masculine, *na* feminine: but grammatical gender is evanescent in Shelta, and both forms are represented by *a*, as in b'ōr' a k'ena 'the woman of the house'.

This expression illustrates the Shelta recognition of the Irish idiom which forbids two words to be provided with the definite article when one is in genitive relationship to the other ('woman of the house' not 'the woman of the house'). But when English particles are used, English idiom is followed, as in Leland's sentence: *The nidias of the kiena don't granni what we're a tharyin'* (The nīd'as of the k'ena don't grani what we're a-tāri·in) 'The people of the house don't know what we're saying'.

THE SUBSTANTIVE

There is nothing in Shelta comparable with the elaborate declensions of the substantive in Irish. Practically the only inflexion is s, borrowed from English to form the possessive case and the plural number: **Nad'ram's m'iskon** (β 1) 'mother's breast'; **inoχin kad'ōgs** (β 15) 'flinging stones'.[1]

There are, however, some traces of a native plural. Thus, in β 41, åd gloχi 'two men' gives us a plural of gloχ 'man'. Incidentally, this is not idiomatic Irish: here the *dual* number should be used, which is identical in form with the dative singular. **Kriš gloχi** (γ 1f) 'old men' is another illustration. In γ 2 a we find a double plural, Shelta and English, gloχ-i-s.

The other oblique cases are formed periphrastically as in English, and usually with English prepositions. Thus, **tāri to the lākīn** (β 9) 'talk to the girl'.

The Irish vocative prefix *a* never appears in any of the extracts or specimens. But we may trace its influence if, as seems probable, the person referred to as *Sibi* in β 37 be the same as the person addressed as *Hibi* in β 74. The Irish particle produces the initial consonant-change called lenition (or, less accurately, aspiration) in the word to which it is prefixed: and under its influence initial s becomes h.

[1] There is probably something wrong with Leland's *strepuck lusk* ('meretricis filius'); *lusk* is not found elsewhere, and this form of expressing genitive relationship has no parallel in recorded Shelta.

Adjectives are incapable of inflexion, except in the expression of degrees of comparison, which they form with English suffixes (as **g'ami** 'bad', **g'amier, g'amiest**). These forms are used even when, as in the word quoted, both the Irish and English corresponding adjectives form their degrees of comparison irregularly.

K'en toms (γ ɪ f) is not an exception to or disproof of the above statement. This does not mean 'big houses', as it was translated when the story was first published, but (on the analogy of **k'en gop** 'poor house' and **k'en gruber** 'workhouse') 'houses of great [folk]s'.

In Irish, adjectives all but invariably follow the substantive which they qualify. In Shelta, under English influence, the order has become indifferent: thus we find **g'ami lākīn** 'a bad girl', side by side with **grēt'in gūt** 'a black bird'. This freedom extends even to numeral adjectives, which precede the noun both in Irish and in English: **laburt šeltū** 'seven curses', but **šūka numpa** 'five pounds'.

The numerals, so far as they have been recovered, are as follows:

n'uk (='head'), **wart, awárt**	one
od, ǎd (also **d'asag**)	two
šīka or **šīkr**	three
šāka or **šākr**	four
šūka or **šūkr**	five
šē (Irish)	six
šeltū	seven
probably *oχt* (Irish)	eight
,, *nī* (Irish)	nine
t'al g'et'a (='half score')	ten
g'et'a	twenty
ǎd g'et'a	forty
šūka g'et'a	a hundred

These numerals can also be used as ordinals.

Adjectives may do duty as adverbs, and can also be adapted on occasion as verbal roots, without any change.

The Pronoun

Except the personal pronouns, all pronominal forms used in Shelta are derived from English.

The personal pronouns are formed with the help of a word **d'ĭ'l, d'ĭl**, which apparently means something like 'self', but, so far as the available specimens of the language go, appears never to be used in any other connexion. The appropriate possessive pronoun of the person is prefixed. In the first and second persons singular the Irish possessives *mo, do* are used; in the remaining persons, singular and plural, the English possessives are preferred. This is probably for the sake of distinction, for, in Irish, 'his', 'her', 'their' are alike represented by *a*, distinguished only by their influence (lenition or nasalization) on the initial letter of the following word. As these initial modifications are hardly traceable in Shelta, the Irish possessives would lose their individuality.

The Irish possessives *mo, do* produce lenition of the following consonant, and in this exceptional case the effect persists in Shelta. Initial *d'* becomes y, so that **mo d'ĭl** becomes **mo yĭl**, which coalesces into **mwĭl**, the regular word for the first personal singular pronoun. **Do yĭl** coalesces into **dĭl** (with unpalatalized *d*), which is the second personal singular pronoun. As a rule the Irish emphatic suffix *-ša* is appended, making **mwĭlša; dĭlša**. The first of these is sometimes, as in the translation of the Lord's Prayer (α), rather loosely used for the first person plural: but as a rule the other persons are *his* or *her* **d'ĭl**, *our, your, their* **d'ĭls**. All three persons are constructed with the third person of the verb ('My self is' for 'I am').

The genitive of **mwĭlša, dĭlša** is formed in the usual English way—**mwĭlša's, dĭlša's**. Even for these two pronouns, as well as for the others, the ordinary English personal pronouns are frequently used.

The Verb

For the greater part, the verbal inflexions are English. They are (1) Present tense, third singular *-s*: **tāris b'ōr'** 'says [the] woman'. (2) Past tense, all persons *-d*: **mwĭlša sūnid** 'I saw'. (3) Present participle *-in(g)*: **tōri·in, mislī·in** 'coming, going'.

With verbal stems ending in *i*, the two *i*'s are usually kept distinct, as in these examples. But their occasional coalescence may be indicated in some collections by such spellings as *tōryin*.

There are traces of a few native inflexions, which seem to be evanescent. These are:

1. A future in *-a*: **gruχa šē** (β19) 'he will shoot': **nĭd'eš buga** (β66) 'I will not give'. It seems to be used only when there is a possibility of misunderstanding: thus, in β60 **l'esk** is used both for the second person imperative or the first person future. In β74 **a t'ĕrpa** was rendered by Dr Sampson 'have you cooked?' More probably it should be 'Are you going to cook?' [The *a* in this case is the usual Irish interrogative prefix *an, a'*.]

2. A participial form in *-o, -u*: as **ar gwil'o** (β4) 'after lying down, having lain down': **grat' gušu** 'place [of] sitting' (=a saddle).

3. A verbal-noun formative in *-al*: **sūnal** (β76) 'seeing, sight'; **tāral a lut'ra** (γ3k) 'speech of the north'. [This is not identical with the Irish *-āl* (with long *a*), which has a different function, at least in the modern speech: that of forming a verb out of a substantive (most commonly a non-Irish substantive), as in *sketch-āl*, a monstrosity which I have heard on the Aran Islands, meaning 'to photograph'. Compare the German *-iren*.]

The English *-er* is frequent to form the noun agent, as in **tāri·er** 'a speaker'. The participial *-in* is also used to form a verbal noun. **Tāri·in a mĭdril** (γ1d) was translated, on the first publication of the text, 'talking to the devil'. It should have been 'talking [i.e. mode of talk] of the devil, blasphemy'.

Verbal stems and their substantive cognates are almost always identical. **Labúrt** means 'to swear' and also 'an oath, a curse': **gruber** means 'to work', 'work' in general, or, specifically, 'a piece of work, a job'.

There is very little direct connexion between the Shelta and the Irish verb, either in accidence or in idiom. Perhaps the most obvious is the periphrastic perfect and pluperfect forms with *ar, īar* 'after', as in **ar gwil'o**, cited above. But as this is a very common construction in Irish-English ('I am after going'='I have gone': 'I was after going'='I had gone') it was not necessarily adopted in Shelta directly from Irish.

In general, it must be said that in the verbal construction of Shelta we can see the same helplessness as in the Broken-English of Negroes or Polynesians. Roots are strung together with few or no connecting inflexions or particles, and only the context, or the tone of voice, can indicate the exact meaning intended by the speaker. Thus β42, **Dĭlša tāri g'ami labúrt**, is translated by

Dr Sampson, no doubt correctly, 'Did you say a bad curse?' The literal meaning is 'Thou. Speak. Bad. Swear', and there is nothing in the words themselves to indicate whether the speaker is asking a question, making a statement, or issuing a command; all three are possible: nor is there any clue as to whether the action indicated is in the past, the present, or the future. Again, β70, **Tom kam'ra šural g'ami grīt'aθ**, translated 'The big racing dog has some bad sickness', rendered literally is a mere string of unconnected ideas—'Big. Dog. To-run. Bad. Sickness'.

SYNTAX

In idiom and in construction Shelta is far more English than Irish. It has been fashioned into its present form by persons whose major language was English, pronounced according to Irish-English phonesis, though they admittedly possessed an extensive vocabulary of words in common use in Irish. Not infrequently, however, these Irish words are used in collocations which no native speaker of the Irish language in its purity would think of. Now and then we come across phrases made of Irish words, with or without artificial deformation, which are as un-Irish as, let us say, *das will nicht tun* for 'that will not do' would be un-German. For example, to translate 'daughter-in-law' literally, word for word, into Irish, would make unmeaning nonsense for one not acquainted with English; but Shelta speakers have no difficulty with the analogous rendering **šĕrkū-na-slī**, which we find in γ1d. We have already seen that the idiom of **Stĕš gloχ ar gwil'o** 'the man is after lying down' is ultimately based on an Irish linguistic formula: but against this may be set the uncompromisingly English **he g'ĕg'd mwīlša aχím** (β40) 'he asked me out' (=invited me).

The following considerations will justify the above conclusion regarding the authors of Shelta:

(1) The normal syntactic order of the Celtic sentence is verb, subject, object. The verb cannot be degraded from its initial position except for special purposes of emphasis, and by special grammatical devices. It is as natural to an Irish speaker to begin his sentence with a verb, as it is unnatural to an English speaker. In Shelta, the sentences *never by any chance* follow the Irish order, except when (as in imperative sentences) the verb would naturally come first even in English.

(2) In Irish, the adjective regularly follows its substantive. This, as we have seen, is not uncommon in Shelta, but on the whole the English order (adjective preceding) seems to be more frequent. In the analogous case of a substantive in the genitive case qualifying another, again the English order (genitive preceding) is preserved, as in **gloχ's n'uk** 'the man's head'—except in a few more or less formal phrases such as **b'ōr' a k'ena** 'the woman of the house'.

(3) A leading characteristic of the Celtic language is the elaborate system of initial mutations (lenition and nasalization) induced in various syntactic combinations. It is practically impossible to construct a naturally phrased sentence of ordinary length without introducing one or two of these. In Shelta they are not wholly unknown, but are very rare: so much so, that when they occur they look rather more like Irish influence on an English basis than an Irish idiom almost completely swamped by intrusive English.

(4) There is no more trace of grammatical gender in Shelta than in modern English, though this linguistic nuisance is of great importance in the modern Celtic languages, which possess no neuter gender.

(5) The very few inflexions used are, as we have seen, for the greater part English; and even the non-English inflexions are not obviously Irish. Some peculiar Irish idiomatic formulae, such as the construction of the two verbs that express *being*, and the very remarkable verbal formation of the superlative degree of adjectives, are totally absent from Shelta. There are some native prepositions, clearly based on Irish ones; but the majority of the particles of speech are English.

(6) When words are borrowed to make up the deficiencies of the language, English is almost invariably preferred to Irish. In $\beta 37$ some Irish words are introduced, but are not used with perfect grammatical accuracy. Some even of the Irish words adopted are primarily loan-words from English. Thus, **gràbalta** comes from Irish *ābalta*, which is merely a modification of the English 'able' or '(en)abled'.

In short, the Shelta language, in its accidence and syntactic construction, contains next to nothing ancient and exclusively Celtic. In its vocabulary, some of the marks of antiquity that had been most confidently indicated prove on closer examination to be illusory. But there remains a small heritage of early material,

enough to shew that for all its spuriousness it has some few links with the older secret languages of Ireland. This will appear in the sequel.

FORMATION OF WORDS

The methods of word-formation, or rather deformation, followed by the inventors of Shelta have been so fully studied by Dr Sampson[1] and Prof. Meyer[2] that there is little left for their successors to do, except to amplify their observations in some details and, perhaps, to suggest here and there a few slight corrections and modifications in the conclusions suggested by them.

Shelta is a language concocted for purposes of secrecy, by a community living parasitically in the midst of Irish speakers. When these people began to fashion Shelta, they may possibly have been, primarily, Irish speakers: but they gradually adopted English from other wanderers with whom they joined forces. A sufficient number of the Irish-speaking hosts knew enough English to make English alone insufficient as a disguise. But they were not well enough acquainted with it to enable them to follow a conversation in English when it was freely interspersed with jargon words. These being adapted from Irish had to be sufficiently modified to prevent eavesdroppers from analysing them, in the instantaneous moments of time to which rapid conversation would limit them. This is the reason for the anomaly that except for a few cases of rhyming cant (like **grascoat** for 'waistcoat'[3]) English words are used without modification, while all but a microscopic proportion of the Irish words suffer alteration of one kind or another.

The methods of word-formation now to be enumerated apply almost exclusively to the consonants. The vowels of Shelta words have been so imperfectly and ambiguously recorded that it is impossible to determine if there is any systematic process of vowel-shift followed in the construction of the jargon. On the whole the evidence, such as it is, is negative. In some cases the

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[1] 'Tinkers and their talk', *Journal*, G.L.S. I, ii, pp. 204 ff., especially pp. 207–15.

[2] 'On the Irish Origin and Age of Shelta', *ibid.* pp. 257 ff.

[3] This is not strictly rhyming cant, the essential of which is that the rhyming word is an actual word, though making nonsense in the context in which it is used—as though one should say 'coach-and-four' instead of 'store', or 'door', or 'shore'. The example quoted above is a case of initial substitution. True rhyming cant does not appear to exist in Shelta.

vowel is lengthened, as in kūt'i < [1]*cuid*: in others it is shortened, as is the second vowel of lāk(ĕ)r < *tăilliŭr*. This is evidently in most cases a result of accent-shift, as the accent in Shelta appears to be thrown almost universally on to the first syllable of the word, irrespective of the accentuation of the corresponding Irish word. This is another indication of a predominating English influence.

The modifications may affect (A) single letters or consonant-groups, (B) syllables, or (C) entire words, and they may be classified under the following heads:

1. De-aspiration of aspirated or lenited consonants, and (more rarely) the reverse process.
2. De-nasalization of nasal consonants, and, again more rarely, the reverse process.
3. Arbitrary substitution of one consonant or consonant-group for another.
4. Apocope, initial or final.
5. The addition of arbitrary prefixes or suffixes.
6. Metathesis, which may sometimes amount to a complete anagram of the letters of a word.
7. Reversal of syllables.
8. Reversal of entire words.

Any number of these methods of deformation may be combined together in the treatment of a single word.

1. DE-ASPIRATION

This is a process which it is very important to understand clearly, because more than anything else it has been responsible for a misapprehension of the date and origin of Shelta.

In the Irish language the consonants have, in addition to their fundamental sound, an 'aspirated' or lenited sound, usually denoted, in modern Irish print, by a dot over the letter, or by the letter *h*. Thus *b* dotted, or *bh*, is pronounced as *w*, or, when palatalized, as a bilabial *v*: the sounds of the other consonants in like circumstances can be ascertained from any Irish grammar.

All the lenited consonants[2] are marked uniformly in modern script: but in early Irish manuscripts the sonant consonants *d*, *g*, *b*, when lenited, are not usually marked as such. On the contrary, there is a convention of expressing them by the symbols

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[1] The symbol < is to be read 'derived from'. In this section Shelta words are printed in ordinary type, to avoid typographical unsightliness: Irish words in italics. For their meanings, see the vocabulary.

[2] Except *l*, *n*, *r*, which are left unmarked.

t, c, ꝑ, when they are *not* to be lenited. The surd consonants *t, c, ꝑ*, when lenited, are marked as such by a simplified form of the letter *h* written above them, from which the modern dot is derived. An eliminating dot was used for *f* and *s* from the first, as these letters are more or less silenced by the syntactic processes which produce lenition in the other consonants.

But it does not follow that because the word for 'I arise' is spelt *ērgim* in an ancient manuscript it was so pronounced. The lenition of the *g* in this and similar words (expressed in the modern spelling *ēirghim*) is far older than the oldest MS. in which it is indicated. Thus if (as was assumed by the first students of Shelta) the word grē 'to arise' was derived from *ērg-im* when *g* was pronounced hard, the language would not be a mere relic of the eighth or tenth century A.D.: it would be prehistoric.

This being incredible, we must find some simpler explanation: and the explanation surely is that the inventors of the language worked it out from *written* forms of Irish: they disregarded the dots of lenition, and so pronounced the words with the consonants hardened. The following examples illustrate de-aspiration of nearly every consonant, including those of which the lenition is marked in the earliest MSS.:[1]

B < *BH*: bog or bug < *gabh*; brauen < *arbhar*. In d'arp < *dearbh* and t'erp < *beirbh* the final position of the de-aspirated letter has sharpened it to p.

C < *CH*: d'umnik < *domnach*; srēk < *crīoch*. A further change **G** < *C* is shown by grin'šeg < *ōinseach*.

D < *DH*: lud'ra < *tuaidh*. This is a rare modification; as a rule we have **D** < *TH* as in glader < *leathar*, nad'ram < *mathair*, grūt < *nuadh*; or **G** < *DH* as in gl'åg < *sneadh*, g'ēg < *guidhe*, šarig < *cradh*. The sounds of Irish *dh* and *gh* are practically indistinguishable, and the symbols are frequently interchanged in writing.

F < *FH*: no example. (*Fh* is silent in Irish.)

G < *GH*: grē < *ēirigh*; gwil'i < *luighe*; srīgo < *rīgh*. Besides **G** < *DH*, noted above, we sometimes have **D** < *GH*, as srīdug < *rīoghacht*; **K** < *GH* in d'umnik < *mōidigh*.

M < *MH*: mark < *cnāmh*; mål'a < *lāmh*.

P < *PH(F)*: skōp < *fosgail*.

S < *SH*: no example. (*Sh* is reduced to a mere breathing in Irish.) ·

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[1] Some of the examples shew other modifications, such as letter-substitution or reversal, which for the moment may be disregarded.

T < *TH*: aburt < *ar bith*, datair < *athair*; gåt'a < *dath*; get'a < *maith*; talósk < *lāithe*; t'al < *leath*. A tendency is to be seen in some of these and in other examples to palatalize a de-aspirated *TH*, and (less certainly) *DH*.

The reverse process, the aspiration or lenition of a letter which is not lenited in Irish, is rare: I have noted five examples: l'ivin < *muilleann* (mh < *m*, but de-nasalized), rōīχa < *carta* (ch < *c*), grēχol < *fiacail* (ditto), gifan < *capall*, gafa < *bacach* (f < *p* or *b*).

2. DE-NASALIZATION

This also is an important process, illustrated by the following:

B < *M*: bīn < *mīn*; b'in'i < *min*; labērt < *malairt*; laburt < *mal lacht*; l'ibis < *milis*; nōb'ri < *mōn*. In nup < *muin* we have P < B < *M*. Rubōg < *mealbhōg* is ambiguous, as the b may be either a de-nasalized *m* or a de-aspirated *bh*.

D < *N*: dura < *arān*; gradum < *anam*.

De-nasalization of vowel preceding *mh*: graura < *samhradh*.

De-nasalization of *mh* (BH < *MH*): l'ivin < *muilleann* above quoted; gov'li < *gamhnach*.

The contrary process is found, but it is much less common:

M < *B*: elum < *baile*; l'īman < *bliadhain*; mantri < *anbruth*; med'ri < *breith*. In mīder < *diabhail* we have the composite change M < B < BH.

N < *D*: enaχ < *ēadach*.

In some cases this change may have been induced by the syntactic nasalization of the initial in Irish. Thus *bliadhain* (pron. bl'i·an') after *sa'* (= 'in the') becomes *mbliadhain* (pron. ml'i·an'), and thus easily paves the way for the formation of līman.

3. SUBSTITUTION

Arbitrary substitution of one consonant for another may take place at the beginning (by far the most common), in the middle, or at the end of the word. In the following table, only one example of each substitution is given; but the number of cases that I have noted is added, which will show what are the most favoured formulae:

B for *G* (1)	karbu < *margadh*	**D** for *R* (1)	kaihed < *cathaoir*
B for *GH* (1)	tribli < *teaghlach*	**D** for *S* (1)	ludus < *solas*
D for *G* (5)	dolsk < *gall*	**G** for *B* (2)	grīt' < *breōite*
D for *K* (1)	kraudug < *cearc*	**G** for *D* (4)	gåt'a < *dath*

G for *K* (10)	gafa < *bacach*
G for *χ* (1)	g'et'a < *(fi)chet*
G for *χT* (1)	gop < *bocht*
G for *L* (1)	g'e < *le*
G for *M* (1)	get'a < *maith*
G for *S* (2)	grāg' < *srāid'*
G for *SN* (1)	gut < *snāth*
G for *T* (3)	garo < *tarbh*
G for *TH* (1)	grug'im < *gruth*
GL for *SN* (1)	gl'åg < *sneadh*
GL for *ST* (1)	glogē < *stoca*
GR for *B* (1)	gruska < *bosca*
GR for *D* (4)	grat < *deatach*
GR for *F* (11)	granko < *francach*
GR for *G* (5)	grala < *guala*
GR for *H* (1)	grata < *hata*
GR for *K* (1)	grupån < *cupān*
GR for *KL* (1)	grūd' < *clumh*
GR for *L* (2)	gruχ < *lamhach*
GR for *M* (2)	grašano < 'mason'
GR for *N* (1)	grūt < *nuadh*
GR for *P* (3)	grārk' < *pāirc*
GR for *R* (1)	agréš < *ar ais*
GR for *S* (22)	graχton < *seachtmhain*
GR for *SN* (2)	graisk < *snath*
GR for *ST* (2)	grānša < *strōinsear*
GR for *T* (6)	gran'a < *tairnge*
K for *D* (2)	burik < *bord*
K for *M* (2)	karib < *marbh*
K for *NG* (1)	kart < *tarraing*
K for *P* (1)	mūskōg < *spūnōg*
K for *T* (6)	lākr < *tāilliūr*
K for *TH* (4)	kamair < *mathair*
χ for *F* (2)	goχ' < *fag*
χ for *R* (2)	aχér < *arēir*
χ for *RŠ* (1)	d'aχag < *tuirscach*
KL for *BR* (2)	klisp < *bris*
KR for *N* (2)	kriš < *sean*
KR for *ST* (1)	krad'i < *stad*
L for *B* (1)	losport < 'bastard'
L for *D* (3)	lūrk < *dearc*
L for *K* (1)	lur'ān < *cuarān*
L for *χ* (1)	lutram < *meird-reach*
L for *N* (1)	skudal < *scadan*
L for *R* (4)	slang < *sreang*
L for *T* (1)	lud'ra < *tuaidh*
L for *TH* (1)	lobān < *bothān*
M for *D* (3)	m'aunes < *deagh-nōs*
M for *DR* (1)	mišūr' < *drosur*
M for *K* (1)	mašur < *casur*
M for *N* (1)	mūskōg < *spunōg*
M for *P* (1)	st'īma < *pīopa*
M for *R* (1)	m'aur < *reamhar*
M for *S* (2)	mam'rum < *seomra*
M for *ST* (1)	mēri < *staighre*
M for *T* (2)	mink'er < *tinncēir*
N for *L* (2)	gifan < *capall*
N for *NG* (1)	gran'a < *tairnge*
N for *R* (1)	Sranī < 'Mary'
N for *S* (1)	n'ētas < *Sēamas*
N for *T* (1)	nongas < 'tongs'
P for *B* (2)	gop < *bocht*
P for *T* (2)	klīspis < *brīste*
R for *B* (3)	ruket < 'bucket'
R for *L* (1)	mīder < *diabhal*
R for *N* (6)	t'era < *teine*
R for *S* (1)	glōrōg < *cluas*
R for *T* (1)	skrubol < *tobar*
RK for *S* (1)	tūrk < *sūas*
RT for *χ* (1)	asturt < *isteach*
RT for *N* (1)	awárt < *amhāin*
RT for *Š* (2)	arīrt < *arīs*
S for *B* (4)	sugūn < *bagūn*
S for *D* (4)	subōl < *buidēal*
S for *DH* (1)	sakel < *leagadh*
S for *G* (3)	sorm < *gorm*

S for *K* (5)	sugu < *cogadh*	Š for *G* (1)	šark < *gearr*
S for *M* (2)	Sartin < 'Martin'	Š for *K* (4)	šlug < *clog*
S for *N* (1)	sumad' < *nōimid*	Š for *P* (1)	šant < 'pint'
S for *P* (3)	sārk' < *pāirc*	Š for *T* (1)	šoru < *torramh*
S for *R* (1)	sumōl < *robāl*	ŠK for *T* (1)	aχónšk < *anocht*
S for *T* (1)	sori < *torramh*	ŠR for *D* (1)	šriš < 'dish'
SK for *TH* (2)	gresko < *guth*	ŠR for 'J' (1)	šrug < 'jug'
SP for *BH* (1)	tarsp < *marbh*	ŠR for *K* (1)	šrittle < 'kettle'
SR for *B* (2)	Srōn'e < *Bōinne*	ŠR for *M* (2)	Šrorten <
SR for *G* (1)	srat < *geata*		'Martin'
SR for 'J' (1)	srug < 'jug'		
SR for *K* (1)	Srat'rin <	T for *B* (1)	t'ērp < *beirbh*
	'Catherine'	T for *BH* (2)	gūt < *dubh*
SR for *M* (4)	srōīd'an < *maidin*	T for *G* (1)	talop < *bolg*
SR for *N* (1)	srōmēd' < *nōimid*	T for *K* (2)	tirpa < *ceart*
SR for *P* (1)	srunta < 'pint'	T for *χ* (2)	tul < *luach*
SR for *R* (3)	srīgo < *rīgh*	T for *χT* (1)	grata < *tacht*
ST for *B* (1)	strod < *brōg*	T for *L* (2)	tād'ir < *lāidir*
ST for *D* (2)	awást < *i bhfad*	T for *M* (3)	tarsp < *marbh*
ST for *P* (1)	st'īma < *pīopa*	T for *N* (1)	grit'ūn < *inniūn*
Š for *B* (2)	šeldrū < *bēlra'*	T for *R* (1)	tom < *mōr*
Š for *D* (1)	šurog < *dearg*	T for *S* (1)	tūrk < *sūas*
Š for *F* (2)	šl'uχ < *fliuch*	TR for *T* (1)	tribli < *teaghlach*

The above list will shew with tolerable clearness that the substitutions are essentially of a random nature, not governed by any phonetic principle. As has been noticed from the first, *gr* is by far the most favoured substitution, and next to it is *g*. S comes next, and then, *t, k, l, m*.

4. APOCOPE

(1) Initial apocope: examples are

> d'ūχ < *(ea)dach*   rīpuχ < *(st)riopach*
> g'et'a < *(fi)chet*   skai < *uisge*
> gloχ < *(o)glach*

In munik < *ainm* there is initial apocope, reversal, and an added suffix (munik = mun + ik < *n(u)m* < *(ai)nm*): in nāk' < *snaithe* there is apocope and final substitution (nāk' < *(s)nāk* < *snath-*): in riltōg < *braitleōg* there is apocope with metathesis (rīltōg < *(b)rīltōg* < *braitleōg*).

(2) Final apocope:

> elima < *lem(naχt)*   fē < *fe(oil)*
> gesti < *giuisti(s)*   krimašt < *minist(eir)*

In the last there is reversal of the first syllable and substitution of **KR** for *N*. Especially common is apocope of final *χ*:

> granko < *franc(ach)*   graro < *searr(ach)*
> grasano < *Sasan(ach)*   g'ūk < *geōc(ach)*

In scop < *fosgail* there is apocope, de-aspiration, and metathesis.

(3) Double apocope, initial and final:

> ligi < *(ea)gl(ais)*   miš < *(ai)ms(igh)*

Under this head may also be noted a few cases of medial deletion, as of 1 in rubōg < *mealbhōg* and of **χ** in sud'ata < *cuideachta*, grē·ed < *droichead*.

5. PREFIXES AND SUFFIXES

The following arbitrary prefixes, in addition to (not as under (3), in substitution for) the true initial of the Irish word, have been noted:

A, Ā: āvali < *baile*, anált < *nighe*.

B: bl'antaχ < *leinteacha*, bwikad < *coimhead*.

D or G: datair, gāter < *athair*, gasal < *asal*, get' < *tē*, glader < *leathair*.

GR: a large number (about 20), including gradum < *anam*, gramail < *amhail*, granta < 'aunt', gruber < *obair*.

L: lōsp < *pōs*, lugil < *glaodh*.

M: mwēn'a < *i ndiaidh*, m'ēna < *indē*.

N: nad'ram < *mathair*.

S: sloχa < *lobhtha*, slūn < *lūain*.

SG: sgrubul < *earball*.

Š: šlīar < *leathar*, šlōh'a < *luaith*, šl'an < *leann*.

ŠR: šroχar < *eochair*.

T: tūrk < *ūair*.

Suffixes are either letters or letter groups, or else syllables. Some of the latter are merely used for disguise, but others have a formative purpose, making abstract or verbal nouns.

Letter suffixes:

T: gàt < *ōg*.

Š: grīš < *croidhe*, gwīš < *tuighe*.

P: klisp < *bris*.

SK: talósk < *lāithe*, Libisk < 'Philip' (with initial apocope), horsk < *thar*, dolsk < *gall*, grisk < *tuighe*, linska < *sloinne*, nolsk < *i ndāil*, olsk < *ōl*.

Syllable suffixes:

AST: balast < *bal* (very doubtful).

ER: lōber < *buail*, lud'ra < *tuaid*.

IM, UM: grug'im < *gruth*, g'ēt'um < *gate*, mam'rum < *seomra*.

IN: grōkin < *stōcach*.

LESK: granlesk < *green*, grīnlesk < *līn*, Grunles(k) < 'Annie', krōlušk < *ocras*.

LI: rågli < *gāire*.

MUG: grōmug < *ubh*.

OG, ŌG [an Irish diminutive suffix, but apparently not always possessing this force in Shelta]: gaverog < *gabhar*, glōrōg < *cluas*, grārnog < *dearnad*, kad'ōg < *caid* (itself a jargon word), karbug = karb, kraudug < *cearc*, lūrkōg < *lūrk*, tirpōg < *ceart*, tōrog < *tori*.

RUM: kuldrum < *codlad*.

SAG: bilsag < *bēl*.

Formative suffixes are as under:

AL(T), making verbal nouns: anált, getul (?), mīderal, tāral.

AN, making abstracts (as English '-ness'): b'in'ian, grolan, kasin (?), tōmān.

AΘ, also making abstracts: b'in'iaθ, grīt'aθ, grolsin'aθ, g'amiaθ, mugataθ, mun'iaθ, rud'uaθ, tād'iraθ, tomiaθ.

AχT, Irish suffix for abstract nouns: only in buriaχt.

ER, ERA, indicating an agent: g'ēgera, g'ūk'ra, k'erpera, mislier, nob'ri, slāsker.

HAN, only in skaihan 'a sailor' (skai = 'water').

IK, probably borrowed from Irish verbal formative *-uigh-*: munik.

O, making participles or verbal nouns: l'esko, lōspo, l'īrko.

6. METATHESIS

Metathesis may be operated upon an otherwise unmodified Irish word, or else upon a word which has already undergone one or more of the deformations above described.

Examples of simple metathesis are (the transposed letters are printed in capitals) aBúRt < *aR Bith*, GoRed < *aiRGead*, lūrP < *Plūr*, L'īM < *iMeaL*, L'išGad < *skiLLet*.

Consonant groups may be treated as units, as in NūSPōg < *SPūNōg*, or they may be dismembered, as in LasP < *BLas*, RïSPūn < *PRioSūn*.

Examples of metathesis after de-aspiration are: BRauen < *aRBHar*, G'iSon < *SeaGHan*, TōBer < *BoTHair*.

Examples of metathesis after substitution: LoSK < *SToL*, LuSKån < *SCaDan* [L < D], L'oGaχ < *BuaCHaiLL* (a complete anagram, in which G < B). In šaragi < *saighdiur* we have a complicated deformation, in which Š < S, the *gh* is de-aspirated, and the *d* elided. [But this word may also be explained, more simply, as a derivative of šurog 'red'.]

Example of added prefix after metathesis: LōSP < *PōS*.

Example of metathesis after de-nasalization: Man-TRi < *anB-RuTH*, in which there is metathesis in both syllables, de-nasalization of B, and de-aspiration of T.

A few special cases may be noted. Koldni < *coinnle* may possibly be a heritage from a pre-Shelta jargon, as it seems to presuppose the older spelling *coindle*.[1] Kon < *(a)nocht* is also interesting. Irish **nocht* 'night' has been killed by *nocht* = 'naked', and survives only in the adverb. The Shelta is formed by reversal after de-aspiration and final apocope. In l'ivin < *muilleann* we have a rare case of aspiration (with de-nasalization) after metathesis. In riltōg < *braitleōg* we have metathesis after initial apocope: in rabl'īn < *braitlīn* we have metathesis after deletion of an inner letter (*t*). On the other hand skurlum < *loisg* gives us metathesis + insertion of r + addition of a suffix; and šarpōg < *gasūr* is a case of metathesis + insertion of p.

Metathesis of syllables—after the fashion of a foreigner little skilled in English, whom I heard speaking of a 'spring-main' when he meant 'main-spring'—is rare: in fact I can find only one case, and that is uncertain, as the etymology is insecure. If mun·k'ri be derived from *tearmann* (K < T) we have an example: but I can find no other.

7. REVERSAL OF SYLLABLES

Some of the examples of metathesis quoted in the preceding paragraphs might have been equally well mentioned in the present section. This kind of deformation consists of reversing the letters of one or more syllables of a word, but not the whole word; with

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[1] Compare kuldrum < *codladh*, which, however spelt, is now pronounced *colʹa*.

or without one or more of the other forms of modification already discussed.

Simple examples are: d'um-ik < *moid-ighim*, lāk-īn < *cail-īn*, nuga < *gunn-a*, n'āk-a < *cann-a*, n'ugi < 'guin-ea' (or Irish *ginī*), rab-ista < *par-ōiste* (with **B** < *P*), lūbīn < *buil-īn*, nīd'-a < *duin-e*, rusp-ān < *spar-ān*, rod-us < *dorus*.

A more elaborate example, with two syllables reversed, is a-χáram < *amarach*. This is very unusual.

It is usually the first syllable which is reversed. The example just quoted is an exception; another is aχím < *amach*, aχónšk < *anocht*: in the latter case is a substitution, **ŠK** < *T*.

In bagail < *gabhāil*, there is reversal of the first syllable after de-aspiration. Another instance is muk-in'e < *comh-naidhe*. Reversal of the first syllable after de-aspiration and de-nasalisation is shewn by bwik-ad < *coimh-ēad*.

Reversal of the first syllable after various substitutions is illustrated by gōpa < *pōca* (**G** < *C*), gopa < *pota* (**G** < *T*), kamāīr < *mathair* (**K** < *TH*), kam'ra < *madra* (**K** < *D*), krimašt < *min-ist-[ēir]* (**KR** < *N*). Reversal after de-nasalization is shewn in labērt < *malairt*; reversion with insertion of additional letters in lam-p-a < *māla*, las-k-on < *salann*.

8. COMPLETE REVERSAL

In this form the whole word is presented backward, with or without other modifications.

Simple examples are: åd < *dō*, gåp < *pōg*, kam < *mac*, lud < *dall*, lūk < *cūl*, rīk < *cīar*, n'ērp < *brēan*. Such elementary cases seem to be confined to monosyllables.

Reversal after de-aspiration is shewn by: bog or bug < *gabh*, gafa < *bac-ach*, grē < *ēirigh*, gwil'i < *luighe*, liba < *fuil*.

In some interesting cases, when one of the consonants in a monosyllable is palatalized, the palatalization remains in its place to affect the new consonant. Thus we have: n'uk < *ceann* (k'an), t'al < *leath* (l'at, after de-aspiration). The rule is not, however, regularly observed: in d'ima < *maide* (mad'ə), the palatalization is preserved with the *d* to which it belongs. In l'esk < *sgēal* we have the rule observed, and the letter group *sg* treated as a single unit.

Reversal after de-nasalization is shewn by: dura < *arān*, elum < *baile*, nup < *muin*.

Prefixes or suffixes added after reversal are shewn by: g-et' < *tē*,

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