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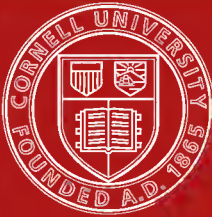
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A DIALECT OF DONEGAL

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A DIALECT OF DONEGAL

BEING THE SPEECH OF MEENAWANNIA
IN THE PARISH OF GLENTIES

PHONOLOGY AND TEXTS

BY

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PREFACE.

THE present sketch is the first serious attempt at a scientific description of a northern dialect of Irish. Phonetic decay seems to have set in all over the Gaelic-speaking area; and consequently it is imperative that during the next ten or fifteen years every effort should be made to obtain scientific records of the speech of persons born before the famine who still have a firm grip of the vernacular. As a general rule the speech of the younger people is of little or no value to those who are trying to unravel the mysteries of Old and Middle Irish orthography, and unfortunately, whatever the Gaelic League may accomplish, it cannot preserve the vanishing sounds and shades of sounds of the older generation. Indeed I have been forcibly impressed with the great differences noticeable between speakers of different ages—a fact which is in large measure responsible for the publication of the material which I have collected during the last three years. Within this period I have fortunately been able to visit Donegal on several occasions; in addition to two long summers I have paid three brief visits to the county, and have thus had the inestimable advantage of allowing the dialect to strike my ear afresh at frequent intervals. This, however, does not render the task of describing a Gaelic dialect any the less formidable. Some of my statements may be regarded with scepticism by persons familiar with the Irish of Ulster, who will say perhaps that

this or that characteristic is unknown to them ; but I would reply that there are considerable variations within the limits of the county and that many peculiarities of Donegal given by Dinneen, J. C. Ward, and others I have failed to discover in Meenawannia. Not being a native speaker, my observations have naturally been restricted to a somewhat limited number of individuals.

My best thanks are due to the Cambridge Philological Society and to the Syndics of the University Press for their munificence in defraying more than two-thirds of the cost of this publication. I am also bound to express my appreciation of the manner in which the staff of the University Press have overcome the serious typographical difficulties incident to a work of this nature.

E. C. Q.

June 1906.

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ADDENDUM.

p. 55 l. 16 for 'begins' read 'ends in'.

INTRODUCTORY.

A DESIRE to make myself acquainted with spoken Gaelic led me to think of spending the long vacation in Ireland in 1903. Types of southern and western Irish are already familiar from the descriptions of Henebry, Finck and Pedersen, and the hope of finding some closer connection, either in sounds or forms, between the Gaelic of the north of Ireland on the one hand and that of Scotland and Man on the other determined me to endeavour to investigate the form of Irish spoken in Donegal.

Meenawannia is the name of a townland about four miles from Glenties, running due east from the main road to Donegal. It contains some seven cottages, and the inhabitants practically without exception are able to speak Irish. In putting Meenawannia on the title-page of this sketch I do not wish to imply that the townland has a peculiar dialect of its own or that I have not associated with speakers from outside, but simply that the persons to whom I have had most opportunity of listening are natives of the townland. The speech of this small community of between 30 and 40 souls is perhaps even less homogeneous than might otherwise be expected. One of the parents in each family—usually the mother—must almost of necessity come from outside, and the speech of the children is therefore a compromise. Hence in one family *cha* predominates as the negative, while another has *ní* almost exclusively, and variants such as *an uile*, *gach uile* (*gax'fwel'ə*), and *amárach*, *amáireach* are similarly distributed among the various cottages. On the other hand the difference between the generations is almost incredible. Meenawannia has so far been practically unaffected by the efforts of the Gaelic League, though I believe more Irish is now spoken there than was the case 10 or 15 years ago. The phonetic decay of the speech of the younger people will be constantly exemplified in this sketch, but more appalling is the introduction of English words. Numbers of the people have

been in America or Scotland for longer or shorter periods, and when they return the Irish they speak is often little better than a jargon. Examples such as the following may be heard from at least 80 per cent. of the people—*tá sé mend-ál* anois acht *tá sé an-bleach-áilte-fail-ál mo rye orm—set-áladh an trap—chuala mé go robh gains* (= biseach) oirthí!

Practically no attempts have been made so far to arrest the decay of the language. It is true that a society has recently been formed to preserve Ulster Irish, but some time must elapse before much can be done. There is little or no temptation for the people to learn to read Irish at present as, apart from the excellent little texts published by J. P. Craig, Donegal Irish is practically unrepresented in literature and the dialect is too far removed from Munster and Connaught speech for the publications of the Gaelic League to be intelligible. Even the simple Connaught tales published by Douglas Hyde are found difficult. English is the language of the people's devotions, and the schoolmasters seldom know sufficient Irish to teach it intelligently. In one respect they are free from blame, viz. that there is a dearth of suitable text-books.

As I had never heard any Irish spoken before I first went over in 1903 my first summer was spent in learning to understand and make myself intelligible. The initial difficulties were stupendous. I had a fair theoretical knowledge of Connaught pronunciation which had to be unlearned, and the vocabulary was in large measure strange. Worst of all, however, was the difficulty in getting away from English, a difficulty which has dogged me all through. That I was able to overcome all these and other difficulties is due solely to the unfailing kindness of my host, John Hegarty. J. H. is my chief source of information, and a word about him may not be out of place. He was born in 1831, and has spent all his life in Meenawannia, with the exception of about 18 months. He possesses a far better knowledge of Donegal Irish than any other person I have met, and, as far as I can judge, he has been little, if at all, influenced by book Irish. He has an immense store of tales and Fenian poems in the vernacular, and it is only a few of the oldest men and women like himself that are able to speak Irish in its purity. I take this opportunity of thanking him most cordially for all his trouble, and for the interest he has taken in me.

Two courses lay open to me. The one was to rely upon

the language of conversation, jotting down anything of interest. The other was to take down a large number of stories and poems from dictation. The latter course I attempted during my first visit, but abandoned it, as what I took down was frequently very far removed from the colloquial language, and further I was often suspicious of Connaught influence. The texts printed at the end of this volume, however, have all been very carefully revised, and represent J. H.'s speech as far as lay in my power. Hence the bulk of my material has had to be collected whilst herding cows, or chatting at night by the side of a peat fire.

The mode of transcription I have adopted is that of the Association Phonétique, and the only new symbols are *o*, *ö*, *ɹ*, which represent vowels peculiar to Gaelic. I regret that I have not always been consistent in writing *U*, and *w* before consonants. Finck's Araner Mundart has been freely utilised in the present sketch, and I am only sorry that Meyer's Contributions to Irish Lexicography are not further advanced.

Before perusing the texts it is exceedingly important that the paragraphs on Sandhi should be read.

It should perhaps be observed that in the case of the consonants the term palatalisation is here used to denote palatal temper or quality and that it therefore does not imply that the sounds in question are palatalised as opposed to palatal.

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SYMBOLS.

Vowels: α , ε , e , \ddot{i} , i , υ , o , U , u , y , ø , ö , ɪ , ə .

Consonants: h , j , w , L , l , N , n , R , r , m , η , ʃ , f , v , χ , g , ɛ ,
 s , f , p , b , t , d , k , g .

· before a syllable denotes strong stress.

' after a consonant denotes that that consonant is palatal
(palatalised).

` after a final vowel or consonant is sometimes employed to
indicate marked shortness of the preceding sound.

: after a vowel denotes length.

~ denotes nasalisation.

A. THE VOWEL SYSTEM.

§ 1. We distinguish the following:—

Short vowels:—*a*, *æ*, *ε*, *e*, *ï*, *i*, *ɔ*, *o*, *U*, *ɔ*, *y*, *ɹ*, *ə*.

Long vowels:—*a:*, *ε:*, *e:*, *ï:*, *i:*, *ɔ:*, *o:*, *u:*, *y:*, *ɹ:*, *ö:*.

Diphthongs:—*aï*, *au*, *aï*, *au*, *εï*, *εu*, *εə*, *eï*, *eï*, *iə*, *iu*, *ɔi*, *ɔ:i*,
uə, *uï*, *yə*, *əu*, *əɹ*.

(a) The back vowels *ɑ*, *ɑ:*, *ɔ*, *ɔ:*, *o*, *o:*, *U*, *ɔ¹*, *u:*, *ɹ*, *ɹ:*, *ö:*.

1. *ɑ*.

§ 2. The only a-sound which occurs in Donegal is the a of French 'ma' (Sweet mid-back-wide-outer). In this book *ɑ* is written for purposes of convenience.

§ 3. This sound frequently represents O.Ir. a in accented syllables before non-palatal consonants, e.g. *arəm*, 'army', O.Ir. arm; *at*, 'swelling', O.Ir. att; *fanaxɿt*, 'to stay, remain', O.Ir. anaim; *kapəL*, 'mare', M.Ir. capall; *mak*, 'son', O.Ir. macc; *maLaxɿt*, 'curse', O.Ir. maldacht; *taxtuw*, 'to choke', O.Ir. tachtad; *tart*, 'thirst', O.Ir. tart; *taruw*, 'bull', M.Ir. tarb.

§ 4. O.Ir. e before non-palatal consonants in accented syllables usually gives *ɑ*, e.g. *ax*, 'steed', O.Ir. ech; *alə*, 'swan', M.Ir. ela; *aŋ*, 'splice, strip', *aŋax*, 'fisherman's net', M.Ir. eng; *d'ram*, 'crowd', M.Ir. dremm; *d'arəg*, 'red', O.Ir. derg; *f'ar*, 'man', O.Ir. fer; *g'al*, 'white', M.Ir. gel; *k'axtor*, 'either', O.Ir. cechtar; *L'anuw*, 'child', M.Ir. lenab; *N'ad*, 'nest', M.Ir. net; *p'akuw*, 'sin', O.Ir. peccad; *fasuw*, 'to stand', M.Ir. sessom; *t'ax*, 'house', O.Ir. tech. The fact that O.Ir. accented e and a result in the same sound leads to great confusion when they

¹ Strictly speaking this is a mixed vowel but it will be convenient to treat it with the back vowels.

occur initially. Hence the final of the article is frequently palatal in cases where in O.Ir. the initial was a, not e, e.g. *ta: sé er' ə N'asal* = *tá sé air an asal*, 'he's badly drunk', M.Ir. *assal*; similarly one only hears *ə t'aspəl*, 'the apostle', O.Ir. *apstal*, cp. *eashal* M^cCurtin, *Grammar* p. 103; *ə t'asrigən*, 'a back-answer, sharp retort' < *ais-fhreagar*. This uncertainty as to the quality of the old initial we shall have occasion to deal with in § 452. In this connection we might mention the curious form *anəN* in *mər ə N'anəN*, *kūanəN*, 'alike, level, equal', O.Ir. *inonn*. We should expect **ənəN* but compare *ea* for *io* in Co. Monaghan in *ionad*, *tionntuigh* &c. (*Gaelic Journal* 1896 p. 147 col. 2).

§ 5. Not infrequently *α* stands for O.Ir. *a* in accented syllables followed by a palatal consonant, for which *ai* is now written. This is particularly the case before intervocalic *h* < *th*, where the change seems to have occurred already in M.Ir., cp. Meyer *athaigim* < *aithigim*. *aith-* > *ath-* is also a feature of Desmond Irish, v. Chr. Bros. *Aids to the Pron. of Irish* p. 86. Examples: *kahūw*, 'to spend, wear, throw', O.Ir. *caithem* (Craig writes *cathadh*); *ə wāhə l'ε*, 'for the sake of', Di. *mar (ar) mhaithe le*, as in *ə wāhə l'eihə hein' ə n'i:s ə kat kro:nan*, 'it is for her own good that the cat purs', *N'i: gə hɔmla:n ə wāhə l'εf ə wUNtæst'ə αχ wāhə l'εf ə f'l'eisur*, 'not altogether for the sake of profit but also for pleasure'; *mə gə L'ɔ:r*, 'alright' = *maith go leór* (in every other case *maith* appears as *maic̄*); *ahəNtəs*, 'acquaintance', *ahəNtə*, 'acquainted', Di. *aitheantas*, *aitheanta* formed from *ep'ə*, O.Ir. *aithgne*, pret. *dahin' m'ə*, 'I recognised', Di. *d'aithin*; *ahəNtə*, 'commandments', Di. *aitheanta* pl. of *aithne*, so O.Ir.; *ahiN'ə*, 'brand', M.Ir. *aithinne*; *mahūw*, 'to forgive', O.Ir. *mathem*; similarly before *r* < *r'* in *farəg'ə*, 'sea', O.Ir. *fairgge*; *farsiN'*, 'ample', O.Ir. *fairsing*; *marst'an*, infin. of *mairim*, 'I remain, last', Wi. *maraim*. Further before *m'*, *v*, e.g. *am'fiv'*, 'weather', O.Ir. *aimser*; *tavfə*, 'ghost', M.Ir. *taidbsiu* (note the phrase *ə ɣlakə tuw kopan te: (ə)niʃ? N'i: tavf(ə) e:*, 'will you take a cup of tea now? It would be very acceptable').

§ 6. In the same way M.Ir. *o* before palatal consonant gives *α* in *αf'r'əN*, 'mass', Wi. *oifrend*.

§ 7. We shall find that all long vowels are apt to be shortened before intervocalic *h* < *th*. O.Ir. *á* appears shortened in *sNahəd*, 'needle', O.Ir. *snáthat*; *sNahəd*, *sNahuw*, 'to wash down, spice', pres. *sNa:ihəm*, pret. *na:ic̄*, past part. *sNa:t'ə*, Di. *snathadh*; *ahəs*, 'joy', M.Ir. *áithes*; *tahər*, 'man ist', M.Ir.

atáthar; *N'i: ahar* < ní fhághthar as in the proverb *N'i: ahar sæL' gən çaxt*, 'lard is not got without buying'; *mahær'*, 'mother', O.Ir. máthir; *drah ə Namə fə*, 'about this time' = i dtráth an ama seo, cp. Craig, Iasg. s. dratha; *Lahir'* in *sə Nam ə Lahir'*, 'at the present time', always occurs with *α* but double forms seem to have existed in the older language.

§ 8. Shortening before a consonant group takes place in *Nävð's* plural of *Nä:wid'*, 'enemy', O.Ir. acc. pl. náimtea.

§ 9. Irish throughout its history has never been very careful to distinguish *ǣ* and *ø* (cp. Wi. bass, boss) and Donegal speech forms no exception in this respect. In a number of words *α* commonly appears instead of *ə*, *ø*. These are: *ages*, 'and', O.Ir. ocus; *askaL*, 'arm-pit', M.Ir. ochsal; *barəb*, 'rough', M.Ir. borb; *bataL't'ə*, 'wap of hay', Di. batailte < Engl., 'bottle'; *blagəð'*, 'bald patch' if < Meyer's bloc .i. cruinn; *brahan*, 'porridge', Di. Macbain brochán, Meyer brothchán; *braLax*, 'breast', Meyer brollach; *faLæn'*, 'healthy', Di. fóllain (cp. Molloy's 13th dialect-list); *faχlə*, 'parched', Di. focbla (with different meaning); *faruw*, 'roost', M.Ir. forud; *faskuw*, 'shelter', O.Ir. foscad; *kagnuw*, 'to chew', M.Ir. cocnam; *kaL*, 'hazel', O.Ir. coll; *kaskərt'*, 'to strike, thaw', O.Ir. coscar; *maguw*, 'to mock' < Engl., cp. Louth mogadh; *sap*, 'wisp', M.Ir. sopp (note *f'in' ə sap ə row ə t'iask əN*, 'das also war des Pudels Kern'); *skahuw*, 'to wean', M.Ir. scothaim; *sparan* but also *spəran*, 'purse', M.Ir. sporán; *tərəman*, 'noise', Wi. Ir. T. iv 1 tormán. In other words sometimes *α* appears, sometimes *ə*, cp. *fəskhuw*, 'to open', fut. *N'i: asklax'i*. Cp. further §§ 25, 60.

§ 10. *α* is also frequent in syllables having secondary stress, where it most commonly represents an O.Ir. long vowel. Thus O.Ir. *á* in the derivative suffix *-án* gives *α*, e.g. *g'aran*, 'horse', lit. 'gelding', M.Ir. gerrán; *skahan*, 'mirror', M.Ir. scathán; *glu:rəkan*, 'numbness', cp. *ta: kəLuw glu:rəkən' əN mə χəf*, 'my foot is asleep'. As in O.Ir. there are other substantival terminations which give *-ən* in Donegal, e.g. *-on*, *-un* in mecon, in a number of words we find hesitation between *-an* and *-ən*. Thus the form just mentioned occurs as *m'akən* and *m'akan* (the word is used principally of 'carrots' but it is also applied to the roots of dock and agrimony, *Lqs Nə m'akan*, 'fungus, moss'). By the side of the regular form *Lahən*, 'wide', O.Ir. lethan, one also hears *L'ahan*. Similarly *g'aləwan*, *g'aləwən*, 'sparrow', Dinneen gealbhan, M.Ir. gelbund; *ruəkən*, 'cockle' = Di. ruacán. Adjec-

tives are formed from substantives ending in *-an* by the addition of *-tə*, e.g. *makaNtə*, 'civil, decent', lit. 'filial' < O.Ir. *maccán*, 'puerulus'; *spadaNtə*, 'seedy, out of sorts', Di. *spadánta*; *f'iaNtə*, 'wild' (used of people), Di. *fiadhanta*; *āuvlaNtə*, 'foolishly prating', formed from *āuvlōr'*, Di. *amhlóir*, M.Ir. *oblóir*.

a similarly arises from *á* in *f'íostalaχ*, 'rush', Di. *fiastalach* (which should be spelt with *-á-*); *f'adali:*, 'to whistle', *f'adalaχ*, 'whistling', Di. *feadálach*; *f'ek'alaχ*, 'conspicuous, remarkable, handsome'; *fadalaχ*, 'slow', Di. *fadálach*; *oγalaχə*, 'offerings', plur. of *oγəl'*, Di. *ofráil*. Further *u:has*, 'prodigy', M.Ir. *uathbás*; *pra:kas*, 'small, deformed person', Di. *prácás*; *ra:mas*, 'idle talk'; *d'rəuvlas*, 'licentiousness', *d'rəuvlasaχ*, 'licentious', cp. Di. *dreabhlas*, *drobhlás*; *oγLar*, 'floor', Di. *urlár*.

§ 11. In a number of cases *α* represents an older *ó* (for the same change in S. Ulster see G. J. 1896 p. 147 col. 1). The suffix denoting the agent *-óir* appears regularly in Donegal as *-or'*, but when the abstract suffix *-aχt* is added *α* appears for *o*—thus *ti:do:r'*, 'thatcher', Di. *tuigheadóir* but *ti:da:raχt*, 'thatching'. Similarly *spwæft'araχt*, 'strolling about', Di. *spaisteoireacht*; *N'əoLta:raχt*, 'idling', cp. Engl. 'star-gazing', Di. *néalladóireacht*. Here we may also mention *fanamaNti:*, 'preacher', Di. *seanmóntaidhe*, cp. *fanamōr'*, 'sermon'. Just as *-óir* becomes *-or'*, so the feminine termination *-óg*, O.Ir. *-óc* is reduced to *-og* and commonly to *-ag*, especially by the younger people, e.g. *fwiN'og*, *-ag*, 'window', M.Ir. *fuiudeóg*; *fwi:l'ag*, 'sea-gull', cp. O.Ir. *foilenn*; *kyN'ag*, 'churn-dash', M.Ir. *cuindeóg*. In the plural the *o* is perhaps more firmly rooted, e.g. *m'ioLtoγy:*, 'nudges'; *asoggy:*, 'weasels'; *b'aχoggy:*, 'bees'. In the genitive and dative singular the vowel is generally *æ*, *er' ə NyN'æg'*, 'on the window'; *gah b'aχæg'ə*, 'the sting of a bee'.

§ 12. O.Ir. *é* in the terminations *-én*, *-él*, *-ét* appears as *α*. A similar change seems to have taken place in all the Irish dialects, cp. Finck i p. 26; Henebry p. 29. *é* first gave *eo* as in accented syllables, then *ja(:)*. *eá* < O.Ir. *é* is not unknown in stressed syllables, cp. Henderson, ZCP. iv 90 and Molloy's 36th dialect-list, where the forms *eád*, *eádail*, *eádtrom* and *eágcáoine* are quoted. Examples: *kīvad*, 'to watch, look at', also 'to mind' in *kīvad də χpsə*, 'mind your feet', Di. *coimhead*, Wi. *comét*; *k'in'al*, 'sort, kind', O.Ir. *cinél*, *cenél*, Di. *cinéal*, similarly *k'in'aLta*, 'kind' (adj.); *kil'an*, 'pup', M.Ir. *culén*; *kōrN'al*, 'corner', Di. *coirnéal*; *kaiγ'am'*, 'triumph', M.Ir. *caithréim*; *dīvan*, 'a scart',

Di. duibhéan ('cormorant'). *b'arad*, 'cap', Di. bairéad has doubtless been influenced by some word like *b'aruu*, M.Ir. berrad, 'to shave, dress the hair'. In any case the Donegal form has kept the *a* which we should expect from the Munster form. *bearad* which Dinneen gives as the Donegal form should have the length-mark. Dinneen's sources of information for Donegal forms, J. P. Craig and J. C. Ward, unfortunately make a practice of omitting the length-mark in -áú, -áil, -óir &c., which is most reprehensible, as their manner of spelling gives no clue to the pronunciation.

§ 13. Donegal Irish shews a distinct preference for *a* before χ in the termination -ach (O.Ir. -ach, -ech), e.g. *aLax*, 'cattle', O.Ir. *ellach*; *ma:raX*, 'to-morrow', M.Ir. *i mbárach*; *g'araX*, gen. sing. of *g'er'*, 'tallow'; *im'aXt*, 'to depart', M.Ir. *imthecht*; *raplaxan*, 'rough and ready going fellow', cp. *raplöhutä*, 'hubbub', Di. *rapla húa*; *sefr'aX*, 'plough', M.Ir. *sessrech*; *t'aLax*, 'hearth-stone', M.Ir. *tenlach*; *ü:haXə*, *ü:kaXə*, 'caves', plur. of *üi*.

This same fondness for *a* before χ is further seen in accented syllables in the case of diphthongs, which contain *a* as their second element, e.g. *f'iaX*, 'crow', O.Ir. *fiach*; *f'iaXə*, 'debts', also plur. of *f'ia*, 'deer', M.Ir. *fiad*; *f'iaXæl'*, 'to try', Wi. *féchain*; *k'eaXt*, 'plough' (not common), O.Ir. *cécht*; *p'r'eaXtə*, 'perished with cold', Di. *préachta*; *uaXə*, plur. of *uw*, 'udder', M.Ir. *uth*; *uaXt(a)*, 'pledge', Di. *udhacht*.

§ 14. In proclitics *a* represents a variety of vowels: *fa*, 'about', Di. *fá* (for the form v. § 314); *a hein'*, 'himself', *é fhéin*; *a N'a:niN'*, dia *dheánfhainn*; *d'a 'hin'a*, 'Friday', dia *haoine*; *a*, 'descendant' (in proper names) *a bwi:L'*, 'O'Boyle', the full form is *a*; *ma (mə)*, 'my', O.Ir. *mo*.

2. *a*·.

§ 15. *a*· represents in this book the vowel-sound in French 'rage' (= *a*·) which is the same sound as the short *a* but lengthened. It remains independent of the quality of the following consonant, as in *d'a:n*, 'ferry', gen. sing. *d'a:n'*; *gra:Nə*, 'ugly', comp. *gra:k'ə*; *kra:n'*, 'sow'.

§ 16. Most frequently *a*· arises from O.Ir. *á* in an accented syllable: *fa:gæl'*, 'to leave', Wi. *fácbaim*; *fa:s*, 'to grow', Wi. *ás*; *gra:n'*, 'disgust, dislike', M.Ir. *gráin*; *kra:f'aX*, 'religious', M.Ir. *cráibdech*; *La:n*, 'full', O.Ir. *lán*.

§ 17. O.Ir. *a* in accented syllables followed by *d*, *g* (Mod.Ir. *dh*, *gh*) preceding *w* < O.Ir. *m*, *b* gives *a*·; e.g. *a:məd*, 'timber',

M.Ir. *admat*; *fiál a:w agas eowə*, 'the descendants of Adam and Eve', cp. Di. gen. sing. *Ádhmha*, in Atk. Pass. and Hom. the *a* has no length-mark; *a:wər*, 'material, cause', M.Ir. *adbar*; *sə:wə*, 'woman's name', Mod.Ir. *Sadhbha*, M.Ir. *Sadb*. Similarly *N'i: a:N' fə*, 'he does not get', cp. Wi. *fagbaim*.

§ 18. O.Ir. accented *e* (not *a*, see § 70) followed by *d*, *g* + *a* or *o* gave *aga*, *agə* which contracted to *a:*; e.g. *m'a:χən*, 'weight', Di. *meadhachan*, cp. Wi. *med*; *m'a:N Le:*, 'mid-day', Wi. *medón*; *fL'a:n*, 'turf-spade', Di. *sleaghán*, M.Ir. *sleg*. Occasionally in monosyllables ending in O.Ir. in *ed*, thus *f'a:*, 'fathom', *ga: a:*, '2 fathoms', Di. *feadh*, O.Ir. *ed* (for the pronunciations *f'ig* and *f'əχ* cp. §§ 170, 429).

§ 19. O.Ir. accented *a*, *e*, followed by *th* + *a* result in *a:* but here we sometimes find double forms, e.g. *ra:χ fN'aχtə*, 'a drift of snow', Dinneen has *ráithe*, plur. *ráthachia* (Derry), according to J. H. the nom. sing. is masc. but the gen. *ra:çə* is fem., as is frequently the case with words not often used, nom. plur. *ra:χəNÿ:* (forms containing *á* before *th* may be quoted here as according to § 7 the long vowel would be shortened); *sLə:χ*, 'slush on the sea-shore', also *sLahəχ*, Di. *sláthach*; *b'a:χ*, 'beast, horse', Meyer *bethadach*, plur. *b'ahi:*; *bla:χ*, 'buttermilk', M.Ir. *bláthach*.

§ 20. The *a:* in *d'a:nw*, 'to do', O.Ir. *dénun*, is surprising and is probably to be attributed to the influence of the preterite form *N'i: ha:rN*, where the vowel development is regular. *ta:rN'aχ*, 'thunder', M.Ir. *toirnech* by the side of *tə:rN'əf*, 'a great noise', Di. *tóirnéis*, is peculiar but may be due to a different grade in the root.

§ 21. *a:* arises regularly by lengthening before certain combinations of *l*, *r*, *n* with another consonant¹. This occurs before

Lt, e.g. *a:Lt*, 'cliff', M.Ir. *alt*; *b'a:Ltin'a*, 'May', M.Ir. *beltene*; *ga:Ltə*, 'Protestant', Di. *gallda* < M.Ir. *gall*.

nr, e.g. *a:nri*, 'broth', M.Ir. *enbruthe*; *a:nrə:*, 'misery', M.Ir. *andró*; *bə:nri:n*, 'queen', O.Ir. *ban-*; *kra:nra*, 'knot in wood, corn on the foot', Di. *cranra*; *skə:nri:*, 'scared, frightened', cp. Di. *scannruighim*.

rd, e.g. *k'a:rtə*, 'forge', Wi. *cerdcha* but there is no lengthening before *rt*, cp. *k'art*, 'right', M.Ir. *cert*; *kartuw*, 'to cleanse', Meyer *cartaim*; *kartan*, 'sheep-louse', Meyer *cart*.

¹ The short vowel is however often heard in a number of the cases.

rđ, e.g. *ka:rđə*, 'friends', O.Ir. *cairtea*; *ka:rđax*, 'friendly'.

rN, e.g. *b'a:rN*, 'gap', M.Ir. *bern*; *d'a:rNəd*, 'flea', Di. *deargnait*, M.Ir. *dergnat*; *N'i: ha:rN*, 'did not do', Wi. *derna*; *ka:rN*, 'heap', gen. sing. *ka:rN'*, M.Ir. *carn*; *ta:rNaxta*, 'bare, naked', Wi. *tarr*.

rN', e.g. *ta:rN'ə*, 'nail', Wi. *tairnge* but not in *tarN't*, 'to pull', Wi. *tairngim*.

rL, e.g. *pa:rLan*, proper name, M.Ir. *Partholón*.

R, e.g. *ba:r*, 'top' but *barçic*, 'a light shower' beside *ba:riəL*, 'short leather lace'; *f'a:r*, 'better', O.Ir. *ferr*; *ga:ri:*, 'garden', Di. *garraidhe*, M.Ir. *garrda*; *g'a:r*, 'short', M.Ir. *gerr*, *ə ja:r amə*, 'in a short time' but in the meaning of 'moderate' we find *g'ar*, as in *g'ariə*, 'hare', Di. *gearrfhiadh*, *g'arwäic*, 'pretty good'. In verbal roots ending in *r < R*, the long vowel alternates with the short. Thus *g'aruu*, 'to cut', pret. *ja:r m'ə*, fut. *g'a:ɾə m'ə*, past part. *g'a:ɾə*, imperf. pass. *ja:rti:*, *g'a:ɾaxə*, plur. of *g'aruu*, 'cutting pains'; similarly *b'aruu*, 'to shear', pret. *va:r m'ə*, past part. *b'a:ɾə*. From these forms it appears that lengthening is the rule before *ɾ < rrth*. For this compare *a:ɾuu*, 'change' infin. to M.Ir. *aitherraigim*; *pa:ɾu:s*, 'paradise', Di. *parrthas*, O.Ir. *pardus*; *ta:ɾæl'*, 'to assist, succour', Di. *tárrtháil*, cp. M.Ir. *tarraid*, *tarrthatar*. Note that there is no lengthening before *ɾ < thr* in *k'a:ɾuu*, 'quarter', Wi. *cethramad*.

In *t'a(:)mpəL*, 'a Protestant church or chapel' there is hesitation between *α* and *α:*.

3. 2.

§ 22. In this book *ɔ* is used to denote an unrounded form of the low-back-wide-round English vowel in 'not'. This low-back *ɔ* is general in the English of the inhabitants of the north-west of Ireland and suggests to an English ear rather an *a* than an *o*-sound but *α* and *ɔ* are kept fairly distinct, though *α*, *ɔ*, *ə* are very close to one another in formation.

§ 23. In stressed syllables *ɔ* usually arises from O.Ir. *o* before non-palatal consonants. Unfortunately *ə* frequently occurs under the same conditions and hard and fast rules cannot be

established. However *o* seems to stand principally before certain sounds, *o* before others. *o* appears before

l, e.g. *fólá*, gen. sing. of *fiúil*, 'blood'; *moluuw*, 'to praise, recommend', O.Ir. *molad*; *óláN*, 'wool', O.Ir. *oland* (but gen. sing. *oLá*); *ólk*, 'bad', O.Ir. *olecc*; *sólás*, 'light', O.Ir. *solus*. By the side of *dól*, 'snare', *dól* is also heard.

h, e.g. *bókan*, 'toad-stool', Hogan *bocán*; *Lókuw*, 'to fail, finch', Di. *locadh*; *sók*, 'snout', M.Ir. *socc*; *sókyr'*, 'at ease', M.Ir. *socair*. But always *krók*, 'hill', O.Ir. *cnocc*. *ókrás*, 'hunger', is M.Ir. *accorus*, *occorus*.

t, e.g. *kótuw*, 'bashfulness', Di. *cotughadh*; *krótál*, 'a lichen which gives a yellow dye used in the manufacture of tweeds', Meyer *crottal*; *pótá*, 'pot', Di. *pota*. But *sLót*, 'wick' also used to mean 'a weak person', Manx *slut* (not in Cregeen) (?).

χ, e.g. *bóχt*, 'poor', O.Ir. *bocht*; *kóχáL*, 'scrotum', Wi. *cochull*; *kóχán*, 'straw', Di. *cochán* (this may be formed from *cáith*, *cáth*, 'chaff', with the usual shortening before *h* < *th*, and *h* > *χ*, cp. § 178); *króχuw*, 'to hang', M.Ir. *crochad*; *oχtór*, '8 persons', M.Ir. *ochtar*; *spóχan*, 'poke' (a disease of sheep = *scrofula*); *spóχuw*, 'to geld', M.Ir. *spochad*; *tóχartuw*, 'to wind up thread', Di. *tochardadh*, M.Ir. *tochras* (Laws); *tóχás*, 'itch', Di. *tochas*; *tóχt fuil*, 'gravel', Di. *tocht* + *fuail* gen. sing. of *fual* (this term is not understood, the meaning of *fual* is entirely forgotten).

r, e.g. *dórəχə*, 'dark', O.Ir. *dorcha*; *dórəs*, 'door', O.Ir. *dorus*; *fórtəχ*, 'comfort', M.Ir. *fortacht*; *górəm*, 'blue', M.Ir. *gorm*; *górti:wə l'ε*, 'depending on', Di. *tortaobh* (cp. § 416); *górtuw*, 'to injure', Di. *gortughadh*; *kór*, *kóR*, 'odd', M.Ir. *corr*; *kóRuw l'ε*, 'upwards of', Di. *corradh*; *kórədi:*, 'to move, stir', Meyer *coraigim*; *kórəχ*, 'steep', M.Ir. *corrach*; *kórp*, 'corpse', O.Ir. *corp*; *kórəm*, 'level', M.Ir. *comthromm*; *k'l'i'orst'ə*, 'harrow', = *clíath fhoirste*; *Lórəg*, 'track', Wi. *lorg*; *mórəkuw*, 'rotting', Di. *morgadh* (the *k* is extended from the past part. *mórəky:*); *storfwi:*, 'snort'; *tórt'*, 'bulk', M.Ir. *toirt*; *toruw*, 'fruit', O.Ir. *torad*. But *pórtəχ*, 'bog', Di. *portach*.

s, e.g. *kosu:l'*, 'similar', O.Ir. *cosmail*; *krəs*, 'cross', *krəsəm*,

'I forbid', Meyer cross, crossaim; *osNə*, 'sigh', O.Ir. *osnad*; *tost*, 'silence', M.Ir. *tost*; *trosk*, 'cod', Di. *trosc*. But *Lqsid'*, 'a shallow wooden vessel' (not generally known), O.Ir. *lossat*; *LqskəN*, 'toad', M.Ir. *loscann* doubtless owing to the preceding *L*.

h < *th*, e.g. *kəhuw*, 'to feed', Meyer *cothaigim*; *gohanaχ*, 'touchy', Di. *gothán*; *roha*, 'wheel', Wi. *roth*. But *q* before *χ* < *h* in *məχuw*, 'springing' (cp. § 333).

o only occurs very exceptionally before other non-palatal sounds, e.g. *bobwir'αχt*, 'roguery', formed on Engl. 'bob'; *gonan*, 'canine tooth', formed from *gonaim* (?); *kəpan*, 'cup' < Engl.; *kəpog*, 'dock', Meyer *coppóc*.

§ 24. *o* also occurs before palatal consonants, but chiefly when the palatal is an essential part of the root-syllable and not when it only serves as a flexional element, e.g. *kərk'ə*, 'oats', Meyer *coirce*; *Lot'αχ*, 'harmful, injurious', M.Ir. *loitim*; *əfir'*, 'oyster', Macbain *oisir*, Di. *oisre*; *əl'ir'*, 'turf-bank', Di. *oitir*; *ryfuw*, 'rip up', O'R. *roiseadh*; *təl'*, 'smoke', Di. *toit*, Atk. *tutt*; *gər'uw*, 'to heat, warm', Di. *goruw* (cp. the proverb *as f'α:r ə veL't' ə hαNuw Nα n grui ə gər'uw*, 'it is better to tighten the belt than to burn one's cheek'). In other cases *o* before a palatal consonant has been prevented from becoming *i*, *í* by the rest of the paradigm, e.g. *təl'*, 'will', O.Ir. *tol*; *skəl'*, 'school', M.Ir. *scol*; *kəə*, gen. sing. of *kəs*, 'foot', *kəfiαχt*, 'walking', Di. *coisidheacht*; *kəfi:n'*, 'stick with curved handle', Di. *croisín* < *cros*. But in the majority of monosyllables we find *i*, *í*, cp. *brək*, 'badger', gen. sing. *brik'* and § 98.

§ 25. In § 9 we saw that a number of forms containing *o* in O.Ir. at the present day have *α*. The converse is also true and some speakers go very far in substituting *o* for *α*. This is principally the case in the neighbourhood of *l*, *L* (cp. for Monaghan G. J. 1896 p. 146 col. 1) and J. H. has *o* in the following:—*boluw*, 'dumb', M.Ir. *balb*; *golər*, 'disease', O.Ir. *galar*; *Losuw*, 'to light, kindle', M.Ir. *lassaim*, *Losir'*, 'blaze', M.Ir. *lassair*; *mələrt'*, 'exchange', M.Ir. *malairt*; *məli:*, 'brow, incline', O.Ir. *mala*; *sələN*, 'salt', O.Ir. *saland*; *bolkuw* beside *balkuw*, 'futuere', Di. *balcain*, Meyer *balccim*, cp. *bəN balky:*, 'a collection made to pay for whiskey &c. at a gathering or dance on the first Sunday after a wedding'. From younger people one hears *toluw*, 'land', O.Ir. *talam*; *həL*, 'over yonder', *əNəL*, 'hither', O.Ir. *tall*, *anall*; *sməlkuw*, 'to smoke vigorously', Di.

smalcadh; *bolk* beside *balk*, *bolkaNÿ*: *Nə Lu:NəsNə*, 'August rains', Di. balc. The hesitation between *α* and *ο* in the O.Ir. suffix *-óc* has been mentioned in § 11 and a number of words appear with both vowels, e.g. *fóli:m*, 'I hide', *ο wolaχ*, *walaχ*, 'in hiding', M.Ir. folach, pret. *dali: fə*, past part. *fali:ftə*; *αχruw*, *οχruw*, an exclamation = 'why, good heavens, I should just think so', Craig writes áchrú (Iasg.); *αtəruw*, *οtəruw*, 'between them', Di. eatortha; *οdi:*, *αdi:*, 'yon' = *adaí*, Di. úd; *Nəχti:*, 'stripped, bare' but *ta:rNaχti:*, 'naked', M.Ir. nocht; *kəmə'iL'a*, 'heath-pease', Di. carra mhilis; *mohuw*, 'to feel', fut. act. *maihaχə m'a*, pres. *maihi:m*, pres. pass. *mət'ər*. *wəka tuw* may be heard by the side of *waka tuw*, 'did you see?', *boriaχt*, 'too much' for *bariaχt*, Di. bárraidheacht. One might naturally think that this *ο* was spreading into W. Ulster from Connaught, but in the light of the Monaghan forms quoted by Lloyd we may assume that *ο* for *α* occurs sporadically in northern dialects as well as in the west and south.

§ 26. *ο* represents M.Ir. *eo* in *οχyr'*, 'key', M.Ir. *eochair*. This word has doubtless influenced *οχyr'*, 'the roe of a fish', M.Ir. *iuchair*. We expect **οχyr'*. O.Ir. *fliuch*, 'wet', is sometimes pronounced *f'l'οχ* beside *f'l'iχ*, *f'l'əχ*, *f'l'Uχ*. *d'οχ*, 'drink' < O.Ir. *deug*, gen. sing. *dige*, on the lines of *tech*, 'house', gen. sing. *tige*, owes its vowel to the u-temper of the final in O.Ir.

§ 27. An O.Ir. *ó* is reduced to *ο* in syllables with secondary stress, e.g. *fi:dər'*, 'weaver', Di. *figheadóir*; *sp'alədər'*, 'mower'; *ti:dər'*, 'thatcher'; *b'r'iŋləd'*, 'dream', Meyer *brinnglóid*; *ma:ləd'*, 'a foolish woman', Di. *málad*; *t'r'ibləd'*, 'trouble', Di. *trioblóid*, M.Ir. *treblait*; *f'k'ibəl* (*f'k'ibal*), 'barn', Di. *scioból*; *səL'ər'* beside *səL'er'*, 'evident', Di. *soilléir*. *N'amort*, 'neglect, carelessness', *N'amortaχ*, 'careless', are peculiar. Dinneen writes *neamháird*. In the Derry People 2 xii '05 p. 2 col. 5, we find *neamart*. A remarkable reduction of *uo* > *ο* before the stress occurs in *Ləχ'p'i:N'a*, 'a pennyworth' < *Luəχ*, Di. *luach*; *kəvəχ 'eiv'*, 'hay-stack', < *cruach*. With this is to be compared *sLə: f'ü:*, 'the fairies', < *sluagh*. *gəl 'pə:l'*, 'to sing' ('to sing a song' is *ο:ran ə ra:(t)*), imperative *abwir' ο:ran* < *gabháil cheóil*, shews loss of palatalisation in a weakly stressed syllable. The full form *gə:l'* is used to mean 'yeast', Di. *gabháil*. *gəl'* and *gəl* are used side by side for 'going', = *ag gabháil* and *ag dul*. Similarly *tərt 'dŪw'*, 'giving to me' < *to:rt'*, Di. *tabhairt*, imper. *tər, tər 'dŪw'*, 'give me'; *məran*, 'many, a quantity of', Di.

mórán is the usual form, as the word principally comes before the stress, but *mó:ran*, *mo:ran* are the emphatic forms. Cp. § 451.

4. *o:*.

§ 28. This is the same sound as the previous one, only long.

§ 29. *o:* usually represents O.Ir. *o* in accented syllables, e.g. *bó:*, 'cow', O.Ir. *bó* (but note gen. plur. *Nə mo:*); *a do:ləuw*, 'always, still', Di. *i dtolamb* (?); *do:uw*, 'to burn', M.Ir. *dóud*; *fó:d*, 'sod', O.Ir. *fót*; *gə fə:L*, 'still, yet', M.Ir. *co foill*; *glə:r*, 'noise, sound of talking', M.Ir. *glór*; *kə:r*, 'proper, meet', O.Ir. *cóir* from which *kə:r'uw*, 'to mend'; *kə:rə*, 'chest', Di. *cófra*; *ko:tə*, 'coat', Di. *cóta*; *kro:* (*mwik'a*), 'sty', O.Ir. *cró*; *kro:g'an*, 'a foot, small heap of peat set up to dry', *kro:g'uw*, 'to foot', Di. *gruaigneadh*; *o:g*, 'young', O.Ir. *óc*; *o:l*, 'drink', O.Ir. *ól*; *ə:r*, 'gold', O.Ir. *ór*; *o:kæd*, 'opportunity', Di. *ócaíd*; *plə:d' ɔrt*, 'confound you' suggests *pláigh*, 'plague'; *pə:g*, 'kiss', O.Ir. *póc*; *pə:kə*, 'pocket', Di. *póca*; *pə:suw*, 'to marry', Di. *pósadh*; *pə:r*, 'seed', *pə:ruw*, 'to breed', Di. *pór*; *rə:gəNtə*, 'roguish'; *rə:pə*, 'rope'; *skro:bən*, 'crop of birds', Di. *scrobán*; *skə:rə* in *bə skə:rə l'im ə və buiL't'ə*, 'it would be beneath my dignity'; *skə:g*, 'neck of a bottle', Di. *scóig*; *smə:ləχ*, 'thrush', Di. *smólach*; *sə:* in *sə:(j)ɔr'et'ə*, 'credible'; *sə:(j)hik'fi:*, 'intelligible' (similarly *do:* in *do:raNə*, 'hard to deal with'); *sə:kəl*, 'ease', Keating *sócamhal* (cp. Derry People 30 v '04, *ionnus nach robh suaimhneas na sócal aici*); *stə:kəχ*, 'lad', Di. *stócach*; *stə:l*, 'stool'; *strə:kuw*, 'to tear', Di. *strócadh*; *sro:fəχ*, 'sneezing', O'R. *srófurtach*; *trə:kir'ə*, 'mercy', O.Ir. *trócaire*.

It is perhaps worth while noting that, when *o:* comes to be flanked by palatal consonants, no change occurs, e.g. *k'ə:l*, gen. sing. of *k'ə:l*, 'music, song'; *d'ə:r*, 'tear, drop', gen. sing. *d'ə:r'ə*.

§ 30. *o:* occurs in syllables with both chief and secondary stress as the result of *o* (*ó*) followed by *dh*, *gh*, which have become quiescent, e.g. *sə:*, 'happiness', Di. *sógh*, cp. the proverb *N'i: f'juw sə: Nəχ wiL'anuw a.nrə:*, 'no contentment is worth anything that will not weather adversity'; *do:riN'əχ*, 'severe, distressing', Keating *doghraingeach* but *f'ð:wər*, 'autumn', cp. § 38; *fədo:*, 'to kindle, make into a blaze', M.Ir. *fatód*. This termination *-o:* has been extended to several other words, *ələ:*, 'flee, escape', Wi. *élud*; *t'əLto:*, 'saunter', Di. *téaltógh*; *m'əfə:*, 'interruption, delay', Di. has *meathlódh* s. *meathladh*; *L'ərvə:*, 'glimmer of sight' (?).

§ 31. *ɔ*: arises from *ɔ* by lengthening before *R*, *ɾ*, *rN*, *rt*, *rd*, e.g. *dɔ:rN*, 'fist', Wi. dorn, but nom. plur. *ḍirN'*; *dɔ:rtuɔw*, 'spill', M.Ir. dortad; *ə Nɔ:ɾi:r'*, 'the day after to-morrow', Di. oirthear, Wi. oirthir, airthir; *ɔ:rd*, 'sledge-hammer', M.Ir. ord, but nom. plur. *ord'*, *ird'*; *ɔ:rdag*, 'thumb', Wi. ordu; *skɔ:rNax*, 'throat', Di. scórnach, Macbain sgórnan; *tɔ:ruɔw*, 'funeral', Di. tórramh, Wi. torroma; *tɔ:ɾi:s*, 'number at birth', Wi. torrchius; *tɔ:rN'æf*, 'big noise, row', Di. tóirnéis.

§ 32. O.Ir. eu, eó give *ɔ*: by shifting of the stress in *ɔ:lax*, 'acquainted, experienced', cp. O.Ir. eóla; *ɔ:rNə*, 'barley', M.Ir. eórna; *gə d'ɔ:*, 'for ever', cp. Wi. deod; *d'r'ɔ:lan*, 'wren', Di. dreólán; *f'jɔ:l*, 'flesh', O.Ir. feóil; *k'ɔ:*, 'mist', M.Ir. ceó; *gə L'ɔ:r*, 'sufficient, plenty', Wi. leór; *L'ɔuw*, 'to heckle', Di. leodhaim, Wi. leó; *ʃɔ:l*, 'sail', O.Ir. seól; *t'ɔ:*, comp. of *t'e*, 'hot', cp. Wi. teou s. tee. *d'ɔ:r*, 'tear, drop' is M.Ir. déir for which see Strachan Bezz. Beitr. xx 6 n.

§ 33. Occasionally *ɔ*: is the result of contraction, e.g. *kɔ:χə m'ə*, fut. of *kəhuw*, 'to feed', Meyer cothaigim; *kɔ:r'* < comhair in *N'i: raxət'* *ʃi: a χɔ:r'*, 'she would not go near him', *χɔ:r Nə Lu:NəsNə*, 'approaching August', *χɔ:r' ə hi:n jɛəg*, 'nearly 11', *tɔ: ʃɛ χɔ:r' mɔ:ruɔw*, 'he is almost dead' (*χɔ:r'* is further reduced to *χɔr'* in *χɔr' ə və*, 'almost'); *ɔ:n*, 'Owen', M.Ir. Eogan, *t'i:r' ɔ:n'*, 'Tyrone'.

§ 34. Before the chief stress we sometimes find *ɔ*: for *uə*, cp. *Lɔχ 'p'i:N'ə* § 27. This occurs in *sLɔ: ʃi:*, 'the fairies', *sluagh sidhe*, plur. *sLɔ:t'ə*; *rɔ: 'b'iN'*, 'brown hawk', *ruadh beinne*, cp. Di. ruadhán alla, 'sparrow-hawk'. *ɔ:*, 'grandchild', O.Ir. haue, M.Ir. óa, úa, common in the phrase *tɔ: ʃiəd klaN əs ɔ:*, 'they are second cousins'. In family names it is reduced to *ɔ*. In this connection we may note the Anglo-Irish 'bórach' (*bɔ:rxχ*) where in Irish one hears *bwχ:rxχ*, Di. buarach and cp. further § 151.

§ 35. In a few cases we find *ɔ*: where we should naturally expect *o*:, e.g. *ɔ:ran*, 'song', Meyer amrán; *gɔ:Litəs*, 'farm', Di. gabháltas; *gɔ:lə*, gen. sing. of *gɔ:l*, 'yeast', Di. gabháil but *gɔ:l*, 'groin', *gɔ:laxəs*, 'springing' (of horses), *gɔ:m* = gabhaim, v. § 40.

5. o.

§ 36. A close short *o* is heard in a few words in the vicinity of labials instead of *ɔ*. Examples: *brow*, 'blade of grass',

Meyer brobh, brod; *boh*, 'sod-house, still-house', O.Ir. both but *bhōg*; *bomwí'ə*, 'minute', but more commonly with *o*, Di. móimid; *mōhuw*, 'to feel', Di. mothughadh; *row*, enclitic form for 'was', = raba < robói. In *kōhərə*, 'sign', Wi. comartha we have transposition of the *h* < th and consequent shortening.

6. o:.

§ 37. This is a very close long o-sound like the German vowel in 'Sohn' or the Anglo-Irish o in 'home'. When nasalised it is slightly more open as is the case in French (Vieitor, *Elemente der Phonetik*⁵ p. 158). In the use of o: Monaghan seems to agree with Donegal (cp. G. J. 1896 p. 146).

§ 38. o: arises from O.Ir. ó chiefly in the vicinity of nasals and labials. It is interesting to note that under these circumstances the dialect described by Henebry has *u:*, whilst Donegal *o:* corresponds to o: in the Decies (Henebry p. 31). Examples: *bro:n*, 'sorrow', O.Ir. brón; *krō:*, 'nut', M.Ir. cnó, O.Ir. cnú; *Lo:n*, 'store, provision', O.Ir. loun, lóon; *mo:*, 'more', O.Ir. moo, mó; *mo:ŋə*, 'vow', M.Ir. móit; *mo:n'*, 'peat', M.Ir. móin; *mo:rtəs*, 'boasting', *mórdatas, cp. M.Ir. mórdatu; *mo:ŋiam*, 'irritation', Di. móisiam < Engl. 'commotion' (?); *Nō:s*, 'habit', M.Ir. nós; *o:N'fαχ*, 'hussy', Di. óinseach; *rō:n*, 'seal', M.Ir. rón; *sro:n*, 'nose', O.Ir. srón; *to:n'*, 'bottom', M.Ir. tón. *so:məs*, 'ease', is peculiar, as Dinneen and O'Reilly have *sámhas*, Wi. sám. It should be stated that, although the distinction between *o:* and o: seems to be pretty generally observed, there are surprising deviations, e.g. one may hear *gə L'or:*, 'sufficient', for *gə L'or*. Why *to:g*, imper. 'lift', Wi. tócbaim has o: I am quite unable to say. M.Ir. eo, eói also give o: before a nasal, e.g. *L'oc:nuw*, 'to sprain', Keating leónaim; *da lo:Nti:l' hein'*, 'of his own accord', Di. gives leóinte as Munster and *d'á leontuighil féin* as the Donegal form. The forms seem to go back to M.Ir. deóin, which is preserved in *N'āyǝð:n'*, 'in spite of' (*reig' fə m'ə N' ə d'arN m'ə ə wāihəs də:*, 'he left me in spite of all the good I did for him'), here M.Ir. i n-amdeón has been transformed into neamh-dheóin. Cp. further *N'o:m'i:n'*, 'daisy', for *No:n'i:n'*, Di. nóinín.

§ 39. In a few cases o: is the result of lengthening before n + another consonant, e.g. *so:Ntaχ*, 'innocent, simple', Di. sonntach; *so:nruw*, 'notice', Di. sonnruhadh, *so:nriaχ*, 'remarkable', both from O.Ir. sainreth, sainred.

§ 40. Very frequently *o*: arises in stressed syllables containing O.Ir. *e*, *a* or *o* followed by *bh* or *e*, *o* followed by *mh*. The sound represented by *bh*, *mh* was a bilabial *w* which coalesced with the preceding vowel, the stages being $\begin{matrix} aw & au(w) & ou & o: \\ ow & au(w) & ou(w) & o: \end{matrix}$. In some cases the older stage *au* has been preserved. Thus in *dāwuan*, 'world', an alternative pronunciation to *do:n*, O.Ir. *domun*, which is perhaps more general, cp. G. J. 1896 p. 146; *dauwi*, 'vat', M.Ir. *dabach*; *d'auwi*, 'nagging', O.Ir. *debaid*. (a) Examples of *o*: < O.Ir. *om*, *dō:nax*, 'Sunday', M.Ir. *domnach*; *do:nəL*, 'Donald', M.Ir. *Domnall*; *do:n'*, 'deep', O.Ir. *domain*; *ko:gar*, 'tool' (?); *kō:lə*, 'door-valve', M.Ir. *comla*; *kō:nē*, 'dwell', M.Ir. *comnaide*; *kō:r*, 'partnership' (*ə gō:r fa*, 'sharing'), Meyer *comar*; *kō:rsə*, 'neighbour', Meyer *comarsa*; *kō:rā:*, 'converse', M.Ir. *comrád*; *ko:rL'ə*, 'advice', O.Ir. *comairle*; *tō:s*, 'measure, guess', O.Ir. *tomus*. For *kō:nir'*, 'coffin', Meyer *comra* see § 442. Here we may also mention the forms *rō:m*, *rō:d*, *rō:N'*, *rō:v* < *romham*, *romhad* &c. < *rem*. (b) Examples of *o*: < O.Ir. *ab*, *go:r*, 'goat', O.Ir. *gabor*; *go:l*, 'groin', O.Ir. *gabul* (this word is practically forgotten in the meaning of 'fork', for which the English word is used. J. H. however has it but pronounces it *gauwəl*), cp. *ta: go:l maiç bwæN'ə eg' ə wo: f'in'*, 'that cow has a good bag of milk', *ve:ɾə m'ə kick sə go:l gyd'*, said by boys, *go:laχəs*, 'springing' (of a horse), cp. *Macbain gobhlachan*, 'person sitting astride'; *go:m*, imper. *go:*, O.Ir. *gabimm* [in the meaning of 'take' *glakuw* is now used. The present *go:m* is chiefly heard in *go:m pa:rdu:n did'*, 'excuse me', the imperative is used to mean 'go', also 'come' as *go: (ə)l'ax*, 'come in', *go: əNəL*, 'come over here'. The infin., past part. and passive forms are used in the sense of 'arrest', note also *N'i: veiN' gU'lə l'ef*, 'I would not be bothered with it']; *o:N'*, 'river', cp. Meyer *aba*, gen. sing. *aband*; *to:rt'*, 'to give', O.Ir. *tabairt* (frequently shortened to *trt'*), *to:rtəsax fa N'ar*, 'observant', *to:rt'ax*, 'liberal', *to:rtənas*, 'offering, gift', *N'i: ho:ɾ'ə m'ə (hu:ɾ'ə)*, 'I shall not give', Craig writes *ní thabharfaidh* but this I have not heard; *Lo:rt'*, 'speak', O.Ir. *labraim*; *sLo:k*, 'viscid kind of sea-weed', Hogan *slabhacán*, comes from English 'sloke'. (c) Examples of *o*: < O.Ir. *ob*, *go:*, 'smith', O.Ir. *goba*; *ko:r'*, 'relief', O.Ir. *cobir*; *ro:rtə*, 'spring-tide', O.Ir. *robarti*; *ro:wə*, *ro:uw*, 'warning', M.Ir. *robad*. (d) Examples of *o*: < O.Ir. *eb*, *f'jo:s*, 'excellence', M.Ir. *febas*; *L'o:r*, 'book', O.Ir. *lebor*, also in the asseveration formed from this word, *L'o:gə*, i.e., by the book' > 'indeed'; *m'jō:r'*,

'mind', O.Ir. mebuir; *fo:k*, 'hawk', M.Ir. sebac; *t'r'ouw*, 'to plough', pres. ind. *t'r'o:jəm*, M.Ir. trebaim; *jo: m'ə*, fut. of *jevəm*, 'I get', Keating do-ghéabha, fut. pass. *jo:har*. (e) In *d'o:n*, 'demon', O.Ir. demun o: arises from O.Ir. em but the case is isolated, cp. *fL'äüwin'*, 'slippery', M.Ir. slemon.

Two other forms containing o: by contraction may be mentioned here, *fð:wær*, 'harvest, autumn', O.Ir. fogamur; *m'jo:n'*, 'means', which seems to go back to O.Ir. medón, though the latter generally appears as *m'α:n* in *m'α:n̄:çə*, 'midnight', *m'α:NLe:*, 'mid-day'. This *m'jo:n'* only occurs in the plural like Engl. 'means'. Dinneen gives meodhan as a by-form of meadhón.

7. U.

§ 41. This is a sound which does not occur in many words, but there are several varieties, which makes analysis difficult. One form of the sound is certainly the high-back-wide-round vowel in standard Engl. 'put', only differing from it in having under-rounding. *U* is found most frequently in monosyllables before *w*.

§ 42. O.Ir. u in stressed monosyllables followed by b, g, th gives *U*, e.g. *dUw*, 'black', O.Ir. dub (also *dŪw*, 'to me', O.Ir. dom); *grUw* (*grU bwia*), 'biestings', Wi. gruth; *gUw*, 'voice', O.Ir. guth; *krUw*, 'form, shape', O.Ir. cruth; *srUw*, 'stream', *srUw əNuəs*, 'down-drops, rain coming through the roof', O.Ir. sruth. In cases like *t'Uw*, 'thick', M.Ir. tiug (Craig Iasg. tiuth) and *t'r'Uw*, 'hooping-cough', Di. triuch, the glide developed before *g* < O.Ir. g has ousted the original vowel.

It may be gathered from these examples that Donegal Irish shews a distinct tendency to make a short accented monosyllable ending in a vowel or *w* or *j* terminate in breath. Thus the *w* in the above instances is unvoiced and this is more clearly seen in *əN'Uw*, 'to-day', O.Ir. indiu. Cp. further *deh*, 'from him', O.Ir. de, Scotch Gaelic dheth and §§ 91, 202. When another syllable is added to these forms in *w*, we find *h*, e.g. *krUhi:m*, 'I prove', Di. cruthuighim; *srUhan*, 'a stream' but also *srUwan*.

§ 43. *U* occurs in some words where we might expect *o* or *i*, as in *kUf'kr'αχ*, 'reeds', O'Don. Suppl. cuiscreach; *fUgiN'* < seo chugainn; *bUkə*, 'box'; *kUf'L'ə*, 'vein, pulse', O.Ir. cuisle, *kUf'L'an də həluw*, 'a strip of land'; *kUf'N'αχ*, 'very rainy sleet', Di. cuisne; *LUhə*, past part. of *Louw*, 'to rot', O.Ir.

lobad; *LUχær'*, 'rejoicing', M.Ir. luthgáir but *Lü:hær*, 'vigorous, nimble', M.Ir. lúthmar; *Uχært'*, 'to wallow', uchairt Claidheamh Soluis 10 x '03 p. 3 col. 5 (cp. § 335). One may also hear *U* for *o* in *mUk*, 'pig'; *mULaχ*, 'top'; *gUgæn*, 'piggin'; *a dUkf'i:*, dá dtugfidhe; *bUNtæft'a*, 'advantage'; *ʔU't'i:*, imperf. pass. of *t'r'ouu*, 'to plough', also *ʔot'i:*, *ʔit'i:*; *gU't'a* past part. of *go:m*, O.Ir. gabimm (but *gyt'a* from *gyd'*, 'to steal', M.Ir. gait), pres. pass. *gU't'er* &c.; *kUmplask*, 'build of a man' < Engl. 'complexion'; *Ubwir'*, 'work'; *f'l'Uχ*, 'wet' beside *f'l'i'χ*, *f'l'o'χ*.

8. *u:*.

§ 44. There are several varieties of *u:*-sounds in Donegal. The normal *u:* I regard as a lowered variety with underrounding. The absence of well-marked lip-rounding explains how *uə* can pass into *ʌ:*; *iə* (infra § 66) and further how the same vowel can be reduced to *ɔ:*; *ɔ* in a syllable before the chief stress (§ 34). In the neighbourhood of palatal consonants *u:* is often like the vowel in German 'gut' (high-back-narrow-round). *u:* tends to pass off into a bilabial *w* which, however, does not appear before consonants.

§ 45. *u:* commonly corresponds to O.Ir. *ú*, e.g. *bru:t'a*, past part. of *bruiám*, 'I mash, press down', M.Ir. brúim, *bru:t'i:n'*, 'mashed potatoes', Di. brúightín; *d'r'u:χtə*, 'dew', M.Ir. drúcht; *ku:l*, 'back', O.Ir. cúl; *ku:rəmaχ*, 'careful', Di. cúramach; *kuw*, 'hound', O.Ir. cú; *k'l'uw*, 'fame' for **kluw*, O.Ir. clú; *Lu:buw*, 'to bend', M.Ir. lúpaim; *Lü:hær*, 'nimble', M.Ir. lúthmar; *mu:n*, 'urine', M.Ir. mún; *plu:χəm*, 'I smother', cp. O.Ir. múchaim; *su:l'*, 'eye', O.Ir. súil; *turrtog*, 'hillock', spelt túrtóg Derry People 21 xi '03 p. 3 col. 3, Di. turtóg; *turN'a*, 'spinning-wheel', Di. túirne s. túrna; *u:dəlan*, 'swivel', Macbain udalan < O.Ir. utmall; *u:r*, 'fresh', M.Ir. úr; *uw*, 'udder', O.Ir. uth. *ku:r'iaLta*, 'neat' has *u:*; cp. Claidheamh Soluis 29 viii '03 p. 2 col. 5 cúraidhealta, against Di., O'R. cuiréalta.

u: also occurs in syllables with secondary stress, e.g. *gasu:r*, 'little boy', Di. gasúr seemingly by form-association with gas from garsún < Fr. garçon; *gəru:n*, 'haunch', Di. gurrún; *jiərag-nuw*, 'annoyance', Di. iarghnó; *kasu:r*, 'hammer', Meyer casúr; *m'i:ft'u:rə*, 'unruly'; *pa:rdu:n*, 'pardon'; *pa:rʔu:s*, 'paradise', O.Ir. pardus by analogy with words in *u:s* < Engl. 'house' as Meyer bacús, *təNu:s*, 'tannery', perhaps also with *p'inu:s*, 'penance', Di. piónús; *fɛ:fu:r*, 'season', Di. séasúr; *ta:L'u:r*, 'tailor'.

§ 46. O.Ir. *ua*, *uai* are frequently contracted to *u*;, e.g. *u:n*, 'lamb', plur. *u:n'* (cp. Molloy's 33rd dialect-list), O.Ir. *úan*; *u:has*, 'prodigy', M.Ir. *úathbás*; *ũ:haxʒə*, *ũ:kaxʒə*, plur. of *ũi*, 'cave', O.Ir. *uam*; *klũ:n'*, 'aftermath, meadow, allurement', M.Ir. *clúain*; *ku:n'*, gen. sing. of *ku:n*, 'harbour', M.Ir. *cúan*; *d'a Lu:n'*, 'Monday', Wi. *lúan*; *Nuu*, 'new', O.Ir. *núe*, *núa*; *ruuwog*, 'cobblers' cord', Di. *ruadhóg*; *sNuu*, 'complexion', Wi. *snúad*. *bu:r'uw*, 'blood mixed with matter', cp. Meyer *búar*, 'diarrhoea'.

§ 47. O.Ir. *b* < Idg. *ɥ* after *r*, *l* gives *uw*, e.g. *garuw*, 'rough', O.Ir. *garb*; *maruw*, 'dead', O.Ir. *marb*; *faruw*, 'bitter', O.Ir. *serb*; *taruw*, 'bull', O.Ir. *tarb*. Similarly a final *b* or *m* when not originally followed by a palatal vowel gave a bilabial *w* and was later vocalised to *uw*, e.g. *g'r'úuw*, 'deed', O.Ir. *gním*; *klúuw*, 'plumage', M.Ir. *clúm*. Where possible *a*, *e* or *o* preceding the *b* or *m* became *ə* and the resulting combination *əw* also gave *uw*, e.g. *k'l'úuw*, 'basket, creel', O.Ir. *clíab*; *L'anuw*, 'infant', M.Ir. *lenab*; *fL'úuw*, 'mountain', O.Ir. *slíab*. In syllables with secondary stress—*aNúuw*, 'seldom', Wi. *andam*; *a:r'uw*, 'count', O.Ir. *áram*; *b'r'ehuw*, 'judge', *b'r'ehu:nəs*, 'judgment', O.Ir. *brithem*; *d'a:nuw*, 'to do', O.Ir. *dénom*; *fwi:fuw*, 'improvement', Di. *faoiseamh*, M.Ir. *foessam*; *kahúuw*, 'to wear, throw, spend', O.Ir. *caithem*; *kú:nuw*, 'assistance', O.Ir. *congnam*; *f'iLuw*, 'syllable', O.Ir. *sillab*.

§ 48. In syllables with secondary stress O.Ir. *b*, *m* gave *w* which coalesced with the vowel of the syllable and produced *u:(w)*. In this case *w* is frequently heard before *r*, *l*, *n*, *s*. The adjective termination *-mar* appears as *-u:r*, e.g. *ədu:r*, 'jealous', Di. *éadmhar*; *fasku:r*, 'sheltered' < *foscad-mar; *d'ionu:r*, 'water-tight', Di. *díonmhar*; *gA:lu:r*, 'related', Di. *gaolmhar*. The infinitive termination *-(a)main*, *-(a)maint* gives *-u:n'*, *-u:N't'*, e.g. *L'anu:N't'*, 'to follow', Wi. *lenmain*; *el'u:n'*, 'to rear', Wi. *ailemain s. alaim*; *g'aLu:N't'*, 'to promise', Di. *geallamhain*; *kanü:N't'*, 'speech, language', Di. *canamhain*; *gyL'ü:N't'*, 'to affect, trouble sorely', Di. *goilleamhain(t)*. Similarly *La:nü:n'*, 'couple', M.Ir. *lánamain*; *mahu:nəs*, 'forgiveness', Di. *maith-eamhnas*, Wi. *mathem*; *b'ihu:Ntə*, 'rascally', Di. *bitheamhanta*. The adjective termination *-(a)mail* is *-u:l'* (*-ə'l'*), e.g. *kəsu:l'*, 'like', O.Ir. *cosmail*; *d'l'i:hu:l'*, 'lawful', Di. *dligtheamhail*; *gra:n'ü:l'*, 'loathsome, disgusting', Di. *gráineamhail*. Other examples—*aku:N'*, 'strength, endurance', M.Ir. *accmaing*; *anu:N'*, 'infirm',

Meyer anfang; *ˈanχu:Nʹfə*, 'monster' < an-chuimse (?); *diL'u:r*, 'foliage', Di. duilleabhar; *d'iq'u:r*, 'set of 10', O.Ir. deichenbor; *kogu:s*, 'roof of the mouth, hard palate', which is pronounced the same as the word for 'conscience' (O.Ir. cocubus), Di. has cogansach; *m'iru:L'tαχ*, 'marvellous', Di. míorbhaileach, míorbhailteach.

It is only rarely that om, ab become *u:* in stressed syllables. This is chiefly in the prefix *kū:-*, O.Ir. com-, as in *kū:χriN'u:w*, 'gathering', Di. cómhchruinniughadh; *kū:χαηL'tə*, 'bound together, connected', Di. cóimhcheanglain; *kūanaN*, 'alike, even', Di. cóimhionann; *kū:jas*, 'ambidexter', Di. cóimhdheas. Note also *f'iuwəs* beside *f'iaurəs*, 'fever', M.Ir. fiabhrus; *d'u:l*, 'devil', may be heard in oaths, O.Ir. diabul; *d'iuw'əs*, 'celibacy', arises through suppression of the vowel of the middle syllable and vocalisation of the *w* in *d'ĩ:wi:n'*, 'single', M.Ir. dímain. *ũerk* for *ãuwerk*, 'sight', Meyer amarc, I have heard from a very old woman. The future *N'i: hu:g'ə m'ə*, 'I shall not give', beside *N'i: ho:g'ə m'ə* (§ 40) is altogether irregular.

§ 49. The infinitive terminations -ad, -ed, -ud all give *uw*, i.e. *əg* (preserved in Scotch Gaelic, cp. ZCP. iv 510) > *əw* > *uw*. There is no difference in the ending between *bwX:lww*, 'striking', bualadh, and *b'aNuw*, 'blessing', beannughadh, which accounts for the hopeless confusion of the two conjugations. The ending -ed, -ad in the third sing. of imperf. and condit. active and the preterite passive is also pronounced -*uw* (for exceptions see § 391), e.g. *po:suw əNiri i:*, 'she was married last year'. -*uw* < -ad also occurs in *bənuw*, 'people', lit. 'stock', Meyer bunad; *bənu:s*, 'the greater part', *ta: ə mənū:s er' ə f'k'ɛəl əwã:n'*, 'they almost all tell the same tale', isé an sgéul céadna atá aca uilig bunus (Derry People 6 viii '04 p. 3 col. 6), very common in the phrase *bənu:s i'ig'*, 'almost all', Di. bunadhas, Meyer bunadas; *ə wəru:s mər*, 'in comparison with', Di. i bhfharradh; in the ordinals *k'əruw*, 'fourth', O.Ir. cethramad; *ku:g'uw*, 'fifth', O.Ir. cóiced, cúiced.

§ 50. O.Ir. *u* followed by *g* (Mod.Ir. *gh*) in accented syllables gives *u:* *uw*, 'top cross-beam in house', O'Don. Suppl. uga, 'pin of wood' (?); *u:muw*, 'to harness', *u:m'*, 'harness', Di. ughmughadh, úghaim, cp. Macbain uidheam; *u:dər*, 'author', M.Ir. ugtar; *Lu:NəsNə*, 'August', M.Ir. lúgnasad; *Luw*, 'less', O.Ir. lugu; *mu:rNən*, 'ankle', Macbain mugharn, Di. mudharlán; *suw*, 'juice', O.Ir. súg. Similarly we find lengthening before *th* followed by another consonant in *du:χəs*, 'hereditary right', M.Ir. dutchus.

§ 51. *u:* arises in stressed syllables by contraction of *w* arising from O.Ir. *b*, *m* with the surrounding vowels: *k'ū:s*, 'edge, border', M.Ir. *cimas*; *kū:glax*, 'strait of the sea', Di. *cumhanglach*, cp. *kū:N*, 'narrow', O.Ir. *cumung*; *ku:g'ə mū:n*, 'Munster', M.Ir. *Muman*; *ū:(w)l*, 'supple, lithe', O.Ir. *umal*, *ū:(w)luw*, 'obedience', Di. *umhlughadh*; *u:(w)L*, 'apple', Wi. *uball*, *ubull*.

§ 52. *g'u:s*, 'fir', *ku:g'*, 'five' and *ku:f*, 'case', O.Ir. *cóic*, *cóis* are exceptional. The first shews shifting of the stress *íu > jú*, cp. M.Ir. *gins*, which also occurs in *d'u:l gy:hə*, 'draught', *d'u:l*, 'sucking', M.Ir. *diul* dat. of *del*, 'teat', and in the obscure *d'u:Ltuw*, 'to refuse', O.Ir. *díltud*. Finck ascribes the *u:* in *ku:g'*, *ku:f* to the influence of the following palatal sounds (i 32) but this will not hold good for Donegal. One might compare *kū:-* < O.Ir. *com-* and *kū:nuw* < O.Ir. *congnam*.

§ 53. The pronunciation of *ao* as *u:* which occurs in the Rosses and other parts of the north I have never heard round Glenties except in *fa 'du:wids*, 'concerning', = *fa dtaobh de* (for *fa* see § 314). A rounding of *ɹ:* would give *u:* and this is probably what has taken place. For *fa 'du:wids* cp. G. J. 1892 p. 145 col. 2 where it is spelt *fadu d'é* (again 1893 p. 208 col. 1). For *ao = u:* in Scotch Gaelic see Henderson, ZCP. iv 100. It may be noted that in Anglo-Irish 'a bornless cow' (*maoilín*) is locally called a *mi:L'in'*, which seems to shew that this pronunciation of *ao* has been wide-spread.

9. *ɔ*.

§ 54. We use this symbol to denote the characteristically Irish vowel-sound in the pronunciation of English words like 'sir'. Sweet analyses it as low-in-mixed-narrow. It is a very troublesome sound to acquire and must be attempted by lowering the tongue from the mid-mixed position. *ɔ* frequently interchanges with *ə* and *ĩ* (cp. § 103).

§ 55. *ɔ* represents an O.Ir. *o* before certain consonants. These are—

L, e.g. *pɔL*, 'hole', M.Ir. *poll*; *NɔLík'*, 'Christmas', Wi. *notlaic*, *nodlaig*; *bɔLsir'ə*, 'crier in court', Di. *bollsaire*; *kɔLuw*, 'sleep', O.Ir. *cotlud*; *tɔL*, 'bulging out after being pressed in' of wool, feathers &c., M.Ir. *toll*; *stɔLír'ə*, 'rough, heavy girl', Di. *stollaire*.

- N*, e.g. *bqN*, 'sole', M.Ir. bond; *dqN*, 'brown', M.Ir. donn; *kqNaxt*, 'Connaught', M.Ir. Connacht; *kqNÿ:*, 'tame', M.Ir. cendaid; *kqNLax*, 'stubble', Di. coinleach s. cún-lach; *kqNuw*, 'fuel', Meyer connud; *kqNðai*, 'county'; *LqNdUw*, 'blackbird', Di. londubh, O.Ir. lon; *skqNsə*, 'dyke', Di. sconnsa; *tqN*, 'wave', O.Ir. tonn.
- m*, e.g. *dqmłs*, 'gall', M.Ir. domblas; *dqməsax*, 'moss', Di. domasach; *kqm*, 'covering, waist', Meyer comm; *kqmwil't*, 'to rub', Meyer comailt s. conmelim; *krqm*, 'bent', O.Ir. cromm; *Lqm*, 'bare', M.Ir. lomm; *tqm*, 'bush', M.Ir. tomm; *trqm*, 'heavy', O.Ir. tromm, *trqman*, 'dwarf-elder', Di. tromán.
- n*, e.g. *dqnə*, 'unfortunate', M.Ir. dona; *kqnəfax*, 'irritable', Meyer confadach; *kqnəmər*, 'fragment', Meyer con-mír; *kqnərt'*, 'hounds', Meyer conart.
- b*, e.g. *gqb*, 'beak', Wi. gop; *ppqbəl*, 'congregation', Wi. popul; *tqbəN*, 'sudden', M.Ir. opond; *tqbər*, 'well', O.Ir. topur.
- g*, e.g. *bgg*, 'soft', O.Ir. boc; *klog*, 'bell' (usually = 'clock'), O.Ir. cloc; *klogəd*, 'helmet', Meyer cloc-at; *kqgər*, 'whisper', Meyer cocur; *kqguw*, 'war', O.Ir. cocad; *kqgu:s*, 'conscience', O.Ir. cocubus; *kqgəl*, 'tares', Meyer cocal; *mogəl*, 'husk, mesh of net, eyelid', Wi. mocol (*kor 'mogił*, 'bridling on thatch'); *prqgy:*, 'call to a calf, sucky'; *tqgə*, 'strap on flail' (?).
- d*, e.g. *bqđ*, 'penis', Meyer bot, *bqđax*, 'churl', Meyer botach, *bqđalan*, 'gay spark'; *kqđax*, gen. sing. of *kqđ*, 'share', Wi. cuit; *stqđ*, 'pouter, peevish fellow', Di. stod; *trqđə* (*tridə*), gen. sing. of *trid*, 'fight', M.Ir. troit.
- ŋ*, e.g. *Lqŋ*, 'ship', M.Ir. long; *spqŋk*, 'tinder', Di. sponnc, M.Ir. sponge.

From this it will be seen that *q* only represents O.Ir. o before voiced sounds. *o* seems to stand before *l, r, s, h, p, t, k, x*, while *q* precedes *L, N, n, m, b, d, g*.

§ 56. *q* is further the regular representative of O.Ir. u in stressed syllables before non-palatal consonants and is the sound locally associated in English with the letter u, cp. Craig, Grammar² p. 6. Examples—*bqŋ*, 'foot', O.Ir. bun; *fqraxs*, 'watching', O'R. furachas, Di. fuireachas, cp. Wi. furachair, furachrus; *fqrašt*, 'easy', Wi. urussa; *glog*, 'noise of wet foot

in shoe or of a rotten egg', Di. *glug*; *gōraxas fa N' t'in'i*, 'cuddling round the fire', *gōr* in *ta: n çark er' gōr*, 'the hen is wanting to sit', Macbain *gur*, Di. *gor*; *gōru:n*, 'haunch', Di. *gurrún*; *gōs*, 'vigour', M.Ir. *gus*; *hog*, 'gave', cp. *tuccaim*; *klōpuid'a*, 'crease, depression', Meyer *culpait* (Di. *cluipe*); *kōLax*, 'hoar', O.Ir. *cullach*, *callach*, *caullach*; *kōNtas*, 'count', Di. *cuntas*; *kōr*, 'to rain' ('to put' is either *kōr* or *kyr'*), Di. *cur* with analogical *u* for older *cor*; *Lōrōga*, 'shin', M.Ir. *lurga*; *Lōs*, 'herb', M.Ir. *lus*; *Lōxt*, 'people', O.Ir. *lucht*; *Lōxog*, 'mouse', Wi. *luch*; *'ku:g' qhuw*, 'Province of Ulster', M.Ir. *coiced Ulad*; *qNsa*, 'ounce'; *qxt*, chiefly in oaths *as qxt d'e.*, Wi. *ucht*; *qōNāN*, 'sheaf', M.Ir. *punnann*; *qōNtan*, 'spindle in lower mill-stone', Di. *puntán*; *qōs*, 'lip', Di. *pus*; *sLogam*, 'I swallow', M.Ir. *slocim*, *sluccim*; *smōg*, 'snot', Di. Macbain *smug*; *smōlō-gadan*, 'shoulder-bone', Di. *smulgadán*; *stōkan*, 'cone on hill', Di. *stúcán*; *tōr*, 'dry' (said of eating potatoes &c. alone), Di. *tur*, Wi. *tar*, *tair*, *tōruw*, 'dry weather', M.Ir. *turud*; *tōrskōr*, 'refuse', Wi. *turrscair*; *tōras*, 'station', M.Ir. *turas*.

§ 57. The O.Ir. prefix variously spelt *ir-*, *er-*, *aur-* (now written *ur-*) is pronounced *ōr*. The common spelling with *au* was probably intended to denote some sound like *ō*, cp. O'Donovan, Grammar p. 17. Medieval scribes seem to have been at a loss to represent this sound. The frequent appearance of *e* for *ō*, cp. *terus* = *turas* RC. vii 296, *terad* for *turud* Wi. p. 818, finds a parallel in the interchange of *ō* and *i* in Donegal, cp. § 103. Examples: *ōrōxask*, 'injection', Di. *urchosc*; *ōrōxod'*, 'harm', M.Ir. *erchoit*, *irchoit*; *ōrōxōr*, 'shot', M.Ir. *erchor*, *aurchor*, *irchor*, *urchor*; *ōrLar*, 'floor', Wi. *orlar*; *ōrNŷ:*, 'prayer', M.Ir. *ernaigthe*, *airnaigthe*; *ōrōxōL*, 'cricket', Di. *urhuil*; *ōrsə*, 'jamb', M.Ir. *irsa*, *ursa*; *ōrLə*, 'eaves, fringe', M.Ir. *urla*; *ōrN'æf*, 'furniture', Meyer *airnéis*; *ōrLuw*, 'speech, eloquence', O.Ir. *erlabra*, *aurlabra* (see § 444). Note *ō:rlə*, 'vomit', Di. *orlughcan*, *urlacan* with *ō:*. **ōrbəL*, 'tail', M.Ir. *erball* has become *rōbəL* as elsewhere.

§ 58. In words beginning in O.Ir. with *i* followed by a non-palatal consonant we expect *i* but *ō* invariably occurs, e.g. *ōlēr*, 'eagle', M.Ir. *ilur*; *ōmād*, *ə N'ōmād*, 'a great number' also *ə N'ōmata*, O.Ir. *imbed*; *ōmərwa:*, 'contention', M.Ir. *immarbág*; *ōmərka*, 'overplus', M.Ir. *imarcruid*; *ōmlan*, 'all, entirety', M.Ir. *imlán*; *ōmpər*, 'carry', M.Ir. *immchuirim*; *ōmra:*, 'mention, report', Atk. *imrād* s. *imrādud*; *ōmwi:*, 'many', O.Ir. *imda*; *ōmwir'axə*, 'furrows', M.Ir. *iminaire*.

§ 59. As the reduction of \ddot{o} : we get ø in *ólkuw*, 'to bury', M.Ir. *adlacaim* < *adnacim*; *Nōnu:r*, 'set of nine', O.Ir. *nónbor* (also *Nīnu:r* through association with *d'ig'u:r*); *rōd*, 'thing', O.Ir. *rét*, the depalatalisation of initial **R'* caused *é* to become \ddot{o} : (v. § 73) and when the word was used enclitically \ddot{o} : was reduced to ø , it is the enclitic form of the word which has survived; similarly *ōrad*, 'amount', *αχ* *ōrad*, 'at all', O.Ir. *airet*, *eret*. Di. writes *oiread*, *Macbain uiread* but also Sc. G. *urad*, cp. *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition* vol. iii p. 43, Finck *er'ad*, *er'id*, so that the depalatalisation is peculiar. Craig usually writes *urad*, *ach urad* (*Derry People* 30 iv '04 p. 3 col. 4). Perhaps the *r* is due to association with *rōd*.

§ 60. In a few words ø has taken the place of other vowels. This is the case in *kōrsan*, 'wheezing', Di. *cársán*, *Macbain carrasan*; *kōpuw*, 'to shrink', Meyer *crapaim* but also *crúpán*; *Lōg*, 'weak', M.Ir. *lac* perhaps influenced by *bog*, 'soft'; *tōmāL(t)* beside *tamāL(t)*, 'a while', Di. *tamall*; *sōpōuw*, 'to scatter, spread', Di. *sreathuighim*, *srathuighim*, *srathnuighim*. ø occurs exceptionally before *r* < **R'* in *ōrd'ə*, 'height', Wi. *arde*, *airde*, cp. Manx *yrjey* but in phrases we find *ɑ:rd'ə*, as in *er' kəs ə Nɑ:rd'ə*, 'galloping', Di. *cos i n-áirde*; also *ɑ:rd'*, 'point of the sky', M.Ir. *aird* but the comparative of *ɑ:rd'*, 'high' is *ōrd'ə* (the inflected forms of *ɑ:rd'* follow the nominative, gen. sing. fem. *ɑ:rd'ə*). Further *ōrd'*, nom. plur. of *ɑ:rd'*, 'sledge-hammer', M.Ir. *ord*.

10. χ :

§ 61. This symbol is here used to denote the peculiar sound given to the digraph *ao*, which appears to be similar to the corresponding sound in Scotch Gaelic and on Aran, though I cannot say whether they are identical. The Donegal sound is the unrounded form of close *u*: in German 'gut' and is therefore high-back-narrow. χ : is always long except when shortening occurs before *h* < *th*, as in *s χ hər*, 'labour', O.Ir. *sáithar* and in *r χ h*, 'run', O.Ir. *rith*, where χ is due to the depalatalisation of **R'*. The younger people as a general rule have not got this sound and substitute for it *i*: and *y*:, cp. Craig's statement (*Grammar*² p. 4) "ao is pronounced like ee in heel". High-front articulation has also taken the place of high-back in some dialects of Scotch Gaelic, cp. Henderson, ZCP. iv 100. That this pronunciation of *ao* has been pretty general in Ulster may be gathered from notes by J. H. Lloyd in the *Gaelic Journal*, e.g.

G. J. 1892 p. 204 col. 2, à propos of \bar{A} : in Armagh he says: "In the Irish still surviving in Oirghialla (Cuailnge) and also in Tyrone, ao has a very strange sound, somewhat like oo, which appears to be intermediate between (Irish) ú and the French u, but is very distinct from both. Oidh- of oidhche and choidhche has the same sound". Native grammarians are at a loss to describe this sound and equate \bar{A} : with German ö in böse, which they have probably never heard, e.g. Lloyd, G. J. 1896 p. 146 col. 1. O'Donovan's description of the sound (Grammar p. 16) on the other hand is pretty accurate.

§ 62. \bar{A} : represents O.Ir. óe, ói, e.g. $bl_{\bar{A}}:sk$, 'shell', Meyer blaesc (gen. sing. $bl_{\bar{A}}:f'k'ə$); $br_{\bar{A}}:n$, 'drop', O.Ir. bróen; $d_{\bar{A}}:l$, 'beetle', M.Ir. dóel, dáel; $d_{\bar{A}}:r$, 'dear', O.Ir. dóir (comp. $N'i:s$ $dí:r'ə$); $fr_{\bar{A}}:\chi$, 'heather', O.Ir. froich but $k'ark$ $ri:$, 'grouse'; $kr_{\bar{A}}:s$, 'gullet', O.Ir. crois; $k_{\bar{A}}:l$, 'narrow', O.Ir. cóil; $L_{\bar{A}}:$, 'calf', M.Ir. lóeg (only in $bo:əN$ $L_{\bar{A}}:$, 'cow in calf', $L_{\bar{A}}:s$ $Nə$ $L_{\bar{A}}:$, 'calf-leek'); $mw_{\bar{A}}:$, 'pliable', O.Ir. móith, $mw_{\bar{A}}:s$ in kyn' $mw_{\bar{A}}:s$, 'to steep', Di. maos, $mw_{\bar{A}}:\chi an$, 'to soften, steep'; $s_{\bar{A}}:r$, 'free', O.Ir. sóir, sóer; $t_{\bar{A}}:wuw$ $l'ε$, 'to side with', Di. taobhughadh < O.Ir. tóib (cp. the proverb as $mwær'ig'ə$ $h_{\bar{A}}:wəs$ $l'εf$ $Nə$ $mṛā:$); $\bar{A}:Nti:m$, 'I consent', Di. aontuighim, cp. O.Ir. óentu.

§ 63. \bar{A} : is further the regular representative of O.Ir. ái, e.g. $bw_{\bar{A}}:$, 'foolish', O.Ir. báith, $bw_{\bar{A}}:\chi\tilde{a}f\alpha\chi$, 'extravagant', Di. baothchaithmheach (note the comparative $N'i:s$ $bwi:hi:$), $bw_{\bar{A}}:s$, 'folly', M.Ir. báes; $bw_{\bar{A}}:l$, 'danger', O.Ir. baigul; $fw_{\bar{A}}:\chi og$, 'limpet', Wi. faechóg; $gl_{\bar{A}}:$, 'call', * $gláid$, O.Ir. adgládur, cp. Maobain glaodh (this is regarded as a Connaught word, $skart'$ being used instead); $g_{\bar{A}}:$, 'wind', O.Ir. gáid; $g_{\bar{A}}:l$, 'relationship', M.Ir. gáel; $g_{\bar{A}}:san$, 'nostril' (wanting in dictionaries, Craig gaothsan, Sg. Fearn. p. 100); $g_{\bar{A}}:wər$, 'proximity', Di. gaobhar; $k_{\bar{A}}:nax$, 'moss', Meyer caennach; $k_{\bar{A}}:mwara\chi$, 'careless', cp. O'R. cunabhaireas, 'slothfulness'; $k_{\bar{A}}:r$, 'berry', O.Ir. cáer; $k_{\bar{A}}:ran$, 'moor', Craig caoran, Di. caorán, 'fragment of dry peat' < Meyer cáer, 'a clod' (?); $k_{\bar{A}}:rə$, 'sheep', cp. O.Ir. cáirchuide, 'ovinus'; $k_{\bar{A}}:rə\chiə$, plur. of $kí:r'$, 'blaze', M.Ir. cáer; $k_{\bar{A}}:rəN$, 'mountain-ash', M.Ir. cáer-thann; $k_{\bar{A}}:\chi uw$, 'to wink', Di. caochaim, caogaim, O.Ir. cáich; $L_{\bar{A}}:\chi$, 'hero', M.Ir. láech; $mw_{\bar{A}}:l$, 'bald, hornless', O.Ir. máel; $sk_{\bar{A}}:lu:r$, 'frightened, timid', Di. scaollmhar; $s_{\bar{A}}:l$, 'life', O.Ir. saigul; $t_{\bar{A}}:m$ $hiN'if$, 'sudden attack of illness', Di. Maobain taom; $t_{\bar{A}}:s$, 'dough', O.Ir. táis (gen. sing. $ti:f$); $\bar{A}:stə$, 'old' < O.Ir. áis.

There is a curious phrase containing A: , *hui fá er' a d\text{A:}ri:*, 'he went raving mad', cp. Craig, Clann Uisnigh s. daoraidh. It suggests Meyer's *andíaraid*. *fá r\text{A:}r*, 'alas' always seems to have *r* in spite of Di. fáiríor, Keating fóiríor, Wi. forír. The word is probably a disguised oath formula and may contain *d'ia*, 'God', which is countenanced by the accentuation. For the initial syllable cp. M.Ir. *fae* < Norse *vei*. Other such disguised formulas are *fiákæf* with the initial syllable recalling *a hiarNə*, 'O Lord'; *gə marəmas tuw*, 'I warrant you', also *gə marəm*, which may contain *manəm*, 'my soul', cp. *fiərNə manəmwid'*. The name of the deity is commonly avoided in ordinary speech, cp. *ta:s eg' f'ia*, 'God knows', v. Di. fiadha; *fə:gəm l'ε d'r'u:χtə*, 'I swear'; *fwi:n ri:*, 'in the name of Goodness' is very frequent and for this again *fwi:Nε:r*, *faoi an aer* is commonly heard.

§ 64. In A: *gir'ə*, 'shepherd, keeper', A: goes back to O.Ir. *au*, O.Ir. *augaire*.

§ 65. When *ao* interchanges with *aoi* in inflexional forms the latter appears either as *i:* (*y:*) or A: . According to Lloyd, G. J. 1896 p. 146 col. 2 the same two pronunciations are current in Orrery. There seems to be no fixed rule but *i:* is much more frequent. In words which are in common use *i:* is perhaps the rule, whilst others which only occur but seldom have A: in order to preserve the connexion with the nominative forms, e.g. *m\text{w}\text{A:}r*, 'keeper', *m\text{w}\text{A:}r'kyL'uw*, Book of Deer máir, gen. sing. *m\text{w}\text{A:}r'*; *mwi:l'i:n'*, 'hornless cow', Di. *maoilín* < *m\text{w}\text{A:}l* but *m\text{w}\text{A:}L't'ary:*, 'speaking thickly'; $\text{A:}f$, 'age', O.Ir. *áis* appears also as *y:f*, *i:f*. *kiky:f*, 'fortnight' is heard by the side of *kik\text{A:}f*. For further examples see § 124.

§ 66. The O.Ir. diphthong *ua* when preceded by a labial sound appears in many words as A: due to unrounding of the first element. The younger generation as usual substitute a high-front vowel *iə* (*yə*). Molloy quotes an instance of this change for Sligo in his 15th dialect-list (*braoch* for *bruach*). A: for *uə* is regular in the following words—*br\text{A:}χ*, 'bank', O.Ir. *bruach*, gen. sing. *bri:*; *b\text{w}\text{A:}huw*, 'to beat', M.Ir. *búalad*; *b\text{w}\text{A:}n*, 'everlasting', *b\text{w}\text{A:}nfəs*, 'duration', Di. *buanmhas*, *buanfas*, M.Ir. *búan* (abstract *bwi:n'ə*, Meyer *búane*); *b\text{w}\text{A:}raχ*, 'rope to put round the neck of cattle, bórach', Meyer *búarach*; *b\text{w}\text{A:}rə*, 'troubled', M.Ir. *búadarta*; *b\text{w}\text{A:}r'uəNÿ:* (*b\text{w}\text{A:}r'iaχə*), plur. of *buir'uw*, *bwi:r'uw*, 'trouble', M.Ir. *búadred*; *b\text{w}\text{A:}χiL'*, 'servant-man, lad', M.Ir. *búachail*; *f\text{w}\text{A:}χəm* (*fwi:χəm*), 'hole in potato',

Di. has fuachais, 'hole, den'; exceptionally in *kl*_X:*ngort*, 'a place-name near Gweebarra' if < Cluanghort; *sp*_X:*kaxə*, plur. of *spuik*, *spyeik*, 'blister', Di. Macbain *spuaic*; *w*_X:*m*, 'from me', O.Ir. *uaim* (with *m* instead of *m'* by analogy with *orm* &c.), *wuə*, *w*_X*ə*, *wiə*, 'from him', O.Ir. *uad*.

§ 67. In a few words beginning with *fua-* the *uə* is frequently retained when the *f* is not aspirated. Examples—*fua*_X*gruw*, 'to declare, announce', M.Ir. *fócaraim*, *fúacraim*, pret. *dyəgər sə*, *d*_X*əgír' m'ə*, imperf. pass. *d*_X*əgri:sti:*; *fúoruw*, 'to cool', pret. *d*_X:*ri: fə*, *ər' X:ri: fə?*. The word for 'cold' itself is (*fúor*) *fwyər*, *fwi:r*, compar. *fwi:r'ə*, *fu:r'ə*, abstract *fwiəxt*; M.Ir. *fúath*, 'hatred', I have generally heard as *fwyə*. For a somewhat similar treatment of O.Ir. *úa* in Manx see Rhys pp. 14, 20. However when O.Ir. *úa* is preceded by other than labial sounds, it remains, e.g. *χuəli:*, 'heard', O.Ir. *cúala*; *Luwə*, 'early', M.Ir. *lúath*.

X: occurs exceptionally by contraction in *bw*_X:*gan*, 'yolk', Di. *buidheacán*. *smw*_X:*lax*, 'cinders' is surprising, as it corresponds to Di. *smál*, *smól*, Macbain *smál*. *X:Ntax*, 'wonderful', M.Ir. *ingnáthach* is due to contraction. For the form see § 303 and for the *X*: cp. Molloy's 15th dialect-list.

§ 68. *X*: sometimes interchanges with *ö*: particularly before *n*, e.g. *rö:laxə*, *r*_X:*laxə*, cp. § 72. *X:Ltronəs*, 'adultery', cp. Meyer *adaltair*, *adaltrach* should have *ö*: but I have only heard the form with *X*:. Similarly *X:nan*, 'Adamnan'.

11. *ö*:

§ 69. In Donegal there is a further unrounded back sound which seems to have no parallel in Scotland or Connaught. We described *X*: as an unrounded close *u*:. If we unround the *u*: described in § 44 which occurs in words like *u:r*, *Luwəx*, we obtain a peculiar sound which we here denote by *ö*:. *ö*:. would therefore be high-back-lowered. In a number of words *X*: and *ö*:. seem to be interchangeable but that they are two absolutely distinct sounds is shewn by the fact that for *X*: the younger people substitute *y*:, *i*:, whilst for *ö* one hears *əə*, *eə*, *e*:. Craig again following the younger generation says: "adha, agha are pronounced like ay in day", i.e. *e*:, Grammar² p. 14. This *ö*:. always seems to me to be a kind of vocalised *g*, which is accounted for by its origin and there is nearly always a suspicion of friction in the production of the vowel. It also appears to exist in the Monaghan dialect

described by Lloyd (G. J. 1896 p. 146), who states that “adh, agh appear to have three sounds, viz. that of eu in French, ö in German, or that commonly given to æ”. Lloyd evidently did not know the French and German sounds he mentions but one of his three sounds is doubtless my *ö*. The last mentioned pronunciation is that of the younger people in Donegal, for a description of which see § 95. O’Donovan in his Grammar p. 9 makes *ö*: and *ɤ*: identical in North Ulster, whilst for South Ulster and Meath he gives the pronunciation of *ö*: as *εə*. It may be noted that both *ɤ*: and *ö*: have the same sound in some dialects of Scotch Gaelic though in this case it is a low-front and not a high-back sound (ZCP. iv 99).

§ 70. *ö*: arises chiefly from O.Ir. accented *a* preceding *d*, *g* (Mod.Ir. *dh*, *gh*), except when *w* follows (§ 17). A following vowel is absorbed. This only occurs in stressed syllables. Elsewhere final *-ad* might be expected to give *ö*: but it was rounded to *-uw*. Examples—*gö:r*, ‘hound’, M.Ir. *gadar*; *klöir’ə* (*kleir’ə*, *kleir’ə*) has not a bad meaning in Donegal but is used like Engl. ‘my fine fellow’, Meyer *cladaire*; *Lö:duw*, ‘to lessen’, Di. *laghdughadh*, cp. Atk. *lagatus*; *Lö:χ*, ‘handsome’, Di. *lághach*, the younger generation has *Lεəχ*, compar. *Löia*; *Lö:r*, ‘toe’, M.Ir. *ladar*, gen. sing. *Lö:r’ə*; *mö:r*, ‘sprat’, Di. *maghar*, Macbain *maghar*, Cormac *magar*¹; *ö:rk*, ‘horn’, O.Ir. *adarc* (younger generation *eərək*), gen. sing. *eir’k’ə*, dat. sing. *eir’k’*; *slö:dan*, ‘a cold’, O’R. *slaighdeán*, Di. *slaodán* (also *sLaidan*, *sLe:dan*); *sö:*, ‘tang of a pitch-fork &c.’, O’R. *sadh*, ‘a long knife or dagger’, Macbain *saidh*, ‘a handle or the part of a blade in the handle’, Di. has only *sámhthach*, ‘helve’; *sö:d*, ‘a flint’, i.e. **saghad* < Di. *saighead*, Wi. *saiget* (note the interesting change of meaning, *m’ε:rag* is the term now applied to the flints shot by the fairies at cattle); *tö:g*, ‘Thady’, M.Ir. *Tadg*; *rö:rk*, ‘sight’, Wi. *radarc*, *rodarc*.

ö: also occurs in *sö:rkæn*, ‘primrose’, Wi. *sobarche* (Craig writes *samharcan* but wrongly as the vowel is not nasalised); *ö:Ntəs*, ‘wonder’, *ö:Ntaχ*, ‘wonderful’, M.Ir. *ingnáthach*, see § 303.

¹ Cp. the verse—

t’r’i: wö:r sa(:)iç ə skadæn’,
t’r’i: skadæn’ sa(:)iç ə wradæn’,
t’r’i: bradæn’ sa(:)iç ə ro.n’,
t’r’i: ro:Nti: sa(:)iç Nə mwik’ə marə,
t’r’i: mö:kə marə sa(:)iç ə vi:l’ wo:r’,
t’r’i: m’iəLta mo:rə sa(:)iç ə χragadæn’ χro:n’ (the great Krakenn).

§ 71. The forms of the verb 'to choose' have *ö*; though we should expect an *o*-sound. Writers of Ulster Irish print *raogha*, *rae* (Craig, Lloyd, G. J. vi 146, Di. ré) which represent the pronunciation of the younger people. It would seem that *a* took the place of *o* in these forms, i.e. that M.Ir. *togaim* became *tagaim* whence *tö:m*, 'I choose', pret. *hö: m'ə*, infin. *töuw*. Similarly *rö:*, 'choice', O.Ir. *rogu*, from which is formed *rö:nahas*, 'choice'; *tö:nə*, 'select, recherché'. The past part. of *töuw* is *töt'ə*.

§ 72. *ö*: takes the place of *ɹ*: before a following *n* in several words, thus *ö:n* beside *ɹ:n*, 'one', O.Ir. *óin* (also *i:n*); *erö:n*, 'together', Di. *araon*; *klö:n*, 'inclination', *klö:nuuw*, 'to incline', O.Ir. *clóin*; *trö:nə*, 'corn-crake', also *trəənə*, Di. Macbain *traona*; *krö:rək*, *krö:r*, 'light-red', Di. *craorac* < *caor-dhearg*. One may also hear *kö:rə*, 'sheep'; *kö:ran*, 'moor'; *sö:l*, 'life'.

§ 73. The depalatalisation of initial **R'* may completely change the character of the following vowel. Under these circumstances O.Ir. *ía* (i.e. *iə*) becomes *ö*:. Lloyd gives two instances of this change for Monaghan, G. J. 1896 p. 146 col. 1. Examples—*rö:l*, 'rule', O.Ir. *riagul*; *rö:ruuw* (*rɹ:ruuw*), 'to look after' (*er'*), Di. *riarughadh*, *sorö:γə*, 'easily satisfied', Di. *soiriarta* from *rö:r*, O.Ir. *riar*, whence also *ər'eir'*, 'according to', do réir but note *ta: s'in' glaky: ər'ö:r Nə b'l'iaNə*, 'that is taken by the year'; *rö:skən* (*rəəskən*), 'a rough, untilled piece of ground', Di. *riasc*, whence *ku:l'rö:skax*, 'backward, out of the world', also *rö:skəNtə*, 'wild, rough'; *rö:χtənəs*, 'need', M.Ir. *riachtanus* (also *rɹ:χtənəs*); *rö:wax*, 'brindled', M.Ir. *riabach*, *Ləhə Nə rö:wí:*, 'borrowing-days', see Dinneen s. mí.

(b) The front vowels *æ*, *ɛ*, *ɛ:*, *e*, *e:*, *i*¹, *i*, *i:*, *y*.

1. *æ*.

§ 74. This is the symbol for the low-front-wide vowel in English 'man', 'cat'. It usually appears taking the place of *α* before all consonants with palatal (palatalised) articulation except the labials, i.e. before *L'*, *l'*, *N'*, *n'*, *r'*, *ɲ*, *ʎ*, *d'*, *k'*, *g'*, *ʃ*. In place of *æ* a vowel intermediate between this sound and *α* is sometimes heard.

¹ Strictly speaking *i* should be treated with *ə* and *ə* under mixed vowels, but it will be most convenient to deal with it in connection with the front vowels.

§ 75. *æ* corresponds to O.Ir. *a* in accented syllables standing before any palatal consonant except a labial, e.g. *æg'əNtaχ*, 'jolly, merry', cp. O.Ir. aigned (proverb *n'i: d'əχ wāiç din'a æg'əNtaχ*); *æL'ə*, 'cancer', M.Ir. allse; *æŋəl*, 'angel', O.Ir. angel; *æŋk'al*, 'irritability', M.Ir. ancél; *ær'a*, 'care', O.Ir. aire, *ær'iaχ*, 'caretaker, shepherd', Di. airigheach; *ær'i:* in *bwær'i: er' ə*, 'he was worthy of it', Macbain airidh < O.Ir. aire (the Donegal use of the word seems rather to suggest M.Ir. airigid); *ær'i:*, 'regret, penance', O.Ir. aithirge, *ær'aχəs*, 'repentance, compunction', M.Ir. aithrechus; *æfək*, 'to restore', M.Ir. aissec; *æt'ənaχ*, 'furze', M.Ir. aittenn; *gæl'ə*, 'stomach, appetite', M.Ir. gaile; *hær'*, 'over, across', O.Ir. tar; *kæN't'*, 'talk', Meyer caint; *mwæd'ə*, 'stick', M.Ir. maite; *mwæd'in'*, 'morning', O.Ir. matin (acc.); *mwælk'*, 'soreness from riding bare-back' (?); *præst'al*, 'two handfuls of potatoes for roasting', Di. pruísteál, praisteal; *pwæd'ir'*, 'prayer', M.Ir. pater; *sæL'*, 'fat, grease', M.Ir. saill; *skæd'*, '23rd grain given to the miller' (now usually called *mu:tər*), Di. scaid (with different meaning); *skær'əv*, 'sandy shore of a river', Di. scairbh; *sLæd'*, 'robbery', M.Ir. slat; *stær'*, 'history', Di. stair; *tær'əvir'*, imper. 'hand over, deliver', M.Ir. tairbrim; *tæf'*, 'damp', *tæfL'aχ*, 'wet weather', M.Ir. tais. *α* frequently becomes *æ* in sandhi, cp. §§ 453 ff., as in *g'al*, 'white' but *kə g'æL' L'ef*, 'as white as it'; *L'αNan*, 'paramour' but *L'αNæN' fi:*, 'a fairy lover'.

In some forms *æ* often becomes *ε* or even *e*. Thus one hears *bwæ'l'ə* beside *bwel'ə* and *bwel'ə*. For further examples see §§ 83, 89. When *r'* and *f* become *r*, *s* respectively a preceding *æ* changes to *α*, e.g. *er' æf* or *ef*, 'back, returned', but *ær'igər*, 'a back answer, sharp reply' < *æf + f'r'igər*; *mwær'am* (*mwer'am*), infin. *marst'ən*. In the preterite however we frequently find *wær sə*.

§ 76. O.Ir. accented *o* often gives *æ* under the same circumstances as O.Ir. *a* in the last paragraph, e.g. *dæli:*, 'difficult', M.Ir. dolig; *gæft'ə*, 'trap, snare', O.Ir. goiste; *kæsf'əm'*, 'step', Meyer cosscéimm; *klæg'əN*, 'skull', M.Ir. clocenn; *kræk'əN*, 'skin', O.Ir. crocenn; *ə hær'əvə*, 'on account of', O.Ir. *de thorbe; *mwær'ig'*, 'woe', O.Ir. moircc.

§ 77. In syllables with secondary stress *æ* stands for an O.Ir. long vowel (*á*, *ó*) before the palatal consonants mentioned in § 74. Thus *æ* represents an older *á* in the infinitive termination *-æ'l'* or with excrescent *t' -æL't'*, e.g. *fα.gæl'*, 'leaving', O.Ir. fácbáil; *k'r'ed'væL't'*, 'to believe', Di. creidmheáilt, this

word seems to have influenced the word for 'to confess', *æd'væL't'*, pres. ind. *æd'i:m* (Spir. Rose p. 6 *aidvimuid*); *bakæd'*, 'hindering', Meyer *bacáil*; *ka:rdæd'*, 'to card', Di. *cárdáil*; *sa:wæd'*, 'to save', *sa:wæL't'ax*, 'of a saving disposition'. Similarly in *ædæl'*, 'benefit, boon', M.Ir. *étail*; *d'wæd'*, 'want, need', O.Ir. *dígball*; *ri:fæL't'ə*, 'wizened' (?). Also in the plural of substantives ending in *-an*, O.Ir. *-án*, *skǽuwæn'*, 'lungs', M.Ir. *scaman*. Other instances—*f'ixen'*, 'wild', formed from M.Ir. *fiad*; *kahær'*, 'city', O.Ir. *cathir* (the terms for 'city' and 'chair' have been confused); *o:kæd'*, 'opportunity', Di. *ócáid*; *paræft'ə*, 'parish', Di. *parráiste*, *parróiste*; *u:sæd'*, 'use', Di. *úsáid*. For *æd' < a:t'* in *ə Næt' i:n'ax* see § 451.

§ 78. O.Ir. *ó* gives *æ* under the same circumstances as O.Ir. *á* in the preceding paragraph, e.g. *kæræn'*, 'crown', M.Ir. *coróin*, gen. sing. *kærana*; *o:mwæd'ax*, 'meek', Di. *ómóideach*; *u:mælæd'*, Di. *umhlóid*, O.Ir. *umaldóit* (the word is used in the sense of 'capacity of vessels', as *ta: u:mælæd' wo:r eg' əN taihaχ f'in'*, 'that vessel holds a good deal', J. H. says it is a Rosses word, *ũ:wluw* is used for 'obedience'); *kau(w)læd'*, 'noisy talk', Di. *collóid*, *callóid* (§ 143).

§ 79. In a few instances *æ* is the result of the reduction of O.Ir. *é* before palatal consonants, e.g. *ærN'æf* (*ærN'ef*), 'stock', also used humourously of 'lice', Meyer *áirnéis*; *hinaf'æn'*, *hanaf'æn'*, 'already' < O.Ir. *cena* + *féin*; *plɑ:n'æd'*, 'planet, weather', Di. *plainéid*; *strɑ:m'æd'*, 'stroke with a stick', Di. *straiméad*, *stramáid*. It is noteworthy that the terminations *-éir*, *-óir* give *-ær'* in Orrery and Meath (G. J. 1896 p. 147).

§ 80. Before *r'* we sometimes find *æ*, where we do not expect it, i.e. there has been a confusion of the endings *-air*, *-áir*, e.g. in *ahær'*, 'father', O.Ir. *athair*; *mahær'*, 'mother', O.Ir. *máthir*; *d'a:γær'*, 'brother', O.Ir. *derbráthir*; *Lahær'*, 'presence', M.Ir. *lathair*. It should however be stated that this is not the only pronunciation, as one also hears *-ir'*, *srahær'*, *srahir'*, gen. sing. of *srahær*, 'straddle'. *-ir'* is the general ending in the oblique cases of substantives in *-ær*, cp. *m'adír'*, plur. of *m'adær*, 'a small wooden vessel', Di. *meadar*.

The word for 'jaundice' is *bwiəχin'* against Dinneen's *buidheacháin*.

2. ε.

§ 81. This symbol denotes the Northern English e-sound in such words as 'men', 'get' (Sweet low-front-narrow). This ε

may arise from various sources and interchanges with *e*. Individual speakers differ very considerably in the employment of the e-sounds and hard and fast rules cannot be established. Indeed it is characteristic of Donegal Irish that most of the short vowels can vary within considerable limits, the on- and off-glides of the neighbouring consonants being so to speak of greater importance for the listener than exactness of vowel timbre. Finck makes no attempt to distinguish between the various e-sounds but it seems to me advisable to attempt to differentiate the Donegal varieties.

§ 82. *ε* often represents O.Ir. accented *e* before a consonant with palatal temper, e.g. *f'εk'al*, 'to see', Wi. féccim; *jεv s̄ə*, 'he gets', Wi. ni fogeib s. fo-gabim; *L'εf't'an*, 'flat-foot', Di. leiftean; *L'εk'a*, gen. sing. of *L'ak*, 'flag', M.Ir. lec; *m'εL'og*, 'curb, wattle of a cock', according to Macbain < O.Ir. bél; *m'εhəl*, 'party of labourers', M.Ir. methel (but gen. sing. *m'εl'ə*); *fεvt'uw*, 'to shift' < Engl. *k'erd'*, 'trade, profession', O.Ir. ceird (acc.) shews retention of *ε* before *r* < *r'* (note *d'anuw k'erd'a*, 'futuere').

Not infrequently an older *é* (now written *éi*) is shortened to *ε*, thus before *h* < *th* in *L'eharaxt*, 'reading', Di. léightheoireacht; in a syllable with medium stress, *α cεl'ə*, 'each other', O.Ir. céle, Manx chelley, the form with unreduced vowel *cεil'ə* occurs in poems, cp. p. 194 l. 37. *εdir'*, 'between', O.Ir. eter, etir seems due to confusion with *adər-* in *adərgiə*, 'intercession', Wi. etar-.

§ 83. Owing to palatalisation O.Ir. accented *a*, *o* followed by a palatal consonant sometimes give *ε*, e.g. *εg'*, *εg'ə*, *εk'i*, O.Ir. oc, oca, aci; *εvN'axə*, plur. of *o:N'*, 'river', M.Ir. abann, plur. aibne; *gεn'əv*, 'sand', M.Ir. gainim (dat.); *gεn'an*, 'gannet' (?). *seivir'*, 'rich', M.Ir. saidbir commonly has *ei* but *seivir'* is also heard, which is probably due to the comparative *N'i:s sevr'ə* and the substantive *sevr'əs*, 'riches', where the shortening is regular before a group of consonants. Here we may mention *Lεhə*, plur. of *Lαi*, 'day', O.Ir. lathi, lathe.

§ 84. In a few instances we find *ε* where we least expect it, corresponding to an older *e* before a non-palatal consonant, e.g. *b'eri:*, plur. of *b'arax*, 'heifer', Di. bearach; *k'edi.n'ə*, 'Wednesday', with *ε* for *i*, cp. § 105; *L'εhax*, 'sea-weed used as manure', Di. leathach, *kəran L'ehi:*, 'a hook for cutting sea-weed'; *L'εmög*, 'nip', Di. líomóg. *d'εrəmwid'*, M.Ir. Diarmait, is peculiar.

§ 85. In syllables with secondary stress *ε* occurs in *α:vεf*, 'ocean', Di. aibhéis, instead of *æ* in *α:rN'εf* (§ 79).

3. *ε:*.

§ 86. *ε:* is the long vowel corresponding to *ε* which occurs in Engl. 'air', 'care'. *ε:* is principally found side by side with the diphthong *εθ* which has developed out of it, and goes back to O.Ir. *é* by compensatory lengthening, when standing before a non-palatal consonant. Thus *ε:* occurs regularly before *r*, e.g. *b'ε:rLə*, 'English', O.Ir. *bélre*; *b'ε:ɾi:*, *vε:ɾi:*, futures to *b'er'am*, *ver'am*; *g'ε:r*, 'sharp', O.Ir. *gér*, compar. *N'i:s g'eir'a*; *m'ε:r*, 'finger', O.Ir. *mér*; *sm'ε:r*, 'blackberry', M.Ir. *smér*. Similarly before *r < r'* preceding *f* in *k'ε:rsax*, 'hen black-bird', Di. *céirseach*, Meyer *céirsech*. Also in *ε:r*, 'air', O.Ir. *áer*. In some words *ε:* seems to be preferred to *εθ* as in *fε:məs*, 'James'; *fε:su:r*, 'season' and this is particularly the case in words of more than two syllables, e.g. *ε:doxəs*, 'despair', Di. *éadóchas*, *ε:doxəsax*, 'despairing'.

ε: also occurs by the side of *ei* before *m'*. This is J. H.'s pronunciation but the younger people prefer *ei*, e.g. *L'ε:m'n'i:*, 'leaping', O.Ir. *léimm*; *f'ε:m'*, 'use', *f'ε:m'u:l*, 'useful', M.Ir. *feidm*. Parallel forms also exist in the present of the verb 'to go', *t'ε:m*, 'I go', *hε: muid'* or *hei muid'*, 'we go' (also *hεaN*, *t'εaN muid'*). The imperative is *t'ε:* or *t'ei*. These forms are all based on O.Ir. *téit* which appears as *heid'*. *rε:wog*, 'hen-lark, laverock', is peculiar, as it is doubtless connected with *riabhach*. Di. has *riabhóg*, also *réabhóg*. One might expect *rε:wog* from the younger people (§ 73) but J. H. should have *ö:*.

4. *e*.

§ 87. By this symbol we denote a close *e* similar to French *é* in *été*. The sound varies between mid-front-wide and mid-front-narrow and occurs before the following palatal consonants—*L'*, *l'*, *N'*, *n'*, *r'*, *t'*, *d'*, *z*, *f*.

§ 88. *e* is the regular representative of O.Ir. accented *e* before a consonant with palatal temper, e.g. *d'er'*, 'says', O.Ir. *atbeir* (but *d'er sə*, 'he says'); *d'er'uw*, 'end', O.Ir. *dered*; *d'efalan*, 'crown of the head', M.Ir. *dessel*; *et'ag*, 'wing', O.Ir. *ette*; *et'ir'a*, 'furrow', M.Ir. *etre*; *g'er'*, 'tallow', M.Ir. *geir*; *k'er'i:n'*, 'plaster', Meyer *céirín*; *fel'av*, 'possession', M.Ir. *selb*; *fel'ig'*, 'hunt, chase', O.Ir. *selg*; *sefær*, 'six persons', O.Ir. *s eser*. Before *f'*, *v* both *ε* and *e* may stand, e.g. *d'ef'r'a*, 'haste', M.Ir. *dethbire*; *d'ēvos*, 'shears', M.Ir. *demess*; *g'evr'uw*, 'winter', M.Ir. *gemred*. *d'eç*, 'ten', O.Ir. *deich*, when followed by a substantive becomes *d'ε*. *e* occurs before *h* in *L'ehad'*, 'like', M.Ir. *lethet*.

e occurs in syllables with secondary stress only in *səL'er* (*sæL'er'*), 'evident, plain', Di. soilléir. In a few cases *e:*, *ei* are shortened to *e* before *h < th*, e.g. *t'r'ehaxχ*, 'excellent', Di. tréith-each; *k'l'ehaxχə*, plur. of *k'l'ia*, 'hurdle', M.Ir. *clíath*.

§ 89. In a number of cases *e* arises from a palatalisation of O.Ir. *a*, *o* before a palatal consonant. This change seems to be general, cp. Henebry p. 45; Finck i 17; Dottin, RC. xiv 114 and for S. Ulster G. J. 1896 p. 146. In Donegal it is commonest before *n'* and *r'*, cp. Craig, Grammar² p. 4. Examples—*bweŋ'i:n'*, 'spancel' < *bó-árach* + *ín*; *dreŋəd*, 'bridge', O.Ir. *drochet*; *eb'r'an*, 'April', Meyer *apréil* (ZCP. i 358); *ed'a*, 'instructor', *ed'əs*, 'instruction', M.Ir. *aite*; *el'an*, 'island', M.Ir. *ailén*; *el'a*, 'other', O.Ir. *aile*; *en'am'*, 'name', O.Ir. *ainm*; *en'avisaxχ*, 'ignorant', M.Ir. *anfiss*; *en'əvi:*, 'animal', M.Ir. *anmide*; *eŋ'i:m*, 'I recognise', Meyer *aithgninim* (Craig, Grammar² p. 156 gives the pronunciation as *ennh-*, i.e. *eŋ'*, cp. § 249); *er'*, 'upon', cp. O.Ir. *aire*, *fair* (it may be noted that all consciousness of the old form *ar* has been lost, as when followed by *s* or *f* *er'* becomes *er*); *er'axχtəs*, 'sojourn', Meyer *airrecht*; *ev'ag*, 'live coal', M.Ir. *óibell*; *wer'*, pret. of *mwer'am*, *mwer'am*, O.Ir. *ro mair*; *hen'ik'*, 'came', < *tainic* with aspiration by analogy; *Ner'*, 'when' < in *úair*; *sel'og*, 'willow', M.Ir. *sail*; *gə ser'əvi: n ri: huw*, 'may God prosper you', M.Ir. *soirb*; *fer'*, 'eastwards', O.Ir. *sair* (*f* by analogy with *fíar*, cp. Rhys p. 53).

§ 90. This *e* not infrequently interchanges with *i*, *ï*, e.g. *d'ef*, *d'if* < *d'efə*, Di. *deis*, 'neatness, order'; *el'a*, *il'a*, 'wall of peat-stack', M.Ir. *aile* (Meyer, O'Don. Suppl.) perhaps = Di. *fail*; in parts of *el'u:n'*, 'to rear', pret. *dil' m'a*, Wi. *ailemain*; *k'r'el'a*, *k'r'it'a* past part. of *k'r'ed'am*, 'I believe'; *krev*, *kriuv*, 'paw', M.Ir. *crob*; *L'ef'k'æl*, *L'if'k'æl*, 'excuse', Di. *leithscéal*; *L'evr'i:n'*, *L'ivr'i:n'*, 'a foolish person'; *kərə m'eL'a*, *m'iL'a*, 'heath pease', Di. *carra mhilis*. Similarly we find *e*, *ε* alternating in *L'ehaxχ*, 'sea-weed', gen. sing. *L'ehi:*. Further *e*, *ei* before *g*, *L'eŋ*, *L'eig*, 'half', also 'a fluke', Di. *leith*, gen. sing. *L'ehə*.

§ 91. *e* occurs as the final of a few monosyllables, e.g. *də*, 'from him', O.Ir. *de*; *t'e*, 'hot', M.Ir. *te*; *b'r'e*, 'to bring forth', M.Ir. *breith*. But these and similar words tend to end in breath, cp. § 42.

5. *e:*.

§ 92. A very close long *e* as in German 'see' is a frequent

sound arising from various sources. When nasalised it is more open than otherwise.

§ 93. *e:* corresponds to O.Ir. *é* as the final of monosyllables, e.g. *d'e:*, gen. sing. of *d'ia*, 'God', O.Ir. *dé*; *g'r'e:*, 'good appearance', O.Ir. *gné*; *aN'e:*, 'yesterday', O.Ir. *indé*. Also frequently in the prefix *d'e:*, O.Ir. *deg*, 'good', e.g. *d'e:lo:γax*, 'eloquent'; *d'e:jr'i:wəri:*, 'good deeds'; *d'e:smwi:t'i:*, 'good thoughts'; *d'e:vr'ia-γax*, 'sweet spoken'; *d'e:woluw*, 'sweet smell'. *d'e:* is sometimes heard in these forms beside *d'e:*.

§ 94. *e:* occasionally represents O.Ir. accented *é* before a consonant, e.g. *f'r'e:waxə*, plur. of *f'r'eiv*, 'root', we expect *f'r'e:waxə* but the *e:* is due to the influence of the vowel of the singular; *g'e:*, 'goose', M.Ir. *géd* but plur. *g'eaγə*; *m'e:*, 'fat', M.Ir. *meth*; *f'k'ě:v*, 'beautiful appearance', Di. *scéimh* < O.Ir. *scíam*; *sre:n'*, gen. sing. of *sre:n*, 'bridle', O.Ir. *srián*. This *e:* also occurs in English loan-words as in *tre:n*, 'train'; *te:*, 'tea'. *grě:hə*, 'business, affairs', *grě:haγ*, 'busy' are peculiar. Dinneen only has *gnó*, *gnóthach*. The Donegal forms rather point to O.Ir. *gnéthech* with *gr* and not *g'r'* due to association with *grō:hən*, 'to gain', Di. *gnóthuighim*.

§ 95. There is a variety of *e:* which occurs when the preceding consonant is not palatal. In modern Irish *æ* is written to denote this sound but no special symbol is employed in this book. It may be regarded as an unrounded form of the German *ö* in 'böse' and differs from the ordinary *e:* in two particulars. The latter is formed with the corners of the mouth spread, whilst in the case of this variety the lips are in a neutral position (approximately that of Engl. *ei* in 'day') and at the same time the fore part of the tongue is slightly lowered and retracted. Henebry describes his E (p. 6) in such ambiguous terms that it is impossible to make out whether the sound given to the diagraph *ao* in Munster is similar to this Donegal variety of *e:*. Examples—*Le:*, gen. sing. of *La:*, 'day' < O.Ir. *láthi*, *láthe*; *re:*, 'time', O.Ir. *ré* (*r* < **R'*); *ge:(ə)l*, gen. sing. *ge:l'* (with the ordinary *e:*), 'Gael, Catholic', O.Ir. *Góedel*, *ge:laγ*, 'Catholic' but generally *ge:l'ik*, 'Irish, Gaelic', with the ordinary *e:*. The younger people substitute this sound and also the ordinary *e:* for the *ǝ:* of the older folk, who themselves use both in a number of words, thus *tǝuw*, *teuw*, 'to choose' < O.Ir. *toγ*; *rǝ:*, *re:*, 'choice', O.Ir. *roγ*. This *e:* further appears shortened in the diphthong *ei* in *rei*, 'ready', O.Ir. *réid* (often *rǝi*).

6. *i*.

§ 96. We have already seen that considerable uncertainty prevails with regard to the e-sounds in Donegal and the same applies equally to the i-sounds. By the symbol *i* we denote a high-mixed-wide vowel. However in several of the cases to be mentioned below various shades are heard ranging between *i* and a high-front-wide vowel. Under these circumstances J. H. inclines more to *i* whilst the younger folk pronounce a distinct *i*. This *i* seems to me to be one of the peculiar characteristics of Donegal speech both English and Irish and at first gave me the impression of an e-sound. The tongue-position for the Donegal irrational vowel approaches very nearly to that of *i*, indeed *ə* may be regarded as a lowered *i*, and the two sounds not infrequently interchange. Very remarkable also is the common substitution of *i* for *ə* and vice versa.

§ 97. *i* represents an O.Ir. *i* preceded by a palatal consonant and followed by one of different quality, e.g. *b'ílər*, 'cress', M.Ir. *biror*; *g'ibag*, 'a little bit', Di. *giobóg*; *g'ídolaχ*, 'foolishly conceited', Di. *giodalach*; *g'il*, *g'ilkaχ*, 'early grass, fog'; *g'iLaxt*, 'work about the house' (cp. *N'i: hīg' l'im qbwir' er' biç ə ja:nuw sə N'ε:r gəd'i: N'ei am d'i:N'arə l'ε wíl' ə jilaxt l'ε d'a:nuw əgəm*, 'I cannot get to work in the hay until after dinner on account of all the things I have to do about the house'), cp. Di. *giollaidheacht*; *g'imanaχ*, 'livery-servant, coachman', Di. *giómánach*, *geamánach*; *g'itə*, 'bit, piece', Di. *giota*; *g'límaχ*, 'lobster', Di. *gliomach*; *iγlaχ*, 'tingling in the fingers', Di. *ionglach*, *eanglach*; *k'imax*, 'clout', also 'a good-for-nothing fellow', Di. *ciomach*; *k'iNti*, 'cause, occasion', Di. *cionnta* < O.Ir. *cin*; *k'itag*, 'left-hand', Di. *ciotóg*; *L'ibər*, 'hanging-lip', Di. *liobar*; *m'itan*, 'small, useless hand', Di. *miotán*; *p'ibruw*, 'rousing to fight'; *p'ikod'*, 'a pick', Di. *piocóid*; *p'r'is*, 'cupboard', Engl. 'press'; *f'ik*, 'frost', Di. *sioc*; *f'ikyr'*, 'cause', Di. *siocair*, also *f'okyr'*; *f'iLuw*, 'syllable', O.Ir. *sillab*; *f'istal*, 'to heckle', Di. *siostal*; *f'kr'is*, 'destruction', M.Ir. *scris* (gen. sing. *f'kr'if*); *f'L'ignuw*, 'good appearance of work' (?); *sm'inəgyr'*, 'small fragments', Di. *smionagar*; *sp'l'itə*, 'splinter'; *f'iguw*, 'to die', Di. *stiogadh*; *t'imsw*, 'gather in, garner', M.Ir. *timsugad*; *t'iNta:r s'iv*, 'weed, a kind of milk-fever' (?); *t'r'iblod'ax*, 'troublesome', Di. *trioblóideach*.

For O.Ir. initial *i* before a non-palatal consonant see § 58.

§ 98. When in a stressed syllable the consonant following

the vowel is palatal but the initial consonant is not, the palatalisation in the majority of cases has affected the vowel which usually appears as *i*, for exceptions see § 24. We find *i* notably in the inflected forms of monosyllables containing *a*, *o*, *u*, e.g.

a—*glas*, 'green', compar. *glíḡḡ*; *kam*, 'bent', compar. *kím'ə*;
kláN, 'children', dat. *klíN'*.

o—*bo:r*, 'deaf', compar. *bívr'ə*; *kəm*, 'waist', gen. sing. *kím'*;
trəm, 'heavy', compar. *trím'ə*; *sək*, 'snout', gen. sing. *sík'*.

u—*dUw*, 'black', compar. *dívə*; *klívr'αχ*, 'feathers', *La'bwí:*
χlívr'i:, 'feather bed', Di. *cluímhreach* < M.Ir. *clúm*.

In the same way *i* is occasionally the result of the palatalisation of O.Ir. *e*, e.g. *N'íḡv*, *N'íḡf'*, 'poison', O.Ir. *neim*, cp. § 111.

Further examples—*díván*, 'cormorant', Di. *duibhéan*; *éadḡv'n'ə*, 'shallowness', Di. *éadoimhin*; *ḡív'n'ə*, plur. of *ḡo:*, 'smith'; *kíḡ'əlán*, 'knot of people', O.Ir. *comthinól*; *kívad*, 'watch', O.Ir. *comét*; *kív'n'αχ*, 'mindful', O.Ir. *cúimnech*; *kív'r'əN*, 'plot of ground for crops', M.Ir. *comraind*; *kríḡ'αχtə*, 'wheat', M.Ir. *cruithnecht*; *kríp'ə*, 'button', Di. *cnaipe*; *ríl'íg'*, 'churched', M.Ir. *reicc*; *ríN'*, 'share, deal', Di. *roinn*; *ríl'ə*, 'steep', Di. *ruidhte*; *rívə*, *ríp'i:*, 'before him, her', cp. Wi. *remi*, *roime*, *rempi* p. 733; *ríχt*, 'state', O.Ir. *richt*; *sím'*, 'consideration', Di. *snim*, *N'zúhím'u.l'*, 'careless'; *sLíN'uv*, 'family name', M.Ir. *slondiud*; *tíḡ'əm*, 'I understand', O.Ir. *tuccim*.

This *i* also occurs initially, e.g. *íb'r'i:*, 'workman', cp. M.Ir. *oibríngad*; *íḡ'ə*, 'the wall round a stack of peat', Meyer *aile*; *ív*, *íḡ'*, 'egg', *uibh* (Craig), O.Ir. *og*. In a few words in which *i* comes from *o* or *u*, a slight rounding is to be observed, e.g. in *ḡlín'ə*, 'glass', M.Ir. *glaine*, *gloine* but not in *ḡlín'ə*, 'purity', M.Ir. *glaine* (so according to J. H. but doubtful); *klín'əm*, 'I hear', O.Ir. *ro-cluín-ethar*; *íḡ'k'*, O.Ir. *uilcc*, gen. sing. of *olk*, 'bad'; *íL'ə* (*m'i:* *Nə híL'ə*), 'July'; *íN'ə*, 'June'; *íL'íəm*, 'William'.

§ 99. Strange to say there seems to be an increasing tendency to employ *i* (= O.Ir. *e*, *i*) at the expense of *i* between two palatal consonants. J. H. inclines more to *i* but the younger people prefer *í* in a large number of words, e.g. *b'r'íL'f'k'ír'αχt*, 'light-headedness', Di. *breillsce*; *d'íl'*, 'lathe', M.Ir. *deil*; *f'íḡ'ə*, 'poet', O.Ir. *fili*; *ḡ'íb'ə*, gen. sing. of *ḡ'íb*, 'bit', Di. *giob*; *k'ín'al*, 'kind', (also *k'ín'al*) O.Ir. *cenél* (but generally *ḡa:* *cin'al*); *k'íḡ'*, 'piece of repaired path, spot to be mended', Di. *ceis*; *m'ín'*, 'meal', O.Ir. *men*; *m'íl'*, 'honey', O.Ir. *mil*; *m'íl'íḡ'*, 'sweet', O.Ir.

milis; *m'í/s*, 'me, I', O.Ir. *mésse*, *méisse*; *p'íl'p'í:n'*, 'plover', Di. *pilibín*; *p'l'í/s*, 'puddle', also *p'l'ó/s*; *f'íl'ag*, 'spittle', M.Ir. *seile*, *saile*; *f'íl'uw*, 'matter, pus' (*t'íky: sé fa híl'uw*, 'it will gather') also 'to distil, drop', M.Ir. *silim*; *f'im'p'l'i:*, 'foolish, simple', Di. *simplidhe*.

§ 100. In modern Irish *iu* is written for *io* in some cases before *ch* but the pronunciation is *i*, e.g. *f'í'χuw*, 'to boil', M.Ir. *fichim*; *f'l'í'χ*, 'wet', O.Ir. *fiuch* (the latter is also heard as *f'l'ó'χ*, *f'l'U'χ*).

§ 101. Before *m'* initial *i* is always *í*, e.g. *ím'*, 'butter', O.Ir. *imb*; *ím'axt*, 'to depart', O.Ir. *immthecht* (according to Rhys p. 7 Manx *immeeaght* has a short open *i*); *ím'áL*, 'edge', O.Ir. *imbel*; *ím'ort*, 'to play', M.Ir. *imirt*; *ím'n'i:*, 'care', O.Ir. *inned*; *ím'p'i:*, 'prayer', O.Ir. *impide*. But O.Ir. initial *i* before a non-palatal consonant is usually *o* (§ 58). However one hears *ím'χ'ó'gá*, 'fit to wrestle with, a match for', cp. *ionchurtha* Cl. S. 25 vi '04 p. 6 col. 1.

§ 102. Before *r* < *r'* preceding *s*, *t'* &c. O.Ir. *e*, *i* is frequently represented by *í*, though this is in large measure due to analogy, e.g. *írsaxá*, plur. of *ir'ís*, 'hanger', Di. *iris*; *kí'gaxá*, 'guilty', Di. *coirtheach* < *kyr'*, 'crime', plur. *kí'gá*, M.Ir. *cair*; *k'irt'a*, compar. of *k'art*, 'right' (also *N'i:s k'artá*); *f'ir'N'axá*, plur. of *fuir'áN*, 'crew' (*f. Lypá, ba:d'*); *b'irt'*, 'a pair', Di. *beirt*; *írsaxá*, 'tired', O.Ir. *torsech*. One would naturally expect to find *o* under these circumstances after a non-palatal initial (cp. *ta: m'é kór fól ro:ná*, 'my nose is bleeding', *fól* < *f'wíl'*) and it does occur, e.g. in *χ'ór sá* < *chuir sé*, *k'ó'gá*, 'buried' < *cuirthe*; *d'ó'gá*, 'bulled', Di. *dortha* from *da:r'*, pres. pass. *dirt'or*; *m'ór'N'axá*, 'pleasant, agreeable', M.Ir. *muirnech*. But even in these cases there is hesitation, thus *dí'gá* may be heard by the side of *d'ó'gá* and *b'í'gá*, 'born', is the regular participle of *beirim*, imperf. pass. *ví'gí:*.

§ 103. Apart from the cases mentioned in the preceding paragraph *i* not infrequently appears where we should expect *o* and vice versa, cp. Craig, Grammar² p. 9 note at foot, where some words are needlessly spelt with *iu* instead of *io*. The word for 'priest' I have usually heard pronounced *sig'ort* though I believe the form *sog'ort* also occurs (with the latter cp. Molloy's *sogart* in his 33rd dialect-list and see also § 60). The Donegal form is possibly due to association with some word like *íg'lí/s*, 'church, the clergy'. We further find *ví'báL*, 'tail', M.Ir. *erball*, *kí'ky:í'*, 'a fortnight', M.Ir. *cóicdigis* (Craig writes *cucaois*) by the

side of *roból*, *kpkj:f*. Similarly *ə Niri*, 'last year', O.Ir. *inn-uraid*; *glidi*, 'effeminate, soft person' (?); *riđ*, 'thing', § 59; *l'qm* beside *l'im*, 'with me'; *häsə*, 'you', O.Ir. *tussu*, *tusso*. This uncertainty seems to have existed long ago in the case of the prefix which we find variously spelt *aur-*, *ur-*, *ar-*, *er-*, *ir-*, cp. *ursa*, *aursa*, *irsa* Wi. p. 868.

§ 104. *i* may interchange with *e* in some words, e.g. *dibər sə*, 'he worked' but past part. *eb'r'i:f'tə*; *f'il'əv*, *fel'əv*, 'possession'; *gür'id*, *ger'id*, 'short'; *f'l'iṅuuv*, 'sleet', Di. *fichne*, *fichshneachta*. Cp. further § 90.

§ 105. *i* occurs sporadically as the reduction of a long vowel. *d'iwäl* (*d'əwäl*), 'want, need of', O.Ir. *dígbail*; *d'imwit'a*, 'apart from, besides', cp. Derry People 9 ix '05 p. 2 col. 7, *nach maith is cuimhneach linn Domhnall is Diarmuid, Páidin agus Seamuisin; Eibhlin is Anna; Grainne agus Síghle; agus go leór diomaoite diobhtha seo*. This form seems to contain the privative prefix *dí-* followed by *mwi:t'a*, 'belonging to, dependent on', cp. *sonas agus senn dhuit fhéin agus do gach duine a bhfuil maoidhte ort* (from letter written by J. J. Ward of Tory Island), see also Cl. S. 25 vi '04 p. 6 col. 1. The shortening in both *d'iwäl* and *d'imwit'a* is probably due to the fact that they commonly stand before the chief stress. O.Ir. *cét*, 'first', seems to have become *çid* < *k'ead*, which has given *çid*. The reason for the shortening is not clear in this case as the word always has the stress. The same applies to *fk'in*, 'knife', gen. sing. *fk'in'a*, dat. sing. *fk'in'*, M.Ir. *scián*, Craig writes *sgean*; *fk'irduuv*, 'to move quickly, slip off, slip up', Di. *sciórdaim*; *d'inas*, 'diligence', *d'inəsax*, 'diligent', O'R. *díonasach*, Di. *déanasach*. *iəri*, M.Ir. *iarraid*, when preceded by *ag* frequently becomes *iri*, *iRi*: as in *N'i:L' fə ax ə g'iri: ə və b'jo:*, a frequent answer to an enquiry after a person's health, 'he's only just getting along'. *Ninu:r*, 'set of nine', O.Ir. *nónbur* has perhaps been influenced by *d'iy'u:r* (Lloyd gives a similar pronunciation for Monaghan and Meath G. J. 1896 p. 147 col. 2). In verb stems the stressed vowel is lengthened by a following *gh*, but when this *gh* comes to stand before *t'* the vowel remains short and appears generally as *i*, e.g. *tṅuuv*, 'to choose', pret. *hṅ: m'a*, pres. pass. *tít'ər*, imperf. pass. *hüt'i*; past part. *tít'a* (also used as adj. = 'choice, select, capital'), cp. O.Ir. *toḡu*; *N'ia*, 'to wash', M.Ir. *nige*, pres. pass. *N'it'ər*, imperf. pass. *nüt'i*; past part. *N'it'a* but fut. act. *N'ia:hə m'a*. *t'r'ouuv*, 'to plough', M.Ir. *trebaim*, is treated in the same way, past part. *t'r'it'a*.

§ 106. In Donegal O.Ir. accented e appears as i (i.e. *i*) before *g* whether arising from O.Ir. *c* or *d*, *g* (i.e. Mod.Ir. *dh*, *gh*). Examples—*b'ig*, 'small', O.Ir. *becc*; *b'l'igən*, 'to milk', M.Ir. *blegon* (Finck gives *blān* as the Aran pronunciation); *f'ig*, 'a fathom', M.Ir. *ed* (also *f'a*; *f'ə*), *er' f'ig*, 'throughout'; *f'ig*, 'rush', Di. *feog*, *feag*; *f'igən*, 'the rim of a spinning wheel', O.Ir. *fedán* (?); *f'l'ig*, 'chickweed', Hogan *fiódh*, *fligh*, Di. *flich*; *f'r'igrə*, 'answer', O.Ir. *frecre*; *ig*, 'notch', Di. *eag s. feag* and *neagain*, Macbain *eag*, Wi. *fec* (?), from this word two names of diseases seem to come, viz. *igə gUw*, 'black hives', *igə jarəg*, 'red hives'; *iglə*, 'fear', O.Ir. *ecla*; *iglif*, 'church, clergy', O.Ir. *eclais*, *iglasax*, 'clergyman', Di. *eaglaiseach*; *ignə*, 'shrewd', O.Ir. *écne*; *k'r'ig*, 'crag', Meyer *crec*; *L'igən*, 'overthrow', Keating *leagadh*; *fL'ig*, 'spear', M.Ir. *sleg* (cp. § 170). Further in one pronunciation of the word for 'arrear', *rigrəftə*, the formation of which is obscure (cp. § 170). *g* has not passed into *g* in *t'igətax*, 'family', O.Ir. *teglach*. In this connection we might mention *igəri:m*, 'I adore', O.Ir. *adram* (but see also § 170); *f'igəriax*, 'likeness, picture', M.Ir. *figur*.

This change of O.Ir. *e* to *i* has doubtless been wide-spread, witness the frequency with which it appears for *ea* in writers of the seventeenth century, cp. O'Donovan, Grammar p. 18 and compare the pronunciation of the word for 'bed' in Antrim and Farney written *liubaidh*, G. J. 1895 p. 109, ib. p. 141, Sg. Fearn. pp. 23, 97. In S. Ulster *ea* before *d*, *g*, *s*, *dh* and *gh* is pronounced *e* (G. J. 1896 p. 146 col. 2), which corresponds very closely to the state of affairs in Donegal.

§ 107. *i* < O.Ir. *e* occurs before *n* in *linəf'æn'*, 'already' < *cheana-féin* but this is only one of several pronunciations of the word (Craig writes *henifin*); *k'in*, 'affection', M.Ir. *cen*. *k'iN*, 'head' is probably due to the oblique cases (O.Ir. dat. *ciunn*), as *g'l'aN*, *m'aNən* &c. have retained the *a*. In an isolated form we get the form *k'aN*, viz. in the name of a flower (a kind of orchid?), *k'aNəmaN dUχsəx*, the first part of which is evidently Hogan's *ceannbhan*. *ilərə*, 'loathing' is obscure. Dinneen has *ealaraim*, 'I salt, pickle', which may be connected. A word which has had a peculiar history is *fəruw tɪə*, 'household furniture'. This is evidently M.Ir. *errad*, *eirred*, Di. *earradh*, which first became *iruw* and then *gruw*. All consciousness that the word originally had a palatal initial was lost and *f* was prefixed. It might be noted that Di. *fionnán*, 'a kind of rough grass' is in Donegal called *f'aNən*.

7. *i*.

§ 108. By *i* we denote several shades of i-sounds varying from a middle to a close i. In the neighbourhood of non-palatal consonants *i* undergoes certain modifications which will be mentioned under *y* in § 125.

§ 109. *i* commonly represents an O.Ir. accented i between two palatal consonants, e.g. *b'ig'*, gen. sing. of *b'ig*, 'little'; *b'iN'*, 'melodious', O.Ir. bind; *g'ip*, 'wedge', M.Ir. geind; *p'if'i:n'*, 'kitten', Di. písin s. piscín; *t'i:N'*, 'poorly, ill', M.Ir. tind. Initially *i* can only occur before palatal consonants (cp. § 58), e.g. *iN'fə*, 'to relate', M.Ir. innissim, indissim; *in'ig'iL't*, 'grazing, pasture', Di. ingheilt; *ir'if*, 'hanger', Di. iris; *ir'is*, 'a contract', O'R. iris, 'assignation', cp. *ta: ir'is pə:stə edir' mɑ:r' əgəs fə:məs*, 'Mary and James are engaged to be married', O.Ir. iress.

The line between *i* and *ī* is not very sharply defined. *i* sometimes appears for *ī* especially after *r'*, e.g. in *g'r'ibax*, 'bustle', cp. Cl. S. 6 ix '02 p. 432 col. 2, Macbain has griobhag, M.Ir. grip (the word is used especially of a mêlée at camman, e.g. *vi: g'r'ibax mo:r er' ə N'əmwaN' f'in'*, 'it was a rough game', *vi: g'r'ibax mo:r er' ɹ:nax ə Nō:wir' Ner' ə vi: Na tir'iv ə gər' əmax*, 'there was great confusion at the harvest-fair when the bulls were being taken out'); *g'r'isæl'*, 'drubbing, slashing', Di. gríosáil.

§ 110. Before palatal consonants *i* appears instead of *ī* in accented syllables containing a, o, u. Examples—

O.Ir. a—*dir'a*, 'Derry', O.Ir. daire; *diL'*, gen. sing. of *daL*, 'blind', M.Ir. dall; *g'ivə*, compar. of *garuw*, 'rough', O.Ir. garb; *giN'a*, compar. of *gaN*, 'scarce', O.Ir. gand; *giN'əstə*, 'unawares' < gan fhios; *gir'im'*, 'call', M.Ir. gairm; *ir'im'*, nom. plur. of *arəm*, 'army', O.Ir. arm; *siN't*, 'avarice', Di. sainnt < O.Ir. sant; *t'if'iN't*, 'to shew', M.Ir. taisfénad, cp. Pedersen p. 163 f.

O.Ir. o—*brim'*, 'crepitus ventris', M.Ir. broimm; *dir'ib'*, 'a water-worm living at the bottom of pools, when swallowed by cattle it causes a disease which only the Cassidy's can cure', Di. doirbh; *gir'im'a*, compar. of *gorəm*, 'blue', M.Ir. gorm; *if'ail*, 'game', < os, 'deer' + feóil; *klig'*, gen. sing. of *klog*, 'bell', O.Ir. clocc; *krik'*, nom. plur. of *krok*, 'hill', O.Ir. cnocc; *Lip*, dat. of *Lq̄r*, 'ship'; *mwiL't*, nom. plur. of *məLt*, 'wether', O.Ir. molt. Note also the new gen. sing. *kyg'im'* formed from *kəgəm*, 'even, level', M.Ir. comthrom.

O.Ir. u—*diL'ag*, 'leaf', Di. duilleog, M.Ir. duille; *din'ə*, 'man', O.Ir. duine; *gir'i:n'*, 'pimple', M.Ir. gur, 'pus'; *k'ark gyr'*, 'a sitting hen', Di. gor; *iL'ə*, 'elbow', M.Ir. ule; *isag*, 'lark', Macbain uiseag, Manx ushag, Di. fuiseog; *kliçə*, 'game', M.Ir. cluche; *krihaxə*, plur. of *krUw*, 'horseshoe', Wi. crú; *krit'*, 'hump', *krit'i:n'ax*, 'humpback', M.Ir. crot, cruit; *mwir'*, 'sea', O.Ir. muir.

§ 111. In the same way O.Ir. e before palatal consonants has frequently become *i*, e.g. *d'iu'u:r*, 'party of ten', O.Ir. deichenbor; *f'ir'ig'ə*, gen. sing. of *f'arəg*, 'anger', O.Ir. ferc, ferg; *g'r'im'*, 'morsel, grip', O.Ir. greimm; *k'ipk'i:f*, 'Whitsuntide', M.Ir. cengciges; *k'isan*, 'basket', Meyer cess; *L'ig'an*, 'to let, allow', Wi. lécun; *m'in'ik'*, 'frequent', O.Ir. menicc; *m'ir'ig'*, 'rust', O.Ir. meirg; *m'is'k'ə*, 'intoxication', M.Ir. mesce; *f'iN'əm'*, 'playing an instrument', M.Ir. senim; *sm'ig'*, 'chin', M.Ir. smech; *t'in'i*, 'fire', O.Ir. tene.

§ 112. In § 105 we saw that *i* occurs in a few verbs ending in dh, gh before *t'*. Similarly *i:* is shortened to *i* in verb forms before *t'* and *h* < fh or th. Henebry mentions this shortening for Waterford (p. 13) but it must be remembered that there is a tendency to shorten all long vowels before *h* < th in Donegal. Examples—*vl'i(:) m'ə*, 'I milked', infin. *b'l'ia* but past part. *b'l'it'ə*, fut. act. *b'l'ihə m'ə*, pres. pass. *b'l'it'ər*, cond. pass. *vl'ih:*; O.Ir. mligim; *gi:* (*gy:*), 'to beseech', past part. *git'ə*, O.Ir. gude; *f'ia*, 'to weave', pres. pass. *f'it'ər*, imperf. *d'it'i:*, past part. *f'it'ə*; *ti:* *ʃə*, 'he sees', pres. pass. *t'ihər d'Uw*, 'it seems to me'. This shortening is also found in other words, as in *gA:*, 'wind', gen. sing. *gihə*; *sihər* (*sA'hər*), 'labour', O.Ir. sáithar; *tihə*, 'houses', Di. tighthe; *d'l'iwəl*, 'lawful', Di. dlichteamhail; *riwəl*, 'royal', < *rioghthamhail. In syllables with secondary stress *i* is common for *i:* in the participial ending *-i:ʃt'ə* (see § 356) as in *b'ahis't'ə*, *b'is'ist'ə*, *sriwist'ə*; also in *d'imwit'ə*, 'besides' (§ 105). In the preterite of the verbs *s:*, 'to sit', O.Ir. suide; *Li:* (*Ly:*), 'to lie', O.Ir. lige and similar verbs a short or half-long *i* appears instead of *i:*, *y:* before the personal pronouns, e.g. *li tuw*, *li ʃə*, *him'ə*.

§ 113. *i* is frequent in unstressed syllables in place of *ə* before palatal consonants independent of the quality of the preceding consonant, e.g. *ar'in'*, Aran, *il'an ar'ənə*, Aran Island; *boχtin'axt*, 'poverty', Di. bochtaineacht; *d'ioLid'*, 'saddle', M.Ir. diallait; *agiN'*, 'with us', O.Ir. ocaind; *b'ax χapwiL'*, 'wasp', beach chapail; *kyg'im'*, gen. sing. of *kəgəm*, M.Ir. comthrom; *ot'ir'*, 'turf-bank', Di. Macbain oitir.

§ 114. In the same way *i* takes place of *ə* as svarabhakti vowel between palatal combinations such as *r'g'*, *r'v*, *l'g'* &c. (cp. Finck i p. 35). Examples—*buil'ig'əg*, 'bubble', O.Ir. *bolg*, *bolc*, gen. sing. *builc*; *hær'ig'*, 'offered', M.Ir. *taircim*; *k'el'ig'*, 'deceit', M.Ir. *celg*; *m'iv'ig'*, 'rust', O.Ir. *meirg*; *mwær'ig'*, 'woe', O.Ir. *mairg*; *ſir'ivə*, compar. of *ſaruv*, 'bitter', O.Ir. serb. *La.r'ik'*, 'thigh', beside *Maebain làirig*, O.Ir. *loarcc* shews that the *k'* is analogical and comes in from the plural, as no svarabhakti vowel is introduced between *r*, *r'* and *k*, *k'* (§ 138). Similarly the final *ə* of *in'ə*, 'Friday', becomes *i* in *i:ni' çeəstə*, 'Good Friday'; *tui çahə*, 'rainbow', = *tuagh cheatha*.

§ 115. After *r'* before *ə*: the off-glide sometimes develops into *i*, as in *b'r'iv:t'ə*, 'sickly, delicate', infin. *b'r'ivuw*, Di. *breodhaim*, Meyer *breoaim*, 'I burn'.

8. *i:*.

§ 116. When standing between palatal consonants *i:* has a very close sound but in other positions it is slightly more open. It is liable to be modified by non-palatal consonants for which see under *y* (§ 125) and is frequent both in syllables with chief and secondary stress.

§ 117. *i:* represents O.Ir. *í* between palatal consonants, e.g. in *d'i:g'*, dat. sing. of *d'i:g* (with open vowel, also *d'ia:g*), 'gutter'; *ſi:n'uw* (*ſi:N'uw*), 'stretch', O.Ir. *sínim*; *d'i:f*, 'a couple', cp. *dís* dat. of *días* Wi.; *k'i:r'ə*, gen. sing. of *k'i:r*, 'comb', O.Ir. *cír*; *f'r'i:*, 'flesh-worm', O'R. *frith*, Di. *frigh*. Similarly in *i:*, 'fat', *Raphoe Pastoral 1904 igh*, *Maebain igh*, M.Ir. *íth* and in the diminutive termination *-i:n'*, *kæll'i:n'*, 'girl'. When the final of a monosyllable which contains *iə* becomes palatal, *iə* becomes *i:*; thus *driən*, 'blackthorn', O.Ir. *draigen*, gen. sing. *dri:n'*.

§ 118. O.Ir. *í* in words of more than one syllable before non-palatal consonants gives *i:* (in monosyllables we usually find *iə*), e.g. *d'í:wi:n'*, 'unmarried', O.Ir. *dímain*; *k'i:kraçç*, 'ravenous', Meyer *cíccarach*; *k'i:mwæll'*, 'to worry, contend', O'R. *ciomaim*, *Machain*, Di. *ciom*; *karəç* 'k'r'i:stə', 'sponsor', Meyer *cairdes Críst* s. *cairdes*; *m'i:sə*, gen. sing. of *m'i:*, 'month'.

§ 119. Sometimes O.Ir. *ía* (i.e. *iə*) loses its second element and becomes *i:*. This is particularly the case before *h < th* and is therefore parallel to the shortening of long vowels before the same sound. Examples—*b'r'i:hər*, 'word, speech', O.Ir. *bríathar*;

k'li:han, 'the front of the chest', *k'li:hanax*, 'narrow-chested', Di. cliathán; *k'r'i:har*, 'sieve', O.Ir. criathar; *f'i:məə*, 'pastime', Di. siamsa.

§ 120. With many speakers the close *e*: and *ei* tend to become *i*: as in *m'i: hi:n'* = mé fhéin; *gr'i:haχ*, 'busy' (§ 94); *i:r'i:* = eirigh. Regularly in *gr'i:*, 'good looks', *gr'iwəl'*, 'handsome', O.Ir. gné; *f'k'i' æpk'is'*, 'quinsy', Di. scéith aingcis; *b'l'iaɔg*, 'effeminate fellow', cp. Di. bleitheachán; analogically in the inflected forms of *d'ian*, O.Ir. dían, gen. sing. fem. *d'i:n'a*.

§ 121. A palatal O.Ir. *d*, *g* (Mod.Ir. *dh*, *gh*) gave *j* which combined with a preceding vowel to form *i*: both in stressed and unstressed syllables. (*a*) in stressed syllables—*bwi:*, 'yellow', O.Ir. bude, *bwi:gan*, 'yolk of an egg'; *bri:n*, 'contest, brawl', Meyer bruden (Craig wrongly writes braoghan); *b'i:wi:*, 'mischievous', < *bidbaide, Meyer bibdaide; *gi:*, pret. of *gib*, *gyə*, 'to beseech', O.Ir. gude; *i:çə*, 'night', O.Ir. aidche, oidche; *ri:n'*, 'tough', M.Ir. rigin; *ti:ðr'*, 'thatcher', Di. tuigheadóir, *mər wɑ:r dri:L'ə*, 'to cap all', Di. dramhfhuigheall, drabhfhuiheal, dramhghail, drabhghail. (*b*) in unstressed syllables—*akli:*, 'pliable, soft', Di. aclaidhe; *kiki:s* (*kiky:f*), 'fortnight', M.Ir. cóicidigis; *k'ipk'i:f*, 'Whitsuntide', M.Ir. cengciges; *mɑNti:l'*, 'to mumble, talk indistinctly', mantuighil; *mwin'i:n'*, 'confidence', M.Ir. muinigin; *mwir'i:n'*, 'a large family', Di. muirighean, Macbain muirichinn. The genitive of words ending in *-uw* < *-adh*, *-amb* is usually *-i:*, so *boluuw*, 'smell', O.Ir. bolad, gen. sing. *boli:*; *b'r'ehuuw*, 'judge', O.Ir. brithem, gen. sing. *b'r'ehi:*. Between *r* (= *r'*) and *j* a svarabhakti vowel was developed, hence M.Ir. *suirge* became **sir'ijə* and finally *sir'i* (generally with short vowel); similarly O.Ir. *irge* gave *eir'i:*.

A number of substantives (mainly feminine) which ended in *-ad* in the older language have formed a new nominative *-i:* < *-aid* from the oblique cases, as indeed there is a general tendency in Donegal to make feminine substantives end in a palatal sound, e.g. *gen'šv*, 'sand', O.Ir. ganem. Examples:—*ɑ:ri:*, 'main cross-beam in roof', Di. áraidhe, M.Ir. árad; *kū:i:*, 'grief', Meyer cuma, dat. cumaid; *L'abwi:*, 'bed', has already in M.Ir. two forms *lepad*, *lepuid*; *m'ani:*, 'awl', M.Ir. menad; *moli:*, 'brow, steep incline', Wi. malaig (dat.); *sāuwi:*, 'sorrel'; Di. samhadh, Macbain samh. Cp. further *t'in'i*, 'fire', < *tenid* (dat.); *t'aryy:*, 'tongue', O.Ir. tenge. Other words seem to have been influenced by these examples, as *k'iNti:*, 'cause', Di. cionnta formed from

O.Ir. cin, 'guilt', M.Ir. cintach, 'guilty' and I am inclined to think that the *-i:* in *ga:ri:*, 'garden, small enclosure', M.Ir. garda and *gmwi:*, 'many a', O.Ir. immda, is also due to analogy; for the latter form cp. Derry People 24 x '03 p. 3—siomaidh sgéul atá innisiste fa daobh dó. Henebry (p. 65) states that "gh broad or slender after l, n, r contracts w or y with the svar. thrown out by the liquid and becomes ū or ī" and quotes as instances feadghaile, murrghach. Pedersen (p. 15) says of Mod.Ir. gardha, "the word is now pronounced garī on Arran with a regular change of dh > j, development of svarabhakti vowel and change of *əjə* > ī; Scotch garradh". Pedersen unfortunately fails to give us any further instances of the change of non-palatal dh > j and this sound-law has certainly not operated in Donegal, where Mod.Ir. dh after r, m disappears, as far as can be seen¹. Thus M.Ir. gruamda appears as *gruamə*; *a N'iaLās*, M.Ir. Mac Niallguis (Fergus and Oengus unfortunately appear as *f'arəgəs* and *Nĭ:s*); *mórdhachas, cp. Di. mórdhacht, gives *məRaxəs* with assimilation of rd > R and shortening of the preceding vowel; *faurə*, 'eclipse' is obscure, but it may be mentioned here as it represents urdhubhadh. Further in a number of trisyllabic adjectives in *-rdha* the result is *-rə*, e.g. *k'axərə*, 'miserly', Meyer *cecharða*; *danərə*, 'cruel', Di. danardha; similarly *kərpərə* (Meyer *corporda*), *m'asərə*, *mwiN'tərə*, *faskərə*.

§ 122. However in the case of O.Ir. palatal g after *l'*, *r'* the svarabhakti *i + j + vowel* invariably gives *i:*, e.g. *dæli:s*, 'difficulty', Keating *doilgheas*; *N'ian*, 'daughter' < *in'ijən* (the loss of the initial *i* is due to the word being frequently used proclitically) O.Ir. ingen. In a few cases a post-consonantic palatal ch is treated as if it were g (Mod.Ir. gh), only the preceding consonant must be voiceless, e.g. *fuweli:s*, 'timidity', M.Ir. *faitches*; *tə:ri:s*, 'number at birth, parturition' (*rog fi: t'r'u:r ə jəəN tə:ri:s*, 'she had triplets'), Di. *toircheas*, M.Ir. *torrchius*.

§ 123. By shifting of stress *fuir'*, 'got', O.Ir. *fúair*, becomes *fuir:r'*. *smwi:t'uw*, 'to think', represents M.Ir. *smúainim*, cp. § 443. For *bwi:r'uw*, 'trouble', see § 66. For *i:*, *iə* < O.Ir. *ua* see forms with *y* §§ 66, 67.

§ 124. But one of the most frequent sources of *i:* is O.Ir. *ái*, *ói*, now written *aoi*, e.g. *fuwi:fuw*, 'improvement', Di. *faoiseamh*

¹ *ali:n'*, 'art', M.Ir. *elathain*, *eladain* (dat.), has arisen by way of *aləgin' > aləin'*.

< M.Ir. foessam; *i:l'ax*, 'dung', O.Ir. ailedu; *i:n'a*, 'Friday', O.Ir. oine; *i:v wāic, draxi:v*, 'good, bad appearance', O.Ir. óiph; *i:viN'*, 'agreeable', O.Ir. áibind, óibind; *i:vəL*, 'starting of cattle with heat', Di. aoibhill; *ki:n'uw (ky:n'uw)*, 'to cry', O.Ir. cáiniud (Craig writes caonadh but I have only heard the form with *n'*); *ki:r' hin'uw*, 'blazing fire', Di. caor, cp. *ki:r' hin'uw ort*, 'the curse of blazes upon you', O.Ir. cáir; *kri:və*, gen. sing. of *kryuw*, 'branch'; *mwi:l'*, 'superabundance, top' (proverb *ə s m'in'ik' ə win' ə k'ivəd maic ə wi:l' dəN t'əb'əft'ə*, 'a stitch in times saves nine'), Di. maoil; *mwi:v*, 'to grudge', O.Ir. móidem, cp. *N'i:L' fə ən wi:t'ə ort*, 'it is not to be grudged you'; *f'i:l'əm*, 'I think', M.Ir. sáilim (*f* for *s*, cp. § 354). In other than syllables with chief stress—*axli:*, 'relapse in illness', = ath + claidh, Di. claidhim; *kasi:d'*, 'complaint', O.Ir. cossóit. In the inflected forms of words containing *χ*; *ki:l'ə*, compar. of *kχ:l*, 'narrow', O.Ir. cóel; *ki:çə*, gen. sing. fem. of *kχ:χ*, 'blind', O.Ir. cáich.

In a number of cases we find *i:* and *y:* side by side. For the younger people's pronunciation of *χ*: as *y:*, *i:* see § 61. In a few words *i:* is the only sound one hears, e.g. *f'i:wər*, 'edge', O.Ir. faibur; *tri:*, 'to subside' (*ta: N tat ə tri:*, 'the pain is subsiding') < traogh, Di. traochadh, Macbain traogh, M.Ir. tráguđ. This word has been differentiated from *tra:uw*, 'to ebb', which corresponds exactly to the M.Ir. form. *tri:* has followed the inflected forms of the verb, e.g. pret. *ʒi:*. *gər 'ti:wə l'ε*, 'to depend on' (*ta: m'ε gər 'ti:wə l'at fan r'əd əta: ə ʒi:ç ərəm*, 'I am relying on you for what I want') Di. i dtortaobh s. taobh (§ 416), but the simple word occurs both as *tiuw* and *tyuw*, O.Ir. tóib.

9. *y*.

§ 125. This symbol represents a modified form of *i* due to the influence of certain non-palatal consonants. Most commonly *y* is an unrounded form of German *ü* in Güte, i.e. the fore part of the tongue is slightly lowered from the *i* position and is moreover retracted. This *y* (*y:*) appears instead of *i*, *i* after *L*, *N*, *k*, *g*, *χ*, *g* and arises under the same conditions as these vowels. Examples—*gyd'*, plur. of *gad*, 'switch'; *gyd' m'ə*, 'I stole', Di. goidim; *gyf'*, gen. sing. of *gōs*, 'vigour', M.Ir. gus; *kyf'og*, 'windlestraw', Di. cuiseog; *kyt'ag*, 'lob-worm', Craig cuiteog; *χyr' m'ə*, 'I put', M.Ir. ro chuir; *Nyruw*, 'saint', O.Ir. nóib; *sNŷ:*, 'bier', O'R. snaoi; *sNŷ:m'*, 'knot', M.Ir. snaidm. In other than syllables with chief stress—*amsky:*, 'untidy', Di. amscáoidheach; *ə Nasky:*, 'gratis', M.Ir. ascid; *d'arkyaχ*, 'scrutinising, attentive' < dear-

caighteach; *art* α *k'αLy*; 'Art O'Kelly'; *k'αNy:m*, 'I buy', M.Ir. cendaigim.

§ 126. After other non-palatal consonants than those mentioned in the preceding paragraph the characteristic features of *y* are not so strongly marked and we get a sound between *y* and *i*, now approaching more nearly to the one, now to the other. This is the case after *w*, *p*, *t*, *d*, *s*, e.g. in *tyN'ə*, gen. sing. of *təN*, 'wave'; *sy:*, 'to sit', O.Ir. sude; *sy:*, 'sage', O.Ir. sui; *i:nuw*, 'wonder' but *N'i:r' wy:nuw*, 'it was no wonder'.

§ 127. We have seen that *y:*, *i:* frequently take the place of *χ*: especially with the younger people but even J. H. has *y:* in a number of words such as *tyuw*, 'side', O.Ir. tóib; *kryuw*, 'branch', M.Ir. cróeb, cráeb, gen. sing. *kri:və*, plur. *kry:waxə*. In the case of aoi great uncertainty prevails. J. H. sometimes has *y:* in *y:f*, 'age', O.Ir. áis; *y:l'*, gen. sing. of *χ:l*, 'lime', O.Ir. áel and frequently in inflected forms like *sy:r'*, gen. sing. of *sχ:r*, 'free, cheap'. But the tendency with the younger generations is to introduce *i:* everywhere.

(c) The irrational vowel ə.

§ 128. The so-called irrational vowel in Donegal seems to lie between the mid-mixed ə in German Gabe (narrow according to Sweet) and my *i* with which it often appears to interchange. It may be regarded as a lowered *i* and it is interesting to find that Craig writes: "in the following a is obscure (i.e. unstressed), and is pronounced like *i* in mist (= *i*):—asam, asat &c." (Grammar² p. 3). In this book I have chosen to write ə before *l*, *n*, *r*, *m* &c. instead of *l*, *n*, *r*, *m*, as the quality of the vowel seems to me to be generally retained, cp. Finck's remarks i pp. 34, 35. ə may represent the reduction of any O.Ir. short vowel in syllables not bearing the chief stress, except in the case of the termination -ach. Before palatal consonants *i* takes the place of ə (§ 113).

§ 129. Examples of ə as the reduction of O.Ir. short vowels in unstressed syllables—(a) O.Ir. a, *aləbənax*, 'Scotch, Presbyterian', O.Ir. albanach; *asəl*, 'ass', M.Ir. assal; *astər* (χ*liN'ə*), 'labour', Meyer astar; *əuwerk*, 'sight', M.Ir. amarc; *a:məd*, 'timber', M.Ir. admat; *banəLtrə*, 'nurse', M.Ir. banaltru; *bətə*, 'stick', M.Ir. bata; *gaNtonəs*, 'scarcity', Di. ganntanas; *kaʔə-Nax*, 'loving', Meyer carthanach; *ruəmən Nə gyN'əl*, 'daddy long-legs', cp. Di. ruaim, 'a long hair', O'R. ruaghmhar, 'whisker'

(the creature is also called *ru.r'i:*). (b) O.Ir. e, *auwrās*, 'doubt', O.Ir. *amiress*; *æpəl*, 'angel', O.Ir. *aingel*; *æ'r'æg'ad*, 'money', O.Ir. *arget*; *bwin'əN*, 'female', Meyer *boinnenn*; *dāian*, 'firm', O.Ir. *daingen*; *d'arəməd*, 'forget', O.Ir. *dermet*; *d'evəs*, 'shears', M.Ir. *demess*; *dreçəd*, 'bridge', M.Ir. *drochet*; *f'ihə*, '20', O.Ir. *fiche*; *f'in'əN*, 'male', M.Ir. *firend*; *f'r'igrə*, 'answer', O.Ir. *frecre*; *im'əL*, 'edge', M.Ir. *imbel*; *m'ehəl*, 'gang of labourers', M.Ir. *methel*; *mwil'əN*, 'mill', O.Ir. *mulenn*; *mwiN'tərə*, 'related', M.Ir. *muinterdā*; *qrəd*, 'amount', O.Ir. *eret*; *skæt'ə*, 'dislocated', Di. *scaithte*; *tis*, 'thatch', M.Ir. *tuge*; *t'iN'əs*, 'illness', M.Ir. *tinnes*. (c) O.Ir. i, in the ending of 1st pers. sing. of the pres. ind. *m'* has become *m* by analogy with prepositional pronouns like *orm*, hence the termination is *-əm*, *fa:gəm*, 'I leave'; *gen'əv*, 'sand', Di. *gainimh*. (d) O.Ir. o, u, *arəwər*, 'corn', Meyer *arbor*; *a:rəs*, 'dwelling', M.Ir. *áros* (*N'i:L t'ax Na a:rəs əgəm*, 'I have neither house nor home'); *banəLtrə*, 'nurse', Meyer *banaltru*; *b'ilər*, 'water-cress', M.Ir. *biror*; *b'l'igəm*, 'milking', M.Ir. *blegon*; *dāuwən* (*dō:n*), 'world', O.Ir. *domun*; *dərəs*, 'door', O.Ir. *dorus*; *də:χəs*, 'hope', M.Ir. *dóchus*; *d'əwəl*, 'devil', O.Ir. *diabul*; *ε:drəm*, 'light', O.Ir. *étromm*; *əgəs*, *agəs*, 'and', O.Ir. *ocus*; *fū:wər*, 'edge', O.Ir. *faibur*; *kəgəm*, 'even', M.Ir. *comthromm*; *L'igən*, 'to overthrow', for the ending cp. M.Ir. *lécun*; *mo:rtəs*, 'boasting' < **mórdatus*, M.Ir. *mórdatu*; *mōrLəs*, 'mackerel', Di. *murlus*; *m'akən* in *Lōs Nə m'akən*, 'fungus', O.Ir. *mecon*; *qmər*, 'trough', Meyer *ambor*; *solas*, 'light', M.Ir. *solus*; *təbəN*, 'sudden', M.Ir. *opond*; *təbər*, 'well', O.Ir. *topur*.

§ 130. *ə* occurs further as the reduction of certain long vowels in rapid speech. Thus for instance in the preterite of verbs of the second conjugation, when followed by a pronominal subject, the ending *-i:* often becomes *-ə*. I have heard it in the following—*wəLə m'ə*, 'I cursed', Di. *malluighim*; *wərə m'ə*, 'I killed', = *mharbhuigh*; *worə m'ə*, 'I deafened', Di. *bodhuighim*; *wə:nə m'ə*, 'I grew pale', Di. *bánuighim*; *vəNə m'ə*, 'I greeted', Di. *beannuighim*; *vəfə m'ə*, 'I greased', Di. *bealuighim*; *vr'əgə m'ə*, 'I expected', Di. *breathnuighim*; *hisl'ərə tuw*, 'you descended', Di. *sfolruighim*; *hæf'k'ə m'ə*, 'I stored up', Di. *taiscighim*; *tāuwənə tuw*, 'you slipped', Di. *sleamhnuighim*; *lā:wə mwid'*, 'we handled', Di. *lámhuighim*; *χərə m'ə*, 'I moved', Di. *corruighim*; *χorNə m'ə*, 'I coiled, rolled up', Di. *cornaim*; *χu:də m'ə*, 'I covered', Di. *cumhduighim*; *rəgə m'ə*, 'I scattered', Di. *sratlhuighim*; *jeərə m'ə*, 'I sharpened', Di. *géaruighim*; *də:gə m'ə*, 'I altered',

Di. athruighim; *dorLə m'ə*, 'I vomited', O'R. orlúghadh; *dor̄gə tuw*, 'you anointed', Di. ungaim.

Before *f̄e*, *f̄i*:, *f̄iv*, *f̄iəd* this *ə* tends to become *i*.

§ 131. A similar reduction takes place in the future active before the subject pronoun, see Craig, Grammar² p. 105 note. But in pausa forms and when the subject is a noun the full ending *-i*: is heard, e.g. *vek'ə m'ə əm̄:raχ huw? t'i:f'i*:, = (an) bhfeicfidh mé amárach thú? tífídh; *t'ikəmwid' f̄iN' ər̄X:n ə Nə:ʔi:r' aχ N'i: hiki: fa:n* = tiocfaidh muid sinne araon an oirthear acht ní thiocfaidh Seaghan. Likewise in the present subjunctive, e.g. *go: əft'aχ gə d'i: gə Nə:lə tuw kəpaN te*:, 'go (come) in and drink a cup of tea'.

§ 132. Very exceptionally the infinitive and substantival termination *-adh* appears as *-ə*. In most of the cases *-adh* is preceded by *w*, as in *foluwə*, 'to empty', Di. folmhughadh; *gor'ti:wə l'ε*, 'depending on', Di. tortaobhadh; *ga:wə*, 'jeopardy', Di. gábhadh; *marəwə*, 'to kill', Di. marbhuighim; *ro:wə*, 'warning', Di. rabhadh. Further in *dorLə*, 'to vomit', O'R. orlúghadh; *əsNə*, 'sigh', O.Ir. osnad (osna Sg. Fearn. p. 97); *Lu:NəsNə*, 'Lammas, August', < lúgnasad. In words standing before the chief stress in *kəLə 'glu:raχən'*, 'numbness in the feet', = codladh; *rəbəl ə wadə rui*, 'the fox's tail', = ruball an mhadaidh ruaidh. Cp. also the following description of lucifer matches when they were first introduced—*k'ip'i:n'i: b'igə raχə l'ε hin'i*¹.

§ 133. Similar reductions occur sporadically in *si:wəl'*, 'strange, queer', Di. saoitheamhail; *gr̄i:wəl'*, 'handsome', Di. gnaoidheamhail; *so:kəl*, 'ease', Keating socamhal, cp. Derry People 30 v '04, ionnus nach rabh suaimhneas na sócal aici, also *so:kəlaχ*, luigh mise go sócalach, ib. 21 xi '03 p. 3 col. 3; *do:kəl*, Di. dócamhal in *ta: do:kəl mo:r t'iN'if' ər' ə Nə:r so*, 'this man shews signs of being in great pain'. Further *dastə m'ə* beside *dastə: m'ə*, 'I hired', Di. fastóghadh; *L'inədaχ*, 'linen', Di. lín-éadach.

§ 134. *ə* sometimes makes its appearance in stressed syllables instead of *i*, e.g. in *f'l'əχ*, 'wet'; *Ləv*, 'plant, weed', O.Ir. luib. Further in *d'əwəl* (*d'iwəl*), 'devil', O.Ir. diabul; *d'əwəl'*, 'want' (§ 105); *fəwid'* < seo dhuid; *əməwə*, 'astray, wrong', Wi. immada; *məwil'*, 'quiet', Di. modhamhail; *əN*, 'in, there', *əNəm*, 'in me'. The form *i n-* in cases like *ə Nə:t'aχə* has been identified

¹ What is the reason for the aspiration in the phrase *χUi f̄e l'ε hin'i*, 'it took fire'?

with ∂N = ann with the result that the latter has largely driven out the older form. Before a consonant initial a double form $\partial N\partial$ is commonly used, e.g. $\partial N\partial$ *mórán ókuw*, 'in many of them', $\partial N\partial$ *m'igán Letha*, 'in a few days', $\partial N\partial$ *f'ipá*, 'in a shop'. For a similar development in Farney see G. J. 1896 p. 147 col. 2.

§ 135. A number of words ending in a consonant in O.Ir. have been extended by the addition of ∂ , cp. Finck i p. 37. Such are *a:wá*, 'Adam'; *driháxatá*, 'sorcery', M.Ir. *druidecht*; *d'eiv'k'é*, 'alms', O.Ir. *deircc*; *d'r'u:χatá*, 'dew', M.Ir. *drúcht*; (∂) *giN'astá d'Ūw*, 'unknown to me', = *gan fhios*; *igá gUw*, *jarag*, 'black, red hives', Di. *feag*, Wi. *fec* (?); *kahá*, 'battle', O.Ir. *cath* (the usual term for 'battle' now-a-days is *b'r'ifuw*); *krā:b'é*, 'hemp', Meyer *cnáip*; *krig'axatá*, 'wheat', M.Ir. *cruthnecht*; *ma:sá*, 'thigh', M.Ir. *máss*; *mo:d'é*, 'vow', M.Ir. *móit*; *m'εwá*, M.Ir. *Medb*; *riháxatá*, 'kingdom', Di. *rioghacht*; *sz:wá*, Mod.Ir. *Sadhba*, M.Ir. *Sadb*; *uaxatá*, 'pledge', Di. *udhacht*.

§ 136. In pretonic syllables all vowels whether short or long and diphthongs may be reduced to ∂ . *os* in *as k'iN*, 'above', Wi. *os chind*, *os a cind*. *do*, *de* become *dá*, ∂ , e.g. *ta: m'á é má χu:næl'*, 'I am perishing with cold'. Similarly *dia* in *ta: f'in' é jəwæl' é vá d'a:Ntá*, 'that requires to be done', = *dia dhioghbháil*. But *dia* just as often appears as α , *N'i:r' gr'id' Na di:n'i: fε:rLás ax ta: fε a giN't'uw éN'Uw*, 'people did not believe Charles but he is proving it to-day', = *dia chinntiughadh*. There is a very peculiar phrase in which this $\partial < dia$ seems to occur, viz. *N'i:l' é m'ift'é l'im*, 'I don't mind, I should very much like'. With this is to be compared Craig's *dheamhan a miste liom* (Iasg.), from which it would seem that *N'i:l'* has been substituted for *d'əwəl*, 'devil'. *dia*, 'if', also appears as ∂ , α , ∂ *m'eiN'fá*, 'if I were'. *ar* is reduced to ∂ in the phrase ∂ *wāhā l'ε*, 'for the sake of', Di. *mar* (*ar*) *mhaithé le*. O.Ir. *iar* has been lost except in a couple of phrases as in *ar du:s*, 'at first'. But this is an accident as O.Ir. *iar*, *ar* and *for* have been confused and *ar* alone has survived in the form *er'* (cp. Scotch G. *air*) which still causes eclipse in *ar du:s*, *er' gu:l*, 'back', but not in *er' fa:l* which is used as the past participle of *jevəm*. *aon*, 'one, a single, any' when not stressed becomes *ən*, ∂ , e.g. *N'i:l' é gah' é wiL' orəm = n'l aon dhath de mhoill orm*, 'there is nothing to hinder me', cp. Craig, Derry People 30 iv '04 p. 3 col. 4, *cha rabh a dhath a mhaith dí sin a dheanadh ach urad*; *N'i:l' é Nyn'á éN*, 'there is not any one there' but *N'i: row' εá Nyn' ástic*, 'there was not a soul inside'.

In *ta*: *fē ə jaL er'am ə wiN't' əs*, 'he wants to waste time', *N'i:l' m'ə ə jaL er'*, 'I do not like it', *N'i:l' m'ε ə jaL er' ə gəL' fer'*, 'I do not want to go over' we seem to have Dinneen's *n'l aon gheall aige air*, 'he has no regard for it' (s. *geall*) construed personally.

§ 137. The frequent occurrence of this *ə* before verbs and substantives, the origin of which is often forgotten, has led to its extension in cases where it has no historical foundation. As an instance of this we may regard the relative pronoun *ə*, cp. Finck ii p. 269. Similarly *ə χy:çə*, 'ever', M.Ir. *caidche, coidche*; *er' ə haχt ə wel'ə dŪw*, 'after coming home', = *iar dteacht*; *er' ə gəL' f'i:s də:*, 'after he had gone down', = *iar ndul*; *əχə'di:widə*, 'about, concerning', < *fá gach taoibh de*, where however the *əχə* may stand for *gach aon*. The *d* is transported from the shorter phrase *fa di:widə*, for which see §§ 314, 395. It is also possible to regard *əχə'di:widə* as standing for *gach fá dtaoibh de* with a superfluous *gach* prefixed as seems to be the case in the curious phrase *əχ'daχərN'ə la:*, 'every other day'. By the side of this peculiar conglomeration (*g*)*əχ'darə La:* is also used. The chief difficulty lies in the position of the stress, else the phrase might be resolved into *gach gach darna lá*.

§ 138. A number of non-palatal consonant-groups have developed a svarabhakti vowel *ə*. Between palatal consonants *i* takes the place of *ə*, cp. § 114. The chief cases are the following:—

(a) *l* + cons.

lb, e.g. *aləbənəχ*, 'Scotchman, Presbyterian', O.Ir. *albanach*; *daləbə*, 'bold, forward', Di. *dalba*. Between *l* and *p* there is no *ə*, as in *alpan*, 'lump, bit', Meyer *alp*, but *koləpəχ*, 'stirk', Meyer *colpthach*.

lg, e.g. *bələg*, 'belly', M.Ir. *bolg*; *bələgəm*, 'a sup', Meyer *bolgam*; *d'aləg*, 'thorn', M.Ir. *delg*; *kələg*, 'awn', Meyer *colgg*; *k'aləguru*, 'lull to sleep, lullaby', M.Ir. *celg*; *pəpəgə'd*, 'purgative', Di. *purgóid*; *smələgədan*, 'shoulder-bone', Di. *smulgadán*; *saləgə*, gen. sing. of *fel'ig'*, 'chase'. Between *l* and *k* the svarabhakti vowel only occurs when *k* = *gtb*, e.g. *stolkəs*, 'matter, water and blood emitted by a sick beast'; *stolkir'ə*, 'man hunting with dog and gun', Di. *stalcaire*; but *k'aləkə m'ə*, 'I shall lull to sleep', fut. of *k'aləguru*.

lm, e.g. *kələmə*, 'brave', M.Ir. *calma*.

lw, e.g. *aləwə*, 'clove for dressing lint'; *boləwan*, 'deaf and dumb person', Di. balbhán; *g'aləwən*, 'sparrow', Di. gealbhan; *koləwə*, 'bed-stock', M.Ir. colba; *suw saləwən*, 'a mountain berry', = sugh solmhan.

(b) *r* + cons.

rb, e.g. *bərəb*, 'rough', O.Ir. borp; *f'arəban*, 'crowfoot', Di. fearbán; *g'arəb*, 'scab', Di. gearb; *karəbəd*, 'chariot', M.Ir. carpat.

rg, e.g. *d'arəg*, 'red', O.Ir. dere; *jiərəgnuw*, 'annoyance', Di. iarghnó; *jiərəgu:l*, 'wilderness', Di. iargeúil; *kərəgəs*, 'Lent', M.Ir. corgas; *Lərəg*, 'track', O.Ir. lore; *Lərəgə*, 'shin', M.Ir. lurga; *marəguw*, 'market, bargain', M.Ir. marcad, margad; *tuərəgy:n'*, 'slashing', O.Ir. tuarcon with suffix influenced by *əgy:n'*, 'to complain'. Before *k* there is no *ə* as in *ark*, 'lizard', Di. eare; *d'arkən*, 'thistle', Di. dearcán; *d'arkuw*, 'consider', Di. dearcaim; *markax*, 'horseman', O.Ir. marcach. But before *k* < gth in *Lərəkaxə*, plur. of *Lərəgə*; *marəkaxə*, plur. of *marəguw*; *d'arəkə m'ə*, fut. of *d'arəguw*, 'to light', Di. deargadh. Hence *mərəkuw*, 'to decay', O'R. morcuighim must go back to Dinneen's morgaim, Keating morgughadh. The *k* in the Donegal form was probably extended from the past part. *mərəkə*. It may be noted that *tərgir'axt*, 'prophesying', cp. O.Ir. tairngire, has no *ə*. The development of *arəkis*, *ə Narəkis*, 'towards him', Meyer airchess, is not clear.

rm, e.g. *arəm*, 'army', O.Ir. arm; *d'arəməd*, 'forget', O.Ir. dermet; *ərəm*, 'on me'; *tərəman*, 'noise', M.Ir. tormán.

rw, e.g. *arəwər*, 'corn', Meyer arbor; *d'arəwi:m*, 'I assert', M.Ir. derbaim (cp. *d'arəfə* < dearbhtha); *marəwi:m*, 'I kill', M.Ir. marbaim (cp. *marəfəx*, 'slaughter'); *mərəwan*, 'a kind of large whelk'; *farəwaN du:i:* (2 sylls.), 'ink-bottle'.

rχ, e.g. *qrəχər*, 'shot', M.Ir. aurchor; *qrəχəd*, 'harm', M.Ir. irchoit; *qrəχa:* (*krik'*, *sLuə fi:*), 'stroke (apoplectic, paralytic)', *q. g'r'ein'ə*, 'sunstroke', v. § 444. Note that there is no *ə* in *qrəχəL*, 'cricket', Di. ur-chuil.

(c) *n* + cons.

nm, e.g. *fanəmaNti:*, 'preacher', O'R. seanmantaidhe; *fanəmər'*, 'sermon', Di. seanmóir; *kaNəmaN dUχsax* (§ 293).

nχ, e.g. *fanəχəsk*, 'chat, talk, story-telling', O.Ir. *senchas*.

nf, e.g. *kənfəχ*, 'irritable', Meyer *confadach*.

As *v*, *m'* are not included among the palatal consonants mentioned in § 74, they may be preceded by *a*, e.g. *d'el'əv*, 'form', M.Ir. *deilb* (acc.); *en'əvi*; 'animal', Meyer *anmide*; *en'əvisəχ*, 'ignorant', Meyer *anfiss*; *a N'in'əv*, 'in a fit state to do a thing', *in'əv* alone is used in the sense of 'vigour', as in *Ner' ə fuir' m'ə b'ij'əχ N'i: ro in'əv əNəm*, 'when I recovered, there was no strength in me'. This is doubtless the same word as *inme*, 'wealth' (Laws), Di. *innhe*, 'estate or patrimony'. Further *L'in'əv*, gen. sing. of *L'anuw*, 'child'; *skær'əv*, 'sandy shore of a river', Di. *scairbh*; *fel'əv*, 'possession', M.Ir. *seilb* (acc.). For examples of *ə* with *gr*, *gl* see § 338. Sometimes we find *ə* where we might expect *i*, as in *xer'əg'id*, 'money'.

A svarabhakti vowel may also be heard between two words when the first begins and the second commences with a consonant, as in *k'iL'ə χəvə*, 'Kilcar' (this is J. H.'s invariable pronunciation); *əN mwI:fə fə*, 'in my time'; *εg' mα hi:vəfə*, 'at my side'.

(d) The diphthongs.

1. *ai*.

§ 139. *ai* usually represents O.Ir. *a* followed by palatal *th*, e.g. *maic*, 'good', O.Ir. *maith*; *aithərə*, 'short cut', Meyer *aith-gerre*; *flaihi*, 'heaven' < O.Ir. *flaith*; *aic' o:Nə*, 'colt's foot', Hogan *aithinn*; *f'ihu:N saic*, 'red hives'; *b'aihaχ*, 'lively', Craig (Iasg.) *beaitheach*; *skaic*, 'the best of' as in *riN' fε skaic* *Le: N'Uw*, from an oblique case of M.Ir. *scoth*. In words of the form *a*, *ə* + *h* + *i*: (*i*) there is a distinct tendency to introduce the palatal vowel of the second syllable into the first, thus producing *ai*. Hence *athair* may become *aithir*, Chr. Bros. *Aids to Pron. of Irish* p. 86, similarly *maithir* for *mathair* in Glencolumbkille, G. J. 1891 p. 79. Examples—*kaihi*; 'temptation', also *kahi*; spelt *cathaidh* in *Litir an Chorgais* of diocese of Raphoe 1904 and *Spir. Rose* p. 20, plur. *kaihiəNj*; *kaihir'*, 'tempter', Di. *cathuighim*, M.Ir. *cathaigim*. Similarly *kaihir'*, 'chair', Di. *cathair*, M.Ir. *catháir*, Sg. Fearn. *caithir* p. 63; *kaij'ior'*, 'citizen', *kaij'əχə*, plur. of *kahær'*, M.Ir. *cathir* (*catháir* and *cathir* have been confused in Donegal). *Laiç*, 'mud', M.Ir. *lathach*, scarcely belongs here. The word probably followed the declension of *bla:χ*, *bla:içə*. Hence gen. sing. *Laiçə* from which a new nominative was formed. Infinitives of the form *x + ahuw* might have in the preterite

either $x + ai\phi$ or $x + ah$ but the former has been generalised and ai has been introduced into the present system, e.g. *skahuw*, 'to wean', M.Ir. scothaim, pres. *skaihəm*, pret. *skaiϕ*. Similarly *kraihəm*, 'I shake', M.Ir. crothaim; *braihəm*, 'I betray', Meyer brathaigim. Before r' , t' ai becomes æ (§ 75).

§ 140. ai represents O.Ir. o before a palatal consonant in *kaiǵ'iL't'*, 'raking the fire', M.Ir. coiclim. Also in the parts of *mohuw*, 'to feel, hear', fut. *maihaχə m'ə*, pret. *wāihvi: m'ə*.

§ 141. In syllables with secondary stress ai represents an older \acute{a} before O.Ir. palatal g as in *i:wāiϕ*, 'image', Wi. imaig, Atk. imágin; *qmərwaí*, 'contention', M.Ir. immarbaíǵ (dat.). *du:raí*, 'foundation', is evidently O'R.'s *dúrtheach*, Wi. *dúrthech*, *daúrthech* but the formation is by no means plain. Di. has *duthrach*.

In *dāian*, 'firm', O.Ir. daingen, we have a triphthong but the whole only counts as one syllable, compar. *N'i:s dain'ə*. In *maist'ir*, 'master', ai is due to contraction of axi to ai .

2. *au*.

§ 142. au arises from O.Ir. accented a , e , (o) followed by b (Mod.Ir. bh) + another non-palatal consonant. Before r , l , n au ends in the bilabial spirant w , which we often denote in writing. Examples—*auwri:*, 'Jew', M.Ir. ebraide, *auwriϕ*, 'Hebrew (language)', also *taη auwrə*; *auwiL'*, 'orchard', Meyer aball; *auwLə*, 'cluster of nuts' (?); *auwLə*, 'wafer', O.Ir. obla; *auwLər'*, 'a foolish prater', M.Ir. oblóir; *m'i: auwrə*, 'February', Di. feabhra; *fauwri:*, 'eye-lashes', M.Ir. abra, fabra; *f'iauwras* (*f'iauwras*), 'fever', Keating fiabhras; *grauwər*, 'loose dry turf-mould', Di. grabhar; *kauwlaχ*, 'fleet', M.Ir. coblach; *kausə*, 'pathway through boggy land' < Engl. 'causeway'; *fLauwruw*, 'chain', M.Ir. slabrad. An obscure word is *fauwrə*, 'eclipse', *hen'i m'ə fauwr er' ə jali: reir'*, 'I saw an eclipse of the moon last night'. This is evidently the same as Dinneen's *urdhubhadh* and Finck's *orə* (ii p. 207) the existence of which Pedersen unnecessarily doubts (ib. p. 288). In Donegal the word is masc., nom. plur. *fauwri:*, *fauwriaχə*. It may well be that it has been influenced by the word for 'eye-lashes'.

§ 143. The normal pronunciation of O.Ir. eba , aba may be regarded as o ; see § 40, but in a few cases we find the older stage $auwə$ preserved, e.g. in *auwək*, 'dwarf', M.Ir. abacc; *dauwi:*, 'vat', gen. sing. *dauχə*, nom. plur. *dauwaχi:*, M.Ir. dabach; *d'auwi:*,

'urging, nagging', e.g. *kyN'axə m'ə d'auwi: l'at gə d'i: gə ro sin' d'a:Ntə*, 'I shall keep on worrying you until that is done', M.Ir. debaid; *kauwəl kloχə*, 'heap of stones', Di. cobhail, cabhail, cabhal (with different meaning); *L'auwəN*, 'half-sale', Di. leathbhonn; *f'r'auwəg*, 'impudent little girl', cp. 194 l. 20; *tauwuw*, 'to earn, deserve', *ta: α fa:jə tauwi:(f'tə) εg'ə*, 'he has earned his wages', Di. tamhuighim, but J.H. does not nasalise, O'R. gives tabhuighim, 'I profit, exact, collect', hence the word seems to be a deverbative from M.Ir. tobach infin. of do-bongim. *kauwled'*, 'the noisy talk of a number of people', *kauwled'αχ*, 'noisy', cp. M.Ir. callaire, may be due to Connaught influence, cp. Finck i p. 41.

§ 144. *āu* arises from O.Ir. am, em, (om). Before r, l, n a bilabial *w* is clearly heard and at the end of monosyllables the spirant loses its voice. Examples—*āugər*, 'distress', Di. Meyer amhgar; *āuwli:*, 'thus', M.Ir. amlaid; *āuwəs*, 'doubt', O.Ir. am-iress; *āuwerk*, 'sight', Meyer amarc; *auw*, 'insipid', M.Ir. om; *gāuwin'*, 'calf', M.Ir. gamuin; *gāuwnαχ*, 'a stripper', M.Ir. gamnach; *g'āuwər*, 'young corn', Di. geamhar; *klāuwert'*, 'nibbling, gnawing', *klāuwan*, 'a spot where there is little grazing for cattle', cp. Di. glámaim; *klāusan*, 'murmuring, grumbling', Di. clamhsán; *k'l'āuwni:*, 'son-in-law', Meyer clámaim; *k'rāuw*, 'garlic', M.Ir. crem; *L'āuwan*, 'elm', M.Ir. lem; *L'āuw*, 'silly', M.Ir. lem; *rāuwər*, 'fat', M.Ir. remor; *sāuwi:*, 'sorrel', Di. samhadh; *sāuwiL't'*, 'to imagine', Di. samhluighim, cp. *N'i: akə m'ə ə sāuwiL't' də wri:*, 'I never saw such a woman', *N'i:r' hāuwiL' fə bwiN't' d'Ūw*, 'he did not even as much as touch me'; *sāuwnəs*, 'loathing, nausea', Di. samhnas; *sāuwruw*, 'summer', M.Ir. samrad; *sāuwin'*, 'All Hallows, Noveumber', M.Ir. samuin; *skāuwən'*, 'lungs', Di. scamhán; *sklāuw*, 'snarl', Di. sclamh; *f'L'āuwin'*, 'smooth, slippery', M.Ir. slemon.

3. *a:i*.

§ 145. *a:i* usually represents O.Ir. accented *á* followed by a palatal th, d, g, e.g. *a:i*, gen. sing. of *a:*, 'luck', M.Ir. ág; *ā:içə*, *ā:iç i:l'*, 'lime-kiln', Meyer áithe; *fa:i*, 'prophet', O.Ir. fáith; *gra:i*, gen. sing. of *gra:*, 'love'; *χra:i*, pret. of *kra:*, 'to torment', M.Ir. cráidim; *qmra:i*, gen. sing. of *qmra:*, 'report', M.Ir. imrád (Atk. p. 762); *sa:iħəm*, 'I thrust', M.Ir. sáthud, pret. *ha:i m'ə*; *sa:iç*, 'sufficiency', M.Ir. sáith; *tra:i*, 'shore', M.Ir. tráig, tráig. When a syllable is added to a form ending in *a:i* *i* becomes *j*, as in *fa:jəNj:*, 'prophets', plur. of *fa:i*. When O.Ir. *á* is followed by any other palatal consonant we simply

find *a:*, though before *ç*, *r'* a kind of *j* on-glide is heard. Thus *ta:juw*, 'to weld', Di. *táthaim*, pret. *ha:i m'ə* but fut. *ta:çə m'ə*; *sa:hww*, pres. pass. *sa:t'ər*, imperf. *ha:t'i:*; *a:r'i:ft'ə*, 'reckoned, calculated, reputed', past part. of *a:r'i:m*, 'I count', O.Ir. *áirmim* (*a:r'uw* is used principally of counting sprats, kale &c. in threes); *ma:r'ə*, 'Mary'; *a:l'*, gen. sing. of *a:l*, 'litter', Meyer *ál*; *ra:çə*, 'quarter of a year', M.Ir. *ráthe*; *ga:r'ə*, 'laugh' (subst.), M.Ir. *gáire*; *ər da:r'*, 'bulling', M.Ir. *dáir* (note the pres. pass. *da:r't'ər*).

§ 146. In several instances *a:i* arises by the contraction of two syllables caused by the quiescence of intervocalic *th*, *bh*, *gh*, *dh*, e.g. *bra:i*, 'hostage, prisoner', M.Ir. *brage* (this word is also used to mean 'unfilled ears of corn') but *bra:d'*, 'throat', from the oblique cases of O.Ir. *bráge*, cp. *kyt wra:d'*, 'king's evil'; *bla:içə*, gen. sing. of *bla:ç*, 'butter-milk', M.Ir. *bláthach*, dat. sing. *bla:i*; *vã:i m'ə*, 'I weighed' (fut. *m'ã:i:hə m'ə*) < *mheadbaigh mé*, Di. *meadhaim*, Donegal *m'a:jəm*, past part. *m'a:t'ə*, imperf. pass. *vã:t'i:*.

4. *a:u*.

§ 147. *a:u* occurs under the same conditions as *a:i* in the preceding paragraph. For the *w* in which the diphthong is liable to end see § 142. Examples—*gra:uw*, 'to love', Atk. *gradaigim*; *tra:uw*, 'to ebb', M.Ir. *trágud*.

§ 148. *ã:u* represents O.Ir. accented *á* followed by final *m* (Mod.Ir. *mh*), e.g. *krã:uw*, gen. plur. of *krã:v*, 'bone', O.Ir. *cnáim*, *p'ion Nə grã:uw*, 'rheumatism'; *Lã:uw*, 'hand', O.Ir. *lám*; *sNã:uw*, 'swimming', M.Ir. *snám*; *tuəm' tã:uw*, 'idle rumour', for *tuəm'* see § 383. When a syllable beginning with a vowel is added *u* becomes *w*, thus *lã:wə f'i:*, 'she handled', from *Lã:uw*, 'hand'.

5. *oi*, *o:i*.

§ 149. A diphthong *oi* occurs in a few words before *ç*, *h* < O.Ir. *th*. Hence the second element of *oi* is really the on-glide of the following palatal sound. Examples—*bvihaç*, 'byre', Meyer *bó-thech*; *doiçəL*, 'shyness (of horses)', Di. *doicheall*; *kloiç*, dat. sing. of *kloç*, 'stone'; *kviçə*, 'blast, whirlwind', connected with Di. *cobhthach*, *coifeach*; *kvihan*, 'torch', O'R. *gaithean* (?). Occasionally *oi* may be heard in secondary syllables, as in *b'axçoiç'ə* also *b'axçəç'ə*, gen. sing. of *b'axçəç*, 'bee'. For *wōihi:*, pret. of *maihi:m*, 'I feel, perceive', Di. *mothuighim* see

§§ 139, 140. By contraction we get forms such as *εελωim*, 'I escape', which is a new formation from the infin. *εελω*; M.Ir. *éluð*, *élaím*. *κλωιφα*, *Λωι* may be heard by the side of *κλωιφα*, *Λωι* for *κλωιφα*, 'game', *Ly*; 'to lie'.

§ 150. Occasionally we find *oi* as a diphthong, e.g. *δω:ι*, 'way', O.Ir. *dóig*; *δω:ιυ:λ'*, 'handsome', Di. *dóigheamhail*; *δ'εελω:ι φα*, 'he escaped', infin. *εελω*.

6. *uo*.

§ 151. The first element of this diphthong is the open *u* described in § 44. *uo* usually represents O.Ir. *ua* < *ō*, e.g. in *κρωχ*, 'stack', M.Ir. *crúach*; *κωχ*, 'coil, ringlet, cuckoo', M.Ir. *cúach*; *κωn*, 'harbour', M.Ir. *cúan*; *Λωα*, 'early', M.Ir. *lúath*; *Λωχ*, 'price', O.Ir. *lúach*; *Λωσκαναχ*, 'speedy', Di. *luascánach*; *ρωαγ'om*, 'I put to flight', M.Ir. *ruaic*; *σαλ'χρωχ*, 'violet', Di. *sail-chuach*; *σωn*, 'a doze, sleep', M.Ir. *súan*; *τρωα*, 'wretched', O.Ir. *trúag*; *τωα*, 'axe', M.Ir. *tuag*; *τωαρεστωλ*, 'wages', M.Ir. *tuarustul*; *υωλαχ*, 'burden', M.Ir. *ualach*. Note also the contracted forms *κρωχων*, 'hardening' < *cruadhachan*; *κρωγυ*; 'liver' (§ 415). The first element of this diphthong seems to have been very open throughout Ireland as Irish words containing the sound are spelt in English with *oa*, e.g. Croagh Patrick, *bórach* = *buarach*, Straughter = *Srath-uachtar*, Oughterard &c. Cp. also *bóchail* for *buachail* Sg. Fearn. p. 101.

7. *ui*.

§ 152. *ui* contains the same *u* as *uo* and represents O.Ir. *ui*, *uai*. Examples—*βυιL't'αχ'ωσ*, 'summer grazing in the mountains', Meyer *búaltechas*, *βυιL't'α*, 'a summer pasture'; *βυιL't'i:n'*, 'the striking wattle on a flail', Di. *buaitín*; *βυι'uw*, 'trouble', M.Ir. *búadred*, *buaidred*; *βυι*, 'obligation', O.Ir. *búaid*; *βυι'k'n'uw*, 'shudder' (?); *βυι'j*, 'move', M.Ir. *gluaisim*; *βυι'j*, 'cheek', Di. *gruaidh* < O.Ir. *gruad*; *βυι*, 'north', M.Ir. *thuaid*; *βυι*, 'hard', M.Ir. *crúaid*; *βυι*, 'ashes', M.Ir. *luaith* (acc.); *βυι*, 'lead', M.Ir. *luaide*; *βυι'd*, 'cow-dung'; *βυιL'*, 'wild talk', Di. *uaill*, M.Ir. *uall*. *ui* arises by contraction in *κλωι'f'α*, 'feathered, fledged', < *clúmhaiste*; *βυι'αχ'τ*, 'benefit', M.Ir. *logidecht*. *ui* frequently becomes *ω*, *ω* in *χρωι*; 'heard'; *χρωα*, 'went'.

The cases where *u*: occurs for *ui* have been enumerated in § 46. Forms like *κω:ι*; 'grief, sorrow', do not belong here, as they are dissyllables.

8. *ei*.

§ 153. The greatest uncertainty prevails when *e* forms the first and *i* the second element of a diphthong. When *ei* stands before any other palatal consonant than those mentioned in § 74, J. H. usually has *ei* whilst the younger people prefer *ei*, e.g. *k'l'eiv*, gen. sing. of *k'l'iuw*, 'basket'; *L'eijem*, 'I read, melt', but past part. *L'eit'e*, imperf. pass. *l'eit'i*; *d'i:l'eiam*, 'I digest', M.Ir. *dilegim*, *ji:l'ei m'a*, 'I digested'; *k'l'z'iov*, 'sword', plur. *k'l'z'if'axo*. Before *m'*, *ei*, *ei* and even *eo* are heard, thus *L'eim'*, 'spring, jump', M.Ir. *léimm*; *k'eim'*, 'dignity', M.Ir. *céimm*. Hence *ei* usually arises from O.Ir. *é* followed by a palatal consonant and sometimes from O.Ir. accented *e* followed by palatal *g* (Mod. Ir. *gh*).

9. *eu(w)*.

§ 154. This diphthong occurs in a few infinitives, where an intervocalic *gh*, *dh* have become silent before the termination *-uw*, as in *L'euw*, 'to read, melt', Di. *léigheadh*, O.Ir. *legad* ('to melt'); *t'euw*, 'to heat', Di. *téidheadh* but *t'eiji: f'o*, 'he warms'; *sp'r'euw*, 'to scatter', Di. *spréidheadh*, also in *sp'r'euw ort*, 'bad cess to you' written *spréadh*, *spréamh* Cl. S. 18 vii '03 p. 3 col. 2. The infinitive of *d'i:l'eiam*, 'I digest', is *d'i:l'euuw*.

10. *eo*.

§ 155. This diphthong may be regarded as the regular Donegal representative of O.Ir. accented *é* by compensatory lengthening, when standing before a non-palatal consonant. Before *r* and occasionally before other sounds more especially as the initial of trisyllables, we find *ε:* for *eo*, cp. § 86. Examples—*d'ead*, 'row of teeth', O.Ir. *dét*; *ead*, 'jealousy', O.Ir. *ét*; *ean*, 'bird', O.Ir. *én*; *eadon'*, 'shallow', Di. *éadoimhin*; *eadrom*, 'light', M.Ir. *étromm*; *f'eadem*, 'I may', M.Ir. *fétaim* (this verb is also used idiomatically in the sense of Eng. 'need', locally 'might', *N'i: eadaN tuw koruw*, 'you need not stir'); *f'eesog*, 'beard', M.Ir. *fésóc*; *N'eat*, 'cloud', O.Ir. *nél* (gen. sing. *N'eil'*); *t'r'ean*, 'strong', O.Ir. *tren*. Also in the late loan-words *f'easto*, 'feast', Di. *féasta*; *reasu:n*, 'reason', Di. *réasún*.

§ 156. *eo* also arises in a few instances through contraction owing to the quiescence of intervocalic *d*, *g*. Examples—*b'r'eo*, 'fine', Meyer *bregda*; *d'eoanax*, 'last', O.Ir. *dédénach*; *ean*, 'ivy', M.Ir. *edenn*; *am'euwas agom* = *da mbéidheadh fhios agam*; *L'eaN*,

'learning', O.Ir. legend; *L'ēs*, 'to cure, healing', M.Ir. leges. The younger people substitute *εə* sometimes for *ö*: of the older folks, as in *εərēk*, 'horn'. The word for 'corn-crake' occurs as *trεəna* and *trö:nə*, Di. traona. *t'εəm*, an abbreviated form for 'give me', is commonly stated to have come in from Connaught but its development is not clear and it is also found in Farney, Sg. Fearn. p. 50. By the side of *t'εəm tairəm* is also heard. O.Ir. *ia* preceded by *r* < *r'*, *R'* gives *ö*:, *εə* in *rö:χtənas*, *rεəχtənas*, 'need'; *srεən*, 'bridle', M.Ir. srian, cp. § 73. The word for 'one', O.Ir. *óin*, has a variety of pronunciations. *χ:n*, *ö:n*, *i:n* stand for 'one' in counting &c. whilst *εən* means 'a single one, any', *εəN çüN ə'wä:n'*, 'not a single one', further reduced to *ən*, for which see § 136.

§ 157. O.Ir. accented *e* + *d* + cons. gives *εə* in *L'εəb*, 'strip of cloth, land', Di. leadhb, Macbain leðb, M.Ir. ledb; *m'εəg*, 'whey', M.Ir. medg; *m'εəwə*, M.Ir. Medb; *banεəmataχ*, 'housekeeper', Di. feadhmannta.

11. *ei*.

§ 158. *ei* represents O.Ir. accented *é* before a palatal consonant and therefore frequently corresponds to *εə* before other consonants. Examples—*b'eil'*, gen. sing. of *b'εəl*, 'mouth'; *b'lein'*, 'groin', M.Ir. blén, but plur. *b'l'εəNLαχə*; *eil'uw*, 'to claim' (commonly used of animals clamouring for food, locally 'to crave'), M.Ir. éliugud; *eir'*, gen. sing. of *ε:r*, 'air', O.Ir. áer; *eifk'*, gen. sing. of *iəsk*, 'fish'; *eif'tαχt*, 'listen', M.Ir. éitsecht; *sm'eir'ə*, gen. sing. of *sm'ε:r*, 'blackberry'; *sp'eir'*, 'sky', Di. spéir; *feid'uw*, 'to blow', O.Ir. sétiud; *fL'eivt'ə*, plur. of *fL'iuw*, 'mountain'; O.Ir. sliab (*gə Lα: N' t'l'eivə*, 'till Doomsday', cp. Cl. S. 20 viii '04 p. 6 col. 1).

§ 159. *ei* may arise by contraction owing to the quiescence of intervocalic *g*, *d* (Mod.Ir. *gh*, *dh*), e.g. in *L'eiN'*, gen. sing. of *L'εəN*, 'learning', O.Ir. legend; *L'eif'*, gen. sing. of *L'ēs*, 'healing, cure', M.Ir. leges. For *L'eijəm*, 'I read, melt', see § 153.

§ 160. *ei* arises sporadically in a few cases where an accented *ai*, *oi* is followed by *g*, *d*, e.g. *eir'ə*, 'ice', *b'irəNj̄: eir'əg'ə*, 'icicles', M.Ir. aigred, óigred; *eir'ə*, 'heir', Atk. oigir; *seivir*, 'rich', M.Ir. saidbir; *L'ei*, 'a leech, doctor', plur. *L'eiji:*, *L'eijəNj̄:*, O.Ir. liaig. *eil'i:n'*, 'a brood of chickens', and *eil'əg*, 'a young chicken', are altogether anomalous. They are perhaps due to confusion between *α:l*, 'litter' and *eir'əg*, 'a pullet', Di. éireog, M.Ir. eirin.

§ 161. A clipped *ei* (*eĩ*) occurs before *ç* in *eiç*, plur. of *αχ*, 'steed', O.Ir. ech; *feiçə*, 'hide', M.Ir. seche (*L'æfeçə*, *L'el'eçə*, 'a half-hide'); *L'eiç*, 'half'.

12. *e.i*.

§ 162. In a very few cases *e.i* occurs. These are *d'e:i*, *mə je:i*, 'behind me', O.Ir. déad, diaid, degaid; *t'e:i*, imper. of *t'euw*, 'to heat', Di. teidheadh, pret. *he:i*, past part. *t'e:it'ə*, but forms with *ei* are also frequent, e.g. from *sp'r'euw* beside the pret. *sp'r'e:i m'ə* the future *sp'r'eiçə m'ə* occurs, past part. *sp'r'eit'ə*.

13. *iə*.

§ 163. This diphthong frequently represents O.Ir. *ia*, *ía* of whatever origin, e.g. *iəri*, 'to ask', M.Ir. iarraid; *m'ian*, 'desire', O.Ir. mían but *bə vi.N' L'im* (§ 457); *p'ian*, 'pain', O.Ir. pían; *k'iaLəNj̃*, 'black fast', Di. céalacan, ciallacan. O.Ir. *ia* is often followed by *d*, *th* which are now quiescent, e.g. *b'ia*, 'food', O.Ir. biad, *b'iatαχ*, 'inn-keeper', M.Ir. biatach; *b'ian*, gen. plur. of *b'ian*, 'year'; *k'ia*, 'harrow', O.Ir. clíath; *L'ia*, 'gray', O.Ir. liath; *fiabuw*, 'to sweep away', Macbain siab, Manx sheebey.

§ 164. O.Ir. accented *í* before a non-palatal consonant became over-long and developed into the diphthong *iə*, e.g. *iəxtor*, 'bottom', O.Ir. íchtar; *iətə*, 'thirst' (not common), O.Ir. itu; *k'iaχ*, 'breast', O.Ir. cích; *k'riaNə*, 'wise, prudent', O.Ir. crín; *L'ianuw*, 'to fill', O.Ir. línad; *m'ial*, 'louse', M.Ir. míl; *p'iaχan*, 'hoarseness', Macbain piöchan, Di. piocán, spiocán, O'R. spiochan, Fournier ceochan; *fiəl*, 'seed', O.Ir. síl. In *fiəla:*, 'to strain (milk), to ebb away, die', M.Ir. sithlaim, *fiəlan*, 'strainer', Di. siöthlán, we have a case of *iə < i:* by lengthening before *th*.

§ 165. In a few cases *iə* arises by contraction of two vowels due to the quiescence of *dh*, *gh*, e.g. *driən*, 'blackthorn', O.Ir. draigen; *kliə*, 'fence', Di. claidhe, M.Ir. claide infin. of claidim (for the meaning cp. Engl. 'dyke'); *N'ian*, 'daughter' (§ 122); *L'ia*, 'to lick', Di. lighe. In a secondary syllable—*b'iwiaNtə*, 'roguish' < *b'iwii*; Meyer bibdaide.

In all these cases as soon as *iə* comes to stand before a palatal consonant, it passes into *i:*, thus *N'ian*, gen. sing. *N'i:n'ə*, dat. sing. *N'i:n'*; *f'iar*, 'true', but *f'i:r' wāiç*, 'very good' (§ 285).

§ 166. With some speakers *eə* tends to become *iə* as in *f'k'ial*, 'story', *b'ria*, 'fine'. This change which is characteristic of

many Scotch dialects (ZCP. iv 92 ff.), occurs in other parts of Ulster. For Monaghan see G. J. 1896 p. 146 col. 1. *iə* is regular in *k'iaNə*, 'same', O.Ir. *cétne* and must have existed in the case of *ċíd*, 'first' (§ 105). Occasionally we find *ia* for *iə*, as in *uaí'iaLtə*, 'wild-looking', Di. *uaith-bhéalta*, cp. M.Ir. *oibéla*; *f'iaχ* beside *f'iəχ*, imper. of *f'iaχæ'*, 'to try', M.Ir. *féchaim*, cp. § 13.

14. *iū*.

§ 167. In a very few cases *i* is followed by *ūw* arising from O.Ir. *m* but *iūw* only forms one syllable, e.g. *g'r'iūw*, 'deed', O.Ir. *gním*; *fN'iūw*, 'to spin', M.Ir. *sním*. The substantive formed from *d'i:wī:n'*, 'single, unmarried', is *d'iū(:)n'əs*, M.Ir. *dímain*.

15. *yə*.

§ 168. *yə* appears instead of *uə* in a few words which begin with *f*. This is more particularly the case when the initial disappears by aspiration, e.g. *ta: n çest' dæ'l'i: yəskluw*, 'the question is hard to answer'; *fwyər*, 'cold' (§ 66). Further in parts of the verb for 'to sew', infin. *fwyal*, Di. *fuagháil*, pres. *fwəjəm*, Wi. *fúagaim*, pret. *dyəi*, *N'i:r' yəi*, imperf. pass. *dyət'i*; condit. pass. *dyəif'i*. Similarly in *fwyə*, 'hatred'; *dyəgír' m'ə*, pret. of *fuəgruw*, 'to announce'.

16. *əu*.

§ 169. I have only heard this diphthong in *fəutaχ*, 'not right', cp. Cl. S. 20 viii '04 p. 6 col. 1, Di. *fabhtach*; *məuwlə*, compar. of *məwil'*, 'quiet', Di. *modhamhail*.

17. *əχ*.

§ 170. This most peculiar diphthong occurs in a few monosyllables ending in *-eadh*, *-eagh* and in one or two other words. The diphthong is always clipped and there is generally a suspicion of a *g* glide at the finish. For a long time I was at a loss to analyse the sounds, more especially as there is always an alternative pronunciation with *ig* (§ 106) and *əχ* is confined to the oldest people. The sound occurs in *fL'əχ*, 'spear', M.Ir. *sleg*; *f'əχ*, 'fathom', Di. *feadh*, O.Ir. *ed*; *f'əχ*, *f'ig*, 'rush', Di. *fiag*; *fəχ* according to J. H. is a Rosses pronunciation of *fə*, O.Ir. is *ed*. Further in *əχri:m*, *igəri:m*, 'I adore', Spir. Rose p. 6

aoghraigh muid, O.Ir. adraim; *f'əXriaχt*, *f'igəriaχt*, 'countenance, face', cp. Di. fíoghruighim; *f'əXri:*, proper name 'Fewry'; *rəXræftə*, *rigræftə*, 'arrear', Di. riaraste; *t'rəXgəuwnəχ*, *t'regəuwnəχ*, 'furry-furry, cow going 2 years without calving', spelt traoghamhanach ZCP. iv 258. J. H. has *əXəm* as an old form of *əgəm* but the latter is the one he generally uses. It is well known that Glencolumbkille substitutes *əi* in this and other words, whilst from an old man in the Croaghs I have once heard *əuəm*.

18. *əi*.

§ 171. This diphthong has probably the same sound as Henebry's *î* (p. 7) which arises under similar conditions. In stressed syllables it commonly represents O.Ir. accented *a* followed by palatal *g* (Mod.Ir. *gh*). Examples—*əi* (*ǝi*), 'face', O.Ir. aged (*aiə* may also be heard from younger people); *ku:g'i: ləiən*, 'Leinster', M.Ir. coiced Laigen; *mwaidən*, 'Virgin', maighden (Four Masters); *said'ur'*, 'soldier', M.Ir. saigdeoir; *səin'ən'*, 'aurora borealis', M.Ir. saignéan, cp. Henebry p. 33.

əi occurs further in several cases representing *ai*, *oi*, *ei* usually before O.Ir. *d*, *g* (Mod.Ir. *dh*, *gh*) which are now quiescent. *əi*, 'liver of fish roasted to obtain oil', plur. *əjə*, Meyer *áe*, O.Ir. *óa*; *avr'əi*, *avr'əit'əχ*, 'rough (of land), cross-tempered', M.Ir. amréid; *əvəir'*, 'last night', M.Ir. irráir; *bwəN't'r'əi*, gen. sing. of *bwəN't'r'əχ*, 'widow'; *fwəid'ə*, 'patience', *fwəid'əχ*, 'patient', O.Ir. foditiu; *səihəχ*, 'vessel', M.Ir. soithech; *b'alaχ f'əi*, 'Ballybofey' = bealach féich, also *ə N'əiç* = an eich, gen. sing. of O.Ir. ech; *fadvəi*, imper. of *fadv:*, 'to blaze up, kindle', Di. fadnuighim, fadóghadh, M.Ir. atúd, fatód, past part. *fadvəit'ə* (*fadvəit'ə*); *fastəi* (*-ai*, *-əi*), past part. of Di. fadóghadh, M.Ir. astud, fastud. *əi* may also be heard in *b'əi* for *b'ei* = béidh (this is the pausa form in replies, the allegro form is commonly *b'ε*).

(e) Nasal Vowels.

§ 172. In Donegal any vowel sound is liable to be nasalised in the vicinity of a nasal but there are various degrees. The speech of the older people is altogether somewhat nasal in character and it is therefore not always easy to be certain whether a vowel is nasalised or not. The younger people on the other hand seem to be giving up nasalisation entirely, a state of affairs which according to Pedersen also exists on Aran

(p. 17). A vowel immediately preceding or following an *m* or *n* sound is generally nasalised (denoted by writing $\tilde{}$ over the vowel), e.g. *kū:nūw*, 'assistance', M.Ir. *congnam*; *nw.ĩ:*, 'pliable', O.Ir. *móith*; *m'jō:r'*, 'mind', O.Ir. *mebuir*. A few words with vocalic initial are nasalised from being used with the article (Pedersen p. 65), thus *ĩ:çə*, 'night'; *ā:ĩ:ç i:l'*, 'lime-kiln'. According to J. H. *ā:*, 'ford', M.Ir. *áth*, is distinguished from *α:*, 'luck', M.Ir. *ág*, by nasalisation. Similarly *N'ĩ:* *hē:* = *ní h-é*. It should however be observed that, although in this book we write the mark of nasalisation over the vowel, the nasalisation is inherent in the *n*, *m*. Thus if we take the word *dō:naxχ*, 'Sunday', O.Ir. *domnach*, and divide it into syllables, we get *do:-ñaxχ*, not *dō:-naxχ*, i.e. there is not a trace of nasalisation until the *n* starts, but when the syllables are pronounced together the velum is lowered during the pronunciation of the preceding vowel, thus anticipating the nasal. A *v* or *w* arising from aspirated *m* is commonly nasalised in a stressed syllable but more rarely in other positions. The $\tilde{}$ of Mod.Ir. *mh* is however more frequently preserved when the *w*, *v* are post-vocalic. When *mh* is initial the nasalisation is only regular when *h* or *ç* follows the vowel. Examples—*āuwros*, 'doubt', O.Ir. *amiress*; *āuw*, 'insipid', M.Ir. *om*; *α vik'*, 'O son'; *α wāhær'*, 'his mother'; *gən wāĩç*, 'without profit, useless'; *dā:v*, 'fondness', Di. *dáimh*; *əNə rō:və*, 'to Rome', M.Ir. *Róim* (acc.); *mahūw*, 'to forgive', O.Ir. *mathem*; *kāhūw*, 'to spend, throw', M.Ir. *caithem* (in this verb the nasalisation which is only correct in the infinitive has been extended to the other forms, e.g. imper. *kāĩç*); *d'α:nūw*, 'to do', on account of the *n* but *fasuw*, 'to stand', M.Ir. *sessom*; *α:r'uw*, 'number', O.Ir. *áram*. The prefix *kō:-*, *kū:-*, O.Ir. *com-*, *cum-*, is generally nasalised but the connection has been forgotten in *kō:əm*, 'even, level', M.Ir. *comthromin*; *kōsu:l'*, 'similar', O.Ir. *cosmail*. The suffixes *-u:r* < -mar, *-u:l'* < -mail, -email are only nasalised if there is another nasal in the word. In a number of forms where the cause of the nasalisation has entirely disappeared $\tilde{}$ is still retained, e.g. *ā:lĩf*, 'milk and water', Meyer *anglas* (englas); *dāĩən*, 'firm', O.Ir. *daingen*; *dū:i:*, 'rabbit-warren', M.Ir. *duma*; *klūw*, 'down', M.Ir. *clúm*; *kū:i:*, 'sorrow, grief', Meyer *cuma*; *k'ū:s*, 'edge', M.Ir. *cimas*; *wĩ:*, 'mane', M.Ir. *muing* (dat., the pausa form has been entirely forgotten); *kū:gəf*, plur. *kū:gəf'i:*, 'remedy, medicine', Di. *coguisidhe*, Macleod has *cungaidh leighis* under 'medicine', 'remedy', Macbain *cungaidh, cungaidsidh*, Ir. *cunghas, cunghaighim, cunghamh*; *N'i:s*

kū:g'ə, compar. of *kū:N*, 'narrow', O.Ir. *cumung*, *kū:glax*, 'strait of the sea', Di. *cumhanglach* for *cumhangrach*, Macleod *cunglach*. Here we may mention the cases where *n* has become *ř*, e.g. *grī:*, 'good looks', Di. *gnaoi*; *grē:ha*, 'business', Di. *gnó*; *krō:*, 'nut', O.Ir. *cnú*. On the other hand several words such as *k'r'adi:*, 'to pant, groan', Meyer *cnetaigim* and *k'r'asuw*, 'to heal', Meyer *cnessaigim*, have given up the nasal. *drū:f*, 'lechery', Atk. *drúis*, doubtless owes its *ř* to some word like *gnúis*. The nasal in this word seems to be general, cp. O'Donovan, Grammar p. 37, Pedersen p. 66. But whence the nasal in *klēiv*, *klēiv*, 'sword', O.Ir. *claideb*? For *sō:ruw*, 'to observe', Craig *somhrughadh*, beside the more frequent *so:ruw* and other cases of loss of nasal see § 443.

B. THE CONSONANTS.

§ 173. Corresponding to the two main vowel-divisions, back and front, we find the consonants grouped into palatal (palatalised) and non-palatal (non-palatalised) consonants, so that to every non-palatal sound there answers one of the other group¹. In some cases separate symbols are used to denote the palatal sound as in the case of *j*, *v*, *ɲ*, *ç*, *ʃ*, but in the majority of cases the palatal sound is represented by writing ' after the consonant, thus *t'*. It will be seen later that strictly speaking it is incorrect to call Donegal *p'*, *b'*, *m'* palatal sounds, but as they correspond to the palatal forms of the other consonants it will be convenient to include them among the latter. We propose to deal with the consonants in the following order :

- (a) *h, j, w*.
- (b) the liquids and nasals *L, l, L', l'*; *N, n, N', n'*; *R, r, r'*; *m, m'*; *ɲ, ɲ'*.
- (c) the spirants *f, f', v*; *ç, ç, s, s'*.
- (d) the labial, dental and guttural stops *p, p', b, b'*; *t, t'*, *d, d'*; *k, k', g, g'*.

¹ Nearly all the Irish sounds which are usually termed palatalised are palatal but for purposes of convenience the same symbol is used for both indiscriminately in this book. The palatal articulation has of course developed out of palatalisation.

(a) *h, j, w.*1. *h.*

§ 174. In Donegal the aspirate corresponds in sound to an English *h* and except in stressed syllables is not pronounced very forcibly. When standing between vowels at the end of a stressed syllable it is often very faint, cp. Jespersen, *Lehrbuch der Phonetik* pp. 94, 95 and footnote. In monosyllables a clipped *h* occurs very frequently after short vowels, for the formation cp. Jespersen l. c. p. 100. After palatal vowels *ç* frequently appears instead of *h*.

§ 175. Most frequently *h* represents a written *th*. When *th* is immediately preceded or followed by a voiced consonant, it makes that consonant voiceless. In the case of voiceless consonants *h* < *th* under these circumstances can produce no change as *k, t, p, s* are already aspirated. It will be convenient to deal with cases of loss of voice caused by *h* < *th* whilst we are treating of *h*. Examples of *h* < *th*—*ahuir'*, 'a second time', Di. *ath-uair*; *b'ahə*, 'life', O.Ir. *bethu*; *ba:hww*, 'to drown', M.Ir. *báthad* beside older *bádud* (see Rhys p. 86 note); *bəhəg*, 'hut', Di. *bothóg*, *bəh*, 'hut', M.Ir. *both*; *boihax*, 'byre', Meyer *bó-thech*; *brah*, 'to look upon', O.Ir. *mrath*; *dri:hə*, 'druids, wizards', Di. *draoithe*, from this is formed *drihaxtə*, 'sorcery', which further seems to have influenced *rihaxtə*, 'kingdom', Di. *rioghacht*; *dah*, 'colour', M.Ir. *dath*; *f'r'ihir'*, 'sore', Di. *frithir*; *f'r'i:hə*, 'through her', cp. M.Ir. *tréthi*; *kahūw*, 'to throw, spend', M.Ir. *cáithem*; *kahə*, 'battle', O.Ir. *cath*; *k'ahərNax*, 'small, impudent person', Di. *ceatharnach*, cp. *trid' bədi: l'ə k'ahərNax*, 'the fight of a mouse and a lion'; *kəhww*, 'to feed', Meyer *cothaigim*; *mahan*, 'muscle', cp. O'R. *mathán*, 'sucker of a tree' (?); *m'ihid'*, 'due time', M.Ir. *mithich*, *mithig*, there is also a substantive in use which does not occur in books, viz. *m'ihəs* as in *hen'i fə ə vihəs do: gəl*, 'the time came for him to go' = *de mhitheas*; *maihim*, 'I perceive', M.Ir. *mothaigim*; *N'ihaxan*, 'washing', Di. *nigheachán* (for the tendency to introduce a hiatus-filling *h* cp. *rihaxtə* supra); *rehin'axt*, 'ramming', Di. has *reitheachas*; *sə:hww*, 'to thrust', M.Ir. *sáthud*; *srahər*, 'straddle', O.Ir. *sraithar*; *təhəl*, 'balancing rind in quern', < **tuathal*.

§ 176. Initially *h* occurs as the aspirated form of *t, t', s, f*, e.g. *l'ə də həl'*, 'with your leave', *le do thoil*; *mə huul'*, 'my eye',

mo shúil. Else in pausa forms only in the case of a few adverbs and the pronouns *huw*, *hísə* (Pedersen, KZ. xxxv 331 f.), *haL*, 'yonder', O.Ir. tall; *huas*, 'aloft', O.Ir. *túas*; *hwi*, *əhwi*, 'in the north, to the north', O.Ir. *fa thuait*; *her'*, 'in the east', *hior*, 'in the west', M.Ir. *tair*, *tíar*; *hær'*, *hær'ə*, 'past, beyond' (prep.), O.Ir. *tar*, *dar*. The *h* as initial of *heid' fə*, 'he will go', is due to the loss of the pretonic syllable <do-théit, which has doubtless influenced *hig' fə*, 'he comes', M.Ir. *tic* (future *t'iky*). The reason for the constant aspiration of the infin. *haxt*, O.Ir. *techt* as also of *gəl*, 'to go', is not plain. The *h* of *hen'ik'*, 'came', O.Ir. *tánice* is due to the analogy of other preterites.

§ 177. *h* arises sometimes in combinations like *ghth*, *bhth*, *tbmh*, as in *N'i: ahar* = *ní fhághthar*; *L'əharaxt*, 'reading', Di. *léightheoireacht*; *tihə*, 'houses', Di. *tighthe*; *dahin' m'ə*, 'I recognised', < *aithgeuin*; *N'əujl'i:hu:l'* (*-j'l'iyəl'*), 'unlawful', Di. *neamh-dhlightheamhuil*; *LUhə*, 'rotten', < *lobhtha*; *Lū:hər*, 'vigorous, active', Di. *lúthmhar*.

§ 178. χ has a tendency to give up its spirant character and become *h*. This seems to be general in Ulster, cp. O'Donovan, Grammar p. 48; G. J. 1896 p. 146 col. 2. See also Rhys p. 71. Initially we find *h* for χ in *hanik'*, *hen'ik'*, 'saw', = *chonnaic*; *hogəd*, 'to you', Mod.Ir. *chugad* (Spir. Rose p. 5 spelt *thugad*); *hwi*, 'went', O.Ir. *docuaid*; *haskər sə*, 'it thawed', cp. M.Ir. *coscrad*; *ku:g'i: həNaxtə*, 'Province of Connaught', M.Ir. *cóiced Connacht*; *ha(:)*, 'not', < *ní co* (the distribution of *ní* and *cha* as negatives in Donegal is discussed by Lloyd in *Seachrán Chairn tSiadhail* p. 124. I can only say that in Meenawannia *cha* is generally confined to emphatic answers and here principally in *ha 'nəl'*, *ha row* being much rarer. Further east round Ballinamore *cha* seems to be much more frequent). Medially *h* may be heard in *ahasan*, 'reviling', Di. *achmhusán*, Meyer *athchomsan*; *brahan*, 'porridge', O.Ir. *brothchán*; *f'l'ahuw*, 'to starve', *f'l'ət'ə*, 'perished with cold', M.Ir. *flechud*. See further § 333.

§ 179. In a few words *h* arises from ζ , cp. Finck i p. 85. This is the case in *hinəf'ən'*, 'already', Mod.Ir. *cheana*, O.Ir. *cena* + *féin*; *f'ihə*, 'twenty', O.Ir. *fiche*; *i:hə*, 'night', O.Ir. *aidche*.

§ 180. In certain stress-groups initial *f* when standing after a word which does not aspirate tends to become *h*. This is also the case with medial *fr*. Compare Rhys pp. 72, 165; Pedersen

p. 19. With the different sources of this *f* we need not trouble ourselves here. Examples—*m'ε hein'*, 'myself', O.Ir. féin but *f'ein'αχ*, 'selfish'; *N'i:s α:r*, 'better', *α:r* = is fearr (the *h* is not heard after *s*, cp. § 175), Manx share but also *N'i:s f'α:r*, cp. Pedersen, KZ. xxxv p. 319; *N'i: hgrəst*, 'it is not easy' but *forəst*, Wi. ur-ussa; *o:zəl'*, 'offertory', gen. sing. *Nə hɔ:zələ*, plur. *o:zələχə*, Di. ofráil, cp. Manx oural; *kə:zə*, 'chest', Di. cófra. *if'rəN*, 'hell'; *af'rəN*, 'mass' and *f'iofri:*, 'to ask', retain *f* in Donegal but other dialects shew the normal development, cp. ZCP. v 98 and Chr. Bros. Aids to Irish Pron. p. 15. Cp. Manx fer-oik, 'officer', oic < oific, Rhys p. 182.

The *f* of the future (O.Ir. *b, f*) has given *h* which is not heard after voiceless sounds such as *p, t, k, s* &c. but which unvoices *b, g, d, w, r, l, m, n* &c. Examples—*bəguw*, 'to stir', Di. bogadh, fut. *bəkə m'ə*; *brid'uw*, 1. 'to nudge', Di. broidighim, 2. 'to smart, ache', infin. *brid'ərNj:*, subst. *brid'ərNαχ*, 'smarting', fut. *brit'i: fə*; *f'iaəuw*, 'to sweep away', Di. siabhadh, Manx sheebey, fut. *f'iaəwi: fə*; *t'r'ouw*, 'to plough', M.Ir. trebad, fut. *t'r'o:zə m'ə*. As instances of stems ending in a vowel (in the spoken language) *L'eihə m'ə*, 'I shall read', infin. *L'əuw*; *Lo:hi:* < *Louw*, 'to rot'; *tə:ihə m'ə*, *te:hə m'ə*, 'I shall choose' < *təuw*; *N'i:hə m'ə* < *N'i:(ə)*, 'to wash'. In the conditional passive forms with *f'* alternate with forms with *h*, as *və:ɣi:*, *və:rf'i:* from *b'erəm*, O.Ir. beirim; *fə:ky:*, *fə:kf'i:* from *pə:guw*, 'to kiss'. The future passive invariably has *-hər*. Apart from the conditional passive the *f* is only preserved in two instances, viz. in the case of the verbs for 'to run' and 'to see', *rafə m'ə* beside *riçə m'ə*, 'I shall run', infin. *rαç*, *rahi:*, *raχtəl'*; *t'i:f'ə m'ə*, 'I shall see', M.Ir. 2nd sing. atcife (Atk.).

§ 181. The enclitic forms of the verb *d'α:nuw*, 'to do', are peculiar, as they contain forms with *h* where we should expect *j*, e.g. *N'i: ha:nəm*, 'I do not do', interr. *d'α:nəm*, *N'i: ha:rN*, 'I did not do', interr. (ə) *d'α:rN*, fut. *ja:zə m'ə*, 'I will do' but neg. *N'i: ha:nə m'ə*, interr. ə *N'α:zə m'ə*. Dinneen p. 796 says "the Dependent, Perfect, and Future and Conditional begin with a *t* in Ulster". Cp. Lloyd, Seachrán Chairn tSiadhail p. 150, ní theanaim. The question is how did this state of affairs arise. I suspect that the above forms with *h* for *j* may be due to analogy with some of the parts of the verb 'to go'. The 3rd sing. pres. ind. of this verb is *heid'*, O.Ir. do-téit, to which the perfect is *N'i: ha:χi:*, interr. *d'α:χi:*, O.Ir. -decluid, with *h* for *j* from the present. From these forms the *h* has been introduced

into the corresponding tenses of *d'á:nuw*. Monaghan dialect has gone a step further and makes the infinitive *teanamh*, G. J. 1896 p. 147 col. 2. If the *h* were due to any other cause we should expect to find it making its appearance in the paradigms of the verb for 'to say', but J. H. always has *d'er'am*—*N'i: er'am*, pret. *du:rt' m'a*—*N'i: u:rt' m'a* (*N'i:r' u:rt'*), interr. *er' u:rt' m'a*, fut. *d'ε:γə m'a*—*N'i: ε:γə m'a*, interr. *Nə Nαχ N'ε:γə m'a*. From the younger people one may however hear *N'i: hε:γə m'a*.

The *h* in *həbwir'*, 'almost', *həbwir' gə d'it'iN'*, 'I almost fell', is very peculiar. *həbwir'* represents a preterite *dl'fhuabair*, Wi. *fóbairim*, but it is possible that *fóbairim* became **tóbairim* in Donegal just as *fuaim*, fill appear as *tuaim*, till (§ 383).

§ 182. As we have seen above, Donegal Irish retains intervocalic *h* to a much greater extent than Connaught or Munster, but even in the north *h < th* disappears under well-defined conditions. Although *h < th* is retained in monosyllables after a short vowel, it invariably disappears after a long vowel or diphthong, e.g. *α:*, 'ford', M.Ir. *áth* (plur. *α:Nÿ:*); *blα:*, 'flower', M.Ir. *bláth* (plur. *blα:hə*); *bw_α:*, 'foolish', O.Ir. *báith*; *dluw*, 'warp of a web', Di. *dlúth*; *fα:*, 'reason', M.Ir. *fáth*, *fád*; *g_α:*, 'wind', O.Ir. *gáith* (gen. sing. *g_α:hə*, *g_α:rə*); *i:*, 'fat', M.Ir. *íth*; *k'l'ia*, 'harrow', O.Ir. *clíath* (plur. *k'l'ehαχə*); *Luw*, 'vigour', M.Ir. *lúth*; *nw_ĩ:*, 'pliable', O.Ir. *móith*; *er skx:*, 'for the sake of', *er skx: ə wíl ə jì:ç er'*, 'for all that it wants', Di. *scáth*, O.Ir. *scáath*; *sNa:*, 'bundle of thread', M.Ir. *snáth*; *trα:*, 'meal', M Ir. *tráth* (plur. *trα:Nÿ:*), cp. *trα:nō:nə*, 'afternoon, evening'.

§ 183. In dissyllables of the type cons. + áthach we commonly find loss of *h* and contraction, e.g. *blα:χ*, 'buttermilk', M.Ir. *bláthach*; *grā:χ*, 'usual', M.Ir. *gnáthach*; *sα:χ*, 'sated person' (proverb *N'i: hig'əN ə sα:χ ə fαχ*, 'the sated person does not understand the starved'), Wi. *sathech*, *saithech*, *sathach*; *sLα:χ*, also *sLαhαχ*, 'slush on the sea-shore', Di. *sláthach* (gen. sing. *sLα:i* or *sLαhi:*). This same contraction occurs sometimes when the first vowel is short, e.g. *b'α:χ*, 'beast', Meyer *bethadach* (plur. *b'ahi:*, *b'ehi:*); *fα:χ*, 'giant', more commonly *fαihαχ*, Meyer *athech*, *athech*, cp. Molloy's 33rd dialect-list where *fách* and *faithiach* are given; *αNtrα:χ*, 'untimely', Di. *antráthach*. Similarly *su:L Nə ha:*, 'the eye of the kiln', *súil na hátha*. The form *k'arN* in *k'arN' χγLuw*, 'outlaw', may here be mentioned. *k'arN* stands for *k'α:rN* with shortening before the chief stress < Meyer cethern if the word has not come in from another

dialect. For *ta:juw*, 'to weld, solder', M.Ir. *táthad* see § 190. Further *grōuw*, 'to gain', Di. *gnóthughadh*.

§ 184. In unstressed syllables *ghth* is always silent, e.g. *kohiær* pres. pass. of *kohuw*, 'to feed, fatten', Meyer *cothaigim*; *b'a.Nÿ:*, 'blessed', Di. *beannuichte* (note *t'i.N'as b'a.Nÿ:*, 'epilepsy').

§ 185. *rth*, *lth* in inflected forms of substantives and verbs in unstressed syllables appear as *r*, *l* instead of *ʒ*, *ʟ*, with which compare the loss of *h* in unaccented syllables in Welsh. Examples—*am adərə*, 'milking-time', cp. Di. *eadarshudh*, *dō:nax Nə N'adərəxə*, Di. *Dombnach na n-eadarshuidhe* q.v.; *g'r'i:wəri:*, 'deeds', Keating *gníomhartha*; *kəNərə*, gen. sing. of *kənrūw*, 'bargain', Atk. *cundrad*, gen. sing. *cundartha*; *La: kaskərə*, 'a thawing day', *blək kaskərə*, 'a block for splitting wood upon' = *coscartha*, gen. sing. of Di. *coscairt*, Meyer *coscrad*; *vi: mwid ə bux:luw n wəʃt'ərə*, 'we were churning', cp. Di. *maistreadh*, gen. sing. *maisteartha*; *t'əgərəx*, 'snug', Di. *téagarthach*. Also in the future of verbs with dissyllabic stem, e.g. *g'r'isali fə*, 'he will drub'; *rō:wərə m'ə*, 'I shall dig', Di. *rómhar*; *sa:wələ m'ə*, 'I shall save', Di. *sábháil*; *t'efanə m'ə*, 'I shall shew', infin. *t'ífi.N't*, Di. *taisbeáint*. Similarly *g'l'əs im'ərə*, 'articles for amusement, dice, cards &c.', Di. *imeartha*, gen. sing. of *imirt*.

§ 186. In a number of words the voiceless sound has given way to the voiced without any apparent reason. Examples—*bla:nəd*, 'the female of the weasel', Meyer *bláthnait*; *d'ala.N da:rə*, 'an ember from the fire made on St John's eve which is thrown at a cow to make her bear', = *dealán dártha*, here the genitive seems to have followed the nominative; *du:raí*, 'foundation', Di. *dúthrach*, in Donegal the word is feminine; *im'axt*, 'to depart', O.Ir. *immthecht*; *k'er'ə*, 'four', M.Ir. *cethri* but always *k'a:ər*, O.Ir. *cethrar* (*k'er'ə* has probably arisen through being used before the chief stress in such combinations as *k'eg'ə ki.N' d'əg*); *ræN'ax*, 'fern', more commonly *ræŋ'ax*, M.Ir. *raithnech*. The prefix *ath-*, 're-', seems not to unvoice a following *l*, e.g. *æl'as*, 'second manure', = *ath-leas*; *æ'iguw*, 'a relapse of sickness', = *ath-leagadh*. But *ax'wil*, 'change of appearance', = *ath-bhuil*.

§ 187. Rarely does it happen that Donegal has a voiceless sound where the other dialects have the voiced. This is the case in *b'aluw*, 'grease', Di. *bealadh*, Meyer *belad*; *d'ínəsax*, 'diligent', O'R. *díonasach*, Di. *déanasach*; *e'fid*, 'fawn', M.Ir. *eilit*; *k'eg'in'*, 'plaster', Di. *ceirín*, Meyer *céirín*; *pla:ŋæd'*, *pla:ŋ'æd'*, 'state of

the atmosphere, climate', Di. plainéid. It may also be noted that before the ending $-\alpha\chi\theta$ (fem. plur. of nouns and fut. act. of the second conjugation) there is a distinct tendency to unvoice a preceding media, e.g. $d'araka\chi\theta$ $m'\theta$ from $d'araguw$, 'to light', Di. deargadh; $d'arafa\chi\theta$ $m'\theta$, 'I shall assert', from $d'arawi:m$, Di. dearbhuighim; $d'i:ka\chi\theta$, plur. of $d'i:g$, 'dyke, trench', Di. díog, plur. díogacha.

The plural $ba\hbar$, 'cows', < ba' , M.Ir. ba (acc.), is due to the tendency to make a short final accented vowel end in breath (§ 42). Words which in Donegal have come to end in ζ in the singular sometimes have h in the plural, e.g. $\bar{i}:w\ddot{a}i\zeta$, 'image', M.Ir. $imaig$, plur. $\bar{i}:w\ddot{a}i\hbar N\bar{y}$.

2. *j*.

§ 188. This symbol denotes the y sound in Engl. 'yes' but the organs are tense during the production of the Irish sound and the middle of the tongue is raised much higher towards the hard palate. As is the case with all palatal (palatalised) sounds in Donegal the tip of the tongue is pressed more or less firmly against the lower teeth.

§ 189. Most commonly j represents an aspirated initial d or g before O.Ir. e , i , e.g. α $j\ddot{a}$, 'O God'; $m\theta$ $je:i$, 'behind me'; $jr'as$ $m'\theta$, 'I drove away', Di. $dreasuighim$; $fwi:$ $ji:vas$, 'scorned, despised', = $faoi$ $dhímheas$; $ji:l'ei$ $m'\theta$, 'I digested', Di. $díleaghaim$; $ty:w$ o jas , 'south side'; θ $j\ddot{a}p$, 'the wedge', = an ghing; θ $jalax$, 'the moon'; $ja:r$ $m'\theta$, 'I cut'; $b\theta d$ θ $jert\theta$, 'blast of wind', = bod an ghiorta, cp. Di. $giorraide$, $giorta$; $\alpha i\zeta\theta r\theta n$ $\chi y\theta f'r':d$ θ $jr'i:si:$ = $aithghiorra$ an $chait$ $fríd$ an $ghríosai\hbar$, i.e. trying to take a short cut and coming to grief, cp. also $L'eim'$ $\theta N'$ $t'in'i$ $\theta N\theta$ $g'r'i:suw$, 'from Scylla into Charybdis'; $jr'ad$, pret. of $g'r'aduw$, 'to thrash'; $par\ddot{a}e/t'\theta$ $jl'i.N'\theta$, 'Parish of Glen(columkille)'.

§ 190. Medially we sometimes find j arising from dh = O.Ir. d before e , i . This is the case after a long vowel in $ka:ja\chi$, 'filthy', Keat. $cáidheach$; $pra:ji.N'\alpha\chi$, 'diligent', O'R. $práidhineach$, Di. $práidhneach$. Further in $b\theta$ $je:$, $budh$ $é$, $b\theta$ ja , $budh$ $eadh$, cp. Henebry p. 61, KZ. xxxv 325. But note the proclitic form in bwi θn $maduw$ θ $ri.N'\theta$, 'it was the dog that did it'. $m'\alpha:j\theta m$, 'I weigh', Di. $meadhaim$, is a new formation to the pret. $v\ddot{a}:i$ < * $mheadhuigh$ and has become the model for other verbs whose stems end in a long vowel, such as $te:j\theta m$, 'I choose', from $t\ddot{e}uw$, Di. $toghadh$; $t'r'o:j\theta m$, 'plough', Di. $treabhaim$;

sp'r'eijəm, 'I spread', Di. spréidhim; *kruijəm*, 'I harden', Di. cruadhuighim, but this may come direct from *krui*, 'hard', *kruijə*, 'steel', Di. cruaidhe. Similarly *ta:jəm*, 'I weld, solder', Di. táithim, táthaim; *grō:jəm*, 'I gain', Di. gnóthuighim, infin. *grōuw*.

j is lost in *m'i:r'əN*, 'discord', Di. míghreann.

§ 191. The prepositions *do*, *de* are frequently reduced to *ə* and when standing before a substantive with vocalic initial, a *j* or *g* is inserted according as the O.Ir. initial was palatal or not. This *ə j-* (*ə g-*) is usually explained as being a reduplication of the *do*, *de* and the *j(g)* is written *dh'* (Henebry pp. 60, 61). In many cases the *j(g)* were originally doubtless nothing more than glides, cp. the insertion of *w* § 199. In parts of Munster this reduplication of *do* has even been extended to the preterites of verbs, e.g. *do dhól sé* for *d'ól sé* (Molloy, 25th dialect-list). Examples—*hu:si: fəd ə jəmpər*, 'they started carrying'; *La:n ə gleiv ə jəif'k'*, 'the basket full of fish'; *α l'ehəd^(l) də jər*, 'such a man'; *N'i:s mo: ə jiglə*, 'greater fear'; *ta: fē gəl ə jim'αχt*, 'he is going to go away'; *ta: f'ɪn' ə jɪN't'iN' əgəm*, 'that is my intention'; *həg fē bə: əNə wəl'ə ə jɪn'ig'iL't'*, 'he brought a cow home to graze'; *əmwic sə ti:w o jas də jəir'iN'*, 'down in the south of Ireland'; *hu:si: f'i: ə jicə æt'əni:*, 'she started eating furze'; *ə jəəNto:ri:s*, 'at one birth'; *ta: fē jioχfwi: vəm*, 'it is incumbent upon me', = *de fhiachaibh*, v. Dinneen; *ə jæN'æn'(gə)*, 'although', v. Di. aimhdheoin.

§ 192. *f'*, *m'*, *b'* before accented *ə*; *o*: are followed by *j*, cp. Henebry p. 40, Dottin, RC. xiv 107. Examples—*b'jə:*, 'alive', O.Ir. *beó*; *b'jəir'*, 'beer', Meyer *beóir*; *f'jə:lənm'*, 'to learn', O.Ir. *foglaimm* (§ 321); *f'jə:l'*, 'flesh, meat', M.Ir. *feóil*; *f'jə:χən*, 'seasoning, drying', Di. *feochadh*; *f'jə:t'ə*, 'seasoned', Di. *feoidhte*; *f'jəχən*, 'breeze, puff' (?); *f'jə:s*, 'excellence', M.Ir. *febas*; *m'jə:n'*, 'means' (§ 40); *m'jə:r'*, 'mind', O.Ir. *mebuir*. O.Ir. *eó* became *jə:*, *eba* gave *jə:* but in the case of all consonants except *f'*, *m'*, *b'* the *j* coalesced with the preceding palatal consonant. The labials as such can only be palatalised by raising the tongue into the *j* position simultaneously with the loosening of the lip-contact. This renders the assumption necessary that Donegal, the Decies (Henebry p. 40) and N. Connaught (RC. xiv 107) have given up palatalised labials before other vowels than those mentioned in this paragraph. This I believe to be the case. The Aran dialect and Scotch Gaelic have preserved the *j*, cp.

Finck i 43; Henderson, ZCP. iv 251 ff. This loss of *j* in Donegal may be compared with the substitution of palatal for palatalised articulation in the other consonants, cp. § 173. That the *j* forms part and parcel of the labial is shewn by its disappearance with *f'* when the latter is aspirated, e.g. *b'a:χ ə o:s ə* = beathadhach da fheabhas é, 'however excellent a beast it may be'. Before *u*: we find *f'j* by stress-shifting in *f'juw*, 'worthy', O.Ir. *fiú*; *f'ju:Ntəs* in *riN' fε f'ju:Ntəs mo:r l'im*, 'he treated me very decently', Di. *fiúntas*. Similarly *b'iuw* 3rd sing. imper. of *tá*: in rapid speech becomes *b'juw* as in *b'juw gaL gə m'ε fə əNsə wel'ə rív ə N'i:çə*, 'I bet you he will be home before night'.

§ 193. When standing initially the diphthong *iə* tends to become *jiə*, e.g. *jiərəgnuw*, 'annoyance', Di. *iarghnó*; *jiərəgu:l*, 'wilderness', Di. *iargcuil*, *jiərəgu:Ltə*, 'timid, uncouth', *jiərəgu:Ltəχt*, 'remote, wild place'; *gəd'e: vi: fε jiəri: (jiri:)*, 'what was he wanting', = *dia iarraidh*.

3. *w*.

§ 194. This symbol denotes a bilabial *w* which however does not become confused with *v* as on Aran (Finck i 66). The difference between Donegal *w* and English *w* is clearly heard in final *-uw*. In English *who* (*huw*) the lips glide into the *w* position but no friction is audible whilst it is very evident in a word like *kuw*, 'hound'. Those speakers who substitute labiodental for bilabial *v* in pronouncing *w* draw back the lower lip towards the edge of the upper teeth without necessarily touching them and friction is thus set up.

§ 195. *w* occurs initially as the aspirated form of non-palatal *b*, *m*, e.g. *mə wə:d*, 'my boat'; *i:çə wəg*, 'a wet night'; *fə:l wə:f*, 'dying'; *wəft'ə m'ə*, 'I baptised'; *wraic' m'ə*, 'I betrayed'; *wləf' m'ə*, 'I tasted'; *ə wā'hær'*, 'O mother'; *wəLə m'ə*, 'I cursed'; *wəih'i: m'ə*, 'I felt, perceived'; *wi:v m'ə*, 'I begrudged'; *ə wəd'in'*, 'since morning'; *əs mo:d'ə di:d f'in' ərs iN' d'r'ə:lən Ner' ə wu:N' fə sə Narəg'ə* = *is móide díod sin, arsa'n dreólan, nuair do mhún sé san fhairge*.

w therefore never stands initially in *pausa* forms except in cases like *wA:m*, 'from me', infra § 199. *wæg'ə* in asseverations, *wæg'ə məf'ə hein' ətə:*, 'well indeed it is to be sure', is a distortion of the name of the Virgin. In the case of *wi:*, 'mane', a word not in common use, the original initial has been forgotten, cp. *bhárdail, mhárdul* in Molloy's 30th dialect-list.

w is also the eclipsed form of initial *f*, e.g. *ə wa:N'fə* = dha bhfaghainnse; *ə wəgəs də*, 'near to', = i bhfogus. *N'i: wi: m'ə*, 'I shall not get', cp. M.Ir. fúigbe, probably owes its *w* to the preterite *N'i: wuir'*, for which see § 199, and cp. *ĩ:c(ə) i:r*, 'a cold night'. But this is not certain as I have no exact parallel.

§ 196. Except when joining with a vowel and becoming vocalised (§§ 40, 48) *w* is the regular representative of O.Ir. intervocalic *m*, *b* before *a*, *o*, *u*, e.g. *b'i:wiəNtə*, 'slyly, mischievous', Meyer bibdaide; *d'əwəl'*, 'want, lack', O.Ir. dígbail; *d'ĩ:wi:n'*, 'single, unmarried', M.Ir. dímain; *ĩ:waiç*, 'image', M.Ir. imaig; *k'l'iwəwən*, 'cradle', Meyer cliabán; *krüwog*, 'maggot', Di. crumhóg; *krǎ:wə*, 'bones', M.Ir. cnáma; *Lǎ:waxç*, 'firing', Di. lámhach; *Lǎ:wəkan*, 'moving on all fours', Di. lámhacán; *Nǎ:wíð'*, 'enemy', O.Ir. námaít (acc.); *ra:wəL'i:*, 'raving, being in a state of delirium', Di. rámhailigh; *sNə:wəm*, 'I swim', Di. snámhaim; *f'k'r'i:wəm*, 'I write', O.Ir. scríbaim; *fN'i:wəm*, 'I spin', Di. sníomhaim, M.Ir. sním; *ta:waxçt*, 'industry', Di. tábhacht. Between *u(:)* and *a* *w* drops out, e.g. *duan*, 'hook, kidney', Di. dubhán, *duan aLy:*, 'spider'; *duaxç*, 'ink', Di. dubhach; *suaxç*, 'merry', M.Ir. subach. *ba:wən*, 'enclosure', is obscure. Dinneen writes bádhbhdhún, Meyer bádún, O'Brien bábhún. In *La:l' a:wəg'ə*, 'St Swithin's day', we have *w* for *v*. The saint is Dabeoc who is commemorated on July 24. It may be noted that Ware speaks of "lectulus vel circulus Abogi".

§ 197. Post-consonantic *w* disappears in *ahasan*, 'reviling', < Di. achmhusan < Meyer athchomsan; *a:nri*, 'broth', M.Ir. enbruthe; *fa:gəl'*, 'to leave', M.Ir. fácbáil; *faxçin'*, 'week', M.Ir. sechtmain (acc.), I am given to understand that further north the form *faxçtu:n'* occurs; *ta:rLaxç*, 'Toirdhealbhadhach'; *w:dəlan*, 'swivel', O.Ir. utmall. On the other hand *w* is retained in *açwir'k'*, 'heat in horses', Di. eachmairt; *a:rwaç*, 'slaughter', árbhadhach; *aswi:*, 'want', M.Ir. esbuid, cp. Pedersen p. 164; *b'əlwaxç*, 'bridle-bit', Meyer bélbhadhach; *f'jə:lwaxçin:*, 'different kinds of meat', Di. feólmhadhach, feólbhadhach; *k'arwaç*, 'gamester', Di. cearrbhadhach; *t'aswaç*, 'heat', Di. teasbhadhach.

§ 198. For *w* as the second element of *uw* in syllables with chief and secondary stress see §§ 47, 49.

§ 199. In a few instances we find *w* prefixed to words beginning with *u*, e.g. *wuid'*, 'from you', O.Ir. úait, *wuə*, *wɹə*, 'from him', O.Ir. úad; *N'i: wuir'* = ní fhúair where the *w* seems

to be hiatus-filling, as is also the case in *a wuax̄ter*, 'from above', cp. *a jiax̄ter*, 'from below'. In *gə gyr'i d'ia N ta:w ort* (= *go gcuiridh Dia an t-ádh ort*) we seem to have a *w*-glide.

ui < *uai* becomes *wi:* by stress-shifting in *smwi:t'uw*, 'to think', Di. *smuaintigheadh*, M.Ir. *smuained* (§ 443); *fwi:r' m'é*, 'I got', < *fuir' m'é*. Further in *fwi:r* < *fwA:r*, 'cold', M.Ir. *fúar*. *uə* < *ua* becomes *wə* before *χ* in *f'iNwəχt*, 'coolness', Di. *fionnfhuacht*.

§ 200. All non-palatal labials tend to develop a *w* before a following vowel, i.e. at the moment when the contact is loosened the tongue is in the position for *u*. For the lip-action see § 289. This *w* is heard most clearly before front vowels and *A:* and in this book is regularly written in these cases, e.g. before *æ* in *fwær'ə*, 'wake'; *mwæd'ə*, 'stick'; *mwæ'l'k'*, 'soreness from riding bareback'; *mwær'ig*, 'woe'; *mwær'əm*, 'I remain'; *mwæ-ʃt'i:n'*, 'mastiff' (as term of abuse); *a mwæN'æn'*, 'in spite of me'; *mwæʃt'ruw*, 'to churn'; *pwæd'ir'*, 'prayer'; *smwæL't'ə*, past part. of *smaluw*, 'to wither'. Before *i* in *bwiL'ə*, 'blow'; *bwi:d'əχ*, 'small'; *d'r'apwir'əχt*, 'climbing'; *klopwid'ə*, 'dip in land, wrinkle in cloth'; *k'apwir'ə*, 'slice of bread and butter'; *L'abwi:*, 'bed'; *mwil'ə*, compar. of *maL*, 'late'; *spwipk'ə*, gen. sing. of *spwipk*, 'tinder'; *tapwi:*, 'quick'. Before *A:* in *mwA:r*, 'keeper'; *mwA:*, 'pliable'; *mwA:l*, 'bald, blunt'. Before *i* in *mwig'l'i:*, 'mild, modest'. This *w* may also be clearly heard if the labial is the final of one word and the next begins with a front vowel, as in *ta: t'r'i: fəNt əgəm wer'* = *tá trí phunta agam air*; *t'i:m wi:* = *tím í*. In the case of initial *f* the *w* is lost on aspiration, thus *fwil'*, 'blood' but *fa Nil'*, 'concerning the blood'.

§ 201. A voiceless *w* (*ʷ*) arising from various sources is very frequent in Donegal. It is found regularly when aspirated *b*, *m* are followed by *h* < *th*, *fh* or preceded by *h* < *th*, e.g. *awp'il*, 'change of appearance', Di. *athbhuil*; *rowər* = *rabhthar*. In futures and past participles, *sNa:ʷə m'ə*, 'I shall swim'; *ʃN'iuʷə m'ə*, 'I shall spin', past part. *ʃN'iuʷə*, imperf. pass. *n'iuʷi:*. By contraction in *si:ʷəl'*, 'odd', Di. *saoitheamhail* (similarly *riʷəl'*, 'royal'); *N'əʷil'ə:ʷəl'*, 'unlawful', Di. *neamh-dhlichteamhail*; *m'i:ʷər*, 'ugly', Craig (Iasg.) *míofuar* seems to be *mío-(th)uathmhar*. *tā:uw*, 'doze', Di. *támh*, M.Ir. *tám*, *tā:ʷir'əχt*, 'dozing', have been influenced by some word or other, whilst *tauwəN(t)*, 'barking', M.Ir. *toffund* contains *w* < *sv*. As to the difficulty in distinguishing between *f* and *w* see § 309.

§ 202. In monosyllables with short root-vowel followed by aspirated b, m, the *w* arising from the latter loses its voice in accordance with the Donegal fondness for breath-endings in short syllables, cp. § 42. At the same time the back of the tongue seems to be raised from the *u*-position towards the soft palate, thus producing in addition a slight χ sound. When the next word begins with a consonant, the ψ usually disappears, thus *ro ψ* = *rabb*, but *l'ε ro l'ε d'α:n ψ eg'ə*. Examples—*bro ψ* , 'blade', Meyer *brobb*, *brod*; *dā ψ* , 'ox', O.Ir. *dam*; *dU ψ* , 'black', O.Ir. *dub*; *dŪ ψ* , 'to me', O.Ir. *dom*; *k'r'ā ψ* , 'garlic', Meyer *crem*; *shlā ψ* , 'snarl', Di. *sclamh*; *N'ā ψ* , 'heaven', O.Ir. *nem*. *N'ā ψ* is now rarely heard except in the Lord's Prayer and in *N'ε ψ Lti*: *N'ivə*, 'very high clouds'. Cp. *ər N'ā ψ Nə ər tal ψ N'i*: *akəs ə l'ehəd'*. *U ψ* is also the result of cons. + u + th in *grU ψ* (*grU bwia*), 'biestings', M.Ir. *gruth*; *gU ψ* , 'voice', O.Ir. *guth*; *krU ψ* , 'form', O.Ir. *cruth*; *srU ψ* , 'stream', O.Ir. *sruth*, also *srU ψ an*. Similarly *t'r'U ψ* , 'hooping-cough', Di. *triuch*. In these cases ψ passes sporadically into *f*, cp. the Scotch Gaelic spelling *stuth* < Engl. *stuff*, *puth* < *puff*, and *duf*, 'black', *uf*, 'egg', quoted for Sligo in Molloy's 29th dialect-list. A few other words shew a dislike for the ending *U*, e.g. *t'U ψ* , 'thick, frequent', M.Ir. *tiug*; *əN'U ψ* , 'to-day', O.Ir. *indiu*, Spir. Rose p. 8 *anuth*. The words for 'horse-shoe' and 'dowry', M.Ir. *cró*, have been influenced by *cruth*, 'form', as they are both *krU ψ* , *krU kapwil*, 'horse-shoe'. The genitive of the word for 'dowry' I have heard as *kriv*. *ilŪ ψ* , 'tongs', Di. *tlúgh*, has further joined this group.

(b) The liquids and nasals.

Note on l, m, n and r sounds.

§ 203. The first accurate description of the various l, n sounds in Irish was given by a writer in the Gaelic Journal for 1887 (p. 8), who styled himself Clann Chonchobair. More recently Pedersen in his 'Aspirationen i Irsk' contributed much to the elucidation of the puzzling r-sounds. Practically all writers of Irish Grammars with the exception of Neilson and O'Brien have based their observations on the dialects of Munster or Connaught, whilst the speech of Donegal might long ago have supplied the key to the most difficult problem of Irish phonetics. It is now well known that *L* and *l*, *L'* and *l'*, *N* and *n*, *N'* and *n'* differ from one another in the matter of articulation but in Donegal they also differ from one another in the matter of length.

This is most clearly heard when these sounds occur as the finals of monosyllables after a short vowel. Compare *mōL*, 'heap', *k'iN*, 'head', *bōN*, 'sole', *f'in'*, 'this', with *mōl*, 'mill-shaft', *k'in*, 'affection', *bōn*, 'bottom', *f'iN'*, imper. 'play' and the difference in length is just as striking as the difference in articulation. *l*, *l'*, *n*, *n'* in this position are perhaps over-short¹, whilst *L*, *L'*, *N*, *N'* are very long sounds. Initially the difference between the pairs is naturally not quite so marked but it nevertheless exists, whilst in syllables with secondary stress the long sounds are somewhat reduced, so that confusion easily takes place. Precisely the same is true of *R*, *r*, though the dialect has not preserved the sounds in their original relations and *R'* has been entirely given up. *m*, *m'* after short stressed vowels are invariably long. Donegal Irish, it would seem, is the only living Irish dialect which preserves in some measure the original difference between the single and double consonants of O.Ir. orthography. For the remaining consonants see § 357. From Henderson one gathers that Scotch Gaelic agrees in a measure with Donegal, cp. ZCP. v 515 (*s*), 521 (*N'*), 523 (*R*).

1. *L*.

§ 204. This symbol denotes a so-called ambi-dental divided l (fan or spread l), which is formed by pressing the front rim of the tongue very forcibly against the upper teeth or the edge of the lower teeth. Henderson (ZCP. v 92) says of Scotch Gaelic *L*: "The point of the tongue is spread out like a fan so that the whole of its rim is brought against the teeth while the back of the tongue is at the same time slightly raised". In Donegal the back of the tongue seems to be raised in producing this sound but the raising is of no consequence, as it also occurs in the case of *l*, *N*, *n* (Pedersen pp. 21, 22). Before *t*, *k* and *s* *L* is partly voiceless. *L* and *N* are very thick, heavy sounds and modify a following *i*, § 125.

§ 205. *L* occurs initially representing O.Ir. l before a, o, u when the preceding word is not capable of causing aspiration. Examples—*La:*, 'day', O.Ir. láthe; *Lā:uw*, 'hand', O.Ir. lám; *Lo:rt'*, 'to speak', M.Ir. labrad; *Lua*, 'early', M.Ir. luath; *Luw*, 'less', O.Ir. lugu; *Lū:hər*, 'nimble', M.Ir. lúthmar; *Ly:*, 'to lie', O.Ir. lige (influenced by the causative laigim, Thurneysen, IF. Anz. vi 46); *Lōg*, 'weak', M.Ir. lac.

¹ These sounds are perhaps to be compared with Danish final consonants, cp. Jespersen, Fonetik p. 511.

§ 206. Medially and finally *L* corresponds to O.Ir. non-palatal *ll* of whatever origin, e.g. *aLax*, 'cattle', O.Ir. *ellach*; *aLəs*, 'sweat', Meyer *allas*; *baL*, 'spot', O.Ir. *ball*; *baLan*, 'teat', Meyer *ballán*; *baLə*, 'wall', < Engl. 'wall'; *braLax*, 'bosom', M.Ir. *brollach*; *b'r'aL*, 'glans penis', Meyer *brell*, whence *b'r'aLan*, 'simpleton'; *dō:nəL*, M.Ir. *Domnall*, *dō:nəL Nə g'ali:*, 'the man in the moon'; *əNəL*, 'hither', O.Ir. *anall*; *f'aL*, 'treachery', M.Ir. *fell*; *gaL*, 'foreigner, Englishman', M.Ir. *gall*; *iəL*, 'whang, leather boot-lace', M.Ir. *íall*; *kəL*, 'hazel', M.Ir. *coll*; *kəLan*, 'noisy talk', Di. *Macbain callán*, cp. M.Ir. *callaire*; *kyn'ig'əL*, 'condition', Meyer *coingell*; *kəLax*, 'boar', O.Ir. *cullach*; *məL*, 'late', O.Ir. *mall*; *m'aLuw*, 'decoy, deceive', M.Ir. *mellaim*; *pəL*, 'hole', M.Ir. *poll*.

§ 207. *L* has arisen in a number of cases from the assimilation of *l* and another consonant, e.g. *əLə*, gen. sing. of *ələN*, 'wool', M.Ir. *oland*; *kəLə*, O.Ir. *collno*, gen. sing. of *colinn*, cp. *ə tart ə tokrəs əgəs ə tɔxəs, t'r'i: Navd'ə Nə kəLə*, 'thirst, hunger and itching are the three enemies of the body'; *kəLuw*, 'sleep', O.Ir. *cotlud*; *m'əLaxan*, 'corpulent person', < *m'ədəl*, Di. *méadal*; *NəLík*, 'Christmas', M.Ir. *notlaic*; *t'əLəky:*, 'talents', Di. *tíodhlacadh*, M.Ir. *tídlacim*; *t'aLax*, 'hearth', M.Ir. *tenlach*. Further *faLæn'*, 'healthy', M.Ir. *follán* < *fo-slán*; *duwLan*, 'challenge, defiance', Di. *dubhshlán*, cp. *Craig Iasg.*; *əwLə*, 'wafer', O.Ir. *obla* (the word also means 'a cluster of nuts').

§ 208. *L* occurs after *s* both initially and medially, e.g. *sLan*, 'healthy', M.Ir. *slán*; *sLəwruw*, 'chain', O.Ir. *slabrad* *sLat*, 'rod', M.Ir. *slat*; *sLə:dan*, 'cold', Di. *slaghdán*; *sLaxtor*, 'slaughter', < Engl.; *sLə:χ*, 'slush', Di. *sláthach*; *sLo:k*, 'sloke', < Engl.; *sLiN'uw*, 'surname', M.Ir. *slondud*; *sLət*, 'wick'; *sLwə*, 'host', O.Ir. *slúag*; *sLwəsəd*, 'shovel', Di. *sluasad*; *sLəgəm*, 'I swallow', M.Ir. *slocim*; *masLuw*, 'trouble, tease, worry', Di. *maslughadh*, *Keat. masla*; *brəsLuw*, 'to incite', < Meyer *brostai-gim*.

§ 209. *L* stands before *t*, *d*, *N*, *s*, e.g. *aLt*, 'cliff', M.Ir. *alt*; *aLtuw*, 'grace', M.Ir. *altugud* < *atlngud*; *d'u:Ltuw*, 'to refuse', O.Ir. *díltud*; *ga:Ltə*, 'Protestant', Di. *gallda*; *ku:həLtə*, 'backward, retiring', Di. *cúhaltas*, Meyer *cuthal*; *k'əpəLtan*, 'parcel', Di. *ceangaltán*; *məLt*, 'wether', M.Ir. *molt*; *m'aLtə*, 'deceived', M.Ir. *mellaim*. For *L* before *t* in sandhi cp. § 459. *L* can only occur before *d* in late loan-words, as O.Ir. *ld* gave *L*. My only example is *gəldər*, 'roar', *Craig Iasg. guldar*. *LN* is only found

in sandhi (§ 459) as O.Ir. *ln* became *L*, supra § 207. Examples of *L* before *s*—*bqLsir'ə*, 'a crier', Di. *bollsaire*; *-faLsə*, 'idle', Di. *fallsa*; *f'αLsky*; 'burning grass or heather off the ground'.

§ 210. *L* stands after *r*, e.g. *b'ε:rLə*, 'English', M.Ir. *bér-la* < *bélre*; *hα:rLy*; 'happened', M.Ir. *tarla*; *kərLαχ*, 'small remainder', Di. *corluach*; *mqrLəs*, 'mackerel', Di. *murlus*; *ɔ:rLə*, 'to vomit', O'R. *orlúghadh*; *ɔ:rLαχ*, 'inch', M.Ir. *ordlach*; *qrLə*, 'eaves', M.Ir. *urla*; *qrLuw*, 'speech, eloquence', M.Ir. *erlabra*; *tarLαχ*, 'Toirdhealbhadh'.

§ 211. After *m w l* frequently has the thick sound of *L* in words like *qmłan*, 'whole, entire'; *efəmLor'*, 'example', Di. *eisiompláir*. It may be noted that Finck states that *L* occurs after *w, v* on Aran (i 72, 73) and cp. Molloy's *comlain* whatever the word may be (quoted by Pedersen p. 30).

§ 212. *L* occurs in a number of forms where we should expect to find *l*. Finck notes that the descendant of O.Ir. *tempul* has *L* on Aran (i 73) and this is also the case in Donegal, = *t'α(:)mpəL*. There is a considerable amount of hesitation between *L* and *l*, as in *askəL*, 'arm-pit' (*p'at(ə) askiL'ə*, 'mother's darling, spoilt child or beast', *skart' askiL'ə*, 'a boil under the arm-pit'), Craig only writes one *l* and great uncertainty is observable in older stages of the language, cp. Meyer *ascall*, *ochsal*, *axall*, *axal*; *d'əwəl*, 'devil', O.Ir. *diabul*, Craig *diabhall*; *kəwvləd'*, 'noisy talk', Di. *collóid*, *callóid* (§ 143); *mogəl*, 'husk, mesh, eyelid', Di. *mogall*; *tuəf'əL*, 'a whirl, the wrong way', M.Ir. *tuathbel*. *məL*, 'a heap, pile', Di. O'R. *mol*, may have been influenced by the plur. *məLtri*: to differentiate it from *məl*, 'shaft of a mill-wheel', M.Ir. *mol*, with which it is really identical. In *uwLə*, 'apples', and *m'aruvLan*, 'giddiness, fit of dizziness', Di. *mearbhlán*, the *L* has been transferred from *uwL*, 'apple', M.Ir. *uball*, and Di. *mearbhall*.

§ 213. A voiceless *L* with strongly breathed off-glide occurs in the future of verbs whose stem ends in *L*, e.g. *f'αLə m'ə*, 'I shall betray'; *g'αLə m'ə*, 'I shall promise'; *m'αLə m'ə*, 'I shall deceive'; *pəLə m'ə* from *pəLuw* used of catching hares &c. in gins, of bulls goring persons &c.; *təLi*: fut. of *təLuw*, cp. *təL* § 55. Further *pα:rLən*, 'Partholon'. For the articulation of *L* and other voiceless liquids and nasals see Jespersen's remarks on the corresponding Welsh sounds (Lehrbuch der Phonetik p. 80).

2. *l*.

§ 214. This sound seems to me to correspond pretty nearly to the ordinary English *l*, though the point of the tongue rests just above the upper teeth and not against the arch-rim. The raising of the back of the tongue gives this *l*, when standing at the end of a syllable other than a clipped one, the same dull sound that is so characteristic of Engl. *l*. In other positions this quality is not so noticeable.

§ 215. *l* corresponds to O.Ir. *l* before original *a*, *o*, *u* whether preserved or lost in any position except initially and apart from the special cases mentioned in §§ 207—210. Examples—*ala*, ‘swan’, M.Ir. *ela*; *alpan*, ‘lump, bit’, Meyer *alp*; *aloba*, ‘Scotland’, M.Ir. *Alba*; *aluu*, ‘sudden grip’, M.Ir. *álad*; *á:laf*, ‘mixture of milk and water’, Meyer *anglas*, *englas*; *blas*, ‘taste’, O.Ir. *mlass*; *boluu*, ‘smell’, M.Ir. *bolad*; *bolag*, ‘belly’, M.Ir. *bolg*; *k’axəl*, ‘trying’, M.Ir. *cengal*; *m’eadəl*, ‘paunch’, Di. *méadal*; *m’itəl*, ‘metal, mettle’, Di. *miotal*; *ɔ:l*, ‘drink’, M.Ir. *ól*; *fíəl*, ‘seed’, O.Ir. *síl*.

§ 216. *l* stands before *r* (= *r*, *r'*), although *lr* must once have been *LR*, *L'R'*, e.g. *bolriax*, ‘scenting’ (of a blood-hound); *galri:*, ‘diseases’; *ku:lr̥:skax*, ‘backward’, Di. *cúilriascmhar*; *k’ílriæn'*, ‘Kilraine’, = Cill Riáin; *qlruu*, ‘shouting’, cp. *ulfairt*(?); *fíəlr̥uu*, Di. *síolrughadh*. For *lr* in sandhi see § 460.

§ 217. It might be expected that we should find *L* following *t*, *d* as it always precedes these sounds. But such is not the case, for *tl*, *dl* like most Irish combinations of consonants do not coalesce (§ 437). The off-glide of the *t*, *d* is clearly heard as the tongue moves into the position for *l*. This off-glide is so distinct that Finck actually inserts a vowel and writes *dəlu* = *dluth*, ‘warp’ (ii p. 266). Examples—*dl̥i:*, ‘lock, wisp of straw’, *dl̥i: ə wəLy:*, ‘top-stopple, the thatch on the top of a cottage’, M.Ir. *dlai*; *tl̥iəw*, ‘tongs’, Di. *tlúgh* (rare, the usual term is *m̥wəd’ə b’r’íftə*); *ə tl̥ui* = an *tsluaigh* (gen. sing.); *ə tl̥uəsəd*, ‘the shovel’, an *tsluasad*; *er’ ə tl̥auwruu* = air an *tslabhradh*.

§ 218. In those cases where other consonants are aspirated initially, *l* takes the place of *L*. This only happens however in the speech of the older people. The younger folk make no distinction between *L* and *l* initially, cp. Finck i p. 76; Henderson, ZOP. v 90. Examples—*ə f’ar ə lo:r l’im*, ‘the man who spoke to me’; *lu:b m’ə*, ‘I bent’; *l̥q̥:di m’ə*, ‘I lessened’; *lot’ m’ə*, ‘I

wounded'; *lök mæ χri:*, 'my heart failed me'; *ĩṅə l̥ə:r'*, 'toenail'; *d'e:lo:ɾə*, 'eloquent'; *ku:g'i:ləiən*, 'the province of Leinster'; *b'l'ĩn' luə*, 'an early year'; *g'aræn' la:d'ir'ə*, 'strong horses'; *tromli:*, 'nightmare'; *dən van ləg*, 'to the weak woman'; *sə wa:d la:n*, 'in the full boat'; *ta: f̥e əN ar wo:r la:d'ir'*, 'he's a big strong man'. *L* is however never aspirated after the article or *ǰid*, 'first', e.g. *ə Ləχəg*, 'the mouse'; *ə ǰid La:*, 'the first day'. The same holds good for *L'*, *N*, *N'*.

The aspiration of initial *sL* which should be \bar{L} is *L*, cp. Pedersen p. 23, e.g. *də la:N't'ə*, 'your health'; *la:n̥i*, pret. of *sLa:nuw*, 'to redeem'; *ka liN'uw huw*, 'what's your name (surname)?'

L is not aspirated after *r*, e.g. *g'ar' La:d'ir'*, 'middling strong'; *f'iarLəg*, 'very weak'; *f'ir La:d'ir'ə*, 'strong men'. Similarly after *er'*, 'upon', as in *ər La:r*, 'down, on the ground'.

§ 219. In *gəl 'çə:l'*, 'singing', < *gabbáil cheóil*, the palatal quality is often given up in the syllable preceding the stress, cp. *ə f'ar sən*, 'that man' and Zimmer, Untersuchungen über den Satzaccent des Altirischen p. 4.

§ 220. An unvoiced *l* with strongly breathed off-glide occurs in futures and a few substantives, e.g. *d'ialə m'ə*, 'I shall sell'; *d'u:l̥i fə*, 'he will suck'; *mələ m'ə*, 'I shall praise'; *ɔ:l̥ə m'ə*, 'I shall drink'. *b'aluw*, 'grease', Di. *bealadh*, Meyer *belad*; *m'alə:*, 'interruption, delay', Di. *meathladh*; *f'ialə:*, 'strain', cp. Di. *siothladh*, M.Ir. *sithlaim*, *f'ialəan*, 'strainer', Di. *siothlán*.

3. *L'*.

§ 221. This symbol denotes a palatal *l* followed by a *j*-sound. For the formation cp. Jespersen p. 129. Of *L'* and *N'* Pedersen says (p. 21): "*L'* and *N'* are much more strongly palatalised (i.e. than *l'* and *n'*), so strongly, that in the transition from these sounds to a (back-) vowel one seems to hear a *j*-glide (which is not the case with *l'* and *n'*)". This *j*-glide is also clearly heard before palatal vowels. Dottin writes (RC. xiv 107): "*L'l* et *l'n* devant une voyelle palatale ne sont pas exactement le *l* et le *n* mouillé du français; l'élément palatal n'est pas entièrement fondu avec la consonne". The articulation of *L'* and indeed of almost all the palatal consonants (*N'*, *f*, *t'*, *d'*, *k'*, *g'*) resembles that of *L*. The front rim of the tongue is pressed firmly against the lower teeth whilst the front of the tongue covers the greater part of the hard palate. Cp. Chr. Bros. Aids to the Pron. of Irish p. 19.

It may be noted that *i* always appears for *ə* in unstressed syllables before *L'* and *N'*.

§ 222. *L'* represents O.Ir. initial *l* before *e, i*, e.g. *L'á*, 'half', O.Ir. leth; *L'ahón*, 'broad', O.Ir. lethan; *L'ak*, 'flag', M.Ir. lec; *L'anú:N't'*, 'to follow', O.Ir. lenmain; *L'ar* in *ta: L'ar er'*, 'he's wrong in his head', M.Ir. ler; *L'εaN*, 'learning', O.Ir. legend; *L'εes*, 'healing', M.Ir. leges; *L'ia*, 'grey', M.Ir. liath; *L'ianuu*, 'to fill', O.Ir. linath; *L'it'ir'*, 'letter', O.Ir. liter; *L'or*, 'book', O.Ir. lebor.

§ 223. Medially and finally *L'* arises from O.Ir. *ll* before original *e, i* whether retained or lost, e.g. *bwiL'ə*, 'blow', M.Ir. bulle; *f'iL' m'ə*, 'I returned', M.Ir. fillim (i.e. phill mé); *kæL'αχ*, 'hag', O.Ir. caillech; *kæL'əm*, 'I lose', M.Ir. coillim; *k'iL'*, 'churchyard', M.Ir. cill (dat.); *m'iL'uw*, 'to spoil', M.Ir. milliud; *sæL'*, 'grease, fat', M.Ir. saill; *t'iL'uw*, 'addition', O.Ir. tuilled.

§ 224. Medially *L'* may arise by assimilation, e.g. *guiL'αχə*, 'shoulders', plur. of *gualíN'*; *bræL'i:n'*, 'sheet', Di. braitlinn; *kyL'αχə m'ə*, 'I shall sleep', < coidleachaidh mé; *fwi:L'αχ*, 'leavings', *fwi:L'i:*, 'February', not 'January' as Dinneen has under *fuighle*, cp.

Gaith Faoilighe mbarbhas caoiridhe

Gaith Mhárta mbarbhas daoine. G.J. 1891 p. 96.

See further Wi. fuidell.

§ 225. *L'* comes to stand before *N'* in modern contracted forms, e.g. *f'k'iL'iN'*, 'shilling', plur. *f'k'iL'N'ə*; *fwiL'N'i:m*, 'I endure', pret. *dil'iN'* (*diL'iN'*), fut. *fwiL'N'αχə m'ə*, Di. fuilingim, O.Ir. foloing.

L' stands further before *f, t*, e.g. *æL'fə*, 'cancer', Meyer allse; *b'r'iL'fk'ə*, 'light-headed, half-witted fellow', Di. breillsce; *m'iL'fə*, 'sweeter', M.Ir. millsiu; *səL'fuu*, 'to shine', M.Ir. soillsiugad; *t'r'iL'fan*, 'plaited rush, wick', Di. trilseán, earlier trilsen. *iL't'*, plur. of *αLt*, 'cliff'; *k'eL't'*, 'to conceal', Di. ceilt; *təL't'məs*, 'consent', Di. toilteanas. For *L'* before *d'* I have no examples.

§ 226. *r* (< **R'*) and *f* require to be followed by *L'*, e.g. *kō.rL'ə*, 'advice', O.Ir. comairle; *i:fL'uw*, 'to lower', Di. ísliughadh; *kæfL'an*, 'castle', Meyer caslén; *fL'α:n*, 'turf-spade'; *tæfL'αχ*, 'wet weather', Di. taisleach, cp. *f't'ixlax*. For *rL'*, *fL'* in sandhi see §§ 455, 459.

§ 227. A voiceless *L'* with strongly breathed off-glide occurs principally in futures, e.g. *gyL'i:*, future of Di. goillim; *g'eiL'ə m'ə*, 'I shall yield'; *kæL'ə m'ə*, 'I shall lose'; *m'iL'ə m'ə*, 'I shall

spoil'; $sæI'ə m'ə$, 'I shall pickle, salt'. $k'arI'i:n'$, 'ball of string, wool', < $k'art'l'i:n'$ which may also be heard, Meyer certle. J. H. has a further form, $k'erL'i:n'$, which he says means 'a lifeless or awkward mass'.

4. *l'*.

§ 228. By *l'* we denote a clear alveolar l like that in German 'hell' but slightly palatalised. The palatalisation is most clearly heard when *l'* is final after *æ*. The younger generation largely substitute *L'* for *l'*, see infra § 231 and Finck i 76.

§ 229. *l'* represents O.Ir. medial and final l before e, i whether retained or lost and also l standing before or after other palatal consonants than those mentioned in §§ 225, 226. Examples— $bwel'ə$, 'townland', M.Ir. baile; $bwid'æł'$, 'bottles'; $f'iəkil'$, 'tooth', O.Ir. fiacail; $f'jə:l'$, 'flesh', O.Ir. feuil; $kæl'k'$, 'chalk', M.Ir. caile; $k'aŋil'$, imper. 'bind'; $mæł'k'$, 'soreness from riding bareback'; $p'i'l'əp'i:n'$, 'plover', Di. pilibín; $sel'ig'$, 'chase', O.Ir. seilgg (acc.); $sel'əg$, 'willow', M.Ir. sail; $f'i'l'ag$, 'saliva', Di. seile < M.Ir. saile. $d'l'iuw$, 'law', O.Ir. dliged; $f'l'iχ$, 'wet', O.Ir. fliuch; $t'l'ig'əm$, 'vomit', < M.Ir. teilcim, $t'l'ik'ə N bə:f$, 'sentenced to death'.

§ 230. Except in the case of the preposition $l'ε$ together with the pronominal forms $l'im$, $l'at$ &c. *l'* can only stand initially as the aspirated form of *L'*, $f'l'$, e.g. $l'an mwid'$, 'we followed'; $l'asi f'iad$, 'they improved'; $l'əs tuw$, 'you healed'; $l'ei fə$, 'he read, melted'; $l'ien m'ə$, 'I filled'; $l'i' m'ə$, 'I licked'; $l'ig m'ə$, 'I overthrow'; $l'oi m'ə$, 'I heckled'; $l'o:n m'ə$, 'I sprained'. $l'ε mə l'iN'$, 'in my time'; $t'r'i: l'it'ir$, 'three letters'; $g'ar'l'o:r$, 'a moderate book'; $g'ε:r'l'anü:N't$, 'persecution'; $g'ar'l'iaNtə$, 'fairly well filled'; $i:çə l'iχ$, 'a wet night'. One may hear $sə L'əχlax$, 'in the wet weather' but this is to be attributed to the younger generation.

L' generally remains after the preposition *er'*, e.g. $ər L'ahu:l'$, 'one-eyed'; $ər L'abwi:$, 'on a bed'; $ər L'ar$, 'in a fix, astray' lit. 'at sea', Wi. ler, also *vi*: $Ləŋ əmwiç ər L'ar$, 'there was a ship lying out at anchor'. But I have heard $ər l'axərən'$, 'for half-a-crown' from J. H. Similarly after the article, e.g. $k'iN ə L'in'əv$, 'the infant's head'.

The aspiration of words beginning with fL' is *l'*, never *l'*. It is interesting to note that when J. H. imitates Connaught speech, he pronounces $kəNɔai l'ig'i:$, 'County Sligo', whereas his own pronunciation is always *k. l'ig'i:*. Examples— $N'i:l' m'ə əN α l'i:$;

'I am not beholden to him' (slige); *kasæn' l'ãuwnə*, 'slippery paths'; *askəN l'ãuwin'*, 'a slippery eel'; *l'ãuwnə tuw*, 'you slipped'; *l'i:k fə*, 'he stroked, smoothed'; *u:r l'eivə*, 'sage', Hogan iubhar sléibhe.

§ 231. The younger generation have given up the aspiration of *L'* and in a number of words *L'* is substituted for *l'*. The inflected forms of *il'ə*, 'elbow', Wi. ule, have ll already in M.Ir. *sta:wi:l'*, 'stumbling', occurs beside *sta:wəL'i:*, Di. stabhghail; *kor huəf'iL'*, 'whirlpool', Di. cor tuaithbil. I have usually heard *gə fə:L'*, 'yet' but Craig writes go fóil.

§ 232. A voiceless *l'* with strongly breathed off-glide is frequent in futures, e.g. *el'ə m'ə*, 'I shall rear'; *gil'ə m'ə*, 'I shall boil'; *gyl'ə m'ə*, 'I shall weep'; *kel'ə m'ə*, 'I shall conceal'; *m'el'ə m'ə*, 'I shall grind'. In substantives < thl, lth, e.g. *l'ig' m'ə*, 'vomited', Di. tligim; *kri'l'og*, 'stalk of barley', cp. Meyer crothal (?); *el'id'*, 'fawn', M.Ir. eilit; *fa:l'i:*, 'shy'; *ri'l'an*, 'wheel in spindle', Di. roithleán. Also frequently in *wil'* in questions = an bhfuil?

In the case of *ky'l'əd*, 'knave at cards', *l'* seems to have arisen out of *r'*, Di. cuireat.

§ 233. *sp'ipk'*, 'precipice', seems to have lost an *l'*, cp. Di. spinnc, splinnc.

5. *N*.

§ 234. *N* denotes a thick ambi-dental n similar in formation to *L* (§ 204). In the production of the Irish nasals the resonance in the nose is much greater than is the case in English and in consequence all vowels flanking an n or m sound are liable to be nasalised, more particularly in stressed syllables (§ 172). This nasalisation of vowels in the neighbourhood of n, m sometimes leads to the insertion of a nasal as in *mu:NLə*, 'a mould, a kind of button' < Engl. 'mould', cp. Manx cronk (Pedersen p. 23). *Lu:NəsNə*, 'Lammas, August', M.Ir. lúgnasad, owes its second *N* to an attempt to make the unstressed syllables alike.

§ 235. *N* stands initially as the representative of O.Ir. n preceding a, o, u, e.g. *Nãwid'*, 'enemy', O.Ir. náme; *Na:r'ə*, 'share', M.Ir. náre; *Nəxtəm*, 'I lay bare', Wi. nochtaim; *Nō:s*, 'custom', M.Ir. nós; *NəLík'*, 'Christmas', M.Ir. notlaic; *Ninu:r*, 'set of nine', O.Ir. nónbur; *Nuw*, 'new', O.Ir. núe; *Njw*, 'saint', O.Ir. nóib; *Nɿ:skəN*, 'snipe', Di. naosca.

The *n* of the article (as also the eclipse *n* of *a*, 'their', *er'*, 'our', *mər*, 'your', *dα*, 'if') before a vocalic initial or aspirated *f* is treated as if it belonged to the following word and is therefore *N* before a substantive or verb beginning in O.Ir. with *a*, *o*, *u*, e.g. *ə NóləN*, 'the wool'; *ə Násəl*, 'their donkey' or 'from the donkey'; *εg' ə Nær'a*, 'at the wake' (faire); *er' ə Nχ.nαχ*, 'at the fair'; *sə Nō:wər*, 'in the autumn'; *mə hαχt Nānəm də hu:l'*, *se: du:rt' ə kat l'ef ə N'iasc* = mo sheacht n-anam do shúil, sé dubhairt an cat leis an iasc. Compare the spellings Mac a nathar, cuid a nfir censured by Donlevy (quoted by O'Donovan, Grammar p. lxxvi) and the proper names Naul, Navan < an Áill, an Emain. The conjunction an uair, 'when', is similarly *Ner'*. Parallel to these cases are the adverbs *əNuəs*, *əNαL*, *əNqN*, *əNə:γ'i:r'*, < anúas, an-all, inonn, i n-airthiur. We might expect *N* in *ənisf*, 'now', but I have only heard *ənisf* < *ind fhoiss. *əNqχt* is regular < O.Ir. innocht. The preposition dochum was reduced to chum, chun, 'un and from those cases where the final *n* regularly became *N* as in the case of the article, the form *əN* was generalised, e.g. *gól ə Nαfr'iN'*, 'going to mass'. Craig's statements about this preposition are incomplete (Grammar² p. 210). Before masculines with consonantal initial and all feminines the full form *əNə* < 'un an is perhaps as frequent as the contracted *Nα*, *Nə*. The *n* after prepositions before the possessive pronoun a 'his, her, their', is also *N*, *l'ε Nαhær'*, 'with his father.' According to Pedersen (p. 123) le n-a éan is pronounced on Aran *l'e: N'e:n*. In Donegal this would be *l'ε Nεən*. We have already seen that the word for 'one' may be reduced from *εən* to *ən*, *n* which before a vocalic initial becomes *N*, e.g. *ə Nəkəl əwǎ:n'*, 'a single word'.

§ 236. Medially and finally *N* represents O.Ir. *nn*, *nd*, e.g. *αNúw*, 'seldom', M.Ir. *andam*; *bqN*, 'sole', M.Ir. *bond*; *b'αNúw*, 'to bless', cp. O.Ir. *bendacht*; *bwin'əN*, 'female', Meyer *boinend*; *fqN*, 'desire', M.Ir. *fonn*; *f'iN*, 'fair', O.Ir. *find*; *gαN*, 'scarce', O.Ir. *gann*, *gand*; *grα.Nə*, 'ugly, repulsive', M.Ir. *gránna*, *gránde*; *g'l'αN*, 'valley', M.Ir. *glenn*, *glend*; *kqNǰ:(f'l'ə)*, 'tame', M.Ir. *cendaid* (§ 416); *kχ:γəN*, 'rowan-tree', Meyer *cáerthann*; *k'αNγ:m*, 'I buy', M.Ir. *cennaigim*; *k'iN*, 'head', O.Ir. *cenn*; *LqskəN*, 'toad', M.Ir. *loscann*; *L'αNæN' f'i:*, 'fairy lover', M.Ir. *lennán*; *L'εəN*, 'learning', O.Ir. *legend*; *m'αNan*, 'kid', Di. *meannán*; *m'iNə*, 'oaths', M.Ir. *mind*; *pqNəN*, 'sheaf', M.Ir. *punnann*; *t'αNəm*, 'I tighten', O.Ir. *tend*.

It may be noted that the enclitic ending of the present indicative is *-əN* with J. H. I have listened repeatedly and

have only heard $\text{-}a\bar{N}$. Craig writes $\text{p}\acute{o}\text{s}\text{a}\text{n}$ muid but he is not reliable for l and n sounds.

§ 237. Medial N sometimes arises from assimilation of n with another consonant, e.g. $f'ia\bar{N}i\bar{f}$, 'witness', O.Ir. fiadnisse ; $ci\bar{a}N\bar{a}$, 'same', O.Ir. cétne ; $Lu:N\bar{a}sN\bar{a}$, 'Lammass, August', M.Ir. lúgnasad ; $a\ m'l'ia\bar{N}\bar{a}$, 'this year', cp. O.Ir. gen. sing. bliadne ; $N\bar{a}$, 'than', O.Ir. inda . Similarly the na forms of the article have N , O.Ir. inna . $nd > N$ also occurs in certain stereotyped compounds, e.g. $\bar{a}Nin'\bar{a}$, 'ungracious person', Di. anduine ; $\bar{e}aNym'\bar{a}$, 'anybody', Di. aonduine ; $\bar{f}aNin'\bar{a}$, 'old man', Di. seanduine . With these cases we may compare the eclipse n before initial d which also produces N , e.g. $a\ N\bar{a}:m$, 'fated, in store', Di. i. ndán .

§ 238. N stands before L , t , d , s , e.g. $a\bar{N}L\bar{o}g$, 'very weak'; $a\bar{N}L\bar{q}m$, 'very bare'; $a\bar{N}L\bar{u}:\bar{\chi}\bar{e}r$, 'very nimble'; $b'\bar{a}N\ \bar{L}y\bar{a}$, 'mistress'; $b'l'\bar{e}aN\bar{L}a\bar{\chi}\bar{a}$, plur. of $b'l'ein'$, 'groin', O.Ir. mlén ; $\bar{e}aN\bar{L}a\bar{i}\bar{c}$, 'fowl', M.Ir. énlait ; $ta: \bar{f}i\bar{a}d\ a\ \bar{g}o\bar{b}w\bar{i}r'$ $\bar{a}s\ \bar{e}aN\bar{L}\bar{a}:\bar{v}$, 'they are hand and glove together'; $k\bar{q}N\bar{L}a\bar{\chi}$, 'stubble', Meyer connlach , connlech ; $N\bar{y}: N\bar{L}y: = naoi\ \text{ndlaoi}$; $\bar{s}L\bar{a}:N\bar{L}\bar{a}s$, 'plantain', Di. slánlus ; $\bar{s}p'r'i\bar{N}L\bar{a}$, 'lazy fellow', cp. Di. sprionnlog . $\bar{a}li:N\bar{t}\bar{a}$, 'tricky, artful', Di. ealadhanta ; $\bar{e}aN\bar{t}\bar{i}\bar{a}s$, 'living in the same house', aontuigheas ; $\bar{g}'\bar{a}N\bar{t}r\bar{a}\bar{\chi}\bar{a}$, plur. of $\bar{g}'i\bar{p}$, 'wedge'; $k\bar{a}N\bar{t}\bar{e}r$, pres. pass. of $k\bar{a}n\bar{e}m$, 'I speak'; $L'\bar{a}N\bar{t}\bar{e}r$, pres. pass. of $L'\bar{a}n\bar{e}m$, 'I follow'; $L'ia\bar{N}t\bar{a}$, 'filled'; $\bar{m}\bar{a}N\bar{t}\bar{a}$, 'lot, amount', < Engl. 'amount'; $\bar{m}\bar{a}N\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{\chi}$, 'talking indistinctly', Di. manntach ; $\bar{s}o:N\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{\chi}$, 'simple', Di. sonntach . For Nt in sandhi see § 465. According to § 236 Nd can only occur in sandhi, for which see § 465. $k'\bar{a}N\bar{s}u\bar{w}$, 'to pacify', M.Ir. cendsugud ; $\bar{q}N\bar{s}u\bar{w}$, 'to face, make for', M.Ir. indsaigim ; $\bar{q}N\bar{s}\bar{a}$, 'ounce', Di. únsa ; $\bar{s}k\bar{q}N\bar{s}\bar{a}$, 'fence', Di. sconnsa .

§ 239. N follows r (< R) and s , e.g. $b'\bar{a}:rN$, 'gap', M.Ir. bern ; $\bar{d}\bar{a}:rN$, 'fist', M.Ir. dorn ; $k\bar{a}:rN\bar{a}n\ i:\bar{l}i:$, 'dunghill'; $k\bar{a}:rN\bar{u}\bar{w}$, 'to roll up', Di. cornaim ; $k'ah\bar{e}rN\bar{a}\bar{\chi}$, 'small, impudent person', Meyer cethernach ; $Lu:\bar{b}\bar{e}rN\bar{y}:$, 'wriggling', Di. lúbar-naighil . In monosyllables ending in rN (rN') the N (N') is almost syllabic. $\bar{a}sN\bar{a}$, 'rib', M.Ir. asna ; $\bar{b}r\bar{o}sN\bar{a}$, 'single piece of firewood', Meyer brosna ; $\bar{k}\bar{o}sN\bar{u}\bar{w}$, 'to cost'; $\bar{a}sN\bar{a}$, 'sigh', O.Ir. osnad ; $\bar{s}N\bar{a}g$, 'hiccough', Di. snag ; $\bar{s}N\bar{a}h\bar{a}d$, 'needle', O.Ir. snáthat ; $\bar{s}N\bar{a}$, 'bundle of thread', $\bar{s}N\bar{a}:i\bar{c}\bar{a}$, 'thread', O.Ir. snáthe ; $\bar{s}N\bar{a}:u\bar{w}$, 'to swim', M.Ir. snám ; $\bar{s}N\bar{u}\bar{w}$, 'complexion', M.Ir. snúad ; $\bar{s}N\bar{y}:$, 'bier', Macbain snaidh ; $\bar{s}N\bar{y}:m'$, 'knot', M.Ir. snaidm .

§ 240. Occasionally there is hesitation between *N* and *n*, as *ha.Nik'* beside *hanik'* (also *hen'ik'*) = chonnaic, M.Ir. atchonnairc. *o:Nə* = abhna, gen. sing., has been influenced by the *N'* of the nominative *o:N'*, 'river', = abhainn.

§ 241. *N* arises out of *ng* in a few instances, e.g. *askaN*, 'eel', O.Ir. escung; *kü:N*, 'narrow', O.Ir. cunung, cp. Manx coon, Scotch G. cumhann; *ə Nαχ Lã:v* = i ngach láimh.

§ 242. A voiceless *N* with strongly breathed off-glide occurs in *f'iNuw*, 'hair of animal', M.Ir. findfad, and in the futures *f'aNə m'ə*, 'I shall flay'; *t'aNə m'ə*, 'I shall tighten'.

6. *n*.

§ 243. *n* is an alveolar nasal sound corresponding in formation to *l* and therefore not unlike Engl. *n*, except that the point of the tongue is nearer the upper teeth.

§ 244. *n* represents O.Ir. medial and final *n* followed or once followed by *a*, *o*, *u*, or preceding a consonant followed by these vowels, apart from the special cases mentioned in §§ 236—239. Examples—*aran*, 'bread', M.Ir. arán; *bα:n*, 'white, fair', O.Ir. bán; *b'an*, 'woman', O.Ir. ben; *bro:n*, 'sorrow', O.Ir. brón; *banəfan*, 'sucking pig', M.Ir. banb; *damni:m*, 'I condemn', M.Ir. damnaim; *droχwu:nuw*, 'bad manners'; *do:n*, 'world', O.Ir. domun; *d'aləgnαχ*, 'chicken-pox'; *ə:n*, 'bird', M.Ir. én; *fanαχt*, 'to remain', O.Ir. anaim; *L'anu:N't*, 'to follow', O.Ir. lenmain; *L'anuw*, 'child', M.Ir. lenab; *ə:n*, 'Owen', M.Ir. Eogan; *f'k'in*, 'knife', M.Ir. scían.

§ 245. With the older people *n* is the aspirated form of *N*, e.g. *mə nα:wid'*, 'my enemy'; *b'an nα:wədaχ*, 'a vicious woman'; *gα:nα:skiN'*, 'two snipe'; *nəχt m'ə*, 'I stripped'. The aspiration does not take place after the article, e.g. *Nαχ mo:r ə Nα:r'ə gyd'ə*, 'is it not a shame for you?'; *b'eig'əN du:N' tu:suw əNə Nuw*, 'we had to begin over again'. J. H. aspirates initial *N* after the preposition *er'*, e.g. *ta: fə ər nə:s χomə l'im*, 'he's a careless, indifferent fellow'; *b'i: ər nə:s Nə ku:rt'ə*, 'do at Rome as Rome does'.

The aspiration of *sN* is *n*, e.g. *ni:m' tuw*, 'you fastened'; *α nūw*, 'his complexion'; *nã:uw tuw*, 'you swam'.

§ 246. *n* occurs before *r* where once *NR* (*N'R'*) must have stood, e.g. *α:nri*, 'broth', M.Ir. enbruthe (proverb *əs olk ə kil'αχ Nαχ f'juw α:nri ə:l*, 'it is a bad cock that is not worth a sup of

broth' said of a suitor a girl won't look at); *α:nr̥o:*, 'misery', M.Ir. *andró*; *ba:nri:n*, 'queen'; *ko:nr̥ax̥ə*, 'coffins' (§ 442); *k̥n̥ruu*, 'bargain', O.Ir. *cundrad* (gen. sing. *k̥n̥N̥ərə*); *kra:nr̥ə*, 'corn on the foot, knot in wood', Di. *cranra*; *L'inr̥uə*, 'a complaint of the stomach', Di. *lionnr̥uadh*; *L'inr̥ax̥* a contracted form of *L'in̥'ərax̥*, 'bright', Di. *loinneardha*; *q̥nr̥ik'ə*, 'upright', O.Ir. *inricc* (I have also heard *q̥N̥rik'ə* from younger people); *sk̥a:nr̥uu*, 'to frighten', Di. *scannradh*; *sm'εnr̥ə did'*, 'it is fortunate for you', < M.Ir. *mo-genar* (also *sm'εərə* § 443). See further § 276. But *N'r'* occurs in *t̥q̥m̥ax̥ə N̥ə N'r'ifag*, 'the bramble-bushes' (*driseóg*); *vi: f̥ε α N'r'asuu*, 'he was hunting them' (*dreasughadh*).

§ 247. *n* represents an older *ngn* in *ku:nuu*, 'assistance', O.Ir. *congnam*; *i:nuu*, 'wonder', < *ingnáth*, *ingnád*. *n* appears for *n'* in *ə f'ar s̥ən*, 'that man', owing to lack of stress (§ 219). Also *dah̥ən m'ə* (?) beside *dah̥in' m'ə*, 'I recognised', cp. Cl. S. 19 ix '03 p. 3 col. 1. *an̥əm*, 'soul', O.Ir. *anim*, is a new formation after the oblique cases, gen. sing. *anma*, partly due doubtless to a desire to keep the word separate from *ainm*, 'name'. *ku:n̥əl'*, 'perishing with cold', in *ta: m'ε ə m̥ə χu:n̥əl'*, Di. *cúnáil*, *L̥a: ku:n̥alax̥*, 'a perishing day', may possibly represent the old infinitive *congáil* retained in this particular sense. The ordinary infinitive is *kyN'x̥L't'*.

§ 248. A voiceless *n* with strongly breathed off-glide is frequent in futures and substantives, e.g. *kḁn̥ə m'ə*, 'I shall talk'; *L'ax̥n̥ə m'ə*, 'I shall follow'; *L'is̥n̥ə m'ə*, 'I shall fill'; *L'o:n̥ə m'ə*, 'I shall sprain'; *mu:n̥ə m'ə* from *mu:n̥əm*, 'mingo'. *b'r'ax̥nuu*, 'expect', Meyer *brethnaigim*; *k̥r̥q̥vi:m*, 'I miss', Di. *crunthuighim*, *crothuighim*; *k'r'ax̥nuu*, 'terror, to terrify', Di. *creathnughadh*, pret. *gr̥ax̥i:*, *k'r'ax̥niax̥*, 'terrible', Meyer *crithnaigim*; *s̥r̥q̥nuu*, 'to scatter, spread', Di. *srathnuighim*.

7. *N'*.

§ 249. *N'* is a palatal *n* corresponding in formation to *L'*. The younger generation substitute *N'* for *n'* particularly after consonants, e.g. *f̥or'əm'N'ifax̥*, 'steady'; *g̥ivN'ə*, 'smiths'; *suivN'ax̥*, 'at rest'. Craig following the speech of the younger people writes *nn* for *n'* in many words, thus *beáltainne*, M.Ir. *beltene*; *cluinnim*, M.Ir. *cluinim*, O.Ir. *rocluinetar*; *fearthainn*, M.Ir. *ferthain*; *gloinne*, M.Ir. *glaine*, *gloine*; *sínneadh*, M.Ir. *sínim*. From most speakers one hears forms such as *diN'ə*,

'man'; *diN'əN*, 'bad weather'; *kyN'í.n'*, 'rabbit'; *mwiN'al*, 'neck'; *rəN'αχ* (= *rəp'αχ*), 'fern'; *faxtiN'*, 'week'; *fiN'ə*, compar. of *fan*, O.Ir. *sinu*. As far as can be gathered from Rhys's description this confusion has taken place in Manx (i.e. p. 135). For Connaught see Finck i p. 62. On the whole J. H. and some of the oldest people preserve the difference between *N'* and *n'* almost intact.

§ 250. *N'* represents an O.Ir. initial *n* before *e*, *i*, e.g. *N'ad*, 'nest', M.Ir. *net*; *N'αχ*, 'any one', O.Ir. *nech*; *N'amərt*, 'neglect' (§ 27); *N'aNtag*, 'nettle', late M.Ir. *nenntóg*, earlier *nenaid*; *N'art*, 'strength', O.Ir. *nert*; *N'artraχ*, 'rough grass'; *Nas*, 'near', O.Ir. *nessa*; *N'askəd'*, 'boil', M.Ir. *nescóit*; *N'āu-hiLəmwiαχ*, 'independent', O.Ir. *neb*, *neph*; *N'εəl*, 'cloud', O.Ir. *nél*; *N'iv* (*N'if'*), 'poison', O.Ir. *nem*; *N'í:*, 'not', O.Ir. *ní*; *Ni:*, 'thing', O.Ir. *ní*; *N'í:m*, 'I wash', M.Ir. *nigim*; *N'o:n'í:n'*, 'daisy', < *nóinín* by assimilation, also *N'o:n'*, 'evening', cp. *əs əskyaχə N'o:n' Na mwəd'in'*. O.Ir. *ingen* has been transformed on the model of the pretonic form *ní*, M.Ir. *iní* and *N'* has been introduced by analogy.

§ 251. Medially and finally *N'* arises from O.Ir. *nn*, *nd* before a palatal vowel whether preserved or lost, e.g. *bwæN'ə*, 'milk', O.Ir. *banne*; *bwiN'αχ*, 'diarrhoea', Meyer *bunnech*; *bwiN'an*, 'a young, fresh stalk', Meyer *bunnén*, also *bwiN'an bwi:*, some kind of bird; *b'iN'*, 'melodious', O.Ir. *bind*; *b'iN'*, 'gable, peak', from oblique cases of O.Ir. *beinn*; *əN'e:*, 'yesterday', O.Ir. *indhé*; *əN'Uw*, 'to-day', O.Ir. *indiu*; *fa:N'ə*, 'ring', O.Ir. *ánne*; *fwiN'og*, 'window', M.Ir. *fuindeóc*; *f'í:r'íN'ə*, 'truth', O.Ir. *fírinne*; *iN'αχ*, 'woof', M.Ir. *innech*; *iN'əLtə*, 'neat', < M.Ir. *indell*; *iN'ær'*, 'anvil', O.Ir. *indéin*; *iŋ'í:N'*, 'brain', M.Ir. *inchinn*; *kyN'ə*, *əs kyN'ə*, 'opposite', M.Ir. *conne*; *kyN'əl*, 'candle', M.Ir. *caindel*; *mwæN'ir'*, 'sheep-fold', M.Ir. *maindir*; *o:N'*, 'river', from the oblique cases of M.Ir. *aba*; *riN'*, 'dealing', M.Ir. *roinn* (dat.); *sLiN'uw*, 'surname', M.Ir. *slonniud* < O.Ir. *slondud*. The forms *ə gæN'æn'*, *ə mwæN'æn'*, 'in spite of him, me', belong here as they represent Meyer's *an-deón*, *dom-andeoin-sa*, cp. Henebry p. 31. *æN'as*, 'very pretty', may be heard for *æN'd'as* from some speakers.

§ 252. *N'* may arise by assimilation of *t'n'*, *d'n'*, but the only instance I have is *mwæN'ə*, gen. sing. of *mwəd'in'*, 'morning'. *mwəd'in'ə* is however more frequently heard. *arəN'*, plur. *arəN'αχə*, 'stitches, pains', *arəN'αχə ·ba:f*, 'pains of death',

is probably a case of *N'* for *n'*, cp. Meyer aradain, gen. sing. aradna. Cp. támaoinne < támuidne D. P. 28 i '05 p. 3 col. 7.

§ 253. The *n* of the article before O.Ir. *e*, *i* gives *N'*, e.g. *l'ef' ə N'aLax*, 'with the cattle'; *ə N'ifag*, 'the lark' (§ 452); *də N'oil'*, 'of the flesh'; *sə N'ε:r*, 'in the grass'; *iN'fer' ə N'ar*, 'to the man'; *kyr'uw əNə N'εastə*, 'an invitation to the feast'; cp. the common formula of thanks *sonas əgəs fεən vrt əgəs d'arəməd fad ə N'εəg*. Note the difference between *ə N'ar*, 'from the man', and (*m'asəm gə wíl' p'adər*) *əN ar heivir'*, 'I imagine Peter is a rich man'. *εən*, 'a single one', is often reduced to *n*, which before a word beginning with (O.Ir.) *e*, *i*, appears as *N'*, e.g. *l'ε N'ar əwā:n' əkuw*, 'with one single man of them'. Similarly in the case of *əNə n-*, the lengthened form of *ə*, *i*, O.Ir. *i n-*, e.g. *vi: fī: k'axəL'tə swəs əNə N'εədi: dX.rə*, 'she was got up in expensive clothes'. Other examples of the eclipse *n* after *er'*, 'our'; *mər*, 'your'; *α*, 'their'; *gə*, 'that'; *ə*, *α*, *dα*, 'if'; *ə(n)*, the interrogative particle before a word beginning in O.Ir. with *e*, *i* or *d* followed by the same vowels—*ər N'i:N'ar*, 'our dinner'; *mər N'in'ig'iL't'*, 'your grazing'; *ə N'iN't'iN'*, 'their intention'; *ə N'er sə*, 'does he say?'; *gə N'i:sət⁽ⁿ⁾ fə*, 'that he would eat'; *ə N'ialə⁽ⁿ⁾ fə*, 'if he were to pay'. For *əN'iar*, 'out of the west', O.Ir. an-iar; *əN'er'*, 'out of the east', O.Ir. an-air; *əN'is*, 'from below', M.Ir. anís, see § 235.

§ 254. *N'* precedes *L'*, *t'*, *d'*, *f*, e.g. *α:N'L'og*, 'swallow', Di. fáinleóg, áinleóg, < O.Ir. fannall; *kyN'L'or'*, 'candlestick', Di. coinnleoir; *Lqs m'i:N'L'a*, 'white bed-straw', Hogan lus mínle; *fæN'L'eim'* < sean + léim, in *b'ε m'ə ər' mə hæN'L'eim' əm:αx*, 'I shall be myself to-morrow'; *N'i: hα:N'L'im ə*, 'I do not like it', O.Ir. án, a phrase that is now only familiar to a few. Note also *æN'L'εənu:r*, 'very painful', an + léanmhar. *bwiN't'*, 'to pull, pluck, cut'; *kæN't'*, 'talk', Di. caint; *k'iN't'uw*, 'to determine', Di. cinntiughadh; *L'ənu:N't'*, 'to follow'; *siN't'*, 'avarice', O.Ir. sainte (gen. sing.); *ta:N't'a*, 'reported'; *fiN't'a*, 'stitch', Di. tuinnte, taoinnte; *εg' əN' t'or:riN'*, 'at the boundary'. Except in a very few cases such as *æN'd'as*, 'very pretty'; *spart' viN'd'a*, 'milk curdled with rennet' (*b'in'id'*), *N'd'* can only occur in sandhi. *bwæN'fə*, gen. sing. of *bavis*, 'wedding'; *əN'fin'*, *əN'fə*, 'there, here', M.Ir. andsen, andso; *iN'fə*, 'to relate', M.Ir. do innissin; *iN'fαxəs*, 'a sheltered place in the mountains for cattle'; *kyN'fk'l'ə:*, 'disturbance', cp. Meyer cumscle; *o:N'fαx*, 'hussy', Di. óinseach; *iN'fərəm*, *iN'fərt*, 'to me, to you' < *əN'sərəm*,

$\rho Nsort$ = d'ionnsuidhe orm. The forms with $N'f$ arose in the 3rd sing. masc. $iN'fer' < \rho Nser'$ under the influence of fer' , $iN'f\phi$. Craig condemns the forms with $N'f$ (Grammar² p. 75) but they are much more frequently used than those with Ns .

§ 255. N' occurs after f and L' , e.g. $f'r'ifN'æfa\chi$, 'irritable'; $fN'a\chi t\phi$, 'snow', O.Ir. snechta; $fN'iuav$, 'to spin', M.Ir. sním; $tarkifN'\phi$, 'contempt, slight', M.Ir. taruisne; $farsN'\phi < *fæR'fN'\phi$, compar. of O.Ir. fairsing, cp. $farsN'ui$, 'abundant', $farsN'a\chi$, $farsN'a\chi\phi$, 'abundance'. For examples of N' after L' see § 225.

§ 256. $t'n'$ should be assimilated to N' (Pedersen p. 20) but I have no examples. In $tæt'n'i:m$, 'I please', Di. taitnighim, O.Ir. taitnem, the t' has evidently been restored from the pret. $hæt'in'$. $n+n'$ or N' give N' , e.g. $æN'ivn'a\chi$, 'very painful'; $fæN'ahæN'y$; 'old things'. For sandhi examples see § 456.

§ 257. In a series of words N' arises from an older ng . N' and μ are sounds which are very close to one another and are liable to be confused, cp. the Munster substitution of μ for N' and for $\mu > N'$ see Rhys p. 136. Examples— $aku:N'$, 'strength, endurance', Di. acfuinn, M.Ir. accmaing; $dil'iN' m'\phi$, 'I suffered', = d'fhuilim mé, Atk. ro-fhulaing; $d\phi:riN'$, 'affliction', $ta: d\phi:riN' wo:r$ ($hiN'if$) $er' h\phi:g$, 'Thady is in great pain', $d\phi:riN'a\chi$, 'severe', Keat. doghraing; $farsiN'$, 'plentiful', O.Ir. fairsing; $kiol'iN'$, 'to emulate, emulation', Meyer comleng; $kyN'al$, $kyN'æL't'$, 'to keep', M.Ir. congbáil, the forms with $N' < palatal ng$ arose in cases like the future coingéba; riN' , 'made', M.Ir. doringni < O.Ir. dorigéni (KZ. xxx 62); $ta:rN'\phi$, 'nail', M.Ir. tairnge; $tarN't'$, 'to pull, draw', M.Ir. tarraing, Manx tayrn, Scotch G. tarruinn.

§ 258. In the written language when in inflected forms nn comes to stand after a consonant only one n is written but in speaking N' is usually heard before palatal vowels. One does indeed hear $kræk'n'\phi$, 'skins', but invariably $evN'a\chi\phi$, 'rivers', plur. of $o:N'$; $ig'N'a\chi\phi$, plur. of $ig'iN'$, 'a ring to put round the neck of cattle'. This N' is doubtless due to analogy with the singular, cp. Pedersen p. 33.

§ 259. A voiceless N' with strongly breathed off-glide occurs in $fiN'\phi m'\phi$, future of $fiN'ém'$, M.Ir. senim.

8. *n'*.

§ 260. The symbol *n'* denotes a very slightly palatalised alveolar *n*. As stated above the younger generation fail to distinguish *n'* and *N'* and in the majority of cases substitute *N'*.

§ 261. *n'* occurs initially in *n'i:m*, 'I do', O.Ir. dogníu. Craig gives the pronunciation as nnidhim (Grammar^a p. 15), i.e. *N'i:m*, but here again he is following the younger generation which does not distinguish this word from *N'i:m*, 'I wash', M.Ir. nigim.

§ 262. *n'* appears further as the aspirated form of initial *N'* but only with the older people, e.g. *Lá:r'ík' n'ívn'αχ*, 'a sore thigh'; *N'askod' n'ívn'αχ*, 'a painful boil'; *g'ar n'ívn'αχ*, 'rather painful'; *t'r'i: n'ad*, 'three nests'; *N'i:r' iN'if m'ə ə f'k'εəl də n'αχ ə maver'əN*, 'I did not tell the story to a soul alive'; *ta: f'ε k'or n'αχtə*, 'it is snowing'. *ər N'awp*, 'in heaven', has *N'* according to J. H.'s pronunciation.

The aspiration of *N'* is *n'*, e.g. *n'iuw m'ə*, 'I span', imperf. pass. *n'iuwi*.

§ 263. *n'* represents O.Ir. medial or final *n* before an original palatal vowel whether preserved or lost, in all positions except those mentioned in §§ 254, 255, e.g. *b'l'ím'*, 'year', O.Ir. bliadain; *dín'ə*, 'person', O.Ir. duine; *en'əm'*, 'name', O.Ir. ainm (*æN'əm'*); *əwǎ:n'*, 'only', M.Ir. amáin; *fuis'k'n'uw*, 'shudder'; *gen'əv*, 'sand', M.Ir. ganim (dat.); *hein'*, 'self', O.Ir. féin; *in'if*, 'island', M.Ir. inis; *kasæn'*, 'paths', < casáin; *ka:n'*, 'fine', M.Ir. cáin; *L'ein'i*, 'shirt', M.Ir. léne; *mwæn'ær*, 'manor, division of land', Di. mainear; *N'áujō:n'* (*gə*), 'although', Meyer am-deón (§ 38); *ri:n'*, 'tough', M.Ir. rigin; *smaχt'i:n'*, 'mallet', Di. smaichtín; *fαχtin'*, 'week', M.Ir. sechtmain (acc.); *faskin'*, 'quagmire'; *fík'n'ə*, 'hernia', Di. seicin, seicne; *f'i:n'uw*, 'to stretch', M.Ir. síned; *fL'áuwín'*, 'slippery', M.Ir. slemain; *to:n'*, 'bottom', M.Ir. tóin (dat.); *t'in'i*, 'fire', O.Ir. tene; *uig'n'αχ*, 'solitary', M.Ir. uagnech.

§ 264. A voiceless *n'* with strongly breathed off-glide is frequent and arises from various sources, (a) in futures, e.g. *bwiŋ'ə m'ə*, 'I shall reap'; *gra:ŋ'ə m'ə*, 'I shall loathe' (Di. gráinighim); *ka:ŋ'ə m'ə*, 'I shall speak ill of'; *kliŋ'ə m'ə*, 'I shall hear'; *ky:ŋ'ə m'ə*, 'I shall weep'; *mu:ŋ'ə mə* < *mu:n*, 'mingere'. (b) < thn, nth, e.g. *ep'i:m*, 'I recognise', Meyer aithgninim; *fuxŋ'ə*, 'wart', Di. faithne; *ka:ŋ'i:n'*, 'husk', Di. cáithnín;

krin'axta, 'wheat', O.Ir. cruithnecht; *k'o: 'brin'ə*, 'haze portending heat', cp. Di. ceobhrán; *L'in'ə*, compar. of *L'ahən*, 'broad'; *ræn'ax*, *rain'ax*, 'fern', M.Ir. raithnech. (c) < chn, e.g. *d'in'u:r*, 'set of ten', Di. deichneabhar, O.Ir. dechenbor; *in'i:N'*, 'brain', M.Ir. inchind.

Note on the r sounds.

§ 265. Corresponding to the four l and four n sounds described above we expect to find four parallel r sounds (*R*, *r*, *R'*, *r'*), but it would seem that almost everywhere *r* has been generalised for *R* and there are no remains whatsoever of *R'*. If any traces of *R'* had survived we might expect to find them in such sandhi combinations as *N'i:r' r'igər se*, 'he did not answer'; *f'arəg ə N'ir' r'ifN'æfi*. (*f'r'ifN'æf(ax)*), 'the temper of the irritable man'. I have tried all imaginable combinations but have never heard anything but *r'*. It is easy to form a palatal r with the articulation of *L'*, *N'*, i.e. with the front rim of the tongue pressing against the lower teeth, but I cannot conceive why the sound was given up. Of *R* on the other hand there are distinct traces, but not in the initial position where it has become *r*. Fortunately Donegal has not lengthened the vowel in every case before *R* as Munster and Connaught have done and it is at the end of monosyllables after a short vowel that we must look for the sound.

9. *R*.

§ 266. By this symbol we denote a long, strongly trilled r with the tongue vibrating against the alveoles just above the upper teeth. Whether in pronouncing *R* the point of the tongue originally acted against the teeth as in the case of *L*, *N*, it is now impossible to say. O'Brien in his Grammar says (p. 11): "It (viz. r) is sometimes written double, as barrach tow; earr, champion; and is then strongly pronounced, with a longer dwelling on the sound of r than if it were written singly". Now O'Brien was according to O'Donovan a native of Meath and it is quite likely that traces of *R* were preserved in that district as they have been in the west of Ulster. Quite unnecessarily Pedersen remarks (p. 38) that it is inconceivable that rr in barrach should be long. For traces of *R* in Scotland see Henderson, ZCP. iv 523.

§ 267. I have heard *R* from J. H. in the following words, though even he frequently substitutes *r*—*baRa*, plur. of *ba:r*, ‘crop’, O.Ir. *barr*; *dqR* said to a dog to encourage him, Di. *dorrghail*; *a g’iRi*: (*iəri*.; see § 105), ‘asking, seeking’; *kaR*, ‘odd’, Meyer corr (1); *kaR* (*wo.nuw*), ‘crane’, Meyer corr (2), with which *kaR*, ‘a sand-eel’, is probably identical. These forms must be carefully distinguished from *kqr*’, Meyer cor. *koR*, ‘edge’, Meyer corr (2); *koRaχ*, ‘quagmire’, M.Ir. *currech*; *kaRaχ*, ‘steep’, *kloχ* *χoRaχ*, ‘a stone with many edges’, Meyer *corrach*; *kaRan*, ‘sickle’, Meyer *corrán*; *kaRuw* *l’ε*, ‘upwards of’; *kaR*, ‘car’, M.Ir. *carr*, to be distinguished from *ka:r*, ‘ugly face, grin’, Meyer *carr* (5); *moRaχas*, ‘superiority’, < *mórdhachas*; *oRə* *ə’lasiacht*, ‘playmate’, Wi. *urra*; *oRəmaχ*, ‘obedient’, M.Ir. *urraim*; *spoRaχ*, ‘a lanky fellow’.

§ 268. Usually however *R* is reduced to *r*, e.g. *barçiç*, ‘a light shower’, = *barr-chiith*; *ba:riəL*, ‘a leather boot-lace’, = *barr-iall*; *bariaχt*, ‘superabundance’, Di. *barraidheacht*; *baraχ*, ‘tow’, Meyer *barrach*; *dorəga*, ‘cross-looking’, Keat. *dorrda*; *goran*, ‘rim round snout of pig’ (in Westmoreland called ‘grin’), Di. *corrán*, ‘jaw’ (?); *goru.n*, ‘haunch’, Di. *gurrún*; *g’aran*, ‘horse’, lit. ‘gelding’ < *g’aruw*, ‘to cut’, M.Ir. *gerrad*, plur. *g’a:raχə* (§ 21); *karia*, ‘deer’, Di. *cairrfhiadh*; *karik*, ‘rock’, O.Ir. *carric*; *karwaχ*, ‘gamester’, Di. *cearrbhach*; *saraχ*, ‘foal’, M.Ir. *serrach*; *taraχ*, ‘pregnant’, M.Ir. *torrach*; *tqrskər*, ‘refuse’, M.Ir. *turrscar*.

10. *r*.

§ 269. The ordinary Donegal *r* is a reduced form of a trilled *r*. There is usually only one flip of the point of the tongue against the alveoles. At the end of monosyllables after a short vowel *r* is clipped and very short, e.g. *f’ar*’, ‘man’; *gor*’, ‘sitting’ (of a hen).

§ 270. *r* represents O.Ir. initial, medial *r* before *a*, *o*, *u* and final *r* when originally followed by *a*, *o*, *u*, e.g. *b’ir*, ‘spit’, O.Ir. *bir*; *dri*., ‘druid’, O.Ir. *drui*; *frA:χ*, ‘heather’, O.Ir. *froech*; *f’arəg*, ‘anger’, O.Ir. *ferc*; *gruag*, ‘hair’, Di. *gruag*; *marəwi:m*, ‘I kill’, M.Ir. *marbaim*; *tra*., ‘meal’, M.Ir. *tráth*; *u:r*, ‘fresh’, M.Ir. *úr*.

§ 271. *r* has taken the place of older initial *R* and in consequence the following vowel is frequently affected (§§ 73, 156), e.g. *rahəm*, ‘I run’, M.Ir. *rethim*; *rei* (*rəi*), ‘ready’, O.Ir.

réid; *ri*:, 'king', O.Ir. *rí*; *ri:n'*, 'tough', M.Ir. *rigin*; *rīχt*, 'strength, state', O.Ir. *richt*; *rǫ:χtenās*, 'need, necessity', M.Ir. *riachtanus*.

§ 272. Initial *r* is unaffected by aspirating words. The aspirated form of *fr* is *r*, e.g. *k'ark ri*:, 'a moor-hen', *cearc fhraoich*; *sə ræpk'*, 'in France'.

§ 273. Initial *sr* whether standing before O.Ir. *a*, *o*, *u*, or *e*, *i*, has a sound peculiar to itself. The *r* is not trilled in this case and seems to cause the tongue to be retracted from the ordinary *s* position. The two sounds coalesce and a kind of modified *s* is produced. Cp. Chr. Bros. *Aids to the Pron. of Irish* (p. 18): "The two consouants are often pronounced almost simultaneously, so that it is difficult to know which consonant is pronounced the first". Examples—*sra*' , 'holm, field lying by a river', M.Ir. *srath*; *sra:d'*, 'street, space round a cottage', M.Ir. *sráit*; *sra:d'og*, 'a bed on the floor', Di. *sráideóg*; *srahər*, 'straddle', O.Ir. *srathar*; *sreən*, 'bridle', M.Ir. *srían*; *srUhan*, 'stream', O.Ir. *sruth*. Initially *fR'* has become *sr* but medially we find *f'r* (§ 283) except in *asrīgər*, 'a sharp retort', < *ais* + *freagar*.

The aspirated form of initial *sr* is always *r*, never *ř*, e.g. *rǫǫə m'a*, 'I scattered', Di. *srathnighim*; *N'i: rihaxi fə*, 'he will not reach', Di. *sroichim*; *kər fǫl rō:nə*, 'to have nose-bleeding'.

§ 274. *r* arises from *n* in the groups *cn*, *gn*, *tn*, but the nasal character of the syllable is generally retained, e.g. *kraguw*, 'to strike', < Engl. 'knock'; *krǣ:b'a*, 'hemp', Meyer *cnáip*; *krǣ.v*, 'bone', O.Ir. *cnáim*; *krəp'a*, 'button', M.Ir. *cnap*; *krō:*, 'nut', O.Ir. *cnú*; *krək*, 'hill', O.Ir. *cnoc*; *k'r'it'al*, 'to knit', < Engl.; *grē:hə*, 'business', Di. *gnó*; *grī:*, 'good looks', Di. *gnaoi*. *l'ef ə trāhid'*, 'with the needle'; *m'eid' ə trā:*, 'the size of the yarn'; *fad ə trā:īçə*, 'the length of the thread'; *χUi f'ied əmax er' ə trā:uw*, 'they went out swimming'; *er' ə trī:*, 'on the bier'; *er' ə trī:m'*, 'on the knot'; *er' ə trūw*, 'on the complexion'.

§ 275. Before *L*, *N*, *t*, *d*, where *r* arises from *R*, and also before *L'*, *N'*, *t'*, *d'*, where *r* represents *R'*, *r* is not trilled and in stressed syllables is perhaps slightly longer than the ordinary sound. The point of the tongue is raised towards the arch-rim and then slides along the alveoles into the position for the following sound. It is unfortunate that Pedersen has not given us a description of the corresponding sound ou Aran l. c. pp. 28, 67. After *r* in the final position *N*, *N'*, *L'* are almost syllabic.

Examples—*ka:rLy:*, M.Ir. tarla. *ka:rN*, 'heap', M.Ir. carn; *b'a:rN*, 'gap', M.Ir. bern; *do:rN*, 'fist', M.Ir. dorn; *k'ahər Nax*, 'small, impudent person'. *b'art*, 'burden', Meyer bert; *k'art*, 'right', M.Ir. cert. *a:rd*, 'high', O.Ir. árd. *kō:rL'a*, 'advice', O.Ir. comairle; *kabərL'i:n'*, 'small, saucy-mouthed person or animal'; *magərL'a*, 'testicles', M.Ir. macraille; *a:rN'a*, 'sloe', Meyer airne; *a:rN'al*, 'sitting up late', M.Ir. airne; *dirN'i:n'*, 'handle', Di. doirnín; *harN'fē*, 'he drew', M.Ir. tairrngim; *ka:rN'*, gen. sing. of *ka:rN*, 'heap'; *kərN'al*, 'corner'; *k'l'ifm'ərN'i:*, 'starting up in sleep', Di. s. elisim; *LqbərN'a*, *gol əN L.*, 'to go to rack and ruin'; *ma:rN'alax*, 'sailor', Di. mairnéalach; *mərN'i:n'*, 'darling', M.Ir. múirn, muirn; *d'a sahərN'*, 'Saturday', M.Ir. dia sathairnd; *ta:rN'ax*, 'thunder', cp. Wi. tornech; *ta:rN'a*, 'nail', M.Ir. tairnge; also in *targir'axt*, 'prophecy', O.Ir. tairngire. *bagərt'*, 'to threaten'; *gərt'əg*, 'slight injury, sprain'; *kəsm'ərt'*, 'squabble', Meyer caismert; *kənrərt'*, 'hounds', M.Ir. conairt (dat.); *ku:rt'*, 'visit', O.Ir. cúairt; *spərt'*, 'turf that has lain for a year without being raised' (also called *spadər*), *spərt' viN'd'a*, 'milk curdled with rennet', Di. spairt; *skərt'*, 'a shout', Di. scairt. *ərd'a*, 'height', M.Ir. arde; *a:rd'*, 'point of the sky', M.Ir. aird; *ərd'*, plur. of *ə:rd*, 'sledge-hammer', M.Ir. ord; also *karəf 'k'r'i:stə*, 'sponsor', Meyer cairdes Críst.

For *farəg'a*, 'sea', O.Ir. fairggæ, foirce see Pedersen p. 117. Similarly *g'irə*, compar. of *g'a:r*, 'short', M.Ir. gerr, ib. p. 24.

§ 276. After *n*, *l* < *N*, *L* we have perhaps a further trace of *R* in that *r* in this position is strongly trilled which we denote by writing a small bar under the letter, thus *r*. *nr*, *lr* are now-a-days incapable of palatalisation (except in the case mentioned in § 246) and therefore represent both earlier *NR*, *LR* and *N'R'*, *L'R'*. Examples—*so:nruw*, 'to notice', *so:nriax*, 'remarkable', Di. sonnruhadh, O.Ir. sainreth, sainred; *ku:lr̄:škax*, 'backward', Di. cúilriasmhar; *fiəlr̄:ruw*, 'to claim descent from', Di. síolrughadh; *an-rifl̄e*, 'a fine rifle'; *anrqd̄*, 'an excellent thing, a great quantity'; *asəlr̄iəxt*, 'performing a spell, enchantment', Di. asarlaidheacht; *əNə nrəχχa:s*, 'in a bad plight'. *nr*, *lr* are also found in sandhi, e.g. *bən r̄ib'a*, 'a sore with hair growing out of it', Di. bun ribe; *kər fəl r̄o:nə*, 'to have nose-bleeding'.

§ 277. In a few words mainly enclitics *r* represents an older *l* or *n*, cp. Diss. pp. 10, 18 and Zimmer, Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Akad. 6 iv 1905 p. 3. Examples—*mər*, 'as', O.Ir. amal, amail; *mər*, 'unless', O.Ir. mani; *dərə*, 'second', O.Ir. indala. Similarly *gə mərəm*, if it contains *anəm*, 'soul', see § 63.

§ 278. Medial *r' + f* gives *rs*, e.g. *forsuu*, 'to harrow', Di. *foirseadh*; *irsaxə*, plur. of *ir'is*, 'hanger on creel', Di. *iris*; *k'ε:rsax*, 'hen blackbird', Meyer *cóirsech*; *f'k'u:rsi:*, 'scourges', Keat. *sginirse*; *firsax*, 'tired', O.Ir. *toirsech*; *torsax*, 'threshold', M.Ir. *tairsech*. For sandhi instances see § 461.

In the groups *r' + f + t'*, *r' + f + N'* the *r'* is depalatalised, whilst the first part of the *f* is a retracted alveolar *s* and the second *f*. Examples—*farsN'a*, compar. of *farsiN'*, 'abundant', *farsN'u:l*, *farsN'ax*, 'abundance'; *fó:rstə*, 'harrowed'; *fó:rstən*, 'to suit', *fó:rstən'ax*, 'suitable', Di. *fóirstineach*; *k'l'i 'orstə*, 'harrow', Di. *cliath fuirste*.

r' has been further depalatalised in *ə Narəkuf*, 'to meet', Meyer *airchess*.

§ 279. A voiceless *r* with strongly breathed off-glide is a very frequent sound in Donegal. It arises from (a) *r + fh* in futures, e.g. *b'a:ʔə m'ə*, 'I shall shear, clip'; *g'a:ʔə m'ə*, 'I shall cut'; *iəʔə m'ə*, 'I shall ask'. Similarly in *kə:ʔə*, 'chest', < *cófra* (§ 180). (b) O.Ir. *r* followed or preceded by *th* gives *ʔ* in a large number of words, e.g. *a:ʔuu*, 'change', M.Ir. *aitherraigim*; *b'r'iəʔə*, 'words, speech', M.Ir. *briathra*; *du:ʔaxt*, 'zeal, fervour', O.Ir. *dúthracht*; *f'aʔiN'*, 'rain', M.Ir. *ferthain*; *g'a:ʔaxə*, 'cuts'; *kəʔəm*, 'even, level', M.Ir. *comthrom*; *kəʔənəs*, 'friendliness', Di. *carthannas*; *k'axər*, 'set of four', O.Ir. *cethrar*; *k'axuu*, 'quarter', O.Ir. *cethramad*; *k'iəʔəm*, 'deficiency in some member', *k'iəʔamax*, 'maimed, incapacitated', Macbain *ciorram*, O'R. *ciorthumach*, *ciorrumach*, Di. *ciorrthumeach*, *cithréimeach*, M.Ir. *cirrim*; *L'axaxə*, 'stirrup-leathers', Di. *leathracha*; *L'o:ʔi:*, 'books', Craig *leabharthaí*; *pa:ʔu:s*, 'paradise', Di. *parrthas*, O.Ir. *pardus*; *sʔ:ʔuu*, 'to earn', Atk. *saethrugud*; *ta:ʔæl'*, 'to assist', Di. *tártháil*, *ta:ʔalax*, 'useful, profitable'; *t'i:ʔi:*, 'lands'. Similarly in past participles, e.g. *bwʔ:ʔə*, 'troubled', O.Ir. *búadartha*; *tuəʔə*, 'bleached', Di. *tuaraim*.

§ 280. *r'* before *h < th* also gives *ʔ*, not *ʔ'*, e.g. *d'εʔər* (*d'ertər*), pres. pass. of *ra:t'*, 'to say'; *k'iəʔə*, Di. *coirthe*, plur. of *k'yr'*, 'crime', Meyer *cair*, *k'iəʔax*, 'guilty', Di. *coirtheach*; *k'iəʔaxə*, *kəʔaxə*, 'invitations', plur. of *k'yr'uu*, Keat. *cuireadh*; *ʔi:*, 'upon her', *ʔuu*, 'upon them', O.Ir. *airthiu*; *ə Nə:ʔi:r'*, 'the day after to-morrow', Di. *lá a n-oirthear*, Wi. *airthear* (Craig writes an orthaidh, for which see § 444). Similarly in past participles—*doʔə*, 'bulled', from *dáirim*; *gəʔə*, 'called', < M.Ir. *gairim*; *kəʔə*, 'buried', O.Ir. *cuirthe*.

rrch gives *r* in *to:ri:s*, 'number at birth, parturition', M.Ir. *torrchius*.

This is one of the few internal changes which does not hold good in sandhi, e.g. *ky:r' hin'uw ort* = *caoir theineadh ort*.

§ 281. *r* is the aspirated form of initial *tr*, e.g. *rα:χt m'ə*, 'I discoursed'; *ri'd' fə*, 'he fought'; *ri/L'i: fə*, 'he stumbled', Di. *tuislighim*, O.Ir. *tuisled*; *rɔsk m'ə*, 'I fasted'. In the case of initial *t'r* the palatalisation seems to me to have been given up but *r* in this case is a sound midway between *r* and *r'*, e.g. *reiɡ' m'ə*, 'I abandoned'; *rimvi: fə*, 'it dried', = *thriomuigh* < *thior-muigh*; *α riən*, 'his third'; *ro: m'ə*, 'I ploughed', M.Ir. *trebaim*; *ro:riə m'ə*, 'I led'; *α ru:r*, 'his three', may sometimes have *r'*. At any rate the *r* in these cases is very different from the *r'* in § 288.

11. *r'*.

§ 282. The Donegal palatal *r* is a very elusive sound and is perhaps more easy to acquire than to describe. The tip of the tongue hangs down slightly behind the upper teeth though not in such exaggerated fashion as in the case of *s* and *f*. The front of the tongue a little over half an inch from the tip rests against the arch-rim leaving a narrow horizontal slit through which the breath rushes. The Aran *r'* as I have heard it from a friend who has spent some time on the islands has not the same acoustic effect as the Donegal sound and according to Finck's description the two must be quite distinct from one another. As far as I am able to observe the hollowing out of the front of the tongue essential for the production of *s*, *f* is entirely absent. Perhaps the Desmond sound described in the Chr. Bros. Aids to the Pron. of Irish (p. 23) is different. There it is stated that "the slender sound of *r* is produced by spreading the tongue and forming a small hollow in the front portion of it. The point of the tongue is brought close to the gum just above the upper teeth." When I first heard the Donegal *r'*, I was reminded of a *j*-sound formed against the arch-rim instead of against the hard palate. Cp. Henderson's remark "in Tíree air 'on' sounds like eigh (*eiʝ*) 'ice'" (ZCP. iv 523). On the other hand *r'* has a distinct affinity with *ð* and an Englishman may easily acquire the sound by slightly retracting the tongue from the edge of the upper teeth and substituting the contact with the arch-rim. Hence it is very natural to find *ð* appearing for *r'* in Scotch dialects (Henderson, ZCP. iv 516). At

the end of a monosyllable with short root-vowel *r'* is always clipped like *l*, *l'*, *n*, *n'*, *r*, e.g. *f'ir'*, 'meu'; *kyrⁿ*, 'send'.

The *r'* just described is doubtless not the original sound. According to its articulation it lies between **r'* and **R'*.

§ 283. *r'* represents O.Ir. medial and final *r* followed by an original *e*, *i* whether preserved or lost. Initially *R'* has become *r*. Examples—*ær'ə*, 'care', O.Ir. aire; *ær'iaχ*, 'herd, watchman', Di. airigheach; *dær'*, 'oak', M.Ir. dair; *fwær'ə*, 'wake of the dead', M.Ir. faire; *ga:r'ə*, 'laugh', M.Ir. gáire; *mwær'am*, 'I remain', M.Ir. maraim; *ser'*, 'eastwards', M.Ir. sair. We may note that by the side of *əma:raχ*, 'to-morrow', the form *əma:r'əχ* occurs. The two seem to run according to families and also exist side by side on Aran, cp. Finck ii p. 253.

r' precedes other palatal consonants than *L'*, *N'*, *t'*, *d'*, *f'*, e.g. *ær'əg'id*, 'money', O.Ir. arget; *dir'ib'*, 'waterworm', Di. dairb; *im'ir'k'ə*, 'removing', M.Ir. immirge, immirce; *ir'im'*, 'armies', M.Ir. airm; *kör'k'ə*, 'oats', Meyer coirce; *kyr'p'*, 'corpses', M.Ir. cuirp; *χyr'f'i:*, condit. pass. of *kyr'*, 'to put'. Following *b'*, *d'*, *f'*, *g'*, *j'*, *k'*, *ç'*, *m'*, *p'*, e.g. *b'r'εə*, 'fine', Meyer bregda; *d'r'eim'ir'ə*, 'ladder', M.Ir. drémire; *f'r'igrə*, 'answer', O.Ir. frecre; *g'r'ian*, 'sun', O.Ir. grían; *ta: də jr'eim' ə Nasky:*, 'your expectation is vain'; *k'r'is*, 'girdle', O.Ir. cris; *t'in'i çrasə*, 'tinder-box', Meyer s. criss; *kqm'r'i:*, 'protection', Di. coimrighe, Meyer comairghe s. commairge (cp. comraighe Sg. Fearn. p. 96); *kUf'k'r'əχan*, 'place covered with reeds', O'Don. Suppl. cuiscreach, Di. cuise, cuiseag; *p'r'aban sa:l'ə*, 'lifter, patch on the heel of a boot', Di. preabán; *t'r'ouuw*, 'to plough', M.Ir. trebad. Initially *f* + *r'* gives *sr* (§ 273) but medially except in the case of *asr'igər*, 'sharp retort', *sr'* remains, e.g. *kof'r'ik'i:m*, *kof'r'ikəm*, 'I consecrate', Meyer coisregadh < cosecrad; *of'r'əχ*, 'oyster', Di. oisre; *p'is'r'əg*, 'incantation', Di. pisreog; *sefr'əχ*, 'plough', M.Ir. sessrech.

§ 284. *r'* arises from *n'* after *t'*, *k'*, e.g. *kər ə t'r'əχtə*, 'fall of snow'; *k'r'atan*, 'asthma', Macleod cneatan < M.Ir. cnett; *k'r'adi:*, 'groan', Di. cneadach; *k'r'asuw*, 'cicatrise', M.Ir. cnessugud.

§ 285. A number of proclitic forms ending in *r* have *r'* in Donegal. This is partly due to the influence of the preposition *er'*, 'upon', which is strictly speaking a pronominal form arising from a confusion of O.Ir. aire and fair. *er'* for *ar* would further arise regularly in the interrogative particle *ar* < *in ro* before a preterite with palatal initial, cp. *N'* < *n* in the article § 253.

From these two cases a fondness arose for *r'* in proclitics, which Pedersen mentions as existing to some extent on Aran (pp. 25, 26). Cp. also *tar*, *tair* in Molloy's 27th dialect-list. Examples—*er' iær sə*, 'did he ask?'; *er' fɔ:f fī:*, 'did she marry?'; *er' eir'i fə*, 'did he get up?'; *er' äuwir'k' fə*, 'did he look?'; *er' hit tuw*, 'did you fall?'. Similarly with the negative forms *Nær'*, *N'i:r'*, e.g. *Nær Nær' iær sə*, 'when he did not ask'; *Nə Nær' im'i: tuw*, 'did you not go away?'; *Nær' aN tuw sə wel'ə*, 'did you not stop at home?'; *N'i:r' çalæg fī: N' L'anuw*, 'she did not put the child to sleep'; *N'i:r' çr'id' Na di:n'i ə*, 'people did not believe him'. But *N'i:r' n'i: m'ə*, 'I did not wash'; *N'i:r' lo:r' m'ə*, 'I did not speak' (§ 459). *gər* < go ro forms the only exception. In this case *r* is never palatal, e.g. *gər i m'ə*, 'that I ate'; *gər eil'i: m'ə*, 'that I begged'. In like manner O.Ir. *ar*, 'our', appears as *er'* in *er' m'an*, 'our lady'; *er' m'ia*, 'our food'. M.Ir. *ar*, 'quoth', is generally heard as *ær sə* but Dottin gives a form with palatal *r* as occurring in N. Connaught (RC. xiv 114). We expect *er'X.n*, 'together', M.Ir. *ar oen*, but the connection with the preposition does not seem to be felt. The O.Ir. preposition *tar* follows *er'* and becomes *hær'*, e.g. *hær'ə Na ga: glu:n*, 'beyond his two knees'; *ta: f'in' hær' ə ja:nuw*, 'that is beyond doing, cannot be done'. From this has been differentiated the *dar* of oath formulas which in Donegal appears as *dir'*. O.Ir. *eter*, *etir*, *itar* appear as *edir'*, whilst in composition we find the regular *adər-*, e.g. in *adərgyæ*, 'intercession', Di. *eadarghuidhe*. The O.Ir. adjectives *fir*, 'true, genuine', *sír*, 'everlasting', when forming the first member of a compound assume the forms *f'i:r'*, *fī:r'*, e.g. *fī:r' ahəs*, 'everlasting delight', cp. the proverb *a:wər gələ gə f'i:r' f'ari.N' əgəs fī:r' gX:*, 'rain and constant wind are verily a cause for lamentation'; *f'i:r' i/fk'ə*, 'spring water'; *f'i:r' wäiç*, 'exceptionally good'; *f'i:r' vīg*, 'very small'; but *f'i:r' Ləg*, 'very weak'. *f'ier'*, 'crooked, athwart', M.Ir. *fiar*, is peculiar.

§ 286. It is interesting to find isolated traces of initial *r'* as the aspirated form of *R'*. It is quite possible that other instances occur but I have only heard the following from J. H.—*rīvə r'e.*, 'already', by the side of *re.*, 'time', O.Ir. *ree*; *a r'i: Nə pa:rt'ə*, 'gracious God', or *a r'i: çūaxti:*, 'Almighty God', used as asseverations; *hi:n' ə r'ahə*, 'with difficulty', cp. *d'im'i: m'ə er' ə taruw hi:n' ə r'ahə əgəs ə wəçaxçə bə:f*, 'I escaped from the bull with great difficulty', *rog ə kuw er' jaris hi:n'ə r'ahə*, 'it was with enough to do that the hound caught a hare'. In the Gaelic Journal for 1891 p. 94 this is spelt *h-aonaireatha* and Dinneen says *s.*

torad—"In Teelin, Don., a righin a reatha (either = de righin an reatha or ar éigin an reatha) = hardly, scarcely". This is very unlikely and I always imagined that the phrase contained *fí:n'úw*, 'to extend', = de shíneadh reatha, which will be found in Dinneen under síneadh but the s should be aspirated. With *hí:n'ə r'ahə* compare *í/k'ə rahə*, 'running water' with *r. ər'eiv'*, 'according to', <do réir, retains the *r'*, whilst O.Ir. *riar* has become *r̥:r* (*r̥:r*), Di. *soi-riartha* = *sor̥:r̥:ʔə*. The *r'* distinguishes this phrase from *əreiv'*, 'last night', M.Ir. *irráir*. With *r̥ivə*, 'before', we may compare *əriuw*, 'ever', O.Ir. *riam* (so also in Monaghan, v. G. J. 1896 p. 146 col. 2). *əriuw* has been influenced by *er' ef*, 'back', = air ais with ar for dar, tar; similarly *əri:ft'*, 'again', Meyer arís. *m'i:r'iaLta*, 'unruly', Di. *mi-riaghalta*, is of interest when compared with *r̥:l*, 'rule', O.Ir. *riagul*, *riagol*.

§ 287. *r'* is the aspirated form of initial *f'r'*, e.g. *ər' r'igər sə*, 'did he reply?'; *N'i: f̥ərəst mwir' əs tra:i ə r'astəl* = ní furust muir agus tráigh do fhreastal. But even here *r* is often substituted, e.g. *rigər sə*, 'he answered'.

§ 288. A voiceless *r'* with strongly breathed off-glide occurs in a few words. (a) *r' = r' + h* in futures, e.g. *gyr'ə m'ə*, 'I shall call'; *kyr'ə m'ə*, 'I shall put'; *Lo:r'ə m'ə*, 'I shall speak'. (b) *r' = r + ç*, e.g. *bwey'i:n'*, 'spancel', < buarach + ín; *mwiv'i:L'ə*, 'sleeve', Di. *muinchille*. (c) *r' = h* (<th) + *r'*, e.g. *æy'αχə*, 'fathers'; *æy'i:*, 'regret, penance', M.Ir. *aithrige*; *ær'αχəs*, 'repentance, compunction', M.Ir. *aithrechus*; *kaiy'am'*, 'triumph', M.Ir. *caith-réim*; *kaiy'iw'*, 'citizen', Meyer *cathraigtheóir*, *kaiy'αχə*, 'cities'; *kyr'ə*, gen. sing. of *ky:r'*, 'flame'; *kyr'im'*, gen. sing. of *korəm*, 'even, level', where *ə* has come to be regarded as a svarabhakti vowel, cp. *ku:r'im'* gen. sing. of *ku:rəm*, 'care'; *k'ey'i:n'*, 'plaster', Di. *ceirín*, Meyer *céirín* (§ 187); *k'edi:n' ə Luw̥y'i:*, 'Ash Wednesday', Di. *luathreach*; *Lwiy'əwan*, 'ashes', Di. *luathreamhán*; *maiy'αχə*, 'mothers'. (d) *r' = r' + h* < sh in *f'iey'u:l'*, 'squint-eye', cp. Di. *fiar-shúileach*.

12. *m*.

§ 289. Of the labials in general Henebry writes (p. 49): "The upper teeth are not used and so there is freedom for the production of broad and slender timbre. In regard to distance from teeth, rounding, or tension, the lips are by anticipation in position for the following vowel before the contact or approach for consonant production is made, and so broad and slender

timbre can be at once distinguished. The former is produced with rounded, soft, protruded lips (as when one with lips held in position for \bar{u} makes the consonant contact for ρ), the latter with lips drawn tight, close to the teeth and intumed (as in the \bar{u} position)". As to the protrusion of the lips the position is between the neutral and advanced. In forming the non-palatal labials which are extremely heavy and dull sounds the lips are very loose indeed and even initially these sounds give the impression of more than ordinary duration, though they are actually no longer than the corresponding palatal labials. In addition to lip-protrusion the tongue is raised towards the u -position which causes a w -sound to be heard on releasing the lip contact. This w is always more or less present but is most clearly heard before the front vowels and χ in which cases it is written in this book. It is also very noticeable when the labial is final and the next word begins with a palatal vowel, e.g. *amwi.Ntaχ* = am éiginteach. In English as spoken locally both sets of labials occur and it would almost seem as if the power to discard the non-palatal sounds were a mark of respectability.

§ 290. At the end of monosyllables containing a short vowel both m and m' are long and thus correspond to L, N, L', N', R^1 . Hence in O.Ir. when they occur alone after short accented vowels they are written double, cp. Pedersen pp. 101 ff. In other positions the length is reduced but a short m does not occur in Donegal. Initially m corresponds to O.Ir. m before a, o, u , e.g. *máxær'*, 'mother', O.Ir. máthir; *maic'*, 'good', O.Ir. maith; *maiki:m*, 'I forgive', M.Ir. mathim; *marəwə*, 'to kill', M.Ir. marbad; *ma:sə*, 'thigh', M.Ir. máss; *məluwə*, 'to praise', O.Ir. molad; *məł*, 'mill-shaft', M.Ir. mol; *mwəd'ə*, 'stick', M.Ir. maite; *mwəd'in'*, 'morning', O.Ir. matin (acc.); *mwærig'*, 'woe', O.Ir. moircc; *mwær'əm*, 'I remain', M.Ir. maraim; *mwil'L'*, 'delay', Keat. maill; *mwil'əN*, 'mill', O.Ir. mulenn; *mwir'*, 'sea', O.Ir. muir; *mwχ:*, 'pliable', O.Ir. móith; *mwχ:l*, 'bald', O.Ir. máel; *mwəid'ən*, 'Virgin', M.Ir. maighden.

After particles which eclipse a following word we get m for b , e.g. *er' mwel'ə*, 'our townland'; *mər ma:d*, 'your boat'; *ə mo:*, 'their cow'; *gə mwir'it' fə*, 'that he would reap'.

§ 291. Medially and finally m represents O.Ir. mm (mb) before an original a, o, u , whether preserved or lost, e.g. *am*,

¹ It is interesting to note that the native prosody classes ll, nn, rr, m and ng together.

'time', M.Ir. am, amm; *aməd*, 'timber', M.Ir. admat; *dr'am*, 'crowd, set', M.Ir. dremm; *kam*, 'bent', O.Ir. camm; *kəmə*, 'indifferent', O.Ir. cumme; *krom*, 'bent', M.Ir. cromm; *k'imax*, 'clout, lout', Di.Macbain ciomach, cp. O.Ir. cimbid; *Lqm*, 'bare', O.Ir. lomm; *qmłan*, 'whole', M.Ir. imlán; *qmpər*, 'to carry', M.Ir. immchor; *tqm*, 'bush', M.Ir. tomm; *trom*, 'heavy', M.Ir. tromm.

m also stands after *r* and *l* in *arəm*, 'army', O.Ir. arm; *kaləmə*, 'bold, brave', M.Ir. calma; *koləman*, 'dove'.

§ 292. In the ending of the first pers. sing. of the pres. ind. the palatalisation has been given up by analogy with pronominal forms like *ərəm*, 'upon me', *l'im*, 'with me', which have themselves been followed by *wχ:m*, 'from me', O.Ir. uaimm. Examples—*L'eijəm*, 'I read', Wi. legim, also = legaim, 'I melt'; *Lo:r'əm*, 'I speak', M.Ir. labraim; *n'i:m*, 'I do'. Cp. the Scotch G. ending -am of the first sing. of the imperative, Gillies, Gaelic Grammar² p. 85.

§ 293. *m* arises from *w* in *mər*, 'your', O.Ir. bar, cp. G. J. 1891 p. 79. According to Zimmer (Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Akad. 6 iv 1905 p. 4) the *m* is due to the fact that the form would frequently be nasalised by the eclipse *n*. It seems to me more likely that the preposition *əN* in phrases of the type *ta: fε əN ar heivir'* has given rise to the form with *m*. Cp. the forms *nar* for *ar*, 'our', in Antrim (G. J. 1892 p. 123), Meath (Duffy, Mionchaint na Midhe p. 4) and Manx (Rhys p. 142), and *núr* for *bhur* in Waterford. Also *k'əNəman dUχpsax*, 'orchid' (?), < Di. ceannbhán.

§ 294. Sporadically Donegal *m* corresponds to *mh* in the other dialects, e.g. *N'amort*, 'carelessness', Di. neamháird, Derry People 2 xii '05 p. 2 col. 5 leader has neamart; *so:məs*, 'pleasant ease', Di. sámhas, M.Ir. sám, *so:məsax*, 'drowsy'; *t'iL'əmwi:* in *ta: m'ε əN α hiL'əmwi:*, 'I am in his power, dependent on him', *t'iL'əmwiāx*, 'dependent', *N'əuhiL'əmwiāx*, 'independent', seems to be connected with Di. tuilleamh, 'wages', M.Ir. tuillem, O'R. tuilleamhnach, 'a hireling'; *u:mələd'*, 'capacity', Di. umhlóid (§ 78). Further *d'arəməd*, 'forgetfulness', O.Ir. dermet = Munster dear-mhad, Manx jarrood, with *m* < *m'* with which compare *qməd*, 'a number', O.Ir. imbed.

§ 295. A voiceless *m* with strongly breathed off-glide occurs in a few words, mainly futures, e.g. *kəmə m'ə*, 'I shall compose, invent'; *kromə m'ə*, 'I shall bend'; *Ləmwī fə*, 'he will shear,

peel'; *tōmā m'ə*, 'I shall dip'. *m* = *mth* occurs in the past participles of these verbs and also in *f'αmīn'ə*, 'a single stalk of anything pliable', formed from Di. feam ('wrack' is *f'αmnaχ*, Di. feamnach).

13. *m'*.

§ 296. *m'* like other palatal labials in Donegal is produced by drawing the lips back very tightly on to the teeth, thus giving a very sharp, clear *m*. The position of the tongue is immaterial, as in the majority of cases the *j* which accompanies the palatalised labials in other dialects is wanting (§ 192). *m'*, *f'*, *v*, *p'*, *b'* are very tense sounds and *m'*, *p'*, *b'* are sometimes heard from mincing speakers of English. In the English of many parts of the North of Ireland these tense labials are regular. At the end of monosyllables with short root-vowel *m'* is invariably long.

§ 297. Initially *m'* corresponds to O.Ir. *m* before *e*, *i*, e.g. *m'á*, 'to fail', M.Ir. *meth*; *m'á*, 'scale', M.Ir. *med*; *m'akæ'n'*, 'carrots', O.Ir. *mecon*; *m'αLwv*, 'to decoy', M.Ir. *mellad*; *m'α:n*, 'middle', O.Ir. *medón*; *m'e*, 'fat', O.Ir. *méith* (gen. sing.); *m'εag*, 'whew', M.Ir. *medg*; *m'íəb*, 'louse', M.Ir. *míl*; *m'ír'ig'*, 'rust', O.Ir. *meirg*, *meirc*; *m'i*, 'mouth', O.Ir. *mí*; *m'il'íj'*, 'sweet', M.Ir. *milis*.

Medially and finally before original *e*, *i*, whether preserved or lost, *m'* represents O.Ir. *mm*, *mb* (also before another palatal consonant), e.g. *αm'ír'*, 'weather', O.Ir. *amser*; *brim'*, 'crepitus ventris', Meyer *broimm*; *drim'*, 'back', O.Ir. *druimm*; *d'r'eim'ir'ə*, 'ladder', Di. *dréimire*, < M.Ir. *dréimm*; *fuəm'*, 'sound', M.Ir. *fuaimm*; *gruəm'*, 'dark look', Di. *gruaim*; *g'r'im'*, 'morsel, mouthful', O.Ir. *greim*; *ím'αχt*, 'to depart', O.Ir. *imthecht*; *ím'*, 'butter', O.Ir. *imb*.

m' also represents O.Ir. *m* after *n'* in *en'əm'*, 'name', O.Ir. *ainm*.

§ 298. The oldest people seem to develop *m'* out of *ñ*. I have never observed this in the speech of any of the younger generation but it cannot be ascribed to faulty articulation, as it seems pretty wide-spread, cp. Dinneen s. *uimhir*, and Larminie in his "West Irish Folktales" (p. 250) writes *qiminæx* for *cuimhneach* in a story taken down in Glencolumbkille. Molloy in his 33rd dialect-list quotes *suimneach* for *suaimhneach* for Sligo and Galway. With the older people *v* is exclusively bilabial and the breath escapes at the corners of the mouth, the middle part of the

lips being closed. The expiration is very feeble and when the *v* is nasalised, the weak stream of breath passes through the nose. Hence we get *m'* for *v*. It is not clear to me why those younger people who retain the bilabial *v* should not substitute *m'* for this sound but it should be borne in mind that they are giving up nasalisation. This *m'* is common in *rīm'ə* = *rīvə*, 'before'; *kīm'n'ə*, *kīm'n'ax* = *kīvn'ə*, *kīvn'ax*; *īm'ir'*, *īvir'*, 'number', is a rare word only known to a few. Perhaps the doublets *d'i:m'as*, *d'i:vas*, 'disrespect', O.Ir. *dímess* are to be accounted for in this way, but the same uncertainty exists in *d'i:wu:nuw*, *d'i:munuw*, 'bad manners'.

am'l'uw, 'bad usage, abuse' in *Ná to:r' am'l'uw dá N'aLax* *l'ef ə waduw*, 'do not let the dog hound the cattle', adj. *am'l'i:* is obscure. Dinneen has *amhluadh*, *amhlat*.

§ 299. A voiceless *m'* occurs in the futures *L'eim'i fə*, 'he will jump'; *sNj:ŋə m'ə*, 'I shall fasten', also past part. *sNj:ŋə*.

§ 300. *mə*, 'my', becomes *m'* before an O.Ir. palatal initial or before *f'*, e.g. *er' m'iN't'iN'*, 'on my mind'; *m'ar*, 'my husband'; and even *m'ip'*, 'my whip' (*fwi'p'*).

14. *ŋ*.

§ 301. The sound denoted by this symbol is formed much further back against the soft palate than is the case with English or German *ŋ*. Initially it only occurs as the eclipsed form of *g*, e.g. *ə ŋra:*, 'in love'; *mər ŋo:r*, 'your goat'; *er' ŋə:r*, 'our hound'; *ə ŋlakit' fə*, 'if he should take'.

§ 302. *ŋ* usually corresponds to O.Ir. medial and final *ng*, as in *aŋ*, 'splice in a shirt', cp. *ta: aŋ wāis taliv əgəd*, Di. *eang* (with different meaning); *aŋax*, 'fisherman's net', Di. *eangach*; *b'aŋlan*, 'prong', Meyer *bengán*, *benglán*; *drəŋ*, 'crowd', M.Ir. *drong*; *iŋə*, 'nail', O.Ir. *inga*; *k'aŋləm*, 'I tie', M.Ir. *cenglaim*; *Ləŋ*, 'ship', M.Ir. *long*; *m'aŋuw ga:r'ə*, 'smile', cp. Di. *meanghail* < M.Ir. *meng*; *sraŋ*, 'band, string', M.Ir. *sreng*; *sraŋədi:*, 'reaching over', cp. Di. *sreangaim*; *saŋ*, v. § 183, M.Ir. *seng*; *saŋan*, 'ant', M.Ir. *sengán*; *t'aŋy*, 'tongue', O.Ir. *tenge*.

In one word borrowed from Teutonic and in a number of obscure forms we find the combination *ŋg* as in English 'finger', viz. *Ləŋgə*, 'ling (a fish)', Norse *langa* (Macbain); *aŋguw*, 'a festering sore', adj. *aŋguwax*, cp. Meyer *angbaid-echt*; *kərəb'iŋgə*, 'haunch', Di. *coragiob*, *b'iŋguw*, 'stagger', cp. *wiL' fə dərN mo:r* *ərəm ax N'i:r' wiN' fə b'iŋguw əsəm*, 'he gave me a heavy blow

with his fist but I did not flinch', *hqbwir' gə d'it'iN' əNuas əs ə χaiçir' aχ bwin'uww b'inguw əsəm*, 'I almost fell down off the chair but I staggered on to my feet (and saved myself)'. These two forms look as if they represented M.Ir. *bidcim* but I am at a loss to account for the *η*. *b'inguw* may have come in from outside. For *ηg* cp. Chr. Bros. Aids to Irish Pron. p. 22. Latin *ungere* also appears with *ηg*, infin. *əηguw*, pres. *əηgy:m*, Atk. *ongad. ηk* occurs in *maηkan*, 'a fair for selling stockings', *paηk*, 'a cow-market', Di. *panc*, both ultimately from Engl. 'bank', v. Di. *pancán*, *bancán*; *splaηk*, 'lightning', Di. *splannc*; *spəηk*, 'tinder', Cormac sponge < Lat. *spongia*. Before *k* *η* is very long.

§ 303. In parts of Ulster and in Scotch Gaelic (cp. ZCP. iv 522) *ng* is apt to disappear leaving behind as only trace nasalisation of the vowel in stressed syllables. Lloyd writes (G. J. 1896 p. 146 col. 2): "In Orrery when medial or final, it is equivalent to *gh*, i.e., it is silent and lengthens preceding vowel which is often nasal, e.g. *luing* = *luigh*, *ceangal* = *céaghal*, *teanga* = *téagha*, *aingeal* = *aigheal* &c." In Donegal *η* (*n*) disappears in a number of instances but only when there is another nasal in the word. Examples—*dāiən*, 'firm, tight', O.Ir. *daingen*; *i:Ntaχ*, *y:Ntaχ*, *ö:Ntaχ*, *ɹ:Ntaχ*, 'wonderful, strange', M.Ir. *ingantach*, *i:Ntas*, 'wonder', cp. Manx *yindys*; *p'i:N'*, 'penny', M.Ir. *pinginn*; *wī:*, 'mane', M.Ir. *moing* (acc.), cp. G. J. 1896 p. 185 col. 1 an *mhuigh*, and *muighe* in Molloy's fourth dialect-list. In some cases *η*, *n* have become *g*, *g'*, *N'i:s kũ:gə*, compar. of *ku:N*, 'narrow', O.Ir. *cumung* (but also O.Ir. *cumce* in the compar.); *kũ:glax*, 'strait of the sea', Dinneen gives *cumhanglach* as the Donegal form of *cumhangrach*, Macleod *cunglach*; *kũ:gəs*, 'remedy', Di. *coguisidhe*, Macleod *cungaidh-leighis* under 'medicine', 'remedy', Macbain has *cungaidh*, *cungaisich*, Ir. *cunghas*, *cunghaighim*, *cungnam*. In *targir'ə*, 'prophet', *targir'aχt*, 'prophecy', O.Ir. *tairngire*, there is no trace of the nasal. Note also the absence of the svarabhakti vowel between *r* and *g*. *η* has further disappeared before *l* in *ā:li:f*, 'a mixture of milk and water', Meyer *anglas* = *englas*, Di. *eanglais*, *anglais*. *kyn'igəL*, 'condition', Meyer *coingell* is a late formation and has developed *i* between *n'* and *g'*.

§ 304. A voiceless *η* with strongly breathed off-glide arises from *ng* followed by *th*, e.g. in *g'ε:raηaχ*, 'sharp-tongued', < *gearthangthach*; *sraηaχə*, plur. of *sraη*, 'band, string', M.Ir. *sreng*; *t'aηaχə*, 'tongues', Di. *teangthacha*.

15. *n*.

§ 305. This symbol denotes a palatal ng formed with the back of the tongue against the place where the hard and soft palates meet and is therefore similar to the French *gn* in 'signe'. Initially *n* can only occur as the eclipsed form of *g'*, as in *ə na:ɾə m'ə*, 'shall I cut'; *ə ne:*, 'their goose'; *ta: m'ε i jeivəN*, 'I am in distress'; *k'liuv Nə n'l'imaχ*, 'lobster-pot'; *Λ:naχ Nə n'l'αNtaχ*, 'Glenties fair'. Before *k'* *n* is very long.

§ 306. *n* corresponds to O.Ir. ng before an original palatal vowel which may be preserved or lost, e.g. *αχynnə*, 'request', M.Ir. athchuingid; *ænk'al*, 'irritability', Meyer an-cél, also adj. *ænk'αLta*, subst. *ænk'αLtas*, cp. *N'i:l' əN də grē:hə αχ ænk'al*, 'you can do nothing but complain'; *ænəl*, 'angel', O.Ir. angel; *æng'iaχ*, 'given to complaining', cp. Meyer andgid, andgidecht; *kyɲ*, 'bond, obligation', M.Ir. cuing; *kyɲir'*, 'team of oxen', Di. cuingir (according to J. H. the actual yoke in Donegal is termed *hamwi:* < Scotch 'hames'); *kyɲk'*, 'verdigris', adj. *kyɲk'αχ*; *k'iyk'is*, 'Whitsuntide', M.Ir. cengciges; *Lyn*, dat. sing. of *Lɔɾi*, 'ship', *Lyni*, 'ships, fleet', Di. luingeas; *ə ræɲk'*, 'France', Di. Frainnc; *sp'iyk'*, 'precipice', Di. spinnc < splinne; *fk'i' æɲk'is*, 'quinsy', Di. sceith-aingcís.

§ 307. In Munster a very natural confusion of *N'* and *n* has taken place but in Donegal the two sounds are kept rigidly apart. The only example known to me of *n* for *N'* is *g'iyɲ*, 'wedge', M.Ir. geind, where *n* is probably due to assimilation. The plural is *g'αNtraχə*.

§ 308. *n*₂ does not occur as far as I am aware.

(c) The spirants *f*, *f'*, *v*, *χ*, *g*, *ɣ*, *s*, *ʃ*.

1. *f*.

§ 309. *f* denotes a bilabial f with the lips in the position described for *m* in § 289. The normal mode of production seems to be as follows—the lips meet in the middle and the breath escapes either on both sides of this point of contact, the corners being closed, or at the corners of the mouth. For a long time I doubted the correctness of Henebry's statement that labio-dental sounds are non-existent in Irish (p. 49). But after repeated observations I have not been able to discover labio-dental f or v in people over forty years of age either in Irish or English but

persons under that age are rapidly substituting the labio-dental for the bilabial sound. Finck regards the Aran *f*, *v* as labio-dental (i pp. 64, 77) and it would be interesting to know if any distribution of the sounds similar to that described above exists in the west. Dottin (RC. xiv 104) gives *f'* as labio-dental but is not explicit on the subject of *f*, *v*. For Munster cp. further Chr. Bros. Grammar p. 9 (probably based on Henebry). Henderson (ZCP. v 97) and Rhys (p. 87) both regard labio-dental *f*, *v* as the normal sounds in Scotch and Manx Gaelic but I think that if the following facts are taken into consideration it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that bilabial *f*, *v* were everywhere the original sounds. i. Irish initial *f* arose from Idg. *u*. ii. At the present day intervocalic *f* represents *bhth*, *mhth*, i.e. an unvoiced *w*. It is frequently impossible to distinguish between *w* and bilabial *f*, as they are so closely related to one another in formation. iii. *χ* + *w* frequently passes into *fw* (§ 313). iv. English words beginning with *wh* appear in Irish and Anglo-Irish with *fw*, cp. the spellings *fwenever*, *fweel*.

§ 310. Initial *f* represents O.Ir. *f* before *a*, *o*, *u* or before *l*, *r* followed by the same vowels, e.g. *fada*, 'long' M.Ir. *fota*; *faruu*, 'roost', M.Ir. *forud*; *farsiN'*, 'plentiful', O.Ir. *fairsing*; *falax*, 'hiding', M.Ir. *folach*; *fa:*, 'cause', M.Ir. *fáth*, *fád*; *fa:gæł'*, 'to leave', M.Ir. *fácáil*; *flaihif'* (pl.), 'heaven', Di. *flaitheas*, O.Ir. *flaith*; *fókəl*, 'word', O.Ir. *focul*; *fō:wər*, 'autumn', M.Ir. *fogamur*; *fr_χ*, 'heather', O.Ir. *froeoh*; *fwær'ə*, 'wake of the dead', M.Ir. *faire*; *fwoid'ə*, 'patience', O.Ir. *foditiu*; *fwil'N'im*, 'I suffer', O.Ir. *foloing* (3rd sing.); *fwil'*, 'blood', O.Ir. *fuil*; *fwir'axt*, 'to tarry', M.Ir. *furecht*; *fwil'i:*, 'leavings', Wi. *fuidell*; *fwil:fuw*, 'improvement', M.Ir. *foessam*; *fwil:wər*, 'edge', M.Ir. *faibur*; *fw_χgrə*, 'to proclaim', O.Ir. *fócre*; *fw_χog*, 'limpet', M.Ir. *faechóg*.

f also occurs as the aspirated form of initial *p*, e.g. *sə faræft'ə*, 'in the parish'; *flu:χ sə*, 'he choked'; *t'ax ə fəbwił'*, 'Roman Catholic chapel'; *gax:fa:ft'ə*, 'two children'.

§ 311. Medial *f* usually arises from O.Ir. *b*, *m* followed by *th* or *ch*. The off-glide is a kind of *w* and is clearly audible. Examples—*gaxfəN*, 'aloes'; *ka:fri:*, 'sowins', Di. *cáith-bhruith*; *Lax:frəN*, 'one of the handles of a flail', Di. *lámh-chrann*; *marəfax*, 'slaughter', cp. Atk. *marbthach*; *Nyufə*, 'sanctified', Di. *naomhtha*, *Nyufə*, pres. pass. M.Ir. *noemthar*. The ending *-fə* of the prepositional pronouns in the third person plural is probably due to

a confusion of the O.Ir. dative and accusative forms. The accus. ending -thu of O.Ir. lethu, trethu, airrthiu was added to the dative -b, thus producing -fə which is now attached to all simple prepositions ending in a vowel, e.g. l'ə:fə, 'with them', d'ə:fə, 'from them', d'ə:fə, 'to them', w_X:fə, 'from them', f'r'i:fə, 'through them', fwi:fə, 'under them'. Further in verbs with root ending in bh, mh we get *f* in the future tenses < bh, mh + *f* (= *h*), as in f'k'r'i:fə m'ə, 'I shall write'. The only instances in which the *f* of the future has been preserved are rafə m'ə, t'i:f'ə m'ə, v. § 180. But *f'* is more frequent than *h* in the ending of the conditional passive.

§ 312. In two instances of loan-words from English *f* has been inserted for no evident reason, viz. in g'af'tə, 'gate'; raf'tan, 'rat', < Engl. 'ratten'. k_X:fran, 'a dry clod', seems to correspond in meaning to Di. caorán but I am unable to explain the form.

§ 313. *χw* sometimes produces *f*, a change which O'Donovan only admits for N. Connaught (cp. RC. xiv 115) but which is very common in parts of Ulster, v. Dinneen s. cuafadh, faofóg, triufanna. I have frequently heard ga f'wel'ə gin'ə (also ga_χ f'wel'ə gin'ə), = gach uile dhuine. In fwi'p' < Engl. 'whip' we have substitution of *fw* (*f_w*) with bilabial *w* (*w*) for Engl. *w*.

§ 314. The O.Ir. preposition fo appears to have split up into fwi., 'under' (< 3rd sing. fói), and fa(:), 'around, about'. It is easy to see from the passages quoted in Windisch how the meaning of 'around, about' could arise but I am inclined to think that fa also represents O.Ir. imm. Cp. M.Ir. ba for ma = imma Diss. p. 27 and Scotch G. mu, Manx my- in mygeayrt, my-chione. In Donegal this preposition usually aspirates but we find it eclipsing in fa di:widə, 'concerning', < fa dtaobh de; fa du:r'im' in bwiL'ə fa d., 'a guess', but fa hu r'im' k'əd, 'about a hundred'.

§ 315. When aspirated by a preceding word *f* disappears together with the *w* off-glide which accompanies it. Examples—dyp'i fi:, 'she sewed'; er' ə Naruw, 'on the roost'; əNsə Nō:wər, 'in the autumn'; m'ip', 'my whip'; də Nil', 'to the blood'; ə l'ehəd' fə ə g'il', 'such blood'. In compounds fh has no effect on a preceding mh or bh, e.g. krā:viə_χ, 'a sea-bird', Di. cnáimh-fhiach; krā:vo:d, 'a narrow strip of grass-covered turf between two cultivated patches', < cnáimh-fhód. Consequently *f* is frequently wrongly prefixed to words with vocalic initial but in this

the dialects differ from one another. This prosthetic *f* appears already in M.Ir. Examples—*fado*; ‘make into a blaze’, Meyer ad-stuim; *fauaxt*, ‘to remain’, O.Ir. anaim; *fa:N’ə*, ‘ring’, O.Ir. áinne; *fastojem*, ‘I hire’, O.Ir. astaim; *faihaχ*, ‘giant’, O.Ir. athach; *fa:s*, ‘grow’, O.Ir. ás; *fwi:jəm*, ‘I sew’, M.Ir. úagim; *fuər*, *fwyər*, ‘cold’, O.Ir. úar; *fwisχt*, ‘cold’, O.Ir. nacht; *fwyə*, ‘hatred’, M.Ir. úath; *fwi:N’og*, ‘window’, < Engl.; *f’ig*, ‘length’, O.Ir. ed. Peculiar to Donegal are *fauərə*, ‘eclipse’, Di. urdhubhadh, Finck *ora* (ii p. 207); *fóir’əm*, ‘I suit’, elsewhere oirim; *fəruw tĩa*, ‘furniture’, Di. iorradh, earradh, O’R. urradh, M.Ir. errad, eirred (cp. LL 268 b 11 ic errad tigi).

On the other hand *ifag*, ‘lark’, never has *f* in Donegal (Macbain uiseag, Di. fuiseog), and *α:N’L’og*, ‘swallow’, has lost its *f*, O.Ir. fannall.

§ 316. *w* gives *f* in *banafan*, ‘sucking-pig’, < *banbthán, Di. banbhán; *m’i:fər*, ‘ugly’, Craig mío-fuar, also spelt míofar G. J. Jan. ’02 p. 8, Cl. S. 27 xii ’02 p. 702 col. 2, < mío-úathmhar. Sporadically with certain speakers at the end of monosyllables, e.g. *dUf* for *dUw*, cp. G. J. 1895 p. 11, ZCP. v 98.

2. *f’*.

§ 317. This symbol denotes a bilabial *f* with the lips drawn back tightly on to the teeth for which the younger people substitute labio-dental *f’*. The breath escapes in the same way as in the case of *f*.

§ 318. *f’* represents O.Ir. initial *f* before *e*, *i* or before *r*, *l* followed by these vowels. Examples—*f’αL*, ‘treachery’, M.Ir. fell; *f’ammαχ*, ‘wrack’, M.Ir. femnach; *f’αNəm*, ‘skin, flay’, O.Ir. fennaim; *f’ar*, ‘man’, O.Ir. fer; *f’arsəd*, ‘spindle’, Wi. fersad; *f’arəg*, O.Ir. fere; *f’ar’iN’*, ‘rain’, M.Ir. ferthain; *f’ar*, ‘better’, O.Ir. ferr; *f’əsog*, ‘beard’, M.Ir. fésóc; *f’ər*, ‘grass’, M.Ir. fér; *f’eil’ə*, ‘saint’s-day’, O.Ir. féle (gen.); *f’iaχ*, ‘crow’, O.Ir. fiach; *f’iə*, ‘weave’, M.Ir. fige; *f’iəkil’*, ‘tooth’, O.Ir. fiacail; *f’ihə*, ‘twenty’, O.Ir. fiche; *f’i’l’ə*, ‘poet’, O.Ir. fili; *f’iN’*, ‘fair’, O.Ir. find; *f’ir’əN’*, ‘male’, M.Ir. firend; *f’i:r’iN’ə*, ‘truth’, O.Ir. ffrinne; *f’l’ig*, ‘chickweed’, Di. flich, Hogan fiiodh, figh; *f’l’iχ*, ‘wet’, O.Ir. flinch; *f’r’i*, ‘flesh-worm’, M.Ir. frigde; *f’r’igrə*, ‘answer’, O.Ir. frecre; *f’r’ifN’ə/αχ*, ‘peevish, irritable’; *f’r’ihir’*, ‘sore’, Di. frithir.

f’ is further the aspirated form of initial *p’*, e.g. *mə f’αN’*, ‘my pen’; *də f’atə*, ‘your pet’; *α f’i:pə*, ‘his pipe’; *gα: f’i:N’*,

'two pence'; *don f'íí:n'*, 'to the kitten'; *f'íL'fá*, 'he returned (*p'íL'uw*).

§ 319. Medially combinations of *th* or *sh* with *bh*, *mh* produce *f'*. (a) *bh* + *th*, *nh* + *th*, e.g. *jɛf'ər*, pres. pass. of *jɛvəm*, 'I get', cp. *Ner' ə xəl't'ər ə gɔ: jɛf'ər ə jas i:*, 'when the wind is lost, it is found in the south'; *gɑ:f'αχ*, 'spongy (of land)', Di. *gaibh-theach*; *ki:f'αχ*, 'bed-fellow', Meyer *comthach*; *kra:f'αχ*, 'devout', Meyer *cráibdech*. (b) *th* + *bh*, *th* + *mh*, e.g. *d'ef'r'ə*, 'haste', cp. O'Clery *deithbireach*; *ka:f'αχ*, 'spendthrift', Di. *caithmheach*; *kläif'αχə* (*klöif'αχə*), 'swords', cp. M.Ir. *claidbiu* (acc. plur.); *f'íf'i:n'*, 'bulrush', Wi. *síthbe*, *síthfe*; *tuaf'əL*, 'a whirl, the wrong way', M.Ir. *tuaithbel*; *uaf'iaLtə*, 'wild-looking', Di. *uaithbhéalta* (due to a confusion of Wi. *óibéla* with *úath*, 'terror'). (c) *bh* + *sh* in *d'er'əfər*, 'sister', O.Ir. *derb* + *siur*. (d) In *t'íf'ə*, comparative of *t'Uw*, 'thick, frequent'.

§ 320. *f'* is inserted before *t'* in *skaf't'ə*, 'group, lot, flock', spelt *sgaifte* Cl. S. 10 x '03 p. 3 col. 5, Di. *scata*, cp. § 312. *f'r'* has taken the place of *ɣ'* in *f'r'i:d'*, 'through', O.Ir. *triit*, on Aran with *hr* or *xr* (KZ. xxxv 337).

§ 321. On aspiration *f'* disappears, e.g. *n'ar*, 'my husband'; *d'ef'i m'ə*, 'I furnished', Di. *feistighim*; *ta: f'in' ə jeim' orəm*, 'I need that', Di. *feidhm*; *gɑ: iəkil'*, 'two teeth'; *i:ɔə l'ix*, 'a wet night'. Consequently as *f* and *f'* when aspirated give the same result, confusion is liable to arise as in the case of *f'jɔ:ləm'*, 'to learn', < *fɔ:ləm'*, O.Ir. *foglaim*. We have further *f'astə*, 'yet', < M.Ir. *fodesta* but *fəstə*, *fəstat*, *fəstaxt* = O.Ir. *beus*.

§ 322. In monosyllables ending in *v* there is a tendency with some speakers to voice the final and make it into *f'* (J. H. always has *v*), e.g. in *Lif'*, 'weed', = *Liv*, O.Ir. *luib*; *ə N'if'*, 'the egg' (§ 326); *N'if'*, 'poison', M.Ir. *neim*; *L'ef'r'inαχ*, also *L'evr'i:n'αχ*, 'half-witted', subst. *L'evr'i:n'*, cp. Di. *leimhe*.

3. v.

§ 323. The Donegal *v* is a voiced bilabial sound corresponding in formation to *f'*. The corners of the mouth seem to be left open and the portions of the lips on either side of the point of contact in the middle (§ 309) approach very nearly to one another and vibrate. Hence when this sound is strongly nasalised and a large part of the breath passes through the nose, it has a distinct tendency to develope into *m'* (§ 298). The younger people however are substituting a labio-dental for the bilabial *v*.

§ 324. *v* usually represents O.Ir. medial or final *b* or *m* which originally stood before *e*, *i*, e.g. *α.vef*, 'ocean', M.Ir. *aibís*; *i.v*, 'appearance, countenance', O.Ir. *óiph*; *i.viN'*, 'pleasant', M.Ir. *óibind*; *Liv*, 'weed', O.Ir. *luib*; *seivir*, 'rich', M.Ir. *saidbir*; *fe'ev*, 'possession', M.Ir. *seilb* (dat.); *tavfə*, 'ghost', O.Ir. *taidbse*. *āvvr'oi*, *ə Nāvvr'oi*, 'tangled', Meyer *amréid*, *āvvr'oit'αχ*, 'contrary, cross-tempered'; *dā.v*, 'affection, fondness', from the oblique cases of M.Ir. *dám*; *d'ēvəs*, 'shears', M.Ir. *demess*; *kīviaαχ*, 'strange, foreign', M.Ir. *comaithchech*; *kivl'iN'*, 'emulate, emulation', M.Ir. *comleng*; *kīvn'αχ*, 'mindful', O.Ir. *cumnech*; *kivrvəN*, 'field for planting'; *krā.v*, 'bone', O.Ir. *cnáim*; *Nadv'ə*, 'enemies', O.Ir. *naintea* (acc.); *N'iv*, 'poison', M.Ir. *neim*; *rīvə*, 'before', M.Ir. *remi*.

avaraαχ, 'airy, light', is obscure. It is pronounced the same as Di. *aithbhearach*, 'blaming, censorious'.

§ 325. The aspiration of initial *b'*, *m'* is *v*. In the case of *m'* the vowel is usually not nasalised, unless it is followed by an *n* or *m* sound or by *h*, *ç* (§ 172). Examples—*mə van*, 'my wife'; *α varad*, 'his cap'; *εg' ə va.rNȳ*, 'at the gap'; *vaNə m'ə*, 'I greeted'; *b'iN' vīg*, 'a small gable'.

v is also the eclipsed form of *f'*, e.g. *Nȳ: vi.dor'i*, '9 weavers'; *ə vεk'iN'*, 'if I were to see.' Medially in *en'əvīs*, 'ignorance', M.Ir. *anfiss*.

§ 326. In the inflected forms of several words containing *o*, *u* we find *v* arising after the analogy of *go*; 'smith', plur. *gīvn'ə*; *o:N'*, 'river', plur. *εvN'αχə*; *dUw*, 'black', gen. sing. *dīv*. Such are *bīvr'ə*, compar. of *bo:r*, 'deaf', M.Ir. *bodar*; *krīv*, gen. sing. of *krUw*, 'dowry'; *iN'e:i ə La: əN'iv*, 'after to-day', which contains a genitive formed from *əN'Uw*; *iv*, 'egg', is a new nominative to a stem **uw* - < M.Ir. nom. plur. *ugai*. The word is always fem. in Donegal and the palatalisation of the gen. and dat. sing. has been introduced into the nom. as is commonly the case with feminines, cp. *mwī.v*, 'to begrudge', O.Ir. *móidem*, gen. sing. *móidme*. *ər'iv*, a by-form of *er'iuw*, 'ever', may have been influenced by *ərīvə*, 'before', as the two are frequently used together in the phrase *ər'iuw ərīvə*.

In *fevt'uw*, 'to shift for oneself', Di. *seibhtiughadh*, the *v* is peculiar, as the word comes from the English.

§ 327. Post-consonantic *mh*, *bh* disappear in *α.r'i:m*, 'I reckon', O.Ir. *áirmiu*, but *α.r'i:m* strictly speaking is a new formation from *α.r'uw*, which is used of counting sprats, kale &c.

in threes; *æd'i.m*, 'I confess', infin. *æd'væł'*, M.Ir. 1st sing. *atnu*, perhaps by analogy with *k'r'ed'əm*, 'I believe', infin. *k'r'ed'væł'* (Spir. Rose p. 6 has *aidvimuid*); *b'ihu:nax*, 'rascal', M.Ir. *bith-binech*; *d'er'əm*, 'I say', M.Ir. *atberim*; *t'i/iN't'*, 'to shew', M.Ir. *taisbenad*.

4. χ .

§ 328. This symbol denotes the voiceless guttural spirant formed with the back of the tongue against the soft palate which occurs in German but there is much less friction in the production of the Donegal sound than is the case in German, Scotch or Welsh. For this reason it sometimes interchanges with *h* (§ 178) and finally it is often so faint especially in the termination *-ax* that at first I did not seem to hear it at all. The feeble articulation of this spirant is perhaps characteristic of Ulster Irish generally as Lloyd states that in Monaghan "when final it is silent with compensatory lengthening; before *t* it is always silent" (G. J. 1896 p. 146 col. 2). Cp. the spelling *morghat* for *mordhacht* Spir. Rose pp. 31, 47. Before palatal vowels χ as also *g*, *k*, *g*, being velar sounds cause the tongue to be retracted which tends to change a following *i*(:) into *y*(:), see § 125.

§ 329. Initially χ can only occur as the aspirated form of *k*, e.g. *mə χyd'*, 'my share'; *χæL' m'a*, 'I lost'. *kə*, 'as', which in the other dialects always appears with χ remains unaspirated in Donegal. On the other hand (*a*) *χy:çə*, 'ever', M.Ir. *caidehe*, *coidche* is always aspirated. Other cases such as *hen'ik' m'a*, 'I saw'; *ha*, 'not', < *nocha*; *χUə m'a*, 'I went', are merely apparent as the pretonic syllable has been lost.

§ 330. Medially and finally χ is very frequent and represents an O.Ir. *ch* before an originally non-palatal vowel or non-palatal consonant, e.g. *axmwirt'*, 'heat in horses', Di. *eachmairc*; *axmwir'*, 'ready, quick, smart', *achmair* Cl. S. 18 vii '03 p. 3 col. 2, cp. O'R. *achmuire*, 'readiness', formed from O.Ir. *ech* (?); *baχəL*, 'tress', O.Ir. *bachall*; *baχtə*, 'bank of peat', *bachta* Craig, Irish Composition p. 166; *bəχt*, 'poor', O.Ir. *hocht*; *ba:χran*, 'bog-bean', Hogan *bacharán*, cp. Meyer *bachar*, 'acorn'; *b'axog*, 'bee', diminutive of M.Ir. *bech*, which occurs in *baχ'χapwiL'*, 'a wasp'; *b'alax*, 'road', M.Ir. *belach*; *raχə m'a*, 'I shall go', O.Ir. *do-reg*; *fiər fa faχ*, 'and so forth', O.Ir. *sech*; *faχnuw*, 'to avoid', Di. *seachnadh*; *ər faχran*, 'astray', M.Ir. *sechrán*; *faχt*, 'seven', O.Ir. *secht*.

In futures *h < f* after χ coalesces with the spirant, e.g. $k_{\lambda}:\chi^{\partial}$ *m'ə*, 'I shall wink'; *plu:\chi^{\partial}* *m'ə*, 'I shall extinguish'.

§ 331. χ arises from *thgh*, *thch* in *LU* $\chi^{\text{ær}}$, 'joy', M.Ir. *luthgáir*; $\alpha\chi y p^{\partial}$, 'request', M.Ir. *athchuinge*; *du:\chi^{\partial}, 'birth-right', M.Ir. *duthchus*.*

§ 332. Donegal has developed a new comparative termination $-\alpha\chi^{\partial}$ instead of ∂ which is used with adjectives of more than one syllable ending in a vowel, e.g. *dæl'ia\chi^{\partial} < *dæl'i:*, 'difficult'; *daləbwia\chi^{\partial} < *daləbə*, 'impudent'. The endings $-\partial$ and $-\alpha\chi^{\partial}$ occur side by side in other connections, e.g. in the future of verbs and the plural of fem. nouns and $-\alpha\chi^{\partial}$ is evidently used as a comparative ending for the sake of distinction. We find something similar in *b'r'εa\chi^{\partial} the plural form of *b'r'εə*, 'fine', Meyer *bregda*.***

§ 333. We have already seen (§ 178) that χ easily passes into *h*, and the converse is true for Donegal in isolated cases. χ for *h* seems to be frequent in Scotch dialects, cp. ZCP. iv 509. See further Henebry p. 19 (ca *shoin*). Examples—*mə\chi uw*, 'springing of cows', pret. *wə\chi*, cp. Di. *moth*, 'the male of any animal', Cormac *moth* .i. *ball ferda*, Stokes-Bezz. **muto-* (p. 219), *mə\chi əsan*, 'a springing heifer', O'R. *motach*, 'fruitful', M.Ir. *mothach* LL 13 b 7 rendered by Hyde 'fertile'. The χ in *LaxərNə* *wə:rax*, 'to-morrow' (spelt *lá thar na bhárach* Cl. S. 22 viii '03 p. 3 col. 2) can hardly be due to O.Ir. *láthe*. It is more likely that the preposition *hær'*, O.Ir. *tar*, has been substituted for *iar* which is obsolete except in *er' gu:l*, 'back, behind'; *ər du:s*, 'in front'; *er' fa:l*, 'found' &c.

gə bra:\chi, 'for ever', can hardly represent *co bráth*, as *th* after long vowels disappears. *bráth* may have become *bráthach* under the influence of *əma:rax*, 'to-morrow'. The spelling *co brach* occurs RC. xxiv 371, 373, cp. Manx *dy bragh* (Rhys's explanation of the latter l.c. p. 129 will not hold good for Donegal).

§ 334. It should be noted that χ and not ρ stands before *t'*. Henebry pp. 55, 35 says that "the group *-cht* is unaffected and always broad. The palatalised *boicht* of O.Ir. and found also in Keatynge was merely a symmetrical writing". This is incorrect. The *t* may not be palatal in Waterford but O'Leary quotes a form with *t'* for Cork and Finck (i 187) gives *bħçcə* as the gen. sing. fem. of *bocht*, 'poor'. I have noted the following forms with $-\chi t'$ in Donegal, *bə\chi t'*, gen. sing. of *bə\chi t*, 'poor'; *b'ə\chi t'i:*,

compar. of *b'axt*, 'sensible, shrewd', M.Ir. *becht*; *b'jə:χt'ə*, compar. of *b'jə:*, 'alive'; *b'r'εaxt'ə*, compar. of *b'r'εə*, 'fine'; *eif'axt'*, gen. sing. of *eif'axt*, 'prodigy'; *k'εaxt'ə*, gen. sing. of *k'εaxt*, 'plough'; *smaxt'i:n'*, 'mallet', also 'a rude fellow'.

§ 335. That *χ* has a tendency to pass into *f* in certain parts of the north and north-west has been mentioned in § 313. We may possibly have the converse in the form *Uχərt'*, 'wallowing', spelt *uchairt* Cl. S. 10 x '03 p. 3 col. 5 for *Di. ionfairt*.

5. *g*.

§ 336. *g* represents a voiced velar spirant formed by the back of the tongue against the soft palate. For the off-glide see § 328. As in the case of *χ* there is an absence of the rasping which accompanies this sound when it is strongly articulated. Hence it is natural that except in the initial position *g* should tend to disappear. Henebry and Finck do not quote a single instance of *g* except initially but Donegal offers several examples of the sound in medial position. The position of the tongue for a feebly articulated *g* is very nearly that of my *ö:* and this vowel-sound always has a suspicion of a spirant nature as might be expected, seeing that it arises from *adh*, *agh*-. Cp. Lloyd's statement as to the frequent retention of *dh*, *gh* in Orrery in *seadh*, *feadh* and other words G. J. 1896 p. 147. Scotch Gaelic often keeps final *g* in the verb ending *-adh* but in Donegal the latter may have given *əχ* or *əö*, which with rounding became *əu*, *u:*, *uw*.

§ 337. Initially *g* only occurs as the aspirated form of *d*, *g*, e.g. *grit' fə*, 'he shut'; *k'i(:)b' gUw*, 'sedge'; *l'ef ə gələr*, 'with the disease'; *mə glun*, 'my knee'; in composition *adərgiə*, 'intercession'. *gə:*, 'two', and *gəl*, 'going', are usually aspirated but *də:* appears for *gə:* after the article and *əgəs*, *əs*, 'and'. When preceded by *əg* *gəl* loses its *g*. In the pronominal forms of the preposition do the forms with aspirated *d* (*g*) are confined to the 2nd sing. *gyd'*, 'to you.'

§ 338. Medially *g* occurs in the following words: *f'isəgír'ə*, 'hunter', < M.Ir. *fiad*; *f'igəriaxt* (also *f'əχriaxt*), 'countenance, face', cp. Di. *fioghruighim*; *igəri:m*, 'I adore', Di. *adhraim*, Meyer *adoraim* (also *əχri:m*); *t'igəlaχ*, 'family', O.Ir. *teglach*; *χ:gír'ə*, 'herdsman', O.Ir. *augaire*; *d'i:gə(:)i*, 'the wrong way', *dí* + *dóigh*.

In all other cases *g* has either disappeared without leaving a trace or has served to lengthen or modify the preceding vowel. Between consonants *g* disappears in *d'á:rNəd*, 'flea', M.Ir. *dergnat*.

§ 339. A hiatus-filling *g* is inserted between *ə* < *do*, *de*, when they precede an infinitive or substantive which begins or once began with a non-palatal vowel, cp. § 191. Examples—*Lá:n gre:p' də gy:l'ax*, 'a forkful of dung'; *a l'ehədⁿ sə də gax't*, 'such a place as this'; *N'i: hen'i sə ə gǎuwerk ərəm*, 'he did not come to see me'; *ə gǎN'æn'*, 'in spite of'; *sal ə gam*, 'a space of time'; *glak sə N'i:s Luw gam*, 'it took less time'; *səihax ə guəxtər*, 'a vessel of cream'; *Lá:n α gǎrN' də gər*, 'a fistful of gold'; *g'itə gǎNsə*, 'a bit of a fence', = *giota de fhonnsa*; *hu:si: m'ədən ə gat*, 'my face started to swell'.

6. *ç*.

§ 340. This symbol represents a voiceless spirant formed by the middle of the tongue against the hard palate near to the edge of the soft palate, cp. Jespersen p. 49. There is much less friction than in the case of German *ç* in 'ich', on which account it interchanges with *h*. It is sometimes very difficult to decide whether one hears *ç* or *h* after a close *i* or *e*.

§ 341. Initially *ç* usually represents an aspirated *k'*, e.g. *gəl çə:l'*, 'singing'; *ə çark*, 'the hen'; *çaNy m'ə*, 'I bought'; *çr'ax m'ə*, 'I ruined'; *sə çl'iuw*, 'in the basket'. *çiəNə*, 'same', and *çid*, 'first', never appear in the unaspirated form.

§ 342. In a few cases *ç* appears as the aspirated form of initial *f*, cp. Molloy p. 7, Henebry p. 76, Finck i 83. Examples—*er' çu:l*, 'away', also *ər su:l*, *çu:l' m'ə*, 'I walked', Di. *siubhal*; *çan'*, gen. sing. of *fan*, 'John'; *çə:l m'ə*, 'I sailed'; *α çə:rsə*, vocative of *sə:rsə*, 'George'. But note *mə ho:k*, 'my hawk'; *mə hamrə*, 'my chamber'. This would seem to bear out the explanation given by Pedersen pp. 17—18.

According to Rhys pp. 74, 104f. initial *t'* when aspirated gives *ç* in Manx. This does not occur in Donegal except in two mauled forms of *t'iarNə*, 'Lord', as used in asseverations. These are *çiarNə manəmwid'*, 'good gracious', see § 63; and *α çiakəf* in *wil' ær'əg'id əgəd? çiakəf hein' əta:*, 'have you any money? I should just think I have', Craig Iasg. spells *chiacais*. It is sometimes written *tiarcas*.

§ 343. Medially and finally ζ represents O.Ir. *ch* when originally followed by *e, i*, e.g. *braiç*, 'malt', Di. *braich* < O.Ir. *mraich*; *d'eç*, 'ten', O.Ir. *deich*; *d'içL*, 'one's best', Di. *dícheall*; *faiç*, 'green', M.Ir. *faithche, faidche*; *faiçL'*, 'care', Di. *faithchill*; *i:çə*, 'night', O.Ir. *aidche*; *kliçə (kləiçə)*, 'game', M.Ir. *cluche*; *ə çy:çə*, 'ever', M.Ir. *caidche*; *feiçə*, 'hide', M.Ir. *seche*. Frequently in the inflected forms of words ending in χ , as *bla:içə*, gen. sing. of *bla:χ*, 'buttermilk', *k'i:çə*, gen. sing. of *k'iəχ*, 'breast'. *thgh* gives ζ in *aicçərə*, 'short cut', Di. *aithghearra*; *du:çə*, 'landed property', cp. O.Ir. *duthoig*. *do(:)içə*, 'likely, probable', = *dóiche* Craig Iasg., is a new formation from O.Ir. *dochu* compar. of *dóig, dóich* after the model of the majority of comparatives with palatalisation.

§ 344. ζ tends to become *h* in some words for which see § 179. Finally it disappears after a long vowel or diphthong except *ai*, e.g. *k'ark ri:*, 'moor-hen', = *cearc fhraoich*; *ga: χru:*, 'two stacks'; *b'alax f'əi*, 'Ballybofey', = *Bealach Feich*. Similarly in *i:çə* when the final vowel is elided, e.g. *i: əgəs La:*, 'night and day'; *i: hāruwnə*, 'Halloween'. Medially also in *k'iviaχ*, 'strange, foreign', M.Ir. *comaithchech*.

§ 345. By far the most frequent source of ζ is *th* after a palatal vowel particularly at the end of monosyllables with short root-vowel. In such cases ζ is often very faint which may be denoted by writing a small ζ over the line. Examples: *er' b'iç*, 'at all', *ar bith*; *kāiç*, imper. 'throw, spend, smoke'; *k'r'iç*, 'trembling', M.Ir. *crith*; *ər L'eç*, 'apart'; *maiç*, 'good', O.Ir. *maith*; *skaiç*, 'the best of anything', from the oblique cases of M.Ir. *scoth*, 'flower' (the old meaning is preserved in *f'iNskaiç*, 'cornflower'); *f'k'eç*, 'vomit', M.Ir. *sceith*; *wa(:)iç*, pret. of *ba:huv*, 'to drown'. Note further *ə sau(w)ruw fəiçərt*, 'this last summer', = *an samhradh seo thart*. This ζ commonly disappears before another word beginning with a consonant in the same stress-group, e.g. *d'ε mah*, 'ten cows', cp. the spelling *deth* in Molloy's 33rd dialect-list; *χα m'ə*, 'I spent', *χæ fə*, 'he spent'; *d'i m'ə*, 'I ate', imper. *iç*.

əmwicç, 'outside', and *əstiç (əsti:ç)*, 'inside', are peculiar, as in M.Ir. we have *immaig, istaig*. True we also find *i:waiç*, 'image', Wi. *imaig*, and *triç*, 'foot', O.Ir. *traig*. But the latter has been influenced by the plural M.Ir. *traigthe* and dissyllables in *-aigh* usually have *-ai* which is equivalent to *-aiç* (§ 141). *əstiç* is all the more surprising as the dative form *ti:* < M.Ir. *taig* is

frequent. *amwiç*, *estiç* are possibly extended from *amwi*, *esti*, i.e. they are proclitic forms.

§ 346. *ç* also frequently represents a medial *th* flanked by palatal vowels, e.g. *içə*, 'eating', O.Ir. *ithe*, pret. pass. *hithu*, *kaiçiv'*, 'chair', M.Ir. *catháir* (§ 139); *k'leiçə*, gen. sing. of *k'l'ia*, 'harrow', M.Ir. *cliath*; *Luiçə*, compar. of *Lua*, 'early'; *L'eiçə*, gen. sing. fem. of *L'ia*, 'grey'; *l'eiçə* (*l'eihə*), 'with her', similarly *fu:çə*, 'under her'; *m'eiçə*, compar. of *m'e:*, 'fat', M.Ir. *meth*; *ra:içə*, 'quarter of a year', M.Ir. *ráithe*; *sNax:içə*, 'thread', O.Ir. *snáthe*; *suiçə*, 'soot', M.Ir. *suithe*, O.Ir. *suidi*. Verbs containing *h < th* in the infinitive frequently have *ç* in the present and preterite, e.g. *sushu*, 'mix together', pres. *suiçəm*, pret. *huiç m'ə* but past part. *suit'ə*; *skaiçə m'ə*, 'I shall wean', beside *skaihə m'ə < skahuu*, M.Ir. *scothaim*.

Similarly *ç* is frequent in the future of several simple verb-stems ending in a long vowel or diphthong. These *ç* futures usually correspond to a present containing *j* for which see § 190. Examples—*ba:çə m'ə*, 'I shall drown'; *do:riçə m'ə*, 'I shall burn'; *kra:çə m'ə*, 'I shall torment'; *sp'r'eiçə m'ə*, 'I shall spread'; *ta:çə m'ə*, 'I shall weld'; *t'r'o:çə m'ə*, 'I shall plough' but pres. pass. *t'r'o:hər*. Also *bru:çə m'ə*, 'I shall press down', pret. *wru* *fə*, M.Ir. *brúim*; *su:çi fə*, 'it will soak up', < *suw*, M.Ir. *súgim*.

7. s.

§ 347. Henderson's description of Scotch Gaelic *s* applies equally to the Donegal sound. "The tongue-blade, along the central line of which the breath is directed, approaches the gums behind the upper teeth and the breath becomes sibilant owing to the friction it undergoes in passing between the upper and lower front teeth. The tip of the tongue may rest against the lower front teeth. It is usually more forcible than Engl. *s*, the tongue-articulation being closer" (ZCP. iv 515). A large number of speakers tend to widen the nick in the tongue through which the breath passes, thus producing a lisped *s*. The curious effect produced on initial *s* by a following *r* has been described in § 273. The voiced sound corresponding to *s* does not occur in Irish but is regular in the local English and produces a very peculiar effect. As is the case with the voiceless stops *s* is commonly aspirated, cp. Sweet, *Primer of Phonetics*² p. 60. Hence the *h* of the future terminations coalesces with a final *s* and is not heard as a separate element, e.g. *pə:sə m'ə*, 'I shall

marry'; *krosə tuw*, 'you will forbid'. On this account a number of verb-stems ending in *s* prefer the ending of the second conjugation, e.g. *d'r'asaχə m'ə*, 'I shall drive away', pres. *d'r'asəm*. For the length of the sound see § 357.

§ 348. *s* represents O.Ir. initial *s* before other than palatal vowels, e.g. *səl*, 'heel', O.Ir. *sál*; *siN't*, 'covetousness', O.Ir. *sant*; *soləN*, 'salt', O.Ir. *saland*; *su:l*, 'eye', O.Ir. *súil*; *su:ftə*, 'flail', M.Ir. *sust*, *suiste* < Lat. *fustis*; *sχ:l*, 'life', O.Ir. *saigul*. For *s* before *L*, *N* see §§ 208, 239. *s* further stands before O.Ir. *m*, *p*, *c* followed by the vowels *a*, *o*, *u* and in a few loan-words before *t* under the same conditions, e.g. *smwi:t'uw*, 'to think', M.Ir. *sunained*; *spoxuw*, 'to geld', M.Ir. *spochad*; *skəuwəni*, 'lungs', M.Ir. *scaman*; *sky:l'uw*, 'to let loose', M.Ir. *scáilim*; *stad*, 'to stop', formed on Lat. *status*; *stə:l*, 'chair', < O.E. *stól*.

§ 349. Before *m'* and *p'* *s* has taken the place of *f* at the beginning of a word, e.g. *sm'er*, 'marrow', M.Ir. *smir*; *sm'εr*, 'blackberry', M.Ir. *smér*; *sp'al*, 'scythe', M.Ir. *spel*; *sp'irəd*, 'spirit', O.Ir. *spirit*. Note also *(ə)sm'e:*, 'it is I', by the side of *fε:*, 'it is he'. For the hesitation between *s* and *f* before certain consonants cp. Chr. Bros. *Aids to the Pron. of Irish* p. 17 and O'Donovan, *Grammar* p. 38. For *s* before *r* < *r'* see § 273.

§ 350. Medially and finally *s* corresponds to O.Ir. *ss*, *s* originally followed by *a*, *o*, *u* and which usually arose from the assimilation of two consonants, except in the group *sk*, where *s* = Idg. *s*. Examples—*as*, 'out of', O.Ir. *ass*; *bəs*, 'flat of the hand', M.Ir. *bass*, *boss*; *b'εəs*, 'custom', O.Ir. *bés*; *d'εvəs*, 'shears', M.Ir. *demess*; *fχ:s*, 'growing', O.Ir. *ás*; *iəsk*, 'fish', O.Ir. *íasc*; *kəs*, 'leg', O.Ir. *coss*.

In other cases medial and final *s* appears in loan-words from Latin, e.g. *asəl*, 'donkey', M.Ir. *assal* < Lat. *asellus*; *kvrəgəs*, 'Lent', M.Ir. *corgus* < Lat. *quadragesima*.

8. *f*.

§ 351. The position of the tongue for *f* resembles that for *s*. The tip of the tongue seems to hang down behind the lower front teeth and may rest against them. The lips are neutral as in English but the middle part of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate, thus considerably lengthening the narrowing necessary for the production of *f*. The acoustic effect of the Donegal sound is very different from that of English, French or German *f*. It suggests to me *s + j* and it is interesting to note that Henderson

compares N. Inverness *f* with Danish *sj* ZCP. iv 516. I am not familiar with the latter sound but from Jespersen's description (Fonetik p. 244) it appears to be formed in somewhat similar manner to Donegal *f*.

§ 352. *f* represents O.Ir. initial *s* before palatal vowels and before O.Ir. *c*, *l*, *n*, *t* followed by the same vowels, e.g. *f*αχ*t*in', 'week', O.Ir. sechtman; *f*αn, 'old', O.Ir. sen; *f*iN'im', 'to play a musical instrument', M.Ir. senim; *f*o:k, 'hawk', M.Ir. sebac; *f*u:l, 'to walk', M.Ir. siubal; *f*k'αχ, 'hawthorn-bush', M.Ir. scé; *f*t'iaL, 'strip, stripe', M.Ir. stíall. For examples of *f*L', *f*N' see §§ 226, 255.

§ 353. Medially and finally *f* arises from O.Ir. *ss*, *s* followed by *e* or *i*. This *ss*, *s* generally arose from the assimilation of two consonants. Examples—*am'f*ir', 'weather', O.Ir. amser; *b'r'if*uu, 'to break', M.Ir. brissiud; *iN'if*', imper. 'tell', M.Ir. innissim; *klæf*', 'furrow', M.Ir. clauss (dat.). *f* also stands medially before *L'*, *N'*, *r'*, *m'*, *t'*, *k'*, e.g. *p'if*r'og, 'charm', Di. pisreóg; *f*efr'αχ, 'plough', M.Ir. sesrech; *kæf*m'ert', 'squabble', Meyer caismert; *k'l'if*m'erNy:, 'starting up in sleep', Di. clisim; *tæf*m'ə, 'accident', Di. taisme; *gæf*t'ə, 'trap', O.Ir. goiste; *if*k'ə, 'water', O.Ir. usce; *kæf*k'im', 'step', Meyer coss-céimm. Examples of *f* before *p'* do not occur to my knowledge.

§ 354. As the aspirated form of both *s* and *f* is *h*, confusion is apt to arise. Hence we get *f* for *s* in *f*ə:rt, 'kind, sort', spelt seórt Cl. S. 10 x '03 p. 3 col. 5, Craig Iasg. < Engl. 'sort'; *f*i'l'əstrαχ, 'yellow iris', Di. soileastar, M.Ir. soileastar; *f*ilag, 'spit', Di. seil, O.Ir. saile; cp. further Macbain seileach with Di. saileóg; *f*i:l'am, 'I think', M.Ir. sáilim. Conversely *su:Ntə*, 'seam in quarry', stands for *f*u:Ntə = Di. siúnta < Engl. 'joint'. *f*er', 'eastwards', has been influenced by *f*iər, 'westwards', cp. Rhys p. 53.

§ 355. In loan-words from English *f* represents Engl. *s* before *e* and *i* sounds and also Engl. *j*, e.g. *f*ε:f'u:r, 'season'; *f*ε:məs, 'James'; *f*α:n, 'John'; *f*u:krə, 'sugar'.

§ 356. The past participle of verbs of the second declension ends in *-i*: < nighthē or *-i(·)f*tə. The latter probably arose in some word like *iN'if*. The two conjugations have been hopelessly confused and we may safely assume that *iN'if*tə and *iN'f*i: existed side by side, whence the modern *iN'f*i(·)f'tə.

(d) The labial, dental and guttural stops.

Note on the stops and *s* (*f*).

§ 357. In the case of *l*, *m* and *n* sounds and partly in the case of the *r* sounds in Donegal we have found that under certain conditions long consonants appear where double consonants are now or were formerly written. We further know that in the majority of cases modern Gaelic labial, dental and guttural stops together with *s* go back to originally double consonants which are commonly so written in O.Irish after short accented vowels, see Pedersen pp. 84 ff. The question therefore naturally arises: Are there no traces of these original double stops in the manner of articulation of the present day? I venture to think that this question may be answered in the affirmative. What strikes an English ear most in the speech of the north of Ireland is the way in which final stops are articulated. As was the case with the liquids and nasals it is chiefly at the end of monosyllables that differences of length in consonants are most clearly heard. Now if we compare the pronunciation of *f'ax'*, 'man', with that of *f'ig*, 'length', we cannot fail to be struck by the difference in duration of the finals. It may be stated once and for all that the only short or clipped consonants which Donegal Irish knows are *l*, *l'*, *n*, *n'*, *r*, *r'*, *ç*, *w*. At the end of stressed monosyllables with short vowel the stops and *s*, *f* are held for a longer time than is the case with voiced consonants in standard English after a short vowel, though parallels occur in northern dialects, e.g. in the Swaledale pronunciation of 'had', 'bad'. At the same time the contact is loosened very gradually, so that an off-glide is clearly heard. *l*, *l'*, *n*, *n'*, *r*, *r'* at the end of stressed monosyllables may be regarded as over-short, in other positions as short. *L*, *L'*, *N*, *N'*, *R*, *m*, *m'*, the stops and *s* (*f*) at the end of stressed monosyllables after short vowels are long. In other positions they are either long or half-long. Even initially they are dwelt upon and often seem to be half-long. In all cases the articulation of a final consonant is finished and the off-glide is invariably heard.

1. *p*.

§ 358. *p* is formed with the lips slightly protruded in the *w* position and is strongly aspirated. On releasing the contact a *w* off-glide is heard which is most noticeable before *æ*, *ε*, *e*, *i*. For the lenis *p* cp. § 438.

§ 359. *p* occurs initially before *a*, *o*, *u* in loan-words from Latin and English, e.g. *pwæd'r'i:n'*, 'the rosary', Lat. *pater noster*; *pɔ:g*, 'kiss', Lat. *pacem*; *pɔ:suw*, 'marry', Lat. *sponsus*; *pɔbəl*, 'congregation', Lat. *populus*; *plɑ:i*, 'plague', Lat. *plaga*; *plɑ:pæd'*, 'climate', Lat. *planeta*; *spɔhuw*, 'to geld', M.Ir. *spochad* < Lat. *spado*. *pɑ:ft'ə*, 'child', < Engl. *page*; *pɑ:r'k'*, 'meadow', < Engl. 'park'; *pɔtə*, 'pot'; *pɔ:kə*, 'pocket', < Engl. 'poke, pocket'; *pɔ:Ntə*, 'pound'; *pɔtɔg*, 'pudding'. *plu:r*, 'flour', has *p* for *f* due to mistaken de-aspiration.

Although originally no genuine Irish words began with *p*, this sound is now-a-days a very favourite one in coining new words the origin of which is frequently obscure, cp. *prakər*, 'leavings of potatoes', *pra:kas*, 'a small, deformed person', Di. *prácás*; *spuik'*, 'blister', Di. *spuaic*.

§ 360. In several loan-words *p* occurs initially where the language from which they are borrowed has *b*, e.g. *pɔ:NəN*, 'sheaf', < Norse *bundin*, Engl. *bundle*; *pɔ:nir'ə*, 'beans', Norse *baun*, Ohg. *pōna*; *pɑ:k*, 'fair for selling stockings', < Engl. 'bank'; *plɔk*, 'cheek', < 'block' (?). Cp. further Di. *praiseach*; Macbain *prais*, *priobaid*, *pronnasg*. Donegal *p* also corresponds to *b* of the other dialects in *pra:fk'i:n'*, 'apron', Di. *práiscín*, Duffy, *Mion-chaint na Midbe* has *práiscín* and *bráiscín*; *prɔ:Nəm*, 'I present', M.Ir. *bronnaim*, *prɔ:Ntənəs*, 'present', Meyer *bronnatanas*, cp. Spir. Rose p. 30 *pronn*. *pɔs*, 'lip', more commonly *pwɪfi:n'*, is M.Ir. *bus*. Medially we find *p* for *b* in *apwi:*, 'ripe', Di. *abaidh*, Meyer *abbuig*.

§ 361. Medially and finally *p* arises from older *pp* = *O*. and M.Ir. *pp*, *p*, e.g. *krap*, 'lump', M.Ir. *cnapp*, < Norse *knappr*; *k'apəm*, 'I stop, head off', Meyer *ceppaim* from *k'ap*, 'shoemaker's last', Meyer *cepp* < Lat. *cippus*, cp. *k'ap Nə viəkəl*, 'gum'; *sap*, 'wisp', M.Ir. *sopp*; *tapuw ɔrt*, 'God speed you', M.Ir. *tapad*. The relation of *kapəL*, 'mare', M.Ir. *capull*, Welsh *ceffyl* and Lat. *caballus* is obscure.

p also occurs after *l*, *r*, *m* and *s* in loan-words, e.g. *skalpuw*, 'to snarl', Di. *scealpadh* (with different meaning), < Engl. *skelp* (?); *kɔrp*, 'corpse', O.Ir. *corp*, < Lat. *corpus*; *aspək*, 'bishop', O.Ir. *espc*; *aspəl*, 'apostle', O.Ir. *apstal*; *ta(:)mpəL*, 'Protestant chapel', O.Ir. *tempol*. Similarly *klɔpwid'ə*, 'wrinkle in cloth, dip in land', = M.Ir. *clupait* < *culpait*.

In the latest loan-words from English we find *p* = Engl. *p*, e.g. *kɔpan*, 'cup'; *p'i:pə*, 'pipe'; *rɔ:pə*, 'rope'; *ʃipə*, 'shop';

fL'ipərNj̄; 'tottering', < Engl. 'slip'. From Lat. *papa*, 'pope', we expect **pα.bə* and not *pα:pə*.

§ 362. *b + th* gives *p* in *L'apə*, gen. sing. of *L'abwi*; 'bed', nom. plur. *L'apαχə*, M.Ir. *lepad*; *L'εpαχə*, plur. of *L'εəb*, 'strip', Di. *leadhb*. Similarly in futures, e.g. *Lu:pwi fə*, 'he will bend'; *f'iapwi fə*, 'it will blow'. *p* further arises from *bh + th* in the adverbs *ti:pυəs*, 'above', *ti:pαL*, 'beyond', *ti:p'iar*, 'to the west of' = *taobh-thuas*, *taobh-thiar*, *taobh-thall*, cp. § 470 and Pedersen p. 161.

ompər, 'to carry', occurs by the side of *omχər*, M.Ir. *immchor*; *kələpə*, 'calf of the leg' (not common) = Meyer *colptha*; *kələpαχ*, 'stirk', = Meyer *colphach*. Both the latter seem to go back to the Teutonic word for 'calf'.

§ 363. In the future forms of stems ending in *p* the *h < f* can cause no change as the *p* is already aspirated. Hence the present and future are often the same in form, e.g. *k'apwi: fə*, 'he stops' or 'will stop'; *kropwi: fə*, 'it shrinks' or 'will shrink'.

2. *p'*.

§ 364. *p'* is formed with the lips tightly drawn back on to the teeth and may be aspirated. For *p'* as a lenis cp. § 438.

§ 365. Initial *p'* represents O. and M.Ir. *p* before *e, i*. The words in question are mostly borrowed from Latin or English, some are late formations modelled on English words, whilst one or two others such as *sp'al*, 'scythe', M.Ir. *spel*, are obscure. Examples—*p'akuw*, 'sin', O.Ir. *peccad* < Lat. *peccatum*; *p'αN*, 'pen', M.Ir. *penn* < Lat. *pinna*; *p'atə*, 'pet', M.Ir. *petta*; *p'il'əp'i:n'*, 'peewit', Di. *pilibín*, < Philip (?); *p'inu:s*, 'penance', Di. *píonús*, *píonós* < Lat. *poena*, with possibly a leaning on Engl. 'punish' (Macbain); *p'ikəd'*, 'pick' and *p'ikuw*, 'to pick', < Engl.; *p'ig'i:n'*, 'a piggin'; *p'i'i:n'*, 'kitten'; *p'it'*, 'cunnus', Di. *pit* < Engl. 'pit' or O.E. *pyt*; *p'i:N'*, 'penny', M.Ir. *pinginn*; *p'i:sə*, 'piece'; *p'l'εəskuw*, 'to burst, crack', founded on Engl. 'flash' (?); *p'l'eif'u:r*, 'pleasure'; *p'r'εətə*, 'potato'; *p'r'is*, 'cup-board', < Engl. 'press'; *sp'eir'*, 'sky', < Lat. *sphaera*; *sp'ianuw*, 'to tease wool', < Lat. *spina*; *sp'irəd'*, 'spirit', O.Ir. *spirit*.

In *p'eift'* (*χapwiL*), 'a black and yellow caterpillar', we have *p'* for *b'*, cp. § 360 and Scotch G. *preathal* for *breitheal*.

p'iaχan, 'hoarseness', seems to be onomatopœic and exhibits

a variety of forms. Macbain has plochan, Fournier ceochan, O'R. spiochan.

§ 366. Medial and final *p'* occurs only in inflected or derivative forms of words containing *p*, e.g. *k'ip'i:n'*, 'small stick', dimin. of *k'ap*; *kreɸ'ə*, 'button', < M.Ir. cnapp. Also in *fwip'* < Engl. 'whip'.

p' arises after *m'* in *t'im'p'iaL*, 'about', O.Ir. timmchell, cp. *ompær* § 362.

§ 367. As *p'* and *f'* interchange in aspiration, *p'* is sometimes wrongly substituted for *f'*, e.g. in *p'iL'uw*, 'to return', M.Ir. filliud; *p'r'iaxl'*, 'to fry', < Engl.

3. *b*.

§ 368. *b* is the voiced sound corresponding to *p*. The off-glide is *w* which we write in this book before palatal vowels.

§ 369. *b* occurs initially in a large number of words corresponding to O. and M.Ir. *b* before *a*, *o*, *u* or *l* and *r* followed by these vowels, e.g. *bakax*, 'lame', M.Ir. baccach; *baL*, 'spot', O.Ir. ball; *ba:hww*, 'to drown', M.Ir. bádud; *bla:*, 'flower', M.Ir. bláth; *bla:χ*, 'buttermilk', M.Ir. bláthach; *bra:d'*, 'throat', O.Ir. bráge; *brīN'*, 'womb', M.Ir. broind (dat.); *bo:*, 'cow', O.Ir. bó; *bog*, 'soft', M.Ir. bocce; *bwæN'ə*, 'milk', O.Ir. banne; *bwæft'am*, 'I baptize', O.Ir. baitsim; *bwel'ə*, 'townland', M.Ir. baile; *bwia*, 'yellow', O.Ir. bude; *bwil'ə*, 'blow', O.Ir. buille; *bwɪ:*, 'foolish', O.Ir. báith.

b corresponds to O.Ir. *m* in *braic*, 'malt', O.Ir. mraich; *blas*, 'taste', O.Ir. mlas; *braihəm*, 'I betray', cp. M.Ir. mrath.

The eclipsed form of *p* is *b*, e.g. *α bo:sit^(l) fə*, 'if he were to marry'; *vi: fi α bo:guw*, 'she was kissing them'; *mær ba:ft'ə*, 'your child'; *Nȳ: bəNəNαχə*, 'nine sheaves'.

§ 370. Medially and finally *b* represents an earlier *bb* which generally arose by assimilation and which in O. and M.Ir. is written *pp*, *ɲ*, e.g. *abwir'* (imper.), 'say', M.Ir. apair with *a* from *atbeir*; *abər*, 'mud', M.Ir. ebor; *gəb*, 'beak, month', M.Ir. gop; *g'ibog*, 'bit, morsel', cp. O.Ir. gibhne; *kab*, 'mouth', *kabwir'ə*, 'prater', < M.Engl. gabben; *L'abwi:*, 'bed', M.Ir. lepaid, lepad; *skabuw*, 'to scatter', Di. scabaim, scapaim, scaipim; *təbər*, 'well', O.Ir. topur; *təbəN*, 'sudden', M.Ir. oponn. *b* corresponds to M.Ir. *b* after *d* in *L'əb*, 'strip', M.Ir. ledb. In this case the group *db* is not the same as *db* in M.Ir. Medb, Sadb which are

now pronounced *m'εawə*, *sa:wə*. Similarly after *l* and *r* in *aləbə*, 'Scotland', M.Ir. *Alba*; *karəbəd*, 'chariot', O.Ir. *carpat*, Gaulish *carbantia*.

§ 371. In earlier loan-words a medial *p* was received into Irish as a lenis which gave the same result as *bb*, e.g. *ka:bə*, 'cape', Meyer *cápa*, < O.Fr. *cape*; *əbwir'*, 'work', Lat. *opera*, O.Ir. only *oipred*; *pəbəl*, 'congregation', Lat. *populus*; *p'ibəb*, 'throat, pipe', Lat. *pipa*, from which are formed *p'ibərNǵ:*, 'wheezing', *p'ibrúw*, 'rousing to fight'; *skrə:bən*, 'crop of birds', formed on Engl. 'crop' and 'scrape' (?); *skruəb*, 'besom', M.Ir. *scuap* < Lat. *scopa*; *fk'ibəl*, 'barn', O.Welsh *scipaur*, Cornish *scibor*, < Lat. **scoparium*.

Late loan-words from English have *b* = Engl. *b*, e.g. *babog*, 'doll', < Engl. 'babe'; *bəbwir'axt*, 'trickery', < Engl. 'bob'; *təbən*, 'tub'. In a few instances we find Engl. *w*, *v* appearing as *b* on the analogy of *baxd*, 'boat', *ax waxd*, 'his boat', e.g. *baLə*, 'wall'; *bəNtəf'ə*, 'advantage'. Similarly *b* for *m* occurs in *bəmwi'ə*, 'minute', < Lat. *momentum*.

t'r'ibləd', 'trouble', M.Ir. *tréblait*, seems to have been borrowed during the M.Ir. period from Lat. *tribulatio*.

§ 372. In several cases Donegal *b* corresponds to *bh* in the other dialects, e.g. *kru:b*, 'paw, hand', Di. *crúb*, *crobh*, Macbain *crubh*, Meyer *crob*, *crúb*; *fk'r'i:b*, 'scratch, furrow', M.Ir. *scríb*, *scrípad*, Lat. *scribo* but *fk'r'iuw*, 'to write'; *fəbərNǵ:* (*f'ibərNǵ:*), 'neglect', *gəl əN' f.*, *f'ibərNax* Cl. S. 30 v '03 p. 1 col. 1 (used of cattle getting mixed up and going astray), this seems to be the same word as Di. *siabrán*, -acht, cp. further Di. *seabhais*, *seabhóideacht*, *seabhóidim*; *f'ibúw*, 'to blow', Di. *siabhadh*, Macbain *siab*, *siabh*, Manx *sheebey*.

mər bwiL' fə, 'unless he is', scarcely belongs here. The *b* doubtless represents the copula inserted from *ax mər b'ə*, 'if it had not been for him', in the same way as a meaningless *əs* (*agus*) is introduced in *gəð'e: mər əs tɑ: tuw*, 'how are you?' from phrases like *Ni:L' fə kə maif əs vi: fə*, 'he is not as good as he was'.

4. *b'*.

§ 373. *b'* is formed in the same way as *p'* but is voiced.

§ 374. *b'* corresponds to O.Ir. initial *b* before *e* and *i* or preceding *l* and *r* followed by these vowels, e.g. *b'an*, 'woman', O.Ir. *ben*; *b'anaxt*, 'blessing', O.Ir. *hendacht*; *b'in'id'*, 'rennet', O.Ir. *bínid*; *b'i:wi:*, 'slyly mischievous', Meyer *bibdaide*; *b'l'ün'*,

'year', O.Ir. bliadain; *b'ri:*, 'vigour, force', O.Ir. brig; *b'ri:hər*, 'speech', O.Ir. bríathar.

The eclipsed form of initial *p'* is *b'*, e.g. *α b'atə*, 'their pet'; *p'i:sə he: b'i:N'*, 'a sixpenny bit'.

§ 375. Medial and final *b'* arises from the same sources as *b* in §§ 371, 372 before originally palatal vowels. *b'* is far from being as frequent as *b* and a number of words in which it occurs are somewhat obscure. Examples—*k'i:b'*, 'sedge', Di. cfb; *k'l'ib'i:n'*, 'lump of dirt on the legs of a beast, matted hair on a person', Di. clib, Macbain cliob, cp. *f'in' εən gl'ib'i:n' əwā:n'*, 'that is all one kettle of fish'; *ri'b'ə*, 'hair', Di. ribe, ruibe, Macbain rib, ribeag < Engl. riban. In foreign words < *p* in *eb'r'an*, 'April', Lat. aprilis (see ZCP. i 358); *ib'r'uu*, 'to work', *ib'ri:*, 'workman', cp. O.Ir. oipred; *p'ib'ər*, 'pepper', Lat. piper.

§ 376. *b'* has been analogically substituted for *v* in *b'ig'il'*, 'abstinence, vigil', < Lat. vigilia; *b'i:f'*, 'vice', < Engl. 'vice'. *d'ir'ib'*, 'the name of a creeping thing that lives at the bottom of pools and is liable to be swallowed by cattle', = Di. doirbh.

§ 377. *sib'əLta*, 'impudent', seems to correspond to O'R. sodalta, Macbain saidealta, cp. Di. sotal.

5. *t*.

§ 378. *t* is formed by firmly pressing the front rim of the tongue against the upper teeth as in the case of *L* and *N*. The compression is very great and as contact is loosened very gradually a *θ* glide is distinctly heard. For *t* as a lenis see § 438.

§ 379. Initial *t* represents O.Ir. *t* before *a*, *o*, *u* or preceding *r*, *l* followed by these vowels, e.g. *taluw*, 'land', O.Ir. talam; *targir'ə*, 'prophet', cp. O.Ir. tairngire; *taruu*, 'bull', O.Ir. tarb; *fig'əm*, 'I understand', O.Ir. tuicim; *təl'*, 'will', O.Ir. tol; *toruu*, 'fruit', M.Ir. torad; *to:gæl'*, 'to raise', M.Ir. tócbáil; *tui (cahá)*, 'rainbow', O.Ir. tuag; *tyuu*, 'side', O.Ir. tóib; *tlUy*, 'tongs', Di. tlúgh; *tra:*, 'meal', M.Ir. tráth; *tra:i:*, 'shore', M.Ir. tráig, tráig.

t is prefixed in the nominative case to masculine substantives which began with *a*, *o*, *u* in O.Ir. when preceded by the article, e.g. *ə tahær'*, 'the father'. In the case of O.Ir. áis, óis, 'people', the *t* has become part and parcel of the word, e.g. *dəN ti:s əg*, 'to the young people'. *t* is further prefixed to a feminine substantive with initial *s* followed in O.Ir. by one of the vowels

a, o, u or by l or r, before the same vowels, when preceded by the article an, e.g. *a tro:n*, 'the nose'; *er' a tra:d'*, 'in the street'. Also to a masculine substantive under like conditions when preceded by a preposition and the definite article, e.g. *dəN figərt*, 'to the priest'.

§ 380. *t* after *r*, *l*, *χ* in words of native origin goes back to Idg. *t*, e.g. *aLt*, 'joint', M.Ir. alt, < *paltos; *məLt*, 'wether', cp. Lat. multo; *tart*, 'thirst', cp. Engl. thirst; *faχt*, 'seven', Lat. septem; *t'axt*, 'coming', O.Ir. techt, < *tikta; *bəχt*, 'poor', O.Ir. bocht, < *bog-to-; *əχt*, 'breast', O.Ir. ucht, cp. Lat. pectus; *aNəχt*, 'to-night', O.Ir. innocht, cp. Lat. noct-is; *kartan*, 'sheep-louse', M.Ir. cart; *b'a:Ltin'ə*, 'May', M.Ir. beltene, belltaine; *ga:Lta*, 'Protestant', Di. gallta, for the ending cp. *gasta*, 'quick, smart', M.Ir. gasta. Similarly in loan-words from Latin, e.g. *k'art*, 'right', O.Ir. cert < Lat. certus; *sigərt*, 'priest', O.Ir. sacart, sacardd (why *t* and not *d*? the form is peculiar in other respects, cp. § 103); *b'aNaxt*, 'blessing, greeting', O.Ir. bendacht < Lat. benedictio.

§ 381. Otherwise medial and final *t* usually represents an older *tt* before original a, o, u (O. and M.Ir. *tt*, *t*), e.g. *at*, 'swelling', O.Ir. att; *bata*, 'stick', M.Engl. batte; *brat*, 'flag' (*brat maruw*, 'shroud'), O.Ir. bratt; *b'iatax*, 'hospitalier', M.Ir. biattach; *t'i:r Nə m'r'atən*, 'Wales', M.Ir. Brettan (gen. plur.), the word for 'Welshman' is *b'r'axax*; *kat*, 'cat', M.Ir. catt; *p'ata*, 'pet', M.Ir. petta (evidently an early borrowing but its precise origin is not clear); *sLat*, 'rod', M.Ir. slat.

In late loan-words from English Donegal *t* = Engl. *t*, e.g. *hata*, 'hat'; *ka:ta*, 'coat'; *ru:ta*, 'root'. *bataL'tə*, 'an armful', *b. f'eir*, 'a wap of hay', < Engl. bottle (?), may have come in in the middle period or quite recently, cp. Sg. Fearn. botán p. 100 = O'R. boiteán.

§ 382. *t* and *t'* not infrequently interchange as the initial of substantives, a natural confusion seeing that the aspirated form of both is *h*, e.g. *tastael*, 'to want', Di. teastuighim, cp. O.Ir. tesstá. The alternation in *t'ax*, 'house', gen. sing. *tiə*, occurs already in O.Ir. and is due to vowel-gradation.

§ 383. *t* has in a few cases been prefixed to words beginning with a vowel or *f*, cp. *a ti:s ə:g* § 379. Examples—*təbəN*, 'sudden', M.Ir. opond; *tuəm' tã:uw*, 'an idle rumour', v. Di. tuaim = fuaim. Cp. *t'iL'uw* by the side of *f'iL'uw*, 'to return', v. Di. tilleadh.

§ 384. *d* followed by *fh*, *th* or *ch* gives *t*, e.g. *d'ēstiN'*, 'I might', = *d'fhēudfainn*; *stata m'ə*, 'I shall stop'; *kətiə*, 'why', < *cad chuige*.

§ 385. In the present and imperfect passive the tendency is to substitute *t* for *th* in the ending in order to distinguish these tenses from the future and conditional in such cases as *k'aptər*, *çapti*; *b'r'aktər*, *glakti*; *iərtər*. From *d'er'am*, 'I say', the usual form is *d'ertər*, though *d'εrər* may be heard. For *d'ertər* cp. Chr. Bros. Aids to Pron. of Irish p. 18: "In Munster the *t* in the termination of the autonomous present is usually broad—e.g. *innstear* is pronounced *ínntstar*". In the second conjugation the termination of the imperfect passive is *-i:sti*, never *-i:f't'i*, e.g. *d'iN'fi:sti*, 'used to be related'. For the ending cp. the new past participle termination *-i:f'tə*.

§ 386. A parasitic *t* is frequently added after *χ*, *L*, *N*, *s*, *t*, e.g. *i:N'taxt*, 'a certain', Di. *éigin* teach s. *éigin* (cp. G. J. June '03 p. 337); *taməLt*, 'a while', Di. *tamall*; *təwəNt*, 'barking', M.Ir. *toffund*; *fərast*, 'easy', M.Ir. *urussa*; *grə:st* (also *grə:stə*), 'grace', Di. *grás*; *b'r'ist huw*, 'a plague on you' = *b'ir' əs huw*. Also *fəstaxt*, *fəstat*, 'besides', < *fəstə*, *fə:st*, Di. *fós* influenced by *f'astə*, 'yet'.

6. *t*.

§ 387. In producing this sound the front rim of the tongue is pressed against the top teeth or the edge of the lower teeth whilst the front of the tongue is brought against the front part of the hard palate. A similar sound is frequent in English in words like 'ritual' when not pronounced with *tʃ*. I have not noticed any tendency in Donegal for *t'* to pass into *tʃ* as in parts of Connaught, Manx and Scotch Gaelic. The contact for *t'* is however broken very gradually and a glide resembling *f* is heard. For *t'* as a lenis see § 438.

§ 388. *t'* corresponds to O.Ir. initial *t* before *e*, *i* or preceding *r* followed by these vowels, e.g. *tax*, 'house', O.Ir. *tech*; *t'an*, 'tight', O.Ir. *tend*; *t'anɣi*, 'tongue', O.Ir. *tenge*; *t'ə*, 'hot', M.Ir. *teith* beside *tee*, *té*; *t'iaχog*, 'chest for meal', M.Ir. *tiach*; *t'in'i*, 'fire', O.Ir. *tene*; *t'iN'əs*, 'sickness', M.Ir. *tinnes*; *t'iNta*, 'to turn', cp. O.Ir. *tintúuth*; *t'r'εm*, 'strong', M.Ir. *trén*; *t'r'ian*, 'third', M.Ir. *trian*; *t'r'eig'am*, 'I abandon', M.Ir. *trécim*. *t'* precedes *l'* in *l'l'ig'en* but this is due to a late metathesis (§ 440).

t' is prefixed to a feminine substantive beginning with *f* followed by a vowel or *L'*, *N'*, when the article *an* precedes, and also to masculine and feminine substantives under similar conditions when preceded by a preposition and the definite article, e.g. *ə t'anvan*, 'the old woman'; *ə t'l'is*, 'the chip'; *er' ə t'r'axtə*, 'on the snow'. Masculine substantives which in O.Ir. began with *e*, *i* take *t'* after the article in the nominative singular, e.g. *ə t'αLax*, 'the cattle', but *l'efə N'αLax*, 'with the cattle'. However the younger generation is beginning to introduce *t'* in the latter case also.

§ 389. Medially and finally *t'* arises from an earlier *tt* which originally stood before *e* or *i*. In O. and M.Ir. *tt*, *t* is written. Examples—*α:t'*, 'place', M.Ir. *áit*; *æt'əmax*, 'furze', M.Ir. *aittenn*; *et'əg*, 'wing', O.Ir. *ette*. Similarly in the loan-word *L'it'ir'*, 'letter', O.Ir. *liter*, Welsh *llythyr*. *t'* (< *t*) also occurs after *L'*, *N'*, *r*, *f* in native and borrowed words, e.g. *ku:rt'*, 'visit', O.Ir. *cúairt*: *k'eft'*, 'question', M.Ir. *ceist*, < Lat. *quaestio*; *kyN't'iN'*, 'dispute', < Lat. *contentio*; *d'α ma:rt'*, 'Tuesday', Lat. *Martis*; *sLa:N't'ə*, 'health', M.Ir. *sláinte*.

§ 390. *t* and *t'* frequently interchange initially, see § 383. *t'* regularly appears in *t'it'əm'*, 'to fall', M.Ir. *tuitim*; *t'iL'uw*, 'to deserve, additional amount', M.Ir. *tuilled*. The Donegal form of Di. *aistear* is *astər* (*χh'iN'ə*), 'labour'.

§ 391. *t'* results from *i*. *d' + h* (< *fh*, *th*) in *gyt'ə m'ə*, 'I shall steal', pres. pass. *gyt'ər*, past part. *gyt'ə*; *trit'ə m'ə*, 'I shall fight', imperf. pass. *ʒit'i:*; *brīt'ə m'ə*, 'I shall nudge', Di. *broidighim*; *feit'i fə*, 'it will blow', Di. *seidim*. ii. *th + sh* in *L'et'ecə*, 'a half-hide', = *leath-sheithche* (also called *L'α'fecə*), but *L'α'ha:stə*, 'half-satisfied'. iii. *d + ch* in *t'i:m*, 'I see', M.Ir. *atchínm*. iv. the third singular termination *-adh* becomes *-it'*, *ət'*, *-it'* when followed by one of the pronouns *e:*; *fi: f'ied*, e.g. *gə wit' fə*, 'that he would get'. Pedersen maintains that the syllable is *-əd* and not *-it'* (p. 161). What I believe I hear is *t'* or a lenis *t'* (see infra § 393).

In *αχmwirt'*, 'heat in horses', *t'* has taken the place of *k'*, cp. Di. *eachmairc*.

§ 392. A parasitic *t'* is frequently added to words ending in *l'*, *n'*, *f*, e.g. *sāūwiL't'* in *N'i: akə m'ə ə sāūwiL't' də wri:*, 'I never saw such a woman', Di. *samhail*; *kyN'æL't'*, 'to keep', Di. *conggháil*; *fa:gæL't'*, 'to leave', M.Ir. *fácháil* and so with other infinitives in *-æ'l'*, *k'r'ed'væL't'*, *æd'væL't'*; *bwiN't'*, 'to pull,

pluck, reap', O.Ir. buain; *kanu:N't'*, 'speech', Di. canamhain; *L'annu:N't'*, 'to follow', M.Ir. lenmain; *fwil'iN't'*, 'to suffer', Di. fuiling; *tarN't'*, 'to pull', Di. tarraing. On the analogy of these and other infinitives in *t'* we get *ra:t'*, 'to say', O.Ir. rád (cp. foghlaimt Sg. Fearn. p. 24). Further *er'i:ft'*, 'again', Di. aris; *er'eft'*, 'back', < ar ais; *-mwift'* in the 1st plur. of the imperfect (J. C. Ward denies the existence of this ending in Donegal and it is not admitted by Craig either, but J. H. uses it regularly), cp. Spir. Rose p. 8 smuadhnamuist.

§ 393. The off-glide mentioned above as accompanying *t'* is frequently not heard when another consonant immediately follows. This we denote by writing *t'*. Examples—*tæt'^(l)n'im*, 'I please'; *skart'^(l)kil'i:*, 'cock-crow'; *ə ho:r't'^(l)l'im*, 'to bring with me'; *to:rt'^(l)ko:rL'ə*, 'giving advice'; *ho:rt'^(l)suas*, 'giving up', also *hōrt suas*; *kæN't'^(l)l'im*, 'talking with me'.

An ordinary alveolar *t* occurs in late loan-words from English such as *te:*, 'tea'; *tre:n*, 'train'.

7. *d*.

§ 394. *d* corresponds in formation to *t*, the stop itself and the off-glide being voiced.

§ 395. Initial *d* corresponds to O.Ir. *d* before *a*, *o*, *u* or preceding *l*, *r* followed by the same vowels, e.g. *dāim*, 'firm', O.Ir. daingen; *dāL*, 'blind', M.Ir. dall; *dæ'l'i:*, 'difficult', M.Ir. doilig; *devr'əs*, 'poverty' (not common), cp. M.Ir. daidbre; *din'ə*, 'man', O.Ir. dune; *dō:rN*, 'fist', M.Ir. dorn; *dUw*, 'black', M.Ir. dub; *du:γaxt*, 'zeal', O.Ir. dúthracht; *dli:*, 'lock of hair, handful of straw, hay, potatoes &c.', *dli: ə wəLy:*, 'top-stopple in thatching', Di. dlaoi; *dreçəd*, 'bridge', M.Ir. drochet.

d also occurs initially as the eclipsed form of *t*, e.g. *ə daruw*, 'their bull'; *gə darN'i m'ə*, 'till I pull'; *ə dæf'k'i:*, 'put by, in a place of safety', cp. M.Ir. taiscim.

fa di:wida, 'about it, about', also *axə:di:wida* is not clear. The preposition *fa* usually aspirates as in the toast *fa hu:r'əm' huw ə və sLə:n*. Perhaps we may compare Manx mygeayrt, 'about', = O.Ir. imacúairt with stereotyped 3rd plur. form.

§ 396. Medial and final *d* in native words goes back to an older *dd* which arose from various sources. In O. and M.Ir. *tt*, *t* is written. i. For *d* < Prim. Keltic *dd* I have no examples. ii. Prim. Keltic *zd* occurs in *fada*, 'long', O.Ir. fota; *f'ad*,

'a whistle', M.Ir. fetán, Welsh chwythu; *gad*, 'withe', M.Ir. gat, Gothic gazds, Lat. hasta; *k'ad*, 'permission', O.Ir. cet; *N'ad*, 'nest', M.Ir. net, Ohg. nest. iii. nt gave dd with compensatory lengthening, e.g. *d'ead*, 'row of teeth', O.Ir. dét, Welsh dant, Lat. dentem; *ead*, 'jealousy', O.Ir. ét, Gaulish Iantu-marus; *f'eadem*, 'I may', M.Ir. fétaim; *k'ead*, 'hundred', O.Ir. cét, Welsh cant, Lat. centum.

After r Prim. Keltic d remains but not after l, n, e.g. *ord*, 'sledge-hammer', O.Ir. ordd, Welsh ordd; *k'er'd* = ceird for ceard, 'trade, profession', M.Ir. cerd, Welsh cerdd, Gk. κέρδος. Similarly in Lat. loan-words, e.g. *ord*, 'order', O.Ir. ord, Lat. ordo.

§ 397. In earlier loan-words medial and final *d* corresponds to a Romance or Engl. t which was received as a lenis and later became *d*. In the earliest borrowings we find th = Lat t, v. Pedersen p. 170. Examples—*ba:d*, 'boat', M.Ir. bát, O.E. bát, Norse bátr; *b'arad*, 'cap', Di. bairéad, < Low Lat. birretum; *kloggad*, 'helmet', M.Ir. cloc-att, Norse hattr, Engl. hat; *pa:drik'*, 'Patrick', O.Ir. Patricc, Lat. Patricius; *p'adər*, 'Peter', Lat. Petrus; *sə:d*, 'flint', O.Ir. saiget, < Lat. sagitta; *sp'irəd*, 'spirit', O.Ir. spirut, Lat. spiritus; *stad*, 'stop', founded on Lat. status; *t'idəl*, 'title', Lat. titulus; *u:dər*, 'author', O.Ir. anctor. *t* probably became a lenis in pretonic syllables (Pedersen p. 153), whence the *d* of *də*, 'your', *də*, 'to'; *dir' f'is*, 'by my faith', Di. dar, O.Ir. tar. The pronominal suffix of the second pers. sing. used after prepositions in Donegal is always *d*, e.g. *f'r'i:d*, 'through you'; *fu:d*, 'below you'; *rō:d*, 'before you'; *əgəd*, 'with you'.

§ 398. In other loan-words medial or final *d* corresponds to Engl. d, e.g. *bə:r'di: er'*, 'approximately', < Engl. border; *m'i:du:n*, 'meadow'; *pa:rdu:n*, 'pardon'; *skadan*, 'herring', M.Ir. scatan, < O.E. sceadda, Engl. shad; *spada.Ntə*, 'seedy, exhausted', Lat. spado; *spa:d*, 'spade'.

§ 399. *krudalax*, 'hardy', Di. cruadhalach, cruadálach, probably owes its *d* to *fadalax*, 'slow', = fad-dálach. *ə N'qməd*, 'great number', *qmədu:l'*, 'numerous', *ə N'qmətə* = *ə N'qməd*, go back to O.Ir. imbed which should give **im'uw*. Judging from the spellings immat, iumat, imat in Atk., imat (Laws), the modern form with *d* already occurred in M.Ir. Can the *d* be due to form-association with O.Ir. méit, mét, which is closely allied in meaning? *dæg'an*, 'depths', M.Ir. oician has got its *d* from *do:n'*, 'deep'.

8. *d'*.

§ 400. *d'* corresponds in formation to *t'* but is voiced. A somewhat similar sound occurs in such English words as 'individual' when not pronounced with *dʒ*.

§ 401. Initially *d'* represents O.Ir. *d* before *e*, *i*, or preceding *r*, *l*, followed by these vowels, e.g. *d'alæg*, 'thorn', O.Ir. *delg*; *d'arəməd*, 'forgetfulness', O.Ir. *dermet*; *d'er'uw*, 'end', O.Ir. *dered*; *d'ia*, 'God', O.Ir. *día*; *d'í:wi:n'*, 'single', M.Ir. *dímáin*; *d'liuw*, 'law', O.Ir. *dliged*; *d'ɔ:r*, 'tear', M.Ir. *dér*; *d'r'eim'ir'ə*, 'ladder', cp. M.Ir. *dréimm*; *d'r'ifəg*, 'briar', O.Ir. *driss*; *d'u:ltuw*, 'refuse', O.Ir. *diltud*.

The eclipsed form of *t'* is also *d'*, e.g. *təguw ə d'i:r' ə*, 'he was brought round' (of a sick person); *gɑ: d'r'ien*, 'two thirds'; *χUə mwid' ə r d'r'u:r*, 'the three of us went'.

§ 402. Medial and final *d'* in native words arose from an earlier *dd* standing before *e* or *i* which in O. and M.Ir. was written *tt*, *t*. This *dd* represents *i*. Prim. Keltic *dd* in *k'r'ed'am*, 'I believe', O.Ir. *cretim*, Welsh *credu*, Sanskrit *śrad-dhā*. ii. Prim. Keltic *nt* in *m'eid'*, 'size', O.Ir. *méit*, Welsh *maint*; *fwəid'*, 'patience', O.Ir. *foditiu* from *fo-damim*; *b'r'eid'i:n'*, 'rag', M.Ir. *bréit*. iii. Prim. Keltic *zd* in *kyd'*, 'piece, share', O.Ir. *cuit*; *mwəd'ə*, 'stick', cp. M.Ir. *maite*, *matan*, Engl. *mast*; *feid'uw*, 'to blow', M.Ir. *sétim*.

§ 403. In earlier loan-words medial and final *d'* corresponds to a Romance or English *t* which was received as a lenis and later became *d'*, e.g. *buid'al*, 'bottle'; *in'id'*, in *ma:rt' in'id'ə*, 'Shrove Tuesday', M.Ir. *init*, Lat. *initium*; *Ləd'in*, 'Latin', < *Latina*; *mwəd'in'*, 'morning', O.Ir. *matin* (acc.), Lat. *matutina*; *pwə-d'r'i:n'*, 'rosary', < Lat. *pater*; *sra:d'*, 'street', M.Ir. *sráit*, Norse *sráit*. Latin words ending in *-atio* appear with *-əd'*, *-əd'*, e.g. *pərgəd'*, 'purgative', Di. *purgóid*; *t'r'iblod'*, 'trouble', M.Ir. *treblait*, < *tribulatio*; *ɔ:rəd'*, 'speech', < Lat. *orate*, *oratio*. This ending was also wrongly abstracted from one or two native words such as *N'askəd'*, 'boil', M.Ir. *nescoit*; *ɔ:rəχəd'*, 'harm', O.Ir. *erchoit* and was transferred to English loan-words such as *baskəd'*, 'basket'; *bəkəd'*, 'bucket'; *p'ikəd'*, 'pick'. *b'r'īnləd'*, 'dream', Meyer *bringlóit*, perhaps also belongs here.

§ 404. Occasionally there is confusion between *d* and *d'*. M.Ir. *drúcht* generally appears as *d'r'u:χtə*; *əd'væl'*, 'to confess', M.Ir. *atmail*, has been influenced by *k'r'ed'væl'*; *olga:rdəs*, 're-

joicing', is the Donegal for Di. *iolgháirdeas*; *d'ar'di:n'*, 'Thursday', O.Ir. *dardóen*, has *d'* by analogy with *d'a Lu:n'*, 'Monday' &c.

do, 'tuus', and the verbal particle do before an O.Ir. palatal initial usually appear as *d'*, e.g. *d'ar*, 'your husband'; *d'eadon*, 'your face'; but generally *ta*: *L'es'k' orom det'uuv*, 'I am loath to refuse you'; *d'iNif m'a*, 'I related'.

§ 405. The relation of *m'ihid'*, 'due time', to Wi. *mithich*, *mithig* is not clear. Donegal also has a substantive *m'ihos*. It is perhaps worthy of note that *m'ihid'* is commonly accompanied by the preposition *də*, 'to', and both **m'ihih* and *m'ihid'* would appear as *m'ih* before *də*. *bwi:d'aχ*, 'tiny', is perhaps the same as Scotch G. *bóidheach*, 'pretty', < M.Ir. *buadech*, 'victorious'. *bwi:d'aχ* is generally used along with *b'ig*, as in *g'itə b'ig bwi:d'aχ*, 'a tiny, little bit'. The *d'* is due to such adjectives as *m'ieid'aχ*, 'impatient'. For the meaning cp. German *klein* with Engl. *clean*.

§ 406. *d'* disappears after the negative *N'i*: in the parts of *d'er'am*, 'I say', e.g. *N'i: ersə*, 'he does not say'; *N'i: ε:γə m'a*, 'I shall not say'; *N'i: u.r't' m'a*, 'I did not say' (more commonly *N'i:r' u.r't' m'a*); but *mə d'ersə*, 'if he says'.

§ 407. The off-glide which accompanies *d'* is frequently not heard before a following consonant. This we denote by writing *d^(v)*, e.g. *vi: baskod^(v) l'eihə*, *ə m'ed^(v) kloχ*, *du:rt^(v) m'a*.

§ 408. In *d'alagan*, 'the white of an egg', *d'* arises by dissimilation from *g'*, cp. Di. *gealacán*, Macleod *gealagán*.

9. *k*.

§ 409. The Irish *k* is formed much further back against the soft palate than is the case in English or German. This marked velar quality is not without influence on neighbouring vowels, thus *i(:)* commonly becomes retracted to *y(:)* after *k* and *g*. Before palatal vowels an off-glide resembling a *w*-sound is clearly heard. Like *p* and *t* *k* is strongly aspirated and therefore a verb with stem ending in *k* may be identical in the present and future, e.g. *d'arky(:) fə*, 'he looks' or 'will look'. For *k* as a lenis see § 438.

§ 410. Initially *k* corresponds to O.Ir. *c* before other vowels than *e* or *i*, or preceding *l* and *r* followed by these vowels, e.g. *kam*, 'bent', O.Ir. *camm*; *karid'*, 'friend', O.Ir. *cara*; *kil'an*, 'pup', M.Ir. *cuilen*; *kəlag*, 'awn', M.Ir. *colg*; *kəsu:l'*, 'similar',

O.Ir. cosmail; *kō.rL'ə*, 'advice', O.Ir. comairle; *kəLuw*, 'sleep', O.Ir. cotlud; *kəLax*, 'boar', O.Ir. cullach; *ku.r't*, 'visit', O.Ir. cuairt; *ku:l*, 'back', O.Ir. cúul; *kyL'*, 'wood', M.Ir. caill; *klax.r*, 'board', O.Ir. claar; *klæf*, 'furrow', M.Ir. class; *kræk'əN*, 'skin', O.Ir. croccenn; *krǎ.v*, 'bone', O.Ir. cnáim.

§ 411. Medial and final *k* in native words represents an older *kk* which in O.Ir. is written *cc*, e.g. *aku:N'* 'strength, endurance', Di. acfuiun, M.Ir. acmaing; *bakax*, 'lame', M.Ir. baccach; *bakan*, 'hook, peg, armful', O.Ir. bacc (*ə mon ə wakæn'*, 'staying at home to keep house'); *bok*, 'he-goat', O.Ir. bocc, Welsh *bwch*, Sanskrit *bukka*; *b'r'ak*, 'variegated, a trout', M.Ir. brecc; *glakuw*, 'to take', M.Ir. glaccad; *kak*, 'excrement', M.Ir. cacc, Gk. *κάκκη*; *krək*, 'hill', O.Ir. cnocc; *L'akin'*, 'cheek', M.Ir. lecco; *mak*, 'son', O.Ir. macc; *m'akæn'*, 'turnips', O.Ir. mecon; *okras*, 'hunger', M.Ir. accorus; *tro:kir'ə*, 'mercy', should have *g* but has probably been influenced by O.Ir. *carimm*, see Pedersen p. 148.

Latin loan-words with *cc* also appear with *k*, e.g. *p'akuw*, 'sin', O.Ir. peccad, Lat. peccatum; *sak*, 'bag, sack', M.Ir. sacc, O.E. sacc, Lat. saccus; *fi'k*, 'frost', M.Ir. sicc, < Lat. siccum.

§ 412. After *l*, *r* and *s* Ir. *k* represents Prim. Keltic *k* which in O.Ir. is written *cc*, *c*, e.g. *olk*, 'bad', O.Ir. olcc; *ark fL'eivə*, 'lizard', M.Ir. erc; *d'arkəm*, 'I look', M.Ir. dercaim; *q:rk*, 'horn', O.Ir. adarc.

§ 413. In late loan-words from English *k* represents Engl. *k*, e.g. *po:kə*, 'pocket', < Engl. poke, pocket; *stax:kə*, 'stake'; *stokə*, 'stocking'; *sLo:k*, 'sloke'. Probably also *plək*, 'cheek', < Engl. block; *pu:kə*, 'a sprite', Norse *puki* (?); *fu:krə*, 'sugar', French *sucre*.

§ 414. *k* sometimes arises from *g* followed by *h* < *th*, e.g. *L'ikə*, 'overthrown', infin. *L'igən*; *po:kə m'ə*, 'I shall kiss', from *po:guw*. In *fL'i:kuw*, 'to smooth down', the *k* of the past part. and future seems to have been carried through, cp. Di. *slíogadh*. *kəki:f*, 'fortnight', has *k* for *k'*, M.Ir. *cóicthiges*.

§ 415. In a number of words the various Gaelic dialects hesitate between *g* and *k*. Donegal usually has *k* in these cases, e.g. *klax:bər*, 'mire', Di. Macbain *clábar* and *gláib*; *krə:g'uw*, 'footing peat', *krə:g'an*, 'a foot of peat, a diminutive person', Di. *cruiceadh*, *gruaigeadh*, *grógán*, O'R. *gróigein*, Macbain *gróigean*; *klǎūwərt'*, 'picking where there is no grass' (of cows),

cp. Di. glámaim; *krúagy*; 'liver', O'R. grubhan, Macbain grùthan, grùan (for the ending cp. *skāūwog*); *koihan*, 'torch', O'R. gaithean, 'a straight branch' (?); *kab*, 'the part of the face between the upper lip and the nose, mouth', *kabax*, 'with gusto', Di. cab, which Macbain derives from Engl. gap and gab. *aspUk*, 'bishop', stands for *askəb*, *askU**b*** by metathesis.

§ 416. *truškaNtə*, 'wretched', Di. truaghánta, owes its ending to words like *makaNtə*. A parasitic *k* occurs in *fanəxəšk*, 'gossiping, story-telling', M.Ir. senchus. In *gortiwə l'ε*, 'depending on', =i geortaobh le, we probably have the older form of Di. tortaobh: "P. O'C. says tortaobh = cортаobh".

k appears instead of *k'* in *kəNj̄*; 'tame', M.Ir. cendaid.

10. *k'*.

§ 417. By this symbol we denote a palatal *k* formed with the middle of the tongue against the hard palate. When final a *j*-off-glide is usually heard. Like *k k'* is aspirated and a following *th*, *fh* is therefore not heard as a separate sound, e.g. *fa:sk'ər* = fáiscthear. For *k'* as lenis see § 438.

§ 418. Initial *k'* represents O.Ir. *c* before *e*, *i*, or preceding *l*, *r* followed by these vowels, e.g. *k'ad*, 'leave', O.Ir. *cet*; *k'axtər*, 'either', O.Ir. *cechtar*; *k'aNsuv*, 'to pacify', O.Ir. *cense*; *k'ap*, 'last', M.Ir. *cep*; *k'art*, 'right', M.Ir. *cert*; *k'εasLax*, 'fine wool on the legs of a sheep, stick for propelling a coracle', Di. *céaslach*; *k'el'əm*, 'I hide', O.Ir. *celimm*; *k'in*, 'regard', Meyer *cin*; *k'iaL*, 'sense', O.Ir. *ciall*; *k'in'uv*, 'surname', M.Ir. *ciniud*; *k'o:*, 'mist', M.Ir. *ceó*; *k'o:l*, 'music', M.Ir. *ceól*; *k'u:n'*, 'still', M.Ir. *ciúin*; *k'ü:f*, 'edge', Meyer *cimas*; *k'liuv*, 'basket', M.Ir. *clíab*; *k'launni:*, 'son-in-law', Meyer *clíamain*; *k'r'ax*, 'damage, ruin', M.Ir. *crech*; *k'r'iv*, 'trembling', M.Ir. *crith*.

§ 419. Medial and final *k'* in native words goes back to an older *kk* before original *e*, *i* whether preserved or lost. In O.Ir. *cc*, *c* is written, e.g. *m'in'ik'*, 'frequent', O.Ir. *menicc*, Welsh *mynych*. In inflected forms of words ending in *k* as *krək*, gen. sing. *krík'*, *sak*, gen. sing. *sik'*.

In earlier loan-words *k' = kk* in *steik'axə*, 'bowels', M.Ir. *stæc*, Norse *stakka* (R.C. xii 460).

In late borrowings from English *k' = Engl. k*, e.g. *stra:k'*, 'swath', < *strake*.

§ 420. Prim. Keltic (Idg.) *k* is retained after *l*, *r*, *s*, e.g.,

d'eir'k'a, 'alms', O.Ir. *deirce*; *im'ir'k'a*, 'removing', M.Ir. *immirce*, *immirge*; *k'or'k'a*, 'oats', Meyer *coirce*; *i'f'k'a*, 'water', O.Ir. *uisce*.

§ 421. *k'* appears for *g'* in *La:r'ik'*, 'thigh', Macbain *làirig*, M.Ir. *laarg*, O.Ir. *loarcc*. Here *k'* may be due to the plural form *La:r'ik'axə*, but this explanation will not hold good in other cases where Donegal seems to prefer final *k'* to *g'*. The words in question are *ge:l'ik'*, 'Irish', M.Ir. *goedeilg* (in this word the voiceless sound is wide-spread, e.g. in the Isle of Man and Waterford, cp. Henebry p. 64); *Nō'Lik'*, 'Christmas', Di. *nodlaig* (Finck has *k'*); *karik'*, 'rock', Di. Macbain *carraig* (Finck has *g'*); *pa:dr'ik'*, 'Patrick', Pádraig (Finck has *g'*); *hen'ik'*, 'came', Di. *tháinig*, partly influenced by *hen'ik'*, 'saw'. *kəf'r'ik'i:m*, 'I consecrate', Di. *coisreacaim*, with *k'* from the participle *kəf'r'əkə* which is the commonest form of the verb used.

§ 422. *k'* arises in futures and past participles from *g' + h* (< fh, th), e.g. *L'ik'a m'a*, 'I shall let'; *t'r'eik'a*, 'abandoned'.

§ 423. *k'* appears instead of *k* in *k'l'uw*, 'fame', O.Ir. *clú*, *k'l'u:t'ax*, 'famous', Scotch G. *cliù*; *k'i:mwæ'l*, 'to worry, contend', Di. *ciomaim* < Engl. comb.

11. *g*.

§ 424. This symbol denotes the voiced sound corresponding to *k* for which see § 409.

§ 425. Initially *g* corresponds to O.Ir. *g* before the vowels a, o, u or preceding l, r, n, followed by these vowels, e.g. *gad*, 'switch', M.Ir. *gat*; *ga:r'a*, 'a laugh', M.Ir. *gáire*; *ga:wuw*, 'jeopardy', M.Ir. *gábud*; *ger'id'*, 'short', O.Ir. *garit*; *ge:l'ik'*, 'Irish', M.Ir. *goedeilg*; *golər*, 'disease', O.Ir. *galar*; *go:*, 'smith', O.Ir. *goba*; *gA:*, 'wind', O.Ir. *gáith*; *gə:r*, 'hound', M.Ir. *gagar*, *gadar*; *gyr'im'*, 'call', M.Ir. *gairm*; *gy:*, 'beseech', O.Ir. *gude*, *guide*; *glan*, 'clean', O.Ir. *glan*; *grui*, 'cheek', M.Ir. *gruad*; *gra:χ*, 'usual', = *gnáthach* < O.Ir. *gnáth*.

The eclipsed form of *k* is *g*, e.g. *mər gyd'*, 'your share'; *a gahær'*, 'in a city'; *er' gu:l*, 'back, behind', cp. *jiəragu:l*, 'remote spot', Di. *iargúil*. The prefix *con-* further causes this change in old compounds with initial *c*, e.g. *kəgər*, 'whisper', M.Ir. *cocur* = *con-cur*; *kagnuw*, 'to chew', M.Ir. *cocnam* = *con-cnám*; *kəgu:s*, 'conscience', O.Ir. *cocubus*. See also next paragraph.

§ 426. Medially and finally *g* arises from older *gg* which in O. and M.Ir. is written *cc*, *c*. This *gg* arises from *i*. Prim. Keltic *gg* by assimilation in *agās*, 'and', O.Ir. *ocus*, also *ə wogās*, 'near', O.Ir. *ocus*; *bog*, 'soft', O.Ir. *bocc*; *bagar*, 'threaten', M.Ir. *bacur*; *Log*, 'weak', M.Ir. *lac*; *sLogam*, 'I swallow', M.Ir. *slucim*, *slocim*; *smog*, 'snot', Di. *smug*. ii. *nk* with compensatory lengthening, e.g. *εag*, 'death', M.Ir. *éc*, O.Welsh *ancou*; *g'εag*, 'branch', M.Ir. *géc*, Welsh *cainc*; *εagsāuwəLta*, 'prodigious', cp. O.Ir. *écsamail* < **n̥* + *consūmalis*. iii. Prim. Keltic *zg*, e.g. *m'εag*, 'whey', M.Ir. *medg*, Gaulish Lat. *mesga*; *tō:g*, 'Thady', O.Ir. *Tadg*, Gaulish *Moritascus*; *mōgəl*, 'mesh', O.Ir. *mocol* < **mozgu-*, but why is there no lengthening of the vowel as in the two previous cases? The same question arises if we connect *b'ig*, 'small', O.Ir. *becc*, with Lat. *vescus*. iv. O.Ir. assimilation of *th + g*, *th + c* in *f'r'igrə*, 'answer', O.Ir. *frecre*; *t'igask*, 'teaching', M.Ir. *tecosc* < *to-aith-cosc*.

Prim. Keltic *g* is preserved after *l*, *r*, e.g. *d'aləg*, 'thorn', O.Ir. *delg*; *d'arəg*, 'red', O.Ir. *derg*; *f'arəg*, 'anger', O.Ir. *ferg*; *f'el'ig'* < *saləg*, 'hunting', O.Ir. *selg*. Similarly in the loan-word *pəragəd'*, 'purgative'. Donegal also has *kəragəs*, 'Lent', M.Ir. *corgus* < Lat. *quadragesima*, but as the other dialects have *gh* (Di. *corghas*, Macbain *carghus*) the form is to be compared with the cases mentioned below in § 429.

§ 427. In earlier loan-words Lat. and Norse medial (final) *c* entered Irish as a lenis and ultimately gave *g*. The earliest borrowings undergo aspiration, e.g. *bachall* < *baculus*, *laoch* < *laicus*, for other instances see Pedersen p. 170. Examples—*iglif'*, 'the clergy', O.Ir. *eclais*, Lat. *ecclesia*; *brə:g*, 'shoe', Meyer *bróc*, Norse *brók*; *g'r'εgax*, 'Greek'; *marəguw*, 'market', M.Ir. *margad*, Norse *markaðr* (R.C. xi 494); *pə:g*, 'kiss', O.Ir. *póc*, Lat. *pacem*; *sigərt*, 'priest', O.Ir. *sacard*, Lat. *sacerdos*; *figəl*, 'rye', M.Ir. *secul*, Lat. *secale*; *d'igəmax*, 'dean', Lat. *decanus*.

§ 428. *g* arises from O.Ir. *c* in pretonic syllables. For *gax*, O.Ir. *cach*, *cech*; *gən*, 'without', O.Ir. *cen*; *gə*, O.Ir. *co*; *gə'd'e.*, O.Ir. *cate*, *cote* see Diss. pp. 12, 14, 33, 36. *k'ε* in *k'ε gə*, 'though', *k'e.*, 'who', and *ka*, *k'a*, 'where', never have *g*, *g'*. This also occurs before the stress in *gə'farəwan*, 'dandelion', Di. *caisearbhán*; *gə'f'a.*, 'pant', cp. *casachtach* (?). The *g* of *gəft'ə*, 'jury', Di. *coiste*, cannot be explained in this way. The form is to be compared with the cases of hesitation between *k* and *g* mentioned in § 415.

§ 429. In a number of instances we find O.Ir. *d* (i.e. *dh*) occurring in Donegal as *g*. Monosyllables ending in *-eadh*, *-eagh*, *-iogh*, regularly appear with *-ig*, e.g. *f'ig*, 'length', O.Ir. *ed* (commonly written *feag* by Donegal writers, cp. D. P. 21 xi '03 p. 3 col. 3, Craig Iasg.); *f'lig*, 'chickweed', Manx *flig* or *flee*, Hogan, O'R. *fioldh*, *fligh*, Di. *flich*; *fL'ig*, 'spear', M.Ir. *sleg*; *f'ig*, 'rush', according to J. H. has the alternative pronunciation *f'əɪ* and may therefore represent M.Ir. **fed* but Hogan has *fiag*, Di. *feog*. The adjective termination *-dha* tends to become *-gə* < *-gə*, cp. Henebry p. 60, G. J. 1891 p. 79 col. 2, e.g. *dorəgə*, 'stern, cross-looking', Keat. *dorrda*, Macbain *durga*, also *dorəgə*, 'fishing-line', Di. *dorugha*, *doruighe*; *krə:gə*, 'valiant', M.Ir. *cróda*; further *d'iağaNtə*, 'pious', *d'iağir'ə*, 'a pious person' < **diəgə*, Henebry *diaga* p. 60, O.Ir. *díade*. Similarly *təgə*, 'strap on flail' (?). *g* represents *gh* in *jiəragnuw*, 'annoyance', Di. *iarghnó*; *korəgəs*, 'Lent', Di. *corghas*, M.Ir. *corgus*. *riğræft'ə* beside *rəɪræft'ə*, 'arrears', Di. *riaraiste*, seems based on Engl. 'arrears' but I cannot explain the form.

12. *g'*.

§ 430. This symbol represents a palatal *g* similar in formation to *k'* but voiced.

§ 431. *g'* corresponds to O.Ir. initial *g* followed by *e*, *i* or preceding *r*, *l*, *n* followed by these vowels, e.g. *g'əL*, 'promise', O.Ir. *gell*; *g'ver'uw*, 'winter', M.Ir. *gemred*; *g'ɛ:r*, 'sharp', M.Ir. *gér*; *g'iLə*, 'servant', M.Ir. *gilla*; *g'u:s*, 'fir', M.Ir. *giús*; *g'l'əN*, 'valley', M.Ir. *glend*; *g'l'ɛəs*, 'means, instrument', M.Ir. *glés*; *g'r'ɛəsən*, 'web', M.Ir. *gréss*; *g'r'ian*, 'sun', O.Ir. *grian*.

g' also occurs initially as the eclipsed form of *k'*, e.g. *ə g'art*, 'alright', *i gceart*; *bənuw Nə g'əL*, 'the people of Killybegs', *bunadh na gCeall*. Medially in *eig'iaL*, 'lack of sense', cp. Di. *éigcialluidhe*.

§ 432. Medially and finally *g'* goes back to an older *gg* before a palatal vowel (O.Ir. written *cc*, *c*), e.g. *em'ig'*, 'chin', M.Ir. *sneice*; *fL'ig'an*, 'shell', O.Ir. *slice*. This *gg* frequently represents Prim. Kelt. *nk*, e.g. *eig'an*, 'necessity', O.Ir. *écen*, W. *angen*; *ku:g'*, 'five', O.Ir. *cóic* < **qonqə*; *L'ig'am*, 'I let', O.Ir. *léiccim*, cp. Lat. *linquo*; *t'ig'am*, 'I come', O.Ir. *ticc*; *t'r'eig'am*, 'I abandon', M.Ir. *tréicim*, W. *trancu*.

g' goes back to a lenis in the loan-word *dæg'an*, 'depths', M.Ir. *oician*, Lat. *oceanus*; also in *klæg'əN*, 'skull', Di. *cloigeann*, Meyer *cloccenn* < **cloch-chenn*, cp. Pedersen p. 146.

§ 433. After *r*, *l* *g'* goes back to Idg. *g*, e.g. *m'ir'ig'*, 'rust', O.Ir. *meirg*; *farog'ə*, 'sea', O.Ir. *fairggæ*, *foirce*; *ær'əg'id*, 'money', O.Ir. *arget*, W. *ariant*.

§ 434. *g'* appears for *d'* in two words. This substitution seems to take place not infrequently in Sc. Gaelic dialects, cp. ZCP. iv 507. The words in question are *g'r'i'dan*, 'dregs', = Di. *Macbain dríodar*; *g'ə:kan tə:bakə*, 'a small lump of tobacco', Di. *geocán* and *diúcán*, *deocán*. The form with *d'* also occurs in *d'ikan m'in'ə*, 'a small quantity of meal'. For *k'* and *g'* in *kr:g'uw* see § 415.

g' represents Engl. *j* in *g'itə*, Di. *giota*, 'bit', < Engl. 'jot'.

§ 435. Occasionally *g'* is hardened from O.Ir. *d*, *g* (= *gh*), thus regularly in the imperative second plur. of all verbs, though it must have arisen in verbs of the second conjugation. The ending was *-ighidh*, i.e. *iji*: which gave *-ig'i*:, e.g. *im'ig'i*:, 'depart'; *b'i:g'i*:, 'be'; *d'ə:nig'i*:, 'do'. Craig (Grammar² p. 123) quotes a form with *d* (= *d'*) which I have never heard. This is evidently the same as *Manx -jee* (Rhys p. 154 where a wrong explanation is given). We further find *g'* for *gh* in *ūig'*, 'cave' (also *ūi*) < *uaigh*, M.Ir. *uag* (the words for 'cave' and 'grave' have been confused), cp. Di. *uaig*; *in'ig'iL't*, 'grazing', Di. *ingheilt*; *ig'iN'*, 'ring to put round the neck of cattle' (not in dictionaries), formed from M.Ir. *id* (?).

§ 436. Intervocalic *g* seems to have a tendency to become a spirant and to disappear in Donegal. The only instance I find in Finck is the case of the preposition *ag* with the pronominal suffixes (l.c. i p. 127, *əs* < *əgəs* does not belong here), cp. § 170. But in the peninsula of Glencolumbkille this treatment of intervocalic *g* seems to be regular in the word for 'priest' and the pronominal forms of *ag*, see G. J. 1891 p. 79 col. 2. In Meenawannia *g'* is treated in this way in *kə'tiə*, 'why', < *cad chuige*; *i:N't'əχ*, 'a certain', < *éiginteach*, *íginteach* (*i:n'əχ* also occurs < *eig'in'əχ*), cp. Di. *s. éigin*.

C. SYNTHESIS.

1. Notes on the Consonants.

§ 437. When two consonants immediately follow one another the articulation of the second is as a rule not anticipated or in other words the off-glide of the first is distinctly heard as in French. In combinations such as *tl, dl, kr, kl, k'r', gl, gn, t'r', b'r', χl, ɣl, mn, vr'* and medial *sr* at first one almost fancies one hears a slight vowel-sound between the two consonants. For *k'r'* cp. Henebry p. 30 and note the spellings in the old Manx Prayer-book *gylaghty* = Ir. *geleachdadh*; *mynayn* now *mraane* (Rhys p. 15). In the following combinations, however, where the articulations are more or less homogeneous the glide is not heard—*lt, Nt, rN, rN', sL, sN, Ns, NL*, initial *sr*, and the combinations with *s* mentioned in the next paragraph.

§ 438. *t, k, p* normally have strong aspiration but in certain positions these sounds together with the corresponding palatal sounds *t', k', p'* are unmistakably lenes and therefore not aspirated. This is the case when they immediately follow *s, f*, as in *aspəl*, 'apostle'; *aspUk*, 'bishop'; *d'eif'tən*, 'clenching of the teeth with pain'; *fast:ɟəm*, 'I hire'; *haskər sə*, 'it thawed'; *sp:əl*, 'spool'; *stær'*, 'history'. Similarly *t* is a lenis after *χ* in *qχtan*, 'lapful'; *raχtæl'*, 'to run', Di. *reachtáil*. In these cases Modern Irish orthography somewhat naturally hesitates between the tenuis and the media. It is quite possible that lenes occur under other conditions than those just mentioned, as I have heard the *t* in *bwel's taləv*, 'a farm of land', distinctly pronounced in this way.

§ 439. It is perhaps not amiss to point out that the grammarian's rule of 'caol le caol' is constantly broken in the spoken language. This occurs regularly in the case of the privative prefix *an-* with uneven stress, e.g. *'an:li:*, 'an ignorant person', *'an:laχ*, 'ignorant', Di. *aineólach*; *'an:il*, 'proud flesh', Di. *ainfheoil*. The other prefix *an-*, 'very', has even stress, e.g. *'an:i:fəl*, 'very low'; *'an:f'atə*, 'a great pet'. The ending of the conditional passive is *-f'i:*, no matter what the quality of the preceding consonant is, e.g. *d'i:sf'i:* from *içə*, 'to eat'; *v:rf'i:* from *to.rt'*, 'to give'; *χasf'i:* from *kasuw*, 'to meet'. Similarly in compounds, e.g. *stariəkyl'*, 'projecting tooth', Di. *stairfhiacail*, Macbain *starr-fhiacail*; *stariəri:*, 'a stubborn attempt'; *droχiəri:*

'attempt to violate'; *karis*, 'stag', Di. cairrfhiadh; *b'r'is'k' gls:raχ*, 'lively', Di. brioscghlórach; *kūwanəN*, 'alike', Di. coimhionann; *L'inədaχ*, 'linen', Di. lín-éadach.

2. Metathesis.

§ 440. Metathesis is a frequent phenomenon in Gaelic dialects as will be patent to anyone turning over the leaves of Dinneen's dictionary. It is scarcely possible to formulate any general principle but a tendency to place l and r sounds before the stressed vowel is observable in a number of instances (cp. Henebry p. 75), e.g. *klopwid'ə*, 'wrinkle in cloth, small enclosure', Di. cluipide < M.Ir. culpait, cp. Meyer clupait; *krǝχər*, 'Connor', M.Ir. Conchobar; *krǝ:rək*, 'light red', Di. craorac > caor-dhearg; *rǝbəl*, 'tail', M.Ir. erball; *trasNə*, 'athwart', M.Ir. tarsnu; *t'r'imuw*, 'drying', Di. tiormughadh; *t'li'g'an*, 'vomiting', Di. teilgim. Cp. further Di. cruadal < comhlúadar.

§ 441. Common to all Gaelic dialects is the substitution of *ft* for *tʃ* in native and old loan-words such as *eift'axt*, 'to listen', O.Ir. éitsecht; *bwæft'əm*, 'I baptize', O.Ir. baitsim; as well as in later borrowings from English, where *ft* also represents *dʒ*, e.g. *karæft'ə*, 'carriage'; *k'ift'anaxχ*, 'kitchen'; *Lɔ:ft'in'*, 'lodging'.

§ 442. Further instances of metathesis—*asolriaxt*, 'magic, divination', Di. asarluidheacht; *αLtuw*, 'grace (before meat)', O.Ir. atluchur; *askəL*, 'arm-pit', M.Ir. ochsal; *aspəl*, 'apostle', O.Ir. apstal; *d'i:L'ə*, gen. sing. fem. of *d'i:t'if*, 'dear', *α χri: Nə d'i:L'ə*, a term of great endearment, cp. Cl. S. 18 vi '04 p. 5 col. 4; *eN't'ə*, 'kernel', Di. eithne, Macbain eite, eitean, M.Ir. ettne; *kōhərə*, 'sign', Di. comhartha; *kǝ:nir'*, 'coffin', < combráinn inflected form of comhra, 'chest', Meyer comra (combraidh Sg. Fearn. p. 96); *kǝf'alan*, 'crowd', < M.Ir. comthinól; *kǝsr'ikəm*, 'I consecrate', Di. coisreacaim, Lat. consecro; *rɛəLt*, 'star', M.Ir. retla.

3. Dissimilation.

§ 443. Dissimilation of two nasals—*α:rN'al*, 'sitting up late', Di. áirneán < M.Ir. airne; *iN'ær'*, 'anvil', O.Ir. indéin, for the ending cp. *er' mə χǝN'fær'*, 'by my conscience'; *fanəmər'*, 'sermon', Di. seanmóir, cp. *fanəmaNti:*, 'preacher', Di. seanmón-taidhe; note also Kilmacrenan = Cill-mac-nenain, Joyce, Irish Names of Places i 49. One of the nasals may be lost as in *ba:ri:n'*, 'queen', by the side of *ba:nri:n'*; *smwi:t'uw*, 'to think',

M.Ir. *smuained* (§ 199); *sm'éora did'*, 'it is lucky for you' beside *sm'éonra*, Di. *méanra*, M.Ir. *mo-génar*; *banε:matax*, 'house-keeper', cp. Di. *feadhmannta* (?). The cases with *η*, *μ* have already been mentioned in § 303. The reason for the loss of the nasal in *sō:rwu* (more commonly *so:nruw*), Craig *somhrughadh*, Di. *sonnrughadh*, is not clear. *doganeil'a*, 'Dunkineely' (the stress and pronunciation are against the form *Dún Conghaile* given by Lloyd in his *Postsheanchas*).

§ 444. Dissimilation of two liquids—*b'ílər*, 'water-cress', M.Ír. *biror*; *kərN'al*, 'corner' from Engl., cp. *gáirtnéal* Sg. Fearn.; *srUhiL'*, the name of a waterfall, < *sruhair*, cp. Joyce, l.c. i p. 48. Loss of *r* is not infrequent when another *r* occurs in the same word, e.g. *qmərka*, 'overplus', Di. *iomarcaidh*, Atk. *imarcaidh*; *qrLuw*, 'speech, eloquence', Di. *urlabhra*, M.Ir. *erlabra*; *qraxa: krik'*, *q. sLus fi:*, 'paralytic or apoplectic stroke', *q. g'r'ein'a*, 'sun-stroke', seems to contain Di. *urchrádh* which may be changed by popular etymology from *urchra*, *orchra*, Wi. *erchra*; cp. further Craig's *an orthaidh*, 'the day after to-morrow', for which J. H. has *a Nə:ri:r'* (§ 280).

d'alagan, 'the white of an egg', stands for *gealacán*, Macleod *gealagán*.

4. Loss of Consonant.

§ 445. In a group of three consonants the middle one is apt to disappear, e.g. *dəmłas*, 'gall', M.Ir. *domblas*; *efəmlər*, 'example', Di. *eisiompláir*. This frequently happens when preterite forms ending in two consonants are followed by the subject pronoun, e.g. *dāuwər sə*, 'he looked', cp. Sg. Fearn. p. 89 *ar amhair' tú* and Larminie p. 245, also *āuwər sən*, 'look at that'; *du:r sə*, 'he said'; *gə d'a(:)r sə*, 'that he did'; *gə:r səd*, 'they spilt', = *dhóirt*. This also happens to a single final consonant in *hanə tuw*, *hen'i fə*, 'you, he came', cp. *tháineamur* in Molloy's 33rd dialect-list and *chunna' mi* ZCP. iv 495.

§ 446. Initial *n* sometimes disappears from a wrong division of the definite article before the substantive, e.g. *ahər N'ivə*, 'snake', O.Ir. *nathir*; *asog*, 'weasel', O.Ir. *ness*. Cp. further Manx *ashoon* Rhys p. 139 and Sc. Gael. *eumhann*, 'pearl'.

§ 447. Isolated cases—*im'əs*, 'contending, contention', Di. *imreas*, O.Ir. *imbresan*; *kərə:fk'r'i:sta*, 'sponsor', Di. *cairdeas Chríost*; the *t* of the suffix *-axt* as in *dair'iax*, 'bulling', cp. Manx and Farney G. J. 1896 p. 148.

In proclitics—*g* of *gaχ* in *aχ ·daχærNə La*, ‘every other day’, also *aχ darə La* (§ 137), *aχ il’ə gym’ə*, ‘every man’, *aχ əN La*; ‘every day’, = *gach aon lá*. Similarly the final *t* of *aχt*, ‘but’, cp. *aχ irəd*, ‘at all’ (§ 59). The *n* of the definite article *ən* disappears before every consonant, except when the vowel of the article is elided after another vowel, e.g. *er’ ə ta:blə*, ‘on the table’ but *fwì: N ta:blə*, ‘under the table’. The *g* of **ga*(:), ‘if’ < *dia* has disappeared and we find *ə*, *a*. Similarly sporadically in such a case as *N’i:r’ va:r ə*: (> *də*; *gə*:) = *níor bh’fhearr dhó*. The disappearance of final *ç* and *w* before another consonant has already been mentioned (§§ 202, 345).

5. Loss of Vowel.

§ 448. *ə* is lost before a form beginning with a vowel and in small words it may be lost after a vowel. Where two *ə*’s meet the first is generally elided, cp. Finck i 125. *do*, *de*, *dia*, *a* may be all reduced to *ə* and disappear. Examples—*hīs əgəs m’i’ə*, ‘you and I’; *ju:Lti: fi fə:suw*, ‘she refused to marry him’; *ju:Lti: fə mə wə: çaNəaχ*, ‘he refused to bury my cow’; *i:ç i:r*, ‘a cold night’, = *oidhche fhuar*; *əs m’ε hein’ ər’ gin’ əkuw*, ‘myself being one of them’; *ta m’ε gəl*, ‘I am going’; *k’l’i:ərft’ə*, ‘harrow’ (*k’l’i’ə*); *ərsəfən*, ‘quoth he’; *N’i:s fwid’ə Nə hig’ l’ims iN’fə*, ‘further than I can tell’; *ta: g’aL koç əgəm*, ‘I have laid a wager’; *ə Nərəkyf*, ‘towards him’, = *i n-a aracais*; *əNsNə d’εəg ə vi:L’t’ə wuiN’*, ‘in the teens of miles from where we are’; *fə Nəm fə la:*, ‘about this time of day’ (the *de* leaves as only trace the aspiration of *L* to *l*).

Occasionally other vowels, even long ones, disappear after another long vowel, e.g. *La: l’ pa:drik’*, ‘St Patrick’s day’; *i: l’o:n’*, ‘St John’s eve’ (*oidhche fhéile Eóin*); *ta:s əgəm*, ‘I know’.

§ 449. In proclitics every vowel may be reduced to *ə* and disappear (§ 136), e.g. *dakə l’ef*, ‘as for him’, *Di. i dtaca*; *wakə tuw*, ‘did you see’, an *bhfaca tuw*; *χər’ ə və*, ‘almost’, = *fa*, *do chomhair*. The verbal particle *do* never appears before the preterite except when the verb commences with a vowel. *agus* appears as *agəs*, *əgəs*, *əgəs*, *əs*, *s*.

Here we may also mention *təkrəs ərəm*, ‘I am hungry’; *tiglə ərəm*, ‘I am afraid’.

§ 450. In a three syllable word the middle vowel if *ə* disappears in a number of cases, e.g. *ədruw*, *Di. eadarshúdh*; *əugraχ*, *Di. amhgarach*, *kə:graχ*, ‘near’, *Di. comhgarach*; *əkrəs*, *M.Ir. accorus, occurus*.

6. Vowel-shortening.

§ 451. Apart from the reduction of vowels in proclitics every long vowel in a syllable immediately preceding the stress tends to become short. Finck states that the short vowel under these circumstances retains its quality. This is not the case in Donegal. Examples—*trá:nð:mə*, ‘afternoon’, Di. *tráthnóna*; *α:γυυ* *N'e:*, ‘the day before yesterday’, < *α:γυυ*, Di. *athrughadh*; *gə d'ar sə k'l'iuw*, ‘that he made a basket’; *d'anuw g'r'iN'*, ‘to make fun’; *d'aN skart' er'*, ‘call him’; *rəfə wə:n* = *Róise bhán*; *kətə mɔ:r*, ‘great coat’ (*kə:tə*); *gəl fə:l'*, ‘singing &c.’, = *gabháil cheóil*; *ə hort l'im*, ‘to take with me’; *tort suəs*, ‘giving up’; *tər düw ə*, ‘give it me’ (*to:r'*); *N'i: vɛ Lox p'i:N'ə də rīN' əgəm l'at*, ‘I won't have anything to do with you’, *Lox* < *Luəx*, cp. § 27; *tag ɔrt*, ‘get up, on with you’ said to a cow = *tóg ort*; *gə Nə t'r'i: ə χuərtə*, ‘two or three visits’, = *dhó no¹ trí de chuarta*; *N'i: vɛ fɛ*, ‘he will not be’, *pausa form b'e(:)i, b'əi*; *ə m'ed' im'ə*, ‘the amount of butter’ (*m'eid'*); *fɛ də vəhə* = *sé do bheatha*; *α'heiv'*, ‘himself’; *k'ib' gUw*, ‘sedge’ (*k'i:b'*).

We have already seen that long vowels in stressed syllables are commonly shortened before *h* < *th* (§ 7). This also seems to have taken place in *d'icəL*, ‘strenuous effort’, Di. *díchioll*, Wi. *díchill*. In other cases we get double forms due to varying stress, e.g. *α.t'*, ‘place’ but *ə Næt' i:n'αχ*, ‘in some place or other’; *mɔ:ran*, ‘much, many’, but *əNə mɔran əkuw*.

7. Uncertainty of Initial.

§ 452. As words beginning in O.Ir. with *e* followed by a non-palatal consonant or with *u* (o) followed by a palatal consonant now begin with *α* and *i* respectively there is considerable hesitation as to whether the final of the article should be palatal or non-palatal before such forms. Some instances have already been given in § 4. Further examples—*ə t'i:vəL* = *an t-aobheall*; *ə tabər*, ‘the mud’, M.Ir. *ebor*, beside *sə N'abər*, ‘in the mud’; *l'ef ə NαLαχ*, ‘with the cattle’, O.Ir. *ellach*; *banəN sə kə:s*, ‘it was just the same’, for *anəN* see § 4; *ə N'ifəil'*, ‘the game’, = *an nis-fheóil*; *ə N'ifag*, ‘the lark’, = *an uisead* but always *ə t'ifk'ə*, ‘the water’; *ə t'ed'ə*, ‘the teacher’, M.Ir. *aite*; *ə t'eir'ə*,

¹ This *no* often aspirates a following numeral, e.g. *ku:g'ər Nə hefər*; *t'r'u:r Nə çəçər*. This may possibly be a relic of the ancient usage, see Pedersen, KZ. xxxv 425.

'the heir', Di. oighre; *a t'il'a*, 'the wall of a turf-stack', Meyer aile; *l'ef a N'oi*, 'with the liver', O.Ir. óa. Other examples—*a t'omər*, 'the trough', Wi. ammor; *gah əwā:n' a. gq:Ntəs* = aon dhath amháin de iongantas; *vi: ə tq:Ntəs anwo:r*, 'the astonishment was very great'; *kərtə də jil'*, 'a quart of blood' but also *a l'əhadⁿ fə ə gıl'*, 'such blood'. With these cases is to be compared the hesitation between *t* and *t'* (§ 390); and *f* for *s* in *f'i:l'əm* (§ 354), *f'* for *f* in *f'jə:ləm'* (§ 321).

8. Sandhi.

§ 453. The final consonant of one word and the initial of the next frequently influence one another in rapid speech in much the same way as if they occurred medially in one and the same word. Finck mentions a few cases (i 122—124) but the most important and at the same time most interesting cases he has practically left untouched. Change in temper of a consonant is commonly accompanied by a change in the quality of the preceding vowel. Once and for all it should be stated that when the same consonant occurs twice in succession only one long consonant is pronounced. This also holds good in cases of assimilation. The sandhi phenomena may be classed under the following heads:

- i. A non-palatal consonant becomes palatal before a palatal consonant.
- ii. A palatal consonant loses its palatal quality before a non-palatal consonant.
- iii. Some consonants cause others to change their articulation in other ways than those described under i and ii.
- iv. A voiced consonant before an unvoiced consonant loses its voice.
- v. A non-palatal consonant may become palatal before a palatal vowel.

i.

§ 454. Final *L*, *l*, *N*, *n* become *L'* or *N'* respectively before initial *f*. At the same time the preceding vowel is commonly affected as only certain sounds can stand before *L'*, *N'*. Examples for *L*, *l*—*d'æL' fə ərəm*, 'it deceived me, failed me' (d'fhéal); *a stə:(i)L' fə*, 'this stool' (stól); *sə fəbwiL' fə*, 'in this congregation' (pobal); *ji:L' fə*, 'he sold' beside *d'iol m'a*, 'I sold'; *fwiL' fə*, 'he caught' but *fəL m'a*; *wəL' fə*, 'he praised' (molaim);

veL' fə, 'he ground', 1st sing. *vel' m'ə*; *dəiL' fə*, 'he drank'; *çu:L' fə*, 'he walked', 1st sing. *çu:l' m'ə*; *hyL' fə*, 'it bulged out', infin. *təLuw*; *skæL' fə*, 'he scalded', infin. *scalladh*; *həL' fə*, 'he consented', 1st sing. *həl' m'ə*; *f'k'iL' fə*, 'he shelled'; *sky:L' fə*, 'he set free', = *scaoil*.

Examples for *N*, *n*—*af' k'iN' f'in'* = *os cionn sin*; *ə Lo:χriN' f'in'*, 'that lamp' (*Lo:χrəN*); *hə:i n kat ə k'iN' fi:s sə jug*, 'the cat thrust her head down into the jug'; *L'aniN' f'in' də N:ɔ:l*, 'that comes of drink'; *εəgni:N' fi:*, 'she complains'; *stadiN' fə*, 'he stops'; *el'iN' fi:*, 'she rears'; *friN' fə*, 'he presented' (*phronn sé*); *heiN' fə*, 'he denied', 1st sing. *həən m'ə*; *ə kræpæN' f'in'*, 'that lump', Di. *cnapán*; *hæN' fə* = *theann sé*; *d'æN' fə*, 'he skinned', = *d'fheann*; *əs mo:d'ə di:dsə f'in' ərs iN' d'ro:læn Ner' ə wu:N' fə sə Nærəg'ə* = *is móide díodsa sin, ars' an dreólán, nuair do mhún sé anns an fhairrge*; *sp'i:N' fi:*, 'she teased', Di. *spíon*; *gəd'e: N' fə:rt*, 'what kind'; *əNsə jæræN' f'in'*, 'in that horse'; *ta: N' sp'eiv' Læ:N' f'N'αχtə*, 'the sky is full of snow'; *er' α wiN' f'in'*, 'on that account' (son).

§ 455. Final *s* becomes *f* before initial *f*, *t*, *d*, *l* (which itself frequently becomes *L*), *N*, *k*. The preceding vowel changes as in the last paragraph. Examples—*ə kə:f fə*, 'this case'; *kə N'æf f'in'*, 'so near'; *vi:f f'in' əgəm*, 'I knew that'; *glæf f'il'ə*, 'bile', = *glas-seile*; *əf' f'ik'ir'*, 'on account of', = *as siocair*; *χrəf fə*, 'he forbade'; *ləf fə*, 'it blazed'; *χæf fi:*, 'she met'; *də:f fə*, 'he grew'; *kəf t'in'im'*, 'a dry foot'; *blæf d'as*, 'a pleasant taste'; *N'i: vəu ɔ:Nt'if L'im*, 'I should not be surprised'; *N'i: hi:l'əm gə gyN'αχit' fə kəf L'iN'*, 'I do not think he would keep pace with us' (*cos linn*); *əs græ:f L'ef*, 'he is accustomed'; *kluif L'ia*, 'a grey ear'; *əNə ɔrif L'ef*, 'in his girdle with him'; *f'i:f L'im*, 'down with me'; *t'αNuw swif L'ef*, 'drawing close to him'; *kəf N'ivn'αχ*, 'a sore foot'; *af' k'iN' f'in'*, 'above that', = *os cionn*; *kærəf'k'r'i:stə*, 'sponsor', *cairdeas Críosta*.

§ 456. Final *L*, *l*, or *N*, *n*, followed by initial *l* or *n* coalesce with the latter and become *L* or *N* respectively. For purposes of convenience we write *L* and *N* twice although only one *L* or *N* is heard. Examples—*vi: əsæL' L'ef*, 'there was a donkey along with him', Di. *asal*; *ər' çu:L' L'iN'*, 'away with us', *air shiubhal*; *vi: sp'æL' L'im*, 'I had a scythe with me' (*sp'al*); *ɔ:(i)L' L'at*, 'drink on', = *ól leat*; *to:r' ə gæuwəL' L'at*, 'bring the fork with you'; *kə g'æL' L'ef*, 'as bright as it'; *əNæL' L'ef*, 'over he came'; = *anall leis*; *b'ei mwid' mæL' L'ɔ:fə*, 'we shall be late with them'.

glu:N' N'ivn'ax, 'a sore knee'; *k'iN' N'ivn'ax*, 'a sore head';
riN' fiad ə k'iN' N'i:s m'asə, 'they made her head worse'.

§ 457. *n + l* gives *N'L'*, cp. § 254, e.g. *bə vi:N' L'im*, 'I should like' = *bu mhian liom*. Similarly *n, N + d'* or *t'* give *N'd', N't'*, e.g. *ga: fiN' d'εag*, 'twelve', *εən fiN' d'εag*, 'eleven' (*k'iN'*); *əs k'iN' d'l'i:*, 'above law'; *əN əN' t'ax əwā:n'*, 'in one house', = *i n-aon teach*; *ta: mə fiN' t'iN'*, 'my head is bad'. Further *əs k'iN' L'apə*, 'above a bed'. In the same manner *l + d', l + t'* give *L'd', L't'*, e.g. *ə go:(i)L' d'əχ*, 'taking a drink', = *ag ól deoch*; *ə go:(i)L' t'iL'uw*, 'drinking more', = *ag ól tilleadh*.

§ 458. *n* may become *n'* before *ç* as in *ein' çin'al əwā:n'*, 'a single kind'.

ii.

§ 459. Final *r'* and *l'* become *r* and *L* respectively before initial *t, d, N, n, L* and *l*. Examples—*fuər tuw*, 'you got', but 1st sing. *fuir' m'ə*; *ər dā:r'*, 'a-bulling'; *pa:st' ər d'iu'n'əs*, 'an illegitimate child'; *ər to:n' ə Nā:rd'ə*, 'bottom upwards'; *ta: fε ər Nə k'iaLəNj:* *əN'Uw*, 'he is making a black fast to-day'; *tyuw hīr di:N'*, 'to the east of us' (*her'*); *bə χə:r də:*, 'he ought', = *bu chóir dó*; *χə:r Nə Lu:NəsNə*, 'towards August' (*chomhair*); *hīr Nə hīr*, 'east or west'; *Nər Nər' iərsə m'ə*, 'when he did not ask me' (*Ner'*); *həg fə fanəmər də:*, 'he gave him a lecture' (*fanəmər'*); *ər'ε:r də wəru:lə*, 'according to your opinion' (*ər'eir'*); *ta: f'in' glaky: ər'ə:r Nə b'l'iaNə*, 'that is taken by the year' (*ər'eir'*); *ahar də:sən* = *athair dó-san*; *mər buiL tuw*, 'unless you are'; *χəL tuw*, 'you lost', = *chail tú*; *ka wiL Nə bah*, 'where are the cows?'; *N'i:r lo:r' m'ə*, 'I did not speak'.

r' also becomes *r* before *N', n', L', l'*, e.g. *χər N'ien ə ri: er' gu:l ə*, 'the king's daughter put him off'; *əbər l'im*, 'tell me'; *N'i:r n'i: m'ə*, 'I did not wash'; *N'i:r l'iaç m'ə*, 'I did not stroke'.

§ 460. *r'* becomes *r* before initial *r*, e.g. *f'ir ruə*, 'red men'; *f'ir ri:n'ə*, 'tough men'; *f'ir rX:Ltə*, 'staid men'; *uər rīvə f'in'*, 'an hour before that' (*uir'*).

l' becomes *l* before *r*, e.g. *kər fəl rə:nə*, 'to have nose-bleeding'.

§ 461. *r' + f* gives *rs*, e.g. *ver sə*, 'he gives'; *d'er sə*, 'he says'; *du:r sə*, 'he said'; *ər su:l*, 'away', also *er' çu:l*; *də:r sə d'Uw*, 'it suited me' (*d'fhóir*); *lo:r sə*, 'he spoke'. In two instances *r'*

becomes *r* but *f* remains. These are *kqr fī:s t'in'i*, 'put some fire on'; *ər faxran*, 'astray'.

Similarly *r + f* gives *rs* as in *ə f'ar sən*, 'that man'.

§ 462. *n', N'* become *N* before *t, d*. Examples—*b'iN tīə*, 'gable' (*b'iN'*); *f'iN taluw ga:f'αχ*, 'that is spongy land'; *kīvn'αχə m'ə f'iN did'*, 'I shall remember that of you'; *rīN tuw f'in' əs kəs ə dakə*, 'you did that without any provocation', = *rinne tú sin as cos i dtaca*, Di. *taca* (?); *wqN da α χyd' ədī:*, 'he pulled off his clothes' (*bhain*).

§ 463. *n', N'* become *n* before *r*, e.g. *faxtən rīvə hāuwīn'*, 'a week before All-hallows'; *o:n ruə*, 'the Red River' (name of a stream) = *abhainn ruadh*.

§ 464. *t, d'* become *t, d* before *t, d*, e.g. *gən bqNt dō:*, 'without touching it' (*bwiN't*); *vi: fε α hefαNt dŪw*, 'he was shewing it to me' (*t'εfæN't*); *α:t tīə*, 'site for a house' (*α:t*); *ər'ə ə hort dŪw*, 'to take care of myself' (*to:rt*); *hit tuw*, 'you fell' (*hit*). *kqd de*, 'a part of it' (*kyd'*); *əs m'ihid did'*, 'it is high time for you' (*m'ihid'*).

iii.

§ 465. *n* becomes *N* before *L, N, t* and *d*, e.g. *əN'ei N La:* *N'e:*, 'after yesterday'; *d'er'uw N Le:*, 'the end of the day'; *əN La: əwā:m'*, 'one day', = *aon lá*; *fa wqN Nə tqləχə*, 'around the bottom of the hill' (*bun*); *dαN tuw*, 'you remained', = *d'fhan tú*; *d'αN də jīcəL*, 'do your utmost'.

§ 466. *r'* becomes *r* before *L', l', N'*, e.g. *ər L'eç*, 'apart'; *ər L'ar*, 'in a fix, astray'; *k'iN ə N'ir l'ei*, 'the head of the grey man'; *to:r l'at*, 'take with you'; *b'i: qbər l'ə:fə*, 'they require attention' (*obair*); *N'i:r l'ε:r l'im ə dŪw*, 'the black was not clear to me'; *ahər N'īvə*, 'serpent'.

§ 467. *l' + l'* gives *L'*, e.g. *ə f'ar ə çu:L' L'iN'*, 'the man who walked with us', = *an fear a shiubhail linn*; *ta: f'in' kōsu:L' L'ef*, 'that is like it'.

Similarly *n' + n'* gives *N'*, e.g. *f'iN' N'ahəNç:*, 'those are things...'

§ 468. *n' + l'* gives *N'L'*, e.g. *N'i: hα:N' L'im*, 'I do not like', = *ní h-áin liom*, cp. G. J. 1896 p. 146 col. 2. For other examples see § 254.

§ 469. *l', n' + f* give *Lf', Nf'*, e.g. *m'i: Nə su:L' fīər*, 'the

weeks from July 15 to August 15', = mí na súil síar because the last year's crop has come to an end (also called *m'i: Nə su:l' bwia*)¹.

§ 470. In the case of bh + bh the result in a few cases is *b*, e.g. *dīb'iN'*, 'Dibbin' (place name), < dubh-bhinn; *tí:bqs*, 'on this side', = taobh 'bhus. The latter form leads to *tí:b haL*, 'on the further side', also *tí:paL*, *tí:baL*; *tí:pvəs*, 'on the upper side'; *tí:p'iar*, 'on the west side'. Cp. Pedersen p. 161.

iv.

§ 471. A voiced final loses its voice before the pronouns *fə*, *fí:*, *fíəd* &c., e.g. *gʷt^(l) fə*, 'he stole'; *grít^(l) fə*, 'he closed'; *də χʷt^(l) fə*, 'your share'; *iətsən*, 'they', = iadsan; *də:k tuw*, 'you left'; *hək fə*, 'he took'. Compare *əksəčūwíl*, 'wonderful', Di. éagsambail.

v.

§ 472. Proclitics ending in a non-palatal consonant are frequently affected by an initial palatal vowel, e.g. *d'ar*, 'your husband', < do + fhear²; *m'ar*, 'my husband', < mo + fhear; *m'ip'*, 'my whip' (§ 452); *d'æL' fə* < do + fheall; *N'i: b'ar*, 'better', = ní ba fhearr; *b'qmwi: taχ Nə məχt ə ro ta:rLaχ əN*, 'Charles was in many a poor-house', = bu + iomaidh but *N'i: bə:li: = ní b'eólaighe*; *αχ mər b'e:*, 'had it not been for him'; *se:, fí:*, 'it is he, she', but *əs m'e:*, 'it is I'. Here the case of the article may also be mentioned, *də N'ar*, 'to the man'; *ə N'i:r'iN'ə*, 'the truth'.

9. Vowel-length.

§ 473. In Donegal there seem to be four degrees of length in vowels, viz. short, half-long, long and overlong. Long vowels occur mostly in syllables with strong stress. When they occur in other syllables they are very frequently due to contraction. For the appearance of half-long vowels I can unfortunately give

¹ Cp. Lecky, History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century vol. i p. 228: "There has always been in Ireland a great increase of real distress during the summer. Sir C. Lewis thus describes the state of things in the early years of the present century: 'In the summer, when the stock of old potatoes is not yet fit for food, the country is covered with swarms of occasional mendicants'".

² The *d* of *də* never loses its voice in Donegal.

no rule. They occur in *L'i:wan*, 'porpoise', Di. *líomhán gréine*; *æsti:ç* (also *æstiç*), 'indoors, inside', similarly *æmwi:ç* (*æmwiç*), 'outside', Di. *istigh*, *amuigh*; *sə:*, 'tang' (§ 70); *tð:s*, 'to measure, guess', Di. *tomhas*. Further in the preterite of certain verb-forms ending in *th*, *dh*, *gh*, e.g. *d'i: m'ə*, 'I ate', *h'i: m'ə*, 'I sat', *n'i: m'ə*, 'I washed'; also in the future *si:hə m'ə*, 'I shall sit'. For these forms cp. § 112.

Final short vowels in stressed syllables are very short indeed. They may be compared with final *l*, *l'*, *n*, *n'*, *r* and *r'*. To call attention to this the grave accent is sometimes employed in this book.

§ 474. Finck quotes a large number of forms for Aran with overlong vowels and such vowels are frequent in Donegal. In stressed monosyllables overlong *i:* may appear instead of *iə* before a non-palatal consonant (§ 164), e.g. *d'i:g*, 'dyke', Di. *díog* but dat. sing. *d'i:g'* with ordinary length; *f'i:r*, 'true', O.Ir. *fír* but gen. sing. *f'i:r'* with ordinary length; *f'r'i:m*, 'through me' (§ 320); *k'i:r*, 'comb', Di. *cíor* but dat. sing. *k'i:r'* with ordinary length; *p'i:b*, 'throat', beside *p'íəb*, Di. *píob*; *f'i:s*, 'down'; *f'k'r'i:b*, 'furrow', Di. *scriob*. This may also sometimes be heard in dissyllables, e.g. *sp'l'i:nax*, 'a tough, wizened beast', Di. *splíonach*; *fL'i:kuw*, 'to stroke', Di. *slíogaim*. Overlong *u:* = *i*. O.Ir. *ú* in *glu:n*, 'knee', O.Ir. *glún*; *ru:n*, 'secret', O.Ir. *rún*; *d'u:l*, 'to suck' (§ 52). ii. O.Ir. *ua*, e.g. *u:n*, 'lamb', O.Ir. *úan*; *ku:n*, 'harbour', M.Ir. *cúan*. $\bar{\lambda}$: is overlong in $\bar{\lambda}:l$, 'lime', Di. *aol*. Any vowel tends to be overlong as the final of a stressed monosyllable, e.g. *b'jə:*, 'alive'.

§ 475. More frequently however overlong vowels are due to contraction, e.g. *bla:ç*, 'buttermilk', Di. *blathach*; *bri:n*, 'quarrel', Di. *bruighean*; *bwi:*, compar. of *bwiaç*, 'thankful', Di. *buidheach* (also gen. sing. masc. and fem.); *bo:r*, 'deaf', Di. *bodhar* but gen. sing. *bo:r'* and denominative *bo:ri:m* with normal length; *b'a:ç*, 'beast, horse', Di. *beathaidheach*, but *fanwa:ç* with ordinary length; *fa:ç*, 'giant', Di. *fathach*; *f'i:m*, 'I weave', Di. *fighim*; *ku:N*, 'narrow', Di. *cumhang*; *Lu:hə*, gen. sing. of *Lui*, 'ashes', Di. *luaith*, *luatha*; *L'i:m*, 'I lick', Di. *lighim*; *ra:ç*, 'drift of snow' (§ 19); *sLa:ç*, 'slush', Di. *sláthach*; *sy:m*, 'I sit', infin. *sy:*, Di. *suidhe*; *su:w*, 'to suck', < *sughadh* but not in *suw*, 'juice', Di. *súgh*; *fu:l*, 'to walk', Di. *siubhal*; *ti:dər*, 'thatcher', Di. *tuigheadóir*; *tra:*, gen. sing. of *tra:i*, 'strand', Di. *tráigh*, *trágha*.

§ 476. The *y*: of the plural ending *əNÿ*: is generally overlong as also a preceding long vowel if the *ə* is absorbed, e.g. *α:Nÿ*:, plur. of *α*:, 'luck', Di. ádh; *eir'i:Nÿ*:, 'Irishmen'; *f'α:Nÿ*:, 'fathoms', from *f'α*:, Di. feadh; *g'r'əəsi:Nÿ*:, 'shoemakers'; *kra:Nÿ*:, plur. of *kra*:, 'torment', Di. cradh; *kyN'fkl'o:Nÿ*:, 'disturbances', Di. coinsgleo; *k'o:Nÿ*:, 'mists', Di. ceó; *k'aləgu:Nÿ*:, 'lullabies', Di. cealgadh; *sNū:Nÿ*:, plur. of *sNūw*, *sNūə*, 'complexion', Di. snuadh; *fL'i:Nÿ*:, plur. of *fL'i*:, Di. slighe.

The ending of the first person sing. of the pres. ind. of verbs of the second conjugation (*-i.m*) has an overlong *i*: as *m* has been substituted for *m'*.

10. Stress.

§ 477. Word-stress always falls upon the first syllable of a simple word, e.g. *draNtan*, 'droning', Di. dranntán, infin. *draNtanaxt*; *gər*, 'sitting of a hen', Di. gor, *gəraxəs*, 'cuddling round the fire'; *sp'al*, 'scythe', M.Ir. spel, *sp'alədər*, 'mower', *sp'alədaraxt*, 'mowing'; *to:n'*, 'podex', *to:nakan*, 'a sbort stumpy fellow', also the gait of such a person, cp. Cl. S. 30 vii '04 p. 5 col. 3. The suffixes *-an* < *-án*, *-ax*, *-axt* < *-ach*, *-acht* have very strong secondary stress as also all syllables containing long vowels or vowels that were originally long. The relative stress of syllables may be denoted by figures under the syllables, 1 = chief stress. When we have two syllables with strong secondary stress, the first of the two is usually the stronger. Examples—*anas*, 'sore straits', *anastə*, 'distressed', Macbain has *anasta*,
_{1 2} _{1 2}
 'stormy', < *anfhadh*; *α.r.N'εf*, 'furniture', Di. áirnéis; *batəL'tə*,
_{1 2} _{1 2}
 'wap' (§ 9); *bwiαxəs*, 'thankfulness', Di. buidheachas; *ba:t'i.m'*,
_{1 2} _{1 2}
 'a mossy pool of water on a bog', = báitín from M.Ir. báidud, 'to drown'; *b'α.Nαxti*:, 'blessings', = beannachtaí; *b'arad*, 'cap',
_{1 2 3} _{1 2}
 Di. birréad, plur. *b'aradi*:, *b'ələstan*, 'big foolish talker', = béalastán; *b'r'iŋləd'αx*, 'dreaming' (subst.), cp. Di. brionglóid-each; *daməNtan*, *daməNtor'*, 'seducer', = damantán, *-óir*; *du:r-*
_{1 2} _{1 2} _{1 2}
αxtαx, 'earnest, zealous', Di. dúthrachtach; *d'igəNtə*, 'devout',
_{2 3} _{1 2}
 Di. diaganta; *d'r'əuwlas*, 'licentiousness', *d'r'əuwlasαx*, 'licen-
_{1 2} _{1 2 3}
 tious', Di. dreabhlas; *iəσαxtαx*, 'given to borrowing', Di. iasach-
_{1 2 3}

tach; $k\ddot{o}:ra:$, 'conversation', $k\ddot{o}:ra:t'ax$, 'conversationalist', Di.
 $\begin{matrix} 1 & 2 \\ 1 & 2 & 3 \end{matrix}$
 cómhradh, cómhraidhteach; $kyg'al$, 'distaff', Di. cuigeal, coigéal;
 $L'atromax$, 'pregnant', Di. leathtromach; $o:ganax$, 'rogue', Di.
 $\begin{matrix} 1 & 2 & 3 \\ 1 & 2 & 3 \end{matrix}$
 ógánach; $ri'd'agax$, 'a small bush on which the Saviour is said to
 $\begin{matrix} 1 & 2 & 3 \end{matrix}$
 have been crucified and which in consequence never grows to any
 size, wild myrtle (?)', Di. raideog, Hogan raideóg, raiteóg. Occa-
 sionally however we get 1 3 2 as in $fadalax$, 'slow', Di. fadálach;
 $\begin{matrix} 1 & 3 & 2 \end{matrix}$
 $La:nũ:nax\theta$, 'couples', plur. of $La:nũ:n'$, Di. lánamhain.
 $\begin{matrix} 1 & 3 & 2 \end{matrix}$

§ 478. The syllables have close stress after a short vowel and open stress after a long vowel. In forms like $d\theta n\theta$, $b'aNaxt$, $b'arad$, $bat\theta$ the syllable-division is in the consonant but after a long vowel the consonant belongs to the following syllable, e.g. $da:n\theta$, $d\ddot{o}:nax$. When there are two consonants separating the vowels the division comes between the two, e.g. $mas-Lax$, $sit'r'i:$, $i\eta-lax$. Hence the articulation of the second consonant is not generally anticipated in the first. See further § 437.

11. Stress of Compounds.

§ 479. In proper compounds as a rule the first element receives the stress, e.g. $b'an\theta Ltr\theta$, 'nurse'; $i'f\ddot{a}il$, 'game', = oss + feóil; $k'iNta:rNaxt$, 'bareheaded'; $L'in\theta d\theta x$, 'linen', = líon-éadach; $L'asen'\theta m$, 'nickname'; $L'ax\theta r\theta n'$, 'half-crown'; $m\omega\Lambda: \chi r\theta iax$, 'tender-hearted'; $ru\theta vir'ig$, 'iron deposits in water'. Under this head come the prefixes $\alpha-$, 're-', O.Ir. ath-; $\alpha:rd-$, 'arch-', O.Ir. árd; $d'e:-$, 'good', O.Ir. deg-; $so-$, $do-$, O.Ir. so-, do-, e.g. $\alpha\chi agnuw$, 'to chew the cud'; $\alpha\chi bi:$, 'relapse', = ath + claidh; $\alpha l'iguw$, 'relapse', = ath + leagadh; $\alpha:rd\theta sp\theta k$, 'archbishop'; $\alpha:rd\theta \theta n\theta l$, 'archangel'; $d'e:lo:r\theta$, 'eloquent'; $d'e:w\theta luw$, 'sweet smell'; $so\theta r'et'\theta$, 'credible'; cp. the proverb $b'i: d\theta n'\theta s\theta n\theta so\chi\theta:rL'ax$, $b'i: d\theta n'\theta d\theta n\theta do\chi\theta:rL'ax$, 'a lucky man is easy to counsel, an unlucky man difficult'.

§ 480. When the second member of a compound stands in genitival relation to the first it receives the stress, e.g. $\alpha h\theta r N'iv\theta$, 'serpent'; $\alpha rk fL'eiv\theta$, 'lizard'; $b\omega\theta L' f'eir'\theta$, 'laughing-stock'; $b'iN' t\theta$, 'gable'; $i:\theta N' f'eil'\theta$, 'the eve of a festival', < oidhche cheann féile; $k\theta r\theta f' k'r'i:st\theta$, 'sponsor'; $m\alpha k' \alpha L\theta$, 'echo'; $m'i: \alpha uwr\theta$, 'the month of February'.

§ 481. Foreign words which retain the foreign stress may come to be regarded as compounds, e.g. *d'i:v:fi:*, 'diocese'; *fk'i:æpk'is*, 'quinsy', < Engl. squinansy. Several obscure words with stress on the second syllable were probably once compounds, e.g. *gæ:fa:*, 'panting' (note however the interjection *pa'pa* = 'don't, don't touch'); *moru:xiL'*, 'scald-crow', O'R. *moruadh, moruach*, Di. *murthuidhe*; *p'l'ei:sam*, 'bother, nuisance' (?); *rə:fə:r'i:n'*, 'a small shower after a squall'.

§ 482. The second member seems to receive the stress in verb-forms with *ən-*, e.g. *ən'χɔʔə*, 'a match for', = *ionchorrtha* Cl. S. 25 vi '04 p. 6 col. 1. *ku:g'ə 'mā:n*, 'Munster', *ku:g'i(:) 'χəNαχtə*, 'Connaught' and *ku:g'i(:) 'læiən*, 'Leinster', are regular but one generally hears *'ku:g' əluw*, 'Ulster'. Adjectives containing *N'äw-*, O.Ir. *neph-*, *neb-*, have the stress on the second element, e.g. *N'äw'aswiαχ*, 'independent'.

§ 483. Even stress occurs but not exclusively with the prefixes *an-*, 'very', *droχ-*, 'bad', *d'i:-*, 'un-, in-', *m'i:-*, 'un-', *ro:-*, 'too', e.g. *'an'i:ʃəl*, 'very low'; *'an'əkɾəs*, 'great hunger'; *'aN'Lü:χən*, 'very active'; *'droχwu:nuw*, 'bad manners'; *'droχ'i:v*, 'bad appearance'; *'droχ'iəri:*, 'attempt to violate'; *'d'i:ji:l'εαuw*, 'indigestion'; *'m'i:aN'tra:χ*, 'untimely'; *'m'i:a:*, 'misfortune'; *'mi:'eid'αχ*, 'impatient'; *'m'i:ha:stə*, 'dissatisfied' (but also *'m'ihα:stə*); *'m'i:r'əN* has uneven stress because the etymology (*mí-gheann*) is obscured; *ro:waL*, 'too late'. Further in *ə jεəN'təʃk'*, 'on purpose'; *'kū:jas*, 'ambidexter', Di. *coimhdheas*.

12. Sentence-stress.

§ 484. In this particular the Gaelic dialects do not seem to differ very widely, cp. Henderson, ZCP. iv 264 ff. and Finck i 127 ff. The chief cases have been well summarised by Finck and we adopt his arrangement. · before a syllable is employed to denote strong stress, : medium stress and - weak stress. Where necessary special emphasis may be denoted by ;.

§ 485. A noun as subject is stressed more strongly than the verb, e.g. *·henik' mα:r'ə*, 'Mary came'; *·rəg ə wə:*, 'the cow calved'; *·ta: 'LUχær' ərəm*, 'I rejoice'; *·təkrəs ərəm*, 'I am hungry'; *·N'i:l' təkɾəs ərəm*, 'I am not hungry'. But *·ta:s əgəm*, 'I know', *·N'il' əs əgəm*, 'I do not know', *N'i: 'ro:s əgəm*, 'I did not know', *ə 'm'əwəs əgəm*, 'if I had known', cp. further (ə) *·g'əN'istə*, 'unawares'.

§ 486. Subject pronouns have much weaker stress than the verb apart from the forms of the copula *as* &c., e.g. *'hi:N' fə*, 'he stretched'; *'hen'i m'ə*, 'I saw'.

§ 487. A dependent genitive or attributive adjective is more strongly stressed than the substantive, e.g. *madə ruə*, 'fox'; *p'adər Nə 'b'i:N'axə*, 'Peter of the pence' (the name of a beggar); *rəfə 'w:a:n*, 'fair Rose'; *talwə 'mai:*, 'good land'.

The numerals however also have strong stress, e.g. *'d'ε 'bɔ:Ntə*, 'ten pounds'; *'ku:g' f'i:pə*, 'five pipes'. But when *d'εəg* follows the substantive the latter loses its strong stress, e.g. *'ɔχ(t) b'i:N' d'εəg*, 'eighteen pence'. Note also *'gəiçəd*, 'forty'.

§ 488. Adjectives and substantives used predicatively with *as* (=is) and the negatives *N'i:*, *Nax* &c. have stronger stress than the subject, e.g. *as 'mo:r ə f'ar ə*, 'he is a big man'; *Nax 'b'r'ε: N Lɑ: ə*, 'is it not a fine day?'

Similarly with *ta:*, e.g. *ta: f'ε 'dɔrəχə*, 'it is dark'. But *ta:* may have the stress in an emphatic reply, e.g. *'ta: f'ε dɔrəχə* = 'you are right, it is dark' (locally 'it's jest dark, 'tis jest, jest').

§ 489. A substantival object is more strongly stressed than the governing verb, e.g. *du:rsə 'ɔ:ran*, 'he sang a song'; *kəiħəm tɔ'bəkə*, 'I smoke tobacco'.

A pronominal object has weak stress, e.g. *'krakə m'ə huw*, 'I shall strike you'; *tər 'dūw ə*, 'give it to me'.

§ 490. Adverbs and adverbial expressions have generally stronger stress than the verbs or adjectives they qualify, e.g. *glak gə 'səkyr' ə*, 'take it easy'; *Nə kyr' kə 't'Uw iəd*, 'do not set them so close'.

§ 491. Prepositions, pronouns, conjunctions and the negative particles have weak stress, e.g. *-Nə -Nax 'wakə -tuw -m'ə*, 'did you not see me?'; *-mas 'mai -l'at*, 'if you please'; *gə-d'e: -mər 'ta: -tuw*, 'how are you?'

§ 492. Emphasis is denoted either by the construction with *as* or by stressing a word which would otherwise not have the strong stress, e.g. *'N'il'əs əgəm 'kə wiL' fə*, 'I do not know where it is'.

Sentence-stress is marked in the first few lines of the tale *An Chevalier agus na tri daill* p. 241.

13. Intonation.

§ 493. Donegal intonation does not differ very widely from that of English and German. The most strongly stressed syllables frequently have the highest pitch and the tone falls towards the end of a statement. Whilst fully aware of the impossibility of accurately representing intervals in speech by the ordinary musical notation I give the following examples for what they are worth. The examples represent some of the most ordinary forms of statement and question, to which I have had to limit myself, as I do not speak the dialect as a native. I have to thank Dr Charles Wood for kindly assisting me with my examples.

Statements.

- i. *ta: m'ε gə maic̃.*
g g g e.
- ii. *əs b'r'ε: N Lα: ə.*
f g g d̃ c#.
- iii. *Lα: b'r'εə* (the ordinary salutation on the road).
f# e d̃.
- iv. *N'il' m'ə gə maic̃.*
 (a) *f f f d* (sadly).
 (b) *a f f f d* (emphatic).
- v. *ta: L'o:gə.*
e g d.
- vi. *mæfə L'o:gə hein' ətα:.*
g e f e f fe d̃.

Questions.

- i. *gə d'e: mər ta: tuw?*
e g g f c.
- ii. *wiL tuw gəL Nə wel'ə?*
f f f f d c.
- iii. *wiL tuw t'iN'?*
 (a) *dᵇ dᵇ Bᵇ* (expressing sympathy).
 (b) *dᵇ dᵇ d̃ᵇ.*
- iv. *Nə Nαχ wiL tuw gə maic̃?*
dᵇ dᵇ dᵇ c Bᵇ a (surprise).
- v. *gəd'e: N fərt Le: tα: əN əN'Uw?*
e f d gᵇ c c B.

14. Characteristics of Donegal Irish.

§ 494. Lip-articulation in the case of the vowels is not well-marked. There is slight protrusion in the case of *p, b, m*, retraction in *p', b', m'*. Rounded front vowels are entirely absent. The tongue is advanced and articulates forcibly against the top teeth (*L, N, t, d*). In the case of the palatal sounds the tongue rests against the lower teeth, also in the case of *s*. *l* occurs in four varieties, *r* in three, the latter is generally slightly rolled. The consonants, particularly the stops, seem to be much tenser than the vowels. All consonants occur both voiced and unvoiced except *s, f* and *ɣ*. *b, d, g* are voiced; *p, t, k, s* are aspirated; unaspirated *p, t, k* and *p', t', k'* occur with lax articulation after *s, f, ɣ*. Nasal resonance is particularly strong. The glottal catch is altogether wanting. Palatal and non-palatal consonants are contrasted, the quality of the consonants being apparently of greater relative importance than vowel-quality. Whilst the numerous consonant-types are well articulated, many of the vowels are remarkably ill defined, two vowels being frequently interchangeable. The back vowels are much better represented than the front and include peculiar high-back-unrounded sounds. Low vowels are also represented and every vowel may occur nasalised. The quality of the vowels often depends on the environment. There is a tendency to make all short vowels wide and lowered and all long vowels narrow. Long vowels in stressed monosyllables are apt to become overlong and diphthongisation occurs in the case of *ε:* and *i:*. Long vowels appear chiefly in syllables with strong stress. In weak syllables the vowel is generally *ə* but *α* is not rare and long vowels due to contraction are often found. Close stress after short vowels. Assimilation is frequent particularly in sandhi. Most consonants tend to be long or half-long but *l, r, n, l', r', n', ɣ, w* are always short and at the end of stressed monosyllables are clipped or over-short. There is a great difference between strong and weak stress. The traditional stress always falls on the first syllable. Unity stress plays a great part. Pitch much as in English and German.

WORD-LISTS.

(Old and Middle Irish, Scotch Gaelic and Manx.)

The figures refer to the paragraphs.

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TEXTS

fanokla.

1. *l'ef* ə *Nil'*ə *waduw* α *χrā:v*.
2. *b'i:* ə *çiəL hein'* *εg'* ə *Nil'*ə *gyn'*ə *agəs k'ieL* *ər L'eç* *εg'* ə *N'ar vir'*ə.
3. *N'i:* *wi:r'* ə *maduw ruə t'ax't'ir'*ə *N'i:* *b'a:r* *Na ε hein'*.
4. *marəguw Nə ba:ft'i:*, *L'ig'* *dŪw*, *L'ik'*ə *m'ə did'*.
5. *əs Nā:wid'* ə *çird'* *gən* ə *f'jə:l'əm'*.
6. *fi:t'i:* *N'* *t'εəN dUw gər b'e:* *εən hein'* ə *t'εən əs b'a:n'ə er'* *b'iç*.
7. *f'k'εəl* ə *iN'fə də χapəL sə kapəL* *ər to:n'* ə *Na:rd'ə*.
8. *N'i:r'* *vīst'ə* *də f'adər pə:l*.
9. *tu:s k'ahə k'o:*.
10. *kriN'i:* *brow b'art'* *agəs L'ieNtər syk'* *də fər'i:n'i:*.
11. *kyr'əN su:l'* *rū:t'ax* *kərp Nə k'iL'ə* *agəs mart Nə fətə*.
12. *fe: mər ta: f'ar Nə hε:nwə:*. *ta: fε fwi: smaxt* *εg'* *f'ar* ə *da: wə:*. *ax* *əN'te:* ə *wil'* *εg'ə N'* *fe: Nə N'* *faxt*, *N'i:* *α:N'* *fε k'art* ə *ar* ə *Ny:*.
13. *d'er'* ə *kat*, *k'e d'i:ç* ə *t'im'*? *Na mrā:*.
14. *sα:r* ə *və əs* ə *t'i:r'* *Na əs* ə *Nəfian*.
15. *is gələr dən go:r Nər Naχ N'ih'iN'* *fε εən*.
16. *b'i:* *rah* *ər raplaxan* *agəs heid'* ə *ft'r'auwəg əməwə*.
17. *gaχ* *εən mər iL't'ər* *agəs* ə *NΔ:skəN* *sə N'abər*.
18. *N'i:* *fεvt'* *ər'* *b'iç* ə *və foluw*.
19. ə *strəN'fær'* ə *Næk'* ə *dəN'fær'* *s* ə *b'arax* *f'ε:ri:* ə *Næk'* *əN dərif*.
20. *se: mər ta: N* *t'ənə:hi: dαL*. *N'i:* *glakəN kō:rL'ə wΔ* ə *n'ax* *ə mwer'əN*. *gən v:ləs* *əs f'a:r* *l'ef* ə *və Na* *xəd'væl* *gə wiL'* *fə* ə *Nen'əvis*.
21. *ga: d'r'ien gəhr'* *l'ε hi:çə*, *ga d'r'ien gy:çə l'ε kraNəv*, *ga: d'r'ien fN'axtə* *l'ε fL'eivt'ə* *agəs ga: d'r'ien g'r'ein'ə* *l'ε b'αNə*.
22. *d'i:f* *Naχ gyr'əN* *l'ε çeil'ə*, *f'ar Nə k'eiL'ə* *agəs f'ar Nə heig'eiL'ə*, *də vr'i:* *gə fi:l'əN f'ar Nə heig'eiL'ə* *gər b'ə hein'* *f'ar Nə k'eiL'ə*.
23. *N'i:* *trīm'id'ə dən Ləχ* ə *Lax*.
N'i: *trīm'id'ə dən N'ax* ə *rən*.
N'i: *trīm'id'ə dən χΔ:rə* α *holəN*
s N'i: *trīm'id'ə dən χləN k'ieL*.
24. *əs kəsu:L'* *L'ε çeil'ə* *ən bwəL'feir'ə* *s* ə *jilə*.

Seanfhocla.

1. Leis an uile mhadadh a chnámh.
2. Bidhidh a chiall fhéin aig an uile dhuine 7 ciall air leith aig an fhear mhíre.
3. Ní fhuair an madadh ruadh teachtaire ní b'fhearr ná é fhéin.
4. Margadh na bpáistí, leig domh, leigidh mé duid.
5. Is námhaid an chéird gan a feogluim.
6. Saoilidh an t-éan dubh gur b'é a éan fhéin an t-éan is báine air bith.
7. Scéal do innse do chapall 7 an capall air tóin ann áirde.
8. Níor mhíse do Pheadar Pól.
9. Tús ceatha ceó.
10. Cruinnighidh brobh beairt 7 líontar saic de phoiríní.
11. Cuireann súil thnúiteach corp 'un na cille 7 mart 'un an phota.
12. Is é mar tá fear na h-aon bhó. Tá sé faoi smacht aig fear an dá bhó. Acht an té a bhfuil aige an sé no an seacht, ní fhaghann sé ceart o fhear an naoi.
13. Deir an cat, cé d'íth an t-im? na mná.
14. Is fhearr do bhéith as an tír ná as an fhaisiún.
15. Is galar do'n ghabhar nuair nach n-itheann sé eidhean.
16. Bidhidh rath air raplachan 7 théid an streabhóg amudha.
17. Gach éan mar oiltear 7 an naoscann san eabar.
18. Ní seibhte air bith do bhéith folamh.
19. An stráinséair i n-aice an dáinséair agus an bearach féaraigh i n-aice an dorais.
20. Sé mar tá an t-an-eólaidh dall. Ní ghlacann sé comhairle o neach a maireann. Gan eolas is fearr leis do bhéith ná aidbheáil go bhfuil sé i n-ainbhíos.
21. Dhá dtrian galair le h-oidhche, ghá dtrian gaoithe le crannaibh, dhá dtrian sneachta le sléibhte 7 dhá dtrian gréine le beanna.
22. Dís nach gcuireann le chéile, fear na céille 7 fear na h-éigcéille, de bhrígh go saoleann fear na h-éigcéille gur b'é fhéin fear na céille.
23. Ní truimide do'n loch an lach.
Ní truimide do'n each a shraon (shrian).
Ní truimide do'n chaora a h-olann
7 ní truimide do'n cholann ciall.
24. Is cosamhail le chéile an ball séire 7 a ghiolla.

Riddles.

1. *as Luw Na Lox,* *as ord'ə Na ax,*
as g'il'ə Na g'e., *agəs b'i: fε Nə jei fiN dUw.*
a:rN'ə.
2. *b'i: darsər' karkyr' krUi sə xri:.*
N'i: he:fiN do:sən, b'i: fə mwX̄.
fasi: fə sə dqrəs mər vəu ba:L'i: t'αN.
bwy:L'tər əftax e: mər vəu g'ij.
t'ig'i: n p'iN'or lε Nə f'αN.
pəLy: efiN f'r'i:d' ə çin.
f'k'irdi: n gadi: s eir'i: n g'r'αN.
stapalan ə wid'æl.
3. *k'arər Nə riç,* *k'arər er' k'r'iç,*
b'irt' ə d'anuw N'v:is, *agəs Lo:b'i:n' ər d'er'uw.*
bo:.

Catches.

1. *if'k'ə bog er' gob ə xapwiL'. kəmwil' gə bog m'i:n' gob ə*
xapwiL'.
2. *əs bog ə fə:d e:fə fwi: mə ga: xaf. N'i: bwig'ə e: Na: n fə:d*
ta: Lã.v l'ef. fə:d bog edir' ga: wog. əs bog səs bog e:
ən bogə:d.

a:nras ə N'im'ə.

vi: a:nras ə N'im'ə Na xō:ni: ə mwel' i: mū:n ə pl'αN ə wel'ə
giv. bə l'ef bwel' i: mū:n a:t' f'ihə bo: agəs taruw l'v:fə. glak ə
fo:Nstənaχ mo:r ε er skə:r k'er'ə xrok jæg im' ə ja:nuw er' ihid^(v)
bo: N' t'o:Nstəni:. Jaxtən rīvə hāūwin' χUi ə fo:Nstənaχ f'iar agəs
faxt n'arəx'n' agəs p'eir'ə k'l'ūw er' gaχ g'aran fa χyN'ə ə χyd'
im'ə. d'iafri b'an a:nrəf wo:r' də ga:nras, gəde: ja:ŋə m'ə? ta:
N' t'im' it' əgəd. d'iafri: a:nras, wīl' ərəd im' əgəd əs ja:ŋuw fiN'
əN'Uψ? agəs du:r' s'isə, ta:. Ner' ə d'i: siəd a sa(:)i^v, du:rt' ə
fo:Nstənaχ, a:nrəf, əs kə:r did' ə solar ə hə:rt d'Ūψ, agəs du:rt'
a:nras, N'iaL solar ər' b'iç' əgəm. d'i: m'ə e: il'ig'. du:rt' ə
fo:Nstənaχ, a a:nrəf, kyg'i m'ə əNə f'r'i:su:n' huw. agəs du:rt'
a:nras, Na kyr', aχ kyr' hōgəm Nə f'ihə bo: b'l'ix'n' el'ə agəs vε:ri
m'ə m'iNə Naχ N'icəm ən jr'im' im'ə gə k'iN b'l'iaNə. riN' siəd
ə marəguw. hafi: a:nras agəs ə van ə sa:wəl' ə N'im'ə. vi: d'ε

Riddles.

1. Is lugh ná luch, is aoirde ná each,
is gile ná gé, 7 bidhidh sé na dhiaidh sin dubh.
Áirne.
2. Bidhidh dorsóir carcair cruaidh san chroidhe.
Ní h-ésin dó-san, bidhidh sé maoth.
Seasaidh sé san dorus mar bhéidheadh báillidh teann.
Buailtear asteach é mar bhéidheadh ging.
Tigidh an pinneóir le n-a pheann.
Pollaidh éscan fríd a cheann.
Sciordaidh an gadaidhe 7 éirighidh an greann.
Stopalán an bhuideáil.
3. Ceathrar na rith, ceathrar air crith,
beirt ag deánadh an eólais, 7 lóibín air deireadh.
Bó.

Catches.

1. Uisce bog air ghob an chapaill. Cumail go bog míu gob an chapaill.
2. Is bog an fód é-seo faoi mo dhá chois. Ní buige é ná 'n fód tá láimh leis. Fód bog eadar dhá bhog. Is bug 7 is bug é an bogfhód.

Áindriás an Ime.

Bhí Áindriás an Ime na chomhnaidhe i mBaile ui Mún i nGleann an Bhaile Dhuibh. Bu leis Baile ui Mún, áit fiche bó 7 tarbh leobhtha. Ghlac an Seónstanach Mór é air scór ceithre chroc dhéag ime do dheánadh air fhichid bó an tSeónstanaigh. Seachtmhain roimhe Shamhain chuaidh an Seónstanach siar 7 seacht ngearráin 7 péire cliabh air ghach gearrán fá choinne a chuid ime. D'fhiafraigh bean Áindriáis Mhóir de Áindriás, go dé gheánfaidh mé? Tá an t-im ithte agad. D'fhiafraigh Áindriás, bhfuil oiread ime agad a's gheánfadh sinn aniu? 7 dubhairt síse, tá. Nuair d'ith siad a sáith, dubhairt an Seónstanach, a Áindriáis, is cóir duid an solathar do thabhairt domh, 7 dubhairt Áindriás, ní'l solathar air bith agam. D'ith mé é uilig. Dubhairt an Seónstanach, a Áindriáis, cuirfidh mé 'un an phríosúin thú. 7 dubhairt Áindriás, na cuir, acht cuir chugam na fiche bó bliadhain eile 7 bhéarfaidh mé mionna nach n-ithim aon ghreim ime go ceann bliadhna. Rinne siad an margadh. Thoisigh Áindriás 7 a bhean ag sábháil an ime. Bhí deich mba(th) aig

mah eg' a:nras a hein' agos ha:wæL' fə N' t'im' il'ig' gə d'a:r sə ɔχt
 grok agos f'içə er' hən ə da: vl'ien. hen'ik' (hanik') ə fo:Nstənaχ
 ə t'axtən rīvə hāūwin' agos k'er'ə g'aræN' d'æg l'ef, p'eir'ə k'l'iuw ər'
 gaχ g'aran. høg fə l'ef a χyd' im'ə. N'i: vɛ Loχ p'i:N'ə də
 riN' əgəm l'at, ərse a:nras. ta: m'ə ər to:gæl' gən ən jr'im' im'
 a:L'ɛ b'l'iin'. kyf'i m'ə stək bələg høgəd er' ə vl'i:N' f'UgiN'. ma
 gə L'ɔ:r. riN'uw ə marəguw. hen'ik' ə t'aLaχ skɔ:r gə L'è.
 χāiv' ə t'aLaχ ə Nam əN'fin' gə d'i: ən fō:wər. høg ə
 fo:Nstənaχ l'ef iəd gə hχ:naχ ə Nō:wiv' valaχ fani: a hein' agos
 a:nræf l'ef. ji:L' fə (ə)N'taLaχ l'ɛ kəNaxtaχ agos du:rt' ə
 kəNaxtaχ, əs mo:r ə Na:r'ə Naχ wil' aLaχ N'i:s f'a:r əgəv Na
 ta:. aχ N'i:l' a:t' ə vi: əN mər gyd' aLy: Na əN mər Ny:n'i:.
 du:rt' ə fo:Nstənaχ gə rɔ aLaχ agos di:n'i: okuw kə mai' agos
 vi: ə gəNaxtə agos ə glakuw ə m'ie kə mai' fəstə. f'l'eid'æl' ə
 fo:Nstənaχ agos ə kəNaxtaχ er' f'ig tamwiL' (təmwiL') agos χɔr
 səd g'aL ʒi: ·L'ejin'i k'okuw bwχəχiL' ə χəNaxti: Nə bwχəχiL'
 ə t'o:Nstəni: əs 'mo: d'i:suw də j'im'. hiN'fiuw ə f'k'ɛL də a:nras
 agos də wχəχiL' ə χəNaxti: agos du:rt' ə vɪrt' gər wāiv' mər
 ha:rLy: gə ro(w) ə sa(:)i' okrif ɔruw. χUi səd əft'ax ə d'ax ə
 Nə:stə. f'iafriuw di:fə gəd'e: ə d'i:sət^l) səd l'ɛ Na gyd' im'ə. du:rt'
 ə vɪrt', aran m'in' χɔr'k'ə agos p'r'ɛti:. f'wχrəs (fui:rəs) siN
 do:fə. f'iafriuw di:fə gəd'e: n ved' im'ə. du:rt' a:nras k'aruw
 kləçə. N'i:r' wadə gə ro fin' k'r'ioχni:. gyr' a:nras k'aruw kləç
 el'ə də gaχ ɔ:n okuw. Ner' ə hen'ik' ə t'im', wuil' a:nras dərN er'
 ə wo:rd agos du:rt' Naχ ro k'art ə ja:nuw l'ɛ k'axtər okuw. gər
 çart do:fə d'ɔχ a:l'. f'iafriuw gəd'e: N'd'ɔχ agos du:r'se:, d'ɔχ
 im'ə. gəd'e: n veid' im'ə? L'eijig'i: k'aruw kləçə ən f'ar du:N'.
 hen'i fə L'eit'ə agos əNə ga: b'ig'i:n'. do:l a:nras d'ɔχ agos d'ierse
 Nə p'r'ɛti: agos ə taran ho:rt^l) l'ɔ:fə əs ə χasan, gə wa:t' fə ə χyd'
 ə ja:nuw. rəg fə er' ɔ:d də N'im' əNa gərN. χɔr sə əNa veil' ə.
 wiN' fə g'r'im' mo:r əs. do:iL' fə bələgəm əs ə f'ig'i:n'. go:rt' kəð
 də N'im' əNuəs f'r'i:d' ə N'ɛsog' wo:r'. əs ɔχt d'e:, wā:ist'ir', f'ɛəχ
 əNəN er'. N'i: ədəm ə və b'jə: ə gəūwərək er' ə va:χ halax. d'iel
 ə g'aL agos ə tra: raxəmwid' ə wel'ə, i:kə m'ə hein' ə l'a'. win'
 a:nras ə g'aL aχ da:k fə a:nras ə N'im'ə mər en'əm' er' gə wuərse
 ba:s.

Áindrias é fhéin 7 shábháil sé an t-im uilig go deárn sé ocht gcroc 7 fiche air shon an dá bhliadhan. Thainic an Seónstanach an tseachtmhain roimhe Shamhain 7 ceithre gearráin déag leis, péire cliabh air ghach gearrán. Thug sé leis a chuid ime. Ní bhéidh luach píngne de roinn agam leat, arsa Áindrias. Tá mé ar tógáil gan aon ghreim ime fhagháil le bliadhain. Cuirfidh mé stoc bolog chugad air an bhliadhain seo chugainn. Maith go leór. Rinneadh an margadh. Thainic an t-eallach scór go leith. Chaith an t-eallach a n-am annsin go dtí an foghmhar. Thug an Seónstanach leis iad go h-aonach an fhoghmhair Bhealach Seanaidh é fhéin 7 Áindrias leis. Dhíol sé an t-eallach le Connachtach 7 dubhairt an Connachtach: is mor an náire nach bhfuil eallach níos fearr agaibh ná tá. Acht ní'l áit an bhídh ann bhur gcuid eallaigh na ann bhur ndaoíní. Dubhairt an Seónstanach go robh eallach agus daoíní ocú co maith 7 bhí i gConnachta agus a ghlacadh a mbiadh co maith fosta. Phléidéáil an Seónstanach 7 an Connachtach air feadh tamaill agus chuir siad geall thrí leathghuinea cia ocú buachaill an Chonnachtaigh no buachaill an Seónstanaigh is mó d'íosadh de im. H-innsigheadh an scéal do Áindrias agus do bhuachaill an Chonnachtaigh 7 dubhairt an bheirt gur mhaith mar tharlaidh, go robh a sáith ocrais orrthú. Chuaidh siad isteach i dteach an ósta. Fiafruigheadh díobhtha go dé d'íosadh siad le n-a gcuid ime. Dubhairt an bheirt: Arán min choirce agus préataí. Fuaras sin dóbhtha. Fiafraigheadh díobhtha go dé an mhéid ime. Dubhairt Áindrias ceathramhadh cloiche. Níor bhfhada go robh sin críochnaighthe. Ghair Áindrias ceathramhadh cloiche eile do gach aon ocú. Nuair a thainic an t-im, bhuaíl Áindrias dorn air an bhórd 7 dubhairt nach robh ceart dha dheánamh le ceachtar ocú. Gur cheart dóbhtha deoch fhagháil. Fiafraigheadh go dé an deoch 7 dubhairt sé: Deoch ime. Go dé an mhéid ime? Léighigidh ceathramhadh cloiche an fear dúinn. Thainic sé léighte 7 aon dhá bpigín. D'ól Áindrias deoch 7 d'iarr sé na préataí 7 an t-arán do thabhairt leóbhtha as an chasán, go bhfaghadh sé a chuid do dheánamh. Rug sé air fhód de'n im ann a dhorn. Chuir sé ann a bhéil é. Bhain sé greim mór as. D'ól sé bolgam as an phigín. Dhóirt cuid de'n im annas fríd an fhéasóig mhóir. As ocht Dé, a mháighistir! féach anonn air. Ní fhéadaim do bhéith beó ag amharc air an bheathach shalach. Díol an geall 7 an tráth rachaidh muid abhaile íocfaidh mé fhéin a leath. Bhain Áindrias an geall acht d'fhág sé Áindrias an Ime mar ainm air go bhfhuair sé bás.

ε: mən a 'k'o:ɾɪf.

vi: bwæn't'r'aχ wrā: ə L'et'ir' vīk' ə 'wa:rd'. vi: b'irt' wāk
 ɛk'i:—pa:drik a 'k'o:ɾɪf ə f'ar bə fɪn'ə agəs ε:mən ə bə:g'ə. da:f
 fɪəd swəs gə ro fɪəd əNa mwχəχəL'i:. əN La: əwā:n' du:rt' ε:mən
 l'ε Na wāhær': ə wāhær', im'aχə m'isə gə viaχə m'ə mɔrtu:n a:l'
 dŪwein'. ta: Ntabuw b'ig gə L'o:r eg' mə ja:ɾær'. k'okuw f'a:r
 l'at tirt'i:n' b'ig əs mə vaNaxt Nə tirt'i:n' mo:r agəs mə waLaxt?
 əs f'a:r l'im tirt'i:n' b'ig agəs də vaNaxt. j'ləs er' agəs da:g
 b'aNaxt eg' Nə wɔnuw. hɔg ə wāhær' ə b'aNaxt dɔ:. vi: sə maL
 tra'nō.nə Ner' ə da:k fə ən buw'ə. N'i:l' əN aχt gə wuərsə trasNə
 gɫ:b'ara gə den'ik' ə Nī:çə agəs χɔdiL'fə ə Nī:çə fɪn' əNsə
 garəχyL'. er' hāt'im' Nə χɔLuw dɔ: hen'ik' iN'fər' kuw b'ig Nə
 garəχyL'uw. fε də vahə ε:mwiN' i: k'o:ɾɪf ərsi:. kyd' ər L'eç
 agəs kivr'əN agəs rɔd l'ε to:rt' iN'fər Na kīl'æn'. jo: tuw fɪn', a
 χylæn' uəsīl'. hɔg diçə kyd' ər L'eç agəs kivr'əN agəs rɔd l'ε to:rt'
 iN'fər Na kīl'æn'. ε:mwiN' i: k'o:ɾɪf, ərsən kuw, ta: m'ə bwiaχ
 di:d. k'ε b'er' b'is' a:t' ə m'ei tuw i jəivəN, d'aN skart' er' χuw
 b'ig Nə garəχyL'uw. ər' mwəd'əN LaχərNə'wa:raχ gə Luə
 Luə d'ev'i: agəs χU'isə er' 'çu:l agəs çu:l rīvə N'i:s fwid'ə Na hig'
 l'ims iN'fə. fa jer'uw tra'nō.nə gə maL hen'i fε ku:rt' agəs
 kəf'Lan mo:r. hen'i sə əNə jaftə. f'iaf'riuw dè, gəð'e: vi: sə
 jjəri: (j'iri:). d'iN'if sε dɔ:fə gər bwχəχiL' ə vi: g'iri: am'f'ir'ə.
 N'i: ro mwid' f'iN'ə əN La: ər'uw Naχ ro bwχ:χiL' ə jic' əriN',
 ərsən g'aftor'. gəð'e: (ə)N qbwir' ə wīL tuw mai' εg'ə. fi:l'əm
 Naχ wīl' qbwir' fa N' t'aχ Naχ d'ig' l'im ə ja:nuw. gəð'e: N
 tuərstəl əta: tuw j'iri: gə k'iN La: agəs b'l'ixn' ? fa:kə m'ə f'ɪn' eg'
 ən r'i:. k'εb'er' b'ic' tuərstəl əs f'juw m'ə vε:ɾi sə dŪw ə. er'
 mwəd'əN LaχərNə'wa:raχ hen'i sə mɔran sp'i:k'i: er' ə wa:wən
 agəs k'iN di:n'i: ər' χyd' əkuw. d'iafri: sə, gə d'e: ta: m'ε gɔl ə
 ja:nuw əN'Uw'. t'efanuw dɔ: boihax Nær' kartuw l'ε faχt
 m'l'iaNə, agəs mər m'eit' sə karti: tra'nō.nə, gə gir'f'i: ə çīN ər
 sp'i:k'ə. fuər sə gre:p', agəs ə çid çīN ə χæ sə əmax, sε: ən rɔd ə
 hen'ik' faχt g'iN' əft'aχ. χæ sə k'iN el'ə əmax agəs hen'ik' k'er'ə
 k'iN' d'εg əft'aχ. o: t'i:n, ərsə:, əs gir'id' gə ro: N' t'aχ sə
 L'iaNtə agəs raxi: mə çīNə er' ə sp'i:k'ə. ta: m'ε: (ə) nrəχa:t',
 ərsə:. N'i:l' im'aχt er' ə wa:s əgəm. əreiv' χuələ m'ə t'ri:
 skart' wo:rə hi:s əNsə j'l'aN.d'iafri: m'ə gəð'e: bə çieL dɔ:

Éamonn Ua Ciórrthais(?).

Bhí baintreabhach mná i Leitir-Mhic-a-Bháird. Bhí beirt mhac aici—Pádraig Ua Ciórrthais an fear bu sine 7 Éamonn ab óige. D'fhás siad suas go robh siad ann a mbuachaillí. Aon lá amháin dubhairt Éamonn le n-a mhathair: A mhathair! imtheachaidh mise go bhféachfaidh mé m'fhortún fagháil domh fhéin. Tá an talamh beag go leór aig mo dhearbhbhrathair. Cia ocú fearr leat toirtín beag 7 mo bheannacht no toirtín mór 7 mo mhallacht? is fearr liom toirtín beag 7 do bheannacht. Ghléas air 7 d'fhág beannacht aig n-a bhunadh. Thug a mhathair a beannacht dó. Bhí sé mall trathuóna nuair d'fhág sé an baile. Ní'l ann acht go bhfuair se trasna Ghaoth-Beara go dtainic an oidhche 7 chodail sé an oidhche sin annsan Gharbhchoill. Air thuitim 'na chodladh dó thainic annsair Cú Beag na Garbhchoilleadh. Sé do bheatha, a Éamuinn Ui Ciórrthais, arsí. Cuid air leith 7 coimhreann 7 rud le tabhairt annsair na coileáin. Gheobh tú sin, a choileáin nasail! Thug dithe cuid air leith 7 coimhreann 7 rud le tabhairt annsair na coileáin. A Éamuinn Ui Ciórrthais, arsa 'n cú, tá mé buidheach díod. Ce b'air bith áit i mbéidh tú i ngeibhionn, deán scairt air Chú Beag na Garbhchoilleadh. Air maidin lá air n-a bhárach go luath, luath, d'eirigh 7 chuaidh sé air shiubhal 7 shiubhail roimhe níos fuide na thig liomsa 'innse. Fa dheireadh trathuóna go mall chonnaic sé cúairt 7 caisleán mór. Thainic sé 'un an geafta. Fiafruigheadh de, go dé bhí sé dha iarraidh. D'innis sé dóbhtha gur buachaill bhí aig iarraidh aimsire. Ní robh muid sinne aon lá ariamh nach robh buachaill de dhith orrainn, arsa 'n geaftóir. Go dé an obair a bhfuil tú maith aige. Saoilim nach bhfuil obair fá 'n teach nach dtig liom a dheánadh. Go dé 'n tuarastal atá tú dha iarraidh go ceann lá 7 bliadhain? Fágfaidh mé sin aig an rí. Ce b'air bith tuarastal is fiú mé, bhéarfaidh sé domh é. Air maidin lá air na bhárach chonnaic sé mórán spíce air an bhadhbhdhun 7 ceann daoiní air chuid ocú. D'fhiafraigh sé, go dé tá mé 'g dul a dheánadh aniu. Teiseanadh dó bóitheach nar cartadh le seacht mbliadhina, 7 mur mbéidheadh sé cartaighthe trathuóna, go gcuirfidhe a cheann air spíce. Fuair sé *grape*, 7 an chéad cheann a chaith sé amach, sé an rud a thainic seacht gcinn asteach. Chaith sé ceann eile amach 7 thainic ceithre cinn déag asteach. Ó tím, arsé, is goirid go robh an teach seo líonta 7 rachaidh mo cheann-sa air an spíce. Tá mé i ndrocháit, arsé. Ní'l imtheacht air an bhás agam. Aréir chuala mé trí scairt mhóra thíos anns an ghleann.

'fin'. du:rt' ə ko:kir'ə l'im gər t'r'i: fahi: ə hen'ik' iN'fə ə jiri:
 N'ien ə ri: l'ε pə:suw er' ə N'ar bə wō: əkuw. Na gə fkr'isət'⁽¹⁾
 fə ə rihaxtə mər wat' fə i:. fiN Na f'ar ə řit'uw ə. řor N'ien
 ə ri: er' gu:l ə gə k'iN b'liəNə gə wat' fi: gəsf'kiaχ ə řit'uw ə.
 Naχ wīl' i:ç er' b'iç Naχ L'ig'it'⁽¹⁾ fiəd t'r'i: skart' l'ε hahəs gə ro
 řəd i: el'ə N'i:s N'efə dən fə:suw. əniř ta: m'ə rəi. N'i:l' im'axt
 er' ə wə:s əgəm. ta: m'ə i neivəN. riN' fə skart' er' řuw b'ig
 Nə garəxyL'uw. hen'i fə kuw b'ig Nə garəxyL'uw ə rahi: iN'fer'.
 d'iN'if diçə gəd'e: mər vi: fə. dənə huw, ərsi:. əūwir'k' iN'fə əN
 maskiL' jef. fuχər sə gre:p' 'an'vīg əsti: əNa haskiL'. to:r 'lat
 i:'fin' agəs tor' gra:n'i:n' də Ni:l'ax maχ er' ə dərəs l'eiçə. b'i:
 hein' əs ə řasan. riN' fε fin' agəs hu:si: Nti:l'ax ə g'eir'i: Na:rd'ə
 agəs t'axt əmaχ kə t'Uw' əs vi: əN dərəs ə:bəLt(ə) ə l'ig'en əmaχ.
 N'i:r' wadə gə ro ən bəihax řəluw. ta: də hask d'a:Ntə, ərsən kuw.
 f'ədəN tuw fu:l hart gə d'i: Nī:çə. f'ədəN tuw ma: fe: də həl' ə
 fu:l gə vek'ə tuw Na fahi:. řUi fε fi:s əNə jl'əNə. er' ə gəL'
 fi:s də: hen'i fə f'ar tərNaχtə křəxt əs kraN. gər b'e: də vahə
 ε:muwiN' i: k'əřif' ərsə:. əs tuw ə:wər ə gəsf'k'i: əs f'ə:r əNəs dō.n.
 buil' bwiL'ə də də χlāəv er' ə gad fə. ta: mə řu:g' kχ:l' əNəsə
 N'ēn çəřəl. agəs L'ig' m'ifə əNuəs. N'i: wui'ə m'ə bwiL'ə.
 k'εb'er'b'iç' əř' řor suəs huw, L'ig'it' fə əNuəs huw. çu:L' L'ef' fi:s
 əNə jl'əNə agəs N'i:r' wadə gə: gə wakə fə ən faihax ə tarN't' er'.
 riN' fə ga:r'ə mo:r. gəde: ə:wər də ga:r'ə ərs ε:məN? ta:, gə wiL
 dərədsə də jə:l' u:r əgəm l'ε hih'ə əN'Uw'. əs mo:r l'im əN ən
 jr'im' huw. əs b'ig l'im əNə ga: jr'im' huw, ərsə n faihax. N'i:l'
 iglə ərəm, ərs ε:məN. d'a:N də jiçəL. hōfi: N trid'. řid' fiəd
 gəd'i: tranō:nə gə maL agəs vi: kəmuw er' ə Naihax gə m'et' fε
 rə:ə:bəLtə eg' ε:məN. smwi:t'i: fə gər gənə ən řəd e: ən faihax e:
 ə warəwə. hōg fə L'ε:m' ə Na:rd'ə. wyiL' fə ə gō:rək ə çin' agəs
 ə win'əl' ə. χə fə n k'iN dē gə glan. hōg e'hein' L'ε:m' edir' ə
 k'iN agəs ə χələN. N'i:r' wak di:d, ərsə N't'əņi: ə vi: sə çin, ə
 wə:N'fə er' ə χəliN' ər'i:f, hīs agəs f'ir' ə dō.n' (f'ir' ə fa:l'), N'i:
 wiņ'uw dē m'ə. dæN' fə iN'fin' gər χ:ri: ən k'iN agəs ə χələN.
 hen'ik' əwel'ə. lo:r' ə křəχir'ə tərNaχtə, ε:muwiN' i: k'ə:řif, ə

D'fhiafraigh mé go dé bu chiall dó sin. Dubhairt an cócaire liom gur trí fathaigh a thainic annseo do iarraidh nighean an ríogh le pósadh air an fhear bu mhó ocú. No go scriosadh sé a rioghaclita mur bhfaghadh sé í. Sin no fear a throidfeadh é. Chuir nighean an ríogh ar gcúl é go ceann bliadhna go bhfaghadh sí gaiscidheach a throidfeadh é. Nach bhfuil oidhche air bith nach leigeadh siad trí scairt le h-athas go robh siad oidhche eile níos neise do'n phósadh. Anois tá mé réidh. Ní'l imtheacht air an bhás agam. Tá mé i ngéibhionn. Rinne sé scairt air Chú Beag na Garbhchoilleadh. Chonnaic sé Cú Beag na Garbhchoilleadh ag reathaidh annsair. D'innis dithe go dé mar bhí sé. Dona thú, arsí. Amhaire annseo ann m'ascaill dheis. Fuair sé *grape* an-bheag astigh ann a h-ascaill. Tabhair leat í-sin 7 tabhair gráinín de'n aoileach amach air an dorus léithe. Bí fhéin as an chasán. Rinne sé sin 7 thoisigh an t-aoileach ag eirigh i n-áirde 7 ag teacht amach co tuingh a's bhí an dorus ábalta é do leigean amach. Níor bhfada go robh an bóitheach folamh. Tá do thasc deánta, arsa 'n cú. Féadann tú siubhal thart go dtí an oidhche. Féadann tú má's é do thoil é siubhal go bhfeicidh tú na fathaigh. Chuaidh sé síos 'n an ghleanna. Air dhul síos dó chonnaic sé fear tárrnochtttha crochta as crann. Gur b'é do bheatha, a Éamuinn Ui Cíórrthais! arsé. Is tú adhbhar an ghaiscidhigh is fearr anns an domhan. Buail buille de do chlaidhinn air an ghad seo. Tá mo chúig caoil anns an aon cheangal. Agus leig mise anuas. Ní bhuailfidh mé buille. Ce b'air bith ar chuir suas thú, leigeadh sé anuas thú. Shiubhail leis 'un an ghleanna 7 níor bhfada dhó go bhfaca sé an faitheach (fathach) ag tairngt air. Rinne sé gáire mór. Go dé adhbhar do ghéire? arsa Éamonn. Tá, go bhfuil d'oiread-sa do fheoil úr agam le h-ithe aniu. Is mór liom ann aon ghreim thú. Is beag liom ann dhá ghreim thú, ars' an faitheach. Ní'l eagla orm, ars' Éamonn. Deán do dhithcheall. Thoisigh an troid. Throid siad go dtí trathnóna go mall agus bhí cumadh air an fhaitheach go mbéidheadh sé ro-ábalta aig Éamonn. Smaoitigh sé gur dhona an rud é an faitheach é do mharbhadh. Thug sé léim i n-áirde. Bhuail sé i gcomhrac a chinn 7 a mluineáil é. Chaith sé an ceann de go glan. Thug é-fhéin léim eadar an ceann 7 an cholann. Níor bhac díod, ars' an teangaidh a bhí sa cheann, dha bhfaghainn-se air an cholainn arís, thusa 7 fir an domhain (fir fagháil), ní bhainfeadh de mé. D'fhan sé annsin gur fhuaraigh an ceann 7 an cholann. Thainic abhaile. Labhair an Crochtaire Tárrnochtttha: A Éamuinn Ui Cíórrthais, a dheagh-ghaiscidhigh, mharbhúigh tú

'jegæf'k'i.; warə tuw ən faihaχ əN'Uw̄. bwɫil' bwiL'ə b'ig də də
 χlā̄əv ər' ə gad s̄ə agəs L'ig' m'if əNuəs. N'i: wuīl'i.; ərs ε:məN.
 əs d̄ə:çə gər b'e: də gr̄oχjr̄i:wəri: 'hein' ə da:g iN'f'in' huw. k'ε
 b'er'b'iq' ər' χ̄or suəs huw, t̄əgət' s̄ə əNuəs huw. hen'i s̄ε Nə wəl'ə.
 N'i: row aχ ga: skart' əNə j'l'aN ə N̄i:çə f'ii'. LaxərNəwa:raχ
 fwɫ:r s̄ə t'aχ ə vi: La:n f'adoḡy.; L'ig'ən əmaχ, ər'ə ho:rt' d̄ə:s̄ə
 er' f'ig ə Le.; agəs ə griN'uw əst'aχ tra'nō:nə. Ner' ə sky:L' s̄ə
 maχ Na f'adoḡy.; d'imi'i: s̄əd (ə) Nil'ə ça:rN agəs N'i: r̄ə 'ən ç'iN
 l'ε f'ek'al εg'ə. vi: s̄ε bwɫ:çə agəs skart' s̄ə ər'i:st' er' χuw b'ig Na
 garəχyL'uw. d̄ənə huw, ərsə n kuw, Naχ wīl' a:bəLtə Na f'adoḡy:
 ə χriN'uw. aūwir'k' əN maskiL' çl'i:. dāūwir'k' agəs fuər s̄ə f'i:d̄og
 vig əN. Ner' əs mai lat iəd ə χriN'uw fiN' ər 'sin. hiN' s̄ε er'
 ə N'ī:d̄og' agəs χriN'i: Na f'adoḡy: əs aχil'ə ça:rN ə ro s̄əd əst'aχ
 agəs gər grid' s̄ε əN dorəs. çu:L' L'ef' f'i:s əNə j'l'aNə gə den'ik' ad
 l'ef' ə χr̄oχir'ə ha:rNaχtə. ε:mwiN' i: k'ə:çif, əs tuw ən gæf'kiaχ
 əs f'a:r s̄ə d̄ō.n. warə tuw ən faihaχ əN'e:. χart tuw ən baihaχ
 əN'e:. χriN'i: tuw Na f'adoḡy: əst'aχ əN'Uw̄. mwiz'i tuw
 faihaχ el'ə əN'Uw̄. buil' bwiL'ə b'ig də də χlā̄əv agəs L'ig' m'if
 əNuəs. N'i: m'e: ə χ̄or suəs huw agəs N'i: m'e: ə l'ik'əs əNuəs huw,
 ərs ε:məN. çu:L' L'ef' f'i:s əNə j'l'aNə. hen'ik' ə faihaχ mo:r ə
 Narəkys' ə vi: ə wad N'i:s mō: Nan çid ç'iN. ε:mwiN' i: k'ə:çif, ə
 gæL't'i:n' vīg vadi:. warə tuw m̄ə ja:çær' əN'e:, aχt vε:çə tuw
 d'iel əN əN'Uw̄. ə N'i:d'ə çiaNə fuər də ja:çær' əN'e:, jo: tišə e:
 əN'Uw̄. həfi: N trid' agəs N'i: ro aχt tr̄omparaχt əN gəd'i: f'in'.
 çid' f̄iad gə ro s̄ə g'eir'i: dorəçə. glak ε:məN oχtaχ əwā:n'.
 harN' s̄ε ə χlā̄əv. l'ef' ə vε:m' f'in' wiN' s̄ε n k'iN də Naihaχ.
 hog s̄ε L'ε:m' edir' ə k'iN agəs ə çələN mər riN' s̄ə ər̄ivə. hen'i
 s̄ε əwəl'ə. N'i: ro aχ əN skart' əwā:n' s̄ə N̄i:çə f'in'. er' mwəd'əN
 LaxərNəwa:raχ d'eir'i: ε:məN, du:rt' ə ri: l'ef, ta: Ləχ iN'f̄ə wīL'
 t'r'ien də m̄ə gu:çə f̄oli: εg'ə. k̄āihə tuw e: və tɫ.ŋə t'ir'im' əgəd εg'
 ə tranō:nə. skart' ε:məN er' χuw b'ig Na garəχyL'uw. aūwir'k'
 əsti:ç' əN m̄ə χluis' jef, ərsən kuw. fuərsə əN spanəg ə bə Luw
 hen'i s̄ε er'iuw. to:g La:n Nə spanəg'ə agəs kai f'i:s ə kr̄ok ə.
 N'i:r' an 'eiN' ·N'ə:r əwā:n' əN. çu:L' L'ef' f'i:s əNə j'l'aNə. s̄ε
 də vaha, α ε:mwiN', ərsən kr̄oχir'ə. ta: b'irt' də Na fahi: maruw
 əgəd. ta: ga: d'r'ien də n'ien ə ri: bwiN't' əgəd. mwiz'i

an faitheach aniu. Buail buille beag de do chlaidhimh air an ghad seo 7 leig mise anuas. Ní bhuailfidh, arsa Éamonn. Is dóiche gur b'é do dhrochghniombarthaí fhéin a d'fhág innsin thú. Ce b'air bith ar chuir suas thú, tugadh sé anuas thú. Thainic sé na bhaile. Ní robh acht dhá scairt anns an ghleann an oidhche sin. Lá air na bhárach fuair sé teach a bhí lán feadógaí, a leigean amach, aire do thabhairt dóbhfha air feadh an lae, 7 a gcrúnniughadh asteach trathnóna. Nuair a scaoil sé amach na feadógaí, d'imthigh siad an uile chearn 7 ní robh aon cheann le feiceál aige. bhí sé buaidheartha 7 scairt sé aríst air Chú Beag na Garbhchoilleadh. Dona thú, arsa 'n cu, nach bhfuil ábalta na feadógaí do chruinniughadh. Amhairc ann m'ascaill chlí. D'amhairc 7 fuair sé fídeóg bheag ann. Nuair is maith leat iad do chruinniughadh seinn air sin. Sheinn sé air an fhídeóg 7 chruinnigh na feadógaí as (g)ach uile chearn a robh siad isteach gur dhruid sé an dorus. Shiubhail leis síos 'un an ghleanna go dtainic fhad leis an Chrochaire Thárrnochttha. A Éamuinn Ui Cíórrthais, is tú an gaiscidheach is fearr san domhan. Mharbhúigh tú an faitheach ané. Chart tú an bóitheach ané. Chruinnigh tú na feadógaí asteach aniu. Muirfidh tú faitheach eile aniu. Buail buille beag de do chlaidhimh 7 leig mise anuas. Ní mé a chuir suas thú 7 ní me a leigfeas anuas thú, arsa Éamonn. Shiubhail leis síos 'un an ghleanna. Thainic an faitheach mór ann a aracais a bhí i bhfad níos mó na'n chéad cheann. A Éamuinn Ui Cíórrthais, a dhaitín bhig, bheadaigh! Mharbhúigh tú mo dhearbhbhrathair ané, acht bhéarfaidh tú díol ann aniu. An íde chéadna fuair do dhearbhbhrathair ané, gheóbh tusa é aniu. Thoisigh an troíd 7 ní robh acht trumparacht ann go dtí sin. Throid siad go robh sé 'g éirigh dorcha. Ghlac Éamonn ochtach amháin. Thairrn sé a chlaidhimh. Leis an bhéim sin bhain sé an ceann de'n fhaitheach. Thug sé léim eadar an ceann 7 an cholann mar rinne sé aroimhe. Thainic sé abhaile. Ní robh acht aon scairt amháin san oidhche sin. Air maidin lá air n-a bhárach d'éirigh Éamonn, dubhairt an rí leis: Tá loch annseo 'bhfuil triau de mo dhúithche folaighthe aige. Caithfidh tú é 'bheith taomtha tirim agad aig an trathnóna. Scairt Éamonn air Chú Beag na Garbhchoilleadh. Amhairc astigh ann mo chluais dheis, arsa'n cú. Fuair sé an spanóg bu lugh chonnaic sé ariamh. Tóg lán na spanóige 7 caith síos an cnoc é. Níor fhan aon dheór amháin ann. Shiubhail leis síos 'un an ghleanna. Sé do bheatha, a Éamuinn, arsa'n Crochaire. Tá beirt de na fathaigh marbh agad. Tá dhá dtrian de nighean an rí bainte agad. Muirfidh

tuw ən faihaχ mo:r əN'Uw'. agəs buil' bwiL'ə b'ig də də χlāiəv
 ər' ə gad fə. əs b'ei (b'ε) mə χyd'uw əgəd gə bra:χ. N'i: m'e:
 χor suəs huw agəs N'i: m'e: vε:rəs əNuəs huw. çu:L' L'ef'f'i:s əNə
 j'l.əNə. hen'ik' ə faihaχ mo:r ə Narəki:f. vi: fε ək'sāiwwəLtə. ə
 ε:məvN' i: k'ə:çif, ə skla:wi: wəLy:, warə tuw mə ga: ja:çær' aχt
 (ə)s gir'id' (ger'id') gə mwip'i m'ifə də çin di:d. ə N'i:d'ə çiaNə
 fuər də ga: ja:çær' jo: ti:sə. hu:si: N trid' agəs N'i:r' vjuw bro
 (brow) e: gəd'i: fin'. ho:g ε:məN ə χlāiəv l'ε m'ifN'əχ agəs
 də:χəs, wuil' (wi:l') ə faihaχ ə gō:rək ə çin' agəs ə win'əl'. χāiç ə
 k'iN ər' çu:l fad Nj: N'et'ir'ə agəs Nj: N'əmwi'r'ə. l'ε.m' a'hein
 edir' ə k'iN agəs ə χləN mər riN' əriwə. hiNtai əNə wel'ə gər
 ças də: ən kroçir'ə ta:rNəχtə. ε:məvN' i: k'ə:çif, ərsə:, ta: N'ien
 ə ri: bwiN't' əgəd. ta: Nə t'r'i: fahi: maruw. N'i: ek'ə m'ifə
 N'i:s mō: huw. sky:l' m'ifə əf fə. agəs ma χyr'am f'arəç ərət ə
 χy:çə (çi:hə) hig' l'at mə çəçəl suəs er'ef. ja:çə m'ifə fin', ərs
 ε:məN. wyl' fə bwiL'ə b'ig dən χlāiəv agəs ja:r sə ən gad. hit' ə
 kroçir'ə əNuəs gə taluw. dāiwwərsə gə f'iatə er' ε:məN. warə tuw
 mə çu:r d'a:çær'əχə aχt mwip'i m'ifə hi:sə, ərsən kroçir'ə. ə
 N'i:d'ə çiaNə fuwər də χyd' d'a:çær'əχə jo: ti:sə. N'i: f'juw
 l'im də warəwə agəs N'i: wir'i m'ə huw əfikyr' gər ski:L tuw m'ə.
 rəç fə er' ε:məN, wəN de ə χyd' ədi: agəs çəçil' suəs ə er' ə χraN
 çiaNə er' ə ro fε hein. b'əmwi: f'k'r'ad agəs ga:çə krui ə vi: eg'
 ε:məN. hōç ə kroçir'ə ra:sə. rəç fε ər n'ien ə ri: l'ε.m' fə
 əmaχ er' ə dorəs əçəs i: l'ef. N'i: ro:s fir Nə f'iar k'ə Na:t' ə d'əçi:
 fε. hen'ik' fer'əvi:fəχ də χyd' ə ri: ε:məN kroçt əs ə χraN.
 glak truiə e: agəs ja:rsə n gad. vi: LUχær' er' ε:məN agəs riN' fε
 d'ef'r'ə gə t'əχ ə ri: vi: buχ:r'uw mo:r əN'fin' N'ien ə ri:
 im'i: st'ə. glak f'arəç wo:r ə ri: du:rsə gər b'ε: ε:məN ə bə
 çinTi: agəs Naχ du:ç'uw (dō:ç'uw) rōd er' b'ic əχ ə çin ə χor ər
 sp'i:k'ə sa:suw dō: d'a:n rōd el'ə l'im, ərs ε:məN. hχ:çə m'ə də
 n'ien agəs warə m'ə Na t'r'i: fahi: əniç tər d'Uw' La: agəs b'l'ien'
 l'ε də n'ien ə ho:rt' er'ef. mər wə: m'ə i:, t'ikə m'ə er'ef ma: vi:m
 b'jo: agəs k'ad əgəd əN'fin' mə çin ə χor er' ə sp'i:k'ə. ja:çə m'ə
 fin' l'at, ərsən ri: d'im'i: ε:məN agəs çu:L' fə mo:ran. fa jer'uw
 N'i: ro:s eg'ə k'ə ro fε gōl. N'i: wuərsə ε:N tuər'if'k'. tranð:n
 əwā:n' agəs e: 'əN'tirsəχ harLy: gər ças də: t'əχ N'im'əL kyL'uw.

tú an faitheach mór aniu. 7 buail buille beag de do chlaidhimh air an ghad seo. A's béidh mo chuideadh agad go bráthach. Ní mé chuir suas thú 7 ní mé bhéarfás anuas thú. Shiubhail leis síos 'un an ghleanna. Thainic an faitheach mór ann a aracais. Bhí sé éagsamhalta. A Éamuinn Ui Cíórrthais, a sclábhuidhe mhallaighthe, mharbhúigh tú mo dhá dhearbhbhrathair acht is goirid go mbuinfidh mise do ceann díod. An íde chéadna fuair do dhá dhearbhbhrathair gheóbh tusa. Thoisigh an troid 7 níor bhíú brobh é go dtí sin. Thóg Éamonn a chlaidhimh le meisneach 7 dóchas. Bhuail an faitheach i gcomhrac a chiun 7 a mhúineáil. Chaith an ceann air shiubhal fad naoi n-éire 7 naoi n-íomaire. Léim é-fhéin eadar an ceann 7 an cholann mar rinne aroimhe. Thiontaigh 'un an bhaile gur chas dó an Crochaire Tárrnochttá. A Éamuinn Ui Cíórrthais, arsé, tá nighean an ríogh bainte agad. Tá na trí faithigh marbh. Ní fheicfidh mise níos mó thú. Scaoil mise as seo. Agus má chuirim fearg ort a choidhche thig leat mo cheangal suas air ais. Gheánfaidh mise sin, arsa Éamonn. Bhuail sé buille beag de'n chlaidhimh 7 ghearr sé an gad. Thuit an Crochaire anuas go talamh. D'amhairc sé go fiata air Éamonn. Mharbhúigh tú mo thriúr dearbhbhraithreacha acht muirfidh mise thusa, arsa'n Crochaire. An íde chéadna fuair do chuid dearbhbhraithreacha gheóbh tusa. Ní fíú liom do mharbhúghadh 7 ní mhuirfidh mé thú as siocair gur scaoil tú mé. Rug sé air Éamonn, bhain de a chuid éadaigh 7 cheangail suas é air an chrann chéadna air a robh sé fhéin. B'iomdha scread 7 gártha cruaidh a bhí aig Éamonn. Thug an Crochaire rása. Rug sé air nighean an ríogh. Léim sé amach air an dorus 7 í leis. Ní robh fhios soir no siar ce an áit a deachaidh sé. Chonnaic seirbhíseach de chuid an ríogh Éamonn crochta as an chrann. Ghlac truaighe é 7 ghearr sé an gad. Bhí lúthgháir air Éamonn 7 rinne sé deifre go teach an ríogh. Bhí buaidhreadh mór annsin nighean an ríogh imthighiste. Ghlac fearg mhór an rí. Dubhairt sé gur b'é Éamonn bu chiontaidh 7 nach dtiúbhradh rud air bith acht a cheann do chur air spíce sásughadh dó. Deán rud eile liom, arsa Éamonn. Shaor(th)aigh mé do nighean 7 mharbhúigh mé na trí fathaigh. Anois tabhair domh lá 7 bliadhain le do nighean do thabhairt air ais. Mur bhfaghaidh mé í, tiocfaidh mé air ais má bhídim beó 7 cead agad annsin mo cheann do chur air spíce. Gheánfaidh mé sin leat, arsa an rí. D'imthigh Éamonn 7 shiubhail sé mórán. Fa dheireadh ní robh fhios aige cá robh sé 'g dul. Ní fhuair sé aon tuairisc. Trathnóna amháin 7 é an-tuirseach tharlaidh gur chas dó teach i n-imeall coilleadh. Cbuaidh sé

χUι fə st'ax. N'i: ro 'εə·Nyn' əN ax't əN' fanər' əwā:n' k'r'i:N'L'ia. d'iar sə Lo:ft'i:n' Nə hī:çə. du:rt' ə fanər' gə wiuu agəs fa:L'tə. d'eir'i: ər' mwæd'in' gə Luə LaχərNəwa.rax. d'iafri: ə fanər' k'a ro fε gol. d'iN'if do: mər hog ə kroχir'ə ta:rNaxtə l'ef N'ien ə ri: agəs gə ro fə ə guərtuu. əs truə Nər' aN tuw əN sə wel'ə, ərsiN' fanər'. N'i: ek'ə tuw e: ə χy:çə. fu:l'ə m'ə gə wa: m'ə ba:s, f'iN Nə gə wa: m'ə N'ien ə ri:. ma n'i: tuw fu:l 'an'wo:r, tranō:nə t'ikə tuw er' haχ el'ə kosu:L' L'e fə agəs jo: tuw Lo:ft'i:n' gə mwæd'in'. ma t'i: tuw gə m'əi grē:h əgəd l'ef ə χy:çə, d'aN skart' ər' ho:k j'l'aN da bwi:. riN' fε f'in' agəs tra'nō:nə gə maL harLy: er' ə t'ax agəs χUι fə st'ax. fwy:r sə fanər' kosu:L' L'ef ə çid fanər'. dan eg'ə gə mwæd'in'. d'iN'if do: b'r'i: ə çu:l'. ma t'i: tuw, ərsiN' fanər', gə m'əi grē:h əgəd l'ef ə χy:çə, d'aN skart' ər' go:ran dəN Loχ ə N'u:r'. ma n'i: tuw fu:l maiç b'ei tuw eg' d'a:çar dū:sə tranō:nə gə maL. f'iN d'a:çar d'Uw ə ro tuw eg' əreir'. mər dogy: n f'ar ə m'ei tuw eg' əNəχt tuər'ifk' gyd' N'i: wi: tuw e: ər' grim' ə dāūwin' (dō:n'). d'im'i: rīvə agəs N'i: fu:l ə vi: fə ax ə rahi:. tranō:nə gə maL fuərsə N' tax. fwy:rsə b'ia agəs L'abwi: wāūç. gə Luə ər' mwæd'in' d'eir'i: agəs d'iN'if dəN' t'anər' b'r'i: ə çu:l' agəs gəd'e: mər χæ fε əN da: i:ç el'ə eg' əN da: hanər' el'ə. əs truə l'im də f'k'əəl, ərsiN' fanər', də l'ehədsə də wX:χiL' vr'εə ə və ər l'i: ə χæL'tə. N'i: ek'ə tuw ən kroχir'ə ta:rNaxtə ə χy:çə agəs əs mai gyd', Na wiç'ət' fə huw. p'iL' Nə wel'ə. N'i: f'iL'ə m'ə gə mərəfər m'ə. f'iN Nə gə vek'ə m'ə N'ien ə ri:. kyr'i m'ifə g'it el'ə huw, ərsiN' fanər'. go: fi:s əNə χladi: agəs ma t'i: tuw ba:d, go: st'ax iN't'i:. Na Lo:r' fəkəl ər' b'ič. χUι fε fi:s əNə χladi: agəs hen'i fə ba:d b'ig bwi:d'ax m'itil'. bwX:χiL' b'ig bwi:d'ax əN sə wa:d. mwæd'ə rā:wə əNax Lā:v eg'ə. χUι fε st'ax əN sə wa:d. χUι ən ba:d əN farəg'ə. N'i: ro:s eg'ə k'a d'axi fi: ax gə d'axi fi: wad. fa jer'uww wy:L' fi: st'ax ər' haluw. çu:L' fε suəs ə til'an. hen'i fε fanχəfL'an mo:r dUw'. χUι fə st'ax agəs hen'i fε əN'f'in' N'ien ə ri:. riN' fi: farəwa:L'tə wo:r rīvə. əs mai mər ha:rLy:, ərsi:. ta: n kroχir'ə ta:rNaxtə ər' çu:l' əs bwel'ə agəs N'i: hiky fə: gə k'iN ri: La:. χyr'

asteach. Ní robh aon duine ann acht aon seanóir amháin críon-liath. D'iarr sé lóistín na h-oidhche. Dubhairt an seanóir go bhfuigheadh 7 fáilte. D'éirigh air maidin go luath lá air na bhárach. D'fhiafraigh an seanóir cá robh sé 'g dul. D'innis dó mar thug an Crochaire Tárnochttha leis nighean an ríogh 7 go robh sé a geuartughadh. Is truagh nar fhan tú annsan bhaile, arsa an seanóir. Ní fheicfidh tú é a choidhche. Siubhailfidh mé go bhfaghaidh me bás, sin no go bhfaghaidh mé nighean an ríogh. Má ní tú siubhal anmhór, trathnóna tiocfaidh tú air theach eile cosamhail leis seo 7 gheóbh tú lóistín go maidin. Má tí tú go mbéidh graethe agad leis a choidhche, deán scairt air sheabhadh Ghleann Dath Buidhe. Rinne sé sin 7 trathnóna go mall tharlaidh air an teach 7 chuaidh sé asteach. Fuair sé seanóir cosamhail leis an chéad seanóir. D'fhan aige go maidin. D'innis dó brígh a shiubhail. Má tí tú, arsa an seanóir, go mbéidh graethe agad leis a choidhche, deán scairt air dhobhrán donn Loch an Iubhair. Má ní tú siubhal maith béidh tú aig dearbh-bhrathair domhsa trathnóna go mall. Sin dearbh-bhrathair domh a robh tú aige aréir. Mur dtugaidh an fear a mbéidh tú aige anocht tuairisc dhuid ní bhfuigh tú é air dhruim an domhain. D'imthigh roimhe 7 ní siubhal a bhí sé acht ag reathaidh. Trathnóna go mall fuair se an teach. Fuair sé biadh 7 leabaidh mhaith. Go luath air maidin d'éirigh 7 d'innis do'n tseanóir brígh a shiubhail 7 go dé mar chaith sé an dá oidhche eile aig an da sheanóir eile. Is truagh liom do scéal, arsa an seanóir, do leitheidsa de bhnaich bhréagh a bheith air shlighe a chaillte. Ní fheicfidh tú an Crochaire Tárnochttha a choidhche 7 is maith dhuid, na mhuirfeadh sé thú. Pill 'un an bhaile. Ní phillfidh mé go marbhfar mé. Sin no go bhfeicfidh mé nighean an ríogh. Cuirfidh mise giota eile thú, arsa an seanóir. Gabh síos 'un an chladaigh 7 má tí tú bád, gabh asteach inntí. Na labhair focal air bith. Chuaidh sé síos 'un an chladaigh 7 chonnaic sé bád beag baoideach miotail. Buachail beag baoideach anns an bhád. Maide ráimha i ngach láimh aige. Chuaidh sé asteach auns an bhád. Chuaidh an bád 'un fairge. Ní robh fhios aige cá deachaidh sí acht go deachaidh sí i bhfad. Fa dheireadh bhuaill sí asteach air thalamh. Shiubhail sé suas an t-oileán. Chonnaic sé seanchaisleán mór dubh. Chuaidh sé asteach 7 chonnaic sé annsin nighean an ríogh. Rinne sí fearadhfháilte mhór roimhe. Is maith mar tharlaidh, arís. Tá an Crochaire Tárnochttha air shiubhhal as baile 7 ní tiocfaidh sé go ceann thrí lá. Chuir mise cúl air gan a phósadh go ceann bliadhna. Tá sé as baile

m'isə ku:l er' gən ə fə:suʊ gə k'iN b'l'iaNə. ta: fə əs buw'e ə ɔn'ij
agəs N'i: hiky: fə gə k'iN ʔi: La: . b'emwid' ə b'l'eifu:r ə tamwiL'
f'in' hein'. eg' k'iN Nə d'r'i: La: du:rt^(l) N'ian ə ri:, kãihə m'isə
hīsə alax. ta: n krəχir'ə tɔ:rNaxtə ə t'axt. dali: fi: ε:məN.
hen'ik' ə krəχir'ə. maikh'i:m boluw ə N'eir'əNj: wradi: vr'εagy:
iN'fo, ərsə: maikh'axə tuw f'in', ərsi:, ad əs ta: m'ij əN. ər'
mwəd'in' gə Luə LaxərNə:wa:raχ d'im'i: n krəχir'ə agəs du:rt^(l)
Nax m'euw ər'ef gə k'iN da: la: . du:rt' ε:məN l'ε N'ian ə ri: mər
wə:mwid' plan i:N't'ax ib'r'uʊ, N'i: wi:mwid' bwyi (bwɫi) er' ə
χrəχir'ə gə d'ɔ: . gəd'e: ja:ŋə mwid'? ərsə N'ian ə ri: . L'ig' hīs
ɔrt, ərs ε:məN, gə w'il' k'in mo:r əgəd er' agəs gə w'il' bwy:r'uʊ ɔrt ə
pə:suʊ ə χər ər' gu:l. d'a:n ɔlgɑ:rdəs mo:r Ner' ə hiky fə əw'e'ə.
riN'uʊ f'in' əl'ig'. vi: brɔ:d mo:r agəs ahəs er' ə χrəχir'ə agəs
du:r'se:, ən'əwəs əgəd f'is ə N'ir' əta: əgəd, veww t'iL'uʊ ahif ɔrt.
ən f'eid'ər də warəwə? N'i: hi:l'əmsə gə w'il' ən gəf'k'iaχ əNsə
dō:n a:bəLtə də warəwə. riN' f'ε gɑ:r'ə mo:r. t'i:m ənif gə wiL
də gra: buriN't' əgəm. iN'fəχə m'ə gyd' gəd'e: wi:uʊ m'ə. N'i:
hig' m'isə warəwə, ərsən krəχir'ə, gə ja:rtər ə kraN mo:r f'k'ax
ta: ər' wɑ:r Nə b'iN'ə hi:s eg' ə Narəg'ə. ə ja:ʔi: ən kraN, er' ə
hit'im' dɔ: l'ε:ŋ'uʊ f'iNax mo:r əmɔχ; əs ə w'il' ə χonərt' əNsə
dō:n, N'i: wi:ʔət^(l) f'iad ə f'iNax gə d'ig'uʊ kuw b'ig Nə garəχyL'uʊ
əs eir'iN'. wi:uʊ kuw b'ig Nə garəχyL'uʊ ə. er' ə hit'am' dəN'
t'iNax, l'εəŋ'uʊ Lax əmɔχ əs ə t'iNax. d'im'axət^(l) fi: sə sp'eir'.
ə m'eid' fo:k' əta: sə dō:n, N'i: wi:ʔət^(l) f'əd ə Lax ax əwã:n'
fo:k j'l'aN da wi: . ə marəfw'i: i: vε:ʔət^(l) fi: iʊ ər la:r Nə farəg'ə.
ə m'eid' do:rən' əta: sə dō:n, N'i: wi:t^(l) fə ə N'iv' f'in' ax do:ran
dəN ləχ (Ləχ) ə N'u:r'. Nə jei f'in' agəs əl'ig' N'i: veiN'fə maruw
gə muiL't'i: ə N'if' f'in' er' ə wəL dUw' əta: hi:s ər' ho:n' mə gəl'ə.
hu:si: N'ian ə ri: ə dãusə l'ε hahəs agəs du:rt' gər wadə l'eih'ə gə
d'i: La: n fə:stə. ta: m'isə g'im'axt ənif, ərsən krəχir'ə, agəs N'i:
hikə m'ə ər'ef gəd'i: tranō:n əma:raχ agəs əN'f'in' N'i: im'axə m'ə
N'i:s mō: . d'im'i: fə agəs da:g f'ε sLa:n eg^(l) N'ian ə ri: gə b'iL'it^(l)
fə ər'ef. hen'ik' ε:məN əft'ax agəs vi: N' f'k'εəl mo:r eg^(l) N'ian ə
ri: dɔ: . N'i:l' am er' b'iq' l'ε kəL'uʊ, ərs ε:məN. kãihəmwid'
tu:suʊ gəbwir' fwyər səd ga: huə. hafi: fəd ə jaruw ən χriN'

anois 7 ní thioctaidh sé go ceann thrí lá. Béidh muid i bpléisiúr an tamall sin fhéin. Aig ceann na dtrí lá dubhairt nighean an ríogh, caitbfidh mise thusa fholach. Tá an Crochaire Tárnochttha ag teacht. D'fholaigh sí Éamonn. Thainic an Crochaire. Mothuighim boladh an Éireannaigh bhradaigh, bhréagaigh annseo, arsé. Mothachaidh tú sin, arsí, fhad a's tá mise ann. Air maidin go luath lá air n-a bhárach d'imthigh an Crochaire 7 dubhairt nach mbéidheadh air ais go ceann dá lá. Dubhairt Éamonn le nighean an ríogh: mur bhfaghaidh muid *plan* éiginteach oibriughadh, ní bhfuigh muid buaidh air an Chrochaire go deó. Go dé gheánfaidh muid? arsa nighean an ríogh. Leig thusa ort, arsa Éamonn go bhfuil cion mór agad air 7 go bhfuil buaidhreadh ort an pósadh do chur air gcúl. Deán iolghárdas mór nuair a thioctaidh sé abhaile. Rinneadh sin uilig. Bhí bród mór 7 athas air an Chrochaire 7 dubhairt sé, dha mbéidheadh fhios agad fios an fhir atá agad, bhéidheadh tilleadh athais ort. An féidir do mharbhughadh? Ní shaoilimse go bhfuil aon ghaisci-dheach anns an domhan ábalta do mharbhughadh. Rinne sé gáire mór. Tím anois go bhfuil do ghrádh bainte agam. Inseachaidh mé dhuid go dé mhuirfeadh mé. Ní thig mise do mharbhughadh, arsa an Crochaire, go ngearrtar an crann mór sceach tá air bharr na binne thíos aig an fhairge. Dha ngearrfaoi an crann, air thuitim dó léimfeadh sionnach mór amach; a's a bhfuil de chonairt anns an domhan, ní mhuirfeadh siad an sionnach go dtigeadh Cú Beag na Garbhchoilleadh as Éirinn. Mhuirfeadh Cú Beag na Garbhchoilleadh é. Air thuitim do'n tsionnach, léimfeadh lach amach as an tsionnach. D'imtheachadh sí san spéir. An méid seabhaic atá san domhan, ní mhuirfeadh siad an lach acht amháin seabhac Ghleann Dath Bhuidhe. Dha marbhfaoi í bhéarfadh sí uibh air lár na fairge. An méid dohráin atá san domhan, ní bhfuigheadh sé an uibh sin acht Dobhrán Donn Loch an Iubhair. Na dhiaidh sin 7 uilig ní bhéidhinse marbh go mbuailtí an uibh sin air an bhall dubh atá thíos air thóin mo ghoile. Thúsaiigh nighean an ríogh ag damhsa le h-athas 7 dubhairt gur bhfada léithe go dtí lá an phósta. Tá mise ag imtheacht anois, arsa an Crochaire, 7 ní thioctaidh mé air ais go dtí trathnóna amárach 7 aunsin ní imtheachaidh mé níos mó. D'imthigh sé 7 d'fhág sé slán aig nighean an ríogh go bpillfeadh sé air ais. Thainic Éamonn asteach 7 bhí an scéal mór aig nighean an ríogh dó. Ní'l am air bith le cailleadh, arsa Éamonn. Caitbfidh muid túsughadh dh'obair. Fuair siad dhá thuagh. Thoisigh siad do ghearradh an

gə t'Uw` agəs gə d'ian. N'i:r' wadə gər ja:r səd ə kraN. er' ə
 hütəm' dən χraN l'ε:m' ə f'iNax əmax. skart' ε:məN ər' χuw
 b'ig Nə garəχyLuw. N'i:r Luiçə vi: n fəkal ra:t'tə Na hen'i fied
 ə kuw əN'ei ə t'iNy:. f'in' ə Na:t' ə ro ə ra:sə agəs ə χoriaχt, aχ
 N'i:r' wadə gə wuin' ə kuw g'r'im' mwini'æl. er' agəs l'ε:m' ə
 Lax iən' əmax əs ə t'iNax. d'eir'i: fi: ə Na.r'də əNsNə sp'eir'i:.
 skart' ε:məN ər' ho:k jl'aN da wi:. l'ε p'r'abuw Nə su:l vi: N'
 so:k l'ε f'ek'æl' əN'ei ə Laxə. N'i:r' wadə gər wy:l' ə so:k ə
 Laxə agəs iəd əmwiç' əs k'iN Nə farəg'ə. er' ə hütəm' dən Lax
 rəg fi: iw agəs hit' fi: fi:s ər la:r Nə farəg'ə. skart' ε:məN ər'
 go:raN dəN Ləχ əN'u:r' ə haχt gə d'ef'r'aχ agəs ə N'iv ə ho:rt'
 iN'fer'. əNsə Nam f'in' hen'i səd ə kroχir'ə ta:rNaxtə ə tərN't'
 oγuw agəs vi: fε g'eiv'i: Ləg. bə Luiçə l'ef' ə do:ran ə ve eg' ε:məN
 Nan kroχir'ə ta:rNaxtə. vi: vael fəskiL'tə ə g'iri: ə və fa:l'
 analə. rəg ε:məN ər' ə N'iv əN do:ran. χə fε əft'aχ ə m'æl ə
 χroχir'ə i:. hit' fi: fi:s agəs wy:L' fi: ən baL d'Uw' ə vi: ər' ho:n'
 ə gæl'ə. hit' ə kroχir'ə ta:rNaxtə maruw. vi: LUχər' wo:r
 er' ε:məN agəs ər' n'ian ə ri:. raxəmwid' əniç' əNə wel'ə, ərs ε:məN.
 vi: Liyif' gə L'ə:r əNsə χü.n. l'i:N' səd Ləχ La:n ər' agəs ər'əg'id'.
 N'i: ro:s əkuw gəd'e: n b'alax ə raxət'⁽¹⁾ səd. hen'i fied ə ba:d
 b'ig m'itil' ə t'aχt əft'aχ ə Narəg'ə wo:r. χUi n viirt' əft'aχ sə
 wa:d. χyr' ə ba:dər' kru:kə wastə əNsə Lyp agəs χUi fə əN
 farəg'ə. bə Luiçə e: gə mo:r Na:n gL: wā:rtə gə den'i fε st'aχ
 fwi: haχ ə t'r'içuw faNyn'ə. vi: LUχər' wo:r er' ə t'aNyn'ə
 ripuw. χə səd ə N'i:çə f'in' eg' əN' t'aNyn'ə l'ε p'l'eifu:r.
 LaxərNəwa:raχ fuir' ə faNyn'ə kartəNy: ər' kyr'uw Nto:r
 agəs ə tər'əg'id' oγuw. həg fied l'ə:fə əN' faNyn'ə. hen'i fied
 gə t'aχ ə darə faNyn'ə. χə səd i:ç' əN'f'in' ə b'l'eifu:r. həg
 fied l'ə:fə əN darə faNyn'ə gə t'aχ ə çid faNyn'ə. χə səd i:ç' ə
 b'l'eifu:r eg'ə agəs həg fied ə Nəi er' ə wel'ə Nə t'r'i: haNyn'ə
 l'ə:fə. Ner' ə hen'i fied gə kəfL'an ə ri: bəje: əN La: d'er'əNax
 dən vl'in' ə. vi: əlga:rdəs əs k'iN kəmwif' ər' ə ri: rīvə Nə n'ian
 agəs rīv ε:məN. b'ei mə n'ian əgəd mər wrī: (van) ad əs veif' fi:
 b'jo: agəs əs k'iN't'ə gər maiç' ə Nər'i: ort i:. riN'uw banif' ə
 wer' faχt N'i:çə agəs faχt La:. vi: N La: d'er'əNax kə maiç' l'ef' ə
 çid La:. ta: fied hein' agəs ə glaN agəs ə N'ian'əv əNə sənəs agəs
 əNə fεən.

chraínn go tigh 7 go dían. Níor bhfada gur ghearr siad an crann. Air thuitim do'n chrann léim an sionnach amach. Scairt Éamonn air Chú Beag na Garbhchoilleadh. Níor luaithe bhí an focal ráidhte ná chonnaic siad an cú i ndiaidh an tsionnaigh. Sin an áit a robh an rása 7 an choraidheacht, acht níor bhfada go bhfuair an cú greim muineáil air 7 léim an lach fhiadhain amach as an tsionnach. D'éirigh sí i n-áirde anns na spéirí. Scairt Éamonn air sheabhadh Ghleann Dath Bhuidhe. Le preabadh na súl bhí an seabhadh le feiceáil i ndiaidh an lacha. Níor bhfada gur bhuaill an seabhadh an lacha 7 iad amuigh os ceann na fairge. Air thuitim do'n lach rug sí uibh 7 thuit sí síos air lár na fairge. Scairt Éamonn air Dhobhrán Donn Loch an Iubhair (do) theacht go deifreach 7 an uibh do thabhairt annsair. Anns an am sin chonnaic siad an Crochaire Tárnochttha ag tairngt orrthú 7 bhí sé ag éirigh lag. Bu luaithe leis an dobhrán do bhéith aig Éamonn ná'n Crochaire Tárnochttha. Bhí a bhéal fosgailte ag iarraidh do bhéith fagháil anála. Rug Éamonn air an uibh o'n dobhrán. Chaith sé asteach i mbéal an Chrochaire i. Thuit sí síos 7 bhuaill sí an ball dubh a bhí air thóin a ghoile. Thuit an Crochaire Tárnochttha marbh. Bhí lúthgháir mhór air Éamonn 7 air nighean an ríogh. Rachaidh muid anois 'un an bhaile, arsa Éamonn. Bhí luingsis go leór anns an chuan. Lión siad long lán óir 7 airigid. Ní robh fhios ocú go dé an bealach a rachadh siad. Chonnaic siad an bád beag miotail ag teacht asteach o'n fbaerge mhór. Chuaidh an bheirt asteach san bhád. Chuir an bádóir crúca i bhfosta anns an luingsis 7 chuaidh sé 'un fairge. Ba luaithe é go mór ná'n ghaoth Mhárta go dtainic sé asteach faoi theach an tricheadh seandúine. Bhí lúthgháire mhór air an tseandúine rompú. Chaith siad an oidhche sin aig an tseandúine le pléisiúr. Lá air n-a bhárach fuair an tseandúine cartannaí ar cuireadh an t-ór 7 an t-airgead orrthú. Thug siad leóbhtha an tseandúine. Thainic siad go teach an dara seandúine. Chaith siad oidhche annsin i bpléisiúr. Thug siad leóbhtha an dara seandúine go teach an chéad seandúine. Chaith siad oidhche i bpléisiúr aige 7 thug siad a n-aghaidh air an bhaile na trí sheandúine leóbhtha. Nuair thainic siad go caisleán an ríogh bu é an lá deireannach de'n bhliadhain é. Bhí iolghárdas os ceann cumais air an rí roimhe n-a nighean 7 roimhe Éamonn. Béidh mo nighean agad mar mhnaoi fhad a's bhéidheas sí beó 7 is cinnte gur maith an airidh ort í. Rinneadh banais a mhair seacht n-oidhche 7 seacht lá. Bhí an lá deireannach comh maith leis an chéad lá. Tá siad fhéin 7 a gelann 7 a n-iaraimh ann sonas 7 ann séan.

ð:n' a m'iaχan agas ə fɪNaχ.

vi: ð:n' a m'iaχan Na χð:ni: ə mweɫ i: a:rə ə wogəs də Na k'aLə. i:ç a:r'it'ə agas e: l'ef hein', t'in'i wāiç' eg'ə, li fε suəs ə r'abwi: ə di:w ə tiə. N'i: ro fə Nə χoLuw aχ ə d'a:nuw a f'k'i:ftə. vi: n χð:lə Nə fə:l fasky:. vi: Nə Laxχen' əN sə t'amrə ə vi: ə gu:L Nə t'in'uw. hen'i fε N' fɪNaχ eg' əN dərəs ə gāuwərk əft'aχ. g'iN tamwiL' hen'i fε ft'aχ g'itə b'ig el'ə. dāuwərsə ər' fəd ə tiə. N'i: ro din'er' b'ic' l'ε f'ek'al eg'ə. hen'i fε ft'aχ gər hæf fə er' ə NqrLar. N'i: ro din'er' b'ic' l'ε f'ek'al eg'ə. vi: dərəs ə ru:m fəskiL'tə agas χUi N' fɪNaχ suəs əNə ru:m. d'eir'i: glə:r mo:r eg'() Nə Laxχen' agas iəd ə g'ət'əLy: ə hiuw gə tiuw dən ru:m. hog ð:n' L'ε:m' əNə dərɪf. vi: n gre:p' Nə fasuw eg'() ti:w (ti:v) ə dərɪf. rog fε er' ə gre:p' agas hog fε mo:d'ə Naχ raxuw N' fɪNaχ əmαχ gə mərəwət'() fə ə. hen'ik' ə fɪNaχ əNuəs əs ə ru:m agas vi: fə (ə)NqN agas əNαL f'εəχiN't' gəde: ə t'l'i: ə wi:t'() fə əmαχ. aχ vi: ð:n' sə dərəs agas ə gre:p' eg'ə. Ner' ə hen'ik' ə fɪNaχ Naχ wi:t'() fə mαχ, rog fε ər' v'r'i:ft'ə ð:n' ə vi: er' ə χaiħir' eg'() koləwə Nə L'apə agas harN' fə n b'r'i:ft'ə trasNə Nə t'in'uw. hog ð:n' m'iN el'ə Naχ raxuw N' fɪNaχ əmαχ gə mərəwət'() fεfən ə. vi: N' fɪNaχ əN'i:s agas f'i:s ə tqrLar ə kīvad ð:n' agas ə dərɪf. Ner' ə hen'i fε Nær' a:g ð:n' ə dərəs agas vi: n b'r'i:ft'ə də:t'ə, rog fə er' ə tu:f'i:n' agas həfi: da harN't' əNə t'in'uw. hen'ik' ð:n' gə Nəihət'() fə N't'aχ. hog fε L'ε:m' əN'i:s ə Narəkɪf. hog fε j'vri: dən gre:p' er' aχ gu:bəl' ə fɪNaχ hart agas fwy:rsə mαχ. v'r'ɪf ð:n' a gre:p' agas vi: ə v'r'i:ft'ə də:t'ə agas ə fɪNaχ im'i:ft'ə.

f'k'eəl jīLə Nə gəχəL kræk'əN.

vi: gawd'i:n' gð:nə Nə χð:ni: er' ə da:rNj: eg'() tiuw gUr-kan'eil'ə. vi: b'irt' wχ:χəL'i: eg'ə ə f'jə:ləm' b'æsi: agas t'r'ε:çə gæf'k'iaχt. N'i: ro n go: sə dō:n kə mzi l'ef. N'i: ro gæf'k'iaχ er' b'ic' k'r'iaχni: gə wə:t'() fə ə χyd' ir'im' agas eud'i: k'r'iaχni: eg'() gawd'i:n' gð:nə. vi: əN sə Nam fə 'banf'r'iN sə ɔ:g da f'jə:ləm' eg'ə. bəje: ə buwən'əm' dil'ə skaiç ç'i:də N'i: wanəNan. bəje: ə buwən'əm' dəN' d'i:f gæf'k'iaχ ə vi: eg'ə sə Nam çidNə k'edəχ mak ri: Nə doləχ əgəs LoNdUw' mak ri: Nə d'r'ə:liN'ə. La: əwā:n' vi: n wanf'r'iN sə ɔ:g ə k'ioruw ə k'iN'. dāuwir'k

Eóin Ua Míodhchán agus an Sionnach.

Bhí Eóin Ua Míodhchán na chomhnuidhe i mbaile Ui Ára i bhfogus do na Cealla. Oidhche áirite 7 é leis fhéin, teine mhaith aige, luigh sé suas air leabaidh i dtaobh an tighe. Ní robh sé na chodladh acht ag deánadh a sciste. Bhí an chomhla na seól fascaidh. Bhí na lachain anns an tseomra a bhí i gcúl na teineadh. Chonnaic sé an sionnach aig an doras ag amharc asteach. I gceann tamaill thainic sé asteach giota beag eile. D'amhairc sé air fud an tighe. Ní robh duine air bith le feiceál aige. Thainic sé asteach gur sheas sé air an urlár. Ní robh duine air bith le feiceál aige. Bhí doras an rúm foscaite 7 chuaidh an sionnach suas 'un an rúm. D'éirigh glór mór aig na lachain 7 iad ag eiteallaigh o thaobh go taobh de'n rúm. Thug Eóin léim 'un an dorais. Bhí an *ghrape* na seasadh aig taobh (taoibh) an dorais. Rug sé air an *ghrape* 7 thug sé móide nach rachadh an sionnach amach go marbhadh sé é. Thainic an sionnach anuas as an rúm 7 bhí sé anonn 7 anall ag féachaint go dé an tsligbe a bhfuigheadh sé amach. Acht bhí Eóin san doras 7 an *ghrape* aige. Nuair chonnaic an sionnach nach bhfuigheadh sé amach, rug sé air bhríste Eóin a bhí air an chathair aig colbha na leapa 7 thairn sé an bríste trasna na teineadh. Thug Eóin mionn eile nach rachadh an sionnach amach go marbhadh seisean é. Bhí an sionnach aníos 7 sios an t-urlár ag coimhead Eóin 7 an dorais. Nuair chonnaic sé nar fhág Eóin an doras 7 bhí an bríste dóighte, rug sé air an tsúisín 7 thoisigh da thairnt 'un na teineadh. Chonnaic Eóin go ndóighfeadh sé an teach. Thug sé léim aníos ann a aracais. Thug se iarraidh de'n *ghrape* air acht dhúbail an sionnach thart 7 fuair sé amach. Bhris Eóin a *ghrape* 7 bhí a bhríste dóighte 7 an sionnach imthighiste.

Scéal Ghiolla na gCochall Craicionn.

Bhí Gaibhdín Gabhna na chomhnuidhe air an Dárnaidh aig taobh Dhúncánéile. Bhí beirt bhuachaillí aige ag feoghlum béasaí 7 tréartha gaiscidheacht. Ní robh aon ghobh san domhan comh maith leis. Ní robh gaiscidheach air bith críochnuighthe go bhfaghadh sé a chuid airm 7 éididh críochnuighthe aig Gaibhdín Gabhna. Bhí anns an am seo banphrionnsa óg d'a feoghlum aige. Ba é ab ainm dithe Scaith Shioda ní Mhanannán. Ba é ab ainm do'n dís gaiscidheach do bhí aige san am chéadna Céadach mac ríogh na dTulach 7 Lonndubh mac ríogh na Dreólainne. Lá amháin bhí an bhanphrionnsa óg ag cíoradh a cinn. D'amhairc

LqNdUw ɔɣi: ɔgəs riN' fɛ gɜ:r'ə mo:r. gəð'e: ɑ:wər də gɑ:r'ə? ərse k'ɛɔdɑχ. bro:d ɑgəs ɑhəs ə gɑ̃uwerk er' ə wɑnf'r'iN'sə ə ves Nə mr̃i: ɔgəm hein'. əs b'ig də ɕiəL, ərse k'ɛɔdɑχ, ɑgəs əs b'ig də χɔd diçə. əs f'i:n'viç ɑ:rd' ek'i ɔrt. fin' ɑ:wər mə wrā:sə ɑgəs tɜ:s ek'i 'hein' fin'. N'i: wi: tuw i: gəN trid' χrUi. tɜ: m'ɛ sa:stə fin' ə glakuu, ərse LqNdUw'. Ner' ə vi: səd gəl ə g'iN ir'im' hen'ik' gəvd'i:n' gō:nə st'ɑχ. Ner' ə χuəli sə fa: Nə tridə, du:r 'se: Nɑχ m'ɛuw trid' ər' b'ic' əN ɑχ gə N'ɑ:nət⁽¹⁾ sɛfən b'r'ehu:nəs. dɿ:Nti səd dən vr'ehu:nəs. n'i:mse mə vr'ehu:nəs, ərse gəvd'i:n' gō:nə, gə wɑ:kə m'ə fiv mər d'r'u:r mər sɑfuw ər' ɔrLar mə ɕɑ:rtə. tɑ: t'r'i: dɔrs ɔɣi:, dɔrəs m'ik' ri: ɔgəs 'rɔ:laĩ, dɔrəs Nə marky: ɑgəs dɔrəs Nə gɔfi:Nỹ:. əN'sə Nam sɔ vi: n gləf gəv'l'əNə ɛg⁽¹⁾ gəvd'i:n' gō:nə. vi: sLauwruw ɛg' ɔɣi: l'ɛ hīgla r̃ivə wələr. l'ig'uuw N sLauwruw i: əN'uəs gə krɔk ə tlauwri: ɔtɑ: ɛg⁽¹⁾ ti:w ɑ:rdɔrɑ:. ker'b'ic' ə ɕid səihɑχ ə χyɣ'a fwi: n wɑ: ə b'l'igəm, l'ianit⁽¹⁾ fi: ə, b'i:t⁽¹⁾ sə b'ig Nə mo:r, ɑgəs fin' ə m'ɛuw də wəN' ek'i. k'ɛb'er'-b'ic' din' ɔgəv ə l'ɑɣi fi:, b'i:t⁽¹⁾ fi: ɛg'ə ɑgəs mər l'ani fi: ɛNin' ɔgəv, N'i: wi: k'ɑχtər ɔgəv i:. k'ɛ:N dɔrəs ə rɑχə tuw mɑχ? ərse k'ɛɔdɑχ. rɑχə m'ə mɑχ ər' gɔrəs m'ik' ri: ɔgəs 'rɔ:laĩ, ərse LqNdUw'. sɛ: bə du:χə dŪw'. rɑχə m'isə mɑχ er' gɔrəs Nə gɔfi:Nỹ:, ərse k'ɛɔdɑχ. mɑ l'aniN' fi m'ɛ: ər' gɔrəs m'ik' ri: Nɑ 'rɔ:laĩ, l'ani fi: m'ɛ: ər' gɔrəs Nɑ gɔfi:Nỹ:. χUi ɑχə Nin' ɔkuw er' ə gɔrəs hein' ɔgəs l'æN' s'isə k'ɛɔdɑχ ər' gɔrəs Nə gɔfi:Nỹ:. hær'ig' gəvd'i:n' gō:nə banif wo:r ə ja:nuw l'ɔfə ɑχ hɔfi: LqNdUw' ə ja:nuw bro:n' ɔgəs buɿ:ɣə. əs dɔnə də χɑ:s, ərse k'ɛɔdɑχ, ə d'ɑ:nuw bro:n' əN'ei mr̃i: Nɑχ rɔ gra: r'b'ic' ek'i gɣd'. N'i:l' N'art ɔgəm er', ərse LqNdUw', ɑgəs jo: m'ə bɑ:s. rɔg k'ɛɔdɑχ ər' hɑ:rN'ə krUw ɔgəs du:rsə, mɑ: l'ig'əN tuw dŪw' ər s̃in ə wɿ:luw fi:s ə driç də χɔfə, jo: tuw n vɑn gən wiL'ə gən ɔrəχər. tɑ: mɛ sa:stə, ərse LqNdUw'. χɔrsə N tɑ:rN'ə f'r'i:d⁽¹⁾ Nə χɔf l'ɛ buiL'ə b'ig də χɑsu:r. χUi bɑ:r ə tɑ:rN'ə əN'sə NɔrLar ɑgəs N'i: hen'ik' l'ɛ LqNdUw' ə χos ə ho:gəl'. χāih' gəvd'i:n' gō:nə t'anəχər' χruəχ ə ɣiri: e: hɑrN't' ɔgəs hɑ:ri: sə er' ə tɑ:rN' ə hɑrN't'. tɑrN' sɔ əf sə, ərse LqNdUw' l'ɛ k'ɛɔdɑχ. əN statə tuw də də χyɣd' du:bro:n' s̃ə n vɑn Nɑχ wil' ɑ:rd' ek'i ɔrt. N'i: ɛil'ɑχə m'ə gə brɑ:χ i: ɑχ mɑ: hīg⁽¹⁾ tuw hein' ɑgəs m'isə ə gahə χy:ɣə, gə gāihə mis' ən ɕed wiL' ɑ:l'. tɑrN' ə tɑ:rN'ə. χrɔm k'ɛɔdɑχ fi:s. rɔg sɛ ər' ə tɑ:rN'ə l'ɛ Nɑ iəklə. hɑrN'e: ɔgəs χāih' ə er' ə NɔrLar. ɕu:L

Lonndubh oirthí 7 rinne sé gáire mór. Go dé adhbhar do gháire? arsa Céadach. Bród 7 athas ag amharc air an bhanphrionnsa a bhéidheas na mnaoi agam fhéin. Is beag do chiall, arsa Céadach, 7 is beag do chuid díthe. Is fíorbheag áird aici ort. Sin adhbhar mo mná-sa 7 ta fhios aici fhéin sin. Ní bhfuigh tú i gan troid chríaidh. Tá mé sásta sin do ghlacadh, arsa Lonndubh. Nuair do bhí siad ag dul i gceannu airm thainic Gaibhdín Gabhna asteach. Nuair chuala sé fáth na troda, dubhairt sé nach mbéidheadh troid air bith ann acht go ndéánadh seisean breitheamhnas. D'aontaigh siad do'n bhreitheamhuas. Ním-se mo bhreitheamhnas, arsa Gaibhdín Gabhna, go bhfágfaidh mé sibh bhur dtiúr bhur seasadh air urlár mo cheárdcha. Tá trí dóirse oirthí, dorus mic ríogh 7 rófhlaith, dorus na marcaigh (marcach) 7 dorus na gcoisidheannaí. Anns an am seo bhí an Ghlais Ghaibhleanna aig Gaibhdín Gabhna. Bhí slabhradh aige oirthí le h-eagla roimhe Bhalair. Leigeadh an slabhradh i anuas go Cnoc an tSlabhraidh atá aig taobh Árd-dá-ratha. Ce'r bith an chéad soitheach a chuirfeá faoi an bhó ag bleagan, líonfhadh sí é, bidheadh sé beag no mór, 7 sin da mbéidheadh de bhainne aici. Ce b'air bith duine agaibh a leanfhaidh sí, bidheadh sí aige 7 mur leanaidh sí aon dhuine agaibh, ní bhfuigh ceachtar agaibh í. Ce an dorus a rachaidh tú amach? arsa Céadach. Rachaidh mé amach air dhorus mic ríogh 7 rófhlaith, arsa Lonndubh. Is é ba dúthcha domh. Rachaidh mise amach air dhorns na gcoisidheannaí, arsa Céadach. Má leanann sí mé air dhorns mic ríogh no rófhlaith, leanfhaidh sí mé air dhorus na gcoisidheannaí. Chuaidh gach aon duine ocú air a dhorns fhéin 7 lean sise Céadach air dhorus na gcoisidheannaí. Thairg Gaibhdín Gabhna banais mhór do dheánadh leóbhtha acht thoisigh Lonndubh ag deánadh bróin 7 buaidheartha. Is dona do chás, arsa Céadach, ag deánadh bróin i ndiaidh mná nach robh grádh air bith aici dhuid. Ní'l neart agam air, arsa Lonndubh, 7 gheóbh mé bás. Rug Céadach air tháirnge crudh 7 dubhairt sé, má leigeann tú domh air sin do bhualadh síos i dtroigh do chois, gheóbh tú an bhean gan bhuille gan urchar. Tá mé sásta, arsa Lonndubh. Chuir sé an táirnge fríd n-a chois le buille beag de chasúr. Chuaidh barr an táirnge anns an urlár 7 ní thainic le Lonndubh a chos do thógáil. Chaith Gaibhdín Gabhna teanchoir chruadhach ag iarraidh é do thairnt 7 sháraigh sé air an táirnge do thairnt. Tairng seo as seo, arsa Lonndubh le Céadach. An stadfaidh tú de do chuid dúbróin fá an bhean nach bhfuil áird aici ort. Ní éileacha mé go bráthach í acht má thig tú fhéin 7 mise i geatla choidliche, go geathfidh mise an chéad bhuille fhagháil. Tairng an táirnge. Chrom Céadach síos. Rug sé air an táirnge le n-a fhiacra. Thairng

LoNdUyð amax er' ə dorəs. N'i:r' a:g fə sLa:n Na b'aNaxt okuw. gəð'e: ja:uə muwid' f'iN'ə? ərsə k'əɔdax l'ef ə wənf'r'iN'sə. k'eb'er'·b'iç əs tɔL' L'at. χUələ m'ə, ərsə:, gə ro f'iN wā ku:L' əNə gəf'k'iaχ wo:r, gə ro mə:ran də gəf'ki: maziə fwi: əgəs ə hein' Nə gin'ə wāiç'. raxə muwid' gə t'āuwir' iN'fer' iN gə gāih'ə muwid' taməL əN'fin'. ma gə L'ə:r, ərsi:. ghuif ə vīrt' əN' fu:l'. da:g sLa:n agəs b'aNaxt eg^(l) gəvd'i:n' gō:nə. N'i:r stad fəd gə ro fəd ə d'āuwər Nə ri:. vi: f'iN wā ku:L' əgəs a χyd' f'ar' əmwiç' ə səl'ig'. N'i: ro sə χəf'L'an aχt Nə mrā:. d'iN'if b'an iN' vī ku:L' do:fə, gə ro f'iN əgəs a lə:tə fa l'eiv'tə mo:r Nə m'i:. Naχ m'eit^(l) fə əwel'ə gə k'iN χu:g' La:. aχ ə Nær'ə çiaNə ə jo:s m'ifə, joi də vaN'sə gə b'iL'ə tuw er' ef, ma:s mai l'at f'iN ek'æl'. da:k fə b'aNaxt okuw əgəs d'im'i: fə iN'fer' iN agəs iN'fir Nə f'iaNəv. Ner' ə vi: fə t'aχt ə wəgəs do:fə, kasuw t'aχ sLaχtir' er'. χUi fe: st'aχ əgəs χə:r'i: ə hein' l'ε kræk'n'ə Nə m'ahi: f'iaen'. Ner' ə he'n'ik' f'iN e: ə tarN't əruw, d'iafri: fə, ə wI:χəL'i:, gəð'e: tɔ: fiv ja:nuw? tɔ: muwid' ə d'a:nuw ər N'i:N'arə, ərsə konau. gəð'e: tɔ: tuw hein' ə ja:nuw? tɔ: m'ε gāuwərk wI:m. ti:m ə:g'ar k'l'ift'ə ə tarN't əriN'. ma:s ə χyd'uw l'iN' əta: fə, əs f'a:rd'ə di:N' agəs ma:s əNar·Nəi (əjə) əta: fə, əs m'ift'ə di:N'. b'əjəs əgiN' gəð'e: n k'in'aL din' e:. mas ə χiN' m'ik' ri: Na ro:lav' ə, N'i: lo:r'i: fə l'ε din'ə Na din'ə l'ef gə d'ig'i fə əN mə lahərsə əgəs gə N'a:vi fə kōhərə ū:liaχt əgəs əRəm d'Ūy'. mas ə χiN' bəði: Na din'ə val'i: ə, ə çid din'ə ə d'iky: fe: ad l'ef, f'iafraxi fə, ka wīl' ə ri:? N'i:r lo:r' k'əɔdax l'ε 'heəNyn'ə Na əNyn'ə l'ef gə den'i fə ə Lahær' iN' vī ku:L'. riN' kōhərə ū:liaχt əgəs əRəm do:. gəð'e: N din'ə huw? ərsə f'iN. buI:χiL' əta: g'iri: am'fir'ə tɔ: iNəm, ərsə k'əɔdax. kæn'əm' Nə k'a iN'uw huw? ərsə f'iN. N'i: ro m'ə eg' ən wāy'tir' əriuw, ərsə k'əɔdax, Naχ du:r'it^(l) fε hein' en'əm' ərəm. mifə, ə fuir' m'ifə kə:r'i: huw əNsNə kræk^(h)'n'ə, buwst'əm g'iLə Nə gəχəL kræk'əN ert. N'i: wuir' m'ə en'əm' N'i: b'a:r əriuw, ərsə k'əɔdax. gəð'e: Nəbwir' wīL tuw maiç' eg'ə? ərsə f'iN. tɔ: m'ə maiç' ə kriN'uw faləgə, ərsə k'əɔdax. tɔ: tuw ə jič' (ji:ç) ərəm gə mo:r, ərsə f'iN. gəde: N tuərəstəl əta: tuw jiri: gə k'iN La: agəs b'l'ain'? ərsə f'iN. ma grō:jəm dadi: gyd', vε:çə tuw hein' d'Ūy' ə m'ed' əs f'juw m'ə.

é 7 chaith é air an urlár. Shiubhail Lonndubh amach air an dorus. Níor fhág sé slán na beannacht ocú. Go dé gheánfaidh muid sinne? arsa Céadach leis an bhanphrionnsa. Ce b'air bith is toil leat. Chuala mé, arsé, go robh Fionn mac Cumhaill ann a ghaiscidheach mhór, go robh mórán de ghaiscidhigh maithe faoi 7 é fhéin na dhuine mhaith. Rachaidh muid go Teamhair annsair Fhionn go gcaithidh muid tamall annsin. Maith go leór, arsí. Ghluais an bheirt 'un siubhail. D'fhág slán 7 beannacht aig Gaibhdín Gabhna. Níor stad siad go robh siad i dTeamhair na ríogh. Blí Fionn mac Cumhaill 7 a chuid fear annuigh ag seilg. Ní robh san chaisleán acht na mná. D'innis bean Fhinn mhic Cumhaill dóbhfha, go robh Fionn 7 a sluaighte fá shléibhte mór na Midhe. Nach mbéidheadh sé abhaile go ceann chúig lá. Acht an aire chéadna a gheóbhas mise, gheóbhaidh do bhean-sa go bpillidh tú air ais, má's maith leat Finn do fheiceál. D'fhág sé beannacht ocú 7 d'imthigh sé annsair Fhionn 7 annsair na Fiannaibh. Nuair bhí sé teacht i bhfogus dóbhfha, casadh teach slachtair air. Chuaidh se asteach 7 chóirigh é fhéin le craicne na mbeathaigh fiadhain. Nuair chonnaic Fionn é ag tairnt orrthú, d'fhiafraigh sé, A bhuachaillí, go dé tá sibh da dheánadh? Tá muid ag deánadh ar ndínneara, arsa Conán. Go dé tá tú fhéin da dheánadh? Tá mé ag amharc uam. Tím óigfhear cliste ag tairnt orrainn. Má's do chuidiughadh linn atá sé, is fearrde dinn 7 má's ann ar n-aghaidh atá sé, is misde dinn. Béidh fhios againn go dé an cinéal duine é. Má's de chlainn mic ríogh no ró-fhlaithe é, ní labhairfidh sé le duine na duine leis go dtigidh sé ann mo láthair-se 7 go ndéanaidh sé comhartha umhluigheacht 7 urram domh. Má's de chlainn bodaigh no duine bheathlaidhe é, an chéad duine a dtiocfaidh sé fhad leis, fiafrachaidh sé, Ca bhfuil an rí? Níor labhair Céadach le h-aon duine no aon duine leis go dtainic sé i láthair Fhinn mhic Cumhaill. Rinne comhartha umhluigheacht 7 urram dó. Go dé an duine thú? arsa Fionn. Buachaill atá ag iarraidh aimsire tá ionnam, arsa Céadach. C'ainm no ca shloinneadh thú? arsa Fionn. Ní robh mé aig aon mháighistir ariamh, arsa Céadach, nach dtiubhradh sé fhéin ainm orm. Maiseadh, o fuair mise cóirighthe thú anns na craicne, baistim Giolla na gCochall Craicionn ort. Ní bhfuair mé ainm ní b'fhearr ariamh, arsa Céadach. Go dé an obair bhfuil tú maith aige? arsa Fionn. Tá mé maith ag cruinnighadh sealga, arsa Céadach. Tá tú de dith orm go mór, arsa Fionn. Go dé an tuarastal atá tú da iarraidh go ceann lá 7 bliadhain? arsa Fionn. Má ghnóthaighim dadaí dhuid, bhéarfaidh tú fhéin domh an méid is fiú mé. Tá sin

ta: f'in' 'an'çart, ərsə f'iN. gluişəd əl'ig' əN' şaləy. N'i:r Luiçə
 vεuu εən məruu eg' f'ar Na vəuu b'a:χ məruu eg' f'ar el'ə. vi:
 şəd mər sin gə tranō:nə agəs vi: tər't' bəhəy'ə eg^(l) kεədəχ ər' ə grīm'
 tranō:nə. mə vr'iaşər di:v, arəv, ərsə f'iN, gə f'i:l'əm gə wil'
 gəşk'iaχ 'an'wāiç əgiN'. ta: brō:d əgəs əhəs çrəm. raxəmwid' ə
 wel'ə iN'fer' er' gyd' bən gə N'a:nəmwid' f'ε:stə mo:r. vi LUχər'
 wo:r er' ə gyd' bən rīpuu. αχ Ner' ə hen'ik' Nə f'ir' ə
 wanf'r'iNşə əg skaiç çi:də N'i: wanəNan, vi: ə:Ntəs (A:Ntəs,
 i:Ntəs) mo:r çruu gə L'eir' fa Na b'r'εaχt'ə. do:rdi: f'iN ə f'εastə
 ə bə wō: ə riN' f'ε ər'iuu ə ja:nuu. vi: şəd t'r'i: la: agəs t'r'i: i:hə
 ə g'içə əgəs ə gəl. əNşə Nam f'in' hit' mə:ran də Na di:n'i: Nə
 gəLuū. d'eir'i: b'an iN' vī ku:L' əgəs b'irt^(l) dε Nə mrrä: uif'L'
 el'ə, b'an jērəmwid' əgəs b'an əskyr' əmaχ α N'ia hein' əNə Ləχ ə
 vi: tiuu hiər (ti:p'iaər) dən χəşL'an. hen'ik' Ləq̄n əştaχ əNə
 χū:n'. l'ε:m' b'irt' ar əmaχ əs ə Lyp̄. rəşəd əN'i:s. rəg f'ar
 əkuu ər' van jērəmwid'. χyr' er' ə guəliN' i: əgəs rəşəd fi:s əNə
 Lyp̄ ər'ef. hiNtai N Ləq̄n əNə fərəg'ə. agəs N'i:r' wadə gə rə fi:
 əs əūwərk. hen'ik' b'an iN' əgəs b'an əskyr' ə wel'ə. d'iN'if' gəd'e:
 mər f'k'ibuu ər' çul' ə gəmra:di:. vi: Nə f'iaNə l'ig' buA:çə əgəs
 d'erəmwid' N'i:s mō: Na din' er' b'iç'. bə ger'id' gər hiNtai n
 bwy:r'uu əN' f'ir'ig'ə agəs du:rt' f'iN gə gāihət^(l) şəd i: l'anu:N't'
 əgəs to:rt' er'ef k'əber' b'iç' a:t^(l) sə dō:n ə rə fi:. du:rt' f'iN gə
 gyr'it^(l) şə şaχt' gahə Nə f'eiN'ə da kuərtuu. du:rt' d'erəmwid'
 Naχ ə f'in' ə k'art' αχ b'igan də jarəv maiç' ə f'ikuu. ə N'a:nət^(l)
 şəd gəşk'iaχt' gər er' vigan di:n'i: ə bə vasū:l' e: və mwī:t'ə. d'iafri:
 f'iN k'a vεəd f'ar ə v'ε:çət^(l) f'ε l'ef. du:rt' d'erəmwid' gə do:r'uu
 mo:r heşər. d'iaf' f'iN er' ə Nen'əm'n'uu. du:rt' d'erəmwid' f'iN
 wā ku:L' ə çid' din'ə. d'erəmwid' ə darə din'ə. əskər ə t'r'içuu
 din'ə. Lui fa χyN'ə ştu:ruu Nə Lyp̄. Nə Naχ wiL' tuw
 gəl ə hor^(l) l'at' g'iLə Nə gəχəL' krək'əN? ta:m k'iN't'ə, ərsə
 d'erəmwid', mə ta: f'ε sa:st' ə gəl. N'i: raxi' şə, ərsə skaiç çi:də.
 ma: l'ig' m'if'ə iN'fərəv e: l'ε ser'əvi:f' ə ja:nuu di:v ə N'eir'iN',
 N'i:l' m'ə gəl da l'ig'ən l'iv' əmaχ əs eir'iN'. l'ε g'aLu:N't'aχə
 mo:rə α d'ig'ət^(l) şəd er'ef ə χi:çə, b'i:t^(l) şə b'jə: Na məruu, gə
 du:çit^(l) şəd əwel'ə hik'i' ə, dA:Nti fi: ə l'ig'ən l'əçfə. j'l'εəs f'iN ə
 Ləq̄n ə b'a:r ə vi: N'eir'iN'. χərsə b'ia haxt' m'l'ian əştaχ er' ə
 Lyp̄ agəs χUi şəd əN' fərəg'ə. vi: f'iad' t'r'i: la: əgəs t'r'i: i:ç' ə

an-cheart, arsa Fionn. Ghluais siad uilig 'un sealg. Níor luaithe bhéidheadh éan marbh aig fear ná bhéidheadh beathach marbh aig fear eile. Bhí siad mar sin go trathnóna 7 bhí toirt bothóige aig Céadach air a dhruim trathnóna. Mo bhriathar díbh, a fhearaihbh, arsa Fionn, go saoilim go bhfuil gaiscidheach an-mhaith againn. Tá bród 7 athas orm. Rachaidh muid a bhaile annsair ar geuid ban go ndéanadh muid féasta mór. Bhí lúthgháir mhór air a geuid ban rompú. Acht nuair chonnaic na fir an bhanphrionnsa óg Scaith Shíoda ní Mhanannán, bhí iongantas mór orrthú go léir fá n-a bréaghaichte. D'órdaigh Fionn an féasta bu mhó a rinne sé ariamh do dheánadh. Bhí siad trí lá 7 trí oidhche ag ithe 7 ag ól. Anns an am sin thuit mórán de na daoiní na gcodhladh. D'éirigh bean Fhinn mhic Cumhaill 7 beirt de na mná uaisle eile, bean Dhiarmuid 7 bean Oscair amach da nighe fhéin ann loch a bhí taobh shiar de'n chaisleán. Thainic long asteach 'un an chuain. Léim beirt fhear amach as an luing. Reath siad aníos. Rug fear ocú air bhean Dhiarmuid. Chuir air a ghualainn í 7 reath siad 'un na luinge air ais. Thiontáigh an long 'un na fairge. 7 níor bhfada go robh sí as amharc. Thainic bean Fhinn 7 bean Oscair a bhaile. D'innis go dé mar sciobadh air shiubhal a gcomrádaidh. Bhí na Fianna uilig buaidheartha 7 Diarmuid níos mó ná duine air bith. Bu ghoirid gur thiontáigh an buaidhreadh 'un feirge 7 dubhairt Fionn go gcaithfheadh siad í leanamhaint 7 tabhairt air ais ce b'air bith áit san domhan a robh sí. Dubhairt Fionn go geuireadh sé seacht gcatha na Féinne da cuartughadh. Dubhairt Diarmuid nach é sin an ceart acht beagan de fhearaihbh maith do phiocadh. Da ndéanadh siad gaiscidheacht gur air bheagan daoiní bu mheasamhla é do bhéith maoidhte. D'fhiafraigh Fionn ca mhéad fear dohbéarfadh sé leis. Dubhairt Diarmuid go dtiubhradh mórfheisear. D'iarr Fionn air a n-ainmniughadh. Dubhairt Diarmuid Fionn mac Cumhaill an chéad duine. Diarmuid an dara duine. Oscar an tricheadh duine. Lughaidh fá choinne stiurughadh na luinge. Na nach bhfuil tú ag dul do thabhairt leat Giolla na gCochall Craicionn? Táim cinnte, arsa Diarmuid, má tá sé sásta do dhul. Ní rachaidh sé, arsa Scaith Shíoda. Má leig mise annsorraibh é le seirbhís do dheánadh díbh i nÉirinn, ní'l mé ag dul da leigean libh amach as Éirinn. Le geallamhainteacha móra da dtigeadh siad air ais a choidhche, bidheadh sé beó no marbh, go dtiubhradh siad a bhaile chuicé, d'aontaigh sí é do leigean leóbhtha. Ghléas Fionn an long ab fhearr do bhí i n-Éirinn. Chuir sé biadh sheacht mbliadhan asteach air an luing 7 chuaidh siad 'un fairge. Bhí siad trí lá 7

fə:ltaraxt Ner' ə jiafri: g'iLə Nə gəχəL kræk'əN, wɿ:χəL'i: k'a wiL' fiv ə gəl? du:r siəd, k'eb'er'b'iç a:t' ə feit'i: n gɿ: f'iN'. du:rt' g'iLə Nə gəχəL kræk'əN l'ε Luijə əN Lqη ə f'tu:ruw ər Nə hiN'iaχə her'. Naχ ro: n van 'aN'doiu:l' sə dō:n Naχər' wāiç' l'ə:fə və əkuw. ja:uə m'ijə f'in', ərsə Lui. çə:L' fəd am mo:r fadə. La: əwā:n' d'iar f'iN er' χy:L't' ə gəl gə bə:r ə 'χræN'fə:l'. riN' ky:L'tə f'in'. du:rsə gə wakə fə taluw. ə N'a:nət⁽¹⁾ fəd əbvir' wāiç' gə m'eit⁽¹⁾ fəd eg'ə l'ε heir'i: g'r'ein'ə. LaχərNəwə:raχ χUi ky:L'tə gə bə:r ə χræN'fə:l' (χriN'fə:l') agəs du:rsə, t'i:m t'i:r' v'r'εə, ku:rt' əgəs kəf'L'an, bwɿ:χəL'i: n wel'ə wo:r' ə g'əmwæn' ər' ə trə(:)i. t'i:m gəiçəd Lqη, f'içə k'iN ər' gəχ tiuw dən çə: əgəs a:t' k'iN əwā:n' otəruw. ə luijə, f'tu:ri: də ləη əft'aχ iN'fid. ja:uə m'ijə f'in', ərsə Luijə. riN' agəs N'i:r' kyr'uww t'axtir'ə əwā:n' ən ri: ə jiafri: k'e: iəd hein'. solk ə χəsu:laxt fə, ərsə f'iN. iN', ərsə g'iLə Nə gəχəL kræk'əN, kāihə tuw din' ə χər ə χæN't' l'ef ə ri:. N'i: ro N'ar er' ə Lyp ə glakuw er' hein' ə gəl ə χæN't⁽¹⁾ l'ef ə ri:. bəje: ə bwen'əm' dən ri: ε:muwiN' t'rənwiL'aχ. wāiç't'ir', ərsə g'iLə Nə gəχəL kræk'əN, raχə m'ε hein' əNə χəf'L'əu'. k'r'ed'əm gər tuw əs f'a:r, ərsə f'iN. χyr' er' ə χəli: ir'im' əgəs χUi əNə χəf'L'əu'. wy:L' fə bwiL'ə əNə χUiL'ə kō:rik'. hen'ik' hüg'ə gəf'k'iaχ dər' 'wen'əm' k'i:həχ 'krUi'ərəməχ. gəd'e: tə: tuw jiri: ? ərsə: χyr'mə wāiç't'ir', f'iN wā ku:L' iN'fə m'ə jiri: tīə do: 'hein' agəs də vīgən dā χyd' f'ar. ə N'a:nuw krə: mək Nə maduw mai do:, N'i: wi:t⁽¹⁾ fə ə. aχt tə: t'aχ āūwəs hi:s eg' ən χlaxdax. Mə: jev fiv ε:Ntiəs əNə hāūwif, b'i:t⁽¹⁾ fε əgəv əgəs mər wə(:)i, b'i:g'i: foluw. t'efanuw t'aχ Nə Nāūwəs do:. Ner' ə χUi fə f'taχ er' ə dqrəs, N'i: ro ə Nāūwəs əNə t'aχ Nəχ d'a:rN' gə:r'ə. gəd'e: a:wər mər rə:r'ə? ərsə g'iLə Nə gəχəL kræk'əN. fə dərədsə də jə:l' u:r ə və əgiN'. b'əjəs əgəv ə wələrt⁽¹⁾ f'iN də f'k'εəl. rəg fə g'r'im' gə: lərgəg er' ə N'ar bə n'efə do: agəs hu:si: fə dā gəsgərt' l'ef ə N'ar sən, gəd'i: gə ro d'er'uw maruw eg'ə aχ ə N'ar əwā:n'. vi: əN tāūwəs kə't' eg'ə gəd'i: N dā: jītə vi: əNə gə: gə:rN' eg'ə. χəfə Nə hāūwif əmāχ əgəs riN' kə:rNan di:fə. χUi er'ef əNə Lypə. tə: t'aχ əgiN' iN'fə, aχ N'il' b'i: er' b'iç. kāihəmwid' b'ie iəri: ən χəf'L'an. χUi əNə χəf'L'əu' əgəs du:rt', χyr' mə

trí oidche ag seóltaracht nuair dh'fhiafruigh Giolla na gCochall Craicionn, A bhuachaillí, cá bhfuil sibh ag dul? Dubhairt siad ce b'air bith áit da séidfídh an ghaoth sinn. Dnbhairt Giolla na gCochall Craicionn le Lughaidh an long do stiúrughadh air na h-Indiacha shoir. Nach robh aon bhean an-dóigheamhail san domhan nachar mhaith leóbhtha do bhéith ocú. Gheánfaidh mise sin, arsa Lughaidh. Sheól siad am mór fada. Lá amháin d'iarr Fionn air Chaoilte do dhul go barr an chrainnseóil. Rinne Caoilte sin. Dubhairt sé go bhfacaidh sé talamh. Da ndeánadh siad obair mhaith go mbéidheadh siad aige le h-éirighe gréine. Lá air n-a mhárach chuaidh Caoilte go barr an chrainnseóil 7 dubhairt sé. Tím tír bhréagh, cuairt 7 caisleán, buachaillí an bhaile mhóir ag iomáin air an tráigh. Tím dhá fhichead long, fiche ceann air gach taobh de'n chéidh 7 áit ceann amháin eatorrní. A Lughaidh, stiúraigh do long asteach aunsuid. Gheánfaidh mise sin, arsa Lughaidh. Rinne 7 níor cuireadh teachtaire amháin o'n rí dho fhiafraigh cé iad fhéin. Is olc an chosamhlacht seo, arsa Fionn. A Fhinn, arsa Giolla na gCochall Craicionn, caithfidh tú duine do chur do chaint leis an rí. Ní robh aon fhear air an luíng a ghlacadh air fhéin do dhul do chaint leis an rí. Bu é ab ainm do'n rí Éamonn Tréanbhuilleach. A mháighistir, arsa Giolla na gCochall Craicionn, rachaidh mé fhéin 'un an chaisleáin. Creidim gur tú is fearr, arsa Fionn. Chuir air a chulaidh airn 7 chuaidh 'un an chaisleáin. Bhuail sé buille anns an chuaille comhraic. Thainic chuige gaiscidheach dar bh'ainm Cítheach Cruaidharmach. Go dé tá tú da iarraidh? ar sé. Chuir mo mháighistir, Fionn mac Cumhaill annseo mé dho iarraidh tuighe dó fhéin 7 do bheagán da chuid fear. Da ndeánadh cró muc no madadh maith dó, ní bhfuigheadh sé é. Acht tá teach amhas thíos aig an chladach. Má gheibh sibh aontuigheas o na h-amhais, bidheadh sé agaibh 7 mur bhfaghaidh, bidhidh folamh. Teiseanadh teach na n-amhas dó. Nuair chuaidh sé asteach air an dorus, ní robh aon amhas anns an teach nach deárn gáire. Go dé adhbhar bhur ngáire? arsa Giolla no gCochall Craicionn. Fá d'oiread-sa de fheoil úr do bhéith againn. Béidh fhios agaibh a uhalairt sin de scéal. Rug sé greim dhá lurga air an fhear bu neise dó 7 thúsaiigh sé da gcoscairt leis an fhear sin, go dtí go robh deireadh marbh aige acht aon fhear amháin. Bhí an t-amhas caithte aige go dtí an dá ghiota bhí ann a dhá dhorn aige. Chaith sé na h-amhais amach 7 rinne carnán díobhtha. Chuaidh air ais 'un na luíng. Tá teach againn annseo, acht ní'l biadh air bith. Caithfidh muid biadh iarraidh o'n chaisleán. Chuaidh 'un an chaisleáin 7

*wāst'ir' f'iN m'ē iN'jō a jiri: b'i: dō: hein' agos dā vigan dā
 χyd' f'ar. a N'a:nuw spo:L əwā:n' maiç dō:, N'i: wi:t^(l) sē e:.
 aχ ta: taruw er' a NilāN' sō a χy.N'i: t'riāN dā Nilz.N dō: hein'
 l'ar L'i.N'. ma: warawi.N' f'iv a taruw, b'i:t^(l) sē əgəv agos mār
 mārəwi:, b'i:g'i: foluw. kə wīl' a taruw? ərsē: t'efānuw dō:
 N tyuw dā Nilān a rō N taruw. a Lə: sō hog fē t'ef kənan.
 Ver' a χUi sād a pə:r dāN taruw, riN' fē bu:γ'a mo:r əgəs hax.N'
 əruw. χyr' gīLə Nə goχəL krək'əN a χlō:kə er' a tyuw bə N'efə
 dāN taruw dā Nə:rd. χUi ε hein' er' a tyuw el'a. χyr' a
 taruw a ga: eir'k' (ə:r'k') f'r'i:d' a χlō:kə əgəs gə bōn əft'aχ sə
 Nə:rd. t'ε:m' g'īLə Nə goχəL krək'əN əgəs wɫ:l' a t'ε Nə χlāw.
 win' a k'iN dē. χənən', ərsē:, əmχrəχə m'ifə ən χlōāN əgəs
 əmχyr' hīsə n k'iN. N'i: rō aN aχ gə rō' kənan a:bəLta n k'iN a
 χəruw. wīL tuw t'aχt? ərsə g'īLə Nə goχəL krək'əN. N'ial,
 ərsə kənan. f'i:l'əm gə wīl' (wīL') sō rō:γəm agəm. χərsə a
 lā(:)uw hərt. f'uir' g'r'im' eir'k'ə er' a çl'N əgəs ər lərgə χənən'.
 çu:L' L'ef gər χāi dē' n b'art'in' a d'aχ Nə Nāwəs. iN', tə: b'i:
 N'jō aχ N'ial' t'in'i er' b'ic'. kāhəmwid' g'l'əs briç a:L dāN
 taruw. d'in'i: əNə χəfL'ən'. χyr' mə wāst'ir' f'iN m'ē N'jō a
 jiri: g'l'əs briçə dāN taruw. a N'a:nuw n pətə sLuw əNšə t'aχ
 mxiç' gyd', N'i: wi:ha e: aχ ma: ver' a kə:kir'ə k'ad did' spo:L a
 χor sə fota, b'iwu əgəd, əgəs mār dōgy:, b'əi tuw foluw. χUi iN'fer'
 a χə:kir'ə. du:rt' a kə:kir'ə Nəχ wiuw k'ad 'ε:N 'spo:L a wā:n'
 χyr' əNšə χor'a. rōg fē er' a χor'ə. hō:g e: məχ dā Nəbwir'
 kləçə. hog hərt a əgəs t'ig' st'aL wo:r dən vrot hərt ər Nə kə:kir'i:.
 gə(:)i əN bə:f iəd. du:rt^(l) t'ε f'iN, tə: t'in'i a j'i:ç oriN' əniç. χUi
 əNə χəfL'ən'. χyr' mə wāst'ir' f'iN m'ē N'jō a jiri: t'in'uw.
 a N'a:nuw sp'l'it əwā:n' maī dō:, N'i: wi:t^(l) sē e: χor sə a ga:
 lā:v fə:n χual χə.Ny: hog t'ef i: gə t'aχ Nə Nāwəs. χor t'in'i
 iN't'i: χyr' a kor'ə əri: əgəs riN' wo:r dāN taruw əN. d'i f'iad
 a sa(:)i əgəs χodil' a N'i:çə f'in'. er' mūəd'in' gə Luə du:rt' g'īLə
 Nə goχəL krək'əN, a jērəmwid', əs wɫ:d' a toguw n vən. əs ert
 a hig' a çid trid'. f'k'i:han f'k'ō:ləNəχ a hog t'ef dā vən. əs ert
 e: çid' əN'uw'. a jīLə jī:l'if, ərsə f'iN, N'īl' gər' d'εāN'in'ə dā
 wīl' iN'jō a gəl ə çid' aχ huw hein'. χUi g'īLə Nə goχəL krək'əN
 suəs əNə χəfL'ən'. wɫ:l' bwiL'ə sə χUiL'ə kō rik'. d'iN'if dāN'*

dubhairt, Chuir mo mháighistir Fionn mé annseo do iarraidh bídh dó fhéin 7 do bheagán da chuid fear. Da ndeánadh spólla amháin maith dó, ní bhfuigheadh sé é. Acht tá tarbh air an oileán seo a chuinnighidh trían de'n oileán dó fhéin le ar linn. Má mharbhann sibh an tarbh, bidheadh sé agaibh 7 mur marbhaidh, bidhidh folamh. Cá bhfuil an tarbh? arsé. Teiseanadh dó an taobh de'n oileán i robh an tarbh an lá seo. Thug sé leis Conán. Nuair chuaidh siad i ngearr do'n tarbh, rinne sé búirthe mór 7 thairng orrthú. Chuir Giolla na gCochall Craicionn a chlóca air an taobh bu neise do'n tarbh de'n árd. Chuaidh é fhéin air an taobh eile. Chuir an tarbh a dhá adhairc fríd an chlóca 7 go bun asteach san árd. Léim Giolla na gCochall Craicionn 7 bhuaíl é le n-a chlaidhimh. Bhain an ceann de. A Chonán, arsé, iomchra-chaidh mise an cholann 7 iomchuir thusa an ceann. Ní robh ann acht go robh Conán ábalta an ceann do chorrughadh. Bhfuil tú ag teacht? arsa Giolla na gCochall Craicionn. Ní'l, arsa Conán. Saoilim go bhfuil seo ró-throm agam. Chuir sé a lámh thart. Fuair greim adhairce air an cheann 7 air lurga Chonán. Shiubhail leis gur chaith de an beairtín i dteach na n-amhas. A Fhinn, tá biadh annseo acht ní'l teini air bith. Caithfidh muid gléas bruite do fhagháil do'n tarbh. D'imthigh 'un an chaisleáin. Chuir mo mháighistir Fionn mé annseo do iarraidh gléas bruite do'n tarbh. Da ndeánadh an pota is lúgh anns an teach maith dhuid, ní bhfuigheadh é acht má bheir an cócaire cead duid spólla do chur san phota, bidheadh agad, 7 mur dtugaidh, béidh tú folamh. Chuaidh annsair an chócaire. Dubhairt an cócaire nach bhfuigheadh cead aon spólla amháin do chuir anns an choire. Rug sé air an choire. Thóg é amach de'n obair cloiche. Thug thart é 7 leig steall mhór de'n *bhroth* thart air na cócairí. Dhóigh 'un báis iad. Dubhairt le Fionn, tá teini de dhíth orrainn anois. Chuaidh 'un an chaisleáin. Chuir mo mháighistir Fionn mé annseo do iarraidh teineadh. Da ndeánadh spliota amháin maith dó, ní bhfuigheadh sé é. Chuir sé a dhá láimh fá'n chual chonnaidh. Thug leis í go teach na n-amhas. Chuir teini inntí. Chuir an coire orrthí 7 roinn mhór de'n tarbh ann. D'ith siad a sáith 7 chodail an oidhche sin. Air maidin go luath dubhairt Giolla na gCochall Craicionn, A Dhiarmuid, is uaid a tugadh an bhean. Is ort a thig an chéad troid. Scíothán Sceólannach a thug leis do bhean. Is ort é do throid aniu. A Ghiolla dhfílis, arsa Fionn, ní'l gar do aon duine da bhfuil annseo do dhul do throid acht thú fhéin. Chuaidh Giolla na gCochall Craicionn suas 'un an chaisleáin. Bhuaíl buille san chuaille comhraic. D'innis do'n

t'axtir'a gə ro trid' ə ji:ç er' ə fk'i:han fk'o:ləNax. hen'ik' fk'i:han fk'o:ləNax. ɾid' a hein' agəs g'İLə Nə goχəL kræk'əN ə gUɸ' mwæN'ə gə dUw i:çə. wy:l' g'İLə bwiL'ə ə gō:rik' ə çin' agəs ə winæl' er' agəs win' ə çin' de'. hen'ik' iN'fer' iN. iN', k'i:hax kruiarəmax ə gəfk'iaχ əs f'a:r əN sə rihaxtə, kăihə tuw f'ar' ə χgr l'ε Na ɾid' əma:raχ. N'iL din' er' b'iç iN'fə l'ε Na ɾid' mər N'a:nə tuw hein' ə. er' mwəd'in' gə Luə χUi g'İLə Nə goχəL kræk'əN suəs əNə χəfL'æn'. wy:l' bwiL'ə sə χUIL'ə kō:rik'. d'iar kō:rək ər çihax χruiarəmax. bə d'i:wi:n' e: gəd'i: f'in'. ɾid⁽¹⁾ fε hein' agəs k'i:hax gə tra'nō:nə. vi dəl eg⁽¹⁾ g'İLə Nə goχəL kræk'əN er' agəs riN' k'i:hax L'ō:n mo:r dε hein'. riN' g'İLə n rōd k'ieNə agəs marəuw k'i:hax. wy:l' ər'i:f(t) əN sə χUIL'ə kō:rik'. N'i:r' f'r'igrūw e:. gəd'e: ta:mwid' gəl ə ja:nuw? ərsə: l'ε f'iN. raχəmwid' ə wel'ə, ərsə f'iN. N'i: raχəmwid' ə wel'ə, ərsə g'İLə Nə goχəL kræk'əN, gə wə:mwid' er' m'an agəs Lqrag ər Lā:və a:gəl' ər N'ei. ta: ũi grihaxt ə wəgəs dən χəfL'an. vε:ɾər er' m'an əN'fin' əN'Uɸ'. ma: jεf'ər i: f'taχ sə Nūi, hīsə agəs m'ifə agəs əwīl i N'eir'iN', N'i: ho:ɾ'uw əmax i:. ta: ga: gōrəs er' ə Nūi, dorəs b'ig agəs dorəs mo:r. kyɾ'ə mwid' d'erəmwid' er' ə dorəs viç agəs raχə m'ifə er' ə dorəs wo:r. N'i:r' wadə 'gə: gə waky: (woky:) hūg'ə b'an jərəmwid' ga:rεəg də wrā: ɔ:gə l'eičə agəs ga:rεəg də hanwā: . rōç g'İLə ɔ:ɿ: agəs rōç ə çarər agəs f'içə ban ɔ:ɿ: . χāi' g'İLə er' ə quəbiN' ə waNtraχt əl'ig'. skart' ər jərəmwid' agəs f'iL' əNə wel'ə iN'fer' iN. vi: LUχær' wo:r ɔ:ɿuw ə m'an ə və ōkuw. Naχ raχəmwid' əwel' əniç, ərsə f'iN. N'i: raχəmwid' əwel'ə, ərsə g'İLə, gə wə:kəmwid' Lqrag ər Lā:və fan χəfL'an. χUi əNə χəfL'æn'. hōç l'ɔ:fə Lastə ə Lypnə də gə:r agəs də gəlwāhəs agəs da:g ə kəfL'an l'ε hin'i. ho:g ə fə:Lti: agəs χUi əN farəçə. vi: f'ied t'r'i: i:ç agəs t'r'i: la agəs ə Nam'fər d'as. vi: fəd ə g'içə agəs ə gə:l agəs i b'l'eifw:r wo:r. N'i row er' hæft'ə Nə Lypnə aχ f'iN agəs g'İLə. χyr' g'İLə əsNə wo:r əs. gəd'e: a:wər də wA:ɾə? ərsə f'iN. t'i:m hōçəm Lqɾ, ərsə g'İLə. ta: f'ar' ər bə:rd ɔ:ɿ: ə wiɾ'əs m'ifə. N'iel, ərsə f'iN, Na 'ε:N'ar' ər grīni' ə dō:n' ə vεuw a:bəLtə hīs ə warəwə. fa'rA:r huw, ərsə g'İLə, N'i: hig' l'im Lā:()uw ə ho:gəl' gə marəwi: fə m'ə. go: f'i:s fwi: hæft'ə Nə Lypnə agəs kyr' ɔrt ə χqbi: sku:L'u:ni: əta: N'fin' s N'i:

teachtaire go robh troid de dhíth air o Scióthán Sceólaunach. Thainic Scióthán Sceólannach. Throid é fhéin 7 Giolla na gCochall Craiciunn o dhubh maidne go dubh oidhche. Bhuail Giolla buille i gcomhraic a chinn 7 a mhúineáil air 7 bbain a cheann de. Thainic annsair Fhionn. A Fhinn, Cítheach Cruaidh-armach an gaiscidheach is fearr anns an ríoghacht, caithfidh tú fear do chur le n-a throid amárach. Ní'l duine air bith annseo le n-a throid mur ndéanadh tú fhéin é. Air maidin go luath chúaidh Giolla na gCochall Craiciunn suas 'un an chaisleáin. Bhuail buille san chuaille comhraic. D'iarr comhrac air Chítheach Chruaidh-armach. Ba díomhaoin é go dtí sin. Throid sé fhéin 7 Cítheach go trathnóna. Bhí dul aig Giolla na gCochall Craiciunn air 7 rinne Cítheach leomhan mór de fhéin. Rinne Giolla an rud céadhua 7 mharbhuigh Cítheach. Bhuail arís anns an chuaille comhraic. Níor freagraigheadh é. Go dé támuid ag dul da dheánadh? arsé le Fionn. Rachaidh muid abhaile, arsa Fionn. Ní rachaidh muid abhaile, arsa Giolla na gCochall Craiciunn, go bhfaghaidh muid ar mbean 7 lorg ar lámbe do fhágáil ar ndiaidh. Tá uaigh dhraoitheachta i bhfogus do'n chaisleán. Bhéarthar ar mbean annsin aniu. Má gheibhthear í asteach san uaigh, thusa 7 mise 7 a bhfuil i n-Éirinn, ní thiubhradh (thabhairfeadh) amach í. Tá dhá dhorus air an uaigh, dorus beag 7 dorus mór. Cuirfidh muid Diarmuid air an dorus bheag 7 rachaidh mise air an dorus mhór. Níor bhfada dhó go bhfacaidh chuige bean Dhiarmuid dhá'reag de mhná óga léithe 7 dhá'reag de sheaumhná. Rug Giolla orrthí 7 rug an cheathrar 7 fiche ban orrthí. Chaith Giolla air a ghualainn an bhantracht uilig. Scairt air Dhiarmuid 7 phill 'un an bhaile annsair Fhionn. Bhí lúthgháir mhór orrthú a mbean do bhéith ocú. Nach rachaidh muid abhaile anois? arsa Fionn. Ní rachaidh muid abhaile, arsa Giolla, go bhfágfaidh muid lorg ar lámhe fá'n chaisleán. Chuaidh 'un an chaisleáin. Thug leóbhtha lasta a luinge de ór 7 de iolmhaitheas 7 d'fhág an caisleán le theini. Thóg a seoltaí 7 chuaidh 'un fairge. Bhí siad trí oidhche 7 trí lá 7 an aimsir deas. Bhí siad ag ithe 7 ag ól 7 i bpléisiúr mhór. Ní robh air thaiste na luinge acht Fionn 7 Giolla. Chuir Giolla osna mhór as. Go dé adhbhar do bhuidheartha? arsa Fionn. Tím chugam long, arsa Giolla. Tá fear air bórd orrthí a mhuirfeas mise. Ní'l, arsa Fionn, na aon fhear air dhruim an domhain a bhéidheadh ábalta thusa do mharbhadh. Faraor thú, arsa Giolla, ní thig liom lámh do thógáil go marbhaidh sé mé. Gabh síos faoi thaiste na luinge 7 cuir ort an chulaidh scúilliúnaigh atá annsin 7

en'axi, sē huu. o: far ɪ: r huuc, ərsə g'iLə. əs f'ar ə Nəp' əta: əg'ə
 ərsəmə Nə ta: əgətə, əgəs əs rər:ar ə k'art əta: əj' er'. glək mə
 χō:rLə, ərsə f'iN. N'i: rōw əN ax gə rō sē ər'əf, Nər' ə ri: N
 Ləŋ χ'iəiəχ bərd ər' wərd l'əjə. sən 'ar əwān' jici: arəm əgəs
 eid'ur ər' həf'ə Nə Lypə. riN' sē gər'ə əgəs dūr sə, ta: rəN
 əgəm gyl'—

en'i:m huu əgəs N'i hər d'əədax,
 ax ər də rək g'r'əgax glən.
 əs f'i:r sən əgəs N'i: b'r'əg e:
 gər tuw k'əədax mak ri: Nə dələx.

ə s'ədi:, wīl kīv'n' əgəd ər də wərguw l'imsə i N'eir'iN'! ta:
 ərsə k'əədax. buy:l' də wiL'ə. Nər' ə he'n'ik' k'əədax gər b'ə
 buiL'ə 'ləN dUy' ə s'id wiL'ə rəuw buy:L't'ə, wy:L' sē ə wiL'ə
 hein' əgəs skaiç' gax f'ar əkuw ə k'iN' də N'ar el'ə. hīt gax f'ar
 əkuw ər' həf'ə ə l'ipə hein' əgəs d'im'i: N Ləŋ χ'iəiəχ ə b'alax ə
 den'i s'i: gə bən ə N'eir' (N'air'). skart' f'iN' er' ə wənuw, gə
 N'znat' s'əd buɪ:r'uw (buy:r'uw) mo:r əgəs d'iN'ij' d'əjə. Nax
 dīn' er' b'iq' N'i:s Luw Nə mak ri: Nə dələx ə f'ar ə ri: əkuw.
 ri: buy:r'uw 'zn'wər er' iN' əgəs er' ə wənuw jə Nə wəs əgəs ri:
 dāl'is əruw ə həxt əwel'ə iN'jer' ə vən əgəs e: maruw. χər'i:
 s'əd ə χələN l'ə sp'i:səri: əgəs harN' s'əd er' ə wel'ə. ə N'i:çə s'in'
 he'n'ik' k'ə: mo:r, gɪ: əgəs dīn'əN ə χyr' iad dā gursə. ri: s'əd ər
 fəχrən. N'i: rōs əkuw kə rō s'əd ə gəl' əf'ig' mo:rən Ləçə.
 həkri: N dīn'əN əgəs bə ger'id' gə wɪ:rsəd ə həxt ə wel'ə. Nər' ə
 he'n'ik' skaiç' s'ida N'i: wznəNən ə f'ar hein' maruw, ri: buy:r'uw
 'dəχim'i: s'i: əri: ri: buy:r'uw er' iN' əgəs er' ə N'eir' gə L'eir'.
 ri: buy:r'uw mo:r ər' jərəmwid əgəs er' ə vən. durt' f'iN' l'ə
 skaiç' s'ida gə wit' f'i: ə rō: f'ar dā rōw i N'eir'iN'. durt' skaiç'
 s'ida Nax rō' f'ar ər' b'iq' əg'ə ə jə:nuw x:t' ə f'ir' hein', ax e: Ləŋ
 ə hōrt' d'iqə gə gər'axit' f'i: ə f'ar əNə sp'i:səri:, gə gy:n'ət' f'i: ə
 sɔ:(i)' ə N'i'lə lə: əs ə s'iN' əgəs gə wit' f'i: bə:s əNə Ləŋ s'ida ə
 rōw ə f'ar. j'l'əs f'iN' ə Ləŋ ə b'z:r i N'eir'iN' d'iqə. kyr'uw
 s'tax əNə Lyp kərp s'adi: əNə gər'ə ar'əg'id'. χU'i s'i: hein' ər'
 bərd əgəs bə χomə l'eiçə gəð'e: n b'alax ə rəχuw N Ləŋ. N'i: rōs
 ək'i: k'əd ə vi: s'i: er' fərəj'ə ax vi: s'i: wad, mərən b'l'ieNtə. jə
 jər'uw wɪ:l' ə Ləŋ er' hzluw. ri: s'i: firsəχ ər' fərəj'ə. he'n'i
 s'i: ər' t'ir' mo:r. he'n'i s'i: kəfL'ən mo:r i jər d'iqə. s'u:L' s'i:

ní aithneachaidh sé thú. Ó faraor thú, arsa Giolla. Is fearr an aithne atá aige ormsa ná tá agadsa, 7 is ro-fhearr an ceart atá aige air. Glac mo chomairle, arsa Fionn. Ní robh ann acht go robh sé air ais, nuair bhí an long choimhghitheach bórd air bhórd leobhtha. Aon fhear amláin faoi arm 7 éideadh air thaiste na luinge. Rinne sé gáire 7 dubhairt sé. Tá rann agam dhuid—

Aithnighim thú 7 ní h-air d'éadach,
 Acht air do rosc gréagach glan.
 Is fíor sin 7 ní bréag é
 Gur tú Céadach mac rí na dTulach.

A Chéadaigh, bhfuil cuimhne agad air do mhargadh liomsa i nÉirinn? Tá, arsa Céadach. Buail do bhuille. Nuair chonnaic Céadach gur b'é buille Lonndubh an chéad bhuille bhéidheadh buailte, bhuail sé a bhuille fhéin 7 scaith gach fear ocú an ceann de'n fhear eile. Thuit gach fear ocú air thaiste a luinge fhéin 7 d'imthigh an long choimhthigheach an bealach a dtainic sí go bun an aeir. Scairt Fionn air a bhunadh, go ndéanadh siad buaidh-readh mór 7 d'innis dóbhtha, nach duine air bith níos lugh ná mac ríogh na dTulach an fear bhí ocú. Bhí buaidhreach an-mhór air Fhionn 7 air a bhunadh fí n-a bhás 7 bhí doilghios orrthú do theacht abhaile annsair a bhean 7 é marbh. Chóirigh siad a cholann le spósaí 7 thairng siad air an bhaile. An oidhe sin thainic ceó mór, gaoth 7 doinionn a chuir iad da gcúrsa. Bhí siad air seachrán. Ní robh fhios ocú cá robh siad ag dul air feadh mórán laethe. Shocraigh an doinionn 7 bu ghoirid go bhfuair siad (do) theacht abhaile. Nuair chonnaic Scaith Shíoda ní Mhananán a fear fhéin marbh, bhí buaidhreach dóchuimsí orrthí. Bhí buaidhreach air Fhionn 7 air an Fhéinn go léir. Bhí buaidhreach mór air Dhiarmuid 7 air a bhean. Dubhairt Fionn le Scaith Shíoda go bhfhugheadh sí a raogha fear da robh i nÉirinn. Dubhairt Scaith Shíoda nach robh fear air bith aige a gheánfadh áit a fir fhéin, acht é long do thabhairt dithe go gcóireachadh sí a fear ann spósaí, go gcaoineadh sí a sáith an uile lá os a cheann 7 go bhfhugheadh sí bás anns an long chéadna a robh a fear. Ghléas Fionn an long ab fhearr i nÉirinn dithe. Cuireadh asteach anns an luing corp Chéadaigh ann gcófra airigid. Chuaidh sí fhéin air bórd 7 bu chuma léithe go dé an bealach a rachadh an long. Ní robh fhios aici ca fhad bhí sí air fairge acht bhí sí i bhfad, mórán bliadhanta. Fá dheireadh bhuail an long air thalamh. Bhí sí tuirseach air fairge. Thainic sí air tír mór. Chonnaic sí caisleán mor i ngar (ngearr) dithe. Shiubhail sí suas

suas əNə χæfL'æn'. N'i: akə si: din' er' b'ič b'jo: . χUi si: st'αχ.
 ɣu:L' si: mo:ran f'r'i:d' ə χæfL'an. fa jer'uww hen'i si: əNə
 so:mra a:r'it' fanər' 'k'r'i:N'L'ia. dahiN' si: gə ro sɛ ə Nam
 i:N'tαχ Na ri: . lo:r si: l'ef agəs N'i: ro sɛ fəNu:r sanəχəsk er'
 b'ič ə ja:nuw. vi: N tra:nō:n əN. N'i:r' wadə gə den'ik' əst'αχ
 t'r'u:r də gæfki: o:gə g'a:ɾə, m'iL't'a, Lot'i: agəs fəli: l'ɛ fwił'. χāi
 di:fə ə gyd' ɛdi: . rəg f'ar əkuw g'r'im' ga: χəs er' ar el'a. ha(:)i
 fə si:s ə mɔwər'iL'ə ə vi: gu:l ə dorif ə. harN' ər'ef e: agəs vi: sɛ
 fLa:n, faLæn'. riNuww f'in' l'ef ə t'r'u:r agəs vi: fəd L'ɛəstə kə
 maiç əs vi: fied er'iuww. ə wɫ:χəL'i:, ərsi:, əs kəsu:L di:v gə ro
 f'iv ə trid'. vi: muwid ə trid', ərs ən f'ar bə fin'ə. gəd'e: a:wər
 mər drīdə? ərsi:. Nāvd'ə hen'ik' ər' ə NilæN' fə, ərse:. wari
 fied mə wāhær'. riN' fəd kloχə g'alə dar Ny:n'i: agəs ər N'aLy: .
 N'iL La: ər' b'ič Naχ marəwiN' siN'ə sLuww əkuw. b'i: muwid
 Lot'i: mər hen'i tuw siN', αχ b'iaN ə sLuə b'jo: LaχərNəwa:raχ
 er' ef fa:r 'gyN'ə. f'in' bwær'iL' 'iəkla:N't'ə ə l'ɛəsi'f siN'ə ə
 Nilə ɾanō:nə. l'ig si: əsNə agəs du:rsi:, vi: f'ar əgəmsə ə Nam
 əwā.n'. ə m'ei't' fə əgəv, χyd'αχit^(l) fə l'iv. kə wiL' sɛ? ərsiad.
 ta: sɛ hi:s əNə Lyp, ər si'fə. kāihə muwid e: ho:rt' əN'i:s. ja:ɾə
 muwid' f'iN'ə b'jo: ə agəs kə maiç əs vi: fə ər'iuww. həg f'ied əN'i:s
 ə. χomwiL' fied ə N'iəkla:N't'ə do:. həm fəd sə wær'iL'ə e: .
 χomwil' bə da hu:l'ə agəs du:rsə, si:l'əm gər χodil' m'ə N'ɛəl.
 vi: LUχær' 'an'wo:r er' ə van. χræ si: ga: lā:v l'ef. χUi
 fəd ə χəLuww ə Nē:çə f'in' ə b'l'eif'u:r. er' muwəd'in' gə Luə ər
 laχərNəwa:raχ, χUi t'r'u:r mak ə ri: maχ ə ɾid' l'ef ə thə agəs
 k'ɛədaχ l'ɔ:fə. er'ə haχt do:fə əNə wāχir'ə, vi: fə La:N di:n'i: fwi:
 arəm agəs fwi: eid'uw. gəd'e: ta: f'iv gəl ə ja:nuw l'ɔ:fə fə? ərsə
 k'ɛədaχ. ta: muwid' gəl ə ɾid^(l) l'ɔ:fə agəs tra:nō:nə b'ɛ fəd maruww
 əgiN'. N'iel' əN mər ɾrē:hə αχ trəmparaχt, ərsə k'ɛədaχ. ja:ɾə
 muwid' ga: l'eif' (l'ef) də Na f'ir'. glakə mi'ifə ty:w əkuw agəs
 glakyg'i: f'iv'ə N ty:w el'a. N'i: row əN αχ gə rə b'a:rNy: vīg
 wi:d'αχ d'a:Nt əNsNə f'ir' eg^(l) klaN ə ri:, Ner' ə vi: ə l'a' hein'
 maruww eg^(l) k'ɛədaχ. ma: se: f'in' ə doi ə n'i: f'iv ə Nīl'ə la:, əs
 N'āi:q:Ntaχ iəd ə və si: əN mər mən. həg sɛ ruəhər əNə m'ask
 mər ho:k f'r'i:d' ɛ:nαχə agəs wari sɛ N din'ə d'er'əNαχ di:fə.
 gəd'e: ta: f'iv gəl ə ja:nuw əni'f, ə wɫ:χəL'i: ? ərsə k'ɛədaχ. o: ta:
 muwid' ə gəl əwel'ə, ərsiad. Nə Naχ wiL' f'iv gəl ə ɟyr'αχ iN'fə

'un an chaisleáin. Ní fhacaidh sí duine air bith beó. Chuaidh sí asteach. Shiubhail sí mórán fríd an chaisleán. Fá dheireadh thainic sí ann seómra áirite seanóir críon-liath. D'athain sí go robh sé ann am eighinteach na rí. Labhair sí leis 7 ní robh sé fonnmhar seanchas(c) air bith do dheánadh. Bhí an trathnóna ann. Níor bhfada go dtainic asteach triúr de ghaiscidhigh óga gearrtha, millte, loitighthe 7 folaighthe le fuil. Chaith díobhtha a gcuid éadaigh. Rug fear ocú greim dhá chos air fhear eile. Sháith sé síos i mbairille a bhí i gcúl an dorais é. Thairng air ais é 7 bhí sé slán, folláin. Rinneadh sin leis an triúr 7 bhí siad leigheasta comh maith agus bhí siad ariamh. A bhuachaillí, arsí, is cosamhail dibh go robh sibh ag troid. Bhí muid ag troid, arsa an fear bu sine. Go dé adhbhar bhur dtroda? arsí. Naimhde thainic air an oileán seo, arsé. Mharbhaigh siad mo mhathair. Rinne siad clocha geala d'ar ndaoíní 7 ar n-eallaigh. Ní'l lá air bith nach marbhann sinne sluagh ocú. Bídh muid loitighthe mar chonnaic tú sinn, acht bidheann an sluagh beó lá air n-a bharach air ais fá'r gcoinne. Sin bairille íocshláinte a leigheasas sinne an uile thrathnóna. Leig sí osna 7 dubhairt sí, Bhí fear agamsa ann am amháin. Da mbéidheadh sé agaibh, chuideachadh sé libh. Cá bhfuil sé? arsiad. Tá sé thíos anns an luing, arsise. Caithfidh muid é thabhairt aníos. Gheánfaidh muid sinne beó é 7 comh maith 7 bhí sé ariamh. Thug siad aníos é. Chumail siad an íocshláinte dó. Thum siad san bhairille é. Chumail bos da shúile 7 dubhairt sé, Saoilim gur chodail mé néal. Bhí lúthgháir an-mhór air a bhean. Chraith sí dhá lámh leis. Chuaidh siad do chodladh an oidhche sin i bpléisiúr. Air maidin go luath air lá air n-a bhárach, chuaidh triúr mac an ríogh amach do throid leis an tsluagh 7 Céadach leóbhtha. Air theacht dóbhtha 'un an mhachaire, bhí sé lán daoíní faoi arm 7 faoi éideadh. Go dé tá sibh ag dul da dheánadh leóbhtha seo? arsa Céadach. Tá muid ag dul do throid leóbhtha 7 trathnóna béidh siad marbh againn. Ní'l ann bhur ngraethe acht trumpáracht, arsa Céadach. Gheánfaidh muid dhá leith de na fir. Glacfaidh mise taobh ocú 7 glacaigidh sibhse an taobh eile. Ní robh ann acht go robh beárnaidh bheag bbaoideach deánta anns na fir aig clann an ríogh, nuair bhí a leath fhéin marbh aig Céadach. Má's é sin an dóigh a nídh sibh an uile lá, is neamhiongantach iad do bhéith ag suidhe ann bhur mbun. Thug sé ruathar ann a measg mar sheabhaic fríd éanacha 7 mharbhuigh sé an duine deireannach díobhtha. Go dé tá sibh ag dul da dheánadh anois, a bhuachaillí? arsa Céadach. Ó tá muid ag dul abhaile, arsiad. Na nach bhfuil sibh ag dul do

gə vək'i f'iv gəd'e: ta: da N'a:nuw fə b'jo: ər'i:f(t'). o: N'ial' 'εəNyn'a dær' an Naχ ro maruw LaχərNə:wa:raχ. N'i: im'aχə m'ifa, ərsə k'ɛɔdaχ, gə vək'i m'a gəd'e: n'i:s b'jo: iəd. χUi klaN ə ri: əNə wəl'a agəs dan k'ɛɔdaχ. N'i:r' wadə do: gə wakə (wəkə) fə faihaχ t'aχt əN'i:s a wrI:χ Nə farəg'a. pət'i:n' agəs k'l'ɛt'i:n' l'ɛf. χɔrsə n k'l'ɛt'i:n' əNsə fət'i:n'. əN'f'in' χɔrsə ə m'ɛəl f'ir' ə agəs l'e:m' Nj: Nɔnu:r' okuw Nə fasuw. Na d'a:N' N'i:s mō: dɛ f'in', ərsə k'ɛɔdaχ. hɔg fɛ ruəhər ər Nə Nj: Nɔnu:r'. wīN Nə k'iN' di:fə. ə harLy: gər trid' ɔta: ji:ç ɔrt, ərs ən faihaχ, jo: tuw də ha(·)i' dɛ'. hu:si: fɛ hein' agəs ə faihaχ er' ə çɛl'a. vi: f'i: Nə g'id' wo:r. fa jer'uw wI:L' fɛ n faihaχ agəs wīn' ə çīN dɛ'. dan əN'f'in' er' f'ig tamwiL'. hen'ik' hīg'a əN'i:s a wrI:χ Nə farəg'a ən χæL'aχ, pət'i:n' agəs k'l'ɛt'i:n' l'eihə. χyr' ə k'l'ɛt'i:n' sə fət'i:n' agəs ə m'ɛəl ə çid ir'. d'eir'i: Nj: Nɔnu:r' Nə fasuw. fo:L' ɔrt ə χæL'i:, ərsɛ:. hɔg ruəhər ər Nə Nj: Nɔnu:r'. wīN Nə k'iN' di:fə agəs həfi: ε'hein' agəs ə χæL'aχ ə χaskərt' ə çɛl'a. bə vās ən χæL'aχ er' gə mo:r Nan faihaχ. wy:l' bwiL' er' ə χæL'i: agəs wīn' ə k'iN' di:çə. dan əN'f'in' taməL fadə. fa jer'uw hen'i fə n kuw glas ə t'aχt əN'i:s a wrI:χ Nə farəg'a, pət'i:n' əNə b'ɛəl agəs k'l'ɛt'i:n' əNə kru:b l'eičə. χɔrsi: n k'l'ɛt'i:n' əNsə fət'i:n' agəs ə m'ɛəl ə çid ir'. l'e:m' Nj: Nɔnu:r' okuw Nə fasuw. stap, ə vah'i: gra:N, ərsɛ:. hɔg ruəhər ər Nə Nj: Nɔnu:r' agəs waruw iəd. hu:si fə hein' agəs ə kuw er' ə çɛl'a, aχ N'i: row aχ g'r'aN əNə grē:hə gəd'i: f'in'. N'i: ha:ɸuw ə χlāəv g'aruw da lə:d ər' χræk'əN ə χuw. vi: iɣlə wo:r er' gə mwiɸ'uw ən kuw ə. hen'i fə baL b'ig ba:n əstiç fwi: Nə haskiL'. hɔg fɛ sa:huw da χlāəv er' ə waL wa:n agəs əf f'in' trasNə f'r'i:d' Nə kriə. hīt' ə kuw maruw. vi: LUχər' wo:r er'. dan iN'f'in' gə mawəd'in' agəs N'i: hen'ik' N'i:s mō:. smwi:n'i: (smwi:ti:) fə, k'ɛb'er' b'ič a:t' ə den'i fiəd əs, gə ro t'iL'uw il'k' Nə N'e'i. χUi fɛ fi:s gə brI:χ Nə farəg'a. çu:L' fə fi:s ɛg' bɔn ə NyL't'. fuərsə ūi ə gəl fi:s fwi: N taluw. χUi fɛ fi:s fiər əNsə Nūi. hen'i fɛ hiər ə kat fadə kI:l glas. ə çɛədi: gra:Nə, ərsi:, warə tuw mə ɸu:r' χliN'a. warə tuw mə χyd' f'ar, aχ ta: tuw əniɸ' ə Na:t' ə N'ɔmərdi: əgəm. a χyr' gra:N, ərsɛ:, ə N'i:d'a çiaNə ə fwy:r' ə χyd' el'a də də wɔnuw, jo: ti:sə. həfi: ε'hein' agəs ə kat er' ə çɛl'a. aχ N'i: row aχ g'r'aN əNsə χyd' el'a gəd'i: f'in'. glak fɛ ɔχtaχ.

thuireach annseo go bhfeicidh sibh go dé tá da ndeánadh seo beó arís. Ó ní' aon dhuine dar fhan nach robh marbh lá air n-a bhárach. Ní imtheachaidh mise, arsa Céadach, go bhfeicidh mé go dé nídeas beó iad. Chuaidh clann an ríogh 'un an bhaile 7 d'fhan Céadach. Níor bhfada dó go bhfacaidh sé faitheach ag teacht aníos o bhruach na fairge poitín 7 cleitín leis. Chuir sé an cleitín anns an phoitín. Annsin chuir sé i mbéal fir é 7 léim naoi naonbhair ocú na seasadh. Na deán níos mó de sin, arsa Céadach. Thug sé ruathar air na naoi naonbhair. Bhain na cinn díobhtha. Ó tharlaidh gur troid atá de dhíth ort, arsa 'n faitheach, gheóbh tú do sháith de. Thúsaigh sé fhéin 7 an faitheach air a chéile. Bhí sí ann a troid mhór. Fá dheireadh bhuaíl sé an faitheach 7 bhain a cheann de. D'fhan annsin air feadh tamaill. Thainic chuige aníos air bhruach na fairge an chailleach, poitín 7 cleitín léithe. Chuir an cleitín san phoitín 7 i mbéal an chéad fhir. D'éirigh naoi naonbhair na seasadh. Fóill ort a chailligh, arsé. Thug ruathar air na naoi naonbhair. Bhain na cinn díobhtha 7 thoisigh é fhéin 7 an chailleach do choscairt a chéile. Bu mheasa an chailleach air go mór ná'n faitheach. Bhuaíl buille air an chailligh 7 bhain a ceann dithe. D'fhan annsin tamall fada. Fá dheireadh chonnaic sé an cú glas ag teacht aníos o bhruach na fairge, poitín ann a béal 7 cleitín ann a crúb léithe. Chuir sí an cleitín anns an phoitín 7 i mbéal an chéad fhir. Léim naoi naonbhair ocú na seasadh. Stop, a bheathaigh ghránda, arsé. Thug ruathar air na naoi naonbhair 7 mharbh iad. Thúsaigh sé fhéin 7 an cú air a chéile, acht ní robh acht greann ann a ghraethe go dtí sin. Ní dheánfadh a chlaidhimh gearradh da laghad air chraicionn an chú. Bhí eagla mhór air go muirfeadh an cú é. Chonnaic sé ball beag bán astuigh faoi n-a h-ascaill. Thug sé sáthadh da chlaidhimh air an bhall bhán 7 as sin trasna fríd n-a croidhe. Thuit an cú marbh. Bhí lúthgháir mhór air. D'fhan annsin go maidin 7 ní thainic níos mó. Smuainigh (smaoitigh) sé, ce b'air bith áit a dtainic siad as, go robh tilleadh uile na ndiaidh. Chuaidh sé síos go bruach na fairge. Shiubhail sé síos aig bun an aillt. Fuair sé uaigh ag dul síos faoi an talamh. Chuaidh sé síos siar anns an uaigh. Chonnaic sé thiar an cat fada caol glas. A Chéadaigh ghránda, arsí, mharbhaigh tú mo thriúr chloinne. Mharbhaigh tú mo chuid fear, acht tá tú anois ann áit an iomorduighthe agam. A chait ghránda, arsé, an ide chéadna a fuair an chuid eile de do bhunadh, gheóbh tusa. Thoisigh é fhéin 7 an cat air a chéile. Acht ní robh acht greann anns an chuid eile go dtí sin. Ghlac sé ochtach.

hog fε n wiL' əwā:n' dən χlǎiv agəs hog əmax kri: agəs kruəgy: n
 χyt'. vi: ĩηə n'ivə ə rəbəl ə χyt'. er' ə hitəm' dən χat wX:L' f'i:
 e: l'ef ə N'ĩηə n'ivə agəs hog əmax ə χri: agəs ə χruəgy:. hīt' ə
 vīrt' maruw eg^(l) ti:v ə ʒel'ə. χUerti: Nə t'r'i: f'r'iN sə gə wy:rsəd
 ə Nūiə. vi: k'ēdaχ agəs ə kat mo:r Nə Lya maruw. N'i: hen'ik'
 l'ɔ:fə eŋ'ə edir' ə da: χriə. mə l'ε:N' f'iv, ərsə skaiç ʒi:də, Naχ
 Neŋ'i:N edir' kriə krUi, danərə n χyt' agəs kriə b'ig Na:dərə m'ir'
 hein'. hək fəd l'ɔ:fə əNə wel'ə k'ēdaχ. χɔ:r'i: n kriə N:z't'
 hein' agəs χoməl do: ə N'iekla:N't'ə. d'eir'i: Nə hasuw kə sLa:n
 əs vi: əriuu. vi: LUχær' wo:r er' ə van. vi: LUχær' er' ə ri:
 agəs er' ə ʒu:r mak. gəd'e: ta: muwid' ə gəl ə ja:nuw? ərsə skaiç
 ʒi:də. Nɔ: ən raxəmwid' əwel'ə? N'i: raxy:, ərsə k'ēdaχ, gə
 vek'ə m'ifə wiL' fəd f'id b'jo: əN'Uw'. χUi fəd əNə wəχir'ə. vi:
 fəd əlig' maruw. χUerti: k'ēdaχ agəs fuərsə sLæt'in' drihaxtə
 f'i:s ər' ʒrim' Nə kəl'i:. hog l'ef i: agəs f'iL' fəd əwel'ə. vi:
 mɔ:ran karik'axə agəs kləχə glas agəs ba:n. wy:l' k'ēdaχ iəd l'ej
 ə tlæt'. d'eir'i fəd Nə fasuw f'ir' agəs mrā:, əLax agəs ky:r'i:
 agəs kapwiL' gə rə bənuw n ri: b'jo: er'ef. vi: LUχær' wo:r er' ə
 ri:. əs kɔ:r du:N' ənif ə ʒəl əwel'ə, ərsə k'ēdaχ l'ε Nə van. N'i:
 a:kə tuw m'ifə ə χy:çə, ərsə n ri. əf'lat L'ə mə rihaxtə ə χy:çə
 agəs mə vaNaxtə fəstə. farX:r huw, ərsə k'ēdaχ, ta: rihaxtə ə
 fivir'axt l'imse N'i:s f'a:r Nə də rihaxtə lig'. N'i: a:r'i:m ə L'ə.
 da:k fə sLa:n eg' ən ri: agəs eg^(l) Nə wənuw. vi: bwy:r'uw mo:r
 ŋuw Nə jei. χUi ər'i:ft' əN farəg'ə. kə wil' muwid' ə gəl? ərsə
 skaiç ʒi:də. vi: LəNdUw' mak ri: Nə d'rɔ:liN'ə Nə χomra:di:
 wāiç' əgəmsə er' f'ig əvad. ta:s əgəm gə wiL' fə kɔ:r'i: l'ε sp'i:səri:
 eg^(l) Nahær'. ta: bwid'al də N'iekla:N't'ə l'imse. raxəmwid' əNə
 d'rɔ:liN'ə agəs L'εsə muwid LəNdUw'. riN' fəd mər du:rsəd. vi:
 kūi wo:r ər ri: Nə d'rɔ:liN'ə N'ei ləNdUw'. N'i: rə La: r'
 b'ic' Naχ N'ə:nit^(l) fə taməl mo:r bwX:çə əs k'iN ə vīk'. d'iar
 k'ēdaχ k'ad ek'al, gər doktu:r' ə vi: əN. χomwiL' fə ə N'iek-
 la:N't'ə dən jaruwə vi: edir' ə k'iN sə muwin'al. d'eir'i: LəNdUw'
 Nə hasuw. fi:l'əm gər χodil' m'ə, ərse: əs maiç' ə waru:l', ərsə
 n ri:, agəs tuw maruw l'ε faxt m'l'ieNə. ə ʒəd'i:, vīk' ri: Nə
 dɔlax, də ʒəd m'i:l'ə fa:L't'ə, ə 'je: gæf'k'i: glin'. χUə m'ifə əNə
 dō:n' her' ə də warəwə. hen'i tise N'i:s fwid'ə l'ε m'if' ə ja:nuw

Thug sé aon bhuille amháin de'n chlaidhimh 7 thug amach croidhe 7 crubhogaí an chait. Bhí ionga neimhe i ruball an chait. Air thuitim do'n chat bhuaíl sí é leis an ionga neimhe 7 thug amach a chroidhe 7 a chrubhogaí. Thuit an bheirt marbh aig taobh a chéile. Chuartaigh na trí phrionnsa go bhfuair siad an uaigh. Bhí Céadach 7 an cat mór na luighe marbh. Ní thainic leóbhtha aithne eadair an dá chroidhe. Mo léan sibh, arsa Scaith Shíoda, nach n-aithnigheann eadair croidhe cruaidh, danardha an chait 7 croidhe beag nádúrtha m'fhir fhéin. Thug siad leóbhtha 'un an bhaile Céadach. Chóirigh an croidhe ann a áit fhéin 7 chumail dó an íocshláinte. D'éirigh na sheasadh comh slán 7 bhí ariamh. Bhí lúthgháir mhór air a bhean. Bhí lúthgháir air an rí 7 air a thriúr mac. Go dé tá muid ag dul da dheánadh? arsa Scaith Shíoda. No an rachaidh muid abhaile? Ní rachaidh, arsa Céadach, go bhfeicidh mise bhfuil siad siud beó aniu. Chuaid siad 'un an mhachaire. Bhí siad uilig marbh. Chuartaigh Céadach 7 fuair sé slaitín draoiteachta síos air dhruim na cailighe. Thug leis í 7 phill siad abhaile. Bhí mórán carraiceacha 7 clocha glas 7 bán. Bhuaíl Céadach iad leis an tslait. D'éirigh siad na seasadh fir 7 mná, eallach 7 caoirigh 7 capaill go robh bunadh an ríogh beó air ais. Bhí lúthgháir mhór air an rí. Is cóir dúinn anois do dhul abhaile, arsa Céadach le n-a bhean. Ní fhágfaidh tú mise a choídeche, arsa 'n rí. Is leat leath mo rioghachta a choidche 7 mo bheannacht-sa fosta. Faraor thú, arsa Céadach, tá rioghachta ag fuireacht liomsa níos fearr ná do rioghachta uilig. Ní áirighim an leath. D'fhág se slán aig an rí 7 aig n-a bhunadh. Bhí buaidhreadh mór orrthú na dhiaidh. Chuaidh arís 'un fairge. Cá bhfuil muid ag dul? arsa Scaith Shíoda. Bhí Lonndubh mac rí na Dreólainne na chomrádaidh mhaith agamsa air feadh i bhfad. Tá fhios agam go bhfuil sé cóirighthe le spíosaraí aig n-a athair. Tá buideal de'n íocshláinte liomsa. Rachaidh muid 'un na Dreólainne 7 leigheasfaidh muid Lonndubh. Rinne siad mar dubhairt siad. Bhí cumhaidh mhór air rí na Dreólainne i ndiaidh Lonndubh. Ní robh lá air bith nach ndéanadh sé tamall mór buaidheartha os ceann a mhic. D'iarr Céadach cead a fheiceál, gur doctúir a bhí ann. Chumail sé an íocshláinte do'n ghearradh a bhí eadair an ceann 7 an muinéal. D'éirigh Lonndubh na sheasadh. Saoilim gur chodail mé, arsé. Is maith an bharr-amhail, arsa 'n rí, 7 tú marbh le seacht mbliadhna. A Chéadaigh, mhic ríogh na dTulach, do chéad míle fáilte, a dheaghghaiscidhigh ghlain. Chuaidh mise 'un an domhain thoir do do mharbhadh. Thainic tusa níos fuide le mise do dheánadh beó. Ní scarfaidh tú

b'jo:. N'i: skarə tuw l'im ə χy:çə. fuvir' ə ri: sX:l u:r, Ner' ə hen'i fə ə wāk b'jo:. da:g k'ɛadaχ sLa:n okuw agəs χUi ər'i:f't' əN farəg'a. kə wīL tuw gəl? ərse skaiç çi:də. a van, raxə m'if' əniç gə heir'iN', gə vek'ə mwid' f'iN wā ku:L' agəs ə wənuuw. hen'ik' gə heir'iN'. rīN' f'iN f'ɛastə mo:r ə Nəmor də çɛadaχ agəs da van. Ner' ə vi: n f'ɛastə hart, du:rt' k'ɛadaχ, əs m'iha du:N' ə gəl əNə wel'ə gə vek'ə mwid' gəðe: mər ta: mahær' agəs mo wāhær' agəs mə wənuuw il'ig'. çə:L' fəd əNə dɔlaχ. Ner' ə hen'ik' ə fanri: ə wāk agəs ə wanf'r'iN sə əNs ə wel'ə, həbwir' gə wi:t⁽¹⁾ fə ba:s daN LUχær'. rīN' fə f'ɛastə agəs banif wo:r l'ɛ Nə wāk agəs ə wanf'r'iN sə. Ner' ə vi: ən wanif hart, koraniuw k'ɛadaχ ə rihaxtə Nə dɔlaχ. χæ fə sX:l p'l'eifu:rə. ta: iərāv əNə b'l'eifu:r agəs ə sonəs əN'f'in' gəð'i: N La: əN'Uy'.

L'adert' Nə var mo:r.

vi: gəvd'i:n' gō:nə Nə χō:nū: er' ə da:rNūy: eg⁽¹⁾ tiuw gəŋkaneil'ə. Ni: ro gəf'k'iaχ ər' b'ic' sə ræ:N'v:rpə k'r'iaχni:, gə wa:t⁽¹⁾ fə ə χyd' ir'im' ə gəvd'i:n' gō:nə agəs ku:rsə f'jo:ləm'ə. hen'ik' əN La: wā:n' ku:χoliN' iN'fer' gə wa:t⁽¹⁾ fə ə χu:rsə gəf'k'u:iaχt k'r'iaχni:. N'i: ha:ηəd, ərse gəvd'i:n' gō:nə. hōg bolər l'ef' ə glæf gāvl'iNə wX:m l'ɛ t'r'ɛəN Lā:və. ma: vīr tuw ər'ef' ə glæf gāvl'iNə, ja:ηə m'if'ə də grē:ha. vɛ:çə m'if' i: er'ef, ərse ku:χoliN'. d'im'i: gə təri:, ə Na:t' ə ro kəf'L'an wəlir'. Ner' ə hen'i fə gə brX:χ Nə farəg'a, glak fɛ iglə rīvə wələr agəs çə:r'i: ə hein' ə N'eid'uw mrā:. χUi fə staχ. d'iN'if' də wələr gər çəmra:di: i: da n'i:n'. glak N'ien wəlir' e: mər çəmra:di:. vi:t⁽¹⁾ fəd ə fu:l agəs ə kō:ra:. bə ger'id' gə ro:s eg⁽¹⁾ N'ien wəlir' gər f'ar ə vi: əNə çəmra:di:. hit⁽¹⁾ fi: gə mo:r ə rra: l'ef. gyd' N'ien wəlir' agəs ku:χoliN' ə glæf gāvl'iNə əNsə N'i:çə agəs hōg əft'aχ ər t'i:r' mo:r' i:. LaxərNəwa.raxχ χrəŋi: bolər ə wo:. l'æN' fə ku:χoliN'. t'aχt əN'i:s Nə rəsə, hen'i fə ku:χoliN' wad rīvə. vi: su:L' N'ivə eg' bolər. Ner' ə nəxtət⁽¹⁾ fə i:, ə çid rōd ə Nāūwir'k'aχət⁽¹⁾ fə er', f'k'r'isət⁽¹⁾ fə e:. dāūwərsə əN'ei χu:χoliN'. aχ fe: N taluw ən çid rōd ə hen'i fə. rīN' f'in' ə taluw d'arəg agəs ta: N da f'in' er' ə t'i:r sən v'p'in'. Ner' ə hen'ik' ku:χoliN' ad l'ɛ gəvd'i:n'

liom a choidhche. Fuair an rí saoghal úr, nuair chonnaic sé a mhac beó. D'fhág Céadach slán ocú 7 chuaidh arís 'un fairge. Cá bhfuil tú ag dul? arsa Scaith Shíoda. A bhean, rachaidh mise anois go h-Éirinn go bhfeicfidh muid Fionn mac Cumhaill 7 a bhunadh. Thainic go h-Éirinn. Rinne Fionn féasta mór ann onóir do Chéadach 7 da bhean. Nuair bhí an féasta thart, dubhairt Céadach, is mithid dúinn do dhul 'un an bhaile go bhfeicidh muid go dé mar tá m'athair 7 mo mháthair 7 mo bhunadh uilig. Sheól siad 'un na dTulach. Nuair chonnaic an seanrí a mhac 7 an bhanphriounsa anns an bhaile, dh'fhobair go bhfuigheadh sé bás de'n lúthgháir. Rinne sé féasta 7 banais mhór le n-a mhac 7 an bhanphriounsa. Nuair bhí an bhanais thart, corónaigheadh Céadach i rioghachta na dTulach. Chaith sé saoghal pléisiúrdha. Tá a iarraimh ann bpléisiúr 7 i sonas annsin go dtí an lá aniu.

Leadairt na bhfear mór.

Bhí Gaibhdín Gabhna na chombnuidhe air an Dárnaí aig taobh Dhuncanéile. Ní robh gaiscidheach air bith san rann Eórpa críochnaighthe, go bhfaghadh sé a chuid airm o Ghaibhdín Gabhna 7 cúrsa feoghluime. Thainic aon lá amháin Cúchulainn annsair go bhfaghadh sé a chúrsa gaisceamlacht críochnaighthe. Ní gheánfad, arsa Gaibhdín Gabhna. Thug Balar leis an Ghlais Ghaibhleanna uam le tréan láimhe. Má bheir tú air ais an Ghlais Ghaibhleanna, gheánfaidh mise do ghraethe. Bhéarfaidh mise í air ais, arsa Cúchulainn. D'imthigh go Toraigh, an áit i robh caisleán Bhalair. Nuair thainic sé go bruach na fairge, ghlac sé eagla roimhe Bhalar 7 chóirigh é fhéin ann éideadh mná. Chuaidh sé asteach. D'innis do Bhalar gur chomráidhe í da nighin. Ghlac nighean Bholair é mar chomráidhe. Bhidheadh siad ag siubhal 7 ag comhrádh. Bu ghoirid go robh fhios aig nighean Bhalair gur fear bhí ann a comráidhe. Thuit sí go mór i ngrádh leis. Ghuid nighean Bhalair 7 Cúchulainn an Ghlais Ghaibhleanna anns an oidhche 7 thug asteach air tír móir í. Lá air n-a bhárach chrunthaigh Balar a bhó. Lean sé Cúchulainn. Ag teacht aníos na Rosa, chonnaic sé Cúchulainn i bhfad roimhe. Bhí súil neimhe aig Balar. Nuair nochtadh sé í, an chéad rud da n-amhairceachadh sé air, scriosfadh sé é. D'amhaire sé i ndiaidh Chúchulainn. Acht is é an talamh an chéad rud a chonnaic sé. Rinne sin an talamh dearg 7 tá an dath sin air an tír sin o shoin. Nuair thainic Cúchulainn fhad

gō:nə agəs ə wo: l'ef, vi: LUχær' wo:r ər' gəvd'i:n' agəs rī.N' fə
 f'εəstə mo:r do: hein' agəs də χu:χoli.N' eg' d'er'uw N'εəstə d'iarəə
 er' χu:χoli.N' f'keəl i.N'fə do: əN ti:w ə jas. du:rt' ku:χoli.N' Naxχ
 d'ikuu l'ef f'in' ə jx:nuw agəs din' ər' b'is' el'ə və g'eist'axχ(t). gləgə
 m'isə N' t'axχ, ərsə gəvd'i:n'. do:rdi fə maxχ ro ə gi:n'i: sə t'axχ.
 vi: N'ien eg gəvd'i:n' agəs N'i: həmaxχ ə χUi f'i axχ ə wəlxχ ə gu:l
 ə dərif. həfi: ku:χoli.N' ə ji.N'fə f'k'eil' agəs du:rt' gə den'ik' k'ivəd
 kū:n' agəs kalə er' əN Lə: wā:n', gə wəky: fə Ləŋ ə tər.N't' hīg'ə
 (hīg'ə) əs ə Nə:rd' hiar. gə ro' 'an'veid' əNəə Lyp, ə N'ar əwā:n' er'
 bə:rd agəs gə den'i f'i: kə gəstə, Naxχ ro mai l'ef t'εfūw. l'e:m'
 fə maxχ əs ə Lyp agəs 'bolog' l'ef. vi: n wəlog mo:r ər'eir' ə N'ir'
 agəs Nə Lypə. hen'ik' əN'i:s agəs əN kə.N't'ə l'ε ku:χoli.N'.
 d'iafri: əN' d'ikuu l'ef g'l'εəs b'riçə ə:L dən wəlog'. vi: kuəl χo.Ny:
 haxχt n'il'ien agəs kər'ə ə wriçuw fəχt məkə, fəχt mwiL't' agəs
 fəχt mart'. həz.N do: n χuəl χo.Ny: χorsə ə gə: lā:r
 xχx'di:widiçə. hōg l'ef agəs də:g y: N'as dən wəlog'. hen'ik'
 ər'ef agəs rōg er' ə χor'ə. hōg l'ef agəs də:g ə kər'ə Nə hiə er' ə
 χuəl. glək ə χlāəv agəs glən ə wəlog agəs χor sə χor' i:. vi: N'
 t'in'i mo:r agəs bə ger'id' gə ro: N'ə:l' brit'ə. 'hī f'i:s agəs hu:si:
 jičə Nə f'ə:lə, gər i fə mōran. rōg er' q̄:rk Nə bəlog'ə agəs hu:si:
 fə gə:l ə tuw. Ner' ə do:L' fə ha(:)iç agəs d'i fə ha(:)iç, χə fə
 wχə Nq̄:rk. hīt^(v) f'i: ər' ə wə:r χΔ:l agəs χUi f'i: g'itə mo:r ə
 daluw. nis, ərs ən f'ar mo:r, tə: Nā:wid' mə jeisə, f'ar el'ə tə:
 gə mo:r N'i:s mo: Nə m'isə l'ε mə wərwə. ə N'a:ŋə k'ivəd d'Uç'
 agəs gən ə l'ig'en ərəm ə gyN'əst, χiL'axχi.N' N'εəl, Ner' ətə: mə
 ha(:)iç it' əgəm agəs mə ha(:)iç ə:Ltə, ə wə:N' N'εəl kəLətə. N'i:r'
 χodil' m'ə ə N'ε:L' L'ə fəχt Nj:çə agəs fəχt Lə: agəs ə f'ar mo:r
 mə jei. ə wə:N' N'εəl ə χoLuw, f'i:ləm gə m'eiN' ə:bəLt ə g'ūd'.
 jəL ku:χolə.N do: gə g'ivədīt^(v) fə. mā: vi:m dəl'i: wəskluw, ərsə:,
 g'ə:r ə Lq̄:r vīg di:m. hīt^(v) fə Nə χoLuw agəs hi:l'ə gə dar.N'axχət^(v)
 fə gə: hy:w ə dō:n' er' ə çel'ə l'ε srx.N/wi:. ə k'iN tamwiL' hen'ik'
 ku:χoli.N' ə Ləŋ wo:r ə t'axχ. N'i: ro Ləŋ ə çid' əhi: axχ mər vau
 kəpan ə gəmərtaf l'ef' ə Lyp jer'əNj:. χrə fə n fəhaxχ. axχ N'i:
 hen'ik' l'ef ə wəskluw. haxχN' fə ə χlāəv agəs win' ə Lq̄:r vīg dē'
 l'ε bwiL'ə mo:r. d'eir'i: fə əNə hasuw. Ni: row əN axχ gə ro fə

le Gaibhdín Gabhna 7 an bhó leis, bhí lúthgháir mhór air Ghaibhdín 7 rinne sé féasta mór dó fhéiu 7 do Chúchulainn. Aig deireadh an fhéasta d'iarr sé air Chúchulainn scéal do innse dó o'n taobh o dheas. Dubhairt Cúchulainn nach dtiocfadh leis sin do dheánadh 7 duine air bith eile do bhéith ag éisteacht. Glanfaidh mise an teach, arsa Gaibhdín. D'órdaigh sé amach a robh de dhaoíní sa teach. Bhí nighean aig Gaibhdín 7 ní h-amach chuaidh sí acht i bhfolach i geúl an dorais. Thoisigh Cúchulainn do innse scéil 7 dubhairt go dtainic coimhhead cuain 7 cala air aon lá amháin, go bhfacaidh sé long ag tairnt chuige as an áird thiar. Go robh an-mhéid anns an luíng, aon fhear amháin air bórd 7 go dtainic sí comh gasta, nach robh maith leis teicheadh. Léim sé amach as an luíng 7 bológ leis. Bhí an bhológ mór do réir an fhir 7 na luíng. Thainic anós 7 'un cainte le Cúchulainn. D'fhiafraigh an dtiocfadh leis gléas bruite do fhagháil do'n bhológ. Bhí cual chonnaidh sheacht mbliadhan 7 coire a bhruithfeadh seacht muca, seacht muilt 7 seacht mairt. Theiseain dó an cual chonnaidh. Chuir sé a dhá lámh (g)ach fá dtaobh díthe. Thug leis 7 d'fhág í neas do'n bhológ. Thainic air ais 7 rug air an choir. Thug leis 7 d'fhág an coire na shuidhe air an cual. Ghlac a chlaidhimh 7 ghlan an bhológ 7 chuir san choir í. Bhí an teini mór 7 bu ghoirid go robh an fheóil bruite. Shuidh síos 7 thúsaigh d'ithe na feóla, gur ith sé mórán. Rug air adharc na bolóige 7 thúsaigh sé do ól an tsúgh. Nuair d'ól sé a sháith 7 d'ith sé a sháith, chaith sé uadh an adharc. Thuit sí air an bharr chaol 7 chuaidh sí giota mór i dtalamh. Anois, arsa an fear mór, tá námmaid mo dhiaidh-sa, fear eile tá go mór níos mó ná mise le mo mharbhadh. Da ndéanthá coimhhead domh 7 gan é do leigeau orm a gan fhios(t) choidleachainn néal, nuair atá mo sháith ithe agam 7 mo sháith ólta, da bhfaghainn néal codlata. Níor chodail mé aon néal le seacht n-oidhche 7 seacht lá 7 an fear mór mo dhiaidh. Da bhfaghainn néal do chodladh, saoilim go mbéidhinn ábalta do throid. Gheall Cúchulainn dó go gcoimheadadh sé. Má bhidhim doiligh do mhuscladh, arsé, gearr an ladhar bheag díom. Thuit sé na chodladh 7 shaoiltheá go tairngeachadh sé dhá thaobh an domhain air a chéile le srannfaoi. Aig ceann tamaill chonnaic Cúchulainn an long mhór ag teacht. Ní robh long an chéad fhathaigh acht mar bhéidheadh copan i gcomórtas leis an luíng dheireannaigh. Chraith sé an fathach. Acht ní thainic leis é do mhuscladh. Thairng sé a chlaidhimh 7 bhain an ladhar bheag de le buille mór. D'éirigh sé ann a sheasadh. Ní robh ann acht go robh

aNa hasuw agəs fwi: arəm, Ner' ə vi: ə fa:χ mo:r ə Lahær'. hu:si:
N' L'adert'. *N'i: akəs ə l'ehəd' əriuw ə N'eiriN'*. vi: kəmuw ər'
 ə *Na:χ wo:r*, gə m'eit^(l) fə 'rə:α:bəLt εg' ə çid ar. vi: *N'i:s mo:*
gä:v εg' ku:χəliN' L'ef ə çid ar. harN' ə χlāæv agəs həfi: ə
wχ:lūw ə N'ir' wo:r'. *N'i: row əN aχ gə den'ik' l'ef sriquw gə*
m'aL ə χəs. mər sən 'hein', vi: fə kər f'ir'ig' ər' ə *N'ar wo:r*.
 χərsə hart ə lā(:)uw. fwy:rsə g'r'im' er'. ha(:)i fə suəs fwi: *Nə*
veL't' ə. vi: f'arəg er' χu:χəliN' agəs hu:si: fə jaruw *Nə b'eL't'ə*.
 fə jer'uw fwy:rsə ə g'aruw. Ner' ə g'aruw n veL't', hüt ku:χəliN'
 əN taliv. *N'i: wy:rsə əN' L'iguw əriuw kə mo:r l'ef*. vi: *N'i:s*
mö: f'ir'ig' er' Na vi: əñvə agəs vi: fə kyr' jiarəgni: er' ə N'ar wo:r.
 χərsə hart ə lā(:)uw. rog fə er' agəs χə fə f'ier ə mǎχir' ə. fə
Na:t' ər' hüt^(l) fə er' wəLax ə çin' fi:s ə Nə:rk Nə bəlg'ə. Ner' ə
 χuəli: *N'ian gəvd'i:N' fə, l'ig' fi: gə:r'ə mo:r ə gu:l ə dərif*. *N'i:*
ku:χəliN' bə χə:r' ə və ert sə Nam f'in', ərsi:, aχ kuw Nə heir'k'ə.
 mə waLaxt ert, ərsə ku:χəliN', agəs er' wrā: *Nə heir'əNə*. ta: *N'*
fk'əsl kəL't'ə. vi: t'r'ian də hanəχəsk *Nə heir'əNə ə viəNyaxt*,
 t'r'ian ə *fk'əliaxt* agəs t'r'ian ər' l'adert' *Nə var mo:r*. *Ni: χliŋ'ar*
 gə bra:χ ə l'ə hūglə gə glin'f'i: kə dənə əs d'eir'i: dū.sə. kəL'uw n
 χyd' el'ə dəN' *fk'əsl*.

Na t'r'i: diL' agəs ə fəvali:r ə mwəl'ak'l'ia.

-ta: :təməL 'ger'id' ə :hin' | -vi: t'r'i: 'diL' ə mwəl'ak'l'ia ||
 bəje: 'Nəbwir' gəχ 'La: | ə :g'iri: Nə 'deir'k'ə || 'La: əwā:n'
 'α:r'it' | 'χas dai:çel'ə Na t'r'i: 'baky: | er' 'grecəd wəl'ak'l'ia ||
 -vi: 'eŋ' 'əkuw 'er' ə :çel'ə || -vi: -kə 'hə:lax er' ə 'wel'ə | s gə
 'denik' -l'ef ə 'Nil'ə 'gin' :əkuw | 'həxt əNə 'hi: 'vig' 'hein'
 :trə'nə:nə || -vi: N' t'r'u:r' ə :d'ənuw 'mwær'igni: | er' kə 'həlk
 agəs 'd'eir'i N 'La: :l'əfə || vi: 'fəvali:r ə :gəl' ə 'vali: || 'smwi:t'i:
 fə gə 'N'əp'it^(l) fə 'g'r'əN :əruw || -vi: 'eŋ' εg^(l) Nə 'diL' :er' | agəs
 əs 'n'in'ik' ə 'həg fə 'ær'əgəd :d'əfə || 'd'iafri: fə :di:fə gə:d'e: mər
 'vi: -fəd || :du:rsiəd gə :ro gə 'həlk | -Nəχ :wu:rsəd 'p'iktu:r Nə
 'bə:nri:n ə N'Uw || 'd'iafri: fə ə :N'əpuw 'pəNtə :mai: :d'əfə | -agəs
 :du:r :siəd gə :N'əpuw 'Nil'ə 'çin'al 'maiç || :fə :di:v 'pəNt' ər:se: ||
 :d'anig'i: mər 'rə: :rəð :l'ef || 'hi:n' gəχ 'χ:n dəN' t'r'u:r' ə məχ
 ə 'lā:uw | -agəs :N'ir' :χərsə 'dadi: er' 'lā:v er' 'biç || :niç' ər:se: |

sé ann a sheasadh 7 faoi arm, nuair bhí an fathach mór i láthair. Thúsaigh an leadairt. Ní fhacas a leitheid ariamh i n-Éirinn. Bhí cumadh air an fhathach mhór, go mbéidheadh sé ró-ábalta aig an chéad fhear. Bhí níos mó de dháimh aig Cúchulainn leis an chéad fhear. Thairng a chlaidhimh 7 thoisigh do bhualadh an fhir mhóir. Ní robh ann acht go dtainic leis sroicheadh go meall a chos. Mar sin fhéin, bhí sé cur feirge air an fhear mhór. Chuir sé thart a lámh. Fuair sé greim air. Sháith sé suas faoi n-a bheilt é. Bhí fearg air Chúchulainn 7 thúsaigh sé do ghearradh na beilte. Fá dheireadh fuair sé a gearradh. Nuair gearradh an bheilt, thuit Cúchulainn 'un talaimh. Ní fhuair sé aon leagadh ariamh comh mór leis. Bhí níos mó feirge air ná bhí aroimhe 7 bhí sé cuir iargnuidh air an fhear mhór. Chuir sé thart a lámh. Rug sé air 7 chaith sé siar an machaire é. Is é an áit ar thuit sé air mhullach a chinn síos ann adharc na bolóige. Nuair chualaidh nighean Ghaibhdín, leig sí gáire mór i gcúl an dorais. Ní Cúchulainn bu chóir do bhéith ort san am sin, arsí, acht Cú na h-Adhairce. Mo mhallacht ort, arsa Cúchulainn, 7 air mhná na h-Éireanna. Tá an scéal cailte. Bhí trian de sheanchas(c) na h-Éireanna i bhfiannaigheacht, trian i scéalaigheacht, trian air leadairt na bhfear mór. Ní chluinfear go brathach é le h-eagla go gcluinfidhe comh dona as d'éirigh domhsa. Cailleadh an chuid eile de'n scéal.

Na trí daill 7 an *Chevalier* i mBaile-átha-clíath.

Tá tamall goirid o shoin bhí trí daill i mBaile-atha-clíath. Budh é a n-obair gach lá ag iarraidh na déirce. Lá amháin áirite chas da chéile na trí bacaigh air dhroichead Bhaile-atha-Clíath. Bhí aithne ocu air a chéile. Bhí co heólach air an bhaile 's go dtainic leis an uile dhuine ocu 'theacht 'un a thighe bhig fhéin tráthnóna. Bhí an triúr ag déanamh mairignigh air co hól 7 d'éirigh an lá leóbhtha. Bhí *chevalier* ag dul an bhealaigh. Smaoitidh sé go ndéanfadh sé greann orthú. Bhí aithne aig na daill air 7 is minic a thug sé airgead dóbhtha. D'fhiafruigh sé díobhtha goidé mar bhí siad. Dubhairt siad go rabh go hól, nach bhfuair siad pioctúr na banrioghan aniu. D'fhiafruigh sé an ndéanfadh punta maith dóbhtha 7 dubhairt siad go ndéanfadh an uile chinéal maith. Seo díbh punta arsé. Déanaigidh bhur rogha rud leis. Shín gach aon de'n triúr amach a lámh 7 níor chuir sé dadaí air láimh air bith. Anois, arsé, déanaigidh bhur rogha rud

:d'anig'i: mār rō: rōd :l'ef -f'in' || 'çu:L' fē 'l'ef | agēs 'da:g
 :iəd || 'hi:l' :gax 'X:n dāN' 't'r'u:r' | gē-ro N 'pōNtē eg' :din'
 :i:N't'ax 'el' :okuw || χōrsəd mōran pōwəd'r'axē agēs b'aNaxti:
 l'ef agēs du:rt' gēr wāiē ē go:nī: ē. χīm'ad fē iəd gē vēk'it^(k) fē
 gəd'e: ja:ṅət^(k) fīəd. Ner' ēta: n pōNt ēgiN', ērsē f'ar dē Na diL',
 gəd'e: ja:ṅē muwid' l'ef? ta: kō:t ē jīē ṛrēmsē, ērsē f'ar dē Na
 diL'. ta: brō:g ē jīē ṛrēmsē, ērsē f'ar el'ē. ta: mē vr'ik'f'ōstē ē
 jīē ṛrēmsē, ērsē N' t'r'i'çuw dāL. ta: er' m'r'ik'f'ōstē ē jīē ṛriN'
 ēlig'. N'i:r' i muwid' ēn jr'im' ēN'Uw. den'm'n'i: fīəd t'ax :stē
 ē wi:t^(k) fīəd ē m'r'ik'f'ōstē. χui fēd gē t'ax ē Nō:stē. d'iN'if' gē
 rō pōNt okuw agēs b'r'ik'f'ōstē maic' ē hort dō:fē. Ner' ē glak fīəd
 ē m'r'ik'f'ōstē du:rt' f'ar okuw, α harLy: gēr χyr' d'is n pōNt
 iN'fōṛuw, gēr χē:r dō:fē glīN' ē:l. fuērsəd t'r'i: glīN' if'k'ē vahē
 agēs d'eir'i: n blēf N'i: b'ar er' agēs d'isērsəd t'r'u:r el'ē. dōiL'
 fīəd gēr hiN'fūw dō:fē Nax rō N'i:s mō: l'ē fa:l', gē rō Luēx ē
 fōNt okuw. d'i:L' f'in', ērsē f'ar dē Na diL'. d'i:L' f'in', ērsē
 f'ar el'ē. d'i:L' f'in', ērsē N' t'r'i'çuw f'ar. māx l'ef ē fōNtē,
 ērsē f'ar Nē ta:vērN'ē. ta: d'ef'r' ṛrēmsē. vi: N tanas ēN. N'i:
 rō n f'i:N' l'ē fa:l'. vi: f'ar Nē ta:vērN'ē ē virig'. vi: fē kyr'
 pu:dir' ēN α χyd' f'ēsog'ē gē d'eid^(k) fē fa χyN' ēn fōli:s, gē
 gyrit^(k) fē ēNē f'r'i:su:n' iəd. ēNsē wōmwit'ē hen'ik' ē fēvali:r
 ēft'ax agēs du:rt' l'ef gē rō sigert er' ē wel'ē vi: d'eir'k'ax agēs gē
 N'i:lat^(k) fē N tēr'ēg'əd er' hōn Nē maky:. raxē m'ē hein' l'at agēs
 Lo:ḡ'ē m'ē l'ef ē tigert. vi: ahas er' ar Nē ta:vērN'ē. χUi ē vīrt'
 gē t'ax ē tigert'. fuērsəd f'k'ēal ēN'f'in' gē rō N sigert ē d'ax ē
 fōbwil'. χUi ē vīrt' gē t'ax ē fōbwil'. vi: N sigert er' ē NaLtor' ē
 gol ē l'ē:uw af'r'iN'. χUi ē fēvali:r suās er' ē NaLtor' agēs du:rt'
 l'ef ē tigert gē rō din'ē b'r'ē ēN'f'in' ax gē rō fē t'iN' α N'ali: agēs
 gē den'i fē ē jiri: er' ē tigert ṛrNj: rā: dō:. du:rt' ē sigert gē m'et^(k)
 f'in' k'art ēN'e:i Naf'r'iN'. hen'ik' ē fēvali:r ēNuās agēs du:rsē,
 fan hīs iN'fō agēs jo: tuw dē fōNt ēN'e:i Naf'r'iN'. Ner' ē vi: N
 taf'r'ēN rā:tē, χraiē ē sigert ē vē:r er' ar Nē ta:vērN'ē haxt
 ēN'i:s. du:rt' ē sigert—go: ēr dē glū:n'ē. du:rt' f'ar Nē
 ta:vērN'ē—wīL tuw gol ē hort dūw N tēr'ēg'id'? du:rt' ē sigert
 ēr'i:f'i—go: ēr dē glū:n'ē. du:rt' f'ar Nē ta:vērN'ē—wīL tuw gol
 ē hort dūw n fōNtē? vi: sLat jal eg' ē tigert agēs wuiL' fē f'ar

leis sin. Shiubhail sé leis 7 d'fhág iad. Shaoil gach aon de'n triúr go rabh an punta ag duine éiginteach eile ocu. Chuir siad móran paidreacha 7 beannachtaí leis 7 dubhairt gur mhaith i gcomhnaidhe é. Choimbéad sé iad go bhfeicfeadh sé goidé dhéanfadh siad. Nuair atá an punta againn, arsa fear de na daill, goidé dhéanfadh muid leis? Tá cóta de dhith ormsa, arsa fear de na daill. Tá bróga de dhith ormsa, arsa fear eile. Tá mo bhricfeasta de dhith ormsa arsa an tricheadh dall. Tá ar mbricfeasta de dhith orainn uilig. Níor ith muid aon ghreim aniu. D'ainmnigh siad teach ósta i bhfuigheadh siad a mbricfeasta. Chuaidh siad go teach an ósta. D'innis go rabh punta ocu 7 bricfeasta maith do thabhairt dóbthha. Nuair do ghlac siad a mbricfeasta dubhairt fear ocu, o tharlaidh gur chuir Dia an punta inseorthu, gur chóir dóbthha gloinne ól. Fhuair siad trí ghloinne uisce bheatha 7 d'éirigh an blas ní b'fhearr air 7 d'iarr siad triúr eile. D'ól siad gur hinnsigheadh dóbthha nach rabh níos mó le fagháil, go rabh luach an phunta ocu. Díol sin, arsa fear de na daill. Díol sin, arsa fear eile. Díol sin, arsa an tricheadh fear. Amach leis an phunta, arsa fear na táibheirne. Tá deifre ormsa. Bhí an t-anas ann. Ní rabh aon phinginn le fagháil. Bhí fear na táibheirne i bhfeirg. Bhí sé ag cur púdair ann a chuid féasóige go dtéidheadh sé fa choinne an *pholice*, go gcuireadh sé 'un an phríosúin iad. Anns an bhomaite thainic an *chevalier* isteach 7 dubhairt leis go rabh sagart air an bhaile do bhí déirceach 7 go ndíolfadh sé an tairgead air shon na mbacaigh. Rachaidh mé fhéin leat 7 labhairfidh mé leis an tsagart. Bhí athas air fhear na táibheirne. Chuaidh an bheirt go teach an tsagart. Fuair siad scéala annsin go rabh an sagart i dteach an phobail. Chuaidh an bheirt go teach an phobail. Bhí an sagart air an altóir ag dul do léigheadh aifrinn. Chuaidh an *chevalier* suas air an altóir 7 dubhairt leis an tsagart go rabh duine bréagh annsin acht go rabh sé tinn o'n ghealaigh 7 go dtainic sé do iarraidh air an tsagart urnaigh rádh dó. Dubhairt an sagart go mbéidheadh sin ceart i ndiaidh an aifrinn. Thainic an *chevalier* anuas 7 dubhairt sé, fan thusa annseo 7 gheobh tú do phunta i ndiaidh an aifrinn. Nuair do bhí an t-aifreann ráidhte, chraith an sagart a mhéar air fhear na táibheirne theacht aníos. Dubhairt an sagart—gabh air do ghlúine. Dubhairt fear na táibheirne—bhfuil tú ag dul do thabhairt domh an tairgid? Dubhairt an sagart arist—gabh air do ghlúine. Dubhairt fear na táibheirne—bhfuil tú ag dul do thabhairt domh an phunta? Bhí slat gheal aig an tsagart 7 bhuail sé fear na táibheirne air a bhlagóid 7

Nə ta:vərN'ə er' a wlagod' agəs du:rsə—go: ər də glu:n' əniʃ. həg
f'ar Nə ta:vərN'ə ni(ŋi) er' ə dərəs agəs rah ə siyert gə dəyət⁽¹⁾ fə
r'ef ə. aχ d'im'i: f'ar Nə ta:vərN'ə. vi: fε vir'ig' agəs ə to:rt'
m'iNə mo:r. Ner' ə hen'i fə əwelə, N'i: ro fεvali:r Na daL Na
bakax lε fa:l' eg'ə Na f'is k'a d'aχi fəd.

dubhairt sé—gabh air do ghlúine anois. Thug fear na táibheirne a aghaidh air an dorus 7 reath an sagart go dtugadh sé arais é. Acht d'imthigh fear na táibheirne. Bhí sé i bhfeirg 7 ag tabhairt mionna mór. Nuair thainic sé abhaile, ní rabh *chevalier* na dall na bacach le fagháil aige na fios ca deachaidh siad.

NOTES ON THE TEXTS.

Áindriás an Ime (p. 196).

J. H. relates this incident as having happened to an ancestor of his own. J. H.'s father was Andy son of Harry son of Seaghan the poet son of Áindriás Mór an Ime. Note the local colouring on p. 198 ll. 38, 40 where feuch in the sense of 'look' and íoc, 'pay', are both Connaught words.

p. 198 l. 5 **Tá mé ar tógáil**, locally 'I am a-lifting' = 'I am badly nourished'. The phrase is stated to refer to cattle which were so weak at the end of winter that they had to be assisted out of the byre.

Éamonn Ua Ciórrthais (p. 200).

This story seems to be well known throughout Ulster. Lloyd has published it in his *Sgéalaidhe Óirghiall* under the title of *Aodh Beag O Leabharcha* (p. 1).

p. 203 l. 39 **fir fagháil**. I do not understand this phrase and J. H. was unable to throw any light upon it.

Scéal Ghiolla na gCochall Craicionn (p. 215).

Some of the episodes of this tale are well known in Scotland and the north of Ireland. Larminie gives substantially the same story under the title of 'King Mananaun' in his 'West Irish Folk-tales' (p. 64) and there is a story called 'Gille nan Cochla-Craicinn' in 'Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition' vol. iii, 'Folk and Hero Tales from Argyllshire' (p. 42).

