A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway

Séamas Ó Direáin

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Preface

Field research for the present work was begun in summer, 1990, in Inis Mór, Aran Islands, Co. Galway. The methodology followed in conducting the fieldwork is described in the unpublished paper "Ag Déanamh Taighde ar na Canúintí in Oileáin Árann: Féidearachtaí, Fadhbanna agus Fócais", presented at the *Comhdháil do Theangeolaíocht na Gaeilge*, University of Limerick, April, 2000. The various sources of published information on Aran Irish which were available at the time of the fieldwork are discussed in a second unpublished paper, "Foinsí agus Faisnéis: ag Bailiú Sonraí faoi na Canúintí in Oileáin Árann", presented at the annual *Tionól* at the School of Celtic Studies, Dublin School of Advanced Studies, fall, 2000. Slightly revised versions of both papers are given in the appendices to this volume, so that the reader may have access to the information which forms the background to the present work.

The deeper theoretical considerations which guide the interpretation of the data are set out in an earlier paper, "Branching Trees, Waves, and Rising Tides: Some Reflections on the Notions of 'Speech Community' and 'Diffusion of Linguistic Traits'", published in 1995 in *Journal of Celtic Linguistics* (4, 77–88).

I had originally envisioned completing the work within four years after commencement of field work, but this schedule proved to be impracticable. In the first instance, the unexpected richness of the data made necessary the production of 37 linguistic charts for each of 14 different informants spread over the three islands in order to reflect the true linguistic variation between townlands and islands — a total of 518 charts in all. This portion of the work occupied me for ten full years.

At the same time, I was asked by the School of Celtic Studies to set out the work in the document preparation system LaTeX, so that the data would be typeset during the writing itself and therefore immediately publishable with minimal additional typographical or editorial work. The difficulties encountered in trying to transcribe the handwritten material into a LaTeX document took a further six years — a time spent largely as a typographer and editor of my own material, with extreme care taken to transcribe the data with complete accuracy, since the slightest error in transcription would mean the production of anomalous individual forms or the distortion of a pattern on the chart.

The arrangement of items in International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) script in columns set in LaTeX proved especially difficult, requiring a good deal of trial-and-error. The creation of templates for the charts and their alteration through cut-and-paste techniques proved invaluable in speeding up the work. Nevertheless, I found that only two hours — occasionally three hours — of concentrated work per day were possible before mental fatigue at the keyboard endangered accuracy of transcription. Even the transcription of the two above-mentioned unpublished papers in Irish into LaTeX required two full weeks, or roughly one page per day, since each accented character in Irish required at least three separate strokes.

This work could not have been been carried out except for the assistance I received from a number of different quarters. First of all, I wish to thank the School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies, for the reimbursement of field expenses incurred while carrying out field research over four summers, including round-trip travel expenses from California to Ireland.

I am especially indebted to the late Prof. Tomás de Bhaldraithe and to Máirtín Ó Murchú, director of the School of Celtic Studies at the time of the fieldwork, for their guidance, suggestions, and encouragement in the initial stages of the investigation, and for the continued support of Dr. Ó Murchú in later stages as the investigation widened and deepened in scope, evolving naturally in unexpected directions.

I am also very thankful to the Department of Modern Irish at University College, Cork, for all their encouragement and support as I struggled initially to come to terms with personal computers and LaTeX during the two years that I taught there, from fall, 1999 to summer, 2001. I could not begin to thank all my friends individually at UCC, but I would especially like to thank the past heads of the department, Prof. Seán Ó Coileáin and Prof. Breandán Ó Conchúir, as well as the head of *Ionad na Gaeilge Labhartha* at UCC, Pól Ruiséal. Peter Flynn at the UCC Computer Centre was especially helpful in introducing me to the mysteries of LaTeX, and has been a constant support to me during the last fifteen years as I struggled with the complex and demanding LaTeX system. Without Peter's help, this project could not have been completed.

My colleagues at the National University of Ireland, Galway, have also been very helpful over the years. Prof. Noel McGonagle was helpful and encouraging from the very start of my fieldwork, kindly producing back-up copies of all my research cassette tapes at the end of each summer. I would also like to thank Eoin Ó Droighneáin, Riarthóir an Aonaid Aistriúcháin, Acadamh na hOllscolaíochta Gaeilge, for his encouragement and assistance in more recent years, particularly in providing hard copies of the present work at intervals as it progressed.

Last of all, I owe special thanks to two old friends at the Department of Comparative Literature at University of California, Los Angeles, who encouraged me long ago to return to the academic world after a ten year absence and who gave me great encouragement at the beginning of my fieldwork — Prof. Patrick Ford and Prof. Joseph Nagy.

My deep thanks of a very different sort go to all those in the Aran Islands who assisted in this work from the start and whose contributions form the very basis of this work; many of them are now deceased. The twin pillars of the present work were Tomás Ó hIarnáin ("Tom Ellen") and his sister Áine ("Nan Ellen"), born in Corrúch, Inis Mór, in 1908 and 1918, respectively. Both are now deceased.

Other contributors to the present work on Inis Mór include Bríd Ní Mhaoláin (Mrs. Bríd Kelly), Máire Ní Dhireáin (Mrs. Mary Flaherty/"Máire Bhríd Rua")[now deceased], Nóra Ní Ghoill (Mrs. Nora Hernon)[now deceased], Seán Ó Dioráin (John Dirrane/"Seán na Creige"), Tomás Ó Fatharta ("Tom Sonny"), Caomhán Ó Goill (Kevin Gill)[now deceased], and Máire Ní Dhireáin ("Mrs. Mamie Kelly")[now deceased].

My two contributors on Inis Meáin were Máire Bean Uí Mhaoilchiaráin ("Máire Pháidín") and Dara Beag Ó Fatharta [now deceased].

My three contributors on Inis Oírr were Tomás Ó Conghaile, Barbara Sharry (Bairbre Bean Thomáis Uí Chongaile/wife of Tomás Ó Conghaile), and Lasairfhíona Ní Chonaola.

Tape-recorded interviews were done with the following islanders, but their interviews were not transcribed due to the size of the already large corpus of material to be processed. Consequently, data from their interviews does not appear in the linguistic tables. I am

nonetheless equally thankful to them for their contributions, which may yet be included in a later publication.

They include Pádraig Seoighe ("Paitín William")[now deceased] from Iarairne on Inis Mór; Ruairí Ó Fatharta ("Ruairí an tSiopa")[now deceased] and Dara Ó Conaola (originally) from Inis Meáin; and Macdara Ó Conaola from Inis Oírr.

Yet other interviews which were not transcribed were done with non-islanders, including An tAthair Connla Ó Dúshláine, S.J., Pacella Bean Uí Chonaola [in English], and an old friend in Santa Ana, California: Delia Canavan ("Delia Mhoeic Tamanaí")[now deceased], originally from An Aird Thoir, Carna. Delia's interview, including her responses to Part One and Part Two of the Linguistic Questionnaires, was conducted in order to show the sharp linguistic contrasts between Aran Irish and the Irish of West Connemara.

My host during all my sojourns on Inis Mór was my old friend Stephen Dirrane at Tigh Gilbert, Fearann an Choirce, and to him also I owe special thanks for his hospitality and insights.

I would also like to thank the "Mná Fiontracha" on Inis Mór for their great interest in the project and for their moral support. They have done wonderful research work on the island, and they are an important bridge between the world of scholarship and the islanders as a living community. Their collection and archiving of a vast amount of recorded material is of vital importance. Great credit must go to Maeve Flaherty of Gort na nCapall, now deceased, for her contribution to that work.

In the end, however, I must acknowledge the hand of Providence in this entire project from the start. It was while doing field research for a sociolinguistic study of the spread of Swahili in a small town in western Kenya that I began studying the Irish language. The man who started teaching me, Kevin Flanagan from Ballyhaunis in Mayo, introduced me to a fellow expatriate in Nairobi, Caomhán Ó Goill (Kevin Gill) from Inis Mór, who later became headmaster of the secondary school in Cill Rónáin and, 18 years later, one of my informants.

Against my preferences, I was asked by the School of Celtic Studies to do my research in Inis Mór, among relatives I hardly knew, and I then found my principal informants living in the house behind the house where my father's father was born. So it is that I speak the dialect of a grandfather I never knew.

Stranger still, the scholarship which carried me through my years at Stanford University, preparing me for a presumed career in African languages, was left to the university by an man named Henry Newell, born in Ireland in 1844, who emigrated to the United States in the 1860s, and who was at first a butcher in New York City and later a mining magnate in Salt Lake City, Utah. It would be interesting to know if he was related to the Newells mentioned by Tomás Laighléis of Mionlach, Co. Galway. In any case, it seems highly likely that he was a speaker of Irish.

This project was originally envisioned as taking a half-dozen years or so to bring to completion, but it has gone on to consume twenty-five years of my life. I regret only that many of my informants have not lived to see the completion of the work in which they took part. *Ar dheis Dé go raibh siad.*

The Lithuanians have a proverb — *Nuo likimo nepabėgsi* ("You will never outrun fate"),

a proverb which has a close counterpart in Irish: *Ní chuireann an chinniúint a cosa fúithi* ("Fate never rests").

Introduction

The task of the dialectologist is to describe linguistic differences between people who are separated geographically, usually at considerable distances from one another. The linguistic differences are normally considered to have resulted from slow, spontaneous processes of random linguistic change over time in communities separated from one another, each community developing linguistically in its slightly different way, with the differences becoming greater with the passage of time.

The task of the sociolinguist, on the other hand, is to describe linguistic differences between people who live side by side in the same community, separated from each other at most by neighbourhoods. Such intracommunal differences are thought to arise from the formation of groups over time within the community or from the arrival of new groups which are added to the existing community, so that social differences between the sexes, between generations, between religious groups, between racial groups, etc., are marked by linguistic differences maintained over time, though of course these linguistic differences too are subject to change in their forms over the passage of time.

Linguists have found that it is impossible to keep the two approaches to linguistic difference separate from one another. As French dialectologists found out at the beginning of the last century, even in a relatively homogeneous community there can be a considerable linguistic change between one generation and the next due to social factors, such as the introduction of formal education in the community. In fact, in this survey, we will see evidence of striking linguistic change between generations in the linguistic data from Inis Oírr.

This survey, while mainly a dialectal or geolinguistic survey, is unusual in that it compares systematically individuals from eight different geographical points (in the case of Inis Mór) who are separated from one another by less than a mile each. This can only be called "microdialectology"!

On the other hand, sociolinguists are content to work at such a minute scale, but their focus is normally on a very small number of linguistic differences between groups in a community — sometimes in fact on the variant forms characterising a single linguistic difference, for example the variant forms of a single vowel or consonant which mark different social groups. Each linguistic feature which can exhibit variant forms characterising speakers of different social groups is called a "linguistic variable", and the term is as useful in dialectology as it is in sociolinguistics. What makes this survey unusual is the large number of linguistic variables examined.

One might think that working on such a minute geographical scale with such a large number of linguistic variables might produce chaos. In fact, the linguistic patterns easily visible (or audible) in the data can be said to have required the present approach; any attempt to conflate the data in larger units would have made a *praiseach* of the fine-grained linguistic patterns in the data. Indeed, the fact that the sample of speakers represents only a convenience sample of speakers with considerable educational differences hardly affects the coherence of the overall linguistic patterns once the data is carefully laid out according to the birthplace (and generation) of the speaker.

Differences in the Educational Background of Informants

Speaking of differences in the educational background of the different informants, though there seems to be only minimal influence of Standard Irish or of other dialects on the speech of the informants, it seems appropriate to mention the amount of formal education received beyond the normal primary school years by certain informants, so that the reader may be aware of possible outside influences which might affect their responses.

On Inis Mór, F 43 from Bungabhla attended Gairmscoil Éinne, the vocational school which was established in Cill Rónáin in 1953, and she then went on to attend a domestic science college in Galway. M 68 from Eochaill attended secondary school at the vocational school in Eoghanacht during the war years. M 50 from Cill Rónáin attended Coláiste Mhuire in Galway, and later went on to complete third level education. When interviewed, he was headmaster of Gairmscoil Éinne.

On Inis Oírr, F 41 attended secondary school at Gairmscoil Éinne on Inis Mór. F 18 attended secondary school at Coláiste Chroí Mhuire in An Spidéal in Connemara, and when interviewed, she had begun her studies at Trinity College, Dublin.

It is worth mentioning the primary schools on Inis Mór and their catchment areas, since, as we will see, there may be a correlation between schools and dialect formation in the later years of language acquisition. Starting from the western tip of the island, Scoil Eoghanachta drew children from Bungabhla to An Sruthán; Scoil Fhearann an Choirce drew children from all the townlands from Cill Mhuirbhigh to Baile na Creige. At the eastern tip of the island, Scoil Rónáin drew children from Eochaill east to Cill Rónáin, and Scoil Éinne drew children from Cill Éinne and Iarairne. Scoil Éinne was closed through consolidation with Scoil Rónáin in 1971, leaving only three schools on the island at the time of the survey, but this change in catchment areas does not affect any of the speakers in the sample.

As for the identities of the informants, each of the informants is identified at the head of a column indicating a townland on each linguistic table by a label consisting of a letter (M or F for male or female, respectively) and a figure (the age of the informant at the time of the survey). The actual identities of the informants can be found in the list of informants following the tables, so that there is no doubt as to who actually provided the linguistic examples. The reason for these modest fig leaves of anonymity is so that the focus of the reader will be on the townland, the sex, and the particular generation of the informant while interpreting the data and not on the quality of the informant's Irish. I do this not only out of respect for the informant's sensibilities,[1] but also in order to keep the focus on geolinguistic and sociolinguistic features, since the features examined are very basic and are most likely to be absorbed by a child in a normal language acquisition environment.Thus, the data of each informant actually reflects the group of speakers from which he/she acquired his/her speech patterns at an early age and is not a sign of educational or other achievement.

[1] On one occasion, after interviewing my principal informants in Corrúch, I deleted a short anecdote – told innocently by my informants, but which might possibly been embarrassing later. In my own case, however, I deleted nothing, no matter how embarrassing. I made one slip of the tongue in English while trying to elicit the phrase *bean dheas* which merits inclusion in Freud's *Psychopathology of Everyday Life*, but I have let it stand in the recorded material.

The Phonetic Transcription of the Recorded Data

We can now turn to the phonetic symbols used to represent the speech of the informants. All characters used are drawn from the International Phonetic Alphabet font found in *TIPA (TEX IPA* or *Tokyo IPA)*. A full phonetic description of each IPA character is found in Pullum, G. and W. Ladusaw (1967).

Table 1: Phonetic symbols for consonants

Plosives								
	pʲ	p	tʲ	t	(t̪)		kʲ	k
	bʲ	b	dʲ	d	(d̪)		gʲ	g
Affricates								
						tʃ		
						ʤ		
Fricatives								
	fʲ	f	sʲ	s		ʃ	xʲ	x
	vʲ	v	zʲ	z		ʒ		ɣ
Semi-Consonants								
		w				j		h
Nasals								
	mʲ	m	nʲ	n			ŋʲ	ŋ
			Nʲ	**N**				
			hnʲ	h**N**				
Liquids								
			lʲ	l				
			Lʲ	**L**				
			hlʲ	h**L**				
			rʲ	r	(ɹ)			
			hrʲ	hr				
Syllabic Nasals								
	m̩ʲ	m̩	n̩ʲ	n̩				
			N̩ʲ	**N**̩				
Syllabic Liquids								
			L̩ʲ	**L**̩				

The sound system reflected here in the table of phonetic symbols for consonantal sounds in the Aran dialects (see Table 1) is essentially that reflected in the descriptions of the late Prof. Tomás de Bhaldraithe for Cois Fharraige Irish, with some important additions to the list of symbols. The two affricates [tʃ] and [ʤ] are important dialect features from the eastern tip of Inis Mór (in the townlands of Cill Rónáin, Cill Éinne, and Iaráirne) eastward through Inis Oírr. The phonetic symbol [v], representing a relatively tense voiced velarised bilabial fricative, is characteristic of Inis Oírr. The phonetic symbol [sʲ], representing a sound characteristic of at least some speakers on Inis Meáin and in Inis Oírr, symbolises a voiceless grooved alveolar fricative with a palatal release, similar to the segmental sequence [sj] in French, e.g., *monsieur*. It can be heard in high-frequency lexical items in Aran Irish such as *anseo* and *ansin*.

The palatalised alveolar nasal consonant [nʲ] followed by the palatalised alveolar fricative [ʃ] is represented as [nʃ].

Regarding syllabic nasals, a whole series of symbols could be generated here, representing

allomorphs of unstressed verb-final inflectional morphemes consisting of vowel plus nasal consonant, but in fact only a few such syllabic nasals are regularly encountered. For example, [m̩′] and [N̩′] could be regarded as alternative forms of [ɪm′] and [ɪN′], respectively (cf. the final syllables of *fanaim* or *d'fhanainn*). The sole indispensable symbol is [N̩], which represents a syllabic nasal that occurs very frequently in the Aran data, e.g., [fɑːN̩ ʃeː] *(faigheann sé . . .)*, [bɑːN̩ ʃeː] *(bánn sé . . .)* vs. [bɑːN] *(bán)*, [Lɑː N] *(lán)*, etc.

The three symbols in parentheses represent sounds from the English sound system heard occasionally from speakers of Aran Irish. They can be heard as sound segments normally occurring in lexical items borrowed from English or as segments occasionally substituted for native Irish sounds in Irish lexical items. Examples of the two alveolar plosives [t̪] and [d̪] would be found in the names [t̪aːm] ("Tom") and [d̪iːL′ə] ("Delia"); the name [ɹaʤər] ("Roger") would provide an example of the liquid, a voiced alveolar frictionless continuant.

Table 2: Phonetic symbols for vowels

iː		uː		i		u			
ɪː		ʊː		ɪ	ö	ʊ			
eː	əː	oː		e	ə	o		ə̃	
ɛː		ɔː		ɛ	ʌ	ɔ	ɛ̃	ʌ̃	
æː	aː	ɑː		æ	a	ɑ			ɑ̃ː
iᵊ		uᵊ							
ɛⁱ		ʌᵘ							
æⁱ									
ʌⁱ									

Phonetic Transcription of the Vowels

The vowel symbols shown here (see Table 2), like the consonant symbols in the previous section, reflect a sound system resembling closely that described by Prof. de Bhaldraithe for Cois Fharraige Irish. There are some important differences, however, both in the inventory of sounds represented in the two descriptions and in the phonetic symbolisation used to represent essentially the same sounds in both descriptions. I have used the IPA symbols (used also by Prof. de Bhaldraithe) for the low front, central and back vowels, both long and short ([æː], [æ], [aː], [a], [ɑː], [ɑ], respectively). These symbols should cause no problems of interpretation, though those readers familiar with the phonetic orthography used by Prof. Heinrich Wagner in his Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects should be warned that the symbols [aː] and [a] used in the present work represent low central vowels, and not the low front vowel of Prof. Wagner's phonetic descriptions. (The symbol [ɑ̣], not used here, is the symbol used for a low central vowel in Prof. Wagner's transcription.)

My transcription differs from that of Prof. de Bhaldraithe in a number of other minor ways. The short vowel sounds that Prof. de Bhaldraithe transcribed as [i], [e], [o] and [u] I have transcribed with the IPA symbols [ɪ], [ɛ], [ɔ], and [ʊ], respectively, lest the reader be misled as to the actual qualities of the vowels. I have also transcribed the diphthong corresponding to Prof. de Bhaldraithe's [ei] as either [ɛⁱ] or [æⁱ], depending on the pronunciation

of a speaker in a particular instance. Similarly, I use the symbols [ʌⁱ] and [ʌᵘ] to represent the type of sound represented by the symbols [ai] and [au] in Prof. de Bhaldraithe's description of Cois Fharraige Irish, since the beginning tongue positions of the two diphthongs are low-mid central positions, and therefore the resulting diphthongs are phonetically quite distinct from diphthongs starting from truly low central positions, e.g., the words *maighdean* and *babhta* in Aran Irish dialects vs. the words *Weit* and *Haus* in Standard German.

The symbols [ː] and [ˑ] following vowel symbols are used to indicate long vowels and half-long vowels, respectively. The occasional extra-long vowel is represented by the symbols [ːˑ] or [ːː]. Regarding the closely related question of syllabic stress, primary stress normally falls on the initial syllable of a word in Aran Irish and is not normally indicated in the transcription. When the primary stress falls on a following syllable, however, the stress is indicated by the symbol ['] immediately before that syllable, e.g., [n̪ʲˈʃə] *(anseo)*. Secondary stress, shown by the symbol [ˌ], is normally not indicated. Occasionally, a sequence of two vowels is interrupted by a glottal stop. The glottal stop is represented by the symbol [ʔ], which would appear between the two vowels, e.g. [tə ʔæˑnʲɪmʲ] (= *t' ainm*).

In certain dialects of Aran Irish, the sounds [ɛː], [ɛˑ], or [ɛ] often correspond to the sounds [æː], [æˑ] or [æ] of Cois Fharraige Irish; for example, in the townland of Corrúch in eastern Inis Mór, the word *teach* might be heard as [tʲɛːx] or [tʲɛˑx] while on Inis Meáin the same word might be heard as [tʃɛx]. One can also hear the long vowel [əː], again in Corrúch, in the word [rəːr] (*rothar*).

A voiceless vowel is represented by a vowel symbol with a tiny circle beneath it, e.g. [tʊ̥sə] (= *tusa*). A nasalised vowel, on the other hand, is represented by a vowel symbol with a superscript tilde, e.g. [gãːɴ] or [gãːɴ] (= *gann*).

International Phonetic Alphabet Symbols and their Representation in Standard Irish Orthography[2]

For speakers of Irish who may not be familiar with IPA symbols and who might need their memory refreshed from time to time while scanning the data in the tables or in the questionnaire, I have prepared a key to the phonetic symbols used in this work, following the example of Prof. de Bhaldraithe in his *Gaeilge Chois Fhairrge: an Deilbhíocht*[3].

I have also used transcriptions in Standard Irish orthography (or in adaptations of that orthography) to accompany the IPA transcription of items encountered in the recorded responses of the informants to my questions. Such transcriptions are simply a heuristic device to help the reader visualise the forms in question, and to relate them to Irish forms with which he/she is familiar. They do not necessarily represent any written forms which have been attested in the history of the written language, nor do they imply earlier hypothetical forms ("starred forms").

A particular problem arises in the case of sets of forms found in the Aran Islands which are associated with the copula. For example, note the phrase *Ba j-é seo é!* [**buj** ˈeː **ʃə** eˑ], with the central palatal approximant [**j**] inserted as a glide between the copula and the first personal pronoun. I represent the copula form as *Ba j-é*, treating the [**j**] as a sandi form

[2] I refer here to the official Irish orthography codified in 1968 as *An Caighdeán Oifigiúil*.
[3] Cf. de Bhaldraithe (1953), page xx.

Table 3: Key to International Phonetic Alphabet symbols: Consonants

[p′] *peann*	[t′] *teann*	[k′] *ceann*
[p] *poll*	[t] *toll*	[k] *coll*
[b′] *beanna*	[d′] *deannach*	[g′] *geanúil*
[b] *ball*	[d] *dall*	[g] *gann*
	[t̪] *Tom*	
	[d̪] *Delia*	
	[tʃ] *church*	
	[ʤ] *judge*	
[f′] *feall*	[s′] *monsieur*	[x′] *cheannaigh*
[f] *faoi*	[s] *suí*	[x] *chaill*
	[ʃ] *seal*	
[v′] *bheannaigh*	[z′] *les yeux*	[j] *gheall*
[v] *vat*	[z] *zip*	[ɣ] *ghoill*
	[ʒ] *pleasure*	
[w] *bhain*		[h] *hata*
[m′] *mín*	[n′] *gaineamh*	[ŋ′] *i ngeall*
	[hn′] *shníomh*	
	[N′] *bainne*	
[m] *maoin*	[n] *mo náire*	[ŋ] *a ngabhair*
	[N] *náire*	
	[hN] *shnámh*	
[m̩′] *ainm*	[n̩′] *ligeann sé*	
	[N̩′] *ionainn*	
[m̩] *anam*	[n̩] *ligeann tú*	
	[N̩] *fanann*	
	[l′] *mo léan!*	
	[hl′] *shleamhnaigh*	
	[L′] *leanbh*	
	[l] *mo lámh*	
	[L] *lámh*	
	[hL] *shlámáil*	
	[L̩′] *mogaill*	
	[L̩] *mogall*	
	[r′] *Máire*	
	[hr′] *threabh*	
	[r] *ráithe*	
	[hr] *thrácht*	
	[ɹ] *Roger*	

separating the copula from the following pronoun.

In fact, the form is an old form of the copula in the past subjunctive/ conditional mood, represented traditionally as *Badh é*, [4] and is in fact represented as such in Tomás de Bhaldraithe's *Gaeilge Chois Fhairrge*, along with many co-forms – *ní badh é, go madh é, nach madh é*, etc..[5]

However, in this case the use of the traditional Irish orthography might not be very helpful to the reader trying to understand the morphology of the spoken language in Aran. In the case of a form such as *go madh é*, the reader might not remember when reading the transcriptions that the final *-dh* represents a palatal glide or that the initial *m-* represents an eclipsed copula, e.g., *go mba*.

A similar problem arises in the case of the copula form *Babh é*. I write this form as *Ba bh'é!* to represent the IPA transcription [**bəvʲ ˈɛː**], and I label the construction "the reduplicated copula". However, I do not mean to imply that this written form is to be found somewhere in the corpus of written Irish literature or that it implies the existence of an earlier form where what now appears to be a reduplicated past form of the copula occurred in an earlier historical period in an unlenited form: **Ba b'é!*.

Table 4: Key to International Phonetic Alphabet symbols: Vowels

[**iː**] *sí*		[**uː**] *su:*
[**ɪ**] *ith*		[**ʊ**] *dubh*
[**eː**] *sé*	[**ö**] *goid*	[**oː**] *bo:*
[**ɛ**] *leith*	[**ə**] *a*	[**ɔ**] *pota*
[**æː**] *fear*	[**ʌ**] *cup*	[**ɑː**] *bád*
[**iᵊ**] *Dia*		[**uᵊ**] *bua*
[**ɛⁱ**] *beithigh*		
[**æⁱ**] *beithigh*	[**ʌⁱ**] *saghas*	[**ʌᵘ**] *dabht*

NOTE: Not all the variants in different vowel lengths are shown here, but interpretation of long, half-long, and short vowels should present no difficulty, since the length marks [ː] and [ˑ] were explained earlier. The reader should also remember that the tilde sign over a vowel represents a nasalised vowel, as in the French word [bõː] (= *bon*).

The problem here is that the form itself appears to be an analogical form of uncertain origin[6], and that its final consonant is misleading in its written form, since the final consonant is almost invariably palatalised in Aran Irish.

As for the eclipsed forms of the copula, that problem has been mentioned above, so in my transcription eclipsed forms of the copula will be rendered as *go mba*, etc., rather than *goma*, etc.

In the case of the deictic construction *Seobh é!*, where a bilabial glide intervenes between the demonstrative pronoun *Seo* and the following personal pronoun, I did yield to creating the orthographic form *seobh*, since I felt that the transcription would be unambiguous to the

[4] Cf. Ó hUiginn (1994), 596.
[5] Cf. de Bhaldraithe (1953), 86-106.
[6] Cf. Ó hUiginn (1994), ibid.

reader. Of course, it should be clearly understood that the form *seobh* does not presuppose an earlier form **seob*.

My solutions may not be perfect, but I suspect that I might be close to what is in the mind of the speaker, especially when one takes the syntactic context into consideration. It is hardly likely that the Aran speaker has the past subjunctive or the conditional mood in mind when he/she normally uses the form *Badh é!*.

The Arrangement of the Material in these Volumes: Volume One

The chapters immediately following this introduction will discuss phonological, grammatical and lexical variation in the Aran Islands. The analysis will be based on the patterns noted in the linguistic tables, which form the second volume. The chapters on linguistic variation in this, the first volume, will try to identify the most interesting individual features and to capture the most significant generalisations which can be drawn from the linguistic tables, but the analyses should not be seen as exhaustive. In many cases, the discussion involves "thinking out loud", as the investigator deals with the raw data.

The linguistic tables in the second volume should be the focus of attention, since they contain far richer information than can be easily dealt with in the analyses of the data. As mentioned before, great care was taken to ensure the reliability of the data in the tables, so scrutiny of the tables themselves will repay the effort expended to seek out individual features and linguistic patterns which are not dealt with in the analyses.

Of crucial importance in this first volume is the concluding chapter, entitled "Summary and Conclusions". This chapter is of unusual length, but it contains vital details of the discussion. It might seem repetitious, since it seems to follow closely the outline of the preceding chapters. In fact, however, the discussion is terse and focuses narrowly on distribution of the individual phonological, grammatical and lexical variants across islands and across individual informants, with a focus on their age, gender and educational background. Theoretical questions are explored at greater depth, so that summarised information is often further summarised, as one conclusion leads to another. The detail has been preserved in this final chapter so that nothing of vital significance which is mentioned in earlier chapters will slip by the reader in this final discussion.

Despite the fact that the many subsections of this chapter are not listed in the table of contents, the reader should have no problem in finding his/her way through the wealth of material, since the many subheadings in the chapter will allow the reader to locate subsections at a glance.

Three unpublished papers follow the final chapter : "Ag Déanamh Taighde ar na Canúintí in Oileáin Árann: Féidearachtaí, Fadhbanna agus Fócais", "Foinsí agus Faisnéis: ag Bailiú Sonraí faoi na Canúintí in Oileáin Árann", and "Rialtacht, Randamacht agus Mionphatrúin: Ag Déanamh Anailíse ar Ábhar Canúineolaíochta as Oileáin Árann".

As mentioned in the preface above, the first paper deals with the methodology followed in carrying out the fieldwork and in gathering and processing the data, while the second discusses a wide variety of published information on Aran Irish which was available at the time of the fieldwork. The third paper, not mentioned in the preface, was written only recently, after the preliminary analysis of all the data had been completed. It traces

briefly the conceptual evolution of the work over time, highlighting the importance of micro-patterns in the data.

The concluding section contains two bibliographies — one devoted to works which had a direct bearing on the author's conceptualisation and realisation of the research project, and the other devoted to a wide variety of sources of information on Aran Irish and related issues which may be of interest to the reader.

The Material in Volume Two

The tables of linguistic variables form the mass of data for the second volume, with the same arrangement of the linguistic material already seen in the first volume. Immediately following the tables of linguistic variables, however, is an index which allows the reader to locate every example of every linguistic variable displayed in the linguistic tables. In this way, any feature of interest in the data of the linguistic tables can be located quickly in the recorded data by reference to the particular set of test sentences (Part One or Part Two) and to the particular sentence or sentences in which that feature occurs. All written representations of the feature can then be checked against the recorded material which forms the basis of the International Phonetic Alphabet transcriptions.

The index can also provide a brief overview of the material in the linguistic tables, showing the way in which the linguistic material is arranged, as well as listing the particular items which are investigated.

The index is then followed by the two lists of test sentences used to elicit the key linguistic variables so that the reader may see exactly what instruments were used to elicit the variables. These two lists are followed by their translations in Irish in order that the reader may understand precisely which forms in Irish the investigator was aiming at when he composed the test sentences in English, and to see the linguistic contexts in which such variables would be embedded in their Irish counterparts.

The lists of test sentences are then followed by the sociolinguistic questionnaire in Irish used by the investigator to gather background information on each informant. A translation of the questionnaire to English follows for those readers who might be a bit unsure of the content of the Irish questionnaire.

Following the tables is a list of the informants who supplied the data in the linguistic tables is given so that the individuals listed only by sex, age, townland of birth, and island on the linguistic tables themselves may be unambiguously identified.

The Material in Volume Three

The third volume is that comprising the responses given by Tomás Ó hIarnáin ("Tom Ellen") and his sister Áine ("Nan Ellen") in Corrúch to the Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects (*LASID*) questionnaire. (These two individuals are designated as M 82 and F 72, respectively, heading the columns for Corrúch, Inis Mór, in the tables of linguistic variables.) This rich body of material is comparable to the data already published in *LASID*, though, of course, it represents the speech of Inis Mór informants who were at least two generations younger than the informants interviewed in Inis Meáin and on Inis Oírr for *LASID*.

The responses to this questionnaire in Corrúch were of prime importance in selecting the linguistic variables which were to be the subject of investigation for the linguistic tables. Nevertheless, the range and richness of the linguistic material in these responses is much greater than that reflected in the linguistic data of the linguistic tables. For that reason, the linguistic responses to the *LASID* questionnaire repay the same kind of careful scrutiny which would be given to the linguistic tables.

The linguistic questionnaire is followed by a brief index to selected items from the questionnaire. Many of the phonological items are to be found in the linguistic tables for all three islands and are therefore somewhat redundant, but there is fresh material as well, particularly in regard to consonant insertion in consonant clusters, pre-aspiration, and metathesis. The grammatical items include a full list of all verbal forms, all comparative forms of adjectives, all pronominal forms and of all prepositional forms — both simple and compound — found in the questionnaire. The index can be used not only to search for items in the Corrúch questionnaire, but also for items in any of the questionnaires reproduced in *LASID*.

Synchronic Investigation and Diachronic Reality

When I was asked to carry out this investigation of the living dialects on the three islands, the main focus of investigation was the status of the living language in Inis Mór, the largest and most populous of the islands, an island which had not been investigated in depth since the investigations of Holger Pedersen and Franz Nikolaus Finck in the middle of the last decade of the nineteenth century. Obviously, there would be great interest in how the language in the islands had changed since the investigations of Pedersen and Finck nearly a century before and since the investigations for *LASID* were carried out some forty years before.

But the emphasis in the present investigation would be on documenting the living language as it is now, and not on describing its evolution over the past century. Consequently, though I examined thoroughly all existing data on the language in all three islands at the outset of my investigation, my focus was on the enormous gap in the linguistic data presented by the largest and most populous of the three islands. When I had a substantial body of data on the present-day state of the language in Inis Mór, and an updated look at the language in the two eastern islands, I could then compare the contemporary linguistic data with the accounts of the language from earlier decades at greater leisure, if necessary.

Unfortunately, the linguistic situation in Inis Mór turned out to be far more complex than I or my informants on the island realised at the outset. It soon became clear that the linguistic complexity of Inis Mór demanded large amounts of data processed very systematically, and this immediately put all thoughts of comparisons to linguistic data from earlier stages of the language or to data from neighbouring mainland dialect areas off to the indefinite future. Consequently, the emphasis now had to be entirely on a synchronic description of the language as it is spoken on all three islands today, with a focus on Inis Mór, due to the clear heterogeneity of the language on the island.

Consequently, when I mention apparent historical change in the language, I mean linguistic change in the language "over apparent time", as the sociolinguist William Labov would have described it. That is, when I observe sharp linguistic differences between generations

in the same body of data gathered from a local population at a given point in time, I infer linguistic change is taking place over the generations, with the direction of change leading from the oldest informants to the youngest informants. And there is a good deal of that kind of apparent linguistic change to be found in the present data.

Such linguistic differences between generations can be readily accepted as signs of historical change in the local dialect, but what of other linguistic differences – especially between geographical areas? For instance, when I describe the "raising" or "lowering" of simple vowels in the dialect of eastern Inis Mór, what evidence of the direction of historical change do I really have? In the case of what I describe as the "monophthongisation" of diphthongs in the same area, we have the authority of the written Irish language from the earliest times that the vowel in the word *siar* has been the diphthong [**iᵊ**] and not the monophthong [**eː**]. Therefore, when an informant in eastern Inis Mór pronounces the word *siar* as *séar*, we perceive it as an innovation, and not as a retention from earlier times. The fact that informants elsewhere on all three islands preserve the diphthong supports our assumption.

But in the case of the raising or lowering of simple vowels, the evidence from written documents from earlier periods may not be so clear. For instance, if an informant produces a variant of the word *deas* with the vowel [**ɛː**], is the informant raising the vowel from an earlier variant [**æː**], or is the informant preserving an archaic variant of the same word? (Recall that the vowel of the same word in Scottish Gaelic dialects in general would be of similar quality to the variant in eastern Inis Mór, though of shorter length.)

In this case, however, we note that the informants elsewhere in all three islands do not raise the vowel at all, and noting that the informant from eastern Inis Mór is once again the "odd man out", we can assume that the vowel has been raised to [**ɛː**] from an earlier variant [**æː**], and is therefore an innovation. And we also begin to suspect that eastern Inis Mór might be an area characterised by linguistic innovation.

Without the clear evidence from written documentation from earlier periods, we can rely on the evidence from the wider area. If a unique variant of a given linguistic feature is found in a small area within a much wider area characterised by a different variant, we presume that the variant in the smaller area is either an innovation or a retention of an older variant, and we weigh the evidence from a yet wider area in time and space to decide between the two options.

In my own case, my familiarity with the general history of dialects in Ireland and especially of the dialects of south Connaught guided my choices. It was clear at the outset of the investigation that the dialect of the two western islands was very similar to that of Cois Fharraige, and the description given by Finck of the dialect of Inis Mór at the end of the nineteenth century solidified that impression. Therefore, I had a strong sense of the linguistic norms of the two western islands at the start of my field investigation, and I could detect deviations from the norm all the more quickly. The next step was to decide whether the deviant feature was an innovation or a retention.

One must be wary of forming assumptions too quickly. My informants on Inis Mór perceived the island as being divided linguistically into two halves: *An Ceann Thoir* and *An Ceann Thiar*, but the linguistic reality turned out to be far more complex. Similarly, as one reads descriptions of Inis Oírr, the connection to County Clare and especially to

Doolin is constantly stressed. In fact, when I examined the volume of maps from *LASID* to scrutinise the eastern links of Inis Oírr to the mainland of Clare, I was surprised to find that Inis Oírr apparently shares stronger linguistic connections to distant Kinvara than to either Doolin or Fanore immediately opposite Inis Oírr on the western coast of the Burren.[7]

One of the ideas that may underlie widespread misconceptions of linguistic history as it plays itself out in isolated rural areas is the idea that dialects are social constructs shaped by time and handed down from generation to generation within a small community, and especially within the family, much as individual songs or poems may be transmitted, and that such social constructs may suffer alterations through time – often through cultural pressures from the outside world, much as the texts of songs or poems are slowly altered over time from the original form of the text.

In fact, a half century of intensive research in language acquisition and in sociolinguistics has shown that every child constructs his/her language for himself/herself, using linguistic material heard in the family environment but shaped and developed especially in children's playgroups. The importance of the playgroup in comparison to the family environment is shown by the many cases of immigrant children who develop a native command of the local language through playing with other children in the neighbourhood, while the parents may fail completely in learning the language of the host country. This power of the playgroup to influence the development of the individual child's language may help explain radical changes of linguistic behaviour over a relatively short length of time.

Certainly in the present data we see such radical changes from generation to generation, especially in Inis Oírr. And the micro-dialects found in Inis Mór seem to reflect wide neighbourhood areas that in turn reflect the interaction of children in playgroups, either in school or out of school. As for the influence of formal education on the development of a child's individual language traits, this factor certainly has not been overlooked in the present study and is mentioned many times in the discussion of different features.

Nevertheless, regardless of the role of the primary school in the development of the individual child's language variety, it is normally the case that a person's idiolect[8]is shaped within the first ten or eleven years of his/her life – during the "critical period", and that once shaped, a child normally finds it difficult to change his/her linguistic traits or acquire a second language thereafter. A child who has been exposed to a second language or even a second dialect of the same language during the critical period, however, will retain his/her linguistic flexibility for the rest of his/her life. Both linguistic situations have been present in Inis Mór for the past 350 years.

The role of the individual in selecting between competing variants while forming his/her idiolect within the group can be seen dramatically when we see a range of forms all aiming at expressing roughly the same concept. The most dramatic example of this individual experimentation with a linguistic construction comes as responses to translating the English phrase "If you were a woman...".

We find not only the relatively Standard Irish form *Dá mba bhean thú...*, but also *Dá*

[7]As for linguistic links with the Burren, in a subset of 159 items exhibited on the maps, 77 (nearly half of the items) showed clear isoglosses (dialect boundaries) between Inis Oírr and the immediately adjacent coast of Clare. Doolin and Fanore were clearly part of Clare, but Inis Oírr was certainly not.

[8]An ideolect is a person's individual dialect, or the linguistic system characterising an individual speaker, and therefore unique to that speaker.

mba bean thú..., *Dá bha bean thú...*, *Dá ba bean thú...*, *Dá b'é bean thú...*(from Inis Oírr), and finally two instances of *Dá bar/ dábar bean thú...*(one from Inis Mór and one from Inis Oírr). In this instance, it seems as though informants have been independently exploring all logical possibilities.

As for the variant *Dá bar/ dábar bean thú...*, as we shall see, we find a counterpart to this construction with the headword *dábar* far to the south, in Corca Dhuibhne, but must we suppose linguistic contact between the Aran Islands and Corca Dhuibhne? Looking at the array of forms above, couldn't we as easily see it as one more spontaneous attempt of an uncertain individual speaker to solve an ad-hoc communication problem, thereby adding unwittingly to the set of possible forms attested?

In short, though we find the emergence of group norms differentiating the geographical areas of Inis Mór from one another and the different islands from one another as well as generational and gender differences all represented in the data, we also find strong evidence of individual traits, though these too may eventually prove to be recessive group traits. Therefore, when we encounter the form *Ba bh'é!* with the reduplicated copula mentioned above, we do not have to assume the existence of an earlier form **Ba b'é!* from which the present form has evolved through linguistic evolution. The form *Ba bh'é!* could simply be the individual speaker's solution to a communication problem, constructed on the basis of the internal logic of the rules he has formed to construct his individual grammar of the language.

Speaking of rules, I use the word "rule" as shorthand to describe consistent linguistic behaviour on the part of individuals or groups, usually when describing deviation from the general norm. For instance, I may use the term "raising rule", "lowering rule" or "levelling rule" to describe the aberrant but characteristic pronunciation of certain vowels by individual speakers or groups, so that the reader may see the situation more dynamically, as though the reader were watching the individual or group diverge over time from the general norm. But this is a descriptive convenience, not an attempt to enter the speaker's or speakers' heads and lay bare the rule system of the speaker.

As for the term "underlying forms", I have used that term twice in this entire work, and both times in a highly restricted context. So the reader can rest assured that he/she will not have to deal with the terminology and methodology of modern generative grammar! Nevertheless, it will be clear from the discussion above that I am highly indebted to Noam Chomsky and his colleagues for their deep insights into the nature of human language and its acquisition by the individual speaker. Those insights have aided me immeasurably in making sense of the complex mass of data which constitutes this study.

LINGUISTIC VARIATION IN THE ARAN ISLANDS

It is difficult to summarise the complex, detailed material from the linguistic tables. It is clear that there is complex patterning to be seen in the responses across the three islands to the phonological, grammatical, and lexical items under examination, and that there is far less randomness in the responses than one might expect. At the same time, it is impossible to declare the patterns statistically valid due to the paucity of examples from individual speakers and from the extremely small sample of the speakers themselves, spread over three islands and three generations. The problem is compounded by the fact that this sample was essentially a convenience sample, conducted principally among friends and relatives of the investigator.

As is described in the hitherto unpublished papers presented at the end of this volume, this project grew organically over a period of twenty-five years from a relatively straightforward administration of the *LASID* questionnaire to a couple of informants from Inis Mór to the present project, which comprises three volumes of material. At each stage of the investigation, items were added to the range of phenomena under discussion as interesting features and patterns came to light. Many items were added only as the linguistic tables were being laid out by hand on charts. At such times, I could comb the existing data from informants to supply examples for the newly discovered items, but I could not conduct further interviews with the original informants. Many of them are now, in fact, deceased. As a result, the selection of items may at times seem unbalanced, and the examples for certain items may appear inadequate.

Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to attempt to summarise and sharpen the tentative conclusions which have been reached in the preliminary analysis of the data in the linguistic tables, so that some of the main patterns of variation in the phonological, grammatical and lexical material can be outlined. Such a rough outline will, hopefully, lead to a deeper understanding of the complex interaction of the individual patterns and to further discussion. Without such an outline, the reader could be lost in the detail of the linguistic tables. On the other hand, the attempt to summarise could lead to the loss of significant detail or of contextual information which might be vital for a full understanding of the phenomena under discussion. For example, we shall see repeatedly that the variants of certain phonological items can be explained only by reference to the grammatical context in which they occur, or that the variants of certain grammatical or lexical items which show striking patterns of geographic variation are distinguished by the presence or absence of a single phonological feature.

Part I

Phonological Variation

Chapter 1

Variation in Vowels

1.1 Lowering and Monophthongisation of Diphthongs

(The items examined here for the falling diphthong [**iə**] include *Dia, siar, thiar, iascaire, iascairí, [ag] fiafraí/iarraidh, bliain, grian, pian, [níos] léithe.*

Those examined for the falling diphthong [**uə**] include *suas, gruaig, [níos] luaithe, [níos] nuaí, [ag] cuardach, chuala, ualach, buaile, buailte, [ag] bualadh, buachaill, buachaillí, nuair.*)

Let us begin our discussion of phonological variation by examining the vowels. Starting with the diphthongs [**iə**] and [**uə**], we find that the levelling (lowering and monophthongisation) of [**iə**] to [**eː**] in such items as *siar, iascaire, bliain,* etc., is confined almost entirely to Inis Mór, and even there, strongly characteristic of eastern Mór, from Fearann an Choirce eastward, with the townlands from Corrúch to Eochaill most strongly marked by the feature.

The parallel phenomenon, the levelling of the diphthong [**uə**] to the long, mid vowel [**oː**] in such items as *suas, gruaig, chuala* and *ualach*, shows a similar pattern, but reveals some striking differences. On Inis Mór, the incidence of levelling for the diphthong [**uə**] to [**oː**] is roughly the same as for [**iə**], but in this case, Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr present numerous examples of levelling, though individual informants differ in their patterns. One could say that the levelling of the diphthong [**iə**] on Inis Mór appears to be an innovation characteristic of that island alone, but the levelling of the diphthong [**uə**] in the two eastern islands, in contrast, appears to be the result of an obsolete rule preserved in relic forms.

A similar phenomenon, the shortening of the diphthong [**uə**] to the short, mid back vowel [**o**] or to the short neutral vowel [**ə**] in such items as *buaile, bualadh* and *buachaill*, shows a distinct pattern. It is restricted almost entirely to eastern Inis Mór, from Corrúch eastward, though its distribution is patchy within that zone. This striking feature could be seen as an innovation.

As for the item *nuair*, its vowel is manifested nearly universally across the three islands as [**ɛ**]. Only the female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór produces examples with the relatively long back vowels [**ʊˑ**] and [**oˑ**].

1.2 Lowering of Long High Vowels

(The items examined here for the long high front vowel [**iː**] include *síos, Bríd, [Dia] daoibh!*.

Those examined for the long high back vowel [**uː**] include *[níos] lú, [níos] túisce, [ag] gnúsacht, [ag] fiarú [= fiafraí], fúithi, fúthu, [ar] chúl, ciúin, cúnamh*.)

Moving from the diphthongs to the lowering of the long high vowels [**iː**] and [**uː**] to their mid-vowel counterparts [**eː**] and [**oː**], respectively, we have no clear examples of the lowering of [**iː**] to [**eː**], but we have numerous examples of the lowering of [**uː**] to [**oː**]. Examining such items as *lú, gnúsacht, fiarú [= fiafraí], fúthu* and *cúnamh*, we find at least one clear example from one informant out of two across all three islands. The pattern of distribution of these scattered and isolated examples, though, is that of relics of an obsolete phonological rule that was once productive across all three islands.

1.3 Raising of Mid Back Vowels in the Vicinity of a Nasal Consonant

(The items examined here include *. . . a gcónaíonn, . . . ar chónaigh, i gcónaí, cnoc, lom, ró-throm, chrom, cromadh*.)

Let us turn now to the opposite phenomenon, raising the long mid back vowel [**oː**] towards the long high back vowel [**uː**] in a very restricted phonological environment — before a nasal consonant in the etymologically related items *. . . a gcónaíonn, . . . ar chónaigh* and *i gcónaí*. We find such a raising rule universal across all informants in the two western islands, Inis Mór and Inis Meáin, with only two female informants at the two tips of Inis Mór showing a single counterexample each. On Inis Oírr, however, the raising rule does not exist for the two older informants, and the youngest informant, F 18, produces a single isolated example of slight raising to [**ʊː**]. Thus we can say that the two western islands are characterised by near-universal application of the rule, while Inis Oírr shows a trace of the rule only in its youngest generation.

In the case of a short mid back vowel following a nasal consonant in the item *cnoc*, however, we find a rule raising the vowel [**o**] to [**ʊ**] in operation universally on all three islands. The only exceptions are the isolated alternate variants with the neutral vowel [**ə**] from F 70 at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór and with the unraised vowel [**o**] from F 18 on Inis Oírr.

We turn now to the same short mid back vowel in a slightly different phonological environment, with the nasal consonant [**m**] following the vowel in the monosyllabic words *lom* and *ró-throm*. In westernmost Inis Mór, a rule lengthening the vowel from [**o**] to [**oː**] operates from the western tip to An Sruthán, and a similar rule with slight raising to [**ʊː**] operates from An Sruthán to Corrúch. In eastern Inis Mór, from Corrúch to Cill Éinne, however, the lengthening rule does not operate, so that we encounter only the short vowels [**o**] or [**ʊ**], with an isolated example of lengthening and slight raising to [**ʊː**] from the female informant at Cill Éinne and another — of diphthongisation — to [**o$^{\text{u}}$**] from the male

informant at Eochaill. Thus the island seems to be split geographically both in its use of the lengthening rule and in its use of the raising rule.

On Inis Meáin, however, the male informant both lengthens and raises the vowel sharply to [**uː**] and [**uˑ**], while the female informant does not lengthen the vowel at all, though she does raise it slightly to [**ʊ**]. It is possible that we have a gender difference here in the application of the lengthening rule, but the evidence is meagre in this case.

In Inis Oírr, the lengthening rule with no raising of the vowel is characteristic of the older generation, who produce only the vowel [**oː**]. The youngest informant, F 18, raises the lengthened vowel slightly to [**ʊː**].

The situation in regard to this pair of items, then, is quite complex. On the basis of other items, we could say that both westernmost Inis Mór, from Bungabhla to Eoghanacht, and Inis Oírr are conservative areas, characterised by an old lengthening rule but no raising rule, while eastern Inis Mór, from Corrúch to Cill Éinne, is an innovative area which has *rescinded* the lengthening rule while introducing the raising rule. West central Inis Mór, from An Sruthán to Corrúch, could be regarded as a mixed area in regard to both the lengthening and the raising rule, while Inis Meáin joins Inis Mór in adopting the raising rule but shows mixed usage in regard to the lengthening rule.

The isolated examples of [**ʊː**] and [**o$^{\text{u}}$**] from easternmost Inis Mór could be regarded as relic forms, or as forms exhibiting influences from the neighbouring islands to the east. Similarly, the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18, in her similarity to the female informant at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór or to the male informant on Inis Meáin, might be revealing the greater exposure to external influences which is characteristic of her generation.

In the end, then, the presence or absence of two simple phonological rules — vowel lengthening and vowel raising, each operating independently of one another, produces clear but complex patterning in the distribution of variants of these two rather simple adjectival forms. Two important questions remain, however. What exactly are we seeing, and what is the historical explanation for the patterns we seem to see so clearly?

1.4 The Special Case of the Verb *crom*

If we turn now to the items representing the verb *crom*, i.e., the simple past form *chrom* and the verbal noun *cromadh*, we might expect to find a similar situation, especially in regard to the form *chrom*, a monosyllabic word with a phonological shape similar to the items *lom* and *ró-throm*. In fact, in the two westernmost islands, all the informants treat the verbal forms differently from the adjectival forms, allowing the differences in grammatical categories to take precedence over the phonological similarity of the word forms. Thus, the speakers on Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin seem to follow a common strategy of producing short, relatively neutral vowels — either [**ʊ**] or [**ə**] — in verbal forms which have an underlying short vowel [**o**] before a nasal consonant in the base form, and they seem to do this regardless of the presence or absence of the lengthening rule in adjectival forms.

Once again, however, Inis Oírr proves the exception to the rule. Here each informant follows his/her own strategy. The male informant, M 55, applies the lengthening rule through-

out, producing [**oː**] in all forms, whether verbal or adjectival. The older female informant, F 41, follows the usage of Connemara, which is to lengthen the vowel of the monosyllabic verbal form, here producing [**oː**], but to not lengthen the vowel of the dissyllabic verbal noun, thus producing the short vowel [**ʊ**]. (Note, however, that she does not raise the lengthened vowel in the monosyllabic verb form, unlike what one might expect from a speaker of Connemara Irish.)

The youngest female informant, F 18, simply follows the pattern on Inis Mór, producing short, relatively neutral vowels in the verbal forms, regardless of whether the vowels in the adjectival forms are lengthened or not.

In sum, the individual speech behaviour of the informants in regard to the verbal forms is sharply different from their behaviour in regard to the adjectival forms, and the geographical pattern of distribution for the variants in verbal forms is likewise sharply different from that of the adjectival variants.

1.5 Raising of Low Front Vowels

(The items examined here include *bean, sean, fear, deas, [i mo/ina] sheasamh, teach, isteach, teacht, [cá/a] ndeachaigh, ceachtanna, seachtain, cleachtadh, [Is é do] bheatha.*

Dialectal variants of Standard Irish forms examined here include *treasna [= trasna], teagann [= tagann], teagaigí!/teagadh! [= tagaigí!/ tagadh!], teagtha [= tagtha].*)

Turning our attention now to variation in the pronunciation of low front vowels, let us begin with the raising and/or lengthening of the low front vowel [**æ**] in such items as *bean, fear, teach* and *seachtain.* Here the patterns are complex, but we can attempt a summary.

There is a strong tendency on all three islands to lengthen the vowel to [**æː**] before sonorants in such words as *bean* or *fear* and sometimes before sibilants in such words as *deas* or *. . . sheasamh.* The opposing tendency, to keep the vowel short in other phonological environments, such as in disyllabic words or where the vowel is followed by the velar fricative [**x**], is especially true of westernmost Inis Mór and of Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór and of neighbouring Inis Meáin. The length of the vowel before non-sonorants seems far less predictable in more central areas of Inis Mór or on Inis Oírr.

What is striking in the case of female informants in eastern Inis Mór and of both male and female informants on Inis Meáin is their substitution of [**ɛ**] for the short vowel [**æ**] before non-sonorants. The female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór, F 72, distinguishes herself by lengthening the vowel to [**ɛː**] in an overwhelming majority of such instances.

1.6 Centralisation/Neutralisation of Stressed Low Front Vowels

(The items discussed here are *teach, teacht,* and *seachtain.*)

Another striking linguistic trait which I associate specifically with Cill Rónáin in easternmost Inis Mór is the use of the low neutral vowel [ʌ] for the short vowel when followed by the voiceless velar fricative [x], though its occurrence is rare in the data. The male informant at Cill Rónáin, M 50, produces two examples in the items *teach* and *seachtain*, while the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18, produces the neutral vowel [ə] in the verbal noun *teacht*. As I have remarked earlier, I have heard the variant [tʃʌx] for *teach* from a female relative born in Cill Rónáin in the nineteenth century, so we might say that this elusive feature has had a long life in Cill Rónáin and seems to have an indefinite future — at least on Inis Oírr!

1.7 Fronting of the Low Central Vowel

(The items examined here include *baile, cailíní, cailleann, cailleadh, chaill, aill, . . . na haille [genitive], Gaillimh, gaineamh, bainne, aimsir, caint, sláintiúil, . . . [a] mhaireann . . . , caite, cnaipe, tada [= dada], tastaíonn [= teastaíonn], trasna, maith, scaitheamh, dathúil, ba [= beithígh].*)

Let us look now at another phonological rule, which fronts the low central vowel [aː] to the low front vowel [æː]. Whereas with the raising rule just discussed, the vowel was preceded by a palatalised consonant and followed by a non-palatalised consonant, the phonological context is the reverse in this case; here the palatalised consonant follows the vowel and acts as a trigger for fronting — producing anticipatory assimilation of the vowel to the following palatalised consonant. The items examined here include such items as *baile, cailíní, cailleann, bainne, cnaipe, [a] mhaireann* and *caite*.

In regard to the item *baile*, we can say that nearly all the informants in the two western islands front the vowel in at least some of their examples. Only the headmaster at the vocational school on Inis Mór, M 50 at Cill Rónáin, does not. The fronting reaches a peak at Corrúch in east central Inis Mór, where both the male and the female informant front the vowel in nearly all their examples. Other informants on Inis Mór front less than half their examples. The youngest informant there, F 43 at Bungabhla in westernmost Inis Mór, however, fronts the vowel in more than half of her examples.

As for Inis Meáin, the female informant there matches F 43 at Bungabhla on Inis Mór in the frequency of her fronting, while the male informant, exceptionally, matches the male informant at Corrúch in the extreme frequency of his fronting. Oddly, the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór is much more conservative in her fronting than her close neighbours on Inis Meáin.

As for Inis Oírr, the informants do not front the vowel in any of their examples. Once again, Inis Oírr stands apart from the two islands to the west.

Turning now to the next item, *cailíní*, with stress once again on the first syllable but with two long vowels in the following syllables, not a single informant on all three islands fronts the vowel. Perhaps the phonological shape of the word, with two long vowels following the vowel in question and the consequent restraint on vowel length in the first syllable, is the cause of the relatively conservative pronunciation of the first vowel.

1.8 The Special Case of the Verb *caill*

The next three items, *cailleann, cailleadh* and *chaill*, are all verbal forms of the verb *caill*. As in the case of the verb *crom*, previously examined, it is worthwhile dealing separately with these verbal forms, since the morphophonemic alternations of the verb forms may affect the realisation of the vowel.

Beginning with the two western islands, in which the informants behave similarly, we find the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, backing the vowel to [**ɑː**] in the monosyllabic form *chaill*, but not in the disyllabic form *cailleann*. She thus imitates speakers in Connemara, who back the vowel [**a**] in monosyllabic verb forms ending in a "long consonant", such as the strongly palatalised lateral consonant [**lʲ**]. She is matched in this behaviour by the female informant on Inis Meáin.

All the other informants, in both islands, show no vowel alternation in the two forms. Some simply preserve the historical vowel [**a(ː)**] in both forms, while others generalise the backed vowel [**ɑː**] to both forms. Thus the informants in central Inis Mór from Fearann an Choirce to Eochaill produce a version of the historical vowel [**a(ː)**], while the female informant at An Sruthán in the west and the male informant at Cill Rónáin and the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór back the vowel to [**ɑː**] in both forms. The male informant on Inis Meáin also regularises the vowel alternation to [**ɑː**] in both items.

As one might expect, the two informants at Corrúch on Inis Mór exhibit a unique innovation. While ostensibly preserving the historical vowel phonemically in both verbal forms, they in fact front and lengthen the vowel phonetically to the long low front vowel [**æː**] in both items.

As for Inis Oírr, once again the island stands apart from the two western islands. Here, all three informants back the vowel to [**ɑː**] in both forms.

We turn now to a third verb form, the impersonal simple past form *cailleadh*, with the restricted meaning "someone died". This form is also drawn from the paradigm of the verb *caill* but the informants on all three islands seem to treat it quite differently from other forms of the verb, which carry the original lexical meaning "to lose". The examples are spotty in the responses from Inis Mór and from Inis Oírr, and there are no examples at all from Inis Meáin, but the evidence that we do have is striking. Irrespective of any backing of the vowel in the forms we have just examined, all informants without exception preserve the historical vowel in this form. In fact, both older informants on Inis Oírr front the vowel strongly to [**æː**] in this item despite their uniform backing of the vowel in the other verbal forms derived from the verb *caill*. As mentioned in the original analysis, it seems as though all informants seek to maintain a lexical contrast between the item *cailleadh*, reflecting the lexical meaning "to die" and the other verbal forms, expressing the concept "to lose".

1.9 Other Examples of the Fronting of the Low Central Vowel

(The specific items discussed here include *aill, . . . na haille [genitive], Gaillimh, gaineamh, bainne, aimsir, caint, sláintiúil, . . . [a] mhaireann . . . , caite, cnaipe, tada [= dada], tastaíonn*

[= teastaíonn], trasna, maith, scaitheamh, dathúil, ba [= beithígh].)

Moving on to the other items, by and large all these are items which occurred by chance in the data and which were included in the linguistic tables because they were considered linguistically relevant for this particular linguistic variable. As might be expected, since their occurrence is normally haphazard, it is often difficult to discern patterns in the data for those items. Usually the patterns are congruent with the patterns already discussed, for items for which we have much more complete attestation, but how much can one say about a single example of an item representing fourteen informants even though the example "fits the profile" for a given speaker or for a given geographical area?

For example, I was especially interested in items in which the low central vowel occurs in an open syllable in Aran Irish — either word-finally or before a morpheme boundary where the following morpheme begins with a vowel. Thus, the items *maith, scaitheamh* and *dathúil* would be of great interest to me, since they could be realised phonologically as, e.g., [**maː**], [**skaː**] and [**daːuːlʲ**] or as [**mæː**], [**skæː**] and [**dæːuːlʲ**].

The attestation for the item *maith* is relatively complete, so we can see that the only speakers who front the vowel to [**æˑ**] or [**æː**] are three speakers on Inis Mór. Thus F 43 at Bungabhla produces [**mæˑ**] while M 82 and F 72, both at Corrúch, produce [**mæˑ**] and [**mæː**], respectively. All the other speakers across all three islands produce [**maː**] or its close equivalent, with no fronting.

The next item, *scaitheamh*, should be of great interest in the same regard, but only a single example — from the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór — occurs in the data . Unlike her behaviour in regard to the previous item, this time she fronts the vowel strongly, producing [**skæː**].

The last item in question, the adjective *dathúil*, gives us a greater range of attestation, but still we lack examples from westernmost Inis Mór, from Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór, from Inis Meáin, and from the older generation on Inis Oírr. Nonetheless, we get a very interesting pattern, incomplete as it may be. This time we get strong fronting to [**æː**] from Fearann an Choirce through Eochaill in east central Inis Mór, and the female informant at Corrúch even raises the vowel to the lax mid-vowel [**ɛː**] in her example. On the other hand, the informants immediately to the west at Sruthán and to the east at Cill Rónáin preserve the historical vowel [**aː**], as does the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18. In the absence of any other attestation, there is little more we can say.

Nevertheless, despite the lacunae in the data, it seems clear from the examples for these three items alone that vowel fronting in open syllables seems to be largely confined to eastern Inis Mór. There Corrúch is marked strongly by characteristic fronting to [**æː**], and, in the case of the female informant, even by raising to [**ɛː**], while areas to the east and and slightly to the west may also exhibit fronting in certain items.

The last item to be discussed here — an item of considerable interest — is the noun form *ba*, the irregular plural form of the singular noun *bó*. Such an item may seem slightly out of place here since, as in the case of the adjective *dathúil* discussed above, there is no palatalised consonant immediately following the vowel which would trigger fronting. Nevertheless, the vowel in this item also is subject to fronting. As we shall see later in the discussion of lexical

variation, the form *beithígh* is frequently used as a substitute form for this plural form. Still, we have a few examples of *ba* from all three islands — two examples from Inis Mór, two from Inis Meáin and a single example from Inis Oírr.

As we might expect, the examples from both informants at Corrúch on Inis Mór both show strong fronting to [**æː**]. And again, the example from the female informant on Inis Meáin shows no fronting at all, which is what we would expect of Inis Meáin speakers, but what of the male informant on Inis Meáin, who very uncharacteristically fronts the vowel strongly to [**æː**], thus clustering with the Inis Mór informants? We get a further surprise from the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18, who actually *backs* the vowel to [**ɑː**]! Thus, in place of the expected form [**baː**], we get three competing variants — [**bæː**], [**baː**] and [**bɑː**], and an interesting geographical distribution for each of the three variants.

1.10 The Fronting of the Low Back Vowel

(The items examined here include *nár [negative imperative particle], nár [negative subordinate verbal particle], ná [negative imperative particle], ná [comparative particle], cá, dá, má, mám ["handful"].*)

Let us move on now to yet another phonological rule which involves fronting, one which fronts the low back vowel [**ɑː**] to the low central vowel [**aː**]. Other than the noun *mám ["handful"]*, the items examined here are all grammatical particles: *nár* [negative imperative/negative subordinate verbal particle], *ná* [negative imperative verbal particle/comparative particle], *cá, dá* and *má*.

Beginning with the homophonous particles *nár* and *nár*, nearly all speakers on Inis Mór front the vowel to [**aː**], though a couple of speakers produce the unfronted variant as well. The female informant at An Sruthán, as one of her three variants, fronts the vowel as far as [**æ**]. In the two eastern islands, all speakers front the vowel to longer or shorter variants of [**aː**]. Nevertheless, the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18, laxes the vowel to [**ə**] in one instance, while the male informant on Inis Meáin fronts the vowel as far as [**æː**] in another instance.

Turning now to the homophonous particles *ná* and *ná*, we note that speakers in western Inis Mór as far east as Corrúch do not front the vowel, in contradistinction to their fronting of the vowel in the previous item. At Corrúch, however, the female informant fronts the vowel in one of her five examples, while the male informant laxes the vowel in one of eight instances. The male informant at Eochaill to the east also fronts the vowel in one of three examples and laxes the vowel to [**ə**] in another example. There are no examples of fronting from the informants at Cill Rónáin or at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór. Thus, speakers in east central Inis Mór again show their normal tendency to front low vowels, though in a restrained way in this instance.

On Inis Meáin, the female informant reflects the linguistic behaviour of east central Inis Mór in preserving the unfronted vowel [**ɑː**] in two instances, in fronting the vowel to [**a**] in one instance and in laxing the vowel to [**ə**] in a couple of instances. The male informant, M 70, however, departs from this pattern in a striking way: he fronts the vowel to [**a**] in three

out of five instances of the negative imperative verbal particle and in all four instances of the comparative particle. As in the case of the items *nár* and *nár*, M 70 again reveals a distinctive tendency to front the low back vowel.

On Inis Oírr, the male informant has a tendency to front the vowel, but also laxes the vowel in one instance. His wife, F 41, prefers not to front the vowel in the overwhelming majority of her examples. The youngest informant, F 18, produces one example each of the vowel variants [ɑ], [a] and [ə] for the negative imperative particle, while, like F 41, producing unfronted vowels in two of her three examples for the comparative particle.

On the whole, the relatively uniform fronting of the vowel across all three islands in the case of the homophonous items *nár* and *nár*, with their closed syllable, contrasts sharply with the far more varied articulation of the vowel in the case of the items *ná* and *ná*, with their open syllable.

In regard to the next item, the locative interrogative particle *cá*, we encounter no fronting of the vowel in this item anywhere in the three islands. On the contrary, we find several speakers on Inis Mór laxing the vowel. Thus the youngest informant there, F 43 at Bungabhla, produces the vowel [o], while three informants in east central Inis Mór all produce the neutral vowel [ə]. Most striking, however, is the use of the allomorph *cé* by two female informants: F 70 at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór and her neighbour to the east, F 60+ on Inis Meáin. This feature, so widespread in Connemara, seems limited to this very restricted area in the Aran Islands.

As for the next two items, the hypothetical conditional verbal particle *dá* and the syntactically related simple conditional verbal particle *má*, there is considerable variation in the quality of the vowel in both forms, even for individual speakers. In this case, we could speak of a relatively random articulation of the vowel in both cases. Some speakers front the vowel as far forward as [a] or even [æ], and/or produce a shorter, laxer variant such as [ʌ] or [ə]. Nevertheless, one might say that there is a tendency for every second speaker across Inis Mór to front the vowel to [aː] in the item *má*, while preserving the vowel [ɑː] in the item *dá*.

As for the noun *mám* ("handful"), we have only three examples in the data, all from central Inis Mór. All three informants, the female informant at An Sruthán and the brother and sister at Corrúch, front the vowel to [aː] or [aːᵉ]. When the informants at Corrúch were asked about the lexically distinct noun *mám* ("mountain pass"), both produced examples retaining the low back vowel [ɑː], revealing a phonemic distinction between the two nouns. Since mountain passes do not exist in the Aran Islands, this form is very likely a borrowed form from Connemara, probably entering in the form of placenames such as *Sléibhte Mhám Toirc* or *Mám Éan*. The former at least is easily visible from Inis Mór.

1.11 Extreme Fronting and Subsequent Raising of the Low Back Vowel

(The items examined here include the verbal suffixes *-tá, -fá, -teá, -feá* and the adjective *breá*.)

The next phonological rule also involves fronting the low back vowel [**ɑː**], but in this case the vowel may be not only be fronted to [**aː**] or [**æː**], but also raised to [**ɛˑ**] or even to [**e**]. The items included here are the verbal inflectional suffixes for the second person singular in the habitual past tense of the indicative mood and in the hypothetical conditional mood, e.g., *-tá/-teá* and *-fá/-feá*, respectively. Also included here is the adjective *breá*.

As for the inflectional suffixes, all have fallen together historically in the dialect due to lenition and later elision of the respective consonants. Thus all of the suffixes are now homophonous, consisting of the single vowel *-á* ([**ɑː**]) or its fronted, raised or laxed equivalent.[1] The quality of the vowel, however, is often conditioned by the quality of the preceding consonant or even of the preceding vowel. That is to say, we often get fronting of the vowel following a palatalised final consonant or a final high or mid front vowel in the preceding verb stem. Where the final stem consonant is not palatalised, we usually get no fronting of the following suffix vowel. In terms of the Standard Irish orthography, we would expect fronting in items with the suffixes *-teá* or *-feá*, but not in items with the suffixes *-tá* or *-fá*.

Starting with the two western islands, and looking first at items with a non-palatalised stem, we find no fronting of the vowel in such items. Turning to items with a palatalised stem, we find speakers on Inis Mór — especially in central Inis Mór from Fearann an Choirce to Corrúch — producing fronted and even raised variants in the suffix vowel which range from [**aː**] to [**e**]. On Inis Meáin, however, neither informant fronts the vowel in such a context.

There is one suffix vowel variant, however, which can occur with both types of stems, palatalised or non-palatalised: the neutral vowel suffix [**ə**]. Thus we can as easily get [**ə mʹeᵊ**] (= An mbeifeá . . . ?) or [**lʹɪkʹə**] (= ligfeá) as [**ᴵgʹæːNə**] (= An gceannófá . . . ?). This laxing rule functions in both western islands.

As for Inis Oírr, however, all the suffix vowel variants mentioned for the two western islands occur on Inis Oírr as well, but the variants seem altogether randomly distributed for all three speakers. For example, the male informant produces the unique form [**ᵊgʹæːNæˑ**] (= An gceannófá . . . ?), with extreme fronting after a non-palatalised consonant. In this way, then, Inis Oírr shows itself once again to be exceptional.

The final item here, the adjective *breá*, was included because it is phonologically similar to the nouns *fleá* and *sleá*, both pronounced with the strongly fronted vowel [**æː**] by my principal informants, M 82 and F 72 at Corrúch on Inis Mór. As it happens, however, there is no fronting of the vowel in this item by any informant in any of the islands — except for the male informant on Inis Meáin, who fronts the vowel to [**æˑ**] in two instances out of six.

1.12 The Backing of the Low Central Vowel

(The items examined here include *am, gann, mall, anall, thall, sall [= anonn], [ar] ball.*)

[1] There is a further complication in the case of second conjugation verbs, such as *ceannaigh*, where the final vowel of the stem is elided as well, hence *cheanná* instead of *cheannóá [< cheannófá].* Forms such as *cheannóá*, with the stem vowel unelided, are in fact cited by F.N. Finck in *Die Araner Mundart* one hundred years ago, but I have found no examples today. The issue of the elision of the stem vowel will be discussed again under the morphology of the verb.

The final phonological rule involving vowels is a backing rule which backs the low central vowel [**aː**] to the low back vowel [**ɑː**] . The items examined here are nearly all monosyllabic words, such as *am, gann, mall, thall, sall [= anonn]* and *[ar] ball*, with the locative adverb *anall* as an exception, though even here the vowel immediately immediately before the "long consonant" bears the stress. In regard to the "long consonant" itself, the word *am* is exceptional in not having the historic double consonant (orthographically speaking) which triggers a change in vowel quality in so many dialects of Connaught and Munster.

Despite the differing phonological contexts, we can state the conditions for the operation of the rule succinctly as follows: (1) when the vowel is in a monosyllabic word ending in a velarised bilabial nasal consonant, such as *am*, speakers on all three islands do not back the vowel, thus retaining the low central vowel [**aː**]; (2) when the monosyllabic word ends in a velarised alveolar nasal consonant, such as the word *gann*, nearly all the informants from Bungabhla through Corrúch in western Inis Mór do not back the vowel, whereas all the informants from Eochaill eastward through Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr back the vowel to [**ɑː**]; (3) when the monosyllabic word ends in a velarised lateral consonant, such as *thall*, speakers on all three islands back the vowel to [**ɑː**].

Thus it seems as though the backing rule in regard to monosyllabic words of the shape *(C)(C)ann*, such as *gann*, is still working its way westward on Inis Mór; thus the informants M 82 and F 72 at Corrúch have not adopted the rule in this context, but their younger neighbour (and relative) slightly to the west of them, the male informant M 60 at Fearann an Choirce, has adopted the backing rule which is so universal to the east of them.[2]

For mnemonic purposes, we could sum up the conditions outlined above in conventional Irish orthography with the formula *am; gann/gánn; tháll.*

[2]On the other hand, we can see from the responses at Corrúch to Item 968 in the LASID questionnaire that the female informant F 72 is still wavering between the two realisations of the vowel in the noun *crann*, while the male informant M 82 uniformly applies the backing rule.

In regard to realisations of the inflected prepositional form *ann* in its generalised locative adjectival meaning "there", however, the responses to the LASID questionnaire show a different pattern. Here the female informant F 72 uniformly backs the vowel, producing the variant *ánn* in Items 272, 1050, and 1057, while the male informant M 82 shows divided usage, producing *ánn* in Item 735, but producing *ann*, the variant with the unbacked vowel, in two other examples. Thus he produces **[aN]** in the sentence *Bhí margadh maith ann inniu.* in Item 1163, and in fact fronts the vowel, producing **[æN]**, in the sentence *Bhí gealach nua aréir ann* in Item 1057. (The fronting in the second example may have been caused by the mid-front vowel and the palatalisation of the final consonant of the preceding word. It is clear from the clear velarised nasal consonant in the prepositional form, however, that we are not dealing with the contracted form *a'inn* in this instance.)

Chapter 2

Variation in Consonants

2.1 Loss of the Voiceless Glottal Central Fricative/Approximant Word-Initially

(The items examined here include *ná himígí!, ná hosclaígí!, má thagann . . . , ar thug . . . ?.*)

Having summarised the findings from the data in regard to the vowels, let us move on to the consonants. We can begin with the intrusive voiceless glottal central fricative or approximant [**h**], which is inserted by the morphophonemic rules in Standard Irish in phrase-level constructions in order to prevent adjacent vowels from coalescing at word boundaries. The items included here are *Ná himígí!* and *Ná hosclaígí!*. The linguistic variable itself would involve either preservation of the Standard Irish insertion rule or else the blocking of the insertion rule — especially in rapid speech, so that the final vowel of a particle, for instance, could abut the initial vowel of a following word, producing, e.g., *Ná imígí!* or *Ná osclaígí!*.

The three islands stand clearly apart in regard to this variable. On Inis Mór, all the men elide or block the intrusive [**h**], and all the women insert it — with one exception, the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla. In contrast, on Inis Meáin, both the male and the female speaker insert the intrusive [**h**], though the male informant blocks the insertion rule in a single instance — possibly an incipient change in the direction of the men on Inis Mór, though one example is scant evidence indeed. As for Inis Oírr, both male and female speakers uniformly block the intrusive [**h**].

As discussed earlier, in the analysis of the linguistic tables, it is possible to see generational change at work here, with F 43 representing a younger generation of women on Inis Mór which received their secondary education at the vocational school in Cill Rónáin. Of course, the older female informant on Inis Oírr, F 41, also received her secondary education there, and it is possible that her generation imported the innovation to Inis Oírr, and that F 18 simply inherited that linguistic change as her generation acquired local Irish. The male informant could have adopted the innovation from his wife's generation, or he could have adopted the innovation from male speakers on Inis Mór, owing to greater contact between the islands in recent years. As I concluded earlier, however, it is probably safest to allow

for generational change on Inis Mór, but to see Inis Oírr's linguistic behaviour once more as independent of that of the two western isles, especially since we have no data from younger speakers on Inis Meáin.

The next two items, *má thagann ...* and *Ar thug ...?*, also involve the elision of the approximant [**h**], producing *má 'agann ...* and *Ar 'ug ...?*, but the linguistic context is quite different here. Here the occurrence of the [**h**] results from grammatically-triggered lenition — in this case, by weakening the articulatory force of the voiceless consonant [**t**]. Since the linguistic context is so different, then, it is not surprising that the linguistic behaviour in regard to this variable is equally different across all three islands. With the exception of a few speakers from Corrúch westward on Inis Mór, who relax their articulation randomly in such contexts, speakers across all three islands conserve the approximant [**h**] when it is the product of lenition.

2.2 Loss of the Voiceless Glottal Central Fricative/Approximant Word-Medially

(The items examined here include *bóthar, rothar, beithígh, dathúil, [An] Sruthán, [mo] dhearthár, [mo] dheirfiúr, [a] dheirfiúr.*)

The next group of items have to do with the elision of the approximant [**h**] word-medially. The discussion given in the preliminary analysis of the linguistic tables is well worth a careful reading, but we can attempt a brief summary of some key points. The first three items, the nouns *bóthar, rothar* and *beithigh* may be considered representative. Informants across all three islands elide the [**h**] in the nouns *bóthar* and *beithigh*, while informants on Inis Mór and Inis Meáin almost uniformly conserve the [**h**] in the neologism *rothar*. (We have no examples of the neologism from Inis Oírr.) Only the two informants at Corrúch elide the [**h**] in the neologism *rothar* as well, both producing [**rəːr**], again showing the strong innovative tendencies in Corrúch.

As for the next item, the adjective *dathúil*, its attestation is unfortunately spotty, with no examples from Inis Meáin and only one example from Inis Oírr. We do, however, have examples from central Inis Mór eastward, and there we find half the speakers eliding the [**h**] and half conserving it, with no discernible pattern — except for the two informants in Corrúch, who once again choose to elide, conforming to their normal pattern. It seems, therefore, that there is a tendency for some speakers to conserve the [**h**] at a word-medial morpheme boundary, perhaps in order to preserve intelligibility, but that such a linguistic context does not guarantee preservation of the [**h**].

The lexical items representing the two kinship terms *dearthár* and *deirfiúr* present a number of interesting variants, many of them not directly related to the elision of [**h**], and here especially a careful perusal of the discussion in the analysis of the linguistic tables is recommended. Beginning with the item *mo dhearthár* and focussing on the elision of [**h**], we can say that all the informants on Inis Mór produce variants with the [**h**] elided, though close to half of them also produce a variant with the [**h**] preserved. Those who produce such conservative alternative variants are all located in westernmost and in easternmost Inis

Mór, once again illustrating the conservatism of the two ends of the island.

Inis Meáin once again resembles Inis Mór, in that both informants elide the [**h**], though the female informant also produces a variant with the [**h**] preserved. In contrast yet again to the two western islands, all three informants on Inis Oírr uniformly elide the [**h**].

Turning now to the items *mo dheirfiúr* and *a dheirfiúr* and striving to remain focussed on the word-medial elision of the [**h**], we note that only two male informants — M 68 at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór and M 70 on Inis Meáin — actually preserve the medial [**h**], producing [**jrəhuːr′**] (sic) and [**jr′ɛhur^{h}**], respectively. On the other hand, all the informants across the three islands produce variants with elided [**h**], with varied phonological shapes ranging from monosyllabic [**r′a^{u}r**] and [**r′a^{u}r′**] to disyllabic [**r′awər**] and [**jrawɪr′**]. (Both monosyllabic and disyllabic variants with elided [**h**] may be found on Inis Mór, while such variants are exclusively disyllabic on Inis Meáin and exclusively monosyllabic on Inis Oírr.)

There are a group of striking variants on Inis Mór, however, where the segment [**f**] (non-palatalised) replaces the medial [**h**], probably on the analogy of the medial [**f′**] (palatalised) in the genitive form of the noun. What is even more striking is the restriction of the variant to elderly female speakers in westernmost and in easternmost Inis Mór, with the headmaster at the vocational school at Cill Rónáin as the sole male informant manifesting the trait. The failure of F 43 at Bungabhla to manifest the feature might be seen as a sign of generational change among female speakers.

Before leaving the subject of the elision of [**h**] in its varied environments, it would be good to focus for one last moment on the marked tendency for the informants at Corrúch on Inis Mór to elide the [**h**]. In fact, there is a sharp difference between the linguistic behaviours of the male and female informants at Corrúch in regard to the elision of the [**h**] in word-initial and word-medial positions. Both informants elide the [**h**] in word-medial position in every single example. However, in the case of the word-initial position, the male informant elides the [**h**] in every example (with a single exception), while the female informant preserves the [**h**] in every example (with a single exception).

2.3 Simplification/Reduction of Consonant Clusters Containing a Nasal Consonant

(The items discussed here are the two related verbal forms *cuimhneamh* and *cuimhníonn*.)

Turning now to items involving nasal consonants, let us begin with the simplification or reduction of the consonant cluster [**v′n′**] in the two related lexical items *cuimhneamh* and *cuimhníonn*, with the palatalised labiodental fricative [**v′**] being dropped from the cluster, leaving only the palatalised alveolar nasal consonant [**n′**]. On Inis Mór, both reduced and unreduced variants of both items are widespread, with no geographical pattern to be discerned. Reduced forms with weakly palatalised [**n′**] predominate, but an unreduced variant is found in nearly every second townland represented in the survey. In the case of the unreduced clusters, however, the nasal segment is strongly palatalised — as [**N′**], except in the case of the female informant at Cill Éinne, who produces the weakly palatalised cluster [**v′n′**].

Note that the variant [**kiˑm′n′uː**] (= *cuimhneamh*), with a cluster containing the unlenited palatalised bilabial nasal [**m′**], is unique to the female informant at Eoghanacht in westernmost Inis Mór, F 73, and is not found elsewhere in any of the three islands.

Little can be said for Inis Meáin, since we have only one example from there. It is worth noting, however, that the example contains the variant with the reduced cluster, but that here the nasal consonant is strongly palatalised — as [**N′**].

As for Inis Oírr, only the variant with the reduced cluster — containing the weakly palatalised nasal [**n′**] — occurs. Though we have already seen this variant as the predominant variant on Inis Mór, nevertheless this island stands apart from Inis Mór once again in the homogeneity of its linguistic forms.

2.4 Weakening of Palatalisation in Medial Alveolar Nasal Consonants

(The items examined here include *inné, inniu, innealtóir, choinnigh, coinneáil, bainne, álainn.*)

The next set of items, including such items as *inné, inniu, bainne* and *álainn* and numbering more than a half-dozen items, has to do with the weakening of the palatalisation of the alveolar nasal consonant [**N′**] to the more lightly palatalised variant [**n′**]. Though it would be difficult to summarise the data for all the items, it could be said that in such items, the variant [**N′**] predominates on Inis Mór, while it occurs on Inis Meáin to the exclusion of the variant [**n′**]. On the other hand, the pattern of distribution for the variants on Inis Mór is reversed on Inis Oírr, where it is the weakly palatalised variant [**n′**] which is dominant. For rough mnemonic purposes, the situation could be represented as Inis Mór [**N′**], Inis Meáin [**N′**], and Inis Oírr [**n′**].

2.5 Weakening of Palatalisation in Medial Lateral Approximants

(The only item examined here is the place name *Gaillimh.* This linguistic variable is not represented on the linguistic tables.)

A similar issue arises in the case of the lateral approximants [**L′**] and [**l′**]. Though items reflecting the contrast between these two lateral consonants were not included in the data presently under analysis, data were gathered in Summer, 1992, which shed some light on the issue. On the basis of the items *Gaillimh* and *abhaile* elicited in the target sentence *Gabhfaidh sé abhaile go Gaillimh*, it appears that nearly all the informants on Inis Mór represented in the third-year interviews kept the distinction between the two lateral consonants. Only two male informants produced the weak lateral variant [**l′**] in the item *Gaillimh.*

The informants on Inis Meáin also kept the distinction. On the other hand, the two

female informants on Inis Oírr produced only the weak variant [**l′**] for both items, once again clearly setting off Inis Oírr from the two western islands. (The male informant on Inis Oírr did not participate in the interviews that year.)

In sum, for sonorants as a whole, it seems as though speakers in the two western islands preserve the distinction between strongly palatalised and weakly palatalised sonorants, while speakers on Inis Oírr obliterate the distinction, producing only the weakly palatalised variants [**n′**] and [**l′**].

2.6 Substitution of Strongly Palatalised Lateral Consonants by Palatal Glides

(The only items examined here are *buachaillí, coileach coille*. This linguistic variable is not represented on the linguistic tables.)

We turn now to a related phenomenon, the replacement of the strongly palatalised lateral consonant [**ʟ′**] by the palatal glide [**j**]. Though I have labeled the phenomenon "consonant weakening" in my earlier discussion of these data, this phenomenon could as easily be labeled as "consonant strengthening" or "cluster reduction", depending on the consonant replaced and on the force of articulation used in producing the substitute segment, as will be clear from the following examples.

This phenomenon, similar to what occurs to the segment [**ʟ′**] in certain dialects of Spanish in a word such as *Gallego* or *calle*, is rare in Aran Irish, but it does occur repeatedly — and from different speakers. As remarked earlier, I encountered the example [**kəlʲəx kəjɛ**] (= *coileach coille*) in a response from the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór, M 82, elicited while administering the *LASID* questionnaire.

I was astonished to hear the same phenomenon from the male informant on Inis Meáin, M 70, as he pronounced the word *buachaillí*: [**buᵊxəjiː**]. In addition, on checking my field notes, I found that he had done likewise in a variant pronunciation of *a leaba* ("her bed"): [**æː jæbə**].[1] Furthermore, when I checked his pronunciation for the word *woodcock* at the end of the interview, he provided an example with an even more forceful articulation of the segment: [**kəlʲəx kəjjə**], which could be labeled "consonant strengthening".

Note, though, that the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór substitutes the palatal glide [**j**] even for the lightly palatalised lateral [**l′**] in her example [**bʲæːn kɑːʲuːlʲ**] (= *bean cháiliúil*).

This rare phenomenon, so far only attested for older speakers in eastern Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin, could bear further investigation.

2.7 Substitution of Alveolar Nasal Consonants by Flaps in Word-Initial Consonant Clusters

[1] I presume here that the initial consonant was the unlenited [**ʟ′**], which suits the grammatical context.

(The items examined here are *cnoc, cnaipe, [de] ghnáth/gnách, gnáthdhuine, gnúsacht, mná.*)

We move on now to quite a different phenomenon: the replacement of the aveolar nasal consonant [**N**] by the flap [**r**] in word-initial consonant clusters consisting of a plosive followed by a sonorant, such as *cn*, *gn* and *mn* (as represented orthographically in written Standard Irish). As noted earlier, this phenomenon can also be viewed as the denasalisation of the sonorant, and is a feature found widely in Gaelic dialects both in Ireland in the dialects of Connaught and Ulster and in Scotland.

Beginning with the two items *cnoc* and *cnaipe*, in which a voiceless unpalatalised velar plosive precedes the nasal segment, the situation appears reasonably clear. We have no denasalisation in western Inis Mór from Bungabhla through Corrúch, but we have mixed usage from Eochaill eastward through Inis Meáin. On Inis Oírr, we have only the denasalised cluster [**kr**].

This situation may seem unexpected, since one would expect strong influence from the dialects of Munster on Inis Oírr Irish, and Munster dialects as a whole preserve the nasality of the second segment. If we glance at map 245 in Volume One of the *LASID*, however, we will see that the dialects of coastal County Clare as far as the Shannon River have accepted denasalisation along with their neighbours all around Galway Bay. The mystery, in fact, is the conservatism of western and central Inis Mór, considering their historically close ties to their northern neighbours on the Connemara coast through the Aran port at Cill Mhuirbhigh.

The next three items, *[de] ghnáth/gnách, gnáthdhuine* and *gnúsacht*, feature the voiced plosive [**g**] as the first segment of the cluster. The first item is attested only in central Inis Mór, and there all three informants — F 70 at An Sruthán and both informants at Corrúch — conserve the nasality of the second segment, as expected.

The second item, *gnáthdhuine* or *gnáthfhear*, is attested widely on all three islands. In this case, on Inis Mór all the speakers in the sample from Bungabhla to Cill Éinne preserve the nasality of the second segment, contrasting with their linguistic behaviour in regard to the clusters with a voiceless initial segment. Inis Meáin, however, again shows mixed usage, with the male informant preserving the nasality of the second segment while the female informant produces the flap [**r**]. On Inis Oírr, unfortunately we have no examples from the two older informants, but the youngest informant, F 18, unexpectedly preserves the nasal consonant in both her examples, thus conforming to the usage on Inis Mór and perhaps a sign of generational change.

The last item, the verbal noun *gnúsacht*, shows quite a different pattern. Here nearly all the speakers on Inis Mór — except the two male speakers M 60 and M 82 in the centre of the island — conserve the nasal segment, echoing their behaviour in regard to the last item, but all the speakers in the two islands to the east denasalise the second segment, producing the flap [**r**].

The next item, *mná*, differs from the previous items in that two nasal segments follow one another, the first bilabial and the second alveolar.[2] Here the pattern for the last item

[2]Responses representing both the homonymous genitive singular and the nominative plural forms of the singular noun *bean* are conflated in this item.

largely repeats itself. All the speakers on Inis Mór preserve the alveolar nasal segment [**ɴ**], while in the two islands to the east the flap [**r**] is dominant, with only the male informant on Inis Meáin and the older female informant on Inis Oírr showing mixed usage.

2.8 De-Lenition

(The items examined here are the nouns *samhradh* and *geimhreadh*.)

The next linguistic variable involves what the scholar Ruairí Ó hUiginn has labeled "díshéimhiú" ('de-lenition").[3] In the case of the first item, *samhradh*, we have the substitution of the voiced bilabial nasal consonant [**m**] in an environment where the bilabial glide [**w**] would be expected in Standard Irish. Only one example of this occurs in the sample — an example from the male informant M 82 at Corrúch on Inis Mór. Three examples occur with the tensed bilabial fricative [**v**], however, from both ends of the island — from the youngest informant there, F 43 at Bungabhla in westernmost Inis Mór, and from the informants at Cill Rónáin and at Cill Éinne, respectively, in easternmost Inis Mór. All the other informants across the three islands produce only the expected diphthongs [$\mathbf{a^u}$] or [$\mathbf{ʌ^u}$].

Though it is possible to interpret M 82's example of de-lenition as a preservation of an archaic form, common sense dictates that we regard the de-lenition as yet one more innovation coming from Corrúch.

The second item, the noun *geimhreadh*, has to do with the same phenomenon of de-lenition, and it involves a similar cluster, but here both segments of the cluster are palatalised. Once again, it is Inis Mór which draws our attention, with three informants in western and central Inis Mór manifesting the de-lenited segment [$\mathbf{m'}$] — the female informants at Eoghanacht and at An Sruthán as well as both informants at Corrúch. F 73 at Eoghanacht also produces the lenited segment [$\mathbf{v'}$]. On the other hand, further east, at Eochaill, the male informant surprises us by eliding the [$\mathbf{v'}$] entirely, leaving only the nasalisation on the preceding vowel to mark its presence.

There are no examples of de-lenition on Inis Meáin, but on Inis Oírr, the older female informant F 41 produces an example.

Here again, it is possible to see the de-lenition as an innovation which originated in central Inis Mór, possibly in Corrúch itself, and which spread westward. Alternatively, since F 73 moved from Eoghanacht to Fearann an Choirce after marriage, it is possible to see the feature as one acquired by her after marriage. Similarly, it is possible to see the feature as one which the Inis Oírr informant F 41 acquired while she attended the vocational school at Cill Rónáin, even though the feature is not that widespread on Inis Mór.

It should be recalled, however, that F 73 also produced an example of de-lenition in her unique variant of the item *cuimhneamh*, discussed earlier.

2.9 De-Palatalisation

[3] Cf. Ó hUiginn (1994), 554.

(The items examined here are *tuirseach, fairsing, scian, scéal, sciobtha, isteach.*)

We turn now to a different linguistic variable, one involving a phenomenon which we can call "de-palatalisation". For our purposes, we can define de-palatalisation as the substitution of the voiceless alveolar central fricative [**s**] for the voiceless palato-alveolar central laminal fricative [**ʃ**] in certain consonant clusters.

Beginning with the item *tuirseach*, we note that all informants across all three islands de-palatalise the second element of the cluster [**rʃ**], thus producing the cluster [**rs**] in the word *tuirseach*, with only three isolated exceptions. Thus the two younger female informants, F 43 at Bungabhla on Inis Mór and F 41 on Inis Oírr, and the oldest informant, M 82 at Corrúch on Inis Mór, produce the Standard Irish cluster [**rʃ**]. Since both women received their secondary education at the vocational school at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór at roughly the same time, we might ascribe their deviation from the pattern as a product of their exposure to Standard Irish, and yet another example of generational difference among the women.

On the other hand, F 18 on Inis Oírr has not continued that pattern, having chosen to go with the overwhelming majority of speakers on all three islands. M 82 at Corrúch on Inis Mór also remains an anomaly, unless he represents an even older linguistic situation on Inis Mór, when "de-palatalisation" was not so widespread.

The item *fairsing*, however, presents an entirely different pattern of variation. Though the item is not as well attested as the previous item, the pattern seems clear. Only the Standard Irish laminal variant [**ʃ**] occurs across all three islands; thus there is no sign of de-palatalisation.

Turning now to a different cluster, the cluster [**ʃkʹ**] in the item *scian*, we find the pattern of distribution of the Standard Irish variant and the variant with de-palatalised [**s**] complex but not random. Only de-palatalised [**s**] occurs in westernmost Inis Mór from Bungabhla through Eoghanacht, while further east, from An Sruthán through Fearann an Choirce, both the Standard Irish and the de-palatalised variants occur. At Corrúch, once again both informants produce only the de-palatalised variant, but further east, at Eochaill and at Cill Rónáin, both male informants produce only the Standard Irish variant. Further east still, at Cill Éinne, the female informant F 70 produces both variants, but with the de-palatalised variant clearly dominant.

The same situation seems to continue on Inis Meáin, with one example of the Standard Irish variant attested, but with the de-palatalised variant clearly dominant.

Usage on Inis Oírr, however, is as divided as it is on Inis Mór. The male informant, like his male counterparts in easternmost Inis Mór, produces only the Standard Irish variant. On the other hand, the youngest female informant, F 18, again chooses the de-palatalised variant, while the older female informant, F 41, produces both variants.

In regard to the item *scéal*, the same complex pattern seen on Inis Mór for the previous item is repeated in almost every detail for informants across the island – the de-palatalised variant alone in westernmost Inis Mór, the palatalised variant beginning at An Sruthán, and the alternation of the variants from townland to townland eastward, exactly as described above. It is in the two eastern islands, however, that the pattern differs radically, since for this item only the de-palatalised variant occurs on Inis Meáin and on Inis Oírr.

As for the last cluster, the cluster [**ʃtʹ**] in the item *isteach*, the variant with the de-palatalised segment [**s**] seems to be competing vigorously with its Standard Irish counterpart, with all speakers across the two western islands alternating between the two variants. Only on Inis Oírr is the de-palatalised variant dominant. Once again, both the male informant and the younger female informant produce only the de-palatalised variant, while the older female informant again produces both variants.

An interesting side feature in the production of the latter cluster is the affricated release of the second segment by speakers in easternmost Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin — i.e., the female informant at Cill Éinne and both informants on Inis Meáin. Thus we find the variant cluster [**stʃ**], with the first segment invariably de-palatalised. The phenomenon of affrication will be discussed next, but it is good to keep the examples (*isteach* and *istigh*) in mind, since they are not included among the items to be examined in that section.

2.10 Affrication of Voiceless Alveolar Consonants in Word-Initial Position

(The items examined here include *teach/ti, [an] tseachtain, teacht, tinn, tuilleadh.*)

We turn now to the phenomenon of affrication — here, the substitution of the voiceless palatal-alveolar affricate [**tʃ**] for the palatalised voiceless dental plosive [**tʹ**], beginning with affrication of [**tʹ**] in word-initial position.

Starting once again on Inis Mór, we note not a single example of affrication from Bungabhla all the way eastward, until we reach the eastern tip of the island. Suddenly, at Cill Rónáin, we encounter an explosion of affrication, where the male informant M 50 produces nearly twice as many examples of word-initial [**tʃ**] as of Standard Irish [**tʹ**]. His neighbour to the east, the female informant at Cill Éinne, is even more pronounced in her use of the affricate, producing [**tʃ**] almost exclusively.

The burst of affrication continues on Inis Meáin, with the female informant again clearly leading in her use of this feature. Thus she produces only examples with [**tʃ**] , while the male informant lags considerably, affricating less than half of his examples.

The bias toward affrication in female informants continues on Inis Oírr, since here the male informant produces no examples at all with [**tʃ**], while his wife shows rather evenly divided usage. The youngest female informant, F 18, however, produces more than twice as many examples of [**tʃ**] as of [**tʹ**]. Is a generational change toward affrication taking place among female speakers on Inis Oírr?

If one might hazard a guess, it seems as though affrication of word-initial [**tʹ**] originated in easternmost Inis Mór and has been spreading eastward. Though clearly a feature most strongly characterising female speakers, it has apparently had time in easternmost Inis Mór to spread to male speakers in Cill Rónáin to the extant that their speech also is strongly characterised by it. Nevertheless, the innovation has not spread westward even as far as Eochaill.

Its slow spread eastward to Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr is reflected not only in the generational differences between female speakers on Inis Oírr, but also — and especially — in the

differences between male speakers from island to island.

2.11 Affrication of Voiceless Alveolar Consonants in Word-Medial or Word-Final Position

(The items examined here include *caite, áit, caint, buailte [pl. of buaile], tabhairt, labhairt, dúirt, beirt.*)

Turning now to the phenomenon of affrication in word-medial or word-final position in such examples as *caite, áit, caint, buailte* and *beirt*, we find much the same patterns of variation as we encountered in word-initial position. On Inis Mór, the pattern for the items examined is exactly the same as before. On Inis Meáin also, the female informant again produces [**tʃ**] exclusively, while the male informant shows even a lesser tendency to affricate, producing [**tʃ**] in less than a third of his examples.

On Inis Oírr, we encounter one example of [**tʃ**] from the male informant, but otherwise he produces [**t′**] exclusively. On the other hand, his wife this time produces the affricate [**tʃ**] in less a third of her examples, and even the youngest female informant, F 18, barely favours [**tʃ**] over [**t′**].

If an eastward spread of affrication has taken place, it seems clear that the spread is most advanced in word-initial position.

Having dealt with affrication in word-medial and word-final position, there is a particular consonant cluster which is worth examining a bit closer — the cluster [**rt′**]. In this instance, one can encounter not only the affricated variant [**rtʃ**], but also a kind of metathesised version of the cluster where the alveolar fricative [**ʃ**] follows the flap [**r**], but precedes the palatalised voiceless dental plosive [**t′**]. As remarked earlier, a similar phenomenon exists in dialects of Scottish Gaelic.

Focusing on the items *tabhairt, labhairt, dúirt* and *beirt*, and beginning on Inis Mór, we note that pattern of distribution for affricated and non-affricated clusters is roughly the same as for the preceding items, but there are some striking differences. We now encounter two isolated examples of the affricated cluster [**rtʃ**] in An Sruthán in western Inis Mór, along with the expected examples in Cill Rónáin and in Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór.

As expected, the male informant at Cill Rónáin produces the affricated cluster [**rtʃ**] in over half his examples, but the female informant at Cill Éinne surprises us by being much more conservative in her affrication, this time producing the non-affricated cluster [**rt′**] in over half her examples. Even more surprising, however, is the use of the metathesised cluster [**rʃtʃ**] (with an additional affricated release) by the male informant at Corrúch in central Inis Mór in his production of the impersonal simple past form *doirteadh*.

It is on Inis Meáin, however, that the use of the metathesised cluster [**rʃt′**] is endemic. The female informant produces the metathesised cluster [**rʃt′**] almost exclusively, with only one example of the affricated cluster [**rtʃ**]. The male informant, on the other hand, divides his usage equally between the metathesised cluster [**rʃt′**] and the non-affricated cluster [**rt′**]
.

In sum, then, in contrast to Inis Mór, on Inis Meáin the metathesised cluster [**rʃtʹ**] is overwhelmingly dominant, the non-affricated cluster [**rtʹ**] is recessive but certainly present, and the affricated cluster [**rtʃ**] is virtually non-existent.

Moving east now to Inis Oírr, we are surprised yet again by encountering no examples at all of the metathesised variant [**rʃtʹ**]. Furthermore, the three informants each go their separate ways. The male informant once again rejects affrication, producing only the non-affricated variant [**rtʹ**], while his wife produces only the affricated cluster [**rtʃ**] and the youngest informant F 18 shows divided usage, favouring the non-affricated cluster [**rtʹ**] only slightly over the affricated cluster [**rtʃ**].

2.12 Affrication of Voiced Alveolar Consonants

(The items examined here include *Dia, [go] dtí, de, di, d'imigh, déanaigí!, deas, [i] dteach, Bríd, cuid, cairde.*)

Turning now to the voiced counterparts of the variants just discussed, we will look at the substitution of the voiced palatal-alveolar affricate [**ʤ**] for the palatalised voiced dental plosive [**dʹ**] in word-initial position. The items examined include *Dia, go dtí, d'imigh, deas* and *i dteach.*

Beginning on Inis Mór, we note a pattern almost identical to that of [**tʃ**] and [**tʹ**] in word-initial position. Outside of two isolated examples from An Sruthán and Eochaill, respectively, we encounter no examples of affrication until we reach Cill Rónáin. There, however, we note a sharp increase in the level of affrication from that of the unvoiced plosives as we examine the voiced ones. The male informant at Cill Rónáin increases his level of affrication to approximately 80 percent, while his eastern neighbour, the female informant at Cill Éinne, produces [**ʤ**] exclusively.

On Inis Meáin, similarly, the female informant produces [**ʤ**] exclusively, while the male informant increases his level of affrication, so that he now affricates the initial segment in over half his examples.

On Inis Oírr, likewise, the older female informant now produces [**ʤ**] in more than twice as many examples as [**dʹ**], and the younger female informant, F 18, now affricates exclusively. It is the male informant, however, who is most surprising in his behaviour. Though he exhibited no examples at all of the affricate [**tʃ**] in word-initial position, he now produces twice as many examples of [**ʤ**] as of [**dʹ**] in the same position.

As for the occurrence of [**ʤ**] and [**dʹ**] in word-medial and word-final position, as reflected in the items *Bríd, cuid* and *cairde*, the patterns of affrication are similar to those just mentioned, though there seems to be much less frequent affrication of the item *Bríd.* On the other hand, the high-frequency item *cuid* shows much more widespread affrication in central and eastern Inis Mór than expected, while the eastern tip of Inis Mór, Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr continue to exhibit the high levels of affrication seen earlier for that item as well. It is worth reviewing the more detailed data in the preliminary analysis.

2.13 Affrication of the Consonant Cluster [nʃ]

(The items examined here are the two locative pronouns *anseo* and *ansin*.)

Before leaving the subject of affrication, let us glance at an extremely interesting phenomenon — the affrication of the cluster [**nʃ**], as heard in the two locative pronouns *anseo* and *ansin*. In these items we encounter not only the affricated cluster [**ntʃ**], but also the clusters [**nʹsʹ**] (with the voiceless grooved fricative [**sʹ**]), [**nʹtʹ**] (with simple substitution of the palatalised plosive [**tʹ**]) and [**tʃ**] (with the nasal consonant elided entirely), which may or may not involve affrication proper.

It is well worth reviewing the detailed description of the distribution of the individual variants in the preliminary analysis, but it is useful to repeat the summary of the data given there. The patterns of distribution are virtually the same for all these non-standard variants. That is, they are encountered almost exclusively from Cill Rónáin and Cill Éinne at the eastern tip of Inis Mór eastward through Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr.

Of those variants, only the variant [**tʃ**], with the nasal consonant elided, and that elision only in the item *ansin*, appears restricted to Inis Meáin and to Inis Oírr. Examples are [**ə̃ˈtʃɪnʹ**], [**əˈtʃɪnʹ**], [**ᵊtʃɪnʹ**] and [**ᵋˈtʃɪnʹ**].

The same denasalised variant has also been attested in the locative pronoun *ansiúd* in two examples from the male informant on Inis Meáin.

2.14 Vocalisation

(The items examined here include the common noun *tarbh* and the impersonal simple past verb forms *cailleadh, doirteadh, rugadh [ar] . . . , fuarthas*.)

We move on now to an entirely different kind of linguistic variable — that of the conversion of the segmental sequence [**əv**] to the single vocalic segment [**uː**], [**uˑ**] or [**u**]. This can occur in the case of nouns or adjectives such as *tarbh* or *balbh*, where an epenthetic neutral vowel is triggered automatically by the phonological rules of Standard Irish to separate a non-palatalised sonorant from a following non-palatalised voiced bilabial fricative.[4]

The other context in which such vocalisation can take place is in the suffix of an impersonal simple past tense verb form, such as *cailleadh*. As we shall see, it is good to keep these two contexts separate.

Beginning with the item *tarbh*, we find all the informants in the two western islands — with a single exception — vocalising the segmental sequence to [**uː**], [**uˑ**] or [**u**]., while all the informants on Inis Oírr preserve the sequence [**əv**]. M 50 at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór is the only informant in the two western islands who preserves the sequence.[5]

Turning now to the impersonal simple past tense verb forms, unfortunately the attestation of the different items — *cailleadh, doirteadh, rugadh [ar]* and *fuarthas* — is spotty.

[4]Such vocalisation of the segmental sequence [**əv**] does not occur where the segments are palatalised, such as in the adjective *meirbh*.

[5]Presumably his familiarity with the Standard Irish variant through his role as headmaster of the vocational school has influenced his selection of a variant.

Beginning with the verb form *cailleadh*, all the informants on Inis Mór (including M 50 at Cill Rónáin) vocalise the suffix. Unfortunately, we have no examples from Inis Meáin, but on Inis Oírr, usage is divided in the older generation, with the male informant preserving the sequence [**əv**], while his wife vocalises to [**uˑ**] and [**u**].

The next verb form, *doirteadh*, is even more poorly attested, but the pattern of vocalisation on Inis Mór seems the same. Again we have no examples from Inis Meáin, and in our sole example from Inis Oírr, F 41 preserves the sequence [**əv**], in contrast to her behaviour in regard to the previous item.

As for the next item, *rugadh*, if we ignore the irrelevant variant forms *rugus* and *rugas*, we note that Inis Mór speakers invariably vocalise the suffix, as does the male informant on Inis Meáin. Unfortunately, we have no other relevant variants from the two eastern islands.

The last item, *fuarthas*, is of interest because of such local variants as *fuaireadh, fuireadh* and *foireadh*, dominant on Inis Mór, and *friothadh* or *fríothadh*, found on all three islands, which allow vocalisation of the suffix.

On Inis Mór, the suffixes of both groups of variants are vocalised, but on Inis Meáin, where only the *fríothadh* variant occurs, both informants preserve the final segment of the sequence [**əv**], producing [**fʹrʹiːv**].[6]

On Inis Oírr, the older female informant also preserves the final consonant in her anomalous example [**fʹiːv**].

As a parting consideration, in regard to the vocalisation of the suffix in the *friothadh/fríothadh* variants, one should remember that even on Inis Mór, speakers producing regular disyllabic impersonal simple past forms with stems ending in a high front vowel, such as the second conjugation verb form *coinníodh*, would normally preserve the final segment, e.g., [**kɪNʹiːv**], though the same speakers (on Inis Mór) will frequently produce the vocalised forms [**kɪNʹiˑu**] or even [**kɪNʹuː**] as alternative forms.

2.15 Consonant Substitution at Word Boundaries

(The items discussed here are the phrases *[ó] dhaoine* and *beirt daoine* and the command *[Fág taobh] amuigh é!*.)

The next few items involve *sandhi* phenomena, that is to say, phonological changes triggered automatically at word boundaries as certain words or particles come together on the level of the phrase or clause. We have already dealt with at least one linguistic variable involving a *sandhi* rule — in that case, the Standard Irish rule which automatically inserts the segment [**h**] between the definate plural marker *na* and a following common noun which begins with a vowel. In that instance, the linguistic variable functioned negatively, in that the speakers could choose to allow the Standard Irish rule to function normally or else to delete the rule, thus allowing two adjacent vowels to come together at a word boundary.

In the first of the two items to be discussed next, we encounter the deletion of the velar fricative [**ɣ**] in the phrase *ó dhaoine*, a deletion that seems to be a result of extremely lenis

[6]Compare the comparable forms on Inis Mór, especially easternmost Inis Mór, where only vocalised forms, such as [**fʹrʹiːuˑ**], are found.

articulation, so that only the lip-rounding of the preceding upper-mid back rounded vowel [**oː**] remains as a glide to separate the adjoining vowels of the two words.

The item is not well attested in the data from the two western islands, and we have no data at all from Inis Oírr. Nevertheless, the little that we have is intriguing. Of the three examples we have from Inis Mór, the velar fricative is elided in all three cases. Thus we have [**oː wiːnʹɛ**] from the female informant at An Sruthán, [**oː wiːnʹiː**] from the female informant at Cill Éinne, and the anomalous phrase [**oː vəjɪnʹɛ**] from the male informant at Corrúch. In our single relevant example from Inis Meáin, however, the male informant does not elide the velar fricative.

Whatever the situation may be in the two eastern islands, certainly Inis Mór seems to be characterised by the elision of the velar fricative in such phonological environments. This linguistic variable merits further investigation.

The next item, the phrase *beirt daoine* involves a similar rule, one which substitutes the voiced rounded labiovelar approximant [**w**] for the velar fricative but in a phonological environment which does not seem to call for such a substitution. In other words, not only do we not have lip-rounding in the final consonant of the numeral *beirt*, one would not even expect lenition after *beirt* in this instance, since two homorganic consonants, [**tʹ**] and [**d**], are coming together.

Nevertheless, two male informants do substitute [**w**] for [**d**] in their examples. Thus, M 60 at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór and, surprisingly, M 70 on Inis Meáin, do so. Nevertheless, it must be said that M 68 at Eochaill on Inis Mór does not, though he does lenite the initial consonant of *daoine*, thus producing the velar fricative [**ɣ**]. Two other informants on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla and M 82 at Corrúch, produce the phrase *dhá dhuine*, both producing the expected lenition of the initial consonant of the noun.

Again, this particular instance of *sandhi* merits further investigation.

The next item involves *sandhi* of a different sort. Rather than insertion of a phonological segment — in this case, the voiced palatal central approximant [**j**] in the sentence *Fág taobh amuigh é!* — or the substitution of one segment for another, in this instance we have the realisation of an underlying phonological form for the locative adjective *amuigh* in certain phonological contexts — specifically, before a vowel.

As mentioned earlier in the preliminary analysis, if the underlying form in the informant's mind is [**ᵊmuⁱ**], as suggested by the standard orthography, the voiced palatal central approximant [**j**] will appear automatically as a final segment before a word beginning with a vowel — at least, a long vowel. If the following word begins with a consonant, or perhaps with a short, neutral vowel such as [**ə**] in a phrase such as *amuigh ansin*, one would expect the shorter allomorph [**ᵊmʊ**] normally heard in the Aran Islands as well as in Connemara.

If, on the other hand, the underlying phonological form in the mind of the informant is [**ᵊmʊ**], we would not expect the palatal approximant [**j**], even before a long vowel. In fact, with a single exception, all the informants in the two western islands reflect [**ᵊmuⁱ**] as the underlying form, whereas all the informants on Inis Oírr reflect [**ᵊmʊ**] as the underlying form, with no sign of the approximant [**j**] or of a diphthong.

The single exception in the two western islands, the headmaster at the vocational school, M 50, confirms his underlying representation [**ᵊmʊ**] by inserting the voiceless glottal central

approximant [**h**] in order keep the vowels in the two adjacent words separate, i.e., [**ᵊməh ɛ**] (= . . . amu' h-é).

2.16 Substitution of Alveolar Nasal Consonants for Velar Nasal Consonants at Word Boundaries

(The items examined here include the phrases *[i] ngar, [go] ngabhfaidh . . . , [go] ngnóthóidh . . . , [ar an] ngaineamh, sa gheimhreadh.*)

The last two linguistic variables involve substitution of an alveolar nasal consonant for an expected velar nasal consonant at a word boundary. All such cases involve the morphosyntactic process usually called "eclipsis", whereby certain syntactic contexts — usually involving certain preceding grammatical particles — trigger morphophonological changes, such as the voicing of an unvoiced plosive or the nasalisation of a voiced plosive, in the initial consonant of a following noun or verb.

In the case of the first linguistic variable, we would expect the substitution of the velar nasal consonant [**ŋ**] in place of the velar plosive [**g**], as in Standard Irish, but sometimes the alveolar nasal consonant [**N**] is substituted. The items examined are *i ngar, go ngabhfaidh . . . , go ngnóthóidh . . .* and *ar an ngaineamh.*

As it happens, all the examples with the alveolar nasal [**N**] substituted for the expected velar nasal [**ŋ**] come from central and easternmost Inis Mór. The male informant at Fearann an Choirce substitutes [**N**] or [**ŋ**] in the item *go ngnóthóidh*, thereby simplifying the consonant cluster [**ŋN**]. His neighbour to the east, the male informant at Corrúch, goes much further and substitutes the [**N**] in three of his four examples. The female informant at Cill Éinne, however, does so in only one example.

In the other two islands, there are no examples of such substitution.

The other linguistic variable involves their palatalised counterparts at the same place of articulation, i.e., the substitution of [**N′**] for [**ŋ′**]. Only one item was examined here, the Standard Irish phrase *sa gheimhreadh*, pronounced locally as *sa ngeimhreadh*, with eclipsis rather than lenition of the noun.

Once again, our only example of the substitution of [**N′**] for [**ŋ′**] comes from An Sruthán in west central Inis Mór. All the other speakers across all three islands produce [**ŋ′**], though the two female informants from Inis Oírr, who have both received secondary education, also produce the Standard Irish lenited variant [**j**].

In sum, one can ascribe the two alveolar substitutions [**N**] and [**N′**] to lenis articulation, and once again, we can associate such innovations with central Inis Mór, especially Corrúch.

2.17 Glides and Re-Syllabification

(The items examined here include *gabhar, gabhair, [an] ghrian, [mo] dheartháir, [mo] dheirfiúr, [a] dheirfiúr.*)

The last few items in this section on phonological variation have to do with the general phonological shape of certain words and involve possible re-syllabification of those words. That is to say, they involve chiefly monosyllabic words containing diphthongs, and involve either conserving the diphthong and articulating the word as a monosyllabic word or else inserting the bilabial glide [**w**] or the palatal glide [**j**] (depending on the nature of the diphthong) to produce a disyllabic word.

Beginning with the singular noun *gabhar*, we find half the speakers throughout Inis Mór treating the form as a disyllabic word, producing the equivalent of the form [**gaːwʊr**]. Speakers in the two eastern islands, however, treat the word as a monosyllabic form, all producing the equivalent of [**gaᵘr**].

In regard to the plural form *gabhair*, however, all the informants across all three islands produce only the disyllabic form [**gaːwɪrʲ**] or its close equivalent. The only exception is the youngest informant, F 18 on Inis Oírr, who produces the monosyllabic form [**gaᵘrʲ**] to match her example of the singular form. It seems that in this case nearly all the speakers are heightening the acoustical contrast between the singular and plural forms through disyllabification.

The next item, *an ghrian*, involves the "falling diphthong" [**iᵊ**], ending in the neutral vowel [**ə**]. Judging from the responses of M 82 and F 72 at Corrúch to the *LASID* questionnaire, we might expect the monophthongised front high-mid vowel [**eː**] or at least the palatalised glide [**j**], but in fact there is no levelling of the diphthong or even an insertion of the glide [**j**] anywhere in the three islands, even at Corrúch on Inis Mór. At most we encounter the disyllabic form [**gʲrʲiːəɴ**] (with no glide) from the female informant at Eoghanacht on Inis Mór.

Passing over the item *mo dhearthár* for reasons stated earlier, we encounter the items *mo dheirfiúr* and *a dheirfiúr*, which both contain a diphthong, [**ɛᵘ**], very similar to the one just discussed.[7]

On Inis Mór, in parallel with the singular form *gabhar* just discussed, disyllabic forms compete with monosyllabic forms of *dreabhar* across the island. On Inis Meáin, however, in this instance both informants use only the disyllabic form [**dʲrʲʌʷər**]. As for Inis Oírr, once again all informants produce only the monosyllabic variant.

[7] Cf. the local variant *dreabhar* ([**dʲrʲɛᵘr**]) of the kinterm *deirfiúr*.

Chapter 3

Phonological Material from the LASID Questionnaire Administered in Corrúch

Having dealt with the phonological linguistic variables featured in the linguistic tables, let us turn now to the phonological material contained in the responses of the two informants at Corrúch to the *LASID* questionnaire. There is a massive amount of phonological material in these responses, material which is extremely rich and varied and which is often difficult to categorise. This material, along with material from the *LASID* for Inis Meáin and for Inis Oírr, was instrumental in the construction of the test sentences and in the selection of the linguistic variables for the interviews which were conducted across the three islands and which ultimately formed the basis for the linguistic tables.

In regard to the representativeness of the material contained in the responses to the *LASID* questionnaire from Corrúch, many of the linguistic features referred to in the index of selected items of interest[1] can be found in the linguistic tables. One can therefore draw conclusions from the linguistic tables themselves of the representativeness of these linguistic traits across the three islands. Beyond that, one can examine the material from M 82 and F 72 in the responses to the *LASID* questionnaire for any peculiarities which might pertain to Corrúch specifically.

For example, there are a number of striking linguistic features which are shown on the index of selected items of interest but which are not shown on the linguistic tables, and these deserve some comment here, even though their representativeness across the three islands cannot yet be determined. In particular, the metathesis of consonants, the pre-aspiration of the voiceless velar plosive ([**k** > **xk**]), and the affrication of the voiceless palato-alveolar central laminal fricative ([**ʃ** > **tʃ**]) call for some discussion.

Beginning with the metathesis of consonants, we get the following forms: [**kʹɑːrɴəx**] (*ceanrach?*); [**korsɪkʹɪ**] (*coisricthe*); [**xorsɪkʹ**] (*choisric*); [**gʹoːrləx**] from M 82, but [**gʹoːlrəx**]

[1]The index referred to is *The Selected Items of Interest from the Responses to the LASID Questionnaire, Corrúch, Inis Mór, 1990*, which follows the questionnaire itself, *Responses in Irish to Questionnaire of the Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects: Corrúch, Inis Mór, 1990.*

from F 72 (*geolbhach*); [**ɛːrləx/ ərləx/ orləx**] from M 82, but [**ɪlrəx**] along with [**ɪlər**] from F 72 (*iolar*); [**maːrləx**] (*malrach*); [**smʊlʹɪnʹiː**] from M 82, but [**mʷɪnʹɪlʹiː**] from F 72 (*muinchillí*); [**ʃeːrloᵘ/ ʃɪːrluː**] from M 82 (*síolrú*); [**smoːrlɛⁱ**] from M 82 but [**smoːliː**] from F 72 (*smólaigh*); [**səxərdʹiː**] from M 82, but [**tsəxrɪdʹiˑ**] from F 72 (*sochraidí*); and [**ə təxər(dʹɛ ʔ)**] from M 82, but [**ən təxrɪdʹɪ**] from F 72 (*. . . na sochraide*).[2]

Turning now to the pre-aspiration of the voiceless velar plosive ([**k** > **xk**]), we get [**ɛxʹkʹɪ**] from M 82, but [**ɛkʹɪ**] from F 72 (*aici*); [**ə xaːrxkɪrʹ**] from M 82, but [**ə xaːrkɪrʹ**] from F 72 (*an charcair*); [**kərxʹkʹɛ**] (*coirce*); [**kɪrxʹkʹ/ kɛrxʹkʹ**] (*corc* [pl.]); and [**dʹeːrʹxʹkʹɛ**] from F 72, but [**dʹeːrʹkʹɛ**] from M 82 (*déirce*).

As for the affrication of the voiceless palato-alveolar central laminal fricative ([**ʃ** > **tʃ**]), we get many examples from F 72, but not many from M 82. For example we find [**ɛ tʃɪnʹ**] from F 72, but [**ɛ ʃɪnʹ**] from M 82. Nevertheless, we do get [**tʃæs**] (*seas*, "thwart") and [**nʲʹtʃə**] (*anseo*) from M 82.

While on the subject of affrication, it is worth noting the frequent reduced forms of the verbal constructions *tá sé, tá sí*, and *tá siad* in the responses to the *LASID* questionnaire. In this reduction, the vowel of the verbal form *tá* is dropped, and the preceding and the following consonants come together to form an affricate, e.g., [**tʃe**], [**tʃi**], and [**tʃiᵊd**], respectively. This phenomenon, caused by the reduction of a group of unstressed syllables in phrase-initial position, is found frequently across all three islands, and is reflected in the tabular displays of the verb *bí* in the section on verbal morphology. Such a group of unstressed syllables is called an *anacrusis* by the phonetician Alan Cruttenden,[3] and is found frequently in English.

It is worth mentioning briefly a number of other linguistic forms displaying unusual features not yet discussed. We get [**ʊtʃkʹɪ**] and [**sətʃkʹæˑl**] (*uisce* and *soiscéal*, respectively) from F 72, as well as [**tʊtsə**] (*tusa*), though she produces the more Standard Irish forms as well in the same contexts. We get [**rʌurʃtə**] (*rabharta*) from M 82, and F 72 produces [**xʊrʃtʹɛː**] (*chuir sé*).

We get an intrusive dental plosive breaking up consonant clusters of an alveolar nasal consonant followed by a flap, as in [**aːndrə**] (*anraith*), [**skaːndrə**] (*scanradh*), and [**kʊndrə**] from F 72, though she does not always insert the dental plosive. M 82, however, shows no sign of this trait.

We get interesting elisions of word-medial consonants, such as [**dʊːləs**] (*domlas*) from both informants. As for their palatalised counterparts, we get [**gʌⁱnʹɪ**] (*goibhne*) from M 82 (but [**gʌⁱvʹnʹɪ**] from F 72). On the other hand, we get [**ə tʹlʹeː**] (*. . . an tsléibhe*) from F 72, but [**nə sʟʹeːvʹɛ**] from M 82.

From both informants, we get uniform elision of the voiced bilabial fricative [**v**] in word-final position in the adverb of frequency *annamh*, just as we see in the examples of the nouns *talamh* and *gaineamh*, which appear as items in the linguistic tables. On the other hand, we get no elision of the final consonant [**v**] from either informant in the case of the monosyllabic noun *taobh* in the expressions *taobh istigh* or *taobh amuigh*.

[2]For references to the particular items in the *LASID* questionnaire from which these examples and the examples in the following paragraphs are drawn, please see the *Index of Selected Items of Interest . . .* just mentioned.

[3]Cf. Cruttenden (1986), 24.

We also get frequent elision of the voiceless dental plosive [**t**] in the consonant cluster [**xt**] when it occurs in word-final position. For example, we get such elision from both informants in the word *anocht*, *ocht*, and *seacht*, and intermittently from M 82 in the word *ríocht* in the context of the Lord's Prayer.

We get at least occasional elision of the voiceless palatalised bilabial fricative [**f′**] in word-initial position in the relative verbal construction *is fearr* from M 82, but none at all from F 72. We get elision of the voiceless palatalised velar fricative [**x′**] in the word *muinchillí* from F 72, as we have seen above, and of the voiceless glottal central fricative [**h**] in the expression *ní hea* from M 82.

On the other hand, where we would expect elision of the velar consonant, whether palatalised or non-palatalised, in the preposition *ag* when it occurs before a verbal noun beginning with a vowel in progressive verbal constructions, we do not always find the expected elision. For example, in the sentences *tá sé ag léamh* and *tá sé ag filleadh*, neither informant elides the velar consonant in the preposition.

Before turning to the vowels, it is worth mentioning a few other phenomena involving consonants. First of all, we have already discussed vocalisation, which involves the conversion of the segmental sequence [**əv**] to the high back rounded vowel [**uː**]. In addition to the noun *tarbh*, listed in the linguistic tables, we also find the adjective *marbh* in the responses to the *LASID*. As expected both informants vocalise the segmental sequence in both items, though F 72 does produce one example of *marbh* without vocalisation.

On the other hand, as an alternative to the lenis pronunciation of the medial consonant in the adjective *ramhar* as the voiced rounded labiovelar approximant [**w**], both informants seem to prefer the relatively tense alternative [**v**] in that particular lexical item, but not in the case of the similar form *samhradh*. The relatively tense fricative [**v**] appears again in the phrase *i bhfad* as produced by F 72.

Of interest also is the lenition of the demonstrative *sin* by M 82 in the deictic expression *sin é an chaoi a bhfuil siad*, e.g., [**hnʹ æ xiː wʊlʹ ʃɛd**].

Finally, we note the apparent reduplication of the preposition *de*, with lenition of the initial consonant in the reduplicated form, by both informants in the expression *d' aois*, e.g., [**gə jiːʃ/ /gʊ jiːʃ**].

Turning now to the vowels, there is little here that has not been discussed already in the discussion of vocalic linguistic variables, particularly in the areas of lowering, raising, fronting and backing of vowels. Nevertheless, there are a few features which are worth commenting on.

One striking feature is the occasional conversion of the high-mid or high back vowels [**ʊ**] and [**uː**], respectively, to the diphthong [**ə^{u}**], for example in the words *inniu* and *amú*, e.g., [**ˈnʹə^{u}**] and [**mə^{u}**], both produced by M 82. (Another example, from F 70 at Cill Éinne in Inis Mór, can be found in the linguistic tables for pronominal forms, where we find [**ə^{u}**] expressing the pronoun *thú*. I had previously heard a male relative in his sixties from Cill Rónáin using the identical diphthong in the pronoun *tú* while greeting a friend, e.g. *Cén chaoi a bhfuil tú [tə^{u}]*?)

Also of interest to me is the raising of the expected diphthong [**ə^{i}**] to the long high front vowel [**iː**] in the word *maidhm*. This happens also in Cois Fharraige Irish, as we see in

Prof. de Bhaldraithe's works on the phonology and morphology of that dialect, and, for that matter, the same is true of the word *snaidhm* (cf. Item 991). Note that M 82 also lowers the diphthong of *maidhm* in one of his examples, e.g., [**mʷeːjɪmʲ**].

Equally arresting is the realisation of the body organ *ae* as [**ɪjuˑ**] (F 72) or [**iːjʊː**] (M 82) with similar raising to a high-mid or high front vowel, but with further phonological developments as well.

In terms of the fronting of the low central vowel [**aː**] to the low front vowel [**æː**], which has already been dealt with in the discussion of material from the linguistic tables, we find further confirmation of the strength of this feature in the speech of the informants at Corrúch in the noun *ga*, which is rendered by M 82 as [**gæː**]. Thus, the informants at Corrúch uniformly front a low central vowel or even a low back vowel in lexical items of the form CV, such as *ga*, *ba*, *sleá*, *fleá*, *maith* and *scaitheamh*, to the uniform low front vowel [**æː**].

As for the opposite phenomenon, the backing of the low central vowel [**aː**] to the low back vowel [**ɑː**], in spite of the uniform backing for (largely) monosyllabic words of the form *-all* we have seen in the case of the items *mall*, *anall*, *thall*, *sall*, and *(ar) ball* in the linguistic tables, the vowel in the word *ball* in the expression *ball airnéise* is not backed by either of the two informants, e.g. [**baːʟ aᵘrnʲɪʃ**]. We also have an isolated instance of an unbacked vowel in the word *fearr*, as well as an instance of the low-mid front vowel [**ɛ**] in the form *gheall* in the expression *mar gheall ar . . .*, e.g., [**mar jɛʟ ɛrʲ**].

We have dealt already with the shortening and centralisation of the diphthong [**uᵊ**] to the neutral vowel [**ə**] in the case of the items *buachaill* and *buachaillí* when we discussed the linguistic tables. In the *LASID* responses we see that the shortening and centralisation occurs not only in the word *buachaillí* for both informants, but also in the word *buachallán* in the plant name *buachallán buí* — at least for M 82.

While on the subject of the central vowel [**ə**], we note two instances where a neutral vowel occurs unexpectedly between words, e.g., [**əs əmuː ə fʲɛːr**] (*is iomaí fear . . .*) from F 72, and [**ʃɪnʲ ə pʲɛːkə/pʲæːkə**] (*sin peaca*), from both informants. I suspect that the explanation for the occurrence of the [**ə**] lies in transference of the indefinite article from English, e.g., *It's many a man . . .* and *That's a sin!*.

It is also worth noting that the form of the noun *urchar* is ['**ərəxər**] for both informants, with the epenthetic vowel [**ə**] inserted and no other alterations of form.

Before finishing our discussion of the vowels, let us turn our attention to the quality of the vowels in two highly frequent lexical items: the word *aon* (used in the sense of the English word *any*), and the intensifying particle *an-*.

Beginning with *aon*, both informants use a wide range of vowels — [**eː**], [**ɛː**], [**æː**], and [**ãˑ**] for the expected vowel [**eː**]. There is one variant that seems to be produced only by F 72: the low front vowel [**æː**].

In the case of the numeral *aon*, however, neither of the two informants lowers the vowel; in fact, the vowel is lengthened and can even be raised, e.g., [**hiːjəɴ**] (from F 72) and [**heːjəɴ**] from M 82. It seems as though we are dealing with two separate lexical items, one which expresses the sense of the English word *any* and which can contain any of a wide range of front vowels, and a second lexical item, the numeral *aon*, which can be lengthened

considerably and which is not lowered — in fact, can even be raised to the high front vowel [**iː**]. It seems quite likely, then, that the pronunciation of the first lexical item has been strongly influenced by its English syntactical counterpart.

As for the intensifying particle *an-*, the vowel of the particle is invariably articulated as [**æː**] by both informants irrespective of whether the following consonants are palatalised or not. In other words, the fronting of the vowel is not a result of anticipatory assimilation to palatalisation in following consonants. Thus, in addition to the expected fronting of the vowel in the word *an-ghéar*, we also get it in such words as *an-tanaí*, *an-chairdiúil*, *an-dona*, and *an-mhall*, e.g., [**ˈæːN ˈtaːNᵊi**], [**ˈæ̃ːˈxɑːrdʹuːlʹ**], [**ˈæːN ˈdʊNə**], and [**ˈæːn ˈwɑːL/ ˈæ̃ ˈwɑːL**], respectively.

Oddly enough, when we examine the intensifying particle *an-* in the section on adjectival inflection in the linguistic tables for grammatical linguistic variables, we will see that such characteristic fronting of the vowel is unique to M 60 at Fearann an Choirce and to F 72 at Corrúch on Inis Mór, with M 82 giving only a single example of fronting in the intensifying particle out of four possible examples. It is possible that the discrepant *LASID* results are the result of F 72 invariably speaking first in those particular interview items, thus influencing M 82's responses, which he gave shortly afterward in each instance.

As a final example of phonological features to be found in Aran Irish, note the example [fʷiːlʹtʃɛrʹ] (= *"wheelchair"*), heard from a male speaker in his forties on Inis Meáin, which represents an interesting assimilation of an English loanword to the phonological patterns of Inis Meáin Irish.

Part II

Grammatical Variation in Verbs

Chapter 4

Grammatical Variation in Irregular Verbs

Having looked now at the general nature of phonological variation across the three islands, and at some of the peculiarities of pronunciation garnered from the interview with the *LASID* questionnaire conducted at Corrúch with M 82 and F 72, let us move on to the question of grammatical variation across the three islands.

In general, in dealing with the grammatical data, we are less certain of having a full representation of all extant variants for a given linguistic variable than we were in dealing with phonological variables. For the most part, the high-frequency nature of most phonological variables assures us of at least a few examples of each variant of a linguistic variable, even though not every possible phonological context may be represented in the sample.

With grammatical data, however, many linguistic variants may occur with far less frequency in the data, and thus the attestation of variants in the data may be governed far more by chance. Though clear patterns of distribution of variants may often be seen in the grammatical as well as in the phonological data, nevertheless we must often be grateful for the few examples of certain variants that fall into our linguistic net, regardless of whether patterns of distribution for such variants can be discerned in the data.

Beginning with the paradigms of irregular verbs, we will note especially the patterns of suppletion or "pseudo-suppletion"[1] in verb roots, patterns which can be altered by individual speakers to create great variation in verbal paradigms.

4.1 *Tar*

(The items examined here include the verbal forms *tar!, tagaigí!, tagann, [má] thagann, [sula] dtagann, [ag] teacht, tagtha.*)

Starting with the imperative singular of the verb *tar*, we note the variant *teara!*, with palatalisation of the initial consonant and strong fronting of the following vowel, only in westernmost Inis Mór. The variant *tara!*, on the other hand, without such palatalisation and

[1] Cf. Rudes (1980).

vowel fronting, is found at least from Corrúch eastward throughout Inis Mór and throughout the two islands to the east.

Though the existence of the final vowel is difficult to establish for individual speakers, we have the example *teara uait!* attested by a male speaker from Creig an Chéirín in westernmost Inis Mór who is now 81 years of age,[2] as well as corresponding forms from Cois Fharraige, cited in de Bhaldraithe (1953).[3]

We get the unique variant *teir!* from the male informant on Inis Oírr, but he uses it for the plural imperative as well, and he uses the parallel forms *téire!* and *téirigí!* for exactly the same functions. It seems likely that the variant *teir!* is simply a phonetic variant of the imperative form *téigh!*, derived from the verb *téigh* and used in place of the imperative form *tar!*.

Though we find the variant *gabh!* on all three islands, it is used only in the expressions *gabh anall!, gabh i leith!* and *gabh isteach!*. We do find the variant *goile!* ([**gəlʲɛ**]), a blended form derived from the expression *Gabh i leith!*, in use in the two western islands, but not on Inis Oírr. Though used in isolation as a command in itself in easternmost Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin, it is normally used only as part of the longer expression *Goile anseo!* elsewhere in the two western islands.

Turning now to the plural imperative forms of the same verb, we find the Standard Irish variant *tagaigí!* on all three islands, though it is not a dominant variant in any of them. We find a competing variant, *tagaí!*, with a short, vocalic suffix, on all three islands as well, but it is especially characteristic of the two western islands. In fact, since only the youngest informant on Inis Oírr manifests the variant, we could regard the variant there as only recently introduced into Inis Oírr.

A third variant, *taraí!*, with a short, vocal suffix as well, but constructed on the root of the singular imperative form, is attested only at Fearann an Choirce and at Corrúch on Inis Mór. This seems to be yet another innovation of speakers in central Inis Mór.

A fourth variant, *goiligí!*, derived from the singular blended form *goile!* mentioned above, with the Standard Irish suffix *-igí*, is attested from only two informants, both in the two western islands. The youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, and the male informant M 70 on Inis Meáin both produce the variant. M 70 also produces a fifth variant, *goilí!*, with the monosyllabic suffix *-í* added to the same stem.[4]

It is interesting that though the singular imperative variant *gabh!* is used in such phrases as *gabh anall!, gabh i leith!* and *gabh isteach!*, the expected plural form of that variant, *gabhaigí!*, used in the sense of motion toward the speaker, does not occur in any of the islands.

We have one example of a third person imperative verb form, *teagadh!*, in the phrase *Teagadh na gasúir anall!*, from the female informant at Eoghanacht in westernmost Inis Mór.[5]

Note also the degree of centralisation of the vowel in the root variants *tag-* and *tar-* from some informants. Thus we have [**tʌgi**] from a male informant in eastern Inis Mór, but

[2]The same speaker offered *teana uait!* (< *téana uait/teannadh uait?*) as well.
[3]Cf. de Bhaldraithe (1953), 114
[4]It is noteworthy that he tends to produce plural forms in isolation, without an adverbial complement.
[5]Note that she palatalises the initial consonant and fronts the following vowel, as expected of a speaker from westernmost Inis Mór.

especially [**təriː**], [**təgiː**], [**təgɪgʹíˑ**], and [**tʌgɪgʹíˑ**] from the two female informants on Inis Oírr — especially from the youngest one.

Moving on to the habitual present tense forms and beginning on Inis Mór, we note the root variant *teag-* from the two female informants in westernmost Inis Mór, with palatalisation of the initial consonant and fronting of the following vowel as expected. However, in this instance we note the use of the same variant as an alternative form by two male informants in eastern Inis Mór. Otherwise, all informants east of Eoghanacht use the Standard Irish root variant *tag-*.

On Inis Meáin, there is an interesting sexual difference. The female informant uses the root variant *teag-* used by her female counterparts in westernmost Inis Mór, while the male informant uses the Standard Irish variant *tag-* which is used in the rest of Inis Mór. In addition, both speakers use an anomalous form, *tioca muid*, which could either be a future tense verb form used in a context calling for the habitual present, or, as we shall see below, a habitual present tense inflected verb form with *tioca-* as the stem element.

On Inis Oírr, we again find divided usage, but here the relevant factor seems to be age. Both older speakers use the root variant *teag-*, while the youngest speaker uses the Standard Irish variant *tag-*.

The question of analytic vs. synthetic forms of the verb arises at this point. We have many instances, especially in central Inis Mór, of what appears to be the elision of the final "long consonant" *-nn* of the verbal stem. Thus, where we would expect the form *tagann muid* or *teagann muid* in Aran Irish, we get the forms *tagamuid*, *tagamuinn*, *teagamuid* or *teagamuinn*. It is not always clear whether the consonant is being elided or not in an example such as *teaga(nn) na cailíní* . . . , but an example such as *teaga cuide* . . . is more convincing. Also, the rapidity of articulation and the rhythm of such forms as *tagamuid* suggest complete elision of the nasal consonant. If the consonant is elided, it is not clear whether such a form should be regarded as a synthetic (inflected) form or not.

As for the distribution of such apparently synthetic forms, they seem to be widespread on Inis Mór, especially in the centre of the island. As for the two eastern islands, we have only the anomalous form *tioca muid* from Inis Meáin mentioned earlier, but we do have the synthetic form *teagamuid* from the older female informant on Inis Oírr.

As for the pronominal element in such forms, the variant *muinn* has been noted for Inis Mór Irish,[6] though it is clear from the present evidence that the variant is not restricted to easternmost Inis Mór but extends at least as far west in the island as An Sruthán. We have no attestations, however, in the two eastern islands. As for the more standard variant *muid*, widespread in neighbouring Connemara, this variant is in general use on all three islands.

Returning to the question of variation in the root itself and the alternation between the variants *teag-* and *tag-*, we can examine the items *má thagann* and *sula dtagann* for further examples. In the light of these examples, it seems that the palatalisation of the initial consonant itself triggers the fronting of the vowel, and that without such a trigger, the vowel will not be fronted. Thus we have *teaga(nn)* and *chola dteagann* vs. *má thagann* from the female informant at Eoghanacht in westernmost Inis Mór, *tagamuinn/teagann* vs. *sór thagann* and *má 'agann* from the male informant at Corrúch, and *sula dteangann (sic)*

[6] Cf. Ó Murchú, S. (1991)

vs. *má thagann* and *hud a thagann* from the male informant at Eochaill.

The same rule seems to operate in the two eastern islands as well. Thus, the female informant on Inis Meáin produces *teagann* vs. *má thagann*, and on Inis Oírr, both older informants produce examples of *teagann* which contrast clearly with their examples *roimh a thagann* and *má thagann*.

The one striking exception to this rule is the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla in westernmost Inis Mór. She apparently generalises the fronted vowel to all forms, regardless of the presence or absence of a preceding palatalised alveolar consonant. Thus she produces not only *teagann* and *sula dteagann* but also *má theagann*. It would be interesting to know if this apparent innovation characterises others of her generation on Inis Mór.

Turning now to the verbal noun, *teacht*, we are dealing essentially with two variants, *teacht* and *tíocht*, variants which compete with one another co-territorially over the whole of Connaught. The distribution of the two variants in the Aran Islands, however, is very distinctive. On Inis Mór, the variant *tíocht* is used only in the western half of Inis Mór, from Fearann an Choirce westward.[7] In contrast, the variant *teacht* is used exclusively in the eastern half, from Corrúch eastward. The distribution, therefore, fits exactly the local conception of *An Ceann Thiar* vs. *An Ceann Thoir*.

On Inis Meáin, the *teacht* variant continues its march eastward, but Inis Oírr, once again, is not in step. The two older informants use the variant *tíocht* almost exclusively, while the youngest informant, F 18, uses the variant *teacht* exclusively, suggesting once again generational change.

The glaring exception on Inis Mór to the distributional rule mentioned above is once again the youngest informant on the island, F 43 at Bungabhla at the western tip. She uses the variant *teacht* exclusively. Like F 18 on Inis Oírr, she seems to be providing yet another example of a generational shift in usage — in this case, in the direction of the Standard Irish variant.

Before leaving this verb altogether, it is worthwhile glancing at the verbal adjective or past participial form *tagtha*. Unfortunately, we have very few examples, but these all conform to the phonological rules outlined above for the different areas. We have the variant *teagthaí* from F 43 at Bungabhla in westernmost Inis Mór, *tagthaí* from the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór, and *tagthaí* again from F 18 on Inis Oírr.

4.2 *Téigh*

(The items examined here include the verbal forms *téigh!, téigí!, rachaidh, [go] rachaidh, [a] chuaigh.*)

Moving on now to the next verb, *téigh,* and beginning on Inis Mór with the imperative singular of the verb, the variants *téire!* and *téir!* are clearly the dominant variants throughout Inis Mór.

We have the same problem with these variants that we had with the variants *tara!* and

[7] We do have one example of the variant *tíocht* right across the border at Corrúch.

teara! for the previous verb, but in this case examples of both *téire!* and *téir!* occur in relative syntactic isolation in eastern Inis Mór, allowing us to assume the existence of two slightly different variants — one with the final vowel and one without. The quality of the root vowel in these variants varies from [**a^{i}**] to [**ə^{i}**] to [**eˑ**] to [**ɛ**] with no clear pattern of distribution for the variants.

The Standard Irish variant *téigh!* is used only by the male informant at Corrúch, while the suppletive variant *gabh!*, in the phrase *Gabh abhaile!* is used by two female informants at opposite ends of the island.

On Inis Meáin, the variant *téir!* is used by the male informant, while the variant *téire!* is used by the female informant. Note that the vowels [**eˑ**] and [**e^{i}**], respectively, are used in these two forms, rather than the more radical diphthongisation encountered so frequently on Inis Mór.

On Inis Oírr, we get only the variant *téir!* (with the vowels [**e**] and [**eˑ**]) from the two older informants – again with no pronounced diphthongisation, while the youngest female informant, F 18, again breaks ranks with the older speakers and produces only the variant *gabh!*.

Turning now to the plural imperative form and beginning once more on Inis Mór, we find only the Standard Irish form *téigí!*, spread throughout the island, and the suppletive variant *goigí* (= *ghabhaigí!*), used only by two male informants in the centre of the island. The verb forms *imigí!* (sic) and *imí!* are frequently substituted, and we have a single instance of *tiomáiní lib!*. What is surprising is that no informant builds a plural form based on the singular forms *téir!* or *téire!*, and that about half the informants intersperse their plural forms with singular forms, though they clearly understand the context.

On Inis Meáin, a similar situation exists, with the male informant using the Standard Irish plural form *téigí!*, and the female informant using only the singular form *téire!*.

On Inis Oírr, the male informant uses both *téigí!* and *téire!*, while the older female informant uses *téire!*. And again, the younger female informant distinguishes herself from the older informants by repeatedly choosing the variant *goigí!* (= *ghabhaigí!*), a variant otherwise attested only on Inis Mór.

Oddly enough, though the male informant uses the plural form *téirigí!* in the phrase *téirigí anseo!*, used in a context calling for the plural imperative of the verb *tar*, previously examined, neither he nor any other informant use the form in this context.

Examining now the future tense forms of the verb, the suppletive variant *gabhfaidh* is used almost exclusively across all three islands. Only the elderly female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór uses the Standard Irish variant *rachaidh*, and even she uses it only as an alternative form.

The phonological shape of the verb form *gabhfaidh*, however, easily distinguishes different geographical areas. We find the monophthongised variant [**goː**] in westernmost Inis Mór, competition between that variant and the diphthongised variant [**ga^{u}**] in central Inis Mór (between An Sruthán and Corrúch), and the diphthongised variant [**ga^{u}**] alone from Eochaill eastward on Inis Mór and on Inis Oírr.

Inis Meáin is problematic in this instance, since the single relevant example that we have is of the dependent form, [**gə ŋu^{ə}**], which has a phonological shape which does not

conform to either of the variants just described. It can in fact be seen as a third variant, with "breaking" of the root vowel [**oː**] in the first variant to the diptthong [**uᵊ**].

It is worth mentioning two unusual dependent forms of the verb at this point: *nó go ngánn tú* ([**nu gə ŋɑːɴ tu . . .**]) from Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór and *go dtí 'ngabhfas tú . . .* from the youngest speaker in the sample, F 18 on Inis Oírr. We get two examples of a construction similar to the last also from the female informant on Inis Meáin: *Cén t-am a dtiocfas tú?* and *Cén fhad go dtiocfas tú?* These last three examples apparently involve the use of a future relative form with stem-final *-s* in a grammatical context which normally demands a dependent form of the verb.

We also get examples of the reduction of the subordinating particle *go* from central Inis Mór, e.g., *Cén fhad 'o ngó tú . . . ?*, and from the youngest speaker on Inis Oírr, [**əx ə Naᵘ . . .**].[8]

Turning now to the simple past form of the verb, *chuaigh*, we find a wide range of phonetic variants in the articulation of the vowel across the islands, ranging from [**xuᵊ**] through [**xoː**] to [**xo**] or [**xə**]. Among the older informants, there seems to be not a hint of patterned variation, so that the vowel variants can be said to be in free variation. Nonetheless, the youngest informant, F 18 on Inis Oírr, seems to show a particular preference for short, very centralised vowel variants.

We also get the inflected form *chuadair* ([**xuᵊˈdər′**]) from the male informant on Inis Oírr. Note that the stress is on the final syllable, and that the final consonant is apparently palatalised.

Before ending our discussion of the verb *téigh*, it is worth mentioning two examples of the dependent form of the verb in the habitual present tense from the male informant on Inis Meáin and an example of the same form from the older female informant on Inis Oírr. We get the expected form [**d′ɛɴ**] in the phrases *. . . a dtéann . . .* and *. . . nach dtéann . . .*, with shortening of the vowel and no diphthongisation, as expected, from Inis Meáin, but unexpected diphthongisation from the woman on Inis Oírr: [**ʤaⁱn**] (*Cá dtéann . . . ?*).

4.3 *Faigh*

(The items examined here include the verbal forms *faigí!, faigheann, [ní] fhaigheann, [an] bhfaighidh . . . ?, [ní] bhfaighidh, [ní] bhfaighfeá, [dá] bhfaighinn, fuair, fuarthas, [nach] bhfuarthas, gheofar, [ag] fáil, [a] fháil.*)

Moving on to the verb *faigh*, we come to one of the most complex verbs from the standpoint of possible variation. The verb forms can vary along several distinct dimensions: the actual verb root used in a verb characterised by an extraordinary amount of suppletion (or "pseudo-suppletion") in the verbal paradigm, the nature of the often irregular mutation employed on the initial consonant of the stem, and the treatment of the verbal form as either a synthetic (inflected) or else as an analytic form. In the interests of a coherent present of complex material, I will strive to sort out the different dimensions and to present the patterns as clearly as possible. Some important detail may be inadvertently omitted, but

[8] Note the substitution of an alveolar nasal consonant in the dependent verb form.

such detail can normally be found in the analysis itself.

First of all, we encounter the plural imperative form *fáigí!*, which is found nearly universally across all three islands. Note that the vowel of the first syllabic is always backed, and is apparently built on the singular imperative form *fá!*.

Once again, however, the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, uses the singular form, though she knows clearly that a plural form is called for. The male informant on Inis Oírr does the same. Another informant on Inis Mór substitutes the construction *Tugaí lib . . . !*, with a monosyllabic plural suffix.

Moving on to the positive and negative forms of the habitual present tense, *faigheann* and *ní fhaigheann*, we find that the positive form used across all three islands is *fánn*, with the stem apparently constructed on the root variant *fá-*, with the vowel again backed.

We do find a couple of other variants. At Corrúch on Inis Mór we get the apparently Standard Irish variant *faigheann* ([**fəʲəN**]) from the male informant and the variant [**fʷaˑn**] from his sister F 72. This latter variant is similar to the general variant, but without the root vowel backed, or else perhaps fronted, which, as we have seen in the section on phonology, is F 72's general tendency. On Inis Oírr, on the other hand, the youngest informant, F 18, again produces a form with a markedly centralised vowel: [**fən′**].

The most striking variant, however, is the variant *gabhann*, produced by the male informant on Inis Oírr in another linguistic context.[9] This variant is constructed on the future root *gabh-*, a variant peculiar to Inis Oírr.

As for the negative form of the verb, we encounter the expected variant *ní fhánn* across all three islands, but note the form that the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór produces: *ní bhfaigheann*, with eclipsis of the initial consonant of the stem. It may be that he is constructing not only this form with the negative future verb root, but that his positive form is also constructed on a positive future form *faighidh*, rather than simply producing the Standard Irish variant.[10] (Note the variant *faighfear*, which he produces as an impersonal future verb form.)

As we can see from Item 279 in the *LASID* questionnaire administered in Corrúch, M 82 characteristically eclipses such negative habitual present tense forms — unlike his sister, F 72, who lenites such forms. Thus we get both *ní bhfaigheann* and *ní bhfuigheann* (with the root vowel [**iː**]) from him — both, as we shall see, apparently constructed from the roots of future verb forms. Otherwise, both informants are happy to produce the positive variant *fánn* (and in the case of F 72, the negative variant *ní fhánn*).[11]

On Inis Oírr, both the male informant and the youngest female informant do similar things. M 55 produces the variant *ní gheobhann*, constructed with the root of the positive future tense found in the two western islands, but which is not attested for Inis Oírr as a root variant in future verb forms. On the other hand, F 18 produces an alternative form built on the future root which is peculiar to Inis Oírr: *ní ghabhann*. We have already seen M 55 produce a similar variant in a positive sentence construction.

[9] This form was given in the phrase *gabhann siad*, produced while eliciting for the impersonal future verb form.

[10] In fact, in a sentence elicited from him for Part III, he uses the positive form *fuíonn sé*, which is clearly constructed from the root of the future variant *ní bhfuighidh* and not from the Standard Irish habitual present verb form.

[11] Cf. Item 278 as well in the same questionnaire.

Turning now to the future verb forms themselves and beginning on Inis Mór, we find the Standard Irish positive interrogative form *an bhfaighidh . . . ?* running nearly the whole length of the island.

Only in easternmost Inis Mór, at Cill Rónáin and at Cill Éinne, do we find a competing variant, constructed on the simple future root: *An gheobh' ?* The youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, uses the same variant, [ᵊNʹɛᵘ/ᵊNʹəᵘ]. Whether this is due to a generational change or to the fact that she has been living in Cill Rónáin since marriage is a moot question. On Inis Meáin, we encounter a distinct variant *An bhfuighidh . . . ?*, with the distinctive vowel [**iː**] in the verb root.

On Inis Oírr, by way of contrast, the male informant produces the Standard Irish variant *An bhfaighidh . . . ?*, while the two female informants produce versions of *An ngabhaidh . . . ?*, based on the Inis Oírr root variant *gabh-*.

Turning now to the negative future form *ní bhfaighidh*, the distribution of the stem variants across all three islands is much the same as for the previous item. On Inis Mór, only the female informant at An Sruthán is added to the list of informants at the two tips of the island using the root variant *geobh-* in dependent verb forms. Thus she, like them, produces *ní gheobhaidh*; the other informants in the more central parts of the island produce the Standard Irish variant *ní bhfaighidh.*[12]

From Inis Meáin we have only one example, but it is the expected *ní bhfuighidh*, with the distinctive vowel [**iː**] in the verb root.

Inis Oírr, however, now presents a united front against the two western islands: all three informants produce the local variant *ní ghabhaidh.*

Turning now to the conditional mood and to the two items *ní bhfaighfeá* and *dá bhfaighinn*, we shall have opportunities here to examine not only the informants' choice of root variant and of mutation, but also their use of a synthetic (or inflected) verb stem as opposed to an analytic construction.

Beginning with the negative conditional form, we see that in this instance, all the informants on Inis Mór use the relatively Standard Irish variant *ní bhfaigheá* (without the *f* of the personal suffix), and only two elderly female informants — the woman in An Sruthán and the woman in Cill Éinne — use the competing variant *ní gheobhá.* It is worth noting that we get the root variant *bhfuigh-*, with the vowel [**i(ː)**], from two male informants, one in the centre of the island and one in Cill Rónáin.

On Inis Meáin, we get the expected *ní bhfuigheá* from the male informant and a future indicative form with the same root variant from the female informant.

On Inis Oírr, however, we get a variety of responses. We get the analytic conditional construction *ní ghabhfadh tú*, with the characteristic Inis Oírr root variant, from the older female informant, the anomalous future construction *ní ngheobh' tú* (with eclipsis of the initial glide of the verb stem) from the male informant, and the construction *ní bhfuigheá*, a form characteristic of Inis Meáin, from the youngest female informant.[13]

[12]The youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, uses the expected variant *ní gheobhaidh* here. Later, however, in her response to a sentence calling for the negative conditional form of the verb, she produces a future form instead — but her variant is the Standard Irish variant *ní bhfaighidh.* This wavering between competing variants may signal the linguistic change occurring in her generation.

[13]Note that her father was born and raised on Inis Meáin. Note also her example *go bhfuighidh siad*, produced while eliciting for the impersonal future verb form.

Ignoring the inflection of the verb stem for the moment, and moving on to the other item, *dá bhfaighinn*, we find the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, again joining the informants M 50 and F 70 in easternmost Inis Mór in producing an example based on the root variant *gheobh-* while the rest of the informants throughout the island produce examples based on the root variant *bhfaigh-*, as in Standard Irish.

On Inis Meáin, we get the expected Inis Meáin variant *'á bhfuighinnse* from the male informant, but the unusual *dá bhfáinn-tse*, perhaps a past subjunctive form, from the female informant.

On Inis Oírr, surprisingly, we encounter no sign of the local root variant *ghabh-* in this item, since all three informants produce examples based on the Standard Irish root variant, e.g., *dá bhfaighinn(se).*

Turning now to the question of the inflection of the verb stem in these two items, we find the overwhelming majority of the informants on all three islands using inflected (or synthetic) forms for both items. For the first item, only the older female informant on Inis Oírr uses an analytic construction, *ní ghabhfadh tú.* For the second item, it is only on Inis Mór that we encounter examples of analytic constructions from two other female informants, *'á gheobhadh mé* (without eclipsis) from the youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, and *dá ngheobhadh mé* (with eclipsis) from the elderly informant F 70 at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór.

On the other hand, we encounter an unexpected inflected verb form in the response form *ní bhfaighead*, from the oldest informant on Inis Mór, M 82 at Corrúch.

Many of the informants employ the emphatic particle *-se* in their examples for the second item, and one encounters the heavily affricated variant **[-tʃə]** in the above-mentioned example **[dɑ ˈwɑːntʃə]** from Inis Meáin, but the most interesting development here is the example **[dɑː ˈwaʲnʲɪ]** (= *dá bhfaighinne/dá bhfaighinn-ne*), a form which was elicited from the female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór and which seems to be modelled on the emphatic pronoun *muinne*, itself derived from the local first person plural pronoun *muinn.*

Turning now to the simple past tense form *fuair*, there is little variation to be noted in this form across all three islands, other than the free variation in the quality of the vowel that we saw already in the verb form *chuaigh.* Thus we note a range of vowel variants from **[uˑ]** to **[ə]**, e.g., **[fuˑrʲ]**, **[foːrʲ]**, **[fʊrʲ]**, **[forʲ]** and **[fərʲ]**.

We can also note that both informants on Inis Meáin use inflected (synthetic) third person plural verb forms. The male informant produces the variant *fuaireadair*, with the final consonant palatalised, while the female informant produces *fuireadar* (sic), with the final consonant unpalatalised. Though such third person plural forms are common enough in Aran Irish, the fact that both informants on Inis Meáin produce a form which is otherwise unattested for this item helps to underline the conservatism of Inis Meáin Irish.

Turning now to the impersonal forms of the verb, and beginning with the impersonal simple past form *fuarthas*, we note a single example of the relatively Standard Irish variant *fóireas* from the female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór. Otherwise, we note the local variant *fuireadh* (**[fʊrʲuː]**) from Bungabhla to as far eastward as Eochaill. At the eastern tip of Inis Mór, however, we encounter a distinct root variant, *fríothadh* in two slightly different sub-variants. In the first, (**[frʲɪhuː]**), the male informant at Cill Rónáin produces a short

root vowel and conserves the root-final [**h**]; in the second example, ([**fʹrʹiːuː**]), the female informant at Cill Éinne lengthens the root vowel and elides the following glide.

On Inis Meáin, both informants produce a slightly different sub-variant of *fríothadh* from that attested in Cill Éinne slightly to the west — [**fʹrʹiːv**], with a voiced bilabial fricative replacing the final vowel of the verb stem.

And on Inis Oírr, we encounter yet another sub-variant of the variant *fríothadh*, [**fʹiːv**], with the palatalised flap [**rʹ**] elided. As we shall see, this is no slip of the tongue.

The next item, *nach bhfuarthas*, the negative subordinate form of the same verb form, allows us not only to observe the variation in verb stems but also to note the further possible variation arising from the use of the negative verbal particle *nár* as opposed to the Standard Irish form *nach*.

The pattern of distribution of the variants on Inis Mór is similar to what we have already seen in the positive variants, with the dominant variant, *nár bhfuaireadh*, stretching from Bungabhla through Corrúch. Of the informants using this variant, only the male informant at Corrúch opts for the alternative negative particle, producing *nach bhfuireadh*. As regards the root variant *fríothadh*, with this item all of easternmost Inis Mór from Eochaill to Cill Éinne seems to be characterised by the variant,[14] and we even find a stray example as far west as An Sruthán, in western Inis Mór. In regard to the negative particle, however, only the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór opts for the variant *nach* with this particular variant.

On Inis Meáin, once again we have continuity, with the male informant producing the example *nach fríothadh* ([**nax fʹrʹiːv**]), which echoes the choice of negative particle made at Cill Éinne but produces the phonological stem shape characteristic of Inis Meáin.

On Inis Oírr, however, the older female informant produces the example *nár fíothadh* ([**naːr fʹiːv**]), which not only produces the stem variant peculiar to Inis Oírr, but distinguishes itself in its choice of accompanying negative particle. That choice is reinforced in her inflected (synthetic) past tense form *nárbh . . . 'uaireadair*, and confirmed again in the example from the youngest informant, F 18: *nár bhfuair siad* ([**nər vuːrʹ ʃɪd**]).

Turning now to the impersonal future verb form *gheofar*, we encounter the Standard Irish variant *gheofar* ([**jəfər**]) only at Cill Rónáin in easternmost Inis Mór and in neighbouring Inis Meáin, with both examples coming from male informants. A similar variant, *gheifear* ([**jɛfʹər**]), with the medial consonant palatalised and the preceding vowel fronted, comes from a female informant at An Sruthán on Inis Mór.

We encounter the variant *gheobhfar* ([**jaᵘfər**]), with a diphthong in the first syllable, from another two informants, both female and of the same generation — F 43 at Bungabhla on Inis Mór and F 41 on Inis Oírr.[15] A similar variant, *geobhfar* ([**gʹaᵘfər**]), with an unlenited initial consonant, is attested from the elderly female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór.

Finally, we encounter two innovative forms based on an entirely different root variant from Corrúch in east-central Inis Mór. The male informant produces the variant *faighfear* ([**fʌⁱfər**]), while his sister produces *bhfaighfear* ([**waⁱfər**]), with what appears to voicing of

[14] We lack a confirming example from the male informant at Cill Rónáin.

[15] This is yet another example of a unique trait shared by both women, who received their secondary education at Cill Rónáin at roughly the same time.

the initial consonant through eclipsis.

Turning now to the verbal noun, *fáil*, we find the Standard Irish variant *fáil* spread across all three islands, with only a single alternative variant, *fáilt*, with a [**t′**] augment, attested from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór. The male informant on Inis Oírr also produces a single different sub-variant of the standard variant by fronting the vowel: [**fa˙l′**].

As for the verbal adjective/past participial form *faighte*, only the variant *fáighte*, with a low back vowel in the first syllable, is attested. Examples span all three islands.

4.4 *Tabhair*

(The items examined here include the verbal forms *tabhair!, tugaigí!, tugann, tabharfaidh, [ní] thabharfaidh, [ar] thug . . . ?, [a] thug . . . , [ag] tabhairt, [a] thabhairt.*)

Moving on to the verb *tabhair*, and starting with its singular imperative forms, we find the variant *tiúir!* ([**t′uːr′**]), with its palatalised initial consonant, from Bungabhla through Eochaill on Inis Mór. At Cill Rónáin and at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór, however, we find a variant with an affricated initial consonant, *tsiúir!* ([**tʃuːr′**]), and this variant extends eastward through Inis Meáin. on Inis Oírr, we encounter yet another variant, *túir!* ([**tuːr′**]), with no palatalisation of the initial consonant.[16]

There is yet another variant to be found at Cill Rónáin and Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór, but not on Inis Meáin — the by-form *siúir!/siuir!* ([**ʃuːr′/ʃʊr′**]), wherein the initial affricated consonant or affricated cluster [**tʃ**] of the variant *tsiúir* is replaced by the simple sibilant [**ʃ**].

We also have two formulaic constructions: *tor'oma!* ([**tərəmᵊ**]) (= *Tabhair dom . . .*), with an apparent final vowel, from the female informant at Eoghanacht in westernmost Inis Mór, and the truncated *Tu' dhom!* ([**tu ɣuːm**]), from the male informant on Inis Oírr.

Turning now to the plural imperative verb forms, and beginning on Inis Mór, we find no examples of the Standard Irish form *tugaigí!*. Instead, we find the variant *tugaí!*, with a monosyllabic suffix, widespread on Inis Mór. The male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór offers a second variant as well — *tiúirí!* ([**t′uːr′iː**]), which seems to be modelled on the singular variant *tiúir!*.

Unfortunately, we have no examples from Inis Meáin, but from the older female informant on Inis Oírr we encounter the variant *túraí!* ([**turiː**]), which has broad similarities with the example from Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór. The youngest female informant there, however, gives us three entirely different variants: *tugaigí!, tuigigí!* and *tuirigí!*.[17]

Note that once again a large number of informants across all three islands use singular imperative forms in contexts calling clearly for plural forms.

Turning now to the habitual present verb form *tugann*, we find the Standard Irish variant *tugann* dominant throughout the three islands. Once again we encounter an apparent

[16] As in the case of the verbs *tar* and *téigh*, it is difficult to establish whether such forms have a final vowel or not, though we do have the example *tiúire!* from F 43 at Bungabhla in westernmost Inis Mór.

[17] Note that she provides the only example of the Standard Irish variant on all three islands. Note also that she uses the disyllabic suffix *-igí* in all three examples.

inflected form on Inis Mór, with the final consonant of the verb stem elided, but here it appears in a third person plural form, *tugasi'd* ([**tʊgəʃɪd**]), offered by the male informant in Cill Rónáin. We also encounter a variant with an unvoiced medial consonant, *tucann siad*, from the male informant at Corrúch, and its inflected counterpart, *tucasi'd*, from the youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla.[18]

We encounter yet another variant on Inis Mór — one based on the imperative singular verb stem or (as we shall see presently) on the future verb stem and unique to two elderly female informants in central and western Inis Mór: *tiúrann*. On the other hand, we encounter a similar variant, *turann*, from the youngest female informant on Inis Oírr.[19]

Turning now to the future verb forms *tabharfaidh* and *ní thabharfaidh*, we note that the distribution of the positive variants resembles closely the patterns already seen in the imperative singular. We find the variant *tiúra* ([**tʲuˑrə**]) on Inis Mór from Bungabhla through Eochaill, but at Cill Rónáin and at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin, we encounter the affricated variant *tsiúra* ([**tʃuˑrə**]).

On Inis Oírr, once again we encounter variants with unpalatalised initial consonants — the expected variant *túra* ([**tuˑrə**]) from the two older informants and an unexpected variant, *túire* ([**tʰuːrʲɪ**]), with the palatalised flap [**rʲ**] as medial consonant, from the youngest informant, F 18.

As for the negative future form, *ní thabharfaidh*, we find a sharply different pattern in the distribution of variants. Now we find a single variant, *ní thiúra* ([**Nʲiː xʲuːrə**]), with the palatalised voiceless velar fricative ([**xʲ**]) as the lenited initial consonant of the root, throughout Inis Mór. In contrast, Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr share a single variant, *ní thúra* ([**Nʲiˑ huːrə**]), with the simple voiceless glottal central fricative [**h**] as the lenited initial consonant of the verb root. Meanwhile, the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18, again produces a separate variant, *ní thúire* ([**Nʲiˑ huːrʲɛ**]), which, like her positive future form, contains a palatalised flap in root-final position.[20]

We also encounter some conditional forms for this verb which occurred serendipitously in the data; all such forms come from Inis Oírr. The older female informant produces [**ᵊduːreˑ**] (An dtabharfá . . . ?) with an oddly fronted and raised final vowel, but whose initial consonant is unpalatalised, as expected. The younger informant, F 18, however, produces the analytic construction [**ᵊdurəx tʊsə**] (An dtabharfadh tusa . . . ?), which also leaves the initial consonant of the verb root unpalatalised, but which, uncharacteristically for F 18, does not palatalise the root-final flap. In a second conditional verb form, the impersonal conditional form *thabharfaí*, she does the same thing, producing [**hurfʲiˑ**], though she palatalises the conditional suffix immediately following.[21]

[18] Note the reduced vowel in the final syllable of both inflected forms.

[19] Note that the presence or absence of palatalisation in the initial consonant of these variants conforms to the patterns which we have seen for the imperative singular, and which we shall presently see in the variants of the future verb forms.

[20] It is interesting to compare these data with the data for the form *ní thiocfaidh*, which was elicited via the translation sentences for Part III. This negative form is similar in phonological shape to the form *ní thabharfaidh*, but the root vowel is short and rather neutral, and, more importantly, the initial consonant in the base form to be lenited, *tiocfaidh*, is unquestionably palatalised as either [**tʲ**] or [**tʃ**] across all three islands. In this case we get [**nʲiː xʲʊkə**] across all three islands, the slightly more lenis form [**nʲiː hʊkə**] from the two western islands, and the even more lenis form, [**nʲiː ʊkə**], from the two informants at Corrúch on Inis Mór.

[21] The impersonal conditional suffix is realised as the invariant palatalised suffix *-fí* across all three islands.

Turning now to the interrogative form of the simple past verb form, *Ar thug . . . ?*, we find the expected variant [**ər hʊg**] on all three islands, though we find relatively lenis forms on Inis Mór. Thus, two informants there elide the initial consonant of the verb, producing the equivalent of [**ᵊr ʊg**], while two others elide the interrogative particle, producing [**hʊg**].

Note that there are no examples of the eclipsis of the initial consonant of the verb, unlike the situation in Cois Fharraige Irish, where the interrogative simple past verb forms for such verbs as *tar, tabhair* and *clois* may be eclipsed, producing such forms as *a' dtáinig?, a' dtug?* and *a' gcuala?*, respectively.[22]

Turning now to the verbal noun, and beginning with the progressive construction *ag tabhairt*, we note the variant *tiúirt* ([**tʹuːrtʹ**]), with a palatalised initial consonant, extending from Bungabhla eastward through Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór, though the male informant at Eochaill also produces the alternative form *tabhart* ([**taᵘrt**]), with a diphthong as root vowel and an unpalatalised consonant cluster following the vowel.

At Cill Rónáin agus at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin, we find the variants *tsiúirt* ([**tʃuˑrtʹ**]) and *tsiúirts* ([**tʃuˑrtʃ**]), with affrication of the initial consonant or of both initial and final consonants. On Inis Meáin we also find the variant *tiúirst* ([**tʹuˑrʃtʹ**]), with its final affricated consonant cluster metathesised — a feature distinctive of Inis Meáin.

On Inis Oírr, as expected, we find the variant *túirts* ([**tuˑrtʃ**]), with no palatalisation of the initial consonant and affrication of the final consonant cluster.

Turning now to the verbal noun in a non-finite verbal construction, with lenition of the initial consonant of the phrase-final verbal noun, i.e., *. . . a thabhairt*, we note the variant *thiúirt* ([**xʹuːrtʹ**]) extending the entire length of Inis Mór. The female informant at Cill Éinne also produces the variant *thiúirts* ([**xʹuːrtʃ**]), with affrication of the final consonant. We also get a predictable variant *theoirt* ([**xʹoˑrtʹ**]), with a lowered root vowel, from the male informant at Corrúch.

Once again, Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr share the variant without palatalisation of the initial consonant: *thúirt* ([**huːrtʹ**]), though the variant *thúirts* ([**huːrtʃ**]), with its affrication of the final consonant, is clearly dominant on Inis Oírr. And once again we encounter a variant with a metathesised final consonant cluster, *thúirst* ([**hʊrʃtʹ**]) — a feature unique to Inis Meáin.

It is also worth noting the elision of the initial consonant in an example provided by the male informant on Inis Oírr: *'úirt* ([**urtʹ**]).

In sum, we find a replication here of the patterns of distribution for variants already seen for the positive and negative future verb forms — and to a certain extent, for the imperative singular verb form.

4.5 *Bí*

(The items examined here include the verbal forms *bígí!, bheifeá, [dá] mbeifeá, [mura] mbeifeá, bhínn, bhíteá, [a] mbíteá*, along with the short query *An raibh tú?* and its brief response *Bhí mé!*. Items displayed on the following linguistic table are also discussed here, including the verbal form *nach raibh*, found in negative relative and negative finite comple-

[22] Cf. de Bhaldraithe (1953), 235.

ment clauses, and the third person verbal forms *tá [sé/sí], tá [siad], bhí [siad], [ní] raibh [siad], [go] raibh [siad].*)

Moving on now to the substantive verb *bí* and beginning with the plural imperative form *bígí!*, we find the Standard Irish variant *bígí!* ([**bʹiˑgʹiˑ**]) across all three islands. We get another variant, *bigí!* ([**bʹɪgʹiˑ**]), with the vowel of the first syllabic laxed and shortened, from two female informants, F 70 at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór and F 41 on Inis Oírr.[23] We also get a third variant, *bíkí!*, with the velar consonant devoiced, from the youngest informant, F 18 on Inis Oírr.

Note that the laxing and shortening of the vowel in the first syllable of the recessive variant *bigí!* conforms to the normal articulation of the plural imperative suffix variant *-ígí* in second conjugation verbs on all three islands. Note, for example, the articulation of the verb form *imígí!* as *imigí!* ([**ɪmʹɪgʹí**]) under the verb *imigh* below.[24]

Once again it is worth noting that a large number of informants across all three islands use a singular imperative form, *bí!* ([**bʹiː**]), instead of the expected plural form. For example, all the informants in western Inis Mór from Bungabhla as far eastward as the male informant at Corrúch[25] use a singular imperative form. In contrast, all the informants in eastern Inis Mór from the female informant at Corrúch eastward use a plural form.

Further eastward, however, the singular variants continue. The male informant on Inis Meáin, and both the male informant and the youngest female informant on Inis Oírr all use the singular variant as well.

It is worth mentioning a second singular imperative variant, *bi!* ([**bʹɪ**]), with a laxed and shortened vowel, produced by a female informant in western Inis Mór. This is a possible back-formation from the plural variant *bigí!* ([**bʹɪgʹiː**]).

Turning now to the conditional verb forms *bheifeá, dá mbeifeá* and *mura mbeifeá*, we can deal with all three items at once. Beginning with the inflected (synthetic) variants of these verb forms, we note the relatively Standard Irish variant [**vʹɛjɑː**] (= *bheifeá*) from Eochail in easternmost Inis Mór and [**məNə mʹeʾʲhɑˑ**] (= *mura mbeifeá*) from Inis Meáin.[26]

We also note several examples extending over all three islands of inflected verb stem variants ending in a neutral vowel, e.g., [**ə mʹeᵊ**] (= *dá mbeifeá*) from Fearann an Choirce and [**a mʹeˑʲəsə**] (= *dá mbeifeásа*) from Corrúch on Inis Mór, [**vʹejə**] (= *bheifeá*) from Inis Meáin and [**vʹeːᵊ**] (= *bheifeá*) from Inis Oírr.

In central Inis Mór we also get inflected stem variants with extreme fronting of the vowel of the suffix, e.g., [**maˑrə mʹejæː**] (= *mura mbeifeá*) from Corrúch and both [**vʹæː**] (= *bheifeá*) and [**marə mʹæˑ**] (= *mura mbeifeá*), with merging of the two syllables of the verb stem into a single long or half-long syllable, from Fearann an Choirce.

[23] It may be relevant here that F 41 received her secondary education at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór.

[24] On the other hand, note the Standard Irish variant *fanaigí!*, substituted in this context by a female informant in westernmost Inis Mór, a first conjugation verb in which we might have expected the monosyllabic suffix *-aí* ([**iː**]). As we shall see, however, the verb *fan* is treated in some of its tenses as a second conjugation verb, which provides a secondary motive for using this particular suffix variant.

[25] Excluding the above-mentioned informant who substitutes the verb form *fanaigí!*.

[26] Note that none of these variants contain the [**fʹ**] of the Standard Irish conditional suffix *-feá*, and the example here from Inis Meáin is the only example in the sample of the substitution of the voiceless glottal central fricative [**h**]. In all other examples, the [**fʹ**] is either completely elided or else replaced with the palatal glide [**j**].

A point worth stressing is that every single example of these inflected variants comes from a male informant.

Turning now to verb forms uninflected for person but with a following subject pronoun (or analytic verb constructions), such constructions are attested only from eastern Inis Mór and from Inis Oírr. Thus we get **[maˑrə mʹəx tuː]** (= *mura mbeifeá*) and **[vʹex mʹeˑ]** (= *bheinn*) from Corrúch and **[aⁱ mʹəx tu]** (= *dá mbeifeá*) from Cill Éinne. On Inis Oírr, we get **[marə mʹɛx tu]** (= *mura mbeifeá*) from the older informant and the two examples **[mərə mʹəx tʊsə]** (= *mura mbeifeá*) and **[məNə mʹəx tʊsə]** (= *mura mbeifeása*) from the younger informant.

In this case, every single example of these analytic constructions comes from a female informant — a mirror image of the case of the inflected verb forms.

We also have two possible examples of blended forms. One example, **[ɑː mʹeˑaᵘsə]** (= *dá mbeifeása*), from a female informant in western Inis Mór, could be simply treated as an inflected form with an odd diphthong in its suffix. On the other hand, since she also produces the example **[(j)ɪˑNˈʊs ɛ]** (= *Dhéan'usa é!* for Standard Irish *Dhéanfása é!*), one could interpret the first construction as **[ɑː mʹeˑa ʊsə]** (= *dá mbeifeá 'usa*). In fact, the male informant on Inis Oírr seems to produce such a blended form: **[maːrə mʹeːʲə tu]** (= *mura mbeifeá*).

Several informants used alternative constructions for the phrase *mura mbeifeá*. In westernmost Inis Mór, at Bungabhla and Eoghanacht, the informants used the construction *mura bhfuil tú*. On Inis Meáin, both informants used the same construction.

In central and eastern Inis Mór, however, informants used the construction *mura raibh tú/tusa*, a direct translation from the English phrase *If you were not ...*, with the English verb form interpreted as a past tense form instead of as a past subjunctive form.[27]

As for the form of the preverbal particle *mura*, the variant *mara* is dominant on all three islands, but we encounter two examples of the variant *muna* in the two eastern islands. Thus we get one example from the male informant on Inis Meáin and a second example from the younger female informant on Inis Oírr.[28]

Turning now to the habitual past tense, we shall see that the clear patterns we have just seen for the conditional verb forms will take another shape in the habitual past forms. We will examine the first person singular verb form *bhínn* separately from the second person singular items *bhíteá* and *a mbíteá*.

Beginning on Inis Mór, we find the inflected form *bhínn* in general use by male and female informants throughout the island, from Eoghanacht and An Sruthán in western Inis Mór to Eochaill, Cill Rónáin and Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór.

As in the case of the conditional analytic (uninflected) variants just discussed, we find two informants who use the analytic variant *bhíodh mé*, and they are both female. One is the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, and the other is the elderly female F 72 at Corrúch, an area of the island which we have seen to be associated with innovation, so the use of such analytic forms by these two informants is not surprising.

On Inis Meáin, both informants use the inflected form *bhinn*, and on Inis Oírr, the same

[27] Such influence from English, arising from greater social contact with English administrators, merchants and settlers, would be expected in the central and eastern parts of Inis Mór.

[28] Note that her father was born on Inis Meáin.

form is attested from the older female informant, F 41. No analytic variants for this item are attested in either of the two eastern islands.

Turning now to the second person singular forms *bhíteá* and *a mbíteá*, we note that the palatalised voiceless alveolar plosive [**t′**] is elided in all variants. Thus, even in the relatively Standard Irish variant [**v′iːɑˑ**], ending with a long or half-long low back vowel, the preceding consonant is totally elided.

Such a variant is dominant throughout Inis Mór, though in western and central Inis Mór, it competes with variants ending in more fronted vowels. Thus we get the variant [**v′iːaː**] at Eoghanacht and again at Corrúch, and we get the unique variants [**v′iˑæ**] and [**m′iːæ**], with strong fronting of the vowel, at Corrúch — as expected.

On Inis Meáin, we also get the relatively Standard Irish variant [**v′iːɑː**] from the male informant and its counterpart, [**ə m′iˑɑ**], from the female informant. At the same time, interestingly, we get a contrasting variant with a centralised vowel suffix from each informant: [**ə m′iˑə**] from the male informant and [**v′iːə/v′ˑə**] from the female informant.

On Inis Oírr, we get a single inflected form, [**v′iːᵊsə**], with centralised offglide in the suffix, from the male informant.

In sum, then, the inflected variants for the second person singular habitual past forms show a clear pattern here which is different from that of their conditional counterparts. In this case, variants ending in fronted vowels are found only on Inis Mór, while the variants with centralised vocalic suffixes are found only in the two eastern islands. Furthermore, either variant can be produced by a speaker of either gender.

Turning now to the analytic constructions, we find the analytic variants *bhíodh tú* and *a mbíodh tú* running the length of Inis Mór and often competing with inflected variants in the examples of the informants. In contrast, on Inis Meáin we encounter only a single analytic form — *bhíodh tú*; otherwise, both informants produce only inflected (synthetic) forms. Here, Inis Meáin clearly shows its linguistic conservatism.

On Inis Oírr, however, we have the mirror image of Inis Meáin, in that we have only a single attested inflected form; otherwise, we encounter only analytic constructions from all informants.

To sum up again, in terms of synthetic forms vs. analytic constructions, usage is clearly divided — even for individual speakers — throughout Inis Mór; Inis Meáin holds strongly still to the synthetic forms, and Inis Oírr has yielded almost completely to the analytic constructions. It appears, moreover, that gender distinctions play little part in these patterns.

If we step back for a moment, however, and re-examine the data for both the conditional and the habitual past forms, it is possible to see the female speakers as spurring linguistic change in both cases. In the case of the second person singular habitual past forms, the female speakers initiated the changes a long while ago, and both sexes have now adopted the innovative analytic variants. In the case of the second person singular conditional variant, the female speakers have largely adopted the analytic variants, but the male speakers have yet to adopt them. In the case of the first person singular conditional forms, the two female speakers on Inis Mór represent the innovators, and the innovation has yet to spread widely on Inis Mór, let alone to the women elsewhere, and — ultimately — to the male speakers on any of the islands. The fact that an elderly female speaker is a possible innovator

indicates that the change may have been initiated long ago, and the fact that she is located in Corrúch, which is characterised by many unique and innovative linguistic features, makes the innovation seem all the more natural — even in an older speaker. Of course, whether this scenario conforms to reality is a separate issue.

Whether the scenario represents historical reality or not, it is clear that the second person singular forms in both the conditional and habitual past verbal paradigms here are yielding to analytic constructions far more readily than is the first person singular habitual past form — which seems to reflect the direction of evolution in the Irish verbal paradigm and perhaps in Indo-European verbal paradigms in western Europe in general.[29]

In closing this discussion of habitual past forms, it is worth mentioning an interesting blended form — *bhíú* ([**vʹiːuː**]), which arose apparently through an error as the informant paraphrased the investigator's stimulus phrase *I used to be . . .* instead of directly translating it. In this instance, the informant is apparently substituting an inflectional suffix derived from the pronoun *t(h)ú*, eliding the initial consonant in the process, as is done with the more traditional inflectional suffix. (Recall the example *Dhéan'usa é!* cited earlier in our discussion of conditional forms of this verb.) Note also that this innovative form comes from the youngest informant in the sample — F 18 on Inis Oírr.

Turning now to the use of inflected (synthetic) forms for short queries and for responses, let us begin with the item *An raibh tú?*. The analytic construction *An raibh tú* is apparently universal on all three islands, but we do encounter the inflected variant *An rabhais?* ([**ə rʌᵘʃ**]), with the inflectional suffix *-is*, from an elderly female informant in western Inis Mór, and a second inflected variant, *An rabhair?* ([**ə rəɾʹ**]), with the inflectional suffix *-ir*, from another elderly female informant to the east, at Corrúch.[30] We get this second inflected variant, with the suffix *-ir*, from the elderly female informant on Inis Meáin as well. Note that these two rare inflected variants come from older female informants and that neither is attested from Inis Oírr.

It is worth mentioning the negative interrogative constructions used by two informants in this context. M 50, the headmaster of the vocational school at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór, uses not only the analytic construction *Nach ro'?* ([**Nax ro**]) but also its counterpart *Ná ro'?* ([**Naˠ ro**]), a variant used also by the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18: ([**Naˠ ˈrə**]).[31] I would hazard the guess that, in least in this linguistic context, the use of the negative particle *ná* is a recent introduction characteristic both of the youngest generation and of school environments.

As for the response forms, as expected, we find the analytic construction *Bhí mé!* on all three islands, but the inflected variant *Bhíos!* is surprisingly widespread. On Inis Mór, the inflected form is used by over half the informants throughout the island. With the exception of the male informant at Corrúch, the oldest of the informants, all the users of the inflected variant are older female informants.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant uses both variants, but the female informant uses only the inflected variant *Bhíos!*.

[29] Cf. Bybee (1985) and Rudes (1980).

[30] I have heard the same inflectional ending in an emphatic future response form from an older male speaker from Creig a' Chéirín in westernmost Inis Mór, e.g., *Féadfair!* ([**feːtɪrʹ**]), "You WILL be able to!"

[31] We shall shortly see the same variant of the negative particle used in negative relative and negative finite complement clauses.

On Inis Oírr, only the older female informant uses the inflected variant.

In sum, the inflected short response form *Bhíos!* is far more in use than either of the two inflected variants of the short query form. And once again, it is the older female speakers by far who use inflected forms in both short queries and in short responses.

Turning now to the item *nach raibh*, which conflates the homophonous constructions used in both negative relative clauses and in negative finite complement clauses, we shall get a much clearer picture of variation in the three islands than we dealt only with the similarly homophonous short negative query form *Nach raibh?*.

The distribution of variants for this item is very clear — the variant *ná ro* ([**Naː rə**]), with the vowel of the negative particle fronted to central position and the verb reduced to CV form, is dominant throughout all three islands. It is only in the two western islands that the recessive variant *nach ro'* is found. On Inis Mór, it is found only in easternmost Inis Mór, from Eochaill to Cill Éinne. On Inis Meáin, the male informant produces the variant *nach ro'* along with the dominant variant *ná ro'*.

Turning now to the phonologically reduced forms of the verb phrases *tá sé/sí* and *tá siad*, we will note only the monosyllabic fused form [**tʃəd**] or [**tʃʊd**], which represents the phrase *tá siad*. This fused form is used only by the two female informants on Inis Oírr.

A synonymous form, *tádar* [**tɑdər/tədər**], is attested by only two informants, both in central Inis Mór.

Its simple past tense counterpart, *bhíodar* ([**vʹiːdər**]), is found in eastern Inis Mór from Corrúch to Cill Éinne, with only the informant at Eochaill failing to use the variant. To the east, on Inis Meáin, both informants use the inflected variant exclusively, while on Inis Oírr, the two older informants use the same inflected variant. The youngest informant on Inis Oírr, however, like the informants in western Inis Mór, uses only the analytic construction *bhí siad*.

As for its negative counterpart, *ní rabhdar* ([**Nʹiː rʊdər**]), the distribution of this inflected variant is far more restricted. On Inis Mór, only the elderly female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór uses the inflected variant. Similarly, on Inis Meáin, only the female informant uses the inflected variant [**Nʹiː rətər**], with a devoiced medial consonant.[32] On Inis Oírr, the two older informants again use the inflected variant [**nʹiː rədər**], while the youngest informant, F 18, uses only the analytic variant *ní ro' siad*.

Of all the informants in the three islands, only the elderly female informant at Corrúch produces a CVC form of the verb in her analytic construction [**Nʹiˑ rəv ʃɛt**].

Turning to the counterpart of these inflected forms found in subordinate clauses headed by the subordinating particle *go*, we get the inflected variant *go rabhdar* ([**gə rədər**]) from two male informants in central Inis Mór and from the female informant in easternmost Inis Mór. on Inis Meáin, it is from the male informant rather than the female informant that we get the inflected variant. on Inis Oírr, however, only the older female informant produces the inflected variant [**ə rədər**] (= *go rabhdar*).

If we rank the inflected variants in terms of frequency, we find that the variant *bhíodar* is by far the most frequent, that *go rabhdar* is the next most widespread, and that *ní rabhdar* is least widespread, with attestations only in easternmost Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin.

[32] The devoicing of the initial consonant of the suffix *-dar* may be characteristic of this informant.

Note that none of the inflected variants, including the present tense variant *tádar*, is attested in western Inis Mór from Bungabhla to An Sruthán. Note also that the youngest informant, F 18 on Inis Oírr, uses no inflected variants.

4.6 *Abair*

(The items examined here include the verbal forms *deir, [má] deir, [ní] deirimid, [ní] déarfaidh, déarfainn, dúirt, [ní] dúirt.*)

Moving on to the verb *abair* and starting with the present tense verb form, we note the Standard Irish variant *deir* ([**dʹɛrʹ**]) on all three islands. On closer inspection, we note a more complex situation in the two western islands. On Inis Mór, the Standard Irish variant *deir* extends from Bungabhla in westernmost Inis Mór to Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór. At Cill Rónáin, however, we encounter the variant [**ʤɛrʹ**], with affrication of the initial consonant, and this variant seems to extend eastward through Inis Meáin, though the Standard Irish variant *deir* occurs sporadically in both Inis Meáin and on Inis Oírr, at least in the case of the male informants.[33]

In fact, we get a third variant with the same CVC phonological shape, but with a clear long vowel as nucleus — *déir* ([**dʹeːrʹ**]) from the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla.[34]

Last of all, it is worth noting a fourth variant, the regularised verb form *deireann*, with the regular present tense suffix *-eann*, and used only in the phrase *deireann sé*.[35]

Turning now to the next item, the simple conditional construction *má deir*, we shall have the opportunity of seeing yet more present tense verb form variants. To begin with, our only example of the Standard Irish construction *má deir* comes from the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla. We get a regularised variant of the same verb form, *má dheir* ([**ma jɛrʹ**]), from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce in central Inis Mór, showing the lenition of the initial consonant that would be expected after the preverbal particle *má*. In contrast, from the female informant at Eoghanacht in western Inis Mór and from the female informant on Inis Meáin, we get a third variant of this construction, *má 'eir* ([**mɑ ɛrʹ**]), showing elision of the initial consonant, suggesting a base form *eir*.[36]

The male informant on Inis Oírr echoes his male counterpart on Inis Mór by producing the variant *má dheireann* ([**maː jɛrʹn̪**]), which also lenites the initial consonant after the preverbal particle, but in this case, he further regularises the verb form by added the regular suffix *-eann*. The youngest informant on Inis Oírr seems to be attempting to produce the same form in her anomalous example [**mɑ jɛN**], which omits the word-medial flap [**rʹ**].

It is in this same linguistic context that we encounter the suppletive verb root *abra-* in the first conjugation verb form variant *abrann*. Thus we get the construction *má abrann*

[33] Given the phonology of Inis Oírr Irish, we would expect the affricated variant here also, but the general use of simple past forms in this context on Inis Oírr makes it difficult to encounter present tense forms. The same comments apply to the elderly female informant at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór.

[34] We will return to variants of present tense verb forms which contain this same long vowel presently.

[35] This variant is attested only from M 50, the headmaster of the vocational school at Cill Rónán on Inis Mór and from the youngest female informant on Inis Oírr. I suspect that this hypercorrect form has developed recently in a school environment.

[36] On this, more later.

from two informants in eastern Inis Mór.[37]

Turning now to the next item, the negative construction *ní deirimid*, we shall have further opportunities to observe variation in present tense forms.

Perhaps the most important feature to note here is that the Standard Irish variant *ní deirimid*, with the initial consonant of the verb form unlenited or unelided, is nowhere to be found. The local variant most similar to the Standard Irish form, *ní dheireamuid*, shows either lenition or elision, though it is next to impossible to determine which of the two phenomena is occurring acoustically.[38] Since the positive present tense verb forms we have seen so far all contain an unelided initial consonant, I shall presume that simple lenition is occurring here.[39]

Turning to the question of analytic (uninflected) vs. synthetic (inflected) forms in this item, we find the inflected variant *ní dheireamuid* used by five informants across Inis Mór, with only one dubious example of its analytic counterpart used as an alternative form by the youngest informant in Bungabhla.

On the other hand, we note competing variants, with the suppletive root *abr-* in use by nearly as many informants in the same island. We note a first conjugation verb form again from F 72 at Corrúch — *ní abrann muid*, and another from M 50 at Cill Rónáin again: *ní abramuinn*. This time, however, two more informants from further out are included, F 70 from An Sruthán, with her second conjugation form *ní abraíomuinn* and F 70 at Cill Éinne with another second conjugation form: *ní abraíonn muid*.

Note that of these latter variants, the synthetic forms in this instance contain the inflectional ending *-muinn* and the analytic forms contain the independent pronoun *muid*, regardless of whether the verb form is treated as a first or as a second conjugation verb.[40] Note also that they all come from mainly elderly female informants in central and eastern Inis Mór.

The complexity on Inis Mór does not end with these variants, however. Further conversation with F 70 at Cill Éinne revealed the existence of variants with a long mid-front vowel in the root of the present tense stem — variants to which the future verb root has apparently been extended. Thus we have the verb stem variant *déarann* (as in the example *déarann siad*) and its counterpart, *éarann* (as in the examples *éarann muid/éarann muide*), with the initial consonant elided. Further variation can be seen in the relative constructions *. . . a déireanns muide* and *. . . a éireanns muid* , where the root-final flap is palatalised.

A daughter of F 70, raised in Cill Rónáin and in her early forties, confirmed the use of such forms in Cill Rónáin in her generation, and this provides a context for the unique example *déir* mentioned earlier, from F 43 at Bungabhla.[41] Note that such forms seem to be confined to easternmost Inis Mór, and are a possible recent innovation.

[37] We will deal later with more variants with this suppletive root, all apparently based on the first conjugation imperative plural verb form *abraigí!*.

[38] Since the phonological environment immediately preceding the verb form consists of a long, high front vowel, any given example could easily be interpreted as **[N′iː jɛr′-]** or **[N′iː ɛr′-]**.

[39] As we shall see shortly in the case of variants with a long mid-front vowel in the present tense verb root, however, we will not be able to use positive present tense verb forms to decide whether elision or lenition has occurred in the negative counterpart.

[40] F 70 at Cill Éinne supplied further second conjugation verb forms in positive forms as well — *abraíonn muide* and *. . . a abraíonns muide* — in her expanded comments during the interview.

[41] Remember that F 43 received her secondary education in Cill Rónáin and has been living there since marriage to one of F 70's sons.

The confirmed existence of such positive verb form variants as *déarann* and *éarann*, with unelided and elided initial consonants, respectively, as base forms for initial mutations, therefore, make it impossible to determine whether lenition or elision of an initial consonant has taken place in a given negative counterpart to these particular variants. That such a problem is not purely hypothetical we shall see shortly in the data from Inis Oírr.

Moving belatedly now to Inis Meáin, we find only one relevant form — the unique analytic variant [**nʹiˑ ɛrʹɴ̩**] (*ní 'eireann*) from the female informant. In this case, we must allow for the elision of the initial consonant in the (positive) base form, since it is this very informant who produced the variant *má 'eir* seen earlier, with clear elision (rather than lenition) of the initial vowel.

On Inis Oírr, however, we find a bit of the variation that we encountered on Inis Mór. We get the analytic variant *ní dheireann* from the male informant, but the synthetic variant *ní dheireamuid* from the younger female informant, F 18. The older female informant, F 41, however, gives us the variant *ní /dh/éarann*, with a long mid-front vowel in the root, and the initial consonant either lenited or elided, depending on which positive variant was used as a base form for the mutation.[42]

Turning now to the future verb form *ní déarfaimid*, we find once again no example of an unlenited or unelided verb form anywhere in the three islands. Instead we find the variant *ní /dh/éarfaidh muid* as the dominant form from Bungabhla through Corrúch in western and central Inis Mór and universally on Inis Oírr.[43] As we can see from the examples given by F 43 at Bungabhla, such a variant contrasts clearly with the present tense variant *ní dheireamuid* both in the length and quality of the vowel of the root and in the quality of the consonant following that vowel.

However, we have the variant [**nʹiˑ jɛrʹə muʊʤ**],[44] which may be represented as *ní dheirfidh muid*, competing strongly in roughly the same area on Inis Mór (in this instance, from Eoghanacht and An Sruthán in western Inis Mór and from Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór) and characterising both speakers on Inis Meáin.

Here, of course, we have a major problem. The possible acoustic difference between this variant of the future verb form and the present tense verb form is negligible at most in Aran Irish — a problem which is apparent from the future and present tense examples from Eoghanacht and from Eochaill on Inis Mór. How can speakers who use this variant of the future verb form maintain a clear acoustic distinction between the future and the present tense forms?

The informant at An Sruthán in western Inis Mór does this by using the suppletive verb root *abr-* in the present tense, thus giving us *ní dheirfidh muid* for the future tense form but *ní abraíomuinn*[45] for the present tense form of the same verb. Note that this present tense variant contains the unambiguous stem element *-í-* plus the suffix *-onn* which both confirm this variant as a present tense form.

On Inis Meáin, the female informant there maintains the contrast by using the regular

[42]Recall that F 41 received her secondary education in Cill Rónáin at precisely the time when the long-voweled variants were in vogue.

[43]Since we have no positive future forms, we cannot be sure whether the base form is *déarfaidh muid* or *éarfaidh muid* for any given speaker.

[44]My example is from the female informant on Inis Meáin and thus shows affrication of the final consonant of the pronoun, a feature which is irrelevant here.

[45]We shall ignore the subject pronouns for the moment.

present tense suffix *-eann* to distinguish the present tense form from the future tense form, i.e, *ní eireann* vs. *ní eirfidh*, respectively.[46]

Similarly, the older female informant on Inis Oírr uses the future form *ní /dh/éarfaidh*,[47] but this form is clearly distinct from her present tense form *ní /dh/éarann* because of the suffix on the present tense form.

Three informants in eastern Inis Mór — at Corrúch, at Cill Rónáin and at Cill Éinne, however, solve this problem by taking the opposite approach. All three use a future verb form with the suppletive root *abr-*, but in this case they all make a second conjugation verb of this variant, producing *ní abróidh muid/muinn*, which contains the unambiguous future stem element *-ó-*. Thus, whether they treat the present tense variants as first conjugation verbs (e.g., *abramuinn*) or second conjugation verbs (e.g., *abraíomuinn*), the stem elements clearly distinguish the future verb forms from the present verb forms.

It will be apparent from the preceding examples that both the subject pronoun variants *muid* and *muinn* are used with the suppletive *abr-* variants. In the case of the future tense forms, however, only the male informant at Cill Rónáin provides an example using the pronoun variant *muinn* with a future verb form: *ní abróidh muinn*. In doing so, he is consistent in his pronominal usage for the suppletive *abr-* variants in both tenses, as is his eastern neighbour, the female informant at Cill Éinne, who opts for the opposing variant *muid* in both forms.

Turning now to the conditional verb form *déarfainn*, unfortunately we have few attestations of this form, but those we have are revealing nonetheless. The examples come entirely from the two western islands; there are no examples from Inis Oírr.

As expected, there is no lenition or elision of the initial consonant, but it is impossible to determine from the examples whether the unlenited or unelided initial consonant of this verb form represents the initial consonant of the verb root or whether it represents the preverbal particle *do*. In other words, does a given example represent *déarfainn* or *d'éarfainn*?

Of the three informants who produce a conditional verb form on Inis Mór, the elderly male informant at Corrúch who produced the future form *ní dhéarfaidh muid* produces the conditional construction *dá ndéarfadh ...* [ɑ nʲeːrəx], as expected. His two elderly female neighbours further west at Eoghanacht and at An Sruthán, however, who both used the variant *ní dheirfidh muid* with a short root vowel and following palatalised flap to express the future, also use a conditional variant with the long vowel and unpalatalised flap to express the conditional mood in the verb form *déarfainn*.

What this means is that the formal distinctions that are used in Standard Irish to distinguish both the future and the conditional verb roots from that used in the present tense verb form are used by these two informants to distinguish the future verb root from the conditional verb root, which is restructuring the verbal paradigm in an unexpected way.

On Inis Meáin, both informants also do the same thing, using the *ní dheir-/ní eir-* root variant in the future tense, but a long voweled root with an unpalatalised flap in the conditional form. What is even more surprising here is that both informants heighten the

[46] Remember that this informant apparently elides the initial consonant in her verb forms, as we have seen earlier.

[47] Remember from our discussion of the present tense variants that it is not clear whether she is eliding or leniting the initial consonant of the verb.

contrast between the two sets of forms by raising the root vowel [**eː**] in the conditional form to the diphthong [**iˑᵊ**] or [**iᵊ**], a phenomenon well known in the historical phonology of Irish as "the breaking of the long *e*". Thus we get *diarfainn* in the examples from both informants. Hence, the restructuring of this verbal paradigm is marked in bold outline here.

It would be interesting to see what examples we might get from Inis Oírr.

This restructuring of the paradigm may seem puzzling, since it seems to have no functional value. In contrast to the development of the second conjugation suppletive future form *ní abróidh* in eastern Inis Mór, which serves to clearly distinguish the future form from the present tense variants *ní abrann* and *ní abraíonn*, there does not seem to be a functional reason for developing an additional formal distinction between the future and the conditional roots, since both sets of forms are clearly distinguished from one another by the suffixes in all the conditional forms.

It seems, however, that while the *ní dheirfidh* future forms are an innovation developed analogically from the present tense verb form *deir*, with the distinction made clear by the even more recent present tense forms with the hypercorrect suffix *-eann*, the synthetic conditional forms are simply retentions of their historical forms, as shown by their inflectional suffixes, and have retained their historical root forms as a component of the fossilised forms through inertia. In other words, it seems that the restructuring of the paradigm is accidental.

Turning now to the simple past tense form *dúirt*, we find phonological variants of the Standard Irish form on Inis Mór extending from the relatively unreduced form [**duːrtʲ**] through forms whose final consonant cluster is assimilated to the initial consonant of the following word, such as [**durt mʲɛ**] or [**dur ʃe**], or fused to that consonant to form an affricate, as in [**duːrtʃe**], found from Cill Rónáin eastward through Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr. Two male informants on Inis Mór show extremely reduced phonological variants of the same form; we get [**dr̥tʃɛ**] and [**tʃɛ**] from Cill Rónáin in easternmost Inis Mór, and [**tʃe**] from Fearann an Choirce in central Inis Mór.

On Inis Meáin, once again we get metathesised versions of affricated variants from both informants on Inis Meáin: [**duˑrʃtʲɛ**] (= *dúirt sé*) and [**dʊrʃtʲ mʲe**] (= *dúirt mé*), respectively.

And on Inis Oírr, we get an unusual reduced form, [**duˑtʃiˑ**] (= *dúirt sí*), with the flap completely elided, from the youngest informant, F 18.

Turning now to the negative verb form *ní dúirt*, we find that the variant *níor úirt* has replaced it on all three islands. This variant results from a back-formation in which the initial consonant of the Standard Irish form *dúirt* is interpreted as the preverbal particle *do*.[48]

As expected, we get a metathesised version of this variant from Inis Meáin from the female informant: [**nʲiˑr ˈurʃtʲ mʊɟ**] (= *ní dúirt muid*), though not from the male informant. Surprisingly, we also get a metathesised variant from a close neighbour to the west, the male informant at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór: [**nʲiːr uˑrʃtʲ mə taˑdə**] (= *ní dúirt muid dada*). Note that the metathesis in these examples and in one example given earlier is operating independently of any phonological influence from a following pronoun. In other words, the third person metathesised form has spread throughout the simple past tense paradigm,

[48]The "preverbal particle" *d'* is therefore replaced in negative and interrogative constructions by the preverbal particles *níor* and *ar*, respectively, to produce such forms as *níor úirt* or *Ar úirt?*.

becoming the regular variant for all persons.

As for subject pronouns used with these variants, all the informants use the pronoun *muid*, except for the elderly female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór, who uses the pronoun *muinn*.

4.7 *Déan*

(The items examined here include the verbal forms *déanaigí!, [a] dhéanann, [sula] ndéanann, [ní] dhéanfainn[se], dhéanfá[sa], [ní] dhearna, [go] ndearna, [nach] ndearna, [a] ndearna, [é a] dhéanamh.*)

Moving on to the verb *déan*, we note first the phonological variants of the plural imperative form *déanaigí!*. In western and central Inis Mór we encounter **[dʹɪˑNɪgʹiː]** and **[dʹəNɪgʹiˑ]**, respectively, while from easternmost Inis Mór eastward through the two eastern islands we encounter only variants with affrication of the initial consonant, e.g., **[ʤɛˑNɪgʹiː]**, etc.. In terms of the morphology, what is remarkable is that only the variants with the Standard Irish disyllabic suffix *-igí* occur, even though two informants on Inis Mór who substitute the verb *foghlaim* for the target verb both use the monosyllabic suffix *-aí* with that form, i.e., *foghlaimí!/ foghlamaí!*.

Once again, one or two speakers in each island produce an imperative singular form despite the clear plural context. The phonological variants can range from **[ʤiːn]** (from one informant on Inis Mór) through **[ʤɛn]** to **[ʤəN]** (both from the youngest informant on Inis Oírr). As we have seen from all the imperative forms so far, the vocalic range of the root vowel extends from **[iː]** to **[ə]**, but we have no examples of Standard Irish **[eː]**.

The raising of the long vowel to **[iː]** (presumably influenced by the following nasal consonant) is rare in all our examples for this verb, but the shortening and laxing of the root vowel in all the tenses is widespread. The use of the short, neutral vowel **[ə]**, as in the example above, is especially characteristic of the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18, as we shall see.

Let us now turn to items which involve the use of present indicative verb stems.

Starting with the relative verb form *a dhéanann*, we note that informants across all three islands append the clitic *-s*, which is historically associated only with the future relative verb form, thus producing the variant *a dhéananns*. Only the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18, produces the Standard Irish form without the clitic. This could be a sign of generational change in the direction of Standard Irish.

The elderly female informant at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór also produces a unique form: *a níonns* ([ə **nʹiːns**]). She explained that the form was used by some of the older speakers.[49]

We turn now to the adverbial construction *sula ndéanann*. We find that the preverbal particle *sula* is replaced by a variety of direct and indirect relative constructions, but since these constructions will be discussed later, we will focus on the morphology and phonology of the verb itself.

[49] She also maintained that the same suppletive root could be used to form the relative construction *a níodh* ([ᵉ **nʹiːᵊx**]) in the habitual past tense.

First of all, it seems from the example *sor a dhéananns* from the male informant on Inis Meáin that the clitic *-s* is appended to the verb form when the preverbal particle *sula* is followed by a direct relative clause, but since the subject pronoun *sé* follows immediately after the verb in our examples, it is next to impossible to segment the postclitic *-s* from the initial consonant of the pronoun *sé*.

Even more problematic are the forms [**səʟ ma jɪNətʃɛˑ**] (from the female informant in easternmost Inis Mór) and [**rɪvʹə jɪNə̃ tʃɛˑ**] (from the older female informant on Inis Oírr). Despite their superficial resemblance to verb phrases which have undergone the Connemara sandhi rule which converts the phonological sequence [**xʃ**] to [**tʃ**] in conditional and habitual past constructions, e.g., in constructions of the type *dhéanfadh sé/ dhéanadh sé*, etc., I prefer to regard these forms as present tense forms which have undergone the sandhi rule we have seen in easternmost Inis Mór and in the two eastern islands for such items as *anseo* ([**ᵊtʃɪnʹ**]), a rule which affricates the sequence [**nʃ**] to [**ntʃ**] and then elides the nasal consonant.

First of all, we have examples from Inis Mór and Inis Oírr which are clearly conditional forms, but which have not undergone the Connemara sandhi rule. Thus, the female informant at An Sruthán on Inis Mór gives us [**sor ə jɪNəx ʃɛˑ**], and the male informant on Inis Oírr gives us [**rɪvʹ ə jɛNəx ʃɛ**].

Secondly, we can establish the fact of elision in such forms with the example [**soːr ə jɪNᵊ(n) sɛˑ**] from the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór, where the nasal consonant is barely audible but which nevertheless causes de-palatalisation of the following sibilant. Another example is the example [**rɪvʹə jɪNə̃ tʃɛˑ**] cited above, where the nasal consonant is elided, but where the feature of nasality is preserved by nasalising the preceding vowel. Note that here affrication takes place, as expected.[50]

Finally, since the two problematic forms cited at the beginning of this discussion both lie within the "affrication zone" extending from easternmost Inis Mór through Inis Oírr, I feel it reasonable to assume that both forms are present tense forms which have undergone both affrication of the consonant cluster [**nʃ**] and subsequent elision of the nasal consonant in the cluster, as outlined above.

Turning now to the conditional forms of the verb, let us look first at the negative conditional verb form *ní dhéanfainn[se]*. Beginning with Inis Mór, we find the relatively Standard Irish variant *ní dhéan'ainnse*, with the emphatic particle *-se* appended and the *-f-* future/conditional marker elided, dominant throughout the island. Three informants however — all female — located at Bungabhla, Corrúch, and Cill Éinne, and thus stretching the length of the island, produce uninflected ("analytic") forms. Thus F 43 at Bungabhla produces the example *Ní dhéan'adh mis' é* and the two older women further east produce substantially the same form. Since F 43 is the youngest informant on the island, this suggests that this analytic variant, already established in an older generation, has a future on Inis Mór — at least among the female speakers.

In the two islands to the east, however, not a single analytic form occurs; not even the youngest female informant on Inis Oírr produces one. Instead, the same inflected variant encountered on Inis Mór is produced by all informants in both islands. Note that the example produced by the male informant on Inis Oírr features a light form of the affrication

[50]The examples [**hLɑː NʹɪːNə ʃiᵊd**] and [**sʊLə jɪNə ʃɛˑ**] from Inis Mór are possible examples of elision of the nasal consonant without affrication, or they may be simple examples of a future tense verb form.

just described for the previous item: [**nʹiː jɛNNn̪tʹ ɛˑ**].

As for the second conditional form, *ní dhéanfá[sa]*, we find quite a different situation. Only three informants — all in central or eastern Inis Mór — use the inflected variant this time. Thus we get the example *dhéan'ásа é*, with the *-f-* marker elided and the emphatic particle appended, from the female informant at An Sruthán and a similar example from the male informant at Eochaill, while the male informant at Cill Rónáin produces an example which includes a centralised verbal suffix vowel and light affrication of the consonant of the emphatic particle: [**jɪNətsᵊ ɛˑ**].

In contrast, five other informants from one end of the island to the other produce the analytic variant *dhéan'adh tus' é*. Of these, two elderly female informants in eastern Inis Mór produce an unusual emphatic pronominal form *tuise* ([**təʃə/tïʃə**]), which appears to be modelled on the emphatic pronoun *mise*.

In addition, we get the blended form [**jɪNˈʊsᵊ ɛ**] (*Dhéan'usa é!*), with stress on the pronominal suffix, from an elderly female informant in western Inis Mór.[51]

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we get the expected inflected variant *dhéan'ásа* from the female informant, but — surprisingly — a second blended form, [**jɪNˈuᵊsə**], again with stress on the pronominal suffix, from the male informant.

On Inis Oírr, however, we find once again the situation we encountered with the first conditional item on Inis Mór. The male informant produces the inflected variant *dhéan'ás' (é)*, while the two female informants show themselves as innovators on Inis Oírr by producing the analytic variant *dhéan'adh tus' e*.

In sum, we can say once again that in both Inis Mór and on Inis Oírr the second person singular verb forms seem to be the prime point of entry into the verbal paradigm for analytic constructions, and that first person singular forms seem to hold out longer against such constructions. And once again, in least in the initial stages of the introduction of analytic constructions, it is the female speakers who seem to be the innovators.

Turning now to the simple past tense, we will look at four items which each contain the dependent form of the verb in that tense.

In regard to the first item, the negative past verb form *ní dhearna*, we find that only four informants — all in eastern Inis Mór — use the Standard Irish variant *ní dhearna*. Thus both the male and female informants at Corrúch as well as the two informants in easternmost Inis Mór all use this variant — but not the informant at Eochaill. All the other informants in the two western islands use the variants *ní rinne* or *níor rinne*.[52]

Inis Oírr, however, attests neither of these two variants. Here we find responses which might best be assigned to two main morphological variants, *dhein* and *dhéan*,[53] which show

[51] This was mentioned earlier in our discussion of conditional forms of the verb *bí*.

[52] Of course it is impossible to maintain that there are in fact two variants rather than one in this case, but if the verb form in question is placed in either a negative subordinate clause construction or in a negative relative construction, the two underlying forms can easily be distinguished. Such forms — *nach rinne* and *nár rinne* — will be examined shortly. Of course, we cannot be sure that informants will be using such forms consistently, so that such negative subordinate or relative structures truly reveal the informant's conceptualisation of the indeterminate forms in question, but this procedure at least allows to establish a rule of thumb for separating the two homophonous constructions.

[53] That the two morphological variants differ from one another phonemically and are not just phonologically conditioned allomorphs of one another can be seen from the forms heard in relative isolation, where the form with the palatalised final consonant is heard even though there is no following sound to trigger such palatalisation.

a wide range of phonetic realisation: **[jiːnʲ]**, **[jɪnʲ]**, **[jɛnʲ]**, **[jɛɴ]** and **[jəɴ]**.

The phonological variants **[jɪnʲ]** and **[jɛnʲ]** are likely realisations of the morphological variant *dhein*, whereas the phonological variants **[jɛɴ]** and **[jəɴ]** are possible realisations of the morphological variant *dhéan*. The phonological variant **[jiːnʲ]**, which is followed by a pronominal form inducing palatalisation of the preceding nasal consonant, could be assigned to either morphological variant.

The first three phonological variants are in relatively free variation among speakers, but the last two are unique to the youngest informant, F 18. The variant **[jəɴ]**, used by F 18 here in the simple past tense, strongly characterises her verb forms in other tenses as well, as we have seen in the preliminary analysis of this material. Thus, for sociolinguistic purposes, we must regard the variant **[jəɴ]** (*dhion*) as an important sociolinguistic variant — one which seems to mark the youngest generation on Inis Oírr.[54] As for her variant **[jiːnʲ]**, it occurs only once among the simple past examples.

Proceeding now to an analysis of the negative verb forms on Inis Oírr based on the positive base forms *dhein*, *dhéan* and *dhion*, we find the male informant using the unique negative form *ní dhéan* (**[nʲiˑ jɛɴ]**), with the non-simple past negative particle *ní-*, while the two female informants use the regular simple past preverbal particle *níor* — with the simple past marker {**-r**} normally used with regular verb forms — in both their examples. Thus the older female informant produces *níor dhein sé* while the younger informant produces *níor dhion*.

Turning now to the subordinate simple past form *go ndearna* with its complementiser *go*, we find once again that the Standard Irish construction *go ndearna* is limited to eastern Inis Mór. In this case, only the two male informants at Corrúch and at Cill Rónáin, respectively, produce the form. In contrast, all the other informants on Inis Mór, including the male informant at Corrúch, produce the variant *go/gur rinne*,[55] as do both informants on Inis Meáin.

On Inis Oírr, however, once again we find the variants *dhein* and perhaps *dhéan*. Thus the male informant produces the example *go dhein tsé* (**[gə jɪnʲ tʃɛ]**), and the youngest female informant produces the example *go dhéan tsé* (**[gə ˈjiːnʲ tʃɛ]**), with the verb root mentioned earlier. Notice that both informants use the variant of the subordinating particle which does not contain the simple past marker {**-r**}. Note also the affrication of the initial consonant of the following pronoun.

Turning to the negative counterpart to the last item, the negative subordinate simple past form *nach ndearna*, we find no attestations at all of this form in any of the three islands, not even in eastern Inis Mór.

Instead, we find two attestations of the variant *nach rinne*, with the non-simple past form of the negative subordinating particle, from two female informants at opposite ends of Inis Mór — F 43, the youngest informant on Inis Mór, and F 70 at Cill Éinne, her mother-in-law. (Recall that F 43 received her secondary education at Cill Rónáin and has lived there since marriage.) This may be another case of a feature which originated in easternmost Inis

[54]The existence of the positive verb form *dhíon* (**[jəɴ]**) as well as its negative counterpart *níor dhíon* (**[nʲiːr jəɴ]**) was attested by F 18 in further questioning. Other examples of positive verb forms, such as the one used in the construction *má dhéan*, will be seen shortly.

[55]We have the same problem here of distinguishing between the two forms as we had in dealing with the variant *ní/níor rinne* earlier.

Mór and which has been adopted by a younger generation which received their secondary education there.

Otherwise, all the informants from one end of Inis Mór to the other use the variant *nár rinne*,[56] as do both informants on Inis Meáin.[57]

Inis Oírr, however, once more stands clearly apart from its two western neighbours in the choice of the verb stem variant, but this time there is uniformity in the variant of the negative subordinating particle; all the informants use the variant *nár*, with the simple past marker {**-r**}. Thus we have *nár dhein* from the two older informants and *nár dhéan* ([**Naːr jɛN**]) from the youngest female informant.

Turning now to the indirect relative verb form *a ndearna*, we find the use of this Standard Irish variant limited to eastern Inis Mór. The two elderly female informants at Corrúch and at Cill Éinne use the variant as an alternative form, while M 50, the headmaster at the secondary school at Cill Rónáin, uses the variant exclusively. All the other informants on Inis Mór, including the two female informants just mentioned, use the direct relative form *a rinne*, as do both informants on Inis Meáin.

In contrast, Inis Oírr once again sets itself from the two western islands. Here all the speakers use only the direct relative variant *(a) dhéan* ([**ᵊjɪN/jɛN**]).

It is worth mentioning a few isolated forms which occurred in the data. We have the simple conditional construction *má dhéan* ([**mɑ jɛN**]), which contains the positive simple past tense variant *dhéan*, from the youngest informant on Inis Oírr. We also have the inflected third person plural simple past verb form *rinneadar* ([**rɪNʹədər**]) from the female informant on Inis Meáin. Finally, as if to remind us that inflected forms are in use other than just for responses or short queries, we have the second person singular simple past inflected verb form *rinnis*, used in the sentence *"Níor rinnis aon mhoill!"*, used by a friend in his fifties from Baile na Creige in eastern Inis Mór and confirmed by a neighbour in Corrúch.

As for the shape of the verbal noun in the non-finite clause *é a dhéanamh*, the close phonetic variants [**jɪNə**] and [**jɛNə**] represent the range of variation across the three islands. All examples consist of verb root plus neutral vowel, thus treating the verb as a first conjugation regular verb. As for the distribution of the two phonetic variants according to the vowel of the root, [**jɪNə**] competes with [**jɛNə**] the whole length of Inis Mór, but the informants on Inis Meáin lean toward the [**jɪNə**] variant and Inis Oírr attests only the [**jɛNə**] variant.

Returning to the non-finite clause *é a dhéanamh* for a moment, it is worth mentioning that three female informants clearly diphthongise the first two elements of the clause. Thus we get [**aⁱ jɪNə**] from F 72 at Corrúch and [**əⁱ jɛNə**] from F 70 at Cill Éinne, both in eastern Inis Mór, and [**əⁱ jɛNə**] again from the youngest informant on Inis Oírr.

[56] Once again, however, we have a problem of indeterminacy, since *nár rinne* could be interpreted as *ná rinne*, on the analogy of the form *ná raibh*, discussed earlier.

[57] If we could assume consistency in linguistic behaviour from all informants, the distribution of these two variants could allow us to assign the putative variants *ní rinne, níor rinne, go rinne* and *gur rinne* to their respective speakers. The variants *ní rinne* and *go rinne* could be assigned to F 43 at Bungabhla and to F 70 at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór, while the variants *níor rinne* and *gur rinne* could be assigned to all the other informants on the two western islands. Unfortunately, as we shall see, the evidence from Inis Oírr for this item as well for previous items undermines such confidence, since two of the three informants are clearly inconsistent in their use of preverbal elements which contain or do not contain the simple past marker {**-r**}.

4.8 *Ith*

(The items examined here include the verbal forms *itheann, [ní] ithim[se], [a] ithe.*)

Moving on now to the verb *ith* and beginning with the habitual present tense verb form *itheann*, we find the variant *íosann*, whose root is borrowed from the future tense verb form, the dominant variant throughout Inis Mór and the sole variant in both Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr.

Two elderly female informants in the centre of Inis Mór give us a second variant, *í'eann* ([**iːn**]), which elides the intervocalic consonant [**h**] of the historically attested form and lengthens the initial vowel. M 50 at Cill Rónáin, headmaster of the secondary school, produces a third variant, *ítheann*, which preserves the intervocalic [**h**] as in Standard Irish, but which again lengthens the initial vowel.

Turning to the second item, the negative first person singular habitual present tense verb form *ní ithimse*, with the emphatic particle suffixed, we again find variants with the root borrowed from the future tense verb form dominant on Inis Mór and universal in the two eastern islands.

There is a sharp contrast, however, between inflected variants and analytic constructions. On Inis Mór, only the elderly female informant at Eoghanacht uses the inflected form *ní íosaimse*, while the youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla and the two male informants in the centre of the island all use the analytic variant *ní íosann mise*. On Inis Meáin, both informants use the inflected variant, but on Inis Oírr, the male informant produces the inflected variant, while both female informants produce the analytic variant. on Inis Oírr at least, the women seem to be the innovators.

The male informant at Eochaill on Inis Mór produces another inflected form, *ní íosaim* ([**nʲiˑ iːˈsəmʲ**]), which uses primary stress instead of the emphatic particle *-se* to give emphasis to the pronominal suffix. On the other hand, the male informant on Inis Meáin suffixes the emphatic suffix *-sa* to the verb form, avoiding assimilation of the initial consonant of the emphatic suffix to the palatalised final consonant of the verb stem.

Finally, in central and eastern Inis Mór, we have the competing variants with a long initial vowel in the historical habitual present verb stem, *ní í'imse* and *ní í'eann mise*. As perhaps befits a verb form whose root is closer to the historically attested form, the inflected variant is more widespread than the analytic construction, with examples coming from F 70 at An Sruthán and from F 70 at Cill Éinne, while the analytic construction is produced only by F 72 at Corrúch, which we have noted elsewhere for its innovations. Note that all the producers of these more conservative variants are elderly females.

Turning to the last item, the verbal noun *ithe*, we find the variant *í* ([**iː**]), with the intervocalic [**h**] elided and the initial vowel raised, tensed and lengthened,[58] as the dominant form in western Inis Mór eastward through An Sruthán and as the universal form in the two eastern islands. Only the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, with her secondary education at Cill Rónáin, breaks ranks here and produces the disyllabic Standard Irish variant *ithe*, with the short, lax initial vowel and the intervocalic [**h**]

[58] In individual cases, this long vowel can be lowered to [**ɪː**] and even [**eː**].

In contrast, the informants in eastern Inis Mór from Fearann an Choirce eastwards present a unique monosyllabic variant, *i* ([ɪ]), consisting simply of a short, lax vowel. Only Corrúch, close to the centre of Inis Mór, shows mixed usage of both the variants *í* and *i*.

4.9 *Fan*

(The items examined here include the verbal forms *[an] bhfanfaidh . . . ?, [a] d'fhantá, [a] bhfantá, fanta.*)

We move now to the verb *fan*, which is discussed here among the irregular verbs since, as we shall see, local speakers create a split paradigm for this verb, treating it as a second conjugation verb in some tenses, but a first conjugation verb in others.

Starting with the future verb form *An bhfanfaidh . . . ?*, we find that the verb in this tense is treated universally as a second conjugation verb on all three islands, resulting in the variant *An bhfanóidh . . . ?*.

The male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór provides a second conjugation variant in the habitual present tense as well: *'bhfanaíonn tú . . . ?*, which raises an interesting question: how far have second conjugation variants penetrated the habitual present verb paradigm? Remaining with the third person singular verb form just cited, we find that in the material gathered for Part III of this survey, speakers across the three islands have opted for the Standard Irish first conjugation form *fanann* in a non-interrogative sentence. Nevertheless, at least one informant on each island uses the second conjugation variant.

On Inis Mór, while the male informant at Corrúch this time selects the first conjugation variant *fanann*, his sister now selects the second conjugation variant *fanaíonn*. The male informant on Inis Meáin does likewise, as does — not the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18 — but her younger, teen-aged brother. My guess in this instance is that we are really dealing with a random phenomenon — that perhaps any given speaker can opt for the second conjugation form, created by the pressure of analogy from the omnipresent future verb forms.

We turn now to the second person singular habitual past verb forms *a d'fhantá* and *a bhfantá* in direct relative and indirect relative constructions, respectively. (We can conflate the examples here for the two relative constructions, since the syntax of the relative constructions themselves will be discussed further on, and since circumlocutions were employed in most cases in place of the indirect relative verb form.)

We find the synthetic (inflected) variant *a d'fhaná* on all three islands. Note that this variant is ambiguous as to the particular conjugation of the verb and to the tense or mood of the verb, since the suffix could represent either the local conditional form of the verb or the habitual past.[59] The articulation of the final vowel is as either [ɑ(ː)] or [ə(ː)] on Inis Mór and on Inis Oírr, but as either [ɑ] or [ə] on Inis Meáin.[60] Note the short, neutral vowel in use on Inis Meáin, and recall the examples of the conditional and habitual past forms of

[59] There was no sign of the *-óá* conditional verb stem termination reported for Aran Irish by F. N. Finck at the end of the nineteenth century. Such a termination would have marked both the conjugation type and the mood.

[60] Vowel length is insignificant phonemically in all examples.

the verb *bí* from Inis Meáin especially.

Uninflected (analytic) variants are also widespread on Inis Mór and on Inis Oírr, but both speakers on Inis Meáin use only inflected (synthetic) variants.

On Inis Mór, both the youngest female informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, and the elderly female informant at Corrúch use what appears to be the first conjugation habitual past variant *a d'fhanadh tú* in a direct relative construction, while the elderly female informant at Eoghanacht in western Inis Mór uses the second conjugation conditional (?) variant *a bhfanódh tú* in an indirect relative construction.

On Inis Oírr, however, the two older informants M 55 and F 41 use the second conjugation conditional (?) form *a d'fhanódh tú*, but the youngest informant, F 18, surprisingly, uses the inflected form *a d'fhaná*, reminding us that we cannot make glib assumptions as to the unidirectional evolution of the verbal system through time toward analytic constructions.

As for the verbal adjective or past participle *fanta*, we have only the Standard Irish variant *fanta* from an elderly female informant in western Inis Mór and the competing variant, the second conjugation variant *fanaí* (= *fanaithe*), from the male informant on Inis Meáin.[61]

4.10 *Beir*

(The two items examined here are the impersonal simple past verb form *rugadh*, in the construction *rugadh air*, and the verbal noun *breith*, in the construction *breith air*.)

Moving on now to the verb *beir* and the impersonal simple past verb form *rugadh* in the construction *rugadh air*, we find the variant [**rʊguː**] dominant throughout Inis Mór.

The area in eastern Inis Mór from Corrúch through Eochaill, however, again proves exceptional. The male informant at Eochaill gives us a second, morphologically distinct variant, *rugas* ([**rʊgəs**]), while the female informant at Corrúch produces a third variant, a blended form created from the first two variants: *rugús* ([**rʊguːs**]). For his part, the male informant at Corrúch produces a fourth variant, one which draws on the form found in the imperative singular to provide the root: *beireadh* ([**bʹɛrʹu**]).

On Inis Meáin, we encounter only two variants, ones already encountered on Inis Mór. The male informant produces [**rʊguˑ**], and the female informant produces [**rʊgʊs**], presumably a slight phonetic variant of *rugas*.

On Inis Oírr, we get the variant *rugas* from both older informants. Thus, we can see the variant *rugas* stretching eastward from Eochaill in easternmost Inis Mór through Inis Meáin to Inis Oírr, while the variant [**rʊguː**] includes only Inis Mór and Inis Meáin. As for the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, she produces what is apparently an impersonal future tense verb form: *béarar* ([**bʹeːrər**]).

Turning now to the verbal noun *breith* in the construction *breith air*, we find the Standard Irish variant *breith* dominant on all three islands, though the final consonant [**h**] is normally elided. A male informant in easternmost Inis Mór and another on Inis Meáin conserve the

[61] The elderly female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór substituted the form *fácaí* (= *fágtha*), from the verb *fág*, with devoicing of the final consonant of the root followed by a long, high-front vowel, as in Connemara.

[**h**] intervocalically in this phrase, however, so we can regard the preservation of the [**h**] once again as a sandhi phenomenon.

The youngest informant on Inis Oírr, however, provides a second variant: the anomalous form *beir* ([**bʲɛrʲ**]), which seems to consist solely of the verbal root as found in the imperative form. She also provides a third variant, the longer form *beireachtáil* ([**bʲɛrʲɛxtɑlʲ**]), which is well attested on Inis Oírr.[62]

4.11 *Clois*

(The only item examined here is the simple past verb form *chuala*.)

Moving on to the verb *clois*, the only item examined is the simple past form *chuala*. Here the apparently random variation in the vowel of the first syllable across informants on all three islands is the only feature to be noted. Such variation ranges from [**uːᵊ**] through [**oː**] to [**o**], involving levelling of the diphthong, lowering of the vowel and shortening of the vowel in various combinations. Two male informants — one on Inis Mór and another on Inis Oírr — substitute the simple past form *d'airigh* of the verb *airigh*.

Having dealt with the irregular verbs, we can turn now to the paradigms of the regular verbs, which present far fewer opportunities for variation than do the irregular verbs, with their suppletive (or pseudo-suppletive) paradigms.

[62] Cf. Ó Catháin (1990).

Chapter 5

Grammatical Variation in Regular Verbs

5.1 *Caill*

(This verb is represented by only two items: the habitual present verb form *cailleann* and the simple past verb form *chaill*.)

Starting first with the verb *caill*, we will focus on the contrast in the root vowel of the habitual present tense verb form *cailleann* and that of the simple past form *chaill*. In other words, we will look for the low central vowel [**aː**] in the disyllabic verb form *cailleann* and its backed counterpart [**ɑː**] in the monosyllabic form *chaill*, just as we find them in Connemara.

Only two female informants — the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43, and the female informant on Inis Meáin — preserve the contrast in the vowel between the two forms. All the other informants across the three islands level the contrast in one direction or the other.

The dominant pattern is that of levelling the vowel contrast to [**ɑː**] in both forms. Beginning on Inis Mór, though we find a solitary outlier in the female informant at An Sruthán in mid-western Inis Mór, the pattern begins basically in easternmost Inis Mór at Cill Rónáin and continues eastward through the two eastern islands, with the solitary exception of the female informant on Inis Meáin already mentioned.

A second, contrasting, pattern seems to have developed within this area, where the contrast is levelled in the opposite direction — to the vowel [**aː**] or even [**æː**]. Thus, in the restricted area from Fearann an Choirce to Eochaill in east-central Inis Mór we find this unique pattern, with the informants at Corrúch heightening the distinction by raising the vowel to [**æː**] in all instances — a phenomenon which adds to the impression of innovation.

The female informant at Eoghanacht in westernmost Inis Mór joins them in this feature, which seems puzzling, until it is known that she has been living in Fearann an Choirce since marriage.

As for the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór who also shares the feature but preserves the vowel [**ɑː**] before the consonant cluster in the verbal adjective/past participle *caillte*, this is a separate phenomenon and at any rate could be regarded as a relic form

representing an earlier situation.

5.2 *Mill*

(The two items examined here are the verbal noun *milleadh* and the verbal adjective/past participle *millte*.)

Moving on to the verb *mill* we find a situation similar to the one just discussed. Examining the verbal noun *milleadh* and the verbal adjective/past participle *millte*, one familiar with the verbal morphology of Connemara Irish would expect the short, lax vowel [**ɪ**] in the root of the disyllabic verbal noun and the long, tense vowel [**iː**] before the consonant cluster[1] in the verbal adjective/past participle.[2] In fact, we do have such examples from two informants on Inis Mór, from the male informant on Inis Meáin, and from the older female informant on Inis Oírr — a scattered distribution across the islands that one would expect for relic forms representing an older linguistic situation.

In contrast, all the other informants on Inis Mór opt for levelling the vocalic distinction between the two forms in the direction of [**iː**]. So do the male informant and the younger female informant on Inis Oírr.

Only the female informant on Inis Meáin seems to be an anomaly. She lengthens the vowel of the root to [**iː**] in the disyllabic verbal noun *milleadh*, as do the informants just cited, but then she apparently shortens the vowel before the consonant cluster in the verbal adjective/past participle *millte*.[3]

5.3 *Crom*

(The items discussed here are the verbal noun *cromadh* and the simple past verb form *chrom*.)

Moving on to the verb *crom*, we would be dealing with a similar situation again, with the disyllabic verbal noun *cromadh* and the monosyllabic simple past form *chrom*. Here again, in Connemara one would expect a short, lax vowel such as [**ə**] in the root syllable of the verbal noun and a long, tense vowel in that of the simple past tense form — either [**oː**] or [**uː**].[4]

In fact, only one informant out of all three islands produces such a vocalic distinction — the older female informant on Inis Oírr, F 41, who produces [**krʊmə**] and [**xroːm**], respectively.

In contrast, on Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin, all the informants opt for levelling the

[1] Strictly speaking, we are dealing with a rule which lengthens the vowel before a sonorant and a following plosive consonant.

[2] Note the example *caillte* from the informant in Eochaill just cited.

[3] In this odd reversal of the pattern of vowel contrast found in Connemara, one could see the vowel in *millte* as preservation of an archaic situation which existed before the Connemara lengthening rule, but I prefer to see the phenomenon as an example of hypercorrection or a simple slip of the tongue.

[4] With vowel raising before a following nasal consonant.

distinction by shortening and laxing the vowel in both forms, producing [**ʊ**] or [**ə**] randomly,[5] e.g., [**krʊmə/krəmə**] and [**xrʊm/xrəm**].

And on Inis Oírr itself, F 41's husband levels the vocalic distinction in the opposite direction, producing long, tense vowels in his examples [**kroːmə**] and [**xroːm**].[6] As for the youngest informant there, F 18, she aligns herself with the speakers in the two western islands, producing the short, lax vowel [**ə**] in both forms.

Despite the complexity of the situation, one suspects a drift over time in the direction of short, lax vowels in such forms on all three islands.

5.4 *Rith*

(The two items examined here are the verbal forms *rithfidh* and *rith*.)

Moving on now to the verb *rith* and beginning with the future tense verb form *rithfidh*, we find the variant [**riː**], with lengthening of the root vowel historically in compensation for the elision of the final consonant of the root, [**h**], and the dropping of the future suffix, universally in both Inis Mór and Inis Meáin.

On Inis Oírr, however, both the male informant and the youngest female informant, F 18, produce a second variant, [**riˑfʹɪ/riˑfʹɛ**], respectively. Though this form seems to preserve an archaic shape, with preservation of the initial consonant of the suffix, the half-long, tense vowel [**iˑ**] of the root marks this variant as a blended form, built on the variant [**riː**]. The older female informant, F 41, in fact does produce such a form, but though it might be a retention from an older generation, it is just as likely to be a variant that she adopted during her study at the vocational school at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór.

At any rate, the variant [**riˑfʹɛ**] seems firmly rooted in the youngest generation of the sample.

Turning to the verbal noun *rith*, we find a surprising amount of variation — not only across the islands, but on Inis Mór itself. Despite the profusion of forms, it seems possible to reduce the number of forms on Inis Mór to three basic variants: *rith*, *ríocht* and *reacht*.[7] The first variant, *rith* ([**rɪ**]), which is closest to the Standard Irish form, contains a short, lax high front vowel and elides the [**h**] of the Standard Irish form. The second variant, *ríocht* ([**riːᵊxt**]), may occasionally have its vowel lowered (e.g., [**reːᵊxt**]) or its final consonant elided, (e.g., [**riːᵊx**], but such forms seem to be in relatively free distribution. The third variant, *reacht* ([**raːxt**]), similarly seems to allow optional elision of the final consonant, (e.g., [**raːx**]).[8]

A closer inspection of the distribution of these variants on Inis Mór, however, produces

[5] Alternatively, one could maintain that the informants in the two western islands have preserved an archaic articulation in both forms — one which existed before the lengthening rule, but this seems unlikely to me.

[6] Note that there is no raising of the vowel before the nasal consonant in any of these examples with long, tense vowels — from either older informant on Inis Oírr.

[7] These forms seem to represent the real or putative historical forms *rith*, *ritheacht* agus *reathacht*, respectively.

[8] M 68 at Eochaill produced this variant seven times and insisted that there was no final *-t*, but he himself produces the variant [**raːxt**], with the final *-t* clearly audible.

surprising further patterns. The variant *ríocht* is the dominant variant and runs the length of Inis Mór, but the three informants in central Inis Mór (at An Sruthán and at Corrúch) who use the variant all drop the final consonant, producing *ríoch* in that limited geographical area, which would make that form a sub-variant of *ríocht*.[9]

In the same fashion, the variant *reacht* ([**raːxt**]) is found in a restricted area a little further east, at Fearann an Choirce and at Eochaill. Thus the variants *ríoch* and *reacht* overlap in central Inis Mór.[10] As for the form *reach* ([**raːx**]), with the final *-t* elided, this possible sub-variant of *reacht* seems to be restricted to the informant at Eochaill and may be idiosyncratic.

Returning to the first variant discussed, *rith* ([**rɪ**]), it is found only at Eochaill and at Cill Rónáin in easternmost Inis Mór, but it extends eastward to include Inis Meáin as well. As for Inis Oírr, we find only subvariants already encountered on Inis Mór — all based on the variant *ríocht*: [**riːᵊxt**], [**reːxt**] and [**riːᵊx**].

5.5 *Bruigh*

(The only item examined here is the future form, *bruithfidh*.)

Moving on to the verb *bruigh* and examining only the future tense verb form *bruithfidh*, once again we note a monosyllabic verb form ending in a long, high-front vowel on Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin: [**briː**]. In contrast, on Inis Oírr once again we find a variant with an audible future marker: [**briˑfʹɪ/briˑfʹɛ**]. In this case, however, all three informants produce the variant. Note that once again the variant is a blended form, or a secondary form, which is built on the already extended stem *bruí-*.

Note also that two informants in western Inis Mór substitute the future form of the verb *fiuch*, producing *fiuchfaidh* [**fʹəxə**].

5.6 *Buaigh/Gnóthaigh*

(The items examined here are the future form of the verb *BUAIGH* in the dependent verb construction *go mbuaifidh* and that of the verb *GNÓTHAIGH*, which is often substituted in that context, yielding the form *go ngnóthóidh*.)

Moving on to the verb *buaigh* and again focusing on the future tense verb form in the dependent verb construction *go mbuaifidh*, we find forms of the verb *Buaigh!* from Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór eastward through Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr. In terms of variants, again we find a monosyllabic variant ending in a long vowel in easternmost Inis Mór: [**gə muː**]. On Inis Meáin, both informants produce the conditional form [**gə muᵊx**] (= *go mbuaifeadh*), but from the shape of the verb stem, it is likely that we would encounter the same future forms there as well, based on the root [**buː**].

[9] If we include the reduced variant *reach* of the variant *reacht*, to be discussed next, this reduction of the final consonant cluster then is an areal feature which stretches in an almost unbroken chain from An Sruthán to Eochaill in central Inis Mór, with only Fearann an Choirce not attesting an example.

[10] What is odd is that there is no attestation of the variant *reacht* at Corrúch, either in the linguistic tables or in the responses to the *LASID* questionnaire administered at Corrúch.

On Inis Oírr, however, once again we find a future form which contains an audible future suffix: [**gə ˈmuˑᵋfʲ/gə ˈmu-aⁱfʲɛ**]. Note that it is the two female informants who produce these forms. Note also the emphatic articulation of the youngest informant, F 18, which stresses the presence of the future suffix.

As for the male informant on Inis Oírr, his example in a relative construction, [**wuᵊs**] (= *a bhuaifeas*), is virtually identical to that of M 68 at Eochaill on Inis Mór and does not contain the audible future suffix — another indication that variants found in easternmost Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin have been present on Inis Oírr as well.

Before ending discussion of this verb, note that nearly all the informants in western and central Inis Mór from Bungabhla through Corrúch substitute a form of the verb *gnóthaigh* for the verb *buaigh* in this context,[11] a lexical substitution which divides the island neatly in two portions. Thus we have the dependent future tense variant [**gə ŋNoː**] (*go ngnóthóidh*) from Bungabhla through Corrúch, with sub-variants co-occurring with the dominant variant in certain restricted areas.

For instance, from the two female informants in westernmost Inis Mór we get sub-variants ending in falling diphthongs: [**gə ŋNoˑə**] and [**gə ŋNuə**], while from the two male informants in central Inis Mór we get the variants [**gə Nuˑiˑ**] and [**Nax Noːᵉ**], with rising diphthongs and elision of the velar nasal consonant [**ŋ**] produced by elipsis of the voiced velar plosive [**g**] in order to simplify the resulting nasal consonant cluster.[12]

5.7 *Coinnigh*

(Here the focus is on the phonological shape of the verbal noun *coinneáil* in the items *do do choinneáil* and *ag coinneáil*.)

Moving on to the second conjugation verb *coinnigh*, we will focus on the phonological shape of the verbal noun *coinneáil*.

On Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin, the variant *coinneál* ([**kɪNɑːL**]), with its velarised final lateral consonant, is dominant. Only two informants in eastern Inis Mór and the male informant on Inis Meáin[13] produce the Standard Irish variant *coinneáil*.

On Inis Oírr, the two older informants stand apart from the two western islands in using only the Standard Irish variant *coinneáil*. The youngest informant, F 18, however, joins the two western islands in producing the variant with the velarised final consonant.

With the exception of the male informant on Inis Meáin, what is striking on all three islands is the consistency in the choice of the variant by each individual. In other words, with the exception of the individual just mentioned, the informants do not mix variants.

In eliciting these verbal noun forms, informants in the two western islands produced the

[11] We have no examples from F 70 at An Sruthán.

[12] The latter variants could be regarded as more distinctive from the dominant variant [**gə ŋNoː**] than the variants with the falling diphthongs.

[13] His example with the palatalised final lateral consonant may be influenced by the palatalised initial consonant of the following word. His two other examples both have a velarised final lateral consonant.

alternative constructions *Céard a choinnigh thú?* and *Céard a choinnigh Seán?*.[14] In regard to the first construction, only the female informant on Inis Meáin produced the expected variant *... a choinnigh thú?*. Most informants on the both islands produced the variant *... a choinn' ú?*, with elision of the **[h]** of the object pronoun and subsequent elision of the final vowel of the verb.

One female informant in western Inis Mór, F 73 at Eoghanacht, however, produces the example *... a choinnígh ú?*, with the unexpected tense high front vowel **[iː]** as final vowel of the verb. Two male informants, one in central Inis Mór and another on Inis Meáin, do the same in the construction *... a choinnigh Seán?*, producing *a choinnígh [Seán]?*. It would be interesting to see if the stem vowels of similar second conjugation verbs escape the laxing rule in such word-final linguistic contexts.

5.8 *Tóg*

(The focus here is on the phonological shape of the verbal noun *tógáil* in the phrase *... a thógáil*.

Moving on now to the first conjugation verb *tóg*,[15] the focus is again on the shape of the verbal noun, in this case *tógáil* as it occurs embedded in the phrase *... a thógáil*.

On Inis Mór, the variant *tóigeál* (**[toːgʹɑːl]**), with a velarised lateral consonant as final consonant, is found from Bungabhla in westernmost Inis Mór through Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór. In contrast, the variant *tóigeáil* (**[toːgʹɑːlʹ]**), with a palatalised lateral consonant as final consonant, is found from Fearann an Choirce eastward. Thus westernmost Inis Mór from Bungabhla through An Sruthán attests only the variant *tóigeál*, while easternmost Inis Mór from Cill Rónáin through Cill Éinne attests only the variant *tóigeáil*, and the area in central Inis Mór between Fearann an Choirce and Eochaill can be regarded as a zone of overlapping variants.

On Inis Meáin, we get only the variant *tóigeál* from both informants — rather surprisingly, since we would expect a connection with eastern Inis Mór rather than with western Inis Mór.

On Inis Oírr, the older female informant produces the variant *tóigeáil*, which connects her with Cill Rónáin, on Inis Mór, where she received her secondary education. On the other hand, the younger female informant produces the variant *tóigeál*, which connects her directly with Inis Meáin.[16]

5.9 *Imigh*

(The focus here is on two pairs of items. One pair of items consists of the imperative plural verb forms *imígí!/ná himígí!*, and the second pair consists of the third person plural simple past verb forms *d'imigh/ar imigh ... ?*.)

[14] These constructions are given in the footnotes to the linguistic tables for the verb *coinnigh*.

[15] Note that the final consonant of the verb root is palatalised as *tóig-* in all examples given here. This can be seen also in the direct relative form *a thóigfeadh* (**[ə hoːkʹəx]**) from F 73 at Eoghanacht.

[16] Recall that her father was born on Inis Meáin.

Moving on to the second conjugation verb *imigh*, and beginning with the imperative plural verb form *imígí!*, we note that the variant *imigí!*, with a short, lax vowel as first vowel of the suffix *-ígí*, is the dominant variant on Inis Mór, running the whole length of the island. In eastern Inis Mór, however, all our male informants (from Corrúch through Cill Rónáin) produce a second variant, *imí!*, with the monosyllabic suffix *-í*. Note that not a single female informant produces this variant, even the two in eastern Inis Mór.

On Inis Meáin, the same situation exists, with the male informant producing the variant *imí!* exclusively, while the female informant produces only the variant *imigí!*.

On Inis Oírr, however, that situation seems to disappear. The variant *imí!* is not attested, and the variant *imigí!* is attested from all three informants, whether male or female. It cannot be said, however, that the monosyllabic plural suffix is unknown on Inis Oírr since the older female informant also produces the form *bailí!* (**[bal′i:]**) in the synonymous expression *Bailí lib!* (= *Bailígí libh!*).[17]

Turning now to the simple past forms of the same verb, we note inflected (synthetic) third person plural verb forms in eastern Inis Mór. Thus, both informants at Corrúch and the female informant at Cill Éinne all give us the first conjugation variant *d'imeadar*, with the second vowel shortened and laxed.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant produces the same variant, but the female informant produces the historical variant *d'imíodar* (**[ʤɪm′i:dər]**), with the second vowel kept tense and long.

On Inis Oírr, however, only the first conjugation variant *d' imeadar* is attested from the two older informants. Of them, the male informant produces a slightly different variant as well — the unusual variant (**[ʤɪm′ɪˈdər′]**), with stress on the final syllable and a palatalised final consonant.

We also have examples of the verbal adjective/past participle *imithe* from a female informant on Inis Mór and from the female informant on Inis Meáin. From both we get the variant expected — *imí* (**[ɪm′i:]**), with the **[h]** and the following vowel of the suffix elided and compensatory lengthening of the first vowel of the suffix.

5.10 *Oscail*

(Only the negative imperative plural verb form, *ná hosclaígí!*, is examined here.)

Moving on to another second conjugation verb, *oscail*, and again focusing on the imperative plural verb form *osclaígí!*, we note a situation very similar to that of the plural imperative verb form just examined.

On Inis Mór, the variant *osclaigí!*, with a short, lax vowel in the first syllable of the suffix *-igí*, is found throughout the island. In eastern Inis Mór, however, all the male informants from Fearann an Choirce through Eochaill use a second variant exclusively, *osclaí!*,[18] with

[17] The male informant on Inis Meáin uses precisely the same form.

[18] The male informant at Fearann an Choirce actually produces the example **[(ə)sLi:]**, but I regard this shape as a slip of the tongue.

the monosyllabic suffix *-í*. This time, however, the female informant at Corrúch joins her brother in producing the same variant, but produces it as an alternative variant to the dominant variant with the disyllabic suffix.

On Inis Meáin, once again the male informant produces the variant with the monosyllabic suffix, *osclaí!*, while the female informant produces the variant with the disyllabic suffix, *osclaigí!*.

Inis Oírr stands apart from the two western islands once more. The male informant produces the variant with the disyllabic suffix, *osclaigí!*, while both female informants use the singular imperative form *oscail!* to perform the function of the imperative plural form.[19]

5.11 *Fág*

(The items examined here include the verbal forms *fág!, fágaigí!, d'fhág, [sular] fhág.*)

Moving on to the first conjugation verb *fág* and again examining the plural imperative verb form, *fágaigí!*, we find the Standard Irish variant *fágaigí!*, with a disyllabic suffix, and the competing variant *fágaí!*, with a monosyllabic vocalic suffix, virtually coextensive throughout the island. In this case, all the male informants including the headmaster at Cill Rónáin opt exclusively for the variant with monosyllabic suffix, and they are joined by the female informants at Eoghanacht[20] and at Corrúch, though the informant at Corrúch again produces the variant with the monosyllabic suffix simply as an alternative to that with the disyllabic suffix.

The youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, stands apart from both groups by using a singular imperative form, *fág!*, as did her contemporary and fellow schoolmate on Inis Oírr, F 41, in the case of the previous verb examined.

On Inis Meáin, both the male and the female informant use the variant with the monosyllabic suffix exclusively: *fágaí!*.

Needless to say, Inis Oírr stands out from the two western islands in every way. Here both female informants opt for the variant with the disyllabic suffix exclusively, *fágaigí!*, while it is the male informant who uses the singular imperative form *fág!*.

Turning briefly now to the simple past tense verb form *d'fhág*, we note only one example on Inis Mór of the disyllabic variant *d'fhága* — from the elderly female informant F 73 at Eoghanacht in westernmost Inis Mór. Her contemporary on Inis Meáin, the male informant M 70, divides his usage between the variants *d'fhága* and *d'fhág*, though the female informant there, not much younger than he, uses only the Standard Irish variant *d'fhág*. Nevertheless, one could regard the variant *d'fhága* as a relic form used only by the oldest generation in the islands.

What are we to make, then, of Inis Oírr, where the two older informants, M 55 and F 41, use the Standard Irish variant *d'fhág*, while the youngest informant, F18, uses only the

[19] Two informants on Inis Mór also use the singular imperative verb form, but the occurrence of this phenomenon seems more randomly distributed there.

[20] Note, however, that she uses the disyllabic suffix with another first conjugation imperative plural verb form, *cuirigí!*.

"relic form" *d'fhága*?[21]

As for inflected third person plural verb forms, only one example occurs across all three islands — *d'fhágadar*, produced by the male informant on Inis Meáin.

5.12 *Foghlaim*

(Two items represent this verb: the imperative plural verb form *foghlaimígí!*, and the verbal adjective/past participle *foghlamtha*.)

Moving on to the second conjugation verb *foghlaim* and its imperative plural form *foghlaimígí!*, we find only two examples of the imperative plural form, both of them from Inis Mór and both exhibiting the monosyllabic vocalic suffix: *foghlaimí!* ([**foːʟɪmʹi**]) and *foghlamaí!* ([**foʟəmiː**]), respectively.[22] Note that the second example has a verb root ending in a velarised bilabial nasal consonant.

The other examples — all from male informants on Inis Mór — are all singular forms which also end in a velarised consonant: *foghlam!*. Two examples seem to interpret the whole sentence as a singular imperative construction, i.e., *Foghlam do chuid ...*, but the third example, from M 68 at Eochaill, blends both singular and plural forms in a single construction: *Foghlam a' gcuid ...* (= *Foghlaimígí bhur gcuid ...*).

As for Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr, all the speakers in the two eastern islands substitute a periphrastic construction with the verb *déan* for the expected verb *foghlaim*.

Turning to the verbal adjective/past participle *foghlamtha*, we find only the variant *foghlamta* ([**foːʟəmtə**]), with the unlenited suffix *-ta*, in both Inis Mór and on Inis Oírr. From Inis Meáin we have no relevant examples.

Note the anomalous inflected third person plural form *d'fhoghlaimidéar* ([**doːʟəmʹɪʤeːr**]), with a short, lax vowel as verb stem vowel and a long, tense mid-front vowel in the final suffix, from the female informant on Inis Meáin.

5.13 *Ceannaigh*

(The items examined here are the second person singular conditional verb form *an gceannófá ...?* and the second person singular habitual past verb form *cheannaíteá*.)

Moving on to the verb *ceannaigh*, the focus here is on the inflectional suffixes of the second person singular conditional verb form *an gceannófá ...?* and of the second person singular habitual past verb form *cheannaíteá*, given as [**oːɑː**] and [**ɑː**], respectively, in F. N. Finck's *Die Araner Mundart*.[23]

[21] Recall once again that her father is from Inis Meáin, though he is a generation younger than M 70.

[22] The first example is from M 68 in Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór, and the second example is from F 73 in Eoghanacht in westernmost Inis Mór.

[23] Cf. Finck (1899), I, 145.

Starting on Inis Mór with the conditional verb form *An gceannófá . . . ?*, we find two informants — a female informant in west-central Inis M'or and a male informant in eastern Inis Mór — producing the inflected variant *an gceanná . . . ?*, with the inflectional suffix **[-ɑ:]** that Finck gives for the habitual past form.

On the other hand, twice as many speakers spread throughout the island produce the uninflected (or analytic) variant *an gceannódh tú . . . ?*.

Two male informants, however, produce blended forms. M 60 at Fearann an Choirce simply adds a pronoun to the already inflected form, producing *an gceanná tú . . . ?*, while M 50 at Cill Rónáin produces an analytic construction, but modifies the shape of the following pronoun and suffixes it to the verbal stem, exactly as we have seen in other blended forms discussed earlier. Thus, what appears to be an anomalous emphatic form *an gceannódhsa . . . ?* (**[ᵊgʹæˑNoxsʊ . . .]**) is best interpreted as *an gceannódh 'usa . . . ?* with a devoiced (and/or elided) initial vowel[24] in the suffixed emphatic pronoun.

As for Inis Meáin, both informants produce only the inflected variant *an gceanná . . . ?*.

On Inis Oírr, the older informants both produce the inflected variant, but the male informant fronts the vowel of the inflectional suffix to **[æˑ]**. The younger informant, F 18, however, opts for the analytic variant *an gceannódh tusa . . . ?*, but shortens, laxes and centralises the vowel of the second conjugation verb stem, producing **[-əx]** and effectively converting the verb into a first conjugation verb.

Turning to the habitual past verb form *cheannaíteá*, we note that the overwhelming majority of informants on all three islands choose to substitute a periphrastic construction for the expected synthetic (inflected) or analytic simple verb forms. Thus we get either *an mbíá ag ceannach(t) . . . ?* or *an mbíodh tú ag ceannach(t) . . . ?* from most informants.

From the very few who do not produce periphrastic constructions we get some interesting variants. On Inis Mór we get the unique variant *cheannaíá* (**[xʹæːNəiːɑː]**) from M 68 at Eochaill on Inis Mór, precisely what we would expect of the historical development of the verb — on the analogy of the verb form *bhíteá* (**[vʹiːɑː]**).[25] However, we have no other attested forms of this type — not even from Finck, and even the form **[vʹiːɑː]** could be interpreted as the simple grafting of the normal local suffix *-á* onto the verb stem *bhí-*.

By way of contrast, M 68's neighbour to the east, M 50 at Cill Rónáin, produces the expected analytic construction *cheannaíodh tú* — a second unique variant, but containing a diphthong with an oddly fronted off-glide in its verb stem suffix: **[xʹæˑNiˑæx tu]**.

We get another analytic construction from the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18, as well, but she seems to be treating the verb as a first conjugation verb, judging by the verbal suffix: **[xʹæˑNəx tʊsə]** (*cheannadh tusa*). This confirms our suspicion that her conditional verb form mentioned above represents *an gceannfadh tusa . . . ?* and not *an gceannódh tusa . . . ?*.

[24]The unvoiced final consonant of the verbal stem, **[-x]**, would easily account for the devoicing of the following vowel.

[25]For both the forms *cheannaíteá* and *bhíteá*, one would first expect lenition of the alveolar consonant in the inflectional suffix, hence *cheannaítheá* and *bhítheá*, respectively, followed by later elision of the **[h]** in both suffixes, to produce *cheannaíá* agus *bhíá*, respectively.

Reflecting on the variants for the second person singular conditional and habitual past verb forms just mentioned, it is interesting that we have no examples of the conditional verbal suffix *-óá* which Finck described more than 100 years ago, but we do have the completely analogous suffix *-íá* for the habitual past tense, a form which is not recorded in Finck's data. Whether this habitual past verbal suffix variant was a rare and unrecorded form in Finck's day, or is a subsequent analogical reformation of the habitual past suffix *-á* of Finck's era is not clear.

Accepting the Finck's description of the verbal paradigms as accurate, the elision of the *-ó-* in the conditional suffix must have caused the conditional suffix to fall together with the habitual past suffix as *-á*.[26] The two suffixes would now be indistinguishable from one another, causing semantic confusion. One way of continuing to distinguish the two verbal forms would be to use an analytic construction in the habitual past, since the third person singular form of the verb would preserve the distinction unequivocally: *-ódh* vs. *-íodh*, respectively.

Another way of distinguishing the two verbal categories would be to use a periphrastic construction, relying on the habitual past form of the auxiliary verb *bheith*, whether as a synthetic or analytic verb form, to mark the habitual past tense.

As is clear from the examples, both these devices were used to resolve the difficulty across all three islands.

As for the Standard Irish verbal noun variant *ceannach* and the local variant *ceannacht*, with the *-t* augment, both variants are widespread on Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin, though the variant *ceannacht* alone is attested from the four informants in western Inis Mór. On the other hand, only the Standard Irish variant *ceannach* is attested on Inis Oírr.

5.14 *Lig*

(The items discussed here are the conditional verb forms *(an) ligfeá . . . ?* and *ligfí*.)

Moving on to the verb *lig*, two items, both conditional verb forms, represent this verb.

Beginning with the second person singular conditional form *an ligfeá . . . ?*, we note the inflected variant [ˈlʲɪkʲɑː], with its devoiced final root consonant and the elided [fʲ] in the inflectional suffix, in a wide range of phonetic realisations on Inis Mór alone — [ˈlʲɪkʲɑː], [lʲɪkʲə], [ᵉlʲɪkʲæ], [ᵉlʲɪkʲɛˑ], etc..[27]

Only two informants on Inis Mór use analytical constructions. F 43 at Bungabhla, the youngest informant in the island, produces [ə ʟʲɪkʲəx tʊsə], and the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór produces the same variant: [ᵉlʲɪkʲəx tʊsə].

On Inis Meáin, the female informant uses the inflected variant with an emphatic particle suffixed: [əɴ ʟʲɪkʲɑsə]. In contrast, the male informant produces a unique inflected form:

[26] Note, however, that the *-óá* variant does not occur in Holger Pedersen's manuscripts, transcribed at virtually the same time that Finck was doing his own research and published recently as *Scéalta Mháirtín Neile*. All three relevant examples which I encountered there exhibit the *-á* variant heard today. Cf. Duran (2000b).

[27] This variation, which is centred in the realisations of the final vowel of the inflectional suffix, has been discussed in the section on phonology and need not be discussed here.

[ʟ′iːk′ɪr].

At first glance, the form appears to be an impersonal imperative or impersonal present verb form with an unexpected long high-front vowel in the root and an elided **[t′]** in the suffix *-tear*,[28] but this verb form makes no sense in this linguistic context. On the other hand, it is unlikely that it is the impersonal future form *ligfear*, since the **[f′]** of the suffix *-fear* would not likely be elided in any of the three islands.[29]

Could this verb form be the archaic inflected future form *ligfir*, with the second person singular inflectional ending *-ir*, a form which is still found in Munster Irish?[30] We still have to deal with the velarised final consonant of the example under discussion, along with the unexplained lengthening of the root vowel. Nevertheless, an inflected future form in this context would at least make some sense as a substitute for the conditional verb form.

As for the second item, the impersonal conditional verb form *ligfí*, we see that the verbal suffix *-fí* is realised as **[f′iː]** on all three islands, with no lenition of the initial consonant of the suffix. In fact, as a scan of the data gathered for Part III reveals, the same phonological shape is used for the verbs *déan* and *fág* on Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin, despite the fact that the roots of both verbs end in a velarised consonant.[31] Thus, this suffix seems to be treated as an invariable suffix by all informants — at least in the two western islands.

As a parting note, we may note that several informants — all male and representing all three islands — produced perifrastic constructions for the second item which included the verbal adjective/past participle *ligthe*. In all cases the variant **[lʲɪkʲiː]** was produced, with devoicing of the final consonant of the root and a long, high-front vowel terminating the form.

5.15 *Labhair*

(The only item examined here is the third person habitual present verb form *labhraíonn*.)

Moving on to the verb *labhair*, our sole interest here is the extent to which informants assign this verb to the second conjugation. On Inis Mór, all the informants assign the present tense verb form *labhraíonn* to the second conjugation, though some informants shorten the stem vowel considerably.

On Inis Meáin, however, there is a clear contrast between the second conjugation form produced by the male informant (**[Laᵘrinʲ (ʃiˑ)]**) and the apparent first conjugation form produced by the female informant (**[Lʌrn̪ʲ (ʃiˑ)]**).

On Inis Oírr, all three informants assign this verb to the first conjugation: (e.g., **[Laᵘrɴ̪ (tʃiː)]**).

[28] Cf. the impersonal present form **[fʲɛkʲər]** in the commonly heard phrase *feictear dom ...*.

[29] A scan of the data gathered for Part III suggests this — at least for the verb form *déanfar*. However, this form is not completely suitable as a test form in this case since it contains a root ending in a velarised consonant rather than in a palatalised consonant.

[30] Cf. the example *Féadfair!* from a male speaker from Creig an Chéirín in westernmost Inis Mór, cited in footnote 45 in the discussion of the past tense forms of the verb *bí*.

[31] The data for Inis Oírr are not so clear.

5.16 *Teastaigh*

(The only items discussed here are the third person habitual present forms *teastaíonn* and *an dteastaíonn . . . ?*.)

Moving on to the verb *teastaigh* and its habitual present tense verb forms *teastaíonn* and *an dteastaíonn . . . ?*, we find all informants across all three islands treating this verb as a second conjugation verb, whether in its present tense form or in its conditional form. Only the female informant on Inis Meáin produces an apparent first conjugation conditional verb form ([**hæstəx**]), which she offsets with three examples of the same verb form as a second conjugation verb.

We note apparent elision of the final consonant of the habitual present verb stem in an example from the older female informant in Inis Oírr ([**tasti kræpʹɛ**] = *teastaíonn cnaipe*) and in another from the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór ([**tʹæstiː(n) dɪnʹɪ**] = *teastaíonn duine*).

As for palatalisation of the initial consonant, only the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór consistently palatalises the initial consonant. Though many others, especially in eastern Inis Mór, front the vowel in the verb root to [**æ**], they do not palatalise the initial consonant. The female informant at An Sruthán on Inis Mór palatalises the initial vowel of the verbal noun *teastáil*, but not of the habitual present verb forms she produces.

Inis Oírr, however, stands apart again from the two western islands by neither palatalising the initial consonant nor fronting the vowel of the verb root.

5.17 *Cuimhnigh*

(The two items examined here are the third person habitual present verb form *cuimhníonn* and the verbal noun *cuimhneamh*.)

Moving on to the verb *cuimhnigh* and the habitual present tense verb form *cuimhníonn*, we see that the conjugated verb is treated as a second conjugation verb across all three islands, but that the root comes in two competing variant forms: a variant *cuimhn-*, with the historical palatalised voiced labiodental fricative [**vʹ**] conserved, and another variant, *cuín(n)-* with that consonant elided and the preceding vowel lengthened in compensation.

Beginning on Inis Mór, we note that all the female informants — with the sole exception of F 73 at Eoghanacht — preserve the fricative [**vʹ**], producing the variant *cuimhníonn* (e.g., [**kiˑvʹNʹiˑN**]), while all the male informants elide the fricative, producing the competing variant *cuín(n)íonn* (e.g., [**kiːnʹiːnʹ (ʃɛ)**]).

On Inis Meáin, we have only a single example, the future tense verb form *cuínneoidh* ([**kiːNʹoː**]), but it again has the fricative elided, and it is produced by the male informant.

As for Inis Oírr, we find only the variant *cuíníonn* (e.g., [**kiːnʹiːn**]), with elision of the fricative consonant [**vʹ**] and a lenis nasal consonant word-medially. Here there is no distinction between the sexes; all the informants produce the same variant.

As for the verbal noun *cuimhneamh*, we find a different pattern across the islands. On Inis Mór, we find the variant *cuíniú* ([**kiːnʲuː**]), with elision of the fricative in the root and vocalisation of the final syllable, stretching nearly the length of the island, from Bungabhla in the west to Eochaill in the east. In this case, two of the female informants join the male informants in eliding the fricative [**vʲ**] in the verbal noun. In fact, the only female informant who produces the relatively standard form *cuimhniú* ([**kɪvʲnʲuˑ/ kiːvʲnʲɛᵘ**]), preserving the fricative but vocalising the final syllable, is the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór.

As for the female informant at Eoghanacht mentioned above, who was the exception to the rule regarding preservation of the fricative in the habitual present verb form, she again proves exceptional in producing a third verbal noun variant, *cuímniú* ([**kiˑmʲnʲuː**]), with an unspirantised bilabial nasal consonant and the final syllable vocalised yet again.

Unfortunately, on Inis Meáin both informants substitute lexically separate verbal nouns, so we can say nothing of the variants of *cuimhneamh* there.

On Inis Oírr, however, though we have no data from the male informant, both female informants produce the variant *cuíniú* ([**kiːnʲuː**]) with the fricative elided and vocalisation of the final syllable. Thus the three informants on Inis Oírr seem to be absolutely uniform in selecting only variants which elide the fricative.

As for the substitution of other verbs in the contexts discussed above, we note that for the habitual present verb form *cuimhníonn*, three female informants in the two western islands (two on Inis Mór and one on Inis Meáin) have substituted the verb form *smaoiníonn*.

As for substitution of verbal noun forms, two female informants (one on Inis Mór and the other on Inis Meáin) use the variant *smaoiniú* (from *smaoineamh*, with vocalisation of the final syllable). Two male informants also select the same lexical variant, but produce unusual variants. The male informant at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór produces the variant *smaoineadh* ([**smiːNʲə**]), treating the verbal noun as though it were a regular first conjugation verbal noun with a neutral vowel as suffix. The other male informant — on Inis Meáin — produces the variant *smaonú* ([**smiːNuˑ**]), with a velarised nasal consonant as the final consonant of the verb root.

Two other male informants — both on Inis Mór — select the verbal noun *ceapadh*.

It is worth noting the variety of verbal noun variants on Inis Mór. In contrast, only variants of the verbal noun *smaoineamh* are in use on Inis Meáin. As for Inis Oírr, there is striking uniformity; both conjugated forms and verbal nouns show only the uniform root *cuín-* ([**kiːnʲ-**]) derived from *cuimhn-*, e.g., *cuíniú* ([**kiːnʲuː**]), etc.

5.18 *Fiafraigh*

(The focus here is on the phonological shape of the verbal noun *fiafraí* in the phrase *ag fiafraí faoi* ....)

Moving on to the verb *fiafraigh*, we will focus on the verbal noun *fiafraí* in the construction *ag fiafraí faoi ...*. In so doing, we will ignore the lexical substitution of other verbal noun forms in constructions such as *ag cuartú ...* (= *ag cuardach ...*), *ag cur thuairisc ...* and *ag tóraíocht ...* — particularly prevalent in western Inis Mór, as well as the phonological modification of the verbal noun, such as levelling of diphthongs and lowering of long front and back vowels, since this has been dealt with in the section on phonology.

Beginning on Inis Mór, we note only the morphological variant *fiarú*, with elision of the second [**f**] and with *-u* as verbal noun suffix, thus regularising the verbal noun as a normal second conjugation verbal noun form.

On Inis Meáin, however, we note only the morphological variant *fiaraí*, with elision of the second [**f**] and preservation of the historical suffix vowel *-í*.

On Inis Oírr, the female informant produces the variant *fiaraí*, which we have just seen on Inis Meáin, but the male informant produces the distinct variant *fiaradh* ([**fiᵊrə**]), which could be seen as the regularisation of the verbal noun as a first conjugation verbal noun form with the suffix *-adh* or else a blended form drawing from the verbal noun *iarraidh* (pronounced [**iᵊrə**] locally[32]) as well as from the verbal noun *fiafraí*.

5.19 *Iarr*

(The sole item examined here is the verbal noun phrase *ag iarraidh*.)

Moving on to the next verb, *iarr*, and focusing on the verbal noun *iarraidh* just mentioned, we note first of all that the verbal noun is regularised as *iarradh* [**iᵊrə**], with the regular first conjugation suffix *-adh*, across all three islands.

Note also that in the construction *ag iarraidh*, the female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór produces the form *d' éarradh* (= d' iarraidh), with a form of the verbal particle which links her to the dialects of western Munster,[33] but this is the only example attested in my corpus of data. Even in her responses to the *LASID* questionnaire, she provides no further examples.

5.20 *Doirt*

(The items discussed here are the verbal adjective/past participle *doirte* and the impersonal form of the simple past: *doirteadh*.)

Moving on finally to the verb *doirt*, we see that the verbal adjective/past participle *doirte* has only one morphological variant[34] across all three islands: *doirtí* [**doːrtʲiː**], with the long, high front vowel [**iː**] suffixed to the root.

This variant, like the verbal adjectives/past participles for the verbs *tar* and *lig* already discussed, conforms to the rules for the formation of the verbal adjective/past participle in

[32] Cf. the verb *Iarr!*, discussed next.
[33] Cf. Ó Sé (2000), 365, for attestation of this form in the dialect of Corca Dhuibhne.
[34] The phonological modifications, e.g., [**doˑrtʃiː**], have been discussed earlier.

Connemara dialects, at least in regard to devoicing of the final consonant of the root and to the addition of the final vowel *-í*.

Some informants in both Inis Mór and on Inis Oírr substituted the impersonal form of the simple past: *doirteadh*. From such examples, we see that there is a clear difference between such forms on Inis Mór (and probably Inis Meáin) and their counterparts on Inis Oírr. On Inis Mór we have the morphological variant [**doːrtʲuː**],[35] with the vocalised suffix [**-uː**], while on Inis Oírr we have [**doːrtʲəv**], with the suffix [**-əv**], in which the voiced bilabial fricative and its preceding neutral vowel resist vocalisation.

[35]Including such phonologically modified variants as [**doːrtʃuˑ**] and [**doːrʃtʃuˑ**].

Chapter 6

The Use of the Dependent Verb Forms

Turning now to matters more closely related to syntax, we will now examine syntactic constructions which, in Standard Irish, demand the use of the dependent form of the verb. In this investigation, the emphasis is on interrogative constructions and on relative constructions. We begin with the interrogative constructions.

6.1 Verb Forms in Interrogative Constructions of Manner

(The items discussed here are *Cén chaoi a ndeachaigh . . . ?, Cén chaoi a ndearna . . . ?,* and *Cén chaoi a bhfuil . . . ?*)

Starting with the interrogatives of manner, we note that in the construction *Cén chaoi a ndeachaigh . . . ?*, all informants across all three islands use the dependent form of the verb, as in Standard Irish. It is only in the head-phrase of the construction that we note some interesting differences between informants.

Thus, in eastern Inis Mór, the male informant at Eochaill produces the aberrant head-phrase [**tʲɛ** $^{\text{xi}}$] (= *Te' chaoi . . . ?*), which brings to mind the Cois Fharraige forms [**tʲeː/tʲɛ**] (= *Cé . . . ?*) and [**tʲeːrd/tʲɛrd**] (= *Céard . . . ?*).[1] On Inis Meáin, the male informant produces the slightly reduced form [**kʲɛ hi**], while on Inis Oírr the youngest female informant reduces the entire head-phrase to [$\mathbf{x^i}$], presumably as a result of sub-vocalisation of the first word.

The second item, the construction *Cén chaoi a ndearna . . . ?*, presents difficulties in interpreting the syntax due to the complexities relating to the verb *Déan!* discussed earlier. Thus only two informants — both in eastern Inis Mór — produce the expected dependent form *ndearna*. All the other informants in both the western islands produce the invariable form *rinne* in its place, while on Inis Oírr, the two older informants produce the variant

[1] Cf. de Bhaldraithe (1953), 159.

dhion in a direct relative construction: *Cén chaoi a dhion . . . ?*.[2]

As for reduced forms of the head-phrase, not only do we have the second example from F 18 on Inis Oírr — just mentioned, but also the form **[k′ɛ̃ hi]**, once again from the male informant on Inis Meáin. The most striking reduction, however, comes from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór: **[kaʲ]**.

The final interrogative of manner construction, the construction *Cén chaoi a bhfuil . . . ?* in the longer construction *Cén chaoi a bhfuil a fhios agat?*, is treated as it would be in Standard Irish across all three islands. Only the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, inserts the subordinating particle *go* to produce the construction *Cén chaoi go bhfuil . . . ?*.

Some interesting reductions of the head-phrase occur. We get **[k′ɛ xu . . . ?]** and **[x′ɛ̃ ʰʷ iː . . . ?]** from Inis Mór, and the extremely reduced form **[k′]** in the construction **[k′ wʊl′. . . ?]** — once again from the youngest female informant on Inis Oírr.

Three informants — in central and eastern Inis Mór — chose to substitute the construction *Cá bhfios duit/duitse?*. In this case, the first two elements of the construction were articulated as **['kɑ wəs . . . ?]**, **[kʌ w(ə)s . . . ?]** and **['kɑː wɪs . . . ?]**, respectively. As for the pronominal forms *duit* and *duitse*, they were all left unlenited.

6.2 Verb Forms in Interrogative Constructions of Cause

(The items discussed here are *Cén fáth a ndeachaigh . . . ?, Cén fáth a ndearna . . . ?,* and *Cén fáth a raibh . . . ?*)

We turn now to interrogative constructions of cause headed by the phrase *Cén fáth . . . ?*. Beginning with the construction *Cén fáth a ndeachaigh . . . ?*, we note that all the informants in western Inis Mór from Bungabhla to Fearann an Choirce, with the single exception of the female informant at An Sruthán, insert the subordinating particle *go*, producing the construction *Cén fáth go ndeachaigh . . . ?*. All the informants in eastern Inis Mór from Corrúch to Cill Éinne, however, do not insert the particle.

On Inis Meáin, the evidence in this item is inconclusive. The female informant inserts the particle *go*, but the male informant produces the ambiguous present tense construction *Cén fáth nach dtéann . . . ?*.

On Inis Oírr, we have examples only from the two female informants, but neither uses the particle *go*. The older female informant produces the Standard Irish construction *Cén fáth a ndeachaigh . . . ?*, but the younger one produces the unique example *Cén fáth (a) chuaigh . . . ?*, with the independent form of the verb.

Moving on to the second item, the construction *Cén fáth a ndearna . . . ?*, we see that the only informant on all three islands who produces the Standard Irish construction with the dependent verb form *ndearna* is M 50, the headmaster of the vocational school at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór. All the other informants in the two western islands produce the invariable verb form *rinne*, either with or without the subordinating particle *go*. On Inis Oírr, however, all

[2]The youngest female informant apparently does so as well, but in an extremely reduced form: **[xiː N. . .]**.

the informants use only the independent verb form *dhion*, producing the construction *Cén fáth (a) dhion . . . ?*.

As for the use of the subordinating particle *go*, for this item on Inis Mór only the female informants at Bungabhla in westernmost Inis Mór and at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór use the subordinating particle to produce the construction *Cén fáth go/gur rinne . . . ?*.[3]

On Inis Meáin, once again it is the female informant who inserts the subordinating particle *go* to produce the same construction. The male informant does not insert the particle in what is otherwise the same construction.

In regard to the last item in this subgroup, the construction *Cén fáth a raibh . . . ?*, we find that on Inis Mór once again the only informants to insert the subordinating particle *go* are the two female informants at Bungabhla and Cill Éinne, who both produce the construction *Cén fáth go raibh . . . ?*. On Inis Meáin, however, neither informant inserts the particle in this construction.

On Inis Oírr, the older female informant surprises us here by also inserting the subordinating particle, but then we recall that she attended secondary school in Cill Rónáin in eastern Inis Mór at approximately the same time as F 43 at Bungabhla, and that this is perhaps a feature which she, like F 43, adopted during her stay in easternmost Inis Mór.[4]

Note that the use of the subordinating particle, wherever it occurs, is associated almost exclusively with female informants across all three islands. This is especially true of the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, who inserts the particle regularly in interrogative constructions of cause and, as we have seen, in at least one interrogative construction of manner: *Cén chaoi go bhfuil . . . ?*.[5]

It is also worth noting the use of the independent verb form by the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór in the construction *Cén fáth (a) bhí . . . ?*.

As for head-phrases, we note that unique use of the interrogative *Tuige . . . ?* in the item discussed last by the female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór. More generally, it is worth noting the large number of informants who employ the phonologically reduced form **[kʹɛ fə . . . ?]** — or a close equivalent — across all three islands, but especially in central and eastern Inis Mór and on Inis Oírr.

6.3 Verb Forms in Interrogative Constructions Headed by a Pronominal Prepositional Form

(The items discussed here are *Cé dó a ndearna . . . ?, Cé leis a raibh . . . ?, Cé leis a bhfuil . . . ?* and *Cé aige a bhfuil . . . ?*)

Turning now to interrogative constructions headed by a pronominal prepositional form, we begin with the construction *Cé dó a ndearna . . . ?*. As we might expect, the only use of the dependent form of the simple past verb form is in easternmost Inis Mór. There M 50 at

[3] As we have seen earlier, the construction with the subordinating particle *go* plus the invariable verb form *rinne* can be interpreted as either *go rinne* or *gur rinne*, depending on whether the informant sees the verb form *rinne* as regular or irregular in its behaviour.

[4] Recall also that F 43 has been living in Cill Rónáin since marriage to the Cill Éinne informant F 70's son.

[5] This is another construction which she shares with her contemporary F 41 on Inis Oírr.

Cill Rónáin, headmaster of the vocational school, produces the Standard Irish construction *Cé dhó a ndearna . . . ?*, with an indirect relative construction. His neighbour at Cill Éinne, F 70, produces the dependent form but lenites the initial consonant, thus treating it as though it were in a direct relative construction: *Cé leis a dhearna . . . ?*.[6]

All the other speakers in the two western islands, along with F 70 at Cill Éinne, employ the invariable form *rinne* in this construction, producing the equivalent of *Cé dó a rinne . . . ?*.[7] Only the male informant on Inis Meáin shows a clear preference for an indirect relative construction by substituting the dependent simple past form of the verb *Bí!* in his example *Cé dhó a ro' tú ag obair?*.

As for Inis Oírr, once again all three informants opt exclusively for the independent form *dhion*, producing *Cé dhó a dhion . . . ?*.

Note that the pronominal preposition form in the head-phrase is invariably lenited across all three islands: *Cé dhó . . . ?*.

Moving on to the next item, *Cé leis a bhfuil . . . ?*, with a different head-phrase, but with the same verb in the present tense, one might expect a similar pattern, but in fact we find that only the male informant at Eochaill on Inis Mór produces an independent verb form, in the construction *Cé leis atá . . . ?*. All the other informants across all three islands, insofar as they produce an example at all for this item, produce only dependent verb forms, as in Standard Irish.

In fact, if we may jump for a moment to the next item, *Cé aige a bhfuil . . . ?*, which presents an alternative construction given as a response to the same stimulus question, we will see that in fact not a single informant produces an independent verb form; all produce the Standard Irish dependent verb form. What is happening here?

What is happening is that the informants are sharply aware of the syntactic difference between the two (or three) constructions and are acting accordingly. The first item was seeking to elicit the construction *Cé leis a raibh tú ag caint?*, while the second and third items were seeking to elicit the sharply different construction *Cé leis a bhfuil gaol aige?*.

It would appear that, for the informants in eastern Inis Mór from Corrúch through Eochaill, as well as for the male informant in Inis Oírr, the constructions *Cé atá/a bhí ag caint?* and *Cé leis atá/a bhí tú ag caint?* are syntactically parallel, and that it is appropriate to model the more elaborate second construction on the simpler first construction.

In regard to items calling for constructions such as *Cé leis a bhfuil gaol aige?*, however, it would seem that such constructions were unavoidably associated in the minds of the informants with indirect object constructions, and that, in such a case, use of the dependent form of the verb would be mandatory. Only the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór is venturesome enough to use the expression *Cé leis atá gaolta aige?*(sic).

As one can see from that example, some informants had problems producing this construction — especially those who chose the alternative construction with the head-phrase *Cé aige . . . ?* to produce the odd construction *Cé aige a bhfuil gaol leis?*. For example, the transcription of the female informant's responses on Inis Meáin shows great hesitation in responding.

In all, two neighbours in central Inis Mór, the female informant at an Sruthán and the

[6]Note F 70's unusual use of the pronominal prepositional form *leis* instead of the form *dó* in this example.
[7]F 70 at Cill Éinne produces the head-phrase *Cé leis . . . ?* with the invariable form *rinne* as well.

male informant at Fearann an Choirce, together with the female informant on Inis Meáin, attempt the anomalous construction with the head-phrase *Cé aige . . . ?*. All the others across the three islands use the normal construction with the head-phrase *Cé leis . . . ?*.

Even so, the youngest informant in the entire sample, F 18 on Inis Oírr, apparently has problems with even the more conventional construction, producing *Cé leis a bhfuil gaol aige le?*, with a hypercorrect repetition clause-finally of the pronominal preposition in the head-phrase, but with the echo-form uninflected for person.

6.4 Miscellaneous Interrogative Constructions

(The items discussed here are *Cá ndeachaigh . . . ?, Cá fhad go rachaidh . . . ?,* and *Cé mhéad . . . ?*)

We turn now to miscellaneous interrogative constructions, but with emphasis on the head-particle, the headword or the head-phrase.

As regards the form of the locative particle *Cá . . . ?* in the simple locative interrogative construction *Cá ndeachaigh . . . ?*, it is interesting to note its phonological reduction to [**kə . . . ?**] or [**ko . . . ?**] across Inis Mór. More striking, however, is its realisation as *Cé . . . ?* ([**kʹeˑ . . . ?**]) by the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór and by the female informant on Inis Meáin, a trait which may be a retention, since it is widespread on the Connemara mainland.

Also worth noting is the use of the head-phrase *Cén áit . . . ?* by the youngest female informant on Inis Oírr. This is the single exception to the universal use of the head-particle *Cá . . . ?* across all three islands. Of even more interest, however, is her use of the independent verb form following the particle: *Cén áit a chuaigh . . . ?*.

In regard to the temporal interrogative construction *Cá fhad go rachaidh . . . ?*, we find two main ways of realising the head-phrase *Cá fhad . . . ?*. The first way is to fuse the two words, palatalise the final consonant of the second word and add a neutral vowel, which can be elided before a following vowel: *Cáide . . . ?*.

Thus we have the scattered reflexes of the head-phrase *Cáid(e) . . . ?* in the two western islands. We find the variant *Cáide . . . ?* when the head-phrase is followed by a subordinate clause (e.g., *Cáide go ngabhfaidh . . . ?*), and we find the variant *Cáid' . . . ?* when it is followed — surprisingly — by a direct relative clause, (e.g, *Cáid' imeoidh . . . ?*). The youngest informants on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla and M 50 at Cill Rónáin, choose the alternative with the subordinate clause, while the older female informant F 73 at Eoghanacht chooses the alternative with the relative clause. The male informant on Inis Meáin chooses both alternatives.

On the other hand, one can substitute the interrogative particle *Cén* for the locative particle *Cá* in the head-phrase *Cá fhad . . . ?* while preserving the lenition in the following noun, thus producing *Cén fhad . . . ?*, effectively making a feminine noun out of the noun *fad*. This variant is selected by the female informant F 70 at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór and by her neighbour to the east, the female informant on Inis Meáin.

We get unusual individual versions of this variant, however, from the female informant

at An Sruthán in central Inis Mór, who palatalises the final consonant, confirming the noun as feminine (*Cén fhaid . . . ?*) and from the male informant at Eochaill, who treats the noun as a masculine noun beginning with a vowel (*Cén t-ad . . . ?*). The older female informant on Inis Oírr produces yet another sub-variant, treating the noun as masculine, but palatalising the final consonant and adding a final vowel (*Cén faide . . . ?*).

The head-phrase (*Cén t-achar . . . ?*) is scattered here and there the length of Inis Mór, from Bungabhla to Cill Éinne, but it is not attested in the data from either of the two eastern islands.

On the other hand, the head-phrase (*Cé chomh fada . . . ?*) is found at least occasionally in all three islands, and the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18, uses it to the exclusion of all other head-phrases.

Focusing now on the syntactic constructions with which these head-phrases are associated, we find that with the exception of the construction mentioned above, *Cáid' imeoidh . . . ?*, these variants are almost invariably followed by a subordinate clause headed by the subordinators *go* or *nó go* in Inis Mór or by *go* in the two eastern islands. Nevertheless, there are a number of constructions which behave like the indirect relative construction, exhibiting eclipsis but having no preceding subordinator.

For example, we have *Cén fhaid a ngabhfaidh . . . ?* from the female informant at An Sruthán and *Cén t-achar . . . a ngabhfaidh . . . ?* from the male informant at Corrúch, both in central Inis Mór. The youngest informant on Inis Oírr is especially striking in her use of these constructions, e.g., *Cé chomh fada . . . roimh a ngabhfaidh . . . ?* and *Cé chomh fada . . . go dtí a ngabhfas 'u . . . ?* with the verb in the latter construction exhibiting an inflectional ending associated with the direct relative construction in the future tense and the following subject pronoun lenited as though it were a direct object pronoun.

With the apparent exception of the interrogative constructions with head-phrases based on the locative particle *Cá . . . ?*, all of these temporal interrogative constructions allow the insertion of the impersonal relative clause *. . . a bheidh sé . . .* between the head-phrase and the following subordinate clause. Thus on all three islands we note constructions such as *Cén t-achar a bheas sé go . . . ?* or *Cé chomh fada a bheas sé go . . . ?*.

Turning now to quantitative interrogative constructions headed by the head-phrase *Cé mhéad . . . ?*, we find the non-standard variant *Cé méid . . . ?* attested in western Inis Mór from Bungabhla eastward to Corrúch, while the Standard Irish variant *Cé mhéad . . . ?* is attested from An Sruthán eastward to Cill Éinne, revealing a clear division between western Inis Mór and eastern Inis Mór, but with an area of overlap in centre of the island from An Sruthán to Corrúch.

For example, the female informant at An Sruthán in central Inis Mór produces two instances of the blended form *Cé mhéid . . . ?* in addition to the standard variant *Cé mhéad . . . ?*. Of special interest also is the variant *Té méid . . . ?* produced by the youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, exhibiting the unique interrogative particle *Té . . . ?*, which is found on the Connemara mainland as well.

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we find both the Standard Irish variant *Cé mhéad . . . ?* and the variant found in western Inis Mór, *Cé méid . . . ?*, in use, though here it is worth noting that the male informant prefers the variant in use in eastern Inis Mór, *Cé mhéad*

. . . ?, while the female informant prefers the variant in use in western Inis Mór, *Cé méid . . . ?*, though she also produces a single example of the other variant in the phrase *Cé mhéad duine . . . ?*.

On Inis Oírr, only the variant *Cé méid . . . ?* is in use by all three informants.

As for the question of whether a singular or plural noun follows the interrogative phrase *Cé mhéad . . . ?*, once again one find a striking pattern on Inis Mór. Informants in the restricted area in eastern Inis Mór from Corrúch through Eochaill, which we have come to view as innovative, produce only the plural noun form *daoine*, while all other informants to the east and to the west on the island, produce only the singular noun form *duine*.

In the two eastern islands, usage is mixed, even within the age cohorts, though the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18, produces only the singular variant *duine*, characteristic of Standard Irish.

6.5 Verb Forms in Attributive Indirect Relative Clauses

Here we deal with indirect relative clauses which expand a noun phrase in a non-interrogative syntactic construction. In such a construction, the indirect relative clause adds information about the referent functioning as antecedent, but the syntactic relationship between the subject of the relative clause and its antecedent is indirect at best.

6.6 Indirect Relative Clauses with Locative Noun Phrases as Antecedents

(The items discussed here are *. . . san áit a gcónaíonn/a maireann tú . . . , . . . sa teach a raibh . . . ,* and *. . . faoi scian a raibh . . .*)

Beginning on Inis Mór with the first item, the indirect relative construction *. . . san áit a gcónaíonn/a maireann Seán*, we find the expected indirect relative construction in western Inis Mór from Bungabhla to An Sruthán, but from Fearann an Choirce eastward the direct relative is used in its place, e.g., *. . . san áit a chónaíonns/a mhaireanns Seán*, with only the male informant at Eochaill proving the exception.

On Inis Meáin, both male and female informants produce the indirect relative construction, as in western Inis Mór, and on Inis Oírr, both female informants do likewise, but the male informant, M 55, produces the unusual construction *. . . san áit a dtuigim tá Seán ag maireachtáil*, with the proper eclipsis on the following verb but with the clause embedded in the sentence without the subordinating particle *go*.

In sum, then, eastern Inis Mór is distinctive in its use of the direct relative construction in place of the expected indirect relative construction in this item.

This pattern is repeated in the second item, the construction *. . . sa teach a raibh tú . . .* , in the two western islands, with informants from Bungabhla to An Sruthán again producing indirect relative constructions, while informants from Fearann an Choirce eastward produce only direct relative constructions. This time, however, the female informant at Cill Éinne produces an indirect relative construction, as do her neighbours to the east on Inis Meáin.

Note also the unusual construction from the elderly female informant at Eoghanacht in western Inis Mór, *Ar teach a mhairigh sé ann?*, which occurs in another context.

On Inis Meáin, as mentioned above, once again both informants employ only the expected indirect relative construction, but on Inis Oírr both older informants employ the direct relative construction with this item, producing *... teach a bhíodh tú ...*, while the youngest informant, F 18, produces the unusual construction *... teach ag (a) d'fhanfhá ann ...*, with a direct relative construction and a locative pronoun echoing the locative phrase at the head of the construction.

As for the last expression, *... faoi scian a raibh ...*, whose antecedent is technically a locative phrase, the pattern seems strikingly different. The phrase to be elicited was *... faoi scian a raibh cois dhubh uirthi ...*, and here all the informants from Bungabhla through Corrúch on Inis Mór and at least the female informant on Inis Meáin seem to understand clearly from the part-whole relationship between the knife and its handle that an indirect relative construction is required. Thus most of Inis Mór and all of Inis Meáin opt for the indirect relative and there are no counterexamples. Surely we can say that at least in the two western islands only the indirect relative is used to describe a part-whole relationship.

However, we lack any examples from Eochaill eastward to Cill Éinne in eastern Inis Mór and from all the informants on Inis Oírr, and these are precisely the two areas where the direct relative construction was used almost exclusively in the last item.[8] In fact, we have to allow for the possibility that the informants in those two areas could have uniformly produced direct relative constructions. The question remains open.

6.7 Indirect Relative Clauses with Human Referents as Antecedents

(The items discussed here are *... an bhean a ndeachaigh ...* and *... na mná a ndeachaigh ...*)

The first item, *... an bhean a ndeachaigh ...*, is taken from the target sentence in Irish *An í sin an bhean a ndeachaigh tú thairsti ar an mbóthar?*, which was to have been elicited by stimulus sentence I.51 in English: *Is that the woman you passed on the road?*.

In this case, involving a referent as antecedent which is clearly not a locative noun phrase, the patterns are strikingly different from those in the previous items. On Inis Mór, all the informants across the island, with the single exception of the youngest female informant, F 43 at Bungabhla,[9] employ a direct relative construction, e.g., *... an bhean a chuaigh tú thairti ...*. The female informant at Cill Éinne offers an alternative construction as well as the common one, but in both cases she employs the direct relative, e.g., *... (an bhean) a chas muid léi ...*.

On Inis Meáin, however, both informants again produce only indirect relative constructions.

[8] Recall that the female informant at Cill Éinne uses an indirect relative construction with this item, though she uses a direct relative construction with the first item.

[9] Her secondary education may be a factor here.

On the other hand, on Inis Oírr, as on Inis Mór, all three informants employ the direct relative.

The second item, *... na mná a ndeachaigh ...*, is taken from the analogous target sentence *An iad sin na mná a ndeachaigh tú thartu ar an mbóthar?*, which was to be elicited by English stimulus sentence I.52. In this case, all the informants on both Inis Mór and Inis Oírr again use the direct relative construction, e.g., *... na mná a chuaigh tú/sibh thartu ...*, while yet again the informants on Inis Meáin use only the indirect relative construction found in Standard Irish.

In this section on relative clauses, direct and indirect, we have seen clear differences in the patterns of response in the three islands to the different stimulus questions in English. What is most striking is the absolutely consistent responses from the informants on Inis Meáin; their responses conform completely to the Standard Irish model. It is this internal consistency in the use of the indirect relative in conformity with historical usage which, more than anything else, perhaps, gives truth to the reputation for conservatism of speakers of Inis Meáin Irish.

6.8 Verb Forms in Temporal Relative Clauses with the Headword *sula/sular*

In this section we will be examining two separate but interconnected phenomena: (1) the use of a direct relative clause instead of an indirect relative clause in temporal relative clauses headed by the headword *sula/sular* in Standard Irish, and (2) the selection of particular headwords to head that kind of relative clause.

6.9 Indirect Relative Constructions in the Present Tense

(The items discussed here are *... sula dtagann ...* and *... sula ndéanann ...*)

We will examine first the use of the expected indirect relative clauses in present tense constructions across the three islands.

Beginning in westernmost Inis Mór, we note the relatively Standard Irish form *sula dteagann ...* from F 43 at Bungabhla, and the forms *chola dteagann ...* and *hlá ndíonfaidh ...* from her neighbour F 73 to the east at Eoghanacht.

We encounter indirect relative clauses again from the female informant at An Sruthán and from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce: *hol dtiocfaidh ...* and *sola ndionann ...*, respectively. After a gap at Corrúch, we again encounter indirect relative clauses from the male informant at Eochaill (*sola dteangann ...* (sic)) and from the male informant at Cill Rónáin (*sula dtagann ...*).

On Inis Meáin, we get the indirect relative construction from the female informant (*sor a ndéanann ...*), but not from the male informant.

On Inis Oírr, we get indirect relative constructions only from the youngest informant, F 18: *roimh a dtagann ...* and *roimh a ndionann sé ....*

6.10 Substitution of Direct Relative Constructions in Such Clauses

Having noted that the indirect relative construction is in widespread use on all three islands, we will now examine the use of the direct relative construction in these same contexts.

Beginning at Bungabhla in westernmost Inis Mór, we note that the younger female informant, F 43, uses the direct relative construction *sola dhéanann ...* as well as the indirect relative construction already cited. Note that the same headword is used for both constructions.

Her older neighbour to the east, however, F 73 at Eoghanacht, uses no direct relative constructions, but her coeval, F 70 at An Sruthán, uses the direct relative constructions *sol ma thagann* and *sor a dhionfadh* in addition to the indirect relative construction already cited, though the headwords are different from that used in the indirect relative construction.

The male informant M 60 at Fearann an Choirce gives us no examples of the direct relative construction — only the previously cited example of the indirect relative construction. At Corrúch, however, both the male and the female informants give us examples of the direct relative construction exclusively. M 82 offers *sór (a) thagann ...* and *sór (a) dhionann ...*, while F 72 offers *sol mar (a) thagann ...* and *sor (a) dhíonann/dhionann ....* Note that simple reflexes of the headword *sula* (without the accompanying form *má*), are not used in these direct relative constructions.

At Eochaill further to the east, the male informant gives us two examples of the direct relative construction, *hud a thagann ...* and *hod a dhéanann sé ...*, in addition to the indirect relative construction cited above.

At Cill Rónáin, the male informant provides *sula dhionfaidh ...*, an example of a direct relative construction headed by the Standard Irish headword *sula*, in addition to the example of an indirect relative construction already cited. On the other hand, the female informant at Cill Éinne provides only direct relative constructions: *sol má thaganns ...* and *sol má dhionfadh sé ....*

We can say at this point that only the two youngest informants on Inis Mór, the female informant at Bungabhla and the male informant at Cill Rónáin, use the Standard Irish headword *sula* for both indirect and direct relative constructions.[10]

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we note that the male informant uses direct relative constructions only: *sor a thiocfaidh ... sor a dhionanns ...* and *sol mar a thiocfas ....* On the other hand, as mentioned above, the female informant provides an example of an indirect relative construction only.

On Inis Oírr, both older informants produce only direct relative constructions, while the younger informant produces the indirect relative construction already cited. Thus we get *roimh a thagann* and *roimh a dhéanfadh* from the male informant, and the same expressions,

[10]Recall that both have more formal education. The male informant was the headmaster of the secondary school at Cill Rónáin, and the female informant had completed her secondary education there.

roimh a thagann and *roimh a dhéanfadh*, from the older female informant. Note that all informants, whether they use the indirect relative or not, use the headword *roimh* exclusively.

If we can summarise the data for these present tense constructions, it seems that both the direct and indirect relative constructions have been in vigorous competition with one another within individual speakers across the two western islands for at least three generations, since even the oldest speakers show mixed usage. On Inis Oírr, however, the middle generation represented by M 55 and F 41 have opted for the direct relative construction, while the youngest generation, represented by F 18, seems to have opted for the Standard Irish indirect relative construction.

6.11 Forms of the Headword *sula*

Turning our attention now to the forms of the headword itself, we note a wide variety of variants of the Standard Irish headword *sula* in use on Inis Mór. First, we find a series of variants which conserve the lateral consonant [**l**] but which are often greatly reduced phonologically, e.g., *sola*, *chola*, *hlá*, and *hol*. These variants are in heavy use in western Inis Mór, but are found occasionally — and in relatively Standard Irish forms — in eastern Inis Mór, e.g., *sola* from the male informant at Eochaill and *sula* from the male informant at Cill Rónáin. As mentioned above, only the indirect relative construction is used with these variants, with the exception of the examples from the two youngest informants, F 43 at Bungabhla and M 50 at Cill Rónáin.

Turning to the variants of the headword used with direct relative clauses on Inis Mór, we find a different set of variants in use in central Inis Mór, variants which substitute the flap [**r**] in place of the lateral consonant. Thus we encounter the distinctive variant *sor* from the female informant at An Sruthán, and the same variant from her neighbour F 72 at Corrúch. We also get a very similar variant, *sór*, with a long vowel instead of a short one, from the male informant at Corrúch, M 82.

We also encounter the distinctive construction *sol má*, which seems to combine both the form *sula* with the form *má*, in both central Inis Mór and in easternmost Inis Mór. We get an example of this variant from the female informant at An Sruthán, as well as from the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór. We note a similar construction, *sol mar*, with the form *mar* as a second element, from the female informant at Corrúch in east-central Inis Mór. Note that these two related variants are produced only by female informants within that restricted area.

Finally we note the variant *hud/hod*, which seems completely unrelated to the form *sula*, from the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór. This variant is apparently unique to this informant, as it seems not to occur anywhere else in the three islands.

Turning our attention now to Inis Meáin, we note only two variants, both of which we have already seen in central Inis Mór. The male informant produces both *sor* and *sol mar*, both followed by the direct relative only. The female informant, however, as noted above, also uses *sor*, but uses it — exceptionally — in an indirect relative clause: *sor a ndéanann* ....

As for Inis Oírr, only the headword *roimh* is in use there, and this headword is distinctive

of Inis Oírr. As mentioned above, the older informants, M 55 and F 41, use this headword in direct relative clauses exclusively, while the youngest informant, F 18, uses it only in indirect relative clauses.

Having now examined more closely the variant forms of the headword and the types of relative clause which are associated with these variants, we can now sharpen our statement of distribution of the two types of relative clause. Though we can still say that the two types of relative clause are in vigorous competition with one another in the two western islands, it is clear that clauses headed by a headword clearly deriving from the variant *sula* and containing the lateral consonant [L] — variants found only on Inis Mór — are invariably indirect relative clauses, with the exception of the examples from the two youngest informants on Inis Mór, which contain direct relative clauses.

Clauses headed by all the other headwords in the two western islands — *sor, sol má, sol mar* and *hud/hod* — are invariably direct relative clauses, with the exception of a single example from the female informant on Inis Meáin: *sor a ndéanann ...*.

As for Inis Oírr, only a single headword, *roimh*, is in use there. The distribution of clauses there seems to be determined by age. The older informants follow the headword with a direct relative clause, while the youngest informant follows it with an indirect relative clause.

In sum, it appears that on Inis Mór and on Inis Oírr, the two islands where different generations are represented in the sample, the younger age cohorts in both islands are moving in opposite directions in their selection of relative clauses, with the younger generation on Inis Mór substituting the direct relative clause for the indirect relative clause, and the still younger generation on Inis Oírr substituting the indirect relative clause for the direct relative clause.

6.12 Indirect Relative Constructions in the simple past Tense

(The items discussed here are *... sular tháinig ...*, *... sular fhág/imigh ...*, and *... sular éirigh ...*)

Turning now to indirect relative constructions in the simple past tense, we must examine both the headword and the following verb form more carefully in order to determine if in fact we are dealing with the indirect relative form rather than the direct relative.

Beginning once more in westernmost Inis Mór, we find the elderly female informant at Eoghanacht, F 73, producing the indirect relative constructions *suláir imigh ...* and *holáir imigh ...* as well as what appears to be a further indirect relative construction, *sulár tháinig ...*.

Her neighbour to the east, the female informant at An Sruthán, F 70, produces the constructions *sular fhág ...* and *sorar tháinig ...*, while her male neighbour further to the east, M 60 at Fearann an Choirce, produces the construction *'lar tháinig ...*.

Once again, we find no indirect relative constructions at Corrúch, but once again we find the male informant to the east at Eochaill, M 68, producing the construction *sula dtáinic ...*, where the form of the verb alone indicates that the construction is an indirect relative

one.

His eastern neighbour, the headmaster of the secondary school at Cill Rónáin, M 50, produces two indirect relative constructions, *soláthar dtáinig ...* (with double marking through the eclipsis of the verb form) and *solar fhág ...*, but once again, in contrast, the elderly female informant at Cill Éinne produces no indirect relative constructions.

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we encounter only one construction which appears to be an indirect relative. Once again, it is only the female informant, F 60+, who produces the construction: *soirear fhág ....*

On Inis Oírr, we encounter no indirect relative constructions in the simple past, not even from the youngest informant, F 18.

6.13 Direct Relative Constructions in Such simple past Clauses

Beginning at Bungabhla in westernmost Inis Mór, we encounter the constructions *sol mar tháinig ...* and *sar d'fhág ...* from the youngest informant, F 43, but eastward from that point, we encounter no further direct relative constructions until we reach Corrúch, where once again we encounter only direct relative constructions. The male informant M 82 produces *sol mar tháinig ...*, *sol ma d' fhág ...*, and *sor a d'eirigh ....* His sister, F 72, produces *sol mar tháinig ...* and *sol mar d'fhág ....*

Slightly to the east, at Eochaill, the male informant M 68 produces the direct relative constructions *hod a tháinic ...*, *chud a tháinig ...*, and *chud a d'fhág ...*, with the headword which is unique to him. Furthest east, at Cill Éinne, the female informant F 70 produces the direct relative constructions *sul má tháinig ...* and *sol má d'fhág ....*

On Inis Meáin, the female informant produces the direct relative construction *sol mar tháinig ...* in addition to the indirect relative construction mentioned above, while the male informant produces the direct relative constructions *sor tháinig ...* and *sor mar a d'fhága ....*

On Inis Oírr, as mentioned above, all three informants produce only direct relative constructions. All three produce the construction *roimh a tháinig ...*, and the slightly different examples *roimh a d'fhág ...* (M 55), *roimh d'fhág ...* (F 41), and *roimh a d'fhága ...* (F 18).

Summing up the evidence for the simple past clause constructions, we can say that while both indirect and direct relative constructions are in use in the two western islands, there is a clear geographical and generational division on Inis Mór between these two competing variants. Though the indirect relative construction is found throughout the island, direct relative constructions are found only in eastern Inis Mór, from Corrúch eastward, with the single exception of the youngest western informant, F 43 from Bungabhla, who has been living in eastern Inis Mór since marriage and who uses only direct relative constructions.

On Inis Meáin, though we have mixed usage, as mentioned above, note that once again it is only the female informant who supplies an example of an indirect relative construction. The male informant, as in the case of the present tense constructions, produces only direct relative constructions.

As for Inis Oírr, only direct relative constructions are in use there, even from the youngest informant.

6.14 Forms of the Headword *sular*

Beginning on Inis Mór, we find relatively Standard Irish forms being used in indirect relative clauses by the female informant at An Sruthán (*sular fhág ...*) and perhaps by the male informant at Fearann an Choirce *'lar tháinig ...* in west-central Inis Mór and by the male informants at Eochaill (*sola dtáinig ...*) and at Cill Rónáin (*solar fhág ...*) in eastern Inis Mór.

At Eoghanacht, however, in western Inis Mór, the elderly female informant F 73 produces interesting variations of this headword in the indirect relative constructions *sulár tháinig ...*, *suláir imigh ...*, and *holáir imigh ...* — constructions in which the short, neutral vowel of the second syllable of what was once a presumably more standard form was lengthened, lowered and backed. It is possible that such a form evolved from a prototype similar to the form *sul dhá(r) ...*, which included the preposition *de*, but this would be pure speculation. We do have, however, an apparently hypercorrect form of this variant in the example *soláthar dtáinig ...*, in which the male informant M 50 at Cill Rónáin inserts the voiceless glottal central fricative [**h**], perhaps intending to restore an imagined elided [**h**].

Once again, we find the forms *sul má* and *sol má*, used with the direct relative construction, strongly identified with the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór. The only only other examples come from the youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, in westernmost Inis Mór (*sol má tháinig*)[11] and, possibly, from the male informant M 82 at Corrúch in the middle of the island (*sol ma d'fhág ...*).

We again encounter the form *sol mar*, this time from both the male and female informants at Corrúch, but nowhere else on the island. This form also is used exclusively in the direct relative construction, which, as we have seen, is characteristic of Corrúch.

We get the form *sor* again, but apparently it is not used as frequently in simple past constructions. The male informant at Corrúch produces the example *sor a d'éirí ...*, in a direct relative construction, but his neighbour to the west, the female informant at An Sruthán, produces *sorar tháinig ...*, with the same form in an indirect relative construction. We encounter no variants with a long vowel, however. The youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, produces the variant *sar* in the example *sar d'fhág ...*, which is more directly reminiscent of the form *sara* found in Munster Irish.

Finally, the male informant M 68 at Eochaill again produces several examples of the unique form *hod/chud*, used only in direct relative constructions.

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we find the forms *sol mar* (from the female informant) and *sor* as well as *sor mar* (from the male informant) — all used in direct relative constructions. We do find the form *soirear*, however, used by the female informant in the indirect relative construction *soirear fhág ...*. By the way, this unique palatalisation of the voiced apico-alveolar trill [**r**] may be a slip of the tongue.

[11] As mentioned above in the previous section, the fact that F 43 received her secondary education in Cill Rónáin, has lived since marriage in Cill Rónáin, and has in fact married F 70's son may help explain the occurrence of the feature with an informant who was born so far west.

On Inis Oírr, all informants use the headword *roimh* exclusively when producing simple past tense constructions, paralleling their usage of the same variant in present tense constructions. This homogeneity in the choice of the headword on Inis Oírr is striking.

6.15 Some Remarks on Verbal Inflections

As we have seen earlier, certain inflected (or "synthetic") verb forms occur occasionally in place of verb forms which are not inflected for person ("analytic forms"), and these forms can occur in contexts other than those of "response forms".

This is especially true of forms of the verb *bí* in the conditional mood, where, as we see from the tables, inflected forms of the first and second persons are quite frequent, and it may well be true of the third person plural forms as well, though such forms are not included in the tables. Inflected forms for the third person plural in the simple past tense of the same verb are also quite frequent, as we see from the examples in the tables, but it is rare to find such forms for other verbs.

Mention has been made already of the example in the discussion of the verb *déan*: *"Níor rinnis aon mhoill!" (= "Ní dhearna tú aon mhoill!")* from a middle-aged male speaker from Baile na Creige in eastern Inis Mór and confirmed by the elderly female informant at Corrúch. Another example is of the verb *féad*: **[fʹeːtɪrʹ]** (= *Féadfair! ("You will be able ⌈to catch the bus⌋!")* from an elderly male speaker from Creig an Chéirín in western Inis Mór, though this form might well be seen as a response form.

Of interest also is the pronunciation of the third person plural simple past inflectional ending *-dar* as **[-tər]** by the female informant on Inis Meáin during conversion in the year 2000, though, as seen on the tables, she does not normally devoice the initial consonant of the suffix.

Chapter 7

Grammatical Variation in the Copula

Though the copula is normally considered a verb, it is a very strange kind of verb, both in its forms and in its behaviour. In regard to its forms, it cannot be inflected for person, and its paradigm consists only of one set of forms expressing a realis mood (*is*, etc.), which serves for both the present and the future tenses, and a separate set of forms representing an irrealis mood (*ba*, etc.), which serves for both a habitual past tense and a conditional mood.[1]

As for its syntactic behaviour, note the "classificatory copula" construction, which requires the noun phrase forming part of its predicate to be inserted between the copula and the noun or pronoun (or both) which is the subject of the sentence, e.g., *Is bádóir maith é Séamas*!

One could say that the structure of the predicate in such copular constructions is modelled on the structure of the typically VSO verb phrase,[2] with the information being predicated preceding the subject itself. In such a case the noun phrase follows the copula, which functions as a sort of "dummy verb" showing tense, negation, interrogation and/or subordination. Both copula and following noun phrase, working together, take the place of the verbal predicate which one would find in clause types containing true verbs.

For these reasons, I prefer to deal with the copula separately from the other verbs.

7.1 Interrogative Copulative Constructions in the Present Tense

(The items discussed here are *An tú Séamas?* and *An iascaire thú?*)

The two constructions examined in this section are quite different from one another.

[1] Nevertheless, it has great syntactic flexibility. Note the copular construction *Cén t-achar tinn é?*, heard in conversation from a middle-aged male speaker on Inis Meáin, in the summer of the year 2000.

[2] I refer here to verb-subject-object word order in clauses.

The first construction, an "identificatory" copulative construction,[3] identifies the subject of the copulative clause, and requires a subject pronoun to follow the copula or the particle which marks its place immediately. The second construction, a "classificatory" construction,[4] classifies the subject of the copulative clause as a member of a broad noun class. In this case, as mentioned above, the subject noun or pronoun follows the noun phrase and its modifiers, and thus stands at the very rear of the construction.

Beginning on Inis Mór with the interrogative identificatory construction *An tú Séamas?*, we note the universal use of the interrogative copulative particle *Ar . . . ?* in place of the Standard Irish particle *An . . . ?* — except by M 50 at Cill Rónáin, who is headmaster of the vocational school. Thus we have either *Ar tú . . . ?* or *Ar tusa . . . ?* (with the emphatic pronominal form) from one end of the island to the other — with a single, understandable exception.

On Inis Meáin, we get both *An tusa . . . ?* and *Ar tú . . . ?* from the male informant, but only the Standard Irish form *An tusa . . . ?* from the female informant, thus reinforcing the conservative image of Inis Meáin speakers in relation to Inis Mór speakers.

On Inis Oírr, however, we find the surprising form *Ab iú . . . ?* produced by the older generation, a form which is apparently based on the interrogative form *Ab . . . ?* (= *Arb . . . ?*). Thus we get the rather hesitant expressions [**ᵊbʹ ʊ . . . ᵊbʹ oː ʃeːməs**] from the male informant and [**ᵊbʹ ʊː . . . ᵊbʹ u ʃeːməs**] from his wife. Note that the final consonant of the interrogative copulative particle is palatalised in all examples.

On the other hand, in the case of the youngest informant, F 18, we find no trace of this unusual form. We find simply the reduced form of the copulative particle [**ə**] in the construction *A' tusa . . . ?*. This reduced form could represent either [**əN**] or [**ər**].

Turning now to the second item, the interrogative classificatory construction *An iascaire thú?* and examining first the data from Inis Mór, we note that once again the interrogative copulative particle *Ar . . . ?* is used universally, except for M 50 at Cill Rónáin. Note that apparently half the informants use the palatalised variant [**ərʹ**] before the following noun, which contains a high front initial vowel as beginning point of a falling diphthong, but use of this palatalised variant seems relatively random.

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we note once again the use of the conservative form of the copulative particle in the construction *An iascaire thusa?* by the female informant. The male informant, however, evades the desired construction by producing *Iascair' 'ú, 'b ea?*.

On Inis Oírr, once again we encounter an unusual form of the copulative particle: the invariable form *Ab é . . . ?*, which is apparently a fusion of the interrogative copulative particle *Ab . . . ?* (= Arb . . . ?) and the pronoun *é*. Thus we get *'B é iascair' 'ú?* from the male informant and *'B é iascaire tú/tusa?* from his wife.

On the other hand, from the youngest informant, F 18, we get only the Standard Irish construction *An iascaire tusa?*. It seems, therefore, that the youngest generation on Inis Oírr has abandoned the unusual form *Ab é . . . ?* in classificatory copulative constructions in favour of the Standard Irish variant *An . . . ?*.

In sum, for these unusual identificatory and classificatory constructions which seem to characterise the immediately preceding generation on Inis Oírr — both featuring the invari-

[3] Cf. Ó Siadhail (1989), 227-229.
[4] Cf. Ó Siadhail (1989), 224-227.

able palatalised form [ᵊb′], the youngest generation on Inis Oírr seem to have substituted more Standard Irish forms.

7.2 Interrogative Copulative Constructions in the Past Tense

(The items discussed here are *Ar mhúinteoir thú . . . ?, Ar mhic léinn sibh . . . ?, Arbh fheirmeoirí iad . . . ?, Arbh i dteach . . . ?* and *B'eisean . . .*)

The first three items are all classificatory copulative constructions. Beginning on Inis Mór with the first item, *Ar mhúinteoir thú . . . ?*, we note that nearly all speakers across the island substitute the construction *An raibh tú/tusa i do mhúinteoir . . . ?*, to produce what is basically a locative construction formed with the substantive verb *bí*.

There are two exceptions, however. M 50 at Cill Rónáin again opts for the Standard Irish construction, but produces what seems to be a hypercorrect form: *An mhúinteoir thusa . . . ?*, in which the noun is lenited in the Standard Irish fashion, but in which the present tense interrogative copulative particle *An . . . ?* is used in place of the expected past/conditional interrogative copulative particle *Ar . . . ?*. Could he be reacting to the generalisation of the past/conditional interrogative copulative particle to the present tense by other speakers by stigmatising the form itself, even in those grammatical environments where Standard Irish mandates its use?

The female informant at An Sruthán also avoids the more straightforward interrogative copulative construction exemplified in the item heading, but this she does by fronting the predicate noun phrase to form a cleft construction: *Ar múinteoir a bhí ionat?*. Note that though the past/conditional interrogative copulative particle is used, the following noun is left unlenited. Thus, the interrogative particle *ar* found in the present tense is generalised to both tenses, and again produces no lenition in the following noun. The verb *bí* in the relative clause following the fronted noun phrase is left to convey the tense.

Note also the example produced by her counterpart at Cill Éinne, *An raibh tú in do mhúinteoir . . . ?*, where the full form of the preposition *in* is used. We will encounter this elsewhere.

Moving to Inis Meáin, we note that the male informant produces the locative construction *An raibh tú (i) do mhúinteoir . . . ?*, but the female informant opts for the more straightforward construction *Ar múinteoir tusa ansin?*. Here she does the opposite of what M 50 on Inis Mór does; she employs the past/conditional interrogative copulative particle *Ar . . . ?*, but fails to lenite the following noun. Since she employed the Standard Irish interrogative particle *An . . . ?* to form the present tense construction *An iascaire thusa?* mentioned in the previous section, she seems to be relying primarily on the form of the particle itself to establish the tense, and secondarily on the temporal adverbial form *ansin*.

On Inis Oírr, we encounter the construction *An raibh tusa (i) do mhúinteoir* from the youngest informant, F 18, and the same construction from the older male informant, but with the full form of the preposition *in* we noted earlier from the female informant at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór. The older female informant, F 41, on the other hand, produces a cleft

construction, using once again the invariable interrogative copulative form *'B é . . . ?* in the fronted noun phrase: *'B é múinteoir a bhí ionantú? (sic!)*.[5]

To sum up the results for this first item, we can say that no informant in any of the islands produces the Standard Irish construction *Ar mhúinteoir thú/thusa . . . ?*. M 50 at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór comes close, but he uses the present tense interrogative copulative particle *An . . . ?* instead of the past tense form *Ar . . . ?*. In contrast, the female informant in Inis Meáin produces the correct interrogative copulative particle, but fails to lenite the following noun, and thus produces a construction identical to the present tense construction produced by most informants on Inis Mór.

As for the other informants, especially those who use the present tense construction *Ar múinteoir thú/thusa?*, confusion between the two tenses is avoided completely by using a locative construction with the verb *bí* as part of the predicate: *An raibh tú/tusa i do mhúnteoir?*, *Ar múinteoir a bhí ionat?*, or *'B é múinteoir a bhí ionantú?*.

Turning to the second item, *Ar mhic léinn sibh . . . ?*, the use of the locative construction with the verb *bí* is even more universal across all three islands, with nearly all informants producing *An raibh sibh in bhur mic léinn/scoláirí . . . ?*. Only the female informant on Inis Meáin produces the desired construction with the copula: *Ar scoláirí sibh . . . ?*, but since the phonological shape of the noun she employs does not permit lenition, it is impossible to know whether she would normally lenite the noun in that syntactic position or not.

M 50 at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór seems about to produce a similar construction, with the present tense interrogative copulative particle *An . . . ?*, but since he breaks off his sentence to shift to the construction with the locative phrase and the verb *bí*, we have no way of knowing if he were about to repeat the hypercorrect construction of the previous item, *An mhúinteoir thusa . . . ?*, by producing *An scoláirí sibh . . . ?* or if he were to about to produce the Standard Irish variant *An scoláirí a bhí ionaibh . . . ?*.

As for the anomalous form **[ən]** in the example from the youngest female informant on Inis Oírr, I interpret this as a simple phonological reduction of the possessive prepositional form **[ənə]** (= *in bhur*) in rapid speech. The same would apply to the form **[nə]** of the older female informant, and to similar forms throughout the islands.[6]

The responses to the third item, *Arbh fheirmeoirí iad . . . ?*, are surprising, since nearly all informants across the islands seem to suddenly switch to either the simple interrogative copulative construction or else to a cleft construction (as opposed to a simple locative construction). The explanation for this may be that the informants conceptualised the status of "farmer" as more permanent than that of "student" or even "teacher", thus requiring the copula in one form or another – even in a cleft construction, rather than using the simple locative construction associated with more temporary states or conditions.

Focusing on the simple copulative construction, we note that once again the female informant in Inis Meáin has failed to lenite the noun in this past tense predicate: *Ar feiliméaraí iad . . . ?*. This seems to confirm the fact that, for her, simple use of an invariable past interrogative copulative particle, without lenition of the following noun, is sufficient to distinguish the past tense construction from the present tense construction.

[5] The final word appears to be an alternative form for the inflected prepositional pronoun *ionat*.

[6] By far the dominant phonetic realisation throughout the islands for both the phrases *in ár* and *in bhúr* would be **[ənə]**.

This time, however, she is joined in this construction by all the informants on Inis Mór from Eoghanacht in the west to Cill Rónáin in the east, showing that her variant is very widespread in both the western islands. The difference between the two islands, however, is that the female informant on Inis Meáin employs the Standard Irish interrogative variant *An . . . ?* to form present tense constructions, so there is no confusion between present tense and past tense constructions. In the case of the informants on Inis Mór, however, use of the invariable interrogative particle *Ar . . . ?* renders past tense constructions indistinguishable from present tense constructions.

If we turn now to the cleft construction *An feirmeoirí a bhí iontu . . . ?* (or, alternatively, *Arbh fheirmeoirí a bhí iontu . . . ?*), we find virtually the same phenomenon. The two informants on Inis Mór who opt for the cleft construction, F 43 at Bungabhla in westernmost Inis Mór and F 70 at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór, also employ the generalised past tense interrogative copulative particle *Ar . . . ?* without leniting the following noun.

Before leaving the two western islands altogether, note the unique constructions used by the male informant M 70 on Inis Meáin. The first example is highly unusual: *feiliméraí iad, arbh?*, with what appears to be the interrogative copulative particle *arbh* post-posed as an audible question mark.[7]

M 70's second example, *Arbh feiliméaraí iad?*, is of interest in that it is the only example of use of the Standard Irish form of the particle in this syntactic context, which, in Standard Irish morphology, demands this particular allomorph. However, note that once again M 70, like all the other informants, does not lenite the following noun.

Moving eastward now to Inis Oírr, we note the example from the male informant, *An rabhd(ar) ina bhfeiliméaraí . . . ?*, which is unique on all three islands in using the simple locative construction with this item.[8]

The youngest female informant produces the cleft construction *Feiliméaraí (a) bhí iontub*, but as a statement rather than a question.

It is the older female informant F 41, however, who catches our attention with the example *'B iad é feiliméraí (a) bhí iontub?*. We are used to hearing the invariable interrogative copulative particle *Ab é* from F 41, but here we have what appears to be the pronominal form *iad* infixed or incorporated within that particle or form.[9]

Note also that F 41, like all other informants across the three islands, does not lenite the initial consonant of the following noun in this item.

Turning to the next item, *Arbh i dteach a chónaigh sé?*, we are dealing here with a cleft construction similar to the ones we have already encountered, but here an entire prepositional phrase is fronted.

Beginning on Inis Mór, we find that a minority of informants from Bungabhla east

[7] An alternative explanation, that the putative post-posed particle is in fact the interrogative verb phrase *an raibh . . . ?* used as an "echo question", seems ruled out by the clear form of the particle in both this and the following example. As a glance at the tables for the verb *bí* will reveal, the final consonant of the verb form *raibh* is in fact never articulated by this informant or any other in the islands; **[ᵊrə]** or its close equivalent would be normally be heard for that verb form.

[8] I interpret the form **[ᵊrəd]** as a phonologically reduced form of **[ᵊrədər]**, but it is possible to interpret it as *Ar 'ad* (= *Ar iad*), a form for which no other evidence exists, however.

[9] An alternative explanation would be that in fact we have the deictic construction *Ab 'iod é?* (= *An é seo é?*), but such a construction would not be syntactically appropriate here. Furthermore, as we shall see when we examine deictic constructions, the phonological shape of the form in the example corresponds to the pronominal form *iad* and not to the deictic pronoun *'iod*.

to Corrúch use the Standard Irish construction shown above, but that the majority of informants, stretching across the island from Eoghanacht to Cill Éinne, use the construction *Ar teach a mhair/chónaigh sé ann?*, where the noun phrase is lifted, as it were, out of the prepositional phrase, and the "trace element" of the prepositional phrase remains behind, represented by a prepositional pronoun.[10]

M 50 at Cill Rónáin uses the present tense interrogative copulative particle *An ... ?* to give a more Standard Irish gloss to the same construction: *An teach a mhair sí ann?*. On the other hand, his neighbour the male informant at Eochaill employs what appears to be a more complex variant of the same construction with his example *Ar teach é a bhí cónaí air ann?*, but in fact, if we replace the direct relative clause with an indirect relative clause, we find that he may have been aiming at a different construction, one which is permissible in Standard Irish: *An teach é a raibh cónaí air ann?*.

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we find the male informant employing another relatively Standard Irish variant, with the interrogative particle post-posed: *I dteach a bhí sé (ag) cónaí, ab ea?* or *I dteach a bhí sé ina chónaí, ab ea?*. The example from the female informant, however, is problematic, largely because of an awkward pause in the stretch of speech containing the two examples: *Ar teach a chónaigh sé ... ann in dteach a chónaigh sé?*. I prefer to interpret the example as *Ar teach a chónaigh sé ann?*, followed by *In dteach a chónaigh sé?*, where the shape of the preposition *i* remains problematic.

Moving now to Inis Oírr, once again we find forms not encountered in the two western islands. The youngest informant, F 18, gives us the example *A' teach a raibh sé ann?*, which I interpret as *An teach a raibh sé ann?*, the construction at which the male informant M 68 at Eochaill on Inis Mór was apparently aiming, with the sentence-initial interrogative particle phonologically reduced to the point of near inaudibility. But then she follows that example with *A' ba teach a bhí sé ina chónaí ann?*, which contains a form of the past interrogative copulative particle (*A' ba ... ?*) not found in the examples of any other informant in all three islands.

The older male informant exhibits a different variant of this particle in his example *Ab 'in teach a bhí sé ag maireachtáil ann?*. I would ordinarily interpret this particle as the homophonous interrogative deictic particle *Ab 'in ... ?*, which we will encounter in our examination of deictic constructions, but the English stimulus sentence was not designed to elicit a deictic construction. Furthermore, the preposition *ann* at the end of the sentence argues against interpreting the form *'in* as a form of the preposition *i*.

The older female informant, for her part, once again uses her invariable interrogative copulative form *Ab é ... ?* in her example: *Ab é teach a bhí cónaí air?*. Note that there is no locative phrase in this construction, and that a direct relative clause is used.

In sum, with this item we encounter three interrogative copulative particle forms from all three informants on Inis Oírr which we have not encountered in the two western islands, *A' ba ... ?, Ab 'in ... ?*, and *Ab é ... ?*, all of roughly the same form and all employing an allomorph of the past copulative marker *ba*.

We turn now to the final item in this section on past tense forms of the copula, a cleft construction with fronted noun phrase containing an emphatic pronoun: *B' eisean ...*. We

[10]Note that the invariable interrogative particle *Ar ... ?* is again used.

will focus on the form of the copula, rather than on the form of the personal pronoun, since we will deal with all these pronouns later in the section on pronominal forms.

Beginning on Inis Mór, we note that two out of the nine informants simply omit the copula. This is an option in Standard Irish as well, but it is worth mentioning that only the two youngest informants, F 43 at Bungabhla and M 50 at Cill Rónáin, do this. Another two informants, the male informant M 60 at Fearann an Choirce and the female informant F 70 at Cill Éinne, are the only informants to use allomorphs of the past tense form *ba*, but note that M 60 uses the reduplicated form *ba bh'* to produce *ba bh'esan ...*, while F 70 seems to be using the form *ab* to produce *ab ésan* (if this is not simply a slip of the tongue).

Of those informants on Inis Mór who use the present tense form of the copula *is*, we find an interesting west/east split. The elderly female informants F 73 at Eoghanacht and F 70 at An Sruthán in western Inis Mór use the Standard Irish variant [**ɪʃ**] which one would expect before the pronouns *é* or *eisean*, with a palato-alveolar central laminated fricative as final segment. On the other hand, their neighbours a little further to the east, M 82 and F 72 at Corrúch as well as M 68 at Eochaill, uniformly use the variant [**ɪs**], with a simple alveolar central fricative as final segment: [**ɪs ɛsəN/ɪs ɛːˢsəN**].

Moving east to Inis Meáin, we get both present tense variants, [**ɪʃ**] and [**ɪs**], from the male informant. From the female informant, however, we get only past tense variants: the reduplicated form *ba bh'* as well as the full form of the copula, with no elision of the vowel before the pronoun. Thus from F 60+ we get both *ba bh' é ...* and *ba eisean*, with a glottal stop separating the two adjacent vowels in the second example.

Further east on Inis Oírr, the male informant substitutes the phrase *Sin é ...* for the desired construction, and the youngest female informant F 18 produces the variant [**ɪs**] in the phrase [**ɪs ɛsən**], echoing forms we found in the two western islands. The older female informant F 41, however, gives us not only the Standard Irish form *b' eisean*, but also the non-standard form *ba seisean* ([**bɛ ʃɛʃən**]), with the full form of the past tense copula and the pronominal form which is associated with subject pronouns following normal verbs. This use of the full form of the copula reminds us of the example from the female informant on Inis Meáin, with the glottal stop separating the two adjacent vowels.

As for the vowel of the copula in the second construction, it appears to me that that segment is a simple example of anticipatory phonological assimilation to the following segments, and that the form [**bɛ**] is therefore not a form modelled on the variant [**əbʹ eː**] discussed above, since the consonant in present example is not palatalised.

7.3 Copulative Constructions in Subordinate Clauses: Present Tense

(The items discussed here are *... gur innealtóir é* and *... gurb álainn an áit é*)

We deal here with copulative constructions functioning as finite complements in sentences involving articulation of thoughts and opinions, indirect speech, etc. Such constructions with the copula as main verb differ from analogous constructions with other verbs not only by the characteristic internal structure of copulative clauses but also by the use of a

distinctive complementiser in the present tense: *gur/gurb* in the present tense, rather than the complementiser *go* used with other verbs in corresponding finite complement clauses. (In the case of negative finite complement clauses, all verbs, including the copula, share the negative complementiser *nach* in the present tense.)

The first item involves a classificatory copulative construction as a finite complement, *... gur innealtóir é.*

Beginning on Inis Mór, we see that the majority of the informants across the island use precisely that construction, though the male informant at Eochaill substitutes a cleft construction, with a fronted noun phrase and a following direct relative clause with *bí* as the main verb: *... gur "engineer" atá ann.* The youngest informant, the female informant F 43 at Bungabhla, attempts to use a similar construction without the fronting, but then adds the final subject pronoun of an ordinary classificatory copulative construction, producing a unique blended form which appears to be an example of hypercorrection: *... go bhfuil sé ina innealtóir é.*

There are a couple of versions of the simple classificatory copulative construction which also draw our attention. The female informant at Eoghanacht produces the construction *... gura innealtóir é*, with an unusual final vowel on the complementiser. That the vowel is intended is suggested by the following glottal stop, which separates the final vowel of the complementiser from the initial vowel of the following word. The example of the male informant M 50 at Cill Rónáin, *... gur j-innealtóir é* ([**gər jiNəLtər′ ɛ**]), with an apparent augment of the complementiser in it, producing [**gər j**] as a sandhi-form, also invites further investigation.

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we find both informants producing the expected classificatory copulative construction, and in Inis Oírr, among the older informants, we find no surprises. The male informant produces *... go raibh sé (i)n(a) ionaltair*, and the older female informant produces *... gur "engineer" é.* The youngest informant, F 18, however, produces the example *... go "engineer" é*, with a glottal stop separating the final vowel of the complementiser from the initial vowel of the following noun. As we shall see, this is only one of several examples from this informant of the generalisation of the complementiser *go*, normally used with other verbs, to copulative constructions.

The second item, the construction *... gurb álainn an áit é*, involves predicating a quality of the subject noun of the subordinate clause through use of a complementiser representing the copula along with a following adjective, followed by an optional pronoun reflecting the subject and finally the subject noun phrase itself. Note the distinctive form of the copulative complementiser, *gurb*, a form which is normally found before adjectives beginning with a vowel.

Beginning on Inis Mór, we find that only the elderly female informants F 73 at Eoghanacht and F 72 at Corrúch use this construction. F 73 produces *... gur álainn ...*, with a glottal stop before the adjective, while F 72 produces the same construction without the glottal stop. Neither, however, produces the augmented form *gurb.*

The youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, employs the alternative construction with the verb *bí* instead of the copula, producing *... go bhfuil an áit go hálainn.* The six other informants, however, use the classificatory copulative construction *... gur áit álainn é.*

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we find the female informant also using the classificatory copulative construction, but her male neighbour, M 70, produces the construction sought: *... gur hálainn ...*, this time with the glottal central fricative [**h**] prefixed to the adjective as a sandhi-form, but here again we get the generalised form *gur* in place of the expected form *gurb*.

On Inis Oírr, we encounter no examples of adjectival predication through forms related to the copula. The male informant uses the construction with the verb *bí* mentioned above, while both female informants use classificatory copulative constructions. The youngest informant, F 18, however, distinguishes herself once again by the generalisation of the complementiser form *go* to copulative constructions in her example *... g' áit álainn é*.

7.4 Copulative Constructions in Subordinate Clauses: Past Tense

(The items discussed here are *... gurbh innealtóir é, ... gurbh iascairí ..., ... gur dhochtúir ..., ... gur chloch mhór ...* and *... gurbh iontach ...*)

This section consists of four items containing classificatory copulative constructions and a final item involving adjectival predication via a form of the copula and a following adjective, as exemplified in the previous section. Since all these subordinate copulative constructions are in the past tense, we expect to see either the complementiser *gur* with lenition of the initial consonant of the following noun or adjective or else the complementiser *gurbh* in the case of a noun or adjective beginning with a vowel. In other words, in the past tense both nouns and adjectives share the same complementisers.

Beginning on Inis Mór with the first item, the subordinate clause *... gurbh innealtóir é*, we find that none of the informants uses the expected construction. Instead, four informants throughout the island simply use the present tense construction *... gur innealtóir/"engineer" é*, relying on the verb of the main clause to convey the time of the event, as though the translation task had involved translating the English sentence "He said that he *is* an engineer". [11]

F 43 at Bungabhla also produces *... gur "engineer" é*, but then switches to *... innealtóir a bhí ann*, perhaps sensing that the facts asserted by the speaker, and not just his moment of speaking, were located in past time, and that, in order to specify the time of the assertion unambiguously, she had to resort to the second construction.

Three other informants also use the cleft construction, with the noun phrase fronted, followed by both the verb *bí* and a locative construction in a direct relative clause. A fourth informant, M 82 at Corrúch, produces the same construction, but with the verb *bí* in the present tense. This seems to be a product of confusion, since he conjugates the main verb in the present tense also, apparently having heard the stimulus sentence as a repetition of the previous stimulus sentence.

[11] Since the previous stimulus sentence was "He says that he's an engineer", it is possible that the informants were not listening carefully enough to the following sentence to note the change in the verb of the subordinate clause.

The female informant at An Sruthán, however, produces a unique construction, *... gur ina ionarthóir é*, which places a locative phrase unambiguously in a classificatory copulative construction.

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we find both informants using only the classificatory copulative construction in the subordinate clause.[12]

On Inis Oírr, we find the male informant using the construction *... go raibh sé ina ionaltair* with the verb *bí* and a following locative phrase. The younger female informant F 18 fronts the noun phrase in her example: *... go "engineer" a bhí ann.*[13]

The older female informant F 43, however, starts with the phrase *... gurb é ...*, but then switches to the unexceptional *... gur innealtór a bhí ann*, and follows that up with *... gurb "engineer" a bhí ann*, where the allomorph *gurb*, used in Standard Irish in present tense clauses before adjectives beginning with a vowel, is used. Is she using the augmented form *gurb* here as a marker of the past tense before both pronouns and nouns — and perhaps adjectives — with an initial vowel? If so, this is a unique instance, which stands in contrast to her other examples, as we shall see.

Turning to the next item, the construction *... gurbh iascairí muid*, and beginning once again on Inis Mór, we find a pattern very similar to that of the previous item. We find five informants using the present tense construction *... gur iascairí muid/muinn*, and four using the cleft construction *... gur iascairí a bhí ionainn*, though nearly all of the informants are now using an alternative construction from that used by them in the previous item, suggesting that choice of the classificatory copulative construction over the constructions with the verb *bí* plus locative when producing a past tense construction may be relatively random. Once again, there is no use of the form *gurbh*.

On Inis Meáin, again we encounter only the classificatory copulative construction *... gur iascairí muid*, but note that the male informant augments the noun with a [j] onset: *... gur j-iascairí muid.*[14]

On Inis Oírr, we get the cleft construction *... gur iascairí a bhí ionainn*, with the verb *bí* plus locative phrase, with the noun phrase fronted, from the older generation, but the classificatory copulative construction from the youngest informant, F 18: *... go iascairí muid.*[15]

The next item, *... gur dhochtúir mé*, is much the same, but demands lenition of the initial consonant. Beginning in Inis Mór, we find that now two thirds of the informants (six out of nine) prefer the classificatory copulative construction *... gur dochtúr mé* and only three opt for the cleft construction with the verb *bí* plus locative phrase and the fronted noun phrase: *... gur dochtúir a bhí ionam.* Once again, no one lenites the noun in either construction.

On Inis Meáin, once again both informants use the classificatory copulative construction

[12] As we shall see in the case of the other items, use of the verb *bí* with a locative construction in a subordinate clause is avoided completely by both informants, though as we have seen, the male informant does use such a construction in past tense interrogative copulative constructions when they are not functioning as a subordinate clause.

[13] Note that once again she generalises the complementiser *go* to classificatory copulative constructions.

[14] Recall that the male informant M 50 at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór does the same thing in the present tense with his example *gur j-ionaltair é.*

[15] Note once again the verbal complementiser *go* generalised to the classificatory copulative construction and the glottal stop which separates the adjacent vowels of the complementiser and the following noun.

. . . gur dochtúir mé, with the noun unlenited.

Moving eastward to Inis Oírr, we find the male informant using the simple construction *. . . go raibh mé (i) mo dhochtar*, using the verb *bí* and a following locative phrase to predicate, while his wife uses the cleft construction *. . . gur dochtúir a bhí ionam*, with the noun unlenited. The youngest informant, F 18, opts for the classificatory copulative construction *gur dochtúr mé*, again with the noun unlenited.[16]

The next item, *. . . gur chloch mhór í*, involves an inanimate referent rather than a human referent, but the patterns of the responses on Inis Mór are much the same as for the last item. Five informants across the island opt for the classificatory copulative construction *. . . gur cloch m(h)ór é/í*. Note that yet again there is no lenition of the noun.

The three informants who opt for a construction with the verb *bí* front the noun phrase, producing a cleft construction: *. . . gur cloch mhór a bhí ann*. Note, though, that the male informant at Fearann an Choirce omits the complementiser: *. . . cloch mhór a bhí ann*.

The female informant at Cill Éinne, however, substitutes a deictic construction, *. . . gurb 'in cloch mór*, with the Standard Irish complementiser form *gurb*. Note, however, that we still have not encountered the past form *gurbh*.

On Inis Meáin, both informants again opt for the classificatory copulative construction *. . . gur cloch m(h)ór é*, but then the male informant corrects his response to *. . . chloch mhór í*, giving us the first example of lenition of a noun in this syntactic position in our entire sample.

Moving finally to Inis Oírr, we note that the male informant, rather surprisingly, gives us the simple construction *. . . go raibh sé (i)na chloch móir* (sic), despite the fact that such a construction with the verb *bí* is normally used to predicate temporary states. The youngest female informant, however, produces the cleft construction *. . . go cloch mór a bhí ann*, with the complementiser *go* generalised once again to classificatory copulative constructions. The older female informant appears to be doing exactly the same thing, though the form of the complementiser remains unclear.

To sum up the evidence so far in regard to the use of the classificatory copulative construction in finite complementary clauses in the past tense, it seems clear that informants across the three islands are not using constructions which lenite the noun after the complementiser *gur*, or, in the case of nouns which begin with a vowel, constructions which substitute the allomorph *gurbh* before such nouns. On the other hand, with the exception of the male informant on Inis Oírr, they prefer not to use simple constructions with the verb *bí* plus a locative phrase.

Instead, they prefer either a classificatory copulative construction with the invariable complementiser *gur* with no lenition on the following noun, virtually identical to the present tense classificatory copulative construction, or else a cleft construction, fronting the predicated noun phrase to the position immediately following the invariable complementiser *gur* and using a following relative construction with the verb *bí* plus a locative phrase to specify past time. With such a construction, one creates the impression of a classificatory copulative construction, but one can use the verb *bí* to specify tense or mood with great precision and clarity.

[16]Note, however, that here she employs the complementiser *gur*, in contrast to her generalisation of the form *go* in her responses to all the other items.

This second construction seems confined to Inis Mór and Inis Oírr, with not a single example of a cleft construction occurring in a subordinate clause position in either the present or past tense on Inis Meáin.

Turning now to the last item in this series, the adjectival predication *... gurbh iontach an áit í*, we find three informants on Inis Mór — all older female informants — attempting this construction. Two of them, F 73 at Eoghanacht and F 72 at Corrúch, produce the construction with the expected complementiser *gurbh*, but the third, F 70 at Cill Éinne, uses the invariable complementiser *gur* to produce *... gur iontach an áit é*.

Four others produce the classificatory copulative construction *... gur áit iontach é* while another produces the same construction with different content: *... gur an-áit é* and *... gur áit álainn é*. Only the youngest female informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, produces a predicate using the verb *bí*: *... go raibh an áit thar cionn*.

On Inis Meáin, the female informant uses the classificatory copulative construction *... gur áit iontach é*, but the male informant produces the adjectival predication *... gur hiontach an áit é*, with the generalised complementiser *gur* and the glottal central fricative [**h**] prefixed to the adjective.[17]

Further east on Inis Oírr, we note that the male informant prefers a simple predication with the verb *bí*, *... go raibh an áit iontach*, but without the adverbial particle *go* before the adjective. His wife, F 43, uses the classificatory copulative construction *... gur áit iontach é*, while the youngest informant, F 18, uses a cleft construction: *... g' áit iontach a bhí ann*.[18]

To sum up, if we focus on the form of the complementiser in all these past tense constructions, we find that the only use of the complementiser *gurbh* is before predicate adjectives beginning with a vowel in adjectival predicate structures in subordinate clauses. In western and central Inis Mór, two older female informants use the form, while in easternmost Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin, two informants, respectively, use the predicate adjectival construction but with the generalised complementiser *gur*.

As for the generalised complementiser *go*, the youngest informant, F 18 on Inis Oírr, uses this in all syntactic and phonological environments, with the single exception mentioned above. With a single possible exception noted above, that of her neighbour F 41, this feature seems to be an innovation of the youngest generation — at least on Inis Oírr.

7.5 The Past/Conditional Tense in Selected Constructions

(The items discussed here are *B'fhéidir ...*, *Níorbh fhéidir ...*, *B'fhiú ...*, *B'fhearr ...*, *... gurbh fhearr ...*, *B'iontach ...* and *Dá mba bhean ...*)

Beginning on Inis Mór with the first item, the construction *B'fhéidir ...*, we find the Standard Irish form *B'fhéidir ...* in use the whole length of the island, with one possible instance of the form *M'fhéidir ...*, with an eclipsed copula, from the male informant M 68

[17] Note that he does this also in the present tense construction *... gur hálainn an áit é*.

[18] Note that once again F 18 generalises the complementiser form *go* to a cleft construction in a subordinate clause.

at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór, along with the Standard Irish form.

As alternative constructions, we get the comparative adjectival form *Is dóichí...* ([ɪs doːiˑ/ɪs doˑiˑ]) from the two female informants at Bungabhla and at Eoghanacht, respectively, in westernmost Inis Mór, and the base form of the adjective, *Is dócha ...*, from the female informant at Corrúch. From the female informant at Cill Éinne we get both constructions, *Is dóichí ...* and *Is dócha ....* We also get the English borrowing *Seans ...* from the male informant at Cill Rónáin, along with the dominant variant *B'fhéidir ....*

On Inis Meáin, we get only the Standard Irish form *B'fhéidir ...* from both informants.

On Inis Oírr, however, we get the form *B'fhéidir ...* from the two female informants, but the form with the eclipsed copula, *M'fhéidir ...*, from the male informant — as on Inis Mór.

Turning to the second item, *Níorbh fhéidir ...*, the negative counterpart to the first item, we find only F 43 at Bungabhla, the youngest informant in Inis Mór, actually using this form. As for the alternative negative constructions used in the island, we find an unbroken chain of informants in the middle of the island from Fearann an Choirce to Eochaill using the construction *Ní fhéadfainn ....* Other alternative constructions occur at both ends of the island; we get *Ní raibh mé in ann ...* from both F 73 at Eoghanacht and from M 50 at Cill Rónáin. On the other hand, we get *Níor fhéad mé ...* from both F 70 at An Sruthán and from her contemporary at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór.

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we get *Níorbh fhéidir ...* from the male informant, but *Ní fhéadfainn ...* from the female informant.

On Inis Oírr, we get *Ní fhéadfainn ...* from the older female informant and *Ní raibh mé in ann ...* from the younger female informant, but the non-standard form *Nír fhéidir ...* from the male informant, with the copula itself reduced to zero.

The next item, *B'fhiú ...* gives us a further glimpse of the phenomenon of reduplication of the copula in past tense constructions across the three islands.

Beginning on Inis Mór, we get the Standard Irish construction *B'fhiú ...* from seven of the nine informants across the island, but we get the reduplicated form *Ba bh'fhiú ...* from the two older female informants in western Inis Mór: F 73 at Eoghanacht and F 70 at An Sruthán.

On Inis Meáin, we get both the Standard Irish construction *B'fhiú ...* and the construction with the reduplicated copula *Ba bh'fhiú ...* from the male informant, but from the female informant, we get only the Standard Irish constructions *B'fhiú ...* and *... gurbh fhiú ...* (in a subordinate clause construction).

On Inis Oírr, we get *B'fhiú ...* from the younger female informant and its subordinate counterpart *... gurbh fhiú ...* from the male informant, but here also we get the construction with the reduplicated copula *Ba bh'fhiú ...* from the older female informant.

Turning to the next item, *B'fhearr ...*, and beginning in Inis Mór, once again we find the Standard Irish construction *B'fhearr ...* in use by the majority of the informants across the island, though two informants use the longer construction with the verb *bí* either together with the shorter construction containing the copula or in its place. Thus, the youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, produces *Bheadh sé níos fearr ...*, while the male informant at Eochaill produces *Bhí sé ní b'fhearr ....*

Three informants, however, do use a construction with the reduplicated copula. The male informant at Fearann an Choirce and his neighbour the female informant at Corrúch both use the construction *Ba bh'fhearr ...*, with the expected lenition of the second copula form, but the female informant at Cill Éinne uses the construction *Ba b'fhearr ...*, with no lenition of the second copula form.

In the two islands to the east, however, no instances of reduplication of the copula occur with this item. On Inis Meáin we get the Standard Irish construction *B'fhearr ...* from the female informant, and the longer construction with the verb *bí*, *Bheadh sí i bhfad níos fearr as ...*, from the male informant. In Inis Oírr also, we get the construction *B'fhearr ...* from the older female informant, and constructions with the verb *bí* plus *níos fearr* from both the youngest informant, F 18, and from the male informant.

We do get a further item of interest from the male informant, M 55, however. In sentence I.23, he produces a relative construction with a lenited copula: *... a bh'fhearr liom ....*

The next item, *... gurbh fhearr ...*, gives us an adjectival copulative construction in a finite complementary clause. Beginning once again on Inis Mór, we get the Standard Irish construction *... gurbh fhearr ...* from five informants in all age groups from one end of the island to the other, but we also get a number of interesting variants. We get both the unpalatalised variant *... gurbh 'arr ...* and the standard variant from the elderly male informant at Corrúch, but it is possible that this is a slip of the tongue.

Of greater interest, however, are the forms *... gur fhearr ...*, containing the generalised subordinating particle *gur*, with the copula itself elided entirely, from the elderly female informant at Eoghanacht, and *... gobh fhearr ...*, containing the generalised subordinating particle *go* with a lenited form of the copula, from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce. Both these examples reflect forms found in other syntactic contexts.

Of greatest interest, though, are eclipsed forms of the copula in this context, since these reflect the eclipsed copulative forms which occur so extensively in Cois Fharraige Irish in mainland Connemara. For example, on Inis Mór we get only the eclipsed form in the construction *... go mb'fhearr ...* from the two male informants in easternmost Inis Mór, M 68 at Eochaill and M 50 at Cill Rónáin.

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we see once again the close connection between eastern Inis Mór and Inis Meáin. Here both male and female informants produce only the eclipsed form in the construction *... go mb'fhearr ....*

On Inis Oírr, however, we do get the eclipsed form in the example *... go mb'fhearr ...* from the older female informant, F 41, but we also get uneclipsed forms based on the generalised copulative form *go* from the other two informants. Thus we get *... gobh fhearr ...* from the male informant and *... go b'fhearr ...*, without lenition of the copula, from the younger female informant, F 18.

The next item, the construction *B'iontach ...*, allows us to focus on the quality of the consonant in the past tense copula. All the preceding items have presupposed a palatalised consonant in the copula as a result of anticipatory assimilation when followed immediately by the high front vowel of a predicate adjective whose palatalised initial consonant, [**f′**] in all instances, has been elided. In this item, however, no consonant has been elided; the predicate adjective simply begins with a high front vowel.

Beginning on Inis Mór, we note that the two informants in Corrúch, M 82 and F 72, have opted for the form [**bʷ iːntəx**], with a definitely velarised release in the copula. The older female informant at Cill Éinne seems to select that option as well, with her uncompleted example [**bʷ iː . . .**], as does the older female informant at Eoghanacht, with her example containing the copula as a past tense complementiser: [**. . . gərʔw iːntəx . . .**]. Only M 50 at Cill Rónáin palatalises the consonant of the copula: [**bʹ iːntəx . . .**].

Two informants substitute classificatory copulative constructions, either *B' áit iontach é* or *B' áit álainn é*, both of which contain the past tense copula followed by the low back vowel [**ɑː**] in the predicate noun *áit*. In both cases, however, the two informants avoid coalescing the vowel of the copula with the initial vowel of the following predicate noun. Thus, we get [**bə ʔɑːtʹ iːntəx ɛ**] from the female informant at An Sruthán, with a glottal stop separating the two adjacent vowels, and [**bᵊ ˌɑːᶦtʹ ˈɑːLɪnʹ ɛ**] from the male informant at Eochaill.[19]

We get yet another example of a classificatory copulative construction in a finite complementary clause, from the female informant at An Sruthán, but in this instance with the copula as the invariable complementiser *gur*: *. . . gur áit iontach é . . . .*

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we get the form [**bʷ iːNtəx**] from the male informant, strengthening our impression that the velarised form of the past tense copula is the normal or unmarked form in this syntactic context. As for the female informant, she substitutes the classificatory copulative construction *. . . gurbh áit iontach é* in a finite complementary clause, with the final consonant of the complementiser rather tense: [**gərv**].

On Inis Oírr, we find no examples of the predicate adjectival construction *B'iontach . . . .* We get identical classificatory copulative constructions from both female informants, however, but with the expected elision of the vowel of the copula before the adjacent initial vowel of the following predicate noun, e.g., [**b ɑːtʃ iːNtəx ɛ**]. As for the male informant, he produces a simple adjectival predication with the verb *bí*: *. . . go raibh an áit iontach.*

What generalisations can we make from this rather confusing data? First, in regard to the predicate adjectival copulative construction *B'iontach . . .*, though we have no examples from Inis Oírr, the evidence from Inis Mór and from Inis Meáin points strongly to a velarised form of the past tense copula in this syntactic position in both islands. The example from M 50 at Cill Rónáin with the palatalised consonant [**bʹ**] can perhaps be explained by his constant exposure, as headmaster of the vocational school, to written Standard Irish and perhaps to the *Lárchanúint*.

As for the non-elision of vowel of the copula before the initial vowel of a following predicate noun, we have no data from Inis Meáin which is relevant to the question, but the little relevant data we have from the other two islands suggests that a rule preventing elision exists on Inis Mór but not on Inis Oírr. This rule may be related to the rule already noted that seems to prevent lenition of predicate nouns, but not predicate adjectives, in past tense copulative constructions.[20] In both cases, there seems to be a reluctance to alter the base form of a predicate noun in such a way that its appearance is obscured, either through mutation of its base form or through coalescence with the copula.

[19]The female informant at Cill Éinne produces the classificatory copulative construction [**ɑːtʃ iːntəx ɛ**], but since no copula is used, this example is irrelevant to the discussion.

[20]See also non-lenition in examples for the following item.

The last item, the clause *Dá mba bhean thú ...*, is of great interest, not only because of the lenition or non-lenition of the predicate noun, but also because of the shapes assumed by the first two elements, the conjunction *dá* and the following copula.

Beginning on Inis Mór, we find that only M 50 at Cill Rónáin produces the Standard Irish construction *Dá mba bhean thú ...*, albeit with the conjunction *dá* reduced to [ə]. As expected, the copula is eclipsed after the eclipsing conjunction *dá* and the predicate noun is lenited after the past tense copula.

The youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, on the other hand, eclipses the copula but does not lenite the following predicate noun, thus producing *Dá mba bean tusa ...* ([**ɑˑ mə bʹæˑn tʊsə ...**]). In contrast, the older male informant M 68 at Eochaill also does not lenite the predicate noun, but he lenites the copula instead, producing *Dá bha bean thú ...* ([**dɑː wʊ bʹæːN u ...**]).

Three older female informants go even further, neither eclipsing nor leniting copula or predicate noun. F 72 at Corrúch produces *Dá ba bean thú ...* ([**dʌ bə bʹæːn u ...**]). F 70 at Cill Éinne produces a similar construction, [**ə bə bʹæːn ...**] and yet another, [**aⁱm bə bʹæːN huˑ ...**], with an anomalous form in place of the conjunction *dá*.[21]

It is F 70 at An Sruthán, however, who produces the most striking construction: [**dʌ bər bʹæːN hʊsə ...**], which could be interpreted as *Dá bar bean thusa ...* or as *Dábar bean thusa ...*, with a fused element preceding the predicate noun. As striking as the form *dá bar/dábar* is, it is not unique. It was confirmed for me by a speaker from Creig an Chéirín, and, as we shall see, it is echoed on Inis Meáin.

Moreover, the existence of a form *dá bar* is verified in at least one other dialect — that of Corca Dhuibhne, far to the south in Munster.[22] Oddly enough, though, this specific form is not found in the extensive table of copulative forms in Prof. de Bhaldraithe's grammatical study of Cois Fharraige Irish, the mainland Connemara dialect which is so closely related to that of the two western islands.[23]

As for alternative constructions, four informants, scattered from Eoghanacht to Cill Éinne, produce a construction with the verb *bí* and a locative phrase: *Dá mbeifeá(sa) i do bhean ...*, including F 70 at Cill Éinne, mentioned above, who produces the construction [**aⁱ mʹəx tu ndə vʹæːN...**], containing the full form of the preposition *in* before the possessive adjective.

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we get the construction *Dá mba bean thú ...* ([**ga mə bʹæːN u ...**]), with eclipsis of the copula but no lenition of the following predicate noun, from the female informant. From the male informant, however, we get both the construction *Dá ba bean thú ...* ([**ɑː bə bʹæˑN uˑ ...**]), with neither eclipsis of the copula nor lenition of the predicate noun, and the cleft construction *Dá bar bean a bheadh ansin ...* ([**a bər bʹæˑN ə vʹɛx əˈtʹɪnʹ...**]), with the *dá bar* construction in a fronted noun phrase.

On Inis Oírr as well, we get the construction *Dá mba bean thú ...* ([**də mə bʹæːN hʊː ...**]), with eclipsis of the copula and no lenition of the predicate noun, from the younger

[21] It is possible that this odd form represents a fusion of the conjunction with a following eclipsed copula, i.e., *dá mba ...*, resulting in a reduplicated copula in the construction as a whole. Note also her preceding construction, [**aⁱ mʹəx tu ...**], discussed below, in which the conjunction has the identical phonological shape and which therefore may have influenced the articulation of the conjunction in the following example.

[22] Cf. Ó Sé (2000), 356.

[23] Cf. de Bhaldraithe (1953), 90-91.

female informant, F 18. From the male informant, however, we get the construction *Dá ba bean a bheadh ionat ...* ([**æ bə bʹæːn ə vʹɛx ənət ...**]), with neither eclipsis nor lenition in a construction with a fronted noun phrase.

From the older female informant, however, instead of a construction with *dá bar*, we get the construction *Dá bʹé bean a bheadh ionat ...* ([**ɑˑ bʹɛ ... a bʹɛ bʹæːN ə vʹɛx əNət ...**]), with an uneclipsed copula, an unlenited predicate noun, and an *é* element inserted between the copula and the following predicate noun — an element which we have seen to be characteristic of this informant when producing similar copulative constructions.

To sum up the various constructions representing this last item across the three islands, we can say that only one informant uses the Standard Irish construction *Dá mba bhean thú ...*, with eclipsis of the copula and lenition of the predicate noun is M 50 at Cill Rónáin. Once again, one suspects that his experience as headmaster of the vocational school at Cill Rónáin has influenced his linguistic behaviour.

As for variants of this basic structure, we get the type *Dá mba bean thú, ...*, with eclipsis of the copula and no lenition of the predicate noun, from one female informant in each of the three islands.

We get the type *Dá bha bean thú ...*, with lenition of the copula but no lenition of the predicate noun, from a single male informant on Inis Mór.

We get the type *Dá ba bean thú ...*, with neither eclipsis of the copula nor lenition of the predicate noun, from two female informants on Inis Mór, the male informant in Inis Meáin and the male informant on Inis Oírr.

We get the type *Dá bar/dábar bean thú ...*, with the striking copula form *bar*, or the conjunction *dábar*, followed by an unlenited predicate noun, from one female informant on Inis Mór and from the male informant on Inis Meáin.

Finally, we get the type *Dá bʹé bean thú ...*, with an uneclipsed copula, an inserted element *é* and an unlenited predicate noun, from the older female informant in Inis Oírr. As we have seen, the insertion of an *é* element immediately after the copula is characteristic of this informant.

What is interesting in all this variation is that virtually all logical possibilities have been exploited in roughly equal measure across the islands in order to produce these forms.

Chapter 8

Deictic Constructions: Present Tense

8.1 Deictic Constructions with Noun Phrases as Referents

(The items discussed here are the constructions *Seo ceann maith!* and *Sin droch-cheann!.*)

In the case of deictic constructions, we deal with a type of exclamatory construction which has the deictic pronoun *seo, sin* or *siúd* as initial element and which draws the hearer's attention to something in the immediate, intermediate or distant physical environment, respectively, of the speaker. Though, as we shall see, past tense deictic constructions can be regarded simply as a subcategory of copulative constructions, present tense constructions — particularly those containing an indefinite noun phrase — exhibit sharp structural differences from normal copulative constructions. In the first item, *Seo ceann maith!*, for example, the deictic pronoun precedes the indefinite noun phrase instead of following it as it would in the case of a normal copulative construction, e.g., *Is ceann maith é seo.*.

Beginning on Inis Mór, we find only the female informant at Corrúch employing the Standard Irish construction *Seo ceann maith!*, with the Standard Irish deictic pronominal variant *seo*. Her westernmost neighbours, the female informants at Bungabhla and at Eoghanacht, substitute a second variant *siod* ([**ʃəd**]) to produce *Siod ceann maith!*. Her neighbours slightly to the east of them, however, the female informant at An Sruthán and the male informant at Fearann an Choirce, substitute a third variant, *sios* ([**ʃəs**]), to produce *Sios ceann maith!*.

East of Corrúch on Inis Mór, no one produces a deictic construction. Instead, all three informants in easternmost Inis Mór produce a classificatory copulative construction with the pronominal phrase *é seo/sin* as subject of the clause. Thus, M 68 at Eochaill produces *Is ceann maith é seo*, M 50 at Cill Rónáin produces *Ceann maith é sin* and F 70 at Cill Éinne produces *Is ceann maith é seo*.

On Inis Meáin, both informants use a deictic construction. The female informant uses the

construction ([**ʃɛ kʹɑːn ˈmaː**]), which, despite the slightly unusual shape of the pronoun, I interpret as the Standard Irish construction *Seo ceann maith!*. The male informant, however, produces the unusual construction [**ʃəʷɛ kʹɑːn maː**], which I interpret as *Seobh é ceann maith!*, with an unexpected personal pronoun interpolated before an indefinite noun phrase.

On Inis Oírr, all three informants use deictic constructions, but the youngest informant, F 18, uses the Standard Irish construction *Seo ceann maith!* while the two older informants, M 55 and F 41, use the construction *Siod ceann maith!*, with the variant *siod* as the deictic pronoun.

To sum up, we can say that only one informant on Inis Mór, one informant on Inis Meáin, and one on Inis Oírr, all female, use the Standard Irish pronoun *seo* in initial position in this deictic construction. The male informant on Inis Meáin augments the form with the personal pronoun to produce *seobh é*, despite the fact that the following noun phrase is indefinite.

We find the deictic pronoun *siod* at Bungabhla and at Eoghanacht in westernmost Inis Mór, and we get it also from the two older informants, male and female, on Inis Oírr, but not at all on Inis Meáin. On the other hand, the deictic pronoun *sios* is found only in a limited area in western Inis Mór, from An Sruthán to neighbouring Fearann an Choirce.

It is worth noting that a form *seod*, with a pronunciation [**ʃod**] almost identical to the Aran form *siod* ([**ʃəd**]), is cited by Prof. de Bhaldraithe for Cois Fharraige Irish on the Connemara mainland. However, though Prof. de Bhaldraithe maintains that in Cois Fharraige Irish the form *seod* occurs only sentence initially and before the personal pronouns *é*, *í* and *iad*,[1] the use of the deictic pronoun *siod* in the Aran Islands extends to syntactic positions before noun phrases as well.

Nevertheless, Prof. de Bhaldraithe does give one example where *siod* is used attributively in a noun phrase: *na cineálachaí seod*.[2]

Now we turn to the next item, *Sin drochcheann!*, with the deictic pronoun *sin* in sentence initial position.

Beginning on Inis Mór, we find the deictic construction *Sin ceann dona!* in use in westernmost Inis Mór by the female informants from Bungabhla through An Sruthán and again by the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór. The male informant at Fearann an Choirce produces the variant *Shin ceann dona!*, with the deictic form apparently lenited. His neighbour to the east, the female informant at Corrúch, produces the deictic construction *Sin é drochcheann!*, with the personal pronoun *é* interpolated despite the following indefinite noun phrase. She also produces *Ceann dona!*, which appears to be the classificatory copulative construction stripped of the preceding copula and the following pronominal subject, with or without the deictic pronoun.

As for the classificatory copulative construction, we find that, as in the case of the preceding item, informants in eastern Inis Mór seem to prefer the classificatory copulative construction to the complete exclusion of the deictic construction — with the partial exception of the female informant at Corrúch and that of the male informant at Eochaill, both

[1] Cf. de Bhaldraithe (1953), 162. Prof. de Bhaldraithe uses the spelling *seod* for this form, but I prefer to spell the form as *siod* in order to represent the vowel sound unambiguously according to the rules of Standard Irish spelling. Note, for example, the ambiguity of the spelling in regard to the word *seod* in the phrase *luach na seod*.

[2] Cf. de Bhaldraithe (1953), 164.

mentioned above.

Thus we find that M 82 at Corrúch produces *Is drochcheann é sin* and *Ceann dona é!*, M 50 at Cill Rónáin produces *Drochcheann é sin!* and F 70 at Cill Éinne produces *Is drochcheann é.* Note that no informant west of Corrúch produces a classificatory copulative construction.

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we find that both informants produce the identical deictic construction, *Sin ceann dona!*, with no variant constructions.

On Inis Oírr, we find a similar situation, with the older female informant producing the deictic construction *Sin drochcheann!* and the younger female informant producing *Sin ceann dona!.* The male informant, M 55, also produces a deictic construction, but he lenites the deictic pronoun: *Shin ceann dona!.*

To sum up the data so far, we find that, as in the case of the preceding item, the informants in eastern Inis Mór show a general reluctance to use a deictic construction, while informants in western Inis Mór, in Inis Meáin and on Inis Oírr all use the deictic construction exclusively.

It is worth noting that the two male informants M 60 at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór and M 55 on Inis Oírr both use the lenited deictic pronoun *shin.* Note also that the female informant at Corrúch in Inis Mór interpolates a personal pronoun before an indefinite noun phrase, *Sin é drochcheann!*, as does the male informant in Inis Meáin in the preceding item: *Seobh é ceann maith!.*

8.2 Declarative Deictic Constructions with Pronominal Referents

(The items discussed here are the constructions *Seo é!* and *Sin é!.*)

The first item, *Seo é!*, is an extremely short construction consisting of the proximal deictic pronoun *seo* in sentence-initial position followed by a personal pronoun. In addition to this Standard Irish construction, however, we find in all three islands a variant construction with a reduplicated personal pronoun, e.g., *Seo é é!.*

The difference in length between the two variants *Seo é!* and *Seo é é!* is marked, and this difference is further marked by differences in stress and intonation on the personal pronouns, since the syllable of the first personal pronoun usually has the strongest stress and the highest tone of the phonological phrase. As we shall see, the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, normally separates the vowels of the two pronouns with a glottal stop, suggesting that for other informants as well, the first pronoun is reduplicated, not simply lengthened.

Beginning on Inis Mór, we find that all the informants from Bungabhla in westernmost Inis Mór through Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór use a deictic construction with the reduplicated personal pronoun. Only M 50 at Cill Rónáin and his neighbour F 70 in easternmost Inis Mór use the more standard construction.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant uses deictic constructions with a reduplicated personal pronoun while his female neighbour, F 60+, uses the standard construction.

On Inis Oírr, it is again the male informant who uses the deictic construction with a reduplicated personal pronoun, while the two female informants use the more standard construction.

In sum, the split in usage between deictic constructions with reduplicated personal pronouns and those without such reduplication seems to be clearly geographical on Inis Mór, with all the informants west of Cill Rónáin using reduplicated personal pronouns, whereas in the two islands to the east, the split seems to be on the basis of sex (or perhaps age), with only the male informants (or the oldest informants) using reduplicated personal pronouns.

As for the deictic pronouns, we find a number of informants across the islands substituting the more distal deictic pronoun *sin* for the expected pronoun *seo*, and beyond that, we find again a variety of forms for the pronoun *seo*.

Beginning on Inis Mór, once again we find the female informants at Bungabhla and at An Sruthán in western Inis Mór using the variant *siod*.[3] The male informant M 60 slightly to the east at Fearann an Choirce selects this form as well, but he lenites it, producing *shod* ([**həd**]).

Immediately to the east of M 60, however, we get the deictic pronoun *seo* ([**ʃo**]) from the female informant at Corrúch in a construction with a reduplicated pronoun: *Seo é é!* ([**ʃo eː eː**]). We get a similar construction from the male informant at Corrúch, but with the deictic pronoun augmented by a rounded labiovelar approximant before the following pronouns: *Seobh é é!* ([**ʃəw eː eː**]).

As for the informants from Eochaill through Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór, we can say nothing of their use of the proximal deictic pronouns since all of them choose to substitute the more distal pronoun *sin*.

On Inis Meáin, though the male informant again uses the more distal form *sin*, both he and the female informant use the augmented form of the Standard Irish proximal deictic pronoun, e.g., *Seobh é (é)!* ([**ʃəw eː (eː)**]). Thus, as in the case of the first item, we find no sign of the deictic variant *siod* in Inis Meáin.

On Inis Oírr, once more we find that two informants opt for the variant *siod*, while the remaining one uses the Standard Irish variant *seo*, but this time both the male informant and the younger female informant use *siod* while the older female informant uses the unaugmented deictic pronoun *seo*: (['**ʃə eː**]). In this item, as in following items, we see that the youngest generation on Inis Oírr is apparently still using the variant *siod*.

To sum up the use of the different variants of the deictic pronouns in constructions where they are followed directly by personal pronouns, we find the use of the Standard Irish form *seo* by one female informant each in both Inis Mór and Inis Oírr to produce the construction *Seo é (é)!*, while one male informant in eastern Inis Mór and both male and female informants on Inis Meáin produce constructions with augmented forms: *Seobh é (é)!*.

The variant *siod* is, as in the case of the first item, found only in westernmost Inis Mór and on Inis Oírr. The male informant at Fearann an Choirce in western Inis Mór produces a lenited but unpalatalised version of this variant, *shod*.

Of those informants who substituted the more distal deictic pronoun *sin*, none lenited the initial consonant in this item.

[3] We can say nothing of the female informant at Eoghanacht, since she substitutes the more distal pronoun *sin*.

Turning to the next item, *Sin é!*, which is the more distal counterpart of the previous item, we see that the pattern of distribution of deictic constructions with a single personal pronoun versus those with a reduplicated personal pronoun is roughly similar, though there are some significant differences in the linguistic behaviour of individuals.

Beginning on Inis Mór, we see that use of the reduplicated personal pronoun is still strong in western Inis Mór. Thus we get *Sin é é!* ([ʃɪnʲ eː ʔeː]) from F 43 at Bungabhla and *Sin é ansiod é!* from her neighbour F 73 east at Eoghanacht. The male informant at Fearann an Choirce also produces a reduplicated person pronoun, though he substitutes the proximal form *siod* for the expected *sin*, i.e., *Ní 'ea, siod é é!*. The female informant at An Sruthán, however, breaks ranks with her neighbours to the east and west, and produces a construction with only a single person pronoun: *Ó, ní hea, sin é!*.

In contrast to the previous item, however, all the informants from Corrúch eastward use only the shorter construction with the single personal pronoun, except for the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór, who produces a striking example of the reduplicated pronoun: *Sin é thall é!*.[4]

On Inis Meáin, the male informant repeats his construction for the previous item, *Sin é é!*, while the female informant gives us no clear sign of her preference in her example *Ní hea, ach é siúd!*.

On Inis Oírr, the male informant now joins his female counterparts in producing only a single personal pronoun, but he continues to use the proximal deictic pronoun: *Siod é!*.

As regards the form of the deictic pronoun itself, we find the form *sin* being used almost universally across the three islands, with no lenition of the initial segment. As for those informants who use the proximal form of the deictic pronoun, we find *siod* in use by the male informants M 60 at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór and by M 55 on Inis Oírr.[5]

The elderly male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór is unique in his use of the augmented form *seobh* in his repetition of his response to the previous item in his example *Ní hé, seobh é!*.

8.3 Interrogative Deictic Constructions with Pronominal Referents

(The item discussed here is the construction *An é seo é?*.)

Turning now to the interrogative deictic construction *An é seo é?*, we find that only the informants on Inis Meáin employ a relatively Standard Irish construction: *An é seo é (é)?*. All the informants in the other two islands employ an interrogative construction of the form *Ab 'iod é (é)?, Ab 'eobh é?*, etc., with the deictic element *'iod* or *'eobh*[6] directly following the non-standard interrogative particle variant *ab* and the single or reduplicated personal pronoun following that.

[4]Such reduplication would be consistent with her use of the pronoun in the unexceptionable construction *Sin iad na rudai ...* in I.45.

[5]Note that once again, we do not encounter lenited variants of deictic pronouns before a personal pronoun.

[6]Note the elision of the initial segment.

Before turning to more detailed examination of this second, non-standard type of deictic construction, let us deal first with the matter of deictic constructions with reduplicated personal pronouns and those without.

Beginning on Inis Mór, we see that once again informants in western Inis Mór from Bungabhla through Fearann an Choirce have opted for a deictic construction with a reduplicated personal pronoun, e.g., *Ab 'iod é é?*, with the single exception of the female informant at Eoghanacht. On the other hand, the only informant in eastern Inis Mór from Corrúch to Cill Éinne to use a reduplicated personal pronoun is the male informant at Eochaill. And once again, F 43 at Bungabhla makes clear her use of the reduplicated personal pronoun by separating the vowels of the two pronouns with a glottal stop.

On Inis Meáin, once again it is the male informant who uses a deictic construction with a reduplicated pronoun, whereas the female informant does not.

On Inis Oírr, we find the male informant joining the two female informants, as in the case of the last item, in unanimously opting for a deictic construction with a single personal pronoun: *Ab 'iod é?*.

Looking now more closely at the form of the non-standard type of deictic constructions, including the form of the deictic pronoun in those constructions, we find the type *Ab 'iod é (é)?*([**əbʹ əd eː (eː)**]), with a palatalised final segment in the interrogative particle *ab*, running the whole length of Inis Mór, from Bungabhla to Cill Éinne, with some minor variations. The male informant at Fearann an Choirce does not palatalise that segment, and thus produces *B' od é é?*, while the elderly female informant at Cill Éinne produces the anomalous form *Arb iad é?* ([**ərbʹ ˈiːjᵊd eː**]), in which what is presumably the deictic element has the form of the third person plural personal pronoun.

Only the male informant M 82 at Corrúch produces the distinct variant *Ab 'eobh é?* ([**əbʹ oˑw ɛː**]), with the augmented variant *'eobh* of the deictic pronoun, while the female informant at Eoghanacht substitutes a more distal deictic pronoun — lenited — to produce *B' in é?* ([**bʹ ɪnʹ** ˈ**ɛː**]).

As for Inis Meáin, as mentioned above, both informants opt for a more Standard Irish form. The male informant produces the construction *An é seobh é é?* ([**ən a ʃəw** ˈ**ɛː ɛː**]), with the personal pronoun in triplicate and the augmented variant *seobh* of the deictic pronoun, echoing the variant *'eobh* just mentioned, produced by M 82 at Corrúch on Inis Mór. The female informant, however, produces the much more Standard Irish variant *An é seo é?* ([**əN eː ʃəː** ˈ**eː**]). Note, however, that neither informant palatalises the final segment of the interrogative marker *An . . . ?* before what should be the following mid-front vowel [**eː**].

On Inis Oírr, on the other hand, all three informants produce the variant *Ab 'iod é?*, once again conforming to the usage of the overwhelming majority of the informants on Inis Mór.

Note that with the single exception of the male informant at Fearann an Choirce just mentioned, the final segment of the non-standard interrogative copula *Ab . . . ?* is always palatalised. In sharp contrast, in all instances of the Standard Irish variant *An . . . ?*, found only on Inis Meáin but produced by both informants, the final segment is not palatalised, irrespective of the following vowel.

8.4 Negative Deictic Constructions with Pronominal Referents

(The item discussed here is the construction *Ní hé seo é!*.)

Turning now to the negative deictic construction *Ní hé seo é!*, and beginning on Inis Mór, we note that only the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór uses the Standard Irish construction *Ní hé seo é!*, along with the anomalous construction *Nír é seo é!* ([**nʲiːrʲ eː ʃə ɛ**]), which contains the negative copula form *Nír*, with the palatalised final segment ([**rʲ**]).

With two exceptions, all the other informants on Inis Mór use the construction *Ní shod é (é)!* ([**nʲiː həd eː eː**]), with the deictic element directly following the negative particle and the single or reduplicated personal pronoun following that. Note that the initial segment of the deictic pronoun is lenited but not palatalised.

Of the two exceptions just mentioned, one (the female informant at Eoghanacht) employs a more distal form of the deictic pronoun to produce *Ní shin é é!*, with the initial segment of the pronoun lenited. The other (the male informant at Corrúch) uses only the non-deictic negative construction *Ní hé!* ([**nʲiː eːᵋ**]).

As for the use of reduplicated personal pronouns versus the use of a single pronoun with the non-standard deictic construction, once again we see the informants in western Inis Mór (with the exception of the female informant at An Sruthán) producing the construction with the reduplicated pronoun and those in eastern Inis Mór producing only the construction with the single pronoun.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant produces a reduplicated pronoun, but he is consistent with his behaviour in previous items in avoiding a construction based on the deictic form *siod* and preferring one based on the form *seo*. Thus, he produces the construction *Ní shobh é é!* (['nʲiː həw eː eː]), with the augmented deictic pronoun *shobh*. Note that, as in the case of the alternative non-standard construction with the deictic pronoun *shod*, the initial segment of the deictic pronoun is lenited but not palatalised.

As for the female informant, she produces the non-deictic construction *Ní hea!*.

On Inis Oírr, all three informants again produce an identical construction with a single personal pronoun: *Ní shod é!*. Note that yet again, the initial consonant of the deictic pronoun is lenited but not palatalised.

In summary, we can say that the initial segments of deictic pronouns in such negative constructions are uniformly lenited but never palatalised across all three islands.

8.5 Deictic Constructions with Pronominal Referents in Subordinate Clauses

(The items discussed here are the constructions *. . . gurb é seo é* and *. . . nach é seo é*.)

Here we have deictic constructions embedded in finite complementary clauses. The first of the two constructions, *. . . gurb é seo é*, is a positive deictic construction, but the only informant on all three islands to use a construction which approximates to the Standard

Irish construction is the female informant in Inis Meáin, who offers *... gob é seo é*. The complementiser, phonologically reduced to *gob*, seems to be composed of the complementiser *go* plus an additional formative *b*, followed by the personal pronoun *é*.[7]

All the other finite complementary clauses consist of the type already familiar — one with the deictic element directly following the complementiser and the single or reduplicated personal pronoun following that, e.g., *... gob 'iod é* or *... gob 'eobh é*.

Let us first turn to the question of whether the single personal pronoun *é* or the reduplicated pronoun *é é* is used, regardless of the form of the preceding elements of the clause. Once again, only the reduplicated pronoun *é é* is used from Bungabhla through Fearann an Choirce in western Inis Mór, with the exception of the female informant at Eoghanacht, who uses only a single personal pronoun. Both her neighbours however, F 43 at Bungabhla and F 70 at An Sruthán, separate the vowels of the two personal pronouns with a glottal stop, thus confirming the existence of two separate personal pronouns in the clause.

On the other hand, all the informants in eastern Inis Mór from Corrúch to Cill Éinne use only the single personal pronoun *é*, with the sole exception, once again, of the male informant at Eochaill.

As for the two islands to the east, the evidence is less clear. In Inis Meáin, the male informant again produces a double personal pronoun, while the female informant, as mentioned above, produces the more standard construction *gob é seo é*. On Inis Oírr, both older informants produce a double personal pronoun, while the youngest informant, F 18, produces only a single personal pronoun. This distribution of variants could signal a linguistic change between generations on Inis Oírr.

As for the individual elements forming this type of finite complimentary clause, we note the nearly universal presence of the construction *... gob 'iod é (é)* on Inis Mór, though the male informant at Corrúch produces, characteristically, a construction with a deictic element based on the form *seo* (with a characteristic labiovelar approximant as final segment): *... gob 'eobh é*. The female informant at An Sruthán, in contrast, diverges from the main type by eclipsing the copula and using a palatal central approximant as a sandhi form linking the copula with the following deictic pronoun: *... go mba j-iod é é*.[8]

The youngest informant on Inis Mór, however, F 43 at Bungabhla, does not use a complementiser at all. She simply embeds a deictic copulative construction within the complex sentence as a subordinate clause: *Dúirt sé siod é é*.

On Inis Meáin, again we find no examples of deictic constructions with the deictic pronoun based on the form *siod*. The male informant once again uses a deictic pronoun with a labiovelar augment based on the variant *seo*, *... gob 'eobh é*, echoing the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór, while the female informant, as mentioned above, uses a construction which is more standard.

[7] As we have seen earlier, and as we shall see in a later section when we examine complementisers before personal pronouns, the process which produced the reduced form *gob* before personal pronouns or deictic pronouns with a vowel as initial segment has produced the interrogative form *ab* in similar environments. Note the nearly universal palatalisation of the final segment in such forms.

[8] This augmented form may help explain the anomalous interrogative form **[ərbʲ ˈiːjᵊd eː]** mentioned above, which was produced by the female informant at Cill Éinne. I have chosen to use the awkward digraph *j-* to represent this sandhi form rather than use the digraphs *dh* or *gh*, since such digraphs, though phonetically unambiguous, would suggest a false etymology for the form — the lenition of a historical **[d]** or **[g]** segment.

As for Inis Oírr, the two female informants produce the construction *... gob 'iod é (é)*, though the younger female informant first produces the construction *... gob 'iod iad* — possibly a slip of the tongue, which she then corrects. As for the male informant, he treats the subordinate clause as a direct quote: *"Siod é é", adúirt sé.*

Note that in all these constructions containing the complementiser *gob* the final bilabial segment of the complementiser is palatalised. Note also that the example *... go mba j-iod é é* from Sruthán is the only example we have in the corpus of data so far of an eclipsed form of the copula — a variant which is widespread in Cois Fharraige Irish. Boats from Connemara used to bring in turf to the port at the neighbouring townland Cill Mhuirbhí; could such contact be the origin of this otherwise unique trait?

The second item, *... nach é seo é*, the negative counterpart to the item just discussed, is a negative deictic construction embedded in a finite complementary clause. Once again, we note that the Standard Irish construction *... nach é sin é*, with the more distal deictic pronoun *sin* substituted for the proximal form *seo*, is used by both informants on Inis Meáin. In contrast, all the informants in the other two islands use the non-standard construction of negative complementiser, deictic pronoun and personal pronoun(s), as we shall see. Even the male informant on Inis Meáin uses this construction type in a second example.

Dealing first with the question of the adjacent reduplicated personal pronouns used with the non-standard construction type, we note that all the informants on Inis Mór from Bungabhla through Fearann an Choirce use such reduplicated pronouns, along with the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór, replicating patterns seen above.

As for the two eastern islands, however, we have no examples of adjacent reduplicated pronouns from Inis Meáin and only a single example from the older female informant in Inis Oírr.

When we examine the array of forms used in these non-standard constructions, we find a surprising variety of forms from speaker to speaker across all three islands.

Beginning at Bungabhla in westernmost Inis Mór, we find that, as in the case of the previous item, the youngest informant in Inis Mór, F 43, does not use a complementiser at all. Instead, she simply embeds a negative deictic copulative construction within the complex sentence as a subordinate clause: *Dúirt sé ní shod é é.*

Her neighbour to the east, however, the older female informant at Eoghanacht, gives us what we would expect, the construction *... nach shod é é.*

The female informant a bit further to the east at An Sruthán, on the other hand, produces what seems to be a past tense construction:*... narbh 'iod é é* ([**naˈrvʹ əd ɛ ʔeː**]).

Immediately to the east of her, at Fearann an Choirce, the male informant produces the construction *... ná shod é é* ([**Na həd eː eː**]), with what appears to be the variant complementiser *ná*, with its vowel slightly fronted.[9] On the other hand, this construction could simply represent an extremely lax articulation of *... nach shod é é.*

Further east at Corrúch, the female informant seems to elide the initial consonant of the deictic pronoun in her construction *... nach 'od é.* Her brother, M 82, however, again bases his deictic element on the pronoun *seo* in his construction *... nach shobh é.*

In easternmost Inis Mór, however, we encounter yet other variants, all of them involving

[9]Such fronting of the low back vowel, as we have seen, is normal in the Aran dialect(s).

the interpolation of an anomalous consonant as initial segment of the deictic element in the construction. Thus the male informant at Eochaill produces *... nach dod é é*, the male informant at Cill Rónáin produces *... nach rod é*, and the female informant at Cill Éinne produces *... nach b'iod é*. It is not easy to ascertain what the interpolated consonants of the two male informants represent, but the intrusive segment *b* of the female informant seems to be a reduplicated form of the copula, characteristically palatalised before the deictic element.

As mentioned above, both informants on Inis Meáin produce the Standard Irish construction *... nach é sin é*, with the more distal deictic pronoun *sin* substituted for the proximal form *seo*. The male informant also produces the non-standard construction *... nach 'in é*, with the initial consonant of the deictic form elided.

On Inis Oírr, we get the expected construction *... nach shod é* from the older female informant, but we get the construction *... nach 'od é*, with elision of the initial segment of the deictic pronoun, from the male informant, along with *... ná shod é* ([**Na həd eː**]), with, once again, substitution of the variant complementiser *ná*, with its vowel slightly fronted. Since we now have this example from M 55 in addition to the example from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór, it seems warranted to suspect use of a complementiser associated with Munster dialects rather than simply ascribing the form to lax articulation.

In contrast to the other two informants on Inis Oírr, however, the youngest informant, F 18, gives us two examples with an excess of friction in the initial segment of the lenited deictic pronoun: *... nach chod (an áit .../é)* ([**Nʌx ˈxəd ...**]). This is apparently an example of hypercorrection, an attempt to assure that the articulation of the deictic pronoun is not too lax, with lenition of the initial segment leading to its possible elision.

Note once again that in all the non-standard negative complementary constructions, the deictic pronoun is universally lenited or elided, but never palatalised. Thus, in the data from the three islands, we find the variants *... nach shod, ... nach 'od, ... ná shod, ... nach shobh*, and, with a more distal pronominal form, *nach 'in*.

Two female informants on Inis Mór produce constructions with palatalised elements, but it is the bilabial segment within the copula itself which is palatalised, not the deictic pronoun which follows. Thus, F 70 at An Sruthán produces the apparent past tense construction *... nárbh 'iod é é*, and her contemporary F 70 at Cill Éinne produces a variant with a reduplicated copula: *... nach b' iod é*, but in both constructions, it is the copula itself which is palatalised.

This is consistent with what we have seen so far of the strong tendency across the islands to palatalise all bilabial segments associated with the copula, e.g., in the non-standard interrogative copula *Ab ...?*[10] and in the non-standard positive complementiser *... gob ...*.

Note also both the positive and the negative constructions produced by the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla. The use of deictic constructions as complements without any complementiser may be a sign of linguistic change on Inis Mór.

[10]The sole exception to palatalisation of this form is the male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór, mentioned earlier.

8.6 Disjunctive Deictic Constructions with Pronominal Referents

(The item discussed here is the construction *... an é seo é nó nach é.*)

The item in this section, the construction *... an é seo é nó nach é*, is a disjunctive interrogative copulative construction which is embedded in a larger sentence framework: *Níl a fhios aige an é seo é nó nach é.* It seems best to examine separately both substructures of the disjunction.

Beginning with the substructure *... an é seo é ...*, we note first of all that not a single informant in all three islands uses the Standard Irish construction *... an é seo é ....* Instead, all the informants employ the local alternative construction consisting basically of the local interrogative marker *ab*, a deictic pronoun and personal pronoun(s).

As for the question of the reduplicated personal pronoun, such reduplicated pronouns are much less in evidence. On Inis Mór, only the female informant at An Sruthán reduplicates the pronoun in her example *... ab 'iod é é ...*, with the personal pronouns clearly separated from one another by a glottal stop.

On Inis Meáin, both informants produce neither a reduplicated pronoun nor the deictic pronoun itself, choosing instead to produce the abbreviated construction *... ab é nó nach é.* In this case, both informants use the interrogative marker *ab* even though, as we have seen, both use the Standard Irish variant *an* when producing the simple interrogative structure examined above, i.e., *An é seo é ?*.

On Inis Oírr, the older female informant, F 41, uses a reduplicated pronoun in a non-standard construction of the type familiar to us, i.e., *... ab 'iod é é ...*, with the personal pronouns again clearly separated by a glottal stop. Her husband, M 55, produces an odd blended construction with his example *... ab 'iod é an ceann é ....* The younger female informant, F 18, produces only single personal pronouns in her three examples.

Looking more closely at the form of the interrogative deictic constructions found under this item, and beginning on Inis Mór, we note the ubiquity of the construction *... ab 'iod é ...* across the island. As noted above, the female informant at An Sruthán uses the same construction with a reduplicated personal pronoun, while her contemporary at Cill Éinne substitutes a more distal deictic pronoun to produce *... ab 'in é ....* The male informant at Corrúch once again stands out in his use of a deictic form based on the pronominal form *seo*: *... ab 'eobh é ....*

On Inis Meáin, as mentioned above, both informants produce the abbreviated construction *... ab é ...*, while in Inis Oírr, in addition to the constructions mentioned above produced by the older informants, we have two examples of *... ab 'iod é ...* and one of *... ab 'in é ...* from the younger female informant.

Turning now to the second substructure of the disjunction, the construction *... nó nach é*, we encounter a striking feature which distinguishes Inis Mór clearly from the other two islands. Though we note the Standard Irish construction *... nó nach é* across all three islands, we also note the odd construction *... nó nach b' é*, with what appears to be a

reduplicated copula, used by nearly half the informants across Inis Mór.[11] Thus F 43 at Bungabhla, F 72 at Corrúch, M 68 at Eochaill, and F 70 at Cill Éinne all use the construction.

It is possible that this construction is an innovation which originated in eastern Inis Mór, since F 43, the only westerner to use this construction, is of a younger generation, has done her secondary schooling at Cill Rónáin in eastern Inis Mór, has married a son of F 70 from Cill Éinne, and has been living in Cill Rónáin since marriage.

One might also be tempted to identify this construction with female informants, since only one of the informants who use this construction is male, but this matter needs further investigation. Anecdotal information from a young friend from Inis Oírr confirms the use of the odd copulative form in the speech of an Inis Mór man, now deceased but perhaps in his early fifties at the time, from An Sruthán in western Inis Mór. The form occurred in the tag question *. . . nach b'ea?* and was heard in conversation in the year 2005.

Suffice it to say, at this juncture, that the reduplicated copula in negative subordinate constructions seems confined to Inis Mór.

[11] Recall the reduplicated copula in the construction *. . . nach b'iod é*, produced by the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór.

Chapter 9

Deictic Constructions: Past Tense

Declarative Deictic Constructions with Pronominal Referents

(The items discussed here are *B'é seo é!* and *B'iad seo iad!*)

Turning now to the past tense equivalents of many of the deictic constructions we have just examined, we begin with the construction *B' é seo é!*.

The first thing we notice is that many of the informants in both Inis Mór and Inis Oírr are not using the past tense forms of the copula at all; they are substituting present tense equivalents for those forms. Of that, more later.

Of the past tense forms used, only from the male informant on Inis Meáin do we get a construction whose form closely approximates the target construction: *Ba j-é seo é!* [**bʊj ˈeː ʃə eˑ**]. Note, though, that he inserts the central palatal approximant [**j**][1] as a glide or as an onset to the pronoun between the copula and the first personal pronoun. The purpose of the inserted glide seems to be that of emphasising the following pronoun.

We get a similar onset to the first pronoun from the female informant in An Sruthán on Inis Mór in the construction *Ba j-é é!* [**bʊj eː eː**], which, properly speaking, is not a deictic construction since it contains no deictic element.

Her neighbour F 72 to the east at Corrúch, on the other hand, does not use the palatal glide before the personal pronoun. She starts to produce *ba b' od . . .*, a construction with a clearly reduplicated but unlenited copula, but then she switches abruptly to the construction *Ba 'od é é!* [**bə əd ɛː ɛː**], eliminating the reduplicated copula.

On Inis Oírr, the older female informant produces an identical construction, *B' od é é!* [**b əd eˑ eˑ**], complete with reduplicated personal pronoun, while her younger neighbour, F 18, also produces the construction, but without the reduplicated personal pronoun: *B' od é!* [**b ˈəd ɛ**].

On Inis Meáin, the female informant produces a non-deictic construction, but with a reduplicated, lenited copula: *Ba bh'é!* [**bəvʲ ˈɛː**].

In sum, so far we have seen the past tense of the non-standard deictic construction

[1] As I remarked in the introduction to this volume, I have chosen to represent the palatal approximant as *j*, a character which does not exist in Standard Irish orthography, but which is found among the IPA symbols used in this volume.

distinguished from its present tense equivalent by the absence of palatalisation in the copula itself.[2]

In the light of such considerations, however, there is still one other form which has the shape of a past tense form, but seems a bit anomalous — the construction produced by M 50 at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór. Here we have [**bʲ ij əd ɛ**], which appears to represent *B' iod é*, with a palatalised copula immediately before the deictic pronoun. To be sure, this past tense deictic construction can be easily distinguished from its present tense counterpart *Siod é!*, but it is not so easily distinguished acoustically from the present tense interrogative deictic construction *Ab 'iod é?*.

From this point of view, the depalatalisation of the copula in past tense deictic constructions used by informants other than M 50 seems to offer an attractive solution to the problem of distinguishing such past tense non-standard deictic constructions from certain other non-standard deictic constructions which are acoustically similar, but in which the copular forms are palatalised.

On the other hand, in the case of non-deictic constructions, we see either the insertion of the central palatal approximant [**j**] after the copula as an onset to the first personal pronoun (*Ba j-é é!* on Inis Mór), or reduplication of the copula, with lenition (*Ba bh'é!* on Inis Meáin). Note that in these cases, a personal pronoun follows the copula immediately rather than the deictic pronoun, which seems to be the determining factor. For example, the male informant on Inis Meáin inserts the central palatal approximant [**j**] even in the deictic construction *Ba j-é seo é!*, since in that particular construction a personal pronoun follows the copula immediately.

Turning now to the examples where present tense deictic constructions are substituted for their past tense counterparts and beginning on Inis Mór, we note *Seo é é!* from F 43 at Bungabhla, *Siod é!* from F 73 at Eoghanacht, *Siod é é!* from M 60 at Fearann an Choirce, *Seobh é!* from M 82 at Corrúch, and *Siod é!* again from F 70 at Cill Éinne.

M 68 at Eochaill produces some longer constructions, both employing forms based on the deictic variant *siod*: *Siod é an ceann é!* and *Is 'od é an ceann é!* ([**ɪs əd eˑ n̪ʲ kʲɑːɴ ɛ**]). The informant seems to have elided the initial consonant of the deictic pronoun in the second construction. Note also that he does not palatalise the final segment of the copula in that construction, suggesting that the underlying form of the deictic pronoun is *'od* rather than *'iod*.

On Inis Meáin we encounter no examples of present tense constructions in this item, but on Inis Oírr, we get *Siod é!* from the male informant and both *Seo é!* and *Seo é é!* (with glottal stops separating the adjacent vowels in the second example) from his wife.

In regard to reduplicated personal pronouns in either past tense or present tense deictic constructions, we note once again the preponderance of constructions with reduplicated personal pronouns in western Inis Mór with scattered examples elsewhere. We get short constructions of the same sort from the female informant at Corrúch in Inis Mór and from the older female informant on Inis Oírr and the longer constructions *Siod é an ceann é!* and *Is 'od é an ceann é!* just cited from the male informant at Eochaill on Inis Mór.[3] We also

[2] Cf. *B(a) 'od é!*, versus present tense interrogative *Ab 'iod é!* with palatalisation of the interrogative copula.

[3] Both constructions duplicate the pronoun unnecessarily, and seem to be a form of hypercorrection.

get the relatively Standard Irish construction *Ba j-é seo é!* from the male informant on Inis Meáin, which of course contains a reduplicated pronoun.

Turning now to the second item, *B' iad seo iad!*, the plural counterpart of the preceding item, once again we see widespread substitution of present tense constructions for their past tense equivalents.

Beginning on Inis Mór with the past tense constructions, we get the construction *b' úd iad!* ([**b uːd ɛːd**]) from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce, a construction which unexpectedly employs the most distal deictic pronoun *úd*. Even more surprisingly, we get similar constructions from the male informant at Corrúch and from the female informant at Cill Éinne: *b' iúd iad!* ([**bʲ uːd iˑᵉd**]) and *b' iúd é!/ b' iúd iad é!* (['**bʲ uːd eː/** ˈ**bʲ uːd eːᵊd eˑ**]).[4]

Note, however, that in the examples from the latter two informants, the copula is uniformly palatalised. It may be that constructions employing the deictic pronoun *úd* are at least a partial exception to the rule on palatalisation of the copula before deictic pronouns. (Cf. the discussion of constructions with the deictic pronoun *'in* below.)

As for other past tense deictic constructions on Inis Mór, we note *B' in iad iad!* ([**bʲ ɪnʲ ɛːd ɪd**]), with a distal deictic pronoun (*sin*) whose initial consonant is elided, from the female informant F 72 at Corrúch. Further east, at Cill Rónáin, however, we note that M 50 has substituted the declarative construction *B' iad seo (a) bhí iontu* ([**bʷ iːd ʃə vʲiˑ ntʊ**]) for a deictic construction.

Note that F 72 has used a palatalised copula before the deictic pronominal form *'in*, whereas M 50 has used a clearly labialised form of the copula before the personal pronoun *iad*.

Moving on to Inis Meáin, we get two forms of the Standard Irish construction *B' iad seo iad!* from the male informant: *Ba j-iad seo iad!* [**bʷiː ʔiˑᵊd ʃə iˑᵊt**] and *B' iad seo iad!* [**bʲ iˑᵊd ʃə iˑᵊt**]. Note that the first variant has not only a labialised copula but what seems to be the palatal glide [**j**] inserted before the personal pronoun, itself preceded by a glottal stop. (The articulatory transition from the labialised copula to the palatal glide would explain the odd long high front vowel [**iː**].) Note also that the second copula, in an identical grammatical construction, is palatalised.

He also produces the non-standard construction *Ba bh' iad iad!* [**bəw** ˈ**iˑᵊd iˑᵊt**], which is, strictly speaking, an identificatory copulative construction rather than a deictic construction. Note that he has reduplicated and lenited the copula, but — a fact of great importance — he has not palatalised the reduplicated form, choosing instead the labiovelar approximant [**w**] for the lenited form.[5]

As for the female informant, she produces the relatively Standard Irish construction *Ba bh'iad . . . siúd iad!* ([**bəvʲ** ˈ**iˑᵊt . . .** ˈ**ʃuːd iˑᵊd**]). Note that she reduplicates and lenites the copula in this example as well as in her two other examples, *Ba bh'iad . . .* ([**bəvʲ iˑᵉd**

[4]Note the use of a singular pronoun following the first, plural pronoun in the second example. This is not likely to have been a slip of the tongue, since she repeats the construction. Note a similar example from F 18 on Inis Oírr in the discussion further on.

[5]The non-palatalisation of the reduplicated copula in this example is unique to this informant. Unfortunately, it is difficult to represent such non-palatalalisation before a personal pronoun beginning with a high or medium vowel in Standard Irish orthography. I have simply left a normal space between the two forms to indicate the phonological independence of the two forms.

. . .]) and *Ba bh'in iad . . .* ([**bəvʲ ɪnʲ iːˠˤd**]), but in all three cases the reduplicated, lenited copula is palatalised.

Moving eastward to Inis Oírr, we get the non-standard deictic construction *B' iod iad* (['**bʲ əd ɛd**]), with a palatalised copula, from the male informant. As noted earlier in our discussion of the example from M 50 at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór, this construction with the palatalised copula is nearly identical to the local present tense interrogative deictic construction *Ab 'iod iad?*, with mainly the intonation pattern left to distinguish the two constructions.

The youngest informant, F 18, on the other hand produces the relatively Standard Irish example *Ba iad siod é* ([**bu eːt ˈʃəd ɛ**]), which she corrects to *B' iad siod iad* ([**bʷ eːt ˈʃəd ɛd**]). Note that in both examples the copula is not palatalised. Note also that the use of a generalised pronoun *é* in her first example replicates the example of the female informant F 70 at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór: *B' iúd iad é!*. In F 70's case, however, it is apparently not a slip of the tongue, since she repeats the identical construction.

As for the use of present tense constructions in place of the expected past tense constructions, there is only a single use of a present tense construction for this item on Inis Meáin, but there are many examples in the other two islands. For instance,we note the use of the deictic pronoun *seo* with a lengthened vowel by the male informant at Eochaill on Inis Mór in the construction *Seo iad iad!* ([**ʃoː eˑd ɛd**]). (On the other hand, this construction may represent the construction *Seobh iad iad!*, with an augmented form of the deictic pronoun).

On Inis Oírr, the older female informant gives us another example of the deictic pronoun *seo* in her example *Seo iad!*.

The non-standard deictic pronoun *siod* is used by three informants on Inis Mór, and by the male informant in Inis Oírr.

The remote deictic pronominal form *siúd* is used by the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór in the example *Siúd iad!*, along with its past tense equivalent in the parallel construction *B'iúd iad!*. The identical construction, *Siúd iad!*, is used also by the female informant on Inis Meáin.

As for use of reduplicated personal pronouns in the non-standard deictic constructions, we see the usual preponderance of reduplicated pronouns in western Inis Mór, e.g., *Siod iad iad!*. (The female informant at An Sruthán evades the issue by producing the abbreviated construction *Iad seo!*. Note that in the case of the plural personal pronoun *iad*, it is quite clear that the pronoun is being reduplicated and not simply lengthened.)

As for eastern Inis Mór, the female informant at Corrúch once again shows her preference for reduplicated forms with her example *B'in iad iad!*, while her brother continues to avoid them. The male informant at Eochaill produces two examples of *Siod iad iad!* and one of *Seo iad iad!*, along with the rather odd example *Siod iad na cinn!*, which seems to lack a predicate after the noun phrase.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant clearly prefers the reduplicated personal pronoun in the aforementioned example *Ba bh' iad iad!*. His other two examples are of a relatively Standard Irish construction in which the two personal pronouns are required by the grammar but are kept separate from one another by an intervening form: *B' iad/Ba j-iad seo iad*. In contrast, the female informant avoids all use of the reduplicated personal pronouns in her

examples: *Ba bh'iad, Ba bh'in iad, Siúd iad!*

On Inis Oírr, the male informant produces one example with a reduplicated personal pronoun (*Siod iad iad!*) and one example with only a single personal pronoun (*B' iod iad!*). His wife, F 41, this time produces only a single personal pronoun in her example *Seo iad!*. The youngest informant, F 18, as mentioned above, produces relatively Standard Irish constructions: *B'iad siod iad/é.*

9.1 Interrogative Deictic Constructions with Pronominal Referents

(The item discussed here is *Arbh é seo é?*.)

Turning now to the interrogative deictic construction *Arbh é seo é?*, we encounter only one Standard Irish construction on all three islands, the example *An é seo é?* ([**əN ˈeː ˈʃəˑ eː**]), produced by the female informant on Inis Meáin. However, this construction is a present tense construction, not a past tense construction. We encounter another, more abbreviated present tense construction from the female informant at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór: *An é?* ([**əN eː**]).

Note that in the examples from both informants the final segment of the interrogative particle is unpalatalised, despite the assimilative influence of the following mid-front vowel of the personal pronoun. The absence of palatalisation in this phonetic environment matches that in the examples from both informants in Inis Meáin already noted in the section on the present tense interrogative deictic constructions.

The male informant on Inis Meáin comes close to a Standard Irish construction in his two examples *Arb é seo . . . ?* (left incomplete) and *Arb é seo é é?*, where the personal pronoun is given in triplicate. Note that the copula, [**ərbʹ**], while palatalised, is not lenited in these two examples.

The youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, also produces a construction which approaches the Standard Irish construction: *Ab é an ceann seo é?*. Note, however, that the form of the interrogative particle, [**əbʹ**], is indistinguishable from that found in the informant's present tense interrogative constructions.

As for the other past tense interrogative deictic constructions found on Inis Mór, we find once more that the non-standard construction *Ab 'iod é (é)?* predominates across the island. We find an exception once again in the male informant at Fearann an Choirce, who characteristically does not palatalise the copula: *. . . b' od é é?* ([**b əd ɛː ɛ**]).

We find an exception of another sort in the male informant at Corrúch, who once again uses a deictic form based on the variant *seo*: *B' eobh é?* ([**bʹ oˑw ɛː**]).

The female informant at Cill Éinne, for her part, produces two examples of a construction which varies from the constructions just mentioned only in its use of a more distal deictic form: *Ab 'in é?*.

It is clear that all these constructions from Inis Mór are indistinguishable from their present tense counterparts. Only M 50 at Cill Rónáin produces a construction which is clearly distinct from his or any informant's present tense construction, *R' iod é?* ([**rʹ əd**

ɛ]), which seems to consist of a past tense interrogative marker, a zero copula form, a deictic form and a personal pronoun.

On Inis Meáin, we find that the male informant, M 70, in addition to the more Standard Irish forms already mentioned, produces the construction *Arb 'eobh é é?* ([**ər ˈbʲᵋw eː eː**]), with a deictic element again based on the deictic pronoun *seo*. In contradistinction to M 82 on Inis Mór, however, M 70's unlenited copula contains the segment [**r**], on which, as in his other examples for this item, he seems to be relying in order to mark the past tense in the absence of lenition.

As for Inis Oírr, all the informants use the non-standard construction *Ab 'iod é (é)?*.

As for the reduplicated personal pronoun, once again we find distributional patterns similar to the ones we have seen in the data for other items. The construction with the reduplicated pronoun is slightly less prominent in western Inis Mór, perhaps due to the use of a more Standard Irish construction by F 43 at Bungabhla. The only examples from eastern Inis Mór are from M 68 at Eochaill, which show mixed usage. For example, we have M 68's shorter example *Ab 'iod é é?* and his longer example *Ab 'iod é an ceann é?*, in addition to his example *Ab 'iod é?*, in which the personal pronoun is not reduplicated.

On Inis Meáin, we encounter only one example of a reduplicated personal pronoun, that of M 70 previously mentioned: *Arb 'eobh é é?*.

On Inis Oírr also, we have only a single example, repeated, of a reduplicated pronoun, that of the older female informant, *Ab 'iod é é?*, where the vowels of both personal pronouns are preceded by a glottal stop.

9.2 Negative Deictic Constructions with Pronominal Referents

(The items discussed here are *Níorbh é seo é!* and *Níorbh iad na cinn . . . , arbh iad?*)

For the first item, the negative past tense deictic construction *Níorbh é seo é!*, we get the Standard Irish construction from M 50 at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór, with no palatalisation of the final segment of the copula: [**nʲiːrw e ʃə ɛ**]. We get the Standard Irish construction from the female informant on Inis Meáin as well, but with the final segment of the copula palatalised: [**nʲiːrʲ ˈe ˈʃə ɛ**], a variant construction which could be represented in Standard Irish orthography as *Nírbh é seo é!*. The male informant on Inis Meáin produces a construction which is nearly identical, but with the more distal deictic pronoun *sin*: [**Nʲiːrʲ eː ʃɪnʲ eː**], or, in slightly emended Standard Irish orthography, *Nírbh é sin é!*.

We find two non-standard past tense constructions on Inis Mór. The female informant at Corrúch produces the construction *Nírbh 'iod é!* ([**nʲiːrʲ əd ɛː**]), while the female informant at An Sruthán produces a nearly identical construction, but substitutes a pronominal form based on the more distal deictic pronoun *sin*: *Nírbh 'in é!* ([**nʲiːrʲ ɪnʲ ˈɛː**]). Note that in both constructions the final segment of the copula is palatalised, just as it is on Inis Meáin.

All other examples in both Inis Mór and on Inis Oírr contain present tense constructions. On Inis Mór we have the Standard Irish present tense construction *Ní hé sin é!*, with the

more distal deictic pronoun *sin*, as well as the non-deictic construction *Ní hé!* from the male informant at Eochaill.

In contrast,we have the non-standard deictic construction *Ní shod é (é)!* from three other informants spread the length of the island from Bungabhla to Cill Éinne, and the related construction *Ní shin é é!*, with the deictic element based on the pronoun *sin*, from the female informant at Eoghanacht. The male informant at Corrúch characteristically bases his deictic form on the pronoun *seo*, producing *Ní shobh é!*.

On Inis Oírr, however, all three informants produce only the variant *Ní shod é (é)!*.

Note that once again, for both the deictic pronominal forms *siod* and *seo*, we are getting lenited, non-palatalised deictic forms in these non-standard negative deictic constructions.

As for reduplicated personal pronouns in the non-standard deictic constructions, we get the usual patterns of distribution for the present tense forms. On Inis Mór, we get the normal preponderance of reduplicated personal pronouns in western Inis Mór — but not this time in eastern Inis Mór, while in Inis Oírr, the older female informant alone reduplicates the personal pronoun.

It is worth noting, however, that in the two non-standard past tense constructions cited above for Inis Mór, *Nírbh 'iod é!* and *Nírbh 'in é!*, neither construction contains a reduplicated personal pronoun.

Turning to the second item, *Níorbh iad na cinn ... arbh iad?*, a negative past tense copulative construction with a tag question appended, we note that it is not, strictly speaking, a deictic construction, but it seems appropriate to discuss it here.

Starting with the copulative construction *Níorbh iad na cinn ...* at the beginning of the sentence, we note that of all the informants across the three islands, only the female informant in Inis Meáin has produced a negative copulative construction in the past tense, *Nírbh iad sin ....* Note that the final segment of the copula is palatalised: [**ɴ′iːrv′ iət ʃɪn′...**].

Two other informants have each produced a past tense copulative construction, but they are not negative constructions. Thus the male informant on Inis Oírr produces the positive deictic construction *B' in iad na rudaí ...* ([**b′ ɪn′ ɪd nə rʊdiˑ ...**]), while the male informant M 60 at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór has produced a similar construction: *B' od iad na cinn ...* ([**b ᵊd ɛd ɴə k′iːɴ′...**]). (Note that M 60 once again does not palatalise the copula.)

The difficulty with both these constructions is that it is impossible to tell from the segmental form of the construction itself whether an interrogative deictic construction (whether in the past or present tense) or a negative past tense deictic construction has been employed here. Sentence intonation would be required to distinguish the two constructions.

As for the simple present tense negative copulative constructions, we have only the example *Ní hiad na cinn ...* from F 43 at Bungabhla on Inis Mór and the example *Ní hiad na rudaí ...* from F 41 on Inis Oírr. (I interpret the form [**n′iː hiˑʳᵊd**] in F 41's example as a slip of the tongue.) Note, for what it is worth, that these are among the youngest of the female informants and that they both did their secondary schooling at Cill Rónáin at approximately the same time.

For the simple present tense positive copulative constructions, we have only the prob-

lematic construction *Is é na cinn . . . iad . . .* ([**ʃe nə kʹiːnʹ . . . ɛt . . .**]) from the elderly female informant at Eoghanacht, where a generalised personal pronoun *é* seems to have been used with the copula.

As for the other informants, the overwhelming majority of them across the three islands use present tense deictic constructions, whether negative or positive. Thus we have *Ní shin iad na cinn/rudaí . . .*, with the deictic pronoun lenited after the copula, from four informants across Inis Mór, along with the interesting construction *Ní shin na cuid . . .* from the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18.

As for positive present tense deictic constructions, we get the construction *Sin iad (na cinn/rudaí) . . .* from two male informants on Inis Mór and one on Inis Meáin.

As for the form of the tag question, we get only one Standard Irish construction from among all the informants across the three islands — the construction *. . . arbh iad?* from the female informant in Inis Meáin. We also get the past tense copula form *. . . arb iad?*, which is without lenition, along with the present tense form *. . . ab iad?*, from the female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór.

On the other hand, we get the form *. . . abh iad?* from the male informant M 55 on Inis Oírr, a form which has the lenition, but which seems to lack the past tense marker *r*. Could this form be the logical result of the simple lenition of the final segment of the present tense interrogative marker *ab*, used as the base form, in order to produce the past tense form? If this form is indeed formed by a productive rule of grammar employed by M 55, it is a rule which is apparently unique to him.

Otherwise, we find only the generalised non-standard present tense interrogative construction *. . . ab iad?* in use across all three islands. One exception is the use of the neutral personal pronoun in the construction *. . . ab ea?* by the youngest informant, F 18, in Inis Oírr, used perhaps in reference to the entire preceding sentence rather than to the subjects of the sentence. M 50 at Cill Rónáin produces a similar construction, *. . . ní hea*, perhaps as part of an internal dialog which replaces the tag question.

9.3 Negative Deictic Constructions in Subordinate Clauses

(The item discussed here is *. . . nárbh é seo é*)

The construction *. . . nárbh é seo é* is a negative past tense deictic construction embedded in a finite complementary clause. Examining the examples from informants across all three islands, we find not a single example of the Standard Irish construction in question. We do find a Standard Irish subordinate clause construction — that of the older female informant on Inis Oírr, but it is a present tense construction, *. . . nach é seo é*, not a past tense construction.

We have a past tense Standard Irish construction from the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, but it is a clause construction suitable for a main clause, not for a subordinate clause: *Dúirt sé ní hé . . . nírbh é seo é* ([**. . . nʹirʳvʹ e ʃə ʔeː**]). As in her examples cited earlier, *Dúirt sé siod é é* and *Dúirt sé ní shod é é*, F 43 omits the

complementiser and simply embeds the subordinate clause within the main clause. As mentioned earlier, this phenomenon may be a sign of linguistic change on Inis Mór.

Of the non-standard past tense constructions, we have the construction *... nárbh 'iod é* ([**... naˈrvʹ əd eː/ɛː**]) from two female informants on Inis Mór, F 70 at An Sruthán and F 72 at Corrúch, respectively. We also have the construction *... nár 'od é an áit* ([**... naˈr əd ɛ** ɴ̩ˈɑːtʹ]) from the male informant in Inis Oírr in which the past subordinate negative marker and the past marker are present, but in which the copula itself is not physically present.

Of the many non-standard present tense constructions given for this item, the construction *... nach shod é (é)* is by far the most prevalent, at least on Inis Mór. We have examples from four informants representing the area from Eoghanacht to Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór, along with various by-forms of the construction.

For example, we have the example *... ná shod é* ([**... nə həd eː e**]) from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce, which we have seen earlier in his example for the present tense counterpart of this construction. We also have the example *... nach chod é* ([**... nəx** ˈ**xəd æ**]) from the youngest informant, F 18, on Inis Oírr, with the excess friction exhibited in the initial segment of the deictic pronoun which we have already seen in her example for the present tense.

A further by-form is found in the examples *... nach b' iod é é* and *... nach b' iod é an áit é* from the female informant F 70 at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór, with the reduplication of the copula already seen in her examples — identical in form — for the present tense. The reduplication of the copula not only in these constructions but also in the construction *... nó nach é* also described earlier is characteristic of F 70's linguistic behaviour. Note that no lenition is attempted to distinguish this past tense construction from a present tense construction.

We also get the variant construction *... nach shobh é* ([**... nax həw ɛː**]) from the male informant at Corrúch in Inis Mór, a construction based on the deictic pronoun *seo*, and once again, highly consistent with his linguistic behaviour in regard to other items.

It is also worth mentioning the related present tense deictic constructions from the male informant on Inis Meáin, using a form of the more distal deictic pronoun *sin*. Thus we get *... nach 'in é é* and *... nach 'in an rud é*, with a copula and deictic pronoun identical in form to those given by him already in his examples for the present tense.

It is useful to note here that all these variant constructions for the present tense either lenite or elide the initial segment of the deictic pronoun following the copula.

As for the reduplicated person pronoun in the non-standard deictic constructions, we find patterns of distribution very similar to what we have seen for other items. On Inis Mór, the female informant at Eoghanacht and the male informant at Fearann an Choirce in western Inis Mór and the male informant at Eochaill and the female informant at Cill Éinne in eastern Inis Mór reduplicate the personal pronoun.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant also reduplicates the personal pronoun, but on Inis Oírr the youngest female informant does not.

Chapter 10

Identificatory Copulative Constructions with Human Subjects

10.1 Declarative Constructions: Present Tense

(The item discussed here is *Is é Sean é*)

Beginning on Inis Mór with the the construction *Is é Seán é*, we find this Standard Irish construction attested by only two informants, whereas a similar construction without the final pronoun, *Is é Seán*, is attested by four informants, so that we might say that the non-standard construction without the final pronoun seems to occur twice as often on Inis Mór as the Standard Irish construction, with the personal pronoun echoed at the end of the construction. This impression is strengthened by the one informant who attests both construction types, the male informant at Eochaill, since he presents two examples of the non-standard construction *Is é Seán* and only one example of the Standard Irish construction *Is é Seán é*.

As for other constructions, all the informants produce examples with deictic constructions. Thus we have constructions such as *Seo é Seán!*, *Seobh é Seán!*, *Siod é Seán!*, and *Sin é Seán!* rather randomly distributed among informants across the island. It is worth noting the lenition of the deictic pronoun *sin* by the male informant at Corrúch in his example *Shin é Seán!* ([**hɪnʲ eˠ ʃɑːn**]) in addition to the unlenited deictic pronoun in his other deictic construction *Sin é Seán!*.

We also get a single example of a fronted copulative construction in a cleft sentence from the female informant at Corrúch in her example *Is é Seán atá ann.*

Moving east to Inis Meáin, we have only one construction type each from both informants. We have the Standard Irish construction *Is é Seán é* from the female informant and the deictic construction *Sin é Seán!* from the male informant.

On Inis Oírr, we have the deictic construction *Seo é Seán!* from the older female infor-

mant, and the deictic construction *Shod é Seán!*, with the initial consonant of the deictic pronoun lenited but not palatalised, from her husband. The youngest female informant, F 18, for her part, gives us an abbreviated cleft construction with the copula and following personal pronoun omitted in her example *Ó . . . Seán atá ann.*

10.2 Interrogative Constructions: Present Tense

(The items discussed here are *An í an bhean . . . ?* and *An iad na mná . . . ?*)

Turning now to the interrogative copulative construction *An í an bhean . . . ?*, we note only one instance of the Standard Irish construction, that given by M 50 at Cill Rónáin, who is, of course, headmaster of the vocational school on the island. All the examples from the other informants are variants of the non-standard deictic construction *Ab 'in í an bhean . . . ?* We note the example *Ab 'in í bhean . . . ?* from the female informant at Cill Éinne from which the personal pronoun seems to have been omitted, but I suspect that this is simply subvocalisation of the definite article in rapid speech. We may also dismiss the first example from the male informant at Corrúch as a slip of the tongue, corrected immediately after with the second example.

More interesting are the two examples of the construction *An b' in í an bhean . . . ?* from F 43 at Bungabhla, an apparently hypercorrect construction in which the interrogative marker *an* has partially replaced the non-standard interrogative marker *ab*. Since she is the youngest informant on Inis Mór, this could be another sign of generational change.

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we note what appears to be the expected Standard Irish construction from the female informant, but on closer inspection we note that the personal pronoun is a generalised pronoun *é* instead of the expected feminine pronoun *í*: *An é an bhean . . . ?*. As for the male informant, he produces the non-standard deictic construction *Ab 'in í an bhean . . . ?*.

On Inis Oírr, all three informants produce variants of the non-standard construction *Ab 'in í an bhean . . . ?*, but the youngest informant, F 18, again uses the generalised personal pronoun *é* instead of the expected feminine pronoun *í*: *Ab 'in é an bhean . . . ?*.

Turning to the next item, the interrogative construction *An iad na mná . . . ?*, and beginning again on Inis Mór, it is M 50 at Cill Rónáin again who gives us the sole example of the Standard Irish construction on Inis Mór. All the other informants produce either the non-standard deictic construction *Ab 'iod iad na mná . . . ?* or the construction *Ab 'in iad na mná . . . ?* in apparently random fashion.

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, it is again the female informant who produces the relatively Standard Irish deictic construction *An iad sin na mrá . . . ?*, while the male informant again produces the non-standard counterpart: *Ab 'in iad na mná/mrá . . . ?*.

On Inis Oírr, the older female informant attempts the Standard Irish construction, but note that she omits the definite article: *An iad mná . . . ?*. I suspect, however, that this is simply a slip of the tongue or subvocalisation, since nothing else in the data suggests that she omits definite articles in such linguistic contexts.

She also produces two examples of the non-standard interrogative deictic construction

Ab 'in iad na mná/mrá . . . ?, and her husband produces a single example of the same construction: *Ab 'in iad na mrá . . . ?*. The youngest informant, F 18, however, in producing the same construction, omits the personal pronoun in both her examples: *Ab 'in na mrá . . . ?*.

10.3 Negative Constructions: Present Tense

(The item discussed here is *. . . Ní hé an tríú fear*)

Turning to the last of the present tense constructions, the negative construction *Ní hé an tríú fear*, we find little to surprise us in the responses of the informants across all three islands. The few deviations from the expected pattern have to do entirely with the personal pronoun.

For example, the male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór seems to be using a feminine pronoun in his example *Ní hí an tríobha duine*, though it is possible to imagine a feminine subject in that specific linguistic context. Similarly, the female informant on Inis Meáin does the same in her example *Ní hí an tríú fear*, though it is entirely possible that the short high front vowel ([ɪ̄] in the former case and [ɪ] in the latter case) has simply been misperceived by the investigator or is a product of lax articulation in both cases.

However, in the case of the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18, her omission of the personal pronoun in this context is clear. Thus, she produces the construction *Ní an tríú duine*, which apparently lacks a personal pronoun — unless we conceive of a feminine subject and a pronoun *í* with the initial segment *h* elided and the vowel of the pronoun merged with that of the negative marker. Though this is possible in that specific linguistic context, with the relatively genderless referent *duine*, it is unlikely, since her omission of the personal pronoun is echoed in other examples of hers, as we have just seen and as we shall see further.

10.4 Declarative Constructions: Past Tense

(The item discussed here is *B'é Seán é*)

Turning now to the past tense declarative construction *B' é Seán é*, and beginning once again in Inis Mór, we note the relatively Standard Irish construction *Ba é Seán é* ([**bʷə eː ʃɑːn ɛ**]), with the vowel of the copula unelided before the vowel of the following personal pronoun, from the female informant at Corrúch. We get a similar form, but with the palatal central approximant [**j**] as a sandhi form before the personal pronoun, from her neighbour, the male informant at Fearann an Choirce: *Ba j-é Seán* ([**biːj eː ʃɑːn**]).

We get a similar copula with a [**j**] augment in a cleft construction from the female informant at Eoghanacht: *Ba j-é Seán a chonaic mé inné* ([**buːj eː ʃɑːn . . .**]). Her neighbour to the east, the female informant at An Sruthán, gives us a further example of the [**j**] augment in her example *B' ij-é* ([**bʲij ˈeː**]). Note, however, that she palatalises the

copula, as does M 50 at Cill Rónáin in his copulative construction, also with a [**j**] augment: *B' ij-é Seán* ([**bʹiː eˑ ʃɑːN**]).

On the other hand, the easternmost informant on Inis Mór, F 70 at Cill Éinne, chooses to reduplicate the copula and lenite it in her two constructions: *Ba bh' é Seán é* ([**bəvʹ ˈeː ˈʃɑːN ɛ**]) and *Ba bh' é Seán* ([**bəvʹ ˈeː ʃɑːn**]).

Other informants give present tense constructions, some in cleft constructions in which the embedded relative clause establishes the past time frame — *Is é Seán a bhí ann* (from F 43 at Bungabhla)/*Is é Seán a chonaic mé inné* (from M 82 at Corrúch), and others in simple declarative sentences who give no indication of the past time frame — *Is é Seán é* (from F 73 at Eoghanacht and again from M 82 at Corrúch) and *Is é é* (from M 68 at Eochaill).

As for the use of the final personal pronoun in such constructions, note that we get three examples of past tense constructions without the final pronoun: *Ba j-é Seán* from M 60 at Fearann an Choirce, *B' ij-é Seán* (with a palatalised copula) from M 50 at Cill Rónáin, and *Ba bh' é Seán* from F 70 at Cill Éinne, though she produces a another example with such a final pronoun: *Ba bh' é Seán é*. Interestingly enough, we encounter no simple present tense constructions lacking the final personal pronoun in response to this item.

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we get the construction *Ba j-é Seán é* ([**bʊj ˈeː ˈʃɑːN ɛ**]) from the male informant, as well as two examples of the shorter construction *Ba j-é* ([**buj/bʊj ˈe**]) — all with the [**j**] augment. The female informant, on the other hand, prefers to reduplicate the copula and to lenite and palatalise the reduplicated form: [**bəvʹ ˈeː ˌʃɑːN eː**]. Note that their behaviour here is consistent with their behaviour in response to earlier items.

In regard to Inis Oírr, we note the relatively Standard Irish past tense construction *B' é Seán a bhí ann* ([**bʹ eː ʃɑːN...**]), with a palatalised copula, as well as the present tense construction *Is é Seán a bhí ann*, from the older female informant.

The youngest informant, F 18, produces a similar past tense construction, but without the personal pronoun following the copula: *Ba Seán (a) bhí ann.* As we have seen in regard to the present tense copulative constructions, the omission of the copula in that syntactic position is characteristic of F 18.

As for the male informant, he produces a present tense construction, but without the final personal pronoun: *Is é Seán.* Thus, this omission of the echo-pronoun in such third person constructions is widespread on Inis Mór and perhaps on Inis Oírr, but apparently does not occur on Inis Meáin.

10.5 Interrogative Constructions: Past Tense

(The item discussed here is *Arbh é Seán é?*)

Turning now to the past tense interrogative construction *Arbh é Seán é?*, and beginning in Inis Mór, we encounter two examples of the construction *Arb é Seán é?* ([**əʳbʹ eː ʃɑːN ɛ/ ɛʳbʹ ɛ ˈʃɑːN ɛ**]) from the female informants at Corrúch and at Cill Éinne, respectively,

in eastern Inis Mór. Note that the final segment of the copula is palatalised but not lenited.[1]

We note also the construction *Ar é Seán é?* ([**r e ʃɑːɴ ɛ**]) from M 50 at Cill Rónáin, a past form which seems to have a zero copula and which recalls his past tense construction *Ar 'iod é?* ([**rʲ ə d ɛ**]). This usage contrasts with his use of the generalised non-standard interrogative copulative form *ab* in his example *... b' é Seán é ...* in the next item, as well as in his examples for the present tense deictic forms. Note that in this instance, with the interrogative particle before the personal pronoun *é* rather than before the deictic element *'iod*, the final segment of the interrogative particle is not palatalised.

We also get the generalised non-standard interrogative copulative form *ab* in interrogative constructions from a number of other informants on Inis Mór, such as *Ab é Seán a bhí ann?* from F 43 at Bungabhla (which establishes the past time in the embedded relative clause) and *Ab é Seán é?*, which does not unambiguously establish the past time, from the female informant at Eoghanacht as well as from the male informants at Corrúch and at Eochaill.

We also get the temporally ambiguous deictic form *B' in é Seán?* from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce and the construction *B' ij-é Seán?* (with question intonation and a palatalised copula before the [**j**] augment) from the female informant at An Sruthán.

Of particular interest is the construction *Ar Seán atá i gceist?* from the same female informant at An Sruthán, a construction which omits the personal pronoun as well as the copula after the interrogative particle.

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we have no examples of the past tense interrogative copulative construction. Instead, we have the present tense constructions *An é Seán é ...* and *An é Seán a tháinig?* from the female informant. Note that the interrogative particle *an* in both examples is once again unpalatalised before the mid front vowel of the following personal pronoun.

From the male informant we have only the declarative sentence *Ba j-e* ([**buj ˈeː**]), with the [**j**] augment.

On Inis Oírr, we get the construction *Ab é Seán a bhí ann?* from the older female informant, but from her husband we get the anomalous construction which I interpret as *Ab é, a Sheáin?* ([**ᵊbʲ ˈeː xʲɑːnʲ**]), apparently a result of interpreting the stimulus question as *Was it, Seán?*.

The youngest informant, F 18, offers a cleft sentence, but she characteristically omits the personal pronoun: *A' Seán a bhí ann?* (= *Ar Seán a bhí ann?*). Note the reduction of the interrogative particle to the weak neutral vowel [**ᵊ**].

As for constructions lacking the final personal pronoun, we get the aforementioned example *B' ij-é Seán?* (with question intonation) from the female informant at An Sruthán, and the example *Ab é Seán?* from the male informant at Eochaill, along with another example with the final pronoun. Outside of these two examples from Inis Mór, however, we have no examples from the other two islands.

10.6 Disjunctive Constructions: Past Tense

(The item discussed here is *... arbh é Seán é nó nárbh é*)

[1] This is a variant of the past tense copula we have already noted. Recall, for example, that for the item *Arbh é seo é?*, we got [**ərbʲ ˈeː ʃə ˈeː eː**] and [**ərbʲ eː ʃo ...**] from the male informant in Inis Meáin.

Let us turn now to the final item, another disjunctive interrogative copulative construction embedded in a larger sentence framework: *Ní raibh a fhios agam arbh é Seán é nó nárbh é.* It seems best once again to examine separately both substructures of the disjunction.

Examining first the substructure *... arbh é Seán é ...*, we note that not a single informant across all three islands has used the Standard Irish past tense construction. Instead, nearly all informants use the general non-standard interrogative construction *... ab é Seán (é) ...*, though the female informant at Eoghanacht on Inis Mór lenites the final segment of the copula variant: *... abh é Seán ...* ([əvʲ eː ʃɑːn...]). Also, the female informant at Corrúch seems not to palatalise the final segment.

On Inis Meáin, once again our attention is drawn to the female informant, who yet again uses the Standard Irish present tense construction *... an é Seán é.* Note once again that she does not palatalise the final segment of the interrogative particle *an* before the mid front vowel of the following personal pronoun.

On Inis Oírr, it is the youngest informant, F 18, who captures our attention with her example *... Seán a bhí ann ...*, embedded in the larger structure *Ní raibh a fhios a'm Seán a bhí ann nó nach ea.* It is likely that her example contains a sub-vocalised interrogative particle (see her example in the preceding item), but it is certain that it does not contain a personal pronoun.

As for omitting final personal pronouns in such constructions (representing *... arbh é Seán é ...*) across the three islands, we get a cluster of examples from four informants representing an area from Eoghanacht to Corrúch in Inis Mór — three examples of *... ab é Seán ...* and the example given above: *... abh é Seán ....*

Elsewhere on Inis Mór, including M 82's example at Corrúch, and on Inis Meáin, we encounter examples with the final pronoun. On Inis Oírr, all three informants embed the construction in a cleft construction within the larger sentence: *Ab é Seán a bhí ann nó nach é*, etc.

Turning now to the second substructure of the disjunction, the construction *... nó nárbh é*, we encounter only a single example of the Standard Irish construction — that of the female informant at An Sruthán on Inis Mór. Otherwise the most widely encountered construction across the three islands is the present tense construction *... nó nach é*, though the youngest informant, F 18 on Inis Oírr, uses the neutral pronoun *ea* instead of *é*, possibly to negate the entire preceding clause rather than the subject only.

Most strikingly, however, we again encounter a feature which distinguishes Inis Mór clearly from the other two islands — the insertion of the segment *b*, representing a reduplicated copula, between the negative marker and the personal pronoun. Thus we get the construction *... nó nach b' é* from four informants stretching the length of Inis Mór, though three of them are located in the east.[2] The female informant at Corrúch, the male informant at Eochaill, and the female informant at Cill Éinne all produce examples. The youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, is the only informant in western Inis Mór to show

[2]Note the negative tag question *... nach b'ea?*, heard by MacDara Ó Conaola in the year 2005 from a middle-aged male speaker from An Sruthán in western Inis Mór. The form struck MacDara as unusual, and so he volunteered the example spontaneously to me. Note again that all the examples of such reduplicated negative copular forms come from Inis Mór.

the feature, but, as mentioned earlier, she is the daughter-in-law of the female informant at Cill Éinne and has been living in Cill Rónáin since she married.

Chapter 11

Miscellaneous Interrogative Copulative Constructions

Of the four interrogative constructions to be discussed here, three of them can be considered locative constructions in form if not always in function. All three begin with the locative interrogative element *cá* as part of the interrogative headword: *Cárb as é/dó?*, *Cárbh as é/dó?*, and *Cá bhfios duit?*. The fourth, and unrelated, construction, *Cén cineál cóta é?*, will be left for the last part of the discussion.

11.1 Locative Constructions: Present Tense

Starting with the first item, the construction *Cárb as é/dó?*, the example which most closely approaches the Standard Irish construction in form is that of the female informant on Inis Meáin: *Céarb as dó?* ([**kʹɛrb ˈæːs doˑ**]). We also get the construction *Cé'b as é?* ([**kʹeb aːs ɛ**]), with the *r* segment elided in the interrogative particle, from the male informant at Eochaill on Inis Mór and its close equivalent ([**kʹɛb aːs ɛ**]), with a lax mid-front vowel in the particle, from the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18.

From all the other informants across the three islands, we get only the construction *Cé as é?*, though the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór offers us an alternative construction as well, *Cé as dó?*, a construction which recalls the example just mentioned from the female informant on Inis Meáin.[1]

It is worth noting that the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, separates the final vowel of the interrogative particle from the initial vowel of the preposition *as* with a glottal stop: [**kʹeˑ ʔæˑs eˑ**]. On the other hand, the male informant at Fearann an Choirce does the opposite, eliding the final vowel of the interrogative particle, thus effectively merging the two forms: [**kʹ æːs ɛ̯/ kʹ æːs ə hɑːnʹɪgʹ ʃɛ**].

[1] Note that the preposition *dó* is unlenited in both cases.

11.2 Locative Constructions: Past Tense

Turning to the next item, the construction *Cárbh as é/dó?*, the past tense counterpart to the previous item, we again find no Standard Irish variant in the responses of the informants across all three islands. We do, however, get the construction *Céarbh as dó?* ([**kʹeːrv ˈæːs doː**]) from the female informant on Inis Meáin, again with the preposition *dó* unlenited.

This time, however, we get the synonymous construction *Céarbh as é?* from four informants on Inis Mór, spread the length of the island, as well as from the male informant, M 70, in Inis Meáin. The phonetic quality of the final segment in the interrogative form differs considerably, however, from informant to informant. We get the realisation [**kʹeːrv**], with a relatively tense labiodental fricative, from the female informants at Eoghanacht and at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór.[2]

On the other hand, we get the realisation [**kʹeˑrw**], with a more lenis final segment, from both the male informant at Corrúch in Inis Mór and from the male informant on Inis Meáin, and a realisation, [**kʹeːru**] with a final segment lenited to the point of vocalisation, from the female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór.

We get a closely related variant of this form from the older female informant in Inis Oírr, who produces the form *céirbh* ([**kʹeːrvʹ**]), with the final segment clearly palatalised.

In addition to these ostensibly past tense forms, we also get forms which we have seen used in present tense contexts. For instance, we get the interrogative form *céarb*, with the final segment unlenited, from the female informant at An Sruthán on Inis Mór and from the younger female informant on Inis Oírr, both in the construction *Céarb as é?*.[3]

In both cases, it is possible to see a contrast in forms between the present tense construction and the past tense construction, though it is impossible to say whether such a contrast exists in the minds of the informants. For instance, the female informant at An Sruthán uses the construction *Cé as é?* for the present tense construction and the construction *Céarb as é?* for the past tense counterpart, while the younger female informant on Inis Oírr uses *Cé'b as é?* for the present tense and *Céarb as é?* for the past tense counterpart.

In addition to the last mentioned form, we have also the more analytic construction *Cé ba as é?* ([**kʹeˑ bə ʔæs e**]) from the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, in which the very obvious past tense copula is separated from the following preposition by a glottal stop.

Notwithstanding the past temporal context, we get a few examples of the present tense form *Cé as . . . ?* in various constructions. We get the misleading construction *Cé as é?* from the male informant on Inis Oírr and the constructions *Cé as a tháinig sé?* and *Cé as a' fear a cailleadh?*.[4] In the case of the last two examples, the following relative clause establishes the temporal context.

[2]Recall also the example given above by the female informant on Inis Meáin.

[3]The female informant on Inis Meáin also starts to produce a similar construction but then substitutes the aforementioned construction *Céarbh as dó?* for it.

[4]From the male informants at Fearann an Choirce and at Cill Rónáin, respectively, on Inis Mór.

11.3 The Interrogative Construction *Cá bhfios duit?*

Turning now to the next item, the construction *Cá bhfios duit?*, we note several examples of the Standard Irish construction, mainly on Inis Mór but with one example from Inis Meáin. If we grade the examples according to the phonological reduction of the second element of the construction, we get [**ˈkɑː wɪs ˌdɪtʃ ɛˑ**] (from M 68 at Eochaill in Inis Mór), [**kɑ wəs dɪtʃ**] (from M 50 at Cill Rónáin in Inis Mór), [**kʌ w[ə]s ˈdɪtʲ**] (from F 70 at An Srutháin on Inis Mór), and [**kaᵘs dɪtʲ**] (from M 70 on Inis Meáin). It is interesting that most of the examples come from male informants.[5]

As for the other informants, all opt for variants of the construction *Cén chaoi a bhfuil a fhios agat(sa) (é)?*. There is little of interest in most of the minor variation observed in the various examples, but it is worth noting that the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43, inserts the complementiser *go* after the interrogative phrase *Cén chaoi . . . ?* in her example *Cén chaoi go bhfuil a fhios a'ts' é?*.

It is also worth noting the phonological reduction of the second element of the construction in the example given by the elderly female informant at Eoghanacht on Inis Mór — [**kʲɛ xu wɪlʲ . . .**], and its total elision in the example from the youngest female informant on Inis Oírr: [**kʲ wʊlʲ . . .**]. Note also the elision of the final segment *n* from the interrogative form *cén* by all the informants who employ the construction. As for the spirantisation of the initial segment in the example [**xʲɛ̃ ʰʷ iˑ . . .**] from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce, I regard that as a slip of the tongue.

11.4 The Interrogative Construction *Cén cineál cóta é?*

Turning to the final item, the construction *Cén cineál cóta é?*, I have included this item chiefly because of a strange tautological doublet which occurs in the examples of several informants. Beyond relatively uninteresting constructions such as *Cén cineál cóta é?* and *Cén sórt cóta é?*, we also encounter the odd construction *Cén sórt cineál cóta é?*, with the two lexical items *sórt* and *cineál* paired in that unique sequence. Thus we get the construction *Cé' sórt cineál cóta é?* from the female informant at An Sruthán on Inis Mór and the similar construction *Cén sórt cineál cóta é sin?* from the male informant on Inis Oírr. We get an unexpected third example in the construction *Cén sórt cineál oibre . . . ?* from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór in sentence I.30.

As for distributional patterns regarding the individual lexical items *sórt* and *cineál* themselves, usage of both terms seems rather mixed in western Inis Mór, but eastern Inis Mór from Eochaill to Cill Éinne shows only examples of the lexical item *sórt*. The item *cineál* reappears on Inis Meáin, to the exclusion of the term *sórt*, while on Inis Oírr all three informants use the term *sórt* to the complete exclusion of *cineál*.[6]

[5] Note once again that the prepositional form *duit* is not lenited by any informant.

[6] Though we are tempted to see lexical isoglosses here and to ascribe the lexical variant *sórt* to eastern Inis Mór, the variant *cineál* to Inis Meáin, and the variant *sórt* to Inis Oírr, it would be hazardous to extrapolate on the basis of such a small lexical sample.

One arresting construction, unique in the whole sample, is the expression [**kʹɛdos**], elicited from the male informant in Inis Meáin after prompting him with the Cois Fharraige form *céardós*. Since it does not occur spontaneously in the elicited sentences, however, it cannot be said that the term is normally used on Inis Meáin.

Another construction, *Cén é?* ([**kʹɛnʹ** ˈ**ɛ**]) for the phrase *Céard é?*, is, however, used by this same informant in another context, sentence I.18, and is perhaps worthy of further investigation.

Another phenomenon perhaps worth noting is that of phonological reduction of the form *cén* in the phrases discussed above. The final segment *n* is dropped in roughly half the examples, and the vowel in such instances is usually shortened and/or laxed to [**ɛ**]. It is surprising, therefore, to encounter the example [**kʹeː soˑrt koːt eː**], where the final segment *n* of the article is completely elided, but where the vowel is neither shortened, laxed or nasalised.

An example of extreme phonological reduction is that found in the first two elements of the construction [**kʹ sʌ koːt ɛ**] (= *Cén sórt cóta é?*) from the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18. We have already seen a similar phonological reduction in her example [**kʹ wʊlʹ . . .**] in the previous item.

A final item which is completely unrelated to the matter at hand but which occurs spontaneously in the sample from the female informant in Inis Meáin is the sequence *An ea? Á, sea!* [**nʹ æ. . . ɑː sʹæ**]. Here we have the use of the Standard Irish interrogative particle which is characteristic of her, but in this example, before the neuter pronoun *ea*, the final segment of the article is palatalised. Secondly, we have an example of the palatalised voiceless grooved alveolar fricative [**sʹ**] in place of the voiceless palato-alveolar central laminal fricative [**ʃ**]. This alternative phonological segment is used by at least some speakers on Inis Meáin.

Part III

Grammatical Variation in Noun Phrases

Chapter 12

Nominal Inflection

12.1 Singular Nouns in the Vocative Case

(The items discussed here are *a Sheáin!* and *. . . a Mháire!*)

Both examples of singular nouns in the two items to be discussed in this section are proper nouns in the vocative case, that is, personal names of individuals, whereas both examples of plural nouns discussed in the following section are common nouns, that is, kinds or types of entities, but which are used in these instances in the vocative case. In a way, therefore, we are mixing categories as we examine the singular and plural forms of the noun in the vocative case, but I believe that the use of both categories of noun in the items of both sections is natural enough and will yield a coherent picture of the vocative in Aran Irish.

The first item, the vocative phrase *a Sheáin!*, is used in relative isolation or in sentence-initial position in all three sentences in which it occurs. Looking over the data for all three islands, we note the nearly universal use of the vocative form *a Sheáin!*, with a very few notable exceptions. F 43 at Bungabhla on Inis Mór uses the nominative/accusative form *Seán!* in three of her four examples, and F 18 in Inis Oírr uses *Seán!* in all three of her examples.

Since these two informants are among the youngest of the sample, we might ascribe the use of a form which is identical to the English form of the name to their greater use of English, especially in hailing someone by their proper noun. In other words, when the form is not embedded in the middle or at the end of an Irish sentence, pure habit may induce them to use the English form in an Irish context. What, then, can we make of the use of the same form, *Seán!*, in half of her examples by the elderly female informant F 70 at Cill Éinne?

Here again, I believe we can invoke the habitual use of English to explain the use of the English form. The informant was born at Cill Éinne, but has lived in Cill Rónáin all her married life, and it is Cill Rónáin first and foremost which has always been identified with English on Inis Mór. In fact, in the opinion of the islanders, the inhabitants of Cill Rónáin were even more inclined toward English forty years ago than they are now. One would thus

expect much more bilingualism from a woman who married into a household in Cill Rónáin.

The second example, on the contrary, contains a vocative phrase, *a Mháire!*, embedded in a sentence-medial position in the sentence *Téigh abhaile, a Mháire, agus gabhfaidh muide ar ball.* In this case, as predicted, we have absolutely uniform use of the vocative phrase *a Mháire!* by all informants across all three islands. Only the youngest informant, F 18 on Inis Oírr, attracts our attention through her use of rather tense labio-fricative consonants: [**gə vaːlʹɛ vɑːrʹɛ . . .**].

In sum, in regard to proper nouns in the vocative case, there is little evidence of the decay of the vocative inflection, outside of the exclusive use of the nominative/accusative form of a proper name for males by a representative of the youngest generation, F 18 on Inis Oírr. In other words, all the other informants in nearly all cases both lenite the initial consonant of the noun and palatalise its final consonant. There is no sign here of the reported practice of simply leniting the initial consonant and leaving the final consonant unpalatalised, e.g., *a Sheán!*.

However, in dealing with a proper noun for females, embedded in sentence-medial position, even F 18 conforms to the norm, leniting the initial consonant of the proper name as required in Standard Irish.

12.2 Plural Nouns in the Vocative Case

(The items discussed here are *a ghasúra!* and *. . . a fheara!*)

As mentioned above, the plural nouns in the vocative case in both items here are common nouns, representing kinds or types of entities.

In the first item, the vocative phrase *a ghasúra!* is in roughly sentence-initial position in the three sentences in which it occurs, but its position seems to make little difference to regard to the form of the noun. No informant uses the vocative plural suffix *-a*; all informants across all three islands simply employ the nominative/accusative plural noun form, and, with a single exception, all lenite the initial consonant after the vocative particle, which may or may not be audible. Thus, the form encountered from nearly every informant is *a ghasúir!*.

The single exception is F 18 on Inis Oírr, the youngest informant in the entire sample. She produces the unlenited example *Gasúir!*.[1]

The vocative construction based on the lexical item *gasúr* competes with one based on the lexical item *páiste*, but the vocative construction based on the lexical item *gasúr* is clearly dominant on Inis Mór, with only the female informant at An Sruthán using *a pháistí!* exclusively and the female informant at Cill Éinne using both forms.

On Inis Meáin, vocative phrases based on both lexical items are co-dominant, while on Inis Oírr, a vocative phrase based on *páiste* is used exclusively by M 55 and F 41, who represent the older generation, and one based on *gasúr* is the only one used by F 18.

As for the form of the noun in the construction which contains the lexical item *páiste*, again we encounter a nearly universal form in vocative phrases across all three islands, *a*

[1] Nevertheless, it must be noted that at the time of elicitation, she protested that "We wouldn't really say *Gasúir!*", a fact which tends to invalidate the example!

pháistí!, with lenition of the initial consonant after a vocative particle which may or may not be audible.[2]

The second item, the vocative phrase *a fheara!*, with another plural noun as head of the phrase, is embedded in the salutation *Dia daoibh, a fheara!*. This item is represented far more sparsely, with only five examples scattered across Inis Mór and two examples from Inis Oírr. We have no examples from Inis Meáin.

Beginning with Inis Mór, we get the Standard Irish vocative phrase *a fheara!* from F 70 at An Sruthán and from M 50 at Cill Rónáin. F 70's example is interesting in that she uses a glottal stop to separate the vowel of the vocative particle from that of the lenited vocative plural noun form: [**ə ʔærə**].

On the other hand, M 60 at Fearann an Choirce uses what seems to be the old dative plural ending in both his examples in order to represent the vocative plural ending: */a/ fhearaibh!* ([**æːrᵊvʲ**])/*/a/ fhearaib!* ([**æːrʲbʲ**]).[3]

M 82 at Corrúch, however, produces a form */a/ fhir!*, which appears to be a vocative singular form, but in this relatively unambiguous sentence context, the form seems to be intended as a vocative plural form, formed by using the plural nominative/accusative form *fir* as base form and simply leniting the initial consonant to form the vocative plural, as in the previous item.

The two examples of */a/ fheara!*, from the two female informants on Inis Oírr, are straightforward representations of the Standard Irish form, but it is worth noting that the younger of the two, F 18, is using the Standard Irish form here, including lenition of the initial consonant, despite her examples discussed earlier.

In sum, it appears that the vocative plural suffix *-a* is not in productive use in any of the Aran Islands. The use of that suffix with the lexical item *fear*, however, is widespread, but that variant may simply be a fossilised form conserved in a high-frequency lexical item. Otherwise, it seems to be the case that the vocative plural is normally represented by a plural nominative/accusative noun form with a lenited initial consonant and preceded by the often inaudible vocative particle *a*. It seems equally clear, however, that more documentation is needed to establish this as fact.

12.3 Genitival Constructions with an Indefinite Head Noun

(The items discussed here are *glac/mám fhataí, scian coise duibhe* and *níos mó spáis*.)

We now turn to forms of nouns in genitival constructions, beginning with those genitival constructions which have an indefinite noun as head of the construction.

Beginning with the first item, the phrase *glac fhataí* or *mám fhataí*, and starting on Inis Mór, we note the relatively Standard Irish construction *lán mo dhorna de fhataí* ([**ʟɑːN mə ɣaᵘrNə ɟɛ ʔatiˈ**]) from M 50 at Cill Rónáin, with the nominal qualifier, however, exhibiting

[2] In this instance, the exception to the lenition rule is the female informant in Inis Meáin, who does not lenite the initial consonant in one of the two examples she produces with this lexical variant.

[3] Note the absence of lenition in the final segment of the second example.

the Class Three genitival inflection with the terminal vowel *-a* instead of the expected Class One form *dhoirn*, with a palatalised final consonant.[4] Note also the uncharacteristic Standard Irish phonetic shape of the preposition *de* in the partitive construction as well as the unusual glottal stop separating the final vowel of the preposition from the vowel of the following nominal form.[5]

The male informant at Eochaill gives a response more characteristic of linguistic usage on Inis Mór with his phrase *lán glaice g'fhataí* ([**ʟɑːN gʟɛkʲɛ g aːtiː**]), with a prepositional form based on the form *go* and elision of the final vowel of the preposition. His neighbour to the east, the female informant at Cill Éinne, uses a very similar construction in her response *lán mo 'laice go fataí* ([**ʟɑːN mə ʟɛkʲɛ gə fatiˑ**]). In her case, however, she elides the initial velar consonant of the noun *glaice* instead of simply leniting it, but fails to lenite the initial consonant of the noun *fataí* after the prepositional form.

Her daughter-in-law, F 43, born in Bungabhla but resident in Cill Rónáin since her marriage, gives a very similar response in which she also fails to lenite the initial consonant of the noun after the prepositional form *go*: *lán láimhe go fataí* ([**ʟɑːN ʟɑːvʲɛ gə faˑtiˑ**]). The male informant at Fearann an Choirce, after offering *lán mo bhoise-se*, also gives his version of the same expression, *lán mo 'laic' 'a bhfataí* ([**ʟɑːn mə ʟəkʲ ə vʲæˑti**]). Note that he also elides the initial consonant of *glaice* instead of simply leniting it, but instead of leniting the initial consonant of *fataí* after the prepositional form *go*, he eclipses it.[6]

The other informants on Inis Mór give shorter phrases, without an accompanying partitive construction. The female informant at Eoghanacht gives *glaic fhataí*, using the old dative form of the noun *glac* as a nominative form. Her immediate neighbour to the east, the female informant at An Sruthán, makes two false starts before producing the phrase *mam fataí*, in which the initial consonant of the nominal qualifier *fataí* is not lenited, despite modifying a feminine head noun. Her neighbour slightly further to the east, the male informant at Corrúch, produces the identical phrase, *mam fataí*, while his sister produces a slight variant, *mam pataí*, perhaps through a slip of the tongue.

It is worth noting that the head noun *mam*, evidently representing the Standard Irish noun *mám*, contains the low central vowel [**aː**] or [**aːᵊ**] in all three cases. It is possible that this common noun is a hypercorrect form modelled on the noun *am*, with the vowel fronted slightly, as a reaction against the tendency in Connemara to back the vowel in the noun *am* and in similar forms. On the other hand, the vowel in the noun *mám*, meaning "mountain pass", representing something found in Connemara but not in Aran, retains its low back position in Aran Irish.[7]

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we again encounter the longer construction, containing a genitival noun phrase followed by a partitive prepositional phrase. Thus the male informant gives us *lán glaice g' fhataí* ([**ʟɑːŋ gʟɪkʲɛ g aˑtiˑ**]), while the female informant gives us *lán*

[4] In fact, as shown by the responses of M 82 and F 72 to Item 455 of the *LASID* questionnaire administered in Corrúch, the form *dorna* on Inis Mór seems to be an invariable form used in both the nominative and genitive cases.

[5] Once again it is worth recalling that M 50, as headmaster of the vocational school in Cill Rónáin, would be quite familiar with Standard Irish prepositional forms.

[6] An alternative explanation for the eclipsis would be to interpret the prepositional phrase as the phrase *i bhfataí*, with the preposition *i*, requiring eclipsis in the following noun, but such an expression strikes me as a bit bizarre.

[7] For this and similar examples, see the section on the fronting of low back vowels in the section on phonology.

mo láimh go fhataí ([**ʟɑːɴ mə ʟaʲvʲ gə ʔætiˑ**]), with the noun *lámh* apparently not in the genitive case but, again, in what appears to be the dative case. This is in fact an invariable nominal form in the nominative/accusative case but it takes its shape from the old dative case.[8] Note also the use of the glottal stop by the female informant to separate the vowel of the preposition *go* from the initial vowel of the following noun.[9]

Moving now to Inis Oírr, we note short responses without a partitive construction from all three informants. The male informant gives us *glaicín beag fataí* ([**gʟækʲiːnʲ bʲɛg faːtiː**]), while his wife gives us a similar form, but without the diminutive suffix, without a qualifying adjective and with the old dative form once again used in the nominative/accusative case: *glaic fataí* (['**gʟɛkʲ faːtiː**]). The youngest informant, F 18, on the other hand, gives a more standard form of the head noun: *glac fataí*. Note that in the case of the last two informants, neither lenites the initial consonant of the qualifying adjective *fataí* when it follows directly after the feminine head noun *glac/glaic*.

In closing our discussion of the responses to this item from all three islands, it is worth noting that, though we have noted a couple of instances of constructions of the form *lán láimhe go fataí/ lán mo 'laic' 'a bhfataí* in western Inis Mór, there is a strong cluster of such longer constructions containing both a genitival construction and a following partitive construction from Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór through Inis Meáin, with all the informants, without exception, producing such a construction. On the other hand, not a single informant on Inis Oírr produces such a construction.

The next item involves an object which is mentioned in folktales and which is expressed in Irish via an archaic genitival construction: *scian coise duibhe*, "a black-handled knife". As a matter of fact, I elicited responses for this item only from easternmost Inis Mór, from Inis Meáin, and from Inis Oírr. The examples which most closely resembled the phrase sought were the definite noun phrases *scian na coise duibhe* from the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór and *scian na coise doilí (??)* from the male informant in Inis Meáin.

We also get relatively Standard Irish circumlocutions such as *scian le láimh du'* from F 18 and *scian . . . faoina chois du'* from F 41 on Inis Oírr, as well as *scian a ro' cois dhu' h-intsi* from the female informant on Inis Meáin. More puzzling are the constructions in which the head noun *scian* is qualified by what appears to be a nominative phrase, constructions which we get from male informants in easternmost Inis Mór and on Inis Oírr. Thus we get *scian a' chois du'* (['**ʃkʲiːˠɴ ə ˈxəʃ ˈdə**/'**ʃkʲiːˠn ə ˈxəʃ ˈdə**) from M 68 at Eochaill on Inis Mór and from M 55 on Inis Oírr, respectively. The male informant at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór gives us a similar construction: *scian a' láimh du'* ([**ʃkʲiːn ᵋʟɑʲvʲ də**).

Note that in nearly all such nominative and pseudo-nominative constructions the qualifying adjective following the feminine head noun is not lenited. The female informant on Inis Meáin is the only informant who lenites the adjective in this case. Note also that the feminine noun *cos*, like the nouns *glac* and *lámh* mentioned above, invariably takes the old dative form *cois* when used in the nominative/accusative case.[10]

[8] Recall the female informant at Eoghanacht above and her use of the invariable form *glaic* in the nominative/accusative case instead of the Standard Irish form *glac*. The use of such forms with palatalised final segments in the nominative/accusative case helps mark the gender of such nouns as unmistakably feminine.

[9] Note the use of the glottal stop for a similar purpose cited earlier in the response of M 50 at Cill Rónáin.

[10] For more examples of the use of the old dative form with feminine nouns, especially body parts, see the

The last item, the phrase *níos mó spáis*, is a construction with a mass noun in the genitive case as a qualifier. In this case, none of the informants in any of the islands uses the Class One genitival inflection. Instead, nearly all use the nominative/accusative form *spás*, and a single informant, the female informant at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór, uses what appears to be the Class Three genitival inflection with the terminal vowel *-a*. Further investigation, however, revealed that the form was an invariable form *spása*, hence a form more properly classified as a Class Four noun.

12.4 Genitival Constructions with a Definite Head Noun

(The items discussed here are *rothar an bhuachalla eile, i gContae an Chláir, trasna na sráide, le taobh an chnoic, os comhair an tí, ar chúl an tí, os comhair an fhir mhóir, os comhair an fhir eile, tar éis an dinneír, tar éis an bhricfeasta* and *le haghaidh a dhinnéir*.)

Now we turn to genitival constructions which have a definite noun as head of the construction and which qualify another definite noun.

In the first item, *rothar an bhuachalla eile*, the genitival construction which functions as qualifier of the first definite noun contains the genitive singular form of a common noun preceded by the singular definite article. As it happens, none of the informants in any of the islands produce the Standard Irish form of the construction, with the second noun inflected for the genitive case.

Beginning on Inis Mór, the closest we come to the Standard Irish construction is the construction *rothar an bhuachaill eile*, in which the head noun is properly lenited after the definite article, but in which the noun itself is not given the genitival inflection expected of a Class Three noun. This construction we get from the female informant at An Sruthán and from her neighbour to the east, the male informant at Fearann an Choirce.

Her neighbour to the west, however, the female informant at Eoghanacht, produces the construction *rothar an bu'chaill eile*, in which the head noun is not even lenited, so that we seem to behold an nominative/accusative construction, judging by its form. The male informant far to the east at Eochaill produces a similar construction, *rothóir [sic] an buachaill eile*, while a neighbour slightly to his west, the female informant at Corrúch, produces the same type of construction, but then corrects to the construction type mentioned earlier, with lenition of the head noun but no inflection: *ro'ar [sic] an bhóchaill eile*.

Her brother, M 82 at Corrúch, interprets the phrase as a plural construction, and produces the constructions *ro'ar na mbuachaillí/ro'ar na mbochaillí*, in which the initial consonant of the noun is properly eclipsed in both cases.

The other informants on Inis Mór give us no further pertinent examples. The youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, gives us *rothar an "lad" eile*, where neither nominal inflection nor lenition can be observed in the English loanword serving as head noun. The slightly older male informant M 50 at Cill Rónáin, on the other hand, gives us *"bicycle" fear eile*, "the bicycle of another man", in which the noun *fear* is treated as

responses to the *LASID* questionnaire from M 82 and M 72 at Corrúch.

indefinite. As for the female informant at Cill Éinne, she produces a construction which is quite distinct both in form and in meaning, *rothar leis an mbo'chaill eile*, implying that the bicycle in question is one of several owned by the boy.

On Inis Meáin, both informants produce the construction type with lenition of the initial consonant but with no inflection of the noun itself. Thus the male informant produces *rothar a' bhu'chaill eile*, and the female informant produces *rothar an bhuachaill eile*.

On Inis Oírr, however, we encounter only one pertinent example, that of the older female informant, F 41, who produces *"bicycle" an buachaill eile*, with neither inflection of the noun nor lenition of its initial consonant. As for the younger female informant, F 18, she apparently experiences interference from English in her example *bicycle ... of ... buachaill eile*. The male informant, for his part, interprets the phrase as a plural construction and uses an English loanword for the head noun: *"bicycle" na "lads" eile*.

Turning to the next item, the construction *i gContae an Chláir*, we find a similar construction, but with the genitival phrase now as part of a place name. In contrast to their responses in regard to the previous item, all the informants across all three islands now produce a Standard Irish genitival construction, usually *i gContae an Chláir* or *as Contae an Chláir*, constructions in which the qualifying noun is both inflected for the genitive and lenited in its initial consonant. The only differences between such constructions lie in the degree of reduction of the definite article. Some constructions preserve at least the consonant of the article, others elide the article completely, but preserve the nasalisation of the elided article by nasalising the final vowel of the preceding noun, and yet others fail to preserve even the nasalisation. Yet in all cases, the initial consonant of the qualifying noun is lenited as expected.

It is worth noting, however, that the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór fails to eclipse the first noun after the preposition *i*; thus he produces *i Contae ... Cuntae a' Chláir* .

It is especially noteworthy that two informants on Inis Mór, one informant on Inis Meáin and two informants on Inis Oírr produce an embedded genitival construction: *ó mhuintir Chontae/Chondae an Chláir*. In all cases, the initial consonant of the second noun in the trinominal construction is lenited, as required in Standard Irish. As we shall see shortly when we examine embedded genitival constructions in progressive verb phrases, however, such a Standard Irish lenition rule is by no means characteristic of Aran Irish.

The next item, *trasna na sráide*, unlike the previous two items, shows definite areal and – on Inis Oírr – generational patterns of distribution for its variant forms. The Standard Irish variant, *trasna na sráide*, is found on all three islands, but it has a competing variant, *trasna an tsráid*. This variant, which leaves both the noun and its qualifying singular definite article in the nominative accusative case rather than inflecting them for the genitive case, is found only in central Inis Mór and among the older generation on Inis Oírr.

Thus two male informants on Inis Mór, M 60 at Fearann an Choirce and M 82 at Corrúch, both produce *trasna an tsráid*, while the female informant at Corrúch produces the same variant, but then corrects to the Standard Irish variant. On Inis Oírr, both the male informant M 55 and his wife F 41 produce *trasna an tsráid*, while the youngest informant, F 18, produces the unique variant *thar gon sráid*, and then corrects to the Standard Irish

variant.

The male informant M 50 at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór, produces a lexically distinct construction, *treasna an bhóthair*, but nevertheless employs the Standard Irish genitive form of the noun.

The next item, *le taobh an chnoic*, produces a variety of responses, but again leaves no doubt that genitive constructions are still in widespread use on Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin. Beginning in western Inis Mór, we note that the female informant at An Sruthán produces a genitive construction in her example: *ar chúl an chnoic*. In eastern Inis Mór, the male informant at Eochaill, produces a similar construction, *le taoibh an chnoic*.

The younger informants on Inis Mór, however, show less tendency to use the genitive form with this item. M 50 at Cill Rónáin uses the construction *le taoibh an chnoc*, leniting the initial consonant, but failing to inflect the noun for the genitive. F 43 at Bungabhla behaves similarly, producing *le taoibh an ardán*, but then corrects to *... nó an áilt*, apparently using the genitive form of the dialectal variant *ált*. The two informants at Corrúch, though among the oldest informants on Inis Mór, show a similar hesitation to use the genitive form of the noun. M 82 produces the Standard Irish construction *in aice na haille*, but then corrects himself with both *in aic' an aill* and *le taobh an aill*. F 72, for her part, produces only the nominative/accusative construction *l' ais an áill*.

On Inis Meáin, the genitive is certainly in use with this item. The female informant produces the unambiguous construction *in aic' an chroic*, while the male informant seems to produce a genitival construction, though less certainly so: *in aic' (an) taoibh (?) eile gon chroc*.[11]

As for Inis Oírr, however, it is clear that the noun is not inflected for the genitive case. All three informants give versions of *le taobh/ar thaobh an chroc*, with lenition of the initial consonant of the noun, but with no further inflection of the noun for the genitive case.

As for alternative constructions, we have *an taobh eile gon chnocán* from the female informant at Eoghanacht in western Inis Mór, *i ngar gon chnoc* from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce, and both *i nar (sic) go' chnoc* and *i ngar go' chroc* from the female informant at Cill Éinne. On Inis Oírr, we have the same construction, *i ngar gon chroc*.

The next two items have the same lexical item as the nominal qualifier in the genitive case, and therefore evoke very similar responses from the informants. For clarity of exposition, however, we will deal with them separately.

The first item, *os comhair an tí*, produces constructions with the genitive form of the qualifying noun across all three islands. On Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla produces two examples of *ag tosach a' tí*, and her mother-in-law F 70 at Cill Rónáin produces a virtually identical response: *(i) dtosach 'n tí*.[12]

The male informants M 60 at Fearann an Choirce and M 50 at Cill Rónáin, on the other hand, both produce the variant reflected in our item heading: *os comhair a' tí*, a variant not encountered elsewhere in the responses from the three islands.

The variant most widely found on Inis Mór, however, is the construction *ar aghaidh*

[11]The non-palatalisation of the final consonant of the noun *taobh* in the linguistic tables may well be a transcription error.

[12]Since that particular variant with the lexical item *tosach* is not to be found among the responses elsewhere on Inis Mór or on Inis Meáin, one suspects that F 43's long residence in Cill Rónáin since her marriage and her interaction with her mother-in-law may have influenced her speech here.

an tí, encountered in the centre of the island. Both informants at Corrúch produce the variant, as well as their neighbour slightly to the east, the male informant at Eochaill. Their neighbour slightly to the west, the female informant at An Sruthán, uses the same variant in attempting to say *ar aghaidh an dorais*.[13]

It is important to note, however, that both informants at Corrúch produce alternative examples without the genitival inflection: *ar aghaidh an teach*, a variant not encountered elsewhere in the three islands.

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we note that the widespread Inis Mór variant *ar aghaidh an tí* is used by both informants on Inis Meáin, to the exclusion of other variants.

On Inis Oírr, we encounter only one example employing the genitive inflection, that of the youngest informant, F 18. Her example, *tosach a' tí* (without eclipsis of the first noun), recalls the same variant on Inis Mór, and suggests to me that we may again be seeing a generational change. Though F 18 received her secondary education on the mainland at An Spidéal in Connemara, F 43 received her secondary education in Cill Rónáin, and it may be that this variant has spread out from Cill Rónáin elsewhere (or vice-versa) through the secondary educational system. Nevertheless, in such a case we would expect this variant from F 41 on Inis Oírr, who also did her secondary education at Cill Rónáin, but we get no confirmation here of our speculation.

As for alternative responses which did not require use of the genitive inflection in Standard Irish, we have only the variant *taobh amuigh gon teach* from the female informant at Eoghanacht in western Inis Mór and from the older female informant on Inis Oírr. Her husband, M 55, attempts to produce the same expression, but produces the hypercorrect construction *tao' muigh gon tí*, where the noun in the partitive phrase is inflected for the genitive case.

The second of the two items, *ar chúl an tí*, produces a much more uniform set of responses. The variant of the item heading, *ar chúl an tí*, with the qualifying noun inflected for the genitive case, is found broadly distributed on all three islands, though the form of the initial noun may vary slightly. on Inis Mór, the male informant at Eochaill produces *i gcúl an tí*, while the female informant at Cill Éinne produces a very clear *ar chúla an tí* and F 43 at Bungabhla produces what seems to be *ag cúl an tí*. On Inis Meáin, the female informant seems to reduce the preposition *ar* to the neutral vowel [ə].

Once again, though, the female informant F 72 at Corrúch on Inis Mór produces a construction using the nominative/accusative form of the qualifying noun, *ar chúl 'n teach*, before going on to produce the normal variant with the genitival inflection. This time, however, she is unique among all the informants in producing such a nominative/accusative construction.

As for alternative constructions not requiring the genitive inflection, we get only the construction *taobh thiar gon teach* from younger female informants — F 43 at Bungabhla on Inis Mór and F 18 on Inis Oírr.

Before ending the discussion of the two preceding items, it is worth drawing attention to the articulation of the genitive form *tí* in central Inis Mór, in which the vowel is often lengthened to the point where it forms a diphthong. Thus we get [**tʲiːʲᵊ**] from the female

[13] In a discussion of the item, she also produced the responses *ar aghaidh na fuinneoige* and *ar chúl a' tí*.

informant at An Sruthán, [**t′iːᵊ**] from the male informant at Corrúch, and [**t′iːʲɪ**] from the male informant at Eochaill. Beyond that, there is little to note other than the frequent marked affrication of the initial consonant of the form *tí* in easternmost Inis Mór, on Inis Meáin and on Inis Oírr, already discussed in the section on phonological variation.

Turning to the next item, the phrase *os comhair an fhir mhóir*, we encounter a construction which resembles the first of the constructions examined in this section, *rothar an bhuachalla eile*, in that it has a human referent for the qualifying noun in the genitive, and in that it is itself qualified by an adjective. It differs from all the other items examined so far, however, in both respects.

Beginning on Inis Mór, we find that only one informant, the male informant M 68 at Eochaill, has inflected both noun and adjective for the genitive case, thus producing the target phrase *os comhair an fhir mhóir*. His neighbour slightly to the east, the female informant at Cill Éinne, comes very close, with *ar chúl . . . an fhir mhór*, with the final consonant of the adjective left unpalatalised.

Of the remaining informants, the male informant at Fearann an Choirce, as well as both informants at Corrúch produce the variant construction *os comhair/ar aghaidh an fhear mór*, with the initial consonant of the noun lenited, but with no inflection of the noun or adjective for the genitive case. The female informant at Cill Éinne, mentioned earlier as producing a slightly defective form of the genitival construction, also produces the same type of construction: *ar chúl an fhear . . . an fhear mór*.

Nearly as many informants, however, produce the same construction, but without lenition: *ag tosach/ar aghaidh/ar húla/os comhair an fear mór*. Thus F 43 at Bungabhla produces *ag tosach an fear mór*, F 70 at An Sruthán produces *ar aghaidh an fear mór* and *ar húla an fear mór*, and even M 50 at Cill Rónáin produces *os comhair an fear mór*. As we shall see later, younger informants may favour this unlenited variant, but the examples from F 70 at An Sruthán weigh against that conclusion.

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we find the fully inflected variant and the lenited but uninflected variant competing with one another. Thus the female informant produces *ar aghaidh an fhir mhóir*, while the male informant produces *ar aghaidh an fhear mór*.

On Inis Oírr, the three pertinent examples seem to yield only the unlenited, uninflected construction. Thus the male informant produces *ar aghaidh an fear mór*, while the younger female informant F 18 produces two examples of *i tosach a' fear móir* , with the initial consonant of the noun *tosach* again left uneclipsed.[14] One might venture to suggest that the palatalised final consonant of the adjective is a sign of inflection for the genitive case, but, as we shall see in her example for the next item, for F 18 the form *móir* seems to be invariable. Once again, younger informants in our overall sample seem to favour this unlenited, uninflected variant construction.

As for alternative constructions not employing the genitive case, we have *'un tosaigh ar a' bhfear mór* from the female informant at Eoghanacht on Inis Mór and *i dtosach ar a' bhfear mór* from the female informant at Cill Éinne. On Inis Oírr we get similar examples from the older female informant F 41: *ar . . . tosaigh ar fhear mór . . . tosaigh ar (an) bhfear mór*.

[14] Note her example two items earlier.

The next item, *os comhair an fhir eile*, is nearly identical, except that the qualifying adjective does not require inflection.

Beginning on Inis Mór we find that the responses of the informants are largely consistent with their responses to the previous item, with two outstanding exceptions. The male informant M 68 at Eochaill and the female informant F 70 at Cill Éinne, both in eastern Inis Mór, opt for the lenited but uninflected variant construction this time, M 68 producing *ar aghaidh 'n fhear eile* and F 70 producing *ar chúla . . . an fhear eile*. Thus no informant produces the Standard Irish construction with this item.

This means that this time we have a virtually unbroken chain of informants from Fearann an Choirce to Cill Éinne (with the single exception of M 50 at Cill Rónáin) using the equivalent of the construction *ar aghaidh an fhear eile*. As for the competing construction, with neither lenition nor inflection, we have examples from the same three informants who gave equivalent responses to the last item. For example, F 43 at Bungabhla produces *ag tosach an fear eile*, F 70 at An Sruthán produces *ar chúla . . . an fear eile*, and M 50 at Cill Rónáin produces *os comhair a' fear eile*.

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we have a situation similar to that of the previous item, except that the informants seem to have traded roles to a certain extent. The female informant now produces the construction *ar aghaidh an fhear eile*, with lenition but no clear inflection of the second noun, while the male informant first produces a similar construction, *ar aghaidh an cheann eile* before correcting himself to *. . . an fhir eile . . . ar aghaidh an fhir eile*, both fully inflected constructions. Note that we have no examples yet of the unlenited, uninflected variant construction from Inis Meáin.

On Inis Oírr, we encounter only one pertinent example, that of the male informant, who produces *ar aghaidh . . . an fear eile* — once again producing the unlenited, uninflected variant.

As for alternative constructions, those which do not require the genitive inflection, on Inis Mór we have only *roimh an fear eile*, without eclipsis, from the youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, and, once again, the construction *'n tosaigh ar a' bhfear eile* from her neighbour F 73 immediately to the east at Eoghanacht.

On Inis Oírr, we get *taobh thiar gon fhear mór* and *taobh thiar dhe sin* from the older female informant. From her younger neighbour, F 18, however, we get *taobh amuigh gon fear mór . . . go(n) fear eile*, with no lenition in either case. In this regard, her example resembles that of the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43, since both examples dispense with initial mutations in a prepositional phrase.

Before going on to the final three items in this section, it is worth considering some other aspects of the complex subject of genitival inflection in complex noun phrases. First of all, note the examples of the genitive plural which occurred serendipitously in an informant's response to Item II.17. F 72 at Corrúch on Inis Mór gave two interesting examples of an attempt to express the genitive plural in her examples *in áit na cinn bheaga* and *i leaba na cinn bheaga*, where the nominative/accusative plural forms of both noun and adjective are clearly given in place of the genitive plural forms.

Though more complex genitive constructions are not normally found in the responses to the *LASID* questionnaire which I administered in Corrúch to M 82 and to F 72, there are

many examples of unqualified nouns in constructions requiring the genitive inflection, and it is well worth scanning that material. Two examples at random which are relevant to the expression of the genitive plural are the phrases *dath na n-eangacha* in Item 1108 and *dath na giúrainneachaí* in Item 1089, both offered by the male informant. In the first phrase we see the second noun in the genitive case, while in the second phrase we see the second noun in the nominative/accusative case.

The treatment of proper nouns is an especially interesting topic, though it is not dealt with in the present study. Nevertheless, a rather large amount of material involving proper nouns was gathered for Part Three, and that material is worth glancing at. A scan of the material reveals patterns which have a good deal of validity across informants on all three islands. Let us look at the treatment of proper nouns by M 82 and F 72 at Corrúch on Inis Mór.

Starting with the simplest genitive constructions, the phrases *ag teach Thomáis* and *teach Sheosaimh*, we find the male informant producing the Standard Irish construction *ag teach Thomáis* for the first phrase while the female informant produces *ag teach Thomás* and *i dteach Thomás*, in which the proper noun is lenited, but not inflected for the genitive case.

For the second phrase, the male informant produces *teach Sheosamh*, in which, as in the female informant's example just mentioned, he lenites the proper noun but does not inflect it for the genitive. For her part, the female informant here reverses her strategy, producing *teach Seosaimh*, in which she inflects the proper noun for the genitive, but this time does not lenite the initial consonant.

Moving on to more complex constructions, involving family names as well as personal names, we begin with the phrase *ó shiopa Thomáis Uí Thuathail*. The male informant produces *ó shiopa Thomás Ó Thóbhail*, where the lenition rule is applied to both personal name and family name, but where neither personal name nor the following patronymic element *Ó* is inflected for the genitive — though the remaining term of the patronymic is so inflected.

The female informant, on the other hand, gives two examples. In the first, *ó shiopa Tomás Ó Tóbhail*, in which only the last name is inflected for the genitive and in which no lenition is applied to any name. In her second example, in her effort to correct her example, she produces a hypercorrect form, *ó siopa Uí Theobhail*, in which the genitival inflection is carried out in Standard Irish fashion, but in which the personal name is omitted, the initial consonant of the last name is palatalised and the initial consonant after the preposition *ó* is left unlenited.

In regard to the phrase *i dteach Shéamas Uí Chonghaile*, both informants simply lenite the initial consonant of the personal name and leave the patronymic untouched. Thus the male informant produces *i dteach Shéamas Ó Conghaile* and the female informant produces *ag teach Shéamas Ó Conghaile*.

In regard to the phrase *le deirfiúr Sheáin Uí Mhurchú*, however, the female informant follows the same strategy, producing *le dreabhar Sheán Ó Murchú*, but the male informant lenites and inflects the personal name, leaving the patronymic untouched: *le dreabhar Sheáin Ó Murcha*.

As for the phrase *leabhar Mháirtín Uí Chadhain*, the female informant again employs her strategy consistently, producing *leabhar Mháirtín Ó Cadhain*, while the male informant inflects the first element of the patronymic for the genitive, but leaves the rest of the patronymic unlenited, producing *leabhar Mháirtín Uí Cadhain*.[15]

As for embedded genitive constructions, we have two constructions in the data. The first, the phrase *ag teach mháthair Mháire*, is treated in the same way by both informants; neither lenites the initial consonant of the first of the two nouns in the genitive case. Thus, the male informant produces *ag teach máthair Mháire*, and the female informant produces *i dteach máthair Mháire* twice.

The second construction, *ag teach dheartháir Shéamais*, is treated in similar fashion by both informants in regard to the non-lenition of the first noun in the genitive case, but they diverge in their treatment of the phrase-final noun. Thus the male informant produces the phrase *ag teach dreáir Shéamais*, while the female informant produces the phrase *teach dreáir Shéamas*, with the phrase-final noun lenited but uninflected for the genitive case.

This sample from Corrúch of the data for Part Three will perhaps give some idea of the complexity of the issues surrounding genitive constructions. For the most part, it can be said that the informants on Inis Mór are less conservative than the informants on the other two islands, and that the youngest informants — F 43 at Bungabhla on Inis Mór and F 18 on Inis Oírr — are perhaps least conservative in their usage in regard to both lenition and inflection of proper nouns. As for embedded genitive constructions, non-lenition of the first of the two nouns in the genitive case seems to be the rule on Inis Mór, while the male informant on Inis Meáin exhibits at least some lenition of the first noun, and and the older female informant on Inis Oírr lenites consistently.

Though vocative constructions were discussed earlier, since we are discussing data for Part Three at the moment, it seems appropriate to mention here that M 82 and F 72 seem to apply the same strategy with personal names and patronymics in the vocative case that they often apply in the genitive case: lenite the initial consonant of the first name and leave everything else unchanged. Thus for the vocative phrase *a Mhichíl!*, both informants produce *(a) Mhí'ál!*, and for the vocative phrase *a Mháirtín Uí Dhireáin!*, both produce *a Mháirtín Ó Direáin!*.

Turning back now to the examples on the linguistic tables, we will discuss the last three items on the table.

The first item, the phrase *tar éis an dinnéir*, shows consistent inflection of the noun *dinnéar* for the genitive case in westernmost Inis Mór (at Bungabhla and at Eoghanacht) and in easternmost Inis Mór (at Eochaill, at Cill Rónáin, and at Cill Éinne), with one slight exception at Cill Éinne. In central Inis Mór, however, from An Sruthán east through Corrúch, all informants leave the noun in the nominative/accusative case, thus exhibiting the innovative behaviour we have associated with that area.

On Inis Meáin, both informants inflect the noun for the genitive case, maintaining the conservative behaviour we associate with Inis Meáin, while on Inis Oírr, only the male informant, M 55, does so. Both female informants, F 41 and F 18, use the nominative/accusative

[15]Strictly speaking, however, since the personal name *Máirtín* ends in a slender consonant, it is in fact impossible here to declare definitively which informant is following which strategy in regard to that particular personal name.

case, suggesting linguistic change over the generations.

In the next item, *tar éis an bhricfeasta*, we can only examine the lenition of the initial consonant, since the noun *bricfeasta* is otherwise indeclinable. Beginning on Inis Mór, we encounter only one unusual example, that of the male informant at Fearann an Choirce, who produces *r' éis a' bricfást*, omitting the lenition.

On Inis Meáin and on Inis Oírr, all informants lenite the initial consonant of the noun.

As for the final item, the phrase *le haghaidh a dhinnéir*, the situation is more complex. Beginning on Inis Mór, only one informant produces two examples of something close to the expected construction, *le haghaidh dinnéir*, with the target noun properly inflected for the genitive case, and a repetition of the phrase, *le haghaidh dinnéar*, in which the noun concerned is left in the nominative/accusative case. Many of the other informants, however, seem to have re-analysed the complex preposition *le haghaidh* as the simple preposition *le*, due to elision of the consonant *h* and subsequent merger of the vowels into the long vowel **[eː]** . Thus we encounter not only the response *le dinnéar* but also the related response with a possessive pronoun, *lena dhinnéar*, across the island. Only one other informant, the female informant at Cill Éinne, produces a construction which can interpreted as a genitival construction, *l'é 'n páiste* — a construction, however, in which the definite noun is not lenited.

On Inis Meáin, however, though the form of the compound preposition has undergone a similar phonological transformation, the preposition is still recognised as a compound preposition requiring a genitival complement. Thus both informants produce *l'é 'n dinnéir*, with appropriate inflection of the phrase-final noun for the genitive case. Nevertheless, the female informant produces an alternative construction, *i gcomhair dinnéar*, in which the phrase-final noun is left in the nominative/accusative case.

On Inis Oírr, the male informant apparently interprets the preposition as a compound preposition, since otherwise, interpreting *le haghaidh* as *le*, he would have produced the simple prepositional phrase *leis an dinnear*. Nevertheless, in his example *l'é an dinnear*, he leaves the phrase-final noun in the nominative/accusative case. As for the youngest informant, F 18, she simply interprets the compound preposition *le haghaidh* as the simple preposition *le* in her example *lena dhinnear*, following the example of the informants on Inis Mór.

12.5 Genitival Constructions in Progressive Verb Phrases

(The items discussed here are *ag tabhairt scine chugainn, ag bualadh an bhuachalla, ag lorg Mháire, ag lorg Bhríd* and *ag coinneáil Sheáin.*)

In this section we examine noun phrases functioning as direct object in progressive verb phrases. Such noun phrases require the genitive case in Standard Irish.

The first item, *ag tabhairt scine*, which contains an indefinite common noun with an inanimate referent, fails to produce a single genitival construction anywhere in the three islands. Instead, all the informants produce a construction with the noun in the nomina-

tive/accusative case, e.g., *ag tabhairt scian (chugainn)*. The male informant on Inis Meáin also produces the plural form *sceana*.

The second item, *ag bualadh an bhuachalla*, contains a definite common noun with a human referent. The examples from the respondents here resemble closely the examples examined earlier for the item *rothar an bhuachalla eile*. As in the case of that item, not a single informant produces an example with the Standard Irish genitival form. Instead, most informants simply lenite the initial consonant of the noun, and some informants fail to do even that. For instance, all informants on Inis Mór produce *ag bualadh an bhuachaill*, except for M 50 at Cill Rónáin, who does not even lenite the initial consonant, thus producing *ag bualadh an buachaill*. In addition, the same informant produces a construction with the noun in the plural, but again no initial mutation — in this case, eclipsis — is performed on the noun itself. Thus we have *ag bualadh na buachaillí* from him. He is one of the youngest informants on Inis Mór, but since he is headmaster in the vocational school, it is possible that his speech behaviour regarding initial mutations reflects the speech habits of the pupils, with whom he is in constant contact.

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we encounter the same phenomena. The male informant simply lenites the initial consonant of the noun, leaving it uninflected for the genitive case. An added feature here, of purely phonological interest but nevertheless worthy of mention, is his characteristic conversion of final [**ʟ′**] to the palatal glide [**j**], mentioned in the footnotes to the linguistic table for Inis Meáin. Thus we find [**buᵊʟə n̪ wuᵊxi/wuᵊxij**] for *ag bualadh an bhuachalla*. (Cf. his [**buᵊxəjiː**] for *buachaillí* in II.1., well as the phonologically similar item [**kəl′əx kəjɛ**] for *coileach coille*, elicited from M 82 in Item 838 of the *LASID* questionnaire administered at Corrúch on Inis Mór.)

The female informant on Inis Meáin produces a similar form with lenition of the initial consonant of the noun, but no inflection for the genitive case, in her example *ag bualadh . . . an ghasúr*. On the other hand, when using the lexical item *páiste*, she uses no lenition to mark the genitive case: *ag bualadh . . . an páiste*.

By the way, note the synonymous expression *(ag) gabháil* [**goːl′**] *ar an ngasúr/ag gabháil orthu* used by both informants, an expression not encountered elsewhere in the islands as a response to this item.

Moving now to Inis Oírr, we find the older female informant leniting the initial consonant of the noun, but not inflecting the noun otherwise for the genitive case, thus producing *(ag) bualadh an bhuachaill*. On the other hand, the male informant and the younger female informant F 18 do not even lenite the initial consonant of the noun, leaving the noun phrase in what appears to be the nominative/accusative case: *(ag) bualadh an buachaill*. Note that F 18 repeats the phrase, again without lenition.

Turning now to the next three items, we see that all three involve constructions with a personal name in the genitive case.

Starting with the item *ag lorg Mháire*, and beginning on Inis Mór, we find many informants using this progressive construction (though all with verbs other than *lorg*) and leniting the following noun as required in Standard Irish. One informant stands out from the rest, however — M 50 at Cill Rónáin, who does not lenite the proper noun, thus producing *ag tóraíocht Máire*. Three informants in the centre of the island, the female informant at An

Sruthán, the male informant at Fearann an Choirce, and the female informant at Corrúch, produce the embedded genitival construction *ag cur tuairisc Mháire*. Note, however, that in all three cases the first noun — that in the outer genitival construction — does not have its initial consonant lenited, a mutation which would be required in Standard Irish.

Of course, we also get constructions with the noun *Máire* in a dative construction, thus avoiding the use of the genitive form with that particular noun. Thus we find *ag cur tuairisc(e) ar Mháire, ag cur tuairisc faoi Mháire*, and *ag fiarú/féarú [fiafraí] faoi Mháire*.

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we have both informants using the progressive construction with the proper noun in the genitive case. Thus we have *ag iarraidh Mháire* twice from the male informant and *ag fiaraí Mháire* from the female informant. We also have synonymous expressions with dative constructions from both: *a' fiaraí faoi Mháire* (M 70) and *a' cur ceist* [**kʹɛʃtʃ**] *faoi Mháire* (F 60+). Note that in the last example, the common noun *ceist* is clearly in the nominative/accusative case rather than in the genitive case, which would be required in Standard Irish.[16]

It is worth mentioning here, though it does not relate strictly to the matter at hand, that the female informant on Inis Meáin consistently articulates the final consonant of the particle *ag* in such progressive constructions, regardless of whether the following verbal noun begins with a consonant or a vowel. Thus we have in this instance [**ægʹ fʹiːᵊriː vɑːrʹɛ**], just as we had [**ɪgʹ buᵊʟ . . . ɴ̩ ɣaːsur**] in the previous item, and [**ɛgʹ tʃuːrtʃ skʹiᵊn agɪNʹ**] in the item previous to that. She is more marked by this trait than are other informants in the three islands, but she is not alone in her usage. Let it suffice to say that elision of the final consonant of the particle *ag* in progressive constructions before a following verbal noun beginning with a consonant is by no means an obligatory phonological rule in Aran Irish.

On Inis Oírr, we encounter the same types of constructions which we encountered in the two islands to the west. The male informant produces *ag fiaradh faoi Mháire*[17] and his wife *ag fiaraí cén chaoi a raibh Máire*. Once again we get the unlenited proper noun *Máire*, this time from F 18 in her example *ag iarraidh Máire*. Since the youngest informant in the sample, F 18 on Inis Oírr, and the headmaster of the vocational school at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór, M 50, are the only informants in the sample who display this trait, I suspect that this trait is a sign of linguistic change in the younger generation. Presumably M 50's exposure to the speech of his students at the vocational school has induced him to adopt the change.

Turning to the next item, the phrase *ag lorg Bhríd*, we find almost exactly the same phrases and patterns of distribution as for the previous item. Once again, M 50 at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór and F 18 on Inis Oírr are the only informants who fail to lenite the initial consonant of the proper noun, producing *ag tóraíocht Bríd* and *'cuartú Bríd*, respectively. The presence of the local lexical variant *cuartú* as the verbal noun of the phrase sets this item off from the previous item. The majority of the informants on Inis Mór use it, one of the two informants on Inis Meáin uses it, and all three informants on Inis Oírr use it.

The next item, *ag coinneáil Sheáin*, shows quite a different pattern of distribution for the

[16] Note also that both informants use the lexical variant *fiaraí* instead of the Inis Mór variant *fiarú*, a trait which they share with speakers on Inis Oírr, as we shall see presently.

[17] Note that he introduces yet another lexical variant, *fiaradh*.

various construction types. Beginning on Inis Mór, westernmost Inis Mór yields the only examples of lenition and inflection of the proper noun according to the rules of Standard Irish. With the exception of the female informant F 70 at An Sruthán, all the informants from Bungabhla to Fearann an Choirce use the Standard Irish lenition and inflection.

As for F 70 at An Sruthán, she neither lenites nor inflects, treating the proper noun as though it were in the nominative/accusative case: *ag coinneál Seán*. Her neighbour slightly to the east, the female informant at Corrúch, produces exactly the same construction, and M 50 at Cill Rónáin once again produces a proper noun without lenition or inflection: *ag coinneáil Seán*.

Two informants produce intermediate forms. The male informant at Corrúch does not lenite the proper noun, but inflects it: *'coinneál Seáin*. The female informant at Cill Éinne, on the other hand, lenites the proper noun but does not inflect it: *ag coinneál Sheán*.

Thus, all logical possibilities are exploited by the informants on Inis Mór.

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, once again we find both informants using Standard Irish lenition and inflection of the proper noun, upholding the island's reputation for linguistic conservatism.

On Inis Oírr, however, none of the informants uses the Standard Irish form of this proper noun. The two female informants neither lenite nor inflect the proper noun, producing *'coinneáil/coinneál Seán*, while the male informant inflects the proper noun while failing to lenite it: *'coinneáil Seáin*, echoing the behaviour of the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór.

12.6 Progressive Verb Phrases with a Pronominal Direct Object

This item, the progressive pronominal verb phrase *do do choinneáil*, is included here for convenience, since though it has to do with progressive verb phrases, it has nothing to do nominal inflection for the genitive case. In the case of pronominal direct objects in a progressive verb construction, the direct object is in fact represented by a possessive pronoun qualifying the verbal noun, and that construction is embedded in a larger dative construction headed by the preposition *do* in Standard Irish. Thus, the English sentence "What is keeping you?" will be rendered in Standard Irish as *Céard atá do do choinneáil?*.

Beginning in westernmost Inis Mór, we note the relatively Standard Irish construction *go do choinneál*[18] from Bungabhla to An Sruthán (though the female informant at Eoghanacht gives us *go mo choinneál*). From Fearann an Choirce eastward to Cill Rónáin, however, we get only a reduced construction, containing the possessive pronoun and the verbal noun: *'do choinneál/choinneáil/choinneálsa*. Only in Cill Rónáin, with M 50, do we again get the unreduced construction *go do choinneáil*, while from the female informant at Cill Éinne, we get both constructions, *go do choinneál* and *'o do choinneál*. Note that in her case, as in that of the male informant at Fearann an Choirce, the elided preposition *go* leaves a trace

[18]Note, however, the universal substitution of the particle *go* for the Standard Irish particle *do* in this construction.

in the form of a reduced vowel. We get an anomalous reduced vowel also, apparently, in the full construction produced by her daughter-in-law, the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla: *'o go do choinneál* (ᵊgə də xɪNʹɑL).[19]

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we get only the reduced construction *'do choinneál* from both informants.

On Inis Oírr as well, we get only the reduced construction from all three informants.

In sum, with the exception of M 50 at Cill Rónáin, who, as principal of the vocational school, is familiar with the more Standard Irish construction, and his neighbour the female informant at Cill Éinne, who offers both constructions, the full, more Standard Irish construction with the particle *go* is restricted to westernmost Inis Mór, from Bungabhla to An Sruthán. The other informants on all three islands are characterised by the reduced construction *'do choinneál*.

12.7 Embedded Genitival Constructions in Progressive Verb Phrases

(The items discussed here are *ag lorg theach Mháire* and *ag lorg theach na mná eile.*)

Our focus in this section is on the lenition of the initial consonant of head nouns in embedded genitival constructions.

Starting with the first item, *ag lorg theach Mháire*, we note that uniformly across all three islands, the informants do not lenite the initial consonant. Thus, we have *ag lorg/cuartú/tóraíocht teach Mháire* from all informants.

Turning to the next item, *ag lorg theach na mná eile*, we encounter the same phenomenon across all three islands. No informant lenites the initial consonant of the head noun *teach* in the embedded construction *(ag lorg) theach na mná eile.* We can say, therefore, that no such lenition rule seems to apply to embedded genitival constructions in Aran Irish.

As for the form of the innermost definite noun phrase in such embedded genitival constructions, that noun phrase is left uninflected for the genitive case by nearly all informants across all three islands, producing *ag cuartú teach an bhean eile*, etc. Only two informants, the female informant at Cill Éinne, and her neighbour to the east on Inis Meáin, M 70, produce the relatively Standard Irish examples *ag cuartú . . . teach na mná eile* and *ag tóraíocht . . . teach na mná eile*, respectively, along with examples with the noun phrase uninflected for the genitive case as well, thus exhibiting wavering between the two variants.

We also get some interesting slips of the tongue. For instance, we get *ag gurtadh . . . teach a' mbean eile*, with eclipsis of the innermost noun, from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór, while from the male informant on Inis Oírr we get *ag curtú bhea. . . an teach a' bhean eile*, with two occurrences of the definite article.

Finally, we get further confirmation from Inis Meáin of the substitution of the nominative/accusative nominal forms for the genitive forms in the example from the female informant: *ar lorg an teach eile.*

[19] This can be seen as a hypercorrect construction incorporating both variants.

The constructions produced by the older female informant on Inis Oírr to I.35 are also worth mentioning in this regard: *teach an bhean mhór* and *teach an fhear eile*.

12.8 Miscellaneous Plural Noun Forms

(The items discussed here are *na cinn, a gcairde* and *a gceachtanna.*)

These three items represent specific lexical items which were known to have non-Standard Irish plural forms, either in the Aran Islands or on the Connemara mainland.

The first item, *na cinn*, illustrates clearly that the plural form *ceanna*, so widely in use in Connemara, is not in use at all in the Aran Islands. All those informants who use the plural form of the lexical item *ceann* use the Standard Irish plural *cinn*. A phonological variant in which the final nasal consonant is elided, but its nasality incorporated in the preceding vowel, [**kʹĩː**], is to be seen both at Corrúch (both informants) and at Cill Rónáin.

The plural lexical item *cinn* competes with the lexical item *rudaí* in the two western islands. On Inis Mór, the female informant at An Sruthán uses *rudaí* exclusively, while the female informant at Cill Éinne produces both variants. Otherwise, the lexical variant *cinn* is ubiquitous.

On Inis Meáin, however, the variant *rudaí* is used virtually to the exclusion of *cinn*. Only the female informant produces one example of *cinn*, along with four examples of *rudaí*.

On Inis Oírr, only the lexical variant *rudaí* is found, along with the lexical item *cuid*, used by the youngest informant F 18 in the unusual phrase *na cuid*. She uses the same variant in another context to translate the stimulus sentence "You need smaller ones" (I.23): *Tá cuid níos lú uaibh*. It seems clear from both examples that the singular mass noun *cuid* has been recruited by F 18 to serve as a plural count noun, both in definite and indefinite noun phrases.

In regard to the next item, *a gcairde*, informants across all three islands use the Standard Irish plural form of the noun. Two informants on Inis Mór, however, use forms augmented with the plural suffix *-í*. The male informant at Corrúch produces *a gcairdí* along with *a gcairde*. The female informant at Eoghanacht, however, uses a different base form, producing *a gcuid cártaí*.

Alternative lexical items used for this item on Inis Mór include *gaolta, daoine muintreacha, comrádachaí,* and *compánaí*. The term *compánaí* reappears on Inis Oírr.

The next item, *a gceachtanna*, shows a single variant in use across Inis Mór and Inis Meáin: *a gceachta*, with an *-a* plural suffix. The sole exception is the male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór. He uses the plural suffix *-aí* to produce *a gcuid ceachtaí*. On Inis Oírr, both older informants augment the Standard Irish plural suffix *-anna* with the plural suffix *-aí* to produce *ceachtannaí*. The youngest informant, F 18, uses a separate lexical item, producing *cleachtaí*.

12.9 Gender Assignment in Nouns

(The items discussed here are *an phian* and *an mhuc.*)

The first item, *an phian* shows divided usage across Inis Mór and Inis Meáin. On Inis Mór, a slight majority assign masculine gender to the noun, producing *an pian*, while the rest assign female gender to it, producing *an phian*. The pattern of gender assignment in these two western islands seems entirely random, showing no apparent relationship to locality, to age, or to sex.

On Inis Oírr, however, all informants assign masculine gender to the noun, producing *an pian*.

The variants for the other item, *an mhuc*, show a more interesting pattern of distribution. All the informants in the two western islands assign feminine gender to the noun and mark it clearly as feminine by palatalising the final consonant, producing *an mhuic*. The sole exception is M 50 at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór, who assigns masculine gender to the noun, producing *an muc*.

Inis Oírr again stands out from the two western islands. All three informants assign masculine gender to the noun. The two older informants produce *an muc*, while the youngest informant, F18, palatalises the final consonant (without leniting the initial consonant to mark the form as a feminine noun), producing the anomalous form *an muic*.

Chapter 13

Adjectival Inflection

13.1 Lenition of Singular Adjectives Modifying Feminine Nouns in the Singular

(The items discussed here are the noun phrases *bean mhór dheas, bean shlachtmhar, bean fholláin/sháintiúil, bean thábhachtach, cloch mhór, ar an gcloch mhaol* and *cos/lámh dhubh.*)

Starting on Inis Mór, the responses to the first item, the noun phrase *bean mhór dheas*, are astonishing, in that so few informants lenite the initial consonant of any of the attributive adjectives qualifying the nominal head of the phrase.

The elderly female informant at Eoghanacht produces *... bhean mhór, bean bhreá*, leniting both adjectives, but in two separate noun phrases, and the male informant M 50 at Cill Rónáin produces *bean mhór téagarach*, leniting the first adjective but not the second.

The five other informants who produce attributive adjectives which permit lenition, however, do not lenite such adjectives at all. Thus F 43 at Bungabhla produces *bean mór deas*, F 70 at An Sruthán produces *bean breá mór*, F 72 at Corrúch produces *bean deas mór*, M 68 at Eochaill produces *bean mór álainn*, and F 70 at Cill Éinne produces *bean breá mór*. In sum, it seems as though the rule requiring lenition of an attribute adjective qualifying a singular feminine noun is no longer an active rule on Inis Mór as a whole, even among the oldest informants.

On Inis Meáin, however, the male informant lenites all modifying adjectives in both his examples, producing *bean mhór bhreá*, and *bean dheas bhreá*. (We can say nothing of the female informant, since she produces the predicative adjectival construction *Is breá mór an bhean í..*)

On Inis Oírr, the male informant does not lenite, producing *bean ... bhean mór deas*, while his wife lenites both adjectives: *bean mhór dheas*. As for the youngest informant, F 18, she exhibits mixed usage, producing *bean mhór deas*.

As for the next item, *bean shlachtmhar*, we find a pattern similar to the pattern in the previous item. The elderly female informant at Eoghanacht on Inis Mór again lenites the adjective to produce *bean shlacht'ar*, and this time her neighbour to the east, F 70 at An Sruthán, joins her in leniting the adjective, producing *bean dhathúil*. As for the seven other

informants, none of them lenite the adjective. F 43 at Bungabhla produces *bean slacht'ar*, and M 60 at Fearann an Choirce produces *bean dathúil*, as do his neighbours to the east, M 82 and F 72 at Corrúch. In easternmost Inis Mór, M 68 at Eochaill and M 50 at Cill Rónáin both produce *bean dathúil*, while F 70 at Cill Éinne produces *bean slacht'ar*.

On Inis Meáin, we can say nothing of the male informant here, because he supplies the unlenitable adjective *álainn* in his example *bean álainn*. The female informant does exhibit the lenition rule, however, in her example *bean shlacht'ar*. Thus in this second item as well as in the first, Inis Meáin seems to have a productive lenition rule in this grammatical context.

On Inis Oírr, however, neither female informant applies the lenition rule. The older female informant produces *bean slacht'ar*, while the younger one produces *bean dathúil*. Of the male informant we can say nothing, since his example is not relevant.

Turning to the next item, the phrase *bean fholláin/shláintiúil*, the evidence from Inis Mór is even more striking than in the last two items. In this item, none of the nine informants on the island lenites the attributive adjective. Thus we get only *bean folláin* or *bean sláintiúil* from all informants.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant does not lenite, producing *bean . . . sláintiúil*, but the female informant lenites the initial consonant of the adjective, producing *bean fholláin*.

On Inis Oírr, disregarding the irrelevant example of the male informant, we find the older female informant leniting the initial consonant of the adjective, producing *bean fholláin*, while the younger female informant does not lenite the initial consonant: *bean sláintiúil*.

Turning to the next item, the phrase *bean thábhachtach*, we find striking uniformity across the three islands. On Inis Mór, the six informants who produce that phrase do not lenite the initial consonant of the adjective, thus producing *bean tábhachtach*. On Inis Meáin, both informants repeat this variant, and on Inis Oírr, both female informants do the same.

There is one response to this item which deserves special comment — the response of the female informant at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór. She produces the phrase [**bʹæːn kɑːʲuːlʹ**] (= *bean cháiliúil*), again with the initial consonant of the adjective unlenited. What is of further interest here is her articulation of the palatalised liquid [**lʹ**] as the palatal glide [**j**], a phenomenon normally associated with the more strongly palatalised liquid [**Lʹ**].[1]

How may we sum up the evidence so far? It is clear that the Standard Irish rule leniting attributive adjectives is no longer applied consistently even by a majority of the speakers in any island, though the rule seems to be applied more frequently by the informants on Inis Meáin. When comparing the last item, *bean thábhachtach*, with the first item, *bean mhór . . .*, one does notice a clear difference in the application of the lenition rule by informants, especially on Inis Meáin.

On that evidence, one might be tempted to ascribe the difference to differing phonological environments. In other words, environments in which the final consonant of the noun and the initial consonant of the following adjective are homorganic consonants could be looked upon as interfering with the operation of the lenition rule, as is the case in the case of preposed adjectives in Standard Irish, e.g., *seanbhean* vs. *seanduine*.

[1] Note the examples from the male informant on Inis Meáin and from the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór discussed above under Consonant Weakening — [**Lʹ > j**], for example.

However, when we note the many exceptions to that rule on all three islands, e.g., *bean dheas/shlacht'ar/shláintiúil/dhathúil* vs. *bean mór/breá/cáiliúil*, one hesitates to subsume this heterogeneity under one rule, though it seems as though, on Inis Meáin at least, homorganicity does make a certain difference in informant responses.

The next three items have an inanimate referent, but one would not expect that the animacy of the referent would make a difference in the patterns of lenition.

Nevertheless, in the first item, *cloch mhór*, we do see a striking pattern in the distribution of examples exhibiting lenition on Inis Mór. In western Inis Mór, from Bungabhla through Fearann an Choirce, all informants lenite the initial consonant of the adjective, producing *cloch mhór*. In contrast, all the informants from Corrúch eastward on Inis Mór, with the sole exception of the male informant at Eochaill, do not lenite the adjective, thus producing *cloch mór*.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant consistently lenites the adjective while the female informant does not. It is interesting, however, that the male informant in one example uses the masculine pronoun *é* while leniting its nominal antecedent, e.g., *Cloch mhór é*.

We have similar mixed usage on Inis Oírr, with the older female informant, F 41, leniting the adjective while the other informants do not.

Turning to the next item, *ar an gcloch mhaol*, we have more difficulty in finding suitable examples, since many of the informants across all three islands offer the expression *ar an gcarraig lom*, which tells us nothing of lenition. We do get the response *ar an gcloch mhaol* from F 43 at Bungabhla in westernmost Inis Mór, along with the response *ar an gcloch ghlas* from the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór.

In the two islands to the east, we encounter nothing relevant on Inis Meáin, but on Inis Oírr, the male informant gives us *ar . . . an chloch garbh*, with the adjective unlenited, while his wife, F 41, gives us *ar an gcloch ghlas*, with the adjective lenited.

In sum, it is difficult to say much in regard to lenition in this item other than to say that we encounter lenition more often than not.

Turning to the last item, however, *cos/lámh dhubh*, once again we encounter a striking pattern on Inis Mór, but not quite the pattern we encountered in the first item. In this item, only a subset of the informants in western Inis Mór continue leniting, while their neighbours to the west choose not to lenite. Thus both the female informant at An Sruthán and the male informant at Fearann an Choirce produce *cois dhubh* while all their neighbours to the east and to the west produce variants with an unlenited adjective — *cois dubh* or *lámh dubh*.[2]

On Inis Meáin, the female informant again lenites the adjective, producing *cois dhubh*, but on Inis Oírr, not a single informant lenites the adjective. Thus we get either *cois dubh* or *lámh dubh* from all three informants.

With this item, two of the informants employ a more traditional phrase, using the genitive case. Thus the female informant at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór produces *scian na coise duibhe* twice, and her neighbour to the east, the male informant on Inis Meáin, produces

[2]In regard to lexical variation in the islands, note that the term *lámh* with the meaning "handle" is in use only by the female informants at Bungabhla and at Eoghanacht in westernmost Inis Mór, by the male informant M 50 at Cill Rónáin in easternmost Inis Mór, and by the youngest female informant on Inis Oírr. All the other informants across the islands use the term *cois*.

scian na coise doilí(??).

In concluding this section, what can we say of the odd patterns seen in both the first and the last item in the responses from Inis Mór? I offer no explanation, other than to point out the apparent patterns. Certainly homorganicity has no more to tell us of the patterns underlying the variants *cois dhubh*, *cois dubh*, *lámh dhubh* and *lámh dubh* than it did above in regard to the items with human referents.

13.2 Plural Adjectival Forms

(The items discussed here are *éadaí salacha, na cinn mhóra* and *na cinn bheaga.*)

Examining now the plural forms of attributive adjectives, we turn to the first item, *éadaí salacha*, in which we would expect to find the plural form of an adjective with a disyllabic stem.

On Inis Mór, the two female informants F 73 at Eoghanacht in the west and F 70 at Cill Éinne far to the east both use the Standard Irish plural form *salacha*, while the male informant at Eochaill uses both the plural adjectival form *salacha* as well as the invariant form *salach*. All the other informants use only the invariant form *salach*.

On Inis Meáin, both informants use only the invariant form *salach*.

On Inis Oírr, the older female informant F 41 alternates two instances of the inflected form *salacha* with a single instance of the invariant form *salach*. The other two informants, M 55 and F 18, use only the invariant form *salach*.

The next two items involve plural forms in adjectives which have a monosyllabic stem.

The first item, *na cinn mhóra*, presents little deviation from the forms found in Standard Irish. Thus we encounter either *na cinn mhóra* (with appropriate lenition of the adjective after the palatalised final consonant of the preceding noun and the plural suffix *-a*) or *na rudaí móra* (with only the plural suffix *-a* on the adjective) across all three islands.[3]

The one exception to the universal lenition of the initial consonant of the adjective is the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, who produces the example *na cinn móra*. In contrast, we have not just lenition but the elision or complete vocalisation of the voiced rounded labiovelar approximant [**w**] before the long mid-back vowel [**o:**] from two older female informants on Inis Mór, F 73 at Eoghanacht and F 72 at Corrúch. Both produce the example *na cinn 'óra*.

As for the last item, *na cinn bheaga*, there is nothing exceptional to report of the responses across the three islands. All the informants produce either *na cinn bheaga* or *na rudaí beaga*,[4] with the plural form of the adjective and the appropriate lenition of the adjective produced where required in Standard Irish.

[3]In terms of lexical variation, it is worth mentioning that examples with the noun *cinn* are strongly concentrated on Inis Mór while those with *rudaí* are strongly concentrated on Inis Oírr. Inis Meáin shows mixed usage.

[4]In terms of lexical variation in the head nouns themselves, all the informants on Inis Mór use *cinn* exlusively, with the single exception of the female informant at An Sruthán, who uses *rudaí*. In contrast, all the informants on Inis Meáin and on Inis Oírr use *rudaí* exclusively. Thus the lexical distribution patterns here differ significantly from those found in the previous item.

In sum, the plural variants encountered across the three islands echo the variants encountered in Cois Fharraige Irish on the adjacent mainland, both in regard to the elision of the final vowel in disyllabic stems and in regard to the lenition of the initial consonant where appropriate. The fact that the noun phrases *na cinn mhóra* and *na cinn bheaga* are relatively high-frequency items hopefully offsets the paucity of representative items in this section. On the other hand, one may ask if such highly frequent phrases really represent productive inflectional morphology rather than relatively fossilised phrases.

The question may also be raised as to whether the lenition of the initial consonant of the modifying adjective extends to dental or alveolar stops which are homorganic with the final consonant of the head noun.[5] If not, the same lenition rules may apply to modifying adjectives across word boundaries that apply word-internally to nominal stems with prefixed adjectival forms, e.g., *seanduine* (vs. *seanbhuachaill, seanchailín*).

13.3 Lenition of Nouns after Cardinal Numerals

(The items discussed here are *beirt daoine* and *beirt siúinéirí*.)

The cardinal numeral under discussion in both items here is the personal numeral *beirt*. Though grammatically a noun, it is discussed here with the adjectives as a matter of convenience.

Starting with the first item, the phrase *beirt daoine*, in the two western islands we encounter the single word *beirt*, used alone as a noun, as often as we encounter the target phrase *beirt daoine*. Of course, it is impossible to say anything of lenition after the numeral in such one-word phrases. Nevertheless, it is possible to glimpse the dimensions of variation amongst the scattered responses which do contain the full phrase. on Inis Oírr, however, we encounter only examples with the single word *beirt*, so nothing can be said of lenition there.

Beginning on Inis Mór, we get the Standard Irish phrase *beirt daoine* from the two female informants F 43 at Bungabhla and F 72 at Corrúch, but we get a variant with a lenited noun following *beirt* from the two male informants M 60 at Fearann an Choirce ([**bʹɛrtʹ wiːnʹɪ**]) and M 68 at Eochaill ([**bʹɛrtʹ ɣiːnʹɪ**]).

On Inis Meáin, we seem to find the same thing happening. Though we get only the single word *beirt* from the female informant, we again get the variant with the lenited noun from the male informant: [**bʹɛrtʹ wiːnʹɛ**].

Thus, though the evidence is sparse, we seem to glimpse a possible difference in the linguistic behaviour of the sexes in the two western islands, with female informants producing the Standard Irish phrase *beirt daoine* and male informants producing a variant with a lenited noun, *beirt dhaoine*. Despite the scarcity of relevant examples, it is interesting that there are no counterexamples to this hypothesis.

[5] For example, I used the phrase *na cinn dhaora* with an older male friend from Creig an Chéirín in western Inis Mór. When, after two repetitions of the phrase, he did not understand me, I had to translate the phrase into English, as "the expensive ones". In this case, the lenition of the homorganic consonant of the modifying adjective impeded comprehension, while the variant *na cinn daora* would have presented no problem. In fact, comparable forms with lenition are cited for Cois Fharraige Irish in de Bhaldraithe (1953); cf. *poill dhoimhne* and *na fiaidh dhubha* on pages 274 and 275, respectively.

We encounter the alternative constructions *beirt fhear* and *dhá dhuine* as well, and these follow the lenition rules of Standard Irish.

Moving now to the second of the two items, the phrase *beirt siúinéirí*, we note a somewhat different situation across the three islands.

Beginning in westernmost Inis Mór, we find the phrase *dhá shiúinéara* in use from Bungabhla in westernmost Inis Mór eastward through Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór. In contrast, we find the phrase *beirt siúinéaraí* in use from Corrúch eastward through Inis Meáin, with a transition zone in mid-east Inis Mór from Corrúch through Eochaill where both variants are in use. on Inis Oírr, however, the variant *dhá shiúinéara*, found in western and central Inis Mór, is again dominant.

On closer examination of the two main variants, various sub-variants emerge. For example, the female informant at Eoghanacht in western Inis Mór and the male informant at Corrúch both produce *dhá siúinéara*, leaving the initial consonant of the noun unlenited. On the other hand, the male informant at Eochaill produces the phrase *beirt shiúinéara*, with a singular form of the noun and lenition after *beirt*, despite the fact that the final consonant of *beirt* and the initial consonant of the noun are homorganic consonants. Similarly, the male informant on Inis Meáin produces *beirt siúinéara* , with the singular form of the noun but no lenition after *beirt*. The male informant on Inis Oírr produces the anomalous example *beart cairde*.[6]

Before leaving this section, it is worth noting the articulation of *beirt* by the female informant on Inis Meáin, who pronounces the word as [**bʹɛrʃtʹ**] in her examples for both of the preceding items, thus metathesising the final affricate [**tʃ**].[7]

13.4 Forms of Ordinal Numerals

(The items discussed here are *an dara duine* and *an tríú duine*.)

The responses to the first item, the phrase *an dara duine*, produce little of interest across the three islands, with the sole exception of the two informants at Corrúch on Inis Mór. Thus, the universal response to this item on all three islands is the Standard Irish phrase *an dara duine*, except for M 82 and F 72 at Corrúch on Inis Mór, who both produce *an darna duine*.

This is a strange isogloss, in view of the patterns of variation we have normally seen on the linguistic tables. My own explanation for this anomaly is to dismiss it as a kind of "fieldworker isogloss", due directly to my influence on their linguistic behaviour. M 82 and F 72 were my principal informants during four summers of fieldwork in the Aran Islands, and we spent countless hours discussing the grammar and the vocabulary of Aran Irish. I remember distinctly discussing the variants *dara* and *darna* with them at an earlier interview, and it is very likely that the variant *darna*, recessive in modern Aran Irish, was present in their consciousness in some form at the time of the elicitation of the sentences.

[6] While dealing with noun forms representing numbers, it would be worth exploring plural noun phrases expressing the quantities 12-19. For example, I have heard the noun *seachtdéag* used by a middle-aged woman from Fearann an Choirce to express the Standard Irish construction *seacht nduine dhéag*.

[7] This phenomenon of metathesis is discussed in the section on phonological variation.

The other item, the phrase *an tríú duine*, exhibits a much more likely pattern of variation. Beginning with F 43 at Bungabhla in westernmost Inis Mór, we find the variant *tríomha*. Her neighbour immediately to the east, F 73 at Eoghanacht, produces two variants — *tríomha* and *tríomhú*. Her neighbour to the east again, the female informant at An Sruthán, produces Standard Irish *tríú*. Her neighbour to the east again, the male informant at Fearann an Choirce, reverts to the variant *tríomha*, but from Corrúch east through Cill Rónáin we encounter only the Standard Irish variant *tríú*. It is only from the easternmost informant on the island, F 70 at Cill Éinne, that we again get not one but three examples of the variant *tríomha*.

In the two eastern islands, however, we encounter only the Standard Irish variant *tríú*.

In sum, it appears that the variant *tríomha* (and its co-variant *tríomhú*) are restricted to Inis Mór. Furthermore, it appears that the variant *tríomha* is restricted to the two ends of the island, especially to the west end, and that the Standard Irish variant *tríú* – possibly a more recently introduced form – characterises the central part of the island.

13.5 Miscellaneous Items: Lenition after *gach uile*

(The sole item discussed here is *'chuile bhliain*.)

This remaining item, which concerns the lenition of the noun following the adjectival form *'chuile* (= *gach uile*), pertains to a single informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, the youngest informant on Inis Mór. Of all the informants across all three islands, she alone does not lenite the noun after *'chuile*, thus producing *'chuile bliain*. Recall that it is she alone who does not lenite the plural adjective *móra* after the plural noun *cinn*, thus producing the phrase *na cinn móra* instead of the Standard Irish *na cinn mhóra*. The absence of lenition in these examples may be a sign of linguistic change in the younger generations on Inis Mór.

13.6 Comparative Forms of Adjectives

(The items discussed here are *níos fearr, níos lú, níos dorcha, níos túisce, níos moiche, níos fliche, níos giorra, níos raimhre, níos doimhne, níos léithe, níos nuaí* and *níos breátha*.)

This is an area of the grammar which can be a particularly rich source of variation — even between townlands, as we shall soon see.

The first item, the comparative form *níos fearr*, used attributively to qualify a noun phrase, shows little variation. The Standard Irish present tense form *níos fearr* is used by most speakers on all three islands, but two speakers in easternmost Inis Mór distinguish themselves by using the past tense form. Thus both the male informant at Eochaill and the female informant at Cill Éinne use the form *ní b'fhearr*.

A clear majority of the informants across all three islands add or substitute an example in a predicative adjectival construction. For example, four informants on Inis Mór produce the Standard Irish predicative construction *B' fhearr* .... Three others in the same island, however, produce non-standard forms of the same construction. The female informant at

Cill Éinne produces a construction with a reduplicated copula, *Ba b' fhearr . . .*, while both the male informant at Fearann an Choirce and the female informant at Corrúch produce a construction with a lenited reduplicated copula: *Ba bh' fhearr . . .*.[8]

There are no examples of a reduplicated copula in the two eastern islands, but the male informant on Inis Oírr does produce an example in a relative clause with the copula lenited: *a bh' fhearr liom*.

The second item, the comparative form *níos lú*, shows comparatively little variation across the three islands. The Standard Irish form *níos lú* is found universally, though its phonetic realisation shows some slight variation. For example, the two informants at Corrúch on Inis Mór show a decided lengthening of the vowel in the adjective, which can be represented as *lúú*, i.e., *níos lúú*.

On Inis Meáin, however, the female informant produces a more striking deviation from the Standard Irish form, i.e., a variant which can be represented in Standard Irish orthography as *níos lóbha* ([**nʹiˑs ʟoːʷᵊ**]), with lowering of the vowel of the adjective to mid position and conversion of the lengthening into diphthongisation.

The third item, *níos dorcha*, exhibits little variation across the three islands, but it does produce some interesting alternative forms. We get the variant *níos duibhe* from the female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór, and we get the forms *níos múfta* ([**nʹiːs muːftə**]) and *níos múscraí* ([**nʹiːs muːskriː**]) from the male informant on Inis Meáin, in addition to *níos dorcha*. The first term seems to include a variant of the verbal adjective *múchta*, with a substitution of the voiceless labiodental fricative [**f**] for the voiceless velar fricative [**x**]. The second term includes the adjective *múscraí*, whose base form and comparative form are identical and which means, according to *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla*, "dank, moist, muggy, dull".

The responses of the next two items are intertwined, but we will deal with each item in order.

The first item, *níos túisce*, displays an interesting pattern of variation across the three islands. Beginning on Inis Mór, with the exception of the youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, who produces *níos luaichte* (= *níos luaithe*), we find western Inis Mór characterised by the variant *níos túisce* through Fearann an Choirce. The variant *níos luaichte* reappears at Corrúch (in the example given by the female informant) and continues eastward through Cill Rónáin. The variant *níos túisce* then reappears at Cill Éinne, close to the eastern tip of the island.

On Inis Meáin, in the only example from that island, we encounter a new variant, *níos éasca*, and on Inis Oírr, the variant *níos luaichte* reappears in the examples from the two female informants.

As a final note, the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór produces another unique variant: *níos sciobthaí*.

The other item of this pair, *níos moiche*, produces a strikingly different pattern of variation. Beginning on Inis Mór, in western Inis Mór from Bungabhla through Fearann an Choirce, we find only the variant *níos túisce*. Then, from Corrúch eastward, the variant *níos luaichte* is dominant, with only the headmaster of the vocational school, M 50 at Cill Rónáin, producing an instance of *níos túisce*. Of interest also is the variant *níos moichte*

[8] These and similar constructions are discussed in a more comprehensive way in the section on past and conditional copulative constructions.

(= *níos moiche*) from the male informant at Eochaill.

On Inis Meáin, all three variants are found. The male informant produces *níos moichte* and *níos luaichte*, and the female informant produces *níos túisce*.

On Inis Oírr, the two older informants produce the variant *níos éasca*, and the younger informant, F 18, produces the variant *níos luaichte*.

On reviewing the data for these two items, it is likely that the slight semantic differences in the translation task, together with the semantic ranges of the individual variants, account for the sharply different patterns of distribution seen in this pair of items. As for the forms of the variants, it is interesting to note the **[-xtʹɪ]** augment in the local forms *níos luaichte* and *níos moichte*.

Turning now to the next item, *níos fliche*, we find the variant *níos flí* dominant on Inis Mór from Fearann an Choirce eastward to Cill Éinne. Only M 50 at Corrúch, headmaster of the vocational school, uses another variant, and he uses the Standard Irish variant *níos fliche*. In the west, the elderly female informant at Eoghanacht uses another variant, *níos fléí*, and her neighbour to the east, F 70 at An Sruthán, seems to use a transitional form, *níos flié*. The youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, tries using the base form of the adjective as a comparative form (*níos fliuch*) before going on to produce a variant with the augment *-xte*, i.e., *níos fliuchte*.

On Inis Meáin, both informants produce versions of the *níos fléí* variant we saw in use by the elderly female informant at Eoghanacht in western Inis Mór. Thus the female informant produces *níos fléí* itself, while the male informant inserts an **[h]** to produce the hypercorrect form *níos flehí*. He also used the variant *níos fliuchte* jokingly to explain the preceding form.

As for Inis Oírr, both female informants use the variant with the base form of the adjective, *níos fliuch*, a variant which we saw F 43 at Bungabhla on Inis Mór using. It seems as though this form has become dominant among younger speakers in both islands, at least among younger female speakers. F 18 also offered the variant *níos fliucha* in a discussion at the end of the interview for Part II.

Turning to the next item, *níos giorra*, we find the variant *níos girre* dominant on Inis Mór and it is present in the two eastern islands. There is a competing variant, *níos gairide/goiride/gairde/gaoird*, to be found in central Inis Mór, at An Sruthán and at Corrúch, and versions of the same variant are produced by both male informants in the two islands to the east. Thus the male informant on Inis Meáin produces *níos goirde* and the male informant on Inis Oírr produces *níos goiride*. Only the older female informant on Inis Oírr produces the Standard Irish variant *níos giorra*.

It is the next item, the comparative form *níos raimhre*, which produces perhaps the most striking display of geolinguistic micropatterns in this entire survey of linguistic traits from the Aran Islands. It also lends weight to the theory that birthplace rather than subsequent domicile elsewhere on the island is determinant in the formation of a profile of linguistic traits among our informants.

Beginning in westernmost Inis Mór, we encounter the variant *níos roímhre* (**[nʹiːs riːvʹrʹɛ/rĩːvʹrʹɛ]**) from the two female informants at Bungabhla and at Eoghanacht, respectively. Further east, from An Sruthán through Corrúch, we encounter a sharply different variant, *níos*

roimire/roimre ([**nʹiːs rɪmʹɪrʹɪ/rimʹrʹɪ**]), with a short, lax vowel in the first syllable and an unlenited bilabial nasal consonant immediately following. The female informant at Corrúch produces another variant, [**nʹiːs raⁱmʹrʹɛ**], diphthongising the vowel as in the Standard Irish variant, but again not leniting the nasal consonant.

In easternmost Inis Mór, from Eochaill through Cill Éinne, we encounter yet other variants which preserve the short, lax vowel of the first syllable, but now lenite the bilabial nasal consonant. Thus both the male informant at Eochaill and the female informant at Cill Éinne produce *níos roimhre* ([**nʹiːs rivʹrʹɪ**]), while M 50 at Cill Rónáin lowers the vowels slightly to produce *níos reimhre* ([**nʹiːs rɛvʹrʹɛ**]).

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we again encounter the variant *níos reimhre*, produced this time by the female informant. The male informant produces a similar variant, but with the vowel of the first syllable lowered still further — to [**æ**]. Thus we encounter the trisyllabic variant *níos raimhire* ([**nʹiːs rævʹɪrʹɛ**]).

On Inis Oírr, however, the two older informants produce the Standard Irish variant *níos raimhre* ([**nʹiːs raⁱvʹrʹɛ**]), while the younger informant, F 18, produces a variant already encountered in easternmost Inis Mór: *níos roimhre* ([**nʹiːs rivʹrʹɪ**]).

All in all, from F 43 at Bungabhla in westernmost Inis Mór to F 18 on Inis Oírr, a striking gradient of linguistic difference is apparent — but it is, by and large, not a gradient of individual differences but of differences between pairs of townlands.

Turning to the next item, *níos doimhne*, and beginning on Inis Mór, we encounter the variant [**nʹiːs daⁱvʹnʹɛ**], with its clear diphthong [**aⁱ**], from Bungabhla in westernmost Inis Mór through Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór, though occasionally in the trisyllabic form [**nʹiːs dʌⁱvʹɪnʹɛ**].

We also encounter the variant *níos domhaine* ([**nʹiːs daʷɪNʹɛ**]), a regular development from the base form *domhain* ([**daʷNʹ**]), from the male informant at Corrúch. In easternmost Inis Mór, however, we get the variant [**nʹiːs devʹnʹɛ**], with no diphthongisation of the vowel in the first syllable, from the headmaster of the vocational school, M 50 at Cill Rónáin, and the variant [**nʹiːs daˑⁱnʹɛ**], with complete elision/vocalisation of the voiced labiodental fricative [**vʹ**], from the female informant at Cill Éinne.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant produces the trisyllabic variant [**Nʹiːs dɛvʹɪnʹɛ**], very similar to the disyllabic example of M 50 at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór, but with the mid vowel laxed. The female informant, on the other hand, produces a disyllabic version of the variant heard already from the male informant at Corrúch in eastern Inis Mór, [**nʹiːs dʌᵘnʹɛ**].

On Inis Oírr, we encounter once again both the trisyllabic and the disyllabic versions of the variant [**nʹiːs daⁱvʹnʹɛ**] from the male informant and from the younger female informant, F 18, respectively, while the older female informant F 41 produces the variant [**nʹiːs dãⁱnʹɛ**], with complete elision/vocalisation of the voiced labiodental fricative [**vʹ**], already heard from the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór.[9]

Turning to the next item, *níos léithe*, and beginning on Inis Mór, we find the variant *níos liachte*, with the augment *-xte*, apparently dominant throughout the island from Eoghanacht in westernmost Inis Mór to Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór. Two informants, the female informant at An Sruthán and M 50 at Cill Rónáin, produce another variant, *níos liath*, which

[9]Remember that F 41 got her secondary education at Cill Rónáin in easternmost Inis Mór.

attempts to use the base form of the adjective as a comparative form. F 43 at Bungabhla, the youngest informant on the island, produces a hypercorrect form, *níos liatha*, with an *-a* augment.

On Inis Meáin, the variant with the *-xte* augment appears again; the female informant produces *níos liachte*.

On Inis Oírr, we have only the example from the youngest informant, F 18, who again produces the variant using the base form as a comparative form: *níos liath*.

Turning to the next item, *níos nuaí*, we find the variant *níos nuachte*, with the augment *-xte*, apparently dominant throughout the island from Bungabhla in westernmost Inis Mór to at least as far east as Eochaill in easternmost Inis Mór. The male informant at Fearann an Choirce, however, produces the variant *níos nuacha*, while M 50 at Cill Rónáin again produces a form based on the base form of the adjective: *níos nua*.

On Inis Meáin, we encounter only the variant with the augment *-xte*, *níos nuachte*, and on Inis Oírr, we get only the example from the youngest informant, F 18, who produces a variant very close to the Standard Irish variant: *níos núí*.

Turning now to the last item, *níos breátha*, if we confine ourselves to variants of this lexical item and ignore instances of the synonymous form *níos fearr*, we note that the variant *níos breáchte*, with the augment *-xte*, is apparently dominant in eastern Inis Mór from Corrúch to Cill Éinne. M 50 at Cill Rónáin offers another variant, *níos breátha*, while both F 43 at Bungabhla and her mother-in-law, the female informant at Cill Éinne, both produce a variant with greater spirantisation: *níos breácha*. The elderly female informant at Eoghanacht simply utilises the base form of the adjective to produce *níos breá*.

On Inis Meáin, both informants use the comparative form *breáchte*, with the augment *-xte*.

On Inis Oírr, the two older informants make use of the same variant, though the male informant's example, *níos bhreachte* ([**nʹiːs vʹrʹæxtʹɛ**]), is aberrant with its lenition of the initial consonant and its fronting of the vowel in the first syllable.

13.7 The Intensifying Particle *an-*

(The items discussed here are *an-tuirseach, an-fholláin/an-sláintiúil, an-fhairsing* and *an-ghann.*)

This section deals with the marked fronting of the vowel in the intensifying particle from [**aː**] to [**æː**], even in the absence of a following palatalised consonant which might trigger such fronting.[10]

As it turns out, the feature is identified with an extremely small geographical area in central Inis Mór, on the borderline between the western and the eastern halves of the island. In discussing this feature, we can conflate the data for the items *an-tuirseach, an-fholláin/an-sláintiúil, an-fhairsing,* and *an-ghann* with no loss of detail.

Examining the responses from informants across the three islands, it is clear that the fronting feature can be strongly identified with the male informant at Fearann an Choirce

[10] I included this section because I noted this marked fronting in the speech of my principal informants at Corrúch, M 82 and F 72.

on Inis Mór and with his neighbour and relation the female informant at Corrúch to the east. Both front the vowel to [**æː**] in all instances. Surprisingly, F 72's brother, M 82, is barely marked by the feature, despite the fact that they share the house together. He fronts the vowel in only one out of four instances — in the item *an-tuirseach*.

Outside of the examples from these three individuals, there is not a single instance of such fronting in the speech of any other individual in any of the three islands.

Chapter 14

Pronominal Forms

14.1 The Second Person Singular Pronominal Form *tú/tusa* in Present Tense Identificatory Copulative Constructions

The interrogative identificatory copulative construction *An tú/tusa Séamas?* contains forms of the second person singular personal pronoun *tú/tusa* which occur immediately after a form of the copula. The object of investigation here is whether such forms are lenited or not in this position.

In this case, it is clear that neither *tú* nor *tusa* is lenited after the present tense interrogative particle by any informant across the three islands. Thus, all the informants on Inis Mór produce *Ar tú/tusa . . . ?*, with the exception of the headmaster of the vocational school, M 50 at Cill Rónáin, who produces the Standard Irish sequence *An tusa . . . ?*.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant produces the sequence *Ar tú. . . ?* before rapidly switching to the Standard Irish sequence *An tusa . . . ?*, which the female informant likewise produces, again revealing the more conservative nature of Inis Meáin Irish in the choice of interrogative particle.

On Inis Oírr, however, we get the aberrant construction *Ab iú Séamas?*,[1] with the elision of the initial consonant of the pronoun, from both the older informants. From the younger female informant, F 18, on the other hand, we get the construction *A' tusa . . . ?*, with the pronoun again unlenited and with the form of the interrogative particle rather indeterminate. We might surmise, therefore, that the youngest generation has dropped the unusual construction of the older generation and is now rejoining the speakers of the two western islands in producing a variant closer to the Standard Irish variant.

Before moving on to the next item, it would be worth glancing at the responses to two items in the material gathered for Part Three, the responses for *Ní tú/tusa Séamas . . .* and *Mura tú/tusa Séamas . . . .*[2] Both of these constructions involve the use of the same

[1] This construction is mentioned earlier in the discussion of the copula.

[2] Material from the female informant at Eoghanacht, from the male informant at Eochaill, and from the female informant at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór as well as material from the male informant on Inis Oírr is absent in the sample, but one can still derive a rather representative picture from the informants remaining in the sample. We also have material from the younger brother of F 18 on Inis Oírr, who was 14 years of age at

pronominal forms in the same syntactic position in the negative present and the negative conditional present tenses, respectively.

Turning first to the responses to the item *Ní tú/tusa Séamas ...*, which is the negative counterpart to the item just discussed, it is clear that only two informants, both male informants in eastern Inis Mór, lenite the pronoun. Thus the male informant at Corrúch produces *Ní thú Séamas ...* and M 50 at Cill Rónáin produces *Ní thusa Séamas ....* All the other informants across all three islands produce *Ní tú/tusa Séamas ....*

In regard to responses to the item *Mura tú/tusa Séamas ...*, we encounter a similar but distinct pattern. With this item, nearly all the informants, including the informants who lenited the pronoun in the previous item, produce an unlenited pronoun: *Mara tú/tusa Séamas ....* In contrast, the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18, produces a lenited pronoun in her example *Mura thú Séamas ....* As for the older female informant on Inis Oírr, once again she produces an aberrant form, with the initial consonant of the pronoun elided: *Marab iú Séamas ....*

As for the negative conditional marker *mura* itself, this comes in a surprising variety of forms. Almost all informants in the two western islands produce the variant *mara*, though M 50 at Cill Éinne produces *muna*. Only the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18, produces the Standard Irish variant *mura*. Besides the unusual but characteristic variant already cited from the older female informant on Inis Oírr, we also have the variant *marabh tú ...* from her near age-mate F 43 at Bungabhla on Inis Mór,[3] and the variant *Mara ba tusa ...* from the youngest informant of all, M 14 on Inis Oírr.

Thus, to sum up all the evidence considered so far for lenition of the initial consonant of the pronoun *tú/tusa* directly after the copula in present tense identificatory copulative constructions, there is normally no lenition. In other words, one would not normally expect lenition of the pronoun *tú/tusa* after the forms *An/Ar ... ?, Ní ..., or Mura ...* in present tense identificatory copulative constructions. Nevertheless, two male informants in eastern Inis Mór do lenite the initial consonant of the pronoun after the negative marker *Ní...*, and the youngest informant on Inis Oírr lenites the pronoun after the negative conditional marker *mura*, though her younger brother does not lenite in his example *Mara ba tusa ....*

14.2 The Second Person Singular Pronominal Form *thú/thusa* in Present Tense Classificatory Copulative Constructions

The next two items are classificatory copulative constructions, in which the subject pronoun is clause final, following a noun phrase which serves as predicate.

The first item, the interrogative classificatory construction *An iascaire thú?*, presents few surprises. Nearly all the informants on Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin produce lenited forms of the pronoun, either *thú/thusa* or a weakened form with the initial voiceless glottal

the time of the interview. He will be designated M 14.

[3]Remember that both F 43 and F 41 attended the secondary school at Cill Rónáin at approximately the same time.

central fricative **[h]** elided: *'ú*. Only a single informant, the female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór, produces an unlenited pronoun: *tusa*.

On Inis Oírr, however, the male informant produces a variant with an elided initial consonant: *'ú*. The two female informants, on the other hand, both produce only unlenited pronominal forms: *tusa* and (F 41 only) *tú*. Here again, the two female informants stand apart from the nearly all the informants in the two western islands, who — in the main — lenite the pronoun in this item.

The second of the two items, the hypothetical classificatory construction *Dá mba bhean thú ...*, presents an even more uniform pattern. We find nearly all informants on all three islands leniting the pronouns to produce the variants *thú, 'ú* and, in one instance, *thusa*. Only the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, produces the unlenited emphatic pronoun *tusa*.

In sum, then, the pronoun in both classificatory constructions is lenited generally — except by four female informants. In the case of the interrogative classificatory construction *An iascaire thú?*, the elderly female informant at Corrúch in eastern Inis M'or[4] and both female informants on Inis Oírr produce the unlenited forms *tú* and *tusa*. In the case of the hypothetical classificatory construction *Dá mba bhean thú ...*, however, only the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, produces an unlenited form: *tusa*.

14.3 The Second Person Singular Pronominal Form *thú/thusa* as Direct Object in Transitive Clauses

The direct object pronoun *thú* normally found clause-finally in transitive clauses presents a similar uniform pattern. Throughout the islands, there are no unlenited pronouns anywhere. It is worth noting, however, that on Inis Mór all informants except one, the female informant F 70 at An Sruth/'an, produce only the reduced pronoun *'ú*, with the initial consonant elided.

F 70 produces the same variant, along with a second example with a lenited but unelided initial consonant: *thú*.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant produces two examples of the reduced form *'ú*, while the female informant produces two examples of the lenited pronominal form *thú*. On Inis Oírr, the sole example, from the older female informant, is again of the form *thú*.

Thus, as expected, no forms of the direct object pronoun *thú/thusa* are left with the initial consonant unlenited or unelided in any of the three islands. The reduced form *'ú*, with the initial consonant elided rather than simply lenited, however, seems to strongly characterise Inis Mór, and to a lesser extent, Inis Meáin.

[4]Remember the innovative traits which we have associated specifically with Corrúch and to a lesser degree with Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór.

14.4 The Diphthongisation of the Vowel in the Pronominal Forms *tú* and *thú*

Before passing on to the next pronoun, note the quality of the vowel in the unemphatic pronominal form *'ú* from the female informant at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór: [**əᵘ**]. Recall the similar form cited earlier for the male informant at Corrúch in the discussion of the verb *BÍ*: [**təᵘ**] (= *tú*). I have heard precisely that vowel quality in the same pronoun when an older male relative of mine from Cill Rónáin saluted a passing friend, asking *Cén chaoi 'bhfuil tú?*.

It would perhaps be a mistake to consider such diphthongisation of the vowel in the pronominal forms *tú* and *thú* as restricted to Inis Mór. Note, for example, the example from the older female informant on Inis Oírr: [**toᵘ**].

As for possible influences from the mainland areas which might help explain this occasional striking diphthongisation, my inclination would be to look in the direction of western Munster.

14.5 The Emphatic Subject Pronoun *seisean*

Turning to the next item, the emphatic subject pronoun *seisean*, we note that the only informants to use the Standard Irish variant *seisean* (**ʃɛʃəN/ʃɪʃəN**) are the two female informants on Inis Oírr, who each represent a younger generation with more formal education.

As for the other informants, all of them use one of two non-Standard Irish variants, which can be represented in Standard Irish orthography as *sosan* and *siosan*. The variant *sosan* (**səsəN/sɛsəN**) is encountered from Corrúch eastward through Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr, though we have examples only from the two older male informants in the two eastern islands. The variant *siosan* (**ʃəsəN/ʃɛsəN**), which seems to be a blend of *sosan* and Standard Irish *seisean*, is found only on Inis Mór.

At first glance, the variant *siosan* seems to be limited to western Inis Mór, from Bungabhla eastward through Fearann an Choirce, but then we see that the two male informants in easternmost Inis Mór, at Eochaill and at Cill Rónáin, respectively, both use *siosan* to the exclusion of the other variant. Thus the variant *siosan* is an Inis Mór development which is well distributed throughout the island, though not to the complete exclusion of the variant *sosan*, which still retains its hold in eastern Inis Mór.

Note also the variant *sé-san*, produced as an alternative emphatic subject pronominal form by the male informant M 68 at Eochaill on Inis Mór. This variant seems to be a simple conjoining of the normal subject pronoun *sé* with the generalised emphatic suffix *-san*.

In this connection, it is worth noting the variant *sí-se* used by the same informant in I.7 for the feminine emphatic subject pronoun, along with the Standard Irish *sise* in I.41 and in I.60. The male informant on Inis Meáin uses the same variant, *sí-se*, in I.7 as well as the Standard Irish *sise* in I.41. Note the similar but distinct variant *sí-sean* produced by the younger female informant on Inis Oírr in the phrase [**fən′ t′iːʃəN** (= *faigheann sise*).

In the case of the variant *sí-se*, we have the substitution of the normal subject pronoun *sí* for the sequence *si-* in the first syllable of the feminine emphatic form *sise*, whereas in the second variant, the same pronoun *sí* has been substituted in the first syllable of the masculine emphatic pronoun *seisean*. Presumably, in this case the emphatic suffix of the masculine form has been extended to cover both sexes.

14.6 The Emphatic Pronominal Form *eisean*

The next item, the emphatic pronoun *eisean*, is used as an object pronoun in verbal clause constructions or as a subject pronoun in copulative constructions. We get the Standard Irish variant *eisean* (**ɛʃəN**) from both informants on Inis Meáin and the Standard Irish subject pronoun *seisean* generalised to post-copular position by the older female informant on Inis Oírr, but everywhere else on all three islands we encounter the variant *iosan* (**ɛsəN**) in those syntactic positions.

The male informant on Inis Meáin offers *iosan* as an alternative to his Standard Irish example while the younger female informant on Inis Oírr produces only this variant. The male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór produces the same variant along with the subject pronoun *siosan*, generalised to post-copular position.

As we might expect, we also encounter a variant which apparently conjoins the normal object pronoun *é* with the generalised emphatic suffix *-san*, thus producing *é-san*. Only the male informant M 68 at Eochaill and the female informant at Cill Éinne — both in eastern Inis Mór — produce that sub-variant. As we have just seen, M 68 also produces a similar variant as an alternative form for the emphatic subject pronoun: *sé-san*.

14.7 The Pronominal Form *muid/muide*

Moving on to the plural personal pronouns, let us look first at the pronoun *muid* and its emphatic counterpart *muide*. First of all, it is clear that the variant *muid* and its emphatic counterpart *muide* are ubiquitous throughout the three islands, though the final consonant of the basic form *muid* is frequently assimilated partially or completely to the initial dental or alveolar consonant of the following word.

Thus we frequently encounter the allomorphs *mud* and *mu*, depending on the initial consonant of the following word. We also find affrication of the palatalised dental consonant in both *muid* and *muide*, especially in easternmost Inis Mór and in the two eastern islands, though usually not to the exclusion of forms with simple palatalised consonants in such segmental positions.

Striking variants of these two pronominal forms, i.e., *muinn* and its emphatic counterpart *muinne*, are found throughout Inis Mór, though not in the two eastern islands.[5] An odd feature of their distribution on Inis Mór is the fact that though these variants co-exist

[5]The form *muinn* has been discussed in the context of the Irish of northern Meath and southwest Ulster in O' Rahilly (1932), and in the context of Aran Irish, in Ó Dochartaigh, L. (1973/74).

with the variants *muid* and *muide* in the examples of many of the informants, many other informants — their close neighbours — show no trace of them in their many examples.

Thus, beginning at Bungabhla in westernmost Inis Mór, F 43 exhibits the emphatic variant *muinne*, but her neighbour to the east, F 73 at Eoghanacht, presents no examples of either of these two variants. In contrast, her neighbour to the east, F 70 at An Sruthán, produces both the variants *muinn* and *muinne* in over half of her examples.[6] Her neighbour to the east, the male informant at Fearann an Choirce, however, again produces only the normal variants *muid* and *muide*. His neighbours to the east at Corrúch, however, again reverse the trend and both produce *muinn* and *muinne* in roughly half their examples. Their neighbour to the east, the male informant at Eochaill, again reverses the trend and produces only *muid* and *muide*. His neighbour to the east, M 50 at Cill Rónáin, in contrast, produces five examples of *muinn*, while his neighbour to the east, the female informant at Cill Éinne, produces no examples of the forms in question among her many examples of *muid* and *muide*. This alternation in the usage of the variants *muinn* and *muinne* from informant to informant across Inis Mór is truly impressive.

Once again, the assimilation of the final consonant of the variant [**mɪN′/m^{w}ɪN′**] (*muinn*) to the initial consonant of the following word — usually through depalatalisation— is frequent.

An interesting blended form exists in the examples from two informants. Thus the male informant at Corrúch produces *muind*, and the female informant at Bungabhla produces *muint*, with a devoiced final plosive.[7]

14.8 The Pronominal Form *sibh/sibhse*

Turning now to the second person plural pronominal forms *sibh* and *sibhse*, there is little to say of the base form *sibh*. The variant *sib*, with an unlenited final consonant, is dominant on all three islands.

Only two informants — both on Inis Mór —produce the Standard Irish variant *sibh*, with a lenited final consonant. The elderly female informant at Eoghanacht produces one example, and M 50 at Cill Rónáin produces a total of three examples. Since he is headmaster of the vocational school, it is not surprising that the Standard Irish variant should be so strongly present in his examples.

As for the emphatic counterpart *sibhse*, we encounter the variant *sipse* (**ʃɪpʃɪ**), with devoicing of the bilabial plosive before the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative, universally in the two western islands, with the single exception of the female infornmant at Corrúch on Inis Mór, who produces a single example with a voiced bilabial plosive along with three others with the bilabial plosive devoiced.

On Inis Oírr, however, both older informants voice the bilabial plosive to produce *sibse*.

[6] I remember her vigorously denying that she used these variants, and in fact she did not know initially to which forms I was referring. Yet note that over half of her examples contain either *muinn* or *muinne*.

[7] A similar variant occurs in mainland Connemara. I heard the blended form *muinde* at least three times from the spokesman of the credit union in Carraroe in an interview by Neasa Ní Chualáin on Raidió na Gaeltachta (November, 2005). The speaker was a local person, or at least from Connemara, to judge from his surname (Ó Coistealbha).

(We can say nothing of the younger informant, F 18, since she gives us no example of the emphatic pronoun.)

Before leaving this item, it is worth mentioning that the male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór uses the vocative particle with the emphatic pronoun to produce the hypercorrect form *a sipse!*. The female informant at Cill Éinne also produces an unusual form in her prepositional phrase *thríd sipse* (= *tríbhse*).

14.9 The Subject Pronoun *siad/siadsan*

Turning now to the third person plural subjectival pronominal forms *siad* and *siadsan*, we note that the base form *siad* is found frequently in its full form [**ʃiᵊd**], with the diphthong [**iᵊ**] clearly audible, across the three islands, but it is found far more frequently in a reduced form, with a short, often centralised vowel replacing the diphthong, e.g., [**ʃɪd**], [**ʃɛd**], [**ʃæd**], and [**ʃəd**]. Its final consonant also is occasionally devoiced: [**ʃɛt, ʃət**].

Its emphatic counterpart, *siadsan*, which normally accepts stress, understandably retains its diphthong in the first syllable in nearly all the examples across the three islands. The only feature which attracts our attention in this case is the levelling of the diphthong to a long or half-long mid-front vowel by both informants at Corrúch in eastern Inis Mór. Thus the male informant produces two examples of [**ʃeːdsəɴ**], while the female informant produces one example of [**ʃeˑdsəɴ**].

Another feature which attracts our attention in the case of both the base form *siad* and the emphatic form *siadsan* is the affrication of the initial sibilant following the dental nasal consonant in the habitual present affix *-ann* in a verb immediately preceding the pronoun. Thus we find [**. . . ɴ̩ tʃəd**] for *-ann siad* and [**. . . ɴ̩ tʃiˑᵊdsɴ̩**] for *-ann siadsan*. This feature marks easternmost Inis Mór (Cill Rónáin and Cill Éinne) off sharply from all points west in the island, and it also marks Inis Oírr strongly, but oddly enough, we have no examples from Inis Meáin.

14.10 The Pronominal Form *iad/iadsan*

Turning now to the objectival and copular pronominal forms *iad* and *iadsan*, we might expect very similar patterns, but here we encounter no emphatic forms and the base forms themselves show some interesting differences from their subjectival counterparts. The main difference between the two sets of forms is that, while the simple object pronoun *iad* does not attract stress, it is nevertheless more acoustically prominent in clause-final position than its subjectival counterpart.

For this reason, *iad* retains its full diphthong far more frequently than does its subjectival counterpart on all three islands. Furthermore, we find the levelling of the diphthong to [**eː**] in this pronominal form frequent across all informants on Inis Mór, e.g., [**eːd**], and even the two female informants on Inis Oírr produce examples of such levelling with this pronominal form. On Inis Meáin, however, neither of the two informants produces a single example of

such levelling.

What we do find on Inis Meáin, however, is a great deal of devoicing of the final consonant of this form by both informants. Thus roughly half the instances of *iad* from both informants are realised as [**iˠᵊt**] or its close phonetic equivalent. Such devoicing in the other two islands, however, is rare with this pronominal form.

14.11 Possessive Pronouns in Various Constructions

(The items discussed here are *ár [gcuid] . . . , bhur [gcuid] . . . , [in] bhur [scoláirí], [i] do [dhiaidh], [i] do [sheasamh]* and *[i] mo [sheasamh].*)

The next three items deal with the possessive pronouns for first and second persons plural, forms which are normally collapsed into a single, undifferentiated "plural possessor" category in Connaught Irish with no audible difference between any of the three persons plural. In other words, the Standard Irish possessive constructions *ár gcótaí, bhur gcótaí,* and *a gcótaí* are normally all pronounced identically in the dialects of Connaught Irish: [**ə goːtiː**]. These items are an attempt to examine the situation in Aran Irish.

Turning to the first item, the phrase *ár gcuid gruaige*, we find no evidence of the possessive pronoun *ár* in any of the islands. In the two western islands, we generally find the possessive pronoun *ár* reduced to the short central vowel [**ə**] followed by eclipsis of the initial consonant of the following noun, as is the case in Connaught Irish. Thus, for example, we get the form *a' gcuid gruaig* from both informants on Inis Meáin.

On Inis Mór, however, the situation in regard to the initial mutation of the following noun is not quite so straightforward. For example, we get the variant *a' gcuid gruaige* from the female informant at Bungabhla, from the female informant at Corrúch, from the male informant at Eochaill and from the female informant at Cill Éinne. We also get the variant *a' ngruaig* from the male informant at Corrúch. But we also get examples which are not easy to explain. For example, we get [**ə̃ ɣruˠᵋgʲ**] from the female informant at An Sruthán, which may represent the phrase *an ghruaig*, but if so, this phrase seems a bit out of context.

Other examples, such as [**ᵊ gruˠᶦgʲ**] from both the female informant at Eoghanacht and the male informant at Cill Rónáin and [**tɑːᶦ gruˠᶦgʲ**] (*tá a' gruaig . . . ??*) from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce are even harder to explain. The simplest explanation may simply be that the mutation system is breaking down in this grammatical context.

On Inis Oírr, the mutation system seems to have broken down for the two older informants. The male informant produces [**ᵊŋ gruˠᶦgʲ**], with what appears to be the article *an*, while the older female informant produces *' cuid gruaige.* In both cases, there is no mutation in the following noun. In contrast, the youngest informant, F 18, does eclipse the initial consonant of the noun to produce [**n̥ ŋruˠᵋgʲ**], a form which seems to echo that of the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór, with a reduced form of the possessive pronoun preceding the noun.

Turning to the next item, the phrases *bhur gcuid éadaí, bhur gcuid cótaí, bhur gcuid caipíní, bhur gcuid ceachtanna,* etc., with the second person plural possessive pronoun *bhur* the situation seems more straightforward. The two informants on Inis Meáin again produce

forms with the possessive pronoun reduced to the short central vowel [**ə**], or else they elide the vowel entirely while eclipsing the initial consonant of the following noun unfailingly.

In regard to this item, the informants in the other two islands behave similarly to those on Inis Meáin, for the most part. However, three informants on Inis Mór distinguish themselves by using the singular possessive pronoun *do* in a context calling for the plural pronoun.

Thus the youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, apparently appropriates the singular pronoun *do* (with appropriate lenition of the initial consonant of the following noun) to serve in a plural context in four instances, apparently imitating pronominal usage in English — but in reverse! The male informant at Fearann an Choirce, on the other hand, produces a blended form: *do gcuid éadaí*. Note also that he produces the singular pronoun again, but with appropriate lenition, to produce the phrase *do chuid ceachta*, as does his neighbour to the west, the female informant at An Sruthán, though, as indicated above, the translation task called for a plural pronominal form.

The other exception to the general pattern is the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18. She first produces the phrase *a' cuid éadaí*, with the reduced pronoun but with no mutation of the initial consonant of the following noun. Next, she substitutes the pronoun *bhur* ([**vur**]) to produce the synonymous phrase *bhur éadaí*, again with no mutation of the initial consonant of the following noun. She uses the same pronoun to produce the phrases *bhur cótaí, bhur hataí,* and *bhur n-oibre* (= bhur gcuid oibre). Note that in the first phrase, the initial consonant of the following noun is not mutated, but that eclipsis does occur in the last phrase.

Turning to the next item, the phrase *in bhur scoláirí*, we get the phrase *ina' scoláirí/mic léinn*, with the reduced pronoun *-a'*, across Inis Mór. From Inis Meáin, however, we encounter no relevant examples for this item, while on Inis Oírr, we get the normal reduced form from the male informant, but forms with further reductions, apparently, from the two female informants. Thus from the older female informant we get *na scleáirí* and from the younger female informant we get *an scoláirí*, if the transcription is reliable.[8]

The next two items, the phrases *i do dhiaidh* and *i do sheasamh*, contain the second person singular possessive pronoun *do*.

The first item, the phrase *i do dhiaidh*, yields only two examples — one from Inis Mór and the other from Inis Oírr, but they are interesting nonetheless. The female informant at Eoghanacht on Inis Mór produces the phrase [**tə jiˑə**], eliding the preposition *i* and devoicing the initial consonant of the pronoun itself. In contrast, the male informant on Inis Oírr produces the hypercorrect example *in do dhiaidh*, using the full form *in* of the preposition despite its being immediately followed by a consonant.

The second item, the phrase *i do sheasamh*, is best combined with the last item, the phrase *i mo sheasamh*. Among the isolated responses for these two items across Inis Mór and Inis Oírr (again we have no examples from Inis Meáin), we have the expected reduced forms *' d' sheasa'* and *' mo sheas'* from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór, and the phrase *' mo 'easa'* from the female informant at Eoghanacht, with the initial consonant of the verbal noun elided completely, but not the vowel of the pronoun.

Two constructions of great interest are the invariable possessive constructions produced

[8]Perhaps we are dealing here with either sub-vocalisation or inaudibility. Note the examples from the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór below.

by the male informant M 82 at Corrúch on Inis Mór in the clauses *Bhí tusa 'na sheasa'* and *Bhí mise 'na sheasa'*, though he also produces the Standard Irish inflected construction *Tá Máire ina seasa'*. One must be careful with such constructions, however. In I.37 the female informant at Cill Éinne produces the clause [**vʹiː mʊdʹ Nə siː**], which looks very much like an invariable possessive construction, but is simply the clause *Bhí muid inár suí*, with the normal reduction of the possessive pronoun *-ár* to [**ə**] and the appropriate mutation of the initial consonant of the following verbal noun (in this case, a zero mutation).

Of equal interest are the constructions produced by F 18, the youngest informant on Inis Oírr. She uses no locative constructions to indicate a stationary body position. She simply uses the progressive verbal construction with the appropriate verbal noun, apparently on the model of similar constructions in English. Thus, she produces *Bhí tusa ag seasamh*, *Bhí mise ag seasamh*, *Tá Máirtín ag seasamh*, and *Tá Máire ag suí*.

Chapter 15

Prepositional Phrases

15.1 With Non-Finite Clauses as Object of the Preposition

(The items discussed here are the phrases *. . . [ag caint] ar/faoi theach a thógáil, . . . [ag smaoineamh] ar fhear a fhostú, le é a phiocadh suas* and *tar éis labhairt leis.*)

In the first two items, the verbal phrases *. . . ag caint ar/faoi theach a thógáil* and *. . . ag smaoineamh ar fhear a fhostú*, we will be examining the lenition of the noun immediately following the preposition.

Beginning with the first of the two items, the verbal phrase *. . . ag caint ar/faoi theach a thógáil*, and starting on Inis Mór, we note that informants from Bungabhla eastward through Corrúch seem to be alternating in leniting or not leniting the initial consonant of the noun following the preposition. Thus we get the lenition expected in Standard Irish from the female informant at An Sruthán and from the male informant at Corrúch in the construction *. . . ar theach a thóigeál.*[1]

On the other hand, we get constructions with no lenition of the noun following the preposition from the female informant at Bungabhla, (*. . . ar teach a thóigeál*), from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce *. . . faoi teach a thóigeál*, and from the female informant at Corrúch (*. . . ar teach a thóigeáil*). This trend continues in easternmost Inis Mór, with the male informant at Eochaill producing *. . . faoi teach a thóigeál* and both the male informant at Cill Rónáin and the female informant at Cill Éinne producing *. . . ar teach a thóigeáil.*

In sum, it appears that non-lenition of the noun in a non-finite clause following a preposition seems to be dominant on Inis Mór, especially in easternmost Inis Mór, and that the younger informants are characterised by this trait.

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, however, we note that in this item both informants lenite the initial consonant of the noun. The male informant produces *. . . ar theach a dhéana' . . . a thóigeál*, and the female informant produces *. . . ar theach a thóigeál.*

On Inis Oírr, the trend reverses itself again, and we find none of the informants leniting

[1] We also get an ambiguous construction with a possessive pronoun from the female informant at Eoghanacht, *. . . ar a theach a cóigeál*, but this can safely be regarded as a slip of the tongue.

the noun. Thus, the male informant produces *... ar teach a dhéana'*, the older female informant produces *... ar teach a thóigeáil*, and the younger female informant produces *... ar teach a thóigeál*.

In sum, with this item, the informants on Inis Meáin behave conservatively, leniting the initial noun, while the informants on Inis Mór do not lenite for the most part and the informants on Inis Oírr do not lenite at all.

Turning to the second of the two items, the verbal phrase *ag smaoineamh ar fhear a fhostú*, we find non-lenition of the noun in a non-finite clause following a preposition dominant on all three islands, though not quite universal. On Inis Mór, the female informant at An Sruthán alternates between *... ar fhear a fháil* and *ar fear a fháil*. The female informant at Corrúch opts to lenite in this item, producing *... ar fhear a fháil nó (a) fhostú*, while her brother, on the other hand, does not lenite in this item, thus producing *... ar fear a fháil* twice. Likewise, the female informant at Eoghanacht does not lenite, producing *... ar duine eicínt (a) fháil*, nor do any of the informants in easternmost Inis Mór. Thus, the male informant at Eochaill produces *... ar fear a fhostú*, the male informant at Cill Rónáin produces *faoi fear (a) fhostú* and the female informant at Cill Éinne produces *... ar fear (a) fháil*.

On Inis Meáin, in contrast to the preceding item, the male informant alternates between lenition and non-lenition, producing both *... ar fhear (a) fhostú* and *... ar fear a íoc*, while the female informant opts for the non-lenited variant in this item, producing *... ar fear a ... fhostó*.

On Inis Oírr, both female informants once again opt for non-lenition, with the older female informant producing *... ar fear a "hire-áil" amach ... (a) fhostú* and the younger female informant producing *... ar fear a fhostú*.

Turning now to the third item in this section, the phrase *le é a phiocadh suas*, our attention here will be directed mainly to seeing which of the two constructions, *le é a phiocadh suas* or *lena phiocadh suas*, is in use in the three islands. The first construction, *le é a phiocadh suas*, consists of the preposition *le* followed by a normal non-finite clause. The second construction, *lena phiocadh suas*, consists of the preposition *le* joined to a possessive pronoun modifying a verbal noun phrase, a construction syntactically quite distinct from the first construction, however synonymous it might be.

Beginning on Inis Mór, we find all the informants opting for the first construction, *le é a phiocadh suas/le (é a) thóigeáil aníos*, with the single exception of M 50 at Cill Rónáin, the headmaster of the vocational school, who produces the second construction, *lena phiocadh suas*. It is worth noting that the youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, does not lenite the initial consonant of the verbal noun, thus producing *le é a piocadh suas*.

On Inis Meáin, the female informant produces a construction with a non-finite clause, *le í a fháil*, while the male informant produces the construction with the possessive pronoun and verbal noun, *lena phiocadh suas*, echoing the male informant at Cill Rónáin in easternmost Inis Mór.

On Inis Oírr, we find both the male informant and the younger female informant producing the construction with the possessive pronoun and verbal noun, *lena phiocadh suas*, while F 41, the older female informant produces a construction which I find ambiguous: *le a*

phiocadh suas. Of course, one can interpret this example as an example of the construction *le é a phiocadh suas*, with the vowel of the pronoun *é* merged with the vowel of the preceding preposition *le*, and the resulting long vowel shortened by a low-level phonological rule.

But note that all the examples of such a construction in the two western isles show either complete elision of the particle *a* or great reduction of the particle, unlike the example here, in which the particle shows no reduction. It seems more likely to me that we are dealing once again with an unusual form from F 41, one which attempts to produce the construction with the possessive particle and the verbal noun produced by the other informants, but without the linking particle *-n-* between the preposition and the possessive pronoun.

In sum, it seems that the construction with the non-finite clause, *le é a phiocadh suas*, is dominant nearly everywhere on Inis Mór. On the other hand, the construction with the possessive pronoun and verbal noun, *lena phiocadh suas*, makes an appearance in easternmost Inis Mór, is perhaps co-dominant with the first construction on Inis Meáin, and is perhaps completely dominant on Inis Oírr. Clearly, however, more evidence is needed on this point.

Turning now to the last item in this section, the phrase *tar éis labhairt leis*, our direction will be directed entirely to the phonological shape of the "compound preposition" *tar éis*.[2]

Beginning on Inis Mór, we note the relatively Standard Irish form [**tər ˈeˑʃ**] from the youngest informant there, F 43 at Bungabhla. We get a variant of that form with the initial consonant of the first word lenited from the female informant at Cill Éinne: [**har ˈeːʃ**]. We get a more reduced form from the female informant at Eoghanacht, with the vowel of the first word elided: [**hr eʃ**]. We get even more reduced variants from both informants at Corrúch, [**r e$^{\text{i}}$ʃ**] from M 82 and [**r ɛʃ**] from F 72, in which the first word is reduced to the single consonant [**r**] .

Alternatively, one can reduce the form [**hr**] to [**h**], preserving the first consonant but eliding the second consonant. Thus we have the variant [**h eˑʃ**] from the female informant at Cill Éinne.[3]

Parallel to this series of variants, however, is another series of variants, all based on regressive/anticipatory assimilation of both consonants in the first word to the mid front initial vowel [**eː**] of the second word, producing palatalisation of the two consonants. We get a single example of the full form from the female informant at An Sruthán: [**tʹərʹ eːʃ**] , but otherwise we encounter only variants with the vowel elided in the first word: [**tʹrʹ eːʃ/ tʹrʹ ˈeˑʃ/ tʹrʹ eʃ/ tʹrʹ ɛʃ**]. Such variants we encounter at An Sruthán, at Fearann an Choirce, at Eochaill, and at Cill Roṅáin.

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we note only the palatalised variants. The female informant produces [**tʹrʹ eʃ**]. The male informant, on the other hand, lenites the initial consonant but preserves its palatalisation: [**hʹrʹ eːʃ**].

On Inis Oírr, both female informants produce palatalised variants. The older female informant produces [**tʹᵋrʹ ˈeːʃ**], and the younger female informant produces [**tʹrʹ eʃ**]. The male informant, however, produces the unpalatalised reduced variant which we encountered at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór: [**h eˑʃ**].

Before ending discussion of this item, however, it is worth noting again the two examples produced by the female informant at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór, [**h eˑʃ ə ʟʌᵘrt lʹɛʃ**] and [**har**

[2]We shall have another chance to view this amorphous compound preposition in the next section.
[3]This is a variant which I normally associate with Connemara.

[**ˈeːʃ ə ʟʌᵘrt lʲɛʃ**]. In both examples, there seems to be a clear neutral vowel before the verbal noun, which could represent either the particle *a* of non-finite clauses or the particle *ag* of verbal noun phrases. In either case, such a particle would not conform to Standard Irish usage.

15.2 Prepositional Phrases with a Genitival Noun Phrase as Object of the Preposition

(The items discussed here are the phrases *trasna na sráide, tar éis an dinnéir, tar éis an bhricfeasta* and *le haghaidh a dhinnéir*.)

Since we have already examined the nouns in these phrases in our discussion of the genitival inflection of the noun, we will focus entirely on the phonological shapes of the prepositional forms, forms which are generally categorised in traditional Irish grammar as "compound prepositions".

Turning to the prepositional form *trasna* in the first item, *trasna na sráide*, we find both the Standard Irish variant *trasna* ([**traːsNə**]) and a second variant with palatalisation of the two consonants at the onset of the first syllable, followed by a fronted low vowel: *treasna* ([**tʲrʲæːsNə**]).

Both variants are found in the two western islands. The situation seems uncomplicated on Inis Meáin, where the male informant opts for the Standard Irish variant *trasna*, while the female informant opts for the second variant, *treasna*. On Inis Mór, however, the situation seems more complex. We encounter the variant *trasna* from only two informants — the male informants at Corrúch and at Eochaill, in eastern Inis Mór. In contrast, we get the second variant, *treasna*, from the female informants at Bungabhla, at Eoghanacht and at An Sruthán (one example) in western Inis Mór and again from the male informant at Cill Rónáin and from the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór.

Furthermore, in the centre of Inis Mór from An Sruthán to Corrúch, one encounters a number of blended forms in which only one of the two consonants of the onset is palatalised while the following vowel is either fronted or not, or in which neither consonant of the onset is palatalised, but in which the following vowel is fronted nonetheless. Thus we get [**t̪rʲæːsnə**] from the female informant at An Sruthán, [**tʲrasnə**] from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce, and two examples of [**træsNə**] from the female informant at Corrúch.

What is striking in both western islands is that the female informants seem strongly inclined to front the vowel of the first syllable to [**æ**] (including both the palatalised and blended forms), while, with the single exception of the example *treasna* from the male informant at Cill Rónáin, the male informants do not front the vowel.

Moving now to Inis Oírr, we encounter a somewhat different situation. Here we find no palatalisation of the consonants of the onset, and it is the male informant who fronts the vowel. Thus the older female informant produces [**traːsNə**] and the younger female informant produces [**traˑsNə**], while the male informant produces [**træsnə**].

Note also the unusual construction initially produced by the youngest informant, F 18, [**haːrʲ gən srɑːdʲ**], an apparent attempt to produce the non-standard construction *thar den*

tsráid.

Turning now to the next items, in which we have further examples of the compound preposition examined in the previous section, *tar éis*, we again encounter a wide array of forms, some now familiar and some novel.

Beginning once more on Inis Mór, we again get the relatively Standard Irish form [**tar eːʃ**] from the youngest informant there, F 43 at Bungabhla. And once again, we get a variant of that form, with the initial consonant of the first word lenited, from her mother-in-law at Cill Éinne: [**har ˈeːʃ**]. This time we also get a sub-variant of that variant from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce, with the vowel of the first word fronted and the vowel of the second word laxed and shortened: [**hær ɛʃ**].

Once again, we get a more reduced form from the elderly female informant at Eoghanacht, with the vowel of the first word elided: [**hr eːʃ**]. We also get the even more reduced variant [**r ɛʃ**], in which the first word is reduced to the single consonant [**r**], from the same informant, from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce ([**r eːʃ**]), and, again, from the two informants at Corrúch ([**r e^{i}ʃ**] from M 82 and F 72, [**r eˑʃ**] from M 82 alone). Note the diphthongisation of the vowel in the second word in a further sub-variant from F 72: [**r a^{i}ʃ**]. Note also that the two informants at Corrúch use this extremely reduced variant exclusively in their examples to represent the compound preposition *tar éis*.

As for the other extremely reduced variant, [**h eːʃ**], with the first word reduced to the consonant [**h**], once again the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór is the only informant to produce this variant, and she produces two examples. Her daughter-in-law, F 43, raised at Bungabhla but now living in Cill Rónáin, however, does produce the hypercorrect form [**tər heːʃ**], with the phonological form of the second word apparently deriving from the reduced form [**heːʃ**].

As for the series of variants characterised by palatalisation of the two consonants of the first word, we get examples of the full form from the female informant at An Sruthán: [**tʲərʲ eːʃ**] and [**tʲˈʲrʲ ˈeːʃ**]. We get a reduced variant of this variant, with the vowel elided in the first word, from the male informant at Eochaill: [**tʲrʲ eːʃ**], and we get a slightly more reduced variant of this variant, with the initial consonant of the first word lenited, from the male informant at Cill Rónáin: [**hrʲ ɛʃ**].

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we note only the palatalised series of variants. The female informant gives us the variant with the vowel of the first word elided: [**tʲrʲ eˑʃ/ tʲrʲɛs**], and the male informant produces a variant with the initial consonant of the first word lenited ([**hərʲ ˈiːʃ**]) and a second variant with the initial consonant elided: [**ərʲ eːʃ**].[4]

On Inis Oírr, we get the non-palatalised variant [**tər ˈeˑʃ**] from the older female informant, along with a second example showing limited palatalisation as a result of regressive assimilation to the initial vowel of the following word: [**tʌrʲ ˈeːʃ**]. This contrasts with her example in the previous section, which showed the fully palatalised variant.

Her husband, M 55, on the other hand, produces both of the extremely reduced variants: [**h eʃ**] (again) and [**r eːʃ**].

The youngest informant, F 18, produces only the palatalised variant, but in a fuller form than in the previous section: [**tʲᵊrʲ eːʃ/ tʲᵊrʲ ˈeʃ/ tʲᵋrʲ ˈeˑʃ**].

[4]Note the raising of the vowel to [**iː**] in the second element of the construction in his first example.

As in the case of the variants of this compound preposition discussed in the previous section, despite the striking variety of the phonological variation, it seems impossible to note any meaningful patterns of distribution among the informants for these variants, other than to say that the younger and hence more formally educated informants show some preference for the forms which more closely approximate the Standard Irish variant.

Turning to the last item, the prepositional phrase *le haghaidh a dhinnéir*, the focus will be not only on the form of the compound preposition *le haghaidh* but also on the syntactic structure of the phrase itself. Since the phoneme [**h**] is so often elided in Aran Irish, as in Cois Fharraige Irish, the compound preposition *le haghaidh* would thus be articulated as *l' aghaidh* (with elision of the vowel [**e**] as well, since it now occurs immediately before the diphthong [$\mathbf{a^i}$] of the second word).

With the raising of the diphthong [$\mathbf{a^i}$] to [$\mathbf{e^i}$] that occurs normally in relaxed or rapid speech in Aran Irish, *l' aghaidh* would become *l' éidh*. With the levelling of the diphthong [$\mathbf{e^i}$] to the long vowel [**eː**] that also occurs in relaxed or rapid speech and its possible shortening to the short vowels [**e**] or [**ɛ**] as a further alteration, there is a great possibility of a younger generation of speakers reinterpreting the compound preposition *le haghaidh* as the simple preposition *le*.

When this occurs, speakers may substitute syntactic structures appropriate for the preposition *le* for those appropriate for the compound preposition *le haghaidh*. This process would be facilitated by the widespread use of the nominative/accusative inflection in place of the genitival inflection, thus obscuring the underlying case of the object noun in the prepositional phrase. Thus, the phrase *le haghaidh dinnéir* with its genitival object would be understood by the speaker as *le dinnéar* with its dative object. Similarly, *le haghaidh a dhinnéir* would be understood as *lena dhinnéar*. We shall see all stages of this process in the data.

Beginning on Inis Mór, the most conservative example of the phrase in question is that of the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór: [**lʹeˑ$^{\mathbf{i}}$ hʌ$^{\mathbf{i}}$ dʹiːnʹɛˑrʹ**] (= *le haghaidh dinnéir*). His other example, however, omits the genitival inflection: [**lʹɛ hʌ$^{\mathbf{i}}$ dʹiːnʹɛˑr**] (= *le haghaidh dinnéar*). His neighbour to the east, the female informant at Cill Éinne, also dispenses with the genitival inflection: [**lʹɛ ˈha$^{\mathbf{i}}$ ə jʹiːnʹɛr**] (= *le haghaidh a dhinnéar*). In another example, she elides the [**h**] of the compound preposition: [**lʹæˑ$^{\mathbf{i}}$ ə jʹiːnʹɛr**] (= *l' aghaidh a dhinnéar*).

Going one step further, the female informant at An Sruthán in central Inis Mór, together with both informants at Corrúch, level the diphthong in the compound preposition *l' aghaidh* to produce *le dinnéar*. The female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór produces another example in II.65: [**lʹeˑ n̩ pɑːʳʃtʃɛˑ**] (= *l' aghaidh an pháiste*).

The final step is taken by the youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, and by the male informants at Fearann an Choirce, at Corrúch and at Cill Rónáin, who all identify the compound preposition completely with the simple preposition *le*, producing the construction *lena dhinnéar*.

Interestingly, the female informant at Cill Éinne has not forgotten the original identity of the prepositional form in her example [**lʹ a$^{\mathbf{i}}$ nə jʹiːnʹɛˑr**] (= *l' aghaidh-na dhinnéar*), but she has inappropriately introduced the form *l' aghaidh* in a syntactic construction meant

for the preposition *le*.

Moving eastward now to Inis Meáin, we note that both informants, while making the phonological changes in the form of the compound preposition itself, show no signs of dropping the genitival inflection of the object noun or of identifying the compound preposition with the simple preposition *le*. Thus we get [**lʹeˑ nʹ dʹiːnʹeˑrʹ**] from the female informant and [**lʹɛⁱ nʹ dʹiːNʹeːrʹ**] from the male informant.

On Inis Oírr, the older informant M 55 produces the construction [**lʹeˑⁱ nʹ dʹiːnʹɛr**] (= *l' aghaidh 'n dinnéar*), apparently retaining the sense of the first element of the construction as the compound preposition *le haghaidh* while not inflecting the object noun for the genitive case. In contrast, the youngest informant, F 18, fully identifies the compound preposition with the simple preposition *le*, producing *lena dhinnéir* (sic!).

It is worth noting another example from M 55, where the confusion of the compound preposition *le haghaidh* with the simple preposition *le* may have gone in the other direction. Thus, in II.57 he produces the construction [**lʹeː nʹ tʃæˑx ə jɛnə**], which can be interpreted as *l' aghaidh an teach a dhéana'*, with the compound preposition used inappropriately in place of the simple preposition *le* before a non-finite clause, or as *le an teach a dhéana'*, with the correct preposition in use, but in an inappropriate form for that syntactic context. This possible use of *l' aghaidh* for *le* brings to mind the construction *l' aghaidh-na dhinnéar* mentioned above, produced by the female informant at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór.

In sum, though the phonological reductions of the compound preposition *le haghaidh* are found on all three islands, the original syntactic form of the construction, including the genitival inflection of the object noun, is preserved mainly on Inis Meáin. As for the reinterpretation of the compound preposition as the simple preposition *le*, including the use of the compound possessive form *lena*, this seems especially characteristic of younger informants in both Inis Mór and Inis Oírr.

Once again, the comparative linguistic conservatism of Inis Meáin is borne out.

Chapter 16

Inflected (Prepositional) Pronouns

16.1 *ag/chuig*

(The items discussed here are the inflected forms *agam, agat, againn, agaibh* and *acu.*)

In Aran Irish, as in Cois Fharraige Irish, the preposition *chuig*, with all its inflected forms, has merged completely into the preposition *ag*. Thus our focus here will be entirely on the inflected forms of the portmanteau preposition *ag*. As in Connemara Irish, we will find both full forms and contracted forms among the inflected forms of this preposition, but there will be further differences as well.

Beginning with the first item, the first person singular inflected form *agam*, we get the full form [**agəm**] from the female informant at An Sruthán on Inis Mór and the slightly reduced form [**agm̩**] from the female informant at Corrúch further east. We get the form [**aˈgəm**], with the stress on the final syllable, from the male informant at Eochaill, still further to the east, and we get the form [**əgəm**], with a stressed neutral vowel in the first syllable, from the male informant on Inis Oírr .

We also get the form [**akəm**], with the velar consonant devoiced, from the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór. One might be tempted to dismiss this form as a slip of the tongue, but we get exactly this form, [**akəm**], from the female informant on Inis Meáin, so we are forced to see it as a possible variant form in its own right.

As for the contracted forms, we get the expected form [**am**] (= *a'm*) from the female informant at Eoghanacht in westernmost Inis Mór and from the male informant at Cill Rónáin in easternmost Inis Mór, as well as from the male informant on Inis Meáin.

We also get the form [**ʌm**], with the vowel somewhat neutralised, from the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór. While this slight neutralisation is not unexpected, what is unexpected is the large number of examples of the variant form [**əm**] , with a very lax neutral vowel, which occur not only across Inis Mór but on Inis Oírr. Thus we have examples from four informants spread the length of Inis Mór, making this form easily the dominant contracted form in the island. As for Inis Oírr, we get the variant [**əm**] from all three informants and no other variants. In sum, then, the variant [**əm**], rather than the variant [**am**], is the dominant realisation of the contracted form *a'm*, at least on Inis

Mór and on Inis Oírr.

Turning now to the next item, the second person singular inflected form *agat*, and beginning on Inis Mór, we get the full form *agat* and/or its emphatic form *agatsa* from nearly every informant. Starting with the unemphatic forms, we get [**aˑgət**] from the female informant at Eoghanacht, [**agət**] from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce, [**aːgət**] from the male informants at Corrúch and at Eochaill, and both [**aˑgət**] and [**agət**] from the female informant at Cill Éinne. (Note the tendency to lengthen the vowel of the first syllable, unlike the full forms of the first person singular examined above.)

From Inis Meáin we get the full form [**agət**] from the female informant, a form which is unexceptional, but from the male informant on Inis Oírr we get the unusual form [**æˑgət**], with the vowel of the first syllable lengthened and clearly fronted. Could this full form be modelled on the contracted forms, which we shall examine shortly?

Examining the emphatic forms of the full pronoun, we note the form [**agətsə**] from the female informant at An Sruthán on Inis Mór and from the female informant on Inis Meáin, a form which is again unexceptional. The form [**əgʊtˈsə**] from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór, however, with its unusual stress on the final syllable, containing the emphatic particle, and the consequent neutralisation of the vowels of the unstressed syllables preceding that syllable, is less expected.

Turning now to the contracted form *a't* and its emphatic counterpart *a'tsa*, we get the variant [**aˑt**] from the female informant at Corrúch, from the male informant on Inis Meáin and from the older female informant on Inis Oírr. We also get its close counterpart, [**aḍ**], from the male informant at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór. Note that we get only a single example of the variant [**ad**], with the final consonant voiced, and that we get from the youngest informant, F 18 on Inis Oírr.

The single example of the emphatic form of either the variant [**aˑt**] or [**ad**] comes again from F 18 on Inis Oírr: [**aˑtsə**] . This form can be seen as an instance of the emphatic form of the variant [**aˑt**], with the emphatic particle suffixed to it, or as an instance of the emphatic form of the variant [**ad**], with devoicing of the final consonant before the following voiceless sibilant.

We can turn now to a competing series of variants for the contracted forms *a't* and *a'tsa*, which differs from the forms just discussed in that the vowel of the first syllable is fronted to [**æ**].

Beginning with the unemphatic forms, we get the form [**æˑt**] from the male informant at Corrúch and the form [**æt**] from his sister at Corrúch, from the male informant on Inis Meáin, and from the male informant on Inis Oírr. We get a slightly different variant, [**æˑd**], with the final consonant voiced, from the female informant at Bungabhla, from the female informant at Eoghanacht ([**æd**]), and from the male informant on Inis Meáin ([**æːd**]). Note that there is a greater tendency to lengthen the vowel before the variants with a final voiced consonant.

As for the emphatic forms of this last-mentioned series of variants, we get the variant [**æːtsə**] from both the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór and from the male informant on Inis Oírr, and its abbreviated form [**æts**] from the female informant F 43 at Bungabhla on Inis Mór, as well as its close counterpart [**æˑḍsə**] from the female informant at Cill Éinne.

We do get a single example of the form [**æːdsa**] from the female informant at Eoghanacht on Inis Mór, showing that devoicing of the final consonant before the voiceless consonant of the emphatic particle is not mandatory. Again, there is a strong tendency to lengthen the vowel in these emphatic forms, but the example from F 43 shows us that such lengthening is not mandatory.

In sum, we see a good deal of variation in this item, but it is difficult to discern a pattern of distribution for the variants or even to describe certain variants as dominant. Such features as voicing of the final consonant or fronting of the vowel in contracted forms seem to be relatively randomly distributed among informants.

Turning to the next item, the first person plural inflected form *againn*, we note that one informant, the female informant at An Sruthán on Inis Mór, still maintains a distinction between the prepositions *ag* and *chuig*. She uses the form [**hʊgɪNʲ**] (= *chugainn*) in I.18 ("Tá sé a' tiúirt scian chugainn"), but she uses the form [**aNʲ**] (= *againn*) in I.53 ("Tá sé thar am a'inn a bheith sa mbaile").

Beyond that, we encounter only forms of the preposition *ag* from all the other informants. We encounter the full form *againn* only in easternmost Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin. Thus the male informant at Eochaill produces [**agɪNʲ**] and [**aːgɪNʲ**], while the female informant at Cill Éinne produces [**agɪNʲ**] and a contracted form. On Inis Meáin, the female informant there also produces [**agɪNʲ**] and a contracted form. Note that vowel of the first syllable is usually not lengthened and is never fronted.

As for the contracted form *a'inn*, this form is found universally in the three islands, nearly always with the vowel fronted and often with the vowel lengthened. In other words, we can normally expect either [**æNʲ**] , [**æˑNʲ**] or [**æːNʲ**]. The older female informant on Inis Oírr even raises the fronted vowel to [**ɛ**] , producing [**ɛNʲ**] . Two informants in neighbouring townlands in west central Inis Mór, however, provide clear exceptions to the fronting rule; the female informant at An Sruthán produces [**aNʲ**] , and the male informant at Fearann an Choirce produces [**aːNʲ**].

Turning to the next item, the second person plural inflected form *agaibh*, we find very few examples of this form in the data. We have one example of the basic form [**agiˑ**], with the final consonant elided and the vowel of the second syllable lengthened, from F 43 at Bungabhla on Inis Mór. We have another example of this form from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce a little further to the east; his example, [**ʌgiː**], neutralises the first vowel a bit and lengthens the final vowel. We also have an emphatic form from F 43, [**agɪʃɛ**] (*agaibhse*), with the second vowel shortened and laxed before the emphatic particle.

Turning now to the last item, the third person plural inflected form *acu*, we find a form which can be represented as *acub* in Standard Irish orthography nearly universal on all three islands. The only informant who clearly does not produce the [**b**] augment to the second syllable is M 50 at Cill Rónáin, headmaster of the vocational school, who produces [**əkə**]. The male informant on Inis Oírr also seems to produce only a weak augment at best in his examples [**akə(b)**] and [**akə(v)**]. (The augment [**əv**] recalls the impersonal simple past suffix [**əv**] also found on Inis Oírr, in that both preserve a relatively tense voiced bilabial fricative in word-final position.)

Otherwise, a variant with a low central vowel in the first syllable and a [**b**] augment as

coda of the second syllable ([**akəb/aˑkəb/aːkəb**]) is characteristic of Inis Mór, though the older female informant on Inis Oírr also produces the example [**akəb**]. Her other example, however, [**əkəb**], reminds us not only of M 50's example cited above but also of the example of the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór: [**ʌkəb**]. The relatively neutralised vowel of the first syllable from two informants in easternmost Inis Mór and from an informant on Inis Oírr who received her secondary education in Cill Rónáin bears further investigation.

The examples from Inis Meáin, however, are striking. Both informants produce only the variant [**ækəb**], with clear fronting of the vowel of the first syllable. The only example outside of Inis Meáin of such fronting is in an example from the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, who produces [**ækəb**] along with [**akəb**].

The devoicing of the final consonant in the example from the male informant at Eochaill on Inis Mór, [**aˑkəp**], is of minor interest.

In sum, the clear contrast between the variant [**akəb**] of Inis Mór and Inis Oírr, with its low central vowel in the first syllable, and the variant [**ækəb**] of Inis Meáin, with its clearly fronted vowel in the same position, is the dialectal feature of greatest interest in regard to this item.

16.2 *de*

(The items discussed here are the inflected forms *díot, [cuid] de, díbh* and *díobh*, and the prepositional phrases *d'fhataí, de ghnáth, [cuid] den bhainne* and *[cuid] de na mná*.)

Three of the first four items involve a few scattered instances of inflected prepositional pronominal forms which happened to appear in the data. Only the second item gives relatively complete coverage across informants.

The first item, the second person singular inflected pronoun *díot*, yields three examples, but they are all from the same informant, the male informant on Inis Meáin. He produces three examples of the form *dhíot* ([**jiːt**]), with the initial consonant lenited.

As mentioned above, the second item, the phrase *cuid de*, including the third person singular masculine inflected pronoun *de*, yields an example from nearly every informant in the three islands. The two youngest informants on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla and M 50 at Cill Rónáin, produce the phrase *cuide dhó*, substituting a lenited inflected form of the preposition *do* in place of the inflected form of the preposition *de*. As we shall see, this variant seems to be a clear sign of generational change on Inis Mór.

In contrast, nearly all the other informants across the three islands produce the lenited inflected form *dhe* in this construction, i.e., *cuid(e) dhe*. Only the female informant F 73 at Eoghanacht on Inis Mór produces the unlenited form *de*, while the female informant on Inis Meáin produces the lenited feminine form *dhi*.

A quick check of Item 209 in the *LASID* questionnaire responses from Corrúch yields the unlenited form *de* from the male informant, though the lenited form *dhe* is accepted by both informants. This example, however, is embedded in an entirely different syntactic context, the sentence *Thóg sé an craiceann de*.

It would be interesting to see if other examples of the feminine form are lenited, but we have only the lenited form from the female informant on Inis Meáin (if in fact it was intended by her as a feminine form). Another quick check of Item 209 in the *LASID* data reveals both the lenited and unlenited forms *dhi* and *di* of the feminine form in use by the male informant at Corrúch.

This is an important point since, as we shall soon see, the homophonous Standard Irish feminine form *di*, which forms part of the paradigm of inflected forms for the preposition *do*, yields only the unlenited form *di* locally from all informants.

Turning to the third item, the second person plural inflected pronoun *díbh*, we have only three examples, all lenited. We have *'íb* ([**ʔi:bʲ**]) from the female informant at Eoghanacht on Inis Mór, *dhíbh* ([**ji:vʲ**])[1] from the male informant on Inis Meáin, and *dhíb* ([**ji:bʲ**]) from the younger female informant on Inis Oírr.

As for the last of the inflected pronominal forms, the third person plural inflected pronoun *díobh*, we again have three examples. We have the Standard Irish pronominal form *díobh* ([**ʤi:v**]) from the female informant at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór, a form which is embedded in the phrase *cuid díobh*. In contrast, we have two examples of the expected local form *dhíob* ([**ji:b**]), with lenition of the initial consonant but no lenition of the final consonant, from the youngest informant in the sample, F 18 on Inis Oírr.

A check of Item 209 in my *LASID* data from Corrúch for the same pronominal form reveals the form *díob*, with no lenition of either consonant, produced by the male informant.

Though the first person singular inflected form *díom* is not on the linguistic table, both Item 209 and Item 1021 in the *LASID* data for Corrúch do yield three examples of the form — all examples of the Standard Irish pronominal form *díom*.

In checking specifically for lenition versus non-lenition of all these inflected forms in the paradigm of the preposition *de*, it is useful to see what Item 209 yielded on Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr when the original *LASID* survey was done two generations earlier. There in Wagner's published material for Points 42 (Inis Meáin) and 41 (Inis Oírr) in Volume III of his survey we see the same indeterminacy regarding lenition. The single example of the prepositional pronominal form *díom* for Inis Meáin shows only an unlenited form, while the same item from Inis Oírr shows both a lenited and non-lenited version of the same form. The lenited form [**ji:b**] (= *dhíob?*) is also given under the same item.

Turning now to the other items on the table for the preposition *de*, we note the examples given for the phrase *d'fhataí*. We have a single instance of the slightly hypercorrect but otherwise Standard Irish form *de fhataí* ([**ʤɛ ʔatiˑ**]), without the expected elision of the vowel of the preposition before the initial vowel of the following word, from M 50 at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór. Since he is headmaster of the vocational school there, such a Standard Irish form occasions no surprise.

Otherwise, the only examples we get of this preposition are all based on the variant *go* ([**gə**]) . Thus we get the phrase *g'fhataí*, with elision of the vowel of the preposition before the initial vowel of the following word, from the male informant at Eochaill on Inis Mór and from the male informant on Inis Meáin.

In contrast, the forms from the female informants avoid the elision. Thus the female

[1] Note that the final consonant is lenited in this example.

informant on Inis Meáin inserts a glottal stop to prevent elision, producing *go fhataí* ([**gə ʔæti**]), while both F 43 at Bungabhla on Inis Mór and her mother-in-law F 70 at Cill Éinne avoid elision by not leniting the initial consonant of the following word, both thus producing *go fataí*.

Whether this contrast in linguistic behaviour between male and female informants is substantive, however, remains to be seen.

As for the next item, the phrase *de ghnáth*, we have only two examples, both from the female informant at An Sruthán on Inis Mór. Her uncharacteristic use of the Standard Irish prepositional form *de* in both examples ([**dʹɛ ɣnɑː**]) suggest that this construction is a construction borrowed from elsewhere.

The next item, the phrase *cuid den bhainne*, occasions no surprises in the plentiful examples from all three islands. Everywhere we encounter the variant *cuid(e) gon bhainne*, with the form of the preposition modelled on the preposition *go*, though the lenition historically associated with the preposition *de* is preserved on the following noun after the singular definite article.

The last item, the phrase *cuid de na mná*, involves a plural count noun as object of the preposition. We encounter only the expected variant *cuid(e) go na mná* on Inis Mór, with the form of the preposition based once again on the preposition *go*, and we encounter its counterpart, *cuid(e) go na mrá*, on the two eastern islands.

But we also get the Munster variant *cuid desna mná*, with the intrusive *-s-* embedded in the prepositional form, from the male informant on Inis Meáin and the blended form *cuid gosna mrá* from the older female informant on Inis Oírr.

16.3 *do*

(The items discussed here are the inflected forms *dom, duit, dó, di, dúinn, daoibh* and *dóibh*, and the prepositional phrases *don ghasúr* and *do na cailíní*.)

Beginning with the first item, the first person singular inflected pronoun *dom*, we face gaps in the data for this item. While every second informant from Bungabhla through Corrúch in western Inis Mór is represented, we have no examples from Eochaill eastward through Inis Meáin, though the data from Inis Oírr is plentiful. on Inis Mór, the four examples show an equal number of unlenited examples (*dom*) and lenited examples (*dhom* [**ɣəm**]), with the female informant at An Sruthán producing one example of each type.

On Inis Oírr, all the forms are lenited. The two female informants produce forms with short backed high or mid vowels ([**ɣʊm/ɣom/ɣɔm**]), but the male informant distinguishes himself with a form containing a long high back vowel: [**ɣuːm**].

Turning to the next item, the second person singular inflected pronoun *duit*, we find that the informants across all three islands are well represented, and that they uniformly lenite the pronominal form, producing *dhuit* ([**ɣɪtʹ**]).

The only non-lenited forms occur in the construction *Cá bhfios duit?*, produced by the female informant at An Sruthán and by the male informant at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór, as well as by the male informant on Inis Meáin.

Turning to the third item, the third person singular masculine inflected pronoun *dó*, once again we find the informants across all three islands well represented, and once again they uniformly lenite the pronominal form, producing *dhó* ([**ɣoː**]).

And once again, the only non-lenited form occurs in the construction *Céarbh as dó?*, produced by the female informant on Inis Meáin.

The next item, the third person singular feminine inflected pronoun *di*, contrasts completely with the previous item. In this item, all the informants produce non-lenited forms. Thus we find only *di* and no examples of *dhi* [**jɪ**].

Two of the younger informants, F 43 at Bungabhla on Inis Mór and F 18 on Inis Oírr, relax their articulation of the consonant to produce [**zɪ**] and [**zʹɪ**], respectively, and both the female informant at Eoghanacht on Inis Mór and the male informant on Inis Oírr allow their articulation of the vowel to drift to a lower position, producing [**dʹɛ̝**] and [**ɖʒɛ**], respectively, but no informant produces a lenited form.

The variant that is of real interest comes from the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór, who produces two examples with a clear semi-long and long high front vowel: [**dʹiˑ**] and [**dʹiː**]. Do these examples represent a fusion of the two forms *di* and *í*?

Moving on to the next item, the first person plural inflected pronoun *dúinn*, we encounter three examples of the Standard Irish variant *dúinn*. One example comes from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór, another comes from the female informant a little further east at Corrúch, and the third comes from the female informant on Inis Meáin.

Otherwise, we encounter only the variant *dhuinn* [**ɣɪNʹ**], with its lenited initial consonant and its short lax mid-high front vowel, and its emphatic counterpart *dhuinne* on the two western islands.[2]

On Inis Oírr, however, the two female informants produce a distinct variant, *dhúinn* [**ɣuːNʹ**], which lenites the initial consonant, but preserves the long high back vowel of the Standard Irish variant.

Otherwise, we seem to encounter the variant with lenition and a short lax vowel found in the two islands to the west. Thus the male informant on Inis Oírr produces *(. . . thug) 'inn* ([**. . . hʊg n̥ʹ**]) and the younger female informant there produces *dhuinn* [**ɣʊnʹ**], with the short lax vowel backed a bit.

Turning to the next item, the second person plural inflected pronoun *daoibh*, we find the variant *dhíb* ([**jiːbʹ**]) and its reduced form *'íb* ([**iːbʹ**]) dominant in the two western islands. Note that in this variant both the initial and final consonants are treated as palatalised consonants; the initial consonant is lenited, but the final consonant is not. The female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór devoices the final consonant, producing *dhíp*, but this is unique across the islands.

The most striking variant on Inis Mór is produced by the female informant at Cill Éinne, who produces two examples of *dhaoibh* ([**ɣiːvʹ**]), with a broad lenited initial consonant and a slender lenited final consonant, along with four examples of the dominant variant *dhíb*.

On Inis Oírr, the youngest informant, F 18, produces an example of the reduced version of the dominant variant in the two western islands, *'íb*, but the male informant produces

[2]The initial consonant in many of the examples is elided, since the pronoun follows a verb with a final velar consonant in the phrase . . . *a thug 'uinn* . . . .

three examples of the unique variant *dhéibh* ([**je:v′**]), with both initial and final consonants palatalised and lenited, but with a long mid front vowel as nucleus of the syllable.

Turning now to the last of the inflected prepositional pronouns, the third person plural inflected pronoun *dóibh*, only one example occurs in the data, the variant *dhób* ([**ɣo:b**]), with a broad lenited initial consonant and a broad non-lenited final consonant — produced by the female informant at Eoghanacht on Inis Mór. This variant, of course, is a variant which is widespread over the Aran Islands and the adjacent Connemara mainland.

The last two items feature the preposition *do* in its normal role as head of a prepositional phrase with a definite noun phrase as object of the preposition. The first item, the phrase *don ghasúr*, contains a singular definite noun in the noun phrase.

We encounter a single example of the Standard Irish variant *do* in the phrase *don pháiste*, from the older female informant on Inis Oírr, F 41. Once again, it is possible that her secondary education at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór has influenced her linguistic behaviour in this instance.

For all the other informants, however, and for F 41 herself in her other example, the form of the preposition is modelled on the preposition *go*, with the lenition historically associated with the preposition *do* preserved on the following noun after the singular definite article — as in the case of the preposition *de* just discussed. Thus we get either *gon ghasúr* or *gon pháiste* from nearly every informant across the three islands. The two slight exceptions to this pattern are the female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór and the younger female informant on Inis Oírr, who both fail to lenite the noun, thus producing *gon gasúr* in both cases.

Turning now to the other item, the phrase *do na cailíní*, with a plural definite noun in the object noun phrase, virtually all the informants across all three islands produce *go na cailíní*, with the variant *go* serving as head of the prepositional phrase.

Once again, F 41 on Inis Oírr is the exception. She produces two examples of the blended (and fused) form *gosna* in the phrase *gosna cailíní*.[3]

One final item of interest is the prepositional phrase *do Dúlainn* (= *go Dúlainn*), also produced by F 41 on Inis Oírr. I regard this as a slip of the tongue, perhaps produced by regressive (or anticipatory) assimilation to the initial consonant of the following word, by interference from the English preposition "to", or by a combination of both.

16.4 *i*

(The items discussed here are the inflected forms *ionam, ionat, ionainn, ionaibh* and *iontu*, and the prepositional phrases *sa bhuicéad, sa pháirc, sa gheimhreadh* and *sa samhradh*.)

We will begin once again with the inflected or pronominal forms, though with the exception of the third person plural forms their occurrence in the data is sparse.

The first item, the first person singular inflected pronoun *ionam*, yields examples from only three informants on Inis Mór and from only a single informant on Inis Oírr. All the examples contain a short lax vowel in the first syllable. We get two examples of [**əNəm**]

[3] Recall her use of a homophonous form in her example *cuid gosna mrá*, which was cited in the discussion of the preposition *de* above.

and a single example of [ɪˈ**Nəm**], with the stress on the second syllable, from Inis Mór, and a similar form, [**ɪnəm**], from Inis Oírr.

The second item, the second person singular inflected pronoun *ionat*, yields examples from only a single informant on Inis Mór and from only two informants on Inis Oírr. We get the example [**əˈNət**], once again with stress on the second syllable, from the female informant at An Sruthán on Inis Mór. On Inis Oírr, we get the similar form [**ənət**] from both of the older informants, M 55 and F 41. We also get the unique variant [**əNəNtu**] (*ionantú*), with a reduplicated first syllable and an incorporated second person singular pronoun, from F 41.

Turning now to plural inflected pronouns, we begin with the first person plural prepositional pronoun *ionainn*. This item yields examples from four informants on Inis Mór and from the same two older informants on Inis Oírr. With the exception of the female informant at An Sruthán on Inis Mór, who once again places the stress on the second syllable in her example [ɪˈ**NəN′**], all the other examples may be summed up under the slight variants [**əNɪn′**], [**əNən′**] or [**ənɪn′**].

In regard to the next item, the second person plural inflected pronoun *ionaibh*, we have not a single example in the data for this form. As for the responses at Corrúch to the *LASID* questionnaire, a search of the references in the index for the preposition *i* yields only one reference for the form *ionam* (Item 551) and five for the form *ann* (Items 272, 735, 1050, 1057, and 1163).

The last of the inflected forms, the third person plural form *iontu*, however, provides striking, overlapping patterns of variation which clearly distinguish areas of the islands from one another.

To simplify matters, we note two main variants on Inis Mór. One variant resembles the Standard Irish variant, with a short lax vowel in the first syllable and a similar vowel in the second syllable: [**ɪNtə**] or [**əNtə**]. With the exception of the youngest informant, F 43 from Bungabhla, who has been living in Cill Rónáin since her marriage, this variant is found only at Eochaill and at Cill Rónáin in easternmost Inis Mór.

In clear contrast to this variant, there is a second variant with a long high front vowel in the first syllable and the consonantal augment *-b* in the second syllable: [**iːNtəb/ iːntəb**] (*íontab*). This variant is found from Eoghanacht in westernmost Inis Mór to Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór, and can be said to represent Inis Mór as a whole.

We have some blended forms as well — [**iːntə**] (*íonta*) from the female informant at An Sruthán in west-central Inis Mór and [**ɪntəb**] (*iontab*) from the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór, as well as the odd form [**əNt′əb**] from F 43 at Bungabhla, which may be a slip of the tongue.

The forms *íonta* and *iontab* seem to reflect a possible west-east division in the articulation of the initial vowel. Nevertheless, under questioning, the male informant at Eochaill in easternmost Inis Mór maintained that the blended form *íonta* as well as the form *iontab* would be equally acceptable to him, despite the long high vowel in the first form.

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we encounter only the variant [**ɪNtəb**] (*iontab*), continuing the tendency in easternmost Inis Mór to favour a short lax vowel in the first syllable

while adding the consonantal augment *b* to the second syllable.[4]

On Inis Oírr, we get the same variant encountered on Inis Meáin, [**əNtəb/ ɪNtəb**], from the two female informants F 41 and F 18. However, when we examine the data from the standpoint of relative age, the two older informants M 55 and F 41 give us variants which are unique to Inis Oírr, [**oːNtə(b)**] and [**uːNtə**], respectively, with long back vowels in the initial syllable — vowels which contrast strikingly from the long high front vowels of Inis Mór.

Turning now to the last four items, the prepositional phrases *sa bhuicéad*, *sa pháirc*, *sa gheimhreadh* and *sa samhradh*, we can deal with them all together as one unit. The first thing one notices of these prepositional phrases as a group is that the object noun is eclipsed rather than lenited after the singular definite article, so we get nearly universally across all informants examples such as *sa mbuicéad*, *sa bpáirc/sa mbuaile/sa ngarraí*, *sa ngeimhreadh* and *sa samhradh* (with no change).

The exceptions appear to be slips of the tongue, such as the isolated examples from Inis Mór *sa gímreadh* (= *sa gheimhreadh*, from the female informant at An Sruthán) and *sa páirc* (from the female informant at Cill Éinne), in which there is a complete absence of mutation. The substitution of the palatalised alveolar nasal consonant [**Nʹ**] for the expected palatalised velar nasal consonant [**ŋʹ**] in the example [**sə Nʹiːmʹrʹɛ**], also from the female informant at An Sruthán, seems to be a separate phenomenon, already discussed in the section on phonological variation.

The two examples of a variant construction with lenition instead of eclipsis, *sa ghímhreadh*, produced by the two female informants F 41 and F 18 on Inis Oírr, seem to reflect their greater exposure to Standard Irish orthography in their secondary education. They also produce the expected examples with eclipsis, i.e., *sa ngímreadh* and *sa ngímhreadh*, respectively.

As to the form of the preposition itself in these constructions, beside the ubiquitous prepositional form *sa* found on all three islands, some informants prefer to use fuller forms of the preposition. The female informant on Inis Meáin uses the fullest form, *insan* ([**ɪNsəN/ əNsəN**]), in two of her four examples, while the male informant there uses only the abbreviated form *sa*.

The female informant at Cill Éinne, in easternmost Inis Mór, uses the slightly less abbreviated form *insa/ 'nsa* in four of her seven examples, while the male informant slightly to the west, at Eochaill, produces a single example of the full form *insan* in the phrase *insan aer*. The female informant slightly further to the west at Corrúch, produces the unusual form *san* in the phrase *san mboile* (= *sa bhuaile*), and the female informant even further to the west at An Sruthán, produces a further two examples of *insa/ 'nsa*.

As for Inis Oírr, the male informant produces a solitary example of the variant *insa* in the phrase *insa ghaineamh* ([**ɛ̃sə ŋæˑnʹɛ**]).

It is worth noting also that the female informant at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór uses the full form *in* of the preposition in such possessive constructions as *i do mhúinteoir* and *i do bhean*, i.e., *in do mhúinteoir* ([**əN də wuːNʹtʃoˑʲrʹ**]) and *in do bhean* ([**n də vʹæːN**]).

[4]Note the example of the same variant cited above for the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór.

16.5 *thar*

(The items discussed here are the inflected forms *thairsti, tharainn, tharstu* and the prepositional phrase *thar am*.)

Starting with the first item, the third person singular feminine inflected pronoun *thairsti*, we encounter the Standard Irish variant only on Inis Meáin. There the male informant produces [**harʃtʹɪ**], while the female informant produces the same variant, but converts the final consonant into an affricate: [**harʃtʃɛ**].

On Inis Mór, however, the dominant variant throughout the island is the variant *thairti*, [**hartʹɪ**], with the sibilant [**ʃ**] elided. The male informant M 50 at Cill Rónáin and the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór produce [**hærtʃɪ**] and [**hartʃɪ**], respectively, affricating the final consonant. The fronted first vowel [**æ**] produced by M 50 is echoed by the female informant slightly to the west at Corrúch in her example [**hærtʹ ɪgʹ n ˈmoːr**] (= *theairti ag an mbóthar*).

From the female informant at An Sruthán, however, we get a form which appears to be the same variant, but in which the final consonant is not palatalised: [**hartɪ**]. It is possible, though, that what we have here is a innovative form based on the adverbial form *thart*, with a feminine suffix, i.e., *thart + i*.

The male informant at Corrúch produces a more reduced variant in his two examples [**hærʹɪ**] and [**hæˑrʹɪ**], in which the dental stop [**t**] is elided as well.[5] Note, though, that he also produces the dominant Inis Mór form [**hartʹɪ**].

As for Inis Oírr, we find the male informant there generalising the third person singular masculine inflected pronoun *thairis* to this context , while his wife produces the eastern Inis Mór variant [**haˑrtʃ (ɛrʹ . . .)**], echoing the female informant at Cill Éinne.[6]

The youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18, however, produces two innovative forms: *thair* [**haːrʹ**], with palatalisation of the final consonant, and two examples of the prepositional phrase *thar í* [**har iˑ/ haˑr i**] . Note that the pronoun in that phrase is apparently independent of the preposition, and, unlike the examples from the male informant on Inis Mór, is not a phonologically reduced suffix added to the preposition.

Turning to the next item, the first person plural inflected pronoun *tharainn*, we encounter only one example of this form in the data. The female informant at Eoghanacht on Inis Mór produces the unexceptional example [**harʰɪnʹ**], with slight aspiration of the voiced trill *r* and a lenis articulation of the final palatalised alveolar nasal consonant.

The next item, however, the third person plural inflected pronoun *tharstu*, provides a rich pattern of variants stretching over the three islands. The Standard Irish variant *tharstu*, however, is not among them.

Beginning on Inis Mór, we find the variant *thartab* ([**haːrtəb**]), with the sibilant *s* elided and the *-b* augment, predominant throughout the island from Bungabhla to Cill Éinne, though the female informant at Corrúch again distinguishes herself by fronting the vowel of the first syllable to [**æ**], producing the sub-variant [**hærtəb**].

[5] Alternatively, this variant could be interpreted as the prepositional form *thar* ([**har/ hær**]) plus a feminine suffix.

[6] Recall that F 41 received her secondary education at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór

In easternmost Inis Mór, however, we encounter two variants not found elsewhere on the island but which are found in the islands to the east. Thus the male informant at Cill Rónáin produces *thartu* ([**hartʊ**]), with the sibilant *s* elided, but otherwise identical to the Standard Irish variant. The female informant at Cill Éinne, however, produces the variant *tharab* ([**haˈrəb**]), similar to the dominant variant, but with the segment *t* elided.[7]

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we get only the variant *tharab* from both informants.

On Inis Oírr, however, we encounter once again the variant *thartu* ([**haːrtʊ**]) from the male informant, but the variant *tharab* ([**haːrəb/ haˈrəb**]) from both female informants.

The youngest informant, F 18, also experiments with innovative forms. Once again she produces the anomalous form *thair* ([**haːr′**]) as well as a prepositional phrase formed of a preposition plus an independent personal pronoun: *thar iad* ([**haːr iᵊd**]).[8]

To sum up the distributional patterns for these variants, we may identify the variant *thartab* with Inis Mór alone, though the variant extends throughout the island. The variant *thartu* we may identify with the male informants in easternmost Inis Mór and on Inis Oírr. On the other hand, we may identify the variant *tharab* with the female informant in easternmost Inis Mór, with the female informants on Inis Oírr, and with both the male and the female informant on Inis Meáin. Finally, we may identify the innovative construction *thar iad* with the youngest informant on Inis Oírr.[9]

Turning now to the last item, the preposition *thar* itself in the phrase *thar am*, we note an interesting fronting of the vowel in certain informants spread over the three islands. Thus we get the variant *thear* [**hæːr/ hær**] from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce and from both informants at Corrúch in central Inis Mór, from both informants on Inis Meáin, and from the male informant on Inis Oírr. Whatever we may make of this variant, it seems not to be a recent innovation, and it is clear that such fronting is not confined to the female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór.

16.6 *le*

(The items discussed here are the inflected forms *leat, libh* and *leo*.)

Starting with the first item, the second person singular inflected pronoun *leat*, we encounter the expected form [**l′æːt**], with a long low front vowel, on both Inis Mór and Inis Oírr, though usually the vowel is shortened to half-length or articulated as a short vowel. It is noteworthy that the three examples of this form given by the two informants on Inis Meáin contain only the short vowel, i.e., [**l′æt**].

What is of more interest, however, is a second, recessive variant, found throughout the three islands. This variant, [**l′ɛt**], contains the mid front vowel [**ɛ**], which is invariably short. Though many, if not most, of the variants described so far in this survey are reflected in the forms described by Prof. de Bhaldraithe for Cois Fharraige Irish, it is interesting that this variant is not mentioned in his account.

[7] Alternatively, one could interpret this variant as being based on the root *thar* but with an *-ab* augment.
[8] Recall her example *thar í* above.
[9] While such minuscule numbers of examples have no statistical validity in themselves, certainly the patterns bear further investigation.

The female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór produces what appear to be two examples of this variant with a long vowel: [**lʹɛːt**]. Since we know, however, that this informant is given to raising the vowel [**æː**] to [**ɛː**], it is perhaps best to regard these examples as derived from the dominant variant [**lʹæːt**], with the vowel raised to mid position here to form a variant unique to her.

In closing discussion of this item, it is worth noting not only that the two informants on Inis Meáin produce only the short-voweled variants [**lʹæt**] and [**lʹɛt**], but also that their closest neighbour to the west, the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór, produces only these same short-voweled variants in her three examples.

Turning now to the second item, the second person plural inflected pronoun *libh*, we encounter few examples of this form. We find a single example of the Standard Irish variant *libh* from F 43 at Bungabhla, the youngest informant on Inis Mór,[10] and one example of the local variant *lib*, with an unlenited final consonant, from each of the three islands.

Turning now to the last item, the third person plural inflected pronoun *leo*, we find clear examples of the Standard Irish variant *leo* in easternmost Inis Mór, on Inis Meáin and on Inis Oírr. Otherwise, we find the local variant *leob*, with a *-b* augment on all three islands. On Inis Mór, the youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, devoices the final consonant to produce *leop*, while two male informants in central Inis Mór — one at Fearann an Choirce and the other at Corrúch — produce examples which could be interpreted as either *leo* or *leob*.

As for gender differences, in both easternmost Inis Mór and on Inis Oírr, the male informants produce the variant *leo* while the female informants produce the variant *leob*, but on Inis Meáin that pattern is precisely reversed, with the male informant producing *leob* and the female informant producing *leo*.

16.7 *trí*

(The items discussed here are the inflected forms *tríthi, tríbh* and *tríothu*.)

Starting with the first item, the third person singular feminine inflected pronoun *tríthi*, we encounter the Standard Irish variant *tríthi* only on Inis Mór. Thus the female informant at An Sruthán in western Inis Mór produces two examples, [**tʹrʹiːhɛ**] and [**tʹrʹiˑhə**], while M 50 at Cill Rónáin, headmaster of the vocational school in easternmost Inis Mór, also produces [**tʹrʹiˑhə**].

The youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, produces another variant, *trí* ([**tʹrʹiː**]), a monosyllabic variant with the glottal central fricative *h* elided. The female informant at An Sruthán produces a similar variant, *thrí* ([**hrʹiˑ**]), with the initial consonant presumably lenited. The male informant at Corrúch produces yet another variant on the same theme, *troí* [**triː**], with the first two consonants de-palatalised.

It is interesting that all the male informants — and only the male informants — in the two western islands attempt to offer a variant based on the masculine pronoun *tríd* for this item, thus extending this form to female referents. Thus, the male informant at

[10] This may reflect her greater exposure to Standard Irish as well as her relative youth.

Corrúch on Inis Mór and the male informant to the east at Eochaill, both produce the variant *tríd*, while the male informant at Fearann an Choirce produces two examples of the slightly different variant *'roíd* ([**riːdʲ**]), with the initial consonant elided and the following consonant de-palatalised.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant there produces the masculine form *tríd* by itself, and then includes it in a prepositional phrase consisting of that form as preposition plus a following independent pronoun, *tríd í*, and then repeats the form.[11] He precedes these forms with the unique construction *treas uirthi* ([**tʲrʲæs ərhi**]).[12]

Paralleling these forms based on the form *tríd* which are characteristic of male informants is the widespread form *tríti/tríte* ([**tʲrʲiːtʲɪ/ tʲrʲiːtʲɛ**]), produced exclusively by female informants on the two western islands, but by both husband and wife on Inis Oírr. Thus F 43 at Bungabhla on Inis Mór produces the variant *tríte*, while F 72 to the east at Corrúch produces *tríti*. On Inis Meáin, the female informant produces two examples of *trítse* ([**tʲrʲiːtʃɛ**]), with affrication of the third consonant, while on Inis Oírr, the male informant produces *tríte* ([**tʲrɪːtʲɛ**]) (sic) and his wife produces *tríti*. The youngest informant there, F 18, produces the slightly different variant, *thríte* ([**hhrʲiːtʲɛ**]), with the initial consonant lenited.

We also have the prepositional phrase *trína conablach* from the female informant at Eoghanacht in western Inis Mór, and its counterpart *'roíona colann* ([**riːnə kəLəN**] = *trína colainn*) from the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór, both containing a fused form with the possessive pronoun, the first based on the variant *trí-* and the second on the variant *'roí-*, with an elided initial consonant and a de-palatalised second consonant.

In sum, we may say that the tendency of all male informants to generalise the masculine form *tríd/'roíd* to female referents is of some interest, but of even greater interest is the use by female informants of the variants *tríti, tríte* and *thríte* across the islands, with only a single male informant — on Inis Oírr — producing the variant.

The second item, the second person plural inflected pronoun *tríbh*, yields only three examples. The first two examples are of the local variant *thríb* ([**hrʲiːbʲ**]), with a lenited initial consonant and a non-lenited final consonant, both produced by the female informant at An Sruthán on Inis Mór. The third example, the prepositional phrase *thríd sipse* ([**ʰrʲiːʤ ʃɪpʃɛ**]), is produced by the female informant at Cill Éinne on the same island. This is yet another prepositional phrase with a disjunctive pronoun, in this instance, the emphatic pronoun *sibse*. The preposition itself is based on the lenited third person singular form *thríd*.

The last item, the third person plural inflected pronoun *tríothu*, yields no examples at all.

In closing, it is worth noting once again the use of analytical constructions employing the third person singular masculine pronoun (i.e., *tríd í* and *thríd sipse*) by older informants in the two western islands whom we would ordinarily associate with more conservative variants.

[11] This is another example of an analytical construction replacing a simple inflected prepositional pronoun — in this case, the masculine inflected pronoun followed by the feminine object pronoun.

[12] = *trasna uirthi?*

16.8 *idir*

(The items discussed here are the inflected forms *eadrainn, eadraibh* and *eatarthu*.)

Starting with the first item, the first person plural inflected pronoun *eadrainn*, we encounter the basic Standard Irish variant *eadrainn* ([**aˑdrɪn′**]) and/or its emphatic counterpart *eadrainne* ([**aːdrɪN′ɪ**]) on all three islands, but especially in easternmost Inis M'or.

In competition with this form, however, is the analytic construction *eidir muide/muinne*, a prepositional phrase composed of the prepositional form *eidir* ([**ɛd′ɪr′**]) plus the emphatic first person plural pronouns *muide* or *muinne*. Of the four female informants in western and central Inis Mór, three produce this construction, while the fourth female informant, F 70 at An Sruthán, does not. Thus both F 43 at Bungabhla and F 73 at Eoghanacht in westernmost Inis Mór produces the variant *eidir muide*, while F 72 at Corrúch produces the variant *eidir muinne*. (Note that we do not encounter any examples of the Standard Irish prepositional form *idir* on any of the islands.)

On Inis Meáin, however, it is the male informant who produces the analytical construction *eidir muide* ([**ɛʤɪr′ mʊʤɛ**]), while the female informant produces the Standard Irish emphatic variant *eadrainne*.

On Inis Oírr, we have yet another situation, in which the two older informants produce the Standard Irish variant *eadrainn*, while the youngest informant, F 18, produces the analytical construction *eidir muide*.

Turning to the second item, the second person plural inflected pronoun *eadraibh*, we find the expected local variant *eadraí* ([**aːdriː**]) on all three islands, though the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór produces the trisyllabic sub-variant *eadaraí* ([**adəriː**]).

We also get the competing analytic construction of preposition plus independent pronoun from two female informants. Thus, F 72 at Corrúch on Inis Mór produces *eidir sib iliug*, with the base form of the pronoun, while F 18 on Inis Oírr surprises us with the construction *eidir dhíbse* ([**ɛʤɪr′ jiːb′ʃɛ**]), a novel construction which seems to substitute the emphatic form of the inflected pronoun *dhíb* for the expected pronominal form.

We also get idiosyncratic forms of the preposition *eidir*. The male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór produces [**ad′ɪr′**] in the phrase *aidir ceachtar agaí*, lowering and backing the initial vowel dramatically to [**a**]. On Inis Oírr, on the other hand, the male informant there tenses and lengthens the initial vowel to [**eː**] in his phrase *éidir aon nduine* [**eːd′ɪr′ eːnɪn′ɛ**]. The same informant, through apparent confusion, also produces the first person form *eadrainn*, but in so doing, fronts the initial vowel to [**æː**], producing [**æːdrɪn′**].

Turning now to the last item, the third person plural inflected form *eatarthu*, the variant closest in shape to the Standard Irish variant *eatarthu* is the variant *atra* ([**aːtrə**]), found on the two western islands. Thus, the two male informants M 68 at Eochaill and M 50 at Cill Rónáin in easternmost Inis Mór and the male informant on neighbouring Inis Meáin all produce the variant *atra*. A female informant on Inis Mór, F 70 at An Sruthán, also produces the variant, while her neighbour to the east, the male informant at Fearann an Choirce, produces a possible further example.

The dominant variants across all three islands, however, are variants with the augment [**b**]. Thus we encounter *atrab* ([**aˑtrəb**]), and its close counterpart *eatrab* ([**æːtrəb**]), with

the initial vowel fronted to [**æː**] as an additional feature. The variant *atrab* is found only in western and central Inis Mór from Bungabhla through Corrúch, while the variant *eatrab* is found from Corrúch east and on the two islands to the east.

Once again, however, it is exclusively the female informants in eastern Inis Mór (F 72 at Corrúch and F 70 at Cill Éinne) and on Inis Meáin who produce the variant *eatrab*, while on Inis Oírr, both the older informants, male and female, produce that variant.

The youngest informant, F 18 on Inis Oírr, once again produces an analytical construction with preposition and independent pronoun, but this time the pronoun is in its base form: *eidir ead* ([**ɛɟɪrʲ æˑd**] = *idir iad*).

16.9 *faoi*

(The items discussed here are the inflected forms *fúithi* and *fúthu*.)

Turning to the first item, the third person singular feminine inflected pronoun *fúithi*, the only informant producing the Standard Irish variant *fúithi* is M 50 at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór, headmaster of the vocational school at Cill Rónáin, who produces [**fuːhɪ**].

All the other informants across Inis Mór and Inis Oírr elide both the glottal central fricative and the following vowel to produce the monosyllabic variant *fú* ([**fuː**]). The male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór lowers the vowel to the mid back vowel [**oː**], thus producing [**foː**].

(We have no data from Inis Meáin for this item.)

As for the second item, the third person plural inflected pronoun *fúthu*, once again the only informant to produce the Standard Irish variant is M 50 at Cill Roṅáin, who produces the forms [**fuˑhə/fuˑhᵊ**].

All the other informants across Inis Mór and Inis Oírr produce the monosyllabic variant *fúb* ([**fuːb**]), with the glottal central fricative and the following vowel elided and the augment [**-b**] added as a final consonant. The female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór de-voices the final consonant to produce *fúp*, and the male informant at Eochaill produces the form *fú* ([**fuː**]) twice, producing a form which is homophonous with the preceding item. Since he produces the form twice, it is presumably not a slip of the tongue, but a product of the same rule of elision seen in the previous item.

(Once again we have no data from Inis Meáin for this item.)

Before moving on to the next preposition, It is worth mentioning that the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18, gives the Munster variant *fé* ([**fʲɛⁱ/fʲeˑ**]) for the base form of the preposition *faoi*.

16.10 *roimh*

(The items discussed here are the inflected forms *roimpi* and *rompu*.)

Starting with the first item, the third person singular feminine inflected pronoun *roimpi*, we find the Standard Irish variant *roimpi* on all three islands, though the length and tension

of the first vowel may vary — even in the case of a single informant.[13] On Inis Mór and on Inis Oírr, the vowel is normally tense and long, so that the pronoun is normally pronounced as *roímpi* ([**riːmʹpʹɪ**]).

We find another variant, *rúimpi* ([**ruˑmʹpʹ(ɪ)**]), produced exclusively by female informants in eastern Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin. Thus, F 72 at Corrúch produces the variant, and the same variant is accepted as valid by F 70 at Cill Éinne, though she herself gives the emphatic form of the Standard Irish variant *roímpise* as her example. When questioned, she went on to say, however, that the variant *rúimpi* is in fact more common in Cill Éinne than the more standard Irish variant.

On Inis Meáin, the female informant produces the example [**rʊmʹpʹɪ)**] twice, which seems to reflect the variant *rúimpi*. When presented with the variant *rúimpi*, she readily accepted that variant as valid.

As for the male informants, none produce the *rúimpi* variant. When questioned, M 82 at Corrúch on Inis Mór rejected the variant, as did his neighbour to the east, M 68 at Eochaill.

None of the informants on Inis Oírr, male or female, produce the *rúimpi* variant despite the large number of examples given. Furthermore, the older female informant explicitly rejected the variant.

Turning now to the second — and last — item, the third person plural inflected pronoun *rompu*, we encounter only a single example of the relatively standard Irish form *rúmpa* ([**ruːmpə**]) on Inis Mór — that of the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór. On Inis Oírr, however, the variants *rúmpú* and *rúmpa* seem to be clearly dominant, at least among the female informants. The older female informant produces both variants, while the younger one produces only the variant *rúmpa*. (We have no examples from the male informant.)

We also have competing variants with the augment [**-b**], with different vowel qualities and quantities in the first syllable. The male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór produces *rompab* and *rumpab*, while the male informant at Eochaill produces four examples of the variant *rúmpab*. The older female informant on Inis Oírr also produces an example of the variant *rúmpab*.

It is Inis Meáin which stands out here in its exclusive use of the variant *rúb* ([**ruːb**]), formed perhaps on analogy with the pronominal form *fúb* or perhaps on analogy with the second person pronominal form *rúib* (= *romhaibh*).[14] We also encounter its emphatic counterpart *rópsan* ([**roːpsəN/roˑpsəN**]), with the vowel of the first syllable lowered to a mid back vowel and the following consonant de-voiced. The male informant produces five examples of the variant *rúb*, while the female informant produces three examples of the emphatic variant *rópsan*. As for the possibility that these variants might exist also on Inis Oírr, the older female informant on Inis Oírr explicitly rejected the variant *rúb*.

[13] For example, note the data from the female informant at Eoghanacht on Inis Mór.

[14] I have no examples of this particular form in the data, including the *LASID* data, but this is the sole variant cited for Cois Fharraige Irish in de Bhaldraithe (1953), and it is the variant I would expect on Inis Mór. It is a high-frequency form, so there is little chance that an alternative form would escape my attention during the long period of fieldwork spent on all three islands.

Part IV

Lexical Variation

(The items discussed here are the local Irish forms encountered for *"[in the] field", "fields", "hill", ". . . of the hill" [gen.], iomaí, gach uile go léir, Cill Mhuirbhigh, Cill Éinne* and *"[to/at] An Sruthán"*.)

Only a few lexical variants are presented here, but they are items which I found particularly striking as I conducted my fieldwork. Of course, the *LASID* questionnaire which I administered to M 82 and to F 72 at Corrúch on Inis Mór in the summer of 1990, along with the material originally published in *LASID* for both Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr under the direction of Prof. Heinrich Wagner provides a wealth of material for the analysis of lexical variation in the Aran Islands — provided that it is kept in mind that the published material in *LASID* represents the speech of informants who lived approximately two generations earlier, and therefore represents not only a different geographical area but also a sharply different chronological period in the evolution of speech patterns in the Aran Islands.

The first item, which involves the translation of the phrase "in the field", yields a rich set of lexical variants in Irish for the English lexical item "field". Beginning on Inis Mór, we find the term *buaile* dominant throughout Inis Mór, though two widely separated informants — the male informant at Fearann an Choirce and the female informant F 70 at Cill Éinne — produce the term *páirc*. (F 70 produces both *buaile* and *páirc*).

On Inis Meáin, the male informant produces *páirc* while the female informant produces *buaile*, so that in range of terms at least, Inis Mór and Inis Meáin are identical.

On Inis Oírr, however, all three informants produce the term *garraí*, a term not encountered at all in the data from the two western islands. (The male informant also produces the term *páirc*.)

There is a further complication, however. All the informants in eastern Inis Mór, from Corrúch to Cill Éinne, pronounce the term *buaile* as **[bəlʹɛ]** or **[bəlʹɪ]**, with the diphthong of the first syllable shortened and centralised to **[ə]**. (The single exception is M 50 at Cill Rónáin, headmaster of the vocational school, who uses the more standard pronunciation **[bʊːlʹɛ]**.

The second item involves the Irish equivalent of the English plural form "fields". Beginning once again in westernmost Inis Mór, we find the relatively Standard Irish forms *buailte* **[buᵊlʹtʹɛ/buːlʹtʹɛ]** at both Bungabhla and Eoghanacht, but from Corrúch eastward through Cill Rónáin, we find a variant with a triple plural suffix: *buailteachaí*, combining the plural suffix *-te* with the suffix *-acha* and the suffix *-aí*.

Even within this restricted area in eastern Inis Mór, however, we find a further subdivision. Both informants at Corrúch preserve the short, centralised vowel of the singular form in the plural form as well, producing **[bəlʹtʹəxʹíː/ bəlʹtʹəxʹí]** respectively. Further east, at Eochaill and at Cill Rónáin, we find **[buːlʹtʹəxʹíː]** and **[bʊlʹtʹəxʹíː]**, respectively.[15]

The competing lexical variant for this item on Inis Mór is the form *páirceannaí*, produced by the male informant at Fearann an Choirce and by the female informant at Cill Éinne, thus reflecting the forms produced by them for the preceding item.

On Inis Meáin, the informants reflect their behaviour in responding to the previous item. The male informant produces *páirceannaí*, while the female informant produces *buailteacha*

[15] I interpret the **[ʊ]** of **[bʊlʹtʹəxʹíː]** as a normal shortening of the diphthong **[uᵊ]** found in rapid speech.

[**buˑᵊlʹtʃəxiː/ buᵊlʹtʃəxiː**], both thus reflecting faithfully the forms found in easternmost Inis Mór. This time, however, she also produces the variant *páirceannaí*, while the male informant produces a third example with the intrusive [**ʃ**] as part of the root: [**pɑːrʃkʹɪNi**] .

On Inis Oírr, things are as expected. The male informant produces the plural form *páirceannaí*, while the two female informants produce the plural form *garrantaí* ([**gaːrəNtiˑ**] = *garraithe*), a form not attested in the two western islands for this item.

The third item involves the Irish equivalent of the English term "hill". Here we find the lexical item *cnoc* in general use on all three islands, though the expected denasalisation of the initial consonant cluster occurs in the phonological variant found in the two eastern islands. Thus Inis Mór shows the variant *cnoc* exclusively, while Inis Oírr shows only *croc* and Inis Meáin, as would be expected in an intermediate geographical zone, shows both variants.

What is striking here, however, is the lexical variant *carcair* produced for this item, a variant which is found exclusively on Inis Mór and which runs the length of the island. In fact, it can be said to be the dominant variant, since six informants produce the form while only four informants produce the variant *cnoc*. Neither variant appears to be characteristic of any particular geographical zone within the island.

Though the strict definition of the term within the island focuses on the rises in the main road westward from Cill Rónáin, and refers to difficulties in horse-drawn haulage over such rises, the meaning of the term has been extended by local speakers on Inis Mór to encompass virtually any low topographical prominence.

The next item involves the same English term, but here the grammatical context is different. Here the Irish equivalent demands an oblique case form, either a genitive case form or the use of the term in a partitive construction with the preposition *de*. As expected, we encounter the forms *. . . an chnoic* and *gon chnoc* on Inis Mór, but this time the denasalised phonological variants *. . . an chroic* and *gon chroc* characterise both Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr, and even the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór shows mixed usage.

As for the lexical variant *carcair*, we find not a sign of it on Inis Mór or anywhere else. It is as though the necessity of using the unusual genitive form *carcrach* has blocked the use of this lexical variant in this grammatical context. Nevertheless, what would block the use of this variant in the partitive construction *gon charcair* — or the use of the nominative form in a genitival construction, a device which is normal in Aran Irish? We are left with no explanation for a striking lexical gap.

In place of the variant *carcair*, we encounter a variety of substitute lexical variants. F 43 at Bungabhla substitutes forms of *ardán* and *alt*, while her neighbour to the east, F 73 at Eoghanach, substitutes the diminutive term *cnocán* in a partitive construction. Both informants at Corrúch substitute forms of *aill*, while further east both male informants at Eochaill and at Cill Rónáin, respectively, substitute forms of *cnoc*.

The next item focuses on phonological variants of the Irish term *iomaí*. Of all the informants across the three islands, only the youngest informant, F 18 on Inis Oírr, produces the Standard Irish variant *iomaí*, with the long high front vowel [**iː**] as terminal vowel.

All the other informants produce phonological variants ending in the high back vowel [**u**],

usually long or half-long. Thus, on Inis Mór we find [**imuˑ**], [**ʊmuː**] and [**həmuː**]. The first variant, with a high front vowel as initial vowel, is attested only by a couple of informants in western Inis Mór, while the last variant, with an initial [**h**] augment, is attested only by the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór. All the other informants on Inis Mór use the second variant, [**ʊmuː**].

On Inis Meáin, the male informant produces the variant with the initial [**h**] augment, [**hʊmuː**], while the female informant produces the variant [**ʊmuː**].

On Inis Oírr, however, both older informants produce the variant with the initial [**h**] augment, [**hʊmuː/hʊmuˑ**].

The next item, involving the phonological reduction of the phrase *uile go léir*, attests only the variant [**ˈʟ′ʊg**], with a short lax high back vowel as nucleus of the closed syllable and a non-palatalised voiced velar consonant as coda, across all three islands. This variant distinguishes the Irish of the Aran Islands from that of mainland Connemara, where the variant [**ˈʟ′ɪg′**], with a short lax high front vowel as nucleus and a palatalised voiced velar consonant following, is characteristic.

The next item, involving the pronunciation of the Inis Mór place-name *Cill Mhuirbhigh*, produces the expected [**k′ɪʟ′ ˈwɪr′ɪv′iː**] across Inis Mór. There is a competing, recessive phonological variant in westernmost and in central Inis Mór, however, which elides the initial consonant of the element *Mhuirbhigh* and metathesises the last two consonants, producing *Cill 'Ibhirí* [**k′ɪl′ ˈɪv′ɪr′iˑ**] or *Cill 'Ibhearaí* [**k′ɪl′ ˈɪv′əriː**]. Three informants — F 43 at Bungabhla, F 73 at Eoghanacht, and M 82 at Corrúch — produce this variant.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant produces the expected form, but the female informant fails to lenite the initial consonant of the second element, producing *Cill Muirbhigh*.

On Inis Oírr, the two older informants produce the expected form, but the youngest informant, F 18, produces a variant which sounds like "Cill Murray" [**k′ɪl məɹiˑ**].

What is striking about the variant in widest use, the variant [**k′ɪʟ′ ˈwɪr′ɪv′iː**], is the long or half-long high front terminal vowel [**iː/iˑ**]. From the standpoint of the historical development of the phonology, one would expect the evolution of the historically attested genitival suffix into a short, lax vowel in a genitive form such as *muirbhigh*, yet nearly all the informants produce a long or half-long vowel. The only informant who does not lengthen the final vowel is the male informant on Inis Oírr,who produces the example [**k′ɪl′ wʊr′ɪv′ɪ**], with the short, lax vowel which would be expected in the genitival form for a common noun such as *muirbheach*.

The next item, involving the pronunciation of the Inis Mór place-name *Cill Éinne*, produces only a single example, that of the female informant at Cill Éinne. There is little to note in her example, [**k′ɪl′ ˈeːn′ɛ**], other than her characteristic lenition of the nasal consonant to [**n′**], rather than leaving the consonant unlenited as [**ɴ′**].

The final item, involving the pronunciation of the place-name *An Sruthán*, presents few surprises. Two informants, M 50 at Cill Rónáin and F 18 on Inis Oírr, produce the phrase *go Sr'án*, omitting the definite article. I find it significant that one of these is headmaster of the vocational school at Cill Rónáin, and that the other, the youngest of all the informants, has had extensive formal education. It is likely, therefore, that extensive exposure to English and its habit of dropping articles in Irish place-names (cf. *An Daingean* vs. "Dingle") has

had an effect here.

As for the articulation of the element *Sruthán*, only two informants, the male informant at Eochaill on Inis Mór and the female informant on Inis Meáin, produce the Standard Irish variant *Sruthán* ([**srəhɑːn/srəhɑːɴ**]).

By far the most dominant phonological variant across all three islands is the variant *Sr'án* [**srɑːɴ**], with both the central or neutral vowel [**ə**] and the glottal central fricative [**h**] of the first syllable elided, thus producing a monosyllabic phonological variant.

Two informants substitute the consonant cluster [**str**] for the expected cluster [**sr**]. Thus the male informant on Inis Oírr produces *Struthán* ([**strəhɑˑn**]), while the male informant at Fearann an Choirce produces *Str'án* [**sᵗrɑːn**].[16]

Finally, F 43 at Bungabhla on Inis Mór lenites the element *Sruthán* as though it were a feminine noun, producing the phrase *ag an tSruthán* ([**ɛgʲ əɴ trəhɑˑɴ**]).

As a final comment on place-names, I would like to suggest that the place-name given by Tim Robinson as *Corrúch* should in fact be rendered *Corrbhruach*, as the physical shape of the hooked promontory itself at Port Chorrúch ([**port ˈaᵘruᵊx**]) suggests. The slightest phonological changes in such a proto-form would then yield the present form of the place-name.

In closing this brief discussion of lexical variants, I would like to emphasise once again the immense amount of research on lexical variation that remains to be done on the *LASID* material published earlier, as well as on the material collected in Corrúch for the present research.

[16] This pronunciation of the element *Sruthán* is characteristic of him.

Part V

Summary and Conclusions

11 General Reflections on the Patterns Seen in the Data

We have looked at the complex patterns of distribution formed by variants of individual linguistic traits — or to express it differently, by the variants manifesting a linguistic variable. In their many and unique patterns of distribution, the individual pattern of distribution of each variant resembles an individual wavelet washing over a sandy strand, criss-crossing with the wavelets of other variants expressing the same linguistic variable, each wavelet with its unique pattern subject to forces at whose nature we can only guess.

Of course, there is no reason that the patterns of variation associated with one linguistic variable need resemble that patterns of variation associated with any other variable — certainly there is no reason to suspect a priori that the patterns of distribution assumed by phonological variables should have an any resemblance to the patterns of distribution of grammatical or lexical variables.

Nevertheless, within the phonology or the grammar or the lexicon of any individual language, the patterns of distribution of certain variables may well be linked to the patterns of distribution of other variables because of structural pressures within paradigms or in other structural subsystems of the language — a point made long ago by Nikolay Trubetskoy, Roman Jakobson and other scholars of the Prague school of linguistic theory and developed more recently by scholars such as Joan Bybee in her investigations of verbal paradigms.

As we have seen so far in the data, patterns of variation involving suppletive or pseudo-suppletive forms in the paradigms of the irregular verbs or the spread of analytical verbal forms in all paradigms at the expense of synthetic verbal forms certainly invite further investigation from the standpoint of structural pressures within the paradigm as it evolves through time. Unfortunately, such an investigation lies far beyond the remit of this investigation and would require yet another volume.

In fact, on the most basic level, even identifying the patterns of distribution of variants for each linguistic variable has its associated problems — problems inherent in all type/token analysis. First of all, what are the units under scrutiny; what constitutes a variant of this or that type?

This is a crucial question, since identifying items as variants of either type A or type B will undoubtedly determine the shape of the patterns of distribution of both variables. For instance, on examining the suspected variants of a given linguistic variable more closely, does the pattern read AAABB, AABBB or even ABABA?

Thus the problem of indeterminacy in interpreting any putative example of a variant can loom quite large, particularly in phonology, where, for example, a short sound segment in a stretch of rapid speech could be interpreted as [**e**], [**ɛ**] or [**æ**]. Our assignment of the sound in question to one or another of the three variants shown will help determine the overall pattern of each variant within the variable. Though this problem may not exist so decidedly in the areas of grammar and lexicon, it is an ever-present problem in interpreting patterns of variation in language.

Even when the putative instances of a variant can be unambiguously assigned to variant A or variant B, and consequently there seems no doubt about the shape of the pattern

formed by the individual instances of a variant, there is still the problem of interpreting the dynamics of the pattern, e.g., is the pattern expanding or contracting?[17] For example, is a given variant in eastern or western Inis Mór an innovation or a retention?

We have encountered this problem many times in our examination of variants for a given linguistic trait in the Aran Islands. Of course, a glance at the distribution of the variant on the adjacent mainlands will often give us an idea of the direction in which linguistic evolution is moving. For instance, as we have seen, the variant *samra* of the noun *samhradh* exists on the Connemara mainland, so we could not convincingly claim the variant as an Inis Mór innovation — excluding for the moment the possibility of independent innovation in both places. More likely, this variant is a retention of a long-established variant in both places.

As we make such judgments, we would be weighing probabilities while examining carefully the distribution of individual variants, a technique of interpretation long practiced in archeology and in cultural anthropology, where it is known as the "age and area hypothesis". In such a case, one is using geographical facts to infer an historical process.

In our case, the tiny number of examples for each variant and the tiny number of informants supplying the examples exacerbates the problem of establishing clear-cut patterns in the data. Nevertheless, as we have seen, the distribution of variants for each individual linguistic trait seems, for the most part, anything but random, and this justifies the present project — at least as a survey to lay out the facts on the ground as a basis for more systematic investigation in the future.[18]

Turning now to the broader patterns of the distribution of linguistic variants and their relation to actual historical events, does an individual pattern suggest a geographical branching-out of an original speech community in such a way that linguistic variation can be seen as a function of one or more variants originating as a linguistic innovation occurring in a given branch of the now separated speech communities but not in other branches?[19]

There is in fact much in the data to suggest that Inis Mór Irish and Inis Meáin Irish have branched out very recently from the Connemara mainland — specifically from the Cois Fharraige area, but that both these island communities and the mainland community have now begun to diverge linguistically in many different respects, though in very minor ways.

On the other hand, there is much in the data to suggest the diffusion of linguistic innovations through playgroups, radiating out from individuals in households, through children's playgroups, through individual townlands and then to adjacent townlands.[20] The data from Inis Mór certainly suggests such diffusion of linguistic innovations for a large number of linguistic traits, and the linguistic heterogeneity of Inis Oírr Irish certainly suggests complex linguistic influence from several directions.

It would be worthwhile examining the composition of the households themselves. We have seen a number of linguistic traits — especially on Inis Mór but perhaps less so on Inis Oírr — where certain linguistic variants seem to be distributed according to sexual gender. Is the origin of such patterns of distribution to be found in children's playgroups, where

[17] Cf. Duran (1995), where the problems of interpreting isoglosses in German dialects is discussed.
[18] Cf. Duran (2009).
[19] This interpretation of events is traditionally known as *Stammbaumtheorie*. Cf. Duran (1995).
[20] This is classic *Wellentheorie* or "wave-theory". Cf. Duran (1995).

children habitually played games with children of their own sex?

Or is it to be found in the larger households themselves, where, say, up to a half-dozen young girls might interact intensively together in certain work tasks or in play activities while the young boys worked or played separately?

If large households in the past were the rule, one could expect the genesis of gender-based linguistic innovation in the households themselves. Individual innovations could later diffuse out through neighbourhood playgroups and adjacent townlands.

In contrast, do the smaller households of today and the more gender-mixed nature of childhood socialisation infer the levelling out of such gender-based features? The data from the youngest informant in the sample, F 18 on Inis Oírr, suggest that she is forming linguistic bonds with those of her generation far from Inis Oírr and that her speech has little conspicuous gender-marking.

These are just some of the questions which occupy me as I prepare to summarise the data presented in this volume. Certainly, such questions cannot be answered from the present data, but it is useful to outline the possible directions of future investigations.

Let us now attempt to summarise the findings outlined in the foregoing chapters — perhaps with some loss of important detail[21] — and attempt to reach somewhat broader conclusions where appropriate.

12 Variation in Vowels

[iə > eː]

Starting with the phonology, and focusing first on the articulation of diphthongs, we find that the levelling of **[iə]** to **[eː]** in such words as *siar, iascaire, bliain,* etc., is confined almost entirely to eastern Inis Mór.

[uə > oː]

The levelling of the diphthong **[uə]** to **[oː]** in such words as *suas, gruaig, chuala* and *ualach*, shows a similar pattern, but with some striking differences.

On Inis Mór, the levelling of this diphthong is again strongly characteristic of eastern Inis Mór, but Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr also present numerous examples of levelling, though individual informants differ in their patterns.

To sum up the contrast between the levelling of the two diphthongs, the levelling of the diphthong **[iə]** on Inis Mór appears to be an innovation characteristic of that island alone, but the levelling of the diphthong **[uə]** in the two eastern islands appears to be the result of an obsolete rule preserved in relic forms.

[21] In fact, though there is quite a bit of summarisation of the material on phonological variation, the overwhelming mass of the material on grammatical variation has been preserved largely intact, so that a fuller presentation of the material — albeit in summary form — might be made. Material relevant to the presentation, but of secondary importance, is often preserved in the footnotes.

[uə > o/ə]

As for the shortening of the diphthong **[uə]** to **[o]** or its neutralisation as well to **[ə]** in such words as *buaile, bualadh* and *buachaill*, it is again restricted almost entirely to eastern Inis Mór. This striking feature could be seen as an innovation.

In regard to the word *nuair*, its unstressed vowel is manifested nearly universally across the three islands as **[ɛ]**. Only the female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór produces examples with the relatively long back vowels **[ʊˑ]** and **[oˑ]**.

[iː > eː]

As for the lowering of long high vowels to their mid-vowel counterparts, we have no clear examples of the lowering of the long high front vowel **[iː]** to **[eː]** in such words as *síos, Bríd, etc.* in any of the three islands.

[uː > oː]

In contrast, we have numerous examples of the lowering of the long high back vowel **[uː]** to **[oː]**. Examining such words as *lú, gnúsacht, fiarú [= fiafraí], fúthu* and *cúnamh*, we find at least one clear example from one informant out of two across all three islands.

The pattern of distribution of these scattered and isolated examples, though, is that of relics of an obsolete phonological rule that was once productive across all three islands.

[oː > uː]

As for the raising of mid back vowels in the vicinity of a nasal consonant, the situation is quite complex.

Examining first the raising of **[oː]** towards **[uː]** in the etymologically related forms *. . . a gcónaíonn, . . . ar chónaigh* and *i gcónaí*, we find such a raising rule universal across all informants in the two western islands, Inis Mór and Inis Meáin.

On Inis Oírr, however, the raising rule does not exist for the two older informants, and the youngest informant, F 18, produces a single isolated example of slight raising to **[ʊː]**.

Thus we can say that the two western islands are characterised by near-universal application of the rule, while Inis Oírr shows a trace of the rule only in its youngest generation.

[o > ʊ]

In the case of the word *cnoc*, however, with a short mid back vowel following a nasal consonant, we find a rule raising the vowel **[o]** to **[ʊ]** in nearly universal operation on all three islands.

[o/ə > oː/uː]

In regard to the words *lom* and *ró-throm*, with a similar vowel followed by the nasal consonant [**m**] in a monosyllabic word, we again find a complex situation.

A rule lengthening the vowel from [**o**] to [**oː**] operates in western Inis Mór as far east as An Sruthán. A similar rule with slight raising to [**ʊː**] operates in central Inis Mór from An Sruthán through Corrúch.

In eastern Inis Mór, from Corrúch to Cill Éinne, however, the lengthening rule does not normally operate. Instead, we encounter the short vowels [**o**] or [**ʊ**], with isolated exceptions.

Thus the island seems to be split geographically both in its use of the lengthening rule and in its use of the raising rule.

On Inis Meáin, however, the male informant both lengthens and raises the vowel sharply to [**uː**] and [**uˑ**], while the female informant does not lengthen the vowel at all, though she does raise it slightly to [**ʊ**]. It is possible that we have a gender difference here.[22]

In Inis Oírr, the lengthening rule with no raising of the vowel is characteristic of the older generation, who produce only the vowel [**oː**]. The youngest informant, F 18, raises the lengthened vowel slightly to [**ʊː**].

The situation in regard to the lexical items *lom* and *ró-throm*, then, is quite complex.

(. . . in the Lexical Items chrom/cromadh)

Turning now to the forms representing the verb *crom*, i.e., the simple past form *chrom* and the verbal noun *cromadh*, we find that the individual speech behaviour of the informants in regard to the verbal forms is sharply different from their behaviour in regard to the adjectival forms.

On the two western islands, the speakers follow a common strategy of producing short, relatively neutral vowels — either [**ʊ**] or [**ə**] — in both verbal forms, and they do this regardless of the presence or absence of the lengthening rule in adjectival forms.

On Inis Oírr, however, each informant follows an independent strategy.

The male informant applies the lengthening rule throughout, producing [**oː**] in all forms, whether verbal or adjectival.

The older female informant follows the usage of Connemara, which is to lengthen the vowel of the monosyllabic verbal form, here producing [**oː**], but to not lengthen the vowel of the dissyllabic verbal noun, thus producing the short vowel [**ʊ**].

The youngest female informant, however, simply follows the pattern found on Inis Mór, producing short, relatively neutral vowels in the verbal forms, regardless of whether

[22] Note a parallel gender difference at Corrúch in central Inis Mór.

the vowels in the adjectival forms are lengthened or not.

[æ> æː]

Turning our attention now to the low front vowels, let us begin with the raising and/or lengthening of the low front vowel **[æ]** in such words as *bean, fear, teach* and *seachtain*.

On all three islands there is a strong tendency to lengthen the vowel to **[æː]** before sonorants in such words as *bean* or *fear* and sometimes before sibilants in such words as *deas* or *. . . sheasamh*.

There is an opposing tendency, however, to keep the vowel short in other phonological environments, such as in disyllabic words or where the vowel is followed by the velar fricative **[x]**. This is especially true of westernmost and easternmost Inis Mór and of Inis Meáin.

In more central areas of Inis Mór or on Inis Oírr the length of the vowel before non-sonorants seems far less predictable.

[æ> ɛ/ɛː]

What is striking in the case of female informants in eastern Inis Mór and of both male and female informants on Inis Meáin is their substitution of **[ɛ]** for the short vowel **[æ]** before non-sonorants. The female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór, F 72, distinguishes herself by lengthening the vowel to **[ɛː]** in an overwhelming majority of such instances.

[æ> ʌ/ə]

The centralisation or neutralisation of stressed low front vowels is a striking linguistic trait which I associate specifically with Cill Rónáin in easternmost Inis Mór. This involves the use of the low neutral vowel **[ʌ]** for the short vowel when followed by the voiceless velar fricative **[x]**, though its occurrence is rare in the data.

The male informant at Cill Rónáin produces two examples in the words *teach* and *seachtain*, while the youngest informant on Inis Oírr produces the neutral vowel **[ə]** in the verbal noun *teacht*. As I have remarked earlier, I have heard the variant **[tʃʌx]** for *teach* from a female relative born in Cill Rónáin in the nineteenth century, so we might say that this elusive feature has had a long life in Cill Rónáin and seems to have an indefinite future — at least on Inis Oírr!

[aː > æː]

Moving on to an opposing articulatory gesture, the phonological rule which fronts the low central vowel **[aː]** to the low front vowel **[æː]** before palatalised consonants, we can begin with the word *baile*.

In the two western islands nearly all the informants front the vowel in at least some of their examples. Only the headmaster at the vocational school on Inis Mór does not.

The fronting reaches a peak at Corrúch in east central Inis Mór, where both the male and the female informant front the vowel in nearly all their examples. Other

informants on Inis Mór, however, front less than half their examples. The youngest informant, F 43, however, fronts the vowel in more than half of her examples.

On Inis Meáin, the female informant there matches F 43 at Bungabhla on Inis Mór in the frequency of her fronting, while the male informant there matches the male informant at Corrúch in the extreme frequency of his fronting.[23]

On Inis Oírr, the informants do not front the vowel in any of their examples.

(*. . . in the Plural Noun cailíní*)

In regard to the next word, *cailíní*, not a single informant on all three islands fronts the vowel of the first syllable.

(*. . . in the Verbal Forms cailleann/ chaill*)

In the next two words, *cailleann* and *chaill*, both forms of the verb *caill*, we will note the morphophonemic alternations in the realisation of the root vowel of the two forms. Such morphophonemic alternations are characteristic of speakers in Connemara, who regularly back the vowel [**a**] to [**ɑː**] in monosyllabic verb forms ending in a "long consonant", such as the strongly palatalised lateral consonant [**lʲ**].

Beginning with the two western islands, we find the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, making just such morphophonemic alternations. She backs the vowel to [**ɑː**] in the monosyllabic form *chaill*, but not in the disyllabic form *cailleann*. The female informant on Inis Meáin does the same.

All the other informants on both Inis Mór and Inis Meáin, however, show no vowel alternation in the two forms. Some appear to preserve the historical vowel [**a(ː)**] in both forms, while others generalise the backed vowel [**ɑː**] to both forms. In fact, there appear to be concentric patterns in the distribution of these two sets of variants.

The most widespread variant of this verb, a variant which generalises the backed vowel [**ɑː**] to both forms, extends over all three islands. This variant is attested at An Sruthán in western Inis Mór, and then, with a considerable gap in central Inis Mór, it reappears in easternmost Inis Mór at Cill Rónáin and at Cill Éinne. It then continues with the male informant on Inis Meáin and terminates on Inis Oírr, where all three informants back the vowel to [**ɑː**] in both forms. In fact, it is the uniform attestation of the [**ɑː**] variant which makes Inis Oírr stand out.

The second variant of the verb, which preserves the historical vowel [**a(ː)**] in both forms, is found in a highly restricted area — the area in central Inis Mór from Fearann an Choirce to Eochaill. The two informants at Corrúch, however, front and lengthen the vowel phonetically to [**æː**] in both lexical items. Thus, instead of regarding this area as a zone of retention for the historical verb forms, we can as easily suspect that in fact it is a zone of innovation.

[23] Oddly, the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór is much more conservative in her fronting than her close neighbours on Inis Meáin.

In other words, we could say that, in this restricted area, the vowel in the verb form *cailleann* has been extended to both verb forms, and the informants in Corrúch have gone just a bit further, fronting the vowel to [**æː**]. In contrast, in the most widespread variant in the islands the vowel in the verb form *chaill* has been generalised to both verb forms. By this reasoning, the variant of the verb which shows the morphophonemic vowel alternation in the root — on the Connemara model — is the parent form of the verb, but this variant with vowel alternation now exists only as a relic form in both Inis Mór and Inis Meáin.

In sum, the people of the restricted area in central Inis Mór seem to have opted for the generalised vowel [**a**], and within that area, the people of Corrúch seem to have emphasised this areal trait by fronting the vowel to [**æː**]. This would not be an isolated phenomenon, since, as we will see, this area of Inis Mór and particularly Corrúch stand out as zones of innovation for linguistic trait after linguistic trait.

(*. . . in the Impersonal simple past Verb Form cailleadh*)

The next lexical item, the impersonal simple past verb form *cailleadh*, with the restricted meaning "someone died", is also drawn from the paradigm of the verb *caill* but the informants on all three islands seem to treat this form quite differently from other forms of the verb, which all carry the original lexical meaning "to lose".

The examples are spotty in the responses from Inis Mór and from Inis Oírr, and there are no examples at all from Inis Meáin, but the evidence that we do have is striking. Irrespective of any backing of the vowel in the forms we have just examined, all informants without exception preserve the historical vowel in this form. In fact, both older informants on Inis Oírr front the vowel strongly to [**æː**] in this verb form despite their uniform backing of the vowel to [**ɑː**] in all the other verbal forms derived from the verb *caill*.

It seems as though all informants seek to maintain a lexical contrast between the verb form *cailleadh*, reflecting the lexical meaning "to die", and the other verbal forms of the verb *caill*, which all express the concept "to lose".

(*. . . in Other Lexical Items*)

We turn now to lexical items in which the low central vowel occurs in an open syllable in Aran Irish — either word-finally or before a morpheme boundary where the following morpheme begins with a vowel — in words such as *maith, scaitheamh* and *dathúil*. In the Aran dialects of Irish, these words can be realised phonologically as [**maː**], [**skaː**] and [**daːuːlʲ**] or as [**mæː**], [**skæː**] and [**dæːuːlʲ**].

In this case, vowel fronting in open syllables seems to be largely confined to eastern Inis Mór. Once again Corrúch is marked strongly by characteristic fronting to [**æː**], and, in the case of the female informant, even by raising to [**ɛː**], while areas to the east and and slightly to the west may also exhibit fronting in certain lexical items.

The noun form *ba*, "cattle", the irregular plural form of the singular noun *bó*, is an item of considerable interest. Though there was historically no palatalised consonant immediately following the vowel which might have triggered fronting in an earlier stage of the evolution of the word, the vowel in this word is nevertheless subject to fronting.

We have a few examples of *ba* from all three islands.

On Inis Mór the examples from both informants at Corrúch show strong fronting to [**æː**].

On Inis Meáin the example from the female informant shows no fronting at all, but the male informant on Inis Meáin very uncharacteristically fronts the vowel strongly to [**æː**], thus clustering with the eastern Inis Mór informants.

On Inis Oírr, however, the youngest informant, F 18, *backs* the vowel to [**ɑː**]!

Thus, for the expected form [**baː**], we get three competing variants across the islands — [**bæː**], [**baː**] and [**bɑː**], and an interesting distribution for each of the three variants.

[**ɑː > aː**]

We examine now a phonological rule which fronts the low back vowel [**ɑː**] to the low central vowel [**aː**] in certain items. These items are the grammatical particles *nár* [negative imperative/negative subordinate verbal particle], *ná* [negative imperative verbal particle/comparative particle], *cá, dá* and *má*.

Beginning with the homophonous particles *nár* and *nár*, nearly all speakers on Inis Mór front the vowel to [**aː**], though a couple of speakers produce the unfronted variant as well. The female informant at An Sruthán, as one of her three variants, fronts the vowel as far as [**æ**].

Similarly, on Inis Meáin and on Inis Oírr, all speakers front the vowel to longer or shorter variants of [**aː**]. Nevertheless, the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18, laxes the vowel to [**ə**] in one instance, while the male informant on Inis Meáin fronts the vowel as far as [**æː**] in another instance.

We turn now to the homophonous particles *ná* [negative imperative verbal particle] and *ná* [comparative particle].

On Inis Mór, speakers in western Inis Mór as far east as Corrúch preserve the low back vowel [**ɑː**]. Even at Corrúch and further east at Eochaill, there is barely an example of fronting. As for Cill Rónáin or Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór, there are no examples of fronting at all. Thus, speakers in east central Inis Mór show their tendency to front low vowels in only a very restrained way with these latter two items.

On Inis Meáin, the female informant preserves the unfronted vowel [**ɑː**] in two instances, fronts the vowel to [**a**] in one instance and laxes the vowel to [**ə**] in a couple of instances.

The male informant, however, fronts the vowel to [**a**] in three out of five instances of the negative imperative verbal particle and in all four instances of the comparative

particle. As in the case of the particles *nár* and *nár*, M 70 again reveals a distinctive tendency to front the low back vowel to [**aː**].

On Inis Oírr, the responses are much more varied. The male informant has a tendency to front the vowel, but also laxes the vowel in one instance. His wife, F 41, prefers not to front the vowel in the overwhelming majority of her examples. The youngest informant, F 18, produces one example each of the vowel variants [**ɑ**], [**a**] and [**ə**] for the negative imperative particle, while, like F 41, producing unfronted vowels in two of her three examples for the comparative particle.

To sum up, the relatively uniform fronting of the vowel to [**aː**] across all three islands in the case of the homophonous particles *nár* and *nár*, with their closed syllable, contrasts sharply with the far more varied articulation of the vowel in the case of the particles *ná* and *ná*, with their open syllable.

As for the locative interrogative particle *cá*, we encounter no fronting of the vowel in this particle anywhere in the three islands. On the contrary, we find several speakers on Inis Mór laxing the vowel to [**o**] or [**ə**] — especially in east central Inis Mór.

Most striking, however, is the use of the allomorph *cé* by two female informants: one in easternmost Inis Mór and the other on Inis Meáin. It is interesting that this feature, so widespread in Connemara, seems limited to this very restricted area in the Aran Islands and to older female informants.

As for the articulation of the hypothetical conditional verbal particle *dá* and the syntactically related simple conditional verbal particle *má*, there is considerable variation in the quality of the vowel in both forms, even for individual speakers. In this case, we could speak of a relatively random articulation of the vowel in both cases.

Some speakers front the vowel as far forward as [**a**] or even [**æ**], and/or produce a shorter, laxer variant such as [**ʌ**] or [**ə**]. Nevertheless, in regard to Inis Mór, one might say that there is a tendency for every second speaker across Inis Mór to front the vowel to [**aː**] in the particle *má*, while preserving the vowel [**ɑː**] in the particle *dá*.

Looking now at the operation of the fronting rule in the two homonymous nouns *mám* ("handful") and *mám* ("mountain pass"), we encounter a sharp distinction in the vowel between the two forms. For the noun *mám* ("handful"), we have only three examples in the data, all from central Inis Mór, but all three informants front the vowel to [**aː**] or [**aːᵋ**].

When the informants at Corrúch were asked about the lexically distinct noun *mám* ("mountain pass"), both produced examples retaining the low back vowel [**ɑː**], revealing a phonemic distinction between the two nouns. Since mountain passes do not exist in the Aran Islands, this form is very likely a borrowed form from Connemara, and is thus not subject to the fronting rule.

[ɑː > aː/æː]

Let us move on to the verbal inflectional suffixes for the second person singular in the habitual past tense of the indicative mood and in the hypothetical conditional mood, e.g., *-tá/-teá* and *-fá/-feá*, respectively. These all contain the low back vowel **[ɑː]**, but in these suffixes the vowel may be not only be fronted to **[aː]** or **[æː]**, but also raised to **[ɛˑ]** or even to **[e]**.

Starting with the two western islands, and looking first at suffixes attached to stem ending in a non-palatalised consonant, we find no fronting of the vowel in such suffixes.

Turning to suffixes attached to stem ending in a palatalised consonant, we find speakers on Inis Mór — especially in central Inis Mór from Fearann an Choirce to Corrúch — producing fronted and even raised variants in the suffix vowel which range from **[aː]** to **[e]**. On Inis Meáin, however, neither informant fronts the vowel in such a context.

There is one suffix vowel variant, however, which can occur with both types of stems, palatalised or non-palatalised: the neutral vowel suffix **[ə]**. Thus we can as easily get **[ə mʹeᵊ]** (= An mbeifeá . . . ?) or **[lʹɪkʹə]** (= ligfeá) as **[ᴵgʹæːNə]** (= An gceannófá . . . ?). This laxing rule functions in both western islands.

As for Inis Oírr, however, all the suffix vowel variants mentioned for the two western islands occur on Inis Oírr as well, but the variants seem altogether randomly distributed for all three speakers. For example, the male informant produces the unique form **[ᵊgʹæːNæˑ]** (= An gceannófá . . . ?), with extreme fronting after a non-palatalised consonant. In this way, then, Inis Oírr shows itself once again to be exceptional.

As a final note on lexical items of this phonological shape, the adjective *breá* was included here because it is phonologically similar to the nouns *fleá* and *sleá*. The latter are both pronounced with the strongly fronted vowel **[æː]** by my principal informants, M 82 and F 72 at Corrúch on Inis Mór. As it happens, however, there is no fronting of the vowel in *breá* by any informant in any of the islands — except for the male informant on Inis Meáin, who fronts the vowel to **[æˑ]** in two instances out of six.

[aː > ɑː]

As for the opposite phonological rule, the backing of the low central vowel **[aː]** to the low back vowel **[ɑː]** in words such as *am, gann, mall, thall, sall, [ar] ball*, and *anall*, nearly all monosyllabic and ending in a "long consonant", we can offer the following sociolinguistic conditions on the operation of the rule.

1. when the vowel is in a monosyllabic word ending in a velarised bilabial nasal consonant, such as *am*, speakers on all three islands do not back the vowel, thus retaining the low central vowel **[aː]**;
2. when the monosyllabic word ends in a velarised alveolar nasal consonant, such as the word *gann*, nearly all the informants in western Inis Mór from Bungabhla through Corrúch do not back the vowel, whereas all the informants from Eochaill eastward through Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr back the vowel to **[ɑː]**. Thus it seems as

though the backing rule in regard to monosyllabic words of the shape *(C)(C)ann*, such as *gann*, is still working its way westward on Inis Mór.

3. when the monosyllabic word ends in a velarised lateral consonant, such as *thall*, speakers on all three islands back the vowel to [**ɑ:**].

For mnemonic purposes, we could sum up the above conditions in conventional Irish orthography with the formula *am; gann/gánn; tháll*.

13 Variation in Consonants

[**h** > ∅] (***Word-Initially***)

Moving on to variation in consonants, we can begin with the voiceless glottal fricative or approximant [**h**], inserted by a sandhi rule in phrase-level constructions to prevent adjacent vowels from coalescing at word boundaries. The linguistic variable itself would involve either preservation of the insertion rule or else the blocking of the rule. In terms of the two lexical items examined here, *Ná himígí!* and *Ná hosclaígí!*, the second option would involve producing variants such as *Ná imígí!* or *Ná osclaígí!*.

On Inis Mór, all the men elide or block the intrusive [**h**], but all the women insert it — with one exception, the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla.

On Inis Meáin, both the male and the female speaker insert the intrusive [**h**], though the male informant blocks the insertion rule in a single instance.

On Inis Oírr, both male and female speakers uniformly block the intrusive [**h**].

Once again we note the linguistic conservatism of Inis Meáin and the wholly innovative nature of Inis Oírr, but it is again the sharp division in the behaviour of the sexes on Inis Mór which is most striking. Nevertheless, the youngest female informant there may be signaling an end to that division in the coming generations.

The next two items, *má thagann ...* and *Ar thug ...?*, also involve the elision of the approximant [**h**], producing *má 'agann ...* and *Ar 'ug ...?*, but here the occurrence of the [**h**] results from grammatically-triggered lenition of the initial consonant of the verb.

In this case, speakers across all three islands conserve the approximant [**h**], with the exception of a few speakers on Inis Mór from Corrúch westward, who relax their articulation randomly in such contexts.

[**h** > ∅] (***Word-Medially***)

As for the elision of the approximant [**h**] word-medially, let us examine the nouns *bóthar, rothar* and *beithigh*.

In regard to the traditional items *bóthar* and *beithigh*, informants across all three islands elide the [**h**]. In contrast, in regard to the neologism *rothar*, informants on Inis

Mór and Inis Meáin almost uniformly conserve the [**h**]. (We have no examples of the neologism from Inis Oírr.)

Only the two informants at Corrúch on Inis Mór elide the [**h**] in the neologism *rothar* as well. Thus both produce the variant [**rəːr**], again showing the strong innovative tendencies in Corrúch.

[**N′**> **n′**]

Turning now to nasal consonants, let us begin with the simplification or reduction of the consonant cluster [**v′n′**] in the two related lexical items *cuimhneamh* and *cuimhníonn*. In such a reduction, the palatalised labiodental fricative [**v′**] is dropped from the cluster, leaving only the palatalised alveolar nasal consonant [**n′**].

On Inis Mór, both reduced and unreduced variants of both items are widespread, with no geographical pattern to be discerned. Reduced forms with weakly palatalised [**n′**] predominate, but an unreduced variant is found in nearly every second townland represented in the survey.

In the case of the unreduced clusters, however, the nasal segment is strongly palatalised — as [**N′**], except in the case of the female informant at Cill Éinne, who produces the weakly palatalised cluster [**v′n′**].[24]

Little can be said for Inis Meáin, since we have only one example from there. Note, however, that the example contains the variant with the reduced cluster, and that the nasal consonant is strongly palatalised — as [**N′**].

As for Inis Oírr, only the variant with the reduced cluster — containing the weakly palatalised nasal [**n′**] — occurs.

Moving on to the next set of lexical items, including such items as *inné, inniu, bainne* and *álainn*, the linguistic variable here involves the weakening of the palatalisation of the alveolar nasal consonant [**N′**] to the more lightly palatalised variant [**n′**].[25]

In such items, the variant [**N′**] predominates on Inis Mór, whereas on Inis Meáin it is the exclusive variant.

On Inis Oírr, however, the pattern of distribution for the variants on Inis Mór is reversed. Here it is the weakly palatalised variant [**n′**] which is dominant.

For rough mnemonic purposes, the situation could be represented as Inis Mór [**N′**], Inis Meáin [**N′**], and Inis Oírr [**n′**].

[**L′**> **l′**]

A similar situation seems to exist in the case of the lateral approximants [**L′**] and [**l′**]. We can examine these sounds on the basis of the items *Gaillimh* and *abhaile*, elicited in summer 1992.

[24]We also get the unique variant [**kiˑm′n′uː**] (= *cuimhneamh*), with a cluster containing the unlenited palatalised bilabial nasal [**m′**], from the female informant at Eoghanacht in westernmost Inis Mór.

[25]Note that the sound in question in all these items can be termed a palatalised geminate cluster in historical terms.

On Inis Mór, it appears that nearly all the informants represented in the third-year interviews keep the distinction between the two lateral consonants. Only two male informants produced the weak lateral variant [**l′**] in the item *Gaillimh*.

On Inis Meáin, the informants also kept the distinction between the two lateral consonants.

On Inis Oírr, however, the two female informants produced only the weak variant [**l′**] for both items, once again clearly setting off Inis Oírr from the two western islands.[26]

To sum up, for sonorants as a whole, it seems as though speakers in the two western islands preserve the distinction between strongly palatalised and weakly palatalised sonorants, while speakers on Inis Oírr obliterate the distinction, producing only the weakly palatalised variants [**n′**] and [**l′**].

[L′> j]

Turning now to a related phenomenon, the replacement of the strongly palatalised lateral consonant [**L′**] by the palatal glide [**j**], this phenomenon is rare in Aran Irish, but it does occur repeatedly — and from different speakers.[27]

Thus, we get the example [**kəl′əx kəjɛ**] (= *coileach coille*) from the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór, and several examples from the male informant on Inis Meáin: [**buˠxəjiː**] (= *buachaillí*), [**æːː jæbə**] (= *a leaba*, "her bed"), and finally [**kəl′əx kəjjə**] (= *coilleach coille*), with an even more forceful articulation of the segment.

Note, though, that the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór substitutes the palatal glide [**j**] even for the lightly palatalised lateral [**l′**] in her example [**b′æːn kɑːʲuːl′**] (= *bean cháiliúil*).

[kN> kr], [gN> gr], [mN> mr]

We move on now to quite a different phenomenon — denasalisation, or the replacement of the aveolar nasal consonant [**N**] by the flap [**r**] in word-initial consonant clusters consisting of a plosive followed by a sonorant, such as *cn*, *gn* and *mn*. In terms of the lexical items examined here, denasalisation means articulating the words *cnoc, cnaipe, [de] ghnáth/gnách, gnáthdhuine, gnúsacht* and *mná* as *croc, craipe, [de] ghráth/grách, gráthdhuine, grúsacht* and *mrá*, respectively. This phenomenon is widespread in Connemara, and, indeed, in Northern Irish.[28]

At the risk of oversimplifying the complexity in the data, it is fair to say that speakers on Inis Mór show themselves quite conservative, though at times there is some wavering in central and eastern Inis Mór.

The two islands to the east — especially Inis Oírr — have largely yielded to the flapped [**r**], though the male informant on Inis Meáin does a good bit of wavering between the

[26] The male informant on Inis Oírr did not participate in the 1992 interviews.

[27] This rare phenomenon, so far only attested for older speakers in eastern Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin, could bear further investigation.

[28] Cf. O' Rahilly (1932), 22-23. O' Rahilly noted at that time that "[i]n the Aran Islands and also on part of the Galway mainland, usage is mixed, *n* and *r* being used indifferently".

two variants.

[wr > mr], [v′r′> m′r′]

The next linguistic variable involves what the scholar Ruairí Ó hUiginn has labeled "díshéimhiú" ('de-lenition").[29] In the case of the first item, *samhradh*, we have the substitution of the voiced bilabial nasal consonant [**m**] in an environment where the bilabial glide [**w**] would be expected in Standard Irish.

Only one example of this occurs in the sample — an example from the male informant M 82 at Corrúch on Inis Mór.

Though it is possible to interpret M 82's example of de-lenition as a preservation of an archaic form, common sense dictates that we regard the de-lenition as yet one more innovation coming from Corrúch.

The second item, the noun *geimhreadh*, has to do with the same phenomenon of de-lenition, and it involves a similar cluster, but here both segments of the cluster are palatalised.

Once again, it is Inis Mór which draws our attention, with three informants in western and central Inis Mór manifesting the de-lenited segment [**m′**] — the female informants at Eoghanacht and at An Sruthán as well as both informants at Corrúch.[30]

There are no examples of de-lenition on Inis Meáin, but on Inis Oírr, the older female informant F 41 produces an example of this lexical item.

Recall that the female informant at Eoghanacht in westernmost Inis Mór also produced an example of de-lenition in her unique variant of the verbal noun *cuimhneamh*, discussed earlier.

[rʃ > rs], [ʃk′> sk′], [ʃt′> st′]

We turn now to de-palatalisation, the substitution of [**s**] for [**ʃ**] in certain consonant clusters. The lexical items examined include *tuirseach, fairsing, scian, scéal, sciobtha* and *isteach*.

Both palatalised and de-palatalised variants of nearly all the above lexical items are in vigorous competition across all three islands, with interesting but conflicting patterns of distribution for each of the individual lexical items.

Only the adjective *fairsing*, though less well attested, shows no sign of de-palatalisation by speakers on any of the islands.

[t′> tʃ] (*Word-Initially*)

We turn now to the phenomenon of affrication — here, the substitution of the affricate [**tʃ**] for the dental plosive [**t′**]. We begin with affrication of [**t′**] in word-initial position in words such as *teach, tinn*, etc. The geographical and sexual boundaries between

[29] Cf. Ó hUiginn (1994), 554.

[30] We encounter the opposite phenomenon, further east, at Eochaill, where the male informant surprises us by eliding the [**v′**] entirely, leaving only the nasalisation on the preceding vowel to mark its presence.

the two sets of competing variants present one of the sharpest isoglossic boundaries in the islands.

On Inis Mór, we note not a single example of affrication from Bungabhla all the way eastward, until we reach the eastern tip of the island. Suddenly, at Cill Rónáin, we encounter an explosion of affrication, where the male informant M 50 produces nearly twice as many examples of word-initial [**tʃ**] as of Standard Irish [**t′**]. His neighbour to the east, the female informant at Cill Éinne, is even more pronounced in her use of the affricate, producing [**tʃ**] almost exclusively.

On Inis Meáin, the burst of affrication continues, with the female informant again clearly leading in her use of this feature. Thus she produces examples with [**tʃ**] exclusively, while the male informant lags considerably behind her, affricating less than half of his examples.

On Inis Oírr, the bias toward affrication in female informants continues, since here the male informant produces no examples at all with [**tʃ**], while his wife shows rather evenly divided usage. The youngest female informant, F 18, however, produces more than twice as many examples of [**tʃ**] as of [**t′**]. Is a generational change toward affrication taking place among female speakers on Inis Oírr?

To sum up, it seems as though affrication of word-initial [**t′**] originated in easternmost Inis Mór and has been spreading eastward through the two eastern islands. Though clearly a feature most strongly characterising female speakers, it has apparently had time in easternmost Inis Mór to spread to male speakers in Cill Rónáin to the extant that their speech also is strongly characterised by it. Nevertheless, the innovation has not spread westward in Inis Mór itself, even as far as Eochaill.

Its slow spread eastward to Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr is reflected not only in the generational differences between female speakers on Inis Oírr, but also — and especially — in the differences between male speakers from island to island.

[t′> tʃ] (***Word-Medially and Word-Finally***)

As for affrication in word-medial or word-final position in such examples as *caite, áit, caint, buailte* and *beirt*, we find much the same patterns of variation as we encountered in word-initial position.

On Inis Mór, the pattern for affrication in word-medial or word-final position is exactly the same as that for word-initial position.

On Inis Meáin also, the female informant again produces [**tʃ**] exclusively, while the male informant shows even a lesser tendency to affricate, producing [**tʃ**] in less than a third of his examples.

On Inis Oírr, we encounter one example of [**tʃ**] from the male informant, but otherwise he produces [**t′**] exclusively. On the other hand, his wife this time produces the affricate [**tʃ**] in less a third of her examples, and even the youngest female informant, F 18, barely favours [**tʃ**] over [**t′**].

If an eastward spread of affrication has taken place, it seems clear that the spread is most advanced in word-initial position.

[rt′> rʃt′]

There is, however, a particular word-final consonant cluster which is worth examining a bit closer — the cluster **[rt′]**, which occurs in the lexical items *tabhairt, labhairt, dúirt* and *beirt*.

In this context, one can encounter not only the affricated variant **[rtʃ]**, but also a kind of metathesised version of the cluster where the alveolar fricative **[ʃ]** follows the flap **[r]**, but precedes the palatalised voiceless dental plosive **[t′]**, i.e., **[rʃt′]** or even **[rʃtʃ]**. As remarked earlier, a similar phenomenon exists in dialects of Scottish Gaelic.

On Inis Mór, we note that the pattern of distribution for affricated and non-affricated clusters in these lexical items is roughly the same as for the preceding items, but there are some striking differences. We now encounter two isolated examples of the affricated cluster **[rtʃ]** in An Sruthán in west central Inis Mór, along with the expected examples of affrication at Cill Rónáin and at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór.

As expected, the male informant at Cill Rónáin produces the affricated cluster **[rtʃ]** in over half his examples, but the female informant at Cill Éinne surprises us by being much more conservative in her affrication, this time producing the non-affricated cluster **[rt′]** in over half her examples. Even more surprising, however, is the use of the metathesised cluster **[rʃtʃ]** (with an additional affricated release) by the male informant at Corrúch in central Inis Mór in his production of the impersonal simple past form *doirteadh*, where the metathesised cluster is root-final but word-medial.

On Inis Meáin, however, the use of the metathesised cluster **[rʃt′]** is endemic. The female informant produces the metathesised cluster **[rʃt′]** almost exclusively, with only one example of the affricated cluster **[rtʃ]**. The male informant, on the other hand, divides his usage equally between the metathesised cluster **[rʃt′]** and the non-affricated cluster **[rt′]** .

In sum, then, in contrast to Inis Mór, on Inis Meáin the metathesised cluster **[rʃt′]** is overwhelmingly dominant, the non-affricated cluster **[rt′]** is recessive but certainly present, and the affricated cluster **[rtʃ]** is virtually non-existent.

On Inis Oírr, however, we encounter no examples at all of the metathesised variant **[rʃt′]**. Furthermore, the three informants each go their separate ways. The male informant once again rejects affrication, producing only the non-affricated variant **[rt′]**, while his wife produces only the affricated cluster **[rtʃ]** and the youngest informant F 18 shows divided usage, favouring the non-affricated cluster **[rt′]** only slightly over the affricated cluster **[rtʃ]**.

To sum up the evidence for all three islands, we can say that the patterns of distribution over the islands for the non-affricated cluster **[rt′]** and the affricated cluster **[rtʃ]** are roughly the same as for the single non-affricated and affricated segments just examined, both geographically and between the sexes. There are some differences on Inis Mór,

however. Affricated consonant clusters occur in isolation as far west as An Sruthán in west central Inis Mór. In contrast, the female informant in easternmost Inis Mór restrains to some degree her tendency to affricate in this restricted context.

The biggest difference is found on Inis Meáin, where the metathesised cluster [**rʃtʹ**] has virtually replaced the affricated cluster [**rtʃ**], but where the non-affricated cluster [**rtʹ**] is still found, though recessive. It appears as though female speakers on Inis Meáin may have originated the metathesised variant, which is still being adopted by male speakers there. The same variant may once have reached eastern Inis Mór, where it lingers on recessively at Corrúch, but it appears not to have been adopted on Inis Oírr at all, despite the island's proximity to Inis Meáin.

[dʹ> ʤ] (*Word-Initially*)

We can examine now the substitution of the affricate [**ʤ**] for the dental plosive [**dʹ**] in word-initial position in such lexical items as *Dia, go dtí, d'imigh, deas* and *i dteach.*

On Inis Mór, we note a pattern almost identical to that of [**tʃ**] and [**tʹ**] in word-initial position. Outside of two isolated examples from An Sruthán and Eochaill, respectively, we encounter no examples of affrication going across the island from west to east until we reach Cill Rónáin. There, however, we note a sharp increase in the level of affrication from that of the unvoiced plosives as we examine the voiced ones. The male informant at Cill Rónáin increases his level of affrication to approximately 80 percent, while his eastern neighbour, the female informant at Cill Éinne, produces [**ʤ**] exclusively.

On Inis Meáin, similarly, the female informant produces [**ʤ**] exclusively, while the male informant increases his level of affrication, so that he now affricates the initial segment in over half his examples.

On Inis Oírr, likewise, the older female informant now produces [**ʤ**] in more than twice as many examples as [**dʹ**], and the younger female informant, F 18, now affricates exclusively. It is the male informant, however, who is most surprising in his behaviour. Though he exhibited no examples at all of the affricate [**tʃ**] in word-initial position, he now produces twice as many examples of [**ʤ**] as of [**dʹ**] in the same position.

In sum, though the patterns of distribution for both voiced and unvoiced variants are roughly the same, in regard to the voiced segments there is a sharp increase in affrication on all three islands for male informants – especially on Inis Oírr.

[dʹ> ʤ] (*Word-Medially and Word-Finally*)

As for the occurrence of [**ʤ**] and [**dʹ**] in word-medial and word-final position, as reflected in the items *Bríd, cuid* and *cairde*, the patterns of affrication are similar to those just mentioned, and little more need be said here.

[nʃ > ntʃ]

Before leaving the subject of affrication, let us glance at an extremely interesting

phenomenon — the affrication of the cluster [**nʃ**], as heard in the two locative pronouns *anseo* and *ansin*. In these pronouns we encounter not only the affricated cluster [**ntʃ**], but also the clusters [**nʹsʹ**] (with the voiceless grooved fricative [**sʹ**]), [**nʹtʹ**] (with simple substitution of the palatalised plosive [**tʹ**]) and [**tʃ**] (with the nasal consonant elided entirely), which may or may not involve affrication proper.

The patterns of distribution are virtually the same for all these non-standard variants. That is, they are encountered almost exclusively from Cill Rónáin and Cill Éinne at the eastern tip of Inis Mór eastward through Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr.

Of those variants, only the variant [**tʃ**], with the nasal consonant elided, and that elision only in the item *ansin*, appears restricted to Inis Meáin and to Inis Oírr. Examples are [**ə̃ˈtʃɪnʹ**], [**əˈtʃɪnʹ**], [**ᵊtʃɪnʹ**] and [**ᵋˈtʃɪnʹ**].

The same denasalised variant has also been attested in the locative pronoun *ansiúd* in two examples from the male informant on Inis Meáin.

[**əv > uː**]

We move on now to an entirely different kind of linguistic variable — the conversion of the segmental sequence [**əv**] to the single vocalic segment [**uː**], [**uˑ**] or [**u**].

This vocalisation can occur in the case of nouns or adjectives such as *tarbh* or *balbh*, where an epenthetic neutral vowel is triggered automatically by the phonological rules of Standard Irish to separate a non-palatalised sonorant from a following non-palatalised voiced bilabial fricative.

The other context in which such vocalisation can take place is in the suffix of an impersonal simple past tense verb form, such as *cailleadh*.

Beginning with the noun *tarbh*, on the two western islands we find all the informants — with a single exception — vocalising the segmental sequence to [**uː**], [**uˑ**] or [**u**]. M 50 at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór is the only informant who preserves the sequence [**əv**].[31]

On Inis Oírr, however, all the informants preserve the sequence [**əv**].

(*In the Impersonal simple past*)

Turning now to the impersonal simple past tense verb forms, unfortunately the attestation of the different items — *cailleadh, doirteadh, rugadh [ar]* and *fuarthas* — is spotty.

Beginning with the verb form *cailleadh*, all the informants on Inis Mór (including M 50 at Cill Rónáin) vocalise the suffix. Unfortunately, we have no examples from Inis Meáin.

On Inis Oírr, usage is divided in the older generation, with the male informant preserving the sequence [**əv**], while his wife vocalises to [**uˑ**] and [**u**].[32]

[31] Presumably his familiarity with the Standard Irish variant through his role as headmaster of the vocational school has influenced his selection of a variant.

[32] Unfortunately, we have no examples from the youngest informant, F18, for this item or the other impersonal forms.

The next verb form, *doirteadh*, is even more poorly attested, but the pattern of vocalisation on Inis Mór seems the same. Again we have no examples from Inis Meáin.

Our sole example from Inis Oírr, F 41, preserves the sequence [**əv**], in contrast to her behaviour in regard to the previous item.

As for the next verb form, *rugadh*, if we ignore the irrelevant variant forms *rugus* and *rugas*, we note that Inis Mór speakers invariably vocalise the suffix.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant does the same. Unfortunately, we have no other relevant variants from the two eastern islands.

The last verb form, *fuarthas*, is of interest because of such local variants as *fuaireadh, fuireadh* and *foireadh*, dominant on Inis Mór, and *friothadh* or *fríothadh*, found on all three islands, which allow vocalisation of the suffix.

On Inis Mór, the suffixes of both groups of variants are vocalised.

On Inis Meáin, where only the *fríothadh* variant occurs, both informants preserve the final segment of the sequence [**əv**], producing [**fʹrʹiːv**].[33]

On Inis Oírr, the older female informant also preserves the final consonant in her anomalous example [**fʹiːv**].

In regard to the vocalisation of the suffix in the *friothadh/fríothadh* variants, even on Inis Mór, speakers producing regular disyllabic impersonal simple past forms with stems ending in a high front vowel, such as the second conjugation verb form *coinníodh*, would normally preserve the final segment, e.g., [**kɪNʹiːv**]. Nevertheless, the same speakers (on Inis Mór) will frequently produce the vocalised forms [**kɪNʹiˑu**] or even [**kɪNʹuː**] as alternative forms.

To sum up the evidence, it seems clear enough that Inis Mór speakers invariably vocalise the final syllable as [**uː**] in impersonal simple past tense verb forms, and that Inis Oírr speakers hold strongly to the segment sequence [**əv**]. Inis Meáin seems to waver between the two suffix variants, but it is very difficult to say much owing to the paucity of examples from the two eastern islands.

Remember that on Inis Mór itself, speakers are still wavering between the suffix variants [**-iːv**] and [**-iːuː**] in the case of second conjugation verb forms, so it may well be that there is little difference between Inis Mór speakers and Inis Meáin speakers in regard to vocalisation of this suffix.

Sandhi Phenomena

The next few items involve *sandhi* phenomena, that is to say, phonological changes triggered automatically at word boundaries as certain words or particles come together on the level of the phrase or clause.[34]

[33] Compare the comparable forms on Inis Mór, especially easternmost Inis Mór, where only such forms as [**fʹrʹiːuˑ**] are found.

[34] We have already dealt with at least one linguistic variable involving a *sandhi* rule — in that case, the Standard Irish rule which automatically inserts the segment [**h**] between the definate plural marker *na* and a following common noun which begins with a vowel.

[ɣ > w]

First we encounter the deletion of the velar fricative [ɣ] in the phrase *ó dhaoine*, a deletion that seems to be a result of extremely lenis articulation, so that only the lip-rounding of the preceding upper-mid back rounded vowel [oː] remains as a glide to separate the adjoining vowels of the two words.

The item is not well attested, but the little that we have is intriguing. Of the three examples we have from Inis Mór, the velar fricative is elided in all three cases. Thus we have [**oː wiːnʹɛ**] from the female informant at An Sruthán, [**oː wiːnʹiː**] from the female informant at Cill Éinne, and the anomalous phrase [**oː vəjɪnʹɛ**] from the male informant at Corrúch.

The next item, the phrase *beirt daoine*, involves a similar rule, one which substitutes the voiced rounded labiovelar approximant [w] for the velar fricative but in a phonological environment which does not seem to call for such a substitution. In other words, not only do we not have lip-rounding in the final consonant of the numeral *beirt*, one would not even expect lenition after *beirt* in this instance, since two homorganic consonants, [tʹ] and [d], are coming together.

Nevertheless, two male informants in the two western islands do substitute [w] for [d] in their examples. M 60 at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór does so, and, surprisingly, so does M 70 on Inis Meáin.

[∅ > j]

The next item involves *sandhi* of a different sort. Rather than insertion of a phonological segment — in this case, the voiced palatal central approximant [j] in the sentence *Fág taobh amuigh é!* — or the substitution of one segment for another, in this instance we have the realisation of an underlying phonological form for the locative adjective *amuigh* in certain phonological contexts — specifically, before a vowel.

As mentioned earlier in the preliminary analysis, if the underlying form in the informant's mind is [ᵊ**muⁱ**], as suggested by the standard orthography, the voiced palatal central approximant [j] will appear automatically as a final segment before a word beginning with a vowel — at least, a long vowel. If the following word begins with a consonant, or perhaps with a short, neutral vowel such as [ə] in a phrase such as *amuigh ansin*, one would expect the shorter allomorph [ᵊ**mʊ**] normally heard in the Aran Islands as well as in Connemara.

If, on the other hand, the underlying phonological form in the mind of the informant is [ᵊ**mʊ**], we would not expect the palatal approximant [j], even before a long vowel.

In fact, with a single exception, all the informants in the two western islands reflect [ᵊ**muⁱ**] as the underlying form.[35]

On Inis Oírr, however, all the informants reflect [ᵊ**mʊ**] as the underlying form, with no sign of the approximant [j] or of a diphthong.

[35]The single exception in the two western islands, the headmaster at the vocational school, M 50, confirms his underlying representation [ᵊ**mʊ**] by inserting the voiceless glottal central approximant [h] in order keep the vowels in the two adjacent words separate, i.e., [ᵊ**məh ɛ**] (= . . . amu' h-é).

Substitution of Alveolar Nasal Consonants

The last two linguistic variables involve substitution of an alveolar nasal consonant for an expected velar nasal consonant at a word boundary. All such cases involve the morphosyntactic process usually called "eclipsis".

[ŋ > n]

In the case of the first linguistic variable, we would expect the substitution of the velar nasal consonant [ŋ] in place of the velar plosive [g], as in Standard Irish, but sometimes the alveolar nasal consonant [n] is substituted. The items examined are the phrases *i ngar, go ngabhfaidh . . . , go ngnóthóidh . . .* and *ar an ngaineamh*.

As it happens, all the examples with the alveolar nasal [n] substituted for the expected velar nasal [ŋ] come from central and easternmost Inis Mór. The male informant at Fearann an Choirce substitutes [n] or [ŋ] in the item *go ngnóthóidh*, thereby simplifying the consonant cluster [ŋn]. His neighbour to the east, the male informant at Corrúch, goes much further and substitutes the [n] in three of his four examples. The female informant at Cill Éinne, however, does so in only one example.

In the other two islands, there are no examples of such substitution.

[ŋ′> n′]

The other linguistic variable involves their palatalised counterparts at the same place of articulation, i.e., the substitution of [n′] for [ŋ′]. Only one item was examined here, the Standard Irish phrase *sa gheimhreadh*, pronounced locally as *sa ngeimhreadh*, with eclipsis rather than lenition of the noun.

Once again, our only example of the substitution of [n′] for [ŋ′] comes from An Sruthán in west central Inis Mór.

To sum up, one can ascribe the two alveolar substitutions [n] and [n′] to lenis articulation, and once again, we can associate such innovations with central Inis Mór, especially Corrúch.

Re-syllabification of Nouns

The last few items involve possible re-syllabification of certain nouns. They involve chiefly monosyllabic nouns containing diphthongs, and involve either conserving the diphthong and articulating the noun as a monosyllabic word or else inserting the bilabial glide [w] or the palatal glide [j] (depending on the nature of the diphthong) to produce a disyllabic word.

Beginning with the singular noun *gabhar*, we find half the speakers throughout Inis Mór treating the form as a disyllabic word, producing the equivalent of the form [gaːwʊr].

Speakers in the two eastern islands, however, treat the word as a monosyllabic form, all producing the equivalent of [ga^{u}r].

In regard to the plural form *gabhair*, however, all the informants across all three islands — with a single exception — produce only the disyllabic form [**gaːwɪrʹ**] or its close equivalent.[36] It seems that in this case the speakers are heightening the acoustical contrast between the singular and plural forms through disyllabification.

The next item, *an ghrian*, involves the "falling diphthong" [**iᵊ**], ending in the neutral vowel [**ə**]. Judging from the responses of M 82 and F 72 at Corrúch to the *LASID* questionnaire, we might expect the leveling of the diphthong to the long vowel [**eː**] or the insertion of the palatalised glide [**j**], but in fact there is no levelling of the diphthong or insertion of the glide [**j**] anywhere in the three islands, even at Corrúch on Inis Mór. At most we encounter the disyllabic form [**gʹrʹiːəɴ**] (with no glide) from the female informant at Eoghanacht on Inis Mór.

As regards the items *mo dheirfiúr* and *a dheirfiúr*, both contain a diphthong [**ɛᵘ**] very similar to the one just discussed.[37]

On Inis Mór, in parallel with the singular form *gabhar* just discussed, disyllabic forms compete with monosyllabic forms of *dreabhar* across the island.

On Inis Meáin, both informants use only the disyllabic form [**dʹrʹʌʷər**].

On Inis Oírr, all informants produce only the monosyllabic variant.

14 Phonological Material from the LASID Questionnaire Administered in Corrúch

As for the rich phonological material to be found in the responses of M 82 and F 72 to the *LASID* questionnaire, no attempt will be made here to summarise the material already summarised in the chapter devoted to that material. However, it is worth mentioning here the diphthongisation of the high-mid or high-back vowels [**ʊ**] and [**uː**], respectively, to the diphthong [**əᵘ**] in such grammatical and lexical items as *tú, thú, inniu* and *amú*. This is a phenomenon which has been attested occasionally in eastern Inis Mór from Corrúch to Cill Éinne, but not elsewhere in the islands.

15 Grammatical Variation in Irregular Verbs

We now turn to the grammatical variables, and we begin with the paradigms of the irregular verbs.

Tar

Starting with the imperative singular of the verb *tar*, we note the variant *teara!* only in westernmost Inis Mór. The variant *tara!*, on the other hand, is found from Corrúch eastward on Inis Mór and on the two islands to the east.

[36] The exception is the youngest informant, F 18 on Inis Oírr, who produces the monosyllabic form [**gaᵘrʹ**] to match her example of the singular form.

[37] Cf. the local variant *dreabhar* ([**dʹrʹɛᵘr**]) of the kinterm *deirfiúr*.

Though the existence of the final vowel is difficult to establish for individual speakers, we have the example *teara uait!* , attested by a male speaker from Creig an Chéirín in westernmost Inis Mór who is now nearly 78 years of age,[38] as well as corresponding forms from Cois Fharraige, cited in de Bhaldraithe, T. (1953).[39]

Though we find the variant *gabh!* on all three islands, it is used only in the expressions *gabh anall!, gabh i leith!* and *gabh isteach!*. We find the variant *goile!* ([**gəlʲɛ**]), a blended form derived from the expression *Gabh i leith!*, in use in the two western islands, but not on Inis Oírr.

(The Plural Imperative Form)

Turning now to the plural imperative form, we find the Standard Irish variant *tagaigí!* on all three islands, though it is not a dominant variant in any of them. We find a competing variant, *tagaí!*, with a short, vocalic suffix, on all three islands as well, but it is especially characteristic of the two western islands. In fact, since only the youngest informant on Inis Oírr manifests the variant, we could regard the variant there as only recently introduced into Inis Oírr.

A third variant, *taraí!*, with a short, vocal suffix as well, but constructed on the root of the singular imperative form, is attested only at Fearann an Choirce and at Corrúch in central Inis Mór.

A fourth variant, *goiligí!*, derived from the singular blended form *goile*, and exhibiting the Standard Irish suffix *-igí*, is attested from only two informants, both in the two western islands. The youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, and the male informant M 70 on Inis Meáin both produce the variant. M 70 also produces a fifth variant, *goilí!*, with the monosyllabic suffix *-í* added to the same stem.

It is interesting that though the singular imperative variant *gabh* is used in such phrases as *gabh anall!, gabh i leith!* and *gabh isteach!*, the expected plural form of that variant, *gabhaigí!*, used in the sense of motion toward the speaker, does not occur in any of the islands.

We have one example of a third person imperative verb form, *teagadh!*, in the phrase *Teagadh na gasúir anall!*, from the female informant at Eoghanacht in westernmost Inis Mór.[40]

(The Habitual Present Tense Form)

Moving on to the habitual present tense form and beginning on Inis Mór, we note the root variant *teag-* from the two female informants in westernmost Inis Mór. In contrast, all informants east of Eoghanacht use the Standard Irish root variant *tag-*.[41]

On Inis Meáin, there is an interesting sexual difference. The female informant uses the root variant *teag-* used by her female counterparts in westernmost Inis Mór, while

[38] The same speaker offered *teana uait!* (< *téana uait/teannadh uait?*) as well.
[39] Cf. de Bhaldraithe (1953), 114
[40] Note that she palatalises the initial consonant and fronts the following vowel, as expected of a speaker from westernmost Inis Mór.
[41] The western variant *teag-* is used as an alternative form by two male informants in eastern Inis Mór.

the male informant uses the Standard Irish variant *tag-* which is used in the rest of Inis Mór.[42]

On Inis Oírr, we again find divided usage, but here the relevant factor seems to be age. Both older speakers use the root variant *teag-*, while the youngest speaker uses the Standard Irish variant *tag-*.

The question of analytic vs. synthetic forms of the verb arises at this point. In other words, where we would expect the form *tagann muid* or *teagann muid* in Aran Irish, we get the forms *tagamuid*, *tagamuinn*, *teagamuid* or *teagamuinn*.

Such synthetic forms seem to be widespread on Inis Mór, especially in the centre of the island. As for the two eastern islands, we have only the anomalous form *tioca muid* from Inis Meáin and the synthetic form *teagamuid* from the older female informant on Inis Oírr.

As for the pronominal element in such forms, the variant *muinn* has been noted for Inis Mór Irish,[43] though it is clear from the present evidence that the variant is not restricted to easternmost Inis Mór but extends at least as far west in the island as An Sruthán. We have no attestations, however, in the two eastern islands. As for the more standard variant *muid*, widespread in neighbouring Connemara, this variant is in general use on all three islands.

(Variation in the Root)

Returning to the question of variation in the root itself and the alternation between the variants *teag-* and *tag-*, we can examine the items *má thagann* and *sula dtagann* for further examples. In the light of these examples, it seems that the palatalisation of the initial consonant itself triggers the fronting of the vowel, and that without such a trigger, the vowel will not be fronted. For example, we have *teaga(nn)* and *chola dteagann* vs. *má thagann* from one informant and *teagann* vs. *má thagann* from another. The same rule seems to operate on all three islands.

The one striking exception to this rule is the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla in westernmost Inis Mór. She apparently generalises the fronted vowel to all forms, regardless of the presence or absence of a preceding palatalised alveolar consonant.

(The Verbal Noun)

Turning now to the verbal noun, *teacht*, we are dealing essentially with two variants, *teacht* and *tíocht*, whose pattern of distribution is very distinctive. On Inis Mór, the variant *tíocht* is used only in the western half of Inis Mór, from Eoghanacht eastward through Fearann an Choirce.[44] In contrast, the variant *teacht* is used exclusively in

[42]In addition, both speakers use an anomalous form, *tioca muid*, which could either be a future tense verb form used in a context calling for the habitual present, or, as we shall see below, a habitual present tense inflected verb form with *tioca-* as the stem element.

[43]Cf. Ó Murchú, S. (1991)

[44]We do have two examples of the variant *tíocht* right across the border at Corrúch.

the eastern half, from Corrúch eastward. The distribution on Inis Mór, therefore, fits exactly the local conception of *An Ceann Thiar* vs. *An Ceann Thoir*.

On Inis Meáin, the *teacht* variant continues eastward, but Inis Oírr, once again, breaks the pattern. The two older informants use the variant *tíocht* almost exclusively, while the youngest informant, F 18, uses the variant *teacht* exclusively, suggesting once again generational change.

The glaring exception on Inis Mór to the distributional rule mentioned above is once again the youngest informant on the island, F 43 at Bungabhla at the western tip. She uses the variant *teacht* exclusively. Like F 18 on Inis Oírr, she seems to be providing yet another example of a generational shift in usage in the direction of the Standard Irish variant.

(The Verbal Adjective/Past Participle)

Before leaving this verb altogether, it is worthwhile glancing at the verbal adjective or past participial form *tagtha*. Unfortunately, we have very few examples, but these all conform to the phonological rules outlined above for the different areas. We have the variant *teagthaí* from F 43 at Bungabhla in westernmost Inis Mór, *tagthaí* from the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór, and *tagthaí* again from F 18 on Inis Oírr.

Téigh

Moving on now to the next verb, *téigh,* and beginning on Inis Mór with the imperative singular of the verb, the variants *téire!* and *téir!* are clearly the dominant variants throughout Inis Mór.

We have the same problem with these variants that we had with the variants *tara!* and *teara!* for the previous verb, but in this case examples of both *téire!* and *téir!* occur in relative syntactic isolation, allowing us to assume the existence of two slightly different variants — one with the final vowel and one without.

The Standard Irish variant *téigh!* is used only by the male informant at Corrúch, while the suppletive variant *gabh!*, in the phrase *Gabh abhaile!* is used by two female informants at opposite ends of the island.

On Inis Meáin, the variant *téir!* is used by the male informant, while the variant *téire!* is used by the female informant.

On Inis Oírr, we again get the variant *téir!* from the two older informants, but the youngest female informant, F 18, produces only the suppletive variant *gabh!*.

(The Plural Imperative Form)

Turning now to the plural imperative form and beginning once more on Inis Mór, we find only the Standard Irish form *téigí!*, spread throughout the island, and the suppletive variant *goigí* (= *ghabhaigí!*), used only by two male informants in the centre of the island.

The verb forms *imigí!* (sic) and *imí!* are frequently substituted, and we have a single instance of *tiomáiní lib!*. What is surprising is that no informant builds a plural form based on the singular forms *téir!* or *téire!*, and that about half the informants intersperse their plural forms with singular forms, though they clearly understand the context.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant uses the plural form *téigí!*, and the female informant uses only the singular form *téire!*.

On Inis Oírr, the male informant uses both *téigí!* and *téire!*, while the older female informant uses *téire!*. And again, the younger female informant distinguishes herself by repeatedly choosing the variant *goigí!* (= *ghabhaigí!*), a variant otherwise attested only on Inis Mór.

Oddly enough, though the male informant uses the plural form *téirigí!* in the phrase *téirigí anseo!* in a context calling for the plural imperative of the verb *tar*, neither he nor any other informant uses that variant in the present context.

(The Future Tense Form)

Examining now the future tense form of the verb, the suppletive variant *gabhfaidh* is used almost exclusively across all three islands. Only the elderly female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór uses the Standard Irish variant *rachaidh*, and even she uses it only as an alternative form.

The phonological shape of the verb form *gabhfaidh*, however, easily distinguishes different geographical areas. We find the monophthongised variant [**goː**] in westernmost Inis Mór, competition between that variant and the diphthongised variant [**gaᵘ**] in central Inis Mór (between An Sruthán and Corrúch), and the diphthongised variant [**gaᵘ**] alone from Eochaill eastward on Inis Mór and on Inis Oírr.

Inis Meáin is problematic in this instance, since the single relevant example that we have is of the dependent form, [**gə ŋuᵊ**], which has a phonological shape which does not conform to either of the variants just described. It can in fact be seen as a third variant, with "breaking" of the root vowel [**oː**] in the first variant to the dipththong [**uᵊ**]. If so, Inis Meáin again shows a closer connection to western Inis Mór.

(The Simple Past Tense Form)

Turning now to the simple past tense form of the verb, *chuaigh*, we find a wide range of phonetic variants in the articulation of the vowel across the islands, ranging from [**xuᵊ**] through [**xoː**] to [**xo**] or [**xə**]. Note the inflected form *chuadair* ([**xuᵊˈdərʲ**]) from the male informant on Inis Oírr, with the stress on the final syllable and the final consonant apparently palatalised.

Faigh

Moving on to the verb *faigh*, we encounter the plural imperative form *fáigí!*, which is found nearly universally across all three islands. The vowel of the first syllabic is

always backed, and is apparently built on the singular imperative form *fá!*.

Once again, however, the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, uses the singular form, though she knows clearly that a plural form is called for. The male informant on Inis Oírr does the same. Another informant on Inis Mór substitutes the construction *Tugaí lib . . . !*, with a monosyllabic plural suffix.

(The Habitual Present Tense Form)

Moving on to the positive and negative forms of the habitual present tense, *faigheann* and *ní fhaigheann*, we find that the positive form used across all three islands is *fánn*, with the stem apparently constructed on the root variant *fá-*, with the vowel again backed.

We do find a couple of other variants. At Corrúch on Inis Mór we get the apparently Standard Irish variant *faigheann* ([**fəʲəN**]) from the male informant and the variant [**fʷaˑn**] from his sister F 72. On Inis Oírr, on the other hand, the youngest informant, F 18, again produces a form with a markedly centralised vowel: [**fən′**].

The most striking variant, however, is the variant *gabhann*, produced by the male informant on Inis Oírr. This variant is constructed on the future root *gabh-*, a variant which is peculiar to Inis Oírr.

As for the negative form of the verb, we encounter the expected variant *ní fhánn* across all three islands. Note, however, the form that the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór produces: *ní bhfaigheann*, with eclipsis of the initial consonant of what appears to be the Standard Irish stem.[45]

On Inis Oírr, the male informant produces the variant *ní gheobhann*, constructed with the root of the positive future tense found in the two western islands, but which is not attested for Inis Oírr as a root variant in future verb forms. In contrast, the youngest female informant there produces an alternative form built on the future root which is peculiar to Inis Oírr: *ní ghabhann*.

(The Future Tense Form)

Turning now to the future verb forms themselves and beginning on Inis Mór, we find the Standard Irish positive interrogative form *an bhfaighidh . . . ?* running nearly the whole length of the island.

Only in easternmost Inis Mór, at Cill Rónáin and at Cill Éinne, do we find a competing variant, constructed on the simple future root: *An gheobh' ?* The youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, uses the same variant.[46]

On Inis Meáin, we encounter a distinct variant *An bhfuighidh . . . ?*, with the distinctive vowel [**iː**] in the verb root.

[45] Cf. the discussion of the material from Corrúch in the chapter on grammatical variation in irregular verbs.

[46] Whether this is due to a generational change or to the fact that she has been living in Cill Rónáin since marriage is a moot question.

On Inis Oírr, the male informant produces the Standard Irish variant *An bhfaighidh ... ?*, while the two female informants produce versions of *An ngabhaidh ... ?*, based on the Inis Oírr root variant *gabh-*.

Turning now to the negative future form *ní bhfaighidh*, the distribution of the stem variants across all three islands is much the same as for the previous item.

On Inis Mór, only the female informant at An Sruthán is added to the list of informants at the two tips of the island using the root variant *geobh-* in dependent verb forms. Thus she, like them, produces *ní gheobhaidh*; the other informants in the more central parts of the island produce the Standard Irish variant *ní bhfaighidh*.

From Inis Meáin we have only one example, but it is the expected *ní bhfuighidh*, with the distinctive vowel **[iː]** in the verb root.

On Inis Oírr, however, all three informants produce the local variant *ní ghabhaidh*.

(The Conditional Mood)

Turning now to the conditional mood, and beginning with the negative conditional form, we see that all the informants on Inis Mór use the relatively Standard Irish variant *ní bhfaigheá* (without the *f* of the personal suffix). Only two elderly female informants use the competing variant *ní gheobhá*. We also get the root variant *bhfuigh-*, with the vowel **[i(ː)]**, from two male informants, one in the centre of the island and one in Cill Rónáin.

On Inis Meáin, we get the expected *ní bhfuigheá* from the male informant and a future indicative form with the same root variant from the female informant.

On Inis Oírr, however, we get a variety of responses. We get the analytic conditional construction *ní ghabhfadh tú*, with the characteristic Inis Oírr root variant, from the older female informant, the anomalous future construction *ní ngheobh' tú* (with eclipsis of the initial glide of the verb stem) from the male informant, and the construction *ní bhfuigheá*, a form characteristic of Inis Meáin, from the youngest female informant.[47]

Moving on to the other conditional verb form, *dá bhfaighinn*, we find the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, again joining the informants in easternmost Inis Mór in producing an example based on the root variant *gheobh-* while the rest of the informants throughout the island produce examples based on the root variant *bhfaigh-*, as in Standard Irish.

On Inis Meáin, we get the expected Inis Meáin variant *'á bhfuighinnse* from the male informant, but the unusual *dá bhfáinn-tse*, perhaps a past subjunctive form, from the female informant.

On Inis Oírr, surprisingly, we encounter no sign of the local root variant *ghabh-* in this item, since all three informants produce examples based on the Standard Irish root variant, e.g., *dá bhfaighinn(se)*.

[47]Note that her father was born and raised on Inis Meáin. Note also her example *go bhfuighidh siad*, produced while eliciting for the impersonal future verb form.

(Verbal Inflection)

Turning now to the question of the inflection of the verb stem in these two items, we find the overwhelming majority of the informants on all three islands using inflected (or synthetic) forms for both items. We also encounter an unexpected inflected verb form in the response form *ní bhfaighead*, from the oldest informant on Inis Mór, M 82 at Corrúch.

(The Simple Past Tense Form)

Turning now to the simple past tense form *fuair*, there is little variation to be noted in this form across all three islands, other than the free variation in the quality of the vowel that we saw already in the verb form *chuaigh*. Thus we note a range of vowel variants from [**uˑ**] to [**ə**], e.g., [**fuˑrʹ**], [**foːrʹ**], [**fʊrʹ**], [**forʹ**] and [**fərʹ**].

We can also note that both informants on Inis Meáin use inflected (synthetic) third person plural verb forms. The male informant produces the variant *fuaireadair*, with the final consonant palatalised, while the female informant produces *fuireadar* (sic), with the final consonant unpalatalised. Though such third person plural forms are common enough in Aran Irish, the fact that both informants on Inis Meáin produce a form which is otherwise unattested for this item helps to underline the conservatism of Inis Meáin Irish.

(The Impersonal Past Form)

Turning now to the impersonal forms of the verb, and beginning with the impersonal simple past form *fuarthas*, we note a single example of the relatively Standard Irish variant *fóireas* from the female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór. Otherwise, we note the local variant *fuireadh* ([**fʊrʹuː**]) from Bungabhla to as far eastward as Eochaill.

At the eastern tip of Inis Mór, however, we encounter a distinct root variant, *fríothadh* in two slightly different sub-variants, ([**frʹɪhuː**]) and ([**fʹrʹiːuː**]).

On Inis Meáin, both informants produce a slightly different sub-variant of *fríothadh*: [**fʹrʹiːv**], with a voiced bilabial fricative replacing the final vowel of the verb stem.

And on Inis Oírr, we encounter yet another sub-variant of *fríothadh*, [**fʹiːv**], with the palatalised flap [**rʹ**] elided. As we shall see, this is no slip of the tongue.

As for the negative subordinate impersonal simple past verb form *nach bhfuarthas*, the pattern of distribution of the variants on Inis Mór is similar to what we have already seen in the positive variants, with the dominant variant, *nár bhfuaireadh*, stretching from Bungabhla through Corrúch. Of the informants using this variant, only the male informant at Corrúch opts for the alternative negative particle, producing *nach bhfuireadh*.

As regards the root variant *fríothadh*, all of easternmost Inis Mór from Eochaill to Cill Éinne seems to be characterised by this root variant,[48] and we even find a stray

[48] We lack a confirming example from the male informant at Cill Rónáin.

example as far west as An Sruthán, in western Inis Mór. In regard to the negative particle, however, only the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór opts for the variant *nach* with this particular variant.

On Inis Meáin, once again we have continuity, with the male informant producing the example *nach fríothadh* ([**nax fʹrʹiːv**]).

On Inis Oírr, however, the older female informant produces the example *nár fíothadh* ([**naːr fʹiːv**]), which not only produces the stem variant peculiar to Inis Oírr, but distinguishes itself in its choice of accompanying negative particle. That choice is reinforced in her inflected (synthetic) past tense form *nárbh . . . 'uaireadair*, and confirmed again in the example from the youngest informant, F 18: *nár bhfuair siad* ([**nər vuːrʹ ʃɪd**]).

(The Impersonal Future Form)

Turning now to the impersonal future verb form *gheofar*, we encounter the Standard Irish variant *gheofar* ([**jəfər**]) only at Cill Rónáin in easternmost Inis Mór and in neighbouring Inis Meáin, with both examples coming from male informants. A similar variant, *gheifear* ([**jɛfʹər**]), with the medial consonant palatalised and the preceding vowel fronted, comes from a female informant at An Sruthán on Inis Mór.

We encounter the variant *gheobhfar* ([**jaᵘfər**]), with a diphthong in the first syllable, from two female informants of the same generation — F 43 at Bungabhla on Inis Mór and F 41 on Inis Oírr.[49] A similar variant, *geobhfar* ([**gʹaᵘfər**]), with an unlenited initial consonant, is attested from the elderly female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór.

Finally, we encounter two innovative forms based on an entirely different root variant from Corrúch in east-central Inis Mór. The male informant produces the variant *faighfear* ([**fʌⁱfər**]), while his sister produces *bhfaighfear* ([**waⁱfər**]), with what appears to voicing of the initial consonant through eclipsis.

(The Verbal Noun)

Turning now to the verbal noun, *fáil*, we find the Standard Irish variant *fáil* spread across all three islands, with only a single alternative variant, *fáilt*, with a [**tʹ**] augment, attested from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór. The male informant on Inis Oírr also produces a single different sub-variant of the standard variant by fronting the vowel: [**faˑlʹ**].

(The Verbal Adjective/Past Participle)

As for the verbal adjective/past participial form *faighte*, only the variant *fáighte*, with a low back vowel in the first syllable, is attested. Examples span all three islands.

[49] This is yet another example of a unique trait shared by both women, who received their secondary education at Cill Rónáin at roughly the same time.

Tabhair

Moving on to the verb *tabhair*, and starting with its singular imperative forms, we find the variant *tiúir!* ([**tʲuːrʲ**]), with its palatalised initial consonant, from Bungabhla through Eochaill on Inis Mór. At Cill Rónáin and at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór, however, we find a variant with an affricated initial consonant, *tsiúir!* ([**tʃuːrʲ**]), and this variant extends eastward through Inis Meáin.[50] On Inis Oírr, we encounter yet another variant, *túir!* ([**tuːrʲ**]), with no palatalisation of the initial consonant.[51]

We also have two formulaic constructions: *tor'oma!* ([**tərəmᵊ**]) (= *Tabhair dom . . .*), with an apparent final vowel, from the female informant at Eoghanacht in westernmost Inis Mór, and the truncated *Tu' dhom!* ([**tu ɣuːm**]), from the male informant on Inis Oírr.

(The Plural Imperative Form)

Turning now to the plural imperative verb form, and beginning on Inis Mór, we find no examples of the Standard Irish form *tugaigí!*. Instead, we find the variant *tugaí!*, with a monosyllabic suffix, widespread on Inis Mór. The male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór offers a second variant as well — *tiúirí!* ([**tʲuːrʲiː**]), which seems to be modelled on the singular variant *tiúir!*.

Unfortunately, we have no examples from Inis Meáin, but from the older female informant on Inis Oírr we encounter the variant *túraí!* ([**turiː**]), which has broad similarities with the example from Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór. The youngest female informant there, however, gives us three entirely different variants: *tugaigí!, tuigigí!* and *tuirigí!*.[52]

Note that once again a large number of informants across all three islands use singular imperative forms in contexts calling clearly for plural forms.

(The Simple Past Tense Form)

As for the interrogative form of the simple past verb form, *Ar thug . . . ?*, we find the expected variant [**ər hʊg**] on all three islands, with no examples containing the non-simple past interrogative particle and eclipsis of the initial consonant of the verb.

(The Habitual Present Tense Form)

Turning now to the habitual present verb form *tugann*, we find the Standard Irish variant *tugann* dominant throughout the three islands.

We encounter an apparent inflected form on Inis Mór in a third person plural form, *tugasi'd* ([**tʊgəʃɪd**]), offered by the male informant in Cill Rónáin. We also encounter

[50] There is yet another variant to be found at Cill Rónáin and Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór, but not on Inis Meáin — the by-form *siúir!/siuir!* ([**ʃuːrʲ/ʃʊrʲ**]), wherein the initial affricated consonant or affricated cluster [**tʃ**] of the variant *tsiúir* is replaced by the simple sibilant [**ʃ**].

[51] As in the case of the verbs *tar* and *téigh*, it is difficult to establish whether such forms have a final vowel or not, though we do have the example *tiúire!* from F 43 at Bungabhla in westernmost Inis Mór.

[52] Note that she provides the only example of the Standard Irish variant on all three islands. Note also that she uses the disyllabic suffix *-igí* in all three examples.

a variant with an unvoiced medial consonant, *tucann siad*, from the male informant at Corrúch, and its inflected counterpart, *tucasi'd*, from the youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla.[53]

We encounter yet another variant on Inis Mór — one based on the imperative singular verb stem or on the future verb stem and unique to two elderly female informants in central and western Inis Mór: *tiúrann*. We encounter a similar variant, *turann*, from the youngest female informant on Inis Oírr.[54]

(The Future Tense Form)

Turning now to the future verb forms *tabharfaidh* and *ní thabharfaidh*, we note that the distribution of the positive variants resembles closely the patterns already seen in the imperative singular. We find the variant *tiúra* ([**tʲuˑrə**]) on Inis Mór from Bungabhla through Eochaill, but at Cill Rónáin and at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin, we encounter the affricated variant *tsiúra* ([**tʃuˑrə**]).

On Inis Oírr, once again we encounter variants with unpalatalised initial consonants — the expected variant *túra* ([**tuˑrə**]) from the two older informants and an unexpected variant, *túire* ([**tʰuːrʲɪ**]), with the palatalised flap [**rʲ**] as medial consonant, from the youngest informant, F 18.

As for the negative future form, *ní thabharfaidh*, we find a sharply different pattern in the distribution of variants. Now we find a single variant, *ní thiúra* ([**nʲiː xʲuːrə**]), with the palatalised voiceless velar fricative ([**xʲ**]) as the lenited initial consonant of the root, throughout Inis Mór.

In contrast, Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr share a single variant, *ní thúra* ([**nʲiˑ huːrə**]), with the simple voiceless glottal central fricative [**h**] as the lenited initial consonant of the verb root. Meanwhile, the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18, again produces a separate variant, *ní thúire* ([**nʲiˑ huːrʲɛ**]), which, like her positive future form, contains a palatalised flap in root-final position.

(The Conditional Mood)

We also encounter some conditional forms from Inis Oírr. The older female informant produces [**ᵊduːreˑ**] (An dtabharfá . . . ?), but the younger informant, F 18, produces the analytic construction [**ᵊdurəx tʊsə**] (An dtabharfadh tusa . . . ?) and the impersonal conditional form *thabharfaí* ([**hurfʲiˑ**]).[55]

(The Verbal Noun)

Turning now to the verbal noun, and beginning with the progressive construction *ag tabhairt*, we note the variant *tiúirt* ([**tʲuːrtʲ**]), with a palatalised initial consonant,

[53]Note the reduced vowel in the final syllable of both inflected forms.

[54]Note that the presence or absence of palatalisation in the initial consonant of these variants conforms to the patterns which we have seen for the imperative singular, and which we shall presently see in the variants of the future verb forms.

[55]The impersonal conditional suffix is realised as the invariant palatalised suffix *-fí* across all three islands.

extending from Bungabhla eastward through Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór, though the male informant at Eochaill also produces the alternative form *tabhart* ([**ta^{u}rt**]), with a diphthong as root vowel and an unpalatalised consonant cluster following the vowel.

At Cill Rónáin agus at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin, we find the variants *tsiúirt* ([**tʃuːrtʲ**]) and *tsiúirts* ([**tʃuːrtʃ**]), with affrication of the initial consonant or of both initial and final consonants. On Inis Meáin we also find the variant *tiúirst* ([**tʲuːrʃtʲ**]), with its final affricated consonant cluster metathesised — a feature distinctive of Inis Meáin.

On Inis Oírr, as expected, we find the variant *túirts* ([**tuːrtʃ**]), with no palatalisation of the initial consonant and affrication of the final consonant cluster.

(The Verbal Noun in a Non-Finite Verbal Construction)

Turning now to the verbal noun in a non-finite verbal construction, with lenition of the initial consonant of the phrase-final verbal noun, i.e., *. . . a thabhairt*, we note the variant *thiúirt* ([**xʲuːrtʲ**]) extending the entire length of Inis Mór. The female informant at Cill Éinne also produces the variant *thiúirts* ([**xʲuːrtʃ**]), with affrication of the final consonant.

Once again, Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr share the variant without palatalisation of the initial consonant: *thúirt* ([**huːrtʲ**]), though the variant *thúirts* ([**huːrtʃ**]), with its affrication of the final consonant, is clearly dominant on Inis Oírr. And once again on Inis Meáin we encounter a variant with a metathesised final consonant cluster, *thúirst* ([**hʊrʃtʲ**]).

Bí

Moving on now to the substantive verb *bí* and beginning with the plural imperative form *bígí!*, we find the Standard Irish varant *bígí!* ([**bʲiːgʲiː**]) across all three islands. We get a slightly different variant, *bigí!* ([**bʲɪgʲiː**]), with the vowel of the first syllabic laxed and shortened, from two female informants, F 70 at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór and F 41 on Inis Oírr.[56] We also get a third variant, *bíkí!*, with the velar consonant devoiced, from the youngest informant, F 18 on Inis Oírr.

Though a large number of informants across all three islands use a singular imperative form, *bí!* ([**bʲiː**]), instead of the expected plural form, it is remarkable that all the informants in western Inis Mór from Bungabhla as far eastward as the male informant at Corrúch use a singular imperative form. In contrast, all the informants in eastern Inis Mór from the female informant at Corrúch eastward use a plural form.

Note the second singular imperative variant, *bi!* ([**bʲɪ**]), with a laxed and shortened vowel, produced by a female informant in western Inis Mór. This is a possible back-formation from the plural variant *bigí!* ([**bʲɪgʲiː**]).

[56]Note that the laxing and shortening of the vowel in the first syllable of the recessive variant *bigí!* conforms to the normal articulation of the plural imperative suffix variant *-igí* in second conjugation verbs on all three islands.

(The Conditional Mood)

Turning now to the conditional verb forms *bheifeá, dá mbeifeá* and *mura mbeifeá*, we encounter both inflected (synthetic) and analytic variants. Beginning with the inflected variants of these verb forms, we note that none of these variants contain the [**fʲ**] of the Standard Irish conditional suffix *-feá*, and we have only a single example of the substitution of the voiceless glottal central fricative [**h**] for the segment in question. In all other examples, the [**fʲ**] is either completely elided or else replaced with the palatal glide [**j**].

A point worth stressing is that every single example of these inflected variants comes from a male informant.

As for analytic verb constructions, with their independent subject pronouns, such constructions are attested only from eastern Inis Mór and from Inis Oírr. In this case, every single example of these analytic constructions comes from a female informant — a mirror image of the case of the inflected verb forms.

We also have two possible examples of blended forms, one from a female informant and one from a male informant.

Several informants used alternative constructions for the phrase *mura mbeifeá*. In westernmost Inis Mór, at Bungabhla and Eoghanacht, the informants used the construction *mura bhfuil tú*. On Inis Meáin, both informants used the same construction.

In central and eastern Inis Mór, however, informants used the construction *mura raibh tú/tusa*, a direct translation from the English phrase *If you were not . . .*, with the English verb form interpreted as a past tense form instead of as a past subjunctive form.

As for the form of the preverbal particle *mura*, the variant *mara* is dominant on all three islands, but we encounter two examples of the variant *muna* in the two eastern islands.

(Habitual Past Tense Forms)

Turning now to the habitual past tense, we find the inflected form *bhínn* in general use by male and female informants throughout Inis Mór.

As in the case of the conditional analytic (uninflected) variants just discussed, we find two informants who use the analytic variant *bhíodh mé*, and they are both female.

On Inis Meáin, both informants use the inflected form *bhinn*, and on Inis Oírr, the same form is attested from the older female informant, F 41. No analytic variants for this first person singular form are attested in either of the two eastern islands.

As for the second person singular forms *bhíteá* and *a mbíteá*, we note that the palatalised voiceless alveolar plosive [**tʲ**] is elided in all variants. Thus, even in the relatively Standard Irish variant [**vʲiːɑˑ**], ending with a long or half-long low back vowel, the preceding consonant is totally elided.

Such a variant is dominant throughout Inis Mór, though in western and central Inis Mór, it competes with variants ending in more fronted vowels.

On Inis Meáin, we also get the relatively Standard Irish variant [**vʹiːɑː**] from the male informant and its counterpart, [**ə mʹiˑɑ**], from the female informant. At the same time, interestingly, we get a contrasting variant with a centralised vowel suffix from each informant.

On Inis Oírr, we get a single inflected form, [**vʹiːᵊsə**], with centralised offglide in the suffix, from the male informant.

In sum, then, the inflected variants for the second person singular habitual past forms show a clear pattern here which is different from that of their conditional counterparts. In this case, variants ending in fronted vowels are found only on Inis Mór, while the variants with centralised vocalic suffixes are found only in the two eastern islands. Furthermore, either variant can be produced by a speaker of either gender.

Turning now to the analytic constructions, we find the analytic variants *bhíodh tú* and *a mbíodh tú* running the length of Inis Mór and often competing with inflected variants in the examples of the informants.

In contrast, on Inis Meáin we encounter only a single analytic form — *bhíodh tú*; otherwise, both informants produce only inflected (synthetic) forms. Here, Inis Meáin clearly shows its linguistic conservatism.

On Inis Oírr, however, we have the mirror image of Inis Meáin, in that we have only a single attested inflected form; otherwise, we encounter only analytic constructions from all informants.

To sum up again, in terms of synthetic forms vs. analytic constructions, usage is clearly divided — even for individual speakers — throughout Inis Mór; Inis Meáin holds strongly still to the synthetic forms, and Inis Oírr has yielded almost completely to the analytic constructions. It appears, moreover, that gender distinctions play little part in these patterns.

(Response Forms)

Turning now to the use of inflected forms for short queries and for responses, the analytic construction *An raibh tú* is apparently universal on all three islands, but we do encounter the inflected variant *An rabhais?* ([**ə rʌᵘʃ**]) and a second inflected variant, *An rabhair?* ([**ə rərʹ**]) Note that these two rare inflected variants come from older female informants on Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin, and that neither variant is attested from Inis Oírr.

As for negative interrogative constructions, the male informant at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór uses not only the analytic construction *Nach ro'?* ([**Nax ro**]) but also its counterpart *Ná ro'?* ([**Naˑ ro**]). The latter variant is used also by the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18: ([**Naˑ ˈrə**]).

As for the response forms, we find the analytic construction *Bhí mé!* on all three islands, but the inflected variant *Bhíos!* is surprisingly widespread.

On Inis Mór, the inflected form is used by over half the informants throughout the island. With the exception of the male informant at Corrúch, the oldest of the informants, all the users of the inflected variant are older female informants.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant uses both variants, but the female informant uses only the inflected variant *Bhíos!*.

On Inis Oírr, only the older female informant uses the inflected variant.

In sum, the inflected short response form *Bhíos!* is far more in use than either of the two inflected variants of the short query form. And once again, it is the older female speakers by far who use inflected forms in both short queries and in short responses.

(The Form . . . nach raibh . . .)

Turning now to the item *nach raibh*, which conflates the homophonous constructions used in both negative relative clauses and in negative finite complement clauses, the distribution of variants for this item is very clear. The variant *ná ro* ([**Naː rə**]), with the vowel of the negative particle fronted to central position and the verb reduced to CV form, is dominant throughout all three islands. It is only in the two western islands that the variant *nach ro'* is found.

On Inis Mór, it is found only in easternmost Inis Mór, from Eochaill to Cill Éinne. On Inis Meáin, the male informant produces the variant *nach ro'* along with the dominant variant *ná ro'*.

(Phonologically Reduced or Inflected Present Tense Forms)

Turning now to the phonologically reduced forms of the verb phrases *tá sé/sí* and *tá siad*, we will note only the monosyllabic fused form [**tʃəd**] or [**tʃʊd**], which represents the phrase *tá siad*. This fused form is used only by the two female informants on Inis Oírr.

A synonymous form, *tádar* [**tɑdər/tədər**], is attested by only two informants, both in central Inis Mór.

(Inflected Simple Past Tense Forms)

Its simple past tense counterpart, *bhíodar* ([**vʹiːdər**]), is found in eastern Inis Mór from Corrúch to Cill Éinne, with only the informant at Eochaill failing to use the variant.

On Inis Meáin, both informants use the inflected variant exclusively.

On Inis Oírr, the two older informants use the same inflected variant. The youngest informant on Inis Oírr, however, like the informants in western Inis Mór, uses only the analytic construction *bhí siad*.

As for its negative counterpart, *ní rabhdar* ([**Nʹiː rʊdər**]), the distribution of this inflected variant is far more restricted. On Inis Mór, only the elderly female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór uses the inflected variant. Similarly, on

Inis Meáin, only the female informant uses the inflected variant [**nʹiː rətər**], with a devoiced medial consonant.[57] On Inis Oírr, the two older informants again use the inflected variant [**nʹiː rədər**], while the youngest informant, F 18, uses only the analytic variant *ní ro' siad*.

In regard to analytic constructions, of all the informants in the three islands, only the elderly female informant at Corrúch produces a CVC form of the verb in her analytic construction [**nʹiˑ rəv ʃɛt**].

Turning to the counterpart of these inflected forms found in subordinate clauses headed by the subordinating particle *go*, we get the inflected variant *go rabhdar* ([**gə rədər**]) from two male informants in central Inis Mór and from the female informant in easternmost Inis Mór. On Inis Meáin, it is from the male informant rather than the female informant that we get the inflected variant. On Inis Oírr, however, only the older female informant produces the inflected variant [**ə rədər**] (= *go rabhdar*).

If we rank the inflected variants in terms of frequency, we find that the variant *bhíodar* is by far the most frequent, that *go rabhdar* is the next most widespread, and that *ní rabhdar* is least widespread, with attestations only in easternmost Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin.

(A Final Note on Use of Inflected Forms)

Note that none of the inflected variants, including the present tense variant *tádar*, is attested in western Inis Mór from Bungabhla to An Sruthán. Note also that the youngest informant, F 18 on Inis Oírr, uses no inflected variants.

Abair

Moving on to the verb *abair* and starting with the present tense verb form, we note the Standard Irish variant *deir* ([**dʹɛrʹ**]) on all three islands. We also encounter the variant [**ʤɛrʹ**], with affrication of the initial consonant, at Cill Rónáin in easternmost Inis Mór, and this variant seems to extend eastward through Inis Meáin and perhaps Inis Oírr. The Standard Irish variant *deir* also occurs sporadically in both Inis Meáin and on Inis Oírr, at least in the case of the male informants.

We get a third variant with the same CVC phonological shape, but with a clear long vowel as nucleus — *déir* ([**dʹeːrʹ**]) from the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla.

Last of all, it is worth noting a fourth variant, the regularised verb form *deireann*, with the regular present tense suffix *-eann*, and used only in the phrase *deireann sé*.[58]

[57] The devoicing of the initial consonant of the suffix *-dar* may be characteristic of this informant.

[58] This variant is attested only from M 50, the headmaster of the vocational school at Cill Rónán on Inis Mór and from the youngest female informant on Inis Oírr. I suspect that this hypercorrect form has developed recently in a school environment.

(The Construction má deir . . .)

Turning now to the simple conditional construction *má deir*, To begin with, our only example of the Standard Irish construction *má deir* comes from the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla. We get a regularised variant of the same verb form, *má dheir* ([**ma jɛr′**]), from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce in central Inis Mór, showing lenition of the initial consonant. In contrast, from the female informant at Eoghanacht in western Inis Mór and from the female informant on Inis Meáin, we get a third variant of this construction, *má 'eir* ([**mɑ ɛr′**]), showing elision of the initial consonant, suggesting a base form *eir*.

The male informant on Inis Oírr produces the variant *má dheireann* ([**ma: jɛr′ɴ̩**]), which lenites the initial consonant and then regularises the verb form by added the regular suffix *-eann*.[59]

We also encounter the suppletive verb root *abra-*, embedded in the first conjugation verb form variant *abrann*. This we get in the construction *má abrann*, elicited from two informants in eastern Inis Mór.

(Negative Habitual Present Tense Forms)

Turning now to negative forms in the habitual present tense, not a single informant uses the Standard Irish variant *ní deirimid*, with the initial consonant of the verb form unlenited or unelided.

The local variant most similar to the Standard Irish form, *ní dheireamuid*, shows either lenition or elision, though it is next to impossible to determine which of the two phenomena is occurring acoustically.[60] Since the positive present tense verb forms we have seen so far all contain an unelided initial consonant, I shall presume that simple lenition is occurring here.[61]

(Analytic [Uninflected] vs. Synthetic [Inflected] Forms)

Turning to the question of analytic (uninflected) vs. synthetic (inflected) forms, we find the inflected variant *ní dheireamuid* used by five informants across Inis Mór, with only one dubious example of its analytic counterpart used as an alternative form by the youngest informant in Bungabhla.

On the other hand, we note competing variants, with the suppletive root *abr-* in use by nearly as many informants in the same island. We note a first conjugation verb form again from the female informant at Corrúch — *ní abrann muid*, and another from the male informant at Cill Rónáin again: *ní abramuinn*. This time, however, two more informants from further out are included, the female informant at An Sruthán, with

[59]The youngest informant on Inis Oírr seems to be attempting to produce the same form in her anomalous example [**mɑ jɛN**], which omits the word-medial flap [**r′**].

[60]Since the phonological environment immediately preceding the verb form consists of a long, high front vowel, any given example could easily be interpreted as [**N′iˑ jɛr′-**] or [**N′i: ɛr′-**].

[61]As we shall see shortly in the case of variants with a long mid-front vowel in the present tense verb root, however, we will not be able to use positive present tense verb forms to decide whether elision or lenition has occurred in the negative counterpart.

her example *ní abraíomuinn* and the female informant at Cill Éinne with her example *ní abraíonn muid*. Note that both of the latter examples are second conjugation verb forms.

Note that of these variants containing the suppletive root *abr-*, the synthetic forms contain the inflectional ending *-muinn* and the analytic forms contain the independent pronoun *muid*, regardless of whether the verb form is treated as a first or as a second conjugation verb.[62] Note also that they all come from mainly elderly female informants in central and eastern Inis Mór.

Further conversation with the female informant at Cill Éinne revealed the existence of variants with a long mid-front vowel in the root of the present tense stem — variants to which the future verb root has apparently been extended. Thus we have the verb stem variant *déarann* (as in the example *déarann siad*) and its counterpart, *éarann* (as in the examples *éarann muid*/*éarann muide*), with the initial consonant elided.[63]

On Inis Meáin, we find only one relevant form — the unique analytic variant **[nʹiˑ ɛrʹn̥]** (*ní 'eireann*) from the female informant.[64]

On Inis Oírr, we get the analytic variant *ní dheireann* from the male informant, but the synthetic variant *ní dheireamuid* from the younger female informant, F 18. The older female informant, F 41, however, gives us the variant *ní [dh]éarann*, with a long mid-front vowel in the root, and the initial consonant either lenited or elided, depending on which positive variant was used as a base form for the mutation.[65]

(Negative Future Tense Forms)

Turning now to the future verb form *ní déarfaimid*, we find once again no example of an unlenited or unelided verb form anywhere in the three islands. Instead we find the variant *ní [dh]éarfaidh muid* as the dominant form from Bungabhla through Corrúch in western and central Inis Mór and universally on Inis Oírr.[66] As we can see from the examples given by F 43 at Bungabhla, such a variant contrasts clearly with the present tense variant *ní dheireamuid* both in the length and quality of the vowel of the root and in the quality of the consonant following that vowel.

However, we also have the variant *ní dheirfidh muid* competing strongly in roughly the same area on Inis Mór (in this instance, from Eoghanacht and An Sruthán in western Inis Mór and from Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór) and characterising both speakers on Inis Meáin.

[62] The female informant at Cill Éinne supplied further second conjugation verb forms in positive forms as well — *abraíonn muide* and *. . . a abraíonns muide* — in her expanded comments during the interview.

[63] A daughter of hers, raised in Cill Rónáin and in her early forties, confirmed the use of such forms in Cill Rónáin in her generation, and this provides a context for the unique example *déir* mentioned earlier, from F 43 at Bungabhla. (Remember that F 43 received her secondary education in Cill Rónáin and has been living there since marriage to one of F 70's sons.) Note that such forms seem to be confined to easternmost Inis Mór, and are a possible recent innovation.

[64] In this case, we must allow for the elision of the initial consonant in the (positive) base form, since it is this very informant who produced the variant *má 'eir* seen earlier, with clear elision (rather than lenition) of the initial vowel.

[65] Recall that F 41 received her secondary education in Cill Rónáin at precisely the time when the long-voweled variants were in vogue.

[66] Since we have no positive future forms, we cannot be sure whether the base form is *déarfaidh muid* or *éarfaidh muid* for any given speaker.

Here we have a major problem. How can speakers who use this variant of the future verb form maintain a clear acoustic distinction between the future and the present tense forms?

The informant at An Sruthán in western Inis Mór does this by using the suppletive verb root *abr-* in the present tense, thus giving us *ní dheirfidh muid* for the future tense form but *ní abraíomuinn*[67] for the present tense form of the same verb. Note that this present tense variant contains the unambiguous stem element *-í-* plus the suffix *-onn* which both confirm this variant as a present tense form.

On Inis Meáin, the female informant there maintains the contrast by using the regular present tense suffix *-eann* to distinguish the present tense form from the future tense form, i.e, *ní eireann* vs. *ní eirfidh*, respectively.[68]

Similarly, the older female informant on Inis Oírr uses the future form *ní [dh]éarfaidh*,[69] but this form is clearly distinct from her present tense form *ní [dh]éarann* because of the suffix on the present tense form.

Three informants in eastern Inis Mór — at Corrúch, at Cill Rónáin and at Cill Éinne, however, solve this problem by taking the opposite approach. All three use a future verb form with the suppletive root *abr-*, but in this case they all make a second conjugation verb of this variant, producing *ní abróidh muid/muinn*, which contains the unambiguous future stem element *-ó-*. Thus, whether they treat the present tense variants as first conjugation verbs (e.g., *abramuinn*) or second conjugation verbs (e.g., *abraíomuinn*), the stem elements clearly distinguish the future verb forms from the present verb forms.

It will be apparent from the preceding examples that both the subject pronoun variants *muid* and *muinn* are used with the suppletive *abr-* variants. In the case of the future tense forms, however, only the male informant at Cill Rónáin provides an example using the pronoun variant *muinn* with a future verb form: *ní abróidh muinn*. In doing so, he is consistent in his pronominal usage for the suppletive *abr-* variants in both tenses, as is his eastern neighbour, the female informant at Cill Éinne, who opts for the opposing variant *muid* in both forms.

(The Conditional Mood)

Turning now to the conditional verb form *déarfainn*, unfortunately we have few attestations of this form, but those we have are revealing nonetheless. The examples come entirely from the two western islands; there are no examples from Inis Oírr.

As expected, there is no lenition or elision of the initial consonant, but it is impossible to determine from the examples whether the unlenited or unelided initial consonant of this verb form represents the initial consonant of the verb root or whether it represents

[67] We shall ignore the subject pronouns for the moment.

[68] Remember that this informant apparently elides the initial consonant in her verb forms, as we have seen earlier.

[69] Remember from our discussion of the present tense variants that it is not clear whether she is eliding or leniting the initial consonant of the verb.

the preverbal particle *do*. In other words, does a given example represent *déarfainn* or *d'éarfainn*?

The conditional verb forms themselves are unexceptional. Of the three informants who produce a conditional verb form on Inis Mór, the male informant at Corrúch produces the conditional construction *dá ndéarfadh ....* His two elderly female neighbours further west at Eoghanacht and at An Sruthán both produce the verb form *déarfainn*.

On Inis Meáin, both informants produce the sub-variant of the latter variant, *diarfainn*, raising the root vowel **[eː]** in the conditional form to the diphthong **[iˑᵊ]** or **[iᵊ]**.

As it happens, with the exception of the male informant at Corrúch, all these informants produce future verb forms based on the root *deir-* but conditional verb forms based the root *déar-* (or *diar-*).[70] What this means is that the formal distinctions that are used in Standard Irish to distinguish both the future and the conditional verb roots from the root used in the present tense verb form are used here by these four informants to distinguish the future verb root from the conditional verb root, which is effectively restructuring the verbal paradigm in an unexpected way.

(The Simple Past Tense Form)

Turning now to the simple past tense form *dúirt*, we find the Standard Irish form *dúirt* on all three islands. Two male informants on Inis Mór, however, show extremely reduced phonological variants of the same form; we get **[dɾ̥tʃɛ]** and **[tʃɛ]** from Cill Rónáin in easternmost Inis Mór, and **[tʃe]** from Fearann an Choirce in central Inis Mór.

On Inis Meáin, once again we get metathesised versions of affricated variants from both informants on Inis Meáin: **[duˑrʃtʲɛ]** (= *dúirt sé*) and **[dʊrʃtʲ mʲe]** (= *dúirt mé*), respectively.

And on Inis Oírr, we get an unusual reduced form, **[duˑtʃiˑ]** (= *dúirt sí*), with the flap completely elided, from the youngest informant, F 18.

Turning now to the negative verb form *ní dúirt*, we find that the variant *níor úirt* has replaced it on all three islands. This variant results from a back-formation in which the initial consonant of the Standard Irish form *dúirt* is interpreted as the preverbal particle *do*.[71]

As expected, we get a metathesised version of this variant from Inis Meáin from the female informant: **[nʲiˑr ˈurʃtʲ mʊʤ]** (= *ní dúirt muid*), though not from the male informant. Surprisingly, we also get a metathesised variant from a close neighbour to the west, the male informant at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór: **[nʲiːr uˑrʃtʲ mə taˑdə]** (= *ní dúirt muid dada*).

As for subject pronouns used with these variants, all the informants use the pronoun *muid*, except for the elderly female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór, who uses the

[70] Cf. the full discussion of the data in the chapter on the irregular verbs.

[71] The "preverbal particle" *d'* is therefore replaced in negative and interrogative constructions by the preverbal particles *níor* and *ar*, respectively, to produce such forms as *níor úirt* or *Ar úirt?*.

pronoun *muinn*.

Déan

Moving on to the verb *déan*, we note first the phonological variants of the plural imperative form *déanaigí!*. In western and central Inis Mór we encounter [**dʹɪˑNɪgʹiː**] and [**dʹəNɪgʹiˑ**], respectively, while from easternmost Inis Mór eastward through Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr we encounter only variants with affrication of the initial consonant, e.g., [**ʤɛˑNɪgʹiː**], etc..

In terms of the morphology, what is remarkable is that only the variants with the disyllabic suffix *-igí* occur, even though two informants on Inis Mór who substitute the verb *foghlaim* for the target verb both use the monosyllabic suffix *-aí* with that form, i.e., *foghlaimí!/ foghlamaí!*.

Once again, one or two speakers in each island produce an imperative singular form despite the clear plural context. As we have seen from all the imperative forms so far, the vocalic range of the root vowel extends from [**iː**] to [**ə**], but we have no examples of Standard Irish [**eː**].

The raising of the long vowel to [**iː**] (presumably influenced by the following nasal consonant) is rare in all our examples for this verb, but the shortening and laxing of the root vowel in all the tenses is widespread. The use of the short, neutral vowel [**ə**] is especially characteristic of the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18.

(Habitual Present Tense Forms in Relative Clause Constructions)

Turning now to present indicative verb stems and starting with the relative verb form *a dhéanann*, we note that informants across all three islands append the clitic *-s*, which is historically associated only with the future relative verb form, thus producing the variant *a dhéananns*. Only the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18, produces the Standard Irish form without the clitic. This could be a sign of generational change in the direction of Standard Irish.

The elderly female informant at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór also produces a unique form: *a níonns* ([**ə nʹiːns**]). She explained that the form was used by some of the older speakers.[72]

(The Construction . . . sula ndéanann . . .)

As for the adverbial construction *sula ndéanann*, we find that this construction is replaced by a variety of direct and indirect relative constructions, some containing present tense verb forms and other containing conditional verb forms. Since these constructions have little to contribute to the discussion of linguistic variation in the Aran Islands and are discussed elsewhere,[73] we will move on to the conditional forms

[72] She also maintained that the same suppletive root could be used to form the relative construction *a níodh* ([ᵉ **nʹiːᵊx**]) in the habitual past tense.

[73] Cf. the discussion of the verb *déan* in the chapter on grammatical variation in irregular verbs as well as the discussion of temporal relative clauses in the chapter on the use of the dependent verb forms.

of the verb.

(The Conditional Mood)

Let us look first at the negative conditional verb form *ní dhéanfainn[se]*.

Beginning with Inis Mór, we find the relatively Standard Irish variant *ní dhéan'ainnse*, with the emphatic particle *-se* appended and the *-f-* future/conditional marker elided, dominant throughout the island. Three informants however — all female — located at Bungabhla, Corrúch, and Cill Éinne, and thus stretching the length of the island, produce uninflected ("analytic") forms. Thus F 43 at Bungabhla produces the example *Ní dhéan'adh mis' é* and the two older women further east produce substantially the same form. Since F 43 is the youngest informant on the island, this suggests that this analytic variant, already established in an older generation, has a future on Inis Mór — at least among the female speakers.

In the two islands to the east, however, not a single analytic form occurs; not even the youngest female informant on Inis Oírr produces one. Instead, the same inflected variant encountered on Inis Mór is produced by all informants in both islands.

As for the second conditional form, *ní dhéanfá[sa]*, we find quite a different situation. Only three informants — all in central or eastern Inis Mór — use the inflected variant this time. Thus we get the example *dhéan'ása é*, with the *-f-* marker elided and the emphatic particle appended, from the female informant at An Sruthán and a similar example from the male informant at Eochaill, while the male informant at Cill Rónáin produces an example which includes a centralised verbal suffix vowel and light affrication of the consonant of the emphatic particle: [**jɪNətsɛˑ**].

In contrast, five other informants from one end of the island to the other produce the analytic variant *dhéan'adh tus' é*. Of these, two elderly female informants in eastern Inis Mór produce an unusual emphatic pronominal form *tuise* ([**təʃə/tɨʃə**]), which appears to be modelled on the emphatic pronoun *mise*.

In addition, we get the blended form [**jɪNˈʊsɛ**] (*Dhéan'usa é!*), with stress on the pronominal suffix, from an elderly female informant in western Inis Mór.[74]

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we get the expected inflected variant *dhéan'ása* from the female informant, but — surprisingly — a second blended form, [**jɪNˈuᵊsə**], again with stress on the pronominal suffix, from the male informant.

On Inis Oírr, however, we find once again the situation we encountered with the first conditional item on Inis Mór. The male informant produces the inflected variant *dhéan'ás' (é)*, while the two female informants show themselves as innovators on Inis Oírr by producing the analytic variant *dhéan'adh tus' e*.

In sum, we can say once again that in both Inis Mór and on Inis Oírr the second person singular verb forms seem to be the prime point of entry into the verbal paradigm for analytic constructions, and that first person singular forms seem to hold out longer

[74]This was mentioned earlier in our discussion of conditional forms of the verb *bí*.

against such constructions. And once again, in least in the initial stages of the introduction of analytic constructions, it is the female speakers who seem to be the innovators.

(The Simple Past Tense)

Turning now to the simple past tense, we will look first at the negative past verb form *ní dhearna*. Surprisingly, we find that only four informants — all in eastern Inis Mór — use the Standard Irish variant *ní dhearna*. All the other informants in the two western islands use the variants *ní rinne* or *níor rinne*.[75]

Inis Oírr, however, attests neither of these two variants. Here we find responses which might best be assigned to two main morphological variants, *dhein* and *dhéan*,[76] which show a wide range of phonetic realisation: **[jiːnʲ], [jɪnʲ], [jɛnʲ], [jɛN]** and **[jəN]**.

The phonological variants **[jəN]** and **[jiːnʲ]** are unique to the youngest informant, F 18. Thus, for sociolinguistic purposes, we must regard the variant **[jəN]** (*dhion*) as an important sociolinguistic variant — one which seems to mark the youngest generation on Inis Oírr.[77] As for her variant **[jiːnʲ]**, it occurs only once among the simple past examples.

As for corresponding negative verb forms attested on Inis Oírr, we find the male informant there using the unique negative form *ní dhéan* (**[nʲiˑ jɛN]**), with the non-simple past negative particle *ní-*, while the two female informants use the regular simple past preverbal particle *níor* — with the simple past marker {**-r**} normally used with regular verb forms — in both their examples. The older female informant produces *níor dhein sé* while the younger informant produces *níor dhion*.

(Verb Forms in Subordinate Clauses)

Turning now to the subordinate simple past form *go ndearna* with its complementiser *go*, we find once again that the Standard Irish construction *go ndearna* is limited to eastern Inis Mór. Only the two male informants at Corrúch and at Cill Rónáin, respectively, produce the form. In contrast, all the other informants on Inis Mór, including the male informant at Corrúch, produce the variant *go/gur rinne*.[78] So do both informants on Inis Meáin.

On Inis Oírr, however, once again we find the variants *dhein* and perhaps *dhéan*. Thus the male informant produces the example *go dhein tsé* (**[gə jɪnʲ tʃɛ]**), and the

[75] Of course it is impossible to maintain that there are in fact two variants rather than one in this case, but if the verb form in question is placed in either a negative subordinate clause construction or in a negative relative construction, the two underlying forms can easily be distinguished. Such forms — *nach rinne* and *nár rinne* — will be examined shortly.

[76] That the two morphological variants differ from one another phonemically and are not just phonologically conditioned allomorphs of one another can be seen from the forms heard in relative isolation, where the form with the palatalised final consonant is heard even though there is no following sound to trigger such palatalisation.

[77] The existence of the positive verb form *dhíon* (**[jəN]**) as well as its negative counterpart *níor dhíon* (**[nʲiːr jəN]**) was attested by F 18 in further questioning. Other examples of positive verb forms, such as the one used in the construction *má dhéan*, attest the existence of this variant.

[78] We have the same problem here of distinguishing between the two forms as we had in dealing with the variant *ní/níor rinne* earlier.

youngest female informant produces the example *go dhéan tsé* ([**gə ˈjiːnʲ tʃɛ**]), with the verb root mentioned earlier. Notice that both informants use the default variant of the subordinating particle, which does not contain the simple past marker {**-r**}.

As for the negative subordinate simple past form *nach ndearna*, we find no attestations at all of this form in any of the three islands, not even in eastern Inis Mór.

Instead, we find two attestations of the variant *nach rinne*, with the non-simple past form of the negative subordinating particle, from two female informants at opposite ends of Inis Mór. Otherwise, all the informants from one end of Inis Mór to the other use the variant *nár rinne*.[79] So do both informants on Inis Meáin.

Inis Oírr, however, once more stands clearly apart from its two western neighbours in the choice of the verb stem variant, but this time there is uniformity in the variant of the negative subordinating particle; all the informants use the variant *nár*, with the simple past marker {**-r**}. Thus we have *nár dhein* from the two older informants and *nár dhéan* ([**Naːr jɛN**]) from the youngest female informant.

(Indirect Relative Verb Forms)

Turning now to the indirect relative verb form *a ndearna*, we find the use of this Standard Irish variant limited to eastern Inis Mór. The two elderly female informants at Corrúch and at Cill Éinne use the variant as an alternative form, while M 50, the headmaster at the secondary school at Cill Rónáin, uses the variant exclusively.

All the other informants on Inis Mór, including the two female informants just mentioned, use the direct relative form *a rinne*. So do both informants on Inis Meáin.

In contrast, Inis Oírr once again sets itself from the two western islands. Here all the speakers use only the direct relative variant *(a) dhéan* ([**ᵊjɪN/jɛN**]).

(Miscellaneous Verb Forms)

It is worth mentioning a few isolated forms which occurred in the data. We have the simple conditional construction *má dhéan* ([**mɑ jɛN**]) from the youngest informant on Inis Oírr. We also have the inflected third person plural simple past verb form *rinneadar* ([**rɪNʲədər**]) from the female informant on Inis Meáin. Finally, as if to remind us that inflected forms are in use other than just for responses or short queries, we have the second person singular simple past inflected verb form *rinnis*, used in the sentence *"Níor rinnis aon mhoill!"*, used by a friend in his fifties from Baile na Creige in eastern Inis Mór and confirmed by a neighbour in Corrúch.

(The Verbal Noun in a Non-Finite Clause)

As for the shape of the verbal noun in the non-finite clause *é a dhéanamh*, the close phonetic variants [**jɪNə**] and [**jɛNə**] represent the range of variation across the three

[79] Once again, however, we have a problem of indeterminacy, since *nár rinne* could be interpreted as *ná rinne*, on the analogy of the form *ná raibh*, discussed earlier.

islands. All examples consist of verb root plus neutral vowel, thus treating the verb as a first conjugation regular verb.

As for the distribution of the two phonetic variants according to the vowel of the root, [**jɪNə**] competes with [**jɛNə**] the whole length of Inis Mór, but the informants on Inis Meáin lean toward the [**jɪNə**] variant and Inis Oírr attests only the [**jɛNə**] variant.

It is also worth mentioning that three female informants clearly diphthongise the first two elements of the clause. Thus we get [**a^{i} jɪNə**] from F 72 at Corrúch and [**ə^{i} jɛNə**] from F 70 at Cill Éinne, both in eastern Inis Mór, and [**ə^{i} jɛNə**] again from the youngest informant on Inis Oírr.

Ith

Moving on now to the verb *ith* and beginning with the habitual present tense verb form *itheann*, we find the variant *íosann* the dominant variant throughout Inis Mór and the sole variant in both Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr.

Two elderly female informants in the centre of Inis Mór give us a second variant, *í'eann* ([**iːn**]). M 50 at Cill Rónáin, headmaster of the secondary school, produces a third variant, *ítheann*.

(Negative Habitual Present Verb Forms)

Turning to the negative first person singular verb form *ní ithimse*, with the emphatic particle suffixed, we again find variants with the root borrowed from the future tense verb form, such as *ní íosaimse*, dominant on Inis Mór and universal in the two eastern islands.

There is a sharp contrast, however, between inflected variants and analytic constructions. On Inis Mór, only the elderly female informant at Eoghanacht uses the inflected form *ní íosaimse*, while the youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla and the two male informants in the centre of the island all use the analytic variant *ní íosann mise*.

On Inis Meáin, both informants use the inflected variant, but on Inis Oírr, the male informant produces the inflected variant, while both female informants produce the analytic variant. On Inis Oírr at least, the women seem to be the innovators.

The male informant at Eochaill on Inis Mór produces another inflected form, [**Nʹiˑ iː**ˈ**səmʹ**], which uses primary stress instead of the emphatic particle *-se* to give emphasis to the pronominal suffix. On the other hand, the male informant on Inis Meáin suffixes the invariable emphatic suffix *-sa* to the verb form.

Finally, in central and eastern Inis Mór, we have the competing variants with a long initial vowel in the historical habitual present verb stem, *ní íʼimse* and *ní íʼeann mise*. The inflected variant is more widespread than the analytic construction, with examples coming from F 70 at An Sruthán and from F 70 at Cill Éinne, while the analytic construction is produced only by F 72 at Corrúch.

Note that all the producers of these more conservative variants in central and eastern Inis Mór are elderly females.

(The Verbal Noun)

Turning to the verbal noun *ithe*, we find the variant *í* ([**iː**]), with the intervocalic [**h**] elided and the initial vowel raised, tensed and lengthened,[80] as the dominant form in western Inis Mór eastward through An Sruthán and as the universal form in the two eastern islands. Only the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, with her secondary education at Cill Rónáin, produces the disyllabic Standard Irish variant *ithe*, with the short, lax initial vowel and the intervocalic [**h**].

In contrast, the informants in eastern Inis Mór from Fearann an Choirce eastwards present a unique monosyllabic variant, *i* ([**ɪ**]), consisting simply of a short, lax vowel. Only Corrúch, close to the centre of Inis Mór, shows mixed usage of both the variants *í* and *i*.

Fan

Moving on now to the verb *fan*, we discuss it here with the irregular verbs since local speakers create a split paradigm for this verb, treating it as a second conjugation verb in some tenses, but a first conjugation verb in others.

(The Future Tense Form)

Starting with the future verb form *An bhfanfaidh . . . ?*, we find that the verb in this tense is treated universally as a second conjugation verb on all three islands, resulting in the variant *An bhfanóidh . . . ?*.

(The Habitual Present Tense)

As for the habitual present tense, the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór provides a second conjugation variant for that tense as well: *'bhfanaíonn tú . . . ?* In the material gathered for Part III of this survey, however, speakers across the three islands opt for the Standard Irish first conjugation form *fanann* in a non-interrogative sentence. Nevertheless, at least one informant on each island uses the second conjugation variant.

(The Habitual Past Tense)

Turning now to second person singular habitual past verb forms in such constructions as *a d'fhantá*, we find the synthetic (inflected) variant *a d'fhaná* on all three islands. This variant could represent either the local conditional form of the verb or the habitual past.[81]

Uninflected (analytic) variants such as *a d'fhanadh tú* or *a bhfanódh tú* are also widespread on Inis Mór and on Inis Oírr, but both speakers on Inis Meáin use only

[80] In individual cases, this long vowel can be lowered to [**ɪː**] and even [**eː**].

[81] There was no sign of the *-óá* conditional verb stem termination reported for Aran Irish by F. N. Finck at the end of the nineteenth century. Such a termination would have marked both the conjugation type and the mood.

inflected (synthetic) variants.

(The Verbal Adjective/Past Participle)

As for the verbal adjective or past participle *fanta*, we have only the Standard Irish variant *fanta* from an elderly female informant in western Inis Mór and the competing variant, the second conjugation variant *fanaí* (= *fanaithe*), from the male informant on Inis Meáin.

Beir

Moving on now to the verb *beir* and the impersonal simple past verb form *rugadh* in the construction *rugadh air*, we find the variant [**rʊguː**] dominant throughout Inis Mór.

The area in eastern Inis Mór from Corrúch through Eochaill, however, again proves exceptional. The male informant at Eochaill gives us a second, morphologically distinct variant, *rugas* ([**rʊgəs**]), while the female informant at Corrúch produces a third variant, a blended form created from the first two variants: *rugús* ([**rʊguːs**]). For his part, the male informant at Corrúch produces a fourth variant, one which draws on the form found in the imperative singular to provide the root: *beireadh* ([**bʹɛrʹu**]).

On Inis Meáin, we encounter only two variants, ones already encountered on Inis Mór. The male informant produces [**rʊguˑ**], and the female informant produces [**rʊgʊs**], presumably a slight phonetic variant of *rugas*.

On Inis Oírr, we get the variant *rugas* from both older informants.

Thus, we can see the variant *rugas* stretching eastward from Eochaill in easternmost Inis Mór through Inis Meáin to Inis Oírr, while the variant [**rʊguː**] includes only Inis Mór and Inis Meáin.

As for the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, she produces what is apparently an impersonal future tense verb form: *béarar* ([**bʹeːrər**]).

(The Verbal Noun)

Turning now to the verbal noun *breith* in the construction *breith air*, we find the Standard Irish variant *breith* dominant on all three islands, though the final consonant [**h**] is normally elided.[82]

The youngest informant on Inis Oírr, however, provides a second variant: the anomalous form *beir* ([**bʹɛrʹ**]), which seems to consist solely of the verbal root as found in the imperative form. She also provides a third variant, the longer form *beireachtáil* ([**bʹɛrʹɛxtəlʹ**]), which is well attested on Inis Oírr.[83]

[82] A male informant in easternmost Inis Mór and another on Inis Meáin conserve the [**h**] intervocalically in this phrase, however, so we can regard the preservation of the [**h**] once again as a sandhi phenomenon.

[83] Cf. Ó Catháin (1990).

Clois

Moving on to the verb *clois*, the only item examined is the simple past form *chuala*. Here the apparently random variation in the vowel of the first syllable across informants on all three islands is the only feature to be noted. Such variation ranges from [**uːᵊ**] through [**oː**] to [**o**], involving levelling of the diphthong, lowering of the vowel and shortening of the vowel in various combinations. Two male informants — one on Inis Mór and another on Inis Oírr — substitute the simple past form *d'airigh* of the verb *airigh*.

16 Grammatical Variation in Regular Verbs

Having dealt with the irregular verbs, we could go on to summarise the analysis of the paradigms of the regular verbs. Regular verbs, however, present far fewer opportunities for intricate, patterned variation than do the irregular verbs, with their suppletive (or pseudo-suppletive) paradigms. Despite the interesting detail which individual regular verbs offer, their patterns of variation seem far more idiosyncratic and seem to reveal far less of the patterns of linguistic interaction of Aran Islanders over several generations. Since such verbs are fully discussed in the chapter on grammatical variation in regular verbs, we will not attempt to summarise their idiosyncrasies here.

Nevertheless, there is some very important information on certain linguistic traits which is found scattered among the data on the regular verbs and which should be summarised here. Many of the questions discussed here will touch on the irregular verbs as well.

The Realisation of the "F-Future" Verbal Suffix in Inis Oírr Irish

We have noticed in the discussion of the three verbs *rith*, *bruigh*, and *buaigh* that the informants in Inis Oírr stand out from the informants on the two western islands in their pronunciation of the future verbal suffix *-fidh*. Inis Oírr informants, instead of eliding the *-f-* of the historical suffix *-fidh*, pronounce it as [**fʲ**], giving it the value of the written symbol.

Thus, whereas informants on Inis Mór and Inis Meáin realise the forms *rithfidh*, *bruithfidh* and *go mbuaifidh* as [**riː**], [**briː**] and [**gə muː**], respectively, the informants on Inis Oírr produce [**riˑfʲɪ/riˑfʲɛ**], [**briˑfʲɪ/briˑfʲɛ**] and [**gə ˈmuˑᵉfʲ/gə ˈmu-aⁱfʲɛ**], respectively.

Also, though we might expect the Inis Oírr informants to produce variants with short vowels in the stem before the suffix in both *rithfidh* and *bruithfidh*, in fact we find long vowels in all their examples.[84]

Nevertheless, we do find occasional forms which are identical to variants in the two western islands. Thus we get the variant [**riː**] from the older female informant and the variant [**wuᵊs**] (= *a bhuaifeas*) from the male informant. The youngest informant, F

[84] Brian Ó Catháin, in his detailed analysis of this family of monosyllabic C(C)V-stem verbs in Inis Oírr, points out that vowel length in forms such as the ones mentioned above is normally optional for Inis Oírr speakers. Cf. Ó Catháin, B. (2006), 31-33.

18, however, uses an emphatic articulation, [**gə ˈmu-aⁱfʹɛ**], which stresses the presence of the future suffix, suggesting that the younger generation is not necessarily yielding to the linguistic pressure of its peers elsewhere.

The [oːɑː] and [ɑː] Verbal Inflections of Franz Nikolaus Finck

The focus here is on the inflectional suffixes of the second person singular conditional verb form and of the second person singular habitual past verb form in second conjugation verbs. These suffixes are presented as [**oːɑː**] and [**ɑː**], respectively, in F. N. Finck's *Die Araner Mundart.*[85] The examples for both suffixes are drawn from the second conjugation verb *ceannaigh.*

(The Conditional Verb Form An gceannófá . . . ?)

Starting on Inis Mór with the conditional verb form *An gceannófá . . . ?*, we find that twice as many speakers produce the analytic variant *an gceannódh tú . . . ?* rather than the synthetic variant. Nevertheless, two informants — a female informant in west-central Inis M'or and a male informant in eastern Inis Mór — produce the inflected variant *an gceanná . . . ?*, with the inflectional suffix [**-ɑː**] that Finck in fact gives for the habitual past form.

On Inis Meáin, both informants produce only the same inflected variant *an gceanná . . . ?*, with no examples of the analytic variant.

On Inis Oírr, the older informants both produce the inflected variant, but the male informant fronts the vowel of the inflectional suffix to [**æˑ**], an odd phenomenon which is difficult to explain phonologically, since the stem does not end in a palatalised consonant. The younger informant, F 18, however, opts for the analytic variant *an gceannódh tusa . . . ?.*

One fact is clear, however: there are no attested examples in any of the islands of Finck's [**oːɑː**] conditional suffix.

(A Comparison with the First Conjugation Verb Form an ligfeá . . . ?)

Before we leave the subject of the second person singular conditional suffix – and having seen the unusual fronting of the vowel of the suffix by the male informant on Inis Oírr, let us look at the data for the first conjugation verb *lig.*

Beginning this time on Inis Meáin, for the Standard Irish form *an ligfeá . . . ?*, we encounter the expected inflected variant, [**əN ʟʹɪkʹɑsə**](with the emphatic particle suffixed) from the female informant.

On Inis Mór, however, we find the reverse of the situation described for *An gceannófá . . . ?* in the previous example. Now the overwhelming majority of informants there use the inflected variant, and only two informants use analytical constructions, such as [**ə ʟʹɪkʹəx tʊsə**] or [**ᵉlʹɪkʹəx tʊsə**].

[85] Cf. Finck (1899), I, 145.

What is particularly striking is the wide range of phonetic realisations of the vowel of the suffix: [ˈlʲɪkʲɑː], [lʲɪkʲə], [ᵉlʲɪkʲæ], [ᵉlʲɪkʲɛˑ] — especially the fronting of the vowel. Though we might expect some fronting of the vowel after a palatalised stem consonant, we would not expect a fronting as extreme as in the variant [ᵉlʲɪkʲɛˑ].

(The Habitual Past Verb Form cheannaíteá)

As for the habitual past verb form *cheannaíteá*, the overwhelming majority of informants on all three islands choose to substitute a periphrastic construction for the expected synthetic or analytic simple verb forms. Thus we get either *an mbíá ag ceannach(t) . . . ?* or *an mbíodh tú ag ceannach(t) . . . ?* from most informants.

From among the very few who do not produce periphrastic constructions, we get the unique variant *cheannaíá* ([xʲæːNəiːɑː]) from M 68 at Eochaill on Inis Mór, precisely what we would expect of the historical development of the verb — on the analogy of the verb form *bhíteá* ([vʲiːɑː]).[86] However, we have no other attested forms of this type.

In contrast, M 68's neighbour to the east, M 50 at Cill Rónáin, produces the expected analytic construction *cheannaíodh tú*.

So once again, we fail to find the variant described by Finck over a hundred years ago – in this case, the suffix [ɑː] for the second person singular suffix in the habitual past tense in second conjugation verbs. A suffix of that phonological shape in a second conjugation verb in the Aran Islands today would be interpreted unequivocally as a conditional suffix.

In the case of first conjugation verbs, however, the situation seems to be quite different. We have seen earlier, in the case of the first conjugation verb *fan*, that regardless of whether informants treat it as a first conjugation verb or a second conjugation verb, we find the synthetic (inflected) variant *a d'fhaná* used for the second person singular habitual past on all three islands.[87]

Of course the shape of this variant could represent either the local conditional form of the verb or the habitual past, so it is genuinely ambiguous.

Impersonal Verb Forms

Though only two types of impersonal verb forms have occurred in the data, further investigation confirms the importance of the impersonal forms in patterns of linguistic variation in the three islands.

(The Impersonal Conditional Verb Form)

Examining the impersonal conditional verb form *ligfí*, we see that the verbal suffix *-fí* is realised as [fʲiː] on all three islands, with no lenition of the initial consonant of the suffix.

[86] Note the discussion of this point earlier, in the chapter on the regular verbs.

[87] Analytic variants such as *a d'fhanadh tú* or *a bhfanódh tú* are also widespread on Inis Mór and on Inis Oírr, but both speakers on Inis Meáin use only inflected (synthetic) variants.

In fact, as a scan of the data gathered for Part III reveals, the same phonological shape is used for the verbs *déan* and *fág* on Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin, despite the fact that the roots of both verbs end in a velarised consonant.[88]

Thus, this suffix seems to be treated as an invariable suffix by all informants — at least in the two western islands.

(The Impersonal Simple Past Verb Form)

Unfortunately, we have few examples of impersonal simple past verb forms in the data used for the linguistic tables. Some informants in both Inis Mór and on Inis Oírr substituted the impersonal form of the simple past, *doirteadh*, for the intended past participial form of the verb. In addition, we have the example of the impersonal simple past form *cailleadh* in the discussion of the vocalisation of [**əv** > **uː**] in the chapter on phonological variation.

From both those examples, we see that there is a clear difference in the phonological shape of the suffix between the forms on Inis Mór and their counterparts on Inis Oírr. Unfortunately, we have no examples for either verb from Inis Meáin.

On Inis Mór, the suffix in both verbs is vocalised to [**-uː**].

On Inis Oírr, however, the suffix in both verbs is realised as [**-əv**], with no vocalisation.

(Further Data from the Third Year of Field Research)

If we scan the material which was gathered during the third year of field research, however, we will find more than enough material on both regular and irregular and irregular verbs to clarify matters considerably. The material contains a full complement of data from Inis Meáin.[89]

Starting with the irregular verb *déan*, which will serve as an example for both regular and irregular first conjugation verbs, we find the following:

On Inis Mór, we find the form *rinniú* [**rɪNʹuː**] (= *rinneadh*) from westernmost Inis Mór to Corrúch, but at Cill Rónáin we find a second variant: *déanú* [**dʹɛNuː**]. Thus, regardless of the variant used, the suffix is invariably vocalised.

On Inis Meáin, we get the same two variants from both informants, though the variant [**dʹɛNuː**] seems to be favoured. Here again, we find only the vocalised suffix.

On Inis Oírr, the older female informant produces the variants [**dʹɪNuː**] and [**dʹɪNəv**] , the younger female informant only the variant [**dʹɪNəv**] and her younger brother[90] produces [**dʹɛNo**] and [**gə dʹɪNʹu**].

To sum up, if the irregular verb *déan* is representative of regular first conjugation verb forms, vocalisation of the suffix characterises both Inis Mór and Inis Meáin, but is still working its way into Inis Oírr Irish.

[88]The data for Inis Oírr are not so clear.

[89]This material is quite rich and illustrates the importance of the impersonal forms in both regular and irregular verbs for studies of linguistic variation. Unfortunately, we can only present a few items here.

[90]Macdara was 13 years of age at the time.

(Second Conjugation Verb Forms: Coinnigh)

Turning quickly to second conjugation verbs, let us examine the situation for the two verbs *coinnigh* and *ceannaigh*.

Beginning with the verb *coinnigh* on Inis Mór, for the verb form *coinníodh*, we find the variant *coinníobh* [**kʊNʹiːv/kʊNʹi.v**] and a second variant *coinníu* [**kɪNʹuː**], where the stem vowel [**iː**] has been shortened to the point of disappearance and the final consonant is completely vocalised. This second variant comes only from the female informant at Corrúch, but, as we shall see, it represents a wider phenomenon throughout the islands.

On Inis Meáin, we get the variant *coinníobh* [**kʊNʹiːv**] from the female informant, but the variants *coinneabh* [**kʊNʹəv**] and *coinniú* [**kɪNʹu.**] from the male informant. The form *coinniú* is in fact his favoured variant. In the first of the latter two variants we see clearly the shortening and neutralisation of the stem vowel [**iː**] which is the prelude to its complete disappearance and the vocalisation of the final consonant of the suffix, seen in the second of his two variants.

On Inis Oírr, we get the vocalised variant *coinniú* [**kɪNʹuː**] from the older female informant, but the non-vocalised variant *coinneabh* [**kənʹəv**] from the younger female informant. Note that like the male informant in Inis Meáin, she has neutralised the stem vowel. Her younger brother, however, produces the traditional variant *coinníobh* [**kʊnʹiːv**].

To sum up, in this verb we see vocalisation being extended to second conjugation verb forms, and the merging of the suffixes for both first and second conjugation verbs. One is tempted to say that this is another change working its way eastward from Inis Mór, but the evidence here is not strong enough to establish the direction of change. After all, the traditional variant is still strong in Inis Mór itself.

(Second Conjugation Verb Forms: Ceannaigh)

Turning now to the verb *ceannaigh*, we find a similar situation.

On Inis Mór, for the verb form *ceannaíodh*, we have the variants [**kʹæ.niᵊv**], [**kʹæːnɪ.w/kʹæːnɪw**], [**kʹæːniːu.**], [**kʹæ.ni.u.**], [**kʹæːnuː**], forming a rough chain leading from the traditional variant to a variant in which the stem vowel has disappeared and the final consonant of the suffix has been completely vocalised.

On Inis Meáin, however, both informants produce only the traditional variant [**kʹæniːv**].

On Inis Oírr, we get the traditional variant [**kʹæ.niːv**] from the older female informant, but the variant *ceannabh* [**kʹænəv**], with the stem vowel shortened and neutralised, from the younger female informant. Here neither informant has vocalised the final consonant of the suffix.

To sum up, though it is difficult to extrapolate from the evidence of only two verbs, it may be that in the case of second conjugation verbs ending in a non-palatalised consonant, Inis Mór may be tending toward vocalization of the final consonant of the suffix, while the two eastern islands are still resisting that vocalisation, though they

may at times be lax in the preservation of the stem vowel **[iː]**.

(Revisiting the Irregular Verbs: Fuarthas)

If we return for a moment to the chapter on the irregular verbs, however, we will find data from Inis Meáin which throws a bit more light on the situation.

Examining again the responses for the impersonal simple past form *fuarthas*, we note that, with one exception, all the variants on Inis Mór contain the expected vocalisation of the suffix: **[-uː]**.[91]

Thus we note the local variants *fuireadh* (**[fʊrʹuː]**) and *fríothadh*. The latter variant is realised in two slightly different sub-variants, *friothú* (**[frʹɪhuː]**) and *fríú* (**[fʹrʹiːuː]**).

On Inis Meáin, however, both informants produce a variant of *fríothadh*, *fríov* (**[fʹrʹiːv]**), with the voiced bilabial fricative of the suffix not vocalised.

On Inis Oírr, we encounter a similar sub-variant of *fríothadh* — *fíov* (**[fʹiːv]**), with the palatalised flap **[rʹ]** elided.[92]

Here we see both eastern islands resisting vocalisation of the suffix.

This pattern is confirmed by the responses for the negative subordinate impersonal simple past verb form *nach bhfuarthas*.

On Inis Mór the dominant variant, *nár bhfuaireadh*, stretches from Bungabhla through Corrúch,[93] and at the eastern end, from Eochaill to Cill Éinne, the variants *nár fríothadh* and *nach fríothadh* are found. All the variants have a vocalized suffix.

On Inis Meáin, however, once again the male informant does not vocalise the suffix in his example: *nach fríov* (**[nax fʹrʹiːv]**).

On Inis Oírr, likewise, the older female informant produces the example *nár fíov* (**[naːr fʹiːv]**), which also avoids vocalisation of the suffix.

So in both the positive and negative examples of the impersonal simple past verb form, Inis Meáin lines up with Inis Oírr.

(Revisiting the Irregular Verbs: Rugadh)

Finally, in regard to the verb *beir* and its impersonal simple past verb form *rugadh*, we find further confirmation of the reluctance of the two eastern islands to use the *-ú* suffix.

On Inis Mór, we find the variant **[rʊguː]** dominant throughout the island, with the local variants *rugas* (**[rʊgəs]**), *rugús* (**[rʊguːs]**), and *beireadh* (**[bʹɛrʹu]**). Note that with the exception of the few forms based on *rugas*, the two remaining suffixes are vocalised.

[91] The is the variant *fóireas* (= *fuarthas*) from the female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór.
[92] This is not a slip of the tongue.
[93] Only the male informant at Corrúch opts for the alternative negative particle, producing *nach bhfuireadh*.

On Inis Meáin, we encounter only two variants, but they are both ones already encountered on Inis Mór. The male informant produces **[rʊguˑ]**, the variant with the vocalised suffix, and the female informant produces **[rʊgʊs]**, presumably a slight phonetic variant of *rugas*.

On Inis Oírr, we get only the variant *rugas* from both older informants.

Thus, we can see the variant *rugas* stretching eastward from Eochaill in easternmost Inis Mór through Inis Meáin to Inis Oírr, while the variant **[rʊguː]** includes only Inis Mór and Inis Meáin. But crucially, in the case of this verb, only the male informant on Inis Meáin has chosen the variant with the vocalised suffix.

It is interesting that a variant so widespread in Inis Mór finds so little echo in the two eastern islands.

I must apologise for this extended digression, but the impersonal verb forms are a major trigger for linguistic variation, mainly because of the opportunities for variation offered by the suppletive paradigms of the irregular verbs as well as by the possiblity of adding the pre-verbal particle ***do***[94] and its negative and interrogative counterparts to verbs in general. This is especially true of the simple past tense, which is quite frequent in discourse.

For example, on Inis Mór alone, we find variants such as **[iːuː]**/**[hiːu.]**/**[dʹiːu.]** (= *itheadh*), **[nʹiːr dʹɛrʹuː]**/**[nʹiːr eːru]**/**[nʹiːr uːruː]** (= *ní dúradh*), etc.

I hope to present this material at a later date.

The Abbreviated Plural Imperative Suffix -í

We have already seen many examples of the abbreviated plural imperative suffix *-í* among the irregular verbs. For the verb *tar*, in addition to the Standard Irish variant *tagaigí!*, we have seen the abbreviated variants *tagaí!*, *taraí!* and even the form *goilí!*, an abbreviated variant of the pseudo-Standard Irish form *goiligí!*, itself derived from the singular imperative form *goile!* (= *Gabh i leith!*).

Similarly, for the verb *tabhair*, in addition to the Standard Irish variant *tugaigí!*, we have seen the abbreviated variants *tugaí!*, *túraí!* and *tiúirí!*.

Among those responses we have also seen several examples drawn from the regular verbs as well: *imí!* (= *imígí!*), *tiomáiní!* (= *tiomáinígí.*) and *foghlaimí!*/ *foghlamaí!* (= *foghlaimígí!*).

In the data on the regular verbs, we have yet other examples: *bailí!* (= *Bailígí!*) in the expression *Bailí lib!*, and the examples *osclaí!* (= *osclaígí!*), and *fágaí!* (= *fágaigí!*). If there are no further examples, it is only because they were not sought during the elicitation of the data. From the examples already seen, it seems that the abbreviated plural imperative suffix *-í* is a very productive suffix, with wide application among irregular verbs and among regular verbs of both conjugations.

Morphophonemic Alternations of the Vowel of the Verb Stem

In the section on phonology earlier in the conclusion we examined the morphophonemic alternations in the realisation of the vowel of the verb root in the verbs *caill* and

[94] This particle is what Mícheál Ó Siadhail calls "the proclitic morpheme *do*". Cf. Ó Siadhail (1989), 176.

crom. As we noted, such morphophonemic alternations are characteristic of speakers in Connemara, who regularly replace a short, lax vowel with a long, tense vowel in certain phonological environments.

Here we will summarize very briefly what was said earlier about the verbs *caill* and *crom*, but first we will summarize the research results for another verb of the same type: *mill*.

(Milleadh/Millte)

One familiar with the verbal morphology of Connemara Irish would expect the short, lax vowel [**ɪ**] in the root of the disyllabic verbal noun *milleadh* and the long, tense vowel [**iː**] before the consonant cluster in the verbal adjective/past participle *millte*.

In fact, only four informants across all three islands produce the morphophonemic alternation: two informants on Inis Mór, the male informant on Inis Meáin, and the older female informant on Inis Oírr.

All the other informants on Inis Mór level the vocalic distinction between the two forms in the direction of [**iː**]. So do the male informant and the younger female informant on Inis Oírr.

The female informant on Inis Meáin, however, seems to produce the morphophonemic alternation in reverse! She lengthens the vowel of the root to [**iː**] in the disyllabic verbal noun *milleadh*, but then she shortens the vowel before the consonant cluster in the verbal adjective/past participle *millte*.

(Cailleann/Chaill)

Moving on to the verb *caill*, only two informants – both in the two western islands – produce morphophonemic alternations. Thus, the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, and the female informant on Inis Meáin both back the vowel to [**ɑː**] in the monosyllabic form *chaill*, but not in the disyllabic form *cailleann*.

All the other informants on all three islands show no vowel alternation in the two forms. Some appear to preserve the historical vowel [**a(ː)**] in both forms, while others generalise the backed vowel [**ɑː**] to both forms.

The most widespread variant of this verb is a variant which generalises the backed vowel [**ɑː**] to both forms. This variant extends over all three islands, but on Inis Oírr, it is the only variant attested.

The second variant of the verb, which preserves the historical vowel [**a(ː)**] in both forms, is found in a highly restricted area — the area in central Inis Mór from Fear-ann an Choirce to Eochaill. The two informants at Corrúch, in fact, front and lengthen the vowel phonetically to [**æː**] in both lexical items. Knowing the general linguistic behaviour of this area of Inis Mór, it would be best to regard this linguistic trait as an innovation rather than a retention of an archaic trait.

(Cromadh/Chrom)

As for the forms representing the verb *crom*, i.e., the verbal noun *cromadh* and the simple past form *chrom*, the individual speech behaviour of the informants in regard to the verbal forms is sharply different from their behaviour in regard to the monosyllabic adjectival forms *lom* and *ró-throm*. It is also sharply different from their behaviour in regard to the other two verbs.

In this case, only one informant produces a morphophonemic alternation. The older female informant on Inis Oírr lengthens the vowel of the monosyllabic verbal form, producing **[oː]**, but not the vowel of the dissyllabic verbal noun, thus producing the short vowel **[ʊ]**.

All the other informants across the three islands level the morphophonemic alternation in one direction or the other.

On the two western islands, all the speakers produce short, relatively neutral vowels — either **[ʊ]** or **[ə]** — in both verbal forms. They do this regardless of the presence or absence of the lengthening rule in their adjectival forms.

On Inis Oírr, however, the male informant applies the lengthening rule throughout, producing **[oː]** in all forms, whether verbal or adjectival. His unique behaviour marks the independent linguistic status of Inis Oírr.

The youngest female informant, in contrast, follows the pattern found on Inis Mór, producing short, relatively neutral vowels in the verbal forms, regardless of whether the vowels in her adjectival forms are lengthened or not. Thus, though the older female informant follows the usage of Connemara, the younger female informant follows the pattern of the largest island.

To sum up, first, it seems that only a small minority of informants produce morphophonemic alternations in such verb forms.

Second, when levelling the alternation, there is a difference in the vowel selected, depending on the place of articulation of the vowel. The majority of the informants level the alternation in the direction of a long, tense vowel when the root vowel of the verbal form is a front vowel or a central vowel, but conserve the short, lax vowel when the root vowel is a back vowel.

The Verbal Noun Rith

It is worth focusing on the verbal noun *rith* because of the surprising amount of variation we find in the shape of this item — not only across the islands, but on Inis Mór itself. Despite the profusion of variants, it seems possible to group the variants into three basic variants: (1) *rith* (**[rɪ]**), (2) *ríocht/réacht/ríoch* (**[riːᵊxt]**, **[reːᵊxt]**, **[riːᵊx]**), and (3) *reacht/reach*(**[raːxt]**, **[raːx]**).[95]

On Inis Mór, the variant *ríocht* is the dominant variant and runs the length of the island. The variants *ríoch*, *reacht*, and *reach*, however, form a little linguistic island within central Inis Mór stretching from An Sruthán to Eochaill. In terms of area covered, the variant *ríoch* is attested at An Sruthán and at Corrúch, and overlaps

[95]These forms seem to have originated in the real or putative historical forms *rith*, *ritheacht* agus *reathacht*, respectively.

with the variant *reacht*, attested at Fearann an Choirce and at Eochaill. The variant *reach* is attested only at Eochaill.

The variant *rith* is found only at Eochaill and at Cill Rónáin in easternmost Inis Mór, but it extends eastward to include Inis Meáin as well.

As for Inis Oírr, we find only subvariants already encountered on Inis Mór — all based on the variant *ríocht*: **[riːᵊxt]**, **[reːxt]** and **[riːᵊx]**.

To sum up, once more we have the familiar pattern where easternmost Inis Mór is connected by a distinctive linguistic trait to Inis Meáin, where Inis Oírr is connected by linguistic traits directly to Inis Mór, and where central Inis Mór shows distinctive linguistic innovations.

17 The Use of the Dependent Verb Forms

Now we will have a brief look at the behaviour of all verbs in larger syntactic units. Specifically, we will summarise the data on syntactic constructions which, in Standard Irish, demand the use of the dependent form of the verb, with the emphasis on interrogative constructions and on relative constructions.

Cén chaoi a ndeachaigh . . . ?

Starting with the interrogatives of manner, we note that in the construction *Cén chaoi a ndeachaigh . . . ?*, all informants across all three islands use the dependent form of the verb, as in Standard Irish. It is only in the head-phrase of the construction that we note some interesting differences between informants.

Thus, in eastern Inis Mór, the male informant at Eochaill produces the aberrant head-phrase **[tʲɛ ˣⁱ]** (= *Te' chaoi . . . ?*).[96]

On Inis Meáin, the male informant produces the slightly reduced form **[kʲɛ hi]**, while on Inis Oírr the youngest female informant reduces the entire head-phrase to **[xⁱ]**, presumably as a result of sub-vocalisation of the first word.

Cén chaoi a ndearna . . . ?

In the construction *Cén chaoi a ndearna . . . ?*, only two informants — both in eastern Inis Mór — produce the expected dependent form *ndearna*. All the other informants in both the western islands produce the invariable form *rinne* in its place, while on Inis Oírr, the two older informants produce the variant *dhion* in a direct relative construction: *Cén chaoi a dhion . . . ?*. [97]

As for reduced forms of the head-phrase, not only do we have the example **[xiˑ]**. from F 18 on Inis Oírr, but also the form **[kʲɛ̃ hi]**, once again from the male informant on Inis Meáin. The most striking reduction, however, comes from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór: **[kaⁱ]**.

[96] This head-phrase brings to mind the Cois Fharraige forms **[tʲeː/tʲɛ]** (= *Cé . . . ?*) and **[tʲeːrd/tʲɛrd]** (= *Céard . . . ?*). Cf. de Bhaldraithe, T. (1953), 159.

[97] The youngest female informant apparently does so as well, but in an extremely reduced form: **[xiˑ Nˑ . . .]**.

Cén chaoi a bhfuil . . . ?

The construction *Cén chaoi a bhfuil . . . ?* in the longer construction *Cén chaoi a bhfuil a fhios agat?* is treated as it would be in Standard Irish across all three islands. Only the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, inserts the subordinating particle *go* to produce the construction *Cén chaoi go bhfuil . . . ?*.

Some interesting reductions of the head-phrase occur. We get [**kʹɛ xu . . . ?**] and [**xʹɛ̃ ʰʷ iˑ . . . ?**] from Inis Mór, and the extremely reduced form [**kʹ**] in the construction [**kʹ wʊlʹ . . . ?**] — once again from the youngest female informant on Inis Oírr.

Three informants in central and eastern Inis Mór chose to substitute the construction *Cá bhfios duit/duitse?*.

In sum, then, the only use of a clearly independent verb form in interrogative constructions of manner is from Inis Oírr, where all three informants produce the construction *Cén chaoi a dhion . . . ?*. Otherwise, all informants on all three islands use the dependent verb form.

Note again also the use of the subordinating particle *go* in the construction by *Cén chaoi go bhfuil . . . ?* by the youngest female informant on Inis Mór.

Cén fáth a ndeachaigh . . . ?

Moving on to interrogative constructions of cause headed by the phrase *Cén fáth . . . ?*, and beginning with the construction *Cén fáth a ndeachaigh . . . ?*, we note that all the informants on Inis Mór use a dependent form of the verb in this construction.

However, in regard to insertion of the subordinating particle *go*, a sharp division emerges between the two halves of the island. Nearly all the informants in western Inis Mór from Bungabhla to Fearann an Choirce[98] insert the subordinating particle *go*, producing the construction *Cén fáth go ndeachaigh . . . ?*. All the informants in eastern Inis Mór from Corrúch to Cill Éinne, however, do not insert the particle.

On Inis Meáin, both informants again produce a dependent verb form. As for insertion of the particle *go*, the female informant inserts the particle, but the male informant produces the negative present tense construction *Cén fáth nach dtéann . . . ?*, and thus yields no evidence that would be relevant.

On Inis Oírr, we have examples only from the two female informants. The older female informant produces the Standard Irish construction *Cén fáth a ndeachaigh . . . ?*, with the dependent form of the verb, but the younger informant produces the unique example *Cén fáth (a) chuaigh . . . ?*, with the independent form of the verb. Neither inserts the particle *go*.

Cén fáth a ndearna . . . ?

Moving on to the second item, the construction *Cén fáth a ndearna . . . ?*, we see that the only informant on all three islands who produces the Standard Irish construction with the dependent verb form *ndearna* is M 50, the headmaster of the vocational school at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór. All the other informants in the two western islands produce

[98] The female informant at An Sruthán, near the centre of the island, is the single exception.

the invariable verb form *rinne*, either with or without the subordinating particle *go*. On Inis Oírr, however, all the informants use only the independent verb form *dhion*, producing the construction *Cén fáth (a) dhion . . . ?*.

As for the use of the subordinating particle *go*, for this item on Inis Mór only the female informants at Bungabhla in westernmost Inis Mór and at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór use the subordinating particle to produce the construction *Cén fáth go/gur rinne . . . ?*.[99]

On Inis Meáin, once again it is the female informant who inserts the subordinating particle *go* to produce the same construction. The male informant clearly does not insert the particle in what is otherwise the same construction.

On Inis Oírr, as we have seen, an independent relative clause is used by all three informants, and therefore no subordinating particle is used.

Cén fáth a raibh . . . ?

In regard to the construction *Cén fáth a raibh . . . ?*, nearly all the informants across the three islands use a dependent of the verb in this construction. The sole exception is the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór, who produces an independent relative clause in the construction *Cén fáth (a) bhí . . . ?*.

As for the insertion of the subordinating particle *go*, we find that on Inis Mór once again the only informants to insert the subordinating particle *go* are the two female informants at Bungabhla and Cill Éinne, who both produce the construction *Cén fáth go raibh . . . ?*. On Inis Meáin, however, neither informant inserts the particle in this construction.

On Inis Oírr, the older female informant surprises us here by also inserting the subordinating particle.[100]

In sum, with the single exception of the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór, all informants in the two western islands employ only dependent verb forms in interrogatives of cause. Only Inis Oírr wavers between dependent and independent verb forms, with the behaviour of the informants varying sharply from item to item.

Note that the insertion of the subordinating particle *go* wherever it occurs, is associated almost exclusively with female informants across all three islands. This is especially true of the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, who inserts the particle regularly in interrogative constructions of cause and, as we have seen, in at least one interrogative construction of manner: *Cén chaoi go bhfuil . . . ?*.[101]

A clear geographical division exists, however, in the use of the subordinating particle *go* in the construction *Cén fáth a ndeachaigh . . . ?*. With a single exception, all the informants in western Inis Mór use the particle. Oddly enough, the female informant at An Sruthán

[99] As we have seen earlier, the construction with the subordinating particle *go* plus the invariable verb form *rinne* can be interpreted as either *go rinne* or *gur rinne*, depending on whether the informant sees the verb form *rinne* as regular or irregular in its behaviour.

[100] Recall, however, that she attended secondary school in Cill Rónáin in eastern Inis Mór at approximately the same time as F 43 at Bungabhla, and that this is perhaps a feature which she, like F 43, adopted during her stay in easternmost Inis Mór. Recall also that F 43 herself has been living in Cill Rónáin since marriage to the Cill Éinne informant F 70's son.

[101] This is another construction which she shares with her contemporary F 41 on Inis Oírr.

opts out, while the male informant at Fearann an Choirce joins the female informants further west. All the informants in eastern Inis Mór, whether male or female, do not use the particle.

As for head-phrases, note the unique use of the interrogative *Tuige . . . ?* by the female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór in the item just discussed.

Cé dó a ndearna . . . ?

Turning now to interrogative constructions headed by a pronominal prepositional form, we begin with the construction *Cé dó a ndearna . . . ?*.

As we might expect, the only use of the dependent form of the simple past verb form is in easternmost Inis Mór. There M 50 at Cill Rónáin, headmaster of the vocational school, produces the Standard Irish construction *Cé dhó a ndearna . . . ?*, with an indirect relative clause. His neighbour at Cill Éinne, F 70, produces the same dependent form but lenites the initial consonant, thus treating it as though it were in a direct relative construction: *Cé leis a dhearna . . . ?*.[102] This use of a dependent verb form in a direct relative clause is unique.

All the other speakers in the two western islands, along with the female informant at Cill Éinne just mentioned, employ the invariable form *rinne* in this construction, producing the equivalent of *Cé dó a rinne . . . ?*.[103] Only the male informant on Inis Meáin shows a clear preference for an indirect relative construction by substituting the dependent simple past form of the verb *Bí!* in his example *Cé dhó a ro' tú ag obair?*.

As for Inis Oírr, once again all three informants opt exclusively for the independent form *dhion* in a direct relative construction, producing *Cé dhó a dhion . . . ?*.

In sum, only one male informant in easternmost Inis Mór and a second on Inis Meáin produce an unambiguous indirect relative construction. All other informants use a direct relative construction.

Cé leis a bhfuil . . . ?

Moving on to the construction, *Cé leis a bhfuil . . . ?*, with a different head-phrase, but with the same verb in the present tense, one might expect a similar pattern, but in fact we find that nearly all the informants across all three islands who produce an example produce only dependent verb forms in an indirect relative clause, as in Standard Irish. In contrast, the male informant at Eochaill on Inis Mór produces a direct relative clause in the construction *Cé leis atá . . . ?*.

Cé aige a bhfuil . . . ?

Similarly, in the construction *Cé aige a bhfuil . . . ?*, which presents an alternative construction given as a response to the same stimulus question, not a single informant produces an independent verb form. All informants produce the Standard Irish dependent verb form in a indirect relative clause.

Apparently the informants are sharply aware of the syntactic difference between the two (or three) constructions and are acting accordingly. The first item was seeking to elicit the

[102] Note F 70's unusual use of the pronominal prepositional form *leis* instead of the form *dó* in this example.
[103] F 70 at Cill Éinne produces the head-phrase *Cé leis . . . ?* with the invariable form *rinne* as well.

construction *Cé leis a raibh tú ag caint?*, while the second and third items were seeking to elicit the sharply different construction *Cé leis a bhfuil gaol aige?*.

It appears that, for the informants in eastern Inis Mór from Corrúch through Eochaill, as well as for the male informant in Inis Oírr, the constructions *Cé atá/a bhí ag caint?* and *Cé leis atá/a bhí tú ag caint?* are syntactically parallel, and that it is appropriate to model the more elaborate second construction on the simpler first construction.

In regard to items calling for constructions such as *Cé leis a bhfuil gaol aige?*, however, it seems that such constructions are associated in the minds of the informants with indirect object constructions, and that, in such a case, use of the dependent form of the verb is mandatory. Only the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór is venturesome enough to use the direct relative construction *Cé leis atá gaolta aige?*(sic).

Even so, the youngest informant in the entire sample, F 18 on Inis Oírr, apparently has problems with even the more conventional construction, producing *Cé leis a bhfuil gaol aige le?*, with a hypercorrect repetition clause-finally of the pronominal preposition in the head-phrase, but with the echo-form uninflected for person.

Headwords in Interrogative Constructions

We turn now to miscellaneous interrogative constructions, with emphasis on the head-particle, the headword or the head-phrase.

Cá . . . ?

As regards the form of the locative particle *Cá . . . ?* in the simple locative interrogative construction *Cá ndeachaigh . . . ?*, it is interesting to note its phonological reduction to [**kə . . . ?**] or [**ko . . . ?**] across Inis Mór.

More striking, however, is its realisation as *Cé . . . ?* ([**kʹeˑ . . . ?**]) by the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór and also by the female informant on Inis Meáin, a trait which may be a retention, since it is widespread on the Connemara mainland.

Note also the use of the independent verb form in a direct relative clause by the youngest female informant on Inis Oírr: *Cén áit a chuaigh . . . ?*.

Cá fhad . . . ?

As for the temporal interrogative construction *Cá fhad go rachaidh . . . ?*, we find two main ways of realising the head-phrase *Cá fhad . . . ?*.

The first way is to fuse the two words, producing the blended form *Cáide . . . ?*. This variant is found in the two western islands.

We find the variant *Cáide . . . ?* when the head-phrase is followed by a subordinate clause (e.g., *Cáide go ngabhfaidh . . . ?*), and we find the same variant, with the final vowel elided, when it is followed by a direct relative clause, (e.g, *Cáid' imeoidh . . . ?*).

The second construction, with the relative clause, is produced by the older female informant at Eoghanacht on Inis Mór, and by the male informant on Inis Meáin, along with the first construction, with the subordinate clause. The youngest informants on Inis Mór, however, F 43 at Bungabhla and M 50 at Cill Rónáin, both choose the alternative with the subordinate clause.

On the other hand, one can substitute other phrases for the particular variant just described. We find the head-phrase *Cén t-achar . . . ?* scattered here and there the length of Inis Mór, but it is not attested on either of the two eastern islands. We get *Cén fhad . . . ?* from the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór and by her neighbour to the east, the female informant on Inis Meáin. We get *Cén fhaid . . . ?* from the female informant at An Sruthán in central Inis Mór, and *Cén t-ad . . . ?* from the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór. The older female informant on Inis Oírr produces yet another sub-variant: *Cén faide . . . ?*.[104]

Alternatively, the head-phrase *Cé chomh fada . . . ?* is found at least occasionally in all three islands, and the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18, uses it to the exclusion of all other head-phrases.

Focusing now on the syntactic constructions with which these head-phrases are associated, we find that with the exception of the construction mentioned above, *Cáid' imeoidh . . . ?*, these variants are almost invariably followed by a subordinate clause headed by the subordinators *go* or *nó go* in Inis Mór or by *go* alone in the two eastern islands. Nevertheless, there are a number of constructions which behave like the indirect relative construction, exhibiting eclipsis but having no preceding subordinator.

For example, we have *Cén fhaid a ngabhfaidh . . . ?* from the female informant at An Sruthán and *Cén t-achar . . . a ngabhfaidh . . . ?* from the male informant at Corrúch, both in central Inis Mór. The youngest informant on Inis Oírr is especially striking in her use of these constructions, e.g., *Cé chomh fada . . . roimh a ngabhfaidh . . . ?* and *Cé chomh fada . . . go dtí a ngabhfas 'u . . . ?*.[105]

Cé mhéad . . . ?

Turning now to quantitative interrogative constructions headed by the head-phrase *Cé mhéad . . . ?*, we find the non-standard variant *Cé méid . . . ?* attested in western Inis Mór from Bungabhla eastward to Corrúch, while the Standard Irish variant *Cé mhéad . . . ?* is attested from An Sruthán eastward to Cill Éinne, revealing a clear division between western Inis Mór and eastern Inis Mór, but with an area of overlap in centre of the island from An Sruthán to Corrúch.

For example, the female informant at An Sruthán in central Inis Mór produces two instances of the blended form *Cé mhéid . . . ?* in addition to the standard variant *Cé mhéad . . . ?*. Of special interest also is the variant *Té méid . . . ?* produced by the youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, exhibiting the unique interrogative particle *Té . . . ?*, which is found on the Connemara mainland as well.

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we find both the Standard Irish variant *Cé mhéad . . . ?* and the variant found in western Inis Mór, *Cé méid . . . ?*, in use, though here

[104] As regards all these variants based on the lexical item *fad*, it seems as though the informants throughout the islands are still exploring the logical possibilities in regard to the form of the head noun, including gender assignment, and that no particular variant has yet been adopted by a social group as a group marker.

[105] Note that the verb in the latter construction exhibits an inflectional ending associated with the direct relative construction in the future tense, and the following subject pronoun is lenited, as though it were a direct object pronoun.

the male informant prefers the variant in use in eastern Inis Mór, *Cé mhéad . . . ?*, while the female informant prefers the variant in use in western Inis Mór, *Cé méid . . . ?*, though she also produces a single example of the other variant in the phrase *Cé mhéad duine . . . ?*.

On Inis Oírr, only the variant *Cé méid . . . ?* is in use by all three informants.

As for the question of whether a singular or plural noun follows the interrogative phrase *Cé mhéad . . . ?*, once again one find a striking pattern on Inis Mór. Informants in the restricted area in eastern Inis Mór from Corrúch through Eochaill, which we have come to view as innovative, produce only the plural noun form *daoine*, while all other informants to the east and to the west on the island, produce only the singular noun form *duine*.

In the two eastern islands, usage is mixed, even within the age cohorts, though the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18, produces only the singular variant *duine*, characteristic of Standard Irish.

Attributive Indirect Relative Clauses

Let us move on now to verb forms in attributive indirect relative clauses, and particularly to those with locative noun phrases as antecedents.

. . . san áit a gcónaíonn/ a maireann Seán

Beginning on Inis Mór with the indirect relative construction *. . . san áit a gcónaíonn/a maireann Seán*, we find the indirect relative construction in western Inis Mór from Bungabhla to An Sruthán. However, from Fearann an Choirce eastward, the direct relative is used in its place, e.g., *. . . san áit a chónaíonns/a mhaireanns Seán*, with only the male informant at Eochaill proving the exception.

On Inis Meáin, both male and female informants produce the indirect relative construction, as in western Inis Mór.

On Inis Oírr, both female informants do likewise.[106]

In sum, then, eastern Inis Mór is distinctive in its use of the direct relative construction in place of the expected indirect relative construction in this syntactic environment.

. . . sa teach a raibh tú . . .

This pattern is repeated in the construction *. . . sa teach a raibh tú . . .* in the two western islands. Informants from Bungabhla to An Sruthán again produce indirect relative constructions, while informants from Fearann an Choirce eastward produce only direct relative constructions. This time, however, the female informant at Cill Éinne produces an indirect relative construction, as do her neighbours to the east on Inis Meáin.[107]

On Inis Meáin, once again both informants employ only the expected indirect relative construction.

[106]The male informant, on the other hand, produces the unusual construction *. . . san áit a dtuigim tá Seán ag maireachtáil*, with the proper eclipsis on the following verb but with the clause embedded in the sentence without the subordinating particle *go*.

[107]Note also the unusual construction from the elderly female informant at Eoghanacht in western Inis Mór, *Ar teach a mhairigh sé ann?*, which occurs in another context.

On Inis Oírr, however, both older informants employ the direct relative construction with this item, producing *. . . teach a bhíodh tú . . .*, while the youngest informant, F 18, produces the unusual construction *. . . teach ag (a) d'fhanfhá ann . . .*, with a direct relative construction and a locative pronoun echoing the locative phrase at the head of the construction.

. . . faoi scian a raibh cois dhubh uirthi . . .

As for the last expression, the phrase to be elicited was *. . . faoi scian a raibh cois dhubh uirthi . . .*, and here all the informants from Bungabhla through Corrúch in western and central Inis Mór and at least the female informant on Inis Meáin seem to understand clearly from the part-whole relationship between the knife and its handle that an indirect relative construction is required.

However, we lack any examples from Eochaill eastward to Cill Éinne in eastern Inis Mór and from all the informants on Inis Oírr, and these are precisely the two geographical areas where the direct relative construction was used almost exclusively in the last item.[108] Therefore, we have to allow for the possibility that the informants in those two areas could have uniformly produced direct relative constructions, so the question remains open.

. . . an bhean a ndeachaigh . . .

Turning now to indirect relative clauses with human referents as antecedents, we focus now on the construction *. . . an bhean a ndeachaigh . . .*, taken from the target sentence in Irish *An í sin an bhean a ndeachaigh tú thairsti ar an mbóthar?*. In this case, involving a referent as antecedent which is clearly not a locative noun phrase, the patterns are strikingly different from those in the previous items.

On Inis Mór, all the informants across the island, with the single exception of the youngest female informant, F 43 at Bungabhla,[109] employ a direct relative construction, e.g., *. . . an bhean a chuaigh tú thairti . . .*.[110]

On Inis Meáin, however, both informants again produce only indirect relative constructions.

On the other hand, on Inis Oírr, as in Inis Mór, all three informants employ the direct relative.

In sum, Inis Mór has now joined Inis Oírr in opting for direct relative constructions — except for the youngest informant. Inis Meáin, however, again shows its conservatism and holds to the indirect relative constructions.

. . . na mná a ndeachaigh . . .

Much the same happens in the case of the phrase *. . . na mná a ndeachaigh . . .*, taken from the analogous target sentence *An iad sin na mná a ndeachaigh tú thartu ar an mbóthar?*.

[108] Recall that the female informant at Cill Éinne uses an indirect relative construction with that same item, though she uses a direct relative construction with the first item.

[109] Her secondary education may be a factor here.

[110] The female informant at Cill Éinne offers an alternative construction as well as the common one, but in both cases she employs the direct relative, e.g., *. . . (an bhean) a chas muid léi . . .*.

In this case, all the informants on both Inis Mór and Inis Oírr again use the direct relative construction, e.g., *. . . na mná a chuaigh tú/sibh thartu . . .*, while yet again the informants on Inis Meáin use only the indirect relative construction found in Standard Irish.

In this section on relative clauses, direct and indirect, we have seen clear differences in the patterns of response in the three islands to the different stimulus questions in English. What is most striking is the absolutely consistent responses from the informants on Inis Meáin; their responses conform completely to the Standard Irish model. It is this internal consistency in the use of the indirect relative construction in conformity with historical usage which, more than anything else, gives truth to the reputation for conservatism of speakers of Inis Meáin Irish.

The Temporal Relative Clauses with "sula . . . "

Let us move on now to verb forms in temporal relative clauses with the headword *sula/sular*. The examples we will be examining contain present tense verb forms in such phrases as *sula dtagann . . .* and *sula ndéanann . . . .*

In western Inis Mór, we note the use of both indirect relative clauses (e.g., *sula dteagann . . . , etc.*) and direct relative clauses (e.g., *sola dhéanann . . . , etc.*). The informants at Eoghanacht and at Fearann an Choirce use indirect relative clauses exclusively, while the other two informants attest both clause types.

In eastern Inis Mór, we encounter only direct relative constructions at Corrúch, but further eastward we again encounter mixed usage from the male informants at Eochaill and at Cill Rónáin in easternmost Inis Mór. The elderly female informant at Cill Éinne, however, produces only the direct relative constructions *sol má thaganns . . .* and *sol má dhionfadh sé . . . .*

On Inis Meáin, we get the indirect relative construction *sor a ndéanann . . .* from the female informant, but three direct relative constructions (*sor a thiocfaidh . . . , sor a dhionanns . . .* and *sol mar a thiocfas . . .*) from the male informant.

On Inis Oírr, we get indirect relative constructions only from the youngest informant, F 18, who produces the phrases *roimh a dtagann . . .* and *roimh a ndionann sé . . . .* The two other informants, who are a generation older, produce only direct relative clauses.[111]

To sum up, it seems that in present tense constructions both the direct and indirect relative constructions have been in vigorous competition with one another across the two western islands for at least three generations, since many of the oldest speakers show mixed usage.

On Inis Oírr, however, it is the middle generation represented by M 55 and F 41 which has opted for the direct relative construction, while the youngest generation, represented by

[111]Note that all informants, whether they use the indirect relative or not, use the headword *roimh* exclusively.

F 18, seems to have moved toward the Standard Irish indirect relative construction.

As for the headword itself, on Inis Mór we note the use of a wide variety of variants of the Standard Irish headword *sula* – variants which conserve the lateral consonant [**L**] but which are often greatly reduced phonologically, e.g., *sola*, *chola*, *hlá*, and *hol*. These variants are in heavy use in western Inis Mór, but are found occasionally in eastern Inis Mór, e.g., *sola* from the male informant at Eochaill and *sula* from the male informant at Cill Rónáin.

Only the indirect relative construction is used with these variants, with the exception of the examples from the two youngest informants, F 43 at Bungabhla and M 50 at Cill Rónáin.

As for the variants of the headword used with direct relative clauses on Inis Mór, we find a different set of variants in use in central Inis Mór. These variants substitute the flap [**r**] in place of the lateral consonant. Thus we encounter the distinctive variant *sor* from the female informants at An Sruthán and at Corrúch. We also get a very similar variant, *sór*, with a long vowel instead of a short one, from the male informant at Corrúch, M 82.

We also encounter the compound headword *sol má* at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór and an apparent variant *sol ma* at An Sruthán in central Inis Mór. We note a similar construction, *sol mar*, at Corrúch in east-central Inis Mór. These particular variants were produced only by female informants.

Finally, note the unique variant *hud/hod* from the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór.

On Inis Meáin, we find only two variants, both of which we have noted in central Inis Mór. The male informant produces both *sor* and *sol mar*, both followed by the direct relative only. The female informant, however, uses *sor*, but uses it in an indirect relative clause: *sor a ndéanann ...*.

On Inis Oírr, only the distinctive headword *roimh* is in use there. As mentioned above, the older informants, M 55 and F 41, use this headword in direct relative clauses exclusively, while the youngest informant, F 18, uses it only in indirect relative clauses.

sular ...

We can turn now to indirect relative constructions in the simple past (or simple past) tense.

In western Inis Mór, we again find indirect relative constructions, with verb phrases such as *suláir imigh ...*, *holáir imigh ...*, *sulár tháinig ...*, *sular fhág ...*, *sorar tháinig ...*, and *'lar tháinig ...*.

In eastern Inis Mór, once again we find no indirect relative constructions at Corrúch, but we find the male informants in easternmost Inis Mór again producing indirect relative constructions: *sula dtáinic ...*, *soláthar dtáinig ...* (with double marking through the eclipsis of the verb form) and *solar fhág ...*. In contrast, once again the elderly female informant at Cill Éinne produces no indirect relative constructions.

On Inis Meáin, once again it is only the female informant who produces an indirect relative construction: *soirear fhág ...*.

On Inis Oírr, we encounter no indirect relative constructions at all in the simple past, not even from the youngest informant, F 18.

As for direct relative constructions in such simple past clauses, in westernmost Inis Mór we encounter the constructions *sol mar tháinig ...* and *sar d'fhág ...* from the youngest informant, F 43, at Bungabhla, but eastward from that point, we encounter no further direct relative constructions until we reach Corrúch, where once again we encounter only direct relative constructions.

The male informant M 82 produces *sol mar tháinig ...*, *sol ma d' fhág ...*, and *sor a d'eirigh ...*. His sister, F 72, produces *sol mar tháinig ...* and *sol mar d'fhág ...*.

Slightly to the east, at Eochaill, the male informant M 68 produces the direct relative constructions *hod a tháinic ...*, *chud a tháinig ...*, and *chud a d'fhág ...*, with the headword which is unique to him.

Furthest east, at Cill Éinne, the female informant F 70 produces the direct relative constructions *sul má tháinig ...* and *sol má d'fhág ...*.

On Inis Meáin, the female informant unexpectedly produces the direct relative construction *sol mar tháinig ...* in addition to the indirect relative construction *soirear fhág ...* mentioned above. The male informant again produces only direct relative constructions: *sor tháinig ...* and *sor mar a d'fhága ...*.

On Inis Oírr, as mentioned above, all three informants produce only direct relative constructions. All three produce the construction *roimh a tháinig ...*, along with the slightly different examples *roimh a d'fhág ...* or *roimh a d'fhága ...*.

Summing up the evidence for the simple past clause constructions, we can say that while both indirect and direct relative constructions are in use in the two western islands, there is a clear geographical and generational division on Inis Mór between these two competing variants in the simple past tense. Though the indirect relative construction is found throughout the island, direct relative constructions are found only in eastern Inis Mór, from Corrúch eastward.

The single exception to the rule is the youngest western informant, F 43 from Bungabhla, who has been living in eastern Inis Mór since marriage. She uses only direct relative constructions.

On Inis Meáin, though we have mixed usage, note that once again it is only the female informant who supplies an example of an indirect relative construction. The male informant, as in the case of the present tense constructions, produces only direct relative constructions in the simple past tense.

As for Inis Oírr, only direct relative simple past constructions are in use there, even from the youngest informant.

Let us look now at forms of the headword *sular* which are in use in the three islands.

Beginning on Inis Mór, we find relatively Standard Irish forms being used in indirect relative clauses throughout Inis Mór: *sular fhág ...*, *'lar tháinig ...*, *sola dtáinig ...* and *solar fhág ....*

In addition, we find unusual variants in both western islands. At Eoghanacht in western Inis Mór, the elderly female informant F 73 produces the variants *sulár tháinig ...*, *suláir imigh ...*, and *holáir imigh ...* in indirect relative constructions.

From eastern Inis Mór we also have an apparently hypercorrect form of the first variant in the preceding examples in the example *soláthar dtáinig ...*, from the male informant M 50 at Cill Rónáin.

On Inis Meáin we encounter only the unique variant *soirear*, used by the female informant in the indirect relative construction *soirear fhág ....*

Turning to forms used with direct relative constructions, once again we find the forms *sul má* and *sol má* strongly identified with the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór. The only only other examples of this variant come from the youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, in westernmost Inis Mór (*sol má tháinig*)[112] and from the male informant M 82 at Corrúch in the middle of the island (*sol ma d'fhág ...*).

We again encounter the variant *sol mar*, this time from both the male and female informants at Corrúch, but nowhere else on the island.

We get the form *sor* again, but apparently it is not used as frequently in simple past constructions. The male informant at Corrúch produces the example *sor a d'éirí ...*, but his neighbour to the west, the female informant at An Sruthán, produces *sorar tháinig ...*, with the same form in an indirect relative construction. The youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, produces the variant *sar* in the example *sar d'fhág ...*, which is more directly reminiscent of the form *sara* found in Munster Irish.

Finally, the male informant M 68 at Eochaill again produces several examples of the unique form *hod/chud*.

On Inis Meáin, we find the forms *sol mar* (from the female informant) and *sor* as well as *sor mar* (from the male informant).

On Inis Oírr, again the only headword used is *roimh*.

Final Remarks on the Temporal Relative Clause Constructions

[112] As mentioned above in the previous section, the fact that F 43 received her secondary education in Cill Rónáin, has lived since marriage in Cill Rónáin, and has in fact married F 70's son may help explain the occurrence of the feature with an informant who was born so far west.

We have noted great variety in temporal relative clause constructions, especially in the two western islands, and particularly in Inis Mór. In terms of the syntax of these constructions, we have noted that constructions with independent and dependent forms of the verb have been competing vigorously in the two western islands. In general, the headwords used in these constructions give a clue as to whether a direct relative clause or an indirect relative clause will follow the headword. We expect that an indirect relative clause will usually follow a variant of the headword *sula*, while a direct relative clause will follow all other variants, but we have found frequent exceptions.

Inis Oírr stands out with its use of a single headword, *roimh*, in all temporal relative constructions. It stands out also because the youngest informant there forms present tense constructions with the dependent form of the verb instead of the independent form, thus producing an indirect relative clause.

As for the two western islands, though, Inis Mór does present one distinctive pattern. In the simple past temporal relative constructions, though indirect relative constructions are found throughout the island, it is only in eastern Inis Mór from Corrúch eastward that we find direct relative constructions.

If we are looking for patterned variation, however, it is among the the headwords that we will find truly complex variation and far clearer patterns of distribution for the variants. Reviewing the headword variants again, we find the Standard Irish form *sula* and its non-standard variants *sula, chola, hlá* and *hol*. We find the compound forms *sol má, sol ma* and *sol mar*. We also find the parallel forms *sór* and *sor*. Finally we find the unusual headwords *chud/hud/hod* and *roimh*.

Among the headword forms found only in simple past constructions, we find the Standard Irish form *sular* and its variants *solar, sola*[113]*, 'lar, sulár, suláir, holáir* and *soláthar*. We also find the parallel series *sorar, soirear, sor mar* and *sar*.

When we examine the distribution of these variants, however, we find that Inis Oírr is characterised by the single form *roimh*, unique to that island. Inis Meáin has the unique forms *sor mar* and *soirear*, but shares the variants *sor* and *sol mar* with Inis Mór. All the other variants are peculiar to Inis Mór.

If we seek to assign these variants to different areas of Inis Mór, however, we encounter difficulties. Candidates for subdialect markers such as *sol má* in Cill Éinne or *sór* and *sor* in central Inis Mór have at least one echo elsewhere on Inis Mór or on Inis Meáin. Phonologically aberrant variants of *sula* such as *chola, hlá* and *hol* do seem characteristic of western Inis Mór, but the variants *chud/hud/hod* from the speaker in Eochaill could be idiolectal forms.

It seems strange that with such a rich array of variant forms certain variants have not been assigned to definite subareas of Inis Mór, especially when we have seen how often the variant forms of irregular verbs have come to characterise not only the separate islands, but also the three or four different subareas of Inis Mór. The answer may lie in the frequency of occurrence in speech of the different speech forms. As we shall see later, it is the variant forms of the most frequent of the high-frequency irregular verbs which have come to mark

[113]Followed by a dependent form of the verb.

certain areas of the island, and it may well be that the headwords of temporal relative clauses are simply not frequent enough in the speech of the playgroup to be selected as group markers.[114]

18 Remarks on Verbal Inflections

Before leaving the discussion of irregular and regular verbs, it is worth making a few comments on verbal inflections.

As we have seen earlier, certain inflected (or "synthetic") verb forms occur occasionally in place of verb forms which are not inflected for person ("analytic forms"), and these forms can occur in contexts other than those of "response forms".

This is especially true of forms of the verb *bí* in the conditional mood, where, as we see from the tables, inflected forms of the first and second persons are quite frequent, and it may well be true of the third person plural forms as well, though such forms are not included in the tables. Inflected forms for the third person plural in the simple past tense of the same verb are also quite frequent, as we see from the examples in the tables, but it is rare to find such forms for other verbs.

Mention has been made already of the example in the discussion of the verb *déan*: *"Níor rinnis aon mhoill!" (= "Ní dhearna tú aon mhoill!")* from a middle-aged male speaker from Baile na Creige in eastern Inis Mór and confirmed by the elderly female informant at Corrúch. Another example is of the verb *féad*: **[fʹeːtɪrʹ]** (= *Féadfair! ("You will be able [to catch the bus]!")* from an elderly male speaker from Creig an Chéirín in western Inis Mór, though this form might well be seen as a response form.

Of interest also is the pronunciation of the third person plural simple past inflectional ending *-dar* as **[-tər]** by the female informant on Inis Meáin during conversion in the year 2000, though, as seen on the tables, she does not normally devoice the initial consonant of the suffix.

19 Grammatical Variation in the Copula

Let us now move on to a summary of grammatical variation in the copula across the three islands, beginning with interrogative copulative constructions in the present tense.

An tú Séamas?

Beginning on Inis Mór with the interrogative identificatory construction *An tú Séamas?*, we note the universal use there of the past interrogative copulative particle *Ar . . . ?* in place of the Standard Irish particle *An . . . ?*. Thus we get the local variant *Ar tú Séamas?*. The only exception is M 50 at Cill Rónáin, who is headmaster of the vocational school.

[114] See the subsection *Locating Variation within the Linguistic System* directly before the end of this concluding chapter.

On Inis Meáin, we get both *An tusa . . . ?* and *Ar tú . . . ?* from the male informant, but only the Standard Irish form *An tusa . . . ?* from the female informant, thus partially reinforcing the conservative image of Inis Meáin speakers in relation to Inis Mór speakers.

On Inis Oírr, however, we find the surprising form *Ab iú . . . ?* produced by the older generation. This form is apparently based on the interrogative form *Ab . . . ?* (= *Arb . . . ?*). Thus we get [**ᵊbʹ ʊ . . . ᵊbʹ oː ʃeːməs**] from the male informant and [**ᵊbʹ ʊː . . . ᵊbʹ u ʃeːməs**] from his wife. Note that the final consonant of the interrogative copulative particle is palatalised in all examples.

On the other hand, in the case of the youngest informant, F 18, we find no trace of this form. We find simply the reduced form of the copulative particle [**ə**] in the construction *A' tusa . . . ?*. This reduced form could represent either [**əN**] or [**ər**].

An iascaire thú?

Turning now to the interrogative classificatory construction *An iascaire thú?*, on Inis Mór once again the past interrogative copulative particle *Ar . . . ?* is used universally, producing the local variant *Ar iascaire thú?*. The headmaster M 50 at Cill Rónáin is again an exception..

Note that apparently half the informants use the palatalised variant [**ərʹ**] before the following noun, which has a high front initial vowel, but use of this palatalised variant seems relatively random.

On Inis Meáin, we note the use of the conservative form of the copulative particle in the construction *An iascaire thusa?* by the female informant. The male informant, however, evades the desired construction by producing *Iascair' 'ú, 'b ea?*.

On Inis Oírr, once again we encounter an unusual form of the interrogative particle: the invariable form *Ab é . . . ?*. We get *'B é iascair' 'ú?* from the male informant and *'B é iascaire tú/tusa?* from his wife.

On the other hand, from the youngest informant, F 18, we get only the Standard Irish construction *An iascaire tusa?*.

In sum, for these unusual identificatory and classificatory constructions which seem to characterise the immediately preceding generation on Inis Oírr — both featuring the invariable palatalised form [**ᵊbʹ**], the youngest generation on Inis Oírr seem to have substituted more Standard Irish forms.

Ar mhúinteóir thú?

Moving on to interrogative copulative constructions in the past tense, we deal first with a couple of classificatory copulative constructions.

On Inis Mór, for the construction *Ar mhúinteoir thú?*, nearly all speakers across the island substitute the construction *An raibh tú/tusa i do mhúinteoir?*. This is presumably to avoid any possible confusion with the local present tense construction *Ar múinteoir thú?*, "Are you a teacher?".

There are two exceptions, however. M 50 at Cill Rónáin produces what seems to be a hypercorrect form: *An mhúinteoir thusa?*. On the other hand, the female informant at An Sruthán fronts the predicate noun phrase to form a cleft construction: *Ar múinteoir a bhí ionat?*. This solution to the problem of distinguishing between present and past tense constructions is typical of Inis Mór Irish.

Note also the example produced by her counterpart at Cill Éinne, *An raibh tú in do mhúinteoir?*, where the full form of the preposition *in* is used. We will encounter this elsewhere.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant produces the locative construction *An raibh tú (i) do mhúinteoir?*, but the female informant opts for the more straightforward construction *Ar múinteoir tusa ansin?*, but with no lenition of the following noun.

On Inis Oírr, we encounter the construction *An raibh tusa (i) do mhúinteoir?* from the youngest informant, F 18, and the same construction from the older male informant, but with the full form of the preposition *in*. The older female informant, F 41, on the other hand, produces a cleft construction, using once again the invariable interrogative copulative form *'B é . . . ?* in the fronted noun phrase: *'B é múinteoir a bhí ionantú? (sic!)*.[115]

To sum up the results for this first item, we can say that no informant in any of the islands produces the Standard Irish construction *Ar mhúinteoir thú/thusa . . . ?*.

Arbh fheirmeoirí iad?

As for the other item, *Arbh fheirmeoirí iad?* nearly all informants across the islands produce either the simple interrogative copulative construction or else a cleft construction.

As for the simple copulative construction, once again the female informant in Inis Meáin has failed to lenite the noun in this past tense predicate: *Ar feiliméaraí iad?*.

This time, however, she is joined in this construction by all the informants on Inis Mór from Eoghanacht in the west to Cill Rónáin in the east, showing that her variant is very widespread in both the western islands.

The difference between the two islands, however, is that the female informant on Inis Meáin employs the Standard Irish interrogative variant *An . . . ?* to form present tense constructions, so there is no confusion between present tense and past tense constructions. In the case of the informants on Inis Mór, however, use of the invariable interrogative particle *Ar . . . ?* renders past tense constructions indistinguishable from present tense constructions.

If we turn now to the cleft construction *An feirmeoirí a bhí iontu?* (or, alternatively, *Arbh fheirmeoirí a bhí iontu?*), we find virtually the same phenomenon. The two

[115]The final word appears to be an alternative form for the inflected prepositional pronoun *ionat*.

female informants on Inis Mór who opt for the cleft construction also employ the generalised past tense interrogative copulative particle *Ar . . . ?* without leniting the following noun.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant's second example, *Arbh feiliméaraí iad?*, is of interest in that it is the only example of use of the Standard Irish form of the particle in this syntactic context. However, he also, like all the other informants in the two western islands, does not lenite the following noun.

On Inis Oírr, it is the older female informant who catches our attention with the example *'B iad é feiliméraí (a) bhí iontub?*. We are used to hearing the invariable interrogative copulative particle *Ab é* from her, but here we have what appears to be the pronominal form *iad* infixed or incorporated within that particle or form.[116]

Arbh i dteach a chónaigh sé?

Turning to the next item, *Arbh i dteach a chónaigh sé?*, we are dealing here with a another cleft construction, but here an entire prepositional phrase is fronted.

On Inis Mór, a minority of informants from Bungabhla east to Corrúch uses the Standard Irish construction shown above, but the majority of informants, stretching across the whole island from Eoghanacht to Cill Éinne, use the construction *Ar teach a mhair/chónaigh sé ann?*, where the noun phrase is lifted, as it were, out of the prepositional phrase, but the prepositional phrase itself remains behind, represented by a prepositional pronoun.

M 50 at Cill Rónáin uses the present tense interrogative copulative particle *An . . . ?* to give a more Standard Irish gloss to the same construction: *An teach a mhair sí ann?*, while his neighbour, the male informant at Eochaill, produces what appears to be a more complex variant of the same construction: *Ar teach é a bhí cónaí air ann?*, with a direct relative clause.[117]

On Inis Meáin, the male informant employs another relatively Standard Irish variant, with the interrogative particle post-posed: *I dteach a bhí sé (ag) cónaí, ab ea?* or *I dteach a bhí sé ina chónaí, ab ea?*.

On Inis Oírr, once again we find forms not encountered in the two western islands. The youngest informant, F 18, gives us the example *A' teach a raibh sé ann?*, which I interpret as *An teach a raibh sé ann?*, with a reduced form of the present tense interrogative copulative particle. But then she follows that example with *A' ba teach a bhí sé ina chónaí ann?*, which contains a form of the past interrogative copulative particle (*A' ba . . . ?*) not found in the examples of any other informant in all three islands.

The older male informant there exhibits a different variant of this particle in his example *Ab 'in teach a bhí sé ag maireachtáil ann?*. The older female informant, for

[116] An alternative explanation would be that in fact we have the deictic construction *Ab 'iod é?* (= *An é seo é?*), but such a construction would not be syntactically appropriate here. Furthermore, the phonological shape of the form in the example corresponds to the pronominal form *iad* and not to the deictic pronoun *'iod*.

[117] He may have been aiming at the Standard Irish construction *An teach é a raibh cónaí air ann?*, which demands a dependent verb form in the subordinate clause.

her part, once again uses her invariable interrogative copulative form *Ab é . . . ?* in her example: *Ab é teach a bhí cónaí air?*. Note that again there is no fronted locative phrase in this construction, and that a direct relative clause is used.

In sum, with this item we encounter three interrogative copulative particle forms from all three informants on Inis Oírr which we have not encountered in the two western islands, *A' ba . . . ?, Ab 'in . . . ?*, and *Ab é . . . ?*, all of roughly the same form and all employing an allomorph of the past copulative marker *ba*.

As a final note, it is remarkable that in all three islands almost no one fronts the whole prepositional phrase; they front only the noun phrase embedded within the prepositional phrase, leaving a prepositional pronoun behind. The male informant on Inis Meáin is the only informant who fronts the entire prepositional phrase, leaving no pronoun behind.

B' eisean . . .

We turn now to a cleft construction with fronted noun phrase containing an emphatic pronoun: *B' eisean . . .*, but here we focus on the form of the copula.

On Inis Mór the two youngest informants, F 43 at Bungabhla and M 50 at Cill Rónáin, simply omit the copula, leaving only the pronoun. Another two informants, M 60 at Fearann an Choirce and F 70 at Cill Éinne, are the only informants to use allomorphs of the past tense form *ba*, but M 60 uses the reduplicated form *ba bh'* to produce *ba bh'esan . . .*, while F 70 uses the form *ab* to produce *ab ésan*.

Among those informants on Inis Mór who use the present tense form of the copula *is*, we find an interesting west/east split. The elderly female informants F 73 at Eoghanacht and F 70 at An Sruthán in western Inis Mór use the Standard Irish variant [ɪʃ] which one would expect before the pronouns *é* or *eisean*. On the other hand, their neighbours a little further to the east, M 82 and F 72 at Corrúch as well as M 68 at Eochaill, uniformly use the invariant form [ɪs]: [**ɪs ɛsəN/ɪs ɛːˠsəN**].

On Inis Meáin, we get both of these present tense variants, [ɪʃ] and [ɪs], from the male informant. From the female informant, however, we get only past tense variants: the reduplicated form *ba bh'* as well as the full form of the copula, with no elision of the vowel before the pronoun, i.e., *ba bh' é . . .* and *ba eisean*, with a glottal stop separating the two adjacent vowels in the second construction.

On Inis Oírr, the youngest female informant F 18 produces the invariant form [ɪs] in the phrase [**ɪs ɛsən**], echoing forms we found in the two western islands. The older female informant F 41, however, gives us not only the Standard Irish form *b' eisean*, but also the non-standard form *ba seisean* ([**bɛ ʃɛʃən**]), with a verbal pronoun substituting for the expected pronoun.

. . . gur innealtóir é

Moving on to present tense constructions in subordinate clauses, we begin with the classificatory copulative construction *. . . gur innealtóir é*.

On Inis Mór, the majority of the informants across the island use the Standard Irish construction above, though the male informant at Eochaill substitutes the cleft construction *. . . gur "engineer" atá ann*. The youngest informant, however, the female

informant F 43 at Bungabhla, produces a unique blended form which appears to be an example of hypercorrection: *... go bhfuil sé ina innealtóir é.*

The female informant at Eoghanacht also produces an interesting construction: *... gura innealtóir é*, with an unusual final vowel on the complementiser. That the vowel is intended is suggested by the following glottal stop, which separates the final vowel of the complementiser from the initial vowel of the following word. The male informant M 50 at Cill Rónáin produces another variant: *... gur j-innealtóir é* ([**gər jiNəLtər′ ɛ**]), with an apparent augment of the complementiser in it, producing [**gər j**] as a sandhi-form before a high front vowel.

On Inis Meáin, both informants produce the Standard Irish construction above.

On Inis Oírr, the older male informant produces *... go raibh sé (i)n(a) ionaltair*, and the older female informant produces *... gur "engineer" é.*

The youngest informant, F 18, however, produces the example *... go "engineer" é*, with a glottal stop separating the final vowel of the complementiser from the initial vowel of the following noun. As we shall see, this is only one of several examples from this informant of the generalisation of the complementiser *go*, normally used with other verbs, to copulative constructions. This may represent a broad linguistic change from one generation to the next.

... gurb álainn an áit é

We examine now the construction *... gurb álainn an áit é.*

On Inis Mór, only the elderly female informants F 73 at Eoghanacht and F 72 at Corrúch use this syntactic construction, but in so doing, they replace the Standard Irish form *gurb* with the more general form *gur*. Thus, F 73 produces *... gur álainn ...*, with a glottal stop before the adjective, while F 72 produces the same construction without the glottal stop.

The youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, employs the alternative construction with the verb *bí* instead of the copula, producing *... go bhfuil an áit go hálainn.* The six other informants, however, use the Standard Irish classificatory copulative construction *... gur áit álainn é.*

On Inis Meáin, the female informant uses the same classificatory copulative construction, but her male neighbour, M 70, produces the construction sought: *... gur hálainn ...*, with the glottal central fricative [**h**] prefixed to the adjective as a sandhi-form. Note though, that here again we get the generalised form *gur* in place of the Standard Irish form *gurb.*

On Inis Oírr, the male informant uses the construction with the verb *bí* mentioned above, while both female informants use classificatory copulative constructions.

The youngest informant, F 18, however, distinguishes herself once again by the generalisation of the complementiser form *go* to copulative constructions in her example *... g' áit álainn é.*

In closing, we note that not a single informant across all three islands uses the Standard Irish form *gurb* in this syntactic context.

. . . gurbh innealtóir é

Moving on now to past tense copulative constructions in subordinate clauses, we begin with the subordinate clause *. . . gurbh innealtóir é*.

On Inis Mór none of the informants uses the Standard Irish construction. Instead, four informants throughout the island use the present tense construction *. . . gur innealtóir/"engineer" é*.

F 43 at Bungabhla also produces *. . . gur "engineer" é*, but then switches to *. . . innealtóir a bhí ann*. Three other informants also use the cleft construction.

The female informant at An Sruthán, however, produces a unique blended construction, *. . . gur ina ionarthóir é*, with a locative phrase embedded in a classificatory copulative construction.

On Inis Meáin, both informants use the present tense construction in the subordinate clause: *. . . gur innealtóir é*.

On Inis Oírr, we find the male informant using the construction *. . . go raibh sé ina ionaltair*. The younger female informant F 18 fronts the noun phrase in her example: *. . . go "engineer" a bhí ann*. Note that once again she is generalising the complementiser *go* to classificatory copulative constructions.

The older female informant F 43, however, starts with the phrase *. . . gurb é . . .*, then switches to the unexceptional *. . . gur innealtór a bhí ann*, and ends with *. . . gurb "engineer" a bhí ann*. This form *gurb*, which appears here before a noun beginning with a vowel rather than before an adjective, is unique in her corpus of material.

. . . gurbh iascairí muid

We turn now to the similar construction *. . . gurbh iascairí muid*.

On Inis Mór, we find a pattern very similar to that of the previous item. Five informants use the present tense construction *. . . gur iascairí muid/muinn*, and four use the cleft construction *. . . gur iascairí a bhí ionainn*. Once again, there is no use of the Standard Irish form *gurbh*.

On Inis Meáin, again we encounter only the present tense construction *. . . gur iascairí muid*, but note that the male informant augments the noun with a [j] onset: *. . . gur j-iascairí muid*, thus echoing the male informant M 50 at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór with his *. . . gur j-ionaltair é*.

On Inis Oírr, we get the cleft construction *. . . gur iascairí a bhí ionainn* from the older generation, but the construction *. . . go iascairí muid* from the youngest informant, F 18. Note that once again F 18 generalises the verbal complementiser *go* to the classificatory copulative construction. A glottal stop separates the adjacent vowels of the complementiser and the following noun.

. . . gur dhochtúir mé

The construction *. . . gur dhochtúir mé* is much the same as the previous one, but demands lenition of the initial consonant.

On Inis Mór, two thirds of the informants (six out of nine) prefer the classificatory copulative construction *. . . gur dochtúr mé* and only three opt for the cleft construction

... gur dochtúir a bhí ionam. Once again, no one lenites the noun in either construction.

On Inis Meáin, once again both informants use the classificatory copulative construction *... gur dochtúir mé*, with the noun unlenited.

On Inis Oírr, the male informant uses the simple construction *... go raibh mé (i) mo dhochtar*, while his wife uses the cleft construction *... gur dochtúir a bhí ionam*, with the noun unlenited. The youngest informant, F 18, opts for the classificatory copulative construction *... gur dochtúr mé*, again with the noun unlenited. Note, however, that here she employs the complementiser *gur*, in contrast to her generalisation of the form *go* in her responses to all the other items so far.

... gur chloch mhór í

This construction, *... gur chloch mhór í*, involves an inanimate referent rather than a human referent.

On Inis Mór the patterns of the responses are much the same as for the last construction. Five informants across the island opt for the present tense construction *... gur cloch m(h)ór é/í.* Yet again there is no lenition of the noun.

Three informants front the noun phrase, producing the cleft construction *... gur cloch mhór a bhí ann.* The male informant at Fearann an Choirce, however, omits the complementiser: *... cloch mhór a bhí ann.*

The female informant at Cill Éinne substitutes a deictic construction, *... gurb 'in cloch mór*, with the Standard Irish complementiser *gurb.* Note, however, that we still have not encountered the past form *gurbh.*

On Inis Meáin, both informants again opt for the present tense construction *... gur cloch m(h)ór é*, but then the male informant corrects his response to *... chloch mhór í*, giving us the first example of lenition of a noun in this syntactic position in our entire sample.

On Inis Oírr, the male informant gives us the simple construction *... go raibh sé (i)na chloch móir* (sic). The youngest female informant, however, produces the cleft construction *... go cloch mór a bhí ann*, with the complementiser *go* generalised once again to classificatory copulative constructions. The older female informant appears to be doing exactly the same thing, though the form of the complementiser remains unclear.

To sum up the evidence so far in regard to the use of the classificatory copulative construction in finite complementary clauses in the past tense, it seems clear that informants across the three islands do not use the Standard Irish constructions which lenite the noun after the complementiser *gur* – e.g, *... gur mhúinteóir é*, or, in the case of nouns which begin with a vowel, constructions which substitute the allomorph *gurbh* before such nouns – e.g, *... gurbh innealtóir é.*

Furthermore, with the exception of the male informant on Inis Oírr, they prefer not to use simple constructions with the verb *bí* plus a locative phrase, – e.g., *... go raibh sé ina*

mhúinteóir.

Instead, they use a classificatory copulative construction with the invariable complementiser *gur* with no lenition on the following noun, a construction which is identical to the present tense construction – e.g, *. . . gur múinteóir é.*

Otherwise, they use a cleft construction, fronting the predicated noun phrase to the position immediately following the invariable complementiser *gur* and using a following relative construction with the verb *bí* plus a locative phrase to specify past time – e.g, *. . . gur múinteóir a bhí ann.* With such a construction, one creates the impression of a classificatory copulative construction, but one can use the verb *bí* to specify tense or mood with great precision and clarity, thus resolving the temporal ambiguity of the other type of construction.

This second construction seems confined to Inis Mór and Inis Oírr, with not a single example of a cleft construction occurring in a subordinate clause position in either the present or past tense on Inis Meáin.

. . . gurbh iontach an áit í

We turn now to the adjectival predication in the past tense *. . . gurbh iontach an áit í.*

On Inis Mór, three informants — all older female informants — attempt this construction. Two of them, in westernmost and central Inis Mór, respectively, produce the construction with the Standard Irish complementiser *gurbh*, but the third, in easternmost Inis Mór, uses the invariable complementiser *gur* to produce *. . . gur iontach an áit é.*

Four others produce the classificatory copulative construction *. . . gur áit iontach é* while another produces the same construction with different content: *. . . gur an-áit é* and *. . . gur áit álainn é.* Only the youngest female informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, produces a predicate using the verb *bí*: *. . . go raibh an áit thar cionn.*

On Inis Meáin, the female informant uses the classificatory copulative construction *. . . gur áit iontach é*, but the male informant produces the adjectival predication *. . . gur hiontach an áit é*, with the generalised complementiser *gur* (instead of *gurb* or *gurbh*) and the glottal fricative **[h]** prefixed to the adjective.[118]

On Inis Oírr, the male informant prefers a simple predication with the verb *bí* – *. . . go raibh an áit iontach.* His wife, F 43, uses the classificatory copulative construction *. . . gur áit iontach é*, while the youngest informant, F 18, uses a cleft construction: *. . . g' áit iontach a bhí ann.* Note that once again F 18 generalises the complementiser form *go* to a cleft construction in a subordinate clause.

To sum up, if we focus on the form of the complementiser in all these past tense constructions, we find that the only use of the complementiser *gurbh* is before predicate adjectives beginning with a vowel in adjectival predicate structures in subordinate clauses, and that we find only in Inis Mór.

In western and central Inis Mór, two older female informants use the form, while in easternmost Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin, two informants, respectively, use the predicate

[118] Note that he does this also in the present tense construction *. . . gur hálainn an áit é.*

adjectival construction but with the generalised complementiser *gur*. Of course, when the generalised complementiser is used in such constructions, the distinction between present and past tense is lost.

As for the generalised complementiser *go*, the youngest informant, F 18 on Inis Oírr, uses this in all syntactic and phonological environments, with the single exception mentioned above. With a single possible exception noted above, that of her neighbour F 41, this feature seems to be an innovation of the youngest generation — at least on Inis Oírr.

Let us look now at the past/conditional tense forms in selected copulative constructions.

B'fhéidir ...

On Inis Mór we find the Standard Irish form *B'fhéidir ...* in use the whole length of the island, with one possible instance of the form *M'fhéidir ...*, with an eclipsed copula, from the male informant M 68 at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór, along with the Standard Irish form.

As alternative constructions, we get the comparative adjectival form *Is dóichí...* ([ɪs doːiˈ/ɪs doˈiˈ]) from two female informants in westernmost Inis Mór, and the base form of the adjective, *Is dócha ...*, from the female informant at Corrúch. From the female informant at Cill Éinne we get both constructions, *Is dóichí ...* and *Is dócha ....* We also get the English borrowing *Seans ...* from the male informant at Cill Rónáin, along with the dominant variant *B'fhéidir ....*

On Inis Meáin, we get only the Standard Irish form *B'fhéidir ...* from both informants.

On Inis Oírr, however, we get the form *B'fhéidir ...* from the two female informants, but the form with the eclipsed copula, *M'fhéidir ...*, from the male informant — as on Inis Mór.

Níorbh fhéidir ...

Now we turn to the construction *Níorbh fhéidir ....* On Inis Mór, only F 43 at Bungabhla, the youngest informant on Inis Mór, actually uses this form. As for the alternative negative constructions used in the island, we find an unbroken chain of informants in the middle of the island from Fearann an Choirce to Eochaill using the construction *Ní fhéadfainn ....* Other alternative constructions occur at both ends of the island: *Ní raibh mé in ann ...* and *Níor fhéad mé ....*

On Inis Meáin, we get *Níorbh fhéidir ...* from the male informant, but *Ní fhéadfainn ...* from the female informant.

On Inis Oírr, we get *Ní fhéadfainn ...* from the older female informant and *Ní raibh mé in ann ...* from the younger female informant, but the non-standard form *Nír fhéidir ...* from the male informant, with the copula itself reduced to zero.

B'fhiú ...

The construction *B'fhiú ...* gives us a further glimpse of the phenomenon of reduplication of the copula in past tense constructions across the three islands.

On Inis Mór, we get the Standard Irish construction *B'fhiú ...* from seven of the nine informants across the island, but we get the reduplicated form *Ba bh'fhiú ...* from

the two older female informants in western Inis Mór.

On Inis Meáin, we get both the Standard Irish construction *B'fhiú ...* and the construction with the reduplicated copula *Ba bh'fhiú ...* from the male informant. From the female informant, we get only the Standard Irish constructions *B'fhiú ...* and *... gurbh fhiú ...* (in a subordinate clause construction).

On Inis Oírr, we get *B'fhiú ...* from the younger female informant and its subordinate counterpart *... gurbh fhiú ...* from the male informant. From the older female informant we again get the construction with the reduplicated copula *Ba bh'fhiú ....*

To sum up, we can be sure that the reduplicated copula, so widespread over all three islands and over the older generations, is not a recent innovation.

B'fhearr ...

We turn now to the construction *B'fhearr ....*

On Inis Mór, the Standard Irish construction *B'fhearr ...* is used by the majority of the informants across the island, though the youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, produces *Bheadh sé níos fearr ...*, and the male informant at Eochaill produces *Bhí sé ní b'fhearr ....*

Three informants, however, do use a construction with the reduplicated copula. The male informant at Fearann an Choirce and his neighbour the female informant at Corrúch both use the construction *Ba bh'fhearr ...*, but the female informant at Cill Éinne uses the construction *Ba b'fhearr ...*, with no lenition of the second copula form.

In the two islands to the east, however, no instances of reduplication of the copula occur with this item.

On Inis Meáin we get the Standard Irish construction *B'fhearr ...* from the female informant, and the longer construction with the verb *bí*, *Bheadh sí i bhfad níos fearr as ...*, from the male informant.

On Inis Oírr also, we get the construction *B'fhearr ...* from the older female informant, and constructions with the verb *bí* plus *níos fearr* from both the youngest informant, F 18, and from the male informant.

We do get a further item of interest from the male informant, M 55, however. In sentence I.23, he produces a relative construction with a lenited copula: *... a bh'fhearr liom ....*

To sum up, it appears as though the reduplicated copula has spread to this lexical item in central and eastern Inis Mór, but has not spread to this particular item on the two islands to the east. The relative construction with the lenited copula produced by the male informant on Inis Oírr may be the first step in this direction.

... gurbh fhearr ...

The construction *... gurbh fhearr ...* gives us an adjectival copulative construction in a finite complementary clause and a very interesting set of variants.

On Inis Mór, we get the Standard Irish construction *... gurbh fhearr ...* from five informants in all age groups from one end of the island to the other, but we also get both the unpalatalised variant *... gurbh 'arr ...* plus the standard variant from the elderly male informant at Corrúch.

Of greater interest, however, are the forms *... gur fhearr ...*, with an elided copula, from the elderly female informant at Eoghanacht, and *... gobh fhearr ...*, with a lenited copula, from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce. Both these examples reflect forms found in other syntactic contexts.

Of greatest interest, though, are eclipsed forms of the copula in this context, since these reflect the eclipsed copulative forms which occur so extensively in Cois Fharraige Irish in mainland Connemara. For example, on Inis Mór we get only the eclipsed form in the construction *... go mb'fhearr ...* from the two male informants in easternmost Inis Mór, M 68 at Eochaill and M 50 at Cill Rónáin.

On Inis Meáin, we see once again the close connection between eastern Inis Mór and Inis Meáin. Here both male and female informants produce only the eclipsed form in the construction *... go mb'fhearr ....*

On Inis Oírr, however, we get the eclipsed form in the example *... go mb'fhearr ...* from the older female informant, F 41, but we also get uneclipsed forms based on the generalised copulative form *go* from the other two informants. Thus we get *... gobh fhearr ...*, with the lenited copula, from the male informant and *... go b'fhearr ...*, without lenition of the copula, from the younger female informant, F 18. The three informants seem to be exploring the logical possibilities.

Note, however, that the youngest informant is being true to form, using the invariable complementiser *go* with the unmutated copula, though the adjective itself is lenited. Will this variant be more widespread in the future?

To sum up, this particular construction bears further watching. The connection to Connemara illustrated by the eclipsed copula construction seems strong in both eastern Inis Mór and Inis Meáin. In Inis Oírr and elsewhere, however, there seems to be a good deal of experimentation with possible variants going on, with exploration of all the logical possibilities.

B'iontach ...

The construction *B'iontach ...* allows us to focus on the quality of the consonant in the past tense copula.

On Inis Mór, the two informants in Corrúch, M 82 and F 72, produce the variant [**b^{w} iːntəx**], with a velarised release in the copula. The older female informant at Cill Éinne seems to select that option as well, with her uncompleted example [**b^{w} iː ...**], as does the older female informant at Eoghanacht, with her example containing the copula as a past tense complementiser: [**... gərʔw iːntəx ...**]. Only M 50 at Cill Rónáin palatalises the consonant of the copula: [**bʲ iːntəx ...**].

Two informants substitute classificatory copulative constructions, either *B' áit iontach é* or *B' áit álainn é*. In both cases, however, the two informants avoid coalescing the

vowel of the copula with the initial vowel of the following predicate noun. Thus, we get [**bə ʔɑːtʲ iːntəx ɛ**] from the female informant at An Sruthán, with a glottal stop separating the two adjacent vowels, and [**bᵊ ˌɑːˈtʲ ˈɑːʟɪnʲ ɛ**] from the male informant at Eochaill.[119]

We get yet another example of a classificatory copulative construction in a finite complementary clause, from the female informant at An Sruthán, but in this instance with the copula as the invariable complementiser *gur*: *... gur áit iontach é ....*

On Inis Meáin, we get the form [**bʷ iːɴtəx**] from the male informant, strengthening our impression that the velarised form of the past tense copula is the normal or unmarked form in this syntactic context.

As for the female informant, she substitutes the classificatory copulative construction *... gurbh áit iontach é* in a finite complementary clause, with the final consonant of the complementiser rather tense: [**gərv**].

On Inis Oírr, we find no examples of the predicate adjectival construction *B'iontach ....* We get identical classificatory copulative constructions from both female informants: [**b ɑːtʃ iːɴtəx ɛ**]. As for the male informant, he produces a simple adjectival predication with the verb *bí*: *... go raibh an áit iontach.*

What generalisations can we make? First, in regard to the predicate adjectival copulative construction *B'iontach ...*, though we have no examples from Inis Oírr, the evidence from Inis Mór and from Inis Meáin points strongly to a velarised form of the past tense copula in this syntactic position in both islands. The example from M 50 at Cill Rónáin with the palatalised consonant [**bʲ**] can perhaps be explained by his constant exposure, as headmaster of the vocational school, to written Standard Irish and perhaps to the *Lárchanúint.*

As for the non-elision of vowel of the copula before the initial vowel of a following predicate noun, we have no relevant data from Inis Meáin, but the little relevant data we have from the other two islands suggests that a rule preventing elision exists on Inis Mór but not on Inis Oírr.

This rule may be related to the rule already noted that seems to prevent lenition of predicate nouns, but not predicate adjectives, in past tense copulative constructions. In both cases, there seems to be a reluctance to alter the base form of a predicate noun in such a way that its appearance is obscured, either through mutation of its base form or through coalescence with the copula.

Dá mba bhean thú ...

The dependent clause *Dá mba bhean thú ...* is of great interest, not only because of the lenition or non-lenition of the predicate noun, but also because of the shapes assumed by the first two elements, the conjunction *dá* and the following copula.

On Inis Mór, we find that only M 50 at Cill Rónáin produces the Standard Irish construction *Dá mba bhean thú ...*, albeit with the conjunction *dá* reduced to [**ə**].

The youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, on the other hand, eclipses the copula but does not lenite the following predicate noun, thus producing *Dá mba bean tusa ...*

[119] The female informant at Cill Éinne produces the classificatory copulative construction [**ɑːtʃ iːntəx ɛ**], but since no copula is used, this example is irrelevant to the discussion.

([**ɑˑ mə bʹæˑn tʊsə . . .**]). In contrast, the older male informant M 68 at Eochaill also does not lenite the predicate noun, but he lenites the copula instead, producing *Dá bha bean thú . . .* ([**dɑː wʊ bʹæːN u . . .**]).

Three older female informants go even further, neither eclipsing nor leniting copula or predicate noun. F 72 at Corrúch produces *Dá ba bean thú . . .* ([**dʌ bə bʹæːn u . . .**]). F 70 at Cill Éinne produces a similar construction, [**ə bə bʹæːn . . .**] and yet another, [**aⁱm bə bʹæːN huˑ . . .**], with an anomalous form in place of the conjunction *dá*.[120]

It is F 70 at An Sruthán, however, who produces the most striking construction: [**dʌ bər bʹæːN hʊsə . . .**], which could be interpreted as *Dá bar bean thusa . . .* or as *Dábar bean thusa . . .*, with a fused element preceding the predicate noun. As striking as the form *dá bar/dábar* is, it is not unique. It was confirmed for me by a speaker from Creig an Chéirín, and, as we shall see, it is echoed on Inis Meáin.

Moreover, the existence of a form *dá bar* is verified in at least one other dialect — that of Corca Dhuibhne, far to the south in Munster.[121] Oddly enough, though, this specific form is not found in the extensive table of copulative forms in Prof. De Bhaldraithe's grammatical study of Cois Fharraige Irish, the mainland Connemara dialect which is so closely related to that of the two western islands.[122]

As for alternative constructions, four informants, scattered from Eoghanacht to Cill Éinne, produce a construction with the verb *bí* and a locative phrase: *Dá mbeifeá(sa) i do bhean . . .*.

On Inis Meáin, we get the construction *Dá mba bean thú . . .* ([**ga mə bʹæːN u . . .**]), with eclipsis of the copula but no lenition of the following predicate noun, from the female informant. From the male informant, however, we get both the construction *Dá ba bean thú . . .* ([**ɑː bə bʹæˑN uˑ . . .**]), with neither eclipsis of the copula nor lenition of the predicate noun, and the cleft construction *Dá bar bean a bheadh ansin . . .* ([**a bər bʹæˑN ə vʹɛx əˈtʹɪnʹ . . .**]), with the *dá bar* construction in a fronted noun phrase.

On Inis Oírr as well, we get the construction *Dá mba bean thú . . .* ([**də mə bʹæːN huː . . .**]), with eclipsis of the copula and no lenition of the predicate noun, from the younger female informant, F 18. From the male informant, however, we get the construction *Dá ba bean a bheadh ionat . . .* ([**æ bə bʹæːn ə vʹɛx ənət . . .**]), with neither eclipsis nor lenition in a construction with a fronted noun phrase.

From the older female informant, however, instead of a construction with *dá bar*, we get the construction *Dá b'é bean a bheadh ionat . . .* ([**ɑˑ bʹɛ . . . a bʹɛ bʹæːN ə vʹɛx ənət . . .**]), with an uneclipsed copula, an unlenited predicate noun, and an *é* element inserted between the copula and the following predicate noun — an element which

[120] It is possible that this odd form represents a fusion of the conjunction with a following eclipsed copula, i.e., *dá mba . . .*, resulting in a reduplicated copula in the construction as a whole. Note also her preceding construction, [**aⁱ mʹəx tu . . .**], discussed below, in which the conjunction has the identical phonological shape and which therefore may have influenced the articulation of the conjunction in the following example.

[121] Cf. Ó Sé (2000), 356.

[122] Cf. de Bhaldraithe (1953), 90-91.

we have seen to be characteristic of this informant when producing similar copulative constructions.

To sum up the various constructions representing this last item across the three islands, we can say that only one informant uses the Standard Irish construction *Dá mba bhean thú ...*, with eclipsis of the copula and lenition of the predicate noun is M 50 at Cill Rónáin. Once again, one suspects that his experience as headmaster of the vocational school at Cill Rónáin has influenced his linguistic behaviour.

As for variants of this basic structure, we get the type *Dá mba bean thú, ...*, with eclipsis of the copula and no lenition of the predicate noun, from one female informant in each of the three islands.

We get the type *Dá bha bean thú ...*, with lenition of the copula but no lenition of the predicate noun, from a single male informant on Inis Mór.

We get the type *Dá ba bean thú ...*, with neither eclipsis of the copula nor lenition of the predicate noun, from two female informants on Inis Mór, the male informant in Inis Meáin and the male informant on Inis Oírr.

We get the type *Dá bar/dábar bean thú ...*, with the striking copula form *bar*, or the conjunction *dábar*, followed by an unlenited predicate noun, from one female informant on Inis Mór and from the male informant on Inis Meáin.

Finally, we get the type *Dá b'é bean thú ...*, with an uneclipsed copula, an inserted element *é* and an unlenited predicate noun, from the older female informant in Inis Oírr. As we have seen, the insertion of an *é* element immediately after the copula is characteristic of this informant.

What is interesting in all this variation is that, as in the case of the many variants of the construction *Cá fhad* mentioned earlier, virtually all logical possibilities have been exploited in roughly equal measure by informants across the islands in order to produce these variants.

20 Deictic Constructions: Present Tense

Seo ceann maith!

We turn now to deictic constructions in the present tense.

On Inis Mór, only the female informant at Corrúch employs the Standard Irish construction *Seo ceann maith!*, with the Standard Irish deictic pronominal variant *seo*. Her westernmost neighbours, the female informants at Bungabhla and at Eoghanacht, substitute a second variant *siod* ([**ʃəd**]) to produce *Siod ceann maith!*. Her neighbours slightly to the east of them at An Sruthán and at Fearann an Choirce in central Inis Mór, however, substitute a third variant, *sios* ([**ʃəs**]), to produce *Sios ceann maith!*.

East of Corrúch on Inis Mór, no one produces a deictic construction. Instead, all three informants in easternmost Inis Mór produce the classificatory copulative construction *Is ceann maith é seo/sin*, with the pronominal phrase *é seo/sin* as subject of the clause.

On Inis Meáin, both informants use a deictic construction. The female informant uses the Standard Irish construction *Seo ceann maith!*. The male informant, however, produces the construction *Seobh é ceann maith!*, with an unexpected personal pronoun interpolated before an indefinite noun phrase.

On Inis Oírr, all three informants use deictic constructions, but only the youngest informant, F 18, uses the Standard Irish construction *Seo ceann maith!*. The two older informants, M 55 and F 41, use the construction *Siod ceann maith!*, with the variant *siod* as the deictic pronoun.

As for the form of the deictic pronoun, only one informant on Inis Mór, one informant on Inis Meáin, and one on Inis Oírr, all female, use the Standard Irish pronoun *seo* in initial position in this deictic construction. The male informant on Inis Meáin augments the form with the personal pronoun to produce *seobh é*, despite the fact that the following noun phrase is indefinite.

We find the deictic pronoun *siod* at Bungabhla and at Eoghanacht in westernmost Inis Mór, and we get it also from the two older informants, male and female, on Inis Oírr, but not at all on Inis Meáin. On the other hand, the deictic pronoun *sios* is found only in a limited area in midwestern Inis Mór, from An Sruthán to neighbouring Fearann an Choirce.

We have noted earlier that a form *seod*, with a pronunciation **[ʃod]** almost identical to the Aran form *siod* (**[ʃəd]**), is cited by Prof. de Bhaldraithe for Cois Fharraige Irish on the Connemara mainland. However, in Cois Fharraige Irish the form *seod* occurs only sentence initially and before the personal pronouns *é*, *í* and *iad*, while the use of the deictic pronoun *siod* in the Aran Islands extends to syntactic positions before noun phrases as well.

Sin drochcheann!

We now examine the construction *Sin drochcheann!*, with the more distal deictic pronoun *sin* in sentence initial position.

On Inis Mór we find the deictic construction *Sin ceann dona!* in use in westernmost Inis Mór by all the female informants from Bungabhla through An Sruthán and again by the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór. The male informant at Fearann an Choirce, however, produces the variant *Shin ceann dona!*, with the deictic form lenited. His neighbour to the east, the female informant at Corrúch, in contrast, produces the deictic construction *Sin é drochcheann!*, with the personal pronoun *é* interpolated despite the following indefinite noun phrase.[123]

Once again, informants in eastern Inis Mór prefer the classificatory copulative construction to the complete exclusion of the deictic construction — with the partial exception of the female informant at Corrúch and that of the male informant at Eochaill, both mentioned above. Thus we find the constructions *Is drochcheann é (sin)*, *Ceann dona é!*, and *Drochcheann é sin!*.

Note that no informant west of Corrúch produces a classificatory copulative construction.

[123]She also produces the exclamatory construction *Ceann dona!*, which appears to be the classificatory copulative construction stripped of the preceding copula and the following pronominal subject, with or without the deictic pronoun.

On Inis Meáin, both informants produce the identical deictic construction, *Sin ceann dona!*, with no variant constructions.

On Inis Oírr, we find a similar situation, with the older female informant producing *Sin drochcheann!* and the younger female informant producing *Sin ceann dona!*. The male informant, however, lenites the deictic pronoun: *Shin ceann dona!*.

To sum up, as in the case of the preceding item, the informants in eastern Inis Mór show a general reluctance to use a deictic construction, while informants in western Inis Mór, in Inis Meáin and on Inis Oírr all use the deictic construction exclusively.

Note that the two male informants M 60 at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór and M 55 on Inis Oírr both use the lenited deictic pronoun *shin*. Note also that the female informant at Corrúch in Inis Mór interpolates a personal pronoun before an indefinite noun phrase, *Sin é drochcheann!*, as does the male informant in Inis Meáin in the preceding item: *Seobh é ceann maith!*.

Seo é!

Turning now to deictic constructions with pronominal referents, we begin with the extremely short declarative construction *Seo é!*. In addition to this Standard Irish construction, however, we find in all three islands a variant construction with a reduplicated personal pronoun, e.g., *Seo é é!*.

These two variants *Seo é!* and *Seo é é!* are distinguished by a difference in length, as well as by differences in stress and intonation on the personal pronouns, since the syllable of the first personal pronoun in the reduplicated variant usually has the strongest stress and the highest tone of the phonological phrase.

The youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, normally goes further, separating the vowels of the two pronouns with a glottal stop, thereby suggesting that for other informants as well, the first pronoun is reduplicated, not simply lengthened.

Examining the distribution of these variants, and beginning on Inis Mór, we find that all the informants from Bungabhla in westernmost Inis Mór through Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór use the variant with the reduplicated personal pronoun, *Seo é é!*. Only the two informants in easternmost Inis Mór use the more standard construction.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant uses deictic constructions with a reduplicated personal pronoun while his female neighbour uses the Standard Irish construction.

On Inis Oírr, it is again the male informant who uses the deictic construction with a reduplicated personal pronoun, while the two female informants use the more standard construction.

In sum, the split in usage between deictic constructions with reduplicated personal pronouns and those without such reduplication seems to be clearly geographical on Inis Mór, with all the informants west of Cill Rónáin using reduplicated personal pronouns, whereas in the two islands to the east, the split seems to be on the basis of sex, with only the male informants using reduplicated personal pronouns.

As for the forms of the deictic pronouns themselves, we find a number of informants across the islands substituting the more distal deictic pronoun *sin* for the expected pronoun *seo*, and beyond that, we find again a variety of forms for the pronoun *seo*. Let us now examine their distribution.

Seo/Seobh/Siod/Shod . . . !

On Inis Mór once again we find the female informants at Bungabhla and at An Sruthán in western Inis Mór using the variant *siod*.[124] The male informant M 60 slightly to the east at Fearann an Choirce selects this form as well, but he lenites it, producing *shod* ([**həd**]).

Immediately to the east at Corrúch, however, we get the deictic pronoun *seo* ([**ʃo**]) from the female informant in a construction with a reduplicated pronoun: *Seo é é!* ([**ʃo eː eː**]). We get a similar construction from the male informant, but with the deictic pronoun augmented by a rounded labiovelar approximant before the following pronouns: *Seobh é é!* ([**ʃəw eː eː**]).[125]

On Inis Meáin, though the male informant again uses the more distal form *sin* in one example, both he and the female informant use the augmented form of the Standard Irish proximal deictic pronoun in other examples, e.g., *Seobh é (é)!* ([**ʃəw eː (eː)**]). Thus, as in the case of the previous item discussed, we find no sign of the deictic variant *siod* in Inis Meáin.

On Inis Oírr, this time it is the male informant and the younger female informant who use the variant *siod* while the older female informant uses the unaugmented deictic pronoun *seo*: (['**ʃə eː**]). Apparently, therefore, the youngest generation on Inis Oírr has not abandoned the variant *siod* in favour of the Standard Irish variant.

To sum up the use of the different variants of the deictic pronouns in constructions where they are followed directly by personal pronouns, we find the use of the Standard Irish form *seo* by single female informants in both Inis Mór and Inis Oírr, producing the construction *Seo é (é)!*. In contrast, in the restricted area including eastern Inis Mór and Inis Meáin, one male informant in eastern Inis Mór and both male and female informants on Inis Meáin produce constructions with augmented forms: *Seobh é (é)!*.[126]

The variant *siod* is, as in the case of the previous item discussed, found only in westernmost Inis Mór and on Inis Oírr. In central Inis Mór, the male informant at Fearann an Choirce produces the lenited but unpalatalised sub-variant, *shod*.

Of those informants who substituted the more distal deictic pronoun *sin*, none lenited the initial consonant.

Sin é!

As for the more distal construction *Sin é!*, the pattern of distribution of deictic constructions with a single personal pronoun versus those with a reduplicated personal

[124] We can say nothing of the female informant at Eoghanacht, since she substitutes the more distal pronoun *sin*.

[125] As for the informants from Eochaill through Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór, we can say nothing of their use of the proximal deictic pronouns since all of them choose to substitute the more distal pronoun *sin*.

[126] Note then, that Inis Meáin is characterised by the exclusive use of the augmented variant *seobh* as well as by the complete exclusion of the variant *siod*.

pronoun is roughly similar to the one just described, though there are some significant differences in the linguistic behaviour of individuals.

On Inis Mór, we see that use of the reduplicated personal pronoun is still strong in the western half of the island. Thus the two female informants in westernmost Inis Mór produce examples such as *Sin é é!* ([**ʃɪnʲ eː ʔeː**]) and *Sin é ansiod é!*. The male informant at Fearann an Choirce also produces a reduplicated person pronoun, though he substitutes the proximal form *siod* for the expected *sin*, i.e., *Ní 'ea, siod é é!*. The female informant at An Sruthán, however, breaks ranks with her neighbours to the east and west, and produces a construction with only a single person pronoun: *Ó, ní hea, sin é!*.

In contrast to the previous item, however, all the informants from Corrúch eastward use only the shorter construction with the single personal pronoun, except for the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór, who produces a striking example of the reduplicated pronoun: *Sin é thall é!*.[127]

On Inis Meáin, the male informant repeats his construction for the previous item, *Sin é é!*, while the female informant gives us no clear sign of her preference in her example *Ní hea, ach é siúd!*.

On Inis Oírr, the male informant now joins his female counterparts in producing only a single personal pronoun, but he continues to use the proximal deictic pronoun: *Siod é!*.

As regards the form of the deictic pronoun itself, we find the form *sin* being used almost universally across the three islands, with no lenition of the initial segment. As for those informants who use the proximal form of the deictic pronoun, we find *siod* in use by the male informants M 60 at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór and by M 55 on Inis Oírr.[128]

The elderly male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór is unique in again using the augmented proximal form *seobh* in his response *Ní hé, seobh é!*.

An é seo é?

Turning now to the interrogative deictic construction *An é seo é?*, we find that only the informants on Inis Meáin employ a relatively Standard Irish construction: *An é seo é (é)?*. All the informants in the other two islands employ an interrogative construction of the form *Ab 'iod é (é)?, Ab 'eobh é?*, etc., with the deictic element *'iod* or *'eobh*[129] directly following the non-standard interrogative particle variant *ab* and the single or reduplicated personal pronoun following that.

. . . é (é)?

Let us now focus on the question of the reduplicated personal pronoun.

On Inis Mór once again informants in western Inis Mór opt for a deictic construction with a reduplicated personal pronoun, e.g., *Ab 'iod é é?*, with the single exception of the female informant at Eoghanacht. In contrast, the only informant in eastern

[127] Such reduplication would be consistent with her use of the pronoun in the unexceptionable construction *Sin iad na rudai . . .* in I.45.

[128] Note that once again, we do not encounter lenited variants of deictic pronouns before a personal pronoun.

[129] Note the elision of the initial segment.

Inis Mór to use a reduplicated personal pronoun is the male informant at Eochaill. And once again, F 43 at Bungabhla makes clear her use of the reduplicated personal pronoun by separating the vowels of the two pronouns with a glottal stop.

On Inis Meáin, once again it is the male informant who uses a deictic construction with a reduplicated pronoun, whereas the female informant does not.

On Inis Oírr, we find the male informant again joining the two female informants in producing a deictic construction with a single personal pronoun: *Ab 'iod é?*.

An é seo . . . ?/Ab 'eobh . . . ?/Ab 'iod . . . ?

We will now look more closely at the form of the deictic constructions.

On Inis Mór the non-standard construction type *Ab 'iod é (é)?*([**əbʹ əd eː (eː)**]), with a palatalised final segment in the interrogative particle *ab*, runs the whole length of the island, with some minor variations. The male informant at Fearann an Choirce does not palatalise that segment, and thus produces *B' od é é?*. The elderly female informant at Cill Éinne produces the anomalous form *Arb iad é?* ([**ərbʹ ˈiˑjᵊd eː**]), in which what is presumably the deictic element has the form of the third person plural personal pronoun.

Only the male informant M 82 at Corrúch produces the distinct variant *Ab 'eobh é?* ([**əbʹ oˑw ɛː**]), with the augmented variant *'eobh* of the deictic pronoun, while the female informant at Eoghanacht substitutes a more distal deictic pronoun — lenited — to produce *B' in é?* ([**bʹ ɪnʹ ˈɛː**]).

On Inis Meáin, as mentioned above, both informants opt for a more Standard Irish form. The male informant produces the construction *An é seobh é é?* ([**ən a ʃəw ˈɛː ɛː**]), with the personal pronoun in triplicate and the augmented variant *seobh* of the deictic pronoun, echoing the variant *'eobh* just mentioned, produced by M 82 at Corrúch on Inis Mór. The female informant, however, produces the much more Standard Irish variant *An é seo é?* ([**əɴ eː ʃəː ˈeː**]). Note, however, that neither informant palatalises the final segment of the interrogative marker *An . . . ?* before what should be the following mid-front vowel [**eː**].

On Inis Oírr, on the other hand, all three informants produce the variant *Ab 'iod é?*, once again conforming to the usage of the overwhelming majority of the informants on Inis Mór.

As for the form of the interrogative marker, note that with the single exception of the male informant at Fearann an Choirce just mentioned, the final segment of the non-standard interrogative copula *Ab . . . ?* is always palatalised. In sharp contrast, in all instances of the Standard Irish variant *An . . . ?*, found only on Inis Meáin but produced by both informants, the final segment is not palatalised, irrespective of the following vowel.

Ní hé seo é!

We turn now to the negative deictic construction *Ní hé seo é!*.

On Inis Mór, only the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór uses the Standard Irish construction *Ní hé seo é!*, along with the anomalous construction *Nír é seo é!*

([**nʲiːrʲ eː ʃə ɛ**]), which contains an aberrant negative copula form *Níṙ*, with the palatalised final segment ([**rʲ**]).

With two exceptions, all the other informants on Inis Mór use the construction *Ní shod é (é)!* ([**nʲiː həd eː eː**]). Note that the initial segment of the deictic pronoun is lenited but not palatalised.[130]

Once again we see the informants in western Inis Mór[131] producing the construction with the reduplicated pronoun and those in eastern Inis Mór producing only the construction with the single pronoun.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant produces a reduplicated pronoun, but he again avoids a construction based on the deictic form *siod* and prefers one based on the form *seo*. Thus, he produces the construction *Ní shobh é é!* ([ˈ**nʲiː həw eː eː**]), with the augmented deictic pronoun *shobh*. Note that, as in the case of the deictic pronoun *shod*, the initial segment of the pronoun is lenited but not palatalised.

As for the female informant, she produces the non-deictic construction *Ní hea!*.

On Inis Oírr, all three informants again produce an identical construction with a single personal pronoun: *Ní shod é!*. Note that yet again, the initial consonant of the deictic pronoun is lenited but not palatalised.

In summary, we can say that across all three islands the initial segments of deictic pronouns in such negative constructions are uniformly lenited but never palatalised.

. . . gurb é seo é

We move on now to deictic constructions with pronominal referents in subordinate clauses.

The only informant on all three islands to use a construction which approximates to the Standard Irish construction *. . . gurb é seo é* is the female informant in Inis Meáin, who offers *. . . gob é seo é*.

In that example the complementiser, phonologically reduced to *gob*, seems to be composed of the complementiser *go* plus an additional formative *b*, followed by the personal pronoun *é*.[132]

All the other finite complementary clauses consist of the type already familiar — one with the deictic element directly following the complementiser and the single or reduplicated personal pronoun following that, e.g., *. . . gob ʼiod é* or *. . . gob ʼeobh é*.

As for the reduplication of the personal pronouns in such subordinate constructions, once again only the reduplicated pronoun *é é* is used in western Inis Mór, with the exception of the female informant at Eoghanacht, who uses only a single personal pronoun. Both her

[130] Of the two exceptions just mentioned, one (the female informant at Eoghanacht) employs a more distal form of the deictic pronoun to produce *Ní shin é é!*, with the initial segment of the pronoun lenited. The other (the male informant at Corrúch) uses only the non-deictic negative construction *Ní hé!* ([**nʲiː eːᵉ**].

[131] With the exception of the female informant at An Sruthán.

[132] As we have seen earlier, and as we shall see in a later section when we examine complementisers before personal pronouns, the process which produced the reduced form *gob* before personal pronouns or deictic pronouns with a vowel as initial segment has produced the interrogative form *ab* in similar environments. Note the nearly universal palatalisation of the final segment in such forms.

neighbours however, F 43 at Bungabhla and F 70 at An Sruthán, separate the vowels of the two personal pronouns with a glottal stop, thus confirming the existence of two separate personal pronouns in the clause.

On the other hand, all the informants in eastern Inis Mór use only the single personal pronoun *é*, with the sole exception, once again, of the male informant at Eochaill.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant again produces a double personal pronoun, while the female informant, as mentioned above, produces the more standard construction *gob é seo é*.

On Inis Oírr, both older informants produce a double personal pronoun, while the youngest informant, F 18, produces only a single personal pronoun — possibly a sign of linguistic change between generations.

As for the individual elements forming this type of finite complimentary clause, we note the nearly universal presence of the construction *... gob 'iod é (é)* on Inis Mór, though the male informant at Corrúch produces, characteristically, a construction with the deictic element *'eobh*: *... gob 'eobh é*.

The female informant at An Sruthán, in contrast, diverges from the main type by eclipsing the copula and using a palatal central approximant as a sandhi form linking the copula with the following deictic pronoun: *... go mba j-iod é é*.[133]

It is particularly significant that the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, does not use a complementiser at all. She simply embeds a deictic copulative construction within the complex sentence as a subordinate clause: *Dúirt sé siod é é*.

On Inis Meáin, again we find no examples of deictic constructions with the deictic element based on the form *siod*. The male informant once again uses the deictic element *'eobh* to produce the construction *... gob 'eobh é*, echoing the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór. In contrast, the female informant, as mentioned above, uses a construction which is more standard.

On Inis Oírr, the two female informants produce the construction *... gob 'iod é (é)*, though the younger female informant first produces the construction *... gob 'iod iad* — possibly a slip of the tongue, which she then corrects. As for the male informant, he treats the subordinate clause as a direct quote: *"Siod é é", adúirt sé*.

Note that in all these constructions containing the complementiser *gob* the final bilabial segment of the complementiser is palatalised. Note also that the example *... go mba j-iod é é* from Sruthán is the only example we have in the corpus of data so far of an eclipsed form of the copula — a variant which is widespread in Cois Fharraige Irish.

... nach é seo é

We deal now with the construction *... nach é seo é*, the negative counterpart to the construction just discussed.

Once again the Standard Irish construction *... nach é sin é*, with the more distal

[133] This augmented form may help explain the anomalous interrogative form **[ərbʲ ˈiːjᵊd eː]** mentioned above, which was produced by the female informant at Cill Éinne.

deictic pronoun *sin* substituted for the proximal form *seo*, is used by both informants on Inis Meáin.

In contrast, all the informants in the other two islands use the non-standard construction of negative complementiser, deictic element and personal pronoun(s): *. . . nach 'od é, . . . nach shobh é*, etc.. Even the male informant on Inis Meáin uses this construction type in a second example.

As for the adjacent reduplicated personal pronouns . . .

On Inis Mór all the informants in western Inis Mór use reduplicated pronouns, along with the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór, replicating patterns seen above.

As for the two eastern islands, however, we have no examples of adjacent reduplicated pronouns from Inis Meáin and only a single example from the older female informant in Inis Oírr.

When we examine the array of forms used in these non-standard constructions, however, we find a surprising variety of variants from speaker to speaker across all three islands.

At Bungabhla in westernmost Inis Mór, once again the youngest informant in Inis Mór, F 43, does not use a complementiser at all. Instead, she simply embeds a negative deictic copulative construction within the complex sentence as a subordinate clause: *Dúirt sé ní shod é é.*

Her neighbour to the east, however, the older female informant at Eoghanacht, gives us the expected construction *. . . nach shod é é.*

The female informant at An Sruthán, on the other hand, produces what seems to be a past tense construction:*. . . narbh 'iod é é* ([**naˈrvʹ əd ɛ ʔeː**]).

At Fearann an Choirce, the male informant produces the construction *. . . ná shod é é* ([**Na həd eː eː**]), with what appears to be the variant complementiser *ná*, with its vowel slightly fronted.[134] On the other hand, this construction could simply represent an extremely lax articulation of *. . . nach shod é é.*

At Corrúch, the female informant seems to elide the initial consonant of the deictic pronoun in her construction *. . . nach 'od é.* Her brother, M 82, however, again bases his deictic element on the pronoun *seo* in his construction *. . . nach shobh é.*

In easternmost Inis Mór, however, we encounter yet other variants, all of them involving the interpolation of an anomalous consonant as initial segment of the deictic element in the construction. Thus the male informant at Eochaill produces *. . . nach dod é é*, the male informant at Cill Rónáin produces *. . . nach rod é*, and the female informant at Cill Éinne produces *. . . nach b'iod é.*[135]

On Inis Meáin, as mentioned above, both informants produce the Standard Irish construction *. . . nach é sin é*, with the more distal deictic pronoun *sin* substituted for the prox-

[134]Such fronting of the low back vowel, as we have seen, is normal in the Aran dialect(s).

[135]It is not easy to ascertain what the interpolated consonants of the two male informants represent, but the intrusive segment *b* of the female informant seems to be a reduplicated form of the copula, characteristically palatalised before the deictic element. In fact, when we examine the next item, we will see the variant *. . . nach b' é* used by nearly half the informants across Inis Mór.

imal form *seo*. The male informant also produces the non-standard construction *... nach 'in é*, with the initial consonant of the deictic form elided.

On Inis Oírr, we get the expected construction *... nach shod é* from the older female informant, but we get the construction *... nach 'od é*, with elision of the initial segment of the deictic pronoun, from the male informant, along with *... ná shod é* ([**Na həd eː**]), with, once again, substitution of the variant complementiser *ná*, with its vowel slightly fronted.[136]

In contrast to the other two informants on Inis Oírr, however, the youngest informant, F 18, gives us two examples with an excess of friction in the initial segment of the lenited deictic pronoun: *... nach chod (an áit .../é)* ([**nʌx ˈxəd ...**]). This is apparently an example of hypercorrection, an attempt to assure that the articulation of the deictic pronoun is not too lax, with lenition of the initial segment leading to its possible elision.

Note once again that in all the non-standard negative complementary constructions, the deictic pronoun is universally lenited or elided, but never palatalised. Thus, in the data from the three islands, we find the variants *... nach shod, ... nach 'od, ... ná shod, ... nach shobh*, and, with a more distal pronominal form, *nach 'in*.

Two female informants on Inis Mór produce constructions with palatalised elements, but it is the bilabial segment within the copula itself which is palatalised, not the deictic pronoun which follows. Thus, F 70 at An Sruthán produces the apparent past tense construction *... nárbh 'iod é é*, and her contemporary F 70 at Cill Éinne produces a variant with a reduplicated copula: *... nach b' iod é*, but in both constructions, it is the copula itself which is palatalised.

This is consistent with what we have seen so far of the strong tendency across the islands to palatalise all bilabial segments associated with the copula, e.g., in the non-standard interrogative copula *Ab ... ?*[137] and in the non-standard positive complementiser *... gob ....*

Note also both the positive and the negative constructions produced by the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla. The use of deictic constructions as complements without any complementiser may be a sign of linguistic change on Inis Mór.

... an é seo é nó nach é

Moving on to disjunctive deictic constructions with pronominal referents, we will examine the construction *... an é seo é nó nach é*, a disjunctive interrogative copulative construction which is embedded in a larger sentence framework: *Níl a fhios aige an é seo é nó nach é*.

Beginning with the substructure *... an é seo é ...*, we note that not a single informant in all three islands uses the Standard Irish construction *... an é seo é ....* Instead, all the informants employ the local alternative construction consisting basically of the local interrogative marker *ab*, a deictic pronoun and personal pronoun(s): *... ab 'iod*

[136] Since we now have this example from M 55 in addition to the example from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór, it seems warranted to suspect use of a complementiser associated with Munster dialects rather than simply ascribing the form to lax articulation.

[137] The sole exception to palatalisation of this form is the male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór, mentioned earlier.

é é . . ., etc..

As for the reduplicated personal pronoun . . .

On Inis Mór only the female informant at An Sruthán reduplicates the pronoun in her example *. . . ab 'iod é é . . .*, with the personal pronouns clearly separated from one another by a glottal stop.

On Inis Meáin, both informants produce neither a reduplicated pronoun nor the deictic pronoun itself, choosing instead to produce the abbreviated construction *. . . ab é nó nach é*. In this case, both informants use the interrogative marker *ab* even though, as we have seen, both use the Standard Irish variant *an* when producing the simple interrogative structure examined above, i.e., *An é seo é ?*.

On Inis Oírr, the older female informant, F 41, uses a reduplicated pronoun in a non-standard construction of the type familiar to us, i.e., *. . . ab 'iod é é . . .*, with the personal pronouns again clearly separated by a glottal stop. Her husband, M 55, produces an odd blended construction with his example *. . . ab 'iod é an ceann é . . . .* The younger female informant, F 18, produces only single personal pronouns in her three examples, once again perhaps signalling generational change.

Let us look more closely at the form of the interrogative deictic constructions found under this item.

On Inis Mór, we note the ubiquity of the construction *. . . ab 'iod é . . .* across the island. As noted above, the female informant at An Sruthán uses the same construction with a reduplicated personal pronoun, while her contemporary at Cill Éinne substitutes a more distal deictic pronoun to produce *. . . ab 'in é . . . .* The male informant at Corrúch once again stands out in his use of the deictic element *'eobh*: *. . . ab 'eobh é . . . .*

On Inis Meáin, as mentioned above, both informants produce the abbreviated construction *. . . ab é . . . .*

On Inis Oírr, in addition to the constructions mentioned above produced by the older informants, we have two examples of *. . . ab 'iod é . . .* and one of *. . . ab 'in é . . .* from the younger female informant.

Turning now to the second substructure of the disjunction, the construction *. . . nó nach é*, we encounter a striking feature which distinguishes Inis Mór clearly from the other two islands. Though we note the Standard Irish construction *. . . nó nach é* across all three islands, we also note the odd construction *. . . nó nach b' é*, with what appears to be a reduplicated copula, used by nearly half the informants across Inis Mór.[138] Thus F 43 at Bungabhla, F 72 at Corrúch, M 68 at Eochaill, and F 70 at Cill Éinne all use the construction.

It is possible that this construction is an innovation which originated in eastern Inis Mór, since F 43, the only westerner to use this construction, is of a younger generation, has done her secondary schooling at Cill Rónáin in eastern Inis Mór, has married a son of F 70 from Cill Éinne, and has been living in Cill Rónáin since marriage.

[138]Recall the reduplicated copula in the construction *. . . nach b'iod é*, produced by the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór.

One might also be tempted to identify this construction with female informants, since only one of the informants who use this construction is male, but this matter needs further investigation. Anecdotal information from a young friend from Inis Oírr confirms the use of the odd copulative form in the speech of an Inis Mór man, now deceased but perhaps in his early fifties at the time, from An Sruthán in western Inis Mór. The form occurred in the tag question *. . . nach b'ea?* and was heard in conversation in the year 2005.

Suffice it to say, at this juncture, that the reduplicated copula in negative subordinate constructions seems confined to Inis Mór.

Summarising the Principal Patterns in Present Tense Deictic Constructions.

First, we have noted that deictic constructions with a noun phrase as complement have different patterns of distribution than do those with a personal pronoun as complement. On examining the construction *Seo ceann maith!*, we noted that easternmost Inis Mór substitutes the classificatory copulative construction *Is ceann maith é seo/sin*, whereas western Inis Mór and the other two islands use deictic constructions.

The pattern of distribution is much the same for the construction *Sin drochcheann!*.

As for the deictic pronouns used, the Standard Irish form *seo* is used only by a minority – one female informant on each of the three islands. The variant *siod* is used in westernmost Inis Mór and by the the older generation on Inis Oírr. Neither informant in Inis Meáin uses it. A third variant – *sios* – is found only at An Sruthán and at Fearann an Choirce in west/central Inis Mór. It occurs only in this construction.

The more distal deictic pronoun *sin* exists universally in the three islands. Two male informants, however, one in central Inis Mór and the other in Inis Oírr, lenite the initial consonant, producing *shin*.

Two odd constructions, employing an unexpected personal pronoun, are produced by the male informant in Inis Meáin and by a female informant in Inis Mór – *Seobh é ceann maith!* and *Sin é drochcheann!*, respectively.

In regard to deictic constructions with pronominal referents such as *Seo é!*, in this case the constructions with reduplicated personal pronouns (*Siod é é!*, etc.) stretch nearly the length of Inis Mór, leaving only Cill Rónáin and Cill Éinne at the eastern tip with the Standard Irish construction *Seo é!*. To the east, again the male informants in both islands produce reduplicated personal pronouns, while all the female informants again produce Standard Irish constructions.

As for the form of the deictic pronouns, we find the variant *siod* used again in westernmost Inis Mór and again in Inis Oírr, though now the younger female informant joins the male informant in producing this form. In Inis Meáin, however, neither informant uses this form. A lenited form of this variant, *shod*, is produced by the same male informant in central Inis Mór who produced the lenited form *shin* above.

The variant *seobh*, with a bilabial glide separating the deictic pronoun from the personal pronoun, e.g., *Seobh é (é!)*, is produced by the male informant at Corrúch in central Inis Mór and by both informants in Inis Meáin.

The more distal construction *Sin é!* follows much the same general pattern, except that in this construction none of the informants across all three islands produce a lenited form

of the deictic pronoun.

Turning to the interrogative deictic construction *An é seo é?*, only the informants on Inis Meáin produce relatively Standard Irish constructions. But note that both produce the interrogative marker *An . . . ?* with the final segment unpalatalised. In contrast, nearly all the other informants on the other two islands produce the variant *Ab 'iod é (é?)*, with the final consonant palatalised (except for one informant). The male informant at Corrúch in Inis Mór again produces a variant based on *seobh*: *Ab 'eobh é (é)?*.

As for the negative deictic construction *Ní hé seo é!*, only the male informant at Eochaill in Inis Mór produces the Standard Irish construction. In contrast, nearly all the other informants on Inis Mór and all the informants on Inis Oírr produce the variant *Ní shod é (é!)*, with the initial consonant lenited but not palatalised. This time it is the male informant on Inis Meáin who produces a variant based on *seobh*: *Ní shobh é é!*. Again, the initial consonant is lenited but not palatalised.

In regard to deictic constructions in subordinate clauses, the only informant who produces a construction roughly similar to the Standard Irish construction *. . . gurb é seo é* is the female informant on Inis Meáin, who produces a variant with a phonologically reduced form of the complementiser: *. . . gob é seo é*. On the other two islands, nearly all the informants produce the variant *. . . gob 'iod é (é)*, with the final segment of the phonologically reduced complementiser palatalised. As might be expected, the male informant at Corrúch in Inis Mór and the male informant on Inis Meáin again produce a variant based on *seobh*: *. . . gob 'eobh é*. Finally, note that the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, does not use a complementiser at all: *Dúirt sé siod é é*. This is an important typological change in the language.

As for the negative counterpart to that construction, *. . . nach é seo é*, only the two informants on Inis Meáin use the Standard Irish construction *. . . nach é sin é*. All the informants on the other islands give a wide variety of nonstandard variants, with the variant *. . . nach shod é*, again with a lenited but unpalatalised initial consonant in the deictic pronoun, particularly prominent. Eastern Inis Mór yields the three variants *. . . nach dod é é/ . . . nach rod é/ . . . nach b 'iod é*. The male informant in Inis Oírr produces a form which echoes Munster dialect forms – *. . . ná shod é*, and the male informant at Fearann an Choirce in Inis Mór produces a very similar construction. Once again, the male informant at Corrúch in Inis Mór produces a variant based on *seobh*: *. . . nach shobh é*, but the male informant on Inis Meáin substitutes the more distal deictic pronoun *sin* on this occasion, to produce the construction *. . . nach 'in é*, with the initial consonant of the deictic pronoun elided.[139] Finally, note that once again the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, does not use a complementiser at all: *Dúirt sé ní shod é é*.

In the case of the disjunctive deictic construction embedded in the sentence *Níl a fhios aige an é seo é nó nach é*, no informant in all three islands uses the Standard Irish constructionfor the first substructure, *. . . an é seo é . . .*, instead using the local variant constructions *. . . ab 'iod é (é) . . .* or *. . . ab 'eobh é . . .* (in the case of the male informant at Corrúch in Inis Mór). Even the two informants on Inis Meáin produce the variant *. . . ab é . . .*, eschewing the Standard Irish interrogative marker *an* in this case. Two informants on the two other

[139] In the interrogative construction *Ab 'in . . . ?* the initial consonant of the more distal deictic pronoun is also elided.

islands substitute the phrase *... ab 'in é ...*, with the more distal deictic pronoun, revealing clearly the elision of the initial consonant. As for the second substructure, *... nó nach é*, we note the striking construction *... nó nach b' é* from nearly half the informants in Inis Mór. Though the construction is strongly linked to eastern Inis Mór, we have also heard the phrase *Nach b' ea?* reported from Sruthán. Is it possible that these are reduced forms of *... nó nach ab é* and *Nach ab ea?*, with a phonologically reduced form of the interrogative marker *ab*?[140]

It is clear that the combination of the prefixed grammatical markers and the following deictic pronouns trigger the mutations in a uniform way across the islands. We may set out the following schema:

(Palatalisation and Elision) *Ab 'iod ... ?/ Ab 'eobh ... ?; ... gob 'iod ... / ... gob 'eobh ...*

(Lenition) *Ní shod ... / Ní shobh ... ; Ní shin ...*[141]

(Elision) *... nach 'od ... / ... nach 'obh ...* [142]

Ab 'in ... ? ... nach 'in ...

21 Deictic Constructions: Past Tense

B' é seo é!

Turning now to deictic constructions in the past tense, we begin with the construction *B' é seo é!*.

Many of the informants in both Inis Mór and Inis Oírr substituted present tense equivalents for the past tense forms. Nevertheless, we get the past tense deictic construction *Ba 'od é é!* [**bə əd ɛː ɛː**] from the female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór and from the two female informants on Inis Oírr. The older informant produces *B' od é é!* [**b əd eˑ eˑ**], while the younger informant produces *B' od é!* [**b ˈəd ɛ**].

We get a different past tense deictic construction from M 50 at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór, [**bʲ ij əd ɛ**], which appears to represent *B' iod é*, with a palatalised copula immediately before the deictic pronoun. The problem is that though this past tense deictic construction can be easily distinguished from its present tense counterpart *Siod é!*, it is not so easily distinguished acoustically from the present tense interrogative deictic construction *Ab 'iod é?*. In the case of the examples produced by the female informants above, this problem does not exist since the copula is not palatalised.

We get a more Standard Irish construction from the male informant on Inis Meáin, though with a palatal glide inserted: *Ba j-é seo é!* [**buj ˈeː ʃə eˑ**], and a similar construction from the female informant in An Sruthán on Inis Mór: *Ba j-é é!* [**bʊj eː eː**], though, properly speaking, it is not a deictic construction.

On Inis Meáin, the female informant produces a similar non-deictic construction, but this one has a reduplicated, lenited copula: *Ba bh'é!* [**bəvʲ ˈɛː**].

[140] Such an explanation will not work for the declarative construction *... nach b' iod é* cited earlier from Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór.

[141] Cf. the examples in the next section.

[142] Despite the transcriptions, it seems more logical to allow for transcription error and to represent *... nach shod ...* as *... nach 'od ...* and *... nach shobh ...* as *... nach 'obh ...*.

In sum, in the almost identical examples from the three female informants on Inis Mór and Inis Oírr, the past tense of the non-standard deictic construction can be clearly distinguished by the absence of palatalisation in the copula itself from the present tense interrogative construction. Despite the example from M50, then, from the standpoint of its functional utility and from the fact that the non-palatalised variant was produced by three informants living on two separate islands, I would say that the the non-palatal variant *B' od é (é!)* represents the traditional norm for the past tense deictic construction.

B' iad seo iad!

Turning now to the construction *B' iad seo iad!*, the plural counterpart of the preceding construction, once again we see widespread substitution of present tense constructions for their past tense equivalents. In regard to the past tense constructions, we will focus principally on the palatalisation of the copula.

On Inis Mór, we get the construction *b' úd iad!* ([**b uːd ɛːd**]) from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce, a construction with the most distal deictic pronoun *úd*. Note that the copula is not palatalised.

We get similar constructions from the male informant at Corrúch and from the female informant at Cill Éinne: *b' iúd iad!* ([**bʲ uːd iˑᵉd**]) and *b' iúd é!/ b' iúd iad é!* (['**bʲ uːd eː/** '**bʲ uːd eːᵊd eˑ**]). Note, however, that in these examples, the copula is palatalised.

As for other past tense deictic constructions on Inis Mór, we note *B' in iad iad!* ([**bʲ ɪnʲ ɛːd ɪd**]), employing the more distal deictic pronoun (*sin*) with the initial consonant elided, from the female informant F 72 at Corrúch. Note that the copula is palatalised.[143]

Further east, at Cill Rónáin, however, M 50 substitutes the construction *B' iad seo (a) bhí iontu* ([**bʷ iːd ʃə vʲiˑ ntʊ**]) for a deictic construction, but here the copula is palatalised.

On Inis Meáin, we get two forms of the Standard Irish construction *B' iad seo iad!* from the male informant. In the first example, *Ba j-iad seo iad!* [**bʷiː ʔiˑᵊd ʃə iˑᵊt**] there is a labialised copula followed by the palatal glide [**j**] inserted before the personal pronoun, itself preceded by a glottal stop.[144] His second example, the construction *B' iad seo iad!* [**bʲ iˑᵊd ʃə iˑᵊt**], is a nearly identical construction, but without the palatal glide. Here the copula is palatalised.

He also produces the construction *Ba bh' iad iad!* [**bəw** '**iˑᵊd iˑᵊt**], which contains a reduplicated copula, but note that he has not palatalised the reduplicated form. Instead, he has used the bilabial glide [**w**] to represent the lenited copula.[145]

As for the female informant, she produces the constructions *Ba bh' iad . . . siúd iad!* ([**bəvʲ** '**iˑᵊt . . .** '**ʃuːd iˑᵊd**]), *Ba bh' iad . . .* ([**bəvʲ iˑᵉd . . .**]) and *Ba bh' in iad . . .*

[143] In fact, I do not recall ever hearing a non-palatalised copula in a deictic construction such as *B' in iad!*.
[144] The articulatory transition from the labialised copula to the palatal glide would explain the odd long high front vowel [**iː**].
[145] This use of the bilabial glide [**w**] to represent the reduplicated copula is unique to this informant.

([**bəvʹ ɪmʹ iˑᵉd**]), but note that in all three cases the reduplicated, lenited copula is palatalised.

On Inis Oírr, the male informant produces the construction *B' iod iad!*, with the copula palatalised, but the youngest informant there, F 18, produces the examples *Ba iad siod é* ([**bu eːt ˈʃəd ɛ**]) and *B' iad siod iad* ([**bʷ eːt ˈʃəd ɛd**]) with the copula clearly not palatalised. In her case, however, the copula appears directly before a personal pronoun.

It seems that the palatalised and non-palatalised variants of the copula in these constructions may be in competition across all three islands. The matter certainly deserves more investigation.

Arbh é seo é?

Turning now to the past tense interrogative deictic construction *Arbh é seo é?*, we encounter not a single example of the Standard Irish past tense construction in any of the islands. Instead, we encounter the usual present tense constructions, such as *Ab 'iod é (é)?* (the predominant form), *Ab 'in é?*, and *B' eobh é?*(from the male informant at Corrúch in Inis Mór).

Among them, however, we find two examples with the Standard Irish present tense interrogative marker: *An é seo é?* ([**əN ˈeː ˈʃəˑ eː**]), produced by the female informant on Inis Meáin, and another, more abbreviated present tense construction from the female informant at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór: *An é?* ([**əN eː**]). Note that in both constructions the final segment of the interrogative particle is unpalatalised, despite the assimilative influence of the following mid-front vowel of the personal pronoun.[146]

This time, however, the male informant on Inis Meáin comes close to a past tense Standard Irish construction in his two examples *Arb é seo . . . ?* and *Arb é seo é é?*. He also produces the construction *Arb 'eobh é é?* ([**ər ˈbʹᵉw eː eː**]), with the deictic element *'eobh*.

In all his examples, the copula, [**ərbʹ**], while palatalised, is not lenited. In the absence of lenition, M 70 seems to be relying on the segment [**r**] in the copula in order to mark the past tense in the construction.

The male informant at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór produces an even more interesting construction: *R' iod é?* ([**rʹ əd ɛ**]), in which both the interrogative element and the copula seem to be reduced to zero, leaving only the palatalised past tense marker [**rʹ**], followed by the deictic element and the personal pronoun.

Otherwise, as mentioned above, all the examples of past tense constructions from Inis Mór and from Inis Oírr are indistinguishable from their non-Standard Irish present tense counterparts.

We get an counter-example to the examples just given, however, from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór, who, as in the case of the present tense

[146]This absence of palatalisation in the interrogative particle *An . . . ?* has already both noted in the examples of present tense interrogative deictic constructions produced by both informants in Inis Meáin.

interrogative construction, does not palatalise the copula even though it is an interrogative construction: *. . . b' od é é?* ([**b əd ɛː ɛ**]).

Níorbh é seo é!

We turn now to negative past tense deictic constructions with pronominal referents.

On Inis Mór we get the Standard Irish construction *Níorbh é seo é!* ([**nʹiˑrw e ʃə ɛ**]), with no palatalisation of the final segment of the copula, from the male informant at Cill Rónáin.[147]

On Inis Meáin we get close counterparts from both informants, but with the final segment of the copula palatalised: *Nírbh é seo é!* ([**nʹiˑrvʹ ˈe ˈʃə ɛ**]), and *Nírbh é sin é!* ([**Nʹiːrvʹ eː ʃɪnʹ eː**]), respectively.

As for non-standard past tense constructions, we encounter two examples on Inis Mór. The female informant at Corrúch produces the construction *Nírbh 'iod é!* ([**nʹiːrvʹ əd ɛː**]), while the female informant at An Sruthán produces *Nírbh 'in é!* ([**nʹiˑrvʹ ɪnʹ ˈɛː**]). Note that in both constructions the final segment of the copula is palatalised, just as it is on Inis Meáin.

All other examples in both Inis Mór and on Inis Oírr contain the normal present tense negative constructions: *Ní shod é (é)!, Ní shin é (é)!, Ní shobh é!*(at Corrúch), etc..[148]

Níorbh iad na cinn . . . arbh iad?

We move on now to the construction *Níorbh iad na cinn . . . arbh iad?*, a negative past tense copulative construction with a tag question appended.

Starting at the beginning of the sentence, we note that of all the informants across the three islands, only the female informant in Inis Meáin has produced a negative copulative construction in the past tense, *Nírbh iad sin . . . .* Note that the final segment of the copula is palatalised: [**Nʹiːrvʹ iət ʃɪnʹ . . .**].

As for the form of the tag question, we get only one Standard Irish construction from among all the informants across the three islands — the construction *. . . arbh iad?*, again from the female informant in Inis Meáin. We also get the past tense copula form *. . . arb iad?*, with the past tense marker but without lenition or palatalisation of the final segment, from the female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór.

In contrast, we get the form *. . . abh iad?* from the male informant on Inis Oírr, a form which has the lenition and palatalisation of the final segment, but which seems to lack the past tense marker *r*.

. . . nárbh é seo é

As for the the construction *. . . nárbh é seo é*, a negative past tense deictic construction embedded in a finite complementary clause, we find not a single example of the Standard Irish construction on any of the islands.

[147] Bear in mind once again that he is the headmaster of the vocational school there.

[148] Note that we are get lenited deictic elements with non-palatalised initial segments in these non-standard negative deictic constructions.

We have a past tense Standard Irish construction from the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, but it is a clause construction suitable for a main clause: *Dúirt sé ní hé . . . nírbh é seo é* ([**. . . ɴ′iˑrv′ e ʃə ʔeː**]).[149]

As for non-standard past tense constructions, we have the construction *. . . nárbh 'iod é* ([**. . . naˑrv′ əd eː/ɛː**]) from two female informants on Inis Mór, F 70 at An Sruthán and F 72 at Corrúch, respectively.

From Inis Oírr we also have the construction *. . . nár 'od é an áit* ([**. . . naˑr əd ɛ ɴ̩ˈɑːt′**]) from the male informant there. In his example, the subordinate negative marker and the past marker are present, but the segment representing the copula itself is not physically present.

Of course there are many non-standard present tense constructions given for this item. The construction *. . . nach shod é (é)* is by far the most prevalent, at least on Inis Mór, but we also have *. . . ná shod é*, *. . . nach shobh é*(from Corrúch), *. . . nach 'in é é*, etc..

Of special interest are the examples *. . . nach b' iod é é* and *. . . nach b' iod é an áit é* from the female informant F 70 at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór, with the reduplication of the copula already seen in her examples — identical in form — for the present tense.[150]

Note that all these variant constructions for the present tense either lenite or elide the initial segment of the deictic pronoun following the copula.

22 Identificatory Copulative Constructions with Human Subjects

Is é Seán é

Moving on to identificatory copulative constructions with human subjects, we begin with the the construction *Is é Seán é*.

On Inis Mór we find this Standard Irish construction attested by only two informants, whereas a similar construction without the final pronoun, *Is é Seán*, is attested by twice as many informants. This impression is strengthened by the male informant at Eochaill, who presents two examples of the non-standard construction *Is é Seán* and only one example of the Standard Irish construction *Is é Seán é*.

As for other constructions, all the informants on Inis Mór produce examples with deictic constructions. Thus we have constructions such as *Seo é Seán!*, *Seobh é Seán!*, *Siod é Seán!*, *Sin é Seán!* and *Shin é Seán!* rather randomly distributed among informants across the island.

[149] As in her examples cited earlier, *Dúirt sé siod é é* and *Dúirt sé ní shod é é*, F 43 omits the complementiser and simply embeds the independent clause within the main clause. As mentioned earlier, this phenomenon may be an important sign of linguistic change on Inis Mór.

[150] The reduplication of the copula not only in these constructions but also in the construction *. . . nó nach é* also described earlier is characteristic of F 70's linguistic behaviour. Note that no lenition is attempted to distinguish this past tense construction from a present tense construction.

On Inis Meáin, we have the Standard Irish construction *Is é Seán é* from the female informant – as we might expect – and the deictic construction *Sin é Seán!* from the male informant.

On Inis Oírr, we have only the deictic constructions *Seo é Seán!* (from the older female informant) and *Shod é Seán!* (from her husband).

To sum up, it seems that the construction without the final pronoun, *Is é Seán*, has become dominant over the Standard Irish construction on Inis Mór, but is not yet attested in the other two islands. This construction is very likely a loan translation from English.

An í an bhean . . . ?

We turn now to the interrogative copulative construction *An í an bhean . . . ?*

On Inis Mór we note only one instance of the Standard Irish construction, that given by M 50 at Cill Rónáin, who is, of course, headmaster of the vocational school on the island. All the examples from the other informants are variants of the non-standard deictic construction *Ab 'in í an bhean . . . ?*.

However, from F 43 at Bungabhla we have two examples of a hypercorrect construction *An b' in í an bhean . . . ?* in which the interrogative marker *an* has partially replaced the non-standard interrogative marker *ab*. Since she is the youngest informant on Inis Mór, this could be another sign of generational change.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant produces the non-standard deictic construction *Ab 'in í an bhean . . . ?*. The female informant, however, produces what appears to be the expected Standard Irish construction, but on closer inspection we note that the personal pronoun is in fact a generalised pronoun *é* instead of the expected feminine pronoun *í*: *An é an bhean . . . ?*.

On Inis Oírr, all three informants produce variants of the non-standard construction *Ab 'in í an bhean . . . ?*, but the youngest informant, F 18, again uses the generalised personal pronoun *é* instead of the expected feminine pronoun *í*: *Ab 'in é an bhean . . . ?*.

We have often encountered the generalised pronoun *é* in Inis Oírr as part of the generalised interrogative marker *Ab' é . . . ?*, but its appearance in both eastern islands in this type of construction is interesting.

An iad na mná . . . ?

We now turn to the plural counterpart of the construction above: *An iad na mná . . . ?*.

On Inis Mór, it is M 50 at Cill Rónáin again who gives us the sole example of the Standard Irish construction on Inis Mór. All the other informants produce either the non-standard deictic construction *Ab 'iod iad na mná . . . ?* or the construction *Ab 'in iad na mná . . . ?* in apparently random fashion.

On Inis Meáin, it is again the female informant who produces the relatively Standard Irish deictic construction *An iad sin na mrá . . . ?*, while the male informant again produces the non-standard counterpart: *Ab 'in iad na mná/mrá . . . ?*.

On Inis Oírr, the older female informant produces two examples of the non-standard interrogative deictic construction *Ab 'in iad na mná/mrá . . . ?*, while her husband produces a single example of the same construction: *Ab 'in iad na mrá . . . ?*.

The youngest informant, F 18, however, in producing the same construction, omits the personal pronoun in both her examples: *Ab 'in na mrá . . . ?*. This may be a sign of linguistic change.

Ní hé an tríú fear

Turning to the last of the present tense constructions, the negative construction *Ní hé an tríú fear*, we find little to surprise us in the responses of the informants across all three islands.

On Inis Oírr, however, the youngest informant, F 18, again omits the personal pronoun in her construction *Ní an tríú duine*. This adds further evidence of a linguistic change across the generations.

Past Tense Constructions: B' é Seán é

Moving on now to past tense counterparts of these constructions, we begin with the past tense declarative construction *B' é Seán é*.

On Inis Mór, from the female informant at Corrúch we get the relatively Standard Irish construction *Ba é Seán é* ([**bʷə eː ʃɑːN ɛ**]), with the vowel of the copula unelided before the vowel of the following personal pronoun.

We get a similar form, but with the palatal glide [**j**] as a sandhi form before the personal pronoun, from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce: *Ba j-é Seán* ([**biːj eː ʃɑːn**]). We get a similar variant of the copula in a cleft construction from the female informant at Eoghanacht: *Ba j-é Seán a chonaic mé inné* ([**buːj eː ʃɑːN . . .**]). Note that the initial segment of the copula remains velarised.

In contrast, the female informant at An Sruthán produces the palatal glide [**j**] in her example *B' ij-é* ([**bʲij ˈeː**]), but she palatalises the initial segment of the copula, as does M 50 at Cill Rónáin in a similar construction: *B' ij-é Seán* ([**bʲiː eˑ ʃɑːN**]).

On the other hand, the easternmost informant on Inis Mór, F 70 at Cill Éinne, she reduplicates the copula and lenites it in her two constructions: *Ba bh' é Seán é* ([**bəvʲ ˈeː ˈʃɑːN ɛ**]) and *Ba bh' é Seán* ([**bəvʲ ˈeː ʃɑːn**]).

As for the use of the final personal pronoun in such constructions, note that about half of the constructions occur without the final pronoun.

Other informants give present tense constructions, some in cleft constructions in which the embedded relative clause establishes the past time frame, and others in simple declarative sentences who give no indication of the past time frame.

Interestingly enough, we encounter no simple present tense constructions lacking the final personal pronoun.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant produces the construction *Ba j-é Seán é* ([**bʊj ˈeː ˈʃɑːN ɛ**]), as well as two examples of the shorter construction *Ba j-é* ([**bʊj/bʊj**

ˈe]) — all with the palatal glide [j]. The female informant, on the other hand, prefers to reduplicate the copula and to lenite and palatalise the reduplicated form: [bəvʲ ˈeː ˌʃɑːN eː], thus imitating her neighbour F 70 at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór.

Note that the behaviour of the two informants on Inis Meáin is consistent with their behaviour in response to earlier items. Note also that the initial segment of the copula remains velarised in all the examples.

On Inis Oírr, we note that the older female informant produces the relatively Standard Irish past tense construction *B' é Seán a bhí ann* ([bʲ eː ʃɑːN . . .]) with a palatalised copula.

The youngest informant, F 18, produces a past tense construction, but, as in the case of her present tense copulative constructions, without the personal pronoun following the copula: *Ba Seán (a) bhí ann.* Her behaviour remains highly consistent and again, suggestive of linguistic change in the youngest generation on Inis Oírr.

As for the male informant, he produces a present tense construction without the final personal pronoun: *Is é Seán.* This is our only example of such a construction from either of the two eastern islands so far.

Arbh é Seán é?

We turn now to the past tense interrogative construction *Arbh é Seán é?*.

On Inis Mór, we find no examples of the Standard Irish construction. Instead, we encounter two examples of the construction *Arb é Seán é?* ([əʳbʲ eː ʃɑːN ɛ/ ᵋrbʲ ɛ ˈʃɑːN ɛ]) from the female informants in eastern Inis Mór. Note that the final segment of the copula is palatalised but not lenited.[151]

Note also the construction *Ar é Seán é?* ([r e ʃɑːN ɛ]) from M 50 at Cill Rónáin, a past form which seems to have a zero copula and which recalls his past tense construction *Ar 'iod é?* ([rʲ əd ɛ]).[152] Note that in this instance, however, the final segment of the interrogative particle is not palatalised.

Of equal interest is the construction *Ar Seán atá i gceist?* from the female informant at An Sruthán, a construction which omits the personal pronoun as well as the copula after the interrogative particle.

As for constructions with present tense forms of the copula, we find the generalised non-standard interrogative copulative form *ab* in interrogative constructions from a number of informants on Inis Mór, such as *Ab é Seán a bhí ann?*, *B' in é Seán?* and more generally, *Ab é Seán é?*.

As for elision of the clause-final personal pronoun, we get the construction *B' ij-é Seán?* (with question intonation and a palatalised copula before the palatal glide [j]) from the female informant at An Sruthán, and the construction *Ab é Seán?* from

[151] This is a variant of the past tense copula we have already noted. Recall, for example, that for the item *Arbh é seo é?*, we got [ərbʲ ˈeː ʃə ˈeː eː] and [ərbʲ eː ʃo . . .] from the male informant in Inis Meáin.

[152] This usage contrasts with his use of the generalised non-standard interrogative copular form *ab* in the disjunctive construction *. . . b' é Seán é . . .*, which is discussed next, as well as in his examples for the present tense deictic forms.

the male informant at Eochaill, along with another example with the final pronoun. Outside of these two examples from Inis Mór, however, we have no examples of such elision from the other two islands.

On Inis Meáin, we have no examples of the past tense interrogative copulative construction. Instead, we have the present tense constructions *An é Seán é ...* and *An é Seán a tháinig?* from the female informant, with the final segment of the interrogative particle *an* in both examples once again unpalatalised before the following personal pronoun.

From the male informant on Inis Meáin we have only the declarative sentence *Ba j-e* ([**buj** ˈ**eː**]), with the palatal glide [**j**].

On Inis Oírr, it is again the youngest informant, F 18, who draws our attention. She produces a cleft sentence, but she characteristically omits the personal pronoun: *A' Seán a bhí ann?* (= *Ar Seán a bhí ann?*). Note the reduction of the interrogative particle to the weak neutral vowel [ᵊ].

Ní raibh a fhios agam arbh é Seán é nó nárbh é

Turning now to the complex past tense construction *Ní raibh a fhios agam arbh é Seán é nó nárbh é*, with a disjunctive interrogative copulative construction embedded in a larger sentence framework, we shall once again examine separately both substructures of the disjunction.

... arbh é Seán é ...

Examining first the substructure *... arbh é Seán é ...*, we note that not a single informant across all three islands has used the Standard Irish past tense construction. Instead, nearly all informants use the general non-standard interrogative construction *... ab é Seán (é) ....*

On Inis Mór, however, the female informant at Corrúch does not palatalise the final segment of the copula in that construction. The female informant at Eoghanacht, on the other hand, produces a contrasting variant, both leniting and palatalising the final segment of the copula: *... abh é Seán ...* ([**əvʲ eː ʃɑːn...**]).

On Inis Meáin, once again the female informant produces the Standard Irish present tense construction *... an é Seán é* without palatalising the final segment of the interrogative particle *an* before the personal pronoun.

On Inis Oírr, the youngest informant, F 18, captures our attention with her example *... Seán a bhí ann ...*, embedded in the larger structure *Ní raibh a fhios a'm Seán a bhí ann nó nach ea.* Though her example may contain a sub-vocalised interrogative particle, once again it does not contain a personal pronoun.

As for constructions without clause-final personal pronouns, we get a cluster of examples from four informants in central Inis Mór Inis Mór — three examples of *... ab é Seán ...* and the example given above: *... abh é Seán ....* Elsewhere on Inis Mór and on the two islands to the east, we find no other examples.

. . . nó nárbh é

Turning now to the second substructure of the disjunction, the construction *. . . nó nárbh é*, we encounter only a single example of the Standard Irish construction — that of the female informant at An Sruthán on Inis Mór. Otherwise the most widely encountered construction across all three islands is the present tense construction *. . . nó nach é.*[153]

Most strikingly, however, we again encounter a feature which distinguishes Inis Mór clearly from the other two islands — the insertion of the segment *b* between the negative complementiser and the personal pronoun. Thus we get the construction *. . . nó nach b' é* from four informants stretching the length of Inis Mór, though three of them are located in the east.[154]

23 Miscellaneous Interrogative Copulative Constructions

We will end our discussion of the copula by examining four miscellaneous interrogative copulative constructions: *Cárb as é/dó?*, *Cárbh as é/dó?*, *Cá bhfios duit?* and *Cén cineál cóta é?*.

Cárb as é/dó?

Starting with the present tense construction *Cárb as é/dó?*, we note no examples of the Standard Irish construction in any of the islands.

The female informant on Inis Meáin produces the example closest to the Standard Irish construction in form: *Céarb as dó?* ([**kʹɛrb ˈæːs doˑ**]).

We get a second construction, *Cé'b as é?*, from the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór and from the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18.

From all the other informants across the three islands, we get only the construction *Cé as é?*, though the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór produces a second construction as well, *Cé as dó?*, a construction which recalls the example just mentioned from the female informant on Inis Meáin.[155]

Cárbh as é/dó?

Turning to its past tense counterpart, the construction *Cárbh as é/dó?*, we again find no Standard Irish variant in the responses of the informants across all three islands.

Once again, however, the female informant on Inis Meáin produces a very similar construction: *Céarbh as dó?* ([**kʹeːrv ˈæːs doː**]).[156]

[153]The youngest informant, F 18 on Inis Oírr, uses the neutral pronoun *ea* instead of *é*, possibly to negate the entire preceding clause rather than the subject only.

[154]Recall also the negative tag question *. . . nach b'ea?*, heard by MacDara Ó Conaola in the year 2005 from a middle-aged male speaker from An Sruthán in western Inis Mór. Recall also that F 43 at Bungabhla is the only informant in western Inis Mór to show the feature, but, as mentioned earlier, she is the daughter-in-law of the female informant at Cill Éinne and has been living in Cill Rónáin since she married.

[155]Note that the preposition *dó* is unlenited in both cases.

[156]Note that the preposition *dó* is again unlenited.

This time, however, we get a very similar construction, *Céarbh as é?*, from four informants on Inis Mór, spread the length of the island, as well as from the male informant in Inis Meáin.

The phonetic quality of the final segment in the interrogative form differs considerably, however, from informant to informant, ranging from [**kʹeːrv**] through [**kʹeˑrw**] to [**kʹeːru**].

From the older female informant in Inis Oírr we also get the closely related variant *céirbh* ([**kʹeːrvʹ**]), with the final segment clearly palatalised.

In addition, we get forms which we have seen used in present tense contexts, but which might be employed by some informants as a past tense form. For instance, the female informant at An Sruthán on Inis Mór uses the construction *Cé as é?* for the present tense construction, but the construction *Céarb as é?* for the past tense counterpart. Likewise, the younger female informant on Inis Oírr, F 18, uses *Cé'b as é?* for the present tense, but *Céarb as é?* for the past tense counterpart.

Both seem to be suing the **-r-** segment in the past tense context as a past tense marker, echoing other past tense copula variants mentioned earlier.

Also of interest is the analytic construction *Cé ba as é?* ([**kʹeˑ bə ʔæs e**]) from the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla. Here the past tense copula is separated from the following preposition by a glottal stop.

Finally, we get a few examples of the present tense form *Cé as . . . ?* in various constructions.

Cá bhfios duit?

Turning now to the construction *Cá bhfios duit?*, we note several examples of the Standard Irish construction, mainly on Inis Mór but we have one example from Inis Meáin.

Some of these examples exhibit considerable phonological reduction. If we grade the examples according to the phonological reduction of the second element of the construction, we get [**ˈkɑː wɪs ˌdɪtʃ ɛˑ**], [**kɑ wəs dɪtʃ**], [**kʌ w**[**ə**]**s** ˈ**dɪtʹ**], and [**kaᵘs dɪtʹ**]. Most of these examples come from male informants.[157]

As for the other informants, all opt for variants of the alternative construction *Cén chaoi a bhfuil a fhios agat(sa) (é)?*. Note, however, that the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43, inserts the complementiser *go* after the interrogative phrase *Cén chaoi . . . ?* in her example *Cén chaoi go bhfuil a fhios a'ts' é?*.

Here again it is worth noting the phonological reduction of the second element of the construction in the example given by the elderly female informant at Eoghanacht on Inis Mór — [**kʹɛ xu wɪlʹ . . .**], which is quite normal on Inis Mór. Most surprising, however, is its total elision in the example from the youngest female informant on Inis Oírr: [**kʹ wʊlʹ . . .**].

[157]Note once again that the prepositional form *duit* is not lenited by any informant.

Cén cineál cóta é?

Turning finally to the construction *Cén cineál cóta é?*, we find the relatively uninteresting constructions *Cén cineál cóta é?* and *Cén sórt cóta é?*, but we also encounter the strange tautological construction *Cén sórt cineál cóta é?*, with the two synonymous lexical items *sórt* and *cineál* paired in that unique sequence.

The construction *Cén sórt cineál . . . ?* occurs twice on Inis Mór and once on Inis Oírr.[158] The variant is therefore widespread in the islands, and all examples come from older informants, so it is not a recent innovation.

As for distributional patterns for the lexical items *sórt* and *cineál* in the construction *Cén cineál cóta é?*, the geographical patterns seem clear.

On Inis Mór usage of both terms seems rather mixed in the western half of the island, but eastern Inis Mór from Eochaill to Cill Éinne shows only examples of the lexical item *sórt*.

On Inis Meáin, however, only the variant *cineál* appears.

On Inis Oírr, in contrast again, all three informants use only the term *sórt*.

As for phonological reduction, we note an example of extreme phonological reduction in the first two elements of the construction [**kʹ sʌ koːt ɛ**] (= *Cén sórt cóta é?*) from the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18. We have already seen a similar phonological reduction in her example [**kʹ wʊlʹ . . .**] in the previous item.

24 Nominal Inflection

Turning now from verb phrases and copulative constructions to noun phrases, let us begin with proper nouns in the vocative case before moving on to plural common nouns in the same case.

a Sheáin!/ a Mháire!

We start with the vocative phrase *a Sheáin!*, which allows us a glimpse of how masculine personal names might be inflected for the vocative singular — at least when in relative isolation or in sentence-initial position.

In this restricted linguistic context we note the nearly universal use of the vocative form *a Sheáin!* on all three islands, with a very few notable exceptions.

Two of the youngest informants, F 43 at Bungabhla on Inis Mór and F 18 in Inis Oírr, use the nominative/accusative form *Seán!*. F 43 uses it in three of her four examples, and F 18 uses it in all three of her examples.

Before we ascribe the use of the nominative/accusative form simply to linguistic change in younger generations, note the use of the same form, *Seán!*, in half of her examples by the elderly female informant F 70 at Cill Éinne. Though she was born at Cill Éinne, she has lived in Cill Rónáin — a town always identified with the English language by

[158] The second example from Inis Mór is in the construction *Cén sórt cineál oibre . . . ?* from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce in sentence I.30.

islanders — all her married life, so it is likely that her usage reflects an old linguistic situation in the town.

It is important to note in regard to this lexical item that there is no sign of the reported practice of simply leniting the initial consonant and leaving the final consonant unpalatalised, e.g., *a Sheán!*.

The second example contains a vocative phrase, *a Mháire!*, embedded in a sentence-medial position in the sentence *Téigh abhaile, a Mháire, agus gabhfaidh muide ar ball.* In this syntactic context, we have absolutely uniform use of the vocative phrase *a Mháire!* by all informants across all three islands, including F 18.

a ghasúra!

Turning now to plural common nouns in the vocative case, we begin with the vocative phrase *a ghasúra!*.[159]

No informant uses the vocative plural suffix *-a*; all informants across all three islands simply employ the nominative/accusative plural suffix, and, with a single exception, all lenite the initial consonant after the vocative particle, which may or may not be audible. Thus, the vocative plural form encountered from nearly every informant is *a ghasúir!*.

The single exception is F 18 on Inis Oírr, the youngest informant in the entire sample. She produces the unlenited example *Gasúir!*.[160]

The vocative construction based on the lexical item *gasúr* competes with one based on the lexical item *páiste*. On Inis Mór the variant based on the lexical item *gasúr* is clearly dominant. On Inis Meáin, vocative phrases based on both lexical items are co-dominant. On Inis Oírr, the variant based on *páiste* is used exclusively by the two older informants, while the youngest informant, F 18, uses only the variant based on *gasúr*.

As for the vocative plural of *páiste*, again we encounter a nearly universal form across all three islands, *a pháistí!*, with lenition of the initial consonant after a vocative particle which may or may not be audible.[161]

a fheara!

The second item, the vocative phrase *a fheara!*, with another plural noun as head of the phrase, is embedded in the salutation *Dia daoibh, a fheara!*. This item is represented far more sparsely, with only five examples scattered across Inis Mór and two examples from Inis Oírr. We have no examples from Inis Meáin.

On Inis Mór, we get the Standard Irish vocative phrase *a fheara!* from F 70 at An Sruthán and from M 50 at Cill Rónáin.[162]

[159]This phrase is in roughly sentence-initial position in the three sentences in which it occurs, but its position seems to make little difference to regard to the form of the noun.

[160]Nevertheless, it must be noted that at the time of elicitation, she protested that "We wouldn't really say *Gasúir!*", a fact which tends to invalidate the example!

[161]In this instance, the exception to the lenition rule is the female informant in Inis Meáin, who does not lenite the initial consonant in one of the two examples she produces with this lexical variant.

[162]F 70's example is interesting in that she uses a glottal stop to separate the vowel of the vocative particle from that of the lenited vocative plural noun form: **[ə ʔærə]**.

On the other hand, M 60 at Fearann an Choirce uses what seems to be the old dative plural ending in both his examples in order to represent the vocative plural ending: *[a] fhearaibh!* ([**æːrᵊvʹ**])/*[a] fhearaib!* ([**æːrʲbʹ**]).[163]

M 82 at Corrúch, however, produces a form *[a] fhir!*, which appears to be a vocative singular form, but in this relatively unambiguous sentence context, the form seems to be intended as a vocative plural form, formed by using the plural nominative/accusative form *fir* as base form and simply leniting the initial consonant to form the vocative plural, as in the previous item.

Moving on to Inis Oírr, the two examples of *[a] fheara!* from the two female informants there are straightforward representations of the Standard Irish form, but note that the younger of the two, F 18, uses the Standard Irish form here, including lenition of the initial consonant, despite her examples discussed earlier.

In sum, it appears that the vocative plural suffix *-a* is not in productive use in any of the Aran Islands.

The use of that suffix with the lexical item *fear* is widespread, but that variant may simply be a fossilised form conserved in a high-frequency lexical item.

To sum up, it seems to be the case that the vocative plural is normally represented by a plural nominative/accusative noun form with a lenited initial consonant and preceded by the often inaudible vocative particle *a*.[164]

Indefinite Genitival Constructions

Moving on now to genitival constructions with an indefinite head noun, we begin with the phrase *glac fhataí* or *mám fhataí*.

glac fhataí/ mám fhataí

On Inis Mór, we note the relatively Standard Irish construction *lán mo dhorna de fhataí* ([**Lɑːn mə ɣaᵘrNə ʤɛ ʔatiˑ**]) from M 50 at Cill Rónáin. The nominal qualifier, however, exhibits the Class Three genitival inflection with the terminal vowel *-a* instead of the expected Class One form *dhoirn*.[165] Note also the uncharacteristic Standard Irish phonetic shape of the preposition *de* in the partitive construction as well as the unusual glottal stop.[166]

At Eochaill we get a more typical response in *lán glaice g' fhataí* ([**Lɑːn gLɛkʹɛ g aːtiː**]), with a prepositional form based on the form *go* and elision of the final vowel of the preposition. From Cill Éinne we get a similar construction: *lán mo 'laice go fataí* ([**Lɑːn mə Lɛkʹɛ gə fatiˑ**]), but here the informant elides the initial velar consonant of the noun *glaice* instead of simply leniting it, and she fails to lenite the initial consonant of the noun *fataí* after the prepositional form.

[163] Note the absence of lenition in the final segment of the second example.
[164] It seems equally clear, however, that more documentation is needed to establish this as fact.
[165] In fact, as shown by the responses of M 82 and F 72 to Item 455 of the *LASID* questionnaire administered in Corrúch, the form *dorna* on Inis Mór seems to be an invariable form used in both the nominative and genitive cases.
[166] Once again it is worth recalling that M 50, as headmaster of the vocational school in Cill Rónáin, would be quite familiar with Standard Irish prepositional forms.

Her daughter-in-law, F 43, gives a very similar response in which she also fails to lenite the initial consonant of the noun after the prepositional form *go*: *lán láimhe go fataí* ([**Lɑːn Lɑːvʹɛ gə faˑtiˑ**]). The male informant at Fearann an Choirce, after offering *lán mo bhoise-se*, also gives his version of the same expression, *lán mo 'laic' 'a bhfataí* ([**Lɑːn mə Ləkʹ ə vʹæˑti**]), eliding the initial consonant of *glaice* instead of simply leniting it, but eclipsing the initial consonant of *fataí* after the prepositional form *go*.

The other informants on Inis Mór give shorter phrases, without an accompanying partitive construction. We find *glaic fhataí*, *mam fataí* (from *An Sruthán* and *Corrúch*) and *mam pataí* (also from *Corrúch*).

On Inis Meáin, we again encounter the longer construction, containing a genitival noun phrase followed by a partitive prepositional phrase. Thus the male informant gives us *lán glaice g' fhataí* ([**Lɑːŋ gLɪkʹɛ g aˑtiˑ**]), while the female informant gives us *lán mo láimh go fhataí* ([**LɑːN mə Laʲvʹ gə ʔætiˑ**]).[167]

On Inis Oírr, we note only short responses without a partitive construction from all three informants. The male informant gives us *glaicín beag fataí* ([**gLækʹiːnʹ bʹɛg faːtiː**]), while his wife gives us a similar form, *glaic fataí* (['**gLɛkʹ faːtiː**]). The youngest informant, F 18, on the other hand, gives a more standard form of the head noun: *glac fataí*.[168]

In sum, there is a strong cluster of longer constructions containing both a genitival construction and a following partitive construction from Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór through Inis Meáin, with all the informants, without exception, producing such a construction. On the other hand, not a single informant on Inis Oírr produces such a construction.

níos mó spáis

As for the phrase *níos mó spáis*, it is a construction with a mass noun in the genitive case as a qualifier. In this case, none of the informants in any of the islands uses the Class One genitival inflection. Instead, nearly all use the nominative/accusative form *spás*.[169]

Definite Genitival Constructions

Turning now to genitival constructions which have a definite noun as head of the construction and which qualify another definite noun, we begin with the phrase *rothar an bhuachalla eile*.

rothar an bhuachalla eile

None of the informants in any of the islands produce the Standard Irish form of the construction, with the second noun inflected for the genitive case.

[167]The noun *lámh* is apparently not in the genitive case but, again, in what appears to be the dative case. This is in fact an invariable nominal form in the nominative/accusative case, but it takes its shape from the old dative case.

[168]Note that in the case of the last two informants, neither lenites the initial consonant of the qualifying adjective *fataí* when it follows directly after the feminine head noun *glac/glaic*.

[169]A single informant, the female informant at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór, uses what appears to be the Class Three genitival inflection with the terminal vowel *-a*. Further investigation, however, revealed that the form was an invariable form *spása*, hence a form more properly classified as a Class Four noun.

On Inis Mór, the closest we come to the Standard Irish construction is the construction *rothar an bhuachaill eile*, in which the head noun is properly lenited after the definite article, but is not inflected. This construction we get from two informants in central Inis Mór.

The female informant at Eoghanacht, however, produces the construction *rothar an bu'chaill eile*, in which the head noun is not even lenited. The male informant at Eochaill produces a similar construction, *rothóir [sic] an buachaill eile*, while the female informant at Corrúch produces the same type of construction, but then corrects to the construction type mentioned earlier, with lenition of the head noun but no inflection: *ro'ar [sic] an bhóchaill eile*.

Her brother, M 82 at Corrúch, interprets the phrase as a plural construction, and produces the constructions *ro'ar na mbuachaillí/ro'ar na mbochaillí*, with the proper genitival inflection.

The other informants on Inis Mór give us no further pertinent examples.

On Inis Meáin, both informants produce the construction type with lenition of the initial consonant but with no inflection of the noun itself. Thus the male informant produces *rothar a' bhu'chaill eile*, and the female informant produces *rothar an bhuachaill eile*.

On Inis Oírr, however, we encounter only one pertinent example, that of the older female informant, F 41, who produces *"bicycle" an buachaill eile*, with neither inflection of the noun nor lenition of its initial consonant.

To sum up, we find no genitival inflection of the head noun on any of the islands. Of the uninflected variants, only lenited variants occur on Inis Inis Meáin, both lenited and unlenited variants compete on Inis Mór, and only an unlenited variant appears on Inis Oírr, though the sample is clearly incomplete there.

i gContae an Chláir

As for the construction *i gContae an Chláir*, we find a similar construction, but with the genitival phrase now as part of a place name.

In contrast to their responses in regard to the previous item, all the informants across all three islands now produce a Standard Irish genitival construction, usually *i gContae an Chláir* or *as Contae an Chláir*.

Two informants on Inis Mór, one informant on Inis Meáin and two informants on Inis Oírr produce an embedded genitival construction: *ó mhuintir Chontae/Chondae an Chláir*. In all cases, the initial consonant of the second noun in the trinominal construction is lenited, as required in Standard Irish.[170]

My guess is that this unusually Standard Irish variant has been acquired by the informants through repeated hearing of the phrase on news programs on *Raidió na Gaeltachta*.

[170] As we shall see shortly when we examine embedded genitival constructions in progressive verb phrases, however, such a Standard Irish lenition rule is by no means characteristic of Aran Irish.

trasna na sráide

Moving to locative phrases with compound prepositions, we note that the phrase *trasna na sráide*, unlike the previous two items, shows definite areal and – on Inis Oírr – generational patterns of distribution for its variant forms.

The Standard Irish variant, *trasna na sráide*, is found on all three islands, but it has a competing variant, *trasna an tsráid*, which leaves the noun uninflected for the genitive case. This latter variant is found only in central Inis Mór and among the older generation on Inis Oírr.

For example, the two male informants in central Inis Mór both produce *trasna an tsráid*, while the female informant at Corrúch produces the same variant, but then corrects to the Standard Irish variant.

On Inis Oírr, both the male informant M 55 and his wife F 41 produce *trasna an tsráid*, while the youngest informant, F 18, produces the unique variant *thar gon sráid*, and then corrects to the Standard Irish variant.

The male informant M 50 at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór, produces a lexically distinct construction, *treasna an bhóthair*, which employs the Standard Irish genitive form of the noun.

le taobh an chnoic

The phrase *le taobh an chnoic* produces a variety of responses, but again leaves no doubt that genitive constructions are still in widespread use on Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin – but not on Inis Oírr.

In western Inis Mór, the female informant at An Sruthán produces a genitive construction: *ar chúl an chnoic*. In eastern Inis Mór, the male informant at Eochaill produces a similar construction, *le taoibh an chnoic*.

The younger informants on Inis Mór, however, show less tendency to use the genitive form with this construction. M 50 at Cill Rónáin uses the construction *le taoibh an chnoc*, leniting the initial consonant, but failing to inflect the noun for the genitive. F 43 at Bungabhla behaves similarly, producing *le taoibh an ardán*, but then corrects to the more standard construction *. . . nó an áilt*, using the genitive form of the dialectal variant *ált*.

The two informants at Corrúch, though among the oldest informants on Inis Mór, show a similar hesitation to use the genitive form of the noun. M 82 produces the Standard Irish construction *in aice na haille*, but then adds the non-standard constructions *in aic' an aill* and *le taobh an aill*. F 72, for her part, produces only the non-standard construction *l' ais an áill*.

On Inis Meáin, the genitive is certainly in use with this construction. The female informant produces the unambiguous construction *in aic' an chroic*, while the male informant seems to produce a genitival construction, though less certainly so: *in aic' (an) taoibh (?) eile gon chroc*.[171]

[171] The non-palatalisation of the final consonant of the noun *taobh* in the linguistic tables may well be a transcription error.

On Inis Oírr, however, the noun is not inflected for the genitive case. All three informants give versions of *le taobh/ar thaobh an chroc*, with lenition of the initial consonant of the noun, but with no inflection of the noun for the genitive case.

The next two Standard Irish phrases have the same lexical item as the nominal qualifier in the genitive case, and therefore evoke very similar responses from the informants. For clarity of exposition, however, we will deal with them separately.

os comhair an tí

The first phrase, *os comhair an tí*, is represented by constructions with the genitive form of the qualifying noun across all three islands.

On Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla produces two examples of *ag tosach a' tí*, and her mother-in-law F 70 at Cill Rónáin produces a virtually identical response: *(i) dtosach 'n tí*.[172]

The male informants M 60 at Fearann an Choirce and M 50 at Cill Rónáin, on the other hand, both produce the phrase *os comhair a' tí*. This is a variant not encountered elsewhere in the responses from the three islands.

The variant most widely found on Inis Mór, however, is the construction *ar aghaidh an tí*, encountered in the centre of the island.

Note, however, that both informants at Corrúch produce examples without the genitival inflection: *ar aghaidh an teach*, a variant not encountered elsewhere in the three islands.

On Inis Meáin, the widespread Inis Mór variant *ar aghaidh an tí* is used by both informants on Inis Meáin, to the exclusion of other variants.

On Inis Oírr, we encounter only one example employing the genitive inflection, that of the youngest informant, F 18. Her example, *tosach a' tí* (without eclipsis of the first noun), recalls the same variant on Inis Mór. As we have seen in other examples of constructions from this informant, her generation may be influenced by Standard Irish forms encountered through formal education.

ar chúl an tí

The second phrase, *ar chúl an tí*, produces a much more uniform set of responses. The variant of the item heading, *ar chúl an tí*, with the qualifying noun inflected for the genitive case, is found broadly distributed on all three islands, though the form of the initial noun may vary slightly.

Once again, though, the female informant F 72 at Corrúch on Inis Mór produces a construction using the nominative/accusative form of the qualifying noun, *ar chúl 'n teach*, before going on to produce the variant with the genitival inflection. This time, however, she is unique among all the informants in producing such a nominative/accusative construction.

[172]Since that particular variant with the lexical item *tosach* is not to be found among the responses elsewhere on Inis Mór or on Inis Meáin, one suspects that F 43's long residence in Cill Rónáin since her marriage and her interaction with her mother-in-law may have influenced her speech here.

os comhair an fhir mhóir

We turn now to the phrase *os comhair an fhir mhóir*, in which the noun in the genitive case is itself qualified by an adjective.

On Inis Mór, only one informant, the male informant M 68 at Eochaill, inflects both noun and adjective for the genitive case, producing the target phrase *os comhair an fhir mhóir*. The female informant at Cill Éinne comes close with *ar chúl . . . an fhir mhór*, but leaves the final consonant of the adjective unpalatalised.

In central Inis Mór, however, the informants all produce the variant construction *os comhair/ar aghaidh an fhear mór*, with the initial consonant of the noun lenited, but with no inflection of the noun or adjective for the genitive case. The female informant at Cill Éinne produces the same type of construction as an alternative to the Standard Irish construction: *ar chúl an fhear . . . an fhear mór*.

Nearly as many informants on Inis Mór, however, produce the same construction, but without lenition: *ag tosach/ar aghaidh/ar húla/os comhair an fear mór*. Thus F 43 at Bungabhla produces *ag tosach an fear mór*, F 70 at An Sruthán produces *ar aghaidh an fear mór* and *ar húla an fear mór*, and even M 50 at Cill Rónáin produces *os comhair an fear mór*.

On Inis Meáin, too, we find the fully inflected variant and the lenited but uninflected variant competing with one another. Once again the female informant produces the Standard Irish construction *ar aghaidh an fhir mhóir*, while the male informant produces *ar aghaidh an fhear mór*, with lenition of the noun but no inflection of either noun or adjective. There are no examples, however, of the completely unlenited, uninflected variant.

On Inis Oírr, however, the three pertinent examples yield only the unlenited, uninflected construction. Thus the male informant produces *ar aghaidh an fear mór*, while the younger female informant F 18 produces two examples of *i tosach a' fear móir* , with the initial consonant of the noun *tosach* again left uneclipsed, the noun unlenited and uninflected, and the adjective unlenited but otherwise inflected for the genitive case.

Once again, younger informants on both Inis Mór and Inis Oírr seem to favour this unlenited, uninflected variant construction, but the examples from F 70 at An Sruthán on Inis Mór weigh against a facile assumption of generational change.

os comhair an fhir eile

The next construction, *os comhair an fhir eile*, is nearly identical, except that the qualifying adjective does not require inflection.

On Inis Mór we find that no informant produces the Standard Irish construction in this instance. Even the male informant at Eochaill and the female informant at Cill Éinne opt for the lenited but uninflected variant construction this time, thus producing *ar aghaidh 'n fhear eile* and *ar chúla . . . an fhear eile*, respectively.

This means that this time we have a virtually unbroken chain of informants from Fearann an Choirce to Cill Éinne (with the single exception of M 50 at Cill Rónáin)

using the equivalent of the construction *ar aghaidh an fhear eile*.

As for the competing construction, with neither lenition nor inflection, we have examples from the same three informants who gave equivalent responses to the last item. For example, F 43 at Bungabhla produces *ag tosach an fear eile*, F 70 at An Sruthán produces *ar chúla ... an fear eile*, and M 50 at Cill Rónáin produces *os comhair a' fear eile*.

On Inis Meáin, the informants seem to have traded roles to a certain extent. The female informant now produces the construction *ar aghaidh an fhear eile*, with lenition but no clear inflection of the second noun, while the male informant first produces a similar construction, *ar aghaidh an cheann eile* before correcting himself to *... an fhir eile ... ar aghaidh an fhir eile*, both fully inflected constructions. Note that we have no examples yet of the unlenited, uninflected variant construction from Inis Meáin.

On Inis Oírr, we encounter only one pertinent example, that of the male informant, who produces *ar aghaidh ... an fear eile* — once again producing the unlenited, uninflected variant.

More on Genitive Constructions

Before going on, it is worth considering the examples of the genitive plural which occurred serendipitously in an informant's response to Item II.17. The female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór gave two interesting examples of an attempt to express the genitive plural in her examples *in áit na cinn bheaga* and *i leaba na cinn bheaga*, where the nominative/accusative plural forms of both noun and adjective are clearly given in place of the genitive plural forms.

On the other hand, we have seen the responses of her brother M 82 under the item ***rothar an bhuachalla eile***, where he produces the Standard Irish genitive plural constructions *ro'ar na mbuachaillí* and *ro'ar na mbochaillí*.

In this regard, it is well worth scanning the responses of both informants at Corrúch to the *LASID* questionnaire. Two examples taken at random which are relevant to the expression of the genitive plural are the phrases *dath na n-eangacha* in Item 1108 and *dath na giúrainneachaí* in Item 1089, both offered by the male informant. In the first phrase we see the second noun in the genitive case, while in the second phrase we see the second noun in the nominative/accusative case.

The treatment of proper nouns is an especially interesting topic, though it is not dealt with in the present study. Nevertheless, a rather large amount of material involving proper nouns was gathered for Part Three, and that material is worth glancing at.[173]

The sample from Corrúch illustrates the complexity of the issues surrounding genitive constructions with proper nouns. Examples such as ag teach Thomás, *ó shiopa Tomás Ó Tóbhail*, *i dteach Shéamas Ó Conghaile*, and *ag teach máthair Mháire* give an idea of the direction in which things are moving, but many intermediate stages can be observed.

In general, it can be said that the informants on Inis Mór are less conservative than the informants on the other two islands, and that the youngest informants — F 43 at Bungabhla on Inis Mór and F 18 on Inis Oírr — are perhaps least conservative in their usage in regard

[173]For a relatively detailed discussion of that material, see Chapter 12, *Nominal Inflection*.

to both lenition and inflection of proper nouns.

In regard to embedded genitive constructions, non-lenition of the first of the two nouns in the genitive case seems to be the rule on Inis Mór, while the male informant on Inis Meáin exhibits at least some lenition of the first noun, and and the older female informant on Inis Oírr lenites consistently.

tar éis an dinnéir

We turn back now to the examples on the linguistic tables with the phrase *tar éis an dinnéir*.

On Inis Mór, there is consistent inflection of the noun *dinnéar* for the genitive case in westernmost Inis Mór and in easternmost Inis Mór, with one slight exception at Cill Éinne.

In central Inis Mór, however, from An Sruthán east through Corrúch, all informants leave the noun in the nominative/accusative case.

On Inis Meáin, both informants inflect the noun for the genitive case.

On Inis Oírr, only the male informant, M 55, inflects the noun. Both female informants, F 41 and F 18, use the nominative/accusative case, suggesting linguistic change in the younger age groups.

Once again, central Inis Mór exhibits innovation, Inis Meáin shows its conservatism, and Inis Oírr shows linguistic change in the younger age groups.

Let us move on now to genitival constructions in progressive verb phrases.

ag tabhairt scine

The phrase *ag tabhairt scine*, which contains an indefinite common noun with an inanimate referent, fails to produce a single genitival construction anywhere in the three islands. Instead, all the informants produce a construction with the noun in the nominative/accusative case, e.g., *ag tabhairt scian (chugainn)*.[174]

ag bualadh an bhuachalla

The second item, *ag bualadh an bhuachalla*, in contrast, contains a definite common noun with a human referent. As in the case of the phrase *rothar an bhuachalla eile* examined earlier, not a single informant produces an example with the Standard Irish genitival form. Instead, most informants simply lenite the initial consonant of the noun, and some informants fail to do even that.

For instance, on Inis Mór all informants produce *ag bualadh an bhuachaill*, except for M 50 at Cill Rónáin, who does not even lenite the initial consonant, thus producing *ag bualadh an buachaill*.

In addition, he produces a construction with the noun in the plural, *ag bualadh na buachaillí*, but again no initial mutation — in this case, eclipsis — is performed on

[174]The male informant on Inis Meáin also produces the plural form *sceana*.

the noun itself.[175]

On Inis Meáin, the male informant simply lenites the initial consonant of the noun, leaving it uninflected for the genitive case.

The female informant produces a similar form in her example *ag bualadh . . . an ghasúr*. On the other hand, when using the lexical item *páiste*, she uses no lenition to mark the genitive case: *ag bualadh . . . an páiste*.

On Inis Oírr, we find the older female informant leniting the initial consonant of the noun, but not inflecting the noun otherwise for the genitive case, thus producing *(ag) bualadh an bhuachaill*.

On the other hand, the male informant and the younger female informant F 18 do not even lenite the initial consonant of the noun, producing the construction *(ag) bualadh an buachaill*.

ag lorg Mháire

We now move to constructions with a personal name in the genitive case, starting with the phrase *ag lorg Mháire*.

On Inis Mór many informants use this progressive construction and lenite the following noun as required in Standard Irish. One informant stands out from the rest, however — M 50 at Cill Rónáin, who does not lenite the proper noun, thus producing *ag tóraíocht Máire*.

On Inis Meáin, both informants use the progressive construction with the proper noun in the genitive case. Thus we have *ag iarraidh Mháire* twice from the male informant and *ag fiaraí Mháire* from the female informant.

On Inis Oírr, once again we get the unlenited proper noun *Máire*, this time from F 18 in her example *ag iarraidh Máire*.

Since the youngest informant in the sample, F 18 on Inis Oírr, and the headmaster of the vocational school at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór, M 50, are the only informants in the sample who display this trait, I suspect that this trait is a sign of linguistic change in the younger generation.[176]

ag lorg Bhríd

In the phrase *ag lorg Bhríd*, we find almost exactly the same phrases and patterns of distribution as for the previous item.

Once again, M 50 at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór and F 18 on Inis Oírr are the only informants who fail to lenite the initial consonant of the proper noun, producing *ag tóraíocht Bríd* and *'cuartú Bríd*, respectively.

[175] He is one of the youngest informants on Inis Mór, but since he is headmaster at the vocational school, it is possible that his speech behaviour regarding initial mutations reflects the speech habits of the pupils, with whom he is in constant contact.

[176] Presumably M 50's exposure to the speech of his students at the vocational school has induced him to adopt the change.

ag coinneáil Sheáin

The phrase *ag coinneáil Sheáin*, however, shows quite a different pattern of distribution for the various construction types.

On Inis Mór, all the informants in western Inis Mór from Bungabhla to Fearann an Choirce use the Standard Irish construction *ag coinneáil Sheáin*, with lenition and inflection – with the exception of the female informant F 70 at An Sruthán. She neither lenites nor inflects, producing the construction *ag coinneál Seán*.

In eastern Inis Mór the female informant at Corrúch and M 50 at Cill Rónáin do exactly the same, producing *ag coinneál Seán* and *ag coinneáil Seán*, respectively.

Two informants produce intermediate forms. The male informant at Corrúch does not lenite the proper noun, but inflects it: *'coinneál Seáin*. The female informant at Cill Éinne, on the other hand, does the opposite, leniting the proper noun but not inflecting it: *ag coinneál Sheán*.

Thus, all logical possibilities are exploited by the informants on Inis Mór.

On Inis Meáin, however, once again we find both informants using Standard Irish lenition and inflection of the proper noun.

On Inis Oírr the two female informants neither lenite nor inflect the proper noun, producing *'coinneáil/coinneál Seán*, while the male informant inflects the proper noun while failing to lenite it: *'coinneáil Seáin*, echoing the behaviour of the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór.

To sum up, Inis Mór exploits all logical possibilities, Inis Oírr exploits only non-standard possibilities, and Inis Meáin conserves the traditional forms.

do do choinneáil

We move on now to the progressive pronominal verb phrase *do do choinneáil*.[177]

On Inis Mór we note the relatively Standard Irish construction *go do choinneál*[178] in westernmost Inis Mór from Bungabhla to An Sruthán.[179]

From Fearann an Choirce eastward to Cill Rónáin, however, we get only a reduced construction, containing the possessive pronoun and the verbal noun: *'do choinneál/choinneáil/choinneálsa*. Only in Cill Rónáin, with M 50, do we again get the unreduced construction *go do choinneáil*, while from the female informant at Cill Éinne, we get both constructions, *go do choinneál* and *'o do choinneál*.

Note that in her case, as in that of the male informant at Fearann an Choirce, the elided preposition *go* leaves a trace in the form of a reduced vowel. We get a blended form, apparently, in the construction produced by her daughter-in-law, the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla: *'o go do choinneál* (**ᵊgə də xɪNʹɑL**).[180]

[177]This construction is included here for convenience, since though it has to do with progressive verb phrases, it has nothing to do nominal inflection for the genitive case.
[178]Note, however, the universal substitution of the particle *go* for the Standard Irish particle *do* in this construction.
[179]The female informant at Eoghanacht gives us *go mo choinneál* in its place.
[180]This can be seen as a hypercorrect construction incorporating both variants.

In contrast, on both Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr we get only the reduced construction *'do choinneál* from all informants.

In sum, with two exceptions in eastern Inis Mór, the full, more Standard Irish construction with the particle *go* is restricted to westernmost Inis Mór, from Bungabhla to An Sruthán. The other informants on all three islands are characterised by the reduced construction *'do choinneál*.

ag lorg theach Mháire

Turning now to embedded genitival constructions in progressive verb phrases and starting with the first item, *ag lorg theach Mháire*, we note that across all three islands the informants do not lenite the initial consonant of the first noun, *teach*. Thus, we have *ag lorg/cuartú/tóraíocht teach Mháire* from all informants.

ag lorg theach na mná eile

As for the phrase *ag lorg theach na mná eile*, we encounter the same phenomenon across all three islands. No informant lenites the initial consonant of the head noun *teach* in the embedded construction *(ag lorg) theach na mná eile*. Instead, we get the equivalent – at best – of *ag lorg teach na mná eile*. We can say, therefore, that no such lenition rule seems to apply to embedded genitival constructions in Aran Irish.

Moreover, the innermost definite noun phrase, *... na mná eile*, is left uninflected for the genitive case by nearly all informants across all three islands, producing *ag cuartú teach an bhean eile*, etc.

Only two informants, the female informant at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór, and her neighbour to the east on Inis Meáin, M 70, produce the relatively Standard Irish examples *ag cuartú ... teach na mná eile* and *ag tóraíocht ... teach na mná eile*, respectively, along with examples with the noun phrase uninflected.

In contrast, the female informant on Inis Meáin produces an example without any genitival inflection of the noun: *ar lorg an teach eile*.

The constructions produced by the older female informant on Inis Oírr to I.35 are also worth mentioning in this regard: *teach an bhean mhór* and *teach an fhear eile*.

Variant Plural Forms of Nouns

We examine now various plural forms of the nouns *na cinn, a gcairde* and *a gceachtanna*, all lexical items which have non-Standard Irish plural forms, either in the Aran Islands or on the Connemara mainland.

na cinn

The plural form *ceanna*, so widely in use in Connemara, is not in use at all in the Aran Islands. All those informants who use the plural form of the lexical item *ceann* use the Standard Irish plural *cinn*.

The variant *cinn* competes with the variant *rudaí* in the two western islands. On Inis Mór, two female informants produce the variant *rudaí*, but elsewhere on the island the variant *cinn* is ubiquitous.

On Inis Meáin, however, the variant *rudaí* is used by both informants virtually to the exclusion of *cinn*. Only the female informant produces an example of *cinn*.

On Inis Oírr, only the lexical variant *rudaí* is found, along with the lexical item *cuid*, used by the youngest informant F 18 in the unusual phrase *na cuid*. She uses the same variant in another context to translate the stimulus sentence "You need smaller ones" (I.23): *Tá cuid níos lú uaibh*. It seems clear from both examples that the singular mass noun *cuid* has been recruited by F 18 to serve as a plural count noun, both in definite and indefinite noun phrases.

a gcairde

In regard to the phrase *a gcairde*, informants across all three islands use the Standard Irish plural form of the noun. Two informants on Inis Mór, however, use forms augmented with the plural suffix *-í*: *a gcairdí* and *a gcuid cártaí* (sic).

a gceachtanna

The phrase *a gceachtanna* shows a single variant in use across Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin: *a gceachta*, with an *-a* plural suffix. The sole exception is the male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór. He uses the plural suffix *-aí* to produce *a gcuid ceachtaí*.

On Inis Oírr, both older informants augment the Standard Irish plural suffix *-anna* with the plural suffix *-aí* to produce *ceachtannaí*. The youngest informant, F 18, uses a separate lexical item, producing *cleachtaí*.

Gender Assignment of Nouns

an phian

As for gender assignment of nouns, the noun in the phrase *an phian* shows divided usage across Inis Mór and Inis Meáin. On Inis Mór, a slight majority assign masculine gender to the noun, producing *an pian*, while the rest assign female gender to it, producing *an phian*.

The pattern of gender assignment in these two western islands seems entirely random, showing no apparent relationship to locality, to age, or to sex.

On Inis Oírr, however, all informants assign masculine gender to the noun, producing *an pian*.

an mhuc

The variants for the item *an mhuc* show a more interesting pattern of distribution. All the informants in the two western islands assign feminine gender to the noun and mark it clearly as feminine by palatalising the final consonant, producing *an mhuic*.

The sole exception is M 50 at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór, who assigns masculine gender to the noun, producing *an muc*.

On Inis Oírr, however, all three informants assign masculine gender to the noun. However, the two older informants produce the variant *an muc*, while the youngest informant, F18, palatalises the final consonant, producing the anomalous masculine variant *an muic*.

25 Adjectival Inflection

Turning our attention now to adjectival inflection in the noun phrase, we will begin with the adjectives modifying singular feminine nouns.

bean mhór dheas

On Inis Mór, the responses to the noun phrase *bean mhór dheas* are astonishing, in that so few informants lenite the initial consonant of any of the attributive adjectives qualifying the nominal head of the phrase. The elderly female informant at Eoghanacht produces *. . . bhean mhór, bean bhreá*, leniting both adjectives, but in two separate noun phrases, and the male informant M 50 at Cill Rónáin produces *bean mhór téagarach*, leniting the first adjective but not the second.

The five other informants do not lenite such adjectives at all. Thus we get *bean mór deas*, *bean breá mór*, *bean deas mór*, *bean mór álainn*, and *bean breá mór*.

On the whole, it seems as though the traditional rule requiring lenition of an attribute adjective qualifying a singular feminine noun is no longer an active rule on Inis Mór, even among the oldest informants.

On Inis Meáin, however, the male informant lenites all modifying adjectives in both his examples, producing *bean mhór bhreá*, and *bean dheas bhreá*.[181]

On Inis Oírr, the male informant does not lenite the adjectives, producing *bean . . . bhean mór deas*, while his wife lenites both adjectives: *bean mhór dheas*. As for the youngest informant, F 18, she exhibits mixed usage, producing *bean mhór deas*.

To sum up, only on Inis Meáin is the traditional lenition consistently applied to adjectives modifying a feminine noun, though we have no examples from the female informant there confirming the pattern. Informants on Inis Mór seem largely to have abandoned lenition in that context, while Inis Oírr shows mixed usage, depending on the informant.

bean shlachtmhar

As for the phrase *bean shlachtmhar*, we find a pattern similar to the pattern in the previous item.

On Inis Mór the elderly female informant at Eoghanacht again lenites the adjective to produce *bean shlacht'ar*, and this time her neighbour to the east, F 70 at An Sruthán, joins her in leniting the adjective, producing *bean dhathúil*.

None of the seven other informants, however, lenites the adjective. Thus we get either *bean slacht'ar* or *bean dathúil*.

In contrast, on Inis Meáin the female informant exhibits the lenition rule in her example *bean shlacht'ar*. Thus in this second item as well as in the first, Inis Meáin seems to have a productive lenition rule in this grammatical context.

On Inis Oírr, however, neither female informant applies the lenition rule. The older female informant produces *bean slacht'ar*, while the younger one produces *bean dathúil*.

[181] The female informant produces paraphrases which shed no light on this particular problem.

bean fholláin/shláintiúil

Turning to the phrase *bean fholláin/shláintiúil*, the evidence from Inis Mór is even more striking. In this case, none of the nine informants on the island lenites the attributive adjective. Thus we get only *bean folláin* or *bean sláintiúil* from all informants.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant does not lenite, producing *bean . . . sláintiúil*, but the female informant lenites the initial consonant of the adjective, producing *bean fholláin*.

On Inis Oírr, the older female informant lenites the initial consonant of the adjective, producing *bean fholláin*, while the younger female informant does not lenite the initial consonant: *bean sláintiúil*.

bean thábhachtach

As for the phrase *bean thábhachtach*, we find striking uniformity across the three islands.

On Inis Mór, the six informants who produce that phrase do not lenite the initial consonant of the adjective, thus producing *bean tábhachtach*.

On Inis Meáin, both informants repeat this variant.

On Inis Oírr, both female informants do the same.

In sum, it is clear that the traditional rule leniting attributive adjectives after feminine nouns is no longer applied consistently even by a majority of the speakers in any island, though the rule seems to be applied more frequently by the informants on Inis Meáin.

On the other hand, environments in which the final consonant of the noun and the initial consonant of the following adjective are homorganic consonants could be seen as interfering with the normal operation of the lenition rule.

Still, when we note the many cases on all three islands where lenition is applied despite homorganicity, e.g., *bean dheas/shlacht'ar/shláintiúil/dhathúil* vs. *bean mór/breá/cáiliúil*, it is difficult to ascribe much influence to homorganicity. Nevertheless, on Inis Meáin at least, homorganicity does seem to make a certain difference in informant responses.

The next three items have an inanimate referent.

cloch mhór

One would not expect that the animacy of the referent would make a difference in the patterns of lenition. Nevertheless, in the phrase *cloch mhór* we do see a striking pattern in the distribution of examples exhibiting lenition on Inis Mór.

In western Inis Mór, from Bungabhla through Fearann an Choirce, all informants lenite the initial consonant of the adjective, producing *cloch mhór*.

In contrast, all the informants from Corrúch eastward on Inis Mór, with the sole exception of the male informant at Eochaill, do not lenite the adjective, thus producing *cloch mór*.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant consistently lenites the adjective while the female informant does not.

On Inis Oírr we have similar mixed usage, with the older female informant leniting the adjective while the other informants do not.

cos/lámh dhubh

Turning to the phrase *cos/lámh dhubh*, however, once again we encounter a striking pattern on Inis Mór, but it is not quite the pattern we encountered in the case of the phrase *cloch mhór*. In this case, only a subset of the informants in west-central Inis Mór continue leniting.

Thus both the female informant at An Sruthán and the male informant at Fearann an Choirce produce *cois dhubh* while all their neighbours to the east and to the west produce variants with an unlenited adjective — *cois dubh* or *lámh dubh*.[182]

On Inis Meáin, the female informant again lenites the adjective, producing *cois dhubh*.

On Inis Oírr, not a single informant lenites the adjective. Thus we get either *cois dubh* or *lámh dubh* from all three informants.

éadaí salacha

Examining now the plural forms of attributive adjectives, we turn to the phrase *éadaí salacha*, with a plural adjective whose base form has a disyllabic stem.

On Inis Mór, two elderly female informants both use the Standard Irish plural form *salacha*, while the male informant at Eochaill uses both the plural adjectival form *salacha* as well as the invariant form *salach*.

All the other informants use only the invariant form *salach*.

On Inis Meáin, both informants use only the invariant form *salach*.

On Inis Oírr, the older female informant F 41 alternates the inflected form *salacha* with the invariant form *salach*. The other two informants, M 55 and F 18, use only the invariant form *salach*.

To sum up, in the case of the plural form of a disyllabic adjective, nearly all informants across the three islands use the invariant singular form *salach*. Two elderly female informants on Inis Mór and the older female informant on Inis Oírr are the exceptions. On Inis Meáin both informants yield to the main trend.

na cinn mhóra

In contrast, the phrase *na cinn mhóra*, with an adjective which has a monosyllabic stem, presents little deviation from the forms found in Standard Irish. Thus we encounter either *na cinn mhóra* or *na rudaí móra* across all three islands.[183]

The one exception to the universal lenition of the initial consonant of the adjective is the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, who produces the example *na cinn móra*.

[182]In regard to lexical variation in the islands, note that the term *lámh* with the meaning "handle" is in use only by the female informants at Bungabhla and at Eoghanacht in westernmost Inis Mór, by the male informant M 50 at Cill Rónáin in easternmost Inis Mór, and by the youngest female informant on Inis Oírr. All the other informants across the islands use the term *cois*.

[183]In terms of lexical variation, it is worth mentioning that examples with the noun *cinn* are strongly concentrated on Inis Mór while those with *rudaí* are strongly concentrated on Inis Oírr. Inis Meáin shows mixed usage.

na cinn bheaga

As for the phrase *na cinn bheaga*, there is nothing exceptional to report of the responses across the three islands. All the informants produce either *na cinn bheaga* or *na rudaí beaga*.[184]

In sum, the plural variants encountered across the three islands echo the variants encountered in Cois Fharraige Irish on the adjacent mainland, both in regard to the elision of the final vowel in disyllabic stems and in regard to the lenition of the initial consonant where appropriate.

an dara duine

As for the forms of ordinal numerals, the responses to the phrase *an dara duine* produce little of interest across the three islands, with the sole exception of the two informants at Corrúch on Inis Mór. Thus, the universal response to this item on all three islands is the Standard Irish phrase *an dara duine*, except for the two informants at Corrúch on Inis Mór, who both produce *an darna duine*.[185]

an tríú duine

The phrase *an tríú duine* exhibits a much clearer pattern of variation. Of the two adjectival variants *tríú* and *tríomha*, it appears that the variant *tríomha* (and its covariant *tríomhú*) are restricted to Inis Mór. Furthermore, it appears that the variant *tríomha* is restricted to the two ends of the island, especially to the west end, and that the Standard Irish variant *tríú* – possibly a more recently introduced form – characterises the central part of the island.

In the two eastern islands, however, we encounter only the Standard Irish variant *tríú*.

'chuile bhliain

The remaining item, which concerns the lenition of the noun following the adjectival form *'chuile* (= *gach uile*), pertains to a single informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, the youngest informant on Inis Mór. Of all the informants across all three islands, she alone does not lenite the noun after *'chuile*, thus producing *'chuile bliain*.[186]

Comparative Forms of Adjectives

As for the comparative forms of adjectives, this is an area of the grammar which can be a particularly rich source of variation — even between townlands.

In this regard, the comparative form *níos raimhre* produces perhaps the most striking display of geolinguistic micropatterns in this entire survey of linguistic traits from the Aran Islands. It also lends weight to the theory that birthplace rather than subsequent domicile

[184]In terms of lexical variation in the head nouns themselves, all the informants on Inis Mór use *cinn* exlusively, with the single exception of the female informant at An Sruthán, who uses *rudaí*. In contrast, all the informants on Inis Meáin and on Inis Oírr use *rudaí* exclusively. Thus the lexical distribution patterns here differ significantly from those found in the previous item.

[185]This is very likely a kind of "fieldworker isogloss", since I remember distinctly discussing the variants *dara* and *darna* with them at an earlier interview, and it is very likely that the variant *darna*, recessive in modern Aran Irish, was present in their consciousness in some form at the time of the elicitation of the sentences.

[186]Recall that it is she alone who does not lenite the plural adjective *móra* after the plural noun *cinn*, thus producing the phrase *na cinn móra* instead of the Standard Irish *na cinn mhóra*. The absence of lenition in these examples may be a sign of linguistic change in the younger generations on Inis Mór.

elsewhere on the island is determinant in the formation of a profile of linguistic traits among our informants.

níos raimhre

Beginning in westernmost Inis Mór, we encounter the variant *níos roímhre* ([**nʹiːs riːvʹrʹɛ/rĩːvʹrʹɛ**]) at Bungabhla and at Eoghanacht, respectively.

From An Sruthán through Corrúch, we encounter a sharply different variant, *níos roimire/roimre* ([**nʹiːs rɪmʹɪrʹɪ/rimʹrʹɪ**]), with a short, lax vowel in the first syllable and an unlenited bilabial nasal consonant immediately following.[187]

In easternmost Inis Mór, from Eochaill through Cill Éinne, we encounter the variants *níos roimhre* ([**nʹiːs rivʹrʹɪ**]) and *níos reimhre* ([**nʹiːs rɛvʹrʹɛ**]), which preserve the short, lax vowel of the first syllable, but now lenite the bilabial nasal consonant.

On Inis Meáin, we again encounter the variant *níos reimhre* and a similar variant, but with the vowel of the first syllable lowered still further — to [**æ**] in the trisyllabic variant *níos raimhire* ([**nʹiːs rævʹɪrʹɛ**]).

On Inis Oírr, however, the two older informants produce the Standard Irish variant *níos raimhre* ([**nʹiːs raʲvʹrʹɛ**]), while the younger informant, F 18, produces a variant already encountered in easternmost Inis Mór: *níos roimhre* ([**nʹiːs rivʹrʹɪ**]).

All in all, from westernmost Inis Mór to Inis Oírr we find a striking gradient of linguistic difference — but it is, by and large, not a gradient of individual differences but of differences between pairs of townlands.

Other comparative adjectival forms show interesting patterns of variation, and we now summarise some of the most important items.

níos túisce

The form *níos túisce* displays an interesting pattern of variation across the three islands.

On Inis Mór, we find western Inis Mór characterised by the variant *níos túisce* through Fearann an Choirce. The youngest informant there, however, F 43 at Bungabhla, produces *níos luaichte* (= *níos luaithe*), and that variant reappears in eastern Inis Mór at Corrúch and continues eastward through Cill Rónáin.[188]

The western variant *níos túisce* then reappears at Cill Éinne, close to the eastern tip of the island.

On Inis Meáin, we encounter a new variant, *níos éasca*.

On Inis Oírr, the variant *níos luaichte* characteristic of eastern Inis Mór reappears in the examples from the two female informants.

As a final note, the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór produces a unique variant: *níos sciobthaí*.

[187] The female informant at Corrúch produces another variant, [**nʹiːs raʲmʹrʹɛ**], diphthongising the vowel as in the Standard Irish variant, but again not leniting the nasal consonant.
[188] Recall that F43 has been living in Cill Rónáin since her marriage.

níos moiche

The semantically related form *níos moiche* produces a strikingly different pattern of variation.

On Inis Mór, in the western part of the island from Bungabhla through Fearann an Choirce, we find only the variant *níos túisce*. From Corrúch eastward, the variant *níos luaichte* is dominant, with only the headmaster of the vocational school, M 50 at Cill Rónáin, producing an instance of *níos túisce*. Of interest also is the variant *níos moichte* (= *níos moiche*) from the male informant at Eochaill.

On Inis Meáin, all three variants are found. The male informant produces *níos moichte* and *níos luaichte*, and the female informant produces *níos túisce*.

On Inis Oírr, the two older informants produce the variant *níos éasca*, and the younger informant, F 18, produces the variant *níos luaichte*.

On reviewing the data for these two items, it is likely that the slight semantic differences in the translation task, together with the semantic ranges of the individual variants, account for the sharply different patterns of distribution seen in this pair of items.

As for the forms of the variants, it is interesting to note the **[-xtʹɪ]** augment in the local forms *níos luaichte* and *níos moichte*.

níos fliche

As for the form *níos fliche*, we find considerable variation in western Inis Mór. The youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, tries using the base form of the adjective as a comparative form (*níos fliuch*) before going on to produce a variant with the augment *-xte*, i.e., *níos fliuchte*. The elderly female informant at Eoghanacht uses another variant, *níos fléí*, and her neighbour to the east, F 70 at An Sruthán, uses a form, *níos flié*, which acts as a transitional form to the variant *níos flí*, which is dominant from Fearann an Choirce eastward to Cill Éinne. Only M 50 at Corrúch, headmaster of the vocational school, uses the Standard Irish variant *níos fliche*.

The variant *níos flí*, then, is dominant in eastern Inis Mór.

On Inis Meáin, the female informant produces the variant *níos fléí*, while the male informant inserts an **[h]** to produce the hypercorrect form *níos flehí*. He also used the variant *níos fliuchte* jokingly to explain the preceding form.

On Inis Oírr, both female informants use the variant *níos fliuch*. It seems as though this form has become dominant among younger speakers in both islands, at least among younger female speakers. F 18 also offered the variant *níos fliucha* in a discussion at the end of the interview for Part II.

níos giorra

As for the form *níos giorra*, we find the variant *níos girre* dominant on Inis Mór and it is present in the two eastern islands.

There is a competing variant, *níos gairide/goiride/gairde/gaoird*, to be found in central Inis Mór.

Versions of the same variant are produced by both male informants in the two islands to the east. The male informant on Inis Meáin produces *níos goirde* and the male informant on Inis Oírr produces *níos goiride*.

Only the older female informant on Inis Oírr produces the Standard Irish variant *níos giorra*.[189]

níos doimhne

We turn now to the form *níos doimhne*.

On Inis Mór, we encounter the variant [**nʹiːs daⁱvʹnʹɛ**] across the island from Bungabhla through Eochaill, though occasionally in the trisyllabic form [**nʹiːs dʌⁱvʹɪnʹɛ**].

We also encounter the variant *níos domhaine* ([**nʹiːs daʷɪNʹɛ**]), a regular development from the base form *domhain* ([**daʷNʹ**]), from the male informant at Corrúch. In easternmost Inis Mór, however, we get the variant [**nʹiːs devʹnʹɛ**] from the headmaster of the vocational school, M 50 at Cill Rónáin, and the variant [**nʹiːs daˑⁱnʹɛ**], with complete elision/vocalisation of the voiced labiodental fricative [**vʹ**], from the female informant at Cill Éinne.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant produces the trisyllabic variant [**Nʹiːs dɛvʹɪnʹɛ**], very similar to the disyllabic example of M 50 at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór, but with the mid vowel laxed. The female informant, on the other hand, produces a disyllabic version of the variant heard already from the male informant at Corrúch in eastern Inis Mór, [**nʹiːs dʌᵘnʹɛ**].

On Inis Oírr, we encounter once again both the trisyllabic and the disyllabic versions of the variant [**nʹiːs daⁱvʹnʹɛ**] from the male informant and from the younger female informant, F 18, respectively, while the older female informant F 41 produces the variant [**nʹiːs dãⁱnʹɛ**], with complete elision/vocalisation of the voiced labiodental fricative [**vʹ**], already heard from the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór.[190]

Also of particular interest are three comparative adjectival forms whose monosyllabic base forms end in a long vowel or a diphthong. Such comparative forms often exhibit the distinctive augment, *-xte*, the inflectional suffix which we have seen appended to some of the comparative forms described above.

níos léithe

We examine now the form *níos léithe*.

On Inis Mór, we find the variant *níos liachte* dominant throughout the island from Eoghanacht in westernmost Inis Mór to Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór.

Two informants, the female informant at An Sruthán and M 50 at Cill Rónáin, produce another variant, *níos liath*, using the base form of the adjective as a comparative form. F 43 at Bungabhla, the youngest informant on the island, produces a hypercorrect form, *níos liatha*, with an *-a* augment.

[189] Recall that F 41 has had secondary level education.
[190] Remember that F 41 got her secondary education at Cill Rónáin in easternmost Inis Mór.

On Inis Meáin, the female informant produces the variant *níos liachte*.

On Inis Oírr, the youngest informant, F 18, produces the variant *níos liath*.

níos nuaí

We now turn to the form *níos nuaí*.

On Inis Mór we find the variant *níos nuachte* dominant throughout Inis Mór from Bungabhla through Eochaill. The male informant at Fearann an Choirce, however, produces the variant *níos nuacha*, while M 50 at Cill Rónáin again produces a form based on the base form of the adjective: *níos nua*.

On Inis Meáin, we encounter only the variant *níos nuachte*.

On Inis Oírr, the youngest informant, F 18, produces a variant very close to the Standard Irish variant: *níos núí*.

níos breátha

We end with the form *níos breátha*.

On Inis Mór the variant *níos breáchte* is dominant in eastern Inis Mór from Corrúch to Cill Éinne. M 50 at Cill Rónáin offers another variant, *níos breátha*, while both F 43 at Bungabhla and her mother-in-law, the female informant at Cill Éinne, both produce a variant with greater spirantisation: *níos breácha*. The elderly female informant at Eoghanacht simply utilises the base form of the adjective to produce *níos breá*.

On Inis Meáin, both informants use the variant *breáchte*.

On Inis Oírr, the two older informants make use of the same variant, though the male informant's example, *níos bhreachte* ([**nʹiːs vʹrʹæxtʹɛ**]), is aberrant with its lenition of the initial consonant and its fronting of the vowel in the first syllable.[191]

To sum up, in regard to the last three items, variants with the augment *-xte* are clearly dominant on both Inis Mór and Inis Meáin, but are attested only among the older informants on Inis Oírr – if at all. The variants formed with the element *níos* plus the base form of the adjective or with a further suffix *-a* are produced by a minority of mainly younger informants on Inis Mór and Inis Oírr.

The Intensifying Particle an-

Looking briefly at adjectives with the intensifying particle *an-*, there is one further striking micro-dialectal feature which deserves comment. This is the marked fronting of the vowel in the intensifying particle from [**aː**] to [**æː**], even in the absence of a following palatalised consonant which might trigger such fronting.

This feature is identified with an extremely small geographical area in central Inis Mór, on the borderline between the western and the eastern halves of the island. In discussing this feature, we can conflate the data for the items *an-tuirseach, an-fholláin/an-sláintiúil, an-fhairsing,* and *an-ghann* with no loss of detail.

The fronting feature strongly characterises the male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór and his neighbour and relation the female informant at Corrúch. Both

[191] For further material of interest in regard to comparative adjectival forms, see the chapter *Adjectival Inflection*.

front the vowel to [æː] in all instances. Surprisingly, F 72's brother, M 82, is barely marked by the feature, despite the fact that they share the house together.

Outside of the examples from these three individuals, there is not a single instance of such fronting in the speech of any other individual in any of the three islands.

26 Pronominal Forms

tú/tusa

Beginning with the second person singular personal pronoun *tú/tusa*, we will focus mainly on the shape of the pronoun on selected syntactic environments, noting the presence or absence of lenition on the initial consonant of the pronoun.

In the construction *An tú/tusa Séamas?*, we noted that neither *tú* nor *tusa* is lenited after the present tense interrogative particle by any informant across the three islands.

On Inis Oírr, however, we get the aberrant construction *Ab iú Séamas?*,[192] with the elision of the initial consonant of the pronoun, from both the older informants.

At this point, it is worth glancing at the responses to two items in the material gathered for Part Three, the responses for the constructions *Ní tú/tusa Séamas ...* and *Mura tú/tusa Séamas ....*

In regard to the construction *Ní tú/tusa Séamas ...*, all the informants across all three islands produce *Ní tú/tusa Séamas ....* Only two informants, both male informants in eastern Inis Mór, lenite the pronoun. Thus the male informant at Corrúch produces *Ní thú Séamas ...* and M 50 at Cill Rónáin produces *Ní thusa Séamas ....*

As for the construction *Mura tú/tusa Séamas ...*, we encounter a similar but distinct pattern. With this item, nearly all the informants, including the informants who lenited the pronoun in the previous item, produce an unlenited pronoun: *Mara tú/tusa Séamas ....*

In contrast, the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18, produces a lenited pronoun in her example *Mura thú Séamas ....* As for the older female informant on Inis Oírr, once again she produces an aberrant form, with the initial consonant of the pronoun elided: *Marab iú Séamas ....*

thú/thusa

As for classificatory copulative constructions, in which the subject pronoun is clause final, the interrogative classificatory construction *An iascaire thú?*, presents few surprises.

Nearly all the informants on Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin produce lenited forms of the pronoun, either *thú/thusa* or a weakened form with the initial voiceless glottal central fricative [h] elided: *'ú*. Only a single informant, the female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór, produces an unlenited pronoun: *tusa*.

On Inis Oírr, however, the male informant produces a variant with an elided initial consonant: *'ú*. The two female informants, on the other hand, both produce only

[192] This construction is mentioned earlier in the discussion of the copula.

unlenited pronominal forms: *tusa* and (F 41 only) *tú*. Here again, the two female informants stand apart from the nearly all the informants in the two western islands, who overwhelmingly lenite or elide the initial consonant of the pronoun.

The hypothetical classificatory construction *Dá mba bhean thú ...* presents an even more uniform pattern.

We find nearly all informants on all three islands leniting the pronouns to produce the variants *thú, 'ú* and, in one instance, *thusa*. Only the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, produces the unlenited emphatic pronoun *tusa*.

In sum, then, the pronoun in both classificatory constructions is lenited generally — except by four female informants.

The direct object pronoun *thú* normally found clause-finally in transitive clauses presents a similar uniform pattern. Throughout the islands, there are no unlenited pronouns anywhere.

It is worth noting, however, that on Inis Mór all informants except one, the female informant F 70 at An Sruth/'an, produce only the reduced pronoun *'ú*, with the initial consonant elided. F 70 produces the same variant, along with a second example with a lenited but unelided initial consonant: *thú*.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant produces the reduced form *'ú*, while the female informant produces the lenited pronominal form *thú*. On Inis Oírr, the sole example, from the older female informant, is again of the form *thú*.

Thus, as expected, no forms of the direct object pronoun *thú/thusa* are left with the initial consonant unlenited or unelided in any of the three islands. The reduced form *'ú*, with the initial consonant elided rather than simply lenited, however, seems to strongly characterise Inis Mór, and to a lesser extent, Inis Meáin.

The Diphthongisation of the Vowel

Before passing on to the next pronoun, it is worth noting the occasional striking diphthongisation of the vowel in the pronominal forms *tú* and *thú*.

For example, recall the quality of the vowel in the unemphatic pronominal form *'ú* from the female informant at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór: [**əᵘ**]. Recall the similar form cited earlier for the male informant at Corrúch in the discussion of the verb *BÍ*: [**təᵘ**] (= *tú*). I have heard precisely that vowel quality in the same pronoun when an older male relative of mine from Cill Rónáin saluted a passing friend, asking *Cén chaoi 'bhfuil tú?*.

It would perhaps be a mistake to consider such diphthongisation of the vowel in the pronominal forms *tú* and *thú* as restricted to Inis Mór. Recall, for example, the example from the older female informant on Inis Oírr: [**toᵘ**].

seisean

We turn now to the emphatic subject pronoun *seisean*.

The only informants across all three islands to use the Standard Irish variant *seisean* (**ʃɛʃəN/ʃɪʃəN**) are the two female informants on Inis Oírr, who each represent a younger generation with more formal education.

All the other informants use one of two non-Standard Irish variants: *sosan* and *siosan*. The variant *sosan* (**səsəN/sɛsəN**) is attested from Corrúch eastward through Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr, though we have examples only from the two male informants in the two eastern islands.

The variant *siosan* (**ʃəsəN/ʃɛsəN**), apparently a blend of *sosan* and Standard Irish *seisean*, is found only on Inis Mór.

At first glance, the variant *siosan* seems to be limited to western Inis Mór, from Bungabhla eastward through Fearann an Choirce, but the two male informants in easternmost Inis Mór also use *siosan* to the exclusion of the other variant. Thus the variant *siosan* is an Inis Mór development which is well distributed throughout the island, though not to the complete exclusion of the variant *sosan*, which still retains its hold in eastern Inis Mór.

Note also the variant *sé-san*, produced as an alternative form by the male informant at Eochaill on Inis Mór. This variant seems to be a simple conjoining of the normal subject pronoun *sé* with the generalised emphatic suffix *-san*.

Note also the variant *sí-se* used by the same informant in I.7 for the feminine emphatic subject pronoun, along with the Standard Irish *sise* in I.41 and in I.60. The male informant on Inis Meáin uses the same variant, *sí-se*, in I.7 as well as the Standard Irish *sise* in I.41.

Note the similar but distinct variant *sí-sean* produced by the younger female informant on Inis Oírr in the phrase [**fən′ t′iːʃəN** (= *faigheann sise*). In this case the emphatic suffix of the masculine form has been extended to cover both sexes.

eisean

As for the emphatic pronoun *eisean*, nearly everywhere on all three islands we encounter the variant *e'san* (**ɛsəN**). The male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór produces the same variant along with the subject pronoun *siosan*, generalised to post-copular position.

We do get the Standard Irish variant *eisean* (**ɛʃəN**) from both informants on Inis Meáin.

On Inis Oírr, however, the Standard Irish subject pronoun *seisean* is generalised to post-copular position by the older female informant.

We also encounter a variant at Eochaill and at Cill Éinne in eastern Inis Mór which apparently conjoins the normal object pronoun *é* with the generalised emphatic suffix *-san*, thus producing *é-san*. Thus, the same informant at Eochaill produces *sé-san*, *é-san* and *sí-se* in their respective syntactic contexts.

muid/ muide

Moving on to the plural personal pronouns, the variant *muid* and its emphatic counterpart *muide* are found throughout the three islands.

A second variant, *muinn* and its emphatic counterpart *muinne*, however, is found widely on Inis Mór, though not on the two eastern islands.[193]

We get a third variant — the blended form *muind* — from two informants on Inis Mór. Thus the male informant at Corrúch produces *muind*, and the female informant at Bungabhla produces *muint*, with a devoiced final plosive.

sibh/ sibhse

We turn now to the second person plural pronominal forms *sibh* and *sibhse*.

The variant *sib*, with an unlenited final consonant, is dominant on all three islands. Only two informants — both on Inis Mór —produce the Standard Irish variant *sibh*, with a lenited final consonant.[194]

As for the emphatic counterpart *sibhse*, we encounter the variant *sipse* (**ʃɪpʃɪ**) universally in the two western islands.[195]

On Inis Oírr, however, both older informants voice the bilabial plosive to produce *sibse*.

Two unusual constructions occurred in the responses. The male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór used the vocative particle with the emphatic pronoun to produce *a sipse!*. The female informant at Cill Éinne also produced an unusual form in her prepositional phrase *thríd sipse* (= *tríbhse*).

siad/ siadsan

We examine now the third person plural subjectival pronominal forms *siad* and *siadsan*.

The Standard Irish pronoun *siad* is found frequently in its full form [**ʃiᵊd**], with the diphthong [**iᵊ**] clearly audible, across the three islands. However, it is found far more frequently in a reduced form, with a short, often centralised vowel replacing the diphthong, e.g., [**ʃɪd**], [**ʃɛd**], [**ʃæd**], and [**ʃəd**]. Its final consonant also is occasionally devoiced: [**ʃɛt, ʃət**].

Its emphatic counterpart, *siadsan*, which normally accepts stress, retains its diphthong in the first syllable in nearly all the examples across the three islands.

The exceptions to the rule are the two informants at Corrúch in eastern Inis Mór, who level the diphthong to a long or half-long mid-front vowel, producing examples such as [**ʃeːdsəɴ**] and [**ʃeˑdsəɴ**], respectively.

Another interesting feature which can characterise both the base form *siad* and the emphatic form *siadsan* is the affrication of the initial sibilant following the dental nasal consonant in the habitual present affix *-ann* in a verb immediately preceding the pronoun. Thus we find [**...n̪ tʃəd**] for *-ann siad* and [**...n̪ tʃiˑᵊdsn̪**] for *-ann siadsan*.

[193]The form *muinn* has been discussed in the context of the Irish of northern Meath and southwest Ulster in O' Rahilly (1932), and in the context of Aran Irish, in Ó Dochartaigh, L. (1973/74).
[194]Not surprisingly, one of them is M 50, headmaster of the vocational school at Cill Rónáin.
[195]The female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór produces an example with a voiced bilabial plosive.

This feature marks easternmost Inis Mór off sharply from all points west in the island. It also marks Inis Oírr strongly. Oddly enough, we have no attestation of this feature from Inis Meáin.

iad/ iadsan

Moving on to the objectival and copular pronominal forms *iad* and *iadsan*, we might expect very similar patterns, but we do not encounter the emphatic form *iadsan* at all. In addition, the variants of the base form *iad* themselves show some interesting differences in their morphophonology from their subjectival counterparts beyond the expected presence or absence of the initial segment *s-*.

Perhaps because it is more acoustically prominent in clause-final position than its subjectival counterpart, the object pronoun *iad* retains its full diphthong far more frequently than does its subjectival counterpart on all three islands.

Furthermore, the levelling of the diphthong to **[eː]** in this pronominal form is frequent across all informants on Inis Mór, e.g., **[eːd]**. Even the two female informants on Inis Oírr produce examples of such levelling with this pronominal form.

On Inis Meáin, however, neither of the two informants produces a single example of such levelling.

What we do find on Inis Meáin, however, is a great deal of devoicing of the final consonant of this form by both informants. Thus roughly half the instances of *iad* from both informants are realised as **[iˑᵊt]** or its close phonetic equivalent. Such devoicing in the other two islands, however, is rare with this pronominal form.

Possessive Pronouns

We turn now to the possessive pronouns for first and second persons plural, forms which are normally collapsed into a single, undifferentiated "plural possessor" category in Connaught Irish with no audible difference between any of the three persons plural. In other words, the Standard Irish possessive constructions *ár gcótaí, bhur gcótaí,* and *a gcótaí* are normally all pronounced identically in the dialects of Connaught Irish: **[ə goːtiː]**. The following noun will be eclipsed in any case, marking the plural possessors. We now examine the situation in Aran Irish.

ár gcuid gruaige/ ár ngruaig

In the phrase *ár gcuid gruaige/ ár ngruaig*, we find no evidence of the possessive pronoun *ár* in any of the islands. Instead, the possessive pronoun *ár* is invariably reduced to the short central vowel **[ə]** or even to zero.

However, when examining the mutation of the initial consonant of the following noun, the possessive pronoun does not necessarily produce eclipsis, as would be the case in Connaught Irish. It seems, in other words, that the mutation system in this grammatical context may be breaking down on Inis Mór and on Inis Oírr – though not on Inis Meáin.

Thus, for example, we get the form *a' gcuid gruaig* from both informants on Inis Meáin, with eclipsis.

On the other hand, on Inis Mór five informants from one end of the island to the other eclipse the initial consonant of the following noun, while a large minority do not. Of these, three do not mutate the consonant at all, and one lenites the consonant. Those not eclipsing span different age groups, so the erosion of the mutational system here cannot be ascribed to recent generational change.

On Inis Oírr, the mutation system seems to have broken down for the two older informants. The male informant produces [ᵊŋ **gru**ˑᶦ**g**′], with what appears to be the article *an*, while the older female informant produces *' cuid gruaige*. In both cases, there is no mutation in the following noun.

In contrast, the youngest informant, F 18, does eclipse the initial consonant of the noun to produce [n̩ ŋ**ru**ˑᵉ**g**′], a form which seems to echo that of the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór, with a reduced form of the possessive pronoun preceding the noun. This may be another case of the youngest generation, with greater exposure to formal education, moving back in the direction of Standard Irish.

bhur . . .

As for the phrases *bhur gcuid éadaí, bhur gcuid cótaí, bhur gcuid caipíní, bhur gcuid ceachtanna,* etc., with the second person plural possessive pronoun *bhur* the situation seems straightforward – at least in regard to the shape of the possessive pronoun.

For example, the two informants on Inis Meáin again produce forms with the possessive pronoun reduced to the short central vowel [**ə**], or else they elide the vowel entirely while eclipsing the initial consonant of the following noun unfailingly.

The informants in the other two islands behave similarly to those on Inis Meáin, for the most part. However, we notice that almost invariably the construction *a' gcuid . . .* is being employed, whatever the nature of the following noun. Noting the difficulties that many informants on Inis Mór and Inis Oírr have had with the previous item, one wonders whether this invariable construction is being used to avoid the difficulties of the mutation system.

On Inis Mór three informants use the singular possessive pronoun *do* in a context clearly calling for the plural pronoun. Is this also an attempt to avoid the second person plural construction – under the influence of English, which has collapsed the distinction between singular and plural second person pronominal forms? One informant even produced the blended form *do gcuid éadaí*, though he immediately corrected that construction to a normal singular construction.

The youngest informant on Inis Oírr is well worth watching. She first produces the phrase *a' cuid éadaí*, with the reduced pronoun but with no mutation of the initial consonant of the following noun. Next, she substitutes the pronoun *bhur* ([**vur**]) to produce the synonymous phrase *bhur éadaí*, again with no mutation of the initial consonant of the following noun.

She uses the same pronoun to produce the phrases *bhur cótaí, bhur hataí,* and *bhur n-oibre* (= bhur gcuid oibre). Note that in the first of these phrases, the initial consonant of the following noun is not mutated, but that in the last phrase eclipsis does occur.

Certainly the question of mutations after the possessive pronouns *ár* and *bhur* on Inis Mór and Inis Oírr deserves further attention.

Possessive Phrases in Stative Verbal Constructions

Two constructions of great interest which emerged unexpectedly in the data are the invariable possessive constructions produced by the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór. Note his examples in the clauses *Bhí tusa 'na sheasa'* and *Bhí mise 'na sheasa'*, though he also produces the Standard Irish inflected construction *Tá Máire ina seasa'*.

Of equal interest are the constructions produced by the youngest informant on Inis Oírr. She uses no locative constructions to indicate a stationary body position. She simply uses the progressive verbal construction with the appropriate verbal noun, apparently on the model of similar constructions in English. Thus, she produces *Bhí tusa ag seasamh*, *Bhí mise ag seasamh*, *Tá Máirtín ag seasamh*, and *Tá Máire ag suí*.

27 Prepositional Phrases

We now examine prepositional phrases, beginning with prepositions which have non-finite clauses as object of the preposition. In the phrases *... [ag caint] ar/faoi theach a thógáil* and *... [ag smaoineamh] ar fhear a fhostú*, we will be examining the lenition of the noun immediately following the preposition.

ag caint ar/faoi theach a thógáil

We begin with the verbal phrase *... ag caint ar/faoi theach a thógáil*.

On Inis Mór most informants, especially in easternmost Inis Mór, do not lenite the noun immediately following the preposition. Younger informants are characterised by this trait.

On Inis Meáin, however, both informants lenite the initial consonant of the noun, as in Standard Irish.

On Inis Oírr, the trend reverses itself again, and none of the informants lenites the noun.

In sum, with this item, the informants on Inis Meáin behave conservatively, leniting the initial noun, while the informants on Inis Mór do not lenite for the most part and the informants on Inis Oírr do not lenite at all.

ag smaoineamh ar fhear a fhostú

Turning to the verbal phrase *ag smaoineamh ar fhear a fhostú*, most informants on all three islands do not lenite the noun.

This time on Inis Meáin the male informant alternates between lenition and non-lenition, producing both *... ar fhear (a) fhostú* and *... ar fear a íoc*, while the female informant does not lenite, producing *... ar fear a ... fhostó*.

le é a phiocadh suas

Turning now to the phrase *le é a phiocadh suas*, our attention here will be directed mainly to seeing which of the two constructions, *le é a phiocadh suas* or *lena phiocadh suas*, is in use in the three islands.

On Inis Mór all the informants opt for the first construction, *le é a phiocadh suas/le (é a) thóigeáil aníos*, with the single exception of M 50 at Cill Rónáin, who produces *lena phiocadh suas*. The youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, does not lenite the initial consonant of the verbal noun, producing *le é a piocadh suas*.

On Inis Meáin, the female informant produces a construction with a non-finite clause, *le í a fháil*, while the male informant produces the construction with the possessive pronoun and verbal noun, *lena phiocadh suas*.

On Inis Oírr, both the male informant and the younger female informant produce the construction *lena phiocadh suas*, while F 41, the older female informant produces a unique construction: *le a phiocadh suas*.[196]

In sum, it seems that the construction *le é a phiocadh suas* is dominant nearly everywhere on Inis Mór. On the other hand, the construction *lena phiocadh suas* makes an appearance in easternmost Inis Mór, is perhaps co-dominant with the first construction on Inis Meáin, and is perhaps completely dominant on Inis Oírr. Clearly, however, more evidence is needed.

tar éis labhairt leis

Turning now to the the phrase *tar éis labhairt leis*, our attention will be directed entirely to the phonological shape of the compound preposition *tar éis*.[197]

On Inis Mór we note the relatively Standard Irish form [**tər** ˈ**eˑʃ**] from the youngest informant there, F 43 at Bungabhla. We also get the variant [**har** ˈ**eːʃ**] at Cill Éinne. We get progressively reduced forms as well: [**hr eʃ**], [**r e$^{\text{i}}$ʃ**] and [**r ɛʃ**].

Alternatively, one can reduce the form [**hr**] to [**h**]. Thus we have the variant [**h eˑʃ**] as well from the female informant at Cill Éinne.[198] Note that in both her examples, [**h eˑʃ ə lʌ$^{\text{u}}$rt lʹɛʃ**] and [**har ˈeːʃ ə lʌ$^{\text{u}}$rt lʹɛʃ**], there seems to be a clear neutral vowel before the verbal noun.

Parallel to this series of variants, however, is another series of variants, preserving the first two consonants of the compound preposition, but palatalising them: [**tʹərʹ eːʃ/ tʹrʹ eːʃ/ tʹrʹ ˈeˑʃ/ tʹrʹ eʃ/ tʹrʹ ɛʃ**].

On Inis Meáin, only the palatalised variants [**tʹrʹ eʃ**] and [**hʹrʹ eːʃ**] appear.

On Inis Oírr, the female informants produce the palatalised variants [**tʹ$^{\text{ɛ}}$rʹ ˈeːʃ**], and [**tʹrʹ eʃ**], respectively. The male informant, however, produces the unpalatalised reduced variant which we encountered at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór: [**h eˑʃ**].

[196] Of course, one can interpret this example as an example of the construction *le é a phiocadh suas*, with the vowel of the pronoun *é* merged with the vowel of the preceding preposition *le*, and the resulting long vowel shortened.

[197] We shall have another chance to view this compound preposition in the next section.

[198] This is a variant which I normally associate with Connemara.

To sum up, it appears that Inis Mór is characterised by non-palatalised variants only, and that the two eastern islands are characterised by palatalised variants only. The one variant that unites both easternmost Inis Mór and Inis Oírr is the extremely reduced variant [**h eˑʃ**].

Turning now to prepositional phrases with a genitival noun phrase as object of the preposition, we will examine phrases such as *trasna na sráide, tar éis an dinnéir* and *le haghaidh a dhinnéir*. Here we will focus entirely on the phonological shapes of the compound prepositions.

trasna

Turning to the prepositional form *trasna* in the phrase *trasna na sráide*, we find both the Standard Irish variant *trasna* ([**traːsNə**]) and a second variant, *treasna* ([**tʲrʲæːsNə**]).

Both variants are found in the two western islands. The situation seems uncomplicated on Inis Meáin, where the male informant produces *trasna*, while the female informant produces *treasna*.

On Inis Mór, however, the situation is more complex. We encounter the variant *trasna* from only two informants — both male informants in eastern Inis Mór. In contrast, we get the second variant, *treasna*, from the three female informants in western Inis Mór and from the male informant and the female informant in easternmost Inis Mór.

Furthermore, in the centre of Inis Mór from An Sruthán to Corrúch, one encounters a number of blended forms with differing palatalisation of the initial consonant cluster, e.g., [**t̪rʲæːsnə**], [**tʲrasnə**] and [**træsNə**].

What is striking in both western islands is that the female informants seem strongly inclined to front the vowel of the first syllable to [**æ**] in both the palatalised and blended forms, while the male informants do not front the vowel.[199]

On Inis Oírr, however, we find no palatalisation of the consonants of the onset, and it is the male informant who fronts the vowel.

Note the unusual construction initially produced by the youngest informant there, F 18, *thar gon sráid* [**haːrʲ gən srɑːdʲ**] (= *thar den tsráid*).

tar éis an dinnéir/ tar éis an bhricfeasta

Turning now to the phrases *tar éis an dinnéir* and *tar éis an bhricfeasta*, we have further examples of the compound preposition *tar éis*.

On Inis Mór, we again get the Standard Irish form [**tar eːʃ**] from the youngest informant there, F 43 at Bungabhla. And once again, we get a number of variants of that form across the island: [**har ˈeːʃ**], [**hær ɛʃ**], [**hr eːʃ**], [**r eʲʃ**], [**r aʲʃ**], [**r eːʃ**], [**r eˑʃ**] and [**r ɛʃ**]. The two informants at Corrúch use the extremely reduced variant *'r éis* exclusively.

As for the variant [**h eːʃ**], once again the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór is the only informant to produce this variant. Her daughter-in-law, F 43,

[199] With the single exception of the example *treasna* from the male informant at Cill Rónáin.

raised at Bungabhla but now living in Cill Rónáin, however, produces the blended form [**tər heːʃ**].

In regard to the series of palatalised variants, we get [**tʲərʲ eːʃ**] , [**tʲɪrʲ ˈeːʃ**], [**tʲrʲ eːʃ**] and [**hrʲ ɛʃ**] from three informants scattered through central and eastern Inis Mór. These few examples are the only attestations of the palatalised variants in Inis Mór.

On Inis Meáin, once again we note only the palatalised series of variants. The female informant gives us the variant [**tʲrʲ eˑʃ/ tʲrʲɛs**], and the male informant produces a variant ([**hərʲ ˈiːʃ**]) and a second variant [**ərʲ eːʃ**].[200]

On Inis Oírr, this time we get the non-palatalised variant [**tər ˈeˑʃ**] from the older female informant, along with the second example [**tʌrʲ ˈeːʃ**], showing limited palatalisation.[201]

Her husband, on the other hand, again produces only the non-palatalised variants [**h eʃ**] and [**r eːʃ**], while the youngest female informant again produces only the palatalised variant, but in a fuller form than in the previous section: [**tʲᵊrʲ eːʃ/ tʲᵊrʲ ˈeʃ/ tʲᵋrʲ ˈeˑʃ**].

To sum up, it seems that the patterns of distribution for palatalised and non-palatalised variants are not quite as clear-cut on either Inis Mór or Inis Oírr as in the previous item, though on Inis Meáin both informants behave with complete consistency. Also, the younger, more formally educated informants show a preference for forms which approximate the Standard Irish variant.

le haghaidh a dhinnéir

Turning to the prepositional phrase *le haghaidh a dhinnéir*, the focus will be not only on the form of the compound preposition *le haghaidh* but also on the syntactic structure of the phrase itself.

Since the phoneme [**h**] is so often elided in Aran Irish, as in Cois Fharraige Irish, the compound preposition *le haghaidh* is normally articulated as *l' aghaidh*.[202] With the raising of the diphthong [**aⁱ**] to [**eⁱ**] in relaxed or rapid speech, *l' aghaidh* would become *l' éidh*. In addition, levelling of the diphthong [**eⁱ**] to the long vowel [**eː**] in relaxed or rapid speech could also occur. Thus there is a great possibility of a younger generation of speakers reinterpreting the compound preposition *le haghaidh* as the simple preposition *le*.

When this occurs, speakers may substitute syntactic structures appropriate for the preposition *le* for those appropriate for the compound preposition *le haghaidh*.[203] Thus, the phrase *le haghaidh dinnéir* with its genitival object would be understood by the speaker as *le dinnéar* with its dative object. Similarly, *le haghaidh a dhinnéir* would be understood as *lena dhinnéar*. We see all stages of this process in the data.

[200] Note the raising of the vowel to [**iː**] in the second element of the construction in his first example.
[201] This contrasts with her example in the previous section, which showed the fully palatalised variant.
[202] This normally causes elision of the vowel [**e**] as well, since it now occurs immediately before the diphthong [**aⁱ**] of the second word.
[203] This process would be facilitated by the widespread use of the nominative/accusative inflection in place of the genitival inflection, thus obscuring the underlying case of the object noun in the prepositional phrase.

On Inis Mór, the most conservative example comes from the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór: [**l′eˑⁱ hʌⁱ d′iːn′ɛˑr′**] (= *le haghaidh dinnéir*). His other example, however, omits the genitival inflection: [**l′ɛ hʌⁱ d′iːn′ɛˑr**] (= *le haghaidh dinnéar*). The female informant at Cill Éinne also dispenses with the genitival inflection: [**l′ɛ ˈhaⁱ ə j′iːn′ɛr**] (= *le haghaidh a dhinnéar*). In another example, she elides the [**h**] of the compound preposition: [**l′æˑⁱ ə j′iːn′ɛr**] (= *l' aghaidh a dhinnéar*).

Going one step further, the female informant at An Sruthán in central Inis Mór, together with both informants at Corrúch, level the diphthong in the compound preposition *l' aghaidh* to produce *le dinnéar*. The female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór produces another example: [**l′eˑ n̩ pɑːˈʃtʃɛˑ**] (= *l' aghaidh an pháiste*).

The final step is taken by the youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, and by the male informants at Fearann an Choirce, at Corrúch and at Cill Rónáin, who all identify the compound preposition completely with the simple preposition *le*, producing the construction *lena dhinnéar*.

Interestingly, the female informant at Cill Éinne has not forgotten the original identity of the prepositional form in her example [**l′ aⁱ nə j′iːn′ɛˑr**] (= *l' aghaidh-na dhinnéar*), but she has inappropriately introduced the form *l' aghaidh* in a syntactic construction meant for the preposition *le*.

On Inis Meáin, however, both informants, while making the phonological changes in the form of the compound preposition itself, show no signs of dropping the genitival inflection of the object noun or of identifying the compound preposition with the simple preposition *le*. Thus we get [**l′eˑ n′ d′iːn′eˑr′**] from the female informant and [**l′ɛⁱ n′ d′iːɴ′eːr′**] from the male informant.

On Inis Oírr, the older informant M 55 produces the construction [**l′eˑⁱ n′ d′iːn′ɛr**] (= *l' aghaidh 'n dinnéar*), apparently retaining the sense of the first element of the construction as the compound preposition *le haghaidh* while not inflecting the object noun for the genitive case. In contrast, the youngest informant, F 18, fully identifies the compound preposition with the simple preposition *le*, producing *lena dhinnéir* (sic!).

It is worth noting another example from M 55, where the confusion of the compound preposition *le haghaidh* with the simple preposition *le* may have gone in the other direction. Thus, he produces the construction [**l′eː n′ tʃæˑx ə jɛnə**], which can be interpreted as *l' aghaidh an teach a dhéana'*, with the compound preposition used inappropriately in place of the simple preposition *le* before a non-finite clause, or as *le an teach a dhéana'*. This possible use of *l' aghaidh* for *le* brings to mind the construction *l' aghaidh-na dhinnéar* mentioned above, produced by the female informant at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór.

In sum, though the phonological reductions of the compound preposition *le haghaidh* are found on all three islands, the original syntactic form of the construction, including the genitival inflection of the object noun, is preserved mainly on Inis Meáin.

As for the reinterpretation of the compound preposition as the simple preposition *le*, including the use of the compound possessive form *lena*, this seems especially characteristic of younger informants in both Inis Mór and Inis Oírr.

Once again, the comparative linguistic conservatism of Inis Meáin is borne out.

28 Inflected (Prepositional) Pronouns

The Preposition ag/ chuig

Turning now to the inflected forms of the prepositional pronouns, we begin with the inflected forms for the prepositions *ag* and *chuig*.

In Aran Irish, as in Cois Fharraige Irish, the preposition *chuig*, with all its inflected forms, has merged completely into the preposition *ag*. Thus our focus here will be entirely on the inflected forms of the portmanteau preposition *ag*. As in Connemara Irish, we will find both full forms and contracted forms.

agam

Beginning with the first person singular inflected form *agam*, we get the Standard Irish variant [**agəm**] from the female informant at An Sruthán on Inis Mór and the slightly reduced variant [**agm̩**] from the female informant at Corrúch further east. We get the variant [**a**ˈ**gəm**], with the stress on the final syllable, from the male informant at Eochaill, still further to the east, and we get the variant [**əgəm**], with a stressed neutral vowel in the first syllable, from the male informant on Inis Oírr .

We also get the variant [**akəm**], with the velar consonant devoiced, from the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór and from the female informant on Inis Meáin.

As for the contracted forms, we get the expected variant [**am**] (= *a'm*) from the two youngest informants on Inis Mór, as well as from the male informant on Inis Meáin.

We also get the form [**ʌm**], with the vowel somewhat neutralised, from the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór, and a large number of examples of the variant [**əm**], with a very lax neutral vowel, from four informants spread the length of Inis Mór and from all three informants on Inis Oírr, who produce no other variants.

In sum, then, the variant [**əm**], rather than the variant [**am**], is the dominant realisation of the contracted form *a'm*, at least on Inis Mór and on Inis Oírr. This feature is striking, because the corresponding contracted variant *a'm* in Connemara Irish contains a long, clear vowel [**aː**], as exemplified in the Irish of Cois Fharraige.[204] Thus the quality and length of the vowel in the contracted form *a'm* seems to be an important isogloss dividing the Aran Islands from Connemara.[205]

[204] Cf. de Bhaldraithe (1953), 141.

[205] I did a spot check recently on the vowel length in the contracted form *a'm* in an office of the Acadamh na hOllscolaíochta Gaeilge in An Cheathrú Rua. I asked a woman in her late 20s or early 30s for an oral translation of the English sentence "I don't know" to Irish. She translated the sentence as "Níl a fhios a'm", with a clear, long vowel [**aː**] in the word *a'm*.

The variant *acam* [**akəm**], with the devoiced velar consonant, is a minor variant, but a significant one, since it occurs independently on two neighbouring islands, and is produced by relatively conservative speakers of Irish.

agat

Turning now to the second person singular inflected form *agat*, and beginning on Inis Mór, we get the full form *agat* and/or its emphatic form *agatsa* from nearly every informant.

On Inis Meáin we get the expected variant [**agət**] from the female informant, but from the male informant on Inis Oírr we get the unusual variant [**æˑgət**], with the vowel of the first syllable lengthened and clearly fronted — a variant possibly modelled on the contracted forms, which we shall examine shortly.

As for the emphatic forms of the full pronoun, we note the expected variant [**agətsə**] from a female informant on Inis Mór and from the female informant on Inis Meáin. The variant [**əgʊtˈsə**] from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór, however, with its unusual stress on the final syllable and the consequent neutralisation of the vowels of the preceding syllables, is less expected.

Turning now to the contracted form *a't* and its emphatic counterpart *a'tsa*, we get the variant [**aˑt**], with devoicing of the dental consonant, from single informants on all three islands.[206]

We get a single example of the variant [**ad**], with the final consonant voiced, from the youngest informant, F 18 on Inis Oírr.

The single example of an emphatic form also comes from F 18: [**aˑtsə**] .

There is also a competing series of variants for the contracted forms *a't* and *a'tsa*, with the vowel of the first syllable fronted to [**æ**].

Beginning with the unemphatic forms, we get the form [**æˑt**] from the male informant at Corrúch and the form [**æt**] from single informants on all three islands. Note that all these examples have the final consonant devoiced.

We get a slightly different variant, [**æˑd**], with the final consonant voiced, from the female informant at Bungabhla, from the female informant at Eoghanacht ([**æd**]), and from the male informant on Inis Meáin ([**æːd**]).

As for the corresponding emphatic forms, we get the variant [**æːtsə**] from both the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór and from the male informant on Inis Oírr, along with the variants [**æts**], [**æˑḍsə**] and [**æːdsa**], all from female informants on Inis Mór.

To sum up, once again the contracted forms attract our attention. There two variants of the contracted base form *a't*, one with the vowel [**a**], and the other with the vowel [**æ**]. Both forms seem to be competing with one another across the three islands.

[206] We also get its close counterpart, [**aḍ**], from the male informant at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór.

As for their emphatic counterparts, however, the variant with the vowel [**æ**] is clearly dominant across the islands, with five attestations of the variant with the vowel [**æ**] and only one attestation of the variant with the vowel [**a**].

As for comparisons with the Irish of Connemara, it is interesting that all the examples for Cois Fharraige Irish in de Bhaldraithe (1953) and de Bhaldraithe (1966) contain the vowel [**aː**], with no examples showing the vowel fronted to [**æː**]. Similarly, none of his examples show devoicing in the final consonant of his examples for *a'd*. These are possible isoglosses dividing the Aran Islands from Connemara, but more material is needed from Connemara.

againn

Turning to the first person plural inflected form *againn*, one informant, the female informant at An Sruthán on Inis Mór, still maintains a distinction between the prepositions *ag* and *chuig*. She uses the form [**hʊgɪNʲ**] (= *chugainn*) in the sentence "Tá sé a' tiúirt scian chugainn", but she uses the form [**aNʲ**] (= *againn*) in the sentence "Tá sé thar am a'inn a bheith sa mbaile".

In contrast, we encounter only forms of the preposition *ag* from all the other informants.

Note also that the full form *againn* is attested only in easternmost Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin.

In contrast, the contracted form *a'inn* is found universally in the three islands, nearly always with the vowel fronted and often with the vowel lengthened. In other words, we can normally expect either [**æNʲ**] , [**æˑNʲ**] or [**æːNʲ**]. The older female informant on Inis Oírr even raises the fronted vowel to [**ɛ**] , producing [**ɛNʲ**] .

In west central Inis Mór, however, two informants in neighbouring townlands provide clear exceptions to the fronting rule. The female informant at An Sruthán produces [**aNʲ**] , and the male informant at Fearann an Choirce produces [**aːNʲ**].

agaibh

Turning to the second person plural inflected form *agaibh*, we find very few examples of this form in the data. We have the basic form [**agiˑ**], with the final consonant elided and the vowel of the second syllable lengthened, from F 43, the youngest female informant on Inis Mór. We also have the form [**ʌgiː**], with the first vowel neutralised a bit and the final vowel again lengthened, from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce.

We also have an emphatic form from F 43, [**agɪʃɛ**] (*agaibhse*), with the second vowel shortened and laxed before the emphatic particle.

acu

We turn now to the third person plural inflected form *acu*.

The variant *acub* is nearly universal on all three islands.

The only informant who clearly does not produce the [**b**] augment to the second syllable is M 50 at Cill Rónáin, headmaster of the vocational school, who produces [**əkə**].

The male informant on Inis Oírr also seems to produce only a weak augment at best in his examples [**akə(b)**] and [**akə(v)**].[207]

The examples from Inis Meáin, however, are striking. Both informants produce only the variant [**ækəb**], with clear fronting of the vowel of the first syllable. The only example outside of Inis Meáin of such fronting is in an example from the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, who produces [**ækəb**] along with [**akəb**].

In sum, the clear contrast between the variant [**akəb**] of Inis Mór and Inis Oírr, with its low central vowel in the first syllable, and the variant [**ækəb**] of Inis Meáin, with its clearly fronted vowel in the same position, is the dialectal feature of greatest interest in regard to this item.

More generally, in regard to the paradigm of inflected pronouns for the preposition *ag/chuig* as a whole, we can identify several main features of interest. First, the short vowel in the contracted form *a'm*, which contrasts with the long vowel of the corresponding form in Cois Fharraige Irish. Second, the frequently shortened and/or fronted vowel and the frequently devoiced consonant in the contracted form *a'd*, in comparison to its counterpart in Cois Fharraige Irish. Third, the fronted vowel in the form *acu* in Inis Meáin Irish, which contrasts with the low central vowel or neutral vowel of the other two islands.

The Preposition de

We examine now the inflected forms for the preposition *de*.

(cuid) de

Let us begin with the phrase *cuid de*, which includes the third person singular masculine inflected pronoun *de*.

This phrase yields an example of the pronoun from nearly every informant in the three islands. Of these, nearly all produce the lenited inflected form *dhe* in this construction, i.e., *cuid(e) dhe*.

Only the female informant F 73 at Eoghanacht on Inis Mór produces the unlenited form *de*.[208]

The female informant on Inis Meáin produces the lenited feminine form *dhi*.

It would be interesting to see whether further examples of the feminine form would be lenited or not. In contrast, as we shall see, the homophonous Standard Irish feminine form *di*, which forms part of the paradigm of inflected forms for the preposition *do*, yields only the unlenited form *di* locally from all informants.[209]

The two youngest informants on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla and M 50 at Cill Rónáin, however, produce the phrase *cuide dhó*, substituting a lenited inflected form of the preposition *do* in place of the inflected form of the preposition *de*. The adoption of

[207] The augment [**əv**] recalls the impersonal simple past suffix [**əv**] also found on Inis Oírr, in that both preserve a relatively tense voiced bilabial fricative in word-final position.

[208] A quick check of Item 209 in the *LASID* questionnaire responses from Corrúch yields the unlenited form *de* from the male informant, though the lenited form *dhe* is accepted by both informants. This example, however, is embedded in an entirely different syntactic context, the sentence *Thóg sé an craiceann de*.

[209] Another quick check of Item 209 in the *LASID* data reveals both the lenited and unlenited forms *dhi* and *di* of the feminine form in use for the preposition *de* by the male informant at Corrúch.

this variant, characteristic of Connemara Irish, seems to be a clear sign of generational change on Inis Mór.

díot

The second person singular inflected pronoun *díot*, yields three examples, but they are all from the male informant on Inis Meáin. He produces three examples of the form *dhíot* ([**ji:t**]), with the initial consonant lenited.

díbh

As for the second person plural inflected pronoun *díbh*, we have only three examples, all lenited. We have *'ib* ([**ʔi:bʲ**]) from Inis Mór, *dhíbh* ([**ji:vʲ**])[210] from Inis Meáin, and *dhíb* ([**ji:bʲ**]) from Inis Oírr.

díobh

For the third person plural inflected pronoun *díobh*, we have the Standard Irish pronominal form *díobh* ([**ʤi:v**]), embedded in the phrase *cuid díobh*, from the female informant at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór. In contrast, we have two examples of the variant *dhíob* ([**ji:b**]), with lenition of the initial consonant but no lenition of the final consonant, from the youngest informant on Inis Oírr.[211]

díom

In addition, the *LASID* data for Corrúch yield three examples of the Standard Irish variant of the first person singular inflected pronoun *díom* – that is, with no lenition.[212]

d'fhataí

Turning now to the phrase *d'fhataí*, we have a single instance of the slightly hypercorrect but otherwise Standard Irish form *de fhataí* ([**ʤɛ ʔatiˑ**]), with the expected elision of the vowel of the preposition before the initial vowel of the following word blocked by a glottal stop, from M 50 at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór.[213]

Otherwise, the only examples we get of this preposition are all based on the variant *go* ([**gə**]) . Thus we get the phrase *g'fhataí*, with elision of the vowel of the preposition before the initial vowel of the following word, from the male informant at Eochaill on Inis Mór and from the male informant on Inis Meáin.

In contrast, the forms from the female informants avoid the elision. Thus the female informant on Inis Meáin inserts a glottal stop to prevent elision, producing *go fhataí* ([**gə ʔæti**]), while both F 43 at Bungabhla on Inis Mór and her mother-in-law F 70 at Cill Éinne avoid elision by not leniting the initial consonant of the following word, both thus producing *go fataí*.

[210] Note that the final consonant is lenited in this example.

[211] A check of Item 209 in my *LASID* data from Corrúch for the same pronominal form reveals the form *díob*, with no lenition of either consonant, produced by the male informant.

[212] As for lenition versus non-lenition of all these inflected forms in the paradigm of the preposition *de*, it is useful to see what Item 209 in the *LASID* questionnaire yielded on Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr two generations earlier. There we see the same indeterminacy regarding lenition. The single example of the prepositional pronominal form *díom* for Inis Meáin shows only an unlenited form, while the same item from Inis Oírr shows both a lenited and non-lenited version of the same form. The lenited form [**ji:b**] (= *dhíob?*) is also given under the same item.

[213] Since he is headmaster of the vocational school there, such a Standard Irish form occasions no surprise.

This contrast in linguistic behaviour between male and female informants in regard to the elision of the vowel of the preposition is worth investigating further.

de ghnáth

As for the phrase *de ghnáth*, we have only two examples, both from the female informant at An Sruthán on Inis Mór. Her use of the Standard Irish prepositional form *de* in both examples ([**dʲɛ ɣNɑː**]) suggest that this construction is a construction borrowed from elsewhere.

cuid den bhainne

The phrase *cuid den bhainne* occasions no surprises. On all three islands we encounter the variant *cuid(e) gon bhainne*, with the form of the preposition modelled on the preposition *go*, though the lenition historically associated with the preposition *de* is preserved on the following noun after the singular definite article. This linguistic trait links the Aran Islands as a whole with Connemara.

cuid de na mná

As for the phrase *cuid de na mná*, we encounter only the expected variant *cuid(e) go na mná* on Inis Mór, while on the two eastern islands we find its counterpart, *cuid(e) go na mrá*.

But we also get the Munster variant *cuid desna mná*, with the intrusive *-s-* embedded in the prepositional form, from the male informant on Inis Meáin and the blended form *cuid gosna mrá* from the older female informant on Inis Oírr.

To sum up, in regard to the paradigm of inflected pronouns for the preposition *de* as a whole, the question of lenition vs. non-lenition of the different forms is difficult to resolve with the data we have here. The few examples we have show no lenition for the first person form *díom*, consistent lenition for the second person forms *díot* and *díbh* and for the singular third person form *de*, but inconsistent lenition for the plural third person form *díobh*.

As for use of the preposition *de* in phrases such as *cuid den bhainne* or *cuid de na mná*, there is nearly universal use of the variant *go*, producing phrases such as *cuid(e) gon bhainne* and *cuid(e) go na mná*, a linguistic trait which links the islands to Connemara.

The Munster variant *... desna mná* or its blended counterpart *... gosna mná*, both from Inis Oírr, are also of interest here.

In contrast, in the phrase *cuid de*, with the inflected pronoun, nearly all informants on all three islands produce the lenited variant *dhe*. This is an isogloss which separates the islands from Connemara, which prefers the form *cuid(e) dhó*, with the pronoun borrowed from the paradigm for the preposition *do*. Only the two youngest informants on Inis Mór opt for the Connemara variant.

The Preposition do

We examine now the inflected forms for the preposition *do*.

dom

We begin with the first person singular inflected pronoun *dom*. Unfortunately, we face serious gaps in the data for this form. Every second informant from Bungabhla

through Corrúch in western Inis Mór is represented, but we have no examples from Eochaill eastward through Inis Meáin. The data from Inis Oírr, however, is plentiful.

On Inis Mór, the four examples show an equal number of unlenited examples (*dom*) and lenited examples (*dhom* [**ɣəm**]). The female informant at An Sruthán produces one example of each type.

On Inis Oírr, all the forms are lenited. The two female informants produce forms with short backed high or mid vowels ([**ɣʊm/ɣom/ɣɔm**]), but the male informant distinguishes himself with a form containing a long high back vowel: [**ɣuːm**].

duit

Turning to the second person singular inflected pronoun *duit*, we find that the informants across all three islands are well represented. They all lenite the pronominal form, producing *dhuit* ([**ɣɪtʲ**]).

The only non-lenited forms occur in the construction *Cá bhfios duit?*, produced by two informants on Inis Mór and by one informant on Inis Meáin. We have no examples from Inis Oírr.

dó Turning to the third person singular masculine inflected pronoun *dó*, once again we find the informants across all three islands well represented. Once again they uniformly lenite the pronominal form, producing *dhó* ([**ɣoː**]).

The only non-lenited form occurs in the construction *Céarbh as dó?*, produced now by the other informant on Inis Meáin.

di The third person singular feminine inflected pronoun *di*, however, contrasts completely with the previous item. In this item, all the informants produce non-lenited forms. Thus we find only *di* and no examples of *dhi* [**jɪ**].

The variant that is of real interest comes from the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór, who produces two examples with a clear semi-long and long high front vowel: [**dʲiˑ**] and [**dʲiː**]. Do these examples represent a fusion of the two forms *di* and *í*?

dúinn

Moving on to the first person plural inflected pronoun *dúinn*, we encounter three examples of the Standard Irish variant *dúinn* — two from central Inis Mór, and the other from the female informant on Inis Meáin.

Otherwise, on the two western islands we encounter only the variant *dhuinn* [**ɣɪNʲ**], with its lenited initial consonant and its short lax mid-high front vowel, along with its emphatic counterpart *dhuinne*.[214]

On Inis Oírr, however, the two female informants produce a distinct variant, *dhúinn* [**ɣuːNʲ**], which lenites the initial consonant, but preserves the long high back vowel of the Standard Irish variant.

Otherwise, on Inis Oírr as well, we encounter the same variant with lenition and a short lax vowel found in the two islands to the west. Thus the male informant

[214]The initial consonant in many of the examples is elided, since the pronoun follows a verb with a final velar consonant in the phrase *. . . a thug 'uinn . . . .*

produces *(. . . thug) 'inn* ([**. . . hʊg n̪′**]) and the younger female informant produces *dhuinn* [**ɣʊn′**], with the short lax vowel backed a bit.

daoibh

Turning to the second person plural inflected pronoun *daoibh*, we find the variant *dhíb* ([**ji:b′**]) and its reduced form *'íb* ([**i:b′**]) dominant in the two western islands. The female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór devoices the final consonant, producing *dhíp*, but this is unique across the islands.

The most striking variant on Inis Mór is produced by the female informant at Cill Éinne, who produces two examples of *dhaoibh* ([**ɣi:v′**]), with a broad lenited initial consonant and a slender lenited final consonant, along with four examples of the dominant variant *dhíb*.

On Inis Oírr, the youngest informant, F 18, produces an example of the reduced version of the dominant variant in the two western islands, *'íb*, but the male informant produces three examples of the unique variant *dhéibh* ([**je:v′**]), with both initial and final consonants palatalised and lenited, but with a long mid front vowel as nucleus of the syllable.

dóibh

Turning now to the third person plural inflected pronoun *dóibh*, only one example occurs in the data, the variant *dhób* ([**ɣo:b**]), with a broad lenited initial consonant and a broad non-lenited final consonant — produced by the female informant at Eoghanacht on Inis Mór.

This variant is widespread over the Aran Islands and in Connemara.

don ghasúr/ don pháiste

As for the preposition *do* in its normal role as head of a prepositional phrase with a definite noun phrase as object of the preposition, we have the phrases *don ghasúr* and *don pháiste*.

We encounter a single example of the Standard Irish variant *do* in the phrase *don pháiste*, from the older female informant on Inis Oírr, F 41.[215]

For all the other informants across the three islands, however, and for F 41 herself in a second example, the form of the preposition is modelled on the preposition *go*, with the lenition historically associated with the preposition *do* preserved on the following noun after the singular definite article — as in the case of the preposition *de* just discussed. Thus we get either *gon ghasúr* or *gon pháiste* from nearly every informant across the three islands.

The two slight exceptions to this pattern are the female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór and the younger female informant on Inis Oírr, who both fail to lenite the noun, thus producing *gon gasúr* in both cases.

[215]Once again, it is possible that her secondary education at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór has influenced her linguistic behaviour in this instance.

do na cailíní

As for the phrase *do na cailíní*, with a plural definite noun in the object noun phrase, virtually all the informants across all three islands produce *go na cailíní*, with the variant *go* serving as head of the prepositional phrase.

Once again, the older female informant on Inis Oírr is the exception. She produces two examples of the blended (and fused) form *gosna* in the phrase *gosna cailíní*.[216]

To sum up, in regard to the paradigm of inflected pronouns for the preposition *do*, we will again focus mainly on the question of lenition vs. non-lenition of the different forms.

The few examples we have for the first person form *dom* in Inis Mór show competition between lenited and non-lenited variants, but we have no data from easternmost Inis Mór or from Inis Meáin. The plentiful data from Inis Oírr, however, shows consistent lenition. Of special interest is the example produced by the male informant there, a form containing a long high back vowel: [**ɣuːm**].

The second person form *duit* is uniformly lenited across all three islands, but not the pronoun in the construction *Cá bhfios duit?*, produced by three informants on Inis Mór and Inis Meáin.

The masculine third person form *dó* is uniformly lenited across all three islands, but the feminine third person form *di* is not lenited by any informant. The form *dó* is also left unlenited in the construction *Céarbh as dó?*, produced by an informant on Inis Meáin.

As for the first person plural form *dúinn*, there are a few examples of the Standard Irish variant from Inis Mór and Inis Meáin, but the dominant variant is the variant *dhuinn* [**ɣɪNʲ**] and its emphatic counterpart *dhuinne*. It is found on all three islands, but on Inis Oírr it has a competing variant, *dhúinn* [**ɣuːNʲ**], which preserves the long high back vowel of the Standard Irish variant.

The second person plural form *díbh* is uniformly lenited across all three islands, producing the dominant variant *dhíb* and its reduced form *'íb*, along with the local variants *dhaoibh* in easternmost Inis Mór and *dhéibh* in Inis Oírr.

The third person plural form *dóibh* is represented only by one example from easternmost Inis Mór, the variant *dhóbh* showing lenition, but a quick glance at the material I gathered at Corrúch for the LASID questionnaire shows an unlenited variant *dóbh* and a variant *'óbh*, with the initial consonant elided.[217] Thus, all possibilities for lenition are exhausted in our first three examples from Inis Mór.

As for the form of the preposition in phrases such as *don ghasúr/ don pháiste* or *do na cailíní*, we see again the nearly universal use of the variant *go* for the preposition, producing *gon ghasúr/ gon pháiste* or *go na cailíní*. In Inis Oírr, however, the variant *gosna* appears appears again, this time for Standard Irish *do na* ....

The Preposition i

We turn now to the inflected forms for the preposition *i*.

[216] Recall her use of a homophonous form in her example *cuid gosna mrá*, which was cited in the discussion of the preposition *de* above.

[217] Cf. Item 213.

ionam

The first person singular inflected pronoun *ionam* yields examples from only three informants on Inis Mór and from only a single informant on Inis Oírr. All the examples, however, contain a short lax vowel in the first syllable.

Thus we get two examples of [**əNəm**] and a single example of [**ɪˈNəm**], with the stress on the second syllable, from Inis Mór, and a similar form, [**ɪnəm**], from Inis Oírr.

ionat

The second person singular inflected pronoun *ionat* yields examples from only a single informant on Inis Mór and from only two informants on Inis Oírr.

We get the example [**əˈNət**], once again with stress on the second syllable, from the female informant at An Sruthán on Inis Mór.

On Inis Oírr, we get the similar form [**ənət**] from both of the older informants. We also get the unique variant [**əNəNtu**] (*ionantú*), with a reduplicated first syllable and an incorporated second person singular pronoun, from the older female informant there.

ionainn

Turning now to plural inflected pronouns, the first person plural prepositional pronoun *ionainn* yields examples from four informants on Inis Mór and from the same two older informants on Inis Oírr. With the exception of the female informant at An Sruthán on Inis Mór, who once again places the stress on the second syllable in her example [**ɪˈNəNʹ**], all the other examples may be summed up under the slight variants [**əNɪnʹ**], [**əNənʹ**] or [**ənɪnʹ**].

ionaibh

The second person plural inflected pronoun *ionaibh*, however, yields not a single example in the data.[218]

iontu

In contrast to all the forms just mentioned, the third person plural form *iontu* provides striking, overlapping patterns of variation which clearly distinguish areas of the islands from one another.

On Inis Mór we note two main variants. One variant, *íontab*, with a long high front vowel in the first syllable and the consonantal augment *-b* in the second syllable, is attested nearly the whole length of Inis Mór, from Eoghanacht to Cill Éinne.

A second variant, *ionta* [**ɪNtə**] or [**əNtə**], with a short lax vowel in the first syllable and a short neutral vowel in the second syllable, resembles the Standard Irish variant. This variant is found only at Eochaill and at Cill Rónáin in easternmost Inis Mór.[219]

We have some blended forms as well — *íonta* from the female informant at An Sruthán in west-central Inis Mór, with the long vowel characteristic of western and central Inis

[218] As for the responses at Corrúch to the *LASID* questionnaire, a search of the references in the index for the preposition *i* yields only one reference for the form *ionam* (Item 551) and five for the form *ann* (Items 272, 735, 1050, 1057, and 1163).

[219] The exception is provided by the youngest informant, F 43 from Bungabhla, who has been living in Cill Rónáin since her marriage.

Mór, and *iontab* from the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór, containing the short vowel of easternmost Inis Mór.[220]

On Inis Meáin, we encounter only the variant *iontab*, which we have already seen in easternmost Inis Mór.

On Inis Oírr, we get the same variant again, *iontab*, from the two female informants F 41 and F 18.

However, when we examine the data from the standpoint of relative age, the two older informants M 55 and F 41 give us variants which are unique to Inis Oírr, *ónta(b)* **[oːNtə(b)]** and *únta* **[uːNtə]**, respectively, with long back vowels in the initial syllable — vowels which contrast strikingly from the long high front vowels of Inis Mór, and which may represent an older linguistic situation on Inis Oírr.

To sum up, the third person plural forms of the preposition *i* present not only a surprising variety of variants, but an intricate pattern of variation as well. We have the variants with a long vowel in the first syllable, *íontab* vs. *ónta(b)/ únta*, which distinguish Inis Mór and Inis Oírr, respectively. We have the variant *iontab*, which links easternmost Inis Mór with Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr. Finally, we have the minor variants *íonta* and *ionta*, which distinguish western Inis Mór from easternmost Inis Mór, respectively.

sa bhuicéad/ sa pháirc/ sa gheimhreadh/ sa samhradh

In prepositional phrases such as *sa bhuicéad*, *sa pháirc*, *sa gheimhreadh* and *sa samhradh*, the object noun is eclipsed rather than lenited after the singular definite article, so that from all informants we get examples such as *sa mbuicéad*, *sa bpáirc/sa mbuaile/sa ngarraí*, *sa ngeimhreadh* and *sa samhradh* (with no change).

The two examples of a variant construction with lenition instead of eclipsis, *sa ghímhreadh*, produced by the two female informants F 41 and F 18 on Inis Oírr, seem to reflect their greater exposure to Standard Irish orthography in their secondary education. They also produce the expected examples with eclipsis, i.e., *sa ngímreadh* and *sa ngímhreadh*, respectively.

As to the form of the preposition itself in these constructions, reduced the prepositional form *sa* is widespread on all three islands. Note, however, the female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór, who produces the form *san* unexpectedly in the phrase *san mboile* (= *sa bhuaile*), though the prepositional form precedes a noun beginning with a consonant.

Some informants prefer to use fuller forms of the preposition. Two informants use the fullest form, *insan*. The female informant on Inis Meáin uses it in two of her four examples: *insan mbuaile* and *insan samhradh*. Note again her use of the form *insan* rather than the form *insa* even though the following noun begins with a consonant.

[220]Note also the odd form **[əNtʹəb]** from F 43 at Bungabhla, which may be a slip of the tongue

In contrast, the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór produces an example of the full form *insan* only in the phrase *insan aer*.

The female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór uses the slightly more abbreviated form *insa/ 'nsa* in four of her seven examples, and the female informant at An Sruthán produces a further two examples of *insa/ 'nsa*.

As for Inis Oírr, the male informant produces a solitary example of the variant *insa* in the phrase *insa ngaineamh* ([**ɛ̃sə ŋæˑnʹɛ**]).

It is worth noting also that the female informant at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór uses the full form *in* of the preposition in such possessive constructions as *i do mhúinteoir* and *i do bhean*, i.e., *in do mhúinteoir* ([**əN də wuːNʹtʃoˑⁱrʹ**]) and *in do bhean* ([**n də vʹæːN**]).

The Preposition thar

Turning first to the preposition *thar* in the phrase *thar am*, certain informants spread over all three islands front the vowel of the preposition. Thus we get the variant *thear* [**hæːr/ hær**] from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce and from both informants at Corrúch in central Inis Mór, from both informants on Inis Meáin, and from the male informant on Inis Oírr.

Judging from its wide and scattered distribution, this variant seems not to be a recent innovation.

Let us move on to the inflected forms for the preposition *thar*.

thairsti

We begin with the third person singular feminine inflected pronoun *thairsti*.

On Inis Mór, the dominant variant throughout the island is the variant *thairti*, [**hartʹɪ**]. As expected, the male informant M 50 at Cill Rónáin and the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór produce [**hærtʃɪ**] and [**hartʃɪ**], respectively, affricating the final consonant.

Note the fronting of the vowel in some examples. For example, the fronted first vowel [**æ**] produced by M 50 is echoed by the female informant at Corrúch in her example [**hærtʹ ɪgʹ n ˈmoːr**] (= *thairti ag an mbóthar*).

From the female informant at An Sruthán, however, we get a form which appears to be the same variant, but in which the final consonant is not palatalised: [**hartɪ**]. It is possible, though, that what we have here is a innovative form based on the adverbial form *thart*, with a feminine suffix, i.e., *thart + i*.

The male informant at Corrúch produces a more reduced variant in his two examples [**hærʹɪ**] and [**hæˑrʹɪ**].This variant could be interpreted as the prepositional form *thar* – with the vowel fronted again – plus a feminine suffix. He also produces the dominant Inis Mór form [**hartʹɪ**].

Only on Inis Meáin do we encounter the Standard Irish variant *thairsti*. The male informant produces [**harʃtʹɪ**], while the female informant produces the same variant, but converts the final consonant into an affricate: [**harʃtʃɛ**], echoing her counterpart at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór. The use of the Standard Irish variant distinguishes Inis Meáin clearly from the other two islands.

On Inis Oírr we find the male informant there generalising the masculine inflected pronoun *thairis* to a context calling for a feminine pronominal form. In contrast, his wife produces the eastern Inis Mór variant [**haˑrtʃ (ɛrʹ . . .)**].[221]

The youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18, however, produces two innovative forms: *thair* [**haːrʹ**], with palatalisation of the final consonant, and two examples of the prepositional phrase *thar í* [**har iˑ/ haˑr i**], an analytical construction in which the pronoun is independent of the preposition.[222]

tharainn

Turning to the first person plural inflected pronoun *tharainn*, we encounter only one example in the data. The female informant at Eoghanacht on Inis Mór produces the unexceptional example [**harʰɪnʹ**].

tharstu

The third person plural inflected pronoun *tharstu* provides a rich pattern of variants stretching over the three islands. The Standard Irish variant *tharstu*, though, is not among them.

On Inis Mór, we find the variant *thartab* ([**haːrtəb**] predominant throughout the island from Bungabhla to Cill Éinne. The female informant at Corrúch again fronts the vowel of the first syllable to [**æ**], producing the sub-variant [**hærtəb**].

In easternmost Inis Mór, however, we encounter two variants not found elsewhere on the island but which are found in the islands to the east. The male informant at Cill Rónáin produces *thartu* ([**hartʊ**]). The female informant at Cill Éinne, however, produces the variant *tharab* ([**haˑrəb**]), similar to the dominant variant, but with the segment *t* elided.[223]

On Inis Meáin, both informants produce only the variant *tharab*.

On Inis Oírr, however, we encounter once again the variant *thartu* ([**haːrtʊ**]) from the male informant, but the variant *tharab* ([**haːrəb/ haˑrəb**]) from both female informants.

The youngest informant, F 18, also experiments with innovative forms. Once again she produces the anomalous form *thair* ([**haːrʹ**]) as well as a prepositional phrase formed of a preposition plus an independent personal pronoun: *thar iad* ([**haːr iᵊd**]).[224]

[221] Recall that F 41 received her secondary education at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór.
[222] Unlike in the examples from the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór, the pronominal element seems not to be a phonologically reduced suffix added to the preposition.
[223] Alternatively, one could interpret this variant as being based on the root *thar* but with an *-ab* augment.
[224] Recall her example *thar í* above.

To sum up the distributional patterns for the variants of Standard Irish *tharstu*, we may identify the variant *thartab* with Inis Mór alone. The variant *thartu* we may identify with the male informants in easternmost Inis Mór and on Inis Oírr. We may identify the variant *tharab* with the female informant in easternmost Inis Mór, with the female informants on Inis Oírr, and with both the male and the female informant on Inis Meáin. Finally, we may identify the innovative construction *thar iad* with the youngest informant on Inis Oírr.

The Preposition le

leat

Turning now to the inflected forms for the preposition *le*, we begin with the second person singular inflected pronoun *leat*.

On both Inis Mór and Inis Oírr, we encounter some examples of the expected form [**lʹæːt**], with a long low front vowel, but usually the vowel is shortened to half-length or is articulated as a short vowel.

On Inis Meáin, however, both informants produce only examples with the short vowel, i.e., [**lʹæt**].

There is a second, recessive variant, found throughout the three islands. This variant, [**lʹɛt**], contains the mid front vowel [**ɛ**], which is invariably short.[225]

The female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór produces what appear to be two examples of this variant with a long vowel: [**lʹɛːt**]. Since this informant is given to raising the vowel [**æː**] to [**ɛː**], however, it is perhaps best to regard these examples as derived from the long-vowel variant [**lʹæːt**].

On Inis Meáin both informants produce only the short-voweled variants [**lʹæt**] and [**lʹɛt**]. Note that their closest neighbour to the west, the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór, produces only these very same short-voweled variants in her three examples.

libh

Turning now to the second person plural inflected pronoun *libh*, we encounter few examples of this form. We find a single example of the Standard Irish variant *libh* from F 43 at Bungabhla, the youngest informant on Inis Mór,[226] and one example of the local variant *lib*, with an unlenited final consonant, from each of the three islands.

leo

As for the third person plural inflected pronoun *leo*, we find clear examples of the Standard Irish variant *leo* in easternmost Inis Mór, on Inis Meáin and on Inis Oírr. Otherwise, we find the variant *leob* on all three islands.

[225] This variant is not mentioned in Prof. de Bhaldraithe's account of Cois Fharraige Irish.
[226] This may reflect her greater exposure to Standard Irish as well as her relative youth.

In regard to gender differences, in both easternmost Inis Mór and on Inis Oírr, the male informants produce the variant *leo* while the female informants produce the variant *leob*.

On Inis Meáin that pattern is precisely reversed, with the male informant producing *leob* and the female informant producing *leo*.

The Preposition trí

tríthi

Moving on now to the inflected prepositional pronoun *trí*, we begin with the third person singular feminine inflected pronoun *tríthi*.

We encounter the Standard Irish variant *tríthi* only on Inis Mór. The female informant at An Sruthán in western Inis Mór produces two examples, [**tʹrʹiːhɛ**] and [**tʹrʹiˑhə**], while M 50 at Cill Rónáin, headmaster of the vocational school, also produces [**tʹrʹiˑhə**].

We also encounter monosyllabic variants. The youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, produces a the variant, *trí* ([**tʹrʹiː**]), the female informant at An Sruthán produces the variant, *thrí* ([**hrʹiˑ**]), with the initial consonant lenited, and the male informant at Corrúch produces the variant *troí* [**triː**], with the first two consonants de-palatalised.

All the male informants — and only the male informants — on Inis Mór and Inis Meáin attempt to offer a variant based on the masculine pronoun *tríd* for this item, generalising this form to female referents. Thus, the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór and the male informant at Eochaill both produce the variant *tríd*, while the male informant at Fearann an Choirce produces two examples of the variant *ʼroíd* ([**riːdʹ**]), with the initial consonant elided and the following consonant de-palatalised.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant there first produces the masculine form *tríd* by itself, then includes it in a prepositional phrase consisting of that form as preposition plus a following independent pronoun, *tríd í*, and then repeats the form.[227] He precedes these forms with the unique construction *treas uirthi* ([**tʹrʹæs ərhi**]).[228]

Paralleling these forms is the widespread variant *tríti/tríte* ([**tʹrʹiːtʹɪ/ tʹrʹiːtʹɛ**]), produced exclusively by female informants on the two western islands, but by both husband and wife on Inis Oírr.

Thus F 43 at Bungabhla on Inis Mór produces the variant *tríte*, while F 72 to the east at Corrúch produces *tríti*.

On Inis Meáin, the female informant produces two examples of *trítse* ([**tʹrʹiːtʃɛ**]), with affrication of the third consonant.

[227] This is another example of an analytical construction replacing a simple inflected prepositional pronoun.
[228] = *trasna uirthi?*

On Inis Oírr, the male informant produces *tríte* ([**tʹrɪːtʹɛ**]) (sic) and his wife produces *tríti*. The youngest informant there, F 18, produces the slightly different variant, *thríte* ([**hhrʹiːtʹɛ**]), with the initial consonant lenited.[229]

To sum up, these two series of gender-linked linguistic variants seem to be a striking manifestation of the separate development of two sets of variants within separate male and female social networks.

It seems also as though male informants have simply generalised the masculine pronominal form to feminine referents, while female informants have created a hyper-correct form which preserves clearly the distinctiveness of the feminine form.

tríbh

The second person plural inflected pronoun *tríbh* yields only three examples. The first two examples are of the local variant *thríb* ([**hrʹiːbʹ**]), both produced by the female informant at An Sruthán on Inis Mór.

The third example, the prepositional phrase *thríd sipse* ([$^{\mathrm{h}}$**rʹiːʤ ʃɪpʃɛ**]), is produced by the female informant at Cill Éinne on the same island. This is yet another example of an analytic construction replacing an inflected prepositional pronoun.

Note that once again older informants in the two western islands whom we would ordinarily associate with more conservative variants are using analytical constructions employing the third person singular masculine prepositional pronoun (i.e., *tríd í* and *thríd sipse*).

The Preposition idir

eadrainn

Turning now to the inflected prepositional pronoun *idir*, we begin with the first person plural inflected pronoun *eadrainn*.

We encounter the basic Standard Irish variant *eadrainn* ([**aˑdrɪnʹ**]) and/or its emphatic counterpart *eadrainne* ([**aːdrɪNʹɪ**]) on all three islands, but especially in easternmost Inis Mór.

In competition with this form, however, is the analytic construction *eidir* ([**ɛdʹɪrʹ**]) *muide/muinne*. Of the four female informants in western and central Inis Mór, three produce this construction.

On Inis Meáin, however, it is the male informant who produces the analytical construction *eidir muide* ([**ɛʤɪrʹ mʊʤɛ**]), while the female informant produces the Standard Irish emphatic variant *eadrainne*.

On Inis Oírr the two older informants produce the Standard Irish variant *eadrainn*, while the youngest informant, F 18, produces the analytical construction *eidir muide*.

Note, by the way, that we do not encounter any examples of the Standard Irish prepositional form *idir* on any of the islands.

[229] We also have the prepositional phrase *trína conablach* from the female informant at Eoghanacht in western Inis Mór, and its counterpart *ʼroíona colann* ([**riːnə kəLəN**] = *trína colainn*) from the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór.

eadraibh

Turning to the second person plural inflected pronoun *eadraibh*, we find the local variant *eadraí* ([**a:dri:**]) on all three islands, though the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór produces the trisyllabic sub-variant *eadaraí* ([**adəri:**]).

We also get the competing analytic construction of preposition plus independent pronoun from two female informants. Thus, F 72 at Corrúch on Inis Mór produces *eidir sib iliug*, while F 18 on Inis Oírr produces the construction *eidir dhíbse* ([**ɛdʒɪr′ ji:b′ʃɛ**]), a construction which substitutes the emphatic form of the inflected pronoun *dhíb* for the expected pronominal form.

We also get idiosyncratic forms of the prepositional variant *eidir*. The male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór produces [**ad′ɪr′**] in the phrase *aidir ceachtar agaí*, lowering and backing the initial vowel to [**a**]. On Inis Oírr, on the other hand, the male informant there tenses and lengthens the initial vowel to [**e:**] in his phrase *éidir aon nduine* [**e:d′ɪr′ e:nɪn′ɛ**]. The same informant, through apparent confusion, also produces the first person form *eadrainn*, but in so doing, fronts the initial vowel to [**æ:**], producing [**æ:drɪn′**].

eatarthu

We turn now to third person plural inflected form *eatarthu*.

The variant closest in shape to the Standard Irish variant is the variant *atra* ([**a:trə**]), found on the two western islands. Thus, the two male informants in easternmost Inis Mór and the male informant on neighbouring Inis Meáin all produce the variant *atra*. A female informant on Inis Mór, F 70 at An Sruthán, also produces the variant, and the male informant at Fearann an Choirce produces a possible further example.

The dominant variants across all three islands, however, are variants with the augment [**b**]: *atrab* ([**aˑtrəb**]), and *eatrab* ([**æ:trəb**]).

The variant *atrab* is found only in western and central Inis Mór from Bungabhla through Corrúch. The variant *eatrab* is found from Corrúch eastward on Inis Mór and on the two islands to the east.

Furthermore, it is exclusively the female informants in eastern Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin who produce the variant *eatrab*. In contrast, on Inis Oírr both the older informants, male and female, produce that same variant.

The youngest informant, F 18 on Inis Oírr, once again produces an analytical construction with preposition and independent pronoun, but this time the pronoun is in its base form: *eidir ead* ([**ɛdʒɪr′ æˑd**] = *idir iad*).

The Preposition faoi

Moving on to the inflected prepositional pronoun *faoi*, we have data only from Inis Mór and Inis Oírr.

In regard to the phonological shape of the preposition itself, note that the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18, produces the Munster variant *fé* ([**f′ɛ^{i}/f′eˑ**]) for the base form.

fúithi

Beginning with the third person singular feminine inflected pronoun *fúithi*, we find that the only informant producing the Standard Irish variant *fúithi* is M 50 at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór, headmaster of the vocational school, who produces [**fuːhɪ**].

All the other informants across Inis Mór and Inis Oírr produce the monosyllabic variant *fú* ([**fuː**]).[230]

fúthu

As for the third person plural inflected pronoun *fúthu*, once again the only informant to produce the Standard Irish variant is M 50 at Cill Roṅáin, who produces the forms [**fuˑhə/fuˑhᵊ**].

All the other informants across Inis Mór and Inis Oírr produce the monosyllabic variant *fúb* ([**fuːb**]).

The female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór de-voices the final consonant to produce *fúp*, but the male informant at Eochaill produces the form *fú* ([**fuː**]) twice, producing a form which is homophonous with the preceding item.[231]

The Preposition roimh

roimpi

Moving on now to the inflected prepositional pronoun *roimh*, we begin with the third person singular feminine inflected pronoun *roimpi*.

We find the Standard Irish variant *roimpi* on all three islands, though the length and tension of the first vowel may vary — even in the case of a single informant.[232]

On Inis Mór and on Inis Oírr, the vowel is normally tense and long, so that the pronoun is normally pronounced as *roímpi* ([**riːmʹpʹɪ**]).

We find another variant, *rúimpi* ([**ruˑmʹpʹ(ɪ)**]), produced only by female informants in eastern Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin.[233]

rompu

Turning now to the third person plural inflected pronoun *rompu*, the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór produces a single example of the relatively standard Irish form *rúmpa* ([**ruːmpə**]).

On Inis Oírr, however, the variants *rúmpú* and *rúmpa* seem to be clearly dominant, at least among the female informants. The older female informant produces both vari-

[230] The male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór lowers the vowel to the mid back vowel [**oː**], thus producing [**foː**].

[231] Since he produces the form twice, it is presumably not a slip of the tongue, but a product of the same rule of elision seen in the previous item.

[232] For example, note the data from the female informant at Eoghanacht on Inis Mór.

[233] As for the male informants, none produce the *rúimpi* variant. When questioned, two male informants on Inis Mór rejected the variant. On Inis Oírr, however, none of the informants , male or female, produce the *rúimpi* variant despite the large number of examples given. Furthermore, the older female informant explicitly rejected the variant.

ants, while the younger one produces only the variant *rúmpa*.[234]

We have the competing variants *rompab/ rumpab/ rúmpab*, with the augment **[b]** and with different vowel qualities and quantities in the first syllable, from the same two islands.

On Inis Mór the male informant at Fearann an Choirce produces *rompab* and *rumpab*, while the male informant at Eochaill produces four examples of the variant *rúmpab*.

On Inis Oírr the older female informant also produces an example of the variant *rúmpab*.

On Inis Meáin, however, we find only the variant *rúb* (**[ruːb]**) and its emphatic counterpart *rópsan* (**[roːpsəN/roˠpsəN]**). The male informant produced five examples of the variant *rúb*, while the female informant produced three examples of the emphatic variant *rópsan*.[235]

To sum up, the variant *rúb* and its emphatic counterpart *rópsan* distinguish Inis Meáin clearly from the two neighbouring islands. In contrast, the variants *rompab/ rumpab/ rúmpab* have a strong presence in central Inis Mór, while the variants *rúmpú* and *rúmpa* have a strong presence on Inis Oírr. The counterexamples – the variant *rúmpa* on Inis Mór and the variant *rúmpab* on Inis Oírr, respectively – seem minor, both produced as alternatives to the main variants by both informants, as shown by the specific examples above.

29 Some Lexical Variants

Let us have a brief look now at some lexical variants.

"field"

First of all, the translation of the phrase "in the field" yields a rich set of lexical variants in Irish for the English lexical item "field".

On Inis Mór, we find the term *buaile* dominant throughout Inis Mór, though two widely separated informants produce the term *páirc*.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant produces *páirc* while the female informant produces *buaile*.

On Inis Oírr, however, all three informants produce the term *garraí*, a term not encountered at all in the data from the two western islands.[236]

There is a further complication, however. All the informants in eastern Inis Mór, from Corrúch to Cill Éinne, pronounce the term *buaile* as **[bəlʹɛ]** or **[bəlʹɪ]**, with the diphthong of the first syllable shortened and centralised to **[ə]**.[237]

[234] We have no examples from the male informant.
[235] As for the possibility that these variants might exist also on Inis Oírr, the older female informant on Inis Oírr explicitly rejected the variant *rúb*.
[236] The male informant also produces the term *páirc*.
[237] The single exception is M 50 at Cill Rónáin, headmaster of the vocational school, who uses the more standard pronunciation **[bʊːlʹɛ]**.

In effect, the lexical item *buaile* yields two distinct phonological variants, *buaile* and *boile*, which divide western Inis Mór neatly from eastern Inis Mór.

To sum up, Inis Mór is characterised by the lexical item *buaile*, Inis Meáin by the lexical items *buaile* and *páirc*, and Inis Oírr by the lexical item*garraí*. Furthermore, Inis Mór itself is divided by the phonological variants of *buaile*: *buaile* in western Inis Mór and *boile* in eastern Inis Mór.

"fields"

The second lexical item involves the Irish equivalent of the English plural form "fields".

Beginning once again in westernmost Inis Mór, we find the relatively Standard Irish forms *buailte* [**buᵊlʹtʹɛ/buːlʹtʹɛ**] at both Bungabhla and Eoghanacht in westernmost Inis Mór. However, in eastern Inis Mór from Corrúch through Cill Rónáin, we find a variant with a triple plural suffix: *buailteachaí*, combining the plural suffix *-te* with the suffix *-acha* and the suffix *-aí*.

Even within this restricted area in eastern Inis Mór, however, we find a further subdivision. Both informants at Corrúch preserve the short, centralised vowel of the singular form in the plural form as well, producing [**bəlʹtʹəxʲˑ/ bəlʹtʹəxʲ́**] respectively. Further east, at Eochaill and at Cill Rónáin, we find [**buːlʹtʹəxʲ́ˑ**] and [**bʊlʹtʹəxʲ́ˑ**], respectively.[238]

The competing lexical variant for this item on Inis Mór is the form *páirceannaí*, produced by the male informant at Fearann an Choirce and by the female informant at Cill Éinne.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant produces *páirceannaí*, while the female informant produces *buailteacha* [**buˑᵊlʹtʃəxiː/ buᵊlʹtʃəxiː**], both thus reflecting faithfully the forms found in easternmost Inis Mór. The female informant also produces the variant *páirceannaí*, while the male informant produces the same lexical variant, but with the intrusive [**ʃ**] as part of the root: [**pɑːrʃkʹɪNi**].

On Inis Oírr, the male informant produces the plural form *páirceannaí*, while the two female informants produce the plural form *garrantaí* ([**gaːrəNtiˑ**] = *garraithe*).

Note that in this item, the phonological differences between the singular variants *buaile* and *boile* are reinforced with the plural suffixes *-te* and *-teachaí*, respectively, producing *buailte* in western Inis Mór and *boilteachaí* in eastern Inis Mór. Note also the plural form *garrantaí* in Inis Oírr, which apparently contains another triple suffix, combining the plural suffixes *-anna*, *-ta* and *-aí*. Note finally the intrusive sibilant [**ʃ**] in the example [**pɑːrʃkʹɪNi**] from Inis Meáin. We have encountered this phenomenon before.

"hill"

The third lexical item involves the Irish equivalent of the English term "hill".

[238] I interpret the [**ʊ**] of [**bʊlʹtʹəxʲ́ˑ**] as a normal shortening of the diphthong [**uᵊ**] found in rapid speech.

The lexical item *cnoc* is in general use on all three islands, though the expected denasalisation of the initial consonant cluster occurs in the phonological variant found in the two eastern islands, resulting in the phonological variant *croc*.

Thus Inis Mór shows the variant *cnoc* exclusively, while Inis Oírr shows only the variant *croc* and Inis Meáin, as would be expected in an intermediate geographical zone, shows both variants.

We also encounter the lexical variant *carcair*, with the same meaning.[239] This variant is found exclusively on Inis Mór, and its runs the whole length of the island.

In fact, it can be said to be the dominant variant, since six informants produce the form while only four informants produce the variant *cnoc*. Neither variant, however, appears to be characteristic of any particular geographical zone within the island.

iomaí

We focus now on the phonological variants of the Irish term *iomaí*.

Of all the informants across the three islands, only the youngest informant, F 18 on Inis Oírr, produces the Standard Irish variant *iomaí*.

All the other informants produce phonological variants ending in the high back vowel [**u**], usually long or half-long.

On Inis Mór we find [**imuˑ**], [**ʊmuː**] and [**həmuː**].[240]

On Inis Meáin, the male informant produces the variant with the initial [**h**] augment, [**hʊmuː**], while the female informant produces the variant [**ʊmuː**].

On Inis Oírr, however, both older informants produce the variant with the initial [**h**] augment, [**hʊmuː/hʊmuˑ**].

Note that the variants with the initial [**h**] augment seem to increase as we move eastward through the islands, starting with a single example in eastern Inis Mór.

uile go léir

The next item, involving the phonological reduction of the phrase *uile go léir*, attests only the variant [**ˈlʲˈʊg**] across all three islands.

This variant distinguishes the Irish of the Aran Islands from that of Connemara, where the variant [**ˈlʲˈɪgˈ**], with palatalisation of the final consonant, is characteristic.

Place-names on Inis Mór

The last few items involve the pronunciation of place-names on Inis Mór.

[239] Though the strict definition of the term within the island focuses on the rises in the main road westward from Cill Rónáin, and refers to difficulties in horse-drawn haulage over such rises, the meaning of the term has been extended by local speakers on Inis Mór to encompass virtually any low topographical prominence.

[240] The first variant, with a high front vowel as initial vowel, is attested only by a couple of informants in western Inis Mór, while the last variant, with an initial [**h**] augment, is attested only by the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór. All the other informants on Inis Mór use the second variant, [**ʊmuː**], without the [**h**] augment.

Cill Mhuirbhigh

On Inis Mór, the place-name *Cill Mhuirbhigh* produces the expected [**kʹɪLʹ ˈwɪrʹɪvʹiː**] across the whole island.

There is a competing phonological variant, however, in westernmost and in central Inis Mór: *Cill 'Ibhirí* [**kʹɪlʹ ˈɪvʹɪrʹiˑ**] or *Cill 'Ibhearaí* [**kʹɪlʹ ˈɪvʹəriː**].

On Inis Meáin, the male informant produces the expected form, but the female informant fails to lenite the initial consonant of the second element, producing *Cill Muirbhigh*.

On Inis Oírr, the two older informants produce the expected form, but the youngest informant, F 18, produces a variant which sounds like "Cill Murray" [**kʹɪl məɹiˑ**].

Cill Éinne

The next item, involving the pronunciation of the Inis Mór place-name *Cill Éinne*, produces only a single example, that of the female informant at Cill Éinne. There is little to note in her example, [**kʹɪlʹ ˈeːnʹɛ**], other than her characteristic lenition of the palatalised nasal consonant to [**nʹ**].

An Sruthán

The final item involves the pronunciation of the place-name *An Sruthán*.

Two of the youngest informants in the sample, M 50 at Cill Rónáin and F 18 on Inis Oírr, produce the phrase *go Sr'án*, omitting the definite article. It is likely that extensive exposure to English and its habit of dropping articles in Irish place-names (cf. *An Daingean* vs. "Dingle") has had an effect here.

As for the articulation of the element *Sruthán*, by far the most dominant phonological variant across all three islands is the monosyllabic variant *Sr'án* [**sɾɑːɴ**]. Only two informants produce the Standard Irish variant *Sruthán* ([**sɾəhɑːn/sɾəhɑːɴ**]).

Two informants substitute the consonant cluster [**str**] for the expected cluster [**sr**]. Thus the male informant on Inis Oírr produces *Struthán* ([**stɾəhɑˑn**]), while the male informant at Fearann an Choirce produces *Str'án* [**sᵗɾɑːn**].

Finally, the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, lenites the element *Sruthán* as though it were a feminine noun, producing the phrase *ag an tSruthán* ([**ɛgʹ əɴ tɾəhɑˑɴ**]).

Finally, I suggest that the place-name given by Tim Robinson as *Corrúch* should in fact be rendered *Corrbhruach*, as the physical shape of the hooked promontory itself at Port Chorrúch ([**port ˈaᵘɾuᵊx**]) suggests.

30 Locating Variation within the Linguistic System

We have examined for a second time a large number of linguistic traits — phonological, grammatical and lexical — which have been attested in this survey of spoken Irish in the Aran Islands. We have seen these traits distributed in a number of striking, often recurring, patterns over the population of the islands. Some of the patterns seem to represent

isoglosses outlining very restricted geographical areas — individual islands or even clusters of townlands in Inis Mór. Furthermore, some patterns of distribution of traits seem to represent social isoglosses, relating to sexual gender or to age group or to level of formal education.

Nowhere do we have a statistical sample which would allow us to assign definitively linguistic traits to specific groups, whether geographic or social. Nevertheless, we have a strong basis for further exploration of these patterns in more systematic ways. As the sociolinguistic pioneer William Labov demonstrated a half century ago, statistically valid observations can be made of individual traits through informal — though systematic — observation and interaction with speakers.[241]

As for the traits themselves, the competing variants of a linguistic variable need have no necessary relation to one another. For example, the lexical variants *buaile*, *páirc* and *garraí* compete with one another across the islands, but they are not linguistically related in any way.

More often, however, a set of variants may be ranged along a scale, so that they seem to differ from one another only in degrees along one or more dimensions. This is especially true of phonological variables. Thus we have seen many series of vowel variants where one individual vowel variant differs from the next vowel variant by being slightly longer or more raised or more fronted, etc.

We have seen the same to be true of grammatical variables as well. For instance, in examining genitival constructions, we have noted degrees of genitival inflection such as full inflection of the noun in the genitive case, lenition only (after the definite article), and no inflection or lenition at all.

In such cases, one might infer a path of development from variant to variant, as in the fossils representing the evolution of a given species in biology. In fact, an evolutionary approach, with careful attention given to the structural pressures affecting the different subsystems of language – especially phonological systems and verbal paradigms – has led a certain strand of diachronic linguistic research at least since the days of the Prague School, and has again attracted the attention of linguists.[242]

In the early stages of this investigation, I myself was strongly attracted to the idea of explaining the surprisingly varied yet ordered paradigms of the different irregular verbs in the Aran Irish by recourse to the argument of internal structural pressure. However, I now see that such a reconstruction of the histories of the different sets of variants, however valuable, would be well beyond the scope of the present work.

On the other hand, there are sets of variants in the present data which seem to represent the exploration of all logical possibilities by different speakers, and not the internal structural pressures of linguistic subsystems. In such cases, it seems as though the individual variants have not yet been appropriated by social groups, and that the speakers are responding spontaneously to an existential situation. In such a situation, the investigator feels that he/she is present at the birth of a linguistic variable where the individual variants will be appropriated by different groups in the course of time.

An excellent example is the treatment of the initial morphological sequence in the con-

[241] Cf. Labov (1972b).
[242] For example, cf. Bybee (1985), Lass (1990), Rudes (1980), and Wang (1969).

struction *dá mba bhean thú*, where we have a sequence of variants ranging from *dá mba ...* to *dábar ....*

Another example is the treatment of the Standard Irish verb phrase *ag coinneáil Sheáin* as *ag coinneáil/coinneál Sheáin/Seáin/Sheán* or *Seán*, where individual speakers apply inflection, lenition, both or neither as it seems appropriate to them.

A third example is the variety of headwords or head phrases used in rendering the Standard Irish construction *Cá fhad go rachaidh ... ?*: *cáide/cén fhad/cén fhaid/cén t-ad* and *cén faide*, in addition to such Standard Irish variants as *cén t-achar* and *cé chomh fada*. As remarked earlier, it is clear that no particular variant has yet been adopted by a social group as a group marker.

But the question still remains – where does all this complex linguistic variation leave us in our understanding of the nature of variation in Aran Irish? It is at this point that we can identify the one clear fact which stands out in all this research. Though we cannot yet explain the forms in which linguistic variation takes shape in Aran Irish, *we can predict where it will occur in the linguistic subsystems* of the speakers of Aran Irish.

Apart from the phonological systems and the lexical systems of the speakers, where we would normally expect unlimited possible variation and where sociolinguists and dialectologists have traditionally directed their attention, in this investigation we have seen repeatedly that *in terms of grammatical variation the locus of variation is in the high-frequency grammatical forms* – particularly in verbal and in pronominal paradigms.

This connection between high frequency of usage and potential sociolinguistic or dialectal variation leads us right back to the individual child within the playgroup who is choosing between several competing variants. If the social pressures of the playgroup favour a certain variant, the child will select that variant – at least within the group. If the social pressures of the playgroup leave him/her free to select a variant, he/she will select a variant which seems the logical choice, according to the linguistic system that he/she is acquiring. In terms of the grammatical subsystems, it is the high-frequency items which allow such frequent choices. The low-frequency grammatical items might well fall below the awareness or "social radar" of the playgroup.

Leaving aside the paradigms of the verbal pronouns (subject and object) and of the prepositional pronouns, we note that the variation in the verbal paradigms is confined almost entirely to the irregular verbs, which are almost by definition high-frequency verbs. Even among the irregular verbs, the irregularity of the high-frequency verbs *Tar, Téigh, Faigh, Tabhair, Bí, Abair,* and *Déan* is striking in comparison to that of the relatively low-frequency verbs *Ith, Beir* and *Clois*.

In the area of syntax as well, high frequency particles may be selected as group markers. Recall the use of the subordinating particle *go* in interrogative constructions of the type *Cén fáth a raibh ... ?* by female informants across the three islands, or the nearly uniform extension of the past interrogative particle *ar* to present tense constructions of the type *An tú Séamas?* or *An iascaire thú?* by the informants of Inis Mór.

We may still not understand why the suppletive and pseudo-suppletive irregular verbal paradigms are evolving the way they are, but we can see clearly the locus of that linguistic evolution within the playgroups of the children of the Aran Islands. In each succeeding

generation of children, the children of Aran shape their dialect.

This type of linguistic change over time originates in the playgroup, as a product of the complex interaction of the children with one another, each reacting to the repertoire of linguistic forms which each child has brought from his/her household. Such linguistic forms, shaped in common, characterise the speech of the playgroup and help form the group identity of the playgroup. Such sociolinguistic traits are strongly linked to the phonology and to the morphophonology of the local linguistic system.

But this type of point-by-point change in the linguistic forms of the language is very different from the broad, sweeping changes which have been transforming the Irish language (and indeed most of the languages of the modern world) at a rapidly increasing rate over the last century – changes which are well-documented in the present study. These changes tend to occur in the grammar of the language – especially in the syntax – and in the lexicon.[243]

This second kind of change may be termed generally as typological change, a type of change which has fascinated scholars of the Indo-European languages since at least the time of August Schleicher. Schleicher emphasised the transformation of older languages with complex morphological systems into languages with much simpler morphology.

Scholars dealing with the history of individual Indo-European languages tend to focus on issues such as the replacement of inflected verbal forms in an older form of the language by a generalised verb stem and separate pronominal forms over time and especially on the loss of the older morphologically-marked case system and its partial replacement by prepositional phrases.

Both concerns have been of great interest to scholars of the Irish language as well – hence the great interest in the development of analytic verbal forms and in the erosion of the genitival morphology in the present investigation. The replacement of indirect relative clauses by direct relative clauses has been of interest here for the same reason.

But the origin of these typological changes seems to lie far outside the playgroup, and the effect on the linguistic system seems far more pervasive. In fact, they seem to be connected to broad sociolinguistic change in Irish society in general. They seem to reflect phenomena such as the diffusion of innovations via mass communication and social mobilisation – especially through increased bilingualism and exposure to English-language mass media.

The adoption of such typological changes may reflect the increasing mobility of the current generation of adolescents, leading towards a general uniformity of speech habits. Such adolescents may be past the "critical period" of language acquisition, but they have been continuously in touch with older and younger siblings. Certainly, whenever I have mentioned innovative traits that I associate with my youngest informant in Inis Oírr, the inevitable reaction of a teacher from Connemara or elsewhere is "Sure, isn't that what I hear from my own students?" And of course, that informant in Inis Oírr did in fact do her secondary schooling in An Spidéal in Connemara![244]

[243]Recall the production by the youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43, of deictic complements without a complementiser, e.g., *Dúirt sé siod é é/ Dúirt sé ní shod é é.* These constructions seem to be influenced directly by the English constructions "He said this was it/ He said this was not it." This linguistic interference has not yet affected her non-deictic complements, which still have a complementiser. The deictic complements, however, may be the port of entry for this type of linguistic change.

[244]It would be of great interest to observe whether linguistic innovations acquired elsewhere were being passed down locally from older siblings to younger siblings within the household. If such transmission of innovative linguistic traits were taking place, the pace of linguistic change might be speeded up considerably,

For these reasons, then, it is good to keep these two types of linguistic change separate, though of course they will be linked.

31 Wider Perspectives

Now we must raise the question: how well does this description of variation in Aran dialects represent the real linguistic situation on the islands — at least at the time that the survey was carried out?

To be sure, nearly all the data discussed in this study of variation in the islands has been drawn from tape-recorded responses to two sets of translation exercises administered to fourteen speakers spread across the islands — nine in Inis Mór, two in Inis Meáin and three in Inis Oírr. More interviews were carried out in all three islands, but I found it impossible to process all the data, so that data remains available but unused.

In addition, we have the responses to the *LASID* questionnaire which I administered to the two informants at Corrúch on Inis Mór. While I have drawn on bits of that data in order to provide more information on certain points under discussion, the great mass of that data has not been brought into the discussion, though it can be easily inspected by the reader as part of the present work.[245]

Of course, we also have the responses to the original *LASID* survey carried out on Inis Meáin and on Inis Oírr two generations earlier. I myself scrutinised that material carefully in selecting linguistic variables which would be pertinent not only to Inis Mór but also to the two islands to the east. Dr. Brian Ó Catháin's study of the verb in Inis Oírr Irish[246] is of great importance in this regard, since it describes a key set of grammatical structures in what is clearly the most divergent of all three dialects.[247]

On Inis Mór Irish, we have not only the published work of Franz Nikolaus Finck[248] itself, but also the phonetically transcribed folktales which Holger Pedersen collected on Inis Mór in 1894, published one hundred years later as *Scéalta Mháirtín Neile* ...[249] I find the tales especially invaluable for their extensive attestation of the syntax of Aran Irish at that time.

Equally invaluable is the massive collection of tape-recorded and digitised texts from Aran Irish speakers on all aspects of Aran life gathered by the women of the island (*Mná Fiontracha*) in the last few years. To this collection has been added the forty-four 90-minute tapes which I myself recorded in Aran in the course of my research. Much of that material consists of detailed probing of the dialect at Corrúch, based not only on the *LASID* questionnaire, but also on such sources on Tomás Ó Máille's *An Béal Beo*.[250]

As for comparison of Aran dialect material with dialect material from the adjacent mainlands, we have Tomás de Bhaldraithe's work on the phonology and morphology of

since such transmission would cut through the stratification of age-segregated playgroups. So far, however, I am unaware of any research on the linguistic influence of older siblings on younger siblings.

[245] In fact, on glancing casually at the material, some of this data from the two informants seems to contradict my characterisation of their speech behaviour in the general discussion of variation across the islands. A close inspection of their *LASID* responses would undoubtedly reveal much of interest.

[246] Cf. Ó Catháin (1990).

[247] See also Dillon (1939) and Becker (1997) for valuable texts illustrating the phonology and syntax, respectively, of Inis Oírr Irish.

[248] Cf. Finck (1899).

[249] Cf. Scéalta ... (1994).

[250] Cf. Ó Máille, T. (1936/2002).

the Cois Fharraige dialect in Connemara.[251] As I have remarked in all my unpublished papers,[252] the dialects of Inis Mór and Inis Meáin can be seen as mere extensions of the Cois Fharraige dialect. Therefore, reference to Prof. de Bhaldraithe's works is essential for a general understanding of the material in the present work.

T.S. Ó Máille's work on the lexicon of the Ros Muc dialect provides valuable additional material on the phonology, morphology and syntax of a neighbouring Connemara dialect in the sample sentences given in the individual lexical entries.[253] More recently, we have the massive two-volume study of the same dialect by Arndt Wigger.[254] Even more recently, we have had the monumental four-volume study by Brian Ó Curnáin of the Iorras Aithneach dialect further to the west in Connemara.[255] All this material should provide a good deal of linguistic context for the Aran dialect material — particularly the material gathered in Inis Mór and Inis Meáin.

As I have also remarked in my unpublished papers, the material from Inis Oírr reveals links with entirely different areas of the surrounding mainland. Certainly we note close linguistic ties to County Clare, and in that case Nils Holmer's work on the Clare dialect is of great interest,[256] but even Diarmuid Ó Sé's work on the dialect of Corca Dhuibhne contains valuable relevant material. Recall, for instance, that the variant *dá bar* for *dá mba* is found in Corca Dhuibhne Irish as well as in the Irish of the Aran Islands.

But remember, as I pointed out further, that Inis Oírr's ties to the mainland are apparently more complex than that. We find elements that lead us in the direction of Cinn Mhara and eastward around Galway Bay, so that the material gathered by Prof. de Bhaldraithe in Mionloch on the outskirts of the city of Galway is also of interest.[257]

On a much wider scale, *LASID* material covering the whole of Connaught and adjacent areas of Munster will help to set the linguistic variables examined in the present work in a wider context. Yet other linguistic variables may emerge from careful sifting of the data. Cathair Ó Dochartaigh has shown what can be done for the phonology of Ulster Irish with such materials.[258] Eoin Ó Droighneáin has also made great use of such material in his examination of the comparative forms of adjectives.[259]

Finally general works on Irish dialectology such as T.F. O'Rahilly's classic *Irish Dialects Past and Present*[260] and Mícheál Ó Siadhail's *Modern Irish: Grammatical Structure and Dialectal Variation*[261] will be of great use in selecting linguistic variables which are relevant to a much wider area in Ireland. Ó Siadhail's investigations of syntactic structure are particularly valuable for the isolation of important syntactic variables.

In terms of linguistic data of relevance to the dialects of the Aran Islands, we have certainly come a long way since the pioneering work of Holger Pedersen and Franz Nikolaus Finck in the last decade of the nineteenth century!

[251] Cf. de Bhaldraithe (1953) and de Bhaldraithe (1966).
[252] They have been finally published in the present work.
[253] Cf. Ó Máille, T.S. (1974).
[254] Cf. Wigger (2004).
[255] Cf. Ó Curnáin (2007).
[256] Cf. Holmer (1962) and Holmer (1965).
[257] Cf. de Bhaldraithe (1981) and de Bhaldraithe (1985).
[258] Cf. Ó Dochartaigh, C. (1987).
[259] Cf. Ó Droighneáin (1995) and Ó Droighneáin (2000).
[260] O'Rahilly (1932)
[261] Ó Siadhail (1989)

Appendix A

Unpublished Papers on the Aran Field Research

AG DÉANAMH TAIGHDE AR NA CANÚINTÍ IN OILEÁIN ÁRANN: FÉIDEARACHTAÍ, FADHBANNA, AGUS FÓCAIS

Mhol an tOllamh Tomás de Bhaldraithe dom sa bhliain 1988 taighde canúineolaíochta a dhéanamh in Inis Mór, Oileáin Árann, agus dá bhrí sin, labhair mé le Máirtín Ó Murchú, a bhí tar éis a cheaptha mar stiúrthóir ar Scoil an Léinn Cheiltigh, Institiúid Ard-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath.

Theastaigh an t-eolas is bunúsaí faoi chanúint Inis Mór ó lucht Scoil an Léinn Cheiltigh, ó ba bheag an taighde teangeolaíoch a rinneadh ann le céad bliain anuas, ón am a raibh an scoláire Gearmánach Franz Nikolaus Finck agus an scoláire Danmhargach Holger Pedersen ag déanamh taighde teangeolaíoch ann.

Rinne an scoláire Eilbhéiseach Heinrich Wagner agus an scoláire Éireannach Myles Dillon taighde luachmhar ar an nGaeilge in Inis Oírr agus in Inis Meáin i lár an chéid seo caite — b'é Wagner a rinne an taighde in Inis Oírr agus b'é Dillon a rinne an taighde in Inis Meáin. Foilsíodh toradh an taighde sin i saothar mór Wagner *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects (LASID),* ach níorbh fhiú le Wagner aon taighde a dhéanamh in Árainn féin — is é sin, in Inis Mór.

Mar sin, iarradh orm léargas cuimsitheach a fháil ar an gcanúint in Inis Mór, agus spléachadh eile a thabhairt ar na canúintí in Inis Meáin agus in Inis Oírr, chun an taighde a rinneadh daichead bliain roimhe sin a thabhairt suas chun dáta.

Maidir le mo chuid cáilíochtaí féin, bhí Gaeilge Chonamara agam agus bhí a leithéid de thaighde déanta agam cheana 15 bliain roimhe sin amuigh sa Cheinia san Afraic Thoir — áit ar chaith mé beagnach bliain go leith ag déanamh taighde sochtheangeolaíoch faoi scaipeadh na teanga KiSwahili i measc na gciníocha faoin tuath i lár na tíre — áit freisin ar thosaigh mé ag foghlaim Gaeilge. Bhí cáilíocht eile ag baint liom, ámh; bhí muintir agam in Árainn.

Chuir mé plean taighde faoi bhráid lucht Scoil an Léinn Cheiltigh, agus glacadh leis.

Thosaigh mé ag léamh aon fhaisnéis a bhainfeadh le canúintí Oileáin Árann. Léigh mé leabhar Míchíl Uí Shiadhail, *Téarmaí Tógála agus Tís as Inis Meáin*, scrúdaigh mé tráchtas M.A. Jacqueline Wardlaw, *Liosta Focal as na hOileáin Árann* (sic), agus chíor mé na hirisí, ag léamh gach uile alt a scríobhadh faoi Ghaeilge Oileáin Árann le céad bliain anuas.

Scrúdaigh mé nótaí Holger Pedersen faoi Ghaeilge Inis Mór — nótaí a bhí ar fáil ar mhicreascannán — ach ba dheacair iad a léamh agus níl Danmhairgis agam. Dar liom féin, ámh, ba bheag í an difríocht a bhí ann idir leabhar Franz Nikolaus Finck — *Die Araner Mundart* — agus nótaí Pedersen. Bhain siad beirt leas as an gcóras céanna fogharscríofa, ach bhí leabhar Finck i bhfad níos soléite agus i bhfad níos cuimsithí ná nótaí Pedersen. Mar sin, léigh mé leabhar Finck go mion.

Bhí dhá fhoinse eile faoi Ghaeilge na n-oileán ann chomh maith. Bhí tráchtas mór Ph.D., *Studies in Irish Grammar, Phonology, and Orthography*, scríofa ag an scoláire Meiriceánach Micheal Krauss, a raibh ábhar taighde as Inis Meáin ann. Bhí tráchtas M.A. ann freisin, *Cuntas Sioncrónach ar Mhoirfeolaíocht an Bhriathair i nGaeilge Inis Oírr, Oileáin Árann, Co. na Gaillimhe*, a scríobh an tÉireannach Brian Ó Catháin.

Níl tráchtas Krauss léite agam fós, mar dúirt an t-údar i gcomhrá teileafóin liom nach móide go mbainfeadh ábhar an tráchtais le mo chuid taighde féin, agus, dá bhrí sin, níor chuir mé fios ar chóip den tráchtas. Maidir le tráchtas an Chathánaigh, áfach, ba luachmhar liom é agus mé i mbun mo chuid taighde in Inis Oírr níos deireanaí.

Thosaigh mé ar an taighde in Inis Mór i samhradh na bliana 1990. Ba léir ón tús, ámh, nach raibh mórán feidhme le baint as leabhar Finck agus mé ag iarraidh teacht ar shaintréithe na Gaeilge sna trí oileán.

Ar an gcéad dul amach, bhí an fogharscríobh an-"fhóinéimeach" agus ní raibh léiriú ar bith le fáil ar na miondifríochtaí foghraíochta atá chomh tábhachtach sin i gcúrsaí canúineolaíochta. Rud eile, ba léir gur mheasc sé ábhar ó na trí oileán le chéile le "canúint Árann" a dhéanamh de, rud nach raibh ann, mar ba léir cheana ón ábhar ó Inis Meáin agus ó Inis Oírr in *LASID*. Rud eile fós, bhí tréithe luaite ina chuntas — tréithe ar chuir mé an-suim iontu — nach raibh le fáil in Inis Mór ná (mar ba léir dom níos deireanaí) sa dá oileán eile ach oiread.

Dá bharr sin, uaidh sin amach, bhraith mé ar mo dhá chluais féin, ar thuairimí na ndaoine áitiúla, ar an ábhar in *LASID* ó Inis Meáin agus ó Inis Oírr, agus ar leabhar toirtiúil luachmhar Thomáis de Bhaldraithe, *Gaeilge Chois Fhairrge: an Deilbhíocht*, óir b'fhollas dom ansin go raibh Gaeilge Inis Mór an-chosúil le Gaeilge Inis Meáin ar thaobh amháin agus le Gaeilge Chois Fharraige ar an taobh eile, cibé ar bith scéal a bhainfeadh le Gaeilge Inis Oírr.

Theastaigh ó lucht Scoil an Léinn Cheiltigh duine nó beirt ar a laghad a chur faoi agallamh in Inis Mór agus ceistneoir *LASID* a líonadh amach, le cúnamh téipthaifeadáin. Bheadh sampla againn ansin den Ghaeilge san oileán a bheadh inchomparáide leis an ábhar a bhí foilsithe cheana ón dá oileán eile in *LASID*. Mar sin, leis an ábhar ó Inis Mór a bhailiú, chuir mé agallamh ar bheirt — deartháir agus deirfiúr — i gCorrúch i lár an oileáin[1].

Bhí a fhios agam sular chuir mé agallamh ar an mbeirt i gCorrúch go raibh teorainn san

[1]Ar ndóigh, bailíodh an t-ábhar in *LASID* daichead bliain roimhe sin, agus bheadh na hathruithe a d'fhéadfadh teacht ar na canúintí sna hoileáin thoir thar chúpla glúin le cur san áireamh agus an chomparáid á déanamh.

oileán idir "Gaeilge mhuintir an Chinn Thoir" agus "Gaeilge mhuintir an Chinn Thiar", agus go raibh an teorainn sin idir Corrúch agus Fearann an Choirce, an chéad bhaile fearainn siar ó Chorrúch, mar bhí *muinn* (i leaba *muid*) cloiste agam go tiubh ó chara i gCill Rónáin agus **[soːs]** agus **[ʃeːr]** (in áit *suas* agus *siar*) cloiste agam ó chara eile, agus chuir bean ghéarchúiseach i bhFearann an Choirce ar an eolas mé gur le muintir an Chinn Thoir a bhain na tréithe sin agus go raibh teorainn fhollasach idir an dá chanúint le fáil idir Corrúch agus Fearann an Choirce. B'fhollas go ndeachaigh an bheirt fhaisnéiseoirí i gCorrúch le muintir an Chinn Thoir, mar bhí ísliú agus cothromú an dá dhéfhoghar **[uᵊ]** agus **[iᵊ]** go tiubh trína gcuid cainte.

Dá stopfainn ansin, bheadh liom; bheadh sampla maith den chanúint in Inis Mór taifeadta agam, agus cúpla ceistneoir agam ó Chorrúch le cur i gcomórtas leis na ceistneoirí in *LASID* ón dá oileán eile agus ón mórthír, idir i gConamara agus i gContae an Chláir. Ar ndóigh, bheadh samplaí eile den chanúint le fáil ó chainteoirí eile tríd an oileán chun léargas ní ba chruinne a fháil ar na trí thréith thuasluaite a scoilt an t-oileán ina chá chuid agus ar aon tréith thábhachtach eile a léireodh an scoilt sin nó a dhealódh an t-oileán amach ón dá oileán eile nó ón mórthír, mar ní raibh mé ag súil le mórán difríochtaí.

Nuair a thosaigh mé ag cur ceistneoir *LASID* ar an mbeirt fhaisnéiseoirí i gCorrúch, áfach, ba léir go raibh ilghnéitheacht cainte le fáil in oileán ocht míle ar fad nach raibh coinne agam léi. Mar shampla, nuair a cheistigh mé iad faoi fhoirmeacha dearfacha agus diúltacha an bhriathair *faigh* sna haimsirí ar fad, fuair mé seacht bpéire de leaganacha san aimsir ghnáthláithreach agus ceithre cinn san aimsir fháistineach, is é sin, *faigheann/ní fhaigheann*, *faigheann/ní bhfaigheann*, *fánn/ní fhánn*, *gheabhann/ní gheabhann*, *geabhann/ní gheabhann*, *gheofann/ní gheofann* ("leagan Chonamara"), agus *fríonn* (gan leagan diúltach) san aimsir ghnáthláithreach, agus *gheabh/ní bhfaighidh*, *gheabh/ní gheabh*, *geabh/ní gheabh*, *faighidh/ní bhfaighidh* san aimsir fháistineach.

Bhí mé tar éis tosú ar agallaimh shochtheangeolaíocha a chur ar chairde agus ar dhaoine muinteartha liom chun léargas a fháil ar úsáid na Gaeilge san oileán agus chun samplaí de chaint nádúrtha a bhaint astu a léireodh saintréithe na canúna ó cheann ceann an oileáin. Faoin am a raibh ceistneoir *LASID* curtha agam ar na faisnéiseoirí i gCorrúch agus ábhar *LASID* ó Inis Meáin agus ó Inis Oírr scrúdaithe go mion agam agus mé ag réiteach le haghaidh obair na chéad bliana eile sna hoileáin thoir, ámh, bhí plean eile ar fad agam.

Chuirfinn agallamh eile ar na daoine go léir ar chuir mé agallamh cheana orthu agus chuirfinn lena líon le go mbeadh dáileadh maith agam ar na samplaí ó cheann ceann an oileáin, agus sampla, cuir i gcás, ó gach dara baile fearainn taifeadta agam i ndeireadh an lae. Thabharfainn abairtí trialacha dóibh le haistriú os ard; déarfainn abairt leo i mBéarla agus bheadh orthu aistriúchán a dhéanamh ar an abairt sin i nGaeilge[2]. Bheadh dó nó trí de thréithe tábhachtacha ar a laghad ag baint le gach abairt a bheinn ag iarraidh a bhaint amach as na faisnéisneoirí. Ba iad na tréithe seo na "linguistic variables" a bhí i gceist ag an sochtheangeolaí Meiriceánach William Labov, agus mar a mholfadh Labov féin, ba iad na tréithe is minicí sa chaint, is lárnaí i struchtúr na cainte, agus ar dlúithe a mbaint le haicmí áirithe daoine sa phobal na tréithe is mo a mbeadh spéis agamsa iontu.

Ar ndóigh, ar nós gach canúineolaí agus sochtheangeolaí eile, dhírigh mé m'aird ar an

[2] Ar ndóigh, bhí mé ag aithris ar an modheolaíocht a thionscain an canúineolaí Gearmánach Georg Wenker sa naoú aois déag. Foilsíodh iomlán a chuid oibre tar éis a bháis san *Deutscher Sprachatlas*.

bhfoghraíocht agus ar an deilbhíocht, mar is ann a thiocfaí ar na tréithe is fusa a fháil i sampla beag den chaint agus is lú a chuirfí as a riocht in aistriúchán labhartha. Maidir leis an gcomhréir, áfach, bhí an-spéis agam i meath an ghinidigh, mar shampla, nó in úsáid an chlásail choibhneasta dhírigh in áit an chlásail choibhneasta neamhdhírigh, nó in úsáid an tsaorbhriathair, ach is í an chomhréir an chuid den ghramadach is dóiche a chuirfí as a riocht in aon aistriúchán a dhéanfaí ar an mBéarla mar gheall ar chomh nádúrtha is atá sé "loan translation" nó aistriúchán lom mínádúrtha a dhéanamh ar chor cainte nó ar fhrása Béarla le riachtanais an taighdeora a shású. Mar sin, bheadh tréithe de chomhréir na canúna le fáil, chomh maith le tréithe den fhoghraíocht agus den deilbhíocht, ach ba lú í mo mhuinín astu mar léargas ar an gcomhrá nádúrtha. Fíricí tábhachtacha a bheadh iontu, ach fíricí a bheadh le scrúdú go tuisceanach.

Bheadh na habairtí trialacha mar uirlis luachmhar agam freisin agus mé ag déanamh taighde sa dá oileán thoir. Bheadh suim agam go háirithe in athrú na gramadaí ann ó rinneadh taighde don *LASID* beagnach leathchéad bliain ó shin. An mbeadh meath an ghinidigh, mar shampla, ag teacht chomh mór sin ar an gcanúint in Inis Meáin, oileán a raibh clú an choimeádachais ar a mhuintir, agus a bhí — mar ba léir — in Inis Mór? Ar ndóigh, bheadh orm tréithe a thug mé faoi deara in ábhar *LASID* agus a bhí mar shaintréithe de chuid na n-oileán thoir le baint amach agam as faisnéiseoirí sna trí oileán, ag féachaint an mbeadh na tréithe sin le fáil nó nach mbeidís le fáil i ngach oileán. Mar sin, bhí súil soir agam agus mé ag cumadh na n-abairtí trialacha.

Tar éis samhradh eile a chaitheamh in Oileáin Árann ag cur agallamh ar dhaoine agus ag taifeadadh na gcanúintí sna trí oileán, bhí 125 abairt thrialach taifeadta agam ó 16 duine sna trí oileán agus agallamh sochtheangeolaíoch chomh maith curtha ar téip agam ó gach duine acu. An samhradh ina dhiaidh sin, fuair mé aistriúchán ar 43 abairt eile ó fhormhór na bhfaisnéiseoirí sin. Chuir mé agallamh ar bheirt eile in Inis Mór sa bhliain 1996, ach b'aistriúchán ar an gcéad 125 abairt thrialach amháin a d'iarr mé orthu sin.

Ba dheacair agallaimh thaifeadta a chur ar dhaoine, bídís ina ngaolta liom nó ina gcairde liom nó ná bídís. Chuirfí lá an agallaimh ar an méar fhada beagnach i gcónái, agus ba go díreach roimh dhul ar ais go Baile Átha Cliath dom ag deireadh an tsamhraidh a dhéanfaí an chuid is mó de na hagallaimh. Is dócha go nglacaidís trua liom, agus faitíos orthu go mbeinn ag dul ar ais chun na hInstitiúide gan tada, ach nuair a thagadh an lá mór, bhíodh agallamh breá fada againn, gan doicheall ar bith acu romham.

Is follas, ámh, nárbh fhéidir sampláil cheart chórasach a dhéanamh ar phobail na n-oileán; chaithfinn a bheith sásta le "convenience sample" — le líon na ndaoine a bheadh sásta agallamh a dhéanamh liom. Seandaoine nó daoine meánaosta a bhí ina bhformhór mór, ach bhí an t-ádh liom in Inis Oírr agus d'éirigh liom agallamh a chur ar bhean óg 18 bliain d'aois agus agallamh eile a chur ar dheartháir léi, a bhí 13 bliain d'aois. Dá bhrí sin, tá spléachadh againn, b'fhéidir, ar na hathruithe a tháinig ar an gcanúint in Inis Oírr thar na glúine le beagnach céad bliain (má chuirtear ábhar *LASID* san áireamh.) Tá líon na mban agus líon na bhfear a chuaigh faoi agallamh ionann is cothrom i ngach ceann de na trí oileán, ach is mná atá ina bhfaisnéiseoirí sna háiteanna is faide siar in Inis Mór, agus is iad na fir is mó atá ina bhfaisnéiseoirí sa cheann thoir ann.

Bhí na mná as an gCeann Thiar in Árainn pósta isteach soir ó na bailte fearainn inar

rugadh iad — duine acu chomh fada soir le Cill Rónáin, ach, mar ba léir ó na samplaí cainte a bhailigh mé uathu, ba bheag an tionchar a bhí ag canúintí na n-áiteanna inar phós siad isteach ar an gcanúint a thug siad leo ón gcliabhán.

Ar ndóigh, bheadh scolaíocht na bhfaisnéiseoirí agus na tréimhsí a bheadh caite acu ina gcónaí i bhfad óna n-áit dúchais le cur san áireamh agus ábhar an taighde á scrúdú, ach arís níor chuir na rudaí sin isteach rómhór ar nádúrthacht na cainte sna hagallaimh ná sna haistriúcháin. Bhí ardmháistir na gairmscoile i gCill Rónáin fiú mar fhaisnéiseoir agam, ach thuig sé go maith gur chaint nádúrtha a theastaigh uaim, agus b'in é an rud a fuair mé uaidh.

Bheifeá ag súil le leaganacha caighdeánacha anseo agus ansiúd ó dhaoine a mbeadh roinnt mhaith scolaíochta acu, agus bhí na rudaí sin ann in áiteanna, ach ar ndóigh bheadh súil agat leis na rudaí sin ón gcuntas fairsing a gheobhfá ar shaol gach faisnéiseora sna hagallaimh shochtheangeolaíocha, agus bheadh sin curtha san áireamh agat.

I ndeireadh an taighde ar fad, bhí lán 46 caiséad 90-nóiméad taifeadta agam, agus theastaigh uaim anailís chórasach chuimsitheach a dhéanamh ar an ábhar go léir. Ar ndóigh, bhí an t-uafás ábhair bailithe agam agus ba léir nach mbeadh an t-am agam le gach focal a bhí ar na caiséid a bhreacadh síos i bhfoirm scríofa. Bhí fúm ón tús ábhar cheistneoir *LASID* a bhreacadh síos ina iomlán, agus theastaigh go géar uaim na chéad 125 abairt thrialach ar a laghad a bhreacadh síos, na tréithe is suntasaí a thoghadh as na habairtí scríofa, a leagan amach ar tháblaí faisnéise, agus a gcur i gcomparáid thar na trí oileán.

Ba léir go luath nach bhféadfainn a thuilleadh a dhéanamh. Chinn mé freisin nach bpléifinn ach le hábhar ó roinnt de na faisnéiseoirí. Sa deireadh, bhí ábhar ó naonúr in Inis Mór, ó bheirt in Inis Meáin, agus ó thriúr in Inis Oírr ar na táblaí — 14 duine san iomlán agus an bhean óg as Inis Oírr ina measc ag comhlíonadh an phictiúir thar thrí ghlúin sna hoileáin.

Nuair a smaoinigh mé i dtosach ar na táblaí faisnéise mar mhodh léirithe, cheap mé gur leor ceithre thábla le dáileadh gach tréithe a léiriú thar na trí oileán; bheadh dhá thábla ann don dá oileán thoir, agus dhá thábla eile ann don dá roinn mhóra — an Ceann Thoir agus an Ceann Thiar — in Inis Mór. Ach nuair a thosaigh mé ag leagan amach na leaganacha éagsúla a léireodh gach tréith foghraíochta nó ghramadaí sa dá roinn in Inis Mór, chuir ilghnéitheacht na leaganacha iontas orm arís.

I ndeireadh na dála, ní raibh le déanamh ach na leaganacha a leagan amach in aghaidh gach faisnéiseora go hindibhidiúil, agus na faisnéiseoirí a scaipeadh thar na táblaí de réir a mbaile fearainn dúchais. Tháinig ord iontach ar na fíorais ansin. Bhí sonraí gach dara baile fearainn le feiceáil ó cheann ceann an oileáin, agus ceangail leithleacha idir dhá bhaile fearainn chomharsanacha le feiceáil go soiléir. Bhí a fhios agam ansin go dtógfadh leagan amach na dtáblaí an t-uafás ama orm, ach ba léir nach raibh an dara rogha agam. B'fhiú an t-am a chaitheamh leis chun abhras casta na canúna san oileán a spíonadh amach.

Tá na táblaí faisnéise críochnaithe agam anois. Thóg an méid den taighde atá déanta agam beagnach deich mbliana orm le críochnú, agus bheinn ag obair deich mbliana eile ar a laghad dá n-iarrfainn gach a bhfuil bailithe agam ar na caiséid a bhreacadh síos. Tá 37 tábla déanta agam do gach ceann de na 14 faisnéiseoir atá scaipthe thar na trí oileán; 518 tábla atá ann san iomlán. Creidim gur féidir cuid mhaith den ilghnéitheacht i bhfoghraíocht, i

ndeilbhíocht, agus i gcomhréir na gcanúintí in Oileáin Árann le feiceáil orthu.

Tá a lán rudaí ann nach bhfuil luaite sa litríocht scolártha go bhfios dom. Is dócha go bhfuil a lán acu le fáil i gConamara, agus ar ndóigh tá leabhar Thomáis de Bhaldraithe faoi dheilbhíocht chanúint Chois Fharraige breac le leaganacha tánaisteacha atá mar shaintréithe na gcanúintí in Inis Meáin agus in Inis Mór.

Tá rudaí cloiste agam ó chainteoirí as Conamara ar Raidió na Gaeltachta a cheap mé nach raibh le fáil ach in Árainn: an leagan *muinn* in áit *muid*, mar shampla. B'fhéidir nár chuala mé i gceart iad, ach is cinnte gur chuala mé an leagan *muinde* trí huaire as a chéile ó fhear a bhí ag obair ar an gCeathrú Rua agus é faoi agallamh ar chlár cúrsaí reatha. Féach freisin go bhfuil leagan den focal *samhradh* — **/sãmrə/** — luaite le Gaeilge Charna ag Ruairí Ó hUiginn ina aiste ar Ghaeilge Chonnacht, agus bhí mise á cheapadh gur saintréith Árannach é an **/m/** sin gan séimhiú, chomh maith lena chomhleagan caol sa leagan [**gʹiːmʹrʹɛ**] den fhocal *geimhreadh*.

Ba í an neamhchinnteacht faoi na fuaimeanna an rud ba mhó a bhí ag déanamh imní dom i gcónaí; is minic a d'éistinn le habairt thaifeadta a oiread is deich n-uaire as a chéile agus mé ag iarraidh gach fuaim san abairt a bhreacadh síos go beacht sa téiplann. Ar ndóigh, dá mbeadh na patrúin a bhí le feiceáil san ábhar a bheadh scríofa ar na táblaí faisnéise bunaithe ar na drochéisteacht, ní bheadh aon mhaith iontu mar phatrúin. "Fieldworker isoglosses" a bheadh iontu.

Ach nuair a bhí mé ag iarraidh na gutaí tosaigh [**ɛː**] agus [**æː**] a leagan amach ar na táblaí, ag féachaint an ndéarfadh na mná in Inis Mór [**dʹɛːs**] in áit [**dʹæːs**] (= *deas*), tháinig iontas orm nuair a fuair mé amach nach í airde an ghuta ach gurbh é fad an ghuta an toise a bhí i gceist, go raibh an tréith chéanna le fáil sna trí oileán, agus gur bhain an tréith leis na fir chomh maith.

Is é sin, bhain fadú guta le glórú an chonsain ina dhiaidh; bheadh guta gearr san fhocal *teach* ach guta fada sna focail *fear* nó *bean*. In Inis Meáin agus sa Cheann Thoir in Inis Mór bhí claonadh láidir an guta gearr a ardú go [**ɛ**], agus is iad na mná a dhéanfadh sin in Inis Mór. Agus na daoine nach raibh an patrún sin acu (beirt fhear), ba léir nach raibh sé acu. Thug sin an-mhisneach dom, mar ní raibh mé ag súil leis na patrúin chasta sin, agus ba bheag í mo mhuinín roimhe sin as mo chumas fad gutaí a chloisteáil go beacht.

Go ginearálta, bhí mé cleachtach go maith ar na canúintí in Oileáin Árann tar éis deich mbliana a chaitheamh ag éisteacht leis na faisnéiseoirí — agus i bhfad níos muiníní as mo chumas éisteachta. I ndeireadh na dála, ámh, is iad na caiséid na cáipéisí cearta; níl san ábhar scríofa ach achoimre agus treoir don saibhreas taifeadta go léir. Déanfadh scoláirí eile anailís ar an ábhar taifeadta. B'fhéidir go dtiocfaidís ar phatrúin eile, nó b'fhéidir go mbeadh léargas eile ar fad acu ar a bhfuil ann.

D'fhéadfaí an t-ábhar a dhigitiú, le go bhféadfaí éisteacht le freagra faisnéiseoir amháin ar abairt thrialach agus é a chur i gcomparáid le freagra faisnéiseoir ar bith eile. D'fhéadfaí anailís a dhéanamh le hionstraimí — "sound spectography" — ar na freagraí sin. Agus d'fhéadfaí a leithéid a dhéanamh trí chéad bliain ón lá inniu, dá gcoinneofaí an t-ábhar i gceart.

Tá fúm toradh an taighde a fhoilsiú faoi choimirce Scoil an Léinn Cheiltigh faoi cheann bliana. Le cúnamh Dé, beidh toradh cheistneoir *LASID* as Inis Mór le fáil, chomh maith

le 518 tábla faisnéise le sonraí ó na trí oileán, agus comparáid déanta idir an t-ábhar sin ar fad agus an t-ábhar in *LASID* ó na pointí ar an mórthír is gaire d'Oileáin Árainn. Tá foireann cóipeanna de na 46 caiséad taighde i seilbh Scoil an Léinn Cheiltigh, Institiúid Ard-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath, agus foirne eile ag Ollscoil na hÉireann, Gaillimh, ag Coláiste na hOllscoile, Corcaigh, agus ag University of California, Los Angeles. Tá fáilte roimh scoláire ar bith feidhm a bhaint astu.

Céard a mholfainn don taighdeoir a dhéanfadh taighde canúineolaíochta nó taighde sochtheangeolaíochta sa Ghaeltacht? Maidir le sampláil, déarfainn go gcaithfeadh an taighdeoir a bheith sásta leo sin a bheadh sásta a bheith taifeadta, ach dá n-éireodh cairdeas as an tús sin, go mbeadh saibhreas le baint as an obair a dhéanfaidís le chéile. Ar ndóigh, bheadh ar an taighdeoir aithne cheart a chur ar an bhfaisnéiseoir, mar d'fhéadfadh an rud is fánaí i saol an fhaisnéiseora tionchar a imirt ar a chaint. Le himeacht aimsire, bheadh gréasán cairde ag an taighdeoir sa phobal, agus d'fhéadfadh sé/sí daoine a thoghadh as gach aicme sa phobal a chuideodh leis an taighde. Is fiú a lua anseo, freisin, go mbeadh an gréasán cairdis/aitheantais a bheadh ag bantaighdeoir éagsúil ar fad leis an gceann a bheadh ag taighdeoir fir, agus go mbeadh léargas ar an bpobal aici nach mbeadh ag an taighdeoir fir go deo.

Maidir leis na tréithe teanga a scrúdófaí, bheadh difríochtaí ann idir aicmí sóisialta sa phobal i gcónaí a d'fhéadfadh a rian a fhágáil ar chaint an phobail ionas go n-éireodh tréithe teanga áirithe ina gcomharthaí soirt ar aicmí sóisialta áirithe le himeacht aimsire. Bheadh difríochtaí ann idir na glúine, idir mná agus fir, idir daoine le mórán scolaíochta agus daoine le beagán, idir daoine a mbeadh an saol mór feicthe acu agus daoine nach ndeachaigh i bhfad ó bhaile riamh.

Maidir leis na tréithe teanga sin, áfach, d'fhéadfadh an iliomad ilghnéitheachta a bheith ag baint leo sna bailte fearainn is gaire dá chéile — mar a fheiceann muid in Inis Mór, agus d'fhéadfadh tréith ar bith acu a bheith ar fáil freisin i nGaeltachtaí i bhfad amach uathu — agus gan fhios don taighdeoir!

Maidir le hilghnéitheacht, is iad an fhoghraíocht, an deilbhíocht agus an cumar ina sníonn an dá shruth sin le chéile na háiteannna is iontaí. Tá tábhacht ag baint leis an gcomhréir chomh maith, ach dar liomsa go mbaineann athruithe sa chomhréir le hathruithe móra ón taobh amuigh, athruithe a scuabann glúin páistí leo: athruithe a thagann ón scoil, ó shaol an Bhéarla, ó shaol na Gaeilge Caighdeánaí.

Maidir le bailiú samplaí, freisin, is furasta léargas maith a fháil ar fhoghraíocht na canúna as píosa gearr cainte, mar gheall ar mhinicíocht na bhfuaimeanna faoi leith i dtréimhse ghearr cainte. Bheadh sé níos deacra léargas a fháil ar an deilbhíocht nó ar an gcomhréir as píosa gearr cainte, ach mar sin féin, d'fhéadfaí léargas a fháil ar cheisteanna tábhachtacha a bhaineann leis an deilbhíocht agus leis an gcomhréir sna struchtúir is minicí sa chaint, mar shampla, ar mheath an ghinidigh, ar mheath an tséimhithe ar aidiachtaí aitreabúideacha, ar fhoirmeacha scartha in áit foirmeacha táite sa bhriathar, ar fhoirmeacha na copaile, ar chlásail choibhneasta dhíreacha i leaba na gceann indíreach, srl..

Ar ndóigh, is gearr go mbeadh an t-uafás ábhair le scrúdú ag an taighdeoir. D'fhéadfadh sé/sí an chuid is éasca agus is leadránaí den obair a fhágáil faoi scoláirí óga — meath an ghinidigh, cuir i gcás, ach bheadh ar an taighdeoir roinnt mhaith den obair a dhéanamh é/í

féin — anailís ar cháilíochtaí gutaí, mar shampla — ar fhaitíos go mbeadh an obair millte ag "fieldworker isoglosses".

Nuair a bheadh suirbhéireacht sách iomlán déanta ar an gcanúint, bheadh saintréithe na canúna le feiceáil, cuid acu níos tábhachtaí ná a chéile. D'fhéadfaí sampláil níos fairsinge, níos córasaí, a dhéanamh ansin ar na tréithe is tábhachtaí, dar leis an taighdeoir, ach d'fhéadfadh an tsampláil sin a bheith níos neamhfhoirmiúla, níos nádúrtha — agus í déanta gan fhios don t-é a bheadh ag caint leis an taighdeoir, dá ndéarfainn é! Comhrá cois bóthair le cara nó le duine aitheantais a dhéanfadh an chúis ansin. Thaispeáin an sochtheangeolaí Meiriceánach Labov i bhfad ó shin cá mhéad is féidir a fháil amach faoi chanúint is tú ag iarraidh an bhealaigh go dtí rud éigin a bheadh ar an *"fourth floor"* i siopa ilranna i gcathair Nua Eabhrac.

Ar ndóigh, bíonn comhráite teileafóin ag lucht Raidió na Gaeltachta le cainteoirí as gach cearn den tír ar fheabhas mar spléachadh ar na canúintí áitiúla. Is cuimhneach liom a bheith ag éisteacht le hagallamh le bean as Cill Rónáin, agus saintréithe an Chinn Thoir go breá aici. B'fhéidir nach mbeadh cead agat an t-agallamh sin a thaifeadadh, ach cén dochar!

Le himeacht aimsire, bheadh saibhreas mór cainte bailithe ó phobal áirithe, eolas ar an gcanúint nach mbeadh le fáil in aon áit eile, b'fhéidir. Molaim don taighdeoir go leor cóipeanna a dhéanamh den ábhar taifeadta agus den ábhar scríofa agus a stóráil in áiteanna sábháilte. Dhéanfainn an t-ábhar a dhigitiú agus a innéacsú, chun go bhféadfadh scoláirí eile teacht go furasta ar an rud is fánaí. Chuirfinn fáilte roimh scoláire ar bith ar mhaith leis/léi leas a bhaint as an ábhar taifeadta, mar is iomaí scoláire nach bhfuil an t-am ná na scileanna aige/aici le taighde allamuigh a dhéanamh.

I ndeireadh na dála, agus na faisnéiseoirí agus an taighdeoir féin faoin bhfód leis na céadta bliain, b'fhéidir, bheadh teacht éasca ag muintir na tíre seo ar a ndúchas féin agus ag scoláirí an domhain ar ábhar fíorthábhachtach a bhainfeadh le forbairt na cainte beo i bpobal seanbhunaithe traidisiúnta in Éirinn.

(*This is a slightly revised version of an unpublished paper presented at the Comhdháil do Theangeolaíocht na Gaeilge, University of Limerick, April, 2000. The references given at the end of the original paper have been incorporated in the general lists of references at the end of this volume.*)

(English Translation)

DOING RESEARCH ON ARAN IRISH DIALECTS: POSSIBILITIES, PROBLEMS AND FOCAL POINTS

In the year 1988 Prof. Tomás de Bhaldraithe recommended to me that I do dialectal research on Inis Mór in the Aran Islands, and for that reason I spoke with Máirtín Ó Murchú, who had just been appointed Director of the School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies.

The School of Celtic Studies lacked even the most basic information on the Inis Mór dialect, since little linguistic research had been done on that island since the time the German scholar Franz Nikolaus Finck and the Danish scholar Holger Pedersen did their linguistic research there a full hundred years before.

The Swiss scholar Heinrich Wagner and the Irish scholar Myles Dillon did valuable research on Irish on Inis Oírr and on Inis Meáin in the middle of the past century[3]. The results of that research were published in Wagner's great work *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects (LASID)*, but Wagner did not think it worthwhile to do any research on Aran itself — that is, on Inis Mór.

For that reason I was asked to do a comprehensive description of the dialect on Inis Mór and to have another look at the dialects on Inis Meáin and on Inis Oírr, in order to update the research which had been done forty years before.

As for my own qualifications, I spoke Connemara Irish and I had done similar research 15 years earlier in Kenya in East Africa, where I spent nearly a year and a half doing sociolinguistic research on the spread of the trade language KiSwahili among the rural ethnic groups in a small town in the centre of the country. It was also the place where I started learning Irish! I had yet another qualification, however: I had relatives on Inis Mór.

I presented a plan of research to the School of Celtic Studies, and it was accepted. I began examining any documentation which dealt with the dialects on the Aran Islands. I read Mícheál Ó Siadhail's *Téarmaí Tógála agus Tís as Inis Meáin*, I examined Jacqueline Wardlaw's M.A. thesis *Liosta Focal as na hOileáin Árann* (sic), and I combed the journals, reading every article written on the Irish of the Aran Islands over the preceding hundred years.

I examined Holger Pedersen's notes on the Irish of Inis Mór — available on microfilm, but it was difficult to decipher them and I speak no Danish. As far as I was concerned, however, there was little difference between Franz Nikolaus Finck's work *Die Araner Mundart* and Pedersen's notes. Both scholars used the same form of phonetic transcription, but Finck's monograph was far more readable and more comprehensive than Pedersen's notes. For that reason I read Finck's work very carefully.

There were two other sources on the Irish of the islands as well. There was the American scholar Michael Krauss' Ph.D. dissertation *Studies in Irish Grammar, Phonology, and Orthography*, which contained material from Inis Meáin. There was also the M.A. thesis

[3]It was Wagner who did the research on Inis Oírr and Dillon who did the research on Inis Meáin.

Cuntas Sincrónach ar Mhoirfeolaíocht an Bhriathair i nGaeilge Inis Oírr, Oileáin Árann, Co. na Gaillimhe, written by the Irish scholar Brian Ó Catháin.

I haven't read Krauss' dissertation yet, because the author told me in a telephone conversation that it was unlikely that the material would be relevant to my research. Consequently, I never sent for a copy of the dissertation. As for Ó Catháin's thesis, I found it valuable later while doing my research on Inis Oírr.

I began the research on Inis Mór in summer, 1990. It was clear from the outset, however, that there was little use to be gotten from Finck's work as I strove to identify the linguistic traits which were diagnostic for each of the three islands.

First of all, the phonetic transcription was very "phonemic", and there was little of the phonetic detail which is so valuable in dialectology. Also, it was clear that he mixed material from the three islands together in order to construct an "Aran dialect", an entity which did not exist, as was already clear from the material from Inis Meáin and from Inis Oírr in *LASID*. Third, there were linguistic traits mentioned in his account — traits in which I took real interest — which were not to be found on Inis Mór or (as was later clear to me) in either of the other islands either.

Therefore, from then on I depended on my own two ears, on the opinions of the local people, on the material in *LASID* from Inis Meáin and from Inis Oírr, and on the invaluable weighty monograph of Tomás de Bhaldraithe, *Gaeilge Chois Fhairrge: An Deilbhíocht*, since it was clear to me by then that the Irish of Inis Mór was very close to that of Inis Meáin on the one hand and to the Irish of Cois Fharraige on the other hand, no matter what its relationship to the Irish of Inis Oírr.

The School of Celtic Studies wanted me to conduct a tape-recorded interview with at least one or two individuals on Inis Mór, using the *LASID* questionnaire as a survey tool. We would then have a sample of Inis Mór Irish which would be largely comparable to the material which had been published earlier from the two other islands in *LASID*. For that reason, I interviewed two informants — a brother and sister — in the townland Corrúch in the middle of the island in order to collect my sample from Inis Mór[4].

I had known even before interviewing the brother and sister in Corrúch that there was an east/west linguistic boundary on Inis Mór between the Irish of "the people of the east end" (of the island) and that of "the people of the west end", and that the boundary lay between Corrúch and Fearann an Choirce, the first townland west of Corrúch. I had heard the pronominal form *muinn* instead of the expected *muid* used frequently by a friend in Cill Rónáin as well as the realisations [**soːs**] and [**ʃeːr**] of the locative adverbs *suas* and *siar*, respectively, from another friend. Shortly thereafter, a linguistically perceptive woman in Fearann an Choirce informed me that these linguistic traits were characteristic of the eastern islanders and that there was a clear boundary between the two dialects between Corrúch and Fearann an Choirce. On beginning my interviews in Corrúch, it was immediately clear that my two informants there were to be placed linguistically with the eastern islanders, since the monophthongisation and lowering of the two diphthongs [**uᵊ**] and [**iᵊ**] characterised

[4]Of course, the material in *LASID* had been collected forty years before my present interview, and therefore the linguistic changes which could have occurred in the Irish of the two islands to the east in the meantime over two generations would have to be taken into account when making the comparison between the three sets of material. For this reason the material gathered during the present research cannot be called strictly comparable to the material published in *LASID*.

their speech heavily.

If I had stopped there, things would have been fine. I would have had a good tape-recorded sample of the dialect on Inis Mór, as well as the tape-recorded responses to the *LASID* questionnaire from both informants in Corrúch — material which could then be compared with the published *LASID* material from the other two islands, from the Connemara mainland and from Co. Clare. Of course, I would have to gather examples of the local speech from other speakers throughout the island in order to get a clearer picture of the three above-mentioned linguistic traits which appeared to divide the island into two halves and of any other important trait which would reinforce that division, or which would set the Inis Mór off from the other two islands or from the mainland. I was not expecting many isoglosses at that point in the investigation!

When I began administering the *LASID* questionnaire to the two informants in Corrúch, however, it was soon clear that there was a surprising degree of linguistic heterogeneity to be found in an island eight miles long. For example, when I questioned the informants about the positive and negative forms of the verb *faigh* in all the tenses, I encountered seven pairs of competing variants in the habitual present tense and four pairs in the future tense. In the habitual present tense alone, I encountered *faigheann/ní fhaigheann, faigheann/ní bhfaigheann, fánn/ní fhánn, gheabhann/ní gheabhann, geabhann/ní gheabhann, gheofann/ní gheofann* ("a Connemara importation") and *fríonn* (without a negative counterpart). In the future tense, I encountered *gheabh/ní bhfaighidh, gheabh/ní gheabh, geabh/ní gheabh,* and *faighidh/ní bhfaighidh.*

I had already begun administering a sociolinguistic questionnaire to friends and relatives not only to get an overview of the patterns of acquisition and use of Irish and other languages on Inis Mór, but also to extract samples of natural speech from these informants which would reveal the major linguistic traits of the dialect from one end of the island to the other. However, by the time I had administered the *LASID* questionnaire to my informants in Corrúch and I had scrutinised the published *LASID* material from Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr, preparing for the next summer's work in the two islands to the east, I had an entirely different plan in mind.

I would administer another linguistic interview to all the informants I had already interviewed, and I would increase the number of informants so that there would be a good representation of speech samples the whole length of the island, with virtually every second townland represented in the end. I would have the informants translate sentences aloud from English into Irish, with me providing the stimulus sentences in English and the informant providing the Irish equivalent as I tape-recorded the response[5].

There would be at least two or three important linguistic traits in each sentence that I would be trying to elicit from the informant. These traits would be the "linguistic variables" discussed by the American sociolinguist William Labov, and as Labov himself would recommend, I would be especially interested in those linguistic variables which would be most frequent in speech, most central in the structure of the spoken language, and most clearly identified with particular social groups.

Of course, like every other dialectologist and sociolinguist, I directed my attention to the

[5]In using this technique, I was following the example of the nineteenth century German dialectologist Georg Wenker, whose research was eventually published as the *Deutscher Sprachatlas.*

phonology and to the morphology, since it is in those areas that one encounters the linguistic traits which are easiest to find in small sample of speech and which are least likely to be deliberately distorted in a spoken translation. As for the syntax, I was especially interested in the decay of constructions requiring the genitive case, in the use of the direct relative clause in place of the indirect relative clause and in the use of impersonal forms of the verb, but it is precisely in the syntax where one would expect distortion of the Irish syntax by the informant while translating from the spoken English of the investigator, since it is so natural for an informant to produce a loan translation or even a bizarre calque of an English phrase or idiom in order to conform more closely to the requirements of the translation task.

For that reason, there would be syntactic traits as well as phonological and morphological traits represented in the responses to the translation questionnaire, but I would be less confident of the syntactic material as a reflection of natural conversational speech. Syntactic material would constitute important linguistic evidence, but that evidence would have to be evaluated more carefully.

The stimulus sentences would be a valuable tool also when doing my research in the two islands to the east. I would be especially interested in any grammatical changes in the dialects there in the period since the research was done for the *LASID* nearly fifty years earlier. Would the decay of the genitive constructions, for example, be as evident in the dialect on Inis Meáin, an island whose inhabitants had a reputation for conservatism, as it clearly was on Inis Mór? Of course, I would be seeking to elicit linguistic traits which I had noted in the *LASID* material and which were characteristic of the two eastern islands from informants on all three islands, noting their presence or absence in each island. I had an eye to the east, therefore, as I composed the stimulus sentences.

After another summer spent in the Aran Islands interviewing informants and tape-recording the dialects in each island, I had the responses to 125 stimulus sentences tape-recorded from each of sixteen informants spread over all three islands, along with a tape-recorded sociolinguistic interview from each informant. The following summer I collected tape-recorded responses to a further 43 stimulus sentences from most of those informants. I interviewed two additional informants on Inis Mór in 1996, but from these informants I elicited only the responses to the first 125 stimulus sentences.

It was difficult to interview informants with a tape recorder, whether they were relatives or friends of mine or neither. The day of the interview with the stimulus sentences would almost always be postponed indefinitely by informants, and it would be directly before my return to Dublin at the end of the summer that most of the interviews would be conducted. It is likely that they took pity on me, thinking of me returning to the School of Celtic Studies with nothing to show for the summer's work, but when the big day came, there would be a fine, long interview, with no sign of unease in my presence.

It is clear, however, that there was no chance of getting a systematic sample of the islanders for interviewing purposes; I would have to be satisfied with a convenience sample, consisting of those people willing to be interviewed. The majority were elderly or middle-aged, but luck was with me on Inis Oírr, and I was able to interview not only a young woman of 18 years of age, but also one of her brothers, aged 13 years. For that reason, we have a glimpse, perhaps, of the linguistic changes which have occurred over the generations

for nearly a hundred years in the dialect on Inis Oírr (if we include the *LASID* material.) The number of women and of men interviewed is roughly equal in all three of the islands, but on Inis Mór we have only female informants representing westernmost Inis Mór while men form the majority of informants in eastern Inis Mór.

The women from western Inis Mór had married into households east of the townlands in which they were born, one of them as far east as Cill Rónáin, but, as was clear from the speech samples I collected from them, the dialects of the places into which they had married had had little influence on the dialect they carried with them from the cradle.

Of course, the education received by the informants and the periods of time spent by them in places far from their birthplace would have to be weighed as the linguistic evidence were evaluated, but again, those things did not effect to any great extent the naturalness of the speech in the sociolinguistic interviews or in the responses to the stimulus sentences. I even had the headmaster of the vocational school in Cill Rónáin as an informant, but he understood well that I wanted natural speech, and that's what I got from him.

You would expect Standard Irish variants here and there from people who had had a good deal of formal education, and such variants would be present in some samples, but of course you would already expect such things from the extensive accounts of the life of each informant in the sociolinguistic questionnaire, and such possible influence from Standard Irish would be taken into consideration.

After completing the research, I had recorded forty-six 90-minute tape cassettes, and I wanted to do a comprehensive, systematic analysis of all the material. Of course, I had collected an enormous amount of material, and it was clear that I wouldn't have the time to transcribe every word on every cassette. I had intended from the first to transcribe the responses to the *LASID* questionnaire in their entirety. I was also very keen to transcribe the responses to the first 125 stimulus sentences at the very least, to select the most interesting linguistic traits from the transcribed sentences, to lay the traits out on linguistic charts, and to compare the traits across the three islands.

It was soon clear that I couldn't hope to do more than that. I decided also that I would deal with material from only a subsection of the informants. In the end, there was material from nine informants on Inis Mór, from two on Inis Meáin, and from three on Inis Oírr on the linguistic charts — fourteen informants in all and the young woman from Inis Oírr among them completing the picture of linguistic change over the generations in the Aran Islands.

When I first conceived of the linguistic charts as a mode of exposition, I had thought that four charts would be sufficient to reveal the distribution of the variants for each linguistic variable over the three islands. There would be one chart each for Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr and two charts for Inis Mór — one chart for eastern Inis Mór and another for western Inis Mór. But when I began to lay out the phonological and grammatical variants for each linguistic variable encountered in eastern and western Inis Mór, respectively, I was again amazed by the heterogeneity of the variants.

In the end, I was forced to lay out separate linguistic charts for each individual informant, and to arrange the charts for the informants according to the birthplace of the informant. The complex linguistic facts then assumed a remarkably clear shape. The linguistic details

of roughly every second townland could be seen from one end of Inis Mór to the other, and distinctive linguistic variants shared by two neighbouring townlands were clearly visible. I knew then that preparing the individual linguistic charts would involve an immense amount of time, but it was clear that there was no other choice. It would be worth spending the time in order to tease out the complex skein of the dialect on Inis Mór.

I have now completed the linguistic charts. The portion of the research work which I have now finished has taken me ten years to complete, and I would be at work for another ten years at least if I tried to transcribe everything that I have collected on the tape cassettes. I have completed 37 linguistic charts for each of the informants. There are 518 linguistic charts in all, representing all three islands. I believe that it is possible to see much of the heterogeneity of the phonology, the morphology and the syntax of the dialects in the Aran Islands on these charts.

There are many things on the charts which are not mentioned in the scholarly literature to my knowledge. Probably a lot of them are to be found in Connemara, and of course Tomás de Bhaldraithe's monograph on the morphology of the Cois Fharraige dialect is full of recessive linguistic variants which are in fact dominant variants on Inis Meáin and on Inis Mór.

I have heard linguistic variants from speakers from Connemara on Raidió na Gaeltachta which I had thought were found only on Inis Mór: the variant *muinn* instead of *muid*, for example. Perhaps I didn't hear them correctly, but I am certain that I heard the variant *muinde* three times in a row on a current affairs program from a man who worked in Carraroe. Note also the phonological variant of the word *samhradh* — /**sãmrə**/ — mentioned for the Carna dialect by Ruairí Ó hUiginn in his essay on the Irish of Connaught. I had been thinking that that unlenited /m/, along with its palatalised counterpart in the variant **[gʹiːmʹrʹɛ]** of the word *geimhreadh*, was a characteristic Inis Mór trait.

It was the uncertainty over the precise quality of the sounds which gave me most anxiety from first to last. In the tape laboratory I often listened to a stretch of speech as many as ten times in a row while striving to transcribe each sound in a given sentence accurately. Of course, if the patterns to be seen in the material on the linguistic charts had been based on faulty acoustic perception, they would be useless as patterns. They would constitute only "fieldworker isoglosses".

But when I was trying to lay out the front vowels **[ɛː]** and **[æː]** on the linguistic charts in order to see whether the women on Inis Mór would say **[dʹɛːs]** instead of **[dʹæːs]** (= *deas*), I was surprised to find out that the relevant dimension was not vowel height but vowel length, that the same trait was to be found on all three islands, and that the trait characterised the men as well as the women.

That is to say, the lengthening of the vowel had to do with the voicing of the following consonant. For instance, there would be the short vowel **[æ]** in the word *teach*, but the long vowel **[æː]** in the words *fear* or *bean*. On Inis Meáin and in eastern Inis Mór, however, there was a strong tendency to raise the short vowel to **[ɛ]**, but it was only the female informants who did this in eastern Inis Mór. As for the informants who did not exhibit the trait (two male informants), it was clear that they did participate in the pattern. This gave me great encouragement, because I was not expecting those complex patterns and I had

lacked confidence before then in my ability to hear vowels accurately.

In general, I was well used to the dialects in the Aran Islands after spending ten years listening to the informants — and I was far more confident of my acoustic discrimination. In the end, however, the tape cassettes provide the real documentation. The written material provides only a summary and a guide to all the rich recorded data. Let other scholars analyze the recorded data. Perhaps they will discover other patterns, or perhaps they will have a completely different interpretation of what is recorded there.

The recorded material could be digitised, so that one could listen to the response from an informant to a given stimulus sentence and compare it immediately with the response of any other informant. One could even do an instrumental analysis, for example through sound spectography, of those responses. And one could do similar things 300 years from now, if the material were properly preserved.

I intend to publish the results of the research under the auspices of the School of Celtic Studies within a year. Hopefully this will include the results of the *LASID* questionnaire from Inis Mór, 518 linguistic charts with data from all three islands, and a comparison between all that material and the material in *LASID* from the points on the mainland closest to the Aran Islands. The School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies, has a set of the 46 tape cassettes, and there are other sets at University College Galway, at University College Cork and at the University of California, Los Angeles. Any scholar is welcome to use them.

What would I recommend to the researcher doing dialectological research or sociolinguistic research in the Irish-speaking areas? As for sampling, I would say that the researcher must be satisfied to work with those informants who are willing to be tape-recorded, but if friendship eventually arose between research and informant, the work could yield rich results. Of course, the researcher would have to really get to know the informant, since anything the researcher might say or do could affect the speech of the informant.

In time, the researcher would have a network of friends in the community, and he/she could select informants from every social group in the community to assist in the research work. It is worth mentioning here that a female researcher would have a network of friends completely different from that of a male researcher, and that she would have a perspective on the community that a male researcher would never have.

As for the linguistic traits to be examined, there will always be differences between social groups in the community which will leave their trace on the speech of the community, in such a way that certain linguistic traits will come to be diagnostic of a certain social group with the passage of time. There will be differences between the generations, between the sexes, between individuals with a great deal of formal education and those with little formal education, and between individuals who have seen the world and those who have never been far from home.

Such linguistic traits could exhibit great heterogeneity in townlands very close to one another — as we saw on Inis Mór. On the other hand, it might be possible to find any of those traits in Irish-speaking areas far from the research site, though the researcher might be completely unaware of their existence elsewhere.

As for heterogeneity in a language, one can locate it above all in the phonology, in

the morphology and in the common channel in which both streams flow together — the morphophonology. Of course the syntax is important as well, but in my opinion changes in the syntax tend to come from outside the speech community, and these changes particularly affect children. Such changes typically come from school, from the English-speaking world, and from the world of Standard Irish.

In regard to gathering speech samples, it is easy to get a perspective on the phonology of a dialect from a short stretch of speech because of the frequency of the individual phonemes in any short stretch of speech. It would be more difficult to get an overview of the morphology or of the syntax from a short stretch of speech.

Nevertheless, one could gain some insights on important questions which have to do with the morphology or syntax of the most highly frequent structures in the spoken language from a relatively short stretch of speech. For example, one could get an idea of the extant of decay in genitival constructions, of the weakening of the lenition rule for attributive adjectives, of the substitution of analytical forms for synthetic/inflected forms of the verb, of innovative forms of the copula, of the substitution of direct relative constructions for indirect relative constructions, etc.

Of course, it would not be long before there would be an enormous amount of material for the researcher to analyze. At that point, he/she could leave the easiest and the most tedious portion of the work to young scholars — the decay of the genitive constructions, for example. Still, the researcher would have to do a good bit of the work himself/herself — the analysis of vowel qualities, for example — lest the work be spoiled by "fieldworker isoglosses".

When a relatively complete survey is done on the dialect, the principal linguistic traits of the dialect will be revealed, and some traits will be more important than others in distinguishing the dialect from other dialects. One could do a much broader, systematic sampling in the community at that point for those traits which the researcher considered especially important — even if the investigation were done surreptitiously, in the course of normal conversation with a member of the community. A roadside conversation with a friend or acquaintance would do the trick! The American sociolinguist William Labov showed long ago how much it is possible to find out about a dialect while asking for directions to a product for sale on the "fourth floor" of a department store in New York City.

The telephone interviews which radio hosts on Raidió na Gaeltachta regularly conduct with Irish-speaking individuals in every corner of the land provide excellent glimpses of the local Irish dialects. I remember listening to an interview with a woman from Cill Rónáin who unwittingly gave a fine display of eastern Inis Mór linguistic traits. Perhaps you wouldn't have permission to record that interview, but what harm would there be in trying?

In time, there would be a wealth of recorded speech gathered from a given community, with information on the dialect which might not be available anywhere else. I recommend making many copies of the recorded material and of the written material and storing the copies in secure places. The material could be digitised and indexed, so that other scholars could easily locate even the least significant detail. I would invite any scholar who might be interested in the recorded material to make use of it, for there are many scholars who have neither the time nor the training to do fieldwork.

At the end of the day, with the informants and the researcher long departed, the people

of this land would have easy access to their heritage, and the scholars of the world would have access to very important material relating to the evolution of a living language in a deep-rooted traditional community in Ireland.

(*This is a slightly revised version of an unpublished paper presented at the Comhdháil do Theangeolaíocht na Gaeilge, University of Limerick, April, 2000. The references given at the end of the original paper have been incorporated in the general lists of references at the end of this volume.*)

FOINSÍ AGUS FAISNÉIS: AG BAILIÚ SONRAÍ FAOI NA CANÚINTÍ IN OILEÁIN ÁRANN

Bailíodh a lán faisnéise le breis agus céad bliain faoi na canúintí in Oileáin Árann, idir ábhar scríofa agus ábhar taifeadta. Déanfar plé sa pháipéar seo ar na foinsí is mó a sholáthraíonn eolas ar fhoghraíocht, ar ghramadach, agus ar stór focal na gcanúintí sna hoileáin sin thar thréimhse céad bliain, agus ar bhuanna agus laigí na bhfoinsí sin.

Déanfar tagairt anseo agus ansiúd don taighde a rinne mé féin in Oileáin Árann — go háirithe in Inis Mór, taighde a bhí faoi stiúir Mháirtín Uí Mhurchú agus faoi choimirce Scoil an Léinn Cheiltigh, Institiúid Ard-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath, ach ní dhéanfar mórán plé sa pháipéar seo ar aidhmeanna agus modhanna oibre an taighde sin, mar tá cur síos fairsing déanta agam air sin i bpáipéar a léigh mé in earrach na bliana seo.[6]

Ar an gcéad dul amach, ámh, ba mhaith liom dreach tíre teangeolaíoch, nó "Sprachlandschaft" mar a thug an Dr. Heinrich Wagner air[7], a leagan amach romhaibh. Is dreach tíre samhalta é sa chás seo, áfach, a thabharfas léargas daoibh, b'fhéidir, ar an ngaol atá ann idir na canúintí in Oileáin Árann, de réir mo thuisceana faoi láthair.

Dá mbeadh an talamh agus an fharraige thart ar Chuan na Gaillimhe leagtha amach de réir ghaol na gcanúintí lena chéile, seo é an radharc a bheadh romhaibh. Bheadh ceann tíre ag gobadh amach roinnt ó Chois Fharraige i dtreo Inis Oírr, agus bheadh cainteoirí Inis Mór ina gcónaí i scata bailte fearainn ar an gceann tíre sin, ach gar go leor do Chois Fharraige féin. Bheadh cainteoirí Inis Meáin lonnaithe ar rinn an chinn tíre chéanna, agus ní bheadh oiread is achar baile fearainn idir an dá phobal sin, ionas go bhféadfaí a rá gurbh aon phobal amháin iad cainteoirí Inis Mór agus cainteoirí Inis Meáin.

Maidir le cainteoirí Inis Oírr, áfach, bheidís ina gcónaí ar cheann tíre eile trasna an chuain, ceann tíre a bheadh ag gobadh amach beagáinín as Ceann Boirne, agus cósta Chontae an Chláir lena chanúintí féin ag síneadh ó dheas uaidh. Ar an taobh eile, soir ón gCeann Boirne, bheadh canúintí eile thart ar chósta thoir theas Chuan na Gaillimhe ag síneadh i dtreo na Gaillimhe.

Bheadh canúint Chinn Mhara ann achar soir ó Cheann Boirne, mar shampla. Ní bheadh na tréithe láidre Muimhneacha le cloisteáil sa phobal ann a bheadh le cloisteáil ag lucht an chinn tíre thiar, ach bheadh na mionsonraí idir an dá phobal sách cosúil lena chéile.

Maidir le teorainneacha canúna, is ar éigean a d'fhéadfaí teorainn ar bith a shonrú chomh fada ó thuaidh le Gaillimh, agus go fiú i bhfad i bhfad ó thuaidh, siar ó thuaidh, agus soir ó thuaidh, go domhain in Íochtar Chonnacht. Grádú mín tréithe agus ní teorainneacha soiléire borba a bheadh le feiceáil in aon áit, agus, má tá an ceart ag Nicholas Williams ina chaint ar an "nGaeilge Ghháileonach", bheadh sé chomh deacair teorainn a shonrú soir ó Chonnachta chomh fada le Baile Átha Cliath agus a bheadh sé teorainn a shonrú in aon áit in Íochtar Chonnacht.

I dtaca le cainteoirí chanúintí Chonamara, áfach, bheidís ina gcónaí ar oileán mór millteach san fharraige go díreach siar ó chathair na Gaillimhe, mar ní siar ó Ghaillimh agus Mionlach a bheadh cósta na farraige ag síneadh ansin, ach i bhfad siar ó thuaidh thar imeall

[6] Féach Duran (2000); cf. freisin, Duran (1992, 1994, 1995, agus 1996).
[7] Féach Wagner (1981).

thoir Loch na Coiribe, agus bheadh Maigh Cuilinn féin ina hoileán beag idir Gaillimh agus Conamara.

Ar ndóigh, bheadh an-bhaint ag muintir Rinn Cheann Boirne le muintir Rinn Chois Fharraige; d'fhágfadh a lán trádála thar farraige agus, ar ndóigh, a lán póstaí a rian ar chaint an dá phobail. Mar sin féin, bheadh tionchar chanúint mhuintir Rinn Chois Fharraige i bhfad níos láidre ar chanúint mhuintir Rinn Cheann Boirne ná a mhalairt, sa chaoi go bhféadfaí a rá gur lonnaigh slua maith daoine as Rinn Chois Fharraige isteach i Rinn Cheann Boirne ag am éigin taobh istigh de chúpla céad bliain ó shin.

Le cúnamh an dreacha tíre shamhalta sin, b'fhéidir go dtuigfeadh sibh níos fearr tábhacht cuid de na foinsí a luaifeas mé sa pháipéar seo agus na gabhail ghaoil atá ann, dar liom féin, idir na foinsí seo — mar tá gaol láidir eatarthu go léir, agus comhlíonann siad a chéile ar bhealach nach bhféadfadh na taighdeoirí féin a thuiscint agus iad ag déanamh a gcuid taighde le céad bliain anuas. Tuigfidh muid níos fearr, b'fhéidir, tábhacht thaighde an Ollaimh Tomás de Bhaldraithe do thaighde ar chanúintí Oileáin Árann, idir a chuid taighde i gCois Fharraige agus a chuid taighde i Mionlach, láimh le Gaillimh[8].

Deirtear gurb é an leabhar *Gaeilge Chois Fhairrge: An Deilbhíocht*[9] an cuntas is cuimsithí a foilsíodh riamh ar aon chanúint de chuid na Gaeilge, agus is maith ann dúinne é. Dá bhrí sin, agus an cuntas fairsing sin ar fáil ar thréithe dheilbhíocht na canúna, chomh maith le cuntas téagartha ar a foghraíocht — *The Irish of Cois Fhairrge, Co. Galway: A Phonetic Study*[10], níorbh fhiú liom a leithéidí de chuntais a scríobh ar Ghaeilge Inis Mór ná ar Ghaeilge Inis Meáin, mar ba léir ó thosaigh mé ar an taighde in Inis Mór go raibh gaol an-ghairid ann idir Gaeilge an dá oileán sin agus Gaeilge Chois Fharraige.

(Maidir le Gaeilge Inis Oírr, ámh, ba léir ón tús go dteastódh cuntas fairsing ar Ghaeilge an oileáin sin ó bhí sí chomh leithleach sin ó na canúintí thuasluaite, ach bhí tús maith curtha ar an gcuntas sin cheana ag Brian Ó Catháin ina thráchtas M.A. ar an mbriathar i nGaeilge Inis Oírr[11].)

D'fhéadfaí a rá, mar sin, gur beag tréith chanúnach atá le fáil i nGaeilge Inis Mór nó i nGaeilge Inis Meáin nach bhfuil le fáil i leabhair an Ollaimh de Bhaldraithe ar chanúint Chois Fharraige, ach is i bhfairsinge nó i minicíocht na dtréithe sin i mbéal an phobail is mó a bheadh na difríochtaí idir chanúintí an dá oileán sin agus canúint Chois Fharraige. Tréith a bheadh i réim i nGaeilge Chois Fharraige, b'fhéidir gur thréith thánaisteach nó go fiú tréith annamh sna hoileáin í — agus a mhalairt de scéal maidir le saintréithe na n-oileán. Is minic, mar shampla, sainfhoirm de chuid Inis Mór luaite mar cheann de na leathdhosaen leaganacha tánaisteacha d'fhocal áirithe i gcanúint Chois Fharraige ag bun leathanach áirithe sa leabhar *Gaeilge Chois Fhairrge: An Deilbhíocht.*[12]

Ar an téama sin, ba inmholta don scoláire agus é/í ag déanamh taighde in Oileáin Árann gan a mhaíomh nach bhfuil a leithéid seo nó a leithéid siúd de thréith le fáil i gConamara, mar is léir dom féin go bhfuil tréithe "Árannacha", mar dhea, le cloisteáil ó chainteoirí as Conamara ar Raidió na Gaeltachta nach bhfuil trácht orthu, go bhfios dom, sna cuntais ar chanúintí Chonamara. Is iontach an áit a bhfaighfeá gliomach, agus thabharfainn féin an

[8]Féach de Bhaldraithe (1981, 1985).
[9]de Bhaldraithe (1953).
[10]de Bhaldraithe (1966)
[11]Ó Catháin (1990).
[12]Dála an scéal, is fiú aird a thabhairt anseo ar thábhacht na nótaí sin don chanúineolaí.

leabhar, mar shampla, gur chuala mé an leagan "Árannach" *muinn* i leaba an leagain *muid* ag duine as Conamara ar Raidió na Gaeltachta.

Cheap mé le fada gur saintréithe de chuid Inis Mór iad na leaganacha **[sãːvrə]** nó **[sãːmrə]** (= *samhradh*), ach tá an dara foirm luaite le Gaeilge Charna ag Ruairí Ó hUiginn ina chuntas ar chanúintí Chonnacht sa leabhar *Stair na Gaeilge*.[13] Is fiú smaoineamh ar rud a dúirt bean as Inis Meáin liom — go raibh *Cré na Cille* léite aici agus nach raibh focal ná cor cainte sa leabhar nach raibh cloiste aici in am éigin ag duine éigin in Inis Meáin féin.

Agus "talamh slán" déanta againn de Chois Fharraige agus de na hoileáin amach uaidh, téadh muid anois ó oileán go hoileán, ag scrúdú na bpríomhfhoinsí eolais atá ar fáil ar Ghaeilge Oileán Árann. Tosaíodh muid le hInis Mór, áit a bhfuil eolas againn air le breis is céad bliain anuas, ón am ar thosaigh an scoláire Gearmánach Franz Nikolaus Finck agus an scoláire Danmhargach Holger Pedersen ag déanamh taighde ar chanúint Inis Mór.

De réir a chuntais féin, bhí Finck i mbun taighde sna trí oileán ar feadh breis agus bliain sna blianta 1894–95[14], ach is léir ó na samplaí a thugann sé den chanúint agus ó na tagairtí iomadúla a dhéanann sé dá phríomhfhaisnéiseoir Mark O' Flaherty (Marcus Ó Flaithearta) i gCill Rónáin gur in Inis Mór a rinne sé bunús a chuid taighde[15]. Tháinig Pedersen faoi dheireadh na bliana 1895, nuair a bhí Finck imithe cheana, agus chaith Pedersen féin ceithre mhí go leith ag déanamh taighde. Is iontach an saibhreas cainte atá faighte againn anois ón mbeirt.

Bhí mé féin roinnt géar ar thaighde Finck i bpáipéir eile, agus ba mhaith liom cúiteamh a dhéanamh leis sa pháipéar seo. Dúirt mé go ndearna sé meascán den ábhar ó na trí oileán agus é ag scríobh faoin "gcanúint Árannach", mar dhea, tuairim a nocht Brian Ó Catháin chomh maith faoin ábhar. Ina theannta sin, bhí amhras orm faoina chumas éisteachta maidir le fuaimeanna áirithe, m.sh., an tsraith consan **[ŋg]** san fhocal *teanga*, sraith a bheadh scríofa mar **[ŋ]** aige scaití. Is tréith í sin atá le fáil thoir ar an mórthír, ach tréith nach samhlóinn féin le Gaeilge na n-oileán, agus shíl mé gurbh fhéidir go raibh foghraíocht na Gearmáinise ag teacht salach ar an éisteacht aige. Rud eile a chuir amhras orm — na leaganacha briathra táite a bhí le fáil sna paraidímí ach nach raibh sampla ar bith acu le fáil sna samplaí a foilsíodh sa ghraiméar ná san fhoclóir.

Tá mé tagtha ar mhalairt intinne ar fad anois. Dar liom féin go bhfuil taifead luachmhar againn ó Finck de chaint na ndaoine in Árainn breis is céad bliain ó shin, ach ní taifead de chanúintí na dtrí oileán é ach taifead chanúint mhuintir an Chinn Thoir in Árainn féin — is é sin, in Inis Mór. Tá deich gcinn de shamplaí focal as Inis Oírr tugtha aige sna nótaí deiridh ina fhoclóir, ach níl ach sampla amháin a thabharfadh le fios duit gur leag sé cois riamh in Inis Oírr: an leagan briathair *brifim* (**[bʹrʹɪfʹɪmʹ]** = *bruithim*), leagan a bhfuil **[fʹ]** na haimsire fáistiní ann, cé go bhfuil briathar an tsampla san aimsir gnáthláithreach.

D'fhéadfaí a ghlacadh uaidh go raibh sé ann agus gur mheall sé samplaí as muintir Inis Oírr, ach ní léir go bhfuair sé téacs nádúrtha uathu riamh, mar dá bhfaigheadh, bheadh an téacs is giorra breac le tréithe Muimhneacha. Féach ar an scéal gearr, mar shampla, — i bhfoirm téacs trí pharagraf i bhfogharscríobh — a fuair Myles Dillon in Inis Oírr sa bhliain

[13] Ó hUiginn (1994), 552.
[14] Deir sé féin i nótaí a leabhair féin "…dass ich vier mal so lange auf Aran war, als Pedersen, d.h., den aufenthalt auf allen drei inseln zusammengerechnet". Féach Finck (1899), II, 261.
[15] Finck (1899).

1932, téacs a luafas mé níos faide anonn[16]. Maidir le hInis Meáin, áfach, níl sampla ar bith as Inis Meáin luaite ag Finck.

Os a choinne sin, tá lear samplaí de thréithe an Chinn Thoir in Inis Mór an lae inniu le fáil ina chuid samplaí — an guta fada [**eː**] in áit an défhoghair [**iᵊ**], m. sh., i bhfocail ar nós [**ʃeːr**] (= *siar*). Agus tá a fhaisnéiseoir Mark O' Flaherty i gCill Rónáin luaite go minic aige, nuair is ar éigin atá faisnéiseoir ar bith in aon áit eile in Inis Mór luaite aige. Dála an scéil, is léir go raibh na foirmeacha scartha briathartha atá chomh fairsing anois i gcaint mhuintir an Chinn Thoir le cloisteáil ann cheana céad bliain ó shin (m.sh., *ní thagann mé* i leaba *ní thagaim*).

Maidir lena chumas éisteachta, caithfidh mé a rá nach gcuireann na samplaí éideimhne isteach orm go mór a thuilleadh. B'fhéidir gur chuala sé [**tʃæŋə**] ag duine in áit [**tʃæŋgə**], nó [**ʃæfoːg**][17] in áit [**ʃæfoːdʹ**]. Is follas, ámh, gur dheacair dó consain chaola a idirdhealú ó chosain leathana i lár agus i ndeireadh an fhocail i gcás na gconsan leachtach, srónach, agus liopach, ach bhí an fhadhb chéanna ag Holger Pedersen[18]. Ach tríd agus tríd, creidim nach gcuireann an fhadhb áirithe sin de chuid Finck isteach ró-mhór ar an gcanúineolaí.

Tá mé cinnte, freisin, gur chuala Finck na haifricéid [**tʃ**] agus [**ʤ**] in áit [**tʹ**] agus [**dʹ**] i gceart, mar tá na haifricéid sin ann go tiubh ó Chill Rónáin soir go hInis Oírr sa lá atá inniu ann. An t-aon áit a bhfuil amhras orm go ndeachaigh sé amú, b'fhéidir, ná sna leaganacha *gə cigə/gə jigə* (= [go] tuige[19]) leis na fuaimeanna [**tʃ**] nó [**ʤ**] in áit an chonsain [**t**]. [**t**] a bhí i nótaí Pedersen, agus [**t**] a fuair mé ó m' fhaisnéiseoirí i gCorrúch.

Maidir leis na foirmeacha táite briathartha atá le fáil i bparaidímí Finck nach bhfuil samplaí acu le fáil taobh amuigh de na paraidímí féin, tá siad le fáil go tiubh sna scéalta thuasluaite a bhailigh Pedersen féin[20].

Tá leagan amháin sna paraidímí, áfach, nach bhfuil sampla de le fáil in aon áit: an leagan [**oːɑː**] (athscríofa ó fhogharscríobh Finck go fogharscríobh IPA) den deireadh briathartha *-ófá*. Tá sampla amháin den deireadh *-ófá* tugtha ina fhoclóir ag Finck agus trí shampla ar a laghad tugtha ag Pedersen in *Scéalta Mháirtín Neile*, ach is é an leagan céanna acu an ceann a fuair mé féin in Oileáin Árainn i gcónaí: [**ɑː**], m.sh., [**ə gʹæːnɑː**] (= *an gceannófá?*).

In ainneoin na rudaí beaga sin, d'fhéadfaí a rá go bhfuil foghraíocht agus deilbhíocht chanúint an Chinn Thoir taifeadta ag Finck ach go bhfuil deilbhíocht agus comhréir na canúna sin taifeadta ag Pedersen, mar cé go raibh na scéalta go léir scríofa i bhfogharscríobh ag Pedersen féin, tá na scéalta curtha i gcló ag an eagarthór, Ole Munch-Pedersen, "…i litriú atá bunaithe go príomhúil ar Chaighdeán Oifigiúil an lae inniú".[21]

Ar ndóigh tá muide, mar scoláirí, go mór faoi chomaoin ag an uasal Munch-Pedersen as an eagarthóireacht chúramach atá déanta aige ar na scéalta a bhreac Holger Pedersen síos. Mar gheall ar an obair sin, tá breis agus trí chéad leathanach de théacsanna i gcaint nádúrtha sna scéalta ó Pedersen le cur leis an ábhar toirtiúil a d'fhoilsigh Finck ina dhá imleabhar — breis agus dhá chéad leathanach ag cur síos ar fhoghraíocht agus ghramadach na canúna in imleabhar amháin agus beagnach trí chéad go leith leathanach ar an stór focal

[16] Dillon (1939).
[17] Finck (1899), II, 229.
[18] Féach, mar shampla, ar chur síos an eagarthóra Ole Munch-Pedersen ar an bhfadhb sin ina bhrollach do bhailiúchán Pedersen *Scéalta Mháirtín Neile*. Cf. *Scéalta* … (1994), xlvi–lv.
[19] Ar ndóigh, sin an fhoirm stairiúil *Cad chuige…?*
[20] Féach *Scéalta* … (1994).
[21] Féach *Scéalta* … (1994), xlvi-lv.

san imleabhar eile, agus na focail féin neadaithe go minic in abairtí nádúrtha samplacha.[22]

Bhailigh Pedersen an chuid is mó dá ábhar ó Mháirtín Neile Ó Conghaile i mBaile na Creige, atá i lár an oileáin ach sa Cheann Thoir, agus, mar a dúradh cheana, bhailigh Finck formhór a ábhair féin ó Mharcus Ó Flaithearta (Mark O' Flaherty) i gCill Rónáin.[23]

Mar a tharla, nuair a tháinig mé féin go hÁrainn i samhradh na bliana 1990 le taighde canúineolaíochta a thosú ann, rinne mé féin formhór mór mo chuid taighde féin i gCorrúch, an baile fearainn atá ag teorainn thiar Bhaile na Creige agus an áit ar rugadh mo sheanathair féin.

Bhailigh mé ábhar taifeadta ó fhaisnéiseoirí eile a rugadh i mbailte fearainn ar fud an oileáin, ach ó tá muintir mo sheanmháthar go tiubh i gCill Rónáin, d'éirigh mé anchleachtach ar chanúintí an dá áit a ndearna Pedersen agus Finck a gcuid taighde iontu. D'fhéadfaí a rá mar sin go bhfuil taifeadadh déanta ní amháin ar Ghaeilge Inis Mór ach ar an nGaeilge in ionann agus na bailte fearainn ceannann céanna san oileán thar thréimhse céad bliain.

Bhailigh mé féin ábhar ó naonúr faisnéiseoirí in Inis Mór. Ní ghabhfaidh mé i bhfadscéal anois leis an obair sin ó tá eolas fairsing tugtha uirthi sa pháipéar luaite ag tús an pháipéir seo[24]. Is leor a rá anseo gur chuir mé ceistneoir *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects* (*LASID*)[25] ar bheirt i gCorrúch, agus gur bhailigh mé a lán eolais eile uathu chomh maith.

Chuir mé abairtí trialacha i mBéarla le haistriú go Gaeilge ar an mbeirt sin agus ar sheachtar eile tríd an oileán ina dhiaidh sin chun tréithe áirithe de Ghaeilge an oileáin a mhealladh astu; foilseofar toradh 125 de na habairtí sin ón naonúr faisnéiseoirí go luath. Cuireadh ceistneoir sochtheangeolaíoch ar na faisnéiseoirí ar fad freisin a thugann sampla den chaint nádúrtha leanúnach. Is é an t-ábhar taifeadta sin ó Inis Mór is mó atá le fáil ar na 46 caiséad 90–nóiméad a bhailigh mé in Oileáin Árann fré chéile thar chúig shamhradh.

Tá ábhar eile taifeadta ag taighdeoir eile, Pádraigín Clancy. Is scoláire óg í ag Coláiste na hOllscoile, Baile Átha Cliath, atá ag scríobh a tráchtais M.A. i mbéaloideas, agus tá blianta caite san oileán aici. Scéalta ó na scéalaithe is fearr ar fud Inis Mór, chomh maith lena lán béaloideas eile, atá taifeadta aici, agus tá súil agam gur gearr go mbeidh an bailiúchán luachmhar sin ar fáil ag scoláirí.

B'fhiú a lua freisin roinnt scéalta a bhailigh Seosamh Ó Flanagáin, múinteoir scoile in Eoghanacht, Inis Mór, a fuair bás go tragóideach sa bhliain 1939.[26] Níl siad scríofa i bhfogharscríobh, áfach, agus ba dheacair a rá cé mhéad athcheartuithe a bheadh déanta aige ar an ábhar a bhailigh sé.

Ina dteannta sin, tá roinnt alt foilsithe san iris *Éigse* faoi thréithe chanúint Inis Mór ab fhiú a lua chomh maith: ceann a scríobh Liam Ó Dochartaigh[27], ceann a scríobh Brian Ó Catháin[28], agus ceann a scríobh Séamas Ó Murchú[29].

Maidir le Gaeilge Inis Meáin, is é an t-ábhar a foilsíodh in *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects* an t-ábhar is tábhachtaí ar fad. Is é Myles Dillon an taighdeoir a chuir

[22] Tá na nótaí agus an t-innéacs istigh san fhigiúr deiridh sin.
[23] Bhí Marcus mar fhaisnéiseoir ag Pedersen freisin ar feadh tamaill.
[24] Duran (2000).
[25] Féach Wagner (1981, 1982)
[26] Féach Ó Flanagáin (1932, 1934, agus 1939).
[27] Ó Dochartaigh, L. (1973).
[28] Ó Catháin (1993b).
[29] Ó Murchú, S. (1991).

ceistneoir *LASID* ar fhaisnéiseoirí ann i luath-chaogaidí na haoise seo caite. Ba scoláire é a raibh seantaithí aige ar chanúintí Oileáin Árann agus a bhí cleachtach ar an bhfogharscríobh.

B' é Heinrich Wagner, ámh, a chuir ceistneoir *LASID* ar fhaisnéiseoirí in Inis Oírr sa tréimhse ama chéanna, agus is fiú cuimhneamh air sin, agus muid ag cur toradh *LASID* sa dá oileán sin i gcomparáid lena chéile, mar tá seans ann i gcónaí nach difríocht tréithe difríocht ar bith a shonródh muid idir an dá oileán ach difríocht éisteachta idir an bheirt taighdeoirí. B'fhéidir go réiteodh an t-ábhar atá bailithe agam féin sa dá oileán — idir an t-ábhar taifeadta agus an t-ábhar a fhoilseofar amach anseo — cuid de na ceisteanna a d'fhéadfaí a chur faoi ábhar *LASID*.

Mar fhocal scoir, is fiú an leabhar beag a scríobh an scoláire Mícheál Ó Siadhail a lua, *Téarmaí Tógála agus Tís as Inis Meáin*[30], leabhar a chuireann síos ar na gléasanna idir shean agus nua atá in úsáid anois i dteallaigh Inis Meáin agus ar na téarmaí Gaeilge a chuirtear orthu.

Maidir le hInis Oírr, is é ábhar *LASID* arís an phríomhfhoinse atá againn ar Ghaeilge an oileáin seo. Ós é Heinrich Wagner féin a rinne an taighde ann, is fiú cúpla focal a rá anseo faoi ábhar agus leagan amach *LASID* trí chéile. Is fiú na léirmheasanna a rinneadh ar an atlas sin a léamh agus muid ag meas thoradh an atlais.[31]

Is é an scrúdú is mine, b'fhéidir, an scrúdú a rinne Cathair Ó Dochartaigh ar an ábhar a bhailigh Wagner féin i gCúige Uladh.[32] Cibé ar bith locht a bheadh ar thaifeadadh an ábhair in áiteanna eile, is féidir muinín mhór a chur i bhfogharscríobh Wagner maidir le canúintí Uladh, dar leis an Dochartach. Is mór an rud é sin agus muid ag scrúdú ní amháin ábhar Inis Oírr ach ábhar na gceantar ar an mórthír timpeall Chuan na Gaillimhe agus i gContae an Chláir chomh maith.

Tá rud amháin, áfach, a shonrós muid ar an bpointe agus muid ag scrúdú ábhar Inis Oírr san atlas — leaganacha Gaeilge a chuirfeadh uafás ar aon mhúinteoir Gaeilge. Shonraigh mé féin samplaí ann ar nós (agus iad litrithe le carachtair Rómhánacha) *an bó*, *an caora*, *budóig teirim*, *cúig bó* agus *adharc 'm bó* sna chéad chúig mhír is tríocha, gan dul níos faide. I measc na sé shampla ó Inis Oírr a thugann Finck (agus iad litrithe le carachtair Rómhánacha) tá *dreáthair (sic) mo mhnaoi* agus *plúr na mbean*, le *mhnaoi* agus *mbean* mar leaganacha ginideacha uatha agus iolra faoi seach den fhocal *bean*.

Fuair mé féin samplaí aduaine in Inis Oírr ar nós *"Ab' iú Séamas?" (= "An tú Séamas?")* agus *"'B' é iascaire 'ú?" (= "An iascaire thú?")* ó fhear a rugadh sa bhliain 1935 agus ó bhean a rugadh sa bhliain 1949, ach níl a leithéid le fáil ó bhean óg a rugadh sa bhliain 1972. Deirtear go raibh muintir Inis Oírr ar tí an Ghaeilge a thréigean mar theanga phobail ag tús an chéid seo caite, ach nuair a chuir an rialtas nua deontas na Gaeilge ar fáil, gur chloígh muintir an oileáin leis an nGaeilge uaidh sin amach. An comharthaí na laige sin i nGaeilge na glúine a bhí ann ag tús an chéid seo caite na samplaí aisteacha sin?

Caithfear foinsí tábhachtacha eile ar Ghaeilge Inis Oírr a lua. Ar an gcéad dul amach, ba chóir an scéal a bhreac Myles Dillon síos i bhfogharscríobh agus a foilsíodh sa bhliain 1939 a lua arís.[33] Is seoid í a thaispeánann cé mhéad eolais faoi shaintréithe canúna is féidir

[30] Ó Siadhail (1978).

[31] Féach, m.sh., Maclennon (1972), Ó Concheanainn (1967), Ó Cróinín (1967), Ó Murchú, M. (1967), Stenson agus Ó Ciardha (1986, 1987), and Watson (1972).

[32] Ó Dochartaigh, C. (1987).

[33] Dillon (1939).

a bhaint as téacs trí pharagraf atá breactha síos go cúramach ag taighdeoir.

D'fhéadfadh muid bailiúchán breá scéalta Heinrich Becker a chur leis an scéal gearr sin, scéalta a bhailigh sé in Inis Oírr sa bhliain 1939 ach nár foilsíodh go dtí an bhliain 1997, faoin teideal *I mBéal na Farraige: Scéalta agus Seanchas faoi Chúrsaí Feamainne ó Bhéal na nDaoine*.[34] Níl scéalta Becker i bhfogharscríobh, ach is féidir tréithe de dheilbhíocht agus de chomhréir na canúna a shonrú go héasca iontu.

Maidir le deilbhíocht an bhriathair sa chanúint, tá tráchtas M.A. Bhriain Uí Chatháin mar phríomhfhoinse luachmhar.[35] Bhain an Cathánach leas ní amháin as na foinsí atá pléite cheana (seachas taighde Becker) ach freisin as ábhar scríofa agus taifeadta ó Roinn Béaloideas Éireann, Ollscoil na hÉireann, Baile Átha Cliath, as ábhar taifeadta ó Raidió na Gaeltachta, agus as ábhar taifeadta a bhailigh sé féin in Inis Oírr sna blianta 1988–89. Cé go bhfuil córas litrithe na bhfoinsí go léir caighdeánaithe in aon fhogharscríobh amháin atá an-fhóinéimeach, pléitear gach sampla de bhriathar infhillte a tharlaíonn sna foinsí ar fad, agus leaganacha na n-ainmneacha briathartha go léir chomh maith.

Mar fhocal scoir, is fiú cúpla alt a lua: ceann a scríobh an Cathánach féin faoi thrí athrú a tháinig ar Ghaeilge Inis Oírr[36] agus ceann a scríobh Séamas Ó Murchú faoi fhuaimniú an logainm *Inis Oírr*.[37]

Mar a dúirt mé cheana féin, tá fúm toradh an taighde a rinne mé in Oileáin Árann a fhoilsiú faoi choimirce Scoil an Léinn Cheiltigh go gairid. Beidh toradh cheistneoir *LASID* ó bheirt i gCorrúch in Inis Mór le foilsiú, chomh maith le 518 tábla faisnéise bunaithe ar thoradh na n-abairtí trialacha, le cuid de na tréithe foghraíochta, deilbhíochta agus comhréire is suntasaí sna trí oileán le léamh orthu.

Beidh ábhar ó naonúr faisnéiseoirí in Inis Mór, ó bheirt in Inis Meáin, agus ó thriúr in Inis Oírr ar na táblaí — ábhar ó 14 duine san iomlán. Is é sin, beidh 37 tábla ann do gach ceann de 14 faisnéiseoir, agus an tsampláil scaipthe go tomhaiste thar na trí oileán. Seandaoine nó daoine meánaosta atá ina bhformór mór ach tá bean ocht mbliana déag as Inis Oírr ina measc ag comhlíonadh an phictiúir thar thrí ghlúin sna hoileáin.

Le linn an taighde allamuigh, thaifead mé 46 téip 90-nóiméad d' ábhar ó na faisnéiseoirí ar fad. Tá foireann de na caiséid sin ag Scoil an Léinn Cheiltigh, Institiúid Ard-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath, agus foirne eile ag Ollscoil na hÉireann, Gaillimh, ag Ollscoil na hÉireann, Corcaigh, agus ag University of California, Los Angeles. Tá fáilte roimh scoláire ar bith feidhm a bhaint astu.

Mar a dúirt mé ag tús an pháipéir seo, caithfidh muid an t-ábhar teangeolaíoch seo as Oileáin Árann a chur i gcomhthéacs i bhfad níos forleithne. Tá an *LASID* ann, ar ndóigh, mar phríomháis chuige sin. Bheifí ag scrúdú an ábhair go léir atá bailithe san atlas ó gach ceann de na pointí atá timpeall Chuan na Gaillimhe, ach mar thús maith ar an obair, ná déantar dearmad ar na léarscáileanna atá sa chéad imleabhar den atlas. D'fhéadfaí na léarscáileanna ar fad a rangú ina n-aicmí móra agus plé leis an ábhar go córasach.

Mar shampla, d'aicmigh mé féin na léarscáileanna mar a leanas: forainmneacha (3 cinn), réamhfhocail (3 cinn), forainmneacha réamhfhoclacha (5 cinn), briathra infhillte neamhri-

[34] Becker (1997).
[35] Ó Catháin (1990).
[36] Ó Catháin (1993).
[37] Ó Murchú, S. (1992).

alta (20 ceann), briathra infhillte rialta (13 cinn), briathra saora (9 gcinn), ainmfhocail bhriathartha (43 ceann), aidiachtaí briathartha (6 cinn), aidiachtaí (24 ceann), agus dobhriathartha (5 cinn). (B'iontach liom nach raibh ann i measc na n-aidiachtaí ach sampla amháin den fhoirm chomparáideach!)

Maidir le hainmfhocail, tá 228 ceann ann, agus is féidir iad sin a aicmiú ina réimsí séimeantacha ("semantic domains") sách furasta mar a leanas: téarmaí a bhaineann le daoine, le hainmhithe tís, le hainmhithe allta, le huirlisí agus le treallamh na feirme, le dreach na tíre, leis an aimsir, srl. Bheadh na fo-chatagóirí an-tábhachtach chomh maith: baill choirp, galair, luibheanna agus plandaí eile, srl.

Bhainfí eolas as na léarscáileanna ansin ní amháin chun léargas a fháil ar dháileadh focail leithleacha amháin ach ar dháileadh foirne focal a bhaineann le rud amháin chun íomhá sách téagartha, casta a fháil ar éabhlóid na Gaeilge thar cheantair fhairsinge — agus ar éabhlóid shaol na ndaoine chomh maith.

Tá dhá thráchtas M.A. scríofa le gairid ag mic léinn de chuid Ollscoil na hÉireann, Gaillimh, a thaispeanfas an saibhreas atá le baint as an atlas. I gceann acu, *Foirm na hAidiachta i gCanúintí na Gaeilge* le Eoin Ó Droighneáin,[38] tá trácht ar fhoirmeacha na n-aidiachtaí ag na pointí ar fad san atlas, ar a ndíochlaontaí, ar na hathruithe tosaigh a dhéantar (nó nach ndéantar!) orthu, ar an gcéim chomparáide, srl. Ar ndóigh, tá léargas iontach ar mheath an tuisil ghinidigh agus ar mheath infhilleadh na haidiachta maidir le hinscne nó le huimhir an ainmfhocail a rialaíonn í san fhrása ainmfhoclach.

Sa tráchtas eile, *Na Forainmneacha Réamhfhoclacha i gCanúintí na NuaGhaeilge in Éirinn* le Dáithí Mac Cárthaigh,[39] tá plé ar fhoirmeacha na bhforainmneach réamhfhoclach ag gach pointe san atlas. Ní gá a rá anseo go mbaineann an t-ábhar seo ar fad go dlúth leis na canúintí in Oileáin Árann, na forainmneacha réamhfhoclacha go háirithe, mar tá siad ar na príomhthréithe a scarann na canúintí sna oileáin óna chéile agus ó na canúintí ar an mórthír.

Maidir le scoláirí óga a mhealladh chun na hoibre atá le déanamh, féach nár ghá don bheirt scoláirí óga thuasluaite éisteacht mhaith a bheith acu chun obair thábhachtach chanúineolaíochta a dhéanamh le hábhar *LASID*. Theastaigh eolas maith uathu ar fhogharscríobh IPA agus ar fhogharscríobh Wagner, ach thabharfadh cúrsa leathbhliana san fhoghraíocht an méid sin do scoláire maith aibí le cluas mhaith éisteachta.

Bhí mé féin ag obair le scoláire óg eile ar thoradh an Detroit Dialect Survey (i mBéarla) breis agus tríocha bliain ó shin, ag éisteacht le téipeanna de chuid an tsuirbhé agus ag breacadh síos leaganacha de ghutaí áirithe nuair nach raibh ach cúrsa amháin foghraíochta déanta againn. Ar ndóigh, ní raibh na tascanna ro-chasta.

I dtaca le cluas mhaith éisteachta (nó "musical ear"), bhí mé ag caint an lá cheana le bean óg in Ollscoil na hÉireann, Corcaigh. Tá sí ag déanamh iarchéime sa cheol. Rugadh in Árainn í, ach tógadh i gConamara í, agus tá aithne mhaith aici ar mhuintir an dá áit. Tá fúithi taighde a déanamh faoi stíleanna ceoil in Árainn, ach ba léir go raibh cluas mhaith aici do na canúintí chomh maith, agus go raibh tuiscint mhaith aici ar chúrsaí na canúna i measc an aois óig.

Céard a theastódh óna leithéidí chun taighde tábhachtach a dhéanamh ar dháileadh

[38] Ó Droighneáin (1995).
[39] Mac Cárthaigh (1994).

tréithe áirithe i gceantair áirithe nó ar na hathruithe a bheadh ag teacht ar chaint an aois óig? Cúrsa foghraíochta? Cúrsa sochtheangeolaíochta? Agus treoir ó am go chéile ó scoláire oilte?

Maidir le foinsí eolais ar na canúintí in Oileáin Árann, tá siad ag dul i méid i gcónaí. Luaigh mé an t-ábhar ó Raidió na Gaeltachta a d'úsáid an scoláire Brian Ó Catháin. Maidir le hagallaimh a chuir lucht Raidió na Gaeltachta ar mhuintir Oileáin Árann, ba chóir go mbeadh an t-uafás acu ann faoi seo. Mar shampla, bhí Séamas "Jamesy" Ó Flaithearta ag cur agallaimh leathuair an chloig ar dhaoine as Inis Mór ar feadh an tsamhraidh seo caite ar a chlár *Ag Cuartaíocht in Árainn: Caint agus Comhrá as Inis Mór*, agus tá macallaí Oirthear na Gaillimhe agus Chinn Mhara le cloisteáil 'chuile Dhomhnach ar an gclár *Bailiúchán Mháirtín Uí Chadhain*.

Tá muid ar ais arís ag an tús, ag breathnú amach ar "Sprachlandschaft" Wagner. Tá fómhar le baint. Cé a dhéanfas an obair?[40]

(*This is a slightly revised version of an unpublished paper presented at the annual Tionól of the School of Celtic Studies, Dublin School of Advanced Studies, fall, 2000. The references given at the end of the original paper have been incorporated in the general lists of references at the end of this volume.*)

[40] Ar ndóigh, ó léadh an páipéar seo, tá na "Mná Fiontracha" ag obair go bisiúil in Árainn, ag taifeadadh béaloidis agus seanchais, á gcur ar mhiondioscaí, ag cruthú cartlann leictreonach, agus ag foilsiú foilseachán — obair áitiúil nach féidir a shárú. Is iad na mná a ghlac leis an dúshlán!

(English Translation)

SOURCES OF INFORMATION: GATHERING DETAILS ON THE DIALECTS IN THE ARAN ISLANDS

A lot of information on the dialects in the Aran Islands — both written and recorded material — has been gathered over a period of more than 100 years. Those sources which have supplied the most information on the phonology, grammar, and lexicon of the dialects in those islands over that period will be discussed in this paper, and their strengths and weaknesses as sources will be evaluated.

Reference will be made here and there to research which I myself have done in the Aran Islands — especially on Inis Mór, research which was done under the direction of Máirtín Ó Murchú and sponsored by the School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies. There will not be extensive discussion of the aims or the field methodology of that research, however, since that has been described rather thoroughly in a paper which I read in the spring of this year.[41]

First of all, however, I would like to lay out for you a linguistic landscape (or *Sprachlandschaft*, as Dr. Heinrich Wagner termed it[42]). In this case it is an imaginary landscape, but perhaps it will give you a clearer picture of the relationship between the different dialects in the Aran Islands as I understand it at present.

If the land and sea around Galway Bay were laid out visually according to the relationship between the dialects in the area, this is what you would see. There would be a peninsula jutting out a bit from Cois Fharraige in the direction of Inis Oírr, and the Inis Mór Irish speakers would be living in a group of townlands on that peninsula, but they would be quite near to Cois Fharraige itself. The Inis Meáin Irish speakers would be settled at the tip of the same peninsula, and there wouldn't be the space of as much as a townland between the two speech communities, so that one could say that Inis Mór and Inis Meáin speakers formed a single speech community.

As for the Inis Oírr Irish speakers, however, they would be settled on another peninsula on the opposite shore of Galway Bay, a peninsula which jutted out a bit from Ceann Boirne, with the coast of Co. Clare and its own dialects stretching southwards from it. On the other side of the peninsula, east of Ceann Boirne, there were be other dialects stretching eastward around the shore of Galway Bay in the direction of the city of Galway.

For example, there would be the dialect of Kinvarra a bit east of Ceann Boirne. There wouldn't be the strong Munster linguistic traits to be heard in the speech community there that would be heard on the peninsula to the west, but the linguistic details between the two speech communities would be similar enough.

As for dialect boundaries, you would barely notice a dialect boundary as far north as Galway, or even much further to the north, the northwest, or the northeast, deep in northern Connaught. A smooth gradation of linguistic traits rather than abrupt dialect

[41] Cf. Duran (2000). There is further description in Duran (1992, 1994, 1995 and 1996).
[42] Cf. Wagner (1981)

boundaries would seen everywhere, and, if Nicholas Williams were correct in his talk of *Gaeilge Ghá*ileonach, it would be as difficult to notice a clear dialect boundary eastward from Connaught to Dublin as it would be to notice one anywhere in northern Connaught.

As for the speakers of Connemara Irish dialects, however, they would be living on an enormous island in the sea directly west of the city of Galway. Rather than stretching due west from the city of Galway and little Minlough in its suburbs, the coast would instead stretch to the far northwest of Galway, past the eastern shore of what we see on the present maps as Lough Corrib. Even the Irish of Moycullen would be found on a separate little island lying between the seaside city Galway and the great island Connemara.

Of course, there would be great commerce between the people of the Ceann Boirne peninsula (speakers of Inis Oírr Irish) and the people of the Cois Fharraige peninsula (speakers of Inis Mór and Inis Meáin Irish). The influence of such trading over the water — and of course, frequent intermarriages — would leave its trace on the Irish of both peninsular populations. Nevertheless, the influence of peninsular Cois Fharraige Irish on the Irish of the people of the Ceann Boirne peninsula would be much stronger than the reverse influence, in such a way that it would be possible to say that a large group of people from the Cois Fharraige peninsula had settled in the Ceann Boirne peninsula at some time within the past couple of centuries.

With the help of that imaginary landscape, perhaps you will understand better the importance of some of the sources which I will mention in this paper as well as the interrelationships between these sources, because there is a strong interrelationship between all these sources, and they complement one another in a way that the researchers themselves could not be aware of as they carried out their research over the past hundred years. We will understand better, perhaps, the importance of the research of Prof. Tomás de Bhaldraithe for research on Aran Irish dialects — both his research on Cois Fharraige Irish and his research in Minlough, next to the city of Galway[43].

It is said that the monograph *Gaeilge Chois Fhairrge: An Deilbhíocht*[44] is the most comprehensive account ever done of any Irish dialect, and indeed we are fortunate to have it. For that reason, with this comprehensive account of the morphological traits of the dialect already available, as well as a substantial account of the dialect's phonology — *The Irish of Cois Fhairrge, Co. Galway: A Phonetic Study*[45], I did not consider it worthwhile to write similar accounts of the Irish of Inis Mór or of Inis Meáin, since it was clear since I began my research on Inis Mór that there was a very close relationship between the Irish of those two islands and the Irish of Cois Fharraige.

(As for the Irish of Inis Oírr, however, it was clear from the beginning that an extensive description of the Irish of that island would be needed, since the dialect is so different from those of the other two islands. Fortunately Brian Ó Catháin has made a good start on that description with his M.A. dissertation on the verb in Inis Oírr Irish.[46])

It could be said, therefore, that there are few dialectal traits to be found in the Irish of Inis Mór or of Inis Meáin which are not to be found in Prof. de Bhaldraithe's work on the

[43] Cf. de Bhaldraithe (1981, 1985).
[44] de Bhaldraithe (1953).
[45] de Bhaldraithe (1966)
[46] Ó Catháin (1990).

Cois Fharraige dialect, but it is in the prominence or in the frequency of those traits in the speech of the local people that you would most see the differences between the dialects of those two islands and the dialect of Cois Fharraige.

A trait which would be dominant in Cois Fharraige Irish would perhaps be recessive or even rare in the islands, and the reverse would apply for traits which were characteristic of island speech. For example, you will often find a linguistic form which is prominent on Inis Mór footnoted at the base of a page in *Gaeilge Chois Fhairrge: An Deilbhíocht* as one of a half-dozen secondary variants of a linguistic form in Cois Fharraige Irish.[47]

On that theme, it is advisable for the scholar doing research in the Aran Islands not to claim that this or that local linguistic trait is not to be found in Connemara, since it is clear to me that there are "Aran" traits to be heard from Connemara Irish speakers on Raidió na Gaeltachta which have never, to my knowledge, been mentioned in descriptions of Connemara Irish. The oddest things can pop up, and I'm sure that I have heard the "Aran" pronoun *muinn* instead of the expected variant *muid* from at least one person from Connemara on Raidió na Gaeltachta.

I had long thought that the variants **[sãːvrə]** and **[sãːmrə]** (= *samhradh*) were unique traits of Inis Mór Irish, but the second variant is mentioned as attested in the Irish of Carna by Ruairí Ó hUiginn in his description of the dialects of Connaught in the work *Stair na Gaeilge*.[48] It is worth recalling here something that a woman from Inis Meáin told me — that she had read *Cré na Cille*, and there was no word or expression in the book which she had not heard at one time or another on Inis Meáin itself.

Now that we have made an imaginary geolinguistic tour of Cois Fharraige and of the islands off its shore, let us go now from island to island, examining the principal sources of information available on the Irish of the Aran Islands. Let us start with Inis Mór, an island on which we have information reaching back more than a hundred years, from the time when the German scholar Franz Nikolaus Finck and the Danish scholar Holger Pedersen starting doing research on the Inis Mór dialect.

By his own account, Finck was engaged in field research in the three islands for over a year during the years 1894-95[49], but it is clear from the samples which he gives of the dialect and from the numerous references that he makes to his principal informant Mark Ó Flaherty (Marcus Ó Flaithearta) in Cill Rónáin that it was on Inis Mór that he actually did the bulk of this fieldwork.[50] Pedersen came at the end of the year 1895, when Finck had already gone, and he spent four and a half months doing research. Between the two of them, we have an amazing richness of linguistic data.

I was a bit hard on Finck in another paper, and I would like to rectify the situation in this paper. I said then that he had mixed data from the three islands in order to describe a putative "Aran dialect", an opinion which Brian Ó Catháin had voiced as well. In addition, I had doubts about his ability to discriminate between certain sounds, for example, the consonant cluster **[ŋg]** in the word *teanga*, a cluster which he had at times reduced to the

[47] It is worth drawing attention here to the importance of those many variant forms in the footnotes — especially for dialectologists concerned with neighbouring dialects.

[48] Ó hUiginn (1994), 552.

[49] He himself says in the notes to his two-volume work "...dass ich vier mal so lange auf Aran war, als Pedersen, d.h., den aufenthalt auf allen drei inseln zusammengerechnet". See Finck (1899), II, 261.

[50] Finck (1899).

single consonant [ŋ]. This is a linguistic trait which is found on the mainland to the east, but it is a trait which I would not associate with the Irish of the islands, and I thought that perhaps the phonology of German was interfering with his perception of Irish sounds. Another thing which made me suspicious was the synthetic or inflected verb forms which were listed in the verbal paradigms but which were not exemplified by examples in the grammar or in the lexicon.

I have now come to an entirely different conclusion. In my opinion we have a valuable record from Finck of the dialect of people in the Aran Islands over a hundred years ago, but it is not a record of the dialects of the three islands — it is a record of the eastern Inis Mór dialect. He gives ten examples of linguistic items from Inis Oírr in the final notes in his lexicon, but there is only a single example which would ever cause you to think that he had ever set a foot on Inis Oírr: the verb form *brifim* ([**bʹrʹɪfʹɪmʹ**] = *bruithim*), a form with the future tense marker [**fʹ**] in it, though the verb exemplified is actually in the habitual present tense.

One could accept that he had been on Inis Oírr and that he had elicited samples from the people there, but it is not clear that he ever elicited a natural text of the spoken language from them, since, if he had, even the shortest text would be studded with Munster dialect traits. For example, note the short tale — consisting of three paragraphs in phonetic transcription — which Myles Dillon elicited on Inis Oírr in the year 1932, a text to which I will refer later.[51] As for Inis Meáin, however, not a single example from Inis Meáin is mentioned by Finck.

On the other hand, there are numerous examples of linguistic traits in his examples which can be clearly identified as present-day eastern Inis Mór traits, for example the long mid-vowel [**eː**] instead of the diphthong [**iᵊ**] in words such as [**ʃeːr**] (= *siar*). Also, he mentions his informant Mark O' Flaherty in Cill Rónáin frequently though he rarely mentions an informant anywhere else on Inis Mór. By the way, it is clear from his examples that the analytical verb forms so prevalent in the speech of eastern Inis Mór today were to be heard already a hundred years ago (for example, *ní thagann mé* instead of *ní thagaim*).

As for his acoustic perception, I must say that his more bizarre examples no longer disturb me a great deal. Perhaps he really did elicit [**tʃæŋə**] from someone instead of [**tʃæŋgə**] or [**ʃæfoːg**][52] instead of [**ʃæfoːdʹ**]. Nevertheless, it is clear that it was difficult for him to distinguish palatalised consonants from their velarised counterparts in word-medial and word-final position in the case of liquid, nasal and labial consonants, a problem that Pedersen had as well.[53] But in general, I believe that that particular problem of Finck's causes no great difficulties for the dialectologist.

I am also convinced that Finck correctly heard the affricates [**tʃ**] and [**ʤ**] instead of their normal palatalised counterparts [**tʹ**] and [**dʹ**], since those affricates are still endemic in local speech from Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór eastward through Inis Oírr. The only area in which I suspect that he went astray, perhaps, is in his forms *gə cigə/ gə jigə* (= */go/ tuige*[54]), with the affricates [**tʃ**] or [**ʤ**] in place of the velarised consonant [**t**] in *tuige*. Pedersen's notes

[51] Dillon (1939).
[52] Finck (1899), II, 229.
[53] Note, for example, the discussion of that problem by the editor Ole Munch-Pedersen in his introduction to Pedersen's folktale collection *Scéalta Mháirtín Neile*. Cf. *Scéalta...* (1994), xlvi-lv.
[54] This of course is the historical form *Cad chuige...?*

have [**t**] for *tuige*, and I elicited only [**t**] from my informants in Corrúch in the same form.

As for the synthetic or inflected forms in Finck's verbal paradigms which have no examples outside of the paradigms themselves, they are to be found abundantly in the above-mentioned folktales which Pedersen collected.[55]

There is one form in the paradigms, however, of which there is no example to be found anywhere: the vowel sequence [**oːɑː**],[56] representing the inflectional ending *-ófá* on second conjugation conditional verb forms. Finck gives one example of the inflectional ending *-ófá* in his lexicon, and Pedersen has at least three examples in his *Scéalta Mháirtín Neile*, but it is the same variant which I always elicited in the Aran Islands: [**ɑː**], e.g., [**ə gʹæːNɑː**] (= an gceannófá?).

Despite those minor problems, it could be said that Finck has recorded the phonology and morphology of the eastern Inis Mór dialect but that what we have from Pedersen in the published work *Scéalta Mháirtín Neile* is not only the morphology but also the syntax of the dialect, though not the phonology as Pedersen recorded it.[57]

Of course, as scholars we are greatly indebted to Mr. Munch-Pedersen for the careful editorial work he has done on the tales which Holger Pedersen transcribed. Because of that work, the tales recorded by Pedersen, comprising more than 300 pages of texts in natural speech, can be added to the voluminous material which Finck published in his own two-volume work — more than 200 pages describing the phonology and grammar of the dialect in the first volume and almost 350 pages on the lexicon in the second volume, with the lexical items themselves often embedded in natural sentences as examples.[58]

Pedersen collected most of his material from Máirtín Neile Ó Conghaile in Baile na Creige, which is in the centre of the island, but in the eastern half. On the other hand, as mentioned earlier, Finck collected his own material from Marcus Ó Flaithearta (Mark O' Flaherty) in Cill Rónáin.[59]

As it happens, when I came to Inis Mór in the summer of the year 1990 to begin dialect research there, I did by far the greater part of my own fieldwork in Corrúch, the townland immediately to the west of Baile na Creige and the place in which my grandfather was born.

I also collected tape-recorded material from other informants, who had been born in townlands the length of the island, but since my grandmother's relatives are found everywhere in Cill Rónáin, I became especially acquainted with the dialects in precisely the two places in which Pedersen and Finck had done their research. It could be said, therefore, that not only has the Irish of Inis Mór been documented for the past hundred years but also that the Irish of virtually the same townlands has been documented for that period.

I myself collected material from nine informants on Inis Mór. I won't discuss that fieldwork at length here since there is an extensive account of the work to be found in the paper mentioned at the beginning of this paper.[60] It is sufficient to say here that I administered the

[55] See *Scéalta...* (1994).
[56] Given here in IPA transcription.
[57] In fact, even though Pedersen recorded all the tales in phonetic transcription, the editor Ole Munch-Pedersen had the tales printed "in an orthography which is based primarily on the official Standard Irish of the present-day [my translation]". Cf. *Scéalta...* (1994), xlvi-lv.
[58] The notes and the index are included in the last figure.
[59] Marcus worked as an informant for Pedersen as well for a period of time.
[60] Duran (2000).

questionnaire in the *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects (LASID)*[61] to a brother and sister in Corrúch, and that I collected a great quantity of other information from them as well.

I also had them translate test sentences in English to Irish, and I did the same later to seven other informants throughout the island in order to elicit linguistic traits which are characteristic of the island from them. The responses to 125 of those sentences from the nine informants will be published soon.

A sociolinguistic questionnaire was also administered to all the informants, and the tape-recorded responses to that questionnaire yield a sample of continuous natural speech from each informant. It is that material from Inis Mór which forms the bulk of the tape-recorded material on the 46 90-minute cassettes which I collected from all three islands during five summers of fieldwork.

Another researcher, Pádraigín Clancy, has tape-recorded material. She is a young scholar at National University of Ireland, Dublin, who is writing her master's thesis in folklore, and she has spent years on the island. She has tape-recorded folktales from the best storytellers all over Inis Mór, as well as a lot of other folklore, and I hope that that valuable collection will be available to scholars soon.

It is also worth mentioning some folktales which Seosamh Ó Flanagáin, a schoolteachter in Eoghanacht, Inis Mór, collected. He himself died tragically in the year 1939.[62] They are not transcribed phonetically, however, and it would be difficult to say how many emendations have been made to the material which he collected.

In addition, there are a number of articles published in the journal *Eigse* on linguistic traits of the Inis Mór dialect which are worth mentioning: one written by Liam Ó Dochartaigh[63], another written by Brian Ó Catháin[64], and a third written by Séamas Ó Murchú[65].

As for Inis Meáin Irish, the material published in *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects* is by far the most important material. Myles Dillon was the investigator who administered the *LASID* questionnaire there in the early 1950's. He was a scholar who was well acquainted with the dialects in the Aran Islands and with phonetic transcription.

It was Heinrich Wagner, though, who administered the *LASID* questionnaire to informants on Inis Oírr in the same time period, and it is worth remembering that fact when we compare the responses to the *LASID* questionnaire in the two islands, because there is always the chance that in the case of any linguistic differences we might note between the two islands, we would not be noticing a linguistic difference between the two islands but a perceptual difference between the two investigators instead. Perhaps the material which I have gathered in the two islands — both the tape-recorded material and the material which is to be published — will help resolve some of the questions which could be raised regarding the *LASID* material.

As a parting word on Inis Meáin material, it is worth mentioning the little book written by the scholar Mícheál Ó Siadhail, *Téarmaí Tógála agus Tís as Inis Meáin*[66]. The book

[61] Cf. Wagner (1981, 1982).
[62] Cf. Ó Flanagáin (1932, 1934, and 1939).
[63] Ó Dochartaigh, L. (1973).
[64] Ó Catháin (1993b).
[65] Ó Murchú, S. (1991).
[66] Ó Siadhail (1978).

describes both older and newer items of material culture in modern-day households on Inis Meáin and the Irish terms used for those items.

As for Inis Oírr, it is again the material in the *LASID* which is our principal source for the Irish of that island. Since Heinrich Wagner himself carried out the investigation there, it is worth saying a couple of words here regarding the material in the *LASID* as a whole and its presentation. It is worth reading the published reviews of the atlas as we evaluate the material itself.[67]

The most minute examination of the *LASID* material, perhaps, was the evaluation done by Cathair Ó Dochartaigh on the material which Wagner himself gathered in Ulster.[68] Whatever fault one might find with the transcription of the material in other places, one may place great confidence in Wagner's transcriptions of the Ulster dialects, according to Ó Dochartaigh. This vote of confidence in Wagner's transcription is very important as we examine the material not only from Inis Oírr but also that of the districts on the adjacent mainland eastward around Galway Bay and in Co. Clare as well.

There is one thing, however, that we will notice immediately upon examining the Inis Oírr material in the atlas — examples of Irish which would horrify any teacher of Irish. I myself noticed examples in it such as *an bó, an caora, budóig teirim, cúig bó* and *adharc 'm bó*[69] in the first 35 items, without going any further. Among the six examples from Inis Oírr given by Finck are *dreáthair (sic) mo mhnaoi* and *plúr na mbean*, with *mhnaoi* and *mbean* as genitive singular and plural forms, respectively, of the noun *bean*.[70]

I myself encountered odd examples on Inis Oírr such as *"Ab' iú Séamas?" (= "An tú Séamas?")* and *"'B' é iascaire 'ú?" (= "An iascaire thú?")* from a man born in the year 1935 and from a woman born in the year 1949, but I elicited nothing of the sort from a young woman born in 1972. It is said that the people of Inis Oírr were on the point of abandoning Irish as a community language at the beginning of this past century, but that when the new independent government made the grants for Irish-speaking households available, the people of the island kept the language after that. Are these strange linguistic constructions a legacy of the weakening of linguistic competence in Irish in the generation which lived at the turn of the last century?

Some other important sources of information on Inis Oírr Irish must be mentioned. First of all, it would be fitting to mention again the folktale which Myles Dillon transcribed in phonetic script and which was published in the year 1939.[71] It is a jewel which illustrates how much information on the characteristic traits of a dialect can be extracted from a three-paragraph text which has been carefully transcribed by a field researcher.

We could add Heinrich Becker's fine collection of tales *I mBéal na Farraige: Scéalta agus Seanchas faoi Chúrsaí Feamainne ó Bhéal na nDaoine*[72] to the aforementioned short tale. He collected the tales on Inis Oírr in the year 1939, but they weren't published until the year 1997. His tales are not phonetically transcribed, but it is possible to note easily morphological and syntactic traits of the dialect in them.

[67] See, for example, Maclennon (1972), Ó Concheanainn (1967), Ó Cróinín (1967), Ó Murchú, M. (1967), Stenson agus Ó Ciardha (1986, 1987), and Watson (1972).
[68] Ó Dochartaigh, C. (1987).
[69] I have transcribed these in Roman characters.
[70] These are also transcribed here in Roman characters.
[71] Dillon (1939).
[72] Becker (1997).

As for the morphology of the verb in the dialect, Brian Ó Catháin's M.A. thesis is a valuable prime source.[73] Ó Catháin used not only the sources discussed above (excluding Becker's work) but also written and tape-recorded material from the Department of Irish Folklore, National University of Ireland, Dublin, tape-recorded material from Raidió na Gaeltachta, and material which he personally tape-recorded on Inis Oírr in the years 1988-1989. Even though the orthographies of all the sources are transcribed into a single transcription which is more phonemic than phonetic, every example of an inflected verb which can be found in any of the sources is discussed, as well as the variants of all the verbal nouns.

As a final note, it is worth mentioning a couple of articles: one written by Ó Catháin on three linguistic changes which have occurred in Inis Oírr Irish,[74] and one written by Séamas Ó Murchú on the pronunciation of the place-name *Inis Oírr*.[75]

As I mentioned above, I intend to publish the results of my research in the Aran Islands soon, under the auspices of the School of Celtic Studies. There will be the responses to the *LASID* questionnaire from the two informants in Corrúch on Inis Mór, as well as 518 linguistic tables based on the results of the test sentences, with some of the most interesting phonetic, morphological and syntactic traits in the three islands displayed on them.

There will be material from nine informants on Inis Mór, from two on Inis Meáin, and from three on Inis Oírr on the tables — material from 14 informants in all. That is to say, there will be 37 linguistic tables for each of the 14 informants, and the sampling will be spread in a measured way over the three islands. The overwhelming majority of the informants will be elderly or middle-aged, but there is a young woman of 18 years of age from Inis Oírr among them, completing a portrait of three generations in the islands.

During the fieldwork, I recorded 46 90-minute tape cassettes of material from all the informants. There is one set of those cassettes at the School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies, and there are other sets at National University of Ireland, Galway, at National University of Ireland, Cork, and at University of California, Los Angeles. Any scholar is welcome to use them.

As I said at the beginning of this paper, we have to place this linguistic material from the Aran Islands in a much broader geographical context. For this purpose, we have the *LASID* as a principal resource. Certainly one would scrutinise all the material gathered in the third volume of the atlas from each one of the points around Galway Bay, but to get the work off to a really good start, one should not forget the maps in the first volume of the atlas. The maps could arranged in large groups according to their subject matter and dealt with systematically.

For example, I arranged the maps as follows: pronouns (3 maps), prepositions (3 maps), prepositional pronouns (5 maps), irregular inflected verbs (20 maps), regular inflected verbs (13 maps), impersonal verb forms (9 maps), verbal nouns (43 maps), verbal adjectives[76] (6 maps), adjectives (24 maps), and adverbial forms (5 maps). (I was amazed that there was only one example of a comparative adjectival form among all the adjectives!)

[73] Ó Catháin (1990).
[74] Ó Catháin (1993).
[75] Ó Murchú, S. (1992).
[76] That is to say, past participial verb forms.

As for nouns, there are 228 of them, and it is possible to arrange them according to semantic domains rather easily as follows: terms which refer to human beings, to domestic animals, to wild species of animals, to tools and farm equipment, to landscape features, to weather phenomena, etc. The subcategories would be equally important: body parts, diseases, herbs and other plants, etc.

One could then extract information from the maps not only to get a perspective on the geographical distribution of particular words but also on the distribution of whole sets of words which refer to a single entity in order to get a more complex but tangible image of the evolution of the Irish language across extensive territories — and on the evolution of the life of the people as well.

There are two M.A. theses which were written lately by students at the National University of Ireland, Galway, which illustrate the wealth of information which can be extracted from the atlas. In one of them, *Foirm na hAidiachta i gCanúintí na Gaeilge* by Eoin Ó Droighneáin,[77] the forms of the adjectives at all the points in Ireland covered by the atlas are discussed, as well as their declensions, their initial mutations (or the lack of them!), their comparative forms, etc. Of course, there is a wonderful account of the decay of the genitive forms of the adjective and of the decay of the inflection of the adjective in regard to the gender or number of the noun which governs it in a noun phrase.

In the other thesis, *Na Forainmneacha Réamhfhoclacha i gCanúintí na NuaGhaeilge in Éirinn* by Dáithí Mac Cárthaigh,[78] the prepositional pronouns at each point of the atlas are discussed. It goes without saying that the material in both theses have to do very directly with the dialects in the Aran Islands — particularly the prepositional pronouns, since these are the principal linguistic traits which distinguish the dialects in the islands from one another and from the dialects on the mainland.

As for inviting young scholars to participate in the work which is yet to be done, note that it was not necessary for the two young scholars mentioned above to have keen acoustic perception in order to do important linguistic research using *LASID* materials. They needed to be very familiar with the International Phonetic Alphabet and with Wagner's orthography, but a single semester course in field methods in phonology would provide such training to an able scholar with a good ear for dialects.

I myself worked with another young scholar on the material from the Detroit Dialect Survey (in English) more than thirty years ago, listening to the survey tapes and transcribing vowel variants when we had done only a single course in phonetics beforehand. Of course, the assigned tasks were not very complicated!

As for having good acoustic perception, or a "musical ear", I was talking the other day with a young woman at National University of Ireland, Cork. She is doing a graduate degree in music. She was born on Inis Mór, but she was raised in Connemara, and she is well acquainted with the people of both areas. She intends to do research on styles of music on Inis Mór, but it was obvious that she had a good ear for the dialects as well, and that she had a good understanding of matters relating to dialect among younger people.

What would be required to enable people like her to do important research on the distribution of certain linguistic traits in certain areas, or on the changes which might be

[77] Ó Droighneáin (1995).
[78] Mac Carthaigh (1994).

occurring in the speech of the younger generation? A phonetics course? A sociolinguistics course? And guidance from time to time from a trained scholar?

As for the sources of information on the dialects in the Aran Islands, they are always growing in number. I have mentioned the material from Raidió na Gaeltachta which the scholar Brian Ó Catháin used. As for the interviews which Raidió na Gaeltachta have done with Aran islanders, there must be an immense number of them by now. For example, Séamas "Jamesy" Ó Flaithearta was conducting interviews lasting a half-hour with people on Inis Mór during the past summer on his program *Ag Cuartaíocht in Árainn: Caint agus Comhrá as Inis Mór*, and there are echoes of east Galway and of Kinvarra to be heard every Sunday on the program *Bailiúchán Mháirtín Uí Chadhain*.

We are back at the beginning, looking out on Wagner's "Sprachlandshaft". There is a harvest to bring in. Who will labor in the field?[79]

(*This is a slightly revised version of an unpublished paper presented at the annual Tionól of the School of Celtic Studies, Dublin School of Advanced Studies, fall, 2000. The references given at the end of the original paper have been incorporated in the general lists of references at the end of this volume.*)

[79] Since this paper was originally read, the group of Inis Mór women known as "Mná Fiontracha" have been at work productively on Inis Mór, tape-recording folklore and oral history, putting the recorded material on compact discs, creating an electronic archive, and publishing monographs — providing the kind of local initiative which is so invaluable. It is the women who have risen to the challenge!

RIALTACHT, RANDAMACHT AGUS MIONPHATRÚIN: AG DÉANAMH ANAILÍSE AR ÁBHAR CANÚINEOLAÍOCHTA AS OILEÁIN ÁRANN

Breis agus fiche bliain ó shin, d'iarr Scoil an Léinn Cheiltigh, Institiúid Ard-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath, orm suirbhé a dhéanamh ar na canúintí in Oileáin Árann. Ar ndóigh, chuir an scoláire Eilbhéiseach Heinrich Wagner ceistneoir *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects (LASID)* ar fhaisnéiseoirí in Inis Oírr daichead bliain roimhe sin, agus chuir an scoláire Éireannach Myles Dillon an ceistneoir céanna ar fhaisnéiseoirí in Inis Meáin faoin am céanna.

Ach ní dhearna siad aon taighde in Árainn féin (Inis Mór) ag an am sin, mar, dar le Heinrich Wagner, nárbh fhiú an obair a dhéanamh ó bhí an chanúint chomh lag sin ann. D'fhág sin nach raibh aon taighde teangeolaíoch déanta in Inis Mór ó bhlianta deireannacha an naoú aois déag, nuair a tháinig an scoláire Danmhargach Holger Pedersen agus an scoláire Gearmánach, Franz Nikolaus Finck, faoi seach, go hÁrainn ar chuairteanna taighde faoin mbliain 1894/1895.

Nuair a thosaigh mé ar an taighde in Árainn sa bhliain 1990, ba léir ó thoradh an taighde a foilsíodh cheana ar na canúintí in Oileáin Árann go raibh gaol gairid ann idir na canúintí in Inis Mór agus in Inis Meáin, ní amháin lena chéile ach le canúint Chois Fharraige ar an mórthír freisin.

Maidir le canúint Inis Oírr, ba léir go raibh gaol gairid idir sin agus canúintí Chontae an Chláir ar thaobh amháin agus canúintí Chuan na Gaillimhe ar an taobh eile ó Chinn Mhara soir ó thuaidh go Mionloch, lámh le Gaillimh, cibé baint a bheadh aici le canúintí an dá oileán eile.

Bhí mar phríomhfhoinsí eolais agam ag an am sin ní amháin na ceistneoirí as Inis Meáin agus as Inis Oírr a foilsíodh i *LASID* agus an leabhar *Die Araner Mundart* le Franz Nikolaus Finck, saothar a foilsíodh sa bhliain 1899, ach bhí saothar eile tábhachtach ann chomh maith — *Cuntas Sionchrónach ar Mhoirfeolaíocht an Bhriathair i nGaeilge Inis Oírr, Oileáin Árann, Co. na Gaillimhe*, tráchtas M.A. a scríobh an scoláire Éireannach Brian Ó Catháin.

Maidir le taifeadadh na canúna in Inis Mór, níorbh fhiú liom aithris a dhéanamh ar shaothair Thomáis de Bhaldraithe ar chanúint Chois Fharraige — go háirithe ar an leabhar toirtiúil luachmhar *Gaeilge Chois Fhairrge: an Deilbhíocht*, mar ba léir dom ón tús agus mé ag cur cheistneoir *LASID* ar bheirt fhaisnéiseoirí i gCorrúch i lár an oileáin nach móide go mbeadh mórán difríochtaí tábhachtacha ar chor ar bith idir canúint Inis Mór agus canúint Chois Fharraige, sa chaoi go bhféadfadh saothair Thomáis de Bhaldraithe a bheith mar bhunsaothair, lena leaganacha canúnacha iomadúla a mbeadh saintréithe Inis Mór agus Inis Meáin mar shainchuid díobh.

Ar ndóigh, fuair mé m'oiliúint mar shochtheangeolaí — ní mar chanúineolaí, agus tá na sochtheangeolaithe cleachtach ar thaighde a dhéanamh ar dhornán tréithe — minic go leor ar thréith nó dhó — a scarfadh aicmí den phobal céanna óna chéile. Is iondúla a bhainfeadh

na difríochtaí sin leis an bhfoghraíocht, agus scarfadh na miondifríochtaí sin cainteoirí an phobail óna chéile de réir bunús eitneach, de réir creidimh, de réir glúine nó aoise, nó de réir ghnéas an chainteora.

Dá bhrí sin, agus mé do mo threorú ag muintir Inis Mór, cheap mé nach mbeadh orm ach teacht ar an leathdhosaen tréithe a scarfadh Inis Mór agus Inis Meáin óna chéile, agus a scarfadh dhá cheann Inis Mór óna chéile, ó bhí an-chaint ag muintir Inis Mór ar "mhuintir an Chinn Thoir" agus ar "mhuintir an Chinn Thiar" — ach go háirithe ar chothromú agus ar fhadú na ndé-fhoghar *ia* agus *ua* ag "muintir an Chinn Thoir". Is é sin, i leaba "Gabhfaidh mé siar an Bóthar Ó Thuaidh", chloisfeá "Gabhfaidh mé séar an Bóthar Ó Thó" uathu. Maidir le canúint Inis Oírr, bhí a fhios agam cheana gur rud eile ar fad a bheadh inti sin.

Rinne mé taighde in Inis Mór amháin i samhradh na bliana 1990, ag cur cheistneoir *LASID* ar bheirt fhaisnéiseoirí — deartháir agus deirfiúr — i gCorrúch, mar a dúirt mé cheana. Chuir ilghnéitheacht na bhfreagraí iontas orm, agus thuig mé go bhféadfadh cúrsaí a bheith níos casta ná mar a cheap mé ar dtús.

Chuir mé ceistneoir eile ar na faisnéiseoirí i gCorrúch, agus, ina dhiaidh sin, ar leathdhosaen faisnéiseoirí eile in Inis Mór, idir ghaolta agus chairde. D'iarr mé ar na faisnéiseoirí breis agus 40 abairt Bhéarla a aistriú go Gaeilge, abairtí a mbeadh saintréithe na canúna go tiubh iontu a scarfadh muintir an Chinn Thoir agus muintir an Chinn Thiar óna chéile agus a léireodh an teorainn idir dhá leath an oileáin.

An bhliain dár gcionn, rinne mé an rud céanna in Inis Meáin agus in Inis Oírr. Ach bhí ceistneoir eile arís agam chomh maith, ceistneoir a mbeadh tréithe ón dá oileán thoir iontu. Faoi dheireadh an dara samhradh, bhí an dá cheistneoir sin, le 125 abairt triallach le haistriú go Gaeilge iontu beirt, curtha agam ar fhaisnéiseoirí ar fud na dtrí oileán.[80]

Chun ciall a bhaint as ilghnéitheacht na bhfreagraí ar fad, leag mé na tréithe foghraíochta, deilbhíochta agus comhréire amach ar tháblaí faisnéise, le comparáid chruinn a dhéanamh idir na leaganacha iomadúla a bhain leis na tréithe uile go léir.

Sa deireadh thiar thall, bhí orm táblaí faisnéise a leagan amach a bhainfeadh leis na faisnéiseoirí éagsúla de réir an bhaile fhearainn ina rugadh iad, ba chuma cén áit ar phós siad isteach ann ina dhiaidh sin. Ansin, sheas na patrúin amach go soiléir.

Ar ndóigh, mar gheall ar líon na sonraí a bhí faoi scrúdú agam, bhí orm roinnt de na faisnéiseoirí a fhágáil ar leataobh, sa chaoi nach raibh ach 14 faisnéiseoir agam thar na trí oileán chun éagsúlacht na gcanúintí a léiriú i ndeireadh na dála.

Ba léir ón tús go raibh an ceart ag muintir Árann faoi na défhoghair *ia* agus *ua* a luaigh mé cheana, agus go raibh an teorainn in Inis Mór idir An Ceann Thoir agus An Ceann Thiar, a bheagán nó a mhórán, idir Corrúch sa Cheann Thoir agus Fearann an Choirce sa Cheann Thiar.

Agus d'fhéadfá na trí oileán a scaradh amach go néata óna chéile ach éisteacht le fuaimniú an chéad chonsain i leaganacha dearfacha agus diúltacha na haimsire fáistiní sa bhriathar *Tabhair*. Bheadh *tiúra mé/ní thiúra mé* ag muintir Inis Mór, *tiúra mé/ní thúra mé* ag muintir Inis Meáin, agus *túra mé/ní thúra mé* ag muintir Inis Oírr.

Ach d'fhéadfadh cúrsaí a bheith níos casta. Más mian linn breathnú ar leaganacha den fhoirm bhriathartha dhiúltach chaighdeánach *ní dhearna*, feicfidh muid an leagan *níor rinne*

[80]Chuir mé ceistneoir eile fós orthu an bhliain ina dhiaidh sin, ach faoin am sin, bhí mo dhá dhóthain agam le plé leis, agus níor bhain mé leas ceart riamh as faisnéis sin an tríú bliain.

(nó *ní rinne*) ina háit ag síneadh soir in Inis Mór ó Bhungabhla go hEochaill in oirthear an oileáin. Ach tiocfaidh muid go tobann ar an leagan *ní dhearna* freisin ag Corrúch sa Cheann Thoir agus arís ag Cill Rónáin agus ag Cill Éinne, na háiteanna is faide soir in Inis Mór.

Má leanann muid ar aghaidh go hInis Meáin, tiocfaidh muid ar *níor rinne* arís, agus gan aon trácht ar *ní dhearna*, ach in Inis Oírr, ní bheidh ceachtar den dá leagan sin ann ach leaganacha cosúil le *níor dhein* nó *níor dhion* ina n-áit.

Ach maidir le castacht, céard a déarfá leis na mionphatrúin sna leaganacha éagsúla seo den fhrása aidiachtach comparáideach *níos raimhre* ó Inis Mór féin? Gheobhfá *níos roímhre*, leis an nguta fada [**iː**] sa chéad siolla, ag Bungabhla agus ag Eoghanacht sa cheantar is faide siar, ach soir uaidh sin, i lár an oileáin ó An Sruthán trí Chorrúch, gheobhfá leagan eile ar fad — *níos roimire/roimre*, le guta gearr, neodrach sa chéad siolla, agus an consan ina dhiaidh gan séimhiú. Ach ón deirfiúr ag Corrúch, gheobhfá leagan eile fós, *níos raidhmre*, le de-fhoghrú an chéad ghuta, ach gan séimhiú arís ar an gconsan a leanann é. Sna bailte fearainn is faide soir, ó Eochaill go Cill Éinne, gheobhfá na leaganacha *níos roimhre/reimhre* le guta gearr arís, ach le séimhiú ar an gconsan ina dhiaidh.

In Inis Meáin, gheobhfá an leagan *níos reimhre* arís, chomh maith le ceann sách cosúil leis, *níos raimhire*, ach in Inis Oírr, gheobhfá leagan eile fós ón mbeirt fhaisnéiseoirí is sine, *níos raidhmhre*, le dé-fhoghrú an chéad ghuta agus séimhiú ar an gconsan ina dhiaidh. Ach fan — bheadh leagan eile le fáil ón bhfaisnéiseoir is óige ann, ceann a chuala muid cheana sa cheantar is faide soir in Inis Mór, *níos roimhre*.

Ní mór dom a admháil, ámh, go bhfuil an tsraith leaganacha seo — leaganacha atá chomh cosúil sin lena chéile ó bhaile fearainn go baile fearainn — go bhfuil an tsraith seo eisceachtúil, ach mar sin féin, léiríonn an sampla seo tábhacht na samplaí indibhidiúla a bhailigh mé ó na 14 faisnéiseoir éagsúla thar na trí oileán.

Ach má bhí castacht ag baint leis an mionchanúineolaíocht ("microdialectology"), bhí castacht de shaghas eile le fáil chomh maith. Dá mbreathnófá ar an bhfoirm réamhfhoclach *tharstu*, thiocfá ar éagsúlacht a gcuirfeadh sochtheangeolaí an-spéis inti.

Gheobhfá an leagan *thartab* in Inis Mór ó cheann ceann an oileáin, ach gheobhfá dhá leagan eile chomh maith sna bailte fearainn is faide soir sa sampla: *thartu* ó fhear i gCill Rónáin agus *tharab* ó bhean i gCill Éinne.

In Inis Meáin, ní bhfaigheá ach an leagan *tharab*, leagan a fuair muid cheana ón mbean i gCill Éinne, ach anseo gheobhfá é ón bhfear chomh maith le ón mbean.[81]

In Inis Oírr, gheobhfá an dá leagan *thartu* agus *tharab* arís, agus arís, baineann an leagan *thartu* leis an bhfear, agus baineann an leagan *tharab* leis an mbeirt bhan — go díreach mar a bhí an scéal sa cheantar is faide soir in Inis Mór.

Ach ní leor sin; tugann an cainteoir is óige, bean ocht mbliana déag d'aois, sampla eile freisin — an leagan scartha *thar iad*.

Cibé míniú a bheadh ar na fíricí sin, bheadh amhras ar an sochtheangeolaí go mbaineann na leaganacha sin ní amháin leis an áit inar rugadh an cainteoir, ach le gnéas an chainteora agus le glúin nó aois an chainteora chomh maith.

B'fhéidir go mbeadh amhras oraibhse faoi thábhacht an ghnéis sna samplaí seo. Dá bhrí sin, tabharfaidh mé sampla eile daoibh. Maidir leis an dá fhrása seo *mo dheirfiúr* agus *a*

[81] Is minic nach bhfaightear difríocht de réir gnéise in Inis Meáin nuair a bheadh sí le fáil in Inis Mór nó in Inis Oírr.

dheirfiúr, gheobhfá idir *dhriothúr* agus *dhreabhar* in Inis Mór, ach *dhreabhar* amháin in Inis Meáin agus in Inis Oírr.[82]

Ach tá leagan eile ann freisin — *dhriofúr*, le [**f**] ag tús an dara siolla, agus gheobhfá sin ó na cainteoirí ban in Inis Mór — ach amháin ó sheanbhean ag Corrúch i lár an oileáin agus ón mbean is óige ar na faisnéiseoirí. Maidir leis na fir, ní bhfaighfeá an leagan *dhriofúr* ach ón bhfear is óige ann.

Nó b'fhéidir go mbeadh amhras oraibh faoin aois mar fhachtóir sa chás seo. Má bhreathnaíonn muid ar shampla eile, feicfidh muid an rud céanna arís. Maidir leis an [**h**] sáiteach sna frásaí *Ná himígí!* agus *Ná hosclaígí!*, bánn fir Inis Mór an [**h**] sin chun *Ná imigí!* agus *Ná osclaigí!* a rá — ach amháin an fear is óige orthu, agus sánn mná Inis Mór ar fad an [**h**] isteach — ach amháin an bhean is óige orthu.

Maidir leis an mbean is óige ar fad sa sampla, bean ocht mbliana déag as Inis Oírr, is iontach na difríochtaí móra atá ann idir a caint féin agus caint na mná comharsan ar leac a dorais, bean atá glúin níos sine ná í.[83]

Is leor liom an méid seo lena thaispeáint go bhfuil an-tábhacht ag baint leis na mionphatrúin seo. Cheap mé ar dtús nach mbeadh i sonraí an taighde ach dornán tréithe a scarfadh na trí oileán óna chéile, agus a lán randamachta thairis sin.

Anois, agus na céadta tréith foghraíochta, deilbhíochta agus comhréire scrúdaithe thar na trí oileán agam, féadaim a rá gurb iad na mionphatrúin seo na rudaí is suntasaí faoi na dátaí seo as Oileáin Árann. Ní randamacht atá le fáil ach castacht — castacht na mionphatrún.

(*This is a slightly revised version of an unpublished conference paper presented at Comhdháil: Litríocht agus Cultúr na Gaeilge, Roinn na Gaeilge, National University of Ireland, Galway, 16—17 October, 2009.*)

[82] Bheadh *dhreabhar* déshiollach in Inis Meáin agus aonsiollach in Inis Oírr, agus fágaim miondifríochtaí eile ar leataobh.

[83] Tá an bhean seo ar na faisnéiseoirí as Inis Oírr chomh maith.

(English Translation)

REGULARITY, RANDOMNESS AND MICRO-PATTERNS: ANALYSING DATA ON IRISH DIALECTS IN THE ARAN ISLANDS

More than twenty years ago, I was asked to do a survey of the dialects on the Aran Islands by the School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies. Of course, the Swiss scholar Heinrich Wagner had interviewed informants on Inis Oírr for the *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects (LASID)*, using the *LASID* questionnaire, forty years before, and the Irish scholar Myles Dillon had done the same on Inis Meáin at the same time.

However, neither of them did any research on Aran itself — Inis Mór — at that time, since, according to Heinrich Wagner, the dialect was so weak there that the fieldwork was not worth doing. That meant that no linguistic research was in fact done on Inis Mór since the last years of the nineteenth century, when the Danish scholar Holger Pedersen and the German scholar Franz Nikolaus Finck came separately to Inis Mór on research visits in the time period 1894/1895.

When I began the fieldwork on Inis Mór in the year 1990, it was clear from the research which had already been published on the dialects spoken on the Aran Islands that the dialects of Inis Mór and Inis Meáin shared a close genetic relationship not only with one another but also with the dialect of Cois Fharraige on the Connemara mainland.

As for the dialect of Inis Oírr, there was clear that there was a close genetic relationship between the Inis Oírr dialect and the dialects of Co. Clare on the one hand, and between that island and the dialects around Galway Bay, first eastward to Kinvarra and then northward to Minlough, in the suburbs of Galway, on the other hand — whatever its relationship to the dialects of the other two islands.

I had as principal sources of information at that time not only the responses from Inis Meáin and from Inis Oírr to the *LASID* questionnaire which had been published in *LASID* and the monograph *Die Araner Mundart*, by Franz Nikolaus Finck, published in the year 1899, but also another important work as well — *Cuntas Sionchrónach ar Mhoirfeolaíocht an Bhriathair i nGaeilge Inis Oírr, Oileáin Árann, Co. na Gaillimhe*, an M.A. thesis written by the Irish scholar Brian Ó Catháin.

As for documenting the dialect on Inis Mór, I felt that it would not be worthwhile to produce a monograph similar to the works of Tomás de Bhaldraithe on the Cois Fharraige dialect — especially the valuable and substantive work *Gaeilge Chois Fhairrge: an Deilbhíocht*, since it was clear to me from the beginning as I was interviewing the two informants in Corrúch in the centre of the island that it was not likely that there would be many important differences between the Inis Mór dialect and the Cois Fharraige dialect. In fact, Tomás de Bhaldraithe's works, with the many linguistic variants listed in them for Cois Fharraige, could serve as the basic sources of information on areal features, and the linguistic traits specific to Inis Mór and Inis Meáin could be seen simply as forming a subsection of the larger body of linguistic traits already listed for Cois Fharraige.

Of course, I was trained as a sociolinguist — not as a dialectologist, and sociolinguists are accustomed to doing research on a handful of linguistic traits — often enough, on just a trait or two — which would distinguish social groups in the same speech community from one another. Such traits would most often be associated with the phonology, and small differences in such traits could distinguish the speakers in a speech community from one another on the basis of ethnic origin, religion, age-group, or sexual gender.

For that reason, as I began my work with the Irish speakers on Inis Mór, I thought that I would only have to discover the half-dozen linguistic traits which would distinguish the Irish of Inis Mór and Inis Meáin from one another, and which would distinguish the Irish of eastern and western Inis Mór from one another.[84] As for the dialect of Inis Oírr, I already knew that I would be dealing with something entirely different in that case.

I restricted my research to Inis Mór initially, in the summer of the year 1990, administering the *LASID* questionnaire to two informants — brother and sister — in Corrúch, as I have already mentioned. The heterogeneity of the responses to any given item surprised me, and I began to understand that matters could be more complicated than I had originally thought.

I then administered another questionnaire to the informants in Corrúch, and after that, to a half-dozen other informants on Inis Mór, both relatives and friends. I asked the informants to translate more than forty stimulus sentences in spoken English to spoken Irish, and I tape-recorded the responses. The stimulus sentences were designed to elicit multiple instances of linguistic traits which would distinguish "the people of the east end" from the "people of the west end" and reveal the precise boundary between the two halves of the island.

The following year, I did the same thing on Inis Meáin and on Inis Oírr. But I carried with me yet another questionnaire, a questionnaire designed to elicit linguistic traits peculiar to the two eastern islands. By the end of the second summer, I had administered both questionnaires, containing 125 stimulus sentences altogether to be translated to Irish, throughout the three islands.[85]

In order to make sense of the heterogeneity of all the responses, I laid out the phonological, the grammatical and the syntactic traits out on linguistic tables, in order to do a fine-grained comparison between the many variants of each linguistic trait.

In the final analysis, I had to lay out separate linguistic tables for each informant and arrange them according to the townlands in which the individual informants were born, irrespective of the townlands to which they had moved after marrying. Then the patterns stood out clearly.

Of course, because of the number of linguistic traits I was examining, I had to leave aside data from some of the informants, so that in the end there were only fourteen informants left to represent the linguistic heterogeneity of all three islands.

It was clear from the beginning that the Inis Mór islanders were correct concerning the above-mentioned diphthongs *ia* and *ua*, and that the boundary on Inis Mór between the

[84] There had been a lot of talk from Inis Mór islanders of "the people of the east end" and of "the people of the west end" — especially on the levelling and lengthening of the diphthongs *ia* and *ua* by "the people of the east end". That is to say, instead of hearing "Gabhfaidh mé siar an Bóthar Ó Thuaidh" from them, you would hear "Gabhfaidh mé séar an Bóthar Ó Thó".

[85] I administered yet another questionnaire to them in the following year, but by that time I had my hands full, and I've never really used properly that data from the third year.

"east end" and the "west end" ran more or less between the townland of Corrúch in the "east end" and Fearann an Choirce in the "west end".

It was also easy to distinguish the three islands from one another linguistically rather neatly simply by listening to the articulation of the first consonant in the positive and negative forms of the future tense in the verb *Tabhair*. One could expect the variants *tiúra mé/ní thiúra mé* from speakers on Inis Mór, *tiúra mé/ní thúra mé* from speakers on Inis Meáin, and *túra mé/ní thúra mé* from speakers on Inis Oírr.

But matters could be more complex. If we were to look at the variants of the Standard Irish negative verb form *ní dhearna*, we would see the variant *níor rinne* (or *ní rinne*) substituted for it on Inis Mór from Bungabhla in westernmost Inis Mór to Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór. But we would suddenly encounter the Standard Irish variant *ní dhearna* as an alternative form in Corrúch in eastern Inis Mór and as a sole variant in Cill Rónáin and Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór.

If we were to continue on to Inis Meáin, we would again encounter the variant *níor rinne* and no trace of the Standard Irish variant *ní dhearna*. On Inis Oírr, however, we would encounter neither of those two variants, but we would encounter such novel variants as *níor dhein* or *níor dhion* in their place.in Inis Oírr

As for complexity, what could one say of the micro-patterns in the distribution of the following variants in the case of the comparative adjectival phrase *níos raimhre* on Inis Mór alone? You would encounter *níos roímhre*, with the long vowel **[iː]** in the first syllable, in Bungabhla and in Eoghanacht in westernmost Inis Mór, but to the east, in the centre of the island from *An Sruthán* through *Corrúch*, you would encounter a completely different variant — *níos roimire/roimre*, with a short, neutral in the first syllable and the following consonant unlenited. But from the sister in Corrúch, you would get yet another variant, *níos raidhmre*, with diphthongisation of the first syllable, but again with no lenition of the following consonant. In the townlands furthest to the east, from Eochaill to Cill Éinne, you would encounter the variants *níos roimhre/reimhre*, with a short, neutral vowel again, but with the following consonant lenited.

On Inis Meáin, you would again encounter the variant *níos reimhre*, along with a quite similar variant, *níos raimhire*, but on Inis Oírr, you would encounter yet another variant from the two older informants, *níos raidhmhre*, with diphthongisation of the first vowel and lenition of the following consonant. But wait — from the youngest informant there you would get a sharply different variant, one which we have already encountered in easternmost Inis Mór: *níos roimhre*.

I have to admit, however, that this series of variants — variants which are so similar to one another from townland to townland — is in fact exceptional; nevertheless, this example illustrates the importance of the individual samples which I collected from each of the fourteen different informants across all three islands.

But if there was complexity to be found in the area of "micro-dialectology", there was also complexity of a distinctly different kind to be found in the data. For example, if we were to look at local variants of the inflected prepositional form *tharstu*, we would immediately discover peculiarities which would interest a sociolinguist.

On Inis Mór, we find the variant *thartab* from one end of the island to the other, but

we also encounter two other variants in the townlands furthest to the east in our sample: *thartu* from the male informant in Cill Rónáin and *tharab* from the female informant in Cill Éinne.

On Inis Meáin, however, we encounter only the variant *tharab*, the variant which we obtained from the female informant in Cill Éinne, but here we obtain it from both the male and the female informants.[86]

On Inis Oírr, in contrast, we again encounter the two variants *thartu* and *tharab* which we found in easternmost Inis Mór, but here on Inis Oírr once again we get the variant *thartu* from the male informant and the variant *tharab* from both female informants — with the male/female distinction exactly as we found it in easternmost Inis Mór.

That's not all, however. The youngest female informant there, a young woman of 18 years of age, produces another variant as well — the analytical construction *thar iad*.

Whatever explanation might be offered for those facts, a sociolinguist would strongly suspect that the distribution of variants had to do not only with the birthplace of the informant, but also with the sex of the informant and with the age or generation of the informant as well.

Perhaps some of you might be hesitant to accept the example just mentioned as evidence of gender-based distinctions, so permit me to give you another example. In the two Standard Irish phrases *mo dheirfiúr* and *a dheirfiúr*, you will encounter the noun variants *dhriothúr* and *dhreabhar* on Inis Mór, but only the variant *dhreabhar* on Inis Meáin and on Inis Oírr.[87]

But there is another variant as well — *dhriofúr*, with the segment **[f]** at the beginning of the second syllable, and you want get that variant from most of the female informants on Inis Mór — but not from the elderly female informant in Corrúch in the centre of the island or from the youngest female informant there. As for the male informants, you would get that variant only from a single informant — the youngest male informant there.

Though age may be entering into play in the last example, perhaps you might remain unconvinced of this. If we look at another example, however, we will note the same phenomenon again. In the case of the intrusive segment **[h]** in such phrases as *Ná himígí!* and *Ná hosclaígí . . . !*, the male informants of Inis Mór all elide the intrusive **[h]**, producing the equivalent of *Ná imígí!* and *Ná osclaígí . . . !* — except for the youngest male informant. As for the female informants, they all produce the intrusive **[h]** segment — except for the youngest female informant.

As for the youngest woman in our sample, the eighteen-year-old from Inis Oírr mentioned above, it is amazing to find radical differences again and again between her speech and that of her next-door neighbour, a woman who is a generation older.[88]

I think these examples are sufficient to demonstrate that these micro-patterns of distribution for the different variants have great importance. As I mentioned at the beginning, I originally thought that it would be just a matter of discovering a handful of linguistic traits which would distinguish the three Aran Islands from one another, and that beyond that, there would be only randomness.

[86] One often finds a gender-based distinction neutralised on Inis Meáin when it seems to exist on Inis Mór or on Inis Oírr.

[87] The variant *dhreabhar* would be disyllabic on Inis Meáin, but monosyllabic on Inis Oírr. These and other minor details I leave aside here.

[88] This woman is also included in our sample as the older female informant from Inis Oírr.

Now, having sifted through hundreds of linguistic traits — phonological, morphological and syntactic — from all three islands, I can say that these micro-patterns are the most remarkable phenomena which I have extracted from these data from the Aran Islands. It is not randomness which I encounter here but patterned complexity — the complexity exemplified by these micro-patterns.

(*This is a slightly revised version of an unpublished conference paper presented at Comhdháil: Litríocht agus Cultúr na Gaeilge, Roinn na Gaeilge, National University of Ireland, Galway, 16—17 October, 2009.*)

Appendix B

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TABULAR DISPLAY OF KEY LINGUISTIC VARIABLES

Tabular Display of Key Linguistic Variables by Island and by Speaker

The key linguistic variables under investigation are displayed in tables showing the range of variation over the three islands and between the different speakers, all representing both sexes, different townlands and several age-groups. The linguistic variables targeted for investigation are given in their Standard Irish forms. In the case of singular nouns displaying phonological variables, usually only the nominative-accusative form of a noun, without the definite article and without initial mutations, is listed.

The responses of the speakers elicited for those variables are displayed via the phonetic symbols described in the introduction to this monograph. The responses shown in boldface type are responses given to the test sentences from Part Two of the linguistic questionnaire; all other responses shown were elicited for test sentences from Part One of the questionnaire. (Cf.*Index to Key Linguistic Variables Displayed on Tables* for references to the individual sentences from which the responses to each test item were extracted.)

The responses are arranged geographically according to the birthplace of the speaker, beginning with the westernmost tip of Inis Mór and extending to the easternmost island, Inis Oírr. More accurately, the responses of the speakers on Inis Mór are individually arranged by townlands, from Bungabhla in the West to Cill Éinne in the East, so that, with the exception of the adjacent townlands Fearann an Choirce and Corrúch in the middle of the island and Cill Rónáin and Cill Éinne at the eastern end, the responses represent roughly every second townland on the island. In regard to the two islands to the east, however, the responses are arranged according to the island in which they were obtained, but no attempt is made to arrange the responses geographically within each island, since, unlike Inis Mór, the islands are quite small and settlements are not widely dispersed.

Each of the speakers is identified by the following demographic variables: townland of birth, sex (M or F), and age, since these variables were found to be most closely linked with the pattern of linguistic variation over the three islands. A list of the speakers, giving their names, is given in the *List of those Linguistic Informants Whose Data is Included in the Tables of Linguistic Variables.*

The Roman numerals *I* and *II* in the references found in the footnotes refer to Part One and Part Two, respectively, of the linguistic questionnaire. The Arabic numerals refer to the number of the individual sentence in which the material was found.

Part VI

Phonological Variables

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS

	BUNGABHLA *F 43*	*EOGHANACHT* *F 73*
LOWERING AND MONOPHTHONGISATION OF DIPHTHONGS		
[iə > eː]		
Dia	iᵊ (. . . ɣətʹ/ɣɪtʹ) [*x*4] ∼ eᵊ (. . . jiːbʹ)	iə [*x*2] ∼ iᵊ [*x*2]
siar	iˑᵊ ∼ iᵊ	iˑᵊ [1]
thiar	iˑᵊ	
iascaire	iᵊ	iːᵊ
iascairí	ɪ (ɪskərʹiˑ)	iᵊ (iᵊskərʹiː)
(ag) fiafraí/iarraidh		
bliain	iᵊ	iˑᵋ
grian	iᵊ	iːə
pian	**iˑᵊ**	**iːᵊ**
(níos) léithe	iᵊ (**L**ʹiᵊhᵉ) (sic)	iˑᵊ (**L**ʹiˑᵊxtʹɪ)
[iː > eː]		
síos	iˑ	iˑ
Bríd	iˑ [*x*2]	iː [*x*2]
(Dia) daoibh!	iː	iː [*x*2]

[1] After prompting.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN *F 70*	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE* *M 60*
ɪ (…ɣɪtʹ) ∼ eˑ (…ⁱbʹ)	iːᵊ (…ɣɪtʹ) [*x*3] ∼ eːᵊ (…jiːbʹ) ∼ dʹeᵊv [1]
iˑᵊ [2]	iˑᵊ ∼ iᵊ
iˑᵊ	iːᵋ
iˑᵊ	rᵊ (rᵊskɪrʹiˑ)
iˑᵋ	eːᴵ
iˑᵊ	iə
iːᵊ ∼ iˑᵊ	**eˑ** [*x*2]
iˑə ∼ iːɛ (**L**ʹiˑə ∼ **L**ʹiːɛ)[3]	iˑə [4]
iˑ	iː [*x*3] [5]
iː [*x*2]	iː [*x*2]
(dʹeˑ) ⁱbʹ	iː (dʹeːᵊ jiːbʹ) ∼ dʹeᵊv [1]

[1] "Dia daoibh!"

[2] After prompting?

[3] After prompting with *liath*.

[4] In the phrase "*…a' fáilt liath…*".

[5] Cf. also [**N**ʹiːs] (= *aníos*).

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS

		CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
LOWERING AND MONOPHTHONGISATION OF DIPHTHONGS			
[iə > eː]			
	Dia	e (. . . jiːbʹ)	eː (. . . ɣɪtʹ/jiːpʹ) [x2]
	siar	eː ∼ eˑ	eː [x2]
	thiar		
	iascaire	eː	eː
	iascairí	eˑ (eˑskɪrʹiː)	eː
	(ag) fiafraí/iarraidh	eˑ ∼ e (feˑroː ∼ feroˑ)	eː (feːruː) [x2]
	bliain	eᵊ	eː
	grian	iᵊ	iˑə
	pian	**iːʲə**	**eːᵊ**
	(níos) léithe	eː [1]	iə (**L**ʹiəxtʹɪ)
[iː > eː]			
	síos	iˑ	
	Bríd	iː [x2]	iː [x2]
	(Dia) daoibh!	iː [2]	iː

[1] "*. . . liath. . .*"

[2] Note the lowering of the vowel in the phrases "*. . . ina taobh . . .*" ([ᵊ**N**ə teˑᵊv]) and "*. . . ina dtaobh . . .*" ([ᵊ**N**ə dɪːv]), elicited in I.9 and I.11, respectively.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
iːᵊ [*x*2] ∼ iᵊ [*x*2] ∼ rᵊ ∼ eᵊ [1]	iˑᵊ (ʤiˑᵊ ˈɣɪtʃ) ∼ eˑᵊ (dʹeˑᵊ ˈjiːbʹ)	eː (…ɣɪtʃ/ɣiːvʹ) [*x*6] ∼ eˑᵊ (ʤeˑᵊ jiːbʹ)
iˑᵊ ∼ iˑ ∼ eː	iˑᵊ ∼ eˑ	eᵊ ∼ eˑ
eː	rˑᵊ (rˑᵊskɪrʹɪ)	iː (iːskərʹɪ)
eː	eˑᵊ (eˑᵊskərʹiˑ)	eː (eːskərʹiː)
e (fʹeruː)		iˑᵊ (ˈfʹiˑᵊruː)
eːɛ	iˑᵊ (vʹlʹiˑᵊn)	eˑᵊ (vʹlʹeˑᵊnʹ)
eˑᵊ	iˑᵊ (ˈjrʹiˑᵊn)	eˑᵊ (ᵋ**N**ʹ jrʹeˑᵊ**N**) [2]
eːᵊ [*x*3]	iᵊ (fʹiᵊn)	**iˑᵊ (pʹiˑᵊn)**
iːᵊ (**L**ʹiːᵊxtʹɪ)	iːᵊ (nʹiːs **L**ʹiːᵊ)	iːᵊ (**L**ʹiːᵊxtʃɪ)
iː		iː
iː	iː [*x*2]	iː [*x*2]
iː [*x*2]	iː	iː [*x*6] [3]

[1] In the phrase [ʤeᵊ ˈjiːbʹ]. To judge from the other examples, the vowel of the following word (*duit* or *daoibh*) ordinarily exerts no influence on the vowel of the word *Dia* in these phrases. Cf. also [bʷiːxəs lʹeː dʹeː] *Buíochas le Dia*, along with [biːᵊxəs lʹeː dʹiːᵊ], recorded under the same item. [2] For contrast, note the diphthongisation and the strongly disyllabic nature of the vowel in the word *aer* ([əjər]), found in the phrase *san aer* in the same item. This pronunciation of *aer* is also strongly characteristic of Corrúch F 72. [3] Cf. also the phrase "*… ina dtaobh …*" ([ə**N**ə dᵊiːᵊv]), occurring twice in I.11, which has no lowering of the long front high vowel.

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS ***INIS MEÁIN***

		M 70	*F 60+*
LOWERING AND MONOPHTHONGISATION OF DIPHTHONGS			
[iə > eː]			
	Dia	iˑᵊ (ʤiˑᵊ ɣɪtʃ/jiːbʹ) [*x*2][1]	iᵊ (ʤiᵊ ɣɪtʹ) [*x*4] ∼ ɪᵊ (ˈʤɪᵊ jiːbʹ) ∼ eː (ʤeː ˈjiːbʹ) [*x*2]
	siar	iˑᵊ ∼ iˑ	iˑᵊ [*x*2]
	thiar		
	iascaire	iᵊ	ɪːᵊ
	iascairí	iˑᵊ (gərʹ jiˑᵊskɪrʹiˑ . . .)	iᵊ
	(ag) fiafraí/iarraidh	iː (fʹiːriː) [*x*2] ∼ iː (iːrə) [*x*2] ∼ iˑ (iˑrə)	iˑᵊ (fʹiˑᵊriː)
	bliain	iːɛ (vʹlʹiːɛnʹ)[2]	iˑɛ
	grian	iːᵊ ∼ iˑᵊ	iᵊ
	pian	**iᵊ** [*x*2]	**iˑᵊ**
	(níos) léithe	iːə [3]	iˑᵊ (**L**ʹiˑᵊxtʃɛ)
[iː > eː]			
	síos	iː	iː
	Bríd	iː [*x*2]	iː [*x*4]
	(Dia) daoibh!	iː [*x*2]	iː [*x*3]

[1] Note the response [moːr iːbʹ], which was offered as well. [2] Note also [**N**aⁱ **N**ə bʹlʹiːə**N**ə] (. . . *in aghaidh na bliana* . . .), uttered twice in the same item. Note again, as in the case of F 70 in Cill Éinne in Inis Mór, the diphthongisation and the strongly disyllabic nature of the vowel in the word *aer* ([ajər]), found in the phrase *san aer* in the same item. [3] ". . . *liath*. . . "

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
rˑᵊ (ʤɪˑᵊ ɣɪtʹ) [*x*2] ∼ aⁱ (ʤaⁱ jeːvʹ) [*x*3] [1]	iᵊ (ʤiᵊ ɣɪtʹ) ∼ iː (ʤiː jiːbʹ)	ə (ˈdʹə ˈɣɪtʹ) ∼ i (ˈʤi ibʹ)
iˑᵊ [*x*3]	iˑᵊ ∼ iᵊ	iˑᵊ ∼ iˑa (ʃiˑar)
	iˑᵉ	iˑᵊ
iˑᵊ	iˑᵊ ∼ iᵊ [*x*2]	iᵊ
iˑᵊ	iˑᵊ	iᵊ
iˑᵊ (fʹiˑᵊrə)	iˑᵊ (fʹiˑᵊriː)	iː (iːrə)
iːᵉ	iᵋ	iˑᵊ (vʹlʹiˑᵊ**N**)
iˑᵊ	iˑᵊ	iˑᵊ (ən ɣrʹiˑᵊ**N**) (sic)
iᵊ	iˑᵊ	**iːa (pʹiːa**N**)**
iᵊ [2]	iᵊ [2]	iˑᵊ [2]
iː [*x*2]	iː	iː
iː [*x*2]	iː [*x*2]	iː [*x*3]
eː (ʤaⁱ jeːvʹ)[3] [*x*3]	iː [4]	i (ˈʤi ibʹ) [5]

[1] Cf. [ᵊraⁱʃtʹ] (= *arís*), uttered twice in I.2. [2] "... *liath*..." [3] Cf. also [teːv] (= *taobh*) in II.16 and [sə ŋʹeⁱvʹrʹɛ] (= *sa gheimhreadh*) in II.44. [4] Cf. also [tiːv] (= *taobh*) in the phrase (= *le taobh an chruc (sic)*)in II.16. [5] Cf. also [hiːv] (= *thaobh*) in the phrase (= *ar thaobh an chroc (sic)*)in II.16.

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS

		BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
LOWERING, MONOPHTHONGISATION, SHORTENING AND CENTRALISATION OF DIPHTHONGS			
[uə > oː][1]			
	suas	uˈᵊ ∼ ə (səs)	uˈᵊ ∼ uˈ
	gruaig	uᵋ	uˈᶦ
	(níos) luaithe	**uᵊ (Luᵊxtʹɪ)**	
	(níos) nuaí	uˈᵊ (Nuˈᵊxtʹɪ)	uːə (Nuːə)
	(ag) cuardach	uˈᵊ [x3] ∼ uᵊ (kuˈᵊrtu/kuᵊrtʊ)	
	chuala	uᵊ	uːᵊ
	ualach	**uᵊ** [x2]	**uˈᵊ**
[uə > o/ə][1]			
	buaile	**uᵊ**	**uᵊ**
	buailte	**uᵊ**	**uː**
	(ag) bualadh	**uᵊ**	**uᵊ**
	buachaill	**uᵊ ∼ ʊᵊ**	**uᵊ** [x2] ∼ ʊ
	buachaillí	**uᵊ**	**uᵊ**
	nuair	**ɛ**	**ɛ**

[1] Cf. *chuaigh* and *fuair* under verb forms.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
uˈᵊ ∼ o (sos)	ʊᵊ
uˈᵋ	uˈᵻ
uː (**N**uː)	uˈᵊ (**N**uˈᵊxᵊ)
	ʊ [x2] ∼ o (kʊrtuˈ/ᵊgʊrtᵊ/kortuˈ)
o (xo**L**ə)	ʊᵊ (xʊᵊ) (sic)
ʊˈ	**oˈ**
uˈᵋ	
uᵊ	
ʊᵊ	**uː**
uᵊ ∼ **uᵊ** ∼ **ʊ**	uˈᵊ ∼ **uᵊ**
uᵊ	**ʊ**
ü	**ɛ**

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS

		CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
LOWERING, MONOPHTHONGISATION, SHORTENING AND CENTRALISATION OF DIPHTHONGS			
[uə > oː][1]			
	suas	uᵊ ∼ oˈᵊ	oː [*x*2]
	gruaig	uˈⁱ	oˈⁱ
	(níos) luaithe	uˈᵊ (**L**uˈᵊxtʹɪ)	oː ∼ **oː** [*x*2] (**L**oːxtʹɪ/**Loːxʹtʹɪ** [*x*2])
	(níos) nuaí	uː … uˈᵊ [*x*2] (**N**uː … **N**uˈᵊxtʹɪ/nuˈᵊxtʹɪ)	uː (nuːxtʹɪ)
	(ag) cuardach	o (kortuˈ)	oː [*x*2] (koːrtuˈ [*x*2])
	chuala		oː
	ualach	**ʊː**	**ʊː**
[uə > o/ə][1]			
	buaile	**ə**	**ə**
	buailte	**ə (bəlʹtʹəxiˈ)**	**ə (bəlʹtʹəxi)**
	(ag) bualadh	**oˈ** ∼ **ʌ** [*x*2]	**ʊː**
	buachaill	**ɔ** ∼ **ə** [*x*2]	oˈ [*x*2] ∼ **ʊ** ∼ **oː** [*x*2]
	buachaillí	uᵊ [2] ∼ **uᵊ** ∼ o [2]	**ɔ**
	nuair	**ɛ**	**ʊˈ** ∼ **oˈ**

[1] Cf. *chuaigh* and *fuair* under verb forms.

[2] Elicited in I.36.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
uᵊ ∼ oˈᵊ [*x*2]	uˈᵊ ∼ ʊᵊ	oˈᵊ [*x*2]
oː	uˈᴵ	uːᴵ
u ∼ oᵊ **(Luxtʹɪ/Loᵊxtʹɛ)**	**uˈ** **(Luˈxʹɛ)**	ʊˈᵊ (Lʊˈᵊxtʃɛ)
uᵊ (Nuᵊxtʹɪ)	uː (Nuː)	uː (Nuː)
ʊː ∼ oː ∼ o (ᵊkʊːrtuˈ/koːrtuː/ᵊkortuˈ)		oː ∼ oˈ (ᵊkoːrtuː/koˈrtuˈ [*x*2])
ʊˈ	u	uˈ
ʊːᵊ	**ʊˈ**	
ə	**ʊː**	**ə**
uː	**ʊ**	
uː	**uˈ ∼ u**	**uːᵊ . . . uː**
uː	**uᵊ ∼ ʊ**	ə ∼ **ɔ** [*x*3]
uᵊ	**uᵊ** [*x*2]	**ɔ**
ɛ	**ɛ**	**uᴵ**

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS ***INIS MEÁIN***

		M 70	*F 60+*
LOWERING, MONOPHTHONGISATION, SHORTENING AND CENTRALISATION OF DIPHTHONGS			
[uə > oː][1]			
	suas	uᵊ ∼ uː	uˈᵊ
	gruaig	uːᵋ	uˈᶦ
	(níos) luaithe	uᵊ (**L**uᵊxtʹɪ)	
	(níos) nuaí	uᵊ (**N**uᵊxtʹɪ)	oː [*x*2] (**N**oːxtʃɛ [*x*2])
	(ag) cuardach		ʊˈ (kʊˈrtu)
	chuala	uˈᵊ	ʊˈ
	ualach	**uᵊ**	**uᵊ**
[uə > o/ə][1]			
	buaile		**ʊˈᵊ**
	buailte		**uˈᵊ ∼ uᵊ** **(buˈᵊlʹtʃəxi/buᵊlʹtʃəxi)**
	(ag) bualadh	**uᵊ** [*x*2]	**uᵊ**
	buachaill	**uᵊ** [*x*2] ∼ ʊ	uᵊ ∼ **uᵊ**
	buachaillí	**uᵊ** [*x*2]	**uˈᵊ**
	nuair	**ɛ**	**ɛ**

[1] Cf. *chuaigh* and *fuair* under verb forms.

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
uᵊ ∼ oᵊ [1]	uᵊ [*x*2]	uᵊ [*x*2]
uˑᴵ	uˑᴱ	uˑᴱ
	uᵊ	uᵊ [*x*2] ∼ **ʊᵊ**
	(Luᵊxtʹɛ)	(**L**uᵊxtʃɛ/**L**uᵊxtʃə/**Lʊᵊxtʃɛ**)
ʊˑ	uᵊ	uːiː
(**N**ʊˑ)	(**N**uᵊ)	(**N**uːiː)
ʊ [*x*3] ∼ o	ʊː	ʊː ∼ ʊˑ [*x*2] ∼ ʊ
(kʊrtuː [*x*2]/kʊrtuˑ/ kortuː)	(kʊːrtu [*x*3])	(kʊːrtuˑ/kʊˑrtuː [*x*2]/ kʊrtuː)
	uᵊ	o
oː	**uᵊ**	**uᵊ**
uᵊ	**ua (buaLə)**	**uə ∼ uᵊ**
uᵊ ∼ ɔ	uᵊ ∼ **uᵊ** [*x*2]	uᵊ ∼ **uᵊ** [*x*2] ∼ **uæ**
uᵊ	**uᵊ**	**uᵊ**
u	**ɛ**	**ɛ**

[1] Cf. the phrase [ə fɑːs soːs] (= *ag fás suas*) in the interview for the sociolinguistic questionnaire.

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
LOWERING OF THE LONG HIGH BACK VOWEL		
[uː > oː][1]		
(níos) lú	uˑ [*x*2]	
(níos) túisce	uː	uː ∼ **uː**
(ag) gnúsacht	uˑ	(mʹiː**N**uːˠx)[2]
(ag) fiarú (= fiafraí)		
fúithi	uˑ (fuˑ)	uː (fuː)
fúthu	uː (fuːb)	uː (fuːb)
(ar) chúl	uˑ	uˑ
ciúin		
cúnamh		**oː** [3]

[1] Cf. *Tabhair!, t(h)abharfaidh, t(h)abhairt* and *(ní) dúirt* under verb forms.

[2] "*Méanfach*" !

[3] Cf. **[lʹe koːnə dʹeː]** (= *le cúnamh Dé*) in II.48.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
uː	uː
uː ∼ **uː** [*x*2]	uː ∼ **uː**
oː (gᵊ**N**oːsəxt)	uː
uː (fuːb)	oː (foː)[1]
uː (fuːb)	uː (fuːb)
uː [*x*3] ∼ **uː** [*x*2] ∼ u	ʊˑ

[1] Note also the lowering of the vowel in the verb form *chúb* ([xoːb]) in the phrase "*Chúb sí síos . . .*", elicited in I.20.

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
LOWERING OF THE LONG HIGH BACK VOWEL		
[uː > oː][1]		
(níos) lú	uːᵘ	uːu
(níos) túisce		
(ag) gnúsacht	ʊː	uː
(ag) fiarú (= fiafraí)	oː ∼ oˑ (fʹeˑroː/fʹeroˑ)	uː [*x*2] (fʹeːruː [*x*2])
fúithi		uː (fuː)
fúthu		uː (fuː[p])
(ar) chúl	uˑ	uː [*x*2]
ciúin		
cúnamh		

[1] Cf. *Tabhair!, t(h)abharfaidh, t(h)abhairt* and *(ní) dúirt* under verb forms.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
	uː	uː
	u	**uː**
uː	uˑ	oː (gᵊ**N**oːsəxt)
uː (fʹeruː)		uː (ˈfʹiˑᵊruː)
uː	uː (fuːhɪ)	uː (fuː)
uː [$x2$] (fuː [$x2$])[1]	uˑ (fuˑhᵊ)	uː [$x2$] (fuː [1]/fuːb)
uː	uː	uː [$x3$]

[1] The Standard Irish form *fúthu* with an elided voiceless glottal central fricative?

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS ***INIS MEÁIN***

	M 70	*F 60+*
LOWERING OF THE LONG HIGH BACK VOWEL		
[uː > oː][1]		
(níos) lú	uˑ	oːʷᵊ (**L**oːʷᵊ)
(níos) túisce		uː
(ag) gnúsacht	uː	uː [*x*2]
(ag) fiarú (= fiafraí)		
fúithi		
fúthu		
(ar) chúl	uː	uˑ
ciúin		
cúnamh		

[1] Cf. *chuaigh* and *fuair* under verb forms.

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
		uː
	uː (r duːs)[1]	
õː … oː (ɛgʹ ɣrʹõːsəxt … ɛgʹ groːsəxt)	uː	uː
	uː (fuː)	uː (fuː)
	uː (fuːb)	ʊː (fʊːb)
ʊː	uˑ	

[1] “ … ar dtús … ”

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS

		BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
RAISING OF LONG MID BACK VOWELS			
[oː > uː]			
	. . . a gcónaíonn . . .	ʊˑ	
	. . . ar chónaigh . . .	ʊˑ	
	i gcónaí	ʊˑ ∼ **oː**	uː
RAISING AND/OR LENGTHENING OF SHORT MID BACK VOWELS			
[o > ʊ]			
	cnoc		**ʊ (gə̃ xNʊkɑːN)**
[o/ə > oː/uː]			
	lom		
	ró-throm	**oː**	**oː**
	chrom	ə	ʊ
	cromadh	ə	ə

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
ʊˈ	uː
ʊː	ʊː
ʊ ∼ **ö** **(...əN xNök′)**[1]	ʊ ∼ **ʊ**
ʊː	
oː	**ʊː**
ə	ə
ʊ	ə

[1] Genitive construction.

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS

		CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
RAISING OF LONG MID BACK VOWELS			
[oː > uː]			
	. . . a gcónaíonn . . .		uː [x2]
	. . . ar chónaigh . . .		uː
	i gcónaí	ʊˑ	ʊ (sic)
RAISING AND/OR LENGTHENING OF SHORT MID BACK VOWELS			
[o > ʊ]			
	cnoc		ʊ
[o/ə > oː/uː]			
	lom	**ʊː**	**ʊ**
	ró-throm	**ʊː**	**ə**
	chrom	ʊ	ʊ
	cromadh	ʊ	ʊ

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
		oːᵊ
ʊː (kʊːNiˈ)[1]		uˈ
ʊː	ʊː	
	ʊ	ə ∼ ʊ [x2]
ə	ʊ	ʊː [2]
oᵘ	ʊ	ə
ə	ə	ə
ə	ʊ [3]	ʊ

[1] In the phrase "*. . . a bhí cónaí air . . .*"(sic).

[2] After prompting with *lom*.

[3] In the phrase "*. . . nach gcromfadh . . .*".

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS ***INIS MEÁIN***

		M 70	*F 60+*
RAISING OF LONG MID BACK VOWELS			
[oː > uː]			
	. . . a gcónaíonn . . .		ʊː
	. . . ar chónaigh . . .	uː ∼ ʊː (kuːNiː/Nə xʊːNiː)[1]	ʊː
	i gcónaí	ʊː [2]	ʊː ∼ **ʊː**
RAISING AND/OR LENGTHENING OF MID SHORT BACK VOWELS			
[o > ʊ]			
	cnoc	ʊ ∼ **ʊ**	ʊ
[o/ə > oː/uː]			
	lom	**uˑ**	
	ró-throm	**uː**	**ʊ**
	chrom	ʊ	ə
	cromadh	ʊ	ə

[1] "*cónaí*" and "*ina chónaí*", respectively.

[2] Cf. also [gu huːnduːlʲ (= *go hiondúil*), which was elicited twice as an alternative form, once in I.19 and once again in II.63.

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
	oː	oː [1]
	oː [2]	oː [1]
oː ∼ **oː**	oˑ	ʊː
ʊ ∼ **ʊ**	ʊ ∼ **ʊ**	ʊ ∼ **o**
oː [x2] [3]	**oː** [x2] [3]	**ʊː**
oː [4]	**oː**	**ʊː** [5]
oː	oː	ə
oː	ʊ	ə

[1] In the phrase "*ina chónaí*".

[2] In the phrase "*. . . a bhí cónaí air . . .*"(sic).

[3] After prompting.

[4] Cf. also the form [kˈoːnˈ] (= *ciúin*) in II.15, which is a clear case of vowel lowering. On the other hand, note the form [ɣuːm] (= *dom*) in I.2, which involves backing, lengthening and raising of the vowel.

[5] Cf. also the form [kˈoːnˈ] (= *ciúin*), which was elicited twice in II.15, and which is a clear case of vowel lowering.

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
RAISING OF LOW FRONT VOWELS [1]		
[æː > ɛː]		
bean	**æː** [*x*3] ∼ **æˑ** [*x*2] ∼ **æ** [*x*3]	**æː** [*x*6] ∼ **æˑ** ∼ **æ**
sean	**æː**	**æː** [*x*2]
fear	**æː** [*x*5] ∼ **æˑ** ∼ **æ** [*x*2]	**æː** [*x*2] ∼ **æˑ** [*x*4]
deas	**æˑ** ∼ **æ** [*x*2]	
(i mo/ina) sheasamh	**æ** [*x*3]	**a** ∼ **æ**
teach	**æ** [*x*8]	**æˑ** [*x*2] ∼ **æ** [*x*4] ∼ **ɛ**
isteach	**æ** [*x*3]	**æ** [*x*2]
teacht	**æ** [*x*3]	
(cá/a) ndeachaigh	**æˑ** ∼ **æ** [*x*3]	**æˑ** ∼ **æ** [*x*2]
ceachtanna	**æ** [*x*2]	**æˑ** ∼ **æ**
seachtain	**æ**	**æˑ**
cleachtadh		**æˑ**
(Is é do) bheatha		
(With Dialectal Variants of Standard Forms)		
treasna (= trasna)	**æ**	**æ**
teagann (= tagann)	**æˑ** [*x*2] ∼ **æ** [*x*2]	**æˑ** [*x*2] ∼ **æ** [*x*2]
Teaga(ig)í!/teagadh (= Tagaigí!/tagadh)		**æ**
teagtha (= tagtha)	**æ**	

[1] Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
æː [$x6$] ∼ æˑ	æː [$x4$] ∼ æˑ [$x3$] ∼ æ
æː	æˑ
æː [$x12$]	æː [$x6$] ∼ æˑ
æː [$x2$]	æ [$x2$]
æː ∼ æˑ [$x2$] ∼ æ	æˑ [$x2$] ∼ æ
æˑ ∼ æ [$x5$]	æː ∼ æˑ ∼ æ [$x4$]
æˑ ∼ æ [$x2$]	æː ∼ æˑ
æˑ ∼ æ [$x2$]	æ [$x3$]
æː ∼ æ	æ [$x2$]
	æ
æː ∼ æ	

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
RAISING OF LOW FRONT VOWELS [1]		
[æː > ɛː]		
bean	æː [x4] ∼ æˑ [x2] ∼ æ [x2]	æː [x5] ∼ æ [x2]
sean	æː	æː
fear	æː [x7] ∼ æˑ	æː [x5] ∼ æ [x3]
deas	æ [x3]	æː ∼ ɛˑ ∼ ɛ
(i mo/ina) sheasamh	æː [x2] ∼ æ	ɛː [x3] ∼ æ
teach	æː [x5] ∼ æˑ [x2] ∼ æ [x3]	ɛː [x3] ∼ ɛˑ [x2] ∼ æ [x4]
isteach	æː [x2] ∼ æ	æː ∼ æˑ ∼ æ
teacht	æˑ ∼ æ [x2]	æ [x2]
(cá/a) ndeachaigh	æ [x3]	æˑ ∼ æ [x3]
ceachtanna	æː [x3]	ɛː [x2] ∼ æˑ
seachtain	æˑ	æ
cleachtadh		
(Is é do) bheatha	æːː	ɛː
(With Dialectal Variants of Standard Forms)		
treasna (= trasna)		
teagann (= tagann)	æ	
Teaga(ig)í!/teagadh (= Tagaigí!/tagadh)		
teagtha (= tagtha)		

[1] Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
æː [*x*6] ∼ æˑ [2]	æː [*x*2] ∼ æˑ ∼ æ	æː [*x*7] ∼ æˑ [*x*2]
	æˑ	æː ∼ æˑ [*x*2]
æː [*x*6] ∼ æˑ	a ∼ æ [*x*5]	æː [*x*8] ∼ æˑ [*x*3]
æː ∼ æ	æˑ	ɛ [*x*2]
æː [*x*3]	æˑ ∼ æ [*x*2]	æˑ ∼ æ [*x*2]
æː ∼ æˑ [*x*5]	æˑ ∼ æ [*x*4] ∼ ɛ	æ [*x*7] ∼ ɛ
æː [*x*2] ∼ æˑ	ʌ ∼ æ [*x*2]	æ ∼ ɛ [*x*2]
aˑ ∼ æ	a ∼ æ	æ [*x*2]
æː [*x*2] ∼ æˑ [*x*2]	æ [*x*3]	æ [*x*4]
æˑ [*x*2] ∼ æ	a ∼ æ	æ [*x*3]
æː	ʌ	æ [1]
	æ	æ
æː [*x*2] ∼ æ		

[1] Note the occurrence of a short low central vowel in the word [sʟʌxtər] (= *slachtmhar*) in II.56.

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS ***INIS MEÁIN***

		M 70	*F 60+*
RAISING OF LOW FRONT VOWELS [1]			
[æː > ɛː]			
	bean	æː [x3] ~ æˑ [x2] ~ æ	æː [x7] ~ æˑ
	sean	æː ~ æˑ	æˑ
	fear	æː [x3] ~ æˑ [x3] ~ æ	æː [x3] ~ æˑ [x2] ~ ɛ
	deas	æˑ ~ æ ~ ɛ	æː [x2]
	(i mo/ina) sheasamh	æ [x2]	æ [x3]
	teach	æ [x7] ~ ɛ [x3]	æː ~ æ [x3] ~ ɛ [x3]
	isteach	æ [x2] ~ ɛ [x2]	æ [x2] ~ ɛ
	teacht	æ [x3]	æ ~ ɛ
	(cá/a) ndeachaigh	æ [x2] ~ ɛ [x2]	æˑ ~ ɛ [x4]
	ceachtanna	æˑ ~ æ	æː ~ æ
	seachtain	æ	æ
	cleachtadh		
	(Is é do) bheatha		
(With Dialectal Variants of Standard Forms)			
	treasna (= trasna)		æ [x2]
	teagann (= tagann)		æ
	Teaga(ig)í!/teagadh (= Tagaigí!/tagadh)		
	teagtha (= tagtha)		

[1] Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables.

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
æː [*x*4] ∼ **æˑ** ∼ **æ**	**æː** [*x*8]	**æː** [*x*3] ∼ **æˑ** ∼ **æ** [*x*3]
æː	**æː**	**æˑ** [*x*2]
æː [*x*2] ∼ **æˑ** ∼ **æ**	**æː** [*x*5] ∼ **æˑ**	**æː** [*x*7] ∼ **æˑ** [*x*3]
æː ∼ **æˑ** ∼ **æ**	**æː** [*x*3] ∼ **ɛ**	**æː** ∼ **æˑ** ∼ **æ**
æː [*x*2] ∼ **æ**	**æː** ∼ **æ** [*x*4]	**æː** [*x*4] ∼ **æ**
æː [*x*3] ∼ **æˑ** [*x*2] ∼ **ɛ**	**æˑ** ∼ **æ** [*x*8]	**æː** ∼ **æˑ** [*x*2] ∼ **æ** [*x*4] ∼ **ɛ** [*x*2]
æː [*x*2] ∼ **æˑ**	**æː** ∼ **æ** [*x*5]	**æˑ** ∼ **æ** [*x*2]
æˑ		**ə** ∼ **æː**
æˑ ∼ **æ** [*x*2]	**æ** [*x*2]	**æ**
æː [*x*2]	**æː** ∼ **æˑ** [*x*2]	**æˑ** **(kʲlʲæˑxtiˑ)**
æ	**æ**	**æ**
æː		
	æˑ [*x*3]	
æ		

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
VOWEL FRONTING[1]		
[aː > æː]		
baile	**aˑ ∼ æˑ ∼ a ∼ æ** [*x*2]	**aː ∼ æː ∼ aˑ** [*x*3] ∼ **æˑ ∼ a**
cailíní	**a**	**aˑ ∼ a**
cailleann	**aˑ**	
cailleadh	**aˑ ∼ æˑ**	**aː ∼ æː**
chaill	**ɑˑ**	
aill		
. . . na haille *(Genitive)*	**(ɑːᴵ) (. . . əN ɑːᴵlʹtʹ)**	
Gaillimh		
gaineamh	**æˑ**	**æ**
bainne	**æː ∼ æ**	**æː ∼ æˑ**
aimsir		
caint	**aⁱ** [*x*2]	**aˑᴵ ∼ aⁱ**
sláintiúil	**ɑː ∼ ɑˑ**	**æː**
. . . (a) maireann . . .		**aˑᴵ (waˑᴵrʹɪ) ∼ aⁱ**
caite	**a**	
cnaipe	**aᴵ**	**ãᵉᴵ**
tada (= dada)	**aˑ** [*x*4]	**aː ∼ aˑ** [*x*3]
tastaíonn (= teastaíonn)	**æˑ ∼ a** [*x*3]	**aː ∼ a**
trasna		
maith	**æˑ**	**aˑ**
scaitheamh		
dathúil		
ba *(= beithígh)*		

[1] Cf. also the intensifying particle *an-* under adjectival inflection. Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
aːᴵ [$x3$] ∼ æː ∼ aˑᴵ	aː ∼ æː ∼ aˑ [$x3$] ∼ æ
aː [$x2$]	aˑ [$x2$]
ɑː	a
ɑː [$x2$]	aˑ
æˑ	æː
æˑ	æː
aᴵ	
aːᴵ ∼ aⁱ	aⁱ [$x3$]
aː ∼ aˑ	æː ∼ æ
aⁱ	aⁱ
a	a
a	aˑ
aˑ [$x2$]	aː ∼ aˑ
aˑ ∼ a [$x2$]	a [$x4$]
	a
aː	aː
a	æː

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS

		CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
VOWEL FRONTING[1]			
[aː > æː]			
	baile	aː ∼ æː [$x3$] ∼ æˑ ∼ æ [$x2$]	æː [$x2$] ∼ æˑ ∼ æ [$x2$]
	cailíní	aː	aː ∼ ʌ^{i}
	cailleann	æː	æː
	cailleadh	aː	
	chaill	æː	æː
	aill	æː [$x2$]	ɑː
	. . . na haille *(Genitive)*	æː	
	Gaillimh	a^{i}	
	gaineamh	æː	æː
	bainne	æː	aˑ
	aimsir	æ	æ
	caint	aː ∼ a^{i} [$x2$]	a^{i} ∼ ə^{i} [$x2$]
	sláintiúil		
	. . . (a) maireann . . .	æ [$x2$]	aˑ^{i}
	caite	æː	æ^{i}
	cnaipe	æ	æ^{i}
	tada (= dada)	aː ∼ æ [$x2$]	aː [$x3$]
	tastaíonn (= teastaíonn)	æː ∼ aˑ [$x2$] ∼ æ [$x2$]	æː ∼ æ [$x3$]
	trasna	aː	æ [$x2$]
	maith	a^{ɛ}	aˑ^{ɛ}
	scaitheamh		
	dathúil	æː	ɛː
	ba *(= beithígh)*	æː	æː

[1] Cf. also the intensifying particle *an-* under adjectival inflection. Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
aː [*x*6] ∼ **æː** **aː** [*x*2]	**aˑ** [*x*4] **aˑ** [*x*2]	**aː** [*x*2] ∼ **æː** ∼ **aˑ** **aː** [*x*2]
aː [*x*2] **aˑ** **aːᴵ**	**ɑˑ** **a** [*x*2] **ɑˑ**	**ɑˑ** [*x*2] **aː** [*x*3] **aˑ . . . ɑˑ** [1]
aː [*x*2]		
aː **aː** **æˑ** **aː** ∼ **a** ∼ **aⁱ** [*x*2] **aː** ∼ **aⁱ** **aⁱ** **aˑ** [2] **æˑ**	**æː** **æː** **æ** [*x*2] **aⁱ** [*x*2] **ɑː** **aⁱ** ∼ **æˑ** **(wæˑrʹ)** **æ** **a**	**aː** **aː** **aˑᴵ** ∼ **aⁱ** **aˑ** [*x*2] ∼ **aⁱ** **a** **æ**
æː [*x*3] **aː**	**aː** ∼ **aˑ** [*x*2] **a** [*x*4]	**aː** [*x*2] **a** [*x*2] ∼ **æ**
aː **æː**	**aˑ** [*x*4] **a**	**aː** ∼ **aˑ** [*x*2] **æː** **(skæː)**

[1] The informant apparently corrected herself with a second variant.

[2] Note, however, the fronted vowel in the noun phrase [ɴ̣ wæːɟɪnʹ] (= *an mhaidin*) in I.1.

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS ***INIS MEÁIN***

		M 70	*F 60+*
VOWEL FRONTING[1]			
[aː > æː]			
	baile	**aː** [$x2$] ∼ **æː** [$x4$] ∼ **æˑ** [$x2$] ∼ **æ**	**aː** ∼ **æː** ∼ **æˑ** [$x2$] ∼ **a**
	cailíní	**aˑ** ∼ **a**	**aˑ** [$x2$] ∼ **a**
	cailleann	**ɑː** [$x2$]	**aˑ**
	cailleadh		
	chaill	**ɑˑ**	**ɑː**
	aill		
	. . . na haille *(Genitive)*		
	Gaillimh		
	gaineamh	**æˑ**	**aˑ** [$x2$]
	bainne	**æ**	**æː** ∼ **æˑ** ∼ **aˑ**
	aimsir		
	caint	**a^{i}** ∼ **ə^{i}**	**a^{i}** [$x2$]
	sláintiúil	**ɑː** ∼ **aˑ**	
	. . . (a) maireann . . .	**a^{i}**	
	caite	**æ**	**æˑ**
	cnaipe	**æ**	**æˑ**
	tada (= dada)		
	tastaíonn (= teastaíonn)	**aː** ∼ **a** ∼ **æ** ∼ **ə**	**æː** ∼ **æ** ∼ **a** [$x2$]
	trasna	**a**	
	maith	**aː**	**aː**
	scaitheamh		
	dathúil		
	ba *(= beithígh)*	**aˑ^{ɛ}**	**aː**

[1] Cf. also the intensifying particle *an-* under adjectival inflection. Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables.

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
aː [*x*8] **aˑ** [*x*2]	**aː** [*x*7] ∼ **a** **aː** ∼ **aˑ**	**aː** [*x*3] **aː** [*x*2]
ɑˑ **æː** **ɑː**	**ɑˑ** **æː** [*x*2] **ɑˑ**	**ɑ** **ɑˑ**
æː [*x*2]	**aː**	
æˑ **aˑ** **aⁱ** [*x*3] **aⁱ** (**sʟaⁱnʹtʹ**) **aː** [*x*2] **æˑ**	**æː** **aː** **aⁱ** **aⁱ** [*x*2] ∼ **ʌⁱ** **æ** **æ**	**aː** **aː** [*x*2] **aⁱ** **aⁱ** [*x*2] **ɑː** [*x*2] **a** **æ**
æː [*x*2] ∼ **æˑ** **a** **æː** [1]	**aː** [*x*2] ∼ **aˑ** **aː** ∼ **aˑ** [*x*3] **aː**	**aː** [*x*2] ∼ **a** **ɑ** ∼ **a.**
aː	**aː**	**aː** **a**
		ɑː . . . [2]

[1] Cf. the fronted vowel in [hænə] (= *cheana*) in I.19.

[2] The informant went on to substitute a variant of *beithígh*.

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS

		BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
[ɑː > aː][1]			
	nár [2]	**aˑ ∼ a**	**aː** [*x*2] **∼ a**
	ná *(Negative Imperative Particle)*	**ɑˑ** [*x*2] **∼ ɑ**	**ɑː ∼ ɑˑ** [*x*2] **∼ ɑ**
	ná *(Comparative Particle)*	**ɑˑ** [*x*2] **∼ ɑ**	**ɑː ∼ ɑˑ ∼ ɑ**
	cá	**o**	**ɑː**
	dá	**ɑˑ ∼ a** [3]	**ɑː** [4] **∼ ʔə** **(mɑː . . . ʔə waʲnʲʃə)**
	má	**ɑˑ ∼ ɑ**	**aː** [*x*2]
	mám (*"handful"*)		
[ɑː > aː/æː][1]			
	-tá/-fá		
	-teá/-feá		**aː** [*x*2] **∼ aᵘ**
	breá	**ˈɑˑ (bʲrʲˈɑˑ)**	**ɑː** [*x*5]
VOWEL BACKING			
[aː > ɑː][1]			
	am	**aˑ** [*x*2]	**aː ∼ aˑ**
	gann	**aː (aːNᵊ ɣaːn)**	
	mall		
	anall		**ɑː**
	thall	**ɑː**	**ɑː**
	sall *(= anonn)*		
	(ar) ball		

[1] Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables.

[2] Problematic non-standard forms such as *ná(r) raibh* and *ná(r) rinne* are included in the tally of instances of this item.

[3] Representing the two reduced forms **[ɑˑ]** and **[a]**, respectively, of *dá*.

[4] Representing the reduced form **[ɑː]**.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
ɑː [1] ∼ **aː** ∼ **æ**	**aˑ** [*x*3]
ɑː [*x*2] ∼ **ɑ**	**ɑː** [*x*2]
ɑː [*x*4] ∼ **ɑ**	**ɑˑ** ∼ **ɑ** [*x*2]
ɑ	**ə**
ɑˑ **(ɣɑˑ)** ∼ **ʌ** **(dʌ)**	**ɑˑ** **(tɑˑ)** ∼ **ə** [2]
ɑː [*x*2]	**aː** [*x*2]
aː [*x*2]	
ɑː [*x*2] ∼ **ɔ** [3] ∼ **a**	**ɑ** [4]
ɑː ∼ **ɑˑ**	**æː** ∼ **æˑ** [*x*2] ∼ **ᵊ** [5]
ɑː [*x*3]	**ɑː**
aː [*x*2]	**aː**
aː **(aːn** **ɣaːn)**	**ɑ̃ː** **(æ̃ː** **ɣɑ̃ːn)**
ɑː [*x*2]	
ɑː	**ɑː**
	ɑ

[1] In the phrase **[nɑː rɪNʹɛ]** *(= nach ndearna).*

[2] Representing the reduced form **[ə]**.

[3] In the sentence **[ə gʹæNɔ wɛmʹ ɛ]** *(= An gceannófá uaim é?).*

[4] In the anomalous phrase **[ə gʹæNɑ tu . . .]** *(= An gceannófá . . .).*

[5] As an off-glide in the phrase **[ə mʹeᵊ . . .]** *(= An mbeifeá . . . ?).*

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS

		CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
[ɑː > aː][1]			
	nár [2]	**aː** [*x*2]	**aː** [*x*2] ∼ **ɑˑ**
	ná *(Negative Imperative Particle)*	**ɑː** [*x*3] ∼ **ɑˑ** [*x*4] ∼ **ə**	**ɑː** [*x*2] ∼ **ɑˑ** [*x*2] ∼ **aˑ**
	ná *(Comparative Particle)*	**ɑː** [*x*2] ∼ **ɑˑ** ∼ **ɑ**	**ɑˑ** [*x*2] ∼ **ɑ**
	cá	**ɑˑ**	**ə**
	dá	**ɑ** ∼ **a** ∼ **ə** [3]	**ɑː (dɑː)** ∼ **ʌ (dʌ)**
	má	**aˑ** [4]	**a** ∼ **ə**
	mám (*"handful"*)	**aːᵊ**	**aː**
[ɑː > aː/æː][1]			
	-tá/-fá	**ɑː** ∼ **ɑ** [*x*2]	
	-teá/-feá	**aː** ∼ **æː** ∼ **æˑ** ∼ **æ** [*x*2] ∼ **ə**	**ɑː** ∼ **aˑ** ∼ **æ** ∼ **ɛˑ** ∼ **e** [5]
	breá	**ɑː**	**ɑː**
VOWEL BACKING			
[aː > ɑː][1]			
	am	**aː** [*x*4]	**aː** [*x*3]
	gann	**aː (aːn ɣaːn)**	**aː (æːn ɣaːɴ)**
	mall	**ɑː**	**ɑː**
	anall		
	thall		**ɑː**
	sall *(= anonn)*		
	(ar) ball		**ɑː**

[1] Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables.

[2] Problematic non-standard forms such as *ná(r) raibh* and *ná(r) rinne* are included in the tally of instances of this item.

[3] All vocoids in this item represent reduced forms of *dá*.

[4] In the phrase **[maˑ aˑgɴ̩ tuˑ . . .]** (= *má thagann tú . . .*).

[5] In the phrase **[ɴʲiː waʲje . . .]** (= *ní bhfaighfeá . . .*).

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
ɑː	**aː** [$x2$]	
ɑː [$x3$] ∼ **aˑ** ∼ **ɑ**	**ɑˑ** ∼ **ɑ** [$x2$]	**ɑː** [$x2$] ∼ **ɑ** [$x3$]
ɑː ∼ **ɑ** ∼ **ə**	**ɑˑ** [$x2$] ∼ **ɑ**	**ɑː** ∼ **ɑˑ** [$x2$]
ɑː ∼ **ə**	**ɑ**	**eˑ** ∼ **ɛ** (**kʹeˑ/kʹɛ**)
ɑː [$x2$] (**dɑː**)	**ɑ** (**dɑ**) ∼ **ə** [2]	**ɑː** [$x2$] (**dɑː**) ∼ **a** ∼ **aⁱ** [$x2$] [3]
ɑː [1]	**aː** ∼ **ɑ**	**aː** ∼ **a**
ɑː ∼ **ɑˑ** ∼ **aˑ**	**ɑˑ**	**ɑː** ∼ **ɑˑ**
ɑː [$x2$] ∼ **ɑˑ** [$x2$] ∼ **ɑ**	**ɑː** ∼ **ə** [4]	**æ** [5]
ɑː	**ɑˑ**	**ɑː** [$x2$]
aː [$x2$]	**aː** ∼ **aˑ**	**aː** [$x2$] ∼ **æː**
ɑː (**ˈãː ˈɣɑːɴ**)	**ɑː**	**ɑː**
ɑː [$x2$] ∼ **ɑˑ**		**ɑː** [$x2$]
ɑː	**ɑː**	
		ɑː

[1] Note the anomalous form [**maːr ᵊduːrtʹ**] (= *mar adúirt?*) elicited in II.14.

[2] Representing the reduced form [**ə**].

[3] The last two vocoids in the series represent reduced forms of *dá*.

[4] In the form [**lʹɪkʹə**] (= *ligfeá*).

[5] In the form [**lʹɪkʹæ**] (= *ligfeá*).

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS ***INIS MEÁIN***

		M 70	*F 60+*
[ɑː > aː][1]			
	nár [2]	**aː ∼ æː** [3] **∼ a**	**aˑ** [*x*3]
	ná *(Negative Imperative Particle)*	**ɑ** [*x*2] **∼ a** [*x*3]	**ɑˑ ∼ ɑ ∼ a ∼ ə**
	ná *(Comparative Particle)*	**aː ∼ aˑ ∼ a** [*x*2]	**ɑˑ ∼ ɑ ∼ ə**
	cá	**ɑˑ**	**eˑ (kʹeˑ)**
	dá	**ɑː ∼ aˑ** [4]	**ɑ (dɑ) ∼ a (ga)**
	má	**ɑ** [*x*2] [5]	**a** [*x*2]
	mám (*"handful"*)		
[ɑː > aː/æː][1]			
	-tá/-fá	**ɑˑ ∼ ɑ ∼ o** [7]	**ɑː ∼ oˑ** [6] **∼ ə**
	-teá/-feá	**ɑː** [*x*2] **∼ ɑˑ ∼ ɑ ∼ ə** [*x*2]	**ɑ** [*x*2] **∼ ə** [*x*2]
	breá	**ɑː** [*x*4] **∼ æˑ** [*x*2]	**ɑː** [*x*2]
VOWEL BACKING			
[aː > ɑː][1]			
	am	**aː** [*x*3] [8]	**aː ∼ aˑ**
	gann	**ɑː**	**ɑː** [*x*2] **(aːnᵊ/aːN ɣɑːN)**
	mall	**ɑː**	**ɑː**
	anall		
	thall		**ɑː**
	sall *(= anonn)*		
	(ar) ball		**ɑː**

[1] Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables. [2] Problematic non-standard forms such as *ná(r) raibh* and *ná(r) rinne* are included in the tally of instances of this item. [3] In the phrase **[Næːrʹ εⁱbʹrʹi . . .]** (= *nár oibrigh . . .*). [4] Both vocoids in this item represent reduced forms of *dá*. [5] Note also the fronting and neutralisation of the vowel in the unaccented word **[ətʹ]** (= *áit*) in I.32. [6] In the sentence **[əN gʹæːNoˑ wɛmʹ ɛ]** *(= An gceannófá uaim é?)*. [7] In the sentence **[ə gʹæNo wɛmʹ ɛ]** *(= An gceannófá uaim é?)*. [8] Note the absence of backing in the word *cam* (**[kaːm]**) as well in the final discussion at the end of the interview in Part II.

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
aˑ ∼ a	**aː** [*x*2] **∼ aˑ** [*x*2]	**aː** [*x*3] **∼ aˑ ∼ ə**
ɑː ∼ aː [*x*2] [1] **∼ ə**	**ɑː** [*x*2] **∼ aː ∼ ɑ** [*x*2] **∼ a**	**ɑ ∼ a ∼ ə**
aˑ	**aː ∼ ɑˑ** [*x*3] **∼ ɑ**	**ɑˑ ∼ ɑ ∼ a**
ɑː	**ɑˑ**	**(knɑːt′)**[2]
ᵊ (ᵊwaʲn′ʃɪ . . .) ∼ æ [3]	**ɑˑ ∼ a ∼ ə (də)**[4]	**ə** [*x*2] **(də)**
aː ∼ ə	**ɑ** [*x*3]	**ɑ ∼ ə**
	(sʟɑːm)	
ɑː ∼ æˑ	**ɑˑ ∼ eˑ** [7]	**ɑˑ ∼ aˑ**
ə [5] **∼ ᵊ** [*x*2] [6]		**ɑˑ**
ɑː	**ɑˑ**	
aː [*x*3]	**ɑː ∼ aː** [*x*2]	**aː** [*x*2] **∼ a**
ɑː ('ãː 'ɣɑːɴ)	**ãː (ãː ɣ̃ãːɴ)**	**ɑː** [*x*5] **(gɑːɴ/aːɴ gɑːɴ [sic])**
	ɑː	**ɑː** [*x*4]
ɑː	**ɑː**	**ɑ**

[1] One instance of this variant occurs in the anomalous phrase **[naːrʹ ɪmʹɪgʹiː . . .]** (= *Ná himígí . . . !*), elicited in II.15.

[2] "Cén áit . . . "?

[3] Both vocoids in this item represent reduced forms of *dá*.

[4] The first two vocoids in this item represent reduced forms of *dá*.

[5] In the anomalous phrase **[mɑːrə mʹeːʲə tu . . .]** (= *Mura mbeifeá . . . ?/Mura mbeidh tú . . . ?*), elicited in II.13.

[6] In the verb forms **[vʹiːˑᵊsə . . . /vʹeːᵊ . . .]** (= *Bhíteásа . . . /Bheifeá . . . *).

[7] In the phrase **[ᵊdʹuːreˑ kʹæd . . .]** (= *An dtabharfá cead . . . ?*).

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: CONSONANTS

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
CONSONANT LOSS [1]		
[**h** > ∅] *(Word-Initially)*		
(Ná) himígí!	∅	**h**
(Ná) hosclaígí!	∅	**h**
(má) thagann ...	**h**	**h**
(Ar) thug ...?	**h**	∅ **(ᵊr ʊg)**
[**h** > ∅] *(Word-Medially)*		
bóthar	∅ [*x*4]	∅ [*x*3]
rothar	**h**	**h**
beithígh	∅ [*x*2] **(b′ɛˑⁱ/b′æⁱ)**	∅ [*x*2] **(b′eⁱ/b′ɛⁱ)**
dathúil		
(An) Sruthán	**h**	∅
(mo) dheartháir	**h** ∼ ∅ **(jr′əhɪr′/jr′ɑːr′)**	**h** ∼ ∅ **(jr′ɑˑhɪr′/jr′ɑːr′)**
(mo) dheirfiúr	∅ **(jr′əᵘr)**	**f** **(jr′əfər)**
(a) dheirfiúr	∅ **(jr′aʷər′)** (sic)	∅ **(jr′awər)**
[**v′n′**> **n′**]		
cuimhneamh	**n′** [*x*2]	**m′n′** **(kiˑm′n′uː)**
cuimhníonn	**v′N′** ∼ **v′** [2]	**N′**
CONSONANT WEAKENING [1]		
[**N′**> **n′**]		
inné	**N′** [*x*2] ∼ **n′**	**N′** ∼ **n′** [*x*2]
inniu	**N′** [*x*2]	**N′** [*x*2]
innealtóir	**N′** [*x*2]	**N′** [*x*2]
choinnigh	**N′** [*x*2]	**N′** [*x*6]
coinneáil	**N′** [*x*2]	**N′** [*x*3]
bainne	**n′** [*x*2]	**N′**
álainn	**n′**	**N′**

[1] Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables.

[2] Possibly a slip of the tongue, since the target form was articulated rapidly.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
h	
h	∅
h	∅
h	**h**
∅ [*x*4]	∅ [*x*3]
h	**h**
h ∼ ∅ **(b′ɛhɪᵊ/b′æⁱ)**	∅ [*x*3] **(b′ɛ˙ⁱ/b′ɛⁱ/b′æⁱ)**
h	∅
∅	∅ **(n sᵗrɑːn)**
∅ [*x*2] **(jr′ɑːɪr′/jr′ɑ˙r′)**	∅ [*x*2] **(jr′ɑːɪr′/jr′aːr′)** (sic)
∅ **(jr′aʷᵊr)**	∅ **(jr′ʌᵘrʰ)**
∅ **(jr′awər)**	∅ **(jr′awər)**
v′N′	**n′**
N′ [*x*2] ∼ **n′**	**N′** [*x*3]
N′ [*x*2]	**N′** [*x*2]
N′ ∼ **N** ∼ **n** [1]	**N′** [*x*2]
N′ [*x*5]	**N′** [*x*2]
N′ [*x*2]	**N′** [*x*3]
N′	**n′**
N′	**N′** ∼ **n′**

[1] This item elicited first **[ɪNəLhoːr′]**, which was corrected to **[ɪN′əLhoːr′]**. The variant **[ɪnərhoːr′]** was also elicited.

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: CONSONANTS

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
CONSONANT LOSS [1]		
[**h** > ∅] *(Word-Initially)*		
(Ná) himígí!	∅ [*x*2]	**h**
(Ná) hosclaígí!	∅ [*x*2]	**h** ∼ ∅
(má) thagann ...	∅	**h**
(Ar) thug ...?	**h** ∼ ∅	**h**
[**h** > ∅] *(Word-Medially)*		
bóthar	∅ [*x*4]	∅ [*x*7]
rothar	∅ [*x*3] **(rəːr)**	∅ **(rəːr)**
beithígh	∅ **(bʹæⁱ)**	∅ **(bʹæˑⁱ)**
dathúil	∅	∅
(An) Sruthán	∅	∅
(mo) dheartháir	∅ [*x*2] **(jrʹɑːⁱrʹ/jrʹɑːrʹ)**	∅ [*x*2] **(jrʹɑːrʹ/ˈjⁱrʹɑːrʹ)**
(mo) dheirfiúr	∅ **(jrʹaʷᵊr)**	∅ **(ˈjⁱrʹəur)**
(a) dheirfiúr	∅ **(jrʹawər)**	∅ **(jrʹaᵘr)**
[**v**ʹ**n**ʹ> **n**ʹ]		
cuimhneamh	**n**ʹ [*x*2]	**n**ʹ
cuimhníonn	**n**ʹ	**v**ʹ**N**ʹ
CONSONANT WEAKENING [1]		
[**N**ʹ> **n**ʹ]		
inné	**N**ʹ [*x*4]	**N**ʹ [*x*4]
inniu	**N**ʹ [*x*2]	**N**ʹ [*x*2]
innealtóir	**N**ʹ [*x*2] [2]	**N**ʹ [*x*2] [3]
choinnigh		**N**ʹ [*x*2]
coinneáil	**N**ʹ [*x*2]	**N**ʹ [*x*2]
bainne	**N**ʹ	**N**ʹ
álainn	**N**ʹ	**N**ʹ

[1] Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables. [2] Elicited as [**ɪNʹəLoˑrʹ**] twice. [3] Elicited as [**ɪNʹəLoːˈrʹ**] and as [**ɪNʹəLoˑrʹ**].

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
∅	∅	**h**
∅	∅	**h** [*x*2]
h	**h**	**h**
h	**h**	**h**
∅ [*x*4]	**h** ∼ ∅ [*x*3]	∅ [*x*4]
h (**rəhoˑˈr′**)		**h**
∅ [*x*2] (**b′æˑⁱ**)	∅ [*x*2] (**b′ɛⁱ**)	**h** ∼ ∅ (**b′ɛhiː/ b′æˑⁱ**)
h	**h**	
h	∅	∅
∅ [*x*2] (**jr′ɑːˈr′/jrɑːr′**)	**h** [*x*2] ∼ ∅ (**jr′əhar′/ ʲr′əhər′/ʲr′ɑːr′**)	**h** ∼ ∅ (**jr′əhɑˑr′/ jrɑːr′**)
h ∼ ∅ [*x*2] (**jrəhuːr′/**) **jrawʊrʰ/jrawɪr′**)	∅ [*x*2] (**ʲr′aʷər′/ʲr′ʌᵘr′**)	**f** ∼ ∅ (**jr′əfuˑr/jr′aˑᵘr**)
∅ (**jr′awər**)	**f** (**jr′ɛfuːr′**)	**f** [*x*2] (**d′r′ɛfuˑrʰ . . . ⁱjr′ɛfuːr**)
n′		**v′n′** [*x*2]
n′		
N′ [*x*4] ∼ **n′**	**N′** [*x*4] ∼ **n′**	**n′** [*x*5]
N′ [*x*2]	**N′** [*x*2]	**N′** [*x*2]
	N′ ∼ **N** [1]	**n′** [*x*2]
N′	**N′** [*x*2]	**N′** ∼ **n′** [*x*2]
N′ [*x*2]	**N′** [*x*2]	**N′** [*x*4]
N′	**N′**	**n′** [2]
n′ [*x*2]	**N′**	**ŋ′**

[1] Elicited as [**iN′əLtər′**] and as [**jiNəLtər′**], respectively. [2] Cf. also [**k′ɪl′ ˈeːn′ɛ**] (= *Cill Éinne*) at the end of Part One.

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: CONSONANTS ***INIS MEÁIN***

	M 70	*F 60+*
CONSONANT LOSS [1]		
[**h** > ∅] *(Word-Initially)*		
(Ná) himígí!	**h**	**h**
(Ná) hosclaígí!	∅	**h** [*x*2]
(má) thagann ...	**h**	**h**
(Ar) thug ...?	**h**	**h**
[**h** > ∅] *(Word-Medially)*		
bóthar	∅ [*x*4] [2]	∅ [*x*4]
rothar	**h (rʊhʊr)**	**h**
beithígh	∅ **(bʹɛⁱ)**	∅ **(bʹɛⁱ)**
dathúil		
(An) Sruthán	∅	**h**
(mo) dheartháir	∅ [*x*2] **(jrɑˑr** (sic) **/ jrʹɑrʹ)**	**h** ∼ ∅ [*x*2] **(jrʹəhɑˑrʹ/ jrʹɑːrʹ/rʹɑˑrʹ)**
(mo) dheirfiúr	**h (jrʹɛhurʰ)**	∅ **(rʹawər)**
(a) dheirfiúr	∅ **(jrʹʌʷər)**	∅ **(ən' dʹrʹʌʷər)**
[**vʹnʹ**> **nʹ**]		
cuimhneamh		
cuimhníonn	**ɴʹ (kiːɴʹoː)**[3]	
CONSONANT WEAKENING [1]		
[**ɴʹ**> **nʹ**]		
inné	**ɴʹ** [*x*3]	**ɴʹ** [*x*5]
inniu	**ɴʹ** [*x*2]	**ɴʹ** [*x*2]
innealtóir	**ɴʹ** [*x*2]	**ɴʹ** [*x*2]
choinnigh	**ɴʹ** [*x*2]	**ɴʹ** [*x*2]
coinneáil	**ɴʹ** [*x*3]	**ɴʹ** [*x*2]
bainne	**ɴʹ**	**ɴʹ**
álainn	**ɴʹ** [*x*2]	**ɴʹ**

[1] Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables. [2] Including one example with a palatalised final consonant. [3] The future tense.

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
∅ [1]	∅	∅
∅	∅ [*x*2]	∅
h	**h**	**h**
h	**h**	**h** [*x*2]
∅ [*x*3]	∅ [*x*4]	∅ [*x*3]
∅ [*x*2] **(b′ɛ^{i})**	∅ [*x*2] **(b′ɛ^{i}/b′æ^{ˑi})**	∅ [*x*2] **(b′ɛ^{ˑi}/b′ʌ^{i})**
		h
h (strəhɑˑn)	∅	∅
∅ [*x*2] **(jr′ɑːr′)**	∅ [*x*2] **(jr′ɑːr′/r′ɑːr′)**	∅ [*x*2] **(r′ɑːr′)**
∅ **(jr′a^{u}r^{h})**	∅ **(r′a^{u}r)**	∅ **(r′a^{u}r′)** (sic)
∅ **(ɣr′a^{u}r)**	∅ [*x*2] **(ʟ′a^{u}r)**[2]	∅ **(r′a^{u}r^{h})**
	n′	**n′**
n′	**n′** [*x*2]	**n′** [*x*3]
n′ [*x*3]	**n′** [*x*3]	**n′** [*x*3] ∼ **n**
ɴ′ [*x*2]	**ɴ′** [*x*2]	**ɴ′** [*x*2]
n [*x*2] **(inəltər′)**	**n′**	
ɴ′ [*x*2]	**ɴ′** [*x*2]	**ɴ′** [*x*2]
n′	**ɴ′**	**n′**
n′		**n′**

[1] In the anomalous form [**ɴaːr′ ɪm′ɪg′iː**]. [2] In the apparently phonologically problematic phrase [**. . . ə ʟ′a^{u}r . . . ə jra^{u} . . . ʟ′a^{u}r . . .**].

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: CONSONANTS

		BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
CONSONANT SUBSTITUTION IN CONSONANT CLUSTERS [1]			
[kN> kr]			
	cnoc		**(gə̃) xN**
	cnaipe	**kN**	**kN**
[gN> gr]			
	(de)ghnáth/gnách		
	gnáthdhuine	**gN**	
	gnúsacht	**gᵊN** [2]	[3]
[mN> mr]			
	mná *(gen./nom.pl.)*	**mN** [$x3$]	**mN** [$x3$]
[wr > mr]			
	samhradh	**ʌᵘr′ (sʌᵘr′ə)** (sic)	**ãvr (sãvrə)**
[v′r′> m′r′]			
	geimhreadh	**iːv′r′** [$x2$]	**iːv′r′ ∼ iːm′r′**
[rʃ > rs]			
	tuirseach	**rʃ**	**rs**
	fairsing		
[ʃk′> sk′]			
	scian	**sk′** [$x2$]	**sk′** [$x3$]
	scéal	**sk′**	**sk′**
	sciobtha		
[ʃt′> st′]			
	isteach	**ʃt′ ∼ st′** [$x2$]	**st′** [$x2$]

[1] Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables.

[2] Prompted by husband.

[3] Informant produced **[m′iːNuːᵊx]** (= *méanfach*).

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
kᵊN ∼ (...əN) xN **kN**	**kᵊN ∼ (gə̃) xN** **kN**
(dʹɛ) ɣN [*x*2] **∼ gn** **gᵊN** [*x*2] [1] **gᵊN**	 **gᵊN** **gᵊr (gᵊruːsəxt)**
mN [*x*2] **∼ mn**	**mN** [*x*2] **∼ mn**
ãᵘɹ (sãᵘɹə)	**əᵘr**
iːmʹrʹ [*x*2]	**iːvʹrʹ** [*x*2]
rs **rʃ**	**rs** **rʃ**
ʃkʹ ∼ skʹ **ʃkʹ**	**ʃkʹ ∼ skʹ**
ʃtʹ [*x*3]	**ʃtʹ ∼ stʹ**

[1] **[gᵊˈNɑːdɪnʹɪ]** (sic).

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: CONSONANTS

		CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
CONSONANT SUBSTITUTION IN CONSONANT CLUSTERS [1]			
[kN> kr]			
	cnoc		**kn**
	cnaipe	**kn**	**kn**
[gN> gr]			
	(de)ghnáth/gnách	**gN** [*x*2] **(bə gNɑːx)**[2]	**ɣN (bə ɣNɑːx)**
	gnáthdhuine	**gn (ˈgnɑːˈɣɪnʹɪ)**	**gn (ˈgnɑːdɪnʹɪ)**
	gnúsacht	**gr**	**gn**
[mN> mr]			
	mná *(gen./nom.pl.)*	**mN** [*x*4]	**mN ∼ mn** [*x*2]
[wr > mr]			
	samhradh	**ãːmr (sãːmrə)**	**aᵘr**
[vʹrʹ> mʹrʹ]			
	geimhreadh	**iːmʹrʹ** [*x*2]	**iːmʹrʹ ∼ ĩːmʹrʹ**
[rʃ > rs]			
	tuirseach	**rʃ**	**rs**
	fairsing	**rʃ**	**rʃ**
[ʃkʹ> skʹ]			
	scian	**skʹ** [*x*2]	**skʹ** [*x*2]
	scéal	**skʹ**	**skʹ (skʹiəL)**
	sciobtha	**skʹ**	
[ʃtʹ> stʹ]			
	isteach	**ʃtʹ ∼ stʹ** [*x*2]	**ʃtʹ** [*x*2] **∼ stʹ**

[1] Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables.

[2] Note the interrogative form **[m Nɑːx . . .]** (= *Ar ghnách . . . ?*).

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
xN (...ə xNək′) **kr**	**xN (...ə̃ xNʊk)** **k^{h}r**	**kN ∼ xN** [1] **∼ xr** [2] **kN**
g^{ə}N **gN**	**ŋN (ə ŋNɑːɣɪN′ɛ)** **gN**	**g^{ə}N (g^{ə}ˈNɑːˌæːr)**[3] **g^{ə}N**
mN [*x*4]	**mN** [*x*2] **∼ m^{ə}N**	**mN** [*x*4]
a^{u}r	**aːvr**	**aːvr ∼ aˑvr**
iːv′r′ ∼ ĩːr′	**iːv′r′** [*x*2]	**iːv′r′** [*x*2]
rs **rʃ**	**rs** **rʃ**	**rs** **rʃ**
ʃk′ [*x*2] **ʃk′ (ʃk′iˑ^{ə}L)**	**ʃk′** [*x*2] **ʃk′**	**ʃk′ ∼ sk′** [*x*3] **ʃk′ ∼ sk′**
ʃt′ ∼ st′ [*x*2]	**ʃt′** [*x*2] **∼ st′**	**st′ ∼ stʃ** [*x*2]

[1] In the phrase **[ə Naːr gə xNʊk]** (= *i ngar do chnoc*).

[2] In the phrase **[ə ŋaːr gə xrʊk]** (= *i ngar do chnoc*).

[3] *Gnáthfhear.*

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: CONSONANTS ***INIS MEÁIN***

		M 70	*F 60+*
CONSONANT SUBSTITUTION IN CONSONANT CLUSTERS [1]			
[kN> kr]			
	cnoc	**kr ∼ xr (gə̃ xrʊk)**	**kn** [2] **∼ xr** [3]
	cnaipe	**kᵊN ∼ kr** [4]	**kr′ (kr′æˑp′ɛ)**
[gN> gr]			
	(de)ghnáth/gnách		
	gnáthdhuine	**gN**	**gr (grɑːɣɪn′ɛ)**
	gnúsacht	**gr**	**gr** [x2] [5]
[mN> mr]			
	mná *(gen./nom.pl.)*	**mN** [x4] **∼ mr** [x4]	**mr** [x3]
[wr > mr]			
	samhradh	**aᵘr**	**aᵘr**
[v′r′> m′r′]			
	geimhreadh	**iːv′r′** [x2]	**ĩːv′r′** [x2]
[rʃ > rs]			
	tuirseach	**rs** [x2]	**rs**
	fairsing	**rʃ**	**rʃ** [x2]
[ʃk′> sk′]			
	scian	**ʃk′ ∼ sk′** [x3]	**sk′** [x2]
	scéal	**sk′**	**sk′**
	sciobtha		
[ʃt′> st′]			
	isteach	**ʃt′ ∼ st′** [x3] [6]	**st′ ∼ stʃ** [x2]

[1] Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables. [2] The second segment was apparently corrected in mid-articulation. [3] In the phrase **[Nɛk ˌN xrɛk′]** (= *in aice an chnoic*). [4] Either variant is acceptable to the informant. [5] After prompting the informant with **[gNuːsəxt]** and **[gruːsəxt]**. [6] Note the cluster **[stʃ]** in the form **[ɪsˈtʃɪ]** (= *istigh*) in I.2.

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
kr ∼ **xr** [*x*2] **(. . . ə/gəɣ xrʊk)** **kr**	**kr** ∼ **xr** **(. . . əN xrʊk)** **kr**	**kr** ∼ **xr** [*x*2] **(. . . ə xrək/xrok)** **kr**
ɣr′. . . gr	**gr**	**gᵊN** [*x*2] **gr**
mr [*x*3]	**mN** [*x*2] ∼ **mr** [*x*3]	**mr** [*x*6]
aᵘr	**aᵘr**	**ʌᵘr**
iːv′r′ ∼ **eⁱv′r′**	**iːv′r′** ∼ **ɪːm′r′**	**iːv′r′** [*x*2]
rs [1] **rʃ**	**rʃ**	**rs**
ʃk′ [*x*2] **sk′**	**ʃk′** ∼ **sk′** **sk′**	**sk′** [*x*2] **sk′**
st′ [*x*3]	**ʃt′** [*x*3] ∼ **st′** [*x*2] [2]	**st′** [*x*3]

[1] In the clause **[v′iᵊx ˈaːn ˈtərs ərᵊm]** (= *. . . Bhíodh an-tuirse orm . . .*) [2] Note the cluster **[st′]** in the phrase **[ə fɑːst′iː]** (= *. . . a pháistí . . .*) in I.3.

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: CONSONANTS

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
AFFRICATION [1]		
[t′> tʃ] *(Word-Initially)* [2]		
teach/tí	**t′** [*x*10]	**t′** [*x*7]
(an) tseachtain	**t′**	**t′**
teacht	**t′** [*x*2]	**t′** [*x*2]
tinn	**t′**	**t′**
tuilleadh		
[t′> tʃ] *(Word-Medially and Word-Finally)* [3]		
caite	**t′**	
áit	**t′** [*x*4]	**t′** [*x*4]
caint	**t′** [*x*2]	**t′** [*x*2]
buailte (*pl. of* ***buaile***)	**t′**	**t′**
beirt	**t′**	**t′** [4]
[rt′> rʃt′]		
tabhairt	**t′**	**t′** [*x*2]
labhairt	**(Lau rt l′ɛʃ)**[5]	**t′**
dúirt	**t′** [*x*2] ∼ **(du·rt m′ɛ)**[5]	**t′** [*x*14]
beirt	**t′**	**t′**
[d′> ʤ] *(Word-Initially)*		
Dia	**d′** [*x*4]	**d′** [*x*2]
(go) dtí		
de		**d′**
di		**d′**
d'imigh		**d′**
Déanaigí!	**d′**	
deas	**d′** [*x*2]	
(i) dteach	**d′**	

[1] Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables. [2] Cf. *Tar!, Téigh!,* and *Tabhair!* under verbs. [3] Cf. the comparative forms of adjectives. [4] But note **[doːrtʃu·]** (= *doirteadh*) in II.4. [5] Note absence of palatal release.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
t′ [*x*7]	**t′** [*x*8]
t′	**t′**
t′ [*x*2]	**t′** [*x*2]
t′	**t′**
t′	**t′**
t′	**t′**
t′ [*x*4]	**t′** [*x*5]
t′ [*x*2]	**t′** [*x*3]
t′	
t′ [*x*2]	**t′**
t′ [*x*2]	**t′** [*x*2]
(ʟʌ^{u}rt l′ɛʃ [*x*2]**)**[1]	
t′ [*x*12] ∼ **tʃ** [*x*2]	**(durt m′ɛ/ʃɪʃɪ ∼ duːrt ʃe)**[1]
t′ [*x*2]	**t′**
d′ [*x*2]	**d′** [*x*5]
d′ [*x*2]	**d′**
d′	
d′ [*x*2]	**d′**
ʤ	
d′ [*x*2]	**d′** [*x*2]
d′	

[1] Note absence of palatal release.

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: CONSONANTS

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
AFFRICATION [1]		
[t′> tʃ] *(Word-Initially)* [2]		
teach/tí	**t′** [*x*9]	**t′** [*x*11]
(an) tseachtain	**t′**	**t′**
teacht	**t′** [*x*2]	**t′** [*x*2]
tinn	**t′**	**t′** [*x*2]
tuilleadh		
[t′> tʃ] *(Word-Medially and Word-Finally)* [3]		
caite	**t′**	**t′**
áit	**t′**	**t′** [*x*6]
caint	**t′** [*x*3]	**t′** [*x*3]
buailte (*pl. of* ***buaile***)	**t′**	**t′**
beirt	**t′** [*x*3]	**t′** [*x*2]
[rt′> rʃt′]		
tabhairt	**t′** [*x*2]	**t′** [*x*2]
labhairt	**t′**	**t′**
dúirt	**t′**	**t′** [*x*10] ∼ **(du·rt ʃɪʃɪ)**[4]
beirt	**t′** [*x*3] [5]	**t′** [*x*2]
[d′> ʤ] *(Word-Initially)*		
Dia	**d′**	**d′** [*x*2]
(go) dtí		**d′** [*x*2]
de		
di	**d′** [*x*2]	**d′**
d'imigh	**d′** [*x*2]	**d′**
Déanaigí!	**d′** [*x*2]	**d′**
deas	**d′** [*x*3]	**d′** [*x*3]
(i) dteach	**d′**	

[1] Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables. [2] Cf. *Tar!, Téigh!,* and *Tabhair!* under verbs. [3] Cf. the comparative forms of adjectives. [4] Note absence of palatal release. [5] But note the cluster **[ʃtʃ]** in **[do:rʃtʃu·]** (= *doirteadh*) in II.4.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
tʲ [*x*6]	**tʲ** [*x*5] ∼ **tʃ** [*x*3]	**tʃ** [*x*10]
tʲ	**tʃ**	**tʃ**
tʲ [*x*2]	**tʃ** [*x*2]	**tʲ** ∼ **tʃ**
tʲ	**tʃ**	**tʃ**
tʲ	**tʲ**	**tʃ**
tʲ [*x*6]	**tʃ** [*x*3]	**tʲ** ∼ **tʃ** [*x*4]
tʲ [*x*4]	**tʃ** [*x*2]	**tʃ** [*x*2]
tʲ	**tʲ**	
tʲ [*x*2]	**tʲ** ∼ **tʃ** [1]	**tʃ** [*x*2][2]
tʲ [*x*2]	**tʃ**	**tʲ** [*x*2] ∼ **tʃ** (**tʃuːrtʲ**)
(**Lʌᵘrt lʲɛʃ** [*x*2])[3]	**tʲ**	(**Lʌᵘrt lʲɛʃ** [*x*2])[3]
tʲ [*x*8] ∼ (**duːrt mʲeˑ/ʃɪʃɪ/ʃe**)[3]	**tʲ** [*x*2] ∼ **tʃ** [*x*8] ∼ (**duˑrt mʲɛ**)[3]	**tʲ** [*x*5] ∼ **tʃ** [*x*3] ∼ (**duːrt ʃɛ**) [*x*2][3]
tʲ [*x*2]	**tʲ** ∼ **tʃ**	**tʃ** [*x*2]
dʲ [*x*6] ∼ **ʤ**	**dʲ** ∼ **ʤ**	**ʤ** [*x*6]
		ʤ
dʲ		**ʤ** [4]
dʲ [*x*2]	**ʤ**	**ʤ**
	ʤ (**ʤəNə**)[5] ∼ **ʒ**	**ʤ** [*x*2]
dʲ [*x*2]	**ʤ**	**ʤ** [*x*2]

[1] Note also the past participle **[doˑrtʃi]** (= *doirte*) in II.4. [2] Note also the past impersonal verb form **[doːrtʃuˑ]** (= *doirteadh*) in II.4. [3] Note absence of palatal release. [4] Note also **[ʤiːv]** (= *díobh*) in II.2. [5] *. . . (ag) déanamh . . . .*

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: CONSONANTS INIS MEÁIN

	M 70	*F 60+*
AFFRICATION [1]		
[t′> tʃ] *(Word-Initially)* [2]		
teach/tí	**t′** [*x*7] ∼ **tʃ** [*x*2]	**tʃ** [*x*8]
(an) tseachtain	**tʃ**	**tʃ** [3]
teacht	**t′** [*x*2] ∼ **tʃ**	**tʃ** [*x*2]
tinn	**tʃ**	**tʃ**
tuilleadh	**t** ∼ **tʃ**	
[t′> tʃ] *(Word-Medially and Word-Finally)* [4]		
caite	**tʃ**	**tʃ**
áit	**t′** [*x*3] ∼ **tʃ** [*x*2]	**tʃ** [*x*5]
caint	**t′** [*x*2]	**tʃ** [*x*2]
buailte (*pl. of* ***buaile***)		**tʃ** [*x*2]
beirt	**t′** [*x*2]	
[rt′> rʃt′]		
tabhairt	**t′** [*x*2] ∼ **ʃt′**	**tʃ** ∼ **ʃt′**
labhairt	**(Lau rt l′ɛʃ)** [5]	**(Lʌu rt l′ɛʃ)** [5]
dúirt	**ʃt′** [*x*2] [6]	**ʃt′** [*x*2] [7]
beirt	**t′** [*x*2]	**ʃt′**
[d′> ʤ] *(Word-Initially)*		
Dia	**ʤ** [*x*2]	**ʤ** [*x*7]
(go) dtí		
de		
di		**ʤ**
d'imigh	**ʤ** [*x*2]	**ʤ**
Déanaigí!	**ʤ**	**ʤ**
deas	**d′** [*x*2]	**ʤ** [*x*2]
(i) dteach	**d′** [*x*2]	**ʤ**

[1] Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables. [2] Cf. *Tar!, Téigh!,* and *Tabhair!* under verbs. [3] In the phrase **[n̪ tʃækstn̪′ tʃə kæˑtʃɪ]** (= *. . . an tseachtain seo caite . . .*). [4] Cf. the comparative forms of adjectives. [5] Note absence of palatal release. [6] The first occurence is in the form **[duˑrʃt′ ɛ]** (= *dúirt sé*) and the second in the form **[d′ɛr ʃt′e]** (= *deir sé?*). [7] Followed by the pronouns **[m′e]** and **[mʊʤ]**, respectively.

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
t′ [*x*9]	**t′** [*x*7] ∼ **tʃ** [*x*5]	**t′** [*x*4] ∼ **tʃ** [*x*7]
(n̩ ʃæxtɪn′)	**t′**	**(n̩′ ʃæxtən′)**
t′ [*x*2]	**t′** ∼ **tʃ**	**tʃ** [*x*2]
t′	**tʃ**	**tʃ**
t′		
	tʃ	**tʃ**
t′ [*x*3] ∼ **tʃ**	**t′** ∼ **tʃ** [1]	**tʃ** [*x*3]
t′ [*x*3]	**t′** [*x*3]	**t′** [*x*2]
t′	**tʃ**	**t′**
t′	**tʃ** [*x*3]	**tʃ** [*x*3]
		t′ (Laᵘrt′ l′ɛʃ)
t′		**t′** [*x*2]
t′	**tʃ**	**t′**
d′ [*x*2] ∼ **ʤ** [*x*3]	**ʤ** [*x*2]	**d′** ∼ **ʤ**
	d′	
d′	**ʤ**	**z′ (z′ɪ)**
ʤ [*x*3]	**d′** ∼ **ʤ**	**ʤ** [*x*2]
ʤ	**ʤ**	**ʤ** [*x*2]
d′ ∼ **ʤ** [*x*2]	**d′** [2] ∼ **ʤ** [*x*2]	**ʤ** [*x*3]

[1] Note the absence of palatal release in the phrase **[ɑːt d′æːs]** (= *. . . áit dheas . . .*) in II.30. [2] In II.30.

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: CONSONANTS

		BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
AFFRICATION (Cont'd.)[1]			
[**d′> ʤ**] *(Word-Medially and Word-Finally)*			
	Bríd	**d′** [*x*2]	**d′** [*x*2]
	cuid	**d′** [*x*11]	**d′** [*x*10]
	cairde	**d′**	
[**nʃ > ntʃ**]			
	anseo	**nʃ** [*x*5]	**nʃ** [*x*3]
	ansin	**nʃ** [*x*3]	**nʃ** [*x*4]
VOCALISATION [1]			
[**əv > uː**]			
	tarbh	**uˑ**	**uˑ**
(In the Impersonal Simple past)			
	cailleadh	**uː ∼ u**	**uː ∼ uˑ**
	doirteadh	**u**	**uˑ (doːrtʃuˑ)**
	rugadh (ar . . .)		**uˑ**
	fuarthas	**uˑ** [*x*3] **(forˈuˑ/fʊrˈuˑ/ Naˑr wɪrˈuˑ)**	**uˑ (fərˈuˑ)**
CONSONANT SUBSTITUTION AT WORD BOUNDARIES [1]			
[**ɣ > w**]			
	(ó) dhaoine		
	(beirt) daoine	**ɣɑː ɣɪnˈɛ**	
[**∅ > j**]			
	(Fág taobh) amuigh é!	**. . . tivˈ ᵊmuˑʲj ɛ**	**. . . tiː ᵊmuʲ ɛ**

[1] Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
dʹ [*x*2]	**dʹ** [*x*2]
dʹ [*x*3] ∼ **ʤ** [*x*5]	**dʹ** [*x*10]
ʤ	
nʃ [*x*5]	**nʃ** [*x*5]
nʃ [*x*4]	**nʃ**
uˑ	**uː**
u	**u**
uː (**nær fʹrʹiːuː**)	**uː** ∼ **u** (**fərʹuː/naˑr wɪrʹu**)
oː wiːnʹɛ	
	bʹɛrtʹ wiːnʹɪ
. . . tiːvʹ ᵊmuʲj ɛ	**. . . tiˑvʹ ᵊmuʲ ɛ**

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: CONSONANTS

		CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
AFFRICATION (Cont'd.)[1]			
[d′> ʤ] *(Word-Medially and Word-Finally)*			
	Bríd	**d′** [*x*6]	**d′** [*x*3]
	cuid	**d′** [*x*2] ∼ **ʤ** [*x*5]	**d′** [*x*5] ∼ **ʤ** [*x*5]
	cairde	**d′** [*x*2]	**d′** [*x*2]
[nʃ > ntʃ]			
	anseo	**nʃ** [*x*4]	**nʃ** [*x*4]
	ansin	**nʃ** [*x*4]	**nʃ** [*x*3] ∼ **n′t′ (n̪′ˈt′ɪn′)**
VOCALISATION [1]			
[əv > uː]			
	tarbh	**u** [2]	**ʊˑ**
(In the Impersonal Simple past)			
	cailleadh	**u**	
	doirteadh	**uˑ (doːrʃtʃuˑ)**	
	rugadh (ar . . .)	**u (b′ɛr′u)**	**(rʊgʊːs)**
	fuarthas	**uˑ** [*x*2] **(fʷɪr′uˑ)**	**uː (Naːr oːʲr′uː/ foːr′ɪs)**
CONSONANT SUBSTITUTION AT WORD BOUNDARIES [1]			
[ɣ > w]			
	(ó) dhaoine	**oː vəjɪn′ɛ**	
	(beirt) daoine	**ɣaː ɣɪn′ɪ** [*x*2]	
[∅ > j]			
	(Fág taobh) amuigh é!	**. . . tiːv ᵊmuʲj ɛ**	**. . . tiˑv ᵊmuʲ ɛ**

[1] Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables.

[2] Prompted by F72 with **[taːru]**.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
dʲ [*x*2]	**dʲ** [*x*2]	**dʲ ∼ ʤ**
dʲ [*x*3] **∼ ʤ** [*x*9]	**ʤ** [*x*4]	**ʤ** [*x*11]
	ʤ	**ʤ**
nʃ [*x*8]	**nʃ** [*x*2] **∼ nʲsʲ** [*x*3]	**nʲtʃ (n̪ʲˈtʃə)**
	(nʲˈsʲə) ∼ nʲtʲ (n̪ʲˈtʲə)	**∼ nʲtʲ (n̪ʲˈtʲɔ)**
nʃ [*x*5]	**nʲtʃ (n̪ʲˈtʃɪnʲ)**	**nʃ ∼ nʲtʃ** [*x*4]
	∼ nʲtʲ (n̪ʲˈtʲɪnʲ)	**(n̪ʲˈtʃɪnʲ)**[1]
ʊˑ	**əv**	**ʊ**
u	**u** [*x*2]	**uˑ ∼ u** [*x*2] [2]
uˑ		**uˑ (doːrtʃuˑ)**
	u	**uː**
uː ∼ uˑ	**u (fʲrʲɪhu)**	**uː ∼ uˑ**
(fuˑrʲuː/nʲiːrʲ fʲrʲiːuˑ)		**(fʲrʲiˑuː/fʲrʲiːuˑ)**
		oː wiːnʲiː
bʲɛrtʲ ɣiːnʲɪ		
. . . tiː məj ɛ	**. . . tiˑv ᵊməh ɛ**	**. . . tiː ˈmə**

[1] Note also the form **[n̪ʲˈtʃuːd]** (= *ansiúd*) in II.45, and the phrase **[ɴ ɑːtʃɪnʲ]** (= *. . . an áit sin . . .*) in II.32.

[2] The anomalous forms **[bɑːsuˑ]** and **[bɑːsu]** (from the intransitive verb *básaigh*) were also elicited.

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: CONSONANTS ***INIS MEÁIN***

	M 70	*F 60+*
AFFRICATION (Cont'd.)[1]		
[d′> ʤ] *(Word-Medially and Word-Finally)*		
Bríd	**d′** [*x*2]	**d′** ∼ **ʤ** [*x*3]
cuid	**d′** [*x*3] ∼ **ʤ** [*x*12]	**ʤ** [*x*11] ∼ **tʃ** [2]
cairde	**d′**	**ʤ**
[nʃ > ntʃ]		
anseo	**n′tʃ** [*x*5] **(n′ˈtʃɛ/ɪn′ˈtʃə)**	**n′tʃ** [*x*3] **(n̩′ˈtʃə/ ɪn′ˈtʃə/ɛn′ˈtʃə)**
ansin	**n′tʃ (n′ˈtʃɪn′)** ∼ **tʃ (əˈtʃɪn′)**[3]	**n′tʃ** [*x*2] **(n̩′ˈtʃɪn′/ ɛn′ˈtʃɪn′)**[4]
VOCALISATION [1]		
[əv > uː]		
tarbh	**uː**	**ʊˑ**
(In the Impersonal Simple past)		
cailleadh		
doirteadh		
rugadh (ar . . .)	**uˑ**	**(rʊgʊs)**
fuarthas	**v** [*x*2] **(f′r′iːv/ ɴax f′r′iːv)**	**v (f′r′iːv)**
CONSONANT SUBSTITUTION AT WORD BOUNDARIES [1]		
[ɣ > w]		
(ó) dhaoine	**oː ɣiːn′ɪ**	**oː ɴə diːn′ɪ**
(beirt) daoine	**b′ɛrt′ wiːn′ɛ**	
[∅ > j]		
(Fág taobh) amuigh é!	**. . . tiːv əˈmui ɛ**	**. . . əˈmʊⁱ ɛ**

[1] Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables. [2] In the construction **[fɑˑg′iˑ gɪtʃ hæːtiˑ]** (= *Faighigí bhur gcuid hataí . . .*) in II.3. [3] Cf. also **[ᵉtʃuːd]** and **[ᵊtʃuːːt]**(= *ansiúd*) in II.32 and in II.45, respectively, and the phrase **[ɛr skə ʃt′ɪn′]**(sic)(= *. . . ar an scoil sin*) in I.44. [4] Cf. also the phrase **[ɛg′ ən′ skəl′ tʃ′ɪn′]**(= *. . . ag an scoil sin*) in I.44.

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
d′ [*x*3] **d′** [*x*2] ∼ **ʤ** [*x*6]	**ʤ** [*x*2] **d′** [*x*3] ∼ **ʤ** [*x*8] **ʤ**	**d′** [*x*2] ∼ **ʤ** **d′** ∼ **ʤ** [*x*6] **ʤ**
nʃ [*x*2] ∼ **n′tʃ** [*x*2] **(n̩′ˈtʃə)** ∼ **n′t′** [*x*3] **(n̩′ˈt′ə)** **tʃ** **(əˈtʃɪn′)**[1] ∼ **n′t′** [*x*3] **(n̩′ˈt′ɪn′/ənˈ′t′ɪn′)**	**n′s′** **(ɪn′ˈs′ə)** ∼ **n′tʃ** [*x*4] **(n̩′ˈtʃə/ɪn′ˈtʃə)** ∼ **n′t′** **(n̩′ˈt′ə)** **n′tʃ** [*x*4] **(n̩′ˈtʃɪn′/ən′ˈtʃɪn′)**[2]	**nʃ** ∼ **n′tʃ** [*x*5] **(n̩′ˈtʃə/n̩′ˈtʃoˑ)** **n′tʃ** **(n̩′ˈtʃɪn′)** ∼ **tʃ** **(ə̃ˈtʃɪn′/ᵊtʃɪn′** [3]**/ᵋtʃɪn′/)**
əv [*x*2] ∼ **ᵊv**	**əv**	**əv** [*x*2]
əv **(rʊgəs)**	**uˑ** ∼ **u** **əv** **(rʊgəs)** **v** [*x*2] **(f′iːv/naːr f′iːv)**	
(oː wiˑn′t′ər′ . . .)	**(ɑː wiˑn′t′ɪr′ . . .)**	**oː Nə duʲn′iː**
. . . tiːv əˈmə ɛ	**. . . tiː ˈmo ɛ**	**. . . tiˑv ᵊmʊ ɛ**

[1] In the phrase **[hɑːʟ əˈtʃɪn′]**(= *. . . thall ansin*).

[2] Cf. also the phrase **[g′ skəl′ tʃ′ɪn′]**(= *. . . ag an scoil sin*) in I.44.

[3] In the phrase **[hɑʟ ᵊtʃɪn′]**(= *. . . thall ansin*).

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: CONSONANTS

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
CONSONANT SUBSTITUTION AT WORD BOUNDARIES (Cont'd.)[1]		
[ŋ > ɴ]		
(i) ngar		
(go) ngabhfaidh ...	**ŋʹ (gə ŋʹeu)**	
(go) ngnóthóidh ...	**ŋ**	**ŋ**
(ar an) ngaineamh	**ŋ**	**ŋ**
[ŋʹ> ɴʹ]		
(sa) gheimhreadh	**ŋʹ** [$x2$]	**ŋʹ** [$x2$]
GLIDES AND RE-SYLLABIFICATION		
gabhar	**gaᵘr**	**ə ɣaˑʷᵊr** (sic)
gabhair	**gaʷɪrʹ**	**gəwɪrʹ**
(an) ghrian	**əɴ jrʹiᵊɴ**	**əŋʹ gʹrʹiːəɴ**
(mo) dheartháir	**mi jrʹəhɪrʹ** ∼ **mə jrʹɑːrʹ**	**miˑ jrʹɑˑhɪrʹ** ∼ **ᵊmiː jrʹɑːrʹ**
(mo) dheirfiúr	**mi jrʹəᵘr**	**miˑ jrʹəfər**
(a) dheirfiúr	**i jrʹaʷərʹ** (sic)	**iː jrʹawər**

[1] Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
	ŋ
ŋ	
	N (gə Nuˑiˑ)
ŋ	**ŋ**
N′ ∼ g′ (sə g′iːm′r′ɛ)	**ŋ′** [$x2$]
gaᵘr	**gʌʷᵊr**
gawɪr′	**gʌʷᴵr′**
ĩ jr′iˑᵊN	**j′r′iᵊn**
mi jr′ɑːᴵr′ ∼ mᵊi jr′ɑˑr′	**məⁱ jr′ɑːr′ ∼ mi jr′ɑːr′**
miˑ jr′aʷᵊr	**mi jr′ʌᵘrʰ**
iː jr′awər	**i jr′awər**

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: CONSONANTS

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
CONSONANT SUBSTITUTION AT WORD BOUNDARIES (Cont'd.)[1]		
[ŋ > N]		
(i) ngar		
(go) ngabhfaidh ...	**N (ᵊNoˑ)**	**N (No gə Naᵘ)**
(go) ngnóthóidh ...	**ŋ ∼ N (Naˑx Noː)**	**ŋ**
(ar an) ngaineamh	**N (ɛr ə Næːnʹɪ)**	**ŋ**
[ŋʹ> Nʹ]		
(sa) gheimhreadh	**ŋʹ** [*x*2]	**ŋʹ** [*x*2]
GLIDES AND RE-SYLLABIFICATION		
gabhar	**gaːʷᵊr**	**gʌᵒr**
gabhair	**gaːwɪrʹ**	**gʌwɪrʹ**
(an) ghrian	**əNʹ jrʹiᵊN**	**əN jrʹiˑᵊN**
(mo) dhearthóir	**məⁱ jrʹɑːⁱrʹ ∼ mi jrʹɑːrʹ**	**moⁱ ˈjⁱrʹɑːrʹ ∼ mə jrʹɑːrʹ**
(mo) dheirfiúr	**məⁱ jrʹɑʷᵊr**	**moⁱ ˈjⁱrʹəur**
(a) dheirfiúr	**(də jrʹɑwər)**	**i jrʹaᵘr**

[1] Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
		N
ŋ	**ŋ**	**ŋ** [*x*3] **(gə ŋɑːN tuˑ/ gə ŋa^{u} tu)**
ŋ	**ŋ**	**ŋ**
ŋ′ [*x*2]	**ŋ′**	**ŋ′** [*x*2]
gawʊr	**ga^{wə}r′** (sic)	**gaˑ^{u}r**
gaˑwɪr′	**gawɪr′**	**ga^{w}ɪr′**
^{i}jr′eˑ^{ə}n	**^{ɪ}jr′iˑ^{ə}n**	**^{ɛ}N′ jr′eˑ^{ə}N**
mə jr′ɑːˈr′ ∼ **miː jrɑːr′**	**mi jr′əhar′** ∼ **m^{w}iˑ ^{j}r′əhər′** ∼ **m^{w}iː ^{j}r′ɑːr′**	**mə^{i} jr′əhɑˑr′** ∼ **mi jrɑːr′**
mə jrəhuːr′ ∼ **mə jrawʊr^{h}** ∼ **mə jrawɪr′**	**m^{w}iː ^{j}r′a^{wə}r′** ∼ **b^{ə}wiː ^{j}r′ʌ^{u}r′**	**mə^{i} jr′əfuˑr** ∼ **mə^{i} jr′aˑ^{u}r**
i jr′awər	**iː jr′ɛfuːr′**	**ə drˈ′ɛfuˑr^{h} . . .** **ə ^{i}jr′ɛfuːr**

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: CONSONANTS ***INIS MEÁIN***

	M 70	*F 60+*
CONSONANT SUBSTITUTION AT WORD BOUNDARIES (Cont'd.)[1]		
[ŋ > N]		
(i) ngar		
(go) ngabhfaidh ...	**ŋ**	
(go) ngnóthóidh ...		
(ar an) ngaineamh	**ŋ**	**ŋ** [$x2$]
[ŋ′> N′]		
(sa) gheimhreadh	**ŋ′** [$x2$]	**ŋ′** [$x2$]
GLIDES AND RE-SYLLABIFICATION		
gabhar	**gaᵘr**	**gaᵘr**
gabhair	**gʌʷɪr′**	**gawᴵr′**
(an) ghrian	**ɪn′ jr′iːᵊN ∼ iː jr′iˑᵊN**	**ən′ ᴵjr′iᵊN**
(mo) dhearthár	**miː jr′ɑr′ ∼ miˑ jrɑˑr**	**məⁱ jr′əhɑˑr′ ∼ mə jr′ɑːr′ ∼ məⁱ r′ɑˑr′**
(mo) dheirfiúr	**miː jr′ɛhurʰ**	**məⁱ r′awər**
(a) dheirfiúr	**i jr′ʌʷər**	**(ən′ d′r′ʌʷər)**

[1] Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables.

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
ŋ [*x*2]		
	ŋ	**ɴ′ (rɪv′ ɴ′aᵘ tu)**
ŋ	**ŋ**	**ŋ**
ŋ′ [*x*2]	**ŋ′ ∼ j (sə jiːv′r′ɪ)**	**ŋ′ ∼ j (sə jiːv′r′ɛ)**
gaᵘr ∼ gaᵘrʰ	**gaᵘrʰ**	**gaᵘr′** (sic)
gaʷɪr′	**gaʷɪr′**	**gaᵘr′**
ᵻn jr′iˑᵊn	**i jr′iˑᵊn**	**ən ɣr′iˑᵊɴ**
mə jr′ɑːr′ ∼ mɪ jr′ɑːr′	**mi jr′ɑːr′ ∼ miː r′ɑːr′**	**mə ˈr′ɑːr′ ∼ m r′ɑːr′**
miˑ jr′aᵘrʰ	**miˑ r′aᵘr**	**mə r′aᵘr′**
ə ɣr′aᵘr	**ə ʟ′aᵘr . . . ə jraᵘ . . . ə ʟ′aᵘr**	**ə r′aᵘ . . . ɛː r′aᵘrʰ**

Part VII

Grammatical Variables

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
VERB FORMS		
tar		
tar!	gəlʹ (n̪ˈʃə)[1]	tʹær (n̪ʃə)
tagaigí!	gəlʹigʹiː (n̪ʃə)[1]	tʹægəx (**N**ə gaːsuˈʳrʹ əˈ**NɑːL**)
tagann	tʹægn̪ (mɪdʹ) ∼ **tʹægN̪ (Nə kalʹiˑnʹiˑ)**	tʹægə[**N**] (mɪdʹ) ∼ **tʹægə[N] (Nə kaˑlʹiːnʹiː) ∼ tʹægə (kɪdʹɛ. . .)**[2]
(má) thagann	**(mɑ) hæˑgN̪**	**(maː) haːgN̪**
(sula) dtagann	(sə**L**ə) dʹægn̪	(xə**L**ə) dʹæˑgə**N**
(ag) teacht	**ᵊtʹæxt** [x2] **(gᵊ fɔ.lʹtʹ)**[3] **∼ (ɛgʹ) tʹæxt**	**(ə) tʹiˑəxt ∼ (ə) tʹiːəxt**[4]
tagtha	**tʹækiˑ**	

[1] Forms formed on the phrase “Gabh i leith!”.

[2] Cf. II.2.

[3] “ [gᵊ foˑˈ**L**ʹ] de réir na leabhar; [foːs] a déir (sic) siad.”

[4] Cf. [ə hiˑᵊxt] in a non-finite verb compliment in II.62.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
gə (**Nɑː L** n̪ˈʃə)	gəlʼ[1] (n̪ˈʃə)
tagiːʃə[2] (**Nɑː L** n̪ˈʃə)	tariˑ (…ⁱlʼɛ n̪ˈʃə)[3]
taˑgəmɪ**N**ʼ ~ tagəmɪ**N**ʼ ~ **tɑːgN̪**	təgəmʷɪdʼ…tʌgəmʷɪdʼ ~ **tʌgN̪**
(mɑː) haːgN̪	**(ma) ˈagN̪**
(sə**L** ma) hagə**N** ~ (hə**L**) dʼʊkə (ʃiˑətsə**N**)	
(ə) tʼiːᵊxt ~ (ə) tʼiˑᵊxt	**(ɛgʼ) tʼiːəxt ~ (ə) tʼiˑəxt**

[1] "Gabh i leith anseo!"

[2] "Tagaíse …", with the emphatic particle *-se*.

[3] "Tara' i leith anseo!"

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
VERB FORMS		
tar		
tar!	taˑr (n̩ˈʃə)	taːr (n̩ˈʃɔ)
tagaigí!	taːri[ɲʹ]	taˑgᵊiˑ (n̩ˈʃə)
tagann	tagəmʷɪ**Nʹ** ∼ **tʹægən**	təgəmɪ**Nʹ** ∼ **tʌg**n̩
(má) thagann	**(ma) aːg**n̩	**(mə) haːg**n̩
(sula) dtagann	(soːr) haˑg**N** (ʃeːdsə**N**)	(sə**L** mar) hag[ə]**N** (ʃeˑdsə**N**)
(ag) teacht	ᵊ**tʹiːᵊxt** [x2] ∼ **(lʹɛ . . . lʹeˑ) hæxt** ∼ **(ə) tʹæˑxt**	**(ə) tʹæxt** ∼ **(tʰ ʃɛd ə) tʹæxt**
tagtha		

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
taːr (ˈn̩ˈʃə) [*x*2] ∼ taːr (ɛrʹ æːʃ ˈn̩ˈʃə)	taˑr (n̩ˈsʹə) ∼ ∼ gəlʹɪ[1] (nˈsʹə)	taˑrə (. . . **N**ɑː**L** aˑm) ∼ gəlʹɛ[1] [*x*2]
taːgiː ∼ tʌˑgi (ɛrʹ æːʃ ˈn̩ˈʃə)	taːgiː (n̩sʹə)	taːgɪgʹiː (**N**ɑː**L** aˑm)
tɑːg**N̩**, tʹæːg**N̩** (muɰ) ∼ **tʹæːg****N̩**	tagəmɪ**N**ʹ ∼ **tɑˑgə****N**	taˑgə**N** (mɪɰɛ) ∼ **tɑːg****N̩**
(mɑː) haːg**N̩**	**(maː) haˑg****N̩** **(tu)**	**(ma) haːgə (tu)**
(hʊd ə) haːg**N̩** ∼ (sə**L**ə) dʹæːŋg**N̩**	(sʊ**L**ə) dag**N̩** (tʹiˑᵊds**N̩**)[2]	(sə**L** ma) haˑgn̩s
ᵊtʹaˑxt ∼ **(ɛgʹ) tʹæxt**	**ᵊtʃæxt** ∼ **ᵊtʃaxt**	**(ɛgʹ) tʹæxt** **(ə) tʃæxt**
taːkiː ∼ taːkiˑ		

[1] "Gabh i leith!"

[2] Cf. I.10, [sə**L**ɑhər dɑːnʹɪgʹ ʃɛ̯](= "sular tháinig sé").

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

	M 70	*F 60+*
VERB FORMS		
tar		
tar!	gə**L′**ɪ ∼ gwə**L′**ɛ [*x*2] ∼ gwɔ (ɪˈ**L′**ɛ)[1]	taˑr (n̪ˈtʃə) ∼ ∼ gəl′ɛ[1] (n̪ˈtʃə)
tagaigí!	gə**L′**iː[1] ∼ taːgiː (nˈ′tʃɛ) ∼ taˑgɪg′iˑ ∼ gɔ**L′**ɪg′iː ∼ gɔ**L′**iː[1]	tagi (n̪ˈtʃə) [*x*2]
tagann	tʃʊkə (mʊʤ) **tagə****N**	tʃʊkə (mʊʤ) ∼ **t′æg****N̪**
(má) thagann	**(ma) hag****N̪**	**(ma) haːg****N̪**
(sula) dtagann	(sʌr) hʊkə (ʃiˑᵊts**N̪**) ∼ (sə**L** mar ə) xˈʊkəs (ʃiˑᵊts**N̪**)	(roˑpsə**N**∼ roːpsə**N**)
(ag) teacht	**(ə) t′æxt** [*x*2] ∼ **tʃæxt**	**(ə) tʃɛxt** ∼ **tʃæxt**
tagtha	**(hɑːn′ɪg′)**	**(hɑˑn′ɪg′)**

[1] Forms based on the phrase "Gabh i leith!"

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
tʹɛrʹ (n̩ˈʃə)	gə (ʃtʹæx n̩ˈtʃə) ∼ gə (**Nɑː^L** mˈtʃə) ∼ taˑrᵊ ∼ taˑr (ˈʃtʹæx)	gə (**Nɑː^L** n̩ˈtʃə)
tʃɛrʹ (n̩ˈʃə) ∼ tʹaʲrʹɛ ∼ tʃaʲrʹɪgʹiː (n̩ˈʃə)	təriː (ʃtʹæx mˈtʃə)	təgiː ∼ təgɪgʹiː ∼ tʌgɪgʹiː (ᵊ**Nɑː^L** n̩ˈtʃə)
tʹægN̩ (mʊɣ) ∼ **(hɑːnʹɪgʹ)**	tʹæˑgəmʊɣ ∼ tʹæˑgə**N** (mʊɣɛ) ∼ **tʃæˑgN̩**	tagN̩ (mʊɣ) ∼ **taˑgn̩**
(mə) ˈ**haːgN̩**	**(mɑ) haˑgN̩**	**(mə)** ˈ**haːgn̩**
(rɪvʹ ə) haːgn̩	(rəvʹ ə) haːgə**N**	(rɪvʹ ə) dagN̩
ᵊtʹiˑᵊxt ∼ (ə) tʹæˑxt ᵊtʹiˑᵊx [1]	**(ə) tʹiˑᵊxt ∼ tʃiˑᵊxt**	**(ə) tʃæːxt ∼ tʃəxt**
(hɑːnʹɪgʹ)	**(hɑːnʹɪgʹ)**	**taˑkiˑ**

[1] Cf. II.3

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
VERB FORMS		
téigh		
téigh!	t′eˑr′ɪ (wæˑl′ɪ)	go (waˑʲl′ɪ)
téigí!	(**Nᵊ**) t′eˑʲr′ (ᵊmax) [pl.] ∼ **(Nɑˑ) ɪm′ɪg′iˑ** ∼ **ɪm′ɪg′iˑ (l′ɪv′)**	(**N**ɑ) t′eːʲg′iː (ᵊmaːx) ∼ **(Nɑˑ) hɪm′ɪg′iˑ** ∼ **m′ɪg′iː**
rachaidh	goˑ (mɪd′)	t′ʊ… goˑ (mɪd′ɪ)
(go) rachaidh	**(gə) ŋɛu (tu)**	**(kɑːd′) ɪm′oː (tuˑ)**
(a) chuaigh	xuᵊ ∼ **xoᵊ**	xuᵊ [*x*2] ∼ **xo** ∼ xoˑ[1]

[1] Cf. I.19 .

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
tʹaⁱrʹə (wæːlʹɛ)	tʹɛrʹɛ (wæːlʹɛ)
(**Nɑː**) tʹeːⁱgʹiː (ᵊmaˑx) ∼ **(Nɑ) hɪmʹɪgʹiˑ** ∼ **tʹɛⁱrʹɪ** [pl.] ∼ **gʹrʹæːd (lʹæːt)** [pl.]	(**Nɑː**) gɛgʹiː (maːx) ∼ **ɪmʹiː**
gaᵘ (mədʹɪ)	tʹʊ… goˑ (mɪdʹɪ)
(kʹɛN aːd ə) ŋoː (tuː)	
(ə) xuᵊ (tu) ∼ (ə) xoᵊ (tu) ∼ **ho** [*x*2]	ᵊxə (tu) ∼ ᵊxʊ (tu) ∼ **xo**

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
VERB FORMS		
téigh		
téigh!	tʹeːⁱ (ᵊwæːlʹɪ)	go (wæːlʹɪ)
téigí!	(nɑˑ) gəgʹiˑ (maːx)	(nɑˑ) gɔ (maːx) **. . . (ɴɑˑ) tʹəⁱgʹiˑ (ᵊmaːx)**
rachaidh	gaᵘ (mʷɪɴʹɪ)	go (mʷɪɴʹɪ)
(go) rachaidh	**ᵊɴoˑ** (sic)	**(ɴo gə) ɴaᵘ** (sic)
(a) chuaigh	ᵊxə (tuˑ) ∼ (ə) hə (tuˑ) [*x*2] **∼ xə (ʃe)**	(ə) xə (tuˑ) ∼ (ə) xə[r] (tuˑ) **∼ xə**

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
t′əʲr′ɛ	tʃeˑr′	tʃəˈˑr′
(**Nɑˑ**) t′əʲg′iː (maːx) ∼ **(Nɑː) t′ɪmɑːn′iː (l′ɪb′)** ∼ **(Nɑ) ɪm′iː** ∼ **t′ʌʲg′iː (ə b′æːLə)**	(**Nɑ**) tʃəʲr′ (ˈmaˑx ᵊr′iːʃtʃ) [pl.] ∼ **(Nɑˑ) ɪm′iˑ** ∼ **ɪm′ɪg′iˑ**	(**Nɑ**) tʃaˑʲg′iː (mʌx ᵊr′iːʃtʃ) ∼ **(nɑ) hɪm′ɪg′iˑ** ∼ **ɪm′ɪg′iˑ** ∼ **ɪm′ɪg′iː**
gaᵘ (mʊɟɪ)	gaᵘ (mɪ**N′**)	gaᵘ (mʊɟɪ) ∼ gɔ (mʊɟɪ)
(gə) ŋaᵘ	**(gə) ŋoː**	**(nu gə) ŋɑːN (tu)** ∼ **(nu gə) ŋaᵘ (tu)** [$x2$] ∼ **(nu gə) raxə (tʊː)**
xuᵊ ∼ xoᵊ [1] ∼ **hõˑ** ∼ **xoː**	xuᵊ ∼ xʊᵊ ∼ **xo**	xə (məd′) ∼ ᵊxə (mɪd′) ∼ **xoˑ**

[1] Cf. I.19, [(n′) t′æːxtɪm′ ʃoˑ ɣə (= a ghabh?) haːrt′ (sic)].

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

	M 70	*F 60+*
VERB FORMS		
téigh		
téigh!	t′eˑr′ (əˈwaːl′ɛ)	tʃeʲr′ɛ (wæˑl′ɛ)
téigí!	**(Na) t′ɛg′iː ∼** (Nɑ) kər (ɪˈr′iːʃtʃ) [x2] ∼ faN (ɪsˈtʃɪ)	(Na) tʃəʲr′ɪ (max) [pl.!]
rachaidh	(b′eʲ mʊd′ ɪ də jiᵊ . . .)	tʃʊkə (mʊɟɛ)
(go) rachaidh	**(kɑːɟ) ˈɪm′o (tuː . . .)** **∼ (gə) ŋuᵊ (tu)**	**(k′ɛn′ taˑm ə) ɟʊkəs tuˑ** **(k′ɛn′ aːd gə) ɟʊkəs tuː**
(a) chuaigh	**xo ∼ xuᵊ** (k′ɛ hi) d′ɛN (tuˑ)[1] (k′ɛ fə Nax) d′ɛN (tʊ)[2]	**xoː**

[1] “Cén chaoi a dtéann tú . . . ?”

[2] “Cén fáth nach dtéann tú . . . ?”

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
t′er′ (əˈwaːl′ɛ)	t′eˑr′ (əˈwaːl′ɛ)	gə (vaːl′ɛ)
(**N**ə) t′eːr′ [pl.!] ∼ **t′əʲg′iˑ**	(**N**ɑ) t′ɛʲg′iˑ ∼ (**N**ɑ) kor (ᵊmax)	(**N**ə) gəg′iˑ (mʌx) ∼ **gʊg′iˑ** [*x*3] **(max)**
(b′eː m′ɪʃɛ [*x*2] … ə gəl′ əˈwaːl′ɛ)	gaᵘ (mʊʤɪ)	gaᵘ (mɪʤɛ) ∼ (ʌx ə) **N**ʌᵘ (sic) (mʊʤɛ)
[?]	**(gə) ŋaᵘ**	**(gə ʤiː) ŋəᵘs (uˑ)**
(ə) xo [*x*3] (tu haːrtʊ) ∼ **xo** ∼ **xuᵊˈdər′**[1]	xo (tu haˑrtʃ ɛr′…) ∼ …xʊ (tʊ haːrəb) ∼ xə (tʊ haːrəb) ∼ **xo**[3]	(ə) xə ∼ xə ∼ (ə) xᵘ (tu haːr′ [*x*2]) ∼ **xɔ**[2]

[1] Cf. II.8

[2] Cf. also **[kn ɑːt′ ə xə m buæxxəL′]** (“Cén áit a chuaigh an buachaill …?), II.60.

[3] Cf. also **[kɑˑ ʤaʲn ə buᵊxɪl′]** (“Cá dtéann an buachaill …?”), II.60.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
VERB FORMS		
faigh		
faigí!	fɑː (ᵊgɪdʹ kæʲpʹiˑnʹiˑ)[1]	fɑˑgʹiˑ
faigheann	fɑːᵊn	fɑːᵊ**N**
(ní) fhaigheann	(nʹij) ɑːᵊn (ʃɛs**N**)	(**N**ʹiˑ) ɑːᵊ**N** (ʃʊsə**N**) [*x*2]
(an) bhfaighidh . . . ?	ᵊ**N**ʹɛᵘ [2] ᵊ**N**ʹəᵘ	wəʲ
(ní) bhfaighidh	(nʹi) jəᵘ	(**N**ʹiˑ) waʲ
(ní) bhfaighfeá	**(Nʹiː) waʲ tuˑ**	**(nʹiː) wʌʲ tuˑ**
(dá) bhfaighinn	(a) joːᵊx mʹɪʃɪ	(mɑː . . . ʔə) waʲnʃə
fuair		**fʊr (ʃiᵊd)**
fuarthas	**forʹuˑ ∼ fʊrʹuˑ**[3]	**fərʹuˑ**
(nach) bhfuarthas	**(Naˑr) wɪrʹuˑ**	**(nar uwɪrʹ ʃɪd)**
gheofar	**jaᵘfər**	**(bʹeː ʃɛ lʹe koːnə dʹeː)**[4]
(ag) fáil	fɑˑlʹ	ᵊfɑˑˡlʹ
(a) fháil	**(ə) ʔɑːlʹ** [*x*2]	**ɑːlʹ**

[1] "Faighigí bhur gcuid caipíní!"

[2] Non-standard "An gheobhaidh . . . ?".

[3] Cf. II.62.

[4] "Beidh sé, le cúnamh Dé."

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
t′uːr (l′æːt) . . . tʊgiː (l′ɪb′)	fɑːg′iː
fɑːN	fɑːᵊN
(N′iː) ʔɑːʔᵊN (ʃɛsəN)	(a[1] n′iːj) ɑːᵊN (ʃəsəN)
(ə) waⁱ	waⁱ (tu æːn p′ɛnʃən)[2]
(N′iː) jaᵘ	(n′iː) waⁱ
(n′iː) jawɑː	**(n′iː) wiæː (ɛn′ p′ɪnʃəN)**[2]
([ɣ]ɑː) waⁱnʃɛ	(tɑː) waⁱnʃə
fʊr′ (ʃiᵊd)	**fər′ (ʃəd)**
(v′iː ṇ taːruː) fɑːṭɪ[3]	**fər′uː**
(nær) f′r′iːuː	**(naːr) wɪr′u**
jɛf′ər [$x2$]	**(b′ɛⁱ ʃe l′ɛ fɑːl′)**
(ə) fɑːl′	ᵊfɑːl′t′
(ə) ɑːl′ [$x2$]	

[1] "ach . . ."

[2] ". . . aon phinsean"

[3] "Bhí an tarbh fáite."

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
VERB FORMS		
faigh		
faigí!	fɑˑⁱgʹiː	fɑːgʹiˑ
faigheann	fəⁱə**N**	fʷaˑn
(ní) fhaigheann	(**N**ʹiː) wəⁱə**N** (səsə**N**)	(**N**ʹiˑ) ɑː**N** (səsə**N**)
(an) bhfaighidh . . . ?	(ə) wəⁱjæsə[1]	(ə) waⁱ (tuˑ)
(ní) bhfaighidh	(**N**ʹiː) wəⁱd[2]	(**N**ʹiː) wai [$x2$]
(ní) bhfaighfeá	(nʹiː) wʌⁱjaː (sic)	**(N**ʹ**iː) waⁱje** (sic)
(dá) bhfaighinn	(ə) waⁱ**N**ʹ ∼ (ɑ) waⁱʰɪ**N**ʹ	(dɑː) waⁱ**N**ʹɪ
fuair	fərʹ ∼ **foːr**ʹ **(ʃɛd)**	**for**ʹ **(ʃɛd)**
fuarthas	**fʷɪr**ʹ**u**ˑ [$x2$]	**foːr**ʹ**ɪs**
(nach) bhfuarthas	**(nax) wɪr**ʹ**uː**	**(naːr) oːʳr**ʹ**uː**
gheofar	**fʌⁱfər**	**waⁱfər**
(ag) fáil	(ə) fɑːlʹ	fɑːlʹ
(a) fháil	**ɑːl**ʹ	**ɑːʳl**ʹ

[1] "An bhfaighfeása . . . ?"

[2] "Ní bhfaighead."

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
fɑːgʹiː	fɑˑgʹiˑ	fɑˑgʹiː
fɑːn̩ (ʃiːʃɛ) (sic)	fɑˑn̩ (ʃɪʃɪ)	fɑˑᵊn̩ (ʃɪʃɛ)
(nʹiː) ɑː nʹ (ʃɛsəN) [x2]	(nʹiˑ) ɑˑᶦn̩ʹ (ʃəsn̩)	(nʹiː) ɑˑᵊN (sɛsəN)
waⁱ ∼ ᵊwaⁱ	Nʹɛᵘ [1]	ᵋNʹaᵘ [1]
(nʹiː) waⁱ	(nʹiˑ) jaᵘ	(nʹiː) jaᵘ
(nʹiˑ) waⁱjɑˑ	**(gə) wiːhɑˑ**	**(nʹiː) jəwɑː**
(dɑː) waⁱnʃə	(dɑ) Nʹaʷ̃iˑnʃɛ[2]	(dɑː) Nʹaᵘx mʹeˑ
fuˑr (ʃɛd) [x2]		
fuˑrʹuː	**fʹrʹɪhu**	**fʹrʹiˑuː**
(nʹiːrʹ) fʹrʹiːuˑ[3]	**(nax) wur (ʃɪd)**	**(nax) fʹrʹiːuˑ**
	jəfər	**gʹaᵘfər**
fɑˑlʹ	ᵋfɑˑlʹ	ᵊfɑːlʹ
ɑːlʹ		**ɑːˡlʹ**

[1] Non-standard “An gheobhaidh . . . ?”.

[2] Non-standard “Dá n’gheobhainnse . . . ”.

[3] “Perhaps ‘Níor fríothadh’ ”.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

	M 70	*F 60+*
VERB FORMS		
faigh		
faigí!	fɑːgʹiˑ ∼ fɑˑgʹiˑ	fɑˑgʹiˑ
faigheann	jaᵘ (ʃiˑʃɛ [sic]) ∼ jaᵘ (ʃɪʃɛ)	fɑˑ**N̩**
(ní) fhaigheann	(nʹiː) wiː (səsə**N̩**) [*x*4]	(nʹiˑ) ɑˑ**N̩**
(an) bhfaighidh . . . ?	wi (t̪əsə)	(ə**N**) wiː
(ní) bhfaighidh	(ˈ**N**ʹiˑ) wiː	jaᵘ (mʹɪʃɛ)
(ní) bhfaighfeá	**(Nʹiː) wiːɑː ∼ (nʹiˑ) wiːɑˑ**	**(nʹiˑ) wi tuˑ**
(dá) bhfaighinn	(aˑ) wiːnʃɪ	(dɑ) ˈwɑːntʃə[1]
fuair	**fuˑrʹədɛrʹ (bɑːs)**	**fʊrʹədər**
fuarthas	**fʹrʹiːv**	**fʹrʹiːv**
(nach) bhfuarthas	**(nax) fʹrʹiːv**	**(naˑ rə N tærʹɪgʹəd) fɑːtʃɛ**
gheofar	**jəfərʰ**	**(bʹɛⁱ ʃɛ)**
(ag) fáil		(ə) fɑˑlʹ
(a) fháil		

[1] Apparently the emphatic form of the past subjunctive; cf. *GCF*, p.112.

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
fɑː [pl.]	fɑːgʹiː	fɑˑgiˑ (sic)
fɑːᵊ**N**	fɑːnʹ (ʃiˑ)	fənʹ (tʹiːʃə**N**))
(nʹiˑ) jaᵘ**Ṇ**[1]	(nʹiˑj) ɑːnʹ (ʃɛʃə**N**)	(nʹiˑ) ɣʌᵘnʹ (tʃɛ ʃɪnʹ)
ᵊwaⁱ	ᵊŋoˑ[2]	**N**aᵘ (sic)
(nʹiˑ) ɣaᵘ	(nʹiː) ɣaᵘ	(nʹɪ) ɣaᵘ
(nʹiː) Nʹaᵘ[3] **tu**	**(nʹiː) ɣaᵘx tu**	**(nʹiː) wiːjaː (sic)**
ᵊwaⁱːnʃɪ	(də) waⁱːnʃɛ	(də) vaⁱnʹ
(tə ʃəd bɑːsiː)	**(kæːlʹu rᵊd)**	**fʊrʹ (ʃəd)**
(vʹiˑ ṇ daᵘ) fɑˑtʹɛ[4]	**fʹiːv** (sic)	**(vʹiˑ n taːrəv) fɑːtʹɛ** [$x2$]
	(naːr) fʹiːv ∼ (Naˑrvʹ) . . . uːrʹədərʹ	**(nər) vuːrʹ (ʃɪd)** [$x2$]
gaᵘnʹ (ʃəd)	**jaᵘfər**	**(bʹeːdʹɪrʹ gə) wiː (ʃəd . . .)**
(ə) faˑlʹ (sic)	ᵋfɑːlʹ	(ɛ) fɑːlʹ

[1] Non-standard “Ní gheobhann”.

[2] Non-standard “An ngabhfaidh . . . ?”

[3] “Ní n-gheobhaidh” ??

[4] “Bhí an damh fáite.”

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
VERB FORMS		
tabhair		
tabhair!	t′üːr′∼ **t′uˑr′**∼ **(ɴɑˑ) t′uˑr′**	t′uːr′∼ **t′uˑrt′** (sic) **(ɴɑˑ) t′uˑr (l′æˑt)**
tugaigí!	t′üːr′ᵊ (ɣəm . . .) [sg.]	təməᵊ (ʔə gʊd′ eːdiː)[1]
tugann	**tʊkə (ʃɪd)**	**t′uˑrəɴ (ʃiᵊd)**
tabharfaidh	t′uˑrə	t′uˑrə
(ní) thabharfaidh	(ɴ′iˑ) x′uˑrə	(ɴ′iˑ) x′uˑrə
(ar) thug . . . ?	**(ər) hʊg**	**(ᵊr) ʊg**
(a) thug . . .	(ə) hʊg	(ˈʃeː) hʊg
(ag) tabhairt	t′uˑrt′	t′uːrt′
(a) thabhairt	**(əd ə) x′uˑrt′**[2]	**(ɛd ə) x′urt′**[2]

[1] "Tugaigí dom bhur gcuid éadaí!"

[2] ". . . iad a thabhairt . . . "

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
t′ur′∼ t′ur (sɛr′)[1] ∼ **t̪uːr′**	t′ur′ [x2]
t′uːr (dəm) . . . tʊˈgiː (ɣəm)	t′uːr (duːᴵ**ɴ′** də gʊd′ eːᵊdiː) (sic)
tʊgn̩ (ʃiᵊd)	**tʊgn̩′ (ʃəd) ∼ tʊgn̩ (ʃəd)**
	t′urə
(**ɴ′**iˑ) x′uˑrə	(**ɴ′**iˑ) x′uˑrə
(ər) həg	**hʊg**
(ə) hʊg	ᵊg(m̩)
ᵊt′uˑrt′	t′urt′
(iˑᵊd ə) x′uˑrt′	**(ɛd to) x′urt′**

[1] “Tabhair soir . . . !” (Cf. I.17.)

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
VERB FORMS		
tabhair		
tabhair!	t′uɾr′∼ t′uːr′ (ʃeːr)[1] ∼ **t′uːr′**	t′ur′∼ **t′uːr′**
tugaigí!	t′uɾr′ [x2] [pl.]	tʊgiː
tugann	**tʊkən (ʃiᵊd)** [x3]	tʊgɴ ∼ **t′uːrɴ**
tabharfaidh		t′uɾə
(ní) thabharfaidh	(ɴ′iː) x′uːrə	(ɴ′iɾ) x′uɾə
(ar) thug . . . ?	**(ər) hʊg ∼ (ər) əg**	**hʊg**
(a) thug . . .	əg	hʊg
(ag) tabhairt	t′uɾrt′	t′uɾrt′
(a) thabhairt	**(ɛd ə) x′oɾrt′**	**(ət ə) x′uːrt′**

[1] “Tabhair siar . . . !”

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
t′uːr′ ∼ **t′uˑr′** [*x*2]	tʃür′∼ **ʃʊr′**	tʃüˑr′ ∼ **ʃuˑᵻr′** ∼ **tʃur′**
t′uːr′ɪː[1]∼ tʊgiː	tʃuˑr (ɣɪ**N**′ n′eˑdəx)[2]	tʃuːr (ɣɪ**N**′ ə gɪʤ eːdiː)
tʊgn̩′ (ʃɛd)	**tʊgəʃɪd**	**tʊgN̩ (ʃəd)**
t′uːrɪ (ʃiˑᵊd)	tʃu̯rə	tʃuˑrɪ (m′ɛ)
(n′iˑ) h′uːrə	(n′iˑ) x′uːrɪ (m′e)	
(ər) hʊg	**(ər) həg**	**(ər) hʊg**
(ə) həg	əg	(ə) hʊg
t′uːrt′[3] ∼ **(ə) ta^{u}rt**[4]	tʃüˑrtʃ (ʃk′iˑᵊ**N**)	tʃuˑrt′
(ɛt ə) x′uːrt′		**(ɛˑd ə) x′uːrt′** ∼ (ɛd ə) x′uːrtʃ[5]

[1] Plural form? Possibly a misunderstanding, since it occurs in the context "... anall do chuid éadaí".

[2] Plural form? Note the context "... (bhur) n-éadach".

[3] With light palatalisation.

[4] In the phrase "ag tabhairt buille faoi thuairim", I.24.

[5] Cf. I.17.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

		M 70	*F 60+*
VERB FORMS			
tabhair			
	tabhair!	tʼurʼ ∼ **tʃuːr (ˈlʼɛt)**	tʃuːrʼ ∼ **tʃuːrʼ**
	tugaigí!	ka (jiːt . . . [*x*3]) ∼ kʌgʼiː (jiːvʼ . . .)[1]	tər (ɣɪ**N**ʼ . . .) [sg.]
	tugann	hʊgəx (mʊʤ)[2]	**tʊgN̩**
	tabharfaidh	tʃurə ∼ **tʼuːrə**[3]	tʃuːrə
	(ní) thabharfaidh	(nʼiː) hurə	(nʼiː) huːrə
	(ar) thug . . . ?	**(ər) hʊg**	**(ər) hʊg**
	(a) thug . . .	(ə) hʊg [*x*2]	(bə vʼeː) hʊg ∼ ə hʊg
	(ag) tabhairt	tʼuːrʃtʼ ∼ tʃur (skʼiːᵊ**N**) ∼ tʃurt (skʼiːᵊnʼ lʼʊm) ∼ tʃuːrtʼ (ʃkʼiᵊ**N** æː**N**ʼ)	(ɛgʼ) tʃuːrtʃ
	(a) thabhairt	**(ə) huːrtʼ**	**(ə) hʊrʃtʼ**

[1] "Caith díot . . . ∼ caithigí díobh . . . ."

[2] Habitual Past, I.2.

[3] Cf. II.1.

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
tur ∼ **tuːr′ (l′æt)** ∼ **(ɴɑ) tuːr (nə . . .)**	tuːr′ ∼ **tuːr (l′ɛt)** ∼ **(ɴɑ) tur (l′ɛt)**	tur′ ∼ **tur (l′æːt)**
tu (ɣuːm) (sic)	tur (ɣʊm) [*x*3] [sg.] . . . turiː [*x*3] [pl.]	tʊr′ɪg′iː [*x*2] . . . tʊgɪg′iː . . . tʊg′ɪg′iː (sic)
tʊgɴ̣	**tʊgən′ (ʃiᵊd)**	**tʊrn̥′ (tʃəd)**
tuːrə	tuːrə	tʰuːr′ɪ
(n′iː) huːrə	(n′iː) ˈhuːrə	(n′iː) huːr′ɛ ∼ (n′iː) huːr′ɪ ∼ (n′iː) huːr′ə
	ᵊduːreː[1]	**ᵊdurəx tʊsə**[1]
		hurf′iː[2]
(ər) hʊg	**(ɛr) hʊg**	**(ər) hʊg** [*x*2]
(ʃm′ æ) hʊg	(ə) hʊg	(ə) həg
turt (ʃk′iᵊɴ)	tuːrt (sk′iːɴ)	tuːrtʃ
urt′	**(ə) hurtʃ ∼ huːrtʃ ∼ huːrtʃ**	**(ə) hʊrtʃ ∼ hʊːrtʃ**

[1] “An dtabharfá . . . ?” Cf. II.49.

[2] “Thabharfaí . . . .” Cf. II.12.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
VERB FORMS		
bí		
bígí!	**bʹi** [pl.]	**(faˑnɪgʹiˑ)**
bheifeá		
(dá) mbeifeá		**(ɑː) mʹeˑaᵘsə**[1]
(mura) mbeifeá	**(marə wɪlʹ tuˑ)**	**(marə wɪl tuˑ)** (sic)
bhínn	**vʹiːᵊx mʹɛ**	**vʹiːN**ʹ
bhíteá	**mʹiˑᵊx tu . . . ?** ∼ **vʹiˑᵊx tu**	**vʹiːᵊx tuˑ** ∼ **vʹiːaː** (sic)
(Indirect Relative)		
(a) mbíteá	**(ə) mʹiˑᵊx tu . . .**	**(ᵊrᵋ kʹlʹæˑxt æd ə . . . aˑNəxt ɑːN)**[2] [x2]
(In Responses and Short Queries)		
An raibh tú?		**(ə) rʌᵘʃ**
Bhí mé!	**vʹiː**	**vʹiːs**

[1] "Dá mbeifeásа . . . ".

[2] ". . . a raibh cleachtadh agat fanacht ann".

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
bʹɪ [pl.]	**bʹiˑ** [sg.?]
	vʹæː
	(ə) mʹeᵊ
(marᵊ) rə tʊsə	**(marə) mʹæˑ**
vʹiːɴʹ	**(mʹ æːn tərsəx)**[1]
vʹiˑɑˑsə ∼ vʹiːɑˑsə	**(vʹiˑx mʊd tʹiːnʹ) (sic) ∼ (nʹɛrʹ vʹx mʹɪdʹ) ∼ vʹɪx tʊ**
(ɛr gnɑːx lʹæt ˈaˑnəxt)	**(əɴ əɴ ɑːtʹ) vʹiˑᵊx tu (fɪrʹəxt)**[2]
(ə) rə tuˑ	**rə tu . . . (ə) rə**
vʹiːs	**vʹiː**

[1] "(Bhí) mé an-tuirseach".

[2] ". . . san áit a bhíteá ag fuireacht".

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
VERB FORMS		
bí		
bígí!	**bʹiː** ∼ **bʹiˑ** [pl.?]	**bʹiˑgʹiˑ**
bheifeá		
(dá) mbeifeá	**(a) mʹeˑʲəsə**[1]	**(dʌ bə bʹæːn u)**[2]
(mura) mbeifeá	**(maˑrə) mʹeˑjæː**	**(maˑrə) mʹəx tuː** **(cf. vʹɛx mʹeˑ)**[3]
bhínn	**(bə gɴɑːx lʹəm)** (sic)	**vʹiˑˠx mʹeː**
bhíteá	**(bə gɴɑːx lʹɛt)** (sic) ∼ **mʹiːæ**	**vʹiˑˠx tuˑ** ∼ **vʹiˑɑː** ∼ **vʹiˑæ**
(Indirect Relative)		
(a) mbíteá	**(m̩ ɴɑːx lʹet . . . ?)** (sic) **(ə̃ mə ŋɴɑː lʹæ.t . . . ?)**	**(bə ɣɴɑːx lʹæt)** ∼ **ᵊvʹiːaˑ**
(In Responses and Short Queries)		
An raibh tú?	**rə təᵘ**	**(ə) rərʹ**
Bhí mé!	**vʹiːˠs**	**vʹiːs**

[1] "Dá mbeifeása . . . ".

[2] "Dá mba bhean tú . . . ".

[3] Cf. II.50.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
bʹiːgʹiː	**bʹiːgʹiː**[pl.?]	**bʹɪgʹiː**
vʹɛjɑː		
	(ə mə vʹæːɴ u)[1]	**(a bə bʹæːn)**[1] **. . .** **aⁱ mʹəx tu (n də vʹæːɴ)** **∼ (aⁱ mbə bʹæːɴ huː)**
(marə) rə tuː		**(marə) rə tu**
vʹiːɴʹ	**vʹiːɴʹ**	**vʹiːnʹ**
vʹiːɑː	**vʹɪx tu ∼ vʹiːɑː**	**vʹiːx tu**
(səɴ ɑːtʹ ə) vʹiːɑ		**(ə) mʹiːᵊx tuː**
(ə) rə tuː ∼ rəʃ	**(ɴaː) ro ∼ (ɴax) ro**	**(ə) rə tu**
vʹiː mʹɛ	**vʹiː**	**vʹiːs**

[1] “Dá mba bhean tú . . . ”.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

	M 70	*F 60+*
VERB FORMS		
bí		
bígí!	**bʹi** [sg.?]	**bʹiˑgʹiˑ**
bheifeá	**vʹejə**	
(dá) mbeifeá		
(mura) mbeifeá	**(maˑrə wɪlʹ tuˑ)** ∼ **(məNə) mʹeˑʲhɑˑ**	**(marə wʊL tu)**
bhínn	**vʹiːNʹ**	**vʹiːNʹ**
bhíteá	**vʹiːɑː** ∼ **vʹiːᵊx tu**	**vʹiːə** ∼ **vʹiˑə**
(Indirect Relative)		
(a) mbíteá	**(ə) mʹiˑə**	**(ə) mʹiˑɑ**
(In Responses and Short Queries)		
An raibh tú?	**(ə) rə tuː**	**(ə) rə tu** ∼ **(ə) rəʲrʹ**
Bhí mé!	**vʹiː mʹeˑ** ∼ **vʹiːs** [$x2$]	**vʹiːs** [$x2$]

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
bʹiˑ [pl.]	**bʹɪgʹi**	**bʹiˑ** [pl.] ∼ **bʹiˑkʹiː**
vʹeːᵊ[1]		
(maːrə) mʹeːʲə tu	**(marə) mʹɛx tu**	**(mərə) mʹəx tʊsə** ∼ **(məNə) mʹəx tʊsə**
	vʹiːnʹ	**vʹiːuː** [2 sg.?]
vʹiˑᵊx tʊ ∼ **vʹiˑᵊsə**[2]	**vʹiˑᵊx tʊsə** ∼ **vʹiˑᵊx tu**	**vʹɪx tʊsᵊ**
(ə) vʹɪx tʊ	**(ə) vʹiˑᵊx tu**	
(ɛ) rʹə	**(ə) rə**	**(Naˑ) ˈrə**
vʹiː mʹeː	**vʹiːs**	**vʹɪʲ**

[1] Note the lenition of the future indicative form in I.26: [vʹeˑ ʃe fʹlʹəx . . .](= “Beidh sé fliuch” . . .).

[2] “Bhíteása”.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
VERB FORMS		
bí (Cont'd.)		
(In Negative Relative and Negative Finite Complement Clauses)		
nach raibh	**(Na) rə**	**(Naː) rə**
(With 3 sg.)		
tá (sé /sí)	tə (ʃe) [x3] ∼ **tə (ʃɛ)**	tɑ (ʃe) [x2] ∼ tə (ʃɛ)
(With 3 pl.)		
tá (siad)	**tə (ʃɪd)** [x2]	**tə (ʃɪd/ʃiᵊd)** [x2]
bhí (siad)	vʹi (ʃiᵊd) [x2] ∼ vʹiː (ʃiᵊd) ∼ **vʹiˑ (ʃəd)**[1] [x2]	**vʹiˑ (ʃᵊd)** ∼ **vʹiˑ (ʃɛd)**
(ní) raibh (siad)	**(Nʹiˑ) rə (ʃɪd)**	**(Nʹiˑ) rə (ʃiᵊd)**
(go) raibh (siad)	**(gə) rə (ʃəd)**	**(gə) rʊ (ʃɛd)**

[1] Cf. II.58.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
(Naː) rə	**(Naˑ) rə**
tə (ʃe) [x2] ∼ tə (ʃeˑ) ∼ tə (ʃɛ)	tə (tʹurtʹ) ∼ trə (mʹiːlʹtʹɛ) (sic) ∼ tʰ (hæːr aːm aːNʹ) ∼ **(ʃe nʹiːs esk . . .)**[1]
(bʹeⁱ ʃiᵊd) ∼ tʌ (ʃɪd)	**tɑdər**
vʹi (ʃɛd) ∼ vʹiˑ (ʃiᵊd) ∼ **vʹiˑ (ʃɛd)**	
(Nʹiˑ) rə (ʃiᵊd)	**(nʹiˑ) rə (ʃɛd)**
(g) r (ʃəd) ∼ (gə) rə (ʃəd)	**(gə) rədər**

[1] The first three examples lack an audible pronoun, while the last example lacks an audible verb form.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
VERB FORMS		
bí (Cont'd.)		
(In Negative Relative and Negative Finite Complement Clauses)		
nach raibh	**(Naː) rə** [x2]	**(Naˑ) rə**
(With 3 sg.)		
tá (sé /sí)	tə [x4]	tə [x5]
(With 3 pl.)		
tá (siad)	**tə (ʃəd)** [x2]	**t^h (ʃɛd) ∼ tədər**
bhí (siad)	vʹiːzər ∼ **vʹiˑdər**	vʹiːdər [x3] ∼ **vʹɪdər**
(ní) raibh (siad)	**(Nʹiː) rə (ʃəd)**	**(Nʹiˑ) rəv (ʃɛt)**
(go) raibh (siad)	**(gə) rə (ʃɛd)** ∼ **(gə) rədər**	**(gə) r (ʃæd)**

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
(Nax) rə	**(Nax) rə**	**(Nax) rɪ (n̪ˈtʃɪnʲ)**
tʌ (ʃeː) ∼ tɑː (ʃeː) ∼ tə (ʃe) [x2]	tə (ʃɛ) ∼ (ax ʃɛ mʲiˑ**L**ʲtʲɛ)[1] ∼ tᴵ (ʃᴵ haˑr aˑm)	tə (ʃɛ) ∼ tə (ʃɛ/ʃɛː/ʃe)
tə (ʃɪd/ʃəd[2]/ʃɛd)	**tə (ʃəd)**	**tə (ʃəd/ʃɛd)**
vʲiː (ʃɛd) [x2] ∼ **vʲiˑ (ʃɛd)**	vʲiˑ (ʃɪd) ∼ **vʲidʲɪrʲ**[3]	vʲiːdər [x2]
(Nʲi) rə (ʃiᵊd)	**(Nʲiˑ) rə (ʃɪd)**	**(Nʲiː) rʊdər**
(gə) rə (ʃɛd) [x2]	**(gə) rə (ʃəd)**	**(gə) rədər** [x2]

[1] " . . . ach tá sé millte" (with the finite verb form inaudible).

[2] Cf. II.10.

[3] (Articulated very rapidly.)

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

	M 70	*F 60+*
VERB FORMS		
bí (Cont'd.)		
(In Negative Relative and Negative Finite Complement Clauses)		
nach raibh	**(Na) rɛ (n̥ˈtʃɛ)**[1] ∼ **(Nax) rɛ (nˈtʃɛ)**[1]	**(Naˑ) rə** [x2]
(With 3 sg.)		
tá (sé /sí)	tə (ʃe) ∼ tə (ʃeˑ) ∼ tsɛ (tʃurt . . .)[2] ∼ t′æ (tʃuˑrt′. . .)[2]	tɑˑ (ʃeˑ) ∼ tə (ʃɛ) [x2]
(With 3 pl.)		
tá (siad)	**tə (ʃəd)**	**tə (ʃəd)** [x2]
bhí (siad)	**v′idər**	v′iːd′ər (sic) ∼ **v′ɪdər**
(ní) raibh (siad)	**(n′iˑ) rə (ʃiᵊd)**	**(N′iː) rətər**
(go) raibh (siad)	**(gə) rədər**	**(gə) rə (ʃəd)**

[1] ". . . nach raibh anseo".

[2] Note the fused form of verb and pronoun.

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
(naˑ) rə	**(naː) rə**	**(ᵊNaː) ⁿrə**
tə (ʃɛ) [*x*2] ∼ tᵊ (ʃe) ∼ **tə (ʃɛ)**	tʌ (ʃɛ) ∼ tə (ʃɛ) ∼ tə (ʃeˑ) ∼ **tə (ʃe)**	tᵊ (ʃᵊ) ∼ tʃɛ[1] ∼ ʃɛ[1] ∼ **tᵊ (ʃᴱ)**
tə (ʃəz/ʃəd)	**tʃəd**[1] ∼ **tᵊ (ʃᵊt)**	**tʃʊd**[1] ∼ **tᵊ (tʃəd)**
vʹidər, **vʹidər**	vʹiːdər ∼ **vʹiˑdər**	vʹiː (ʃədʹ) (sic) ∼ **vʹiː (ʃəd)**
(nʹiː) rədər	**(nʹiˑ) rədər**	**(Nʹiˑ) rə (ʃɪd)**
	(ə) rədər	**(gə) r (ʃəd)**

[1] Note the fused form of verb and pronoun.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
VERB FORMS		
abair		
deir	**dʹeːrʹ**[1] ∼ **duˑrtʹ** [*x*4] ∼ **durtʹ**	**dʹɛrʹ** ∼ **duˑrtʹ** [*x*4]
(má) deir	**(mɑˑ) dʹɛrʹ**	**(mɑː) ɛrʹ**
(ní) deirimid	(**N**ʹi) jɛrʹɪ[**N**] (mɪdʹ) ... (**N**ʹiː) jɛrʹɪmɪd (taˑdə)	(**N**ʹiˑ) jɛrʹəmə (taːdə)[2]
(ní) déarfaidh	(**N**ʹiː) jeˑrə (mə taˑdə)[3]	(**N**ʹi) jɛrʹə (məd taˑdə)
déarfainn		**dʹeːrɪN**ʹ
dúirt	duˑrtʹ [*x*5] ∼ duˑrt (mʹe) ∼ **durtʹ** [*x*3]	duːrtʹ [*x*3] ∼ duˑrtʹ [*x*5] ∼ **durtʹ**
(ní) dúirt	(**N**ʹiˑr) uˑrt (mʊd taˑdə)	(**N**ʹiˑr) uˑrt (mʊd taˑdə)

[1] Cf. II.2. " 'Fós' a déir siad".

[2] "Ní deirimid dada."

[3] "Ní déarfaidh muid dada."

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
duːrtʹ [*x*5] ∼ **dʹɛrʹ**	**duːrtʹ** [*x*2] ∼ **dur (ʃe)** ∼ **r̥ (ʃe)**
(mɑː) duːrtʹ	**(ma) jɛrʹ**
(**N**ʹiˑ) aˑbriˑmən (taˑdə)	(**N**ʹiˑ) jɛrʹɪmɪd (taˑdə)
(**N**ʹiˑ) jɛrʹɪ (mɪdʹ)	(**N**ʹiˑ) jeːrə (mɪdʹ)
dʹerɪnʹ ∼ (mar ə) dʹɛra[1]	
duˑrtʹ [*x*5] ∼ **duːrtʹ** [*x*4]	durt (mʹɛ/ʃɪʃə) ∼ dur (ʃe/tʰsə/ʃi) ∼ **tʃe**[2]
(**N**ʹiˑr) uːrt (mʊ taˑdə)	(**N**ʹiːr) uːrt (mʊd taˑd **L̥** r̥ hɑːnʹɪgʹ ʃɛ)

[1] "Mar a déarfá . . . ". Cf. II.58.

[2] Fused form. Note first line above, also.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
VERB FORMS		
abair		
deir	**dʹɛrʹ** [*x*4] ∼ **dʹɛr (ʃɛ)**	**dʹɛrʹ** ∼ **duːrtʹ** [*x*2] ∼ **durtʹ** [*x*2]
(má) deir		**(ma) abrɛn**
(ní) deirimid	(**N**ʹiː) jɛrʹəmɪⁿdʹ	(**N**ʹiː) aːbrə**N** (mɪdʹ)
(ní) déarfaidh	(**N**ʹiː) jeːrə (mʊ tædə)[1]	(**N**ʹiː) aːbroː (mɪdʹ)
déarfainn	**(ʃeːlʹm̩ʹ gə . . .)**[2] ∼ **(ɑ) N**ʹ**eːrə**x[3]	**(ʃiːlʹm̩ʹ gə . . .)**
dúirt	duːrtʹ ∼ dʹɛr (ʃe/ʃeː/ ʃɪʃɪ/ʃi) [*x*4] ∼ **dur (ʃeː)** ∼ **dʹɛrʹ** [*x*3]	duːrtʹ [*x*4] ∼ duːrt (ʃɪʃɪ) ∼ **duːrtʹ** ∼ **duːrtʹ** ∼ **durt** [*x*2]
(ní) dúirt	(**N**ʹiːrʹ) ɛrʹəməd (tædə)	(**N**ʹiːr) uːrt (mən taːdə)

[1] “Ní déarfaidh muid dada.”

[2] “Sílim go . . . ”

[3] “Dá ndéarfadh . . . ” Cf. II.14.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
duːrtʼ [*x*4] ∼ **duˑrtʼ**	**ʤɛr (ʃɛ) ∼ ʤɛrʼn̩ʼ (ʃɛ) ∼ durtʃe**[1] [*x*2] ∼ **dərtʃe**[1]	**duːrtʃɛˑ**[1] ∼ **duːrtʃɛ**[1] [*x*3] ∼ **duˑrtʃɛ**[1]
(maːr ə) duːrtʼ . . .	**(mɑ) abrəɴ**	**(maː) duˑrtʼ**
(ˈnʼiː) ˈɛrʼəmə (tæːdə)[2]	(nʼiˑ) abrəmɪɴʼ	(nʼiˑ) jɛrʼ . . . (nʼiˑj) aːbriːᵊɴ (mʊd taːdə)[3]
(nʼiː) jɛrʼə (mə tæːdə)[4]	(nʼiˑ) abro (mɪɴʼ)	(nʼiː) abroˑ (mʊd taːdə)
duːrtʼ [*x*3] ∼ duːrt (mʼeˑ) ∼ duˑrt (ʃɪʃɪ) ∼ **duːrt** ∼ **duˑrtʼ** [*x*3]	durtʼ (ʃɛː/ʃi) ∼ durtʃi[1] ∼ dr̩tʃɛ[1] ∼ duˑrt (mʼɛ) ∼ **duːrtʃe**[1] ∼ **durtʃɛ**[1] ∼ **dr̩tʃɛ**[1] ∼ **tʃɛ**[1]	duːrtʼ [*x*2] ∼ duˑrtʼ [*x*3] ∼ **duːrtʃɛ**[1] ∼ **duˑrtʃɛ**[1] ∼ **duːrt (ʃɛ)**
(nʼiːrʼ) uːrt (mə tæːdə)[5]	(nʼiːr) uˑrʃtʼ (mə taˑdə)[5]	(nʼiːr) uːrt (mʊdʼ blaˑs)

[1] "Dúirt sé" as a fused form, with a dental affricate as a third consonant. [2] "Ní deirimid dada." [3] Further examples are given in scattered comments made in the course of the interview: [**ɪːrn̩ (mɪʤɛ)**] (II.10); [**ʤeːrən (ʃɛd)**] (II.53); [**eːrn̩ (mʊʤ)**] (II.14); [aˑbriˑᵊɴ (mʊʤɪ)] (I.30).

Yet other examples are given in direct relative constructions: [. . . ʤeːrʼn̩s (məʤɛ)] (I.2); [. . . abrɪ . . . eːrʼn̩s (məʤ)] (I.1); [. . . aˑbriːns (mʊʤɪ)] (I.25).

[4] "Ní déarfaidh muid dada."

[5] "Ní dúirt muid dada."

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

	M 70	*F 60+*
VERB FORMS		
abair		
deir	**duˑrtʃɛ**[1] ∼ **ʤɛrʹ** ∼ **ʤɛr (ʃɛ/ʃe) ∼ dʹɛr (ʃɛ)**	**ʤɛrʹ** [*x*5]
(má) deir	**(mɑ) duˑrt (miˑ jrɑˑr)**[2]	**(mɑ) ɛrʹ**
(ní) deirimid	(**N**ʹiːr) uːrtʹ	(nʹiˑ) ɛrʹ**N**
(ní) déarfaidh	(nʹi) jɛrʹə (mʊd tadə)	(nʹiˑ) jɛrʹə (mʊʤ)
déarfainn	**dʹiᵊrɪNʹ** [*x*3] ∼ **ʤiᵊrɪNʹ**	**ʤiˑᵊrɪnʹ**
dúirt	duˑrtʹ ∼ duːrtʹ ∼ dʹɛrʹ [*x*2] ∼ ʤɛrʹ∼ **duˑrʃtʹɛ**[4] ∼ **ʤɛr ʃe** [*x*2] ∼ **dʹɛrʃtʹɛ**[5]	doˑrtʹ ∼ dʊːrʃtʹ (mʹe) ∼ **durtʃɛ**[1] ∼ **duˑrtʃɪʃɛ**[3] ∼ **duːrtʃ(eː**[1] **heːnʹ)** ∼ ʤɛrʹ∼ **ʤɛrʹ** ∼ **duːrtʃɛ**[1] ∼ **duˑrtʃɛ**[1]
(ní) dúirt	(nʹiːr) uːrtʹ ∼ (**N**aːr) uːrtʹ[6]	(nʹiˑr) ˈurʃtʹ (mʊʤ)

[1] "Dúirt sé" as a fused form, with a dental affricate as a third consonant.

[2] "Má dúirt mo dhearthár ...".

[3] "Dúirt sise" as a fused form, with a dental affricate as a third consonant.

[4] "Dúirt sé" as a fused form, with metathesis of the palatalised dental plosive and the sibilant.

[5] Apparently, "Deir sé" as a fused form, with metathesis of the palatalised dental plosive and the sibilant.

[6] Cf. I.21.

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
zuːrt ʃɛ[1] ∼ **duːrtʲ** [*x*2] **duːrtʲ** [*x*2] ∼ **dʲɛrʲ**	**duːrtʲ** [*x*4] ∼ **duːrt (ʃɛ)**	**ʤɛrʲn̩ʲ (ʃɛ)** ∼ **durtʲ** [*x*4] **durt ʃɛ** ∼ **duːrtʃɛ**[2]
(maː) jɛrʲN̩	**(mɑ) duːrʃt (mi jrʲɑːrʲ)**[*x*2]	**(mɑ) jɛN**[3]
(nʲiː) ˈjɛrʲN̩	(nʲiː) eːrᵊN	(Nʲiː) jɛrʲəmɪʤ
(nʲiː) jerə (mʊdʲ)	(nʲiː) jeːrə (mʊdʲ)	(Nʲiː) jeːrə (mɪʤ)
duːrtʲ [*x*2] ∼ durtʃe[2] duːrt (ʃɪʃɪ) ∼ duːrtʲ **duːrtʲ** [*x*2] ∼ **duːrtʲ** **duːrtʲɛ**[5]	duːrtʲ [*x*4] ∼ duːrt (mʲɛ) ∼ **duːrtʲ** [*x*3] ∼ **duːr (ʃɛ)**	duːrtʲ [*x*2] ∼ duːrtʲ [*x*2] ∼ duːtʃiː[4] ∼ **durtʃɛ**[2] ∼ **duːrtʲ**
(nʲiːr) ˌuːrt (mʊd ˈtæːdə)	(nʲiːr) ˈuːrt (mʊ taːdə)	(Nʲiːr) ʊːrtʲ

[1] "... adúirt sé."

[2] "Dúirt sé" as a fused form, with a dental affricate as a third consonant.

[3] "Má dhein ..."?

[4] "Dúirt sí" as a fused form, with a dental affricate as a third consonant.

[5] "Dúirt sé" as a fused form.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
VERB FORMS		
déan		
déanaigí!	**dʹɪˑNɪgʹiː**	**(foLəmiː)**
(a) dhéanann	**(ə) jɛNəNs**	**(gə) Nʹɛ$\underline{\text{N}}$N**[1]
(sula) ndéanann	(sə**L**ə) jɛ**N**ən (ʃɛ)	(h**L**ɑː) **N**ʹɪː**N**ə (ʃiᵊd)
(ní) dhéanfainn(se)	(**N**ʹiˑ) jɛ**N**əx mʹɪʃ (ɛ)[2]	(**N**ʹiː) jɪˑ**N**ɪmʃ (ɛ)[2]
dhéanfá(sa)	jɛ**N**əx tɪs (ɛ)[2]	(j)ɪˑ**N**ˈʊs (ɛ)[2]
(ní) dhearna	(**N**ʹiˑ) rɪ**N**ʹɪ	(**N**ʹiˑr) rɪ**N**ʹɪ
(go) ndearna	(gə) rɪ**N**ʹɪ	(gər) rɪ**N**ʹɪ
(nach) ndearna	**(Nax)**[3] **rʹɪNʹɛ** (sic)	**(naːr)**[3] **rɪNʹɛ**
(Indirect Relative)		
(a) ndearna	rɪ**N**ʹɪ [x3]	rɪ**N**ʹɪ
(é a) dhéanamh	**(ʔeˑ ʔeˑ) jɛnə** **(lʹeː) jɛnə**[4]	**(ɛ) jɪNə**

[1] "...go ndéanann ...".

[2] "...é " (direct object pronoun).

[3] I have used the form of the negative complementiser in the simple past tense to infer the underlying form of all the verbal proclitics (i.e., *nach* vs. *nár* to infer *ní* vs. *níor*, etc.).

[4] "...le h-é a dhéanamh". Cf. II.58.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
ʤiːn [pl.]	**(nʹiˑ) jɛnn̩. . . (nʹiˑ imʹiːn)**[1]
ᵊjɪnn̩s	**ᵊjɪnn̩s**
(sor ə) jɪ**N**əx (ʃɛˑ)	dʹɛ**NN̩**. . . (sə**L**ə) **N**ʹɪ**N**n̩ (ʃɛ)
(**N**ʹi) jɪ**N**ə**N**ʃ (ɛ)[2]	(nʹi) jɪ**N**ɪmʃ (ɛː)[2]
jiˑ**N**ɑːsə	jɪ**N**əx tösə
(**N**ʹir) rɪ**N**ʹɪ	(**N**ʹiːr) rɪ**N**ʹɪ
(gər) rɪ**N**ʹɪ	(gər) rə**N**ʹɪ
(Nɑːr)[3] **rɪNʹɛ**	**(naˑr)**[3] **rɪNʹə**
rɪ**N**ʹɪ [x3]	ᵊrɪ**N**ʹɛ ∼ rɪ**N**ʹɪ ∼ rⁱ**N**ʹᴵ
(eː) jiːNə ∼ (ɛ) jiːNə	

[1] Mistranslation. I.15 heard as “Children don’t go away” (declarative).

[2] “. . . é ” (direct object pronoun).

[3] I have used the form of the negative complementiser in the simple past tense to infer the underlying form of all the verbal proclitics (i.e., *nach* vs. *nár* to infer *ní* vs. *níor*, etc.).

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
VERB FORMS		
déan		
déanaigí!	**(foːLəm də xɪdʹ . . .)** **dʹɪN** [*x*2] **(də ɣɪdʹ [sic] . . .)** [pl.?]	**dʹəNɪgʹiˑ**
(a) dhéanann	**jɪNəns . . . jɪːNəns**[1]	**(ə) jəNn̩s**
(sula) ndéanann	(soːr ə) jɪN^{ə}(n) (sɛˑ) (sic)	(sɔr ə) jiːNn̩ (ʃe) ∼ (sɔr ə) jɪNn̩ (ʃe)
(ní) dhéanfainn(se)	(Nʹiː) jɪNəN (ʃeˑ e)	(Nʹiː) jɪNəx mʹɪʃ (ɛ)[2]
dhéanfá(sa)	jɪNəx tɪs (ɛ)[2]	jɪNəx təʃə
(ní) dhearna	(Nʹiːr) rɪNʹɪ ∼ (Nʹi) jɑːrNə	(Nʹiː) jɑːrNə ∼ (Nʹiːr) rɪNʹɪ
(go) ndearna	(gər) rɪNʹɪ ∼ (gə) Nʹɑːrnə	(gər) rɪNʹɪ
(nach) ndearna	**(Naːr)**[3] **rɪNʹɛ**	**(Naːr)**[3] **rɪNʹɛ**
(Indirect Relative) (a) ndearna	rɪNʹɪ [*x*2] ∼ ^{ə}rɪNʹɪ	(ə) NʹɑːrNə ∼ (ə) rɪNʹɪ [*x*3]
(é a) dhéanamh	**(eː) jɪNə**	**(a^{i}) jɪNə**

[1] In careful pronunciation.

[2] "...é " (direct object pronoun).

[3] I have used the form of the negative complementiser in the simple past tense to infer the underlying form of all the verbal proclitics (i.e., *nach* vs. *nár* to infer *ní* vs. *níor*, etc.).

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
(foːLəm . . . foːLɪmʹi)	**ᵊʒɛnɪgʹiˑ**[1]	**ʤɛNɪgʹiː**
(ə) jɛNn̩s	**(ə) jəNəNs**	**(ɛ) nʹiːns**[2] **∼ (ə) jɪNn̩s**
(həd ə) jɛNɛnʹ (ʃeː)	(sʊLə) jɪNə[3] (ʃe)	(səL ma) jɪNətʃeˑ[4]
(nʹiˑ) jəNɪmʃ (ɛ)[5]	(nʹiˑ) jɪNiːnʃ (ɛ)[5] ∼ (nʹiˑ) jəNənʃə[6]	(nʹiˑ) jɪNəx mʹɪʃ (eː)[5]
jɛNɑːs (ɛ)[5]	jɪNəts (ɛ)[5]	jɪNəx tïʃə
(nʹiˑr) rɪNʹɛ	(Nʹiˑ) jɑːrNə	(nʹiː) jɑːrNə
(gər) rɪNʹɛ	(gə) NʹɑˑrNə	(gər) rɪNʹɪ
(Nɑːr)[7] **rɪNʹɛ**	**(Nəx rə) ʤəNə . . .** [8]	**(Nax) rɪNʹ (ə gɪʤ . . .)**
ᵊrɪNʹɛ [*x*3]	nʹɑːrNə ∼ NʹɑːrNə ∼ ᵊNʹɑˑrNə	ᵊrɪNʹɪ [*x*2] ∼ (gər) rɪNʹɪ ∼ ᵋjɑːrNə
(eː) jɛNə [*x*2]	**(ɛ) jɪNə**	**(əⁱ) jɛNə**

[1] "... agus déanaigí ..."? [2] "**[ɛ nʹiːᵊn]**: bhíodh sé ag cuide go na sean-ndaoiní". **[ᵋnʹiːᵊx]** can be used as the relative form of the verb in the habitual past tense. [3] Future tense form? [4] Non-standard "...sul má dhéanfadh sé ...". [5] "... é " (direct object pronoun). [6] Cf. I.15.

[7] I have used the form of the negative complementiser in the simple past tense to infer the underlying form of all the verbal proclitics (i.e., *nach* vs. *nár* to infer *ní* vs. *níor*, etc.). [8] "...nach raibh ag déanadh ...".

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

	M 70	*F 60+*
VERB FORMS		
déan		
déanaigí!	**ʤɛN** [pl.?]	**ʤɪNəgʹiˑ**
(a) dhéanann	**(ə) rɪNʹ (ɛ ʃɪnʹ)**	**(ə) jɪNNs**
(sula) ndéanann	(sər ə) jɪNəNs	(sɛr ə) **NʹɛNəN**
(ní) dhéanfainn(se)	(nʹiː) jɪNɪmʃ (ɛ)[1]	(nʹiː) jɛNənʃ (ɛ)[1]
dhéanfá(sa)	jɪNˈuᵊsə	jɛNɑːsə
(ní) dhearna	(Nʹiˑər) rɪNʹɛ	(Nʹiˑr) rɪNʹɪ[2] [*x*2]
(go) ndearna	(gər) rɪNʹɛ	(gər) rɪNʹɪ
(nach) ndearna	**(Næːrʹ ɛⁱbʹrʹi)**[3] **. . . (Naːr) rɪNʹɛ**	**(Naːr) rɪNʹ (əN. . .)**
(Indirect Relative) (a) ndearna	rɪNʹɛ [*x*2]	(ɛ) rɪNʹɪ ∼ (gə) rɪNʹɪ ∼ (ə) rɪNʹɪ
(é a) dhéanamh	ˈ**(ə) jɪNə . . .** ˈ**(ɛⁱ) jɪNə ∼ (. . . ə) jɛNə**	**(ɛˑ/eː)** ˈ**jɪNə**

[1] ". . . é " (direct object pronoun).

[2] Cf. the positive 3 pl. form **[rɪNʹədər]** in II.8.

[3] ". . . nár oibrigh . . . ".

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
ʤəNɪgʹi˙	**ʤɛNɪgʹi**	**ʤəN (vər^{h})**[1] ∼ **ʤɛn (vər)**[1]
(ə jɛN)[2]	**(ə) jɛNəNs**	**(ə) jəNN̩**
(rɪvʹ) ə jɛNəx (ʃɛ)	(rɪvʹ ə) jɪNə̃ (tʃɛ)	(rɪvʹ ə) nʹɪNənʹ (ʃɛ)
(nʹiː) jɛNN̩tʹ (ɛ)[3]	(nʹi) jɛNɪmʃ (e)[3]	(nʹi) jɪNɪNʃ (əx)[4]
jɛNɑːs (ɛ)[3]	jɛ̃Nəx (tʊsə)	jɪNəx tʊs (ɛ)[3]
(nʹi˙) jɛN (sic)	(nʹi˙r) jmʹ (ʃe˙)	(nʹi˙r) jəN[5]
(gə) jmʹ (tʃɛ)		(gə) ˈjɪːnʹ (tʃɛ)
(nar) jɛnʹ	**(Na˙r) jɛnʹ**	**(Naːrʹ) jɛN** [$x2$]
jɛN [$x2$] ∼ ᵊjɛN	jɛN [$x2$] ∼ ᵊjɛN	jɪN ∼ ᵊjɛN[6]
(lʹa^{i}) jɛNə[7], **(. . . ə) jɛNə**	**(eː) ᵊjɛNə**[8]	**(ə^{i}) jɛNə**

[1] "Déanaigí bhur . . . ". [2] Simple past tense form in a direct relative clause construction. [3] ". . . é " (direct object pronoun). [4] "Ní dhéanfainnse (é) ach . . . ". [5] Note the positive simple past verb form in the conditional construction [**mɑ jɛN**] (cf. II.14). [6] Note the extremely reduced verb form in the construction [xi˙Ntu æ] ("Cén chaoi a dhion [ndearna] tú é?"). In a discussion of the pronunciation of this verb stem form at the end of the second interview, the informant produced the following forms for the simple past and future, respectively: [jəN, nʹiːr jəN, dʹəNə (mʹæ ʃmʹ), nʹiː jəNə (mʹæ˙ ʃmʹ)]. There is a clear preference for a mid-central vowel, even with careful articulation. [7] ". . . le h-é a dhéanamh". [8] Note the verbal adjectival form in the phrase [ʤɪNt (ɛgʹɛ)] ("déanta aige"). Cf. I.12.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
VERB FORMS		
ith		
itheann	iˑsən [*x*2]	iːsə**N** ∼ **iːsə****Ns**[1]
(ní) ithim(se)	(**N**′iˑ) iˑsə**N** mʹɪʃɪ	(**N**′i) iːsɪmʹʃ (eː**N**′ oːˈlʹ)[2]
(a) ithe	**(ə) ʔɪhɛ**	**ẽː**
fan		
(an) bhfanfaidh . . . ?	**(ə) waːNoˑ** [*x*2]	**waːno**
(a) d'fhantá	**(nɛrʹ ə) daːNəx tu**	**(Nɛrʹ ə vʹiːaː** (sic) **faːnəxt . . .)**
(Indirect Relative)		
(a) bhfantá	**(ə mʹiˑəx tuˑ faːnəxt ɑˑN)**	**(ə) waːNox tuˑ (ɑːN)**
fanta		**faNtə**
beir		
rugadh (air)	**rʊguˑ (ɛrʹ)** ∼ **(fʊrʹuˑ gʹrʹiˑmʹ ɛrʹ)**	**rʊguˑ (ɛrʹ)**
breith (air)	**bʹrʹɛ (ɛrʹ)**	**(nʹiˑ r mʹeˑ n aːN ə hiˑəxt suᵊs lʹɛʃ)**
clois		
chuala	xuᵊ**L**ə	xuːᵊ**L**ə
caill		
cailleann	kaˑ**L**ʹm (ʃɛ)	(kʊrʹən ʃɛː ʔᵊmuː ᵊguː**N**iː ɛ)[3]
chaill	xɑˑlʹ (ʃɛ)	xaˑlʹ (ʃe) (sic)

[1] Direct relative verb form. Cf. II.46. [2] "Ní ithimse aon fheoil." [3] Cf. [gə**N** e. ᵊxaˑˈ**L**ʹə] ("... gan é a chailleadh") in I.21.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
iˈʔᵊn ∼ **ɪːᵊns**[1]	iˈsɴ
(**Nʹ**iˈ) iːmʹʃ (iˈ)	(**Nʹ**iˈ) iˈsɴ mʹɪʃɪ
iː	**(ᶦgʹ) ɪ**
ᵊwaːno	**(w)anoⁿ (tu)**
(nürʹ ə) daːna (sic)	**(nɛrʹ vʹx mɪdʹ ɑːN ə fɪrʹəxt ɑːN)**
(ɛr gnɑːx lʹæt aˈnəxt)	**(. . . əN əN ɑːtʹ vʹiˈᵊx tu fɪrʹəxt)**
rʊgu (ɛrʹ)	**rʊgu. . . (ɛrʹ)**
bʹrʹɛ (ɛrʹ)	**bʹrʹɛ (ɛrʹ)**
xo**L**ə	xuᵊ (sic)
kɑ**ːL**ʹən (ʃɛ)	kalʹmʹ(ʃɛ)
xɑ**ːL**ʹ [*x*2]	xaˈlʹ (ʃɛ) (sic)

[1] Direct relative verb form. Cf. II.46.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

		CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
VERB FORMS			
ith			
	itheann	iːsən ∼ **iːsəns**[1]	iːn (ʃeː)
	(ní) ithim(se)	(**N′**iː) iːsə**N** m′ɪʃ (ɛ)[2]	(**N′**i) iːn m′ɪʃɪ
	(a) ithe	**ɪː**	**ɪ**
fan			
	(an) bhfanfaidh . . . ?	**waːNiːN**[3] **(tuˑ)** [*x*2] **. . . waːNoˑ**	**(ə) waːnoː**
	(a) d'fhantá	**(ə) daːNɑː**	**(ə) dæːnək tuˑ** (sic)
	(Indirect Relative)		
	(a) bhfantá	**(ə̃ mə ŋNɑː l′æˑt faːNəxt)**[4]	**(bə ɣNɑːx l′æt faːNəxt ∼ ᵊv′iːaˑ faːNəxt)** (sic)
	fanta		
beir			
	rugadh (air)	**bʹɛrʹu (ɛr nə jiᵊ ʃɪnʹ**[5]**)**	**rʊguːs (ɛr′)**
	breith (air)	**bʹrʹɛ (ɛr′)**	**bʹrʹɛ (r′)**
clois			
	chuala	dær′ɪ [6]	xoː**L**ə
caill			
	cailleann	kæˑ**L′**ən (ʃe)	kæˑ**L′**ən (ʃɛ)
	chaill	xæˑl′	xæˑ**L′**

[1] Direct relative verb form. Cf. II.46. [2] ". . . é " (direct object pronoun). [3] Habitual present verb form. [4] ". . . ar ghnáth leat fanacht." [5] ". . . ina dhiaidh sin". [6] "D'airigh . . . ".

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
iːsɛn′ (ʃeːsə**N**) (sic) (**N**ax **N**′iˑ) iːˈsəm′[1] **(g′) ɪ**	ɪhən (ʃɛs**N̩**) (nʲiˑ jə**N**ənʃə)[2] **(ᵊg′) ɪ**	iːs**N̩** (sɛs**N̩**) (nʲiˑ) iːmʲʃɪ **(ᵊtə tuˑ) ˈjɪ**
ᵊwaːNo **daːNaˑ** (sic) **(səN ɑːt′ ə v′iːɑ faːNəxt)**	**wano**	**ᵊwaːNoˑ** **ᵊdaːnɑˑ** **(ə mʲiːᵊx tuˑ faːNəxt)** **(fɑːkiː)**[3]
(Naˑx) rʊgəs (ɛr′)[4] **b′r′ɛh (ɛr′)**	**rʊgʊ (ɛr′)** **(g′r′iːw ɑːl′ ɛr′)**[5]	**rʊguː (ɛr′)** **b′r′ɛ (ɛr′)**
xʊˑ**L**ə	xu**L**ə	xuˑ**L**ə
kaː**L**′n̩′ (ʃeː) [*x*2] xaːˈl′ (ʃeː)[6]	kɑˑ**L**′n̩′ (ʃɛ) xɑˑ**L**′	kɑˑ**L**′mʲ (ʃɛ) xaˑl′. . . xɑˑl′

[1] “ . . . ach ní ithimse”. [2] “ . . . ní dhéanfainnse”? [3] “fágtha” [4] “ . . . ach rugadh air”. [5] “ . . . greim a fháil air”. [6] But cf. **[kɑːl′tʲɪ]** (“caillte”) in II.10.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

		M 70	*F 60+*
VERB FORMS			
ith			
	itheann	iːsən′ (ʃeˑ)	iːsɴ (ʃɛ) ∼ **iːsɴs**[1]
	(ní) ithim(se)	(ɴ′iː) iːsɪm′s[2]	(n′iˑ) iːsm̩ʃɛ
	(a) ithe	**iːː**	**iː**
fan			
	(an) bhfanfaidh . . . ?	**waɴo**	**ᵊvaːɴoˑ**
	(a) d'fhantá	**(ə) daːɴɑ**	**(ə) daːnə** (sic)
	(Indirect Relative)		
	(a) bhfantá	**(ə m′iˑə faːnəxt . . .)**	**(ə m′iˑɑ gʊːɴiː ɑːɴ)**[3]
	fanta	**faniː**	
beir			
	rugadh (air)	**rʊguˑ (ɛr′)** [x2]	**rʊgʊs (ɛr′)**
	breith (air)	**b′r′ɛh (ɛr′)**	**b′r′ɛ (ɛr′)**
clois			
	chuala	xuˑᵊ**L**ə	xʊˑ**L**ə
caill			
	cailleann	kɑː**L**′m′ (ʃeˑ/ʃɛ) [x2]	kaˑl′n̩ (tʃɛ)
	chaill	xɑːl′	xɑːl′

[1] Direct relative verb form. Cf. II.46.

[2] With the nonpalatalised form of the emphatic particle *-sa*?

[3] " . . . a mbíteá i gcónaí ann".

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
iːsənʹ (ʃɛ)	iːsn̪ (ʃɛ)	iˑsənʹ (ʃɛ)
(nʹiː) iːʃɪm̪ʃ (sic) (ɛːnʹ oˑlʹ)[2]	(**N**ʹiˑ) iːsn̪ mʹɪʃ (ɛ)[1]	(nʹiˑ) iˑsə**N** mʹɪʃ (ɛ)[1]
(ᵋgʹ) ɪːⁱ	**(gʹ) iː**	**(gʹ) iː**
waˑno	**(ə) waNo**	**(ə) vaˑNo**
(ə) daːnox tu	**(ə) daːnox tu**	**(ə) daːNaˑ** (sic)
(ə vʹɪx tʊ faːnəxt . . .)	**(ə vʹiˑᵊx tu faːNəxt . . .)**	**(ɛgʹ) daːNɑˑ (ɑˑN)**[3]
rʊgəs (ɛrʹ)	**rʊgəs (ɛrʹ)**	**bʹeːrər (ɛrʹ)**[4]
bʹrʹɛ (ɛrʹ)	**bʹrʹɛ (ɛrʹ)**	**bʹɛrʹ (ɛrʹ) ∼ bʹɛrʹɛxtɑlʹ (ɛrʹ)**
daˑˈrʹɪ [5]	xuᵊ**L**ə	xo**L**ə
kɑˑ**L**ʹn̪ʹ (ʃɛ)	kɑˑlʹn̪ʹ (tʃɛ)	kɑlʹn̪ʹ (tʃɛ)
xɑːlʹ	xɑːlʹ	kɑˑlʹ (sic)

[1] ". . . é " (direct object pronoun).

[2] "Ní ithimse aon fheoil."

[3] " . . . a bhfantá ann".

[4] Future impersonal tense form?

[5] "D'airigh . . . ".

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

		BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
VERB FORMS			
mill			
	(é a) mhilleadh	(gə**N** ɛ) v′i·l′ (əx ᵊn′ɪʃ . . .)	(gə**N** eˑ) ᵊv′i·**L**′ə
	millte	m′i:l′t′ə	m′i·**L**′t′ɛ
crom			
	cromadh	(gə**N**) krəmə	(**N**ax) grəməx [1]
	chrom	xrəm	xrʊm′ (ʃiˑ)
rith			
	rithfidh	**ri:**	**rĩ:**
	rith	**(ɛg) ri·ᵊxt**	**(a) re:ᵊxt**
bruith			
	bruithfidh	**(f′əxə)**[2]	**(xɪr′ɪ m′e: ʃi:s . . .)**
buaigh			
	(go) mbuaifidh		
gnóthaigh			
	(go) ngnóthóidh	**(gə) ŋNuə . . . (gə) ŋNo:**	**(gə) ŋNo·ə (∼ ə ɣNo:s)**[3]
coinnigh			
	(do do) choinneáil	(ᵊgə də) xɪ**N**′ɑ**L**	(gə mə) xɪ**N**′ɑ·**L** [x2]
	(ag) coinneáil	ᵊkɪ**N**′ɑ**L**	kɪ**N**′ɑ·**L**[4]

[1] " . . . nach gcromfadh . . . ".

[2] "Fiuchfaidh . . . ".

[3] Direct relative verb form.

[4] Cf. [k′e:rd ə xɪ**N**′i: u: [x4]] ("Céard a choinnigh thœ?") in I.29.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
(gN̩ eˑ) ᵊvˈɪ**L**ˈɪ	(gə**N** aⁱ) ᵊvˈiːlˈɛ
mˈi**ːL**ˈtˈɛ	mˈiːlˈtˈɛ
(ga**N**) krʊmə (sic)	(gə**N**) krəmə
xrəm	(xoːb)[1]
riː	**riˑ**
ᵋriˑᵊx	**raˑxt**
briː (∼ fˈəxə)	**briː**
buᵊ [x2]	
	(gə) wʊʔ . . . (gə) Nuˑiˑ
(gə də) xɪ**N**ˈɑˑ**L**[2]	(ᵊdə) xɪ**N**ˈɑ**ːL**sə[3] ∼ (də) xə**N**ˈɑ**ːL**sə
ᵊkə**N**ˈɑˑ**L**	kɪ**N**ˈɑ**ːL**[4]

[1] " Chúb . . . ."

[2] This contruction was preceded by the sentence [kˈɛrd ə xə**N**ˈ uˑ/ʔuˑ/huˑ], repeated three times, the last two times with careful articulation.

[3] Preceded by the sentence [kˈɛrd ə xɪ**N**ˈ uˑ].

[4] Preceded by the phrase [kˈɛrd i ᵊxɪ**N**ˈi].

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

		CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
VERB FORMS			
mill			
	(é a) mhilleadh	(gə**N** eˑ) vʹiˑlʹɪ	(gə**N** ai) vʹiːlʹɪ
	millte	mʹi**ːL**ʹtʹɪ	mʹi**ːL**ʹtʹɪ
crom			
	cromadh	(gə̃ŋ) krʊmə	(gə**N**) krʊmə
	chrom	xrʊm	xrʊm
rith			
	rithfidh	**riː**	**riː**
	rith	**ᵊriˑᵊx**	**ᵊriːx**
bruith			
	bruithfidh	**vrʊ**[1] [$x3$]	**brɪː**
buaigh			
	(go) mbuaifidh		
gnóthaigh			
	(go) ngnóthóidh	**(gə) ŋNoː** ∼ **(Nax) Noːᵉ** (sic)	**(gə) ŋNoː**
coinnigh			
	(do do) choinneáil	(də) xɪ**N**ʹɑ**ːL**	(də) xɪ**N**ʹɑlʹ[2]
	(ag) coinneáil	kɪ**N**ʹɑˑ**L**	ᵊkɪ**N**ʹɑːlʹ

[1] Apparently, a simple past tense verb form.

[2] Preceded by the sentence [kʹeːrd ə xɪ**N**ʹ uː].

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
(gə**N** a^{i}) v′ɪ**L**′ɛ	(gə**N** eˑ) ^{ə}v′i:l′ɛ̯	(gə**N** a^{i}) v′i:l′ɛ
m′i:l′t′(ɪ)	m′iˑ**L**′t′ɛ	m′i:**L**′tʃ (agət)
(gə**N**) krəmə	(b′ɑ:r **N**ax) grʊməx	(ga**N**) krʊmə (sic)
xrəm	xrəm	xrəm
ri:	**ri:**	**ri:**
ra:xt ∼ (ɛg′) ri:^{ə}x ∼ rɪ ∼ ra:x[1] [*x*7]	**(ɛ) rɪ**	**riˑ^{ə}xt**
brɔ^{i}	**(ə) vrʊ**[2]	**bri:**
^{ə}wu^{ə}s[3]	**(gə) mu:**	**(gə) mu: ∼ (n′i: wu:** [*x*2] **∼ n′i: wuˑ)**
(də) xɪ**N**′ɑ:**L**	(gə də) xɪ**N**′ɑ:l′[4]	(^{ə}də) xɪ**N**′ɑˑ**L**[5] ∼ (gʊ də) xʊ**N**′ɑˑ**L**
(ɣɑ:) xɪ**N**′ɑ:**L**[6]	^{ə}kɪ**N**′ɑˑl′[7]	^{ə}kɪ**N**′ɑ:**L**[8]

[1] Possibility of final [**t**] rejected by informant. [2] Verbal noun form. [3] Direct relative verb form. [4] Preceded by the sentence [k′ɛrd ə xə**N**′ uˑ].

[5] Preceded by the sentence [k′e:rd ə xən′ uˑ]. [6] Preceded by the phrase [^{ə}xɪ**N**′ɪ ʃɑ:**N**] (" . . . a choinnigh Seán"). [7] Preceded by the sentence [k′ɛrd ə xə**N**′ɪ ʃɑ:**N**]. [8] Preceded by the sentence [k′e:rd ə xən′ɪ ʃɑ:**N**].

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

		M 70	*F 60+*
VERB FORMS			
mill			
	(é a) mhilleadh	(gə**N** ɛ^{i}) v′ɪ**L**′ɛ	(gə**N** a^{i}) v′i:l′ɛ
	millte	m′i:l′t′ (æt)[1]	m′ɪl′tʃɛ
crom			
	cromadh	(gʊŋ) xrʊmə	(gə**N** ə) krəmə (sic)
	chrom	xrʊm	xrəm
rith			
	rithfidh	**ri:**	**ri:**
	rith	**(ə) rə**	**(ɛg′) rɪ**
bruith			
	bruithfidh	**bri:**	**bri:**
buaigh			
	(go) mbuaifidh	**(gə mu^{ə}x)**	**(gə mu^{ə}x)**
gnóthaigh			
	(go) ngnóthóidh		
coinnigh			
	(do do) choinneáil	(də) xɪ**N**′ɑ·**L**[2] [*x*2]	(də) xɪ**N**′ɑ·**L**[3]
	(ag) coinneáil	kɪ**N**′ɑ:l′ (x′ɑ:ɪn′)[4]	(ə) kɪ**N**′ɑ·**L** (x′ɑ·ɪn′)[5]

[1] " . . . millte agat".

[2] Preceded by the phrase [ə xɪ**N**′ u:] (" . . . a choinnigh thú").

[3] Preceded by the phrase [ə xɪ**N**′ɪ hu·] (" . . . a choinnigh thú").

[4] Preceded by the phrase [ə xʊ**N**′i· ʃɑ:**N**] (" . . . a choinnigh Seán").

[5] Preceded by the phrase [ə xə**N**′ɪ ʃɑ:**N**] (" . . . a choinnigh Seán").

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
(gə**N** aⁱ) vʹiːlʹɛ	(gə**N** əⁱ) vʹɪlʹɛ	(gə**N** aⁱ) vʹiːlʹɛ
mʹiːlʹtʃ (æt)[1]	mʹiːlʹtʃɛ	(tʃɛ) mʹiːlʹtʃ (ᵊˈnʹɪʃ)[2]
(gʌ**N** ə) kroːmə	(gaˑn) krʊmə	(gə**N**) krəmə
xroːm	xroːm	krəm (sic)
riˑfʹɪ	**riː**	**riˑfʹɛ**
(ə) reːxt	**(aː) riːᵊx**	**(eː g) riːᵊxt**[3]
briːfʹɛ	**briːfʹɪ**	**briːfʹɛ** [$x2$]
wuᵊs[4]	**(gə) ˈmu-aⁱfʹɛ**	**(gə) ˈmuˑᵋfʹ (ən . . .)**
(də) xə**N**ʹʌlʹ	(də) xə**N**ʹɑlʹ	(də) xə**N**ʹɑl
kɛ**N**ʹaˑlʹ	kɪ**N**ʹɑˑlʹ	kɪ**N**ʹɑˑ**L**

[1] " . . . millte agat".

[2] "Tá sé millte anois."

[3] " . . . é ag rith."

[4] Direct relative verb form.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

		BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
VERB FORMS			
tóg			
	(a) thógáil	**(ə) hoːgʹɑˑL**	**(ə) koˑˈgʹɑːL**[1]
imigh			
	imígí!	**ɪmʹɪgʹiˑ**	**mʹɪgʹiː** (sic)
	(ná) himígí!	**(Nɑˑ) ɪmʹɪgʹiˑ**	**(Nɑˑ) hɪmʹɪgʹiˑ**
	d'imigh (siad)	**(ə wɪl ʃɪd) ɪmʹiˑ**	**dʹɪmʹɪ**
	(ar) imigh . . . ?	**(tə ʃəd) ɪmʹi**	**(ərʹ) ɪmʹɪ**
oscail			
	(ná) hosclaígí!	**(Nɑ) ʔəskLəgʹiˑ**	**(Nɑː) həskLɪgʹiˑ**
fág			
	fág!	**fɑˑk (tivʹ ᵊmuˑⁱj ɛ)**	**fɑːg (tiː ᵊmuˑⁱ ɛ)**
	fágaigí!	fɑˑg [x5] (də xɪdʹ koːtiˑ) [pl.]	fɑˑgiˑ[2]
	d'fhág	dɑːg [x2]	**dɑːgə**
	(sular) fhág	(sar) dɑːg	
foghlaim			
	foghlaimígí!		**foLəmiː**
	foghlamtha	**foˑLn̩tə**	**doːLn̩ (ʃiᵊd)**

[1] Cf. **[ə hoːkʹəx ɣoːb eː]** (" . . . a thógfadh dóibh é") in II.58.

[2] Cf. [kərʹɪgʹiː] ("Cuirigí . . . ") in I.3.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
(ə) ho:g′ɑ·ʟ	**(ə) ho:g′aʟ** (sic) ∼ (l′e) ho:ˈg′ɑ:l′[1]
g′r′æ:d (l′æ:t)	**ɪm′i:**
(ɴɑ) hɪm′ɪg′i·	**(n′i·) ɪm′i:n . . .**[2]
d′ɪm′ɪ [x2]	**d′ɪm′ɪ**
(ɛr′) ɪm′ɪ	**(ər′) ɪm′ɪ**
(ɴɑ:) həskɪl′ [pl.]	**(ɴɑ:) (ə)sʟi:** (sic)
fɑ:g (ti:v′ ᵊmuʲj ɛ)	**fɑg (ti·v′ ᵊmuⁱ ɛ)**
fɑ:gəg′i:	fɑgi·
dɑ:g ∼ dɑ:k (ʃɛ)	**dɑg** [x2]
(sʊ**ʟ**ər) ɑ:g	
	foʟəm (də xɪd′ k′æxtə) [pl.?]
do:ʟm̩ (ʃiᵊd)	**fo:ʟəmt (akəb)**

[1] Cf. I.20.

[2] Stimulus sentence misheard as the declarative sentence “Children don’t go away”.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

		CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
VERB FORMS			
tóg			
	(a) thógáil	**(ə) hoːgʹaˑL** (sic)	**(ə) hoˑgʹɑˑlʹ**
imigh			
	imígí!	**ɪmʹɪ (lʹæːt) . . .** **ɪmʹɪgʹiː**	**ɪmʹɪgʹiː** [x2] ∼ **ɪmʹiː**
	(ná) himígí!	**(Nɑː) ɪmʹi** ∼ **(Nɑˑ) ɪmʹɪgʹiˑ**	**(Nɑː) ɪmʹɪgʹiˑ**
	d'imigh (siad)	**dʹɪmʹɛ** ∼ **dʹɪmʹɪ**	**dʹɪmʹɪ**
	(ar) imigh . . . ?	**(ɪrʹ) ɪmʹədər**	**(ɛgʹ) ɪmʹədər** (sic) **. . . (ɛrʹ) ɪmʹɪ**
oscail			
	(ná) hosclaígí!	**(Nɑː) əskLiː**	**(Naˑ) həskLɪgʹiː** ∼ **(Nɑː) əskLiː**
fág			
	fág!	**fɑːg (tiːv ᵊmuʲj ɛ)**	**fɑːk (tiˑv ᵊmuⁱ ɛ)**
	fágaigí!	fɑˑgiː	fɑˑgiˑ ∼ fɑˑgəgʹiˑ
	d'fhág	dɑːg [x2]	dɑːg, **dɑːg**
	(sular) fhág	(səL mə/səL Nə ?) dɑːg	**(səL mɑːr) dɑːg**
foghlaim			
	foghlaimígí!	**foːLəm (do xɪdʹ . . .)** [sg.?]	
	foghlamtha	**doːLɪmʹɪ (ʃɛd)**	**doːLm̩ʹ (ʃəd)**

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
(ə) hoːgʹɑˑʟ	**(ə) hoːgʹɑːlʹ**	**(ə) hoːˈgʹɑˑlʹ**
tʹʌⁱgʹiː	**ɪmʹɪgʹiˑ**	**ɪmʹɪgʹiˑ** [$x2$]
(Nɑ) ɪmʹiː	**(Nɑˑ) ɪmʹiː**	**(nɑ) hɪmʹɪgʹiˑ**
dʹɪmʹɪ [$x2$]	**ʤɪmʹɪ ∼ ʤɪmʹɛ**	**ʤɪmʹɪ**
(iˑrʹ) ɪmʹɪ [$x2$]	**(Naˑrʹ) ɪmʹɪ**	**(ɛrʹ) ɪmʹɛ ∼ (ɛrʹ) ɪmʹɛdərʰ**
(Nɑː) əskʟiː	**(Nɑ) (ə)skɪlʹ**	**(Nɑː) həskʟɪgʹiː ∼ (Nɑː) həskʟɪgʹiˑ**
fɑːg (tiː məj ɛ)	**fɑg**	**(e ɑːgɑˑl tiːˈmə)**
fɑːgiː	fɔgiː	fɑˑgɪgʹiː
dɑːg, **dɑːg**	dɑg ∼ **dɑˑg**	dɑːg ∼ **dɑːg**
(xʊd ə) dɑːg (sɛ/ʃɪʃɛ) (sic)	(sə**ʟ**ər/sʊ**ʟ**ər) ɑːg	**(səʟ mɑː) dɑːg**[1]
foːʟəm (ə gɪdʹ) . . . foːʟɪmʹi		
foːʟəmt (aˑkəp)	**doˑʟɪmʹ (ʃɪd)**	**foːʟəmtə**

[1] Cf. **[fɑːkiː]** (“fágtha”) in II.4.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

		M 70	*F 60+*
VERB FORMS			
tóg			
	(a) thógáil	**(ə) hoːgʹɑˑʟ**	**(ə) hoːgʹɑːʟ**
imigh			
	imígí!	**baːlʹiː (lʹɪbʹ)** ∼ **ɪmʹiː**	**ɪmʹɪgʹiː** [x2]
	(ná) himígí!	**(Na) hɪmʹiː** ∼ **(Na) tʹɛgʹiː**	**(Nə) hɪmʹɪgʹiˑ**[1]
	d'imigh (siad)	**ʤɪmʹɪdər** ∼ **ʤɪmʹɪ (ʃiˑᵊd)**	**ʤɪmʹiːdər**
	(ar) imigh . . . ?		
oscail			
	(ná) hosclaígí!	**(Na) (ə)skʟi**	**(Nɑ) həskʟɪgʹiː**
fág			
	fág!	**fɑːg (tiːv əˈmui ɛ)**	**fɑˑg (əˈmuʲ ɛˑ)**
	fágaigí!	fɑgiˑ [x2]	fɑːgi
	d'fhág	dɑˑgə ∼ **dɑg** ∼ **dɑːgə** ∼ **dɑːg (ʃiˑᵊd)** ∼ **dɑːgədər**	dɑːg, **dɑːg**
	(sular) fhág	(sər maːr ᵊ) dɑːgə	**(sɛrʹ ər) ɑːg**
foghlaim			
	foghlaimígí!	**ʤɛN** [sg.?]	**ʤɪNəgʹiˑ**
	foghlamtha	**(. . . gər) oːʟɪmʹ (ʃɪd)**	**doːʟəmʹɪʤeːr**[2]

[1] The single instance of **[ɪmʹiː]** that occurs is a realisation of the verbal adjective *imithe*.
[2] "D'fhoghlaim siad".

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
(ə) jɛNə	**ᵊhoːgʹɑˑlʹ**	**(ə) hoːgʹɑˑL**
ɪmʹɪgʹiː ∼ **tʹəʲgʹiˑ**	**ɪmʹiːgʹiː** ∼ **balʹiː (lʹɪbʹ)**	**gʊgʹiˑ** [*x*3]
(naːrʹ) ɪmʹɪgʹiː (sic)	**(Naː) ɪmʹɪgʹiˑ**	**(na) ɪmʹɪgʹiˑ**
ʤɪmʹɪdər [*x*2] ∼ **ʤɪmʹɪˈdərʹ**	**ʤɪmʹɪdər** ∼ **dʹɪmʹɪ**	**ʤɪmʹɪ** [*x*2]
	(ɛrʹ) ɪmʹɪ	**(ɛrʹ) ɪmʹɪ**
(Nɑː) (ə)skLɪgʹiˑ	**(Nɑː) əskɪlʹ** [*x*2]	**(Nɑ) (ə)skɪlʹ**
fɑːk (tiːv əˈmə ɛ)	**fɑːg (tiː ˈmo ɛ)**	**fɑˑk (tiˑv ᵊmʊ ɛ)**
fɑˑg [pl.]	fɑːgɪgʹiˑ	fɑˑgəgiˑ (sic)
dɑːg, **dɑːg**	dɑːg ∼ **dɑːg**	dɑːg ∼ dɑːgᵊ
(rɪvʹᵊ) dɑːg	(rɪvʹ) dɑːg	**(rɪvʹᵊ) dɑːgᵊ** ∼ **(rɪvʹᵊ) dɑːgə**
ʤəNɪgʹiˑ	**ʤɛNɪgʹi**	**ʤəN (vərʰ . . .)** ∼ **ʤɛn (vər . . .)**
foːLəmt (akəv)	**foːLəmt (akəb)**	**doːLəm (ʃiᵊd)**

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

		BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
VERB FORMS			
ceannaigh			
	(an) gceannófá . . . ?	(ə**N**) gˈæ**N**ox tu	gˈæˑ**N**oˑx tu
	cheannaíteá	**(vˈiˑᵊx tu ɛ kˈæˑNəxt)**	**(vˈiːaː ʔə kˈæˑnəxt)**
lig			
	(an) ligfeá . . . ?	**(ə) Lˈɪkˈəx tʊsə**	**lˈɪkˈə (tuː)**[1]
	ligfí	**Lˈɪkˈfˈiˑ**	**lˈɪkˈfˈiː**
labhair			
	labhraíonn	la^{u}rin	lʌ^{u}riːn
teastaigh			
	teastaíonn	tastiˑ**N** [x3]	tastiː**N**
	(an) dteastaíonn . . . ?	**ᵊdæˑstiˑn**	**(ə) daːstiˑnˈ (ʃeˑ)**
cuimhnigh			
	cuimhníonn	kiˑvˈ**N**ˈiˑ**N**	ə xiː**N**ˈiː**N**s[2]
	(ag) cuimhneamh	**(ə) kiːnˈuˑ ∼ (ə) kiˑnˈuˑ**	**(ə) kiˑmˈnˈuː**
fiafraigh			
	(ag) fiafraí		
iarr			
	(ag) iarraidh	**(ᵊgˈ) iˑᵊrə**	**(gˈ) iˑrə**
doirt			
	doirte	**(doˑrtˈu)**[3]	**(doːrtʃuˑ)**[3]

[1] Apparently the future tense form of the verb is used here.

[2] The direct relative form of the verb is used here.

[3] Apparently the simple past impersonal form of the verb is used here.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
(ə) gʹæNɔ (wɛmʹ ɛ) **(vʹiːɑsə . . . ᵋkʹæˑnəxt)**	(ə) gʹæNɑ tu[1] **(vʹɪx tʊ ᵋkʹænəxt)**
ˈlʹɪkʹɑː (ˈʃtʹæx ɛ) **lʹɪkʹfʹiː**	**lʹɪkʹæ** **(vʹæː lʹɪkʹiˑ stʹæːx)**[2]
Laᵘriˑnʹ (ʃiˑ)	**L**ʌᵘriˑnʹ (ʃi)
tastiːn ∼ tastiː**N** ∼ taˑstiː**N** **(wɪlʹ ʃe tʹæˑstɑˑlʹ wɛtʹ)**	hastox ∼ hasɑ (kʹɑː**N**. . .) ∼ tastiː**N** **dastiˑnʹ (ʃɛ)**
kiːvʹ**N**ʹiˑə**N** ∼ smiːnʹiː**N** **(g r ʃəd ə) ʃmiːnʹuˑ . . .** **(gə rə ʃəd ɛgʹ) smiːnʹuˑ**	kiːnʹiːnʹ (ʃɛ) **(gə rədər) kʹæːpə . . .)**
(gʹ) iːrə	
doːrtʹiˑ	**doːrtʹiː**

[1] A blended form with the inflected hypothetical conditional verb form followed by a pronoun?

[2] "... bheifeá ligthe isteach".

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

		CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
VERB FORMS			
ceannaigh			
	(an) gceannófá . . . ?	ə gʹæˑNoˑ (tu)[1]	(ə) gʹæNoˑx tu
	cheannaíteá	**(mʹiːæ kʹæˑNəx)**(sic)[2]	**(vʹiˑæ kʹæNəx)**
lig			
	(an) ligfeá . . . ?	**ˈlʹɪkʹæˑsə**[3]	**ɛlʹɪkʹɛ.**
	ligfí	**(Nʹiː) lʹɪkʹfʹiː**	**lʹɪkʹfʹiː**
labhair			
	labhraíonn	**L**əᵘrɪnʹ (ʃiː)	ləᵘriːn
teastaigh			
	teastaíonn	taˑstiː**N** ∼ tæstiˑ**N** ∼ haˑstox ∼ hæstoˑx	tæstə**N**∼ tæstiː**N** [x2]
	(an) dteastaíonn . . . ?	**hæːstoˑx**[4]	**dæːstiːnʹ (ʃɛ)**
cuimhnigh			
	cuimhníonn	kiːnʹiːnʹ (ʃeː)	smiː**N**ʹiːn ʃeˑ ∼ kiːvʹ**N**ʹiːn (ʃɛ)
	(ag) cuimhneamh	**(ə) kiːnʹuˑ ∼ (ə) kiːnʹuː**	**(ə) kiːnʹuː**
fiafraigh			
	(ag) fiafraí	(ə) fʹeroˑ ∼ (ə) fʹeˑroː	(ə) fʹeːruː [x2]
iarr			
	(ag) iarraidh		**(vʹɛx mʹeˑ) dʹeːrə**
doirt			
	doirte	**(doːrʃtʃuˑ)**[5]	**doːrtʹiˑ**

[1] Apparently the future tense form of the verb is used here. [2] Possibly understood as a question: "An mbíteá ag ceannach . . . ?". [3] ". . . an ligfeása . . . ?" [4] With question intonation. [5] Apparently the simple past impersonal form of the verb is used here.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
ˈgʹæːNɑˑ	ˢgʹæˑnoxsʊ (wɛmʹ ɛ)[1]	ˈgʹæˑNox tuː
xʹæːNəiːɑː	**xʹæˑNiˑæx tu**	
ᴱlʹɪkʹəx tʊsə	**lʹɪkʹə**	**ᴱlʹɪkʹæ**
(vʹɛjɑː lʹɪkʹiː ʃtʹæːx)[2]	**lʹɪgʹfʹiˑ**	**lʹɪkʹfʹiː**
Laᵘriˑnʹ (ʃi)	**L**ʌᵘriːn ∼ ləᵘriˑn	**L**aᵘriːn
tʹæːstiːn [*x*2] ∼ **tʹæstiː[n]** **dɪnʹɪ** ∼ ˢhæːstiːns[3]	tastin [*x*2] ∼ tasti**N**	tastiː**N** [*x*2]
ᴱdʹæːstiːnʹ (ʃe)	**dastiːnʹ (ʃe)**	**(ə) dæstiːn**
kiːnʹinʹ (ʃɛ)	(ʤɪ**N**ən ə ŋ**N**ɑːɣɪ**N**ʹɛ smiː**N**ʹə)[4]	
ˢkʹæˑpə ∼ ˢkiːnʹuˑ		ᴱkɪvʹnʹuˑ ∼ **ᴱkiːvʹnʹɛᵘ**
fʹeruː	ˢtoːrʹiˢxt	ˈfʹiˑˢruː
tʹæstiː[n]	**(gʹ) irə**	
(doːrtʹuˑ)[5]	**doˑrtʃi**	**(doːrtʃuˑ)**[5]

[1] Apparently a reduced form in rapid speech of the non-standard construction "...an gceannódh tusa uaim é?". [2] "...bheifeá ligthe isteach". [3] The direct relative form of the verb is used here. [4] "Déanann an gnáthdhuine smaoineamh ...". [5] Apparently the simple past impersonal form of the verb is used here.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

		M 70	*F 60+*
VERB FORMS			
ceannaigh			
	(an) gceannófá . . . ?	(ə) gʹæNo (wɛmʹ ɛ)	(ə**N**) gʹæːNoˑ (wɛmʹ ɛ)
	cheannaíteá	**(vʹiˑᵊx tu kʹæˑNəx, vʹiːᵊx ʃɛ kʹæˑNəx)**	**(vʹiˑə kʹæːNəxt)**
lig			
	(an) ligfeá . . . ?	**Lʹiːkʹɪr**[1]	**(əN) Lʹɪkʹɑsə**
	ligfí	**lʹɪkʹfʹiˑ** [*x*2] **(vʹejə lʹɪkʹiː ˈstʹɛx)**[2]	**lʹɪkʹfʹiː**
labhair			
	labhraíonn	**L**aᵘrinʹ (ʃiˑ)	**L**ʌrn̩ʹ (ʃiˑ)
teastaigh			
	teastaíonn	tæstiːn ∼ tastiːn ∼ təstiː**N** ∼ **hastox**	hæstox ∼ hastox ∼ hastoˑx ∼ **hæstəx**
	(an) dteastaíonn . . . ?	**daːstiːnʹ (ʃe)**	**ᵊdæːstiːnʹ (ʃeˑ)**
cuimhnigh			
	cuimhníonn	kiː**N**ʹoː ʃeː	smə^{i}**N**ʹiˑ**N**
	(ag) cuimhneamh	**(ə) smiːNuˑ** (sic)	**(ə) smiːnʹuː**
fiafraigh			
	(ag) fiafraí	(ə) fʹiːriː [*x*2]	(ægʹ) fʹiˑᵊriː
iarr			
	(ag) iarraidh	**hastox**	**hæstəx**
doirt			
	doirte	**dortʹiː**	**doˑrtʃiː**

[1] "Ligtear" as an impersonal imperative form? Cf. [fʹɛkʹər] ("feictear") in the impersonal present form (e.g., in the phrase "Feictear dom . . .") on Inis Mór. [2] ". . . bheifeá ligthe isteach".

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
ᵊgʹæːNæˑ **(vʹiˑᵊs ə kʹæˑNəx)**	ˈgʹæːNɑˑ **(vʹiˑᵊx tu kʹæNəx)**	gʹæNəx ˈtʊsᵊ **xʹæˑNəx tʊsə**
ᵊlʹɪkʹə (tu)[1] **(vʹeːᵊ lʹɪkʹiː stʹæːx)**[2]	**Lʹɪkʹfʹiː**	
LaᵘrN̩ (tʃiː)	**L**aᵘrənʹ (ʃi)	**L**ʌᵘrn̩ (tʃi)
ᵊtastaːlʹ (sic)	tastiˑn [*x*2] ∼ tastiː**N** ∼ tasti (kræpʹɛ) **ᵊdaːstiˑnʹ (ʃe)**	
kiːnʹiːn	kiːnʹiːn [*x*2] **(ə) kiːnʹuˑ**	kiːnʹiː**N** [*x*2] ∼ kiːnʹiːn (ə) kiːnʹuː
(ə) fʹiᵊrə	(ə) fʹiˑᵊriː	
	(gʹ) iːrᵊ	**(gʹ) iːrə**
doˑrtʹiː	**(doːrtʹəv)**[3]	**doːrtʹiː**

[1] Apparently the future tense form of the verb is used here. [2] "... bheifeá ligthe isteach".
[3] The simple past impersonal form of the verb is used here.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
VERB FORMS IN INTERROGATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS		
(Cén chaoi) a ndeachaigh . . . ?	(kʹɛ xi) ɴʹæxə. . .	(kʹɛ xiˑ) ɴʹæxə. . .
(Cén chaoi) a ndearna . . . ?	(kʹɛ̃ xiˑ) rɪɴʹɪ. . .	(kʹɛ xiː) rɪɴʹɪ. . .
(Cén chaoi) a bhfuil . . . ?	**(kʹɛ xiˑ) gə wɪlʹ. . .**	**(kʹɛ xu) wɪlʹ. . .**
(Cén fáth) a ndeachaigh . . . ?	(kʹɛ̃ fɑ) gə ɴʹæxə. . .	(kʹɛn fɑː) gə ɴʹæxə. . .
(Cén fáth) a ndearna . . . ?	(kʹɛ̃ fɑː) gə rɪɴʹɪ. . .	(kʹɛ̃ fɑː) rɪɴʹɪ. . .
(Cén fáth) a raibh . . . ?	(kʹɛ fɑ) gə rə. . .	(kʹɛn fɑˑ) ᵊrə̃. . .
(Cé dó) a ndearna . . . ?	(kʹe ᵊɣoː) ə rɪɴʹɪ. . .	(kʹeˑ ɣoː) rɪɴʹɪ. . .
(Cé leis) a raibh . . . ?	(kʹe lʹɛʃ) ə wɪlʹ. . .	(kʹeˑ lʹɛʃ) ə wʊlʹ. . .
(Cé leis) a bhfuil . . . ?	**(kʹeˑ lʹɛʃ) ɛ wɪlʹ. . .**	**(kʹeː. . . lʹɛʃ) ə wɪlʹ. . .**
(Cé aige) a bhfuil . . . ?		
(Cá) ndeachaigh . . . ?[1]	**(ko) ɴʹæˑxə. . .**	**(kɑː) ɴʹæˑxə. . .**
(Cá fhad) go rachaidh . . . ?[1]	**(kɑːdʹɛ. . . kʹɛn taxər ə vʹeⁱ ʃɛ) gə ŋʹɛu. . .**	**(kɑːdʹ) ɪmʹoː. . .**
(Cé mhéad) . . . ?[1]	**(tʹeː mʹeːdʹ). . .** ∼ **(kʹeˑ mʹeˑdʹ). . .**	**(kʹeˑ mʹeˑdʹ). . .** [$x2$] ∼ **(kʹeː mʹeːd [dɪnʹɛ]. . .)**

[1] The focus in these three items is on the interrogative word or phrase used in the constructions — not on the verb itself. The items are included.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
(kʹɛ̃ xiˑ) **ɴʹæxə**...	(tʹɛ ^{xi}) **ɴʹæx**^{ə}...
(kʹɛ xi) **rɪɴʹɪ**...	(ka^{i}) ^{ə}**rɪɴʹɛ**...
(kʌ w[ə]s ˈdɪtʹ[1]**)**	**(xʹɛ̃ ^{hw}ɪˑ) wɪlʹ...**
(kʹɛm fɑː) **ɴʹæxə**...	(kʹ^{ɛ} fɑˑ) g^{ə} **ɴʹæx**^{ə}...
(kʹɛ̃ˑm fɑˑ) **rɪɴʹɪ**...	(kʹɛ̃ fɑː) **rɪɴʹɪ**...
(kʹɛn fɑˑ) rə...	(kʹɛ fə) **rɑː** (**ɴ** wɪkʹ)...
(kʹɛ ɣoː) **rɪɴʹɪ**...	(kʹɛ ɣoˑ) r^{ɪ}**ɴʹ**^{ɪ}...
(kʹeˑ lʹ) ə rə...	(kʹe lʹɛʃ) r̩ (tuˑ) ...
(kʹeː gʹ) ə wʊL (giːLʹ [Lʹ]ɛʃ)[2]	**(kʹɛ gʹi) wɪlʹ (giːlʹ lʹɛʃ)**[2]
(kɑ) ɴʹæˑxə...	**(kə) ɴʹæxə...**
(kʹɛɴ aːdʹ) ə ŋoː...	**(kʹɛn taxər ə vʹeˑ ʃe)...**
(kʹeː vʹeːdʹ)... ∼ **(kʹeˑ vʹeˑdʹ)...** ∼ **(kʹeː vʹeːd [dɪmʹɪ]) ...**	**(kʹe mʹe) tə ...** ∼ **(kʹe mʹe [dɪmʹ])...**

here for convenience.

[1] "Cá bhfios duit?." [2] "Cé aige a bhfuil gaol leis?"

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
VERB FORMS IN INTERROGATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS		
(Cén chaoi) a ndeachaigh . . . ?	(kʹɛ̃ xi) **N**ʹæxᵊ. . .	(kʹɛ̃ xi) **N**ʹæxə. . .
(Cén chaoi) a ndearna . . . ?	(kʹɛ xiˑ) rɪ**N**ʹɪ. . .	(kʹɛ̃ xiː) ə **N**ʹɑːrnə. . . ∼ (kʹɛ̃ xi) ə rɪ**N**ʹɪ. . .
(Cén chaoi) a bhfuil . . . ?	**(kʹɛ xiˑ) ᵊwɪlʹ. . .**	**(kʹɛ̃ xi) wɪlʹ. . .** [*x*2]
(Cén fáth) a ndeachaigh . . . ?	(kʹɛm fɑˑ) **N**ʹæxə. . .	(kʹɛ fɑː) **N**ʹæxə. . .
(Cén fáth) a ndearna . . . ?	(kʹɛ̃ˑ fɑː) rɪ**N**ʹɪ. . .	(kʹɛm fɑː) rɪ**N**ʹɪ. . . ∼ (tɪgʹɪ [*x*2]) rɪ**N**ʹɪ. . .
(Cén fáth) a raibh . . . ?	(kʹɛ̃m fɑː) rə. . .	(kʹɛ[n] fɑː) ə rə. . .
(Cé dó) a ndearna . . . ?	(kʹeˑ ɣoː) ᵊrɪ**N**ʹɪ. . .	(kʹeˑ ɣoː) ə rɪ**N**ʹɪ. . .
(Cé leis) a raibh . . . ?	(kʹeˑ lʹɛʃ) ᵊtə. . .	(kʹe lʹɛʃ) ə vʹiː. . . [*x*2] ∼ (kʹeˑ lʹɛʃ) ᵊtə . . .
(Cé leis) a bhfuil . . . ?	**(kʹeˑ lʹɛʃ) ə wɪlʹ. . .**	**(kʹeˑ. . . lʹɛʃ) ᵊwɪlʹ. . .**
(Cé aige) a bhfuil . . . ?		
(Cá) ndeachaigh . . . ?	**(kɑˑ) N**ʹæxə**. . .**	**(kə) N**ʹæxə**. . .**
(Cá fhad) go rachaidh . . . ?	**(kʹɛn taːxər ə vʹeⁱ ʃɛ)** ᵊ**No**ˑ**. . .** (sic)	**(kʹɛ xo faːdə s vʹɛⁱ ʃɛ)** **No gə Na**ᵘ**. . .** (sic)
(Cé mhéad) . . . ?	**(kʹeː vʹeːd). . .** [*x*3]	**(kʹeˑ mʹeːdʹ). . .** ∼ **(kʹeː mʹeːdʹ [diːnʹɪ]). . .**

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
(kʹɛ xi) **N**ʹæːxə…	(kʹɛ xi) **N**ʹæxə…	(kʹɛ xiˑ) **N**ʹæxə…
(kʹɛ̃ː xiː) ᵊrɪ**N**ʹɛ…	(kʹɛ̰ xiː) nʹɑːr**N**ə…	(kʹɛ̃ xiˑ) ᵊrɪ**N**ʹɪ…
(ˈkɑː wɪs ˌdɪtʃ ɛˑ)	**(ˈkɑ wəs dɪtʃ)**	**(kʹeː xiː) wɪlʹ…**
(kʹɛ̃ fɑ) **N**ʹæːxə…	(kʹɛm fɑ) **N**ʹæxᵊ…	(kʹɛ̃ fɑː) nʹæxə…
(kʹɛ̃ː fɑː) ᵊrɪ**N**ʹɛ…	(kʹᵋ fᵊ) **N**ʹɑːr**N**ə…	(kʹɛ̃ fɑː) gə rɪ**N**ʹɪ…
(kʹɛ̃ fɑ) vʹiˑ…	(kʹɛ fə) rɑː (**N** mʊk)…	(kʹɛm fɑˑ) gə rə…
(kʹɛˑ ɣoː) ᵊrɪ**N**ʹɛ…	(kʹeː ɣoː) ᵊ**N**ʹɑːr**N**ə…	(kʹɛ lʹɛʃ) ə rɪ**N**ʹɪ… ∼ (kʹeˑ lʹɛʃ) ᵋjɑːr**N**ə…
(kʹeː lʹɪʃ) ᵊtʌˑ… …(kʹeː lʹɪʃ) ᵊvʹiː… **(kʹeː lʹɪʃ) ᵊtɑː…**	(kʹeˑ lʹɛʃ) rə…	(kʹɛ lʹɛʃ) ə wɪlʹ…
(kɑː) Nʹæːxə… **…(kə) N**ʹæːx (ə̃)…	**(kɑ) N**ʹæxə…	**(kʹɛ) N**ʹæx (n̩) … ∼ **(kʹeˑ) N**ʹæxə…
(kʹɛn taːd ə vʹɛⁱ ʃeˑ) **gə ŋaᵘ…**	**(kɑːɟə) gə ŋoː…**	**(kʹɛn aːd** [$x2$] **…kʹɛn taxər)** **nu gə ŋɑːN (tuˑ)…** ∼ **(kʹɛ xo fad s vʹɛⁱ ʃɛd)** **nu gə ŋaᵘ …** [$x2$] ∼ **nu gə raˑxə…**
(kʹeː vʹeːd)… ∼ **(kʹeː vʹɛːd)…**		**(kʹeː vʹeːd)…** ∼ **(kʹeː vʹɛːd)…**

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES		***INIS MEÁIN***
	M 70	*F 60+*
VERB FORMS IN INTERROGATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS		
(Cén chaoi) a ndeachaigh . . . ?	(kʹɛ hi) dʹɛN[1]. . .	(kʹɛ̃ xi) ᵊNʹɛxə. . .
(Cén chaoi) a ndearna . . . ?	(kʹɛ̃ hiˑ) rɪNʹɛ. . .	(kʹɛ̃ˑ xiˑ) ɛ rɪNʹɪ. . .
(Cén chaoi) a bhfuil . . . ?	**(kʹɛ̃ xiː) wɪlʹ. . .**	**(kʹɛ̃ˑ xiː) ᵊwɪlʹ. . .**
(Cén fáth) a ndeachaigh . . . ?	(kʹɛ fə) Nax dʹɛN[1]. . .	(kʹɛ fɑ) gə Nʹɛxə. . .
(Cén fáth) a ndearna . . . ?	(kʹen fɑː) rɪNʹɛ. . .	(kʹɛ̃ˑ fɑˑ) gə rɪNʹɪ. . .
(Cén fáth) a raibh . . . ?	(kʹɛ fɑˑ) rə. . .	(kʹɛ̃ fɑˑ) ᵊrə. . .
(Cé dó) a ndearna . . . ?	(kʹɛ ɣoˑ) ᵊrə (tu g əbɪrʹ)	(kʹeˑ ɣoː) ə rɪNʹɪ. . .
(Cé leis) a raibh . . . ?	(kʹɛ lʹɛʃ) ᵊrə. . .	(kʹɛ lʹɛʃ) ə rə. . .
(Cé leis) a bhfuil . . . ?	**(kʹe lʹɛʃ)[2] ə rə. . .**	
(Cé aige) a bhfuil . . . ?		**(kʹeː ɛgʹ) ə wəlʹ. . .**
(Cá) ndeachaigh . . . ?	**(kɑˑ) Nʹæxə. . .**	**(kʹeˑ) Nʹæˑxə. . .**
(Cá fhad) go rachaidh . . . ?	**(kɑːɟɪ . . . kʹɛ xo faːdə s vʹeˑⁱ ʃɛ) gə ŋuᵊ. . .** ∼ **(kɑːɟ) imʹo. . .**	**(kʹɛn aːd ə vʹeːs ʃe) gə ɟʊkəs tuˑ . . .** (sic)
(Cé mhéad) . . . ?	**(kʹe ˈvʹeː) tə. . .** ∼ **(kʹeˑ vʹeːd [diːnʹ]). . .**	**(kʹeː mʹeːɟ). . .** ∼ **(kʹe mʹeːɟ). . .** ∼ **(kʹe vʹeːd) [dɪnʹ]). . .**

[1] ". . . dtéann. . . ." [2] Cf. [kʹɛ lʹəⁱ] ("Cé lena aghaidh. . . ?") in I.33.

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
(kˈɛ xiˑ) nˈæxᵊ… ∼ (kˈɛ̃ xiˑ) ᵊnˈæˑxᵊ…	(kˈɛ xi) nˈæxə…	(xᴵ) nˈæxᵊ…
(kˈɛ xi) ˈjɛ**N**…	(kˈɛ̃ xi) jɛ**N**…	(xiˑ) **N**…
(kˈɛ xiˑ) wɪlˈ…	**(kˈɛ xi) wɪlˈ…**	**(kˈ) wʊlˈ…**
	(ˈkˈeˑ ˈfə) nˈæxə…	(kˈɛ fə) xə…
(kˈɛ̃ː fɑˑ) jɛ**N**…	(kˈɛ̃ fɑː) jɛ**N**…	(kˈɛ fɑː) jɪ**N**…
(kˈɛ̃ː fa) ᵊrə…ə rə…	(kˈɛ̃ː fɑˑ) [*x*2] gə rə…	(kˈɛ fə) ra (n) …
(kˈeˑ ɣoː) ᵊjɛ**N**…	(kˈeˑ ɣoː) ᵊjɛ**N**…	(kˈeˑ ɣoː) ᵊjɛ**N**…
(kˈɛ lˈɛʃ) ᵊtʌ…	(kˈɛ lˈɛʃ) ə wɪ**L** (tu)…	(kˈɛ lˈɛʃ) wɪlˈ…
(kˈeː lˈɛʃ) ə wɪl (gɪːL)…	**(ˈkˈe lˈɪʃ) ə wəlˈ (ˈgiːL)…**	**(ˈkˈeː ˈlˈɛʃ) ˌl (ˌgeːL ɛgˈɛ lˈɛ)**
(kɑː) nˈæx (ən)…	**(kɑˑ) ʤa^{i}n**[1]**…**	**(kn ɑːtˈ) ə xə…**
	(kˈeːn faˑdˈ ^{ɛ}) gə ŋa^{u}…	**(kˈɛ xɔ faːdə vˈɛ^{i} ʃɛˑ) rɪvˈ Nˈa^{u} … ∼ (kˈɛ xɔ faːdə vˈɛ^{i} ʃɛ) gə ʤiː ŋə^{u}s (uˑ)…**
(kˈeː mˈeːdˈ)… [*x*2]	**(kˈeː mˈɛdˈ)…** [*x*3] ∼ **(kˈeː mˈɛʤ)…** ∼ **(kˈeː mˈeˑʤ)…**	**(kˈɛ mˈeːdˈ)…** ∼ **(kˈe mˈedˈ)…**

[1] "…dtéann…."

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
VERB FORMS IN ATTRIBUTIVE INDIRECT RELATIVE CLAUSES		
(san áit) a gcónaíonn/ a maireann ...	(... ɑˈtʹ) ə goˈ**N**iᵊ**N**...	(... ɑˈtʹ) ə maʲrʹən...
(sa teach) a raibh ...	**(... tʹæx) ə mʹiˈᵊx tuˈ...**	**(... tʹæˈx) ᵊrᵋ kʹlʹæˈxt...** ∼ **ə waːNox tuˈ (ɑːN)**[1]**...**
(faoi scian) a raibh ...	(... skʹiː**N**) ə rə **L**ɑvʹ...	(... skʹiː**N**) ə rᵊ **L**ɑːɪvʹ...
(an bhean) a ndeachaigh ...	(... vʹæ**N**) ə **N**ʹæxə tuˈ...	(... vʹæː**N**) ə xuᵊ tu...
(na mná) a ndeachaigh ...	(... m**N**ɑˈ) ə xuᵊ tu...	(... m**N**ɑː) ə xuᵊ tuˈ...
VERB FORMS IN "BEFORE" TEMPORAL RELATIVE CLAUSES		
(sula) dtagann ...	(sələ) dʹæˈgn̩...	(xə**L**ə) dʹæˈgə**N**...
(sula) ndéanann ...	(sə**L**ə) jɛ**N**ən...	(h**L**ɑː) **N**ɪː**N**ə...
(sular) tháinig ...	(sə**L** mɑ) hɑˈnʹɪgʹ...	(sʊ**L**ɑːr) hɑːnʹɪgʹ...
(sular) fhág/imigh ...	(sar) dɑːg...	(sʊ**L**ɑːrʹ) ɪmʹɛ... ∼ (hᵊ**L**ɑːrʹ) ɪmʹɪ... [*x*2]
(sular) éirigh ...		

[1] Note the unusual construction [ər tʹæx ə waˈʲrʹɪ ʃe ɑː**N**] ("An i dteach a mhair sé?") in I.47.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
(. . . ɑːˈrt′) ə maⁱr′ən. . .	(. . . ɑt′) ᵊwaⁱr′n̩. . .
(. . . t′æˑx) ɛr gnɑːx. . .	**(. . . ɑːt′) v′iˑᵊx tu. . .**
(. . . ʃk′iᵊ**N**) ə rə kəʃ. . .	(. . . skˈ′iˑn) r̩ kəʃ. . .
(. . . v′æː**N**) ə xʊᵊ tu. . .	(. . . v′æˑn) ᵊxᵊ tu. . .
(. . . m**N**ɑː) ə xoᵊ tu. . .	(. . . m**N**ɑˑ) ᵊxʊ tu. . .
(sə**L** ma) hagə**N**. . . . . . (hə**L**) d′ʊkə. . .	
(sor) ə jɪ**N**əx. . .	(sə**L**ə) **N**′ɪ**N**n̩. . .
(sər) ər hɑːn′ɪg′. . .	(**L**) r̩ hɑːn′ɪg′. . .
(sʊ**L**ər) ɑːg. . .	

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
VERB FORMS IN ATTRIBUTIVE INDIRECT RELATIVE CLAUSES		
(san áit) a gcónaíonn/ a maireann . . .	(. . . ɑːt′) ə wær′ə**N**s. . .	(. . . ɑːt′) ə xuː**N**iːns. . . ∼ (. . . ɑːt′) ə waˑⁱr′n̩s. . .
(sa teach) a raibh . . .		**(. . . t′æx) bə ɣNɑːx. . .**
(faoi scian) a raibh . . .	(. . . skʹiːᵊ**N**) ə rə kəʃ. . .[1]	(. . . skʹiˑ**N**) ə rə kəʃ. . .
(an bhean) a ndeachaigh . . .	(. . . v′æ**N**) ᵊxə tuˑ. . . (. . . v′æ**N**) ə hə tuˑ. . .	(. . . v′æn) ə xə tu. . .
(na mná) a ndeachaigh . . .	(. . . m**N**ɑː) ə hə tuˑ. . .	(. . . mnɑː) ə xə(r?) tuˑ. . .
VERB FORMS IN "BEFORE" TEMPORAL RELATIVE CLAUSES		
(sula) dtagann . . .	(soːr) haˑgə**N**. . .	(sə**L** mar) hag(ə)**N**. . .
(sula) ndéanann . . .	(soːr) ə jɪ**N**ᵊn. . .	(sɔr) ə jiː**NN̩**. . . ∼ (sɔr) ə jɪ**N**n. . .
(sular) tháinig . . .	(səl mar) hɑːnʹɪgʹ. . .	(səl maˑr) hɑːnʹɪgʹ. . .
(sular) fhág/imigh . . .	(səl mə/**N**ə[?]) dɑːg. . .	(sə**L** maːr) dɑːg. . .
(sular) éirigh . . .	(sɔr) ə dʹəⁱrʹɪ. . .	

[1] After Nan prompting Tom with the construction.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
(. . . ɑːtʹ) ᵊmaʲrʹmʹ (ʃɑːN). . .	(. . . tʃiː) ᵊNᵊ waʲrʹn̩. . .[2]	(. . . ɑᶦtʹ) ə xoːᵊNiːᵊns. . .[1]
(. . . ɑːtʹ) ə vʹiːɑ. . .		**(. . . tʃæx) ə mʹiːᵊx tuˑ. . .**
(. . . vʹæːn) ə xoᵊ tu. . .	(. . . vʹæN) ə xʊᵊ tuˑ. . .	(. . . vʹæːN) ə xə. . . ə xas mʊd̥ lʹeː. . . (Nuˑ) ᵊxə mɪdʹ. . .
(. . . mNɑː) ə xʊᵊ tuˑ. . .	(. . . mᵊˈNɑː) ə xʊᵊ tuˑ. . .	(. . . mNɑː) ə xə məd′. . .
(hʊd) ə haːgN̩. . . ∼ . . . (səLə) dʹæːŋgN̩. . .	(sʊLə) dagN̩. . .	(səL ma) haˑgn̩s. . .
(həd) ə jɛNɛnʹ (ʃeː). . .	(sʊLə) jmə[3]. . .	(səL ma) jɪNᵊtʃeˑ[4]. . .
(həd) ə hɑːnʹɪkʹ (ʃɛ). . . [x3] ∼ (səLə) dɑːnʹɪkʹ (ʃɛˑ). . . ∼ (xʊd) ə hɑːnʹɪgʹ (ʃɛ). . .	(sᵊLɑʰər) dɑːnʹɪgʹ. . .	(sʊL mɑˑ) hɑːnʹɪgʹ. . .
(xʊd) ə dɑːg. . .	(səLər) ɑːg. . .	(səL mɑː) dɑːg

[1] Cf. [ər tʃæx ə xuˑNə ʃe ɑˑN] ("An i dteach a chónaigh sé?") in I.47.

[2] Cf. [əN tʹæˑx ə wæˑr ʃiˑ ɑˑN] ("An i dteach a mhair sí?") in I.47.

[3] Future tense form.

[4] "... sula ndéanfadh sé..."

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES		***INIS MEÁIN***
	M 70	*F 60+*
VERB FORMS IN ATTRIBUTIVE INDIRECT RELATIVE CLAUSES		
(san áit) a gcónaíonn/ a maireann . . .	(. . . ət′) ə ma^{i}r′ɛn′ (tʃɑ:**N**)[1]	(. . . ɑ:tʃ) ə gʊ:**N**i:**N**. . .
(sa teach) a raibh . . .	**(. . . t′ɛx) ə m′i·ə. . .**	**(. . . tʃɛx) ə m′i·ɑ. . .**
(faoi scian) a raibh . . .		(. . . sk′i·**N**) ə rə kəʃ. . .
(an bhean) a ndeachaigh . . .	(. . . v′æ·**N**) ^{ə} **N**′ɛxə tʊ. . .	(. . . v′æ·**N**) ə **N**′ɛxə tʊ:. . .
(na mná) a ndeachaigh . . .	(. . . mrɑ::) ə **N**′ɛxə tu·. . .	(. . . mrɑ:) ə **N**′ɛxə tu·. . .
VERB FORMS IN "BEFORE" TEMPORAL RELATIVE CLAUSES		
(sula) dtagann . . .	(sʌr) hʊkə. . . (sə**L** mar) ə x′ʊkəs. . .	
(sula) ndéanann . . .	(sər) ə jɪ**N**ə**N**s. . .	(sɛr) ə **N**′ɛ**N**ə**N**. . .
(sular) tháinig . . .	(sər) hɑ:n′ɪg′. . .	(sə**L** mar) hɑ:n′ɪg′. . .
(sular) fhág/imigh . . .	(sər ma:r) ^{ə}dɑ:gə. . .	(sɛr′) ər ɑ:g. . .
(sular) éirigh . . .		

[1] "Seán".

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
(. . . ɑˑˈtʹ) ə dʹɪgʹɪm tɑː (ʃɑːN ə marʹəxtʌlʹ) [2]	(. . . tʃiː) ə goːNiː (ʃɑ̃ːN)[1]	(. . . tʃæːx) ənə wɪlʹ. . . (ʃɑːN nə xoːNiˑ)
(. . . tʹæːx) ə vʹɪx tʊ. . .	**(. . . tʃæˑx) ə vʹiˑᵊx tu. . .**	**(. . . tʃæx) ɛgʹ daːNɑˑ (ɑˑN)**[3]
(. . . vʹæn) ə xo tu. . .	(. . . vʹæːn) ə xo tu. . .	(. . . vʹæːn) ə xʊ tu. . .
(. . . mrɑː) ə xo [*x*2] tu. . .	(. . . mNɑː [*x*2]) ə xʊ tʊ. . .	(. . . mrɑː) ə xə ʃɪbʹ. . . (. . . mrɑ) ə xʊ tu. . .
(rɪvʹ) ə haːgn̩ʹ (tʃiᵊtsəN) . . .	(rəvʹ) ə haːgəN. . .	(rɪvʹ)[4] ə dagn̩. . .
(rɪvʹ) ə jɛNəx. . .	(rɪvʹ) ə jɪNə̃ (tʃɛ). . .	(rɪvʹ) ə nʹɪNənʹ (ʃɛ). . .
(rɪvʹ) ə hɑːnʹɪgʹ. . . [*x*2]	(rɪvʹ) ə hɑːnʹɪgʹ. . .	(rɪvʹ) ə hɑːnʹɪkʹ (ʃɛ). . .
(rɪvʹ) ᵊdɑːg. . .	(rɪvʹ) dɑːg. . .	(rɪvʹ) ə dɑːgᵊ. . . ∼ (rɪvʹ) ə dɑːgə (ˈʃiː) [*x*2]. . .

[1] ". . . (ar chúl an) tí a gcónaíonn Seán" (sic).

[2] ". . . áit a thuigim a bhfuil Seán. . . ".

[3] ". . . ag a bhfantá".

[4] Cf. also **[. . . rɪvʹ Nʹaᵘ tu. . .]** (". . . go dtí go ngabhfaidh tú. . .) in II.53.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
THE COPULA		
(Present Tense)		
An tú (Séamas)?	ər tuˑ (ʃeˑməs)	ər tʊsə (ʃeːməs)
An iascaire (thú)?	ər iᵊskərʹə (ʔuˑ)	ər iːᵊskərʹi (ʰuː)
(Past Tense)		
Ar mhúinteoir (thú . . .)?	(ə rə tɪsɪ də wuˑᴺtʹorʹ . . .)	(ə rə tuː. . . də wuːᴺtʹoˑɪrʹ)
Ar mhic léinn (sibh . . .)?	(ə rə ʃɪbʹ . . . əᴺə skələʲrʹi. . .)	
Arbh fheirmeoirí (iad . . .)?	ər fʹɛlʹɪmʹɛriˑ (vʹi əᴺtʹəb) (sic)	ər fʹɛlʹɪmʹeˑriː (iːᵋd)
Arbh i dteach . . . ?	ər ə dʹæx. . .	ər tʹæx (ə waˑɪrʹɪ ʃe ɑːᴺ)
B'eisean . . .	ɛsəᴺ. . .	ɪʃ eː. . .

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
ər tu (ʃeːməs)	ʳtu (ʃeːməs)
ərʹ iˑᵊskɪrʹɪ (huː)	rʹ iːᵋskɪrʹ (uˑ)
ər muːnʹtʹoˑⁱrʹ (ə vʹiˑ ᵊˈNət)	(ᵊr tsᵊ dᵊ wuːNʹtʹorʹ)
(rə ʃɪbʹ…əNə mʹɛkʹ LʹeːⁱNʹ…)	(ᵊrᵊ ʃɪbʹ…ᵊNə skʊLɑːrʹiː…)
ər fʹɛlʹɪmʹoⁱrʹiː (iᵊd)	ᵊr fʹɛlʹɪmʹɛriˑ (iˑᵊd)
ər ə dʹæx…	r tʹæˑx (aʳ xuːNə ʃe ɑˑn)
ˡʃ ɛsəN…	bᵊvʹ ɛsN…

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
THE COPULA		
(Present Tense)		
An tú (Séamas)?	ər tuː (ʃeːməs)	ər tʊsə (ʃeːməs)
An iascaire (thú)?	ər eːskɪrʹ (uː)	ərʹ eːskərʹɪ (tɪsə)
(Past Tense)		
Ar mhúinteoir (thú . . .)?	(ə rə tɪsə də wuˑⁱNʹtʹoˑⁱrʹ. . .)	(ə rə tɪsɪ də wuːNʹtʹoːrʹ)
Ar mhic léinn (sibh . . .)?	(ə rə ʃɪbʹ. . . ᵊnə mʹɪkʹ LʹeːNʹ. . .)	(ə rə ʃɪbʹ ənə mʹɪkʹ lʹeːNʹ. . .)
Arbh fheirmeoirí (iad . . .)?	ᵊr fʹɛlʹɪmʹeˑriː (ɛd)	ər fʹɛlʹɪmʹoːⁱrʹiˑ (iᵊd)
Arbh i dteach . . . ?	ər ᵊdʹæx. . .	ər tʹæx (ər xuːNə ʃe ɑN)
B'eisean . . .	ɪs ɛsəN. . .	əs ɛsəN. . .

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
ər tuˑ (ʃeːməs)	əN t̪ə̹sə (ʃeˑməs)	ər tuˑ (ʃeːməs)
ərʹ eːskɪrʹ (uˑ)	ənʹ rˑᵊskɪrʹɪ (hɪsə)	ər iːskərʹɪ (huː)
(rə tʊsə də wuːntʹoˑrʹ)	ən wuˑNʹtʹorʹ (hʊsə)...	(ə rə tuː əN də wuːNʹtʃoˑˈrʹ...)
(rə ʃɪbʹ...ˈnə skəLɑːrʹiː...)	ən skʊLɑːrʹiːː... (ə rə ʃɪvʹ ənə skʊLɑˑrʹiˑ...)	(ə rə ʃɪbʹ ˈNə mʹɪkʹ LʹeːˈNʹ...)
ər fʹɛlʹɪmʹɛrʹi (iᵊd)	ᵊr fʹɛrʹɪmʹoˑˈrʹiː (iːᵊd)	ər fʹɛlʹɪmʹeːriˑ (vʹiː ˈntəb)
ər tʹæˑx eː (ᵊ vʹiˑ kʊːNiˑ ɛrʹ ɑN)	əN tʹæˑx (ə wæˑrʹ ʃiˑ ɑˑN...)	ər tʃæx (ə xuˑNə ʃe ɑˑN)
ɪs ɛːᵊsəN...	ɛsN̩...	ᵋbʹ eːsəN[1]...

[1] A declarative construction, not an interrogative one.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

	M 70	*F 60+*
THE COPULA		
(Present Tense)		
An tú (Séamas)?	ə**N** tʊsə (ʃeːməs) ∼ ɛr tuː (ʃeːməs)	ə**N** tʊsə (ʃeːməs)
An iascaire (thú)?	iʲskɪrʹ (uː ˈbʹæˑ)[1]	ənʹ ɪːʲskərʹə (hʊsə)
(Past Tense)		
Ar mhúinteoir (thú . . .)?	(ə rə tu də wuːnʹtʹoˑrʹ . . .)	ɛr muːnʹtʃorʹ (tʊs **N**̩ˈtʃɪnʹ)
Ar mhic léinn (sibh . . .)?	(ə rə tu də wak **L**ʹeː**N**ʹ . . .)	ər ʃkə**L**ɑˑrʹiː (ʃɪbʹ . . .)
Arbh fheirmeoirí (iad . . .)?	fʹɛlʹɪmʹeˑriˑ (iʲd ər ˈəv) ∼ arəv . . . fʹɛlʹɪmʹɛriˑ (iʲd)	ɛr fʹɛlʹɪmʹeriˑ (iʲd)
Arbh i dteach . . . ?	ə dʹæx (ə vʹiˑ ʃɛ kuː**N**iː bʹæʰ)[1] ∼ ə dʹæx (ə vʹiˑ ʃɛ **N**ə xʊː**N**iː ᵋbʹæː)[1]	ər tʃæx (ə xʊː**N**ə ʃɛ) . . . ɑː**N** ɪ**N** ʤæx (ə xʊː**N**ə ʃɛ)
B'eisean . . .	s əsə**N** . . . ∼ ʃ ɛʃə**N** . . .	bəvʹ eː . . . ∼ bə ʔɛʃə**N** . . .

[1] " . . . ab ea?"

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
ᵊbʹ ʊ…ᵊbʹ oː (ʃeːməs)	ᵊbʹ ɛ tə…ᵊbʹ ʊː … bʹ u (ʃeːməs)	ə ˈtʊsə (ʃeːməs)
bʹ ɛ iˑᵊskɪrʹ (ʊ)	bʹ ɛ t… iᵊskɪrʹɛ (tʊsə)… bʹ eː iᵊskɪrʹɪ (toᵘ) ∼ bʹ eː iˑᵊskɪrʹɪ (tʊsə)	ənʹ ˈiˑᵊskɪrʹɪ (tʊsə)
(ə rə tʊsə ᵊ**N** də wuːnʹtʹər…)	bʹ e muːnʹtʹorʹ (ə vʹiˑ ə**N**ə**N**tu)[1]	(ə rə tsə də wuːnʹtʹorʹ…)
(rə ʃɪbʹ ɪmə skə**L**ɑːrʹiˑ…)	(rə ʃɪbʹ…nə sklʹɑːrʹiˑ…)	(ə r ʃɪbʹ… ən skə**L**ɑrʹiˑ…)
ᵊrəd[2] ɪmə vʹɛlʹɪmʹɛriˑ…	bʹ ɛt eˑ fʹɛlʹɪmʹɛˑriˑ (vʹiˑ ə**N**təb)	fʹɛlʹɪmʹɛriˑ (vʹɪ **N**təb)[3]
ᵊb ɪmʹ tʹæˑx (ə wiː ʃɛ ᵊwaːrʹəxtalʹ ɑn)	əbʹ ɛ tʹæx (ə vʹiˑ koːniː ɛrʹ)	ᵊtʃæˑx (ə rə ʃ ə**N**)…ᵊtʃæx… ə bə ˈtʹæx (ə vʹi ʃɛ **N**ə xoː**N**iː ɔn)
ʃɪmʹ æ…	bɛ ʃɛʃən…∼ bʹ ɛʃən…	ɪs ɛsən…

[1] "…ionat?"

[2] "An rabhdar…?"

[3] Uttered by the informant as a statement.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
THE COPULA		
(In Subordinate Clauses: Present Tense)		
. . . gur innealtóir (é)	**(gə wɪlʲ ʃɛ nə ʔɪNʲəLtoːrʲ ɛ)**	**(gə rə ʔəNʲəLtoːrʲ ɛ)**
. . . gurb álainn . . .	**(gə wɪlʲ əN ɑːˈtʲ gə hɑːLɪnʲ)**	**gər ʔɑːLɪNʲ (əN ɑˈtʲ ɛ)**
(In Subordinate Clauses: Past Tense)		
. . . gurbh innealtóir (é)	**gər** "engineer" **(ɛ). . .** **(ɪNʲəLtoˈrʲ ə vʲiː ˈɑːN)**	**gər ɪNʲəLtoˈrʲ (ɛ)**
. . . gurbh iascairí . . .	gər ɪskərʲiˑ (mɪdʲ)	gər iʰskərʲiː (mɪdʲɪ)
. . . gur dhochtúir . . .	gər dɔxtuˈr (mʲe)	gər dɔxtuːr (mʲe)
. . . gur chloch mhór . . .	gɼ̣ kLəx woˈr (i) [x2]	gər kLəx woːr (ɛˈ)
. . . gurbh iontach . . .	**(gə rə ɴ̣ ɑːˈtʲ har kʲiːn)**	**gərʔw iːNtəx (əN ɑˈtʲ ɛ)**

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
gər ɪNʹəLhoːrʹ (ʔeː)	**gər ɪNʹəLtoˑrʹ (ɛˑ)**
(gər ɑːtʹ ɑːLɪNʹ ɛ)	**(gər ɑːˈtʹ ɑːLɪNʹ ɛ)**
gər ʔɪNə ɪmərhoːrʹ (eː)	**gər ɪNʹəltoːrʹ (ɛˑ)**
gər iˑᵊskɪrʹiː (ə vʹiˑ ɪˈ**N**ə**N**ʹ)	gərʹ ɪᵊskɪrʹiˑ (ə vʹiˑ ə**N**ɪmʹ)
gər dɔxtuˑr (ə vʹi ɪˈ**N**əm)	gər dʌxtur (ə vʹiˑ ə**N**əm)
gər k**L**ɔx woːr (ə vʹi ɑ**N**)	k**L**əx woːr (ᵊviˑ ɑn)[1]
(gər ɑːtʹ iːntəx ɛ)	**(gər ɑːtʹ iːNtəx ɛ)**

[1] This is a subordinate clause without the subordinating particle "*gur*".

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
THE COPULA		
(In Subordinate Clauses: Present Tense)		
. . . gur innealtóir (é)	**gər ɪNʹəLoːrʹ (eː)**	**gər ɪNʹəLoːˈrʹ (ɛ)**
. . . gurb álainn . . .	**(guɹ aːˈtʹ aːLɪNʹ ɛ)**	**gər aːLɪNʹ (ᵊN aːtʹ ɛ)**
(In Subordinate Clauses: Past Tense)		
. . . gurbh innealtóir (é)	**gur ɪNʹəLoːrʹ (ᵊtaː aːN)**	**gər ɪNʹəLoːrʹ (ə vʹiː ãn)**
. . . gurbh iascairí . . .	gər eːskɪrʹiː (mʷɪNʹ)	gər eːskərʹi (mʊdʹ)
. . . gur dhochtúir . . .	gər dəxtuːr (mʹɛ)	gər doxtuːr (mʹɛ)
. . . gur chloch mhór . . .	gər kLəx moːr (ɛ)	gər kLəx moːr (æ)
. . . gurbh iontach . . .	**(gur aːˈtʹ iːNtəx ɛ)**	**gərw iːNtəx (N̩ aːtʹ ɛ)**

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
gər ɛnʹʤɪnʹiːrʹ (ᵊtɑ ɑN)	**gər jiNəLtərʹ (ɛ)**	**gər ɪnʹəLtoˑˈrʹ (ɛː)**
(gər ˈɑːˈtʹ ˈɑːLɪnʹ ɛ)	**(gər ɑˑˈtʃ ɑːLɪNʹ ɛ)**	**(gər ɑːtʃ ɑːLɪŋʹ ɛ)**
gər ɛnʹʤɪnʹiːr (ɛ)	**gər iNʹəLtərʹ (ᵊvʹiˑ ɑN)**	**gər ɪnʹəLtoˑrʹ (eː heːnʹ)**
gər eːskərʹiː (vʹiˑ ᵊNinʹ)	gr̩ eˑᵊskərʹiˑ (mɪNʹ)	gər eːskərʹiː (ə vʹiː əNinʹ)
gər dɔxtuːr (mʹɛ)	gr̩ dɔxtur (mʹɛ)	gər dɔxtuˑr (ə vʹiː əNəm)
gər kLəx woːr (ᵊvʹi ɑN)	gər kLəx moːr (ɛ)	(gərbʹ ɪʹ kLəx moːr)[1]
(gər ˈaˑN ɑːtʹ ɛ[2] [*x*3] **. . . ɑːtʹ ɑˑLɪnʹ ɛ)**	**(gər ɑːˈtʃ iːNtəx ɛ)**	**gər iːntəx (n̩ ɑːtʃ ɛ)**

[1] Non-standard ". . . gurb 'in cloch mór".

[2] Non-standard ". . . gur an-áit e".

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

	M 70	*F 60+*
THE COPULA		
(In Subordinate Clauses: Present Tense)		
. . . gur innealtóir (é)	**gər ɪNʹəLtoːrʹ (e heːnʹ)**	**gər ɪNʹəLtoːrʹ (ɛ)**
. . . gurb álainn . . .	**gər haːLɪNʹ (əN aːtʹ ɛ)**	**(gər aːtʃ aːLɪNʹ ɛ)**
(In Subordinate Clauses: Past Tense)		
. . . gurbh innealtóir (é)	**gər ɪNʹəLtoːrʹ (e)**	**gər ɪNʹəLtoːrʹ (ɛ)**
. . . gurbh iascairí . . .	gərʹ jiːᵊskɪrʹiː (mʊdʹ)	gər iᵊskərʹiː (məʤ)
. . . gur dhochtúir . . .	gər dəxtuːr (mʹɛ)	gər dəxtuːr (mʹɛ)
. . . gur chloch mhór . . .	gər k**L**əx woːr (ɛ) . . . x**L**əx woːr (i. . . iː:[1])	gər k**L**əx moːr (e)
. . . gurbh iontach . . .	**gər hɪNdaː (N aːtʹ ɛ)**	**(gər aːtʃ iːNtəx ɛ)**

[1] The informant was emphasising the gender of the noun.

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
(gə rə ʃɛ n ɪməLtər′)	**gər ɛn′ʤɪˈn′iːr (ɛ)**	**gə ʔɛn′ʤɪˈn′iːɹ (ɛ)**
(gə rə ɴ ɑːt′ gə hɑːLɪn′)	**(gər ɑːt d′æːs eˑ)**	**(g ɑːtʃ ɑːLɪn′ ɛ)**
(gə rə ʃɛ n ɪməLtər′)	**gərb′ e. . . gər ˈin′əLtoːr′ (ə v′iˑ ɑˑɴ) ∼ gərb′ ɪn′ʤɪn′iːr (ə v′iˑ ɑːɴ)**	**gə n′ʤɪˈn′iːɹ (ə v′iˑ ɑːɴ)**
(gə rə. . .) gər ˈiˑᵊskɪr′iˑ (ə v′iˑ ənin′)	gər iˑᵊskɪr′iː (v′iː əNən′)	gə ʔiᵊskɪr′iˑ (mʊʤ)
(gə rə m′ɛ mə ɣɔxtər)	gər dɔxtur (ə v′iˑ ɪməm)	gər dəxtuˑr (m′ɛ)
(gə rə ʃeˑ nə x**L**əx moːr′)	[gə?] k**L**əx moːr (ə v′iː ɑˑ**N**)	gə x. . . gə k**L**əx moːr (ə v′iˑ ən)
(gə rə ɴ ɑːtʃ iːNtəx)	**(gər ɑːt′ ˈiːNtəx ɛ)**	**(g ɑːtʃ iːNtəx ə v′i ɑɴ)**

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
THE COPULA		
(The Past/Conditional Tense in Selected Constructions)		
B'fhéidir ...	**(ɪs doːiˑ) ∼ bʹeˑdʹɪrʹ**	**(ɪs doˑiˑ) ∼ bʹeˑdʹɪrʹ**
Níorbh fhéidir ...	**nʹiːrvʹ eːdʹɪr (lʹəm)**	**(nʹiˑ r mʹeˑ n aːɴ...)**
B'fhiú ...	**bʹuː**	**bə vʹuː**
B'fhearr ...	(vʹɛx ʃe ɴʹiːs fʹɑːr...)	bʹɑr
...gurbh fhearr ...	**gərvʹ ɑːr**	**gər aᵘr**
B'iontach ...		**(gərʔw iːntəx)**
Dá mba bhean ...	**ɑˑ mə bʹæˑn (tʊsə)**	**(ɑː mʹeˑaᵘsə də vʹæːɴ)**[1]

[1] "Dá mbeifeása i do bhean...".

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
bʹeːdʹɪrʹ [$x2$]	**bʹeːdʹɪrʹ ∼ bʹedʹɪrʹ**
(nʹiːr ɛːdʹ mʹɛ. . .)	**(nʹiˑ ɛtɪnʹ. . .)**
bə vʹuˑ ∼ bə vʹuː [$x2$]	**bʹuː**
bʹaˑr	bə vʹaːr
gərvʹ aːr	**gə vʹɑːr**
(gər ɑːtʹ iːntəx ɛ. . . bə ʔɑːtʹ iːntəx ɛ)	
dʌ bər bʹæːn (hʊsə)	**(ə mʹeᵊ də vʹæːn)**

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
THE COPULA		
(The Past/Conditional Tense in Selected Constructions)		
B'fhéidir ...	**(ᵊs doːxə)** ∼ **bʹeːdʹɪrʹ** [*x*2]	**bʹeːdʹɪrʹ** [*x*2]
Níorbh fhéidir ...	**(nʹiː ɛˑtɪnʹ...)**	**(nʹiː eːtɪnʹ...)**
B'fhiú ...	**bʹu**	**bʹuː**
B'fhearr ...	bʹɑːr [*x*2]	bə vʹɑːr
... gurbh fhearr ...	**gərvʹ ɑːr...** **gərv ɑːr**	**gərvʹ ɑːr**
B'iontach ...	**bʷ iːNtəx**	**bʷ iːNtəx**
Dá mba bhean ...	**(a mʹeˑʲəsə də vʹæːN)**	**dʌ bə bʹæːn (u)**

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
m′(ʔ)eːd′ɪr′ ∼ b′eːd′ɪr′	**(ʃæns) ∼ b′eˑd′ɪr′**	(**ɪs doːxə ∼ s doːiː** [*x*2])
(n′iˑ ˈɛːtɪm′ . . .)	**(n′iː rə m′e ˌɴ aːɴ . . .)**	**(n′iːr′ ɛːd m′ɛ . . .)**
b′uː	**b′uː**	**b′uː**
(v′iː ʃe n′iː b′aːr . . .) **∼ b′ɑːr**[1]	b′ɑːr	bə b′ɑːr
gə m′ᵋaːr ∼ gə m′ɑːr	**gə m′ɑˑr**	**gərv′ ɑːr**
(bᵊˌaːˈt′ ˈɑːLɪm′ ɛ)	**b′ iːntəx**	**(bʷiː . . . ɑːtʃ iːntəx ɛ)**
dɑː wʊ b′æːɴ (u)	**ə mə v′æˑɴ (u)**	**ə bə b′æːn . . .** **∼ (aⁱ m′əx tu ndə v′æːɴ)** **∼ aⁱm bə b′æːɴ (huˑ)**

[1] Cf. II.32.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

	M 70	*F 60+*
THE COPULA		
(The Past/Conditional Tense in Selected Constructions)		
B'fhéidir ...	**bʹeːdʹɪrʹ**∼ **bʹeˑdʹɪrʹ**	**bʹeːʤɪrʹ** [x2]
Níorbh fhéidir ...	**ɴʹiˑrv eːdʹɪrʹ**	**(ɴʹiˑ ɛtɪnʹ...)**
B'fhiú ...	**bʹu** ∼ **bə vʹu**	**(gərvʹ vʹiˑuˑ)** ∼ **bʹuː**
B'fhearr ...	(vʹɛtʹiː vaːd ɴʹiːs fʹɑːr æs...[1])	bʹɑːr
...gurbh fhearr ...	**gə mʹɑˑr**	**gə mʹɑːr**
B'iontach ...	**bʷ iːɴtəx**	**(gərv ɑːtʃ iːɴtəx ɛ)**
Dá mba bhean ...	**ɑː bə bʹæˑɴ (uˑ)** ∼ **a bər bʹæˑɴ (ə vʹɛx əˈtʹɪnʹ...)**[2]	**ga mə bʹæːɴ (u)**

[1] "Bheadh sí i bhfad níos fearr as...".

[2] "Dá mba bhean a bheadh ansin..." as comment in response to II.40.

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
mʹeːdʹɪrʹ	**bʹeːɟɪrʹ** [*x*2] ∼ **bʹeːdʹɪrʹ**	**bʹeːɟɪrʹ** ∼ **bʹeːdʹɪrʹ** [*x*2]
nʹiːrʹ eːdʹɪrʹ	**(nʹiː eːtɪnʹ...)**	**(nʹi rə mʹɛ ˈN aːN...)**
(gərʹ vʹuː)	**bə ˈvʹuː**	**bʹuː**
(...nʹiːs fʹaːr...)[1]	bʹɑːr	(vʹiː ʃɛː nʹiːs fʹɑːr...)
gə vʹɑːr	**gə mʹɑːr**	**gə ˈbʹaːr**
(gə rə N ɑːtʹ ˈiːNtəx)	**(b ɑːtʃ iːNtəx ɛ)**	**(b ɑːtʃ ˈiːNtəx æ)**
æ bə bʹæːn (ə vʹɛx ənət...)	**ɑː bʹɛ ...a bʹɛ bʹæːN (ə vʹɛx əNət...)**	**də mə bʹæːN (hʊː)**

[1] Note the lenition of the the relative form of the copula found in I.23: [... ə vʹᵋɑːr (lʹəm)].

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
THE COPULA		
(Deictic and Related Constructions: Present Tense)		
Seo (ceann maith)!	**ʃəd (kʹɑːɴ mæˑ)**	**ʃəd (kʹɑːɴ maˑ)**
Sin (droch-cheann)!	**ʃɪnʹ (kʹɑːɴ dəɴə)**	**ʃɪnʹ (kʹɑːɴ dəɴə)**
Seo (é)!	**ʃəd (ˈʔeː ʔeː)**	**ʃɪnʹ (ˈeː eː)**
Sin (é)!	**ʃɪnʹ (ˈeˑ ʔeˑ)**	**ʃɪnʹ (ˈeˑ nʹʃəd ɛ)**
An é seo (é)?	**əbʹ ˈəd (eˑ ʔeˑ)**	**bʹ ɪmʹ (ˈɛː)**
Ní hé seo (é)!	**ɴʹiˑ həd (ˈeˑ ʔeˑ)**	**nʹiː hɪmʹ (ˈeː ɛ)**
. . . gurb é seo (é)	**. . . ʃəd (ʔeˑ ʔeˑ)**[1]	**gəbʹ əd (eː)**
. . . nach é seo (é)	**. . . ɴʹiː həd (ˈeː eˑ)**[1]	**ɴax həd (ˌeː ˈeː)**
. . . an é seo (é nó) nach é	**. . . əbʹ ˈəd (eˑ ɴuˑ) ɴax bʹ eˑ**	**. . . ᵊbʹ ˈəd (ɛː ɴoː) ɴax ɛ**

[1] A subordinate clause without a subordinating conjunction and related mutations.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
ʃəs (kʹɑːɴ maː)	ʃʂ (kʹɑːɴ maː)
ʃɪnʹ (kʹɑːɴ dʊNə)	hɪnʹ (kʹɑːɴ dəNə)
ʃəd (eː ˈeː)	həd (eː eː)
(oː nʹiˑ hæː) ʃɪnʹ (ɛː)	(nʹe æː) ʃəd (eː e)
ᵋbʹ ɛd (eː eː)	b əd (eː eː)
nʹiˑ həd (eˑ)	nʹiˑ həd (eː e)
gə məj ᵊd (ʔeː ˈʔeː)	gəb əd (ɛː ɛ)
naˑrvʹ əd (ɛ ʔeː)	Na həd (eː eː)
. . . ʔɛbʹ ɛd (ʔe ʔeˑ Nu) nʌx eʲ	. . . ˈb əd (eː Nuː) Nax e

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
THE COPULA		
(Deictic and Related Constructions: Present Tense)		
Seo (ceann maith)!		**ʃə (kʹɑːɴ maˑᵋ)**
Sin (droch-cheann)!	**(ˈs ˈdrəxxʹɑːɴ ɛ ʃɪnʹ ∼ kʹɑːɴ dʊɴ ɛː)**	**ʃɪnʹ e (ˈdrəxxʹɑˑɴ ∼ kʹɑːɴ dʊNə)**
Seo (é)!	**ʃəw (eː eː)**	**ʃo (eː eː)**
Sin (é)!	**(ɴʹiː heː) ʃəw (ɛː)**	**ʃɪnʹ (ɛˑ)**
An é seo (é)?	**bʹ oˑw (ɛː)**	**ᵋbʹ əd (ɛː)**
Ní hé seo (é)!	**(ɴʹiː eːᵋ)**	**nʹiˑ həd (ɛː)**
. . . gurb é seo (é)	**gəbʹ oˑw (ɛː)**	**gəbʹ əd (ɛː)**
. . . nach é seo (é)	**nax həw (ɛː)**	**Nax əd (ɛ). . .** **Nax əd (ɛː)**
. . . an é seo (é nó) nach é	**. . . (ɛ)bʹ oˑw (ɛː Nu)** **Naˑx ɛ** [*x*2]	**. . . (ɛ)bʹ əd (ɛː Nuˑ)** **nax bʹ ɛ**

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
(s ˈkʹɑːN ˈmaː e ˌʃə)	(kʹɑN maˑ e ʃɪnʹ)	(ɪs kʹɑːN maˑ eˑ ʃə)
ʃɪnʹ (kʹɑːN dəNə)	(drəxxʹæN ə ʃɪnʹ) (sic)	(s drəxxʹɑːN ɛ)
ˌʃɪnʹ(ˈeː eː)	ʃɪnʹ(ˈeː)	ʃɪnʹ (ˈeː)
ˈʃɪnʹ (e) [x2]	(nɑː) . . . ˈʃɪnʹ (ˈɛˑ)	ʃɪnʹ (ɛ hɑːL ɛ)[1]
ᵊbʹ ɛd (ˈeː eː) ∼ ᵊbʹ ɛd (eˑ eˑ)[2]	bʹ əd (ɛ)	ərbʹ ˈiˑjᵊd (eː)
Nʹiːrʹ eː ʃə (ɛ) ∼ nʹiˑ heː ʃə (e)	nʹiˑ həd (ɛ)	nʹiˑ ˈhəd (eː)
gəbʹ ɛd (eː eː)	gəbʹ ɛd (ɛ)	gəbʹ ˈɛd (eː)
Nax dəd (eː eː)[2](sic)	Nax rəd (ɛ) (sic)	Nax bʹɛd (eː)
. . . bʹ ɛd (eː Nuˑ) Nax bʹ eˑ	. . . əbʹ əd (ɛ Nu) nax eˑ	. . . ᵊb ɪnʹ (ˈeː Nu) Nax bʹ eː

[1] Cf. [ˈʃɪnʹ ɛd Nə rʊdiː . . .] in I.45.

[2] With a definite stress over each of the two final vowels.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

	M 70	*F 60+*
THE COPULA		
(Deictic and Related Constructions: Present Tense)		
Seo (ceann maith)!	**ʃʌ^{wɛ} (kʹɑːɴ maː)**	**ʃɛ (kʹɑːɴ ˈmaː)**
Sin (droch-cheann)!	**ʃɪnʹ (kʹɑˑɴ dəɴə)**	**ʃɪnʹ (kʹɑ̃ːɴ ˈdəɴə)**
Seo (é)!	**ʃɪnʹ (ˈeː eː)...** **ʃəw (ˈeː eː)**	**ʃəw (ˈeː)**
Sin (é)!	**ʃɪnʹ (ˈeː eː)**	**(ɴʹiː ˈhæː ʌx ɛ ˈʃuːd)**
An é seo (é)?	**ən a ʃəw (ˈɛː ɛː)**[1] (sic)	**əɴ eː ʃəː (ˈeː)**[2]
Ní hé seo (é)!	**ˈɴʹiː həw (eː eː)**[1]	**(ɴʹĩː hæ)**
...gurb é seo (é)	**gəbʹ ˈəw (eː eː)**	**gəb (ˈeˑ ˈʃə eː)**
...nach é seo (é)	**ɴax e ʃɪnʹ (ɛ)**∼ **ˈɴax ɪnʹ (eː)**	**ɴax (ˈeː ʃɪnʹ ˈeː)**
...an é seo (é nó) nach é	**...əbʹ (eˑ ɴu)** **ɴax eˑ**	**...əbʹ (ˌeː ˈɴoː)** **ɴax eː**

[1] With rising intonation over the last two vowels.

[2] With rapidly falling intonation over the last vowel.

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
ˈʃəd (ˈkʹɑːN ˈmaː)	ʃəd (kʹɑːN ˈmaː)	ʃə (kʹɑːN maː)
hɪnʹ (ˈkʹɑːN ˈdəNə)	ˈʃɪnʹ (drəxxʹɑːN)	ʃɪnʹ (kʹɑːN dəNə)
ˈʃəd (ẽː ẽː)[1]	ˈʃə (eː)	ʃəd (ɛ)
ˈʃəd (eː)	ˈʃɪnʹ (eˑ)	ʃɪnʹ (æ)
ᵊbʹ ˈəd (eː)	bʹ ˈəd (eː)	əbʹ ˈəd (ɛ)[2]
nʹiˑ ˈhəd (eː)	nʹiˑ ˈhəd (eː)	ˈnʹiː həd (æ)
(ˈʃəd eː eː zuˑrt ʃɛ)	gəbʹ əd (eˑ eˑ)	gəbʹ əd (ɛd) . . . gəbʹ əd (æ)
ˈNax əd . . . ˈNa həd (eː)	nax həd (ˈeː ˈeː)	NʌX ˈxəd (əN ɑːtʃ) . . . NʌX ˈxəd (æ)
. . . bʹ ˈəd (eː n̩ʹ ˈkʹɑːn eː Nə n̩ʹ kʹɑːN ˈɛlʹɛ)	. . . əbʹ əd (eˑ ˈʔeː No) nax ɛ . . . ˈNu nax e	. . . ᵊbʹ ˈəd (ɛˑ) . . . ʔᵊbʹ ˈəd (ɛː) . . . ᵊbʹ ˈɪnʹ (ɛː) . . . ˈNuː nəx æː

[1] With falling and rising intonation, respectively, over the last two vowels.

[2] With light palatalisation of the bilabial plosive.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
THE COPULA		
(Deictic and Related Constructions: Past Tense)		
B'é seo (é)!	**ʃo (ʔeˑ ʔeˑ)**	**ʃəd (ɛː)**
B'iad seo (iad)!	**ʃəd (iːˑᵊd iːˑᵊd)**	**ʃəd (ˈeːd iᵊd)**
Arbh é seo (é)?	**(əbʹ eˑ n̩ʹ kʹɑːnʹ ʃə e)**	**əbʹ əd (ˈɛː)**
Níorbh é seo (é)!	**Nʹiːr . . . Nʹiː həd (ʔeˑ ʔeˑ)**	**nʹiː hɪnʹ (ˈeː ɛ)**
Níorbh iad (na cinn . . .), arbh iad?	Nʹiː hiᵊd (Nə kʹiːNʹ . . .) əb iᵊd	ʃe (Nə kʹiːNʹ . . .) ɛt ᵊbʹ iːᵊd
. . . nárbh é seo (é)	**. . . Nʹiː heˑ . . .** **Nʹiːrvʹ e ʃə ʔeː**[1]	**naːx həd (ˌɛ ˈʔeː)**

[1] A subordinate clause without a subordinating conjunction and related mutations.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
bʊj (eː eː)	**ʃəd (ɛː ɛ)**
(iˑᵊd ˈʃə)	**b uːd (ɛːd)**
ᵋb′ ɛd (eː eː)	**(nu) b əd (ɛː ɛ)**
n′iˑrv′ ɪn′ (ˈɛː)	**n′iˑ həd (ɛː ɛ)**
N′iˑ hin′ (ˈɪd **N**ə rədi. . .) ᵊb ˈiˑᵊd	b ᵊd (ɛd **N**ə k′iː**N′**. . .)
naˑrv′ əd (eː)	**nə həd (eː e)**

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
THE COPULA		
(Deictic and Related Constructions: Past Tense)		
B'é seo (é)!	**ʃoˑw (ɛː)**	**bə bəˑd...** **bə əd (ɛː ɛː)**
B'iad seo (iad)!	**ʃuˑd (iˑᵉd) ∼** **bʹ uːd (iˑᵉd)**	**bʹ ɪmʹ (ɛːd ɪd)**
Arbh é seo (é)?	**bʹ oˑw (ɛː)**	**ᵋbʹ əd (ɛː)**
Níorbh é seo (é)!	**Nʹiˑ həw (ɛː)**	**nʹiːrvʹ əd (ɛː)**
Níorbh iad (na cinn ...), arbh iad?	(ʃmʹ ɛd) ...ᵊbʹ eːᵊd... ᵊbʹ eːᵊd (Nə rədiː ...)	Nʹiː hmʹ (eːd) ...ᵊbʹ eːd... ərb eːd
...nárbh é seo (é)	**nax həw (ɛː)**	**naˑrvʹ əd (ɛː)**

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
ʃəd (eˑ n̩′ kʹɑːɴ ɛ) ∼ **ɪs əd (eˑ n̩′ kʹɑːɴ ɛ)**	**bʹij əd (ɛ)**	**ˈʃəd (eː)**
ʃəd (eːd ɛd) [*x*2] ∼ **ʃəd (ɛd Nə kʹiːnʹ)**∼ **ʃoː (eˑd ɛd)**[2]	**bʷ iːd ʃə (vʹiˑ ntʊ)**[1]	**ˈbʹ uːd (eː) . . .** **ˈbʹ uːd (eːᵊd eˑ)** [*x*2]
ᵊbʹ ɛd (eˑ eˑ) ∼ **ᵊbʹ ɛd (eː n̩′ kʹɑːɴ ɛ)** **∼ ᵊbʹ ɛd (ɛ)**	**rʹ əd (ɛ)**	**ᵋbʹ ɪmʹ (ɛˑ)**∼ **ᵋbʹ ɪmʹ (eː)**∼ **əN (eː)**
ˌnʹi (ˈheː) **nʹiˑ heː ʃɪmʹ (ɛ)** [*x*2]	**nʹiˑrw e ʃə (ɛ)**	**Nʹiː ˈhəd (eː)**
ʃɪmʹ (ɛˑd Nə kʹiːNʹ . . .) bʹ eˑᵊd	nʹiˑ ˈhinʹ (ɛd nɪ kʹmʹ . . .) nʹiˑ haː[3]	nʹiː ˈhinʹ (ɛd Nə rʊdiː . . . ᵋbʹ iːᵊd
Nax həd (eː eː) [*x*2]	**Nax həd (ɛ)**	**Nax bʹ ɛd (eˑ ʔɛ)** **Nax bʹ ɛd (e n̩ ɑːˈtʃ eˑ)**[4]

[1] "B'iad seo a bhí iontu".

[2] Cf. [bədʹ ɛd Nə mNɑː . . .] ("those were the women . . . ") in I.52.

[3] "Ní hea".

[4] ". . . nárbh é an áit é."

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

	M 70	*F 60+*
THE COPULA		
(Deictic and Related Constructions: Past Tense)		
B'é seo (é)!	**buj ˈeː ʃə (eˑ)**	**bəvʹ (ˈɛː)**
B'iad seo (iad)!	**bʷiː ʔiˑᵊd ʃə (iˑᵊt)** ∼ **bəw (ˈiˑᵊd iˑᵊt)** ∼ **bʹ iˑᵊd ʃə (iˑᵊt)**	**bəvʹ (ˈiˑᵊt) . . .** **ˈʃuːd (iˑᵊd)** ∼ bəvʹ (iˑᵋd) . . . ∼ [1] bəvʹ mʹ (iˑᵋd) . . . [1]
Arbh é seo (é)?	**ərbʹ eː ʃo . . .** **ər ˈbʹᵋw (eː eː)**[2] **. . .** **ərbʹ ˈeː ʃə (ˈeː eː)**	**əN ˈeː ˈʃəˑ (eː)**
Níorbh é seo (é)!	**Nʹiːrvʹ eː ʃɪnʹ (eː)**	**nʹiˑrvʹ ˈe ˈʃə (ɛ)**
Níorbh iad (na cinn . . .), arbh iad?	(ʃɪnʹ ɛ[d] **N**ə rʊdiː . . . **N**uː) bʹ iᵊd	**N**ʹiːrvʹ (iət ʃɪnʹ . . . **N**oˑ) rvʹ iᵊt
. . . nárbh é seo (é)	**Nax ɪnʹ . . .** [*x*3] **Nax ɪnʹ (eː eː)** ∼ ˈ**Nax ɪnʹ (ə̃ rʊd ˈeː)**	**(N**ʌ**x** [*x*2] **mar ʃɪnʹ ˈeː)**

[1] Cf. I.45.

[2] With rising intonation over the last two vowels.

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
ˈʃəd (eː)	**ʃo (ʔeˑ ʔeˑ) . . .** **ʃo (eː) . . .** **b əd (eˑ eˑ)**	**b ˈəd (ɛ)**
ˈbʹ əd (ɛd) ∼ **ˈʃəd (ɛd iᵊt)**	**ˈʃə (iᵊd)**	**bu eːt ˈʃəd (ɛ) . . .** **bʷ eːt ˈʃəd (ɛd)**
ˈbʹ əd (eː)	**ᵊbʹ əd . . .** **bʹ əd (ʔeˑ ʔeˑ)** [*x*2]	**ᵊbʹ ˈəd (ɛ)**
nʹiˑ ˈhəd (eː)	**nʹiˑ ˈhəd (eˑ eˑ)**	**ˈnʹiː həd (ɛ)**
bʹ mʹ (ɪd nə rʊdiˑ . . .) ᵊvʹ iᵊd	nʹiː (hiˑʳᵊd Nə rʊdiˑ . . .) bʹ iᵊd	nʹiˑ hinʹ (nə kədʹ. . .) ᵊbʹ æ
naˑr əd (ɛ ɴ̩ ˈɑːtʹ)	**nax ˈeː ʃə (ˌeː)**	**Nəx ˈxəd (æ)**

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
THE COPULA		
(With Human Subjects: Present Tense)		
Is é Seán (é).	**(ʃoˑ eˑ ʃɑːN)**	**(ʃɪnʹ ɛ ʃɑːn)**
An í an bhean . . . ?	ˈN bʹ mʹ iˑ N vʹæN. . . əN bʹ mʹ iˑ əN vʹæN. . .	bʹ mʹ iː N̩ vʹæːN. . .
An iad na mná . . . ?	bʹ əd eˑd ə mNɑˑ . . . bʹ əd eˑᵊd Nə mnɑˑ . . .	bʹ əd eˑd Nə mNɑː . . .
Ní hé an tríú fear.	**nʹiˑ heˑ n̩ tʹrʹiˑvə dɪnʹɛ**	**Nʹiː he n̩ʹ tʹrʹiːwə fʹæˑr ∼ Nʹiː heˑ n̩ʹ tʹrʹiːwʊ fʹæˑr**
(With Human Subjects: Past Tense)		
B'é Seán (é).	**ʃ e ʃɑːN (ə vʹiˑ ɑːN)**	**ɪʃ eː ʃɑːN (ɛ) ∼ buj eː ʃɑːN (ə xənʹɪkʹ mʹeˑ ɪˈnʹeː)**
Arbh é Seán (é)?	**ɛbʹ eˑ ʃɑːN (ə vʹiˑ ɑˑN)**	**ᴱbʹ eː ʃɑːN (ɛ)**
. . . arbh é Seán (é nó) nárbh é	**bʹ eˑ ʃɑːN (eˑ Nuˑ) Nax bʹ eˑ**	**əvʹ eː ʃɑːN (Na . . . Noː) Nax eˑ**

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
ɪʃ eˑ ʃɑːN ∼ (ʃəd eˑ ʃɑːN)	**(ʃɪmʹ e ʃɑːN)**
ᵋbʹ mʹ iː N vʹæːN. . .	bʹ mʹ i N̩ vʹæˑn . . .
ᵋbʹ əd iˑᵊd Nə mˈNɑː . . .	bʹ mʹ ɪd Nə mNɑˑ . . .
nʹiˑ heː nʹ tʹrʹiuː fʹæːr	**nʹiˑ ʰĩ n̩ʹ tʹrʹiːvə dɪmʹɪ**
bʹij ˈeː	**biːj eː ʃɑːn**
bʹij eˑ ʃɑːN[1] **(ər ʃɑːN ᵊta gʹɛʃtʹ)**[1]	**bʹ ɪnʹ ɛˑ ʃɑːn**
ᵋbʹ eː ʃɑːN (Nuˑ) **Naːrvʹ eː**	**əbʹ eː ʃɑːN (Nu)** **nax e**

[1] With question intonation.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
THE COPULA		
(With Human Subjects: Present Tense)		
Is é Seán (é).	**ʃ eː ʃɑːN (ɛ)** [x2] ∼ **(hɪnʹ eˑ ʃɑːN)** ∼ **(ʃɪnʹ eː ʃɑːN)**	**ʃ eˑ ʃɑːN** **(ʃoʷ eˑ ʃɑːN)** **ʃ eˑ ʃɑˑN (ᵊtɑ ɑN)**
An í an bhean . . . ?	bʹ mʹ ˈiːᵊN əN vʹæN. . . bʹ mʹ iː n ˈvʹæN. . .	bʹ mʹ ˈiː nʹ ˈvʹæn . . .
An iad na mná . . . ?	bʹ mʹ ˈeːd Nə mˈNɑː . . .	ᵋbʹ mʹ ˈeːd Nə mˈnɑː . . .
Ní hé an tríú fear!		**(ˈLʹæːbə n̩ʹ tʹrʹiˑuˑ fʹæːr)** ∼ **(N̩ ɑːtʹ n̩ʹ tʹrʹiˑuˑ fʹær)**
(With Human Subjects: Past Tense)		
B'é Seán (é)!	**ʃ eː . . . ʃ eː ʃɑːN (ɛ)** ∼ **ʃ eː ʃɑːN (ɛ xɪnʹɪkʹ mʹeː ˈnʹeː)**	**bʷə eː ʃɑːN (ɛ)**
Arbh é Seán (é)?	**bʹ eː ʃɑːN (ɛː)**	**əʳbʹ eː ʃɑːN (ɛ)**
. . . arbh é Seán (é nó) nárbh é	**ᵊbʹ eˑ ʃɑːN (ɛ Nuˑ)** **Nax eˑ**	**əb eː ʃɑːN (Na Nuː) Nax bʹeˑ**

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
ʃ eː ʃɑːN ∼ **ʃ eː ʃɑːN (ɛ) ∼** **ˈʃ eː ʃɑːN ∼** **(ʃɪmʹ eː ʃɑː . . .** **ʃəd eː ʃɑːN)**	**ʃ eː ʃɑːN ∼** **(ʃɪmʹ eˑ ʃɑːN)**	**(ʃɪmʹ eˑ ʃɑːN)** [*x*2]
bʹ ɪmʹ iː n̩ʹ vʹæːn . . .	ənʹ iː ʃinʹ ə vʹæN. . .	ˈbʹ ɪmʹ iː vʹæːN. . .
bʹ əd ɛd Nə mNɑː . . .	ənʹ ˈiːd ʃinʹ Nə mᵊˌNɑː . . .	ˈbʹ ɪmʹ ɛd Nə mNɑː . . .
nʹiˑ ˈeː n̩ʹ ˌtʹrʹiːuˑ fʹæˑr	**nʹiː he N̩ tʹrʹiˑu fʹær**	
ˈʃ ɛː (e)	**bʹiː eˑ ʃɑːN**	**bəvʹ ˈeː ʃɑːn ∼** **bəvʹ ˈeː ˈʃɑːN (ˈeː)**[1]
ᵊbʹ eː ʃɑːN ∼ **ᵊbʹ eː ʃɑːN (ɛ)**	**r e ʃɑːN (ɛ)**	**ᵋrbʹ ɛ ˈʃɑːN (ɛ)**
ᵊbʹ eː ʃɑːN (ɛ ˈNu) **Nax bʹɛ** [*x*2]	**bʹ e ʃɑˑN (e Nu)** **nəx e**	**bʹ eː ʃɑːN (eˑ Nuˑ)** **Nax bʹeː**

[1] The whole sentence is articulated with care.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

	M 70	*F 60+*
THE COPULA		
(With Human Subjects: Present Tense)		
Is é Seán (é).	**(ʃɪnʲ eˑ ʃɑːN)** [*x*2]	**ɪʃ ɛ ʃɑːN (ɛ)**
An í an bhean . . . ?	bʲ mʲ iː nʲ vʲæˑN. . .	ənʲ eː ʃɪnʲ ən vʲæˑn . . .
An iad na mná . . . ?	ᵋbʲ ɪNʲ eˑd Nə mrɑːː . . . bʲ ɪNʲ eːd Nə mNɑː . . .	ənʲ rʲᵊt ʃɪnʲ Nə mrɑː . . .
Ní hé an tríú fear!	**Nʲiˑ heː n̪ʲ tʲrʲiːuˑ fʲæˑr** [*x*2]	**nʲiː hɪ n̪ tʲrʲiˑu fʲæˑr**
(With Human Subjects: Past Tense)		
B'é Seán (é)!	**buj ˈeː ∼ bʊj ˈeː ∼ bʊj ˈeː ˈʃɑːN (ɛ)**	**bəvʲ ˈeː ˌʃɑːN (eː)**
Arbh é Seán (é)?	**(buj ˈeː)** (sic)	**əN ˈeˑ ˈʃɑːN (ɛ) . . . əN ˈeˑ ˈʃɑːN (ə hɑːnʲɪgʲ)**
. . . arbh é Seán (é nó) nárbh é	**bʲ eˑ ʃɑːN ə . . . bʲ (eˑ Nuˑ) Nax e**	**əN ˌɛ ˌʃɑːN (ɛ) (ˈNʊː Nax eː**

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
(həd eˑ ˈʃɑːn)	**(ʃo eː ʃɑːN)** [*x*3]	**(oː . . . ˈʃɑːN ᵊtɑ ɑN)**
bʹ mʹ iː n̩ʹ vʹæn . . .	bʹ mʹ iː n̩ʹ vʹæːn . . .	ᵋbʹ ˈmʹ ɛ nʹ vʹæːn . . .
bʹ mʹ ɪd nə mrɑː . . .	bʹ mʹ ɛd **N**ə m**N**ɑː . . . ᵊbʹ rᵊd m**N**ɑː . . . (sic) ᵊbʹ mʹ eᵊd nə mrɑː[1] . . .	ᵋbʹ ˈmʹ nə mrɑː . . . ᵋbʹ mʹ nə mrɑ . . .
nʹiˑ eː n̩ʹ tʹrʹiːu dɪnʹɛ	**nʹiː heˑ nʹ tʹrʹiːu dɪnʹɛ**	**nʹiˑ nʹ ˈtʹrʹiːu dɪnʹɛ**
ɪʃ ˈeː ʃɑːn	**bʹ eː ʃɑːN (ə vʹiˑ ɑːᵘN) . . .** **ʃ eː ʃɑːN (ə vʹiˑ ɑːN)**	**bᵘ ʃɑːN (vʹiˑ ɑːN)**
ᵊbʹ ˈeː xʹɑːnʹ[2]	**ᵋbʹ eː ʃɑːN (ə vʹiˑ ɑːN)**	**ᵊʃɑːN (ə vʹiˑ ɑːN)**
ᵊbʹ ɛ ˈʃɑːN (ə vʹiˑ ɑˑN ˈNʊː) Nax ɛ	**bʹ eˑ ʃɑˑN (ə vʹiˑ ɑːN Nu) nax e**	**ʃɑːN (ə vʹiː ɑːN ˈNuː) nʌx æ**

[1] With careful articulation.

[2] Perhaps misunderstood as non-standard "Ab' é, a Sheáin?"

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
THE COPULA		
(Miscellaneous Constructions)		
Cárb as (é)?	**kʹeˑ ʔæˑs (eˑ)**	**kʹeː æːs (ɛ)**
Cárbh as (é)?	**kʹeˑ bə ʔæs (e)**	**kʹeːrv æːs (ɛ)**
Cá bhfios duit?	**(kʹɛ xiˑ gə wɪlʹ ɪs æts e)**[1]	**(kʹɛ xu wɪlʹ ɪs æːdsə)**[1]
Cén cineál cóta (é)?	**kʹeˑ kʹɪNʹɑːL koːtə (ʔe)**	**kʹe surt koːt (ɛ heːnʹ)**

[1] "Cén chaoi a bhfuil a fhios agatsa (é)?"

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
kʹe ˈæːs (ɛ)	**kʹ æːs (ɛ̝) ∼ kʹ æːs (ə hɑːnʹɪgʹ ʃɛ)**
kʹeːrb æːs (ɛ)	**kʹ æːs (ə hɑːnʹɪgʹ ʃɛ)**
kʌ w[ə]s ˈdɪtʹ	**(xʹɛ̃ ʰʷiˑ wɪlʹ ɪs əgʊtˈsə)**[1]
kʹɛ soːrt kʹɪnʹɑːl[2] **koːt (eː)**	**kʹɛ dɔr koˑrʹ (ɛ)**[3]

[1] "Cén chaoi a bhfuil a fhios agatsa?"

[2] This tautological doublet also occurs in the corpus of the informant from Fearann an Choirce, cf. [kʹɛn soːrt kʹɪNɑːL aⁱbʹrʹɪ . . .] ("Cén sórt cineál oibre . . . "), I.30.

[3] With rapid articulation. There are either speech errors here in the form of consonant substitutions, or else the investigator has misheard the sounds.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
THE COPULA		
(Miscellaneous Constructions)		
Cárb as (é)?	**kʹeˑ æːs (doˑ)** ∼ **kʹeˑ æːs (ɛ)**	**kʹeː æːs (ɛ)**
Cárbh as (é)?	**kʹeˑrw æːs (ɛ)**	**kʹeːru æːs (ɛ)**
Cá bhfios duit?	**(kʹɛ xiˑ ᵊwɪlʹ ɪs æˑt . . . æːtsə)**[1]	**(kʹɛ̃ xi wɪlʹ ɪs . . .** [*x*2] **æt)**[1]
Cén cineál cóta (é)?	**kʹeːnʹ kʹɪnʹɑːL koːt (æˑ)**	**kʹɛˑN kʹɪnʹɑːL koːt (ɛ)**

[1] "Cén chaoi a bhfuil a fhios agatsa?"

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
kʹeb aːs (ɛ)	**kʹe ˈæs (ɛ)**	**kʹeˑ ˈæːs (ɛ)**
kʹeb æːs (ɛ)	**kʹe æs (ə fʹær ə kaˑʟʹu)**	**kʹeːrv ˈæs (ɛ)**
ˈkɑː wɪs ˌdɪtʃ (ɛˑ)	**kɑ wəs dɪtʃ**	**(kʹeː xiː wɪlʹ ɪs æˑd̥sə)**[1]
kʹeˑ sor koːt (ɛ)	**kʹɛ srt . . . kʹeːn srt koːt (ɛ)**	**kʹeːn soːrt koːt (ə vʹiː ɑˑn)**

[1] "Cén chaoi a bhfuil a fhios agatsa?"

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

	M 70	*F 60+*
THE COPULA		
(Miscellaneous Constructions)		
Cárb as (é)?	**kʹe æˑs (ɛ)**	**kʹɛrb ˈæːs (doˑ)**
Cárbh as (é)?	**kʹeˑrw as (ɛ)**	**kʹɛrb ˈæːs . . .** **kʹeːrv ˈæːs (doː)**
Cá bhfios duit?	**kaᵘs dɪtʹ ∼** **(kʹɛ̃ xiː wɪlʹ** **ɪs æːd ɛ)**	**(ˌkʹɛ̃ˑ xiː ᵊwɪlʹ** **ɪs ˈagətsə)**
Cén cineál cóta (é)?	**kʹɛdɛs**[1] **koːt** **(e heːnʹ)** [x2]	**kʹeːɴ kʹɪnʹɑːlʹ koːtə** **(ɴʹ æ . . . ɑː sʹæ)**[2] **kʹɛ̃ kʹɪnʹɑːʟ koːt** **(əˈtɑ ɛrʹ)**

[1] The form **[kʹɛdos]** was later elicited from the informant after being prompted with the Cois Fharraige form "céardós" by the investigator.

The unusual form [kʹɛnʹ ˈɛ] (= "Céard é? ") was uttered by the informant in another context (Cf.I.18).

[2] "An ea? Á, sea!" This moment of hesitation exhibits two characteristic Inis Meáin traits: the frequent use of the standard form of the interrogative particle in constructions involving the copula, and the use (by at least some speakers) of the palatalised voiceless grooved alveolar fricative [sʹ].

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
ˈkʹe æːs . . . (eː) ∼ kʹe æːs (ənʹ fʹær)	kʹeː æːs (ɛ)	kʹɛb aːs (ɛ)
kʹeˑ æːs (ɛ)	kʹeːrvʹ ˈæs (ɛ)	kʹeˑrb aːs (ɛ)
(kʹɛ xiˑ wɪlʹ ɪs ˈæːtsə)	(kʹɛ xi wɪlʹ ɪs at)	(kʹ wʊlʹ ɪs aˑtsə)
kʹɛnʹ sort kʹɪnʹɑːʟ koˑt (ɛ ʃɪnʹ)	kʹeː[1] soˑrt koːt (eː)	kʹ sʌ koːt (ɛ)

[1] With no nasalisation of the vowel.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
NOMINAL INFLECTION		
(Nouns in the Vocative Case)		
(sg.)		
a Sheáin!	…ʃɑːn [*x*2] ∼ …ʃɑˑn ∼ …ᵊxʹɑːnʹ	…ə xʹɑːᴵnʹ [*x*2] ∼ xʹɑːᴵnʹ…[*x*2][1]
(…abhaile) a Mháire!	(…wæˑlʹɪ) ᵊwɑˑⁱrʹɪ	(…waˑⁱlʹɪ) wɑːᴵrʹɛ
(pl.)		
a ghasúra!	…ᵊɣaˑsuˑrʹ ∼ **ə ɣaːsuˑrʹ…**[1]	ɣaːsuˑrʹ…[1] **(ɑː) ɣaːsuːrʹ…**[1]
a fheara!		
(Genitival Constructions with Indefinite Head Noun)		
glac/mám fhataí	**Lɑːn Lɑːvʹɛ gə faˑtiˑ**	**gLɛkʹ aˑtiː**
scian coise duibhe		
níos mó spáis	**nʹiːs muː spɑːs**	**(Nʹiːs moː)**
(…with Definite Head Noun)		
rothar an bhuachalla eile	rəhər ə**N** **L**ʹæd ɛlʹɪ	rəhər ə**N** bʊxɪ**L**ʹ ɛlʹɛ
i gContae an Chláir	**ᵊgoːNdẽ xLɑˑᴵrʹ**	**(æs) kəNdẽ ᵊxLɑːᴵrʹ**

[1] Sentence-initial vocative construction.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
. . . ə x′ɑːʲⁱn′ ∼ ə x′ɑːn′. . . [*x*2][1]	. . . ə x′ɑˑʲn′ ∼ x′ɑːn′ . . . [*x*2][1]
(. . . wæːl′ɛ) wɑːʳr′ɛ	(. . . wæːl′ɛ) wɑːr′ɛ
ə fɑːʳʃt′iː . . . [*x*2][1] ∼ **ə fɑːstʃiˑ . . .** [1]	ə ʃɪp′ʃɪ ɣaːsuʲⁱr′ . . .[1] ∼ ɣaˑsur′. . .[1]
. . . ə ʔærə	. . . æːrᵊv′ ∼ . . . æːrʲb′
Laːn . . . Laːn maːm . . . maːm fatɪ	**Lɑːn mo wəʃɛʃɛ**[2] ∼ **Lɑːn mə Lək′**[3] **ə v′æˑti**
n′iˑs . . . n′iːs muː spɑːs [*x*3]	**n′iːs muˑ smɑːs** (sic)
rəhər ᵊ**N** wuːᵊxɪ**L′** ɛl′ɛ	rəhər ə**N** wuˑᵊxɪ**L′** ɛl′ɛ
(oː wiːn′ɛ ʔɛs[4]**) kənde n̩ xLɑːr′**	**(oˑ wiːn′t′ɪr′) xuːNdeː N̩ xLɑːr′**

[1] Sentence-initial vocative construction.

[2] ". . . lán mo bhoise-se . . ."

[3] ". . . lán mo ghlaice [i bhfataí?]. . ."

[4] ". . . ó dhaoine as . . ."

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
NOMINAL INFLECTION		
(Nouns in the Vocative Case)		
(sg.)		
a Sheáin!	. . . xʹɑːnʹ ∼ xʹɑːNʹ . . . [1]	. . . ə xʹɑːnʹ ∼ ə xʹɑːnʹ . . . [1]
(. . . abhaile) a Mháire!	. . . wɑːrʹɪ	. . . wɑːrʹɪ
(pl.)		
a ghasúra!	ə ɣaˈsurʹ . . . [1] ∼ . . . ə ɣaˈsuˈrʹ ɣaːsuˈrʹ . . . [1] ∼ **. . . ᵊɣaːsuᴵrʹ**	ə ɣaːsurʹ . . . [1] [*x*2] **ɣaːsuˈᴵrʹ . . .** [1]
a fheara!	. . . rʹ [*x*2]	
(Genitival Constructions with Indefinite Head Noun)		
glac/mám fhataí	**maːᵊm faːtiː**	**maːm paːtiˈ**
scian coise duibhe		
níos mó spáis	**nʹiːs mu spɑːs**	**nʹiːs muː spɑːs**
(. . . with Definite Head Noun)		
rothar an bhuachalla eile	rəːr nə muᵊxɪLʹiː ∼ rəːr Nə moxɪLʹiː	rəːr n̩ boˈxɪLʹ ɛlʹɛ . . . n̩ woˈxɪLʹ ɛlʹɪ
i gContae an Chláir	**ɪ kõːNteː . . .** **kõNte ᵊ̃xLɑːrʹ**	**ɪ gũːNtẽˈ xLɑˈᴵrʹ**

[1] Sentence-initial vocative construction.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
. . . ə xʹɑːᴵnʹ [*x*3] ∼ ə xʹɑːᴵnʹ . . . [1]	. . . ə xʹɑˑᴵnʹ [*x*3] ∼ xʹɑːnʹ . . . [1]	. . . ə xʹɑˑᴵnʹ ∼ xʹɑːᴵnʹ . . . [1] ∼ ʃɑː**N** . . . [1] [*x*2]
(. . . ᵊwæːlʹɛ) wɑːrʹɪ	(. . . ᵊwaˑlʹɪ) wɑˑᴵrʹɛ	(. . . ᵊwæːlʹə) wɑːrʹɪ
. . . ɣaːsuːᴵrʹ ∼ ᵊɣaːsuːrʹ . . . [1] ∼ **ɣaːsuːᴵrʹ . . .** [1]	ɣaˑsuˑᴵrʹ . . . [1] [*x*2] ∼ **ɣasuˑᴵrʹ . . .** [1] . . . ᵊæːrə	ᵊfɑːʃtʃiː . . . [1] [*x*2] **ə ɣasuᴵrʹ . . .** [1]
LɑːN **gLɛkʹɛ g aːtiː**	**Lɑː**N **mə ɣaᵘ**r**N**ə **ʤɛ ʔatiˑ**	**Lɑː**N **mə Lɛkʹɛ** **gə fatiˑ**
ˈʃkʹiˑᵊ**N** ə ˈxəʃ ˈdə	ʃkʹiːn ᵋ**L**ɑⁱvʹ də	ʃkʹiˑᵊ**N** **N**ə kəʃɪ dɪvʹɪ ∼ skʹiˑᵊ**N** **N**ə kəʃə dɪvʹɪ
nʹiːs muː spɑːs	**nʹiːs muˑ spɑːs**	**nʹiːs muː spɑːsə**[2]
rəhoːᴵrʹ ᵊ**N** buːᵊxɪ**L**ʹ ɛlʹɛ	bəⁱsɪkʹɪlʹ fʹæˑr ɛlʹɛ	(rəhər lʹɛʃ ə məxɪ**L**ʹ ɛlʹɛ)
(oː wiːnʹtʹərʹ) xuˑNtɛ̃ **ə̃ xLɑːᴵrʹ**	**gəNde xLɑːrʹ**	**ə gəNdɛ̃ n xLɑˑᴵrʹ**

[1] Sentence-initial vocative construction. [2] Invariable form.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

	M 70	*F 60+*
NOMINAL INFLECTION		
(Nouns in the Vocative Case)		
(sg.)		
a Sheáin!	xʹɑːᴵnʹ…[1] ∼ xʹɑˑnʹ…[1]	…ə xʹɑˑᴵnʹ [*x*2] ∼ xʹɑːᴵnʹ…[1]
(…abhaile) a Mháire!	(…əˈwaːlʹɛ) wɑːrʹɛ	(…wæˑlʹɛ) wɑˑᴵrʹɛ
(pl.)		
a ghasúra!	ɣaːsuːᴵrʹ…[1] ∼ ɣaˑsuᴵrʹ…[1] ∼ **ɣasuᴵrʹ…**[1] ∼ **(Naˑrə)**[2] **faˑʃtʹiː …**[1]	ə ɣaːsurʹ…[1] ∼ **faːʃtʃiː …**[1] ∼ **paːʃtʃiː …**[1]
a fheara!		
(Genitival Constructions with Indefinite Head Noun)		
glac/mám fhataí	**LɑˑN mɑːd… Lɑːŋ gLɪkʹɛ g aˑtiˑ**	**LɑːN mə Laʲvʹ gə ʔætiˑ**
scian coise duibhe	skʹiːᵊ**N** **N**ə kɪʃɛ dɪlʹi[3]	(skʹiˑ**N** ə rə kəʃ ɣəʰ iːntʃə)
níos mó spáis	**nʹiːs muː spɑːs**	**nʹiːs moˑ spɑːs**
(…with Definite Head Noun)		
rothar an bhuachalla eile	rʊhʊr ə wʊhɛlʹ ɛlʹɛ	rəhər ə**N** wuᵊxɪ**L**ʹ ɛlʹɛ
i gContae an Chláir	**ɪ gʊːnde ŋ xLɑːrʹ**	**(diːnʹɪ) gũːtɛ xLɑːrʹ… (ə wɪntʃɪrʹ) xũːtɛ xLɑːrʹ**

[1] Sentence-initial vocative construction. [2] "Ara, …" [3] "Doilí"?

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
. . . ᵊxʹɑnʹ ∼ . . . ᵊxʹænʹ	. . . ᵊxʹɑˈnʹ ∼ ∫ãˑ . . .[1] ∼ xʹɑˈnʹ. . .[1] ∼ xʹɑːnʹ. . .[1]	. . . ∫ɑˑ**N** ∼ ∫ɑː**N**. . .[1] [*x*2]
(. . . tʊsə) wɑːrʹɛ	. . . ə ˈwɑːˈrʹɛ	(gə vaːlʹɛ) vɑːrʹɛ[2]
. . . ə fɑːʃtʹ ∼ . . . ᵊfɑːʃtʹiː ∼ . . . fɑːʃtʹiˑ ∼ **. . . fɑːʃtʹiˑ**	ə fɑːʃtʹiː . . .[1] ∼ ə fɑːstʹiː . . .[1] **ə fɑːʃtʹi . . .**[1]	**gaːsuːrʹ. . .**[3]
	. . . ʔæːrə	. . . æːrə
gʟækʹiːnʹ bʹɛg faːtiː	**sʟɑːm . . .** ˈ**gʟɛkʹ faːtiː**	**gʟak fatiː**
(fiˑnʹ) ˈʃkʹiˑᵊn ə ˈxəʃ ˈdə	(fʷiː ʃkʹiːn . . . [?] . . . ˈfʹiːnə xəʃ dʊ)	(skʹiˑᵊ**N** lʹɛ **ʟ**ɑːˈvʹ dʊ)
nʹiːs mo spɑːs	**nʹiːs mʊː spɑːs**	**nʹiːs mʊː spɑːs**
baʲsɪkʹɪlʹ nə lʹædz ɛlʹɛ	baʲsɪkʹɪlʹ ɛn buᵊxɪ**ʟ**ʹ ɛlʹɛ	bəʲsɪkʹɪlʹ. . . ᵊv[4] . . . buᵊxɪ**ʟ**ʹ ɛlʹɛ
(oː wiˑnʹtʹərʹ) xʊNtẽˑ ᵊxʟɑːrʹ	**(ɑˑ wiˑnʹtʹɪrʹ) xəNdɛ xʟɑːrʹ**	**(oː Nə duʲnʹiː) gəNtɛ xʟɑːrʹ**

[1] Sentence-initial vocative construction. [2] "Gabh abhaile, a Mháire!"

[3] However, when prompted for "Children!" in Part One, the informant remarked that "We really wouldn't say *Gasúir!*". [4] English "of"?

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
NOMINAL INFLECTION		
(Genitival Constructions, Cont'd.)		
trasna na sráide	**tʹrʹæsnə Nə srɑːdʹɪ**	**tʹrʹæsnə Nə srɑːdʹ (ɛ)**[1]
le taobh an chnoic	**lʹɛ tiːvʹ əN ɑːrdɑːN . . . Nu əN ɑːɪlʹtʹ**[2]	**(n̩ tiːw ɛlʹɛ gə̃ xNʊkɑːN)**
os comhair an tí	ɛgʹ təsəx ᵊtʹi . . . ɛgʹ təsəx ə tʹiː	(tɪvʹ ᵊmʊ gəN tʹæx)
ar chúl an tí	(tʹiːv [sic] hiːˈᵊr gəN tʹæx) . . . ɛ kuːˈL ə tʹiː	ɛrʹ xuːˈL n̩ tʹiː
os comhair an fhir mhóir	ɛgʹ təsəx əN fʹæːr moːrʰ	(ʔəN tʊs[3] ɛrʹ ə vʹæːr moːr)
os comhair an fhir eile	ɛgʹ təsəx əN fʹær ɛlʹɪ (∼ rɪvʹ əN fʹær ɛlʹɪ)	(N tʊs[2] ɛrʹ ə vʹæːr ɛlʹɛ)
tar éis an dinnéir	**tar eːʃ ə dʹiːnʹɛrʹ**	**r ɛʃ ə dʹiːnʹeːrʹ**
tar éis an bhricfeasta	**tər heːʃ n̩ vʹrʹɪkʹfʌstə**	**hr eːʃ n̩ vʹrʹɪkʹfɑːst**
le haghaidh a dhinnéir	**lʹenə jiːnʹɛr**	**(ɛgʹ ʔjiːnʹeːr)**

[1] The disjunctive pronoun *é*.

[2] "... an áilt" (= "... na haille"; cf. FGB.)

[3] "chun tosaigh ..."

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
t̪r′æːsnə nə srɑːᴵd′ɛ	**trasnə ɴ trɑːd′**
ɛr′ xuːʟ əɴ xɴök′[1]	**(ᴵŋar gə̃ xɴʊk)**
ɛr′ ˈaⁱ ɴ̩ ˈdɛʔ . . .[2]	æs koˑʷᴵr′ ᴵt′iː)
ɛr xuːʟ ə t′iːʲᵊ	(xo?) xuˑʟ ə t′iˑ
ɛr′ . . . aⁱ ɴ f′æːr moˑr ɛr′ huːʟə . . . əɴ f′æːr moːr[1]	əs koˑʷᴵr′ ɴ̩′ æˑr moːrʰ
ɛr′ xuːʟə . . . ᵊɴ f′æːr ɛlʲ′ɪ[1]	əs kuˑr′ ɴ̩′ æːr ɛlʲ′ɛ
tʲ′ᴵr′ eːʃ ᵊd′iːnʲ′eːr	**hær ɛʃ ə ʤiːnʲ′ɛːr**
t′ər′ eːʃ v′r′ɪk′fʌstə̥	**r eːʃ ə b′r′ɪk′fɑst**
lʲ′eˑ d′iːnʲ′ɛr	**lʲ′ɛnə jiːnʲ′eːrʰ**

[1] The informant had problems in translating the English phrase "in front of", and often preferred to translate the English phrase "behind" instead.

[2] The informant meant to produce "ar aghaidh an dorais". A discussion followed, with the examples [ɛr′ aⁱ ɴə fʷɪɴ′oːⁱg′ɪ] ("ar aghaidh na fuinneóge") and [ɛr′ xuːʟ ə t′iː] ("ar chúl an tí") given by the informant.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
NOMINAL INFLECTION		
(Genitival Constructions, Cont'd.)		
trasna na sráide	**traːsnə ɴ trɑːdʹ**	**træsNə**[1] **n̩ traːˈdʹ**∼ **træsNə**[1] **Nə srɑːdʹɛ**
le taobh an chnoic	**ɴ̩ ækʹɛ nə hæːLʹɛ** ∼ **ɴ̩ ækʹ ɴ̩ æːLʹ** ∼ **lʹɛ tiːv ɴ̩ æːLʹ**	**lʹe hæːʃ ɴ̩ . . .** **lʹ æːʃ n̩ ɑːLʹ**
os comhair an tí	ɛrʹ eˑ nʹ tʹiːᵊ ∼ ɛrʹ ɛⁱ nʹ tʹæx	ɛrʹ əiː n tʹɛːx ∼ ɛrʹ əi n tʹiː
ar chúl an tí	ɛr xuˑ**L** n tʹiː	ɛr xu**ːL** n̩ tʹɛːx ∼ ɛr xu**ːL** n̩ tʹi
os comhair an fhir mhóir	ɛrʹ əⁱ ə**Nʹ** æˑr moːr	ɛr əi **Nʹ** ær moːr[3]
os comhair an fhir eile	ɛr əⁱ ᵊ**Nʹ** æːr ɛlʹɪ	ɛr əi **ɴ̩ʹ** ær ɛlʹɪ[3]
tar éis an dinnéir	**r eⁱʃ** [*x*2] **ə dʹiːnʹær**	**r aⁱʃ ə dʹiːNʹɛr**
tar éis an bhricfeasta	**r eːʃ m̩ʹrʹɪkʹfɑːst**[2]	**r eⁱʃ ə vʹrʹɪkʹfɑːst**
le haghaidh a dhinnéir	**lʹeː dʹiːnʹeːr . . .** **(lʹeː dʹiːnʹɛːr ɑːlʹ)** ∼ **lʹɛnə jiːnʹɛr**	**lʹeː dʹiːnʹɛr** ∼ **(ɛrʹ dʹiːnʹɛr)** ∼ **lʹɛ dʹiːnʹɛr** **(**∼ **lʹeː dʹiːnʹɛr ɑːlʹ)**

[1] The first two consonants are unpalatalised, despite the fronted and raised quality of the following vowel. [2] "tar éis a mbricfeasta".

[3] Cf. also the phrases **[ɴ ɑːtʹ . . . Nə kʹĩː vʹɛgə]** ("in áit na gceann beag") and **[Lʹæːbə Nə kʹĩː vʹɛgə]** ("i leaba na gceann beag") in II.17, where not only the nominative plural forms of noun and adjective are used

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
traːsNə Nə srɑːdʹɛ	**tʹrʹæsnə n̩ woːhɪrʹ**	**tʹrʹæsNə Nə srɑːɟɛ**
lʹɛ tiːvʹ ə xNəkʹ	**lʹɛ tiːvʹ ə̃ xNʊk**	**(ə Naːr gə xNʊk)** **∼ (ə ŋaːr gə xrʊk)**
ɛrʹ ʌⁱ nʹ tʹiːʲᴵ	ᵊs kʊrʹ ə tʃiː	dəsəx N̩ tʃiː
ᴵguː**L** ə tʹiː	r xuː**L** ə tʃiː	ɛrʹ xuː**L**ə N̩ tʃiː
oːs koːrʹ ᴵ**N**ʹ ɪrʹ woːrʹ	os koˑʷɪrʹ ən fʹar moˑr	(ᴵdəsəx ɛrʹ ə vʹæːr moːr) ∼ ɛrʹ xuː**L** ᴱ**N**ʹ æːr . . . ɛnʹ ɪrʹ woːr (sic)[1] (**N**ʊ) ᴱ**N**ʹ æˑr moːr
ɛrʹ ʌⁱ N̩ʹ æːr ɛlʹɛ	os koˑʷɪrʹ ə fʹær ɛlʹɛ	ɛrʹ xuː**L**ə . . . ᴱ**N**ʹ æˑr ɛlʹɛ[1]
tʹrʹ eːʃ ə dʹiːnʹɛːrʹ	**hrʹ ɛʃ ə ɟiːnʹərʹ**	**h eːʃ aːm ɟiːnʹɛˑrʹ** **∼ h eːʃ ə dʹiːnʹeˑr** (sic)
tʹrʹ eːʃ bʹrʹɪkʹfɑːstə		**har eːʃ ə mʹeːlʹiˑ**[2]
lʹeˑⁱ hʌⁱ dʹiːnʹɛˑrʹ∼ **lʹɛ hʌⁱ dʹiːnʹɛːr** (sic)	**lʹənə jiːnər**	**lʹeˑ n̩ pɑːᴵʃtʃɛˑ**[3]

in place of the expected genitival forms, but where the appropriate initial mutations are also omitted.

[1] With the English preposition "behind" substituted for the phrase "in front of" in the stimulus sentence.

[2] ". . . tar éis a mbéile".

[3] ". . . le haghaidh an pháiste".

	M 70	*F 60+*
NOMINAL INFLECTION		
(Genitival Constructions, Cont'd.)		
trasna na sráide	**trasNə Nə srɑːdʹɛ**	**tʹrʹæsNᵊ N srɑːʤ (ɛ)**[1]
le taobh an chnoic	**(ˈN ækʹ [n̩] tiːv ɛlʹɛ gə̃ xrʊk)**	**N ɛkʹ n̩ xrɛkʹ**
os comhair an tí	ɛrʹ əⁱ nʹ tʹiː	ɛrʹ əⁱ n̩ʹ tʃiː
ar chúl an tí	ɛrʹ kuːL ə tʹiː	ə xuˑL ə tʃiː
os comhair an fhir mhóir	ɛrʹ əⁱ Nʹ æˑr moːrʰ	ɛrʹ əⁱ n̩ʹ ɪrʹ voːrʹ
os comhair an fhir eile	ɛr eⁱ nʹ xʹɑːN ɛlʹɛ . . . Nʹ ˈɪrʹ ɛlʹɛ . . . ɛr ʌⁱ Nʹ ɪrʹ ɛlʹɛ	ɛrʹ ʌⁱ n̩ʹ ɛr ɛlʹɛ
tar éis an dinnéir	**ər eːʃ ə dʹiːNʹeˑrʹ**	**tʹrʹ ɛʃ əN dʹiːNʹɛːrʹ**
tar éis an bhricfeasta	**h iːʃ ə vʹrʹɪkʹfaˑstə . . .** **hər ˈiːʃ bʹrʹɪkʹfaˑstə**	**tʹrʹ eˑʃ ənʹ vʹrʹɪkʹfastə**
le haghaidh a dhinnéir	**lʹɛⁱ nʹ dʹiːNʹeːrʹ**	**lʹeˑ nʹ dʹiːnʹeˑrʹ . . .** **goːrʹ ʤiːnʹeːr** (sic) [2]

[1] The disjunctive pronoun *é*.

[2] ". . . i gcomhair dinnéir".

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
træːsnə[1] **n̩ trɑːd′**	**traːsNə N trɑːʤ**	**haːr′ gəⁿ srɑːd′** **. . . trɑsNᵊ . . .** **traˑsNə Nə srɑːd′ɛ**
(ɪ ŋaˑr gəŋ xrʊk) **. . . l′ɛ teːv əNə . . .** **. . . teˑv ə xruk**	**l′ɛ tiːv əN xrʊk**	**ɛr tiːv ə xrək,** **ɛr hiːv ə xrok**
(tiˑ ˈmʊ gən ˌt′iː [sic])	(tiˑv mʊ gə**N** t′æx)	təsəx ə tʃiː
ɛr′ xʊːl ᵊn′ t′ɪː	(tiːv hiᵊr gə . . .) ɛr′ ˈxuː**L** n̩′ ˈtʃiː	(tiˑ hiˑᵊr gən′ tʃæːx)
ɛr′ ˌɛⁱ n̩′ f′ær ˈmoˑrʰ	(ɛr . . . təsə ɛr′ æːr moːr . . . təsə ɛr′ v′æːr moːr)	ə təsəx ə f′æːr moːr′ . . . ᵊtəsəx ə f′æˑr moːr′
ɛr′ ɛⁱ ˈ**N**ə . . . ᵊn′ fæˑr ɛl′ɛ	(tiːv hijər gə**N** ʔæːr moːr . . . tiˑv hiᵊr jɛ ʃm′)[2]	tiːv əˈmə gə**N** f′æˑr moːr′ . . . gə̃ f′æːr ɛl′ɛ . . . tiv′ ᵊmʊ gᵊ f′æːr moˑʔ . . . f′æːr ˈɛl′ɛ[2]
ˈr eːʃ ə d′iːn′ɛr′	**tər ˈeˑʃ ə ʤiːn′ɛr**	**t′ᵊr′ eːʃ ə ʤiːn′ær**
h eʃ əN [*x*2] **v′r′ɪk′fast**	**tʌr′ ˈeːʃ ə v′r′ɪk′fʌstə**	**t′ᴱr′ ˈeˑʃ . . . t′ᵊr′ ˈeʃ** **ə v′r′ɪk′fæstə**
l′ɛⁱ n′ d′iːn′ɛr	**(ɛr′ ə jiːn′ɛr)**	**l′ɛnə jiːn′ɛr′**

[1] The first two consonants are unpalatalised, despite the fronted and raised quality of the following vowel.

[2] The informant seems confused at this point.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
(Genitival Constructions in Progressive Verb Phrases)		
ag tabhairt scine (chugainn)	t′uˑrt′ skʹiˑ**N** (a**N** [sic])	t′uːrt′ skʹiˑᵊn (ãˑ[**N**′])
ag bualadh an bhuachalla	**buᵊLə Ṇ wʊᵊxɪL′**	**buᵊLə ʔəN wʊᵊxɪr′** (sic)
ag lorg Mháire	ə kuˑᵊrtu wɑrʹɪ	ə kər tuːrʹɪʃkʹ (ərʹ wɑːʲrʹɪ)
ag lorg Bhríd	ə kuᵊrtʊ vʹrʹiˑdʹ	ə toˑriˑəxt vʹrʹiːdʹ
ag coinneáil Sheáin	ᵊkɪ**N**′ɑ**L** xʹɑˑʲnʹ	kɪ**N**′ɑˑ**L** xʹɑːʲnʹ
(Progressive Verb Phrases with a Pronominal Direct Object[1]*)*		
do do choinneáil	ᵊgə də xɪ**N**′ɑ**L**	gə mə xɪ**N**′ɑˑ**L** [x2]
(Embedded Genitival Constructions in Progressive Verb Phrases)		
ag lorg theach Mháire	ᵊkuˑᵊrtu tʹæx wɑrʹɪ	tʊrʹᵉəxt tʹæx wɑːʲrʹə
ag lorg theach na mná eile	ə kuˑᵊrtu tʹæx ə**N** vʹæ**N** ɛlʹɪ	ᵊtorʹʲəxt tʹæx ə vʹæ**N** ɛlʹɛ

[1] This item is included here for convenience.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
ᵊt′uˑrt′ sk′iᵊ**N** (hʊgɪ**N**′)	t′urt′ ʃk′iːᵊ**N** (æˑn′)
bʊᵊLə n̩ wʊxɛL′	**ɛg′ buːLə N̩ wuᵊxɪL′**
ə kɪr tuːr′ɪʃk′ wɑːˈr′ɛ	ᵊkr̩ tuˈr′ɪʃk′ wɑːˈr′ɛ
ə kɪr tuːr′ɪʃk′ v′r′iːd′	kortuˑ v′r′iːd′
ᵊkə**N**′ɑˑ**L** ʃɑːᵘ**N**	kɪ**N**′ɑː**L** x′ɑːˈn′
gə də xɪ**N**′ɑˑ**L**	ᵊdə xɪ**N**′ɑː**L**sə[1] ∼ də xə**N**′ɑː**L**sə[1]
əg̊ toːriˑəxt t′æx wɑːⁱr′ɛ	kʊrtuˑ t′æx wɑːˈr′ɛ
ɛg′ toːriˑəxt t′æx ə v′æˑ**N** ɛl′ɛ	ᵊgʊrtəʔ . . . t′æx ᵊm′æˑ**N** ɛl′ɛ (sic)

[1] With the emphatic particle.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
(Genitival Constructions in Progressive Verb Phrases)		
ag tabhairt scine (chugainn)	t′uˑrt′ skʹiˑəN (æN′)	t′uˑrt′ skʹiːᵊN (æN′)
ag bualadh an bhuachalla	**boˑL ə̃ wəxɪL′** ∼ **bʌLə** [*x*2] **wəxɪL′**	**bʊːLə n̩ wʊxɪL′**
ag lorg Mháire	(ə f′eroˑ fiˑ[1] wɑːr′ɪ) ∼ ə səlɑːr[2] wɑːr′ɪ	(ə f′eːruː fiː[1] . . .) ∼ kr̩ tuːr′ɪʃk′ wɑːr′ɪ
ag lorg Bhríd	(ə f′eˑroː fi[1] v′r′iːd′) ∼ ə səlɑːr[2] v′r′eːd′ ∼ ə kortuˑ v′r′iːd′ ∼ ə səlɑr v′r′iːd′	kr̩ tuːr′ɪʃk′ v′r′iːd′ (ə f′eːruː fiː[1] v′r′iːd′)
ag coinneáil Sheáin	kɪN′ɑˑL ʃɑːn′	ᵊkɪN′ɑːl′ ʃɑːN
(Progressive Verb Phrases with a Pronominal Direct Object[3])		
do do choinneáil	də xɪN′ɑːL	də xɪN′ɑl′ [*x*2]
(Embedded Genitival Constructions in Progressive Verb Phrases)		
ag lorg theach Mháire	kortuˑ ∼ ə toːr′eᵊxt t′æx wɑːr′ə	aˑ koːrtuˑ t′ɛˑx wɑːr′ɪ
ag lorg theach na mná eile	toːr′iᵊxt t′æˑx . . . əN v′æˑN ɛl′ɪ	ə koːrtuˑ t′ɛˑx n̩ v′æN ɛl′ɪ

[1] "...ag fiafraí faoi ...".

[2] "...ag soláthar ..." Prompted by *F 72*.

[3] This item is included here for convenience.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
t′uːrt′ ʃk′iˑᵊ**N** (aːgɪm′)	tʃüˑrtʃ ʃk′iˑᵊ**N** (ãˑ**N**′)	ə tʃuˑrt′ skʲ′iˑᵊ**N** (agɪ**N**′)
buːLə Ṇ wuːxɪl′	**buˑLə n̩ bʊxɪL′**[1]	**buːLə n̩ wɔxɪL′**
ᵋkɪr′ tuːr′ɪʃk′ (fʷiˑ waːr′ɛ ∼ f′eruː fʷiˑ waːr′ɛ)	ᵊtoːr′iᵊxt maˑᶦr′ɛ	(ᶦf′iˑᵊruː fʷiˑ waˑᶦr′ɛ)
koːrtuː (w?)r′iːd′	ᵊtoˑr′iəxt b′r′iːd′	ɛg′… koˑrtuˑ v′r′iːʤ
(ɣaː xɪ**N**′aː**L**)	ᵊkɪ**N**′aˑl′ ʃaːn	ᵊkɪ**N**′aː**L** x′aː**N**
də xɪ**N**′aː**L**	gə də xɪ**N**′aːl′	ᵊdə xɪ**N**′aˑ**L** … gʊ də xʊ**N**′aˑ**L**
ᵊkʊːrtuˑ t′æˑx waːr′ɛ	toˑr′iəxt t′ɛx waːⁱr′ɛ	koˑrtuˑ tʃæx waːᶦr′ɪ
ᵊkortuˑ b′æː**N**/ t′æˑx Ṇ v′æˑ**N** ɛl′ɛ	ə toˑr′iəxt t′æx ə wa… ə v′æː**N** ɛl′ɛ	ᵊkoːrtuˑ tʃæx **N**ᵊʔ … Ṇ v′æː**N** ɛl′ɛ ∼ tʃɛx **N**ə m**N**aː ɛl′ɛ

[1] The plural form of this phrase is given as [ᵊbu**L**ə **N**ə buᵊxɪl′iː], again with no initial mutation on the noun to mark the genitive case.

	M 70	*F 60+*
(Genitival Constructions in Progressive Verb Phrases)		
ag tabhairt scine (chugainn)	tʃur sk′iːᵊ**N** (xə fadə l′əm) … tʃurt sk′iːᵊn′ (l′ʊm) … tʃuːrt′ ʃk′iə**N** (æː**N**′) …sk′æ**N** (æː**N**′)	ɛg′ tʃuːrtʃ sk′iːᵊn (agɪ**N**′)
ag bualadh an bhuachalla	**buᵊLə n̩ wuᵊxi** [1] **(goːl′ orəb …** **ɛ goːl′ orəb** **∼ ˈɑː muᵊLə)**	**(goːl′ ɛr′ ə ŋaːsuːr)** ɪg′ buᵊ**L** **N̩** paːʃ … **N̩** ɣaːsur … **N̩** paːʃt′ɛ
ag lorg Mháire	ɪg′ iːrə wɑːˈr′ɛ … (ə f′iːriː [*x*2] fiː wɑːr′ɛ) …ᵊg′ iːrə wɑːr′ɛ	æg′ f′iːᵊriː vɑːr′ɛ ∼ ə kʊr′ k′ɛʃtʃ (fʷiː wɑːr′ɛ)
ag lorg Bhríd	ᵊg′ iːrə v′r′iːd′	ɛg′ **L**ərᵊg v′r′iːd′ ∼ ə kʊːrtu v′r′iːʤ
ag coinneáil Sheáin	kɪ**N**′ɑːl′ x′ɑːˈn′	ə kɪ**N**′ɑː**L** x′ɑːˈn′
(Progressive Verb Phrases with a Pronominal Direct Object[2]*)*		
do do choinneáil	də xɪ**N**′ɑː**L** [*x*2]	də xɪ**N**′ɑː**L**
(Embedded Genitival Constructions in Progressive Verb Phrases)		
ag lorg theach Mháire	toːr′iᵊxt t′æx wɑːˈr′ɛ	ɛg′ **L**ɔrᵊg tʃɛx vɑːr′ɛ
ag lorg theach na mná eile	ᵊtoːr′iːᵊxt …tʃɛx ə v′æ**N** ɛl′ɛ [*x*2] ∼ tʃɛx **N**ə mɴɑː ɛl′ɛ [*x*2][3]	ɛr′ **L**ərᵊg ə**N** tʃɛx ɛl′ɛ … ɛg′ **L**ərᵊg tʃæx ə**N** v′æːɴ ɛl′ɛ

[1] This unusual form, which could also be represented as **[wuᵊxij]**, results from the conversion of final **[L′]** to the palatal glide **[j]**, a phenomenon characteristic of this informant. Cf. **[buᵊxəjiː]**(= *buachaillí*) in II.1. Cf. also **[kəl′əx kəjɛ]** (= *coileach coille*), elicited from M 82 in Item 838 of the *LASID* questionnaire administered at Corrúch, Inis Mór. [2] This item is included here for convenience. [3] Both forms were repeated twice by the informant as equivalents of one another.

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
turt ʃkʹiᵊ**N** (ænʹ)	tuˑrt skʹiˑ**N** (æːnʹ)	tuˑrtʃ skʹiᵊ**N** (ɣuˑᶦnʹ)
ᵊbuᵊLə n buᵊxɪlʹ	**buaLə əN vʊᵊxɪlʹ**	**buəLə ən buᵊxəlʹ** ∼ **buᵊLə n̩ buᵊxəlʹ**
(ə fʹiᵊrə fiː vɑːrʹɛ)	(ə fʹiˑᵊriː kʹe xɪ rə mɑːrʹɛ)	ᵋgʹ iːrə mɑːrʹɛ
kʊrtuː ᵊvʹrʹiːdʹ	kʊːrtu vʹrʹiːʤ	kʊːrtuˑ bʹrʹiːʤ
kɛ**N**ʹaˑlʹ ʃaˑnʹ	kɪ**N**ʹɑˑlʹ ʃɑː**N**	kɪ**N**ʹɑˑ**L** ʃɑˑn
də xə**N**ʹʌlʹ	də xə**N**ʹɑlʹ	dᵊ xə**N**ʹɑl
kʊˑrtuː tʹæˑx vɑːrʹɛ	kʊːrtu tʹæx vɑːrʹɛ	kʊˑrtuː tʹɛx vɑːrʹɛ
ə kʊrtuˑ və … ᵊnʹ tʹɛx ə vʹæˑ**N** ɛlʹɛ	kʊːrtu tʹæx n̩ʹ vʹæː**N** ɛlʹɛ[1]	ᵊkʊrtuː tʃɛx ənʹ vʹæˑ**N** ɛlʹɛ

[1] Cf. also [tʃæx n̩ vʹæː**N** woːr] and [tʹæx n̩ʹ æːr ɛlʹɛ] in I.35.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
NOMINAL INFLECTION		
(Miscellaneous Plural Noun Forms)		
na cinn	**Nə** k′iˑ**N′** ∼ **Nə k′iːn′** [$x2$]	**Nə** k′i**ːN′** ∼ **Nə k′iːn′** [$x2$]
a gcairde	**(ᵊgʊd′) kaːrd′ɪ**	**(ə gɪd′ giːLtə)** ∼ **(ə gɪd′) kɑːrtiː)**
a gceachtanna	**(ə) g′æxtə**	**(ə) g′æˑxtə**
(Gender Assignment in Nouns)		
an phian	**N̩ p′iˑən**	**n′ f′iːᵊN**
an mhuc	**N** wɪk′	ᵊwʊk′ . . .

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
(Nə rədiˑ) ∼ **(nə rədiː)** ∼ **(nə rədiˑ)**	Nə kʹiːNʹ ∼ **Nə kʹiːnʹ** [x2]
(ə gɪʤ) kɑːrʤɛ	**(ə gɪdʹ dɪːnʹi mʷiːnʹtʹrʹəxə)**
(nə) kʹæxtə	**(tɑ gɪdʹ) kʹæxtɪˑ**
n̩ʹ fʹiːˑᵊN ∼ n̩ fʹiːᵊn	**m pʹeˑN̩**
N wɪkʹ	**N** wɪkʹ

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
NOMINAL INFLECTION		
(Miscellaneous Plural Noun Forms)		
na cinn	(**N**ə rədiː) [*x*2] ∼ **Nə kʹ͡ʲiː** ∼ **Nə kʹ͡ʲiːNʹ**	**N**ə kʹiː**N**ʹ ∼ **Nə kʹ͡ʲiːNʹ** ∼ **Nə kʹ͡ʲiː** [*x*2]
a gcairde	**(ə) gɑːrdʹɪ** ∼ **(ə) gɑːrdʹiː**	**(ə) gɑːrdʹɛ** [*x*2]
a gceachtanna	**(ə gɪʤ) kʹæːxtə**	**(ə) gʹɛːᵊxt** ∼ **(ə gʊʤ) kʹɛːxtə**
(Gender Assignment in Nouns)		
an phian	**N fʹiːʲəN**	**n̩ pʹeːᵊn** [*x*2]
an mhuc	**N** wɪkʹ	ə**N** wɪkʹ

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
Nə k′iːN′ ∼ **Nə k′iːn′** [*x*2]	nɪ k′m′ ∼ **nə k′ĩː** [*x*2]	(**Nə** rʊdiː) [*x*2] ∼ **Nə k′iːn′** ∼ **(Nə rədiː/nə rədi)** ∼ **nə k′iːn′**
(ə gɪʤ kəmrɑːdəxiː **∼ ə gʊd′ kəmpɑːNiˑ)**	**(ə) gɑrʤɛ**	**(ə gɪʤ) kɑːrʤɛ**
(tɑː gʊd′) k′æxtə	**(ə) g′axtə**	**(tə gɪʤ) k′æxtə**
m̩′ p′eːᵊN [*x*3]	**n′ f′iᵊn**	**n̩′ p′iˑᵊn**
ə̃ wɪk′	**N** mʊk	ᵊ**N** wɪk′

	M 70	*F 60+*
NOMINAL INFLECTION		
(Miscellaneous Plural Noun Forms)		
na cinn	(**Nə** rʊdiː ∼ **Nə rədiˑ** [*x*3])	(**Nə** rədiˑ ∼ **Nə** rədiː ∼ **Nə** rʊdi) ∼ **Nə kʹiːNʹ** ∼ **(Nə rʊdiː)**
a gcairde	**(ə gɪʤ) kɑːrdʹɛ**	**(ə gɪʤ) kɑːrʤɛ**
a gceachtanna	**(ə gɪdʹ) kʹæxtə**	**(ə) gʹæːxt**
(Gender Assignment in Nouns)		
an phian	**ɛn pʹiᵊN** ∼ **n pʹiᵊnʹ (tʹrʹiːdʹ)**	**n fʹiˑᵊn**
an mhuc	ə**N** wɪkʹ	**N** wɪkʹ

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
(nə rʊdiˑ ∼ **Nə/nə rʊdiː)** [x2]	(**N**ə rədiˑ ∼ **[N**ə**]** **rʊdi**ˑ [x2])	(nə kəd′[1] ∼ **N**ə **rʊdi**ː [x2])
(ᵊ**gɪʤ** [x2]**)** **kəmpɑːNiː)**	**(**ə**)** **gɑːrʤɛ**	**(**ə **gʊʤ)** **kaːrʤɛ**
(tʌ gɪʤ) **k′æːxtəNi**ˑ	**(tɑː gɪd′)** **k′æ. . .** **(tə) g′æˑxt . . .** **(tə gɪd′)** **k′æˑxt**ᵊ**Niː**	**(**ə **gʊʤ** **k′l′æˑxti**ˑ**)**
n′ p′iᵊ**n**	**m p′i**ˑᵊ**N**	**m p′iːaN**
(m′ p′ɪg′) . . . ᵊn məkˌ	ŋ mʊk	n mɪk′

[1] "na cuid" (sic). This unusual plural form also occurs in I.23 in the informant's translation of the stimulus sentence "You need smaller ones": [tᵊ kəʤ n′iˑs **L**uː wɛb′].

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
ADJECTIVAL INFLECTION		
(Lenition of Singular Adjectives Modifying Feminine Singular Nouns)		
(bean) mhór dheas	**(bʹæːn) moːr dʹæˑs**	**(. . . vʹæˑn) woːr,** **(bʹæːn) vʹrʹɑː**
(bean) shlachtmhar	**(bʹæːn) sʟaxtər**	**hʟaxtər**
(bean) fholláin/shláintiúil	**(bʹæːn) sʟɑˑnʹtʹulʹ**	**(bʹæːn) fəʟɑˑnʹ**
(bean) thábhachtach	**(bʹæˑn) tɑˑwəxtəx**	**(bʹæːn ᵊtɑ** **ʔmoːr lʹeˑ rɑː)**
(cloch) mhór	(k**ʟ**əx) woˑr	(k**ʟ**əx) woːr
(ar an gcloch) mhaol	**(eˑrʹ ɴ̩ gʟɔx) wiˑʟ**	**(ɛrʹ ə gʟaʲ)**
(cos/lámh) dhubh	(lɑvʹ) duˑ	(**ʟ**ɑːˈvʹ) dᵊu
(Plural Adjectival Forms)		
(éadaí) salacha	(də xᵊdʹ eːdiˑ) saˑ**ʟ**əx	(ʔə gʊdʹ eːdiː) saː**ʟ**əxə
(na cinn) mhóra	**(ɴə kʹiːnʹ) moːrə**	**(ɴə kʹiːnʹ) oːrə**
(na cinn) bheaga	**(ɴə kʹiːnʹ) vʹɛgə**	**(ɴə kʹiːnʹ) vʹɛgə**[1]

[1] Note the singular diminutive form [kʹɑːˈɴʹiːɴʹ] (= *ceann beag*) in I.23.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
(bʹæːn) bʹrʹɑː moːrʹ (sic)	**(bʹæːn) ɑːLɪnʹ**
(bʹæːn) ɣahulʹ[1]	**(bʹæˑn) dæːuˑlʹ**[1]
(bʹæːn) sLaˑnʹtʹuˑlʹ	**(bʹæn) sLænʹtʹulʹ**
(bʹæːn) tʌwəxtəx	**(b̥ʹæːn ə wɪlʹ kɑːˈlʹ ərə)**
(k**L**ɔx) woːr	(k**L**əx) woːr
(ɛrʹ ə gLəx) Lʊːm	**(ɛrʹ ə gaːrɪgʹ)**
(kəʃ) ɣuˑ	(kəʃ) ɣo
(**N**ə heːdiː) saː**L**əx	(də gʊdʹ eːᵊdiː) saː**L**əx
(nə rədiː) moːrə	**(nə kʹiːnʹ) woːrə**
(nə rədiˑ) bʹɛgə	**(nə kʹiːnʹ) vʹɛgə**

[1] "d(h)athúil".

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
ADJECTIVAL INFLECTION		
(Lenition of Singular Adjectives Modifying Feminine Singular Nouns)		
(bean) mhór dheas	**(ɪs d′æs mo:r ən v′æ:N i·)**	**(b′æ:n) d′æ:s mo:r**
(bean) shlachtmhar	**(b′æ:n) dæ:u:l′**	**(b′æ:n) dɛ:u:l′**
(bean) fholláin/shláintiúil	**(b′æ:n) fəLɑ:ˈn′**	**(b′æ:n) fʊLɑ·ˈn′**
(bean) thábhachtach	**(b′æ·n) təuxtəx**	**(b′æ:n) tɑ:wəxtəx**
(cloch) mhór	(k**L**əx) mo:r	(k**L**əx) mo:r
(ar an gcloch) mhaol	**(ɛr′ ə ga:rɪg′ Lʊ:m)**	**(ɛr′ əŋ ga:rɪg′ Lʊm)**
(cos/lámh) dhubh	(kəʃ) du·	(kəʃ) du:
(Plural Adjectival Forms)		
(éadaí) salacha	(ə **N**′e:di:) sa·**L**əx ∼ (ə gɪd′ e:di·) sa:**L**əx	(ə gɪd′ e:di) sa:**L**əx
(na cinn) mhóra	**(Nə k′ĩ:) wo:rə**	**(Nə k′ĩ:N′) o:rə**
(na cinn) bheaga	**(Nə k′ĩ:N′) ɛl′ɛ**	**(Nə k′ĩ:) v′ɛgə** [$x2$]

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
(bʹæːn) moːr ɑːLɪnʹ	**(bʹæːN) woːr tʃeːgərəx**[1]	**(bʹæˑn) bʹrʹɑː moːr**
(bʹæːn) dæːhuːˈlʹ	**dahuˑlʹ**	**(bʹæˑn) sLʌxtər**
(bʹæˑn) sLaʲnʹtʹuːˈlʹ	**sLɑːnʹtʹulʹ**	**(bʹæːn) sLaʲnʹtʃuˑlʹ**
(bʹæːn) tɑːwəxtəx	**tɑˑwəxtəx**	**(bʹæːn) kɑːʲuːlʹ**[3]
(k**L**əx) woːr	(k**L**əx) moːr	(k**L**əx) moːr
(ɛrʹ ə gLəx) ɣLas	**(ɛr ə gaːrɪgʹ) Lʊm**	**(ɛrʹ ɛn məLɑːn ʃɪnʹ)**[4]
(ˈʃkʹiˑᵊN ə ˈxəʃ) ˈdə	(ʃkʹiːn ᵋLɑʲvʹ) də	(ʃkʹiˑᵊN Nə kəʃɪ dɪvʹɪ ∼ skʹiˑᵊN Nə kəʃə dɪvʹɪ)
(də xʊɟ eːᵊdiː) saːLəxə ∼ (ə gʊɟ eːdiː) saˑLəx	(nʹeˑdəx saːLəx)[2]	(ə gɪɟ eːdiː) saˑLəxə
(Nə kʹiːnʹ) woːrə	**(nə kʹĩː) woːrə**	**(Nə kʹiːnʹ) woːrə ∼ (Nə rədiː/nə rədiˑ) moːrə**
(Nə kʹiːnʹ) vʹɛgə	**(Nə kʹĩː) vʹɛgəˑ**	**(nə kʹiːnʹ) vʹɛgə**

[1] "téagartha".

[2] "a n-éadach salach".

[3] "cáiliúil". Note the conversion of the liquid [lʹ] to the palatal glide [j], a phenomenon normally associated with the more strongly palatalised liquid [**L**ʹ]. (Cf. M 70 on Inis Meáin, for example).

[4] "ar an mbollán sin".

	M 70	*F 60+*
ADJECTIVAL INFLECTION		
(Lenition of Singular Adjectives Modifying Feminine Singular Nouns)		
(bean) mhór dheas	**(bʹæːn) woːr vʹrʹɑː** ∼ **(bʹæːn) jæs vʹrʹɑː**	**(ɪs bʹrʹɑː moːr ənʹ vʹæːN iˑ)**
(bean) shlachtmhar	**(bʹæːN) ɑːLɪNʹ**	**(bʹæːN) hLaːxtər**
(bean) fholláin/shláintiúil	**sLɑːnʹtʹuˑlʹ**	**(bʹæːN) ʔəLɑːnʹ**
(bean) thábhachtach	**tʌwəxtəx**	**(bʹæːN) tʌwəxtəx** ∼ **(bʹæːN) moːr lʹeˑ rɑː**
(cloch) mhór	(k**L**əx) woːr (ɛ) . . . (x**L**əx) woːr (i, iːː[1])	(k**L**əx) moːr (e)
(ar an gcloch) mhaol	**(ɛrʹ ə gaˑrɪgʹ Luˑm)**	**(ɛr Nə kLəxə Nəxte^{i})**[2]
(cos/lámh) dhubh	(skʹiːᵊN Nə kɪʃɛ dɪlʹi) (sic)	(kəʃ) ɣə^{h}
(Plural Adjectival Forms)		
(éadaí) salacha	(ə tʹeːdəx) saː**L**əx . . . (**N**ə ba**L**kɪʃiˑ) sa**L**^{ə}x	(də xɪʤ eːdiː) saː**L**əx
(na cinn) mhóra	**(Nə rədiˑ) moːrə**	**(Nə kʹiːNʹ) woːrə**
(na cinn) bheaga	**(Nə rədiˑ) bʹɛgə** [x2]	**(Nə rʊdiː) bʹɛgə**

[1] For emphasis.

[2] "... nochttha".

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
(bʹæːN . . . vʹæːN) moˑr ʤæˑs	**(bʹæːn) voːr jæːs**	**(bʹæːN) voːrʹ ʤæs**
(tə ʃiˑ ᵊbʹrʹæˑNuˑ gə ʤ . . . gə maː)	**(bʹæːn) sLaˑxtər**	**(bʹæn) dahuˑlʹ**
(agəs bʹrʹæˑNuː fʊLɑˑnʹ)	**(bʹæːn) əLanʹ**	**(bʹæn) sLɑːnʹtʹuˑlʹ**
(agəs tə ʃiː . . . t aːN taːwəxtəx)	**(bʹæːn iːNtəx) . . . (bʹæːn) taːwəxtə**[3]	**(bʹæn) tɑwəxtəx**
(. . . nə x**L**əx) moːrʹ (sic)[1]	(k**L**əx) voːr	(k**L**əx) moːr
(ɛrʹ . . . ə xLəx) gaːrᵊv . . . (ə xLəx Nɔxtiˑ . . . Loːm[2]**)** [*x*2]	**(ɛrʹ əN gLəx) ɣLas . . . (ɛr ə gLəx Loːm)**[2]	**(ɛrʹ ə gaːrɪgʹ Lʊːm)**
(ʃkʹiˑᵊn ə xəʃ) də	(fʹiːnə xəʃ) dʊ	(skʹiᵊn lʹɛ **L**ɑːˈvʹ) dʊ
(də xɪdʹ eːdiː) sa**L**əx	(də heːdiː) saˑ**L**əxə . . . (ᵊgəʤ eːdiˑ) saˑ**L**əx . . . (ᵊgəʤ eːdiˑ) saˑ**L**əxə . . .	(ə kʊʤ eːdiː) saː**L**əx . . . (vur eːdiː) saː**L**əx
(Nə rʊdiː) moːrə	**(Nə rʊdiˑ) moːrə**	**(Nə rʊdiː) moːrə**
(nə rʊdiː) bʹɛgə	**(rʊdiˑ) bʹɛgə**	**(Nə rʊdiː) bʹɛgə**

[1] ". . . ina chloch mhór". [2] After prompting. [3] After prompting with *tábhachtach*.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
ADJECTIVAL INFLECTION		
(Lenition of Nouns after Cardinal Numerals)[1]		
beirt daoine	**bʹɛrtʹ ḍiːnʹɛ ~ ɣɑː ɣɪnʹɛ**	**bʹɛrtʹ**
beirt siúinéirí	**ɣɑː xʹuːnʹɛːrə**	**ɣɑː ʃuːnʹeːrə**[2]
(Forms of Ordinal Numerals)[1]		
an dara duine	**əN daːrə fʹæːr**	**əN darə fʹæːr**
an tríú duine	**n̩ tʹrʹiːvə dɪnʹɛ**	**n̩ʹ tʹrʹiːwə fʹæːr ~ n̩ʹ tʹrʹiːwʊ fʹæːr**
(Miscellaneous: Lenition after "gach uile")[1]		
'chuile bhliain	xölʹe (sic) bʹlʹiᵉnʹ	xɪlʹɪ vʹlʹiːᵋnʹ

[1] This item is included here for convenience.

[2] After prompting with *siúinéara*.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
bʹɛrtʹ ∼ **bʹɛrtʹ æːr**	**bʹɛrtʹ wiːnʹɪ**
ɣɑː xaˑrpʹɪnʹtʹɛr ∼ **ɣɑː xʹuːnʹɛrə**	**ɣɑː xʹuːnʹɛrə**
ə daːrə fʹæːɹ	**n̩ daːrə fʹæːr**
. . . nʹ tʹrʹiuː fʹæːr	**n̩ʹ tʹrʹiːvə dɪnʹɪ**
xəlʹɪ vʹlʹiˑᵋnʹ	xɛlʹɛ vʹlʹeːᶦnʹ

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
ADJECTIVAL INFLECTION		
(Lenition of Nouns after Cardinal Numerals)[1]		
beirt daoine	**bʹɛrtʹ** [*x*2] ∼ **ɣɑː ɣɪnʹɪ** [*x*2][2]	**bʹɛrtʹ diːnʹiː**
beirt siúinéirí	**ɣɑː ʃʊːnʹeˑrə**	**bʹɛrtʹ ʃuːnʹɛriˑ**
(Forms of Ordinal Numerals)[1]		
an dara duine	**ˠn daːrnə fʹæːr**	**n̪ daːrɴə fʹæːr**
an tríú duine	**n̪ tʹrʹiːuˑ fʹæːr**	**n̪ʹ tʹrʹiˑuˑ fʹæːr/fʹær** [*x*2]
(Miscellaneous: Lenition after "gach uile")[1]		
'chuile bhliain	ˠxəlʹɪ vʹlʹeˠnʹ	xʊlʹɪ vʹlʹeːnʹ

[1] This item is included here for convenience.

[2] " 'Beirt' a déarfadh muinne 's mó." (= " 'Beirt' is mó a déarfadh muide.")

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
bʹɛrtʹ ɣiːnʹɪ	**bʹɛrtʹ**	**bʹɛrtʃ**
ɣɑː xʹuːnʹɛˑrə ∼ bʹɛrtʹ xʹuːnʹɛrə	**ˈbʹɛr ˈtʃuːɴʹɛriˑ**	**bʹɛrtʃ ʃuːnʹɛriˑ**
ᵊdaːrə fʹæːr	**ɴ̣ darə fʹær**	**n̪ daːrə fʹæːr**
n̪ʹ ˈtʹrʹiːuˑ fʹæˑr	**ɴ̣ tʹrʹiˑu fʹær**	**n̪ʹ tʹrʹiːwə fʹæːr ∼ n̪ tʹrʹiːwə . . . n̪ʹ tʹrʹiːwə fʹæːr**
(gaːx bʹlʹeːɛnʹ)	xʊlʹɛ vʹlʹiˑᵊn	xəlʹɛ vʹlʹeˑᵊnʹ

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

	M 70	*F 60+*
ADJECTIVAL INFLECTION		
(Lenition of Nouns after Cardinal Numerals)[1]		
beirt daoine	**bʹɛrtʹ wiːnʹɛ**	**bʹɛrʃtʹ**
beirt siúinéirí	**bʹɛrtʹ ʃuːnʹɛrə**	**bʹɛrʃtʹ ʃoːNɛˑriˑ**
(Forms of Ordinal Numerals)[1]		
an dara duine	**ə darə fʹæːrʰ**	**əN daːrə fʹæːr**
an tríú duine	**n̩ʹ tʹrʹiːuˑ fʹæˑr** [x2]	**N̩ tʹrʹiˑuˑ fʹæˑr**
(Miscellaneous: Lenition after "gach uile")[1]		
'chuile bhliain	xəlʹɛ vʹlʹiːɛnʹ ∼ (**N**aⁱ **N**ə bʹlʹiːə**N**ə)[2] [x2]	xəlʹɛ vʹlʹiˑɛnʹ

[1] This item is included here for convenience.

[2] " . . . in aghaidh na bliana".

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
bʹɛrtʹ	**bʹɛrtʃ**	**bʹɛrtʹ**
ɣɑː: . . . bʹært kaⁱrʤɛ	**ɣɑː** [*x*2] **xʹoːnʹɛrə**	**ɣɑˑ xʹuˑnʹɛrə**
n̩ daːrə dɪnʹɛ	**n daːrə dɪnʹɪ**	**ən daːrə fʹæːrʹ** (sic)
n̩ʹ tʹrʹiːu dɪnʹɛ	**n̩ʹ tʹrʹiːuˑ dɪnʹɪ**	**(nʹiˑ) nʹ tʹrʹiːu dɪnʹɛ**[1]
xəlʹɛ vʹlʹiːᵉnʹ	xəlʹɛ vʹlʹiᵉnʹ	xʊlʹɛ vʹlʹiˑᵊɴ

[1] Note the absence of a pronoun after the negative copula in this identificatory copula construction.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
ADJECTIVAL INFLECTION		
(Comparative Forms of Adjectives)		
níos fearr	**N′**iːs f′ɑːr	b′ɑr (d′ɛ̃)[1]
níos lú	**N′**iːs **L**uː [x2]	
níos dorcha	**N′**iːs dərᵊxᵊ	**N′**iːs dərəxə
níos túisce	**N′iːs Luᵊxt′ɪ**	**n′iːs tuːʃk′ɛ**
níos moiche	**N′**iːs tuːʃk′ɪ	**N′**iːs tuːʃk′ɛ
níos fliche	**N′**iːs f′**L′**əx … **N′**iːs f′**L′**əxt′ (ᵊmɑⁱr′əx)	**N′**iːʃ f′**L′**eːⁱ
níos giorra	**n′iːs g′ɪr′ɛ**	**n′iːs g′ɪr′ɛ**
níos raimhre	**n′iːs riːv′r′ɛ**	**n′iːs r̃iːv′r′ɛ**
níos doimhne	**n′iːs dʌⁱv′n′ɛ**	**n′iːs daⁱv′n′ɛ**
níos léithe	**N′**iːs **L′**iᵊhᵉ	**N′**iːˑs **L′**iːᵊxt′ɪ
níos nuaí	**N′**iːˑs **N**uːᵊxt′ɪ	
níos breátha	**N′**iːˑs b′r′ɑx (ᵊ**N′**eː)	**N′**iːs b′r′ɑː

[1] "B'fhearr di …"

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
bʹɑːr (dʹɪ) ∼ **N**ʹiːs fʹɑːr[1]	bə vʹɑːr ∼ **N**ʹiːs fʹɑːr[1]
Nʹiːs **L**uː	**N**ʹiːs **L**uː
Nʹiːs dərəxə	(bʹᵋ ʃᵋ dərəxə)
nʹiːs tuːʃkʹɛ ∼ nʹiːs tuːʃkʹɪ	**nʹiːs tuːʃkʹɪ**
Nʹiːs tuːʃkʹɛ	**N**ʹiːs tuːʃkʹɪ
Nʹiːs fʹlʹiːɛ	nʹiːs fʹlʹiː
nʹiːs gaːrʹɪdʹɛ	**nʹiːs gʹɪrʹɪ**
nʹiːs rɪmʹɪrʹɪ	**nʹiːs rɪmʹrʹɪ**
nʹis dʌⁱvʹnʹɛ	**nʹiːs dʌⁱvʹɪnʹɛ**
Nʹiːʃ **L**ʹiːə	(ᵊfɑːⁱlʹtʹ **L**ʹiːə)
	nʹiːs **N**uːᵊxᵊ
(**N**ʹiːs fʹɑːr)	(**N**ʹiːs fʹɑːr)

[1] Extracted from I.25.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
ADJECTIVAL INFLECTION		
(Comparative Forms of Adjectives)		
níos fearr	bʹɑˑr (dʹiˑ)[1] … bʹɑːr (dʹiː)[1]	bə vʹɑːr (dʹɪ)[1]
níos lú	**Nʹiːs Luːᵘ**	**Nʹiːs Luːu**
níos dorcha	**Nʹiːs** dərəxə	**Nʹiːs** dɪvʹɪ
níos túisce	**Nʹiːs skʹɪpiˑ**	**Nʹiːs Loːxʹtʹɪ** [x2]
níos moiche	**Nʹiːs Luˑᵊxtʹɪ**	**Nʹiːs Loːxtʹɪ**
níos fliche	**Nʹiˑs** fʹlʹiː[2]	**Nʹiːs** fʹlʹiː
níos giorra	**nʹiːs gaːrʹɪdʹ … nʹiːs gʌⁱrʹdʹ … nʹiːs gaːrʹdʹɛ**	**nʹiːs gʌrʹɪdʹɪ**
níos raimhre	**nʹiːs rɪmʹrʹɪ**	**nʹiːs raⁱmʹrʹɛ**
níos doimhne	**daʷɪNʹɛ** ∼ **dʌⁱvʹnʹɛ**	**nʹiːs dʌⁱvʹɪmʹɪ**
níos léithe	(ə fɑːlʹ lʹeː)[3]	**Nʹiːs Lʹ**iəxtʹɪ
níos nuaí	**Nʹiːs Nuˑᵊxtʹɪ** [x2]	**Nʹiːs** nuːxtʹɪ
níos breátha	**Nʹiːs** bʹrʹɑːxtʹɪ	**Nʹiːs** bʹrʹɑːxtʹɪ

[1] "B'fhearr di …"

[2] After prompting with the form by F 72.

[3] "… ag fáil liath"

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
nʹiː bʹɑːr (dʹɪ)	bʹɑːr ∼ nʹiːs fʹɑːr ∼ nʹiːs fʹɑr[1]	bə bʹɑːr (ʤɪ) ∼ **N**ʹiː bʹɑːr[1]
	nʹiːs **L**uː	nʹiːs **L**uː
nʹiːs dərəxə	nʹiːs dərəxə	nʹiːs dərəxə
nʹiːs Luxtʹɪ	**nʹiːs Luːxʹɛ**	**nʹiːs tuːʃkʹɛ**
nʹiːs moxtʹɛ ∼ nʹiːs **L**oᵊxtʹɛ	nʹiːs tuʃkʹɛ	nʹiːs **L**ʊːᵊxtʃɛ
nʹiːs fʹlʹiː	nʹiːs fʹ**L**ʹɪxʹɛ	nʹiːs fʹ**L**ʹiː
nʹiːs gʹɪrʹɪ	**nʹiːs gʹɪrʹɛ**	**nʹiːs gʹɪrʹɪ**
nʹiːs rɪvʹrʹɪ	**nʹiːs rɛvʹrʹɛ**	**nʹiːs rɪvʹrʹɪ**
nʹis dʌⁱvʹnʹɛ	**nʹiːs devʹnʹɛ**	**nʹiːs daːⁱnʹɛ**
nʹiːs **L**ʹiːᵊxtʹɪ	nʹiːs **L**ʹiːᵊ	**N**ʹiːs **L**ʹiːᵊxtʃɪ
nʹiːs **N**uᵊxtʹɪ	nʹi̯s **N**uː	
nʹiːs bʹrʹɑːxtʹ (ˈ**N**ʹeːʲᵋ)	bʹrʹɑːhə . . . nʹiːs bʹrʹɑhə	nʹiːs bʹrʹɑːxə ∼ nʹiːs bʹrʹɑːxtʃɪ [*x*2] [2]

[1] Extracted from I.25.

[2] "[nʹiːs bʹrʹɑːxtʃɪ] (a) abraíonns muide."

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

	M 70	*F 60+*
ADJECTIVAL INFLECTION		
(Comparative Forms of Adjectives)		
níos fearr	n′iːs f′ɑːr	b′ɑːr (ɕɪ) ∼ n′iˑs f′ɑːr[1]
níos lú	n′iːs **L**uˑ	n′iˑs **L**oːʷᵊ
níos dorcha	n′iːs dərəxə ∼ n′iːs muːftə[2] ∼ n′iːs muːskriː[3]	n′iˑs dərəxə
níos túisce	**n′iːs eːskə**	
níos moiche	**N**′iːs mʊxt′ɪ ∼ n′iːs **L**uᵊxt′ɪ	n′iːs tuːʃk′ɛ
níos fliche	n′iːs f′l′ehiˑ [*x*4][4]	n′iˑs f′l′ɛˑⁱ
níos giorra	**N′iːs gɛrɕɛ**	**n′iːs g′ɪr′ɛ**
níos raimhre	**N′iːs ræv′ɪr′ɪ**	**n′iːs rɛv′r′ɛ**
níos doimhne	**N′iːs dɛv′ɪn′ɛ**	**n′iːs dʌᵘn′ɛ**
níos léithe	(ɛg′ eːr′iˑ **L**′iːə)	n′iˑs **L**′iᵊxtʃɛ
níos nuaí	n′iːs **N**uᵊxt′ɪ	n′iˑs **N**oːxtʃɛ
níos breátha	bə v′r′ɑˑxt′ (ə**N** **L**ɑː . . .)	n′iˑs b′r′ɑˑxtʃɪ

[1] Extracted from I.22. [2] "... níos múchta"? [3] "... níos múscraí"? [4] [n′iːs f′l′əxt′ɛ] used jokingly by the informant as an explication of the preceding form.

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
nʹiːs fʹɑːr ∼ ə vʹʹᵋɑːr (lʹəm)[1]	bʹɑːr (ʤɪ)	nʹiˑs fʹɑːr
	nʹiːsː Lʊː[2]	nʹiˑs **L**uː
	nʹiˑs dərəxə	nʹiːs dərəxə
	nʹiˑs Luᵊxtʹɛ	**nʹiˑs Lʊᵊxtʃɛ**
nʹiːs eːskə	nʹiːs eːskə	nʹiˑs **L**uᵊxtʃɛ ∼ nʹiˑs **L**uᵊxtʃə
	nʹiˑs fʹlʹəx	nʹiˑs fʹlʹəx ∼ **nʹiˑs fʹlʹəxə**[3]
nʹiˑs gərʹɪdʹɛ	**nʹiːs gʹɪrə** [x2] (sic)	**nʹiːs gʹɪrʹɛ**
nʹiˑs raʲvʹrʹɛ	**nʹiːs raʲvʹrʹɛ**	**nʹiːs rɪvʹrʹɛ**
nʹiˑs daʲvʹˈnʹɛ	**nʹiːs dãʲnʹɛ**	**nʹiːs daʲvʹnʹɛ**
(ə fɑˑlʹ **L**ʹiᵊ)	(ᵋfɑːlʹ lʹiᵊ)	nʹiˑs lʹiˑᵊ
		nʹiˑs **N**uːiː
nʹiːs vʹrʹæxtʹɛ[4]	nʹiːs bʹrʹɑxtʹ (ɪˈnʹeˑ)	(nʹiːs fʹɑːr)

[1] Relative construction from I.23. [2] II.50. [3] Form elicited in the discussion at the end of the interview for Part II. [4] Note the lenition of the initial consonant.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
ADJECTIVAL INFLECTION		
(The Intensifying Particle an-*)*		
an-tuirseach	**aˑn tərʃəx**	**aːn tərsəx**
an-fholláin/an-sláintiúil	**aːn sʟɑːnʹtʹulʹ**	**(bʹrʹɑː sʟæːnʹtʹuˑlʹ)**
an-fhairsing		
an-ghann	**aːNᵊ ɣaːn**	

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
aːn tərsəx	**(mʹ) æːn tərsəx**[1]
(bʹrʹɑː sʟaːnʹtʹuːlʹ)	**æːnsʟæːnʹtʹʊlʹ**[2]
aːɴ aːrʃɪnʹ	**(faːrʃɪnʹ)**
aːn ɣaːn	**ãː ɣ̃ãːn**

[1] "Bhí mé an-tuirseach." Note the extreme phonological reduction of the first two words in the sentence.

[2] The intensifying particle is treated phonologically here as though it were a normal adjectival prefix.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
ADJECTIVAL INFLECTION *(The Intensifying Particle* an-*)*		
an-tuirseach	**(ə v′) æːN tərʃəx**[1]	**ˈæːn ˈtərsəx**
an-fholláin/an-sláintiúil	**aˈN əLɑːn′**	**ˈæN** [x2] **ˈfʊLɑˈn′**
an-fhairsing	**aːn aːrʃɪN′**	**æːn aːrʃɪn′**
an-ghann	**aːn ɣaːn**	**æːn ɣaːN**

[1] "... a bheith an-tuirseach ..."

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
ˈaːN ˈtərsəx	**ˈaˑn ˈtərsəx**	**ˈaːn tərsəx**
ˈaːN ˈsʟaːnʹtʹuˑlʹ		**ˈaˑn sʟaˑnʹtʃulʹ**
ˈaːN ˈaːrʃɪNʹ	**(farʃɪŋʹ)**	**aːN ærʃɪnʹ**
ˈãː ˈɣɑːN	**(gɑːN)**	**(gɑːN)**

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

	M 70	*F 60+*
ADJECTIVAL INFLECTION *(The Intensifying Particle* an-*)*		
an-tuirseach	**(æˑr ᵊvʹɛ tərsəx ∼ hær ə vʹɛ tərsəx)**	**aːN ˈtərsəx**
an-fholláin/an-sláintiúil	**aːn tlaˑnʹtʹuˑlʹ**	**ˌaːN ˈəLɑːnʹ**
an-fhairsing	**aːN aːrʃɪnʹ**	**aːN aːrʃɪnʹ ∼ aːNaːrʃɪNʹ**[1]
an-ghann	**(gɑːN)**[2]	**aːnᵊ ɣɑːN ∼ aːN ɣɑːN**

[1] The intensifying particle is treated phonologically here as though it were a normal adjectival prefix.

[2] According to the informant, [**gɑːN**] (and not [**gaːN**]) is used on Inis Meáin.

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
(. . . ˈaːn ˈtərs ərᵊm)	**ãːN tərʃəx**	**(səx tərsəx)**[1]
(. . . ˈaːn ˈsLaⁱnʹtʹ əgəm)	**aːN oLɑːnʹ**	**ãː sLɑːnʹtʹuːlʹ**
ˈaːn ˈaːrʃɪnʹ		
ˈãː ˈɣɑːN	**ãː ɣãːN**	**ˈaːN gɑːN** (sic)[2]

[1] ". . . sách tuirseach".

[2] After prompting.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
PRONOMINAL FORMS		
(An) tú ...	(ər) tuˑ ...	(ər) tʊsə ...
(An ...) thú?	(...ə) ʔuˑ	(...i) ^{h}uː
(Dá mba ...) thú ...	**(...n) tʊsə**	
(*As Direct Object*)...thú	(...ə xɪ**N**′) uˑ ∼ **(...x) u**	(...ə xɪ**N**′iː) uˑ ∼ **(...x) u**
seisean	ʃɛsə**N** ∼ ʃɛs**N**	ʃʊsə**N** [*x*3]
eisean	ɛsə**N**	
muid(e)	mɪdʹ [*x*5][1] ∼ mɪd (t...) ∼ mʊd (t...) ∼ mə (t...) ∼ mɪ**N**′tʹ ∼ mɪ**N**′ɪ	mɪdʹ [*x*3][1] ∼ mʊdʹ ∼ mʊd (t...) ∼ məd (t...) ∼ mə (t...) ∼ mɪdʹɪ [*x*2] ∼ mʊdʹɪ
sibh(se)	ʃɪbʹ ∼ ʃɪpʹʃɪ	ʃɪvʹ
siad(san)	**ʃɪd** [*x*5] ∼ **ʃəd** [*x*3] ∼ ʃiᵊdsə**N**	**ʃiᵊd** [*x*6] ∼ **ʃɛd** ∼ **ʃɪd** ∼ ʃiˑᵊdsə**N**
iad	**iᵊd** ∼ ɛᵊd ∼ ɛd ∼ **əd** ∼ **(ʃəd) iˑᵊd iˑᵊd** ∼ (əb) iᵊd ∼ (**N**′iˑ) hiᵊd ∼ (bʹəd) eˑᵊd/eˑd	iˑᵊd ∼ iˑᵋd ∼ **iᵊd** ∼ **ɛd** ∼ ɛ(d) ∼ ɛt ∼ **(ʃəd)** ˈ**eːd iᵊd** ∼ (bʹəd) eˑd

[1] Examples conflated from Parts I and II.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
(ər) tu . . . (. . . ɪ) huː **(. . . N) hʊsə** (. . . ə xə**N**′) uˑ ∼ **(. . . x) hʊˑ**	ʳtu . . . (. . . r′)[1] uˑ (. . . ə xɪ**N**′) uˑ
ʃɛsə**N** [*x*2] (ɪʃ) ɛsə**N**. . .[2]	ʃəsə**N** (. . . nɑˑ) ʃəsə**N**[3] ∼ (bʲəv′) ɛs**N**̩. . .
mɪd′ [*x*2] ∼ mɪ**N**′ [*x*2] ∼ mɪn′(s. . .) ∼ mən (t. . .) ∼ məd′ɪ ∼ mɪ**N**′ɪ	mɪd′ [*x*3] ∼ mɪd̥ (t. . .) ∼ mɪd̥ (t. . .) ∼ mʊd̥ (s. . .) ∼ mɪʤ ∼ mʷɪd′ɪ ∼ mɪd′ɪ
ʃɪb′ [*x*3] ∼ ʃɪp′ʃɛ[4]	ʃɪb′ ∼ (ə) ʃɪp′ʃɛ[5]
ʃiʲd [*x*8] ∼ **ʃɪd** ∼ **ʃəd** [*x*2]	**ʃəd** [*x*2] ∼ **ʃɛd** ∼ **ʃʲd**
iˑᵋd ∼ **iˑʲd** [*x*3][6] ∼ iʲd ∼ **(N′iˑ hɪn′) ɪd**	(. . . iˑ) iʲd ∼ **ɛd** [*x*2] ∼ æd ∼ (bʲd) ɛd̥ (N. . .) ∼ (bʲɪn′) ɪd ∼ **(buːd) ɛːd**

[1] ". . . iascaire . . ." [2] "Is eisean . . ." [3] ". . . ná eisean . . ." [4] Extracted from I.4. [5] With the marker of the vocative case! [6] Examples conflated from Parts I and II.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
PRONOMINAL FORMS		
(An) tú ...	(ər) tuː ...	(ər) tʊsə ...
(An ...) thú? (Dá mba ...) thú ...	(...r′)[1] uː	(...ɪ) tɪsə **(...n) u**
(*As Direct Object*)...thú	**(...x) ʊˑ**	(...ə xɪ**N′**) uˑ ∼ **(...x) uˑ**
seisean	səsə**N** [*x*2]	səsə**N** [*x*2]
eisean	ɛsə**N**	ɛsə**N**
muid(e)	mɪd′ [*x*2][2] ∼ məd (t...) ∼ mʊ (t...) ∼ məd′ɪ ∼ mĩⁿ′d′ ∼ mʷɪ**N′** [*x*2] ∼ mʷɪ**N′**ɪ ∼ **mɪN′ɪ**	mɪd′ [*x*3] ∼ mʊd′[*x*2] ∼ mʊd (s...) ∼ mɪ**N′** ∼ mən (t...) ∼ **mʷɪN′**[3] ∼ mʷɪ**N′**ɪ
sibh(se)	ʃɪb′ [*x*2][2] ∼ ʃɪp′ʃɪ [*x*2] ∼ ʃɪp′ʃɪˑ	**ʃɪb′ʃɪ** ∼ ʃɪp′ʃɪ ∼ **ʃɪp′ʃɛ** [*x*2]
siad(san)	**ʃiᵊd** [*x*3] ∼ **ʃɛd** [*x*4] ∼ **ʃəd** [*x*3] ∼ ʃeːdsə**N** [*x*2]	**ʃɛd** [*x*4] ∼ **ʃæd** ∼ **ʃəd** ∼ **ʃɛt** ∼ ʃeˑdsə**N**
iad	**iˑᵉd** [*x*2] ∼ **eʲɪd** ∼ eˑd [*x*2] ∼ ɛd [*x*5][2] ∼ **ɪd** ∼ **(ᵊb′)** ˈ**eːᵊd** [*x*2]	iᵊd ∼ eːd ∼ æd [*x*2] ∼ **ət** ∼ (əb′) ˈeːd ∼ (ərb′) ˈeːd ∼ (ᵉb′ ɪm′) ˈeːd ∼ **(b′ ɪm′) ɛːd ɪd**

[1] "...iascaire ..."

[2] Examples conflated from Parts I and II.

[3] Extracted from II.42.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
(ər) tuˑ . . .	(ə**N**) tə̯sə . . .	(ər) tuˑ . . .
(. . . rʹ)[1] uˑ **(. . . N) u**	(. . . ɪ) hɪsə **(. . . N) u**	(. . . ɪ) huː **(. . . N) huˑ**
	(. . . ə xə**N**ʹ) uˑ ∼ **(. . . x) uˑ**	(. . . ə xənʹ) uˑ ∼ **(. . . x) ə^{u}**
ʃɛsə**N** [*x*2] ∼ ʃəsə**N** ∼ ʃeːsə**N**[2]	ʃəsn̩∼ ʃɛsn̩	sɛsə**N** ∼ sɛsn̩ ∼ səsn̩
ɛːˑsə**N**[2]	ɪsə**N**∼ ɛsn̩	(ᵋbʹ) eːsə**N**[3]
mʊdʹ ∼ mʊɟ ∼ məd (s. . .) ∼ mə (t. . .) [*x*3] ∼ mʊdʹɪ ∼ mʊɟɪ	mɪ**N**ʹ [*x*5] ∼ miː (nʹ. . .) ∼ mɪ (s. . .) ∼ mə (t. . .)	mʊdʹ [*x*3] ∼ mʊd (t. . .) [*x*2] ∼ **məɟ** ∼ mɪɟɛ ∼ mʊɟɪ [*x*2]
ʃɪbʹ	ʃɪvʹ [*x*2][4]	ʃɪbʹ ∼ **(ʰriːɟ) ʃɪpʹʃɛ**[5]
ʃiˑəd[6] ∼ **ʃiˑəd** ∼ **ʃɪd** ∼ **ʃɛd** [*x*5] ∼ **ʃəd** [*x*3] ∼ ʃiˑədsə**N**∼ ʃiˑədsə**N**	**ʃɪd** [*x*3] ∼ **ʃəd** [*x*2] ∼ (. . . n̩) tʃiˑədsn̩	**ʃɪd** ∼ **ʃɛd** ∼ **ʃəd** [*x*2] **(. . . n̩) tʃəd**
iˑəd ∼ iˑəd ∼ ɛˑd [*x*2] ∼ ɛd ∼ ɛt ∼ (bʹ) eˑəd ∼ (bəd) ˈɛd ∼ **(ʃəd) eːd** **ɛd** [*x*2] ∼ **(ʃəd) ɛd** ∼ **(ʃoː) eˑd ɛd**	iːəd ∼ eˑd ∼ **ɛd** ∼ (ənʹ) iːd (ʃmʹ) ∼ (nʹiˑ hmʹ) ɛd **(nʹiː) hiˑəd**[7]	iˑɛd ∼ **ɛˑd** ∼ ɛd [*x*8] ∼ (ᵋbʹ) iːˑəd ∼ (ᵋbʹ) eːˑəd ∼ **(bʹuːd) eːˑəd** [*x*2]

[1] ". . . iascaire . . . " [2] Cf. also [ʃiːʃɛ] in I.7 with a similar long vowel as well as the expected [ʃɪʃɪ] (in I.41) and [ʃɪʃɛ] (in I.60) for the emphatic form of the third singular feminine pronoun *sise*. In the pronunciation elicitation at the end of the interview for Part I, only the variants [ʃɛsə**N**] and [ɛsə**N**] were used. [3] "B' eisean . . . " [4] With an added example from II.46. [5] ". . . tríbse" (from II.43). [6] Extracted from I.17. [7] Extracted from II.17.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

	M 70	*F 60+*
PRONOMINAL FORMS		
(An) tú ...	(ᵉʳ) tuː ...(ə**N**) ˈtʊsə ...	(ə**N**) tʊsə ...
(An ...) thú? (Dá mba ...) thú ...	(...r′)[1] uː **(...N) uˑ**	(...ə) hʊsə **(...N) u**
(*As Direct Object*)...thú	(...ə xɪ**N**′) uː **(...x) ʊˑ**	(...ə xɪ**N**′ɪ) huˑ ∼ **(...x) huː**
seisean	səsə**N** [*x*2][2]	(ˈʃeˑ ˈheˑn′) ∼ (ʤəʲrʹɪ seˑ) (sic)
eisean	(s) ɛsə**N** ...[3] ∼ (ʃ) ɛʃə**N** ...[3]	(bəv′ ɛː) ∼ (bə) ʔɛʃə**N**
muid(e)	mʊʤ [*x*5] ∼ mʊd′ [*x*3] ∼ **mɪd′** ∼ mʊd (t...) [*x*2] ∼ məd (s...) ∼ mʊ (**N**′...)	mʊʤ [*x*4] ∼ məʤ ∼ mʊd (s...) ∼ mʊʤɪ ∼ mʊʤɛ [*x*2]
sibh(se)	ʃɪp′ʃɛ	ʃɪb′ ∼ **ʃɪp′ʃɛ**
siad(san)	**ʃiᵊd** ∼ **ʃəd** [*x*2] ∼ **ʃɪd** [*x*2] ∼ ʃiˑᵊtsɴ [*x*2]	**ʃiˑəd** [*x*2] ∼ **ʃəd** [*x*3]
iad	iːᵊd ∼ iᵊd [*x*2] ∼ (ʃm′) ɛ(d) (**N**...b′) iᵊd ∼ **(bʷiː) ʔiˑᵊd (ʃə) iˑᵊt** ∼ **(b′) iˑᵊd (ʃə) iˑᵊt** ∼ **(bəw) ˈiˑᵊd iˑᵊt**	iˑᵊd ∼ iᵊd ∼ **ɛd** ∼ (bəv′) iˑɛd ∼ (bəv′ ɪm′) iˑᵊd ∼ (**N**′iːrv′) iᵊt (ʃm′) ... (**N**oˑrv′) iᵊt ∼ (ən′) rˑᵊt (ʃm′) ∼ **(bəv′) ɾᵊt (ʃuːd) iˑᵊd**

[1] "...iascaire ..." [2] Note the emphatic form of the third singular feminine pronoun *sise*, which yields the variant [ʃiˑʃɛ] (in I.7) with a long vowel as well as the expected [ʃɪʃɛ] (in I.41). [3] "Is eisean ..."

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
(ᵊbʹ) ʊ . . . (ᵊbʹ) oː (ʃeːməs)	(ᵊbʹ) ʊː . . . (bʹ) uː (ʃeːməs)	(ə) ˈtʊsə . . .
(bʹɛ . . . iˑᵊskɪrʹ)[1] ʊ	(bʹɛ . . . iᵊskɪrʹɛ) t̪ʊsə ∼ (bʹeː iᵊskɪrʹɪ) toᵘ ∼ (bʹeː iˑᵊskɪrʹɪ) tʊsə ∼ **(. . . x) hʊ**	(. . . ɪ) tʊsə **(. . . N) hʊː**
səsə**N** [*x*2]	ʃɛʃə**N** (bʹɛ) ʃɛʃən	(fənʹ tʹiːʃə**N**[2]) ∼ ʃɪʃə**N** ∼ (. . . nʹ ˌtʃɛ ˈʃmʹ[3]) (ɪs) ɛsən
mɪdʹ ∼ mʊdʹ [*x*2] / mʊd (t. . .) ∼ mʊd (s. . .) ∼ mʊʤ ∼ mʊʤɪ	mʊdʹ (t. . .) [*x*2] ∼ mʊd (s. . .) ∼ mʊ (t. . .) **mɪʤ** ∼ mʊʤ ∼ mʊʤɛ [*x*2] ∼ mʊʤɪ	mʊʤ [*x*2] ∼ mɪʤ ∼ mɪʤ/ mʊdʹ (t. . .) ∼ mɪdʹ (t. . .) mʊdʹ (s. . .) ∼ mʊʤɪ [*x*2] ∼ mʊʤɛ ∼ mɪʤɛ
ʃɪbʹ ∼ **ʃɪbʹʃɪ**	ʃɪbʹ ∼ **ʃɪbʹʃɪ**	ʃɪbʹ
ʃɪd ∼ ∼ **ʃəz/ʃəd** [*x*2] ∼ (. . . n̥) tʃiᵊtsə**N**	**ʃiᵊd** ∼ **tʃəd**[4] ∼ **ʃᵊt** ∼ (. . . **N̥**) tʃiˑᵊtsə**N**	**ʃəd** [*x*3] ∼ **ʃɪd** ∼ **(. . . n̥ʹ) tʃəd** ∼ **(tᵊ) tʃəd** (. . . **N̥**) tʃɪd tʃmʹ
ɪd ∼ ɛd ∼ **(. . . ə)d** ∼ (ᵊvʹ) iᵊd ∼ (bʹ mʹ) ɪd ∼ **(bʹəd) ɛd** ∼ **(ʃəd) ɛd iᵊt**	iˑᵊd ∼ **iᵊd** ∼ **ɪˑᵊd** ∼ ɛt ∼ **ət** ∼ (nʹi) hiʳᵊd . . . (bʹ) iᵊd ∼ (ᵊbʹ) rˑᵊd ∼ (bʹ mʹ) eᵊd ∼ (bʹ mʹ) ɛd	∼ iˑᵊd [*x*2] ∼ iᵊds ∼ **ɛd** ∼ **ɛt** ∼ **(bu) eːt (ʃəd) ɛ . . .** **(bʷ) eˑt (ʃəd) ɛd**[5]

[1] ". . . iascaire . . ." [2] "Faigheann sise . . ." [3] ". . . ní ghabhann sé sin." Cf. "Íosann sé sin feoil . . ." in I.15 also. In both instances the construction *sé sin* is apparently used in place of the emphatic pronoun. Cf. also [tʃɪd tʃmʹ] for *siadsan* below. [4] "Tá siad . . ." [5] "B'iad seo iad."

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
PRONOMINAL FORMS		
(*Possessive Pronouns*)		
ár (gcuid)	gɪdʹ (gruᵋgʹɪ)	ᵊgruˑᶦgʹ
bhur (gcuid)	(də xᵊdʹ eːdiˑ)[1]	ʔə gʊdʹ (eːdiː)
	(də xɪdʹ koːtɪ)[1] ...	ʔə gɪdʹ (koːtᵊi)
	(də xoːt (mʹˈʃə)[1] ...	
	(də xɪdʹ koːtiˑ)[x2] [1]	
	ᵊgɪdʹ (kæⁱpʹiˑnʹiˑ)	gɪdʹ (kæpʹiːnʹiː)
	ᵊgʊdʹ (kʹæxtənə)	**gɪdʹ (kʹæxtə)**
(in) bhur (scoláirí)	ə**N**ə (skə**L**ɑⁱrʹi)	
(i) do (dhiaidh)		tə jiˑə[2]
(i) do (sheasamh)		
(i) mo (sheasamh)		mə asə[3]

[1] Confirmed as a plural construction by the informant.

[2] Extracted from I.5.

[3] Extracted from I.34.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
(ə̃ ɣruˑᵋgʹ)	(tɑːᴵ) gruˑᴵgʹ
ə gɪdʹ (eːdiː)	də gʊdʹ (eːᵊdiː) (sic)
ə gɪdʹ (koːtiː)	gʊdʹ (koːtiˑ)
ə gɪdʹ (haːtiˑ)	gɪdʹ (haːṭiˑ)
(də xəʤ kʹæːxtə)[1]	**(də xɪdʹ kʹæxtə)**[1]
ə**N**ə (mʹɛkʹ **L**ʹeːⁱ**N**ʹ)	ᵊ**N**ə (skʊ**L**ɑːrʹiː)
	d hæˑsə
	mᵊ hæˑs (əs . . .)

[1] A plural construction?

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
PRONOMINAL FORMS		
(*Possessive Pronouns*)		
ár (gcuid)	ŋruˑʲgʹ	gɪdʹ (groˑʲgʹɪ)
bhur (gcuid)	ə **N**ʹeːdiː ∼ ə gɪdʹ (eːdiː)	ə gɪdʹ (eːdi)
	(goːᵊtiː) gɪdʹ (haːtiː)	ə gɪdʹ (koːtiˑ) ə gɪdʹ ((haˑtiˑ)) **ə gɪʤ (kʹæˑxtə)**
(in) bhur (scoláirí)		ənə (mʹɪkʹ lʹeː**N**ʹ)
(i) do (dhiaidh)		
(i) do (sheasamh)	**N**ə hæːsə[1]	
(i) mo (sheasamh)	**N**ə hæːsə[1]	

[1] Though this invariable locative construction occurs in the contexts [vʹiː tösö **N**ə hæːsə] and [vʹiˑ mʹɪʃɪ **N**ə hæːsə] in I.34, the same construction inflected for number and gender occurs in the context [taˑ maˑrʹɪ ɛ**N**ə ˈʃaeːsə . . .] ("Tá Máire ina seasamh . . . ") in I.31.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
gɪʤ (groːgʹɪ)	ᵊgruˑᶦgʹ	ᵊgʊʤ (gruːᶦgʹɪ)[1]
ə gʊʤ (eːdiː)	nʹeˑdəx	ə gɪʤ (eːdiː)
ᵊgoːtiː		gɪʤ (koːtiː)
gʊʤ (hæːteⁱ/haːtɛ) [*x*2]	ᵊgæpʹiːnʹiː	gɪʤ (hatiː)
ə gɪdʹ (kʹæˑxtə) ∼ gʊdʹ (kʹæˑxtə)		
ᶦnə (skə**L**ɑːrʹiː)	ənə (skʊ**L**ɑˑrʹiˑ)	ᶦ**N**ə (mʹɪkʹ **L**ʹeːᶦ**N**ʹ)

[1] Cf. also the form of the possessive pronoun in the locative construction [vʹiː mʊdʹ **N**ə siː] ("Bhí muid inár suí . . .") in I.37.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

	M 70	*F 60+*
PRONOMINAL FORMS		
(*Possessive Pronouns*)		
ár (gcuid)	gʊʤ (gruːᵉgʹ)	gɪʤ (gruᶦgʹ)
bhur (gcuid)		
	ə gʊʤ (koːt) … gʊʤ (koːtiˑ)	gɪʤ (koːtiˑ)
	gʊʤ (hætiˑ) [x3]	gɪtʃ (hæːtiˑ)
		ə gʊʤ (kʹæxtəNiˑ)
(in) bhur (scoláirí)		
(i) do (dhiaidh)		
(i) do (sheasamh)		
(i) mo (sheasamh)		

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
ᵊŋ (gruˑˈgʹ)	kɪdʹ (gruˑᵋgʹ)	n̩ ŋruˑᵋgʹ
	ᵊgəʤ (eːdiˑ) [*x*2]	ə kʊʤ (eːdiː) … vur eːdiː
	ᵊgɪʤ (koːtiˑ)	vərʰ koːtiˑ
	ə gɪʤ (kæpʹiːnʹiː)	vərʹ hætiː
ᵊgɪʤ (kʹæːxtəniː)	**gʊʤ (kʹæːxtᵊNiː)**	**vər Naⁱbʹrʹɪ** (sic)[1]
ɪmə (skəLɑːrʹiˑ)	nə (sklʹɑːrʹiː) (sic)	ən (skəLɑrʹiˑ)
ɪN də jiˑᵊ		
		(Cf. below[2])
		(Cf. below[2])

[1] " … bhur gcuid oibre … ".

[2] The informant uses no locative constructions of this sort to indicate a stationary body position; instead, the progressive verbal construction is used with the appropriate verbal noun, e.g., [tᵊ mɑːrʹ ɛgʹ siː …] ("Tá Máire ag suí …"), [tɑˑ mɑːrtʹiˑnʹ ə ʃæːsə …] ("Tá Máirtín ag seasamh …"), [vʹiˑ tʊsə ʃæːsə …] ("Bhí tusa ag seasamh …"), and [(v)ʹiˑ mʹɪʃɛ ʃæːsə …] ("Bhí mise ag seasamh …") in sentences I.31, I.32, and I.34, respectively.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES		
(*With a Non-Finite Clause as Object)*		
(ag caint) ar/faoi theach a thógáil	**ɛrʹ tʹæx ə hoːgʹɑˑʟ**	**ɛrʹ ə hæx** **ə koˑˈgʹɑːʟ** (sic)
(ag smaoineamh) ar fhear a fhostú	**ɛrʹ fʹæːr . . .** **(lʹɛ fʹæːr ə ʔɑːlʹ . . .) ∼** **(kiˑnʹuˑ fʹæːr ʔə ʔɑːlʹ)**	**ɛrʹ dɪnʹ ᴱkʹiːntʹ** **ɑˑlʹ**
le é a phiocadh suas	lʹe ˈe ᵊpʹʊkə suˑᵊs	lʹe e ᵊfʹʊkə suˑᵊs
tar éis (labhairt leis)	**tər ˈeˑʃ (ʟaᵘrt lʹɛʃ)**	**hr eʃ (ʟʌᵘrtʹ lʹɛʃ)**
(*With a Genitival Noun Phrase as Object)*		
trasna . . .	**tʹrʹæsnə (Nə srɑːdʹˈ)**	**tʹrʹæsNə (Nə srɑːdʹ [ɛ])**
tar éis . . .	**tar eːʃ (ə dʹiːnʹɛrʹ)** **tər heːʃ (nʹ vʹrʹɪkʹfʌstə)**	**r ɛʃ (ə dʹiːnʹeːrʹ)** **hr eːʃ (nʹ vʹrʹɪkʹfɑːst)**
le haghaidh . . .	**lʹenə (jiːnʹɛr)**	**(ɛgʹ ʔjiːnʹeːr)**

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
ɛrʹ hæx ə hoːgʹɑˑʟ	**fiː tʹæx ə hoːgʹaʟ**
ɛrʹ fʹæːr . . . **r̥ fʹæːr (ə) ɑːlʹ . . .** **(lʹe fʹæːr ə ɑːlʹ) . . .** **ɛr æːr ə ɑːlʹ**	
lʹeˑ eˑ fʹʊkə suˑᵊs	lʹe (e) hoːᶦgʹɑˑlʹ ɴʹiːs
tʹrʹ ˈeˑʃ (ʟʌᵘrt lʹɛʃ) . . . **tʹərʹ eːʃ (ʟʌᵘrt lʹɛʃ) . . .**	**tʹrʹ ɛʃ (vʹɛ kaⁱnʹtʹ lʹɪʃ)**
t̤rʹæːsnə (nə srɑːᶦdʹɛ)[1]	**tʹrasnə (ɴ trɑːdʹ)**
tʹᶦrʹ ˈeːʃ (ᵊdʹiːnʹeːr) **tʹərʹ eːʃ (vʹrʹɪkʹfʌstə̥)**	**hær ɛʃ (ə ɣiːnʹɛːr)** **r eːʃ (ə bʹrʹɪkʹfɑst)**
lʹeˑ (dʹiːnʹɛr)	**lʹɛnə (jiːnʹeːrʰ)**

[1] Cf. [**tʹrʹæsnə gə dʹiː duːlʹɪnʹ**] (" . . . trasna go dtí Dúlainn") in II.53.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES		
(*With a Non-Finite Clause as Object)*		
(ag caint) ar/faoi theach a thógáil	**ɛrʹ hæˑx ə hoːgʹaˑʟ**	**ɛrʹ tʹæx ə hoˑgʹɑˑlʹ**
(ag smaoineamh) ar fhear a fhostú	**ɛrʹ fʹæːr ɑːlʹ** [*x*2]	**ɛr æːr ə ɑːˈlʹ** **Nuˑ əstuː**
le é a phiocadh suas	lʹe e fʹʊkə suᵊs	lʹe ɛː fʹʊkə soːs
tar éis (labhairt leis)	**r eⁱʃ (ə vʹɛ kaːnʹtʹ lʹɛʃ)**	**r ɛʃ (ʟaᵘrtʹ lʹɛʃ)**
(*With a Genitival Noun Phrase as Object)*		
trasna ...	**traːsNə (N trɑːdʹ)**	**træsNə (n̩ trɑːˈdʹ) ∼** **træsNə (Nə srɑːdʹɛ)**
tar éis ...	**r eⁱʃ** [*x*2] **(ə dʹiːnʹær)**	**r aⁱʃ (ə dʹiːNʹɛr)**
	r eˑʃ (m̩ʹ rʹɪkʹfɑːst)[1]	**r eⁱʃ (ə vʹrʹɪkʹfɑːst)**
le haghaidh ...	**lʹeː (dʹiːnʹeːr) ∼** **(lʹeː dʹiːnʹɛːr ɑːlʹ ∼)** **lʹɛnə (jiːnʹɛr)**	**lʹeː (dʹiːnʹɛr) ∼** **lʹɛ (dʹiːnʹɛr) ∼** **(lʹeː dʹiːnʹɛr ɑːlʹ)**

[1] " ... tar éis a mbricfeasta "?

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
fʷiː tʼæˑx ə hoːgʼɑˑʟ	**ɛrʼ tʃæx ə hoːgʼɑːlʼ**	**ɛr tʃæx ə hoːˈgʼɑˑlʼ**
(lʼeː fʼæːr ɑːlʼ) ∼ **(rʼ) fʼæːr ə əstuː**	**fʼiː fæːr astu** (sic)	**ɛrʼ fʼæːr ˈɑːˈlʼ**
lʼeˑ eˑ fʼɪkə soˑᵊs [*x*2]	lʼɛnə fʼʊkə suˑᵊs	lʼe e fʼʊkə soˑᵊs
tʼrʼ eːʃ (ə vʼɛ ᵊkanʼtʼ lʼɛʃ)	**tʼrʼ eʃ (ʟʌᵘrtʼ lʼɛʃ)**	**h eˑʃ (ə ʟʌᵘrt lʼɛʃ) ∼** **har ˈeːʃ (ə ʟʌᵘrt lʼɛʃ)**
traːsNə (Nə srɑːdʼɛ)	**tʼrʼæsnə (n̩ woːhɪrʼ)**	**tʼrʼæsNə (Nə srɑːɟɛ)**
tʼrʼ eːʃ (ə dʼiːnʼɛːrʼ)	**hrʼ ɛʃ (ə ɟiːnʼərʼ)**	**h eːʃ (aːm ɟiːnʼɛˑrʼ) ∼** **h eːʃ (ə dʼiːnʼeˑr)**
tʼrʼ eːʃ (bʼrʼɪkʼfɑːstə)		**har ˈeːʃ (ə mʼeːlʼiˑ)**[1]
lʼeˑⁱ hʌⁱ (dʼiːnʼɛˑrʼ) ∼ **lʼɛ hʌⁱ (dʼiːnʼɛːr)**	**lʼənə (jiːnər)**	**lʼaⁱ nə (jiːnʼɛˑr) . . .** **lʼæˑⁱ (ə jiːnʼeˑr)**[2] **. . .** **lʼɛ ˈhaⁱ (ə jiːnʼer)**

[1] " . . . tar éis a mbéile"?

[2] Cf. **[lʼeˑ n̩ pɑːˈʃtʃɛˑ]** (sic) (= "le haghaidh an pháiste") in II.65.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

	M 70	*F 60+*
PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES		
(*With a Non-Finite Clause as Object)*		
(ag caint) ar/faoi theach a thógáil	**ɛrʹ hæx ə jɛNə ... ə hoːgʹaˑL**	**ɛrʹ hæx ə hoːgʹɑːL**
(ag smaoineamh) ar fhear a fhostú	**ɛrʹ fʹær ə iːk ... ɛrʹ æːr əstuː**[1]	**ɛrʹ fʹæːr ə ... əstoˑʷ**
le é a phiocadh suas	lʹeNə fʹʊkə suˢs	lʹeˑ i ɑːlʹ
tar éis (labhairt leis)	**hʹrʹ eːʃ (Laᵘrt lʹɛʃ)**	**tʹrʹ eʃ (Lʌᵘrt lʹɛʃ)**
(*With a Genitival Noun Phrase as Object)*		
trasna ...	**trasNə (Nə srɑːdʹɛ)**	**tʹrʹæsNᵊ (N srɑːʤɛ)**
tar éis ...	**ərʹ eːʃ (ə dʹiːNʹeˑrʹ)**	**tʹrʹ ɛʃ (əN dʹiːNʹɛːrʹ)**
	hərʹ ˈiːʃ (bʹrʹɪkʹfastə)	**tʹrʹ eˑʃ (ənʹ vʹrʹɪkʹfastə)**
le haghaidh ...	**lʹɛⁱ (nʹ dʹiːNʹeːrʹ)**	**lʹeˑ (nʹ dʹiːnʹeˑrʹ)**

[1] After prompting with *fostú*.

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
ɛrʹ tʹæːx ə jɛNə	**ɛrʹ tʹæx ʰhoːgʹɑˑlʹ**	**ɛrʹ tʹæx ə hoːgʹɑˑʟ**
	ɛr fʹæːr ə haʲraˑlʹ maxˑˑˑɔstuˑ	**ɛrʹ fʹæːr ə ʔəstuˑ**
lʹenə fʹʊkə suʰs	lʹe ə fʹəkə suʰs	lʹɛnə fʹʊkə suʰs
h eˑʃ (ə vʹɛ kaʲnʹtʹ lʹɛʃ)	**tʹᵋrʹ ˈeːʃ (ə vʹɛ kaʲnʹtʹ lʹɛʃ)**	**tʹrʹ eʃ (ʟaᵘrtʹ lʹɛʃ)**
træsnə (n̩ traːdʹ)	**traːsNə (N traːʤ)**	**haːrʹ (gən sraːdʹ)ˑˑˑ traˑsNə (Nə sraːdʹɛ)**
r eːʃ (ə dʹiːnʹɛrʹ)	**tər ˈeˑʃ (ə ʤiːnʹɛr)**	**tʹʰrʹ eːʃ (ə ʤiːnʹærʹ)**
h eʃ (əN vʹrʹɪkʹfast)	**tʌrʹ ˈeːʃ (ə vʹrʹɪkʹfʌstə)**	**tʹᵋrʹ ˈeˑʃˑˑˑ tʹʰrʹ ˈeʃ (ə vʹrʹɪkʹfæstə)**
lʹeˑⁱ (nʹ dʹiːnʹɛr)[1]	**(ɛrʹ ə jiːnʹɛr)**	**lʹɛnə (jiːnʹɛrʹ)**

[1] Note the use of what appears to be the compound preposition *le haghaidh* with a non-finite clause as object in II.57: [**lʹeː nʹ tʃæˑx ə jɛNə**].

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

		BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES			
(Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)			
ag/chuig			
	agam	**əm**	**am**
	agat	**æˑd ∼ æts (e)**[1]	**aˑgət ∼ æd ∼ æːdsə**
	againn	(. . . skʹiˑ**N**) a**N**[2] (sic) ∼ a^{i}**N**ʹ	ãˑ(**N**ʹ) ∼ æ**N**ʹ
	agaibh	**agiˑ ∼ agɪʃɛ**	
	acu	**(kɪdʹ) ækəb ∼ akəb**	**akob ∼ akəb**

[1] Direct object pronoun.

[2] Preceded by the lexical item *scian*.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
agəm	**əm**
agətsə	**agət** ∼ **əgʊtˈsə**
hʊgɪ**N**′ ∼ a**N**′	æˑn′ ∼ aː**N**′
	ʌgɪː
akəb	(**t**′**ɪl**′) **ɛkəb**[1] ∼ **akəb**

[1] “tuilleadh acu”.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES		
(Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)		
ag/chuig		
agam	**əm**	**agm̩**
agat	**aːgət** ∼ **æˑt** ∼ **æːtsə**	**aˑt** ∼ **æt**
againn	**æN′** [*x*2] ∼ **æˑN′**	**æN′** ∼ **æːN′** [*x*2]
agaibh		
acu	**akəb** [*x*2]	**aˑkʊb**

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
akəm ∼ aˈgəm[1]	**əm** ∼ **am**[2]	**ʌm**
aːgət	**ad̥**	**aˑgət** ∼ agət ∼ **æˑd̥sə**
agɪ**N′** ∼ aːgm′	æ̃ˑ**N′** ∼ æ̃ˑⁱ**N′**	agɪ**N′** ∼ æ**N′**
aːkəb ∼ **aˑkəp**	**əkə**	**ʌkəb**

[1] Extracted from I.2.

[2] Extracted from II.44.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

	M 70	*F 60+*
PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES		
(Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)		
ag/chuig		
agam	**am**	**akəm**
agat	**æːd** ∼ æt ∼ **at**	**agət** ∼ **agətsə**
againn	æˑ**N′** ∼ æ**N′**	ag**ɪN′** ∼ æˑ**N′**
agaibh		
acu	**(tɪl′/tʃɪl′) ækəb** [$x2$] ∼ **ækəb**	**ækəb**

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
əgəm ∼ əm	**əm**	**əm**
æˑgət ∼ æt ∼ **æːtsə**	**at** [$x2$]	**ad ∼ aˑtsə**
æːn′ ∼ æn′	æːn′ ∼ ɛ**N**′	
(tʹɪlʹ) akə(b) ∼ akə(v)	**(kʊʤ) əkəb ∼ akəb**	

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES		
(Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)		
de		
díot		
(cuid) de	**(kɪdʹɛ) ɣoː**	**(kɪdʹɪ) dʹɛ**
díbh		ʔiːbʹ
díobh		
d'fhataí	**gə faˑtiˑ**	**(gʟɛkʹ aˑtiː)**
de ghnáth		
(cuid) den bhainne	**(kɪdʹɛ) gə wænʹɛ ... gəɴ wæːnʹɛ**	**(kɪdʹɛ) gə̃ wæːɴʹɛ**
(cuid) de na mná	**(kɪdʹɛ) gə nə mɴɑː**	**(kɪdʹɛ) gə nə mɴɑː**

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
(kɪʤ ɛlʹɪ) jɛ	**(kɪdʹ) jɛ**
(maːm fatɪ)	**ə væˑti**
dʹɛ ɣNɑː [$x2$]	
(kɪʤɪ) gən wæˑNʹɛ	**(kɪdʹɪ) gəN wæːnʹɛ**
(kɪʤɪ) gə nə mnɑː	**(kɪdʹɪ) gə nə mnɑː**

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES		
(Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)		
de		
díot		
(cuid) de	**(kɪdʹɛ ... tʹɪrʹɛ**[1]**) je**	**(kɪdʹ) jɛ**
díbh		
díobh		
d'fhataí	**(maːᵊm faːtiː)**	**(maːm paːtiˑ)**
de ghnáth		
(cuid) den bhainne	**(kɪʤɛ) gə̃n wæːNʹɛ**	**(kɪʤ) gəN waˑNʹɛ**
(cuid) de na mná	**(kɪʤɛ) gə nə mNɑː**	**(kɪʤɪ) gə Nə mNɑː**

[1] "tuilleadh"?

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
(kʊʤɪ) jɛ	**(kɪʤɛ) ɣoː**	**(kɪʤ)**
		(kʊʤ) ʤiːv[1]
g aːtiː	**ʤɛ ʔatiˑ**	**gə fatiˑ**
(kʊʤɪ) gəN waːNʹɪ	**(kɪʤ) gəN wæːNʹɛ**	**(kɪʤ) gən waːnʹɛ**
(kɪʤə) gə Nə mNɑː [$x2$]	**(kɪʤ) gə Nə mNɑː**	**(kʊʤ) gə Nə mNɑː**

[1] Extracted from II.2.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

	M 70	*F 60+*
PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES		
(Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)		
de		
díot	jiːt [*x*3]	
(cuid) de	**(kʊʤiː) je** [*x*2]	**(kʊʤɪ) jɪ**
díbh	jiːvʹ	
díobh		
d'fhataí	**g aˑtiˑ**	**gə ʔæti**
de ghnáth		
(cuid) den bhainne	**(kʊdʹɪ) gəN wæNʹɛ**	**(kʊʤɪ) gəN vaˑNʹɛ**
(cuid) de na mná	**(kʊʤɛ) gə Nə mrɑː . . . (kʊʤɛ) gə Nə mNɑː . . . (kʊʤ) (ʤ)ɛsNə mNɑː**	**(kʊʤ) gə nə mrɑː**

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
(kɪʤɪ) jɛ	**(kʊdʹɪ) jɛ**	**(kʊʤ) jɛ** (tʊrʹɪgʹiˑ) jiːbʹ … **(kəʤ) jiːb ∼ (moːrɑːN) jiːb**
(gʟækʹiːnʹ bʹɛgʹ faːtiː)	**(gʟɛkʹ faːtiː)**	**(gʟak faːtiː)**
(kɪʤɪ) gən waˑnʹɪ	**(kɪʤɛ) gən waːNʹɛ**	**(kɪʤ) gəN vaːnʹɛ ∼ (kɪdʹ) gəN vaːnʹɛ**
(kʊʤə) gə nə mrɑː	**(kʊʤ) gəsnə mrɑː**	**(kʊʤ) gə nə mrɑː**

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES		
(Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)		
do		
dom	ɣəm	(tərəmᵊ [1] . . .)
duit	ɣɪtʹ [*x*2]	ɣɪtʹ
dó	ɣoː	ɣoː
di	(**N**ʹiːs fʹɑːr) zɪ	(bʹɑr) dʹɛ̃
dúinn	(. . . ə hʊg) **ɪN**ʹ	(ˈʃeː hʊg) ˈ**ɪN**ʹɪ
daoibh	jiːbʹ	jiːbʹ [*x*2]
dóibh		ɣoːb[2]
don ghasúr	**gə̃ ɣaˑsur**ʹ (sic)	**gəN faːˈʃtʹɪ**
do na cailíní	**gə Nə kalʹiˑnʹiˑ**	**gə nə kalʹiːnʹiː**

[1] "Tabhair dom . . . "

[2] Extracted from II.58.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
(t′uːr) dəm ∼ (tʊˈgiː) ɣəm	
ɣɪt′ ∼ **(kʌ w[ə]s) ˈdɪt′**[1]	ɣɪt′ [*x*3]
ɣoː	ɣoˑ
(b′ɑːr) d′ɪ	
(. . . ə hʊg) **ɪN′**	duːˈ**N′** [*x*2]
d′eːˈb′[2] ∼ **(j)iːb′**	jiːb′
gən faːʃt′ɪ	**gən faːʃt′ɛ**
gə nə kaːl′iːn′iː **gə nə paːʃt′i**[3]	**gə nə kaːl′iːn′iː**

[1] "Cá bhfios duit?"

[2] "Dia daoibh!"

[3] Extracted from II.65.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES		
(Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)		
do		
dom		(t′uːr′/tʊgiː) dəm [x2]
duit		ɣɪt′
dó	ɣoː	ɣoː
di	(b′ɑːr) d′iˑ ∼ d′iː	(bə v′ɑːr) d′ɪ
dúinn	ɣɪ**N′** ∼ ɣə**N′** ∼ ɣɪ**N′**ɪ (ɛsə**N** əg) ɣɪ**N′**[1]	duː**N′**
daoibh	jiːb′	jiːp′
dóibh		
don ghasúr	**gəŋ ɣaːsur′** (sic) … **gə̃ŋ ɣaːsuˑr, gə Nɛ gasuːˡr′**	**gəŋ gaːsuˑr** (sic)
do na cailíní	**gə Nə kaːl′iːn′iː**	**gə Nə kʌⁱl′iːn′iː** ∼ **gə Nə kæˑl′iˑn′iˑ**

[1] "Eisean a thug dúinn …"

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
ɣɪtʲ [*x*2]	ɣɪtʃ ∼ **(ˈkɑ wəs) dɪtʃ** [1]	ɣɪtʃ
ɣoː	ɣoː	
(nʲiː bʲɑːr) dʲɪ		(bə ˈbʲɑːr) ʤɪ
ɣoˈnʲ	ɣɪ**N**ʲ [*x*2]	ɣɪ**N**ʲ ∼ ɣɪmʲ
jiːbʲ [*x*3]		ɣiːvʲ [*x*2] ∼ jiːbʲ [*x*4]
gə̃ ɣaːsuːˈr (sic)	**gən ɣasuˈrʲ** (sic)	**(lʲeː n̩ pɑːʃtʃɛː)** [2]
gə Nə kaːlʲiːnʲiː	**gə Nə kaːlʲiːnʲiː**	**gə nə kaːlʲiːnʲiː**

[1] "Cá bhfios duit?"

[2] "le haghaidh an pháiste"

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

	M 70	*F 60+*
PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES		
(Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)		
do		
dom		
duit	ɣɪtʃ ∼ **(kaᵘs) dɪtʹ** [1]	ɣɪtʹ [*x*4]
dó	ɣoˑ	ɣoː ∼ **(kʹerv ˈæːs) doː**
di		(bʹɑːr) ʤɪ
dúinn	(ə hʊg) ɪNʹ ∼ (…ə tærʹɪgʹəd) ɪNʹ	duˑnʹ ∼ ɣɪNʹ ∼ (…ə tærʹɪgʹəd) ɪNʹ
daoibh	jiːbʹ ∼ (moːr) iːbʹ [2]	jiːbʹ [*x*3]
dóibh		
don ghasúr	**gə̃ fɑːʃtʹɪ**	**gəm fɑːʃtʃɛ**
do na cailíní	**gə nə kalʹiˑnʹiˑ**	**gə Nə kalʹɪnʹiː** … **gə nə kaˑlʹiˑnʹiˑ**

[1] “Cá bhfios duit?”

[2] “Mora daoibh!”

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
ɣuːm	ɣʊm [*x*3] ∼ ɣom [*x*2]	ɣʊm ∼ ɣɔm
ɣɪtʹ [*x*2]	ɣɪtʹ	ɣɪtʹ
ɣoː	ɣoː	ɣoː
(nʹiːs fʹaːr) ʤɛ	(bʹɑːr) ʤɪ	(nʹiˑs fʹɑːr) zʹɪ
(…hʊg) n̩ʹ	ɣũːnʹ ∼ ɣõˑ	ɣuːnʹ ∼ ɣuˑˈnʹ ∼ ɣʊnʹ
(ʤa[i]) jeːvʹ [*x*3] [1]		(ʤi) ibʹ
(vʹrʹeː nʹ faːʃtʹɛ ??)	**dəN faːʃtʹɛ**[2] ∼ **gəN faːʃtʹɛ**	**gəŋ gaˑsuˑr** (sic)
gə nə kaˑlʹiˑnʹiˑ	**gəsnə kæːlʹɪnʹiˑ** ∼ **gəsnə kaˑlʹinʹiˑ**	**gə nə kaˑlʹiˑnʹiˑ**

[1] "Dia daoibh!"

[2] Cf. **[də duˑlʹɪnʹ]** (= "go Dúlainn") in II.53.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES		
(Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)		
i		
ionam		
ionat		
ionainn		
ionaibh		
iontu	əNt′əb (sic) ∼ **ɪnṭə**	**iːNtəb**
sa (bhuicéad)	**sᵊ (mɪkʹeˑd)**	**sə (mɪkʹeːḍ)**
sa (pháirc)	**sə (muᵊlʹɛ)**[1]	**sə (muᵊlʹɛ)**[1]
sa (gheimhreadh)	**sᵊ (ŋʹiːvʹrʹɛ)** ∼ **sə (ŋʹiːvʹrʹɛ)**	**sə (ŋʹiːvʹrʹɛ)** ∼ **sə (ŋʹiːmʹrʹɛ)**
sa (samhradh)	**sə (sʌᵘrʹə)** (sic)	**sə (sãvrə)**

[1] "sa bhuaile"

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
ɪˈ**N**əm	ə**N**əm
əˈ**N**ət	
ɪˈ**N**ə**N**′	ə**N**ɪm′
iːntə	**iːNtəb**
ɪnsə (mʊkˈɛːt)	**sə (mʊkˈɛˑt)**
sə (muˑᵋlˈɪ)[1]	**sə (bɑːrˈkˈ)**
sə (Nˈiːmˈrˈɛ) (sic) ∼ **sə (gˈiːmˈrˈɛ)**	**sə (ŋˈiːvˈrˈɪ)** ∼ **sə (ŋˈiːvˈrˈɛ)**
n̡sə (sãᵘɹə) (sic)	**sə (səᵘrə)**

[1] “sa bhuaile”

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES		
(Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)		
i		
ionam		
ionat		
ionainn		
ionaibh		
iontu	**iːntəb**	**iːntəb**
sa (bhuicéad)	**sə (məkʹeːd)**	**sə (mʊkʹeːˑᵊd)**
sa (pháirc)	**sə (məlʹɛ)**[1]	**səN (məlʹɛ)**[1]
sa (gheimhreadh)	**sə (ŋʹiːmʹrʹɛ)** [$x2$]	**sə (ŋʹĩːmʹrʹɛ)** ∼ **sə (ŋʹiːmʹrʹɛ)**
sa (samhradh)	**sə (sãːmrə)**	**sə (saᵘrə)**

[1] "sa bhuaile"

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
		əNəm
ᵊNɪmʹ		əNɪmʹ
ɪNtə ∼ əNtə [*x*2] ∼ iːNtəb[1]	ɪNtə	ɪntəb ∼ iːntəb
sə (mʊkʹeːd)	sə (mɪkʹeᵊḍ)	ɪnʹsə (mʊkʹɛːt) ∼ ɪnʹsə (mʊkʹɛˑt)
sə (məlʹɛ)[2]	sə (mʊːlʹɛ)[2]	sə (pɑːrʹkʹ) (sic)
sə (ŋʹiːvʹrʹɛ) ∼ sə (ŋʹĩːrʹɛ)	(ᵊrə n̩ jiːvʹrʹɪ)[3] ∼ sə (ŋʹiːvʹrʹɛ)	sə (ŋʹiːvʹrʹɪ) ∼ sə (ŋʹiːvʹrʹɛ)
sə (sʌᵘrə)[4]	sə (saːvrə)	ɪnsə (saːvrə) ∼ n̩sə (saˑvrə)[5]

[1] According to the informant, either [iːNtə] or [əNtəb] is correct; thus a total of five variants is given, with no preference shown to any individual variant.

[2] "sa bhuaile"

[3] "i rith an gheimhridh"

[4] But note the full form of the preposition in the phrase [ᵊnsəN eˑᵊr] ("san aer") at the end of Part One.

[5] Note also the use of an apparently non-standard form *in* in place of the expected Standard Irish form *i* in the phrases [əN də wuːNʹtʃoˑˈrʹ] ("i do mhúinteoir") and [n də vʹæːN] ("i do bhean") in I.43 and II.12, respectively.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

	M 70	*F 60+*
PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES		
(Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)		
i		
ionam		
ionat		
ionainn		
ionaibh		
iontu	**ɪNtəb**	**ɪNtəb**
sa (bhuicéad)	**sə (mʊkʹeˑd)** ∼ **sə (mʊkʹeˑᵊd)** [$x2$]	**sə (məkʹɛˑd)**
sa (pháirc)	**sə (bɑːˈrkʹ)**	**ɪNsəN (mʊˑᵊlʹɛ)**[1]
sa (gheimhreadh)	**sɪ (ŋʹiːvʹrʹɛ)** ∼ **sə (ŋʹiːvʹrʹɛ)**	**sə (ŋʹĩːvʹrʹɛ)** [$x2$]
sa (samhradh)	**sə (saᵘrə)**	**əNsəN (saᵘrə)**

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
	ɪməm	
ənət	**ənət** ∼ ə**N**ə**N**tu	
ənɪm′	ə**N**ən′	
oːNtə(b)	**uːNtə** ∼ ə**N**təb	ɪ**N**təb ∼ **ɪNtəb**
sə (mʊk′eˑᵊd)	**sə (mɪk′ɛd)**	**sə (mʊk′ɛᵊd)** ∼
sə (ŋaːriˑ)[1]	**sə (ŋaːri)**[1]	**sə (ŋaːriˑ)**[1]
sə (ŋ′iːv′r′ɛ) ∼ **sə (ŋ′eⁱv′r′ɛ)**	**sə (ŋ′iːm′r′ɛ)** ∼ **sə (jiːv′r′ɪ)**	**sə (ŋ′iːv′r′ɛ)** ∼ **sə (jiːv′r′ɛ)**
sə (sʌᵘrə)[2]	**sɪ (ŋ′... saᵘrə)**	**sə (sʌᵘrə)**

[1] "sa gharraí"

[2] Note the fuller form of the preposition used in the phrase **[ẽsə ŋæˑn′ɛ]** ("sa ghaineamh") in II.4.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES *(Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)*		
thar		
thairsti	(hart)	hartʹɪ
tharainn		harʰmʹ[1]
tharstu	hartub (sic)	hartəb
thar (am)	har (aˑm)	haːr (aːm)
le		
leat	**lʹæt** ∼ lʹɛt	**lʹæˑt** [*x*2] ∼ lʹæt [*x*2]
libh	**lʹɪvʹ**	
leo	**lʹoˑp**	**lʹoːb**
trí		
tríthi	**tʹrʹiːtʹɛ . . . tʹrʹiː**[2]	**(tʹrʹɪnə kəNəbLəx)**[3]
tríbh		
tríothu		

[1] Extracted from I.19.

[2] Elicited after several attempts.

[3] "trína conablach"

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
hartɪ (sic)	hart′ (ɛr′ . . .)
hartəb	hart^{h}b
haːr (aːm)	hæːr (aːm)
l′æːt [*x*3] ∼ **l′æˑt**	l′æt
l′ɪb′	
l′oːb	**l′oː(b)**
hr′iˑ . . . t′r′iːhɛ ∼ **t′r′iˑhə**[1]	**riːd′** [*x*2]
hr′iːb′ [*x*2]	

[1] The informant remained uncertain of the correct form.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

		CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES *(Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)*			
thar			
	thairsti	hær′ɪ . . . (hart), hæˑr′ɪ . . . hart′ɪ	hært′ (ɪg′ . . .)
	tharainn		
	tharstu	haːrtəb	hærtəb
	thar (am)	haːr (aːm) ∼ hæːr (aːm)	hær (aːm)
le			
	leat	**l′æːt** [*x*2] ∼ **l′ɛt** [*x*2] ∼ l′eˑ [1]	l′ɛːt ∼ **l′ɛːt**
	libh		
	leo	**l′oːb** ∼ **l′oː(b)**	**ʟ′oːb** ∼ **l′oːb**
trí			
	tríthi	**triːd′** ∼ **triː**	**t′r′iːt′ɪ** [*x*2]
	tríbh		
	tríothu		

[1] Third person singular feminine pronoun?

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
haːrtʹ (ɛrʹ . . .)	hærtʃɪ	hartʃɪ
haːrt (ɛrʹ . . .)	hartʊ	ha.rtəb ∼ ha.r^{h}təb [*x*2] ∼ ha.rəb
haːr (aːm)	haˑr (aˑm)	haːr (aːm)
lʹæˑt ∼ lʹæt	lʹæˑt	lʹæt [*x*2] ∼ **lʹɛt**
lʹoː	**lʹoː**	**lʹoːb**
trʹiːdʹ (sic) ∼ **tʹrʹiːdʹ** [*x*2]	**tʹrʹiˑhə**	**(riːnə kələN)** (sic)[1] **^{h}riːʤ ʃɪpʃɛ**[2]

[1] ". . . trína colainn." [2] In the context [**^{h}riːʤ əŋ gɪʤ ɛlʹɛ, ^{h}riːʤ ʃɪpʃɛ**] (= "tríd an gcuid eile [agaibh], tríbhse").

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

		M 70	*F 60+*
PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES			
(Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)			
thar			
	thairsti	harʃtʹɪ	harʃtʃɛ
	tharainn		
	tharstu	haːrəb [x2]	haːrəb
	thar (am)	haːr (aːm)[1]	hæːr (aːm)
le			
	leat	lʹæt [x2] ∼ **lʹɛt**	lʹæt ∼ **lʹæt**
	libh	**lʹɪbʹ**	
	leo	**ʟʹoːb**	**lʹoː**
trí			
	tríthi	**tʹrʹæs ərhi . . .** **tʹrʹiːdʹ . . . tʹrʹiːdʹ iˑ** [x2]	**tʹrʹiːtʃɛ** [x2]
	tríbh		
	tríothu		

[1] But note **[æˑr (ᵊvʹɛ tərsəx) ∼ hær (ə vʹɛ tərsəx)]** (= "thar a bheith tuirseach") in II.44.

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
hær′ɪʃ	haˑrtʃ (ɛr′ . . .)	haːr′ ∼ **haˑr iˑ** ∼ **haˑr i**
haːrtʊ	haːrəb [*x*2]	**ha.rəb** ∼ haːr′ ∼ **haːr iᵊd**
hæːr (aːm)	haːr (aːm)	haːr (aːm)
l′æt ∼ **l′ɛt** ∼ l′ɛt	**l′æt** ∼ l′ɛt [*x*2]	**l′æːt** ∼ l′ɛt
	l′ɪb′ [*x*2]	
l′oː	**ʟ′oːb**	**l′oːb**
t′rɪːt′ɛ (sic)	**t′r′iːt′ɪ**	**hhr′iːt′ɛ**

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

		BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES *(Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)*			
idir			
	eadrainn	**ɛdʹɪr mʊdʹɪ**	**ɛdʹɪrʹ mɪdʹɪ**
	eadraibh	**(ɛdʹɪr xʊlʹɛ ɣɪnʹ ˈagiˑ)**[1]	**aˑdriˑ**
	eatarthu	**aːṭrəb**	**aˑtrəb**
faoi			
	fúithi	fiˑ … fuˑ [$x2$]	fuː
	fúthu	fuːb	fuːb
roimh			
	roimpi	riːmʹpʹɪ	rʲəiːmʹpʹɪ[2] ∼ rɪmʹpʹɪ
	rompu		

[1] "…idir 'chuile dhuine agaibh"

[2] After being prompted with *roimh*.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
aˈdrɪnʹ ∼ aːdrɪNʹɪ ∼ aːdrɪnʹɛ	**adrɪ . . .**
	(adʹɪrʹ kʹæˈxtər ʌgɪː)[1]
aːtrə	**atrə(b)**
fuː	foː
fuːb	fuːb
rɪˈmʹpʹɪ [$x3$]	riːmʹpʹɪ ∼ riːmʹpʹɪʃə[2]
	rompəb ∼ rumpəb

[1] ". . . idir ceachtar agaibh"

[2] The emphatic form of the prepositional pronoun.

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

		CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES			
(Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)			
idir			
	eadrainn	**adrɪNʹɛ**	**ɛdʹɪrʹ mʊNʹɛ**
	eadraibh	**adəriː**	**ɛdʹɪrʹ ʃɪbʹ (ˈLʹʊg)**
	eatarthu	**atrəb**	**æːtrəb**
faoi			
	fúithi	(ᵊ**N**ə teˈᵊv)[1]	fuː
	fúthu	(ᵊ**N**ə dɪːv)[1]	fuːp
roimh			
	roimpi	riːmʹpʹɪ[2]	ruˈmʹpʹ(ɪ)[3]
	rompu		

[1] "ina taobh", "ina dtaobh", respectively.

[2] The form [ruːmʹpʹɪ] was rejected by the informant.

[3] After being prompted.

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
adrɪNʹɛ **aːdriː** **atrə**	**adrɪNʹɛ** **atrə**	**aːdrɪNʹɪ** **ætrəb**
fuː fuː [x2] (sic)	fuːhɪ fuˑhə ∼ fuˑhᵊ	fuː fuːb
riːmʹpʹɪ [x3] [1] ruːmpə ∼ ruːmpəb [x4]	riːmpʹɪ	riːmʹpʹɪʃɪ[2]

[1] After prompting with [riːmʹpʹɪ] and [ruːmʹpʹɪ]. The form [ruːmʹpʹɪ] was rejected by the informant.

[2] The emphatic form of the prepositional pronoun. According to the informant, the form [ruːˈmʹpʹɪ] is in fact more common in Cill Éinne [kʹɪˈlʹeːnʹɛ].

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

		M 70	*F 60+*
PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES			
(Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)			
idir			
	eadrainn	**ɛʤɪrʹ mʊʤɛ**	**aˑdrɪNʹɪ**
	eadraibh	**aːdriː**	**aːdriː**
	eatarthu	**atrə**	**ætrəb**
faoi			
	fúithi		
	fúthu		
roimh			
	roimpi	rɪmʹpʹɪ [x2]	rʊmʹpʹɪ [x2] [1]
	rompu	ruːb [x5]	roːpsə**N** [x2] [2] ∼ roˑpsə**N**[2]

[1] The form [ruːmʹpʹɪ] was accepted by the informant.

[2] Emphatic forms.

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
aːdrɪnʹ	**aːdrʹɪnʹ** (sic)	**ɛɕɟɪrʹ mʊɕɛ**
eːdʹɪrʹ eːnɪnʹɛ[1] **... æːdrɪnʹ** (sic)[2]	**aːdrʹiː** (sic)	**ɛɕɟɪrʹ jiːbʹʃɛ**
æːtrəb	**æˑtrʹəb** (sic)	**ɛɕɟɪrʹ æˑd**
	fuː	fuː[3]
	fuːb	fʊːb
riːmʹpʹɪ [*x*5]	riːmpʹɪ [*x*2] [4]	riːmʹpʹɛ
	ruːmpuˑ ∼ ruːmpə ∼ ruːmpəb[6]	**ruːmpə**[5]

[1] "... idir aon duine ..."

[2] The informant was apparently confused.

[3] In contrast, note the basic form of the preposition elicited from the informant: [fʹɛⁱ ∼ fʹeˑ].

[4] The form [ruːmʹpʹɪ] was rejected by the informant.

[5] Elicited in the discussion at the end of Part II.

[6] The form [ruːb] was rejected by the informant. Cf. I.60.

Part VIII

Lexical Variables

LEXICAL VARIABLES

	BUNGABHLA F 43	*EOGHANACHT F 73*
"(in the) field"	**(sə) muᵊlʹɛ**	**(sə) muᵊlʹɛ**
"fields"	**buᵊlʹtʹɛ**	**buːlʹtʹɛ**
"hill"	(ə) xarkɪrʹ	(ə) xaˑrkɪrʹ
"...of the hill" (*gen.*)	**...əN ɑːrdɑːN** ∼ **...əN ɑːˈlʹtʹ**	**...gə̃ xNʊkɑːN**
iomaí	**ɪmu**	
uile go léir	ˈlʹʊg	**ˈLʹʊg**
Cill Mhuirbhigh	kʹɪlʹ ˈɪvʹɪrʹiˑ	kʹɪlʹ ˈɪvʹɪrʹiˑ [x2]
Cill Éinne		
"(to/at) An Sruthán"	**ɛgʹ əN trəhɑˑN**	...gən srɑːN

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70	*FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60*
(sə) muˑᵉlʹɪ	**(sə) baːrkʹ**
buᵊlʹtʹɛ	**paːrkʹəni**
kᵊNʊk	kᵊNʊk
...əN xNökʹ	**...gə̃ xNʊk**
ᵊmuː	**imuˑ**
ᵻLʹʊg [x5] [1]	**ᵻLʹʊg** [x3] [1]
kʹɪLʹ ˈwɪrʹɪvʹiː	kʹɪLʹ ˈwɪrʹɪvʹiː
ᵊN srɑːN	...n̩ sᵗrɑːn

[1] Instances of this variant from both Parts I and II are conflated in this figure.

LEXICAL VARIABLES

	CORRÚCH M 82	*CORRÚCH F 72*
"(in the) field"	**(sə) məlʹɛ**	**(səN) məlʹɛ**
"fields"	**bəlʹtʹəxiˑ**	**bəlʹtʹəxi**
"hill"	(ə) xaːrkɪrʹ	knʊk ∼ (ŋ) xaːrkɪrʹ
"…of the hill" (*gen.*)	**…nə hæːLʹɛ** ∼ **…n̩ æːLʹ** [*x*2]	**…n̩ ɑːLʹ**
iomaí	**ʊmuː** ∼ **ʊmuˑ**	**ʊmuː**
uile go léir	ˈlʹʊg ∼ ˈ**L**ʹəg ∼ **(…iː) Lʹʊg** [*x*2]	ˈɪlʹʊg ∼ ˈɪ**L**ʹʊg ∼ ˈ**L**ʹʊg ∼ **(…ɛ) Lʹʊg** [*x*2]
Cill Mhuirbhigh	kʹɪlʹ ˈɪvʹəriː	kʹɪ**L**ʹ ˈwʊrvʹiː
Cill Éinne		
"(to/at) An Sruthán"	…gən srɑː**N**	…n srɑː**N**

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

EOCHAILL M 68	*CILL RÓNÁIN M 50*	*CILL ÉINNE F 70*
(sə) məlʹɛ	**(sə) mʊːlʹɛ**	**(sə) məlʹɪ** ∼ **(sə) pɑːrʹkʹ**
buːlʹtʹəxiˑ	**bʊlʹtʹəxiˑ**	**pɑˑrkʹəNeˑⁱ**
(ə) xaːrkɪrʹ	(ə) xarkɪrʹ	kNək
...ə xNəkʹ	**...ə̃ xNʊk**	**...gə xNʊk** ∼ **...gə xrʊk**
həmuː	**ʊmuː**	**ʊmuˑ**
ˈLʹʊg	**ˈLʹʊg** [x2] [1]	
kʹɪlʹ wɪrvʹiˑ	kʹɪLʹ ˈwʊrʹɪ̥vʹiː	kʹɪlʹ ˈwɪrʹɪvʹiː
		kʹɪlʹ ˈeːnʹɛ
... gəN srəhɑːn	...gə srɑːn	...ˈgʹ ˈsrɑːN

[1] Instances of this variant from both Parts I and II are conflated in this figure.

LEXICAL VARIABLES ***INIS MEÁIN***

	M 70	*F 60+*
"(in the) field"	**(sə) baːˈrkʹ**	**(ɪNsəN) muˑəlʹɛ**
"fields"	**paˑrkʹəniː ∼ paːrʃkʹɪNi**	**buˑəlʹtʃəxiː ∼ buəlʹtʃəxiː ∼ paːrkʹəNiː**
"hill"	krʊk	knʊk
"…of the hill" (*gen.*)	**…gə̃ xrʊk**	**…Ṇ xrɛkʹ**
iomaí	**hʊmuː**	**ʊmuː**
uile go léir	(…eː) **Lʹʊg ∼ (…iː/iˑ) Lʹʊg** [$x2$]	
Cill Mhuirbhigh	kʹɪlʹ wʊrʹɪvʹiː	kʹɪlʹ mərəvʹiˑ
Cill Éinne		
"(to/at) An Sruthán"	…sə srɑːn	…sə srəhɑːN

INIS OÍRR

M 55	*F 41*	*F 18*
(sə) ŋaːriˑ ∼ (gə) faːrkʹ	**(sə) ŋaːri**	**(sə) ŋaːriˑ**
paːrkʹəNiˑ	**gaːrəNtiˑ**	**gaːrəNtiˑ**
krʊk	krʊk	krʊk
...gəŋ xrʊk ∼ ...ə xrʊk	**...əN xrʊk**	**...ə xrok ∼ ...ə xrək**
hʊmuː	**hʊmuˑ**	**əmʷiː** [1]
	ˈ**L**ʹʊg	ˈlʹʊg ∼ ᴱ**lʹʊg** ∼ **(...iˑ) lʹʊg** [$x2$]
kʹɪlʹ wʊrʹɪvʹɪ	kʹɪlʹ wʊrᵊvʹiˑ	kʹɪl məɹiˑ
...ɛgʹ ə strəhɑˑn	...n̩ʹ srãː**N**	...gə srɑː**N**

[1] In the phrase [**gə bəː ... əmʷiː fæːrʹ**] (sic) (= *... gurbh ... iomaí fear ...*).

Part IX

Indices

A. Index to Sentence Contexts of Key Linguistic Variables Displayed on Tables

INDEX TO SENTENCE CONTEXTS OF KEY LINGUISTIC VARIABLES DISPLAYED ON TABLES

The numbers appearing under the column headings PART ONE and PART TWO on the following pages refer to the individual stimulus sentences in which the linguistic variables appear. The Irish versions of the stimulus sentences starting on p. 829 give an idea of the intended linguistic contexts for the individual variables.

The instances of linguistic variables appearing in the list of sentences comprising PART TWO are further distinguished from those of PART ONE by appearing in boldface type. All the linguistic variables listed in the column to the far left have been recorded for at least one speaker.

As mentioned in the introduction to the *Tabular Display of Key Linguistic Variables by Island and by Speaker*, the linguistic variables themselves have been presented in their Standard Irish forms. In the case of singular nouns displaying phonological variables, usually only the nominative-accusative form of a noun, without the definite article and without initial mutations, is listed.

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS

	PART ONE	*PART TWO*
LOWERING AND MONOPHTHONGISATION OF DIPHTHONGS		
[iə > eː]		
Dia	1	
siar	17, 57	
thiar	32	
iascaire	49	
iascairí	41	
(ag) fiafraí/iarraidh	33	
bliain	8	
grian	(end of questionnaire)	
pian		**40**
(níos) léithe	8	
[iː > eː]		
síos	20	
Bríd	33, 35	
(Dia) daoibh!	1	
LOWERING, MONOPHTHONGISATION, SHORTENING AND CENTRALISATION OF DIPHTHONGS, Etc.		
[uə > oː]		
suas	20, 56	
gruaig	8	
(níos) luaithe	4, 37	**1**
(níos) nuaí	22	
(ag) cuardach	33, 35	
chuala	58	
ualach		**14**
[uə > o/ə]		
buaile		**16**
buailte		**45**
(ag) bualadh		**7**
buachaill	36	**7, 60**
buachaillí		**1**
nuair		**5**

(Cf. *chuaigh* and *fuair* under verb forms)

[uː > oː]

(níos) lú	23	
(níos) túisce	4, 37	**1**
(ag) gnúsacht	59	
(ag) fiarú (= fiafraí)	33	
fúithi	9	
fúthu	11	
(ar) chúl	31, 32, 34	**16** *(F 70, An Sr.)*
ciúin		**15**
cúnamh		**48** *(F 73)*

(Cf. *Tabhair!, t(h)abharfaidh, t(h)abhairt* and *(ní) dúirt* under verb forms)

RAISING OF LONG MID BACK VOWELS

[oː > uː]

. . . a gcónaíonn . . .	32	
. . . ar chónaigh . . .	47	
i gcónaí	19	**63**

RAISING AND/OR LENGTHENING OF SHORT MID BACK VOWELS

[o > ʊ]

cnoc	56	**16**

[o/ə > oː/uː]

lom		**14**
ró-throm		**14**
chrom	20	
cromadh	20	

RAISING OF LOW FRONT VOWELS

[æː > ɛː]

bean	35, 51, 60	**12, 56**
sean		**13**
fear	34	**39, 51, 52, 54***(F 70, An Sr.)*, **58**
deas	55	**30, 56**
(i mo/ina) sheasamh	32, 34	
teach	31, 32, 35, 47	**54, 57, 63**
isteach	1, 2, 16	**12, 49**
teacht		**2, 9**
(cá/a) ndeachaigh	51, 52, 56, 57	**60**
ceachtanna		**9, 15**
seachtain	19	
cleachtadh		**63**
(Is é do) bheatha	1 *(M 82, F 72)*	

(With Dialectal Variants of Standard Forms)

treasna (= trasna)		**47, 53**
teagann (= tagann)	4	**1, 2** *(F 73)*, **17**
teaga(ig)í!/teagadh! (= tagaigí!/tagadh!)	2	
teagtha (= tagtha)		**2**

VOWEL FRONTING

[aː > æː]

baile	4, 5, 16, 53	**1** *(M 82, F 73)*, **61, 66**
cailíní		**1, 3**
cailleann	19	
cailleadh		**10, 39**
chaill	19	
aill		**16**
. . . na haille *(Genitive)*		**16**
Gaillimh		**66**
gaineamh		**4**
bainne	16	**4**
aimsir	25	
caint	27	**57, 61**
sláintiúil		**44, 56**
. . . (a) maireann . . .	32, 47	
caite	19	
cnaipe	24	
tada	9, 10, 11, 12	
teastaíonn	22, 23, 24	**59**
trasna		**47, 53**
maith	55	**18, 44, 56**
scaitheamh	5	
dathúil		**56**
ba *(= beithígh)*	16	**6**

(Cf. also the intensifying particle *an-* under adjectival inflection.)

[ɑː > aː]

nár		**7, 8, 9, 48**
ná *(Negative Imperative Particle)*	2	**15, 17, 55**
ná *(Comparative Particle)*	37, 60	**1, 43**
cá		**60**
dá	36	**12**
má	36	**14, 17**
mám (*"handful"*)		**65**

[ɑː > aː/æː]

-tá/-teá/-fá/-feá	6, 36, 38	**5, 6, 12, 13, 45** *(M 70)*, **49, 63**
breá	25	**44, 56**

VOWEL BACKING

[aː > ɑː]

am	43, 53, 54	
gann		**45**
mall	29	
anall	2	
thall		**45, 53**
sall *(= anonn)*		**53** *(M 60)*
(ar) ball	5	

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: CONSONANTS

CONSONANT LOSS

[h > ∅] *(Word-Initially)*

(ná) himígí!	**15**
(ná) hosclaígí!	**55**
(má) thagann ...	**17**
(ar) thug ...?	**3**

[h > ∅] *(Word-Medially)*

bóthar	51, 52, 60	**47**
rothar	36	
beithígh	16, 17 *(M 60)*	**6**
dathúil		**56**
(An) Sruthán	57	
(mo) dheartháir	(end of questionnaire: Part One)	**14**
(mo) dheirfiúr	(end of questionnaire: Part One)	
(a) dheirfiúr		**3**

[v′n′> n′]

cuimhneamh	39	**58**
cuimhníonn	39	**58**

CONSONANT WEAKENING

[N′> n′]

inné	25, 45	**9**
inniu	25	**9**
innealtóir		**28, 29**
choinnigh	29, 30	
coinneáil	29, 30	
bainne		**4**
álainn		**30, 56**

CONSONANT SUBSTITUTION IN CONSONANT CLUSTERS

[kN> kr]

cnoc	56	**16**
cnaipe	24	

[**gN> gr**]

(de)ghnáth/gnách **1, 5, 6, 44, 63**
gnáthdhuine 39
gnúsacht 59

[**mN> mr**]

mná 35, 52, 60 **2**

[**wr > mr**]

samhradh **44**

[**v′r′> m′r′**]

geimhreadh **5, 44**

[**rʃ > rs**]

tuirseach **44**
fairsing **45**

[**ʃk′> sk′**]

scian 18, 19 *(F 73)*, 58
scéal 58
sciobtha **1** *(M 82)*

[**ʃt′> st′**]

isteach 2, 16 **12, 49**

AFFRICATION

[**t′> tʃ**] *(Word-Initially)*

teach/tí 31, 32, 35, 47 **54, 57, 63**
(an) tseachtain 19
teacht **2, 9**
tinn **5**
tuilleadh **2, 43**
(cf. *Tar, Téigh,* and *Tabhair* under verbs)

[**t′> tʃ**] *(Word-Medially and Word-Finally)*

caite 19
áit 32 **30, 31, 32, 33, 45, 63**
caint 27 **57, 61**
buailte (*pl.,* ***buaile***) **45**
beirt **54**
(*cf. Comparative Forms of Adjectives*)

[**rtʹ> rʃtʹ**]

tabhairt	18	**64**
labhairt	27	**57, 61**
dúirt	12, 21, 40, 41, 46	**28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35**
beirt		**54**

[**dʹ> ʤ**] *(Word-Initially)*

Dia	1	
(go) dtí	17, 57	**32, 53, 66**
de		**4**
di	20	
d'imigh		**8**
Déanaigí!		**8** *(M 50)*, **15**
deas	55	**56**
(i) dteach	47	

[**dʹ> ʤ**] *(Word-Medially and Word-Finally)*

Bríd	33, 35	
cuid	2, 3, 8	**1, 2, 4, 9, 15**
cairde		**1**

[**nʃ > ntʃ**]

anseo	2, 3	**9, 45**
ansin	17	**5, 9, 10, 32, 45**

VOCALISATION

[**əv > uː**]

tarbh	**16**

(In the Impersonal Simple past)

cailleadh	**10, 39**
doirteadh	**4**
rugadh (ar . . .)	**62**
fuarthas	**16, 48**

CONSONANT SUBSTITUTION AT WORD BOUNDARIES

[**ɣ > w**]

(ó) dhaoine	**6**
(beirt) daoine	**54**

[**∅ > j**]

(Fág taobh) amuigh é!	**14**

[ŋ > N]

(i) ngar **16**
(go) ngabhfaidh ... **53**
(go) ngnóthóidh ... **51**
(ar an) ngaineamh **4**

[ŋ′> N′]

(sa) gheimhreadh **5, 44**

GLIDES AND RE-SYLLABIFICATION

gabhar	(end of questionnaire: Part One)	
gabhair	(end of questionnaire: Part One)	
(an) ghrian	(end of questionnaire: Part One)	
(mo) dheartháir	(end of questionnaire: Part One)	**14**
(mo) dheirfiúr	(end of questionnaire: Part One)	
(a) dheirfiúr		**3**

GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

VERBS	*PART ONE*	*PART TWO*
Tar		
tar!	2	
tagaigí!	2	
tagann	4	**1**
(má) thagann		**17**
(sula) dtagann	4	
(ag) teacht		**2,9**
tagtha		**2**
Téigh		
téigh!	5	
téigí!	2	**15, 55**
rachaidh	5	
(go) rachaidh		**53**
(a) chuaigh	51, 52, 56, 57	
Faigh		
faigí!	3	
faigheann	7	
(ní) fhaigheann	7	
(an) bhfaighidh . . . ?	6	
(ní) bhfaighidh	6	
(ní) bhfaighfeá		**13**
(dá) bhfaighinn	36	
fuair	36 *(M 82)*	**10**
fuarthas		**16**
(nach) bhfuarthas		**48**
gheofar		**48**
(ag) fáil	8	
(a) fháil		**58**
Tabhair		
tabhair!	16	**17**
tugaigí!	2	
tugann		**1**
tabharfaidh	17	
(ní) thabharfaidh	17	
(ar) thug . . . ?		**3**
(a) thug . . .	48	
(ag) tabhairt	18	
(a) thabhairt		**64**

Bí

bígí!		**15**
bheifeá		**12**
(dá) mbeifeá		**12**
(mura) mbeifeá		**13**
bhínn		**44**
bhíteá		**5, 6**
(Indirect Relative)		
(a) mbíteá		**63**
(In Responses and Short Queries)		
An raibh tú?		**7**
Bhí mé!		**7**
(In Negative Relative and Negative Finite Complement Clauses)		
nach raibh		**9, 48**
(With 3 sg.)		
tá (sé /sí)	18, 21, 53	**64**
(With 3 pl.)		
tá (siad)		**9, 45**
bhí (siad)	60	**57**
(ní) raibh (siad)		**10**
(go) raibh (siad)		**58**

Abair

deir		**2** *(F 43)*, **23, 28, 30, 34, 52**
(má) deir		**14**
(ní) deirimid	9	
(ní) déarfaidh	11	
déarfainn	58 *(F 70, An Sr.)*	**51**
dúirt	12, 21, 40, 41, 46	**29, 31, 32, 35**
(ní) dúirt	10	

Déan

déanaigí!		**15**
(a) dhéanann		**52**
(sula) ndéanann	39	
(ní) dhéanfainn(se)	38	
dhéanfá(sa)	38	
(ní) dhearna	12	
(go) ndearna	12	
(nach) ndearna		**8**
(Indirect Relative)		
(a) ndearna	13, 14, 28	
(é a) dhéanamh		**36, 57**

Ith
itheann 15 **46**
(ní) ithim(se) 15
(a) ithe **46**

Fan
(an) bhfanfaidh . . . ? **63**
(a) d'fhantá **5**

(Indirect Relative)
(a) bhfantá **63**

fanta **4**

Beir
rugadh (air) **62**
breith (air) **62**

Clois
chuala 58

Caill
cailleann 19
chaill 19

Mill
(é a) mhilleadh 21
millte 21

Crom
cromadh 20
chrom 20

Rith
rithfidh **61**
rith **47**

Bruith
bruithfidh **65**

Buaigh
(go) mbuaifidh **51**

Gnóthaigh
(go) ngnóthóidh **51**

Coinnigh
(do do) choinneáil 29
(ag) coinneáil 30

Tóg
(a) thógáil **57, 58** *(F 73)*

Imigh
imígí! **55**
(ná) himígí! **15**
d'imigh (siad) **8**
(ar) imigh . . . ? **8**

Oscail
(ná) hosclaígí! **55**

Fág
fág! **14**
fágaigí! 3
d'fhág 60 **8, 42**
(sular) fhág 60

Foghlaim
foghlaimígí! **15**
foghlamtha **9**

Ceannaigh
(an) gceannófá . . . ? 36
cheannaíteá **6**

Lig
(an) ligfeá . . . ? **49**
ligfí **12**

Labhair
labhraíonn 55

Teastaigh
teastaíonn 22, 23, 24 **50**
(an) dteastaíonn . . . ? **59**

Cuimhnigh
cuimhníonn 39
(ag) cuimhneamh 39 **58**

Fiafraigh
(ag) fiafraí 33

Iarr
(ag) iarraidh **50**

Doirt
doirte **4**

VERB FORMS IN INTERROGATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

(Cén chaoi) a ndeachaigh . . . ?	56	
(Cén chaoi) a ndearna . . . ?	13	
(Cén chaoi) a bhfuil . . . ?		**36**
(Cén fáth) a ndeachaigh . . . ?	57	
(Cén fáth) a ndearna . . . ?	14	
(Cén fáth) a raibh . . . ?	59	
(Cé dó) a ndearna . . . ?	28	
(Cé leis) a raibh . . . ?	27	
(Cé leis) a bhfuil . . . ?		**38**
(Cé aige) a bhfuil . . . ?		**38**
(Cá) ndeachaigh . . . ?[1]		**60**
(Cá fhad) go rachaidh . . . ?[1]		**53**
(Cé mhéad) . . . ?[1]		**46, 54**

VERB FORMS IN ATTRIBUTIVE INDIRECT RELATIVE CLAUSES

(san áit) a gcónaíonn/a maireann . . .	32	
(sa teach) a raibh . . .		**63**
(faoi scian) a raibh . . .	58	
(an bhean) a ndeachaigh . . .	51	
(na mná) a ndeachaigh . . .	52	

VERB FORMS IN "BEFORE" TEMPORAL RELATIVE CLAUSES

(sula) dtagann . . .	4
(sula) ndéanann . . .	39
(sular) tháinig . . .	10
(sular) fhág/imigh . . .	60
(sular) éirigh . . .	37

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[1] The focus in these three items is on the interrogative word or phrase used in the constructions — not on the verb itself. The items are included here for convenience.

THE COPULA

(Present Tense)
An tú (Séamas)? 50
An iascaire (thú)? 49

(Past Tense)
Ar mhúinteoir (thú ...)? 43
Ar mhic léinn (sibh ...)? 44
Arbh fheirmeoirí (iad ...)? 42
Arbh i dteach ...? 47

B'eisean ... 48

(In Subordinate Clauses: Present Tense)
...gur innealtóir (é) **28**
...gurb álainn ... **30**

(In Subordinate Clauses: Past Tense)
...gurbh innealtóir (é) **29**
...gurbh iascairí ... 41
...gur dhochtúir ... 40
...gur chloch mhór ... 46
...gurbh iontach ... **31**

(The Past/Conditional Tense in Selected Constructions)
B'fhéidir ... **48, 58**
Níorbh fhéidir ... **62**
B'fhiú ... **62**
B'fhearr ... 20
...gurbh fhearr ... **32**
B'iontach ... **33**
Dá mba bhean ... **12**

(Deictic and Related Constructions: Present Tense)

Seo (ceann maith)! **18**
Sin (droch-cheann)! **18**
Seo (é)! **19**
Sin (é)! **19**
An é seo (é)? **20**
Ní hé seo (é)! **20**
...gurb é seo (é) **23**
...nach é seo (é) **34**
...an é seo (é nó) nach é **24**

(Deictic and Related Constructions: Past Tense)

B'é seo (é)! **21**
B'iad seo (iad)! **22**
Arbh é seo (é)? **21**
Níorbh é seo (é)! **22**
Níorbh iad (na cinn . . .), arbh iad? 45
. . . nárbh é seo (é) **35**

(With Human Subjects: Present Tense)

Is é Seán (é). **25**
An í an bhean . . . ? 51
An iad na mná . . . ? 52
Ní hé an tríú fear. **51**

(With Human Subjects: Past Tense)

B'é Seán (é). **26**
Arbh é Seán (é)? **26**
. . . arbh é Seán (é nó) nárbh é? **27**

(Miscellaneous Constructions)

Cárb as (é)? **38**
Cárbh as (é)? **39**
Cá bhfios duit? **36**
Cén cineál cóta (é)? **30** *(M 60)*, **37**

NOMINAL INFLECTION

(Nouns in the Vocative Case)

a Sheáin!	1, 2, 16	
a Mháire!	5	
a ghasúra!	2, 3,	**15**
a fheara!	1	

(Genitival Constructions)

glac/mám fhataí		**65**
scian coise duibhe	58	
níos mó spáis		**43**
rothar an bhuachalla eile	36	
i gContae an Chláir		**6**
trasna na sráide		**47**
le taobh an chnoic		**16**
os comhair an tí	31	
ar chúl an tí	32	
os comhair an fhir mhóir	34	
os comhair an fhir eile	34	
tar éis an dinnéir		**49**
tar éis an bhricfeasta		**64**
le haghaidh a dhinnéir		**60**

(Genitival Constructions in Progressive Verb Phrases)

ag tabhairt scine (chugainn)	18	
ag bualadh an bhuachalla		**7**
ag lorg Mháire	33	
ag lorg Bhríd	33	
ag coinneáil Sheáin	30	

(Progressive Verb Phrases with a Pronominal Direct Object[1])

do do choinneáil	29

(Embedded Genitival Constructions in Progressive Verb Phrases)

ag lorg theach Mháire	35
ag lorg theach na mná eile	35

[1] This item is included here for convenience.

(Miscellaneous Plural Noun Forms)

na cinn	45	
na cinn (mhóra)		**17**
na cinn (bheaga)		**17**
cairde		**1**
a gceachtanna		**9**

(Gender Assignment in Nouns)

an phian		**40**
an mhuc	59	

ADJECTIVAL INFLECTION

(Lenition of Singular Adjectives Modifying Feminine Singular Nouns)

(bean) mhór dheas		**56**
(bean) shlachtmhar		**56**
(bean) fholláin/shláintiúil		**56**
(bean) thábhachtach		**56**
(cloch) mhór	46	
(ar an gcloch) mhaol		**14**
(cos/lámh) dhubh	58	

(Plural Adjectival Forms)

(éadaí) salacha	2	
(na cinn) mhóra		**17**
(na cinn) bheaga		**17**

(Lenition of Nouns after Cardinal Numerals[1])

beirt daoine		**54**
beirt siúinéirí		**54**

(Forms of Ordinal Numerals[1])

an dara duine		**51**
an tríú duine		**51**

(Miscellaneous: Lenition after "gach uile"[1])

'chuile bhliain	8	

[1] This item is included here for convenience.

(Comparative Forms of Adjectives)

níos fearr	20	
níos lú	23	
níos dorcha	26	
níos túisce/moiche	4, 37	**1**
níos fliche	26	
níos giorra		**50**
níos raimhre		**50**
níos doimhne		**50**
níos léithe	8	
níos nuaí	22	
níos breátha	25	

(The Intensifying Particle an-*)*

an-tuirseach		**44**
an-fholláin/an-sláintiúil		**44**
an-fhairsing		**45**
an-ghann		**45**

PRONOMINAL FORMS

(An) tú ...	50	
(An ...) thú?	49	
(Dá mba ...) thú ...		**12**
(*As Direct Object*)...thú	29	**12**
seisean	7, 15, 37	
eisean	37, 48	
muid(e)	4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 22, 37, 41, 54	**41, 42** *(F 72)*, **54** *(M 82)*
sibh(se)	2, 3, 4 *(F 70, An Sr.)*, 44	**55**
siad(san)	4, 37 *(M 82)*	**1, 8, 9, 10, 45, 58**
iad	3 *(F 73)*, 17, 42, 45, 52	**1** *(M 82)*, **10, 22, 55** *(M 60)*, **64**

(*Possessive Pronouns*)

ár (gcuid)	8, 37 *(F 70, Cill Éinne)*	
bhur (gcuid)	2, 3	**15**
(in) bhur (scoláirí)	44	
(i) do (dhiaidh)	5	
(i) do (sheasamh)	34 *(M 82)*	
(i) mo (sheasamh)	34 *(M 82)*	

PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

(*With a Non-Finite Clause as Object*)

(ag caint) ar/faoi (theach a thógáil)		**57**
(ag smaoineamh) ar (fhear a fhostú)		**58**
le (é a phiocadh suas)	20	
tar éis (labhairt leis)		**61**

(*With a Genitival Noun Phrase as Object*)

trasna ...	**47, 53**
tar éis ...	**49, 64**
le haghaidh ...	**60**

(Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)

ag/chuig

agam		**27**
agat	21	**11, 36, 63**
againn	18, 53	
agaibh		**43, 45, 55**
acu		**2, 9, 45**

de

díot	2	
(cuid) de		**4**
díbh	2, 3	
díobh		**2, 45**
d'fhataí		**65**
de ghnáth		**1, 5, 6, 44, 63**
(cuid) den bhainne		**4**
(cuid) de na mná		**2**

do

dom	2	
duit	1	**36**
dó	28	**39**
di	20	
dúinn	2, 18, 48, 53	
daoibh	1	**43**
dóibh		**58** *(F 73)*
don ghasúr		**65**
do na cailíní		**3**

i

ionam	40	
ionat	40, 43	**12**
ionainn	41	
ionaibh	44	
iontu	42	**41**
sa (bhuicéad)		**4**
sa (pháirc)		**16**
sa (gheimhreadh)		**5, 44**
sa (samhradh)		**44**

thar

thairsti	51	
tharainn	19 *(F 73)*	
tharstu	52	
thar (am)	53	**44** *(M 70)*

le

leat	21	**17**
libh	3	**55**
leo		**1**

trí

tríthi		**40**
tríbh		**43** *(F 70, An Sr.)*
tríothu		**43**

idir

eadrainn		**43**
eadraibh		**43**
eatarthu		**42**

faoi

fúithi	9	
fúthu	11	

roimh

roimpi	60	
rompu	4	

LEXICAL VARIABLES

"(in the) field"		**16**
"fields"		**45**
"hill"	56	
"...of the hill" (*gen.*)		**16**
iomaí		**52**
uile go léir	17 *(M 82)*, 44	**43, 55**
Cill Mhuirbhigh	17	
Cill Éinne	(end of Part One: *F 70, Cill Éinne*)	
"(to/at) An Sruthán"	57	

B. Stimulus Sentences Used to Elicit Key Linguistic Variables

THE ORIGINAL STIMULUS SENTENCES IN ENGLISH: PART ONE

1. Hello, Seán! Hello men!
2. Seán, come here! You children, come here too! And give us your dirty clothes! And don't go out again!
3. Children, leave your coats here, but get your hats!
4. *We* come home before *they* do.
5. Go home, Máire, and we'll go later.
6. Will *you* get a pension? *I* won't.
7. *She* gets a pension, but *he* doesn't.
8. Our hair is getting greyer every year.
9. We never say anything about her.
10. We didn't say anything before he came.
11. We won't say anything about them.
12. He said that he did the work, but he didn't.
13. How did you do it?
14. *Why* did you do it?
15. *He* eats meat, but *I* don't.
16. Seán, bring in the cows.
17. I'll bring them all west to Kilmurvey, but I won't bring them right now.
18. He is bringing us a knife.
19. He lost it last week; he always loses it!

20. She bent over to pick it up, but it was better for her not to bend.
21. I told you not to spoil it, but now it's spoiled.
22. We need a newer car.
23. You need smaller ones.
24. I need a button.
25. It's a fine day today, but the weather was finer yesterday.
26. It will be darker and wetter tomorrow.
27. Who were you talking with?
28. Who did you do the work for?
29. You're late. What was keeping you?
30. What was keeping Seán?
31. Máire is sitting in front of the house.
32. Máirtín is standing in back of the house where Seán lives.
33. Seán was asking for Máire, and Máire was looking for Bríd.
34. You were standing in front of the big man, and I was standing in front of the other man.
35. I was looking for Máire's house, and Bríd was looking for the other woman's house.
36. If I got the other boy's bicycle, would you buy it from me?
37. *We* got up earlier than *he* did.
38. *I* wouldn't do it, but *you* would.
39. The ordinary person thinks before he does something like that.
40. He said that I was a doctor.
41. She said that we were fishermen.
42. Were they farmers?
43. Were you a teacher then?
44. Were you all students at that school?
45. They weren't the ones I bought yesterday, were they?
46. She said that it was a big stone.
47. Was it a house that he lived in?

48. It was *he* who gave us the money.
49. Are you a fisherman?
50. Are you Séamas Ó Gallachóir?
51. Is that the woman you passed on the road?
52. Are those the women you passed on the road?
53. It is past time for us to be home.
54. We were in the army at that time.
55. She speaks nicely, and she dresses nicely.
56. How did you go up the hill?
57. Why did you go west to Sruthán?
58. I heard a story about a black-handled knife.
59. Why was the pig grunting?
60. The other women left before she did. They were on the road in front of her.

(*Pronunciation Differences: Syllabification*)

1. my brother; my sister
2. the sun
3. a goat; goats

(*Pronunciation Differences: Strength of Palatalisation/Velarisation*)

1. his bed; her bed (Any difference?)
2. his strength; her strength (Any difference?)
3. his day; her day (Any difference?)
4. his shame; her shame (Any difference?)

THE ORIGINAL STIMULUS SENTENCES IN ENGLISH: PART TWO

1. The girls come back earlier than the boys, and they bring their friends.
2. Some of the women have come, but some of them are still coming.
3. Did his sister give the information to the girls?
4. Some of the milk was spilt on the sand, but some of it was still in the bucket.
5. You used to be sick when you used to stay there in the winter.
6. You used to buy cattle from the people in Clare.
7. You were beating the boy, were you? I was.
8. The men who did not do the work went away, did they? They did.
9. The children who were not here yesterday are coming today, and they have learned their lessons.
10. They were not there. They have died.
11. Do you have your hat?
12. If you were a woman, you would be let in.
13. If you were not old enough, you would not get a pension.
14. If my brother says the load is heavy, leave it outside, on the bare rock.
15. Children, don't go away! Be quiet and do your lessons!
16. The bull was found in the field beside the hill.
17. If you come, bring the big ones — not the little ones.
18. This is a good one. That's a bad one.
19. This is it! No, that's it!
20. Is this it? This is not it.
21. Was it this? It was this!
22. It wasn't this. It was these!
23. He says that this is it.
24. He doesn't know whether this is it or not.
25. It's Seán.
26. Was it Seán? It was Seán.
27. I didn't know whether it was Seán or not.

28. He says that he's an engineer.
29. He said that he was an engineer.
30. He says that it's a beautiful place.
31. He said that it was a wonderful place.
32. He said that he preferred to go there.
33. It was a wonderful place.
34. He says that this is not it.
35. He said that this wasn't it.
36. It was worth doing. How do *you* know?
37. What kind of coat is it?
38. Where is he from? Who is he related to?
39. The man who died — where was he from?
40. The pain went through her.
41. What did we put in them?
42. He left some space between them.
43. There is more space between us than there is between all of you.
44. I used to be very tired in the winter, but very healthy in the summer.
45. Fields are very plentiful here, but they're very scarce over there.
46. How much are you eating?
47. They saw him running across the street.
48. Perhaps the money wasn't found, but it will be.
49. Would you let him in after dinner?
50. I want one which is fatter, shorter, and deeper.
51. I think the second man will win the race — not the third man.
52. He says that it's many a man that does that.
53. How long will it be until you go over to Doolin?
54. How many people did you see at the house? Two people — two carpenters.
55. All of you children—go away and don't open that door!
56. She is a nice big woman—a handsome woman, a healthy woman, an important woman.

57. They were talking about building a house.
58. Maybe they were thinking about hiring a man.
59. Do you need it?
60. Where did the boy go for dinner?
61. I will run home after speaking to him.
62. I couldn't catch him, but he was caught anyway.
63. Will you stay at the house where you used to stay?
64. It's easier to bring them back now than after breakfast.
65. I'll boil a handful of potatoes for the child.
66. He came home to Galway*.

*(Added later to the list and elicited on Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr only.)

TRANSLATIONS OF STIMULUS SENTENCES INTO STANDARD IRISH (REFLECTING TARGET STRUCTURES AIMED AT DURING ELICITATION): PART ONE

1. Dia duit, a Sheáin! Dia daoibh, a fheara!
2. A Sheáin, tar anseo! Sibse, a pháistí/ghasúra, tagaigí anseo freisin! Agus tugaigí dúinn bhur (gcuid) éadaí salacha! Agus ná téigí amach arís!
3. A pháistí/ghasúra, fágaigí bhur gcótaí anseo, ach faigí bhur hataí!
4. Tagann muide abhaile sula dtagann siadsan.
5. Téigh abhaile, a Mháire, agus gabhfaidh muide ar ball.
6. An bhfaighidh tusa pinsean? Ní bhfaighidh mise (pinsean)!
7. Faigheann sise pinsean, ach ní bhfaigheann seisean.
8. Tá ár gcuid gruaige/ár ngruaig ag éirí níos léithe in aghaidh na bliana.
9. Ní deir muid dada fúithi riamh.
10. Ní dúirt muid dada sular tháinig sé.
11. Ní déarfaidh muid dada fúthu.
12. Dúirt sé go ndearna sé an obair, ach ní dhearna.
13. Cén chaoi a ndearna tú é?
14. Cén fáth/tuige a ndearna tú é?
15. Itheann seisean feoil, ach ní ithimse í.
16. A Sheáin, tabhair isteach na ba/beithigh!
17. Tabharfaidh mé siar go Cill Mhuirbhigh iad go léir, ach ní thabharfaidh mé anois díreach iad.
18. Tá sé ag tabhairt scine chugainn.
19. Chaill sé an tseachtain seo caite é; cailleann sé i gcónaí é!
20. Chrom sí le é a phiocadh/lena phiocadh suas, ach b'fhearr di gan cromadh.
21. Dúirt mé leat gan é a mhilleadh, ach anois tá sé millte (agat).
22. Teastaíonn carr níos nuaí uainn.
23. Teastaíonn cinn níos lú uait.
24. Teastaíonn cnaipe uaim.
25. Is breá an lá inniu é, ach bhí an aimsir níos breátha inné.
26. Béidh sé níos dorcha agus níos fliche amárach.

27. Cé leis a raibh tú ag caint?
28. Cé dó a ndearna tú an obair?
29. Tá tú mall/deireanach. Céard a bhí do do choinneáil?
30. Céard a bhí ag coinneáil Sheáin?
31. Bhí Máire ina suí ar aghaidh/os comhair an tí.
32. Tá Máirtín ina sheasamh ar chúl an tí ina gcónaíonn Seán.
33. Bhí Seán ag fiafraí faoi Mháire, agus bhí Máire ag iarraidh/lorg Bhríd.
34. Bhí tusa i do sheasamh ar aghaidh/os comhair an fhir mhóir, agus bhí mise i mo sheasamh ar aghaidh/os comhair an fhir eile.
35. Bhí mé ag lorg/tóraíocht theach Mháire, agus bhí Bríd ag lorg/tóraíocht theach na mná eile.
36. Dá bhfaighinn rothar an bhuachalla eile, an gceannófá uaim é?
37. D'éirigh muide níos moiche/luaithe/túisce ná eisean.
38. Ní dhéanfainnse é, ach dhéanfása é!
39. Smaoiníonn an gnáthdhuine sula ndéanann sé rud mar sin.
40. Dúirt sé gur dhochtúir mé.
41. Dúirt sí gur iascairí muid.
42. Arbh fheilmeoirí iad?
43. Ar mhúinteoir thú ag an am sin?
44. Ar mhic léinn/dhaltaí sibh go léir ag an scoil sin?
45. Níorbh iad sin na cinn a cheannaigh mé inné, arbh iad?
46. Dúirt sí gur chloch mhór í.
47. Arbh i dteach a chónaigh sé?
48. B'eisean a thug an t-airgead dúinn.
49. An iascaire thú?
50. An tú Séamas Ó Gallachóir?
51. An í sin an bhean a ndeachaigh tú thairsti ar an mbóthar?
52. An iad sin na mná a ndeachaigh tú thartu ar an mbóthar?
53. Tá sé thar am dúinn/againn a bheith sa bhaile.
54. Bhí muid san arm ag an am sin.

55. Labhraíonn sí go deas, agus gléasann sí (í féin) go deas.
56. Cén chaoi a ndeachaigh tú suas an cnoc?
57. Cén fáth/tuige a ndeachaigh tú siar go Sruthán?
58. Chuala mé scéal faoi scian coise duibhe.
59. Cén fáth/tuige a raibh an mhuc ag gnúsacht?
60. D'imigh/d'fhag na mná eile sular imigh/fhág sise. Bhí siad ar an mbóthar roimpi.

(*Pronunciation Differences: Syllabification*)

1. mo dheartháir; mo dheirfiúr
2. an ghrian
3. gabhar; gabhair

(*Pronunciation Differences: Strength of Palatalisation/Velarisation*)

1. a leaba (m.); a leaba (f.)
2. a neart (m.); a neart (f.)
3. a lá (m.); a lá (f.)
4. a náire (m.); a náire (f.)

TRANSLATIONS OF STIMULUS SENTENCES INTO STANDARD IRISH (REFLECTING TARGET STRUCTURES AIMED AT DURING ELICITATION): PART TWO

1. Tagann na cailíní ar ais níos túisce ná na buachaillí, agus tugann siad a gcairde leo.
2. Tá cuid de na mná tagtha, ach tá cuid acu ag teacht fós.
3. Ar thug a dheirfiúr an t-eolas do na cailíní?
4. Bhí cuid den bhainne doirte ar an talamh, ach bhí cuid de sa bhuicéad fós.
5. Bhíteá tinn nuair a d'fhantá ansin sa gheimhreadh.
6. Cheannaíteá ba/beithigh ó na daoine i gContae an Chláir.
7. Bhí tú ag bualadh an bhuachalla, an raibh? Bhí mé.
8. Na fir nach ndearna an obair, d'imigh siad, ar imigh? D'imigh.
9. Na páistí/gasúir nach raibh anseo inné, beidh siad ag teacht inniu agus a gceachtanna foghlamta acu.
10. Ní raibh siad ansin. Cailleadh iad.
11. An bhfuil do hata agat?
12. Dá mba bhean thú, ligfí isteach thú.
13. Mura mbeifeá sách sean, ní bhfaighfeá pinsean.
14. Má deir mo dheartháir go bhfuil an t-ualach trom, fág amuigh ar an gcloch/gcarraig lom é.
15. A pháistí/ghasúra, ná himígí! Bígí ciúin agus déanaigí bhur gceachtanna.
16. Fuarthas an tarbh sa pháirc taobh leis an gcnoc.
17. Má thagann tú, tugaigí na cinn mhóra leat; ná tabhair na cinn bheaga.
18. Seo ceann maith. Sin droch-cheann.
19. Seo é! Ní hé! Sin é!
20. An é seo é? Ní hé seo é.
21. Arbh é seo é? Ba é seo é!
22. Níorbh é seo é. Ba iad seo iad!
23. Deir sé gurb é seo é.
24. Níl a fhios aige arb é seo é nó nach é.
25. Is é Seán é.
26. Arbh é Seán é? Ba é (Seán é).

27. Ní raibh a fhios agam arbh é Seán é nó nárbh é.
28. Deir sé gur innealtóir é.
29. Dúirt sé gurbh innealtóir é.
30. Deir sé gurb álainn an áit é.
31. Dúirt sé gurbh iontach an áit é.
32. Dúirt sé gurbh fhearr leis dul ann.
33. B'iontach an áit é/b'áit iontach é.
34. Deir sé nach é seo é.
35. Dúirt sé narbh é seo é.
36. B'fhiú (é) a dhéanamh. Cá bhfios duitse?
37. Cén cineál cóta é?
38. Cárb as é? Cé leis é?
39. An fear a cailleadh—cárbh as é?
40. Chuaigh an phian tríthi.
41. Céard a chuir muid iontu?
42. D'fhág sé spás eatarthu.
43. Tá níos mó spáis eadrainn ná mar atá eadraibh go léir.
44. Bhínn an-tuirseach sa gheimhreadh, ach an-fholláin/shláintiúil sa samhradh.
45. Tá páirceanna an-fhairsing anseo, ach tá siad an-ghann thall ansin.
46. Cé mhéad atá tú a ithe?
47. Chonaic siad ag rith trasna na sraide é.
48. B'fhéidir nach bhfuarthas an t-airgead, ach gheofar é.
49. An ligfeá isteach é tar éis an dinnéir?
50. Teastaíonn ceann níos raimhre, níos giorra, agus níos doimhne uaim.
51. Sílim/ceapaim gurb é an dara fear a ghnóthós/bhuaifeas an rás —ní hé an tríú fear.
52. Deir sé gurb iomaí fear a dhéanann sin.
53. Cá fhad go ngabhfaidh tú anonn go Dúilinn?
54. Cé mhéad duine a chonaic tú ag an teach? Beirt—beirt siúinéirí.
55. A pháistí/ghasúra—sibhse go léir, imígí libh, agus ná hosclaígí an doras sin!

56. Is bean mhór dheas í—bean dhathúil, fholláin/shláintiúil, thábhachtach.
57. Bhí siad ag caint faoi theach a thógáil.
58. B'fhéidir go raibh siad ag smaoineamh ar fhear a fhostú.
59. An dteastaíonn sé uait/an bhfuil sé ag teastáil uait?
60. Cá ndeachaigh an buachaill le haghaidh dinnéir?
61. Rithfidh mé abhaile tar éis caint/labhairt leis.
62. Níor fhéad mé/níorbh fhéidir liom breith air, ach rugadh air ar aon chaoi.
63. An bhfanfaidh tú ag an teach a bhfantá ann?
64. Is fusa iad a thabhairt ar ais anois ná tar éis bricfeasta.
65. Bruithfidh mé mám phrátaí don pháiste/ghasúr.
66. Tháinig sé abhaile go Gaillimh.*

*(Added later to the list and elicited on Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr only.)

C. Sociolinguistic Questionnaire for Linguistic Informants

CEISTNEOIR SOCHTHEANGEOLAÍOCH

1. Cá rugadh thú? (baile fearainn)

   Cén bhliain?

   An bhfuil Béarla agat, nó teanga ar bith eile?

   Cén chaoi ar fhoghlaim tú é/í?

2. Cár rugadh do mháthair? (baile fearainn)

   Cén bhliain?

   An raibh Béarla nó teanga ar bith eile aici?

   Cén chaoi ar fhoghlaim sí é/í?

3. Cár rugadh d'athair? (baile fearainn)

   Cén bhliain?

   An raibh Béarla nó teanga ar bith eile aige?

   Cén chaoi ar fhoghlaim sé é/í?

4. Cá ndeachaigh tú ar scoil?

   Cé mhéad bliain a chaith tú ar scoil?

   An labhraíodh na múinteoirí libh as Gaeilge sna ranganna? As Béarla?

   Cárbh as na múinteoirí?

   An raibh na téacsleabhair scríofa as Gaeilge? As Béarla?

   Cé na cuimhní cinn is mó atá agat ar na laethanta sin?

5. Cé na cláir is mó a n-éisteann tú leo ar an raidió?

   Ar Raidió na Gaeltachta?

   An furasta iad a thuiscint?

6. An bhfuil difríochtaí ann i gcanúint na ndaoine san oileán seo?

   Cé hiad na difríochtaí?

   An bhfuil an tseanGhaeilge á labhairt ag daoine áirithe? Cé hiad?

7. An labhraíonn tú Gaeilge le daoine as áiteacha eile?

   Cé na háiteanna arb as iad, go hiondúil?

8. An léann tú nuachtáin, irisleabhair, nó leabhair i nGaeilge?

   Cé na cinn is fearr leat?

   An furasta iad a thuiscint?

9. An bhfuair tú seans dul go háiteanna eile?

   Cé na háiteanna atá siúlta agat?

   Cén t-achar a chaith tú iontu?

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF SOCIOLINGUISTIC QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Where were you born? (townland)

   In what year?

   Do you speak English or any other language?

   How did you learn it/them?

2. Where was your mother born? (townland)

   In what year?

   Did she speak English or any other language?

   How did she learn it/them?

3. Where was your father born? (townland)

   In what year?

   Did he speak English or any other language?

   How did he learn it/them?

4. Where did you go to school?

   How many years did you spend at school?

   Did the teachers (ordinarily) speak to you all in class in Irish? In English?

   Where were the teachers from?

   Where the textbooks written in Irish? In English?

   What are the strongest memories that you have of those days?

5. What programs do you listen to most on the radio?

   On Raidió na Gaeltachta?

   Are they easy to understand?

6. Are there dialectal differences in the speech of the people on this island?

   What are the differences?

   Do certain people speak an older form of Irish? Which people?

7. Do you speak Irish with people from other places?

   Which places are they usually from?

8. Do you read newspapers, magazines, or books in Irish?

   Which ones do you like best?

   Are they easy to understand?

9. Did you ever have the chance to go to other places?

   In which places have you traveled?

   How long did you spend in the different places?

D. List of those Linguistic Informants Whose Data is Included in the Tables of Linguistic Variables

1 Inis Mór: An Ceann Thiar

1. Bríd Ní Mhaoláin (Mrs. Bríd Kelly): shop assistant/housewife, Cill Rónáin. Born in Bungabhla, 1947. (Represented on the linguistic tables as *Bungabhla F 43.*)
2. Máire Ní Dhireáin (Mrs. Mary Flaherty/"Máire Bhríd Rua"): housewife, Fearann an Choirce. Born in Eoghanacht, 1917. (Represented on the linguistic tables as *Eoghanacht F 73.*)
3. Nóra Ní Ghoill (Mrs. Nora Hernon): housewife, Eoghanacht. Born in Sruthán, 1920. (Represented on the linguistic tables as *An Sruthán F 70.*)
4. Seán Ó Dioráin (John Dirrane/"Seán na Creige"): farmer/publican, Fearann an Choirce. Born in Fearann an Choirce, 1930. (Represented on the linguistic tables as *Fearann an Choirce M 60.*)

2 Inis Mór: An Ceann Thoir

1. Tomás Ó hIarnáin ("Tom Ellen"): pensioner/farmer, Corrúch. Born in Corrúch, 1908. (Represented on the linguistic tables as *Corrúch M 82.*)
2. Áine Ní hIarnáin ("Nan Ellen"): pensioner/ sister of Tomás Ó hIarnáin, Corrúch. Born in Corrúch, 1918. (Represented on the linguistic tables as *Corrúch F 72.*)
3. Tomás Ó Fatharta ("Tom Sonny"): farmer/tour guide, Eochaill. Born in Eochaill, 1922. (Represented on the linguistic tables as *Eochaill M 68.*)
4. Caomhán Ó Goill (Kevin Gill): headmaster, Gairmscoil Éinne (the vocational school in Cill Rónáin). Born in Cill Rónáin, 1940. (Represented on the linguistic tables as *Cill Rónáin M 50.*)

5. Máire Ní Dhireáin ("Mrs. Mamie Kelly"): housewife, Cill Rónáin. Born in Cill Éinne, 1920. (Represented on the linguistic tables as *Cill Éinne F 70.*)

3 Inis Meáin

1. Dara Beag Ó Fatharta: poet/farmer, Baile na Creige. Born in Baile na Creige, Inis Meáin, 1920. (Represented on the linguistic tables as *M 70.*)

2. Máire Bean Uí Mhaoilchiaráin ("Máire Pháidín"): housewife, Baile an Lisín. Born in Baile na Creige, Inis Meáin, (in the 1920s?). (Represented on the linguistic tables as *F 60+.*)

4 Inis Oírr

1. Tomás Ó Conghaile: farmer, An Baile Thiar. Born in An Baile Thiar, 1935. (Represented on the linguistic tables as *M 55.*)

2. Barbara Sharry (Bairbre Bean Thomáis Uí Chongaile/wife of Tomás Ó Conghaile): housewife, An Baile Thiar. Born in An Baile Thiar, 1949. (Represented on the linguistic tables as *F 41.*)

3. Lasairfhíona Ní Chonaola: student, Trinity College, Dublin. Born in Dublin, 1972, but raised entirely in An Baile Thiar, Inis Oírr. (Represented on the linguistic tables as *F 18.*)

RESPONSES IN IRISH TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE OF THE LINGUISTIC ATLAS AND SURVEY OF IRISH DIALECTS: CORRÚCH, INIS MÓR, 1990

The following numbered items are responses in Irish to corresponding numbered items elicited in English from the questionnaire of the Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects. The questionnaire was administered by the investigator to two informants in the townland of Corrúch, on Inis Mór (Árainn), Aran Islands, County Galway, in summer, 1990. Both informants, brother and sister, unmarried, were living together in the same household in the townland.

The responses are transcribed in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), The initial letter (T) following a response denotes a response of the brother (Tomás Ó hIarnáin/"Tom Ellen"); an (A) following a response denotes that of his sister (Áine Ní Iarnáin/ "Nan Ellen"). (These same individuals are listed as M 82 and as F 72, respectively, in the columns for Corrúch, Inis Mór, in the tabular display of linguistic variables.)

Where both informants give an identical response, the symbols (T) and (A) will follow a single response in IPA, representing both responses, with the order of the symbols showing the order of the responses; for example, (A/T) would indicate that Áine spoke first, and that Tomás spoke afterwards, possibly influenced by Áine's response. (A,T) would indicate that they attempted to give responses simultaneously, perhaps with repetitions of their responses, but spontaneously, with little sign that one informant has influenced the other.

It should be understood that a good deal of editing was done in the transcription of the recorded material, so as to present a "clean" transcript. The words, phrases, and sentences in English used in the *LASID* questionnaire to elicit items in Irish are given in parentheses item by item together with the responses in Irish in order to give the reader an idea of the information sought by the investigator. Although the investigator employed such English language stimuli initially in eliciting responses in Irish, quite often the informants did not properly understand the question and additional information in English would then be provided by the investigator. In the interests of brevity, such additional information may be reflected only indirectly by short parenthetical comments in the transcript below.

1. (*"bull"*)

   taːru (A)/ **taːɹo** (T)

   (*"the tail of a bull"*)

   ˈtʼrʼɪbl̩ ˈtaːru (A)/ **ˌtʼrʼɪbl̩ n̩ ˈtaːru** (T)

2. (*"I sold all my cattle"*)

   jeːʟ mʼɛ mə xʊdʼ ˈbʼɛⁱ ɪˈˈʟʼʊg (A)/ **jeːʟ mʼɛ mə xʊdʼ bʼɛⁱ ˈʟʼəg** (T)

   (*"a beast"*)

   bʼɛjʊx (A)/ **bʼæˑjəx** (T)

3. (*"cattle buyer"*)

   kʼæːɴəxoːrʼ bʼæjʊx (A)/ **kʼæːnəhoːrʼ bʼæjəx** (T)

4. (*"dry cattle"*)

   bʼɛjəx tʼɪrʼɪmʼ (A)/ **bʼɛjəx tʼɛrʼɪmʼ** (T)

5. (*"he is castrating the calf"*)

   tᵊ ʃeː gʼɑːrə əɴ ʟiː (A)/ **tə ʃe gʼɑːrə n̩ ʟeː** (T)

   (*"...the bull"*)

   ... n̩ taːruˑ (A/T)

6. (*"the calf is castrated"*)

   tɑː əɴ ʟiː gʼɑːrə (A)/ **tɑˑ ɴ ʟeː gʼɑːrə** (T)

   ([kʌⁱʟʼtʼɪ] (A/T) also used)

7. (*"he will be castrated before we sell him"*)

   bʼeː ʃeː gʼɑːrə soːr ə jɪːləs məd ʼ e (A)/

   bʼe ʃe gʼɑˑrə sor ə xaⁱʟʼəs mʷɪdʼ ɛ (T), (corrected by A)

   > bʼɛ ʃɛ kʌⁱʟʼtʼɪ soˑr ə jeːləs mʷɪnʼ ... (T) ([**ɛː**] added by A)

8. (*"the cow is bulling"*)

   tɑː ɴ woː fʷiː ɣɑːrʼ (T)

9. (*"the mare is in heat"*)

   tɑː n̩ ʟɑːrʼ fʷiː aːxmr̩tʼ (A)/ **tɑˑ ɴ ʟɑːr fʷiː aːxᵊmər** (T)

(*"the donkey is in heat"*)

tɑ n taːsl̩ ... (A) (after discussion) **fʷiː aːxmr̩tʲ** (A/T)

(nʲiː jerəmən taːdə ... [= ní deir muid dada ...] said by T during discussion)

10. (*"she [the sow] is in heat"*)

tɑː nə xrɑːˈnʲ... (A)/ **...fʷi xʲlʲiːʲᵋ** (T)/ **...fʷiː xʲlʲiː** (A)/

tɑː n̩ xrɑːnʲ fʷiː xʲlʲiːʲ (T)

11. (*"the ewe is in heat"*)

tɑˑ n toːskɑˑn fʷiˑ reːwəx (T)

(*"the goat is in heat"*)

tɑː ŋ gaᵘr fʷɪ reːwəx (T)/ **tə ŋ gaᵘr fʲrʲe reːwəx** (A)

(*"the dog [bitch] is in heat"*)

(no word elicited for bitch in heat)

12. (*"she was bulled"*)

vʲ ʃiː dərə (A) ... (with "yesterday" added as prompt)

vʲɪ ʃiˑ dəro ... ˈnʲeː (A)/ **...dərʲu nʲeː iˑ** (T/A)

13. (*"she is bulled"*)

tə ʃiˑ dərə (T/A)

14. (*"an in-calf cow"*)

tɑ ʃiː ... (T)/ **...əg ʊmpərtʲ lɪː** (A)/ **tə ʃiː ˈnLeː** (T)/

...ɪːnLi (A)

15. (*"the cow calved this morning"*)

rʊguˑ n woː ᵊmaˑɟɪnʲ ʃə > ...ɛrʲ maːdʲɪnʲ (A) (after correction by T)/

rʊg ə̃ woː ɛrʲ maːɟɪnʲ (T)

16. (*"water-bag [as of cow]"*)

bəLəgɑːn ɪskʲɪ (sic) (T)/ **bəLəgɑːn ʊʃkʲɪ** (A)

17. (*"after-birth [as of cow]"*)

saːLəxər (A)/ **saːLəxər n̩ woː** (T)

18. (*"calf [pl./ gen. sg.]"*)

Liː ...kLɪgʲn̩ ᵊn Liː (A)/ **kLɛgʲən Leː** (T)

19. (*"special terms for cattle: yearling heifer"*)

gaʷɪnʲ ˈbʷɪnʲaN (T)/ **gaᵘn bʷɪnʲən** (A)

20. (*"two-year-old heifer"*)

    bʊdoˑᶦgʹ ɣɑː vʹlʹeːnʹ (T)/ **bʊdoˑgʹ ɣɑː vʹlʹeːnʹ** (A)

    (*"springer"*)

    bʊdoˑgʹ iːNLi (A)/ **bʊdoᶦgʹ ʃæs** (= s[h]easc ?) (T) (corrected by A, concurs with A)

21. (*"stripper"*)

    boː ʃæsk ɛ ʃɪnʹ, Nuˑ vʹəx tʹɪrʹɪmʹ, boː vʹəx tʹɪrʹɪmʹ (A)/

    Nu ʃæːsk (T/A)

22. (*"milch cow"*)

    boː wæːNʹɛ (T)/ **boː wæːNʹɪ** (A)

23. (*"biestings"*)

    baˑNʹɪ bʷiː (A)

    (*"curds"*)

    (Informants not familiar with "curds"; **[mʹɛjʊg]** (A)/ **[mʹɛjɪgʹ]** (T) [= "meadhg"?] offered as a substitute)

24. (*"a thieving cow"*)

    boː (w)raːdəx (T, A)/ **boː vraːdəx** (A)

25. (*"the cow is lowing"*)

    tɑ̃ː woˑ ᵋgʹeːmʹrʹəx (T)/ "**[gʹeːmʹnʹəxt]** an rud ceart" (A)

26. (*"the horse is neighing"*)

    tɑˑ ᵊN kaːpəL ə ʃɛtʹrʹəx (A)/ **tə ŋ kaˑpəL ᵊʃɛtʹrʹəx** (T)

27. (*"the pig is grunting"*)

    tɑː N...wɛkʹ ᵋgruːsəx (T)/ **...əN wɪkʹ...gruːsəxt** (A)

28. (*"the dog is barking"*)

    tɑː N̩ maːdə skʹæwiːlʹ (A)/ **tɑˑ m̩ mɑːdə skʹæːwɪːLʹ** (T)

29. (*"a stripper in the second year"*)

    boˑ tʹɪrʹɪmʹ iː ... ʃɪnʹ No ʃæːsk (A)/ **Nu ʃæːsk ... ɣɑː vʹlʹeːnʹ** (T, A)

30. (*"how many cows have you?"*)

    ˈkʹeː ˈmeːʤ ˈboː æˑt (A)

31. (*"she has five cows"*)

    tɑː xuːg woː ɛkʹɪ (?) (A)/ **tɑˑ xuᶦgʹ woː ɛxʹkʹɪ** (T)

32. (*"they have three cows"*)

    tɑˑ tʹrʹiː [u] woː aːkəb (A)

33. (*"the cow is chewing the cud"*)

tɑ̃ː ə̃ woː kaːŋgL̥′t′ ə k′iːr′ (A)/ **tɑ̃ː woː kaːŋgəL ə k′iːr′** (T)

34. (*"I would not chew tobacco if I got it for nothing"*)

N′iːᵊ ˈxaːŋgLʊːn tʊˈbaːk ə ˈvʌˈn gʊN ˈtaːd ɛ (A)/

N′ɪᵊ xaˑŋgLon təˈbaːk ə ˈwʌⁱN′ gəN tɑːd [ɛ] (T)/

. . . Nu dɑˑ waⁱn′ ˈN æːʃk′ ɛ (A)

35. (*"the cows' horns [pl.]"*)

aⁱjərhk əN woːʷᵊ (T)/ [**aⁱrhk?**] **N̥ woː** (A)

36. (*"she has to be cured"*)

kaːfər ˈL′aⁱs ɑˑl′ d′ɪ (T)/ **kæːf′ər iˑ L′aⁱs** (A)

37. (*"she was cured"*)

L′eⁱsʊː iː (T)/ **tə ʃiˑ L′aⁱstə** (A)

38. (*"ticks"*)

sk′ɪrʰtɑːn′ (T/A)

39. (*"[paradigm of 'tying'] we tie the cows every evening"*)

k′æːŋ′g′əL mʷɪd′ ə woːᵊ . . . (T)/

k′æːŋ′g′əL mʷɪN′ ə woː ᵊxɪl′ə hrəˈNoːNə (A) (with voice overlap; difficult to hear)

(*"we tied the cows last night"*)

x′æːŋ′g′əL′ məN′ɛ əN woː ᵊreⁱr′ (A)/ **x′æˑŋgəl′ mʷɪN′ ə woˑ ᵊreⁱr′** (T)

(*"we will tie the cows tomorrow"*)

k′æˑŋgLoˑ mʷɪɣ̃ ə̃ woː . . . Nə bʲ′ɛⁱ ɑ̃ːˑ Lɑː ᵊmɑːˈr′ɛ (A)

k′æˑŋgLo mʷɪN′ ə woː ᵊmɑːˈr′ə (T)

(*"we are tying the cows now"*)

tɑ məd′ ɛ k′æːŋgL̥′t′. . . Nə . . . b′ɛⁱ wæːN′ɪ . . . (ɣɑː) g′æːŋgəL (A)

40. (*"the cows are grazing"*)

tɑˑ Nə b′eⁱ waːN′ ɛr′ f′eːrəx (T) (with prompting by A)

41. (*"cow-shed"*)

t′æx boˑ (A)/ stɑːbLə boˑ (T/A)

42. (*"he is cleaning the cow-shed"*)

tə ʃeː gLaːNə stɑːbLə N̥ woː . . . No t′æˑx N̥ woː (T) (with prompting from A)

43. (*"bedding for cattle"*)

L′æːbə L′ɛ b′æⁱ (T)

44. (*"she went to the well for water"*)

    xə ʃ eg′ ə təbər ə gɪN′ ɪʃk′ɪ . . . No g′ eːr ɪʃk′ɪ (A)

45. (*"he came to me"*)

    həɴ′ɪg′ ʃe ˈaːgn̩ (A)/ **hɑɴ′ɪg′ ʃe aːgəm** (T)

    (*". . . to her"*)

    . . . ɛk′ɪ (A/T)

    (*". . . to them"*)

    . . . aːkəb (A/T)

46. (*"he was calling me"*)

    v′iˑ ʃɛ gLiːᵊx ərəm (A)/ **v′iˑ ʃe gLeːx ərəm** (T)

47. (*"he called me"*)

    ɣLɪ ʃe ərəm (A)

48. (*"there is a stream through that field"*)

    v′ɪ srɑːN riːʤ ə məl′ɛ ʃɪn′ (A) (with prompting from T)

49. (*"a teat"*)

    ʃiːn′ɛt′ (A)

50. (*"the udder of the cow"*)

    oː Nn̩ woː (T)/ **uː Nn̩ woː** (A)

51. (*" 'red water' [murrain: a cattle disease]"*)

    muːN fʊLə (T/A)

52. (*"other cattle-diseases: 'pine'[general decay of cattle]"*)

    g′ ɪm′əxt æːs (A/T)

    (*"black-leg"*)

    Nn̩ k′æːruː (A/T)

53. (*"I gave the cow an armful of hay"*)

    hʊg m′eː goːʷᶦL′ f′eːr′ gəN woː (T)/ **g m′eː goːL′ eːr′ gə woː** (A)

54. (*"she is milking the cow"*)

    tə ʃiˑ ᵊb′L′ɑːN ə woː (A/T)/ **. . . NʊˑᵊkroːNn̩ woː . . . kruː** (A)

55. (*"I shall milk"*)

    b′L′iː m′ɛ Nn̩ woː (A)/ **b′L′iː m′ɛ** (T)

56. (*"we milk the cows every day"*)

    b′L′iːN mʷɪN′ Nə . . . (A)/ **b′L′iːNn̩ mʷɪd′ ə woː xəl′ə Lɑː** [$x2$] (T)

57. (*"we didn't milk them"*)

nʹiːr vʹlʹɪ mʊɟ ɛd (A/T)

58. (*"milked"*)

tə ʃɛd bʹlʹɪtʃɪ (A/T)

59. (*"milking stool"*)

stoːl lʹɛ vʹɛ bʹlʹɑːn (A)

60. (*"the strippings"*)

n̩ srə (T)

61. (*"milk"*)

bʷæːnʹɪ (A)/ **baːnʹɪ** (T)

62. (*"cream"*)

bɑːr bæːnʹɪ (A)/ **bɑːr baːnʹɪ** (T)

63. (*"thick milk"*)

bæˑnʹɪ tʃʊ (A)/ **baˑnʹɪ tʃə** (T)

64. (*"sour milk"*)

baːnʹɪ gʹeːr (A/T)

65. (*"buttermilk"*)

baˑnʹɪ gʹeːr . . . baˑnʹɪ kər (A)

66. (*"give me a drink of buttermilk!"*)

tʹuːrʹɪ . . . dʹəx baːnʹɪ gʹeːr dm̩ (A)/ **tʹuːrʹ dʹəx baˑnʹɪ gʹeːr (dm̩)** (T)

67. (*"whey"*)

grʊ . . . mʹɛjʊg (A/T)

68. (*"new milk is sweeter than buttermilk"*)

baːnʹɪ wuːr (T)/ **bæːnʹɪ wuːr** (A)/ **tʌ ʃɛ nʹiːs mʹiːlʹʃɛ . . .** (T)/ **nɑː baˑnʹɪ gʹɪːr** (A)/ **nɑ baˑnʹɪ gʹeːᵊr** (T)

69. (*"she [the woman of the house] is churning"*)

bʹæˑn ə tʹiː . . . tə ʃiː . . . dʹɛnə mæːʃtʹɪrʹɪ (A)/

tɑː bʹæˑn n̩ tʹiː dʹɛnə maːʃtʹrʹɪ (T)

70. (*" a print of butter"*)

pʹrʹʊnd iːmʹ (A)/ **pʹrʹɪnd ɛːjɪmʹ** (T)

71. (*"froth"*)

kuːr ɛrʹ ə maːnʹɪ (T)/ **kuːr ɛrʹ ə mæːnʹɪ** (A)

72. (*"a dish [sg.]"*)

səjəx (T)/ **sɛjəx** (A)

(*"dishes [pl.]"*)

saˑjɛ (T)/ **saˑⁱ** (A)

73. (*"which do you prefer, new milk or buttermilk?"*)

kʹe aːkəb əs fʹɑːr lʹɛt . . . baNʹɪ ˈuːr Nuˑ bʌNʹɛ gʹeːr (A)/

kʹ æːkᵊb s fɑːr (sic) **lʹæt . . . baːNʹ ˈʊːr No baːNʹɪ gʹeːr** (T)

74. (*[a]"do you want a drink of buttermilk?"*)

wʊl tu gʹ ɪːrə dʹəx bæNʹɛ gʹɪːr (A)/

tu ᵊgʹ eːrə dʹəx baˑNʹɪ gʹeːr (T)/

ʊL tu gʹ ɪːrə ʤəx (A)/ **wəL tuˑ gʹ eːrə dʹəx** (T)/

No daːstiˑn dʹəx wɛtʹ (T, A)

(*[b]"we don't need anything"*)

Nʹiˑlʹ mɴʹ gʹ eːrə taːdə (A)/

Nʹɪlʹ ɛ̃ ɣɑː ɣɪNʹ gə haːdə [*x*2] (T)

75. (*"I am very thirsty"*)

tæ ˈæːn ˈtaːrt ərəm (A)/ **taˑ ˈæːN ˈtaːrt ərəm** (T)

76. (*"maybe you would rather have a drink of new milk"*)

bʹedʹɪrʹ gə mʹɑˑr lʹæt dʹɔx bæNʹ ˈuːr (A)/

bʹedʹɪrʹ gə mʹɑˑr lʹɛt dʹəx baːNʹɪ ˈuʷᵊr (T)

77. (*"I shall give you your choice"*)

tuˑrə mʹe də rʹəᵘ ɣɛtʹ (T)/

dɛⁱ ˈrʹəᵘ (A/T)

78. (*"a sheep [paradigm]"*)

kiːrɛ (T)/ **kiːrə** (A)

(*"sheep [pl.]"*)

kiːrʹɪ (A/T)

(*"the head of the sheep [gen. sg.]"*)

kLɛgʹɴ̩ Nə kiːrə (A)/ **kLɪgʹɴ̩ ə xiːrə** (T/A)

(*"the heads of the sheep [gen. pl.]"*)

kLɛgʹnʹɛ . . . (A)/ **kLɛgʹɴ̩ Nə gɪːrʹɛ** (T)/ **kLɛgʹɴ̩ Nə giːrʹɪ** (A)

79. (*"lambs [pl.]"*)

oːʷɪnʹ (T)/ **uːʷɪnʹ** (A)

80. (*"the lambs are frolicking"*)

...ᵊd′ɪNə spri: (A)/ **...su:grə** (T/A)

81. (*"the sheep are bleating"*)

tə ʃɪd ə m′e:l′əxt (A)/ **m′e:l′əx** (T/A)

82. (*"there was a flock of sheep on the road"*)

v′i ska:tə ki:r′ɛ ɛr′ ə mo:r (T)

83. (*"wether [castrated]"*)

mʊLt (A)/ **məLt** (T)

84. (*"special terms for sheep: hogget [yearling]"*)

oˈᵊskɑˈᴵn′ [pl.] (T/A)

(*"ewe"*)

o:skɑ:n ɣɑ: v′l′e:jɪn′ (T)

85. (*"cataract on the eyes [sheep's disease]"*)

bᵊˈra:t ɛr′ ɛ sʊ:ʷᴵL′ (T)/ **bra:t ɛr′ ɛ su:l′** (A)

86. (*"scab [sheep's disease]"*)

ˈgaˈLrə ˈskræ:x (T/A)

87. (*"wool"*)

əLLɪN′ (A)/ **əLɪN′** (T)

88. (*"he is shearing the sheep"*)

tə ʃɛ b′ɑ:rə ...Nə ki:r′ɪ (A)/ **b′ɑ:rə Nə gᵊir′ɛ** (T)/ **b′ɑ:rə Nə gi:r′ɪ** (A)

89. (*"the sheep are shorn with the shears"*)

tə ʃɛd b′ɑ:rə l′ɛ sʊsu:r (A)

(*"We shear them with the shears"*

v′ɑ:r mʷɪN′ ɛd l′ɛ sʊsu:r ...v′ɑ:r mʷɪd′ Nə ki:r′ɛ sə sɪsu:rz (sic) (T)

90. (*"a fleece of wool"*)

ˈLʊmrə ˈəLɪN′ (A)/ **Lʊmr ˈəLɪn′** (T)

91. (*"the sheep went astray"*)

xə Nə ki:r′ə ...mʊ:ʷᵊ [*x*2] (T)/ **əˈmu:** (A)

92. (*"straying"*)

xədər ɛr′ ʃəxrɑ:N (T)/ **ɛr′ ʃəkrɑ:N** (A)

...ʃɑ:r (= is fearr) **ɛ: ʃɪm′ Nɑˈ məᵘ** (= amœ) (T) (discussion) **...əx ᴵʃɑ:r ɛ ʃəxrɑ:N** (T)

93. (*"a few sheep were lost in the snow"*)

kæːʟʹuː ɣɑː . . . kʊpʟə kiːrə sə . . . hnʹæːxtə (T)/ **sə snʹɛˑxtə** (A)

94. (*"I am perished with cold"*)

tə mʹɛ pʹrʹiˑᵊxtɪ lʹɪʃ ə wuːᵊ(xt) (A)/

tə mʹɛ pʹrʹeːxtɛ lʹɛʃ ə woːr (T)

([**woːr**] confirmed by T and A)

95. (*"tallow"*)

gʹɛrʹ (A/T)

96. (*"lard"*)

gʹɛrʹ ˈʟʹɑːtʹɪ (A/T)

97. (*"mutton"*)

kiːrʹoːlʹ (A/T)

98. (*"beef"*)

maːrtʹoːlʹ (T, A)

99. (*"this is a big goat"*)

gaʷᵊr woːr eː ʃə (T)/ **gaᵘr woːr eˑ ʃə** (A)

(*"goats [pl.]"*)

gaˑwɪrʹ (A/T)

100. (*"a kid"*)

mʹɪNɑːN (A)/ **mʹəNɑːN** (T)

101. (*"wild animals"*)

bʹɛjə fʹiːɑːnʹ . . . Nʊ bʹɛⁱ fʹiːɑːnʹ (T)/ **bʹɛⁱ fʹiːɑːnʹ** [$x2$] (A)

102. (*"she was helping me"*)

vʹi ʃi tʹurt kuːNə ɣəm (A/T)/ **Nuː kɪdʹuː lʹʊm** (A)

103. (*"you are a wild fellow"*)

ɪs dɪnʹɪ fʹiːɑːnʹ uː (T)/ **ɪs dɪnʹɪ fʹiːɑːnʹ u** (A)

104. (*"he is a quiet fellow"*)

dʹɪnʹɪ reⁱ ɛ (A)/ **dʹɪnʹɪ rəⁱ ɛ** (T)

105. (*"a pig [paradigm]"*)

mʷɪkʹ (A)/ **məᶦkʹ** (T)

(*"pigs [pl.]"*)

mʊkə (T/A)

(*"the head of a pig"*)

kLɛg′N̩ mʷɪk′ɪ (T/A)

(*"heads of pigs [pl.]"*)

kLɛg′ɪn′ɪ mʊkə . . . kLɛg′N′ɪ moːk (A)/ **kLɛg′ɪn′ɪ mək** (T)

106. (*"pig's cheek"*)

LʲɛkʲəN mʷɪkʲɪ (T)/ **LʲɛkʲəN mʊkʲɪ** (A)

107. (*"pig's feet"*)

kruːbə (T)/ **kruːbʲiːnʲiː . . . kəsə mʊkə** (A)

108. (*"pig's snout"*)

sroːN Nə mʷɪkʲ (T)/ **sruːN Nə mʷɪkʲɪ** (A)

109. (*"pork"*)

mʊkʲoːlʲ (A)/ **mʊkʲoːlʲ uːr** (A/T)

110. (*"sow"*)

krɑːˈnʲ (T/A)

111. (*"boar [sg.]"*)

kəLəx (T/A)

(*"boars [pl.]"*)

kəLəxiː (A/T)

112. (*"pigsty"*)

faːlʲ wɪkʲɪ (T/A)

113. (*"a shoat or pigling [sg.]"*)

baːNuː (A)

(*"piglings [pl.]"*)

bæːNʲɪvʲ (A)

114. (*"the piglings are sucking the sow"*)

tʃɛd ə kNɑːrʲɪ ɛrʲ (ɛ) grɑːˈnʲ (A)/

tɑ Nə baːnʲɪvʲ ɛgʲ kNɑːrʲɪ ɛrʲ ə grɑːʷˈnʲ (T)/

tə Nə bæːnʲɪvʲ ɛgʲ kNɑːrʲ ɛrʲ ə grɑːˈnʲ (A)

115. (*"a litter of pigs"*)

ɑːL bæːNʲɪvʲ (A)/ **ɑːL baːNʲɪvʲ** (T)

116. (*"the pigs are rooting up the ground"*)

tãˑ wɪkʲ ɛgʲ təxɪLʲtʲ ə taːLə . . . tɑ Nə mʊkə . . . ᵊtəxɪLʲtʲ ə taːLə (T)

117. (*"the ground is rooted up"*)

tᵊ ʃe təxɪLʹtʹɪ (A)/ **tɑ ɴ̩...taːLə təxLəⁱ** (T)

("Tá an dá leagan ann" [A])

118. (*"the pig is a year and a half old"*)

tɑˑ ɴ̩ wəⁱkʹ ˌbʹlʹiːnʹ gə ˈLʹɛ ... (T) / **gə jiːʃ** (A)/ **gʊ jɪːʃ** (T)

119. (*"hen [paradigm]"*)

kʹɛːrk (A)

(*"hens [pl.]"*)

kʹæːrkə (T)

(*"the head of the hen"*)

kLɛgʹəN (n)ə kʹæːrk (A)/ **kLɛgʹəN ə xʹæːrk** (T)

(*"the heads of the hens [pl.]"*)

kLɛgʹnʹɛ Nə gʹæːrkə (T, A)

(cf. **kLɛgʹəN ə tʃɪkʹiːnʹ** ["the head of the chicken"] (A/ T))

120. (*"the scour [as of hens]"*)

bɪNʹəx (T)

121. (*"the hens are scraping the ground"*)

tɑˑ Nə ...kʹæːrkə ʃkʹrʹiːbə ɴ̩ taːLə (T)/ **...skʹrʹiːbə N taːLə** (A)

122. (*"the hen is hatching"*)

tɑˑ Nə kʹæːrk ɛrʹ gor (T)/ **tɑ N xʹæˑrk ɛrʹ gor** (A)

(*"a hatching hen"*)

ˌkʹæːrk ˈɣɪrʹ (A/T)

123. (*"the hens are at the gate"*)

(...Nə) kʹɛrk ɛgʹ ə ŋʹɛːtə (A)/ **tə Nə kʹæːrk ɛgʹ ɛ ŋʹæːtə** (T)

124. (*"a pullet; a chicken [sg.]"*)

ʃɪkʹiːnʹ (T)/ **tʃɪkʹiːnʹ** (A)

125. (*"the hens are cackling"*)

tə Nə kʹæːrkə grɑːgiːLʹ (T)

126. (*"she is plucking the hen"*)

ᵊbaⁱNʹtʃ əŋ xLʊːx gəŋ xʹɛːrk (A)/

ᵊbaⁱNʹtʃ əŋ xLuːᵊx gəŋ xʹæːrk (T)

127. (*"a strong wing feather [sg.]"*)

kʹLʹɛtʹɛ Lɑːdʹɪrʹ... skʹiːɑːN ə xʹærk (A, T)

128. (*"hen-roost"*)

kroː kʹæːrk (A/T)

(*"have they gone to roost yet?"*)

wʟʹ ʃəd n̡ə gələ foːs (A)/ **. . . foːwəs** (T)

129. (*"hen-coop"*)

kuˑp (A/T)

130. (*"nest egg"*)

nʹæːd kʹɛːrk . . . oː sə nʹæːd (A)/ **. . . oː nʹɛdʹɛ** (A/T)

131. (*"she is making a nest"*)

tə ʃiˑ gʹ dʹɪnə nʹæːd (A)/ **tə ʃiˑ dʹɪnə nʹæːd** (T)

132. (*"she is sitting in the nest"*)

tə ʃiˑ ɪnə lə^{i} . . . ^{ə}nʹæːd (T)

133. (*"the fox killed nearly all my hens last night"*)

ʃɪnəx (T/A)

. . . waːrə nə . . . waːr n̡ ʃɪnəx moˑrɑˑn mə xɪdʹ kʹæːrk ^{ə}rəjɪrʹ (T)

134. (*"cocks [pl.]"*)

kəlʹəxiˑ (A)

135. (*"an old hag"*)

ˈʃæ̃ːˈxa^{i}lʹəx (T/A)

136. (*"the cock is treading the hens now"*)

ta n kəlʹəx ^{ə}rʊ nʹi nə gʹeːrk (A)/ **ta ŋ kəlʹəx ^{ə}nʹiə nə gʹæːrk** (T)

137. (*"the cock is crowing"*)

tə ŋ kəlʹəx ^{ə}bʟɪjəx (A)/ **ta ŋ kəlʹəx ^{ə}gʟəjəx** (T)

138. (*"the cock's comb"*)

kʹiːrʹiːnʹ əŋ xəlʹəx (A)/ **kʹiːrʹiːnʹ ə xəlʹəx** (T)

139. (*"one of her wings is broken"*)

tə kʹɑ̃ː ɣɑː xɪdʹ skʹiːjɑˑ^{i}nʹ bʹrʹɪʃtʹɪ (A)/ **kʹɑ̃ː ɣɑː xɪdʹ skʹiˑɑnʹ bʹrʹɪʃtʹɪ** (T)

140. (*"the hen is flying"*)

ɛtʹəʟ (A)/ **tə nə kʹæːrkə [g?] ɛgʹ ɛtʹɑʟ** (T)

141. (*"foxes [pl.]"*)

ʃəNəxiˑ (T)/ **tʃəNiˑ** (A)

(*"the head of the fox"*)

kLɛgʹjənʹ . . . kLɛgʹənʹ ʃəNəx (T)

142. (*"the fox killed more than twelve hens"*)

waːr ɴ̣ ʃɪNəx nʹiːs muː Nɑˑ ɣɑː xʹɑˑⁱnʹ dʹeːgʹ gə xʹæːrkə . . . Nuˑ ˈɣɑː xʹæˑrk dʹeːgʹ (T)

143. (*"he will kill more tomorrow"*)

maˑro ʃɛ nʹiːs muː m̩ ˈmɑˑⁱrʹəx (T)

144. (*"he is killing them"*)

tə ʃɛ ɣa maːrəw (T)

145. (*"he kills"*)

maːrinʹ ʃɛ (A)/ **maːrinʹ ʃe** (T)

146. (*"I would like if you killed the fox"*)

bə waⁱ lʹəm ɑ maːrox tʊsə ʔəN tʃʊNəx (A)/

haⁱnʹox ʃeː lʹʊm ɣɑ maːrɑ nʹ ʃɪNəx (T)

147. (*"don't kill yourself! [sg.]"*)

Na maːr oː heːnʹ (A)/ **Naː maːr ʊː heːnʹ** (T)

148. (*"don't kill yourselves! [pl.]"*)

Na maːrɪgʹiˑ ʃɪbʹ heːnʹ (A)/ **Nɑ maːrɪgʹiˑ ʃɪ ˈpʹeːnʹ** (T)

149. (*"the den [as of a fox]"*)

ɑːˑfəx (A)/ **ɑːˑfəx** (T)/ **ɑːfəx ɴ̣ tʹɪNəx** (A, T)

150. (*"he is as cute as a fox"*)

tə ʃɛ xə kʹrʹɪːnə lʹeˑ ʃəNəx (T/A)

151. (*"he is hunting hares"*)

tə ʃe fʹiːjəx gʹɛriɛ (T)

(*"hares [pl.]"*)

gʹɪrʹʊxɪˑ . . . gʹɪrʹəxɪ (A)/ **gʹɛrʹəxiˑ . . . gʹɪrʹiəxiˑ** (T)

152. (*"I saw! [answer to question: an bhfaca tu madadh ruadh ariamh? have you ever seen a fox?]"*)

nʹi akə (T)/ **nʹiː aˑkə** (A)

(*"I saw a fox"*)

xʊnʹɪkʹ mʹeː ʃʊNəx (A/T)/ **xʊNʹɪkʹ mʹeː ʃʊNəx** (A) (more emphatically, as in a careful repetition)

(*madra rua* not used on Inis Mór, apparently)

153. (*"I got a start when I saw the fox"*)

fʊrʲ mʲɛ skaːndrə . . . Nu gʲɛtʲ (A)/

fʊrʲ mʲɛ gʲɛtʲ . . . Nʊrʲ ə xɪnʲɪkʲ mʲɛ Nə . . . ʃɪNəx . . .

fərʲ ᵊmʲeˑ gʲɛtʲ Nɛrʲ ə xɪnʲɪkʲ mʲeˑ n̩ʲ ʃəNəx . . .

skaːnriˑ . . . Nɛrʲ ʊkət ʃe skʲɪpʷiˑ (T)

(= "scanraithe, nuair a thiocfadh sé sciobtha")

154. (*"egg-shell"*)

ˈbLiːᵊsk ˈʊ (A)/ ˈbLɛːsk ˈə (T)

155. (*"yolk of an egg"*)

bʷiːkɑːN (T/A)

156. (*"white of an egg"*)

ˈgʲæLəkɑːN ˈəvʲɛ (T)

157. (*"lining of an egg [the skin which encloses the white]"*)

LʲiːᵊNɑːN (T) **(NʲiːᵊNɑːN** [?] on second repetition)

158. (*"goose [sg.]"*)

gʲeː (T, A)

(*"geese [pl.]"*)

gʲeːwə (T, A)

(*"this is a big goose"*)

s gʲeː moːr iː ʃə (T)/ **s gʲeː moːr eː ʃə** (A)

(*"a goose egg"*)

ˈo ˈjeː (A)/ **o jeːʲɛ** (T/A)

(*"a flock of geese"*)

skaːtə gʲeːwə (A/T)

159. (*"the geese are wicked"*)

ta Nə gʲeːw ˈəLk (T)/ **Nu ˈəLʲvʲeːsəx** (A)/ **Nu əlʲvʲɛsəx** (T)

160. (*"gander"*)

gaˑNdəL (A/T)

161. (*"turkey"*)

(No word elicited for turkey in Irish)

162. (*"the duck has ducklings"*)

tə Laːxɪnʲ oːg ɛgʲ ɛnʲ LaːxᵊN (A) **/tə LaːxənN** (sic) **oːg ɛgʲ ə Laːxᵊ** (T)

(*"duck egg"*)

ov ʟaːxᵊ (A)/ **o ʟaːxᵊ** (T)

(*"ducks [pl.]"*)

ʟaːxɪnʹ (A/T)

(*"duck eggs"*)

ɪvʹəxiː ˈʟaːxɪnʹ (T)

163. (*"drake"*)

bɑːrdəʟ (T/A)

164. (*"bees [pl.]"*)

mʹæːxɪnʹ (T)

(*"bee [sg.]"*)

bʹɛːx (A)/ **bʹæːx** (T)/ **smʹæːx** (T/A) (form used on Inis Mór)

(*"bee's honey"*)

ˈmʹɪlʹ Nə ˈmʹæːx (A/T)

(*"a nest of bees"*)

ˈNʹæːd ˈsmʹæːx (T)

165. (*"he is buying cattle"*)

tʃe kʹæːNəxt bʹɛⁱ (A)/ **tə se** (sic) **kʹæːNəx bʹɛⁱ** (T)

166. (*"he screamed when the bee stung him"*)

skʹrʹæːdn̩ʹ ʃɛ Nərʹ ɛ . . . xɪrʹəNs ə (?) smʹæːx gæː ɑːN. . .

skʹrʹæːd ʃɛː NɛrʹəxɪrʹəN. . . smʹæːx gæː ɑːN (T)

167. (*"the skin is swollen"*)

tɑ N kræːkʹn̩ aːtiː (T) (second repetition, after prompting with **[aːtiː]** from A)

168. (*"that's a fine horse"*)

bʹrʹɑː N kaːpəʟ . . . eː ʃɪnʹ (A, T)

(*"horses"*)

kaːpɪʟʹ (T)

169. (*"stallion [sg.]"*)

stæːʟʹ (A)/ stæːlʹ (T)

(*"stallions [pl.]"*)

staːʟtrəxiː (A/T)

170. (*"gelding, garron"*)

gʹɛrɑːN (T/A) **. . . gʹɪrɑːN** (second repetition) (T/A)

171. (*"the horses are running all over the field"*)

tə Nə kaːpɪL′ ᵊrɪːʲəxt hɪmpəL ə wəl′ɛ (T)

172. (*"I shall run after her"*)

bᵊ x′ært əm ᵊrɪːᵊxt ᵊNə N′eːʲᵋ (T) (misheard by T as the plural pronoun "them"?)

173. (*"we run to school every day"*)

rɪːᵊN mʊd′ (. . . ?) xəl′ə Lɑː (T)

174. (*"the race is run"*)

tɑ N rɑːsə rɪt′ɪ (A/T)

175. (*"the horses are trotting"*)

ᵊsədərNə (A)/ **tə Nə kaːpɪL′ ə sədərNə** (T)

176. (*"colt"*)

brəməx (T)

177. (*"filly"*)

(kaːpəL bʷɪN′əN. . . Nax æ ?) . . . Lɑːˈr′ (A)

(T thinks the term *láir* appropriate for an older horse; no term elicited from him)

178. (*"he is riding a horse"*)

tʃeˑ g maːrk′əxt ɛr′ ə gaːpəL (A)/ **tə ʃɛˑ maːrkiᵊxt ɛr′ ə gaːpəL** (T)

179. (*"this horse is blacker than the other one"*)

ta N kaːpɪl′ ʃɛ N′iːs dɪv′ɪ Nɑ n̩ k′ɑːN ɛl′ɛ (T)

180. (*"stable"*)

stɑːbLə (T, A)

181. (*"horseshoe [sg.]"*)

ˈkruˑ ˈkaːpɪl′ (T/A)

(*"horseshoes [pl.]"*)

kriːʲᵋ ("san oileán seo") (T)/

krɪf′ɪ ([**krɪf′ɪ ə d′ɛr′n̩s ɛd** (sic) **ə gəNəˈmaːrə**]) (A)

182. (*"the horse jumped over the fence"*)

x . . . haˑ n̩ kaːpəL əN kLəⁱ (T)

183. (*"ditch [sg.]"*)

t′r′iːn′ʃɛ (A/T)

(*"ditches [pl.]"*)

t′r′iːn′ʃiː (A/T)

184. (*"I couldn't find a seat in the room"*)

ˈxʹiːNʹ ərəm ˈæːnʹ ˈtʹiːᵊL ɑːL sə ʃʊmrə (A)

("seat" heard as "seed"; in this, a second repetition of the sentence, the verbal noun *[a] fháil* is again pronounced with a final velarised liquid consonant)

185. (*"donkey [sg.]"*)

aːsəL (A)

(*"donkeys [pl.]"*)

aːsɪlʹ (T, A)

(*"that's a fine donkey"*)

ˈbʹrʹɑː ɴ̩ ˈtaːsəL ˌɛ ʃɪnʹ (T)

186. (*"bottom of pannier-baskets"*)

ˈtoːwɪnʹ əŋ ˈxʹLʹiːᵊv (T)

187. (*"the cross-stick on the bottom of the pannier-baskets"*)

bʷɪNʹɪ (bʹɛ) (= " 'buinne', ab ea?") (A)

nʹiˑ æ... sLaˑtʹ... traːsNə ... Nə sLaˑtʹ traːsNə ... Nə sLaːtə ta traːsNə (T)

188. (*"straddle [a wooden straddle with pins from which the pannier-baskets are hung, 'srathar'] "*)

nɛ sræːrʹ (A)

189. (*"a wooden band which holds the two sides of the straddle together, 'coirb' "*)

kɛrʹɪbʹ (T)

190. (*"the straddle-pad"*)

tiː sə sræːr (A)

191. (*"the two pins of the straddle"*)

skʌˑᵘrNɛⁱ (T)

192. (*"the crupper"*)

kæˑˈrʹiːnʹ (T/A)

193. (*"girth, belly-band"*)

tʹiˑᵊrəx (sic) (T)

194. (*"horse-cart"*)

ˈkɑˑr ˈkaːpɪLʹ (T)

195. (*"donkey-cart"*)

kɑˑr aːsəlʹ (T)

196. (*" 'float', sleigh"*)

(not known to informants)

197. (*"shafts of a cart"*)

ʃɛːfti ˌɴ xɑːr (A)

198. (*"the parts of a cart"*)

ˈpɑːrtʲəNeˑ ə̃(ŋ) ˈxɑːr (T/A)

199. (*"wheel [sg.]"*)

roːː (A)

(*"wheels [pl.]"*)

roˑᵊtʲiː (A, T)

200. (*"axle"*)

aːkəstoːrʲ (T, A)

201. (*"other parts of a wheel"*)

pɑrtʃəNi ɛlʲɛ gəɴ roː (A)

(*"spokes"*)

spoːkiː (A)/ **spʊːkiː** (T)

202. (*"dog [sg.]"*)

maːdə (A, T)

(*"dogs [pl.]"*)

maːdəriː (T)/ **maːdriː** (A)

203. (*"puppy"*)

kʊlʲɑːɴ (A)

204. (*"cat [sg.]"*)

kʊt (A/T)

(*"cats [pl.]"*)

kɪtʲ (A/T)

205. (*"the cat was licking himself"*)

vʲiˑ ˌɴ kʊt ɣɑː ʟʲiˑᵊxɑːɴ heːnʲ (A/T)

206. (*"he is rubbing himself"*)

tə ʃɛ ɑː xɛmʲɪlʲtʲ eːnʲ (T)/ **ɑː həxəs eːnʲ** (A)/ **Nuː ᵊkʊmʲɪlʲtʲ... ᵊkʊmʲɪlʲtʲ** (T)

207. (*"kittens"*)

ˌkɪtʲ ˈoːgə (T/A)

208. (*"the cat scratched me"*)

skʹrʹiːb ə kʊt mʹɛ (T)

209. (*"he took the skin off me"*)

hoːgʹ ʃe n̩ kræːkʹn̩ʹ dʹiːm (T)

(*" . . . off her"*)

. . . dʹɪ/ jɪ (T)

(*" . . . off them"*)

. . . dʹiːb (T)

(*" . . . off him"*)

. . . dʹɛ (T) / **([jɛ]** accepted by T and A)

210. (*"he is digging the ground"*)

tə ʃɛ təxɪlʹtʹ n̩ taːLə (T)

211. (*"rabbit [sg.]"*)

kɪmʹiːnʹ (T)/ **kʷɪmʹiːnʹ** (A)

(*"rabbits [pl.]"*)

kɪmʹiːnʹiː (T/A)

212. (*"he is shooting rabbits"*)

tə ʃeː fʹiːᵊx . . . kaːː kʊnʹiːnʹiː . . . Nu fʹiːᵊx kənʹiːnʹiː (T)

(*"I shall shoot him"*)

kæː mʹe hɛ (A)/ **kaː mʹɛˑ ɛˑ** (T)

(*"I shot him"*)

haˑⁱ mʹɛː ɛˑ (T)/ **haⁱ mʹɛ ɛ** (A)

(*"shot [verbal adjective]"*)

tə ʃɛ kæːtʹɪ (A)/ **tə ʃɛ kaːtʹɪ** (T)

213. (*"the rabbits heard me when I was very near them"*)

daⁱrʹiː Nə kʊnʹiːnʹiː mʹɛ Nurʹ ə vʹi mʹe ŋaːr doːb (A)/

daⁱrʹiˑ Nə kʊnʹiːnʹiː mʹɛ Nɛrʹ ə vʹɪ mʹɛ Naːr (sic) **oːb** (T)

214. (*"they did not hear me at all"*)

Nʹiːr aːrʹɪ ʃɪd ˈəxərəbʹɪ mʹɛ (T)

215. (*"I heard what you said"*)

tɑs am kʹɛrd ə dʹɛrʹ tᵊu . . . No daːrʹɪ mʹɛ kʹɛr dʹɛrʹ tᵊu (T)

216. (*"she is a good knitter"*)

tə ʃɪ gə maː ᵊkʹrʹɪtʹɑːlʹ (T)/ **. . . kʹrʹɪtʹɑːlʹ** (A)

217. (*"give me the scissors!"*)

tʹuːrʹ ɣəm əN səsuːr (T)

218. (*"I have lost my thimble"*)

xaːlʹ mʹɛ n̪ʹ mʹeːrəkaːN (T)/ **. . . mʹeːrəkaːN** (A)

219. (*"where did you put the thread?"*)

kaːr xərʹ tuˑ N sNaː (T)

220. (*"now I want a needle"*)

nʹɪʃ taː sNaːdʹ ə tæːstaːlʹ wəm (T)/ **tæːstiːn sNaːdʹ wəm** (A)/

Nu taːstiːn sNaːdʹ wəm (T)

221. (*"will you put a button on my coat?"*)

. . . kNæːpʹ ɛrʹ mə xoːt(ə?) (A)/ **gɪrʹɪ tuˑ kNaːˈpʹ ə mə xoːtə** (T)

222. (*"she is twisting the thread"*)

tə ʃiˑ kaːs n̪ sNaː (T) (after prompting by A with [**kaːs n̪ sNaː**])

223. (*"a ball of thread"*)

Lʹiˑəroːˈdʹ sNaː (T)

224. (*"have you a knitting pin?"*)

wəlʹ bʹɪraːˈnʹ kʹrʹɪtʹaːLə aːgət . . . bʹɪˈraːN kʹrʹɪtʹaːLə (T)

225. (*"a pair of stockings"*)

pʹeːrʹɛ stɔkiː (T)

226. (*"put a patch on his trousers!"*)

kɪrʹ pʹiːs ɛrʹ ə hrʹɛᵘsər (T)

227. (*"she is spinning"*)

tʃiˑ ɛgʹ sNʹiːv (A)/ **tə ʃiˑ sNʹiːjʊv** (T)

228. (*"she spins faster than I do"*)

sNʹiːwənʹ ʃiˑ nʹiːs skʹɪpʷiː Naˑ mʹɪʃɛ . . . Naˑ . . . hNʹiːwəN mʹɪʃɪ (T)

229. (*"the wool is spun"*)

taˑ N əLɪnʹ. . . taˑ Nə NəLɪnʹ (sic) **sNʹiːftə** (T) (after prompting by A with [**sNʹiːftə**])

230. (*"the wool must be carded before it is spun"*)

kaː n̪. . . N əLɪnʹ ɛ vʹɛ kaːrdaːlʹtʹɪ sʊˑr ə sNʹiːfər ɛ (T)

231. (*"parts of the spinning-wheel"*)

pɑːrtʹ gəN... tuːrnʹɛ (T)

tɑ spoːkiː (T)

səˈræŋg ... sræŋg (T)/ **sræŋg** (A)

fʹæːrsəd (T/A)

roːː (A/T)

proːʃtʹɪ (A)

məLə (T) (a guess for *mol*; he has difficulty remembering the term)

232. (*"a skein of thread"*)

skɑːNʹɛ sNɑː (A/T)

233. (*"she is scouring the thread"*)

tɑ ʃiˑ spʹiːNə (T)/ **... spʹiːNə** (A)

234. (*"warp"*)

dLuː (A)

(*"weft"*)

ɪNʹəx (A)

235. (*"she is winding thread"*)

...tʃi kaːsə sNɑː (A)/ **tə ʃi kaːsə sNɑː** (T)

236. (*"homespun cloth"*)

sNʹiːft ɛgʹ baːlʹɛ (T)/ **ʃNʹiːft ɛgʹ bæːlʹɛ** (A)/ **bʹɛˈrʹeːdʹiːnʹ** (T)/ **bʹrʹeːdʹiːnʹ baːlʹɛ** (A/T)

237. (*"red dye"*)

daⁱ dʹæːrəg (T)

238. (*"tailor [sg.]"*)

tɑːLʹuˑr (T)

(*"tailors [pl.]"*)

tɑːLʹuˑˈrʹ (T)

239. (*"the woman is washing"*)

tɑ̃ n̩ vʹæːn ə Nʹiˑᵊxɑːn (T)

240. (*"manure-heap"*)

kɑːrNɑːN iːlʹəx (T/A)

241. (*"the clothes are bleaching"*)

tɑˑ ... NəN... tʹeːdəx ᵊgʹæːLəxɑˑN (T) (with prompting of *t'éadach* and *a' gealachán* from A).

242. (*"I am not used to this kind of work"*)

nʹiˑlʹ æːn oːl… nʹiˑlʹ æːn … xʹlʹæːxt əm … ɛrʹ ə kʹɪmʹɑlʹ ʃə əbɪrʹ nu əʲbʹrʹɪ … ə kʹɪmʹɑlʹ ʃə əʲbʹrʹɪ (A)

(edited down, with considerable overlap from T).

243. (*"could you do that for me?"*)

vʹeːtɑː ʃɪnʹ ə jɛnə ɣəm (T)

244. (*"they couldn't do that for us"*)

nʹiˑ ˌeːtəˈdʹiːʃ ɛ ʃɪnʹ ə jɛnə ɣɪn (T)

245. (*"are you able to do that?"*)

wəl tʊ n̩ ˈaːn ə ʃɪnʹ ə jɛnə (T)

246. (*"put out your tongue!"*)

kɪrʹ ɛˈmaːx də hæŋgə (T)

247. (*"tongues [pl.]"*)

tʹæːŋgəxə/ tʹæːŋgəxiː (T)

tʹæːŋgʷiˑ/ tʹæːŋgəxiˑ (A)

248. (*"the tip of the tongue"*)

ˈbɑːr ɪˈtʹæːŋgə (T)/ **ˈbɑːr ə ˈtʹæːŋgə** (A)

249. (*"this is a nice place"*)

dʹæˑs n̩ ɑːtʹ e ʃə (T)

(*"the people of this place"*)

diːnʹɛ nə hɑːtʹɛ ʃə (A, T)/ **mʷiːnʹtʹɪrʹ nə hɑːtʹɛ** (A, T)

(*"the people of those places"*)

diːnʹɛ nə hɑːtʹəxə/ hɑːtʹəxi ʃɪnʹ (A/T)

250. (*"a head of cabbage"*)

ˈkɫɛgʹn̩ ˈgəbɑːʃtʹɛ (T/A)/ **ˈkɫɛgʹn̩ ˈkoːlʹɪʃ** (T) ["Cabáiste an rud ceart!" (A)]

(*"the cabbage stalk [sg.]"*)

ˈbən ə ˈxoːlʹɪʃ (A)/ **ˈbən ˈgəbɑːʃtʹɛ** (T)

(*"cabbage stalks [pl.]"*)

ˈbənənᵊi ˈkoːlʹɪʃ (A)/ **ˈbənənᵊi ˈgəbɑːʃtʹɛ** (T)

251. (*"leaves of cabbage"*)

ˈbʹɪɫʹoˑgiˑ ˈkəbɑːʃtʹɪ (A)/ **ˈbʹɪɫʹoːgʹiː** (sic) **n̩ ˈɣəbɑːʃtʹɪ** (T)

252. (*"Indian meal"*)

mʹɪnʹ ᵊˈwiː (A)/ **mʹɛnʹ ˈweˑⁱ** (T)

253. (*"oatmeal"*)

mʹɛnʹᵋ ˈxərxʹkʹɛ (T)/ **mʹɪmʹ kərxʹkʹɪ** (A)

254. (*"sowens [cáith-bhruith]"*)

("sowans" heard as "sowings", which elicits **[sɑː ˈʃiːᵊʟtə]** ([ag] sá síolta) (A/T))

255. (*"meal-chest"*)

(not known to informants)

256. (*"she is making a cake [home-made bread]"*)

tə ʃi jɪNə (sic) **kɑːkə** (T)/ **Nu fʷiːnʹtʹ kɑːkə** (A)/ **Noˑ fəNʹtʹ . . . tə ʃi ᵊfʷɪnʹtʹ kɑːkə** (T)

257. (*"kneading the bread"*)

fʷiːnʹtʹ (A)/ **tə ʃi ᵊfʷɪnʹtʹ ə xɑːkə** (T)

258. (*"pots [pl.]"*)

pətᵉⁱ (A)/ **pɔtəⁱ** (T)

(*"pot-stick"*)

(not known to informants)

259. (*"pounder or beetle [for mashing potatoes or for pounding the flax]"*)

pəᵘndər (A)/ **paᵘndər** (T)

260. (*"the mice ate the bread-crumbs"*)

[Nʹ?] iːsəN Nə ʟəxɛNʹ Nə . . . (T)/ **. . . krʊmz** (A)

261. (*"crust [of bread]"*)

kruːstə Ṇ xɑːkə (T/A)

262. (*"give the child a bite of bread!"*)

tʹuːg (= tiœg ?) **əN. . .** (T)/ **tʹʊrʹ pʹiːsə kɑːkː dəN. . .** (A)/ **. . . ɣə̃ ɣaːsuˑr** (T)/ **Nu gəm fɑːʃtʹɪ** (A/T)

(a discussion of terms for children follows: **[NiːNɑˑN]** (nursing infant), **[pɑːʃtʹɪ]/ [ʟʹæːNu]** (toddler, young child) and **[gaːsuˑr]** (a child past the age of reason))

263. (*"cut me a piece of bread!"*)

gʹɑːr pʹiːsə rɑːN dʊm (A/T)/ (pl.) **gʹɑːrɪgʹiˑ . . .** (A/T)

264. (*"go and buy a loaf of bread!"*)

tʹəⁱrʹ əgəs . . . kʹæːNə bʊLʹiːnʹ rɑːN (A) (after prompting by T with **[kʹæːNə]**)/ **. . . bʊLʹiːnʹ rɑːN** (T)

265. (*"baking bread"*)

bɑːkɑːlʹ rɑːN (A, T)

266. (*"potatoes roasted on the embers: 'brissle' "*)

faːtiː roːstiː ɛrʹ Nə smʹæːxoˑdʹiˑ (T)

267. (*"he spat on the floor"*)

haː ʃɛ smʊgrlʹ ɛrʹ ɛN aᵘrLɑˑr (T)

268. (*"he was yawning"*)

vʹɪ ʃɛ mʹiˑᵊNuːx (A)/ **vʹɪ ʃɛ mʹiˑᵊNox** (T)

269. (*"he began to cry"*)

həsə ʃɛ kiːnʹɛ (T)

270. (*"it is beginning to rain"*)

tə ʃe təs egʹ bɑːʃtʹəx (T)

271. (*"we shall begin to work"*)

təso mʷɪNʹ ᵊg əbʷɪrʹ (T)

272. (*"he is stuttering"*)

tə ʃɛ . . . stʊdɪrʹəx (T/A)/ **vʹiˑ staːd ɑˑN** (A)

273. (*"he has a hiccough"*)

tɑ faːʲlʹ ɛrʹ (A/T)

274. (*"he is farting"*)

tə ʃɛ . . . fʹeːrtɪŋ (A)/ **braːməNiː** (T)

(*"he let a fart"*)

rɪNʹɪ ʃɛː bʹrʹiːmʹ (. . . rəd Nɑːdərə) (T)

275. (*"my clothes are damp"*)

tʌ mə xʊɟ eːdiˑ tæːʃ (A/T)

276. (*"she has new clothes"*)

tɑˑ eːdəx Nuː ərə (T)

277. (*"he was found drunk on the road"*)

fərʹu ɛrʹ mʹɪʃkʹ ɛrʹ ə moˑʷᵊr ɛ (T)/ **forʹ ʃəd oːLtəx . . .** (A)

(after prompting with [**fʹrʹɪhuː**] and [**fʹrʹiːuː**]) **fʹrʹiːuˑ** [A, T]

" [**fʹrʹiːuˑ**], sin é an Ghaeilge is fearr, a' SeanGhaeilge" [A]. [That term is also used on Inis Mór, along with the form first elicited.])

278. (*"we get money for it"*)

fʊrʹɪmʷɪɟ æːrʹɪgʹəd ɛrʹ (T)/ **Nu fɑːN mʷɪdʹ . . .** (A)/

Nu fɑːN mɪNʹ æːrʹɪgʹəd . . . fɑːN mʊdʹ æːrʹɪgʹəd . . . (T)

279. (*"we do not get any money"*)

ɴ′iˑ waʲɴ mɪd′ eːɴ æːr′ɪg′əd ɛr′...gə ɣɴɑː (T)/

ɴ′iˑ ɑːɴ mʊd′ æˑɴ æːr′ɪg′əd gə huːnduːl′ (A)/

ɴ′iˑ wiːɴ mʷɪɴ′ æːɴ...æːr′ɪg′əd gə huːnduːl′ ɛr′ (T)

280. (*"he would not get anything"*)

ɴ′iˑ wəʲəx sɛ ...ɴ′iˑ wəʲəx se ...taːdə (T)

(note the two occurrences of **[s]** in the pronoun after **[x]**; on the other hand, cf. item 310)

281. (*"he did not get anything"*)

ɴ′iˑ wʊr′ ʃe ɛːɴ...ɴ′iˑ wʊr′ ʃɛ taːdə (T)

282. (*"we have got the money"*)

fʊr′ mʷɪɴ′ ə tæːr′ɪg′əd (T)

(*"the money was gotten easily"*)

fʊr′ʊ ɴ̩ tæːr′ɪg′əd gə heːskə ...nʊː gə rəʲʲᵋ (T)

(*"gotten"*) (after prompting with **[fɑːt′ɛ, faʲt′ɛ, faxt′ɛ]**)

fɑːt′ɪ (A/T)

(*"he is getting the money"*)

tʃɛ fɑːl′ ɛɴ æːr′ɪg′ɪd′ (A)/ **tə ʃɛ fɑːl′ ɛɴ æːr′ɪg′ɪd′** (T)

283. (*"a suit of clothes [sg.]"*)

kəʟ ˈɛʲdə (T)

(*"suits of clothes [pl.]"*)

ˈkəʟtəxɛⁱ ˈeːdə (T)

284. (*"shirt [sg.]"*)

ʟ′eːɴ′ɛ (A)/ **ʟ′eːn′ɛ** (T)

(*"shirts [pl.]"*)

ʟ′eːn′t′əxəⁱ (T)

285. (*"my shirt is dirty"*)

tɑ mə ʟ′eːɴ′ə saːləx (T)

286. (*"your shirt is dirty too"*)

tɑ tʊ l′eːn′ɪ saːləx frɔʃɪn′ (T)

287. (*"sleeves [pl.]"*)

mʷɪɴ′ɪʟ′iː (A)/ **smʊʟ′ɪn′iː** (T)

288. (*"where are my gloves?"*)

kɑː l′ mᵘ xɪd′ m′ɪtoːgɪː (A/T)

289. (*"light cloth"*)

ɛːdəx eːdrəm (T)/ **ɛːdəx əⁱdrəm** (A)

(*"heavy cloth"*)

ɛːdəx troːm (T)/ **ɛˑdəx truːm** (A)

290. (*"over-coat"*)

koːtə moːr (A, T)

291. (*"show me your house!"*)

spɑːˈnʹ əm də hæːx (T)/ **. . . də hɛːᵊx** (A)

292. (*"I shall show you my house"*)

spɑːnʹ (sic) **mʹɛ dɪtʹ mə hɛːᵊx** (A)/

spɑːnʹ (sic) **mʹɛ ɣɪtʹ mə hæːx** (T)

293. (*"he is showing them the land"*)

tʃɛ spɑːnʹtʹ ə taːlə doːb (A)

294. (*"he showed me his cattle"*)

spɑːnʹ ʃɛ xɪdʹ bʹɛⁱ ɣəm (T)

295. (*"he did the same thing"*)

rɪnʹɪ ʃe ə̃ rə̃d kʹeːᵊNə (T)

296. (*"you need food when you are working"*)

taːstiˑN. . . bʹiˑə wɛtʹ Nərʹ ə tə to g əbɪrʹ (T) (after prompting from A)

297. (*"too much food is bad"*)

nʹɪməkə (sic) **bʹiˑə . . . tə ʃɛ gə dʊNə** (T)

(*"food is scarce"*)

tə N bʹiˑə gaːN (T) (after prompting from A with *bia* and *gann*)/

tɑ N bʹiˑə gaːN (A)

(*"there is no scarcity here"*)

Nʹiːlʹ ə̃ˑ ɣaːNtəNəs n̩ʹˈʃə (T)/ **. . . ə̃ ɣaːNtəNəs ənʹˈʃə** (A)

298. (*"he eats three meals a day"*)

ɪhn̩ʹ ʃeː tʹrʹiː vʹeːlʹi sə Loː (A)/

iˑn̩ʹ ʃe tʹrʹiː vʹeːlʹi sə Ləwə

. . . iːnʹ ʃɛ . . . tʹrʹiː vʹeːlʹiˑ sə Lowə (T)/

iːnʹ ʃɛ . . . (A)

299. (*"breakfast"*)

bʹrʹɪkʹfaːstə (A, T)

300. (*"dinner"*)

dʹiːnʹɛr (A)/ **dʹiːnʹɛːr** (T)

301. (*"supper"*)

sʊpʹɛr (A)/ **sɪpʹɛːr** (T)

302. (*"he is eating his dinner"*)

tə sə (sic) **gʹ ɪ jiːnʹɛːr** (T)

303. (*"we ate our dinner long ago"*)

dʹɪ məNʹ ar Nʹ...ar NʹiːNʹɛr faːdoː (T)

304. (*"did you eat enough?"*)

rʹ ɪ tʊ də ɣoːwɪnʹ (T)

305. (*"I shall eat whatever you will give me"*)

jisə mʹɛ rʊd ə bʹɪ xʹʊrəs tuː ɣəm (T)/

iːsə mʹeː [*x*2] **...kʹɪbʹɛ kʹeˑrd ɛ xʹʊrəs tuˑ ɣəm** (A)

306. (*"I didn't eat anything today because I was sick"*)

Nʹirʹ ɪ mʹɛ taːdə ˈNʹɪ maːr vʹi mʹɛ tʹiːNʹ (T/A)

307. (*"give me something to eat!"*)

ṭur rʊd ɛˈkʹiːnʹtʹ Lʹe Nʹɪ ɣəm (T)/

tʹuˑr rʊd ɛˈkʹiːnʹtʹ dəm ˈLʹəʲ Nʹɪ ...Nu Lʹəʲ ˈNʹɪ ɣəm (A)

308. (*"he gives money to the poor"*)

həg ʃeˑ æːrʹɪgʹəd də Nə bɔxt (T)/

tʹʊgn̩ʹ (sic) **ʃɛ æːrʹɪgʹəd də Nə bɔxt** (A)/

tʊgn̩ʹ ʃɛ æːrʹɪgʹəd də Nə bɔxt (T)

309. (*"he doesn't give"*)

Nʹiˑ xʹʊgn̩ʹ ʃɛ ɛN aʲrʹɪgʹəd gə Nə bʊxt (A)/

Nʹi xʹʊgn̩ʹ ʃɛ n̩ æːrʹɪgʹəd gə Nə bɔxt (T)

310. (*"he wouldn't give"*)

nʹɪˑ xʹʊːrəx ʃɛ (T)/ **nʹiˑ xʹuːrəx ʃɛ** (A) (but cf. item 280)

311. (*"we gave"*)

hʊg mʷɪdʹ (A)/ **hʊg məNʹ** (T)/ **hʊgəmər** (A)

312. (*"he gave it to a beggar"*)

hʊg mɪdʹ gə fʹær dʹeːrʹxʹkʹ ɛ (A)/ **hug mədʹ gə fʹær dʹeːrʹkʹ ɛ** (T)

313. (*"Give! [sg.]"*)

tʹuːrʹ (ɣoː ɛ) (A)/ **tʹuːrʹ (ɣoːb ɛ)** (T)

(*"Give! [pl.]"*)

tʊgiˑ (gə Nə diːnʹiː/ diːnʹɪ . . .) (A, T)

[**tʊgəgiː**] (sic) given initially by A, with evident difficulty in articulation; changed to [**tʊgiˑ**])

314. (*"my clothes are torn"*)

tə mə xudʹ eːdiː stroːˈkʹiˑ (A)/ **ta mə hʊdʹ eːdiˑ stroːkʹiˑ** (T)

(*"his clothes are torn"*)

(question omitted by interviewer through oversight)

315. (*"salt"*)

saːLəN (A/T)

316. (*"meat"*)

fʹoːˈlʹ (A)/ **fʹoːwɛlʹ** (T)

317. (*"I gave the dog a piece of meat"*)

ʰʷg mʹɛ pʹiːsə fʹoːˈlʹ gəN waːdə (A)/ **hʊgə mʹɛ pʹiːsə fʹoːlʹ gə̃ waːdə** (T)

318. (*"a penny [sg.]"*)

pʹiːnʹ (A)/ **pʹɪjɪnʹ** (T)

319. (*"a shilling [sg.]"*)

ʃkʹɪLʹɪŋʹ (A/T)

320. (*"my pocket"*)

mə foːkə (A/T)

321. (*"he is earning a lot"*)

tə ʃɛ ᵊsɪːruˑ gə Lʹoːrʹ (A)/ **tə ʃɛ sɪːɹu gʊ Lʹoːwər** (T)

322. (*"he earns only a little"*)

Nʹiˑ hiːrənʹ ʃɛ ax bʹɛgɑˑN (A)/ **Nʹɪː hiːrənʹ ʃɛ ax bʹɛgɑˑN** (T)

323. (*"you will earn money"*)

siːro tu æːrʹɪgʹəd (A/T)

324. (*"we earned money"*)

hiːrə mʊdʹ æːrʹɪgʹəd (A/T)

325. (*"bacon"*)

mʊkʹoːˡlʹ (A/T) **. . . baːguːN** (A)/ **baːgoːN** (T)

(*bacon* heard first as *begging*, then as *baking*!)

326. (*"gruel, stirabout"*)

Lʹɛtʹɪ (A)/ **Lʹɛtʹɛ** (T)/ **brəxɑːN** (T/A) ("Is é sin, tanaí" (A)

Leite, on the other hand, is thick (**[tʹʊ]** = *tiubh*))

327. (*"soup"*)

aːNdrə (A)/ **aːnrə** (T)

328. (*"let us play a game of cards!"*)

ɪmʹrʹiːx mʷɪdʹ kLɪfʹɪ kɑːrtɪˑ (A)/ **ɪmʹᵊnʹiːx mədʹ kLɪfʹɪ kɑːrtɪ** (T)

(note the hypercorrect verb form given by T; cf. item 330)

329. (*"he won the game"*)

ɣNoːᵊ ʃɛ əN kLɪfʹɪ (A)/ **ɣNawə ʃɛ əN kLɪfʹɪ** (T)

330. (*"we don't play cards at all"*)

nʹiˑ ɪmʹrʹiˑᵊN mʷɪdʹ kɑːrti ˌ ˈxərʹɪbʹɪ (A)/

nʹiˑ ɪmʹnʹiˑn mədʹ kɑːrti ˌ ˈxɛrʹɪbʹɪ (T)

(note the hypercorrect verb form given by T; cf. item 328)

331. (*"names of playing cards: spades"*)

spʹeːrʹɛt (T/A)

(*"diamonds"*)

məLʹɛtə (T)/ **mʊLʹɛtə** (A)

(*"clubs"*)

tʹrʹəf (T/A)

(*"hearts"*)

haːrt (T)/ **hæːrt** (A)

332. (*"trump"*)

kʊLʹətə (A/T)/ (pl.) **kʊLʹətiˑ** (A)

(*"queen"*)

baːnrɪˑN (A)/ **baːnreːN** (T)

(*"knave [?]"*)

hiːN ə hæˑrt (A)/ **iːnʹ ˈtʹrʹəf / iːnʹ spʹɛːrʹɛt** (T)

(*"king"*)

əN rɛⁱ (T)/ **əN riˑ** (A)

333. (*"non-trumps"*)

(nothing elicited from informants)

334. (*"father"*)

ɛːːrʹ (A)/ **æːrʹ** (T)

335. (*"my father's house"*)

tʹæx m æːrʹ (A/T)

336. (*"mother"*)

mɑːrʹ (A/T)

(*"my mother's house"*)

tʹæx mə wɑːrʹ (A/T)

337. (*"grandfather"*)

ʃæːNærʹ (A/T)

(*"grandmother"*)

tʹæːNwɑˑrʹ (A)/ **ʃæːNwɑˑrʹ** (T)/

([tʹæːNwɑˑrʹ... tʹʊgəmʷɪdʹ maːmoː fʹrʹɛʃɪnʹ əgəs dʹæːdʹoˑ ɛrʹ ʃæːNærʹ əgəs ʃæːNwɑˑrʹ... maːmoː ɛrʹ ʃaːNwɑˑrʹ əgəs dʹæːdʹoː ɛrʹ ʃæːNærʹ] [A])

(*children's terms for 'mother'*)

mæːmʹiː (corrected to) **maːmiˑ/ maːm** (A)

(*children's terms for 'father'*)

dʹæːdʹi/ dʹæːdʹ (A)

338. (*"I have written to your father"*)

skʹrʹiːv mʹeˑ gʹ t æːrʹ (A/T)

339. (*"I have written a letter"*)

skʹrʹiːv mʹeˑ ʟʹɛtʹɪrʹ (A/T)/ **təˑ ʟʹɛtʹɪr skʹrʹiːft aːgm̩** (A/T)

340. (*"I hope you will write to me soon"*)

tɑˑ suːlʹ aˑm gʊ skʹrʹiːfə tu aˑm gʊ ʟuːwə (A)/

ta sʊːˈlʹ aˑm gə skʹrʹiːfᵊ to aˑm go ʟoːwə (T)

341. (*"write to her!"*)

skʹrʹiːw ɛkʹɪ (A/T)

342. (*"I write home once a week"*)

skʹrʹiːvn̩ mʹɛ ᵊwæːlʹɛ orʹ sə tʹæxtɪnʹ (A)/

skʹrʹiːvn̩ mʹɛ waːlʹɛ orʹ sə tʹæxtɛnʹ (T)

343. (*"I am writing"*)

tə m′ɛ sk′r′i:u (A)/ **tɑ m′ɛ sk′r′i:ʲu** (T)

344. (*"The Lord's Prayer"*)

(recited by T as a prayer)

ɑ:r Næ:r′ tɑ: r′ N′æ:v

gə Ne:fər tə ʔæˑn′ɪm′

gə d′ɪg′ə də re:ᵊx

gə N′eNtər (də hɪl′ ʔ) ɛr′ ə ta:Lə

mar ə N′i:Ntər ɛr′ N′æ:v

tʊr du:n′ (the rest is inaudible)

(2nd repetition)

ɑ:r Næ:r′ ᵊtɑ: ɛr′ N′æ:v

gə Ni:fər tæˑn′ɪm′

gə d′ʊkə də re:xt

gə N′i:Ntər də hɪl′ ɛr′ ə tæ:Lə

mar ə (ji: ʔ)Ntər ɛr′ N′æ:v

ta:r du:N′ɛ a:r Lɑ: Le:uˑl′

ma: ɣuˑN′ ər v′iˑəxə

(unintelligible stretch)

Nɑˑ L′ɪg′ ʃɪn′ ɪ gæ:ʊˑ

ax (the rest is unintelligible)

345. (*"brothers [pl.]"*)

d′r′ɑ:r′əxiˑ (A/T)

346. (*"sisters [pl.]"*)

d′r′ɛᵘrəxi (A/T)

(*"gen. sg. of 'sister': my sister's husband"*)

f′æˑr k′e:l′ɛ mə jr′əᵘr (A)/ **f′æˑr k′e:l′ɛ mə jr′awər** (T)

347. (*"my sister has a big house in the town"*)

tə t′æx mo:r ɛg′ mo jr′aᵘr sə maˑl′ɛ sə maˑl′ɛ mo:r (A)/

tɑ t′æ:x mo:r ɛg′ mə jr′awur sə ma:l′ɛ mo:r (T)

(*"how many brothers and sisters have you?"*)

k′e: m′e:d′ d′r′ɑ:r′əxeⁱ gəs d′r′aᵘrəxi ᵊtɑ . . . agət (A)/

k′e: v′e:d d′r′ʌᵘrəxi gəs d′r′ɑ:r′əxɪˑ ᵊtɑ a:gət (T)

348. (*"she is very thin"*)

tə ʃiˑ ˈæːN ˈtaːNᵊi (A/T)

(no falling tone on the particle *an-* ; there is a level high tone on both stressed syllables)

349. (*"daughters [pl.]"*)

ˈɪNʹiːNʹəxiˑ (A)/ **ˈɪNʹiːnəxiˑ** (T)

(*"gen. sg. of 'daughter': my daughter's house"*)

tʹæx ˈməNʹiːnʹ (A/T)

350. (*"the people of Ireland"*)

məʲnʹtʹɪrʹ Nə heʲrʹɪmʹ (A)/ **məʲnʹtʹɪrʹ Nə heʲrʹɛnʹ** (T)

351. (*"he is very friendly with children"*)

tᵘ ʃe ˈæ̃ːˈxɑːrdʹuːlʹ lʹɛ pɑːʃtʹiˑ (A)/

tə ʃɛ æ̃ː xɑːrdʹʊlʹ lʹɛ pɑːʃtʹi (T)

352. (*"widow"*)

baˑʲnʹtʹrʹəx (T/A)

(*"the widow's son"*)

maˑk Nə baːnʹtʹrʹiˑ (A/T)

353. (*"there was a crowd of women talking on the road"*)

vʹiˑ ˈskaːtə ˈmNɑː æˑgʹ kaʲnʹtʹ ɛrʹ ə moːr (A)/

vʹiᵊ skaːtə mæː ...vʹi skaːtə mNɑˑ ᵊkaːnʹtʹ ɛrʹ ə moːwər (T)

354. (*"the child was baptised last Sunday"*)

vʹi ɛN fɑːʃtʹɪ bæˑʃtʹiː əN duːNəx ʃɛ kæːtʹɪ (A)/

vʹiˑ N pɑːʃtʹɪ baːʃtʹɪ n̩ duːNəx ʃɛ kaːtʹɪ (T)/

Nu bæːʃtʹu m̩ pɑːʃtʹɪ əN duːNəx ʃɛ kætʹɪ (A)

355. (*"cradle"*)

kʹLʹiˑᵊwɑːN (A)/ kʹLʹɪˑᵊwɑːN (T)

356. (*"do you speak Gaelic?"*)

ᵊLaᵘriᵊN tuˑ gʷeːlʹgʹɪ (A)/ **ᵊLəᵘrɪN tu geːlʹgʹɛ** (T)

357. (*"Cardinals 1-10"*)

hiːjəN (A)/ **heːjəN** (T)

doː (A)/ **doːʷᵊ** (T)

tʹrʹiː (A)/ **tʹrʹiːʲᶦ** (T)

kʹæːrʹ (A/T)

kuːwɪgʹ (A)/ **kuːg** (T)

ʃeː (A)/ **ʃeːᵋ** (T)

ʃaːx (A/T)

ɔx (A/T)

Nᵊiː (A/T)

dʹɛ (A/T)

(*"twenty"*)

fʹɪ (A)/ **fʹɛ** (T)

(*"forty"*)

kʹæːrʹəxə (A)/ **kʹæːrʹəx ... kʹæːrʹəxə** (T)

(*"hundred"*)

kʹeːjəd (A/T)

(*"thousand"*)

mʹiːlʹɛ (A/T)

358. (*"Ordinals: the first man ... (1-10)"*)

n̩ʹ ˈxʹeːd ˈæːr (A)/ **n̩ʹ ˌxʹeːd ˈæːr** (T)

N̩ ˈdaːrNə ˈfʹær (A/T)

n̩ʹ ˈtʹrʹiːu fʹær (A/T)/ **n̩ʹ ˈtʹrʹæːs fʹæːr** (A)

ŋʹ ˈkʹæːrʊː fʹæːr (A)/ **n̩ʹ ˈkʹæːrʊˑ fʹæˑr** (T)

ŋ ˈkuːgʹuˑ fʹæˑr (A)/ **ŋ ˈkʊːgʹʊˑ fʹæːr** (T)

n̩ʹ ˈʃeːʊˑ fʹæˑr (A)/ **n̩ʹ ˈʃeːʊː fʹæːr** (T)

n̩ʹ ˈʃaːxtʊː fʹæːr (A)/ **n̩ʹ ˈʃaːxtʊˑ fʹæːr** (T)

N̩ ˈtəxtʊˑ fʹæːr (A)/ **N̩ ˈtɔxtu fʹæːr** (T)

N̩ ˈNɪːuˑ fʹæːr (A)/ **N̩ ˈNeːuˑ ˈfʹæːr** (T)

n̩ʹ ˈʤɛːʊˑ fʹæˑr (A)/ **n̩ʹ ˈdʹɛˑᵘ fʹæːr** (T)

(*"Personal numerals: two people (etc.)"*)

bʹɛrtʹ diːnʹiˑ (A)/ **bʹɛrt** (sic) **diːnʹiˑ** (T)

tʹrʹuːr diːnʹiˑ (A)/ **tʹrʹʊːr dɪːnʹɪ** (T)

kʹæːr diːnʹiˑ (A)/ **kʹæːr dɪːnʹiˑ** (T)

kuːˈgʹ ... kuːgʹər (A)/ **kuːgʹər dɪːnʹɪ** (T)

ʃɛʃər diːnʹiː (A)/ **ʃɛʃər dɪːnʹɪ** (T)

ʃaˑxtər diːnʹiˑ (A)/ **ʃaːxtər dɪːnʹɪ** (T)

ɔxtər diːnʹi (A)/ **ɔxtər dɪːnʹɪ** (T)

NiːNuːr (A)/ **NeˑᵊNoˑᵊr** (T)

ɟɪN′uːr diːn′iː (A)/ **d′ɛN′ʊᵊr deⁱːn′i** (T)

359. (*"how many people were there?"*)

k′ɛ m′eːd diːn′iː ᵊv′iː n̪ˈtʃɪm′ (A)/ **k′eː v′ɛːd diːn′ɪ v′iː n̪ˈʃɪm′** (T)

360. (*"five inches high"*)

ˈkuːg′ ˈaᵘrLiː ɛr′ aⁱrd′ɪ (A)/ **ˈkʊg′ ˈaᵘrLi ɛr** (sic) **aⁱrd′ɛ** (T)

361. (*"four yards long"*)

x′ɛr′ɛ sLaːt ɛr′ aːd (A) (with the prompt **[ɛr′ aːd]** from T)/

x′ɛr′ɛ sLaːt ɛr′ aːd (T)

362. (*"three feet wide"*)

t′r′iː trə ɛr′ L′eːᵊd (T, A)

363. (*"a foot [measure]"*)

trə (T/A)

(*"many feet"*)

ˈmoːrɑːN ˈtrə (A/T)

364. (*"fathom [sg.]"*)

f′ɑː (T/A)

(*"fathom [pl.]"*)

f′ɑːNᵉi (T)/ **f′ɑːNiː** (A)

(*"one fathom deep"*)

ˈf′ɑː ɛr′ ˈdawɪN′ (T)/ **f′ɑː . . . ɛr daᵘN Nu ɛr dʌⁱN′ə** (A)

365. (*"names of countries"*)

spɑːᶦn′ (A)

f′r′æːŋ′k′ (A)

g′æːrmɑːn′ (A)

ruːʃ (A)

poːLəN′ (A)

ˈt′iːr′ ˈfoː ˈhɪN′ (A)

əN ˈəLɑːn′ (A)

ən hʊŋgɑːr′ (A)

ən ruːmɑːn′ (A)

ən′ t′iːn′ (A)

ɑːʃɪ (A)

mʹɛrʹɪkɑː (A)

saːsəNə (A)

aːLəbʷɪNʹ (A)

kʹæˑNədə (A) (with prompting from T)

n̩ʹ tʹæpɑːɪnʹ (A)

ᵋNʹ ugɔsˈLʹæːv (A)

əN daːNwaˑrɛgʹ (A)

əN (sic) **ɛlʹvʹeːʃ** (A)

n̩ʹ gʹrʹeːgʹ (A)

əN... ɪdɑːˈlʹ (A)

ɛrwɛⁱ (“Norway”) (A)

366. (*“many an Irishman went to America”*)

əs əmuː ə fʹɛːr æˑs eːrʹɪNʹ ə xə gə mʹɛrʹɪkɑˑ (A)/

əs əmuː fʹæːr æˑs eːrʹɪnʹ ə xə gə mʹɛrʹɪkɑ (T)

367. (*“I was born in the parish of [name of parish in which speaker was born]”*)

rʊguː mʹɛː ᵊbərɑːʃtʹ ɪnʹɪʃ moːr (A/T)

368. (*“a Jew [sg.]”*)

juːdəx (A/T)

(*“Jews [pl.]”*)

juːdiː (A)/ **gʹuːdeˑⁱ** (T/A)

369. (*“he fell on the top of his head”*)

hɪtʹ ʃɛː rʹ... (A)/ **ɛrʹ wʊLɔx ə xʹiːjɪnʹ... hɛtʹ ʃɛː ɛrʹ wʊLɔx ə xʹiːnʹ** (T)

(*“he was against me”*)

vʹiˑ ʃɛ məⁱ (A)/ **vʹiˑ ʃɛ maʲᶦ** (T)

370. (*“she is complaining about a headache”*)

tə ʃiˑ ... ᵊkLʌᵘNsɑˑN erʹ tʹɪnʹɪʃ kʹiːnʹ (A)/

tə ʃi kLoᵘNsɑˑN ɛrʹ tʹɪnʹɪs (sic) **kʹiːnʹ** (T)

371. (*“he is sweating”*)

tə tʃɛ kʊrʹ aːLɪʃ (A)/ **tə ʃɛ kʊrʹ aːLɛs** (T)

372. (*“mouth”*)

bʹeːᵊL (A/T)

(*“shut your mouth!”*)

duːnʹ də vʹeːᵊL (A)/ **duːnʹ də vʹeːᵊL** (T)

(**duːnʹ də xLaːb dʹeːrədʹiːʃ ... kiː ɛlʹɛ** [A])

373. (*"lips"*)

ʟ′ɪp′iː (A/T)

374. (*"cancer"*)

æːʟ′ʃɪ (A)

375. (*"cheeks"*)

ʟ′ɛk′ᶦn′ɛ (A)/ **ʟ′ɛk′n′ɛ** (T)

(*"your jaw"*)

də jiːᵊʟ (A)

(*"eyebrows"*)

mæˑᶦl′iˑ (A)/ **maːl′iˑ** (T)

([**æs kʼiˑᵊɴ də ˈhoːwɛlʼ**] [T])

376. (*"hair"*)

groːᶦg′ (A)/ **groːʷɛg′** (T)

(*"the color of the hair"*)

dæː Nə gruːɛg′ɛ (A)/ **da Nə gruːɛg′ɛ** (T)

377. (*"I have to comb my hair every morning before I go to school"*)

kæˑ m′ɛ mə ɣroːᶦg′ ə reːt′əx xʊl′ɪ wædʒɪn′ səʟ mar d′ɛⁱn′ m′e ɛr′ skəl′ (A)/

ka m′ɛ mə ɣrog′ ə rɛⁱt′əx xɪl′ɪ waːd′ɪn′... soˑr ə ɣaᵘs m′ɛ g′ ə skəl′ (T)

378. (*"if I didn't comb my hair, my mother would be angry"*)

marᵊ reⁱt′oˑⁱɴ′ mo ɣrʊᶦg′ v′əx f′ɛːrəg ɛr mə wɑːr′ (A)/

marə reⁱt′ox ... m′ɛ mə ɣroˑᶦg′ v′əx f′æːrᵊg ɛr mə wɑːr′ (T)

379. (*"I have to shave myself"*)

ka m′ɛ m′ɛ heːn′ ə ˈv′ɑːrə ... ˈv′æːrə (A)/

ka m′ɛ m′ɛ heːn′ ə ˈv′ɑːrə (T)

380. (*"beard"*)

m′ɛg′əʟ Nu f′iːsog′ ("[m′ɛg′əʟ] an rud ceart, déarfainn") (A)/

m′ɛg′ɑʟ (T)

381. (*"don't pull my hair!"*)

Nɑˑ taˑrəɴ mə ɣruˑᵋg′ (A)/ **Nɑˑ taˑrɪŋ′ mə ɣroˑᵋg′** (T)

382. (*"it wouldn't do you any harm"*)

nʹiː jɪNəx ʃeː ɛːᵊN dʹiːᵊvɑˑlʹ dɪtʹ (A)/

nʹiˑ jɛNəx . . . Nu ˈaˑN ˈdɔxər . . . nu dɔxər . . .

nʹiˑ jɛNəx ʃɛ ɴ̩ dɔxər ɪtʹ (T) (= ". . . aon dochar dhuit")

383. (*"chin"*)

smʹɪgʹ (A)/ **smʹɛgʹ** (T)

384. (*"neck"*)

mʷɪNʹæˑL (A)/ **mʊnʹaˑL** (T)

(*"on the back of my neck"*)

ɛr xʊːL mə wɪnʹɑˑL (T)

385. (*"shoulder [sg.]"*)

guᵊLɪnʹ (A/T)

(*"shoulders [pl.]"*)

guᵊLɪNʹəxi (T)/ **guᵊLʹNʹɪ** (A)

(*"on the top of my shoulder"*)

ɛrʹ wɑːr mə ɣuᵊLɪnʹ (T/A)

386. (*"ear [sg.]"*)

kLuwəs (A)/ **kLuwəʃ** (T)

(*"ears [pl.]"*)

kLuᵊsə (A)/ **kLoᵊsə** (T)

(*"on the top of my ear"*)

bɑːr mə xLoːwɪʃ (T)/ **bɑːr mə xLoːˈʃ** (A)

(*"on the top of my ears"*)

bɑːr mə xLoːsə (A)/ **bɑːr mə xLoᵊsə** (T)

387. (*"did you hear the noise?"*)

ər aⁱrʹɪ tuˑ ɴ̩ tərəN (A/T)

388. (*"I heard"*)

xoːLəs (A)/ Nu dæːrʹɪ (T)/ **Nu daⁱrʹɪ** (A)

389. (*"you will hear"*)

kLʊʃɪ tu ɛ . . . Nu aⁱrʹo tu ɛ (A)/ **kLɪʃɪ tʊˑ** (T)

390. (*"could you hear it?"*)

ᵘgLʊʃɴ̩ tu ɛ . . . Nu NaⁱrʹiˑN tu ɛ (A)/

Nu NæːrʹiˑN tu ɛ (T)

(*"could you hear it last night?"*)

raːrʹɪ tu ɛ ᵊrəʲrʹ (T)/ **raʲrʹɪ tu ᵊreːrʹ ɛ** (A)/

. . . ᵊvʹeːtɑː (ə) æːrʹəxtɑːlʹ (T)

391. (*"we hear"*)

kLʊʃɲ mʊdʹ ˈnʹɪʃ ɛ . . . Nu æːrʹiːN mʊdʹ ˈnʹɪʃ ɛ (A)/

æːrʹiːN mʊdʹ ˈnʹɪʃ ɛ (T)

392. (*"I have good hearing"*)

tɑː ʔeːʃtʹəxt mæ ægɲ (A)/ **tɑː eːʃtʹəxt maː agəm** (T)

393. (*"I have bad hearing"*)

tɑ drəxˈeːʃtʹəxt aːgɲ (A)/ **taː drəxˈeːʃtʹəxt aːgɲ** (T)

394. (*"deaf"*)

baᵘwur (A)/ **baᵘwər** (T)

(*"deafer (comparative form)"*)

Nʹiːs baᵘrʹɪ (A)/ **nʹɪs baᵘrʹɛ** (T)

395. (*"eye [sg.]"*)

suːlʹ (A)/ **sʊːwəlʹ** (T)

(*"eye [pl.]"*)

suːlʹɛ (A)/ **sʊːlʹɛ** (T)

(*"the color of the eye [sg.]"*)

ˈdæː Nə ˈsuːlʹɛ (A)/ **ˈdæː Nə ˈsoːlʹɛ** (T)

396. (*"we see"*)

fʹɛkʹɲ mʊNʹ (A)/ **fʹɛkʹɲ məNʹ** (T)

397. (*"we do not see"*)

nʹiː ˈjɛkʹɲ mʊNʹ (A)/ **nʹiː ˈɛkʹɲ məNʹ** (T)

398. (*"I shall not see"*)

nʹiː ˈɛkʹɪ mʹɛ (A/T)

399. (*"I saw it"*)

xʊnʹɪkʹ mʹɛ ɛ (A)/ **xənʹɪkʹ mʹɛ ɛ** (T)

400. (*"did you see it?"*)

ᵘwaːkᵊ tuː ɛ (A/T)

401. (*"I did not see it"*)

nʹiː ˈaːkə mʹɛ ɛ (A/T)

402. (*"he saw it"*)

xʊnʹɪkʹ ʃeˑ ɛ (A/T)

403. (*"we saw it"*)

xʊnʹɪkʹ mʊʤ ɛ (T, A)

404. (*"I can't see him"*)

ˈnʹiˑ ˈɛgʹɪmʹ ɛː . . . nʹiˑ ˈfʹeˑdʹɪrʹ lʹn̩ a ˈɛkʹɑˑl (A)/ **nʹi ˈeːdɪmʹ ɛ ɛkʹɑːL** (T/A)

405. (*"the sight of the eyes"*)

ˈaːfrək Nə ˈsuːL (A)/ **ˈaːfrək Nə ˈsuːlʹɛ** (T)

("Nó [**aːfrək də hʊːwəL**] le súil amháin, . . . ach [**aːfrək Nə ˈsoˑʷlʹɛ**] sa dá shúil" [T])

406. (*"he is short-sighted"*)

aːfrək ˈNaːr doː ɛgʹɛ (A)/ **. . . aːfrək ˈŋaːr ɣɪtʹ** (T)/

tə aːfrək ᵊŋaːr doː ɛgʹɛ (A)/ **aːfrək ᵊNaːr doː ɛgʹɛ** (T)/

kLeːᵊNiᵊxɪnʹtʹ (A)/ **kLeːᵊNeˑᵊxɪnʹtʹ** (A, T)

(A and T think that there may have been other terms [**ɛgʹ Nə ʃæːNiːnʹiˑ**])

407. (*"my pipe is nearly out"*)

tə mə fʷiːpə ˈŋaːr ə vʹɛ æːs . . . əˈmʊ (T)/ **Naːr ə vʹɛ æːs** (A)

(T prefers the form [**ˈŋaːr ə vʹɛ æːs**])

408. (*"he looked at me very sharply"*)

vʹrʹæːNɪ ʃɛ ˈæːNˈjeːr ərəm (T) (with prompting from A)

(*"he was looking at me"*)

vʹɪ ʃeˑ bʹrʹæːNʊ ərəm (A)/ **vʹi ʃe bʹrʹæːNuˑ ərəm** (T)

409. (*"he was watching me"*)

vʹi ʃɛ faˑⁱrʹ ərn̩ (A/T)

410. (*"he is keeping me back"*)

ʃɛ mə xʊNʹəlʹ ʃiːər (A)/ **tə ʃɛ mə xʊNʹɑːlʹ ʃiːar** (T)

411. (*"keep it for yourself!"*)

kʊNʹʊ ɣɪtʹ heːⁱnʹ ɛ (A)/ **kʊNʹə ɣɪtʹ heːⁱnʹ ɛ** (T)

412. (*"I shall keep it"*)

kʊNʹoː mʹɛ ɛ (A)/ **kɪNʹoː mʹɛː ɛˑ** (T)

413. (*"he tried to kill me"*)

rɪNʹɪ ʃɛ ʔeːrəxt mʹeː waːruˑ (A)/ **rɪNʹɪ ʃe eːrəxt mʹɛ waːrʊː** (T)

414. (*"he was trying to do it"*)

vʹi ʃe gʹ eːr ɑː jɪNə (A)/ **vʹi ʃe gʹ eːr ɑː jɛNə** (T)

415. (*"try to lift that stone!"*)

dʹiᵊN eːrəxt ... dʹiᵊN eːrəxt əN xLəx ʃɪnʹ ə xrəxə ... Nu traʲjɑːlʹ... (A)/

dʹɛN eːriᵊxt (sic) **ə̃ xLəx ʃɪnʹ ə xrəxə** (T)

416. (*"what do you think about the war?"*)

kʹerd ə xʹæpn̩s tu dɪːw ə̃ xəgə (A)/

kʹerd ə xʹæːpn̩s tʊ n̩ dɪːw ə xəgə (T)

417. (*"he thinks that I am a fool"*)

kʹæˑpn̩ ʃe gər aːmədɑˑN mʹɛ (A)/

kʹæˑpn̩ ʃe gər aːmədɑˑN mʹeʲ (T)

418. (*"listen to me!"[sg.]*)

eːʃtʹ lʹʊm (A)/ eːʃ lʹəm (T)

(*"listen to me!"[pl.]*)

eːʃtʹɪgʹiˑ lʹm̩ (A)/ **ɛːʃtʹɪgʹɪː lʹəm** (T)

419. (*"he wouldn't listen to me"*)

ˈNʹiː eːʃtʹʊx ʃɛ lʹm̩ (A)/ **nʹiˑ ˈeːʃtʹəx ʃe ˈlʹəm** (T)

420. (*"I was listening to her"*)

vʹi mʹe ɛgʹ eːʃtʹəxt lʹe (A)/ **vʹi mʹe ɛgʹ eːʃtʹəx lʹɛ** (T)

(*"shut up!"*)

duːnʹ də vʹeːL ... Nuː duːnʹ də xLaːb (A)/ **don də xLaːb** (T)

421. (*"do you feel the pain?"*)

ᵊr aʲrʹɪ tu n̩ʹ fʹɪˑjəN (A)/ **r æːrʹɪ tu n̩ʹ fʹiːaˑN** (T)

422. (*"I didn't feel it"*)

ˈnʹiːr æːrʹɪ mʹɛˑ ɛ (A)/ **nʹiːr æːrʹɪ mʹe ˈeː** (T)

423. (*"I shall feel it later on"*)

æːrʹoː mʹeː ɛ ... Nʹiːs dʹɛrNɪː (A)/

æːrʹoː mʹeː e Nʹiːs dʹɛrNaʲ (T)

424. (*"the eyebrows"*)

Nᵊ mæːlʹiː (A)/ **maːlʹi** (T)

425. (*"eyelashes"*)

forəxiː (A)/ **forəxə** (T)

Nə fərəⁱ (T)/ **Nə foroⁱ . . . fəraⁱ** (A)

426. (*"she wouldn't see anything without glasses/spectacles"*)

ˈnʹi ɛkʹəx ʃiˑ taːdə gʊN Nə spʹeːkLɑːrʹiˑ . . . Nu gLɪNʹʊxiˑ (A)/

. . . gəN gLɪnʹoːxi (T)

427. (*"he has a squint"*)

(nothing elicited)

428. (*"nose"*)

sroːN (A)/ **sroːwəN** (T)

(plural difficult to elicit)

(*"the tip of my nose"*)

bɑːr mə hruːnʹɪ (A)/ **bɑːr mə hroːwəN** (T)

(*"nostrils"*)

pʊLɑˑˈrʹiː (A/T)

429. (*"mucus from the nose/'snot'"*)

smiːʃ (A/T)

430. (*"handkerchief"*)

Næːpʹkʹiːnʹ (A)/ **Naˑpʹkʹiːnʹ** (T)

431. (*"he is sneezing"*)

tə ʃe gʹ sNiːfərtʹ (A)/ **tə ʃɛ sNiːfərt** (T)

432. (*"snuff"*)

sNiːʃiːnʹ (A)/ **sNɪːʃiːnʹ . . . sNeⁱʃiːnʹ** (T)

433. (*"he is smoking tobacco"*)

tə ʃe ᵊkæː təˈbaːk (A)/ **tə ʃe ᵊkaː təˈbaːk** (T)

434. (*"that is a fine pipe"*)

bʹrʹɑː N̩ pʷiːp ɛ ʃɪnʹ (T, A)

435. (*"freckles"*)

bʹrʹɪkʹiːnʹiː (A)/ **bʹrʹɪkʹɪːnʹrˑⁱ** (T)

436. (*"he has warts on his hands"*)

tɑ faːnʹoːxiː ɛrʹ ɛ Lɑːv (A/T)

(*"wart [sg.]"*)

faːnʹɪ (A/T)

437. (*"she has a fine set of teeth"*)

tɑ dra:d bʹrʹɑ: fʹiˑᵊkL ɛkʹɪ (A)/

tɑ dra:d bʹrʹɑ: fʹiˑᵊkLə . . . ɛkʹɪ (T)

438. (*"I lost a tooth yesterday"*)

xaʲlʹ mʹɛ fʹiᵊkʊlʹ ˈnʹeː (A)/

haʲlʹ mʹe fʹi:kəlʹ ˈnʹeː (T)/

Nu dʹɪmʹɪ fʹiᵊkɪlʹ uˑᵊmʹ ˈnʹeː (A)

439. (*"I have a toothache"*)

tɑˑ daʲəxiˑ fʹiᵊkL ərəm (A)/ **tɑ daʲəxiˑ fʹi:kL ərəm** (T)

440. (*"I have bad teeth"*)

tɑ ˈdrəxˈeːkL aːgəm (A)/ **tɑ drəxˈɪːkL aːgəm** (T)

441. (*"bone [sg.]"*)

kNɑːv . . . kNɑːˈvʹ [*x*2] (A)/ **kNɑːˈvʹ** (T)

(*"bones [pl.]"*)

kNɑːwə (A/T)

(*"the color of the bone"*)

ˈdæ̃ː ˈxNɑːˈvʹ (T, A)

442. (*"I nearly broke my arm when I fell this morning"*)

s bʹɛg Næːr vʹrʹɪʃ mʹɛ mə ɣoːLɪnʹ (= *ghualainn*) **Nɛrʹəhɪtʹmʹɛ Ṇ wæːdʹɪnʹ ʃə** (A)/

bʹɛg Naːr vʹrʹɪʃ mʹɛ mə ɣoːLɪnʹ Nɛrʹ. . . hɪtʹ mʹe ə̃ waːdʹɪnʹ (ʃə) (T)

443. (*"armpit [sg.]"*)

aːskəLʹ (T/A)

(*"armpits [pl.]"*)

aːskəLəxiː (T)

(*"elbow [sg.]"*)

ɪlʹrˑnʹ (T/)/ **ɪLʹɪNʹ** (A)

(*"elbows [pl.]"*)

ɪLʹiːNʹəxiˑ (T, A)

444. (*"hand [sg.]"*)

Lɑːˈvʹ (A/T)

(*"hands [pl.]"*)

Lɑːwə (T, A)

(*"the color of my hand [sg.]"*)

daː mə ʟɑːˈvʼ (T, A)

(*"the color of my hands [pl.]"*)

dæː mə ʟɑːwə (A)/ **daː mə ʟɑːwə** (T)

445. (*"wash your hands!"*)

Nʼɪ də ʟɑːwə (A/T)

446. (*"your right"*)

teˑv dʼæːs (A)/ **tiˑv də ʟɑːwə dʼɛʃɛ** (T)

(*"your left"*)

tiːv də ʟɑːwə kʼʟʼijˈ (T)/ **tiːv də ʟɑːvʼə kʼʟʼeːjᵋ** (A)

447. (*"I am washing myself"*)

tə mʼɛ mʊ NʼiːᵊxɑːN hɛʲːnʼ (A)/ **ta mʼɛ mə NʼiːᵊxɑːN heːnʼ** (T)

Nu mə fəʟkə heːnʼ (A)

tɑ mʼɛ mə fəʟkə heːnʼ (A/T)

(*folcadh* unlenited in all three utterances)

448. (*"I didn't wash myself"*)

Nʼiːr Nʼɪ mʼɛ mʼeˑ heːnʼ (A/T)

449. (*"we shall wash ourselves after a while"*)

Nʼiː mʊɣ mʊɣ (h)eːnʼ tʼrʼ... treːʃ taːməʟ (A)/

Nʼiː mʊNʼ mʊNʼ hɛːnʼ tʼrʼ... treːs (sic) **taːməʟ Nʊː reːs** (sic) **skæː** (T)

450. (*"finger [sg.]"*)

mʼeːrʼ (A, T) (voices overlap)

(*"fingers [pl.]"*)

mʼeːrəxiː (T/A)

(*"the tip of my finger"*)

ˈbɑːr mə ˈvʼeːˈrʼɛ (T, A)

451. (*"names of the fingers"*)

aᵘrdoˑˈgʼ (A)/ **əᵘrdoˑʲgʼ** (T)

ə̃ vʼeːrʼ ɪs gərʼə gəN aᵘrdoʲgʼ (T) (= the first finger)

ə mʼeːrʼ faːdə (A)/ **(ə) mʼeːrʼ ʟɑːˈrʼ** (T) (= the second finger from the thumb)

ʟaʲrʼɪkʼiːnʼ (A)/ **ʟəʲrʼɪkʼiːnʼ** (T) (= the little finger)

452. (*"he cut his finger"*)

jɑːr ʃɛː ᵊvʼeːrʼ (A/T)

453. (*"fingernail [sg.]"*)

ʊŋgə (T, A)

(*"your fingernails [pl.]"*)

ɪŋʹgʹnʹiː də ʟɑːwə (A)

454. (*"peeling of skin at the nail"*)

ə̃ kræˑkʹɴ̣ əgʹ ɪmʹəxt gə də . . . tʹ ʊŋgə . . . (A)/

kor ˈfʷiː ˈʊŋgəɴ (A/T)

455. (*"fist [sg.]"*)

dorɴə (A)/ **dʌᵘrnə** (T)

(*"fists [pl.]"*)

dʌᵘrɴiː (A/T)

(*"the top of my fist"*)

bɑːr mə ɣaᵘrɴə (A, T)

456. (*"he struck me with his fist"*)

(overlooked by investigator)

457. (*"knee [sg.]"*)

gʟuːʷᶦnʹ (A/T)

(*"knees [pl.]"*)

gʟuːnʹɪ (A)/ **gʟuːnʹɛ** (T)

(*"the top of my knee [sg.]"*)

bɑːr mə ɣʟoːʷᶦnʹ (T)/ **bɑːr mə ɣʟuːnʹɪ** (A)

458. (*"shin-bone [sg.]"*)

kaːʟpə . . . kɴɑːv də xaːʟpə (A) (= your shin-bone)

(*"shin-bones [pl.]"*)

kaːʟpʹiˑ (sic) (T/)/ **kaːʟpiˑ** (A)

459. (*"the palm of the hand"*)

kriˑ mə ʟɑːvʹɛ (A)

bəʃ (T/A)/ **ə̃ wəʃ** (A)

(*"palms [pl.]"*)

bəsə (T/A)

460. (*"calf [sg.]"*)

kaːʟpə (A/T)

(*"calves [pl.]"*)

kaːʟpiˑ (A)/ **kaːʟəpiˑ** (T)

461. (*"ankle"*)

rʊːtʹiːnʹ (T)/ **ruːtʹiːnʹ** (A)

462. (*"hip [sg.]"*)

kərоˑⁱgʹ (T)

(*"hips [pl.]"*)

kəroːgiː (A)/ **kəroːgʹiˑ** (T)

463. (*"foot [sg.]"*)

kəˈʃ (T)/ **kəʃ** (A)

(*"feet [pl.]"*)

kəsə (T, A)

(*"the tip of my foot"*)

bɑːr mə xəʃə (A/T)

(*"toes"*)

mʹeːrəxiˑ mə xəsə (A/T)

464. (*"heel [sg.]"*)

sɑːlʹ (A/T)

(*"heels [pl.]"*)

sɑːLə (A/T)

465. (*"sole [sg.]"*)

buːN mə xəʃɪ (A)/ **bʊˑN mə xəʃɛ** (T)/

bʊN mə xəʃɛ (A)/ **bəN mə xəʃɛ** (T)

(*"soles [pl.]"*)

bəNəxiː (T, A)

466. (*"the old woman is sitting on her hunkers"*)

ɛrʹ ɛ krʊmʊdʹɪ (A)/ **ɛrʹ ɛ gʊgʊdʹɛ** (T)/ **ɛrʹ ɛ gʊgʊdʹɪ** (A)

(both phrases are in use)

467. (*"back-bone"*)

kNɑːv mə ɣraːmə (A)/ **krɑːv mə ɣraːmə** (T)

468. (*"he is lying on his back"*)

tə ʃɛ Nə Lʌⁱɛrʹ ə ɣriːmʹ (A)/ **tə sɛ** (sic) **Nə Laⁱ ɛrʹ ə ɣreːⁱmʹ** (T)

469. (*"heart [sg.]"*)

kriː (A)/ **krəjɛ** (T)

(*"hearts [pl.]"*)

kriːNᵊi (A)

(*"the hearts of the people"*)

ə griː ... kriˑ Nə Niːnʹiˑ (A)

470. (*"he has a good appetite"*)

tɑ kʊmʹpʹlʹɛːsk mæˑ ɛgʹɛ (A)/ **tə ʃɛ N ˈaːN ˈɪ gə maᵋ** (T/A)

471. (*"liver"*)

ɪjuˑ (A)/ **iːjʊː** (T)

(*"kidneys"*)

dʊwɑˑN (T)/ **duːɑːnʹ** (A)

(*"sinew/ vein [sg.]"*)

fʹeːʲᵋ (T)/ **fʹeː** (A)

(*"sinews/ veins [pl.]"*)

fʹɪːᵊxiː ... fʹeˑᵊxiː (T)/ **fʹeːᵊxiˑ ... fʹiːᵊxiˑ** (A)

472. (*"body [sg.]"*)

kəLəNʹ (T)/ **kəLɪNʹ** (A)

(*"bodies [pl.]"*)

kəLɪNʹəxiː (A/T)

473. (*"rib [sg.]"*)

tᵊ ʔaːsNə (T) (= your rib)/ **aːsNə** (A)

(*"ribs [pl.]"*)

t aːsNəxɪː (A) (= your ribs)/ **aːsNəxiː** (T/A)

(A asks if the investigator is tired; [**tərsəx**] used three times)

474. (*"blood"*)

fʷilʹ (A)/ **fʷɪlʹ** (T)

475. (*"he is bleeding"*)

tə tʃeˑ tʹuˑrʃtʹ ʊLə (A)/ **tɑ ʃɛ tʹuˑrtʹ ɪLə** (T)

(T is corrected by A, who offers [**tʹuˑrtʹ ʊLə**])

476. (*"chest"*)

kʹLʹeːvʹrʹəx (A/T)

477. (*"the female breast [sg.]"*)

kʹiˑəx (A)

(*"breasts [pl.]"*)

kʹiˑəxə (A/T)

478. (*"her two breasts were sore"*)

vʹiˑ ᵊɣɑː kʹiˑəx tʹiːNʹ (A)

479. (*"my throat is sore"*)

tə mə skoːrNəx tʹiːnʹ (A/T)

480. (*"the brain"*)

tʹ ɪNʹɪNʹ (A) (= your brain)/ **ɪNʹɪNʹ** (T/A)

481. (*"navel"*)

tʹ ɪmʹLʹʊkɑˑN (A) (= your navel)/ **iːmʹLʹɛkɑːN** (T/A)

482. (*"penis"*)

(nothing elicited)

(*"vagina"*)

(nothing elicited)

(*"testicles"*)

(nothing elicited)

483. (*"the back of the house"*)

kuːL ə tʹiː (A)/ **kʊːL ə tʹiːʲᵋ . . . kʊˑL ə tʹiː** (T)

484. (*"wall of the house"*)

baːL ɛnʹ tʹæːx (T)/ **baːL ɛnʹ tʹiː** (A/T)

(*"walls [pl.]"*)

baːLiː (A/T)

485. (*"gable [sg.]"*)

bʹiːjɪnʹ (T)/ **bʹiːnʹ** (A)

(*"gables [pl.]"*)

bʹæːNə (T/A)

486. (*"he is opening the door"*)

tə ʃeː g əskɪlʹtʹ əN dərəs (A)/

tə se (sic) **g əskɪlʹtʹ ə dərəs** (T)

(*"doors [pl.]"*)

Nə dərʃɪ (T, A)

487. (*"shut the door!"*)

duːNʹ əN dərəs (A)/ **duːnʹ əN dərəs** (T)

Nu dᵊˈredʹ (T)/ **drɛdʹ** (A) (*dúin* used in Inis Mór)

488. (*"the door is shut [v. adj.]"*)

tɑː ɴ̣ dərəs duːnʹtʹɪ (A/T)

489. (*"open the door!"*)

əskɪlʹ ə dərəs (A, T)

490. (*"lintel"*)

ʟʹiːNʹʤeːr (A)/ **ʟʹiːNʹʤɛr . . . ʟʹiːNʹʤæːr** (T)

491. (*"key [sg.]"*)

əxɪrʹ (A/T)

(*"keys [pl.]"*)

əxrəxiː (T)

(*"keyhole"*)

pəᵘʟ əNʹ əxrə (A), (corrected to **[pəᵘʟ əNʹ əxɪrʹ]** (T/A))

492. (*"bolt [of the door]"*)

bəʟtə (T)

(*"bolts of the door"*)

boʟtiː əN dərəs (A)

493. (*"next-door neighbour"*)

kuːᵊrsə mʹeːʟ dɛrʹɪʃ [*x*2] (T) (*"comharsa i mbéal dorais"?*)/

kuːᵊrsə bʹeːʟ dɛrʹɪʃ (A)

494. (*"he is living in the neighbourhood"*)

tə ʃe ɛgʹ maⁱrʹəxtɑˑʟ sə guːrsəNəxt (A)/

tə ʃɛ maːrʹəxtɑʟ sə gʊːrsəNəx (T)

495. (*"he built a new house"*)

hoːgʹ ʃeː tʹæːx Noː (T)/ **hoːgʹ ʃeː tʹæx Nʊː** (A)/

Nʊ rɪNʹɛ ʃe tʹæx Noˑ (T/A)

496. (*"an old house"*)

ʃæːnʹtʹæːx (A/T)

497. (*"stairs [sg.]"*)

stʌⁱrʹɪ (A)

(*"stairs [pl.]"*)

staⁱrʹiˑ (T)

498. (*"window [sg.]"*)

fʷɪnˈoːg (A/T)

(*"window [pl.]"*)

fʷɪnˈoːgiː (A/T)

(*"what is on the window?"*)

kˈeːrd ᵊtæ rˈ ə wɪnˈoːg (A)/ **kˈeːrd tæ rˈ ə wɪnˈoːg** (A/T)

499. (*"bed [sg.]"*)

Lˈæːbə (A/T)

(*"beds [pl.]"*)

Lˈæːpəxiː (A/T)

(*"the back of the bed"*)

tiːw ənˈ Lˈæːbə (T) (corrected to **[kuːL ənˈ Lˈæːbə]** (T/A))

(*"he is lying in bed"*)

tə tʃe Nə Lʌⁱ sə Lˈæːbə (A)/ **tə ʃɛ Nə Lʌⁱ sə Lˈæːbə** (T)

500. (*"will you lie down?"*)

ᵊLaⁱ tʊsə ʃiːar (A)/ **ᵊLəⁱ tuˑ ʃiːjar** (T/A)

501. (*"we wouldn't lie down"*)

Nˈɪ Laⁱx mʊdˈ ʃiːᵊr (A)/ **Nˈɪ Laⁱx mʊdˈ ʃiːjarʰ** (T)

502. (*"he lay down"*)

Lə ʃɛˑ ʃiːᵊr (A)/ **Lə ʃeˑ ʃiːar** (T)

503. (*"lie down! [sg.]"*)

Lə ʃiːjar (T)/ **Lə ʃiːr** (A)

(*"lie down! [pl.]"*)

Laⁱgˈiː (A)/ **Laⁱgˈiː [*x*2] Siːjar** (T)

504. (*"sit down and rest yourself! [sg.]"*)

sʊ ʃiːs . . . agəs Lˈɪgˈ də skˈiːʲᵋ (T)/ **sɪ ʃiːs əgəs lˈɪgˈ də skˈiː** (A)

(*"sit down and rest yourselves! [pl.]"*)

siːgˈiː ʃiːs . . . Lˈɪgˈiː skˈiː . . . sɪgˈiː ʃiːs . . . Lˈɪgˈiː skˈiː (A)/

siːgˈiː ʃiːs əgəs Lˈɪgˈiː ᵊskˈiːʲᵋ (T)

505. (*"sheet [of the bed]"*)

brɑːLˈiːnˈ ɛnˈ Lˈɛːbə (A)/ **brɑːLˈiːnˈ ɛnˈ Lˈæːbə** (T)

506. (*"he is asleep"*)

tə tʃɛ Nə xəLə (A)/ **tə ʃɛ Nə xəLə** (T)

507. (*"I wouldn't sleep during the day"*)

nʹi xoLoˑx mʹɛ ... riːdʹ ə Lɑː (A/T)

508. (*"he slept for a long time last night"*)

xodəlʹ ʃeː ᵊwaːd ... (A)/ **xodəlʹ ʃeː ᵊwaːd Nu ... axər faːdə ...** (T)/ **ᵊreˑˈrʹ [*x*2]** (A)/ **reˑˈrʹ** (T)

509. (*"I was awake for a long time last night"*)

vʹi mʹɛ mə ɣuːʃəxt ᵊvaːd (sic) **ᵊreˑⁱrʹ** (A)/

vʹi mʹɛ mə ɣuːʃəxt ᵊwaːd ᵊreˑⁱrʹ (T)

510. (*"we woke up early"*)

ɣuːʃᵋ mʹɛː gʊ Luːwə (A)/ **ɣuːʃᵋ mʹɛ go Loːᵊ** (T)

511. (*"I shall wake you earlier tomorrow"*)

duːʃə mʹɛː ... gə Lowə ... duːʃəˑ mʹɛː gə Loːwə ɛrʹ maːdʹɪnʹ (T)/

duːʃə mʹeˑ uː gə Loː ɛrʹ maːdʹɪnʹ... duːʃə mʹɛ nʹiːs Loː u ... maːdʹɪnʹ...nʹiːs Loːxtʹɪ uː ... (A)/

duːʃə mʹɛ nʹis Loːxtʹ uˑ ɛrʹ maːdʹɪnʹ (T)

512. (*"it is likely that he will not come"*)

ˈsdoːiˑ ʤɛ Nax dʹʊkʊ ʃɛ (A)/ **sdoːiˑ Nax dʹʊkʊ ʃɛ** (T/A)

513. (*"she will have to sweep the floor"*)

kæˑ ʃi ᵊN... taᵘrLaˑr ə skoːbə (A)/ **kaː ʃi ɴ taᵘrLɑˑr ə skoːbə** (T)

514. (*"with the brush"*)

skuːəbʹ (T)/ **skuːɛbʹ** (A)

515. (*"chair [sg.]"*)

kʌjiˑrʹ (A)/ **kʌjɪrʹ** (T)

(*"chairs [pl.]"*)

kʌⁱrʹəxiː (A/T)

516. (*"I am sitting on a chair"*)

ta mʹɛ mə hiː ɛrʹ xajɪrʹ (A)/ **tʌ mʹɛ mə hiː ɛrʹ xaˑⁱrʹ** (T)

517. (*"room [sg.]"*)

ʃuːmrə (A)/ **ʃʊːmrə** (T)

(*"rooms [pl.]"*)

ʃuːmriː (A)/ **ʃuːmrɛⁱ** (T)

518. (*"table [sg.]"*)

bawərd (A, T)

(*"table [pl.]"*)

bawərd′ (A/T)

(*"on top of the table"*)

er′ wɑːr ɴ̣ waᵘrd′ (A)/ **ɛr′ wɑːr ə waᵘrd′** (T)

519. (*"dresser"*)

d′r′ɛʃuːr (A)/ **d′r′ɛʃʊːr** (T)

520. (*"she is washing the dishes"*)

tᵊ ʃi ɴ′ɪ Nə sʌjə . . . (A)/

tᵊ ʃi ɴ′iˑᵊxɑˑN Nə saʲᵻ (T)/ **tᵊ ʃi ɴ′iˑᵊxɑˑN Nə sʌⁱ** (A)

521. (*"knife [sg.]"*)

sk′iːjəN (A/T)

(*"knives [pl.]"*)

sk′æːNə (A/T)

(*"the tip of the knife"*)

bɑːr Nə sk′ɪn′ɛ (T)/ **bɑːr Nə sk′ɪn′ɪ** (A)

522. (*"the top of the house"*)

bɑːr ɲ̣′ t′iːʲᵋ (T)/ **bɑːr ɛ t′iː** (A)

523. (*"he is thatching the house"*)

tə ʃɛː . . . tiːdoⁱr′ʊx (A)/ **tə ʃɛː tiːdoⁱr′əx** (T/A)

(*"thatched house"*)

t′æx k′ɑːN tiː (A)/ **t′æx k′ɑːN tɛʲᵻ** (T)

524. (*"slated house"*)

t′æx k′ɑˑn′ ʃl′ɪn′ɪ (A)/ **t′æx k′ɑˑn′ sʟ′ɪN′ɛ** (T)

525. (*"a thatcher"*)

tiːdoⁱr′ (T/A)

526. (*"yard [in front of house]"*)

srɑːⁱd′ (A)/ **. . . ɛr′ ʌⁱ ɛn′ t′iːʲᵋ** (T)

(*"backyard"*)

kuːlsrɑːd′ (A)

527. (*"the eave[-thatch]"*)

sk′iːɑN (= sciathán) (A)/ **bʊNdəLʌⁱ** (T)/ **bʊNdəL(ə)ⁱ** (A)

528. (*"is the thatch tied with ropes [súgáin] or with 'scollops'?"*)

wɪlʹ ɛN tiːʲᶦ kʹæːŋʹgʹɪlʹtʹɪ lʹɛ roːpɪ (A)/

wɪlʹ ɛN tiː kʹæːŋʹgʹɪlʹtʹɪ lʹɛ roːpəⁱ (T)

(*"scollop [sg.]"*)

skəʟəb (A/T)

(*"scollops [pl.]"*)

skəlʹɪbʹ (T/A)

(*"straw rope"*)

sʊːgɑːN (T)/ **suːgɑːN** (A)

529. (*"straw"*)

tʌʲᵋ (T)/ **təʲᶦ** (A)

530. (*"making [twisting] a rope made of straw"*)

kaːsə suːgɑᶦnʹ (A)/ **kaːsə sʊːgɑːN** (T)

(*"the twister [person who turns the rope-handle]"*)

(nothing elicited)

(*"a rope handle"*)

kawər (T)/ **kaᵘr** (A)

531. (*"saddle"*)

srɛːrʹ (A)/ **sræːrʹ** (T)

(*"riding saddle [sg.]"*)

dʹiˑᵊʟɪdʹ (A/T)

(*"riding saddles [pl.]"*)

dʹiˑᵊʟɪdʹəxiː (A/T)

532. (*"a spancel used to tie a cow's hind legs while being milked"*)

boːrəx (T)/ **buᵊrəx** (A)

(*"spancels [pl.]"*)

buːrəxiˑ (A)

533. (*"a fetter to tie fore-feet of a sheep"*)

boːrʹiːnʹ (A/T)/ **boːrʹiːnʹ kəsə təsə** (T)

534. (*"names for the parts of the inside roof of a house: beams"*)

tiːwɑˑnʹ (A)

(*"rafters"*)

raːtiː (T/A)

(*"ties"*)

bʊmbɛˑlʹ (T) ("ties" heard as "tiles" by A)

535. (*"tool [sg.]"*)

baːL (sic) **aᵘrnʹɪʃ** (A/T)

(*"tools [pl.]"*)

aᵘrnʹɛʃ (T)

536. (*"wedge [sg.]"*)

gʹiːNʹ (A)/ **gʹiːnʹ** (T)

(*"wedges [pl.]"*)

gʹæːNtrəxɛⁱ (T)/ **gʹæːNtrəxiˑ** (A)

537. (*"sledge-hammer"*)

awərd (T)/ **aᵘrd** (A)

538. (*"I forgot to tell you"*)

rɪNʹɪ mʹɛ dʹæːrməd ɛ ᵊrɑː lʹæt (A/T)

539. (*"pick-axe"*)

pʹɪkoːdʹ (A)/ **pʹʊkoːdʹ** (T)

540. (*"fire [sg.]"*)

tʹɪmʹɪ (A)

(*"fires [pl.]"*)

tʹɪmʹtʹrʹʊxiˑ (A)/ **tʹɪmʹtʹrʹəxɛⁱ** (T)

(*"in front of the fire"*)

æs/ ɛs kuːrʹ ɪ tʹɪmʹɪ (A)/ **ɛrʹ əⁱ n̩ʹ tʹɪmʹɪ** (T/A)

541. (*"heat"*)

tʹɛːs (A)/ **tʹæːs** (T)

542. (*"we are sitting at the fire"*)

ta mʊN ə siː ɛgʹ ɛ tʹɪnʹɪ (A)/ **tɑ məN ə siː ɛgʹ ɛ tʹɪmʹɛ** (T)

543. (*"hearth"*)

tʹæːLəx (T/A)

544. (*"the kitchen is full of smoke"*)

tɑ n̩ʹ xʹɪʃtʹəNəx Lɑːŋ gə jæːtəx (A)

(after prompting by T with [**Lɑːŋ gə jæːtəx**])

545. (*"kindling the fire"*)

faːduː n̩ʹ tʹɪnʹɪ (A)/ **faːdʊˑ n̩ʹ tʹɪmʹɛ** (T)

(*"she kindled the fire"*)

daːdə ʃiː n̩ʹ tʹɪnʹɪ (A)/ **daːdə ʃiː n̩ʹ tʹɪmʹɛ** (T)

(*"she will kindle the fire tomorrow morning"*)

faːdoˑ ʃiː n̩′ t′ɪn′ ɛr maːd′ɪn′ ᵊmɑːr′əx (A/T)

(*"she kindles the fire every morning"*)

faːdɪːn′ ʃiː n̩′ t′ɪn′ɪ xəl′ə wæːd′ɪn′ (A)/

faːdɪːn′ ʃiː n̩′ t′ɪn′ɪ xəl′ə waːd′ɪn′ (T)

546. (*"ashes"*)

ʟoːwə (T)/ **ʟuːə** (A)

547. (*"soot"*)

suːiː (T, A)

548. (*"raking the fire"*)

raːkɑˑl′ ɛn′ t′ɪn′ɪ (A/T)

(*"saving the fire"*)

kəʲg′ɪl′t′ ɛn′ t′ɪn′ɪ (A)/ **kəʲg′ɪl′t′ ə t′ɪn′ɛ** (T)

(*"she saved the fire last night"*)

xəʲg′ɪl′ ʃi n̩′ t′ɪn′ ᵊrɛʲr′ (A/T)

(*"she will save the fire tomorrow morning"*)

kəʲg′l′oˑ ʃi n̩′ t′ɪn′ ɛr maːd′ɪn′ ᵊmɑːr′əx (T)

(A points out that one would kindle a fire in the morning, not save it!)

549. (*"a red ember"*)

sm′æːxoːd′ d′æːrəg (A/T)

(non-lenition of initial consonant of adjective is clear)

550. (*"a blaze in the fire"*)

ʟaːsɪr′ (T)

(*"flames"*)

ʟaːsrəxiː (T, A)

551. (*"don't tickle me!"*)

Nɑˑ kɪr′ d′ʊgʊd′iːn′ ɪNəm (A)/ **. . . d′ʊgoˑd′iːn′. . .** (T)

(word repeated by T in isolation)

552. (*"ashes containing small coals of fire [gríosach]"*)

(content of item 549 elicited at first; **[g′r′iːsəx]** elicited from both T and A after prompting with *gríosach*)

("Bheadh beagán rudaí dearga 'ríd a' luaith **[loːwə]**" [T])

553. (*"turf"*)

mʊːˈnʹ (A)/ **moːwɪnʹ** (T)

(*"he is cutting turf"*)

tə ʃe gʹɑːrə moːNə (A/T)/ **. . . No baːnʹtʹ woːNə** (T)

554. (*"turf-bog [sg.]"*)

portəx (A)

(*"turf-bogs [pl.]"*)

porʰtɛⁱ (T)/ **portiː** (A)

555. (*"a bog"*)

portəx (A/T)

(*"a moor"*)

kʹrʹiːᵊrəx (A)

("Ní bheadh móin ar bith le fáil ar chriathrach" [A]. *riasc, eanach, corrach* not heard on Inis Mór. "There's no bog here" [A])

556. (*"a bank of turf"*)

kroːəx mʊːNə (T)/ **kroᵊx muːNə** (A)

557. (*"he is going past me"*)

tə tʃe ᵊgəlʹ ˈhæːrəm (A)/ **tə ʃe ᵊgəlʹ ˈhæːrəm** (T)

(*"he is going past her "*)

tᵊ ʃe gəlʹ hɛːrʰtʹɪ maːx (A)/ **tə ʃɛ gəlʹ hæːrʰtʹɪ** (T)

(*"he is going past them"*)

tə ʃɛ gəlʹ hɛːrʰtʊb (A)/ **tə ʃɛ gəlʹ hæːrtəb** (T)

558. (*"I passed him"*)

xə mʹɛ hɛːrʹɪʃ (A)/ **xə mʹɛ hæːrʹɪʃ** (T)

559. (*"I shall pass him"*)

goː mʹeː hæːrʹɪʃ (T)/ **gaᵘ mʹeː hæːrʹɪʃ** (A)

560. (*"he passes me often on the road"*)

tʹəⁱnʹ ʃeˑ hæːrəm gə mʹɪnʹɪkʹ ɛrʹ ɛn moːr (A)/

tʹeˑnʹ ʃeˑ hæːrəm gə mʹɪnʹɪkʹ ɛrʹ ə mowər (T)

561. (*"that's the way they did it"*)

ʃɪnʹ eˑ mʹ bʹæːLəx ə rɪNʹədər ɛ . . . Nu ə̃ xiː ə rɪNʹədər ɛ (A)

(*"how did he do it?"*)

kʹɛ xiː ə rɪNʹɛ ʃeˑ ɛ (T)/ **kʹɛ xiː ə rɪNʹɛ ʃɛ** (A)

kʹɛ xiː NʹoːrNə ʃɛ ɛ (A)/ **kʹɛ xiː NʹɑːrNə ʃɛ ɛ** (T)

("Tá an dá bhealach ann" [A])

562. (*"a turf-spade"*)

sʟ′æːɴ (A/T)

563. (*"stripping the sod in a turf-bog"*)

ban′t′ ə wɑːr gə̃ fortəx (T)

("Níl a fhios a'm; we have no bog here" [A])

564. (*"spreading the turf"*)

skaːrə ɴ wʊːwɪn′ (T)/ **skaːrə ɴ wuːᶦn′** (A)

565. (*"on the spreading-ground [of a turf-bog]"*)

(nothing elicited)

566. (*"a sod of turf [sg.]"*)

foːd moːNə (T/A)

(*"a sod of turf [pl.]"*)

foːd′ɛ mʊːNə (A)/ **foːd′ɛ moːNə** (T)

567. (*"footing sods"*)

ɛg′ groːg′ɛ (T)/ **groːg′ɛ n̩ mʊːn′** (A)/ **groːg′ɛ moːNə** (T)

(*"footed [verbal adj.]"*)

groːk′iˑ (A/T)

(*"the sods are footed"*)

tɑ Nə foːd′ɛ groːk′i (A)

568. (*"a group of harvesters [meitheal]"*)

(According to A, the word *meitheal* [**m′ɛʟ**] is known in Inis Mór, but is not used.)

569. (*"scraw [sg.]"*)

skræː (T/A)

(*"scraws [pl.]"*)

skræːᵊxiˑ (A)/ **skraːᵊxiˑ** (T)

570. (*"turf-mould"*)

smuːdər moːNə (T)

571. (*"wet, heavy turf [e.g., last year's turf left on the bog exposed to the weather]"*)

kʟəxwuːᶦn′ (A)/ (term rejected by T)

spaːrt′əx (A)/ **spaːrʃt′əx** (T)

(*"that's wet, heavy turf; don't use it!"*)

ʃɪn′ ɪn spaːrt′əx . . . ˈ**Nɑː uːsɑˑᶦd′** ˈ**eːʲᵋ** (T)

572. (*"the turf is not dry enough yet"*)

ɴʹɪlʹ əɴ wuːˈnʹ tʹɛrʹɪmʹ gʊ ʟʹoːr foːs . . . ɴuˑ sɑːx tʹɛrʹɪmʹ foːs (A)/ **ɴʹilʹ ə wuːwɪnʹ sɑːx tʹɛrʹɪmʹ foːs** (T)

573. (*"it has to be dried properly"*)

kæⁱ ʃe vʹɛ tʹrʹɪmʷiː kʹɛːrt (A)/ **ka ʃe vʹɛ tʹrʹɪmiː kʹæːrt** (T)

574. (*"we have not footed our turf yet"*)

nʹiˑr ɣroːg mʊdʹ ə wuːˈnʹ foːs (A)

575. (*"burning turf"*)

doː muːNə (A)/ **doː moːNə** (T)

576. (*"we burn eight tons a year"*)

doːɴ mʊɴʹ ɔx dʊNə moːNə sə mʹlʹeːnʹ (A)/

doːɴ̩ məɴʹ hɔx dəNə moːNə sə mʹlʹeːˈnʹ (T)

577. (*"I shall burn the paper"*)

doː mʹɛ ɴ̩ pɑːpʹɛˑr (A)

578. (*"he burned his finger"*)

ɣoː ʃɛ ᵊvʹeːrʹ (A/T)

579. (*"it is burnt"*)

tə ʃɛ . . . doːˈtʹɪ (A)/ **tə ʃɛ doːɪtʹɪ** (trisyllabic) (T)

580. (*"a basket [sg.]"*)

kʹʟʹiːᵊv (A/T)

(*"baskets [pl.]"*)

kʹʟʹeːwʊː (A)/ **kʹʟʹeːwə** (A/T)

581. (*"lobster-pot [sg.]"*)

pɔtə gʹʟʹɪməx (A)

(*"lobster-pots [pl.]"*)

pətiː gʹʟʹɪməx (T)

582. (*"ruin [of a house]"*)

forəxə tʹiː (A/T)

583. (*"fairies"*)

ʃiːoːgiˑ (A/T)

584. (*"ghost [sg.]"*)

tʌᴵvʹʃɪ (A)/ **taᴵvʹʃɛ** (T)

(*"ghosts [pl.]"*)

tʌᴵvʹʃiː (A/T)

585. (*"only for him, we would all have been drowned"*)

maːrəx əsəN... vʹɛx mʊdʹ bɑːtʹ ɛr faːd (A)/

maːrəx əsəN... vʹɛx mʊnʹtʹ/ mʊNʹ ˈLʹʊg bɑːɪtʹɪ (trisyllabic) [*x*2] (T)

586. (*"this bucket is for water"*)

ɪs Lʹɛː ... Lʹɛ hʌⁱ ɪʃkʹɪ n̩ bʊkʹæd ʃə ...

bʊkʹæd lʹeː ɪʃkʹɪ ɛ̃... bʊkʹæd ʃə ... Nu Lʹæ haⁱ ɪʃkʹɪ ... (A)/

... Lʹɛː ɪʃkʹɪ n̩ bʊkʹɛːd ʃə (T)

587. (*"grass"*)

fʹeːᵊr (A)/ **fʹeːjər** (T)

(*"making hay"*)

ɛgʹ sɑːwɑːlʹtʹ fʹeːjər (T)/ **sɑːwɑːlʹtʹ fʹeːər** (A)

588. (*"a marsh"*)

ˈɑːtʹ ˈbəg (A) (not found on Inis Mór)

589. (*"scythe [sg.]"*)

spʹæːL (T)/ **spʹɛːL** (A)

(*"scythe [pl.]"*)

spʹɛːLə (A)/ **spʹæLə** (T)

(*"the tip of the scythe"*)

bɑːr ə spʹæːL (T)/ **bɑːr ə spʹeːᵊL** (A)

590. (*"the handle-grip [of a scythe]"*)

doːrnʹiːnʹ (T)

591. (*"sharpening the scythe"*)

kʷɪrʹ fʷiːwər ɛrʹ ɛ spʹɛːᵊL (A)/

kɪrʹ fʷiːwər ɛr ə spʹæːL (T)

592. (*"whetstone [scythe-board]"*)

kLɔx spʹɛːL (A)

593. (*"a mower"*)

(nothing elicited)

594. (*"rake [sg.]"*)

raːkə (T/A)

(*"rakes [pl.]"*)

raːkᵘiˑ (A)/ **raːkiˑ** (T)

595. (*"turning the grass"*)

uːmpuˑ m̩ fʹeːᵊr (A)/ **gʹ ũːNtũˑ N̩ fʹeːᵊr** (T)

596. (*"I shall turn the grass"*)

uːmpo mʹɛ n̩ʹ fʹeːᵊr (A/T)

597. (*"he turned the grass"*)

dʹuːmpə ʃɛ ᵊnʹ fʹeːr (A)/ **dʹuːmpə ʃɛ ᵊnʹ fʹeːər** (T)

598. (*"turn around! [sg.]"*)

uːmpə haːrt (T)/ **uːmpə hɛːrt** (A)

(*"turn around! [pl.]"*)

uːmpiː hært (T, A)

599. (*"a hay-cock"*)

kɔkə fʹeːrʹ (A/T)

600. (*"a hay-stack"*)

(nothing elicited)

601. (*"drawing in hay"*)

taːrɪnʹtʹ ɪNʹ eːrʹ (A)/ **taːrəNt əNʹ eːər** (T)

602. (*"it is all drawn in"*)

tə ʃe ˈtaːrNʹiˑ ˈLʊg ᵊnʹɪʃ (T)/ **Nu kʊr ˈstʹæːx** (A)

603. (*"we shall draw in the hay"*)

bə xʹæːrt dʊNʹ ə fʹeːr ə haːrəNt ˈstʹæˑx (T)/

taːrNʹə mʷɪNʹ ɪsˈtʹæˑx ə fʹeːr (A/T)/

taːrNʹo mʷɪNʹ ə fʹeːr ɪsˈtʹæˑx ᵊmɑːrʹəx (T)/

taːrNʹoˑ mʹɛ (T) (after being presented with a choice between **[taːrNʹə mʹeˑ]** and **[taːrNʹoː mʹeˑ]**

604. (*"he drew my tooth"*)

haːrɪnʹ ʃeː fʹeːkəL wɛmʹ (A)/ **haːrɪnʹ ʃeː fʹeːkəL wəm . . . wɛmʹ** (T)

605. (*"carrying a load"*)

ʊˑmpərtʹ mʹɑːxənʹ (A)/ **. . . Nu gʹ ʊmpərtʹ uᵊLəx** (T)/

. . . Nu g umpərtʹ oːLə [*x*2] (A)/ **ᵊgʹ ʊmpərtʹ uᵊLə** (T)

606. (*"loads, burdens [pl.]"*)

oːLiː ... uᵊLiː (A)/ **uᵊLɛⁱ** (T)

607. (*"parts of the plough"*)

pɑːrtʹ ɛnʹ xʹiːəxtə (T)/ **kʹeːᵊxt** (A)

(no parts elicited; plows not used on Inis Mór)

608. (*"the man ploughed the field"*)

hrʹɛᵘ Nə fʹɪrʹ... (T)/ **hrʹəᵘ ʃɛ ...** (A/T)/**...pɑːrkʹ Nu wəlʹɪ** (= *an bhuaile*) (T)/ **ə̃ fɑːrkʹ Nu wəlʹɪ** (A)

609. (*"he is ploughing the field"*)

tᵊ ʃɛ tʹrʹɛᵘ Ṇ wəlʹɛ (A/T)

(*"the field is ploughed"*)

tə̃ ə̃ wəlʹɛ (sic) **tʹrʹɛᵘtʹɛ** (T/A)

(*"he ploughs it every year"*)

tʹrʹɛᵘnʹ ʃe ˈɛ xəlʹɪ vʹlʹeːᴵnʹ (T)

(*"he'll plough it next year"*)

tʹrʹɛᵘ ʃe e ... ɛnʹ vʹlʹeːᴵnʹ ʃə hʊgɪNʹ (A, T)

610. (*"bridle"*)

kʹɑːrNəx (= *ceanrach*?) (T/A) (elicited after much discussion; T and A not very sure of the correct terms. The word *srian* is known, but was not used with that meaning.)

611. (*"halter"*)

tʌⁱstər (= an t-adhastar ?) (A)/ **ʌⁱstər** (T/A)

612. (*"bridle-bit"*)

("Ní bhíodh aon Ghaeilge ar 'bit'" [A]; "Ní bhíodh" [T])

613. (*"collar [on horses]"*)

kəLʹæːr (T/A)

614. (*"the hames"*)

Nə guːmʷiː ("ab ea?") (A)

615. (*"back-belt"*)

(nothing elicited)

616. (*"traces [of ploughing harness]"*)

(nothing elicited)

617. (*"harrow"*)

(nothing elicited)

618. (*"harrowing"*)

(nothing elicited)

619. (*"potato field"*)

gaːriː faːtiː (A/T)/ **. . . Nu pɑːrkʹ [faːtiː]** (T)

620. (*"oat-field"*)

gaːriˑ kərʃkʹɪ (T)/ **gaːriˑ kərkʹɪ** (A)

621. (*"meadow or pasture"*)

muːnʹɛːr (T)/ **muːnʹeːr** (A)

622. (*"garden [sg.]"*)

gaːrɛ^{i} (A)/ **gaːriː** (T/A)

(*"gardens [pl.]"*)

gaːreˑ^{i}Ntiː (A)/ **gaːrɛNtiː** [$x2$] (T/A)

623. (*"herding [cows]"*)

buˑ^{ə}xəLʹəxt Nə moː (A)/ **buˑ^{ə}xɪLʹəxt Nə moː** (T)

624. (*"a herdsman"*)

bɔxɪLʹ boː (A/T)

625. (*"potato [sg.]"*)

faːtə (A/T)

(*"potatoes [pl.]"*)

faːtiː (A/T)

626. (*"we cannot live without potatoes"*)

nʹiː waːrʹəx mʊdʹ gə̃ faːtiː (T)

627. (*"ridge [as of potatoes]"*)

ʊmɪrʹɪ (T/A)

(*"ridges [pl.]"*)

ʊm^{ə}rəxɪː (T)/ **ʊmrəxɪː** (A)

628. (*"seed potatoes"*)

faːtiː ʃiːLtə (T)/ **faːtiː ʃɪːLtə** (A)

629. (*"he is manuring"*)

tˑ^{ə} ʃeˑ gʹ Lʹæːsuː (A)/ **tə ʃeː Lʹæːsə^{u}** (T)

630. (*"a furrow"*)

kLæːʃ (T/A)

(*"furrows [pl.]"*)

kLæːʃəNɛʲ (A/T)

631. (*"earthing potatoes"*)

(no immediate response; continued with following phrase)

(*" 'moulding, filling' potatoes"*)

ᵊkɪrʹ foːd ərəb . . . ᵊkɪrʹ foːd ɛr Nə faːtəʲ (A)

632. (*"shovel [sg.]"*)

sLuᵊsɪdʹ (T, A)/ **sLʊᵊsɪdʹ** (T)/ **sLoːsɪdʹ** (A)

(*"shovels [pl.]"*)

sLuᵊsɪdʹəxiː (A)/ **sLoːsɪdʹəxəʲ** (T)

(*"the tip of the shovel"*)

bɑːr ə tLuᵊsɛdʹ (T)/ **bɑːr ə tLuᵊsɪdʹ** (A)

633. (*"choosing potatoes"*)

təᵘ Nə waːtiˑ (A)

634. (*"he is chosen"*)

tᵊ tʃɛ təᵘtʹɪ (A)/ **tə ʃɛ tʌᵘtʹɛ** (T)

(*"the people choose the president"*)

tʌᵘN̩ Nə diːnʹiː əN . . . toˑᵊxtərɑˑN (A)/

taˑᵘN Nə diːnʹɪ N̩ toˑxtərɑˑN (T)

(*"he chooses the president"*)

tʌᵘnʹ ʃɛ N̩ . . . N̩ toˑxtərɑˑN (A)/ **taᵘnʹ ʃɛ N̩ tuᵊxtərɑˑN** (T)

(*"he will choose the president"*)

tʌᵘ ʃe N̩ toˑxtərɑˑN (A)/ **taᵘ ʃɛ N̩ tuᵊxtərɑˑN** (T)

(*"he chose the president"*)

hʌᵘ ʃɛ N̩ toːxtərɑˑN (A/T)

635. (*"spade [sg.]"*)

spɑᴵdʹ (A/T)

(*"spades [pl.]"*)

spɑːdʹəNɛʲ (T)/ **spɑːdʹəNi** (A)

(*"the tip of the spade"*)

bɑːr Nə spɑːdʹɛ (T/A)

636. (*"take hold of the spade!"*)

bʹrʹɛ gʹrʹiːmʹ ɛrʹ ə spɑːᶦdʹ (T)/ **bʹrʹɛ ɛrʹ əɴ spɑːᶦdʹ** (A/T)

(repeated carefully by both informants)

637. (*"the remainder ['waste'] of a potato after the seed is cut out"*)

skʟæːvʹiːnʹ (T/A)/ **skaːʟoːᶦgʹ** (A/T)/ **skaːʟoːg** (A)

638. (*"potatoes spoiled by the sun"*)

faːtiː doː gʹrʹeːnʹəx (T/A)

639. (*"roasting potatoes"*)

faːtiː roːsti (A/T)

640. (*"boiling potatoes"*)

faːtiː brɪtʹɛ (T/A)

641. (*"we boil potatoes"*)

vrʊ mʊdʹ faːtiː (T)

642. (*"he boiled potatoes"*)

vrʊ ʃɛː . . . (A/T)/ **. . . ᶦnʹeː** (= *inné*) (A)

643. (*"go and boil them!"*)

go gəs brə eːd (T)/ **gə gəs brə ɛːt** (A)

(repeated carefully)

gə . . . agəs bro jɛt . . . bro eːd (A)/

gəː gəs brə iːæd (T)

(*"call them!"*)

gʟə ərəb . . . gʟiː ərəb (A)/ **gʟɪː ʲərəb** (T/A)

(*"call her!"*)

gʟə ərə . . . gʟɪː ʲərə (A)

644. (*"I shall boil them"*)

brɪː mʹɛ ɛːd . . . briː mʹɛ ɛːd (A)/ **brɪʳⁱ mʹe ɛːd** (T)

645. (*"I would not walk another step"*)

ɴʹiː xʹuːlʹəx mʹɛː kəʃmʹeːgʹ ɛlʹɛ (A)/

ɴʹiː xʹuːlʹəx mʹeː kəʃmʹeːgʹ ɛlʹɛ (T)

646. (*"mashing potatoes"*)

mʹæːskə faːtəⁱ (A)/ **brʊː faːtəⁱ** (T)

647. (*"we mash potatoes"*)

bruːɳ mɪdʹ faːtəⁱ (T)/ **bruːɳ mɪɴʹ faːtəⁱ** (A)

648. (*"potatoes are plentiful in Ireland"*)

tɑː faːtiˑ ˈæːN ˈaːrʃɪŋʲ Nu fLuːrʃəx ˈNʲ eːrʲɪNʲ (A)/

tə faːtiˑ faːrʃɪmʲ ˈNʲ eːrʲɪmʲ (T)

(A says that *fairsing* is used on Inis Mór, but thinks that *flúirseach* is probably more correct)

649. (*"hazel nuts"*)

kəwuL (A)/ **kawɪL** (T)

("*Cnó* a bheadh ar choll" [A])

kNoː (A/T)

650. (*"blackberries"*)

smʲeːrʊ (sic) **dʊ ... smʲeːrə dʊ** (A)/ **smʲeːriː də** (T)

651. (*"gooseberries"*)

spʲiːNɑːˈnʲ (T/A)

652. (*"apple [sg.]"*)

uːLə (A/T)

(*"apples [pl.]"*)

uːLiː (A)/ **uːLɛⁱ** (T)

653. (*"the apples are not ripe yet"*)

nʲɪːL Nə huːLə ... Nʲiˑlʲ ʃɛd ... æːbʲiː foˑwəs (A)/

NʲiːL Nə huːLiː æːbʲiː foːᵊs (T)

654. (*"corn"*)

aːrʊːr (T)/ **aːroˑr** (A)/ **aːruːr** (T, A)

655. (*"oats"*)

kərkʲɪ (A)/ **kərxʲkʲɛ** (T/A)

656. (*"rye"*)

ʃæːgəL (T/A)

657. (*"barley"*)

oːrNə (T/A)

658. (*"sowing oats"*)

kɪrʲ xərxʲkʲɛ (T)/ **kɪrʲ xərkʲɛ** (A)

659. (*"young corn [geamhar]"*)

aːrʊːr oːᵊg (T)/ **gʲɛːwʊr** (A)/ **gʲæːwər** (T/A)

660. (*"grain of corn [sg.]"*)

grɑːNʹɛ ... aːruːrʹ (A)/ **grɑːNʹ ˈaːrʊːrʹ** (T)

(*"grains of corn [pl.]"*)

grɑːNʹəxiː (aːruːˈrʹ) (T/A)

(*"grain [coll.]"*)

(no collective word for "grain" elicited)

661. (*"an ear of corn"*)

dʹeːʲɛs (T)/ **dʹeːᵊs** (A)/ **dʹeːᵊs ˈaːrʊˈrʹ** (T)

662. (*"the corn is shooting, bursting, earing [ag dul i gcraobh, ag dul i ndéis"*)

tɑˑ Ṇ ... taːror ᵊkərʹ ᵊdʹeːs ... ᵊkɪrʹ ɪ dʹeːs ᵊmaːx (T)/

tɑ Ṇ taːrur ᵊkɪrʹ ɪ dʹeːs ᵊma.h (A)

663. (*"cutting oats"*)

gʹɑːrə kərkʹɪ (A)/ **gʹɑːrə kərxʹkʹɪ** (T)

664. (*"chaff"*)

kɑː (T/A)

665. (*"a swelling of the fore-arm from working with a hook or scythe [tálach, trálach]"*)

aːt ... mə Lɑːwə (T)/ **də Lɑːw aːtiː Nu aːt ˈdə Lɑːwə** (A)

(note subvocalisation of *i* in *at i do lámha* and of *tá* in *tá do lámha ataithe* in the examples above)

trɑːLəx (A/T) (after prompting with *tálach* and *trálach*)

("Dhá n-iomprá meáchan trom [**troːwəm**], chuirfeadh sé trálach 'n do ... láimh ... bheadh sé cineál bodhar" [T])

666. (*"a sheaf"*)

dʌᵘrNɑːN kərxʹkʹɛ (T)/ **daᵘrNɑːN kərkʹᵋ** (A)

pʊNəN tɪˑʲɪ (A) (after prompting with *punann*)

("chúig dornán in éineacht" [**ˈNʹ eːNəx**] [*x* 5] [T])

([**pʊNɑN**] used later in the discussion by both A and T, along with [**pʊNəN**])

667. (*"a stook"*)

(nothing elicited)

668. (*"a stack"*)

kərʹɪkʹoːg (T/A)

669. (*"we have a good crop of oats this year"*)

tɑ bɑːr mæː oːrNə ... kərkʹɛ aˑgɪNʹ ɪ mʹlʹeːNə (A)/

ta bɑːr maː kərxʹkʹɛ aˑgɪNʹ ˈmʹLʹiːᵊNə (T)

670. (*"winnowing oats"*)

bəLə kərx′k′ɪ (T)/ **bəLə kərk′ɪ** (A) (= *ag bualadh coirce*)

kɑː aːruⁱr′ (T/A) ... **kɑː kərx′k′ɪ** (T)/ **kɑː kərk′ɪ** (A) (after explanation by investigator)

671. (*"a riddle, a sieve"*)

ʃeːLɑˑN (A) (="strainer")

672. (*"a sheepskin used for winnowing [bodhrán]"*)

(Neither [**boːrɑːN**] nor [**baᵘrɑːN**] heard on Inis Mór)

673. (*"flail [sg.]"*)

suˑwɪʃt′ɪ (T)/ **tuːʃt′ɪ** (A)

(*"flails [pl.]"*)

tuːʃt′iː (A)/ **suˑˈʃt′iː** (T)

674. (*"the striker of the flail"*)

(nothing elicited)

675. (*"the thong of the flail"*)

(nothing elicited)

(according to T, only one stick used in all beating activities: [**maːd′ɛ daᵘrNɑˑn′**] "maide amháin rounáilte ... a' bualadh an tuí", etc.)

676. (*"a haggard"*)

(nothing elicited; *iothlainn* unknown to informants)

677. (*"a mill [sg.]"*)

mʊL′əN (A/T)

(*"mills [pl.]"*)

mʊL′N′ɪ (A)

678. (*"a miller"*)

mɪL′or (A)

679. (*"ground [V. adj. of 'grinding']"*)

tə ʃɛ m′ɪL′t′ɪ (T/A)

(*"spoiled [V. adj. of 'spoiling']"*)

tə tʃɛ m′iːl′t′ɪ (A)

680. (*"a quern [sg.]"*)

broː (A)/ **broːᵊ** (T) (used with *maide rounáilte*)

(*"querns [pl.]"*)

broːt′ɪ (A/T)

(pestles were not used; rotary querns were used)

681. (*"a weaver"*)

fʹiːdoˑⁱrʹ (T/A)

682. (*"a loom"*)

ʃʊwəL (T)/ **ʃowəL** (A)

(*"looms [pl.]"*)

ʃoːLtə (A/T)

683. (*"a spider"*)

ˈduwɑˑN ˈaːLə (T/A)

(*"spiders [pl.]"*)

duwɑˑNʹ ˈaːLə (A)/ **ˈduwɑˑᴵnʹ ˈʔaːLə** (T)

684. (*"he goes visiting every night"*)

tʹenʹ ʃɛ r koːrtʹ xəlʹ iː (A)/ **. . . Nu koːrteəx** (A/T)/

ᵊkoːrteəxt xəlʹ iː (A)

685. (*"telling a story"*)

gʹ iːnʹʃəxt skʹeːᵊL (A)/ **gʹ ĩːʃəx skʹeːjʌL** (T)

686. (*"he is courting her"*)

tə tʃɛ kʊːrtʹɛrəxt lʹeˑⁱ (A)/ **tə ʃɛ koˑrtʹɛrəx lʹɛ** (T)

687. (*"sing a song!"*)

kaːs oˑrɑˑN Nu goːLʹ oːrɑˑN (A/T) (verbal noun phrases?)

(after clarification) **kaːs oːrɑˑN** (A/T) (command)

688. (*"he gave her a kiss"*)

hᵊ ʃɛˑ poˑkʹ dʹɪ (A)/ **həg ʃɛ pʊːᴵgʹ dʹɛ** (T)

689. (*"they made a match between them"*)

rɪNʹɪ ʃɛd kʹLʹɛᵘNə (T)/ **kʹLʹɛᵘNəs** (A/T)/ **kʹLʹɛᵘNə** (T)

690. (*"he went to the wedding"*)

xə ʃɛ gə dʹiː əN. . . xə tʃɛ ɛgʹ ɛN mæːⁱnʹɪʃ (A)/

xə ʃe ɛgʹ ɛ maːnʹɪʃ (T)

691. (*"they will be married soon"*)

bʹɛⁱ ʃɛd ə . . . ɑː bʊːᵊsə gʊ gæːᴵrʹɪdʹ (A)/

bʹɛː ʃɛd ə poːsə gə gæːrʹɪdʹ (T)

692. (*"he married a Dublin girl"*)

foːs ʃɛ kʌlʹiːnʹ ɛs bʹlʹɑ kʹLʹeː (A)/

foːs ʃe. kalʹiːnʹ æs bʹlʹa kʹLʹeːʲᵋ (T)

693. (*"Shrovetide"*)

mɑːrtʲ ˈɪnʲɪdʲɪ (A/T)

694. (*"she was married twice"*)

vʲi ʃi poːstə fʷɪ ɣoː (A)/ **vʲi ʃi poːstə fʷe ɣoː** (T)

(*"she was married three times"*)

vʲi ʃi poːstə tʲrʲiː oˑɪrʲɪ (A/T)

695. (*"she married again"*)

foːs ʃiː ˈrʲiːʃtʲ (A)/ **foːs ʃiː ᵊrʲiːs** (sic) (T)

696. (*"did you like the dance at the wedding?"*)

ər hæˑNʲ əN dɑ̃ᵘnsə lʲɛt ɛgʲ ɛn maːnʲɪʃ (A)/

ər hæˑnʲ ɴ̩ dɑ̃ᵘnsə lʲæt ɛgʲ ə maːnʲɪʃ (T)

697. (*"I heard him when he whistled"*)

xʊːLə mɪdʲ ɛ Nʊrʲ ə vʲɪ ʃɛ fʲæːdiː (sic) (A)/

xoˑLə mədʲ ɛ Nʊrʲ ə vʲɪ ʃɛ ᵊfʲæːdiː (sic) (T)

698. (*"playing the fiddle"*)

kaːsə Nə . . . vʲɛⁱlʲiːnʲ (A)/ **kasə ɴ̩ vʲʌⁱlʲiːnʲ** (T)

(*"he will play the fiddle tonight"*)

kaːsə ʃɛ æN vʲɛⁱlʲiːnʲ ᵊNɔx (A)/

kaːsə ʃɛ ɴ̩ vʲʌⁱlʲiːnʲ ᵊNɔx (T)

699. (*"he plays every day"*)

kaːsɴ̩ ʃɛ ᵊxəlʲə Lɑː (A)/ **kaːsɴ̩ ʃɛ ˈaxəlʲɛ Lɑː** (T)

700. (*"her husband died this morning"*)

kæˑLʲuˑ ᵊfɛːr kʲeˑlʲɪ . . . əN wæˑdʲɪnʲ ʃə (A)/

kaːLʲuˑ ᵊfæːr kʲeːlʲ ɛN waːdʲɪnʲ ʃə . . . Nu fərʲ ʃɛ bɑːs (T)

701. (*"he is dead"*)

tə ʃɛ maːrəv Nu bɑːsiː (A)/ **tə ʃɛ maːrʊː Nu bɑːsiː** (T)

702. (*"it was a grand wake"*)

bə dʲæˑs ə toːr ə (sic) (A)/ **vʲi ᵋN toːrə gə dʲæːs** (T)

703. (*"I don't like wakes"*)

Nʲiˑ hɛːNʲiːN toːreⁱ lʲʊm (A)/ **nʲiˑ hæˑNʲiːN toːri lʲəm** (T)

(*"I went home after the wake"*)

xə mʲɛ waːlʲ ᵊrɛʃ ɴ̩ toːrə (A)/ **xə mʲɛ waːlʲɛ rɛʃ ə toːrə** (T)

704. (*"funeral [sg.]"*)

səxrɪdʹɪ (A)

(*"funerals [pl.]"*)

tsəxrɪdʹiˑ (A)/ **səxərdʹiː** (sic) (T)

(*"after the funeral"*)

reʲʃ ə təxər(dʹɛʔ) (T)/ **reʲʃ əN təxrɪdʹɪ** (A)

705. (*"shroud, habit [dressing of the corpse]"*)

ɛːbʹiːdʹ (A)/ **æbʹiːdʹ** (T)

(*plural form*)

ɛːbʹiːdʹiː (A)/ **æbʹɪdʹiˑ** (T)

706. (*"the old woman cried when her husband died"*)

vʹi ɴ̩ tʹæːnʹvʹaN æːg gʊL NʊrʹəkæːLʹuˑ ə fʹɛːr kʹeːlʹɛ (A)/

vʹi ɳ̩ʹ tʹæːnʹvʹæˑN ə gəL NorʹəkaːLʹuˑ ᵊfʹæːr kʹeːlʹɛ (T)

(*"she cried"*)

vʹi tʃiˑ ᵊkiːnʹɪ (A)/ **vʹiˑ ʃi kiːnʹɛ** (T)/

xiːnʹ ʃiˑ (T/A)

707. (*"she laughed"*)

vʹiˑ ʃiˑ ᵊgɑːrʹiˑ (A/T)

708. (*"he was laughing"*)

vʹi ʃɛ ᵊgɑːrʹiˑ (A)/ **vʹi ʃɛ gɑːrʹɪ** (T)

709. (*"wherever you go, I shall follow you"*)

pʹɛ bʹɪ kʹɛN ɑːtʹ ə ɣʌᵘs tu . . . LʹæːNə mʹeː uː (T)/

pʹɛ bʹɪ kɑː ŋaᵘ tu . . . (T)/ **kʹɛ bʹɪ kɑˑ Nʌᵘtu . . .** (A)

(note substitution of a dental nasal consonant for the expected velar nasal consonant in the last example)

710. (*"I was working although I was sick"*)

vʹiː mʹe ᵊg əbɪrʹ reʃ gə rə mʹɛː tʹiːnʹ (A)/

vʹiː mʹe ᵊg əbɪrʹ rɛʃ gə rə mʹɛː tʹiːnʹ (T)

711. (*"coffin [sg.]"*)

kʊndrə (A)/ **kʊnrə** (T)

(*"coffins [pl.]"*)

kʊndrəxiː (A)

712. (*"graveyard [sg.]"*)

rɛlʹɪkʹ (A)

(*"graveyards [pl.]"*)

rɛlʹɪkʹəxiː (A)

(*"grave [sg.]"*)

uːwə (A)/ **uːə** (T)

(*"graves [pl.]"*)

uᵊNəⁱ (T)

(*"over the grave"*)

æs kʹiːN əN uːwə (A/T)

713. (*"he is buried in the clay"*)

tə ʃɛ kərə sə woːwəd (T, A)/ **. . . sə gʹrʹeːfoːg** (A)/

. . . sə gʹrʹeːfoˑⁱgʹ (T)/ **sə gʹrʹeːʲᵋ** (A)/ **sə gʹrʹeː** (T)

714. (*"the priest anointed him"*)

xɪrʹ əN saːgərt əN əL ɛrʹ (A/T)

715. (*"smith [sg.]"*)

gawuˑ (A)/ **gawə** (T)

(*"smiths [pl.]"*)

gʌⁱvʹNʹɪ (A)/ **gʌⁱNʹɪ** (T)

716. (*"tenant [sg.]"*)

təNuːNtə (A)/ **təNoːNtə** (T)

(*"tenants [pl.]"*)

təNʊːNtiː (A)/ **təNoˑNteⁱ** (T)

717. (*"a forge"*)

kʹɑːrtə (A/T)

(*"forges [pl.]"*)

kʹɑːrtiˑ (T/A)

(*"above the forge"*)

æs kʹiːN ə xʹɑːrtə (A/T)

(*"the smith is in the forge"*)

tɑ N gʌwu səŋ gʹɑːrtə (A, T)/ **sə gʹɑːrtə** (A)

718. (*"the smith's tools"*)

ʌᵘrn′ɪʃ . . . (A)/ **aᵘrn′ɪʃ ə̃ ɣawə** (T)

(*"bellows"*)

Nə bəl′ɪg′ (A)/ **bəL′ɪg′** (T)

(*"hammer"*)

kaːsʊːr (T)/ **kaːsuˑr** (A)

(*"sledge-hammer"*)

awərd (T)

(*"tongs [sg.]"*)

tLowə (T)/ **tLuː** (A)

(*"tongs [pl.]"*)

tLuːNiː (A)/ **tLuːNəⁱ** (T)

719. (*"the iron"*)

iːᵊrəN (A/T)

(*"he put the iron in the fire"*)

xʊrʃt′ɛː Nə (sic) **t′iːᵋrn̩ sə t′ɪn′ɪ** (A)/

xər ʃɛ ən′ t′iˑᵊrəN sə t′ɪn′ɛ (T)

720. (*"he is melting the iron"*)

tə ʃeː Lˈɑːw əN t′iˑᵊrəN (A/T)

(*"the iron is melted"*)

tɑ n̩′ t′iˑᵊrn̩ Lˈɑːt′ɪ (A)/ **tɑ n̩′ t′iˑᵊrn̩ Lˈɑːt′ɛ** (T)

(*"he melts the iron"*)

Lˈɑːn′ tʃɛ n̩′ t′iˑᵊrəN (A)/ **Lˈɑːn′ ʃɛ n̩′ t′iˑᵊrəN** (T)

(*"he melted the iron"*)

Lˈɑː ʃɛ n̩′ t′iˑᵊrəN (A/T)

(*"he will melt the iron tomorrow"*)

Lˈɑː ʃɛ n̩′ t′iᵊrəN ᵊmɑːr′əx (A, T)

721. (*"he has good pay"*)

tɑˑ pɑːʲᵊ wæː doˑ (A)/ **tɑˑ pɑːʲᵊ waː doˑ** (T)

722. (*"I hired a man last year"*)

("hired" first heard as "heard"; after prompting with *fostú*, the following was elicited)

dəstə m′ɛ f′æːr ˈn′eː (A)

("Ní 'éarann muinn é, nach (sic) tá sé ann, an focal *fostú* [A]")

723. (*"shoemaker [sg.]"*)

gʹrʹeːsᵊiː (A)

(*"shoemakers [pl.]"*)

gʹrʹeːsᵊiː ... gʹrʹesəxiː (A/T)

724. (*"shoemaker's tools"*)

oᵘrnʹɪʃ əN... əN gʹrʹeːsiˑ (sic) (A)/ **aᵘrnʹɪʃ ɛnʹ jrʹeːsiˑ** (T)

(*"awl [sg.]"*)

mʹæːNə (T/A)

(*"awls [pl.]"*)

mʹæːNəⁱ (A)

(other items)

sNɑːᵋdʹ (A)

kʹæːp (T)/ **kʹɛːp** (A)

725. (*"schoolmaster [sg.]"*)

mɑːʃtʹɪrʹ skəlʹɛ (A/T)/ **ɛdʹɛ skəlʹɛ** (A/T)

(*"schoolmasters [pl.]"*)

ɛdʹiː skəlʹɛ ... mɑːʃtʹrʹiː skəlʹɛ (A)/ **mɑːʃtʹɪrʹiː** (T)

726. (*"people didn't go to school long ago"*)

nʹiˑ jɛxə Nə diːnʹiˑ ɛrʹ skəlʹ ˈfaːdo (A)/

nʹiˑ jæˑxə Nə diːnʹiˑ ɛr skəlʹ ˈfaːdə (T)

(note shortening and neutralisation of final vowel in *fadó*)

(*"they didn't go to school very often"*)

nʹiː jæxə ʃəd ɛrʹ skəlʹ gʊ mʹɪnʹɪkʹ... (A)

(*"he used to go home early"*) (elicited later)

heᵊx ʃɛˑ wæˑlʹɛ gʊ Luːwə (A)/ **hɛx ʃɛ waːlʹɛ gə Lʊwə** (T)

727. (*"he is going home"*)

tə tʃeˑ ᵊgəlʹ ᵊwæːlʹɪ (A)/ **tə ʃɛ gəlʹ ᵊwaːlʹɛ** (T)

728. (*"he wouldn't go"*)

nʹiˑ ˈɣaᵘx ʃɛ (A/T)

729. (*"I shall not go"*)

nʹiˑ ˈɣaᵘ mʹɛ (A/T)

730. (*"he went to town yesterday"*)

xə tʃɛ gə d′iː ɴ̩ baːl′ɛ moːr ᵊn′eː (A)/

xə ʃeˑ gə d′i ɴ̩ baːl′ɛ moːr ˈn′eːʲᵋ (T)

(*"we went to town yesterday"*)

xə mɪd′... (A/T)

731. (*"we didn't go"*)

n′iː jɛxə mʊd′ (A)/ **n′iː jæːxə məɴ′** (T/A)

732. (*"go home![sg.]"*)

gaᵘ waːl′ɪ (A)/ **gə waːl′ɛ** (T)/

... ɴu t′əⁱr′ ᵊwaːl′ɛ (T/A)

(*"go home![pl.]"*)

t′əⁱr′iː wæːl′ɪ (A)/ **t′əⁱr′iː waːl′ɛ** (T)

(no plural form elicited for *gabh!*, despite investigator's attempts)

733. (*"if we didn't go home, our father would not be pleased"*)

marə Naᵘx mʷɪɴ′ ᵊwæːl′ɪ ... (A)/

marə Naᵘx mʷɪɴ′ ᵊwaːl′ɛ ... n′iː v′ɛx ɑːr ɴ æːr′ sɑːstə (T) (after prompting by A with **[marə Naᵘx mʷɪd′...]**)/

marə Naᵘx mʷɪd′ ᵊwæːl′ɪ ... n′iː v′ɛx ə ɴ æːr′ sɑːstə (A)

(T's uncharacteristic substitution of **[ɴ]** for **[ŋ]** is apparently influenced by A's prompt)

(*"if ye didn't go home, your father would not be pleased"*)

marə ɴ′æxə sɪb′ ˈwæːl′ɪ ... n′iˑ v′ɛx ə ɴ æːr′ sɑːstə (A)/

marə ɴ′æːxə sɪb′... n′iˑ v′əx ə ɴ æːr′ sɑːstə (T)

734. (*"if you went home, I would be pleased"*)

dɑˑ Noˑx tu wæːl′ɪ ... v′eⁱn′ sɑːstə (A)/

ɣɑ ŋoˑᵊx tu waːl′ɪ ... v′eⁱn′ sɑːstə (T)

735. (*"he is a good teacher"*)

ɪs muːn′t′oⁱr mæˑ ɛ (A)/ **ɪs muːn′t′oⁱr maː ɛ** (T)

(*"I thought he was a good teacher"*)

x′æːp m′ɛ gər muːn′t′oˑˈr′ mæˑ e (A)/

x′æːp m′ɛ gər muːn′t′oˑˈr′ maː e (T)

(*"was he a good teacher?"*)

rə ʃɛ əNə wuːn′t′oˈr′ wæː (A)/ **rə ʃɛ əNə wuːn′t′oˈr′ waᵉ** (T)/

ər muːn′t′oˑˈr′ mæ... ʔɛ (A)

(after prompting with the eclipsed forms of the copula [**ə mə**] and [**gə mə**], e.g., "A' mba múinteoir maith é?", "Shíl mé go mba múinteoir maith é", only the following response elicited)

"Déarfadh muinn [**ər ˈmuːnʹtʹərʹ maː vʹiː ɑːN**]" (T)

(eclipsed forms of the copula, characteristic of Cois Fharraige Irish, are rare in the Aran islands, certainly on Inis Mór Irish)

736. (*"he taught us a lot"*)

wuːnʹ ʃɛ gʊ Lʹoːr duˈnʹ (A)/ wuːnʹ ʃɛ gʊ Lʹoːr dɪnʹ (T)

737. (*"we didn't learn much from him"*)

nʹiːr oːLəm mədʹ moːrɑːN wʌⁱ (A/T)

738. (*"he was teaching us"*)

vʹɪ ʃɛ ɣɑː mʊːNə (A)/ **vʹɪ ʃɛ ɣɑː moːNə** (T)

739. (*"he is a learned man"*)

ɛs fʹæːr LʹeːNt ɛ (A)/ **əs fʹæːr LʹeˑᵊNt ɛ** (T)

740. (*"our teacher knows everything"*)

tɑː s ɛgʹ ar muːnʹtʹorʹ gaːx rʊd . . . Nuˑ xʊlʹɛ rʊd (A)/

tɑː s ɛgʹ ɛ muːnʹtʹərʹ. . . xəlʹɛ rəd (T)

xʊlʹɛ rʊd eːrn̩s mʊNʹɪ (A)/ **xʊlʹɛ rʊd eːrn̩s mʷɪNʹ** (T)

(= "[**xʊlʹɛ rʊd**] 'éaranns muinn[e]")

741. (*"everybody knows that he is a fool"*)

tɑː s ɛgʹ xʊlʹɪ ɣɪnʹɛ gər . . . aːmədɑːN æ (A)/

tɑː s ɛgʹ xʊlʹɪ ɣɪnʹɛ gər aːmədɑːN ɛ (T)

742. (*"I don't know whether you are right or wrong"*)

nʹiːlʹ ɪs agm̩ əN wʊlʹ tʊː kʹæːrt No ˈmʹiːxʹæːrt (A)/

nʹiˑlʹ ɪs am ə wɪlʹ tʊː kʹæːrt Nʊˑ ˈmʹiːxʹæːrt (T)

743. (*"butcher [sg.]"*)

buːʃtʹɛrə (A/T)

(*"butchers [pl.]"*)

buːʃtʹɛrəⁱ (A)/ **buːstʹɛriː** (sic) (T)

744. (*"soldier [sg.]"*)

sʌⁱdʹuːʳrʹ (A/T)

(*"soldiers [pl.]"*)

sʌⁱdʹuːrʹiː (A)/ **. . . No sʌⁱdʹuːʳrʹ** (T)

("[**sʌⁱdʹuːr**], duine amháin" [T])

745. (*"he is a rich man"*)

ᵊs fʹɛːr sɛvʹɪrʹ ɛ (A)/ **ᵊs fʹæːr sɛvʹɪrʹ ɛ** (T)

(*"they are rich people"*)

ᵊs diːnʹiː sɛvʹɪrʹ eːᵊd (T)/ **ᵊs diːnʹiː sɛvʹɪrʹ æːd** (A)

746. (*"the tinker stole all our hens last night"*)

ɣədʹ əN tʹɪŋʹkʹær ə gɪʤ kʹɛːrk ᵘLʹʊg ᵊrəʲrʹ (A)

(*"tinkers [pl.]"*)

tʹɪŋʹkʹæːrəʲ (T)

(*"the tinkers stole all our hens last night"*)

ɣəd Nə tʹɪŋʹkʹæriˑ Nə kʹæːrkə . . . ᵊrəʲrʹ (T)/ **ar gʊdʹ kʹɛːrk ˈLʹʊg . . . ə gʊdʹ kʹɛːrkə ˈLʹʊg . . . Nu ᵊgʊdʹ kʹɛˑrk ɛrʹ faːd** (A)

747. (*"they steal every day"*)

gədʹn̩ʹ ʃɛd xəlʹə Lɑː (T)/ **gədʹn̩ʹ ʃɛd xɪlʹə Lɑː** (A)

748. (*"he goes to the public house in the evening"*)

tʹeʲnʹ ʃɛ gə dʹiˑ əN. . . tʹæx oːstə (A)/ **. . . tʹæx tʌᵘrnʹɛ** (T)/

. . . xəlʹɛ hrəˈNʊːNə (A)/ **. . . xəlʹə hrəˈNoːNə** (T)

749. (*"he gave me a glass of whiskey"*)

ʰʊg ʃɛ gLɪnʹɪ fʷɪʃkʹɪ dəm (A)/ **hʊg ʃɛ gLɪnʹɪ fʷɪʃkʹɪ ɣəm** (T)

750. (*"where is the bottle?"*)

kɑː wɪLʹ əN bʊdʹæˑL (A)/ **kɑː Lʹ ɛN bʊdʹɛːL** (T)

(*"where are the bottles?"*)

kɑː l Nə bʊdʹeʲlʹ (A)/ **kɑː l Nə bʊdʹɛːlʹ** (T)

751. (*"give us another drink!"*)

tʹuːrʹ dʹəx ɛlʹɛ duˑnʹ (A)/ **tʹuːrʹ dʹəx ɛlʹɛ dʊˑnʹ** (T)

752. (*"have another one!"*)

bʹɪx dʹəx ɛlʹ æˑd (A)/ **bʹiˑᵊx kʹɑːN ɛlʹ æːd** (T/A)

753. (*"how many bottles did you drink last night?"*)

kʹeː vʹɛːd bʊdʹæL ə doːLs (sic) **tuː ᵊrɛʲrʹ** (A)/

kʹeː vʹɛːd bʊdʹæL ə doːL tuː ᵊrɛʲrʹ (T)

754. (*"we have enough"*)

tɑ . . . ar Noːnʹ ɛːNʹ (A)/ **ta r Noːnʹ æːNʹ** (T)

755. (*"we drank enough"*)

doːL mɪdʹ ə Noːwɪnʹ (A)/ **doːL mʷɪNʹ ə NoːwɪNʹ** (T)

756. (*"you had too many drinks last night"*)

v′iː ɴ′ ɪmərkə d′əxəNə^{i} . . . v′i ɴ′ ɪmərkə d′əxəNiˑ ^{ə}rɛ^{i}r′ æd (T)/

v′iˑ ɴ′ ʊmərkə d′əxəNiː ^{ə}rɛ^{i}r′ æˑd (A)

757. (*"he does be drunk at times [sometimes]"*)

b′iːn′ ʃe oːLtəx aːməNtɪˑ^{i} (A)/ **b′iːn′ ʃe oːLtəx aːməNtə^{i}** (T)

(*"he was sick for hours"*)

v′iˑ ʃe t′iːn′ ɛr′ f′ɛː . . . oːi$^{}$r′əNtiˑ (A)/ **ɛr′ oːi$^{}$r′əNtiˑ . . . ɛr f′æː oːi$^{}$r′əNtiˑ** (T)

758. (*"put a pint on the counter!"*)

kɪr′ p′ɪNt ɛr′ ə gau$^{}$Ntər (A)

(*"put pints on the counter!"*)

kʊr′ p′ɪNtʊ^{i} ɛr′ ɛn′ gau$^{}$Ntər (A)

(*"pints [pl.]"*)

p′ɪNteˑ^{i} (T)

759. (*"midwife"*)

(nothing elicited)

760. (*"a baby was born to her"*)

rʊguː Lʹæːnəv dʹɪ rəi$^{}$r′. . . NiːnɑN (A)

761. (*"she has twins"*)

v′iˑ kuːpL ɛk′ɪ (T/A)

762. (*"he is a twin"*)

LʹæːxuːpLə (A)/ **Lʹæːˌx′ɑːN ˈkuːpLə ɛ** (T/A)

763. (*"a new-born infant, a baby"*)

NiːnɑˑN rei$^{}$ʃ ə v′r′ɛ (T/A)/ **NiːnɑˑN** (A/T)

764. (*"a child"*)

Lʹæːnəv (A/T)/ **Lʹæːnuˑ** (T/A)

gaːsuˑr (A, T) ("níos sine")

(A *páiste* would be around two or three years old; a *gasúr* would be older, perhaps up to 10 or 11 years old. [**maːrLəx**] (= *malrach*, pl. [**maːLrəˑ^{i}**]) is synonymous with *gasúr*, but is not used on Inis Mór. "Ní abraíonn muinne *malrach* ach *gasúr*" [after a query from the investigator concerning the term *malrach*])

765. (*"a little boy"*)

ˈbʊxɪL′ ˈb′ɛg (A/T)

766. (*"a young girl"*)

ˈkalʹiːnʹ ˈbʹɛg (A/T)

767. (*"he is a bold boy"*)

bʊxɪLʹ ˈdɑːN æ (A)/ **bəxɪLʹ ˈdɑːN æ** (T)

768. (*"she is a nice girl"*)

s kaːlʹiːnʹ ˈdʹæːs iˑ (A/T)

(*"she is a goodlooking girl"*)

ˈkaˑlʹiːnʹ ˈdæːuˑlʹ iˑ (A/T)

769. (*"he is a queer fellow"*)

ɛs . . . dɪnʹ ˈæːʃtʹəx ɛ (A/T)

770. (*"he is an honest man"*)

ɪs fʹæːr ˈkʹnʹæːstə (A)/ **ɪs fʹæːr ˈkʹnʹæst ɛ** (T)

771. (*"he is a merry fellow"*)

ˈfʹɛːr ˈkɪdʹəxtuˑlʹ ɛ . . . Nu ˈsprɪːuːlʹ (A)

772. (*"that's a funny story"*)

skʹɪːᵊL baːruˑLəx (A)/ **skʹeːL baːruˑLəx** (T)

773. (*"it was said to me [I was told] that you were sick"*)

duːruˑ lʹəm gə rə tuˑ tʃiːnʹ (A)/ **duːruˑ lʹəm gə rə tuˑ tʹiːnʹ** (T)

774. (*"I am going to the chapel"*)

tə mʹɛ gəlʹ gə ʤi . . . gəlʹ ɛgʹ ɛ ʃeːpʹæL . . . Nu gʊ ʤi nʹ ʃeːpʹɛL (A)/ **tɑ mʹɛ gəlʹ ɛgʹ ə ʃeːpʹɛL** (T)

775. (*"Protestant church"*)

əN. . . ʃeːpʹɛL praːtstuːNəx (A)/ **Nu ɑːgLəʃ praːstuːNəx** (sic) (T)

(A adds that *séipéal* is used for *eaglais* in Inis Mór)

(plural forms) **tʃeːpʹɛlʹ** (A)/ **ʃeːpʹɛlʹ** (T)/ **ɑːgLəʃiː** (A/T)

776. (*"Protestant [sg.]"*)

praːtstuˑN (A)/ **praːstuːNəx** (T)

(*"Protestants [pl.]"*)

praːtstuːNiː (A)/ **praːstuˑˈnʹ** (T)

777. (*"Catholic [sg.]"*)

kaʲtʹlʹɪgʹəx (A)/ **kæːtʹlʹɪgʹəx** (T)

(*"Catholics [pl.]"*)

kaʲtʹlʹɪgʹiː (A)

778. (*"we go to mass every Sunday"*)

t′ɛN mʷɪN′ ɛg′ əN æⁱf′r′əN gax du:Nəx (A)/

t′eˑmʊN′ ɛg′ əN æ:f′r′ɪN gaˑx du:Nəx ... Nu xɪL′ə ɣu:Nəx (T)

779. (*"priest [sg.]"*)

sa:gərt (A/T)

(*"priests [pl.]"*)

sa:gərt′ (A/T)

780. (*"learn your catechism!"*)

fo:Ləm də hæ:gəs k′r′i:stəⁱ (A/T)

781. (*"rosary"*)

pɑ:d′... pa:d′r′i:n′ (A)/ **pɑ:d′ɪr′i:n′** (T)/ **pɑ:d′r′i:n′** (A)

782. (*"altar [sg.]"*)

a:Lto·ˈr′ (A/T)

(*"altar [pl.]"*)

a:Lto·rəxi: (A)/ **a:Lto·ⁱr′əxi:** (T)

783. (*"holy water"*)

ɪʃk′ɪ korsɪk′ɪ ... ɪʃk′ɪ korsɪk′ (A)/

ɪʃk′ɪ korsɪk′... ɪsk′ɪ korsɪk′ɪ ... ɪsk′ɪ b′æ:Ni (T)

(note the sibilants in the last two examples)

784. (*"she goes to confession every fortnight"*)

t′əⁱn′ ʃi: ɛg′ fʷi:ʃt′iˑn′ gaˑx ... Nu xɪl′ʊ xʌⁱk′i:ʃ (A)/

t′eˑn′ ʃi: g′ fʷi:ʃt′ĩ: xɪl′ə xʌⁱk′i:ʃ (T)

785. (*"he gave her absolution"*)

ʰʊg ʃe æ:bsəLo:d′ (d′)ɪ (A)/ **hʊg ʃe æ:bsəLo:d′ (d′)ɛ** (T)

786. (*"the curate"*)

əN... tʃe:p′l′i:n′əx (A)/ **ʃe:p′l′i:n′əx** (T)

787. (*"that's a sin"*)

ʃɪn′ ə (sic) **p′ɛ:kə** (A)/ **ʃɪn′ ə** (sic) **p′æ:kə** (T)

788. (*"I told him all my sins"*)

d′ɪn′ɪʃ m′ɛ: mə xəd′ p′æ:kiˑ L′ʊg do: (A)/

d′ɪn′ɪʃ m′ɛ mə həd′ p′æ:kiˑ L′ʊg ʊˑ (T)

789. (*"he gave me a penance"*)

hʊg ʃɛː bʹrʹæːNʊs aʲrʹiː dəm (A)/

hʊg ʃɛː bʹrʹɛᵘNʊs aʲrʹiː ɣəm (T)

790. (*"purgatory"*)

pərgədoˑᴵrʹ (A/T)

791. (*"there will be no sermon today"*)

Nʹiː vʹeʲ æːN... ʃæːNəmoˑᴵrʹ ᴵNʹɔ̃ (A)/

nʹiː vʹeː eːnʹ ʃæːNəmoːᴵrʹ ᴵNʹʊw ɑːN (T)

(*"the gospel [sg.]"*)

ən sətʃkʹæˑL (A)/ **Ṇ səʃkʹæːL** (T)

(*"gospels [pl.]"*)

səʃkʹeʲlʹ (A, T)

792. (*"he is in Heaven now"*)

tə tʃɛ sNə fLæːʃ ᵊnʹɪʃ (A)/ **tə ʃɛ sNə fLæːʃ ᵊnʹɪʃ** (T)

793. (*"we should pray to God for health"*)

bʊ xʹæːrt dɪnʹɛ gɪvʹɪ ɛrʹ jeː fʷiːn tLaʲnʹtʹɪ (A)/

bə xʹæːrt iːnʹ gɪvʹɪ ... ɛrʹ jiˑᵊ fʷiː əN tLaːnʹtʹɛ (T)

(*"he is saying his prayers"*)

tə ʃeˑ rɑː xʊdʹ pɑːdʹrʹəxi Nu xʊdʹ ʌᵘrNəʲ (A)/

tə ʃe rɑː xɪdʹ pɑːdʹrʹəxəʲ ... (T)

("*páidreachaí* 'eireanns muide" [A])

794. (*"he has no religion"*)

nʹiːlʹ ẽː xʹrʹɛdʹ ɛgʹɛ (A)/ **nʹiːlʹ eːN xʹrʹɛdʹ ɛgʹɛ** (T)

795. (*"he didn't bless himself"*)

Nʹiː roˑ (sic) **xorsɪkʹ ʃe e heːnʹ** (A)/ **Nʹir xorsɪkʹ ʃe e heːnʹ** (T)

796. (*"today is a fast day"*)

ᵊs Lɑː trəsk ᴵNʹʊ (A)/ **Lɑː trəsk ɑːN əN Ləʔ ᴵNʹʊ** (T)

(*"fasting before going to Mass [céadlongaí]"*)

trəskə rɪvʹ ə ɣəlʹ... ɛgʹ əN æʲfʹrʹəN... trəskə rɪvʹ əN æʲfʹrʹəN (A)

(*"abstinence"*)

tʹrʹeːNəs (A/T)

797. (*"bishop [sg.]"*)

æːspəg (A)/ **aːspəg** (T)

(*"bishops [pl.]"*)

æːspɪgʹ (T, A)

798. (*"the Devil [sg.]"*)

ənʹ ʤəwəL ... əN tɑːwərsoˑˈrʹ (A)

(*"devils [pl.]"*)

dʹæˑwɪlʹ (T)/ **dʹʌwɪlʹ** (A)

799. (*"Easter"*)

kɑːsk (T/A)/ **doːNəx kɑːsk** (T)

(*"Easter Sunday"*)

duːNəx kɑːskə (A)/ **doᵘNəx kɑːskə** (T)

800. (*"Whit Sunday"*)

duːNəx kʹɪŋʹkʹiːʃ (A)/ **dʊːNəx kʹɪŋʹkʹiːʃ** (T)

801. (*"Christmas"*)

NəLɪkʹ (A)/ **NəLɛkʹ** (T)

(*"Christmas Night"*)

ˈiː ˈNəLək (A)/ **ˈiː ˈNəLəg** (T)

802. (*"Good Friday"*)

iːnʹɛ xʹeːstə (A)/ **iːnʹɛ xʹeˑᵊstə** (T)

803. (*"he will be home about Christmas"*)

bʹeⁱ ʃɛ waːlʹɛ tʹiːmpəL Nə NəLɛkʹ... Nu fʷiː NəLɪkʹ (A)/

bʹe ʃe waːlʹɛ fʷiː NəLɪkʹ (T)

804. (*"St. Patrick's Day"*)

Lɑː lʹ ˈpɑːrɪkʹ (A)/ **Lɑː lʹ ˈpɑːrɛgʹ** (T)

805. (*"a fly [sg.]"*)

kɪlʹoˑⁱgʹ (A/T)

(*"flies [pl.]"*)

kɪlʹoːgiː (A)/ **kɪlʹoːgʹeⁱ** (sic) (T)

806. (*"a horse-fly"*)

kɪlʹoːg kaːpɪLʹ (A)/ **kɪlʹoˑg kaːpəL** (T)

807. (*"louse [sg.]"*)

mʹiːjəʟ (A)

(*"lice [pl.]"*)

mʹiːjəʟə (T/A)

(*"wood-lice"*)

mʹɪːʟə kʹrʹiːNə (A/T)

808. (*"ciaróg [a beetle]"*)

kiːroːʲgʹ... kiːroːg (T/A)

(note velarised initial consonant)

(*"priompalán [a beetle]"*)

pʹrʹiːmpəʟɑːN (T/A)

(the two examples given above were elicited by asking for the names of kinds of beetles)

809. (*"midges"*)

(nothing elicited)

810. (*"crickets"*)

(nothing elicited)

811. (*"bat"*)

(nothing elicited)

812. (*"corncrake [sg.]"*)

trɛjəNəx (T)/ **treːNəx** (A)

(*"corncrakes [pl.]"*)

treːNəxiː (A/T)

813. (*"worm [sg.]"*)

peːʃtʹ (T, A)

(*"worms [pl.]"*)

peːʃtʹiː (T/A)

814. (*"hedgehog [sg.]"*)

gᵊˈrɑːNʹoˑʲgʹ (T)/ **grɑːNʹoˑg** (A)

(*"hedgehogs [pl.]"*)

grɑːNʹoːgiˑ (A)/ **grɑːNʹoːgʹiː** (sic) (T)

815. (*"hornet"*)

(nothing elicited)

816. (*"mouse [sg.]"*)

Ləx (A)/ **Ləxoˑⁱgʹ** (T/A)

(*"mice [pl.]"*)

Ləxoːgiˑ (A)/ **Ləxoːgʹiː** (sic) (T)/ **Ləxɪnʹ** (A/T) (= pl. of [**Ləx**])

817. (*"the house is full of mice"*)

tɑ N tʹæx LɑˑN ˈlʹɛ Ləxɪnʹ... Nu Lɑ̃ː gə Ləxɪnʹ (A)

818. (*"rat [sg.]"*)

fraːŋkəx (T/A)

(*"rats [pl.]"*)

fraːŋkə (T/A)/ **fraːŋkiː** (A/T)/**Nə Ləxɪnʹ oːrə** (= "mhóra") (A)

819. (*"frog"*)

(nothing elicited, though the English word is known; frogs are not found on Inis Mór)

820. (*"hare [sg.]"*)

gʹɪrʹiə (A)/ **gʹɪrʹiɛ** (T)

(*"hares [pl.]"*)

gʹɪrəxiˑ (A)/ **gʹɪrəxəⁱ** (T) (note velarisation of the final consonant of the root)

821. (*"snail [sg.]"*)

ʃɛlʹɪmʹɪdʹɪ (A)

(*"snails [pl.]"*)

tʃɛlʹɪmʹɪdʹiː (A)

822. (*"bird [sg.]"*)

eːəN (A/T)

(*"birds [pl.]"*)

eːNəxiˑ (A/T)

823. (*"chick [sg.]"*)

ʃɪkʹiːnʹ (A)/ **tʃɪkʹiːnʹ** (T)

(*"chicks [pl.]"*)

ʃɪkʹiːnʹiː (A/T)

824. (*"crow [sg.]"*)

pʹrʹɪːᵊxɑːN (T/A)/ **kaːroːᵻgʹ** (T)/ **kaːroːg** (A)

(*"crows [pl.]"*)

pʹrʹɪːᵊxɑːᵻnʹ (A/T)/ **kaːroːgiˑ** (A)/ **kaːroːgʹiː** (sic) (T)

("Tá an priachán níos mú ... [A]/ ... agus tá guala níos láidir (sic) aige ná 'n charóig" [T])

825. (*"raven"*)

(nothing elicited)

826. (*"seagull [sg.]"*)

fʌ^{i}ʟ′ɑːɴ (T/A)

(*"seagulls [pl.]"*)

fʌ^{i}ʟ′ɑ^{ɪ}ɴ′ (A)/ **fʌ^{i}ʟ′ɑːn′** (T)

827. (*"pigeon [sg.]"*)

kəʟəm (T/A)

(*"pigeons [pl.]"*)

kəl′ɛm′ (T/A)

828. (*"hawk [sg.]"*)

ʃæwʊk (T)/ **ʃɛ^{u}k** (A)

(*"hawks [pl.]"*)

ʃæwɪk′ (T)/ **ʃɛ^{u}k′** (A)

829. (*"gannet [sg.]"*)

gʊn′ɛːd (T/A)

(*"gannets [pl.]"*)

gʊn′eːd′ (T)/ **gʊn′eːʤ** (A)

830. (*"diver [a bird]"*)

(nothing elicited)

831. (*"water-hen [sg.]"*)

k′ɛrk ʊtʃk′ɪ (A)/ **k′ærk ʊʃk′ɪ** (T)

(*"water-hens [pl.]"*)

k′ærkə ɴ ɪʃk′ɪ (T)/ **k′ɛrkə ˈiːʃk′ɪ ɴu k′ɛrkəɴiː (ɪ)ʃk′ɪ** (A)

832. (*"wild-goose [sg.]"*)

gʲ′eː fʲ′iːɑ^{ɪ}n′ (A)/ **gʲ′ɛː fʲ′iːjɑːn′** (T)

(*"wild-geese [pl.]"*)

gʲ′eːwə fʲ′iːɑ^{ɪ}n′ (A)/ **gʲ′eːwə fʲ′iːjɑːn′** (T)

833. (*"eagle [sg.]"*)

ɪʟər . . . ɪʟrəx (A)/ **ɛːrʟəx . . . ərʟəx . . . orʟəx** (T)

(*"eagles [pl.]"*)

ɪʟrʊxi˙ (A)/ **ɪʟrə^{i}** (T)/ **ɪʟri˙** (A)

("Bíonn 'eagles' anteo [= anseo]" [A])

834. (*"snipe [sg.]"*)

Nɪːjəsk (A/T)

(*"snipes [pl.]"*)

NiːskəNəⁱ (T)/ **NeⁱskəNiˑ** (A)

835. (*"sparrow [sg.]"*)

gʹæːLʊːN (T)/ **gʹæːLuːN** (A)

(*"sparrows [pl.]"*)

gʹæːLʊːnʹ (T)

836. (*"swallow [sg.]"*)

faːnʹlʹoːgʹ (T)

(*"swallows [pl.]"*)

faːnʹlʹoːgiː (T)

837. (*"owl"*)

(not found on Inis Mór; [**ruːɑːN aːLə**] offered by T)

838. (*"woodcock"*)

kəlʹəx kəLʹɛ . . . kəlʹəx kəjɛ (T)

(repeated clearly; the same pronunciation of the liquid consonant in the second example of "coille" was elicited from M 70 on Inis Meáin)

(*"woodcocks [pl.]"*)

kəlʹəxiː kəLʹɛ (T)

839. (*"grouse"*)

(nothing elicited)

840. (*"lark [sg.]"*)

fʷɪʃoˑˈgʹ (T)/ **fʊʃoːg** (A)

(*"larks [pl.]"*)

fʷɪʃoːgiˑ (T)/ **fʊʃoːgiː** (A)

841. (*"thrush [sg.]"*)

smoːLəx (T)

(*"thrushes [pl.]"*)

smoːrLɛⁱ [*x*2] (T)/ **smoːLiː** (A)

842. (*"cuckoo [sg.]"*)

kʊːwəx (T)

(*"cuckoos [pl.]"*)

kuᵊxəNɛⁱ (T)/ **kuːxəNiˑ** (A)

843. (*"blackbird [sg.]"*)

ˈLuːN ˈdə (T/A)

(*"blackbirds [pl.]"*)

ˈLuːNtə ˈdʊ (A)/ **ˈLuːNtə ˈdə** (T)

(*"magpie"*)

("an rud céanna" [T])

844. (*"we have good weather today"*)

t ˈæːmʹʃɪrʹ wæː ˈNʹuˑ ɛNʹ (A)/ **tɑ æːmʹʃɪrʹ waː ˈNʹuˑ ɛNʹ** (T)

845. (*"the weather is broken"*)

tɑ N̩ æːmʹʃɪrʹ bʹrʹɪʃtʹɪ (A/T)

846. (*"it rained"*)

rɪNʹɪ ʃe bɑːʃtʹəx (A)/ **rɪNʹɪ ʃɛ bɑːʃtʹəx** (T)

(*"it will rain"*)

dʹɪNə ʃɛ bɑːʃtʹəx (A, T)

("Éarann siad **[fʹɛːrəN]** (sic) [in áiteacha' eile le 'báisteach'] nach (sic) ní éarann muinne **[fʹɛrəN]**; ní éarann muinn ach 'báisteach'" [A])

847. (*"don't be out in the rain!"*)

Nɑˑ bʹiˑ mʊ sə mɑːʃtʹəx (A)/ **Nɑˑ bʹiˑ mə sə mɑːʃtʹəx** (T)/

. . . Nuː mʊ fʷiːN mɑːʃtʹəx (A)

848. (*"a rainy day"*)

Lɑː bɑːʃtʹiː (A/T)

849. (*"it's a bit cold"*)

tə tʃɛ bʹɛgɑːN fuːwar (A)/ **tə ʃe bʹɛgɑːN fuːᵊr** (T)

850. (*"it is fairly cold"*)

tᵊ ʃɛˑ ˈriːnʹtʹ fʊːr (A)/ **No reːsəNtə fuːr** (T)

851. (*"it is terribly cold"*)

tᵊ ʃe ˈæːN ˈuːwar (A)/ **tə ʃɛ ˈʊfɑːsəx fuːwar** (T)

852. (*"thunder and lightening"*)

tʌᵘrnʹəx əgəs Laːsrəxi (A)

853. (*"snow"*)

ʃnʹɛːxtə [*x*2] (A)/ **ʃnʹæːxtə** (T)

(*"a snowy day"*)

Lɑː ʃnʹɛːxtə / (A)/**Lɑː ʃnʹæxtə** (T)

854. (*"snowflakes [pl.]"*)

kaːLoˑgiˑ ʃnʹɛːxtə / (A)/ **kaːLoˑgiˑ snʹæːxtə** (T)

(*"snowflake [sg.]"*)

kaːLoːg / (A)/ **kaːLoˑʲgʹ** (T)

855. (*"hailstone [sg.]"*)

kLɔx ʃnʹɛːxtə (A)/ **kLɔx snʹæːxtə** (T)

(*"hailstones [pl.]"*)

kLəxə ʃnʹɛːxtə (A)/ **kLəxə snʹæːxtə** (T)

856. (*"I went out after the shower"*)

xə mʹɛ maːx rɛʃ ə wuwʊrʹ... rɛʃ əN wuːrʹ (A)/

xo mʹɛ maːx reʃ əN wowʊrʹ (T)

(*"showers [pl.]"*)

muːrəNəʲ (T)/ **muːriːlʹ** (A/T)

857. (*"a rainbow"*)

kʹɛː bɑːʃtʹiˑ (A)/ **skaᵋ bɑːʃtʹiˑ** (T)

("Ach [**rɛʲnbo**] Žaranns muinne" [A])

858. (*"we have to take shelter"*)

ka mʊdʹ ə ɣəlʹ ɛrʹ faːskə (A)/ **kaː mʊNʹ ə ɣəlʹ ɛrʹ faːskə** (T)

859. (*"frost"*)

ʃuˑk (A)/ **ʃʊk** (T)

(*"a frosty day"*)

Lɑː ʃuˑk (A)/ **Lɑː ʃʊk** (T)

860. (*"it was freezing last night"*)

vʹi ʃeː ʃuk ᵊrɛʲrʹ (A)/ **vʹiː ʃe ᵊʃʊk ᵊrəʲrʹ** (T)

861. (*"ice"*)

ˈLʹæˑk ˈəʲrʹɪ (T/A)

862. (*"the weather is getting very bad"*)

tɑˑ Ṇ ˈaʲmʹʃɪrʹ ɛ ˈfɑːlʹ ˈæːN ˈdʊNə (A)/

tɑˑ Ṇ ˈaːmʹʃɪrʹ ə ˈfɑːlʹ ˈæːN ˈdəNə (T)

863. (*"he fell in the mud"*)

hɪtʹ ʃɛ səN... (A)/ **... sə bʊtʹəx** (T/A)

(words for "mud")

pʊtʹəx (A/T)/ **Lɑːˈbʹ** (T/A)

("Bíonn a' puiteach níos boige; bíonn níos mú uisce ann ná sa láib" [T]. T goes on to say that there is *láib* at Port Chorrúch, and that it appears to be solid ground, but that if you tread on it, you'll sink in it.)

864. (*"south wind"*)

gi: n′ɛ:s (A)/ **gi: ɴ′æ:s** (T)

(*"north wind"*)

gi: duwə (A)/ **gi: do:wə** (T)/ **gi: do:** (A)

(*"west wind"*)

giˑ ɴ′iˑᵊr (A)/ **giˑ n′i:jar** (T)

(*"east wind"*)

giˑ ᵊNɛr′ (A/T)

865. (*"a whirlwind"*)

([**u:mLɪᵊxt/ ʊ:mLɪᵊxt**] is offered by T. This seems to mean "a draught or current of air" [cf. Standard Irish *iomlaíocht*]. There is no plural form of the word.)

866. (*"it was wetter yesterday"*)

v′iˑ ʃɛ ɴ′i:s f′l′i: ˈn′e: (A/T)

867. (*"the road is very wet"*)

tɑˑ m bo:r ˈæ:n′ˈl′əx (A/T)

868. (*"hot"*)

t′ɛ (A/T)

(*"hotter"*)

n′i:s ˈt′o:xə (A/T)

869. (*"higher"*)

n′i:s aⁱrd′ɪ (A/T)

870. (*"longer"*)

n′i:s fəd′ɪ (A)/ **n′i:s fəd′ɛ** (T)

871. (*"close"*)

ku:ŋgərəx (A)/ **kʊ:ŋgərəx** (T)

(*"closer"*)

n′i:s ku:ŋgərɪⁱ (A)/ **n′i:s kʊŋgərɛⁱ** (T)

(*"firm [daingean]"*)

Lɑ:d′ɪr′ (A)

(after prompting with *daingean*)

dæŋ′g′əɴ (A/T)

(*"firmer"*)

nʹiːs dæːŋʹgʹnʹɪ (A)/ **nʹiːs dæːŋʹgʹnʹiː** (T)

872. (*"short"*)

gæːrʹɪdʹ (A/T)

(*"shorter"*)

nʹiːs gʹɪrʹɪ (T/A)

(After prompting with the word *gearr*, it appears that *gearr* is also used in Inis Mór, but that *gairid* is the preferred form. The informants see no difference in meaning between the two forms.)

873. (*"grey"*)

gʟaːs (for objects) (T)/**ʟʹiːɛ** [*x*2] (for hair) (A)

874. (*"go out quickly!"*)

gə maːx gə skʹɪpʷiː ... gə taːpə (T, A)

875. (*"he is quicker at his work than I am"*)

tə ʃe nʹiːs skʹɪpʷiː ... (T)/ **... ɛgʹ ə xʊdʹ əʲbʹrʹɪ Nɑː mʹɪʃɪ ... nʹiᵊs ˈʟoːʟaːwiː** (A)

([**ʟuːᵊʟaːwəx**] (A)/[**ʟoːʟaːwəx**] (A, T) used for one who is quick at his/her work [= *luathlámhach?*])

(after prompting for the comparative form of *luath*)

skʹɪpəʲ (T)/ **skʹɪpʷːi** (A)

876. (*"he died suddenly"*)

fʊrʹ ʃɛ bɑːs ˈəbəN (A)/ **fərʹ ʃɛ bɑːs ˈəbəN** (T)

877. (*"strong"*)

ʟɑːdʹɪrʹ (A/T)

(*"stronger"*)

nʹiːs ʟɑːdʹrʹɪ (A)/ **nʹiᵊs ʟɑːdʹɛrʹɛ** (T)

878. (*"I am living near the town"*)

tə mʹɛ ɛgʹ maʲrʹəxtɑːlʹ lʹe ˈhæːʃ əN waːlʹɛ ˈmoːr (A)/

tᵊ mʹɛ maːrʹəxtəlʹ lʹɛ ˈæˑʃ ə waːlʹɛ ˈmoːr (T)

Nʊ gaːr gəN... (T, A overlap)

Nu gaːr gəN wæːlʹɛ moˑr (A)

879. (*"yesterday was finer than today"*)

vʹi ˈNʹeː nʹiˑs ... (A)/ **...nʹiːs bʹrʹɑːxʹtʹɪ Nɑː N̩ ʟɑˑ ˈNʹ...** (T)/ **...nʹiːs bʹrʹɑːxʹtʹɪ Nɑˑ ˈNʹʊ** (A)/ **...Nɑˑ ˈNʹʊ** (T)

880. (*"it is difficult to kill them"*)

dʹɛːkɪrʹ eːᵊd ə waːroᵘ (A)/ **dʹæˑkɪrʹ ɪd ə waːrʊ** (T)

(*"it is difficult to kill you [sg.]"*)

tᵊ ʃeː dʹɛːkɪrʹ uː waːrʊ (A)/ **tə ʃe dʹækɪrʹ ʊˑ waːru** (T)

(*"it is difficult to kill you all [pl.]"*)

dʹæˑkɪrʹ ʃɪbʹ ə waːroᵘ (A)

881. (*"this is a narrow path"*)

kʊsɑːN kiːjʊL (A)/ **Nʊ kʊːŋ** (T)/ **Nu kuːŋg** (A)/

kʊːŋg . . . kəsɑːN kʊ̃ːŋ (T)

(*"narrower"*)

nʹiːs kɪˑŋʹgʹɛ (T/A)

882. (*"ugly"*)

grɑːNə (A)/ **aːʃtʹəx . . . æːʃtʹəx** (T)

("Nach 'queer' *aisteach*?" [A]. "î, sea" [T].

"Rud [?] mídhathúil [**ˈmʹiːˈɣæːuˑlʹ**] [A])

(*"uglier"*)

nʹis grɑːnʹɪ (sic) (A/T)

883. (*"he comes oftener than you"*)

tʊgəN ʃɛˑ nʹiːs mʹɪnʹɪkʹɪ Nɑˑtʊtsə (sic) (A)

(repeated)

tʊgəN tʃɛ No taːgəN tʃe nʹiːs mʹɪnʹɪkʹiː Nɑˑtʊsə (A)

(the initial consonant of the verb in sentence-initial position in the two sentences above is not palatalised; hence we have both the variants *tugann* and *tiugann* of the standard form *tagann* attested in the responses to the *LASID* questionnaire elicited in Corrœch)

884. (*"this is a fat sheep"*)

ɪs kiːrə raːvər eː ʃə (A/T)

ɪs kiːrə raːvər eː ʃə (A)/ **ɪs kiːrə raːwər iː sə** (sic) (T)

(*"fatter"*)

nʹiːs rɪmʹɪrʹɪ (A)/ **rɪmʹrʹɪ . . . nʹiːs rɪmʹɪrʹɪ** (T)

885. (*"it would be better for you to go"*)

bʹɑːr dɪtʹ ɪmʹəxt (A)/ **bʹɑːr ɣɪtʹ ɪmʹəx(t)** (T)

886. (*"it is easy to do that"*)

tə ʃe eːsk əⁱ ʃɪnʹ ə jɪNə (A)/ **tə ʃe eːsk ɛ ʃɪnʹ ə jɛNə** (T)

(*"easier"*)

n′iːs eːskə (A)/ **n′iˑs eˑᵊskə** (T)

(after prompting with *furasta*, A says "Éarann [**frʊstə**]")

. . . n′iˑs frustə (sic) **. . . gəs n′iˑs eːskə . . .** (A)

("B'fhéidir gur [**frʊstə**] an rud ceart." [A])

887. (*"it was worthwhile to do it"*)

b′uˑ aⁱ jɪNə (A)/ **b′uˑ aˑ jɛNə** (T)

(*"it is worthwhile to do it"*)

ɪs f′u aⁱ jɪNə (A)/ **ɪs f′ᵋu aⁱ jɪNə** (T)

888. (*"old"*)

ʃɛːN. . . Nʊ iːstə (A)

889. (*"my father is older than yours"*)

tɑˑ m æˑr′ n′iːs iːstə Nɑ . . . ɛːr′ tʊsə (sic!) (A)

(after prompting with *sean*)

n′iːs ʃɪn′ɪ (A)/ **n′iːs ʃɪn′ɛ** (T)

890. (*"there are black clouds in the sky"*)

v′i kLʌᵘtiˑ dʊ səN ɛːjər (A)/ **. . . No N′eːLəNəⁱ** (T)

(T also offers the forms [**N′iːᵊL**] [sg.] and **. . .** [**N′iˑᵊLtə**] [pl.])

(after prompting with *spéir*)

səN əjər (T)/ **sə sp′eːr′** (A/T)

891. (*"darker"*)

dərəxə . . . dʊ (A)/ **dəroxə** (T)/ **n′iːs dʊv′ɪ . . . n′iːs dərəxə** (A)

892. (*"today is a fine day"*)

tɑˑ N ˈLɑː N′ʊ gə b′r′ɑː (T/A)

(note placement of stress)

893. (*"fog"*)

k′oː (A)/ **k′oːʷᵊ** (T)

(*"a foggy day"*)

ˈLɑː ˈk′oː (A/T)

894. (*"dirtier"*)

saːLəx (A/T)/ **n′iˑs səʲl′iː** (A/T)

895. (*"I have a cold"*)

sLʌⁱdɑːN. . . fuwəxt (A)/ **tɑˑ fuᵊxt aːm** (T/A)/

tə sLʌⁱdɑːN aːm Nuː ərəm (A)

(either word can be used)

896. (*"it was raining all night"*)

vʹi ʃɛ ˈbɑːʃtʹəx ˈgaː Nə hiː (A)/ **vʹi ʃɛ ˈbɑːʃtʹəx ˈgaː nə hiː** (T)

897. (*"star [sg.]"*)

reːᵊLt (T, A)

(*"stars [pl.]"*)

reːLtoːgiˑ (A)/ **reːLtoːgʹiˑ** (T)/ **Nu rɛːLtə** (A)

898. (*"there is heat in the sun"*)

vʹi tʹæˑs sə ŋʹrʹiˑᵊN (A/ T)

(*"the sun"*)

əNᵊ gʹrʹiːjəN (A)/ **n̩ʹ jrʹiˑᵊN** (T)

899. (*"there is a ring around the moon"*)

vʹiˑ fɑːNʹɪ hiːmpL̩ Nə gʹæːLiˑ (T)/ **gaːriˑ** (A)/

gaːriˑ hiːmpəL ə jæːLəx (T)/ **fɑːNʹɪ hiːmpəL ə jɛˑLəx** (A)

(*"a ring [sg.]"*)

fɑːNʹɪ (A)/ **fɑːNʹɛ** (T)

(*"rings [pl.]"*)

fɑːNʹiː (T, A)

900. (*"week"*)

ʃɛːxtɪnʹ (A)/ **ʃæˑxtɪnʹ** (T)

(*"next week"*)

ʃæˑxtɪnʹ ʃə hʊgɪNʹ (T)/ **(nʹ) tʹæxtɪnʹ ʃə hʊgɪNʹ** (A)

(*"we came home last week"*)

hɑːnʹɪgʹ mʷɪNʹ əˈwaːlʹ ɛnʹ tʹæˑxtɪnʹ tʃə kæːtʹɪ (A)/

hɑːnʹə mʷɪNʹ əˈwaːlʹ ɛn̩ʹ tʹæxtɪnʹ ʃə kaːtʹɛ (T)

(*"seven weeks ago"*)

ʃæx ʃæxtɪnʹiˑ oː xʷɪnʹ (A)/ **ʃax ʃaxtɪnʹiˑ oː xʷɪnʹ** (T)

901. (*"the days of the week"*)

LəjəNiˑ ... LejəNtə Nə ʃæxtɪnʹ(ɪ) ... LejəNə Nə ʃæxtɪnʹɪ (A)

(after prompting for the plural form of the word "day")

LejəNti Nə ʃæˑxtɪnʹɛ Nu LejəNiˑ Nə ʃæxtɪnʹɪ (A)

(*"Monday"*)

ˈdʹɛ ˈLuːN (A)

(*"Tuesday"*)

ˈdʹɛ ˈmɑːrtʹ (A)

(*"Wednesday"*)

ˈdʹe ˈkʹeːdiˑnʹ (A)

(*"Thursday"*)

ʤɛrˈdiːnʹ (A)

(*"Friday"*)

dʹɛ ˈhiːnʹɪ (A)

(*"Saturday"*)

dʹɛ ˈsɑˑrnʹɪ (A)

(*"Sunday"*)

dʹɛ ˈduːNə (A)

902. (*"I shall be back in about four or five weeks"*)

bʹɛ mʹɛ ɛrʹ ɛːʃ . . . (A)/ **tʹiːmpəL . . .** (T)/ **. . . tʹiːmpəL kʹær Nʊ kuːg gə hɛˑᵊxtɪnʹiˑ** (A)

bʹeˑ mʹe ɛr æː(ʃ) tʹiːmpəL kʹæːr Nə kuːg ə haxtɪnʹiˑ (T)

903. (*"month [sg.]"*)

mʹiːː (A)/ mʹiːʲᴵ (T)

(*"months [pl.]"*)

mʹiːNəⁱ (A)/ **mʹiːᵊNəⁱ** (T)

(*"the end of the month"*)

ʤɛrʹɛ Nə mʹiːsə (A)/ **dʹɛrʹɛ Nə mʹiːsə** (T)

904. (*"names of the months"*)

æːNɪrʹ (A)

fjʌᵘrə (A)

mɑːrtə (A)

ɛⁱbʹrʹɑːN. . . aⁱbʹrʹɑːN (A)

bʹɑːLtɪnʹɛ . . . (T)/**. . . bʹɑːLtɪnʹɪ** (A)

mʹɛːvʹ (A)

uːL (A)

LuːNəsə (A)

ˈmʹɑːNuːwərʹ (A)

ˈdʹɛrʹɛfʊːwərʹ (A)

sʌᵘnʹ (A)

NəLɪkʹ (A)

905. (*"seasons of the year"*)

ʃeːsuˈˈrʹ Nə bʹlʹiːᵊNə (A/T)

(*"spring"*)

aːrəx (T)/ **ɛːrəx** (A)

(*"summer"*)

sʌᵘrə (T/A)

(*"fall"*)

fʊːwər (T/A)

(*"winter"*)

gʹiːvʹrʹɪ (A)/ **gʹiːmʹrʹɪ** (T)

(After being prompted by the variant **[sãːmrə]**, A responds first.

"Éarann, ach I think **[sʌᵘrə]** 's the right way; it's a better word than **[sãːmrə]**" [A]/ "Éarann muid **[sãːmrə]**" [T])

906. (*"I got up at dawn"*)

ʌⁱrʹiˑmʹ sə maːNʹəxəN (T)/ **ʌⁱrʹiˑmʹ lʹɛʃ ə maˑNʹəxəN** (A)

dʹeːrʹɪ mʹeˑ ˈNʹə lʹɛʃ ə maːNʹəxəN . . . ˈNʹʊ (T)/

. . . Nu lʹɛ bʹrʹɛːk əN Leː (A)

907. (*"twilight [in the evening]"*)

kLaːphəLəs (A)

908. (*"the sun is rising"*)

tə nʹ jrʹɛːN əgʹ ʌⁱrʹiː (A)/ **tɑ nʹ jrʹiˑᵊN əgʹ ʌⁱrʹiː** (T)

(*"the sun is going down"*)

tə ʃɪ ˈgəLʹ ˈfʷiː (A)/ **tə ʃiˑ gəlʹ ˈfʷiːʲᵋ** (T)

909. (*"it is midnight"*)

tə ʃɛ ˈnə ˈvʹɑːN ˈiː (A)/ **. . . ˈmʹɑːN ˈɪːʲɪ** (T)

910. (*"you walk very slowly"*)

ʃuːlʹɛn tuː ˈæːn ˈwɑːL (A)/ **ʃoᵘlʹɴ tuˑ ˈæ̃ː ˈwɑːL** (T)

911. (*"the morning star"*)

reːᵊLt Nə maːNʹɪ (A/T)

912. (*"it is just noon"*)

Nʹiˑlʹ ʃe ax . . . (A)/ **nʹiːlʹ ʃ ax Lɑːr ə Leː** (T)/ **. . . Lɑːr ə Leː** (A)

913. (*"he came in the evening"*)

hɑːnʹɪgʹ ʃɛ trəˈNoᵘNə (A)/ **hɑːnʹɛ ʃɛ trəˈNoːNə** (T)

914. (*"where did ye go? [pl.]"*)

ˈkə ɴʹɛːxə ʃiᵋt (A)/ **ko ˈɴʹæːxə ʃeᵊd . . . ʃeːᵊd** (T)

(with correction for the pronoun)

kə ˈɴʹæˑxə ʃɪbʹ (A/T)

(*"where did ye put it? [pl.]"*)

kaːr (sic) **xor ʃɪbʹ ɛˑ** (A)/ **kɑːr xor ʃɪbʹ ɛ** (T)

915. (*"I work every second night"*)

bʹiːɴ̩ mʹɛ g əbɪrʹ xʹeːᵊɴ daːrNə hᵘiː (A)/

bʹiːmʹ əg əbɪrʹ xʹeːn daːrnə hiː (T)

(*"I work nearly every second night"*)

bʹiːɴ̩ mʹɛ g əbɪrʹ bʹɛgNaːx xʹeːᵊɴ daːrNə hᵘiː (A)/

. . . bʹəgNax xʹeːn daːrnə hiː (T)

916. (*"from morning till night"*)

oˑ wæːʤɪnʹ gʊ fʷiːnʹ (A)/ **oˑ wæːʤɪmʹ gʊ fʷɪːjɪnʹ** (T)

917. (*"the day after tomorrow"*)

ˈLɑˑ rNə ˈwɑːɪrʹəx (A)/ **ˈaːruː ˈmɑːⁱrʹəx** (T)/ **ˈaːro ˈmɑːⁱrʹəx . . . ˈaːro ˈmɑːⁱrʹə** (sic) (A)

(*"the day before yesterday"*)

Lɑː rɪvʹ ᴵɴʹeːᵋ [*x*2] (T)/ **aːruː ᴵnʹeːᵋ** [*x*2] (A)

918. (*"next year"*)

vʹlʹɛnʹ ˈʃə hʊgʊɴʹ (A)/ **vʹlʹeːnʹ ˈʃə hʊgɪɴʹ** (T)

(*"last year"*)

vʹlʹenʹ ˈʃə kæːtʹɛ (A)/ **vʹlʹenʹ ˈʃə kaːtʹɛ** (T)

(after prompting with *anuraidh*)

Nərə (A)/ **ᵊNərə** (T)

(after prompting with *san athbhliain*)

sʊN ˈæ̃ːvʹlʹeːnʹ (A)

(both *anuraidh* and *san athbhliain* used in Inis M—r)

919. (*"what time is it now?"*)

kʹɛN taːm ᵊnʹɪʃ ɛ (A)/ **kʹeˑN taːm ᵊnʹɪʃ ɛ** (T)

920. (*"it is eleven o'clock"*)

tə tʃeˑ ˈhiːnʹ ˈɛgʹ o xLɔg (A)/ **tə ʃɛ hiːnʹ ɛgʹ ə xLəg** (T)

(*"it is twelve o'clock"*)

ˈdoː jeᵊg o xLəg (A)/ **ˈdoː jeːg ə xLəg** (T)

921. (*"I was waiting for her for two hours"*)

vʹi mʹeː ᵊg faːNəxt lʹeː . . . ˈ**ɣɑː uwərʹ** (A)/

(vʹɪ) mʹɛ faːNəxt lʹeː lʹeˑ ˈ**ɣɑˑ uwɪrʹ** (T)

922. (*"he waited"*)

daːnʹ ʃɛ (A)/ **daːnʹ ʃeˑ** (T)

923. (*"wait! [sg.]"*)

faːN (A/T)

(*"wait! [pl.]"*)

faːNiˑ (A, T)/ **No faːNɪgʹiˑ** (A)

924. (*"I shall wait for you"*)

faːNoː mʹeː lʹɛt (A)/ **faːNo mʹɛ lʹæˑt** (T)

925. (*"it is ten minutes past five"*)

tə ʃeː ˈ**dʹɛ** ˈ**Noːmʹɛːd də** ˈ**rɛʃ ə** ˈ**kuːᶦgʹ** (A)/

tə ʃɛ ˈ**dʹɛ** ˈ**Noːmʹɛd** ˈ**rɛʃ ə** ˈ**koːwɪgʹ** (T)

(*"it is five to twelve"*)

tə ʃɛ ˈ**xuːgʹ** ˈ**uːmʹɛˑd xəN** ˈ**doː** ˈ**jeːᵊg** (A)/

. . . ˈ**xoːgʹ** ˈ**ʊːmʹeˑd əN doː** ˈ**jeːjʊg** (T)

926. (*"he gave me his blessing [. . . a bheannacht]"*)

hʊg ʃe ᵊ**vʹɛːNəxt ɣəm** (A)/ **hʊg ʃe** ᵊ**vʹæːNəx dəm** (T)

(*"he gave me his curse [. . . a mhallacht]"*)

hʊg ʃɛˑ ᵊ**waːLəx dʊm** (A)

927. (*"greeting at meeting [in the morning]"*)

maːdʹɪnʹ vʹrʹɑː (A/T)/

Nuˑ dʹeˑᵊ ɣɪtʹ ɛr maːdʹɪnʹ (A)/

dʹiᵊ ɣɪtʹ ("is mó") **. . . dʹɪ ɣɪtʹ ɛr maːdʹɪnʹ** (T)

(*"answer: . . . "*)

dʹeː gʊs mʊrʹɪ ɣɪtʹ (A, T)/ **dʹeː** ᵊ**s mərʹə ɣɪtʹ** (T)

928. (*"good-bye!"*)

ˈ**sLɑːnʹ** ˈ**lʹɛːt** (A)/ ˈ**sLɑːnʹ** ˈ**lʹæːt** (T)

929. (*"I met him on the road last night"*)

kaːsuˑ dʊm ɛ ɛrʹ əN moːr ᵊ**rɛⁱrʹ** (A/T)

930. (*"maybe we wouldn't meet each other again"*)

bʹeːdʹɪrʹ NʌX gaːsfʹiˑ ɛrʹ ə xʹeːlʹ ᶦ**rʹiːʃtʹ mʊdʹ** (A)/

bʹeːdʹɪrʹ NaX gaːsfʹiˑ ɛrʹ ə xʹeːlʹ ᶦ**rʹiːʃtʹ mʊNʹ** (T)

931. (*"I know him well"*)

tʌ oLəs maː əm ɛrʹ (A)/ **tə oːLəs maː . . . agm̩ ɛrʹ** (T)

932. (*"he did it in spite of me"*)

rɪNʹɪ ʃɛ gʊN wiːᵊxəs dʊm æ (A)/

rɪNʹɪ ʃɛ gə̃ wɪːᵊxəs dəm æ (T)

933. (*"he did it unknown to me"*)

rɪNʹɪ ʃɛ ə̃ ˈŋʊNəs dəm æ (A)/

rɪNʹɪ ʃɛ ə ˈŋəNəs dəm æ (T)

934. (*"I am well [answer to 'how are you?']"*)

tə mʹɛ gə maːɛ (A)/ **tə mʹɛ gə maːᵋ** (T)

935. (*"there is nothing wrong with him"*)

Nʹɪlʹ taːdə kuːNtra·lʹtʹɪ lʹɛʃ (A)/

Nʊː ˈmʹiːxʹæ·rt . . . Nʹɪl taːdə ˈmʹiːhʹæ·rt lʹɛʃ (T)

(*cearr* not used on Inis Mór; A pronounces the word [**kʹæːr**])

936. (*"he didn't speak to me when I met him yesterday"*)

Nʹir Lʌur ʃɛ lʹəm Norʹ ə kaːsu· dəm ˈnʹeː ɛ (A)/

Nʹer Lʌur ʃɛ lʹəm Nɛrʹ ə kaːsu· dəm ˈnʹeː ɛ (T)

937. (*"I am a stranger"*)

ɪs ˈstraⁱnʹʃɛrə mʹɛ (A)/ **. . . stræːnʹʃɛrə . . .** (T)/

Nu· kʌⁱkʹrʹiːᵊx (A) (= "foreigner")

938. (*"you're welcome!"*)

tə fɑːlʹtʹə ruːt (A)/ **fɑːlʹtʹə roːt** (T)

(*"answer: . . . "*)

gʊ ˈmaⁱrʹɪ tu· (A)

939. (*"what is your name?"*)

kʹɛN ˈtæⁱNʹɪmʹ ᵊt ort . . . Nu ka·d əs æⁱNʹm̩ʹ dɪtʹ (A)/

kʹɛN ˈtæ·nʹm̩ʹ ᵊta art (T)

(*Cén t-ainm atá ort?* is the more frequent of the two phrases on Inis Mór)

940. (*"where are you from?"*)

kʹeː ɛːs dɪtʹ (A)/ **kʹeː æːs dɪtʹ** (T)

941. (*"where are you coming from?"*)

kʹeː ɛ·s ᵊtə tu· tʹæːxt (A) **kʹeː æːs ᵊtə tu· tʹiːjəxt** (T)

942. (*"he didn't tell me where he was from"*)

ɴʹiːrʹ ɪmʹɪʃ ʃɛ dəm kʹeːrw æʔ . . . kʹeː æːs ɛ . . . Nu kʹeːrw æːs ɛ (A)/

ɴʹiːrʹ ɪmʹɪʃ ʃɛ dəm kʹeˑu æːs ɛ (T)

943. (*"he is going to and fro [anonn 's anall]"*)

tə tʃɛ gəLʹ ə . . . (A)/ **NʊːN s ᵊNɑːL** (T)/ **NuːN s ᵊNɑːL** (A)

944. (*"you would see houses here and there [anseo 's ansiúd]"*)

dʹɛkʹæː (= *d'fheicfeá*) **tʹiː n̩ʹˈtʃə s n̩ʹtʃuːᵊd** (A)/

. . . n̩ʹˈtʃə s n̩ʹˈʃuːd (T)

945. (*"westwards"*)

ʃijʌr (A/T)

(*"eastwards"*)

sɛrʹ (T)/ **sərʹ** (A)

(*"northwards"*)

oː hoːʷᵊ (T)/ **oː hoːː** (A)

(*"southwards"*)

oː jæːs (T)/ **oː jɛːs (Nʊ) tɪw oː jɛːs . . . tew oː jɛːs** (A)/

tiːw oː jæːs (T)

946. (*"he is inside the door"*)

tə tʃɛ tɪw ᵘstʹɪ gʊN dərəs (A)/ **tə ʃɛ tiːw ᵘstʹɪ gəN dərəs** (T)

(*"he is outside the door"*)

tə tʃɛ tɪw ᵘmʊ gəN dərəs (A)/ **tə ʃɛ tiv ᵊmə gəN dərəs** (T)

947. (*"when will you come back?"*)

kʹɛN taːm okəs (= *a thiocfas*) **tuˑ ɛrʹ ɛːʃ** (A)/

kʹɛN taːm ʊkəs tuˑ ɛrʹ æːʃ (T)

(*"why didn't ye come? [pl.]"*)

kʹɛ̃ fʌ Naˑr (sic) **hɑːnʹɪgʹ ʃɪbʹ** (A/T)

948. (*"how did you do that?"*)

kʹɛ̃ xɪˑ ᵊrɪNʹɪ tu ɛ tʃɪnʹ (A)/ **kʹɛ xiˑ rɪNʹɪ tʊˑ ɛ ʃɪnʹ** (T)

949. (*"come in! [sg.]"*)

tʌr ᵊstʹɛːx (A)/ **tar ᵊstʹæːx** (T)/

gə stʹɛːx . . . gə stʹæːx (A/T)

tʹæˑNəm ˈstʹæːx (A)

(*"come in! [pl.]"*)

ta:g^{ui} ʃt′ɛ:x (A)/ **ta:gi· st′æ:x** (T)

(*"wait till he comes!"*)

fa·N gʊ d′ʊkʊ ʃɛ (A)/ **fa·N gʊ d′ʊkə ʃɛ** (T)

950. (*"if he wouldn't come, I would not be pleased"*)

ma·rə d′ɪkəx ʃɛ . . . N′i· v′ɛx m′ɛ sɑ:stə . . . Nu N′i: v′ɛ^{i}n′ sɑ:stə (A)/

marə d′ɪkəx ʃɛ . . . n′i· v′ɛn′ sɑ:stə (T)

951. (*"he used to come on Saturdays"*)

bʊ ɣNɑ:x l′ɛʃ he·^{ə}xt ɛr′ d′ɛ sa:rn′ɪ (A)/

bʊ ɣNɑ:x l′ɛʃ hæ:xt d′ɛ sa:rn′ɛ (T)

(*"he comes every Sunday"*)

ta:gəN ʃɛ gax dʊ:Nəx (A/T)

(*"his brother came often last summer"*)

hɑ:n′ɪg′ ji:r′ɑ:r′ gə m′ɪn′ɪk′ ən sʌ^{u}rə ʃə kæ:t′ɪ (A)/

hɑ:n′ɪg′ jr′ɑ:r′ gə m′ɪn′ɪk′ ən sʌ^{u}rə ʃə ka:t′ɪ (T)

952. (*"there is somebody at the door"*)

v′i· ˈdʊn′ɪ k′i:n′t′ ɛk′ əN dərəs (A)/

v′i· dɪn′ɪ k′i:n′t′ ɛg′ ə dərəs (T)

953. (*"he didn't come at all today"*)

n′i:r hɑ:n′ɪg′ ʃɛ ˈxər ər b′ɪ ˈN′ʊ (A)/

n′i:r hɑ:n′ɪg′ ʃɛ ˈxər ə b′ɪ ˈN′ə^{ʊ} (T)

954. (*"who is in the house?"*)

k′e: tə sə t′ɛ:x (A)/ **t′e:** (sic) **tə sə t′æ:x** (T)

955. (*"the boys were throwing stones at each other"*)

v′i· Nə bəxɪl′i: ^{ə}kæ: kLəxə l′e: x′e:l′ɛ (A)/

v′i· Nə bəxɪl′i: ka· kLəxə l′e: x′e:l′ɛ (T)

956. (*"he fired a shot"*)

xa^{e} ʃe: ˈ**ərəxər** (A)/ **xa· ʃɛ·** ˈ**ərəxər** (T)

957. (*"a mountain [sg.] [sliabh]"*)

ʃL′i:jəv (A)/ **sl′i·^{ə}v** (T)

(*"mountains [pl.]"*)

ʃL′e:f′t′ɪ (A)/ **sl′e:f′t′ɛ** (T)

(*"on top of the mountain"*)

ɛr wɑ:r ə t′L′e: (A)/ **wɑ:r nə sL′e:v′ɛ** (T)

958. (*"hill [sg.] [cnoc]"*)

(The English word "hill" was not understood by the informants. After being prompted with the word *cnoc* and asked to define it in English, A defined *cnoc* as "a mountain".)

kNʊk (A)/ **kNək** (T)

(After being asked about [**krok**], A says "They say [**krʊk**] and [**kNʊk**], but [**kNʊk**] is the right word.")

(*"hills [pl.]"*)

kNök′ (A)/ **kNɛk′** (T)

"on top of the hill"

ɛr′ wɑːr əN xaːrkər′ (A)

(cf. *carcair* below; T offers *aill* [**ɑːL′**], though he is aware that it means specifically "cliff")

(After being prompted with *cnoc*)

ɛr′ wɑːr ə xNɛk′ (T)

"on top of the cliff"

ɛr′ wɑːr nə hæːL′ɪ (T/A)

("The [**ʃL′eːw**] is higher than the [**kNʊk**]" [A])

(for elevations smaller than a hill, only *móta* is given)

muːtə [sg.] (T)

muːtiː [pl.] (A/T)

("a rise in the road [carcair]")

kaːrkɪr′ [sg.] (A/T)

kaːrkɪr′əxiˑ [pl.] (A/T)

ɛr′ wɑːr ə xaːrxkɪr′ (sic) (T)/ **ɛr′ wɑːr ə xaːrkɪr′** (A) [gen. sg.]

959. (*"a farmer"*)

f′ɛl′ɪm′oˑˈr′ (A)/ **f′ɛl′ɪm′or′** (T)

960. (*"he has a good farm"*)

ta f′ɛl′ɪm′ ˈwoːr ɛg′ɛ (A)/

tɑˑ f′ɛl′ɪm′ ˈwoːr ɛg′ɛ Nu f′ɛl′ɪm′ ˈwaː ɛg′ɛ (T)

961. (*"the ground [talamh]"*)

N̩ taːLə (T/A)

(*"[plots of] ground"*)

taːLtiˑ (T)

(*"on top of the ground"*)

ɛr′ wɑːr əN taːLə (A)/ **wɑːr ə taːLə** (T)

962. (*"landlord"*)

t′iˑᵊrNə taːLə (A)/ **t′iˑᵊrNə taːLʊːN** (T)

963. (*"he is laughing at her"*)

tə ʃɛ gɑːr′iː fu (A)/ **tə ʃɛ gɑːr′iː fuˑ** (T)

(*"he is laughing at them"*)

tə ʃɛ gɑːr′iː fuːb (A/T)

964. (*"I am in a hurry"*)

tə d′ɛf′ɪr′ ərəm (A)/ **tɑˑ d′ɛf′ɪr′ ərəm** (T)/

Nu tə ʤæᵘ ərəm (A)/ **Nu tɑː d′ʌᵘ ərəm** (T)

(*"hurry up!"*)

ʤɪːn′ ʤɛf′ɪr′... Nu ʤiːn′ ʤawuˑ (A)

965. (*"I know nothing about him"*)

ˈN′iːl′ ɪs agm̩ ˈtadə ˈfʷiː (A)/

ˈN′iːl′ ɪs ʌgm̩ ˈtaːdə ˈfʷɪːʲᵋ (T)

966. (*"clay"*)

k′r′ɪːfowɪg′... No k′l′eː (sic) (T)/ **k′r′eː** (A/T)/ **k′r′iːfoˑˈg′** (A/T)

(*"cultivated land"*)

ˈtaːLə tɑ ˈkʊrə (A)/ **taːLə kərə** (T)

(*"lea-land"*)

ˈtaːLə ˈf′eːrəx (T)/ **ˈtaːLə ˈsəkriˑ** (A)

(question not clearly understood by T and A; investigator then prompted with *talamh bán*)

taːLə bɑːˈn′ (sic) (T/A) ("You'd cultivate that" [T])

(*talamh féarach* is for cattle)

967. (*"there is a big wood on the hill"*)

tɑ kəL′ woːr ɛr′ ə gaːrxkɪr′ (T)/ **... ɛr ə gaːrkɪr′** (A)

(T and A agree that *carcair* would normally be used for a rise on a road. Cf. item 958, where *carcair* is also used to translate "hill". When translating the sentence again at the end of the discussion, even with a hill visible in the distance pointed out to T and A as an example, *carcair* is again used.)

iːʃL′ɑːN (T) (T comments that an *ísleán* is a "slope, like a *carcair* ... in a field")

(investigator then prompted with the term *ardán*)

ɑˑrdɑˑN (A, T) ("You'd have that in a field" [A])

(*"woods [pl.]"*)

kəʲL′t′ɪ (T)/ **kəL′tʃɪ** (A)

(*"in the middle of the wood"*)

Lɑːr əŋ xʌⁱL′ (A) **Lɑːr ə xaⁱL′... ŋ xʌⁱL′** (T)/ **Nuˑ Lɑːr Nə kəL′ɪ** (A)

968. (*"a tree [sg.]"*)

krɑːN... kraːN (A)/ **krɑːN** (T)

(*"trees [pl.]"*)

krɪN′tʃɪ (A)/ **krɪN′t′ɪ** (T)

(*"on top of the tree"*)

ɛr′ wɑːr ə̃ xrɑːN (A/T)

969. (*"leaf [sg.]"*)

b′ɪL′oˑg (A)

(*"leaves [pl.]"*)

b′ɪL′oːgiː (A/T)

(*"the leaves of the trees"*)

b′ɪL′oˑg Nə grɪN′t′ɪ ... Nu b′ɪL′oːgiˑ kriːn′... b′ɪL′oːgiˑ krɑːN (A)/ **b′ɪL′əg Nə kriːn′t′ɪ** (T)

970. (*"branch [sg.]"*)

kreːjəv (T)/ **kriːv** (A)

(*"branches [pl.]"*)

kriːvəNə (T)/ **kriːvəNəⁱ** (A/T)

971. (*"withered [as of branches]"*)

ʃɛːrəkiː (A)/ **ʃæːrəkiː** (T)

972. (*"a briar [sg.]"*)

d′ʲ′r′ɪʃ (A)/ **d′r′ɪʃ** (T)

(*"briars [pl.]"*)

d′r′ɪʃʊxiˑ (A)/ **d′r′ɪʃəxəⁱ** (T)

973. (*"a thistle"*)

d′r′oːsədɑːN (T/A)

974. (*"yellow ragweed [buachal‡n]"*)

bəxəLɑːN bʷeˑʲɪ (T)

975. (*"a blackthorn stick"*)

ˈmaːɡ̊ə ˈdraⁱN (A)/ **ˈmaːɡ̊ə ˈdrʌjəN** (T)

(**t′ʊgəˈmʊN′ɪ sk′æːx ər ʃɪn′... ʌx tʊgəməN drʌjːN f′r′ɛʃɪn′ ər′** ["Tiuga' muinne 'sceach' air sin, ... ach tuga' muinn 'draighean' freisin air"] [T])

sk′æːx g′æːL (T) (has white flowers and a pleasant fragrance)

skʹæːx ɣə/ də (T) (has no flowers)

skʹæːxəNiˑ (T) (plural form)

(**tɑː ˈbʟɑː ɛrʹ ə skʹæːx jæːʟ . . . hnʹ æ xiː wʊlʹ ʃɛd** [“Tá bláth ar a’ sceach gheal; shin é a’ chaoi a bhfuil siad”] [T])

976. (*“I came by the short-cut”*)

hɑːnʹɪgʹ mʹe ɴ̩ bʹæːləx əs gʌⁱrdʹɪ (A)/

rɪNʹɪ mʹe æːkʹərə (A/T)

977. (*“how far is it from here to Cill R—n‡in?”*)

kʹɛN taːxər æːs ʃə gə kʹɛlʹ roːNɑːnʹ (T)

978. (*“who was with you?”*)

ˌkʹɛ ˌvʹiː ˈlʹɛːt . . . Nu kʹɛ vʹiˑ NʹɪʳᵊNəx lʹɛˑt (A)/ **kʹɛ vʹi ˈlʹæːt** (T)

979. (*“most of the people have gone away”*)

tɑ ˈfərəwoˑr Nə ˈdiːnʹi (sic) **ˈɪmʹi** (A)/

Nɑː ə xədʹ əs mʊː gə Nə diːnʹɪ . . . ɪmʹɪⁱ (T)

980. (*“I was making a creel but I failed”*)

vʹi mʹe dʹɪNə krɪbʹ ax xʹiːnʹ ʃ ərəm . . . rʊmp (?) **ʃɛ ərəm** (A)/

vʹi mʹɛ dʹɛNə . . . krɪbʹ ax xʹiːnʹ ʃe ərəm . . . Nu hɛpʹ ʃɛ ərəm (T)

981. (*“he is afraid of me”*)

tɑː faːtʹiːs ɛgʹɛ rʊm (A)/ **tɑː faːtʹiːs ɛgʹɛ roːm** (T)/

Nu tə skɑː ɛgʹɛ rum (A)/ **Nu tɑː skɑː ɛgʹɛ rum** (T)

(*“. . . of him”*)

. . . **rɪvʹɪ** (A/T)

(*“. . . of her”*)

. . . **ruˑmʹpʹɪ** [*x*2] (A)/ **. . . rʊːmʹpʹɪ** [*x*2] (T)

(*“. . . of them”*)

. . . ruːmpʊb (A)/ **. . . rõːmpəb** (T)

982. (*“shy”*)

kuːwəʟ (A)/ **kʊːwəʟ** (T)

983. (*“I gave him a fright”*)

həg mʹɛː skaːNrə do (A)/ **həg mʹɛː skaːNrə ɣo** (T)

No waːnʹ mʹeː gʹɛtʹ ɛs (A/T)

skaːnrə mʹeː ˈeːː (T) (“an rud is coitianta” [T])

Nʊ jɛtʹ mʹeˑ ɛ (T)

984. (*"the shoes don't fit me"*)

ɴ′il′ ɴə broːgə kˈɛːrt aˑm . . . ɴu fˈɛL′uːɴəx aˑm (A)/

ɴ′ɪl′ nə broːgə kˈæːrt əm (T)

(*"they didn't fit"*)

ɴ′ɪ rə ɴə broːgə kˈɛːrt am ("éaranns muinn") (A)

(*"they will fit"*)

b′eⁱ ʃəd ˈ**kˈɛːrt** (A)/ **b′eⁱ ʃəd** ˈ**kˈæːrt** (T)

("d'fheil siad dom", etc., not used in Inis Mór)

985. (*"suitable"*)

fˈr′ɛːgrəx (A)/ **fˈr′æːgrəx . . . ɴo sɑːsʊl′** (T)/ **sɑːsuːl′** (A)

986. (*"the children are making a lot of noise"*)

tɑ ɴə gaːsur′ ə dˈɪɴə gə L′oːr . . . tərəɴ (A)

987. (*"coal"*)

guːwəL (A/T)

988. (*"the fire went out for want of coal"*)

xə n′ t′ɪn′ɪ maːx gɛr′ɛsə guːwʌL . . . ɴu xˈæːL guːwəL (T)

([**tɑ n′ t′ɪn′** ˈ**ɛːs**] " 'The fire is out', that's the most common thing we say" [A])

gər′ɪsə guːwʌL . . . ɴu aːspə guːwəL (A)/ **aːspə guːwʌL** (T)/

ɴu xˈɛːL guːwəL (A)/ **xˈæːL guːwəL** (T)

989. (*"I am surprised that you didn't come"*)

ta ɪːntəs ərəm . . . (T)/ **. . . ɴaːr hɑːn′ɪg′ tu** (A)/ **. . . ɴaːr hɑːn′ɪg′ ʃi** (T)

990. (*"breath"*)

t əɴɑːl′ (T/A) (= *t' anáil*)

991. (*"tie a knot on that rope!"*)

kər sɴɪːm′. . . (A) **kər sɴɪːm′. . .** (T)/

ɛr′ ɛn roːpə ʃɪn′ (A)/ **ɛr′ ə roːpə ʃɪn′** (T)

992. (*"knots in the timber"*)

tɑ aːLtəɴiˑ səɴ ɑːməd (A)

(*"knot [sg.]"*)

aːLt (A/T)

(*"finger joint"*)

aːLt də Lɑːvˈɛ (A)/ **aːLt də vˈeːrˈɛ** (T/A)

(*"finger joints [pl.]"*)

æːL′t′ (T/A)

993. (*"he imitates you all the time"*)

vʹi ʃe g aːrʹɪʃtʹ ɛrt əN taːm ᴱLʹʊg (T)

994. (*"did you make it?"*)

ᵊrɪNʹɪ tu ɛ ... Nu NʹɑːrNə tu ɛ (A/T)

995. (*"he makes shoes"*)

dʹɪNN̩ ʃɛ broːgə (A/T)

996. (*"he does nothing at all"*)

nʹi jɪNN̩ ʃɛ ˈtaːdə (A/T)/ **...rəd ɛ bʹɪ** (T)

997. (*"I will make butter today"*)

dʹɪNə mʹɛ iːmʹ ᴵNʹʊ (A)/ **dʹɪNə mʹe iːmʹ ᴵNʹə** (T)/

Nu dʹɪNə mʹɛ maːʃtʹrʹɪ (A)

998. (*"I will not make it"*)

nʹiˑ ˈjɪNə mʹeˑ ɛ (A/T)

999. (*"if you would make butter, I would make bread"*)

aˑ NʹɪNəx tuː ... ɪːmʹ... jɪNn̩ʹʃɪ rɑːN (A)/

mɑˑ jɛNN̩ to ɪːmʹ... dʹɛNə mʹɪʃɛ rɑːN (T)

1000. (*"it didn't hurt you anyhow"*)

nʹiːr ɣortɪ ʃɛ ʔu ... ɛrʹ xor ɛrʹ... ɛrʹ eːN xor (A)/

nʹir ɣortɪ ʃe u ɛrʹ ẽː xor (T)/**...Nu N eːN xor** (A)

1001. (*"I was alone last night"*)

vʹiː mʹeː ˈlʹəm ˈhᵘeːnʹ ᵊˈreːrʹ (A)/ **vʹiː mʹeː lʹəm heːnʹ ᵊreːrʹ** (T)

(note the velarisation of **[h]** in the first response)

1002. (*"he seldom visits our house"*)

əs aːNə ... (T)/ **tʹugN̩** (sic) **ʃeː koːrtʹ ɛrʹ ər dʹæˑx kʌᵘroːrʹ Nʊ aːNə** (A)/

əs aːNə hogn̩ʹ ʃe koːrtʹ ɛrʹ (T)

([**gə haːNə**] (= *go hannamh*) elicited from A in a later repetition of the question — after item 1003)

1003. (*"I gave them a present"*)

hʊgə mʹɛː fʹeːrʹiːnʹ doːb (A)/ **hʊg mʹɛ fʹeːrʹiːnʹ doˑb** (T)

(**erʹəN ʃɛd tʹrʹiːNə Lɑːvʹɛ** [= *síneadh láimhe*] [A]/

dʹeːrəN... tə tʹrʹiːNə Lɑːvʹɛ fʹrʹɛʃəN [T])

("I think that would refer to money — [**tʃiːnʹɛ Lɑːvʹɛ**]" [A])

(after prompting with *bronntanas*)

bruːNtʊNuːs (A)/ **brʊːNtʊNʊːs** (T)

(*bronntanas* is heard more frequently than *féirín* in Inis Mór)

1004. (*"he didn't thank me for the present"*)

nʹiːr ɣLaːk ʃɛˑ bʷiːxəs lʹʊm ˈfʷɪːn fʹeːrʹiːnʹ... Nu fʷɪːn mrʊntʊNʊːs (A)

(second repetition from T)

nʹi(r ɣ)Laːk ʃɛ bʷiːxəs lʹʊm fʷiːN mrʊːNtʊNoːs (T)

1005. (*"we were lonely after him"*)

vʹi mʊʤ uːɛgʹnʹəx əNə jeˑ (A)/ **vʹi mʊdʹ uːᵊgʹnʹəx əNə jeˑ** (T)

1006. (*"avoid bad company!"*)

ʃæːxɪnʹ əN ˈdrəxˈxuːLoːdər (T)/

faːN gLaːN ɛrʹ ə ˈɣrəxˈxuːLoːdər (A)

1007. (*"mind yourself! [sg.]"*)

tʹuːrʹ ˈæˑrʹɪ dɪtʹ heːnʹ (A)/ **tʹuːrʹ ˈæˑrʹɪ ɣətʹ heːnʹ** (T)

(*"mind yourselves! [pl.]"*)

tʊgiˑ æːrʹɪ dʹiːbʹ heːnʹ (A)/ **tʊgiˑ æːrʹɪ jiːbʹ heːnʹ** (T)

1008. (*"nothing is troubling him"*)

Nʹiːl taːdə kɪrʹ tʹrʹɪbLoːdʹ ɛrʹ... Nu kɪrʹ ˈstʹæːx ɛrʹ (A)

1009. (*"he has a big family"*)

tɑː kuːLoːdər moːr ɛgʹɛ (A)/ **ta koːLoːdər moːr ɛgʹ...ɛ** (T)

(After prompting with the word *muirín*, A responds with: "**[mʊrʹiːnʹ]**, that's the old saying, the old word for it. **[mʊrʹiːnʹ Nu kuːLoːdər]** you'd hear here" [rather than *cúram*])

1010. (*"he didn't let me go"*)

nʹiːr lʹɪgʹ ʃɛ ɣəm ˈʊmʹɛx ... ˈ**ʊmʹɛxt** (second repetition) (T)/

nʹiːr lʹɪgʹ ʃɛ dəm ˈ**ʊmʹɛxt** (A)

1011. (*"he went through a lot of trouble"*)

xʊ ʃɛ reˑ gʊ Lʹoːr tʹrʹʊbLoˑˈdʹ (A)/

xə ʃɛ ri gʊ Lʹoːr tʹrʹɪbLoˑˈdʹ (T)/

...tʹrʹɪbLoːdʹiˑ (A)

1012. (*"the pain went through her"*)

xə m pʹeːN... (A)/ **xə m fʹeˑᵊN rɪⁱ** (T)

(A has difficulty in translating "through her". "I don't know how to say that. **[tʹrʹiːdʹ iː]**: would you say that?")

1013. (*"wait till I am at home!"*)

faːN gə mʹe mʹɛ sə maʲlʹɪ (A)/ **faːN gə mʹe mʹɛ sə maːlʹɛ** (T)

1014. (*"the thief was caught last night"*)

rʊguː ɛrʹ ɛ ˈŋaːdeˑ ˈreːˈrʹ (A)/ **rʊguː ɛrʹ ɛ ŋaːdiː ᵊrɛːjɪrʹ** (T)

1015. (*"they caught him"*)

rʊguˑdər ɛ Nuˑ ɣʌᵘdər ɛ ... ɣədər ɛ (A)/ **ɣaᵘdər ɛ** (T)/

Nuː rʊguːdər ɛ (A)/**Nuˑ rʊgʊdər ɛ** (T)

1016. (*"he is caught"*)

tə ʃɛ ˈŋʹrʹiːmʹ (A)/ **tə ʃɛ ˈŋʹrʹiːjɪmʹ** (T)

1017. (*"he will be caught"*)

bʹeʲ ʃe ˈŋʹrʹiːmʹ (T/A)

1018. (*"they catch thieves every day"*)

bʹɛrʹn̩ʹ ʃəd ərəb ʃɪmʹ xəlʹɛ Lɑː (T)/

... ɛrʹ ɣaːdɪˑ ... ɛr ɣaːdiː xɪlʹɛ Lɑː

Nu kʹɛNsɪˑn ʃəd (= *ceansaíonn*) **gaːdiː ᵊxɪlʹɪ Lɑː ...**

kʹɛːNsiˑᵊn ʃəd ɛd (A)/ **kʹæːnsiˑᵊN** (T)

(plural of *gadaí*)

gadʊʲ ... gaːdiː (A/T)

("You could say [**gaːdʊxiˑ**]; [**gaːdiː**] we say" [A])

1019. (*"I would not be bothered with him"*)

nʹiː vʹɛx mʹɛ ᵘmʊ waːdərɑːlʹ heːnʹ lʹɛʃ (A)

1020. (*"we are nearly finished"*)

tʌ mʊʤ n̩ Naːr (sic) **ə vʹɛ kʹrʹiˑᵊxNi** (A)/

tə mʷɪNʹ ˈŋaːr ə vʹeˑ kʹrʹiˑᵊxNɛʲ (T)/

Nu bʹɛgNʌx kʹrʹiˑᵊxNəʲ (A)/ **Nʊ bʹɛgNaˑx kʹrʹiˑᵊxNəʲ** (T)

1021. (*"they didn't ask me who I was"*)

nʹiːr eːrə ʃɛd dʹiˑᵊm kʹeˑ mʹɛ heˑnʹ (A)/

nʹiːr eːrə ʃɛd dʹiˑᵊm kʹeˑ mʹɛ heːjɛnʹ (T)

1022. (*"he was asking me what time it was"*)

vʹiˑ ʃe fʹeːru kʹɛN taːm vʹiˑ ʃɛ (T)/ **vʹiˑ ʃɛ fʹɪːru kʹɛN taːm æ** (A)

1023. (*"what did the shoes cost?"*)

kʹeˑrd ə xəʃɪnʹ nə broːgə ... nə broːg ˈiːʃəLə (A)/

kʹeˑrd ə xəʃɪnʹ nə broːg ˈiːʃəLə (T)

("[**broːg ˈɑːrdə**] are boots" [A])

1024. (*"they will cost a lot"*)

kəʃNʹoˑ ʃəd gʊ Lʹoːr (A)

(*"they cost a lot [present tense]"*)

kəʃnʹiˑnʹ ʃɛd gə Lʹoːwər (T)

(*"the house will cost a lot"*)

kəʃNʹoˑ n̩ʹ tʹæx gʊ Lʹoːr (A)/

kəʃNʹoˑ n̩ʹ tʹæːx gʊ Lʹoːr (T)

1025. (*"there is no difference between you and me"*)

nʹiː rə (= *ní raibh*) **ɛːnʹ dʹɪfʹrʹiˑəxt ɛdʹɪr mʹɪʃ əgəs təsə** (T)/

. . . tʊsə (A)

(*"between us"*)

aːdərɪNʹ (T)/ **æːdərɪNʹ** (A)

(*"between them"*)

æːtrəb (A)/ **aːtrəb** (T)

1026. (*"lime"*)

iːəL (A)/ **iːjəL** (T)

([**tʹæˑx iːlʹ**] = white-washed house [A])

1027. (*"he didn't say anything"*)

Nʹiːr uːrtʹ ʃɛ taːdə (A)/ **Nʹiːr ʊːrtʹ ʃɛ taːdə** (T)

1028. (*"did he say anything?"*)

ɛr uːrtʹ ʃɛ taːdə (A)/

ᵊN r ʊˑrt ʃɛ taːd Nu ᵊrə ʃe taːdə . . .

ə̃ rə ʃe taːdə Nu r ʊːrt ʃe taːdə (T)

(A second elicitation failed to clarify the situation. Is a by-form of the defective verb *ar* [e.g., *ar sé*] being used here?)

1029. (*"say your prayers! [sg.]"*)

aːbər də fɑːdʹrʹəxiˑ (A/T)/ **Nu . . . dʊ xʊdʹ ərᵊNiˑ** (A)

("ach páidreacha' 'eireanns muinne" [A])

(*"say your prayers! [pl.]"*)

aːbəriˑ gʊdʹ. . . (T)/ **aːbrɪgʹiː . . . aːbriː gʊdʹ pɑːdʹrʹəxiˑ** (A)

aːbreː gʊdʹ pɑːdʹrʹəxɛʲ (T)

1030. (*"we didn't pay for the shoes"*)

Nʹir iːk mʊdʹ ɛr nə broːg ˈiːʃəLə (A)/

Nʹiːr iːk mʷɪNʹ ɛrʹ nə broːg ˈiːʃəLə (T)

1031. (*"he is selling clothes"*)

tᵊʃɛ d′ɪl̩ eːdəx (A)/ **tə ʃe d′il̩ eːdəx** (T)

1032. (*"he is reading"*)

tə ʃeː ɛg′ l′eːᵘw . . . ɴuˑ l′eːᵘw (A)/

tə ʃeː g′ l′eːᵊv (T)

(*"he has read the book"*)

tə n̩′ l′ʌᵘr l′eːtʃ ɛg′ɛ (A)/ **tɑ n̩′ l′aᵘr l′eːt′ ɛg′ɛ** (T)

(*"he read the book"*)

l′eː ʃɛ n̩′ l′ʌᵘr (A)/ **l′eː ʃɛ n̩′ l′aᵘr** (T)

(*"he will read the book"*)

l′eː ʃɛ n̩′ l′ʌwʊr (A)/ **l′eː ʃɛ n̩′ l′aᵘr** (T)

(*"he will not read the book"*)

n′iː ˈl′eː ʃɛ n̩′ ˈl′aᵘr (A/T)

(*"he reads a lot of books"*)

l′eːn̩′ ʃɛ gʊ l′oːr l′ʌᵘrə (A/T)

1033. (*"she has rheumatism"*)

tə skəl′t′əxiˑ ərə (A)/ **tɑ skəl′t′əxiˑ ərə** (T)

1034. (*"we are ready"*)

tɑ mʊd′ɪ rɛⁱ (A)/ tɑ mʊd′ rɛːⁱ (T)/ **ɴu fʷiː r′eːr′** (A)

1035. (*"I knew that before"*)

v′iː s aːgm̩ aⁱ ʃɪn′ ˈhaːNə (A)/ **v′iː s əgm̩ aⁱ ʃɪn′ ˈhaːnə** (T)

1036. (*"apron"*)

NaːpruːN (A)/ **NaːprʊːN** (T)

1037. (*"the water is boiling"*)

tɑː n̩ tʊsk′ ɛg′ f′ɛxʊ (A)/ **tɑː n̩ təsk′ ɛg′ f′əxə** (T)

1038. (*"God give you luck! [go gcuire Dia rath ort!]"*)

ʰʊᵍd′eː ɑː ɣɪt′ . . .

ɴu kɪr′ɪ d′eː n̩ tɔˑ ɔˑrt (A)/

kɪr′ɪ d′eː n̩ tɑː ort (T)

(first portion of formula said rapidly; there is no clear voicing of the initial consonant of the verb)

1039. (*"what did you do in the morning"*)

k′ɛrd ə rɪN′ɪ tuː ɛr mæːd′ɪn′ (A)/ **k′ɛrd ə rɪN′ɪ toˑ ɛr maːd′ɪn′** (T)

1040. (*"I didn't do anything"*)

Nʹiːr rɪNʹɪ mʹe tadə . . .

Nu nʹiˑ ˈjɑˑrNə mʹɛ tadə (A)/

Nʹiˑr rɪNʹɪ mʹɛ taːdə (T)

1041. (*"I waited for him a while"*)

daːN mʹe lʹɛʃ ɛrʹ fʹɛ skæːᵋ (A)/

daːN mʹe lʹɛʃ ɛrʹ fʹæ skaˑᵋ (T)

1042. (*"the days are getting longer"*)

tə Nə Leːn̩tiˑ . . . gəlʹ əN faːd (A)/ **Nu ᵊfɑːlʹ faːdə** (T)

1043. (*"the nights are getting shorter"*)

tə Nə hiːNtiˑ gʹɪruː Nu fɑlʹ gʹɑːr (A)/

tɑ Nə hɪːNti gʹɪruː Nu fɑlʹ gʹɑːr (T)

1044. (*"the girl is growing"*)

tɑˑ n̩ kalʹiːnʹ ɛgʹ fɑːs (A)/ **tə N kalʹiːnʹ ɛgʹ fɑːs** (T)

1045. (*"we don't need any more potatoes"*)

nʹiː hɛːstɪːN nʹiːs muː faːti wɛnʹ (A)/

nʹiː æːstinʹ nʹiːs mu faːti wɛnʹ . . .

nʹiːlʹ gɑː æːNʹ lʹɛ . . . nʹiːs muːm (sic) **faːtiː** (T)

1046. (*"you needn't do any more work"*)

nʹiː gɑː ɣət nʹiːs muː ʌⁱbʹrʹ ə jɪNə (A)/

nʹiː gɑː ɣɪtʹ nʹiːs muː aⁱbʹrʹ ə jɛNə (T)

1047. (*"the house is on fire"*)

tɑ n̩ʹ tʹæːx ˈreː Laːsə . . . Nuː ˈtʹrʹiː hɪnʹɪ (A)/

tɑ n̩ʹ tʹæːx ˈtʹrʹiː ɪnʹɪ . . . Nu ɛr Laːsə (T)

("**[tʹrʹiː ɪnʹɪ]** is mœ 'Žaranns muid" [A])

1048. (*"if you would go, I would be pleased"*)

dɑː Nʹɪmʹox tu . . . vʹeⁱnʹ sɑːstə (A)/

ɣɑ Nʹɪmʹəx tuˑ . . . vʹɛnʹ sɑːstə (T)

1049. (*"the sea [sg.]"*)

əN aːrɪgʹɪ (A/T)

(*"the seas [pl.]"*)

Nə faːrɪgʹiː (A/T)

(*"above the sea"*)

ɛs kʹiːN Nə faːrɪgʹɪ (A)/ **æs kʹiːN Nə faːrɪgʹɪ** (T)

1050. (*"it is high tide"*)

tɑˑ ˈtiːLʹ ˈɑːrd ɑːN (A)/

tə ʃɛ Nə Lɑ̃ː waːrə . . . LɑːN maːrə (T)

([**nʹi ɣa^{u} ʃi nʹiːs fədʹɛ**] [T])

1051. (*"it is low tide"*)

ˈtiːlʹ ˈiːʃəL (T)/ **ˈtɪL** (sic) **ˈiːʃəL** (A)/

Nu gʹeːrɑː (= *dúthrá*) (T/A)

([**nʹi ɣa^{u} ʃi nʹiːs fədʹɪ**] [T])

tə sɛ (sic) **Nə hiːlʹ iːʃɛL** (T)/

tə ʃɛ Nə ɪːL iːʃəl (A)

1052. (*"a spring-tide"*)

rʌurʃtə (T)

1053. (*"a neap-tide"*)

maːLoːrʹ (T)/ **maːLa^{u}rʹ** (A)

1054. (*"the tide is ebbing"*)

tɑː N tiːlʹ ɛ trɑː (A)/ **tɑː N tiːlʹ ɛ trɑː[v?]** (T)

1055. (*"the tide is rising"*)

tɑ N tiːlʹ ɛgʹ a^{i}rʹiˑ (A)/ **tɑ N tiːlʹ ɛgʹ ʌ^{i}rʹiː** (T)

1056. (*"a mermaid"*)

ma^{i}ɟəN ˈwarə (T)/ **məɟəN ˈwarə** (A)

1057. (*"there was a new moon last night"*)

vʹɪ ˈgʹɛːLəx ˈNuː ˈreˑ^{i}rʹ ɑN (A)/ **vʹi ˈgʹæːLəx ˈNʊː ˈreˑ^{i}rʹ æN** (T)

1058. (*"there is a change on the moon"*)

vʹi aːroː ɛrʹ ə NʹæːLəx (A) (last word overlaps with *T*'s utterance)/

vʹi aːroː ɛrʹ ənʹ jæːLəx (T)

1059. (*"the phases of the moon"*)

ˈLɑːN ˈgʹæːLiː (A)/

ˈLʹɛː gʹæːLiː . . . (later) **ˈLʹæː gʹæːLiː** (A)

ˈkʹæːrʊˑ gə ˈjæˑLəx . . . tʌ ˈkʹærʊ ˈgʹɛːLəx ɑN (A)

1060. (*"wave of the sea"*)

mʷĩː(m?) Nə faːrɪgʹɪ (A)/ **mʷeːjɪmʹ . . . mʷɪːm nə faːrɪgʹɪ** (T)

(*"waves [pl.]"*)

mɪ^{i}mʹəNɪ^{i} (T)/ **mʷiːmʹəNiˑ** (A)

(*"above the wave"*)

æs k′iːɴ ə wiːm′ (A)/ **æs k′iːɴ ɴə məjɪm′** (T)

1061. (*"types of sea: surf"*)

tɑ bəgə sə waːrɪg′ɪ (T/A)

(*"the shallow part of the water'*)

taːNiᵊx (T)/ **ɛr′ ə taːNiˑ . . . ɛr′ ə taːNiᵊxt** (A)/ **. . . taːNiᵊxt** (T)

(*"the deeper part of the water'*)

ɛr′ ə dʌwɪn′ (T)/ **ɛr′ ə dʌᵘn′** (A)

1062. (*"the sea is rising"*)

tə ɴ̩ aːrɪg′ ɛg′ ʌⁱr′iˑ (A)/ **ta ɴ̩ aːrɪg′ ɛg′ ʌⁱr′iˑ** (T)

1063. (*"the sea is getting calm"*)

tə ɴ̩ aːrɪg′ ə fɑːL′t′ k′uːˈn′ (A/T)

(*fáil* not elicited after prompting with *fáil* and *fáilt*)

ɴʊː k′uːn′uː . . . tə ɴ aːrɪg′ɪ k′uːn′uː (A)/

tə ʃɪ ᵋk′ɪᵘːn′oᵘ . . . k′uːn′oᵘ (T)

1064. (*"sea-shore"*)

kLaːdəx (T/A)

1065. (*"we were walking along the shore"*)

v′i mʊd ˈtʃuːL ˈxəʃ ə ˈxLaːdə (A)/

v′i məd ˈʃoˑL ˈxəʃ ə ˈxLaːdə (T)

1066. (*"a sandbank [sg.]"*)

ˈmʊːtə ˈgaːɪn′ɛ . . . məᵘtə ˈgaːɪn′ɛ (T)/ **mʊˑtə ˈgæːn′ɪ** (A)

(*"sandbanks [pl.]"*)

muːtəⁱ . . . mʊːtiː gaːn′ɛ (T)/ **muːtiˑ ˈgæːn′ɪ** (A)

1067. (*"cliff [sg.]"*)

ɑːˈL′ (T/A)

(*"cliffs [pl.]"*)

ɑːLtrəxiˑ (T/A)

(cf. the genitive singular of *aill* in the phrase **[ɛr′ wɑːr nə hæːL′ɪ]** *["on top of the cliff"]* in item 958)

1068. (*"a submerged rock"*)

ˈkaːrɪg′ fʷiː ɴ ɪʃk′ɪ (T)

1069. (*"bay [sg.]"*)

kʹeːvʹ (A)/ **bɑːⁱ** (T/A)

(*"bays [pl.]"*)

bɑːⁱəNti (T/A)

(*"above the bay"*)

æs kʹiːN ə wɑːⁱ (T/A)

1070. (*"quay [sg.]"*)

kʹeːvʹ (A)

(*"quays [pl.]"*)

kʹeːvʹəNəⁱ (A)/ **kʹeːvʹəNɛⁱ** (T)

(*"he went down to the quay"*)

xə ʃɛ ʃiːs ɛrʹ əŋ gʹeːvʹ... Nu ɛrʹ ɪŋʹ gʹeː ... ɛgʹ ɛŋʹ gʹeːvʹ...

gʊ dʹiˑ ŋ xʹeːvʹ... (A)

1071. (*"harbour [sg.]"*)

kuːəN (A)/ **koˑwəN** (T)

(*"harbours [pl.]"*)

kuːNtə (A)/ **kʊːNtə** (T)

1072. (*"an underground inlet of the sea"*)

gʹrʹɪNʹuˑL ɴ aːrɪgʹɪ (A)/ **iˑᵊxtər əN aːrɪgʹɪ** (T)

(question apparently misunderstood)

1073. (*"strand [sg.]"*)

trɑː (T/A)

(*"strands [pl.]"*)

trɑːᵊNɛⁱ (T)/ **trɑːᵊNəⁱ** (A)

(*"above the strand"*)

æs kʹiːN əN trɑː (A)/ **æs kʹiːN Nə trɑː** (T)

1074. (*"a sandy beach [sg.]"*)

trɑː ɣæːnʹɪ (A)/ **trɑː ɣaːnʹɛ** (T)

(*"sandy beaches [pl.]"*)

trɑːNiˑ gæːnʹɛ (T)/ **trɑːNiˑ gæːnʹɪ** (A)

1075. (*"he was standing at the water's edge"*)

vʹɪ ʃɛ ... əNə hɛːsə ɛgʹ... kʹuːʃ əN əskʹɪ (A)/

vʹiˑ ʃe ɴə hæːs ɛgʹ kʹʊːʃ əN əskʹɪ (T)/ **Nʊ broːx əN əskʹɪ** (T/A)

1076. (*"sand"*)

gæːnʹɪ (A)/ **gaːnʹɪ** (T)

(*"the colour of the sand"*)

dæː ɴ̣ ɣaːnʹɪ (A)/ **dæː ə̃ ɣaːnʹɪ** (T)

1077. (*"sea-coast"*)

koˑstə faːrɪgʹɪ (A)/ **koˑst əN aːrɪgʹɛ** (T)

1078. (*"valley [sg.]"*)

gʹLʹɑːN (A/T)

("nach 'in é gleann 'valley'?" [A])

(*"valleys [pl.]"*)

gʹLʹɑːNtə (T/A)

(*"above the glen"*)

as kʹiːN ən gʹLʹɑːN (sic) (A)/ **æs kʹiːN ə jLʹɑːN** (T)

1079. (*"there was a rotten smell from the sea"*)

vʹi ˈbaːLə ˈbʹrʹeˑᵊN oN aːrɪgʹɪ (A)/ **vʹi baːLə Ləf oN aːrɪgʹɪ** (T)

1080. (*"the potatoes are rotten"*)

tə Nə faːteː Ləfə (A)/ **tə Nə faːtiː Ləfə** (T)

1081. (*"they are rotting in the ground"*)

tədər ə Lʌᵘ sə taːLə (A)/ **tə ʃɪd ə Lʌwə sə taːLə** (T)

1082. (*"a rock [sg.]"*)

kaːrɛgʹ (A/T)

(*"rocks [pl.]"*)

kaːrɪgʹɪrʹʊxə (A)/ **kaːrɪgʹəxɛⁱ** (T)

(*"above the rock"*)

æs kʹiːN ə xaːrɛgʹ (T)/ **æs kʹiːN ə xaːrɪgʹ** (A)

(*"different sizes of rocks: small rocks [pl.]"*)

kaːrɪgʹəxi bʹɪgə (T)

(*"stones"*)

kLəxə (T/A)

(*"cleft between rocks [sg.]"*)

skæːlʹpʹ... skaːlʹpʹ (T)

(the foregoing item was elicited through a misunderstanding by T, but allowed to stand)

(*"clefts between rocks [pl.]"*)

skaːlʹpʹəNəʲ (T)/ **skæːlʹpʹrʹəxiˑ** (A)/ **skaːlʹpʹrʹəxi** (T)/

skæːlʹpʹəxiˑ (sic) (A)

(*"boulder [sg.]"*)

mʌᵘlʹaˑrʰ (T)

(*"boulders [pl.]"*)

mʌᵘlʹɛˑrʹ (T)/ **maᵘlʹɛrʹ** (A)

1083. (*"crab [sg.]"*)

portɑːN (A/T)

(*"crabs [pl.]"*)

portɑːˈnʹ (T/A)

1084. (*"limpet [sg.]"*)

bɑːrNʹəx (T)

(*"limpets [pl.]"*)

bɑːrnʹɪ (T)

1085. (*"edible seaweed"*)

dʹɪlʹəsk (T/A)

kʹrʹæˑnəx (T)/ **kʹrʹɛːNəx** (A)

ʃLʹɛᵘkɑːN (T/A)

kaːrɪgʹiːnʹ (T/A)

fʷiːᵊxɪnʹ (A) (= "sea-food")

1086. (*"beach-combings [cnuasach]"*)

(nothing elicited, even after prompting with *cnuasach* and *cnuasach mara*. After further prompting with *bruth faoi thír* by a visitor from Mayo, *raic* is elicited.)

ræːkʹ (T) ([**ɑːməd ə hʊkəx ˈstʹæˑx ... oːN aːrɪgʹɪ**]) /

rɛːkʹ (A) ("Sin an Béarla!")

1087. (*"seaweed"*)

fʹɛːmʊNʹ (A)/ **fʹæːmʊNʹ** (T)

(*"the colour of the seaweed"*)

dɛː Nə fʹɛːmʊNʹɪ (A)/ **dæː Nə fʹæːmʊNʹɪ** (T)

1088. (*"various kinds of seaweed"*)

(cf. item 1085; question omitted unintentionally in elicitation)

1089. (*"barnacles on timber: giúrainn, etc."*)

ʤuːlʹɪkʹiːnʹiˑ (A/T) ("an rud a bhíonns ar a' gcreathnach" [T])

gʹuːrNʹəxiː (T/A) ("an rud a bhéas ar an adhmad a bhéas i bhfad i bhfarraige" [T])

gʹʊːrNʹəx (T)/ **gʹuːrNʹəx** (A) (singular form)

(*"the colour of the giúrainn"*)

dæː Nə gʹuːrNʹəxiː [*x*2] (T)/ **. . . Nə gʹuːrnʹiː** (A)/

dæː Nʲ juːrNʹəx (T)

1090. (*"boat [sg.]"*)

bɑːd (A/T)

(*"boats [pl.]"*)

bɑːˈʤ (A)/ **bɑːˈdʹ** (T)

(*"the colour of the boat"*)

dæ̃ ə̃ wɑːd (T)/ **dɛ̃ N wɑːdʹ** (A)

1091. (*"coracle [sg.]"*)

kərəx (A/T)

(*"coracles [pl.]"*)

kərəxiˑ (A/T)

(*"the colour of the coracle"*)

dæː Nə kəriː (A)/ **daː Nə kəriː** (T)

1092. (*"parts of coracle or boat"*)

Lʹuːrəxiː (T) ([**tuːnʹ ə xərəx**] [T]. These run the length of the *curach*)

fuːnsɪʲ (T) (*fonsaí* used for the ribs of a *curach*; *easnachaí* used for the ribs of a boat. [T])

frɑːmə (T) (the rim of the *curach*)

təs ə̃ xəriː . . . təs ə̃ xərəx (T) (the prow)

dʹɛrʹ ə̃ xərəx (T) (the stern)

(*gob na curaí* is also used for *tos' an churach*)

maːdʹi ˈrɑːwə (T) (oars)

maːdʹɛ rɑːwə (A/T) (oar [sg.])

gLaːmbə (T) (clamp)

gLaːmbəʲ (T) (clamps [pl.])

kNʊgə (T) (thole-pin)

kNʊgiː (A/T)

ʃæːsəNəʲ (T) (thwarts, seats)

tʃæːs (T) (thwart [sg.])

1093. (*"ship, vessel [sg.]"*)

sɛjəx (A/T)

(*"ships, vessels [pl.]"*)

sʌʲᶦ (T)/ **sʌⁱ** (A)

1094. (*"row-boat [sg.]"*)

ˈbɑːd ˈʊːmərə (T)/ **bɑːd ˈuːmrə** (A)

(*"row-boats [pl.]"*)

bɑːʤ ˈuːmrə (T/A)

1095. (*"sail-boat [sg.]"*)

bɑːd ˈtʃoːwɪLʹ (A)/ **ˈbɑːd ˈʃoːwəlʹ** (T)

(*"sail-boats [pl.]"*)

bɑːᴵdʹ ˈʃoːwɪlʹ (A)/ **bɑːᴵdʹ ˈʃoːwɪLʹ** (T)

(The hypercorrect singular forms [**bɑːd ˈʃoːL**] [A] and [**bɑːd ˈʃoːwəL**] [T] were also elicited after the plural forms were given)

1096. (*"parts of oar"*)

(nothing elicited)

1097. (*"rowlocks"*)

(cf. *cnoga'* in item 1092)

1098. (*"rudder"*)

ʃtʹuːwɪrʹ (T)

1099. (*"helm"*)

haːLmədoːrʹ (A)/ **haːLəmədoːrʹ** (T)

1100. (*"the boat is leaking"*)

tɑː N̩ bɑːd ə dʹɪN ɪskʹɪ (sic) (T)/ **. . . (ə) dʹɛN ɪʃkʹɪ** (A)

1101. (*"anchor [sg.]"*)

aˑŋkɪrʹɪ (A/T)/ **gʹrʹɪfʹɛːd** (T)

(*"anchors [pl.]"*)

aˑŋkɪrʹiː (T/A)/ **gʹrʹɪfʹeːdʹ** (T)

(*griféad* was dimly remembered by T)

1102. (*"sail [sg.]"*)

ʃoːwəL (T)/ **ʃoːL** (A)

(*"sails [pl.]"*)

ʃoːLtə (A/T)

1103. (*"mast [sg.]"*)

krɑːɴ (T/ A)

(*"masts [pl.]"*)

krɪːjɪnʹ (T)/ **kriːnʹ** (A)

1104. (*"fair wind"*)

giː faːvərəx (T/A)

(later, after prompting with *c—ir*)

koːwɪrʹ (T)

1105. (*"bailing out the boat"*)

təmə ɴ̩ wɑːˈdʹ (T)

1106. (*"crew [sg.]"*)

kʹrʹuː Nə Lɪŋʹgʹɪ (A)/ **kʹrʹuː ə̃ wɑːˈdʹ** (T)

(*"crews [pl.]"*)

kʹrʹuːᵊNəⁱ (T)/ **kʹrʹuːNiː** (A)

1107. (*"we were rowing hard"*)

vʹi mʷɪNʹ ɛgʹ ũːmərʹə gə Lɑːdʹɪrʹ (T)

1108. (*"fishing net [sg.]"*)

aːŋgəx . . . ˈLʹiːjəN ˈʌⁱskəx (A)/ **LʹiːjəN** (T)

(*"fishing nets [pl.]"*)

aːŋgəxiː . . . LʹiːjəNtə (T)

(no difference in meaning between the two terms. "I'd say *eangach* is the old Irish" [A])

(*"the colour of the fishing net]"*)

dæː ɴ̩ʹ LʹiːjəN. . . daː ɴ̩ aːŋgəx (T/A)

daː Nə Naːŋgəxiː (T) (pl.)

1109. (*"boarding nets"*)

taːrɴ̩tʹ (sic) **ə LʹiːjəN** (T)

(the syllabic nasal consonant in the word *tarraingt* is clearly velarised; the word was repeated several times by T)

1110. (*"casting nets"*)

kʊrʹ Nə Lʹiːntə (A)/ kɪrʹ. . . kʊr Nə LʹiːjəNtə . . .

Nu kʊrʹ Nə haːŋgəxəⁱ (T)

1111. (*"mesh of fishing-net [sg.]"*)

mʊgəL (T)

(*"mesh of fishing-net [pl.]"*)

mʊgəLəxi (T)/ **mʊgɪLʹ** (A/T)

1112. (*"cork [sg.]"*)

kork (A)

(*"corks [pl.]"*)

kɪrxʹkʹ (A)/ **kɛrxʹkʹ** (T)

1113. (*"mending the nets"*)

dʹæːsũː Nə haːŋgəxiˑ ... Nu dʹæːsũː Nə LʹiːNtə (T)

1114. (*"sinker [sg.]"*)

(after prompting with *luaidhe*)

Lʊwiː ... Lowiː (T)/ **Luːwiː** (A)

(used for fishing lines and trammel nets)

(*"sinkers [pl.]"*)

LʊːweːNtiː ... LoweːNtiː ... Luˑwiᵉ Ntiː [*x*2] (T)

1115. (*" fishing-rod [sg.]"*)

sLaːt eːskəx (A/T)/ **sLaːt rᵊskəx** (T)

(*" fishing-rods [pl.]"*)

sLɛtʹ rᵊskəx (A/T)

1116. (*"fishing-line [sg.]"*)

dəruː (T/A)

(*"fishing-lines [pl.]"*)

dəreːᵊNtiː (A)/ **dərɪˑNtiː** (T)

1117. (*"frame of fishing-line [sg.]"*)

gʹlʹɪNdə (A/T)

(*"frames [pl.]"*)

gʹlʹɪNdʊⁱ (A)/ **gʹlʹɪNdəⁱ** (T)

1118. (*"snood [lighter portion of the fishing line next to the hook]"*)

sNuːdə (A/T)

(*"snoods [pl.]"*)

sNuːdɪⁱ (T/A)

1119. (*"hook [sg.]"*)

duːwɑːN (T/A)

(*"hooks [pl.]"*)

duːwɑːnʹ (T/A)

(*"parts of hook"*)

fʹrʹiːdʹiːnʹ (T) ([**ə xɪNʹoːs ə bʷiːtʹ ɛrʹ ə duːwɑːN**] [T])

1120. (*"bait"*)

bʷiːtʹɪ (A)/ **bʷiːtʹɛ** (T)

1121. (*"lug-worm [as bait]"*)

Ləg (T)

(*"lug-worms [pl.]"*)

Ləgiː (T)

1122. (*"the fish are rising well [aiste, freagairt]"*)

kLɪfʹɪ (T/A) ([**ɛgʹ bɑːr Ṇ ɪskʹɪ** (sic)] [T]) (= *cluicheadh*)

1123. (*"buoy [sg.]"*)

bʊːwiː (A)/ **bʊːiː**(T)

(*"buoys [pl.]"*)

bʊːɛNtiː (A)/ **bʊːeNtiː** (T)

(*"the colour of the buoy"*)

dæː Nə wʊˑiː (A/T)

(*"the colour of the buoys [pl.]"*)

dæː Nə bʊːeˑNti (A/T)

1124. (*"lobster [sg.]"*)

gʹlʹɪməx (A/T)

(*"lobsters [pl.]"*)

gʹlʹɪmʊⁱ (A)/ **gʹlʹɪmə . . . gʹlʹɪməⁱ** (T)

1125. (*"crayfish [sg.]"*)

krɑːfʹɪʃkʹ (A)

(*"crayfish [pl.]"*)

krɑːfʹɪʃəxəⁱ (T)

1126. (*"other types of shell-fish"*)

bɔːrNʹəx (sic) (A)

fʷiːjəxɪnʹ (T) (sg. [**fʷiːᵊxə**] [T/A])

porʹtɑːˈnʹ (pl.) **. . . portɑːnʹ rʊːwə** (T)/ **portɑːnʹ ruᵊ** (A)

("portáin mór' e'd" [T])

skʹæNə maːrə (A/T) (no sg.)

mʊrʹiːnʹiː (A) (sg. [**mʊrʹiːnʹ**] [A])

1127. (*"salted fish"*)

ɪᵊsk gɔˑrtʹ. . . ɪːsk sʌⁱlʹtʹɪ (T)/ **ɛːsk sʌⁱlʹtʹɪ** (A)

1128. (*"fresh fish"*)

ɛːsk ʊːr (A)/ **ɛːsk ʊːwər** (T)

1129. (*"we were curing fish"*)

vʹɪ mʷɪNʹ ə səLʹ ɛːsk (A)/ **vʹɪ mʷɪNʹ ə səLʹ eːjəsk** (T)

1130. (*"we got a good catch of fish"*)

fʊrᵊ mʷɪNʹ ˈsLaːm ˈmaː ˈeːᵊsk (T)

1131. (*"the fish are schooling/playing"*)

tɑː Nə . . . ə tʹiˑᵊsk ə skʹɛ . . . skʹeː . . . skʹeːᵊv . . . skʹeːᵋ (T)

(= *ag sceitheadh*?)

1132. (*"the entrails of fish"*)

pᵘtoːgi ɴʹ **ˈeːsk . . . pʊtoːgiˑ** (A)

1133. (*"fins"*)

LaːNəⁱ . . . LaːNiˑ (A) (cf. item 1136)/

ɛtʹiː (T/A) (sg. [**ɛtʹɪ**] [T/A])

1134. (*"respiratory apparatus of fish"*)

gʹoːrLəx (T)/ **gʹoːLrəx** (A)

1135. (*"fish-spawn, the roe, smelt"*)

vʹɪ ʃɛ ʃɪːLruˑ (A) ("spawning")

əxrə (T) ("sa séasúr" [T])

LɑːbɑːN (T) ("as a' séasúr" [T])

1136. (*"scale [of fish]"*)

LaːNə (T)

(*"scales [of fish]"*)

LaːNʌⁱ (T/A)

1137. (*"the gall"*)

(nothing elicited initially. After prompting with *domlas* **[dəmLəs]**, **[duːmLəs]**, the following forms were elicited.)

dʊːLəs / (T/A)/ **doːLəs** (T)

("...le beithíoch **[bʹɛjəx]** is mó a bhaineanns sé ... b'fhéidir go mbaineann sé leis an iasc" [T])

1138. (*"a string of fish"*)

strəp ˈ**eːsk** (A)/ **strəp** ˈ**eːᵊsk** (T)

(*"strings of fish"*)

strəpʷiˑ eːʃkʹ (A)

(Note the palatalisation in the second word; such an irregular "pluralisation" of a noun in the genitive function is not unusual for these speakers. Superficially the form appears to be in the genitive singular, as would be the case in Standard Irish; only comparison with the singular form of the expression reveals that something unusual may be occurring. Cf. item 1095 for a hypercorrect form in the singular.)

1139. (*"he has no patience"*)

nʹiːlʹ ˈ**ɛːN** ˈ**ʌⁱɟ̊ ɛgʹɛ** (A)/

Nu tə ʃɛ mʹiːʌⁱɟ̊əx (A/T)

1140. (*"the day of judgement"*)

Lɑː ˌ**N** ˈ**vʹrʹʌᵘNəs** (A/T)

1141. (*"I see your shadow on the wall"*)

ˈ**fʹɛkʹɪm də** ˈ**skɑːlʹ ɛrʹ ə** ˈ**maːLə** (A/T)

skɑːˈLʹɪ (sic) (T) (sg. "shadow")

skɑˑˈlʹiː (T, A) (pl. "shadows")

1142. (*"he wouldn't work"*)

nʹiˑ ˈ**ɣoˑx ʃɛ g** ˈ**əbɪrʹ... Nu** ˈ**nʹiˑ aⁱbʹrʹox ʃɛ** (A)/

No ˈ**nʹiˑ** ˈ**aⁱbʹrʹox ʃɛ** (T)

1143. (*"he wouldn't tell us his name"*)

nʹiˑ iːnʹʃoː (sic) **ʃɛ ɣɪNʹɪ æ æːnʹɪmʹ** (T)/

nʹi iːnʹʃoˑx ʃɛ ɣɪNʹɪ ɛ ɛːnʹɪmʹ (A)

1144. (*"the story is told"*)

tɑ̃ː skʹeːL iːNʹʃtʹiˑ (A)/ **tɑˑ** ˌ**nʹ skʹeːL iːNʹtʹiˑ** (sic) (T)

1145. (*"we told him our names"*)

dʹɪnʹɪʃ mʊd doː ə Naⁱnʹɪmʹ (A)/ **dʹɪmʹɪʃ mʷɪdʹ ðoː ə Næːnʹɪmʹ** (T)

(The symbol **[ð]** in T's sample is a nonce form with the approximate value of the initial consonant of the English word "though".)

1146. (*"tell me your name!"*)

ɪmʹɪʃ dəm t aeːnʹɪmʹ (A/T)/

Nu kʹɛn tæˑNʹɪmʹ ᵊt oˑrt (A)

(*"tell me your names! [pl.]"*)

ɪmʹɪʃ dəm də . . . ə gʊʤ ɛːnʹɪmʹnʹəxiˑ (A)

ɪmʹɪʃ dəm ə gʊʤ æːnʹɪmʹnʹəxiˑ (T)

(after prompting with *insígí!*)

ɪmʹʃɪgʹiː dəm ə gʊʤ ɛːnʹɪmʹnʹəxiˑ (A)

(Note the shortening of the first vowel of the imperative plural suffix, which is characteristic of such suffixes on second conjugation verbs in Inis Mór Irish.)

1147. (*"he tells a story every night"*)

(nʹ) ĩːnʹʃeˑnʹ ʃɛ n̩ʹ ʃkʹeˑᵊL ˈxəlʹ ˈiːʲᵋ . . .

iːnʹʃeˑnʹ ʃɛ skʹeˑᵊL ˈxəlʹ ˈiːʲᵋ (T)/

iːnʹʃinʹ ʃɛ skʹeːL ˈxəlʹ ˈiː (A)

1148. (*"the boat had to turn back [filleadh] on account of the rough sea"*)

bʹ eːgʹən gən wɑːḍ fɪlʹərʹ (sic) **ɛrʹ æːʃ mar jɛL ɛrʹ əN . . .**

ᵊN aːrɪgʹ ᵊg aːroᵘ . . . Noˑ dʹeːrəx mʷɪdʹ faːrɪgʹɪ suːˈtʹɪ (T)

(*"He returned"*)

dʹɪlʹ ʃe ɛrʹ ɛːʃ (A)/ **dʹɪlʹ ʃe ɛrʹ æːʃ** (T)

(*"He will return tomorrow"*)

fʹɪlʹɪ ʃe ɛrʹ æˑʃ ᵊmɑːˈrʹəx (T)/

fʹɪlʹɪ ʃe ɛrʹ ɛːʃ ᵊmɑːˈrʹə (A)

(*"He is returning now"*)

tᵊ tʃɛ ɛgʹ fʹɪLʹ ᵊnʹɪʃ (A)/

tə ʃe ɛgʹ fʹɪLʹ ᵊnʹɪʃ (T)

(*"He returns every week"*)

fʹɪlʹən ʃɛ ˈxəlʹɛ ˈhæːxtɪnʹ (T)

(*"return now! [sg.]"*)

fʹɪLʹ ᵊnʹɪʃ . . . Nu taːr ɛrʹ ɛːʃ ᵊnʹɪʃ (A)

(*"return now! [pl.]"*)

fʹɪlʹɪgʹiː . . . fʹɪlʹɪgʹiˑ ᵊnʹɪʃ (T)/ **fʹɪlʹɪgʹiː** (A)

1149. (*"bridge [sg.]"*)

drɛːjəd (A/T)

(*"bridges [pl.]"*)

drɛːjɛʤ (A)/ **drɛːjɛdʹ** (T)

1150. (*"lake [sg.]"*)

gLəx (sic) (A)/ **Ləx** (T)

(*"lakes [pl.]"*)

LəxəNəⁱ (T/A)

(*"on the edge of the lake"*)

ɛrʹ wroˑx Nə Ləxə (T/A) (at normal speed)

ɛrʹ vruˑwəx Nə Ləxə (T) (slow, careful speech)

ɛrʹ vruᵊx Nə Ləxə (A) (slow, careful speech)

1151. (*"river [sg.]"*)

aːwɪNʹ (T/A)

(*"rivers [pl.]"*)

aⁱvʹnʹəxiˑ (A/T)

(*"on the edge/shore of the river"*)

ɛrʹ vrʊːᵊx nə həⁱvʹnʹɪ (T)

Nu ɛrʹ xʹʊwɪʃ Nə haⁱvʹnʹɪ (A)/

ɛrʹ xʹuːʃ Nə hʌⁱvʹnʹɪ . . . bruᵊx No kʹʊwɪʃ (T)

1152. (*"where are you going?"*)

kɑː L ˈtuː gənʹ (sic) (A)/ **kɑː L ˈtuː gəlʹ** (T)

1153. (*"there are a lot of boats in the harbour"*)

tə gʊ ˈLoːr ˈbɑːdʹ sə ˈguːN (A)/ **tə gə ˈLoːr ˈbɑːdʹ sə ˈguːwəN** (T)

1154. (*"an accident happened to us this morning"*)

dʹɛⁱrʹɪ . . . dʹʌⁱrʹɪ tʹiːmʹpʹɪʃnʹɛ ɣoNʹ ə waːdʹɪnʹ ʃə (T)/

dʹʌⁱrʹɪ tʹiːmʹpʹɪstʹ (sic) **ɣɪNʹ ə wæːdʹɪnʹ ʃə** (A)

1155. (*"there was only an odd boat fishing last night"*)

nʹiˑ rə moːrɑːN bɑːʤ ɛgʹ eːskəx ᵊreⁱrʹ (A)/

nʹɪ r aˑx kʌᵘrwɑːd əgʹ ɪːᵊskəx ᵊrɛjɪrʹ (T)

1156. (*"he comes only an odd time"*)

nʹiˑ haːgn̩ʹ ʃe ax ˈkʌᵘr aːm (T)/

əx ˈkʌᵘr uːᴵrʹ (A)/ **Nu kʌᵘr oːᴵrʹ** (T)

1157. (*"the boat sank"*)

xə m̩ bɑːd tʃiːs (A)/ **xə m bɑːd ʃiːjɪs** (T)

1158. (*"nine fishermen were drowned"*)

bɑːˈuː NeːⁱNuːr deːⁱnʹɪ . . . Nu NɪːNuːr eːskərʹiˑ (T)

1159. (*"you will be drowned if you go out in that boat"*)

ˈbɑːfər uˑ ma ˈeːN tu ˈmaːx sə ˈmɑːd ʃɪnʲ [*x*2] (T)/

bɑːfər uː ma heːN tu maˑx sə mɑːd tʃɪnʲ (A)

1160. (*"they were all killed in the war"*)

maːriu ˈˡLʲʊg e.d sə gəgə (T)/

vʲi ʃɛd ˈˡLʲʊg maːri sə gʊgə . . .

vʲi ʃɛd ˈˡLʲʊg maːru (= *marbh*?) sə gʊgə . . .

maːruː ˡLʲʊg ɛd sə gʊgə [*x*2] (A)

1161. (*"a ship's captain"*)

kæpʲtʲiːnʲ ɪn sʌjəx . . . kæːpʲtʲiːnʲ sʌjəx (T)/

kæˑpʲtʲiːN Nə Lɪŋʲgʲɪ (A/T)/ **kæpʲtʲiːnʲ əN Ləŋ** (T)/ **kæpʲtʲiːnʲ əN Lʊŋ** (A)

(*"ship [sg.]"*)

Lʊŋ (A/T)

(*"ships [pl.]"*)

Lʊŋgəxiˑ (A/T) ("is dóiche" [A])

(forms with *bád* also given. **[bɑːdʲ ɪs muˑ ɛrʲn̥s mʊdʲɪ]** [A])

1162. (*"there was a flood in the river"*)

vʲi fuːrLəx səN əᵘnʲ . . . səN aːwɪNʲ (T)

(*"floods [pl.]"*)

fʊːrLiː (A)/ **fuːrLɛⁱ** (T)

1163. (*"there was a good market today"*)

vʲi maːrgə maː aN ˈˡNʲʊ (T)/ **vʲi N maːrgə go maː ᵉNʲʊ** (A)

1164. (*"I went to the fair"*)

xə mʲeˑ ɛrʲ əN ɪːᵊNəx (T)/ **xə mʲɛ ɛrʲ əN eːNəx . . . Nʊ ɛgʲ əN iˑNəx** (A)

(**[ɛgʲ əN ɪːNəx eːrn̥s mʊnʲ]** [A])

1165. (*"I don't eat fish"*)

nʲiː ˈiːsm̥ʲ eːNʲ ˈiˑᵊsk (T)/ **ˈnʲiː iːmʲ ˈeːᵊsk** (A)

1166. (*"two boats went out for herring yesterday"*)

xə ˈɣɑː ˈwɑːd ᵊmax ˈˡNʲeː gʲ ɛrə skʊdɑːˈˡnʲ (T)/

Nu ˈˡgʊNʲɪ skʊdɑːnʲ (A)

(**[ˈˡgʲ eːrə skʊdɑˈˡnʲ eːrn̥s mʷɪnʲ . . . bʲeːdʲɪrʲ gur ˈˡgʊNʲɪ skʊdɑˈˡnʲ ɪs fʲaːr** *(= is fearr)*] [A])

1167. (*"names of fish"*)

skʊdɑˑʲnʹ (A)/ **skʊdɑːn** (T)

rʊNəxiˑ (A/T)

baːLəxiˑ (A/T)

maːŋgəxiˑ (A/T)

breːms (A)/ **breːjɛmʹ** (T)

kruːdɑˑʲnʹ (A/T)

Laːŋgiˑ (A/T)

trəsk (T)/ **trəʃkʹ** (A)

rɛkʹ . . . ([**rək**] sg.) (T)

gLaːsoːg (T)

fʹiːgəx (T)/ **fʹiːgʊx** (A) (pl. [**fʹiːgəxəʲ**] [T])

kəLəmoːʲrʹ (T/A)

kaːdoːgiː (A)

bəLəmɑːᴵnʹ (T/A)

məLʹeːdʹ (T)/ **mʊlʹɛːʤ** (A)

aːskəNʹ (T)/ **aːskɪNʹ** (A) (pl. [**aːskəNɛʲ**] [sic] [T/A]/[**aːskɪNʹəxiˑ**] [T])

1168. (*"seal [sg.]"*)

ruːwəN (T)/ **ruːN** (A)

(*"seals [pl.]"*)

rʊːᴵnʹtʹɪ (T)

1169. (*"the fish are spawning"*)

tʌ ṇʹ tʹiˑᵊsk ə ʃeːrLoᵘ . . . ta ṇʹ tʹɪːᵊsk ə ʃɪːrLuː (T)

1170. (*"he is measuring the field"*)

tə ʃɛ təʃ ɛn wəlʹɛ (T)/

tə ʃɛ təʃ ə wəlʹɛ . . . tə ʃɛ təʃ ɛn wəlʹɛ (A)

(cf. [**tuːwɪʃ**] [T]/ [**tuːʃ**] [= "guess"] [A])

1171. (*"world"*)

əN dʌwəN (A)/ **dawəN** (T)

1172. (*"what are ye having to drink?"*)

kʹɛr tə tuˑ oːL (A)/

kʹɛr tɑː aːgət lʹeː N oːwəL . . . Nu kʹɛr tə tuˑw oːwəL (T)/

kʹɛrd oːLəs tu (A)

1173. (*"yes! [Is ea!]"*)

(after prompting with *Is ea!*)

ʃɛː (A)/ **ʃæː** (T)

1174. (*"the last time I saw him"*)

əN oˈrʹ dʹɛrʹNəx ə xʊnʹɪkʹ mʹɛ ɛ (A)/

No əN taːm dʹɛrʹNəx ə xənʹɪkʹ mʹɛ (ɛ) (T)

1175. (*"a trade [sg.]"*)

kʹʌjərʤ (A)/ **kʹajərdʹ** (T)

(*"trades [pl.]"*)

kʹɛːrʤəNiˈ (A)/ **kʹeːrdʹəNɛʲ** (T)

Selected Items of Interest from the Responses to the *LASID* Questionnaire, Corrúch, Inis Mór, 1990

The types of phonological items indexed here are only a small sample of the wide variety of items of phonological interest found in the responses to the questionnaire. Most of these types of items can be found in the tabular displays of phonological variables across the three islands, but there are a few types here which are not displayed among those variables: particularly the types of items marked by pre-aspiration (e.g., [**k** > **xk**]), affrication (e.g., [**ʃ** > **tʃ**]), or metathesis of consonants. Those kinds of items are listed here as exhaustively as possible, since they are of considerable interest and are not to be found easily in the questionnaire data.

As for the types of grammatical items listed, I have attempted to list all examples of each type which occur in the questionnaire data, so that the reader may easily locate items of possible interest in the questionnaire data, and so that the reader may compare such items with relevant items from the questionnaires in the *LASID* itself, items which represent the speech of a much wider area of Ireland — though the reader must remember that the *LASID* data represents an older generation of speakers.

Table 1: ***PHONOLOGICAL ITEMS: VOWELS***

MONOPHTHONGISATION AND LOWERING/RAISING OF RESULTANT VOWELS		
[iə > eː]		
	(ina) dhiaidh	172
[uə > oː]		
	gualainn	442
[a^{i} > iː/eː]		
	maidhm	1060
DIPHTHONGISATION		
[ʊ/uː > ə^{u}]		
	inniu	953
	amú	91, 92
VOWEL LOWERING		
[iː > eː]		
	buí	974
[uː > oː]		
	cúig	925
[eː > æː/aː]		
	aon	184, 242, 279, 281, 297, 357, 382, 791, 794, 1000, 1025, 1139, 1165
VOWEL RAISING		
[eː > iː]		
	ae	471
VOWEL FRONTING		
[aː > æː]		
	an-	348, 351, 408, 648, 851, 862, 867, 910
	ga	166
	maith	353, 470, 669, 721, 735, 844, 931, 934, ll30, 1163
	tada	935, 965, 996, 1008, 1027, 1028, 1040

Table 2: ***PHONOLOGICAL ITEMS: VOWELS (CONT'D.)***

VOWEL BACKING

[aː > ɑː]

ball	535
fearr	92, 1166
(mar) gheall (ar . . .)	1148

VOWEL SHORTENING AND CENTRALISATION

[uᵊ > ə]

buachaillí	955
buachallán	974

VOWEL ADDITION

[∅ > ə]

is iomaí fear	366
sin peaca	787
urchar	956

Table 3: ***PHONOLOGICAL ITEMS: CONSONANTS***

CONSONANT LOSS/CLUSTER REDUCTION		
[m > ∅]		
	domlas	1137
[v > ∅]		
	annamh	1002
	taobh (amuigh)	946
[v′ > ∅]		
	goibhne	715
	. . . an tsléibhe	957
[f′ > ∅]		
	(is) fearr	73, 92, 1166
[g′ > ∅]		
	ag (léamh)	1032
	ag (filleadh)	1148
[x′ > ∅]		
	muinchillí	287
[t > ∅]		
	anocht	698
	ocht	357
	ríocht	344
	seacht	357
[h > ∅]		
	(ní) hea	187
CONSONANT WEAKENING/VOCALISATION		
[rəv > ru]		
	marbh	701, 1160
	tarbh	1, 5
[v > w]		
	ramhar	884
	samhradh	905
	i bhfad	509

Table 4: ***PHONOLOGICAL ITEMS: CONSONANTS (CONT'D.)***

(CONSONANT WEAKENING/VOCALISATION, Cont'd.)

[ʃ > h]		
	sin	975
[N′> n′]		
	inné	121, 438, 642, 730, 866, 917, 1166
	inniu	791, 796, 844, 892, 953, 997, 1163
[L′> j]		
	coille	838, 967

CONSONANT ADDITION/CLUSTER EXPANSION

[VV > VjV]		
	d'aois	118
[r′ʃ > r′st′]		
	chuir sé	719
[rt > rʃt]		
	rabharta	1052
[nr > ndr]		
	anraith	327
	scanradh	153, 983
	cónra	711
[k > xk]		
	aici	31
	carcair	958, 967
	coirce	253, 655, 658, 663, 666, 669, 670
	corc	1112
	déirce	312
[t > ts]		
	tusa	883
[ʃk′> tʃk′]		
	uisce	831, 1100
	soiscéal	791

Table 5: ***PHONOLOGICAL ITEMS: CONSONANTS (CONT'D.)***

CONSONANT SUBSTITUTION		
[ŋ > N]		
	cá ngabhfaidh	709
	dá ngabhfadh	734,
	mura ngabhfadh	733
	i ngar	406, 407, 1020
[ʃ > s]		
	isteach	949
	istigh	946
[t′> tʃ]		
	croinnte (= crainn)	968
[ʃ > tʃ] [1]		
	sin	948, 1159
	síos	1157
	seas	1092
	(tá) sé [1]	475, 499, 506, 557, 686, 727, 730, 792, 849, 883, 920, 943, 946, 1148
	(bhí) sí [1]	706
	(ag) siúl	1065
	(bád) seoil	1095
	seilidí	821
	(an) sionnach	146
	anseo	944
	ansiúd	944

[1] From the standpoint of affrication, it is worth noting the reduced forms of the verbal constructions *tá sé, tá sí, tá siad*, found frequently across the three islands, in which the vowel of the verb *Bí!* is dropped, so that the preceding and the following consonants come together to form an affricate, e.g. **tʃe** (= *tá sé*) in item 165, **tʃeˑ** in item 178, **tʃɛ** in item 293, **tʃi** (= *tá sí*) in item 235, and **tʃɛd** (= *tá siad*) in item 114. Note also the examples given in the tabular displays of the verb *bí* for all three islands.

Table 6: ***PHONOLOGICAL ITEMS: CONSONANTS (CONT'D.)***

(CONSONANT SUBSTITUTION, Cont'd.)

[kN> kr]

cnámh	467
cneasta	770
cnuga	1092

METATHESIS

ceanrach (?)	610
coisricthe	783
(níor) choisric	795
geolbhach	1134
iolar	833
malrach	764
muinchillí	287
síolrú	1169
smólaigh	841
sochraidí	704
sochraide *(gen.)*	704

Table 7: ***GRAMMATICAL ITEMS: VERBS AND VERBAL NOUNS***

abair	9, 181, 215, 722, 735, 740, 764, 773, 793, 846, 857, 886, 905, 984, 1003, 1027, 1028, 1029, 1047, 1161, 1164, 1166
airigh (cf. clois)	421, 422, 423
aithris	993
at	167, 665
athraigh	1058, 1148
bácáil	265
badaráil	1019
báigh	585, 1158
bain	126, 553, 563, 983, 1137
báistigh	270, 896
baistigh	354
básaigh	701
bearr	88, 89, 379
beir	15, 367, 636, 760, 763, 1014, 1015, 1018
bí[1]	915, 950, 1019, 1048, 1081
bligh	54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59
breathnaigh	408
bris	139, 442
brúigh	646, 647
bruith	640, 641, 642, 643, 644
buachailleacht	623
buail	670
caill	93, 218, 438, 700
caint	353
caith	36, 182, 212, 267, 344, 377, 378, 433, 513, 573, 858, 955

[1] Only certain forms of possible interest to the reader are listed here.

Table 8: ***GRAMMATICAL ITEMS: VERBS AND VERBAL NOUNS (CONT'D.)***

cáith	670
caoin	269, 706
cardáil	230
cas	222, 235, 687, 698, 699, 930
ceangail	39, 528
ceannaigh	165, 264
ceansaigh	1018
ceap	416, 417
cinn	980
ciúnaigh	1063
clamhsán	370
clois (cf. airigh)	213, 214, 215, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 697
cnámhair	114
cniotáil	216, 224
codail	128, 507, 508
cogain	33, 34
coigil	548
coinnigh	410, 411, 412, 1119
cosain	1023, 1024
croch	415
cuartaíocht	684
cuidigh	102
cuimil	206
cuir	219, 221, 226, 371, 551, 631, 658, 662, 713, 714, 719, 758, 914, 991, 1008, 1038, 1110
cúirtéireacht	686

Table 9: ***GRAMMATICAL ITEMS: VERBS AND VERBAL NOUNS (CONT'D.)***

déan	69, 131, 244, 245, 256, 274, 295, 344, 382, 413, 414, 415, 495, 538, 561, 689, 887, 932, 933, 948, 964, 976, 980, 986, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1040, 1046, 1100
deasaigh	1113
díol	2, 7, 1031
dóigh	575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 638
doir	12,13
druid	487
dúisigh	509, 510, 511
dún	372, 487, 488
éirigh	906, 908, 1055, 1062, 1154
éist	418, 419, 420
eitil	140
fadaigh	545
faigh	34, 36, 153, 184, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 700, 862, 876, 1043, 1063
fair	409
fan	921, 922, 923, 924, 1006, 1013, 1041
fás	1044
féad	243, 244, 404
feadaíl	697
feic	152, 153, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 426, 944, 1141, 1174
fiach	151, 212
fiafraigh	1021, 1022
fill	1148
fiuch	1037
foghlaim	737, 780
folc	447
fuin	256, 257

Table 10: ***GRAMMATICAL ITEMS: VERBS AND VERBAL NOUNS (CONT'D.)***

gabh (cf. téigh)	1015
gáir	707, 708, 963
geal	241
gearr	5, 6, 7, 263, 452, 553, 663
géimneach	25
geit	983
giorraigh	1043
glac	1004
glan	42
glaoigh	46, 47, 137, 643
gnóthaigh	329
gnúsacht	27
goid	746, 747
goil	706
gor	122
gortaigh	1000
grágaíl	125
gróig	567, 574
iarr	44, 74, 414
iasc	1155
imigh	52, 438, 454, 979, 1010, 1048
imir	328, 330
íoc	1030
iompaigh	595, 596, 597, 598
iompair	14, 605
iontaigh	595
inis	685, 788, 942, 1143, 1144, 1145, 1146, 1147
ith	260, 298, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 470, 1165

Table 11: ***GRAMMATICAL ITEMS: VERBS AND VERBAL NOUNS (CONT'D.)***

labhair	356, 936
leáigh	96, 720
lean	709
leasaigh	629
léigh	1032
leigheas	36, 37
lig	344, 504, 1010
ligh	205
luigh	132, 468, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503
mair	494, 626
maraigh	133, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 413, 880, 1160
marcaíocht	178
méanfach	268
measc	646
meil	679
méileach	81
mill	679
múin	736, 738
nigh	239, 445, 447, 448, 449, 520
oibrigh	1142
ól	753, 755, 1172
oscail	486, 489
pós	691, 692, 694, 695
préach	94
rácáil	548
réitigh	377, 378
rith	136, 171, 172, 173, 174
róst	266, 639

Table 12: ***GRAMMATICAL ITEMS: VERBS AND VERBAL NOUNS (CONT'D.)***

sábháil	587
saill	1129
saothraigh	321, 322, 323, 324
scanraigh	983
scar	564
sceamhaíl	28
scread	166
scríob	208
scríobh	338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343
scuab	513
seachain	1006
seas	1075
seitreach	26
síolraigh	1135, 1169
siúil	645, 910, 1065
sníomh	227, 228, 229, 236
sodar(naíl)	175
spíon	233
sraothartach	43, 431
stadaireacht	272
stróic	314
suaith	1148
suigh	504, 542

Table 13: ***GRAMMATICAL ITEMS: VERBS AND VERBAL NOUNS (CONT'D.)***

tabhair	53, 66, 77, 102, 217, 262, 305, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 317, 337, 344, 475, 688, 749, 751, 785, 788, 789, 926, 975, 983, 1002, 1003, 1007, 1038, 1130
taispáin	291, 292, 293, 294
taitin	146, 696, 703
taom	1105
tar	45, 153, 344, 512, 883, 900, 913, 941, 947, 949, 950, 951, 976, 989, 1086, 1148, 1156, 1166
tarraing	381, 601, 602, 603, 604, 1109
teastaigh	220, 296, 1045
téigh (cf. gabh)	44, 91, 92, 264, 377, 557, 558, 559, 560, 643, 684, 690, 709, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 748, 774, 778, 784, 796, 853, 874, 908, 914, 943, 988, 1011, 1012, 1051, 1070, 1142, 1152, 1157, 1159, 1164
teip	980
tit	369, 442, 863
tochail	116, 210
tóg	209, 495
togh	633, 634
tomhais	1170
tosaigh	269, 270, 271
tráigh	1054
treabh	608, 609
triomaigh	573
tuíodóireacht	523
tum (cf. taom)	1105
úsáid	571

Table 14: ***GRAMMATICAL ITEMS: COMPARATIVE FORMS OF ADJECTIVES***

(níos) airde	869
(níos) aosta	889
(níos) breá	879
(níos) cóngaraí	871
(níos) cúinge	881
(níos) daingne	871
(níos) dorcha	891
(níos) duibhe	179, 891
(níos) éasca	886
(níos) faide	870
(níos) fliche	866
(níos) fusa	886
(is) gairide	976
(níos) giorra	872
(níos) gránna	882
(níos) láidre	877
(níos) luaithe	511
(níos) luathlámhaí	875
(níos) milse	68
(níos) minice	883
(níos) raimhre	884
(níos) salaí	894
(níos) sine	889
(níos) teo	868

Table 15: ***GRAMMATICAL ITEMS: PRONOUNS***

é	7, 21, 34, 92, 99, 104, 158, 168, 212, 244, 245, 277, 389, 390, 391, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 411, 412, 414, 422, 423, 538, 561, 571, 586, 609, 735, 739, 741, 745, 762, 767, 769, 770, 771, 884, 886, 887, 919, 932, 933, 936, 942, 975, 994, 998, 1015, 1022, 1035, 1174
eisean	585
iad	57, 89, 643, 644, 880, 1018, 1160
muid	9, 39, 56, 57, 74, 271, 278, 279, 282, 303, 311, 312, 324, 328, 330, 337, 396, 397, 403, 449, 501, 542, 585, 603, 626, 641, 697, 722, 730, 731, 733, 735, 740, 764, 778, 846, 857, 900, 930, 975, 984, 1005, 1020, 1030, 1034, 1107, 1129, 1130, 1164, 1166
siad	81, 89, 114, 128, 181, 214, 689, 691, 726, 747, 914, 984, 1018, 1021, 1060
sibh	148, 733, 880, 914, 947
thú	103, 147, 511, 709, 880, 1000, 1159
ár	303, 344, 733, 738, 740, 746, 754, 755, 1002, 1145
bhur	504, 733, 1029, 1146
d’	286, 338, 344, 454, 473, 480, 481, 990, 1146

Table 16: ***GRAMMATICAL ITEMS: PREPOSITIONAL FORMS***

ag	14, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 39, 42, 45, 52, 54, 69, 73, 74, 80, 81, 88, 102, 114, 116, 121, 123, 125, 126, 131, 136, 137, 140, 151, 162, 165, 171, 178, 210, 212, 216, 220, 222, 227, 233, 235, 239, 241, 242, 256, 257, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 274, 293, 296, 302, 321, 339, 340, 343, 347, 353, 370, 371, 392, 393, 406, 408, 409, 414, 431, 433, 437, 440, 454, 470, 475, 486, 494, 520, 522, 530, 542, 553, 563, 564, 567, 575, 585, 587, 591, 595, 601, 605, 609, 623, 629, 631, 633, 662, 669, 670, 684, 685, 686, 687, 691, 696, 697, 698, 706, 707, 708, 710, 727, 740, 741, 742, 752, 754, 756, 761, 774, 794, 844, 860, 875, 878, 895, 908, 915, 921, 931, 941, 943, 952, 955, 960, 965, 980, 981, 984, 986, 993, 1008, 1009, 1031, 1032, 1035, 1037, 1042, 1043, 1044, 1045, 1054, 1055, 1062, 1063, 1075, 1100, 1105, 1107, 1109, 1110, 1113, 1122, 1129, 1131, 1135, 1139, 1142, 1148, 1152, 1155, 1166, 1169, 1170, 1172
ar	15, 40, 46, 47, 71, 75, 82, 85, 92, 114, 122, 184, 226, 246, 266, 267, 273, 276, 277, 278, 279, 344, 353, 360, 361, 362, 364, 369, 370, 377, 378, 384, 385, 408, 409, 436, 439, 466, 468, 516, 518, 548, 560, 591, 631, 636, 643, 684, 714, 726, 746, 758, 793, 858, 895, 927, 929, 930, 931, 939, 951, 953, 958, 961, 964, 968, 975, 980, 989, 991, 993, 996, 1000, 1002, 1003, 1006, 1008, 1013, 1014, 1018, 1030, 1033, 1038, 1039, 1047, 1058, 1061, 1070, 1119, 1141, 1150, 1151, 1164
as	366, 407, 692, 940, 941, 942, 977, 983, 988
chuig	44, 338, 340, 341, 377, 690, 774, 778, 784, 796, 1070, 1164
chun	925
de	74, 118, 126, 139, 142, 209, 231, 451, 454, 512, 544, 563, 817, 946, 979, 988, 1021, 1059
do	36, 53, 66, 74, 77, 102, 144, 172, 205, 206, 213, 217, 243, 244, 262, 263, 291, 292, 293, 294, 305, 307, 308, 309, 312, 313, 317, 344, 382, 406, 410, 411, 414, 603, 688, 691, 721, 736, 738, 749, 751, 760, 785, 788, 789, 793, 878, 885, 926, 927, 929, 932, 933, 936, 939, 940, 942, 983, 1003, 1007, 1010, 1019, 1038, 1046, 1143, 1145, 1146, 1154

Table 17: ***GRAMMATICAL ITEMS: PREPOSITIONAL FORMS (CONT'D.)***

faoi	8, 9, 10, 11, 365, 454, 793, 803, 847, 908, 963, 965, 1004, 1034, 1068
gan	426, 626, 932, 933
i	93, 128, 130, 132, 172, 221, 272, 347, 499, 506, 509, 516, 551, 576, 648, 669, 713, 717, 719, 735, 792, 847, 863, 890, 898, 906, 909, 992, 1016, 1017, 1050, 1051, 1057, 1061, 1075, 1081, 1153, 1160, 1162, 1163
idir	1025
le	73, 76, 89, 94, 102, 146, 150, 351, 404, 418, 419, 420, 528, 538, 686, 696, 703, 773, 817, 906, 921, 924, 928, 935, 936, 951, 955, 978, 1001, 1004, 1041, 1172
ó	74, 220, 296, 438, 604, 737, 900, 1045, 1079, 1086
roimh	796, 917, 938, 981
thar	557, 558, 559, 560
trí	11, 48, 1011, 1012, 1047

Table 18: ***GRAMMATICAL ITEMS: COMPOUND PREPOSITIONS, etc.***

ar aghaidh	526, 540
ar feadh	757, 1041
de cheal	988
d'uireasa	988
i dtaobh	416
i gcaitheamh	896
i gcoinne	44, 1166
i ndiaidh	136, 172, 1005
i ngar	213, 406, 407
in aghaidh	369
in éineacht	978
le haghaidh	43, 59, 586
le hais	878
os cionn	375, 712, 717, 1049, 1060, 1069, 1073, 1078, 1082
os comhair	540
tar éis	449, 703, 704, 710, 763, 856, 925
chun	925
cois	1065