i>	krumən				A xrum? B xruməs	kru:mtər
<i>cum</i>	kumən	kumu:	xuməʃ	kuməʃ	A xum? B xuməs	kumtər ku:mtər

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.

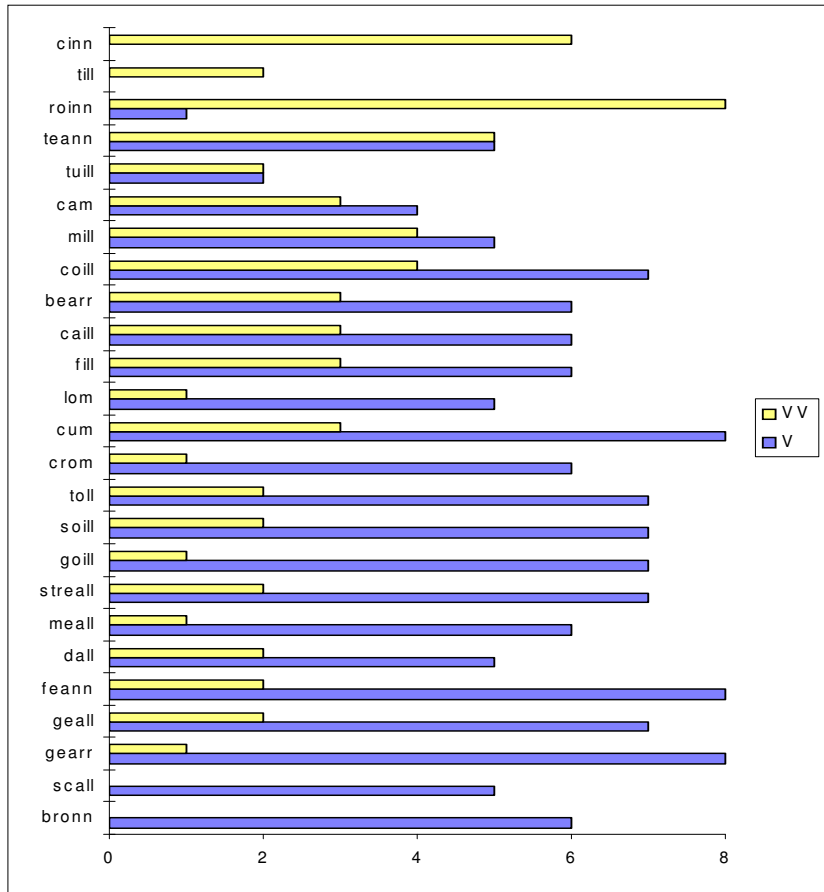
The alternation before vowels can also be viewed lexically for Mq. Her tokens, presented in Figure 5.6, show that her verbs can be classified in prevocalic position into:

- (i) small class with regular lengthening: *cinn*, (*till*), *roinn*;
- (ii) small class with relatively equal proportions of short to long: *teann*, *tuill*, *cam*, *mill*;
- (iii) majority class with dominant short vowel: *coill*, *bearr*, *caill*, *fill*, *lom*, *cum*, *toll*, *soill*, *goill*, *streall*, *meall*, *dall*, *feann*, *geall*, *gearr*;
- (iv) small class with regular short vowel: *bronn*, (*scall*).

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

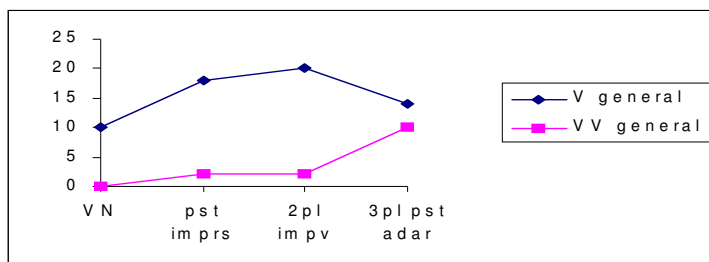
over to the regular non-alternating class of verbs with long radical vowel. Members of (iv) differ from those in (i) in that although the ‘default’ short vowel occurs before consonants, e.g. **bruntar** Mq *brontar*, **skaltar** Mq *scalltar*, a long alternant regularly occurs here, e.g. **bruntā** Mq *brontā*, **skaltā** Mq *scallā*. (The short vowel before *-tar* as against the long vowel with *-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.

Figure 5.6 GEARR class, lexical distribution before vowels, 16Mq



5.150 29C, Céit Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin

It is evident from Figure 5.7 that Céit Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin (speaker 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.

Figure 5.7 The general GEARR class, morphological scaling, 29Cq

In fact, **29Cq** has a pattern very similar to **12Sq** (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:

geall, teann, feann (optional), *coill, soill, mill, fill, cinn*.

In the verbal adjective she has anomalous *skaltə scallta* and common *tíltə tuillte*.

5.151 31M, Méaraí Ní Loideáin; 23B

Table 5.54 displays the totalled results of speaker **31Mq**'s general GEARR class in prevocalic position.

Table 5.54 The general GEARR class, 31Mq

	3pl psthab	VN	2pl impv	prsbj	3pl pst -adar	pres
V total	10	15	8	7	3	6
VV total	3	0	2	1	12	0
	pst imprs	3sg psthab	impv	1sg pst Echo	1sg psthab	
V total	13	1	3	3	2	
VV total	1	1	2	9	1	

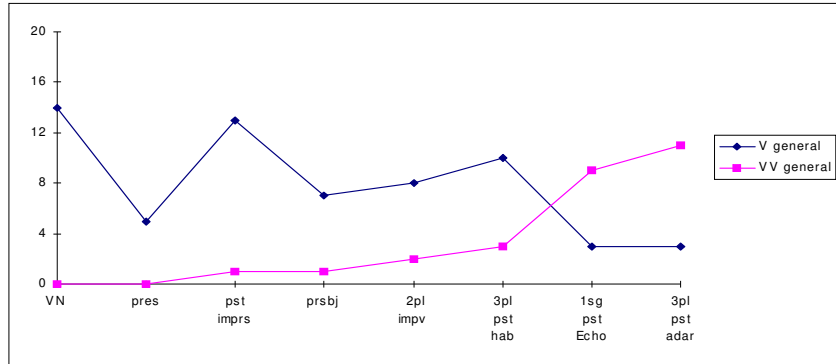
The morphological conditioning is presented in Figure 5.8. It is evident that **31Mq** has a similar distribution to Máire (**16M**), with a similar crossover position to dominant lengthening, although **31Mq**'s crossover is more abrupt than Máire's. She is, in fact, slightly more conservative regarding lengthening than Mq.

Lexically **31Mq** has most verbs in the majority class with dominant short vowels.

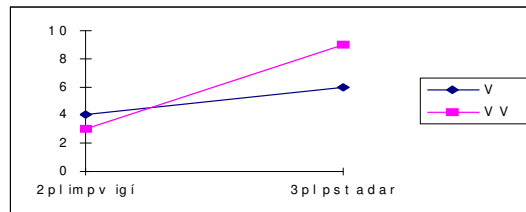
She does show a high proportion of VV in three verbs:

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 Uí 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.

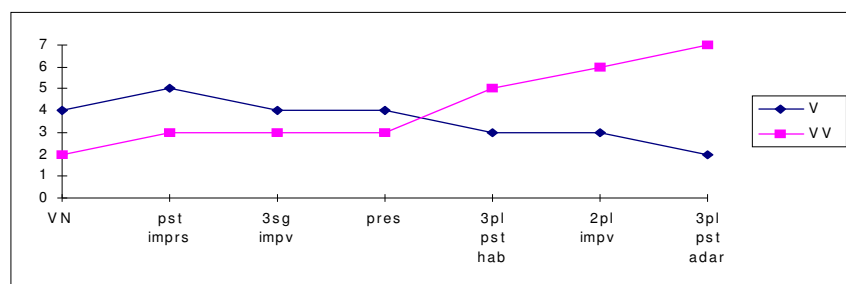
Figure 5.9 The general GEARR class, morphological scaling, 36Sq

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 *ska'ltə* **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, Liosaí (**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.

Figure 5.10 GEARR class, morphological scaling, 55Sq

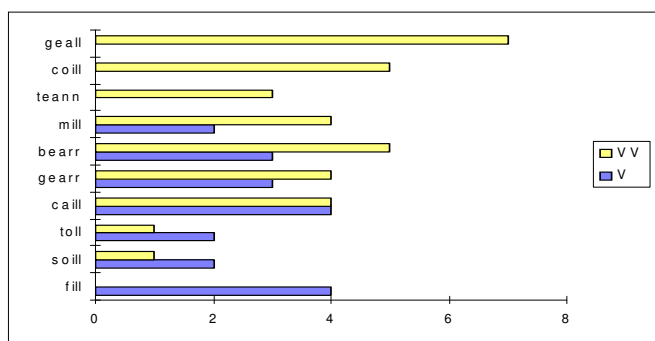


Lexically, as seen from Figure 5.11, 55Sq's verbs can be tentatively classified before vowels into:

- (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'íl' fíad* 55Sq *d'fhill siad* (but cp. 20M's example with *fill*, 5.143). This spread of the unhistorical short vowel becomes a more prominent feature in later generations.

Figure 5.11 GEARR class, lexical distribution before vowels, 55Sq



5.154 60M, Mícheál 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'fhilleadar* (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):

toll, past **hol' fíad**; conditional **holhəd' i:f**;
goill, past **ʏol' fe**, **ʏol' ort**; conditional **ʏol'həx ort**.

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

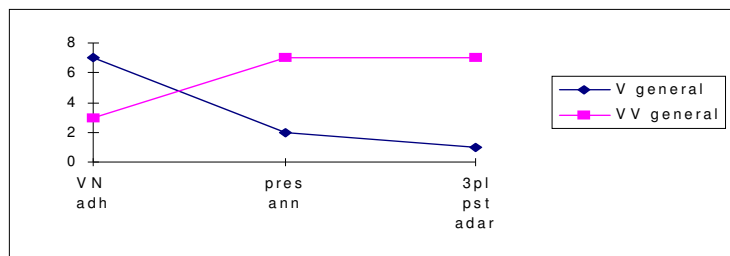
Verb	VN -ə	pres ən	3pl pst ədər
<i>gearr</i>	g'æ:rə	g'æ:rən	ja:rədər
<i>bearr</i>	b'ærə	b'æ:rən	v'æ:rədər
<i>geall</i>	g'æ:lə	g'æ:lən	ja:lədər
<i>caill</i>	ka:l'ə	ka:l'ən	xa:l'ədər
<i>meall</i>	m'æ:lə	m'æ:lən [sic] (x2)	v'æ:lədər
<i>mill</i>	m'i:l'ə	m'i:l'ən	v'i:l'ədər
<i>roinn</i>		ʃi:n'ən	
<i>coill</i>	ko:l'ə q, ka:l'ə 64M	kæ:l'ən	xo:l'ədər
<i>toll</i>	tolə taulə	taulə ⁿ	haulədər
<i>crom</i>	krumə	krumən	xrumədər
<i>cum</i>		kumən	

This table yields the following overall totals:

	VN -ə	pres ən	3pl pst ədər
Short vowels	8	4	2
Long vocoids	3	7	7

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



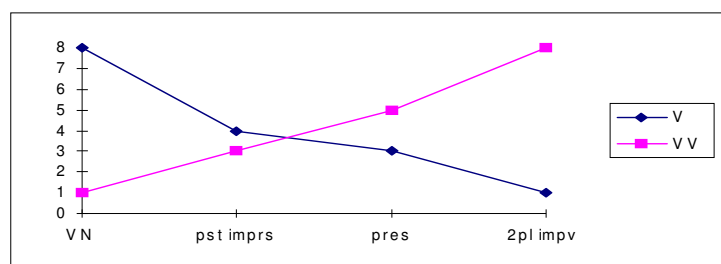
It can be seen from Figure 5.12 that **64Mq**'s crossover point to dominant lengthened variants in this class occurs before or at the present ending *-ann*, sooner in the implicational scale than **16Mq** and **31Mq** (Figure 5.5 and Figure 5.8 above), but at a similar position to, or even at least one place further towards, the more progressive usage than, his brother **55Sq** (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, Liosaí Ní Ghaora**

The results of Liosaí Ní Ghaora's (**66Lq**, Maínis) 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**

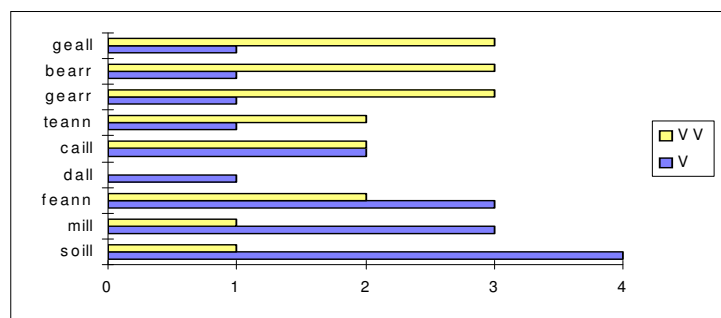


Lexically, as shown in Figure 5.14, speaker **66Lq** has relatively typical subclass membership for her generation:

- (i) long >> short: *geall, bearr, gearr, teann*;
- (ii) a small class with short \approx 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.

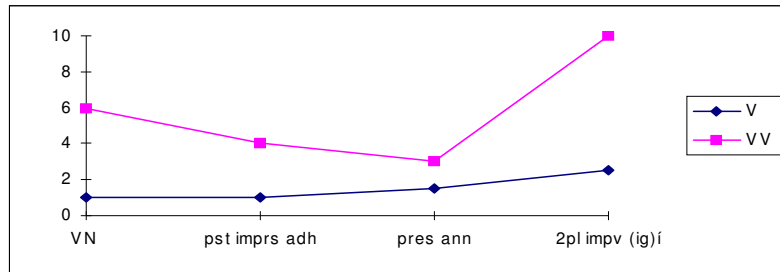
Figure 5.14 GEARR class, lexical distribution, **66Lq**



5.157 66N, Nóra Ní Chlochartaigh

Nóra Ní 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**



Her short vocoid tokens are:

VN *gearradh*;

present *cailleann*, *teannann* (following after **16Mq**);

2 plural imperative *teannaigí*, *tollaigí* (unsure of *roinnigí*).

It is worth recalling her anomalous short preconsonantal example (cited in 5.143):

tə fe b'ærhə | ... b'ærh æd 66N tá sé bearrtha, ... bearrtha a'd.

Her common use of the long vowel in **kə:l'u:** *cailleadh* 'died' was also mentioned above (5.144). Speakers who have consistent **kə:l'u:** *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:

-kə:l'u' e fɪn' nar kə:l'u' 66N Cailleadh é sin nar cailleadh? ('died')

-hæ 16M Hea. ('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 **kə:l'u:** *cailleadh* (typical for Máire).

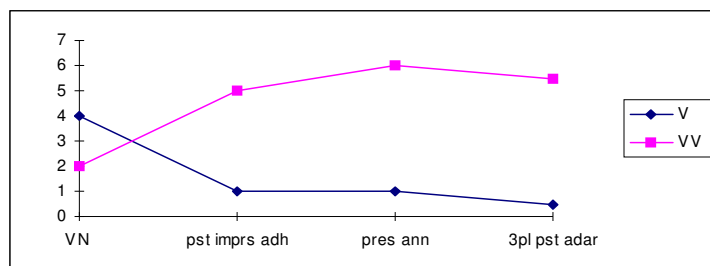
5.158 72N, Noel Ó Gaora and Muintir Ghaora

Noel Ó Gaora, speaker **72Nq**, is the youngest son of Seáinín Sheáin Mhicil Uí Ghaora, Tóin an Roisín, Maínis 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 *filleadh*).

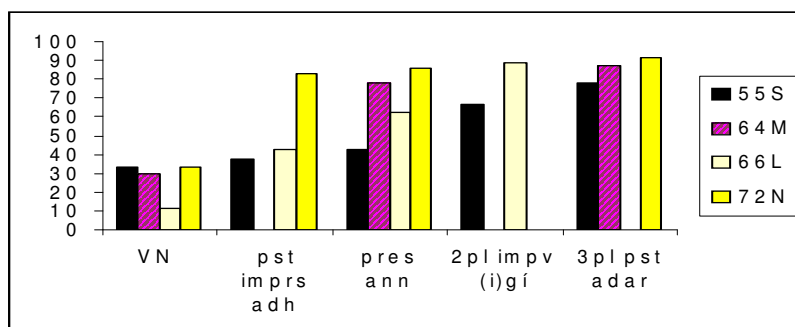
Figure 5.16 The general GEARR class, morphological scaling, 72Nq

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 **tolhə 72Nq** was offered;

coill was produced with weak diphthongisation in the 3 plural imperative **ka'l'həxdər 72Nq coilltheadh dar**, cp. 3 plural past **xo'l'ədər 72Nq choilleadar** (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 GEARR class.

Figure 5.17 Percentage of long vocoid in GEARR class, Muintir Ghaora

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 **72N**'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 **72N** 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).

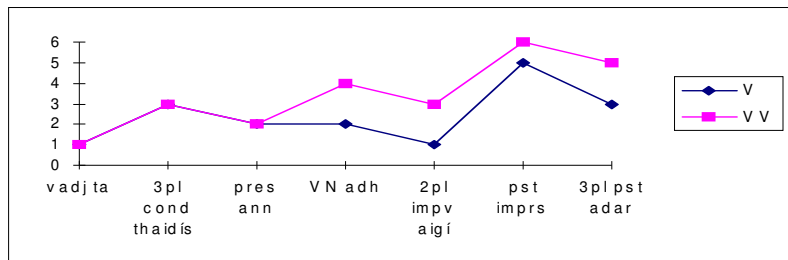
5.159 77C, Colm Ó Cathasaigh

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.

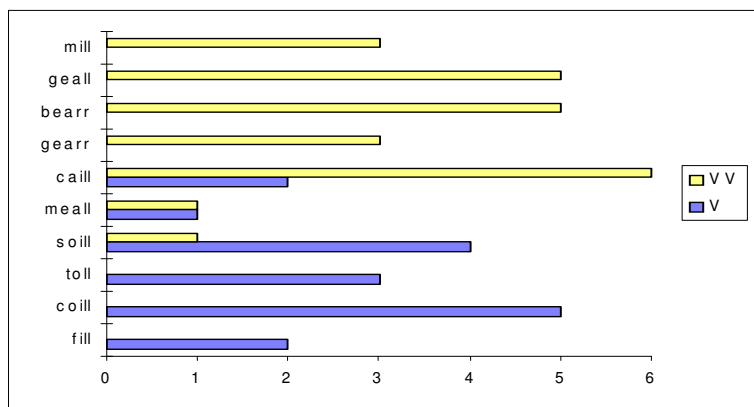
Table 5.56 GEARR class, 77Cq

Verb	vadj t/h	3pl cond for pstháb	VN -ə	2pl impv (əg')i:	pres əm' ən	pst imprs u: əv	3pl pst ədər
<i>gearr</i>			g'arə (x2)			g'aru: g'arəv	jarədər
<i>bearr</i>		v'arhəd'i:f	b'arə	b'arəg'i:		b'aru:	v'arədər
<i>geall</i>		ja:lhəd'i:f	g'alə		g'aləm'	g'alu:	ja:lədər
<i>caill</i>		xal'həd'i:f	ka:l'ə	ka:l'əg'i:	ka:l'ən	ka:l'u: ka:l'u:	xal'ədər
<i>meall</i>					m'ælən	m'aləv	
<i>mill</i>				m'i:l'əg'i:		m'i:l'u:	v'i:l'dər
<i>fill</i>		d'il'həd'i:f d'il'həx				f'il'u:	
<i>coill</i>		xol'həd'i:f	kol'ə		kol'ən	kol'u:	xol'ədər
<i>soill</i>	sailt'ə	hel'həd hel'həx		se:l'əg'i:		se:l'u:	hel'ədər hel'ədər
<i>toll</i>	tol'tə x3					tolu:	hol'dər

Figure 5.18 The general GEARR class, 77Cq



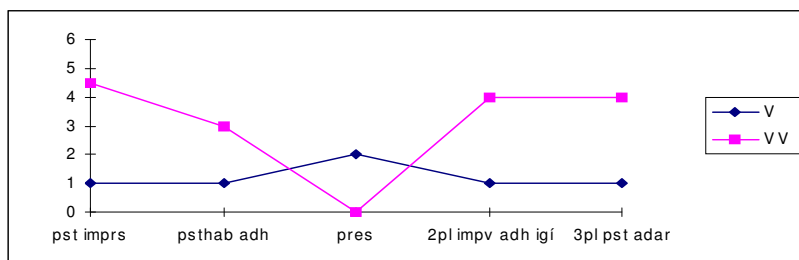
The alternation of (historical) short and (unhistorical) long vocoids in prevocalic position spreads in many speakers of 77C's generation to preconsonantal position (seen in impersonal present *-tar* for a small class of verbs in Mq, 5.149), so that the actual membership of the GEARR class is reduced 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*).

Figure 5.19 GEARR class, lexical distribution in all environments, 77Cq

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.

Figure 5.20 The general GEARR class, morphological scaling, 81Cq

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

	pst imprs	psthab	pres	2pl impv	3pl pst
<i>caill</i>	kə kəɫ' u: ¹			kəɫ' əx kəɫ' əg' i	xəɫ' ədər ²
<i>bearr</i>	b' ə: ru:	v' ə: rəx	b' ə: rən x3		v' ə: rədər

¹ The first hesitant half-long vowel is given a score of 0.5 in my calculations.

² Perhaps -ɫ' -.

	pst imprs	psthab	pres	2pl impv	3pl pst
<i>gearr</i>	g'aru:	jarəx	g'ærən	g'arəx g'ærəx	jarədər

It is hard to tell why *bearr* and *gearr* have the most short tokens. Only *bearr* and *gearr* were queried in the present tense, hence the incongruous trough in the long vocoids in Figure 5.20. The verb *bearr* has the most short tokens. One possible explanation may be related to lexical frequency. Perhaps *bearr* is the least common of **81C**'s active GEARR class. Other verbs also show short tokens, including before consonants: *goill*, *fill* (for her *dúbail*; *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 *bearr*) 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 *bearr* 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 **Ye m'i:l'ə 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 xail'ə é a choilleadh** but then hesitated and pronounced **e xol'ə**, 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'arəni:** **56Bq**, just as *carr* > **karəni:** 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: **jær mid' 84P** *ghearr muid*.

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 prevocalically, e.g. >>>)

¹ Also from **56B**: *cailleadh* **ka:l'ə**, *milleann* **m'i:l'ən**.

'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

Type	Verb	12S	16M	29C	31M	55S	60M	64M	66L	77C
1a	<i>roinn</i>	>>	>>	>>>	>>>					
1b	<i>teann</i>		≈			>>>			>>>	
	<i>bearr</i>		<<			>>			>>>	>>>
	<i>geall</i>	<<	<<			>>>			>>>	>>>
	<i>gearr</i>	<<	<<			>>	>>		>>>	>>>
	<i>mill</i>	<<	≈			>>		>>>	<<	>>>
1c	<i>caill</i>		<<			≈		≈	≈	>>
2c	<i>coill</i>	<<	<<			>>>		? ≈		<<
2b	<i>soill</i>	<<	<<		>>	<<			<<	<<
	<i>toll</i>	<<	<<			<<	<<	>>>		<<
2a	<i>fill</i>	<<	<<			<<<	? <<			<<

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:

- 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' *dúbail* is common, even 'fold'-*áil*. 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 *soill* and *coill* are becoming less common.
- The overall frequency of short or long vocoids in a specific verb's usage: for example, the verbal noun of Type 1a *roinn* is *ri:nʲ*, 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: *ka:l'ə ... ka:l'ə ka | ka:l'ə 80P cailleadh ... cailte*. This speaker has similar hesitation with *eg' ə (l) xa: xa:r 80P ag a charr* (cp. short vowel in traditional plural *karəni: carrannai*).

haps most common in the phrase **tá: fɛ: k'i:nt' er' tá sé cinnte ar**. The late Type 1c **caill** is very common in the meaning 'died' in the past impersonal **kaɫ' u:**, 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'**, **-l**, **-n'**, **-N'**, **-r'**.
3. The FEOGHLAIM class has nonsyncopating roots.
4. The AITHIN / AITHNIGH class has regular syncope except in the 2sg imperative and nonpersonal past where the second conjugation stem suffix **-ə** *-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. *breathaigh* ~ *breathnaigh* (1.263).

The verbal adjective (5.177) in verbs in radical **a** can be **-i:(hə)** or **-t'ə**, e.g.

b'æhə *beathaigh* > **b'æhi:(hə)** ~ **b'æt'ə**.

The verb *rathaigh* is sometimes inflected in the 1 Conjugation (cf. CÚL 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

Verb	impv / <i>_é, iad</i>	impv / <i>_ə</i>	impv _V	pres	3sg impv
<i>cruthaigh</i>		kru' ən f'k'e:l, kruhə 'n f'k'e:l		kruhi:n' f'iəd	
<i>mothaigh</i>					
<i>beathaigh</i>	b'æ' hiəd			ə m'æ:hi:n fə:n ...	b'æhi:x fe e nu nə b'æhi:x ...
<i>dathaigh</i>	dæ he		dæhə uəxtər ... dæ uəxtər ... uachtar		
<i>rathaigh</i>	ræə hiəd			mə ræ:n' fe iəd (x2), a, b, ræ:hi:n' d'ia, d <i>Dia</i>	nu: nax ræhi:x, c
Verb	3pl impv	3pl psthab/cond	3pl pst	prsbj	
<i>cruthaigh</i>	krud'i:f e, kruhi'd'i:f e		xruhə f'iəd (xruhi:dər as in prompt), xrudər e	gə gruhi: ən' d'aul deabhal e	
<i>mothaigh</i>			wuhə f'iəd, wuji:dər e		
<i>beathaigh</i>	b'æhi:d'i:f		v'æhi:dər, v'æhi:dər		

Verb	3pl impv	3pl psthab/cond	3pl pst	prsbj
	he:n' e		v'æ'hi:dər	
<i>dathaigh</i>			ya:ədər e, yæ:ədər e, ya: fjəd e, yæ:ədər e	
<i>rathaigh</i>		ræhəd'i:f	ræhədər	gə ræhi: d'ia

Verb	2pl impv	2sg cond	1sg psthab	pst	1sg Echo pst
<i>cruthaigh</i>	krug' i: e, krig' i: e			ər xruhə tu	xruhəs
<i>mothaigh</i>	mʉg' i: e, muhə - muhəg' i: e, nə muhəg' i: tæ:də tada				
<i>beathaigh</i>	nə b'æ'həg' i: fə:s fəs e, b'æ'həg' i:	ə m'æ- 'həsə e	v'æhi:n'	ər v'æhə tu ...	v'æhi:s
<i>dathaigh</i>	dæ:g' i: e, ... dæ her' ... nə dæ'həg' i:				
<i>rathaigh</i>				rahə d'ia, ə ræhə fjəd ... ræhə	

Verb	2sg Echo pst	fut	VN	vadj
<i>cruthaigh</i>	xruhi:f (as in prompt)	kruho:	kruhu: M	kruhi:hə
<i>mothaigh</i>			en wuhu:	
<i>beathaigh</i> ¹		n'i: v'æ'ho: m'if e		b'æ(·)hi:(hə) b'æt'ə M
<i>dathaigh</i> ²				dæt'ə M
<i>rathaigh</i>		ræho: d'ia	gə ræhu:	ræt'ə, ræhi:hə

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 -**ən** in *rathaigh*, but retention before 2Conj -**in**.

Speakers **14J** and **20Pá** also have optional **h** (in their recordings):

14J fut xruho:s ... xruho: ... , VN kruu: f'ɛf ag cruthú leis;

20Pá pres ə xri:n's nə fa'ti' a chruthaíonn na fataí.

5.164 AGAIR class

The AGAIR class comprises syncopating polysyllabic roots which end in (palatal) sonorants: -**l'**, -**n'**, -**ŋ'**, -**r'**; as well as -**r** in borrowed *ghíúmar*. 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(r)ascair*, *imir* in VN genitives **kraskər(h)ə**, **im'ərə**.) The following verbs are members of this class:

agair, *c(r)ascair*, *cangail*, *ceangail*, *codail*, *coi(n)gil*, *coisinn*, *cuimil*, *dúbail*, *freagair*, *freastail*, *fuascail*, *ghíúmar*, *imir*, *iompair*, *l(i)uspair*, (*oscail*), *rómhair*, *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* vadj **b'æ'hi:hə**, **b'æhi:**, **b'æt'ə** M, all forms can also be used in the sense 'well-fed, fat'; VN **b'ahu:**.

² *dathaigh* vadj **dæ'hi:** S.

Verbs in **-l'** can take either vocalic endings (with syncope) or **ʰ** endings (without syncope) in the 2sg past subjunctive and verbal adjective, e.g.

kaggəʰ *cangail* > 2sg pstsbj **gə: gaggla:(hə:)** ~ **gaggəʰʰ**;
vadj **kaggli:(hə)** ~ **kaggəʰə**.

The 2sg **gə: gaggəʰʰ** type inflection was noted from speaker **20C** only, while variation is common in the verbal adjective (i.e. vadj **-l(a)í(the)** ~ **-ilte**, 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.

- agair* + sync: fut *nach n-agró Dia orm* **894C3**, prsbj **nə:r agri: d'ia nár agráí Dia**.
cangail + sync: **21Ptq**: pstsbj **gə: gaggla:h e:**, psthab **kaggli:t' i:**, vadj **kaggli:hə**.
 Ø sync: cond **xaggəlo:n', gaggəla:** 46.34, pstsbj **gə: gaggəʰʰ** **20Cperm**.
c(r)ascail Ø sync: vadj **kraskər(h)i:hə** Sq.
 VN **kaskərt'**, gen **kaskərə S**; **kraskərt'**, gen **kraskərə S**.
ceangail + sync: vadj **k'æggli:(hə)**; semi-syncope in vadj **k'æggli: suəs** M *ceanglaí suas*.
 Ø sync: psthab **x'æggli:d fíad** 46.39, vadj **k'æggəʰə** **899DARN**, **01CARN**.
 Note the variation in 1pl impv **k'æggli:məð' ... k'æggli:x mid' P**.
codail + sync: vadj **koli:(hə)**.
 Nonpersonal past is generally not syncopated, e.g. *níor chodail* **869P2**, as in this class in general. Very rare examples of syncope in the nonpersonal past have, however, been noted, therefore resembling the **AITHIN** class. Syncope is found in the example *níor chodlai mé leathuair* **!894C9**, and there is a slip of the tongue with selfcorrection in:
er' ə gauʰ ə xolə | xodəʰ p'eg'i re:r' M
ar an gcabhaitis a chodlaigh — chodail Peigí aréir.
 (Cp. adverbial **ə xolə a chodladh**.) The selfcorrection indicates the impermissibility of this syncope.
 Also noteworthy is the variation between regular *chodlaíodar* and mixed *chodail-dar* in:
xoli:dər a:n ... e:n i:hə wə:n ə xodəʰʰ | dər a:n M
chodlaíodar ann ... aon oíche amháin a chodail-dar ann.
 The pause between *chodail-* and *-dar* was very short, as if the speaker was choosing between **-dər** and **fíad**. The **l** in *chodail-* was realised first palatalised but it was reduced or incomplete and then a nonpalatal **l** was produced.
coi(n)gil + sync: fut **kigl' o:**, vadj **kigl' i:** S, Pt, **kinggl' i:hə**.
 Ø sync: vadj **kəg' əʰʰ** **46.548**.
 VN **kig' əʰʰ** SM, P, **king' əʰʰ** Mq.
coisinn + sync: pres **kəʰn' i:n** S, fut **kəʰn' o:** 46.1024, vadj *coisinte*, **kəʰn' i:(hə)** SM.
 VN **kəʰənt** S.
cuimil + sync: pst **ximl' i:dər** **43Mq**, fut **kiml' o:**, vadj **kiml' i: a:kəb** S *cuimlí acub*.
 Generally **kiml'-**, but fut **ki:m'l' o:** [x2] **20Mlt** (implying **ki:m'l'-** is a typical pronunciation for **20Ml**).
 Ø sync: pst **xim' əʰʰdər** [x2] Sq, **xim' əʰʰdər** M (spontaneous), **xim' əʰʰ i:dər** Pq, **xim' əʰʰ i:dər** Pq.
dúbail + sync: fut **du:blo:** Mq, vadj **du:bli:(hə)**.
 impv **du:bəʰ** M, P, pst **yū:bəʰ** m'ə Mq; vadj **du:bəʰə** 'double (amount),' especially as adverb, e.g. **b'ə:r l'um du:bəʰə b'fhearr liom dúbailte**. Cp. **v'i: m'ə du:bli:** (l'ef ə b'ian) **43M**, Mq, **56Bq** *bhí mé dúbailt leis an bpian* but not *... **du:bəʰə** (l'ef ə b'ian) MØperm, **56BØperm**. VN *dúbailt*. Cp. *dúbláil*.

1042 Verbs

- freastail* Ø sync: vadj **fr'æ:stəli:hə**.
- fuascail* + sync: prsbj *marā bhfuasclai' tú mé* !894C9, vadj *fuasclaithe* 866E.
Ø sync: vadj *fuascailte* !11Ct.
- ghíúmar* Ø sync: (most examples, from Máire, without syncope, i.e. as the FEOGHLAIM class):
impv **ju:mər hus e** Mq *ghíúmar thusa é*,
pst **ər ju:mər, ju:mər fe ɲ'e: m'e** Mq *ghíúmar sé inné mé, d'u:mər fe, d'u:mərədər suas m'e Mq *d'ghíúmaradar suas mé*,
pres **ju:məri:n' fe**, fut **ju:məro fe** [sic], cond **d'u:məro:t fe hu**,
vadj **ju:məri:(hə) suas, 'æ:n' ju:məri' eg ə** Mq *an-ghíúmaraithe aige*.
VN **e ju:mər, e ju:məra:l' Mq é a ghíúmar(áil)**.
ju:məra:l' *ghíúmaráil* is also a full verb and, unlike **ju:mər**, has been heard in conversation, e.g. pst **ju:məra:l' fe gə br'a: m'e** Mq *ghíúmaráil sé go breá mé*, vadj **ta m'e ju:məra:l'tə gə br'a: eg ə mri:n' t'e** Mq *tá mé ghíúmaráilte go breá ag an mbraon tae*.
+ sync: at least one example with syncope was produced independently:
cond **d'u:mro:ɔ fe m'e** Mq, and
pst **d'u:mrə 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 **ə ɲ'imr'o: ... imr'o:d** 892Mt, pst **d'imr'i:dər** 892Mt; but stressed -i- in (fut, prsbj, cond):
ímreó [x2] ... *go n-ímri' muid ... nach n-ímreóch* 866ESemr76.
± sync: psthb imprs **d'imr'i:t'i: iəd ... ɲ'im'ər'i:t'i: iəd** 10N.
- iompair* impv **u:mpər' M**; pst (**ɲ'i:r' u:mpər' S**).
+ sync, regularly, e.g. fut **u:mpro:t**, vadj **u:mpri:**.
- l(i)uspair* + sync: vadj **luspri:** Mq.
Ø sync: pst **luspər fe** Mq.
VN **luspərt' ~ lispərt' M, L'ispərt' S**.
- rómhair* + sync: vadj **rū:vri:** S.
pst **ru:vər' m'e ɲ'e: iəd S** *rómhair mé inné iad*.
VN **rū:wərt' S, ru:vər S**, cp. **rū:fərt' S** 'wallow'.
- seachain* + sync: fut **fæ:xno:t S**.
impv **fæ:xən' S**, pst **hæ:xən' m'e SM**, VN **fæ:xənt' SM**.
- strachail* + sync: vadj **stra'xli:**.
pst **stra:xəl' m'e M**, VN **straxəlt' M**.
- tarrainn* + sync: fut **ta:rɲ'o: m'e M**, vadj **ta:rɲ'i: M**.
± sync: fut **ə da:rɲ'a: tu ... nax da:rəɲ'a: SqEcho**
Ø sync: cond **K'erd ə ha:rəɲ'o:x əɲ'jin' iəd M** *céard a tharrainneodh ansin iad?*, **gə da:rəɲ'a:ɲ' orəm pe:n' i: M** *go dtarrainneoinn orm héin í*; **nax da:rəɲ'o:f'i' 43M**;
pst 3pl *tharrainneadar* S84; vadj **ta:rəɲ'i' M**.
Innovative examples of syncope in nonpersonal past, placing *tarrainn* in the AITHIN class, were noted in:
ha:rɲ'ə m'e e 79S;
harnə m'ifə (heard from a young girl born c. 1985).
Lengthening in the verbal adjective **ta:rɲ'i:(hə)** occurs sometimes in the meaning 'tired', particularly in the phrase *tuirseach tairníthe*, e.g.
ta m'e t'i:ɲ' torfəx ta:rɲ'i: əɲ'if 11Ctn
tá mé tinn tuirseach tairníthe anois;
'sách tuirseach, 'a deir sé, 'tairníthe' ta:rɲ'i:hə | 03V.
- tionscail* noted (unsyncopeated) in past **hi:nskəl' 18J** *thionscail*.

5.165 FEOGHLAIM class

This class consists of verbs with generally nonsyncopeating polysyllabic roots. Verbs in this class are:

feoghlaim, tocha(i)s, tochráis, (tuirlinn).

Examples of syncope in the two verbs in final *f s* (*tochais, tochráis*) from speaker **20Cq**, indicate their possible classification with the AGAIR class (5.164, cp. *ghíúmar* there). See also the AITHRIS class (5.169).

feoghlaim pst **d'ólám', fut f'ólám' o:**.
vadj **f'ólám'i:, f'ólámtə**; there is variation within the same discourse in:
f'ólám'i: eg' ... f'ólámtə P.

tochais, tochas

With **-f(-)** Mq: impv *tochais mo thúin* M, **toxəf, toxəfəg'i:**, pst **hoxəf m'e: / fjad / maik'əl, hoxəfədər**, psthab **hoxəfi:d'i:f**, prsbj **gə doxəfi:** Mperm, fut **toxəfo:, N'i: hoxəfo:**, cond **hoxəfo:d'i:f**; vadj **toxəft'ə** (also **12Jq**).
20Cq: impv **toxəf**, pst **hoxəf**.

+ syncope **20Cq**: fut **tox-fə:**, pst **hox-fi:dər**, vadj **tox-fi:hə**.

With **-s(-)** impv **toxəs 12Jq**, M, Mperm, **20CØperm**, *tochas* FFG s.v. *samhnás*, pst **hoxəs 12Jq**, fut **toxəso:** Mq, **25Cq**, cond **hoxəso:N' 12Jq**, vadj **toxəsi: 25Cq**; VN **toxəs (-s only)**.

tochráis Mq: impv **toxrəf**, pst **hoxrəf, hoxrəfədər**, pres **toxrəfi:n' fə**, psthab **hoxrəfəd'i:f**, prsbj **gə doxrəfi:**, fut **toxrəfa:**, cond **N'i hoxrəfo:N'**, vadj **toxrəft'ə**; VN **toxrəs**.

Also: pst **hoxrəfədər 20Cq**, fut **toxrəfo: 20Myq**, vadj **toxrəfi:hə 20Cq**.

+ syncope **20Cq**: pst **hoxr-f-** (speaker, tongue-twisted by cluster, did not finish the word), vadj **toxr-fi:hə**.

tuirlinn pst **hu:rl'ən' fə 11Cta19, haur'l'in' fə**: SID.46 s.v. No examples in syncopeating environment; this verb might (optionally) syncopeate similar to *foilinn* in the AITHRIS class (5.169).

5.166 AITHIN class

This class consists of verbs with facultative syncope 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) *ísleigh, saothraigh, scanraigh*, cp. *tarrainn, codail* (5.164).

Three verbs, (*freagair* in query), *innis, iomair*, show alternating vowel length in syncopeation.

aithin, + sync: (most common) pst *d'aithni* **869P4**, etc., **870B1**; ... **æ'n'hə 04B8n(l)**, SM.

aithnigh vadj **æn'hi:(hə)**. What appears to be another form of the vadj occurs in phrases such as **brust æ:n't'ə M b'fhurasta aithnte**. This is, perhaps, connected to the VN in Máire's explanation: **æ:n't'ə, fin' e æ'n'hu'** Mq '*aithnte*' *sin é a aithniú*. There are similar forms with the prefix *in-* (3.120). Cp. **frust æ:n'hə 35E** [early recording, perhaps 'learned'] (*is*) *frusta aithne* (noun).

Ø sync: pst **dæhən'**, cp. ... **æən' fə 66N, gər æhən' fə e' 04B4**.

Speaker **872P** has two relevant tokens in his recording, both of which are unsyncopated and nasalised:

| dæh̃ən' ʃe er' **872P** d'aithin sé air,

gər 'æ'h̃ən' ʃe **872P** gur aithin sé.

Speaker **36S** has consistent nonsyncope in final position:

-... dæhən' ʃe ... gər æhən' **36S**

-dæn'hə m'e ... BóC

-ər æhən' **36S** Ar aithin?

Speaker **05M** has both syncopated and unsyncopated forms, and a mixed form which has **-n'h-** (and vowel length **æ'** before **h**) in the unsyncopated root from the syncopated one, in 1sg pst Echo:

ər æ'n'hə tu' ... N'ir æ'hən' his **05M**.

freagair + sync: pst n'í r'æ'grə ʃe m'e Mq. ... r'æ'grə ʃe Mperm;
(*freagraigh*) fut n'í r'æ'grə m'if e Mq. pst imprs fr'æ'gri:u P.
Ø sync: pst (probably most common) dr'æ'gər' m'e Mq;
VN fr'æ'gər't' and note *fr'æ'gər't' MØperm. Contrast noun fr'æ'grə M ~ fr'æ'grə Mperm.

innis, + sync:
insigh cond d'ínʃo:n';
Past: cp. 1sg pst Echo N'ir' inʃəs **18B**.
SID.46: (cf. alternant below); d'ínʃt m'e s.v. *innisim*.
875T1: d'ínsi sé (x5+).
894C: see his examples under + sync 1Conj further below.
d'ínʃə **04Br**, **15W**, **11Ct**, SM, gər inʃə **899D**6800.
impv inʃə **11C**, also 46.1146, na hi:ʃə **01J**.
Ø sync:
SID.46: impv in'if (or inʃə) dʊm 1146; pst n'ir' in'ifè yu:m 942.
04B: in'əʃ dʊm **04B4** *innis dom*; d'in'əʃ ʃe: **04B5**.
d'in'əʃ, also noted as d'in'əʃ **03C**, **01J** (no past *d'insigh* form was noted from **01J**87, this contrasts with his *insigh* imperative cited above), **18B**, **52P**.
d'innis sé a scéal ann. **11C** (a rare example from **11C**).
The mixed form inʃ / inʃ occurs in the past (although unlikely to be acceptable):
ər inʃ b'e:b' ... M ... Béib ... , ər inʃ ʃi: ... M (twice in the same conversation), ər inʃ tu ... M, and
-ər inʃə tu ... BóC Ar *insigh tú* ...?
-d'inʃ M, but often d'inʃə. On another occasion:
-ər inʃ tu gə ... BóC Ar *insigh tú dho* ...?
-N'ir inʃə M *Níor insigh*.
Another mixed form in'əʃ occurs rarely in imperative and past:
in'əʃ e: ʃin' **11C**3660 *Innis é sin!*
d'in'əʃ ʃe yə: e **05M** *D'innis sé dhó é*.
Yet another mixed form in'əʃə (as if *innisigh*) occurs rarely in both the imperative and past:
ax in'əʃə dʊm **11C**5600 *Ach innis dom*;
N'ir in'əʃə ʃi: 'e:e | **11C**4569 *níor innis sí é*.
There is an example of unsyncopated 3pl past in d'in'əʃi'dər **35E**7257.
There is an example of inter- and intra-speaker variation in conversation in:

-nar' i:nfə fí: ... 52P *Nar insigh sí* ...

-ər' i:nfə M *Ar insigh?*

-d'in'əf 52P *D'inis*.

And no variation between the same speakers in:

-ər in'əf ... 52P *Ar inis ...?*

-d'in'əf M *D'inis*.

+ sync 1Conj: pres imprs *guch gá n-insteart é* (in set entreaty) 894C9, pst *d'inseadar* 894C3, psthab *d'inseatl sé* 894C2. Speaker 894C regularly syn-copates and has long -í-, pst *d'ínsi*, impv *ná hínsi*.

Cp. imprs *innsear* FFG which appears to be a mistranscription based on Cois Fharraige usage.

iomair, + sync: pst *d'umrə m'e* S, fut *umrə m'e* S, vadj *umri*: S.

iomraigh VN *umrə, umrə*.

Ø sync: pst *d'umər fəfən* 897P, *d'umər m'e* M, 43M, fut *uməro: tu*: 01P.

Cp. VN *umərə*.

ísligh + sync generally, e.g. impv *i:fl'ə nuəs e* SM *ísligh anuas é*.

(*íseal*) Ø sync: the young speaker 79S is the only person noted using this form, resembling the base adjective *íseal*:

pst *n'ir i:fəl* 79S, gər *i:fəl* 79S.

saothraigh + sync generally, e.g. impv *sirhə*, pst *hi:rhə*.

(*saothar*) Ø sync: speaker 27C and her son 69S have pst *hi:hər fə / m'e*. Cp. noun *saothar*.

scanraigh + sync generally, e.g. both impv and pst *skan:ɾə skan:ɾə skan:trə*; also

(*scantar*) (nontraditional) *skra:ntə* 76N, 84P, 79A.

Ø sync: speaker 51P (only), heard in pst *skan:trə*.

taithin, + sync: *hæ(:)n'hə* is most common, e.g. 04B2l, -4, SM, 23C; *n'ir hæ:n'hə*

taimigh *l'ef n'or thaitnigh leis*.

Ø sync: *hæhən' fə* M, *n'ir hæhən' l'ef* S *n'or thaitnigh leis*.

togair, + sync: pst *thograigh* (on example noted: *Bhí sé ag caitheamh bí agus dí fad*

is thograigh sé dhen lá é 852SbLL101). Also pres *ma hogri:n tu*, imprs *ma hogri:t'ər* Mq, vadj *v'i togri'h am* Mq. VN *togrəxta:l*.

Ø sync: pst *rin'ə fə e nuər' ə hogər fə* M *rinne sé é nuair a thogair sé, má thogair tú é* 05M, *ma hogər m'e* Mq, *ma hogər 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}əC (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.

Verbal nouns in **-ə** 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'ehə ~ t'ehu:** *teitheadh* in the CÚL 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 *tarrainn* > 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, tol.

There are rare examples of mixed conjugation, endings combining both conjugations, in:

deilbh in vadj 2Conj *deilbhíthe*, but mixed *deilifíthe* (1Conj **h** + 2Conj **i:hə**); *searg*, where some forms can be interpreted as mixed, e.g. fut **ʃæ:rəko:** interpretable as **ʃæ:rəg+** 1Conj **h**+ 2Conj **o:**.

DEARG	Neutral	1Conj	2Conj
pst	ʃæ:rəg SM, P		
pres		d'æ:rəgən ʃe 66Nq	
fut			d'æ:rəgo: SM
cond		ʃæ:rəkəx 46.549	<i>ndeargóidís</i> 11C4554
vadj		d'æ:rəki: 46 s.v. <i>deargaim</i> , S	d'æ:rəgi: M
VN		cp. <i>deargadh tiaraí</i>	<i>deargú</i> Sc293, SM, 66Nq

DEARMAD	Neutral	1Conj	2Conj
pst	ʃæ:rəməd S		
fut			d'æ:rəmədo:
vadj			d'æ:rəmədi: S
VN	d'arəməd		

Periphrastic *déan dearmad* is most common.

DEILBH	Neutral	1Conj	2Conj	Mixed
psthab		ʃel'əv'əd'i:ʃ 892M, 21Pg	ʃel'əv'i:d'i:ʃ 22M	
vadj			d'el'əv'i:(hə) S	<i>deilifíthe</i> 869P2
VN	d'el'əv'			d'el'əf'i:hə

SEARG	Neutral	1Conj	2Conj
pst	hæ:rəg ʃiəd Mq		hæ:rəgi:dər Mq
pres		ʃæ:rəgən Mq	
psthab		hæ:rəgəd'i:ʃ Mq	hæ:rəgi:x Mq
pstsbj		<i>nó go seargaidís, shul á seargat sé</i> 869P5	
fut			ʃæ:rəgo: ʃe Mq
cond			hæ:rəgo:x Mq
vadj		ʃarəki or ʃarəkihə 46.971, M	
VN		<i>cead searga</i> 869P5	ə ʃæ:rəgu:, ʃæ:rəgu: Mq

With alternate root *SEIRG*:

vadj	ʃer'ək'i: Mperm
------	------------------------

<i>SEARG</i>	Neutral	1Conj	2Conj
With alternate root <i>SEARAC</i> :-			
pres		fæ:rəkən Mq	
psthab			hæ:rəki:x Mq
fut			fæ:rəkə: Mq
cond			fæ:rəkə:x 01P
vadj		fæ:rəki: Mq, 66Nq	
VN			fæ:rəku: Mq, 66Nq

Note pres ***fær'ək'i:n** MØperm. Forms such as **fæ:rəkə:** are clearly ambiguous as to their base, i.e. **fæ:rək+o:** (2Conj) or **fæ:ræg+h+o:** (mixed). On the other hand, the base *searac*- is transparent in pres **fæ:rəkən**.

<i>TAIRG</i>	Neutral	1Conj	2Conj
pst	hær'æg'		
psthab		hær'æg'əd'i:f Mq	tær'æg'i't'i' Mq
fut			tær'æg'o: m'e Mq
cond			ga dæ:r'æg'aha 22M
vadj		tær'ək'i Mperm	hær'æg'o'f'i' Mq, Sc268
Irregular vadj tær'əfk'i: M, based on VN tær'əfk'ənt' M.			

<i>TOLG</i>	Neutral	1Conj	2Conj
pst	holæg m'e M		
fut			toləgo:
cond			holəga: M
vadj			toləgi: M
VN		toləgə SM	

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., *ínstear*.)

<i>AITHRIS</i>	Neutral	1Conj	2Conj
impv	ær'həf M		
pst	dær'həf fe: Mq		
fut		<i>aithristhe mé scéal</i> (MMrc)894C9	ær'həfo: m'e ,
+ sync			ær'hfo: Mq
vadj			ær'həfi: eg'ə Mq
VN	g a'r'həf Mq, g a'r'həft' Mperm		gar'həfu: ən' f'k'e:l' [x2] Mq <i>ag ~ an scéil</i>
Cp. pst <i>nár aithrisg in ám é</i> ! CABI §618 v. 7.			

<i>CAISRIC (coisric)</i>	Neutral	1Conj	2Conj
impv	ka:fræk'		
prsbj/cond + sync		cp. <i>gá gcaiscreadh</i> S84	
psthab + sync		ko:fr-kt'i: Mq- <i>ti</i> ¹	
pst	xa:fræk'	imprs ka:fræk'u: 21Ptq	
fut		(<i>n'i:</i> xa:fræk'ə 21Ptq)	ka:fræk'o: ;
+ sync			ka:fr-k'o: M
cond		<i>n'i:</i> xa:fræk'əx/d <i>je</i> 21Ptq	
+ sync		<i>gá gcaiscreadh</i> S84	
vadj	ka:fræk'i:		
VN	ka:fræk'an		

There is an aberrant initial and loss of *-an* of the VN in:

gə də ha:fræk' he:n' 27Mdt *dho do chaisric héin*,

with loss of *-an* perhaps in haplology with *héin* and initial *h* perhaps in assimilation to *héin*; contrast **ka:fræk'an** 27Mdq.

<i>EITEAL</i>	1Conj	2Conj
pres	et'alən je Mperm,	et'al:in je Mq
	cp. <i>Is minic a eiteallas na héanacha</i> Clad55	
psthab + sync		d'et'l'i:d'i:f 20Cq
pst + sync		d'et'l'i:dər Mq
fut	et'alhə (as prompted) Mperm, et'elə je Mq	et'al'o: <i>je</i> Mq
vadj	et'alt eg'ə Mq	
VN	Neutral et'al	

<i>FOILINN</i>	1Conj	2Conj + sync	2Conj Ø sync
pres	<i>fheilingins</i> !869P2		
fut	föl'an'hə m'e: 46	föLN'o: <i>fi:</i> S,	föL'an'o: <i>je</i> SM
	s.v. <i>fuilint</i> ,	föLN'o: M	
	föl'an'hə je Mperm		
cond		döLN'o:d'i:f 20Cq,	<i>nach bhfuilingeóidís,</i>
		cp. döl'N'o:n' ... 16B	<i>d'fheilineóch</i> 894C!9, 2
vadj	cp. gə l'o:r föl'ənt'	föLN'i:hə M, föLN'i:	föL'an'i: S (perhaps the
	eg'ə Mq (<i>tá go leor</i>	ek'ə S, föLN'i:h æ:n'ə	spelling <i>foilinthí</i> (often)
	<i>foilinte aige</i>	20Myq	894C2 represents this
			form), föl'ənt'i: M

So-called neutral forms occur in the past and VN:

pst	döl'an' fi: S
VN	föl'u:nt' M, 18Bm, föl'ənt' S, 26Pq

Speaker 26Pq has consistent 2 Conjugation without syncope:

fut **föl'an'o:** *je* (x3), vadj **föl'an'i:** (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*): **döl'an' fiəd** 20Myq. Cp. 20Cq who pronounced **döl'an' je** independently but following 20Myq pronounced **döl'an' je**.

5.170 CÚL class

The CÚL class contains mostly derived verbs:

(*aipigh*), (*bán(aigh)*), (*bás(aigh)*), (*braith*), (*bréag(naigh)*), (*comhair*), (*coraigh*), (*cúl(aigh)*), (*dubh(aigh)*) ~ (*duibh(igh)*), (*fál(aigh)*), (*falmhaigh* ~ *failmhagh*),

¹ In the cluster *-fr-kt'* - all the consonants are palatal except *r*. Cp. p. 907 n. 1.

*geal(aigh), glas(raigh), labhair, mall(aigh), mion(aigh), nocht(aigh), (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), (meáigh).

Exceptions

One example was noted of 2Conj inflection of denominal verb *scoilt*: pstsbj 2sg **gə skolt'əhə** [perhaps **-əhə**] **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):

gə wə'nə:ð fíb' 39J; fə'nin 48R, má fhánaíonn tú 78JMN.

Mixed inflection of *fan* is common elsewhere, e.g. GCF §172 n. 2, SIDII–IV.924.

APIGH

2Conj is general, including pres **æ:p'in** S, but also 1Conj in pres rel **æ:p'əns** S.

<i>BÁN(AIGH)</i>	1Conj	2Conj
fut	bə:nhə Mq	bə:nə Mq
pst		<i>bhánaíodar</i> 866E Sc229.9
pst imprs	bə:nu: 899N ¹	
vadj	bə:ntə Mq, bə:nt'ə Mperm	bə:ni: S, Mq
VN	note *bə:nə MØperm	e: wə:nu: Mq, ə bə:nu: 35E
VN 'become white':	<i>bánachan</i> 869P 5, <i>bánachán</i> ... <i>bánú</i> 20T .	

BÁS(AIGH)

1Conj in phrase ... *le tart* (examples Mq):

pst **wə:s fə**, fut **bə:sə**, cond **wə:səx**, vadj ***bə:stə** M??perm;

VN **tə fíəd ə nən hu wə:sə l'e tər't** M *tá siad i ndan thú a bhásadh le tart*.

2Conj generally, and permitted in phrase with ... *le tart* Mperm:

pst **wə:sə** S, Mq; vadj **bə:si:(hə)** S, Mq.

BRAITH

1Conj verb generally, see, for example, the CAITH class (Table 5.41, p. 995).

2Conj: pres **brahi:n' fə** **01J, 36P**.

BRÉAG, BRÉAGNAIGH: VN **br'e:gə**, **br'e:gnu:**.

Cp. *clár*, vadj *clártha*, VN *cláradh* (2Conj *cláraigh*¹ FGB).

COMHAIR

1Conj only, for Seán and Máire (and others), e.g. pres imprs **kʉ:rt'ər**, psthab imprs *côrtai*

894C, kʉ:rt'i:, fut **kʉ:r'hə**, vadj **kʉ:r'hə**, VN **kʉ:r'ə**.

2Conj noted only once in cond imprs **kū:ř'ōř'i** **889P**.

<i>CORNAIGH</i>	1Conj	2Conj
impv	Ø	kaurnə Sq
pst	Ø	xaurnə Sq
pres		kaurnin Sq
fut	kaurnhə Sq, Mq	
cond		2sg nū: gə gaurnahə 11C 1241

¹ In **a'nəns bə:nu: iəd ə'l'ig' 899N** *ionann's bānadh iad uilig*.

1050 Verbs

CORNAIGH 1Conj 2Conj
 vadj **kaurni**: Sq
 Neutral: VN **kaurnə 11C**1233, S, Sq, M, Mq; also **kaurnə:l**.
 Also inflected *cornáil*: *chornáil*ís ... *dhá chornáil* ... *cornáilte* **21Pt** (5.21).

CÚL(AIGH) 1Conj 2Conj
 impv *Cúl siar* Clad28, **ku:l** f*iar* Mq **ku:lə** Sq
 pst *chúl sí amach* **869P**2, **xu:l** f*e* **06C**, Mq **xu:lə f*i***: M
 fut *cúlfa siad ar ais* **875T**1, **ku:lhə f*e*** Mq **ku:lə**: Mq
 vadj **ku:ltə** M note ***ku:li**: MØperm
 VN *cúladh* Clad28, **e xu:lə 05M**, **ə ku:lə** S **ku:lu**: S, Mq

Cp. *cúláil* in **ta f*i*: ku:lə:l** f*e*:ə **60M** *tá sí ag cúláil léithi* (context: decline of the Irish language).

DUBH(AIGH) 1Conj 2Conj
 pres **duvən** SM
 pst **ɣuv ən i:hə** M *dhubh an oíche*
 fut **dufə** Mq **duvo**: f*e* Mq
 vadj **duvi**: M
 VN **du:xən** S *dúchan*, cp. as noun *dúbha na gcrúic* ... *breaca na ngleánnta* **866E** Semr156.

DUIBH(IGH) 1Conj 2Conj
 pst **ɣiv' ən i:hə** M *dhuibh an oíche*
 fut **dif'ə** SM
 vadj **dift' ek'ə** Mq *duibhte aici* **div'i**:
 VN **div'əxən** S (as noun *duibheachan* **866E**Semr56), **dif'əxən** S, **dif'ən** S, **dif'ənəx** S, cp. abstract noun **dif'ərnəx** S.

FÁL(AIGH) 1Conj 2Conj
 pst **da:lə mid'** Mq
 fut **fə:lhə** S, Mq
 vadj **fə:ltə** S, Mq **fə:li:hə** Mq
 VN **fə:lə** S **ga ə:lu'** Mq
 Cp. *fálaigh* ~ *fál* FGB, LFRM. Máire gave forms in this order: **fə:ltə**, **fə:li:hə**, **fə:lhə mid' ə ga:r*i***: *fálthaidh muid an garraí*, **da:lə mid' əN'e**: *e d'fhálaigh muid inné é*, **ga ə:lu' dhá fhálú** (all Mq).

FALMHAIGH, (FAILMHIGH)
failmhigh 2Conj is the general usage: fut **fa'l'ho**:, vadj **fa'l'hi**:, VN **fa'l'hu**: M; also *falmhaigh*: **20M**q and brother **36S**q, e.g. vadj **falhi**:, VN **falhu**:.
falmhaigh (1Conj) has been noted from **43M** only: fut **fa'hilə mid' iəd** **43M**, VN **ə fa'hilə nə** ... [x2] **43M**.

GEAL(AIGH) Neutral 1Conj 2Conj
 fut **g'ə:lhə** M
 vadj **g'ə:ltə** S, **23M**, M **g'ə:li**: **23M**
 VN **g'ə:ləxə:n**, **g'ə:ləxən** P **g'ə:lə** SM **g'ə:lu**: S, P

GLAS(RAIGH) 1Conj 2Conj
 pst **ɣləs ə f'e:r** *ghlas an féar*
 fut **gləsə f*i*əd** **glasro**: Mq

<i>GLAS</i> (<i>RAIGH</i>)		1Conj	2Conj
vadj		tá n a:t' ə'l'ig' gla'stə <i>tá an áit uilig glasta</i>	glasri: Mq ¹
VN		tosi gla'sə <i>M tosaí ag glasadh</i>	
<i>LABHAIR</i>		1Conj	2Conj
pres		lqurən fe: 46.247	ə lquri:n tu: 46.356, lauri:n 04Br, 21Ptq, 27Mdq
prsbj	cp. <i>go labhaire 'n chuach</i>	!894C9	<i>go labhairí tú</i> FFG s.v. <i>labhairíonn</i>
pstsbj		laurt'i: 35E	ga lauri:x mid'ə 26P
pst		laurədər 01P², lauru: 29Cq	lauri:dər 892M, lauri:w 892M, 26Pq
fut		laur'hə 63S, laurfər 27Mdq	lauro: (m'e:) 26P, 27Md, 52J lauro:s 892M, M laur'o: m'e: 21Ptq, lauro:f'ər 45N lauro:N' lauro:x 889P, lauro:nfə lauro:d'i:f 892M2419, 4637, ga: lauro:d' fjad 15W
cond		laura: 889P laurha: 27Mdq	
vadj		laurhə	
VN	Neutral	laurt'	

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 **-a:ha:** and **-əha:** with other 2Conj verbs, has 2sg cond **laura:**, despite his regular 2Conj cond **lauro:-** in other persons.

<i>MALL</i> (<i>AIGH</i>)		1Conj	2Conj
pres		mə:lən' fe	
pst		wə:l' fe f'i:s	
fut		mə:lhə fe	mə:lo:
vadj		tə mə:l't ə f'i:s eg'ə, mə:ltə	mə:li: Mq ^a
VN		tə fe ə mə:lə f'i:s ə'xil'ə lə:, ə mə:lə f'i:s Mq <i>tá sé ag malladh síos achuile lá, ag malladh síos</i>	

^a Note ***mali:** MØperm, perhaps to avoid confusion with common *mallai(the)* 'cursed'.

<i>MION</i> (<i>AIGH</i>)		1Conj	2Conj
impv		m'un gə ma: ə'n'if' e <i>S mion go maith anois é</i>	
vadj		m'int'ə S, m'intə S	
VN		m'inə S	m'inu: S, cp. <i>mionaigh</i> LFRM

<i>NOCHT</i> (<i>AIGH</i>) Neutral		1Conj	2Conj
pst		noxt m'ə mə ɣlu:n' <i>nocht mé mo ghlúin</i>	noxtə
psthab			noxti:n'
fut			noxtə' m'ə Mq
vadj		noxti:hə Mq	
VN		ga noxtə Mq	

OIL

Recorded in song:

1Conj pst *A d'fheil* **!894C9** (i.e. **d'el' d'oil**), imprs **he'l'ur 04Bl** *hoileadh*; cond *a d'fheilfeadh* **!894C9** (i.e. **d'el'həx d'oiltheadh**).

2Conj cond **nax N'el'o:n də ...** (Ams)**899N** *nach n-oileoinn do ...*.

¹ Both **glasro'** and **glasri:** were used by Mq but later rejected in preference to *glas*, perhaps to avoid confusion with the noun plural **glasri:** *glasraí*.

² Speaker **01P** has regular 2Conj 3pl *-iodar* (in 2Conj verbs).

VN **ag ol'unt'** *ag oiliúint*, cp. (older) VN genitive **ailt'ə** in *bean oilte* FFG s.v. *oilte*; vadj in *oilte tóigthí(the)* **elt'ə to:k'i:(hə)** (Amm)**39J**, **ailt'ə to:k'i'** (Amm)**19J**.

Cp. *OSCAIL* in 'Historical Phonology' (1.380).

RATHAIGH 2Conj generally (5.163), but also 1Conj cond or pstsbj **rahəx** S.

REITH, 1Conj is general (5.235), fut imprs **rof'ər** **20Mlq**, but pres **rohi:n** [x2] **20Mlq**, cp.

VN **rohi:nt'əxt** *reithínteacht*.

SLÁNAIGH 2Conj generally including VN *slánú*, but as noun *slánadh* noted in: *nach bhfuil aon slánadh i do chionn* **06C**.

SROICH 1Conj generally; for 2Conj in query only, cf. *CAITH* class, Sq (5.126).

<i>TEITH</i>	1Conj	2Conj
pres	t'ehən fjəd 21Jq	
pst	hə fə Mq	hehi:dər 25M
fut	t'ehə fə Mq , 27Mdq	
cond	hehəd fə Mq , 27Mdq	
vadj	t'et'ə Mq	
VN	t'ehə Mq , 27Mdq , cp. <i>ar a theiche uathub</i> t'ehu: 869P , S, 21Jq , 35E ¹ 869P3 , er' ə hehə S, 21J , 35E	

TÓRRAIGH

(Older 1sg pres *tórramhaim*, *tórruighim* Dinn.)

1Conj pst imprs *tórrthú* **866E**Sc309-3.2(d) (cp. Sc225.5), **to:ru: 892M**4491, *ag a' mbean a tórrthú agus a cuiriú* **894C2**. VN **to:rhə** *tórramh*, e.g. **ta: fj: ga: to:rhə** *tá sí dhá tórramh*. Only the VN is known to Seán, e.g. *tá sí gá tórrtha'* Sq, *an oíche a raibh sí gá tórrtha'* Sq. Seán claims never to have heard, for example, fut ***to:rho: mid' əmar'əx i: SØperm** **tórrthóidh muid amáireach í*. Cp. 2Conj prsbj **gə do:rhí: m'e 00Ttn**, 3pl cond *nach dtórrthóidís go fiúntach mé* !Ams (also *nach gcuirfear tórrthamh fada orm* !Ams)**21Jc**).

5.171 CRUAIGH subclass

<i>BEOIGH, BEODHAIGH</i>		1Conj	
pst		v'ə:ədər	
fut		Mq: b'ə:ə fjəd suəs (x3), b'ə:ə, b'ə:ə, b'ə:hə	
cond		Mq: v'ə:ət' fə suəs, v'ə:əd' i:f suəs, v'ə:ət' fə, v'ə:əx	
vadj		cf. neutral forms below	
		2Conj	
pst		bheódha' (bheó'a) 866E Semr66 \Rightarrow v'ə:ə	
psthab		bheóáíoch a' mac ... insa siúl 869P2	
fut		b'ə:ə Mq, b'ə:ə: Mperm	
vadj		b'ə:ihə suəs 894C, b'ə:ihə suəs M	
Neutral forms: vadj b'ə:ət' ə suəs M, b'ə:ət' ə Mq; VN b'ə:v [b'ə:uw] M, b'ə:xən Mq.			
<i>CRUAIGH</i>	Neutral	1Conj	2Conj
pst	xruə fə	kruəv Mq	
prsbj			gə gruəi: fə Mq
fut			kru:ə: 27Mdq
cond			xruəv'ə fə Mq
vadj	kruət' ə		cruaíthe láidir 869P5, kruəihə 35E, kruəi 27Mdq

¹ In *a' teichiú uaidh 869P*, **ə t'ehu: ə ... S ag teithiú ó ...**, **ə t'ehu: wom 21Jq** *ag teithiú uaim*; in query: **ə t'ehu wem' [x2] ... t'ehə | wuəm' | 27Mdq**. It is likely that **-u:** before consonants, e.g. **ə t'ehu: gə ... 35E** *ag teithiú go ...*, may have spread from lexical sandhi which was originally found before vowels in the phrase *ag teitheadh ó* (2.52).

fuáil also inflected as stem in future and past (at least, 5.22).

5.172 General

First Conjugation	-hə, -hi:(hə)	also (more rare) -ti:(hə)
Second Conjugation	-i:(hə)	also (more rare) -i:χ'ə, -ix'ə, -ihə
Both Conjugations	-tə	

1 First Conjugation

(a) $-C^{+stop} + \mathbf{hi:(h\mathfrak{a})} \gg \mathbf{t\mathfrak{a}}$

(b) $-V(V)(\mathbf{h}) + \mathbf{t' \mathfrak{a}}$

(c) $-C^{+cont} + \mathbf{h\mathfrak{a}/t\mathfrak{a}}$, i.e.

$-\mathbf{l/n/m/s/x} + \mathbf{t\mathfrak{a}}$
 $-\mathbf{v} + \mathbf{h\mathfrak{a}} \sim + \mathbf{t\mathfrak{a}}$
 $-\mathbf{r} + \mathbf{h\mathfrak{a}} \gg + \mathbf{t\mathfrak{a}}$
 $(-C' + \mathbf{t' \mathfrak{a}})$

II Second Conjugation

- (a) Generally **i:(hə)**
- (b) BEATHAIGH, AGAIR and CRUAIGH classes **i:(hə) ~ t'ə**
- (c) FEOGHLAIM class **i:(hə) ~ tə ~ t'ə**

III Irregular Formations include **-ti:(hə)** for **-tə**; **-tə** for **-t'ə**; **-hə** for **-hi:(hə)**; **-ix'ə**, **-ihə**; and stem alternations

The subrules in the First Conjugation regarding choice of **-hə**, **-hi:(hə)** or **-tə** conspire to avoid verbal adjective realisation which would have **-ə** as the unique segmental surface marker. Where unique surface **-ə** would appear, **-hə** cannot be used and the stronger forms **-tə** or **-hi:(hə)** appear, i.e.

-C + hə > *-C#ə, therefore **> -C#hi:(hə)** or **-C#tə**.

For example:

lu:b + hə > *lu:pə, therefore **> lu:pi:(hə)**;

kok + hə > *kokə, therefore **> koki:(hə)** or **kokdə**.

The verbal adjective sandhi rule **-ə > -i:** (rarely **-i:h-**) 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:** (rarely **-ti:hə**) for unmarked **-tə**. Root-final voiceless stops are less differentiated by **-hi:(hə)** than voiced stops, which are changed through devoicing, hence the voiceless stops have the choice of more salient **-tə** as well as **-hi:(hə)**. Voiceless final **t** does not take **-tə**, however, as coalescence would yield surface **-ə** only as the verbal adjective marker leaving **-t + hi:(hə)** as regular.

The main complication in this system occurs with the continuants **-l**, **-n**, **-m**, **-s**, **-x**, and optionally **-v**, which take **-tə**; as well as the tendency by a minority of speakers to add **-tə** to verbs in final **-r** also (actually **-r' + t'ə**). The palatal form **-t'ə** 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:(hə) >> -tə

Examples in **-b**, **-d**, **-g**, **-p**, **-t**, **-c** with **hi:(hə)**:

lúb lu:pi:(hə), *séid fe:t'i:(hə)*, *sloig slik'i:(hə)*, *crap krapi:(hə)*,
rot roti:(hə), *loic lok'i:(hə)*.

hi:(hə) >> -tə: as explained above, verbs in final **k** and **p** can take optional **-tə**. Only four verbs of this type have been noted from conversation with verbal adjective **-tə**; all, except *cac*, also occur or are permissible with **hi:(hə)**:¹

bac, *ba'kdə*;
cac, *kakdə* SM vs. **kaki*;
coc, *koki:(hə) ~ kokdə* SM;
rop, *ropi*: S, *ropi*: (<< ?) *ropdə*.

¹ It is difficult to know whether the anomalous example following a root in *g* in *tugta agána seanathair* ... 866ESemr168 (for normal *tugthaí < tabhair* (irregular verb)) is genuine or a mistranscription. Speaker 866E has regular application of an obsolescent sandhi rule changing verbal adjective *-a/e* to *-í* 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 **-tə** with other verbs in final **k** and **p**. Having given her examples of the alternants, as, for example, with *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** ≠ **t** here. I later found *coisc* **kofk** > **kofk**’i: and *stuc* **stuk** > **stuki**: in my notes.)

Table 5.60 *cocta* ~ *cocthaíthe*, etc., M, Mq, Mperm

	M (conversation)		Mq		Mperm	
	-i:(hə)	-tə	-i:(hə)	-tə	-i:(hə)	-tə
<i>bac</i>				ba’kdə	ba’ki:	
<i>cac</i>		kakdə			*kaki: Øperm	
<i>coc</i>	koki:(hə)	kokdə				
<i>crap</i>	kra’pi:(hə)		kra’pi:(hə)		kra’pdə suəs eg’ə	
<i>glac</i>			glə’ki:hə		glə’kt eg’ə	
<i>íoc</i>	iki:(hə)		iki:		ikt eg’ə	
<i>lasc</i>			lə’ski:(hə)		(laskdə ^a)	
<i>loic</i>			lə’ki:hə		*lə’kt ə Øperm	
<i>loisc</i>	lə’f’ki:		lə’f’ki:		lə’f’d ə brit’ə dət’ə ^b	
<i>measc</i>	m’æ’ski:(hə)		m’æ’ski:		m’æ:skdə	
<i>pioc</i>	p’uki:(hə)		p’uki:(hə)		p’ukdə	
<i>pléasc</i>	pl’eski:(hə)		pl’eski:hə		pl’eskdə	
<i>rop</i>			ropi:		ropdə	
<i>scaip</i>	skæ’p’i:(hə)		skæ’p’i:hə		skæ’pt’ə, skæ’pd’ə	
<i>stríoc</i>			ʃtr’iki:		ʃtr’ikdə	
<i>stróic</i>	stro:k’i:(hə)		stro:k’i:		??? stro:kd’ə ^c	

^a 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. *loisc*. ^b For cluster simplification, see 5.38.

^c About this form Máire commented *ní mórán é Mq* ‘not (used) very much’.

We can now categorise Máire’s verbal stems into three main categories regarding **-tə**; attested vernacular, permissible, and impermissible usage:

vernacular	+perm	Øperm
op, ok, ak	ap’, ik, esk, ofk’, ask, uk, ap	ok’, ??? o:k’

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

palato-alveolar allomorph (-tʰ-) 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 **krapi:** remains unexplained. Along with the slightly higher attestation of -tə 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* > ***kaki:** 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* > **ba'kdə** ~ **ba'ki:** Mperm. (Relevant data are sparse for elsewhere in Connacht. GCF is limited to *coc* > **kokdə** and *rop* > **ropi:** ~ **roptə** (GCF §169 'Eisceachta'); only *craptha* s.v. *crap*, and *cochta* (genitive) s.v. *craoibhfliuch* 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 -tə ending is also found in compounding, i.e. *inchocta* as well as more common *inchocthaí(the)*. This might imply that a genitive in -tə would also occur; two speakers queried, however, did not permit **tá sé i ndan a chocta* **21Pt**Øperm, **27Md**Øperm. (It seems that unhistorical -ta has not spread to the genitive of *cocadh*.)

I(b) -V(V)(h) + tʰə

Roots in final vowels take -tʰə, e.g.

snoigh **snitʰə**, *caith* **katʰə**, *sroich* **srotʰə**, *cáith* **katʰə**, *súigh* **sutʰə**,
suigh **sitʰə** **si:tʰə**, *loigh* **letʰə** **laitʰə**.

5.174 I(c) -C^{+cont} + hə/tə

Roots in final continuants take -hə and -tə.

-l/n/s/x + -tə, e.g. *dall* **daltə**, *lán* **lantə**, *bris* **br'iftʰə**, *scioch* **ʃk'oxətə**.

Exception: *speal* **sp'æ:li:** **60M** for traditional **sp'æ:ltə**.

-m + -tə, e.g. *lom* **lu(:)mtə**, also *cum* **ku(:)mtə** generally, but **kumə** **19J** *cumtha* (perhaps nonlocal usage).

-v + -hə ~ -tə ~ -tʰə, lexemes noted are:

	hə	tə ~ tʰə
<i>duibh</i>		diftʰ ekʰə Mq
<i>guibh</i>		givtʰə Sq
<i>snáimh</i>	cp. <i>insnáfa</i> Clad233, MØperm	snə:fdə 23Bq , 72Nq ; snə:ftʰə SM, cp. <i>in(t)snáimhte</i> Mq
<i>sclamh</i>		sklāfdə M, sklā:vtə SM
<i>scríobh</i>	<i>scríofa</i> 894C2 , ʃkr'i:fə 04B21 , 15W	ʃkr'i:ftə [x2] P; ʃkr'i:fdə 23Bq , 72Nq
<i>sníomh</i>	(or ʃn'i:φə) 46.229, <i>sníofa</i> [x2] 869P2 , ʃn'i:fə S	ʃn'i:ftə 46.229; ʃn'i:vtə 21Ptq , ʃn'i:fdə S, 23Bq , ʃn'i:vtʰə S
<i>tiubh</i>	tʰufə Mq	

The LOBH class is quite idiosyncratic (5.140 ff.):

gabh **got'ə**, **gaut'ə**, **gofə**;
lobh **lofə**;
togh **taut'ə**, **tauhə**, **toft'ə**, **tofə**;
treabh **tr'aut'ə**, **tr'ot'ə**, **tr'aufə**, **tr'ofə**, **tr'ofi**.

-r + -hə is the commonest formation for the vast majority of speakers, e.g.

iarr iər'hə, *clár klār'hə* S.

Note that **-r' + hə > -rhə**:

fair fār'hə, *fóir fur'hə* Mq, *mair mar'hə* Mq, *cuir kur'hə*, *comhair kur'hə*, *labhair laur'hə* S, *doir dor'hə*, *speir sp'or'hə* M, *beir b'or'hə*, cp. *sco(i)r skor'hə* S.

-r' + -t'ə is used sporadically by these speakers:

cuir > **kurt'ə**, **tá: nə di:n'ə kurt'ə mu:** S *tá na daoine cuirte amú*,
kurt'ə jis eg'ə M *cuirte síos aige*.
Both are unique examples (of **kurt'ə** from M, or any such **-rt'ə** form noted from S).
fair > **fart'ə**, **kin'** [sic] **hisə fart' i:** P *coinnigh thusa fairte í*.
labhair > **laurt'ə**, **n' t'æ:ggə jin' laurt'ə r'iew** (Peter Naughton, AM)
an teanga sin labhairte ariamh.
mair > **mart'ə**, **v'i: ji: mart'ə n'is fed'ə nɑ: jin' M**
bhí sí mairte níos foide ná sin.
In query **mar'hə** Mq is preferred to **mart'ə**.

Similarly, *riar riər'hə* Sq, Mq against ***riərtə** SØperm, MØperm.

Speaker **23B**, however, consistently uses **-rt'ə** in **kirt'ə** and **laurt'ə** at least. In conversation *cuir* > **kirt'ə** **23B** regularly, e.g.

v'i:ŋ kirt'ə ser' eg'ə **23B** *bhínn cuirte soir aige*,

kirt'ə waləx amsə **23B** *cuirte i bhfalach a'msa*,

but **kur'hə** regularly in the phrase **kə:lt'ə kur'hə** **23B** *caillte, curtha* 'dead and buried'.

In elicitation **23Bq** produced **kur'hə curtha**, **sp'or'hə speirthe**, **kur'hə comhairthe**, **laurt'ə laur'hə labhartha**. Questioned as to the acceptability of *cuirte*, **23Bq** claimed it to be an incorrect form and as for the phrase: **tá je kirt'ə n'if** **23Bq** *tá sé cuirte anois*, meaning 'buried', **23Bq** commented:

d'ærhəx kid'ə gə nə di:n' i e' ax n' i' jærhəx m'if e **23Bq**

Déarthadh cuide dhe na daoine é ach ní dhéarthadh mise é.

Indeed **23Bq** shows **-tə** in other verbal adjective environments:

coc > **koki:hə kokdə**, *scríobh* > **ʃkr'ifdə**, *sná(i)mh* > **snə:fdə**, *sníomh* > **ʃn'ifdə**;

in 2 Conjugation *oscail* > **uskəlt'ə**, *coigil* > **kəg'əlt'ə** (leg **ki-** ?), *cuimil* > **kim'əlt'ə**, but *feoghlaim* > **f'oləm'i:**.

She also has noteworthy consistent **-t-** use in verbal nouns **kin'əlt' 23B** *coinneáilt*, **l'æ:gənt' 23B** *leagaint* (*chainte* / *cainte* ?), and **-t-** in pronominal 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 **plə:ft'ær'hə** **892M**, **plə:ft'ærə** **894C** *pláistéartha*, now replaced by *pláistearáilte*. The optional absence of unstressed **h** here corresponds to its general absence in

the future stem of the SÁBHÁIL class and its frequent absence in the genitive *iomradh* > **umər(h)ə** *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 **-ltə** ~ **-lt'ə**.

-x + tə (~ t'ə)

buach **buəxtə** generally, but **buəxt'ə** Mq, (**buə't'ə** Mperm but this may not be a genuine local form).
scioch **ʃk'ox'tə** M, **45B**.

-v + tə ~ t'ə in **ʃn'ifdə** generally, including S, but also **ʃn'i:v't'ə** S (i.e. **-v't'-**).

-l, -l' > -ltə ~ -lt'ə

dall **də:ltə**; *stíall* **ʃt'iəltə** M; *mall* **mə:lt'ə** **mə:ltə** Mq;
dúbail **dʊ:bəlt'ə** generally, but cp. *dúbalta* **875T1**.

In verbs where **-l' > -l** in VN:

diúil **d'ú:ltə** ~ **d'ú:lt'ə**;
siúil **ʃú:ltə** ~ **ʃú:lt'ə**, e.g. *siúлта* **869P5**, **870B1** (x2), **ʃu:lt eg'ə** **11Cta5** *siúлта aige*; **ʃu:lt'ə** M; *siúiltí aige* (x3, a-c), *siúiltí acub* (x2, e, f) vs. *siúлтаí acub* (x2, d, g) **11C** (in one rendition of a traditional narrative);
táil **tə:lt'ə** M.

-n > -ntə and **-n' > -nt'ə** regularly, e.g. *lán*, **lə:ntə** M; *stán*, **stə:ntə** S; GEAR class verbs have nonpalatal **-t-** only, e.g. ***t'ə:nt'ə** *suəs* MØperm *teannta suas*; *múin* 'urinate', **mú:nt'ə** Mq; *scáin*, **skə:nt'ə** S, Mq. Exceptions are:

claon **klɪ:ntə** S, **klɪ:nt'ə** M;
(leon) **l'ú:ntə**, ***l'ú:nt'ə** MØ?perm);
míon **m'íntə** S, **m'ínt'ə** S;
scinn Máire has a nonpalatal root, e.g. pst **ʃk'i:n** pres **ʃk'i:nən**, fut **ʃk'i:nhə**, but variable quality in vadj **ʃk'i:nt'ə**, **ʃk'i:ntə** Mq.

5.176 II Second Conjugation: II(a) -i:(hə)

The general 2 Conjugation ending is **-i:(hə)**, e.g.

ceannaigh **k'æ:ni:(hə)**, *scanraigh* **skanʔri:(hə)**, *innis* **i:nfi:(hə)**.

The disyllabic ending **-i:hə** is generally realised as **[i:hə]**, but other phonetic forms have been noted, in particular **i:x'ə** and **i:h'ə**. Speaker **21Pt** was noted with **i:x'ə** before pausa in citation form (as he searched for the correct term for *maide corrach*):

mə:d'ə ʃk'upɪ: x'urhə: ... mə:d'ə ʃk'upɪ:x'ə | ... wə:d'ə ʃk'upɪ:x'ə | 21Pt
'maide sciobthaí' a thiúirthá air ...

Similarly, the **i:x'ə** and **i:h'ə** tokens in SID.46 (obviously citation forms) listed below, Table 5.62, contrast with **i:hə** only heard in **869P**'s audio recordings. A fricative token was noted from speaker **11C** before pausa in **t'a:ki:çə** ARN2360 *teagthaíthe* (note palatal (**ç**) rather than palato-velar (**x'**) place of articulation); his usual long form is **i:hə**. Reduced forms **i:ə** and **i:hə** also occur; for examples, see

below (5.184 ff.). When stressed the vowel can be short, yielding **ix'ə** and **ihə**:

-i:(hə) alternates with stressed **-ix'ə** categorically for some speakers, regularly for others, in the verb *imigh* **im'ə** > **ə'm'ix'ə** 892M, 08B, 11C, 37M, significantly less often **ə'm'ih'ə** 11C;

-i:(hə) alternates with stressed **-ihə** in the verb *oscail* **ə's'klihə** (heard only from 37M).

The complete lists of verbal adjective forms of these two verbs are (cf. 1.379, 1.380):

imigh **im'i:hə** **i'm'i:hə** **i'm'i:hə** **ə'm'i:hə** **'i'mi:ə** **ə'm'i:** **im'i:** **'i'm'i:x'ə** **ə'm'ix'ə** **ə'm'ih'ə** **i'm'ihə** (all or many also nasalised);
oscail **oskli:hə** **o'skli:hə** **ə's'klihə** **'o'skli:** **ə'skli:**, also **oskəlt'ə** **'ə's'kult'ə** **ə's'kult'ə** **es'kolt'ə** **ə's'kult'ə** (and perhaps **ə'skli:t'ə** M87 [sic ?]).

5.177 **II(b) -i:(hə) ~ -t'ə**; **II(c) -i:(hə) ~ -tə ~ -t'ə**

Verbal adjective suffix **-i:(hə)** alternates with **-t'ə** in the Second Conjugation classes BEATHAIGH, AGAIR, and CRUAIGH.

The BEATHAIGH class (subclass of CRUTHAIGH class of verbs) consists of stems in **-ahə**:

beathaigh **b'æhi:(hə)**, **b'æt'ə**;
dathaigh **dæhi:(hə)**, **dæt'ə**, e.g. *dathaíthe* [x2] 869P2;
rathaigh **ræhi:(hə)**, **ræt'ə**.

The stem *beathaigh*, a by-form of *breathnaigh*, occurs as *breathaí(the)* (~ *breathnaí(the)*) only.

The AGAIR class of verbs has alternation between **-i:(hə)** and **-t'ə** in a subclass consisting of stems in **-l'**, and two stems in **-N'** (one of which is in the AITHRIS class). Overall, **-t'ə** is the minor variant which is, however, frequent in two common verbs *ceangail* and *oscail*:

<i>ceangailte</i>	<i>ceanglaíthe</i>	<i>oscailte, foscailte</i>	<i>osclaíthe</i>
894Cs 899D6378 01C6305	892M, 06C, -aí 72Nq	osk'it'f'ë Mp 146 os- 892Mg us- 899D6430 f'oskəlt'ə M	frequent is- 11C, usclaí 72Nq
ARNII: (x10) ¹	(x4)	(x4)	(x4)
<i>coigilte</i>	<i>coi(n)glíthe</i>	<i>tochailte</i>	<i>tochlaíthe</i>
k'og'əf'f'ə 46.548	ki(ŋ)gl'i:(hə) SM, etc.,	toxəlt'ə M <<	toqli:, toqli:hə M, toqlihë 46.117
<i>fuascailte</i>	<i>fuasclaíthe</i>	<i>cuimilte</i>	<i>cuimlíthe</i>
!11Ct	866ERBÉ160	kim'əlt'ə 23Bq, 72Nq	kimf'i: kuməf' > kum-l'i:hə 84Pq
<i>coisinte</i>	<i>coisní(the)</i>	<i>foilinte</i>	<i>foilníthe, foilinníthe</i>
869P5	SM	f'el'ənt'ə Mq, cp. f'el'ənt'i: M	f'elN'i:hə, f'olN'i: f'olN'i:hə; f'ol'ənt'i:

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.

Other verbs in **-Í** are found in my notes with **-i:(hə)** only:

cangail **kangli:(hə)**, *strachail* **stra'xli:**.

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 **-Í** has clearly obligatory **-i:(hə)**: *codail* **koli:(hə)**; perhaps also *freastail* **fr'æ:stəli:hə**.

The CRUAIGH class is exemplified by:

cruaigh *cruaíthe láidir* **869P5**, **kruəihə 16A**, **35E**, **kruəi 27Mdq**,
and frequent **kruə't ə**;

beo(dha)igh *beoíthe, beoite*;

feoigh *feoíthe, feoite*.

For this class the **-t'ə** ending can be interpreted as belonging to either the 1 or 2 Conjugation (i.e. a 'neutral' ending).

II(c) 2 Conjugation **-i:(hə) ~ -tə ~ -t'ə**

The FEOGHLAIM class adds optional **-tə** to *feoghlaím* and optional **-t'ə** to *tocha(i)s* and *tochrais*:

feoghlaím **f'ə:ləm'i:**, **f'ə:ləmtə** (e.g. **72Nq**), cp. as adjective **f'a.r f'ə:ləmt è** 46.739 *fear feoghlamta é*. Variation occurs within the same discourse, e.g.

f'ə:ləm'i: eg' ... f'ə:ləmtə P (both vadj).

Cp. *foghlaím* > *-mtha*: *scoil ná Béarla fóghlamtha aige* **894C9**.

tocha(i)s **toxəft'ə Mq**, **12Jq**, **tox'fi:hə 20Cq**, **toxəsi: 25Cq**.

tochrais **toxəft'ə Mq**, **toxə'fi:hə 20Cq**, **tox'r-fi:hə 20Cq**.

5.178 III Irregular formations; 1 Conjugation (a)–(c)

Irregular formations in the verbal adjective are:

- (a) **-t(')i:(hə)** for regular **-t(')ə**;
- (b) **-tə (-ti:)** for regular **-t'ə**;
- (c) **-hə** for regular **-hi:(hə)**;
- (d) **-ix'ə** and **-ihə** for regular **-i:(hə)**;
- (e) stem alternations: vocalic **u > a**, **ia > e**; infixed **-f-**.

1 Conjugation

(a) **-t(')i:(hə)** for regular **-t(')ə**

Anomalous **-t(')i:(hə)** occurs beside regular **-t(')ə** in six verbs (one of which, *foilinn*, is 2Conj):

clois **kluf't ə ~ kluf't i: ~ kluf't i:hə**;

foilinn **fel'ənt'ə ~ fel'ənt'i: ~ fel'N'i:hə ~ fol'N'i: ~ fol'N'i:hə ~ fol'ənt'i:**;
anomalous **fel'ənt'i:** can best be taken as a composite of **fel'ənt'ə**
and unsyncopated **fol'ənt'i:**;

leath **l'atə ~ l'ati:** (cf. (b) below);

préach **pr'e:xtə ~ pr'e:xti: ~ pr'e:xti:hə**;

plúch **plu:xtə ~ plu:xti:**;

scréach transcribed (in adjectival use only) as *scréachtaí(the)* in my notes.

Mq permits *cloiste ~ cloistí*; uses mostly *préachtaí(the)* and permits *préachta*; uses *plúchta* and does not permit *plúchtaí(the)*, nor does she permit similarly formed **buachtaí*, **múchtaí*. Neither have **cruachtaí* nor **cuachtaí* been

recorded for regular *cruachta* S and *cuachta* M. Also *f'e:xtə* SM, *f'e:xt am* Mq were noted but ... *f'e:xti' am* Mperm *f'éachtaí a'm*. No verbs have been noted with short vowels in *-*chtaí*, e.g. *fiuch f'oxtə*, *fliuch fl'oxtə* SM.

SID.46 has *plu:xtə* Mp 28 and *klin'jt ə* 46.390. Speaker 01PDO has *plu:xti:*.

(b) -tə (-ti:) for regular -t'ə

-tə (~ -ti: in one lexeme) for expected -t'ə following vowels occurs in *leath* and *meath*. Generally *leata* occurs in the phrase:

(*Tá do*) *shúile leata* SM, also

v'i: m'e l'ætə br'æ:nhu: er' S bhí mé leata ag breathnú air.

But *leataí* also occurs here, as in: *go bhfuil do shúile leathtaí sna leabharthaí* Mlt. *m'ætə* S *meata* (-tə only) occurs as a more or less independent adjective, e.g.

Tá an garraí meata le cur M,

but also *meaite* 06C. Cp. *dúbalta* 869P2 'folded' (if accurately transcribed) for common *du:bəlt'ə*; presumably *leáigh* is the verb in *ór leáta* 852SbTS152, but spelt *ór leata* [x2] 852Sb6.69, which can be derived from *leath*.

(c) -hə for regular -hi:(hə)

There are two verbs, *druid* and *baist*, which have optional -(h)ə for more regular -(h)i:(hə).¹ Both verbs alternate a restricted surface form in -t'ə (the historical usage) with a productive surface form in -t' i:.

druid, *drit' i: l'e ... >> drit'ə l'e ... S druidthe le* 'packed with'.

baist, regularly *baistí(the)*, but in the sayings:

b'orhə (nə: b'o:) nə: ba:ft' i:(hə) beirthe (ná beo) ná baistí(the)

the form ... *nə: ba:ft' ə* is also used.

Similarly, *fear baiste* is heard in:

n' i xr'et'əx en' ær ba:ft' ə ... 50E ní chreidtheadh aon fhear baiste ...

Outside of such phrases *baiste* was not permitted by Mq: **bhí an páiste baiste* MØperm, which she corrected to *ba:ft' i:hə* Mq. Furthermore, <i: > is not interchangeable with <i:hə > here, at least not for Mq. Máire permitted only (-ə and) <i: > in *b'o: / b'orhə nə ba:ft' i:*. In contrast, speaker 20C, a high <i:hə > user, has *b'o: / b'orhə nə ba:ft' i:hə*. (See also genitive of VN *baisteadh* below, 5.228 6VND.)

5.179 Irregular (d)–(e)

(d) 2 Conjugation -ix'ə and -ihə for regular -i:(hə)

There is optional use of -ix'ə in *imíthe*, and optional -ihə in *osclaíthe* (cf. 5.176).

(e) Stem alternations: vocalic u > a, iə > e; infix -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:(hə) seacáithe*;
as nominative *fuk sioc* > genitive *fakə seaca*.

The derived verb *l'ia liath* is regular apart from a verbal adjective by-form: regular *l'iaí'ə* M, 66N, including in *liaite le gráin*, but Seán has *l'et'ə* in this phrase (5.18), thus:

¹ Cp. *uisce caisricthe* > *ij'k'ə kaf'rək'* (1.49).

l'iat'ə ~ l'e:t'ə l'e grán' liaite ~ léite le gráin.

The adjective *liath* has genitive *léith(e)*.

Three verbs take optional infix -f- -s- (also found in their respective verbal nouns, the diachronic source):

creid **kr'eft'i:(hə)** *creistí(the)*: *bhí sé creisdighthe ag seanaoiní*, ~ ... *creidhíthe ag ...* 894C9 and note 894C's VN *creisteachtáil* 894C2, contrast **kr'et'i:hə** M, Mq, ***kr'eft'i:hə** MØperm;
tairg **tær'əjk'i:** M, 66N *tairiscthí*, **tær'ək'i** Mperm *tairgthí*;
tréig **tr'e:k'i:(hə)** M, Mq, **tr'e:jk'i:hə** Mperm, **tr'e:jk'i:** 66N *tréiscí(the)*.
 Speaker 66N uses **tr'e:g'** ~ **tr'e:jk'** - as general verbal roots, but **tr'e:jk'** - only in the vadj and VN.

No infix -s- has been noted for **t'ig'** *tuig* > **t'ik'i:(hə)** *tuighíthe*, despite VN **t'ijk'ənt'** *tuiscint*.

5.180 Further notes

There is an example of the genitive of the verbal noun influencing verbal adjective formation in:

ta ræ:l'i: kolət a:msə M *tá railí 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(the)*, 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 / are finished'.

Many adjectives have a similar alternation of -i: with -i:hə as in the verbal adjective, e.g.

céillí **k'e:l'i:** >> **k'e:l'i:hə** Mq, also **k'e:l'i:(hə)**;
feosaí **f'o:s'i:hə** 889P;
séimhí **se:v'i:(hə)**; also **se:v'** *séimh*;
simplí **fi:mpl'i:hə** 899DARN (3/3):
badh é ba simplí sa fi:mpl'i:hə sə mbád 6133,
badh é ba simplí, fi:mpl'i:hə | 6133,
tá teach roinnt simplí ar fi:mpl'i:h er' a dhíonamh. 6575;
fi:mpl'i: (>>) **fi:mpl'i:hə** Mq;
spadaí FGB cp. **spadi:hə** (speaker name(s) not recorded), *spadaithe* FFG.

Contrast *ciontaí* which has regular -i:. Speakers 869P2-5 and 20C, strong users of -i:hə -íthe, have *ciontaí* only, e.g. *ba ciontaí le* 869P4, ***bə k'unti:hə l'ej** 20CØperm. This reflects the original use of *ciontaí* (superlative *ciontuighe* DIL s.v. *cintach* I; cp. *ciontaí* as substantive in FGB, *cintaige* DIL (not found in Dinn)). In fact *ciontaíthe* **k'unti:hə** 'found guilty' is the verbal adjective of *ciontaigh* according to 20Cq.

Also **-tə** ~ **-ti:(hə)**, e.g.

deabhalta **d'aultə d'aulti: d'aulti:hə**;

scréachta **ʃkr'e:xtə ~ ʃkr'e:xti: ~ ʃkr'e:xti:hə** M.

Speaker **899P** is the only speaker in Iorras Aithneach I have heard using **-t'i:** in **ʃu:rɑ:l't'i: siúrálte** (2/2). There is a rather indistinctly recorded **-i** in prepausa **re:su:nti réasúnta** from **892Mg**.

Adjectives with this **-i:** ~ **-i:hə** and **-tə** ~ **-ti:(hə)** variation may undergo similar conditioning to verbal adjectives. Speaker **19P**'s prepausa token ... **fɑ:l' k'e:l'i:hə** | Pt9 ... *fáil céillíthe* is suggestive of a prepausa condition here (Table 5.65 p. 1071). Similarly, in the example *go ndéarnadar criplíthe cróluíthe* [recte *cruiplíthe cróilíthe*] *i mo chláiríneach mé* **866ESemr122** (as mentioned in 5.183).

5.181 (i:hə) → <i:hə>, <i>, individual speakers

The First Conjugation allomorphs **hi:** and **hi:hə**, as well as Second Conjugation **i:** and **i:hə**, can be notated as **hi:(hə)** and **i:(hə)** 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:hə> as the two main variants of the variable (i:hə). This variable is discussed in the following sections with regard to individual speakers' systems and change in apparent time in speakers from central Iorras Aithneach. For the Second Conjugation, **i:** is homophonous with the verbal noun suffix **-i:** which is, however, of limited lexical use (*corraí, cónaí, fiathraí, éirí, impí, ionsaí, tosaí*). Only in the last verb is ambiguity common, i.e. **ta: ʃe: 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> in comparison with <i:hə>; <i:hə> being more frequent in the 2 Conjugation (corresponding to historical *-ighthē*); 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 *-í*, *-ithe*, *-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 *-ilíthe* is found in both conjugations. The single token of 1 Conjugation *-ilíthe*, however, is found, significantly, before pausa (full stop in the transcription). Before vowels *-ilíthe* is more common in the 2 Conjugation. Before consonants *-í* 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:hə), 852Sb6

	/_V	/_ə	/_C	/_pausa
-í	<i>toistí ó</i> 68	<i>neartaí arís</i> 69	<i>leagthaí go</i> 71 <i>luchtaí le</i> 78	<i>baistithe.</i> 66
-ilíthe	<i>collaithe ag</i> 72 <i>táirrníth' air</i> 75			
-í	1Conj	2Conj	1Conj, 2Conj	1Conj
-ilíthe	2Conj (x2)			

5.183 866E, Éamann a Búrc

The data in **866E**Semr 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 Búrc, 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 *-íthe* occurs prevocally in the form *-íth*, i.e. before *ag* in *ínsíth á' msa* **866E**Semr44. All other prevocalic tokens are written as *-íthe*, including one before *ag* in *bhí an scéal ínsíthe ag mac an fhatha* **866E**Semr120. 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 ndéarnadar criplíthe cróluíthe* [recte *cruiplíthe cróilíthe*] *i mo chláiríneach mé* **866E**Semr122 are further evidence of this speaker's frequent <i:hə> 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, Pádraigín 'ac Con Iomaire

As presented in Table 5.62, a total of 26 tokens were noted for this (i:hə) variable in SID.46. The variant <i:hə> 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>. There are even examples of *ihə* before vowels, all from Text I, however, one of the less trustworthy transcriptions in SID.46:

tít' ihə əsə ... I.15, *göt' ihə ig' ...* I.37, *fə:kihə r'f'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 **869P**2–5. They are all First Conjugation formations.

Table 5.62 (i:hə), SID.46

<i:hə> transcribed as	No. of tokens	Examples
<i>ix'ě</i>	1	<i>u:ntix'ě</i> Mp 178 <i>iontaigh</i>
<i>ix'ě</i>	1	<i>s'tro:k'ix'ě</i> , 314 <i>stróic</i>
<i>ih'ě</i>	9	<i>s'tru:mpih'ě</i> , I'ef' ... 94 <i>stromp</i> <i>è:tih'ě</i> 167 <i>at</i>
<i>ihě</i>	3	<i>in'fihě</i> 1144 <i>innis</i>
<i>ih'ə</i>	1	<i>è:p'ih'ə fə:s</i> 653 <i>aipigh</i>
<i>ihə</i>	6 ¹	<i>eib' r' ihə</i> 1062 <i>oibrigh</i> <i>göt' ihə ig'</i> I.37 <i>goid</i>
<i>i'hə</i>	1	<i>lōidi'hə</i> s.v. <i>laghduigh</i>

¹ If the three tokens from Text I are excluded, then only three forms of *ihə* occur.

<i:hə> transcribed as	No. of tokens	Examples
ih /_V	1	ʔ'akih er' I.16 <i>leag</i>
Total <i:hə>	23	
<i:> transcribed as	No. of tokens	Examples
i:	2	d'arəki: <i>deargaim</i> ʔ' r' ofə (<i>alt. ʔ' rofi:</i>) 609 <i>treabh</i> ¹
i	1	ʃarəki 971 <i>searg</i>
Total <i:>	3	

Cp. verbal noun *leasú*, genitive **ʔ' e:sihə** 629.

The phonemic status of the **i** vowel in these forms is /i:/. I transcribe all tokens in this speaker's audio recordings as **i:hə**, e.g.

socraigh sokri:hə **869P**, *stróic stro:k' i:hə* **869P**,

v'i: | **əŋ gra:bər' ə fəki:hə bə:si:hə** | **eg' ə** | **nə jiə** | **869P**

bhí an Grabaire fágthaíthe básaíthe aige ina dhiaidh.

Corresponding to SID.46 and his recordings, the material in RBÉ (**869P2**–5) shows almost entirely *-íthe*. In two cases, in the BEATHAIGH and BEOIGH classes, *-íthe* is used in contrast with *-te*, i.e.

dathaíthe **869P2** (phrase-finally), *cruaíthe láidir* **869P5**.

A rare example of *-í* occurs in *leacaíthe briste réapaí' aici* **869P2**, again with a 1 Conjugation verb. One can also compare SID.46's, and other speakers', including Máire's, reduced variant (i.e. **i^{hə}**) with the occasional spelling in *-íth'* before consonants, e.g. ... *socraíth' síos 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 <i:> and <i:ə> as his main variants, the former noted before vowels and consonants phrase-medially, the latter being the only form noted before pausa and occasionally found phrase-medially. Least common is <i:hə> noted prevocally and in the verb *imigh*. The clear vocalic glide in some tokens of <i:ə> is an indication that this variant is not simply a reduced form of <i:hə> for speaker **01P**. A sample of his usage, with the number of tokens (unsystematically) noted, is presented here:

<i:>	(x9)	/_V (x6)	're:t'i: ə'ma'x réitíthe amach (arguably <i:ə>), 'fə:ki: æ'd fágthaí a'd;
		/_C (x3)	a:rdi: suəs ardaíthe suas;
<i:ə>	(x10)	/_pausa (x8)	do:r't'i:ə dóirtíthe, k'æ:níə ceannaíthe, 'r'm'i:. ^h ə imíthe, fə:ki:jə fágthaíthe;
		/_C (x2)	t'a:r'n'i:ə 'suəs tairníthe suas, 'fe:t'i:ə 'suəs 'fu:hə séidhtíthe suas fúithi;
<i:hə>	(x2)	/_V <i>imigh</i>	'loxti:. ^h æ'd lochtaíthe a'd; 'r'm'i:hə gus ... imíthe agus ...

It will become clear in the following discussion that, apart from his use of <i:ə>, far more than any other of my speakers, **01P** (Doire Iorrais) has important

¹ Cp. *curthaí dhíom á'm* **869P2**. The *-í*, if accurate, may be due to the following *ag* form. Perhaps the **ʔ' 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:hə>. We will also see that his infrequent use of <i:hə> 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:hə>;
- (b) <i:hə> 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:hə> is used in 2 Conjugation verbs.

Table 5.63 summarises the distribution of speaker **04B**'s noted examples.

Table 5.63 (i:hə), **04B**

Tot (i:hə) 34	/_V, /_C	/_pausa	1Conj	<<	2Conj	Total
i:	20	2	10	<<	12	22
i:hə (also i:h /_V)	6	6	3	<<	9	12

Given that **04B**'s prevocalic *i:h* appears as *i* in the speech of many speakers, e.g. Máire, who have common *i:hə* before consonants and pausa, **04B**'s apparently more conservative examples of this variant are given here:

k'æpi:hə ma:x 04B4t ceapthaíthe amach,
t'ækí: ha:n, 04B5t teagthaíthe ann, slá:ní: hæd 04B5t slánaíthe a'd,
ə'm'i:h er' ... !(Asp)04B imíthe ar

For his son's usage (speaker **35E**), see 5.189.

5.187 11C, Cóilín Ó Cúláin

Apart from his high use of <i:hə>, speaker **11C** is noteworthy for (a) his categorical use of second-syllable stress on *imíthe* (ə'm'ix'ə >>> ə'm'ih'ə), and (b) his non-elision of schwa following verbal adjective *i*. He generally has <i:hə> before schwa but in about one quarter of instances with following schwa his realisation is *i:ə*. For example, his most common usage is:

o' ta tu t'ækí:hə d'er' ə bir'e:dəx S1.20
ó tá tú teagthaíthe a deir an Bairéadach;
ogəs e re:t'i'h əma:x ek'ə S1.10 agus é réitíthe amach aici;

but he may drop the *h* while, in all cases noted, retaining the syllable boundaries, e.g.

əs ta t'ækí: əft'æ:x S4.18 is atá teagthaíthe isteach;
nor' ə ta tu' re:t'i: əma:x mar 'fo S1.10
nuair atá tú réitíthe amach mar seo;
oxd ɲa:lu:n' fot'i:n' re:t'i: əma:x eg'ə S4.3
ocht ngalúin phoitín réitíthe amach aige;
nər' eɟ fe ɾã'vri:hə re:t'i: əma:x | ARN1227
nuair a bheadh sé ramhraíthe réitíthe amach.

5.188 16M, Máire Chúláin

Of the three variants **i:hə**, **i:ə**, and **i:** in Máire's speech, the following quantitative distribution can be deduced:

- (a) **i:hə**, less often **i:ə**, occur mostly in prepausa position;
- (b) **i:** occurs mostly before vowels and consonants within the same phrase.

Table 5.64 (**i:hə**), examples from M, *Mtí*

	i:hə	i:ə	i:
M	tə fíəd lu:pí:hə, (x2) lu:pí:hə, ə wóləg æ:ti:hə, v'í fɛ l'ɛ v'ə, air'í:hə,	kr' íkí:ə, (x3) tə fɛ 'æn'æti:ə,	tə n' f'k'uból ká:rti: am tə n rud i:ki: er'
<i>Mtí</i>			fə :ki: æd an, 1
O	,ə'm'í:hə, l'ug æ:s 2		æ:p'í: ən'fín' sə ... 4
r	k'æ:ngli:hə, 3		k'æ:ngli: suəs 5
d			fə :ki: æd an, 6
e			fə :ki: an, 7
r	fə :f'k'í:hə, 8		l'ík'í: a'kəb orhə, 9 fə:d'í: ən'fín' æd 10 f'kr'í:pi: l'ug, 11
Subtotal	8	4	10
Total	20	6	36

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'æ:si: orhəb** *Mtí* ... *leasáí orthub*.

5.189 Intergenerational developments

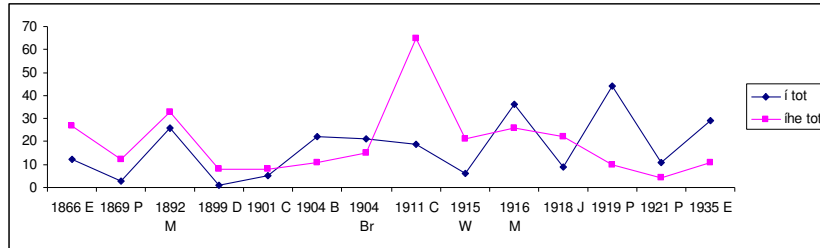
Information on the quantitative use of the variables <**i:hə**> and <**i:**> has been obtained for four speakers (**892M**, **18J**, **21P**, **35E**) from the list of forms given by Ó hUiginn in *Airneán II* (75–8; §123). Ten other speakers (**866E**, **SID.46** (in the graphs below denoted by **1869P**), **899D**,¹ **01C**, **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 (ə) → <**i:**> of the verbal adjective must be excluded from (**i:hə**) → <**i:**> calculations.

In order to give a provisional overview of intergenerational developments in the variable morphological conditioning of (**i:hə**) 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 <**i:hə**> 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 **fímplí:hə** *simplí* were classified as 2 Conjugation.

being dominated by <i: >, first in **04Br** (starting in the 1900s) until eventually by **19P** (starting in the 1910s) and subsequent speakers, <i: > becomes the dominant variant.

Figure 5.21 <i:hə> vs. <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:hə> is a 2 Conjugation marker, <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: > usage, whereas for **SID.46** <i: > is a rarely used 1 Conjugation marker. The functional contrast in **SID.46**'s material of the <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: > in the 1 Conjugation against a low percentage use in the 2 Conjugation.

Figure 5.22 <i:hə> vs. <i: >, 1 Conjugation, speakers 1866–1935

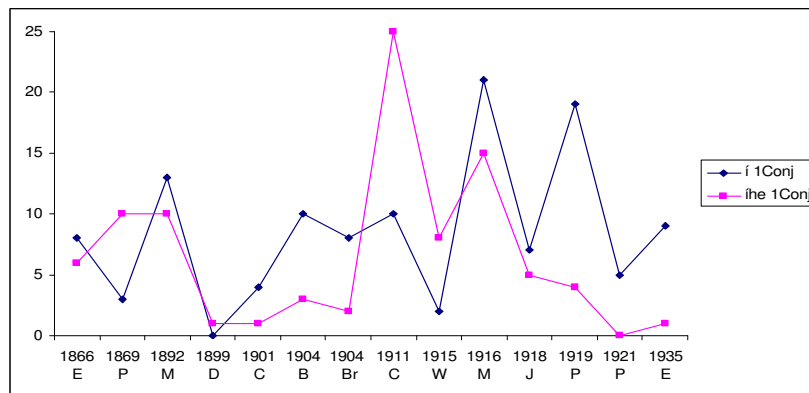
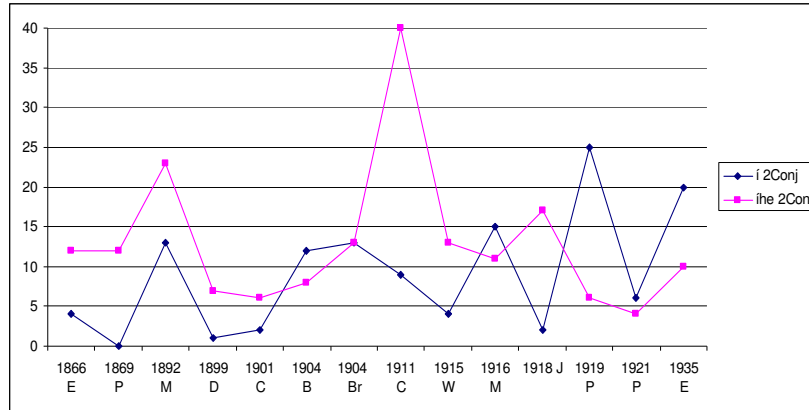
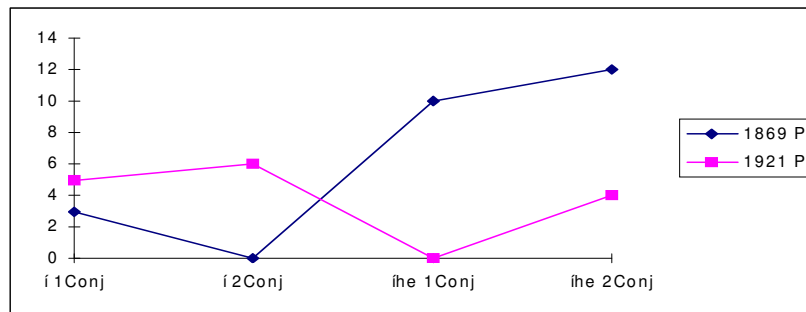


Figure 5.23 <i:hə> vs. <i>, 2 Conjugation, speakers 1866–1935



The variant <i:hə> may well remain a 2 Conjugation marker for speakers with dominant <i>. Speakers **21P** and **35E** show proportionally more <i:hə> with 2 Conjugation verbs than with 1 Conjugation. The variant <i:hə>, then, functions as a weak quantitative 2 Conjugation marker for **21P** just as <i> functions as a weak quantitative 1 Conjugation marker for **SID.46**. The pattern of usage for both **SID.46** and **21P**, across a gap of over fifty years, is similar but the actual functioning variants are reversed. Figure 5.24 illustrates this opposition and symmetry.

Figure 5.24 (<i:hə>), **SID.46** vs. **21P**

In discussing the overall developments one should keep in mind the wide range of interspeaker variation. For example, **SID.46** and **01C** have almost identical patterns with dominant <i:hə>. Speaker **892C** agrees with these two speakers in his dominant variant, although his <i:hə> dominance is weaker than theirs, but he contrasts with them in his progressive high proportional use of <i> in the 1 Conjugation. Speaker **18J** shows conservative <i:hə> dominance, with his use of <i:hə> 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 <i:hə> 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 Mhacáí 'ac Con Iomaire, An Coillín), italics (*Speaker* = clann Mhicil 'ac Con Fhaola, Máfnis), small capitals (**SPEAKER** = **04B** and son **35E**, An Aird Thoir)):

Speaker	<íthe> 2Conj >> <í> 2Conj	<íthe> 2Conj >> <íthe> 1Conj	<í> 1Conj >> <í> 2Conj	1Conj <í> >> 1Conj <íthe>	<í> >> overall	Speaker class
866E	✓	✓	✓	✓	x	A
869P	✓	✓	✓	x	x	B
892M	✓	✓	✓	✓	x	A
01C	✓	✓	✓	✓	x	A
04B	✓	✓	✓	✓	x	A
04Br	x	✓	✓	✓	✓	D
11C	✓	✓	✓	x	x	B
15W	✓	x	x	x	x	C
16M	x	x	x	✓	✓	E
18J	✓	✓	✓	✓	x	A
19P	x	x	x	✓	✓	E
21Pg	x	✓	✓	✓	✓	F
35E	x	✓	✓	✓	✓	F
		(redundant)				

Speakers in Class A use relatively high <i> in 1 Conjugation and high <i:hə> in 2 Conjugation. Class B speakers use predominant <i:hə> with <i> confined mostly to 1 Conjugation. Class C speakers use high <i:hə> indifferently to Conjugation. The Class D speaker uses high <i> but retains a lot of <i:hə> in 2 Conjugation. Class E speakers use (fairly) high <i> regardless of Conjugation. Class F speakers have predominant <i> but with <i:hə> 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 <i:hə> (A, B) or <i> (D, F), as may speakers who do not mark conjugation (high <i:hə> C; high <i> 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 <i:hə> usage and also with regard to the negligible conjugational marking function of <i>. The daughter's <i> use is, however, slightly increased compared to her father's. His other daughter, **04Br** (D), uses far more <i> 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 <i> 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

<i:hə> (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 on-going conversation.

The speakers in this sample all come from central Iorras Aithneach, between An Aird Mhóir and Dumhaigh 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 <i:hə>. 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 *siúráilte*.) Speaker **897P** also has predominant -i, e.g. *cruinní ann, réití amach, tairní le, cruaf a'ainn*, as well as verbal noun genitive *le haghaidh leasaf — fataí*. His only <i:hə> token occurs in 1Conj prepausa: *L'æ'ki:hə | 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 <i:hə> is fairly common there.

5.191 Context

The syntactic position, for instance, prepausa or otherwise, and morpho-phonological environment of the (i:hə) 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.)

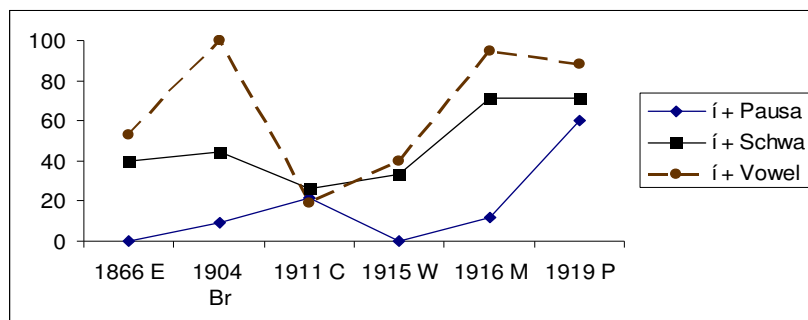
Table 5.65 (i:hə), contextual conditioning, six speakers

	Before pausa		Before schwa		Before vowel		<i>imíthe</i>		Total	
	<i>	<i:hə>	<i>	<i:hə>	<i>	<i:hə>	<i>	<i:hə>	<i>	<i:hə>
866ESemr	0	7	2	3	9	8	0	7	12	27
04Br	1	10	4	5	11	0	3	10	21	15
11C	3	11	6	17	4	17	0	13	19	65
15W	0	10	1	2	4	6	2	6	7	21
16M	3	22	5	2	19	1	1	7	36	26
19P	6	5	10	4	30	4	2	3	44	10

Prepausa position is a strongly marked <i:hə> 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 -í plural in contrast with shorter -a plural (e.g. 4.106 ff. and 4.129); prepausa 2sg <a:ha> (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.

Figure 5.25 Percentage (i:hə) → <i: >, three environments, six speakers, 1866–1919



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:hə> yield and no significant conjugational conditioning nor lexical conditioning in the case of *imíthe*, 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:hə> yield and more complex conditioning: conjugational, perhaps lexical *imíthe*, 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: > 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:xi:) nominal plural variable. It is of course possible that **11C** reflects a more localised or perhaps (family) network usage of unconditioned <i: >.

5.192 *imigh*

The lexeme *imigh*, verbal adjective *imíthe*, clearly favours the variant <i:hə> 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:hə> with *imigh* than in the 2 Conjugation in general. The majority of her examples of <i:hə> before schwa, before a full vowel and before a consonant occur with *imigh*:

	/_Vowel	/_Schwa	/_Consonant
<i>imíthe</i> :	ə'm'í:h 'a:n'lʊə <i>imíthe an-luath</i>	ə'm'í:h̃ə 'lʊg <i>imíthe uiliug</i>	ə'm'í:hə gən' t'æ:x <i>imíthe dhen teach</i>
<i>teagthaíthe</i> :		... t'æ'ki:hə vrain <i>teagthaíthe a Bhraidhean</i>	

Both *imigh* 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:hə> 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:hə> 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:hə> in his material is:

... m̩a:rt̪'i:n̩' i:m̩'i:hə l'ej ə ... Pt10 ... Máirtín *imíthe leis an* ...

It occurs in this position undoubtedly due to the relatively high proportion of <i:hə> with *imigh*: i:m̩'i:hə r'm̩'i:hə ə'm̩'i:hə (<i:hə> x3) vs. i:m̩'i: (<i:> x2) 19P. For speaker 866E also, *imíthe* favours <i:hə>. 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:> environment and conversely regular occurrence before pausa. The frequent aberrant stressed realisation of the <i:hə> 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:hə> continues to recede in this age cohort. For most young speakers born after 1960 <i:> is almost categorical and <i:hə> is very rarely used, and perhaps not at all by some. Prevocalic 2 Conjugation tokens are, however, heard, e.g. | t̪ə f̪e k̪r̪'ia:xi:n̩: h̪am | 64M tá sé críochnaíthe a'm. A prevocalic example such as k̪i:n̩'i: h̪a:n̩ 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:hə>, especially in i:m̩'i:hə *imíthe*, is nonetheless heard from the youngest speakers. This includes phrase-medial position, e.g. <i:hə> noted in 1998 from Michael, a younger brother of speaker 79J, and i:m̩'i:ə 79St. Speaker 73P is the most conservative speaker I know in his age group regarding frequent use of <i:hə>, including phrase internally. Note the phrase-final position of *scanraigh* and phrase-medial position of *imigh* in: sk̪a:n̩tri:hə | 78Rb scanraíthe, | i:m̩'i:hə wai 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:hə>. There is also a tendency to use <i:hə> in citation form, e.g. f̪e:li:hə 66Nq séalaíthe. For the older generations use in quotation form may be related to prepausa use and the conservative nature of the <i:hə> variant; for younger generations the written form of 2 Conjugation *-ithe* may also be a factor. Cf. possible citation value attached to -i:x̪'ə (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*.

v̪'i: k̪a:kt̪ə f̪i:s a'k̪əb̪ a:n̩ M bhí cacta síos acub ann.

Tá curtha 'steach ar 'Thomond' aige M (Thomond (third-level) College).

¹ Recall, for example, her (weak) nasalisation in s̪a:ĩr̪ə 76M *samhradh*, aberrantly conservative for her age-group (1.348).

Cp. **ta: ʃkʲ rʲi:f ɔm, igʲ tahərʲ** SIDIII.45.338 *tá scríofa a'm ag t'athair.*

The following is perhaps an example of dummy subject use, where no object seemed intended from the context (cf. 5.195):

ga m'et ʃi: l'ɛ ʏol' ə ringg'ail' v'et ʃɛ ringg'ailt' ɛk'ɛ ɔn ræk'l'əx M94
dhá mbeadh sí le ghoil ag ringeáil bheadh sé ringeáilte aici, an raicleach.

5.195 Subject + Verbal adjective without object

The verbs noted are *beir, crap, glaoigh, ith, mionnaigh, ringeáil, siúil, traoigh*.

beir, ta: ʃi: ʃɛ: ʃa:xtən'i: b'orhə M *tá sí sé seachtainí 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, ta ʃiəd əl'igʲ it'ə 54C *tá siad uilig ite* 'they have all eaten.'

mionnaigh, ta: ʃi: m'ini: nax m'ei āŋ' x'ən gə d'ɔ: ɛk'ə M
tá sí mionnaíthe nach mbeidh aon cheann go deo aici.

-t'ukə tu: gə ga:r'əd' M *Tiocthaidh tú go gairid.*

-t'ukə 56B *Tiocthaidh.*

-ta tu: m'ini: ən'ij' M *Tá tú mionnaíthe anois.*

gə ro m'e m'uni: ɔn ai kərti: !21Pt

go raibh mé mionnaíthe in aghaidh cártaí.

v'i' ttsə [sic] m'ini: nax ɣohə: ʃiər ɛgʲ ʃən ə'r'i:ʃt' M

bhí tusa mionnaíthe nach ngabhthá siar ag Seán aríst.

ringeáil, du:rʲt m'e l'ɛʃ marə m'et ʃɛ ringg'ailt'ə ... marə bil' ʃiəd ringg'ailt'ə
fi:n ə:m ʃo 43M *dúirt mé leis mara mbeadh sé ringeáilte ... marab fhuil*
siad ringeáilte faoin am seo.

siúil, Ní bheidh Jaicé siúilte 'nuas go deo M.

traoigh, ta ʃɛ tri:t'ə S *tá sé traoite.*

Cp. *ghlan an bhó* and *tá an bhó glanta* M;

he:ʃ ɛ iki: ʃt'æ:x əs xul'ə ho:rt S *théis é íocthaí isteach is chuile shórt* (where é is the logical object) 'even though he had paid [to get] in and everything'.

5.196 Subject + Verbal adjective with object

(i) Subject + Verbal adjective + Direct object

Verbs noted are *caith, oibrigh, fág, sroich*.

Tá sí caite na cheithre scóir M.

Ní ra muid oibrighthe ach aon lá amháin nuair a fuair muid bóthar 894C9.

Tá sé fágthaí 'New York' ó De Satharainn seo caite M.

ta: m'e fə:ki: ɔn t'a:x ɔ: l'æhu:r he:ʃ ə ni: 52P

tá mé fágthaí an teach ó leathuair théis a naoi.

ta ʃɛ srot' əm ba:l'ə fi: ʃo 52P *tá sé sroichte an baile faoi seo.*

(ii) Subject + Verbal adjective + Prepositional object

Verbs noted are *breathnaigh, cac, caith, diúltaigh, éist*.

ní ru aon phower [< power] aige a bheith breathnaíthe an tríú huair air go ru grím tucaíthe 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)'.

an créatúr, ceann acub cact' air M 'the creature, one of them has excreted on him' (of calf).

tá siad diúltaíthe dhon chur mór. 06C.

ta fe e:ft' i: f'ef M tá sé éistí leis 'he has stopped [eating] it.'

With reflexive prepositional pronoun:

v' i: fe ka:t' ə ʔo: (nə l'e:n' ə), v' i: f'i ka:t' ə d' i (nə kið n'ik' ərs) M

bhí sé caite dhó (ina léine), bhí sí caite di (ina cuid nicears).

Cp. Subject + Verbal adjective + Predicative adjective + Prepositional object, in *faigh réidh le:*

be' [i.e. beidh] me faighte réidh leis M.

Compare the 'mixed' use in:

ní raibh sé fágthaíthe as an mbaile chor a bith fós. 11C.

5.197 Subject + Verbal adjective + Prepositional subject

Verbs are *cuimhnigh ar*, *breathnaigh ar*, both examples from the same speaker.

Beidh leithscéal iontach cuimhrí a'm air 43M 'I will have thought of a great excuse.'

n' i:l' əs am k' e l' ehi: vr' əhə f'iəd f'i:s ə:n mar v' i: fe br' ə:hi: ha:n er' 43M

níl fhios a'm cé le haghaidh a bhreathaigh siad síos ann 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:

I	<u>Simplex</u>	<u>Complex</u>
1.	Zero ending	
2.	-C' > -C`	-C' > -C` ə
3.	ə	-C' ə, -hə, -əxə
4.	u:	-u:nt', -f-u:nt'
5.	i:	-i:xt, -i:xən
6.	əx	-r'əx ~ -n'əx, -əxən, -əxə:n, -f'əxə:n, -əxt, -i:xt, -i:xən, -i:xtə:n, -r'əxt ~ -n'əxt, -i:nt'əxt, -əxə, -əxta:l', -f-əxta:l', -əxənt', -əxta:l', -fərtəx
7.	ən, ən'	-ənt', -u:nt', -i:nt', -hi:nt', -i:nt'əxt, -f-ənt', -f-u:nt', -əxən, -i:xən, -əxənt', -əkən
8.	əm', əm	
9.	a:l', a:l	-a:lt', -t()a:l', -f-əxta:l'

I		<u>Simplex</u>	<u>Complex</u>
10.	i:l'		-hi:l' (Cp. -i:l'əxi:, -i:ləxi:, -i:ləxə)
11.	u:x		-hu:x, -hu:xt, -u:xɑ:n
12.	fərt'		-fərtəx
13.	t, t'		-əxt, -iəxt, -əxtɑ:l', -f-əxtɑ:l', -t'əxɑ:n, -i:nt'əxt, -ənt', -hu:xt, -u:nt', -i:nt', -hi:nt', -əxənt', -f-ənt', -f-u:nt', -ɑ:l't'
14.	əv		
II		<u>Extensions</u>	
	t		-tɑ:l'
	r' ~ n'		-r'əx ~ -n'əx, -r'əxt ~ -n'əxt
	f		-fk'ənt', -ft'ənt', -ft'u:nt', -ft'əxtɑ:l' (-k'-, -t'- < -g'-, -d'- of stem)
	h		-hənt', -hi:nt', -hi:l', -hu:x, -hu:xt, hə

III Irregular

One complex formant comprises the verbal noun simplex **əx** preceding the nominal derivational suffix **-ɑ:n** (cp. **i:l'** preceding the plural suffix **-əxi:**). Extensions have no independent status and combine with simplex or complex formants. For example, *fág* > *fágáil* demonstrates the independent simple ending **ɑ:l'**. Similarly, *bain* > *baint* exemplifies the independent ending **t'**. The formation *fág* > *fágáilt* (one alternative to *fágáil*) is best interpreted as a combination of these endings, i.e. **ɑ:l'** and **t'**. Similarly, *lag* > *lagan* exemplifies simplex **ən** and *réitigh* > *réiteach* simplex **əx**, whereas *lag* > *lagachan* (alternative to *lagan*) is interpreted as a combination of both **əx** and **ən**. On the other hand, the **t** in the formation *bac* > *bactáil* is best interpreted as a stem extension before simplex **ɑ:l'**; phonotactically the cluster **kt** is not found finally so that **bact* 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. *creid* > *creistint*, analysed as **f** (extension) + **ən** (ending) + **t'** (ending). Similarly, the alternant verbal noun *creid* > *creisteachtáil* is analysed as **f** (extension) + **əx** (ending) + **t** (ending) + **ɑ:l'** (ending). Other interpretations of the composition of many of these endings are possible. The status of final **t** in the doublets **ən** ~ **ənt'**, **əx** ~ **əxt**, **hu:x** ~ **hu:xt**, **ɑ:l'** ~ **ɑ:l't'** seems intermediate between a final extension and combined independent formant. The status of medial **t** is similarly ambiguous in **əxtɑ:l'**. The **i:** in **i:nt'əxt** and **(h)i:nt'** 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 **i:nt'əxt** is also found in nominal derivation (abstract and verbal noun) and from its semantics in that context is clearly related to diminutive **-i:n'**. The rare ending **əkən** is categorised as a complex formant based on **ən** but the **-ək-** 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'+)əx+ɑ:n** (often alternating with **əx+ən** 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'əxɑ:n** in *mil* > **m'ilt'əxɑ:n** 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'ilt'*. The ending *u:x*, here categorised as simplex, might alternatively be interpreted as a combination of *u:* and *əx*. Note that *u:x* and *əx* often alternate in the same verb. Similarly, simplex *fərt'* can be analysed as *f* (extension or related to *əv*) + *ər* (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. *i:l'* (e.g. *scread* > *screadaíl*) and *u:x* (e.g. *búir* > *búiriúch*). 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*, *ritheacht*, *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 *lúbarnáil*; *cnagadh*, *cnagarnáil*; *preabadh*, *preabarnáil*; *sá* ~ *sábh* ~ *sáthadh*, *sáitéarach* (mostly intransitive); see 3.164 above and compare, for example, *sníomh*, *sníomhachán* 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.: *cinnt(e)*, *cinneadh* (5.211); *corraí*, *corrú*; *creidiúint*, *creisteachtáil*, etc. (5.212); *cuir*, *cur*; *féachtáil*, *féachaint*, *féachain*; *filleadh*, *filliúint* (5.213); *glaoch(áil)* (5.214) (*tu*)*spáint* (5.215).

5.199 Phonological

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.

	Ending	follows stems in final:
1.	Zero	consonant (1 and 2Conj), including <i>h/x'</i> , or long vowel (1Conj) or schwa (2Conj);
2.	-C' > -C`	continuant <i>l', r', f, v</i> of 1 and 2Conj;
	-C' > -C`ə	consonant <i>l', n', (f)k', rt'</i> of 1Conj;
3.	-ə	consonant of 1 and 2Conj;
	-hə	long vowel of 1Conj;
4.	-u:	consonant of 2Conj, rarely 1Conj, or long vocoid of CRUAIGH class;
	-u:nt'	palatal continuant <i>l', l', n'</i> or nonpalatal <i>n</i> of 1Conj (progressively <i>rg</i> of 2Conj);
	-f-u:nt'	<i>d'</i> of 1Conj;
5.	-i:	continuant <i>n, rh, r', s</i> of 2Conj;
6.	-əx, -əxən, -əxə:n	consonant of 1 and 2Conj or long vocoid of 1Conj and CRUAIGH class;
	-t'əxə:n	palatal <i>l'</i> of 1Conj;
	-əxt	consonant of 1 and 2Conj;

	Ending	follows stems in final:
	-r'əx ~ -n'əx, -r'əxt ~ -n'əxt	palatal m' of 1Conj;
	-iəxt	r, r', rk' of 1 and 2Conj;
	-i: xə n, -iəx a: n	n of 2Conj;
	-i: nt' əxt	h of 1Conj;
	-əxə	long vowel of 1 (and 2) Conj;
	-əxta: l'	consonant of 1 and 2Conj or long vowel of 1Conj;
	-f-əxta: l'	d' of 1Conj;
	-əxə nt'	long vowel of 1 (and 2) Conj;
	(-əx a: l'	long vowel of 1Conj, progressive;)
7.	-ən	velar stop (g, g') of 1Conj or consonant of 2Conj;
	-ən'	velar fricative (x) of 1Conj
	-ə nt'	velar (k, g, g', x) of 1Conj or palatal (nf) of 2Conj;
	-f-ə nt'	palatal stop d', g' of 1Conj;
	-hə/i: nt'	r' of 1Conj;
	-əkə n ~ -əxə n	consonant of 2Conj;
8.	-ə m'	palatal stop t', d' of 1Conj;
9.	-a: l', -a: l	velar stop g, g' (obsolete ng , progressive also f) of 1Conj or palatal n' (also rn , obsolescent r) of 2Conj; -a: l is found following palatal stems only, except <i>fág</i> (and <i>farc</i> M), in a form of dissimilation;
	(-(a:)lt	nontraditional in <i>faigh</i> , f a: lt 89M (in 1998, aged eight))
	-a: l t'	velar stop g, g' of 1Conj or palatal n' (progressive st) of 2Conj, cp. also <i>fáil(t)</i> ;
	-t(')a: l'	consonant k, x, s, f of 1Conj (note that there is no (dissimilatory) *-t' a: l);
10.	-i: l'	consonant d, x of 1Conj;
	-hi: l'	r' of 1Conj;
11.	-u: x	stop d, k' of 1Conj;
	-hu: x(t)	r' of 1Conj;
	-u: x a: n	d of 2Conj;
12.	-fə rt', -fə rtə x	long vowel of 1Conj;
13.	-t'	palatal continuant l', n', m' (progressive l', r') of 1Conj and palatal continuant l', n', n', r' of 2Conj;
14.	-ə v	long vowel i:, e:, a: of 1Conj and long vocoid o:, uə, iə of CRUAIGH class.

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, **-ə v ~ -u:** and **-ə x** (including complex **-ə xə n, -ə x a: n, -ə xə, -ə x t a: l', -ə xə nt', -ə x a: l'**), rarely **-hə**.

5.200 Conjugational

Conjugational conditioning of endings is not a major factor in the system as a whole. The endings **-ə -adh** and **-u: -ú** are major 1 and 2 Conjugational markers respectively but even these are found in both conjugations (cf. 3., 4. below). Most

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*, *-íl*, *-úch* and *-fa(i)rt(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.

	Ending	1 Conjugation	2 Conjugation
1.	Zero	sa: <i>sáigh</i> , sa: <i>sá</i>	f'ó:lám' <i>feoghlaím</i>
2.	-C' > -C`	sná:v' <i>snáimh</i> , sná:w <i>snámh</i>	oskál' <i>oscail</i> , oskál <i>oscal</i>
	-C' > -C`ə	mu:n' <i>múin</i> , mu:nə <i>múinadh</i>	
3.	-ə	br'if <i>bris</i> , br'ifə <i>briseadh</i>	as 1. , u:mrə <i>iomraigh</i> , u:mrə <i>iomramh</i>
	-hə	in sa: <i>sáigh</i> , sa:hə <i>sáitheadh</i>	
4.	-u:	gai:u' <i>goill</i> , gai:u: <i>goilleadh</i>	bal'ə <i>bailigh</i> , bal'u: <i>bailiú</i>
	-u:n'	f'eí' <i>feil</i> , f'eí'u:n' <i>feiliúint</i>	(ba'gu:n' nontraditional <i>bagair</i>)
	-f'u:n'	in kr'ed' <i>creid</i> , kr'eft'u:n' <i>creistiúint</i>	
5.	-i:		u:nsə <i>ionsaigh</i> , u:nsi: <i>ionsaí</i>
6.	-əx	fkr'ad <i>scread</i> , fkr'adəx <i>screadach</i>	du:fə <i>dúisigh</i> , du:fəx <i>dúiseach</i>
	-əxən	l'íə <i>liath</i> , l'íəxən <i>liachan</i>	tanə <i>tanaigh</i> , tanəxən <i>tanachan</i>
	-əxə:n	f'í: <i>figh</i> , f'í:xə:n <i>fíochán</i>	g'urə <i>giorraigh</i> , g'urəxə:n <i>giorrachán</i>
	-f'əxə:n	in m'íl' <i>mil</i> , m'íl'f'əxə:n <i>milteachán</i>	
	-əxt	rix' <i>rith</i> , rix'əxt <i>ritheacht</i>	in'əf <i>innis</i> , in'fəxt <i>inseacht</i>
	-r'əx ~ -n'əx	in g'e:m' <i>géim</i> , g'e:m'n' <i>r'əx géimneach</i>	
	-r'əxt ~ -n'əxt	in l'e:m' <i>léim</i> , l'e:m'n' <i>r'əxt léimneacht</i>	
	-iəxt		to:rə <i>tóraigh</i> , to:ríəxt <i>tóraíocht</i>
	-i:xən		in tanə <i>tanaigh</i> , tani:xən <i>tanaíochan</i>
	-iəxə:n		in tanə <i>tanaigh</i> , taniəxə:n <i>tanaíochán</i>
	-i:n'f'əxt	in ro <i>reith</i> , rohi:n'f'əxt <i>reithínteacht</i>	
	-əxə	in grū: <i>gnóthaigh</i> , grū:xə <i>gnóchadh</i>	
	-əxta:l'	mar' <i>mair</i> , mar'əxta:l' <i>maireachtáil</i>	taggə <i>tangaigh</i> , taggəxta:l' <i>tangachtáil</i>
	-f'əxta:l'	in kr'ed' <i>creid</i> , kr'eft'əxta:l' <i>creisteachtáil</i>	
	-əxənt'	in gru: <i>gnóthaigh</i> , gru:xənt' <i>gnóchaint</i>	
	(-əxta:l'	in gli: <i>glaoigh</i> , gli:xə:l' <i>glaocháil</i>)	
7.	-ən	l'ag <i>leag</i> , l'agən <i>leagan</i>	in'əf <i>innis</i> , in'fən <i>insean</i>
	-əñ	f'íəx <i>féach</i> , f'íəxəñ <i>féachain</i>	
	-ənt'	l'ig' <i>lig</i> , l'ig'ənt' <i>ligint</i>	in in'əf <i>innis</i> , in'fənt' <i>insint</i>
	-f'ənt'	t'ig' <i>tig</i> , t'ifk'ənt' <i>tuisceant</i>	
	-hə:l'nt'	in fuər' <i>fóir</i> , fo:r'hə:l'nt' <i>fuər'i:nt'</i> <i>fóirthint</i>	
	-əkən		in ku:rl'ə <i>comhairligh</i> , ku:rl'əkən <i>comhairleacan</i>
8.	-əm'	t'it' <i>tit</i> , t'it'əm' <i>titim</i> . Cp. fín'əm <i>seinnm</i>	
9.	-a:l', -a:l	fə:g <i>fág</i> , fə:gə:l'() <i>fágá(i)l</i>	kin'ə <i>coinnigh</i> , kin'a:l'() <i>coinneá(i)l</i>
	-a:l'	to:g' <i>tóig</i> , to:g'a:l' <i>tóigedáil</i>	kin'ə <i>coinnigh</i> , kin'a:l' <i>coinneáil</i>
	-a:l'	buəx <i>buach</i> , buəxta:l' <i>buachtáil</i>	
10.	-i:l'	fkr'ad <i>scread</i> , fkr'adi:l' <i>screadaíl</i>	
	-hi:l'	in bu:r' <i>búir</i> , bu:r'hi:l' <i>búirthíl</i>	
11.	-u:x	fkr'ad <i>scread</i> , fkr'adu:x <i>screadúch</i>	
	-hu:x(t)	in bu:r' <i>búir</i> , bu:r'hu:x(t) <i>búirthúch(t)</i>	
	-u:xə:n		in fadə <i>fadaigh</i> , fadu:xə:n <i>fadúchán</i>
12.	-fərtəx	in sraoth , fri:fərt' <i>sraofairt</i> , fri:fərtəx <i>sraofartach</i>	
13.	-t	fí'l' <i>síl</i> , fí'l't' <i>sílt</i>	tarənt' <i>tarrainn</i> , tarənt' <i>tarraint</i>
14.	-əv	trə: <i>tráigh</i> , trə:w <i>trábh</i>	

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 **b'éir** *béar* (progressive by-form of irregular *beir*); *bruith*; **kir'** *cuir*; **d'íal** *díol*; *dóigh*, *dó*; **fi:fk'** *faoisc*; *gléas*, e.g. *á ghléas féin* **866E**Semr96; *íoc*; *léigh*, *lé* (more commonly *léabh*); *loit*, e.g. *gá loit go maith* Semr142, *gá loit* **869P2**; *ól*; *reic*; *sioc*; *suigh* **si: si**, *suí* **si: si** (for collocational conditioning, see BLIGH class, 5.138); *súigh* **su: sú**; *tomáin* (sisters **04Br** and **15W** only, generally *tomáint*); **tef** *tois*; **tu:f** *tomhais*; **trust** *trust*. The SÁBHÁIL class, e.g. *sábháil*.

1, 2Conj *eiteal*.

2Conj *aithris*; *feoghlaím*; *iomair* ~ *iomraigh*, *iomramh*; (*tórraigh*, *tórramh*).

2. Simplex: Depalatalisation -C' > -C`; **Complex -C' > -C`ə (-adh)**

1Conj *cuir*, *cur*; *diúil*, *diúl*; **gil'** *goil*, **gul** *gol*; *siúil*, *siúl*; *snáimh*, *snámh*; *táil*, *tál* SM, also **ta:lə** M *táladh*; cp. *fual* ~ *fuail*, *fual*.

2Conj *ceangail*, *ceangal*; *iompair*, *iompar*; *oscail*, *oscal*; *tochais*, *tochas*; *tochrais*, *tochras*; (for the last two verbs, see FEOGHLAIM class, 5.165). Cp. *tionscail*, attested in pst *thionscail* **hi:nskə́l** **18J**, with VN *tionscail* LFRM.

Complex -C' > -C`ə -adh

1Conj *loisc*, *loisceadh* (mostly), also *loscadh*; *táil*, *táladh* (also *tál*); three verbs in *-úin*: *dúin*, *dúnadh*; *múin*, *múnadh* (also *mú(i)n* 'urinate', *mún*, *múnadh*); *túin*, *túnadh*.

Notes

cart, *cartadh* generally, but *cairt* (2sg impv) and VN *cartadh* **852Sb**LL97–8.

dóirt **də:rt'**, VN **də:rt'ə** but in phrase:

(**ta** **fe**) **də:rtə** >> **də:rt'ə** (**bə:ft'i:**) *tá sé ag dórtadh / dóirteadh (báistí).*

faoisc, *faosc*, **fa:ti** **fi:fk'i:hə** / **fi:ski:(hə)** M *fataí faoiscíthe / faoscaíthe*, fut **fi:skə** mid' **iəd** Mperm *faoscthaidh muid iad*, VN **iəd** **i:fk'** | M *iad a fhaoisc*; **n'i:l'** **fi:fk'** / **fi:sk** er' **nə** **fa:ti** **fin'** **æ'd** M *níl fao(i)sc ar na fataí a'd*. The palatal forms were produced first by Máire; 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:fk'ə**, vadj **fi:fk'i:hə**, VN **fi:fk'ə**; also *faoisceadh* Clad174.

loisc, *loisceadh* M, rarely *loscadh* M and in phrases *loscadh loskə sléibhe* **!19J**, *loscadh na ladhar* FFG s.v. *loscadh*.

scoir, *scoradh* **27Mdq**.

troisc does not normally depalatalise in the verbal noun, e.g. pst **hro:fk'** Mq, fut **tro:fk'ə** M, **35E**, VN **tre:fk'ə** / **tro:fk'ə** M, but also as VN **tro:skə** Mperm. The nonverbal noun is normally **tro:skə** *troscadh*, cp. genitive in 'la: 'tro:skə,

46.796 *lá troscadh*. A possible example of palatal quality in the noun, perhaps due to serial effect from the VN, occurs in:

bhíodar a' troisce ánn agus rinne seisean troisce freisin **894C9**,
(there is another example of the VN in *a throisce* **894C2**).
Rarer root *trosc*: pst *hrosk* **12Jq**, fut *troskə* **12Jq**.

5.202 3. -a(dh); 4. -ú; 5. -í

3. Simplex -a, -adh; Complex -hə -theadh (see also 2., 6.)

This ending is generally masculine but *feiste* is feminine with lenited adjective in:

ta f'eftə wāh er' ə gorəx am M tá feiste mhaith ar an gcorach a'm.

Cp. the relatively frequent feminine marking of verbal nouns in -ú (3.5).

1Conj *braith*, **brəhə** **20Myq** in *ag braitheadh air* (generally *brath*), *bréan*, *a' bréanadh* **864MDT62**; *caill*, *cailleadh*; *clár*, *cláradh*; *feist*, *feiste*; *gearr*, *gearradh*; *guibh*, *guibhe*; *ith*, *ithe*; *múch*, *múchadh*; *scean*, *sceanadh*; *scuab*, *scuabadh* M, **scuab* MØperm.

2Conj *brocaigh*, *brocadh* P (verbal forms definitely 2Conj for P); *codail*, *codladh* **kolə**; *clúdaigh*, *clúdadh* **52P**; *diúrnaigh*, *diúrnadh* (e.g. *ga jurəə* **11C dhá dhiúrnadh**); *iomair*, *iomradh*, e.g. *əg' u:mrə*, *u:mərə* M; (rare *tórraigh*, common VN *tórramh*); note also *dánadh* SM. Clearly, 2Conj verbs in VN -ə can also be classified under 1. above.

Complex -hə -theadh

For some speakers without lexical *h* in *sáigh*, *sə:hə* *sáitheadh*.

4. Simplex -u: -ú; Complex -u:nt' -úint, -f-u:nt' -s-iúint

1Conj *fair*, *fairiú* (more commonly *faire*, see 'Sandhi' for -ə > -u: in *faire* and other verbal nouns (2.52 ff.)); *gail'* *goill*, *gol'u:* *goilleadh*; *loigh*, *lai* *loighe* generally, also *lai.u:* **01P** (Doire Iorrais).

1, 2 Conj (CRUAIGH class) *cruaigh*, *cruaú*, where -u: alternates with -əw. Also *teith*, *t'ehə* ~ *t'ehu:* *teitheadh*. Cp. *luaigh*, *ghá luathú lé bean* **894C9**, implying a possible ending -hu:.

2Conj *criothnaigh*, *criothnú*; *cuartaigh*, *cuartú*; *éiligh*, *éiliú* (**866ESemr58**); *iomair*, *iomrú* (rare); *smaoinigh*, *smaoiniú* (**866ESemr46**); *taimigh*, *taithniú* (**894C9**), *wil' fə tən'hu' l'æt* Mq *an bhfuil sé ag taimiú leat?*

Complex -u:nt' -úint

1Conj *caill*, *cailliúint* **!11C**; *cinn*, *cinniúint*; *feil*, *feiliúint*; *fill*, *filliúint* (also *filleadh*); *géill*, *géilliúint*; *ginn*, *ginniúint*; *goill*, *goilliúint*; *lean*, *leanúint*; *scar*, *scarúint*; *tuill*, *tuilliúint*. Cp. *seinm*, *fin'u:nt'* **!894C** *seinniúint*.

2Conj *bagair*, nontraditional *ba:gu:nt'* **78B**, for traditional *bagairt*.

Complex -f-u:nt' -s-iúint

1Conj *creid*, *creistiúint*.

5. Simplex -i: -í; Complex -iəxt -íocht (see 6.)

2Conj *cónaigh*, *cónaí*; *éirigh*, *éirí*; *fiathraigh*, *fiathraí*; *impigh*, *impí*; *tosaigh*, *tosaí*.

In the noun meaning 'laugh' both *gáire* and *gáirí* occur, as if singular and plural, although often apparently synonymous, e.g. *ag meangaireacht gháire / gháirí*, but the verbal noun is *gáirí*. As a noun *gáire* occurs (unambiguously) in singular -e and plural -í, e.g.

v'í: 'xaur'γar'° a'n P bhí chorrgháire ann;
v'í: fe nə γar'í: g'æ'lə M bhí sé ina gháirí geala.

5.203 6. -ach, -acht

6. Simplex -əx -ach; **Complex** -r'əx ~ -n'əx; -əxən -achan; -əxan -achán;
-t'əxan -teachán; -əxt -acht; -r'əxt ~ -n'əxt; -iəxt -íocht; -i:əxən -íochan;
-iəxan -íochán; -i:nt'əxt -ínteacht; -əxə -achadh; -əxta:l' -achtáil; -f-əxta:l'
-s-eachtáil; -əxənt' -achaint; (-əxə:l' -acháil); (see also 7. and 12.)

1Conj blaoigh / glaoigh, blaogh / glaoch; éist, éisteach; scread, screadach;
cnead, cneadach kr'æ'dəx.

2Conj cumhdaigh, cumhdach; dúisigh, dúiseach 52J; eitigh, eiteach; fuadaigh,
fuadach; réitigh, réiteach.

Complex -r'əx ~ -n'əx

1Conj géim, g'e:mr'əx g'e:mn'əx géimneach; léim, l'e:mr'əx léimneach.

Complex -əxən -achan

1Conj lag, lagachan; liath, liachan; meáigh, meáchan; righ, ríochan;
snoigh, snoíochan; tiubh, tiúchan; cp. buígh (rare), buíochan;

1, 2Conj cruaiigh, cruachan; feoigh, feochan; cp. the noun duibheachan;

2Conj aipigh, aipeachan; tanaigh, tanachan S.

Complex -əxan -achán

1Conj breac, breacachán M; caoin, caoineachán; figh, fíochán; ligh,
líochán; nigh, níochán; snoigh, snoíochán. Cp. suigh, suí, related noun
suíochán.

-əxən ~ -əxan occur in:

1Conj liath, l'íəxən M, l'íəxan SM; tiubh, t'ū:əxən S, t'ū:əxan M.

1, 2Conj bánachan 869P5, bánachán ... bánú 20T; geal(aigh), g'æ'ləxan
P, g'æləxən M, P gealachan.

2Conj giorraigh, g'urəxan M, also g'urəxən giorrachan.

Cp. ma:n'əxan, ma'n'əxən P mainneachan. Pádraig used the following
four forms in the same discourse in the following order:

v'í: fe g'æ'ləxan ... ma:n'əxan le: ... g'æləxən ... ma'n'əxən P

bhí sé ag gealachán ... ag mainneachán lae ... gealachan ... mainneachan;

He also uses g'æ:lū: Pt in this context of the dawn.

Cp. l'e kru:nəxə nə hī:hə M le crónachán na hoíche.

Complex -t'əxan -teachán

1Conj mil, m'ilt'əxan S.

Complex -əxt -acht

1Conj éist, éisteach; fan, fanacht; lean, leanacht; rith, ritheacht;

2Conj ceannaigh, ceannacht; dúisigh, dúiseacht; imigh, imeacht; innis,
inseacht; réitigh, réiteacht, cp. fir'əxt M, 43M fuireacht.

Complex -r'əxt ~ -n'əxt -neacht

1Conj léim, l'e:mr'əxt 21Ptq, 26P léimneacht, also l'e:mn'əxt !11C.

Complex -iəxt -íocht

1Conj doir, dáiríocht (rare, VN more commonly dáir).

2Conj maircigh (inflected verb heard in conversation only once), mairc-
íocht, less commonly mārkiəxt 869P (implying a possible *marcaigh);

tóraigh, tóraíocht; cp. *cuartaíocht* distinct from *cuartaigh, cuartú*.

Complex -i:xən -iəxən -íochan, -iəxan -íochán

2Conj **tənə tanaigh, tani:xən tanaíochan** (also lowered **tane:xən 21Ptq**, also **taniəxən** and lowered **tane'əxən 21Ptq**); **ta:niəxan 20T tanaíochán**.
Cp. adjective *tanaí*.

Complex -i:nt'əxt -ínteacht

1Conj **ro reith, rohi:nt'əxt M reithínteacht**.

Complex -əxə -achadh

1 (2) Conj **grū: gnóthaigh, grū:xə S gnóchadh** (cp. *buachadh*).

5.204 6. (continued) -achtáil

Complex -əxta:l' -achtáil

- 1Conj *bac* *gan bacachtáil leithi 20C* (<< *bacadh, bactáil*);
creid *creideachtáil*, more commonly *creisteachtáil*, etc.;
dligh **gl'i:xta:l' M**;
féad *féadachtáil S* in more nominal use only;
maígh **mi:xta:l' M, 18Bm**, also **mi:w SM**;
mair *maireachtáil*;
síl *síleachtáil*, e.g.
ag rith ... 7' síleachtáil é bhualadh ... 866ESemr160,
-A Mhurachín ghránna, ... a deir sí, a' síleachtáil an muineál a scioba 866EB16.111;
sroich **srohəxta:l' sroicheachtáil**.
- 2Conj *airigh* generally *aireachtáil*, but **ær'u' Mperm**;
aithnigh generally **æn'həxta:l'**, but note **ε æn'hu' M, Mperm**;
amhdaigh *amhdachtáil*;
eitigh **et'əx, et'əxt, et'əxta:l'**, note:
N'i' wæ: l'um e' et'u: Mperm ní mhaith liom é a eitiú;
gnóthaigh **gru:xta:l'**;
réitigh **re:t'əxta:l' ? 52Cr**;
tangaigh **ta:ŋgəxta:l' SM**, note **ta:ŋgu Mperm**, contrast higher register, conservative vocabulary **t'æ:ŋgəwa:l' 04B2l** 'fight';
taobhaigh **ti:wəxta:l' SM**; note **e' hi:vu: Mperm**;
tarlaigh **tɑ:rləxta:l' 20My**;
taitnigh **tæn'həxta:l'** generally;
togair **togrəxta:l'**.

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 *éirí* 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. *casachtáil* ~ *castáil* in the sense 'meet', e.g.
cainteoir ... chasachtáil air 894C9.
ceannacht vs. *ceannachtáil* in the sense 'spend effort at or for':

nax ma: x'æ'nə tu' i' nax ma: ta tu' gə' k'æ'nəxta:l' M
*nach maith a cheannaigh tú i' nach maith atá tú dhá ceann-
 achtaíl!*

éirí vs. *éireachtáil* in the sense 'happen' (cp. *tarlachtáil*):

aon bhlas eighreachtáil gon bhréidín 894C6;
n'i:l' əs æd k'e:rd ta: gəl' əg' air'əxta:l' 10B
níl fhios a'd céard atá ag goil ag éireachtáil;
nax æft'əx nə rudi: iəd fin' nə rudi: fin' air'əxta:l' S
nach aisteach na rudaí iad sin, na rudaí sin éireachtáil!

Also *éirí*, e.g.

níor chuala mé tada, éirí dh'aon-nduine 899D6273.

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 -f-əxta:l' -s-eachtáil

1Conj *creid, creisteachtáil*.

Complex -əxənt' -achaint

1 (2) Conj **gru: gnóthaigh, gru:xənt' 21Pt**.

(Complex -əxa:l' -acháil

1Conj *glaoigh, glaocháil 48M* 'making a phone-call'; perhaps influenced by more common *ringeáil* (< ring) which may have been avoided; perhaps hapax legomenon.)

5.205 7. -an

7. Simplex -ən -an; -ən' -ain; Complex -ənt' -int; -f-ənt' -s-int; -hənt' -thint; -i:nt' -ínt; -hi:nt' -thínt; -əkən -acan; (see also **4.** and **6.**)

1Conj *lag, lagan; leag, leagan; lig, ligan; tlig, tligan Clad145.*

1Conj **f'ex / f'iax féach, f'iaxən' 869P** *féachain*.

2Conj *caisric, caisricean; innis, insean; daoirsigh, daoirsean*.

2Conj given abstract *daoirsin 869P5.246*, (Aíf) **05M**, the verb *daoirsigh* may have VN *daoirsin*.

Complex -ənt' -int

1Conj *bac, bacaint; buach, buachaint 897S1; féach, féachaint; lig, ligint; leag, leagaint*.

2Conj *innis, insint 18B*.

Complex -f-ənt' -s-int

1Conj *creid, creistint; tig, tiscint*.

Complex -hənt' -thint

1Conj *fóir, fóirthint*.

Complex -hi:nt' -thínt, -i:nt' -ínt

1Conj *fóir, fóirthínt, fəi'hi:nt', also fuə'ri:nt' !04B3s*.

Complex -əkən -acan

2Conj *comhairligh, ku:rl'əkən S comhairleacan* also *ku:rl'əxən*. Cp. *āvləkən āvləkən*, etc., *adhlačan; t'ini:nləkən t'ini:nləkən tionlacan*, both with now obsolete verbs or verbs in higher register only.

Compare **-əni:** *-annaí* in *bramannaí* which has no inflected verb; *bramannaí* >>> *broimreacht*, **bra:məni:** *s ə brimr'əxt* *S ag bramannaí is ag broimreacht*. The ending **-əna** was recorded once from Seán: *thosaigh sé seo ' bramanna*, probably used humorously. The use of **-əna** here would imply that the ending used as a verbal noun is interpreted as that of the noun plural **-əna** <<< **-əni:**. The plural interpretation is further evident in the common nominal use of *na bramannaí* with reference to *ag bramannaí*, e.g.

d'ionsaigh sé ag bramannaí ... d'áitigh sí héin ag bramannaí ... [etc.] ina thoirneach uilig ag bramannaí ... an galra sin ... ní imeoidh dhíotsa ... d'imigh na bramannaí dhíob **11C**.

Historically a form such as *ag broimnigh* (dative of *broimneach*) would yield final **-ə** in Iorras Aithneach. Cp. *ag tufógat*; *ag brionglóidí* (4.31).

5.206 8. **-im**; 9. **-áil**; 10. **-íl**

8. Simple **-əm'** *-im*, (**-əm** *-am*)

1Conj *tit*, *titim*; *druid* / *duird*, *duirdim* Clad16, *druidim* Clad15, 105. Cp. *téiscim* (e.g. **866E** Semr72).

-əm *-am*: 1Conj (obsolescent) *seinm*, *jin'əm* !21Pt, cp. *ga hin'əm ga b'i:n'* **04B21** (x2) *dhá sheinm go binn*; but *ə jin'əm'* **04B3s**. Cp. *téiscleam*, e.g. *faoi chúir na téiscleam a bhí* !894C9.

9. Simplex **-a:l'**, **-a:l** *-áil*, *-ál*; with Extension and / or Complex **-a:lt'** *-áilt*; **-ta:l'** *-táil*; **-t'a:l'** *-teáil*; **-t'a:l** *-teál*; (see also 6.)

1Conj *clois*, *klufa:l* **899D6861** *cloiseál* (generally *cloisteáil*, *cloisteál*); *fág*, *fágál*, *fágáil*; *farc*, *farcáil*, *farcál*; *tóig*, *tóigeál*, *tóigeáil*.

2Conj *coinnigh*, *coinneál*, *coinneáil*; *cruinnigh*, *cruinneál* **12J** (generally *cruinniú*); *tangaigh*, *tangáil* **869P4-5** (generally *tangachtáil*); *tastaigh*, *tastáil*; cp. *tárrtháil* **894C9**, *ga ma ha:rha:l'* *S dho mo tharrtháil* which verb occurs otherwise only in the present subjunctive *ga da:rhi:* *go dtarrthaí*.

Complex **-a:lt'** *-áilt*

1Conj *fág*, *fágáilt*; *tóig*, *tóigeáilt*.

2Conj *coinnigh*, *coinneáilt*; *tastaigh*, *tastáilt* **60M**.

Cp. irregular *fa:faigh*, *fáil(t)*, and *fa:lt* **89M** (in 1998, aged eight).

Complex **-ta:l'** *-táil*, **-t'a:l'** *-teáil*, **-t'a:l** *-teál*

1Conj *bac*, *bactáil* (e.g. **M**); *buach*, *buachtáil*; *cas*, *castáil*; *féach*, *f'ia:xta:l'* *S féachtáil*; *clois*, *cloisteáil* (*cluinsteáil*), *cloisteál*.

10. Simplex **-i:l'** *-íl*; Complex **-hi:l'** *-thíl*

1Conj *scréach*, *scréachaíl*; *scread*, *screadaíl*; cf. (rarely if ever inflected) *bíogaíl*, *brúchtaíl* **M** >>> *brúchtáil* **M**, *cabaíl* **S**.

Complex **-hi:l'** *-thíl*

1Conj *búir*, *bur'hi:l'* *búirthíl*, also *bur'i:l'* **P**. Cp. *gáirthíl* *gar'hi:l'* **Mq**, *gar'hi:l'* **P**; *g'u:ni:l'* *geonaíl*; *ji:ni:l'* *sianaíl*.

Nonpalatal *-íol* is the form transcribed in **869P2**, etc., e.g. *a' feadaíol ag ...*, *scréachaíol* **869P2**, but this is unlikely to be the genuine dialect form; contrast (from speaker **869P** (or his son)) *glōgi:l'* 46.125 *glogaíl*.

Cp. the simplex **-i:l'** and complex formation (as in plural) **-i:ləxi:**; **-i:l'əxi:**; **-i:ləxə**

with *múr* (3.165). Cp. also *-e:l ~ -e:l'* in *g a:v'e:l M ag áibhéal, g a:v'e:l' 37M ag áibhéil*.

5.207 11. -úch; 12. -fairt; 13. -t; 14. -bh

11. Simplex -u:x -úch (alternatively < u:+əx); **Complex -hu:x -thúch; -hu:xt -thúcht; -u:xə:n -úchán**

1Conj *béic, béiciúch; scread, screadúch S*; cp. *m' e:l' (h)u:x méiliúch*.

Complex -hu:x -thúch

1Conj *búir, búirthiúch*; cp. *méan(th)úch; blair' hu:x M blaidhrthiúch*.

Complex -hu:xt -thúcht

1Conj *búir, búirthiúcht*.

Complex -u:xə:n -úchán

2Conj *fadaigh, fadúchán*, far more commonly *fadú*, i.e. analysable as **4. -u:+əxə:n**.

12. Simplex -fərt' -fairt (complex interpretation also possible); **Complex -fərtəx -fartach**

1Conj *sraoth, fri:fərt' sraofairt*.

Complex -fərtəx -fartach in 1Conj *sraoth, fri:fərtəx sraofartach*.

13. Simplex -t -t (for **Complex** see **6., 7., 9., 11.**). As simplex always **-t'**

1Conj *bain, baint; ceil, ceilt; fuin, fuint*, e.g. *fün't' 46.257; ginn, ginnt; léim, léimt; sábháil, sábháilt; sil, silt; spáin, spáint; spáráil, spáráilt; tomáin, tomáint; túin, túint*.

1, 2Conj *foilinn, foilint*, e.g. *föl'ə'n't' 46 s.v. fuilint*.

2Conj *bagair, bagairt; cangail, cangailt*, e.g. *kə.ŋgəl't' 46.33; coigil, coigilt*, e.g. *kəg'il't' 46.548; coisinn, coisint; cuimil, cuimilt; freagair, freagairt; fuagair, fuagairt; imir, imirt; iompair, iompairt* (including *ar iompairt aici 52P*); *labhair, labhairt; seachain, seachaint; tarrainn, tarrant; tochail, tochailt*, e.g. *toxl't' 46.116*.

Cp. nouns used in verbal noun progressive syntax, e.g. *mungailt*.

14. Simplex -əv -bh, -dh

1Conj *cloigh, kli:w cloíobh; cráigh, crábh; leáigh, leábh; léigh, léabh; maigh, mi:w SM; reoigh, ro:v S, M85 (ro: M84, 66Nq); sáigh, sa:w Sq, sa: ~ sa:v 69Sq sábh*, more commonly *sa:* also *sa:hə; spréigh, spréabh; téigh 'heat', téabh; tráigh, trábh; traough, traobh*.

suigh, su, si: generally, but *suíomh 852SbTS135–6*.

1, 2 Conj *cruaigh, kruəəv S92, kruəw M85, kruəu: S, kruəu 20Mlt*. Also *feoigh, feobh*. Cp. *biadh, ə b'iaŋ [b'iawʃ b'iaəw b'iaŋ] M, FFG*, and *b'ia: S* with no directly corresponding verb. Cp. *əw ~ u:* in the past impersonal (5.80 ff.). It could be argued that of the two *əw ~ u:* variants found in the CRUAIGH class, *əw* is the 1Conj ending and the *u:* 2Conj.

In material in RBÉ speaker **866E** differentiates between the verbal noun *kra:w* and noun *kra:*, e.g.

go mo chrádhadh (chráú) 866ESemr130 (i.e. *kra:w VN*),

mo chrá chugam 866ESemr108, etc., (noun).

Similarly, the noun **kr̥a:** occurs in:

v'í' ŋ kr̥a: im'í' (Sm̥ds)04B *bhí an crá imithe*.

On the other hand, speaker 11C uses **kr̥a:w** in both contexts, e.g.

gə mə xr̥a:w 11C *dho mo chrábh* (VN);

mə xr̥a:w ə d'er' ə ri: 11C *'Mo chrábh!' a deir an rí* (noun).

See 'Sandhi' for **-ə > -əw (~ -u:)** in *caitheamh* (2.53).

5.208 II Extensions

The **t** extension occurs in **-ta:l'**, **-t'á:l'**, **-ta:l** in:

bac, bactáil; buach, buachtáil; cas, castáil; féach, féachtáil;

palatalised in *clois, cloistéáil (cluinstéáil), cloistéáil*.

The **n' ~ r'** extension occurs in two verbs only, both of which contain radical **-e:m'**:

g'e:m' géim, g'e:mn'əx g'e:mr'əx géimneach;

l'e:m' léim, l'e:mn'əxt l'e:mr'əx(t) léimneach(t).

Cp. **bri:m' broim** and derived **bri:mr'əxt broimneacht**.

The **f** extension is infixes before the radical stops *d* and *g* in four verbs.

f + ənt': *creid, creistint; tairg, tairiscint; tig, tiscint; tréig, tréiscint;*

Cp. *tuaigint* 148 ... *tuairstgint* 149 ... *tuarigint* 160 864MLL

(⇒ **tuər'əg'ənt' ~ tuər'əfk'ənt'**, perhaps ***tuərəg'ənt'**).

f + u:nt': *creid, creistiúint.*

f + əxta:l': *creid, creisteachtáil.*

In **kl̥in'f't'á:l'** 46.390 *cluinstéáil*, the rare variant VN of *clois ~ cluin*, the **f** can be analysed as an extension or attributed to influence between *clois* and *cluín*.

The **h** extension occurs following *r* in two verbs.

h + ənt'; h + i:nt': *fóir, fō:r'hənt' fóirhínt, fō:r'hi:nt' fóirhínt, fuər'i:nt'.*

h + əx; h + əxt; *búir, bu:r'həx bu:r'həxt búirtheach(t),*

h + u:x; h + u:xt: *bu:r'hu:x bu:r'hu:xt búirthiúch(t).*

h + i:l': *búir, bu:r'hi:l' búirthíl.*

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 **bu:r'i:l'** aligns with *screadail* or with **bu:r'hi:l'**. The phone **h** also occurs in:

h + ə: *sáigh, s̥a:hə sáthadh.*

For a speaker such as 36S who does not otherwise have lexical **h** with this verb, e.g. pst imprs **s̥a:u:**, verbal noun **s̥a:hə** is best interpreted as containing extension **h**, i.e. **s̥a:h+ə**. The older speaker 869P has lexical **h** in *sáigh* and so his verbal noun is to be analysed as **s̥a:h+ə**. 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:

bligh, bl'á:n bléán; doir, d̥a:r' dáir; gabh, go:l' go:l't' gabháil(t).

With *go gabh*, *go:í gabháil(t)* one can compare irregular verb *fa: faigh*, *fa:í failt* *fáil(t)* arguably derivable from *fa:+a:í*, recall rare *fa:í 89M*. The rare verb *ionlaigh* was noted in: pst *d'ionlaigh sé é féin* LL152; VN *ionnlad* is attested in genitive *uisce únlaid 866E*Sc319.61. Many of the irregular verbs have irregular verbal nouns, e.g. *teighre*, *gol'*; *teara*, *t'iaxt*. Some formations classified above as regular are very uncommon and could be classified as irregular, e.g. *fóir*, *foir'hint' fuar'ínt' fóirhínt*. Similarly, *sraoth*, *sraothnaíl 17M* only, in *fun' f'iniil' orām [x2] 17M fonn sraothnaíl orm*, is classified as irregular here but could be seen as complex containing *fri:* (root) with *-n-* (extension) and *-i:í* (suffix). Note *eiteal* > *eiltreog* with *ag* (5.213).

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sraoth, general VN *sraofairt* (also *sraofartach*), but *snifəxt 66N* (5.223). This *snifəxt* form is strictly speaking probably not a verbal noun for speaker *66N*; it is unlikely she inflects a verb *sraoth*.

bagair, general VN *bagairt*, has irregular metathesis and a different ending in *ba:gu:nt' orhəb 78B bargúint orthub* (possibly influenced by *argúint*).

5.210 Verbs with more than one Verbal Noun; *aipigh* — *cas*

For *-ál* ~ *-áil* and *-áil* ~ *-áilt*, etc., see further below (5.216; 5.218).

aipigh, *aipeachan*, (*aipiú*), cf. LFRM *aipiú* and *apachan*.

aithris, *aithris*, *aithrist*.

amhdaigh, *amhdachtáil*, e.g. *ā:ĩdəxtə:í S*, *amhdáil*, e.g. *ā:ĩdə:í S*, (*amhdú*).

at, *at* generally (including *66N*), *atú 66Nq* (5.414).

bac, *bacadh*, *bactáil*, *bacachtáil*, *bacaint*.

bagair, generally *bagairt*; *ba:gu:nt' orhəb 78B bargúint orthub*.

balaigh, *balú*, cp. *balho:r'əxt balóireacht*. (Note *baláil* LFRM not in dialect according to Máire.)

bán(aigh), *bánú*, *bánachán*, *bánachan*, the last form meaning 'becoming a white colour' occurs in *tesaí* (i.e. *tosáí*) ... *a' bánachan 869P5*.

béic, *béicíl*, *béiciúch* >> *béiceach*.

bligh, *bleán* generally, but note *ə bl'a:nt | nə ma: |* (Scbér)04B which can be interpreted as *ag bleáint na mba* (cf. 10.68) or even *bleánt* (cp. *leagant 19B*, Doire an Locháin).

bog, *bogadh* generally, also *bogachan*, *bogachán*.

braith, generally *brath*, but *brəhə 20Myq* in *ag braitheadh air*.

breac, *breacadh*, *breacachán* M.

brocaigh, *brocadh* P, *brocú* M.

buach, *buachadh* (e.g. *25M*), *buachaint 897S1* also *boxənt' 78E*, *buachtáil*. The last form is common as a noun (in older speakers): *ag iarraidh an bhuachtáil*, *fháil ar ... an bhfear eile 872Pt*; *go bhfuinn [bhfuighinn] an bhuachtáil air* LL85.

búir, *búirtheach* M, *búirtheacht* Mq *búirthíl* P, Mq, (*búiríl*) P, *búirthiúch* P, *búirthiúcht* S, Mq.

caill, *cailleadh*, *cailliúint* !(Abtm)11C in *Nach mise an trua Mhuire is mé ag cailliúint na gcéad le grá*.

caoin, *caoineadh*, *caoineachán*.

caisric, *caisricean*, *coisricean*, *karfrək'ən 894Cs*, *korfrək'ən 25M*, cp.

kroʃk'ərən' d'e: orən' S coisreacan Dé orainn! (Speaker 27Md has **gə də haʃrək' he:n' 27Mdt** *dho do chaisric héin*, with loss of **-ən** before *héin* perhaps in haplology, but **kaʃrək'ən 27Mdq**.)
caith, caitheamh, caitheachtáil.
cas, casadh, castáil, casachtáil.

5.211 *cinn*

cinn, cinneadh (cf. 'Sandhi' 2.53), *cinniúint*. This verb occurs most frequently in the phrase:

tə: (v'i:, etc.) ʃe: k'i:n't' orəm (ort, er', etc.) ...

tá (bhí, etc.) sé cinnte orm (ort, air) ... or ... ag cinnt orm ...

The form **k'i:n't'** in this phrase is ambiguous as to whether it is to be analysed as a verbal adjective, i.e. *tá sé cinnte orm*, or verbal noun, i.e. *tá sé ag cinnt orm*. In fact both analyses or interpretations are in evidence. In **tə: ʃe: k'i:n't' orəm** 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: ʃe: k'i:n't' er'** transliterated *bhí sé ag cinnt air* §358, line 57. Similarly, transcriptions in RBÉ show verbal noun interpretation, e.g. *tá sé a' cinnt orm* 866E Semr. So also in Hartmann et al. (1996), e.g. ARN6447. Similarly, VN given as *cinnt* in *bhí sé ag cinnt air* (Tour[makeady]) Dinn s.v. *cinnim*. In the introduction to S. Mac Con Iomaire (1938¹) Tomás Ó Máille wrote *níor cuireadh aon leabhar i gcló atá i ndon cinnte air* which was modernised by Máirtín C. Ó Cadhain to ... *in ann cinnt air* (1985²). The verbal noun by-form *cinnt* 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*² 4.) Mac Giollarnáth (1936, 1940) has both spellings: *bhí sí ag cinnt ortha 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 uirthi. ... Níl tada a' cinnt uirthi*, 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 cinnt ar chuid de na múinteoirí cúrsa na bunscoile a chríochnú'* (Cumas 2003: 70; cited in Mac Donnacha et al., 2005: 133). Sórcha Ní Ghuairim, a native of Roisín na Mainchíoch, has the verbal noun in her spelling: *bhí sé a' cinnt amach is amach ar ...* SNG294. In conversation I have heard the verbal adjective before a consonant:

tə ʃe k'i:n't'ə 'dɔ:ləs er' 66N *tá cinnte dólas [< dóláimh] air*.

When asked to use this phrase in slow deliberate speech, 21Pt produced:

tá sé cinnte air k'i:n't'ə er' tada a shábháilt, tá siad cinnte k'i:n't'ə orm, bíonn 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'i:n't'** ... in this phrase as verbal adjective **k'i:n't'ə** in, for example, **tə ʃe k'i:n't' orəm tá sé cinnte orm**, and, in contrast, *cinniúint* as the verbal noun: **b'i:n' / tə: ʃiəd ə k'i:n'w:n't' orəm 20Cq** *bíonn / tá sé ag cinniúint orm*. He does not permit **bíonn siad ag cinnt orm* 20CØperm. In fact one speaker, who has regular verbal adjective sandhi **-i:** from **-ə** before *ag*, also has **k'i:n't'i:** before *ar*, e.g.

bhí sé cinntí orthub, k'ínt'í: orhəb | an chloch, a rabhnáil. (Suda)894Cst.¹
Before pausa (in usage without *ar*) 01C also has *k'ínt'ə*:

bhí sé cinnte í k'ínt'í: a thabhairt isteach ... agus é cinnte, k'ínt'ə | ... bhí sé cinnte. k'ínt'ə | 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 cinnt(e) ar ...* is being generalised with loss of the alternative, definitely verbal noun, syntax.

In older speakers, where both syntagms occur (*cinnt(e) ar* as well as *cinneadh / -iúint ar*), most examples show a difference between a semi-modal usage of *k'ínt' 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.

cinnt(e) ar: tá sé a' cinnt orm, etc., 866ESemr; é ' cinnt ar aoin fhear 894C2;

cinneadh ar: is mór an obair cinniú air 866ESemr; in ann cinniú ar a' rí sinne 866ESemr; ní féidir cinn(e) orthub 866ESemr;

d'iúnsa an buachaill a gul gá coinneál. Agus bhí sí seo a' cinniú ar a' mbuachaill. 894C2.

As stated, *cinniúint* occurs less often, e.g. *in ánn cinniúint air le ... 869P3* ('defeat').

5.212 *clis* — *cuimhnigh*

clis, cliseadh, cliseáil 44Pc.

clois, generally *kluf't' a:l*, *kluf't' a:l*, also *klufa:l 899D6861*, *klín'jt' a:l 46.390*.

clúdaigh, clúdadh 52P (contrast *27MdØperm*), *clúdú* (e.g. *894C, 27Mdq*), *clúdach 27Mdperm*.

cnead (rare), *cneadach M*, note also *cneadaíl Mperm*.

comhairligh, ku:rl'əxən S comhairleacan, ku:rl'əxən S comhairleachan, ku:rl'əxən M comhairleachán.

cónaigh, cónaí. Cp. nominal use (in narrative) Ní dhearna sé cónaí ~ cónú ná stad ariamh go ...

corraigh, corraí, corrú, (S generally has corraí but he uses corrú in the sense 'vex' both as verbal noun and noun, e.g. chuir sé corrú orm / ar m'intinn).

crap, kra:pə M crapadh, kra:pəxən Mq crapachán. Cp. crapachan FFG20.

creid, creidiúint, creideachtáil 66N, FFG, creistint 892M, 01P, M, FFG, creistiúint, creisteachtáil 894C2, P, FFG. The form *creideachtáil* 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'íl' e:n, ə, x'r'ed'əxta:l' ə:d a:n P níl aon, e, chreideachtáil a'd ann.

(There is an example of *x'r'eft'əxt |* in *ní fhéadthadh aon-nduine é chreisteacht, 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 *cinnt' ar*. Similarly, verbal adjectival use is found in Paróiste an Chaisleáin Ghearr, north of Galway city: *tá sé cinntí k'ínt'í: orm* (Tom Kelly (query), born 1913, Baile an Phoill), *bhí sé cintí* [i.e. *cinntí*] *orú a mbealach (a dh)íona steach sa teach* (Seán Ó Fáirta, born c. 1900, An Baile Thíos, Mionlach; in Ó Maolaithe 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, cruauí, cruabh.

cruinnigh, cruinniú generally, *cruinneál* **12J**, e.g.

krin’i:n fíad ... ga xrin’al, krin’al ær’æg’əd’ 12J

cruinníonn siad ... dhá chruinneál, ag cruinneál airgid.

cruimhnikh, cuimhniú, cuimhneachtáil, ki:vr’əxta:l’ M, ki:mr’əxta:l’. E.g. *tá sé cínnt’ orm cuimhneachtáil anis air M; bhí sé ag cuimhneachtáil air héin Mperm*. Both -ú and -achtáil variants alternate, often within the same short discourse in:

xul’ə x’ina:l ga v’e:da: ki:vr’u: er’ ... xul’ə x’ina:l ga v’e:da: ki:vr’əxta:l’ er’ M *chuile chineál dhá bhféadá cuimhniú air ... chuile chineál dhá bhféadá cuimhneachtáil air* [perhaps **v’e:ta: bhféadthá**, both tokens] M;

Note *cuíomreachtáil* [sic] *orthú ... tá tarlachtaíl ... 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 cuimhriú áraidht air ... gá mbeadh duine i ndan cuimhneachtáil 25M.

5.213 **cuir — fuin**

cuir, cuir, cur. There is a common collocational distinction in the meaning ‘sowing’ between **kur** *cur* before pausa 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:

... kir’ æti: ... ən’ e:n’əx l’ef ə kur M

... ag cuir fhataí ... in éineacht leis ag cur.

Similarly: *ní ghothá dhá cur, 894Cs*. So also Seán, regularly:

ə kir’ æti: S but **ər fa:ti’ tə fíad ə 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 árid lena gcuir M,

Níl siad curtha ach tá siad dhá chuir. 66N.

Note the plural *... deiseannaí, leihí oibre, agus gur thóigeadar taltaí ... agus go ndearndar saothrú ansin in Éirinn ar, churannaí xurɲi: agus ar, chuile shórt ní ba mhú. 881J*.

In the meaning ‘put’ *cuir* is general in all positions. My oldest speaker, for example, has **ga: gir’ ən ba:f 852S dhá gcuir un báis**. But *cur* does occur finally in this meaning, e.g.

arthachaí uilig bhíodh dhá gcur gur M (in context of ‘saying’ or ‘using charms’),

níl mé i ndan é chur xur 29C ‘put’.

Also medially, e.g.

Íl' tu: m mə xur ə'mu: 21Pt níl tú dho mo chur amú.

The variant *cuir* 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 chuir. xur' | ... a chuir xir' ansin [x3] ...
le cuir a'm, ... a chuir anseo 11C;

... g' iərə i xir' M ag iarraidh í a chuir;

nə sə'gərt' ... ga gir' 60M na sagairt ... dhá gcuir.

The palatal stem-final is found in derived forms, i.e. (older) *curaíocht* has a less frequent variant *cuiríocht*, also *curadóir* ~ *cuireadóir* SM.

daoirsigh, *dirfən* M, *dirfu:* M, cp. abstract *daoirsin*. Cp. *saoirsigh* (5.215).

diurnaigh, *ga ju:rnə*, *ga ju:rnə:*, *ga ju:rnə:l* M dhá dhiurnadh; gá dhiúrna 866ESemr52, *ga ju:rnə* 11C.

doir, *dáir*, also *dáir* >> *dáiríocht* S, rare *dáireadh*, *doir* (5.307).

dóirt, *dóirteadh*, *dórtadh* especially in set phrases: *dórtadh báistí / fola*, but *dóirteadh báistí / fola / tae*, etc.

eiteal, VN ə g'et'əl 46.140, ə g'et'əl S, 22J, (or ə 'g'el't'ro:g or e'r'el't'roig') 46.140 ag eiltreog, ar eiltreog, cf. 5.308.

eitigh, *et'əx* 866E, M, *et'əxt* 21Pt, *et'əxtal'*; note *et'u:* Mperm *eitiú*. E.g. *iad a bheith gá n-eiteach uilig* 866E, *ní dho t'eiteacht é* S, *níor mhaith liom mo chomharsa eiteachtáil faoi rud a' bith* S.

fadaigh, *fə'du:* M, *v'i: je fə'du:xən nə t'in'ə* Mq bhí sé ag fadúchán na tine.

fáir, *faire*, *fairiú* (cf. 'Sandhi' 2.54).

faoisc, *faosc*, VNs *faoisc*, *faoisceadh*.

farc, *farcadh* ~ *farcáil* ~ *farcál* M.

féach, *féachtáil*, *féachaint*, *féachain*, (cp. *də n'ært ə e:xən'* M?perm *do neart a fhéachainn*). *f'ia:xən'* 869P *féachain* 'test', *féachain le ...* 869P2. The by-form *féachtáil* (*f'ia:xə:l'* S) means 'try to' and is used with the preposition *le*; *féachaint* means 'test (to exhaustion)', e.g. *də n'ært ə e:xənt'* Mq *do neart a fhéachaint*, *ə f'e:xənt də xl'æ:s əgəs də lūd*, 04B8l *ag féachaint do chleas agus do lúd*. The form *féachaint* also generally means 'look at' and is used with the preposition *ar* (far more common is *breathnú ar*). (Cf. GCF p. 75, n. 3.) *féachtáil* is now obsolescent, it is unfamiliar to 21Ptq, for example. Cp. the conjunction *f'e:xənt'*, *f'e:nt'*, etc., (8.137).

feist, *feiste*, *feistiú* 894C4.

feith, *f'ehə*, *f'ehu:*, e.g. *ə f'ehə ma:x* S *ag feitheamh amach*, *ə f'ehu: wem' S* *ag feithiú uaim*.

feoigh, *f'ow* M *feobh*, *f'ow:xən* SM *feochan*, *f'ow:* M *feodhú*.

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 dóib fillleadh ar ais abhaile 869PZCP151,

b'éigean dóibh filliúint abhaile arís 864MLL82,

agus ag filliúint dhomsa abhaile !(Asp)11C,

ag filliúint ó Shligeach !(Abtm)11C.

fóir, *fóir'hənt'* *fóirthint*, *fóir'hi:nt'* *fóirthint*, also *fuər'i:nt'* !04B3s.

fuin, *fuint*, *fuineadh*. The latter has been heard in the proverb *is frustra fuineadh in aice na mine* only, where *fuineadh* rhymes with *mine*.

5.214 geal — múin

geal(aigh), gealadh, gealú, gealachan, gealachán.

géill, géilleadh, géilliúint, e.g. v' e g' e:l' u:nt' d' i P bheith ag géilliúint di, di:n' ə ... hugəs [hugəns ?] g' e:l' ə do: jin' P daoine ... a thuga(n)s géilleadh dó sin.

ginn, ginniúint, ginnt, also g' i:n' ə ginneadh reported by 63S for his cousin from Caladh Fhínse.

giorraigh, g' uru:, cp. noun g' urəxən giorrachan, also g' urəxən M (as normal VN g' urəxən ə ro:pə Mperm ag giorrachán an rópa).

glaigh, gli:x glaoch generally, gli: heard once from young male, born c. 1968, and glaocháil noted in kahə tu yof ə gli:xə:l' 48M caithidh tú ghoil ag glaocháil ('making a phone-call').

gléas, gléas, gléasadh, e.g. ga ɲl' e:sə, ɲl' e:s Mq.

gnóthaigh, grúchtáil 869P2, S, grúchadh S, grúchaint 21Pt, e.g. cén taobh is mú dhianfach grúchtáil 869P2. Cp. e ɣ^ənu: ? 31M é a ghnódh.

goill, go:l' ə (e.g. gə ro fe go:l' orhə 21J go raibh sé ag goilleadh uirthi) g'e:l' u:nt' 43C, go:l' u: (and g'e:l' u:) !892M5437, S, 43M, gail' u: 43M.

innis, inseacht, inSean, insint: infəxt 20Ml, ínseacht often 894C2, inSean 894C4, infəxt 01C6955, S, 21PgARN, infən 892Mg, S, 21C, infənt' 18B.

iomair, iomradh (also iomramh) generally, including 892M, but nuair a bhí an bruth 'na phraidhm, iomrú isteach ūm^əru: f't æx le sé bhuille, 892M.

lag, lagan S, lagachan S.

leáigh, regularly L' a:w, but L' a: 66Nq. Cp. reoigh, spréigh, tráigh (5.215).

lean, leanacht, leanúint 00C, 04Br, 06C, M.

léigh, L' e:w léabh generally, lé 899P and his son 32P (both Loch Con Aortha) only, e.g. bhí an sagart ag lé L' e: an Aifrinn ann 899P, ... a lé L' e: 32P. (lé is the general form in Ros Muc further east.) Note that L' e: occurs as a noun in set phrases, e.g. n' i:l' L' e: ə b' i l' e wil' gæti: kurh æn' S níl lé ar bith le a bhfuil dh'fhataí curtha a'inn, cf. 14 and FFG s.v. lé.

leigheas, VN regularly leigheas (e.g. 864MLL161); but dá leigheasú 864MLL78.

léim, léimt, léimneach, léimneacht, (-mn' - ~ -mr' -). Cp. 'bok' l' e:mr' əxt !894C boicléimneacht.

loigh, lai generally, also lai.u: 01P (Doire Iorrais).

loisc, loisceadh M, rarely loscadh.

mil, m' i:l' SM, m' i:l' əxən S. Note the variation in Níor mhileas ach choinic mé an bhró 'gus choinic mé ... gá mhilt. Choinic mé beirt mhrá ag milteachán. ... 'gus dúradh liom gurb é an grán a bhí [slight hesitation] siad a mhilt. 894P.

mill, m' i:l' ə, m' i:l' ə, m' i:l' 79S.

múin 'urinate', mu:n M, mu:nə 43M.

5.215 reoigh — túin

reoigh, ro:w regularly, but ro: M84, 66Nq.

rith, rith, ri ru rix', rix'əxt ritheacht, reathacht !894C9, rahəx (in rhyme) S reathach, ə rahəx ser' ə bo:hər S ag reathach soir an bóthar (especially of fast running), also FFG. Speaker 11C(ARN) mostly uses richeacht with geall in the context of 'racing', e.g.

ag RICHEACT geallta 1679, ag RICHEACT geall na gcorach 1728,

agus rich mé geall ann ... ag RICHEACHT an gheall i nGaillimh ... ag RICH an gheall in éanacht leis **11Ct**.

Contrast speaker **892M** who uses communitywide more common *rith geall(ta)* here, e.g.

ag rith geallta **892M**1680.

sáigh, sáthadh, sá, sábh: sáha **869P2, 36Sq; sá** **869P** (x2), SM, **64Mq, 69Sq, 77Cq, sábh Sq, 69Sq**.

saoirsigh, si:rfən M, si:rfu: Mq.

scar, scaradh generally, including *scaradh le* ‘leave’, but *scarúint* **866ESemr80** in *scarúint le* ‘leave’. Similarly, *U- dheamhan a n-éileoinn scarúint choíchín leat dhá mbeadh bliain ar u- fad, insa lá nú, dhó, !!881J*.

scréach, scréachadh, scréachaíl P; of rain, only *scréachadh* has been noted, e.g.

tá sé ag scréachadh (báistí).

scread, screadach P, screadúch S, screadaíl, screadadh, e.g. a’ screada ... a’ béiciúch **869P4**.

scrios, scrios Mperm, scriosadh M (both in GCF §171).

seinn, fín’əm’ Mq, fín’əm !21Pt, fín’u:nt’ !894C.

seol, seoladh regularly. What sounds like *seoláil* occurs in an indistinct passage:

na ro fe na:n | fola:l’ l’ef 897P nar raibh sé i ndan seoláil leis.

sil, sileadh, silt.

síl, síleachtáil, cp. the pun based on *síl(eadh)* in:

əs umu: dín’ ə m’i:n’ fí:l’ ə ma’gə fí: S

is iomú duine a mbíonn síl(eadh) l Síle ag magadh faoi.

siúil, siúl generally, but *siúil*, e.g. *ə fu:l’ 66N*.

sloig, slig’ə M, slugə Mq.

sníomh, sníomh, sníomhachan, sníomhachán.

snoigh, snoíochan, snoíochán.

spáin, spáint generally, rarely *tuspáint*. Cp. nouns *tuspáint* and *tuspánadh*, the latter especially in a metaphysical sense. (Neither *tuspa:nə* nor **spa:nə* are permitted as verbal nouns by MØperm.)

spréigh, spr’e:w regularly, but *spr’e: 66Nq*.

sraoth, fñifərt’ perhaps most common, *fñifərtəx M, fñi:fərtəx 46.431, fñi:ní:l’ 17M sraothnaíl, sni:fəxt 66N, 66Nq*, also *ag snaofáil 66N* (said hesitantly).

For discussion, see 5.223.

sroich, srohə (e.g. M, **25M**) *sroicheadh, srohəxta:l’ sroicheachtáil*.

suigh, si: si su, generally; but *suíomh* in *ní ro’ sí sásta ar suíomh sa gcathaoir ar aon chaoi* **852SbTS**135–6.

táil, táladh, tál.

tanaigh, tanú (e.g. *tanú amach 31M*), *tanachan, tani:xən 21Ptq, 27Mdq, taniəxən tanaíochan, taniəxə:n tanaíochán*.

tangaigh, tangachtáil >> tangáil, the latter noted only from **869P4–5**, e.g. *theangáil g’aon bhlas 869P4, tangáil gon ... 869P5, tangú Mperm*.

taobhaigh, taobhachtáil >> taobhú.

tarlaigh, tarlu:, tarləxta:l’ 20My, tarla:l’ in *ní:l’ əs eg’ə k’e:r ta: gol’ ə tarla:l’ 10B níl fhios aige céard atá ag goil ag tarlaíl* (perhaps influenced by ‘happen’-áil **10B**); *tarl^dru: 04B*.

tarrainn, tarənt’ tarraint generally, but *gá tharrainn achuile lá ... 869P4*, cp. 5.218.

teith, teitheadh Mq, teithiú (often before *ó*).

tiubh, tiúchan, tiúchán, also *tiubhadh* Mq.

tomáin, tomáin **04Br, 15W**, but *tomáint* generally, including **04Br**.

tois 'measure', *teif* generally, *tif* **21Mlt**, *tos* **894Cs**, *tos* 'measure, amount' **06C**.

tomhais 'guess', *tu:f* M, **43M**, *tu:fə* SM, **21Pt**, **43Mperm**.

tóraigh, tóraíocht generally, but younger speakers: *to:rəxt* **51N, 66N** *tóracht*.

tráigh, tra:w regularly, but *tra:* **66Nq**.

treoraigh, tr' o:ru: SM, >> *tr' o:lə* S.

trust, trust generally but *trustadh* **60M**.

tuill, tuilleadh, tuilliúint.

túin, tu:nɪ' S, *túinadh* FFG.

Variation and individual speakers

5.216 Alternate -ál ~ -áil

Lexemes and speakers' recorded forms are given in Table 5.66. This shows that, in verbs where both variants are found, the -ál variant is considerably more common.

Table 5.66 Verbal noun -ál ~ -áil

Speaker	894C	899D	01C	04B	04Br	S	11C	M	P	72A
-ál	<i>coinneál</i>	+	+	+			+			
	<i>fágál</i>			+			+	+		
	<i>feiceál</i>	+	+	+	+			+		
	<i>tóigeál</i>	+	+		+		+			+
-áil	<i>coinneáil</i> ¹					+			+	
	<i>fágáil</i>	+								
	<i>feiceáil</i>							+		
	<i>tóigeáil</i>									

¹ E.g. *e' xín'ál'* S, P *é a choinneáil*.

In *cloisteáil* -ál' is common, e.g. *klí'ft'ál'* *klí'n'ft'ál'* 46.390; also *kluft'ál'* **894Ct, 05M**, and *klufal* **899D** 6861 *cloiseál*. As noted above, we can compare -e:l ~ -e:l' in *g a:v'e:l* M, *g a:v'e:l'* **37M** *ag áibhéal / áibhéil*. Also *farc*, VN *ə farka:l'*, *ə farkə* M, also *ə farka:l* M; cp. *vadj farka:l'tə* M.

5.217 Alternate -ə ~ -u:

The ending -ə alternates with -u: in a few 2 Conjugation verbs:

iomradh *iomrú isteach ũm'ru: ft'æx le sé bhuille*, **892M**,
əg' u:məru: n wə:d' Mperm *ag iomrú an bháid*, claimed by Máire to be genuine local dialect;

lonradh in *ta n' yr'ien ə lundə*, ~ *lundu:* *tá an ghrian ag lonradh*;

scanradh *ta fe 'a'n'eiskə e skə:nɪ.ɹə* P *tá sé an-éasca é a scanradh*, generally *scanrú*. In more nominal use the noun in -ə *scanradh* is general but the verbal noun in -u: also occurs, e.g.

fuair mé héin an scanrú skə:n'ru: | 05M.

Compare the verb *sásaigh* which has regular VN *sə:su:* *sású*, e.g.

nax f'ed'ər ə həs:u: S *nach féidir é a shású*, *ga: səs:u:* S *dhá sású*.

And related noun *sə:sə* *sásamh*, e.g.

də v'e:l'i: ix'ə fi: hɑ:sə *S do bhéilí a ithe faoi shásamh.*

As noun also **sɑ:su: sású** (cf. 'Sandhi' 2.55):

mə hɑ:su: æ:r'əg'əd' *S mo shású airgid, sɑ:su: i:n't'əN'ə S sású intinne.*

Also:

bhain sé sásamh sɑ:sə an bhagúin as ... bhí Séamas i gcónaí ag faire ar a shású. hɑ:su | ARN7741–3.

There is evidence for an earlier realisation of verbal noun **-ə** as **-əw** or **-u:**. In lexically conditioned sandhi, unmarked **-ə** may be realised **-əv** or **-u:**, in higher register as **-u:**. Attestations of transcribed **-ú** outside of sandhi and higher register occur for speaker **852S**. Many verbal nouns in *-adh*, *-amh* are written with both *-a* and *-ú* in **852S4**, as set out in Table 5.67. This may be due to influence of the dialect of the folklore collector who transcribed this material (see 'Introduction' I.XII) but may at least partially reflect **852S**'s genuine usage, note *sású* in **852S1**.

Table 5.67 Verbal noun *-a* / *-ú*, 852S4

<i>-ú</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>cúnamh</i> , N and VN
<i>a' bualú an bháire</i>	<i>buala báire</i> (x c. 3)	<i>-ú</i>
<i>é a róstuí, ceart</i>	<i>a' rósta an brudáin</i> [sic MS]	<i>cúnú dhó, dhúinn, etc., (x4)</i>
<i>a' fáisciú na bhfiacraí</i>	<i>gá chaithe ansin</i>	
<i>a' múnú guch ...</i>	<i>a' ceapa</i> (often)	<i>a chúnú go</i> (x1)
<i>túrtha sí sin bearrú dhíb</i>	<i>a' claona + V-</i> (x2)	<i>cúnú orthú</i> (x1)
	<i>creide</i> (often)	
	<i>a' diana a bheala, etc., (x10+)</i>	<i>-a</i>
	<i>a' faire iad a mharú</i>	<i>cúna go</i> (x1)
	<i>a' maithe go</i>	
	<i>mhealla</i>	
	<i>a muna C-</i> (x3)	
	<i>a sheasa le, ina sheasa eir</i>	
	<i>a seola léithi</i>	
	<i>damsa</i> (often)	
cp. <i>sású thabhairt</i> 852S1	cp. <i>ag iarra troid, ag iarra ort, etc.,</i>	
cp. <i>a' damsú leis</i>	2Conj <i>a' breatha anúinn ... thríd a' talú, generally breath(n)ú</i>	

5.218 Alternate \pm -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 \pm -t finally

t = variant with final **t'**, \emptyset = variant without final **t**.

final	Speaker	866ESemr	46, 869Pt	869P2-	870B1-2	894C	899D	00C	00T	01C
I	<i>coinneál</i>	\emptyset	\emptyset			\emptyset	\emptyset			\emptyset
	<i>feiceál</i>	\emptyset	\emptyset 485	\emptyset		\emptyset	\emptyset	t	t	\emptyset
	<i>gabháil</i>									
	<i>tóigeál</i>					\emptyset	\emptyset	t	\emptyset	\emptyset
	<i>fágál</i>	\emptyset					\emptyset	t		
	<i>tastáil</i>									
	<i>sábháil</i>	\emptyset	t 587, 869P	\emptyset >> t		\emptyset , t				

	<i>spáráil</i>	Ø								
	<i>traíáil</i>									
	<i>fáil</i>	Ø	Ø >> t	Ø >>	t (3/3)	Ø >> t	Ø	t	Ø	
	<i>fáil bháis</i>	Ø			t					
	<i>ceangal</i>	t 39				Ø		Ø		
	<i>oscal</i>	t	t 486			t				
	<i>mill</i>									
n ²	<i>leagan</i>								t	Ø
	<i>ligean</i>	Ø	Ø >> t ¹			Ø (>>) t		Ø		
	<i>bleán</i>									
r	<i>iompar</i>	Ø 605			Ø		Ø			
	<i>cuir</i>									
f	<i>aithris</i>	Ø 993			t					

¹ The *t*-form attested from **869P** occurs as a noun in: *gá bhfách* [bhfaigheadh] *na caoire ligint thart ar an áir* **869P5**.

² Note the rare forms in **-n** from Pádraig Mhacáí 'ac Con Iomaire and his daughters: *ag féachain f'íoxhán* *a hugach* **869P**, *tumán* **04Br**, **15W** *tomáin*; *tarrair* **869P4**.

final	Speaker	04B	S	11C	M	21Pt	23B	37M	43M	52M	52P
l	<i>coinneál</i>	t		Ø >> t							
	<i>feiceál</i>	Ø		Ø							
	<i>gabháil</i>			Ø, t	Ø, t						
	<i>tóigeál</i>			Ø >> t							
	<i>fágál</i>	Ø		Ø, t							
	<i>tastáil</i>			Ø							
	<i>sábháil</i>	t, 9.MP		Ø !,	t						
	<i>spáráil</i>				t						
	<i>traíáil</i>										
	<i>fáil</i>		Ø	Ø >> t	Ø						
	<i>fáil bháis</i>			Ø, t							
	<i>ceangal</i>										
	<i>oscal</i>		t		t			Ø	Ø		
	<i>mill</i>										
n ²	<i>leagan</i>			Ø		t				Ø, t ³	
	<i>ligean</i>			Ø, t							
	<i>bleán</i>	t									
r	<i>iompar</i>		Ø, t		Ø, t					t	
	<i>cuir</i>										
f	<i>aithris</i>		Ø		Ø					Ø, t	

final	Speaker	55Sq	57Pm	60M	66Lq	66N	72Nq	76Nq ⁴	79S	81A	84P(q)
l	<i>coinneál</i>	Ø			t		t				
	<i>feiceál</i>	Ø					t	Ø	t		Ø
	<i>gabháil</i>										
	<i>tóigeál</i>	Ø			t		t				
	<i>fágál</i>	Ø									
	<i>tastáil</i>			t							
	<i>sábháil</i>	Ø			t		t	t			Ø
	<i>spáráil</i>										
	<i>traíáil</i>	Ø			t		t			t ⁵	
	<i>fáil</i>	Ø			t	Ø	t	t	t		Ø, t
	<i>fáil bháis</i>					Ø ?, t		Ø			
	<i>ceangal</i>										
	<i>oscal</i>	Ø			t		t				t
	<i>mill</i>								t		

final	Speaker	55Sq	57Pm	60M	66Lq	66N	72Nq	76Nq ⁴	79S	81A	84P(q)
n	leagan		t		t		t	t			Ø
	ligean	Ø			t		t	t	t		Ø
	bleán										
r	iompar	Ø			t		t				t
	cuir								t		
f	aithris										

³ Cp. her father's *leagant* **19B** (Doire an Locháin).

⁴ This speaker also has innovative *goilt* **72N**, for traditional *goil* (VN *teighre*).

⁵ This speaker also has innovative *uasáilt* **81A**.

Some speakers' examples of *-il(t)*

894C *coinneál* **894C2**, *dúbailt* **894C3**, *fágáil* **894C2**, 3, *feiceál* **894C3**, *thóigeál* **894C2**, *sábháilt* **894C6/9**, *sábháil* **894C6/9**, *oscailt* **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* **894C6/9**, 'g *aithrist ar* **894C6/9**.

11C *coinneál*: ní raibh tú i ndan hata choinneáilt ar do cheann le stoirm. **11C**; agus é ag coinneáilt na giorraecharí ... na giorrácharí seo, a deir sé, choinní, choinneál balaíthe isteach ...; ag coinneáilt an sciolláin **11C**.

fáil: ag fáilt bháis (often); gá bhféadad sé fáilt réidh i mbealach eicint. **11Ctn**.

gabháil: ag gabháil go:í sa mbéal **11Ct**, ag gabháil go:í dhe na claimhí ... **11Ctn**.

tóigeál: -' Bhfuil sib i ndan í sin a thóigeáilt, a dúirt Maolra. **11C**; bímse ... ag tóigeál na cloiche seo. ... agus í a thóigeáilt aníos ... **11C**; ag tóigeáilt aimsiú ... [x2] **11Ctn**, ag tóigeáilt an tsaoil ... **11Ctn**.

traíáil: -Mar, níl muid i ndan thusa a thraíáil, a dúradar, **11C**.

15W *chluisteáil*, *góil gá* ... , cp. *ligean cead*.

45N *feiceáilt*, *tóigeáilt*, cp. *leagaint*, *iúmpairt*. This speaker clearly has a propensity for verbal noun *-t*.

5.219 Other speakers and endings

-l *coinneál*, xiN' a:l' e:r' ... , ... xiN' a:l' æ's **04B5**.

fágáil, *fágál*, *fágáilt*.

fáil, *fáilt*: *fáilt láidir* **897P**. Speaker **04Br** has been recorded with *le fáilt thart*, *fáilt isteach air*, *a fháilt dhó*, *fáilt bháis*, but phrase-finally 'ten pounds' *a fháil*. Speaker **66N** has common *fáilt bháis* but *fáil* elsewhere. Speaker **77C1** may have some conditioning on his use of *a fháilt*. His examples show *a fháilt* phrase-finally:

karó:g' a:l', *caróig a fháilt*, and

... a:l', fa:l' ən ... *a fháilt*, *ag fáil an*

gabháil, generally *go:í*. In the meaning 'strike' both *go:í* (e.g. *ag gabháil go:í sa mbéal* **11Ct**) and *go:l' (M)* are common. There may be a facultative pattern of:

go:í gə *ag gabháil dhe* vs. *go:l' er'* *ag gabháilt ar / air*.

oscail, *oskəl* **37M**, **43M**, *iskəl* **43M**. Stress shift found on *oscailt* (1.380).

samhail, ná bí dhá samhailt liom **864MDT59**, ghá samhail féin léithi **SÓC1.84**.

(Noted in verbal inflection in: *samhail sé leis féin nach raibh Sadhbh umhal ar ... ní samhlaightheach ach boichteanaight le bádóirí* **SÓC1.84–5**; pst imprs *samhladh* 14 s.v. *samhail*.)

tastáil, *tæ:stə:l'* **60M**.

tóigeáil, *tóigeál*, *tóigeáilt*.

In *rā:wə:l' i: rāmhailt*, the *-l'* form only has been noted from quite a number of speakers, also *rāmhaileach*, and *rā:vərt' i: 23C* (1.10). Cp. *rāmhaile* (*rāmhaill*, etc.) FGB.

- n** *leagan, leagaint*: *aon lámh a leagan* 11C, *drú a leagan* 11C, *ə l'ægənt' ə'max* 59P *a leagaint amach*.
ligean, ligint: *ag ligint thartub an mhúir* 11C.
bligh, bleán (bleáint): *bl'ant, nə ma: 04B5t ag bleáint na mba*.
 Cp. *buachadh ~ buachtáil* generally but *buəxənt' 897S1, 64C buachaint*.
-r *iompair, u:mpərt' ~ u:mpər* SM; *rómhair, rómhairt* 21Pt.
-f *aithris, 'g aithrist ar 894C6/9; æhr'əf(t') 52P*.

It is apparent from Table 5.68 above that some younger speakers born since the mid 1960s have prevalent *-t*. Furthermore, the young speaker 79S has a few rather idiosyncratic formations with *-t*:

-l in *mill, m'ilt'*; *-r* in *cuir, kirt'*.

Two tokens were noted in the same discourse (but also noted independently):

ə m'ilt' ə rud ... xirt' əmu: 79S ag millt an rud ... chuiirt amú.

5.220 Alternate *-ch ~ -cht*

- əx ~ -əxt** is common in verbal nouns (and abstract nouns):
argóinteacht: a:rəgu:n't əxt S, a:rəgu:n't əx 869PZCP162;
ceannacht 869Pt, 11C, M, P, 21Pt, 66N, ceannach 01P, SM;
dúiseacht generally but *dúiseach 52J*;
g' e:f't əx M, 21Pt ag éisteach, e:f't əxt 27Mdq éisteach;
fanacht generally, but *ag fanach thoir 84P*;
l'e:m'n' əxt !(FCúil) 11C, 27Mdq, *l'e:m'r' əxt 26P léimneacht*, probably less often
l'e:m'r' əx léimneach (e.g. 01C6883);
re:t' əx SM, 27Mdq, re:t' əxt S, cp. *d'ia ga: re:t' əx(t) S, 50N* (S's daughter) *Dia dhá réiteach(t)!*
 Cp. *ə glugərnəx 11Ct ag glugarnach, glugərnəxt xa:n't ə S ag glugarnacht chainte*.

Not all verbs show alternation. For example, **-əx** only was noted in some verbal nouns:

ku:dəx cumhdach; fuədəx fuadach; g'e:m'r' əx g'e:m'n' əx géimneach;
kr' ədəx cneadach; f'kr' ədəx screadach.

Similarly, **-əxt** only was noted in others:

fanacht (except 84P); *i(:)nfəxt inseacht*;
ritheacht (in contrast to *reathach ~ reathacht*).

The ending *-úch* without *-t* is general, including in *búirthiúch*, whereas *-úcht* has been noted in *búirthiúcht* S, Mq only.

5.221 Alternate *-í ~ -ú*

The ending *-í* 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.

Table 5.69 Verbal noun *-í ~ -ú*

Speaker	46, 869P2-	894C	04B	S	M	20C	66N	72Nq	84P(q)
<i>-í</i>	<i>cónaí</i>			+	+				
	<i>corraí</i>	+ RBÉ	+		+			+	+
	<i>éirí</i>		+		+			+	+
	<i>fiathraí</i>	+ s.v. <i>fiafruighe</i>	+		+			+	
	<i>ionsaí</i>	+ (<i>iún-</i>)		+					
	<i>tosaí</i>	+ 270, RBÉ	+		+			+	+
<i>-ú</i>	<i>corrú</i>			(+)				+ >>	
	<i>éiriú</i>					ag ~ (x3)		+ >>	
	<i>fiathrú</i>							+ >>	
	<i>ionsú</i>				+				+ (<i>iún-</i>)
	<i>tosú</i>							+ >>	
	<i>réitiú</i>							+ <<	

The ending *-ú* is permitted by Máire and claimed by her to exist in 2 Conjugation verbs that generally have other endings:

- æ:r' u'** Mperm, generally *aireachtáil*;
ko:nu' Mperm, also attested from other speakers, but *cónaí* is more general as noun and verbal noun;
du:fu' Mperm, generally *dúiseacht*;
fuədu' Mperm, generally *fuadach*;
re:t' u' Mperm, generally *réiteach(t)*.

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 5.70 Verbal nouns and other nouns in *-úch ~ -ach*

	<i>béic</i>	<i>búir</i>	<i>scread</i>	<i>méan-</i>	<i>méil-</i>	<i>ramp-</i>	<i>ruathr-</i>	<i>blaidhr-</i>
SID.46				-hu:x 268	-f'əx 81			
899N					-f'əx			
11C ¹	-u:x -əx		-əx					
S		-hu:xt	-u:x			-u:x		
M	-əx -u:x	-həx			-hu:x	-u:x	-rhəx M -rho:x, -rho:x Mperm	-hu:x M
P		-hu:x						
21Ptq	-u:x	-hu:x			-hu:x			
27Mdq	-u:x	-hu:x	-əx		-həx			
Others				-əx 71D	-f'əx 894Cs		-r'hu:x 892M	

¹ E.g. *ag fuagairt agus ag béiciúch ... thosaigh sé ag béiciúch agus ag screadach go raibh sé ag fáilt bháis le doigh bhoilg. ... tá sé ag béiceach is ag screadach thíos. 11C.*

Table 5.71 presents certain other verbal nouns with diverse endings.

Table 5.71 Various verbal nouns and speakers

	<i>bac</i>	<i>creid</i>	<i>innis</i>	<i>goill</i>	<i>lean</i>
SID.46		kʁeʃtʰmʰtʰ 1.42	gʰinʰfəxt s.v. <i>innisim</i>		
869P2-	<i>gan baca leis</i>		<i>ínseacht</i>	<i>ag goilliú air</i> (x2)	
04B			gʰinʰfən 21		ʰe:nə ʰæ:nʉ:nʰtʰ 4 ga ʰæ:nʉ:nʰtʰ 6
04Br			<i>ínseacht</i>		
66N		dʰæ:kəʁʰ ə xrʰedʰəxta:lʰ			

Note the example of alternation of **-u:** ~ **-əv** in the CRUAIGH class in:

-ʰehi hu xruəu e ʃinʰ M *Le haghaidh thú a chruaú é sin.*

-hə 66N *Hu?*

-hu xruəv M *Thú a chruaú.*

Speaker **66Nq** has unusual absence of **-w** in *leáigh* > **ʰa:**, *tráigh* > **tra:**, *spréigh* > **sprʰe:**, *reoigh* > **ro:** **66Nq** vs. *léigh* > **ʰe:v** **66Nq**.

5.223 *sraofairt* ~ *sraofartach*

Although the synchronic relationship within our dialect between *sraofairt* and less common *sraofartach* 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 *sraofartach*. 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 *sraoth*¹ throughout Connacht, Leinster and Munster are, broadly transcribed, *sraofartaíl* 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 **-ə**. 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: **ə ʃrʰ:fərtə** point 43. Elsewhere in this zone there are three alternatives:

1. The *-aíl* 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 **-fərtə** ending is reanalysed as (i) **-fərt** (point 47 (x2)), or, more commonly, as (ii) **-fərtʰ** (points 36–42, 45, and, of course, in our dialect material).

¹ The etymon is *sreodh* to the north of, and including, points 48, 49 and 33 in SIDIII q 431.

The palatalisation to **-fərtʰ** brings the form in line with other (verbal) nouns in **-fairt**, e.g. *sclafairt*, *confairt*, and parallels many other verbal nouns in **-fʰ**, e.g. *imirt*, *iompairt*, *oscailt*, *tóigéilt*. The word *ualfartach* (ag *ualfartaigh*) may have undergone a similar development to *ualfairt* (the latter is cited in DIL). The exclusive attestation of *sraofairt* 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 Bhaldraithe for Cois Fharraige in ICF and FFG (*sraoth* is not found in GCF). Perhaps *sraofairt* has ousted older forms in this core area, it may at least have replaced or blocked *sraofartaíl* (which occurs to its immediate north and east) in Conamara. According to this interpretation *sraofairt* may have spread from the interstitial zone to points 36–38 where historical unstressed *-igh* > **i**, and where the derivation of *sraofairt* seems phonologically unmotivated. Points 36–38, then, which lack the historical phonological causation, may have borrowed *sraofairt*. It is noteworthy that *sclafairt* ‘barking’ (also *sclafart* point 34, *glafairt* point 30, *glafar* point 28) is common in East Galway, as evidenced in SIDI.11.

A historical dialectologically interesting question — whether *sraofairt* has spread eastwards from Conamara and / or northwards from South-East Galway — cannot be answered on the present evidence. The East Galway *-igh* > **-ə** zone yields *-aíl* 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 *sraofartaigh* are found immediately to the south (point 24) of the eastern *-igh* > **-ə** area and to the north-east (point 35) of the ‘borrowing’ *sraofairt* zone which is bordered to the north by an area with predominant *sraofartaíl*. It is highly possible, then, that *sraofartaigh* existed in South-East Galway and that *sraofartaigh* > **sri:fərtə** > **sri:fərtʰ** could have occurred there as well as in Conamara. The deeper diachronic perspective may then be *sraodhfadhach* > (for whatever reason, perhaps related to the development of **f** here, given common *-fadhach* > **-hu:x**) *sraofartach* > *sraofartaigh* > *sraofairt* with the abstraction of *-fairt* as a rather unproductive, perhaps affective suffix.¹

The realisation **sni:fəxt** *snaofacht* was noted from speaker **66N** only. The material in SID yields forms with initial *sn-* from three near-by lects: **sni:fərtʰ** point 42 (where ahistorical, possibly hyperdialectal, *n* for *r* is common in clusters Krauss 1958: 8, 48, 50–1, 79, 106);² a. (S) **sri:fərtəx**, b. **sni:fərtəx** point 43b; **ʃnʰ:fərt** (as well as **ʃrʰ:fərt** 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 tsraofartach*), (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* > **i:**, not to mention **iə** in points 23, 24, 28 and 45, demonstrates further complexities. It is certain that the contrast of southern Irish *ao* (*sraodh*) with northern Irish *eo* (*sreodh*) 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 *sraodh* / *sreodh* it is (from south to north) **e:** (– **i:**) – **o:**. (The **e:**(**i:**) 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:**(**i:**) 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 *n* for dialectal *r* in any other word. This speaker's *-facht* ending can be seen to have three main causes: (a) a morpho-phonological fudge between the regular dialectal *-fartach* and *-fairt*; (b) **66N**'s uvular fricative realisation of *r* preceding *t* (1.398(ii)), so that her *-acht* and *-a(i)rt* are phonetically very similar; (c) analogy with the common (verbal) noun suffix *-acht*, as in semantically related *casacht*. (In *thosaigh se, ag casacht, ag snaofáil* **66N** (said hesitantly) I got the impression the word *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 *casacht* influencing *sraof-*.) The endings *-fartach* and *-fartaíl* have been fudged elsewhere: *sraofachtáil* point 28; *sreofairleach* point 48. (Acaill, points 53, 54, seems to have fudged Ulster *sreo(n)faí*, etc., with Connacht *sreofartaíl* to yield *sreofaíl*.) Finally, the form **fi:ní:l** *sraothnaíl*, noted from speaker **17M** only, can be compared both with lects containing *-íl* and those containing *-n-*. It resembles phonologically **fi:ní:l** *sianáil* which describes a similar inarticulate sound.

Genitive

5.224 General; 1VND -C > -C'; 2VND -C > -C'ə -e

There are many examples of the verbal noun in genitive position without genitive inflection, e.g.

in do shiúl iúnsaí **869P4**;

bolæg snā:u^w 46.1134 *bolg snámh* (only), cp. (vadj type) *insnáfa* Clad233,
in(t)snáimhte Mq;

... *Meacana Leún air*. [sic MS] **869P5** (i.e. *Meacan an Leonadh*);

scian catha bídh **875T1**, cp. **fk'ín xat'ə b'ia** **04B21** *scian chaite bia*;

ta fe g'er ən ə wa:n't *M tá sé géar un a bhaint*;

ag díonamh na bacsáil **892M4237**.

Cp. **də ʏo:hən' t'ispa:nə** **04B** *do dhóthain tuspánadh*.

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 of declensions 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 *balthadh dóite* and *farraige cháite* the synchronic interpretation (for certain speakers) may be of verbal adjectives. The verbal noun declensions have the following genitive endings:

1. -C > -C'
2. -C > -C'ə
3. -C' > -C'ə
4. + tə, (ti:)
5. + hə
6. + i:(hə), i:x'ə, (hi:(hə))
7. -C' > -C'əx

The genitive (4VND) of a prefixed verbal noun occurs in:

fear a bhí thréis a nuaphósta 894C9.

1VND -C > -C'

blaoch chaoineacháin 892M; *ceangal, deis ceangail* 894C2; *dhe bharr óil; ʿe t'am forfə ju:l* 11Ct *le teann foirseadh siúil*. Cp. noun *meáchan, mórán meáchain* S.

2VND -C > -C'ə -e

baint, ən am ə wa'nt'ə S *in am a bhainte*.

ceangailt, 'mɑ:d'ɪ k'a:ŋgəl't'ə 46.187 *maide ceangailte*.

coisint, a:t' kōʃən't'ə 46 (s.v. *buaile*) *áit coisinte*.

5.225 3VND -C' > -C'ə (-C > -C'ə) -a

-áil > -ála:

Ó! sin é an rud atá ag díonamh na badarála. ... Sin é an chaoi a bhfuil an bhadaráil. 881J;

gə wɪ:ŋ' .g'ær nū ku: gə wū:m'edi: 'tri:alə | 11C

dhá bhfuighinn ceathair nó cúig dhe mhóiméadaí traíála;

tá neart traíála fós agat ARN7235;

m'əʃi:n' nə fu:alə 11C *misín na fúála;*

bád smugalála ba:d smugəla:lə 35E;

l'ehi: tɛʃt'alə 894P *le haghaidh teisteála;*

ru:n'ə b'og ʃa:pə:lə 23C *ruainne beag seapála.*

-il > -íola (but generally no genitive inflection):

scréachail, ə xid' ʃk'ɜ' e:xi:l ə nā'n 875Tl *a chuid scréachaíola i ndan.*

-ilt > -alta (but generally no genitive inflection), lexicalised in:

cuimilt, ai xim'əltə oighe chuimealta.

-int > -anta (but generally no genitive inflection):

coisint, do ghléas troda agus cosanta 866ESemr62; *ə xri: xofəntə xr'i:hə*

fai:l' !04B2l a (voc) *chroí choiseanta Chríche Fáil.*

-int > -na (elision of *t'*):

tumə:nt' > tumə:nə M, *tə'mā:nə* 866E.

Cp. *tuspáint, tuspánadh* in, e.g. *mórán tuspána(dh), mórán tuspáint.*

-ith > -atha:

rith (*reathach*), *gə wɪl'ə rahə* 27Cl *dhe bhuille reatha.*

Note *ən am skor' ~ ən am skorə* S *in am scoir / scor(th)a.*

5.226 4VND + tə t'ə -ta/-te; (+ t'i: -tí)

báthadh, poll báite.

bronnadh, la: ə/ən vru:ntə Mperm *lá an bhronnta.*

cp. *biadh b'íəw* (*biadhthadh* Dinn): *bua b'íətə, buə oskəlt'ə, buə gloʃ ogəs*

g'e:v'ən (MP)04B *bua biata, bua oscailte, bua glais agus géibheann.*

bualadh, rūit' buailte 21Pg, 892M5092.

caitheamh, ʃk'i:n xat'ə b'íə 04B2l *scian chaite bia; d'əʃ xa:t'ə* 04Br *deis chaite.*

caoineadh, chum sé dán caointe nuair a bhí sé gá caoineadh 11C.

casadh, kaur'xa:sʃə 46.530 *corr chasta.*

codladh, ə ʃra:nə kolətə 04B81 ag srannadh codlata; néal codlata.
díonamh, fear dianta rópaí 894C2; f'ær d'íntə ʃo:ltə ba:d' ə v'í a:nsən 893P
fear déanta seolta báid a bhí annsan.
dó, balthadh dóite.
dúin, sa mbealach ar ghléas a dhúinte. Clad166.
cp. gol, ... ə gul ... d'íərħə ʃe ji | f'is ə gulətə nur bru:n' | (Smbb)04B ag gol
... d'fhiathraigh sé dhi fios a golata nó a bróin.
leonadh, arħə n L'untə SM artha an leonta; snə:ħə L'untə S snáithe leonta.
loighe, a:t laif'ə M áit loite.
múchadh, poll báite múchta.
oilíúint, bean oilte ailt'ə FFG s.v. oilte.
sá, cleith sháite S.
scaoileadh, pol ski:l't'ə / ski:l'ə P poll scaoilte / scaoileadh.
sceitheadh, lá sceite rois P, also with extension to nongenitive use in tá sé ina
scite [sic] rois inniu P (early notes).
síneadh, f'ær də hi:n't'ə na də xi:n't'ə 11Ct fear do shínte ná do chaointe.
spréabh, fati: spr'e:t'ə fataí spréite (14 spréigh 2.).
suí, sit'ə sit't'ə, common in áit suite / suíte.
-áil > -áilte (rare, being the same form as the verbal adjective; the older and more
common genitive is -ála, 5.225):
a:t' (e'l'ə) p'arkə:l't'ə 47P áit (eile) pearcáilte.
- ... cultha [FGB culaidh] ghaisce, BóC
-Ní hea ach cultha chruibeáilte S.

+ t'í: -tí is exceptional, it has been heard only in the noun (894Cs):
an cáitheadh kə:ħə ... an cáitheadh kə:ħə ... ar cholbha na cáití. kə:t'í:.

5.227 5VND + hə -tha (-tha may alternate with -a of 3VND)

bearradh, b'ərħə, e.g. fi:vər əm' b'ərħə (run)11Ct faobhar un bearrrha, ta ʃe
g'e:r ən ə v'ærħə / v'ərħə Mperm tá sé géar un a bhearradh / bhearrha.
breith, b'orħə, e.g. n ā:m ə m'orħə 06C in am a mbeirthe, dətə də v'orħə
04B6 dáta do bheirthe; br'ehə breithe; b'ərħə béartha (< future stem), e.g.
na:n də v'ərħə S ndán do bhéartha.
Cp. buaireamh, údar buartha buərħə 35E.
cur cuir, fi:vər əŋ kurħə ... (run)11Ct faobhar un curtha; aimsir churtha na
bhfataí Clad236.
dáir, dártha in sna stealladh dártha FFG s.v. stealladh (also dárach 7VND).
faire, fear fartha 894C9, ba:d fə:rhə 18J bád fairthe; but generally no genitive,
e.g. fear faire 869P4.
gearradh, g'ərħə, e.g. fi:vər əŋ g'ərħə (run)11Ct faobhar un gearrrha, g'e:r
ən ə jə:rhə M géar un a ghearrtha. Cp. 5.230.
 With elision or replacement of t' in (see also *freagairt* immediately below):
imirt, xuədər ən im'ərə 04B21 chuadar un imeartha.
labhairt, m'æ: laurħə S meadh labhartha, also lag labhartha.
 Syncopating verbs:
bagairt, lá bagartha ~ bagraíthe Mq, cp. vadj bagraíthe Mq;
cascairt (or cascradh), cp. 3VND la: xra:skərə n' hn'æ:xtə S lá
chrascartha an tsneachta;

cp. *díbirt*, *áit fhiáin díbríthe* M.

freagairt, *aimsir freagartha* 894C9 (in proverb).

iomramh, **bá:d umərħə**, **bá:d' imərħə** 01J *bá(i)d iomartha* (note this speaker's nominative **g'umərə**), as 3VND **korəx mǎ' umərə** 18J *corach maith iomartha*; **bá:d umrə** M (note her nominative **g'u:mrə** ag *iomramh*). There seems to be at least a tendency in Máire's speech to distinguish stressed **u** in the genitive (i.e. **umrə**, corresponding to more clearly genitive **umər(h)ə**) from stressed **u:** in the nominative (i.e. **u:mrə**).

5.228 6VND + i:(hə) (i:x ə) -íthe

baisteadh, *léis a bhaistíthe agus ...* 894C9.

Cp. **b'e:l a:m 'baft' i' gən 'mǎ:rtə gən 'de:l' ə** (MP)894Cs

béal Eoin Baiste gan martra gan doille.

More commonly *Eoin Baiste -ft' ə*, e.g.

Naomh Búan Baiste !(MP)894C9.

As nominative:

ən ā:m ə mǎ:ft' ə | nū: n ā:m ə m'orħə 06C

in am a mbaiste nó in am a mbeirthe,

xo: m ba:ft' ə M *chuaigh un baiste.*

bagairt, *lá bagartha* ~ *bagraíthe* Mq, cp. *vadj bagraíthe* Mq.

cothú, *roinnt cúna cothaíthe chaige* 869P3.

damhsa / *daimhsiú*, *bhíodar théis 'round' mór daimhsíthe* 894C2.

díbirt, *áit fhiáin díbríthe* M.

imeacht, *i riocht is nach ro:s nax mbeadh deis a' bith ag an rópa imíthe im'i:hə*
dhi, gá gcastaí, gála, ná lá oibriú mhóir leothub amuich ansin. 06C (context: *cloich eangaí*).

leasú, *leihí leasaíthe* 14M.

loisceadh, *gan ball rua ná loiscíth' air*, 869P3, **gəm ba:l ruə nǎ: lofk'i:hə |**
889P; as nominative *gan ball rua ná loisce* 00Tn.

luchtú, **ǎ:l' ə loxti:hə** 18J8972 *Aill an Luchtaíthe.*

marú, *leis an artha mharaíthe wa:ri:hə* 06C.

réiteach >> *réitiú*, *a' tíocht 'un réitíghthe lé* !894C9.

taobhachtáil, *intaobhaíthe* (or < *vadj*).

taoscadh, *galún taíoscaíthe* !894C9, *galún taoscthaí* SM; as nominative **galu:n**
ti:skə [x3] 10Bq *galún taoscadh.*

-i:x ə is attested in **l'ehi: l'æ:si:x ə** | 11C4060 *le haghaidh leasaíthe.*

5.229 Alternation of i: ~ i:hə; 7VND -C' > -C`əx -ach

The alternant **i:hə** seems to be less frequent in the genitive of the verbal noun than in the verbal adjective of the variable (**i:hə**) (cf. 5.181 ff.). With some verbal nouns, only <i: > was not noted from conversation. Máire and speaker 20C were queried as to the acceptability of <i:hə > with these lexemes and the results are given in Table 5.72 (Ø = Øperm). (Speaker 20C has a very high <i:hə > yield in the verbal adjective.)

Table 5.72 Genitive verbal noun (<i:hə>, Mq, 20q

	Mq	<i:hə> Mperm
<i>taoscadh</i> ^a	ga'lun ti:ski:	perm
<i>leasú</i>	N'imərkə l'æ:si'	Ø
<i>bascadh</i>	m'æ:ləx də wə:ski:	perm
<i>baisteadh</i>	... xuə əm ba:ft'i: l'æt	Ø
	u:m ba:ft'i: Eoin ~	Ø
	cp. b'ó: / b'orhə nə ba:ft'i:	Ø
	note ta m pə:ft'ə ba:ft'i:hə	
	20Cq	<i:hə> 20Cperm
<i>taoscadh</i> ^a	... ti:ski: (x2)	perm
<i>leasú</i>	... l'æ:si:h(ə) (x4)	
	... l'æ:si: (x1)	
<i>bascadh</i>	... wə:ski:hə hu,	
<i>baisteadh</i>	... ba:ft'i: (x3)	not heard with Eoin ~
	... ba:ft'i:hə	
	umər ba:ft'i:hə	
<i>cathú</i>	kur kahu: only	

^a Also *galún taíoscaíthe* !894C9, *rumə ti:ski:* | 01C6548 *ruma taoscthaí*.

Speaker **20C**'s (perhaps (near)) categorical use of verbal adjective <i:hə> (which is my impression from his conversation), is reflected in his higher usage of genitive <i:hə> than Máire's here. In fact he has <i:hə> in a position where Máire does not permit it: as genitive of *leasú*. But even **20C** has (and he has only heard) **ba:ft'i:** in *Eoin Baiste*.

Speaker **889P** has common verbal adjective <i:hə>. It is probably significant that his genitive use of <i:hə> occurs before pausa. This suggests that, although genitive <i:hə> is less common than its verbal adjective counterpart, it may follow similar syntactic constraints (5.191). Speaker **889P**'s examples of *taoscthaí(the)* are:

aon ghalún taoscthaí aisti ... galún taoscthaí a oibriú. ... galún taoscthaíthe. ... ruma taoscthaíthe. ... choinneál taoscthaíthe amach ... **889Pt**.

An anomalous example (if faithfully transcribed), for expected *deargthaí*, occurs in:

sén deis deargtha a bhí acub **869P4**.

The ending **-f'i:hə** occurs with *léabh* in (higher register, cp. the same speaker's *baistíthe*, 5.228):

lucht léightighthe leabhar !894C9.

7VND -C' > -C()əx -ach

dáir, dáirtheach, dárach (also *dártha*).

5.230 Verbal Nouns with more than one genitive

coisint > coisinte, coiseanta; cur (cuir) > cuir, curtha; dáir > dáirtheach, dártha, dárach; scoradh > scoir (scortha). Cp. *breith > beirthe, breithe, béartha; ceangal > ceangail, ceangailt > ceangailte; suí > si't'ə si:t'ə*. Verbal nouns in *-áil: -ála >> -áilte; cp.-í ~ -íthe*.

There is perhaps selfcorrection of the initial token in:

mā' tɑ' ʃe 'g'ɛ:r. ən ə 'jɑ:rtə | mā' tɑ' ʃe 'g'ɛ:r ən ə 'jɑ:rhə | ... ən ə 'jɑ:rhə ... ən ə 'jɑ:rhə 894Cs Má tá sé géar un a ghearrta, má tá sé géar un a ghearrtha, ... un a ghearrtha.

Note the examples in a traditional run:

fí:vər əŋ kurhə fí:vər əm bɑ:nt'ə fí:vər əŋ 'g'ɑ:rhə fí:vər əm b'ɑ:rhə 11Ct faobhar un curtha, faobhar un bainte, faobhar un gearrtha, faobhar un bearrtha;

faobhar 'un fola air, faobhar 'un sáite, faobhar 'un beárrtha, 852Sb6.

Contrast the corresponding run from 04B where the initial token of **ən** may contain either *un* (preposition) or innovatively *an* (article) without *t-*:

fí:vər ən sɑ:t'ə ... ən v'ɑ:rhə, 04B10tn
faobhar un [or an] sáite, ... , faobhar an bhearrtha.

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

bhí sé titim dhu' na hoíche nuair a ... 866ESemr76.

bhí sé ag aireachas géar ar a' bhflíot ... 869P2.24, cp. ... bhí sé ag aireachas go maith air 869P2.25.

bhí sé seo caoineachán cráite 894C2 (i.e. ag caoineachán cráite).

ag casacht bheag M.

bíonn siad ag gliúdán mhór le chéile Mq.

gə wíl' ʃiəd ə prɔ:kɑ:l' ə'k'i:nt' l'ehə 12J go bhfuil siad ag prócáil eicint léithi.

ə sɔ:rt ru:pɑ:l' ə'k'i:nt' | mɔ:rɑ:n ə gɔ:ni: ɑ'r'i:r'ə 31D

ag sórt rúpáil eicint, mórán i gcónaí dháiríre.

v'i:dər ə glɑ:fərt' ɣrɑ:nə l'ɛ x'e:l'ə Mq bhíodar ag glafairt ghránna le chéile.

The unusual lenition in **ta tu g obər' xruə** P tá tú ag 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 adverbial: *ag obair crua* or *ag obair go crua*.

5.232 Subordinate clauses

(a) Subject Pronoun + *dho* + Possessive (Object) Pronoun + VN

gur maith leób é dhá shocrú 852S2.

mar gheall ar thú dá insean [recte] Sc159.4.

réitithe le é héin gá shá. 869P4.

Ní ra me 'g iarraidh e go m'fheiceál S.

bhí sé ag iarraidh go bhf-, muid e gá bhfeiceál uilig M.

(níor cheannaigh sé aon deoch dhóib) he:j' e ga n'ia:ra ʃt'æx P théis é dhá n-iarraidh isteach.

(b) Subject + Object + a^L + VN

'nár náireach an rud ... mé a bheith strumptha anseo ... agus gan mé tada a chur as duit ach lóistín na hoíche a thabhairt dom.' **875T**_{LL176}. Cp. corresponding *'... gan mé ag cur tada as duit ach lóistín ...'* **875T**_{LL} (cf. (h)).
d'fhiartha sé g'Ártúr 'cén fáth muid a leitheide go job a dhíona'? **894C**₉.
bhí sé amuigh san oíche is ina chodladh sa lá, is gan é tada a dhíonamh. **11C**.
Ní raibh mé ag iarraidh Beairtle é fheiceál M.

(c) Subject + VN intransitive

b'fhearr lena dhreifiúr an fathach fanacht sa mbaile **866E**_{Semr134}.
ach é fanacht. **869P**₃.
théis iad pósadh M.
an lá i ndiaidh iad imeacht M.
N'íl' m'e ag' iərə e' 'air' i gə d'æ:gə ʃi: ʃin' M
níl mé ag iarraidh é éirí go dteaga sí sin.
Ní raibh an scothach baol air chomh, chomh, héasca ar í lobhadh leis an gcoirleach. **889P**.

(d) Noun = Pronoun Subject + VN intransitive

ní ru fúnn 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 + *dho* + Subject †

léis é thíocht dó bhí ... **875T**₁ (*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' rí fáilt bás **875T**₁, *gan é ' fáil bás* **869P**₄.
 Note the nonlenition and non-inflection of *bás*. Speakers **875T** and **869P** are brothers.

5.233 Subject + a^L , *ag*, etc.**(g) Pronoun Subject + a^L + VN + Object**

gur maith an fear thú 7 tú dhiana an méid sin. **866E**_{Semr120}.
7 eisean fhagháil báil go chuid éada an té pósfaí **894C**₉.
ní ra ar iarraidh uaidh ach é ól cuide go'n fuisce **894C**₉ (*uaidh* is not coreferential with *é*).
is maith liom thú a thóirt claimhe dhomsa **894C** (?).
dhligh mé é dhéanamh rud maith dhom CAR.
mar má bhíonn na heiteóga amuigh aca agus iad a chloisint aon torainn dá laighead, deirim leat gur tobann a sciobas siad isteach iad. Clad143.
Cheangail sé suas an chúis go scríobhthaí chuig an Riaghaltas le iad-san a chur sgéala chuig an admarálaidhe le go gcuirfidís alt beag faoi an sgothaigh i leabhar dlighidh na fairrge. Clad199.
tá dlite amuich agadsa muid a dhíonamh rud eicint duit 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 nonlenition of *f-* (9.20), i.e. *léis a' rí [a ?] 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 Fiannu Éireann a' marú 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 Caoile, nú go mbeidís, seo caillte. **892M4311**.

With *ag* phonetically absent:

— é ' diana báisteach a' lá sin — **869P4**.

i ndia mise ' fáil a' deis air **869P4** (common construction for **869P**).

gan í ' feiceál aon afarc orthub **875T1**.

Cp. B'fhéidir dá mbeadh sé sgoilte ina phíosáí beaga agus é 'fághail samhradh tirim go mbainfidhe ceart as. Clad46.

Cp. gan é ' fáil bás **869P4** (note nonlenition and non-inflection of *bás*);

ach gan iad a' tosaí a' troid isna Státaí **852S2**;

he:f mid' he:n ə x'æ:pə gə N'æ:rnə M théis muid héin a cheapadh go ndearna.

Compare VN + Object (for more common Object + *a^L* + VN):

... olainn ... chua sé un marga leis le díol na holla **869P2**.

v'i:ðər ən ai tɔ:rt' laifəns dɔ:b' fɪn' S

bhíodar in aghaidh tabhairt laidhseans [< licence] dóib sin.

Chaith Jaicí fónáil an meaineajar as Gaillimh M.

bhí me 'g iarraidh fuarú an súp agus leag me síos an tinceain ann M.

rá le Jan Iorvain ringeáil a athair **43M**.

Bhí muid ag iarraidh finiseáil stuf's, ... **52J**.

(i) *a^L* + VN + Object †

Agus ba mhaith linn ' chuir i gcló na scéalta ar fad agus iad a choinneál **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) | <i>é dhá bhriseadh</i> | Pronoun (subject) + <i>dhá</i> (etc.) + VN |
| (b)(i) | <i>é rud a bhriseadh</i> | Pronoun (subject) + Noun (object) + <i>a^L</i> + VN |
| (b)(ii) | <i>Seán é a bhriseadh</i> | Proper Noun (subject) + Pron (object) + <i>a^L</i> + VN |
| (g) | <i>é a bhriseadh rud</i> | Pronoun (subject) + <i>a^L</i> + VN + Noun (object) |
| (h)(i) | <i>é ag briseadh rud</i> | Pronoun (subject) + <i>ag</i> + VN + Noun (object) |
| (h)(ii) | <i>fear ag briseadh rud</i> | Noun (subject) + <i>ag</i> + VN + Noun (object) |

It seems (a) is preferred to the possibility of two (identical) pronouns in (b)(iii) ??? *é é a bhriseadh*. It also seems that a common noun in subject position in (b)(ii) might be slightly unsatisfactory: ??? *(an) fear é a bhriseadh*. 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 bhriseadh*, also occur.

5.234 Object + *a*^L + 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 ghaisce 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 bhearáil?' 64M '... want to get me barred?';

wul tu: g'iarə hu: ho:g'a:l', ta:r' M

An bhfuil tú ag iarraidh thú a thóigeáil? Táir;

dúirt sí leis ná rabh i ndán go'n fhathach é mharú go deó go dtiocfadh fear as Éirinn go Tír na hÓige a mharódh é, 866EB16.113 '... it was not fated for the giant to be killed ...';

xə luə s ə l'oxəs f'i: ta f'i: g'iarə i' a:rh'u: M

chomh luath is a fhliuchthas sí tá sí ag iarraidh í a athrú '... she wants to be changed' (context: infant in nappies);

is é sin tar éis iad a chruthú ó na heochraí Clad142 'after being formed from the eggs' S. Mac an Iomaire (2000: 112);

Níor mhaith leothub ghoil ag piocadh fataí gan iad a thóigeál ar cuntraic 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'fhága Peige Sheáin a chailleadh tuairim is chúig bhliana is leithchéad ó shoin. SÓC2.279;

he:f ɔ̃o: xə:l'ə M *théis Jó a chailleadh* 'after Joe died';

Gá mbeitheá ag siúl, 'gus lochán, chasachtáil dhuít nach mbeitheá, nach mbeitheá thóráíocht. 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 fhuadach 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 aimsir i ndan tada a dhéanamh; tá an féar i ndan a chocadh.

For use of verbal-noun particles *ag*, *a*^L, see 8.104 ff. For possessive pronoun as well as emphatic pronoun as object of the verbal noun, see 6.46, 6.25.

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

buígh, pst *wi: fɛ*, fut *bi:hə fɛ*, vadj *bi:t'ə*, VN *bi:xən* (all Mq).

ciap, pst *x'iaɓ fɛ m'ɛ*, vadj *v'i' m'ɛ k'iaɓi*: *l'e p'ian bhí mé ciapthaí le pian*, VN *gə mə x'iaɓə* M, Mq.

cúb, vadj *ku:pi:*, VN *ku:bə*.

dluigh, psthab *dhlaoidís* (MS *dhlaoidís* with erased (in fact, scratched out) *-h-*), imprs *dlaoití* **869P5**.

dóirt, VN *dort'ə* S. Ag *doirtiu linn* FFG s.v. *doirt* (sic leg? FFG32 has *doirteadh* here).

(*faoisc*, pst *di:fk' mid' iəd* M, vadj *fi:fk'i:hə* M, VN *iəd i:fk' | M*, see 5.201.)

farc, pst *dark fɛ* M, vadj *farki:hə* M, VN *ə farka:l'*, *ə farkə* M, also *ə farka:l* M; cp. vadj *farkə:l't'ə* M.

feist, impv *f'ɛf't'*, pst *gər ɔft'ədər i:* **892M4171** *gur fheisteadar í*, vadj *feistí*, VN *feiste*, *feistiú*.

friotháil, pst, *dr'ia:l' fɛ*, fut *fr'ia:lə fɛ*, vadj *fr'ia:l't' eg'ə* M.

géill, vadj *g'ɛ:l't'ə* Mq, VN *géilleadh*, *géilliúint*.

géim, pst *je:m' f'i'*, fut *g'e:m'hə f'i'* M, VN *géimneach*.

geit, pst *jet' m'ɛ*, vadj *ta m'ɛ g'et'i:hə* M.

gluais, pst *ghluaiseadar roímpe* **869P3**.

goil, pst *gil'ədər* **889P**, vadj *gilt'ə*, VN *gul* **889P** *gol*.

gor, psthab *ɣorəd'i:f ig' ə t'in'ə iəd he:n'* Mq *ghoraidís ag an tine iad héin*, fut *gorhə m'ɛ m'ɛ he:n'* Mq, VN *gorə goradh*.

guibh, pst *ər ɣi mid' 04B* *ar ghuibh muid*, fut *gif'ə*, cond *ɣiv'ɑ:* (5.31), *ghuifidís* **869P2**, vadj *guibhte*, VN *giv'ə guibhe*.

lán, vadj *la:ntə*, VN *la:nə*.

lasc, vadj *la:ski:*, VN *la:skə*.

loisc, pst *lofk' m'ɛ*, vadj *lofk'i:(hə)*, VN *gə mə lofk'ə* Mq *dho mo loisceadh*, VN also rarely *loscadh*.

luath, 2sg impv *luə* S.

maigh, impv *na mi:əg'i'* Mq, pst *wi: m'ɛ*, *wi:ədər* [x2] Mq, fut *mi:hə m'ɛ* Mq, cond *n'i: wi:həx'* M, vadj *mi:t'ə* Mq, VN *ga wi:v ort* M *dhá mhaíobh ort*, *mi:xta:l' maíochtáil*.

meáigh, cond *v'ɑ:həx* SM, VN *m'ɑ:xən*.

meath, note vadj *m'ætə* (5.178), VN *m'æhə n le:* S *ag meathadh an lae*, *gə mə v'æhə* **12Sperm**.

mil, pst *v'il' m'ɛ* S, *v'il'əs* **894P**, *v'il' tu* **11C**, fut *m'il'hə m'ɛ* S, vadj *m'ilt'ə* S, VN *m'ilt' S*, *m'ilt'əxən* S.

múin pst *wu:n' fɛ ɑ:n*, *wu:n' ə gaiər ɑ:n*, fut *mu:n'hə fɛ ɑ:n*, vadj *mu:nt'ə* Mq ... *mhúin an gadhar ann ...*, VN *mún*, *múnadh*.

reith, fut *rohə* M, vadj *rot'ə* M, VN *rohi:nt'əxt* M.

reoigh, fut *ro:hə* M, vadj *rot'ə* M, VN *rə:* M84, **66Nq**, *rə:v* S, M85.

rot, pst *rot' fɛ* M, pres *rotən* M, fut *rotə fɛ* M, vadj *roti:(hə)* M, VN *rotə* M.

scáin, fut *skɑ:n'hə fɛ* Mq, cond *skɑ:n'həx əma:x* S *scáintheadh amach*, vadj *skɑ:nt'ə* S, Mq, VN *skɑ:n'ə* Mq.

scal, fut *ska:l'hə fɛ suəs* **01J** *scalthaidh sé suas*, cond *durt' fɛ gə skaləx ə la: suəs* M *dúirt sé go scalthadh an lá suas*, vadj *ska:ltə* Mq, VN *ska:lə* S.

scealp ~ *sciolp*, vadj *ta fɛ f'k'æ:lpɪ: a'm* Mq, VN *ga f'k'olpə l'æ:t* Mq.

sceith, pst *f'k'ə fɛ n snə:hə* M *sceith sé an snáithe*, vadj *f'k'et'ə* M, VN *f'k'ehə* M.

- scioc*h, pst **fk'ox**, vadj **fk'oxtə**, VN **fk'oxə** M, **45B**.
*sclam*h, fut **sklā:fə** M, vadj **sklāfðə** M, **sklā:vtə** SM, VN **sklā:və** S.
smíoch, fut **sm'ixə fe** **43M**, VN **sm'ixə** M.
*snáim*h, impv imprs **snā:vt'ər**, pst **hna:v'ədər**, fut **snā:f'ə**, vadj **snā:vt'ə** (also **21Ptq**, also **snā:ft'ə** SM, **snā:fdə** **23Bq**, **72Nq**), VN **snā:w** Mq. Also stem **snā:w** *snám*h.
speal, cond imprs **ga sp'æl-f'i**: S, vadj **sp'æltə**, VN **sp'ælə**.
splanc, pst **spla:ŋk fe hugəm l'e elv'is** S *splanc sé chugam le oilbhéas*, cond **N'i: spla:ŋkət fe**: S, vadj **spla:ŋki**: S.
stíall ~ *striall*, fut **ft(r)'iəlhə m'e**, vadj **ft(r)'iəltə**, VN **ft(r)'iələ** Mq.
stríoc, VN **ga ftr'ikə** M.
stuc, pst **stuk mid'**, vadj **stuki**:, VN **stukə** SM.
táil, pst **ha:l' ə wo: tháil an bhó: ha:l'ədər ə ba:n'ə tháileadar an bainne**; vadj **ta:l't a'kəb** M, Mq, **ta:ltə** Mperm, VN **ta:l** SM, Mq, also **ta:lə** M. (But M95: pres **ta:lən**, fut **ta:lhə**.)
tiubh pst **x'uv fe** SM, **x'uw ə su:p** Mq *thiubh an súp*, **x'u'v fe** Mq, prsbj **gə d'uvə fe** Mq, fut **t'ufə fe** M, **N'i: x'ufə fe** Mq, cond **x'ufət fe** M, vadj **t'ufə** Mq, VN **t'uxən** S, **t'uxən** M, **e' ə x'uvə** Mq.
tois (< *tomhais*) 'measure', pst **hef**, fut **tefə** SM, vadj **teft'ə**, VN **tef tif**, also **tos** **894Cs**. Cp. **tos** 'measure, amount' in *bhíodh an tos tos céanna nú b'fhéidir níos mú díonta acú* **06C**, and *tu's* **889P**.
tomhais 'guess', impv **tu:f**, pst **hu:f**, fut **N'i: hu:fə**, VN **tu:f** M, **43M**, **tu:fə** SM.
tria(i)l (*triall* FGB), pres subj **marə dr'ial'əmid'** **04B**, pst **hr'ial er'** **11C** *thrial ar*, **hr'ial' fe er' ə soləs** **11C** *thrial sé ar an solas*, **mar'əg ə hr'ial ort** M *mairg a thrial ort*, **gər hr'ial' tu ...** M, **hr'ial tu / m'e** M, fut **tr'ialhə fe** M, VN **tr'ial** M, Mq.
trust, cond **hrustən'**, vadj **v'i: fe trustih am** Mq, VN **trust**.
túin, pst **hun' fe** S, fut **tu:n'hə** S, vadj **tū:ntə** **S87**, VN **tu:n't** S, **ga: hu:nə** SM, *tínadh* FFG.

5.236 Second Conjugation

- adhraigh*, pres **ari:m'** **!05M**, pst **dar:hə m'e** Mq, vadj **arhi:(h) am** Mq, VN **arhu**: SM.
bagair, impv 2pl **bag'ri: orə** M *bagraí uirthi*, VN **bagərt'** generally, **ba:gu:n't** **78B**.
brocaigh, impv **na: brokə** M, vadj **broki**: M, VN *brocadh* P, *brocú* M.
caithrigh, fut *caithreoidh* **kar'ho: na fataí** Mq, VN **kar'hu**:.
criathraigh, cond imprs *go gcria'rófaí Alabain* (TarCC)**869P5**.
criothnaigh, pst, **xr'inhə fe m'e** M, VN **kr'inhū**: M.
cuibhrigh, cond imprs **xaivr'of'i**: [sic] **12J**, VN **kaivr'u**:.
cumhdaigh, cond *bánthrach a chúmhódh coinín* **869P2**, ... *gcúdot sí* **869P3**, fut **gə gu:do: tu' ...**, **kurdo:d** **04B81**, VN *a chûdach* **869P3**, **ga: gu:deh** (MP)**04B9**.
deasaigh also *deisigh* Mq.
diurnaigh, pst **ju:rnə m'e** e: Mq, **ju:rnə fe**, VN **ga ju:rnə**, **ga ju:rnū**:, cp. **ga ju:rnā:l** M.
éadromaigh, pst **d'e:drəmə** Mq, fut **e:drəmə**: Mq, vadj **e:drəmi:hə** Mq, VN **e:drəmu**: S. Also *éadroimigh*, e.g. VN **e:drəmə'u**: **01P**.
failligh, pst **dæ:l'ə m'e er'** M, fut **N'i: æl'ə: m'e er'** M, vadj **ta fe fæl'ih / fæl'ih am er'** M, VN **ta m'e fa:l'u er'** M.
finigh, fut **f'in'ə: f'i** Mq, vadj **f'in'ihə** Mq, VN **f'in'u**:.
fóilligh, impv **fo:l' ort**, **fo:l'ə** Mq, **fo:l'u er'** Mperm.
geanntaigh, pst **jantrə m'e** e Mq, vadj **g'antri: am** Mq.
gráinigh, cond **γrā:n'ə:ð fe**. Also *gráinnigh*, vadj **ta m'e grā:n'i: orhəb** **45B** *tá mé gráinnithe orthub* (perhaps a rare example of influence from *gráinne* comparative of *gránna*, or perhaps misheard by me).

léasaigh, vadj **l'esi: ma:x 01J** *léasaíthe amach*.

leitrigh, impv **l'etr' e** *S leitrigh é*.

lonraigh, pst **lund̥ɹə n' ɣr' iən** *lonraigh an ghrian*, fut **lund̥ɹə ʃi'** Mq, VN **ta n' ɣr' iən ə**

lund̥ɹə *tá an ghrian ag lonradh*, **ta ʃi' lund̥ɹu'**, ~ **lu:nd̥ɹə**, etc., Mq *tá sí ag lonradh*.

maircigh, pres imprs **ma'rk' i:t' ə** **26P**, VN **ma'rk' iəxt**, less commonly **ma'rk' iəxt 869P**.

múscail, pst **wu:skəl' 04B8n(l)**.

srathraigh, pst *shreathrai sé*, *shrathrai sé 869P2*, **hra:rhə m'e n tæ:səl** *S sh~ mé an t-asal*, psthab **ʃra:rhɪ:t ʃe** *S*, vadj **sra:rhɪ:** *S*, VN **ə hra:rhɪ:**, **ə hræ:rhɪ:** *S*.

tangaigh, pres **ma ha:ŋgi:n** *M*, fut **ta:ŋgo: m'e** *SM*, cond **ga da:ŋgo:x** *M*, **taŋgi:(hə)** *Mq*, VN **ta:ŋgəxta:l'** *SM*, *tangáil 869P4–5*.

tapaigh, impv **tapə ɾæt** *S tapaigh leat*.

táthaigh, VN **iəd ə ha:hu: ənə x'e:l' ə s dɔ:hi:** *Sq 'iad a tháthú ina chéile' is dóichí*.

tomsaigh, **tumsi:n** *S*, cond **humso:x** *S*, vadj **tumsi:** *S* (Seán's examples used here in explanation of the proverb, **tumsi:n brow b'ært** *S tomsaíonn brobh beart*; Seán claims that he does not use the verb otherwise).

triomaigh, pst **hr'umi:dər** *P*, vadj **tr'umi:** *S*, VN **tr'umu:**.

umhlaigh, pst **du:lə** *S*, VN **u:lu:** *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 **-həs**;
- 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 *táim* and cp. 2sg pres Echo *táir*, 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:

Imperative 2sg	-ə	<i>teara, féach</i> (5.310)
	-r'(ə)(m)	<i>teara, teighre</i>
Present nonpersonal	zero ending (for -ən)	<i>abair, bí</i> (i.e. <i>tá</i>), <i>clois</i> , <i>meas</i> (5.310)
Present relative	zero ending (for -əns)	<i>abair, bí</i> (i.e. <i>tá</i>)
Present impersonal	-ər, -ərs	<i>feic</i>
Past nonpersonal	-ə	<i>fág</i> (5.309)
Past impersonal	-həs	<i>déan</i>
	-əs	<i>beir, clois, faigh, teara, teighre, lean</i> (5.316)
	-hu:	<i>bí, (faigh)</i>
	-hər	<i>bí</i>
Future stem	-f-	<i>faigh</i>

Many speakers do not use past impersonal **-(h)əs**, 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 **-əs** 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 *ráite*, VN *rá*). The verbal adjective of *clois* is both *cloiste* (regular 1 Conjugation) and *cloistí(the)* (resembling 2 Conjugation, see

5.178). The past tense stem *rinne* of the verb *déan* has rare 2 Conjugation inflection (3 plural *-íodar*, Echo *-íos*, *-ís*, impersonal *-íodh*, also rare *déanaíodh*).

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 *abair*

Imperative

sg			pl		
	abər'-	d'er'-		abər'-	d'er'-
1	abri:m'	d'er'əm'	1	abri: mid'	d'er'ə mid'
2	abər'	d'er'	2	abri:, abri:g'i:, abræg'i:	
3	abri:x	d'er'əx	3	abri:d'i:f	d'er'əd'i:f
Imprs	abri:t'ər,	d'ertər			

(Also **d'er:-**,¹ e.g. presumably 3sg **d'er:rəx**, although no examples were noted.)

Present

(i)a d'er'	(ii) d'er'ən	(iii) d'er:ən, d'iarən	(iv) abri:n
(i)b A əd'er'			
B 3pl d'er'dər	(iii) B er:ən, d'er:hən		
(i) with relative: ə d'er', ed'ər', id'ər', id'er', əd'ər', before f also: dər f-, d'e f-, d'i f-			
Imprs (i), (ii) d'ertər	(iii) B d'ertər	(iv) abri:t'ər, abri:hər	

Past

sg	Echo	pl
1 durt'	durt'əs, durəs	1 durt'
2 durt'	durt'ər', durər', durəf	2 durt'
3 durt'		3 durədər, durt'ədər, durt'dər
Imprs	(h)ur:u:, duru:, habri:w, habri:u:, deireadh ⇒ *d'er'u:	

Past Habitual

(i) d'er'əx	(ii) dabri:x	(iii) d'er:rəx, d'iarəx
Imprs d'erti:	dabri:t'i:, habri:t'i:, abri:hə	d'erti:

Future

(i) d'er:hə, d'iarhə, er:hə	(ii) abro:	(iii)
Imprs d'er-f'ər heir-f'ər	abro:f'ər	d'erf'ər

Conditional

(i)a d'er:həx, d'iarhəx, jer:həx, er:həx	(ii) dabro:x
(i)b 1sg ə d'er:hən', ə jer:hən'	
3sg ə jer:həx	

¹ One can presumably have **d'iar-** for **d'er-** in the whole paradigm of *abair*.

Imprs (i) **d'ɛr-f'i:**; (ii) **dabro:f i:**, **habro:f i:**; (iii) **d'erf'i:**, **je:rhɪ:**

Present Subjunctive

(i) **d'er'ə** (ii) **abri:**

Past Subjunctive

(i) **d'er'əx** (ii) **abri:x**

Vadj **ra:t'ə**, VN **ra:**

5.239 Alternate roots **abər'** ~ **d'er'**

The **abər'**- root is regular and alternates with the root **d'er'**- (fut **d'ɛr:**-) in all tenses. The only exceptions are: (a) the active past with root **dur-**; there is, however, a report of the form *d'abair* for our dialect in S. Ó Murchú (1989 §19.5(iii)); (b) quotative (past and present) use has *a deir* (also past *a dúirt*) with no *abair* root.

There are tendencies to use one or other of these roots in given collocations (for many speakers): in general **abər'**- is used more in the meaning 'say' in contrast with **d'er'**- for 'tell, inform'. For example, with **pad'ər'** *paidir* and **o:ra:n** *amhrán*, **abər'** is frequent:

abro: **m'e pad'ər' it'** M (conversation) *abróidh mé paidir dhuit*.

Table 5.73 presents the results of some short translation exercises with three speakers.

Table 5.73 *abair* and *deir* in collocation

	<i>amhrán</i>		<i>paidir</i>		<i>firinne</i>	
Tense	<i>abair</i>	<i>deir</i>	<i>abair</i>	<i>deir</i>	<i>abair</i>	<i>deir</i>
Pres	M	d'er'an MØperm 45B Øperm 66N perm				
Psthab	M, 45B	66N ^a	M, 45B		MØperm	M
Fut	45B	M	M			

(Source Mq, **45B**q, **66N**q.)

^a 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 **abər'**- by-forms. **abər'**- 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 **ə d'er'**- in quotative function:

(D)'abraíod sé seo corruair 'Níl neart a'inn air.' **11C**;

'Caillfear í seo,' a deiread sí, 'caillfear í seo.' **11C**.

Speakers often differ in percentage use of both roots. Speaker **64M**, for example, frequently uses the **abər'**- root. Examples from **04B**, **20C** and **29PM** also suggest frequent **abər'**- usage:

a:bro: **m'e 04B7n**; **ga na'braħa' 20Cq**, **da'braħa' (psthab) 20Cq**.

Speaker **29C** has **abər'**- as her main variant, e.g. **da'bri:f'i: 29C**. On the other hand, sisters **04Br**, **15W** have regular conditional stem **d'ɛr(h)-** (recorded with **abər'**- here only in Echoing other speakers). The statistics for the seven speakers of Airneán II (33–4), presented in Table 5.74, show overwhelming **d'er'**- and **d'ɛr(h)-** use in the nonpersonal past habitual, future, and conditional stems.

Table 5.74 *abair* vs. *deir*, Airneán II

		(d)abr-	d'er-, d'er(h)-
Past habitual	nonpersonal	2	13
	3pl - <i>idís</i>	1	3
Past subjunctive	1sg - <i>inn</i>	1	1
Future	nonpersonal	1	37
	relative	1	3
Conditional	nonpersonal	1	15

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 parenthetical 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 Maínis, go dteagaidís go Fínis. 01C6883.

My impression from some other speakers is that **abr-** is more common for them in this *abróidh mé* / *muid* use than in the more literal function. It is common, for example, in **01P** and **16A**'s recording, e.g.

... mar a bheadh gaineamh ann, abróidh muid, 01P;

... abróidh mé dhá throigh ar airde ... nú troigh go leith abróidh mé ar aon nús. 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.

tímpeall's chúig lá, déarthaidh mé, nú sé lá, 16A;

chaitidís, ... 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 *abraígí*). 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'fhéadthá a rá!* Speaker **64M**, who, as mentioned, has a penchant for **abər** 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'erəx** is not permitted by MØperm.

5.241 Present

The commonest present forms are **d'er**, **d'erən** and **abri:n**.

(i)a d'er

Note the 1sg analytic **d'er m'e**, **d'er m'ifə**:

t'urhəd ə der m'ifə 894Bl '*Tiúrthad*,' *a deir mise*;

mar (ə) d'er m'e 72A (x2) 'as I was saying.'

2sg **ə 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: **ədər idər** or to be indistinct **ədər**

a deir. In this use, speaker **01P** (Doire Iorrais) generally has nonpalatal initial *d-* before pronominal *f-*, e.g. **ə dər fe** (1.215).

d'ər is also common, for example, in **d'ər fjad gə ...** with the meaning 'they say, it's said that.' Speaker **23Ms** was noted with frequent **d'i** and **d'e**:

ə d'i fe, ə d'e fe, d'e fjad 23Ms a deir sé, deir siad.

Note also the definite nominal subject in:

nax n'ər b'e:b' xahəl' l'um ... M nach ndeir Béib Chathail liom ... !

It can have present meaning marking quotes:

k'eŋ x'e:d okəl v'i: ərŋ d'ər fe 'cén chéad fhocal a bhí ann?' *a deir sé* 'he is asking what was the first word.'

(i)a **B 3pl mar d'ər dər l'e ... 71D1 mar deirdar le ...**

(i)b **A** occasionally in prequotative use:

a deir | ə d'ər fear (liom) ... 09Pt;

ə d'ər mak d'e: l'ef ... St A deir Mac Dé leis: '...'

(ii) 1sg synthetic **d'ər əmfə** is common in quotative use for older speakers. For instance, speakers **892M** and **899D** regularly have *a deirimse* (e.g. **892M**1735, **899D**6723–4). In its place younger speakers commonly have analytic **ə d'ər m'ifə a deir mise**, noted regularly, for example, in speakers **01C** (ARN6201, 6259), **19P**.

(iii) **d'ər-**, e.g.

l'æ ga n'ərən' fjad S leath dhá ndéarann siad,

n'i je:rən M ní dhéarann, n'i ərŋ ji: 84Pq ní éarann sí.

(iii) **B ər-: ərən fjad 78E** (phrase-initially).

d'ər-; the only example noted is **d'ərən di:n'ə 23B déarthann daoine**; when queried **d'ərən di:n'ə** was permitted by **23Bperm** but she was more sure of, and more comfortable with, **d'ərən**.

5.242 Past, Future, etc.

Past 3pl: most common is **durədər**. Speaker **894C**'s normal form is *dúradar* but there is one example of '... , ' *a dúirteadar* **894C2**. Similarly, **durədər** is **16M** and **19P**'s usual form, but as in **894C**'s example, when quoting, **19P** said **ə durt'ədər ... durədər P**, where there was a slight hesitation after the **durt'-**. Speaker **21C**, however, shows no hesitation in her **n'ir urtdər ... , nar urt'ədər 21C**. In rapid speech reduction is found, e.g. syncope in:

dur:dər ŋohəd'i:f gə 'h'ərən | 11C dúradar go ngothaidís go hÁrainn.

Echo

1sg examples: **durt'əs, nar urt'əs, gər urəs, durəs S**. Note the examples in the following exchange:

-manəm gər urəf 14M M'anam gur dhúrais.

-N'ir urt'əs M Níor dhúirteas.

2sg examples: **... ər urər' M (x2), gər urt'ər' M.**

Impersonal past

duru:, e.g. 'gus *dúradh liom gurb é ... 894P; húrú léithi 875T1, huru: l'æt 11C; habri:w, habri:u Mq.*

deireadh gur ..., implying **d'ér'ur*, appears in SeolG66.

Past Habitual

Imprs examples:

gurb in é an chaoi a n-abraíthe é 'a'brí:h ,e' 27Cb;
dabrit'í: n pà:dr'í:n' pà:rt'əx S d'abraítí an paidrín páirteach.

Future

Imprs example:

ní' heir-f'ər 11C (note this speaker's regular past *hurur*).

Conditional

(i)a *d'ər'h-: ní: e:rəð fjad 15W.*

d'íər'h-: 1sg d'íərənfə 12J; 2sg gā 'n'ĩðřhĩā 52J dhá ndéarthá (13.24, line 3).

2sg often weakened in *mar a déarthá*, especially for some speakers, e.g.

mar erhə: Pt, mar era P, ma'rə d'ər'ə | 21Pt, mar d'ehə 35E,
ma d'ər'hə 76Mt.

Cp. *k'e d'e'xə 64M céard déarthá?*

3pl *d'ər'hədi:f 34M déarthaidís* (5.119, 13.22, line 57).

Imprs (i) *d'ər'f'í: S*, (iii) *n'í: jeir-f'í: S; jeirx'i' 66N.*

(i)b For a minority of speakers, 1sg forms in initial ə, i.e. *ə d'ər'hən' 21J, 21Pt,*
ə jeir'hən' 66N, occur attached to the end of a statement or phrasal object, e.g.

'an gréasaí' a thiúrtá air, a déarthainn | ə d'ər'hən' | 21Pt;

Cloinne Con Fhaola iad a déarthainn 21J.

(Speakers *21Pt* and *66N* are neighbours in An Aird Mhóir.) Also nonpersonal *ə jeir'həx 66B.*

Future forms in initial e:-

Speaker *19P* has *erhə* quite often, e.g.

erhə m'ə forəku:n eł' a'ku' P éarthaidh mé foracún eile acú.

Also in present *e:rən fjad 78E.*

Various speakers' present and future forms

	pres	psthab	cond
11C		<i>d'ər'-, dabr-</i>	
12S	<i>d'ər'-, abr-, d'ər-</i>	<i>d'ər'-, d'ər'h-, dabr-</i>	<i>d'ər'h-, dabr-</i>
66N	<i>d'ər-</i>	<i>ə jeir'həx</i> (as cond)	<i> ə jeir'hən' jeirx'i'</i>

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-abraítí liom 03C.*

5.243 *beir*

Imperative **A** *b'ér'əx*; **B** *b'ér'əx*, etc., but 2sg only *b'ér'*

Present **A** *b'ér'ən*, imprs *b'ertər*, **B** *b'érən*

Past **A rug, B vr'e, C vr'e**

Imprs **A rugu:, rugas, B b'er'u:**

Past Habitual

A vr'er'ax, B vr'erax

Imprs **b'erti:, b'erti:**

Future **b'erhə**

Imprs **b'er-f'ər, b'erf'ər**

Conditional **vr'erhəx, imprs b'er-f'i:**

Present Subjunctive **b'er'ə**

Past Subjunctive **A b'er'ax, B 2sg ruga:**

Vadj **A b'orhə, B b'erhə**

VN **A br'e; B b'er'; C b'er, b'era:l'**

For **vr'er'** - and **vr'erh-** in the meaning of irregular *tabhair*, see 5.287.

5.244 Various tenses

Past **C**, example: **vr'e je r x'an ro:jin' 66N** *bhreith sé ar cheann Róisín.*

Impersonal

A examples: **rugas orhəb P rugas orthub** (of thieves), **n'ir rugas ə'r'iaw er' S** *níor 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 jin' e:t'in' ... 60M *rugas é sin 'eighteen ...' ...*

Past Habitual

Imprs *páistí ... a beirtaí ... 869P2;*

b'erti: pa:ft'i: ka:l'tə r'iv'ə fo S *béartaí páistí caillte roimhe seo.*

Future, imprs **b'erf'ər** 46.1017.

Present Subjunctive, example:

ma:rə m'er'ə m'ij' er' 869P *mara mbeire mise air.*

Past Subjunctive, **B** heard (once) in: **ga ruga' er' 21J** *dhá rugá air.*

Vadj, **A**, e.g.

n'is am b'orhə nə b'o: nə ba:ft'ə S

níl fhios a'm beirthe ná beo ná baiste;

tə: ji: je: fa:xtən'i: b'orhə M tá sí sé seachtainí beirthe.

Vadj, **B**, e.g. **xi: m'e tsə [sic] b'erhə 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'ir ja:rnə m'e ax b'er' er' əgəs 43M *ní dhearna mé ach beir air agus ... ,*

ag beir air 47P,

v'i ji b'er' er' iəsə:g' er' 52J *bhí sí ag beir ar fhéasóig air,*

bíonn siad ag beir ar láimh ... 52P,

n'i: f'e:d'ər' b'er' orəb 60M *ní féidir beir orthub* (catch thieves),

ə b'er' er' də vro:gə 60M *ag beir ar do bhróga,*

... le béaráil ortha. ... i ndan beir ortha. 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:

-**ə** **n'ər**hɑ:sə **tɑ:** **n** **wə:** **ə** **b'ər'** **li:** **B6C**

An ndéarthása 'tá an bhó ag beir lao'?

-**tɑ:** **m** **wə:** **ə** **b'ər'** **li:** **b'e:**d'ər' **gə** **n'ər**həN' **e** **l'e** **t'əm** **sp'i:**d **52J**

'Tá an bhó ag beir lao'?, b'fhéidir go ndéarthainn é le teann spíd.

C *béar*, e.g. **wil' tu g'iar** **orəmsə** **b'ər** **er'** **ə** **mik'e:**d **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 / béar ar*, i.e. as if **béar fháil ar*.

Developmentally we can contrast traditional impv **b'ər'**, pres **b'ər'ən**, VN **br'e** (e.g. in **12S**'s use) with nontraditional impv **b'ər**, pres **b'ərən**, pst **vr'e**, VN **b'ər** >>> **b'ərəl'** in **66N**'s use. The oldest speakers with the innovative VNs are: *beir* **43M**; *béarail* **60M**; *béar* **66N**.

5.246 *bí*

Imperative

sg

1 **b'i:m'**, **b'ix** **m'e:**

2 **b'i:**, **b'ix** **tu:**

3 **b'ix**, **b'i:**d **je**, **b'ox**

Imprs **b'it'ər**

with *fhios* **b'i:**ds, **b'i:**ts, **b'its**, **b'ixəs**, **b'ixs**

pl

1 **A** *bímís*; **B** **b'i:məd'**, **b'i:** **mid'**, **b'ix** **mid'**

2 **b'ig'i:**, **b'i:**i, **b'i:**d/x **jib'**

3 **b'id'i:**f, **b'i:**d/x **fiəd**, **b'ix** **dər**

Present (General)

Independent

A **tɑ:**, **tɑ:**, **t**, **hɑ:**, **ɑ:**, **ɑ:**; rel **tɑ:**, **tɑ:**, **t**, **hɑ:**, **ɑ:**, **ɑ:**

Imprs **tɑ:f'ər**, **tɑ:u:**; with *fhios* **tɑ:s**

B 3pl **tɑ:dər**

Echo **A** 1sg **tɑ:m'**; 2sg **tɑ:r'**; **B** 1sg **tɑ:**

Dependent

A **wil'**, **wul'**

Imprs **wil't'ər**, **wil'f'ər**, **wil'u:**; with *fhios* **wil'əs**

B 3pl **wil'ədər**, **wil'dər**

Echo **A** 1sg **wil'əm'**, 2sg **wil'ər'**; **B** 1sg **wil'**

With *ní*, **n'i:l'**, **n'i:**; imprs **n'i:l'f'ər**, **n'i:f'ər**, **n'i:l'u:**; Echo **A** 1sg **n'i:l'əm'**, 2sg

n'i:l'ər'; **B** 1sg **n'i:l'**; with *fhios* **n'i:l'əs**

With *cá*, **kɑ:** **wil'**, **kɑ:l'**, **kɑ:** **il'**

Following *mara*: **wil'**; more commonly **bil'**, **B** 3pl **bil'ədər** **bil'dər** **buldər**; with *fhios* **wil'əs** << **bil'əs**

Consuetudinal Present

A 1sg **b'i:m'**

B **b'i:n**, rel **v'i:ns** (reduced eclipsed **m'i:s**, **m'i:**); imprs **b'it'ər**, **b'it'ər**

Echo **A** 2sg **bír**; **B** **b'i:n**

with *fhios* **b'i:ns**

Past

Independent **v́i:**Imprs **v́i:u:**, **v́i:f'ər**, **v́i:hu:**, **v́i:hər**Echo 1sg **v́i:s**, 2sg **v́i:f**, **v́i:r'**

Dependent

A 3pl **raudər****B** **ro**, **ru**, **rə**, 3pl **rodər**Imprs **rou:**, **røhu:**, **rauu:**, **rof'ər**Echo 1sg **raus**, **ros**, **rus**2sg **rauf**, **raur'**, **rof**, **ror'**with *fhios*: Independent **v́i:s**; Dependent **raus**, **ros**, **rus**, **rəs**, **rauhəs**

Future

A **b'e:**, rel *bhéas***B** **b'ei**, **b'e**, (**b'ə**), rel **v'es**, **v'eis**Imprs **b'eif'ər**, **b'ef'ər****C** 3pl **b'eidər**, **b'edər****D** **bai**Echo 1sg **b'eid**, 2sg **b'eir'**with *fhios* **b'eis**, **b'eihəs**, **b'ei his**, **b'ehəs**

Past Habitual

A 1sg **v́i:N'**, 2sg **v́i:hɑ:**, **v́i:t'ɑ:**3sg **v́i:x**, with *fhios* **v́i:ds**, **v́i:ts**, **v́i:xəs**Imprs **b'i:t'i:**, **v́i:t'i:**, **v́i:f'i:**, (**v'et'i:**)**B** 1sg **v'ehəN'**, **v́i:həN'**, 2sg **v'ehɑ:****C** 1sg **v́i:xəN'**, 2sg **v́i:xɑ:**

Conditional

A

sg

1 **v'en'**, **v'ein'**, **v'ehəN'**2 **v'ehɑ:** ~ **v'ohɑ:**, **v'eihɑ:**, ? (**v'et'ɑ:**), (**v'exɑ:**)3 **v'ex**, **v'ox**, **v'ex**

pl

3 **v'ed'i:f**, **v'eid'i:f**Imprs **v'ef'i:**, East IA **v'ehi:**with *fhios* **v'eds**, **v'ets**, **v'ehəds**, **v'ehəts**, **v'exəs**, **v'ex is**, **v'exs**, **v'oxs**, **v'ehəxs**, (**v'exəts**), **v'oxəxs****B** 1sg **v'ehi:N'**, 2sg **v'exɑ:**

Present Subjunctive (Non-optative)

A **b'i:**; Echo 1sg **b'i:d**, 2sg **b'i:r'****B** as in future

Present Subjunctive (Optative)

ro; Echo 1sg **rod**, 2sg **ror'**Past Subjunctive **A** 2sg **b'et'ɑ:**, **B** as ConditionalVN **v'e**, **v'e:**, **v'ə**

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 *níl* 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' - > u, Ø*. (Cf. loss of initial *v'* in irregular *feic*, 5.282.)

v' - > u (also ^u, ^{v'}), following *a* preceded by a consonant (i.e. *-C a bh-*).

Past *fin' e: n uəɾ' uɪ:dəɾ nə n' iəskəɾ' i: ma: 892M1540*

sin é an uair a bhíodar ina n-iascairí maith.

| əgəs nəɾ ə ^ui: fin' d'i:ntə 'r'i:ft | 18J8137

Agus nuair a bhí sin déanta aríst.

Cond *no ^e ʃe tɔ:k' i'hə r' i:ft akəb 11C*

Nuair a bheadh sé tóighíthe aríst acub.

VN *'gr'i:m' ^{v'}e ek' ə sə 'wə:rəg' ə 01C6186 greim a bheith aici sa bhfarraige.*

(Following *a*) preceded by a vowel (i.e. *-V a bh-*).

VN *hæstɔ:x e' ^ue t'er'əm' 892M1507 thastódh é bheith tirim (^u here represents a slight approximant of *v'* with neutral lips).*

5.248 *v' - > Ø*

Initially

Past | i ʃe kumə sə 'm'e:rlə frɔʃən' 11C

bhí sé ag cumadh sa mBéarla froisin.

| idəɾ əg' im' əxt l' o:həb ... 11C bhíodar ag imeacht leothub ...

Psthab | i:ð ʃe d' iəl' ʃi:b' i:n' 899P bhíodh sé ag díol síbín.

Following *a* preceded by a consonant

Past *nəɾ' i: m'e ... 04B4 nuair a bhí mé ...*

d'e k'e:di:n' ə i: hugəd | 03V Dé Céadaoin a bhí chugad.

f'ær g'e:m' u:l' i: a:n 899P fear géimíúil a bhí ann.

əd i: a:n 't' a'x .pobəl' 'b'og 17M séard a bhí ann teach pobail beag.

'fe:rd i' 'g' eʃt' 'eg' ə ... 21Pt séard a bhí i gceist aige ...

Future *noɾ' eis m' iʃə re: l'e mæ:r' i:n' 23B*

nuair a bheidheas mise réidh le Máirín.

Cond *eg' ə v' i:xə:n ox d' i:nt æ:d 892M1516*

ag an bhfíochán a bheadh déanta a'd.

k'e:r dox nə 'hæ:s ə'n ax 'f'ær' | 18J8283

céard a bheadh ina sheasamh ann ach fear.

Often following the conjunction *mar* (*a*) 'as', e.g. *ma:r ox ... 04Br mar a bheadh ...*. In fact the following forms of *mar a bheadh* occur:

*mar ə v' ex, mar ex, mar ox, marex, marəx.*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 *marə mar a bheadh* in Rann na Feirste, Co. Donegal, e.g. *d'imigh leis mar a bheadh marə séideán sí ann* Micí Sheáin Néill Ó Baoill (Mac Cionaoith 2005: 118).

1. 'as'; 2. 'something like, something similar to'; 3. 'like, similar to'.

1. **fe xi: ro fe | L'e:r mar ox ə k'ina:l bəd | 899D**
Sé an chaoi a raibh sé, léir mar a bheadh an cineál bád;
mar et fe, y et fe gə d'ir'əx glan ... 20Mt
mar a bheadh sé, bheadh sé go díreach glan ...
2. **| v'i:ə | ən ā:rəg'ə | nə mīr' | hr'exti:hə | mar' ex | L'æk air'ə | er' ə wa:rəg'ə | 869P**
bhí an fharraige ina muir thréachtaíthe mar a bheadh leac oighre ar an bhfarraige;
v'ix mar' ex p'isə gə wəd' [sic?] nu: rud ək'in' a'kəb 04Br
bhíodh mar a bheadh píosa dhe mhaide nó rud eicín acub;
marəx wil'sən er' 01J (marox ?) mar a bheadh 'Wilson' air;
marəx bo: ... S mar a bheadh bó ...
3. **ta: tu: marəx pə:fd'ə 46 (s.v. tá) tá tú mar a bheadh páiste**
'you are like a child';
ta fe ə:rd mar' ex tusə n'ij' 04Br
tá sé ard mar a bheadh tusa anois;
mar'əx baisək'əl' 15W mar a bheadh baidhsaícl.

The examples cited in category 3 are all from SID.46 (speaker **869P**) and his daughters. 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:

tèiv'jē rəð mar ə v' ex b'ehi:əx ə:n 46.584 taibhse, rud mar a bheadh
beithíoch ann → a 'taibhse' is a thing like a beast.

There is also a preposition **marəx** *marach* 'except for' and the corresponding conjunction *marach go*. The preposition has verbal type sandhi in, for example, **marəf'jin'** *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

Present	N'i in' fe g o:l ... 66N <i>ní bhíonn sé ag ól ...</i>
Past	ma i: tu' ga iəɾə P <i>má bhí tú dhá iarraidh.</i> o: i: m'e' tr'i: bl'ianə d'e:əg 21Pt <i>ó bhí mé trí bliana déag.</i>
Future	gə mə 'fəxt 'm'i:l'ə 'm'æ:s əs tu: he:n' əgəs ə 'p'ig' 892M4612 <i>go mba seacht míle measa a bheas tú héin agus an 'pig'!</i> gə mə 'fəxt 'm'æ:s ei f'jəd 'bl'ian' o: 'noxt 11C <i>go mba seacht measa a bheas siad bliain ó anocht!</i>
VN	v'e ruə l'e e duv 20Mt <i>bheith rua le bheith dubh.</i> di:n'ə g' iər e g obər l'əf ə g'r'iew 892M1500 <i>daoine ag iarraidh a bheith ag obair leis an gcliabh. [sic].</i>

Speaker **78B** is quite given to forms without initial **v'**, e.g.

N'i in' dur ... ní bhíonn dur ... ; mar ins ... mar a bhíonn ... ;

N'i exəs æ:d ... ní bheadh fhios a'd ...

She does use **v'**- but apparently less often. Compare her reduced present **m'i mbíonn** (5.253).

The initial of *bhfuil* is occasionally reduced (*níl, cáil* < *cá bhfuil*):

gə v'ek'ə m'ē il' ē:w' wā' ə 't'ær' f'æt 897S
 'go bhfeice mé an bhfuil aon mhaith i t'fhear leat';
gil' dər 71D go bhfuil dar.

5.250 Imperative

3sg [**b'əx**]: **b'ox ek'ə | b'ox ə d'aul eg'ə M** bíodh aici, bíodh an deabhal aige;
b'íd fe (sə:x ərd ə:d) S bíodh sé sách ard a'd.
 1pl **A**, 'Mar atámuid bímís,' adeir an mac, **Cod. 852SbLL121**.
B b'i: mid' əft' i M bí muid istigh;
b'i:míd' ə gəl' əwal' ə 46 (s.v. *tá*) bíomuid ag goil abhaile;
 -M'anam, a deir Deara, a deir se, bí muid ag goil síos, a deir se, má tá muid i ndan! **31P**.
 2pl **b'i:i' g obər' Mperm** bí ag obair.
 With *fhios* **b'i:ts ugi: ~ b'itsəgi: M** bíodh fhios agaibh;
b'i:xs æd 47P bíodh fhios a'd.

5.251 Present (general), *tá*

Often (weakly stressed) **ta**, e.g. **ma ta ... S** má tá Sometimes **ta tæ(·)**:

ta hiəd gə miərə f'is 21Pt tá siad dho m'iarraidh síos;
tæ tr'i: xəkə ... P tá trí chaca ... ;
tæ ŋ' f'i:gi g' iərə v'e tɔ:rt nə wə:ti: wəb' 894C
tá an Síogaí ag iarraidh a bheith ag tabhairt na bhfataí uaib.

There may be vocalic assimilation to the following **a** in:

mār ta 'a'rhə d'erfi kurh ,ā'msə sə 'gri:v' | 11C
mar tá artha, a deir sí, curtha a'msa sa gcraoibh.

The vowel is sometimes completely elided:

ma t tu: spə:ra:l' 21Pt má tá tú ag spáráilt;
nax u:əsəx ə sməl t orə S nach uafásach an smál atá uirthi!

Further reduction regularly occurs in **k'er tu: j'i:nə S** céard atá tú a dhéanamh?

In utterance-initial position **h-** is not infrequent, e.g.

,hə fe mɑ:ru', (Suda)04B tá sé marbh.
hə gə mɑ' d'er fe 04B4 'Tá go maith,' a deir sé.
hə gə mɑ: du:rt mɑ:k ... 11Ct 'Tá go maith,' a dúirt Mac
 -wíl' ə wə:hər fə sə mɑ:l' ə M An bhfuil a mháthair seo sa mbaile?
 -hə: **14M** Tá.
hə fe f'in' rə:æ:də n'if St tá sé sin ro-fhada anois.
| həs' ig' ə lɑ: gər god' u' | 25M Tá fhios ag an lá gur goideadh.
 1sg Echo | **hə:m' | 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 sí.	-Tá tə , a deir sé.
-Meas tú ... ?	-Tá fhios təs a'm go bhfuil, a deir sé, ...
-' mBeadh aon ... ? a deir sí.	-Muise m'anam go bhfuil, a deir sé, etc.,
-' Bhfuil aon tsiosúr a'd? a deir sí.	-Tá hə , a deir sé. Thug sé — thug sé an siosúr di ... 11C .

With loss of initial consonant **tɑ:** > **ɑ:** utterance-initially, e.g.

| **ɑ fe** | **re:t'i:ə glā'nt æ'd ən uər fɪn'** | 894Cs

Tá sé réitíthe, glanta a'd an uair sin;

fati: 'krag'vrit'ə, **ɑ:** fɪəd gə hær' k'i:n eg' ka:pəl' S

fataí cnagbhruite, tá siad go — thair cionn ag capaill;

bə l'ej ə seɪl' æ'n' d' ho:tɪl' er' ə ga:fəl | ɑ:ən ə gu:ni: | 11C

ba leis an Zetland Hotel ar an gCaiseal, atá ann i gcónaí;

| **ɑ m' ē fa:l' wɑ:f l' e do 'wɒl' əg' id' erfe 11C**

-Tá mé ag fáil bháis le doigh bhoilg, a deir sé.

The syllable timing is all that is retained of *tá* in:

xuələ m' e gə m' in' ək' eg' fæ:ni:n' e' ax | . fe wɑ'd o' xun' 11C

chuala mé go minic ag sean-ndaoine é ach tá sé i bhfad ó shoin.

Complete loss or absence of initial **tɑ:** also occurs, e.g.

p'i:ə ɑ:məd fɪn' 'a:n'fl'æ:skəx M tá an píosa adhmaid sin an-fleascach.

Cp. | **əs 'æ'd ə' | ... 72N Tá fhios a'd u-,**

A rare example of **hɑ:** utterance-medially is:

nər' ə hɑ' ... 00C nuair atá ceoltóir maith,

For certain speakers born in the 1970s **hɑ** becomes more frequent, even non-initially:

mɑ hɑ fɪəd ... 76MAO má tá siad ... ,

hɑ m p'e:r' æ'n' 78JRD tá an péire a'inn,

tɑ: / hɑ ... 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 he:n' s u he:n' ə ka'nt' hæ'nə n'fo er' 21Pt

(bhí) mé héin is thú héin ag caint cheana anseo air.

Note the further reduction in the almost muttered phrase onset in:

| **'ə 'mā' 'tosi: l'æt 21Pg6001 [bhí [or tá] sé] chomh maith tosaí leat.**

For occasional loss of utterance-initial *níl*, see 5.252. For an example of loss of *raibh*, see 5.254. Cp. 5.259.

Impersonal

tɑ:f'ər Sq, Mq. The form **tɑ:u:** was not accepted by Sq; neither were **tɑ:hər**, **tɑ:r** accepted by Sq nor Mq as forms they would use, but **tɑ:u: 21J**, **tɑ:u: ga wuəxə ... 72C tádh dhá bhuachadh**

Dependent **wɪl'ər** Mq, **wɪl'ər** Sq, Mq, **gə wɪl' u:, ... v' i:u' ... 79A.** With *ní* **n' i:l'ər** Sq, Mq, **n' i:f'ər** Sq, **n' i:l' u: ga: nuəsɑ:d' 21J níleadh dhá n-úsáid.**

Echo

1sg Echo forms in **-əm'** (contrast GCF §§163, 211 where these are not specifically categorised), e.g. **n' i:l'əm' S.**

2sg *tá:* **wul tu: k'æ:rt ən' fɪn' ə'n' i:f, tɑ:r' M**

An bhfuil tú ceart ansin anois? Táir.

bhfuil: 'an bhfuilir' 46 s.v. *tá:* **níl: n' i:l'ər' S.**

5.252 Dependent *bhfuil*

Generally **wɪl'**, also **wul'**, e.g.

tɑ m' i:fə 'rɑ: l'æt əd'ərfe gə 'wu:l' | 11C

Tá mise ag rá leat, a deir sé, go bhfuil!

ə wʊl' [ə wʊ:l'] P *An bhfuil?* with low-high-low (rise-fall) question intonation.

Impersonal, cp. **vil' u:** S. Ó Murchú (1989: §18.3).

With *ní*, **n' i:l' níl**, the final consonant is sometimes elided to **n' i:**, for example, with *fhios* but also before a pronoun, e.g.

n' i:s am b' o: *níl fhios a'm beo*,

n' i:s am b' orhə nə b' o: *S níl fhios a'm beirthe ná beo*,

n' i:s am ... 20Mlt *níl fhios a'm*.

n' i: m' e: nā:n *M níl mé i ndan*;

n' i m' e' nā:n ə rə: f i:nə 'hi:əf | 11C *níl mé i ndan a rá faoina haois*;

and in impersonal **n' i:f' ə r níl fear**.

An example before a consonant-initial nominal occurs in:

n' i: tər ə m l' e e: ə 'ju:ə'l' 66N *níl tada a'm le é a siúáil*.

Impersonal, cp. **n' i:l' u:** S. Ó Murchú (1989: §18.4).

Initial *níl* is sometimes elided:

ki: nā: kumə er' nə d'aul' æ:ti: M

(*níl*) *caoi ná cuma ar na deabhail fhataí*,

f' u:ntəs ə b' i l' æt M (*níl*) *fiúntas ar bith leat*.

With *cá*: mostly **kə:l'**, also unreduced **kə: wil'**. Also **kə: il' ... kə: il' ... 52P** *cá bhfuil ... ? cá bhfuil ... ?*

The form **mil'** in **g' æ:pə: gə mil' S an gceapthá go mbuil?** was heard only once.

Following *marā*, **marə bil' >> marə wil'**, e.g.

marə bil' je ... 04Br, 3pl *marab fhuileadar ann anois 52J*;

marə wil' 23C, **marə wil' f iəd hət 43M** *marā bhfuil siad thart*,

3pl **marə wil' dər eg' ə 43M** *marā bhfuil dar aige*.

5.253 Present, *bíonn*

1sg analytic:

n' i: v' i:n m' i:fə kə'səxt | n' i: v' i:n | M

ní bhíonn mise ag casacht, ní bhíonn.

The young speaker **78B** (An Aird Thoir) tends to elide *n* in *mbíonn*, in innovative direct relative use, e.g.

Gaeilge is mó a mbíonn chuile dhuine s mu: m' i xil' ə ɣin' ə ... 78B,

Béarla is mó a mbíonn chuile s mu: m' i xul' ə ... 78B.

We can compare her elision of *n* in *déan*:

1pl fut **n' i:hə mig' [sic] 78B** *ndéanthaidh muid* (5.271).

Speaker **84P** (An Aird Thoir) has frequent **m' i:s**, as **78B** has **m' i:**, in innovative direct relative use, e.g.

na cín a mbíonn m' i:s ar an raedíó 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 *mbíonnair MØperm*.

Impers **b' i:t' ə r** generally (including **20A**), rare **b' i:nt' ə r 20A**.

5.254 Past

Independent with short vowel, e.g. **v' i je d' i:nə ... M bhí sé ag déanamh ...**

Imprs **v'i:f'ər** Sq, Mq,
v'i:f'ər ga b'ukə (male c. 55, LA) *bhífeair dhá bpiocadh*.
v'iu 31D1 (x4).
v'ihu: buələ warkəf 64M *bhítheadh ag bualadh Mharcais*.
v'ihər in *bhíothar ' dóirteadh na bhfataí 897St* (only).
Echo 2sg **v'i:f, v'i:r', cp. v'ir** [sic] 46 s.v. *tá*.

Dependent

3pl: in **892M**'s speech generally **rodər** but sometimes reduced or metathesised, e.g.

gə rdərə ma'ru: ARN1393 *go raibheadar marbh*,
n'i: ordər, n'i: orədər ARN1532 *ní raibheadar*.
Imprs **n'i: rohu:** ~ **n'i: rof'ər** Sq, Mq, the latter being the more doubtful of the two. When queried on another occasion about **ə rof'ər ...** (used by **79S**), Máire claimed *ní focal ar bith é sin, níor chuala mé é sin ariamh!*
n'i rauu 31D1 (x3), **v'iu ... rauu 31D, rauu: 26P**.

Examples

ro: **n'i: ro** and **n'i: rodər** are very common.

ru: cp. *ru 869P2–5, surə 'ru fe ...* !(Aim)**21Pt** *sara raibh sé ...* . 3pl cp. *ní rudar 869P2*.

rə (ru): **n'i: rə wə:ɟ fult eg'ə 11Ct** *ní raibh i bhfad siúlta aige*,
n'i: rə n wə:rən' i:nt'ə M *ní raibh aon bharaínn inti*,
[... **rədər**] 46 s.v. *tá*.

Echo

-rə tu br'æhu: ort he:n' S *An raibh tú ag breathnú ort héin?*
-n'i: rus [rəs] 21C *Ní raibheas*.

rau: *rogha's* [i.e. **raus** *raibh fhios*] *acú cá roghadar* [i.e. **raudər** *rabhadar*] *ag 'oil*. [i.e. *ag goil*] **852S5**.

n'i: rau.əs am fin' P *ní raibh fhios a'm sin*.

3pl **n'i: roudər** 46 s.v. *tá*, **n'i: roüdər sɔ:stə** 46 s.v. *sásta*; **ka raudər 27C** *cá rabhadar*. (SID.46 and **27C** are both from An Coillín.)

Echo 1sg **n'i: rau.əs 14M** *ní rabhas*; 2sg **raur** [sic] 46 s.v. *tá*.

rauh-: only one example noted:

n'i: rauəs eg' ə ri: ... , ... , n'i rauhəs eg'ə k'e:n ā:t' ... 04B10tn
ní raibh fhios ag an rí, ... , ... ní raibh fhios aige cén áit

r: **ʏa: r ig' ə 'sæ:sənəx əft' i n'fo | 892M3516**
dhá raibh ag an Sasanach istigh anseo;

nax r o:ləs ... St nach raibh eolas

Ø: **n'i ǣ^m vlas ənə xid' 'k'elp' ax 'kr'iafo:g 35E7512**
ní raibh aon bhlás ina chuid ceilpe ach créafóg.

With *fhios*: **852S** *bhí's, ragha's / rogh's* ⇒ **v'is, raus, ros**
894C9 *rabh's* (probably >>) *ra's* ⇒ **raus >> ros**
04B *rauəs rauhəs*
04Br **n'i: rus a:m** *ní raibh fhios a'm*.

5.255 Future

b'e occurs most often, and commonly, with pronoun subject but not exclusively, e.g.

shul á mbei' mé but also *nach mbei' caite* **869P5**,
b'e *ḡa:b æ:d æg' e:ft'æxt l'e fin' S beidh jab a'd ag éisteacht leis sin*,
b'e *kit' eg' ko:l'i:n' 43M beidh cait ag Cóilín*.

For **ə m'o 'ha:msə 889Ptn** *a mbeidh a' msa*, see *bí* (10.69). **-e-** is also common in relative **v'es** and imprs **b'ef'ər**; with *fhios*: **b'ehəs**.

3pl **b'eəðər 52J**. Also **b'ei f'iəd**, **b'e f'iəd**, **b'edər**, **b'e dur**, **b'ei dur**.

b'e: occurs in the phrase **'b'e: l'ox't 'er' 894C** *beidh a shliocht air*, also relexicalised as **e:l'æxt**.

Relative *bhéas* is common in secondary sources, e.g. *nuair a bhéas siad marbh agamsa* **864MLL163**, also **852S2**, 3, **852SbLL94**, **866ESemr132**.

One example of **v'ə** has been noted:

n'i v'ə ən a:n'tra a:n 20Mlt *ní bheidh aon anró ann*.

Relative **v'eis** can be shortened to **v'es**, e.g.

is gearr a bheidheas luach əf g'ar ə v'es luəx a mbéilí héin a'inn **11C**.

Imprs **b'eif'ər**, **b'ef'ər** **M**:

seans go mbeidhfear m'eif'ər ag iarraidh ghóil ansin M,
n'i: v'ef'ər ə na:n iəd ix'ə M *ní bheifear i ndan iad a ithe*,
'n lá a bheifear v'ef'ər ar a' bportach M.

D nontraditional **bai 72A** (1.410), also **b'ei b'e 72A**.

Echo 1sg **b'eid**, e.g. *beidhead* **869P2**. Cp. ***b'ed** **MØperm**.

With fhios

b'eis >> **b'e(i)həs**, and perhaps **b'ehəs** >> **b'eihəs**.

b'eis: *beidh's* **852S4**, **v'eis** 46 s.v. *fios* and *mbeidh'fhios* **869P2**, *beidh'fhios* **894C3**, **b'eis** *æd 04B2l*; *fæns eg' ə fa:xt gə m'eis e M* *seans ag an seacht go mbeidh fhios é*;

b'eihəs: *gə m'eihəs a' msa 11Ct* (x2) *go mbeidh fhios a' msa*, *gə m'eihəs æn' 11Ct* *go mbeidh fhios a'inn*, *gə m'eihəs æ:d e 20C* *go mbeidh fhios a'd é*;

b'ei his: *beidh fhios a' msa*, **b'ei his 'ā:msə** *a deir se, an bhfuil aon bhlas ... 11C*.

b'ehəs: *be hios acub 866ESemr82* (indicating perhaps **b'e his**), **b'ēhās æŋ' k'ē:n 'tækfən ə tər ān |** (Suda)**894Cs** *beidh fhios a'inn cén t-aicsean atá ann*, *gə m'ehəs æ:n' e 03C* *go mbeidh fhios a'inn é*, **b'ehəs æd 03C**; **n'i: v'ehəs**, **b'ehis æ:n' e S** *beidh fhios a'inn é*, **n'i: v'e-əs 14M**. Note that there is no example of **beidh hios* in **866ESemr**.

(***b'es** is probably current, especially in rapid speech, but no example has yet been noted.)

5.256 Past Habitual

A 2sg **m'i:ha:** 46 (s.v. *tá*) *an mbítheá?*

B 1sg **v'i:hín' 65S**. Forms identical to conditional with past habitual meaning:

1sg **v'ehən' 66N**.

2sg **ga:ri: m'eha: g'ærə f'er' a:n 19P**
an garraí a mbeitheá ag gearradh féir ann,
'v'e:həsə fkr'i:w əs efən ə ka:n't 20My

bheitheása ag scríobh is eisean ag caint,
ʃæ:ns gə m'eha: tɔ:t' ə'ma:x ʏo m'eha: 56B
seans go mbeitheá ag tabhairt amach dhó, an mbeitheá?

3sg *v'ex 66N bheadh.*

C 1sg *v'i:xəN' 78P*, 2sg *v'i:xə: 78P*.

Impers *b'i:t'i: 892M1182*; *v'i:f'i: Sq, Mq.*

With past habitual meaning in Máire's speech:

v'i:t'i: >> v'ef'i: >> v'et'i:,

the last is an acceptable form (Mperm) but not preferred by her. For example, in Mt-*tí* (where Máire was asked to produce narratives in the impersonal past habitual) the first instance of *v'et'i:* is hesitant and selfcorrected to *v'id'i:f* (in *v'et'i: t v'id'i:f ...*) but later in Mt-*tí*, and in conversation, Máire used it without hesitation. Also ... *m'et'i: 31D*.

With *fhios*: *v'id/ts: bhíot's 869P4*, *go mbíot's ag 869P5*.

5.257 Conditional; ei ~ e, o

1sg *v'en' >> v'ehəN'*. Máire's evaluation is that *v'en'* (her regular form) is *an rud is fearr* Mq in comparison with *v'ehəN'*. The latter is, however, common for some speakers, e.g.

| v'ehəN' ēr' tai' | 894Cs bheinn ar t'aghaidh; ʏa: m'ehəN'fə 894Cs;

v'ehəN' ə ku:r'ə, v'ehəN' ə ku:r'ə S bheinn ag comhaireamh;

v'/m'ehəN' perhaps >> m'/v'en' 46C; v'ehəN' 66N, 78E.

B *v'ehi:N' 60M* only, see 5.413.

2sg *ga m'oha:sə St, n'i' v'oha: na'n 20Mlt ní bheitheá i ndan, gə m'oha:sə M.*

v'eihə: noted only in *a m'eihə: f'i:s ... S dhá mbeitheá síos ...*

v'exa: N'i: v'exa: gəl' ə'ma:x ə'n'uw M ní 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) + *-a:* (2sg). Cp. *ga m'ox(,)a: 52J*.

v'et'a:, with anomalous *-t'a:* 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'ər f'i: k'e m'et'a: t'iaxt S

-A dheabhail, a deir sí, cé mbeiteá ag tíocht?

3sg *ma:rə m'ex tæ:d el'ə ... 20Mlt mara mbeadh tada eile ...*

v'ex 36P, gə m'e'x ... 889P.

v'ex | v'ex | v'ex M.

B 2sg *v'exa: 78P* (often), this speaker also has psthb 1sg *v'i:xəN'*, 2sg *v'i:xə:*.

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. *ga: m'ed' fe: 46.950*,

ga: m'eha: 46.II.3c, m'ex 46.116, v'ex 46.585.

Mq permitted *ei* before palatals only. The *ei* forms queried of Máire are:

	Mperm		MØperm
<i>bheinn</i>	<i>v'ein'</i>	<i>bheitheá</i>	<i>*v'eihə:</i>
<i>bheidís</i>	<i>v'eid'i:f</i>	<i>bheadh</i>	<i>*v'eix</i>

A rare 3pl example noted outside of elicitation is:

sol(ə) m'eid'i:f 11P *sula mbeidís.*

Recall the rare 2sg **a m'eihə:** *S dhá mbeitheá.*

Impersonal, example:

n æd s ə v'ef'i: ga n'ixə:n *M an fhad's a bheifí dhá nóchán;*
v'ehi: 40S *bheithí.*

With *fhios*

v'eds 46 s.v. *fhios*, **v'eds 04Br, 15W.**

v'et s, gá mbeít's (cp. *cé mbeít sí*) **852S4**, *bheits 894C9*, **v'ets eg' 104B3s, SM.**

v'ehəts, v'ehəds, ... mbehiot's a'd, etc., **866ESemr50**, *mbe-hiots 869P4*, *ghá / go mbeithits* (x3+, verse and prose) **894C**, **v'ehəts eg' 04B5**, **gə m'ehəds eg'ə S go mbeadh fhios aige, eg' mæ:r əs a:r ə v'ehəts S ag Máire is fearr a bheadh fhios, v'ehəds 26P, 78M, v'ehəts 29C.**

v'exəs, cp. *ní bheadh fhios 869P2* (without 'pron[ounced]' note), *ní bheuch fhios a'd 894C2*, *bheadh'fhios* (without separation) is the most frequent spelling in **894C2**.

v'exəs ~ v'ex is the commonest pronunciation among the younger generation.

v'exs, n'i: v'oxs æd M; v'exs (ig') ... 71D1 (x3). In conversation *ní bheitheat's a'd ...* was replied to by **n'i v'exs | 66N** -*Ní bheadh fhios.*

v'ehəxs, ... nax m'ehəts eg' ... nax m'ehəxs | 66L.

v'exəts (rare): *ní bheadh fhios* with note 'pron[ounced] *ní bheach iots*' **869P2**.

v'oxəxs, ga m'oxəxs 00T.

5.258 Present Subjunctive; Verbal Noun

A (Non-optative):

1sg *fan go mbí me réidh 10C.*

B: shul á mei' mé 869P5.

There are examples of the present (general) with *sula*:

shul á bhfuil mé ag dul ag scaradh leat 866ESemr64.

Past Subjunctive A 2sg **b'et'a:**

2sg **rus gə m'et'a: nə** [slip] 'nā'n iəd 'ek'al ... **l'ehi: gə m'ehə: nə'n e' ek'al 03S** *i riocht is go mbeiteá i ndan iad a fheiceál ... le haghaidh go mbeitheá i ndan é a fheiceál.*

B *gá mbeinnse, gá mbeidís 869P2.*

Verbal Noun

v'e is the general form.

v'ə: ə v'ə nə fə:kə 04B21 *a bheith ina phóca; v'ə g'i:nfən 04B21* *bheith ag insean; hu: v'ə gən kos 04B81* *thú a bheith gan cos; v'ə ən'fin' 04B* *bheith ansin;*

... g' iəɾə 'v'ə | 10B *ag iarraidh a bheith,*

... v'i: fɛ l'ɛ v'ə, air'i'hə, M ... bhí sé le bheith, éiríthe.

Some of these examples given as **v'ə** might actually be **v'o**.

e (through loss of initial **v'**): **v'e ruə l'e e dʊv 20Mlt** *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 = Ø *dáir ortha nú imíthe dhi tá sí goil isteach i scioból mar tá sí marbh acub M.*

tá = Ø *di:n'ə xr'ed'əns e fin' əs di:n'ə nax gr'ed'ən St*
daoine a chreideanns é sin is daoine nach gcreideann
 (here *is* is the coordinating conjunction = *agus*).

Cp. *níl* = Ø e.g. *m'aur' ə b'ih a:n M níl 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 baidhsaícls 04Br.

Pronominal complements are found with *bí* in reference to quantity or measurement (age, weight, size, price), e.g.

əN' dʒu:n | v'et fe N' dʒu:n e | n'i:l' fe fə:s e | əN' dʒu:n 14M

in Jún, bheadh sé in Jún é, níl 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 lucaí 43M,

Héibí cén áit sa Nárt [North] anois 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 **klufəx**

Present A 2sg interrogative **ə glun tu:**, *an gclois tú?*; 2pl *an gcluín sib*;

B klin'ən klen'ən; C klufən, klofən

Past **A xliʃ, B xuələ (xələ), huələ, fuələ**

Impers *A cloistheas, xuələs; B klin'ur; C klufur, xuəlu:*

Past Habitual **A xlin'əx, B xluʃəx**

Future **A klin'hə, B klufə**

Conditional **A xlin'həx, B xluʃəx**

Present Subjunctive **A klin'ə, B klufə**

Past Subjunctive **A klin'əx, B klufəx**

Vadj *A cluinte, klin'ʃt'ə, B klufʃt'ə, klufʃt'i:(hə)*

VN **A klin'ʃt'a:l, kluf'a:l, B klufʃt'a:l, klufʃt'a:l, klufənt'**

5.261 Alternate o ~ u, i

o, u, i (etc.) are all possible realisations of the vowel in both *clois* and *cluín*.

clois: generally **u** ~ **i** also **o**, e.g. **glofən** (Ascn)**19S**.

SID.46 has both **i**: **xlif m'e**: 387, **klifə tu** 389, **xlif t' a:l** Mp 119,

and **ö**: **klöfən**, **klöfim'** 391.

cluín: generally **u** ~ **i**, also **ɪ** in SID.46; **e** in **glen'an** (Ascn)**19J.45**.

2sg pstsbj **ga glint'a** (brother of **21J**) *dhá gcluinteá*. Recall the anomalous non-palatal *nt* in query **ga glunta' e** **20Cq** *dhá gclu(i)ntá é* (5.43). The conditional impersonal is perhaps nonpalatal, but is auditorily uncertain, in **klun-f'i**: **!(Asp)11C** *cluinfí*. Cp. **N'i**: **klünfär** **892M4310** *ní cluinfar*.

5.262 cluin ~ clois

The variant *cluín*, although frequent for a small minority, is obsolescent. It is quite common in speakers born before 1915.

852S *cluín*-, *cluínim torann na gclaidhmhí*, *cluínfe sé*, *chluínfeas*, *go gcluínidh siad*, Vadj *cluínfe a'd / a'inn*;

clois-, VN *cloisteáil* **852S3**.

894C *clois*-, examples *cloisidís* **894C9**, *chloisinn* often **894C6** and 9.

875T1 *chluínfeas tu*.

Other speakers are listed here in order of frequency of use, i.e. speakers (in comparison to other speakers noted in Iorras Aithneach) who use (i) *cluín* most often, (ii) *cluín* relatively often, etc.

(i) most often, **klun'hə tu ...**, **N'i**: **xlinh'a**, **N'i**: **xlinh'a tu ...** **37M**.

(ii) often, **xlun'an' eg' mə wə:hər'** (Brid, an elder sister of **37M**) *chluininn ag mo mháthair*, **nuər' ə xlun'ha: gə ro ...**, **xlin'an' 21C** *nuair a chluíntheá go raibh ... chluininn*, **N'i**: **xlin'am'** **36T**.

SID.46 and **869P2-5**:

impv: *ná cluinim, cluineat sé*;

pres: **ŋ glin' tu**: 46.390, **klín'im'** 46.391 (given as alternative), *ní scéal rún é má chluineann triúr é* (proverb) 46.VIII.7, *cluineann siad, cluineann a' t-iasc*;

psthab: *Chluininn an mhuintir a ru ...*, *Chluininn na sean-ndaoine ...*, *áit a bith a gcluineat sé, nuair a chluineat sé, chluinidís*;

cond: *chluínheá, ní chluínheá, a gcluínheat sé, a gcluínheach muid, chluínhidís, cluinfi*;

pstsbj: *gá gcluineach*.

(iii) often (?), **nax glin'am'** **14M**, **ga glin'ha:** **20C**, **xlin'an' ə 'fæ:n'dr' a:m ...** **31D** *chluininn an seandream ...*.

(iv) less often; note the alternation across speakers in these three exchanges:

-**N'i**: **xlofə tu**: ... with reply -**N'i**: **xlin'ə** **01J**, and

- ... **nax glufən fə ...** **20My** -**klin'am'**, **klin'am'** **20C**, and

-**N'i** **xluʃə tu** (**nə fəkləʃin' eg' ə dr'a:m o:g**) **56N**

-*Ní chloisthidh tú (na focla sin ag an dream óg.)*

-**N'i**: **xlin'hə 'tu**: **S**.

(v) *cluín* not noted from **16M** nor her brother **19P**.

Speaker **71D** (Damhras) is by far the youngest speaker I have heard using the stem *cluín*-. His father **29PC** uses it often.

5.263 Other forms

Present

A 2sg **ḡ gḡlín' tu: m'e**: 46.390 *an gcluín tú mé?*

2pl ' *gcluín sibh mé libh* ! CABI §383(b) v. 3 (amended from *G Chluín*).

an gclois tú? from speaker **866E** in:

'*An gclois tú?*' *a deir an bhanríon óg. 'Seas, tá gnotha agamsa díot.'* Sc78.

Past

A **xḡlḡ m'e**: 46.387 given as alternative form; *chuala* is the only form in **869P2**–5, *chlois* is impermissible for Sq, Mq.

B **xolə m'e** 20Mlt.

There is an instance of labialised initial *ch-* in **x^wuələ** **892M** (13.7, line 14).

fuələ was noted from a native of Doire Iorrais **φuələ** **01P** (only) who also has **xuələ huələ**, and (pst of irregular *teighre*) *chuaigh xuə ~ fuə* **01P**.¹

Imprs A *cloistheas* **894C2**;

chualas xuələs sa Domhan Thoir, an torann a rinne an tua **894C**.

B **klufu:** >> **xuəlu:** Mq.

Verbal adjective

A *cluinte* **852S**, **klín'ftə** 46.390 only form given. Cp. **869P**'s daughter **kluf'ti:** eg' **04Br**.

-ə ~ -i: **894C2**, 3, 6, 9 *cloistí(th) + ag* all examples and *cloistí ó* **894C3**, which implies high proportion of application of the *-í ag* sandhi rule with this item for **894C**.

kluf'ti:h a'gəm | **11C2454** *cloistíthe agam*.

Verbal Noun

A **klín'ftə:l** 46.390 given as alternative; *cloisteál* is the only form in **869P2**, but **xḡlḡftə:l** Mp 119. Only one example of **klufə:l** was noted, in **899D6861**:

N'i: l'e kənt' ə xḡlufə:l er' haivfi: *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):

bə wə: l'um ə t'æggəwə:l ə xḡlufənt' gə lə: !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 **klín'ftə:l** does not exist.

5.264 díon (déan)

Imperative **d'i:n**, **d'in**, **d'un**

Present A lenited **n'i:n**, **r'i:n**; B **d'i:nən**, **d'inən**

Past, Independent A **ji:n**; B 3pl **rin'idər**; C **rin'ə**, 3pl **rin'ədər**

Echo 1sg A **rin'is**; B **rin'əs**; 2sg (A **rin'if**) B **rin'əf**, **rin'ər'**

Imprs **d'i:nu:**, **d'e:nu:**, **d'ə:nu:**, **rin'u:**, **d'inhəs**, **d'ini:u:**

¹ See also **fuələ ~ xuələ** SIDIV, point 65 (Omeath, Co. Louth), p. 11, s.v. *cluim*; also point 66 (Tyrone, Stockman and Wagner 1965: 115, s.v. *cluinstin*). Cp. point 77 **nəf'w'ə na chuile** SIDi Mp 202, with initial *ch* (possibly *x^w*) > *f* also before *u*.

Dependent (N'í) **jærnə**, **ærnə**; imprs as independent (excepting **dí:nhəs** which is not attested in dependent position)
 Past Habitual **A n'í:x**, (n'í:həx); **B jínəx**, **jínəx**; 3pl **A n'í:d'í:f**, **n'í:həd'í:f**;
B jínəd'í:f, **jínəd'í:f**, **jínəd'í:f**; imprs **N'í:nti**, **d'í:nti**;
 Future **d'í:nhə**, **d'í:nhə**, (reduced eclipsed **N'í:hə**)
 Conditional **jínəx**, **jínəx**, **jénəx**, also (eclipsed) **N'enf'í**;
 Present Subjunctive **A n'í**; **B d'í:nə**, **d'í:nə** (**d'í:rə**)
 Past Subjunctive **d'í:nəx**, **d'í:nəx**, also (eclipsed) **N'enti**;
 Vadj **d'í:ntə**, **d'í:ntə**. VN **d'í:nə**, **d'í:nə**, also (lenited) **jénə**

5.265 *díon ~ ní*

This and following sections describe the variation of *díon ~ ní*, the vocalism of *díon*, use of (*dh*)*earna* and *rinne* and other forms and usage. The by-form **n'í** (homophonous with *nigh* 'wash') is rare and almost obsolete having been replaced by **d'í:n**. The root **n'í** occurs in lenited position in the present, past habitual and present subjunctive. One example was noted in the present subjunctive:

nar n'í:fe ma' yut' 897P *nar ní sé maith dhuit!*¹

Initial **N'** in lenited position was noted in:

duine ar bith a nódh N'í:x aon bhlas damsa an t-am sin leagadh sé Y'argə ffe' ... 06C

but **n'** is regular including in **06C**'s speech.

In the past habitual, eclipsis also occurs, e.g. **N'í:d'í:f** (unfortunately the context was not noted). Only personal forms of **n'í**- were noted. One token of what appears to be a mixed root **N'í:n**- was noted in the impersonal past habitual:

| N'í:nti: n tæm fin' sp'efiəlt iəd l'ehi: iəskəx krū:dan nə ... 892Mg
n(d)íontaí an t-am sin speisialta iad le haghaidh iascach cnúdan na ...

This speaker has **n'í** in the personal verb: **n'í:x**, **n'í:d'í:f** **892Mg**.

5.266 Individual speakers

852S4-5 has *ní*- in *má ghnídheann*, and *déan*- elsewhere, e.g. *gá ndiantá mo chúirle*.

SID.46 has (by far) most often **d'í:n**, **d'í:n** (5.267). Four examples of **n'í**- occur, all in the present and in lenited position, following *ní*, *má* and direct relative *a*. Contrast:

d'í:nən fe: brə:gə 46.995 *déanann sé bróga*,
 with: **n'í: n'í:n fe: ... 46.996** *ní nionn sé ...*, and also:
mə: n'í:n fí:sə i:m' d'í:nə m'í:fə ræn 46.999
má nionn tusa im déanthaidh 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: *ním* (claimed to be used with initial **n'** without any preceding particle or conjunction but no example given) §534 eisc. (a), *níonn* (no indication as to its use) §216, *a níos* §24, *a nionns* §316 s.v. *gach uile*, *níodh* §216;

ITM: *a nionns* (lenited relative, in proverb) §403 (31);

IEM: *níodh* (obsolescent) §585.

Present relative is attested in the informant's explanation *fear a nionns cléibh* 46.580, and in the proverb:

er mahə ʔeʃ he:n' n'i:əns ə kat kru:nən 46.VII.4

ar m(h)aithe leis héin a nionns an cat crónán.

In **869P2**–5 *ní*- occurs in the present and past habitual active only. In the present it occurs in lenited position following *ní*, *má* and direct relative *a*:

<i>ní nionn siad</i> 4	<i>má nionn tú mo chúirle</i> 2.33, 174, 205	<i>a nionns siad</i> 4
	<i>má nionn sé báisteach</i> 4.423, 424	<i>a nionns siad</i> 5 (with rel -s struck out)

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*:

independent <i>nídís</i> :	<i>a níodh</i> :
<i>Nídís</i> 2 (x4), 5; <i>nídís</i> often (2, 3)	<i>go béard a nídís</i> 2; <i>a nídís</i> 3
	<i>a nít sé</i> 2, <i>a níot sé</i> 3

déan has been noted alongside *ní*- here, e.g. *dhianaidís ... 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:

Present	<i>níonn</i> (x1)
relative <i>dhíonanns</i> (x2)	<i>níonns</i> (x2)
Psthab	<i>nídís</i> (x3)

Speaker **894P** was the only speaker recorded with *r'i:-*, in:

mā r'i:n 'tusə m 'potə sə 'ŋ'i:vř ə | **894P**

má nionn tusa an pota sa ngeimhreadh.

This may be a phonetic weakening of *n'* in rapid speech (perhaps influenced by *r* of *rinne*).

Other speakers were noted with *ní*:- **894C4** *Níodh muid* (psthab); **899P**; **18J** *ninn*, *níodh*; *n'i:həð'i:f* [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 *díon*

The vowels *i:*, *iə*, *e:*, *i*, *u*, *e* are all heard in *díon* (standard *déan*). *d'i:n* is more common than *d'in*, *d'un*. [*d'iən*] occurs, but has been given as *d'i:n* although the difference might possibly be phonological for some speakers here. In SID.46 (Table 5.75), *i:ə* occurs mostly in the verbal noun, *iə* mostly in inflected forms (without *t*), and six examples of *i:* as well as one example of *i:ə* occur before *-nt-*. This virtually complementary distribution of *i:ə*, *iə*, *i:* suggests a phonetic explanation: the longer vocoid occurs in the shorter form, i.e. *i:ə* 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 *i:(ə)nt* sequence suggests that the *n* is not as velarised before neutral *t* than when *n* occurs between vowels or in word-

final position. The *i* in 964 may be due to the following palatal context, i.e. commonly *d'í:n' d'ef'ər' déan deifir*. The four phones which are found in *díon* from SID.46, i.e. *iə*, *iə*, *i:*³ and *i:*, can all be interpreted as allophones of /i:/.

Table 5.75 *iə*, *iə*, *i:* in *díon* (*déan*) SID.46

<i>iə</i>	<i>iə</i>	<i>i:</i>
Mp 254 <i>d'í:ənə</i> (=q 986), 69, 131, 545, 600, 986 244, -5, <i>ji:ənə</i> 414, 886, -7, 980, 1046, s.v. <i>doiligh, gaduidh-</i> <i>eacht</i> , Texts I, VIII.15	Mp 256 <i>d'íənən</i> (f'e) (= q 995) 243 <i>n'íənə:</i> 80 <i>d'íənə sbri:</i> 256 <i>d'íənə 'kə:kə</i> 382 <i>jiən'əd f'e:</i> 997 <i>d'íənə m'ε</i> 999 <i>d'íənə m'ifě</i> 1123 <i>d'íənən f'iad</i> s.v. <i>ním</i> <i>n'íənid' i:f</i>	999 <i>n'í:ntə:</i> 1108 <i>d'í:ntə</i> 667, Text I, <i>d'í:ntə</i> s.v. <i>ním</i> 432, s.v. <i>ním</i> <i>d'í:ntər</i> 964 <i>d'í:n d'ef'ir'</i> Texts I, <i>ji:nə</i> VIII.6, s.v. <i>seachas</i>

A few instances of *ε*: / *ε'* have been noted (with initial *j*- 3/4, implies dissimilation between *j* and *ε*):

də jihəl ə je:n ə r f'ifə 04B10tn 'do dhícheall a dhéanamh,' ar sise;
d'ε:nur k'ən el'ə ... d'í:nur ... d'í:nə ... 11C
déanadh ceann eile ... déanadh ... déanamh;
N'í j'ēnhəd' i:f ax ə 't'ærəx ... 11C ní dhéanthaidís ach an t-earrach ... ;
j'ēnhəd' i: f'ær fə n'fə sə f'u: d | j'ī:nəx | 11C
dhéanthaidís seáirse anseo is ansiúd, dhéanadh.

There are also instances of *-en*, e.g.

ga n'enf' i: ε, ga n'enti: ε M ~ nax n'inti: ε M.

Imperative

2sg *d'un: ə v'if' nā: d'un id'ər f'e ə v'ifə nā: d'un*

'A bhíis ná díon,' a deir sé, 'a bhíise ná díon.'

2pl *d'uni: : tə: ŋ' k'it | f'oxtə s d'uni: t ε: M tá an citl fiuchta is díonaí 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. *ní éarna 852S4*; for (*dh*)*eachaigh*, see 5.300. It is often impossible for me to distinguish between *N'í: j:ərənə* and *N'í: ə:ərənə*. Cp. *N'í: 'ə:ərənə 881J, 894Cs, 66L, ,n'í: 'j:ərənə m'è, 46.1040* and the unhistorical glide in *N'í: j'etəd'if 46.244 ní fhéadthaidís*. The form *N'í: ə:ərənə* 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. *ní eachaigh, nach n-eachaigh*.¹ When *j* is lost in the verb *déan* the only surface form in the past stem (-) *ə:ərən-* 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 Aithneach: *dhearna*: arnah, arnu-, (n) arnee for *ə:ərni:*, etc.; *dheachaigh*: achee for *axi:* (Stenson 2003: liii, lv).

by-form **d'ar̥nu:** *dearnadh*. It is probable that many examples transcribed as **n'i:** **ja:rnə** may be more correctly **n'i:** **a:rnə**. Speaker **21Pt** produced the following when asked to pronounce deliberately *ní dhearna, ní fhaca, ní dheachaigh*:

n'i: | **a:rnə**, **n'i:** | **ækə**, **n'i:** | **æxə** **21Ptq**.

Another speaker, **27Md**, a more literate person, had historical:

n'i: | **ja:rnə**, **n'i:** | **ækə**, **n'i:** | **jæxə** **27Mdq**.

Note the reduction in rapid speech: **nax n'ar̥n fu 11C** *nach ndearna tú*.

A jin is reported for our dialect in S. Ó Murchú (1989: §22.6 (iii)) as an obsolete form, and occurs also in: *Dhíon mé taibhsíú aréir ...* FFG s.v. *taibhsíonn*. Máire, queried about this form, said **n'i:** **je:rhə:** **n'fo** **ε** **Mq** *ní dhéarthá anseo é*.

2 Conjugation inflection is used by a tiny minority, e.g.

3pl *rinníodar*: | **rin'í:dar** **t'í:hui:** **n'fin'** **881JCF** *rinníodar títhiú ansin*,

... **a rin'í:dar** **24MtDA** (westernmost instance),

in Wigger (2000) *rinníodar* **13JdLC**, **22MCS** (who also has *rinníos*).

Other speakers have *rinneadar*, e.g.

rin'ədər **46.689**, **I.45**; **rin'dər** **04B1**, **ri'ndər** perhaps **rin'ndər** **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'í:dar** **881J**; contrast his 1Conj *ní dhearnadar* **894Cs** and his brother's **gər d'ar̥nu:** **881J**. Speaker **881J** has 1sg *rinníos*, 2sg **rin'i:** in song, in non-Echo use, e.g. *Ó rinníos smaoitiú 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 *rinníodar/-íos/-ís* are skewed toward East Iorras Aithneach. This distribution may be compared to **a rin'i:** **e a rinne é** of North-East Iorras Aithneach (2.63).

5.269 Impersonal past

Independent:

d'í:nhəs **hə:n'ək'əs ən'fin'** **əgəs d'í:nhəs ən dɑ:mb a:n** **01J**

tháinictheas ansin agus déanthas an damba ann.

rin'u: *rinniú* **869P2**, **875T1**, **rin'u:** **66N**.

d'í:ni:u: *B'fhéidir gur as maide díonaíú a' chéad lá 'riamh* **e S** (rare).

d'ar̥nu: **S**; **d'ar̥nu:** **sus** [sic] **71D1** *dearnadh suas*;

-Rinneadh ... **BóC** *-Dearnadh*. **64M**.

d'í:nu: *Is ar an gCaiseal ... atá an bád pléisiúir is áille a déanadh d'í:nu* *in Éirinn* **!(NUath)11C**; | **d'í:nu:** **e:** | **11C** *déanadh é*.

Dependent:

a d'ar̥nu: **e' fo** **04B1**; **səl'**, **d'ar̥nu ən** ... **04B2l** *sula dearnadh an ...*

894C's examples: *deárnú* (x2(+)) **!894C3**, 6 and 9, *rinniú* **894C2**, 9, *díonú* **894C9**.

These examples are not sufficient to show any obvious pattern, e.g.

... *an speal ba mheasa gár díonú ariamh. Níor deárnú ariamh a leitheide lé donacht* **894C9**;

... níor deárnú ... ar an éagnach cúntáilte a díonú **894C9**.

The statistics from Airneán II (Hartmann et al. 1996: II p. 35), summarised in Table 5.76, show both **d'árnu:** and **d'ínu:** frequent in independent use. In dependent position **d'árnu:** is by far the most frequent. As for **rin'ú:**, it is the only form used by speaker **892M** in independent position; he is the only speaker, in this material, to have **rin'ú:** in this position. He is also the only speaker to use **rin'ú:** (as well as << **d'árnu:**) in dependent position. It can be noted that he also rarely uses **rin'ə** in personal dependent position.

Table 5.76 Past impersonal *dearnadh, déanadh, rinneadh*, Airneán II

	indep.	dep.	independent	dependent	Source
d'árnu:	8	13	18J, 21Pg, 35E	892M, 18J, 21Pg	ARNII.35
d'ínu:	8	2	899D, 01C, 11C, 21Pg	11C, 21Pg	
rin'ú:	7	1	892M	892M	

Other individual patterns are apparent from this table: **11CMR** has **d'ínu:** only; **18JAO** has **d'árnu:** only; **21PgDU** has both **d'árnu:** and **d'ínu:** in both positions. Similarly, speaker **27CbAI** was noted (by me, from conversation) with consistent independent **d'árnu:** (5/5) **27Cb**.

5.270 Dependent *dearna* >> *rinne*

Independent **rin'ə** 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'ir ʔin'ə sé aon bhlas, ach baint as chomh maith agus bhí sé i ndan. 05M.

Sisters **04Br**, **15W** have common dependent *rinne*, e.g.

n'í: rin'ə 04Br, 15W, na' rin'ə ʃe, gə rin'ə ʃi: 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.nxi: n'árna tu e: 46.948,

,ə 'n'árna tu, 46.994,

,n'í: 'rin'í m'è, (or ,n'í: 'árna m'è,) 46.1040.

Otherwise, a few younger speakers may also favour dependent *rinne*. Speaker **64C** was noted with *n'í rin'ə* ... *gə rin'ə m'ə*.

5.271 Past Habitual, Subjunctive, Future, Verbal Noun

Past Habitual 3pl *n'í:həd'í:ʃ* **24Nt**; *jind'í:ʃ* *sir'ə ʃo' S dhéanaidís saoire dhó.*

Present Subjunctive In the common phrase *go ndéana Dia grásta orthub* the verb is generally (gə) n'í:nə ... but:

n'í:rə d'íə 'grə:st orhəb 11C *go ndéana Dia grásta orthub*.

Past Subjunctive 2sg gə: n'í:ntə: e; 46.999, gə: n'í:ntə: 20C.

Future There is a reduced form in a young speaker's:

æ:ft'í: ... əs mu: n'í:hə [sic] mig' | je 78B

aistí ... is mó a ndéanthaidh muid, 'yeah'. Cp. m'í 78B mbíonn (5.253).

VN ə d'ínə mə v'í:l'ə d'ihəl 04B6 *ag déanamh mo mhíle dícheall*.

5.272 *faigh*

Imperative A fə:x, B jofəx; imprs fə:t'ər

Present A fə:n, B g'efən, g'ofən, g'ohən, jofən, (johən), jehən, jen; imprs fə:t'ər

C wi:hən, wi:n; imprs wi:t'ər

Past Habitual də:x; imprs də:t'í:

Past fuər', for', fer', fur', fir'

Imprs fr'í:w, fr'í:u; (*fríothú* RBÉ), fuər'əs, fuər'u:

Future, Independent A g'əhə, g'ohə, g'ofə, g'efi, g'ifə

jehə, (je.ə), johə, jofə, (jauhə); (wi:)

B 3pl jehədər, jofədər, je.ədər, jedər, jehə dər, jofə dər, etc.

C fə:hə

Imprs jofər, jof'ər, jef'ər

Dependent A wi:; B wi:hə; C 3pl wi:dər, wi: dər

D as independent, E eclipsed wə:hə

Conditional, Independent johəx, jehəx, jofəx (wi:x); 2sg johə:, jehə:, jofə:, jufə:, juhə:, jihə:; (2sg d'ohə:); 3pl also jof'əd'í:f; imprs jef'í:

Dependent

A sg

1 wi:n', wi:hən'

2 wi:hə:

3 wi:x, wi:ət' fe, wi:həx, waiəx

Imprs West IA wi:f'í:, vihi:, East IA wi:hi:

Also as independent johəx, (jofəx), etc., in dependent contexts

B Increase in independent forms in dependent contexts

C Independent də:hə:; Dependent 2sg wə:hə:

pl

1 wi:x

2 wi:x

3 wi:d'í:f, wi:həd'í:f

Present Subjunctive, lenited ə:, eclipsed wə:

Past Subjunctive 1sg wə:n', n'ain', 2sg wə:t'ə:, wə:hə:, wə:hə, wə:t'ə:, 3sg wə:x, 3pl wə:d'í:f (gə wə:d'í:f)

Imprs A wə:t'í:, B wi:t'í:

Vadj fə:t'ə, VN fə:l', fə:lt', (fə:lt)

5.273 Present; Past**Present**

Example of **A** and **B** in conversation:

-ə wɑ:n' fɪb' ... M An bhfaigheann sib ... ?
-jɒfən 74S Gheofann.

Note also 3pl **g'ofən fɪəd 16A**, **jen' fəd 77C**; for examples such as **g'efən tu 15W**, see further below (e.g. Table 5.78). For **C wi:(hə)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' 'ba:s | 11C.*

An example with personal name as subject:

nor' ə for' ɔ̃æ:k' e ni:hə gə ma: P
nuair a fuair Jaic é ina oíche go maith.

fir': fir' | fir' | fur fɪ' ... P, fir'ədər (ə)məx M, P fuaireadar amach.

Impersonal:

fríothadh: fríothú mise 870B1.

fríodh f'ri:uw SID.46 Mp 77, fr'i:u: 04B, 11C, 43M, fr'i:w M.

fuər'əs: fuər'əs (*thoir san Aird Mhóir cuide dhe*) **57P; k'e: wuər'əs nə ... 27C cé bhfuairas na ... ?**

The form **fuər'əs** 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 **fuər'əs** as 1sg only (without, however, distinguishing its specific Echo function giving examples with direct object); for the impersonal he uses **fr'i:w** and **fuər'u:**.

fuər'u:: *fuairleadh amach ann é 897P, ní: wuər'u: græn't ə b'i M ní bhfuairleadh graint ar bith, gə wuər'u: gr'i:m' er' 52Pc go bhfuairleadh greim air; nach bhfuairiú tada 69K.*

ní: fuər'u:, **ní:r fuər'u:** were permitted by Mq but **ní:r fr'i:w** was preferred.

5.274 Future stem**Independent**

A g'ehə (*or 'g'ɔ̃fə; or jöfə or g'efi*) **tu: 46 s.v. gheibhim;**

g'ehə 01P, g'ohə fɪəd 16A (both speakers from Doire Iorrais);
g'ehə mid' 72A.

je.ə tu: e: M.

jauhə was noted only once:

agus cé bhí ach gheothaidh jauhə se pinsean stampaí M85.

B 3pl jehədər e, jofədər e 43M.

C fa:hə is used by **49J**'s children (**79M, 86N** in this work) according to **49J**;
also **fa:hə 78Pb.**

Echo 2sg: **g'ɔ̃fər' 46 s.v. gheibhim;**

-johə m'ε ... BóC -jofər' M, also jofəf Mperm.

Dependent

B ... wi:hə 23B, 51N; cp. cond **wi:həx 23B** and, independently (i.e. context was not echoing **23B**), her husband **12J.**

C 3pl **k'e wīdər b'ær-l'i:** 43M88 *cé bhfuighdar bearlí?*

Conditional

Independent 2sg **d'ohā:** (perhaps **g'ohā:**) in *Is ann is fhearr a gheothá d'ohā: 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.)

Imprs **jef' i: gr'i:m' orəmsə** 43M *gheif' greim ormsa*.

Dependent:

A wīh- (minority of speakers):

gə wī:həd' i:f 14M; **gə wī:hən'** 25M;

-n' i: wī:x M *Ní bhfuigheadh?* **-n' i: wī:həx** 23B *Ní bhfuigheadh*;

cp. disyllabic **gə wī:ət' fe e** 23B; also **gə wī:həx** 12J.

wai- is a minor by-form: **gə waiəx tfe** 66N (mother from An Cheathrú Rua).

b'e:d'ər' nax' 'vihi: 46.1017 *b'fhéidir nach bhfuighthí*, presumably **vihi:** = */vi:hi:/*.

C 2sg **ə wā:hā: ... n' i: wā:hā:, kə xi' wā:hā: e jin'** 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:

-johə m'e ən tren' B6C *Gheobhthaidh mé an traein*.

-ə n'ohə M *An ngeobhthaidh?*

By far more common in her speech is **ə wī:** *an bhfuighidh?*

One older speaker noted with regular use of the independent form in dependent position is 899DARN:

gə n'ofā: 6659, **n' i: jofā:** 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'ehən tu 66N, **ə n'ehə m'e** 66N, **n' i jef'ər** 66Nq;

gə ŋ'ehən' 72A; **n' i jīhā:, jīhā: ...** 77C1.

The dependent form is sometimes used in independent position:

wī: tu sə drār ... M *Bhfuighidh tú sa drár ...*.

The dependent form in direct relative function is not uncommon, e.g.

ní mórán a bhfuigheas wīs tú air sin M,

as if reflecting *ní bhfuighidh tú mórán 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 **wī:** in independent position in statements following the regular dependent **wī:** of their interlocutors:

- ... **nax wī: fe e: 16M ... nach bhfuighidh sé é.** [1]

-**wī: fe e: 23M Bhfuighidh sé é.**

-**n' i: 'wī: 'm' e: 12S Ní bhfuighidh mé!** [2]

-**wī: 'tu: 16M Bhfuighidh tú!**

There are also examples of *bhfuigh-* in apostasis (as if reflecting *dhá bhfuigh-*):

ma ta fɛ a:n wi: tu' ɛ | jehə tu' ɛ M

má tá sé ann bhfuighidh tú é, gheothaidh tú é,

where the independent form is used as a slight selfcorrection. Similarly:

ga no:lta: ɛ ka:lʃ'i: hu nu wi:hə ba:s 20Cq

'dhá n-óltá é caillfí thú' nó 'bhfuightheá bás',

produced during a translation query. There is an example of vacillation in:

gəs ɫ'ɛr mar ə ʋ'ɛx ə | ʏohəd ʃi' suəs sə ŋlɪn'ə ʃæ johə: | ʃæ wi:hə:

prais orhə | 896P *agus dho léar mar a bheadh an — ghothadh sí suas*

sa nglóine is ea a gheothá, is ea a bhfuightheá praghas 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-

	h (~ Ø)		f		f'
Speaker	o << e	u ~ i	o >> e	u ~ i	o ~ e
852S2			<i>gheofas,</i> <i>gheofar</i>		<i>gheibhfe ?</i>
46 s.v. <i>gheibhim</i> 280, 1017	g'ehə		'g'lofə jōfə g'efi g'lofər' jofər	jəfə:	jeʃ'i:
875T1	<i>ghehat sí</i>		<i>jeofas tú</i>		
894B1			jofə: (x4)		
894C	<i>gheithe, ghehe, gheheas</i>	<i>ghiuthá</i>		<i>ghiufá</i>	
04B	jehə 81				
04Br	jen g'ehə jehəs jod fe	juha:	g'ofə g'ofən		
15W	g'ohən jehə jehəd fe	juha:	g'efən	g'ifə jufa:	
M	je(h)ə johəs johə: eclipsed ŋ'ohə		jofə jofər' jofəs jofə:		
20C	jehəd'i:ʃ				jof'əd'i:ʃ
20My	jehəd'i:ʃ				
43M	jehə		jofə		jeʃ'i:
66N	jehə				
71D1	jehə jed'i:ʃ				
74S			jofən		
77C	jen	juha:			

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'ehə** (or **'g'lofə**; or **jōfə** or **g'efi**) **tu:**, **g'lofər'** s.v. *gheibhim*) are recorded but there may have been initial lenition in some of the contexts. Conditional 2sg **jəfə:**, **n'i:** **yi:hə:** s.v. *gheibhim*; dependent

¹ Speaker **11C** has regular **jeh-** and **jof-** but he was noted once with **g'ofə tu:** **11C** (nonlenited position).

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: am'** s.v. *gheibhim*; 1sg prsbj **gō ya: m'ifā** 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 morpho-syntactic position: unlenited **g'**- vs. lenited **j**-; 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 5.78 Future stem of *faigh*, clann Phádraigín Mhacaí

	Future	Conditional	Present	No. of tokens	
g'ef-			g'efən tu W ²	1	f 4
g'of-	g'ofə B		g'ofən' fīəd B	2	
g'if-	g'ifə fīəd 15W			1	
g'eh-	g'ehə m'e B, S			2	h 3
g'oh-			g'ohən mud' W	1	
juf-		jufə: W		1	
je(h)-	nuər' jehəs tur B gər mu: jehə fīəd W	jehəd fe W	mə jen tu: B	4	h 7
jo(h)-		jod fe b'ifəx B		1	
jih-		rud ə b'i jihə: B		1	
juh-		juhə: W		1	

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 Máire'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 *Airneán 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 **jofə:** vs. **johəx**, 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'i:n** vs. **n'i:** (*déan* 5.265 above); **t'ag-** vs. **hæg'-** **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:**):

	jeh-		jof-		
Future	8 (+)	>>	3	i.e. jehə	>> jofə
Conditional (non-2sg)	5 (+)	>>	0	i.e. jehəx	only
Conditional 2sg	2	<<	7	i.e. jeha:	<< jofa:

Only the figures for 2sg conditional are accurate (the others are not all given in ARNII.36–7, e.g. the number of **jehəx** 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 **jofəx** in contrast with **jehə** ~ **jofə** 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 **jehəx** and absence of **jofəx** (in lenited position when unmarked) in contrast with **jofə** (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 **o/e** and its further lexicalisation, even in 2sg **j-h** (i.e. the minority form **jihə:**).

5.277 Past Subjunctive; Verbal Noun

1sg **ga: wə:n’ dhá bhfaighinn** usually; **ga n’ain’ e 899N dhá ngeighinn é**; this speaker also has eclipsis of *gheo-*, e.g. **gə n’ofa: 899N go ngeofá**. It seems **gə wai-** (common to the east of IA) and **gə n’of-** are combined in **ga: n’ai-**.

2sg **wa:t’ a:, wə:hə:, waha, wait’ a:**, e.g.

ga:/ gə wa:t’ a: 899D, 20C;

ga waha o:rən wai S87 dhá bhfaightheá amhrán uaidh;

ga wa:t’ a: [x3] wait’ a: [x1] 21Pt1.

The root in **o:** was noted once in **gə wo:d’ i:f 05M.**

Imprs **A holə yat’ i 46.280 shula bhfaightí, ga: wa:t’ i: dhá bhfaightí.**

B Shíl mise dhá bhfaightí ga: wit’ i: greim ort, 45N.

Verbal Noun

fai:l’ is the most common form, e.g. **870B1–2, 46.1042.1043, SM, 66N.** Many speakers use only *fáil*.

fai:l’t’ is frequent but a minority form: **fai:l’t’ 46.862; 894C (fáil >> fáilt), 897P, 04Br (both), 11C (both), 20C, 20MI, 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*.

fai:lt 89M (in 1998, aged eight).

5.278 Clann Phádraigín Mhacai

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 **fə:n**, yielding four present roots:

unmutated	g'e/of/hən ~ fə:n
lenited	je(hə)n (perhaps also other by-forms such as jofən)
eclipsed	wi:n (including after <i>ní</i>)

The daughters' irregularities are not inherited from their father (whose system is normal in the present: **fə:n**, lenited **ə:n**, eclipsed **wə:n** only). Examples of use of **04Br** and **15W**'s present tense *faigh* are listed here.

Unmutated	g'efən tu xul'ə yin'ə tər kə:l't' er' 15W <i>Geofann tú chuile dhuine atá caillte air;</i> g'ohən mud gə l'or 15W <i>geothann muid go leor.</i>
Lenited	mə jen tu: ... 04Br <i>má gheothann tú ...</i>
Unmutated and eclipsed	fə:n' je turfəx 15W <i>faigheann sé tuirseach,</i> <i>go bhfuigheann sé an-tuirseach wi:n' je 'ə:n'turfəx 15W.</i>

Note the consistency and singularity of their usage in the exchange:

-g'ofən' fjad ... 04Br *Geofann siad ...*
-o: wi:n, o: wi:n 15W *Ó! an bhfuigheann. Ó! an bhfuigheann?*

Present eclipsed and lenited with regular unmutated *faigheann* in the exchange:

- ... dur't fji: gə wi:n' fji: ... mə jen tu: ... 04Br
Dúirt sí go bhfuigheann sí ... má gheothann tú ...
-fə:n ... 15W *Faigheann ...*

Cp. past impersonal **fuər'u: gr'i:m' orəb 04Br** *fuaireadh greim orthub*; with the more innovative stem **fuər'-** (for older **fr'i:w**, e.g. **f'r'i:uw** 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:h-**. Examples of **66N(q)**'s usage of **jeh-**, **wi:(h)-**, and **fə:-** 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:h-** forms, and late 1994, when she used far more **jeh-** forms. Speaker **66N**'s hesitation is noteworthy, as though avoiding **fə:m'**, in her response in:

-ə fu:l'ən tu ... An siúileann tú ... ?
-f-, jehəm' l'ef't 66N *F-, gheithim left.*

There is an example of the serial effect, producing a transient fudge of **66N**'s **n'/jehən** and Máire's **(f)ə:n**, in the following exchange:

-n' ehən tu bə'hlə dər 66N *An ngeitheann tú baladh dó?*
-n' i əhən *M Ní fhaigheann.* (Or perhaps pronounced **n' i ehən**.)

Table 5.79 *faigh* > innovative *jeh*, *wi:(h)*, *fa:*, 66N, 66Nq

Stem	Present		Future	
	independent	dependent	independent	dependent
jeh	jehám slaidá:n;	nehán tu bá'hla	jehə	ə nehə m'e often
	jehən tu	də		n'i jef'ər q
wi:(h)	-jehə tu ... BóC	fari:r nax win tu' e	wi:hə q	n'i wi:f'ər q
	-o' wi'hən tu'	mə wi:hən mid' ...		
		n'i wi:t'ər q		
fa:		n'i a:t'ər q		
jeh wi:(h)	Cond: independent	dependent	Psthab: independent	
	jehən'	gə nehən'	jehəx q	
		n'i wi:f'i: q	wi:həx q	

5.280 *feic*Imperative **f'ek'əx**Present **f'ek'ən**Imprs **f'ekt'ər**, **f'ekt'ər**, **f'ekt'dər**, **f'ek'ər**, **f'ek'ərs**Past, Independent **xin'ək'**, **hun'ək'**, **xon'ək'**, **han'ək'**, **xan'ək'**, **han'ək'**Imprs **f'ek'u:**, **xin'ək'u:**, **bakəs**, **fakəs**Dependent (n'i:) **akə**, (ə) **wakə**Imprs **faku:**, (n'i:) **aku:**, **bakəs**, **fakəs**Past Habitual **d'ek'əx**Future **f'ek'ə**; Conditional **d'ek'əx**Present Subjunctive **f'ek'ə**; Past Subjunctive **f'ek'əx**Vadj **f'ek'i:(hə)**; VN **f'ek'al**, **f'ek'al**, **f'ek'al**For *chí x'i:*, *hi:m'*, *chithe*, 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 Máire, i.e. **d'ek'á:** >> **d'ik'á:** M. Perhaps the next most common position for **i** is following negative **n'i:**. Further examples:

- d'ik'-** **sumu:** **rud ə d'ik'á:**, **d'ik'á:**, **d'ik'ən'**, **d'ik'ənfə** P
is iomú rud a d'fheictheá, d'fheicthinn ... (also **d'ek'á:** P).
- n'i: ik'-** **d'ek'ən'** **d'ek'á:**, etc., but **n'i: ik'əm' iəd** 31D *ní fheicim iad*.
- v'ik'-** **gə v'ik'ə m'e** 897S, **gə v'ik'ən'** P.
- VN **f'e f'ik'al akəb** 892M1770 *le feiceál acub*
cp. *ficeál* (x9) (~ *feiceál*) speaker 892M only ARNII.38;¹
bə:r ə vro:g' ik'al ə'ma'x 04B10tn
barr a bhróige a fheiceál 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'-**, **v'ek'-** only. The apparent contrast **f'ek'ə-** vs. **f'ik'tə-** is noteworthy.

¹ Corrected from *-eáil* ARNII.38, cp. *feiceál* 892M1770 which I hear as **f'ik'al**.

Table 5.80 Vowels e, ɪ, i in *feic*, SID.46

Form	e	ɪ	i
<i>ní fheic-</i>		n'í: ɪk'ən m'ɪd' 397 n'í: ɪk'ɪ m'e: 398 n'í: ɪk'əd f'i: 426	
<i>d'fheic-</i>	d'ek'a: s.v. <i>corr scréachóig</i>		d'ik'a: s.v. <i>tchím</i> , d'ik'id'ɪ:f
<i>feic-</i>	f'ek'ən m'ɪd' 396, f'ek'əm' 1141, f'ek'ɪ m'e Mp 123	n'í: f'ɪk'tər s.v. <i>tchím</i> f'ɪk'ihə 404	mə: f'ɪk'tər s.v. <i>tchím</i>
<i>bhfeic-</i>	gə: v'ek'a:, v'ek'f'i: s.v. <i>tchím</i>		
<i>fheic-</i>	e: 'ek'a:l 404 = Mp 125		

5.282 Present

2sg interrogative v'ek'ən tu:, is often greatly diminished:

v'ehən / ehən / hehən tu 11Ct, en / əhən / æn / ən / ən tu S, e.g.

ən tu kɪn'ə: tu kə:st ə gə:nɪ: iəd S

an bhfeiceann tú? coinneoidh tú casta i gcónaí iad;

ehən tu ə ru:n'ɪn' du fɪn' S an bhfeiceann tú an ruainnín dubh sin?

æn tu nə 'L'æ:stumpi: fɪn' S an bhfeiceann tú na leathstumpaí sin?

(Cp. semantically similar and often reduced *breath(n)aigh*, 5.304.)

Impers f'ek'dər >> f'ek'tər >> f'ekt'ər S.

f'ek'ər >> f'ek'ərs are used only in the construction f'ek'ər um, etc., *feicthear dhom*, f'ek'ərs um 23B, f'ek'ərs dum 76Mt; this latter form in -rs (< pres irreg -ər + pst irreg -əs) is used by few speakers; Máire (Mq) claims she would not use it.

f'ek'ər sometimes occurs with the copula, the examples occur in proverbs:

d'er fɪəd gərəs umu: rud əs f'ek'ər ən d'i:wi:n'əs S

deir siad gur is iomú rud is feicthear dhon díomhaoineas;

ənə jɪə f'ek'tər ə L'æ:s gən' e:r'ənəx S, also nə jɪə s f'ek'ər ... S

ina dhiaidh (is) feict(h)ear a leas dhon Éireannach.

5.283 Past

The most common past form may well be xun'ək' ~ xɪn'ək', e.g. xɪn'ik' m'è 46 s.v. *tchím*. Other speakers' forms are briefly set out here.

Speaker 852S, *thuinic* 852S4, note *chonnaic* (pron[ounced] *thainic*) 852S1. This indicates x/han'ək' a very rare form, noted only here and in xqñ'ik'əs 46 s.v. *tchím*, similar to han'ək' 892Mg. In speaker 852S's short recording there is one token of kxɪn'ək' (with phonetic reduction of friction).

SID.46 has examples (noted):

ü (x7)	ĩ (x1)	q (x1)
xɪn'ik' m'e / m'è: / f'è, etc.,	xɪn'ik' m'è	xqñ'ik'əs
152, 399, 402, 403, s.v. <i>cliabh</i>	s.v. <i>tchím</i>	s.v. <i>tchím</i>
xɪn'ik'əs 399 (1sg), xɪn'ik'dər 403		

892Mg: hun'ək' m'e' ... nuər' ə 'hun'ək' 'm'ɪf' i ... | hun'ək' 'm'ɪf'ə ...
hun'ək'əs muɸ | hun'ək'əs muɸ |, etc., han'ək' m'e'.

04B: *hun'əg' ʃeː, xon'ək' ʃiː, xin'əg' ʃeː, xon'ək' ~ xin'ək'* **04B2l.** For **-g'**, see 'Sandhi' (2.59).

Independent Impersonal

f'ek'u: **f'ek'u:** e Mq.

xin'ək'u: **nuər' ə xin'ək'u:** n kær a:n M *nuair a choiniceadh an carr ann;*
xon'ək'u: **66N.**

fakəs also occurs here: **taivfə fakəs i: ʃin'** S *taibhse, facthas í sin;*
frequent in **fakəs dum**, etc., e.g.

fakəs dɔm nɑ: rō 46 (s.v. *tchím*) *facthas dom ná raibh,*
also *facthas dom* **899D6565**,

bakəs with copula is restricted to the set phrase **bakəs dum**, etc., e.g.
bakəs dum gə ro sɔrt torən a:n M
b'fhacthas dom go raibh sórt torann ann.

Dependent Impersonal

fakəs **n'ir fəkəs e:** 46.401 *níor facthas é;*
deir siad go bhfacthas gə wa'kəs ann iad **01C6794;**
-Bhuel, an bhfacthas an taibhse ina dhiaidh sin ansin ann, a'
chuala tú? **21Pg**
-Níor chuala mé go bhfacthas. **01C6847–8.**

faku: **n'ir faku:** o: n'e: iəd M *níor facadh ó inné iad.*

aku: **n'i: a:ku: tæ:d a:n** **43M** *ní fhacadh tada ann;*

n'i: a:ku: **59B** *ní fhacadh,*

n'i: æ'ku: ən'ʃin' o: hin' ɛ **66N** *ní fhacadh ansin ó shin é.*

bakəs in the set phrase in eclipsis (cf. 9.142), e.g.
gə ma:kəs dum gə ... M *go mb'fhacthas dom go ...*

5.284 *chí; d'fheic-*; Verbal Noun

chí

Forms in *chí* are very rare and almost obsolete, and are best listed separately.

Present:

o: hi:m' gəb' æ: **11Ct** *Ó! chím go b'ea* (common in quotation in stories), also
-Ó! chím, a deir sé ...

x'i: d'ia chí Dia, e.g. **x'i: d'ia gə wa:kə m'e e M** *chí Dia go bhfaca mé é.*

Future (note the absence of the relative ending on *chí* in the proverb, 10.69):

An rud a chíthe leana 'sé níonnas a' leana **894C9.**

d'fheic-

Verbal particle *d'* with *feic* has nonpalatal **d** for a small minority of speakers, e.g.

dek'ət ʃi: **04B7n, dek'a:** **66N.**

Verbal Noun

f'ek'a:l P, f'ek'a:l' S, f'ek'a:l't' 23B. The frequency of usage appears to be:

f'ek'a:l >> f'ek'a:l't' >> f'ek'a:l'.

5.285 *ith*Imperative **ix'əx**, **ihəx**Present **A ihən**, **ix'an**; **B i:sən**Past Habitual **A d'ihəx**, **d'ix'əx**; **B d'i:səx** (as conditional)Future **i:sə**, **ix'ə**Conditional **d'i:səx**, imprs **hi:sf'i**, **d'isf'i**; **B** 1sg **d'ix'an**, **d'ix'i:n**Present Subjunctive **ix'ə**; Past Subjunctive **ix'əx**; Vadj **it'ə**; VN **ix'ə**, **ihə****5.286 *ith-* ~ *íos-***The **ix'/h** stem belongs to the regular BRUITH class (5.134).

Imperative example:

ix'əd'i:f e nu: fə:gəd'i:f ənə n'i: e S ithidís é nó fágaidís ina ndiaidh é.**Present****B i:sən**, generally very rare from older speakers:**i:səm'** 46 s.v. *ithim*; regularly for **869P**'s daughters (5.389);**i:stər / ix't'ər iv'əxi: he:f nə kə:fk' S***íostar / ithear uibheachaí théis na Cáisc* (proverb);**n'i i:sən tu: səsədʒis ə b'i M ní íosann tú sásajas ar bith?**

Common in younger people:

1sg **mə' i:səm'** ... **66N**, 2sg **n'i:sən tu 66N**, 3sg *íosann sí* **56B**;Imprs **i:stər 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'i ix'əns ax ən' te: ə xəkəns 66N ní itheanns ach an té a chacanns.**

Examples of intergenerational variation occur frequently, e.g.

-i:sən fe e 66N Íosann sé é. -ix'an 16M Itheann.**Past Habitual****B d'i:səx** is, for example, **66N**'s regular usage.**Future****ix'ə** is very rare from old speakers; an example is **ix'ı m'ě ...** (*alt. ... 'i:sə m' e ...*) 46.305. Note the use of **i:s-** in the present for this family (above). Examples from younger speakers are more common: *mara n-iche tú* **66L** (not prsbj; also this speaker's brother: **72N**), **ə n'ix'ə tu 80S**.**Conditional**Imprs **hi:sf'i**; **e S** (translation).**B** 1sg **n'i: ix'i:n 60M**, **n'i: ix'an e 73E**.**Present and Past Subjunctive**2sg **gə n'ix'ə tu: sləm S go n-ithe tú slám**; 3pl **gə: n'ix'əd'i:f M**.

5.287 tabhair

Imperative

sg	pl
1 tugam' , (tugəx, t'urəx)	1 tugə mid' , tugəx, t'urəx
2 to(:)r' , t'ur', tug, (tar-)	2 tugi: , to:r'i:, t'uri:, tugəg'i:, to:r'əg'i:, t'urəg'i:, tugəx, t'urəx
3 tugəx, t'urəx	3 tugəd'i:f , tugəx, t'urəx

Imprs **tugtər**

Present **A** 1sg **v'erəm'**, relative **v'erəns**
B **tugən**, imprs **tugtər**
C **t'urən** (lenited **hurən**); **D** **turən**

Past **hug** (**ug**)

Past Habitual **A** **hugəx** (**ugəx**)
B **hukəx**

Future **t'urhə** (**turhə**) (lenited **x'urhə**, **hju:rhə**, **hurhə**)Imprs **A** **t'ur-f'ər**; **B** **tug-f'ər**

Conditional **A** relative **v'erhəx**
B **x'urhəx**, **hju:rhəx**, **hurhəx** (**urhəx**)
C (eclipsed) **durhəx**

Present Subjunctive **tugə**; Past Subjunctive **tugəx**Vadj **A** **tuki:(hə)**, **t'urhə**; **B** **turhi:**

VN **to:rt'** (lenited **ho:rt'**), **turt'**, **t'urt'** (the last two have lenited **x'urt'**, **hju:rt'**, **hurt'**)

For use of *tóig* 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' ən'is spu:nə:g' hik'ə 66N *tabhair aníos spúnóig chuici*,
tor' l'æt ... M *tabhair leat ...*

Most often in **tor um**, **torəm** *tabhair dhom*, **torom** 46.307, **tōrəm** 46.217, more doubtful is **tarōm** 46.751.¹ Also sometimes half-long **to:r'**, e.g.

na to:r' l'æt nə fi:xən ə'n'if um M
ná tabhair leath na faochan 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' nə hiv'əxi: s t'ur' ka:k er' (mar ə d'er dʒo: b'og) SM
chac mise ar na huibheachaí is tiúir cac air (mar a deir Jó Beag).

Both alternants **t'ur'** and **to:r'** were deliberately used by Máire when repeating the phrase for emphasis:

t'ur' ka:k er' is to:r' ka:k er' M *tiúir cac air is tabhair cac air!*

Otherwise Máire uses **t'ur'** rarely indeed, e.g.

t'ur' he:n l'æt e M84 *tiúir héin leat é.*

¹ The form **tarəm** is attested in East Galway, e.g. *taram* (Ó Maolaithe 1948: 20, n. 1) for Mionlach, **tarōm** SIDIII.34.307, and in Co. Clare: *taram* LSE22.

Compare the raised *ɔː* in *tɔːr* 'aɪ'ə 'yɪt' 'heɪn', 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: **tɔgig** 'i: (or **tɔgi**;) **tɔgig** 'i:fě also **t'urig** 'i 313, **tɔg** 'i:fě 1007.

t'uri: **f'tæx gə mɪn'əf m'e** !04Br *Tiúraí isteach go Maínis mé.*

tɔr 'i: 59B, Mperm.

Present

A v'er- occurs regularly in only a few set phrases, e.g.

v'erəm' də hlant'ə Mq *bheirim do shláinte!*

-Á bheirimse mo chúntar dhuit, a deir Pádraic a deir sé, is mairg dhíon-thadh mórán truist asad! 889P.

Speaker 894Cs has a wider (conservative) usage of *bheir*-, for general *a thuganns* ... , e.g.

'cnáimh' a bheireanns muide, ar lár na hiomaire, 894Cs,

préití-óts a bheireann siad ar an gcoirce beag sin, 894Cs.

So also in his conditional use (5.289). *bheirim* > *beirim* in younger speakers:

beirimse an barr duit !32J.

C t'ur:- oldest speaker noted: *ní thiúrann hūr- siad* 00C (Doire Iorrais); speaker

66N, e.g. 1sg *ə hūrəm' ...* ; imprs *... hūrtər ... thiúrtar*; *t'urən' fe N'is e,*

t'urən' fe fain a:n tiúrann sé aníos é, tiúrann sé seidhean ann;

But note imperative **tɔr** 66N.

D tur:- speaker 84P (*t ~ t'*): *tu:ɹ dər q, d'urən tu, durən dəɹ.*

Past

Lenited **ug** is common, weakened from **hug**, e.g. *N'ir ug m'e* M.

Echo 2sg *-hug m'ifə mæl æs Thug mise mála as. -ə dugəf S An dtugais?*

Past habitual

B hukəd fɪəd/fi: 04Br, 15W (sisters) only, see 5.389.

5.289 Future stem

Future

t'urhə. In rapid speech, reduction can occur, e.g.

t'ur tu k'æ' dum ... 11C *tiúrtaidh tú cead dom ...*

One example of nonpalatal **turhə** was noted in:

| turhə tur vr'ik'fa'stə gə mā' gən xil'a:n'ín 11Ctn

T(i)úrthaidh tú a bhricfata go maith dhon 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:

ní raibh an chéad deichniúr dhen pháidirín ráite nuair thug hjur.k sé faoi deara, go raibh ... 11C.

B Imprs **tug-f'ər** 80L.

Conditional

A **v'ē:rh-** is confined to set phrases:

as b'og ə v'ē:rhəx orəm hu wuələ gən wug M
is beag a bhéarthadh orm thú a bhualadh dhen mhug.

Speaker **894Cs** has wider usage, in relative in:

'bodhrán' a bheireanns cuid acub air, ach 'criathar' a bhéaradh muidhe air,
'kr'i:hər ə v'ē:rəx 'mīd' er' | 894Cs.

Note the example in quotation (clearly a conservative context) in a story, without the expected eclipsis:

-Ara tuige bhéarthaimse 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 tiúrfai t'urfai: ortha 892M1295.*

C eclipsed **durh-:** **ga durəd 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 ^a **x'ur:həs** (*alt. b'ix' h'urfəs*) 305, **x'ur:ha:** s.v. *bheirim*,
n'i: h'ur:həd fe 310;

Seán **n'i: hjur:hən', n'i: urən';**

04B **,hjurəx pə:d'i:n' !04B3s thiúrtadh Páidín; n'i hur:ha 04B4;**

Máire **x'ur:ha: x'ur:a: >> hur:ha:;**

21Pt **hur:t' thabhairt;**

46S **x'ur:t' thabhairt;**

64M **h'ur:həd fe thiúrtadh sé;**

13Jd, 15W, 35E, 66N, 72N, 78Rb hurəx; 78E hurən.

5.290 Past Subjunctive; Verbal Adjective; Verbal Noun**Past Subjunctive**

1sg **ga: dugən' S;** 2sg **ga: dōgta:** 46 s.v. *bheirim*, **ga duga:** M.

Verbal Adjective

A tuki:(hə). The rare **t'ur:hə** was noted from only one speaker, **18J** (An Aird Thoir), who uses it consistently, in:

agus bhí dhá dhruij air — tiúrtha amach acub 18J7989;

péibí airgead a bhí tiúrtha aici dhó, 18J8842.

In the irregular verb *teara* this speaker has verbal adjective **t'uki:(hə)** consistently, a form similar to **t'ur:hə**, in being related to, or based on, the future stem (5.293 ff.). Cp. **tor:h er' tórtha ar** 'fond of, given to' (e.g. **11C2564**) synonymous with **tuki: gə tugthaí dho.**

B tur:hi: 79A often.

Verbal Noun

tor:t' is by far the most common, e.g. 46.102 = Mp 30, SM.

tur:t' 04Br, 15W (sisters); **04Br** has lenited **hjurt', x'urt'** corresponding to her regular **x'-** in lenited future stem inflection, **15W** has lenited **hur:t'** corresponding to her regular **h-** in the lenited future stem inflection. The form **tur:t** 46.I.12 may be an error for **tur:t'**; compare **tor:t'** 46.102 = Mp 30 and

SID.46's daughters' **tu:rt'**. Speaker **22M** (Loch Con Aortha) has VN **tu:rt'**, fut **t'urhə**.

t'ur:t' **46S**, **53M**, **57P**, **78Rb**, e.g. *ag tiúirt amach dhom* **53M** 'scolding'.

5.291 **tar, teara**

Imperative **tagəx**, **t'ig'əx**, **t'agəx**, (**t'ugəx**)

In 2 person:

sg	pl
2 tar , tarə , t'arə , (t'ag), t'agə ,	2 t'ari: , tagi: , t'agi: , t'ig'i: , t'arəg'i: ,
t'arəm , t'anəm , t'anə	tagəg'i: , (t'ugi:), t'anəm , t'ani:

Present **A tagən**, **t'ig'ən**, **t'agən**, lenited also **hag'ən**, **t'ugən**, lenited **hugən**, (**tugən**)

B t'ukən (lenited **hukən**)

Past **A hən'ək'** (**hæn'ək'**, **hən'ək'**, etc.); **B** 1sg **hən'ə m'e:**

Imprs **hən'ək'əs**, **hən'ək'u:**

Past Habitual **hagəx**, **hig'əx**, **hagəx**, lenited also **hag'əx**, **hugəx**, (**x'ugəx**); 2sg **haga:**

Future **t'ukə**, **t'ikə**

Conditional **x'ukəx**, **hukəx**, **hikəx**

Present Subjunctive **tagə**, **t'ig'ə**, **t'agə**, lenited also **hag'ə**, **t'ugə**

Past Subjunctive **tagəx**, **t'ig'əx**, **t'agəx**, eclipsed 3pl **d'æg'əd'i:f**, **t'ugəx**; 2sg **taga:**, **t'ig'a:**, **t'aga:**, (**t'ukta:**), **t'aka:**

Vadj **taki:(hə)**, **t'ik'i:(hə)**, **t'aki:(hə)**, **t'uki:(hə)**, **tuki:hə**

VN **t'ixt**, **t'axt**; sometimes noted with **i:**, e.g. **t'i:xt** !(Ams)**04B** *tíocht*.

5.292 **tag-, tig-, teag-, theaig-, 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: rə ʃe: tukiħ əʃt'ax fə:s 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:

teag- >> *tiug-* >> *tig-* >> *tag-* >> *tug-*.

The youngest speaker noted with *tag-* is **52P**, in **ta'gən**, 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, **866EB**16.110.

This speaker, in **866E**Semr, has both *tig-* and *teag-* stems commonly but vadj *teagthaí(the)* only, also *gá dteagainnse* >> *gá dtiginnse*.

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'ón**, **hæg'əx**, **hæg'əd'i:f**. An example of his consistent alternation in context is:

... *go dteaga d'æ:gə mise. ... má theaigim hæg'əm' go deo.* **11C**.

(Contrast his **hugəd'i:f** **11C5571**, 5764.) Speaker **899N** has **-g-** in eclipsis, noted in: **d'æg'əd'i:f** **899N**.

Table 5.81 displays the present stem variants of this verb from some of my older speakers. A further **tag-** example is: *go dtagadh* **899P**. Cp. *Má thigimse suas leat* FFG s.v. *cuntas*. Speaker **892M**, based on the verbal paradigm in *Airneán II* (40–1), is one of the few speakers in my sample with no example of **tæg-**, i.e. he has exclusive **tig-** in all tenses. In the verbal adjective he has both **t'ik'i:** (x4) and **t'uki:hə** (x1+). Cp. **866E**: *teag-*, *tig-* > *teagthaí*.

5.293 The variant **t'ug-** and individual speakers

The variant **t'ug-** 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 **t'ug-**: the verbal adjective **t'uki:(hə)**. The verbal adjective, in turn, may be based on the future stem **t'uk-**, 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 **t'ug-** is actually a reanalysis of future stem **t'uk-** (< **t'ug+h-**). The form **gə d'ugə**, for example, could come about through analogy with the alternation **gə d'agə** (prsbj) ~ **gə d'ukə** (fut) in historically subjunctive contexts. Further analogy is evident in (the third alternant in) **ga: dagta: ~ ga: d'uka: ~ ga: d'ukta:** (see 'Past Subjunctive', 5.296). As shown in 5.296, speaker **66N** has the extraneous, eastern usage of the future stem **t'uk-** in the meaning 'go'. This includes her verbal adjective **t'uki:**. As stated, **t'ug-** is most common in the verbal adjective **t'uki:(hə)** which itself seems to be most common phrase-finally. Compare **t'uki:hə** **892M**, which has prepausa **-i:hə**, with this speaker's **t'ik'i:**, cited above; and another speaker's **t'æ:ki: orəm** **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 Máire as discussed below). The other variant **t'ig'** is homophonous with *tig* (standard *tuig*), and younger speakers (born in the 1960s) when queried, recognise the meaning 'understand' only with **t'ig'**. Perhaps in prepausa position, unqualified by a disambiguating adverb, for example, there was an impetus to avoid **t'ik'i:** in the meaning 'come' and replace it with **t'uki:(hə)**. (Note the variation and apparent confusion of *tug-* 'give' and *tiug-* 'come' and *tioc-* 'come' in:

ach caithidh an seol a bheith tugthaí tuki: fúithi a'dsa thál nach dtioctha hál nax d'ukə an ghaoithe sa seol, nó mara dtiuga ma'rə d'ugə — mara mbeidh (an seol tugthaí fúithi) ... **21Pt**.

The speaker's intention was probably *mara dtiuga* 'if you do not take.')

Table 5.81 Present stems of *tar*: *tag*-, *tig*-, *teag*-, *theaig*-, *tiug*-, *tug*-, various older speakers

Speaker	tag	tig	teag	theaig	tiug	tug
852S	<i>go dtagainn</i>	<i>tigthí</i> (x3), cp. <i>tig lib a thíocht</i>	<i>go dteaga, go dteagaidís</i>			
SID.46	tag 883 = Mp 243, tar tagig i: tagi 949, da:gə fe: 949 = Mp 243, dagta: 949, marə da:gəd fe: 950	(or ... d'ig' fe:) 949 vs. d'ig' i Mp 243, cp. ... ə hig' s.v. <i>ólaim</i>	t'fagi			n' i: rə fe: tukih əft' ax fə:s (s.v. <i>tagaim</i>) <i>ní raibh sé tugthaíthe isteach fós</i>
869P2-5	<i>tag</i> - exclusively, including 2pl impv <i>tagaí</i> , vadj <i>tacaíthe</i>		cp. <i>teana uait, ná teara in mo bhealach ...</i>			
870B1-2	<i>dtagach</i> often, impv <i>Tara le léim ...</i>					
875T1	<i>go dtaga, dtagach, tacaíthe, tagthaí tag->> teag-</i>		<i>go dteagach, teagthaí</i>			
892M		t'ig' forms most common			t'uki:hə	
894C2	<i>tag</i> - only: <i>gá dtagach, go dtaga, tacaíthe</i>					
894B1			t'ægən		t'ugən	
04B			t'ag forms most common, e.g. gə d'ægə !, t'æki:			
11C	tar, t'ær		t'ag forms most common	hæg'ən	hugəd'i:f	
11T	ə da:gən, gə da:gə fe	ga d'ig'əx				
12S	ta taki: N'is tá tagthaí aníos, ta k'íəl ta:ki: yə tá ciall tagthaí dhó	... t'ik'i' a'n, ... tighthí ann	t'ag forms most common			
14M					t'uki:hə	
16B		f'g'ar gə d'ig'ə m'e: ə'r'i:ft' is gearr go dtige mé aríst				
20C		20Cq ga d'ig'ta', hig'ta', fanhə m'e gə d'ig'ə tu	ma hægən ... t'æg ...			
31M		ga d'ig'əx ... , ga d'ig'ət f'i', nuər ə hig'ət f'i' nuair a thigeadh sí				
35E	həl a: dagə tu' ARN7434 shul á dtaga tú		t'æg- regularly including subjunctive		t'uki:hə	

Speaker **12S** (S) was not noted using **t'ug-** forms. When queried as to whether he used such forms, he answered:

t'ugən t'ægən ə d'ərħənfə Sq88 'tiugann'? 'teagann' a déarthainnse.

When asked to read *ní thiugann sé*, Sq88 read **n'í x'ugən' fe**, whereas lenited forms noted in conversation from other speakers all have **hug-**. Note the hesitation and revision in speaker **14M**'s:

Deabhal a raibh fhios a'msa ' raibh an pros tiugh- — teagthaí chor a bith.

She often, however, has no hesitation. There is variation in the following exchange:

-(**ta fe**) **t'uki:hə** **14M** (*Tá sé*) *tiugthaíthe*.

-(**n'í raus am gə ro fe**) **t'æk:i** M

(*Ní raibh fhios a'm go raibh sé*) *teagthaíthe*.

-(**v'í: fe**) **t'uki:hə** (**riv'ə fo**) **14M** (*Bhí sé*) *tiugthaíthe* (*roimhe seo*).

Máire's (**16M**) main variant is **t'ag-** (so also her brother **19P**). Her examples of **t'ug-** occur in the frequency:

(? verbal adjective >> ?) (present) subjunctive >> present.

Her examples are:

Prsbj **gə d'ugə mɑ:r'i:n', gə d'ugə p'eg'i:, gə d'ugə fe, mərə d'ugə tu ... , mərə d'ugə mɑ:r'i:n'**

Pstsbj **nu: gə d'ugəd'i:f**

Present **t'ugən fe f't'æ:x ... , t'ugən' f'iad, gə d'ugən, nax d'ugən, nax d'igən, n'í: hugən' f'iad ...**

Vadj **t'uki:(hə)**

There is hesitation, as in speaker **14M**'s example above, and revision in conversation, where I deliberately responded with Máire's own **t'ug-** form (in a more indirect type of probing regarding the status of **t'ug-**):

-**t'ugən' f'iad ə f't'æ:x sən i:hə** M *Tiugann siad isteach san oíche*.

-**t'ugən** BóC *Tiugann*.

-**t'ægən, t'ugən** M *Teagann, tiugann*.

Here Máire seems to have noticed the 'peculiarity' of **t'ugən** when repeated as a bare form and hesitated in her own repetition. Also, in direct query, when asked about **t'ugən**, Máire commented:

t'ugən t'ægən əs ɑ:r, ta t'ugən m'í:x'æ:rt Mq88

'tiugann'? 'teagann' is *fhearr, tá* 'tiugann' *mícheart*.

In Mq94 she translates almost exclusively with *teag-*, for instance, 'may he come' **gə d'ægə fe**; when asked:

-**ə n'ərħə: gə d'ugə fe** An ndéarthá 'go dtiuga sé'?

-**gə d'ugə fe gə d'ægə fe, gə d'ægə fe ə d'ərħəx mid'ə** Mq

'go dtiuga sé'? 'go dteaga sé', 'go dteaga sé' a déarthadh muide.

When queried about **nɑ:r hugə fe** she was even more certain that **nɑ:r hægə fe** was the (correct, possible) form and not **nɑ:r hugə fe**. The subjunctive **nɑ:r hugə** is, however, attested.

Some other speakers who have the **t'ug-** by-form are listed here.

04Br **t'æg-** (x3) >> **t'ug-** (x1).

05M past habitual: **ogəs hugən' agus thiugainn**.

11C past habitual: generally **hæg-** and **d'æg-** but **hugəd'i:f** ARN5571, 5764.

23B present: **t'ugən ... n'í: hugən ... n'í: hugən**.

- 27CI past subjunctive: *f'e:x ə d'ugəd'i:f*; vadj: *t'uki: sə d'inə n'if tiugthaí sa díonamh anois*.
- 31D past subjunctive: *gə: d'ugəx*.
- 43M 43M (Máire's daughter) seems to use the root *t'ug-* most often in the verbal adjective *t'uki:*, which she uses quite often, although not as often as *t'ækki:*. E.g.
ta kolə t'ækki: orəm tá codladh teagthaí orm
 vs. *ta fə:n' t'uki: | tá Séán tiugthaí*.
 She also has examples in present: *t'ugən, nur' ə hugəns mid'ə ka:kən fe nuair a thiuganns muide cacann sé*; prsbj *nə:r hugə*; and pstsbj *gə d'ugəd'i:f*.
- 37T present *t'ugən fi: ...*.
- 53M present *t'ugən fe er' v'ehi: wahə tiugann sé ar bheithí mhaithe*. (Perhaps 53Mp.)

The propensity for use of verbal adjective *t'uki:(hə)* is apparent in ARNII.41, 77 where this is the only form of the verb *teara* which has the *t'ug-* stem.

Others with *t'uki:hə*: 892M, 15W, 18J;

or *t'uki:*: 18J, 21Pg, 35E, male born c. 1946, 66N. (Cf. ARNII.41, 77.)

(One can, however, add *hugəd'i:f* 11C5571, 5764, not transcribed in Airneán I.) In this context the present stem *t'uk-* should also be noted: *t'ukən, n'i: hukən* 15W only. For the anomalous usage of this speaker and her sister, see 'Developments' (5.389).

5.294 Imperative

2sg

t'arə: t'ær ə'n'i:s ə'r'i:ft' ə n'æ:n' M teara aníos aríst, a Neain!

t'ærə, t'ærə, tar sə sa:vərə P teara, teara, tar sa samhradh!

Also 04Br.

tar: t'ærə, t'ærə, tar sə sa:vərə P teara, teara, tar sa samhradh!

tarə: Tara le léim ... 870B1, tærə nuər' ə ... 43M tara nuair a ...

Either *tar* or *tara* in: *tæ:r ə'nuəs gəŋ xə:r ... 11C Tar(a) anuas dhen charr ... !*

Either *tear* or *teara* in: *t'ær ən ə t'i: 11C Teara un an tí!*

t'ag(ə): ma hæ:gən tu: n'fo ə'r'i:ft' t'æg ə nɑ:m 20C

má theagann tú anseo aríst teag(a) in am!

t'agə: t'agə | dúrt' fi: ... t'æg ə'nuəs 64M -Teaga, a dúirt sí, ... teaga anuas!

t'arəm: næ ba:k l'e f'k'e:l gən tɔ:rt fin' t'ærəm ə kuərtiəxt gən ærd' !05M

Ná bac le scéal dhen tsórt sin! Tearam ag cuartaíocht dhon Aird!

t'anəm: t'ænəm l'umsə (Abó)21Pt teanam liomsa.

t'anəm ort noted in phrases used initiating game:

-t'ænəm ort Teanam ort

-t'ig'əm' l'æt Tigim leat

-k'e v'əs æ:d Cé bheidheas a'd? S.

t'anə: t'anə wɛt' ə'ma:x P teana uait amach.

t'anəm, t'arəm, t'anə can also mean 'go', 'let's go', see *teighre* (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'arəm* is similar to *t'arə*.

Note that Máire permits neither *t'ag* nor *t'agə* (the latter in GCF §220).

Recall nonpersonal in: *-Tigeach nó ná teagach, gabhfa mé ánn, 866EB16.110.*

2pl t'ari:, t'agi:, t'agəg'i:

Both variants occur in:

t'æ:ri: er' e:ŋ xər əd'ər fə t'æ:gi: er' e:ŋ xər S
'*Tearaí ar aon chor,*' a *deir sé,* '*teagaí ar aon chor.*'

The infrequent combination of stem-final **g** and 2pl allomorph **-əg'i:** occurs in:

-*Fanaigí mar tá sib, a deirimse, agus d'fhuagair Colm 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 **hæ:n'ək'** is a fairly rare alternant:

hæ:n'ik' 46 s.v. *tagaim*; **hæ:n'ək' dər** 04B1; **hæ:n'ək'**, **hæ:n'ək'** M.
hā:n'əg' fī 881J, **hā:n' m'e** 21Pt *tháinic mé,*
'**hæŋ' mīd'** ... | **hā:ng' fī** 35E *tháinic muid ... tháinic sí.*
3pl **hā:n'ək' ədər** 11C, **hā:n'əg' ədər** 11C, **hā:n'ək' dər** 11C, **hā:ŋ'əg' dər** 11C,
hæ:ŋk' dər 43M, **hæ:ndər nəl æs m'er'əkə:** 60M *tháinicdar anall as Meireacá;*
| **əgəs:** | **ā:n'əg' ə dər** | 72N *agus tháinice dur.*
Impers **hæ:n'ək' əs ə'wa:l'ə** M *tháinictheas abhaile*. This is the only tense where
the impersonal was noted.

Note the possible slip of the tongue **hæ:lər æ:n'ək' nɔŋin'əxi** 31D *shular*
(*tháinig injineachaí* for regular **hæ:lə dæn'ək'** 31D (less often *shular tháinig*)).

For **hæ:n'əg'** (f- etc.) in sandhi, see 2.59.

B nor' ə hæ:n'ə m'e ... 84P *nuair a tháinig mé ...*

Future

Most commonly **t'ukə** but also **t'ikə**, e.g.

t'ikə muɔ l'ef S *tiocthaidh muid leis,*
t'ikə lə: nə g'altə 137M *tiocthaidh lá na geallta.*

Initial lenited variants x' -, hj-, h-, u- in future stem and tiug-

SID.46: ə 'h'ɔkəs tu: 947, *ní thiocthaidh (h'ukə)* VIII.1.

x' - (most common): **n' i x'ukə fə ...** M.

hj- k'e:rd ə hjukəx əft'a:x 894C *céard a thiocthadh isteach;*
nuər' hjukəx səl' ə d'i:r' ARN1295 *nuair a thiocthadh sail i dtír;*
əs ma slə:n ə hjukəx ə'wa:l'ə ... ə hjukəx ... (MP)04B9
is maith slán a thiocthadh abhaile ... a thiocthadh ...

h- Gá mbeadh ceann ann ansin a thiocthadh ə hukəx i dtír 11C1386.
t'ukən, n'i: hukən 15W.

Note the variation in the vowel in:

-**n'i: hi'kə fə n'uv** 66N *Ní thiocthaidh sé inniu.*

-**n'i: hukə** M *Ní thiocthaidh.*

uk- ,x'ukəx ... əgəs ukəx ... !(Asp)04B *thiocthadh ... agus a thiocthadh;*
b'e fə sə:x luə nor' ukəs di:n' o:n æ:f'rən M
beidh sé sách luath nuair a thiocthas daoine ón Aifreann,
gə m'enfə m'i:hə nor' ukə: M *go mbeinnse imithe nuair a thiocthá.*

In the *tiug-* stem lenited **hu-** only has been noted except in reading **x'ugən** from

Sq (5.293). There is an example of loss of initial **h** in the past habitual:

nuar' ig'ax an i:hə n'fin' 892M1015 nuair a thigeadh an oíche ansin.

5.296 Other forms

Past Subjunctive

2sg, e.g. **gə d'ægə: orhə l'e 'klo | 896P go dteagá uirthi le cloich.**

t'uk- (future stem) is most likely to be the stem in the morphologically fudged form in: **gə d'uktə: he:n' 04B10tn dhá dtioctá héin.** If the stem were **t'ug-**, a realisation ***d'ugta:** or ***d'ugda:** would be more likely. A similar, fudged form is found in: **gə d'ækə: 27C.**

Verbal Noun

t'iaxt >> t'axt (in ARNII.40 *tíocht* (x246) vs. *teacht* (x14, e.g. **18J7163**)). Many speakers do not use *teacht*.

t'iaxt, e.g. **gə:nə hi:əxt 950 gan a thíocht.**

t'axt, e.g. **tə: fe: 't'a.xt ə 'n'e:s 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.

tioc- 'go'

Future stem forms of the verb *teara* are rarely used with the meaning 'go' (generally *teighre*):

hi:l'hə: gə d'ukəʃ fe gə nək S shíltheá go dtíochadh sé go Nac [Knock].

East of Iorras Aithneach (in particular east from, and including, Ceantar na nOileán) future stem forms of *teara* often function for *teighre*. (Cf. GCF p. 386 *teagaim* 'come; go (often in future and conditional)' [my translation]; SID1.197 'will go', 294 'would go' with *tioc-* twice in points 35, 39, and once in points 42, 50.) It is regularly used, however, in this meaning by speaker **66N**, including **t'uki:** to mean 'become' corresponding to our dialect's normal **got'ə gaibhte** (vadj of *teighre*). Speaker **66N**'s mother is from An Cheathrú Rua.

5.297 *teighre*

Imperative¹

sg

1 **t'aim', t'aix**

pl

1 **t'aimid' (taimid'), t'ai mid', t'aix, t'anəm, t'arəm, t'anəmid', t'anə mid', t'anəməd'**

2 **t'air'ə, t'er'ə, t'er'(ə), t'aix, (tair'ə, ter'(ə))**

2 **t'air'i:, t'ai.i:, t'air'əg'i:, t'aig'i:, t'eg'i:, t'aix, (taig'i)**

3 **t'aix, t'ed' fe:**

3 **t'aid'i:f, t'aix**

Imprs **t'ait'ər**

Present

A t'ain (reduced **t'en t'an**; also suppletive **gohən**); **B gohən**; **C 1sg t'ai:m'**

Past

Independent **A yə; B xuə, xur, xu, xə:, xə, huə, fuə, fə:**

¹ Not all vocalic variants of *teighre* are given, cf. 5.298.

Imprs **xuəs**, **xuəu**, **xuəf'ər**, **gə:u:**, **raxəs**

Dependent (N'i:) **jaxə**, **axə**

Imprs (N'i:) **jaxəs**, **jaxu:**, eclipsed also **N'ahu:**

Past Habitual **haix**, **he:-**

Future **gohə**, (**gau**), (**raxə**)

Conditional **ʔohəx** (**raxəx**); impers **gef'i:**

Present Subjunctive **t'ai**, **t'e:**, **t'e**, **t'ehə**, **t'e:hə**; impers **t'ait'ər**

Past Subjunctive **t'aix**, **t'e:x**, **t'ex**, **t'ox**; impers **t'ait'i:**

Vadj **got'ə** (**ra'fiə**); VN A **gol'**, **gol**, **dol**, **gor'**, (**gil'**); B **golt'**

gabh is used in parallel (or suppletively) with *teighre*. The verb *gabh*, however, can have a more general meaning of motion, it often means 'come' corresponding to *teara*.

5.298 Variation of vocoid ai, e:, e, o, a in stem *teigh-*

The diphthong **ai** is most common. For example, tokens noted in SID.46 have the diphthong only:

halə d'ei m'è 377, **heid fe:** 726, **t'eig'i:fə teim'id'** 732, **t'ein fe:** 748,

t'eian m'id' 778, **t'ein** 784, **t'eir'è** 874, **gə d'ei m'e:** 1013,

n'i heian heid'i:f teir'ə teig'i s.v. *teighim*.

Other examples: **haix mud'** 899D6387, | **haiəx** | 899D6588, **haid fe** 01CARN, **haid'i:f** 01CARN, **gə/ə d'aid'i:f** 04B6, 01CARN, **hain'** M, 21Pt.

Examples of e:, e, o, a

The vocalisms **e:**, **e**, **o** are quite common in all tenses containing the stem *teighre*, except for the present where **t'ain** is general.

- impv **t'er' ən'jin'** 04B4 *téire ansin*;
t'er' əft'a:x ... t'er'ə hē:n' ... t'air' ə'ma:x 892M2633–4–8
Téire isteach ... téire héin ... Téire amach.
- pres **t'e:m' ə fu:l** 33M *téim ag siúl*.
- psthab **nər' ə he:nfə ... M nuair a théinnse ...**;
he:t'i:, **d'e:t'i:** 31D *théití, dtéití*;
he:x dr'ā:m o:g ... 892M5189 *théadh dream óg ...*.
- prsbj **gə d'e: tu gə ... go dté tú go ...** (common).
- pstsbj **nu' gə d'e:t fe** 04B5 *nó go dtéadh sé*;
ga d'e:x ə ro an 04B6 *dhá dtéadh a raibh ann*;
ga d'e'x din' æn' suəs ... M dhá dtéadh duine a'inn suas

Also **e'** before **h**:

- pstsbj **ga: d'e'ha: suəs ə b'æ:ləx jin'** S *dhá dtéitheá suas an bealach sin*.

Short **e** (**o**) is quite common, especially in weakly stressed position:

- impv **t'er'ə** SM;
t'ed fe d'i: d'aul' S *téadh sé i dtigh deabhail*;
t'eg'i: 892M1566, M.
- psthab **hed'i:f** 892M1066, 05M, 11C.
- prsbj **gə d'e tu gə ... go dté tú go ...** (common);
gə d'e m'ifə ma:x eg'ə 11Ct *go dté mise amach aige*;
gə d'ehə tu 'ji:s 892M1600 *go dté tú síos*.
- pstsbj **ga: d'eha:** (common), **ga: d'ed'i:f** (common); **ga: d'ed fe** 899D6389;

gá: d'ɛnfə 892M; gá: d'et'ɑ: 20C;
 gá: d'ex tr'u:r ... 899D6376 dhá dtéadh triúr ... ;
 gá: d'ox mid' gá: jɪ:nə S dhá dtéadh muid dhá dhéanamh;
 (gá) d'ox mud' ə'ma:x M dhá dtéadh muid amach.

The diphthong **ai** can be reduced in more allegro or casual style to **a**, = [a], and **e**, e.g.

pres t'am bɑ:d ə'ft'ax s sãvrə ... hain' ə'ft'ax sãvr er' ə mɑ:d ... t'en
 tʉ:rəʃt.əxi: ft'ax 21Pt téann bád isteach sa samhradh ... théinn
 isteach sa samhradh ar an mbád ... téann tiúristeachaí isteach.

The forms **t'am** and **t'en** 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.

mã 'hẽ:n' | fɪəd 72N má théann siad;
 ní he:x dur ... nə hen 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'ə** is probably the commonest variant of the *teigh-* stem.

t'er'(ə): t'er' ə d'i: d'aul' S teire i dtigh deabhail;

t'er' əg' ihə n'if ə vrain M teire ag ithe anois, a Bhraidhean;

na: t'er' ə kuərtiəxt 23M ná teire ag cuartaíocht.

teir'ə 46 s.v. *teighim* but **t'eir'ě** 46.874; 1pl **teimid'** 46.732; 2pl **teig'i** 46 s.v. *teighim*. Nonpalatal initial *t-* is doubtful but there is the instance of *tair'*, cited directly below. (For discussion, see p. 420 n. 1.)

***ter'ə**?, this is perhaps the form indicated by *tair' a' marú* 894C2.

1pl **t'anəm** 46 s.v. *teighim*, **t'ænəm** M.

t'ænə mid' fɪs eg' ə mo: S teanamuid síos ag an mbó, or perhaps **t'ænəmid'**.

t'ænəməd' ft'æx gə t'ax ə fobəl' 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'eg'i** / **t'air'i** xolə Mq téi / teigí / téirí a chodladh;

teig'i 46 s.v. *teighim*; **t'eg'i**: 892M1566.

Imprs **t'ait'ər** Mq.

Present

A go(h) *gabh* may, less frequently, be used for *teighre* here. For **má: 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:

-gohən fɛ ... goən fɛ ... nax ɲoən 66N

Gothann sé ... gothann sé ... nach ngothann?

-t'ain M Téann.

C 1sg **t'ai:m'** 84P (i.e. **t'ai+i:m'**, 5.412).

5.300 Past

Past *ghabh* is common enough among the oldest generation:

yo 866E, e.g. | nū y̆ð ,n'æxə fe ... nuər' ə 'yo | 866E *nó go ndeachaigh sé*
... *nuair a ghabh*;

Gho an infon 870B2;

yo fī: f'tæx 'ros,xail' wai 04B10tn *ghabh 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) muide*; (iii) *ghoth* (x5+), e.g. *ní ghothach an chaoi ort a ghoth ort*. Perhaps other tokens, transcribed as *chua*, *chó*, *chá* are actually forms of *ghabh*. In this speaker's short recording *xuə* occurs.

852Sb *Fuaidh* LL5 footnote, Loch Con Aortha.

SID.46 *xuə* 44, 690, 1164, etc.

875T (ABg) has an example of *fuaigh*; An Coillín.

889P *xuə* ~ *huə* ~ *fuə*, Coill Sáile.

894Bl *xuə m'ε*, Gabhla.

899N *chua* ~ *fua* ~ *hua*, Ros Dugáin.

01P *xuə* ~ *fuə*, Doire Iorrais, cf. 16A below.

06C *xuə* >> *fuə*, Dumhaigh Ithir.

11C *huə fe*, *huədər*, Maoras.

12S *xuə* >>> *φuə*, Carna. Sq himself claims he does not use the *φ*- 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.

fuə m'ε ser' chuaigh mé soir; *fo m'ε pl'ε: l'ε chuaigh mé ag plé le*.

He has *fuə* more commonly than *fo*.

23C *φuə*, Roisín an Tamh(n)aigh.

xu: *xu'fe* ... S.

xu: *xudər əg' im'ərt' 21Pt CHUADAR ag imirt*.

xo: *s m'ε: xo: m ba:ft'ə l'ε* ... *M is mé a CHUAIGH un baiste le* ... ,

xo: b'ert' ... M CHUAIGH beirt

xo or *xu*: *t'axtn' fo xq 'hairm'*, 46.900 *an tseachtain seo CHUAIGH tharainn*.

Dependent

dh- > Ø, *ní [dh]eacha* 852S4, *n'í: æ'xə 03C*, *n'í: | æ'xə 21Ptq*, cp. *ní (dh)earna* in *déan* (5.268) and common *je:r-* ~ *er-* in *abair* (5.238). It can be auditorily difficult to distinguish between *n'í: jæ'xə* and *n'í: æ'xə ní dheachaigh*. Cp. *n'í: 'jaxə*, *n'í: jæ:xəmid'* 46.726, 731. I can, however, be sure of at least one token without *j* from conversation:

n'í: æ'xə k'æ:xtər a'kəb 'a:n't'æn 03C

NÍ DHEACHAIGH ceachtar acub an-tsean.

Intervocalic *x* is often weakened to *ɣ* or *h*, e.g. 3pl *gə n'æfədər 11C*.

Initial *d'* in *gə d'æ'xə fe 04B4*, may perhaps be a slip of the tongue which might imply underlying *d'* (or nasalised *t'* ?) or perhaps phonetic denasalisation, *n* > *d*. Compare the definite slip of the tongue:

ní: r'æxə m'e an fōis S NÍO(R) (DH)EACHAIGH mé ann fós.

Impersonal, independent and dependent

CHUAS (CHUATHAS) gá tóraíocht 869P3.

nuar' ə xuəs ə tō:reəxt ... 11C nuair a CHUAS ag tóraíocht,

xuəs ga xuərtu: 60M CHUAS dhá chuartú.

There are three impersonal examples in following short conversation:

xuəs ə'ma:x eg' ə bostə [x2] ... gə n'æxəs ə'ma:x 60M CHUAS amach ag an bpost ... CHUAS amach ag an bpost ... go NDEACHAS amach.

xuəu sm'æ:rt' a:l' ə yō 23B CHUADH smeairteáilte dhó.

nuair a chuairfear xuəf'ər á [or dhá] chuartú ar maidin 34M.

nər' ə go:uy er' ... 31D nuair a GABHADH ar

ra:xəs gə d'i: i: 12St1b RACHAS go dtí í.

ach bhífeam amu' ' túirt aire dhó. Mise i mbannaí dhuit gur éiríobh agus go NDEACHAS n'æxəs amach, ag túirt aire dhó 22M.

n'æhu' 36M NDEACHADH.

With speaker 60M one can contrast Máire who interpreted the queried forms xuəs, jæ:xəs with 1sg meaning only and gave examples against the non-complement Echo rule: xuəs ə'ma:x Mq chuas amach 'I went out'. (Such usage is, however, nonvernacular.) Similarly, Seán could make no proper sense of queried raxəs, the form found in his audio-recorded speech. Cf. Mq's reaction to raibhfear as past impersonal of bí (5.254).

5.301 Future; Subjunctive

Future

goh- is the general form, gau is rare (if heard correctly in):

ní: yau tu' r'i:ft' an P ní ghabhthaidh tú aríst ann.

Conditional

The stem rax- in future and conditional is current only in a few set phrases, e.g.

raxə m'ifə mani: rachaidh mise i mbannaí;

raxə m'ifə fi: yut' gə m'ei 'gl'üməx 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:

n'ī' raxa: 'xor ə 'b'ih' ān | ... | gohə m'ē 'ān | 852Stn

'ní rachthá ar chor ar bith ánn' ... 'gothaidh mé ann.';

'... racha mé lib,' 869P4.

Imprs gofaí ag iarra fuisce 869P2; gof'i: , e.g.

nach é an chaoi, a ngoifí agus a bhfuighfí pleainc? 11C1382.

The future stem goh- may lose intervocalic h, e.g.

Future relative ə yə: fe M (ar maidin) a ghabhthaidh sé.

Conditional 1sg ɲo.ən' 01J, yon' SM, gə ɲon' M.

2sg, 3pl gə ɲo.əsə M, k'e:rd ə yə:d'i:f M céard a ghabhthaidís?

Note the further weakening through loss of initial y in:

ax n' o.ən' ach ní ghabhthainn (speaker perhaps M).

Present Subjunctive

gə d'ehə and **gə d'e:hə** were noted only in:

gə d'ehə tu 892M1600;

gə d'e:hə | dín'ə d'er fí' g ir' o:gə N' í:i: fo ... 11C

go dté duine, a deir sí, dh'fhir óga an tí seo ...

Past Subjunctive, impersonal

dúirt sé go mba mhaith an ceann, dhá dtéití, gə d'ait'í: san oíche, nuair a thitheadh an tseanbhean 'na codladh, agus an corp a ghoid ARN9053.

Vadj **got'ə**, also **gef'ə 06C**. Note the single token of *rachtha* in:

v'í: η hæ:tə, ra'fə gə tur'm pə'l' ... got'ə gə tu:m pə'l' ɛ | 04B

bhí an hata rachtha go tóin poill ... gaibhte go tóin poill.

This may be due to hypercorrection: fut *gabhttha* > *racha*; vadj *goite* > *!rachtha*.

5.302 Verbal Noun gol' >> gol

A gəl' SID.46 e.g. 46.774; **ə ɣil', gol' 20Mlt; gol, ɣol 866E** (only, apparently); **gol' >> gol 19P; B golt'.**

Note the loss of initial **g** in (very fast delivery):

s mud' ol' a gir' ən 'a:t' ə k'i:n't' 892M1565

is muid ag goil dhá gcuir in áit eicint.

Cp. common initial weakening **ʷol'** M *ghoil*.

The variant **gor'** is used by one speaker in my sample, **897P**, who appears to use **gor'** only:

ə gor' əft'æ:x ʷo:b trən'ho:nə 897P *ag goil isteach dhóibh tráthnóna,*

i: gor' ənuəs 897P *í ag goil anuas,*

hæn'sa:l fe ɣor' ogəs v'í: ... 897P *sheansáil sé a ghoil agus bhí*

B goilt and *a ghoilt* **72N**.

dol is used as a common noun:

ə dol ə'mū: S an dul amú, e:n dol suəs aon dul suas,

er' ə g'e: del' f'i:s M ar an gcéad dul stós;

ta dol ə'mū: mo:r ort S tá dul amú mór ort.

With *díon* and other auxiliary verbs, **dol** is also used as VN:

N'í ji:nəm' e:n dol əft'a:x a:n 10B *ní dhéanaim aon dul isteach ann*

'I do not go in' (to a public bar);

ə m'e:d dol ə'ma:x əs mū: ə n'í:d fe' | 11C

an méid dul amach is mó a níodh sé;

dhá mbeadh caolán caol ann mar déarthá, a mbeadh beaic láidir roimhe,

nach mbeadh aon dol suas ag an bhfeamainn dearg, agus a bhféadhadh

sí ghoil — a bhféadhadh sí bulcáil, mbeadh an taoille dhá bulcáil isteach

in aghaidh na haille. 894Cs.

Cp. **N'í:l' e:n dol ə'nu:n na: na:l a:n 41M** *níl aon dul anonn ná anall ann* 'it is not humbug', or perhaps 'there is no avoiding it'.

Sometimes **gol'** occurs as a noun (doubtless less 'correctly'):

N'í:l' gol' suəs ə b'í hæn M níl goil suas ar bith ann;

s u:əsəx ə gol' ə'mū: e, s mo:r ə dol ə'mū: e M

is uafásach an goil amú é, is mór an dul amú é;

tá gol' ə'mu: **orəmsə** P *tá goil amú ormsa.*

gol' can be used meaning 'come':

b'í: gol' ə'nuəs M *bí ag goil anuas!* 'Come (on) down!'

v'idər ə gol' ə'n'íər *bhíodar ag goil aniar.*

Minor Irregular Verbs

For alternating stems, see *tocha(i)s* in the FEOGHLAIM 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 BLIGH 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*, *fiathraigh*, *gnóthaigh*).

5.303 *bligh*

Some inflected forms based on verbal noun *bleán* occur, especially in younger speakers, e.g.

... **ga ml'ən** ... *dhá mbleán?* -**n'í vl'ənən** **fíəd 66N** *Ní bhleánann siad;*

bl'ənən 66N *bleánann;*

bhleán 84Pq.

In response to query **66N** gave *bligh* forms, i.e. fut **bl'í:hə**, vadj **bl'it'ə 66Nq** vs. **bleáinte 66NØperm*. 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)igh*

This verb can be classified as a minor irregular verb because the stem varies between **br'ænə** (also **br'ænə**) and **br'æhə** (also **br'æhə**). Cf. 1.233. The general *æ*-vocalism is sometimes raised to *e* (or close to *e*), e.g. verbal noun ... **br'ehu: orhəp** 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:

ku:t'-: fut **ku:t'oi:**, cond **gə gu:t'ə:**, vadj **ku:t'í:** am **l'ɛf cúití a'm leis**, VN **e: xu:t'u l'æt** *é a chúitiú leat;*

ku:d'-: fut **ku:do' m'e yut' e cumhdóidh mé dhuit é**, **ku:do' m'e ma:r'əx l'æt e cumhdóidh mé amáireach leat é**, VN **e xu:du' l'æt** *é a chumhdú leat;*

ku:d'-: pst **xu:d'ə fə l'um e chúidigh sé liom é;**

kid'-: fut **kid'oi:**.

Mperm: **kud-**: pst **xudə**, vadj **kudi**.

cúitigh is the historical verb here. Two other phonetically, and to a degree semantically, 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 *cúitigh*. An unhistorical stem **kud-** can be seen as a combination of all three. (For examples of regular *cumhdaigh* ‘protect’ from other speakers, see 5.236; cf. *chumhdach*, *chumhdaí*, 9.113.) Cp. *fiathraigh* + *iarr* > *fiar* **66N** (5.311).

5.307 **doir**

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: **yar** **taru**; **xula:n** **i**: M *dháir tarbh Chúláin í*; **yor** is Máire’s more usual form by far. Similarly, speaker **11C** has more common past **yor** than **yar**, examples of which are **yar fe k’ā:n** ... **ə yar ə taru**; **11C dháir sé ceann** ... *a dháir an tarbh*.

VN note **bə: ga: dor’ er’ ə m’æ:ləx jin’** **43M** *bó dhá doir ar an mbealach sin*, normally **dar’** (including **43M**). Also: *ag dáireadh dar’ ə 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 rud a’ bith eile d’eiltreó san aer arúú. **869P2**,

where *d’* replaces an erased *’g* in the manuscript.

VN **ə g’et’əl** 46.140, **ə g’et’əl S**, **22J** *ag eiteal*; **ə ‘g’el’t’ro:g** or **er’el’t’roig’** 46.140 *ag eiltreog*, *ar eiltreog*.

Cp. *éanlaith ar a n-eiteallach* [recte] (run) **852SbLL129**, *nach bhfuil an t-éan héin ar a geitealla* (sic) *in ánn a ghul thartub* **852Sb6.72**. Also: *seanphréachán ... nach bhfuil i ndon eitreog*. **864MLL72**. Note that *dh’eitreog* and *ag eitreog* could be homophonous, e.g. (following a vowel) *d’imigh sé dh’ / ag eitreog g’ etr’o:g*.

5.309 **fág**

Regular except for alternative **-ə** in past **da:g** *d’fhág* ~ **da:gə** *d’fhága*, e.g. **da:gə fe’** **01C6778**, **da:g fe slā:n** **04B4** *d’fhág sé slán*. (*d’fhága* < *d’fhágaibh* is the historically more correct form.) Seán and Máire have mostly **da:gə**. On the other hand, sisters **04Br** and **15W** have been noted with consistent **da:g**. Note also the spread of the future stem to present in **fa:kən fe**; **04Br**.

5.310 **féach(a)**

Regular except for alternative **-ə** in the 2sg imperative **f’e:xə** M, **f’iəxə**, **f’e:x**, **f’iəx**. (*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’iəx(ə) **f’iəx ə wil’** M *Féacha an bhfuil!*; **ax f’iəxə** **12J** *ach féacha!*

f’e:x(ə) **k’e v’e:xə m’e** ... **04B10tn** *cé bhféachthaidh mé* ... ?;

	f'e:χ nə fə:ti: M <i>féach na fataí;</i>
	-f'e:χ ə wíl' e:n' d'or' t'e: sə t'e:paɪ M
	<i>Féacha an bhfuil aon deoir tae sa taepait.</i>
	-hæ, n'í:l' <i>Hea? níl.</i>
	-f'iaχ ə wíl' M <i>Féacha an bhfuil!</i>
	'air' ə s f'e:χ ,k'erd ,tə 'er' 11C <i>Éirigh is féach céard atá air!</i>
	f'e:χ fi:n' l'æ:bə Mperm <i>féach faoin leaba,</i>
	f'e:χ(ə) ʃa:n Mperm <i>féacha Seán.</i>
f'ex(ə)	f'exə ~ f'e:χə (male, Glinsce);
	ax f'exə ŋ 'xi: tə orəm 11C <i>ach féacha an chaoi atá orm!</i>
	f'exə ~ f'e:χ 11C.
f'ox(ə)	f'ox ə fuəm' ə tə: eg' ə ... 33M <i>féach an fuaim atá ag an ... !</i>
haxə	haxə m ba:stərd ʃin' M <i>Féacha an bastard sin!</i>
æxə	æxə wə:r' ə 23M <i>Féacha, a Mháire!</i>
æhə	æhə 66N <i>Féacha!</i>
əxə	əxə dʒi:ss ə'noxd əs mo:r' ə nər' ə hu' M
	<i>Féacha! Jíosas anocht is mór an náire thú!</i>

See also **e:** ~ **ia** (1.18), cp. *breath(n)aigh* (1.233), conjunction *féachaint* (8.137).

Vadj **v'i: ʃib' f'e:xtə** SM *bhí sib féachta, mə n'æ:rt f'e:xt am* Mq *mo neart féachta a'm, ... f'e:xti am* Mperm *féachtaí a'm.*

VN **f'iaχdɑ:l'** S 'try to', **f'iaχən'** 869P 'test', **f'e:χənt'** Mq 'test (to exhaustion), look', cp. ... **e:χən'** M?perm, also **ə f'e:χənt də xl'æ:s əgəs də lu:d**, 04B8l *ag féachaint do chleas agus do lúd.* See discussion in 5.213 and conjunction **f'e:χənt', f'e:nt', 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:

caithidh mé an leaindléidí [< landlady] a fónáil, fiathrú di, an obair a fónáil amáireach 70S.

Speaker 66N's examples show 1 Conjugation *fiar* (close to traditional *iarr*; cf. 2Conj > 1Conj, 5.416) but VN *fia(th)rú* (corresponding to traditional *fiathraigh*). Her examples are:

Impv	f'iar k'æn er' fiar ceann air.
Pres	f'iarən ʃe t'æ:bl'ət s ə go:ni fiarann sé teaiblits i gcónaí.
Fut	f'iarə m'ε do: fiarthaidh mé dó ...
Vadj	... f'ia:rt am ... fiarta a'm.
VN	wíl' mo:ræn k'εft'əni' ga iarur' N'uv' <i>Bhfuil mórán ceisteannaí dhá fhiathrú inniu?</i> (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:

... gə n'iarhə: n wə:hər' gən' in'ín 01P
agus is iúndúil i gcúnaí go n-fhiathróidh an mháthair dhen inín.

Similarly, the disfluency might involve confusion of *iarr* and *fiathraigh* in:

d'iar ʃiad er' | d'iarə | d'iarədərə yə' ... 10B
d'iarr siad air, d'fhiathradar dhó ...

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.

- fú:n'** pst **du:n'** **fe**, fut **fú:n'hə** **fe**, VN **fú:nt'** SM.
fú:nt' fut **fú:nt'ə** **fe**, VN **fú:nt'** S.
tú:nt' fut **tú:nt'ə** **fe** S (not used by Mq). Cp. *túin* 'urge on'.

5.313 fuirsigh

Regular 1 Conjugation verb, e.g. conditional *Threabhfaínn 's d'fhuirsfinn* !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 *cornáigh* (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:l'** are used as stems.

- go-** pst **yo** **fe** S.
go:l' - (**go:wəl-**, and **go:ə-** in Mq may well be spelling pronunciations)
 pst **yo:l'** **fe** Mq, *Níor ghóil sé* FFG s.v. *góileann* 3, fut **n'i** **yo:l'ə** / **yo:wəl:ə** **fe** Mq, vadj **go:əlt'ə** Mq.
 VN **əm bəd ə** **yo:l'** *an bád a ghabháil*, **go:lt'**.
 Cp. use of imperative **gaul'** in the meaning 'take' in a local song (10.71):
gaul' də x'ial !(FCúil)06C *gabháil do chiall*,
 corresponding to **gov də x'ial** !(FCúil)11C *gabh do chiall*; thus **gaul'** < **gau** + **go:l'**.

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. **yrú: fe** *ghnóthaigh sé*, **e yrú:xta:l'** *é a ghnóthachtáil*. The form of the stem alternates between **gnu:-**, **gru:-**, **gruə-**, **gnu:h-**, **gru:x-**, **gruəx-**, **bru:-**, **ru:-**, **(b)ru:ə-**.

- gnu:-, gru:-**
 1Conj pst **yrú:** Mq, cond **yrú:hənfə** 21Ptq, **gə** **ηnu:x** [perhaps **ηr-**] 25Tt *go ngnóthadh an ceann eile amáireach*;
 vadj **gru:t'ə**;
 VN **e** **γ^ənu:** ? 31M, whereas **e** **wuəxə** 31M *é a bhuachadh* is 31M's and the general form.
 2Conj Prsbj (in salutation, not understood as an independent verb nor as connected with 'win' by S or M):
(gə) **nu:i: d'ia yut'** M *Go ngnóthaí Dia dhuit!*,
 less often **gə** **ηnu:i:** ... M.
 Past and VN examples under the stem **gn/ru(:)ə-** below may be parsed as 2 Conjugation **gn/ru:-**.
gnu:ə- pst **ynū:ə** Mq, VN **gnū:əxta:l'** 11Ctn.

- gruə-** pst **yrūə** **ʃe** 46.329, where it is given as an alternative to **vuə ʃe**;
gruə- pst **ogəs yrūə ʃi: ŋ ɡ ɑ:l** !(Acs)21Pt *agus ghnóthaigh sí an geall*;
 In conversation with a speaker of more eastern Conamara speech:
-Ar ghrú tú ... ? Ruairí Mac Con Iomaire
ŋ'i:r yrūə 37J *Níor ghnóthaigh.*
- gnu:h-** pst 1sg Echo **ynu:həs** Mq.
gru:x- pst **yrū:x 10B**; cond **gɑ: ŋru:xɑ: 21Ptq**,
gə ŋru:xət ʃi: n ɡ ɑ:l !(Adr)21Pt *go ngnóchthadh sí an geall*;
 vadj **grū:xtə 10B**; cp. VN **grū:xtɑ:l** S, **grū:xə** S, **gru:xənt' 21Ptq**.
 There seems to be some correspondence between morphological **h** of the regular verb (conditional **h** and VN **h**) and **x** in this verb.
- gruəx** pst **nar yrūəx m'ɛ 03V**.
- bru:-** Homophonous with *brúigh*. Noted from 66N only:
 pst **vrū: ʃe**,
 fut **bru:hə ʃe**, **gɑ mru:həx ə f' æ:r 66N** *dhá mbrúthadh an fear*.
- ru:-** In lenited position 66N often has simple initial **r**, e.g. **ŋ'i:r ru: ... 66N**.
 Similarly: pst **ru: 79P** (Cill Chiaráin, mother from Leitir Mealláin).
 Mq claimed that **vrū: ʃe** was incorrect giving her own **yrū:**, **ynū:ə**,
 whereby 66N also offered **yrū:**. Recall that 66N's mother is from An
 Cheathrú Rua where **gru:** is the usual verb. In 66N's speech Iorras
 Aithneach **buəx** and **gru:** of An Cheathrú Rua seem to have combined
 to yield **bru:**, lenited (v)**ru:**. Similar mixture in 79P.
- (b)ruə-** pst **yrūə ʃiəd ... nə'r ə vrū: ʃiəd 79J**.

Máire rarely if ever uses this verb; in the meaning 'win' she has *buach*. Mq's responses to query are given in Table 5.82. Her stems are **gnu:**, **gru:**, **gnu:h**, **gnu:ə**.

Table 5.82 *gnóthaigh*, Mq

3sg pres	gnu:ən' ʃe , ə ŋnu:ən' ʃe ... , Echo gnu:ən
3sg psthab / cond	ynu:ət ʃʃe e
3sg psthab	gnu:həx ʃe [sic]
impv 3pl <i>nó ná</i>	gnu:əd'i:ʃ nu: na gnu:həx
3pl pst	ynu:ə ʃiəd , ynu: ʃiəd , ynu:dər
imprs pst	ər gnū:v , ər gru:əv , ər gnu:əv ... gnu:əv
prsbj (opt)	gə ŋnu:ə tu: mɑ:r'əx e
2sg pst question (a-e = order)	ər ynu: tu: ... a , ər yrū: tu: ... d
1sg Echo pst response	ynu:həs b , ynu:əs c , ynu:həs e
1sg fut	ŋ'i: ynu:hə m'if e
VN	ə gnu:xtɑ:l

5.316 *lean*

Generally regular. Irregular past impersonal *lean(th)as* is rare or obsolete, noted in a tale about the *Fianna*:

agus rith sí héin agus Fionn agus leanas iad Y'anəs i:əd 869PZCP151;
leanthas iad ... 869P3.

5.317 maraigh

maraign (historical *marbhaigh*) **marə** generally, but sometimes with **-r-**, e.g. cond **gər mar:r ox M dhá maródh.**

5.318 meas

In the 2sg present interrogative the form **m'æs tu:** ~ **m'æstu:** *meas tú?* occurs in alternation with (ə) **m'æsən 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 **meas tusa* and by the fact that it is followed by subordinating *an* only, 'meas tú *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 hoíche? 11C.*

It can be used in a plural context, e.g.

wel ə ɣi:n'i: uəʃl'ə m'æs tu k'e m'ar l'ib' ʃk'e:l fa:də bog b'i:n' 11C

Bhuel a dhaoíní uaisle, meas tú cé mb'fhearr lib scéal fada bog binn ...?

Further examples:

m'æs tu: ro M meas tú an raibh?

... s m'æstu: nax dən'ək' ə tr'ur ... M is meas tú nach dtáinig an triúr!

m'æs tu: nax æ: 14M meas tú nach ea!

s m'æstu: nax gir'ət ʃe max ə lə:v' mar fin' 18Bm

is meas tú nach gcuireadh sé amach a láimh mar sin?

m'æstu: nax in' ruba:l' S meas tú nach in robáil?

5.319 oscail

Owing to its optional anomalous stress patterns, *oscail* is sometimes irregular, see 1.380. From conversation it was noted only once with initial **f**:

wil' ʃe fəskə:l'ə M An bhfuil sé foscailte?

5.320 scríobh

The root-final consonant is generally **w** but there are examples of **-f** ~ **-w** in SID.46:

-f pst **ʃk' r' i:ɸ m'e** 338, 339; pres **ʃk' r' i:fəm' ... ʃg' r' i:fən** 342;

-w impv **ʃk' r' i:w ək' ɛ** 341; VN **ʃk' r' i:ŭw.**

5.321 scrúd

Regular (see examples in 14) except for a 2 Conjugation form noted from **43M**: pst **skru:tə ʃi: m'e**; as if reanalysed as *scrútaigh*, presumably from the commonly occurring verbal adjective **skru:tí: scrúdaí.** Cp. *scrúdadh skru:tə* !39D.

5.322 seinn

The verb *seinn* is not used generally in the vernacular (where *cas*, *ceol*, *gabh* and

abair are used). A historically regular example is past *hīn' fe* 869P *sheinn sé*. Lengthening (of the GEARR class) is absent in higher-register future *fin'hə* !(Ats)43Js *seinnthidh*. The fudged past impersonal *-im'* occurs in a local song in:
xil'ə nu:tə k'ol' gar fin'i:m' ər' iəv er' v'u:g'əl' !(Asp)04B
chuile nóta ceoil dhár seinníodh ariamh ar bhiúgil.

When asked to conjugate this verb Mq consistently produced the following paradigm:

impv *fin'am' ri:nt' k'ol' seinnim roinnt ceoil*, pst *hin'am' fe*, fut *fin'hə fe*;
 vadj *fin'tə*; VN *fin'am' Mq*. VN also *fin'am, fin'u:nt'* !894C.

5.323 *sraoth*

-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 *fri:ən' fe* Mq >> *sri:fən' fe* (?) Mq, fut *sri: fe* Mq << *şri:fə fe/fiəd* Mq, cond *hri:fət fe* M, vadj *şri:f eg'ə* Mq, VN *fri:fərt', fri:fərtəx* M.

VN also *f.i:ni:l'* 17M (only) *sraothnaíl*, *sni:fəxt* 66N (only) *snaofacht*.

5.324 *spáin ~ (t)aspáin*

spáin is almost universal, e.g.

pst *spáineadar* 852S4, nar *spa:n' S*, imprs *spā:n'u: 11C*; prsbj *go spáine* 869P2; fut *spa:n'hə*;
 vadj *spáinte ag* 875T1;
 VN *a' spáint* 869P2, 870B2, *ə spa:nt' SM*, *ə spa:n do:b S a ~ dóibh*;
 > *spa:n' 66N*, e.g. pres *spa:n'ən' fe* 66N.

taspáin is very rare, e.g.

pst *thuspáineadar* 852S4, *tig'ə nar hispa:n' Sq tuige nar thaspáin?* with second-syllable stress in:

hə'spa:n' fi: fu:mrə ʎo: P thaspáin sí seomra dhó;

fut *ní thuspáinthe mé* 852S4, prsbj *go dtaspáine mé* 894C2;

VN *ə tispá:nt' Sq*, common as noun:

duine nach mbeadh mórán tuspáint tispá:nt' aige S.

tuspa:nə occurs as a noun. Neither *tuspa:nə* nor **spa:nə* are permitted as verbal nouns by MØperm.

'aspáin occurs in:

pst *'aspáin sé dom an bealach a ngothainn | 'u'spa:n' ... 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

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 **ta riərħə muh am ort** SM *tá riartha amuigh a'm ort*;
VN **ə riər ort** S *ag riər ort*.

ullmhaigh: vadj (most common form recorded), e.g. **oli:hə ma:x 06C** *ullmhaíthe amach, v'i: fe oli: eg'ə S bhí sé ullmhaíthe aige, oli:(hə) M*; VN **olu: 892M**, S, e.g. **əg olu: ŋ ɣa:ri:** S *ag ullmhú an gharraí*, also **892M**2013. Other forms were produced in elicitation:
pst **dolə m'e** Mq, fut **olə: m'e** Mq.

Other verbs of restricted use include *fóir*, *fuáil*, *goir*, *tórraigh*, *till*, *úsáid*, *meath*, *pláistear*. For the special uses of *ghoin m'aire mé*, see 14 *aire*.

fóir, *fuair*: the commonly used subjunctive (**gə**) **wuər'ə d'ia ...** *go bhfóire Dia ...*, etc., (also **wuər'ə**, **wer'ə**) 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 **for'hi:nt'**, e.g. **ə for'hi:nt' er'** Mq *ag fóirtheint air*; cp. **fuər'i:nt'** !(Acb)04B. When asked to conjugate this verb Mq produced:
pst **du:r'hə fe orəm** (i.e. anomalous *d'fhóirtheint*), fut **for'hə fe orəm** (*fóirtheint*), vadj **ta furh eg' orəm** Mq (*fóirthe*).

fuaigh, *fuáil*: both variants can be inflected, e.g. pst **duə fe e ~ du:al' fe e** Mperm, **fe: du:al' ... ən mūhəl'ə 11C** *is é a d'fhuáil ... an muthaille*, but, as verbal adjective, only **fuət'ə** M was noted and is permitted (***fu:al't'ə** MØperm). Cp. 5.22 for *fuaigh ~ fuáil* and similar verbs.

goir: occurs commonly only in **go/ir'əm' də hlhæ:nt'ə** *goirim do shlainte* and **go/ir'əm' əs ka:frəm'ək'** *goirim is caisricim*, and in the noun, e.g. **gor'əm' skol'ə 11C** *goirm scoile*. When asked to inflect the phrase with *slainte*, Máire produced:
pst **ɣur'ədər / ɣur fjad slæ:nt' x'e:l'ə**, **ɣir'əm'dər ?**, **ɣir'**, fut **gir'hə ?**, VN **ə gir'əm'u: ?**; the VN **gor'əm'**, with **o**, has also been recorded from Máire.

síl: meaning 'try' and 'think', senses expressed more commonly by *traidíl* and *ceap* respectively. Vadj (rare) **bhí sílte aige é dhionamh** Mq, **45B**Øperm; 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 air*. **864M**DT33.

tórraigh: Cf. 5.170.

till has only been noted from conversation in lenited forms following **N'i:(-)** *ní(-)* and mostly in the future:

N'ir hi:l' fe l'ig' an *níor thill sé uilig ann*,
N'i: hi:l'hə mið sə gər əl'ig' *ní thillthidh muid sa gcarr uilig*,
N'i: hi:l'həx, N'i: hi:l'həd'i:f əf't'i SM *ní thilltheadh, ní thillthidís istigh*.

This would imply that lenited forms are more common than nonlenited forms.

má thogair tú é, dhá dtográ é, má thograíonn tú, mar thogróis tú héin.

(Cf. loss of *t* -> *ograíonn* 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 ghóil 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 *úsáid*, however, see 5.326.

Presumably due to this high frequency of lenited forms, when unlenited (without preceding *ṇí*: *ní*), the verb may vary its initial between *f'*-, *f*- and *t'*-. All forms in elicitation were given as genuine forms; Seán, however, preferred the *t'*- alternant. All the examples from conversation have radical *i*: (following the lengthening rule of the GEARR class) and so also in Seán's *t'i:l'* 'till' below. Forms noted in the optional short vowel environments of the GEARR class all have *i*: also, e.g. 3pl pst *hi:l'ədər* Mq (-*adar* being an implicational strong long vocoid ending for M), and 3pl psthab *hi:l'əd'i:f* Mq (-*idís* being an implicational strong short vowel ending for M).

- f'*- 'they fit there every day' *f'i:l'hə fjad ə gu:ní: an* Sq *fillthidh siad i gcónaí ann* (future in present function), *f'i:l'hə* Mq, *d'i:l'həx* Mq. Cp. *fill* 'fold, return'.
- f*- *fi:l'hə fe a'n* Sq, cp. *silleann* FFG20.
- t'*- (-*t'i:l'hə fjad ə tər sə l'aur* BóC 'tillthidh siad' *atá sa leabhar*)
-t'i:l'hə fjad, t'i:l'hə fjad, əs fi:l'hə fjad an, manəm gər t'i:l' ə fokəl k'æ:rt Sq 'tillthidh siad' is 'sillthidh siad ann'. *M'anam gur 'till' an focal ceart.* *t'i:l'hə* Mq, cp. *tilleann* 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 *fiteáil* (< 'fit'). Cp. *fóin* (5.312).

meath is used by Máire in verbal noun construction only (as are the examples in FFG20) e.g. *ní e:tən' ə v'e m'əhə l'ej ní fhéadthainn a bheith ag meathadh leis*, but *ní v'əhə m'e l'ej ní mheathaidh mé leis* is permitted although she proffered *ní v'ei m'e m'əhə l'ej ní bheidh mé ag meathadh leis* immediately following the form inflected for tense. Note also *m'ætə meata* which is used as an adjective, less common *meaite* 06C.

pláistear is permitted by Máire in a limited number of forms, being supplanted by *pláistreadil*: pst imprs *plá:ft'e:ru e*, fut *plá:ft'e:rə fe*; but not pst **flá:ft'e:r fe* nor vadj **plá:ft'e:rhə* where pst *flá:ft'r'al' fe* and vadj *plá:ft'r'al't'ə* are preferred Mq. In her actual use I recall only forms of *pláistreadil*. The verbal adjective of *pláistear* does occur in older speakers' usage, e.g. (892M)

tə fe | plá:ft'e:rhə m'i:n'i:hə mæ:x | tá sé pláisteartha mínithe amach.

5.326 úsáid

úsáid was recorded only in the impersonal from Seán:

ax 'kaur'uər' ə hu:sə:df'i: e | ... hu:sə:df'i: ... S ach corruair a húsáidfi é,
ní: m'in'ək' u:sə:t'ər e S ní minic úsáidtear é.

This speaker uses *ju:səl'* 'use'-*áil* in personal inflection, e.g.

ma:nəm gə n'u:sələn fjad ə fokəl jin' S
m'anam go n-ghiúsálann 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 *u:sə:d'an tu* 80C. There is perhaps stylistic use (used in responses to linguistic queries from me) by speaker 28B: *u:sə:d'an* 24B, including anomalous stem-final replacement and 2Conj in the present impersonal:

ṇí | ṇí' uəsɪ:t'ər ən'fo e | 24B *Ní, ní úsaítear anseo é.*

Similarly, **ṇí: huəsɑ:d'ɪ:t'ər ... huəsɑ:d'ər 22Mt** (*ní h)úsáidtear*. Contrast regular pres imprs **u:sɑ:t'ər S, u:sɑ:d'ər 35E** *úsáidtear*, and cond imprs *d'úsáidfí 35E*. Its 2sg past habitual / past subjunctive lacks speaker **20C**'s expected **-t-** (or **h**):

uəsɑ:d'ɑ 20C *úsáideá.*

Expected *t* is also absent in another by-form of the present impersonal:

ṇí uəsɑ:d'ər 36M *ní úsáidear.*

Its future is irregular, lacking **h** in:

u:sɑ:d'ə m'e e 43M *úsáididh mé é.*

As does the conditional:

ə du:sɑ:d'əŋfə 77C *a d'úsáidinnse;*

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 **ju:sɑ:l'**, which personal forms of *úsáid* are apparently optionally replacing, i.e. future **ju:sɑ:l'()**ə > **u:sɑ:d'ə**. This is an indication of the lexicalisation of **h** loss in the *SÁBHÁIL* class. A younger speaker has the mixed stem **u:sɑ:l'**:

pst **ə du:sɑ:l' fə 81A** *a d'úsáil sé.*

VN generally **u:sɑ:d'**, **uəsɑ:d'**, but also **ə ju:sɑ:d'** *a ghiúsáid*, influenced by **ju:sɑ:l'** 'use'-*áil*. The younger speaker who has pst **du:sɑ:l'** has VN **uəsɑ:l' 81A** *úsáilt* which resembles a combination of 'use'-*áil* and of the final stop of *úsáid* (perhaps the initial diphthong in his example was misheard for *a úsáid*).

5.327 Adverbs as quasi-verbs

Adverbs of direction can be used as verbs, mostly in reflexive constructions with the preposition *le*. These are the correlational adverbs of direction *amach, isteach, siar, soir, aniar, anoir, suas, síos, anuas, aníos, anonn, anall*, and other adverbs including nominal and compound adverbs: *abhaile, ar aghaidh, ar ais, ar gcúl, timpeall, thart, un cinn*. The nominal preposition *trasna* has a complete corresponding verb, *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. *tá sé ag goil soir ... soireadh sé leis*; also 3pl impv *siaraidís* below. In all cases with reflexive *le* the inflected form is replaceable by a simple adverb + prepositional pronoun.

The 2sg prepositional pronoun *chugad* can have verbal imperative force, e.g.

Ó a dheabhail, chugad ó thuaidh! S 'Oh dear, pull it northwards towards you!'

Demonstratives qualified by adverbials occur commonly with verbal force, e.g.

hod e fíər ə kər St2a *head é siar an carr*;

agus ní raibh bonn a dhá chos leagtha ar an urlár nuair siúd amach go dtí an seanfhear glic arís é **866ESc49.26**, also Sc114.13, 31.

Cp. demonstrative *seo* (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 unstressed elements which is optional in some instances, e.g. *un cinn* > *cinneadh sé* Mq.

Nondirectional adverbs are not permissible (**istichead sé*, **amuichead sé* MØperm, **43M**Øperm, **66N**Øperm), other adverbs are very doubtful indeed (**amú-adh sé*, **soirdua-adh sí*, 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* MØperm, **43M**Øperm, **66N**Øperm.

5.328 Examples

Imperative

Singular

1 **fjærəm' ɪum** Mperm *siaraim liom*, **ə'maxəm' ɪum** M *amachaim liom*. Cp. **ŋ'i: e:ta: ser'əx m'e ɪum ə rə:** Sq *ní fhéadthá 'soireadh mé liom' a rá*, said by Seán (Sq) in response to a query for him to use *soir* in 1sg impv (contrast his 1sg pres *soirim* below).

2 **ser' ɪæ:t** *soir leat*.

3 **ser'ət ʃe ɪɛʃ** P *soireadh sé leis*; *siaradh sé leis* Mq; **ə'nuəsəd ʃe ɪɛʃ** S *anuasadh sé leis* (of hay to be cut), **mə:xət ʃe ɪɛʃ** M *amachadh sé leis*; **suəsəx nu: nə: suəsəx** Mq *suasadh nó ná suasadh*; **ʃt'æxəd ʃe** Mq *isteachadh sé*; **ə'nu:nəd ʃe ɪɛʃ** Mq *anonnadh sé leis*; **wə'ɪət ʃe ɪɛʃ** Mq, **66Nq** >> **ə'wə'ɪət ʃe ɪɛʃ** Mq, **66Nq** *abhaileadh sé leis*; **er' aiəd ʃe ɪɛʃ** Mq *ar aghaidheadh sé leis*; **er' æ'fəd ʃe ɪɛʃ** Mq *ar aiseadh sé leis*; **k'i:n'ət ʃe ɪɛʃ** Mq (*un*) *cinneadh sé leis*; **ɪ'impələd ʃe** Mq *timpealladh sé*; **tartət ʃe** / **hartət ʃe** Mq *t(h)artadh sé*; (**ə**)**nə:ləd ʃe** Mq *analladh sé*.

Plural

1 *amachamuid linn* FFG, **fjærə mið ɪin'** **21Ptperm**, **fjærəmið ɪin'** Mq *siar-amuid linn*, **ə'nə:ləməd ɪin'** **43Mq** (x2) *anallamuid linn*.

2 (**ə**)**'maxi: ɪe ma:d' i: (ə)'ft'axi: ɪe mu:n'** S *amachaí le maidt isteachaí le móin* (quotation in puzzle), **ʃi:si: ɪib'** *síosaí lib*, **ser'əg'i: ɪib'** S *soirigí lib*.

3 **tə: mæ:r'i:n' s i: he:n' ə gəl' fjær o: fjærəd'i:ʃ ɪ'o:hu:** M *tá Máirín is í héin ag goil siar, ó siaraidís leothú; n'isəd'i:ʃ ɪ'o:həb* **21Ptperm** *aníosaidís leothub; or gu:ləd'i:ʃ ɪ'o:həb Mq *ar gcúlaidís* [*< ar gcúl*] *leothub*.*

Present

1sg **v'i: m'e: ... əgəs ser'əm' ɪum ə'wə:l' ən'ʃin'** Sq *bhí mé ... agus soirim liom abhaile ansin* (historical present).

3sg **fjærət ʃe ... marə fjærən he:n'** Mq *siaradh sé ... mara siarann héin; maxət ʃe ... marə mə:xən he:n' Mq *amachadh sé ... mara amachann héin*.*

Past (marginal)¹

3pl -*adar*, *xuədər ə'ma:x əgəs (ə)'N'is(ə)dər l'ə:həb ə bə:hər* Mperm *chuadar amach agus aníos(a)dar leothub an bóthar* (this example was described by M as *tau togha* with regard to permissibility). But *'machadar leothub* M?Øperm.

Future (as imperative)

1pl *ə'nə:l'hə mid' 43Mq* (x3) *anallthaidh muid*.

Past Subjunctive and / or Conditional

3sg *gə f'jərət fə* Mq *dhá siaradh sé*; *gə: suəsəx* Mq *dhá suasadh*; *gə: suəsət fə* Mq *dhá suasadh sé*.

Cp. impermissible present subjunctive in **21Ptq** (*amach* > *mach*):

<i>machad sé leis</i> perm	vs.	<i>*mara macha sé, mara macha héin</i> Øperm
<i>siarad sé leis, siara muid</i>	vs.	<i>*mara siara sé, *mara siara héin</i> Øperm

linn, siaraidís leothub 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** *gol'e*, *gol'ə*

2pl **A** *gog'i: l'e*, **B** *gol'i:*, *gol'əg'i:*

Non-inflection in 2pl occurs:

gol'ə web' [x3] ... fu:l'i: web' [x2] P *GOILLE uaib ... siúilí uaib*,

go l'e ən'fo ə jaul' wə:rə ~ gol'əg'i: ... 12Strans

GABH i leith anseo, a dheabhail mhóra ~ goilligí.

Cp. *gol'əg'i: web' M goilligí uaib!* (Cattle are often called with *gabh i leith*, generally with 2sg *gol'ə Goille!* regardless of the actual number of cattle.)

fainic

2sg *fə:n'ək' (u' he:n')*

2pl *fə:n'ək' f'ib he:n' M fainic sib héin; fə:n'ək'i', fə:n'ək'əg'i' Mq*,

fə:n'ək'əg'i: (daughter of **894C**).

Also used as a noun, e.g.

xir' m'e xil' æ:n'ək' orhə M chuir mé chuile fhainic uirthi.

fuigh

2sg *fi l'æt gə v'ek'ə m'e, fi l'æt gə fo:l' M, 43M fuigh leat go bhfeice mé, fuigh leat go fóill.*

(Spelt *futh* by **43M**.)

¹ Cp. 1pl *amachamar*, 3pl *amachadar* LFRM s.v. *amach*.

<i>huga</i>	also <i>tuga</i>
2sg hugə ɪ æt	tugə ɪ æt S
1pl hugə muð ɪ ɪnʰ	tugə mið ɪ ɪnʰ S
2pl hugi : ɪ ɪbʰ	
(Source S and M.)	

seo (demonstrative pronoun and adjective)
 2sg as adverb **fo** (presumably also **fo**, **fow**, **ho**, **how**)
 2pl **feg'i**:
 Examples of 2pl: **feg'i**: **47P**, **feg'i**: **ugi**: e M *seoigí chugaí é*.

5.330 *ar, arsa*

This verb has narrative mood, or 'historical present' function. The alternants are:

or **er** **ər** *ar*, *a* (\Rightarrow ə);
orsə **ersə** **ərsə** **orʃə** **ərʃə** *arsa*, *asa* (\Rightarrow *əsə), *aras* (\Rightarrow *o/e/ərəs);
ərʃru *arsru*, **sru** **ʃru** **ʃrə** *sru*, **sə** *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 *a(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 **rʃ**; **orʃ** **əʃən** or (homophonous) **or** **ʃəʃən** 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 Iorras 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 Iorras Aithneach (**u**, **i**, **ə**) 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)**esən** (*s*)*eisean* have metanalysed and assimilated *s* from forms such as **ors** **əʃən**. One would therefore expect regular phonological realisation of *rs* as **rs** (rather than **rʃ**) in core (s)**esən** areas. E.g. **ors** **esən** > **or** **sesən**. This appears to be the case in An Caisleán Gearr, north of Galway city. The form **jesən** in other dialects may, furthermore, be related to 3m emphatic clitic **-sən**. (Cp. the importance of *olseat* in Middle Irish in the development of the 3 plural pronoun (L. Breatnach 1994: 273; 2003: 140).)

Singular	Plural
1 orsə m'ifə	1 orsə mid'ə
2 orsə tusə	2 orsə fɪbfə
3m orsə fɛfən, ors ɛfən, or fɛ:	3 orsə fɪədsən, or fɪədsən, cp. sru iədsən
f orsə fɪfə, or fɪfə	

Examples are:

- arsa* orsə m'ifə Mq *arsa mise*.
 ɛrs ɛfən 04B2l; ors, ɛfən, 04B5 *arsa eisean* (both of 04B's examples have *eisean*).
 orsə fɛfən Mq *arsa seisean*, orsə fɪfə Mq *arsa sise*, orsə fɪədsən 11Ctn, Mq *arsa siadsan*.
 xir'əs ɛrsə ri: loxrən ə d'er fɛ 04B1 'Chuireas,' *arsa rí Lochrann, a deir sé*; ɛrs ɛfɪ:n' 04B2l *arsa Oisín*.
 ors ɔfɪ:n' 04B2l *arsa Oisín*, ors ən f'ær ɔ:g 04B5 *arsa an fear óg*.
 orfə n tɑ:mədə:n mo:r 04B8l *arsa an tAmadán Mór*.
 orfə fɛfən 11Ctn.
 ərɟə f'ær akəb 892Mtn *arsa fear acub*.
- asa* a's an gabhar !894C9;
 'Mál!' '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, although possible interpretations are *esə, *osə, or even *ə'su. Cp. *a' sé* from the same speaker.
- aras* '... ins an áit,' *ar as (sic) mise* 869P5.
- arsru* tɑ: ərɟru fɪfən | d'iarəməd daun | ... 892Mtn
 -Tá, *arsru seisean*, *Diarmaid Donn*,
 d'ɪ:nhə m'id' e: fɪn' ərɟru ⁿ 'v'ert' | 892M
 -Déanthaidh muid é sin, *arsru an bheirt*.
 Also ərɟrə ⁿ xlāñ | 892M2747 *arsru an chlann*.
- sru* sru m'ifə, fru m'ifə 11C.
 fru mid' he:n' 892M *sru muid héin*.
 fru/ɟrə fɪədsən 892Mtn, 11C, ɟrɪ fɪədsən 892M;
 ɟru iədsən 892M3743.
 ɑ: ɟrə | 892Mtn Á! *sru an comrádaí ...* ; Á! *sru na trí rí ...* .
 For *sru mo dhuine* FFG, see 5.330 p. 1179 n. 1.
- ar* ar sise 894C9.
 ɛr fɛfən 04B2l, or fɛfən 04B5 >> ər fɛfən 04B2l, ər fɪfə 04B10tn.
 or fɪədsən 04B1.
 ar sé: ogəs m'e hiəxt ɛr' æf ə'r'i:ft' ər fɛ, gə bɔ:sə m'ifə ... 04B10tn
 'agus mé a thíocht ar ais aríst,' *ar sé*, 'go bpósa mise ...'
- su* mɑfə v'erid'i:f f'ɪ:n əmax sə ɔfɪ:n' !(sns)869PZCP163
 'Maise bhéarfaidís Fionn amach,' *su Oisín* (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, sə*;
892M *ərʃə, ərʃru ʃʲən, ərʃru, ərʃrə, ʃru/ʃri/ʃrə (ʃ)ʲədsən*;
894C *as[a], 's[a], ar sise, a' sé*;
04B *ers ɛʃən, ors ɛʃən, ers[ə], ors[ə], ərʃə, er/or/ər ʃɛʃən, ər ʃɛ*;
11C *orsə ʃʲədsən, ərʃə ʃɛʃən, sru, ʃru*.

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, í, 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. *gur 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 **1i.e, 1i.i**) and the prepositional pronouns *aige, aici* (past **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, fíor, fiú*, etc., note the rare *níorbh fhear* 'was not a man';¹ *fhr* represents lenited *frusta* and *fhl* represents lenited *fleár*. The adjective *éigin ~ éigean* is classified under *fhV* (it is historically a noun). Finally, *dhe + díobh* stands for the syntagm (*cé*) *dhár díobh / mac / inín é / í*, 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 **1i.a, 1i.b, 1i.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' 1i.g, 1ii.g, 2ii.g** *babh, níbh, nach bh*, etc.; or according to the following context, e.g. present copula preceding vowels (other than *é*) **1i.b, 1ii.b ... 1i.d, 1ii.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^N*.

5.332 Stress; Tense

Stress

The copula is generally unstressed. With elision of unstressed schwa it can of course become stressed, e.g. '**ba:n** *b'ann*', '**sa:n** *is ann*'. It can also be stressed in

¹ Other words behave similar to this copula set in initial *f-* but occur in more limited collocations, i.e. the noun *faillí* in past *ab fhaillí* **4i.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 **ma:rə 'v:æ: 01C6886** -*Marabh ea*. (past **7.j**). For stressed forms in jussive subjunctive, **gə 'mu h, gə '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 gubáiste 'I am fond of cabbage', in addition to regular conditional meaning 'I would like cabbage',

gə wil' di:n'i: gər wə: f'ə'həb a:t' x'u:n' ... S

go bhfuil daoíní gur mhaith leothub áit chiúin,

ń'ir wə: f'um ə vlə:s S n'or mhaith liom a bhləs 'I don't like the taste of it'.

The nonpast form with future meaning is not very common, an example, with zero copula, is:

ń'í v'ei e:nin'ə f'i: v'raun ə'noxt ax mər'i:n' s re:mən f'a'x uəgn'əx e M
ní bheidh aon-nduine tigh Bhrabhn [< Brown] anocht ach Máirín is Réamann, teach uaigneach é, '... 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 **ń'í: marə x'e:l'ə ... Sq ní mar a chéile** vs. **ń'ir wə:rə x'e:l'ə ... Sq n'or mhar a chéile**. Present and past were practically undistinguished, however, in **ń'í: æ:spə ... tə: Sq ní easpa ... atə ~ ń'í: æ:spə ... v'í: Sq ní easpa ... a bhí** although he did, with pointed querying, eventually make the distinction in **ń'í: b æ:spə ... Sq ní b'easpa ...**. Similarly, **mə:s əg' iəskəx ə v'í: f'e S mäs ag iascach a bhí sé** and **mə:s ə:s kə:rənə hən'ək' f'e S mäs as Carna a tháinig sé** are preferred to **mə: bə g' iəskəx ... S má b'ag iascach ...** and **mə: bə:s kə:rənə ... S má b'as Carna ...**. Seán translated 'wasn't yesterday a cold day' as **nə:x fuər ə lə: ə v'í: ń'e: ən Sq nach fuar an lá a bhí inné ann**. Only when asked for a possible alternative form did he produce **nə:rə vuər ə lə: ... Sq narbh fhuar 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 jə:l gə mə f'ef i: S mar gheall go mba leis í**. The present is used in response to past context in:

-*Meas tú ar iarann a bhí íontub?* **11C**

-**æ tə? a: 's iərən | 's iərən 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 é, ba leis. Ach ní hé a sheoil iad.* **01C**

-*Ní hé.* **899D**

-*Níorbh é.* **01C6247.**

There is use of present interrogative *an* with a past dependent function in:

-*Ach dhá gcuimhnínnsa, a deir sé, an ən' é an deabhal a bhí ann, a deir sé, bhainthinnse caint as* **892M2419.**

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 Luideáin bocht ach duine dona la-, u- duine, lag dona. Ach ní hé, dho Thomás a Búrc. Tá mé ag cheapadh an oíche sin, go dtroidthead 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 *maran* by *marar*. These (*ar*, *marar*) in turn can be distinguished from specific past forms such as interrogative *an mba* and *mara 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 dunā n la: ə v’i: a:n 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 **-bā/mā** 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^L* in

nax vr’a: n la: v’i: a:n M Nach bhreá an lá a bhí ann!

Máire produced and preferred *nax br’a: ...* or *nar vr’a: ...* Mq. These in fact are the two historical bases for innovative and obviously marginal *nach^L* for Máire. This *nach^L* is not an isolated example for Máire, although not very common, cp.

d’iərħə fe ... ə r v’ift’ə ... du:rt’ m’ifə nax v’ift’ə M
d’fhiathraigh sé ... ar mhiste ... dúirt mise nach mhiste.

(Máire was perhaps influenced by spelling when she produced *ən m’e:g’ən du:n’* Mq *an mb’éigean dúinn* in careful translation.) Similarly, the form *n’i:r’ e:d’ər’* **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 ... 20CØperm*.

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

Seán (12S) only, forms in **-r j-** *-r dh-* from 899D, 05M and Sq only. Conditional **gɑ: mɑ dhá mba** is more frequent and mutationally more regular than **gɑ: bɑ dhá ba**; **gɑ: mɑr-v' dhá mbarbh** was heard from 21J only. The form **gɑrb 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 **bɑ ba**) than **v'**, which, however, is common.

an (present interrogative) is rare except before *ea*, and is sometimes heard before *é*; forms such as **ən æ:ft'əx**, **ən 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. *cá* with the copula has not been noted in conversation. Some forms are possible, others very doubtful. **kɑ: æ:s cá as** was very strange to Mq but only doubtful to 54Cq who pronounced **kæ:s u cá as thú** in query.

5.336 Variation and individual speakers

Note the variation in a phrase repeated in natural conversation:

bɑ jæ:, **bɑ v'æ:**, **bɑ v'æ:**, **bɑ jæ:** 16A *Badh ea, babh ea, babh ea, badh ea.*

Similar variation, but not this **bɑ jæ:** ~ **bɑ v'æ:** type, is not uncommon. The form **bɑ jæ:** (i.e. **bɑ 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 **bɑ v' / é** users (ARN: **bɑ v'in'** 6241, 6360, **bɑ 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 iəd**, **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'iəd ...**, **nax b'i:** *b'æn ...*

nach b'in ..., *nach b'iəd ...*, *nach b'i bean ...*

Copula *nach b'* is clearly distinct from verbal *nach* (in contrast with the copula *nach in ...*, etc.). Compare innovative: **mɑ:s b'in' e ...** [x2] 79S *más b'in é ...*

Note the alternations in the exchanges:

-Nach iad ... ? BóC -Nach b'iad? 04Br;

- ... bɑ (jin' ...) BóC ... badh in ... -bɑ v'e: 15W Babh é.

There is an apparent instance of serial effect in:

bɑ jæ: ... **bɑ jæ:ft'əx ...** 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*, 1i.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 bas an Liónán e ... 25M -B'as bæ:s an Liónán e. BóC

-Badh as. bɑ jæ:s | 25M.

An example of hesitation while producing a form in conversation seems to indicate the speaker was searching for the appropriate form:

n'i'v' (l) m'e:d'ər' ... 62P ní mb'fhéidir ...

Most speakers, including Seán and Máire and family, have nonpast interrogative **ər ar** and **marər marar** for older **ən** and **marən**. In contrast, speaker 21Pt has the

common **ar** *ar* but more conservative **marən** *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 **N'ir jā;** *níor dh'ea*, etc., was recorded in conversation. It is probably no coincidence that he is a regular **bə jā;** *badh ea* (rather than **bə v'æ;**) user. Speaker **66N** has prevalent *bh* with *f(h)earr*, *fhiú* and *fhuide*:

pres: **ər v'ar dum ... ar bh'fhearr liom ...** (context: present);

past: **v'ar l'um ... bh'fhearr liom ...** ,

gə m'v'ar ... gə v'ar ... go mb' bh'fhearr ... go bh'fhearr;

gə mən' u: fa:nəxt go mbabh fhiú fanacht;

past: **bə wid'ə həl i na ... babh fhuide thall í 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'rintəx ə ... 52P b(a) iontach an ('break' *dhom é ...*);

bə '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 **bə jin'** *badh in*. There is metanalysis of present **əf k'inti;** *is ciontaí* in past usage heard from **46C** only:

e: hən' bə f'k'inti l'əf 46C é héin ba sciontaí leis,

for normal **bə k'inti;** *ba ciontaí*. The only example noted with *ionduíl* preceded by past *ba* seems also to have metanalysed (unless an immediate retake, i.e. *ba – is ionduíl ...* , or slip of the tongue):

bə 'su:ndu:l' gə m'e:d'ər' gə 'm'æ:læləd'i:f e 01C6057

ba (s)ionduíl go mb'fhéidir go mbealálaidís 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 **bə 'su:ndu:l'** example could then be interpreted as a possible hypercorrect usage. Cp. his use of interconsonantal **ən** of the article, 6.84.)

5.337 Copula forms

Table 5.83 Copula, Nonpast

			a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
	Func-	Form				h	b'	b
	tion	Envr	/_é ¹	/_V	/_C	/_é,V	/_é	/_V
1i	Decl	Pos	əf, f, h, iʃ	əs, is	əs, is			
ii		Neg	N'í:	N'í:	N'í:	N'í: h		
2i	Interr	Pos		ə	ə		əb'	
ii		Neg	nax	nax, nax (ə)s	nax, nax s	nax h	nax-b'	
iii	Alt neg	2ii +					nax əb'	
3i	Dep	Pos		gə, gə s	gə		gəb'	gəb
ii		Neg	nax	nax	nax	nax h	nax-b'	
4i	Drel	Pos		əs, is	əs, is, ə			
ii		Neg			nax		nax-b'	
iii	IndRel	Pos			əs, ə		əb', gəb'	

			a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
5	<i>má</i>		má:f (-s)	má:s (mas)	má:s (mas)		má:s b'	
6	<i>ó</i>		o:f	o:s	o:s			
7	<i>mara</i>		(marə)	marə	marə		marəb'	marəb
8	<i>cé</i>		k'e:	k'e: k'e:s, k'e: əs	k'e: k'e:s	k'e: h		k'e:b
9	<i>cá</i>							
10i	<i>dhe +</i>	<i>a rel</i>						
ii		<i>díobh</i>						
11	<i>dho +</i>	<i>aínm</i>						

¹ Also preceding *iomú* and *fíor* (exceptionally).

	g.	h.	i.	j.	k.	l.	m.	n.	o.
	-n'	-n	-r	-r h	-r-b'	-rb	-m	-r(ə)s/(ə)f	-v'
	/_é	/_V,C	/_V,C	/_V	/_é	/_V	/_V	<i>iomú</i>	/_fhV
(1i-ii)									
2i	əN'	ən	ər	ər h	ər-b', ərəb	(ərəb)			
ii									nax v'
iii	nax əN'		nax ər		nax ər-b'				
3i			gər	gər h	gər-b', gərb	gərb		gər (ə)s/(ə)f	
(3ii-4ii)									
4iii			ər, gər		ər-b', gər-b'	ərb, gərb			
(5-6)									
7	marəN'	marən	marər		marər-b'	marərb			
8			k'er			k'ərb	k'em		
9						(kərb)			
(10i)									
10ii			γər						
(11)									

Table 5.84 Copula, Past and Jussive Subjunctive

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.	g.	h.
				h	b'	b	b	j
	/_é	/_V	/_C, fV	/_V	/_é, fhV, V	/_é	/_V, fhV/r	/_é
1i	bə	bə	bə	bə h	b' (bəb')	b	b (bəb)	bəj
ii		N'i:	N'i:, N'i: bə		N'i:b'		N'i:b	
2i			ə		əb'		əb	
ii	nax	nax	nax		nax-b'			(nax məj)
iii					nax əb'	(nax əb)		
3i		gə, g	gə		gəb'	gəb	gəb	
ii	nax	nax	nax		nax-b'			
4i		bə	bə, ə, Ø	bə h, əbə h	əb', b'		əb, b	bəj
ii	nax							
iii			bə		əb', gəb'			

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.	g.	h.
5		mā: bə	mā: bə		mā:bʻ		mā:b	mā: bəj
6			o: bə					
7		marə	marə		marəbʻ		marəb	marəbəj
8	k'e:		k'e: bə, k'e:	k'e: h				
(9)								
10	gā: bə		gā: bə		gā:bʻ, gā:bəbʻ	gā:b	gā:b	gā: bəj
(11i–12)								
13i			gə					

	i.	j.	k.	l.	m.	n.	o.
	j	vʻ	vʻ	v	mə (h)	mʻ	m
	/_V	/_é	/_fhV, fhV	/_V, fhV	/_C, V, é	/_é, fhV	/_V, fh, eisean, C
1i	bəj	bəvʻ	bəvʻ, vʻ	bəv	(mə h)		
ii		(Nʻi:vʻ)	Nʻi:vʻ	Nʻi:v	Nʻi: mə		Nʻi:m
2i					əmə	əmʻ	əm
ii			nax vʻ	nax v	nax məh	nax mʻ	nax m
(iii)							
3i		gəvʻ	gəvʻ		gəmə (h)	gəmə	gəmə
ii						nax-mʻ	
4i			bəvʻ, vʻ	bəv	əmə		
ii				naxv		nax-mʻ	
iii			vʻ		əmə	əmʻ	əm, m
5	mā: bəj	mā: bəvʻ	mā:vʻ				
(6)							
7		marəvʻ	marəvʻ		marə mə	marəmə	
8			k'e:vʻ		k'e: mə	k'e:mʻ	k'e:m
(9)							
10			gā:vʻ		gā: mə	gā:mʻ	gā:m
11i			gā:vʻ				
ii					gā: mə		
(12)							
13i					gə mə (h)	gəmə	

	p.	q.	r.	s.	t.	u.	v.
	məbʻ	məj	məvʻ, mʻvʻ	mər(-vʻ)	mbə	mbʻ	mb
	/_é	/_é (rare V)	/_é, fhV	/_C, /_é	/_C	/_é	/_V, C
(1i–ii)							
2i		ə məj					
ii		(nax məj)					
iii		nax məj					
3i		gə məj	gə məvʻ	gə mər	gəmə bə		
(3ii–4ii)							
4iii		gəməj			əm bə		
(5–6)							
7		marə məj					
8			k'e:mʻvʻ		k'e:m bə		

	p.	q.	r.	s.	t.	u.	v.
(9)							
10	gá: mǎbʻ	gá: mǎj		gá: mǎr(-vʻ)		gá:mbʻ	gá:mb
(11i-12)							
13i	gǎ mǎbʻ		gǎ mǎvʻ				

	w.	x.	y.	z.	aa.
	mbǎj	mb j	mbǎvʻ	'mu h	ma h
	/_é	/_é	/_é	/_é	/_é
(1i-4ii)					
4iii	gǎmbǎj				
(5-9)					
10		gǎ:m b j			
(11i-12)					
13i			gǎm bǎvʻ	gǎ 'mu h	gǎ 'ma h, gǎ ma h

	bb.	cc.	dd.	ee.	ff.	gg.	hh.
	-r	-r h	-r bǎ (h)	-r-bʻ	-rb	-rbǎvʻ	-r-vʻ
	/_V,C, (f-)	/_V	/_é,V,C	/_é	/_V	/_é	/_é
(1i)							
ii	ǵ'ir, ǵ'irǎ ǵ'irʻ	ǵ'ir h	ǵ'ir bǎ				ǵ'ir-vʻ
2i	ǎr			ǎr-bʻ	(ǎrb)		ǎr-vʻ
ii	ǵar			ǵar-bʻ	ǵarb		ǵar-vʻ
iii	ǵax ǎr			ǵax ǎr-bʻ			
3i	ǵǎr			ǵǎr-bʻ	ǵǎrb		ǵǎr-vʻ
ii	ǵar			ǵar-bʻ			ǵar-vʻ
4i							
ii	ǵar						ǵar-vʻ, ǵarǎvʻ
iii	ǎr, ǵǎr, ǎrǎ			ǎr-bʻ ǵǎr-bʻ	ǎrb, ǵǎrb		ǎr-vʻ
(5-6)							
7	ǵarǎr			ǵarǎr-bʻ			
8	k'ǎ:r		k'ǎ:r bǎ				k'ǎ:r-vʻ
9	kǎ:r						
10			dhǎr ba		ǵǎrb		
(11i)							
ii	ǵǎ:r, ǵǎ:r						
12					ǵar b		
13i	ǵǎr	ǵǎr h		ǵǎr-bʻ			
ii	ǵǎ:r	ǵǎ:r h	ǵar bǎ (h) ǵǎ:r bǎ			ǵǎ:r bǎvʻ	

	ii.	jj.	kk.	ll.	mm.	nn.	oo.	pp.	qq.
	-r- <i>v</i>	-rv	-r- <i>m</i>	-rm	-rmə	-rj	rə	- <i>N</i>	(-n <i>v</i>)
	<i>l_fhV</i> , <i>fhV</i> , <i>(V)</i>	<i>l_V</i> , <i>fhV</i> , <i>fhV</i>	<i>l_fhV</i>	<i>l_V</i> , <i>fhV</i>	<i>l_C</i>	<i>l_é</i> (<i>fhV</i>)	<i>l_C</i>	<i>l_é</i>	
(1i)									
ii	<i>N'i:r-v</i>	<i>N'i:rv</i>				<i>N'i:r j</i>			
2i	<i>ər-v</i>	(<i>ər(ə)v</i>)		<i>ər m</i>		<i>ər j</i>		<i>ən</i>	
ii	<i>nar-v</i>	<i>narv</i> <i>narəv</i>		<i>nar m</i>	<i>nar mə</i>				
(2iii)									
3i			<i>gər-m</i>	<i>gər m</i>		<i>gər j</i>			
ii	<i>nar-v</i>	<i>narv</i>							
(4i)									
4ii	<i>nar-v</i> , <i>narəv</i>	<i>narv</i>							
iii	<i>ər-v</i>		<i>ər-m</i>	<i>ər m</i>					
(5-6)									
7									<i>maran bh</i>
(8-11ii)									
12				<i>də:rm</i>					
13i	<i>gərəv</i>						<i>gura</i>		
ii	<i>nə:r-v</i>								

5.338 Present and nonpast; 1i.a — 1i.c

1i Declarative Positive Present

1i.a *l_é* *Is é a bhaisteadh ə fe: wə:ft'əx na páistí. 869PZCP151.*

əf is: -*nax æ: BóC Nach ea! -ə fæ 09B Is ea.*

Réitíodar amach bád iomara, is é bhí acub insan am sin, | ə fe: v'i:
'a:kəb ənsən 'ā:m fín' | 11C2165.

is é an | ə fe:n sórt fear a bhí in mac Bhriain ... 11C3036.

ə fow iəd nə buəxə ... (MP)04B Is eobh iad na buacha

agus na daoíní, a bhí beo ann insan am sin, is in iad anois, sin é | ə
fín' iəd 'iəd ə'n'íj' | fín' ē? | an t-anam ... 852Stn.

Is sin é, | ə 'fín' ē | 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
urchar ó Dhiarmaid Donn, | ə fəd ɔrəxər ɔ: jɪərəməd daun | mar sé
nar chlis ariamh. 892Mtn.

((ə)s) Cp. the slow, slightly hesitant phrase-initial in:

is é an chaoi an raibh an bacach | is fe' xɪ ro m ba'kəx ag fáil an
ceann is fhearr air seo 892M4021; and note:

| ugəs m | ɔ: sə: | 892M4151 Agus an m-, ó! is ea.

f s: *fe: ən fl'æm' ... 11Ct Sé an phleain ... ; fu:d suəs e' 04B2l siúd suas é;*

Siad a chuaigh siar 'fíəd ə xuə 'fíər sa dá bhád 899D6197;

Ach seod iad fəd iəd a chuala mé héin 899D6266;

fud e: v'i: g'ɛft' am M siud é a bhí i gceist a'm.

hj s: *| 'hjá: | 31P Sea.*

- h h:** ogəs heː hisə x'iːn' m'e raː 05M Agus sé [or hé] thusa a chinn mé a rá.
| 'hin' e | 05M Hin é (often).
- ... nach é an chaoi, a ngoifí agus a bhfuighfí pleainc? 11C
-Hé, ceannacht. heːə | k'ænəxt | 892M1382
-Agus goifí go dtí na sáibhéaraí, nach ea? 11C
-Hea, hæː | go ngearraidís an pleainc sin. 892M1383.
ho v'eː n diːn' ə d'eːnəx 84P heobh é an duine deireanach.

Cp. Ø æː Sea.

Exceptionally /_iomú, /_fior

f is: fumuː i:hə 20Mlt is iomú oíche.

Regularly sumuː sumiː which is, for example, Seán's regular and permitted form, but cp. gər fumuː in dependent nonpast (5.343).

if is: if f'iar S85 who has regularly s iar, əs f'iar is f(h)íor.

1i.b /_V əs is: əs æːftəx ə bok huː M is aisteach an boc thú.

s is: s iːntəx huː M is iontach thú!

1i.c /_C əs is: əs d'aultiː ... Is deabhailtaí ... ;

ə s iːntəx ə f'ær huː M Is iontach an fear thú.

is is: is prɔːgræm' mah eː f'in' S87 Is prógraim maith é sin.

In sandhi f g'ær oː ... is gearr ó ... ; əf, rud ə'k'iːnt' e 892M is rud eicínt é;

(ə)f is: cp. n'iːf, riːvr' ə 01C6147 níos raimhre.

5.339 1ii.a — 1ii.d

1ii Declarative Negative Present

1ii.a /_é n'iː nɪː n'iː eː hem' ə jær ə wuːn' Sq ní é héin a ghearr an mhóin.

/_eisean n'iː nɪː n'iː eːfən ə jær ə wuːn' Mq ní eisean a ghearr an mhóin.

1ii.b /_V n'iː nɪː n'iː æːs gaːl' e ní as Gaillimh é; n'iː aːn M ní ann;

n'iː oːl ə b'i d'ox S ní ól ar bith deoch;

n'iː iːntəs ə b'ih e S ní iontas ar bith é; n'iː eːn' d'iːnə wəːn' xor ə b'eh e' 892M1518 ní aon déanamh amháin ar chor ar bith é; Ach ní aon chionál amháin rópa a bheadh sa chuile áit 01C6141.

1ii.c /_C n'iː nɪː n'iː maːr ə x'eːl'ə ... ní mar a chéile ... , n'iː nuːm'eːd ə'mu huː nax wil' muːr t'ækkiː M ní nóiméad amuigh thú nach bhfuil mórán iascach ar bith dhe na rudaí sin nar raibh píosa a'inn leis. 899D6569.

1ii.d /_é n'iː h n'iː heː xil' 'ær ə v'iː 'naːn ə j'iːnə 899D6020

ní h: Ní hé chuile fhear a bhí i ndan a dhéanamh;

n'iː hiː ní hí; n'iː hod e S ní heod é, n'iː hid e Mq ní hiud é.

/_V n'iː h ní hionann iad, ní hionann mise is tusa;

ní h: n'iː hiːntəs e S ní hiontas é.

5.340 2i.a — 2i.l

2i Interrogative Positive Present

2i.b /_V ə aː n'iːl'əs eg'ə f'in' ə iːfəl na aːrd e M

níl fhios aige sin a tseal ná ard é.

2i.c /_C ə aː ə f'ær mah aibr' e A fear maith oibre é?

- 2i.j /_V ər h ar h: ər hɪntəs ə tɑ: æd ɑ:n S ar hiontas atá a'd ann?
 2i.k /_é ər b' arb: m'æ:s tu: ər b'i: he:n' ə tɑ: ɑ:n S meas tú arb í héin atá
 ann?, m'æ:s tu: ər b'in' e: S meas tú arb in é?
 ər b'e xi r ka:l u: e M arb é an chaoi ar cailleadh é?
 ər b'in' e: tɑ: tu: iərə M arb in é atá tú a iarraidh?
 -ər b'æ: wa:bə 16B Arb ea, a Bhaba?, -ər b'iəd 16B Arb
 iad?, m'æ:s tu: ər b'i: he:n' ə tɑ: ɑ:n S meas tú arb í héin atá
 ann?; ər b'id e Mq Arb iud é?
 ər ə b' ar ab: N'i:l'əs am ər ə b'e: nu' nax ə b'e: 20C
 Níl fhios a'm ar ab é nó nach ab é (8.29 ff.).
 2i.l /_V ər b arb: ər b æs ... arb as ... ?

5.341 2ii.a — 2ii.o

2ii Interrogative Negative Present

- 2ii.a /_é nax ach sin é a deireadh na sean-ndaoine, nach é? 'nax 'e: 899D-
 nach: 6661, nax æ: S Nach ea!
 2ii.b /_V nax nach: nax i:ntəx 20C nach iontach.
 /_iomú nax nax umu: uər' ... S nach iomú uair ... , nax umu: rud əs
 nach: buən' ə nɑ: n din' ə S nach iomú rud is buaine ná an duine.
 nax əs naxəs ʔmu: din' ə nax wa:kə m'ifə M nach is iomú duine nach
 nach is: bhfaca mise!, naxəs umu: k'ina:l f'e:r' ɑ:n S nach is iomú duine
 cineál féir ann!, nax ə 'sumu: din' ə 01J nach is iomú duine
 nax s Nach 's umú [iomú] seic scríofa 'mach a'd! S (referring to my
 nach 's: noting of spoken examples on paper slips).
 2ii.c /_C nax nach: nax d'aulti: ŋ' k'ɑ:n e S Nach deabhailtaí an ceann é!
 nax s Cp. A! maise, a deir sé, nach is dona í nax s dun i: do chulaith,
 nach is: a deir sé, A Dhonncha Uí Éadramáin! !03V.
 2ii.d /_é nax h a:bər f'e:hə nax hi: v'i: ɑ:n ax m'æ:riən M
 nach h: abair léi nach hí a bhí ann ach Mearaíán;
 nax he: xi: ər xɾæ:fɑ:l' f'i: kɑ:r dʊŋkən' M
 nach hé an chaoi ar chraiseáil sí carr Diuncain.
 Nach hea! (wife of 20A).
 /_V b'e:r' nax ha:nən ə fəkəl S b'fhéidir nach hionann an focal.
 nax hɪntəx ... 893P nach hiontach
 nach is elided phrase-initially in:
 hiontach an smutachán thusa! S (cf. 1.403).
 2ii.e /_é nax b' ə v'i: n'fɪn' nax b'æ: 01J a bhí ansin, nach b'ea?
 nach b: nax b'in' e 04Br Nach b'in é, nax b'in' e: 01J nach b'in é!
 nax b'in' e də ʏo:hən' S nach b'in é do dhóthain!
 'Duine cúntanasach', 'conscience' é sin nach b'ea? S,
 nax b'e xi: wíl' ... S nach b'é an chaoi a bhfuil ... ,
 fɪn' iəd mi:n't'ər' rəs muk nax b'iəd 60Mg
 sin iad muintir Ros Muc, nach b'iad? nax b'e: 60Mg nach b'é?
 2ii.o /_fhV nax v' əs f'ɑ:r ... nax v'ɑ:r 66N
 nach bh: is fearr ... nach bh'fhearr?

5.342 2iii — 2iii.k

2iii Alternative ‘whether’ Negative Interrogative Present

As in 2ii, e.g. /_é

	nax nach:	ə b' i: nu: na: x i: M ab í nó nach í.
	nax b' nach b:	ə b' i: nu: na: x b' i: M ab í nó nach b' í.
2iii.e	/_é nax əb'	a b' in í ... nó nacha b' í 894C9;
	nach ab:	ŋ' i: l' əs æd əb' æ' nu: nax əb' æ' S níl fhios a' d ab ea nó nach ab ea.
	cp. marab	ə b' i f' i: nu: ma: rə b' i: S ab ise í nó marab í.
2iii.g	nax əŋ'	... an ea nú nach an ea.
2iii.i	nax ər	... ar as Carna é nú nach ar as.
2iii.k	nax ərb'	... arb é atá ann nú nach arb é.

5.343 3i.b — 3i.n

3i Dependent Present

3i.b	/_V	gə go:	... gə ə ka: nt' hri: d' ə hæ: tə ta fe 49J ... go ag caint thríd a hata atá sé.
	/_iomú	gə s	-ə sumu: ... 45N Is iomú
	go is:	d' e: ta: rə: gəs umu' 05M	D'fhéadthá rá go is [or go 's] iomú.
3i.c	/_C	gə go:	tá mé ag cheapadh go fíor é; d' er' 'koləm 'skofəl' gə f'ær ^{9a} xlun 'nunəxə huk 'fjær r' 01C6253 Deir Colm Scofail go fear dhe Chloinn nDonncha a thug siar í.
3i.e	/_é	gəb'	ma: nəm gə ŋ' e: rhəŋ' gə b' e: ... S
	gob:		M' anam go ndéarthainn go b' é
3i.f	/_V	gəb	mar is minic leis go b' ann gə ba: n is mú a bhíonn sí. 01P (rare form in this environment, cp. 3i.l gərb 27Cb; discourse context: general direction of wind).
	gob:		
3i.i	/_V,C	gər	'k' apən fe gər 'a: məda: n m' è 46.416
	gur:		ceapann sé gur amadán mé. tá fhios ag chuile dhuine gur olc gər olk an áit a ghoil ar fascadh faoi bhun túm sailcheánach. 11C; ma: nəm gər do: hi: gə ... S m' anam gur dóichí go
3i.j	/_V	gər h	f' ek'ər um gər hæ: ft' əx ə rud e 04Br
	gur h:		feicthear dhom gur haisteach an rud é, tə: s eg' ə gər hi: ntəx ə f' æ: r aibr' ə hu: S tá fhios aige gur hiontach an fear oibre thú; x' æ: p m' e gər hi: ntəx ə rud e 27Cl cheap mé gur hiontach an rud é; v' i: m' e rə: gər hæ: ləŋ' ə rud ga: su: r ə ka: nt' ye: lg' ə 23B bhí mé ag rá gur hálainn an rud gasúr ag caint Ghaeilge; d' e: ta: rə: gər humu: P d'fhéadthá a rá gur hiomú.; wíl əs ədsə gər he: skə f' e: r ə f' umu' na mu: n' 54M an bhfuil fhios a' dsa gur héasca féar a thríomú ná móin?
3i.k	/_é	gər-b'	x' æ: pəŋ' gər b' in' e m' b' æ: ləx ə v' ei fe M
	gurb:		cheapthainn gurb in é an bealach a bheidheas sé.
	gərb		sílim gurb é fí: l' əm' gərb e: 'nineteen nineteen' [i.e. 1919] é
	gurb:		892M1594 (only token of gərb e: noted).
3i.l	/_V	gərb	gur b' aingeal é !894C6; gər b æ: s ka: rnə M gurb as Carna;

gurb: (*d'fhéadthá a rá*) *gurb iomú ... (cheap mise) gurb aon bhliain amháin ... 27Cb.*

3i.n Exceptional use noted especially with *iomú*, *iomaí*.

/_iomú *gər əs* *d'ər fʲiəd gərəs umu: rud əs f'ek'ər ən d'i:wi:n'əs S*
gur is: *deir siad gur is iomú rud is feictheas dhon díomhaoineas.*
gər s *... gər sumu: punt ... 894N ... gur 's iomú punt ... ;*
gur 's: cp. *d'e:tə: rə: gərs umi: ... 19B* (perhaps *f umi:*)
d'fhéadthá a rá gur 's iomaí.
gər f *gur 's:* *B'fhéidir gur 's iomú gər fumu: áit a gcuirtheá e S.*
/_dóichí *gər s* *du:rt' m'e l'um he:n' gər s do:hi: gə ... 01J*
gur 's: *dúirt mé liom héin gur is dóichí go*

5.344 3ii.a — 3ii.e

3ii Dependent Negative Present

- 3ii.a** */_é* *nax nach:* *d'ər fʲiəd nax æ: M deir siad nach ea.*
3ii.b */_V* *nax nach:* *... nax u:dər ə b'i ... M ... nach údar ar bith*
3ii.c */_C* *nax nach:* *... nax din' akəb e M ... nach duine acub é.*
3ii.d */_V* *nax h* *b'ər' nax ha:nən ə fokəl tr'e:nədəs əgəs tr'e:nəs S*
nach h: *b'fhéidir nach hionann an focal 'tréanadas' agus 'tréanas';*
Dúirt sí liom nach hionann nax ha'nən iad sin agus Deara M.
3ii.e */_é* *nax b' nach b:* *... nax b'e: tə: ən ... nach b'é atá ann.*

5.345 4i.b — 4ii.e

4i Direct Relative positive Present

- 4i.b** */_V* *əs is:* *əŋ' k'ən əs aird'ə an ceann is airde.*
4i.c */_C* *əs is:* *n'i: æ:kə m'e din'ə r'iaw əs mu: du:l' ə swi:t s nər i' M*
ní fhaca mé duine ariamh is mó dúil i svuúts ná í.
ju:n ə ɣa s f'e:d'ər' ə xur M dheamhan a dhath is féidir a chur.
is is: *is er' e:g'ən' is f'u: e M is ar éigin is fiú é.*
ə a: *am ə mu' ə v'eis okrəs ort fæ ə slə:wər ə v'eis fʲiəd 66N am a*
mó a bheidheas ocras ort sea is 'slower' a bheidheas siad (per-
haps indirect relative following am).
Ø = is *fʲin 'gair ə'n'if ə d'ərʃe f'u: 'hə:g' əl | (Suda)894Cs*
or a: *-Sin gadhar anois, a deir sé, fiú a thóigeál.*

4ii Relative Negative Present

- 4ii.a** */_é* *nax nach:* *Ar nós a lán báadóirí nach é san am, bhíodh Labhrás a'*
Ghréasaí ag trácht ... SÓC1.83.
4ii.c */_C* *nax nach:* *ceann ar bith nach féidir a tharrait.*
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* *əs is:* *əs umu: f'k'e:l | əs f'e:d'ər' kur fʲis er' | 04B5*
is iomú scéal is féidir cur síos air (air refers to scéal).
ə a: *go mbeidh scailp beag [sic] ann, a beag nach (a) sáitheá | ə*
b'og nax ə sɑ:hɑ: [sic] do láimh isteach ann, 16At.

- 4iii.e /_é ab: fear ab é a mhac a bhí ann. q (M or S).
 gəb' gob: fear gob é a mhac a bhí ann. q (M or S).
 4iii.i /_V,C ər ar: f'ær ər æn'əm' dō: mǫ:rt' i:n' Mq fear ar ainm dó Máirtín;
 ən f'ær ər l'ej e M an fear ar leis é.
 With cataphoric a^N: ər ar: 'agus gach ar léir dhom uaidh sin amach,' a deir Mac Rí in Éirinn 866ESemr156.
 gər gur: an fear gur leis an bhó (M or S).
 4iii.k /_é ər-b' arb: f'ær ər b'e: æn'əm' f'a:n Mq fear arb é a ainm Seán.
 gər-b' fear gurb é a ainm Seán;
 gurb: k'e:ŵ f'a: gə g'æ:pən di:n'ə gə f'æ:sən' f'iəd gəN' t'e: gər b'iəd he:n' ə xir' er' ə gosə iəd St
 cén fáth go gceapann daoine go seasann siad dhon té gurb iad héin a chuir ar a gcosa iad?
 4iii.l /_V ərb arb: æs ən āt' ər b'a:s də xū:mrā:di: n'f'o 11C as an áit arb as do chomrádaí anseo; f'ær ər b æn'əm' dō: mǫ:rt' i:n' Mq fear arb ainm dó Máirtín.

5 má Present

(Generally mǫ:, also ma, e.g. mǫ:s 17M más.)

- 5.a /_é mǫ:f mǫ: f'i: he:n' ə rin' e SM más í héin a rinne é.
 más: is gearr ... go mbeidh fhios a' msa más ea. mǫ: f'æ | 11Ctn.
 /_eisean mǫ: f'ijə t'a: a:n SM más ise atá ann.
 rare mǫ:s mǫ:s f'in' e: n'ij' ə b'æ:ləx e: 892M
 más: más sin é anois an bealach é.
 5.b /_V mǫ:s mǫ:s ən'f'o he más anseo é.
 5.c /_C más: mǫ:s f'iar e más fíor é; más fíor nó bréag é 01C6873;
 más bád í a bhí tú ag cheapadh a bheadh ag rith geallta ná rud,
 bheitheá ag iarraidh jib mór. Agus más bád oibre í ní bheadh sé
 chomh mór 01C6136–7;
 ní raibh úthás a bích ach an píosa oibre a bhí le díona, leihí, an
 duine sin a chuir as cionn cláir, más bean nú fear a bheadh ann.
 11C.
 5.e /_é mǫ:s b' más b: mǫ:s b'in' e ... [x2] 79S más b'in é

5.347 6.a — 7.l

6 ó Present

- 6.a /_é o:f ós: o: f'e: he:n' ə t'a: ... ós é héin atá ... !(from song).
 6.b /_V o:s ós: o:s ə k'a:n't' er' ... ós ag caint ar
 6.c /_C o:s ós: o:s rud e' gə ... ós rud é go

7 mara

- 7.b /_V marə marə ' maga tá 894C2, mar i:mr'i: t'a' er' S mara imní atá air,
 mara: mar: æ:s ga:l' ə ə h'a:n'ək' f'e M mara as Gaillimh a tháinic sé.
 7.c /_C marə mar:ə k'a:n el' e St mara ceann eile é,
 mara: mar: ə k'o:rhə n'a' f'a:n e Mq mara córtha ná Seán é,
 mar: ə mu: n'a' f'in' e Mq mara mó ná sin é;
 ach tiúraidh mé isteach an tobar mara toil libh é 864MDT72.
 7.e /_é marəb' marab: marəb' od e f'od e S marab eod é seod é.
 7.f /_V marəb cp. marəb ad ə t'a: n sm'i:f't'ə !37M
 marab: marab a'd atá an smíste.

- 7.g** /_é **marəN'** **ma:rə N'æ:** 12Sperm *maran ea* (Seán commented **a:bri:n fíad**
maran: **e: ən a:t'əxi:** *S abraíonn siad é in áiteachaí*).
- 7.h** /_C **marən** **marən rud ə'ki:n't' e' e** 21Pt *maran rud eicint eile é.*
maran: | ʏ̯ā' m'ex | mǎ' bə pu:kə:n ə v'i: æ'd | n'ĩ' r ort ax ... | ũ̯ə̃s
ma'rər | ma'rəm pu:kə:n ə v'ĩ' æ'd mǎ's bə:d ũ̯mǎ̃f̃ə v'ĩ' æd
xǎh̃ā' ʏol' er' də xid' mæ:d'i: | 894Cs *dhá mbeadh, má ba*
púcán a bhí a'd ní raibh ort ach ... agus marar, maran púcán a
bhí a'd, más bád iomartha a bhí a'd chaitheá ghoil ar do chuid
maidí.
/_V "Go dtachtaidh an dabhal [for diabhal] annsin thú, maran agad
tá an glór." Cladi166.
- 7.i** /_V **marər** **ma:rər ə'm'i:hə wa:l'ə tə fe** SM *marar imithe abhaile atá sé;*
marar: **marər i:m'r'i: tə er' M** *marar inní atá air.*
/_C **marər d'e: du:nə b'æ:** 01C *marar Dé Domhnaigh an b'ea?*
- 7.k** /_é **marər-b'** *mararb: marər b'e: mararb é.*
- 7.l** /_V **marər** *mararb: mararb ard atá sé.*

5.348 8.a — 10ii.d**8 cé**

- 8.a** /_é **k'e: cé:** **k'e' e' he:n'** S *cé é héin.*
- 8.b** Adverb /_as **k'e: cé:** **k'e: æs e** SM *cé as é?*
Pronoun /_V **k'e:** **k'e: a:kəb e** *cé acub é?*
cé: **k'e: a:kəb əs aird'ə** Mq *cé acub is airde?*
note k'j- in k'jaküb kain't' əs f'ar ... 46 (s.v. cainnt) cé acub
caint is fearr
/_V (eile) **k'e: cé:** *cé eile* 15W.
k'e:is cé: **k'e:is aird'ə ŋ klai fo nɑ: ŋ klai e'ə M**
cés airde an clái seo ná an clái eile?
k'e:is aird'ə m'ijə nɑ: tusa Mq *cés airde mise ná tusa?*
k'e:is aird'ə Mq *cés airde?* (= personal pronoun).
k'e: əs **k'e: əs aird'ə** Mq *cé is airde?* (= personal pronoun);
cé is: - ... *tiúrthaidh mé chúig phunt amáireach ... dhon té, tá i ndan*
ínseacht, a deir sé, cé, is k'e: | əs measa ná cé is k'e:is mó, a
deir sé a bhfuil cion a'd air ... 892M2017;
with ar < fhearr, k'e əs 'ar f'at bə:n'ě nɑ: 'pə:rtər 46.73 cé
is fhearr leat bainne ná pórtar?
- 8.c** Pronoun /_C **k'e: cé:** **k'e' hu' he:n'** 11Ct *cé thú héin?*
k'e kruəi ən klɑ:r nɑ ba:rə də v'e:r 04B2l
cé cruai an clár ná barra do mhéar?
k'e f'ar ə f'ær m'e he:n' 04B *cé fearr an fear mé héin ... ?*
k'e:is *Níl fhios á'msa cés feárr an iomarca 894C2,*
cés: **n'ĩ:f'əs am k'e:is f'ar ə f'ær u' he:n' nɑ e he:n'** 04B10tn
níl fhios a'm cés fearr an fear thú héin ná é héin;
k'e:f l'in'hə [N'h ?] n bə:hər fo nɑ: m bə:hər e'ə M
cés leithne an bóthar seo ná an bóthar eile?
Meas tú cés feárr dhe phota iascach é sin, cuire muid i gcás,

ná na potaí ' dtugann muid na potaí Francach orthub, ... Meas tú céis fheárr an tsat é sin, cén feárr is as pota iascach é, ná an pota leis na slatachaí bhaintheá sa gcoill? 11C; here cén feárr is may be a slip of the tongue for céis feárr an, cp. Measdú céis fheárr is fuar an muirín le n-iche ná é [bheith ?] bruite? 31P.

- 8.d** Pronoun /_é
 k'e: h k'e: he: 'jin' Cé hé sin?
 cé h: k'e: he: 'he:n' 01C6259 Cé hé héin? a deir mise.
 Cp. Cé húdan siar a bhfuil a gruaig le fána? ! CABI §379(a) v. 1.
- Adjective /_V k'e: haird'ə m'ifə nɑ: tusə Mq cé hairde mise ná tusa?
 k'e: hɔ:g'ə ... Mq cé hóige ...
- Nominal /_V k'e: hel'ə xín'ək' i: S cé heile a choinic í?
 k'e: 'hæn'əm' nɑ: 'hlín'ə hu' 881Jtn
 -Cé hainm ná shloinne thú? a deir Raifdaraí, deir sé.
 k'e: hiontəs e Mq cé hiontas é! (iontas is the only permitted noun here according to Mq, although cé hainm was not queried).
 cé híonú dhó !894C9, a Dhia cé híonú é ! CABI §199(c) v. 8.
- 8.f** Adverb /_as
 k'e:b céb: Céb as é?
- 8.i** Adverb /_as
 k'e:r cé: k'e:r æs e S cé as é?
- 8.l** Adverb /_as
 k'e:rb ní bheidh's acú cé b'as thú 852S4, ar m'ift'ə yum iərhi: ...
 cérb: k'e:r bæs hu' 11Ct ar miste dhom a fhiathraí ... cérb as thú?
 ar miste dhom a fhiathraí cérb as thusa? k'e 'r 'bæs hisə |
 11Ct cérb as thusa?, k'e:r bæ:s e M cérb as é?
- 8.m** Adverb /_as
 k'e:m cé mb: k'e: mæ:s tusə 22J cé mb'as tusa?
 9 cá Adverb
- 9** (kæ:rb cárb): kær bæ:s M?perm, 54Cperm cárb as é?
 10 dhe +
- 10ii.i** + díobh yær dhár: k'e: yær d'iv hu' cé dhár díobh thú?

5.349 Past; Jussive subjunctive; 1i.a — 1i.c

1i Declarative Positive Past

- 1i.a** /_é bə ba: bə iəd bə grɑ:n'ə Pt ba iad ba gráinne ... (rare).
- 1i.b** /_V bə ba: b' ɪ' a'n'nuiəxt gə | ɪ'æ:dz ɔ:g ən 'wæ:l'ə v'e ,hɑ:rt ɑ:n |
 21Pg6636 Ba an-nuaíocht dho leaidz óga an bhaile a bheith thart ann;
 bə æs ... bə æs ... (daughter of 20S) ba as ... ba as ... ;
 cp. bə | æ'n'əm' gən wuəxəl' | nɑ: ... 04B9n
 ba ainm dhon bhuachaill ná ...
- 1i.c** /_C bə ba: bə jær gə rə n 'tɑ:rəm ə'f'ɑ:x nə n'ia 11C
 lenition ba ghearr go raibh an t-arm isteach ina ndiaidh;
 adjective bə woxt ə rud e Pt3b ba bhocht an rud é;

	<i>Agus i ndrochfharraige ba mhór an meáchan ar bharr crann báid é. 899D6163;</i> bə xumə l'umsə b' o: e <i>ba chuma liomsa beo é;</i> <i>Ba chunúsach an samhradh e;</i> <i>Ba dhiocair (dh)óib bə jokər' o:b' tada dhíonamh. 01P.</i>
b:	<i>bhí mé héin thiar ann, mar ba mhinic mar b v'ín'ək' ann mé. 892M4655 (rapid speech).</i>
lenition noun	bə xūi:f yumsə n' l'æ:ð el'ə 14M <i>ba chomhaois dhomsa an leaid eile;</i> bə xol k'æhər ʏo e Mq <i>ba chol ceathar dhó é;</i> bə x'aird' an he:n' i' 23J <i>ba cheird ann héin í;</i> <i>ba bhean mhaith bə 'v'ā:n 'wā' í do mháthair 869P;</i> <i>ba bhuí déirce leothub e fháil 20My;</i> bə wā'k ʏo' e Mq <i>ba mhac dhó é;</i>
lenition numeral	bə hæ:xt m'ar ~ f'ar e na' tusə Mq <i>ba sheacht mb'fhearr (x3) ~ fearr é ná tusa.</i>
nonlenition adjective	bə g'ar gə rodər əft'ar nə jiə 11C <i>ba gearr go raibheadar isteach ina dhiaidh,</i> bə g'ar gar'əd' ... 04B4 <i>ba gearr gairid ... ,</i> bə d'aulti: ŋ' k'an e <i>ba deabhaltaí an ceann é,</i> <i>Ba deacair trí phunta dhéag a shaothrú ... 18J7050,</i> <i>-Narbh fhada an tarraint Proinsias de Búrca</i> <i>-Ba fada. Ach, ach tugtaí anuas ... 892Mg.</i>
nonlenition noun	ax bə 'gafk' iəx 'māh e: 852S <i>ach ba gaiscíoch maith é;</i> <i>ba beirt chol ceatharachaí dhen bhean óg ... 866Et;</i> <i>Ba gnás mór leob é 18J9292;</i> bə 'kū:rfə l'um' 'p'e:n' e' 11C <i>ba comharsa liom féin é (also ARN2285);</i> <i>agus ba Pratastún a bhí inti. 11C;</i> <i>ba bád Brainlí í sin a bhí ar an gCoillín ARN7187;</i> <i>ba bád Cathasach a bhí inti. ARN8217;</i> <i>Ba bean as Maínis a bhí inti sin. ARN8891;</i> <i>Ba mac dreifíre dhó é. 872Pt;</i> <i>ba fír iad táilliúirí an dtigeann tú a bhíodh roinnt siúl(ach) 11C;</i> <i>ba síogaí a bhí iontub. 05M;</i> <i>ba seanfhear beag craite, feosaíthe a bhí ann, 889P;</i>
pronoun	bə kol k'æhər ʏo e Mperm <i>ba col ceathar dhó é.</i> <i>ba mé / tú / muid / sib,</i> <i>ba mise ... , ba tusa ... , ba muide ... , ba sibse</i>

5.350 1i.d — 1i.g

1i.d /_V **bə h** *ba h:* **bə hælən' ə bæ:s ə fuər fe 20My** *ba hálainn an bás a fuair sé,*
nor' ə bə hi:fəl gən' iə bə hæ:rd gə wək ri: ... , ... ogəs nor'
bə hæ:rd gən' iə bə hi:fəl dəsən (run)04B10tn
nuair a ba híseal dhon fhia ba hard dho Mhac Rí ... , agus nuair
ba hard dhon fhia ba híseal dósan,
gá dhonacht me ba hairde me ná thusa M,

- bə haɪrd'ə e nɑː n' t'æx el'ə** SM *ba hairde é ná an teach eile,*
bə haɪrd' e nɑː m'ɪʃə Mq *ba hairde é ná mise,*
bə hɔːg ə t'æːdɪn' hu ... P *ba hóg an leaidín thú ... ,*
ba hainm di Síle ! CABI §236(a) v. 3,
An mhóin a chaith ráithe faoi bháisteach ba holc í lé dódh (Atb)-
894C CABI §296 v. 1.
bə hɑːn bə heːriː ... **894N** *ba hann ba haeraí*
- 1i.e** Adverb
 /_é b' b:
7 b' é an cás céanna é **894C2**,
 -b' e: ɲ kɑːs k' eːnə e S *B' é an cás céanna é,*
 -bə jiː n m' æːn' ədʒər akuː ɑːn iː ... b' iː S
Badh í an meaineajar acú ann í, ... b' í;
b' in' ē nāːt' ə ro ʃiː **11Ct** *b' in' é an áit a raibh sí.*
 /_iúd
 /_fhV-
b' uːd əˈmaːx ə t' iːm' S *b' iúd amach an t-im (in rhyme).*
b' eːdər iː v' e tæːstɑːl' froʃin' 14M
b'fhéidir í a bheith ag tastáil froisin 'it was possible that ... ',
b' eːdər' m' fl' æːn' ʃin' aibr' uː er' 52J *b'fhéidir an phleain sin*
a oibriú air, b' eːgən' oː rix' b' éigin dhó rith.
 /_V
b' iːntəx 892Mg *B' iontach.; b' iːntəx ən ɑːt' e' S b' iontach an áit*
é; b' iːntəx iː 57J b' iontach í;
b' æːs ən ɑːt' ʃo hiː heːn' 15W *b' as an áit seo í héin.*
- 1i.f** /_é b b:
oː bin' e v' iː ɑːn P ó! b' in' é a bhí ann.
b' í biː sin an bas 26Ps, cp. ... b' (a) í 'n ... !894C9.
bin' 30P (often), **76Mt** *b' shín,*
bin' 'aːn' f' iːt nəs | 64C *b' in an- 'fitness'.*
bəŋ gə L' oːr ... 66N b' in go leor beː ... 52M b' é
 /_eisean
beʃən ə xɪn' ək' m' e M *b' eisean a choinic mé,*
b' eisean beʃən fear an eolais 43J,
bɪʃə xun' ək' m' e M *b' ise a choinic mé,*
bɪədsən ə xun' ək' m' e M *b' iadsan a choinic mé.*
- 1i.g** /_V b b:
b 'aːn' dr' ɑːm ʃoːltɔːr' əxt ə v' iː intuː ʃin' 897P
B' an-dream seoltóireacht a bhí iontú sin;
'bāːn' v' æːn' ʃk' eːltə v' iː iːnt' ə 'ʃo 18JARN
b' an-bhean scéalta a bhí inti seo;
nuər' əb iːʃəl gən ʃurɪə b ɑːrd gə ... 11C
nuair ab íseal dhon ghiorria b' ard dho ... ,
similarly nuair ab íseal dósan b' árd dhon chú ... b' íseal b iːʃəl
dho ... 889P;
B' iontach bɪːntəx an tomhais í sin 18J7285 (similarly, bɪːntəx
18J7295); bɪːntəx eː 47P b' iontach é;
is b' airgead maith bæːr' əg' əd 'māː deich scilleacha an t-am sin.
11C;
B' álainn bæːlən' an duine é; B' airde baird' ə i bhfad é ná ... ;
bæːs m' er' əkɑː 43M *b' as Meireacá;*
bəː vl' æː kl' iə hɑːn' ək' ʃe M *b' ó Bhleá Cliath a tháinic sé;*
bek' əʃə v' iː n ɑːt' M *b' aicise a bhí an áit.*
- bəb**
 ba b:
mar go deimhin ba b' fhrusta í bə brust iː cheannach uaidh 01P
 (perhaps slip of the tongue).

5.351 1i.h — 1i.i

- 1i.h** /_é **bəj** **bə ji:** S *badh í*; **bə jod e v'i:** a:n SM *badh eod é a bhí ann*;
badh: **bə jin' iəd bə wū:** l'e rə: **bə jiəd 11C**
badh in iad ba mhó le rá badh iad;
bə je:rd ə v'i: a:n 'drox'obər' S *badh éard a bhí ann*
drochobair; **bə jid e' e:** Mq *badh iud é é*.
 note **b^j** *Mar badh éard a bhí ann marə b'e:rd ə v'i: a:n lá *stoirme*
gaoithe aniar'neas. 892M1598.
 /_eisean **bə jefən ə v'i:** a:n S *badh eisean a bhí ann.**
- 1i.i** /_V **bəj** *Badh as bə jæ:s* 'Tipperary' í **10B**,
badh: **bə jæ:s a:rən' e** S *badh as Árainn é*,
x'e:d xərtə fuər' m'ifə bə jo: dʒo: dʒa:n e M
an chéad chárta a fuair mise badh ó Jó Jan é;
 - ... *b'as bas ... 25M -B'as bæ:s ... BóC -Badh as. bə jæ:s | 25M*;
Badh ea. bə jæ: ... Badh aisteach bə jæ:ft'əx an t-ainm ... 21Pt.

5.352 1i.j — 1i.m

- 1i.j** /_é **bəv'** **bə v'e:** 15W *Babh é.*;
babh: **bə v'e n dín'ə d'ernəx e 14M** *babh é an duine deireanach é*,
bə jin' e m' p'i:sə bə wu: bə 'v'e: jin' 60M
badh in é an píosa ba mhó babh é sin.
- 1i.k** /_fhV **bəv'** **bə v'e:d'ər' 60M** *babh fhéidir.*
fhú babh: **x'æ:p m'e nər' v'u: ... ax bə v'u: wil'əs æd 43M**
cheap mé narbh fhiú ... ach babh fhiú an bhfuil fhios a'd?
v' bh: **v' a:r ə k'a:n k'e:nə nax v' a:r 66N**
bh'fhéarr an ceann céanna nach bh'fhéarr;
fearr **v' a:r e x'æ:nəxt 66N** *bh'fhéarr é a cheannacht*;
v' a:r l'um ... 66N *bh'fhéarr liom ...* ;
v' a:rit' p'æ:k'əlf ... 66N *bh'fhéarr dhuit peaicits ...* .
- 1i.l** /_V, **bəw** *Babh ait an triúr iad. 21Pg1802* (articulated slightly uncertainly,
 fhV *babh:* *echoed by Ba mhaith ... from 892M*);
bə wid' ə həl i na ... 66N *babh fhuide thall í ná ...* .
 Cp. **bə, bə wə:də l'e fo ...** (Coleman Janáí Beag Conroy, An
 Ghairfean, Ros Muc, born c. 1958) *ba — babh fhada leis seo ...* .
- 1i.m** /_V **mə h** *Rare, noted only in two marginal examples:*
mba h: *-Ní bheadh-á i ndan, 'ba hálainn an duine'?* BóC
-Bhuel d'fhéadhá 'mba hálainn an duine' a rá 'b'álainn an duine
é' nú 'ba hálainn an duine é.' **27Mdq.**
-Bheithéá 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 1ii.b — 1ii.o**1ii Declarative Negative Past**

- 1ii.b** /_V **n'i:** *ní bhíod sé amhlaidh. Ní amhlaidh bhíodh. 889P*;

		<i>ní:</i>	<i>ní aimsir mhaith</i> <i>Ní: æmfər' wæ: a bhí anuraidh ann S;</i>
	(as present)		<i>Ní: æ:sp æ:r'əg'əd' ə v' i: orəb Sq ní easpa airgid a bhí orthub.</i>
1ii.c	<i>/_C</i>	<i>Ní:</i>	<i>Ní: hu:fk' ə v' i: fín' ... 04B5 ní thúisce a bhí sin ... ;</i>
		<i>ní:</i>	<i>ní: xɑ:s 11P ní chás; ní chás dom mo bhás 892M4296;</i>
			<i>ní cheart duit Ní: x'ært dít' a ghoil isteach ... M,</i>
			<i>Ní: wɔ:r ít' ... M ní mhór dhuit ... ,</i>
			<i>Ní: wɔ:r e hæxənt' M ní mhór é a sheachaint,</i>
			<i>Ní: wā: l'ehə e et'əx M ní mhaith léithi é a eiteach,</i>
			<i>Ní: wæ: l'in' ... Ní: wɑ: M ní mhaith linn ... ní mhaith,</i>
			<i>Ní: x'ært gə ɣin' e P ní cheart dho dhuine é.</i>
		<i>Ní: bə ní ba:</i>	<i>Ní: bə 'vr'eg ə 'b'ih e 01C6561 ní ba bhréag ar bith é.</i>
1ii.e	<i>/_é</i>	<i>Ní:b'</i>	<i>Ní: b'in' e əN' l'æ:gən dɔ' xir'əd'i:f hart ən'fo er' d'ɛ:rhən'</i>
		<i>níb:</i>	<i>21Pt Ní b'in é an leagan 'though' [perhaps dó (= de)] a chuir-</i>
			<i>thidís thart anseo air déarthainn.</i>
1ii.g	<i>/_V</i>	<i>Ní:ib</i>	<i>Ní: bæ:sp æ:r'əg'əd' ə v' i: orəb Sq</i>
		<i>ní b:</i>	<i>ní b'easpa airgid a bhí orthub.</i>
1ii.j	<i>/_é</i>	<i>Ní:v'</i>	<i>Ní:v' e: níbh é; níbh in é an áit ... 21Pt;</i>
		<i>níbh:</i>	<i>Ní:ir v'æ' Ní: v'æ: 30P níorbh ea, níbh ea.</i>
1ii.k	<i>/_fh</i>	<i>Ní:v'</i>	<i>Ní:v' níbh fh- 20C (when noting this form I could no longer</i>
	<i>V</i>	<i>níbh:</i>	<i>recall which fh-initial adjective was used).</i>
	<i>fearr</i>		<i>v'et'je Ní: v'ar ga ... 43M bheadh sé níbh fhearr dhá ... ,</i>
			<i>Ní: v'ar ít' ə b'ih e 23M níbh fhearr dhuit ar bith é,</i>
			<i>Ní: v'ar fa:nəxt 66N níbh fhearr fanacht.</i>
	<i>féidir</i>		<i>Ní: v'e:d'ər' d'ox əl' ə:n 52Cr níbh fhéidir deoch a fháil ann.</i>
	<i>fiú</i>		<i>Ní: v'u: ka:n't' er' 14M níbh fhiú caint air,</i>
			<i>Ní: v'u: N' d'aul iəd əg obər' Pt níbh fhiú an deabhal iad ag</i>
			<i>obair, du:rt' m'e Ní: v'u: 66N dúirt mé níbh fhiú;</i>
			<i>cp. Ní: v'u: ɣo'b' 56N níbh fhiú dhóib.</i>
	<i>/_fh: fleár</i>		<i>Ní:v' l'ar níbh fhleár.</i>
1ii.l	<i>/_V</i>	<i>Ní:v</i>	<i>Ní:w i:ntəs 16A níobh iontas,</i>
		<i>níobh:</i>	<i>níobh ionann Ní: wa:nən iad héin ... 21Pt,</i>
			<i>Ní:w ən'fo ... 30P níobh anseo</i>
	<i>/_fh</i>		<i>Ní:w a:də v' i: fe a:ŋ gə dɑ:n'ək' f'ær ... 01P</i>
			<i>níobh fhada a bhí sé ann go dtáinic fear ... ,</i>
			<i>níobh fhada bhí sé imúthe 35E.</i>
1ii.m	<i>/_C</i>	<i>Ní:</i>	<i>Ní: mə ku:plə b'ih ə v' i: i:ntəb P</i>
		<i>mə ní</i>	<i>ní mba cúpla ar bith a bhí iontub,</i>
		<i>mba:</i>	<i>nuair a bhítheá tinn leis an mbruitíneach, ní mba mhaith leat </i>
			<i>'Ní: mə 'wa' l'æt deochannaí te ... Deochannaí fuara ba mhaith</i>
			<i>leat a ól 22Mt,</i>
			<i>Tá fhios ag an lá nuair a théadh muid ag druigeáil ní mba Ní: mə</i>
			<i>muid an dream céanna chor a bith nuair a theagadh muid. 31P</i>
			<i>(i.e. we were strengthened by eating raw scallops).</i>
			<i>Ní: mə x'ært ... 60M ní mba cheart</i>
1ii.n	<i>/_fhV</i>	<i>Ní:m'</i>	<i>Ní:m' ní mb: Ní:v' (l) m'e:d'ər' ... 62P ní mb'fhéidir ... (cf. 5.336).</i>
1ii.o	<i>/_V</i>	<i>Ní:m</i>	<i>Ní:m ní mb: Ní: mæ:s ní mb'as</i>

5.354 1ii.bb — 1ii.dd

- 1ii.bb** /_C **ń:ir** **ń:ir hæ:də maik'əl' er' ə ɣuələn' P**
ńor: *ńor thada Maidhcil ar a ghualainn,*
ńor thada dhá gcuid iad ń:ir hæd a: gid' iad ach thugadar
leothub iad 892M1549,
ńor dhlíobh maith a leag sé amach 892M2005,
| ń:ir ɣa'li:r' əx ə v'i: a'kəb | 894Cs
ńor ghallaoireach a bhí acub; ńor mhórán le rá é;
ńor Phratastúin tá fhios a'd a bhí iontub 11C3259,
ńor pheaca a' bith duit é (Máire, wife of 897St);
 including **ń:ir wa:rə x'e:l'ə ... S ńor mhar a chéile ... ,**
mar a chéile **ń:ir wa:rə x'e:l'ə xor ə b'ih iad P**
ńor mhar a chéile ar chor ar bith iad,
 lenited prefixed adjective: **ń:ir 'hæn' l'æd e: fin' Mq ńor sheanleaid é sin.**
ń:ir l'ef ə'n'e: e S ńor leis inné é,
ń:i: | ń:ir lə: ə'pain' t'm'in' t' ə v'i: a:n M
ní — ńor lá apaidhntmint a bhí ann,
choinic sé solas i bhfad uaidh agus ńor ghar dhó mar a deireadh
na seanscéalta. ARN8811.
 nonlenition **ńor tada tada ar ghualainn an leainding M.**
-Fan, a deir sé, deir Fionn, a deir sé, amach ó, amach ón bpálás
seo. ńor beag a bhfuil i dtriobalóid. D'ínsigh sé an scéal dó, ...
892Mtn.
ń:ir k'i:r' əx l'um S ńor cuimhneach liom.
ńor dream farraige iad. 892M1616.
ń:irə: ń:irə wā: l'ef ... 03C ńor mhaith leis
ń:irə 'wā: ɣut' 'e: muɟ ... ń:irə 'wā: ɣut' 'e: ɣun'ə xri:
899D6407 ńor mhaith dhuit é muis ... a dhuine chroí.
 /_fhV, féidir **ń:ir' nír: ń:ir' e:d'ər' e o:l 45B nír fhéidir é a ól.**
1ii.cc /_é **ń:ir h v'i: fa:t' iəs gə rə k'æ:n'sər orhə ax ń:ir hæ: M**
ńor h: *bhí faitíos go raibh ceainsar uirthi ach ńor hea.*

5.355 1ii.dd — 1ii.nn

- 1ii.dd** /_C **ń:ir bæ ńor ba: ń:ir bæ l'ef ə kær S ńor ba leis an carr.**
1ii.hh /_é **ń:ir-v' ń:ir v'e: ə b'ær l'um S ńorbh é ab fhearr liom,**
ńorbh: **ń:ir v'e: n rud ə v'i: er' M ńorbh é an rud a bhí air, ń:ir**
v' iəd nə ɟ'ip' e:ri: v'i: gə: ji:n er' M ńorbh iad na slipéaraí a
bhí dhá dhéanamh air, ń:ir v'in' ... S ńorbh in ... , ń:ir v'in'
e: S ńorbh in é; ń:irə v'i: n tærəm 04B ńorbh í an t-arm;
ń:ir v'id e Mq ńorbh iud é; Agus ar ndóigh ní cheapann tú
gur rúta é? ... Ó! ńorbh ea, ńorbh ea. ń:ir 'v'æ 01C6678-9;
ń:ir v'æ: | 72C ńorbh ea.
1ii.ii /_fhV, fhV
fearr **ń:ir-v' ń:ir v'ær l'um e S ńorbh fhearr liom é.**
féidir ńorbh: **ń:ir v'e:d'ər' ... S, 01C ńorbh fhéidir**
fíor **ń:ir v' iər dər' e S ńorbh fhíor dó é.**
fiú **ń:ir v'u: e ńorbh fhiú é.**
 Note the variance in the following exchange:

			-s nax v' u: e 18Bm <i>Is nach bhfhiú é! -N'ir v' u: M Níorbh fhiú.</i>
	<i>fleár</i>		N'ir-v' l'ar <i>níorbh fhleár.</i>
	<i>note fear</i>		<i>Níor bh'fhear mór collata a bhí sa bhfear eile ... 869P4,</i> <i>níorbh fhear N'ir 'v'ær bréagach a bhí ann 21Pg6742.</i>
	<i>fearacht</i>		ax N'iräv' 'æræxt nə 'sa:ltræxi: e' 06C
		N'iräv'	<i>Ach níorbh fhearacht na saltrachaí é.</i>
1ii.jj	<i>l_V</i>	N'irv	<i>Níorbh áit buaile N'ir^ə wāt buəl'ə ná seanbhaile bheith, i</i> <i>gCarraig a Míle an uair sin. 892M.</i>
		<i>níorbh:</i>	v'i: fe kræ:k'ælt'ə ax N'ir wintəs e M <i>bhí sé craiceáilte ach níorbh iontas é.</i>
1ii.nn	<i>l_é</i>	N'ir j	-o: N'i: 'f'ar 'br'ægəx ə v'i: n 'f'e(f)ti: 01C <i>Ó! ní fear</i> <i>bréagach a bhí in Feistí. -N'ir 'jæ: 899D</i> <i>Níor dh'ea.</i>
		<i>níor dh:</i>	-N'ir 'v'ær 01C6801–2 <i>Níorbh ea.</i> <i>níor dh'iad N'ir^ə 'jiəd an criú a bhí [? íontub uiliug ?].</i> 899D6291.
	<i>l_fhiú</i>		N'ir ju: gə ðiŋkən ə ɣol' ser' M <i>níor (bh')fhiú dho Diuncan a ghoil soir.</i>

5.356 2i.c — 2i.pp

2i Interrogative Positive Past

2i.c	<i>l_C</i>	ə a:	N'i: raus eg'ə ʃo ma:N'əxən nu: i:hə v'i an Pt <i>(as in present)</i> <i>ní raibh fhios aige seo a mainneachan nó oíche a bhí ann.</i> <i>Dheamhan a thúisce bhí an focal ráite aici nuair ... 892M.</i> Without lenition, can be classified as present.
			specific past With lenition, can be classified as unambiguous past. ə x'ært ə ɣol' a:n <i>a cheart a ghoil ann?</i> gəs ju:n ə 'hu:fk'ə v'i ʃiʃə muh er' ə 'grukān 'nā r 'e:ŋ 'vlas l'e f'ek'al ek' ax ə 'kru:kān krukān 'lū:m 18J8874 <i>agus dheamhan a thúisce a bhí sise amuigh ar an gcnocán ná</i> <i>raibh aon bhlas le feiceál aici ach an cnocán [slip of the</i> <i>tongue] lom.</i>
2i.e	<i>l_é</i>	əb' ab:	ə b'in' e: n' f'ær <i>S ab in é an fear?</i> -wel' 'ba:d' 'ʃo:l' ə b'ær v'i: a:n 21Pg6004 <i>Bhuel báid seoil,</i> <i>ab ea, a bhí ann? -ba:d' 'ʃo:l' ə l'ug 01C6004</i> <i>Báid seoil uiliug.</i>
		b' ab:	b'in' e: S ab in é?, b'i: in'i:n' i: S ab í a inín í?
2i.g	<i>l_fhr</i>	əb ab:	əb rustə <i>ab fhrusta?</i>
2i.m	<i>l_C</i>	əmə	əmə k'a:n mar ʃin' e <i>a mba ceann mar sin é?</i>
		<i>a mba:</i>	k'er l'ef əmə kosul' e M <i>cér leis a mba cosúil é?</i>
2i.n	<i>l_fhV</i>	əmə	
	<i>féidir</i>	<i>a mb:</i>	ə m'ed'ər' e ji:nə <i>M a mb'fhéidir é a dhéanamh?</i>
	<i>fíor</i>		m'iar do: e M <i>a mb'fhíor dó é?</i>
	<i>fíú</i>		m'æs tu ə m'u: e ʃin' e M <i>meas tú a mb'fhiú é sin é?</i>
2i.o	<i>l_V</i>	əm a mb:	əm æ:s <i>a mb'as.</i>
2i.q	<i>l_é</i>	ə məj	ə mə je: nu nax mə je: Mperm
		<i>a mbadh:</i>	<i>a mbadh é nó nach mbadh é.</i>
2i.bb	<i>l_V</i>	ər ar:	ər ən'ʃin' e 24Nt <i>ar ansin é?,</i> ər a:n ə xun'ək' tu e S <i>ar ann a choinic tú é?</i>
		Indirect:	d'iarhə ʃe ər er' ə mo:hər ə v'i: ʃe S

- d'fhiathraigh sé ar ar an mbóthar a bhí sé,
 d'íorhó fe ar æ:səl e Sq, Mq d'fhiathraigh sé ar asal é.
 Ar tú an ... ? (in rhyme) 870B2, Ar mhaith leat é?
 ar xumə l'æ:t ar chuma leat?*
- 2i.ee** *l_é* **ar-b'** *arb:* **ar b'ín' e:** S *arb in é?*
- 2i.ff** *l_V* (**ar**b**) Not attested but probable,
arb): cp. **narb æ:ft'əx ə k'ɑ:n e** *narb aisteach an ceann?***
- 2i.hh** *l_é* **ar-v'** *arb:* **ar v'i: ín'ín' i:** S *arbh í a inín í?*
ar v'íd e v'i: g'ɛft' ad M *arbh iud é a bhí i gceist a'd?*
an-iascairí froisin arbh ea? ar v'æ 21Pg7781.
- 2i.ii** *l_fhV* **ar-v'**
fearr *arbh:* **m'æ:s tu ar v'ɑ:r e:** M *meas tú arbh fhearr é?*
- 2i.jj** *l_fhr* (**arv, arəv**) Not attested but probable,
arbh): cp. **narv ~ narəv rust æ:nt'ə** *narbh fhrusta aithnte?*
- 2i.ll** *l_fh* **arm** **m'æ:s tu ar mrustə yut' e: j:inə m' b'æ:ləx fín' M**
r ar m: *meas tú ar mb'fhrusta dhuít é a dhéanamh an bealach sin?*
- 2i.nn** *l_é* **arj** *ardh:* **arj ín' e:** S *ardh in é?*
- 2i.pp** *l_é* **an'** *an:* (as present) *ní rabh fhios an é Conán a bhí 875T1.*
- 5.357 2ii.a — 2ii.q**
- 2ii Interrogative Negative Past**
- 2ii.a** *l_é* **nax** *nach:* **nach é a bhí ann?**
- 2ii.b** *l_V* **nax** *nach:* **nach ard an fear a bhí ann?**
- 2ii.c** *l_C* **nax** **nax vr'ɑ: n lɑ: v'i: ɑ:n** M *nach bhreá an lá a bhí ann!*
nach: **nax vr'ɑ: e 66N** *nach bhreá é! 'wouldn't it be great?' (perhaps even nax fr'ɑ: ... 66N nach bhreá ...).*
- 2ii.d** *l_é* **nax h** *nach h:* **nax 'hæ: | 01C6553** *Nach hea? As present.*
- 2ii.e** *l_é* **nax b'** *nach b:* **nax b'e:rd dur:ʃ fe** S *nach b'éard a dúirt sé*
- 2ii.k** *l_fh* **nax v'** **-s nax v'u: e 18Bm** *Is nach bhfhiú é!*
V nach bh: **v'ɑ:r ə k'ɑ:n k'e:mə nax v'ɑ:r 66N**
bh'fhearr an ceann céanna nach bh'fhearr.
- 2ii.l** *l_V* **nax v** *Ach nach bh'iontach* **nax (l) w:ntəx** *an intinn [a bhí ?] ag na*
nach bh: *sean-ndaoine héin! 06C,*
nax w:ntəx ə rud e 23M *nach bh'iontach an rud é!*
- 2ii.m** *l_V* **nax** **nax mə hæ:ft'əx** *nach mba haisteach!*
mə h: (ba hálainn ...) *nach mba hálainn 27Mdperm.*
- 2ii.n** *l_fhV* **nax m'** *nach mb:*
éigean **nax m'e:g əŋ gə wɑ:r' i:n woxt im'əxt M**
nach mb'éigean dho Mháirín bhocht imeacht?
fearr **nax m'ɑ:r gə yín'ə bɑ:s a:l' o:g nɑ: fæn S**
nach mb'fhearr dho dhuine bás a fháil óg ná sean?
nax m'ɑ:r gən iəd ek'ɑ:l' xər ə b'í S
nach mb'fhearr gan iad a fheiceáil ar chor ar bith!
féidir **nax m'e:d'ər' gər hɔ:g'ədər he:n' e fín' S**
nach mb'fhéidir gur thóigeadar héin é sin?
fíor **nax m'íər gə wɑ:r'ə v'ik'əl' e 23M**
nach mb'fhíor dho Mháire Mhicil é!

- 2ii.o** /_V **nax m** **nax ma:lən' ə xr'æ:nhəx ə v'i: n'jin' M**
nach mb: *nach mb'álainn an chreathnach a bhí ansin!*
nax mi:ntəx ə xi: ə n'æ:x ə n a:t' jin' jis ... M
nach mb'iontach an chaoi a ndeachaigh an áit sin síos ...?
- 2ii.q** /_é **nax məj** Cp. ... ə mə je: nu nax mə je: Mperm
nach mbadh: ... a mbadh é ní nach mbadh é.
- 5.358 2ii.bb — 2iii.q**
- 2ii.bb** /_V **nar nar:** **na:r a:t' wa:h ə v'i: a:n S nar áit mhaith a bhí ann?**
/_C **nar nar:** *Nar chrua an píosa oibre ... 892M1393,*
lenition *Nar ghearr a mhair sí froisin! 21Pt,*
nar hirhi: n' jk'il'ən' e S nar shaothraí an scillinn é! nar
dheabhalach an ceann e! 20My, nar dheabhaltaí an ceann é!
-ər wa: l'æt ... 18Pc Ar mhaith leat ... ? -n'ir wa: S Níor
mhaith. -nar wa: 18Pc Nar mhaith?
nar mhírúnach v'ir:unəx an dream iad! 06C.
exceptional nonlenition: ... *nar maith an teach taibhsí a bhí ann? 21Pg6867.*
/_fh *Mo léan! nár fhaillí gan uimhir a sé de dhuán ... Clad167.*
- 2ii.ee** **nar-b'** This form is indicated by the spelling *nár*b in:
*Nár*b shiúd é an capall sámh ... !Clad1212 v. 5a [= **nar-b' u:d**].
- 2ii.ee or ff** **nar(a)b:** *Narab aici bhí an faitíos di héin! P* (quality of copula *b* was not noted).
- 2ii.ff** /_V **narb** **nar baird' ə e M narb airde é?**
narb: **narb æ:ft'əx ə k'a:n e narb aisteach an ceann é?**
- 2ii.hh** /_é **nar-v'** **bə je: f'a:m ba'kəx ə hū:ŋkəl' nār v'e | 11C**
narbh: *Badh é Seán Bacach a huncail narbh é?*
Giúsach ba mhó a bhí siad a oibriú. Narbh ea? 'na:r "v'æ: 01C;
nar v'æ: M narbh ea!, nar v'id e e Mq narbh iud é é?
- 2ii.ii** /_fhV **nar-v'** **na:r v'u: yit' e ji:nə M narbh fhiú dhuit é a dhéanamh?**
- 2ii.jj** /_V **narv** *nár bh'uíontach 894C2, nár bh'uíontas 894C2;*
narbh: *Bhuel narbh iontach na:r 'wi:ntəx an stuí a bhí san eascann!*
899D6429; nar vi:ntəx ə k'a:n e jin' 43M narbh iontach an
ceann é sin! nar va:lən' də xot' er' 'v'eri:æn' ə f'eg'i: M
narbh álainn do chóta ar Mhéaraí-Ain, a Pheigí!
na:r wa:t' ə ga:lun ti:skə !S narbh áit an galún taoscadh,
'Sábhála Dia sinn, narbh aisteach nar wa:ft'əx an rud a dúirt
sé! 899D6262, nar ve:skə n f'er e l'e ba:nt' M narbh éasca
an féar é le baint,
na:r ve:skə n' dʒa:b e S narbh éasca an jab é?
na:r va:t' wa'h e M narbh áit mhaith é.
narəv **na:rəw i:ntəx ... P narbh iontach ... ?**
/_fhr *narbh:* **narv ~ narəv rust æ:nt'ə narbh fhrusta aithnte?**
*'nár*bh fhusa duitse a dhul ag ithe ...' 866ESc208.19.
note **na:rə vuər ə la: v'i: n'e: a:n S**
_fuar *narbh fhuar an lá a bhí inné ann!*
- 2ii.ii** /_V **nar m** *nar mb:* *nar mb'iontach na:r mi:ntəx an tseafóid é 21Pt.*
- 2ii.mm** /_C **nar mə** *nar mba:* *nar mba dheas (Asr)39D.*

2iii Alternative ‘whether’ Negative

2iii examples as 2ii, e.g.

	nax b’	<i>nach b:</i>	ər ən’fɪn’ e nu nax b’æ’ b’e:d’ər’ nax æ’ 24Nt
		(as present)	<i>ar ansin é nó nach b’ea, b’fhéidir nach ea.</i>
2iii.q	/_é	nax māj	ə māj je: nu nax māj je: Mperm
		<i>nach mbadh:</i>	<i>a mbadh é nó nach mbadh é.</i>

5.359 3i.b — 3i.g**3i Dependent Positive Past**

3i.b	/_V	gə go:	(as present) <i>bhí mé ag cheapadh go amadán a bhí ann.</i>
		g g:	x’æ:p m’ɛ ɡɪf’k’ə v’i: an 45N <i>cheap mé g’ uisce a bhí ann.</i>
3i.c	/_C	gə go:	gə wɔ:r ə tɔl’ɛ:s ə ʃi:nhəd ʃɛ he:n’ ʃi 04B4
		lenition	<i>go mhór an tsoilíos a dhéanthadh sé héin dhi;</i> <i>bhí muid ag caint anois ar an — ar an scéal mar déarthá go — go</i> <i>mhór an jab gə wɔ:r ə ʃɛ:b a ghoil ann.</i> 01C6199.
			<i>rinne ... suas ... go mb(a) mhaith an beart gə m’ah ə b’æ:rt</i> <i>(dh)óib (dh)á gcuireach siad ... go mhaith gə wah an beart é</i> 01P.
		nonlenition	ax ə’wɑ:n’ gə dl’i: ‘m’i:ʃk’æ’v’ni’ ... (Smds)04B <i>ach amháin go dlíobh mísceamhnaithe</i>
3i.e	/_é	gəb’	is gə b’e: he:n’ ə v’i: æ:s b’æ:ləx S
		<i>gob:</i>	<i>is gob é héin a bhí as bealach;</i> <i>... gə b’id e e: Mq dúirt sé gob iud é é;</i> b’e:’^də gə b’in’ i: n’iʃ ə v’i: ɡ’ɛʃt’ eg’ə 11C <i>b’fhéidir gob in í anois a bhí i gceist aige.</i>
3i.f	/_eisean		k’e:m fɑ: gə beʃən e S <i>cén fáth gob eisean é?</i>
		gəb gob:	x’æ:p ʃɛ gə biʃ’ə v’i: ... 43M <i>cheap sí gob ise a bhí</i>
3i.g	/_V	gəb	<i>... duairt gu’ b’olc a’ rud</i> 894C2;
		<i>gob:</i>	<i>bhí siad ag ceapadh ariamh gá mhéid gá mbeadh an chloich, go</i> <i>b’amhlaidh is fhearr a bhuailthead sí an meáchan.</i> 894P.

5.360 3i.j — 3i.t

3i.j	/_é	gəv’	<i>sé an chaoi ar chuir sé an t-amhrán, gobh iad Aranjmein</i>
		<i>gobh:</i>	<i>Chúig-Uladh, a ghoid an capall.</i> 892M5059. <i>’Gus chuala mé, chuala mé ach ní fhaca mé é, go raibh sé</i> <i>roimhe seo, gobh é an bealach a dhíonfi léithi sin, san am sin,</i> <i>fear agus a bhuicéad aige, ag cuir fadhaitvais ortha, ros nach</i> <i>dtiocthad sí, thart go brách aríst.</i> 894P (of rejected kelp).
3i.k	/_fhV	gəv’:	gə v’e:d’ər’ 60M <i>gobh fhéidir.</i>
3i.m	/_C	gəmə	v’i:s eg’ə gə mə l’ɛʃ e S <i>bhí fhios aige go mba leis é,</i>
		<i>go mba:</i>	mar ja:l gə mə l’ɛʃ i: S <i>mar gheall go mba leis í,</i> tə:s ‘æ:dsə ... gə mə wɔ:r ə ‘dʒa:b ə ho:g’ɑ:l as 899D6418 <i>tá fhios a’ dsa ... go mba mhór an jab a thóigeál as,</i> b’e:d’ər’ gəmə xumə l’ɛʃ 18J <i>b’fhéidir go mba chuma leis.</i> <i>... go mba chuide dhe mhuintir Shasana a bhí i mBeilfeast</i> 15W, <i>D’amhdaigh sí nár mhac rí Úr, agus nár mhac rí Artúr, ach go</i> <i>mba mhac dlisteanach le rí agus le bainríoghain Lán-dhearg,</i> 852SbLL117,
		lenition	
		noun	

		<i>chaithit se go mba Phratastún a bhí in ... 20C.</i>
variation		<i>Tá mé ag cheapadh gá bhfeiceadh muid Jó an uair sin go mba gránna, go mba ghránna an spilingtí é nuair a bhí an bhean sí ag tíocht isteach. 892M.</i>
	<i>/_V</i>	gə mə (h) <i>shúinnse ' guil na sráide dhuit go mba háille thú ná 'n ghrian</i>
	<i>go mba (h):</i>	!(Abcl)894C CABI §35(b) v. 4, <i>Mar b'fhacthas dhomsa go mba áille gə mə a:l'ə thú ...</i> !(Abcl)43Js.
3i.n	<i>/_é</i>	gəmə́ <i>gəmə́ iəd go mb'iad.</i>
	<i>/_fhV</i>	<i>go mb:</i> gə m'ar <i>go mb'fhearr.</i>
	<i>/_V</i>	<i>cp. Chathat sé go mb'íontach, gur b'olc a' spirid ... 869P3 and contrast nár bh'uíontach 894C2.</i>
3i.o	<i>/_eisean</i>	k'e:m fa: gə meʃən <i>e S cén fáth go mb'eisean é?</i>
	<i>/_V</i>	gəmə <i>'fakəs 'durm gə 'mi:ntəx 'lɑ:d'ər ə 'f'ar e 899D6565</i>
	<i>go mb:</i>	<i>Facthas dom go mb'íontach láidir an fear é, sílim go mb'as gə mas Fínis ó cheart é 11C,</i> <i>du:rt' fe gə mæ:s bl'a: kl'i: e M dúirt sé go mb'as Bleá Cliath</i> <i>é, gə ma:nən ... P go mb'ionann</i>
	<i>/_C</i>	gəmə <i>fa'də 20Mlt gom fada; rinne ... suas ... go mb(a) mhaith</i> <i>an beart gə m'ah ə b'ært (dh)óib (dh)á gcuireach siad ... go</i> <i>mhaith gə wah an beart é 01P.</i>
3i.q	<i>/_é</i>	gəməj <i>gə məj e: go mbadh é;</i>
	<i>/_V</i>	<i>go mbadh:</i> gə nā:bri:d'i:f ... gə mə jer' ən' x'e:d dín'ə ʏohəx ə'ma:x ... 869P <i>go n-abraidís ... go mbadh air, an chéad duine</i> <i>a ghothadh amach Cp. 1i.i.</i>
3i.r	<i>/_é</i>	gə məv' <i>gə məv' e: go mbabh é;</i>
	<i>/_fh</i>	<i>go mbabh:</i> gə məv' u: fa:nəxt 66N <i>go mbabh fhiú fanacht.</i>
	<i>/_fhV</i>	gəməv' <i>gəmə́ v'ar ... gə v'ar ... 66N</i>
	<i>go mb' bh:</i>	<i>go mb' bh'fhearr ... go bh'fhearr.</i>
3i.s	<i>/_C</i>	gə mə: <i>... gə mə:r' x'ært 05M ... go mbar cheart.</i>
3i.t	<i>/_C</i>	gəmə bə <i>du:rt' fe gəmə bə kol k'əhər dō: hēm' e S</i>
	<i>gom ba:</i>	<i>dúirt sé gom ba col ceathar dó héin é.</i>
5.361 3i.bb — 3i.nn		
3i.bb	<i>/_V</i>	gər gur: du:rt' fe gər in'i:n' l'e ʃəm i: <i>M dúirt sé gur inín le Seán í,</i> du:rt' fe gər er' wɑ:r'i:n' ə v'i: fe kivr'u: <i>M dúirt sé gur ar</i> <i>Mháirín a bhí sé ag cuimhniú, du:rt' fe gər a:t' wah e M dúirt</i> <i>sé gur áit mhaith é, ma:nəm gər ort ə v'i: ən m'i:a: M</i> <i>m'anam gur ort a bhí an mí-ádh;</i> <i>is beag nach mbíodh muid ag sárthú ar a chéile gur i bhfastú i</i> <i>dtalthamh a bhí an dubhán 01C6423.</i>
	<i>/_C</i>	du:rt' fe gər mu: v'i:l'həd'i:f <i>M dúirt sé gur mó a mhillthidís;</i>
	(as present)	<i>Ach séard a bhí ráite gur mac rí a bhí ann. 35E7538.</i>
	with lenition	<i>... gur chuid acub a bheadh ansin 32J, ... gər ʏunə ... M ... gur</i> <i>dhona ... , gur dheabhalta beag é 11Pt.</i>
3i.ee	<i>/_é</i>	gər-b' <i>du:rt' fe gər b'in' e m' b'æ:ləx ə rə fe M</i>
	<i>gurb:</i>	<i>dúirt sé gurb in é an bealach a raibh sé;</i> hēm' gər ,b'e: (f) 'd'ə:ləm nə 'f'i:do:r'i: fin' 'wi:nʃə 'l'ug

- 01C6823** *chreidim gurb é a d'fheoghlaim na fiodóirí sin Mhaínse uiliug,*
gər b'ɛʃən 899N gurb eisean.
3i.ff */_eisean* **gər b** *k'ɛ:m fɑ: gər bɛʃən e S cén fáth gurb eisean é?*
/_V gurb:¹ Chathat sé go mb'íontach, gur b'olc a' spirid ... 869P3,
x'ɑ:p ʃe ... | gər bɑ:n | əs luəh ə ʎla:nəx ə k'ɑ: | 869P cheap
sé gurb ann is luaithe a ghlanthadh an ceo. As in present 3i.l,
go bhfuil fhios a'm ... gurb ann a ceannaíobh dhom iad. ... gurb
ea, gur ann a ceannaíobh dhom iad. 05M.
- 3i.hh** */_é* **gər-v'**
gurbh: *... gurbh'in ... 894C2, 'fɑ:kəs dum gərə 'v'e: ə 'wɔʃ ə wuəl' ʃe*
'ʃt'ɑ:x mar ʃo sə 't'in'ə 'halhu:n 899D6708 facthas dom gurbh
é a bhois a bhuail sé isteach mar seo sa tine thalún.
- 3i.ii** */_fhV* **gər-v'**
gurbh: *hi:l'hɑ: gər 'v'e:g'ən' i: xur ə xolə S*
shíltheá gurbh éigin í a chur a chodladh?
- 3i.kk** */_fhV* **gər-m'**
gur mb: *-Cé, cé, cé mb'fhearr an seanphúcán anis ná ná an bád seo*
tádar ag fáil ó Ghael-Linn ná? Proinsias de Búrca
-aɑ: tɑ:s agəm | gər m'ɑ:r l'ehi: 'ʃo:l' i | 892Mg
A-Ó! tá fhios agam gur mb'fhearr le haghaidh seoil í.
- 3i.ll** */_V* **gərm**
gur mb: *f'ek'ər um gər mu'hɑ:səx ə xi: xir ʃi: er' ə st'ufing' M feic-*
thearr dhom gur mb'uafásach an chaoi a chuir sí ar an stiúfaing.
- 3i.nn** */_V* **gərj**
gurdh: *der' mā'nəm gər ji: n'ir'ən' i' 05M*
doir m'anam gurdh í an fhirinne í.

5.362 3ii.a — 3ii.ii

3ii Dependent Negative Past

- 3ii.a** */_é* **nax** *x'æ:p ʃe nɑ:x in' e: n' t'in'əs ə v'i: er' M*
nach: *cheap sé nach in é an tinneas a bhí air. (As present.)*
- 3ii.b** */_V* **nax** *du:rt' ʃe nɑ:x e:dəx mɑ: v'i: er' M*
nach: *dúirt sé nach éadach maith a bhí air. (As present.)*
- 3ii.c** */_C* **nax** *d'íərħə ʃe ... ər v'ɪʃt'ə ... du:rt' m'ɪʃt'ə nɑx v'ɪʃt'ə M*
nach: *d'fhiathraigh sé ... ar mhiste ... dúirt mise nach mhiste.*
- 3ii.e** */_é* **nax b'**
nach b: *x'æ:p ʃe nɑ:x b'e: sin' ən' t'in'əs ə v'i: er' M*
/_fhV *cheap sé nach b'é sin an tinneas a bhí air.*
cp. gɑ m'ox rɔ:ʃi:n' ənə kolə əs nɑx b'u: i: xori: 56N
dhá mbeadh Róisín ina codladh is nach b'fhiú í a chorraí.
- 3ii.n** */_fhV* **nax m'**
nach mb: *níl mé ag rá nach mb'fhéidir go nax m'e:d'ər' gə ngothad sé*
scaitheamh maith air 18J7105;
níl mórán baile a' bi', nach mb'fhéidir go mbíonn a' dó dhéag
caite aige, nuair a theigheanns na soilse as. 01P;
níor thug mise isteach ariamh dóib, 'na dhiaidh sin, nach
mb'fhearr nax m'ɑ:r an scuab. 01P.
- 3ii.bb** */_C* **nar nar:**
lenition *cheap mé nar mhór imeacht ar an bpointe;*
a mh'anam go, nar mhinic nar v'in'ək' ag goil isteach le lá
breá aon chuid acub. 892Mg (turf-boats sailing to Árainn);
cheap sé nar mhórán, mísc a, ab fhéidir leis an dá chiaróg a
dhíonamh 869P;

¹ The nonpalatal *b* before *ea* seems to be a slip of the tongue in:
sílím gurb ea gər b æ:, gur muintir Uaithnín a bhí inti 11C.

- 3ii.ee** /_é **nar-b'**: *bhí sé ag rá nar bhréag a' bich a bhí ann, 11C3033.*
3ii.hh /_é **nar-v'** *hi:l' m'e: nar b'e: ŋ k'ɑ:n ... 01J shíl mé narb é an ceann*
caithe tú rá narbh iad nar⁹ v'iað an cleas [< class] iad 'na
dhiaidh sin. 892Mg;
du:rʃ fe na:rə v'in' əm' b'æ:ləx e M
dúirt sé narbh in an bealach é.
- 3ii.ii** /_fhV **nar-v'** *éigin narbh: du:r fe na:r v'e:g'ən' ... M dúirt sé narbh éigin ... ,*
fíor nar v'iað P b'fhéidir narbh fhíor.
/_V x'æ:pə: na:rə v'æ:s M87 cheapthá narbh as.
- 3ii.ii** /_fhV **narv** *fiú narbh: nar vu: do: e 24B narbh fhiú dó é.*

5.363 4i.b — 4i.c

4i Direct Relative Positive Past

- 4i.b** /_V **bə ba:** *Cé leis ba cosúil é? 27Mdq; fe: bə e:skə 66N Sé ba éasca.*
- 4i.c** /_C **bə ba:** *bə iad bə grɑ:n'ə Pt ba iad ba gráinne;*
 nonlenition *Tá mé ag ceapadh gur cúrsaí daoine maithe agus stógaí ba*
ciontsiocair leis bə 'k'in' t'ukər l'ej 11C1243;
mar ba tráthúil Sc156.29.
- lenition (ní) **bə jin' e: xi: bə 'v'æ:sə mid' 899D6500**
ba: badh in é an chaoi ba mheasa muid;
- comparative: *... ba mhó bə wu:; ... ba bhreácha ná iad 889P.*
Also bə ʎrɑ:n'ə ba ghráinne from P but it was not noted whether
in declarative or relative context.
Rare lenition for common ba deise:
k'e a'kəb bə jeʃə 66N cé acub ba dheise.
Cp. gə nə kaurni: bə ʎi:r'ə !(Acm)43Js dhe na cornaí ba
dhaoire.
Lenition of m-, followed by nonlenition of d- in:
a ba mhílse deise póg !894C.
- nonlenition **bə gri:u:lə P ba gnaíúla;**
badh in é an birín ba damáistí uiliug acub 35E9134;
ní fhaca sé aon uisce ariamh ba gráinne bə grɑ:n'ə ná é le
breathnú air 852Stn; a' ceann ba sine 852SbTS135;
a' coileán con ba breácha a chonnaic sé ... a' bhean ba breácha a
chonnaic sé 852SbTS148, cp. 'á ba bhreácha 'á ro ... 852Sb-
TS124;
sin é ba folláine fulɑ:n'ə 20Mlt;
wel' 'v'i: | f'ir' ɑ:n ə j'i:nhəx n'i: bə 'slɑ:xtu:r'ə s n'i: 'b'ɑ:r e
nɑ: "x'e:l'ə 899D6022 Bhuel bhí, fir ann a dhéanthadh ní ba
slachtmhaire is ní b'fhearr é ná a chéile.
Cp. Níor bhinne liom péin, a deir sé, ceol ba binne, ... !11C.
Níor bhinne liomsa ceol ba binne, ... !11C.
Rare nonlenition in: badh é an t-oileán, ba mó bə mū: ' raibh cáil
air leihí iascach ag an am sin. 06C.
- with noun: **əw' d'aul bə wɑ:k do: Mq an deabhal ba mhac dó;**
 lenition **əw' d'aul bə jr'ehu:r do: Mq an deabhal ba dhreithiúr dó;**

- also nonlenition *an deabhal ba dreitheáir dó Mq*;
 ǺN´ d´aul bə xol k´əhər dɔː Mq *an deabhal ba chol ceathar dó*.
 /_fV ə a: du:rtʰ ʃe ... rud ə f´iər gəN´ ær M
duirt sé ... rud a fíor dhon fhear.
 /_C ʃe:rd ə x´æ:rt ə ji:nə l´o:həb 21Pt
séard a cheart a dhéanamh leothub;
dubhairt sé nar cheart ... gur bé Roinn na Gaeltachta a cheart é
sín a íoc Mlt.
 /_C ə a bə ˈwu: ˈkosu:l l´e gaur´ iəd | 32J
 or Ø: *ba mhó (ba) cosúil le gabhair iad (ná caoire)*.
 /_C Ø: ... nax rə ʃe gə ma s ˈx´æ:rt dɔː ː v´e | 01P ... *nach raibh sé*
chomh maith is cheart 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´æ:rt 01P.)

5.364 4i.d — 4i.g

- 4i.d /_V bə h *an ainnir ba háille ˈ bith graoi !894C9*,
 ba h: *ní rudar ánn ba hábailta. 894C2*,
 comparative bə jeː m´ p´i:sə bə kruəjə gən fot e | bə jeː m´ p´i:sə bə
 adjective hānˈro:t´i: ... 892M *badh é an píosa ba cruaidhe dhen phota é*,
badh é an píosa ba hanróití ... (recording slightly unclear);
bə hā:n bə he:riː ... 894N ba hann ba haeraí ... ;
 ... bə huəgn´i: gə: guələ ʃe ... 04B10tn
 ... *ba huaigní dhá gcuala sé ...* ;
badh iad ba héasca a chuir aníos. 06C;
níor gearradh aon adhmaid ariamh ba háille ná iad. 06C; *dhen*
rum ba háille a ... 06C; ə ma:k bə ho:g´ə Pt *an mac ba hóige*,
 m´e he:n bə ho:g´ə P *mé héin ba hóige*;
 gə mə je: bə ho:g´ə 24Mt *go mbadh é ba hóige*.
 Cp. *Badh é ˈn fear ba haoirdˈ é ... !894C9*.
 simple ... ogəs nor´ bə hæ:rd gəN´ iə bə hi:ʃəl dɔ:sən (run)
 adjective 04B10tn *agus nuair ba hard dhon fhia ba híseal dósan*;
 “Cur seasta” *ba hiondamhail [4i.d] leó ... Ba hanróiteach*
 [1i.d] *Le doruighthe ab iondamhail [4i.g] a bhíodh ... Clad19–*
10.
 ə bə h nor´ ə bə hi:ʃəl gəN´ iə bə hæ:rd gə wək ri: ... (run)
 a ba h: 04B10tn *nuair a ba híseal dhon fhia ba hard dho Mhac Rí ...* .
 4i.e /_fhV əb´ ab, b´ b:
 fearr (ə)b´ N´i: rə ku:rʃə b´i b´a:r nɑː e S
 ab: *ní raibh comharsa ar bith ab fhearr ná é*.
 féidir əb´ cheap sé nar mhórán, mísc a, ab fhéidir leis an dá chiaróig a
 ab: dhíonamh 869P,
 obər´ ə b´e:d´ər l´e dín´ə ji:nə M
obair ab fhéidir le duine a dhéanamh,
 ʃk´e:l ə b´e:d´ər ə v´e N´is f´a:r Mq
scéal ab fhéidir a bheith níos fearr.

- b' b:** *xə d'ir'əx ... , əgəs b'e:d'ər' e', 20C*
chomh díreach ... , agus b'fhéidir é,
shiúil sé chomh tréan agus b'fhéidir leis é 866EB16.112.
- 4i.g** */_V əb ab:* *nuər' əb i:fəl gən juria b a:rd gə ... 11C*
nuair ab íseal dhon ghiorria b'ard dho ... , similarly nuair an
íseal ... nuair ab árd ... 889P;
'Uise céard ab áil liom ag caint? S.
- /_fhr* **obər' ə brustə ji:nə** *S obair ab fhrusta a dhéanamh.*
faillí *Ach níor le Mac Rí in Éirinn ab fhaillí é (run)866ESemr56;*
níor leis ab fhaillí é Sq.
- /_V b b:* **wel' tūmā:s bir'e:d | bæ'n'əm' s bə slin'ə ɣo | 11C**
Bhuel Tomás Bairéad b'ainm is ba sloinne dhó;
... b'aéifeachtaí cáil !894C9 (i.e. nonpalatal b before éifeachtaí).
- comparative** **n'i: 'bōird'ě 46 (s.v. ard) ní b'airde.**

5.365 4i.h — 4i.m

- 4i.h** */_ea bəj*
badh: *gar go leor gon bhóthar bu dh-eadh bhí sé 'na chûnaí, 869P4.*
- 4i.k** */_fhV bəv'* **bə'ji: ɣ xu:rt' bə v'ar v'i: n'e:r'ən' ə'r'iaw Pt**
babh: *badh í an chúirt babh fhearr a bhí in Éirinn ariamh,*
Cé leis babh fhearr leat a bhei' ag obair? 27Mdperm (speaker
was queried about ... arbh fhearr ... ; she permitted babh fhearr);
Sin é ' chaoi babh fhearr duit é. ... an buidéal babh fhearr a bhí
ánn, 45N;
nax b'in' e ɣ xi: bə v'ar e 79S
nach b'in é an chaoi babh fhearr é; ... é ba bh'fhearr 79S.
- v' 'bh:** **nax in' v'ar 66N** *nach in (é) 'bh fhearr.*
- 4i.l** */_fhV bəv:* *an fhiacail babh fhuide bə wid'ə siar ina ceann 00Ttn.*
- 4i.m** */_C əmə* *go dtíochadh, sé ar chrann cailín áirthid eicint a mba mhaith ə*
a mba: **mə wæ** *leis a thabhairt amach píosa 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 í a thabhairt amach or cailín a mba mhaith leis a
tabhairt amach. Cf. 4iii.m (5.367).

5.366 4ii.i — 4ii.jj

4ii Direct Relative Negative Past

- 4ii.i** */_V naxv:* *ní mórán nach bh'anann é. 869P2.*
- 4ii.n** */_fhV nax-m'* **d'aul bla:s sə t'æ:x nax m'e:g'ən' S**
nach mb: *deabhal blas sa teach nach mb'éigin (sentenced left unfinished).*
- 4ii.bb** */_C nar* **gə ɣlō:r ɣa:ru: nar v'i:n' 04B8l** *dho ghlór gharbh nar bhinn;*
nar: *n' f'ær nar l'ej əɣ kə:p'i:n' Sq an fear nar leis an caipín;*
Míle croisín di nár mhór le bád a chur go súile. Clad216.
- 4ii.hh** */_é nar-v'* **ɣ gair nar v'e: jr'ibəl e Sq** *an gadhar narbh é a dhrioball é;*
narbh: **n f'ær nar v'e: xa:p'i:n' e Mq** *an fear narbh é a chaipín é,*
- 4ii.ii** */_fh nar(ə)v'* *ceann narbh fhéidir a fheiceál;*
narbh **ʃk'e:l narə v'e:d'ər' l'e din'ə inʃəxt Mq**
scéal narbh fhéidir le duine a inseacht.

- 4ii.jj /_V narv rud nar wintəs 01J *rud narbh iontas.*
 /_fhr narbh: f'k'e:l nar vrustə i:nfəxt Mq *scéal narbh fhrusta a inseacht.*

5.367 4iii.c — 4iii.ll

4iii Indirect Relative Positive Past

- 4iii.c /_C bə ba: cé raibh sí ina seasamh, ach ag an doras, thiar ag an bhfear ba leis í. eg' ə 'v'ær bə 'l'ef i | 01P (horse).
- 4iii.e /_é əb' ab: an fear ab é a dhreatháir a chroch leis é.
 gəb': an gabhar gob é a dhrioball é gə b'e: j'ri'bəl e Mq.
 /_fhV (ə)b' ... kul'ə h'i:msə | b'e:d'ər l'ə:həb | k'i:m'ə'r'u: or' | 869P
 ab: ... chuile shiamsa ab fhéidir leothub cuimhniú air.
- 4iii.k /_fh v' bh: ax d'aul v'u: e S ach deabhal bh'fhiú é. (The particle following negative *deabhal* has the same effect as, or is equivalent to, indirect relative *a*.)
 V
- 4iii.m /_C əmə | 'kaur'ə y'in'ə mə 'wā l'ef 'f'is 'a:l' | ... 892M
 a mba: corrdhuine a mba mhaith leis fios a fháil ... ,
 n' f'ær ə mə l'ef ə ka:p'i:n' Sq an fear a mba leis an caipín.
 k'er l'ef əmə kosu:l' e M cér leis a mba cosúil é?
- 4iii.n /_fhV əm' éigin a mb: t'e: 'm'e:g'ən' do: 'f'ærə 'l'ef | 899D6465
 té a mb'éigin dó seasamh leis,
 f'k'e:l ə m'e:g'ən du:n' ə xir' ə wa:ləx Mq
 scéal a mb'éigean dúinn a chuir i bhfalach.
 fearr f'ær ə m'ar l'ef e: sin' Sq fear a mb'fhearr leis é sin.
- 4iii.o /_V əm a mb: obər' əm eiskə j'inə S obair a mb'éasca a dhéanamh.
 /_C m am: | 'kaur'ə y'in'ə mə 'wā l'ef 'f'is 'a:l' | ... na n v'æn m wā l'ehə
 f'ær ə v'e ek'ə | 892M corrdhuine a mba mhaith leis fios a fháil
 cén bhean a bheadh aige ná an bhean a mba mhaith léithi fear a bheith aici,
 f'ær m l'ef ən a:t' S fear am leis an áit.
- 4iii.q /_é əməj: an bhean a mbadh í əməj i: a bó í.
 gəməj ŋ gaur gə mə je: j'ri'bəl e Mq
 go mbadh: an gabhar go mbadh é a dhrioball é,
 n' f'ær gə mə je: xə:p'i:n' e Mq
 an fear go mbadh é a chaipín é.
- 4iii.t /_C əm bə: n f'ær əm bə l'ef ə t'æ:x S an fear am ba leis an teach.
- 4iii.w /_é gəmə ŋ gaur gəmə bə je: j'ri'ubəl e Sq
 bəj: an gabhar gom badh é a dhrioball é.
- 4iii.bb /_C ər ar: k'æ:ləxi: ... ər l'ə:həb e 09B Ceallachaí ... ar leothub é,
 n' f'ær ər l'ef e SM an fear ar leis é,
 n' f'ær ər l'ef ə t'æ:x S an fear ar leis an teach,
 d'aul ər v'ift'ə l'um M deabhal ar mhiste liom.
 erə ærə muŋgə:n' s m'el'əʃs er ə l'ə:həb ə fl'əw fin' 18Jt
 ar a: ara [interjection] Mongáin is Meilits ar a leothub an sliabh sin.
- 4iii.ee /_é ər-b': ən f'ær ər b'e' wəs e M an fear arb é a bhás é.
- 4iii.ff /_V ərb fear arb as Bleá Cliath é (Mq or Sq); fear arb ainm dó ... 876Jt;
 arb: Chaon cheann dhen iomaire, arb as a leasaídis, na hiomaireacha.
 01Pt.

- gərb:** *fear gurb as Bleá Cliath é* (Mq or Sq).
4iii.hh *l_é* **ər-v:** *an bhean arbh í ər v i: a hinín a bhí ann.*
4iii.ii *l_fhV* **ər-v:** *d'aul ər v'ɑ:r ə hiəxt M deabhal arbh fhearr a thíocht.*
l_V **arbh:** *k'en ɑ:t' e fo ər v'æ:s b'æ:n waik'əl' S88*
cén áit é seo arbh as bean Mhaidhcil?
4iii.kk *l_fhV* **ər-m'** *ən tɑ:m ər m'u: br'æ:nhu: er' 01J*
ar mb: *an t-am ar mb'fhiú breathnú air.*
4iii.ll *l_V* **ər m** *... i dteach ar mb'ainm (sic) g'fhear a' tí Seán a Búrc. 869P4;*
ar mb: *(d'fhiafraigh sé dó cén) ríocht ar mb'as é ri:əxt r'mas e: 46.940*
(same speaker as 869P).

5.368 5.b — 6.g

5 má Past

- 5.b** *l_V* **mɑ: bə** *má ba Antaine héin a bhí ann.*
5.c *l_C* **má ba:** *má ba fear a bheadh á dhíonamh nú bean 894Cs;*
d'fheiceadh an fear sin ... nó má ba bean é, nū mā: b'æ'n ē |
d'fhicead sí an fear ... 892M (bə ba elided through haplological
sandhi); má ba púcán a bhí a'd 894Cs.
5.e *l_fhV* **mɑ:b'** *mɑ: b'iar b'e:ər' nar v'iar P má b'fhíor b'fhéidir narbh fhíor,*
fíor má b: *mɑ: b'iar e S má b'fhíor é.*
5.g *l_V* **mɑ:b** *mɑ: bəg' iəskəx ə v'i: fe S má b'ag iascach a bhí sé,*
má b: *mɑ: bæ:s kɑ:rnə hɑ:n'ək' fe S má b'as Carna a tháinig sé.*
5.h *l_é* **mɑ: bəj** *mɑ: bəj e: he:n' ə v'i: ɑ:n S má badh é héin a bhí ann,*
má badh: *mɑ: bə jin' e: S má badh in é,*
Níor de Chloinne Con Raoi Thiobóid an dream sin, nó, má ba
dh-ea, ní uaidhsan a shíolraíodar. SÓC2.282.
5.i *l_V* **mɑ: bəj:** *mɑ bə jəsk e nɑ' rud ə b'i S má badh iasc é ná rud ar bith.*
5.j *l_é* **mɑ: bəv'** *dúirt a' fear leis ... í tharrait má bu bh'é a thoil é. ÓC210.*
má babh:
5.k *l_fhV* **mɑ:v'** : *ta fe' ... mɑ v'e:d'ər' e ɑ:l' 16A tá sé ... má bh'fhéidir é a fháil.*
6 ó
6.c *l_C* **o: bə** *go raibh dhá uair ó badh mhaith leis an bheatha a bheith aige.*
ó ba: *864MDT4.*
6.g *l_V* **o: b** *o: ba:nə l'ej' ə gut srahər' ə v'eh er' S*
ó b: *ó b'annamh leis an gcut srathair a bheith air.*

5.369 7.b — 7.qq

7 mara Past

- 7.b** *l_V* **marə** *(as present) mara as sin a tháinig sé.*
7.c *l_C* **mara:** *mɑ:r ə wu: nɑ: jin' e Mq mara mhó ná sin é, mar ə xor'h e' nɑ*
ʃɑ:n Mq mara chóirthe é ná Seán. The first example, repeated
very slowly, was mɑ:rə ə'wu:
mɑ'rə wɑ²: l'ehə ... 43M mara mhaith léithi ... (conditional).
7.e *l_é* **marəb'** *(as present) marab é; marab í.*
l_V **marab:** *mɑ:rəb' eg'ə v'i: n tær'əg'əd [x2] Mq Marab aige a bhí an*
t-airgead!; marəb' ek'ə v'i: n tær'əg'əd [x2] Mq Marab aici a
bhí an t-airgead!
7.g *l_V* **marəb** *Marab ort a bhí an faitíos! Mperm,*

- marab:* *Marab acub a bhí an t-airgead! Mq, Marab éan a bhí ann. Mq.*
- 7.h** */_é* **marə** *ma(rə) badh é sin é ma' bə je: fín' e badh é an cnoc é mar dúirt*
bəj: *mé leis an móin, is mara badh é sin é marə bə je: fín' e, ba, ag*
plé le féar é. 21Pt.
- 7.j** */_é* **ma:rəv'** *mara bh'eadh 894C3, marəv' 'æ: 'hē:ŋ' 872P marabh ea héin,*
marabh: *-Meas tú ar cionál éanachaí iad ... ? 899D*
-Marabh ea. ,marə 'v' æ: 01C6885–6.
- 7.k** */_fhV* **ma:rə v'e:d'ər' f'ef** *M marabh fhéidir leis.*
- 7.m** */_C* **marə mə** *ma:r ə mə xə:rh e' na fə:n Mperm*
mara mba: *mara mba chóirthe é ná Seán.*
- 7.n** */_fhV* **marəm'** *ma:rə m'ə:r ə k'ə:n el'ə M mara mb'fhearr an ceann eile?*
mara mb: *ma:rə m' u: e M mara mb'fhiú é.*
- 7.q** */_é* **marə** *tá mé ag ceapadh ... gar dhon Chaoláire Rua in áit eicint, mara*
məj: *mbadh é Caoláire Rua an tórthainn, 11C3355.*
- 7.bb** */_C* **marər** *nə: ro fjad bl'ien' o N' i ma:rər wə:r ə ba:dər iəd S*
marar: *nár raibh siad bliain ó inniu marar mhór an badar iad.*
'Muise, deón', adeir a' Flathartach, 'mar' cheart go mbeadh
nádúr a'm léithi', adeir sé, 'mar' cheart dom go n-íosainn bia
héin léithi', adeir sé. ÓC197. The transcription mar' may indicate
reduction of marər to marɾ (ɾ = syllabic r) or mar:, or simply
*marə to mar. It is difficult to know whether surface *mar can be*
interpreted as a regular by-form.
- 7.ee** */_é* **marər-b'** *mararb é. Mperm.*
- 7.qq** */_é* ***marən-v'** *Measann Beartle 'ac Dhonnacha gur mhac do Mhícheál 'ac Eoin*
maranbh: *é, nú maran bheadh [i.e. maranbh ea] gur mhac dreathára do*
Mhícheál 'ac Eoin é. SÓC1.81.

5.370 8.a — 9.bb

8 cé Past

- 8.a** Pronoun */_é*
k'e: *cé: d'iarhə m'e ji k'e' e' he:n' S d'fhiathraigh mé dhe cé é héin,*
(as present) d'iarhə m'e d'i k'e' e' he:n' M d'fhiathraigh mé de cé é héin.
- 8.c** Pronoun */_C*
k'e: *k'e xə:s e ... cé chás é ... , cp. Cén chás k'əŋ xə:s é ach ... 43M,*
cé: agus cé bhrí k'e: 'vr'i: ach an chleith a bhí ar an seol mór
18J7016.
k'e: bə *k'e' bə k'inti: f'ef S cé ba ciontaí leis?*
cé ba: v'is eg'ə k'e: bə f'ef e S bhí fhios aige cé ba leis é,
k'e bə dun e nə: n' fN'æ:xtə S cé ba dona é ná an sneachta?,
k'e bə v'æ:s e ... S cé ba mheasa é ... ?
- 8.d** Pronoun */_é*
k'e: h *d'iarhə m'e do k'e: he: he:n' 47Pq*
cé h-: d'fhiathraigh mé dó cé hé héin (k'e: e' he:n' in conversation),
(as present) d'iarhə m' ji k'e he: fín' S d'fhiathraigh mé dhe cé hé sin,
nuair a fuair sé amach cé hé Naomh Mac Dara agus cén ócáid a
bhí aige héin ann, chuaigh sé ... ARN7619.
- 8.i** Pronoun */_C* **k'e:r** *cér: k'e:r xə:s e ... cér chás é*
- 8.k** Pronoun */_fh* **k'e:v'** *cébh: k'ev' ə:r f'æt cébh fhearr leat?*

- 8.m** Pronoun /_C
k'e: mə **k'e: mə wū: iəd ... 04B4** *cé mba mhó iad ... ?*
cé mba: **k'e: mə l'ef' e SM** *cé mba leis é?*
Cé mba leis ba cosúil é? 27Mdq, ~ Cé leis ba cosúil é? 27Mdq.
- 8.n** Pronoun /_fh
k'e:m' **k'e m'ar e na' e fin' M** *cé mb'fhearr é ná é sin?*
cé mb: **k'e m'u: yit' rud ə jī:nə M** *cé mb'fhiú dhuit rud a dhéanamh?*
- 8.o** Adverb /_V
k'e:m *... cé mb'as é, nú cé gár mac é, 869P2.*
cé mb: *ach léar mar bhí sé ... agus ag ínseacht cé mb'as é 11C.*
Pronoun /_V **k'e mod' e na: ŋ' k'a:n el'ə M** *cé mb'fhoide é ná an ceann eile?*
- 8.r** Pronoun /_fh
k'e:m' v' **wa:r'ə k'e:m' v'ar ə nors i: k'æt:l'i:n na' mar'īn' 66N**
cé mb' bh: *' Mháire, cé mb' bh'fhearr an nors í Ceatlín ná Máirín?*
- 8.t** Pronoun /_C **k'e:m bə cém ba: k'e:m bə l'ef' e: fo S** *cém ba leis é seo?*
- 8.bb** Pronoun
/_C **k'e:r** **k'e:r l'ef' əmə kosu:l' e M** *cér leis a mba cosúil é?*
cér: **k'er xais e ...** *cér chás é ...*
- 8.dd** Pronoun /_C **k'e:r bə cér ba: k'e:r bə l'ef' e M** *cér ba leis é?*
- 8.hh** Pronoun /_é **k'e:r-v' cérbh: k'e:r-v' iəd cérbh iad?**
- 9 cá Past**
- 9.bb** Pronoun /_C **ka:r xais e ax ga m'ed'i:f gə ma: M(q?)**
kar car: *cár chás é ach dhá mbeidís go maith!*

5.371 10.a — 10.k

10 dhá Past

- 10.a** /_é **ga: bə** **ga bə iəd nə brə:gə ... S**
dhá ba: *dhá ba iad na bróga (héin tá siad tugthaí siar aici)!*
- 10.c** /_C *dhá ba scéal bréagach a bə f'k'e:l br'e:gəx a bhí ann 04B4;*
dhá ba | a: bə beithíoch fiáin a bhí ann 01P;
ghá ba liomsa !894C9.
- 10.e** /_é **ga: b'** **ga' b'e: n tæ:fr'ən e S** *dhá b'é an tAifreann é,*
dhá b: **ga: b'iəd fin' iəd M** *dhá b'iad sin iad;*
ga: b'æ: nax d'ukəx ... 66N *dhá b'ea nach dtiocthadh ... ?*
D'éirigh an beithíoch chomh croíthiúil, agus gá b'é chaoi mbead se léis porgóid a thabhairt dó. 06C.
- ga: bəb':** **ya: bə b'æ:** (male, An Aird Mhóir) *dhá ba b'ea.*
- 10.f** /_é **ga:b** **ga' bi: n 'drox'æ:mfər' i: St** *dhá b'í an drochaimsir í!*
dhá b: **ga be' fa:n he:n' ... 66N** *dhá b'é Seán héin*
- 10.g** /_V **ga: baird'ə e: na n' t'æ:x fo M** *dhá b'airde é ná an teach seo.*
- 10.h** /_é **ga: bəj:** **ga: bəj e:** *dhá badh é.*
- 10.k** /_fhV **ga:v'** **ga v'e:d'ər' iəd ə wæ:n't' M** *dhá bh'fhéidir iad a bhaint;*
dhábh: *-Gá bhféadthadh duine ... BóC -ga v'e:d'ər' 12J Dhá bh'fhéidir.*

5.372 10.m — 10.ff

- 10.m** /_C **ga: mə** **ga: mə dīn'ə k'æ:rt ə v'ex a:n**
dhá mba: *dhá mba duine ceart a bheadh ann;*
gá [mbu] mé héin 869P2 (the insertion of mbu by the transcriber

might imply a surface sandhi elision such as **ga: mæ m'e:** > [ga: m m'e:].

- 10.n** /_fhV *féidir* **ga:m'** **ga m'e:d'ər' iəd ə wæ:nt'** M *dhá mb'fhéidir iad a bhaint.*
fíor dhá mb: **ga m' iər ɛ** M *dhá mb'fhíor é.*
fiú **ga m' u: e e** M *dhá mb'fhiú é é.*
- 10.o** /_V **ga:m** **ga: ma:m ə b'ih el'ə v'ox a:n** **10N**
dhá mb: *dhá mb'am ar bith eile a bheadh ann,*
ga: mæ:s bl'a: kl' iə x'ukət fe M
dhá mb'as Bleá Cliath a thiocthadh sé,
dhá mb'ann ga: ma:n a ghothaidís ag cúnaí **05M**,
dhá mb'orm ga: morəm a dhíonthá é bhainthinn na fiacra asad
18J7196.
- 10.p** /_é **ga: mæ** **ga: mæ b'e: jin' iəd** M *dhá mba b'é sin iad,*
b': **ga: mæ b'in' iəd** M *dhá mba b'in iad;*
ga: mæ b'id ɛ e Mq *dhá mba b'iud é é.*
- 10.q** /_é **ga: mæj** **ga mæ je: n sã:vɾə ...** **01J** *dhá mbadh é an samhradh ...*,
dhá **N'i: 'p'unu:s ə 'v'i: orhəb 'ga: m | ga: mæ 'jæ: |** **899D**6814
mbadh: *ní pionós a bhí orthub, dhá mbadh ea ...*,
ga: mæ jin' e ji:nhət fe M *dhá mbadh in é a dhéanthadh sé,*
ga: mæ jiəd M *dhá mbadh iad.*
- 10.s** /_é **ga: mæ-r-v'** **ga: mæ-r v'e: pæ:rək vik'əl'in' ...** **21J**
dhá mbarbh: *Dhá mbarbh é Pádraig Mhicilín (cuirthí isteach é).*
/_C **ga: mæ** **ya: mæ-r m'ifə v'ex ə fo:lə ...** **25Tt**
dhá mbar: *dhá mbar mise a bheadh ag seoladh ...* . Also **45C**.
- 10.u** /_é **ga:mb'** **gam' b'e: m' pekɔ' u:r b'æ:ni: he:n' ta fe ka:t'ə ma:x ek'ə S**
dhám b: *dhám b'é an peictiúr beannaíthe héin tá sé caite amach aici!*
- 10.v** /_V **ga:mb** **gam be:r'ənəx hu' S dhám b'Éireannach thú,**
dhám b: **m' b'æ:ləx k'e:nə l'um gam ber' ə bortəx e S** *an bealach*
céanna liom dhám b'ar an bportach é (initial bhí elided).
/_C *dhám b' léithi héin gam b l'ehə he:n' an bhó ... S.*
- 10.x** /_é **ga:mb j:** **gam b je: əm pæ:ft'ə S dhám badh é an páiste ... !**
10.dd /_C *dhár ba:* *Ghár ba liomsa 'n Fhrainc ...* **!03C** CABI §44(a) v. 4.
- 10.ff** /_V **ga:rb** **ga:r bə: vl'a: kl' iə x'ukət fe** S
dhár b: *dhár b'ó Bhleá Cliath a thiocthadh sé,*
ga:r bæ:s bl'a: kl' iə x'ukət fe Mq
dhár b'as Bleá Cliath a thiocthadh sé.
dhár ab: *Ghár ab liomsa Port Úmma 'gus Baile Locha Riain [sic]* **!03C**
CABI §70(b) v. 3.

5.373 11i.k — 12.ii

11 dhe + past: 11i dhe + a (relative pronoun); 11ii dhe + díobh

- 11i.k** /_fhV **ga:v'** **ɨ k'a:n əs f'ər ga: v'e:d'ər' a:l'** **43M** *an ceann is fearr dhábh*
dhábh: *fhéidir a fháil (perhaps with present meaning).*
- 11ii.m** **ga: mæ:** *a d'fhiarthóch bean a' tí ... cé gá mbu dhíobh (dhúí) é* **869P4;**
cé gá mbu dhúí é [x2] **869P**.
- 11ii.bb** **ya:r, ga:r** *... cé mb'as é, nú cé gár mac é,* **869P2,**
(yar or gar) *cé gár díobh (dúí) iad* **869P4;**

dhár: cp. *Ba dhar dhíobh a athair, Clann Dhonnacha ...* SeolG64 (this spelling implies **yar** or **gar**, cp. **darb** 12.ff below).

12 dho + ainm Past

- 12.ff darb darb:** **f'ær dā v'i: er' ə ga:fəl | ə v'i: nā ju:ft'i:f dar bæ'n'əm' dō**
fa:n o: loxra:n' 04B7n *Fear do bhí ar an gCaiseal a bhí ina*
ghíúistís darb ainm dó Seán Ó Lochráin.
- 12.ii dā:rm dār mb:** *bean ... dār mb'ainm di, dā:r mæ'n'əm' d'ɪ | 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 **gə go:** **gə m'æ:sə ... M go measa ... , gə v'æ:sə ... Mperm go mheasa**
- 13i.m** /_é **gə mə** **gə mə he' yit' Mq, 47Pq,**
h: **gə mə 'he: yit' 46 (s.v. is) go mba hé dhuit!**
mə 'he:ə 'yut' 11C go mba hé dhuit!
 /_V **gə mə hā:vlə yit' Mnasq go mba hamhlaidh dhuit!**
 /_C **gə mə** **gə mə m'i:l'ə f'ær v'e jib' bl'ien' o: noxt 16B**
go mba: *go mba míle fearr a bheas sib bliain ó anocht! 866ESemr70,*
nonlenition go mbu measa a bheas tú bliain ó anocht! 866EÓC223,
go mbu seacht gcéad déag míle fearr a bheas sinn héin 7 a'
cúlódar bliain ó anocht! 866EÓC223.
lenition go mba gháir mheasa bheas tú ... ! FFG19, 20 s.v. gáir mheasa,
gə mə fa:x ka:k 'xə:k v'i:l'ə v'æ:sə v'eis tu S
go mba seacht cac chac mhíle mheasa a bheidheas tú!
go mba seacht ngáir mhíle deirgmhíle mheasa bheidheas tú bliain
ó anocht! S,
Go mba seacht, go mba hocht, go mba naoi mhíle mhíle
deirgmheasa bheidheas tú ó anocht! S.
both gə mə ha:xt ~ fa:xt m'ær ~ f'ær ... Mq, (43M); gə mə fa:xt
v'ær ... Mperm, 43Mperm
go mba sheacht ~ seacht mb'fhearr ~ fearr ~ bhfhearr.
- 13i.n** /_fhV **gə m'** **gə m'ær ə v'eis tu ... 50N, Mperm**
go mb: *go mb'fhearr a bheidheas tú*
- 13i.p** /_ea **gə məb' :** **ə mə b'ær hæ:nə S go mbab ea cheana!**
- 13i.r** /_ea **gə məv' :** **gə mə v'ær hæ:nə he:n' S go mbabh ea cheana héin!**
- 13.y** /_ea **gə m bəv' :** **gə m bə v'ær hæ:nə S gom babh ea cheana!**
- 13i.z** /_é **gə 'mu h** **gə 'mu he: yut' 14M go mba hé dhuit!**
go mba h: *with elision of go: | 'mu he: yit' 18Bm 'mBa hé dhuit!*
- 13i.aa** /_é **gə 'ma h:** **gə 'ma he' yit' 47P, gə 'ma he' yut' M, 56B,**
gə ma h: **gə ma he' yit' 47Pq go mba hé dhuit!**

5.375 13i.bb — 13ii.ii

- 13i.bb** /_C **gər** *nonlenition: gur measa gər m'æ:sə bheidheas tú amáireach! S, M,*
 /_f *gur:* **gər f'ær ... M gur fearr**
 /_V **Gur i gər ə bhflaitheas Mhic Dé go raibh m'anam !05M.**
 /_C **gər v'æ:sə ... Mperm gur mheasa ... !**
lenition Go mba seacht, go mba hocht, gur mheasa bheidheas tú bliain ó
anocht! S,

Go mba seacht, go mba hocht, gur mhíle mheasa bheidheas tú bliain ó anocht! S.

- 13i.aa /_V gər h: gər hā:vlə ʔit' 18Pc, gər hā:vlə ʔit' Mq gur hamhlaidh dhuit!
 13i.ee /_ea gər-b': gər b'æ: hæ:nə M gurb ea cheana!
 13i.ii /_fhV gərəv': gərə v'ɑ:r ... Mq?perm (x3) gurbh fhearr ... !
 13i.oo /_C gura: gura slán guch áit gá ... ! 894C9 (in set exhortation).

13ii Negative Jussive Subjunctive

- 13ii.bb /_C nɑ:r nár: nɑ:r f'ɑ:r ... Mq nár fearr ... !
 13ii.cc /_V nɑ:r h: nɑ:r hā:vlə ʔit' Mq nár hamhlaidh dhuit!
 13ii.dd /_é nɑ:r bə h nár bə he: ə'wɑ:n dít' S nár ba hé amháin duit!
 nár ba h: nɑ:r bə 04B2l nár ba;
 nɑ:r bə he: ʔut' Mq nár ba hé dhuit!
 nár budh: Nár budh é amháin don ghaoith ... Clad1222, possibly indicating *nɑ:r bə je:.
 /_V nɑ:r bə hā:vlə ʔit' Mq nár ba hamhlaidh dhuit!
 /_C nár ba: -Nár badh slán an scéal an té a d'innis duit é, adeir sé, 864MDT46.
 13ii.gg /_ea nɑ:r bəv': nɑ:r bə v'æ: hæ:nə nár babh ea cheana!
 13ii.ii /_fhV nɑ:r-v': nɑ:r v'ɑ:r ... Mq nár bh fhearr ... !

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: sulər / hærər / hɑ:lər f'e:d'ər' Mq s(h)ular féidir.
 past shula ba: ... solə bə 'x'æ:rt do:b' e 21Pg6930
 uaireantaí an chloig sula ba cheart dóib é.
 shular: hærər x'æ:rt do: 27Mdq shular cheart dó.
 shula: hærə x'æ:rt do: 27Mdq shula cheart dó.
 shularbh: sul ɑ:r / sul ər / hær ər v' - Mq,
 hal ər v'e:d'ər' 27Mdq s(h)ularbh fhéidir leis.
 shulabh: hær ə v'e:d'ər' 27Mdq shulabh fhéidir leis.
 shula mb: hær ə / hɑ:l ə m'e:d'ər' Mq shula mb'fhéidir,
 sul dhá mb'fhéidir leat í a cheangal Clad1203.

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 fhrustacht*, *dhá mb'fhrusta*, *dhá mb(a) aistí*, *dhá mba bhreáichte* Mq (3.69). Similarly, *'á ba bhreácha 'á ro' an ceann eile ba ...* 852SbTS124. Cp. *níbh fhearr dhuit ... ná cuide dhábh fhearr ʔɑ: v'ɑ:r* 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 **hæ'** for more common **fæ'** *Sea*. A rarer, intermediate form between **f** and **h** is also found: | 'h̥jæ: | 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 ngoifi agus a bhfuighfi pleainc?* **11C**

-*Hé, ceannacht. he:ə | k'æ'nəxt | 892M1382*

-*Agus goifi go dtí na sáibhéaraí nach ea? nax a' 11C*

-*Hea, hæ: | go ngearraidís an pleainc sin. 892M1383.*

The full range of variation is **ʃ ~ hj ~ h ~ Ø**, as one also hears, for example, phrase-initial **æ:** for *Sea*. Cp. also more expletive **hæ'hæ** *haha* 'yes' (e.g. **21Pg**6209). For use with demonstratives, e.g. **ʃin' ~ hin' ~ in'**, see 6.76; cp. **əs ju:** *is fiú*, etc., (9.127).

Reduction often occurs in *b'fhéidir*, e.g.

b'e:ər' gə ... , b'e:r' gə ... , b'e:r' gə ... , b'e:r gə, gə m'e:r' gə 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'e:r'**. 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:

present **əs/ʃ t'ig' l'æt e ji:nə** Mq *is tig leat é a dhéanamh*,
Is tig leat FFG s.v. *tigeann*;

past **bə hig' l'æt e ji:nə** Mq *ba thig leat é a dhéanamh*;

conditional **gə: mə hig' l'æt e ji:nə** Mq, *dá mba thig liom* !Clad224;

subjunctive **nər bə hig' l'æt e ji:nə** Mq *nár ba thig leat é a dhéanamh*!

Cp. similar copularisation in *b'fhacthas dho, is feicthear dho* (*feic*, 5.282).

5.378 Copula with numerals

fearr occurs with numerals *seacht, céad, míle, seacht míle*, 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'fhearr* M.

céad fearr: Is céad fearr liom é 27Mdq; Ba céad fearr liom é. 27Mdq; Dúirt

sé go mba céad fearr leis é. 27Mdq; go mba céad fearr a bheidheas tú 27Mdperm.

míle fearr: Is mhíle fearr liom é sin. (2) 27Mdq;

Ba mhíle fearr liom é. 27Mdq, Ba míle fearr liom é. 27Mdq;

Dúirt sé go mba míle fearr leis é. 27Mdq;

gə mə m'i:l'ə f'ə:r v'e ʃib' bl'ian' o: noxt 16B

go mba míle fearr a bheas sib bliain ó anocht!

Nár ba mhíle ... Nár ba míle fearr a bheidheas tú bliain ó anocht! 27Mdq.

míle is fearr: Is míle 's fearr liom é ná an ceann eile. (1) 27Mdq.

míle b'fhearr: Ba mhíle b'fhearr liom é. 27Mdq;

Ó's ba mhíle b'fhearr liom agam a' buachaillín deas óg !894C9.

*But *Nár ba míle b'fhearr ... 27MdØperm.*

míle measa: Go mba seacht, go mba hocht, go mba naoi mhíle mhíle deirgmheasa bheidheas tú ó anocht! S.

The highest figure noted is 1,700,000,000,000:

agus go mba seacht gcéad déag míle 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' Clad128;

'... , b'fhéidir go' 'Bíonn an dá bh'fhéidir ann,' Clad127;

b'e:d'ər' gə man'həx əs ʏa: v'e:d'ər' nax ma:n'həx 10C

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.

uʃə waid'ən nax br'a: t'er'əm' iəd M *Uise a Mhaighdean nach breá tirim iad!*

(w)ifə s er' ə tɑ: n wa:ʃt'əx M (mh)uise is air atá an bháisteach!

Duine a mbeadh fiacla maithe aige 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'æ:n ə v'i: sə wa:rɔ̃ ə n'e:n'əx l'e ʃa:n əgəs hugədər fɪʃk'ə ji M

Bean a bhí sa vóird in éineacht le Seán agus thugadar fuisce dhi.

ka:rtə ha:n'ək' a ɔ̃æ:rə tɑ ʃe n'ʃin' M *Cárta a tháinig ó Deara, tá sé ansin*
(said to person who had just entered the room).

l'ej nə swi:n'is əs kosu:l' i: M *leis na Svuíníos is cosúil í 'she resembles the Sweeneys'.*

wa:gən tu ʃt'i sən i:h e, n'i ʔgəm' əd'er ʃe b'e:d'ər' gəb' e: n' t'æ:x ə
lɑ:səʃ ʃe ɔ̃rəm ... nɑ tæ:də M *'An bhfágann tú istigh san oíche é?' (of a dog) 'Ní fhágaim,' a deir sé, 'b'fhéidir go b'é an teach a lasthadh sé orm ... ná tada.'*

-Mise nach mbeadh i bhfad a' déanamh na hoibre sin, ar seisean, dá ligtheá dhom! SNG294.

Sé seachtainí d'athrú nár mhór don bheithíoch. SÓC3.159 'a beast / cow needs six weeks of a change'.

Fronting of pronoun governed by preposition:

gər b' iəd ə wil' ə si:l mar ə tɑ: ʃe a'kəb S

gurb iad a bhfuil an saol mar tá sé acub.

Fronting of phrase governed by 'stranded' preposition:

| 'he:n' 'x'əŋ gən' 'umər' ə | ə'r 'bæ:s ə 'l'æ:s'i:d'i:ʃ | nə 'humər'əxə | 01P

Chaon cheann dhen iomaire, arb as a leasaídís, 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 taobh thall dhe chuan b'as iad sin, as Leitir Miulláin. 21Jc.

5.380 Fronting with {*is ea*, *badh ea* + relative}

Fronting followed by *is ea* followed by a relative clause is not uncommon among the older generation. The present tense *is ea* is the only tense recorded from conversation:

... *nú ar a' sliabh (slíú) in áiteachaí seadh is tréine bhíonns an fhiataíl a' fás*
869P5;

Tuairim's orlach go leith, sea is, sea is deise | fæ f | fæ f d'efə a dhóthaidís. **01P**;

Go mór mór, na fataí, a bhfuil tú goil ag baint uasáid astub, sea tá tú gá dhíonamh sin leob, á gcur leis an gcláí, **01P**;

Mar, bhíodh, an t-am sin, insa tseanaimsir is foide siar anis, dá gcuala mé trácht air sea bhfuil mé ag goil caint air. **11C1125**;

is ea in nonpresent contexts:

agus dho léar mar a bheadh an — ghothadh sí suas sa ngloine is ea a gheothá, is ea a bhfuightheá praghas ortha **896P**;

Bhuel sa gclúid ó dheas ansin sea bhí an obair uiliug. **11C1151**.

Past *badh ea*:

gar go leor gon bhóthar bu dh-eadh bhí sé 'na chúnaí, **869P4**;

Lá sneachta fuar géimhre bu dh-eadh a bhí ánn, **869P4**.

Fronting without *is ea* is now most common, e.g.

Leisce an deabhal a rá a déarthas tú 'daighean' S.

5.381 'Munster' type {*Predicate + badh ea é*}, etc.

(a) Place *Agus bhí ceannaí — as Sasana bu dh-ea é, rugú is a tóigiú ánn — bhí sé goil thart ...* **869P2**.

as Cúndae Ros Cumáin bu dh-eadh é sílim, **869P5**.

Agus b'as a' mBuailé bu dh-eadh é. **869P5**.

As Iorras Fhlionnán bu dh'eadh iad **894C2**.

(b) Time *bu dhé thimpeall agus aimsir Chromail bu dh-eadh é* **869P4**.

(c) Class *Máirnéalach ba dh-eadh Peadar Máirtín i dtús a shaoil* **SOC2.283**.

(d) Lineage *Go Bhlácach bu dh-eadh an duine uasal,* **869P2**.

Go chloinne Conrí bu dheá é, ach ... **869P2**.

Go chlann 'Onnacha bu dh-eadh Maoilre Dú, **869P5**.

Go Bhúrcach bu dh-eadh na daoine a ra sé ' cuir a dtuairisc
869P5 (followed on the same page by the only construction now used *bu fear go Cheallach é héin* **869P5**).

(More examples **869P5.147**.) Note the two examples of *ba* + predicate + *badh ea é*.

One example of the present *is ea* from **04B** occurs in:

spā:ŋ əx fæ e' id'ər fæ 04B 'Spáinneach is ea é,' a deir sé.

The youngest speaker noted using relative *sea* following a fronted element is speaker **66N** who uses it in the proportional subordinating construction where it introduces the second comparative clause:

am ə mu' ə v' eis okrəs ort fæ ə slo:wər ə v' eis fiəd 66N

am a mó a bheidheas ocras ort sea is 'slower' a bheidheas siad.

(For traditional *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 ghoire dhá mbeidh ...* ¹

The indication of a source can be made with adverb preceding the preposition *as*, e.g.

(*Is*) *dóichí go mb'anuas as Gabhla é* ARN8389.

Note the syntax of the fronted verbal noun followed by auxiliary *déan* in examples from **869P3**:

... *gur b'é 'n chaoi dtáinic rud icín ... agus gur b'é 'n chaoi a ndeacha sí ins a' bhfarraige agus gur b'é a bátha rinníu.* **869P3**;

... *gur b'é a mharú a dianfaí* **869P3**.

5.382 Proleptic pronouns *é, í, iad*

The proleptic pronoun is regular before definite predicates and common before personal pronouns, e.g.

b'í: in'ín' i: S ab í a inín í?

níorbh iad bróga an ghréasaí bhí ar an gCoillín iad ach bh-, bróga bhí teagthaíthe. **05M**;

Cé hé thusa? **852S1**, *Cé thusa?* 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.

Sé raibh uathub, sé raibh ó na 'B-', ó na 'Blacks' [i.e. Black and Tans] an t-ám sin é. Go bhfuighidís tiucair 'ucub. **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:

... *nach é fearacht na nÉireannach bocht.* **05M**, S.

Before the indefinite pronouns *chuile dhuine* and *go leor* proleptic *é* is common:

Ach ní hé chuile dhuine gheithheadh cead páidirín a rá ag tórrthamh. **11C**

(vs., e.g. *ach ní chuile fhear a bhí i ndan an sleagh chur sa liamán,* **892M**);

Ní hé go leor marcaíocht a rinne me riamh **852Sb6.77**;

Ní hé go leor é sin, **866EB16.108**.

Proleptic *é* can, however, be absent before definite phrases, possibly with different nuances of emphasis and rhythm, e.g.

d'er fíad nax ə gil ə im'ins ax ə nɑ:du:r S

Deir siad nach an gaol a imíonnas ach an nádúr;

durt' fe nɑ:rə v'in' əm' b'æ:ləx e M dúirt sé narbh in an bealach é;

... *chaig tigh Mhac Uí Con Raoi, thíos ar bhruach Aill Dubh. Sin an aill, tá le, tá ar bhruach, Trá Mhaorais.* **892M2304**.

Note before 'indefinite' *an iomarca*:

nach an iomarca prógraims Gaeilge atá air! Níl breathnú siar orthú S;

Tá mé héin ag cheapadh gur an iomarca, an iomarca cócaireacht is rudaí a, mhilleannas na, leath na rudaí sin. **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.

fin' e l'e ra: gə wil' m'e ... 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 Ó Siadhail (1979: 146–7).

'giall' é ceann [x2] **29N**, meaning "'giall' is one" (i.e. *giall* is singular);

'tráiléar' 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 'tráiléar'* or the verb *bí* is used, e.g. '*tráiléar (é) an Gaeilge atá air*. One can also compare the use of classificatory *i*, e.g. *céard atá i 'froighleasach'*? M, *céard atá in 'aduinneach'*? 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

Fiú amháin dhá mbadh é brioscaí a bheadh aige nó graeps [< grapes] ná tada, shíneadh sé chugam iad. ... 'is iomú,' dúirt sé, 'duine,' dúirt sé, 'atá anseo,' dúirt sé, 'agus,' dúirt sé, 'nach – nach é 'drug dealers' iad.'

64M.

On the other hand, he has the traditional use of *gur* without *é* before an indefinite predicate in:

'So' *bhí gadhar 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 brioscaí atá ann → + *é* *nach é brioscaí atá ann*

gur brioscaí atá ann *→ + *é* **gurb é brioscaí 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.

Giúsach ba mhó a bhí siad a oibriú, narbh ea? **01C6655.**

Ó! baile ann héin a bhí ann **899D6795.**

bhí dream eile thoir ann, na Caolaigh, is (= agus), caint air a bhídís i gcónaí **01C6870.**

f æ r hu t a f t i l e d ə ɣ o t h æ n ə n i f **11C**

fear thú tá istigh le do dhóthain anois.

Ach togha file a bhí sa mbean sin. Badh ea. **11C.**

Note also:

e n i : f ə w a n m e h e n ə s d o r m ə t **32C**

aon aois amháin mé héin is Diormait.

ə f t æ x ə s n ə k r i k ə w a t h ə r M *Isteach as na cnoic a mháthair.*

Examples of *is* here are:

Ó! is, is ar aimsir cuir amach na heangaí a bhí[dís ?] ag díonamh an cheangal? **21Pg6307;**

Ach, is gabhar a bhí sa teach ar chuma ar bích a raibh an cailín beag seo ann, bíodh beithí bhainne ann nó ná bíodh. Ach is ag tóraíocht gabhar, a cuireadh í seo an tarthúna seo. **11C.**

¹ Cp. Ahlqvist (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 mineil sa deireadh orthub. 01C6045;

Ach u-, ba tús an tséasúir a bheadh 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*:

b'og an a:rd' ə tɑ: eg' ɔrt M *beag an aird atá aige ort.*

kumə l'um b'ɔ: k'e:r d'e:rhəs ɛ:nin'ə S

Cuma liom beo céard déarthas aon-nduine;

kumə sə d'aul S *cuma sa deabhal;*

- ... Imí muid, a deir se, ach gheoifear greim orainn.

-Cuma liom, a deir sí. 11C;

f'iar ut' SM *Fíor dhuit.;*

mah ə b'æ:di: hu' S *maith an beadaí thú;*

ma ɣo:b' e a:l' S *maith dhóib é fháil.*

Minic a chuir muid tuairisc as daoine eile faoi na rudaí sin 11C.

fə:də mɪx' u' du:rɪ f'i | a' uɪ əs 'fə:də d'ɛrʃe ax | ... 11C

'Fada amuigh thú,' a dúirt sí. 'A! 'uise is fada,' a deir sé, 'Ach

In past context in:

fə:də gə n'air'i:x dʒa:ni: P *Fada go n-éiríodh Janaí.*

n'ɪʃ | g'ɑ:r ɣə dɑ:n'ək' nə di:n'ə ʃe ʃt'æ:x | ə v'i: əg' iərə n f'is | 894C

Anois, gearr go dtáinig na daoine seo isteach a bhí ag iarraidh an fíos.

Before definite constituents:

Na cinn is fhearr a choinic mise ag obair ar chuma ar bích, le deireanas, na cinn ghlasa. 35E.

An example phrase-medially is:

ax fə:də gə m'ei ʃe sɑ:x mɔ:r M *ach fada go mbeidh sé sách mór.*

With *beag nach*, *beag nar* (cf. 8.22):

Níor mhór — beag nar mhór an eangach sin a bheí' istigh aríst shála n-éiríodh lá, 01C6336.

Other adjective:

Cám a bhreathnóidís air M (exclamatory).

In some cases the absence seems to be a case of phonetic deletion. In:

ax | dɔ:hi: nax n'axə ʃe 'wa:l'ə gə n'axə ʃe gə | gə 'mɪ:n'əʃ | 01C6824

ach (is) dóichí nach ndeachaigh sé abhaile go ndeachaigh sé go Maínis

the initial of *dóichí* seems slightly devoiced as though preceded by *s is*. Compare weakened but audible *is* in:

ax | ʃ dɔ:hi: gə rɔ n tɑ:l' u:r ən i:h̥ʃɔ ... 11C

ach is dóichí go raibh an táilliúr an oíche seo

As an exhortation **ma 'hu:** *Maith thú!* is common, whereas **əs 'ma hu:** *Is maith thú* is often used ironically.

In Echo contexts before adjectives *cuimhneach*, *cuma*, *garr* copula omission is common. Responses:

-Ar cuíneach leat nuair a tháinig Seán is Máire anseo, nó? B6C

-ki:vɾ'əx | ki:vɾ'əx gə mǎ' 21Pt Cuimhreach, cuimhreach go maith.

-kumə l'æt' Cuma leat? -kumə Cuma.

-f'g'ar ə v'i:ns ə gi:l ə skæ:p'ə S Is garr a bhíonn an gaol ag scaipeadh.

-g'ar 23M Garr.

In (present) interrogative:

m'ij't'ə yum ... 11Ct Miste dhom ... ?

kumə l'æt' M Cuma leat?

ə'n'ij' ə t'iaxt hu M anois ag tíoht thú? 'Have you just arrived?'

(Examples in the present interrogative are too common and used by speakers who have regular *ar* to be simply interpreted as phonetically elided initial *ə*.)

5.384 Nonpresent; Echo predicate

Omission of *ba*

Only lenition is commonly evident to indicate past copula with *chuimhneach*, e.g.

-Bhuel chuimhneach 'x̃i:n'əx̃ [pst] leatsa í fheiceál ansin, a Mhaidhcil?

21Pg

-Ó! cuimhneach 'k̃i:m̃'əx̃ [pres] liom go bhfaca mé í 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

Omission of jussive subjunctive *go* (*gur*, etc.)

f'ar ə v'eis f'ib' bl'ian' o: nolək' 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;

v'i: m'e g'ia:fəx gə nu:rə k'e:rd ə v'i: o:rəm s du:rɿ ʃi: gəb' iəd nə
hi:v'əxi: M bhí mé ag inseacht dho Nóra céard a bhí orm is dúirt sí go
b'iad na huibheachaí;

bhí bosca tobac aige — nú, (s) dóichí gur tobac — leihí an, tsagairt 25M;

-ke:n uər' ə m'eí ... 14M Cén uair a mbeidh ... ?

-ə x'e:d v'i: el'ə M An chéad mhí eile.

- ... gəs x'æ:p ə xul'ə yin'ə gər fi: hā:wən' 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 (əs) **marə** *is mar a* (in the positive, for example). Speaker **60M** has a similar metanalysis with *maith an*, noted in:

-*Maith an píosa go diastóidh é dhíonamh aríst.* B6C

-**s mahə 60M** *Is maith (an).* (for traditional *-(Is) maith.*).

Mixed tenses occur in one rendition of the following proverb:

t'e: nax wuər' ən' ol' nar wər əs f'u: ən' a:n̩rə S

An té nach bhfuair an fheoil nar mhór is fiú an eanraith.

Mixed prepositional syntax occurs in:

gər tu: d̩a:n̩ st̩i:f' ən' ə v'i: a:n̩ 24Mt *gur tú Janaí Stífin a bhí ann.*

Nonrelative *dhar díobh* occurs in a song composed by Seán Cheoinín (**18S**):

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'.

Developments, in particular since the 1960s

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 **-adər**, 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 *-áil*

A small number of examples of expansion of the *-áil* verbal ending have been noted. This *-áil* 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 **na ba'ka:l' ə b'ɪ l'um ... 66N** '*Ná bacáil ar bith liom,*' *a deir sé;* cp. traditional VN by-form *bactáil*;

coc **ko:ka:l't' ə 64Me** *cocáilte*;

dúin **n'ɪ yu:n' a:lən ... 66N** *ní dhúineálann ...*, but regularly **du:n' ən 66N**;

treabh cp. **tr'auu' ən fə:rk' ... tr'aua:l't' ə suəs am 20Cq**

treabhadh an pháirc ... treabháilte suas a'm.

Cp. innovative verbal nouns in *-áil*:

cac *iad héin a chacáil* **70S** (semi-speaker);
lán *iad a lánáil* **72C** *iad a lánáil*;
sraoth cp. *thosaigh se, ag casacht, a snaofáil* **66N** said hesitantly; *snaofacht* **66N(q)**.

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'á:hən* **66N** *leánn* (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-*, *íos-*, *tiúr-*, *tiocl(g)(th)-*, *goth-*.
- (3) Devoiced stem finals with present endings, some speakers (also) have + **h** following consonants.

One example noted from **46C**: *d'í:nhən déanthann*.

Sporadic examples from **66N**:

du:rt' fí: e:n uər' ə hukən' fε, n' i: v' i:n' fí: ft' i **66N**

dúirt sí aon uair a thiocann sé, ní bhíonn sí istigh;

tík' ən fí: m' i:fə **66N** *tuigtheann sí mise;*

skolhən fε e **66N** *scólthann sé é; tiocann* **66N**, *ní thóigtheann* **66N**.

77C has what may be present tense in:

t' æ:kə, t' æ:kən stuf kruə er' æ:f ə'r' i:ft' ... **77C1**

teagtha- — teagthann stuf crua ar ais aríst ...

78B regularly uses **fæk-** in the present of the verb *fág*, and two examples of *déanth-* in the present:

fækən [x2], *fæk:i:n* [x5]; *n' i ji:nhm, ní dhéanthann* (-íonn ?);

d'í:nhən déanthann.

- (4) Some occurrences of the form **-o:n** (< fut **o:** + pres **ən**) 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' i:f-** 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

combinations which seem particular to their network. These combinations are set out here.

faigh for present **g'e/of/hən ~ fa:n, je(hə)n, wi:n**, see *faigh* (5.278).

ith **ŋ'i:sən tusa 04Br an íosann tusa?, ŋ'i: isən mud' 15W.**

In reply to my question:

-ə ŋ'ix'ən' fīb' ... BÓC An itheann sib ... ? the sisters answered

-ŋ'i: isən 04Br, 15W Ní íosann.

Note also **isəm'** 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' ŋ'i: 'isə? ʔ' v'i? d'ix'əd fíəd ən ... s nāx ŋ'ix'əd fíəd ...

D'ith-, ní íos-, bhí, d'itheadh siad an ... is nach n-itheadh siad ...

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'itheadh* is actually to be interpreted as conditional (in past habitual function), recall fut **ix'ı m'ě ...** (*alt. ... 'isə m'ě ...*) 46.305), but a single example is of course insufficient to draw any concrete conclusions.

teara **04Br:** **t'æ:g-** (x3) >> **t'ug-** (x1);

15W: **t'ukən, ŋ'i: hukən, t'uki:h orəm 15W tiocthaíthe orm.**

teighre **gohən fi: 04Br, gohən mud' 04Br, gohən 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): **hukəd fíəd/fi: 04Br, 15W**, e.g.

krə:g' ə hukəd fíəd er də xof 04Br '*cráig*' *a thugthadh siad ar do chois.*

04Br: impv 2pl **t'urri:** !Ams *tiúraí*; VN **turt'**, lenited **hju:rt', x'urt'** (x' - also in cond / psthab **x'urrəd f-**).

15W: VN **turt'**, lenited **hurrt'** regular (**h-** also in cond / psthab **hurəd fi:**).

Cp. impv SID.46 **təgig'i:** (*or təgi:*) **təgig'i:fě** also **t'urri:g'i** 313, **təgi:fě** 1007.

fág **fa:kən fe: 04Br.**

5.390 Younger speakers

Developments observed in the irregular verbs in the network of clann Phádraigín Mhacaí 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 *déarann* (e.g. *ní éarann 84P*), *beir*, *faigh*, *ith*, *tabhair*, *teighre* based on the future stem. (There are other changes, e.g. spread of the present stem of

faigh, **fəː**-, to the future stem; *tóig* replacing *tabhair* in the meaning ‘take’, through influence of English ‘take’. (I have also heard *tóig* for *tabhair* in Ros Muc from female speakers born since c. 1980.)) Table 5.85 presents a small sample of young speakers.¹

Table 5.85 Future > present in irregular verbs, some younger speakers

	<i>ith</i> pres	<i>faigh</i> pres	<i>faigh</i> other	<i>tabhair</i> pres	<i>teighre</i> pres
66NAM	iːsən	jehən wiː(hə)n	fut stem jeh-		
73PMN	<i>icheann</i>	fəːn	traditional	traditional	traditional
76MAO94			cond 2sg dəːhəː		
78EMR			fut gʰehə mʰe		
78MAO			fut dep ɲʰiː jehə		
79MILD ²				tʰurən	tʰain
80CAI recorded 1994		jehən	fut dep nax wəːhə cond johəː often	> <i>tóig</i> VN, e.g. <i>ag</i> <i>tóigeál</i> aire gon <i>talamh</i> , <i>í a thóigeál</i> <i>abhaile</i>	tʰain ~ gohən , e.g. gohəm məːx gothaim <i>amach</i>
84P(q)AO	<i>ichim</i>	<i>faigheann</i>	<i>gá bhfuigheadh</i>	<i>túrann</i> , <i>dt(i)úrann</i>	<i>teigh-</i>
85MAO		<i>ní bhfuigh-</i>		<i>ní thúir-</i>	

Note *tabhair* > vadj **turhiː** **79A** often. Similarly, *beir*, VN *breith* > **bʰeːr** **66Nq**; in another query session **66Nq** claimed not to use VN *béar*. An instance of the opposite phenomenon, present / past stem > future: occurs in *tabhair*: fut imprs **tug-fʰər** **80L**.

There is also a tendency to derive the stem from the verbal noun, e.g.

snámh > **snəːvən** **60M**, **66N**;

trábh > *go dtráfa se* **79J**;

léabh > **lʰeːvən** **81A** (cp. 2sg impv *léabh*, fut *léafa* from my daughter Muireann Ní Churnáin, aged 2 (born in 2003); cp. pst *leábh* (aged 2.4), fut *níochána* (aged 2)).

One can compare the apparent increase in the use of the unaltered **-aːlʰ-** 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 **-əd** *-ad* in Echo position in 1 plural present tense contexts:

-An bhfaigheann sib ... ? **-Nʰi wiːhəd** **85M** *Ní bhfuighthead.*

-Ní thugann sib carr lib? **-Nʰi huːəd** **85M** *Ní thiúrthad.*

This may be an extension of traditional 1 singular future Echo **-əd** *-ad*, or perhaps related to the **d** in his 3 plural **dur** *dur* use, e.g. **85M** *beidh dur*, or possibly a change of *-ann* > *-ad*. He has past 1 singular tokens *bhí* and *chuala* in Echo contexts, without traditional **-əs** *-as*, and present 1 singular *bíonn* 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 abród* 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**.

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 *tás* 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* *-as* (the regular past ending) in the 1 singular future: *gohas* **64Meq** *gothas*.

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:

Ní i: xori:n' æ's ... Ní i: xori:n' æ's **23M** *ní chorráinn as ... ní chorróinn as*.

Cp. serial effect in *dhá gcuirtí, crochtí* (5.119). Note *dhá mbínn* for expected *má bhínn* in a past habitual indicative context (if correctly transcribed):

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):

b'e:d'ær' gə nərhi:n' mi:n't'æn' **43M** *b'fhéidir go n-athraínn m'intinn*.

For humorous *k'e m'et'a: t'iaxt S cé mbeiteá ag tíocht?*, see 5.257.

Speaker **66N** was noted with *-i:x* for *-(h)əx* (2 Conjugation for 1 Conjugation), in *gə v'ek'i:x* **66N** *go bhfeiciódh*. In query for conditional impersonal **66N** offered both *Ní wif'i:* **66Nq** *ní bhfuighfí* and *Ní wif'i:* **66Nq** *ní bhfuighfí*. Cp. imperative *-t'i:* (5.111); *-o:t'i:* (5.116); *-th(a)ínn* **60M** (5.413).

5.393 Variation and depletion in use of subjunctive

Specific subjunctive mood morphology is undergoing depletion.¹ 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.

(Ní) yohəx ɖæ:k'i: gə N'u: jærk) gə: gə:ɫ'i: e M
(Ní ghabhthadh Jaicí go Niú Ghearc [New York]) dhá gcailltí é;
gə gat'ær ə nolək' 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:

sulə ga't'ər ə v'ian' 66N *sula gcaitear an bhliain*.

Present Subjunctive > Future

Examples of variation:

ga: dæ'ni:ɔ̃ fɛ l'um ʃ ma'rə dæ'no'x ... 899N

GÁ DTAITHNÍODH SÉ liom is MARA DTAITHNEODH ... ;

Bhuel téire i dtosach, a deir sé, go Teampall Rónáin is MARA BHFAIGHE wa:

TÚ cead é a chuir ansin téire go Teampall Mhuiris is MARA BHFAIGHE wa:

TÚ cead é a chuir ansin téire go Carraig Fhada mhic Eoghain, MARA

BHFUIGHIDH wi: TÚ cead é a chuir 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**:

60Mq: Fut 1Conj **gə lu:p ə'n d'aul ɛ** *Go lúbthaidh an deabhal é!*

66Lq: Subj 1Conj **gə lu:b ə'n d'aul ɛ** *Go lúba an deabhal é!*

gə no:l ə'n d'aul ɛ *Go n-óla an deabhal é!*

Fut 1Conj **gə lu:pə fɛ** *Go lúbthaidh sé!*

gə no:lhə tu: də ɣo:hən' *Go n-ólthaidh tú do dhóthain!*

gə wa'nhə fɪ: gə d'ɔ: *Go bhfanthaidh sí go deo!*

Fut 2Conj **gə ma:ro: ə'n d'aul ɛ** *Go maróidh an deabhal é!*

77Cq: Fut 1Conj **gə lu:p ə'n d'aul ɛ** *Go lúbthaidh an deabhal é!*

Note the example from the older generation where Máire quotes Seán but changes his optative present subjunctive to a future form:

-gə n'air'i n tæ:səl ort 12S *Go n-éirí an t-asal ort!*

-[laughter] gə n'air'ɔ: n tæ:səl ort 16M *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*, **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 nglíomadóireacht seo héin nú go mbí sé réidh 11C*. Similarly, Seán (**12S**) was rarely noted with *go mbí*.

The irregular verb *ith* 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:

shul á n-íosa sib, go 'nuas ... go n-íosa mé thú 894C2.

Examples of **894C**'s future use (for subjunctive) are:

m'anam ón deoul [deabhal] mara ngoha mise siar agus mara mbeidh'fhios

á'm ... a bheas thiar 894C2;

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* + *ə* > *-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 *-hə*:

faḡ gə ɲli:hə 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 Mhacáí 'ac Con Iomaire

SID.46 has quite a few examples of conditional for past subjunctive, all irregular verbs:

gə: wi:n' 34 dhá bhfuighinn,

marə ɲəhəx mīd' 733 mara ngothadh muid, gə: ɲəhə: 734 dhá ngothá,

gə: d'ɲkə: or gə: dagta: 949 dhá dtiocthá or dhá dtagtá.

Speaker 04B, Beairtle Beag Ó Con Fhaola

Speaker **04B** has regular use of subjunctive but some conditional forms have been noted:

1sg *gə man'hən' 04B4 go* [purpose] *mbainthinn;*

(2sg (often) *gə gir'ha: [x2] 04B4 dhá gcuirtheá;*)

3sg *gə nɔ:lhəx d'ox 04B8l go* [purpose] *n-ólthadh deoch*, but in the prose explanation of this lay given by **04B** the subjunctive is used (unless *h* is loss through coincidence): *gə nɔ:ləx, fe' d'ox 04B8n go n-óladh, sé deoch;*

impersonal *gə dugti: ... gə m'ilf'i: 04B2l go* [purpose] *dtugtaí ... go* [purpose] *milfí.*

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: hulə n'im'ox brain M

An mbeadh sé réidh shula n-imeodh Braidhean?

-hə S Hea?

-m'et fe re: hulə n'im'i:x brain M

An mbeadh sé réidh shula n-imíodh 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**

(with conservative usage here as in other categories; cp. 2sg *-t(e)á*, etc., 5.43) has almost categorical 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 implicational stronger optative use of the subjunctive seems to trigger its use in temporal function:

d'íL'áðar d'fhilleadar 60, faḡ gə v'íL'hə fan go bhfillthidh 61, gə v'íL'ə
(optative) *go bhfille 62, faḡ gə v'íL'ə fan go bhfille 63 Mq.*

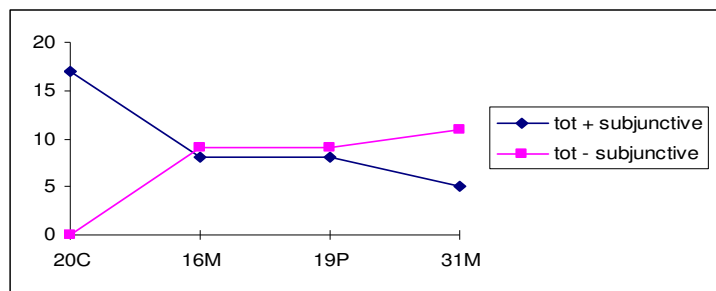
5.397 Results

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

Speaker	Total +Sbj	+Pres Sbj	+Pst Sbj
20C	17/17	12/12	5/5
16M	8/17	7/10	1/7
19P	8/16	7/10	1/7
31M	5/16	4/9	1/7

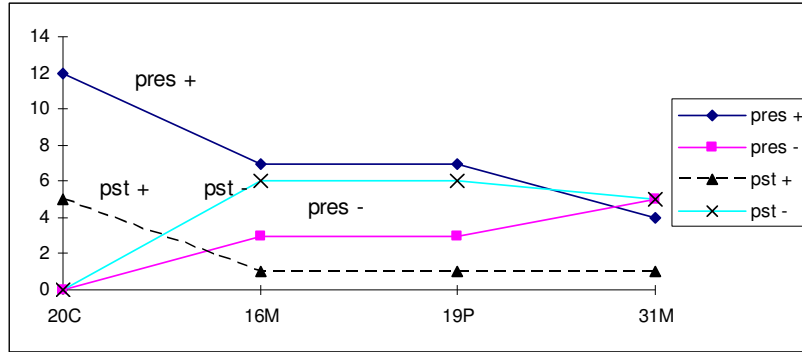
Figure 5.26 Subjunctive depletion; four speakers



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, *ga 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'ænglō:məd' ε, d'ir'ō:məd' ε, o:lhəməd' ε 20Csbjq
ceanglómuid é, díreomuid é, ólthamuid 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'ihən* 1–2, *n'ix'ən* 3–4, *n'i:n* 5–7; *bligh*, pst *vl'i f'i*. Speaker **78P** has *tráigh*, pres *trə:hən* **78P**.

Table 5.87 Extension of CAITH class, 66Nq, 66N

Verb		pres nonpers, q	1sg, 3sg pst, q	vadj q	conversation
<i>bligh</i>	+h	<u>bl'i:hən</u>	i:	i:	<u>də:hən</u> 'mid'ə nə mɑ:li: <i>dónn muide na málaí</i>
<i>dóigh</i>	+h				ə <u>gli:hu</u> eɾ' a glaoðh air <i>L'ɑ:hən fɛ leánn sé</i>
<i>glaoigh</i>	+h	<u>gli:ən</u>	i:	i:	N'i: L'e:həm' ... ní léim
<i>leáigh</i>	+h	<u>L'ɑ:hən</u> , L'ɑ:ʔn			
<i>léigh</i>	+h				
<i>ligh</i>		<u>L'i:ən</u>	i:	i:	
<i>loigh</i>	+h	<u>laihən</u> , laiən		o	
<i>nigh</i>	+h	<u>N'i:hən</u>	i:	i:	N'i:hən fɛ 'an'e:skə <i>níonn sé an-éasca</i> , etc., tɑ fɛ N'i:t'ə nɪʃ <i>tá sé nite anois</i>
<i>suigh</i>		<u>si:ən</u>	i:	i:	
cp. <i>gabh</i>	h			o	gohən gabhann

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:

	<i>bligh</i>	<i>ligh</i>	<i>nigh</i>	<i>suigh</i>	<i>loigh</i>
52P			<u>N'i:t'ə</u>		
55Sq	<u>bl'it'ə</u>	<u>L'it'ə</u>	<u>N'i:t'ə</u>	si't'ə	lot'ə
62Mg			<u>N'i:t'ə</u>	<u>si:t'ə</u>	
66Nq	<u>bl'i:t'ə</u>	<u>L'i:t'ə</u>	<u>N'i:t'ə</u>	<u>si:t'ə</u>	lot'ə
73Pq	<u>bl'it'ə</u>	<u>L'it'ə</u>	N'it'ə	si't'ə	
77Cq	<u>bl'i:t' am</u>	<u>L'i:t'ə</u>	N'it'ə	<u>si:t'ə</u>	<u>lait'ə</u>

(3 plural) → <adar> <idís> <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 (s)*iad*, e.g.

bheidís ‘would-be-they’ → *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.

bheidís → *bheadh dur*, through analogy with

bhíodar → *bhí dur*.

In these dialects the verbal variable (3 plural) can be taken to have five variants:

$$(3 \text{ plural}) \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{suffixes:} & <idís>, <adar> \\ \text{clitic:} & <dar> \\ \text{pronouns:} & <siad>, <dur> \end{cases}$$

In the most advanced systems there is a choice between three main variants: the affix *<idís>* in the conditional only, and *<siad>* and *<dur>*, both of which are possible in all tenses. The traditional (3pl past) variable has two variants: *<adar>*, *<siad>*; in innovative use there are four: *<adar>*, *<siad>*, *<dar>*, *<dur>*. In the past tense, for example, innovative *bhuail 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 *-ə*. Thus, given his future **buál hə dər 72N** *buaithidh dur*, one can transcribe his past tense as **wuál ə dər 72N** *bhuaile dur*. It can of course be difficult to distinguish phonetically, for example, between innovative **wuál ə dər** *bhuaile dur* and traditional **wuál ədər** *bhuaileadar*. The conjunct use can be compared to traditional 1 plural imperative, e.g. **buál ə mid'** *buaile muid*. Furthermore, the final fricative of the nonpersonal conditional ending, *x*, is sometimes absent, which yields the surface ending *-hədər*, e.g. **d'etəx dər** *d'fhéadthadh dur*, but also **d'etədər 80CAI** *d'fhéadthadar*, thus resembling the corresponding traditional form **d'etəd'í:f** *d'fhéadthaidís*.

¹ The 3pl past forms in **SIDIII** qq 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 Arainn: 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 Giollagáin, 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 (*s*)*iad* developed from a 3 pl suffix. In ‘pre-*<dur>*’

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 10th of September, 2000. The programmes containing some material from Gleann na Madadh were the 13th, 14th and 15th 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, *-dís* (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:

past	<i>ní raibheadar, thoisigh siad, sheas siad, chaith siad,</i> <i>Bhí — siad</i>	<i>dar</i> (x1) ~ <i>siad</i> (x4)
past habitual	<i>choinníoch dur, bhíoch dur, chuireach dur,</i> <i>d’iompraídís</i>	<i>dur</i> (x3) ~ <i>-dís</i> (x1)
conditional	<i>Bheach dar</i>	<i>dur</i> (x1)

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 *-idís* without directly affecting analytic *siad*. We can compare here the skew distribution of speaker 73P (Maínis), 5.406, Table 5.91. (Point 34 (Caiseal, Gleann na Madadh) in SIDIII has 3 plural *siad* only, including past *siad* (x7) and conditional *siad* (x1).)

speakers, one finds examples of nonpersonal past habitual in hesitant speech with *-dis*, and the nonpersonal past and past habitual with *-dar*, i.e. *bhí*, (hesitation) *dar ...*; *bhíodh*, (hesitation) *dis / dar ...*. These examples indicate the inherent possibility of reanalysis.

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 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).

Bun a Cnoc: Nilsen (1973–4: 115–6; 1975: 138–9).

An Clochán (one author): Patrick Lyden (1832; Stenson 2003: xlv). Note: 3pl past *srodur* (i.e. *sro* [= *arsa*] + *dur*), cp. developments from Old Irish *olseat* (p. 1179 n. 2).

Ros Muc (five speakers): Raidió na Gaeltachta recording of interview with Seán Ó Conaire, Ros Cíde (1915); Hartmann recordings (see Wigger 2004) of Micheál Ó Conaire (1896), Máirtín Ó Nia (1910), Seán Ó Mainchín (1912), Micheál Breatnach (1914).

Iorras Aithneach (eight speakers): 866ESemr (pages 23–4, 223–7, 301; past tense), Aimeán II pp. 23–9 (based on 7 speakers, born between 1892 and 1935).

An Máimín (Ráth Cairn) (two speakers): recordings made by Conchúr Ó Giollagáin (cf. Ó Giollagáin 1999) of Micil Chanraí (1919), Jan Chanraí (1923).

Cois Fharraige (three speakers): Peadar Mac Thuathaláin (1865; Mac Giollarnáth 1934: 15–64), Tomás Ó Cadhain (1910; RnG CO322), Micheál Ging (1907) ICF §356–62.

Bearna and Na Forbacha (four speakers in S. Ó Curraoin 2000: §§7.1, 7.11, 8.1, 8.2, 9.2, 10.1 (104–7, 144–51, 154–7)); Pádraic Ó Fátharta, Bearna; Eoghan Ó Flatharta, Bearna; Éamonn Ó hÓgáin, Na Forbacha; Micheál Ó Gráinne, Na Forbacha.

Maigh Cuilinn (two speakers): Maitias Ó Céidigh (1894; Breathnach 1986: 275–96), Séamas Caulfield (1905; RnG CAS 3952).

Árainn (An tOileán Mór; one speaker): Máirtín Neile Ó Conghaile (1824), Baile na Creige (Munch-Pedersen 1994: (-*adar*) 1–14, (-*idis*) 1–19). Note that *-idis* is nonetheless common; cp. Finck (1899: Volume I) *-idis* impv ‘at least preferred’ (to *siad*) §388, *siad* psthab ‘less often’ (than *-idis*) §389, *siad* cond ‘less often’ (than *-idis*) §391; *-adar* pst ‘more often’ (than *siad*) §392.

Innis Oírr (three speakers): Jó Mháirtín Ó Flaithearta (1879) (B. Ó Catháin 1995: 131–47, 167–9 (-*adar*); 131–47, 166–78, 426 (-*idis*)); Jó Ó Dónaill (Becker 1997: 17–26); Máirtín Ó Dónaill (Becker 1997: 66–7 *-adar* only (66–7 has too few cond examples to be included in calculations: *-idis* [x1], *siad* [x1])).

Baile Chláir (pre-1910; four speakers who provided lore contained in Bairéad 1964–6: 99–147): Seán Ó Ceallaigh (1864), Tomás Ó Dúgáin (1877), Páits Ó Síoda (1861), Micheál Ó Síoda (1888).

Baile Chláir (post-1910): speakers born after 1910 with whom I have spoken; but rare past *-adar* heard from Micheál Ó hEidhin (1927), An Carn Mór.

Mionlach (post-1910): speakers born after 1910 with whom I have spoken.

Gleann na Madadh (four speakers; from radio broadcasts described above (p. 1237 n. 3): Máirtín Seoighe, Lisín na hEilte; Tomás Ó Mainchín, Lisín na hEilte; Liam Dónalláin, Baile na Greallaí, Lisín na hEilte, Gleann na Madadh) and SIDIII point 34. The speaker with innovative *<dur>* is excluded from conditional *<idis>* calculations. His single token of past *-dar* (*rodar raibheadar* of the verb *bí*) 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 SIDIII.34).

Table 5.88 Percentage synthetic *-idís*, *-adar* use; traditional South Connacht

Dialect area	Conditional % <idís>		Past % <adar>	<dur> innovation
Tuar Mhic Éadaigh	100	≈	90	+
Rinn Mhaoile			27	
Bun a Cnoc	100	≈	(100)	+
An Clochán	100	≈	100	cp. srodur
Ros Muc	97	>>	65	+
Iorras Aithneach	97	≈	93	+
An Máimín	92	>>	69	–
Cois Fharraige	99	>>	54	–
Bearna, Na Forbacha	53	>>	16	+
Maigh Cuilinn	90	>>	43	
Árainn (An tOileán Mór)	0	<<	74	+
Innis Oírr	86	≈	91	+
Baile Chláir (pre-1910)	42	>>	6	–
Baile Chláir (post-1910)	0	≈	0	–
Mionlach (post-1910)	0	≈	0	–
Gleann na Madadh	71	>>	4	+

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 Fharraige, shows <dur> innovation in contrast with Cois Fharraige.

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

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 (GCF §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 *bí* (and other irregular verbs); in switch reference;¹ in emphasis;² in focus. For example, one speaker, **866E** (in a small sample from **866ESc**), has <adar> with the verb *bí* in only 14% of cases (*bhíodar / 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 >> *bí*.

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.

present: -Well, *níl aon ghraithe a'm dhóibh sin! adeir sé. Tá siad ró-bhog, ró-uaibhreach le haghna na hÉireann! adeir sé. Chuadar go dí an dáma páirc. -Níl aon ghraithe a'am dhóibh sin! adeir sé. Tádar sin ró-bhog, ró-uaibhreach le hí na hÉireann! adeir sé.* **852SbTS130**;

təːdər ʃˌin' id'ər ʃe g' eːʃt'əxt 892Mt 'tádar sin,' a deir sé, 'ag éisteacht'.
future: *Ní bheidh dur sin istigh!* **05M**, *díonthadar sin thú* **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> or -*dar* in contrast with *siad* may also facilitate stress placement on *sin* and thus favour **dər ʃin'** <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 -**dər** occurs as an allomorph of -**ədər** are described above (5.75 ff.). These forms, where an interpretation 'stem' #*dar* is

25M) do. They have therefore 'rejected' this regularisation in their father's speech. Only since the 1960s has non-application of this sandhi rule become increasingly the norm. Cp. p. 1697, n. 1.

¹ Cp. Cameron (1993) and Flores-Ferrán (2004) for Puerto Rican Spanish.

² There is a tendency to use **ʃiədsən** *siadsan* rather than -**dərsən**, as seen, for example, in:

... **xəːsədər** | **xəː ʃiədsən** *er' æːf M* ... *chasadar, chas siadsan ar ais*.

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:

Stage	‘Terminus post quem’	Development	Replacing
	1870	<i>tháinigdar</i>	<i>tháinigeadar</i>
	by 1915	<i>rinndar, thraíáldar</i>	<i>rinneadar, thraíáladar</i>
	by 1915	<i>chadar, rudar</i>	<i>chaitheadar, ritheadar</i>
	1910–5	<i>cheannadar</i>	<i>cheannnaíodar</i> (2 Conj)
	1910–5	<i>gheárradar</i> (i.e. a)	<i>gheárradar</i> (i.e. a)
1a	1852	<i>tádar sin</i>	<i>tá siad sin</i>
1b	1920	<i>tádar</i>	<i>tá siad</i>
1c	1920	<i>níleadar, nílдар</i>	<i>níl siad</i>
2, 3	1945	<i>bíonndar,</i> <i>beidhdar</i>	<i>bíonn siad,</i> <i>beidh siad</i>
4	1950	<i>bheidheasdar</i>	<i>bheidheas siad</i>
5	1965	<i>bheadhdar</i>	<i>bheidís, bheadh siad</i>
6	1965	<i>dur</i>	<i>siad, -adar, -idís</i>

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** im’i: ... M94 *tádar imithe*) 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 **852Sb**TS130 (Loch Con Aortha) and **892M** (Dumhaigh 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 (Loch 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

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 <dur> in Bun a Cnoc

Speakers born	Past	Present	Future	Conditional
before 1930	- <i>dar</i>	<i>siad</i>	<i>siad</i>	- <i>dís</i>
1930–5	<i>dur</i>	<i>dur</i>	<i>dur</i>	- <i>dís</i>
after 1935	<i>dur</i>	<i>dur</i>	<i>dur</i>	<i>dur</i>

As already stated, Iorras Aithneach shows greater diversity than Bun a Cnoc, with some younger speakers using <*siad*> only, others using <*dur*> only, and others retaining traditional variants, while others use all five <*siad*> <*adar*> <*idís*> <*dar*> and <*dur*>. Most speakers' usage seems to follow an implicational scale reflecting a regular spread of <*dur*> through the verbal system. There is diversity, however, both between <*dur*> adoptors and non-adoptors, and also among <*dur*> 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 <*dur*> speakers (*d* = <*dur*>, *s* = <*siad*>, *dís* = <*idís*>).

The implicational dispersion through verbal tense is quite robust. There are, for example, no speakers who have *bheadh dar* but only *beidh siad*. In apparent time, however, both limited <*dur*> expansion (in the range from speaker **48J** to speaker **43M** in Table 5.90) and full <*dur*> use are found in speakers born between c. 1940–90, although the former group (limited <*dur*> 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.

Table 5.90 <dur>, implicational dispersion in apparent time and verbal tense

Speaker	Pst reg	Pres tá	Fut beidh	Pres bíonn	reg	Fut reg	Cond bheadh	reg
19P	s,d	s,d	s	s	s	s	s,dís	s,dís
20M	s,d	d	s	s	s	s	s	s
48J	s,d	s,d		s,d	s	s	s,dís	s,dís
52J	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s	s	s,dís	s,dís
53J	d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s	s		s,dís
78R	s,d	s	s	s	s,d	s	s	s
78M	s,d	s,d	s	s,d	s,d	s	dís	dís
64M	s,d	s		s	s	s,d	s	s
69S	s,d	s,d			s,d	s,d	dís	dís
78PA	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s	s
81C	s,d	s,d		s,d	s,d		s	s
84P	s,d	d	d	d	d	d	s	s
43M	s,d	s,d	s	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d,dís	s,dís
45N	d	d	d	d			s,d	s,d
53T	d	d		d	d			
71D	d	d		d	s,d	s	d,dís	d,dís
72A	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
72N	d	d	d	d	s,d	d	d	d
73P	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	d	d
77C	s,d	s,d		s,d	s,d		d,dís	d,dís
78PC	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
79M	d	s,d	d	s,d	s,d	d	d	d
79MI	d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	d,dís	d,dís
80M	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d
85M	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
88M	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d

Some further morphophonological detail of four individual speakers' usage follows.

71D1 has past 1Conj **-ədər** >> **-dər**, 2Conj **-ədər** (~ **-i:dər** perhaps); pres **-dər** >> **fɪ:d**; cond / psthab **-əd'i:f** / **-o:d'i:f** only; the single example of pst **-dər** is **fə:sdər** *phósadar*; the example of cond 2Conj **-əd'i:f** is ... **dəsəd'i:f** ... *dtosaidís*. He also has been noted with cond / psthab **-dər** in conversation.

72A has past, present and future **-dər**; she was also noted with present **dər** in **k'æpən dər gə wildər i:ntəx** **72A** *ceapann dur go bhfuil dar iontach*, and with 2Conj pst **-ədər** in **raunədər skør** **72A** *roghnadur scór*.

72Nq provides examples of 3pl imperative: **kə:l'həxdər**, **m'i:l'həxdər** [perhaps **-əx dur**] **72Nq** *cailltheadh dar, milltheadh dar*.

77C has **-dar** spreading in cond / psthab and in the present. In the past tense his (3 plural) ranges between **-ədər** **-ədər** and **-dər** with 2Conj **-i:dər**. In his GEARR class questionnaire results I have counted: **-ədər** (x4), **-ədər** (x4), **-dər** (x1), e.g. **jə:rədər**, **xə:l'ədər**, **v'i:l'dər** **77Cq** *gearradar, chailleadar, mhill(a)dar*.

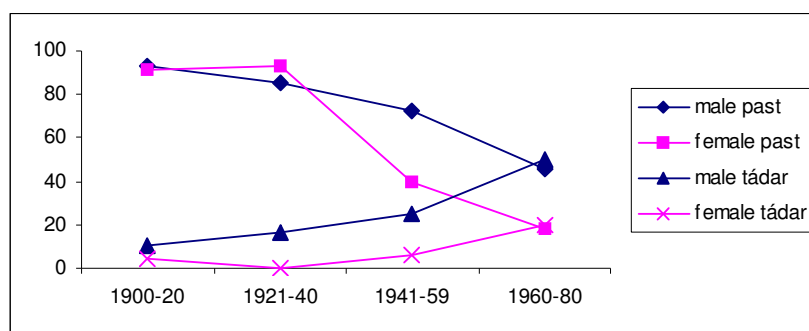
Sociolinguistic embedding and evaluation

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 *bí* ('to be') in the form *tádar*, 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 *tádar* 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).

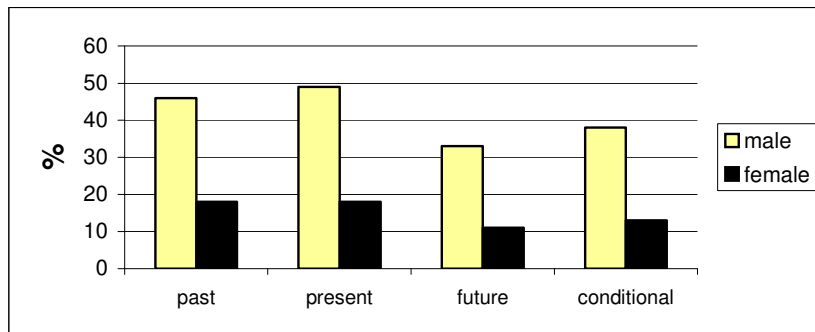
(From recordings I have made of speakers from Ros Muc, born in the 1980s, it is apparent that young males in Ros Muc use as much (if not slightly) more <dur> than my cohort of Iorras Aithneach males and that young Ros Muc females use less than my cohort of Iorras Aithneach females. Ros Muc <dur>, then, seems even more polarised by sex.)

The three variants of the conditional pattern correspondingly. The most conservative variant, <idís>, takes a middle position (1960–88 cohort):

male	<i>dur</i>	>>	<i>-idís</i>	>>	<i>siad</i>
female	<i>siad</i>	>>	<i>-idís</i>	>>	<i>dur</i>

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 Glinsce to An Aird in the west. In these two areas some males born around 1950 use <dur> consistently. Cill Chiaráin and Glinsce (and north of Glinsce) 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. *tádar sin* from **852Sb** (5.402).

The most conservative area with regard to <dur> within Iorras Aithneach is the island of Maínis, where children of primary-school age in the late 1990s used very little <dur>. In the 1970s, when no parents in Maínis used innovative <dur>, it was virtually non-existent in children's speech. Since the late 1970s, however, many children from Maínis acquired <dur> at postprimary-school age. The secondary school in Carna (Roisín na Mainchíoch) has a large catchment area and may have been a locus for <dur> adoption. Among primary school children recorded by me in 1998 in Maínis, <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

Speaker	Past	Present	Future	Conditional
Seán 69S	<i>siad >> dur</i>	<i>siad >> dur</i>		<i>-idís</i>
Caitlín 72C	<i>siad</i>	<i>siad</i>		<i>-idís</i>
Pádraig 73P	<i>siad >> dur</i>	<i>siad >> dur</i>	<i>siad >> dur</i>	<i>dur</i>

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 >> / ≈ 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 Máfnis, 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.¹ Máirín was surprised (in 1998) when I told her she used *faigheann dar* and said 'Do I use *faigheann dar*? Oh that's terrible!' (my translation). Her work network has changed since 1995 and she seems to have given up <dar>. (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 fhuileadar* and future *be'dar* (**b'e'dər**) 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

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 <dar> or <dur> expansion.

Table 5.92 Máirín’s (43M) ten-year adoption of <dar>

Year	Tense	Verb	Form
→1985	Present	<i>bí</i>	<i>tádar, bhfuil</i>
1985	Present	<i>faigh</i>	<i>faigheann</i> (fa:ndər in my notes)
1988	Future	<i>faigh</i>	<i>gheoflthad, bhfuighd, bhfuighead</i>
1992	Future	<i>teara</i>	<i>mara dtiocthad</i>
1992	Conditional	<i>bí</i>	<i>bheadhd</i>
1994	Present	<i>teara</i>	<i>a thagann</i>
	(regular)	<i>ceap</i>	<i>ceapann</i>
		<i>breathnaigh</i>	<i>bhreathaíonn</i>
Cp. 2005	Present	<i>bí</i>	<i>bíonn</i>

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.¹ 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 (V:xi:) variable. The former divides by sex whereas the latter has no such division. Despite her temporary adoption of <dar>, **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 bhristeachdar ort? **46C** (Cill Chiaráin)
- Hm? **23J** (Fínis)
- Ní bhristeach dor ort? **46C**
- Ó! ‘no, no, no’, dhá mbristhidís, a dheabhail ... **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 adoptors, 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):

Ní v'édar ə'fti 45N -Ní bhe'dar istigh.

Ní v'ei dər jin' ə'ft'i 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:

- ... bhíochdar ag goil an t-am sin? 46C

-Bhíodar ag goil an t-am sin ... 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*:

-Tádar acúinneach leihí, a ghoil un farraige. Proinsias de Búrca

-Ha? 892Mg

- Tádar acúinneach le ghoil un farraige. Proinsias de Búrca

-Ó! tá siad ach tá fhios a'd ní báid an-mhór iad ... 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'.

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 **-i-** and future stem **-o:(-)** expands. Speaker **60M**, the oldest speaker with frequent present **-i:n** with traditional 1 Conjugation verbs, has an idiosyncratic system. Speaker **66N** has three kinds of change:

- (i) expansion of 2Conj **-i-** and **-o:(-)**,
- (ii) (a) replacement of 2Conj **-i-** and 2sg cond **-a-** by 1Conj **-ə-** and **-ha-**;
(b) reclassification of some verbs to the 1Conj,
- (iii) fudged future stem **-ho:(-)** (< **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 **ń'i: hrustə́n'** SM, **hrusta:** M, VN **ə hrust** SM, **ə hrustə** **60M**) but 2 Conjugation in future in **ń'i: hrusto: fí:** S; this might, however, be taken as a member of the typically denominal CÚL class of verbs (if not misheard for **ń'i: hrustə fí:**, cp. 14 *trust*²). There is also a mixed example of which I am not completely certain: conditional **ga: L'æ:ko:d'i:f** M85 *dhá leagthóidís*. 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 gcleachtóidís é* (all **01P**).

Only one other example was noted of unhistoric present **-i:-** from the older generation (heard in 1993):

nə rudi: fkr'ivi:n' fjad 19P *na rudaí a scríobhaíonn 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 **lasə** but **laso: fji' fin' 66N** *lasóidh sí 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

k'erd ə x'ə:po:x tusə ... 64Me *céard a cheapthadh tusa ... ?*

5.412 Second Conjugation present **-íonn**

The Second Conjugation present endings, nonpersonal **-i:n** *-íonn* and 1sg **-i:m'** *-ím*, spread in the speech of a small minority of the younger generation, e.g.

bíonn corrcheann ann a mbeiríonn m'er'ins tú air ... 79S;

t'ai:m' ə'ma:x 84P *teighím amach.*

Speaker **60M** is the oldest speaker noted with a strong tendency to use **-i:n** with 1 Conjugation verbs. There is an example of intergenerational variation in both (*-íonn*) and the GEARR class in a conversation between **60M** and **16M**:

-d'aulti: nax ŋ'ari:n fε ... 60M *Deabhaltáí nach ngearraíonn sé ...*

-n'i: jæræn ... 16M *Ní ghearrann ...*

- ... ŋ'ar-f'i: ... nar jær fε 60M ... ngearrfí ... nar ghearr sé.

5.413 Present **-íonn**, future **-óidh**, conditional **-ódh**, **-th(a)ínn**

Future *éisteoidh* for traditional *éisthidh* is commonly heard on Raidió na Gaeltachta from younger speakers from East Conamara. This innovative **e:ft'or** was noted in Iorras Aithneach from **63S** (in 2002), speaker **21J**'s youngest son. Cf. *éistigí* 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 **-ən** ~ **-i:n** in traditional 1 Conjugation verbs (including 1sg **-i:m'**); his 2 Conjugation verbs have consistent present **-i:n**. He also has 1sg conditional **-hən'** ~ **-hi:n'** with 1 Conjugation verbs; his 2 Conjugation verbs have consistent 1sg conditional **-o:n'**. The nontraditional sections (in small capitals) of his verbal paradigm can be exemplified with *creid* and contrasted with *ceannaigh*:

	1 Conjugation	2 Conjugation
Present:	<i>creideann</i> ~ <i>CREIDÍONN</i>	<i>ceannaíonn</i>
1sg Conditional:	<i>chreidhinn</i> ~ <i>CHREIDTHÍN</i>	<i>cheannóinn</i>

His use of **-i:n** for traditional **-ən** 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 **-hi:n'** 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 Fharraige (Doire an

Locháin 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'ehi**. By the same token extraneous 1sg conditional **v'ei** *bheinn* of the verb *bí*, more common in Cois Fharraige than in Iorras Aithneach, appears to have been reinterpreted by **60M** to yield his **v'ehi**, a form unique to him in my sample. Similar reinterpretation was possible for verbs of the CAITH, BRUITH and BLIGH classes but **v'ehi** may have been the most important pivot for his innovative usage. Traditional 2 Conjugation past habitual and past subjunctive **-i**, generally replaced by conditional **-o** in **60M**'s generation, could reinforce **-hi** as a bona fide conditional ending. I have found no pivot for present tense 1 Conjugation **i** as striking as **v'ehi** 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 **brin** *bruiteann* corresponds to local **brix'an**, GCF §187 **mu:m** *mothaím* corresponds to local **muhi:m**. From such variation **60M** may have derived his **brix'in** *bruithíonn*. Cp. *An Duirling Mhór n dur:l'in' wox 60M* for general **n dur:l'an' wox**.

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. Athraím amach le píce í ...
CUIRÍM le clái í sa ngeimhreadh a dhóann tú é.
Tá daoíní ann, GEÁRRAÍONN siad suas le susúr iad is CUIRÍONN siad ... Ní
ITHÍN hén iad, ...
-An gcreideann tú ... ? BóC
-CREIDÍM, CREIDÍM. ... Ach dhá MBEITHÍN liom hén anois álráidht
d'inseoinn níos mó ...
... Bhuel nuair a BHEITHÍN réití GHOTHAÍN ag snámh ... go NGOTHAÍN ...
ach ní theigheann mé ... d'fhéadthainn [D'FHÉADTHAÍN ?] ... ach ní
dhéanthainn é sin ... an dtigeann [FGB tuig] tú froisin.

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** *-íonn* but her most consistent use of innovative 2 Conjugation is with the future stem in **-o**. 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 **-o:x** *-ódh* functions for both conditional and past habitual for **66N**, as for most of her generation.

Examples from an even younger speaker are:

*má fhásaíonn siad, má fhánaíonn tú 78JMN.*¹

¹ Cf. 5.170.

Table 5.93 2Conj *-íonn, -óidh, ódh, etc.*, with 1Conj verbs, 66N

Verb	-ən	-i:n	-hə	-o:	-həx, etc.	-o:x, etc.	VN	VN -u:
<i>at</i>		+ freq		+		+	<i>at</i>	<i>atú q</i>
<i>bainn</i>	+	+	+					
<i>cas</i>	+		+	+				
<i>croch</i>	+		+	+ freq		+		
<i>íos-</i>	+		+		+	+		
<i>las</i>	+		+	+				
<i>stop</i>	+		+	+				
<i>trust</i>						+		

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 *-i:w -i:u: -íodh > 1Conj -u: -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 *maráigh*, which has a progressive past impersonal **maru:**, identical to the adjective **maru:** *marbh* (which often functions as a verbal adjective). In fact all three functions of **maru:** have similar perfective meaning, i.e. **maru:** = *maráodh, maráithe, marbh*. The oldest speaker noted with this innovative usage is 888N, in:

ní maru: e:ŋ x'a:n ... 888N ní maráodh aon cheann ...

Similarly, **maru: 04Br maráodh**, a speaker who has otherwise *-i:w -i:u:* in the 2 Conjugation. This speaker's sister, 15W, was recorded with **ma:ri:v** (which 04Br also followed with **ma:ri:v**).

Speaker 899N has a possible example in:

a:nəns bə:nu: iəd ə'l'ig' 899N ionann's bánadh iad uilig,

but *bánaigh* has some (permissible) 1 Conjugation inflection (Mq). Speaker 12S was noted with:

Se chaoi hiumprú anuas e S85.

Speaker 16M has not uncommon **-u:** with 2Conj verbs, but still *-i:u:* is more common than **-u:**. An example of variation occurs in the same verb in close sequence in:

ʃe xi: gortu' mə ɣlu:n'sə | fir'ədər mə'x sən' æ:spək'əl' gər b'ε xi: gortu:ʔv mə ɣlu:n' M Sé an chaoi a gortadh mo ghlúinsa, fuairéadar amach san easpaicil gurb é an chaoi a gortaíodh mo ghlúin.

Speaker 21Pt has common *-íodh* but also *-adh*, e.g.

ku:ʃu: e | 21Pt cúiseadh é.

Speaker 52J, the son of two speakers mentioned above (12S, 16M), has both variants frequently, e.g.

... tairníodh tar'n'i:ʔv ... 's dóichí nach labhradh ar ... 's dóichí nach cúimreadh ar ... 52J.

Younger speakers, e.g. 66N, were noted with **-u:** more often than *-i:u:*:

gər k'ænu: m'i:l'ə 66N gur ceannadh míle; d'i:nʃu: 66N d'inseadh;

rarely **krin'i:u' 66N cruinníodh.**

Speaker **66N** sometimes has reduction of **-u:** in words in general to **-ə**, e.g. pst imprs ... **la'sə 66N lasadh**. Other younger speakers, e.g. **72N**, were noted with **-u:** only (i.e. without **-i:u:**): **ɑ:rdʊ: 72N ardadh** (< *ardaigh*). An example of inter-generational variation occurs in the exchange:

-k'æ:ni:əv iəd fɪn' 16M Ceannaíodh iad sin.

-fod e: ə k'æ:nu 66N Seod é a ceannadh.

Doubtful 1sg **-ən'** for **-i:n'** **-o:n'**

Two doubtful examples of 1sg **-ən'** for **-i:n'** or **-o:n'** from the older generation are:

ceannaigh psthb ??? **x'æ:nən' S85**;

fiathraigh cond **d'iarho:n' ~ ? d'iarhən' 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 **-ím > -im**), many examples: *aireann, breathnann, ceannann, críochnann, éireann, gortann, imeann, marann, oibreann, taithneann, tosann, triomann*, e.g.

rud eɪ'ə ær'əm' iəd ə rɑ: 66N rud eile a airim iad ag rá ...,

br'æ:nən fɛ ... 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 *séalthaidh*, vadj *séalta*; but VN *séalthú*. In query, however, she has 2 Conjugation forms, i.e. impv **fe:lhə nə ...**, cond **he:lhə:n'**, vadj **fe:li:hə 66Nq**.

cóirigh > cóir, e.g. pst **xo:r' mud' i:**, fut **ko:r'hə m'e ...**, VN **ə xo:r'ə, 66N**. Cp. VN *níorbh fhéidir é a thriomú* **xr'umə [hr' - ?] 66N**.

fiathraíonn > fiarann (5.311).

osclaíonn > (o)scuileann, (o)scuilíonn, fut (o)scuilthidh (1.380).

Speaker **72N** is the oldest speaker noted with consistent loss of the 2 Conjugation inflection, e.g.

present	air'ən, k'æ:nən	<i>éirigh, ceannaigh</i> ;
future	ki'n'ə m'e	<i>coinnigh</i> ;
conditional	gə ɟ'æ:nəx m'e, hosəx dər	<i>ceannaigh, tosaigh</i> .

An example of **-íonn > -ann** from an even younger speaker is **marən [x2] 80CAI** *marann* for traditional *maráíonn*.

5.417 Mixed conjugation stem in future **-ho:(-)**

The 1sg conditional **-hi:n'** of speaker **60M** is discussed above (5.413). The form resembles a fudge of 1Conj **-hən'** and 2Conj **-i:n'** 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	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{creid} \quad \textbf{kr'et'o: creidtheoidh}, \\ \textit{féad} \quad (\textbf{n'i}) \textbf{etor} \textbf{f} \textbf{e} \textbf{ní fhéadthóidh sé}, \\ \textit{tuig} \quad \textbf{tik'o:} \textbf{fi} \textbf{[?]} \textbf{tuigtheoidh sí}, \end{array} \right.$
-ho:x	irregular	<i>abair</i> gə n'ərho:x go ndéarthódh,
-ho:N'	traditional 2 Conj	<i>marbhaigh</i> ga mar'ho:N' i dhá marthóinn í.

It is tempting to find an explanation for this sporadic usage in the lack of salience of 1 Conjugation **-hə** through coalescence with preceding stops; **-ho:** could then be interpreted as a phonologically more robust marker (similar in fact to verbal adjective **-hi:(hə)**, for **-hə** 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): **ji:ntər 66NtSc7 dhéantar** (traditional *déantaí*). 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.

təu d'inə suəs ... 79MI tádh ag déanamh suas ...

There is quality juncture between **-r'** and **-t-** in the example:

n'i: v'er'tər orəb 79MI ní 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:** > **-ə** in: *an áit a lasadh la'sə 66N* 'the place that was burnt'. This speaker also has occasional **-ə** 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:

ga d'æ:ŋgəx-f'i: 48J dhá dteangadh-fi '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 **-f'ər** migrates to (partly) analytic present and conditional forms in:

¹ One should perhaps read **79M** (for **79MI**) in both these citations (there is a confusion of these speakers' abbreviations in my notes here).

- nf'ər, -ns-f'əɹ for traditional -t'ər,
- i:f'ər for traditional -i:t'ər,
- həx-f'ər for traditional -f'i:, -o:x-f'ər for traditional -o:f'i:.

Table 5.94 Impersonal, some developments in speakers born since 1960

Present	-atar -ətər	-artar -əxtər/-əxtər?	-(n)tar -(n)tər	-ítear -i:t'ər	-antar -əntər	-íntear -i:nt'ər
64Me 66N	ceann-	n-aithn-	aithn-	aithn- ?	díon-	aithn- ?
				-nnfear -nf'ər	-nnsfear -ns-f'ər	-ífear -i:f'ər
72N 78B 78E 79S 84Pq				dúine- thúra- ndírfi- caithe-	bí-	cuir-
Future	-tháifear -həf'ər					
72N 80C 95B	ól-, etc., díon- leag-					
Conditional	-aift -əf'i:		-thachfear -həx-f'ər		-óchfear -o:x-f'ər	
66N 72N	mar-		ól-, etc.,		aithn-	

5.419 Examples

Present

- əntər tɑ:ʊ ... ə d' i:nəntər sə t'ax fə 64Me98
tádh ... a déananntar sa teach seo.
- ənf'ər dʊ:n'ə^mf'ər 72Nq dúineannfear;
n'í hu:rənf'ər 78E ní th(i)úrannfear.
 Speaker 84P in translation query has: ka^hənf'əɹ 84Pq caitheannfear.
 In Echo context to traditional -tar he has:
-An nglaoitear é sin ort? Ruairí Mac Con Iomaire
-gli:əntər [perhaps gli:ən tər] 84P Glaonntar.
- i:nt'ər ce chaoi an ndíronnfear n'í:r'i:nt'ər rothaí baidhsaíclis? 79S (i.e. -n'f'-).
- i:f'ər with 2Conj for 1Conj in cuir (traditional 'ní c(h)uirt(e)ar):
n'í xir'i:f'ər mo:ɹan 78B ní chuirfear mórán.
- ns-f'ər speaker 78EMR94 was recorded with regular present (*chaitear*, *léitear*) and future (*imreofear*) but present irregular *bí* (cp. more traditional *táifear*) relative:
nur' ə v' i:ns-f'əɹ əg' iəɹ o:ɹm ... 78E
nuair a bhíonnfear ag iarraidh orm

Future

- həf'ər 1Conj (n'í) o:lhəf'ər (ní) óltháifear; -əf'ər 2Conj (n'í) arhəf'ər
(ní) athraifear, (n'í) harn'if'ər (ní) thairnifear 72Nq.

ṇ'í jì:nəf'ər tæ:də fí 80CAI *ní dhéanthafear tada faoi.*

Also in the exchange:

-Leagfear thú. BóC -ṇ'í l'æ:kəf'ər 95B *Ní leagthafear.* (in 1998).

Conditional

1 Conjugation

-həx-f'ər ṇ'í: yu:n'həx-f'ər *ní dhúintheachfear*, **dolhəx-f'ər** *d'ólthachfear*,
(**ṇ'í:**) **o:lhəx-f'ər** (*ní*) *ólthachfear* 72Ng;

his 2Conj is no doubt **-əx-f'ər**.

2 Conjugation

-əf'í: **gə marəf'í: mud'** 66N *go maróifi muid.*

-o:x-f'ər most likely in conditional function in:

níl aon mhaith dhuit a bheith tuic [thick, 'stupid'] *mara n-aithneochfear ort é* **marə næ:n'o:x-f'ər o:rt e** 66N.

Speaker 86R was queried aged eight (in 1994) about impersonal verb forms. For the verb *caill* she produced in translation regular past **ka:l'u'** and future **ka:l'ə** but had difficulty with the conditional and offered **ə ga:l'əx** and more doubtfully **ə ga:l'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*:

mā:hər' ... haiṭ f'i: f'i:s ... orhə ... i: 01J

MÁTHAIR ... théadh sí síos ... UIRTHI ... í.

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 ... É ... !894C9.

Natural gender is used in:

Tá péire cíoch ar A HUUCHT ag a' RÓN BUINEANN. 869PDT90.

Grammatical gender (*priachán*) and natural gender (*baineann*) alternate in:

an PRIACHÁN BAINEANN bír'ən nuair a bhí ubh AIGE, loigh SÉ ar an ubh, ag tabhairt gur dhi. Agus ní raibh an priachán feireann ag tabhairt aon bhlais [< blas, sandhi] le n-iche CHAIGE. Agus u-, bhí SÍ fáilt ucrais, agus ní dhearna SÍ héin ach éirí ' goil ag soláthar DI héin ar deireadh, 894Ct.

Similarly, feminine grammatical reference is general for the male animal *stail* but occasionally masculine pronominals occur, e.g.

ba bhreá an STAIL Í, 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 SÍ thiar i Manainn agus tugann siad LOCH na Ní ORTHA. 11C;

SÍ an MHÓIN is fhearr í S; deas an CHREATHNACH í 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);

ciaróg (possessive pronoun).¹ Gender is being lost in nontraditional use, exemplified by masculine reference to *gaoithe*, *móin* 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.

<i>anáil</i>	<i>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 amach É nach é an bás céanna atá a'am a' goil suas is anuas ... 852SbTS126.</i>
<i>artha</i>	<i>Ní raibh mórán ARTHA, gá mb'fhéidir a chur, nar raibh sé i ndan, É a chur dho dhuine. ... cheidim gá mbadh í ARTHA AN GHRÁ héin É 's go raibh sé i ndan [É ?] a chur. 06C.</i>
<i>baisc</i>	<i>sé chaoi mbíodh BAISC eile, curtha acú, ar an dorú, suas le scór, nú b'fhéidir deich gcinn fhichead dhe bhallaigh mhóra eile, agus É ceanglaíthe ar fhiacraí an chléibh acú, 06C.</i>
<i>coirleach</i>	<i>É [often] ... ANN ... go leor DI, 01Pt.</i>
<i>creathnach</i>	<i>~... CREATHNACH.</i> <i>-Nach íontach an rud e, is maith leatsa E P.</i>
<i>each luachra</i>	<i>An té bhéarthadh ar an EACH LUACHRA, 'gus chuimleodh dhá theanga É, 892M. (Both each and each luachra are feminine (3.4), although masculine in other lects (including earc (luachra) FGB).)</i>
<i>feoil</i>	<i>FEOIL a bheadh a' fíniú bhead sé ' díona croimhe, bhead sé ' fáil beo M.</i>
<i>fuaigh</i>	<i>faoi FUAIGH AN TURLAIGH i gCruaich na Caoile, ... Bhuel sin É AN FHUAIGH, a mbíod sé ag tóigeál rudaí, a d'fheileadh é as an siopa is as chuile shórt. 892M4246–8.</i> <i>But generally FUAIGH ... í, ORTHA for 892M, e.g. 892M4265, –7, –8, –71.</i>
<i>gao(i)th(e)</i>	<i>Tá AN GHATH tá ag goil isteach ann tá SE ag goil amach an taobh eile S.</i>
<i>gaoithe, leaba,</i>	<i>in response to Seán's repeated question:</i> <i>-An bhfuil AN GHATH SA LEABA? S (inflatable mattress),</i> <i>Máire replied:</i> <i>-ta: ... -'ta: 'ji: 'an M -Tá. ... -Tá sí ANN!, whereas 66N had:</i> <i>-... ta: fe i:nt'ə 66N -... tá sé INTI.</i>
<i>ginn</i>	<i>Cheanná an láí aisti héin is chuireá feac inti. Agus chuirtheá, chuirtheá AN GHINN SEO ansin, síos, eidir an feac agus an láí. Bhualitheá síos go maith E. Agus, AIR SIN a chuireá do chois ansin. M.</i>
<i>gloine</i>	<i>reference may be ambiguous, referring to gloine or its contents. Ghabh siad ag réiteach PUINS, GLOINE di féin agus GLOINE do Phaddy ... AN GHLOINE ... 'an n-ólfaidh tú GLOINE?' ... Thug sí chuige É agus ar ndóigh d'ól sé AN GHLOINE. 866ESc200.8–11.</i>
<i>glúin</i>	<i>tá MO GHLÚIN ag brúscail nuair atá mé ag siúl aireoidh tú ag torann É M.</i>
<i>gruaig</i>	<i>agus A GRUAIG ag imeacht le gaoth, gan cíoradh gan blas ach mar a bhí sé 866ESc79.3;</i>
<i>leac</i>	<i>Ná cuir siar tada MO GHRUAIGSA ach cuir trasna díreach E S.</i> <i>'AN LEAC a iompú. 'Leag mo lámh féin AIR, ... breith lena leathláimh UIRTHI agus chuir sé iomaire agus seacht n-acra as an áit sin í. 866ESc63.25–8.</i>
<i>(leic oighre</i>	<i>an oiread seo AIRDE LEIC OIGHRE orthub ... Tháinic an bradán feárna agus bhris sé AN LIC OIGHRE, tháinic sé aníos THRÍD. 892M2131. Probably often masculine, perhaps due to (now obsolete) masculine oighear.)</i>

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).

<i>maidhm</i>	<p>(<i>maidhm</i> is sometimes masculine, e.g. <i>an maidhm</i> 06C.)</p> <p>-Creidim gur MAIDHM MHAITH leihí gliomach É MAIDHM OILEÁN LACHAN? 11C</p> <p>-MAIDHM MHAITH leihí gliomach É. MAIDHM MHAITH. 31P</p> <p>-(S dóichí) gurb ea. ' Bhfuil SÉ — tá SÉ mór go maith, nach bhfuil? 11C</p> <p>-Ó! tá SÉ mór. Tá. 31P</p> <p>-Agus tá SÉ scaithín amach? 11C</p> <p>-Tá SÉ mí-, tá sí míle ar fad. 31P</p> <p>-Míle ar fad. 11C</p> <p>... .. -MAIDHM MHÓR INNIS MÚSCRAÍ? 11C</p> <p>-Sí. 31P</p> <p>-Tá sí go maith creidim. 11C</p> <p>-Tá. 31P</p> <p>-Cé na marcannaí atá ORTHA SIÚD? 11C.</p> <p>MAIDHM ... amach ó Cheann Mása, dtugann siad CAMPAINN AIR. Deir siad liom nar raibh blas súntais aige, seoladh amach THRÍTHI SIN is í ag briseadh. 892M.</p>
<i>móin</i>	É ~ í 78B , e.g. baineann dur le slán É ... shar a gcuiríonn siad ar an mbóthar í 78B (slán for sleán).
<i>ollphéist</i>	generally referred to in the feminine, including by speaker 866E (e.g. Bl6.110), but tháinic OLLPHÉIST as a' loch, agus chroch SÉ an pota LEIS, ... is í an ollphéist atá marú. 866E Bl6.110.
<i>sail</i>	an TSAIL mharúch ... INA CEÁNN ... GÁ CHEÁNN. ... ag tomhas NA SAILE SIN ... taoi' amuigh GÁ CHEÁNN. ... bhí SÉ toistí ó throigh go troigh ... a' cas' isteach AR A CHLOIGEANN ... 852Sb 6.67–8.
<i>scoil</i>	ag goil un na SCOILE, gur fhága mé É 899Nt .
<i>sleagh</i>	breith ar A SHLEÁ agus dúirt sé go gcaithfeadh sé leis an mbardal É 866E -Sc89.18.
<i>sliseog</i>	<p>bhain sé SLISEOG gá chrann, dhe chrann, agus chaith amach ar an bhfarraige É, consistently in (run)869P.</p> <p>bhuail sé buille gá chlainhe ar an gcrann, agus bhain sé SLISEOG de agus chaith sé amach ar an bhfarraige É. Bhuail sé buille gá shlaitín draicht agus gá phoitín íocshlaint AIR agus rinne sé loing bhreá trí croinnte DHE. consistently in (run)11C.</p> <p>Cp. Bhain sí SLISEOG ... a' TSLISEOIGÍN ... DI. 852Sb6.66.</p>

6.4 (ii) Nonconcrete; (iii) Abstract

(ii) General reference and nonconcrete nouns

<i>scail</i>	agus is gearr go dtáinig aon SCAIL ghréine agus tháinig SÉ anuas air seo 894Cs (sunbeam shining on a spider).
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The elements and weather are referred to with masculine pronouns, e.g.

ta fe re: gla:n l'e hiəxt ə'nuəs ənə wə:ft'əx M
tá SÉ réidh glan le thíocht anuas INA BHÁISTEACH.

Feminine noun *aimsir* takes both masculine and feminine reference. Compare the examples with *bliain* in:

SÍ AN BHLIAIN is mú a raibh féar AIR í M, but the following day Máire said:
SÍ AN BHLIAIN is mú 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. *fidínteacht*;
BACÚLACHT É AN CHIPÍNTEACHT S.
 -áil **nax boxt ə f'i:l'ɑ:l i: nə jɪə ʃin' S**
nach bocht AN FÍLEÁIL [< feeling] í ina dhiaidh sin?
 -í *aon IMPÍ a d'iarrfadh sé bhí SÉ le fáil aige* **866ESc149.11.**

Masculine reference is particularly common in nonspecific use, as in:

- ... *agus ní féidir, nuair nach ndéarna mé ÉAGCÓIR oraibhse, go ndéanfaidh sibhse ormsa É.* **852SbLL99**;
AN FHÁILTE CHÉANNA a bhí ag an gcéad fhathach ruimhe is ag a' dárna fathach, is É a bhí ag a' tríú fathach ruimhe. **852SbTS126.**

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'É AN BHÁISTEACH a rinne e M*;
caint *Badh É CAINT an tseanbhuachaill a bhí fíor.* **06C**;
cornáil ... *agus sin É AN CORNÁIL. 'CORNÁIL' a thiúrtas tú AIR SIN.* **21Pt** (having described the activity of *cornáil bréidín*);
gnotha **ʃe: ɲ ɣruhə ... Pt SÉ AN GHNOTHA ...** (very common);
iomaire **ʃod e t'umər'əsə, ʃo we t'umər'əsə M** (translation)
seod É t'IOMAIRESA, seobh É t'IOMAIRESA;
méid *Ní hé an dath céanna atá air is ní HÉ AN MHÉID CHÉANNA atá ann.* **35E**;
páí **ʃe: ɲ fəi x'ənə əns m'ijə gu:ní 43M**
SÉ AN PHÁÍ CHÉANNA a fhaigheanns mise i gcónaí.;
pleain **ʃe: ən fl'æ:n' ... 11Ct SÉ AN PHLEAIN ...**;
ursainn **ʃin' e t'ursənsə M** (translation) *sin É t'URSAINNSA.*
 Both in prolepsis and position following the noun in:
fuinneog *'S dóicht go b'É AN FHUINNEOG tá air a mbíonn glas AIR M*;
iascach *SÉ AN IASCACH u-, scufánta IASCACH NA MBALLACH SEO is níl mórán, badráil le fáil UAIDH.* **31P**;
óiche ... *go mbadh É AN OÍCHE oibriú farraige É is mú choinic sé i mbeo 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* *Bhuel, SÉ OLA na liamán, chuala mise seanbhuachaill ag rá, 'gus tá sé básaíthe anis, gurb í OLA na liamán, bhí ag coinneál laidht-habhsachaí na hÉireann ag imeacht, nú go dtáinic, AN OLA SIN' dtugann siad AN PEARAIFÍN ORTHA.* **892M.**

When referring to the time of the year the masculine pronominal is used, e.g.

- Cáisc* **ə wil'əs eg'ə gə b'e: ɲ xɑ:ʃk' ə ta a:n 52J**
an bhfuil fhios aige gob É AN CHÁISC atá ann?

When referring to ‘a (lovely) Easter’, etc., there is, traditionally, frequent grammatical gender concord between the noun and (proleptic) pronoun, e.g.

badh í AN NOLLAIG ba mheasa í ... ; cp. *b’álainn AN CHÁISC í*.

The proleptic pronoun in the interrogative following *céard* tends also to be *é*, e.g.

Ní raibh fhios acub ... CÉARD É MÚIN SLEÁIN.

(v) Other words

It is well known that certain feminine nouns regularly take masculine pronominals, including *áit* and *caoi*; and, when fronted, *barúil*, *tuairim*, etc.; compare also *méid* ‘size’, *gnotha* and *pleain* ((iv) ‘Fronting’) and *éagóir* ((iii) ‘Abstract’) above. (Cf. GCF §284.) Feminine place-names often take masculine reference (cp. *áit*; *Fuaigh an Turlaigh*, 6.3), e.g.

Sén áit i MAÍNIS a rabh sé a’ déanamh caisleáin i DTÓN RUISÍN, corra dheas talún atá ar a’ taobh thiar DHE; B19.51 (where *dhe* refers to *Mainis*).

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 *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: *cathaoir*, *clúid*, *cois*, *cúirt* (note *uirthi* x3 vs. *ann*), *fuaigh*, *gabháil*, *gág*, *leaba*, *páirc*, *scoil*, *tír*). It is twice as common as *air* the next most frequent prepositional pronoun in this list (i.e. 5/21: *aill*, *ceirtlín*, *leic*, *luibh*, *tom*).

<i>aill</i>	<i>bhí AILL ann agus bhí fraoch an-bhreá AIR, agus suas leis i mullach NA HAILLE</i> 866ESc267.5.
<i>carraig</i>	<i>... tao’ muigh DHÓ ... tao’ istigh DHÓ ...</i> 20A. Contrast <i>CARRAIG ... agus soir aneas UAITHI sin, sa gcuisle</i> 35E.
<i>cathaoir</i>	<i>agus shuigh an iníon is sine insa GCATHAOIR. ... Shuigh an dara hiníon ANN.</i> 866ESc149.21–4. K’æ:pəm’ nax wil’ b’æ:k’ ə b’ih ʌn l’i:n’æ:ləm’ færwərd M <i>Ceapaim nach bhfuil ‘back’ ar bith ANN, ‘lean’-álaim ‘forward’ (in reference to cathaoir).</i>
<i>ceirtlín</i>	<i>is gearr ghur thug sé, CEIRTLÍN MHÓR amach as an gcarr, agus bhí ságán mór casta suas AIR,</i> 894C.
<i>clúid</i>	cp. <i>Gur sa GCLÚID le go mbeadh mo ghrá ANN ...</i> !894C9; <i>Ach AN CHLÚID a mbeadh mo stórsa ANN, ...</i> !(Abcl)43Js.
<i>cois</i>	<i>Tá tochas i MO CHOIS. Tá an oiread tochas ANN. M.</i>
<i>cúirt</i>	<i>pálás DE CHÚIRT ba bhreátha ar scal an ghaoth ná an ghrian riamh UIRTHI ... rinne sé UIRTHI ... INSA GCÚIRT. ... ag dul timpeall UIRTHI ... cé chaoi a ngabhfhadh sé ANN.</i> 866ESc101.16–20. <i>go bhfuair sé AN CHÚIRT a rabh sé ar dinnéar ANN.</i> B19.56.
<i>duirlinn</i>	<i>ar AN DUIRLINN SIN a dtugann siad DUIRLINN NA SPÁINNEACH anis AIR</i> 35E9360.
<i>farraige</i>	<i>Gach a bhféadtha tú a bhaint as an BHFARRAIGE bain AS é. ... gur dhen bhuíochas a bainfear tada AISTI go minic.</i> 03S.
<i>fuaigh</i>	<i>le FUAIGH a dhéanamh a gcuirfí an corp ANN.</i> 869PDt39.
<i>gabháil</i>	N’ir hi: ji: r’iəw ə mə ʋo:l’ ax si:hə mir’ e:d ʌn M <i>níor shuigh sí ariamh i MO GHABHÁIL ach suíthidh Muiréad ANN.</i>
<i>gág</i>	<i>Tá GÁG ormsa is chuirtheá glaise fataí ANN M.</i>
<i>leaba</i>	<i>Tá sí ANN! M (ann referring to leaba, as given in 6.3 s.v. gaoithe).</i>

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<i>leac, leic</i>	l'ek' ... gər ɛr' ə ... Mt.tí LEIC ... gur AIR a
<i>luibh</i>	AIR ... SÉ 869P5 .
<i>páirc</i>	as a' gcéad PHÁIRC a dtiúrfa sé ANN thú. ... as a' dárna PÁIRC a dtiúrfa sé ANN thú. ... insa tríú PÁIRC a dtiúrfa sé ANN thú, 852SbTS130 . thug an fear ... i BPÁIRC BHREÁ é a raibh cruinniú mór daoine ANN feadh a amhairc, 864MDT51 .
<i>scoil</i>	ag goil un na SCOILE, gur fhága mé É ... bhí mé seacht mbliana ag goil ANN ... chulá ndeachaigh mé ÁNN 899Nt .
<i>teanga</i>	Dá mbeadh DO THEANGA faoi m'fhiacail bhainfinn greim AS FFG s.v. teanga.
<i>tír</i>	ní ghabhfamuide sa TÍR a bhfuil siad ANN. 852SDT7 .
<i>tom</i>	TOM BHROBH ... AN TOM BHROBH ... AN TOIMÍN BHROBH ... nuair a leag sé a ghlúin anuas AIR, shocraigh sé ... (Suda) 894Cs .
<i>trá</i>	AN TRÁ CHÉANNA ar imigh sé DE. 894Cst .

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*:

<i>cearc</i>	k'ær:k nur' v' ex u'v b'orh eg'ə, v'ed ji: (l) grɑ:gi:l' ... ji ... l'ehə P.3 CEARC nuair a bheadh ubh beirthe AIGE, bheadh sí ag grágáil ... DHI ... LÉITHI.
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There is masculine prepositional pronoun referring to a woman in:

(bhí) **b'æn gə vr'ianəx gə wā:hər' eg'ə M**
bhí bean dhe Bhrianach dhe mháthair AIGE, 'her mother was an O'Brien'.

6.7 (ii) Nonconcrete; (iii) Abstract

(ii) Nonconcrete nouns

<i>iascach</i>	SÉ AN IASCACH u-, scufánta IASCACH NA MBALLACH SEO is níl mórán, badráil le fáil UAIDH. 31P (cp. 3.4).
<i>ócáid</i>	cé AN ÓCÁID a bhfuil tú AIR? 852SbTS149 .

In existential function pertaining to the time of year masculine *ann* is normal, e.g.

Cáisc an bhfuil fhios aige gob É AN CHÁISC atá ANN? **52J**.

In the classificatory construction with the preposition *i*, generally with the verb *bí*, masculine *ann* often alternates with feminine *inti*:

<i>ceird</i>	bə x'aírd' ɑ:n he:n' i' 23J ba CHEIRD ANN héin í.
<i>Nollaig</i>	nolə:k' wə' v' i: i:n' ə/ɑ:n NOLLAIG MHAITH a bhí INTI / ANN.

(iii) Abstract nouns

<i>-acht</i>	-Níl aon seó faoin domhan ach an costas tá ag baint leis an NGLIOMA-DÓIREACHT. 31P -Tá an iomarca costais ag baint LEIS. 35E -Tá costas an domhain ag baint LEIS. 31P .
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6.8 (c) Possessive pronouns; (i) Concrete nouns

Rare examples of masculine possessives for feminine nouns occur in:

<i>ciaróg</i>	-Níor casadh rud a bith liom, a dúirt, an feilméara, ach DHÁ CHIARÓIG. Agus bhí, déis chruithneacht, INA BHÉAL, ag achaoon CHEANN acub. 869Pt .
<i>grian</i>	... AN GHRIAN ag corraí DHÁ MHÁITHREACHAÍ FFG s.v. máthair 6.

Examples in active construction {dhá + Verbal Noun} are:

cruithneacht lán a gloice go CHRUITHNEACHT ... ar an ourlár í. Tháinic dhá

cheann déag dhe choilm agus thosaíodar 'Á PHIOCA 852Sb-TS128.

culaith *d'fhiathraigh sé dhen táilliúr 'Cé dhó,' a deir se, 'bhfuil tú ag díonamh AN CHULAITH SHÍODA?' 'Tá mé GÁ DHÍONAMH,' a deir an táilliúr, 'dh'inín an rí.' 'Díontha' mise píosa DHE,' a deir se. ... chuir an táilliúr scéala chaici go raibh AN CHULAITH SHÍODA réidh, agus, duine a chuir GÁ COINNE. 11C.*

(Contrast *gá dhíonamh* with *gá coinne*.) Similarly, in another recording of this story:

'Cé dhó a bhfuil tú ag díonamh AN CHULAITH SHÍODA?' a deir Cearúlán. 'Tá mé GÁ DHÍONAMH,' 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 *an^L* (rather than genitive *na culaith*) 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 *dhá^L*, 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' ə sun* ... *AR A SON*.
- k' e er' ə sun* M *CÉ AR A SON?* also
- x'ul' m' e ə n' iə wər' ə* BóC *Shiúil mé i ndiaidh MHÁIRE.*
- k' e r x'ul' tu nə d' iə* Mq *CÉR shiúil tú INA DIAIDH?*

Prepositional:

- hæ:stə wohə* ... *Thastaigh UAITHI* ...
- k' e wohə* 37M *CÉ UAITHI?* also
- ... *ba:nt' æ:ft' ə* ... *baint AISTI.*
- k' e: æ:ft' ə* P *CÉ AISTI?*

For mixed *céard faoi*the? 19P, see 'Prepositions' (7.39).

For an instance of the plural possessive, compare the following examples from query (cf. 8.64 ff.):

- kahə m' e d' i:nə gə wər' əsə* BóC *Caithidh mé déanamh DHÁ BHFUIREASA.*
- k' e gə: wir' əsə xahəs tu d' i:nə* Mq
- CÉ DHÁ BHFUIREASA a chaitheas tú déanamh?* and
- Sí M[áire] atá i gcionn na MBEITHÍOCH* BóC
- k' e: nə g' i:n ə wil' jī* 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: γər' d' i:v hu' CÉ DHÁR DÍOBH thú?*

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 domsa nach bhféadthainn e rá — ‘Sí’ ar CHÁRR. ‘Is deas a’ CÁRR E sin,’ a déarthainnse **14M**.*

A list of relevant nouns with examples follows.

Cp. *ancard* ~ *ancaird* ~ *ancart* ~ *ancairt*, *tancard* FFG; speaker **20C** has:

ancard ~ *ancaird* and feminine reference (*sí* ... *ortha*).

bád *í, ortha.*

bromach often *é*, but (of a talking *broimín*): *g’aon chapall ... go’n BHRUIMÍN údan thíos. Is é cineál na hÉireann É ... É ... A DRUIM ... SÉ ... adeir SÉ ... D’ísigh sí ... rinne sí*, etc., **852Sb**TS131–2.

caipín *ag cur AN CHAIPÍN as A HÁIT. Clad190; is breá an CAIPÍN í.*

capall generally *í*, but the young of the horse take *é*, e.g. *bromach* and *searrach* take *é* **869P**5. 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 péibí BEITHÍOCH a chuireann A CHEANN inte, téirigh thusa ar A DHRUIM agus fágfaidh sí thall thú. An RUD ba ghránna dá bhfaca sé ariamh, agus gurbh é pictiúir CAPAILL É, chuir sí A CHEANN inte. Chuaidh sé ar A DRUIM dhe léim agus thug sí as Gleann an Uafáis é.* LL115.

cárta, etc. (of playing cards) *falh i’ M.falaigh í* ‘cover it (card)’, ... *an CÁRTA É* **21Pt**q (*é* only with *cárta* **21Pt**q);

cárta meaning ‘postal (greeting) card’ or ‘identity card’ takes masculine reference (M, **21Pt**, etc.).

carr *é* **14M**, SM, **43M**; *í* very common.

claimhe generally *é*, e.g. *CLAIMHE maith agat. ... go bhfeice mé É, Is breá É do CHLAIMHE, ... agus Á CHASADH agus Á THRIÁIL ag féachaint cén mhaith a bhí ANN* **866E**Semr62; but ... *ar an GCLAIMHE solais. Agus tharrainn sé amach í. Agus, chraith sé í ... í ... ORTHA.* (Smbb)**04B**.

Some (younger) speakers have feminine *claimhe*:

AN CHLAIMHE solais **35E** (son of **04B**), *AN CHLAIMHE* [x3] **71D**.

cnaiste *CRAISTE mór ... a dhíonadh í. Bhíd sí ...* **10B**. Perhaps influenced by *leaba*. Similarly, *lampa* and *vádrób* below.

coileach 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 dhá cheann déag dhe CHOILM agus thosaíodar ‘á phioca [an?]sin is gearr go ndeachaigh CEANN acub síos i ndia MULLA’ i bpoll a bhí ar an ourlár is go dtug sí aníos a’ tsráthad INA BÉAL* **852Sb**TS128.

fáinne *é* often but: ... *FÁINNE* **892M** -*Chuaigh sí síos leis. 21Pg* -*Chuaigh sí síos leis. 892M*3434–5.

fia *FIA ... LÉITHE ... a dtug a FIA A HAGHAIDH ... tháinig sí ... léim sí* **875T**LL40 (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 *eilit*).

<i>fód</i>	(<i>is maith</i>) <i>an FÓD múna í sin</i> S, influenced by feminine <i>móin</i> . Without dependent <i>móna</i> , the word <i>fód</i> regularly takes masculine reference. Cp. <i>ar FHÓD mór spairtí</i> [sic leg. cf. 3.4] ... <i>É ... sí</i> from <i>An Clochán</i> (Stenson 2003: 83, 137 n. 49).
<i>geansaí</i>	<i>í</i> SM consistently; masculine in: ta sná:h a:ləN' an M tá snáithe álainn ANN.
<i>gearrán</i>	<i>é</i> S; feminine initially in: <i>An SEAN-GHIORRÁN BÁN ... A CUID oibre, bhí sí ... ORTHA ...</i> [with a change to masculine] <i>A DHROIM ... A CHLUASA ... A DHRIOBALL ... chuaigh SÉ ... É ... chaith SÉ ...</i> 35Etn. Cp. <i>capall</i> above.
<i>geimhreadh</i>	<i>í, g'í:vr'ə xə m'er'əv' í ehə ... í: S</i> (and Mperm) <i>GEIMHREADH chomh meirbh LÉITHI ... í, əs dunə η g'í:vr'ə e: Sq is dona an GEIMHREADH É, g'í:vr'ə 'am:v' er'əv' v'í: an / i:nt'ə Sq GEIMHREADH an-mheirbh a bhí ANN / INTI</i> (in fact <i>ann</i> may have existential reference or it may refer to <i>geimhreadh</i>). Contrast Máire who does not permit: <i>*geimhreadh an-mheirbh a bhí inti MØperm.</i>
<i>gró</i>	<i>í, sí M.</i>
<i>lampa</i>	la:mp' i:n', v'í: η glə:b xə brokəx orhə P <i>LAIMPÍN — bhí an glób chomh brocach ORTHA.</i> Cp. fem <i>glób</i> < 'globe' (11.146).
<i>leabhar</i>	and various books and magazines regularly take feminine reference.
<i>peann</i>	<i>Cé thug dhuít í, ' bhfuil sí briste?</i> <i>Déarthá 'í' nú 'É' LEIS Sq</i> (of <i>peann</i> and <i>pinsuil</i>).
<i>pionta</i>	p'intə mah i: j'in' 52J PIONTA maith í sin, kahən je max i: xə j'f'a:bə:l'ə 52J caitheann sé amach í chomh sleabáilte Speaker 52Jq could not explain why he used <i>í</i> here and did not differentiate between <i>í</i> for <i>gloine</i> . (Cp. fem <i>deoch</i> .) Compare (having mentioned p'intə pionta earlier in the conversation): n'í: ma í'um v' [sic] d'efr'u: í' [sic] o:l, ma í'um am ə ho:g'ə:l' í ehə 61Pt ní maith liom a bheith ag deifriú le ÓL, maith liom am a thóigeáil LÉITHI.
<i>rásúr</i>	n'í ho wí: ən rə:su:r ... 52P ní heobh í an RÁSÚR ...
<i>rotha</i>	wíl' j'i: got'ə j'f'a:x ə'l'ig', tarəN' j'iar t'il' i: S <i>an bhfuil sí gaibhte isteach uilig? Tarrainn siar tuilleadh í, ... j'i: ... i: P sí ... í, rohə mah e: j'in' M ROTHÁ maith É sin.</i>
<i>sábh</i>	(<i>SÁBH</i>) ... <i>a bhí sí. 892M1285, í</i> (perhaps Sq), <i>ag géarradh LEITHI 65C.</i>
<i>sicín</i>	<i>SICÍN ... í ... DHI P</i> (in culinary context).
<i>soitheach</i>	sohəx mər i: M SOITHEACH mór í; also ... INTI ... í Arn2128–9.
<i>tál</i>	<i>an TÁL ... bhí sí sin 892M1356–8; níor thangaigh sí 17Mp.</i>
<i>vádrób</i>	... <i>í S.</i>

The semantics of the masculine nouns which can take feminine reference is:

- clothing: *caipín*, (*fáinne* (cp. (c), e.g. *rotha*)), *geansaí*;
- script: *cárta*, *leabhar*;
- implements: (*claimhe*), *gró*, *lampa*, *peann*, *rásúr*, *rotha*, *sábh*, *tál*;
- furniture: *cnaiste*, *vádrób*;
- vessels: (*ancard*; *bád* (f)), *pionta*, *soitheach*; cf. 6.11;
- means of transport: *bád*, *carr*; cp. *capall* (g);
- animals: (*bromach*), *capall*, (*coileach*), *fia*, (*gearrán*), *sicín*;
- exceptional: *fód móna*, *geimhreadh*; cf. 6.11.

Contrast other artefacts which take masculine reference:

- (a) *ceannchochall* (é **866ESemr**, **11C**); *sciorta* (é, *sciorta beag dearg* ... *bhí sé giortach* M); *seaicéad* (é SM);
- (c) cp. *claimhe*; *criathar* (*thraíd* ... *air* **869P3**); *iarann* (*go dtí an t-iarann smúdála bhíodh sé acu*. **866ESc23.13**);
- (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 rothaí faoi* **17M**);
- (h) *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’ *uisce*:

... *tháinig an t-UISCE aníos ‘gus, bhuaíl sí sna súile é, ... an lá ar beannaíobh í sin ... nuair bhí sé GÁ BEANNÚ, ... a beannaíobh í* [x2] **23Ms** (context: origin and subsequent blessing of the well);

TEAMPALL ... í ... ORTHA, ... INA TAOBH sin **23Ms**;

cp. ‘SPOUT’ *UISCE ... cuireann sí* [i.e. *an fharraige*] ... *í* [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 **55L**) although masculine reference is prevalent (cp. *hál bhreá* ... *í* 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 *bildeáil* which generally ‘replaces’ *foirgint*, both of which are feminine, in striking contrast of course with *teach*.

Speaker **66N** has anomalous apparent anaphoric reference of *í* to *muic* in the saying:

kid’ gə wík’ i: ən dr’ibəl **66N** *cuid dhe mhuic í an DRIOBALL*.

I recall Seán’s version of this proverb as *cuide dhe mhuic a drioball*. Speaker **66N** may be influenced by *í* in the similar proverb:

cuide dhen mhúnadh í an CHÚTHAILEACHT **12S**.

Another younger speaker, **84P**, has several tokens of *í* 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 dhuine*, e.g.

Tá CHUILE DHUINE ‘NA GCODLADH **43M**.

Similarly:

gur shíl sé go raibh AN TEACH INA GCODLADH. LL76;

Is maith LEIS AN IASC féin roinnt de a chur ar A GCUID bia. Clad86.

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 EICÍNT 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 acú faoi láthair ach sin é — ní fhaca mé, AON CHEANN acú DHÁ NDÍONAMH. **17Mp**;

Tá an oiread 'SAUSAGES AND RASHERS' ansin sa bh'freezer' is gan CEANN AR BITH DHÁ N-ITHE. **M.**

The plural nouns are referred to as a single entity in the following example:

Maidir le GEARRACHAÍ AGUS SCOILTEACHAÍ INA GCEANN bhíodh SÉ ann, **866ESc23.18.**

An example of 1sg reference to the first and logical antecedent *mise* occurs in:

Agus MISE AN FEAR atá in ann é sin a chruthú agus a cheartú agus a chonaic é, a raibh aithne agus eolas AGAM ar gach aon duine acu ag an doras agam féin. **866ESc300.5.**

6.13 *ina*^L; *agus acub*

ina shuí, ina sheasamh, ina chodladh, ina chónaí, stative ina

Note the occasional slip of the tongue with masculine for feminine, for example, in *ina shuí*:

v'i: ə wə'hər' ənə hi: ... ənə si: P bhí A MHÁTHAIR INA SHUÍ ... INA SUÍ.

Similarly, *ina sheasamh* with feminine reference in:

Agus 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 chónaí* 'idle' noted in:

Ní raibheadar sin [i.e. shoes] ag obair tá me ' cheapadh gur fearr dho chuile BHRÓIG a bheith ag obair ná INA CHÚNAÍ an bhfuil fhios a'd? 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'ə ənə xolə eg' ... 80A IAD bheith INA CHODLADH ag ...*¹

Similarly, *ina shuí* in:

ag coinneál MÁIRE INA SHUÍ **66M.**

There is an example of stative *ina*^L with non-animate feminine reference (*súí*) in:

sé an súí ... bhead sí INA CHÁRNÁINÍN ... **73P.**

For impersonal *dhá*^L + 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'ærɾɿ s akəb 52M an raibh sé ag Meairtin IS ACUB?
 'had Martin and the others got it?'²

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

Singular	Simple	Emphatic
1	m'e: ^a	m'ifə
2	tu:, hu:, u:	tisə, hisə, isə, (also tusə, husə, usə)
3 m	fe:, e:	fefən (fifən), efən
f	fi:, i:	fifə, ifə
Plural		
1	mid', m'id', fɪn'	mid'ə, min'ə, fɪn'ə, (mid'i:) ^β
2	fɪb'	fɪbfə (fɪb'sə)
3	A fɪəd (hiəd), iəd B dʊr, iəd	fɪədsən, iədsən dʊrsən, iədsən

^a Pronouns containing nasal consonants in the first syllable have regular nasalised vowels in older speakers' usage: m'ɛ:, m'ɪfə, mɪd', m'id', fɪn', etc. For nasalisation of *thú*, (*s*)*é*, (*s*)*í* beside nasal vowels and consonants, see 1.283 ff.

^β Speaker **71D** uses **mid'i:** *muidé* but his prepositional pronoun emphatic clitic is -ə, e.g. **sæn'ə** *s'a'inne*. He has this usage from his mother, a native of An Mám, North Conamara.

For copula pro-form **æ'** *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:**, **tisə**) are used as subject of the active verb except in the personal imperative (e.g. *bí thusa*). With the nonpersonal imperative *tusa* is used (e.g. *bíodh tusa*).¹ Otherwise, initial **t-** forms occur generally after **əs** *is* of the copula and facultatively following other copula forms and demonstrative **e:rd** *éard*. Forms in **t-** are also facultative sentence-initially in coordination, i.e. *tú héin agus ...*, and following the preposition **gən** *gan* and preposition and conjunction **nə:** *ná* (including comparative *ná*, i.e. *ná thú*, *ná thusa*, *ná tusa*) and the various forms of the conjunction **ogəs** *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 *cuirí sibse*. 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 *thú héin* are used, and not *tusa* or *tú 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 *thú / thusa*, 2pl *Bígí sibhse / shibhse*, and 2sg cond *Dá mbuailféad thusa* Ó Baoill (1996: 91), Doyle (2003: 83).

NÍ FHEICFIDH MISE NÁ THUSA aon amharc ar a chéile an fhad is a bheas muid beo ... **866ESc159.2**;

MÁ THEAGANN MISE NÓ THUSA isteach **20S**.

Elsewhere **hu**; **u**; **hisə**, **isə**, (**husə**, **usə**) are used. Nontraditional use of *thusa* as verbal subject is instanced below (6.17).

Simple third person subject pronouns of active verbs contain initial **f**-. Emphatic subjects of active verbs have facultative **f**-. In the masculine emphatic the **f**- 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 **f**- forms are probably most common. Third plural emphatic subjects have been noted with **f**- only except in **f.ru iədsən** **892M3743** *sru iadsan* (form of the quotative defective verb *arsa*). In possessive function and as objects of otherwise generally inflected prepositions both **f**- and vowel-initial forms occur in all third person emphatic pronouns, e.g. *faoi siadsan / iadsan*. As objects of compound and other non-inflected prepositions both emphatic forms also occur, e.g. *go dtí eisean / seisean*. Individuals noted with variation in use of **f**- in emphatic subject position of the active verb are **21Pt** (noted with *seisean* and *ise*) and **43M** (noted with *eisean*, *sise* ~ *ise*). In contrast Máire, **43M**'s mother, was noted with *seisean* and *sise* only in this subject position.

Used nominally (in opposition to other third person pronominals) both **f**- and vowel-initial simple forms have been noted:

mās e: nu iəd d'ərħəs m'e l'e ... P *más 'É' nó 'IAD' a déarthas mé le ...*

-v'i: f'i: nə kolə | f'i: tɑ: i:nt'ə b'æ: 51M *Bhí sí ina codladh, 'sí' tá inti ab ea?*

-fæ: f'i: 43M *Sea 'sí'*.

Paralinguistic use was noted with regard to reference with masculine nouns (6.10), the **f**- variant is used in:

Tugann cuide go na daoine ... 'sí' ar chár. 14M.

For forms such as **efud é siud**, see 6.68.

When subject of the active verb, pronouns follow the nonpersonal form. In the second person imperative *thusa* and *thú héin* 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 **f**- forms of third person emphatic pronouns are optional following the preposition *marach*:

<i>marach</i> {	<i>mé, mise</i>	<i>muid(e)</i>
	<i>thú, tusa, thusa</i>	<i>sib(se)</i>
	<i>é, seisean, eisean</i>	<i>iad, (siadsan ?), iadsan (also iad sin)</i>
	(also <i>é sin >> sé sin</i>) <i>í, sise, ise (also í sin)</i>	

Cp. *go dtí mé, mise, thú, é, eisean, seisean, í, ise, muid(e), sib(se), iad, iadsan* (also *go dtí sise ~ ise* **SIDiii.40** q 45). Disjunctive pronouns tend to occur phrase-finally, e.g.

badh é AN TEACH POBAIL ba goire dhon mhuintir a bhí ina gcónaí sa mbaile sin É. 869Pt;

nuair a bhí mo dhóthain dhen phíopa caite a'm, a deir sé, LEAG MÉ ISTEAICH

in almóir bheag mar sin, a deir sé, sa mbaile É. 11C;
xur'həx mid' ən a:t' ə m'ex ba:rəl' æ:n' o:b' iəd | 21Pt
CHUIRTHEADH MUID in áit a mbeadh barúil a'inn dhóib IAD.

6.16 1 singular

1sg Simple

m'e: *mé* varies phonetically: **m'e:**, **m'e'**, **m'e**, **m'ε**, **m'a**, **m'ə**, **m'**, the last three most reduced variants being least frequent in the dialect as a whole. Examples:

20A: **v'i:x m'ə | tri:əl'** ... *bhíodh MÉ — ag traíáil ...*

64M: **m'e >> m'ə >> m'**, e.g. **v'im'ə he:n'** *bhí MÉ héin*; **m'ɪ he:n'** *MÉ héin*;
tə: m' k'æ:pə *tá MÉ ag ceapadh.*

1sg Emphatic

m'ifə *mise* can also be reduced: **m'fə**, **mʃə**. It may become indistinguishable from the inflected ending with emphatic suffix: **-mʃə**, e.g. **ə d'er' mʃə** *a deir mise* and **ə d'er'əmʃə** *a deirimse* can be at times virtually indistinguishable.

6.17 2 singular

2sg Simple

tu: *tú* and **hu:** *thú* vary phonetically: **tu:**, **tu'**, **tu**, **hu:**, **hu'**, **hu**, **u:**, **u'**, **u**. (The quality of the vowel remains high [u] = /u:/; it is not lowered to [ʊ] = /u/.)

Examples:

tu:, **tu'**, **tu:** **əs tu:** ... **11Cta20** *is TÚ ...*, **f'erd tu' he:n' bok** *P séard TÚ héin boc*,
TÚ héin is do deaidí breá, deaidí buinneach M, mar beidh bean ag tíocht
anseo ar maidin amáireach a'd, a deir sí, agus TÚ pósta. gəs tu' 'pə:stə |
11C, **gən tu: nən ə ɣol' əma:x** *M gan TÚ i ndan a ghoil amach.*

Following *ná*, e.g. *níos fearr ná TUSA*. 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,* **866ESc**112.39.

The **t** may be deaspirated and partially voiced in sandhi, e.g.

m'æsdu meas TÚ, d'aiəx du ... 66N dtéadh TÚ ...;
nə hen du 76Mt *nuair a théann tú.*

hu:, **n'i:** **'vortin fè hu:** **'xor ə 'b'i'**, 46.1000 *ní ghortaíonn sé THÚ ar chor ar bith; æs e:r'ən' hu' 11Cta16 as Éirinn THÚ*; cp. *Is THÚ an glibíneach FFG s.v. glibíneach; k'e:m' v'l'ien' ə rugu: hu: 19P cén bhliain a rugadh THÚ?*
sintəx ə v'æn hu bal' o' ji: ort s hu hiəxt er' də v'æ:ləx he:n' *S is iontach an bhean THÚ bail ó Dhia ort is THÚ thíocht ar do bhealach héin.*

Cp. *gur maith an fear THÚ 7 TÚ dhiana an méid sin. 866ESemr120.*

u: as object: **nə: mɔ:r u: he:n'** 46.147 *ná maraigh THÚ héin! b'e:r' gə n'ik-f'i:*
u' æs oxt e ə:l' P B'fhéidir go n-íocfí THÚ as ucht é a fháil; nə: l'ig' ə
x'æd do: jin' u v'æ:rə P ná lig a chead dó sin THÚ a bhearradh; fa:do' n
lə: v'i: u xroxə S fadó an lá a bhí THÚ a chrochadh, leanthaidís go barr
uisce THÚ gə bə:r i'f'k' u' amantaí 35E. In traditional prayer:

ə:ri:m' u gəs grai:m' u !05M *adhraím THÚ agus gráim THÚ.*

With copula: **ə s u: ... 11Cta21 á is THÚ ...**, **k'e:r'bas u:** 46.940 *cérb as THÚ? gər mā:k ... æs e:r'ən' u: ... 11Cta16 gur mac ... as Éirinn THÚ ...*,
cp. **fa:də mix' u: du:rɪ' fi' | 11C** *'Fada amuigh THÚ,* *'a dúirt sí, cén sórt*

fear THÚ u: héin 11C, b'e:d'ər' u: he:n' 11C1502 b'fhéidir THÚ héin, n'i: ku:l'o:dər yums u' S ní comhluadar dhomsa THÚ, s m'æ:sə n'uw u' na 'e:n la: M is measa inniu THÚ ná aon lá.

Following preposition:

wil' e:n nin' el'ə mar u: S an bhfuil aon nduine eile mar THÚ?

Subject: | d'i:n ū 'hē:n' n'if i' d'erje | 872P *Déan THÚ héin anois i! a deir sé: t'ærə u: 'hē:n' əgəf' t'ær 881J teara THÚ héin agus t'fhear*; in apposition: *gə wakə tis u he:n' ē 35E7562 go bhfaca tusa THÚ héin é.*

The examples with subject *u(:)* all precede *héin*, which seems to condition the elision of the preceding *h-*. Note the variation in:

bə: u: he:n' | bə: hu: he:n' S báith THÚ héin, báith THÚ héin!

k'e' hu' he:n' 11Ct cé THÚ héin? which appears less frequently than *k'e: u: he:n'.*

2sg Emphatic

tusa tusə, tisə, tsə; thusa husə, hisə, usə, isə. Examples:

tusə: bə ha:xt m'ar e na' tusə Mq (x3) ba sheacht mb'fhearr é ná TUSA.

tsə: ən a:t ə wi' ts u' he:n' S88 an áit a bhfuighidh TUSA thú héin, gə wi:x ts ə:məd ... v'i tu k'æ:pi: ... 71D dhá bhfuigheadh TUSA adhmaid ... bhí tú ceapthaí ...; hun'ək' ts e 56N choinic TUSA é.

husə: go husə f'æh eg' ə dorəs 19P10 gabh THUSA isteach ag an doras; rugu: husə n ə:m k'æ:rt 19P rugadh THUSA in am ceart; nax husə ... nax tusə ... nax husə 894C nach THUSA ... nach TUSA ... nach THUSA.

hisə: əs 'buəxəl' 'f'i:əm' hīsə, 46.103 is buachaill fíáin THUSA; tagann sé níos minicí ná THUSA na: 'hīsə, 46.883; to:r' hisə 'f'æt e: 'jin' 11C tabhair THUSA leat é sin; n'ir 'kasu 'his ə:n | 21Pg7293 Níor casadh THUSA ann ... ?
There is an example of nontraditional use of *thusa* in verbal subject position, from a very innovative speaker:

ka:l' hisə gol' Cail THUSA ag goil? 66M (or her twin sister).

usə: agus lighidh mise oram péin ... go bhfuil mé [ar ?] seachrán, agus THUSA usə froisin. 11C.

isə: 'to:r' isə f'æt su:p ə vrain M tabhair THUSA leat súp, a Bhraidhean.

6.18 3 masculine

3m Simple

fē: sé varies phonetically *fē:, fē', fē, fə, fə, fə*, the last two most reduced variants being least frequent in the dialect as a whole. Examples:

fē:, fē', fē: d'im'ə fē: fē' | (Suda)894Cs d'imigh SÉ seo.

fē: xahət fē 64M chaitheadh SÉ.

*fə: kæg'i: f'f'arx sə 'f'in' e: d'er fə | 11C -Caithigí isteach sa tine é, a deir SÉ.; kahən fə, n'i:l' tu g' iərə fə ə xir' ə:n 64Mq caitheann SÉ, níl tú ag iarraidh 'SÉ' a chuir ann? (said during the CAITH class questionnaire, where *siad* was to be avoided for inflected *-(a)dar*, here 64M confused whether *sé* or *siad* was to be avoided); d'inəx tus e d'ər fə, 64C 'Déanadh tusa é,' a deir SÉ.*

fə: kaʔ fə nax 64M chaitheadh SÉ nach; v'i: fə sən em' ... 66N bhí SÉ san eim [filler] ...

f: speaker 17M has a tendency to elide utterance final *-ə*, this also occurs to *sé* in

the frequent *a deir sé* (initial stress): **id'ər fə / fə / fə, a deir sé.**

e: *é* varies phonetically *e*ː, *e'*, *e*, *e*, *a*, *ə*, the last two most reduced variants being least frequent in the dialect as a whole. Examples:

e: *n' i hachə m' e e*: **64Mq** *ní sháithidh mé É.*

e', *e*, *e*: **| ʊr ffe l'um əd'ər fe e xroxə 'wa'l ə nāh 'n' i:nhəʃ fe 'e' | 11C**

Dúirt sé liom, a deir sé, É chrochadh abhaile nach ndíonhadh sé É.

tri:ə:lə m' e .e' 'fin' ə 'j'inə | 11C *traíálthaidh mé É sin a dhéanamh.*

xuələ m' e eg' 'f'ær æʃ l'et'ər' ohər^d b'ænəxt d'e: l'e'n ā'nəm e 'b'ær'tl' o: 'guər'əm' | 11C *chuala mé ag fear as Leitir Othard, beannacht Dé lena anam, É, Beairtle Ó Guairim;*

níl sé mórán achair ó bhí daoíní ann a choinic go maith É mǎ' he mar déarthá is É ina s e nǎ sheanfhear 11C.

d' i fe e 11C *d'ith sé É.*

ə: fə jehəl ɐ 12J *Sé a dheicheall É, g'ærəxən dun^ə | g'ærəxən'i:n' suət' ə M gearrachán dona, gearracháinín suaite É, sǎ: ə 64Mq* *sáigh É! sǎ:əg'i: ə 64Mq* *sáigí É!*

a: fə hi hosə 'm'ik' l'i:n' 'gǎ:r'i 64M *SÉ [i.e. is É] an chaoi a thosaigh Micilín ag gáirí.*

ə: ,əs 'buəxəl' 'dǎ:n ə, 46.767 *is buachaill dána É; k'en fa: el'ə | m'et fə ɐr' ax ə fin' 893P* *cén fáth eile a mbeadh sé air ach É sin? ax f'k'aird'ə 21C* *ach go Sceirde É; fed ə he:n' 64M* *séard É héin (cp. fə durt' 64M* *séard a dúirt ...); ə uəl' 79A* *É a fhúáil.*

I have noted one example of *é sin* in verbal subject position (similar to emphatic *eisean*), perhaps with a slight pause following the verb:

v' i' (l) e' fə'n mu:n't' eg'ə ʏn' 17Md *bhí É sin múinte aige dhúinn*

3m Emphatic

fəfən: wǎ:n' fəfən M bhain SEISEAN; tǎ fəfən M tá SEISEAN; arsa SEISEAN 21Pt.

fəfən: gǎ dǎ:r'n' i' m' iʃ ort or fəfən mǎ wɪl' ə lɪ:n' 04B

go dtairní mise ort, ar SEISEAN, mo bhuille loinn (or or fəfən).

fɪfən: tǎ: ər' fɪru fɪfən | d' iərəməd daun | ... 892Mtn

-Tá, arsu SEISEAN, Diarmaid Donn,

efən: bhí EISEAN, choinic EISEAN iad 01C6782, 'dǎ:r' 'efən 01C6952 *d'airigh EISEAN, a muəl'əx 'efən 20A* *dhá mbuaileadh EISEAN, xur' efən 43M* *chuir EISEAN; tǎ 'efən 43M tá EISEAN.*

For examples of *er fəfən* >> *ers efən 04B* *ar SEISEAN ~ arsa EISEAN*, see the defective verb *ar ~ arsa* (5.330).

6.19 3 feminine

3f Simple

fɪ: sɪ varies phonetically **fɪ:**, **fɪ'**, **fɪ**; similarly, **i: í** is phonetically **i:**, **i'**, **i**.

fɪ': tǎ fɪ' gǎ 'f' iərə 11C *tá Sí dho t'iarraidh.*

fɪ: (with high i) **v' i fɪ 'po:stə n' 'fin' | 11C** *bhí Sí pósta ansin.*

i, ə: reduced in unstressed position ... **ə x'aird' i fin' 872P** ... *an cheird í sin;* speaker **872P** also has frequent **ǎ:n**, **an** for indefinite adjective *aon* (commonly **e:n** in the dialect). Also: **ski:l'u: i 'hē:n' ə 'd'ir' ɐr' | ... 11C4704** *scaoileadh í héin i dtúr ar*

3f Emphatic

fifə: fuər **fifə** 43M *fuair SISE*.

ifə: v'i: **ifə** wa:d ... 21Pt *bhí ISE i bhfad ...*; 'o:lən **'ifə** 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' hē:n ə 'xə:frək'ən | 894Cs

Caitheadh 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'ir' akə m'id' 'tr'i: 'k'i:ŋ gə ... 892M *ach ní fhaca MID trí cinn dhe ...*

fin' *sinn* is common only in a few set phrases, mostly as object, e.g.

sə:və:lə d'ia fin' (*go*) *sábhála Dia SINN*,

də:rhi: d'ia fin' (*go*) *dtarrthaí Dia SINN*;

d'ia ed'ər fin' ogəs ə tolk *Dia eidir SINN agus an t-olc*;

but also as verbal subject in:

go mbu seacht gcéad déag míle feárr a bheas SINN héin 7 a' cúlódar bliain ó anocht! 866EÓC223.

Otherwise there are rare examples of **fin'** *sinn* as object:

'Maróidh do bhean SINN mara dtige tú ... ' 866ESc58.2;

Shocraí' muid suas SINN héin, chuir muid ... 894C9;

ma:rəx ə ɔ:l nax gə:l' i: fin' *S marach an deól nach gcaillfí SINN*.

Although perhaps coincidental, there is a noteworthy similarity between this single productive attestation from Seán's (speaker S) conversation and the set phrase *go dtarrthaí Dia sinn*, both containing C^{+eclips} **a:CCi:** (...) **fin'**. Further examples of *sinn* as subject pronoun as well as object are from literary sources:

sula seola SINN Clad; óicheanta a mbíodh SINN ag iascach Clad;

má castar le chéile arís go brách SINN 852Sb2;

'... ó tharla inár gcónaí féin SINN i gceann a chéile' 852SbLL98.

But *muid* is much more prevalent in all sources, e.g. *théadh muid* Clad.

1pl Emphatic

mid'ə (**mid'i:**) *muide*, **min'ə** *muidne*, **fin'ə** *sinne*.

fin'ə *sinne* is used facultatively in possessive function only. Otherwise **mid'ə** *muide* is general. The form **min'ə** was noted only once:

tanaí ... a dtugann s-, a dtugann MUIDNE dugən 'min'ə 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**

fib' *sib*, e.g. **ka:l' fib' ə gol'** *cá bhfuil SIB ag goil?*

2pl Emphatic

fíbfə, e.g. **fanəg'í fíbfə** *M.fanaigí SIBSE*.

One speaker was noted with **fíbfə** in:

má bheireann SIBSA orthub fíbf's orhəb 06C.

6.22 3 plural**3pl Simple****A**

fíəd *siad* varies phonetically: **fíəd** (generally), also **fí:d** SID.46, **fə:əd**, **fə:d**, **fə:d**, **fə:d**, **fəd**, **fəd**; also **hiəd**, **hi'd**.

Examples:

fíəd ~ fə:d 00CDO.

fí:d: **tə: fí:d dī'** 46.830 *tá SIAD dubh*. Generally **fíəd**, **fíəd** in SID.46, e.g. **n'í:l' fíəd 'q:n 'q:řín'** 46.820 *níl SIAD an-fhairsinn*, **tə: fíəd nɔxtih'ə** 46.823 *tá SIAD nochtaíthe*.

fə:d 20MGA, e.g. **hugəd fə:d thugadh SIAD**.

fə:d: **xo fə:d 05M chuaigh SIAD**.

fə:d: **v'í:d fə:d 20Pá bhíodh SIAD**.

fəd: **tə fəd ə ka:n't 05M tá SIAD ag caint**.

hiəd: speakers **20C** and **21Pt** only, in less 'careful' use in *tá siad*:

tə hiəd 20C; **tə hiəd gə miərə fí:s 21Pt tá SIAD do m'iarraidh síos**,

gəs tə hi'd tərən't qə:l 21Pt agus tá SIAD ag tarraint deól.

Frequently also:

tə: fíəd, **tə: fíəd fud**, **tə: fíədsən 21Pt tá SIAD, tá SIAD siud, tá SIADSAN**.

B

dur *dur* functions as a conjunctive subject of the active verb in the speech of many of the younger generation. Cf. 'Verb, Developments' (5.399 ff.).

iəd *iad* varies phonetically: **iəd** (generally), **e:əd**, **e:d**, **əd**. Examples:

e:əd: **ax n'í: 'akə 'm'íjə gəl' n'is ... tu:řk'ə 'ma'x e:əd nə: 'aibr'ə:n 01C6300**
ach ní fhaca mise ag goil níos ... túisce amach IAD ná Aibreán.

əd: **fín' ē: n 'tu:dər əd ə hiəxt 'ā:ŋ | 892M4399**

sin é an t-údar IAD a thíocht ann.

wíl' fe nə:m əd ə wə:n't nə: tə:də S

' bhfuil sé in am IAD a bhaint ná tada?

3pl Emphatic

iədsən *iadsan*: as subject noted only in: **f:ru iədsən 892M3743 sru iadsan** (form of the quotative defective verb *arsa*).

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:

nə:m m'íjə 40S in am MISE.

Speaker **40S** used 1pl **nə:m mid'ə 40S in am muide** in the same discourse. One

example of the 2sg *thusa* in an idiomatic imperative construction has been noted:

də ɣu:lən husə laur' ... M do dhúshlán THUSA labhair ... !

which may be related to imperative use such as *labhair thusa*.

Examples

- 3m eisean:** (c) **gə d'ɪnə 'wə:hər' 'efən [x2] 13Jd**
go dtína mháthair eisean;
 (a) **sə ɲa:ri: efən M sa ngarraí eisean.**
- seisean:* (c) **Lena linn seisean bhí saothrú thar cionn ... SÓC1.85;**
gə wā'k fefən 20Ml dhá mhac seisean;
ə ɣa:ri: fefən Mperm a gharraí seisean.
- 3f ise:** (c) **ə ga:ri: ifə Mq a garraí ise;**
 (a) **sə ɲa:ri: ifə M sa ngarraí ise.**
- sise:* (c) **er' ə kr'ed'ə fɪfə (MP, prose)04B ar a creideamh sise;**
ə ga:ri: fɪfə Mperm a garraí sise;
 (a) **sə ʔæ:x fɪfə M sa teach sise.**
- 1pl sinne:** **852S, 866E, 869P, 892M, 896P, 04B, 12S, 16M, 18B, 18J:**
 (c) **dhár muintir sinne 852S2, ur n-athair sinne 852S4;**
a' gcuid peacaí sinne, ar a' son sinne !869P6 (a' = 1pl poss);
DHÁ bhfeiceál sinne ag marú na mbrain ... 892Mt;
bhí siad gá mbualadh sinne le praghas i gCill Chiaráin 896P;
ənə dr'o: fɪn'ə (Suda)04B ina dtreo sinne;
tə gusa:n fɪn'ə n'fɪn' St1b tá a gcosán sinne ansin,
f'enə L'i:n' fɪn'ə S, 18J7140 lena linn sinne;
 (a) **sə ɲa:ri: fɪn'ə M sa ngarraí sinne, (c) dhá mbualadh sinne**
Mq;
 (a) or (b) **... ga:ri: fɪn'ə 18B, 21J ... garraí sinne.**
- muide:* speakers noted: **894C, 72C, 89M:**
 (c) **Á mbréagadh muide 894C9;**
 (b) **na:m mid'ə 40S in am muide; tə fə g'ɪərə ka'nt' mud'ə**
72C tá sé ag iarraidh caint muide, 'he wants our speech' (in
reference to my fieldwork);
an raibh tú 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.¹

¹ It is likely that demonstrative *sin* rather than pronominal *sinn* is present in *Dia sin ghá réiteach!* 894C3 (as indicated by the spelling), given *sin* in *a réiteach sin ar Dhia!* 866ESemr166. Both *sin* and *sinn* are potentially ambiguous in sandhi before *ghá*.

There is an example of hesitance in Máire's

rin'ə m'e kək'in' b'og l'en ai fín' | ... mid' hein' M

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 ngarraí sibse*.
3pl *iadsan:* (b) *nuair a bhí muide ina, in aois iadsan anois*, **22M**,
ə ɲa:ri' iədsən Mq *i* [sic] *ngarraí iadsan*, 'in their field'.
siadsan: (c) **ə mo: fɪədsən** 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	... mə x'ɑ:nsə	<i>sin é mo cheannsa</i>
	2	... də x'ɑ:nsə	<i>sin é do cheannsa</i>
	3m	... ə x'ɑ:n ɛfən ~ ʃɛfən	(c) <i>sin é a cheann eisean ~ seisean</i>
	f	... ə k'ɑ:n ʃifə	(c) <i>sin é a ceann sise</i>
Pl	1	... ə ɟ'ɑ:m mid'ə	(c) <i>sin é a gceann muide</i>
	2	... k'ɑ:n' ʃibfə	(b) <i>sin é ceann sibse</i>
	3	... k'ɑ:n iədsən	(b) <i>sin é ceann iadsan</i>

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):

Sg	(c) <i>a</i> Possessive pronoun	(c) <i>i, le</i> + Possessive pronoun	(b) <i>i, le</i> (Prepositions)
3m	<i>a cheann eisean ~ seisean,</i> <i>a gharraí eisean</i> M	<i>ina gharraí eisean</i>	<i>i ngarraí eisean</i>
f	<i>a ceann sise, a garraí ise</i>		
Pl			
1	<i>a gceann muide, a gceann sinne</i> Mperm, <i>a mbó muide</i> Mperm	<i>ina ngarraí sinne ~ muide</i>	<i>i ngarraí sinne ~ muide,</i> <i>le corach muide</i> Mperm
2	<i>a mbó sibse</i> Mperm	<i>ina ngarraí sibse</i>	<i>i ngarraí sibse,</i> <i>le corach sibse</i> Mperm
3	<i>a gceann iadsan</i> M(?)perm, <i>tá a mbó siadsan cailte, tá a gceann iadsan briste</i> Mperm, <i>lena gcorach siadsan</i> Mperm	<i>*ina ngarraí (s)iadsan</i> MØperm, <i>lena gcorach siadsan</i> Mperm	<i>i ngarraí iadsan,</i> <i>le corach siadsan ~ iadsan</i>

Sg	(b) Zero	(a) <i>sa</i> (<i>i</i> + article)
3m		<i>sa ngarraí eisean</i> M, MØperm, <i>sa ngarraí seisean</i> M
f		<i>sa ngarraí ise</i> Mq, M, <i>sa teach sise</i> M

Sg	(b) Zero		(a) <i>sa</i> (<i>i</i> + article)
Pl		Mperm:	
1	<i>garraí muide ~ sinne</i>	<i>tá bó muide caillte</i> ¹	<i>sa ngarraí sinne M</i>
2	<i>ceann sibse, garraí sibse</i>	<i>tá bó sibse caillte</i>	
3	<i>ceann iadsan, garraí iadsan, ceann siadsan Mperm</i>	<i>tá ceann iadsan briste, tá bó siadsan caillte, tá corach siadsan dearg</i>	

Sg	(c) <i>dho</i> + Poss Pron + VN	Cp. (V)N + enclitic
3m	<i>dhá bhualadh seisean ~ eisean</i>	<i>dhá bhualadhsan Mperm</i>
f	<i>dhá bualadh sise (~ ise)</i>	
Pl		
1	<i>dhá mbualadh sinne</i>	
2	<i>dhá mbualadh sibse</i>	
3	<i>dhá mbualadh siadsan</i>	<i>a gceannsan Mperm, dhá mbualadhsan Mperm</i>

Further examples:

- 3m (c) *a cheann eisean* **20C**perm, **20M**yperm;
 (a) **sa ngarraí eisean* **20C**Øperm, **20M**yØperm;
 (b) *Gasúir eisean, tádar uilig ... 53M*;
 3f (c) *a ceann sise* **20C**perm, *a ceann ise, gá marú ise* **20C**q, *gá bualadh sise* **20M**yq;
 1pl (c) *a gceann sinne* **20C**q;
 (b) **i ngarraí muide* **20C**Øperm, **20M**yØperm.

One can extrapolate that the following pattern is at least permissible (for some speakers), using the 2pl for instance:

*a ngarraí / ina ngarraí / i ngarraí / le garraí / garraí / sa ngarraí sibse.*²

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 {Ø + 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 (s)iadsan M*Øperm with *lena gcorach siadsan Mperm* and compare *a gceann iadsan M*(?)perm. This uncertainty in the 3pl may be due to the fact that the older use *a gceannsan*, 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 muələ ʃin'ə** Mq *dhá mbualadh sinne*, but with nouns preferred to use *sin a'inne*, the more frequent usage with definite nouns, e.g. **sə ɣari' ʃin' æ:n'ə** Mq *sa ngarraí sin a'inne*. The article is used in combination with the preposition *i* yielding *sa* but it is not permissible independently:

***ta ŋ k'a:n iədsən br'ift'ə** MØperm **tá AN CEANN IADSAN briste*;

***ta ŋ korəx ʃiədsən d'æ:rəg** MØperm **tá AN CORACH SIADSAN dearg*.

This dependence of the article on prepositions may be based on the ambiguous status of the word following consonant-final prepositions (*ag*, *chuig*, *ar*, *as*, *roimh*, *thar*, (*thréid*), *un*) in this construction. For example, older *ar a ngarraí sinne* can be reinterpreted as *ar an ngarraí sinne* (both **er' ə ɣari: ʃin'ə**)³ 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*).

¹ Cp. 7 *saol muide a mhile* [mhilleadh] ... *a* [2pl] *saol fhéin*. **43M**lt.

² McCloskey (1986, e.g. (19)b p. 252, n. 12(i) p. 264) discusses a subgroup of this set.

³ Compare the transcription *ar an mbaile sinn-ne* ABg346 which could also have been transcribed *ar a* [1pl] *mbaile sinn-ne*.

6.25 *ag bualadh 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'í fɛ / xuə fɛ buələ m'íʃə, husə** (*tusə Øperm), **ɛʃən** (preferred to alternative **ʃɛʃən**), **íʃə** Mperm
bhí sé / chuaigh sé ag bualadh mise, thusa, eisean (~ *seisean*), *ise*.
 Plural **v'í fɛ / xuə fɛ buələ mid'ə** (*ʃin'ə Øperm), **ʃibʃə, iədsən >> ʃiədsən** Mperm
bhí sé / chuaigh sé ag bualadh muid, 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'í:d'í:ʃ ʃin' ə g'íərə v'e buələ mid'ə** 62J
bhídís sin ag iarraidh a bheith AG BUALADH MUIDE;
mu:nə mud'ə 78Rb *AG MÚNADH MUIDE*.

Simple pronouns in this position are used by some of the youngest generation:¹

- 3m **tə m'íʃə gəl' əg o:l e** 85M *tá mise ag goil AG ÓL É,*
ag iarraidh — CLOISINTE 86R;
 1pl **... ə tər mu:nə mid' ...** 76M *... atá AG MÚNADH MUID ...*;
 3pl **hə m'íʃə g' íər iəd** 82BAO (x2) *thá mise AG IARRAIDH IAD*.

Examples of simple pronouns with demonstrative adjectives used as genitives occur in:

- 3m **n'í xahə ʃi: ən tu:s e: ʃin' | xər ə b'ɪ |** 78Rb
ní chaithidh sí AN TÚS É SIN ar chor ar bith
 for traditional *ní chaithidh sí a thúis sin* 'she will not spend half of it' (of large sum of money);
 3pl **ər tu: æhər' iəd ʃo l'ug** 40S *ar tú 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'** forms in the prepositional pronoun. Máire (Mq) produced **harəbʃə** Mperm, **həri:ʃə tharaibhse** and (with a laugh) **həri: ʃibʃə tharaibh sibse!** Compare SIDIII.40 q 45 which gives **gə 'd'i: ʃiʃə**, (alt. **'iʃə**) (or **xūk'ə 'ʃiʃə**) *go dtí sise ~ ise, chuici sise*; when queried Máire permitted neither **chuici sise* nor **aici sise* MØperm. 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 a'* + 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:

thar, thrí, ar, faoi, roimhe, uaidh (5, 4 persons) >>
dhe, i, le, chuig, dho (3–1 persons) >>
ag, ó (no person)

The contrast between the synonymous variants *ó* 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:

3pl (10 prps), 2pl (9 prps) >>
 3sg (m) (7 prps), 1pl (5 prps) >>
 2sg (2 prps) >>
 1sg (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 flection in the verb.

Table 6.1 presents Máire's (Mq) responses, with the implicational scaling indicated by the diagonal internal border.

Table 6.1 Analytic prepositions, e.g. *tha(i)r mise* MØperm, *th(i)ar tusa* Mperm

Pers	<i>tha(i)r thrí</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>faoi</i>	<i>roimhe</i>	<i>uaidh</i>	<i>dhe</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>chuig</i>	<i>dho</i>	<i>ag</i>	<i>ó</i>	tot
sg 1	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø		Ø						0
sg 2	+	+	Ø ?	Ø ?	Ø	Ø	Ø						2
pl 1	+	+	??	+	+	+	Ø	Ø	Ø			Ø	5
sg 3m	+	+	+	+	+	+	???	Ø	Ø				7
sg f		+	+			+							3
pl 2	+	+	+	+	+	Ø	+	+	(+)	Ø	Ø		9
pl 3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Ø	10
total	5	5	4	4	4	4	3	2	2	2	1	0	0

Examples (from Mq unless otherwise indicated, M = from conversation):

- tha(i)r* *ní ha:rəmsə xuə fe ax hæ'r' əfən ~ hæ'r' fəfən* Mtrans
ní tharamsa a chuaigh sé ach THAIR EISEAN ~ SEISEAN;
ní hæ'r' əfən ə xuə fe ax ha:rəmsə Mtrans
ní THAIR EISEAN a chuaigh sé ach tharamsa.
- thrí* *hri: əfən, hri: fɪfə / ɪfə, hri: mid'ə, hri: fɪbfə, (hri: (h)usə ?perm).*
- ar* *er' əfən, er' ɪfə, er' fɪfə, or fɪbfə, er' iədsən.*
- faoi* *fi: əfən / fəfən, fi: mid'ə, fi: fɪbfə, fi: fɪədsən / iədsən.*
- roimhe* *riv' əfən, riv'ə fɪbfə, riv' iədsən, riv'ə iədsən, (riv'ə fɪədsən*
??perm); ... mɑ v'ɪn ki: kurh eg'ə er' | riv'ə | riv'ə mid'ə | M
... má bhíonn caoi curtha aige air roimhe — ROIMHE MUIDE.
- uaidh* *wai fəfən / əfən, wai mid'ə, wai fɪbfə, wai iədsən / fɪədsən; m'æ:s tu*
... dæsti:n wai m'ɪfə mə ɣruəg' ə n'ɪ:xə:n M
meas tú an dtastaíonn UAIDH MISE mo ghruaig a nóchán?
'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.

<i>dhe</i>	g eʃən, gə iʃə, gə iədsən, note * gə ʃiədsən Øperm.
<i>i</i>	... 'drox̥yín' a'gi: n 'm'ifə 43M ... drochdhuine agaibh <i>IN MISE</i> 'I am of no use to you'; ən' ʃibʃə , ən iədsən 47P perm, ən' iədsən , ən' ʃiədsən M?perm.
<i>chuig</i>	eg' iədsən .
<i>le</i>	f'e iədsən .
<i>dho</i>	gə ʃiədsən, note gə iədsən Øperm.
<i>ó</i>	ma'nəm nər' ə v'i:dər ə tæ'sta:l' o' m'ifə n'if ə fa:rək' 898P <i>m'anam nuair a bhíodar ag tastáil ó MISE anois, a Phádraig.</i>

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 *roimh(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).¹ 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 *thrid*). (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}

	Mq, descending	Ros Muc (Wigger 2004), ascending		
	+ emphatic pronoun	Prepositional pronoun	Total overall usage	Simple
<i>tha(i)r</i>	1	1	2	3
<i>thrí</i>	2	3	3	4
<i>faoi</i>	3	4	6	7
<i>roimh(e)</i>	4	5	4	2
<i>uaidh</i>	4'			
<i>ar</i>	5	10	12	12
<i>dhe</i>	6	6	7	9
<i>i</i>	7	11	11	11
<i>le</i>	8	9	9	10
<i>chuig</i>	9	2	1	1
<i>dho</i>	10	8	8	5
<i>ag</i>	11	12	10	8
<i>ó</i>	12	7	5	6

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.¹ Recall that **eg' iadsan** is formally equal to **ag iadsan* but permissible only when meaning *chuig iadsan*.

Regarding third person forms with and without initial **f**: both **efan** and **iadsan** are more common than **fefan** and **fíadsan**. There is a striking contrast in:

	<i>iadsan</i>	<i>siadsan</i>
<i>dhe</i>	+	Ø
<i>dho</i>	Ø	+

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 dtaobh*, e.g.

2sg **ə di:w nə ɲa:su:r' ... ə di:v u: he:n' 56T**
i dtaobh na ngasúir ... I DTAOBH THÚ HÉIN.

1pl **ə di:w mid'ə d'i'ən tu 19B I DTAOBH MUIDE an dtuigeann tú?**

Innovative use as objects following nominal prepositions is common when the emphatic pronoun occurs in coordination, e.g.

1sg **... ə n'ia m'if' ogəs koləm sə ɲf'ot' o:g 56T**
... I NDIAIDH 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 *seo chugainn* 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 thú héin*. For progressive examples such as *ar nós é 36S* 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 chuimhním air, FAOI É SIN 12S,

ní cheapthainn go mbeadh, THAR É SIN. | 'hær 'e: 'fin' | 20C

'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'af fin' / fo Mq thairis sin / seo, but also

har fin' / fo Mperm thar sin / seo.

The forms *fi: / Ye / er fin' / fo* 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 chruthú AR SIN nach dtáinig ... SÓC1.82.¹

6.28 Possessive pronouns

		Singular
A	B	following <i>gə dhe, dho^a</i>
1 <i>mə, m, m', w</i>		<i>gə mə, gə m, gə m', ə mə, m mə</i>
2 <i>də, t, t', d, h</i>		<i>gə də, gə t, gə t', gə d, gə d', də</i>
3 <i>ə (m a^L, f a^H)</i>	<i>nə</i>	<i>ga:, ya:, a:, da:</i>
		Plural
A	B	following <i>gə dhe, dho^a</i>
1 <i>ə, (ər, ar)</i>	<i>nə</i>	<i>ga:, ya:, a:, da:, gar, ar, dar, dər</i>
2 <i>ə</i>	<i>nə</i>	<i>ga:, ya:, a:, da:</i>
3 <i>ə</i>	<i>nə</i>	<i>ga:, ya:, a:, da:</i>

^a Also *yə*, e.g. **852S, 866E, 869P, 894C**, etc., and *ə 894C*; these speakers no doubt have corresponding possessive forms such as **yə mə, ə mə; *yə də, *ə də*, etc., although some have not (yet) been noted.

6.29 1 singular (prevocalic)

1sg *m, m', w* and 2sg *t, t', d, h*, also *gə d'*, are prevocalic forms; *mə* and *də* also appear prevocalically, rarely in the older generation, and frequently in the younger. Prevocalic *w* and *h* are petrified forms.

1sg *mə, m, m', w, mo, m', mh'* (lenites)

w mh' is confined to three interjections:

(ə) *wānəm, (ə) wanəm* (*a mh'anam*;

(ə) *wān'i:n', (ə) wan'i:n'* (*a mh'ainín* (this is understood by Seán to be derived from (*a mh'anam*),

(ə) *wāfk'ə, (ə) wafk'ə* (*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'í: ə wæ:n'í:n' 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.

/_V **m'ín'í:n' 866E, 11C m'inín, m'í:n't'ə'n' [x2] 05M m'intinn;**
/_fh- **m'ær' 866E, 13P m'fhear** (in *i m'fhear láidir ... i m'fhear níos fearr 866E*),
m'íəso:g 892M2103 m'fhéasóg,
ə/ə'n 'm'e:l'ə'kə:n !(Abtm)11C i(n) m'fhéileacán;
dho m'VN **gə m'íəə 899N1 dho m'iarraidh.**

There is one example before a back vowel in:

m'uskər 04B1 m'oscar, so also **t'uskər t'oscar** in the same passage.

There is a nontraditional example from an eight-year-old recorded in 1998:

fæ v'er' m'æ:hər' or'm | 90P Sea bheir m'athair orm. (13.32, line 26).

m *m'* (i.e. nonpalatal **m**) is most common before vowels, including preceding front vowels and lenited palatal *f*, e.g.

/_V **mí:n't'ənsə 899DARN m'intinnsa, min'í:n' (Smbb)04B m'inín,**
m'e:ðən S m'éadan;
/_fh- **m'wíəkəl' 46.604 m'fhiacail, tá m'íjə míl'í: P tá mise i m'fhlí,**
l'e m'í:r'ə'n'ə (MP)04B le m'fhirinne, mæ:r'sə 35E m'fhearsa;
dho m'VN **gə | m'íəə 25M dho m'iarraidh,**
gə mek'ə:l 05M dho m'fheiceál.

Máire shows some lexical conditioning of **m** ~ **m'** in response to query (Mq). She has **m'** preceding *iarraidh*, both as a noun and verbal noun:

noun **tá m'íəəəsə ... ná: t'íəəəsə Mq tá m'iarraidhsa ... ná t'iarraidhsa,**
 VN **gə m'íəə [x2] Mq dho m'iarraidh.**

But with other nouns and verbal nouns, Mq has only **m**:

gə m'ík dho m'íoc; gə m'íərhi' (x3) dho m'fhiathraí; gə mek'ə:l' dho m'fheiceál;
gə m'ə u:mpu', gə mu:mpu: dho m(o) iompú; gə mu:ntu: dho m'iontú;
gə mu:nsu: dho m'ionsú; gə mu:mpərt' dho m'iompairt; gə maibr' u: (x3) dho m'oibriú, as noun genitive **maibr'ə m'oibre.**

Speaker **31Mq** has general **m**, palatal **m'** being confined to the verbal noun *iarraidh*:

noun **m'íəəəsə ... nu' t'íəəəsə 31Mq**
(tá) m'iarraidhsa níos láidire nó t'iarraidhsa,
 VN **gə m'íəə [x2] 31Mq dho m'iarraidh,** but **m** in *dho m'íoc*, etc.

Regular sandhi of vowels is often absent following **m**, yielding, for example, **mæ-** and even **m^w-** in *m'athair*; the initial vowel may be, with regular sandhi, low back, i.e. **mahər' P**, but often also front **mæ:hər' S** (more narrowly **m^wæ:hər'**), or back with a preceding glide **m^wahər' SM**. So also **mæ:r'sə 35E9259 m'fhearsa**. Cp. one variant of *amuigh ə'm^wu* (1.46).

Examples of **mə** + vowel:

889P Bhuel bhí mise an t-ám sin ' MO FHEAR mə 'a:r' óg mhisniúil.
894B1 mə m'í:n' MO INÍN.
01P mə 'a: 'ɣlu:n' 01P MO DHÁ ghlúin for common **mə 'ɣa: 'ɣlu:n'**;
 similarly, 2sg, **də 'a: 'v'ər' 01P do dhá mhéir.**
(16M Tá siad go MO IARRAIDH 7 Seán 7 Peigí go 'New York' Mlt.)

35E1 m^ə a:x ... [x1], m^ə a:x ki:l duv_ə [x3] *MO EACH caol dubh.*

64Me l' e m^ə æ:n' t̪ əŋ kɑ:r fɪn' le *MO AINT an carr sin.*

72N m^ə æ:hər' *MO ATHAIR.*

79MI muŋkəl' [x5], m^ə uŋkəl' / u:ŋkəl' [x2] *M(O) UNCAIL.*

79S | m^ə æ:hər' | *MO ATHAIR, .. m^ə ?æ:n' əm' ... MO AINM.*

There are two possible examples of perhaps intrusive **h** in:

ná tabhair MO HORDÓIGSA anis leat! S84;

... m^ə hæ:n' əm' sə | 56B ... MO HAINMSA.

Note the reduction of **mə w-** to syllabic **m** in:

ogəs v' i: m̩ æ:hər' ... 66N agus bhí MO MHÁTHAIR

There may also be reduction in:

b'og nax n' æ:xə m' e ə n' iə mulə 60M beag nach ndeachaigh mé i ndiaidh MO MHULLAIGH [perhaps i ndiaidh mullaigh].

6.30 2 singular (prevocalic)

2sg də, t, t', d, also gə d', h, do, t', d', th' (lenites)

h th' is confined to a few set phrases before vowels and *fh-*, e.g.

hanəm o:n' d'aul æd e S TH'ANAM ón deabhal a'd é (rare t in tanəm ə jaul ... ARN7329 T'ANAM, a dheabhal),

dun əs hiərhi: ort SM don is TH'FHIATHRAÍ ort,

hug tu he:x M thug tú TH'ÉITHEACH (most common); hug tu t'e:x 11Ct,

Mq; cp. 'Go maire tú T'ÉITHEACH,' gə mar'ə tu t'e:x a deir an rí 03V.

The regular prevocalic forms are **t t'** before historically back vowels and non-palatal lenited *f* and **t' t'** before historically front vowels and palatal lenited *f*, e.g.

ən ta'mədə:n S in t'amadán; ən' t' æ:snəxi 898P in t'easnachaí;

t' in' i:n' 898P1 t'inín; ən' t' iəskər' ə S in t'iascaire;

gə t' u:nsi: S dho t'ionsaí; t'umər' əsə Mtrans t'iomairesa;

t' il' a:nsə Mtrans t'oileánsa; t' æ:r t'fhear.

d d' occurs quite rarely in the older generation, e.g.

dumər' ə ha'rənt' 894Cs D'IOMAIRe a tharraint;

də v'e:rəxi: fi: dæ:snəxi: S do mhéarachaí faoi D'EASNACHAÍ.

In the first example with **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 **də** is likely. In query Máire was asked to produce her own spontaneous **t ~ t'** forms and also the voiced variant. She produced one of the few examples of **d'** I have heard (also heard from speaker **69S**; see below). Her responses for nouns and verbal nouns with synchronic back vowels which have developed from, or behave as, front vowels in sandhi with proclitics are given in full:

Noun:

fɪn' e t'ursənsə ... nu: də urfən', t'urfən' Mq
'sin é t'ursainnsa' ... nó 'do ursainn', 't'ursainn'.

Verbal nouns:

<i>dho t'</i>	gə t	gə t'	gə d'	gə d
<i>oibriú</i>		t' aibr' u:	d' aibr' u:	daibr' u:
<i>iompá</i>	tu:mpu:	t' u:mpu:		du:mpu:
<i>iontú</i>		t' u:ntu:		du:ntu:

<i>dho t'</i>	<i>gə t</i>	<i>gə t'</i>	<i>gə d'</i>	<i>gə d</i>
<i>ionsú</i>		<i>t' u:nsu:</i>		
<i>iompa(i)r(t)</i>		<i>t' u:mpərt', t' u:mpər</i>		

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 *ɑ:* for the numeral *dhá*, which is regularly *ɣɑ:* in West Iorras Aithneach. As with the 1sg, he has the preconsonantal form of the 2sg possessive before *ɑ:* *dhá:*

də 'ɑ: 'v' e:r' 01P *do dhá mhéir* for common **də 'ɣɑ: 'v' e:r'**.

d becomes almost completely generalised before vowels by younger speakers, who also often use prevocalic **də**. 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 de:ðən** *ar d'éadan* for traditional **er t' e:ðən** *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.

t ~ d (for t)	11C	d is rare; noted in nā: b'i: 'dāməda:n mar 'jɪn' ARN5142 <i>ná bí i d'amadán mar sin!</i>
t (for t')	12J	fi tuggə faoi t'ionga.
d (for t)	21Pg	ən dɑ:m ARN7203 <i>in d'am.</i>
d (for t')		woman born c. 1930: ən di:n't'ən' <i>in d'intinn.</i>
t (for t')	!!39D	gə tu:mpər dho t'iompar.
t ~ d (for t'), d (for t)	43M	tɑ:r t'fhear, gə diərə dho d'iarraidh, daurdo:g d'ordóg.
d (for t')	47L	er de:ðən <i>ar d'éadan.</i>
də ~ d ~ t ~ t' (for t')	51P1	də ɔrfən' <i>do orsainn, dumər ə d'iomaire</i> but t'il'ɑ:n t'oileán, t'ungə t'ionga, tuskəd' t'ioscaid.
gə d (for gə t)	52J	gə dɑ:ɡɑ:l dho d'fhágáil.
də ~ d (for t')	54C	dungə d'ionga, də e:ðən <i>do éadan.</i>
t (for t), t ~ t' (for t')	55Sq	tahər' t'athair; gə t'ix ə dho t'ithe, toxər' t'eochair, ən tuskəd' in t'ioscaid, fɔd ɛ t'umər ə seod é t'iomaire.
də (for t')	56B	gə də iərə dho do iarraidh.
d (for t')	60Mq	doxər' d'eochair.
d (for t')	64M	di:n't'ən' <i>d'intinn.</i>
də ~ d^o ~ d (for t), də ~ d ~ t' (for t')	66N	də æhər' do athair; er d^oaurdo:g ar do ordóg, tɑ a:t t'e dai [x2] 'tá áit le d'aghaidh' (quoting an older speaker, who almost certainly says ... tai); do oskəd' do ioscaid; də iərən do iarann; də iəklə wɑ:r ə do fhiacra, a Mháire; dungəxi: d'iongachai; dohər' d'obair; ə də e:ðən, ə de:ðən, ə t'e:ðən i do t'éadan; gə dix ə dho d'ithe.
d (for t)	66L	dahər' d'athair, daurdo:g d'ordóg, (2/2).
d (for t), d' (for t')	69S	gə dər'əsə dhe d'fhoireasa, gə d' dho d' (actual verbal noun not noted, perhaps <i>ithe</i>).
d (for t)	71D	ə fru dai an sruth i d'aghaidh.
də ~ d^o ~ d (for t')	72Nq	də e:ðən do éadan, gə d^oiərə 72N dho d'iarraidh, doxər' d'eochair; 72Nq has d : də prevocalically at a ratio of 3:1.

d (for t), də ~ d (for t')	77Cq	(tá) də uggə br'ift'ə ... <i>do ionga briste, fo e dahər</i> <i>seo é d'athair; doxər' d'eochair.</i>
də (for t)	78Rb	də a:m lɔ:n <i>do am lón.</i>

Speaker **66N** seems to have prevocalic **d** >> **də** >> **t**('). She is the youngest speaker from whom **t**(') has been noted in this list.

6.31 3 person singular

3m ə a (lenites)

E.g. **n'í** **jərnə** **fe** **ax** **aurdo:g'** **ə** **xur** **ənə** **v'e:l** **11C2229**
ní dhearna sé ach A ORDÓIG a chur INA BHÉAL.

The lack of elision seen in innovative 1sg and 2sg forms is evidenced in the 3m in:

ə **n'ixə:n** **ə** **e:dən** ... **52P** *ag níochán A ÉADAN* ...

3f ə a (prefixes h to vowels)

E.g. **hug** **ə** | **ən** **'a:x** | **?ə** **hai'** | **er'** **ə** **'warəg'ə** | (Suda)**894Cs**
thug an each A HAGHAIDH ar an bhfarraige.
| **l'æg** **fe** **'aurdo:g'** **er'** **ə** **'ti:əv** | **11C2229** *leag sé a ordóig ar A TAOBH.*
ach bhí an sagart héin INA HAM péin INA HAGHAIDH sin. ... nar raibh A
BEALACH sin ro-mhaith ARN2525–30.

6.32 Plural

1pl ə, ər a, ar, ár (eclipses)

The general form is **ə** a, e.g. **ər'ə** **d'a:x** 46.1002 *ar A DTEACH.*

ər *ar* is obsolete (and higher register). A possible example of *ar* occurs in:

URN-ATHAIR sinne **852S4** (also *cuide dhár muintir sinne iad* **852S2**).

The 1pl possessive is regularly **a'** in **869P2–5** but there is one example of *ar* *ngrotha* **869P4** and **a'** alternating with *ar* in formal context *ar* ~ **a'** *Slánaítheoir.* In:

eg' **ər** **m'æ:n** **ogəs** **eg'** **ə** **glə:n** **04B1** *ag AR MBEAN agus ag A GCLANN*

both **ər** and **ə** are 1pl, this may be higher-register usage by **04B** in the context of the recording of respected *seanchas*. Speaker **892M** has general **ə** but note **gər** *dhár* in a more formal quotation (cp. *dhár gcionn*, 6.36):

- ... *ag troid ... ar shon ... ceart fháil DHÁR DTÍR ... gər d'ir'* ARN2505;
cp. *cuide DHÁR MUINTIR sinne iad* **852S2**.

2pl ə a (eclipses)

The vowel-final form occurs generally, e.g.

ə **gid'** **brɔ:g** **agi:** *A GCUID bróga agaibh, gə: 'mu:nə* 46.738 *DHÁ MÚNADH.*

Speaker **852S** has 2pl examples *a gcuid* often **852S2**, but *ar muintir* **852S2** may be 2pl possessive.

3pl ə a (eclipses)

E.g. **tə:** **nɔ:hən'** **a:kəb** **M** *Tá A NDÓTHAIN acub.*

6.33 New possessive pronoun *na* (B)

The form **nə** *na*, 3sg (*na*^L, *na*^H) and 1, 2, 3pl (*na*^N) 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** (Maínis), one of her brothers **72N** also has it regularly. Their elder brothers were noted in conversation (**55S**, **64M**) and in query (**55S**) with traditional **ə** *a* only. Speaker **79MI** (Leitir Deiscirt) also has innovative **nə** *na*. All users of **nə** *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 **ə** *a* and **nə** *na*. Two very young speakers were recorded in 1998 (aged 8) with **nə** *na* only (although not systematically analysed): **90M** (niece of **66L** and **72N**), e.g. **nə:hər'** *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 took off his clothes' > *bhain sé dhó na chuid éadaigh*.)

	nə 66Lq, 66L	ə 66L	nə 72Nq
3m	... yó: nə xud' <i>dhó NA chuid</i>		yó: nə yó:hən' , er nə xlig'ən <i>dhó NA dhóthain, ar NA chloigeann</i>
3f	tə: nə kud' <i>tá NA cuid</i>	wil' ə kot ... <i>bhfuil A cóta</i>	fi: nə kluəf ogəs nə su:l' <i>faoi NA cluais agus NA súil,</i>
1 pl	... jín nə kud' ... <i>dhínn NA cuid</i> ¹	tə: no:hən' ə:n' <i>tá A ndóthain a'inn</i>	
2 pl	... d'i:b' nə kud' ... <i>dib NA cuid</i>		nə gud' 72N <i>NA gcuid</i>
3 pl	... d'i:b nə kud' ... , tə: nə n'r'əhar' 66L <i>díob NA cuid, tá NA ndreatháir</i>		... dur nə gid' ³ lái: <i>dur NA gcuid láir</i>

The origin of possessive **nə** 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 **ə** *a* (**ə** + **n** + **ə** *ina* and **l'e** + **n** + **ə** *lena*) are reanalysed as **ə** + **nə** and **l'e** + **nə**.² I have insufficient data to establish whether innovative **nə** 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: Cə.

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'** **nə** **xud'** **el'ə** **gən** ... **66L** *ar na chuid eile dhen* She may therefore have confused, in response to query, the article *na cuid* and *na chuid* with expected possessive *na gcuid* (**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).

1sg *dho mo* gə mə, ə mə

gə mə precedes both nouns and verbal nouns; rarer **ə mə** and **m mə** precede verbal nouns.

gə m(ə) is the most common form, e.g.

gə mə wuələ S *DHO MO bhualadh*, **gə | miərə 25M** *DHO M'iarraidh*.

gə m' + VN has been noted preceding *iarraidh*, e.g.

gə m' iərə 899N1, M *DHO M'iarraidh*.

ə mə is quite rare, e.g.

ə mə humæ:nt' 899N1 *DHO MO thomáint*;

b'æ:n ə xo: əmə v'æ:rə S *bean a chuaigh DHO MO bhearradh*.

But **ə mə**, **ə m** before vowels, is more usual for **66N** (An Aird Mhóir), e.g.

nə ga'sur' ə ta | ə mi:k 66N *na gasúir atá DHO M'íoc*.

Recall that **66N**'s mother is from An Cheathrú Rua east of Iorras Aithneach (cf. GCF §322).

Speaker **21Pt** (An Aird Mhóir) has both **gə mə** and **ə mə**, e.g.

v'i' fe gə mə 'xraha | 21Pt *bhí sé DHO MO chraitheadh*;

v'i m' ē əmə 'L'ig'ən hē:n' 21Pt *bhí mé DHO MO lígean héin*;

v'i' m' ē mə 'yortu' hē:n 'rī:nt' 21Pt *bhí mé DHO MO ghortú héin roinnt*;

perhaps also **N'il' tu: m mə xur ə'mu: 21Pt** *níl tú DHO MO chur amú*.

The pronunciation **m ə** probably also occurs, interpretable as a reduced form of **(g)ə mə**.

2sg *dho do* gə də, də, gə d, gə d'

2sg **gə də** *dho do* is the general form, e.g.

gə də l'æ:næxt M *DHO DO leanacht*.

Note the reduced form in **g' də xir' 60M** *dho do chuir ...*. For rare **gə d'** **Mq, 69S**, see 6.30. **də** has been noted regularly from **66N** (cp. her 1sg **ə mə**), e.g.

ta fa:n də ho:riæxt 66N *tá Seán DHO DO thóraíocht*;

ta pa:ræk' də ho:riæxt 66Nq *tá Pádraig DHO DO thóraíocht*.

6.35 3sg and 1, 2, 3pl *dhá ga:, ya:, a:, da:*

The combination of **gə** with **ə** of 3sg and 1, 2, 3pl possessive pronouns yields **ga:**, with less frequent regressive variants in initial **y-**, **d-**, as well as absence of the initial consonant. (For limited 1pl **ga:r**, 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 **gə dhe** in combination with the relative pronoun **ə a^N**, i.e. **dhá^N**, and the conjunction **dhá^N** 'if', both of which also have variants **ga:**, **ya:**, **a:**, **da:**.

Speaker **852S** (Dumhaigh Ithir) has both **ya:** and **ga:** in his short recording, both postvocally:

| yə'mi:fe' ə ya: 'do:rt' æs 'e:r'ən | æs 'e:ðip' t' gə | ə ə' gən 't'i:r fə: |
... nū: ga: gir' ən 'ba:f | 852S ..., *dho Maoise, DHÁ* (1pl) *dtabhairt as*

Éirinn, [selfcorrected to] *as Éijipt dhon tír seo ... nó DHÁ (3pl) gcuir un báis ...*

A rare example of **da:** is:

-Ach tá muid ag goil ag tabhairt a dhá gcúl DÁ da: chéile, a deir sé. 881Jtn.

Speaker **894C** (Glinsce) is remarkable in that he has very frequent **ya:**. This speaker also has **y-** in the corresponding simple prepositions **ya dhe**, **dho**, also remarkable in my sample (1.69).

Some of **894C**'s examples of **ya:** are:

Phrase-initially: | **ya:** **ska:rə** | *DHÁ scaradh*;

/V_ **v i:** **nə m'i:l'ə** **ya:** **ga:l'ə** *bhí na mílte DHÁ gcailleadh,*
ta: **m'ifə** **g' iər** **v'e** **ya:** **gi'n'a:l** | *tá mise ag iarraidh a bheith DHÁ gcoinneál;*

/s_ **ugəs** **ya:** **d'æ:nə** **suəs** | **ugəs** **ya:** **gur** **fi:s** |
agus DHÁ dteannadh suas agus DHÁ gcur síos,

ugəs **ya** **xah** **er'** **ə** **'mo:hər** *agus DHÁ chaitheamh ar an mbóthar;*
/n_ 'fru,fiŋ **ya:** **'f'e:r'** *froisin DHÁ léir.*

His lesser variant **ga:** has been noted (thus far) only in song (LCúil):

/V_ **v i:** **m'e:** **ga:** **hagəs** !! *bhí mé DHÁ theagasc;*

/r_ **e:n** **yi:hə** **ga:r** **h'e:d'n'** **æ's** **er** !! *aon ghaoithe DHÁR shéid as aer.*

For the related form, the conjunction *dhá* 'if', **894C** also has **ya:**, e.g. **ugəs ya:** **gir'əd'i:f** [x2] **894C** *agus dhá gcuiridís*, and note phrase-initial | **gya:** **d'it'əd** **je** **894C** *dhá dteadh sé*. This phonetically intermediate initial also occurs with his conjunction **ya go** phrase-initially. In contrast with his actual recordings, the material in RBÉ generally has *gá* for **894C2–3**, but note the possible emphatic use with initial **y** 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 **a:**. 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, a: >> ya: >> ga:, 892M

	Pausa	Vowel	<i>l</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	Total
a:		1	4	1	1	1	8
ya:	1	2	1	1			5
ga:	1					1	2

These examples are:

a: *mara mbeithéa Á cuir sin ortha* 1427;
ghoil Á n-inseacht 1198, *ag goil Á gcuir in áit eicint* 1565,
ag goil Á inseacht 2003, *i ndan a ghoil Á ghearradh* 2074;
chuadar Á díol 1103;
níl siad Á cuir ag obair 1179;
dtéidís Á cárdáil 1111.

ya: *b'fhearr leothub ansin, DHÁ dhíonamh sin* 1114,
bréidíní DHÁ dhíonamh 1015, *triúr eile DHÁ fáil* 1301,
an deabhal DHÁ rá leis 2084, *arbhar DHÁ shleaiseáil* 2092.

ga: *bhídís, GÁ níoschán agus GÁ nglanadh* 1015.

Note also in nominal usage:

n'ir hæd a: **gid' iəd** **892M**1549 *Níor thada DHÁ gcuid iad.*

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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 *dhá* phrase-initially (**ya**: ~ Ø) in:

*bhí muintir Mhaínse, bhí, DHÁ bhfeiceál | ya: v'ek'al' sinne ag marú brain,
bhíodar seo, DHÁ bhfeiceál | v'ek'al' sinne ag marú na mbrain ... 892Mt.*

Examples from other speakers:

- 01J**: *ta fíad a' n'ix'á tá siad DHÁ n-ithe, gol' a: gur ag goil DHÁ gcur, n'í:l' fíad gol' a: ji:ná jin' níl siad ag goil DHÁ dhéanamh sin, (01J often).*
04Br: *ga: generally but wil' / ta fíad a: ra: jin' bhfuil / tá siad DHÁ rá sin.*
08B: *ta fíad a: spa:nt' a'r'i:st' tá siad DHÁ spáint aríst.*
12S: *ga: generally but a ta:rán' a'x boxt a xa'há ma:x St an tÁrainneach bocht DHÁ chaitheamh amach.*
 Also (in rhyme): *fa:ti: a: xur' a' n'e: !S fatai DHÁ chuir i ngé.*
11P: *a: (x2), ga: (x3); e.g. iad | a: n'íal a'n iad DHÁ ndíol ann; ga: suəhə | a: suəhə DHÁ suathadh, DHÁ suathadh.*

Speaker **852SbLC** has frequent transcribed 'á and **20ADO** and his neighbour **01PDO** have frequent recorded **a:** for *dhá* (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**: *thosaíodar 'Á phioca TS128; oíoch' eile 'Á ro' sé TS145; 'Á ba bhreácha 'Á ro' TS124.*
20A: *... ho:rt a' ra: a:n 20A ... shórt DHÁ raibh ann; a'n' t'æxtən' a:r g'ín 20A an tseachtain DÁR gcionn; but also ga:, ya: : ... l'ex'e:d slat ga v'e kr'iaxni:hə 20A ... leithchéad slat DHÁ bheith críochnaíthe.*
01P: *... agus, DHÁ, DHÁ ya: | ga: shníomh, ... ansin DHÁ a: shníomh, ... isteach DHÁ ga: chárdáil 01P (examples adjacent in discourse).*

The fricative initial variant (**ya:**) is used more often in more emphatic and / or deliberate speech, e.g.

*... ga: 'vriX' | n'í ho:g'ən fe ... ya: "ji:nə | 52P
 ... DHÁ bhruith. Ní thóigeann sé ... DHÁ dhéanamh.
 d'íə ya: re:t' a'x Dia DHÁ réiteach!*

6.36 Individual speakers' usage; 1pl *dhá(r) gcionn*

ga: is regularly used by: **SID.46**,² **869P**, **899N**, **00T**, **04B**, **12S**, **13P**, **16M**, **16P**, **19P**, **20MI**, **21Pt**, **23J**, **24M**, **30M**, **31D**, **79PCN**. For example:

SID.46: **ga:** (*dho*: 7, 205, 930, 1109, *cuirim*; *dhe*: 21, 139, 738, 738, 930, VIII)
ga: (*dhe*: 456)
ga: (*dho*: VI)

¹ In 2003 in Ros Muc, east of Iorras Aithneach, I overheard one male speaker remark to another that Carna speakers say **ga:** *dhá*.

² Examples from older speakers, the oldest being **852S**, disprove Tomás Ó Máille's (1927a: 102 §393) claim that **ga:** did not occur in this use in Connacht and R. A. Breatnach's (1983–6: 142–3) similar claim for all of Ireland. The form **ga:** may reflect Early Modern Irish *agá*, and **ya:** reflect *dhá*, the variant **ga:** having now spread to constructions without the verbal noun, where *dhá* is historical. In fact **ga:** (if historically derived from *agá* and thus corresponding to Scottish Gaelic *ga*) has spread to an even greater extent than the Scottish Gaelic examples cited by R. A. Breatnach (1983–6: 143). Recall the forms of the simple prepositions **gə** >> **yə** *dhe* / *dho*, *go*; also Gagnepain's (1963: 251, 257) description of *agá* ~ *d(h)á* (*ag* ~ *do*) as 'confusion phonétique' which is fitting for our dialect.

ga: (dho: tã: fẽ ga: ma:ru 144 tá sé DHÁ marú, perhaps with vowel harmony)

ya: (dho: ... ya: 'xüM'əl'f' he:n' 206 ... DHÁ chuimilt héin, a translation of queried 'he is rubbing himself'; dhá chuimilt was perhaps preceded by sé).

869P2–4 consistently has gá.

04B's usual form is ga:

ga: ba:nf' ... ga: tr'umu' | 04B5 DHÁ baint ... DHÁ triomú.

1pl dhá(r) gcionn ga:, ya:, a:, da:, ga:r, a:r, da:r, dər

Forms in final -a: only are general for dhá (in all three plural persons). Forms in (-)a:r are now confined to the phrase dhár gcionn, e.g.

əN' t'æxtən' a:r g'ín 20A, t'æxtən da:r g'ín 52P

an tseachtain DÁR gcionn.

An exceptional pronunciation is 51N's (sister of 52P) usual form:

... dər g'un ... DHÁR gcionn.

Even in this collocation final -a: occurs:

ya: g'ín 892M, a: g'ín 01P,

la: v'ik' dæ:rə ga: g'ín St Lá Mhic Dara DHÁ gcionn.

Apart from this collocation I have two examples of 1pl dhár (6.32).

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: dhá^L; the original 3m. Agreement is often maintained, e.g.

3 singular feminine: a' bhainis GÁ catha 869P2; bhí an fhoghail GÁ díonamh chomh mór air 869Pt; ó chuirtheadh fear, an bád GÁ díonamh ag an saor, 11Ct; is gearr go dtáinig se go dtíge áit a raibh cúirt álainn GÁ díonamh. 11Ct; an áit a mbíodh an mhóin GÁ tóigeál 18J8972.

3 plural: na títhiú atá á ndíonamh annis 892Mt; a:rhəxi: l'ig' v'ix ga gur M arthachaí uilig bhíodh DHÁ gcur.

Non-agreement is of course the innovatory usage and examples are listed below. Plural dhá^N for expected dhá^L, e.g. gan ceann ar bith dhá n-ithe, is exemplified above (6.12).

6.38 dhá^L with feminine

dhá^L with feminine noun or noun which generally has feminine reference

852Sb Nuair a chonaic seisean a' bád fada GÁ chur i bhfarraige ... 6.68; Nach bocht an fháilt' í sin a bheith Á chuir rôit TS125 (sic recte for áhuir c rôit in TS123).

864M agus a chuid beatha DHÁ fháil ó neamh aige. DT3.

866E agus gach uile chóir DÁ chur uirthi Sc164.16.

869P bhíoch go leor úsáide GÁ dhiana go (dhe) thuí ... 2; droch-chaoi GÁ chuir ... 4 (in the same discourse as 'jectmentseachaí GÁ tharraín below);

an ola GÁ bhaint astub. 4; bhí, mísc mhór, GÁ dhíonamh orm, 869Pt.

894C Agus cuiriú an fheoil GÁ bhruith (sic) 2;

' cuir mo chonra GHÁ dhíona' !9 CABI §61(a) v. 4, contrast the same song from a different speaker: ' cuir mo chónra GÁ diana CABI §61(b) v. 2.

01Pt aon chreámhaireacht GÁ dhíonamh orub.

04B1 ga m'ex e:ko:r' ga ji:n er' dhá mbeadh éagóir DHÁ dhéanamh air.

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- 04Br** *n'umərkə a:rd' ga hju:rt' er' an iomarca aird DHÁ thabhairt air.*
11C *an raibh uasáid a bith GÁ dhíonamh dhen cheilp seo ... ?*
nar raibh ceilp eicínt eile GÁ dhó sa tír ceilp GÁ dhíonamh
16M *mu:ŋ' ga jiəl móin DHÁ dhíol.*
n in' o'g ga wuələ ... ən in' o'g ga wuələ M sé Seán a d'airigh an fhuinneog
DHÁ bhualadh ... níor airigh mise an fhuinneog DHÁ bhualadh.
 With these examples contrast Máire's translations, both singular and plural:
n in' o'g ga buələ Mq chuala mé an fhuinneog DHÁ bualadh,
fin' o:gi: ga muələ Mq chuala mé go raibh fuinneogaí DHÁ mbualadh.
19P *b'ei mu:n' ga ʏo: ən'fin' P beidh móin DHÁ dhó ansin.*
25M *strachailt chéadtach GÁ dhíonamh ar an sagart.*
60M *slat ga wuələ slat DHÁ bhualadh.*

Examples in the relative:

- 866E** *dhen bhean a bhí GÁ cheapadh ar Jaic. 866Et (Sc186.26).*
894C2 *a' bhail a bhí GÁ chuir air.*

dhá^L with feminine pronoun

- 11C** *-Cé dhó, a deir sé, a bhfuil an chúirt seo gá díonamh? -Tá sí GÁ dhíonamh, a deir sé, [long pause] dhon rí.*

6.39 dhá^L with plural noun

- 869P** *bhí próiseannaí ʔ 'jectmentseachaí [< ejections] GÁ tharrain achuile lá ... 4;*
cp. ... an-chuímse scudán GÁ thóigeál ... 4.
Clad *Tá go leor cineálacha iascaigh Á dhéanamh ann freisin. Clad7.*
892M *Bhí bréidíní DHÁ dhíonamh an uair sin agus bhídís dá níos chán agus dá nglanadh le pabhdar ... ARN1015.*
03C *agus drumaí Francach DHÁ sheinm ga hin'əm' leob (Aag)03C.*
11C *go raibh sórt píosáí filíocht ag iarraidh bheith GÁ chumadh dho bhean eicínt acub. Ach bhíodh píosáí DHÁ chumadh is ní raibh sé ceart.;*
leacrachaí bhíodh GÁ chuir sa reilic an t-am sin ar na daoine,
cuislí fola DHÁ ligean ga: l'ig'ən ARN3091.
12S *fati: a: xur' ə ŋ'e: [in rhyme] fataí DHÁ chuir i ngé;*
bhíodh, an t-ám sin ar aon chor, bhíodh daoine go leor GÁ thabhairt as. Ní chloistheá caint a' bi' anois air. 12St.
16M *ta runəxi: ga jiəl ... b'i:n' f'i: ga g'æ:nəxt tá ronnachaí DHÁ dhíol [impersonal] ... bíonn sí DHÁ gceannacht [active];*
dorʃə ga wuələ carrannaí ag torann is doirse DHÁ bhualadh.
19P *ta ka:p'i:n'i: ga jiəl an [x2] tá caipíní DHÁ dhíol ann;*
an ʏu:ni: ga jiəl an aon ghúnaí DHÁ dhíol ann.
20T *-Níl fataí ' bith GÁ chur. 20T -Níl, fataí ' bith GÁ chur. 25M.*
24N *v'i:x br'iski: ga jiəl ā:n | swi:t:s ga jiəl*
bhíodh briosaí DHÁ dhíol ann, svuīts DHÁ dhíol.

Examples in the relative:

- 869P** *bhaineadar slám mór sméara dubha ʔ torthaí beag' eile a bhí GÁ chastáil dóib, 3;*
... a bhfuil na buillí atá GÁ bhuala (sic) ort ... 4.
12S *k'e:n so:rt a:ri: v'i: ga jiəl a:n cén sórt earraí bhí DHÁ dhíol ann.*

Personal numeral:

- 10B** *b'ei b'ert' ga xir' əma:r'əx beidh beirt DHÁ chuir amáireach.*

There is a rare example of *dhá^L* in active meaning with feminine referent in:

- 894C** *An fheamainn ... bhí eascan GHÁ tharraingt ... !894C9.*

Note also a rare counterexample (if not scribal error, etc.) presumably due to the serial effect:

869P2 ní aireó tú an aimsir GÁ catha, 7 ní aireómuid an bóthar GÁ cur tharainn.

dhá^L with 3pl pronoun

66N | ax ta fiad ga' xir' | *Níl siad curtha ach tá siad DHÁ chuir.*

dhá^L with 2sg pronoun

66N wuəl'ha: bump ha:nə s v'i: tu ga' xrahə |

Bhuailtheá bump cheana is bhí tú DHÁ chraitheadh.

'... 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 *dhá*^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 Jaic* **866Et** where *ceap* in this meaning generally takes the impersonal construction and where the use of *dhá*^L in the relative clause may be of significance. The only other animate examples are (mass) plurals: *rommachaí* and *an-chuimse scudán* and indefinite pronoun *daoine go leor gá thabhairt as* **12St**. 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 *cúirt*. The longer than usual pause in this utterance may be attributable to the aberrant use of *dhá*^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 *dhá*^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 *dhá*^L in this example demonstrates the conflict that the impersonal interpretation has with animacy. The more unmarked interpretation of *tá siad dhá chuir* and *bhí tú dhá chraitheadh* 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 Ua Súilleabháin (1994: VI §8.51) for Munster Irish where *dá*^L shows wider usage, particularly in Corca Dhuibhne, e.g. *mise Á chomáint chuín margaidh* (Tomás Ó Criomhthain, Seán Ó Coileáin 2002: xxxviii, 76; cp. R. A. Breatnach 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 hÓgáin 1984 s.v. *dá*^L (f–k)). The greater use of *dá*^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 *dhá*^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 *dá*^L from a Donegal writer (2004: 133, n. 5): abstract subject *éagcóir*; and there are many instances of grammaticalised *dá*^L in her examples from Corca Dhuibhne texts: plural inanimate noun + *dá*^L (76 §21, 84 §7, 91 §16, 93 §18, 94 §20); plural personal pronoun + *dá*^L (49 §12 *sinn á dhalladh leis an allas*); and feminine abstract noun + *dá*^L from a Mayo writer: (138 §15 *aithris á dhéanamh aige*).

The contrast between the feminine noun *móin* with *dhá^L* and 1 plural pronoun *muid* with *dhá^N* provides evidence of the process within one sentence:

b'ei mu:n' ga ɣo: ən'jin' nor' ə v'eis mid'ə ga: no: ər'i:ft' 19P

beidh móin DHÁ dhó ansin nuair a bheidheas muid DHÁ ndó aríst

'turf will be burnt there while we will be burnt thereafter' (i.e. 'when we are dead' in apparent reference to flames of hell).

Finally, recall the contrast between Máire's conversation where both concord and generalised *dhá^L* occur and her translations where concord only was found. This indicates an early stage of grammaticalisation.

We can compare the limited use of *a^L* 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^L* and a fusion with verbal-noun conjunction *a^L* (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^L* 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 mbriseadh* ~ *iad a bhriseadh* 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):

'ka:l' əd'ər ʃi: 'tisə gol' 64M -Cá BHFUIL, a deir sí, TUSA ag goil?¹

Compare the example with *fhios* where the logical 'subject' (*ag* + pronoun + emphatic clitic) is also separated by *a deir* from its 'verb':

təs ə 'd'ər' m'ifə a:msə gə mah e 19P

-tá FHIOS, a deir mise, A' MSA go maith é.

Other examples are similar to Echo usage (5.97 ff.), e.g.

leagthaidís pláitín fataí ar bord sa gcisteánach nó píosa dhe cháca, faitias go mbeadh aon duine acub ag goil thart go mbeadh ocras orthub.

BHÍODH, a mh'anam, SIAD dhá dhéanamh sin, bhíodh. 05Mt;

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).

-Muise m'anam go GCUALAS, a deir sé seo, go minic MÉ caint ar Chailleach na Luibhe. 11C2650.

6.43 (b) a bhlas

The 3m possessive *a* ^L may be used, semantically weakened from a cataphoric function, with some indefinite pronouns. In this use **23B** seems to elide *a* but retain lenition.

- beag* ... go leanann sé go ' BHEAG nú ' MHÓR báistí a dhiana ... **869P4**.
beagán duine a dhli' A BHEAGÁN ná A MHÓRÁN díob **869P2**.
bit ju:n ə v'it mahəsə ʔit' a:n S dheamhan A BHIT maitheasa dhuit ann;
 d'aul v'it **23B** deabhal BHIT.
blas n'it' ə vlə:s ə'r'ioʊ fə:ki: ... M níl A BHLAS ariamh fágthaí ... ;
 d'aul vlə:s **23B** deabhal BHLAS.
dubh ... n'i jə:rnə m'e ə ʔu nɑ: ə ʔa: ə'n' u Mq
dath ní dhearna mé A DHUBH ná A DHATH inniu;
 ə ʔu nɑ: ʔa: ə j'i:nə Mq A DHUBH ná A DHATH a dhéanamh.
 Máire permits elision of *a* 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.
mór(án) Cf. *beag* and *beagán* above.

For examples with numerals, see 3.82.

6.44 (c) thug sé dhá shiúl é

In the phrase which in the 3m is *hug ʃe: ga x'ul e thug sé dhá shiúl é*, Máire 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*^L is used throughout (i.e. 'its walking' or 'walking it', in 3m possibly 'his walking'). Her recorded examples are as follows (M, Mq):

Singular	Plural
1 t'urhə m'e' ga x'ul e tiúrthaidh mé DHÁ SHIÚL é	
2 to:r' ga x'ul e tabhair DHÁ SHIÚL é	2 tugi: ga x'ul e tugaí DHÁ SHIÚL é
3m hug ʃe: ga x'ul e thug sé DHÁ SHIÚL é	3 hugədər ga x'ul e
f huk ʃi: ga ʃu:l e thug sí DHÁ SHIÚL é	thugadar DHÁ SHIÚL é

Compare also:

- siúlaidís DÁ GCOIS 852SbLL94* (3pl imperative);
 ... é a' siúl DÁ CHOIS **875TDT24**;
agus iad ag goil gá shiúl GÁ GCOIS go Gaillimh. 11C;
bheodhaigh sé AR A CHOIS chomh maith agus d'fhéad sé. 875PDT10.

Cp. the nonpossessive construction with similar meaning:

- hug ʃe gənə səli: e M thug sé DHE NA SÁLAÍ é*.

6.45 (d), (e), (f) é

(d) cé hé thusa?

Cataphoric *é* is optional with 1 and 2 singular emphatic pronouns in copula

predication, e.g.¹

... *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.

fe: nə fi:xəñ ə ṽi: a:n | tr̃i: wɑ:lə je:g **05M**

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**.

é *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**;
iad a chur ag bruith 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 thógáil ‘na pheata CHOMH MAITH IS B’FHÉIDIR LÉITHI É. B19.52;
scríobh 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 + *a*^L + 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 + <i>a</i> ^L + VN
<i>A MBRISEADH</i> ‘their breaking’		<i>IAD A BHRISEADH</i> ‘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:

... *chuirtheá amach AN FHEAMAINN DEARG SIN, aríst, ar an gcéibh. Agus u-, an fear a raibh an carr aige, bhí sé i riocht a-, an carr a thabhairt FÚITHI, agus u-, A CUIR isteach ar an ngarraí.* **894Cs**.

Examples (from speaker **894Cs**) of 3m occur in coordination:

breith ansin AIR agus A LÍONADH i mála | ugəs ə ʲi:ɔ̃ñə mɑ:lə | ;

a bheith DHÁ CHRUINNIÚ go ceann míosa nó dhá mhí, agus A CHUR síos

3m in subordination:

Agus bhíodar ag baint ceart as. Is minic ariamh ó chuín a chuímrim, cén chaoi, a mbí-, 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):

Cuirím le clai í nó le — isteach sa scioból mar a deir an ceann eile. Ansin A DÓ leihí an gheimhreadh, A DÓ, leihí an gheimhreadh nach sa ngeimhreadh a dhóann tú É. 60Mt.

A plural example with the pronoun is:

nó go bhfaighead sé traíáil ar IAD ÍOC ... ní bhfuair sé aon tseans ar IAD ÍOC 11C.

Examples of plural possessive are more rare than the singular:

i ndan A N-AITHNEACHTÁIL orthub, is A GCAITHEAMH isteach ar an tine 11Ctn;

Ní f'ead'ar' a maru: ... gahə tu ŋ'ærə 20T

ní féidir A MARÚ ... gcaithidh tú A NGEARRADH.

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:

ta m'e 'sast er' 'e: ə 'xir' i:m | !(FCúil)894C
tá mé sásta ar É A 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 {*a*^L + Verbal Noun}

There are instances in coordination where *a*^L 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, mball dhá léi(n-) [i.e. léine], dhá, chuid éadaigh, níochán i sruthán tórhann, sruthán tórhann 'eadh eidir dhá bhaile. 'Gus ansin, THABH-AIRT, agus A CHROCHADH leis an tine. 'S a ghoil, thuas i gcoirnéal eicínt ag faire. 'Gus péibrí ansin, bean a bheadh aige, ag an bhfear sin, bheadh pósta aige, thiocthad sí 'gus d'iompód sí an léine. 892M.

One would expect younger speakers to use an object pronoun here, i.e. *é / í a thabhairt agus é / í a chrochadh*. When a feminine referent (possessive *a*^H) is followed (in coordination) by leniting *a*^L, the particle is clearly not in possessive concord, e.g.

Bhí áiteachaí, mbíodh AN CHOIRLEACH seo bhíodh áiteachaí MBÍOD SÍ BOG, 'GUS ÉASCA THARRAINT, éasca strachailt 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 *a*^L could be interpreted as having the masculine possessive (6.8). Absence of concord of this

¹ Four similar examples of *a*^L for expected *a*^H before the verbal noun (in coordination and in a subordinate relative clause) are cited in P. Ó Súilleabháin (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 a^L .¹

Similar to *bhíodh sí ... éasca a tharrait* one also finds a^L with feminine reference where the adjective is connected to the verbal noun by *ar* (cf. 7.122):

TÁ SÍ ÉASCA AR A THRIOMÚ froisin tharas an móin a bhaintheas tú fút síos
897P.

The disjunctive intransitive subject pronoun *í* occurs following *éasca ar* in:

Ní raibh AN SCOTHACH baol air chomh, CHOMH, HÉASCA AR Í LOBHADH leis an gcoirleach. **889P.**

There is an example of a^L from Máire, who generally uses the progressive object pronoun construction, governed by a feminine noun in coordination in a fixed saying:

Ní ghothainn amach ann ach an oiread 's chuirinn MO LÁIMH sa tine 'S A DHÓ suas go dtí an ghualainn M.

Note the alternation from $\acute{e} a^L$ to a^L in the more fixed or impersonal sayings in:

-Dúirt sé liom, a deir sé, É CHROCHADH abhaile nach ndíonhad sé é. '... take it (cloth) back ...'

-B'fhearr dhó héin A DHÍONAMH muis, a deir sé. **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. **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 !11C.

Similarly, a^L occurs for (historically more regular) a^N (possessive) or *iad a^L*, 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';²

'cainthéibh', siufraíl chainte, daoíní ag caint nach mbeadh ag iarraidh A CHLOISTEÁIL 12J '... people talking who would not wish to be heard'.

Cp. the extension in the use of $dhá^L$ 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^L + 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:

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 thóirt as ... i ndan a thóirt as ... an ubh ... é thóirt duit ... an ubh ... lena bhuala
852SbTS145-6.

One could interpret all instances of leniting a^L in this example as masculine possessives, particularly given the use of the masculine pronoun *é*. Nonetheless, instances such as this, with {feminine noun + a^L + VN}, might weaken the historical association of leniting a^L with masculine concord.

² Spelt in original letter: ... *aiginne indon a ghearra* Mlt.

	3 person referent ... a^L + Verbal Noun
coordination:	3f... <i>AGUS A BHRISEADH</i> '... and to break it'
adjective + <i>ar</i> :	3f... <i>ÉASCA AR A BHRISEADH</i> 'it is easy to break'
impersonal:	3f... <i>AG IARRAIDH A BHRISEADH</i> '... want it to get broken'
	a^L (Nonconcrete) + Verbal Noun
3m nonconcrete:	<i>B'FHEARR DHUIT A BHRISEADH</i> '... better to break (it)'

The pronominal force is probably quite weak in phrases such as *bainne théis a dhéanamh* (term for 'buttermilk'). For examples such as *an-ghar dhon é a ghortú*, see 'Prepositions' *dho* (7.29).

6.49 (h) *mise bocht*

The adjective *bocht* can qualify emphatic pronouns (subject and object) and emphatic prepositional pronouns:

nax mah ə x' iəl a:msə boxt ɛ M *nach maith an chiall A' MSA BOCHT é;*

gɑ: iərhi: jɪ:ŋ' ə boxt ən' fɪn' M *dhá fhiathraí DHINNE BOCHT ansin;*

ŋ' i:l' tæ:də fɑ:ki æ:dsə boxt Mq *níl tada fágthaí A' DSA BOCHT.*

Other adjectives are not found, e.g. **mise beag* MØperm. Further examples with *bocht* are as follows:

Emphatic pronoun					
Sg	1	m' i:fə boxt M	Pl	1	
	2	tusə boxt Mq		2	fɪbʃə boxt Mq, ... *boxtə MØperm
	3	MØperm		3	fɪədsən boxt Mq
Emphatic prepositional pronoun					
Sg	1	ɪ'umsə boxt Mq	Pl	1	ɪ'ɪn' ə boxt Mq, æ:ŋ' ə boxt Mq
	2	æ:dsə boxt Mq		2	agi:fə boxt M(?)
	3	MØperm		3	*a'kəbsən boxt MØperm

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.

ən' t' ax fɪn' æ:ŋ' ə *an teach SIN A' INNE;*

sə ŋɑ:rɪ: fɪn' æ:ŋ' ə Mq *sa ngarraí SIN A' INNE;*

koləm fɪn' æ:ŋ' ə *Colm SIN A' INNE.*

A much less frequent equivalent is **fæ:ŋ' ə** *se' a'inne* with abbreviated demonstrative *seo*, e.g.

æ:n' əmn' əxi: nə ŋɑ:rənti: fæ:ŋ' ə 18B

ainmneachaí na ngarrantaí SE' A' INNE;

mɑ:r' ə fæ:ŋ' ə 18B Máire SE' A' INNE.

One speaker has **sæ:ŋ' ə 71D s' a'inne**. Uncoalesced **fə æ:ŋ' ə** *seo a'inne* is used by a minority of speakers, e.g.

sno balt' əxi: fə æ:ŋ' ə ən' fə 11C1159 *sna bailteachaí SEO A' INNE anseo;*

ɪ' ɛf ə tai:hə fə æ:ŋ' ə 20Pá *leis an talamh SEO A' INNE.*

Also common is 2pl *sin agaibhse*, e.g.

ə t'æx jin' agi:fə *an teach SIN AGAIBHSE*;

ʃa:n' jin' a'gi:fə *Seán SIN AGAIBHSE*.

Other persons occur less frequently but with the same function of familiar genitive relation, e.g.

1sg *badh é an t-ainm céanna bhí ar an bhfeaimilí SIN A' MSA is a bhí [ar] an*
[or a^N 3pl poss] *bhfeaimilí siadsan 12S*;¹

b'e:b' i: b'ox t' jin' amsə 56N *béibí bocht SIN A' MSA*.

2sg *t'ax jin' æ:dsə an teach SIN A' DSA*.

3m *t'ax jin' eg'əsən 27Mdq an teach SIN AIGESAN*.

3f *t'ax jin' ek'əfə 27Mdq an teach SIN AICISE*.

3pl *ʃa:n' jin' a'kəbsən 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 *béibí 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:

ʃi:s o: hax jin' æ:n' ə 76M *síos 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.)

	Singular			Plural		
	Noun	Verb	Prep Pron	Noun	Verb	Prep Pron
1	-sə, (-fə)	-fə, (-sə)	-sə, -fə		A -n'ə	-ə
2	-sə	-sə	-sə, -fə		A -fə	-fə
3m	(-sən)		-sən (-fən)			
f			-fə, B -sən	(-sən)	-sən, -fən	-sən, B -f'in'

3 person (sg and pl) also nonclitic **sən**, **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 **-f**. This occurs in some 3m prepositional pronoun forms and some 3pl verbal forms, e.g.

l'ef + sən > l'efən *leisEAN*;

wæn'əd'i:f + sən > wæn'əd'i:fən *bhainidíSEAN*.

Noncoalescence is, however, found, e.g.

| n'ē:nəxt' l'ef,sun | 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*.

cp. *l'e:f mə wə:fəsə 875P* *thar éis mo bháisSA* cited below (6.52).

An example of non-elision but retrogressive sandhi is:

| *v'i:d'is sūn ə p'itʃəl' ə'ma:x nə ti:v ə'ma:x ... 894Cs*

bhídísSAN ag pitseáil amach na tuíobh amach ...

Máire, when queried and pressed as to her possible coalescence, offered both *-sən* and *fin'* with verbal forms not ending in palatal *s* but with *-dís* only *fin'*, i.e.

v'i:dər sən bhíodarsAN ~ v'i:dər fin' bhíodar sin,

v'i:d'i: fin' bhídís sin (all Mq).

The sibilant of these clitics often causes regular retrogressive sandhi effects as found between words:

-n' s- > -ns-: *fin' e t'ursənsə* Mtrans *sin é t'ursainnSA;*

mə l'i:nsə M *mo linnSA.*

-r' s- > -rs-: *mahərsə 892M2050* *m'athairsA.*

Considerably less common is retroflex sandhi caused by *r*:

-r s- > -rʃ-: *ʃə* 1sg *mə jr'ehu:rʃə 20M1* *mo dhreithiúrSA,*

eg' mə wā:hərʃə S *ag mo mháthairsA.*

(This rare postrhotic form, *-ʃə*, found in the 1sg, is no doubt also possible in the 2sg.)

ʃən 3pl *agus nuair a d'imigh an cogadh d'imíodarsAN.* |

'd'im'i: dərʃən | *892M2289.*

3 person *sən* may take the stress of an independent word, e.g.

... ə v'i: | n'ē:nəxt l'e:f,sun | 35E9106

chuile fhear ansin dhen tseachtar a bhí in éineacht leisAN;

gə ma: 'eg' ə "sun 53M *go maith aigeSAN;*

durtʃe 'l'o:hu sun ə yor' [sic] ə'ma:x 897P

dúirt sé leothúsAN a ghoil amach;

v'i:dər sən M *bhíodarsAN* with the same nonprimary stress as *v'i:dər fin'*

M bhíodar sin;

n'i orhəb'sun ən a:rə'ma:rə ... 36P *ní orthubSAN in Arramara ...*

Cp. *də xud' 'b'ehi:xsə* M *Do chuid beithíochSA;*

nə d'i:n u'su e:n "wai:l' gə ... M *Ná déan thusa aon mhoill go ...* ;

(both cited in 1.390).

6.52 Nouns

1sg *-sə*, *mə x'a:nsə* *mo cheannSA*, *mə xap'i:n'sə* *mo chaipínSA,*

ə maurdo:g'sə 29N *i m'ordóigSA,*

l'e:f mə wə:fəsə 875P *thar éis mo bháisSA.*

2sg *-sə*, e.g. *də x'a:nsə* *do cheannSA.*

Following adjectives:

do chrága móra místuama gránnaSA 866ESc48.29;

də wulə:n el'əsə 43M *do bhullán eileSA.*

3sg *-sən*, *nə ʔa:ri:sən 20Cq* *ina gharraísAN*, *ə x'a:nsən* Mperm *a cheannSAN.*

3pl *-sən*, *ə ɡ'a:nsən* Mperm *a gceannSAN.*

6.53 Verbs

1sg *-ʃə*, *d'er'əmʃə ... 03V* *deirimSE ...*, *xir'əŋʃə* *chuirinnSE.*

-sə occurs sometimes in the speech of **23C**:

x̣u:r̥hən's er' thiúrthainnSE air, d' er' əm'sə ... 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'sə** *uaitsa* and **astə** *a'dsa*, see 6.54.)

-sə also noted, alongside more regular -fə, in:

ax a: g̃imn' i:nsə ... wān'hənfə ... lauro:nfə 892M2419

Ach dhá gcuimhnínSE ... bhainthinnSE ... labhróinnSE

2sg -sə, ga: m'eha:sə dhá mbeitheáSA, ga: gurt'a:sə dhá gcuirteáSA,
v'i:ha:sə bhítheáSA.

In the 2sg imperative -sa does not occur; instead the emphatic pronoun *thusa*, also (*thú*) *héin*, are used.

1pl A -n'ə, in: n'i: gkəmər'n'ə 46.401 ní fhacamarNE (for expected -ər'n'ə, i.e. nonpalatal r in [ər-n'ə]).

This clitic is now obsolete, as is the ending with which it was recorded. Cp. verbal subject *muidne* m̃n'ə 892M4259 (6.20).

2pl A -fə, fə'g'i:fə gr'i:m' ... S faighigíSE greim ... ;

skræ'ə'g'i:f əm portəx 69Sq scraithigíSE 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:

əs d'efə fanə'g'i' ... fanə'g'i' f̃ibfə Mq is deise 'fanaigf' ... 'fanaigf sibse'.

Cp. a'brə'g'i:sən 45N *abraigísan* where the speaker seemed to pause slightly following the utterance, perhaps realising a mistake had been made.

3pl -s/fən, v'i:dursən bhíodarsAN, d'im'i:dorfən d'imíodarsAN;

v'i:dər sən bhíodarsAN, v'i:d'is sūn bhídísAN;

| əgs ,dabri'd'i:fən na r ēŋ 'xi: er' | 11C

agus d'abraídísEAN nar raibh aon chaoi air;

| xahə'd'i:fən ə ʎol' ən' iəxtər ə'ri:f' | [sic] 18J9113

chaithidísEAN a ghoil in íochtar aríst.

These verbal clitics are not permitted with the specific synthetic Echo forms, e.g. 1sg *v'i:ssə MØperm *bhíossa!* 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 -s/fə, a(gə)msə a(ga)msA, dumsə domSA; -fə following palatals, e.g.

wemfə uaimSE (rare wom uam > womsə uamSA).

There is frequently no stress directly on the prepositional pronoun in *tabhair dhomsa*, e.g. 'torəmsə k'an ... P *tabhair dhomSA ceann ...* .

2sg -s/fə, ortfə ortSA; -fə following palatals, e.g. n'i: he: ʎutfə S Ní hé dhuitSE. Sometimes t' + f > ʃ, e.g. ʎutʃə 21Pt *dhuitse*.

Speaker 23C has -sə only: ʎut'sə 23Cq *dhuitsa*, wet'sə 23Cq *uaitsa*. Speaker 23C also optionally metathesises final broad t/d and clitic s. Metathesis was noted following stressed æ; his examples are:

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an té Chluineadh muid ansin, scéal eile. Níl fhios a'm an raibh sé ceart nú cúntráilte. **AN TÉ | ə́n' ʲe:** thiúrtadh isteach an aon a hairt, nú an aont [sic] a spéireata i dteach an phobail, ... go mbead SÉ i ndan cártaí a dhathú, an chuid eile **DHÁ** shaol. **892M**.

SÉ AN TÉ tá thíos a siúilthidh siad **AIR**.

- ... tiúrtaidh mé chúig phunt amáireach, a deir sé, **DHON TÉ** ínseos dom cé is measa leat **892M2024**.

There is plural reference in:

cén fáth go gceapann daoine go seasann siad **DHON TÉ** gurb iad héin a chuir ar a gcosa **IAD?** St.

cé **k'e: d'eir' o:x ɛr mɔ:d' ə́n'** ... **SID.46.IV.1e-f**

CÉ d'éireodh ar maidin le éirí na gréine.

k'e ug ʲuʲt' ə́n' oxər' hug ʲe ʲeʃ' ... **P**

CÉ thug dhuit an eochair thug SÉ leis ...

k'e hæ:səx ʲe dru: nə hi: [sic] **!(Acl)21Pt**

CÉ sheasthadh le drúcht na hoíche.

... ar dhuine mar sin. Gan aon fhocal a bheir' aige. Ach CÉ thiocthas **ax**

k'e: hukəs isteach is an chaint agus an spraoi agus an ghreánn a bheith **AIR**, is breá an rud é. **45N**.

an cé Bhuel A' CÉ raibh aon mheabhair **ANN**, a bhí ag plé leis an talmhaíocht, ... **01Pt**.

... ɛr' ə k'e: v'ɛx ... 45N ... AR AN CÉ a bheadh ... (note the absence of eclipse).

6.56 Cataphoric nonpersonal pronoun éard

The cataphoric nonpersonal pronoun is **e:rd éard**, also **erd**, **ed**, sometimes further weakened to **ərd**, **əd**. Rarer are **ʲe:rdə:s**, **ʲe:rdə:d**, also **séar sórt**. Cp. the interrogatives **céard** (8.54), **céardós** (8.60). Examples:

e:rd **ʲe:rd e: he:n'** ... **M SÉARD** é héin ...

e:rd **əgə ʲe:rd ə v'i' 'ā:n ə'ma:x | sə 'sā:ĩrə n 'lɑ: ʲo 11C**

agus SÉARD a bhí ann amach sa samhradh an lá seo.

ed **ʲed ə he:n'** ... **64M SÉARD** é héin ...

ərd **tə m'e x'æ:pə gə b'ərd ɛ m' v'u: gə m'eʃ ʲe wɑ:d wet' S**

tá mé ag cheapadh gob ÉARD é an 'viú' go mbeadh sé i bhfad uait.

əd **ʲə du:rt'** ... **64M SÉARD** a dúirt ...

ʲe:rdə:s 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**.

ʲe:rdə:d was noted only once, from **00T** in:

ʲe:rdə:d obər' ə ta ... 00T SÉARDÓD obair atá ...

(This speaker was **21JRM**'s neighbour.)

Note also **séar sórt**:

SÉR [sic] **SÓRT** beatha a bhí acub rán coirce 7 mairtfheoil **ÓC197**.

There is an example of reduced *sé an sórt*, or *sé an seort*, in:

en ʲo:rt | rud ə v'i: sən 'ā'ŋkərd | rud ə ro | ə v'i:ʔ mɔ:rən | ɛr' ʲi:nə

iəxtər kɪn'ɔ:g'ə ... 894Cs *SÉ AN SEORT rud a bhí san ancár, rud a bhí mórán ar dhéanamh íochtar cuinneoige ...*

Speaker 894Cs normally has **fe(:)n so:rt**. His brother, 881J, has:

ə fe:n so:rtʃ fɪəl | ... 881J *Is É AN SEORT síol ...*

There is loss of initial **f** and further reduction in lax articulation of *séard* in:

əd i: 'a:n 't'ax ,pobəl' 'b'og 17M *SÉARD a bhí ann teach pobail beag.*

The palatalised final (**fe:rd'**) seems to be a slip of the tongue in:

əg fe:rd' ə v'i: fkr'i:ftə f't'ih a:n 17M

agus SÉARD a bhí scríobhta istigh ann.

The same speaker has:

fe:rd ə hug m'ifə m' b'æ:ləx fo 17M *SÉARD a thug mise an bealach seo,*

as well as **əd i: 'a:n ... 17M SÉARD a bhí ann ...**, noted above.

There is an example of *séard* used causally in:

SÉARD a tháinig sé ag déanamh réiteach agus socrú le Rí an Deachma
866ESc98.19,

(if transcribed accurately) for more common *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 **he:n'**.¹ Obsolescent **f'e:n'** was heard only twice in vernacular use, both instances in the same lexical and discourse context:

tá fhios a'd FÉIN tús æd 'f'e:n' go maith 892M1600;

nax wil' əs æd f'e:n' ... (SmDs)04B *nach bhfuil fhios a'd FÉIN ...*

6.58 Sandhi pe:n', p'e:n'

The lexical sandhi rule regarding **he:n'** occurs following labial stops in two specific contexts. It applies to *héin* both as pronoun and adverb. The rule can be stated as follows:

he:n' > (i) **pe:n'** ~ (ii) **p'e:n'** also (i') **phe:n'** ~ (ii') **p'he:n'** 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' stóirín péin* !894C9 (perhaps influenced by a by-form with *féin* through labial sandhi, i.e. **stóirín m' f'e:n' stóirín 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* 852SbTS121, 148. For 3 plural prepositional pronoun **-u: + he:n'** > **-əb + he:n'**, 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 ma'nəm mu:fə p'e:n' gə rə ... 898P *ó m'anam muise 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 he:n'əx mé héineach**, from An tOileán Iarthach, Ros Muc. Cp. GCF §328 where *héineach(t)* is reported following a prepositional pronoun *dhom héineacht* (12S0perm).

speaker **892M** (also perhaps **07P**): **m^p h, m^p h, m^b fi**. There is furthermore an example of **b^hhe:n'** in:

n'i:l'as æm'b^hhe:n' **11C** *níl fhios a'm héin*.

The broad initial variant, **p(h)e:n'**, i.e. (i) and (i'), is found categorically following broad **b** (3pl); the palatal variant **p^h(h)e:n'**, i.e. (ii) and (ii'), is categorical following lexically palatal **b^h** and **m^h** and commonest following broad **m** (1sg and nominal), where it frequently palatalises **m**; i.e.

lexical b	takes	p(h)e:n'
lexical m	takes	p^h(h)e:n' >> p(h)e:n'
lexical b^h and m^h	take	p^h(h)e:n'

There are individual differences in usage. Some speakers, for example, Máire, have **p(h)e:n'** frequently, whilst others have **p^h(h)e:n'** only (following lexical **m**), for example, **11C**, **04B**.

Examples are below following the subrules 1, 2(a) and 2(b) and forms (i), (i'), (ii) and (ii').

6.59 1. /b_

1. /b, b^h_ 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. **b** > **p** / _h, where there is a simple surface-consonant realisation, but examples with surface **-b p-**, **-b ph-** and **-b^h p^h-** show grammaticalisation.

2pl	(ii) p^he:n'	d'i: p^he:n' <i>M díb héin</i> .
3pl	(i) pe:n'	ji: pe:n' <i>S dhíob héin</i> , a:kə pe:n' <i>M</i> , í'oi:hə pe:n' <i>S</i> . In slow deliberate speech, Máire produced í'oi:həb pe:n' <i>Mq</i> (x3) <i>leothub héin</i> .
	(i') phe:n'	akəp he:n' 00T <i>acub héin</i> ; orhə phe:n' 03V <i>orthub héin</i> ; ætərəb phe:n' 04Bl <i>eatarub héin</i> ; a:kəb ph^he:n' 15P <i>acub héin</i> ;
	(ii) p^he:n'	yo:b^h p^he:n' <i>P dhóib héin</i> .

Other speakers tend not to apply this sandhi (which implies that it is perhaps less lexicalised and more phonetically based), e.g.

a:kəb fie:n', ... **í'oi:həb fie:n'** *Pt3 acub héin ... leothub héin*.

6.60 2(a) /m_

2(a) /m, m^h_ of the 1sg inflectional endings (prepositional pronoun and verb).

(i) pe:n' :	/m_: ... ə b^hih æm pe:n' orəm pe:n' <i>M</i> ... <i>ar bith a'm héin orm héin</i> .
(i') phe:n' :	/m_:
	892M í'um^p he:n' <i>ARN1759 dreatháir liom héin</i> .
	07P perhaps am^p he:n' .
(ii) p^he:n' :	With the verb:
	892M mə wuəxəm^h p^he:n' <i>má bhuachaim héin</i> .
	04B x'æpəm^h p^he:n' (Acs) <i>cheapaim héin</i> .
	08B n'i: he:m^h p^he:n' <i>ní théim héin</i> .
	12S n'i: æn^hhi:m^h p^he:n' m^he he:n' <i>ní aithnám héin mé héin</i> , mə ji:nəm^h / yu:fi:m^h p^he:n' <i>S má dhéanaím / dhúisím héin</i> .
	13J mə'ri:m^h p^he:n' <i>iəd maraím héin iad</i> .

- 16M b'í:m' p'e:n' bím héin.
 20Ml jín' e xr'ed'am' p'e:n' sin é a chreidim héin.
- With the prepositional pronoun:
- 893P l'um p'e:n' liom héin.
 894N yum p'e:n' dom héin.
 00T du:m' p'e:n' dom héin; wem' p'e:n' uaim héin.
 03V dum / l'um / orəm / fu:m' / ji:m' p'e:n'.
 04B a:m' p'e:n' 10; l'im' p'e:n' 10, (Smds), orəm p'e:n' !(Aár),
 hugəm p'e:n' !(Asp), yum p'e:n' (Smds)
 a'm / liom / orm / chugam / dhom héin.
 04Br l'um / l'im' p'e:n' liom héin.
 07M l'um p'e:n' liom héin; dim' p'e:n' dom héin.
 07P l'um [x4] / orəm / am p'e:n'.
 11Ct l'im' p'e:n' liom héin.
 12S torəm p'e:n' tabhair dhom héin.
 13P am' p'e:n' a'm héin.
 18J æm' p'e:n' a'm héin.
 19P fu:m / l'um / l'im' / a:m / dum p'e:n' Pt
 fúm, liom, a'm, dom héin.
 36P æsəm / l'um p'e:n'.
- (ii) p'he:n': With prepositional pronoun and one instance of the verb:
- 898P orəm p'he:n' ~ orəm' p'fie:n'; yum' p'fie:n' orm / dhom héin.
 Note that 898P also uses (ii) -m p'-, e.g.
 ma'nəm p'e:n' m'anam héin.
 04B orəm' p'he:n' orm héin, æ:səm' p' he:n' asam héin.
 11C m'i:l'ə gor'əmp' 'he:n' əgəs 'ga:f'rəm'ək' u
 míle goirim héin agus coisricim thú!
 am' p'he:n' a'm héin.

6.61 2(b) /m_

2(b) /m, m' _ with *am*, *anam*, *tuairim*.

- (i) pe:n': der' manəm pe:n' M doir m'anam héin;
 hə:wəl' ji: hanəm pe:n' Mq shábháil sí a hanam héin.
- (ii) p'e:n': nɑ:m p'e:n' 11Ct ina am héin; ma:nəm p'e:n' 894N m'anam héin;
 note ma'nəm p'e:n' he:n' 898P, 05M m'anam héin héin;
 hə:wəl' m'e / tu / fe m / t anəm p'e:n' Mq
 shábháil mé / tú / sé m' / t' / a anam héin;¹
 mə huər'əm' p'e:n' 18T, 21M mo thuairim héin.
- (ii') p'he:n': n α:m p'he:n' ... n α:m^b fie:n' 892M1206, ən α:m p' he:n'
 892M1174 ina am héin.

This sandhi with p(')e:n' (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(')e:n' has only been heard in conversation in interjections, these examples from query show that *anam* can apparently trigger the sandhi in other contexts.

Table 6.4 Sandhi depletion in *-m héin*

	Number of -m p- tokens	Number of -m h- tokens (some examples)
1890-99	892M 4(+), 893P 1, 898P 5	'orəm ,he:n' 892M 2090
1900-09	00T 2 (3?), 03V 4 (5?), 04B 9, 04Br 2, 07M 3	
1910-19	11P 6, 13J 1, 13P 1, 15P 2, 15W 1, 18T 4	11P (1?)
1920-29	25Mb 2	
1930-39	36P 8	30M 1 am he:n'
1940-49		43J 1 a'm h'ye:n'
1950-59		51P 1 2, orəm, am he:n'; 56T 1
1960-69	r'um^b pe:n' 64M	60M .1 5; 64M >>; 66L 1, yum h'ye:n'
1970-79		70S 1, f'ek'ər um he:n'; 72N 1, yurṁ he:n'; 77C 3, e.g. um h'ye:n'; 79MI 1; 79J 1; 79S 1

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 **he:n'**. 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 HÉIN ná thú HÉIN beo Semr84.

6.62 Reflexive use

Examples of reflexive *héin* are:

Personal verb:

- synthetic *bháithinnse mé HÉIN le dinglis P*
Díon sa mbaile thú HÉIN! S, Ná maraigh thú HÉIN
Fainic sib HÉIN ar na gloineóchaí sin M
- analytic *Choinic me héin me HÉIN nuair nach bhfaca aon-nduine eile me S*
bhioraigh sé é HÉIN 11C
Caithidh muid muid HÉIN a chaisreacan 894Cs
Shocraí' muid suas sinn HÉIN, chuir muid ... 894C9
Heilpeálthaidh sib héin sib HÉIN M
ní bhfuighidh siad in áit ar bith iad HÉIN S
iad héin a reiceanns iad HÉIN ag caint S
d'injátáladh duine é HÉIN 43M

- prepositional
pronoun *fuair mise balthadh bréan orm HÉIN S,*
Cuir síos ronnach dhuit HÉIN M
fan a chois na tine dhuit HÉIN P, cuirthe tú héin a'd HÉIN e S
bhead se cionál gá choinneál aige HÉIN 27Md
tá sé an-bhródach as HÉIN M
duine ámplúch, bheadh ag iarraidh rud a dhíonamh dhó HÉIN S
Thug sé an bóthar síos dó HÉIN 11C
thosaigh sí ag cúmhriú ortha HÉIN, go mb'fhéidir go raibh cantal air
11C
Caithidh muid éadan eicúnteacht chuir orainn HÉIN
Tá siad an-mhór íontub HÉIN M
bhí mé liom HÉIN, thú bheith fágthaíthe leat HÉIN 875P
narbh úthásach ... an píosa oibre a bhí díonta leis HÉIN aige ARN3234
Cheanná an lát aisti HÉIN M, chuiridís astub HÉIN iad M

	<i>ba cheird ann HÉIN í</i> 23J
preposition	<i>ní raibh duine ar bith in éineacht liom ach mé HÉIN S</i> <i>Ní raibh aon bheithíoch in éindí léithi ach í HÉIN S</i>
verbal adjective	<i>Tá tú trangáilte a'd HÉIN istigh ansin S</i>
verb ... prep	<i>hablál tú thú héin i nganfhiós duit HÉIN S</i>
verbal noun	<i>caithe mé mé HÉIN a réiteach, Thú HÉIN a chaitheamh ar do bhéal fút</i> <i>A bheir' ag goil amach ... dho mo tharrait HÉIN ó chéile</i> 894C <i>Ná bí dho do dhróbáil HÉIN! S, Tá tú dho do chíoradh HÉIN</i> <i>ag siúl thart dhá thraobh HÉIN S</i> <i>iad héin dhá bhfideáil HÉIN</i>

Reflexive *héin* is optional in phrases such as:

Níor bhain se éadach a bith dhi [3m] M.

It is absent in adverbial use such as:

d'imigh (mé) liom; d'imigh sé leis roimhe go dtáinig sé ag áit ... **864MDT3**.

Generally absent following inflected *roimh* in the idiom exemplified in:

Chuir me héin romham í cheannacht ach níor cheannaigh me í. P.

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 muid ...* **05M**

aireoidh tú HÉIN éirí M

Cáil sé HÉIN?

bhí Micil Mhac Suibhne mo dhuine bocht, bhí sé HÉIN bhí sé ar seachrán, **11C**

ní dhearna sí HÉIN ach éirí ag goil ag soláthar di héin **894Ct**

Bhí muid HÉIN ag spleantráil le chéile S

Bhí an trútá pinn aige ann, mar a deir siad HÉIN S

copula subject *seobh é anuas mé HÉIN un an chladaigh* **10B**

maith an fear thú HÉIN

na leaids a bheith glan ort 's thú HÉIN a bheith glan **52J**

Is mór an tseanmóir í HÉIN is na beithí S

nach iad HÉIN atá dhá dhéanamh orthub héin S

+ *sin* *is fada an lá é sin HÉIN* **01P**

small clause subject *go mbeinn ag éisteacht le ceol anois agus iad HÉIN básaíthe*

verbal noun subject *ar chuntar, é HÉIN dhá thóigeál nó duine eicint, ARN4435*
agus go mba mhaith leis é HÉIN togha ... na mbád a bheith aige **872P**

object *Cuireann siad me HÉIN síos sa talamh S*

Cuireann se me HÉIN suas an balla tá se chomh, rud **43M**

scaoileadh í HÉIN i dtír ar ... ARN4704

object of *cé thiocthadh isteach ... go dtí mé HÉIN S*

preposition *le haghaidh muid HÉIN*

i dtaobh na ngasúir ... i dtaobh thú HÉIN **56T**

Gan aon fhear ar charraig Sceirde ach é HÉIN **892M**

+ *sin* *dhá dteagadh aimsir le haghaidh é sin HÉIN* **36S**

apposition (verbal) *Déan thú HÉIN anois í! a deir sé* **872P**

teara thú HÉIN agus t'fhear **881J**

1310 Pronouns and pronominals

apposition (nominal)	
personal name	<i>bhí an deabhal ar Jaicí é HÉIN S</i> <i>go raibh láimh ag Mac Dara é HÉIN ann.</i> ARN7595 <i>bhí ealaín go leor in Peadar Mór é HÉIN</i> ARN3634 <i>Tá Neaín í HÉIN dóite ag suigearoits M</i> <i>Seans go mbeidh Bríd anuas í HÉIN má fhaigheann sí aon leiceann</i>
article	<i>feitheann se ar an duine e HÉIN M</i> <i>thosaigh an mháthair í HÉIN ag gearán</i> 11C <i>Cén marú a rinne na brocamais iad HÉIN?</i> M <i>na Fianna Fáil iad HÉIN S</i>
apposition (pronoun)	
separate	<i>rinne sé an bád é HÉIN</i> 11C <i>Chua' sé amach roime le sacbhád é HÉIN</i> 06C
pron + seo	<i>Tá se seo e HÉIN ag pufaíl M</i>
pron + sin	<i>tá sé sin é HÉIN ag imeacht is a mhéir ina bhéal aige M</i>
emphatic	<i>bhí mise mé HÉIN ann S</i> <i>go bhfaca tusa thú HÉIN é</i> ARN7562, <i>bhí tusa thú HÉIN ann</i>
apposition (prepositional pronoun)	
separate	<i>séard tá ionaib buachaillí báire sib HÉIN</i> (rhyme)
+ sin	<i>Tá caint aisteach aici sin í HÉIN M</i> <i>Jó Shíle, Con Fhaola a bhí ansin é HÉIN</i> (or in apposition with <i>Jó Shíle</i>)
emphatic	<i>Tá beagán íontas a'msa mé HÉIN ann</i> 01P¹
emphatic pronoun	<i>cp. 'S roinn mise HÉIN leóthub clog a' phléiséáin!</i> 894C6
pronoun + sin	<i>sé an chaoi bhfuil sé sin HÉIN, dho léar, mar a bheithéa ag iascach leothub.</i> 31P
prepositional pronoun	<i>b'fharr liom HÉIN an t-airgead a bheith taobh thiar dhíom S</i> <i>Chugad HÉIN ab ea? S</i> <i>a'd HÉIN is fhearr atá fhios</i> <i>'s air HÉIN a leag sé an billéad an dtigeann tú gho mbadh é héin an gadaí</i> 894C <i>... nach bhfuil siad in aon áit ach aici HÉIN M</i> <i>is agaí HÉIN atá fhios achuile shórt S</i>
personal verb	<i>cuir HÉIN síos é!, ól HÉIN ceann!</i> <i>ní aithním PÉIN mé héin S</i> (further 1sg examples, 6.58) <i>bhínn HÉIN ag magadh fúithi</i> <i>nach gcóireoinn HÉIN a leaba dhó</i> !21Pt <i>An gcaitheá HÉIN í?</i> 866E <i>gá dtogró(h)á HÉIN é</i> 869P2 <i>roinneamar HÉIN le chéile an talthamh</i> 881J <i>Agus d'áitíodar HÉIN ag sárthú ar a chéile.</i> 11C <i>tádar HÉIN i ndan cuir isteach ar a chéile</i> 20C <i>ní raibh aon súgáin ann ... ach léar mar ligidís HÉIN.</i> 11C <i>Cp. Do gheallais-se FHÉIN dom !</i> CABI §113 v. 2
noun:	<i>baidht HÉIN ní bhfuair sé S</i> <i>Ní dhearna sé oipinne a bith HÉIN S</i>
place-name	<i>chreidim go bhfuil Uachtar Ard HÉIN, go bhfuil sé i gConamara S</i>
article	<i>níl sé i ndan an lá HÉIN a thabhairt uaidh</i>

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 (*muide muid 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 (*corrúair*).

	<i>Má airíonn siad an focal cainte HÉIN</i> 21J
	<i>ní raibh mé an ocht mbliana HÉIN</i> 07P
	<i>níor cheannaigh mé blas, 'not even' an stoca HÉIN</i> M
demonstrative	<i>ó thosós duine caint ar, 'ngliomadóireacht seo HÉIN nua go mbí sé réidh</i> 11C
	<i>Marach go ndearnadar an t-am sin HÉIN é ...</i> ARN8378
possessive	<i>Doir m'anam HÉIN! Mh'aisce HÉIN!</i>
	<i>Mh'aisce muise HÉIN</i> S , <i>ó m'anam muise PÉIN</i> 898P (6.58)
	<i>m'áit HÉIN, ina theach HÉIN, len' ais HÉIN</i>
	<i>d'aithneodh sé a chuid salann HÉIN ar bhrochán na comharsan</i> S
	<i>Máire Mhicil ar 'haithne HÉIN</i> S
	<i>ag díonamh a grutha HÉIN.</i> 11C
	<i>gan a mbealach HÉIN a'inn</i> S , <i>lena n-aghaidh HÉIN</i>

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*)

Ní beag dhuith breathú ar na beithí HÉIN, tá siad ag iarraidh 'gcionál héin **14M**.

Appositional use with pronouns, as exemplified above, can disambiguate some such instances. Note the variation in *na naoimh (iad) héin* in:

ar nós a raibh na naoimh iad HÉIN, ag goil i mbreithiúnas ar a chéile. ... ar nós an chaoi a raibh na naoimh HÉIN, a mba mhaith leothub ... fearas barr, fháil dóib HÉIN. **881J**.¹

Examples of emphatic repetition of emphatic *héin* are:

Ní hæ e 'he:n' 'he:n' 10B *Ní hea, é HÉIN HÉIN.* 'him (and nobody else)';
Níl gob HÉIN HÉIN amach ag na fataí **S**;
ma:nəm p'e:n' he:n' 898P, 05M *m'anam HÉIN HÉIN*;
mhúise a mh'ainín HÉIN HÉIN **S**.

Use of *héin* with simple pronouns is general in identificatory questions such as:

céard é HÉIN? 'what is it?', *céard sib HÉIN?*
inseoidh mé dhó cé é HÉIN.

It is usual in identificatory use with *séard*, e.g. *séard thú héin bitse*.

Absence of *héin* occurs, e.g.

... , coirleach, tá sí leathan; leathan, sleamhain, agus nuair a bheidheas sí teirim séard í salann uiliug. **889P**;
'déarfainn,' a deir sé, 'gurb éard é sagart.' **866ESc211.15**;
Séard e camalóid **S**; *bə je:rd e: ɖumi:* *S badh éard é diumaí.*

Cp. *Badh éard é sin speireadóir ceart* **14M**.

héin is common with simple pronominals in coordinating use, e.g.

Aon aois amháin mé HÉIN is Diormait **32C**;
D'fhan Jaic agus í HÉIN agus iad an-chompóirteach is í an-bhródúil as;
comhaois mé HÉIN is é HÉIN **M**;
Bhí báí mhór eidir mé HÉIN is é HÉIN **S**;
tú HÉIN is do deaidí ɖæ:ɖi: breá, deaidí ɖæ:ɖi: buinneach **M**;
Tháinic se HÉIN agus meall an uisce ar thaobh amháin **01J**;

¹ Doyle (2003: 84 (99)) should have added that *Níl an fear seo cliste féin* is permissible (in Conamara) in the adverbial function.

má bhím HÉIN ná thú HÉIN beo **866ESemr84**;
Níor 'úirt mé HÉIN ná é HÉIN 'Drochrath ort!' le chéile ariamh. **05M**;
Garla creathach ort HÉIN is ortha HÉIN! **M**;
go mba seacht gcéad déag míle féarr a bheas sinn HÉIN 7 a' cúlódar ... !
go bhfuil mise agus é HÉIN ag goil ag troid **869P**.

Examples without conjunctive *héin* are rather rare in phrases such as:

amach idir THÚ AGUS Oileán Lachan **Clad52**;

ar kol k'æhər b'e:b' v'æ:grəʃ uɡəs i' **52P**

ar col ceathar Béib Mheárgrait AGUS í?

m'ifə uɡəs e **64M** *mise AGUS É*.

6.65 Reciprocal *a chéile*

The reciprocal pronoun is *ə x'e:l'ə 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 marú A CHÉILE;

aithneoidh siad héin A CHÉILE; siad cré A CHÉILE iad **66N**;

v'æni:dər ɡə 'x'e:l'ə 11C bheannaíodar DHÁ CHÉILE,¹

níl aon ghean a'inn ... ar aon fhear ná ar aon ríocht as a' domhan — in aon

ait 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 *ən'f*- (also *ə'f*-, etc., see 8.195).

	Vowel-initial	<i>f</i> -	with <i>i</i> , <i>ən'f</i> -	<i>h</i> -
<i>eo</i> ^a	o	fə, fə, f, (s)	ən'fə	ho
<i>eobh</i>	ow, ou^β	fow, fou	ən'fow, ən'fou	how
<i>eod</i>	od	fod	(ən'fod)	hod
<i>iud</i>	ud, id	fud, fid	ən'fud, ən'fid	hud, hid
<i>in</i> ^a	in'	fin', fən'	ən'fin'	hin'
<i>úd, iúd</i>	u:d	fu:d	ən'fu:d	
<i>úda(i)n</i>	u:dən, u:dən'			

^a The vowel **o** is sometimes realised as **e**, e.g. *fe, fed, ɡər b'ed, bə jed, seo, seod, gurb eod, badh eod*. The vowel **i** is sometimes realised as **u**, e.g. *fun' sin*. There is also reduction: *fə, fən'*. Cf. *ó shoin o: hin' / xun'*, etc., (6.75, 8.208).

¹ Another token, *v'æni:dər ɡə 'k'e:l'ə 11C bheannaíodar dhá céile*, can be taken as a slip of the tongue.

^β I have one instance of **o:** in my notes:

bə jo: e' d'e k'e:di:n' 18Bm *badh eobh é Dé Céadaoin*.

This may be attributable to the acoustic effect (on my ears) of the prevocalic position of /**ow**/ or /**ou**/.

6.67 Contrasts

There is a four-way contrast (from deictically closest to most distant):

(1) *seo(bh)*, *seod*; (2) *sin*; (3) *siud*; (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 / or metanalysis of, for example, **n'i: hod ní 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 ***hu:d**. 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 parenthetical 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*)s *ea*: **ə fæ**, **fæ**, **hæ**, **æ**. 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 *seod* 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*)*eod* and proximate nonpresent (*s*)*iud*. As for the corresponding pronominal combinations with the preposition *i*; *anseod* is systemic but has not been heard in conversation, *ansiud* is common. Most peripheral deictically and productively are distant (*s*)*iúd* and distant nonpresent *úda(i)n*. They are in the process of becoming obsolescent and marked for higher register. Máire was queried (Mq) with con-

¹ Neither demonstrative *údaí* (GCF §355, –6, –9; IEM §566), nor *udaí* (EM in Skerrett 1975–6: 391 (adapted to my transcriptional system **udi**)) have been heard in vernacular speech. For Máire *údaí* MØperm is impermissible but it does occur in local song (10.78). Cp. ITM where I have noted only **fid** §404.1 from the index. Neither has *sineacht* (GCF §351) been recorded but it was recognised by Seán who replied *Tigim 'sineacht' áldraidht* Sq. For innovative **hov'**, see 6.76. For Ulster CGT has, in a cline of increasing distance, adjectives *seo*, *sin*, *ud(aidh)* §§133–6, and pronouns *seo*, *sin*, *siud* §§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 dóichí*.

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(ain)* 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):

Bhuel 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. 889Pt.

Note the syntax and semantics of *sin* in:

‘*Bhfuil Caitliceachaí 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 siad sin, bhí sin, bhí siadsan, 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:

ʃeʃən ... nʲɪr hənʲəkʲ ʃe: ʃun stʲæx xor ə bʲɪ 21Pt

SEISEAN ... níor 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 əɾ ʲeʃud ʲikəs ə ʲkɑ:ɾ ənʲʲinʲ ... egʲəsən ʲikəs ... 21Pt

agus ar É SIUD a íochtas an carr ansin? ... AIGESAN a íochtas ... ;

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.

gə ferd ə v' i: fʲædʲfʲin' a:l' ən uər ʃⁱⁿ ... 21Pt

agus séard a bhí SIAD SIN a fháil an uair sin ...

In reply to query, speaker 47P gave ʲo:bʲfʲin' *dhóibsin* as her emphatic form. This is given as innovative **B -fʲin'** in the emphatic clitic paradigm for older **-sən** (6.51). Recall that Mq supplied *bhíodarsan*, *bhíodar sin*, *bhídís sin*, but no *bhídísan*.

6.69 Summary of use

Cf. 14 *eod*, *seo*, *sin*, *siúd*.

I As adjectives **ʃo**, **ʃou**, **ʃow**, **ʃod**, **ʃid**, **ʃin'**, **ʃu:d**, **u:d**, **u:dən'**, **u:dən** occur:

- (a) with definite nouns and proper nouns,
- (b) with adjectives in collocation with *chomh*, with *iomaí*, etc.

Also **ʃo**, **ʃou**, **ʃow**, **ʃod**, **ʃid**, **ʃin'**, **ʃu:d** (with lexical nouns perhaps **u:d**, **u:dən'**, **u:dən**) occur:

- (c) with nouns and verbal nouns and nominal prepositions governed by possessive pronouns.

Further as adjectives **ʃo**, **ʃou**, **ʃow**, **ʃod**, **ʃid**, **ʃin'**, **ʃu:d** 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 **əʃ** *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 **u:dən'** (*úda(i)n*) occurs as a pronoun in higher register.)
- (b) **ʃ**-initial forms occur with present *is* of the copula (where **ʃ**-, in **ʃow** *e: seobh é* for example, can be taken as a blend of copula and demonstrative **ʃ**) 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)

I (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 ... *sa taca seo* (7.41).

s' **ʃ** occurs only in the possessive construction with **æN'ə** *a'inne*, e.g.

ma:r'ə **ʃæN'ə** 18B *Máire se'a'inne*.

Less commonly, **ʃo** *seo* occurs here. Cp. **ʃo** (**h**)**ugən'** *seo chugainn*, sometimes reduced to **ʃugən'** 43M.

ʃin' **æN'ə** *sin 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 ə mal'ə sə:n'ə as an mbaile s'a'inne,
ku:n sə:n'ə **71Dt.1** an cuan s'ainne.

- seo* η' k'ɑ:n' ʃo an ceann seo.
l'ej ə 'li: ʃə | (Lam)**04B** leis an laoi seo.
ənsə t'ir ʃə | (MP, prose) **04B** insa tír seo.
Peige Sheáin ... Bhí seanchas cuid mhaith ag imeacht le muintir Pheige Sheáin seo, mar go raibh ... SÓC2.279.
- seobh* ... ə gɪʃl'ɑ:n ʃow | **!0V3** ... an gcaisleán seobh.
... mal'ə ʃou | **25T** ... mbaile seo.
- seod* an fear seod **12Sperm**, **Mperm**. (Cf. GCF §§355 n. 2, 356. It is possible that the example *na cineálachaí 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* ʃin' generally.
ən uər ʃun' (Smré)**04B** an uair sin.
sə ɲa'ri' ʃən' M sa ngarraí sin.
- siúd* fi:n' l'ek' wɔ:r ʃu:d ha:l **11Ct** faoin leic mhór siúd thall.
an fear siúd **27Mdperm**.
a' lá siúd **!894C** CABI §151(b) v. 2 corresponds to an oích' úd **!00M** (a) v. 4.
- úd* an bhliain sin. ... an bhliain úd. ən 'v'ian' u:d | [both *sin* and *úd* referring to the same year] ... ar an oileán úd. **889P**.
an fear úd **27Mdperm**.
- údain* sən ɑ:m u:dən' **894N** san am údain.
ən uər' u:dən' muʃ | **!05M** an uair údain muis.
- ... tá deabhal eicint ar an deabhal údain, a deir sí, a lig tú isteach **11C**.
-Tá lao, a deir sé, ag an mbodóg údain, a deir sé, a dhoir an tarbh, a deir sé, a tháinic amach as an aill. **11C**.
kir'hə m'e n tæ:r'əg'əd u:dən' uɡəd M
cuirtheadh mé an t-airgead údain chugad.
ə straip' u:dən' M an straidhp údain.
an fear údain a lean an liabhán ... SÓC1.81, Is fúithi a rinneadh an raiméis údain — "Cailleadh an Airgid." SÓC1.82, Cén tráth mhair Tiobóid 'ac Conraoi údain? SÓC2.284. (There is no instance of *údan* in SÓC1–2.)
- údan* (an fear) u:dən 46 s.v. *údan*; ə f'ær u:dən Mq an fear údan.
Thiar san áit údan Mq, ə straip' u:dən Mperm an straidhp údan.

6.71 I (b–c)

I (b) With adjectives in collocation with *chomh*, e.g. *chomh mór seo / sin / siud / siúd*, etc. Contrast *chomh mór seo* with *chomh mór leis seo* (similar to English 'this big' and 'as big as this'). Also, *sin* is used idiomatically with *iomaí / iomú* in petrified cataphoric usage, e.g. *nach iomaí sin duine ...* ; *nach iomdha sin sórt caoi ...* Clad1164.

I (c) With lexical nouns governed by possessive pronouns.

- Mq: **ə gæk / xæk** *fo, fod, fid, fin', fu:d, u:d, u:dən' Mperm*
a gcac / chac seo ..., but cp.
ə mo: *fo, fod, fid, fin', fu:d Mperm (u:d, u:dən' M?perm,*
43M?perm) *a mbó seo ...*¹

With nominal prepositions and verbal nouns governed by possessive pronouns.

- Mq: **as ə gu:r** *fo, fod, fid, fin', fu:d Mperm (u:d, u:dən' MØ?perm,*
**43MØ?perm) *as a gcomhair seo ...* .
er' ə nai *fo, fod, fid, fin', fu:d Mperm (u:d, u:dən' MØ?perm,*
**43MØ?perm) *ar a n-aghaidh seo ...* .
ga: wuələ *fo, fod, fid, fin', fu:d Mperm (u:d, u:dən' MØperm,*
43MØperm) *dhá bhualadh seo ...* .****

Further examples:

- seo* **v' i: dr' ehur** *fo | mæ:r ə | ... v' i: p' i: si: 'mo:r ek' ə 11C*
bhí a dreithiúr seo — Máire — ... bhí píosat móra aici.
wil tu: ga: iərə *fo M an bhfuil tú dhá iarraidh seo?*
sin *Bhí a athair agus a sheanathair sin ann 46C.*
an bhfuil a hathair agus a máthair sin beo? 11C.
ro fe ga: i:nfəxt fin' it' 19P10 *an raibh sé dhá inseacht sin dhuit?*
ga: n' ix' ə fin' 19P10 *dhá n-ithe sin.*

6.72 I (d)

I (d) With 3 person pronouns, 3 person prepositional pronouns and 3pl verbs.

- seo* **iəd fo** *iad seo, eg' ə fo S aige seo, akəb fo S acub seo.*
seobh **er fou | 25T** *air seobh.*
seod **æft' ə fod M aisti seod.**
sin **torəm sku:nər d' i fən' M** *tabhair dhom scúnar di sin.*
v' i: dər fin' əm' i: hə ... M *bhíodar sin imithe ...* .
siud 3 person pronouns:
e: fud Mq é siud; k' e: 'as i: 'fīd, 46 (s.v. *as*) *cé as í siud?*
v' i: fe fud frefən' ə kahə ... 04Br *bhí sé siud froisin ag caitheamh ...* .
k' e: he: fid ə v' i: g' eft' æd Mq *cé hé siud a bhí i gceist a'd?*
dur fi: fid gər b' in' ... 01J *dúirt sí siud gurb in ...* .
br' æ:hə: fīəd fid əma:x yə: P *breathóidh siad siud amach dhó.*
 3 person prepositional pronoun:
v' i: m' e ka' nt' fu:hə fud Mq *bhí mé ag caint fúithi siud.*
v' i: m' e ka' nt' fu:həb fud Mq *bhí mé ag caint fúthub siud.*
v' i kanu' nt' jæræg er fid M *bhí canúint dhearg air siud.*
eg' ə fid 16B *aige siud; a' kəb fid M acub siud.*
siúd *-Muise m'anam, a deir sí, go bhfuil sé siúd amhlaidh, 866ESc184.31.*
-Cé na marcannaí atá ortha siúd? 11C (Maidhm Mhór Innis Múscraí).
anseo The 3m prepositional pronoun of *i* in pronominal and adverbial function
 is suitably classified here, i.e. **ən' 'fo, ən' 'fow, ən' 'fin'**, etc.
ansiud Pronominal:

¹ As mentioned above (6.69), *úd* and *údain* are marginal here and have been permitted to a limited degree in query. They are not found in this position in GCF §357(a).

Tá Jaicí anseo ní hé bhí ansiud M, ən'ʃid 43M;
... d'iarr sí luach a masla nú athair a lini[bh] a chuir amach chuici.
-Creidim gur mise a bhí ansid, a deir an fear ba sine ...
-Creidim gur mise, a deir a' dárna fear, a bhí ansid, ...
-Creidim, a deir a' ceánn is óige, gur mise a bhí ánn, ... 852Sb6.76–7
 (presumably one should read *ansiud*, i.e. *ən'ʃid*, for *ansid* here).
 Adverbial:
huəs ən'ʃid huəs 14M *thuas ansiud thuas.*
-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 **N'í ho wi: ən rə:su:r ... 52P** *ní heobh í an rásúr ...*
eod *'Nach sheod ceathrú lon dubh ... agus nach sheod ... billeog eibheann ...*
agus nach sheod barr crann caorthann ... ?' 866ESc66.34.
əb' od e S *ab eod é?*
Cp. ach b'fhéidir gurb shíod fear nach bhfuil aon ghealltanais pósta air.
852SbLL13.
iud **b'ud e' her' æ:n'ə her' e'r ən a:rd' wə:r' S**
Ab iud é thoir a'inne, thoir ar an Aird Mhóir?
... gə b'id e m' f'æ:r ... 14M *d'fhéadh a rá gob iud é an fear ...*
N'í' hɪd e Mq *ní hiud é; ə b'id e' e: Mq* *ab iud é é? bə jid e' e: Mq*
badh iud é é; N'ir' v'id e Mq *níorbh iud é.*
ə N'id i: ... 27Cb *An iud í ... ?*
in **bə jin' e' e: S** *badh in é é; nach in é a bhí i gceist a'm S.*
-bəŋ gə l'or ... 66N *B'in go leor ...*
-biŋ' gə l'or 52M *B'in go leor.*
 For phrase-initial *in'*, see *h-* forms below, 6.76.
iúd **b'ud ə'ma:x ə t'i:m' S** *b'iúd amach an t-im* (in rhyme).
údan *Cp. Cé húdan siar a bhfuil a gruaig le fána? ! CABI §379(a) v. 1.*

Least often with copula *is*. Forms such as **ə fə, ə jin'** are best interpreted as *is eo*, *is in* although the instance of **mə's jin'** *más sin* in (6.74 s.v. *sin*) implies possible *is seo*, *is sin*.

- eobh* **ə fow iəd nə buəxə ... (MP)04B** *Is eobh iad na buacha ...*
in *agus na daoine, a bhí beo ann insan am sin is in iad iad anois | ə jin'*
iəd 'iəd ə'n'ij' *| sin é an t-anam a bhí iontub sin, anois, ... 852Stn.*
Is in é, | ə 'jin' e' | sin é an obair is mó, sin é is mó atá ag díonamh na
bacsáil. 892M4237.
iúd Perhaps in: **ogəs ə'fʊ:d ə'f'æ:x l'e f'æ:r gən v'ænu' | ... ən'fʊ:d ə**
fkr'æ:d gil'ən o:g (Lam)04B *agus is iúd [or ansiúd with absent n]*
isteach le fear gan bheannú ... ansiúd a scread Guilean Óg.

The context of **ə fow** (MP)04B (and perhaps **ə'fʊ:d** (Lam)04B) indicate the higher-register association of forms with *ə f-*, forms which are grammatically

more explicit, similar to copula *ə f-* with pronouns in, for example, *ə fæ 09B* *Is ea*.

6.74 II (b)

II (b) With *is f* of the copula.

- seo* **f**o i: n' i:r'ə'n'ə y'lə'n **07P** *seo í an fhirinne ghlan*, more commonly **f**od i: ... >> **f**ow i: Cp. **f**o e **77Cq** (11.127) and the cited speaker's alternate:
fou [perhaps **f**ow] i: n' i:r'ə'n'ə y'lə'n **07P**, and discussion in 6.77 ff., as well as regular adverbial **f**o e **f**o *seo é seo* (6.75).
- seobh* **f**ow e **52P** *seobh é*, **f**ow i: n v'æ:n M *seobh í an bhean*,
fow e: nuəs m' e he:n' ənə xla:də s **f**ow e: nuəs ə kut ə mə jiə **10B**
seobh é anuas mé héin un an chladaigh is seobh é anuas an cat i mo dhiaidh.
 In parenthesis:
gá leagadh sé a lámh ar an gcupóg gheal ghlan, bheadh, seobh fear óg |
*f*ow | f'æ:r o:g |, *bheadh, bean bhreá óg aige má b'fhíor* **869Pt**.
- seod* **f**od e s m'æ:s akəb *seod é is measa acub*.
 In parenthesis or interjection (cp. *h-* series), e.g.
ferd du:rt' ... | **f**od æmfər' wə:tə:lə s xul'ə hœ:rt | ... **20C**
séard dúirt ... , seod aimsir vótála is chuile shórt, ... ,
'what ... said was, and this (happened) during elections, ...'.
ta a:pə're:fən l'e yol' d'e ke:di:n' orhə du:rt' fe | **f**od e mæ:r'əx M
tá aparaesean le ghoil Dé Céadaoin uirthi dúirt sé, seod é amáireach.
 ... **f**od e: n'ij' āngəx rūnəx **01C**6330–1
... ní raibh sé curtha ... Seod é anois eangach ronnach.
*'... páirt dhe mo shnú mé ar easpa ball.' — seod bhí sé bacach. f*od v'i:
fe 'bā:kəx | Labhair sí leis: ... 11C (reciting the song *Loch na Nia* (Aln) with gloss).
 ... *seod é bhí sé lucaí, 17Mp* '... that is to say he was lucky'.
- sin* **f**in' e: ŋ' k'ə:n ... S *sin é an ceann ... ; sin í Máire Mhicil S.*
 Rare *mæ's fin' e: n'ij' ə b'æ:ləx e: 892M* *más 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* **f**ud e: v'i: g'əft' am M *siud é a bhí i gceist a'm.*
- siúd* **f**u:d suəs e: **04B**21 *siúd suas é.*

6.75 Other contexts

- seo* With adverbial function:
eidir seo agus an clái;
'seo ní fhágfaidh tú go brách.' 866ESc270.2; 'fa:g 'fo fág seo!
'níl mé ag dul ag fágáil seo nó go mbeidh t'anam agam' Sc285.32.
 Cp. also ('voici'): **f**o *seo!*
fo e **f**o yit' M *seo é seo dhuit*, loosely translated 'here take this!'
 Object of verb:
kahu: mæ:x **f**o gəs **f**u:d o:gə **f**u:d o:gə **f**o an | **14J**
Caitheadh amach seo agus siúd agus siúd agus seo ann.

1320 Pronouns and pronominals

- seobh* *Seou* [superscript (ú) over -u] *do shláinte* !894C9.
- seod* Cp. **fed əŋ k'ial ta: fɛf** 04B1 *seod an ciall atá leis;*
- 'Well', *siod thall solaisín, adeir sé*, 852SbTS140, 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 tráthnóna.* 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 fadó in Éirinn agus phós siad. 866ESc44.3 (*sin* refers to *rí agus bantiarna*);
mar bhí sin fear anseo fadó a dtugaidís Tadhg an Mhargaidh air — de leaid óg. Sc259.4 (*sin* refers to *fear*).
Object of verb:
is d'iarr sé obair orm. Thug mise sin dó 11C.
With conjunction *ná*:
bə 'v æ:sə nɑ: fɪn' i: 19P10 *ba mheasa ná sin í.*
Object of verbal noun (rare):
Ach, níl aon ghrutha a'inn ag iarraidh sin. **əg' iərə 'fun' |** 03C.
- siúd* Object of verb: *go ndearna sé seo siúd agus go dtug sé na, u-, go(,) rinne siad na báid agus go dtugadar siar iad.* 01C6257. Cf. *seo* above.
Object of comparative: *Ba mheasa ná siúd é.* 27Mdperm.
- With prepositions that do not inflect for person; e.g.
mar seo / sin / siúd; cp. *eidir seo agus an balla;*
cp. *Doir seo agus doir siúd gob é an fuarscéal é siúd ná ...* !(Asc)11C.
Exception: *uaidh sin* is the unmarked form for 'from that', *ó shoin* is a petrified adverbial meaning 'since': **o xɪn'** 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:
ho v'e: n dɪn' ə d' e.ɪnəx 84P *heobh é an duine deireanach.*
This can be interpreted as a blend of forms such as **how e:** *heobh é* and **bə v'e:** *babh é.*
- heobh* **ax how ə | mɑ:r hosə ...** 02V *ach heobh, mar thosaigh ...* (in introduction to song).
Example in parenthesis:
nó go bhfaighidís amach, cheapaidís, cén sórt fear a bheadh acub, na, heobh iad how iəd na cailíní óga 869Pt.
- heod* With copula before pronouns *é, í, iad*:
hod e: v' i: æ:d 03C *heod é a bhí a'd?*
hod e: ŋ xi: ... 13P *heod é an chaoi ...*
hæ:sədər ə'ma:x hod e fɪər ə kɑ:r | ə lə:xrən fɪər træ:snə kʊn

raun' dʃt' ɔn St2a *Sheasadar amach; heod é siar an carr, an lóchrann siar trasna Cuan* 'Roundstone'.

hod i ka'f'i:n' ə ti:ʃi' ə'n' iʃ M *heod í cailín an Taoisigh anois.*

It is particularly common in parenthesis, e.g.

... ə wā:hər' wɔr' ek' a:l | hod i: mə wā:hər' ə'n' iʃ | əgəs ... 04Br

... a mháthair mhór a fheiceál — heod í mo mháthair anois — agus ...

Before other elements:

,hod ə'n' iʃ, 13P *heod anois; hod mar ... 13P* *heod mar ...*

hin *hin é anois a'd é S.*

hiud **hid e ʃiər ə kər | ə lɔ:xrən** S *hiud é siar an carr, an lóchrann.*

Sometimes **h** is absent, for example, in **11C**'s speech.

in' Nonparenthetically: *In iad in' iəd na trí cinn a bhí ann ... 11C1717.*

In parenthesis:

... bhí na nabaíos, bhí sin san áit seo — in báid mhóra in' ba:d' wɔ:rə a bhí le haghaidh iascach ar an domhain mór amach — bhíodh gealltaí 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 pronominally 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 ^w, between (s)eo and a following vowel-initial pronominal, e.g.

wəhə ʃo^w e 19P10 *uaithi seo é.*

Given the further option of filling the hiatus following *seo* with intrusive **h**, there are, in all, five variants: (a) (ʃ)o, (b) (ʃ)od, (c) (ʃ)o^w, (d) (ʃ)ow, (e) (ʃ)oh. A substantial part of the range of variants with (s)eod, (s)eo(bh) 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:

Context	(a) (ʃ)o	(b) (ʃ)od	(c) (ʃ)o ^w	(d) (ʃ)ow	(e) (ʃ)oh
1. <i>seo í Máire</i>	ʃo i: ... (rare)	ʃod i: ...	ʃo^w i: ...	ʃow i: ...	
2(i) <i>sí an bhó seo í</i>	... ʃo i:	+perm	... ʃo^w i:	... ʃow i:	... ʃoh i:
<i>féag anseo í</i>	... ən'ʃo i:	+perm	... ən'ʃo^w i:	... ən'ʃow i:	... ən'ʃoh i:
(ii) <i>tá sí anseo a'm</i>	... ən'ʃo am	+perm	... ən'ʃo^w am	... ən'ʃow am	... ən'ʃoh am
3. <i>an bhó seo</i>	... ʃo	+perm		... ʃow	
<i>tá an bhó anseo</i>	... ən'ʃo	+perm		... ən'ʃow	
4. <i>seo bó eile</i>	ʃo ...	ʃod ...		ʃow ...	

These contexts are listed hierarchically with regard to (s)eobh, that is to say (s)eobh 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)eobh respectively. Neither can I tell whether a vowel-initial phrase is more likely to take fod in context 4, i.e. whether fod o:ra:n is more prevalent than fo o:ra:n seo(d) amhrán (in comparison with fod ~ 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:

feg'í: ugi: e M seoigí chugaí é.

It is clear that

fo e fo yit' M seo é seo dhuit loosely translated 'here, take this!'

is semantically and syntactically different to:

fod e t'umər'əsə, fo we t'umər'əsə Mq seod/bh é t'iomairesə.

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)eobh 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)eobh é, etc., are more common in East Lorras 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)eod ceann, i.e. 4(b), but do not have (s)eod é, i.e. 1(b). The latter is strikingly absent in speaker **04B**'s material below. It is not clear whether all instances of [(f)ou] (also [fau]) should or could be taken as /[(f)ow]/. The diphthong has been heard clearly from only two speakers, both of whom alternate (f)ou with (f)ow. In the discussion (f)ow is used as a cover term for these two variants unless otherwise stated.

6.78 Individual speakers; 852S — 03V

852S, Dumhaigh Ithir

The data for speaker **852S**, one of my two oldest speakers, are limited. His examples show *seobh é*, (*seo é*), *seo*, 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 **ou**, 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 é*, *anseo hé*, i.e.

- 1(b) *fɔd* (í do mháthair) 46 s.v. *siod*,
- (d) *fow i:* (an bhean!) 46 s.v. *seo*,
| 'fo^ə | 'we: yut' ə'n'if | 'kræk'ən' | 'hinəx nə 'said | **869P**
seobh é dhuít anois craiceann Shionnach na Saighead,
cp. *seo é an fear* ... **869P2**;
- 2(a) e.g. *ar' o: m'è 'mox ŋ'fɔ ɛ*, 46.423 *aireoidh mé amach anseo é*,
- (e) *n' i:l' 'è:ʔn' 'yq:ntənəs ŋ'fo her'*, 46.297b *níl aon ghanntanas anseo air*;
- 3(a) e.g. *ŋ'fo* 46.1072, so also 944;
- 4(a) *seo liathróid* ... **869P3**,
- (b) *'fod g'e: 'vor*, 46.158 *seod gé mhór*,
fɔd 'lɑ: 'troskə 46.796 *seod lá troscadh*.

This speaker's brother (**875T1**) also has 1(b) and 4(b):

Seod í, gur b'sheod í; Seod brúnnntanas **875T1**.

894C, Glinsce

Speaker **894C** has *seobh é*, (*seo é*), *seobh*, *seod é*, i.e.

- 1(b) *seod é* ... 2, *seod í* 2,
- (d) *Seou í dhuid* !9, cp. *Seo é* ... 1;
- 4(b) *Seod boc mór* ... 2, *seod scéal* ... *gur b'sheod scéal* 3,
- (d) *Seou* (superscript *ú*) over *-u*) *do shláinte* !9.

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 Iorras Aithneach. She has:

- 2(ii)(a) Cp. *ən'fo əg' iəskəx* *anseo ag iascach*, *ən'fo ə'N'e:* *anseo inné*,
- (d) *ən'fo wæn' anseobh a'inn*, *riv' ə fo wiəd* *roimhe seobh iad*;
- 3(a) *riv' ə fo* | (x2) *roimhe seo*, *ə b'æ'ləx fo na* ... *an bealach seo ná* ... ,
ən'fo | (x2), *ən'fo na* ... *anseo ná*

03V An Bhánrach Ard

Speaker **03V** has *seobh*, *seobh é*, *anseo*, i.e.

- 1(d) *fo we:* ... *seobh é* ... ;
- 2(ii)(a) cp. *ən'fo N'e:r'ən'* ! *anseo in Éirinn*;
- 3(a) *ən'fæ* | *anseo*,

- (d) ... ə gɪʎʎːn ʃow | ! ... an gcaisleán seobh, ʎːr ʃow | (x2) ! tír seobh,
 ɛrː ə maɪʎːə ʃow | (x2) ! ar an mbaile seobh;
 also note kɑːrtə ʃow ʎːntə ! cárta seobh líonta;

- 4(d) ax how ə (l) maːr ... 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)eobh is more common than in our dialect. His noted pattern is as follows:

- 1(d) ʃo wɛ mar ... seobh é mar ... , ʃow eː nːɪʃ ... seobh é anois,
 ʃo wɛː ʃkːeɪ ... seobh é scéal ... ;
 2(ii)(a) cp. ənːʃə ɛr bæːl anseo ar ball,
 (c) ənːʃoː aːm | anseo aːm,
 (d) æːs ʃo wɪəd as seobh iad, ənːʃo wam | anseo aːm;
 also note bene ogəs ʃo ˈwɑːgəd ɛ agus seobh agad é,
 ʃo wɑːgi nːɪʃ | ʎiː ... seobh agaibh anois Laoi ... ,
 ... ʃiəd ʃow aːgəd siad seobh agad ... ;
 also ənːʃow ax mːɪʃə anseobh ach mise;
 3(d) nːʃow ʎːe ʎːilːəs ... anseobh le tuilleadh is ... ;
 4(b) ʃəd əŋ kːiəl tɑː ʎːɛʃ seod an ciall atá leis, ʃod ʃkːeɪ ɛʎːə seod scéal eile.

Thus, 04B was noted with (s)eod in 4(b) only; in 1, 2(i) he has (s)eobh only; in 2(ii) he has (s)eo(bh). He also has (s)eobh in 3 (probably also (s)eo).

11C, Maoras

- 1(b) Ach seod é ' chaol ' gcuala 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) hokrə ʃe ʃo e | shocraigh sé seo é (slightly unclear),
 tɔrː hʊːgumsə nːʃo e | tabhair chugamsa anseo é,
 cp. bhuail olc é seo ʃo ar deireadh,
 (i)(d) wɛʎː bːæːn ˈwɪːnːtːərːəx ˈji ʃo ˈwɪː | ə | ʎːə mə ˈæːn ənːʃo |
 Bhuel bean mhuintireach dhi seo í, le mo bhean anseo,
 gə nɔːə mːeː nːʃo wɛ | go ndó mé anseo é,
 (ii)(a) cp. sa teach ... a raibh an cailín beag seo ann. ʃo aːn |,
 cp. ənːʃo ə mːɪʃiənə anseo i mbliana;
 3(a) air seo;
 (d) bheith sa bpobal seo ach ʃow | ax trí cinn;
 4(b) Seod anis, dhá fhíoch- ceithre scóir bhlianta sálár leagadh ... ,
 — seod bhí sé bacach;
 (d) Agus, seobh ʃov scéilín beag atá mé ghoil ínseacht

16M Maínis

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) >> ʃod eː seod é,
 (c) (>>?) seo é an ʃo ˈw eː n tuáille a bhfuil baladh ceann suas air,

- (d) *fod e t'umər'əsə, fo we t'umər'əsə* Mq *seod/bh é t'iomairesə*;^a
 2(a) ≈ *b'e: ŋ' k'ɑ:n fo e* *Ab é an ceann seo é?*
 (e) >> *ən'fo hɛ anseo é,*
 (c) ≈ *... ən'fo w ɛ anseo é,*
 (d) *... ən'fo wɛ | ... ən'fo ɛ | anseo(bh) é* (latter token = 2(a));
 3(a) *e: fo | é seo,*
 (b) *æft'ə fod aisti seod;*
 4(a) *fo k'ɑ:n ... seo ceann ... ,*
 (b) *fod k'ɑ:n ... seod ceann*

^a 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'e:ɖ fo ɑ:n méid seo ann, | 2(a) cp. <i>seo</i> | x1 |
| (ii)(d) | ən'fo wæn' (x2) <i>anseobh a'inn;</i> | (d) <i>anseobh</i> | x2 |
| 3(a) | ən'fo <i>anseo</i> , cp. ən'fo gə mi:n'əf <i>anseo go</i> | 3(a) <i>anseo##</i> | x11 |
| | <i>Mainis, skol' fo her' scoil seo thoir,</i> | | |
| (d) | er fou ... ma:l'ə fou <i>air seobh, ... mbaile</i> | (d) <i>seobh##</i> | x2 |
| | <i>seobh, ən'fou (x6), ən'fow (x1) anseobh.</i> | <i>anseobh##</i> | x7 |

6.80 Other speakers

Other speakers who use the minority variant (*f*)ow but for whom relatively little of their overall system has been observed include:

- | | | |
|---|-----------|---|
| 07P Maoras | 1(a) | <i>fo i: N' i:r'ən'ə ɣla'n seo í an fhírinne ghlan,</i> |
| | (d) | <i>fou</i> [perhaps <i>fow</i>] <i>i: N' i:r'ən'ə ɣla'n seobh í an fhírinne ghlan.</i> |
| 10B Maínis | 2(i)(d) | <i>ən'fo we' anseo é.</i> |
| 20A Doire Iorrais | 2 or 3(d) | <i>ən'fau ʃ ... ən'fow ə'wa:l'ə anseobh is ... anseobh abhaile.</i> |
| 27J Loch Con Aortha | 2(d) | <i>... fo wɛ ... seobh é.</i> |
| 36P1 Coill Sáile | 1(d) | <i>fo we seobh é,</i>
<i>fo wɛ: mil'ɑ:n seobh é m'oileán;</i>
<i>... fo seo.</i> |
| 39M Doire Iorrais | 2(ii)(d) | cp. <i>ən'fo wer' ə rud anseobh ar an rud.</i> |
| 44P Loch Con Aortha | 2(i)(d) | <i>... v'i:x ən'fo we bhíodh anseobh é.</i> |
| 49J Aill na Brón | 1(d) | <i>fow e ʃɑ:n ... seobh é Seán ...</i> |
| | 4(d) | <i>fow mar ə xur ʃɛ ʃi:s ...</i>
<i>Seobh mar a chuir sé síos ... ,</i>
<i>fow f'ær a'kəb Seobh fear acub ... ,</i>
<i>ʃov p'i:sə gə ... Seobh píosa dhe</i> |
| 52P Caladh Fhínse
(mother from
An Cheathrú Rua) | 1(d) | <i>fow e seobh é,</i>
<i>N' i ho we: ... ní heobh é ... ,</i>
<i>N' i ho wi: ən rɑ:su:r ... ní heobh í an rásúr</i> |

Older speakers, who have not been noted with the minority variant (*f*)ow but for whom very little of their system is known, include:

- | | | |
|-------------------|------------|--|
| 893P Aill na Brón | 1(b), 3(a) | <i>fod i: m pɑ:m seod í an páim; fo seo.</i> |
| 894N Coill Sáile | 3(a) | <i>seo, anseo.</i> |

1326 Pronouns and pronominals

894BI Gabhla	2 or 3(a)	ən'fo ə ʔi'm'e:k ə ple:n' <i>anseo i Jiméice Plaein,</i> ən'fo rə'æ:də <i>anseo ro-fhada</i> , etc. <i>seod é.</i>
13J Ros Dugáin	1(b)	fod e: ... <i>seod é</i> ... ;
13P An Aird Mhóir	1(b) 2(a) 4(b)	fod e: ... <i>seod é</i> ... ; ... fod e ... <i>seo é</i> , cp. ə m'e:ʔ fo o: he:n' <i>an méid seo dhó héin</i> ; fod o:rən <i>seod amhrán</i> , hod mar ... <i>heod mar</i>
17M Leitir Deiscirt	1(b), 3(a)	<i>seod é, seo.</i>

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

Speaker born	Iorras Aithneach			
	West	West Centre	East Centre	East
1852–	852SDU 1(d)			
–1889	869PCO 1(d)			
1890–9	894CGE 1(d), 4(d)			
1900–9	04BAI 1(d), 2(d), 3(d) 07PMR 1(d)		03VBA 1(d), 3(d), 4(d)	00CDO 2(d)
–1920	10BMN 2(d) 16MMN 1(d), 2(d)			20ADO 3(d)
1921–9	25TMN 2(d), 3(d)			27JLC 2(d)
1930–49			49JAB ¹ 1(d), 4(d)	36PCS 1(d) 39MDO 2(d) 44PLC 2(d)
–1952		52PCF 1(d)		

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.

range has narrowed to (at most) 2(d) (except for **49J**).

With regard to (*s*)*eo*d, 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 **20MI** 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 **mə 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 **r f > r h** is found in Co. Mayo: parts of Acaill (IAM §1541, including across word boundaries, e.g. **fuərhe** *fuair sé*, §1191 **mər'hin'** *mar sin*) and Iorras (IEM §419, in two common words, *tuirseach* and *fairsing*). (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 Chanraí, An Máimín and Ráth Cairn, born 1919; young children in Ros Muc (including **dʒus mə hin'** *Jus* [< just] *mar hin*, **e ho é heo**, **ən'ho** [**ən'ho** ?] *anheo*) heard in 2002–5.)

69SMN **mar hin'** / **fin'**.

78PLA **mar fin'** (x1); **mar hin'** (x4), e.g.
ɑ:t'əxi **mar hin'** *áiteachaí mar hin*.

78EMR **maɪ hin'**. **78U**: **maɪ hin'** (x7), **maɪ fin'** (x1).

79JMN **xul'ə ɣin'ə mar fin'** (x3) *chuile dhuine mar sin*, **rudi:** **mar fin'** (x5) *rudaí mar sin*; (**rudi:**) **mar hin'** (x13) (including **mar in'** (x1)) (*rudaí*) *mar hin*.

79SMN1 **mar hin'** (x4).

Final **r** is lost in **ma hin'** **79St**, which is parallel to his **ma ɑ:l** **79St** *mar gheall*; similarly **ma hin'** **76Mt**. The vowel of the demonstrative is unclear in **mar hə/in'** [= **hu/in'**] **79M**. The generally later development *mar heo* was noted in **mar ho** **20MI** *mar heo*; **mər ho aku** **77C** *mar heo acú*. (Note the reduced vowel in **mər**, also heard in **mər 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 Máire 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'erd e hin' *céard é hin*, **abər' e hin'** *abair é hin*;
79Jg **ər' ho** ... *solas dearg air heo*;
80M **mar hin'** *mar hin*, **for' dər hin'** *fuair dur hin*, **v'i: ʃe hin'** *bhí sé hin*,
 v'i:x dər ga l'i:nə hin' *bhíodh dur dhá líonadh hin*;
81A **mə hin'** (x1), **mar ʃin'** (often) *mar s(h)in*,
 əm b'æ:ləxin' *an bealach hin*;
82B **k'erd e ho** *céard é heo?* **k'erd e hin'** *céard é hin?*
84P **mar hin'** *mar hin*, **mə ʏ:hən' ʏo: 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 **ʃ** in *sin*: **ʃe ʃin'** *sé sin*, **ʃi ʃin'** *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 6.6 *mar s(h)in*, *mar s(h)eo*

Speaker	mar ʃin'	mar ʃo	mar hin'	mar ho	Other
20MILH				+	
↓	+	+			
57JCS			+		<i>faoi hin</i>
↓	+	+			
66NAM			+		
68KMN	+	+			
69SMN	+	+	+		
72CMN			+		
73PMN	+	+			
76NAO			+	+	<i>é hin</i>
77CMN				+	
78BAO			+		
78EMR			1		
78PbLC	1		4		
78RbMN	+				
78UCO	1		7		
79JMN	8		13		
79JgAO					<i>air heo</i>
79MAB			+		

Speaker	mar fín'	mar fo	mar hin'	mar ho	Other
79MILD	1				
79PCN	+				
79SMN			4	+	
79SiMN			1		
80PRD	1				
80MLA	0		18+		<i>sé hin</i> , etc.,
82BAO					<i>é hin</i> , <i>é heo</i>
84PAO	+	+	+		<i>dhó hin</i>
Total number of speakers with h-			15	4	6

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.

	Singular	
	MASCULINE	FEMININE
nominative	ə(n), ə(n) t (before V)	ə(n) ^L , ə(n) t (before s- ^a)
genitive	ə(n) ^L , ə(n) t (before s-)	nə ^H
following a prep in eclipsis	ə(n) ^N	ə(n) ^N , ə(n) t (before s- ^a)
following preps gə <i>dhe</i> , <i>dho</i>	gən ^L , gən t (frequently before s- ^β)	
	Plural	
nominative	nə ^H <i>na</i>	
genitive	nə ^N <i>na</i>	

^a *t* is sometimes absent.

^β Especially with feminine nouns in *s-*.

Anomalous usage:

- (a) *chupla*, *chorr-* ə(n)^L, nə^L
- (b) singular before vowels ə(n) t plural nə t
- (c) plural with singular word nə^H, nə^L genitive nə^{Ø/H} na^N
- with some numerals, etc., *ar an hocht*, *ar an t-aonú*, *an / na chéad*, etc.
- (d) feminine genitive with masc nə^H
- (e) prevocalic with **ra:n** *arán* nominative ə(n) t prep, genitive ən
- (f) nom masc before vowels ən
- (g) metanalysed *t*, gen etc., ə(n) t, nə t
- Alveolar *t* with borrowed 'only', **n'** *fo:nl' i: an t-* 'only' (11.169).

Regular paradigm

	MASCULINE				FEMININE	
	<i>bád</i>	<i>asal</i>	<i>seol</i>	<i>caint</i>	<i>ubh</i>	<i>slinn</i>
nom	ə(n) bɑːd	ə(n) tɑːsəl	ə(n) ʃoːl	ə(n) xɑntʰ	ən uw	ə(n) tʰiːnʰ
gen	ə(n) wɑːdʰ	ən əsəlʰ	ə(n) tʰoːlʰ	nə kɑntʰ ə	nə hɪvʰ ə	nə ʃlʰiːnʰ ə
prp	ə(n) mɑːd	ən əsəl	ə(n) ʃoːl	ə(n) gɑntʰ	ən uw	ə(n) tʰiːnʰ
dhe/o	gən wɑːd	gən əsəl	gən tʰ/ʃoːl	gən xɑntʰ	gən uw	gən tʰ/ʃlʰiːnʰ
npl	nə bɑːdʰ	nə həsəlʰ	nə ʃoːltə	nə kɑntʰ əniː	nə hɪvʰ əxiː	nə ʃlʰɑːntʰrəxiː
gpl	nə mɑːd	nə nəsəl	nə ʃoːltə	nə gɑntʰ əniː	nə nɪvʰ əxiː	nə ʃlʰɑːntʰrəxiː

6.84 Phonetics and morphophonetics

The canonical form of the nominative singular article, **ən**, varies phonetically. The three contexts where the nasal is realised are:

- regularly directly following vowels, e.g.
nax eː n tæːsəl e S *nach é AN t-asal é!*
- optionally in initial position, e.g.
| əŋ kʰɑːn ~ | ə kʰɑːn ~ | kʰɑːn *AN ceann.*
- categorically preceding *fhl-* and *fhr-* (*an^L* in nominative feminine and genitive masculine), e.g.
ən ræŋkʰ *AN Fhrainc*;
gə wɑːr ənʰ *ʰoxɑːnʰ* *Mq dhe bharr AN fhliucháin*,
kəpʰiːnʰ ən ræŋkə *Mq caipín AN Fhrancaigh*,
klox ən riː 21J *Cloch AN Fhraoigh*.

The categorical use in (c) differentiates *an fhl-* / *fhr-* from *an l-* / *r-*, e.g.

klox ə riː *cloch AN rí.*¹

(Cp. *an tsn-*, 6.89.) Exceptionally, ə occurs before *fhr-* in contexts where eclipsis is usual (9.91):

sə ræŋkʰ 21Pt *SA Fhrainc*, **əs ə ræŋkʰ 78Rb** *as AN Fhrainc*;
more regularly **sə / əs ə vræŋkʰ** *sa / as AN bhFhrainc*.

The context where the nasal is absent, i.e. ə, is:

- most regularly between consonants, e.g.
bun ə stairʰ ə *bun AN staighre*, **erʰ ə stairʰ ə** *ar AN staighre*,
sə stairʰ ə *SA [< i + an] staighre*.

However, **ən** 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:

nə ərʰ ən ʰsɑːvʰ ilʰ 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 **ən** (also before a continuant, i.e. *lʰ*):

Nuair a thosaíonn siad aʰ fá-, ar AN ə leasú, ʰ fáilt an leasú, | fæltʰ ʰ
lʰæːsuː | leihí na talthúna, 01Pt.

¹ There is non-application of (c) from a Ros Muc speaker (born c. 1937) in the example:
bɑːr ə riːx 6-05-18 T barr AN fhraoch (Wigger 2004: I 310).

There are quite a few examples of interconsonantal **ən** 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 **ən** is common in formal contexts in younger speakers, corresponding to written *an*. (For **sən** *san* for traditional **sə** *sa* in *i* + article, see 7.59.) Another instance of **ən** for expected **ə** may be related to the specific phrase or may be corrective (by **05M**) of the elision of *an* by her collocutor (**69A**):

-əb' in' e i: x'i:n dɑ: lɑ: 'je:g ... **69A**

-Ab in é Oíche chinn AN dá lá dhéag? ...

-sən i:hə 'mɑ:r'əx i:hə x'i:n' ən dɑ: lɑ: 'je:g **05M**

-San oíche amáireach Oíche chinn AN dá lá dhéag.

Other instances of interconsonantal **ən**, 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:

ən	<p>AN té ən' t'e: thiúrthadh isteach an aon a haírt, nú an aont a spéireata i dteach an phobail, ... go mbead sé i ndan cártai a dhathú, AN chuid eile dhá shaol. ?ən xid' el'ə ɣɑ: 'hi:l 892M;</p> <p> 'a:x ən' 'lɑ: fo ?m du:rɪ 'fe: 'fɔ: 11C</p> <p>Ach AN lá seo, u-, dúirt sé seo ... (slightly hesitantly);</p> <p>A! muipe, a deir an ə fear a deir sé, AN gadaí əŋ ga'di:, a deir sé. 11Ctn;</p> <p>Shocraídís amach é ar bhealach nach ndíontar anis. AN chéad rud ən 'x'ed 'rud a dhíonaidís, nuair a shocraídís isteach sa leaba é, shocraídís, rud a dtugaidís cában air. 11C;</p> <p>Agus sé an sórt súgáin, a bhí ag goil ar an gceann tuí agus cíbe seo, súgáin, a ligidís le tuí choirce. AN chéad rud ən 'x'ed 'rud a dhíonthaidís leis an dornán coirce, bheiridís air ... 11C;</p> <p>osclaithe amach ar aghaidh, AN chriathraigh mhóir. əŋ' xɪ'iaɪhə 'wɔ:r' 11C.</p> <p>In discourse introductory function 'this', e.g.</p> <p>Agus e-, choinic sé, AN bhean ən v'æ:n ag teacht ar chapall. (Suda)894Cs.</p> <p>Note the stressed article in explanation:</p> <p>'... go bhfuil an ə gabha seo ag tíocht.' Is as an bhfocal 'AN gabha seo,' 'uŋ 'gau 'fo is as sin, tháinig an 'goucher'. 11C3134.</p>
ə	<p>-Agus tá sé chomh maith dhuit, a deir sé, AN ə chrú a chuir ina thosach, 875P;</p> <p>v'i: fe k'i:n't'i: orhəb ə xlox ə rauna:l' (Suda)894Cs</p> <p>bhí sé cinntí orthub, AN chloch, a rabhnáil;</p> <p>go ndíolthaidís an t-iasc níos fearr ann, AN ə beagán a bhí acub. 11C;</p> <p>d'er fiəd gər 'f'ɑ:r ə ə potə 'fra:ŋkəx fo ... 31P</p> <p>deir siad gur fearr AN pota Francach seo</p>
∅	<p>cuirthidh sé spabhait uisce suas san aer. ... suas díreach as a dhroim. ... Sé tá ag tabhairt an tsuíil dhó. Sé. Sé. AN t-uisce tɪʃk'ə chuirtheas sé suas thrína dhroim. Sé 896P;</p> <p>ó thosós duine caint ar, AN ngliomadóireacht seo er'ʔa ŋl'ūmado:r'əxt' fo héin nú go mbí sé réidh 11C;</p>

go leor áiteachaí seachas, AN tír seo. | t'ir fo | 35E7038;
... | gə d'í: x'e:d v'í: e'ə | 896P -... go dtí an chéad mhí eile.
| x'e:d v'í: e'ə | 11C -AN chéad mhí eile.
| x'e:d v'í: e'ə | fa: | 896P -AN chéad mhí eile. Sea.

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**, **n'**, (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:

je: ən fl'æ:n' ... 11Ct Sé 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 / sé AN / ní hé AN chaoi ... ;**

ta yra:n' am ... 66N tá AN ghráin a'm ... ;

k'e/e fa: 79S CÉN fáth é sin?

Note **fod e xi: guələ 'm'ifə tosi'h e ax ... ax fod e η xi: guələ 'm'if eg' nə 'fæ:nin' ,e 11C seod é AN chaoi a gcuala mise tosaíthe é ach ... ach seod é AN chaoi a gcuala mise ag na sean-ndaoine é.**

Cp. **gir'ə d'ia ta: ort 11C Go gcuire Dia AN t-ádh ort; also ... n ta: ... 11C** and other speakers;

fin' e rud əs 'f'a:r it' ə v'eh ,æ:d 11C

Sin é AN rud is fearr duit a bheith a'd.

je: 'x'e:d 'ær ə fuər' nə 'ba:d' e ,froʃən' | 896P

Sé AN chéad fhear a fuair na báid é froisin.

- (ii) *an chloig*, common in **uər' ə xleg' uair AN chloig**, is lexicalised to **ə xleg'** so that the article is phonetically absent following vowels, e.g. **uər'ənti: 'xleg' 21Pg6930 uaireantaí AN chloig**. Cp. historical *dhe chlog > a chlog* 'o'clock'.

- (iii) place-names, e.g. **ka:rə jurə:n' S Cara AN Ghearráin, ə roʃi:n' | ba:l'ə roʃi:n' St An Roisín, Baile AN Roisín, ba:l'ə f'erk'i:n' M Balla AN Pheircín**. Cp. **galhə w̃ 'wa:d' 892M gCaladh AN Bháid** (13.7, line 6, cf. 1.309).

- (iv) feast day: **,i:n' ẽ 'x'e:stə, 46.802 Aoine AN Chéasta** (DIL *ain*², Dinn s.v. *Aoine*, note *Aoine (an) Chéasta* FGB s.v. *Aoine*).

- (v) some personal names. For example, *Máire AN Ghabha* (my **05M**) is for most speakers **ma:r'ə yau**, but consistently **ma:r' əη yau** for (conservative) sisters **04Br** and **15W**.

For definite *sé áit* followed by a relative clause, and possible *gob é bealach*, see 6.100.

There are collocations where postvocalic **ə** occurs for expected **n**, despite the

general sandhi rule of deletion of schwa when preceded by vowels. This reflects the general postconsonantal origin of *ə* in these phrases:

- (vi) optionally following *-u:*, when this *-u:* derives from base *-ə* in sandhi (historically *-əw ə*, 2.52, 2.90), e.g.

Í e br' æ'ku: ə le: 21Pt le breacadh AN lae.

- (vii) consistently in some personal names, e.g. *ɸumi ə xl'e:ɸə ... mæ:r' ə xl'e:ɸə* *M Diumaí AN Chléirigh ... Máire AN Chléirigh*, *ɸo: ə ti:r' M Jó AN tSaoir*. These forms are parallel to regular postconsonantal usage, e.g. *p'æ:f' ə xl'e:ɸə* *Peait AN Chléirigh* (also known as *Diumaí an Chléirigh*), *m'ik'əl' ə xl'e:ɸə* *M Micil AN Chléirigh*, *ʃæ:n ə ti:r' Seán AN tSaoir* (final example devised by me). Cp. *mæ:r'ə ɸau >>> mæ:r'ə ŋ ɸau 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* SÓC2.281, in a text where the spelling *an* is regular in common names. This spelling *a'* indicates the lexicalisation of *ə* in proper names.

- (viii) in idiomatic use of *an ghadhair* functioning as a negativiser (in contrast with literal use, see 14 *gadhar* 2.(c)). For example, *seó an ghadhair* has nonliteral meaning, i.e. 'no treatment, bad treatment', in:

N'í: wuər ʃi: ʃo: ə ɸair' a'n S ní bhfuair sí seó AN ghadhair ann,
which one can conjecture would optionally contrast with literal *ʃo: ŋ ɸair'* '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, *ə ɸair'* '*an ghadhair*', is extended in the idiom based presumably on its more common occurrence postconsonantly, e.g. *a:rd' ə ɸair'* *aird an ghadhair* 'no heed', etc.

- (ix) other instances:

əs 'br' a: ə ,rud e | 45N Is breá AN rud é.

Cp. *Í e 'fa:d ə 'la: 01P le fada AN lá, is fada AN lá fa:d ə la: é sin héin 01P*; compare his *le fada bliantaí 01P*.

Place-name: *kū:nde ə xlæ:r' | 892Mg Condae AN Chláir.*

Cp. *dhe + an in: ti: hiər ə 'xa:fəl taobh thiar DHEN Chaiseal* (7.15).

Examples such as the common *ma buəxəl' maith an buachaill* 'good boy', 'well done' can be analysed as having underlying final *h* which is optionally elided, i.e.

mah ə buəxəl' ~ ma ə buəxəl' ~ ma buəxəl' maith AN buachaill.

6.87 Phrase boundaries and phonology

Phrase boundaries (or lexicalisation similar to cases instanced above) may also be indicated by interconsonantal *ən* and postvocalic *ə*, 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.

ən for *ə* | *xur ʃe 'er' əŋ ,xolh 'e:ɸə | 866E chuir sé air AN chulaith éadaigh;*
is ən rud k'æ:rt Mq 'is' AN rud ceart;
ən a:t' ə m'ix ən 'wū:nʰr' gə 'to:g'al | 18J8972
an áit a mbíodh AN mhóin gá tóigeál.

Preconsonantal **ənsən** *insan* for **ənsə** *insa* is rare, cf. 7.43 ff.

ən for **n** *Ach faoi AN tumba; | ax^ə | fi: ən tūmbə | cuireadh an tumba sin air, tugann siad tumba Haimiltean i gcónaí ortha. 892M3430–6* ‘But as for the tomb ...’.

Ø for **n** Common before velar fricative **x**, e.g.

ə kir' orhə xri:n' wə:r' ə'r'i:ft' 18J7014

ag cuir uirthi AN chroinn mhóir aríst (cp. *air an əŋ chulaith* above);

bhíodar sin ag faire AN chósta fa'r'ə xo:stə 35E8302.

Sometimes the preceding vowel or following consonant is nasalised (cp. 6.88 **ə̃** and **n**. 1 further below), e.g.

báidín deas, bhí istith ar an Oileán Máisean raibh AN Chruach ro xruəx Páraic ortha. ... raibh AN Chruach rō xruəx ortha 18J8250–3;

d'fhiathraigh sé DHEN chailín aimsire gə xal'i:n' 'æ:mjər'ə | 35E8938.

Also before velar fricative **ɣ**, e.g.

Chaitheá AN ghabháil xahə: ɣo:l' fháil ansin agus, an ghabháil | əŋ ɣo:l' a chaitheamh air sin 35E8460.

Also before other continuants:

gəhə j'i:v' r' 146 (s.v. *geimhreadh*) *i gcaitheamh AN gheimhreadh;*

Nach aisteach an mhóin í AN mhóin ə wu:n' i: ə wu:n' Mhaidhcil Beag sin (speaker either S or M);

v'i:dər brə her' e: wə'ru' | fi:n' tr'ublo | fi: fukəl' jin' ə rə: ... 892M2275 *bhíodar ag brath ar é a mharú, faoin triobló-, faoi AN focal sin a rá agus ...* (more regularly: *faoin bhfocal a dúirt sé 892M2283*);

dif'm'ifə:lə m'e' ruð fə d'er fe | 18J7325

-Dismiseálthaidh [< dismiss] mé AN rud seo, a deir sé;

an chéad mhí and *an lá cheana* are independent adverbial phrases:

| gə d'i: x'e:d v'i: e'l'ə | 896P *go dtí AN chéad mhí eile* (cp. *an chéad fhear, 6.86(i), an chéad rud, 6.88*);

nach rapóirteáladh [< report] AN lá cheana é! rə'po:r'tə:lə:lə: ha:n 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**('), **ɣ**, **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 diún í a' chupóig gá seasat sí leis 894C2*.

An example before a stop is:

ach go deimhin ní raibh AN crabhaid ro krauð a bhí ag obair dho chlann Pheaidí a Búrc ... 18J7325.

Other realisations are:

ǫ | gə rō ǫ ʎlut dūĩntʲi: egʲə | 894Cs *go raibh AN ghluit dúintí aige.*¹
 Ø for ə | gə ʃē:nʲ ʲx̥ē:d a:tʲ ʲelʲə r ʲhænʲ h̥i:ʎ ʲxlox | huəs ... 892M3141
Agus sé an chéad áit eile ar haithníobh AN chloch thuas ... ;
 | gəs rud kʲe:nə ʲn a:rənʲ | 18J7054
agus AN rud céanna in Árainn;
 | gəs x̥ē:d rud ʲelʲə vrʲif mʲifə ʲma:dʲə | 18J7227
Agus AN chéad rud eile bhris mise maide.

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 ʎaunʲ ǫ kroʃi:nʲ 894Cs *ar dhomhain NA croisín*,
 where er ʎaunʲ (n)ǫ kroʃi:nʲ would be expected (or er ʎaunʲ ə xroʃi:nʲ *ar dhomhain an chroisín*). The lack of depalatalisation here is similar to the general pronunciation of the place-name (2.91):
 roʃi:nʲ ə manʲ hiəx(t) *Roisín NA Mainchíoch*, also ruʃi:nʲ ə

6.89 Morphophonology: *an* (t)s-; (a) Anomalous *an*^L, *na*^L

an ts- ~ *an s-*

Quite often *an s-*, including *dhen* / *dhon s-*, occurs for expected *an ts-* (etc.). Most frequent is *dhen* / *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 ən *an* before *tsn-* (9.160); this is evident in query from Máire and there is an instance from conversation:

ə lɑ:r ənh nɑ:hə Mq *i lár an tsnáithe*, ə lɑ:r ən hnu:də Mq *i lár an tsnúda*;
bhí tú ag coinneál an tsnáithe ansin k̥i:n̥ɑ:l ən t̥rɑ:h̥ə nʲʃinʲ 892Mg

(a) Anomalous *an*^L, *na*^L

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 beithíoch*; AN *chupla mí seo* 00C;
 ... xuplə ... ə / nə xuplə 45N ... *chupla* ... AN / NA *chupla* ... ;
 (thugainn) ə ʲxaurʲafrək erʲ P AN *chorramharc 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 *x* the article is realised as nasalisation on the long vowel. This elision and nasalisation, however, cannot be taken as a general rule. His example k̥ē: xi: *cén chaoi* (adapted to modern transcription and k̥ē: corrected from erroneous k̥ē: (cp. correct k̥ē: 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 Chóirce* and transcribed as ā:h x- (but ā:^(h) 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) *áith* is often nasalised (e.g. SIDI Mp 263; cf. p. 264 n. 1 above). (The transcription ā:h 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 ā:^(h) 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): *ə́n' t' e:ŋ' x' a:n ə'wə:n'* M *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 hocht gcinn*;

nom plural (irregular): *na t-an-oícheantaí* 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, ÓN T-ochtú lá déag dhe Mhárta. **05M**;

agus DHEN T-ochtú léig bhí sé héin istigh ina ceartlár (run) **04B**.

For common *thar 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 bhaist ansin na Flathartaí mar gheall AR A' T-ám a chuir sean-Mhac Uí Laidhe a lámh i nead a' tseabhaic bhaisteadar Laidhe ar Salachar air.

ÓC196 (conjunctive use; *mar gheall ... nead a' tseabhaic* is a parenthetical comment);

... ag marú na sagairt san ám sin. Bhí na sagairt dhá marú SA T-ám sin. **03Ct**;

nuəs eg' ə tərɔd mɔr' [sic] M anuas AG AN T-ard mór;

ʃt'i sə t'il' a:n' ʃin' S istigh SA T-oileán sin;

and in the masculine genitive:

er' f' æ' n ta'xər | **898P** *AR FEADH AN T-achar*;

and following a prefix in:

Is dóichí gob in é AN SEAN-T-ainm 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 MØperm). 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 *ən ā:m k' ē:nə an am céanna* and speaker **10B** was also heard with *an am*. E.g.

Bhuel AN AM CÉANNA bhí mac an tseanfhear ghlic, 'g obair ag an rí, ar a pháí. **892M2008**, also ARN2702;

bə je: n ā:m e ... **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 sagart eile thiar sa gClochán ina ham céanna*, **892M2631** (introducing story about *Cailleach na Luibhe*). Cf. *arán*, *Aonmhac*, *Sionnainn* (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. $n\acute{a}^{\emptyset/H} \sim n\acute{a}^L$. In genitive position there is one noted example of *na dream* (i.e. $n\acute{a}^{\emptyset/H}$) and one written example of na^N with *cupla*.

<i>clann</i>	$n\acute{a} \text{ kl}\acute{a}:n \text{ hja:n}^{\circ} \text{ d}\acute{z}\acute{a}:n^{\circ} \text{ i:s}$ 18J <i>NA clann Sheáin Janaíos.</i>
<i>Cloinn</i>	<i>nar raibh sé i ndan, NA Cloinn nDúnaill a throid.</i> 892M2781; <i>cuide dhe NA Cloinn nDúnaill tá i Maoras</i> 11C3310.
<i>cloinne</i>	<i>NA Cloinne Con Fhaola, bhí ceilp acub, insa mbád</i> 892M3499; <i>NA chloinne Con Fhaola céanna iad</i> 25M.
<i>cionál</i>	generally <i>an cionál</i> ~ <i>na cionálachaí</i> , but sometimes <i>na cionál</i> , e.g. <i>an gceapthása anís go bhfuil, roinnt cionál difearains eidir, eidir NA cionál</i> <i>slat? ... go bhfuil cuidhe dhe na slata i bhfad níos fearr ná a chéile.</i> 11C.
<i>coinfirt</i>	$n\acute{a} \text{ kinf}^{\circ} \text{ \acute{a}rt}^{\circ} \text{ \acute{a}:n}$ 03V <i>NA coinfirt ann;</i> $\acute{a}n \text{ xinf}^{\circ} \text{ \acute{a}rt}^{\circ} \text{ ... e he:n}^{\circ} \text{ og}\acute{a}s \text{ n}\acute{a} \text{ xinf}^{\circ} \text{ \acute{a}rt}^{\circ} \text{ ...}$ (Smds)04B <i>an choinfirt ... é héin agus NA choinfirt ...</i>
<i>cuid</i>	$n\acute{a} \text{ kud}^{\circ} \text{ d}^{\circ} \text{ ern}\acute{a}x\acute{a}$ 11P <i>NA cuid deireanacha;</i> <i>Ansin, NA chuid eile go na lae(th)annaí</i> 866ESemr140; $\acute{e}r^{\circ} \text{ n}\acute{a} \text{ xud}^{\circ} \text{ el}^{\circ} \text{ \acute{a} g}\acute{a}n \text{ ...}$ 66L <i>ar NA chuid eile dhen ...</i>
<i>cupla</i>	<i>an c(h)upla >> na c(h)upla.</i> E.g. <i>thart isna, cupla baile tá thart anseo. ... go mbíodh NA cupla cearc amuich</i> <i>anseo</i> 06C; <i>ach amháin NA cupla focal seo is déarthaidh mé NA cupla focal duit</i> 11C; <i>NA chupla lá halaidéas [holidays]</i> 45N. <i>ach NA cupla fata fuar-bhruithte Clad196, Oibrigheann siad ar a ndíthcheall</i> <i>ar feadh NA gcupla seachtmhain. Clad197.</i>
<i>dream</i>	$n\acute{a} \text{ dr}^{\circ} \text{ \acute{a}:m}$ 05M <i>NA dream; n}\acute{a} / \acute{a} \text{ dr}^{\circ} \text{ \acute{a}:m} \text{ og}\acute{a} \text{ P NA / an dream óga};</i> <i>NA seandream [x2]</i> 27C. In genitive position with $na^{\emptyset/H}$: <i>thosaíodar ag tóigeál NA dream a bhí ag caoineadh</i> 866ESc277.27.
<i>péire</i>	$m \text{ p}^{\circ} \text{ \acute{e}:r}^{\circ} \text{ \acute{a} ba:nu:}$ Sq <i>an péire banbh;</i> $n\acute{a} \text{ p}^{\circ} \text{ \acute{e}:r}^{\circ} \text{ \acute{a} ba:nu:}$ 12Sperm <i>NA péire banbh.</i> When used without a following dependent noun, only <i>an péire</i> was noted.
<i>scata</i>	<i>go NA scata fear óg</i> 894C9.
<i>sórt</i>	<i>NA (sic) sórt tiarnaí atá ánn ...</i> 869P5.

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 bhreac nach mbéarthaidh ar aon bhaoite? P;*
- 4 $\acute{a}s \text{ n}\acute{a} \text{ 'x}^{\circ} \text{ \acute{e}:r}^{\circ} \text{ \acute{a} 'hin}^{\circ} \text{ \acute{a}}$ | 11C *as NA cheithre shine; INSNA cheithre cosa* 11C;
- 4½ *ar NA cheithre horlaí ... go dtí NA cheithre horlaí go leith* 35E;
- 5 *NA chúig phunt* 894C1; *mheáigh sí NA chúig céad.* 896P;
cp. aon chúig phunt amháin agus tabharfaidh mé duit iad 866ESc280;
- 6 $n\acute{a} \text{ f}\acute{e}: \text{ v}^{\circ} \text{ i:}$ S *NA sé mhí;*
le NA sé pínne seo ... INSNA sé pínne. ... leothub [i.e. sé pínne]. 866Et;
- 8 *NA hocht gcinn;*

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- 13 **nə tr'í: wə:lə je:g 05M** *NA trí mhála dhéag; NA trí phúnta dhéag 866Et;*
 14 *cuireadh amach NA cheithre thonna dhéag 889P;*
 15 *NA chúig phunta dhéag sin 11C;*
Tá sé ag goil isteach SNA chúig bliana déag S;
níor chríochnaigh an geall ach NA trí cinn as NA chúig cinn déag.
ARN7099;
 18 *NA hocht gcinn déag;*
rare na⁰ in Ocht slata déag ... NA ocht slata dé(ag) 892M1487.
 20 *ag breith ar an meáchan, ar NA fiche tonna meáchain, agus gá chaith-*
eamh. 866ESemr118.
 50 *NA leithchéad corach 18J; NA leithchéad acub 18J.*

There are plural examples before *aon ... déag*, i.e. *na^H*:

- 11 *Bhí sé a' síne 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 eicint ann. Deabhal u-, Bhí AN trí rud eicint — 05M;*
 8 **n'í rə m'ε n ɔxt ml'iaɲə he:n' 07P** *ní raibh mé AN ocht mbliana héin;*
 1,000 **n' d'e g' e:d pūnt 866E** *AN deich gcéad punt.*

A physical unit in particular can take singular *an*. For example, *an chúig phunt* ('the fiver'), when functionally equivalent to *páipéar chúig phunt*, can typically contrast with (singulative) *na chúig phunt*. Also considered as a unit:

- 10 *thugad sé deich scilleacha air. ... fuair sé AN deich scilleacha air. Agus*
chuir sé go ceanúil síos ina phóca é. ... níor óladar AN deich scilleacha
ARN7250–61.

The dual numeral *d(h)á* takes both *an* (including innovative *an^L*) and *na*, e.g.

- 2 **ə dɑ: xlo jin' M** *AN dá chloich sin; AN dhá ghadhar eile 79A;*
NA dá gheata 894C2 (sic in MS), NA dá chaora 894Ct;
 40 *NA dá scór slat seo 899D6015;*
 1st 2 *AN dá chéad bhád ariamh a tháinic anseo 18J7128.*

With one unit of *céad* and *míle*, singular *an* is used. There are some phrases which contain *na míle*, e.g.

- 1,000 *NA míle mordair / NA míle mordars, NA míle 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*, including 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 (1st 2).*

In plural reference, however, *na chéad* is regular, e.g.

- NA chéad daoine; NA chéad titheabhaí;*
NA chéad áiteachaí 20At '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 bheirt 898P1.*

6.93 Personal numerals; 894C

Personal numerals most commonly take *an* but *na* also occurs:

cp. *beirt*: **l'ɛʃ nə x'ɛ:d v'ert' 898P1** *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 triúr gasúr ... AN triúr gasúr 21Jq.
 There appears to be plural inflection of *triúr* in:

nə tr'ur' 'ga:sur' 54C *NA triúir gasúir*.

triúr, *NA triúr dearthár 866E*Sc60.25; *tioca AN naonbhar eile ... 7 NA ochtar*,
*haon bhean déag amu(igh) ... tháinic AN T-ochtar eile ... bhaili AN naonbhar leóthub. ... thréis NA naonbhar seo imeacht, ... a deir AN triúr fear óga, ... D'iúnsa AN triúr é, agus AN triúr ban, ... badh éard a bhí iontub — ins NA triúr a bhí maraí aige ... go rabh siad ar aon chlár amháin, AN triúr, 866E*Semr44, 46, 48, 76, 128.

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' bhfeicfead sé aon tala' ... 869PB*16.117.

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: **nə dɑ:** t, *NA dá (sic) gheata 2, NA dá ...*, i.e. *na dá* only (noted);
chúig: *NA chúig phunt 1*;
cupla: *NA cupla ceathrú; NA cupla slínn t*;
scata: *go NA scata fear óg 9*;
triúr: *NA triúr driothár, AN triúr driothár*.

In contrast, Máire has singular *an* in all these cases (except *na / an chúig*), whereas her brother, 19P, shows some *na*: **nə / ə dr'ɑ:m o:ga** P *na / an dream óga*. Cp. {*na / an* + personal numeral} from 866E cited above.

6.94 Other anomalies (d)–(g)

(d) Anomalous *na*^H

Two examples were noted of *na*^H feminine genitive for regular masculine genitives *an chailín*, *an chapaill*:

tháinic máthair NA cailín beag anuas 894C4;
as cheithre cinn dhe chruithí 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 talún(a)* (fem) (3.7).

(e) Prevocalic *an* (t-) with *ra:n arán*

The noun **ra:n arán** is generally treated as if vowel-initial (as it was historically, 1.47, 1.378):

nominative **ən tra:n** *an t-arán*, genitive **ən ra:n'** *an aráin*,
following a preposition **er' ən ra:n** *ar an arán*; *leis an rán* **869P3.482**.

Less frequently, consonant initial treatment occurs:

nominative **ná an rán** **869P3.482**,
following a preposition **er' ə ra:n** **36B** *ar an arán*.

One example of initial vowel, ə, with second syllable stress was noted:

d'iar fe | ə'ra:n er' 00T *d'iarr sé arán air*.

(f) Preconsonantal *an* with *am*, *uisce fíor* < *fíoruisce*

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 *fíoruisce*:

η ga:ri: ro n iʃk'ə f'iar a:n 60M *an garraí 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**,
ᵗ í ag iúmpar A T-ÉIN-MHIC (sic) **894C2**,
perhaps 2sg possessive *t'* might also be of relevance with *Éanmhac*;
feminine *iasc 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 *Aonmhac* and *Sionnainn*. 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^L* can be replaced by *an t-* before vowels:

ə ma:ru: n' t'iask 76N *ag marú AN T-iasc*;
f'oxə n tiʃk'ə, 78Rb *ag fiuchadh AN T-uisce*;
əg' iarə n tiʃk'ə 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:

ən a'rhui: 78Rb *AN athrú*;
ən ma:hər nu: η ahər' 78Rb *an máthair nó AN athair*;
ən' (l) er' ənəx 79S *AN Éireannach*; **ən a:ŋkər' ə mo:r 79S** *AN ancaire mór*.

Also traditional feminine *an* can be replaced by *an t-* before vowels:

ə tumər' ə ji:nə | 78P *AN T-iomaire a dhéanamh*;¹
ə t'in' i:n' AN T-inín spoken in 2006 by a son of **45M**, aged c. 12.

There are instances of replacement of the traditional feminine genitive article *na^H* with the nominative *an* but retention of the genitive of the noun:

v'e d'i:n ən aibr' ə 73P *bheith ag déanamh AN OIBRE*;
tá céadn acú tití le fána AN AILLE l'e fa:n ən æl' ə 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*.

¹ In traditional dialect *iomaire* 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 æfr'an *AN Aifreann* (perhaps generalised from the common phrase *ag an Aifreann*¹);

a tæmfər' *AN T-aimsir*.

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.² 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:

an + an *AN t-árdmháistir (NA Spáinne) [x2] 852S2.*

... INSA doras, teach A' rí. 869P2.

Bhain A' fear (NA fírinne), bhain sé ... 894C9.

a + a *LENA sháil — A bhróige — insa taltha, 869P2.*

In speech the second noun phrase is often added to the initial phrase, frequently after a slight pause:³

an + an *I bhfad uainn AN orchóid 's AN anachain ... na bliana S.*

k'e x'ukəx er' ma:d'an' ax ə tərən'əx | nə br'e:d'in'i: gə d'i: m'e he:n' S cé thiocthadh ar maidin ach AN tÁrainneach, NA bréidíní go dtí mé héin.

v'id'i:f ə tr'umu: nə muəltri: | nə m'ehiəx S

bhídís ag triomú NA mbualtraí, NA mbeithíoch.

ax | nə k'i:n' | ə dr'əm fin' æ:n'ə | M

ach NA cinn — AN dream sin a'inne.

an + adverb + *xin'ə fə nə bl'u: k'ærqds wai (l) nə m'ehiəx s xul'ə ho:rt M*

an *choinnigh sé NA bliú-ceairds (blue cards) uaidh — NA mbeithíoch is chuile shórt.*

an + PIN *ag ceann AN bhóthair, DHOTHALA S.*

... eg ə bærk' | xærn ən'fin' | 60M ... ag AN bpáirc, CHARNA ansin.

an + name *l'ef ə | gr'ed'ə ni:v pærək' 25M2 leis AN, gcreideamh NAOMH PÁDRAIG.*

PIN (an) + *gən yob | xorə nə [n^d ?] ru:n 25M2*

PIN (an) *DHON Ghob, CHORA NA RÓN.*

a + name *Dreatháir GÁ mháthair(.) MHEAIRTIN, 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 sí 'g úmpar lao M (9.54).

1342 Pronouns and pronominals

There is sometimes no pause:

an + adverb + **tum ə v'i: mi sə ɣa:ri: ti: mix' wɔ:rən ta f'i: gu:ni: an S**
 proper name *tom a bhí SA ngarraí 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 + *an* **tháinig fear acú isteach ins A' teach AN fhígheadór (sic) an oíche seo 894C3;**
7 é chrocha GON mhatal NA tine 894C2;
tuí' muich GON fhear NA mbeithíoch 894C2.
Cp. Agus badh in é an t-ám thimpeall NA blianta AN Drochshaoil. 869P4.
nə kʊŋgəʃiː nə nɔlək' ə hɔ:rt' ə'wə:l' ə 04B
NA cungaí NA Nollaig a thabhairt abhaile.
er' f'æ: nə fe: v'i: ɲ v'i:vɾ' ə S ar feadh NA sé mhí AN gheimhreadh (said slowly and emphatically).
hit' ə tu:n' æs ə m'æ:g' nə wə:ti: M thit an tóin as AN mbeaig NA bhfataí.
əm pump ən iʃk' ə v'eh a'gəN' | 25T AN pump AN uisce a bheith againn.
AN fear eile NA hAirde Móire M.
an + *PIN* **huəs er' hi:w ə xrik' nə hɑ:rd' ə mɔ:r' ə M**
(an) thuas ar thaobh AN chnoic NA hAirde Móire.
an + *PIN* **er' ə ɡɔ:stə ɔ: jæ:s xunə'ma:rə 04B ar AN gcósta ó dheas CHONAMARA.**
ənsə ɡ'i:l', uəgn'əx, æʃt'əx, wɪrəʃ ən'fʊ:d hiər 11C
INSA gcill uaigneach aisteach MHAORAIS ansiúd thiar.
tæ [sic] ɡa:ri: ɑ:n dʊɡən' fɪəd ə ɡa:ri: wɛlb' er' S
tá garraí ann a dtugann siad AN Garraí VUEILBE [Welbey] air.
chuaigh sí siar ag AN dochtúr CHARNA M.
an + proper name **slɑ:m ə xahə [sic] eg' nə b'ehi: ʃin' wɑ:r'i:n' S**
slám a chaitheamh ag NA beithí sin MHAIRÍN.
an + *a* **as NA méarachat' choise 869P4.**
 In some instances one of the definite phrases occurs in the preceding discourse:
an + *an* **ag tarraint NA cartach ... is ag cuir NA pionnaí NA cartach ə kir nə p'uni:**
nə kɑ:rtəx | ag obair. 892Mg.
Ach rinne sé bróig NA coise deise. Agus nuair an bhí AN bhróig NA coise deise díonta aige, bhreathaigh an gréasaí ortha. 11C.
b'i:n n æmfər' ɡə dʊnə sə ɡ'ɪŋk'i:ʃ, taurN'əx sə ɡ'ɪŋk'i:ʃ, bɑ:ʃt'əx nə
k'ɪŋk'i:ʃə, v'i:d'i:ʃ d'i:nə mɑ:x ɡə rə l'æ:su: sə mɑ:ʃt'əx nə k'ɪŋk'i:ʃə
S bíonn an aimsir go dona SA gCincís, toirneach SA gCincís, báisteach NA Cincíse, bhídís ag déanamh amach go raibh leasú SA mbáisteach NA Cincíse.
an + proper name **Nach aisteach A' mhúin í A' mhúin MHAIDHCIL BEAG sin S or M.**
 name

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' hæx ə fobəl' xɑ:rənə S bhí beil ar THEACH AN PHOBAIL CHARNA;
tɔ:rt torəʃ ɡə t'æx ə fobəl' kɑ:rənə S ag tabhairt torais go TEACH AN PHOBAIL CARNA;
ag teacht go TEACH AN PHOBAIL CHILL CHIARÁIN t'æ:x ə fobəl' x'i:l' x'ia:ɾən' 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 bhean AN tí féin **866ESc90**.

fear an phosta: m'ífa xur am baist' a l'ef a f'ær a fosta fin' 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):

sən i:h e:l pærək' 19P *SAN oíche Fhéil PÁDRAIG*.

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 dtí AN rí Chonnachta agus ... **866ES42**; *ar A' bhflít Rí Seoirse* **!894C9**;

ar shon cathair na gaisce ... ar shon cathair NA gaisce NA hÉireann **866ES43**;

xīr fe: f'ar l'e:hə gō vru:ntənəs heg' ẽ rī: nə trī: 46.L.47–8

chuir sé fear léithi dhe bhronntanas chuig AN Rí NA Traí

(SID transcribes the final phrase here as *chuige rí na Traoi*, probably erroneously¹);

eg' a rī: nə kahər' 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 Fharraige cited by de Bhaldraithe (1956–7c: 244 §6, e.g. *Garraí 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. *farraige* (*síos go farraige*, *thit sé i bhfarraige*), *grian* (*go raibh grian ina suí go hard* **866ESemr60**) and *talamh* (*gur i bhfastú i dtalhamh 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.

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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 ...* :

| ʃēː ˈaːt̪ ˈə ˈwʲl̪ ʃē ˈnaːˈreːbʲ iə | 852Stn *Sé ÁIT a bhfuil sé in Araebia.*;

Sé ÁIT a ro sib ... 852S4.

From other speakers:

agus dúirt sé gurb é ÁIT a raibh sé, ag obair ar bhád 35E8041;

gə ʃeː soːrt ˈtoːrən ə ˈvʲiː egˈə d̪ˈer ʃe ʃiːd̪ʲ ʃiːd̪ʲ ʃiːd̪ʲ 18J8006

agus sé SÓRT torann a bhí aige, a deir sé, tidl, tidl, tidl, also ARN8023;

gə bˈeː bˈæːləx ə ˈvʲiːx æˈn̪ˈə | ... 20Pá *gob é BEALACH a bhíodh a'inne ...* .

Note the lack of the article but its syntactic (and mutational) presence in:

Sé AN CHÉAD ÁIT ʃe xˈeːd̪ ˈaːt̪ ˈaːriamh ar chuir sé faoi, anseo amuich ag tigh, Janáí Sheáin 'ac Dhonncha. 18J8083;

ʃiːn̪ ˈe ˈt̪æːn̪ ˈəm ˈhugəx ... ARN8894 *Sin é AN t-ainm a thugadh ...* .

There are also instances in this relative syntax where the article appears to be present but phonetically very weak, e.g.

agus badh é AN SÓRT maidin bə ˈjeː ˈsoːrt ˈmaːd̪ˈən̪ ˈa bhí ann maidin chailm. 18J8126.