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

Séamas Ó Direáin
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SÉAMAS Ó DIREÁIN— A SURVEY OF SPOKEN IRISH IN THE ARAN ISLANDS, CO.GALWAY
VOLUME 3: RESPONSES IN IRISH TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE OF THE LINGUISTIC ATLAS AND SURVEY OF IRISH DIALECTS: CORRÚCH, INIS MÓR, 1990

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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 The methodology followed in conducting the fieldwork is described in the unpublished paper “Ag Déanamh Taighde ar na Canúintí in Oileáin Árann: Féidearachtáí, Fadhbhanna agus Fócais”, presented at the Comhdháil do Theangeolaíocht na Gaeilge,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of published information on Aran Irish which were available at the time of the fieldwork are discussed in a second unpublished paper, “Foinís agus Faisnéis: ag Bailiú Sonraí faoi na Canúintí in Oileáin Árann”, presented at the annual Tionól at the School of Celtic Studies, Dublin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.


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 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 for 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 Conchuir, 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 Droighneán, Riarthóir an Aonaid Aistriúcháin, Acadamh na hOllscoláideachta 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 Íarnáin (“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 Ruí”)[now deceased], Nóra Ní Ghoil (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 Mhaolchiaráin (“Máire Pháidín”) and Dara Beag Ó Fatharta [now deceased].

My three contributors on Inis Oírr were Tomás Ó Conghaile, Barbara Sharry (Bairbre Bean Thomáis Ó Conghaile/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 Óirr.

Yet other interviews which were not transcribed were done with non-islanders, including An tAthair Conula 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 nepabęgsi (“You will never outrun fate”),
a proverb which has a close counterpart in Irish: *Ní chuirrann an chiníúint 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 Choir 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 Rónán, and Scoil Éinne drew children from Cill Éinne and Iaraine. Scoil Éinne was closed through consolidation with Scoil Rónán 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, 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.

1On 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plosives</th>
<th>(p)</th>
<th>(p^\prime)</th>
<th>(t)</th>
<th>(t^\prime)</th>
<th>((t))</th>
<th>(k)</th>
<th>(k^\prime)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>(b^\prime)</td>
<td>(d)</td>
<td>(d^\prime)</td>
<td>((d))</td>
<td>(g)</td>
<td>(g^\prime)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affricates</th>
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<th>(d^\xi)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fricatives</th>
<th>(f)</th>
<th>(f^\prime)</th>
<th>(s)</th>
<th>(s^\prime)</th>
<th>(\ell)</th>
<th>(x)</th>
<th>(x^\prime)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(v)</td>
<td>(v^\prime)</td>
<td>(z)</td>
<td>(z^\prime)</td>
<td>(\ell^\nu)</td>
<td>(\nu)</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semi-Consonants</th>
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<th>(j)</th>
<th>(h)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nasals</th>
<th>(m)</th>
<th>(m^\prime)</th>
<th>(n)</th>
<th>(n^\prime)</th>
<th>(\eta)</th>
<th>(\eta^\prime)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(N)</td>
<td>(N^\prime)</td>
<td>(N)</td>
<td>(N^\prime)</td>
<td>(hn)</td>
<td>(hn^\prime)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(L)</td>
<td>(L^\prime)</td>
<td>(L)</td>
<td>(L^\prime)</td>
<td>(hl)</td>
<td>(hl^\prime)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Liquids</th>
<th>(l)</th>
<th>(l^\prime)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(\ell)</td>
<td>(\ell^\nu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(r)</td>
<td>(r^\prime)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(\nu)</td>
<td>(\nu^\prime)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(hr)</td>
<td>(hr^\prime)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllabic Nasals</th>
<th>(m)</th>
<th>(m^\prime)</th>
<th>(n)</th>
<th>(n^\prime)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(N)</td>
<td>(N^\prime)</td>
<td>(N)</td>
<td>(N^\prime)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllabic Liquids</th>
<th>(L)</th>
<th>(L^\prime)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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 Bhdalraithe for Cois Pharraghe Irish, with some important additions to the list of symbols. The two affricates \([tf]\) and \([d\xi]\) 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 \([s^\prime]\), 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 \([s]\) 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 \([n^\prime]\) followed by the palatalised alveolar fricative \([\ell]\) is represented as \([\ell^{

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, [m’n] and [N’n] could be regarded as alternative forms of [m’n] and [N’n], respectively (cf. the final syllables of fanaim or d’fhanainn). The sole indispensable symbol is [N], which represents a syllabic nasal that occurs very frequently in the Aran data, e.g., [faN fec] (faigheann sé . . .), [baN fec] (bánn sé . . .) vs. [baN] (bán), [LuN] (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 [t] and [d] would be found in the names [tæm] (“Tom”) and [diL’e] (“Delia”); the name [laečar] (“Roger”) would provide an example of the liquid, a voiced alveolar frictionless continuant.

### Table 2: Phonetic symbols for vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i:</th>
<th>u:</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e:</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e:</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ:</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>æ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i:</td>
<td>u:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ:</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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 short and long ([/æ], [/æ], [/æ], [/æ], [/æ], [/æ], 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 [/æ] and [/æ] used in the present work represent low central vowels, and not the low front vowel of Prof. Wagner’s phonetic descriptions. (The symbol [/æ], 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 [/æ], [/æ], [/æ], and [/æ], 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 [iæ] as either [/æi] or [æi], depending on the pronunciation.
of a speaker in a particular instance. Similarly, I use the symbols [ː] and [ːː] 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 [:] and [;] following vowel symbols are used to indicate long vowels and half-long vowels, respectively. The occasional extra-long vowel is represented by the symbols [ːː] or [ːːː]. 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., [n′fɔ:] (anseo). Secondary stress, shown by the symbol [,], is normally not indicated. Occasionally, a sequence of two vowels is interrupted by a glottal stop. The glottal stop is represented by the symbol [(= t’ ainm).

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

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

**International Phonetic Alphabet Symbols and their Representation in Standard Irish Orthography**

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*.

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 ‘eː fo e'], 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.

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2I refer here to the official Irish orthography codified in 1968 as *An Caighdeán Oifigiúil*.

3Cf. de Bhaldraithe (1953), page xx.
### Table 3: Key to International Phonetic Alphabet symbols: Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[p]</td>
<td>peann</td>
<td>poll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[t]</td>
<td>teann</td>
<td>toll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[k]</td>
<td>ceann</td>
<td>coll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[b]</td>
<td>beanna</td>
<td>ball</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[d]</td>
<td>deannach</td>
<td>dall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[g]</td>
<td>geanúil</td>
<td>gann</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[f]</td>
<td>feall</td>
<td>faoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[s]</td>
<td>monsieur</td>
<td>sui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[x]</td>
<td>chaill</td>
<td>seal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[v]</td>
<td>bheannaigh</td>
<td>leis yeux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[z]</td>
<td>gheall</td>
<td>vat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[s]</td>
<td>gheall</td>
<td>zip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[h]</td>
<td>i ngéall</td>
<td>seal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[n]</td>
<td>mo náire</td>
<td>mo náire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[n]</td>
<td>mo náire</td>
<td>mo náire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[l]</td>
<td>mo lámh</td>
<td>lámh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[h]</td>
<td>shlámáil</td>
<td>sleamhnaigh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ô]</td>
<td>rog</td>
<td>shleamhnaigh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[M]</td>
<td>Maíre</td>
<td>threabh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[H]</td>
<td>thréacht</td>
<td>thrácht</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Séamas Ó Direáin— A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway*
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*, 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.

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 *[b@v ′E:]*, 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]  | dabh |
| [è]  | sé   | [ɔ]  | bo: |
| [ɛ]  | leith | [a]  | a |
| [æ]  | fear | [ʌ]  | cup |
| [i]  | Dia  | [u]  | bua |
| [e]  | beithígí | [a]  | saghas |
| [æ]  | beithígí | [ʌ]  | 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 [:] and [;] were explained earlier. The reader should also remember that the tilde sign over a vowel represents a nasalised vowel, as in the French word *[b˜ oː]* (= bon).

The problem here is that the form itself appears to be an analogical form of uncertain origin, 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

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4Cf. Ó hUiginn (1994), 596.
5Cf. de Bhaldraithe (1953), 86-106.
6Cf. 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: Féidearachtá, Fadhbanna agus Fócais”, “Foinsí agus Faisnéis: ag Bailiú Sonraithe faoi na Canúintí in Oileáin Árann”, and “Rialtacht, Randamacht agus Mionphatrún: 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...
broadly 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 histor-
ical 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 [P] and not the monophthong
[εː]. 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 [εː], 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 [εː] 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 es-
pecially 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 Óírr, the connection to County Clare and especially to

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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 migrant children who develop a native command of the local language through playing with other children in the neighbourhood, while the parents 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*
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] lèithe.


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 [e:] 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 [o:] 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 [o:] 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 [a] 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 [e]. Only the female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór produces examples with the relatively long back vowels [u:] and [o:].

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CHAPTER 1. VARIATION IN VOWELS

1.2 Lowering of Long High Vowels

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

Those examined for the long high back vowel [uː] include níos lú, níos tüisce, ag gnúsacht, ag fiarú — fiafraí, fúithi, fúthu, ar chál, 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 geónaíonn, ...ar chánaigh, i geónaí, cnoc, lom, róthrom, 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 geónaíonn, ...ar chánaigh and i geónaí. 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 Óírr, 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 [uː]. Thus we can say that the two western islands are characterised by near-universal application of the rule, while Inis Óírr 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 [u] in operation universally on all three islands. The only exceptions are the isolated alternate variants with the neutral vowel [a] from F 70 at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór and with the unraised vowel [o] from F 18 on Inis Óírr.

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 róthrom. 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 [uː] 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 [u], with an isolated example of lengthening and slight raising to [uː] from the female informant at Cill Éinne and another — of diphthongisation — to [oʊ] from the male

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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 [uː], 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 [ʊ]. 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 [ʊ] 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 *róthrom*. 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 [o] — 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 \[\text{o}:\] 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 \[\text{o}:\], but to not lengthen the vowel of the disyllabic verbal noun, thus producing the short vowel \[\text{u}:\]. (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, \(\text{f}i\) mo/\(\text{i}\) na/ sheasamh, teach, isteach, teacht, \(\text{c}a/\text{a}\) n deachtaigh, ceachtanna, seachtain, cleachtadh, \(\text{Is} \text{ é do}\) 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 \[\text{æ}:\] 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 \[\text{æ}:\] 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 \[\text{x}:\], 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 \[\text{e}:\] for the short vowel \[\text{æ}:\] before non-sonorants. The female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór, F 72, distinguishes herself by lengthening the vowel to \[\text{e}:\] 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 [ə] 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 teach. As I have remarked earlier, I have heard the variant [fəʃ] 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, caileadh, 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 [ə] to the low front vowel [æ]. 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*, *caileadh* 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 [aː] 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 [L’]. 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 [aː] in both forms, while others generalise the backed vowel [aː] to both forms. Thus the informants in central Inis Mór from Fearann an Choire to Eochaill produce a version of the historical vowel [aː], 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 [aː] in both forms. The male informant on Inis Meáin also regularises the vowel alternation to [aː] 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 [aː] in both forms.

We turn now to a third verb form, the impersonal simple past form *caileadh*, 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 *caileadh*, 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, aímsir, caint, sláintiúil, ... [a] mhaireann ... , caite, cnaipe, tada /= dada[, tastaíonn)

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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., [mac], [skæ:] and [daːu:] or as [mac], [skæ:] and [daːu:].

The attestation for the item maith is relatively complete, so we can see that the only speakers who front the vowel to [æː] or [æː] are three speakers on Inis Mór. Thus F 43 at Bungabhla produces [mac] while M 82 and F 72, both at Corrúch, produce [mac] and [mac], 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 [skæ:].

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 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 *beithigh* 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 — [baɛː], [ba] and [baː], 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 [æː]. 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 [æː], 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 [æː]. In the two eastern islands, all speakers front the vowel to longer or shorter variants of [æː]. Nevertheless, the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18, laxes the vowel to [ɑː] 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 [ɑː] 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 [æː] in one instance and in laxing the vowel to [ɑː] in a couple of instances. The male informant, M 70, however, departs from this pattern in a striking way: he fronts the vowel to [ɑː] 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 [a], [a] and [o] 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 Bun-
gabhla, produces the vowel [o], while three informants in east central Inis Mór all produce
the neutral vowel [a]. Most striking, however, is the use of the allomorph cé by two female
informants: F 70 at Cill Einne 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 syn-
tactically 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
[a] or [a]. Nevertheless, one might say that there is a tendency for every second speaker
across Inis Mór to front the vowel to [a:] in the item má, while preserving the vowel [a:] 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 [a:] or [æ:]. When the informants at Corrúch were
asked about the lexically distinct noun mám (“mountain pass”), both produced examples
retaining the low back vowel [a:], 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
brea.)

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The next phonological rule also involves fronting the low back vowel \([\text{a}]\), but in this case the vowel may be not only be fronted to \([\text{æ}]\) or \([\text{æ}]\), but also raised to \([\text{e}]\) or even to \([\text{e}]\).

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 \(\text{breá}\).

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 \(-á\) ([\(\text{a}\)]) 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 Chóirce to Corrúch — producing fronted and even raised variants in the suffix vowel which range from \([\text{æ}]\) to \([\text{e}]\). 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 \(-@\). Thus we can as easily get \([\text{æ}:\text{N} \text{æ}]\) (= An gceannófá ...?) as \([\text{æ};\text{N} \text{æ}]\) (= 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 \([\text{æ}:\text{N} \text{æ}]\) (= 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 \(\text{breá}\), was included because it is phonologically similar to the nouns \(\text{fleá}\) and \(\text{sleá}\), both pronounced with the strongly fronted vowel \([\text{æ}]\) 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 \([\text{æ}]\) in two instances out of six.

\section*{1.12 The Backing of the Low Central Vowel}

(The items examined here include \(\text{am}, \text{gann}, \text{mall}, \text{anall}, \text{thall}, \text{sall} [= \text{annonn}], \text{ar} \text{ball}\).)

\[^1\]There is a further complication in the case of second conjugation verbs, such as \(\text{ceannaigh}\), where the final vowel of the stem is elided as well, hence \(\text{cheanná}\) instead of \(\text{cheannóa} < \text{cheannófá}\). Forms such as \(\text{cheannóa}\), with the stem vowel unelided, are in fact cited by F.N. Finck in \(\text{Die Araner Mundart}\) 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 [a:] to the low back vowel [A:]. The items examined here are nearly all monosyllabic words, such as *am, gann, mall, thall, sall* [= annon] and *far* ball, with the locative adverb *anall* as an exception, though even here the vowel 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 [a:]; (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 [A:]; (3) when the monosyllabic word ends in a velarised lateral consonant, such as *thall*, speakers on all three islands back the vowel to [a:].

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*.

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2On 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 maradh 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’n 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] dheartháir, [mo] dheirfiúr, [a] dheirfiúr.*

The next group of items have to do with the elision of the approximant [h] word-medially.

The first three items, the nouns *bóthar, rothar* and *beithígh* may be considered representative. Informants across all three islands elide the [h] in the nouns *bóthar* and *beithígh*, 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 [r@:r], 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 *deartháir* and *deirfiúr* present a number of interesting variants, many of them not directly related to the elision of [h]. Beginning with the item *mo dheartháir* 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
2.3. SIMPLIFICATION/REDUCTION OF CONSONANT CLUSTERS
CONTAINING A NASAL CONSONANT

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 [jrohur′] (sic) and [jɛχur[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 [rˈaʰuːr] and [rˈaʰuːr] to disyllabic [rˈawɔr] and [jrawr̝r]. (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 cuimhniúnn.)

Turning now to items involving nasal consonants, let us begin with the simplification or reduction of the consonant cluster [vˈnˈ] in the two related lexical items cuimhneamh and cuimhniúnn, with the palatalised labiodental fricative [v] being dropped from the cluster, leaving only the palatalised alveolar nasal consonant [nˈ]. 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 [nˈ] 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 [Nˈ], except in the case of the female informant at Cill Éinne, who produces the weakly palatalised cluster [vˈnˈ].

Note that the variant [kiːmˈnˈuː] (= cuimhneamh), with a cluster containing the unlenited palatalised bilabial nasal [mˈ], 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.

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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 number 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 [nʲ] and [lʲ].

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 [Lʲ] by the palatal glide [j]. Though this phenomenon could be labeled “consonant weakening”, it 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 [Lʲ] 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. I first encountered the example *[kəl'ox kəjə]* (= *coileach coille*) in a response from the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór, M 82, elicited while administering the LASID questionnaire.

Later I was astonished to hear the same phenomenon from the male informant on Inis Meáin, M 70, as he pronounced the word *buachaillí*: *[bu'xəji:*]. In addition, on checking my field notes, I found that he had done likewise in a variant pronunciation of *a leaba* (“her bed”): *[æ: xæbə]*. 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: *[kəl'ox kəjə]*, which could be labeled “consonant strengthening”.

Note, though, that the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór also substitutes the palatal glide [j] even for the lightly palatalised lateral [lʲ] in her example *[b'æ:n kə'xul]* (= *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

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

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1I presume here that the initial consonant was the unlenited [L'], which suits the grammatical context.
We move on now to quite a different phenomenon: the replacement of the alveolar 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 Óírr, 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 Óírr 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 Mhuirbhígh.

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 Óírr, 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. Perhaps this is a sign of generational change.

The last of these three items, 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 largely repeats itself. All the speakers on Inis Mór preserve the alveolar nasal segment [N], 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 Óírr showing mixed usage.

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

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-lention, 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-lentited segment [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 [v']. On the other hand, further east, at Eochaill, the male informant surprises us by eliding the [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 Choice 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

(The items examined here are *tuirseach*, *faírsing*, *scían*, *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

\(^3\)Cf. Ó hUiginn (1994), 554.

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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 [ʃʃ], thus producing the cluster [rʃʃ] 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 [rʃʃ]. 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 [ʃk’] 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 [ʃt’] 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...
2.10 AFFRICATION OF VOICELESS ALVEOLAR CONSONANTS IN WORD-INITIAL POSITION

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 [t′], beginning with affrication of [t′] in word-initial position.

Starting once again on Inis Mór, we note not a single example of affrication from Bun-gabhla 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.

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 [t′]. 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 [t′] 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 extent 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.

SÉAMAS Ó DIREÁIN — A SURVEY OF SPOKEN IRISH IN THE ARAN ISLANDS, CO.GALWAY
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 [tʼ] 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 [tʼ].

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 [ɾtʼ]. In this instance, one can encounter not only the affricated variant [ɾtʃ], but also a kind of metathesised version of the cluster where the alveolar fricative [ʃ] follows the flap [ɾ], but precedes the palatalised voiceless dental plosive [tʼ]. 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 the 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 [ɾtʃ] 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 [ɾtʃ] 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 [ɾtʼ] in over half her examples. Even more surprising, however, is the use of the metathesised cluster [ɾʃtʼ] (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 [ɾʃtʼ] is endemic. The female informant produces the metathesised cluster [ɾʃtʼ] almost exclusively, with only one example of the affricated cluster [ɾtʃ]. The male informant, on the other hand, divides his usage equally between the metathesised cluster [ɾʃtʼ] and the non-affricated cluster [ɾtʼ].

In sum, then, in contrast to Inis Mór, on Inis Meáin the metathesised cluster [ɾʃtʼ] is overwhelmingly dominant, the non-affricated cluster [ɾtʼ] 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 metathysed 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].

2.12 Affrication of Voiced Alveolar Consonants

(The items examined here include Dia, [go] dtí, de, di, d'imigh, déanaígh!, 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 [ʃ] for the palatalised voiced dental plosive [d'] 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 [t'] 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 [ʃ] exclusively.

On Inis Meáin, similarly, the female informant produces [ʃ] 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 [ʃ] in more than twice as many examples as [d'], 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 [ʃ] as of [d'] in the same position.

As for the occurrence of [ʃ] and [d'] 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 that data in more detail.

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 [n’s’] (with the voiceless grooved fricative [s’]), [n’t’] (with simple substitution of the palatalised plosive [t’]) 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 Óirr.

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 Óirr. Examples are [ə’tʃɪn’, ə’ʃɪn’, ‘tʃɪn’] and [‘tʃɪn’].

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 [u:], [u;] 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 [u:], [u:] or [u], while all the informants on Inis Óirr 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.

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 Óirr, usage is divided in the older generation, with the male informant preserving the sequence [əv], while his wife vocalises to [u:] and [u].

### Notes

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

5Presumably his familiarity with the Standard Irish variant through his role as headmaster of the vocational school has influenced his selection of a variant.
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 [ɔv], 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, *fuairthas*, is of interest because of such local variants as *fuaireadh*, *faireadh* and *foireadh*, dominant on Inis Mór, and *friothadh* or *fríothadh*, found on all three islands. All these variants allow vocalisation of the suffix.

On Inis Mór, the suffixes of both groups of variants are vocalised, but on Inis Meáin, where only the *friothadh* variant occurs, both informants preserve the final segment of the sequence [ɔv], producing [f’ɾ’i:v].

On Inis Oírr, the older female informant also preserves the final consonant in her anomalous example [f’ɾ:i:v].

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., [kɪn’i:v], though the same speakers (on Inis Mór) will frequently produce the vocalised forms [kɪn’i:u] or even [kɪn’u] as alternative forms.

2.15 Consonant Substitution at Word Boundaries

(The items discussed here are the phrases [o] *dhaoine* and *beirt dhaoine* 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 definite 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 articulation, so that only the lip-rounding of the preceding upper-mid back rounded vowel [ɔː] 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

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examples we have from Inis Mór, the velar fricative is elided in all three cases. Thus we have \[ o: \text{wi:n}'e \] from the female informant at An Sruthán, \[ o: \text{wi:n}'i: \] from the female informant at Cill Éinne, and the anomalous phrase \[ o: \text{vajin}'e \] 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 \textit{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 \textit{beirt}, one would not even expect lenition after \textit{beirt} in this instance, since two homorganic consonants, \[ t' \] 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 \textit{daoine}, thus producing the velar fricative \[ y \]. Two other informants on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla and M 82 at Corrúch, produce the phrase \textit{dhá dhuine}, both producing the expected lenition of the initial consonant of the noun.

Again, this particular instance of \textit{sandhi} merits further investigation.

The next item involves \textit{sandhi} of a different sort. Rather than insertion of a phonological segment — in this case, the voiced palatal central approximant \[ j \] in the sentence \textit{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 \textit{amuigh} in certain phonological contexts — specifically, before a vowel.

If the underlying form in the informant’s mind is \([^\text{\textmu}^i]\), 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 \([\text{o}]\) in a phrase such as \textit{amuigh ansin}, one would expect the shorter allomorph \([^\text{\textmu}]\) normally heard in the Aran Islands as well as in Connemara.

On the other hand, if the underlying phonological form in the mind of the informant is \([^\text{\textmu}^i]\), 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 \([^\text{\textmu}^i]\) as the underlying form, whereas all the informants on Inis Oírr reflect \([^\text{\textmu}]\) 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 \([^\text{\textmu}]\) by inserting the voiceless glottal central approximant \( h \) in order keep the vowels in the two adjacent words separate, i.e., \([^\text{\textmoh e}]\) (\(=\ldots\text{amu' h-é}\)).
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 Choire substitutes [N] or [N̥] 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] dhearthaír, [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 [gaːwɔr]. Speakers in the two eastern islands, however, treat the word as a monosyllabic form, all producing the equivalent of [gaʊr].

In regard to the plural form *gabhair*, however, all the informants across all three islands produce only the disyllabic form [gaːwɪr] or its close equivalent. The only exception is the youngest informant, F 18 on Inis Oírr, who produces the monosyllabic form [gaʊr] 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” [ɪ̞ʊ], 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 [ɡr’iːən] (with no glide) from the female informant at Eoghanacht on Inis Mór.

Passing over the item *mo dheartháir*, we encounter the items *mo dheirfiúr* and *a dheirfiúr*, which both contain a diphthong, [ɛu], very similar to the one just discussed.

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

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7The local variant of the kinterm *deirfiúr* is *dreabhar* ([d’reːɛ̃r]).
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. 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 ([f > tf]) call for some discussion.

Beginning with the metathesis of consonants, we get the following forms: [k’ærNax] (ceanrach?); [korsIk’t] (coisricthe); [xorsIk’t] (choisric); [g’otLax] from M 82, but [g’otXRax] from F 72 (geolbhach); [e:rlax/ orLax/ orLax] from M 82, but [i:rlax] along with [i:lar].

\(^1\)Cf. Selected Items of Interest from the Responses to the LASID Questionnaire, Corrúch, Inis Mór, 1990, which follows the questionnaire itself in Volume Three of this work.
from F 72 (isolar); [maːrˈlax] (malrach); [smʊˈlɪrˈɪː] from M 82, but [mʷɪnˈnɪlˈɪː] from F 72 (muinichille); [ʃɛɾˈlʊ/ʃɛɾˈlʊ] from M 82 (síolrú); [ʃmoɾˈlɛ] from M 82 but [ʃmʊˈlɪ] from F 72 (smólaigh); [sɔxɔrdˈɪː] from M 82, but [tsɔxɔrdˈɪ] from F 72 (sochraidí); and [ɑ tɔxɔr(ˈdɛ ʔ)] from M 82, but [ɑn tɔxɔrˈdɪ] from F 72 (… na socharaidh).2

Turning now to the pre-aspiration of the voiceless velar plosive ([k > xk]), we get [ɛxˈkʰi] from M 82, but [ɛkˈi] from F 72 (aici); [o xarˈkɪɾə] from M 82, but [o xarˈkɪɾə] from F 72 (an charcair); [kəɾˈxkʰə] (coirce); [kəɾˈxkʰ/ kɛɾˈxkʰ] (corc [pl]); and [dɛrˈxkʰə] from F 72, but [dɛˈrɤkʰə] from M 82 (díerce).

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 tʃɪɾˈnə] from F 72, but [ɛʃɪɾˈnə] from M 82. Nevertheless, we do get [tʃəs] (seas, “thwart”) and [nˈtʃə] (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., [tʃə], [tʃi], and [tʃiɾˈd], 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 [utʃkʰi] and [ʃətʃkʰəl] (uisce and soisceal, 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 [raʊɾfʊə] (rubharta) from M 82, and F 72 produces [xʊɾfˈtɛ:] (chuir sé).

We get an intrusive dental plosive breaking up consonant clusters of an alveolar nasal consonant followed by a flap, as in [aːNdɾə] (anraith), [skʰəndɾə] (scanradh), and [kʊndɾə] 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 [duːlɒs] (domlas) from both informants. As for their palatalised counterparts, we get [ɡaːlˈnɾi] (goibhne) from M 82 (but [ɡaːlˈvəɾˈnɾi] from F 72). On the other hand, we get [ɑ tˈlɛː] (… an tsléibhe) from F 72, but [nə sɬˈɛːɾɛ] 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 gaíneamh, 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.

We also get frequent elision of the voiceless dental plosive [t] in the consonant cluster

2For 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.
[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 *róocht* 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 [ov] to the high back rounded vowel [u:]. 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., [hn' æ xi: wul' fed].

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., [g@ ji:S/ /gU ji:S].

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 [u] and [u:], respectively, to the diphthong [ao], for example in the words *inniu* and *amá*, e.g., [’N’o:] and [mo:], 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 [oa] expressing the pronoun *thú*. I had previously heard a male relative in his sixties from Cill Rómáin using the identical diphthong in the pronoun *tú* while greeting a friend, e.g. *Cén chaoi a bhfuil tú* [t@ u:??]

Also of interest to me is the raising of the expected diphthong [ao] to the long high front vowel [i:] in the word *maidhm*. This happens also in Cois Fhharraige Irish, as we see in Prof. de Bhaldraithe’s works on the phonology and morphology of that dialect, and, for
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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., [mʰe:jimʰ].

Equally arresting is the realisation of the body organ *ae* as [Ijuː] (F 72) or [i:jUː] (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 [Aː], 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., [baːl aːrn′iʃ]. 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 [E] in the form *gheall* in the expression *mar gheall ar* ... , e.g., [mar jEEr′].

We have dealt already with the shortening and centralisation of the diphthong [u@] to the neutral vowel [@] 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 *buachaill* 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 [@], we note two instances where a neutral vowel occurs unexpectedly between words, e.g., [aːs amuː a fɛ:r] (is iomaí fear ... ) from F 72, and [ʃin′ o pɛ:kɔ/pæːkɔ] (sin peaca), from both informants. I suspect that the explanation for the occurrence of the [@] 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 [uːrʃar] for both informants, with the epenthetic vowel [@] 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 [aː] 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., [hi:jəN] (from F 72) and [he:jəN] 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 [æː].

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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., [æːN ‘taːN̝iː], [æː ‘xaːrdʼuːl̝], [æːN ’duːN̝aː], and [æːN ’waːl̝/ ’æː ’waːl̝], 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 [f’wil’l’tʃər’] (= "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 *taru!*, on the other hand, without such palatalisation and

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\(^1\)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 Fhharraige, 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 téigh! 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! ([g@l′E]), 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, vocalic 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 [taגי] from a male informant in eastern Inis Mór, but

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\(^2\)The same speaker offered teana uait! (< tέana 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 [tariː], [tagiː], [tagigːi], and [tagigːi] 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, 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/teagamuid vs. sór thagann and má ’agann from the male informant at Corrúch, and sula dteangann (sic)

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vs. *má thagann* and *had 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 Méain 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 dtteagann* 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 Chóirce westward. 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 Méain, 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

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

tear! 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] to [a] to [e] to [e] 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 [e] and [e], 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 [e]) 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 (= gabhaigí!), 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! (= gabhaigí!), 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 [go] in westernmost Inis Mór, competition between that variant and the diphthongised variant [ga] in central Inis Mór (between An Sruthán and Corrúch), and the diphthongised variant [ga] 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, [go 3nu'], 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 [o:] in the first variant to the diphthong [uw].

It is worth mentioning two unusual dependent forms of the verb at this point: nó go ngánn tú ([nu go qa:N 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 dtiócas tú? and Cén fhad go dtiócas 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, [ax a Na ...].

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 [xu:] through [xo:] to [xo]. 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 chuaclair ([xu:*'dr*']) 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’E*N] 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: [ð’a*n] (Cá dtéann ... ?).

4.3 Faigh


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 presentation 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
such detail can be recovered from the data shown on the linguistic tables.

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* ([faʃ̪əN]) from the male informant and the variant *[f̪aʃ̪'aN]* 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: *[fən̪]*.

The most striking variant, however, is the variant *gabhann*, produced by the male informant on Inis Oírr in another linguistic context. 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. (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 bhfaigheann* (with the root vowel [i]) 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*).

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.

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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, ["N'e"/"N'o"]*. 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 bhfaighidh ...?*, with the distinctive vowel [i:] 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-*. From Inis Meáin we have only one example, but it is the expected *ní bhfaighidh*, with the distinctive vowel [i:] 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 bh-faighinn*, 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 bhfaighfeá* (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 bhfaighfeá* 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 bhfaighfeá*, a form characteristic of Inis Meáin, from the youngest female informant.\footnote{Note that her father was born and raised on Inis Meáin. Note also her example *go bhfaighidh siad*, produced while eliciting for the impersonal future verb form.}

\footnote{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.

\footnote{13}Séamas Ó Direáin— *A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway*
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 bhfaighinnse from the male informant, but the unusual dá bhfaínn-, 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 bhfaighheadh, 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 [-tfa] in the above-mentioned example [da ‘wa:ntfa] from Inis Meáin, but the most interesting development here is the example [da: ‘wa:N’i] (= 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 muinm.

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 [u] to [o], e.g., [for’], [for’], [for’] and [for’].

We can also note that both informants on Inis Meáin use inflected (synthetic) third person plural verb forms. The male informant produces the variant fuireadar, 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 ([for’u]) from Bungabhla to as far eastward as Eochaill. At the eastern tip of Inis Mór, however, we encounter a distinct root variant, friothadh in two slightly different sub-varieties. In the first, ([fr’i:hu]), the male informant at Cill Rónáin produces a short
root vowel and conserves the root-final \[ h \]; in the second example, \( ([fr'iu:]) \), 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 — \( ([fr'i:v]) \), with a voiced bilabial fricative replacing the final vowel of the verb stem.

And on Inis Óírr, we encounter yet another sub-variant of the variant \( fríothadh \), \( ([fr'i:v]) \), with the palatalised flap \( [r'] \) 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 negative variants on Inis Mór is similar to what we have already seen in the positive variants, with the dominant variant, \( nár bhfuireadh \), 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 variant,\(^{14}\) though we 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 \( nach \).

On Inis Meáin, once again we have continuity, with the male informant producing the example \( nach fríothadh \) \( ([na:x fr'i:v]) \), which echoes the choice of negative particle made at Cill Éinne but produces the phonological stem shape characteristic of Inis Meáin.

On Inis Óírr, however, the older female informant produces the example \( nár fíothadh \) \( ([n@r vu:r i:v]) \), which not only produces the stem variant peculiar to Inis Óírr, but distinguishes itself in its choice of accompanying negative particle. That choice is reinforced in her inflected (synthetic) past tense form \( nárbh ... 'u airadair \), and confirmed again in the example from the youngest informant, F 18: \( nár bhfuair siad \) \( ([n@r vu:r i:v]) \).

Turning now to the impersonal future verb form \( geofar \), we encounter the Standard Irish variant \( geofar \) \( ([j@f@r]) \) only at Cill Rónáin in easternmost Inis Mór and in neighbouring Inis Meáin, with both examples coming from male informants. A similar variant, \( geicfar \) \( ([jef@r]) \), 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 \( gheobhfar \) \( ([jauf@r]) \), 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 Óírr.\(^{15}\) A similar variant, \( gheobhfar \) \( ([g'auf@r]) \), 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 \( faighfear \) \( ([fauf@r]) \), while his sister produces \( bhfaighfear \) \( ([wauf@r]) \), with what appears to voicing of the initial consonant through ellipsis.

\(^{14}\)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.
4.4. TABHAIR

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 [tʰ] augment, attested from the male informant at Fearann an Chóirce on Inis Mór. The male informant on Inis Oírr also produces a single different sub-variant of the standard variant by fronting the vowel: [faɪl].

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*, *far* thug . . .?, *[a] thug . . ., [a] tabhairt, [a] thabhairt.)

Moving on to the verb *tabhair*, and starting with its singular imperative forms, we find the variant *tsiúir!* ([tʃuːr̝ʰiːr̝ʰ]), with its palatalised initial consonant, from Bungabhla through Eochaill on Inis Mór. At Cill Rónán and at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór, however, we find a variant with an affricated initial consonant, *tsiúir!* ([ʃuːr̝ʰiːr̝ʰ]), and this variant extends eastward through Inis Meáin. On Inis Oírr, we encounter yet another variant, *túir!* ([tuːr̝ʰiːr̝ʰ]), with no palatalisation of the initial consonant.\(^\text{16}\)

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

We also have two formulaic constructions: *tor’oma*! ([tɔr̝’ɔmɔ̃]) (= Tabhair dom . . .), with an apparent final vowel, from the female informant at Eoghanacht in westernmost Inis Mór, and the truncated *Tu’dhom!* ([tu Gwum]), 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 — *tíui!* ([tuːr̝ʰiː]), which seems to be modelled on the singular variant *tsiúir*.

Unfortunately, we have no examples from Inis Meáin, but from the older female informant on Inis Oírr we encounter the variant *túraí!* ([tuːr̝ʰiː], 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!.\(^\text{17}\)

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 inflected form on Inis Mór, with the final consonant of the verb stem elided, but here it

\(^{16}\)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.
appears in a third person plural form, *tuigsi’d* ([tugajid]), offered by the male informant in Cill Rónáin. We also encounter a variant with an unvoiced medial consonant, *tuca’n siad*, from the male informant at Corrúch, and its inflected counterpart, *tucasi’d*, from the youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhallha.  

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.  

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 *tuíra* ([túuíra]) on Inis Mór from Bungabhallha through Eochaill, but at Cill Rónáin and at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin, we encounter the affricated variant *tsiúra* ([tsuíra]).  

On Inis Oírr, once again we encounter variants with unpalatalised initial consonants — the expected variant *tíura* ([tíúra]) from the two older informants and an unexpected variant, *tíuire* ([tíuíre]), with the palatalised flap ([r]) 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* ([ní: tíúra]), with the palatalised voiceless velar fricative ([x]) as the lenited initial consonant of the root, throughout Inis Mór. In contrast, Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr share a single variant, *ní thúra* ([ní: thúra]), 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* ([ní: thúire]), which, like her positive future form, contains a palatalised flap in root-final position.  

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 *[‘durere] (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 *[‘dura x tusa] (An dtabhárfadh 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 *thabharfai*, she does the same thing, producing *[hurfí], though she palatalises the conditional suffix immediately following.  

Turning now to the interrogative form of the simple past verb form, *Ar thug ...?*, we

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

19Note 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.

20It is interesting to compare these data with the data for the form *ní thocfaidh*, 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, *tocfaidh*, is unquestionably palatalised as either [t] or [f] across all three islands. In this case we get *[ní: ‘oko] across all three islands, the slightly more lenis form *[ní: ‘oko] from the two western islands, and the even more lenis form, *[ní: ‘oko], from the two informants at Corrich on Inis Mór.

21The impersonal conditional suffix is realised as the invariant palatalised suffix -*fí* across all three islands.
find the expected variant [ur hUg] 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 [Ur ug], while two others elide the interrogative particle, producing [hUg].

Note that there are no examples of the eclipse of the initial consonant of the verb, unlike the situation in Cois Fharragaí 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 tsiúirt ([tSu;rt]) with affrication of the initial consonant or of both initial and final consonants. On Inis Meáin we also find the variant tsiúrists ([tSu;rtS]), with its final affricated consonant cluster metathesised — a feature distinctive of Inis Meáin.

On Inis Oírr, as expected, we find the variant túirts ([tu;rtS]), 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 ([x′u:rt′]) extending the entire length of Inis Mór. The female informant at Cill Éinne also produces the variant thiúirts ([x′u:rtS]), with affrication of the final consonant. We also get a predictable variant theoirt ([x′o;rt′]), 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 ([hu:rt′]), though the variant thúirts ([hu:rtS]), 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 ([hUrSt′]) — 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 ([urt′]).

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 tá? 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 complement clauses, and the third person verbal forms tá [sé/sí], tá [siad], bhí [siad], [ní] raibh)

\(^{22}\)Cf. de Bhaldraithe (1953), 235.
Moving on now to the substantive verb *bí* and beginning with the plural imperative form *bígí!*, we find the Standard Irish variant *bígí!* ([bˈɪɡiː]) across all three islands. We get another variant, *bigí!* ([bˈɪɡiː]), with the vowel of the first syllable 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!* ([ɪmɪˈɡiː]) 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!* ([bˈiː]), 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!* ([bˈiː]), 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 *bígí!* ([bˈɪɡiː]).

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 [vɹˈEjA:] ([= *bheifeá*]) from Eochaill in easternmost Inis Mór and [m@N@ mˈe′ihsA:] ([= *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., [ǔ mˈeː] ([= *dá mbeifeá*]) from Fearann an Choirce and [a mˈeːsAsA] ([= dá mbeifeása]) from Corrúch on Inis Mór, [vˈeja:] ([= *bheifeá*]) from Inis Meáin and [vˈeːcA:] ([= *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., [mərə mˈeʃəcA] ([= *mura mbeifeá*]) from Corrúch and both [vˈæcA] ([= *bheifeá*]) and [mərə mˈæcA] ([= *mura mbeifeá*]), with merging of the two syllables of the verb stem into a single long or half-long syllable, from Fearann an Choirce.

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

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\(^{23}\)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 mono-syllabic 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 [f] of the Standard Irish conditional suffix -*f-eá*, 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 [f] is either completely elided or else replaced with the palatal glide [j].
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 [marə məx tuː] (= mura mbeifeá) and [v′ex m′e] (= bheinn) from Corrúch and [a′ m′ax tu] (= dá mbeifeá) from Cill Éinne. On Inis Oírr, we get [marə m′ex tu] (= mura mbeifeá) from the older female informant and the two examples [marə m′ax tusə] (= mura mbeifeá) and [maNa m′ax tusə] (= mura mbeifeása) from the younger female 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, [aː m′e′a′sa] (= 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)r′N′us e] (= Dheán′usa é! for Standard Irish Dheanfása é!), one could interpret the first construction as [aː m′e′a usə] (= dá mbeifeá ′usa). In fact, the male informant on Inis Oírr seems to produce such a blended form: [marə m′e′ʃə 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 bhínn, and on Inis Oírr, the same 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.

27Such 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.
28Note that her father was born on Inis Meáin.
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′i:ɔ̃], 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′i:ɔ] at Eoghanacht and again at Corrúch, and we get the unique variants [v′ræ] and [m′iæ], with strong fronting of the vowel, at Corrúch — as expected.

On Inis Meáin, we also get the relatively Standard Irish variant [v′i:ɔː] from the male informant and its counterpart, [ɔ m′iːɹ], from the female informant. At the same time, interestingly, we get a contrasting variant with a centralised vowel suffix from each informant: [ɔ m′iːo] from the male informant and [v′i:ɔ/v′æ] from the female informant.

On Inis Oírr, we get a single inflected form, [v′i:ɔːs], 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 ([vˈtuː]), 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 Óirr.

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 ræh'ʃiː]), with the inflectional suffix -is, from an elderly female informant in western Inis Mór, and a second inflected variant, An rabbhair? ([ə rəhˈʰair]), 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 Óirr.

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’? ([næʃ ro]) but also its counterpart Ná ro’? ([nə rə]), a variant used also by the youngest informant on Inis Óirr, F 18: ([nə rə]).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!.

On Inis Óirr, 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

30I 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., Féadfar! ([ʃədˈfar]), “You WILL be able to!”
31We shall shortly see the same variant of the negative particle used in negative relative and negative finite complement clauses.

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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 raíb, 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 raíbh?.

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 [tʃud] or [tʃud], which represents the phrase tá siad. This fused form is used only by the two female informants on Inis Oírr.

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

Its simple past tense counterpart, bhíodar ([vʰid@r]), is found in eastern Inis Mór from Corrách 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 constructionbhí siad.

As for its negative counterpart, ní rabhdar ([Nʰiː rUd@r]), 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, the female informant uses the inflected variant [Nʰiː rød@r], with a devoiced medial consonant. On Inis Oírr, however, only the two older informants again use the inflected variant [nʰiː rød@r], 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 Corrách produces a CVC form of the verb in her analytic construction [Nʰiː røf ʃet].

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 ([go rød@r]) 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 [a rød@r] (= 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.

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

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

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informant, F 18 on Inis Óirr, uses no inflected variants.

4.6  Abair

(The items examined here include the verbal forms deir, [má] deir, [ní] deirimid, [ní] dèarfainn, d'uirn, [ní] d'uir.)

Moving on to the verb abair and starting with the present tense verb form, we note the Standard Irish variant deir ([d]'Er') 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 Rónán, however, we encounter the variant [k'er'], 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 Óirr, 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 ([d]'Er]) 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 jEr']), 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 ([ma er']), showing elision of the initial consonant, suggesting a base form eir.36

The male informant on Inis Óirr echoes his male counterpart on Inis Mór by producing the variant má dheireann ([ma: jEr'N]), 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 Óirr seems to be attempting to produce the same form in her anomalous example [ma jE'N], which omits the word-medial flap [r'].

It is in this same linguistic context that we encounter the suppletive verb root abra- in the first conjugation verb form variant abran. Thus we get the construction má abran from two informants in eastern Inis Mór.37

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

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

35This 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 Óirr. I suspect that this hypercorrect form has developed recently in a school environment.

36On this, more later.

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

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. 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. Note that such forms seem to be confined to easternmost Inis Mór, and are a possible recent innovation.

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 Óírr.

Moving belatedly now to Inis Meáin, we find only one relevant form — the unique analytic variant \[\text{ní 'eireann}\] 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 \(\text{má 'eir seen earlier, with clear elision (rather than}
\text{lenition) of the initial vowel.}

On Inis Óírr, however, we find a bit of the variation that we encountered on Inis Mór. We get the analytic variant \(\text{ní dheireann}\) from the male informant, but the synthetic variant \(\text{ní dheireamuid}\) from the younger female informant, F 18. The older female informant, F 41, however, gives us the variant \(\text{ní [dh]éarann,}\) with a long mid-front vowel in the root, and the initial consonant either elided or elided, depending on which positive variant was used as a base form for the mutation.\footnote{Recall that F 41 received her secondary education in Cill Rónáin at precisely the time when the long-
vowed variants were in vogue.}

Turning now to the future verb form \(\text{ní déarfaimid,}\) we find once again no example of an unlenited or unelided verb form anywhere in the three islands. Instead we find the variant \(\text{ní [dh]éarfaidh muid}\) as the dominant form from Bungabhla through Corrúch in western and central Inis Mór and universally on Inis Óírr.\footnote{Since we have no positive future forms, we cannot be sure whether the base form is \text{déarfaidh muid} or \text{éarfaidh muid} for any given speaker.} As we can see from the examples given by F 43 at Bungabhla, such a variant contrasts clearly with the present tense variant \(\text{ní dheireamuid}\) 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 \([\text{N}^\prime \text{r} \text{e} \text{'a} \text{mud}],\)\footnote{My example is from the female informant on Inis Meáin and thus shows affrication of the final consonant of the pronom, a feature which is irrelevant here.} which may be represented as \(\text{ní dheirfidh muid,}\) competing strongly in roughly the same area on Inis Mór (in this instance, at Eoghanacht and An Sruthán in western Inis Mór and at 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 particular variant of the future verb form and the present tense verb form is negligible at best 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?\footnote{We shall ignore the subject pronouns for the moment.}

The informant at An Sruthán in western Inis Mór does this by using the suppletive verb root \(\text{abr-}\) in the present tense, thus giving us \(\text{ní dheirfidh muid}\) for the future tense form but \(\text{ní abraíomuinn}\) for the present tense form of the same verb. Note that this present tense variant contains the unambiguous stem element -\(\text{i-}\) plus the suffix -\(\text{onn}\) 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 -\(\text{eann}\) 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., *abraiomuinn*) or second conjugation verbs (e.g., *abraiomuinn*), 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 ... [a N’er’ox]*, as expected. His two elderly female neighbours further west at Eoghanacht and at An Sruthán, however, who both used the variant *ní dheirfiadh 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 contrast between the two sets of forms by raising the root vowel [e:] in the conditional form.

\(^{46}\)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.
to the diphthong [i̯] or [î̯], a phenomenon well known in the historical phonology of Irish as “the breaking of the long e”. Thus we get *diarfrauinn* 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 abrainn* 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 *[du:r*′t]* through forms whose final consonant cluster is assimilated to the initial consonant of the following word, such as *[du:r m′e]* or *[dur fe]*, or fused to that consonant to form an affricate, as in *[du:rtfe]*, found from Cill Rónáin eastward through Inis Méain and Inis Oírr. Two male informants on Inis Mór show extremely reduced phonological variants of the same form; we get *[drtfe]* and *[tfe]* from Cill Rónáin in easternmost Inis Mór, and *[tfe]* from Fearann an Choíre in central Inis Mór.

On Inis Méain, once again we get metathesised versions of affricated variants from both informants on Inis Méain: *[durtSt′e]* (= *díirt sé*) and *[durft′m′e]* (= *díirt mé*), respectively.

And on Inis Oírr, we get an unusual reduced form, *[durtfr]* (= *díirt 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 *díirt* is interpreted as the preverbal particle do.\(^{48}\)

As expected, we get a metathesised version of this variant from Inis Méain from the female informant: *[n′i:r ‚úirt′ moːk]* (*níor ‚úirt 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: *[n′i:r urft′ mo taːdo]* (*níor ‚úirt muid tada*). 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, becoming the regular variant for all persons.

\(^{48}\)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*?.

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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


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 [d′IN Ig′i:] and [d′@N Ig′i:], respectively, while from easternmost Inis Mór eastward through the two eastern islands we encounter only variants with affrication of the initial consonant, e.g., [ÃE;N Ig′i:], 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., *foghlaim*/foghlamai.

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 [ð̃ι:n] (from one informant on Inis Mór) through [ð̃en] to [ð̃an] (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 [i:] to [a], but we have no examples of Standard Irish [e:].

The raising of the long vowel to [i:] (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 [a], 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 Óírr, 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* ([Æ n′ins]). She explained that the form was used by some of the older speakers.

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.

First of all, it seems from the example *sor a dhéananns* from the male informant on Inis Mháin that the clitic -s is appended to the verb form when the preverbal particle *sula* is

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49 She also maintained that the same suppletive root could be used to form the relative construction *a níodh* ([*n′i:θ*]) in the habitual past tense.
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 [səl ma jinNatje] (from the female informant in easternmost Inis Mór) and [riv' a jinő tfce] (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 [xf] to [tf] in conditional and habitual past constructions, e.g., in constructions of the type dhéan'adh 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 ("tf'm")), a rule which affricates the sequence [nf] to [ntf] 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' a jinaxe], and the male informant on Inis Oírr gives us [riv' a jenaxe].

Secondly, we can establish the fact of elision in such forms with the example [sorr a jin⁴(n) se] 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 [riv' a jinő tfce] 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 [ns] 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 just described for the previous item: [niːː jenNte']

As for the second conditional form, ní dhéanfaisa, we find quite a different situation.

50The examples [hLa: N’ːːna f’ːːd] and [suLo jin[a fe] 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.

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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: [jINats e].

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 pronoun form tuise ([t@S@/t¨ IS@]), which appears to be modelled on the emphatic pronoun mise.

In addition, we get the blended form [jINus e] (Dhéan’usa é!), with stress on the pronominal suffix, from an elderly female informant in western Inis Mór.54

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we get the expected inflected variant dhéan’ása from the female informant, but — surprisingly — a second blended form, [jIN’us@sa], 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.55

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,55 which show a wide range of phonetic realisation: [jIn], [jIn'], [jEn], [jEn'] and [jOn].

The phonological variants [jIn'] and [jEn'] are likely realisations of the morphological...

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

52Of 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.

53That 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.
variant *dhein*, whereas the phonological variants *[jeN]* and *[jaN]* are possible realisations of the morphological variant *dhéan*. The phonological variant *[ji:n’]*, 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 *[jaN]*, used by F 18 here in the simple past tense, strongly characterises her verb forms in other tenses as well. Thus, for sociolinguistic purposes, we must regard the variant *[jaN]* (*dhion*) as an important sociolinguistic variant — one which seems to mark the youngest generation on Inis Oírr.\(^{54}\) As for her variant *[ji:n’]*, 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* ([n’i: jeN]), with the non-simple past negative particle *né*, 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* ([g@ jIn’ tSE]), and the youngest female informant produces the example *go dhéan tsé* ([g@ ‘ji:n’ tSE]), 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 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*

\(^{54}\)The existence of the positive verb form *dhion* ([jaN]) as well as its negative counterpart *níor dhion* ([n’ér jaN]) was attested by F 18 in further questioning. Other examples of positive verb forms, such as the one used in the construction *ná dhean*, 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.
rinne,\textsuperscript{56} as do both informants on Inis Meáin.\textsuperscript{57}

Inis Óirr, 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 ([Na:r jeN]) 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 Óirr once again sets itself from the two western islands. Here all the speakers use only the direct relative variant (a) dhéan ([PrN′adar])

It is worth mentioning a few isolated forms which occurred in the data. We have the simple conditional construction má dhéan ([mA jeN]), which contains the positive simple past tense variant dhéan, from the youngest informant on Inis Óirr. We also have the inflected third person plural simple past verb form rinneadar ([rI′ad@r]) 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 [jINa] and [jENa] 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, [jINa] competes with [jENa] the whole length of Inis Mór, but the informants on Inis Meáin lean toward the [jINa] variant and Inis Óirr attests only the [jENa] 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 [a′ jINa] from F 72 at Corrúch and [a′ jENa] from F 70 at Cill Éinne, both in eastern Inis Mór, and [a′ jENa] again from the youngest informant on Inis Óirr.

4.8 Ith

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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 Bungabhá 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 Óirr 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}.
(The items examined here include the verbal forms \textit{ith}eann, [ni: iθi:msə], /a/ \textit{ith}.)

Moving on now to the verb \textit{ith} and beginning with the habitual present tense verb form \textit{ith}eann, we find the variant \textit{íos}ann, 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, \textit{í\’eann} ([i\’i:n]), 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, \textit{ith}eann, 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 \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{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, \textit{ní íosaim} ([N\textit{\textacute{}}i: i\’sǝm]), which uses primary stress instead of the emphatic particle -\textit{se} to give emphasis to the pronominal suffix. On the other hand, the male informant on Inis Meáin suffixes the emphatic suffix -\textit{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, \textit{ní í\’imse} and \textit{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 \textit{ith}, we find the variant \textit{i} ([iː]), with the intervocalic [h] elided and the initial vowel raised, tensed and lengthened,\footnote{In individual cases, this long vowel can be lowered to [i] and even [e].} 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 \textit{ith}, 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, \textit{i} ([i]), consisting simply of a short, lax vowel. Only...
Corrúch, close to the centre of Inis Mór, shows mixed usage of both the variants $i$ and $i$.

4.9  Fan

(The items examined here include the verbal forms \[ \text{[a]} \ bfhfanfaidh \ldots \?, \text{[a]} \ d'fhantá, \text{[a]} \ bfhfantá, 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 bfhfanfaidh \ldots ?*, 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 bfhfanóidh \ldots ?*.

The male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór provides a second conjugation variant in the habitual present tense as well: *'bhfanaíonn tú \ldots ?*, 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 thirteen-year-old younger 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 bfhfantá* 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'fháná* 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 \[ \text{[a(:)]} \text{ or [a(:)]} \] on Inis Mór and on Inis Oírr, but as either \[ \text{[a]} \text{ or [a]} \] 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 the verb *bé* from Inis Meáin especially.

\(^{59}\)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.
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 tů* in a direct relative construction, while the elderly female informant at Eoghanacht in western Inis Mór uses the second conjugation conditional variant *a bhfanódh tů* 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’fhanóna*; but the youngest informant, F 18, surprisingly, uses the inflected form *a d’fhanó*; 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.\textsuperscript{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 [r\textgu:] 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* ([r\textugas]), while the female informant at Corrúch produces a third variant, a blended form created from the first two variants: *rugús* ([r\textgu:s]). 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* ([b\text‘e:’r\textu]).

On Inis Meáin, we encounter only two variants, ones already encountered on Inis Mór. The male informant produces [r\textgu:], and the female informant produces [r\textgu:s], 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 [r\textgu:] 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* ([b\text‘e:’rar]).

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

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\textsuperscript{61} The elderly female informant at Cill Einne in easternmost Inis Mór substituted the form *fácaí (= fághtha)*, from the verb *fág*, with devoicing of the final consonant of the root followed by a long, high-front vowel, as in Connemara.
[h] intervocally 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* ([b’er’]), 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* ([b’er’extal’]), 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 [uː] through [oː] to [ə], 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.

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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 [ʌː] 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 [ʌː] 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 [aː] before the consonant cluster in the verbal adjective/past participle cailté, 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 [i] 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 [a] in the root syllable of the verbal noun and a long, tense vowel in that of the simple past tense form — either [ɔː] or [ʊə].\(^4\)

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 [kroma] and [xroːm], respectively.

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

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\(^1\)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.
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 [ri:], 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, [ri'f/ri'f], respectively. Though this form seems to preserve an archaic shape, with preservation of the initial consonant of the suffix, the half-long, tense vowel [i:] of the root marks this variant as a blended form, built on the variant [ri:]. 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 [ri'f] 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*. The first variant, *rith* ([ri]), 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* ([ri'xt]), may occasionally have its vowel lowered (e.g., [re'xt]) or its final consonant elided, (e.g., [ri:'x]), but such forms seem to be in relatively free distribution. The third variant, *reacht* ([ra'xt]), similarly seems to allow optional elision of the final consonant, (e.g., [ra:x]).

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

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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 [ra'xt], with the final -t clearly audible.

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

Returning to the first variant discussed, *rith* ([ri]), 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*: [riːɔxt], [rext] and [riːɔxt].

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: [ briːf′/ briʃe]. 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 *bru-*. Note also that two informants in western Inis Mór substitute the future form of the verb *fiuch*, producing *fiuchfaidh* [f′@ xa].

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: [go muː]. On Inis Meáin, both informants produce the conditional form [go muːx] (= *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].

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9If we include the reduced variant *reach* of the variant *reach*, 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 Choirc not attesting an example.

10What is odd is that there is no attestation of the variant *reach* 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: [go 'muːf]/[go 'muː-altʃe']. 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 Óírr, his example in a relative construction, [wu̇s] (= a bhuaitheas), 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 Meán have been present on Inis Óírr as well.

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

For instance, from the two female informants in westernmost Inis Mór we get sub-varieties ending in falling diphthongs: [go yNi:ɔ] and [go yNu:], while from the two male informants in central Inis Mór we get the variants [go Nuːi:] and [Nax Noːe], with rising diphthongs and elision of the velar nasal consonant [ŋ] produced by elision of the voiced velar plosive [g] in order to simplify the resulting nasal consonant cluster.

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 Meán, the variant coinnéal ([kINaːL]), with its velarised final lateral consonant, is dominant. Only two informants in easternmost Inis Mór and the male informant on Inis Meán 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 coinnéal. 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 Meán, 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

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alternative constructions \textit{Céard a choinnigh thú?} and \textit{Céard a choinnigh Seán?}.\footnote{These constructions are given in the footnotes to the linguistic tables for the verb \textit{coinnigh}.} In regard to the first construction, only the female informant on Inis Mear\textsuperscript{n} produced the expected variant \ldots a \textit{choinnigh thú?}. Most informants on the both islands produced the variant \ldots a \textit{choinniú?}, 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 \ldots a \textit{choinnigh ú?}, with the unexpected tense high front vowel [i:] as final vowel of the verb. Two male informants, one in central Inis Mór and another on Inis Mear\textsuperscript{n}, do the same in the construction \ldots a \textit{choinnigh Seán?}, producing a \textit{choinniú [Seán]ú}. 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 \textit{tógáil} in the phrase \ldots a \textit{thógáil}.)

Moving on now to the first conjugation verb \textit{tóg},\footnote{Note that the final consonant of the verb root is palatalised as \textit{tóig-} in all examples given here. This can be seen also in the direct relative form \textit{a thóigfeadh ([a hók'áxt])} from F 73 at Eoghanacht.} the focus is again on the shape of the verbal noun, in this case \textit{tógáil} as it occurs embedded in the phrase \ldots a \textit{thógáil}.

On Inis Mór, the variant \textit{tóigeál} ([to:ɡ'áIL]), 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 \textit{tóigeáil} ([to:ɡ'áIL]), 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 \textit{tóigeál}, while easternmost Inis Mór from Cill Rónáin through Cill Êinne attests only the variant \textit{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 Mear\textsuperscript{n}, we get only the variant \textit{tóigeáil} 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 \textit{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 \textit{tóigeál}, which connects her directly with Inis Mear\textsuperscript{n}.\footnote{Recall that her father was born on Inis Mear\textsuperscript{n}.}

5.9 Imigh

(The focus here is on two pairs of items. One pair of items consists of the imperative plural verb forms \textit{imígíl}/\textit{ná himígíl}, and the second pair consists of the third person plural simple past verb forms \textit{díimigh}/\textit{ar immigh} \ldots ?.)
Moving on to the second conjugation verb *imigh*, and beginning with the imperative plural verb form *imígí!*, we note that the variant *imígí!*, 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, *imil!*, with the monosyllabic suffix -í. Note that not a single female informant produces this variant, even the two in eastern Inis Mór.

On Inis Méain, the same situation exists, with the male informant producing the variant *imil!* exclusively, while the female informant produces only the variant *imígí!*.

On Inis Oírr, however, that situation seems to disappear. The variant *imil!* is not attested, and the variant *imígí!* 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!*).

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 Méain, the male informant produces the same variant, but the female informant produces the historical variant *d’imíodar* ([dum′i:dàr]), 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 ([dum′i:dàr′]), 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* ([Im′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, *oscaíl*, 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 *osclaígí!*, with a short, lax vowel in the first syllable of the suffix -ígí, is found throughout the island. In eastern Inis Mór, however, all the male informants from Fearann an Choíre through Eochaill use a second variant exclusively, *oscaíl!*, with

17 The male informant on Inis Meáin uses precisely the same form.
18 The male informant at Fearann an Choíre actually produces the example [(a)sLi:] but I regard this shape as a slip of the tongue.

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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.  

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 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

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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! ([fɒ:lim̪iː]) and foghlamáidí! ([fɒ:lam̪iː]), 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: foghlamí!. 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 ([fɒ:lm̪aː]), 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 ([dɒ:lam̪ad̪eːr]), 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 geceannófá . . . ? and the second person singular habitual past verb form cheannaiteá.)

Moving on to the verb ceannaigh, the focus here is on the inflectional suffixes of the second person singular conditional verb form an geceannófá . . . ? and of the second person singular habitual past verb form cheannaiteá, given as [ɔː] and [ɑː], respectively, in F. N. Finck’s Die Araner Mundart.23

Recall once again that her father is from Inis Meáin, though he is a generation younger than M 70. 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.

Cf. Finck (1899), I, 145.
Starting on Inis Mór with the conditional verb form *An gceannfá ...?*, we find two informants — a female informant in west-central Inis Mór and a male informant in eastern Inis Mór — producing the inflected variant *an gceanná ...?*, with the inflectional suffix [-α:] that Finck gives for the habitual past form.

On the other hand, twice as many speakers spread throughout the island produce the uninflccted (or analytic) variant *an gceannódh tú ...?*.

Two male informants, however, produce blended forms. M 60 at Fearann an Chóirce 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 ...?* ([*g'ærNóxsu ...*]) is best interpreted as *an gceannódh 'usa ...?* with a devoiced (and/or elided) initial vowel
d 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 [æ:]. 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 [-@x] 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* ([x′æ:N@i:A:]) 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* ([v′i:A:]). However, we have no other attested forms of this type — not even from Finck, and even the form [vɪɑ:] 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: [x′æ=Nix̂ 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: [x′æ=Nax̂ tUs@].

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: [x′æ=Nax̂ tUs@] (*cheannaíadh tusa*). This confirms our suspicion that her conditional verb form mentioned above represents *an gceannfadh tusa ...?* and not *an gceannódh tusa ...?*.  

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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.\textsuperscript{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 ligfi.)

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 [Tíkʰa:], with its devoiced final root consonant and the elided [f] in the inflectional suffix, in a wide range of phonetic realisations on Inis Mór alone — [Tíkʰa:], [Tíkʰae], [Tíkʰe:], etc.\textsuperscript{27}

Only two informants on Inis Mór use analytical constructions. F 43 at Bungabhla, the youngest informant in the island, produces [N Łíkʰox tusa], and the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór produces the same variant: [Tíkʰox tusa].

On Inis Meáin, the female informant uses the inflected variant with an emphatic particle suffixed: [aN Łíkʰasə]. In contrast, the male informant produces a unique inflected form:

\textsuperscript{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. Durán (2000b).

\textsuperscript{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.
[L’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, 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.

Could this verb form be the archaic inflected future form ligfír, with the second person singular inflectional ending -ir, a form which is still found in Munster Irish? 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’i:] 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. 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 [L’iːk’ɪː] 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 ([La’rɪn’ (fjɪ)]) and the apparent first conjugation form produced by the female informant ([Lar’ (fjɪ)]).

On Inis Oírr, all three informants assign this verb to the first conjugation: (e.g., [La’rɪn (fjɪ)]).

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28 Cf. the impersonal present form [F’ek’or] 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 bíc.
31 The data for Inis Oírr are not so clear.

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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 Méain produces an apparent first conjugation conditional verb form (\[\text{hæstəx}\]), 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 Óirr (\[\text{tasti kræp'ɛ} = \text{teastaíonn cnaipe}\]) and in another from the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór (\[\text{t'æstι:(n) dnι'} = \text{teastaíonn duine}\]).

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 Óirr, 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 [v'] 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 [v'], producing the variant cuimhníonn (e.g., [kɪv'Nι:n]), while all the male informants elide the fricative, producing the competing variant cuín(n)íonn (e.g., [kɪn'ɪn' (fɛ)]).

On Inis Méain, we have only a single example, the future tense verb form cuimnneidh ([kɪNv'ɛ]), but it again has the fricative elided, and it is produced by the male informant.

As for Inis Óirr, we find only the variant cuínn (e.g., [kɪn'ɪn]), with elision of the fricative consonant [v'] 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* ([kɪn’uː]), 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 Eochail in the east. In this case, two of the female informants join the male informants in eliding the fricative [v] in the verbal noun. In fact, the only female informant who produces the relatively standard form *cuimhniú* ([kɪv’n’uː/ kɪ’v’n’iː]), preserving the fricative but vocalising the final syllable, is the female informant at Cill Óinne 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, *cuínmníú* ([kɪ’m’n’uː]), with an unaspirated 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* ([kɪn’uː]) 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* ([smiːN̠aː]), 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* ([smiːN̠uː]), 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-* ([kɪm’-]) derived from *cuimhn-*, e.g., *cuíniú* ([kɪn’uː]), 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 tórnócht* ... — 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* ([fiːɾaː]), 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 [ɾaː] locally) 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* ([ɾaː]), 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, 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 ([ɾiː]) across all three islands: *doirtí* [ɾoːɾt̪iː], 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

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32Cf. the verb *Iarr*, discussed next.
33Cf. Ó Sé (2000), 365, for attestation of this form in the dialect of Corca Dhuibhne.
34The phonological modifications, e.g., [ɾoːɾfɾiː], 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 [dörtuː], with the vocalised suffix [-uː], while on Inis Oírr we have [dörtɒv], with the suffix [-ɒv], in which the voiced bilabial fricative and its preceding neutral vowel resist vocalisation.

35 Including such phonologically modified variants as [dörtfuː] and [dörtʃuː].
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 [t′E x̂i] (= Te’ chaoi ... ?), which brings to mind the Cois Fharraige forms [t′e:ri/t′e] (= Cé ... ?) and [t′erdi/t′erd] (= Céard ... ?). On Inis Meáin, the male informant produces the slightly reduced form [k′e hi], while on Inis Oírr the youngest female informant reduces the entire head-phrase to [x̄1], 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.
As for reduced forms of the head-phrase, not only do we have the second example from F 18 on Inis Óirr — just mentioned, but also the form [k’ē 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: [ka’].

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’ē xu ...?] and [x’ē hw i ...?] from Inis Mór, and the extremely reduced form [k’] in the construction [k’ wUl’...?], once again from the youngest female informant on Inis Óirr.

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 [kA w@s . . . ?], [k2 w(@)s . . . ?] and [kA: wIs . . . ?], 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 Óirr, 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 Óirr, however, all

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2The youngest female informant apparently does so as well, but in an extremely reduced form: [xi- N...].
6.3. VERB FORMS IN INTERROGATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS HEADED BY A PRONOMINAL PREPOSITIONAL FORM

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 *[K'f a . . . ?]* — 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.

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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 ...?*.

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 ...?*. 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 prepositional form in the head-phrase is invariably lenited across all three islands: *Cé dhó ...?*.

Moving on to the next item, *Cé leis a raibh [tú ag caint]??*, with a different head-phrase, we find a distinctive pattern on Inis Mór. We find the dependent form of the verb used from one end of the island to the other, as in Standard Irish, but in eastern Inis Mór from Corrúch through Eochaill, all three informants use an independent verb form, producing *Cé leis a bhí ...?* or *Cé leis atá ...?*.

Similarly, in the two islands to the east, nearly all the informants use the Standard Irish constructions just cited. The two informants on Inis Meáin use the variant *Cé leis a raibh ...?*, and the two female informants on Inis Oírr use *Cé leis a bhfuil ...?*. Only the male informant on Inis Oírr uses the independent form of the verb in the construction *Cé leis atá ...?*.

As for the next item, *Cé leis a bhfuil [gaol aige]?*, 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 [gaol leis]??*, 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 apparently happening is that the informants are sharply aware of the syntactic difference between the two (or three) constructions and are acting accordingly, but we will postpone the discussion of this point until the section *Summary and Conclusions* of this volume.

Some informants had problems producing the construction *Cé leis a bhfuil gaol aige??*—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 male informant at Fearann an Choice, together with the female informant on Inis Meáin,

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6Note F 70’s unusual use of the pronominal prepositional form *leis* instead of the form *dí* in this example.
7F 70 at Cill Éinne produces the head-phrase *Cé leis ...?* with the invariable form *rinne* as well.

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6.4. MISCELLANEOUS INTERROGATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

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 ...?.

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 the preposition of the head-phrase reduplicated.

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 ...? ([k‘e ...?]) 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-particle 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 Bungabha and M 50 at Cill Rónain, choose the alternative with the subordinate clause, while the older female informant F 73 at Eoghanacht chooses the alternative with the direct 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-\( \text{ad} \ldots ? \)). The older female informant on Inis Óirr produces yet another sub-variant, treating the noun as masculine, but palatalising the final consonant and adding a final vowel (Cén faide \( \ldots ? \)).

The head-phrase (Cén t-achar \( \ldots ? \)) 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 \( \ldots ? \)) is found at least occasionally in all three islands, and the youngest informant on Inis Óirr, 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 \( \ldots ? \), 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 elipsis but having no preceding subordinator.

For example, we have Cén fhaid a ngabhfaidh \( \ldots ? \) from the female informant at An Sruthán and Cén t-achar \( \ldots a \ ngabhfaidh \ldots ? \) from the male informant at Corrúch, both in central Inis Mór. The youngest informant on Inis Óirr is especially striking in her use of these constructions, e.g., Cé chomh fada \( \ldots \) roimh a ngabhfaidh \( \ldots ? \) and Cé chomh fada \( \ldots \) go dté a ngabhfas ‘u \( \ldots ? \) 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 \( \ldots ? \), all of these temporal interrogative constructions allow the insertion of the impersonal relative clause \( \ldots a \ bheidh \ sé \ldots \) 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 \( \ldots ? \) or Cé chomh fada a bheas sé go \( \ldots ? \).

Turning now to quantitative interrogative constructions headed by the head-phrase Cé mhéad \( \ldots ? \), we find the non-standard variant Cé méid \( \ldots ? \) attested in western Inis Mór from Bungabhla eastward to Corrúch, while the Standard Irish variant Cé mhéad \( \ldots ? \) 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 \( \ldots ? \) in addition to the standard variant Cé mhéad \( \ldots ? \). Of special interest also is the variant Té méid \( \ldots ? \) produced by the youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, exhibiting the unique interrogative particle Té \( \ldots ? \), which is found on the Connemara mainland as well.

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we find both the Standard Irish variant Cé mhéad \( \ldots ? \) and the variant found in western Inis Mór, Cé méid \( \ldots ? \), in use, though here it is worth noting that the male informant prefers the variant in use in eastern Inis Mór, Cé mhéad \( \ldots ? \), while the female informant prefers the variant in use in western Inis Mór, Cé méid \( \ldots ? \), 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 [tú i do chónaí ann] ...; and ...faoi scian a raibh [cois dhubh uirthi] ...)

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 chónaíonn/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 target clause embedded in the matrix sentence as a simple declarative clause 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 [tú i do chónaí ann] ... 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.

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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’fhianfhá 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 [cois dhubh uirthi]...*, whose antecedent is technically a locative phrase, the pattern seems strikingly different. The complex phrase *...faoi scian a raibh cois dhubh uirthi...* was one possible response to this translation task. All those who selected this response – 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 at least the female informant on Inis Meáin opt for the indirect relative and there are no counterexamples. Thus it might appear that at least in the two western islands only the indirect relative is used in describing 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.\(^8\) Thus 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 thairisti...*. 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...*.\(^9\)

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\(^8\)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 Inis Meáin, however, both informants again produce only indirect relative constructions.

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 tá 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 tí/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 Chóirce: *hol dtiocfaidh* ... and *sola ndionann* ..., respectively. After a gap at Corrách, we again encounter indirect relative clauses from the male informant at Eochail (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) dhionann/dhionann . . . . Note that simple reflexes of the headword sola (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 dhionfadh . . ., 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 thagannus . . . 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 sola 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 thuiofaidh . . . sor a dhionanns . . . and sol mar a thuiofas . . . .

On the other hand, as mentioned above, the female informant provides an example of an indirect relative construction only.

10Recall 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.
6.11. FORMS OF THE HEADWORD SULA

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, 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 Meán: 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 ....
6.13. DIRECT RELATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS
IN SUCH SIMPLE PAST CLAUSES

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 eclipse 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

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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_ in Simple Past Clauses

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 _táinig . . ._ 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)_ 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.

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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.
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.

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: [fɛtIr] (= 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 [-t@r] by the female informant on Inis Meáin during conversation 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.

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\(^1\)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 *[‘b’ u: ... ’b’ u femas]* 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 *[‘b’ u: ... ‘b’ o: femas]* 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 tusa?* 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-

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\(^3\)Cf. Ó Siadhail (1989), 227-229.

able palatalised form [\[^b\]'], 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 feirmeoíri iad ...?, Arbh i dteach ...? and B'isean ...)

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 máinteoir 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!).

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 thá/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 thá/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
mhúinteoir?, 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 mhic 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 [on] in the example from the youngest female informant on
Inis Oírr, I interpret this as a simple phonological reduction of the possessive prepositional
form [ona] (= in bhur) in rapid speech. The same would apply to the form [nsa] of the older
female informant, and to similar forms throughout the islands.

The responses to the third item, Arbh fheirmceoirí 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.

5The final word appears to be an alternative form for the inflected prepositional pronoun ionat.
6By far the dominant phonetic realisation throughout the islands for both the phrases in ár and in bhúr
would be [ona].
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 féirmeoirí 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: feiliméaraí iad, arbh?, with what appears to be the interrogative copulative particle arbh post-posed as an audible question mark.

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.

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 feiliméaraí (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.

Note also that F 41, like all other informants across the three islands, does not lenite the initial consonant of the following noun.

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...
to Corrúch use the Standard Irish construction shown above, but that the majority of informants, stretching across the island from Eoghanacht to Cill Einne, 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.  

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

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10Note that the invariable interrogative particle *Ar ...?* is again used.

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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 Chóirce 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 [IS] 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 [IS], with a simple alveolar central fricative as final segment: [IS eSON/IS e:SON].

Moving east to Inis Meáin, we get both present tense variants, [IS] and [IS], 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 [IS] in the phrase [IS eSON], 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 ([BE fEson]), 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 [BE] is therefore not a form modelled on the variant [aBE e:] discussed above, since the consonant in the present example is not palatalised.

7.3 Copulative Constructions in Subordinate Clauses:

Present Tense

(The items discussed here are . . . gur inneáltóir 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 Eochar 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 Cíl Rónáin, ...

*...gur j-innealtóir é ([g@r ji N@l@r′ e]),* with an apparent augment of the complementiser in it, producing *[g@r 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.*

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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 mhóir ... 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”.

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.

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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 ... _gurb 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 dochtúir 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 dochtúir 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 Inís 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.

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...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 dochtar, 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 dochtúir 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 chloch 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 chloch mhór a bhí ann. Note, though, that the male informant at Fearann an Chóirce omits the complementiser: ...chloch mhór a bhí ann.

The female informant at Cill Éinne, however, substitutes a deictic construction, ...gurb 'in chloch móir, 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 chloch 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 chloch móir 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.

¹⁶Note, 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.

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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 i, 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 dlainn 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’fhíú . . ., B’fhéarr . . ., ...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

17Note that he does this also in the present tense construction ...gur hálainn an áit é.
18Note 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... ([is doírī/ís doírī]) 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 Einne we get both constructions, *Is dóchá... 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 Óirr, 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 Einne 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 Óirr, 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 *Níor 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 Óirr, 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’fhéarr..., and beginning in Inis Mór, once again we find the Standard Irish construction *B’fhéarr... 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 fhéarr... , while the male informant at Eochaill produces *Bhí sé ní b’fhéarr... .
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.

On 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 *...gar fhearr ...*, containing the generalised subordinating particle *gar*, 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, \[f^\prime\] 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 [bˠ iːnt@x], 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 [bˠ iː . . .], as does the older female informant at Eoghanacht, with her example containing the copula as a past tense complementiser: [. . .gorɣw iːnt@x . . .]. Only M 50 at Cill Rónáin palatalises the consonant of the copula: [bˠ iːnt@x . . .].

Two informants substitute classificatory copulative constructions, either B’ óit iointach é or B’ óit dáilinn é, both of which contain the past tense copula followed by the low back vowel [aː] in the predicate noun óit. 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 [bo ʔatʃiːnt@x ɛ] from the female informant at An Sruthán, with a glottal stop separating the two adjacent vowels, and [bˠaːtʃ' ʔatʃiːnt@x 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 óit iointach é . . .

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we get the form [bˠ iːnt@x] 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 óit iointach é in a finite complementary clause, with the final consonant of the complementiser rather tense: [gorv].

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 atʃiːnt@x ɛ]. As for the male informant, he produces a simple adjectival predication with the verb bí: . . . go raibh an óit iointach.

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 [bˠ] can perhaps be explained by his constant exposure, as headmaster of the vocational school, to written Standard Irish and perhaps to the Lárchanúint.²⁰

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 [ʔatʃiːnt@x 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.

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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 [a]. 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 thú ... ([a: mə b′æn tusa ...]). 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 ... ([da: wu b′æ:N 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 ... ([da bə b′æ:N hu ...]), 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: [da bər b′æ:N hua ...], 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 [a: məx tu ndə v′æ:N ...], 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 b′æ:N 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 ... ([a: bə b′æ:N u ...]), with neither eclipse of the copula nor lenition of the predicate noun, and the cleft construction Dá bar bean a bheadh ansin ... ([a bar b′æ:N o v′ex o′t’im ...]), with the dá bar construction in a fronted noun phrase.

On Inis Oírr as well, we get the construction Dá mba bean thú ... ([da mə b′æ:N hu: ...]), 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, [a: məx 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 bo b′æ:n ò v′ex ònat ...]), with neither eclipse 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 ...* ([a′ b′e ... a b′æ:n ò v′ex òNat ...]), 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 eclipse 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 eclipse 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 eclipse 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 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* ([ʃis]), 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 \([\text{fe} \ k'\alpha N \ 'ma:]\), which, despite the slightly unusual shape of the pronoun, I interpret as the Standard Irish construction \(\text{Seo ceann maith!}\). The male informant, however, produces the unusual construction \([\text{fa}we \ k'\alpha N \ ma:]\), which I interpret as \(\text{Seobh é ceann maith!}\), 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 \(\text{Seo ceann maith!}\) while the two older informants, M 55 and F 41, use the construction \(\text{Siod ceann maith!}\), with the variant \(\text{siod}\) 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 \(\text{seo}\) in initial position in this deictic construction. The male informant on Inis Meáin augments the form with the personal pronoun to produce \(\text{seobh é}\), despite the fact that the following noun phrase is indefinite.

We find the deictic pronoun \(\text{siod}\) at Bungabhla and at Eoghanacht in westernmost Inis Mór, and we get it also from the two older informants, male and female, on Inis Óirr, but not at all on Inis Meáin. On the other hand, the deictic pronoun \(\text{sios}\) 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 \(\text{seod}\), with a pronunciation \([\text{Sod}]\) almost identical to the Aran form \(\text{siod}\) \(([\text{S@d}])\), 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 \(\text{seod}\) occurs only sentence initially and before the personal pronouns \(\text{é}, \text{i}\) and \(\text{iad}\),\(^1\) the use of the deictic pronoun \(\text{siod}\) in the Aran Islands extends to syntactic positions before noun phrases as well.

Nevertheless, Prof. de Bhaldraithe does give one example where \(\text{siod}\) is used attributively in a noun phrase: \(\text{na cineálachaí seod}.\)\(^2\)

Now we turn to the next item, \(\text{Sin drochcheann!}\), with the deictic pronoun \(\text{sin}\) in sentence initial position.

Beginning on Inis Mór, we find the deictic construction \(\text{Sin ceann dona!}\) 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 \(\text{Shin ceann dona!}\), with the deictic form apparently lenited. His neighbour to the east, the female informant at Corrúch, produces the deictic construction \(\text{Sin é drochcheann!}\), with the personal pronoun \(\text{é}\) interpolated despite the following indefinite noun phrase. She also produces \(\text{Ceann dona!}\), 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

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\(^1\) Cf. de Bhaldraithe (1953), 162. Prof. de Bhaldraithe uses the spelling \(\text{seod}\) for this form, but I prefer to spell the form as \(\text{siod}\) 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 \(\text{seod}\) in the phrase \(\text{luach na seod}\).

\(^2\) Cf. de Bhaldraithe (1953), 164.
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Thus we find that M 82 at Corrúch produces *Is drochcheann é sin* and *Ceann dona é!*, M 50 at Cill Rónán 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 Óirr, 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 Óirr 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 Óirr 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 Eochaille in eastern Inis Mór use a deictic construction with the reduplicated personal pronoun. Only M 50 at Cill Rónán 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. The male informant M 60 slightly to the east at Fearann an Choirce selects this form as well, but he lenites it, producing shod ([had]).

Immediately to the east of M 60, however, we get the deictic pronoun seo ([fo]) from the female informant at Corrúch in a construction with a reduplicated pronoun: Seo é é! ([fo e: e:]). 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! ([faw e: e:]).

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)! ([faw e: (e:)]) 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: ([fo e:]). 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.

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3We can say nothing of the female informant at Eoghanacht, since she substitutes the more distal pronoun sin.
8.3 Interrogative Deictic Constructions with Pronominal Referents

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!* ([fin' e' ?e']) from F 43 at Bungabhla and *Sin é ansiod é!* from her neighbour F 73 east at Eoghanacht. The male informant at Fearann an Choirc 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 Choirc 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* directly following the non-standard interrogative particle variant *ab* and the single or reduplicated personal pronoun following that.

4Such reduplication would be consistent with her use of the pronoun in the unexceptionable construction *Sin iad na rudai*. . . . in I.45.

5Note that once again, we do not encounter lenited variants of deictic pronouns before a personal pronoun.

6Note 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)?* (["ab′ ad e: (ei)"]), 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?* (["arb′ i:j’d e:]), 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?* (["b′ o;w e:]), 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?* (["b′ m’n ‘e:]).

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?* (["aN a fow ‘e: e:]), 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?* (["aN e: fæ: ‘e:]). Note, however, that neither informant palatalises the final segment of the interrogative marker *An ... ?* before what should be the following mid-front vowel [e:].

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.

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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 héseo é!, along with the anomalous construction Nír é seo é! ([N′i: ɾ e: S@e]), which contains the negative copula form Nír, with the palatalised final segment ([r′]).

With two exceptions, all the other informants on Inis Mór use the construction Ní shod é (é)! ([N′i: h@d e: e:]), 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! ([N′i: e:]).

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! ([N′i: h@w e: e:]), 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

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Irish construction is the female informant in Inis Meáin, who offers \( \ldots \text{gob } \acute{e} \text{ seo } \acute{e} \). The complementiser, phonologically reduced to gob, seems to be composed of the complementiser go plus an additional formative \( b \), followed by the personal pronoun \( \acute{e} \).\(^7\)

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., \( \ldots \text{gob } \acute{i}od \acute{e} \) or \( \ldots \text{gob } \acute{e}obh \acute{e} \).

Let us first turn to the question of whether the single personal pronoun \( \acute{e} \) or the reduplicated pronoun \( \acute{e} \acute{e} \) is used, regardless of the form of the preceding elements of the clause. Once again, only the reduplicated pronoun \( \acute{e} \acute{e} \) 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 \( \acute{e} \), 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 \( \acute{e} \) seo \( \acute{e} \). On Inis Óirr, 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 Óirr.

As for the individual elements forming this type of finite complimentary clause, we note the nearly universal presence of the construction \( \ldots \text{gob } \acute{i}od \acute{e} (\acute{e}) \) 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): \( \ldots \text{gob } \acute{e}obh \acute{e} \). 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: \( \ldots \text{go mba } j-iod \acute{e} \acute{e} \).\(^8\)

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 \( \acute{e} \acute{e} \).

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, \( \ldots \text{gob } \acute{e}obh \acute{e} \), 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 \( \acute{a} \)b 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 [arb’ ɪ’f’d e] 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 \ldots gob 'iod é (é), though the younger female informant first produces the construction \ldots 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 \ldots 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, \ldots 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 \ldots 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 \ldots 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: \ldots narbh 'iod é é ([\text{narrv}' od e ʔeː]).

Immediately to the east of her, at Fearann an Choirce, the male informant produces the construction \ldots ná shod é é ([Na hod e ʔeː]), with what appears to be the variant complementiser ná, with its vowel slightly fronted.\footnote{Such fronting of the low back vowel, as we have seen, is normal in the Aran dialect(s).} On the other hand, this construction could simply represent an extremely lax articulation of \ldots nach shod é é.

Further east at Corrúch, the female informant seems to elide the initial consonant of the deictic pronoun in her construction \ldots nach 'od é. Her brother, M 82, however, again bases his deictic element on the pronoun seo in his construction \ldots 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 \( \text{nach } \text{dod } \text{é } \text{é} \), the male informant at Cill Rónáin produces \( \text{nach } \text{rod } \text{é} \), and the female informant at Cill Éinne produces \( \text{nach } \text{b'iod } \text{é} \). 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 \( \text{nach } \text{é } \text{sin } \text{é} \), with the more distal deictic pronoun \text{sin} substituted for the proximal form \text{seo}. The male informant also produces the non-standard construction \( \text{nach } \text{'in } \text{é} \), with the initial consonant of the deictic form elided.

On Inis Oírr, we get the expected construction \( \text{nach } \text{shod } \text{é} \) from the older female informant, but we get the construction \( \text{nach } \text{'}\text{od } \text{é} \), with elision of the initial segment of the deictic pronoun, from the male informant, along with \( \text{ná } \text{shod } \text{é} \) (\([\text{Na } \text{hod } e]\)), with, once again, substitution of the variant complementiser \text{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: \( \ldots \text{nach } \text{chod } (\text{an } \text{áit } \ldots /\text{é}) \) (\([\text{NX } \text{xod } \ldots ]\)). 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 \( \ldots \text{nach } \text{shod}, \ldots \text{nach } \text{'}\text{od}, \ldots \text{ná } \text{shod}, \ldots \text{nach } \text{shobh} \), and, with a more distal pronominal form, \text{nach } \text{'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 \( \ldots \text{nár bh'} \text{iod } \text{é } \text{é} \), and her contemporary F 70 at Cill Éinne produces a variant with a reduplicated copula: \( \ldots \text{nach } \text{b'iod } \text{é } \text{é} \), 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 \( \text{Ab } \ldots ? \)\(^{10}\) and in the non-standard positive complementiser \( \ldots \text{gob} \ldots \).

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.

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\(^{10}\)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 b' 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.\textsuperscript{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 \ldots 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.

\textsuperscript{11}Recall the reduplicated copula in the construction \ldots 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!* [buj ‘e: S@ e;]. 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!* [buj e: e;], 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!* [bo ad e: e;], eliminating the reduplicated copula.

On Inis Oírr, the older female informant produces an identical construction, *B’ od é é!* [b@ ad e: e;], 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 @d e].

On Inis Meáin, the female informant produces a non-deictic construction, but with a reduplicated, lenited copula: *Ba bh’él!* [bov ‘e:]

In sum, so far we have seen the past tense of the non-standard deictic construction

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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.\footnote{Cf. B(a) ’iod é!, versus present tense interrogative Ab ’iod é! with palatalisation of the interrogative copula.}

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 [b’ ij ad e], 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). In either case, such declarative constructions are easily distinguished acoustically from the interrogative construction Ab é?, with the palatalised copula and no augment.

Note that in these last two 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 Bungabbha, Siod é! from F 73 at Eoghanacht, Siod é é! from M 60 at Fearann an Choirce, Seóbh 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! ([is ad e’ n’ K’aN e]). 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 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! (\([b\, u:d\, e:d]\)) 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! (\([b\, u:d\, i:;\, e:d]\)) and b’ iúd é!/ b’ iúd iad é! (\([b\, u:d\, e: / 'b\, u:d\, e:;\, e:]\)).\(^4\)

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! (\([b\prime\, m:\, e:d\, id]\)) 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 (\([b\w w:i:d\, fo\, v^i:\, ntU]\)) 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! [b\w w:i:d\, fo\, i:;\, t] and B’ iad seo iad! [b\prime\, i:;\, fo\, i:;\, t]. 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 [i:].) Note also that the second copula, in an identical grammatical construction, is palatalised.

He also produces the non-standard construction Ba bh’ iad iad! [b\w o:w\, i:;\, i:;\, t], 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’iád . . . siúd iad! (\([b\w o:w\, i:;\, t\, . . . \, fud\, i:;\, e:d]\)). Note that she reduplicates and lenites the

\(^{\text{3}}\)Both constructions duplicate the pronoun unnecessarily, and seem to be a form of hypercorrection.

\(^{\text{4}}\)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.

\(^{\text{5}}\)The non-palatalisation of the reduplicated copula in this example is unique to this informant. Unfortunately, it is difficult to represent such non-palatalisation 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.
copula in this example as well as in her two other examples, \( \text{Ba bh'\text{iad } \ldots \ ([\text{b\ dice d}] \text{ and Ba bh'in iad } \ldots \ ([\text{b\ dice d}]) \text{, but in all three cases the reduplicated, lenited copula is palatalised.} \)

Moving eastward to Inis Oírr, we get the non-standard deictic construction \( \text{B' iad iad} \) \( ([\text{b\ ad cd}] \), with a palatalised copula, from the male informant. As noted earlier in our discussion of the example from M 50 at Cill Rónán on Inis Mór, this construction with the palatalised copula is nearly identical to the local present tense interrogative deictic construction \( \text{Ab 'iod iad'?} \), 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 \( \text{Ba iad siod \text{é} ([bu et 'fad e])} \), which she corrects to \( \text{B' iad siod iad} ([\text{b\ w et 'fad cd}]) \). Note that in both examples the copula is not palatalised. Note also that the use of a generalised pronoun \( \text{é} \) in her first example replicates the example of the female informant F 70 at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór: \( \text{B' \text{id iad } \text{é}}. \) 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 \( \text{seo} \) with a lengthened vowel by the male informant at Eochaill on Inis Mór in the construction \( \text{Seo iad iad! ([fo: e d cd])}. \) (On the other hand, this construction may represent the construction \( \text{Seobh iad iad!}, \) with an augmented form of the deictic pronoun).

On Inis Oírr, the older female informant gives us another example of the deictic pronoun \( \text{seo} \) in her example \( \text{Seo iad!} \).

The non-standard deictic pronoun \( \text{siod} \) is used by three informants on Inis Mór, and by the male informant in Inis Oírr.

The remote deictic pronominal form \( \text{siúd} \) is used by the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór in the example \( \text{Siúd iad!}, \) along with its past tense equivalent in the parallel construction \( \text{B' \text{iód iad}!}. \) The identical construction, \( \text{Siúd iad!}, \) 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., \( \text{Siod iad iad!} \). (The female informant at An Sruthán evades the issue by producing the abbreviated construction \( \text{Iad seo!}, \) Note that in the case of the plural personal pronoun \( \text{iad}, \) 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 \( \text{B' in iad iad!}, \) while her brother continues to avoid them. The male informant at Eochaill produces two examples of \( \text{Siod iad iad!} \) and one of \( \text{Sio iad iad!}, \) along with the rather odd example \( \text{Siod iad na cinn!}, \) 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 \( \text{Ba bh' iad iad!} \). 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: \( \text{B' iad/Ba j-iad seo iad}. \) In
contrast, the female informant avoids all use of the reduplicated personal pronouns in her examples: \textit{Ba bh’iad, Ba bh’in iad, Siúd iad!}

On Inis Oírr, the male informant produces one example with a reduplicated personal pronoun (\textit{Siod iad iad!}) and one example with only a single personal pronoun (\textit{B’ iad iad!}). His wife, F 41, this time produces only a single personal pronoun in her example \textit{Seo iad!}. The youngest informant, F 18, as mentioned above, produces relatively Standard Irish constructions: \textit{B’iad siod iad/é}.

9.1 Interrogative Deictic Constructions with Pronominal Referents

(The item discussed here is \textit{Arbh é seo é?}.)

Turning now to the interrogative deictic construction \textit{Arbh é seo é?}, we encounter only one Standard Irish construction on all three islands, the example \textit{An é seo é?} ([\textit{\textipa{aN}} ‘\textipa{e}: ‘\textipa{fo} - \textipa{ei}]), 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: \textit{An é?} ([\textit{\textipa{aN}} \textipa{ei}]).

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 \textit{Arb é seo ...?} (left incomplete) and \textit{Arb é seo é é?}, where the personal pronoun is given in triplicate. Note that the copula, [\textit{arb’}], 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: \textit{Ab é an ceann seo é?}. Note, however, that the form of the interrogative particle, [\textit{ab’}], is indistinguishable from that found in the informant’s present tense interrogative deictic constructions.

As for the other past tense interrogative deictic constructions found on Inis Mór, we find once more that the non-standard construction \textit{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: \ldots \textit{b’ od é é?} ([\textit{\textipa{b} \textipa{d e: e}]}).

We find an exception of another sort in the male informant at Corrách, who once again uses a deictic form based on the variant \textit{seo}: \textit{B’ eobh é?} ([\textit{\textipa{b’ o:we e:}]}).

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: \textit{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, \( R' \text{iod é?} \) ([\(r' \text{ad e}\)]), 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 \( \text{Arb \ 'eobh é é?} \) ([\(\text{b'\text{e: e:}}\)], with a deictic element again based on the deictic pronoun \( \text{seo} \). In contradistinction to M 82 on Inis Mór, however, M 70’s unlenited copula contains the segment \( [\text{r}] \), 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 \( \text{Ab \ 'iod é (é)?} \).

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 \( \text{Ab \ 'iod é é?} \) and his longer example \( \text{Ab \ 'iod é an ceann é?} \), in addition to his example \( \text{Ab \ 'iod é?} \), 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: \( \text{Arb \ 'eobh é é?} \).

On Inis Oírr also, we have only a single example, repeated, of a reduplicated pronoun, that of the older female informant, \( \text{Ab \ 'iod é é?} \), 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 \( \text{Níorbh é seo é!} \) and \( \text{Níorbh iad na cinn \ldots, arbh iad?} \))

For the first item, the negative past tense deictic construction \( \text{Níorbh é seo é!} \), 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: \([\text{n'i\text{rrw e j e}}]\). We get the Standard Irish construction from the female informant on Inis Meáin as well, but with the final segment of the copula palatalised: \([\text{n'i\text{rrv' e j e}}]\), a variant construction which could be represented in Standard Irish orthography as \( \text{Nírbh é seo é!} \). The male informant on Inis Meáin produces a construction which is nearly identical, but with the more distal deictic pronoun \( \text{sin} \): \([\text{n'i\text{rrv' e j m' e}}]\), or, in slightly emended Standard Irish orthography, \( \text{Nírbh é sin é!} \).

We find two non-standard past tense constructions on Inis Mór. The female informant at Corrúch produces the construction \( \text{Nírbh 'iod é!} \) ([\(\text{n'i\text{rrv' ad e}}\)]), while the female informant at An Sruthán produces a nearly identical construction, but substitutes a pronominal form based on the more distal deictic pronoun \( \text{sin} \): \( \text{Nírbh 'in é!} \) ([\(\text{n'i\text{rrv' m' e}}\)]). 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 Óirr, 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 Óirr, 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, *Nír bh'iod é!* and *Nír bh'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: [N’irv’ iat jm’...].

Two other informants have each produced a past tense copulative construction, but they are not negative constructions. Thus the male informant on Inis Óirr produces the positive deictic construction *B’ in iad na rudaí ...* ([b’ m’ id na rudi’ ...]), while the male informant M 60 at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór has produced a similar construction: *B’ od iad na cinn ...* ([b’ od ed No ki:N’...]). (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 (in either 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 Óirr. (I interpret the form [n’i: hi:’d] 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.

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For the simple present tense positive copulative constructions, we have only the problematic construction *Is é na cinn ...iad ...* ([Fe Na k′i:in′...et ...]) 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 Óirr, 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 ...*arb 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 Óirr, 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 Óirr, 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 ...*nárth é seo é*)

The construction ...*nárth 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 Óirr, 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 ...nárth é seo é ([...N′irv′ e fo ?e:]).* As in
her examples cited earlier, Dúirt sé sio d 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 i o d é ([...narv' ad e/ez]) from two female informants on Inis Mór, F 70 at An Sruthán and F 72 at Corrúch, respectively. We also have the construction ...nár 'o d é an áit ([...nar ad e N'æit']) 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 ([... na had e e]) from the male informant at Fearann an Chóirce, which we have seen earlier in his example for the present tense counterpart of this construction. We also have the example ...nach chod é ([...nax 'xad 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' i o d é é and ...nach b' i o d 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 ...ná 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 h@w e:]) 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 Chóirce 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 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! ([hIm' e: ja:N]) 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 inform-
mant, and the deictic construction *Shod é Seáin!*, 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 ...Seáin 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 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 ...?*.

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 'ín iad na mrá ...?, and her husband produces a single example of the same construction: Ab 'ín iad na mrá ...?. The youngest informant, F 18, however, in producing the same construction, omits the personal pronoun in both her examples: Ab 'ín 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. 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 ([i] in the former case and [ı] 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 ([bʷa e: jau:N e]), 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 ([bij ‘e: jau:n]). Note that the pronoun is not repeated clause-finally.

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 ([bij ‘e: ja:N...]). 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 ([b’ij ‘e]). Note, however, that she palatalises the
copula, as does M 50 at Cill Rónáin in his copulative construction, also with a [j] augment: 
\[ B'\ j-é\ Seán\ ([b'\ i: e\ 'fa:N]) \].

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: 
\[ Ba\ bh'\ é\ Seán\ é\ ([bovˈ e: 'fa:N\ e]) \] and 
\[ Ba\ bh'\ é\ Seán\ ([bovˈ e: 'fa:n]) \].

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'\ i-j-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\ ([bujˈ e: 'fa:N\ e])\ ] from the male informant, as well as two examples of the shorter construction 
\[ Ba\ j-é\ ([buji/bujˈ e]) \] — 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: 
\[ [bovˈ e: 'fa:N\ e] \]. 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\ ([bˈ e: 'fa:N\ . . .])\ ], 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 
\[ Arbh é Seán é? \] ([bˈbˈ e: 'fa:N\ e/ 'rbˈ e 'fa:N\ e]) 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 \textit{Ar é Seán é?} ([r e fo:N e]) from M 50 at Cill Rónáin, a past form which seems to have a zero copula and which recalls his past tense construction \textit{Ar 'iod é?} ([r' ad e]). This usage contrasts with his use of the generalised non-standard interrogative copulative form \textit{ab} in his example \ldots \textit{b' é Seán é} \ldots 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 \textit{é} rather than before the deictic element \textit{'iod}, the final segment of the interrogative particle is not palatalised.

We also get the generalised non-standard interrogative copulative form \textit{ab} in interrogative constructions from a number of other informants on Inis Mór, such as \textit{Ab é Seán a bhí ann?} from F 43 at Bungabhla (which establishes the past time in the embedded relative clause) and \textit{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 \textit{B' in é Seán?} from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce and the construction \textit{B' i-j-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 \textit{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 \textit{An é Seán é ...} and \textit{An é Seán a tháinig?} from the female informant. Note that the interrogative particle \textit{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 \textit{Ba j-e} ([buj 'e:]), with the \[j\] augment.

On Inis Oírr, we get the construction \textit{Ab é Seán a bhí ann?} from the older female informant, but from her husband we get the anomalous construction which I interpret as \textit{Ab é, a Sheáin?} ([Pb' 'e: xa:n']), apparently a result of interpreting the stimulus question as \textit{Was it, Seán?}.

The youngest informant, F 18, offers a cleft sentence, but she characteristically omits the personal pronoun: \textit{A' Seán a bhí ann?} (= \textit{Ar Seán a bhí ann?}). Note the reduction of the interrogative particle to the weak neutral vowel [\*].

As for constructions lacking the final personal pronoun, we get the aforementioned example \textit{B' i-j-é Seán?} (with question intonation) from the female informant at An Sruthán, and the example \textit{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.

\section*{10.6 Disjunctive Constructions: Past Tense}

(The item discussed here is \ldots \textit{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 \textit{Arbh é seo é?}, we got [arb' 'e: fo 'e: e:] and [arb' 'e: fo ...] 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 ...* ([ov e: ja:N...]). Also, the female informant at Corrúch seems not to palatalise the final segment.

On Inis Meánín, 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

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²Note 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.

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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 cótá 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? ([k’erb ‘æ:s do’]). We also get the construction Cé’b as é? ([k’eb ‘æ:s e’]), with the r segment elided in the interrogative particle, from the male informant at Eochaill on Inis Mór and its close equivalent ([k’eb ‘æ:s e’]), 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: [k’e’ řæ:s e’]. 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: [k’æ:s e’/ k’æ:s ø hə:n’ĩg’ fe’].

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\(^1\)Note that the preposition dó is unlenited in both cases.
11.2 Locative Constructions: Past Tense

Turning to the next item, the construction Cárbbh 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? ([k′erw ʔæs dow]) 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 [k′erw], 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 [k′erw], 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, [k′e ru] 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 ([k′erw′]), 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? ([k′e b ʔæs el]) 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 caileadh?.4 In the case of the last two examples, the following relative clause establishes the temporal context.

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2Recall also the example given above by the female informant on Inis Meáin.
3The female informant on Inis Meáin also starts to produce a similar construction but then substitutes the aforementioned construction Céarb as dó? for it.
4From the male informants at Fearann an Chóirce and at Cill Rónáin, respectively, on Inis Mór.
11.3 The Interrogative Construction Cá bhfíos duit?

Turning now to the next item, the construction Cá bhfíos 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 ['kA:wIs dtI'] (from M 68 at Eochaill in Inis Mór), [kA w@s dtI] (from M 50 at Cill Rónáin in Inis Mór), [kA w[o]s 'dtI] (from F 70 at An Srutháin on Inis Mór), and [kA u s dtI] (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 fhíos 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 fhíos a'ls' 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 — [k' e xu wI' . . . ], and its total elision in the example from the youngest female informant on Inis Óirr: [k' wu' . . . ]. 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 [x' hw . . . ] from the male informant at Fearann an Chóirse, 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 Srutháin on Inis Mór and the similar construction Cén sórt cineál cóta é sin? from the male informant on Inis Óirr. We get an unexpected third example in the construction Cén sórt cineál oibre . . . ? from the male informant at Fearann an Chóirse 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 Óirr all three informants use the term sórt to the complete exclusion of cineál.6

5Note once again that the prepositional form duit is not lenited by any informant.
6Though 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 Óirr, it would be hazardous to extrapolate on the basis of such a small lexical sample.

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One arresting construction, unique in the whole sample, is the expression \([k'\text{\textit{Edos}}]\), elicited from the male informant in Inis Meáin after prompting him with the Cois Fharráige 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, \(Cén é?\) (\([k'\text{'En}'\text{\textit{E}}]\)) 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 \([e]\). It is surprising, therefore, to encounter the example \([k'\text{\textit{e: sort ko:t e:}}]\), 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 \([k'\text{\textit{sa ko:t e:}}]\) (= \(Cén sórt cóta é?\)) from the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18. We have already seen a similar phonological reduction in her example \([k'\text{\textit{wu}}l'\ldots]\) 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 \(An\ \text{\textit{ea? A, sea!}}\) \([N'\text{æ}\ldots\alpha; s'\text{æ}]\). 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 \([s']\) in place of the voiceless palato-alveolar central laminal fricative \([\mathbf{f}]\). 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 given name. 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 gabbfaidh 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 Óirr, attracts our attention through her use of rather tense labio-fricative consonants: [gə vaːl′e vaːɾ′e . . .].

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 noun for males by a representative of the youngest generation, F 18 on Inis Óirr. 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 Óirr, the youngest informant in the entire sample. She produces the unlenited example Gasúir!.

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 Móór, with only the female informant at An Srutháin 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 Óirr, a vocative phrase based on páiste is used exclusively by M 55 and F 41, who represent the older generation, and one based on gasúir 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!
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 ([län mo dhe rna dherná de fheataí]) from M 50 at Cill Rónáin, with the nominal qualifier, however, exhibiting 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 ?eəra].³

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: [ə/ fhearaibh! ([æ: r ʰv′])/ə/ fhearaibh! ([æ:r’b’)]).³

M 82 at Corrúch, however, produces a form [ə/ fir!], 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 [ə/ 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.

²In 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.
³Note 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 doirn, 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 ([L:̃N gL̃k' e g a:t̃iː]), 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 ([L:̃N m̃o L̃k' e gə fət̃iː]). 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 ([L:̃N L̃v' e gə fət̃iː]). 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 ([L̃m̃ m̃o L̃k' e və:t̃iː]). 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 [ə] or [aː] 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 ([L̃ñ gL̃k' e ɣ a:t̃iː]), 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 ([La:N mo La’v’ go ?a:ti’]), with the noun láimh 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 ([gLæk’i:n’ b’eg fàti’]), 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 ([’gLæk’ fàti’]). 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 on Inis Oírr.

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’ cos 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. (In fact, such nominative phrases may be functioning as genitival constructions, as we shall see shortly, though the apparent definite article in all three examples is difficult to explain, since the matrix phrase is indefinite.) Thus we get scian a’ chois du’ ([’fJk’i:n ə ’xa:ʃ ’də]/[’fJk’i:n a ’xa:ʃ ’da]) from M 68 at Eochaill on Inis Mór and from M 55 on Inis Oírr, respectively. The male informant at Cill Rónán on Inis Mór gives us a similar construction: scian a’ láimh du’ ([’fJk’i:n ’Lə’v’ da]).

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

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⁸Recall 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 gluc. The use of such forms with palatalised final segments in the nominative/accusative case helps mark the gender of such nouns as unmistakably feminine.

⁹Note the use of the glottal stop for a similar purpose cited earlier in the response of M 50 at Cill Rónán.
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 lárngh mentioned above, invariably takes the old dative form cois when used in the nominative/accusative case.\(^{10}\)

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 Éinne 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 bhuaclái eile, i Contae na Chláir, trasna na sráide, le taobh an choise, os comhair an tí, ar chúl an tí, os comhair an fhir mhóir, os comhair an fhir eile, tar éis an dinneir, tar éis an bhreifeasta and le haghaidh a dhinneir.)

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 bhuaclái 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 bhuaclái 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 bhuaclái 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, rothoir [sic] an bhuaclái 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

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\(^{10}\)For more examples of the use of the old dative form with feminine nouns, especially body parts, see the responses to the LASID questionnaire from M 82 and M 72 at Corrúch.
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 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 ... Contae 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 tsrúid*, while the female informant at Corrúch produces the same variant, but then corrects to the Standard Irish variant. On Inis Óirr, both the male informant M 55 and his wife F 41 produce *trasna an tsrúid*, while the youngest informant, F 18, produces the unique variant *thar gon srúid*, and then corrects to the Standard Irish variant.

The male informant M 50 at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór, produces a lexically distinct construction, *tresna 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 genitival 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 genitival 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 *áilt*. 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*. The non-palatalisation of the final consonant of the noun *taobh* in the linguistic tables may well be a transcription error.

As for Inis Óirr, 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 chnoc* 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 Óirr, 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 Éinne produces a virtually identical response: *(i) dtosach ’n tí*. 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.

11The non-palatalisation of the final consonant of the noun *taobh* in the linguistic tables may well be a transcription error.

12Since 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.
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 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*.

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 Órr, we encounter only one example employing the genitival 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 Spídéal 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 Órr, 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 genitival 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 Órr. Her husband, M 55, attempts to produce the same expression, but produces the hypercorrect construction *tao’s 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 [a].

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 genitival inflection, we get only the construction *taobh thiar gon teach* from younger female informants — F 43 at Bungabhla.

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13In a discussion of the item, she also produced the responses *ar aghaidh na fuinneoge* and *ar chúl a’ tí*.
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 \([tʰiː]\) from the female informant at An Sruthán, \([tʰiː]\) from the male informant at Corrúch, and \([tʰiː]\) 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 fhean 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 fhean ... an fhean 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 the assumption that this is a recent innovation.

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 fheir mhór*, while the male informant produces *ar aghaidh an fheir 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 Óirr we get similar examples from the older female informant F 41: ar ...tosaigh ar fhéar mór ...tosaigh ar (an) bhfear mór.

The next item, *os comhair an fhír 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 fhéar eile* and F 70 producing *ar chála ...an fhéar 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 Rómáin) using the equivalent of the construction *ar aghaidh an fhéar 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 tosaigh an fhéar eile*, F 70 at An Sruthán produces *ar chála ...an fhéar eile*, and M 50 at Cill Rómáin produces *os comhair a’ fhear 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 fhéar 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 fhír eile ...ar aghaidh an fhír eile*, both fully inflected constructions. Note that we have no examples yet of the unlenited, uninflected variant construction from Inis Meáin.

On Inis Óirr, we encounter only one pertinent example, that of the male informant, who produces *ar aghaidh ...an fhír eile* — once again producing the unlenited, uninflected variant.

As for alternative constructions, those which do not require the genitival inflection, on Inis Mór we have only *roimh an fhéar eile*, without eclipsis, from the youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, and, once again, the construction *’n tosaigh ar a’ bhfhéar eile* from her neighbour F 73 immediately to the east at Eoghanacht.

On Inis Óirr, we get *taobh thiar gon fhéar 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 Corrách 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 genitival 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 genitival 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 giúráinneacháin 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 genitival 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 Thóbail, 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 Tóbail, where 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 Ó Murchú, 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 Ó 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 Ó Chadhain.\(^{15}\)

As for embedded genitival constructions, we have two constructions in the data. The first, the phrase ag teach mbáthair 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 dhréáir 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 dhréir Shéamais, while the female informant produces the phrase teach dhréir 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 genitival 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 Offr — are perhaps least conservative in their usage in regard to both lenition and inflection of proper nouns. As for embedded genitival 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 Offr 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 Mhichill!, both informants produce (a) Mhi’áll!, and for the vocative phrase a Mháirtín Ó 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

\(^{15}\)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.
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 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’ bricfášt, 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 [er]. 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 sceine chugainn, ag bualadh an bhuachalla, ag lorg Mháire, ag lory Bhrid 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 nominative/accusative case, e.g., *ag tabhairt scian* (chugainn). The male informant on Inis Móin also produces the plural form *secone*.

The second item, *ag buaite an bhuaitha*, 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 bhuaitha 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 buaite an bhuaith*, except for M 50 at Cill Rónain, who does not even lenite the initial consonant, thus producing *ag buaite an bhuaith*. 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 buaite na bhuaithí* 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 Móin, we encounter the same phenomena. The male informant simply lenites the initial consonant of the noun, leaving it uninflccted for the genitive case. An added feature here, of purely phonological interest but nevertheless worthy of mention, is his characteristic conversion of final [L′] to the palatal glide [j], mentioned in the footnotes to the linguistic table for Inis Móin. Thus we find [bu'Lo n uu'xi/wu'xii] for *ag buaite an bhuaitha*. (Cf. his [bu'xajic] for *buachail* in I., as well as the phonologically similar item [ko'l'ak koje] 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 Móin produces a similar form with lenition of the initial consonant of the noun, but no inflection for the genitive case, in her example *ag buaite an ghiasuir*. On the other hand, when using the lexical item *páiste*, she uses no lenition to mark the genitive case: *ag buaite an páiste*.

By the way, note the synonymous expression (*ag* *gabhail* [go:l] ar an ngasuir/*ag* *gabhail* orthu) used by both informants, an expression not encountered elsewhere in the islands as a response to this item.

Moving now to Inis Orr, 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 bhuaichail*. 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 bhuaichail*. 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 Mháire*. 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 genitive 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 fiaradh 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* [k′ErS] *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 [æg′ fí′rá: vər:′e], just as we had [æg′ bu′l ‚N yasər] in the previous item, and [æg′ tʃurtʃ sk′i:p n agIN′] 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 Bhrid*, 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

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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*. 

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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 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 coinneáil Seáin*. 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 Seáin*.

Two informants produce intermediate forms. The male informant at Corrúch does not lenite the proper noun, but inflects it: *'coinneáil Seáin*. The female informant at Cill Éinne, on the other hand, lenites the proper noun but does not inflect it: *ag coinneáil Sheáin*.

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 Seáin*, 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 with 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 choinneáil*18 from Bungabhla to An Sruthán (though the female informant at Éoghanacht gives us *go mo choinneáil*). From Fearann an Choirce eastward to Cill Rónáin, however, we

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18Note, however, the universal substitution of the particle *go* for the Standard Irish particle *do* in this construction.
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 choinneáil and 'o do choinneáil. 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 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 (*'go do xin’al*).19

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we get only the reduced construction 'do choinneáil from both informants.

On Inis Óirr 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 choinneáil.

### 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

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19This can be seen as a hypercorrect construction incorporating both variants.
Choice on Inis Mór, while from the male informant on Inis Oírr we get *ag curtá bhe*a...*an teach a' hbe*a 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*.

The constructions produced by the older female informant on Inis Oírr to I.35 are also worth mentioning in this regard: *teach an bhe*a mhó*r* and *teach an fhe*a 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, [k′i:], is to be seen both at Corrúch (both informants) and at Cill Rónáin.

The plural lexical item *cinn* competes with the lexical item *rudai* in the two western islands. On Inis Mór, the female informant at An Sruthán uses *rudai* exclusively, while the female informant at Cill Éinne produces both variants. Otherwise, the lexical variant *cinn* is ubiquitous.

On Inis Meáin, however, the variant *rudai* is used virtually to the exclusion of *cinn*. Only the female informant produces one example of *cinn*, along with four examples of *rudai*.

On Inis Oírr, only the lexical variant *rudai* is found, along with the lexical item *rudai*, 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 lá *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 cártai*.

Alternative lexical items used for this item on Inis Mór include *gaolta, daoine main-treacha, 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 ceachtái*. 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 cleachtai.

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 dhubb.)

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 \(\textit{beann mhóir, bean bhreá}\), leniting both adjectives, but in two separate noun phrases, and the male informant M 50 at Cill Rónáin produces \(\textit{bean mhóir téagarach}\), 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 \(\textit{bean mór deas}\), F 70 at An Sruthán produces \(\textit{bean breá mór}\), F 72 at Corrúch produces \(\textit{bean deas mór}\), M 68 at Eochaill produces \(\textit{bean mór dláin\(n\)}\), and F 70 at Cill Éinne produces \(\textit{bean breá mór}\).

In sum, it seems as though the rule requiring lenition of an attributive 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 \(\textit{bean mhóir bhreá}\), and \(\textit{bean deas bhreá}\). (We can say nothing of the female informant, since she produces the predicative adjectival construction \(\textit{Is breá mór an bhean í}\).)

On Inis Oírr, the male informant does not lenite, producing \(\textit{bean \ldots bhceann mór deas}\), while his wife lenites both adjectives: \(\textit{bean mhóir dheas}\). As for the youngest informant, F 18, she exhibits mixed usage, producing \(\textit{bean mhóir deas}\).

As for the next item, \(\textit{bean shlachtmhar}\), 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 \(\textit{bean shlacht'ar}\), and this time her neighbour to the east, F 70 at An Sruthán, joins her in leniting the adjective, producing \(\textit{bean dhathúil}\). 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 Rónán 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 

\[ \text{[b'æn kA:jul']} \]

(= *bean cháiliúil*), again with the initial consonant of the adjective unlenited. What is of further interest here is her articulation of the palatalised liquid \([l']\) as the palatal glide \([j]\), a phenomenon normally associated with the more strongly palatalised liquid \([L']\).

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*.

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1Note the examples from the male informant on Inis Meáin and from the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór discussed above under Consonant Weakening — \([L' > j]\), 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 west-central Inis Mór continue leniting, while their neighbours further west choose not to lenite. Thus both the female informant at An Sruthán and the male informant at Fearann an Choirce produce cos dhubh while all their neighbours to the east and to the west produce variants with an unlenited adjective — cos dubh or láinh dubh.

On Inis Meáin, the female informant again lenites the adjective, producing cos dhubh, but on Inis Oírr, not a single informant lenites the adjective. Thus we get either cos dubh or láinh 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 dhubh twice, and her neighbour to the east, the male informant on Inis Meáin, produces...

2In regard to lexical variation in the islands, note that the term láinh 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 cosi.
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, lánh dhubh and lánh 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.

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.

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3In 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.

4In terms of lexical variation in the head nouns themselves, all the informants on Inis Mór use cinn exclusively, 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. 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. seanbhuaith), seanchaillín.

13.3 Lenition of Nouns after Cardinal Numerals
(The items discussed here are beirt daoine and beirt siúinéiri.)

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 ([b’ert’ wi:n’i]) and M 68 at Eochaill ([b’ert’ yin’i]).

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: [b’ert’ wi:n’e].

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.

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.

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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 siúineirí*, 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 siúinearái* 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. In contrast to his example, however, the male informant on Inis Meáin produces *beirt siúinéara*, with the singular form of the noun but no lenition after *beirt*. Finally, 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 [ˈbʲeirtʃ] 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.

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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 *seacht déag* 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 Corrách 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 bás*, *níos dorchá*, *níos táisce*, *níos moiche*, *níos fliche*, *níos giorra*, *níos raimhre*, *níos doimhne*, *níos léithe*, *níos nuai* 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'fhéarr*.

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'fhéarr* . . . . 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 Choírce 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 lá*, shows comparatively little variation across the three islands. The Standard Irish form *níos lá* 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 *liú*, i.e., *níos liú*.

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 lóibh* ([n̪ʲiːsː l̪oːːibaː]), 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 múchta* ([n̪ʲiːsː muːʃtaː]) and *níos múscraí* ([n̪ʲiːsː 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 taisce*, 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 taisce* through Fearann an Choírce. The variant *níos luaichte* reappears at Corrúch (in the example given by the female informant) and continues eastward through Cill Rónáin. The variant *níos taisce* 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 Choírce, we find only the variant *níos taisce*. 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 taisce*. Of interest also is the variant *níos moichte*.

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\(^8\) These and similar constructions are discussed in a more comprehensive way in the section on past and conditional copulative constructions.
13.6. COMPARATIVE FORMS OF ADJECTIVES

(= níos moiche) from the male informant at Eochaill.

On Inis Meáin, all three variants are found. The male informant produces níos moiche and níos luaichte, and the female informant produces níos túisce.

On Inis Óirr, 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 \[-xt\acute{\i}\] augment in the local forms níos luaichte and níos moiche.

Turning now to the next item, níos flí, we find the variant níos flí dominant on Inis Mór from Fearnán an Choirc 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 flí. In the west, the elderly female informant at Eoghanacht uses another variant, níos fléi, and her neighbour to the east, F 70 at An Sruthán, seems to use a transitional form, níos flít. The youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, tries using the base form of the adjective as a comparative form (níos flíuch) before going on to produce a variant with the augment -zte, i.e., níos flíuch.

On Inis Meáin, both informants produce versions of the níos fléi variant we saw in use by the elderly female informant at Eoghanacht in western Inis Mór. Thus the female informant produces níos fléi itself, while the male informant inserts an [h] to produce the hypercorrect form níos flehí. He also used the variant níos flíucht Jokingly to explain the preceding form.

As for Inis Óirr, both female informants use the variant with the base form of the adjective, níos flíuch, 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 flíucha 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 Corrách, 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 gairde and the male informant on Inis Óirr produces níos goirde. Only the older female informant on Inis Óirr 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 róimhre ([n'is ríːv'r̥e]/[n'is rɪv'r̥e]) from the two female informants at Bungabhla and at Eoghanacht, respectively. Further east, from An Sruthán through Corrách, we encounter a sharply different variant, níos...
produces another variant, [n'íːs ræm'ɾ'ɾ'ɛ], diphthongising the vowel as in the Standard Irish variant, but again not leniting the nasal consonant.

In easternmost Inis Mór, from Eocharail 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 Eocharail and the female informant at Cill Éinne produce níos roimhre ([n'íːs riv'r'ɪ]), while M 50 at Cill Rónáin lowers the vowels slightly to produce níos reimhre ([n'íːs riv'r'ɛ]).

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 rainhre ([n'íːs ræv'r'ɛ]).

On Inis Oírr, however, the two older informants produce the Standard Irish variant níos rainhre ([n'íːs raːv'r'ɛ]), while the younger informant, F 18, produces a variant already encountered in easternmost Inis Mór: níos roimhre ([n'íːs riv'r'ɪ]).

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 domhaine, and beginning on Inis Mór, we encounter the variant [n'íːs daːv'ɾ'ɛ], with its clear diphthong [aʊ], from Bungabhla in westernmost Inis Mór through Eocharail in eastern Inis Mór, though occasionally in the trisyllabic form [n'íːs daːv'r'ɛ].

We also encounter the variant níos domhaine ([n'íːs daːw'ɾ'ɛ]), a regular development from the base form domhain ([daːɾɪn]), from the male informant at Corrúch. In easternmost Inis Mór, however, we get the variant [n'íːs dev'ɾ'ɛ], 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 [n'íːs daːv'ɾ'ɛ], with complete elision/vocalisation of the voiced labiodental fricative [v], from the female informant at Cill Éinne.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant produces the trisyllabic variant [N'íːs deːv'mɛ], 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. [n'íːs daːw'ɾ'ɛ].

On Inis Oírr, we encounter once again both the trisyllabic and the disyllabic versions of the variant [n'íːs daːv'ɾ'ɛ] from the male informant and from the younger female informant, F 18, respectively, while the older female informant F 41 produces the variant [n'íːs daːn'ɛ], with complete elision/vocalisation of the voiced labiodental fricative [v'], 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 liachté, 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

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9Remember that F 41 got her secondary education at Cill Rónáin in easternmost Inis Mór.
13.7. THE INTENSIFYING PARTICLE AN-

This section deals with the marked fronting of the vowel in the intensifying particle from [a:] to [æ:], 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 Chóirce.

\(^{10}\)I included this section because I noted this marked fronting in the speech of my principal informants at Corrách, 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 [æ:] 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 usua 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 usua ...?.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant produces the sequence Ar tú...? before rapidly switching to the Standard Irish sequence An usua ...?, 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?, 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' usua ...?, 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...

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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 Binne 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: Mura tú/tusa Séamas .... In contrast, the youngest informant on Inis Óírr, F 18, produces a lenited pronoun in her example Mura thú Séamas .... As for the older female informant on Inis Óírr, once again she produces an aberrant form, with the initial consonant of the pronoun elided: Mara 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 nuna. Only the youngest informant on Inis Óírr, F 18, produces the Standard Irish variant mura. Besides the unusual but characteristic variant already cited from the older female informant on Inis Óírr, we also have the variant marabh tú ... from her near age-mate F 43 at Bungabha on Inis Mór, and the variant Mara ba tusa ... from the youngest informant of all, M 14 on Inis Óírr.

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 Óírr 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

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central fricative [h] elided: 'ú. Only a single informant, the female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór, produces an unlenited pronoun: *tusa*.

On Inis Órr, 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) *tí*. 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 Mór and both female informants on Inis Órr produce the unlenited forms *tí* 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*.

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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 Sruthán, 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 Órr, 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.

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4Remember 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*: [tɑʊ] (= *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 Óirr: [tu].

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* (se@N/ʃise@N) are the two female informants on Inis Óirr, 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* (s@N/s@N) is encountered from Corrúch eastward through Inis Meáin and Inis Óirr, though we have examples only from the two older male informants in the two eastern islands. The variant *siosan* (ʃ@N/ʃ@N), 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 Óirr in the phrase [fan’ t’iʃ@N (= faigheann sise)].

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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* (*eʃaN*) 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* (*eʃɔN*) 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 Choíre 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

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\(^5\)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 *mainne* in over half of her examples. 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 *mainne* 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 \([m\text{NI}]/[m\text{WIN}]\) (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.\(^6\)

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* (\(\text{jPfj}\)), 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 informant 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 Óirr, however, both older informants voice the bilabial plosive to produce *sibse*.\(^7\)

\(^6\)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).

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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 Choircé 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 [ʃi@d], with the diphthong [i@] 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., [ʃid], [ʃed], [ʃæd], and [ʃæt]. Its final consonant also is occasionally devoiced: [ʃet], [ʃæt].

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 [ʃeːds@N], while the female informant produces one example of [ʃeːds@N].

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 [tʃæd] for -ann siad and [tʃi@dsN] 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 [æ:] in this pronominal form frequent across all informants on Inis Mór, e.g., [æd], 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 *[iːt]* 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 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: *[a go:ti:]*. 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 *[a]* 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. In the two western islands, we generally find the possessive pronoun *ár* reduced to the short central vowel *[a]* 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 *[5 yru’şt]* 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 *[6 gru’ét]* from both the female informant at Eoghanacht and the male informant at Cill Rónán and *[ta’ gru’ét]* ([tá a’ gruaig ... ??]) from the male informant at Fearann an Chóirce are even harder to explain. The simplest explanation may simply be that the mutation system is breaking down in this grammatical context.

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 [ɔ], 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 eclipse 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 sceleirí 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 [ta jir], 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

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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 Inís 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 [v'í: mod' Nə sǐ:], 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 [a] 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 fhéar a fhostú, le é a phiocadh suas and tar éis labhaidh leis.)

In the first two items, the verbal phrases ...ag caint ar/faoi theach a thógáil and ...ag smaoineamh ar fhéar 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 thóigeáil.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 thóigeáil), from the male informant at Fearann an Chóirce ...faoi teach a thóigeáil, 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 thóigeáil 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 teach a dhéana’... a thóigeáil, and the female informant produces ... ar teach a thóigeáil.

On Inis Oírr, the trend reverses itself again, and we find none of the informants leniting

¹We also get an ambiguous construction with a possessive pronoun from the female informant at Eoghanacht, ... ar a teach a cóigeáil, but this can safely be regarded as a slip of the tongue.

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the noun. Thus, the male informant produces \(...) ar teach a dhéana’), the older female informant produces  \(...) ar teach a thóigeal, and the younger female informant produces \(...) ar teach a thóigeal.

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 eicént (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 fhostó.

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) thóigeal anios, 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 phiocadh suas.

On Inis Meáin, the female informant produces a construction with a non-finite clause, le é 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
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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 é 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 [t@r “e:S] 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 “e:S]. We get a more reduced form from the female informant at Eoghanacht, with the vowel of the first word elided: [hr eS]. We get even more reduced variants from both informants at Corrúch, [r eS] from M 82 and [r eS] 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 eS] 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 [eS] 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: [t’@r “e:S], but otherwise we encounter only variants with the vowel elided in the first word: [t’r’ eS/ t’r’ eS/ t’r’ eS/ t’r’ eS]. Such variants we encounter at An Sruthán, at Fearann an Choīče, at Eochaill, and at Cill Rońáin.

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we note only the palatalised variants. The female informant produces [t’r’ eS]. The male informant, on the other hand, lenites the initial consonant but preserves its palatalisation: [h’r’ eS].

On Inis Oírr, both female informants produce palatalised variants. The older female informant produces [t’r’ eS], and the younger female informant produces [t’r’ eS]. The male informant, however, produces the unpalatalised reduced variant which we encountered at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór: [h eS].

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 eS/ Le3rt “e:S] and [har

2We shall have another chance to view this amorphous compound preposition in the next section.
3This is a variant which I normally associate with Connemara.

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[eʃ a la"rt ʃeʃ]. 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 haghadh 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 ([trasNa]) and a second variant with palatalisation of the two consonants at the onset of the first syllable, followed by a fronted low vowel: trasna ([t’ræsNa]).

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, trasna. 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, trasna, from the female informants at Bungabhla, at Eoghamacht 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 [t’ræsNa] from the female informant at An Sruthán, [t’rasNa] from the male informant at Fearann an Choircé, and two examples of [trasNa] 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 trasna 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 [trasNa] and the younger female informant produces [trasNa], while the male informant produces [trasNa].

Note also the unusual construction initially produced by the youngest informant, F 18, [ha:r’ gon srA:d’], an apparent attempt to produce the non-standard construction thar den

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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 *eːʃʃ] 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: [haar ‘eːʃʃ]. 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: [haər əʃʃ].

Once again, we get a more reduced form from the elderly female informant at Eoghanacht, with the vowel of the first word elided: [hr eːʃʃ]. We also get the even more reduced variant [r eʃʃ], 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 eʃʃ]), and, again, from the two informants at Corrúch ([r eʃʃ] from M 82 and F 72, [r eʃʃ] from M 82 alone). Note the diphthongisation of the vowel in the second word in a further sub-variant from F 72: [r aiʃʃ]. 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 eːʃʃ], 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 [t@r heːʃʃ], with the phonological form of the second word apparently deriving from the reduced form [heːʃʃ].

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: [t′or′ eʃʃ] and [t′r′ eʃʃ]. We get a reduced variant of this variant, with the vowel elided in the first word, from the male informant at Eochaill: [t′r′ eʃʃ], 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: [hr′ eʃʃ].

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: [t′r′ eʃʃ/ t′r′iʃʃ], and the male informant produces a variant with the initial consonant of the first word lenited ([har′ iʃʃ]) and a second variant with the initial consonant elided: [ør′ eʃʃ].

On Inis Oírr, we get the non-palatalised variant [tar ‘eʃʃ] 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: [tær′ eʃʃ]. 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 eʃʃ] (again) and [r eʃʃ].

The youngest informant, F 18, produces only the palatalised variant, but in a fuller form than in the previous section: [t′ør′ eʃʃ/ t′ør′ ‘eʃʃ/ t′ør′ r′ eʃʃ].

4Note the raising of the vowel to [i:] in the second element of the construction in his first example.

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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 Fharráige 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 [ai] of the second word).

With the raising of the diphthong [ai] to [ei] that occurs normally in relaxed or rapid speech in Aran Irish, *l’ aghaidh* would become *l’ éidh*. With the levelling of the diphthong [ei] 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: [l’eː haː d’iːn’ɛr’ː] (= *le haghaidh dinnéir*). His other example, however, omits the genitival inflection: [l’eː haː d’iːn’ɛr] (= *le haghaidh dinnéir*). His neighbour to the east, the female informant at Cill Éinne, also dispenses with the genitival inflection: [l’eː haː a j’iːn’ɛr] (= *le haghaidh a dhinnéir*). In another example, she elides the [h] of the compound preposition: [l’eː a j’iːn’ɛr] (= *l’ aghaidh a dhinnéir*).

Going one step further, the female informant at An Sruthán in central Inis Mór, together with both informants at Corrách, 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: [l’eː n paːʃiː] (= *l’ aghaidh an phdís*).

The final step is taken by the youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, and by the male informants at Fearann an Chóirce, at Corrách 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’aː na j’iːn’ɛr] (= *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 [l'e' n' d'in'ér'] from the female informant and [l'e1 n' d'in'ér'] from the male informant.

On Inis Oírr, the older informant M 55 produces the construction [l'e1 n' d'inér] (= 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 [l'e: n' tša:x o jeno], which can be interpreted as l' aghaidh an teach a dhéaná', with the compound preposition used inappropriately in place of the simple preposition *le* before a non-finite clause, or as *le* an teach a dhéaná', 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 \[ag@m\] from the female informant at An Sruthán on Inis Mór and the slightly reduced form \[agm“\] from the female informant at Corrúch further east. We get the form \[a“g@m\], with the stress on the final syllable, from the male informant at Eochaill, still further to the east, and we get the form \[@g@m\], with a stressed neutral vowel in the first syllable, from the male informant on Inis Oírr.

We also get the form \[ak@m\], 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, \[ak@m\], 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 \[am\], 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 \[am\], 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 \[am\] from all three informants and no other variants. In sum, then, the variant \[am\], 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 [aːɡ@t] from the female informant at Eoghanacht, [aɡ@t] from the male informant at Fearann an Chóirce, [aɡ@t] from the male informants at Corrúch and at Eochaill, and both [aːɡ@t] and [aɡ@t] 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 [aɡ@t] from the female informant, a form which is unexceptional, but from the male informant on Inis Oírr we get the unusual form [æ;ɡ@t], 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 [aɡ@tsa] 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 [aɡ@tsa] from the male informant at Fearann an Chóirce 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 [a;t] 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, [ad], 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 [a;t] or [ad] comes again from F 18 on Inis Oírr: [a;tsa] . This form can be seen as an instance of the emphatic form of the variant [a;t], 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 [æt] 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, [æd], 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 ([æd]). 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 [æ:tsa] 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 [ædtsa] 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 [hɑɡɪn’] (= chugainn) in I.18 (“Tá sé a’ tiúirt scian chugainn”), but she uses the form [aN’] (= 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 [agIN’] and [aɡɪN’], while the female informant at Cill Éinne produces [agIN’] and a contracted form. On Inis Meáin, the female informant there also produces [agIN’] 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 [æN’] , [æːN’] or [æːN’]. The older female informant on Inis Oírr even raises the fronted vowel to [e] , producing [eN’] . 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 [aN’] , and the male informant at Fearann an Choiche produces [aN’] .

Turning to the next item, the second person plural inflected form aɡaibh, we find very few examples of this form in the data. We have one example of the basic form [aɡi’], 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 Choiche a little further to the east; his example, [aɡi’], neutralises the first vowel a bit and lengthens the final vowel. We also have an emphatic form from F 43, [aɡɪʃe] (aqaibhse), 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 acu 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 [ako]. The male informant on Inis Oírr also seems to produce only a weak augment at best in his examples [ako(b)] and [ako(v)]. (The augment [ɑv] recalls the impersonal simple past suffix [ɔv] 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

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coda of the second syllable ([akab/akab/akab]) is characteristic of Inis Mór, though the older female informant on Inis Oírr also produces the example [akab]. Her other example, however, [akab], 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: [akab]. 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 [ækab], 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 [ækab] along with [akab].

The devoicing of the final consonant in the example from the male informant at Eochaill on Inis Mór, [akap], is of minor interest.

In sum, the clear contrast between the variant [akab] of Inis Mór and Inis Oírr, with its low central vowel in the first syllable, and the variant [ækab] 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 diot, [cuid] de, díbh and diobh, 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 diot, 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 ([ji:t]), 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.

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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 ([ʔiːbʲ]) from the female informant at Eoghanacht on Inis Mór, dhíbh ([jiːvʲ]) from the male informant on Inis Meáin, and dhíb ([jiːbʲ]) 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 ([ɛiːvʲ]) 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 ([jiːbʲ]), 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 dhíob, 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 [jiːbʲ] (= 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’hatai. We have a single instance of the slightly hypercorrect but otherwise Standard Irish form de fhatai ([ɛɛː ʔat̪ʲiː]), without the expected elision of the vowel of the preposition before the initial vowel of the following word, from M 50 at Cill Rómáin 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 (⟨ɡa⟩). Thus we get the phrase g’hatai, 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

1Note that the final consonant is lenited in this example.
informant on Inis Meáin inserts a glottal stop to prevent elision, producing go bhataí ([go ?aetí]), 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 ([d’e yNaː]) 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, daoibh, and dóibh, and the prepositional phrases don ghasúr and do na gailíní.)

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 [yom]), 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 ([yom/yom/yoʊm]), but the male informant distinguishes himself with a form containing a long high back vowel: [yʊm].

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 ([yʊt')).

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 Inís 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* ([yo:])

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* [ji].

Two of the younger informants, F 43 at Bungabhla on Inis Mór and F 18 on Inis Óirr, relax their articulation of the consonant to produce [zi] and [zi], respectively, and both the female informant at Eoghanacht on Inis Mór and the male informant on Inis Óirr allow their articulation of the vowel to drift to a lower position, producing [d‘i] and [d‘e], 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: [d‘i] and [d‘i]. 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 Choire 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* [yiN], with its lenited initial consonant and its short lax mid-high front vowel, and its emphatic counterpart *dhuinne* on the two western islands.

On Inis Óirr, however, the two female informants produce a distinct variant, *dhúinn* [yiN], 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 Óirr produces (...thug) ‘inn ( [... hUg n”] and the younger female informant there produces *dhuinn* [yiN], 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* ([ji:b]) and its reduced form ‘íb ([ji:b]) 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* ([yi:v]), with a broad lenited initial consonant and a slender lenited final consonant, along with four examples of the dominant variant *dhíb*.

On Inis Óirr, 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

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2The 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* ([yo:ch]), 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, the older female informant on Inis Oírr, F 41, is the exception. She produces two examples of the blended (and fused) form *gosna* in the phrase *gosna cailíní*.

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*, *ionaihb* and *iontu*, and the prepositional phrases *sa bhui céad*, *sa pháirc*, *sa gheimhride* 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 [aNnom]

3Recall 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 [r’Nam], with the stress on the second syllable, from Inis Mór, and a similar form, [inom], 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 [ə’Nat], 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 [ənat] from both of the older informants, M 55 and F 41. We also get the unique variant [əNoNtu] (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 [r’NaN’], all the other examples may be summed up under the slight variants [əNn’], [əNn’] or [ənn’].

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: [Nta] or [Nta]. 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 Rónán 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: [Ntəb/ intəb] (iontab). 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 — [ntə] (ianta) from the female informant at An Sruthán in west-central Inis Mór and [ntəb] (iontab) from the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór, as well as the odd form [aN’əb] from F 43 at Bungabhla, which may be a slip of the tongue.

The forms ionta 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 eastern Inis Mór maintained that the blended form ionta 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 [Ntəb] (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.\footnote{Note the example of the same variant cited above for the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór.}

On Inis Oírr, we get the same variant encountered on Inis Meáin, [\textipa{n\'}	extipa{\textipa{t}a}/ \textipa{\textipa{t}a}], 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, [\textipa{n\'}	extipa{\textipa{nt}o(\textipa{h})}] and [\textipa{\textipa{m}nta}], 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 bhúicéad, 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 mbhúicéad, sa bpáirc/sa mbuaile/sa ngarrat, sa ngéimhreadh 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 [\textipa{n}'] for the expected palatalised velar nasal consonant [\textipa{n}'] in the example [\textipa{s\' o\'n\'m\'r\'e}], 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 ([\textipa{n\'s\'o\'n]/ \textipa{n\'s\'o\'n}]), 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 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 ([\textipa{n\'s\' o\'n\'\textipa{\textipa{e}n\'r\'e}]}).

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 ([\textipa{n\'d\' o\'w\'u\'n\'\textipa{\textipa{f}o\'t\'r\'r\'e}]) and in do bhean ([\textipa{n\'d\' o\'v\'a\'\textipa{\textipa{e}n\'n}]}).
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 [harʃtʃi], while the female informant produces the same variant, but converts the final consonant into an affricate: [harʃfe].

On Inis Mór, however, the dominant variant throughout the island is the variant thairti, [hartz'i], with the sibilant [ʃ] elided. The male informant M 50 at Cill Rónáin and the female informant at Cill Einne in easternmost Inis Mór produce [hartzfi] and [hartzʃi], 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 [hærtʃ iŋ n 'mɔr] (= _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: [hartʃi]. It is possible, though, that what we have here is an 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 [haerʃi] and [hærʃi], in which the dental stop [t] is elided as well.\(^5\) Note, though, that he also produces the dominant Inis Mór form [hartz'i].

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 [hartzʃ (eɾ' . . . )], echoing the female informant at Cill Einne.\(^6\)

The youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18, however, produces two innovative forms: _thair_ [hærʃi], with palatalisation of the final consonant, and two examples of the prepositional phrase _thar i_ [har iʃ / hær iʃ]. 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 [harʃʃi], 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 ([hartzab]), with the sibilant s elided and the -b augment, predominant throughout the island from Bungabhla to Cill Einne, though the female informant at Corrúch again distinguishes herself by fronting the vowel of the first syllable to [æ], producing the sub-variant [hærtab].

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\(^5\) 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 Rónán produces *thartu* ([hartu]), with the sibilant *s* elided, but otherwise identical to the Standard Irish variant. The female informant at Cill Éinne, however, produces the variant *tharab* ([harrob]), 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* ([hartu]) from the male informant, but the variant *tharab* ([harrob/ harrob]) from both female informants.

The youngest informant, F 18, also experiments with innovative forms. Once again she produces the anomalous form *thair* ([har′]) as well as a prepositional phrase formed of a preposition plus an independent personal pronoun: *thar iad* ([har i@d]).\(^8\)

To sum up the distributional patterns for these variants, we may identify the variant *thartab* with Inis Mór alone, and 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* ([hæ:r/ 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′æ:t], 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 [e], 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 Fhharraige Irish, it is interesting that this variant is not mentioned in his account.

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\(^7\)Alternatively, one could interpret this variant as being based on the root *thar* but with an *-ab* augment.

\(^8\)Recall her example *thar t* above.

\(^9\)While such minuscule numbers of examples have no statistical validity in themselves, certainly the patterns bear further investigation.

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The female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór produces what appear to be two examples of this variant with a long vowel: [l′ə:t]. Since we know, however, that this informant is given to raising the vowel [æ:] to [e:], it is perhaps best to regard these examples as derived from the dominant variant [l′æ:t], 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 [l′æt] and [l′et], 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, [t′rí:i:hɛ] and [t′rí:i:ha], while M 50 at Cill Rónáin, headmaster of the vocational school in easternmost Inis Mór, also produces [t′rí:i:ha].

The youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, produces another variant, trí ([t′r̩iː]), a monosyllabic variant with the glottal central fricative h elided. The female informant at An Sruthán produces a similar variant, thrí ([hɾiː]), with the initial consonant presumably lenited. The male informant at Corrúch produces yet another variant on the same theme, troí [tɾiː], 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

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10 This may reflect her greater exposure to Standard Irish as well as her relative youth.

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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 *’roid* ([trid’]), 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 i*, and then repeats the form.\(^{11}\) He precedes these forms with the unique construction *treas uirthi* ([tr’æs orhi]).\(^{12}\)

Paralleling these forms based on the form *tríd* which are characteristic of male informants is the widespread form *tríti/tríte* ([tr’i:tI/ tr’i:tE]), 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 Corrách produces *tríti*. On Inis Meáin, the female informant produces two examples of *trítse* ([tr’i:tʃe]), with affrication of the third consonant, while on Inis Oírr, the male informant produces *tríte* ([tr’i:tE]) (sic) and his wife produces *tríti*. The youngest informant there, F 18, produces the slightly different variant, *thríte* ([hhr’i:tE]), 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* ([’r’i:koN] = *trína colainn*) from the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór, both containing a fused form with the possessive pronoun. The first example is based on the variant *trí-*, and the second example is based on the variant *’roï-*, 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/’roid* 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 a variant of that type.

The second item, the second person plural inflected pronoun *tríbh*, yields only three examples. The first two examples are of the local variant *thríb* ([hhr’i:b’]), 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* ([hhr’i:ʃeʃ fipʃe]), 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 i* 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* ([ədʁɪn̪]) and/or its emphatic counterpart *eadrainne* ([ədʁɪN̪]) on all three islands, but especially in easternmost Inis Mór.

In competition with this form, however, is the analytic construction *eidir muide/muinne*, a prepositional phrase composed of the prepositional form *eidir* ([ɛdɪr̪]) 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* ([ɛdɪr̪ muɪd̪e]), 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* ([ədʁɪː]) on all three islands, though the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór produces the trisyllabic sub-variant *eadaraí* ([ad̪@r̪ː]).

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* ([ɛdɪr̪ jɪb̪s̪e]), 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 Chóirce on Inis Mór produces [ad̪ɪr̪] 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 [ɛː] in his phrase *éidir aon nduine* [ɛ:d̪ɪr̪ əʊn nduɪn̪e]. The same informant, through apparent confusion, also produces the first person form *eadrainn*, but in so doing, fronts the initial vowel to [æː], producing [æd̪r̪ɪn̪].

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* ([ətr̪a]), 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 Chóirce, produces a possible further example.

The dominant variants across all three islands, however, are variants with the augment [b]. Thus we encounter *atrab* ([ətr̪ab]), and its close counterpart *eatra* ([ɛːtr̪ab]), with
the initial vowel fronted to [æ:] 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 ([ɛdɪr' æ;d] = 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 [fu:hI].

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 ([fu:]). The male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór lowers the vowel to the mid back vowel [o:], thus producing [fo:].

(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 Rońáin, who produces the forms [fu:h@/fu:h@].

All the other informants across Inis Mór and Inis Oírr produce the monosyllabic variant fúb ([fu:b]), 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 ([fu:]) 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 ([f′e;]) 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. On Inis Mór and on Inis Oírr, the vowel is normally tense and long, so that the pronoun is normally pronounced as ˈroímpi ([ˈɾiːmp̪ʲɪ]).

We find another variant, ˈruímpi ([ˈɾuːmp̪ʲɪ]), 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 ˈróimpiːː as her example. When questioned, she went on to say, however, that the variant ˈruímpi is in fact more common in Cill Éinne than the more standard Irish variant.

On Inis Meáin, the female informant produces the example ɾumniː ([ɾumˈniː]) twice, which seems to reflect the variant ˈruímpi. When presented with the variant ˈruímpi, she readily accepted that variant as valid.

As for the male informants, none produce the ˈruímpi 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 ˈruímpi 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 ([ˈɾuːmp̪ɑː]) on Inis Mór — that of the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór. On Inis Oírr, however, the variants rúmpí 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 rumpab 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 ([ɾuːb]), formed perhaps on analogy with the pronominal form fúb or perhaps on analogy with the second person pronominal form rúib (= romhaibh). We also encounter its emphatic counterpart rópsan ([ˈɾoːps̪ɑːn/ˈɾoːps̪ɑːn]), 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.

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13For example, note the data from the female informant at Eoghanacht on Inis Mór.

14I have no examples of this particular form in the data, including the LASID data, but this is the sole variant cited for Cois Fharragáin 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 Meánín 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 Meánín, the male informant produces páirc while the female informant produces buaile, so that in range of terms at least, Inis Mór and Inis Meánín are identical.

On Inis Oírr, however, all three informants produce the term garráí, 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 [bəl′e] or [bəl′t], 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 [bu:l′t].)

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 buaille [bu:l′t′e] 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 [ba:l′t′axi]/ [ba:l′taxi] respectively. Further east, at Eochaill and at Cill Rónáin, we find [bu:l′t′axi] and [bu:l′taxi], respectively.15

The competing lexical variant for this item on Inis Mór is the form páireannaí, 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 Meánín, the informants reflect their behaviour in responding to the previous item. The male informant produces páireannaí, while the female informant produces buailteachaí

15I interpret the [u] of [bu:l′taxi] as a normal shortening of the diphthong [u′] found in rapid speech.
[bu]¬l’ťoxi:/ bu¬l’ťoxi:, 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 [f] as part of the root: [pa:rık’1NI].

On Inis Oírr, things are as expected. The male informant produces the plural form páirceannaí, while the two female informants produce the plural form garrantái ([ga:rantsi] = 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 [i:] 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 [imu:], [umu:] and [h@mu:]. 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, [umu:].

On Inis Meáin, the male informant produces the variant with the initial [h] augment, [humu:], while the female informant produces the variant [umu:].

On Inis Óirr, however, both older informants produce the variant with the initial [h] augment, [hUmu:].

The next item, involving the phonological reduction of the phrase uile go léir, attests only the variant ['L'ug], 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 (and of Cois Fharraige) from that of western Connemara, where the variant ['L'g'], 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'IIL' 'wir'iv'i:] 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 'Ihírí [k'IIL' 'iv'ir'i:] or Cill 'Iheaváí [k'IIL' 'iv'var'i:]. 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 Óirr, the two older informants produce the expected form, but the youngest informant, F 18, produces a variant which sounds like "Cill Murray" [k'IIL moa'i:].

What is striking about the variant in widest use, the variant [k'IIL' 'wir'iv'i:], is the long or half-long high front terminal vowel [i:/i:]. 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 mairbhigh, 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 Óirr, who produces the example [k'IIL' wur'ir'ii], with the short, lax vowel which would be expected in the genitival form for a common noun such as maírbeach.

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 Êinne. There is little to note in her example, [k'IIL' 'e:n], other than her characteristic lenition of the nasal consonant to [n'], rather than leaving the consonant unlenited as [n'].

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 Óirr, 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* ([sr@hA:n/sr@hA:n]).

By far the most dominant phonological variant across all three islands is the variant *Sr’án* [sr@N], with both the central or neutral vowel [a] 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* ([str@hA:n]), while the male informant at Fearann an Choirce produces *Str’án* [sr@N].

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* ([Eg′@N tr@hA:N]).

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 ‘a′ru’x]) 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.

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16This 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 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 Trubetsky, 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? 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.

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?

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 Fharraghe 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. 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

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17Cf. Duran (1995), where the problems of interpreting isoglosses in German dialects is discussed.
19This interpretation of events is traditionally known as *Stammbaumtheorie*. Cf. Duran (1995).
20This 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 — and attempt to reach somewhat broader conclusions where appropriate.

12 Variation in Vowels

\[ [i \text{à} > e:] \]

Starting with the phonology, and focusing first on the articulation of diphthongs, we find that the levelling of \([i \text{à}]\) to \([e:]\) in such words as *siar, inscaire, bliain*, etc., is confined almost entirely to eastern Inis Mór.

\[ [u \text{ò} > o:] \]

The levelling of the diphthong \([u \text{ò}]\) to \([o:]\) 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 Mór 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 \([i \text{à}]\) on Inis Mór appears to be an innovation characteristic of that island alone, but the levelling of the diphthong \([u \text{ò}]\) in the two eastern islands appears to be the result of an obsolete rule preserved in relic forms.

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21In 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 buachail, 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 stressed vowel is manifested nearly universally across the three islands as [e]. Only the female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór produces examples with the relatively long back vowels [u] and [o*].

[i: > e:]
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 [i:] to [e:] in such words as síos, Bríd, etc. in any of the three islands.

[u: > o:]
In contrast, we have numerous examples of the lowering of the long high back vowel [u:] to [o:]. Examining such words as báu, 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.

[o: > u:]
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 [o:] towards [u:] 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 [u:].

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 > u]
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 [u] in nearly universal operation on all three islands.
[ō/ə > oː/ʊ]
In regard to the words lom and róthrom, 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 [ō] 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 [ō] 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 [ʊː] and [ʊ], 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.\textsuperscript{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 róthrom, then, is quite complex.

(\ldots in the Lexical Items chrom/cromadh)\n
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 disyllabic 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

\textsuperscript{22}Note a parallel gender difference at Corrúch in central Inis Mór.
the vowels in the adjectival forms are lengthened or not.

\[\text{æ} > \text{æ:}\]

Turning our attention now to the low front vowels, let us begin with the raising and/or lengthening of the low front vowel \[\text{æ}\] in such words as *bean, fear, teach* and *seachtain*. On all three islands there is a strong tendency to lengthen the vowel to \[\text{æ:}\] 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 \[\text{x}\]. 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.

\[\text{æ} > \text{e}/\text{æ:}\]

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 \[\text{e}\] for the short vowel \[\text{æ}\] before non-sonorants. The female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór, F 72, distinguishes herself by lengthening the vowel to \[\text{æ:}\] in an overwhelming majority of such instances.

\[\text{æ} > \text{ʌ}/\text{ɔ}\]

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 \[\text{ʌ}\] for the short vowel when followed by the voiceless velar fricative \[\text{x}\], 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 \[\text{ɔ}\] in the verbal noun *teacht*. As I have remarked earlier, I have heard the variant \[\text{tʃʌx}\] 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!

\[\text{a} : > \text{æ:}\]

Moving on to an opposing articulatory gesture, the phonological rule which fronts the low central vowel \[\text{a}\] to the low front vowel \[\text{æ:}\] 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.

\((\ldots \text{in the Plural Noun } \text{cailíní})\)

In regard to the next word, \textit{cailíní}, not a single informant on all three islands fronts the vowel of the first syllable.

\((\ldots \text{in the Verbal Forms } \text{cailleann/ chaill})\)

In the next two words, \textit{cailleann} and \textit{chaill}, both forms of the verb \textit{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 [aː] in monosyllabic verb forms ending in a “long consonant”, such as the strongly palatalised lateral consonant [l’].

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 [aː] in the monosyllabic form \textit{chaill}, but not in the disyllabic form \textit{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(:)] in both forms, while others generalise the backed vowel [aː] 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 [aː] 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 [aː] in both forms. In fact, it is the uniform attestation of the [aː] 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 \([a(:)]\) 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 \([æ:]\). In contrast, in the most widespread variant in the islands the vowel \([α:]\) 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 \([α]\) rather than the generalised vowel \([α:]\), and within that area, the people of Corrúch seem to have emphasised this areal trait by fronting the vowel to \([æ:]\). 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 \([æ:]\) in this verb form despite their uniform backing of the vowel to \([α:]\) 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 \([ma:]\), \([skæ:]\) and \([daːuːl]\) or as \([maː]\), \([skæː]\) and \([daːuːl]\).

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 \([æc]\), 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 [Aː]!

Thus, for the expected form [baː], we get three competing variants across the islands—[bæː], [baː] and [baː], and an interesting distribution for each of the three variants.

We examine now a phonological rule which fronts the low back vowel [aː] to the low central vowel [æː] 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 [æː], 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 [æː]. Nevertheless, the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18, laxes the vowel to [a] 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 [aː]. 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 [aː] in two instances, fronts the vowel to [a] in one instance and laxes the vowel to [a] 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 [a], [a] and [o] 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 [a] — especially in east central Inis Mór.

Most striking, however, is the use of the allomorph *cē* 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 [a] or [a]. 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 [aː] 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 [aː].

When the informants at Corrúch were asked about the lexically distinct noun *mám* ("mountain pass"), both produced examples retaining the low back vowel [aː], 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. (Cf. the discussion of the rule [aː > aː].)
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 [aː]; but in these suffixes the vowel may be not only be fronted to [æː] or [æː], but also raised to [eː] or even to [e].

Starting with the two western islands, and looking first at suffixes attached to stems ending in a non-palatalised consonant, we find no fronting of the vowel in such suffixes. Turning to suffixes attached to stems 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 [æː]. Thus we can as easily get [æː m′eː] (= An mbeifeá . . .?) or [ɪk′æː] (= ligfeá) as [g′æːNæː] (= 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 [æː m′æː] (= An mbeifeá . . .?) 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 bréá 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 bréá by any informant in any of the islands — except for the male informant on Inis Meáin, who fronts the vowel to [æː] in two instances out of six.

As for the opposite phonological rule, the backing of the low central vowel [aː] to the low back vowel [æː] 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 [æː]. Thus it seems as

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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 \([\alpha:]\).

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 *beithígh*.

In regard to the traditional items *bóthar* and *beithígh*, 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 Óirr.)

Only the two informants at Corrúch on Inis Mór elide the [h] in the neologism rothar as well. Thus both produce the variant [rå:r], 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 cuimh- niónn. 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 Óirr, 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 Óirr, 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 Óirr \([n']\).

\[L' > l'\]

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 \([k'l'm'n'u:]\) (= 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.

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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 \( [\ell'] \) in the item Gaillimh.

On Inis Meáin, the informants also kept the distinction between the two lateral consonants.

On Inis Óirr, however, the two female informants produced only the weak variant \( [\ell'] \) for both items, once again clearly setting off Inis Óirr 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 Óirr obliterate the distinction, producing only the weakly palatalised variants \([n']\) and \([\ell']\).

\([\ell'] > j\]

Turning now to a related phenomenon, the replacement of the strongly palatalised lateral consonant \([\ell']\) 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 \([\text{ko}:\text{ax ko}je] (= \text{coileach coille})\) from the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór, and several examples from the male informant on Inis Meáin: \([\text{bu}:\text{xa}ji:] (= \text{buachailt}), [\text{æ}:\text{ja}bo] (= \text{a leaba, “her bed”}), and finally \([\text{ko}:\text{ax ka}jo] (= \text{coileach coille}), with an even more forceful articulation of the segment.\)

Note, though, that the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór substitutes the palatal glide \([j]\) even for the lightly palatalised lateral \([\ell']\) in her example \([\text{b}':\text{æ:n kA:ju:l}] (= \text{bean cháiliúil}).\)

\([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 \(\text{cnoc, craipe, [de] ghráth/grách, gráthdhuine, grúsacht}\) and \(mná\) as \(\text{croc, craipe, [de] ghráth/grách, gráthdhuine, grúsacht}\) 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 Óirr — 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 Óirr 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 “\([j]\) in the Aran Islands and also on part of the Galway mainland, usage is mixed, \(n\) and \(r\) being used indifferently.”
two variants.

\[ \text{wr} > \text{mr}, [\text{v}’\text{r}’ > \text{m}’\text{r}’] \]

The next linguistic variable involves what the scholar Ruairí Ó hUiginn has labeled “díshéimhiú” (‘de-lenition’).\(^{29}\) In the case of the first item, \textit{samhradh}, we have the substitution of the voiced bilabial nasal consonant \([\text{n}]\) in an environment where the bilabial glide \([\text{w}]\) 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 \textit{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 \([\text{m}’\text{n}]\) — 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 \textit{cuimhneamh}, discussed earlier.

\[ \text{rf} > \text{rs}, [\text{f}’\text{k}’ > \text{sk}], [\text{f}’\text{t} > \text{st}’] \]

We turn now to de-palatalisation, the substitution of \([\text{s}]\) for \([\text{f}]\) in certain consonant clusters. The lexical items examined include \textit{tuirseach}, \textit{fairsing}, \textit{scian}, \textit{scéal}, \textit{sciobtha} and \textit{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 \textit{fairsing}, though less well attested, shows no sign of de-palatalisation by speakers on any of the islands.

\[ [\text{t}’ > \text{t} \text{f}] \text{ (Word-Initially)} \]

We turn now to the phenomenon of affrication — here, the substitution of the affricate \([\text{t} \text{f}]\) for the dental plosive \([\text{t}’]\). We begin with affrication of \([\text{t}’]\) in word-initial position in words such as \textit{teach}, \textit{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 \([\text{v}’]\) 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 extent 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, baile 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.

\[ \text{[rt'} > \text{rtf}'] \]

There is, however, a particular word-final consonant cluster which is worth examining a bit closer — the cluster \[ \text{[rt']}, \] which occurs in the lexical items *tabhairt*, *labhairt*, *dáirt* and *beirt*.

In this context, one can encounter not only the affricated variant \[ \text{[rtf]} \], but also a kind of metathesised version of the cluster where the alveolar fricative \[ \text{[f]} \] follows the flap \[ \text{[r]} \], but precedes the palatalised voiceless dental plosive \[ \text{[t']} \], i.e., \[ \text{[rft']} \] or even \[ \text{[rftf]} \].

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 \[ \text{[rtf]} \] 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 \[ \text{[rtf]} \] 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 \[ \text{[rt']} \] in over half her examples. Even more surprising, however, is the use of the metathesised cluster \[ \text{[rftf]} \] (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 \[ \text{[rft']} \] is endemic. The female informant produces the metathesised cluster \[ \text{[rft']} \] almost exclusively, with only one example of the affricated cluster \[ \text{[rtf]} \]. The male informant, on the other hand, divides his usage equally between the metathesised cluster \[ \text{[rft']} \] and the non-affricated cluster \[ \text{[rt']} \].

In sum, then, in contrast to Inis Mór, on Inis Meáin the metathesised cluster \[ \text{[rft']} \] is overwhelmingly dominant, the non-affricated cluster \[ \text{[rt']} \] is recessive but certainly present, and the affricated cluster \[ \text{[rtf]} \] is virtually non-existent.

On Inis Oírr, however, we encounter no examples at all of the metathesised variant \[ \text{[rft']} \]. Furthermore, the three informants each go their separate ways. The male informant once again rejects affrication, producing only the non-affricated variant \[ \text{[rt']} \], while his wife produces only the affricated cluster \[ \text{[rtf]} \] and the youngest informant F 18 shows divided usage, favouring the non-affricated cluster \[ \text{[rt']} \] only slightly over the affricated cluster \[ \text{[rtf]} \].

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 \[ \text{[rt']} \] and the affricated cluster \[ \text{[rtf]} \] 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 [rft′] has virtually replaced the affricated cluster [rtʃ], but where the non-affricated cluster [rt] 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.

[d’ > ʤ]  (Word-Initially)

We can examine now the substitution of the affricate [ʤ] for the dental plosive [d’) 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 [t′] 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 [d’], 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 [d’) 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.

[d’ > ʤ]  (Word-Medially and Word-Finally)

As for the occurrence of [ʤ] and [d’] 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 \([n\mathbb{f}]\), as heard in the locative pronouns anseo and ansin. In these pronouns we encounter not only the affricated cluster \([n\mathbb{f}]\), but also the clusters \([n's']\) (with the voiceless grooved fricative \([s']\)), \([n't']\) (with simple substitution of the palatalised plosive \([t']\)) and \([t\mathbb{f}]\) (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 \([t\mathbb{f}]\), with the nasal consonant elided, and that elision only in the item ansin, appears restricted to Inis Meáin and to Inis Oírr. Examples are \([\tilde{a}t\mathbb{f}In'\tilde{a}']\), \([\tilde{a}t\mathbb{f}In'\tilde{a}']\), \([\tilde{a}t\mathbb{f}In'\tilde{a}']\) and \([E\tilde{a}t\mathbb{f}In'\tilde{a}']\).

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

\([\mathbb{a}v > u:]\)

We move on now to an entirely different kind of linguistic variable — the conversion of the segmental sequence \([\mathbb{a}v]\) to the single vocalic segment \([u:\], [u;] \) 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 \([u:]\), \([u;]\) or \([u]\). M 50 at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór is the only informant who preserves the sequence \([\mathbb{a}v]\).\(^{31}\)

On Inis Oírr, however, all the informants preserve the sequence \([\mathbb{a}v]\).

(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 \([\mathbb{a}v]\), while his wife vocalises to \([u;]\) and \([u]\).\(^{32}\)

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\(^{31}\)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 *fuairadh*, *faireadh* 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 [fɾiːv].

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

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., [kɾiːv]. Nevertheless, the same speakers (on Inis Mór) will frequently produce the vocalised forms [kɾiːu] or even [kɾu] 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 [−iːu] 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.\(^{34}\)

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\(^{33}\)Compare the comparable forms on Inis Mór, especially easternmost Inis Mór, where only such forms as [fɾiːu] 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 definite plural marker *na* and a following common noun which begins with a vowel.
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 [o:] 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 [o: wi:n’e] from the female informant at An Sruthán, [o: wi:n’i:] from the female informant at Cill Éinne, and the anomalous phrase [o: va:in’e] 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, [t’] 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.

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 [‘amU], 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 [a] in a phrase such as amuigh ansin, one would expect the shorter allomorph [‘amO] 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 [‘amU], 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 [‘amU] as the underlying form.

On Inis Óírr, however, all the informants reflect [‘amO] 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 [‘amO] by inserting the voiceless glottal central approximant [h] in order keep the vowels in the two adjacent words separate, i.e., [‘amO e] (= ...amu’ h-é).

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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”.

\[ N > N \]

In the case of the first linguistic variable, we would expect the substitution of the velar nasal consonant \([N]\) 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 \(i ngar, go ngabhfaidh \ldots, go ngnóthóidh \ldots\) and \(ar an ngaineamh\).

As it happens, all the examples with the alveolar nasal \([N]\) substituted for the expected velar nasal \([N]\) come from central and easternmost Inis Mór. The male informant at Fearann an Choirce substitutes \([N]\) or \([\text{\color{red}N}]\) in the item \(go ngnóthóidh\), thereby simplifying the consonant cluster \([\text{\color{red}NN}]\). 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.

\[ N' > N' \]

The other linguistic variable involves their palatalised counterparts at the same place of articulation, i.e., the substitution of \([N']\) for \([N']\). 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 \([N']\) 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 \([\text{\color{red}ga:wur}]\).

Speakers in the two eastern islands, however, treat the word as a monosyllabic form, all producing the equivalent of \([\text{\color{red}ga:u:r}]\).
In regard to the plural form *gabhair*, however, all the informants across all three islands — with a single exception — produce only the disyllabic form [gaːwIR] or its close equivalent. 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” [IP], ending in the neutral vowel [a]. 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 [gʼrʼiːaN] (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 [eː] very similar to the one just discussed. On Inis Mór, in parallel with the singular form *gabhair* just discussed, disyllabic forms compete with monosyllabic forms of *dreachar* across the island.

On Inis Meáin, both informants use only the disyllabic form [dʼrʼeːor].

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 [u] and [uː], respectively, to the diphthong [uː] 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.

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36 The exception is the youngest informant, F 18 on Inis Oírr, who produces the monosyllabic form [gaːr’] to match her example of the singular form.

37 Cf. the local variant *dreachar* ([dʼrʼeːor]) of the kinterm *deirfiúr*.  

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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, as well as corresponding forms from Cois Fharraige, cited in de Bhaldraithe, T. (1953). 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! ([g@lE]), 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, taral!, with a short, vocal suffix as well, but constructed on the root of the singular imperative form, is attested only at Fearann an Chóirce 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, goil!, 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.

(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-. 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

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38 The same speaker offered teana uait! (< teana 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.

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the male informant uses the Standard Irish variant *tag-* which is used in the rest of Inis Mór.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{44} In contrast, the variant *teacht* is used exclusively in

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{43}Cf. Ó Murchú, S. (1991)

\textsuperscript{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 (= gabhaigí!)*, used only by two male informants in the centre of the island.

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The verb forms *imigí!* (sic) and *inis!* are frequently substituted, and we have a single instance of *tromáiní 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! (= *gabhaigí!)*, 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 *[go]* in westernmost Inis Mór, competition between that variant and the diphthongised variant *[ga]* in central Inis Mór (between An Sruthán and Corrúch), and the diphthongised variant *[ga]* 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, *[go nu]*, 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 *[o]* in the first variant to the diphthong *[u]*. 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, *chuaign*, we find a wide range of phonetic variants in the articulation of the vowel across the islands, ranging from *[xo]* through *[xo]* to *[xo] or *[xo]*. Note the inflected form *chuadair* ([*xu*/*dor]*) 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 ([fə′aN]) from the male informant and the variant [fə′aN] 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 ellipsis of the initial consonant of what appears to be the Standard Irish stem.

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.

On Inis Meáin, we encounter a distinct variant An bhfuighidh . . . ?, with the distinctive vowel [i] 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.

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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 [i:] 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(:)]; from two male informants, one in the centre of the island and one in Cill Rónáin.

On Inis Meáin, we get the expected *ní bhfaigheá* 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.

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(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 [u] to [o], e.g., [fur’], [for’], [for’] and [for’].

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 *faírthas*, 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* ([fur’u:]) 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, ([fr’ihu:u]) and ([fr’iu:u]).

On Inis Meáin, both informants produce a slightly different sub-variant of *fríothadh*: [fr’i:v], 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*, [fr’i:v], with the palatalised flap [r’] elided. As we shall see, this is no slip of the tongue.

As for the negative subordinate impersonal simple past verb form *nach bhfuírthas*, 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 bhfuireadh*, 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, and we even find a stray

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*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 f′ri:v]).

On Inis Óírr, however, the older female informant produces the example nár fríothadh ([na:r f′riv]), which not only produces the stem variant peculiar to Inis Óírr, but distinguishes itself in its choice of accompanying negative particle. That choice is reinforced in her inflected (synthetic) past tense form nár bh...’uaireadair, and confirmed again in the example from the youngest informant, F 18: nár bhfuair siad ([na:r vu:r′ fid]).

(The Impersonal Future Form)

Turning now to the impersonal future verb form gheofar, we encounter the Standard Irish variant gheofar ([jofar]) only at Cill Rónáin in easternmost Inis Mór and in neighbouring Inis Meáin, with both examples coming from male informants. A similar variant, gheifear ([jEfa:r]), 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 ([jaufar]), 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 Óírr. A similar variant, geobhfar ([gaufar]), 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 faigh-fear ([f2i:far]), while his sister produces bhfaighfear ([wa:far]), 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 [t′] augment, attested from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór. The male informant on Inis Óírr also produces a single different sub-variant of the standard variant by fronting the vocal: [fa′t′].

(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.

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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!* ([t′ur′]), 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!* ([t′ur′]), and this variant extends eastward through Inis Meáin. On Inis Oírr, we encounter yet another variant, *tüir!* ([t′ur′]), with no palatalisation of the initial consonant.

We also have two formulaic constructions: *tor′oma!* ([t@r@m@]) (= *Tabhair dom ...*), with an apparent final vowel, from the female informant at Eoghanacht in westernmost Inis Mór, and the truncated *Tu′ dhom!* ([tu Gu:m]), 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 — *tiúir!* ([t′ur′i:]), 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 *táir!* ([turi:]), 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: *tugaigíl!, tuigigíl! and tuirigíl!*.

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 *[ar hUg]* on all three islands, with no examples of the Connemara variant *A′ dtug ...?*, with 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.

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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!* ([Su:r′]/[Su:r′]), wherein the initial affricated consonant or affricated cluster [f] of the variant *tsiúir* is replaced by the simple sibilant [f].

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.

53 As noted earlier, however, we see rare examples of such use of eclipsis to mark the simple past tense in the temporal indirect relative clause constructions *sola dtáinig ...* and *soláthar dtáinig ...*, both produced by the two male informants in easternmost Inis Mór.
We encounter an apparent inflected form on Inis Mór in a third person plural form, tugasi’d ([tuĝaːʃid]), 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.\(^\text{54}\)

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.\(^\text{55}\)

\textbf{54} Note the reduced vowel in the final syllable of both inflected forms.

\textbf{55} 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.

\textbf{56} The impersonal conditional suffix is realised as the invariant palatalised suffix -fí across all three islands.

\textit{(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 ([t’uːra]) 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 ([t’suːra]).

On Inis Oírr, once again we encounter variants with unpalatalised initial consonants — the expected variant túra ([tuːra]) from the two older informants and an unexpected variant, tüire ([t’uːri]), with the palatalised flap [r’] 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 ([N’iː x’uːra]), with the palatalised voiceless velar fricative ([x’]) as the lenited initial consonant of the root, throughout Inis Mór.

In contrast, Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr share a single variant, ní thára ([N’iː huːra]), 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 thiúre ([N’iː huːr’e]), which, like her positive future form, contains a palatalised flap in root-final position.

\textit{(The Conditional Mood)}

We also encounter some conditional forms from Inis Oírr. The older female informant produces [d’ur’e] (An dtabharfá ... ?), but the younger informant, F 18, produces the analytic construction [d’ur’ax tusa] (An dtabharfadh tusa ... ?) and the impersonal conditional form thabharfaí ([hurf’i]).\(^\text{56}\)

\textit{(The Verbal Noun)}
Turning now to the verbal noun, and beginning with the progressive construction *ag tabhaint*, we note the variant *tiúirt* ([tʰuːrtʰ]), 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* ([taɾtʰ]), 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* ([tʃuːrtʃ]) and *tsiúirt* ([tʃuːrtʃ]), with affrication of the initial consonant or of both initial and final consonants. On Inis Meáin we also find the variant *tiúirst* ([tʰuːrstʰ]), 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 thabhaint*, we note the variant *thiúirt* ([xʰuːrtʰ]) extending the entire length of Inis Mór. The female informant at Cill Éinne also produces the variant *thiúirts* ([xʰuːrtʃ]), with affrication of the final consonant.

Once again, Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr share the variant without palatalisation of the initial consonant: *thúirt* ([huːrtʰ]), 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* ([hUrʃtʰ]).

* Bí *

Moving on now to the substantive verb *bí* and beginning with the plural imperative form *bígí!*, we find the Standard Irish variant *bígí!* ([bʰiːɡi]) across all three islands. We get a slightly different variant, *bigí!* ([bʰiːɡi]), 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.57 We also get a third variant, *bíkl!*, 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!* ([bʰiː]), 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 Corrách use a singular imperative form. In contrast, all the informants in eastern Inis Mór from the female informant at Corrách eastward use a plural form.

Note the second singular imperative variant, *bi!* ([bʰi]), with a laxed and shortened vowel, produced by a female informant in western Inis Mór. This is a possible back-

57Note that the laxing and shortening of the vowel in the first syllable of the recessive variant *bígí!* conforms to the normal articulation of the plural imperative suffix variant *-ígí* in second conjugation verbs on all three islands.

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formation from the plural variant bigí! ([b'ɪɡ'ɪː]).

(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 \( [f'] \) 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 \([f']\) 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 mura 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 bhínn, 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 \([t']\) is elided in all variants. Thus, even in the relatively Standard Irish variant \([v'kʰaɾ], \] ending with a long or half-long low back vowel, the preceding consonant is totally elided.

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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 [vɪɾaː] from the male informant and its counterpart, [ɔ mɪɾa], from the female informant. At the same time, interestingly, we get a contrasting variant with a centralised vowel suffix from each informant.

On Inis Órr, we get a single inflected form, [vɪɾːsʊ], 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 Órr, 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 Órr 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? (Æ rabhais) and a second inflected variant, An rhabhair? (Æ rhabhair). 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 Órr.

As for negative interrogative constructions, the male informant at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór uses not only the analytic construction Nach ro? (Æ ro) but also its counterpart Ná ro? (Æ ro). The latter variant is used also by the youngest informant on Inis Órr, F 18: (Æ ro).

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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* ([Nάː r@]), 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 *[tfod]* or *[tjød]*, which represents the phrase *tá siad*. This fused form is used only by the two female informants on Inis Oírr.

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

*(Inflected Simple Past Tense Forms)*

Its simple past tense counterpart, *bhíodar* ([v′i:d@r]), 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* ([N′i: ra’dar]), 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 [N′i: ro’dar], with a devoiced medial consonant. On Inis Oírr, the two older informants again use the inflected variant [n′i: ra’dar], 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 [N′i: ra’v set].

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* ([go ra’dar]) 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 [o ra’dar] (= *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* ([d′er]) on all three islands. We also encounter the variant [d′er'], 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* ([d′e:er']) 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*,

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58 The devoicing of the initial consonant of the suffix -dar may be characteristic of this informant.
with the regular present tense suffix -eann, and used only in the phrase deirann sé.\textsuperscript{59}

\textbf{(The Construction má deir \ldots)}

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 Inís Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla. We get a regularised variant of the same verb form, má dheir ([\textipa{mə děːɾ}]), from the male informant at Fearann an Choircé in central Inís Mór, showing lenition of the initial consonant. In contrast, from the female informant at Eoghanacht in western Inís Mór and from the female informant on Inís Meáin, we get a third variant of this construction, má ’eir ([\textipa{mə ɾʲeːɾ}]), showing elision of the initial consonant, suggesting a base form eir.

The male informant on Inís Órr produces the variant má dheireann ([\textipa{mə təɾʲeːɾ’ɾ̞}], which lenites the initial consonant and then regularises the verb form by added the regular suffix -eann.\textsuperscript{60}

We also encounter the suppletive verb root abra-, embedded in the first conjugation verb form variant abran. This we get in the construction má abran, elicited from two informants in eastern Inís Mór.

\textbf{(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.\textsuperscript{61} 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.\textsuperscript{62}

\textbf{(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 Inís 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 abra- in use by nearly as many informants in the same island. We note a first conjugation verb form

\textsuperscript{59}This variant is attested only from M 50, the headmaster of the vocational school at Cill Rónán on Inís Mór and from the youngest female informant on Inís Órr. I suspect that this hypercorrect form has developed recently in a school environment.

\textsuperscript{60}The youngest informant on Inís Órr seems to be attempting to produce the same form in her anomalous example [\textipa{mə jaɾ’ɾ̞}], which omits the word-medial flap [ɾ̞].

\textsuperscript{61}Since the phonological environment immediately preceding the verb form consists of a long, high front vowel, any given example could easily be interpreted as [tʃer’ɾ̞] or [ɾ̞eːɾ̞].

\textsuperscript{62}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.

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again from the female informant at Corrúch — *ní abránn muid*, and another from the male informant at Cill Rónáin again: *ní abranuinn*. This time, however, two more informants from further out are included, the female informant at An Sruthán, with her example *ní abraisoomuinn* 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.\(^{63}\) 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.\(^{64}\)

On Inis Meáin, we find only one relevant form — the unique analytic variant [**n’i-er’N**] (*ní ‘eireann*) from the female informant.\(^{65}\)

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.\(^{66}\)

**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.\(^{67}\) 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.

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\(^{63}\)The female informant at Cill Éinne supplied further second conjugation verb forms in positive forms as well — *abraíonn muide* and ... *abraíonns muide* — in her expanded comments during the interview.

\(^{64}\)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.

\(^{65}\)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.

\(^{66}\)Recall that F 41 received her secondary education in Cill Rónáin at precisely the time when the long-vowelled variants were in vogue.

\(^{67}\)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.

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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.

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 abraíomuinn* for the future tense form but *ní abraíomuinn* 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. Similarly, the older female informant on Inis Oírr uses the future form *ní [dh]éarfaidh,* 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.

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68We shall ignore the subject pronouns for the moment.

69Remember that this informant apparently elides the initial consonant in her verb forms, as we have seen earlier.

70Remember 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.
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*?

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 [iːa] or [iː].

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-*)

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 [dərˈtɛ] and [tɛ] from Cill Rónáin in easternmost Inis Mór, and [tɛ] 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: [duːrˈfɛ] (= *dúirt sé*) and [dʊrˈfɛ mˈɛ] (= *dúirt mé*), respectively.

And on Inis Oírr, we get an unusual reduced form, [dʊrˈf̥i] (= *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 'uírt* 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*.

As expected, we get a metathesised version of this variant from Inis Meáin from the female informant: [nˈiːr ˈurvɪtʃ muːð] (*níor 'uírt muid*), though not from the male informant. Surprisingly, we also get a metathesised variant from a close neighbour to

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71 Cf. the full discussion of the data in the chapter on the irregular verbs.

72 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 'uírt* or *Ar 'uírt?*
the west, the male informant at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór: [n'í:]r u'rft' ma ta'da] (níor 'úirt maid tada).

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.

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 [d'rNíg'i:] and [d'òNíg'i:], respectively, while from easternmost Inis Mór eastward through Inis Meáin and Inis Óírr we encounter only variants with affrication of the initial consonant, e.g., [òrNíg'i:], 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 [i:] to [a:], but we have no examples of Standard Irish [e:].

The raising of the long vowel to [i:] (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 [a] is especially characteristic of the youngest informant on Inis Óírr, 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 Óírr, 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 ([n'í:ns]). She explained that the form was used by some of the older speakers.73

(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

73 She also maintained that the same suppletive root could be used to form the relative construction a níodh ([n'ít's]) in the habitual past tense.
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,\textsuperscript{74} we will move on to the conditional forms
of the verb.

\textbf{(The Conditional Mood)}

Let us look first at the negative conditional verb form \textit{ní dhéanfainn[se]}.

Beginning with Inis Mór, we find the relatively Standard Irish variant \textit{ní dhéan'ainnse},
with the emphatic particle \textit{-se} appended and the \textit{-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
\textit{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, \textit{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 \textit{dhéan'ása é}, with the \textit{-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
Rómáin produces an example which includes a centralised verbal suffix vowel and light
affrication of the consonant of the emphatic particle: \textit{[jINats e]}.

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

In addition, we get the blended form \textit{[jIN'us e]} (\textit{Dhéan'usa é!}), with stress on the
pronominal suffix, from an elderly female informant in western Inis Mór.\textsuperscript{75}

Moving eastward to Inis Meáin, we get the expected inflected variant \textit{dhéan'ása} from
the female informant, but — surprisingly — a second blended form, \textit{[jIN'u'so]}, 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

\textsuperscript{74} Cf. the discussion of the verb \textit{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.

\textsuperscript{75} This was mentioned earlier in our discussion of conditional forms of the verb \textit{bí}.
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.

**(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.76

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,77 which show a wide range of phonetic realisation: [jIn′], [jIn′], [jEn′], [jEN] and [j@N].

The phonological variants [j@N] and [jIm′] are unique to the youngest informant, F 18. Thus, for sociolinguistic purposes, we must regard the variant [j@N] (dhion) as an important sociolinguistic variant — one which seems to mark the youngest generation on Inis Oírr.78 As for her variant [jIm′], 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 (n′i; jEN), 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 dhíon.

**(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, respectively, produce the form. In contrast, all the other informants on Inis Mór,

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76 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 nór rinne — will be examined shortly.

77 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.

78 The existence of the positive verb form dhíon ([j0N]) as well as its negative counterpart níor dhíon ([n′i: j0N]) 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.
including the male informant at Corrúch, produce the variant go/gur rinne.\textsuperscript{79} 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 ([go dhein tʃe]), and the youngest female informant produces the example go dhéan tsé ([go ˈdʒe:n tʃe]), 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.\textsuperscript{80} 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 ([Ná:r ʃe]) from the youngest female informant.

\textbf{(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 ([pʃe]).

\textbf{(Miscellaneous Verb Forms)}

It is worth mentioning a few isolated forms which occurred in the data. We have the simple conditional construction má dhéan ([mə ʃe]) from the youngest informant on Inis Oírr. We also have the inflected third person plural simple past verb form rinneadar ([ɾiɲˈadəɾ]) 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

\textsuperscript{79}We have the same problem here of distinguishing between the two forms as we had in dealing with the variant ní/níor rinne earlier.

\textsuperscript{80}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.
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 *[jINa]* and *[jENa]* 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, *[jINa]* competes with *[jENa]* the whole length of Inis Mór, but the informants on Inis Meáin lean toward the *[jINa]* variant and Inis Óirr attests only the *[jENa]* variant.

It is also worth mentioning that three female informants clearly diphthongise the first two elements of the clause. Thus we get *[ájINa]* from F 72 at Corrúch and *[ájENa]* from F 70 at Cill Éinne, both in eastern Inis Mór, and *[ájENa]* again from the youngest informant on Inis Óirr.

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 Óirr.

Two elderly female informants in the centre of Inis Mór give us a second variant, *í’eann* ([í:n]). 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 Óirr, the male informant produces the inflected variant, while both female informants produce the analytic variant. On Inis Óirr at least, the women seem to be the innovators.

The male informant at Eochaill on Inis Mór produces another inflected form, *[N’i’i:son’]*, 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 í’imse* and *ní í’eann*.
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* ([íː]), with the intervocalic [h] elided and the initial vowel raised, tensed and lengthened, 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 bhfanódh ...?*.

*(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’fhántá*, we find the synthetic (inflected) variant *a d’fháná* on all three islands. This variant could represent either the local conditional form of the verb or the habitual...
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 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 [rugú] 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 ([rugas])*, while the female informant at Corrúch produces a third variant, a blended form created from the first two variants: *rugás ([rugús])*. 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 ([b’er’u])*. On Inis Meáin, we encounter only two variants, ones already encountered on Inis Mór. The male informant produces [rugú], and the female informant produces [rugus], 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 [rugú] 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 ([b’erar])*.  

*(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.  

The youngest informant on Inis Oírr, however, provides a second variant: the anomalous form *beir ([b’er’])*, which seems to consist solely of the verbal root as found in

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82 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.

83 A male informant in easternmost Inis Mór and another on Inis Meáin conserve the [h] intervocally in this phrase, however, so we can regard the preservation of the [h] once again as a sandhi phenomenon.

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the imperative form. She also provides a third variant, the longer form *beireachtáil* ([b′ɛr′ɛxtal′]), which is well attested on Inis Oírr.\(^{84}\)

**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 [u:] through [ɔ] 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 [f], 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 [riːf/riːfɛ], [briːf/bríːfɛ] and [gə ′mu-aʃf/ɡə ′mu-əʃfɛ], 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.\(^ {85}\)

\(^{84}\) Cf. Ó Catháin (1990).

\(^{85}\) Brian Ó Catháin, in his detailed analysis of this family of monosyllabic C(C)V-stem verbs in Inis Oírr,
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 [wuːs] (= a bhuaifeas) from the male informant. The youngest informant, F 18, however, uses an emphatic articulation, [ɡoːˈmuːəfə], 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 [oːː] and [aː] 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 [oːː] and [aː], respectively, in F. N. Finck’s Die Araner Mundart. 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 Mór and a male informant in eastern Inis Mór — produce the inflected variant an gceanná ...?, with the inflectional suffix [-Aː] 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 [æː], 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 [oːː] 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, [an ˈlɪkˌəsə](with the emphatic particle suffixed) from the female informant.

86 Cf. Finck (1899), I, 145.
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 L̂Ik′æx t̞usa] or ["Ik′æx t̞usa].

What is particularly striking is the wide range of phonetic realisations of the vowel of the suffix: [Ik′æ:], [Ik′æ:], [Ik′æ] — 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 [Ik′æ:].

*(The Habitual Past Verb Form cheannaiteá)*

As for the habitual past verb form *cheannaiteá*, 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* ([x′æ: Ni:A:]) 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* ([v′i:A:]).

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 [a:] 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.

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.

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87 Note the discussion of this point earlier, in the chapter on the regular verbs.
88 Analytic variants such as *a d′hanadh tú* or *a bhfanadh tú* are also widespread on Inis Mór and on Inis Oírr, but both speakers on Inis Meáin use only inflected (synthetic) variants.

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(The Impersonal Conditional Verb Form)

Examining the impersonal conditional verb form *lígí*, we see that the verbal suffix *-fí* is realised as [f′i:] 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.\(^\text{89}\)

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 [ɔv > 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 [-ɔv], 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.\(^\text{90}\)

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* [rɪn′uː] (= *rinneadh*) from westernmost Inis Mór to Corrúch, but at Cill Rónáin we find a second variant: *déanú* [d′e̞nʊː]. 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 [d′e̞nʊː] seems to be favoured. Here again, we find only the vocalised suffix.

On Inis Oírr, the older female informant produces the variants [d′ɪnʊː] and [d′ɪnɔv], the younger female informant only the variant [d′ɪnɔv] and her younger brother\(^\text{91}\) produces [d′e̞nʊ] and [ɡɑ d′ɪnʊː].

\(^{89}\) The data for Inis Oírr are not so clear.

\(^{90}\) 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.

\(^{91}\) Macdara was 13 years of age at the time.
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.

(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 [kuN′i:v/kuN′i:v] and a second variant coinniú [kuN′u:], where the stem vowel [i] 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 Corrách, but, as we shall see, it represents a wider phenomenon throughout the islands.

On Inis Meáin, we get the variant coinníobh [kuN′i:v] from the female informant, but the variants coinneabh [koN′ow] and coinniú [kuN′u.] 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 [i] 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 [kuN′i:v] from the older female informant, but the non-vocalised variant coinneabh [koN′ow] 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 [kuN′i:v].

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 ceannáiodh, we have the variants [k′æni:v], [k′æni:w/k′æni:w], [k′æni:u.], [k′æni:u.], [k′ænu:], 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 [k′æni:v].

On Inis Oírr, we get the traditional variant [k′æni:v] from the older female informant, but the variant ceannabh [k′ænov], with the stem vowel shortened and neutralised, from the younger female informant. Here neither informant has vocalised the final consonant of the suffix.

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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 [i:].

*(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: [-u:].

Thus we note the local variants *fuireadh* ([fUr′u:]) and *fríothadh*. The latter variant is realised in two slightly different sub-variants, *fríoithá* ([fr′i:hu:]) and *fríú* ([fr′i:u:]).

On Inis Meáin, however, both informants produce a variant of *fríothadh*, *fríov* ([fr′i:v]), with the voiced bilabial fricative of the suffix not vocalised.

On Inis Oírr, we encounter a similar sub-variant of *fríothadh* — *fíov* ([f′i:v]), with the palatalised flap [r′] elided.

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 bhfuireadh*, stretches from Bungabhla through Corrúch, 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* ([na:r fr′i:v]).

On Inis Oírr, likewise, the older female informant produces the example *nár fíov* ([na:r f′i:v]), 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 [rugu:] dominant throughout the island, with the local variants *rugás* ([rugas]), *rugús* ([rugus]), and *beireadh* ([b′er′u:]). Note that

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92 The is the variant *fóireas* (= *fuarthas*) from the female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór.

93 This is not a slip of the tongue.

94 Only the male informant at Corrúch opts for the alternative negative particle, producing *nach bhfuireadh*.

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with the exception of the few forms based on rugas, the two remaining suffixes are vocalised.

On Inis Meáin, we encounter only two variants, but they are both ones already encountered on Inis Mór. The male informant produces [rugu:], the variant with the vocalised suffix, and the female informant produces [rugus], 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 [rugu:] 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 possibility of adding the pre-verbal particle do\(^5\) 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 [i:u:]/[h:i:u.]/[d:i:u.] (= itheadh), [n′i:r d′er′u:]/[n′i:r e:ru]/*[n′i:r u:ru:] (= 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!, tarai! 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! (= foghlaimígí).

In the data on the regular verbs, we have yet other examples: bailí! (= Bailígí!) in the expression Bailí lúb!, and the examples osclaí! (= osclaígí!), and fágaí! (= fágaígí!). 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.

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\(^5\)This particle is what Mícheál Ó Siadhail calls “the proclitic morpheme do". Cf. Ó Siadhail (1989), 176.
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 *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 [i] 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 [æː] 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 [aː] in both forms, while others generalise the backed vowel [æː] to both forms.

The most widespread variant of this verb is a variant which generalises the backed vowel [æː] 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 [aː] in both forms, is found in a highly restricted area — the area in central Inis Mór from Fearann an Choice to Eochaill. The two informants at Corrúch, in fact, front and lengthen the vowel phonetically to [æːː] 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 *róthrom*. 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 [u].

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 [o] or [a] — 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* ([ri]), (2) *riócht/réacht/ríoch* ([riːxt], [reːxt], [riːx]), and (3) *recth/reach* ([raːxt], [raːx]).96

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96These forms seem to have originated in the real or putative historical forms *rith*, *ritheacht* agus *reathacht*, respectively.

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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 Eochaíl. In terms of area covered, the variant *ríoch* is attested at An Sruthán and at Corrúch, and overlaps with the variant *reacht*, attested at Fearann an Chóirce and at Eochaíl. The variant *reach* is attested only at Eochaíl.

The variant *rith* is found only at Eochaíl and at Cill Rónáin in easternmost Inis Mór, but it extends eastward to include Inis Meáin as well.

As for Inis Óírr, we find only subvariants already encountered on Inis Mór — all based on the variant *ríocht*: *[ri:xt]*, *[rext]* and *[ri:x]*.

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 Óírr 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 Eochaíl produces the aberrant head-phrase *[t' e: x]* (= *Te' chaoi . . .?*). 97

On Inis Meáin, the male informant produces the slightly reduced form *[k' e hi]*, while on Inis Óírr, the youngest female informant reduces the entire head-phrase to *[x]*, 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 Óírr, the two older informants produce the variant *dhion* in a direct relative construction: *Cén chaoi a dhion . . .?* 98

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97 This head-phrase brings to mind the Cois Fharraige forms *[t' e:/t'e]* (= *Cé . . .?*) and *[t'e:rd/t'e:rd]* (= *Céard . . .?*). Cf. de Bhaldraithe, T. (1953), 159.

98 The youngest female informant apparently does so as well, but in an extremely reduced form: *[xi·N . . .]*.

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As for reduced forms of the head-phrase, not only do we have the example [xíː]. from F 18 on Inis Oírr, but also the form [k′ɛ ʰiː], once again from the male informant on Inis Meáin. The most striking reduction, however, comes from the male informant at Fearann an Chóirse on Inis Mór: [k′al].

Cén chaoi a bhfúil . . . ?

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′ɛ hw i · · · ?] from Inis Mór, and the extremely reduced form [k′] in the construction [k′ wul′ · · · ?] — once again from the youngest female informant on Inis Oírr.

Three informants in central and eastern Inis Mór chose to substitute the construction Cú bhfíos 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 dhíon . . . ?. 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 Chóirse99 insert the subordinating particle go, producing the construction Cén fáth go ndeachaigh . . . ?. All the informants in eastern Inis Mór from Corrách 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.

99 The female informant at An Sruthán, near the centre of the island, is the single exception.

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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 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 ...?.

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.

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.

100 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.

101 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.
in interrogative constructions of cause and, as we have seen, in at least one interrogative construction of manner: \textit{Cén chaoi go bhfuil ...?}\textsuperscript{102}

A clear geographical division exists, however, in the use of the subordinating particle \textit{go} in the construction \textit{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 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 \textit{Tuige ...?} by the female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór in the item just discussed.

\textit{Cé dó a ndearna ...?}

Turning now to interrogative constructions headed by a pronominal prepositional form, we begin with the construction \textit{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 \textit{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: \textit{Cé leis a dhearna ...?}.	extsuperscript{103} 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 \textit{rinne} in this construction, producing the equivalent of \textit{Cé dó a rinne ...?}.\textsuperscript{104} 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 \textit{Bí} in his example \textit{Cé dhó a ro’ tú ag obair}.

As for Inis Oírr, once again all three informants opt exclusively for the independent form \textit{dhion} in a direct relative construction, producing \textit{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.

\textit{Cé leis a raibh ...?}

Moving on to the next item, \textit{Cé leis a raibh [tú ag caint]?}, with a different head-phrase, we find a distinctive pattern on Inis Mór. We find the dependent form of the verb used from one end of the island to the other, as in Standard Irish, but in eastern Inis Mór from Corrúch through Eochaill, all three informants use the independent verb form, producing \textit{Cé leis a bhí ...?} or \textit{Cé leis atá ...?}.

Similarly, in the two islands to the east, nearly all the informants use the Standard Irish constructions just cited. The two informants on Inis Meáin use the variant \textit{Cé}

\textsuperscript{102}This is another construction which she shares with her contemporary F 41 on Inis Oírr.

\textsuperscript{103}Note F 70’s unusual use of the pronominal prepositional form \textit{leis} instead of the form \textit{dó} in this example.

\textsuperscript{104}F 70 at Cill Éinne produces the head-phrase \textit{Cé leis ...?} with the invariable form \textit{rinne} as well.

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leis a raibh ... ?, and the two female informants on Inis Oírr use Cé leis a bhfuil ... ?. Only the male informant on Inis Oírr uses the independent form of the verb in the construction Cé leis atá ... ?.

**Cé leis a bhfuil ... ?**

In regard to the next item, Cé leis a bhfuil [gaol aige]? 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.

**Cé aige a bhfuil ... ?**

Similarly, in the construction Cé aige a bhfuil [gaol leis], 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. Note that 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 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 ... ? ([k'ə ...?]) 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 ruchaidh . . . ?, 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 . . . ?.

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 eclipse 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 . . . roimh a ngabhfaidh . . . ?.

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.
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...go dtí a ngabhfas ’u ...?\(^{106}\)

*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 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 chónaíonn/ a maireanns Seán*, with only the male informant at Eochaill proving the exception.

\(^{106}\)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.

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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.¹⁰⁷

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.

\[ \text{\ldots sa teach a raibh tú i do chónaí ann \ldots} \]

This pattern is repeated in the construction \[ \text{\ldots sa teach a raibh tú i do chónaí ann \ldots} \] 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.¹⁰⁸

On Inis Meáin, once again both informants employ only the expected indirect relative construction.

On Inis Oírr, however, both older informants employ the direct relative construction with this item, producing \[ \text{\ldots teach a bhíodh tú \ldots} \] while the youngest informant, F 18, produces the unusual construction \[ \text{\ldots teach ag (a) d’fhárrfhá ann \ldots} \] with a direct relative construction and a locative pronoun echoing the locative phrase at the head of the construction.

\[ \text{\ldots faoi scian a raibh cois dhubh uirthi \ldots} \]

As for the last expression, the phrase to be elicited was \[ \text{\ldots faoi scian a raibh cois dhubh uirthi \ldots} \] 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.¹⁰⁹ 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.

\[ \text{\ldots an bhean a ndeachaigh \ldots} \]

Turning now to indirect relative clauses with human referents as antecedents, we focus now on the construction \[ \text{\ldots an bhean a ndeachaigh \ldots} \] taken from the target sentence

¹⁰⁷The male informant, on the other hand, produces the unusual construction \[ \text{\ldots san áit a dtuigim tá Séan ag maireachtáil,} \] with the proper eclipsis on the following verb but with the clause embedded in the sentence without the subordinating particle go.

¹⁰⁸Note also the unusual construction from the elderly female informant at Eoghanacht in western Inis Mór, \[ \text{Ar teach a mharraigh sé ann?} \] which occurs in another context.

¹⁰⁹Recall 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.

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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, employ a direct relative construction, e.g., ... an bhean a chuaigh tú thairsti ...

On Inis Meáin, however, both informants again produce only indirect relative constructions.

On the other hand, on Inis Órr, as in Inis Mór, all three informants employ the direct relative.

In sum, Inis Mór has now joined Inis Órr 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?.

In this case, all the informants on both Inis Mór and Inis Órr 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 dtetagann ... and sula ndéanann ....

In western Inis Mór, we note the use of both indirect relative clauses (e.g., sula dtetagann ..., 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.

110 Her secondary education may be a factor here.
111 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 ....

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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 thiofcaidh ...*, *sor a dhionanns ...* and *sol mar a thiofhas ...*) from the male informant.

On Inis Óírr, 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.\(^\text{112}\)

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 Óírr, 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 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.

\(^\text{112}\)Note that all informants on Inis Óírr, whether they use the indirect relative or not, use the headword *roimh* exclusively.

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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 Óirr, 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 tense.

In western Inis Mór, we again find indirect relative constructions, with verb phrases such as suláir imigh ..., holáir imigh ..., sulár tháinig ..., sular fhág ..., sor ar 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 dtáinig ..., soláthar dtáinig ... (with double marking through the eclipse 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 Óirr, 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’cirigh .... 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 tháinig ..., 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 sol 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 Rónaí.

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 other examples of this variant come from the youngest informant, F

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43 at Bungabhla, in westernmost Inis Mór (sol má tháinig)\textsuperscript{113} 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**

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. Note also the marking of the verb by eclipsis in the simple past tense in the indirect relative constructions sola dtáinig . . . and soláthar dtáinig . . ., both produced by the two male informants in easternmost Inis Mór.

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 regard to 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-

\textsuperscript{113}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.
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*\(^{114}\), *lar*, *sulár*, *suláir*, *holáir* and *soláthar*. We also find the parallel series *sorar*, *soirear*, *sor mar* and *sor*.

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 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.\(^{115}\)

### 18 Remarks on Verbal Inflections

Certain inflected (or ‘synthetic’) verb forms occur occasionally in place of verb forms which are not inflected for person (“analytic forms”). Furthermore, 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 inflected forms of the first and second persons are quite frequent. It may well be true of the third person plural forms as well. Inflected forms for the third person plural in the simple past tense of this verb are also quite frequent, but it is rare to find such forms for other verbs.

Note 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*: [f′e:tIr′] (= 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.

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\(^{114}\)Followed by a dependent form of the verb.
\(^{115}\)See the subsection *Locating Variation within the Linguistic System* directly before the end of this concluding chapter.

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Of interest also is the pronunciation of the third person plural simple past inflectional ending -dar as [-tər] by the female informant on Inis Meán during conversion in the year 2000, though 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.

On Inis Meán, 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 Meán 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 [^b' u ...^b' o: fe:mas] from the male informant and [^b' u: ...^b' u fe:mas] 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 [a] in the construction A' tusa ...?. This reduced form could represent either [aN] or [ar].

An iascaire thá?

Turning now to the interrogative classificatory construction An iascaire thá?, on Inis Mór once again the past interrogative copulative particle Ar ...? is used universally, producing the local variant Ar iascaire thá?. The headmaster M 50 at Cill Rónáin is again an exception.

Note that apparently half the informants use the palatalised variant [ar'] before the following noun, which has a high front initial vowel, but use of this palatalised variant seems relatively random.

On Inis Meán, 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 e:ə?.
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 *[b’]*, the youngest generation on Inis Oírr seem to have substituted more Standard Irish forms.

*Ar mhúinteóir thá?*

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 mhúinteóir thá?*, 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!).*

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

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The final word appears to be an alternative form for the inflected prepositional pronoun *ionat.*
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, and this fact favours the use of cleft constructions for the past tense.

If we turn now to the cleft construction An feirmeoirí a bhí iontu? (or, alternatively, Arbh feirmeoirí a bhí iontu?), we find virtually the same phenomenon. The two 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.^117

**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.

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^117 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 syntaxically 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.

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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 mháir 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.\(^{118}\)

On Inis Meáin, the male informant employs another relatively Standard Irish variant, with the interrogative particle postposed: *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 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 a 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 Chóirce 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 [*í*] which demands a dependent verb form in the subordinate clause.

\(^{118}\)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.
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 [is]: [Is esan/Is e:e:san].

On Inis Meáin, we get both of these present tense variants, [if] and [is], 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 [is]
in the phrase [Is esan], 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 ([he je:fon]), 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 con-
struction . . . 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: . . . gur
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 ([g@r ji
N@L\t@r′
E]), with an apparent augment of the complementiser in it, producing [g@r 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 álann an áit é

We examine now the construction . . . gurb álann 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 innealtóir 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 Rónán in Inis Mór with his...gur j-ionaltair é.

On Inis Óirr, we get the cleft construction...gur iascairí a bhí ionann 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 dochtúir mé

The construction...gur dochtúir 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 dochtúir 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 Óirr, the male informant uses the simple construction...go raibh mé (i) mo dochtar, 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 dochtúir 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, \ldots \textit{gurb 'in cloch móir}, with the Standard Irish complementiser \textit{gurb}. Note, however, that we still have not encountered the past form \textit{gurbh}.

On Inis Meáin, both informants again opt for the present tense construction \ldots \textit{gur cloch m(h)óir é}, but then the male informant corrects his response to \ldots \textit{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 \ldots \textit{go raibh sé (i)na chloch móir} (sic). The youngest female informant, however, produces the cleft construction \ldots \textit{go cloch móir a bhí ann}, with the complementiser \textit{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 \textit{gur} – e.g., \ldots \textit{gur mhúinteóir é}, or, in the case of nouns which begin with a vowel, constructions which substitute the allomorph \textit{gurbh} before such nouns – e.g., \ldots \textit{gurbh innealtóir é}.

Furthermore, with the exception of the male informant on Inis Oírr, they prefer not to use simple constructions with the verb \textit{bí} plus a locative phrase, – e.g., \ldots \textit{go raibh sé ina mhúinteóir}.

Instead, they use a classificatory copulative construction with the invariable complementiser \textit{gur} with no lenition on the following noun, a construction which is identical to the present tense construction – e.g., \ldots \textit{gur múinteóir é}.

Otherwise, they use a cleft construction, fronting the predicated noun phrase to the position immediately following the invariable complementiser \textit{gur} and using a following relative construction with the verb \textit{bí} plus a locative phrase to specify past time – e.g., \ldots \textit{gur múinteóir a bhí ann}. With such a construction, one creates the impression of a classificatory copulative construction, but one can use the verb \textit{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.

\ldots \textit{gurbh iointach an áit í}

We turn now to the adjectival predication in the past tense \ldots \textit{gurbh iointach 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 \textit{gurbh}, but the third, in east-
ernmost 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 dláinn 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 Meánín, 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.\(^\text{119}\)

On Inis Óirr, 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 Meánín, two informants, respectively, use the predicate 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 Óirr, 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 Óirr.

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*...([is dóir/i's doir]) 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 Êinne 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*... .

\(^{119}\)Note that he does this also in the present tense construction *...gur hálainn an áit é*.

\[\text{Séamas Ó Direáin— A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway}\]
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 *Ni 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 *Ni 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'fhíú* ...

The construction *B'fhíú* ... 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'fhíú* ... from seven of the nine informants across the island, but we get the reduplicated form *Ba bh'fhíú* ... from the two older female informants in western Inis Mór.

On Inis Meáin, we get both the Standard Irish construction *B'fhíú* ... and the construction with the reduplicated copula *Ba bh'fhíú* ... from the male informant. From the female informant, we get only the Standard Irish constructions *B'fhíú* ... and ... *gurbh fhíú* ... (in a subordinate clause construction).

On Inis Oírr, we get *B'fhíú* ... from the younger female informant and its subordinate counterpart ... *gurbh fhíú* ... from the male informant. From the older female informant we again get the construction with the reduplicated copula *Ba bh'fhíú* ....

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 fhearr* ... 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
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Corrácht 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 bhfud 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 Corrácht.

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 Fharráinge 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_ . . .
fhéarr . . ., with the lenited copula, from the male informant and . . . go b’fhéarr . . ., 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 [bʷ int@x], 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 [bʷ i: . . .]. As does the older female informant at Eoghanacht, with her example containing the copula as a past tense complementiser: [. . . g@r?w int@x . . .]. Only M 50 at Cill Rónáin palatalises the consonant of the copula: [b’ int@x . . .].

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 [bo ’yat’ int@x e] from the female informant at An Sruthán, with a glottal stop separating the two adjacent vowels, and [bʰ a:t’ a:Lin’ e] from the male informant at Eochaill.120 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 i:NTax] 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: [g@rv].

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 a:tʃ i:Nt@x e]. As for the male informant, he produces a simple adjectival predication with the verb bí: . . . go raibh an áit iontach.

120 The female informant at Cill Éinne produces the classificatory copulative construction [a:tʃ i:Nt@x e], but since no copula is used, this example is irrelevant to the discussion.
What generalisations can we make? First, in regard to the predicate adjectival copulative construction *B’iontach ...,* though we have no examples from Inis Óírr, 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 [b’] can perhaps be explained by his constant exposure, as headmaster of the vocational school, to written Standard Irish and perhaps to the Láircháintí.

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 Óírr.

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 *[a]*.

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 ...* (*[e’ m a b’æ:n tusæ ...]*)]. In contrast, the older male informant M 68 at Eochaíll also does not lenite the predicate noun, but he lenites the copula instead, producing *Dá bha bean thú ...* ([dæ: wU b’æ:N 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 ...* ([dA: bæ:b’æ:n u ...]). F 70 at Cill Éinne produces a similar construction, [ø bø b’æ:n ...] and yet another, [a’m bø b’æ:N hu’ ...], with an anomalous form in place of the conjunction *dá*.121

It is F 70 at An Sruthán, however, who produces the most striking construction: *[dA bar b’æ:N husa ...]*, 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.122 Oddly enough, though, this specific

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121 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, *[a’ m’iöx 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.

form is not found in the extensive table of copulative forms in Prof. De Bhaldraithe’s grammatical study of Cois Fharráige Irish, the mainland Connemara dialect which is so closely related to that of the two western islands.123

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 ma b′æːN 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 . . . ([æ b ò b′æːN u r . . .]), with neither eclipse of the copula nor lenition of the predicate noun, and the cleft construction Dá bar bean a bheadh ansin . . . ([a bar b′æːN a v′ex a′t′in′ . . .]), with the dá bar construction in a fronted noun phrase.

On Inis Oírr as well, we get the construction Dá mba bean thú . . . ([da ma b′æːN hu: . . .]), 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 b ò b′æːN a v′ex anat . . .]), with neither eclipse 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 . . . ([æ b’e . . . a b’e b′æːN a v′ex anat . . .]), 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 the one informant who 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 eclipse 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.

Cf. de Bhaldraithe (1953), 90-91.

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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 ([s@d]) 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 ([f@s]), 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 ([fod]) almost identical to the Aran form siod ([s@d]), is cited by Prof. de Bhal-draithe for Cois Fharraige Irish on the
Connemara mainland. However, in Cois Fharraghe 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 Srutháin and again by the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór. The male informant at Fearann an Choire, 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.124

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.

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!*. Note that the two male informants M 60 at Fearann an Choire 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 drochcheanna!*, as does the male informant in Inis Meáin in the preceding item: *Seobh é ceann maith!*. 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 Choire 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 drochcheanna!*, as does the male informant in Inis Meáin in the preceding item: *Seobh é ceann maith!*. 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.

**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!*

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124 She also produces the exclamatory construction *Ceann dona!*, which appears to be the classificatory copulative construction stripped of the preceding copula and the following pronoun, with or without a deictic pronoun following that subject pronoun.
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 Méain, 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.* The male informant M 60 slightly to the east at Fearann an Choirce selects this form as well, but he lenites it, producing *shod* ([h@d]).

Immediately to the east at Corrúch, however, we get the deictic pronoun *seo* ([fo]) from the female informant in a construction with a reduplicated pronoun: *Seo é é!* ([fo e: e:]). 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!* ([jaw e: e:]).

On Inis Méain, 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 **sin**.

125 We can say nothing of the female informant at Eoghanacht, since she substitutes the more distal pronoun *sin*.

126 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*.
Irish proximal deictic pronoun in other examples, e.g., “Seobh é (é)! ([səb hə (ə)])”. 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: ([ʃo 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)!”.127

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 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! ([ʃiːn ə 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 ’ca, 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 Corrúche 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!”.128

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!”.

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”.

127Such reduplication would be consistent with her use of the pronoun in the unexceptionable construction “Sin iad na rudai ...” in I.45.
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.129

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,130 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 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)?([ab′ od e: (e:)]), 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? ([arb′ i:j*di e:]), 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? ([ab′ o:w e:]), with the augmented variant 'eobh of the deictic pronoun, while the

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129 Note that once again, we do not encounter lenited variants of deictic pronouns before a personal pronoun.
130 Note the elision of the initial segment.
female informant at Eoghanacht substitutes a more distal deictic pronoun — lenited — to produce B' in é? ([b' im' 'e:]).

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? ([an a fow 'e: e:]), 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? ([oN e: fo: 'e:]). Note, however, that neither informant palatalises the final segment of the interrogative marker An . . . ? before what should be the following mid-front vowel [e:].

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! ([Nî:r e: e:]), which contains an aberrant negative copula form Nír, with the palatalised final segment ([r']).

With two exceptions, all the other informants on Inis Mór use the construction Ní shod é (é)! ([Nî: hâd e: e:]). Note that the initial segment of the deictic pronoun is lenited but not palatalised.\footnote{131}

Once again we see the informants in western Inis Mór\footnote{132} 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! ([Nî: hâwb e: e:]), 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 heal.

\footnote{131}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! ([Nî: e:]).

\footnote{132}With the exception of the female informant at An Sruthán.
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*.

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*.

As for the reduplication of the personal pronouns in such subordinate constructions, once again only the reduplicated pronoun *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 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

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133As 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.
with the following deictic pronoun: \( \ldots \text{go mba j-iod é é} \).\(^{134}\)

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: \( \text{Dúirt sé siod é é} \).

On Inis Meáin, again we find no examples of deictic constructions with the deictic element based on the form \( \text{siod} \). The male informant once again uses the deictic element \( \text{'eobh} \) to produce the construction \( \ldots \text{gob 'eobh é é} \), echoing the male informant at Corrích 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 \( \ldots \text{gob 'iod é (é)} \), though the younger female informant first produces the construction \( \ldots \text{gob 'iod iad — possibly a slip of the tongue, which she then corrects. As for the male informant, he treats the subordinate clause as a direct quote: “Siod é é”, adúirt sé.} \)

Note that in all these constructions containing the complementiser \( \text{gob} \) the final bilabial segment of the complementiser is palatalised. Note also that the example \( \ldots \text{go mba j-iod é é} \) 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.

\( \ldots \text{nach é seo é} \)

We deal now with the construction \( \ldots \text{nach é seo é} \), the negative counterpart to the construction just discussed.

Once again the Standard Irish construction \( \ldots \text{nach é sin é} \), with the more distal deictic pronoun \( \text{sin} \) substituted for the proximal form \( \text{seo} \), 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): \( \ldots \text{nach 'od é, ...nach shobh é, etc..} \). 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

\(^{134}\)This augmented form may help explain the anomalous interrogative form \( \text{[arb’ ‘i:j]d e]} \) mentioned above, which was produced by the female informant at Cill Einne.
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* ([naːrv əd eː ˈeː]).

At Fearann an Choirce, the male informant produces the construction *... ná shod é é* ([Na həd eː əː]), with what appears to be the variant complementiser ná, with its vowel slightly fronted. 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*.

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 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 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 əː]), with once again, substitution of the variant complementiser ná, with its vowel slightly fronted.

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)* ([Naː xəd ...]). 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

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135 Such fronting of the low back vowel, as we have seen, is normal in the Aran dialect(s).

136 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.

137 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.
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 ...9138 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 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.

138The sole exception to palatalisation of this form is the male informant at Fearann an Chóirce on Inis Mór, mentioned earlier.
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 \( \ldots ab \ 'iod \ é \ldots \) 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 \( \ldots ab \ 'in \ é \ldots \). The male informant at Corrúch once again stands out in his use of the deictic element \( 'eobh \): \( \ldots ab \ 'eobh \ é \ldots \).

On Inis Meáin, as mentioned above, both informants produce the abbreviated construction \( \ldots ab \ é \ldots \).

On Inis Oírr, in addition to the constructions mentioned above produced by the older informants, we have two examples of \( \ldots ab \ 'iod \ é \ldots \) and one of \( \ldots ab \ 'in \ é \ldots \) from the younger female informant.

Turning now to the second substructure of the disjunction, the construction \( \ldots nó nach é \), we encounter a striking feature which distinguishes Inis Mór clearly from the other two islands. Though we note the Standard Irish construction \( \ldots nó nach é \) across all three islands, we also note the odd construction \( \ldots nó nach b' é \), with what appears to be a reduplicated copula, used by nearly half the informants across Inis Mór.\(^{139}\) 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 \( \ldots nach b'ea? \) 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 \( \text{Seo ceann maith!} \), we noted that easternmost Inis Mór substitutes the classificatory copulative construction \( \text{Is ceann maith é seo/sin} \), whereas western Inis Mór and the other two islands use deictic constructions.

The pattern of distribution is much the same for the construction \( \text{Sin drochcheann!} \).

As for the deictic pronouns used, the Standard Irish form \( \text{seo} \) is used only by a minority – one female informant on each of the three islands. The variant \( \text{siod} \) is used in westernmost

\(^{139}\)Recall the reduplicated copula in the construction \( \ldots nach b'iod é \), produced by the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór.
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 on both Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr 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 ’iod 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.¹⁴⁰

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 construction for 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 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?¹⁴¹

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 ... ¹⁴²

(Lenition) Ní shod .../ Ní shobh ...; Ní shin ... ¹⁴²

(Elision) ... nach ‘od .../ ... nach ‘obh ... ¹⁴³

Ab ‘in ...? ... nach ‘in ...

¹⁴⁰ In the interrogative construction Ab ‘in ...? the initial consonant of the more distal deictic pronoun is also elided.

¹⁴¹ Such an explanation will not work for the declarative construction ... nach b’ iod é cited earlier from Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór.

¹⁴² Cf. the examples in the next section.

¹⁴³ 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 ....
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!* [bʊəd 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!* [bʊəd ɛː ɛː], while the younger informant produces *B’ od é!* [bʊəd ɛː].

We get a different past tense deictic construction from M 50 at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór, [b’iːd ɛː], 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!* [bʊj ɛː ʃo ɛː], and a similar construction from the female informant in An Sruthán on Inis Mór: *Ba j-é é!* [bʊj ɛː ɛː], 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!* [bɔv ‘ɛː].

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-palatalised 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 Chóirce, 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 Óinne: *b’ úd iad!* ([b uːd iːd]) and *b’ úd é!/ b’ úd iad é!*
([‘b’ u:d e:/ ‘b’ u:d e:ød e:]). 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! ([b’ in’ e:ød e:]), employing the more proximal deictic pronoun (sin) with the initial consonant elided, from the female informant F 72 at Corrúch. Note that the copula is again palatalised.\textsuperscript{144}

Further east, at Cill Ronáin, however, M 50 substitutes the cleft construction B’ iad seo (a) bhí iontu ([b’ i;ød fo v’il’ ntU]) for a deictic construction, but here the copula, occurring directly before a personal pronoun, is not 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! ([b’v:i; i;ød fo i;ød]) there is a labialised copula followed by the palatal glide [j] inserted before the personal pronoun, itself preceded by a glottal stop.\textsuperscript{145} His second example, the construction B’ iad seo iad! ([b’ i;ød fo i;ød]), is a nearly identical construction, but without the palatal glide. Here the copula is palatalised.

He also produces the construction Ba bh’ iad iad! ([b@w ‘i;ød i;ød]), 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.\textsuperscript{146}

As for the female informant, she produces the constructions Ba bh’ iad ... siúd iad! ([b@v ‘i;ød ... ‘Su:d i;ød]), Ba bh’ iad ... ([b@v ‘i;ød ... ]) and Ba bh’ in iad ... ([b@v ‘in’ i;ød]), but note that in all three cases the reduplicated, lenited copula is palatalised.

On Inis Oírr, the male informant produces the construction B’ iad iad!, with the copula palatalised, but the youngest informant there, F 18, produces the examples Ba iad siod é ([b’e: ‘S@d e:]) and B’ iad siod iad ([b’ e: ‘S@d e:]), 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.

\textbf{Arbh éseo é?}

Turning now to the past tense interrogative deictic construction \textit{Arbh éseo 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 éseo é? ([aN’ e: ‘fo: e:]), produced by the female informant

\textsuperscript{144}In fact, I do not recall ever hearing a non-palatalised copula in a deictic construction such as B’ in iad!.

\textsuperscript{145}The articulatory transition from the labialised copula to the palatal glide would explain the odd long high front vowel [i:].

\textsuperscript{146}This use of the bilabial glide [w] to represent the reduplicated copula is unique to this informant.

\textbf{Séamas Ó Direáin— A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway}
on Inis Meáin, and another, more abbreviated present tense construction from the female informant at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór: An é? ([aNi e:]). 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.\(^{147}\)

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? ([or ‘b′e w e: e:]), with the deictic element ’eobh.

In all his examples, the copula, [arb'], 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? ([r′ ad e:]), in which both the interrogative element and the copula seem to be reduced to zero, leaving only the palatalised past tense marker [r'], 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 interrogative construction, does not palatalise the copula even though it is an interrogative construction: . . . b’ od é é? ([b′ ad e: e:]).

\(\text{Níorbh é seo é!}\)

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! ([Ni′orv e fa e:]), with no palatalisation of the final segment of the copula, from the male informant at Cill Rónáin.\(^{148}\)

On Inis Meáin we get close counterparts from both informants, but with the final segment of the copula palatalised: Nírbh é seo é! ([Ni′orv′ e fa e:]), and Nírbh é sin é! ([Ni′orv′ e: jin′ e:]), 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! ([Ni′orv′ ad e:]), while the female informant at An Sruthán produces Nírbh ’in é! ([Ni′orv′ in′ ’e:]). 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..\(^{149}\)

\(^{147}\)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.

\(^{148}\)Bear in mind once again that he is the headmaster of the vocational school there.

\(^{149}\)Note that we are get lenited deictic elements with non-palatalised initial segments in these non-standard negative deictic constructions.

\(\text{Séamas Ó Díreáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway}\)
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: [N′riv iot fin′...].

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.

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 ...nárbh é seo é ([...N′riv e fo ?e]).

As for non-standard past tense constructions, we have the construction ...nárbh 'iod é ([...narv ad e:c:]) 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 ([...nar ad e N′aqt']) 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.

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150 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.

151 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.
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 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 *Shín é Seán!* rather randomly distributed among informants across the island.

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 ê 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 'ín í an bhean ...?, but the youngest informant, F 18, again uses the generalised personal pronoun ê instead of the expected feminine pronoun í: Ab 'ín é an bhean ...?.

We have often encountered the generalised pronoun ê 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 ([bə:s̪ ə: faN ə]), 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 [ʃ̯] as a sandhi form before the personal pronoun, from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce: Ba ʃ̯-é Seán ([biʃ̯]
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* ([bu]j e: [fa:N]...). 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’ iój-é* ([b’i:j 'e:]), but she palatalises the initial segment of the copula, as does M 50 at Cill Róinín in a similar construction: *B’ iój-é Seán* ([b’i:j e: [fa:N]e:].

On the other hand, the easternmost informant on Inis Mór, F 70 at Cill Éinne, reduplicates the copula and lenites it in her two constructions: *Ba bh’ é Seán é* ([bòv' 'e: [fa:N e:]] and *Ba bh’ é Seán* ([bòv' e: [fa:N]e:]).

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* ([bu]j e: [fa:N e:]), as well as two examples of the shorter construction *Ba j-é* ([buj/buj 'e:]) — 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: [bòv' 'e: [fa:N e:]], 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* ([b’ e: [fa:N e:]]), 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?* ([b’rb’ e: [fa:N e:/erb’ e]...].
‘fə:n e] from the female informants in eastern Inis Mór. Note that the final segment of the copula is palatalised but not lenited.152

Note also the construction Ar é Seán é? ([r e fə:n e]) 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? ([r’ əd e]).153 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 omission 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 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 omission 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 ‘e:]), 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.

152This 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 [arb’ e: fo ‘e: e] and [arb’ e: fo ...] from the male informant in Inis Meáin.
153This 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.
Examining first the substructure \( \ldots \text{arbh é Seán é} \ldots \), 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 \( \ldots \text{ab é Seán (é)} \ldots \).

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: \( \ldots \text{abh é Seán} \ldots \). ([\( \text{æv' e: fa:N} \ldots\)])

On Inis Meáin, once again the female informant produces the Standard Irish present tense construction \( \ldots \text{an é Seán é} \) without palatalising the final segment of the interrogative particle \( \text{an} \) before the personal pronoun.

On Inis Óírr, the youngest informant, F 18, captures our attention with her example \( \ldots \text{Seán a bhi ann} \ldots \), embedded in the larger structure \( \text{Ní raibh a fhios a'm Seán a bhi ann nó nach ea} \). 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 — three examples of \( \ldots \text{ab é Seán} \ldots \) and the example given above: \( \ldots \text{abh é Seán} \ldots \). Elsewhere on Inis Mór and on the two islands to the east, we find no other examples.

Turning now to the second substructure of the disjunction, the construction \( \ldots \text{nó nárbh é} \), 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 \( \ldots \text{nó nach é} \).

Most strikingly, however, we again encounter a feature which distinguishes Inis Mór clearly from the other two islands — the insertion of the segment \( \text{b} \) between the negative complementiser and the personal pronoun. Thus we get the construction \( \ldots \text{nó nach b' é} \) from four informants stretching the length of Inis Mór, though three of them are located in the east.

23 Miscellaneous Interrogative Copulative Constructions

We will end our discussion of the copula by examining four miscellaneous interrogative copulative constructions: \( \text{Cárḃ as é/dó?}, \text{Cárḃh as é/dó?}, \text{Cá bhfhios duit?} \) and \( \text{Cén cineál} \).\[154\]

\[154\]The youngest informant, F 18 on Inis Óírr, uses the neutral pronoun \( \text{ea} \) instead of \( \text{é} \), possibly to negate the entire preceding clause rather than the subject only.

\[155\]Recall also the negative tag question \( \ldots \text{nach b'ea?} \), 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 Réinín since she married.
cótá 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? ([k′e:rb 'æ:s do:])

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.156

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? ([k′e:rv 'æ:s do:]).157

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 [k′e:rv] through [k′e:rw] to [k′e:ru].

From the older female informant in Inis Oírr we also get the closely related variant céirbh ([k′e:rv']), 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 using 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? ([k’e: ba 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.

156 Note that the preposition dó is unlenited in both cases.
157 Note that the preposition dó is again unlenited.
Cá bhfios duí?  

Turning now to the construction Cá bhfios duí?, 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 [‘ka: wIs, dItS ə’], [ka wəs dItʃ], [ka w[o]s ‘dIt’], and [ka’s dIt’]. Most of these examples come from male informants.158

As for the other informants, all opt for variants of the alternative construction Cén chaoi a bhfuil a fhíos 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 fhíos 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 — [k’ xe xu wI’]. . . ], 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: [k’ wu’] . . . .

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.159 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 [k’ sa ko: t ə] (= Cén sórt cóta é?) from the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18. We have already seen a similar phonological reduction in her example [k’ wu’] . . . ] in the previous item.

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158 Note once again that the prepositional form duí is not lenited by any informant.
159 The second example from Inis Mór is in the construction Cén sórt cineál aibre . . . ? from the male informant at Fearann an Choirce in sentence I.30.
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 Rónán — a town always identified with the English language by 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!.160*

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!.161*

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160 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.

161 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!
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.\(^{162}\)

*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.\(^{163}\)

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* (![æːrˠvˠ])/*[a] fhearaibh* (![æːrˠbˠ]).\(^{164}\)

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*.\(^{165}\)

**Indefinite Genitival Constructions**

\(^{162}\)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.

\(^{163}\)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: *[o Pærə]*.

\(^{164}\)Note the absence of lenition in the final segment of the second example.

\(^{165}\)It seems equally clear, however, that more documentation is needed to establish this as fact.
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* 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*.

On Inis Mór, we note the relatively Standard Irish construction *lán mo dhorna de fhataí* 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*. Note also the uncharacteristic Standard Irish phonetic shape of the preposition *de* in the partitive construction as well as the unusual glottal stop.

At Eochaill we get a more typical response in *lán glaice g' fhataí* 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*; 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.

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*:

The other informants on Inis Mór give shorter phrases, without an accompanying partitive construction. We find *glac fataí, 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' fataí* (from Cill Éinne) while the female informant gives us *lán mo láimh go fataí*

On Inis Oírr, we note only short responses without a partitive construction from all three informants. The male informant gives us *glaicín beag fataí* (from Cill Éinne) while his wife gives us a similar form, *glaic fataí*. The youngest informant, F 18, on the other hand, gives a more standard form of the head noun: *glaic fataí*.

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 166 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. 167 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. 168 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. 169 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 *glaic/glaic*.
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*. ¹⁷⁰

**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. 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 bhu’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 mbochaillí/ro’ar na mbóchaillí*, 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 Meáin, both lenited and unlenited

¹⁷⁰A single informant, the female informant at Cill Êinne 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.
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.\(^{171}\)

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*.

*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, *trasna 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 genitival 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 genitival construction: *ar cháil an chnoic*. In eastern Inis Mór, the male informant at Eochaill produces a similar construction, *le taobh an chnoic*.

\(^{171}\)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.

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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 áilt.

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 aic' 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 aill.

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.172

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 Éinne produces a virtually identical response: (i) dtosach ’n tí.173

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.

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172 The non-palatalisation of the final consonant of the noun *taobh* in the linguistic tables may well be a transcription error.

173 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.
On Inis Oírr, we encounter only one example employing the genitival 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.

**os comhair an fhír mhóir**

We turn now to the phrase *os comhair an fhír 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 fhír mhóir*. The female informant at Cill Éinne comes close with *ar chúl ... an fhír mhóir*, 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 fhír 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 mór*,

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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 Eochail 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 Choíre 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 Genitival 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 mbuachailí* and *ro’ar na mbocailí*.

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

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expression of the genitive plural are the phrases *dath na n-eangacha* in Item 1108 and *dath na guíráinneachá* 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.\footnote{174}{For a relatively detailed discussion of that material, see Chapter 12, *Nominal Inflection*.}

The sample from Corrúch discussed toward the end of Chapter 12 (in section 12.4) illustrates the complexity of the issues surrounding genitival constructions with proper nouns. Examples such as *ag teach Thomás* (with lenition but no inflection of a given name), *dteach Shéamas Ó Conghaile* (with lenition of the given name but no inflection and the surname left in the nominative/accusative case), *ó shiopa Tomás Ó Tóbhail* (with no lenition or inflection of the given name and the surname left in the nominative/accusative case), and *ag teach máthair Mháire* (with no lenition of the first of two nouns in the genitive case in an embedded genitival construction) 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 Bungabbla 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.

In regard to embedded genitival constructions, non-lenition of the first of the two nouns in the genitive case seems to be the rule on Inis Mór (e.g., *ag teach máthair Mháire*), while the male informant on Inis Meáin exhibits at least some lenition of the first noun, and the older female informant on Inis Oírr lenites consistently.

As for embedded genitival constructions in progressive verb phrases such as *ag lorg theach Mháire* and *ag lorg theach na mná eile*, as we have seen in section 12.7 and as we shall see again shortly, no informant on any of the islands lenites the first of the two nouns in the genitive case, regardless of how the genitive case of the second noun is expressed. Thus all the informants across the islands produce the equivalent of *ag lorg teach Mháire* and *ag lorg teach na mná eile/ag lorg teach an bhean eile*.\footnote{175}{Cf. also the example given in section 12.5 – *ag cur tuairisc Mháire* – produced by three informants in central Inis Mór.}

**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.

**Genitival Constructions in Progressive Verb Phrases**

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 (chugann)*.\(^{176}\)

*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 the noun itself.\(^{177}\)

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*.

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\(^{176}\)The male informant on Inis Meáin also produces the plural form *scéana*.

\(^{177}\)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.
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.178

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.

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.

178Presumably M 50’s exposure to the speech of his students at the vocational school has induced him to adopt the change.
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 'coineáil/coineál Seáin, while the male informant inflects the proper noun while failing to lenite it: 'coineáil 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.

d o do ch oinneáil

We move on now to the progressive pronominal verb phrase do do choinneáil.179

On Inis Mór we note the relatively Standard Irish construction go do choinneáil180 in westernmost Inis Mór from Bungabhla to An Sruthán.181

From Fearann an Choirce eastward to Cill Rónáin, however, we get only a reduced construction, containing the possessive pronoun and the verbal noun: 'do choinneáil/coineáil/coineála. Only in Cill Rónáin, with M 50, do we again get the unreduced construction go do choinneáil, while from the female informant at Cill Êinne, we get both constructions, go do choinneáil and 'o do choinneáil.

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 choinneáil (go do x'nal).182

In contrast, on both Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr we get only the reduced construction 'do choinneáil 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 choinneáil.

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

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179This 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.
180Note, however, the universal substitution of the particle go for the Standard Irish particle do in this construction.
181The female informant at Eoghanacht gives us go mo choinneáil in its place.
182This can be seen as a hypercorrect construction incorporating both variants.
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 uaíbh. 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 cáirtaí (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 -ai 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 attributive 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.\textsuperscript{183}

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 shlacht\textsuperscript{m}h\textsuperscript{ar}**

As for the phrase bean shlacht\textsuperscript{m}h\textsuperscript{ar}, 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\textsuperscript{\textprime}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\textsuperscript{\textprime}ar or bean dathúil.

In contrast, on Inis Meáin the female informant exhibits the lenition rule in her example bean shlacht\textsuperscript{\textprime}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\textsuperscript{\textprime}ar, while the younger one produces bean dathúil.

**bean fholl\textsuperscript{\textprime}inn/shláint\textsuperscript{\textprime}iúil**

Turning to the phrase bean fholl\textsuperscript{\textprime}inn/shláint\textsuperscript{\textprime}iúil, 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 foll\textsuperscript{\textprime}inn or bean sláint\textsuperscript{\textprime}iúil from all informants.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant does not lenite, producing bean ...sláint\textsuperscript{\textprime}iúil, but the female informant lenites the initial consonant of the adjective, producing bean fholl\textsuperscript{\textprime}inn.

On Inis Oírr, the older female informant lenites the initial consonant of the adjective, producing bean fholl\textsuperscript{\textprime}inn, while the younger female informant does not lenite the initial consonant: bean sláint\textsuperscript{\textprime}iúil.

\textsuperscript{183}The female informant produces paraphrases which shed no light on this particular problem.

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**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/bred/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 *cos dhubb* while all their neighbours to the east and to the west...
produce variants with an unlenited adjective — *cois dubh* or *lámh dubh*. 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 rudái móra* across all three islands.

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*.

**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 rudái bheaga*.

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

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184 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*.

185 In terms of lexical variation, it is worth mentioning that examples with the noun *cinn* are strongly concentrated on Inis Mór while those with *rudái* are strongly concentrated on Inis Oírr. Inis Meáin shows mixed usage.

186 In terms of lexical variation in the head nouns themselves, all the informants on Inis Mór use *cinn* exclusively, with the single exception of the female informant at An Sruthán, who uses *rudái*. In contrast, all the informants on Inis Meáin and on Inis Oírr use *rudái* exclusively. Thus the lexical distribution patterns here differ significantly from those found in the previous item.
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*.\(^{187}\)

**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 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.

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 bhliain*.\(^{188}\)

**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 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 roímhe* ([n’is r’àim’r’e/ɾ’àim’r’e]) at Bungabhla and at Eoghanacht, respectively.

From An Sruthán through Corrúch, we encounter a sharply different variant, *níos roimire/roimre* ([n’is rm’r’i/rim’r’i]), with a short, lax vowel in the first syllable and an unlenited bilabial nasal consonant immediately following.\(^{189}\)

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\(^{187}\)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.

\(^{188}\)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.

\(^{189}\)The female informant at Corrúch produces another variant, [n’is ra’m’r’e], diphthongising the vowel as in the Standard Irish variant, but again not leniting the nasal consonant.

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In easternmost Inis Mór, from Eochaill through Cill Éinne, we encounter the variants níos roimhre ([n'i:s riv'r'i]) and níos reimhre ([n'i:s rev'r'e]), 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 rainhre ([n'i:s ræv'r'e]).

On Inis Óirr, however, the two older informants produce the Standard Irish variant níos rainhre ([n'i:s ra'v'r'e]), while the younger informant, F 18, produces a variant already encountered in easternmost Inis Mór: níos roimhre ([n'i:s riv'r'i]).

All in all, from westernmost Inis Mór to Inis Óirr 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 Choircé. The youngest informant there, however, F 43 at Bungabhla, produces níos luaichte (= níos luaithé), and that variant reappears in eastern Inis Mór at Corrúch and continues eastward through Cill Rónáin.\(^{190}\)

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 Óirr, 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 sciobtheá.

**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 Choircé, 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 Rónaín, 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.

\(^{190}\)Recall that F43 has been living in Cill Rónaín since her marriage.
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 [−xt’] 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 flüchte*. 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 fléí*, 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 flüchte* 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 flúcha* 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*.

**níos doimhne**

We turn now to the form *níos doimhne*.

On Inis Mór, we encounter the variant [n’íːs daːv’n’ːe] across the island from Bungabhla through Eochaill, though occasionally in the trisyllabic form [n’íːs dɔːv’m’ːe].

Recall that F 41 has had secondary level education.
We also encounter the variant níos doṁhaine ([n'ís da'wN'e]), a regular development from the base form doṁhaí ([dawN']), from the male informant at Corrách. In easternmost Inis Mór, however, we get the variant [n'ís de'v'N'e] from the headmaster of the vocational school, M 50 at Cill Rónáin, and the variant [n'ís da'v'n'e], with complete elision/vocalisation of the voiced labiodental fricative [v'], from the female informant at Cill Éinne.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant produces the trisyllabic variant [N'ís de'v'n'e], 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 Corrách in eastern Inis Mór, [n'ís da"n'e].

On Inis Oírr, we encounter once again both the trisyllabic and the disyllabic versions of the variant [n'ís da'v'n'e] from the male informant and from the younger female informant, F 18, respectively, while the older female informant F 41 produces the variant [n'ís dâ'n'e], with complete elision/vocalisation of the voiced labiodental fricative [v'], already heard from the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór.192

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.

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 nuai*

We now turn to the form níos nuai.

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.

192 Remember that F 41 got her secondary education at Cill Rónáin in easternmost Inis Mór.
On Inis Oírr, the youngest informant, F 18, produces a variant very close to the Standard Irish variant: \textit{níos núi}.

\textit{níos breátha}

We end with the form \textit{níos breátha}.

On Inis Mór the variant \textit{níos bréachte} is dominant in eastern Inis Mór from Corrúch to Cill Éinne. M 50 at Cill Rónáin offers another variant, \textit{níos brétha}, while both F 43 at Bungabhla and her mother-in-law, the female informant at Cill Éinne, both produce a variant with greater spirantisation: \textit{níos brécha}. The elderly female informant at Eoghanacht simply utilises the base form of the adjective to produce \textit{níos breá}.

On Inis Meáin, both informants use the variant \textit{bréachte}.

On Inis Oírr, the two older informants make use of the same variant, though the male informant’s example, \textit{níos bhréachte} ([\textit{n}'\textit{i}:\textit{s} v'\textit{r}'\textit{æxt}'\textit{E}]), is aberrant with its lenition of the initial consonant and its fronting of the vowel in the first syllable.\footnote{For further material of interest in regard to comparative adjectival forms, see the chapter \textit{Adjectival Inflection}.}

To sum up, in regard to the last three items, variants with the augment \textit{-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 \textit{níos} plus the base form of the adjective or with a further suffix \textit{-a} are produced by a minority of mainly younger informants on Inis Mór and Inis Oírr.

\textbf{The Intensifying Particle an-}

Looking briefly at adjectives with the intensifying particle \textit{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 [æ:] 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 \textit{an-tuirseach}, \textit{an-fholláin/an-sláintiúil}, \textit{an-fhairsing}, and \textit{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 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.

\section{26 Pronominal Forms}

\textit{tú/tusa}

Beginning with the second person singular personal pronoun \textit{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 \textit{An tú/tusa Séamas?}, we note that neither \textit{tú} nor \textit{tusa} is lenited after the present tense interrogative particle \textit{An \ldots?/Ar \ldots?} by any informant across the three islands.

On Inis Oírr, however, we get the aberrant construction \textit{Ab iú Séamas?}, 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 \textit{Ní tú/tusa Séamas \ldots} and \textit{Mura tú/tusa Séamas \ldots}.

In regard to the construction \textit{Ní tú/tusa Séamas \ldots}, all the informants across all three islands produce \textit{Ní tú/tusa Séamas \ldots}. Only two informants, both male informants in eastern Inis Mór, lenite the pronoun. Thus the male informant at Corrúch produces \textit{Ní thú Séamas \ldots} and M 50 at Cill Rónáin produces \textit{Ní thusa Séamas \ldots}.

As for the construction \textit{Mura tú/tusa Séamas \ldots}, 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: \textit{Mara tú/tusa Séamas \ldots}.

In contrast, the youngest informant on Inis Oírr, F 18, produces a lenited pronoun in her example \textit{Mura thú Séamas \ldots}. As for the older female informant on Inis Oírr, once again she produces an aberrant form, with the initial consonant of the pronoun elided: \textit{Marab iú Séamas \ldots}.

\textbf{thú/thusa}

As for classificatory copulative constructions, in which the subject pronoun is clause-final, the interrogative classificatory construction \textit{An iascaire thú?}, presents few surprises.

Nearly all the informants on Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin produce lenited forms of the pronoun, either \textit{thá/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: \textit{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: \textit{tusa} and (F 41 only) \textit{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 \textit{Dá mba bhean thú \ldots} presents an even more uniform pattern.

194 This construction is mentioned earlier in the discussion of the copula.

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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 Sruthán, 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 *tí* 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: [ɔ]. Recall the similar form cited earlier for the male informant at Corrúch in the discussion of the verb *BÍ*: [tɔ] (= *tí*). 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 *tí* and *thú* as restricted to Inis Mór. Recall, for example, the example from the older female informant on Inis Oírr: [tɔ].

**seisean**

We turn now to the emphatic subject pronoun *seisean*.

The only informants across all three islands to use the Standard Irish variant *seisean* (*feșaN/ʃešaN*) 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/sišəN*) 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* (\(\text{[s@N]}\)), 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 Chóirse, 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 \([\text{f@N} \text{ t@i:s@N} (= \text{faigheann sise})]\). 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* (\(\text{[es@N]}\)). The male informant at Fearann an Chóirse 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* (\(\text{[es@N]}\)) 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.\(^{195}\)

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.

\(^{195}\)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 O Dochartaigh, L. (1973/74).

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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.\(^{196}\)

As for the emphatic counterpart sibhse, we encounter the variant sipse (\(\text{ʃɪps}e\)) universally in the two western islands.\(^{197}\)

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 Choire 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).

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 [\(\text{ʃɪd}\)], with the diphthong [\(\text{ɪd}\)] 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., [\(\text{ʃɪd}\)], [\(\text{ʃeːd}\)], [\(\text{ʃæd}\)], and [\(\text{ʃəd}\)]. Its final consonant also is occasionally devoiced: [\(\text{ʃet, ʃot}\)].

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 [\(\text{ʃeːdsəN}\)] and [\(\text{ʃeːdsəN}\)], 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 [\(\ldots \text{ʃəd}\)] for -ann siad and [\(\ldots \text{ʃfiːdsəN}\)] for -ann siadsan.

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.

Moving on to the objectival and copular pronominal forms iad and iadsan, we might

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\(^{196}\)Not surprisingly, one of them is M 50, headmaster of the vocational school at Cill Rónáin.

\(^{197}\)The female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór produces an example with a voiced bilabial plosive.
expect very similar patterns, but we do not encounter the emphatic form *iad*san 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 *[iːt]* 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: *[a ɡoːtiː]*. The following noun will be eclipsed in any case, marking the plural possessors.

We now examine the situation in Aran Irish.

*ár gcúid gruaige/ *ár ngruaig*

In the phrase *ár gcúid 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 *[a]* 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’ gcúid 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 [n̪ ruː ɡɾuí ɡʷ], 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 [n̪ ruː ɡɾuí ɡʷ], 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 [o], 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 Óírr. 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 Óírr, 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 Óírr 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 íioc*, 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 Rónán, who produces

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lena phiocadh suas. The youngest informant, F 43 at Bungabhla, does not lenite the initial consonant of the verbal noun, producing le é a phiocadh suas.

On Inis Meáin, the female informant produces a construction with a non-finite clause, le i 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.\(^{198}\)

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.

\section*{tar éis labhairt leis}

Turning now to the phrase tar éis labhairt leis, our attention will be directed entirely to the phonological shape of the compound preposition tar éis.\(^{199}\)

On Inis Mór we note the relatively Standard Irish form \([\text{tə}r \ 'eS]\) from the youngest informant there, F 43 at Bungabhla. We also get the variant \([\text{hə}r \ 'eS]\) at Cill Éinne. We get progressively reduced forms as well: \([\text{hɾ eʃ]}\), \([\text{ɾ eʃ]}\) and \([\text{ɾ eʃ]}\).

Alternatively, one can reduce the form \([\text{hɾ}]\) to \([\text{h}]\). Thus we have the variant \([\text{h eʃ]}\) as well from the female informant at Cill Éinne.\(^{200}\) Note that in both her examples, \([\text{h eʃ} \ a \ \text{LA}^3\text{ɾ} \ 'eʃ]}\) and \([\text{hə}r \ 'eʃ} \ a \ \text{LA}^3\text{ɾ} \ 'eʃ]}\), there seems to be a clear neutral vowel before the verbal noun.

Parallel to this series of variants, however, is another series of variants on Inis Mór. This series preserves the first two consonants of the compound preposition, but palatalises them: \([\text{tʰəɾ} \ eʃ]\), \([\text{tʰɾ} \ eʃ]\), \([\text{tʰɾ} \ 'eʃ}\), \([\text{tʰɾ} \ 'eʃ}\), \([\text{tʰɾ} \ 'eʃ}\).

On Inis Meáin, only the palatalised variants \([\text{tʰɾ} \ eʃ}\) and \([\text{hɾ} \ 'eʃ}\) appear.

On Inis Oírr, the female informants produce the palatalised variants \([\text{tʰɾ} \ 'eʃ}\), and \([\text{tʰɾ} \ 'eʃ}\), respectively. The male informant, however, produces the unpalatalised reduced variant which we encountered at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór: \([\text{h eʃ}]\).

To sum up, it appears that Inis Mór is characterised by both palatalised and non-palatalised variants, while the two eastern islands are characterised by palatalised variants only. The one non-palatalised variant that unites both easternmost Inis Mór and Inis Oírr is the extremely reduced variant \([\text{h eʃ}].\)

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

\(^{198}\) 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.

\(^{199}\) We shall have another chance to view this compound preposition in the next section.

\(^{200}\) This is a variant which I normally associate with Connemara.

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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* ([tʰræː̂sNa]) and a second variant, *treasna* ([tʰræːsNa]).

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., [tʰɾæːsna], [tʰɾasna] and [tʰɾæːsNa].

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.

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* [hæ:r g@n srA:d] (= *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 [tʰar eʃ] from the youngest informant there, F 43 at Bungabhla. And once again, we get a number of variants of that form across the island: [hær eʃ], [hr eʃ], [r eʃ], [r aʃ], [r eʃ], and [r eʃ]. The two informants at Corrúch use the extremely reduced variant *‘r éis* exclusively.

As for the variant [h eʃ], 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, raised at Bungabhla but now living in Cill Rónáin, however, produces the blended form [hɾ eʃ].

In regard to the series of palatalised variants, we get [tʰəɾ eʃ], [tʰɾ eʃ] and [hr eʃ] from three informants scattered through central and eastern Inis Mór.

These few examples are the only attestations of the palatalised variants in Inis Mór.

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On Inis Meáin, once again we note only the palatalised series of variants. The female informant gives us the variant [tʰɾ′ eʃ]/ [tʰɾ′ es], and the male informant produces a variant ([hɔɾ′ iʃ]) and a second variant [ɔɾ′ eʃ].

On Inis Oírr, this time we get the non-palatalised variant [h@ɾ′ eʃ] from the older female informant, along with the second example [h@ɾ′ eʃ], showing limited palatalisation.

Her husband, on the other hand, again produces only the non-palatalised variants [h eʃ] and [r eʃ], while the youngest female informant again produces only the palatalised variant, but in a fuller form than in the previous section: [tʰɾ′ eʃ]/ [tʰɾ′ eʃ]/ [tʰɾ′ eʃ].

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 Pharraige Irish, the compound preposition le haghaidh is normally articulated as l’ aghaidh. With the raising of the diphthong [aɪ] to [eɪ] in relaxed or rapid speech, l’ aghaidh would become l’ éidh. In addition, levelling of the diphthong [eɪ] 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. 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.

On Inis Mór, the most conservative example comes from the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór: [l’éʰ hɑ′ dʲɪnːeɾ’] (= le haghaidh dinnéir). His other example, however, omits the genitival inflection: [l’é hɑ′ dʲɪnːeɾ] (= le haghaidh dinnéar). The female informant at Cill Éinne also dispenses with the genitival inflection: [l’é ʰhɑ′ ʃ ʃ j’ɪnːeɾ] (= le haghaidh a dhinnéar). In another example, she elides the [h] of the compound preposition: [l’æʰ ʃ ʃ ʃ j’ɪnːeɾ] (= l’ aghaidh a dhinnéar).

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202 Note the raising of the vowel to [i] in the second element of the construction in his first example.
203 This contrasts with her example in the previous section, which showed the fully palatalised variant.
204 This normally causes elision of the vowel [e] as well, since it now occurs immediately before the diphthong [aɪ] of the second word.
205 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.
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: [le:n pa:ʃfje:] (= 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 Choíre, at Corrúch and at Cill Ronán, 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 [le:n’ a:j’in’er] (= 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 [le:n’ d’in’er] from the female informant and [le:n’ d’in’er] from the male informant.

On Inis Oírr, the older informant M 55 produces the construction [le:n’ d’in’er] (= 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 [le:n’ tʃæx ə jena], 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 Fharraghe 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 [ag@m] from the female informant at An Sruthán on Inis Mór and the slightly reduced variant [agm] from the female informant at Corrúch further east. We get the variant [a’gam], with the stress on the final syllable, from the male informant at Eochaill, still further to the east, and we get the variant [agam], with a stressed neutral vowel in the first syllable, from the male informant on Inis Oírr.

We also get the variant [ak@m], with the velar consonant devoiced, from the female 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 [am], 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 [am], 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 [am], 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 [a:], as exemplified in the Irish of Cois Fharraige. 206 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. 207

The variant acam [akam], 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.

206 Cf. de Bhaldraithe (1953), 141.
207 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 [a:] in the word a’m.

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On Inis Meáin we get the expected variant \[ ag@t \] from the female informant, but from the male informant on Inis Oírr we get the unusual variant \[ æ;g@t \], 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 \[ ag@ts@ \] from a female informant on Inis Mór and from the female informant on Inis Meáin. The variant \[ @gUt"s@ \] from the male informant at Fearann an Choice 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 \[ a;t \], with devoicing of the dental consonant, from single informants on all three islands.208

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: \[ a;ts@ \].

There is also a competing series of variants for the contracted forms \( a't \) and \( a'tsa \), with the vowel \[ a \], with devoicing of the dental consonant, from single informants on all three islands.

Beginning with the unemphatic forms, we get the form \[ æt \] 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, \[ æd \], 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 (\[ æd \]).

As for the corresponding emphatic forms, we get the variant \[ æ:ts@ \] from both the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór and from the male informant on Inis Oírr, along with the variants \[ æts \], \[ æ:d \] and \[ æ:dsa \], all from female informants on Inis Mór.

To sum up, once again the contracted forms attract our attention. There are 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.

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 \[ a:\ ] , with no examples showing the vowel fronted to \[ æ:\ ] . Similarly, none of his examples

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208 We also get its close counterpart, \[ ad \], from the male informant at Cill Rómáin on Inis Mór.
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 prepo-
sitions ag and chuig. She uses the form [hugIN] (= chugainn) in the sentence “Tá sé
a’ tíúirt scian chugainn”, but she uses the form [aN] (= againn) in the sentence “Tá
sé thar am a’nín a bheith sa mbaile”.

In contrast, we encounter only forms of the preposition ag from all the other inform-
nants.

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 [æN], [æ:N] or [æ:ΛN]. The older female informant
on Inis Oírr even raises the fronted vowel to [æ], producing [æN].

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
[aN], and the male informant at Fearann an Choirce produces [a:ΛN].

**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 [agi:], with the final consonant
e1ided and the vowel of the second syllable lengthened, from F 43, the youngest female
informant on Inis Mór. We also have the form [agii], 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, [agife] (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 acab 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
[a:ko].

The male informant on Inis Oírr also seems to produce only a weak augment at best
in his examples [ako(b)] and [ako(v)].

The examples from Inis Meáin, however, are striking. Both informants produce only
the variant [ækob], with clear fronting of the vowel of the first syllable. The only

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The augment [av] recalls the impersonal simple past suffix [av] also found on Inis Oírr, in that both
preserve a relatively tense voiced bilabial fricative in word-final position.

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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/chuíg* 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*.\(^\text{210}\)

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.\(^\text{211}\)

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 this variant, characteristic of Connemara Irish, seems to be a clear sign of generational change on Inis Mór.

*diot*

The second person singular inflected pronoun *diot*, 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.

\(^{210}\) 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*.

\(^{211}\) 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.
**díbh**

As for the second person plural inflected pronoun *díbh*, we have only three examples, all lenited. We have ‘íb (\[\text{Pi:b}\]) from Inis Mór, dhíbh (\[\text{ji:v}\])\textsuperscript{212} from Inis Meáin, and dhíbh (\[\text{ji:b}\]) from Inis Oírr.

**díobh**

For the third person plural inflected pronoun *díobh*, we have the Standard Irish pronominal form *díobh* (\[\text{Ãi:v}\]), 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 *díob* (\[\text{ji:b}\]), with lenition of the initial consonant but no lenition of the final consonant, from the youngest informant on Inis Oírr.\textsuperscript{213}

**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.\textsuperscript{214}

**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* (\[\text{ÃE Pati;}\]), 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.\textsuperscript{215}

Otherwise, the only examples we get of this preposition are all based on the variant *go* (\[\text{g@}\]). 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 Eochaille 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* (\[\text{g@ Pæti}\]), 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*.

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 ([\text{d’e } \text{YNa:}]) suggest that this construction is a construction borrowed from elsewhere.

\textsuperscript{212}Note that the final consonant is lenited in this example.

\textsuperscript{213}A check of Item 209 in my *LASID* data from Corrúch for the same pronominal form reveals the form *díobh*, with no lenition of either consonant, produced by the male informant.

\textsuperscript{214}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 [\text{ji:b}] (= *dhíobh*) is also given under the same item.

\textsuperscript{215}Since he is headmaster of the vocational school there, such a Standard Irish form occasions no surprise.
**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 Corrách 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* [yom]). 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 ([yom/yom/yom]), but the male informant distinguishes himself with a form containing a long high back vowel: [yu:m].

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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 ([jyt'])

The only non-lenited forms occur in the construction Cú 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 ([yo])

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 [ji].

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: [d'í] and [d'i:]. Do these examples represent a fusion of the two forms *di and *í?

dáinn
Moving on to the first person plural inflected pronoun dáinn, we encounter three examples of the Standard Irish variant dáinn — 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 [yiN'], with its lenited initial consonant and its short lax mid-high front vowel, along with its emphatic counterpart dhuinne.

On Inis Oírr, however, the two female informants produce a distinct variant, dhúinn [yuN'], 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 produces (...thug 'uinn (...)hug n') and the younger female informant produces dhuinn [yan'], with the short lax vowel backed a bit.

daoibh
Turning to the second person plural inflected pronoun daoibh, we find the variant dhíbh ([ji:b']) and its reduced form 'íbh ([ib']) 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.

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216The 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 ...
The most striking variant on Inis Mór is produced by the female informant at Cill Éinne, who produces two examples of *dhaoibh* ([ɕiːv’]), with a broad lenited initial consonant and a slender lenited final consonant, along with four examples of the dominant variant *dhib*. On Inis Oírr, the youngest informant, F 18, produces an example of the reduced version of the dominant variant in the two western islands, *'ib*, but the male informant produces three examples of the unique variant *dheibh* ([jeːv’]), 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* ([ɕob]), 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 41.217

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.

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*.218

217 Once again, it is possible that her secondary education at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór has influenced her linguistic behaviour in this instance.
218 Recall her use of a homophonous form in her example *cuid gosna mrá*, which was cited in the discussion of the preposition *de* above.
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: \[\text{xum}\].

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 *dí* 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* \[\text{yuN}\] and its emphatic counterpart *dhuinne*. It is found on all three islands, but on Inis Oírr it has a competing variant, *dhuíinn* \[\text{yu:N}\], which preserves the long high back vowel of the Standard Irish variant.

The second person plural form *daóibh* 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 *dheíb* in Inis Oírr.

The third person plural form *dóibh* is represented only by one example from easternmost Inis Mór, the variant *dhób* showing lenition, but a quick glance at the material I gathered at Corrúch for the LASID questionnaire shows an unlenited variant *dób* and a variant *'ób*, with the initial consonant elided.\(^{219}\) 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 ....

\(^{219}\)Cf. Item 213.

**The Preposition *i***

We turn now to the inflected forms for the preposition *í*.

**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 \[\text{aNam}\] and a single example of \[\text{t'Nam}\], with the stress on the second syllable, from Inis Mór, and a similar form, \[\text{INam}\], 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 [o'N@t], 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 [anat] from both of the older informants. We also get the unique variant [oN@ntu] (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 [r'N@ntu'], all the other examples may be summed up under the slight variants [oN@ntu'], [oN@ntu'] or [ann'].

**ionaibh**

The second person plural inflected pronoun ionaibh, however, yields not a single example in the data.\(^{220}\)

**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 [iN@ta] or [oN@ta], 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 eastern Inis Mór.\(^{221}\)

We have some blended forms as well — ionta from the female informant at An Sruthán in west-central Inis Mór, with the long vowel characteristic of western and central Inis Mór, and iontab from the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór, containing the short vowel of easternmost Inis Mór.\(^{222}\)

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.

\(^{220}\)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).

\(^{221}\)The exception is provided by the youngest informant, F 43 from Bungabhla, who has been living in Cill Rónáin since her marriage.

\(^{222}\)Note also the odd form [aN't@b] from F 43 at Bungabhla, which may be a slip of the tongue.
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) [o:Nta(b)] and ónta [u:Nta], 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.

\[ \textit{sa bhuicéad/ sa pháirc/ sa gheimhreadh/ sa samhradh} \]

In prepositional phrases such as \textit{sa bhuicéad, sa pháirc, sa gheimhreadh} and \textit{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 \textit{sa mbuicéad, sa bpáirc/sa mbuaile/sa ngarraí, sa ngheimhreadh} and \textit{sa samhradh} (with no change).

The two examples of a variant construction with lenition instead of eclipsis, \textit{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., \textit{sa ngímreadh} and \textit{sa ngímhreadh}, respectively.

As to the form of the preposition itself in these constructions, the reduced prepositional form \textit{sa} is widespread on all three islands. Note, however, the female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór, who produces the form \textit{san} unexpectedly in the phrase \textit{san mboile} (= \textit{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, \textit{insan}. The female informant on Inis Meáin uses it in two of her four examples: \textit{insan mbuaile} and \textit{insan samhradh}. Note again her use of the form \textit{insan} rather than the form \textit{insa} even though the following nouns begin with a consonant.

In contrast, the male informant at Eochaill in eastern Inis Mór produces an example of the full form \textit{insan} only in the phrase \textit{insan aer}.

The female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór uses the slightly more abbreviated form \textit{insa/ 'nsa} in four of her seven examples, and the female informant at An Sruthán produces a further two examples of \textit{insa/ 'nsa}.

As for Inis Oírr, the male informant produces a solitary example of the variant \textit{insa} in the phrase \textit{insa ngaineamh ([Ésa ngeanamh])}.

It is worth noting also that the female informant at Cill Éinne on Inis Mór uses the full form \textit{in} of the preposition in such possessive constructions as \textit{i do mhúinteoir} and \textit{i do
bhean, i.e., in do mhúinteoir ([aN da wu:N’tJo’r]) and in do bhean ([n da v’æ:N]).

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 [haér/ haer] 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, [hart’i]. As expected, the male informant M 50 at Cill Rónáin and the female informant at Cill Éinne in easternmost Inis Mór produce [haértʃi] and [hartʃi], 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 [haért’ ɪŋ ’mor] (= 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: [harti]. 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 [haér’i] and [haer’i]. 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 [hart’i].

Only on Inis Meáin do we encounter the Standard Irish variant thairsti. The male informant produces [harʃt’i], while the female informant produces the same variant, but converts the final consonant into an affricate: [harʃtʃe], 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 [harʃʃ (er’ . . .)].

Recall that F 41 received her secondary education at Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór.

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The youngest informant on Inis Óirr, F 18, however, produces two innovative forms: *thair* [haːr′], with palatalisation of the final consonant, and two examples of the prepositional phrase *thar i* [haːr i/ haːr r i], an analytical construction in which the pronoun is independent of the preposition.\(^2\)\(^2\)\(^4\)

**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 [haːrin′].

**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* ([haːrtab] predominant throughout the island from Bungabhla to Cill Éinne. The female informant at Corróch again fronts the vowel of the first syllable to [æ], producing the sub-variant [haːrtab].

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 Rónain produces *thartu* ([haːrtu]). The female informant at Cill Éinne, however, produces the variant *tharab* ([haːrɛb]), similar to the dominant variant, but with the segment *t* elided.\(^2\)\(^5\)

On Inis Meáin, both informants produce only the variant *tharab*.

On Inis Óirr, however, we encounter once again the variant *thartu* ([haːrtu]) from the male informant, but the variant *tharab* ([haːrɛb/ haːrɛb]) 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 ipd]).\(^2\)\(^6\)

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 Óirr. We may identify the variant *tharab* with the female informant in easternmost Inis Mór, with the female informants on Inis Óirr, 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 Óirr.

**The Preposition le**

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\(^2\)\(^2\) Unless in the examples from the male informant at Corróch on Inis Mór, the pronominal element seems not to be a phonologically reduced suffix added to the preposition.\(^2\)\(^5\)

\(^2\)\(^6\) Alternatively, one could interpret this variant as being based on the root *thar* but with an *-ab* augment.\(^2\)\(^6\)

Recall her example *thar i* above.

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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 \(l'æ:t\), 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., \(l'æt\).

There is a second, recessive variant, found throughout the three islands. This variant, \(l'ët\), contains the mid front vowel \(ë\), which is invariably short.\(^{227}\)

The female informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór produces what appear to be two examples of this variant with a long vowel: \(l'ë:t\). Since this informant is given to raising the vowel \(æ\) to \(ë\), however, it is perhaps best to regard these examples as derived from the long-vowel variant \(l'æ:t\).

On Inis Meáin both informants produce only the short-voweled variants \(l'æt\) and \(l'ët\). 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,\(^{228}\) 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.

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*.

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\(^{227}\)This variant is not mentioned in Prof. de Bhaldraithe’s account of Cois Pharrainge Irish.

\(^{228}\)This may reflect her greater exposure to Standard Irish as well as her relative youth.

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We encounter the Standard Irish variant *tríthi* only on Inis Mór. The female informant at An Sruthán in western Inis Mór produces two examples, [tʰˈɾıːʰiː] and [tʰˈɾıːʰa], while M 50 at Cill Rónáin, headmaster of the vocational school, also produces [tʰˈɾıːʰa].

We also encounter monosyllabic variants. The youngest informant on Inis Mór, F 43 at Bungabhla, produces the variant, *trí* ([tʰˈɾıː]), the female informant at An Sruthán produces the variant, *thrí* ([hhrˈɾiː]), with the initial consonant lenited, and the male informant at Corrúch produces the variant *troí* [tɾɪː], with the first two consonants de-palatalised. Do such variants represent an analytic construction *trí + i*?

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 *ˈroíd* ([ɾɪːd̪]), 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 ɨ*, and then repeats the form. He precedes these forms with the unique construction *tres uirthi* ([tʰˈɾæs orhi]).

Paralleling these forms is the widespread variant *trí/i/tríte* ([tʰˈɾiː/tʰi/tʰiːtʰe]), 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 *tríte* ([tʰˈɾiː:tʰe]), with affrication of the third consonant.

On Inis Oírr, the male informant produces *tríte* ([tʰˈɾrɪː/tʰe]) (sic) and his wife produces *tríte*. The youngest informant there, F 18, produces the slightly different variant, *thríte* ([hhrˈɾiːtʰe]), with the initial consonant lenited.

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 \textit{thríb} ([\textipa{hr'\textipa{i:b'}]}), both produced by the female informant at An Sruthán on Inis Mór.

The third example, the prepositional phrase \textit{thríd sipse} ([\textipa{hr'\textipa{i:}\textipa{fj\textipa{p}e}]}), 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., \textit{thríd í} and \textit{thríd sipse}).

\textbf{The Preposition \textit{idir}}

c\textit{eadrainn}

Turning now to the inflected prepositional pronoun \textit{idir}, we begin with the first person plural inflected pronoun \textit{eadrainn}.

We encounter the basic Standard Irish variant \textit{eadrainn} ([\textipa{a\textipa{d}rIn}]) and/or its emphatic counterpart \textit{eadrainne} ([\textipa{a\textipa{d}rIN'}]) on all three islands, but especially in easternmost Inis Mór.

In competition with this form, however, is the analytic construction \textit{eidir} ([\textipa{E\textipa{d}Ir}]) \textit{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 \textit{eidir \textit{muide}} ([\textipa{E\textipa{d}Ir'} \textipa{mu\textipa{d}e}]), while the female informant produces the Standard Irish emphatic variant \textit{eadrainne}.

On Inis Oírr the two older informants produce the Standard Irish variant \textit{eadrainn}, while the youngest informant, F 18, produces the analytical construction \textit{eidir \textit{muide}}.

Note, by the way, that we do not encounter any examples of the Standard Irish prepositional form \textit{idir} on any of the islands.

c\textit{eadraibh}

Turning to the second person plural inflected pronoun \textit{eadraibh}, we find the local variant \textit{eadraí} ([\textipa{a\textipa{d}ri:}]) on all three islands, though the male informant at Corrúch on Inis Mór produces the trisyllabic sub-variant \textit{eadraí} ([\textipa{a\textipa{d}rI}]).

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 \textit{eidir sib silung}, while F 18 on Inis Oírr produces the construction \textit{eidir dhíbse} ([\textipa{E\textipa{d}Ir' \textipa{ji:b'\textipa{f}e}]}), a construction which substitutes the emphatic form of the inflected pronoun \textit{dhíb} for the expected pronominal form.

We also get idiosyncratic forms of the prepositional variant \textit{eidir}. The male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór produces [\textipa{ad\textipa{d}Ir'}] in the phrase \textit{aidir ceachtar agaí}, lowering and backing the initial vowel to [\textipa{a}]. On Inis Oírr, on the other hand, the male informant there tenses and lengthens the initial vowel to [\textipa{e}] in his phrase \textit{eidir}.
aon nduine [eːd'ɾ̥νei]. The same informant, through apparent confusion, also produces the first person form eadrainn, but in so doing, fronts the initial vowel to [æ:], producing [æːdrin'].

catarthu

We turn now to third person plural inflected form catarthu.

The variant closest in shape to the Standard Irish variant is the variant atra ([aːtræ]), 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 ([aːtr@b]), and eatrab ([æːtr@b]).

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 ([æːd̥iɾ̥ɛd] = 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 ([fʲeː]) 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 [fuːhi].

All the other informants across Inis Mór and Inis Oírr produce the monosyllabic variant fú ([fuː];).\(^{232}\)

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 Rońáin, who produces the forms [fuːh@/fuːh@·].

\(^{232}\) The male informant at Fearann an Choirce on Inis Mór lowers the vowel to the mid back vowel [ø], thus producing [foː].

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All the other informants across Inis Mór and Inis Oírr produce the monosyllabic variant \( fúb \) (\([fu:b]\))

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 \( fú \) (\([fu]\)) twice, producing a form which is homophonous with the preceding item.\(^{233}\)

### 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.\(^{234}\)

On Inis Mór and on Inis Oírr, the vowel is normally tense and long, so that the pronoun is normally pronounced as *roímpi* (\([ri:m′p′i]\)).

We find another variant, *rúimpi* (\([ru;m′p′(i)]\)), produced only by female informants in eastern Inis Mór and on Inis Meáin.\(^{235}\)

**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* (\([ru:mp@]\)).

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*.\(^{236}\)

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*.

\(^{233}\)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.

\(^{234}\)For example, note the data from the female informant at Eoghanacht on Inis Mór.

\(^{235}\)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.

\(^{236}\)We have no examples from the male informant.
On Inis Meáin, however, we find only the variant ěrub ([ru:b]) and its emphatic counterpart rópsan ([ro:psaN/ro:psaN]). The male informant produced five examples of the variant ěrub, while the female informant produced three examples of the emphatic variant rópsan.\(^{237}\)

To sum up, the variant ěrub 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 buáile 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 buáile.

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.\(^{238}\)

There is a further complication, however. All the informants in eastern Inis Mór, from Corrúch to Cill Éinne, pronounce the term buáile as [bol’ɛ] or [bol’i], with the diphthong of the first syllable shortened and centralised to [a].\(^{239}\)

In effect, the lexical item buáile yields two distinct phonological variants, buáile and boile, which divide western Inis Mór neatly from eastern Inis Mór.

To sum up, Inis Mór is characterised by the lexical item buáile, Inis Meáin by the lexical items buáile and páirc, and Inis Oírr by the lexical item garraí. Furthermore, Inis Mór itself is divided by the phonological variants of buáile: buáile 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”.

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\(^{237}\)As for the possibility that these variants might exist also on Inis Oírr, the older female informant on Inis Oírr explicitly rejected the variant ěrub.

\(^{238}\)The male informant also produces the term páirc.

\(^{239}\)The single exception is M 50 at Cill Rónán, headmaster of the vocational school, who uses the more standard pronunciation [bol’ɛ].
Beginning once again in westernmost Inis Mór, we find the relatively Standard Irish forms *buailte* [bu*ɔl*ˈtʰeː]/[bu*lˈtʰeː] at both Bungabhla and Eoghanacht in westernmost Inis Mór. However, in eastern Inis Mór from Corrúch through Cill Rónán, we find a variant with a triple plural suffix: *buailteachá*, 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 [bo*ɔl*ˈtʰaxiː] / [bo*lˈtʰaxiː] respectively. Further east, at Eochaill and at Cill Rónán, we find [bu*lˈtʰaxiː] and [bo*lˈtʰaxiː], respectively.

The competing lexical variant for this item on Inis Mór is the form *páircannaí*, produced by the male informant at Fearann an Choirce and by the female informant at Cill Einne.

On Inis Meáin, the male informant produces *páircannaí*, while the female informant produces *buailteachá* [bu*ɔl*ˈtʃaxiː] / [bu*lˈtʃaxiː], both thus reflecting faithfully the forms found in easternmost Inis Mór. The female informant also produces the variant *páircannaí*, but the variant produced by the male informant contains the intrusive *[ʃ]* as part of the root: *[paːɾʃkʰ’ɪNi]*.

On Inis Oírr, the male informant produces the plural form *páircannaí*, while the two female informants produce the plural form *garrantaí* ([ga:*r@ntiː] = garraithe).

Note that in this item, the phonological differences between the singular variants *buailte* and *boile* are reinforced with the plural suffixes -*te* and -*teachá*, respectively, producing *buailte* in western Inis Mór and *boilteachá* 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 *[paːɾʃkʰ’ɪNi]* from Inis Meáin. We have encountered this phenomenon before.

"hill"

The third lexical item involves the Irish equivalent of the English term “hill”.

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. This variant

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240 | Interpret the *[ʊ] of *[bo*lˈtʰaxiː]* as a normal shortening of the diphthong *[ʊr̃]* found in rapid speech.

241 | Though the strict definition of the term within the island focuses on the rises in the main road westward from Cill Rónán, 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.
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.

**iomáí**

We focus now on the phonological variants of the Irish term *iomáí*.

Of all the informants across the three islands, only the youngest informant, F 18 on Inis Oírr, produces the Standard Irish variant *iomáí*.

All the other informants produce phonological variants ending in the high back vowel [u], usually long or half-long.

On Inis Mór we find [imu:], [umu:] and [humu:].

On Inis Meáin, the male informant produces the variant with the initial [h] augment, [humu:], while the female informant produces the variant [umu:]

On Inis Oírr, however, both older informants produce the variant with the initial [h] augment, [humu:/humu:]

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 [l′ug] across all three islands.

This variant distinguishes the Irish of the Aran Islands (and of Cois Fhharraige) from that of western Connemara, where the variant [l′g], 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.

**Cill Mhuirbhigh**

On Inis Mór, the place-name *Cill Mhuirbhigh* produces the expected [k′il′ mir′iri:] across the whole island.

There is a competing phonological variant, however, in westernmost and in central Inis Mór: *Cill Tbhiri* [k′il′ mir′iri] or *Cill Tbeareara* [k′il′ mir′ori:]

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′il maigh].

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242The 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, [umu], without the [h] augment.
30. LOCATING VARIATION WITHIN THE LINGUISTIC SYSTEM

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, [k’i:t’ ’en’e], other than her characteristic lenition of the palatalised nasal consonant to [n’].

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 [srA:n]. Only two informants produce the Standard Irish variant Sruthán ([sr@hA:n/sr@hA:].

Two informants substitute the consonant cluster [str] for the expected cluster [sr]. Thus the male informant on Inis Oírr produces Struthán ([stroha:n]), while the male informant at Fearann an Choirce produces Str’án [strA:n].

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 ([eg’ an troha:N]).

Finally, I suggest that the place-name given by Tim Robinson as Corrúch should in fact be rendered Corrbhruch, as the physical shape of the hooked promontory itself at Port Chorrúch ([port ‘a”ru”x]) 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.243

243 Cf. Labov (1972b).
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.²⁴⁴

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 construction *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/coinneáil Sheáin/Sheáin/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 fhaid/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.

Likewise we have noted the patterned variation in the forms of certain verbal nouns of both irregular verbs (such as teacht, tabhairt or ith) and regular verbs (such as rith), as well as in the comparative forms of certain adjectives (such as ranhár). It is likely that frequency of occurrence has played a role here too in generating variant forms.

In the area of syntax, high frequency particles may also 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 have also seen that selection of a particular frequently-occurring grammatical construction type such as a direct relative clause rather than an indirect relative clause may also have sociolinguistic significance.

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.245

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.246

For these reasons, then, it is good to keep these two types of linguistic change separate, though of course they will be linked.

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245Recall the production by the youngest informant on Inis Móir, F 43, of deictic complements without a complementiser, e.g., Dúirt sé siod é é/ Dúirt sé ní siod 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.

246It 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, 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.

Séamas Ó Direáin— A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
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.

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 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.

On Inis Mór Irish, we have not only the published work of Franz Nikolaus Finck 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... 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.

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 the Cois Fharraige dialect in Connemara. As I have remarked in all my unpublished papers, 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

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247 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.
249 Cf. Scéalta... (1994).
250 Cf. Finck (1899).
252 Cf. de Bhaldraithe (1953) and de Bhaldraithe (1966).
253 Cf. de Bhaldraithe (1953) and de Bhaldraithe (1966).
254 They have been finally published in the present work.
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. More recently, we have the massive two-volume study of the same dialect by Arndt Wigger. 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. 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, 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.

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. Eoin Ó Droighneáin has also made great use of such material in his examination of the comparative forms of adjectives.

Finally general works on Irish dialectology such as T.F. O’Rahilly’s classic *Irish Dialects Past and Present* and Mícheál Ó Siadhail’s *Modern Irish: Grammatical Structure and Dialectal Variation* 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!
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, Oileán 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 Atha 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 scoiláire Gearmánach Franz Nikolaus Finck agus an scoiláire Danmhargach Holger Pedersen ag déanamh taighde teangeolaíoch anuas.

Rinne an scoiláire Eilbhéiseach Heinrich Wagner agus an scoiláire 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 rimne an taighde in Inis Oírr agus b’ é Dillon a rimne an taighde in Inis Meáin. Foilsiodh 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 cáilfochaí féin, bhí Gaeilge Chónamara agam agus bhí a leithéid de thaidhte déanta agam cheana 15 bliain roimhe sin amuigh sa Cheimia san Afraic Thoir — áit ar chaith mé beagnach bliain go leith ag déanamh taighde sochtheangeolaíoch faoi scáipéadh na teanga Kiswahili i measc na gcinníochta faoin tuath i lár na tíre — áit freisin ar thosaigh m’ e ag foghlaim Gaeilge. Bhí cáilfocht eile ag baint liom, ámh; bhí muintir agam in Árainn.

Chuir mé pleán taighde faoi bhóriaí 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 Tús as Inis Meáin*, scrúdaigh mé tráchtas M.A. Jacqueline Wardlaw, *Liosta Focal as na hOileáin Árann* (sic), agus chior mé na hirisí, ag léamh gach uile alt a scríobhadh faoi Ghaeilge Oileáin Árann le cead bliain anuas.


Níl tráchtas Krauss léite agam féin, mar d'udháin uoi an t-údar in gcomhrá teileafóin liom nach raibh mórán fós ar leith as leabhar Finck agus mé ag iarraidh teacht ar shaintréithe na Gaeilge sna trí oileán.

Ar an gcéad dul amach, bhí an fogharscrióibh an-“fhóinéimeach” agus ní raibh léiriú ar bith le fáil ar na miondifríochtaí foghraíochta atá chomh tábhachtach sin i gcúrsaí canúintíolaíochta. Rud eile, ba léir gur mheasc sé abhair ó na trí oileán le chéile le “canúint Árann” a dheanann de, rud nach raibh ann, mar ba léir cheana ón abhair ó Inis Meáin agus ó Inis Oírr in *LASID*. Rud eile féin, bhí tréithe luaite ina chuntas — tréithe ar chuirt an seanúintiu — nach raibh le fáil in Inis Mór ná (mar ba léir dom níos deireanaí) sa dá oileán eile.

Ar an gcéad dul amach, bhí an foighinsbheith an-“fhóinéimeach” agus ní raibh léiriú ar bith le fáil ar na miondifríochtaí foghraíochta an-túsach, chomh tábhachtach sin i gcúrsaí canúintíolaíochta. Rud eile, ba léir gur mheasc sé abhair ó na trí oileán le chéile le “canúint Árann” a d'fhéadfadh teacht ar na canúintí agus ar shaol na hOileáin thar chúpla glúin le cur san áireamh agus an chomparáid á d'fhanadh.

Rud eile féin, bhí tréithe luaite ina chuntas — tréithe ar chuirt an seanúintiu — nach raibh le fáil in Inis Mór ná (mar ba léir dom níos deireanaí) sa dá oileán eile.

Thosaigh mé ar an taighde in Inis Mór in samhradh na bliana 1990. Ba léir ón túsa, ánth, nach raibh mórán feidhm le baint as leabhar Finck agus mé ag iarraidh teacht ar shaintréithe na Gaeilge sna trí oileán.

Ar an gcéad dul amach, bhí an foighinsbheith an-“fhóinéimeach” agus ní raibh léiriú ar bith le fáil ar na miondifríochtaí foghraíochta atá chomh tábhachtach sin i gcúrsaí canúintíolaíochta. Rud eile, ba léir gur mheasc sé abhair ó na trí oileán le chéile le “canúint Árann” a d'fhéadfadh teacht ar na canúintí agus ar shaol na hOileáin thar chúpla glúin le cur san áireamh agus an chomparáid á d'fhanadh.

Bhí a fhios agam sular chuirt an seanúintiu a bhí i gCorrúch i lár an oileáin. Dá bharr sin, uaidh sin amach, bhí a fhios agam sular chuirt an seanúintiu a bhí i gCorrúch i lár an oileáin. Dá bharr sin, uaidh sin amach, bhí a fhios agam sular chuirt an seanúintiu a bhí i gCorrúch i lár an oileáin.

Bhí a fhios agam sular chuirt an seanúintiu a bhí i gCorrúch i lár an oileáin. Dá bharr sin, uaidh sin amach, bhí a fhios agam sular chuirt an seanúintiu a bhí i gCorrúch i lár an oileáin.

1 Ar ndóigh, bailiodh an-t-ábhar i n*LASID* daicead bliain roimhe sin, agus bhreadh na hathruithe a d'fheadhadh teacht ar na canúintí an t-ábhar i n*gCorrúch* i lár an oileáin thar chúpla glúin le cur san áireamh agus ar shaol na hOileáin thar chúpla glúin le cur san áireamh.
The island between “Gaeilge mhuintir an Chinn Thoir” and “Gaeilge mhuintir an Chinn Thiar”, and so raibh an teorainn sin idir Corrúch agus Fearann an Choire, an chéad bhailte fearainn siar ó Chorrúch, mar bhí múinn (i leaba muíd) cloiste agam go tiubh ó chara i gCill Rónáin agus [sos] agus [jčr] (in áit suas agus siar) cloiste agam ó chara eile, agus chuig bean ghearchúiseach i bhFearann an Choire ar an colas 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 Choire. Bhollas go ndeachaidh an bhéirt fhaísnéiseoirí i gCorrúch le muintir an Chinn Thoir, mar bhí fslíú agus cothromú an dá dhéfhoghar [u³] agus [í³] go tiubh trínia geud cainte.

Dá stopfainn ansin, bheadh liom; bheadh samplamaith den chanúint in Inis Mór taifeadta agam, agus cúpla ceistneoir agam ó Corrúch 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, bhadh samplaí eile den chanúint le fáil ó chainteoirí eile tríd an oileán chun léargas ní ní chruinne a fháil. Mar shampla, nuair a cheistigh mé faoi leaganacha dearfacha agus diúltacha an bhriathair faighsnaí a bhí ann ón chéad bhliain, fuair mé seacht bpéire de leaganacha i gceithre is tábhachtach, is é sin, faighneann/ní faighneann, faighneann/ní bhfaighneann, fáinn/ní bhfáinn, gheabhann/ní gheabhann, gesbhann/ní gesbhann, gheofann/ní gheofann (“leagan Chonamara”), agus fríonn (gan leagan diúltach) san aimsir ghnáthláithreach, agus gheabh/ní bhfaighidh, gheabh/ní gheabh, gesbh/ní gheabh, gheabh/ní gheabh, faighidh/ní bhfaighidh san aimsir fháistineach.

Bhí mé tar éis tosú ar ceistneoir LASID ar an meibhirt fhaísnéiseoirí i gCorrúch, áfach, ba léir go raibh leasú in oileáin ocht míle ar fad nach raibh coinné agam léi. Mar shampla, nuair a cheistigh mé faoi chumhachtachtaí shaighdeartachtaí agus diúltacha an bhriathair faighsnaí a bhí ann ón chéad bhliain, fuair mé seacht bpéire de leaganacha i gceithre is tábhachtach, is é sin, faighneann/ní faighneann, faighneann/ní bhfaighneann, fáinn/ní bhfáinn, gheabhann/ní gheabhann, gesbhann/ní gesbhann, gheofann/ní gheofann (“leagan Chonamara”), agus fríonn (gan leagan diúltach) san aimsir ghnáthláithreach, agus gheabh/ní bhfaighidh, gheabh/ní gheabh, gesbh/ní gheabh, gheabh/ní gheabh, faighidh/ní bhfaighidh san aimsir fháistineach.

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WHILE UNPUBLISHED PAPERS ON THE ARAN FIELD RESEARCH

bhfoighraíocht agus ar an delibhíocht, mar is ann a thiofadh ar na tréithe is fusa a fháil i sampla beag den chaint agus is lá a chuirfí as a ríocht in aistríúchán labhartha. Maidir leis an gcomhhréir, a cháil, bhí an-spéis agam i meath an ghinidigh, mar shampla, nó in úsáid an chásail choibhneasta dhírigh in áit an chásail choibhneasta neamhduíghr, nó in úsáid an tsaothriathair, ach is i fachnameachtar a chuaidh an chuid den ghramadach is dóiche a chuairfí as a ríocht in aon aistríúchán a d'heanfar ar an mBéarla mar gheall ar chomhréir na canúna le fáil, chomh maith le tréithe de chogadh agus den delibhíocht, ach ba lú í mo mhunús astu mar léargas ar an gcomhrá nádúrtha. Fíricí tábhardhachta a bheadh iomtu, ach fíricí a bheidh le scúrú go tuisceantach.

Bheadh na habairtí trialacha mar uirlis luachmhar agam freisin ag déanamh taighde sa dá oileán thoir. Bheadh suim agam go húirtí in a thearthra is príomhóideach ann ó rinnse an obair agus do leabhar na gcriomhaíochta ná „Lasid” leathchead bliain ó shin. An mbeadh meath an ghinidigh, mar shampla, ag teachta chomh mór sin ar an gcuanúint in Inis Meáin, oileán a raibh clú an choimeádachais ar a mhuintir, agus a bhi — mar ba léir — in Inis Mór? Ar ndóigh, bheadh 125 abairt thriailacha agam ó 16 duine sna trí oileán agus ag gheall le lasid nádúrtha a thiontaigh curtha ar a bhfásannín in áthas imp. An mbeadh meath an gcinidigh, mar shampla, ag teachta chomh mór sin ar an gcuanúint a thabhairt do chomhréir na canúna de chuid na n-oileán thóir le baint amach againn as faisnéiseoirí sna trí oileán, ag teachta i n-tráthanna a bhí ina bhfoighreaíochta nádúrtha le fáil ó na bhfoighreaíochta le fáil in Inis Mór. Mar sin, bhí stíl soirthiúil, agus ag troidh leagadh ar an mBéarla ó hamháin.

Tar éis samhradh eile a cheithre amháin in Oileáin Árann ag cur agallamh ar dhaoine agus ag taifeadadh ná den chuid is mó de na bhfoighreaíochta nádúrtha le baint amach againn as faisnéiseoirí. Bhí 125 abairt thriailacha againn ó 16 duine sna trí oileán agus ag gheall le lasid nádúrtha a thabhairt curtha ar a bhfásannín in áthas imp. An mbeadh meath an gcinidigh, mar shampla, ag teachta chomh mór sin ar an gcuanúint a thabhairt do chomhréir na canúna de chuid na n-oileán thóir le baint amach againn as faisnéiseoirí sna trí oileán, ag teachta i n-tráthanna a bhí ina bhfoighreaíochta nádúrtha le fáil ó na bhfoighreaíochta le fáil in Inis Mór. Mar sin, bhí stíl soirthiúil, agus ag troidh leagadh ar an mBéarla ó hamháin.

Ba dheacair agallaimh a chur ar dhaoine, bíodh ina ngaolta liom nó ina gcairde liom nó b'fhéidir d'éiriannach a chur ar aghaidh. Chuirfí lá an agallaimh ar an mbeadh a mhúrduinghadh sa bhfoighreacht ná a bhfuil faoi córas na bhfoighreacht ná a bhfuil faoi córas na bhfoighreacht ná a bhfuil faoi córas na bhfoighreacht ná a bhfuil faoi córas na bhfoighreacht ná a bhfuil faoi córas na bhfoighreacht.
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 tionscnamh a bhí ag an-áiteanna inar phó thuig isteach ar an gcanúint a thug siad le oíon gélabdhán.

Ar ndóigh, bheadh scoláireacht na bhfaisnéiseoirí agus na tréimhsí a bheadh caite acu ina gcónaí é a bhfad ón na chúisí duithe le cur san áireamh agus ábhar an taighde a scrúdú, ach arís níor chuir na rudaí sin isteach rómhór ar nádúrthacht na cainte sna hagallaimh. Bhí ardmhaitstir na gairmscoile i gCill Rónáin fúr mar fhaisnéiseoir agam, ach thuig sé go maith gur chaint nádúrtha a theastaigh uaim, agus b’inn an rud a fuair mé uaidh.

Bhí ardmhalaitstir na gairmscoile i gCill Rónáin fúr mar fhaisnéiseoir, ach thug sé go maith gur chaint nádúrtha a theastaigh, agus a gur cuir i gcomparáidh an rud a fuair uaim.

Bheifeá ast a raibh an leaganacha caighdeánacha anseo agus agus ansúil ó dhaonáire a mbeadh roinnt maith scoláireachta acu, agus bhí na rudaí sin ann in áiteanna, ach ar ndóigh bheadh stiúl agat leis na rudaí sin ón gcuntas fairsing agus a shaol gar fhaisnéiseoir sna hagallaimh shochtheacha gael a dhéanamh, agus bheadh sin curtha san áireamh agat.

Ar ndóigh, bheadh roinnt fásacha acu, agus ar ndóigh bheadh roinnt fásacha acu, agus thug sé go maith gur chaint nádúrtha a theastaigh, agus a gur cuir i gcomparáidh an rud a fuair uaim.

Í ndeireadh an taighde ar fad, bhí lán 46 caiséad 90-nóiméad taifeadta agam, agus theastaigh uaim anáilis chòrasach chuimsitheach a dhéanamh an ar an ábhair go léir. Ar ndóigh, bhí an t-uafaís ábhair bylithte agam agus ba léir nach mbeadh an t-am agam gur ghearr go leith a bhí ar na caúsaidh a bhreacadh sóis i bhfoirm scripófra. Bhí fainn ón tús dhéanamh LASID a bhreacadh sóis iomlán, agus theastaigh go ginear uaim na chéad 125 abairt thriailacha ar na laghad a bhreacadh sóis, na tréithe is suntasaí a thoghadh as na habairtí scripof sheasnamh, a leagan amach ar tháiblí fhaisnéise, agus a gur cuir i gcomparáidh an rud a fuair uaim.

Ba léir go luath nach bhfuil a dhuine de na rudaí sin ann in áiteanna, ach ar ndóigh bheadh súil agat leis na rudaí sin ón gcuntas fairsing a gheafá ar shaol gach fhaisnéiseoir sna hagallaimh shochtheacha gael a dhéanamh, agus bheadh sin curtha san áireamh agat.

Nuair a smaoinigh mé i dtosach ar na táblaí fhaisnéise mar mhodh léirithe, cheap mé gur leor ceithre cáilte i dtabála le dáileadh gach tréithe a léiriú thar na trí oileán; bheadh thabhairt a bhí ann don dá oileán, agus thábhairt a bhí ann don dá oileán mhúr — an Ceann Thoir agus an Ceann Thiar in Inis Mór. Ach nuair a thosaigh mé ag leagan amach na leaganacha éagsúla a léiriú ghuthraíocht nó d'earraíocht, sa fhéidir, bhí a fhios agam go mbeadh an t-am amháin, ach ba léir nach bhfuil an t-am amháin, agus aithníonn neamhspleách as na rudaí sin ann. Creidim go bhfuil an chéad roinnt soinseans na rudaí sin a dfaitheann, a bhíonn an t-am as a bhfuil an chéad roinnt soinseans na rudaí sin a dfaitheann.

I ndeireadh na deileadh, ní raibh le déanamh ach le leagan amháin i gceist ag anois, agus neamhspleách as na rudaí sin a bhfuil an t-am amháin, agus a bhfuil an t-am amháin a bhfuil an t-am amháin a bhfuil an t-am amháin.

Tá na táblaí fhaisnéise críochnaithe agam. Tá nuair a bhíonn an t-am amháin a bhíonn an t-am amháin a bhíonn an t-am amháin a bhíonn an t-am amháin. Creidim go bhfuil an chéad roinnt soinseans na rudaí sin a dfaitheann, a bhíonn an t-am amháin a bhfuil an t-am amháin a bhfuil an t-am amháin.

Tá na táblaí fhaisnéise críochnaithe agam d'fhás. Tá na táblaí fhaisnéise críochnaithe agam d'fhás. Tá na táblaí fhaisnéise críochnaithe agam d'fhás. Tá na táblaí fhaisnéise críochnaithe agam d'fhás.
ndeilbhíocht, agus i gcomhréir na ganúintí in Oileáin Árann le feiceáil orthu.

Tá a lán rudaí ann nach bhfuil luaite sa litríocht scoláirtha go bhfios dom. Is dócha go bhfuil a lán acu le fáil i gConamara, agus ar ndóigh tá leabhair Thomáis de Bhaldráithe faoi dheilbhíocht chanúint Chois FHarraige breac le leaganacha tánaisteacha atá mar shaintréithe na ganúintí in Inis Meáin agus in Inis Mór.

Tá rudaí cloiste agam ó chainteoirí as Conamara ar Raidió na Gaeltachta a cheap mé ná raibh le fáil le fáil le fáil in Árainn: an leagan muinnin in áit muid, mar shampla. Bhéidir nár chuála mé i gceart iad, ach is cinnte gur chuála mé an leagan muinde trí huair a chéile ó fhearc a bhí ag obair ar an gCéathrú Rua agus é faoi agallamh ar chlár cúrsaí reatha. Féach freisin go bhfuil leagan den focal samhradh — /sæmrə/ — luaite le Gaeilge Charna ag Ruairí Ó hUiginn ina aiste mar shaintréithe na gcanúintí in Inis Mór agus in Inis Mór.

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Ba í an neamhchinnteacht faoi na fuaiméanna 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 fhuaim san abairt a bhreacadh síos go beagta sa téiplann. Ar ndóigh, dá mbeadh na patrún a bhí le feiceáil san abhar a bheadh scríofa ar na táblaí faoi féinise bunaithte ar na drochéisteacht, ní bheadh aon mhaith iontu mar phatrún. “Fieldworker isoglosses” a bheadh iontu.

Ach nuair a bhí mé ag iarraidh na gutaí tosaigh [Eː] agus [æː] a leagan amach ar na táblaí, ag féachaint an ndearadh faoin mna in Inis Mór [d̪æːs] in áit [d̪æːs] (= deas), tháinig iontas orm nuair a fuair mé amach nach i áirde 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 dála i gceart le chuaidh le fáil.

Is é sin, bhain fadóínaí a mhair le glórú an chonsair ina dhiaidh; bheadh isoglossa san fhocal teachach agus gach fada sna focalí fear nó bean. In Inis Meáin agus sa Cheann Thoir in Inis Mór bhí claoadaidh látair ar gach fuaireadh na mna in Inis Mór [d̪æːs] in áit [d̪æːs] (= deas), tháinig iomnai o mhuir a fuair mé amach nach i áirde 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 tri oileán.

Go ginearálta, bhí mé cleachtach go maith ar na canúintí in Oileáin Árann tar éis deich mbliana a chaithmeadh ag éisteacht leis na faoisíneiseoirí — agus i bhfad nóin muiníin na mna leas éisteachta. I ndeireadh na dala, ámhsan, is iad na caisnéidí na cáipéisí cearta; níl san ábhar scríofa ach acoimfre agus troisíon don saibhreas taifeadta go léir. Déanfaidh scoláirí eile anailís air as an ghuta taifeadta. B'fhéidir go dtiocfadh ar phatrúin eile, nó b'fhéidir go mbéas anailís air as an ghuta taifeadta.

D'fhéadfaí an t-ábhar a dhigitiú, le go bhfeair anailís eile faoi ghoyaíseachtaí an fhreagraigh an fuaime ann ar na mblianta. D'fhéadfaí anailís, chun an fuaime a labhradh á plé, a thaghadh leis an ghuta taifeadta. Déanfaidh scoláirí eile anailís air as an ghuta taifeadta.

Tá fúm toradh an taighde a fhiosruaimhreachtaí Scoil an Léinn Cheiltigh faoi chonsair Meáin in Éireannach. Le cúnaimh Dé, beidh toradh cheisteach leasuithe LASID as Inis Mór le fáil, chomh maith leis an t-ábhar a dhigitiú, le go bhfeair anailís eile faoi ghoyaíseachtaí an fhreagraigh an fuaime ann ar na mblianta. D'fhéadfaí anailís, chun an fuaime a labhradh á plé, a thaghadh leis an ghuta taifeadta. Déanfaidh scoláirí eile anailís air as an ghuta taifeadta.

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Tá fúm toradh an taighde a fhiosruaimhreachtaí Scoil an Léinn Cheiltigh faoi chonsair Meáin in Éireannach. Le cúnaimh Dé, beidh toradh cheisteach leasuithe LASID as Inis Mór le fáil, chomh maith leis an t-ábhar a dhigitiú, le go bhfeair anailís eile faoi ghoyaíseachtaí an fhreagraigh an fuaime ann ar na mblianta. D'fhéadfaí anailís, chun an fuaime a labhradh á plé, a thaghadh leis an ghuta taifeadta. Déanfaidh scoláirí eile anailís air as an ghuta taifeadta.
le 518 tábla faisnéise le souin ó na tri 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 Árann. Tá foireann cóipeanna de na 46 caiséad taighde i seilbh Scol an Léinn Cheiltigh, Institiúid Ard-Léinn Bháile Átha Cliath, agus foirne éile 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 linn, déarfainn gcaithfeadh an taighdeoir a bheith saolta leis a bheadh saolta a bheith taifeadta, ach dá n-eireodh cairdreachas as an t-ús sin, go mbeadh saibhreas le baint as an obair a dhéanfadh sé le chéile. Ar ndóigh, bheadh ar an taighdeoir aithne a chur ar an bhfaisnéise, mar d’fhéadfadh an rud is fánait in saol an bhfasnéise a torú caoinhionann a thabhairt a chaitheamh. Le himeacht aimsire, bheadh gréasán cairdreachas ag an taighdeoir sa phobal, agus d’fhéadfadh sé/si daoine a thoghadh as ach a cónaí sa phobal a chuidiúódh leis an taighde. Is í féidir a lua anseo, freisin, go mbeadh an gréasán cairdreachais a bheadh ag bantaighdeoir éagsúil ar fad leis an gceann a bhí ag taighdeoir fír, agus go mbeadh léargas ar an bphobal aici nach n-eachadh ag an taighdeoir fir go deo.

Maidir leis na tréithe teanga a scrúdófaí, bheadh difríochtaí ann idir aicmí sóisialta sa phobal — mar a fheiceann muid in Inis Mór, agus d’fhéadfadh tréith ar bith acu a bheith ar fáil freisin i nGaeltachttaí i bhfad amach uathu — agus gan fhios do dhaoine a thogadh i nGaeltachttaí.

Maidir leis na tréithe teanga, áfach, d’fhéadfadh an iliomad ilghnéitheachta a bheith ag baint leo sa bhall fearainn óna a dtugtar a rian a fhágáil ar chaint an phobail, ach ar aon amháin, d’fhéadfadh an ceannacht a bhaint as an tréith le himeacht aimsire. Bheadh difríochtaí ann idir na glúine, idir mná agus fhir, idir daoine le mórán scolasócha agus daoine le beagán, idir daoine a mbeadh an saol mór in éiri ó a bhfadh ó bhfadh ó baile riama.

Maidir leis na tréithe teanga sin, áfach, d’fhéadfadh an iliomad ilghnéitheachta a bheith ag baint leo sa bhall fearainn óna a dtugtar a rian a fhágáil ar chaint an phobail, ach ar aon amháin, d’fhéadfadh an ceannacht a bhaint as an tréith le himeacht aimsire. Bheadh difríochtaí ann idir na glúine, idir mná agus fhir, idir daoine le mórán scolasócha agus daoine le beagán, idir daoine a bheadh an saol mór in éiri ó a bhfadh ó bhfadh ó baile riama.

Maidir le bailiú samplaí, freisin, is furasta léargas maith a fháil ar fhoghraíocht na canúna as píosa gearr cainte, mar gheall ar mhíniúchócht air bhfhuaiméanna faoi leith i dtréimhse dheanamh ghearr cainte. Bheadh sé nóis deacra léargas a fháil ar an deilbhíocht nó ar an gcomhréir mar píosa gearr cainte, ach mar sin féin, d’fhéadfadh leigheas a fháil ar chuidiúódh a pholaitíocht a bhíonn ann ón t-aithne sa chomhgháord, mar gheall ar mhíniúchócht air bhfhuaiméanna faoi leith i dtréimhse de ghearmhacht cainte leanúna.

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 leadránach den obair a fhághaíl faoi scoláirí óga — meath ar ghréasán, cuir i gcás, ach bheadh ar an taighdeoir roimh níos déanta den obair a dhéanamh e/í
APPENDIX A. UNPUBLISHED PAPERS
ON THE ARAN FIELD RESEARCH

Séamas Ó Direáin— A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway

(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.)
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 for 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. 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 Tíos 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 of Myles Dillon.

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SÉAMAS Ó DIREÁIN — A SURVEY OF SPOKEN IRISH IN THE ARAN ISLANDS, CO. GALWAY

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1 It was Wagner who did the research on Inis Oírr and Dillon who did the research on Inis Meáin.
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 Fhairre: 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 Mór4.

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 *[so:s]* and *[feə:r]* 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 *[u]̃* and *[i]̃* characterised

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4Of 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/ni fhaigheann, faigheann/ni bhfaigheann, fánn/ni fhánn, gheabhann/ni gheabhann, gheabhann/ni gheabhann, gheofann/ni gheofann (“a Connemara importation”) and fríonn (without a negative counterpart). In the future tense, I encountered gheabh/ni bhfaighidh, gheabh/ni gheabh, geabh/ni gheabh, and faighidh/ni 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 genitival 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 eliciting 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 Côis 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 *maisde* 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* — /sámra/ —
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 [g'í:m'r'E] 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 [e:] and [æː] on the linguistic charts in
order to see whether the women on Inis Mór would say [d’eːs] instead of [d’æːs] (= 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 [e:], 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 for 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

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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 genitival 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

Séamas Ó Direáin— A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
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

Bailiódh a lán faísnéise le breis agus céad bliain faoi na canúintí in Oileáin Árann, idir ábhar scríofa agus ábhar taifeadta. Déanfar plé sa pháipéar seo ar na faoisí is mó a sholáthraíonn eolas ar fhoghraíocht, ar ghramadach, agus ar stór focal na gcanúintí nua hoileáin sin thar thréimhse céad bliain, agus ar bhuanna agus laigí ná bhfaí oíche sin.

Déanfar tagairt anseo agus ansiúd don taighde a rinne mé féin in Oileáin Árann — go háirithe in Inis Mór, taighde a bhi faoi stiúir Mháirtín Uí Mhurchú agus faoi choimirce Scoil an Léinn Cheiltigh, Institiúid Ard-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath, ach ní dheanfar mórán plé sa pháipéar seo ar aidhmeanna agus modhanna oibre an taighde sin, mar tá cur síos fairsing dáonta 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 "Sprachland-schaft" mar a thug an Dr. Heinrich Wagner air,\(^7\) a leagan amach romhaibh. Is dreach tíre samhlaíta é sa chás seo, áfach, a thabharfas leasanna do bhóthair, b'fhéidir, ar an ngaol atá ann idir na canúintí in Oileáin Árann, de réir mo thuiscint faoi láthair.

Dá mbeadh an talamh agus an fharraige thart ar Chuid 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 a chur i d'fhoireann Inis Oírr, agus bheadh cainteoirí Inis Mór ina gcéad in scata bailte fearann an rugadh agus ar an gcéad thar an gceithre férne. Bheadh cainteoirí Inis Meáin le chéile ar an rinn ann, agus bheadh cainteoirí Inis Mór ag cainteáil lena chéile. Bé内地 ag cainteáil lena chéile.

Maidir le teorainneacha, is ar éigean a d'fhéadfaí teorainn ar bhith a shonraí chomh fada ó thuaidh do Gaillimh, agus go fóill i bhfadh ó thuaidh, agus ó thuaidh, agus ó thuaidh, ach bheadh le fáil in aon amaidh, ach bheadh le fáil in aon amaidh.

Maidir le teorainneacha canúnta, is ar éigean a d'fhéadfaí teorainn ar bhith a shonraí chomh fada ó thuaidh do Gaillimh, agus go fóill i bhfadh ó thuaidh, ach bheadh le fáil in aon amaidh, ach bheadh le fáil in aon amaidh.

I dtaca le cainteoirí chanúintí Chonamara, áfach, bheidh ina gcéad ar oileán mór mill-teachsan faoi fharraige go dhéach, le hίoraíonn na Gaillimhe, mar ní bhíonn gur léigheas a thabhairt féin ó thuaidh, ach bheadh le fáil in aon amaidh.

\(^7\)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 Fharraghe; d’tháigh dadh a lán trádála thar farraige agus, ar ndóigh, a lán pósáa a rian ar chaint an dá phobail. Mar sin féin, bheadh tionchar chanúint mhuíntir Rinn Chois Fharraghe i bhfad níos láidre ar chanúint mhuíntir Rinn Cheann Boirne ná a mhalaírt, sa chaoidi go bhféadfadh a rá gur lonnaigh slua maith daoine as Rinn Chois Fharraghe isteach i Rinn Cheann Boirne ag an ádhamh taobh istigh de chúpla céad bliain ó shin.

Le cónamh an dreacha tíre shamhalta sin, b’fhéidir go dtuigfeadh sibh níos fearr tábhacht cuid de na foinsí a luafas mé sa pháipéar seo agus na gabhail ghaoil atá ann, dar lIon féin, idir na foinsí seo — mar tá gaol láidir eatartha go lór, agus comhionann siad a chéile ar bheadhach na bhfeadhadh na taighdeoirí féin a thuiscint agus iad ag déanann a gcuid taighde le céad bliain annus. Tuigfaidh muid níos fearr, b’fhéidir, tábhacht a thaghdhe an Ollainn Tomás de Bhaldraithe do thaghdhe ar chanúintí Oileáin Árann, idir a chuid aithdhe i gCois Fharraghe agus a chuid taighde i Mionlach, láimh le Gaillimh.

Deirtear gurb é an leabhar *Gaeilge Chois Fhairrge: An Deilbhíocht* an cuntas is cuimsithí a foilsigh an riamh ar aon chanúint de chuid na Gaeilge, agus is maith ann dúnna cé. Dá bhfrí sin, agus an cuntas fairsing sin ar fáil ar thráthtaí dheilbhíocht na canúnta, chomh maith le canúint séartha ra a fogafraocht — *The Irish of Cois Fharrige, Co. Galway: A Phonetic Study*, níorbh fhiú liom a leithéidí de chuntais a scríobh ar Gaeilge Inis Mór ná ar Gaeilge Inis Meáin, mar ba lèir ó thosaigh mé ar an taighde in Inis Mór go raibh gaol an-ghairid ann idir Gaeilge an dá oiléan sin agus Gaeilge Chois Fharraghe.

(Maidir le Gaeilge Inis Óirr, ámh, ba lèir on tús go dtéachsthóin cuntas fairsing ar Gaeilge an oiléan sin ó bhí sí chomh leithleach sin ó na canúntí thuasluaite, ach bhí tús maith curtha ar an gcuntas sin cheana ag Brian Ó Catháin ina thábhachta M.A. ar an mbriathar i nGaeilge Inis Óirr.)

D’fhéadfaí a rá, mar sin, gur beag tréithi chanúnaí atá le fáil i nGaeilge Inis Mór nó i Gaeilge Inis Meáin nach bhfuil le fáil i leabhair an Ollainn de Bhaldraithe archanúint Chois Fharraghe, ach is i bhfoirsinge nó i minicíocht na dtréithi sin i mbéal an phobail is mó a bheadh na dirfórtachtaí idir canúntaí an dá oiléan sin agus canúnta Chois Fharraghe. Tréith a bheadh i réim i nGaeilge Chois Fharraghe, b’fhéidir gur thráththaí staínteach nó go fiú tréith amháin sna hoiléin í —agus a mhalaírt de scéal maith leis an santréithe na n-oiléin. Is minic, mar shampla, sainghioirm de chuid Inis Mór luaite mar cheann de na leathanach lenaganacha tanaisteacaha d’fhocal aithinte i gcánúnt Chois Fharraghe ag bun leathanach aithriúsa sa leabhar *Gaeilge Chois Fharrighe: An Deilbhíocht*.

Ar an tseánaín, ba imníolta don scoláire agus é/í a dhrith na gceann agus é/í a thábhacht a thaghdhe in Oileáin Árann gan a mhaoíomh nach bhfuil a leithidí seo nó a leithidí síud de thráthtaí le fáil i gConamara, mar is lèir dom féin go bhfuil tréith “Árannach”, mar dhean, le cloisteáil ó chainteoirí as Conamara ar Raidió na Gaeltachta nach bhfuil trácht orthu, go bhfuil dom, sna cuntaí as chanúintí Chonamara. Is iontach an ait a bhfaighfeá gliomach, agus thabharfaíonn féin an

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9 de Bhaldraithe (1953).
10 de Bhaldraithe (1966).
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” *muinna* i leaba an leagain *muid* ag duine as Conamara ar Raidió na Gaeltachta.

Cheap mé le fada gur santréithe de chuid Inis Mór iad na leaganacha *[sá:vra]* nó *[sá:mr]* (= samhradh), ach tá a dar a foirm luithe te Gaeilge Charna ag Ruairí Ó hUiginn ina chuntas ar chunúintí Chonnacht sa leabhar *Stair na Gaeilge.* Is fiú smaoinneamh ar rud a dúirt bean an leagan “Cre” 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 fén.

Agus “talamh slán” déanta ag堪ín de Chois Fhharraige agus na hoileáin amach uaidh, téadh muid anois móilse ón oileán, ag scrúdú na bpríomhfhíoisí eolais atá ar fáil ar Ghaeilge Oileán Árann. Tosaíodh muid le hInis Mór, aith a bhfuil colas ag an breis is céad bliain anusú, ón am ar thosaigh an scoláire Gearmánach Franz Nikolaus Finck agus an scoláire Danmhargach Holger Pedersen ag déanamh taighde ar chanúintí Inis Mór.

De réir a chuintais féin, bhí Finck i mbun taighde sna trí oileán ar feadh breis agus bliain sna blianta 1894–95, ach is léir ó na samplaí a thugann sé den chanúintí agus ó na tagairtí ionadadá a dhéanann sé dá phríomhfhaisnéiseoir Mark O’ Flaherty (Marcus Ó Flaithearta) i gCill Rónáin go bhfuil sé bunús a chuid taighde. 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 bheart. Bhu féin roinnt géar ar thaighde Finck i bpápéir 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 faoi “gcanúint Árannach”, mar dhea, tuairim a nocht Brian Ó Catháin chomh maith faoi leathainn mhuintir an Chinn Thoir in Árann féin — is é sin, Inis Meáin. Tá deich gcinn de shamplaí focal in Inis Oírr tugtha aige sna nótaí deiridh ina fhoclóir, ach níl ach samplaithe as an tsampla a thabharfadh le fios duit go bhfuil briathar ann: is é sin, Inis Mór.

Tá mé tagtha a mhalaínt intinne ar fad anois. Dar liom féin go bhfuil táifead luachmhair againn ó Finck de chaint na ndaoine in Árann breis is céad bliain ó shin, ach ní táifead de chunúintí na dtréi oileán é aicfear againn an Chinn Thoir in Árann féin — is é sin, Inis Mór. Tá deich gcinn de shamplaí focal as Inis Oírr tugtha aige sna nótaí deiridh ina fhoclóir, ach níl ach samplaí amháin a thabharfadh le fios duit go bhfuil briathar ann: is é sin, Inis Oírr.

D’fhéadfaí a ghluadh uaidh go raibh sé ann agus gur mheall sé samplaí as muintir Inis Oírr, ach ní féidir go bhfuil sé réidh láidir aicfear againn, mar dá bhfuil bheadh bheart agus an bheart a thabhairt faoi dhaoine a bhí ina stáitse marbhí, ach ní féidir leis an tseacht mhuintir an Chinn Thoir in Árann féin — is é sin, Inis Mór.

13Ó hUiginn (1994), 552.
14Déir sé féin i níos déanaí a leabhair féin “...dass ich vier mal so lange auf Aran war, als Pedersen, d.h., den aufenthalt auf allen drei inseln zusammengerechnet”. Péac'h Finck (1899), II, 261.
15Finck (1899).
1932, téacs a luafas mé níos faide anonn. Máidir le hÉinne Meáin, áfach, níl sampla ar bith as Inis Meáin luaite ag Finck.

Os a choinne sin, tá lear sampláid de thréithe an Chinn Thoir in Inis Mór an lae inniu le fáil ina chuid sampláid — an guta fada in áit an défhoghair, m, sh., i bhfocal ar nós [fɛɾ] (= sir). 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 in áit an défhoghair, m.sh., i bhfocail ar nós [fɛɾ] (= sir). Is fiasc, ámh, ní thagann mé in leaba ní thagaim i nótaí Pedersen, agus a fhaisnéiseoir Mark O’ Flaherty i gCorrúch luaite go minic aige, nuair is ar éigean atá faisinseoir ar bith in aon áit eile in Inis Mór luaite aige. Dála an scéil, is léir go bhfuil na foirmeacha scartha briathartha atá comh fairsing anois i gcaint mhuintir an Chinn Thoir le cloisteáil ann cheana céad bliain ó shin (m.sh., ní thagann mé in 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 [tʃæŋɡ] ag duine in áit [tʃæŋɡ], nó [ʃæfoːɡ] in áit [ʃæfoːd’]. Is fiasc, ámh, ní thagann mé in leaba ní thagaim i nótaí Pedersen, agus a fhaisnéiseoir Mark O’ Flaherty i gCorrúch luaite go minic aige, nuair is ar éigean atá faisinseoir ar bith in aon áit eile in Inis Mór luaite aige. Dála an scéil, is léir go bhfuil na foirmeacha scartha briathartha atá comh fairsing anois i gcaint mhuintir an Chinn Thoir le cloisteáil ann cheana céad bliain ó shin (m.sh., ní thagann mé in leaba ní thagaim).

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Maidir lena chumas éisteachta, caithfidh mé a rá nach gcuireann na samplaí éideimhne isteach orm go mór a thuilleadh. B’fhéidir gur chuala sé [tʃæŋɡ] ag duine in áit [tʃæŋɡ], nó [ʃæfoːɡ] in áit [ʃæfoːd’]. Is fiasc, ámh, ní thagann mé in leaba ní thagaim i nótaí Pedersen, agus a fhaisnéiseoir Mark O’ Flaherty i gCorrúch luaite go minic aige, nuair is ar éigean atá faisinseoir ar bith in aon áit eile in Inis Mór luaite aige. Dála an scéil, is léir go bhfuil na foirmeacha scartha briathartha atá comh fairsing anois i gcaint mhuintir an Chinn Thoir le cloisteáil ann cheana céad bliain ó shin (m.sh., ní thagann mé in leaba ní thagaim).
san imleabhar eile, agus na focail féin neadaithe go minic in abairtí nádúrtha samplacha.  

Bhaileigh 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, bhaileigh Finck formhór a ábhair féin ó Marcus Ó Flaithearta (Mark O’ Flaherty) i gCorrúch, an baile fearainn atá ag teorainn thiar Bhaile na Creige agus an áit ar rugadh mo sheanathair féin.

Bhaileigh mé ábhar taifeadta ó fhaisnéiseoirí eile a rugadh i mbailiú fearainn ar fud an oileáin, ach ó tá muíntir mo sheamhmháthar go tiubh i gCill Rónáin, d’éirigh mé an-chleachtach ar chanúntí an dá áit a ndearna Pedersen agus Finck a gcuid taighde iontu. D’fhéadfá a rá mar sin go bhfuil taifeadadh déanta ní amháin ar Ghaeilge Inis Mór ach ar an nGaeilge in ionann agus na baile fearainn ceannann céanna san oileán thar thuilleadh céad bliain.

Bhaileigh mé féin ábhar taifeadta 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. Is leor a rá anseo gur chuir mé ceistneoir Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects (LASID) 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 bheadh le fáil. Cuir tradh 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 46 caiséad 90-nóiméad a bhailigh sé.

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. Níl siad scríofa i bhfogharscríobh, áfach, ba dheachair a rá cé mhéad atcheartaíthe a bhheidh déanta aige ar an ábhar a bhailigh sé.

Ina dhiaidh sin is mó an t-ábhar a fhaisnéisigh an scríbhneoir ceann a scríobh Liam Ó Dochartaigh, ceann a scríobh Brian Ó Catháin, agus ceann a scríobh Séamas Ó Murchú.

Maidir le Gaeilge Inis Meáin, is é an t-ábhar a fhaisnéisíonn an nÉigse faoi thréithe chanúnt Inis Mór is mó agus ar sheachtar eile tríd an oileán. 

Ina dhiaidh sin is mó an t-ábhar a fhaisnéisigh an scríbhneoir ceann a scríobh Liam Ó Dochartaigh, ceann a scríobh Brian Ó Catháin, agus ceann a scríobh Séamas Ó Murchú.

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Ina dhiaidh sin is mó an t-ábhar a fhaisnéisigh an scríbhneoir ceann a scríobh Liam Ó Dochartaigh, ceann a scríobh Brian Ó Catháin, agus ceann a scríobh Séamas Ó Murchú.
ceistneoir LASID ar fhaisnéisí ann i luathchaogaidí na haoise seo caite. Ba scoláire é a raibh seantaithí aige ar chunántí Oileáin Árann agus a bhí cleachtach ar an bhfogharscriobh.

B’ é Heinrich Wagner, ámh, a chuirsceas LASID ar fhaisnéisí in Inis Oírr sa tréimhse ama chéanna, agus is fuí cuimhneamh air sin, agus suas ag cur toradh LASID sa dá oileán, i gcóimhisi lena chéile, mar tá teann ann i gcónaí nach difríocht tréithe difríocht ar bith a shonróidh maidir idir an dá oileán ach difríocht éisteachta idir an bheirt taighdeoirí. B‘fhéidir go réiteoidh an t-abhar atá bailithe agam féin sa dá oileán — idir an t-abhar naíseadta agus an t-abhar a fhíoiseofar amach anseo — a bhíodh na ceistean a d‘fhéadfaí a chur faoi ábhar LASID.

Mar fhocal scoir, is fuí an leabhar beag a scríobh an scoláire Mícheál Ó Siadhail a hua, Téarmaí Tógála agus Tús as Inis Meáin, leabhar a chuireann síos ar na gléasanna idir shean agus nuach anois i dátheacht Inis Meáin agus ar na téarmaí Gaeilge a chuirtear orthu.

Maidir le hInis Oírr, is é ábhar LASID arís an phríomhfoinse atá againn ar Ghaeilge an oileáin seo. Ós é Heinrich Wagner féin a rinne an taighde ann, is é seo a thaghadh idir an t-abhar agus leagan amach LASID trí chéile. Is fuí a léirmheasanna a rinneadh ar an atlas sin a léamh agus mháthair ag maí ar an atlas sin a léamh agus muid ag meas thoradh an ataíl.

Is é an scrúdú is mine, b‘fhéidir, an scrúdú a rinne Cathair Ó Dochartaigh ar an ábhar a bhailigh Wagner féin i gCáige Uladh. Cibé ar bith lecht a bhreith ar thaifeadadh an ábhar in áiteanna eile, is féidir muintir mhóir a chur i bhfogharscriobh Wagner maídear le cnáinní 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 shonróidh seacht ar bith an bpointe agus muid ag scrúdú ábhar Inis Oírr san atlas — leaganach Gaeilge a chuirfeadh uafás ar aon mhúinteoir Gaeilge. Shonraigh mé féin samplaí aduaine in Inis Oírr ar nós “Ab’ iú Séamas?” (= “An tú Séamas?”) agus “B’ é iascaire ‘ú?” (= “An iascaire thú?”) ó hfeair 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. Déartriógra faoi riamh muintir Inis Oírr ar an Ghaeilge a thréigean mar theanga phobail agus a chuir an chuid is deachtaithe na daoine in aon mhígh mhóir i b'fhéidir muintir an oileáin leis an Ghaeilge uaidh sin amach. An comharthaí na laige sin i nGhaeilge na glúine a bhí ann ag tús an chéid seo eile i náisiúntaí na haoise seo.

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 hfeair 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. Déartriógra faoi riamh muintir Inis Oírr ar t'fhás an Ghaeilge a thréigean mar theanga phobail agus a chuir an chuid is deachtaithe na daoine in aon mhígh mhóir i b'fhéidir muintir an oileáin leis an Ghaeilge uaidh sin amach. An comharthaí na laige sin i nGhaeilge na glúine a bhí ann ag tús an chéid seo eile i náisiúntaí na haoise seo.

Caithfear faisnéise tabhachtacha eile ar Ghaeilge Inis Oírr a lua. Ar an gcéad dul amach, ba chóir an scéal a bhreá Myles Dillon sios i bhfogharscriobh agus a fósliodh sa bhliain 1939 a lua é.33 Is seóid í a thaispeáintann c'fhéidir cabhail faoi shaolreítithe canúna is féidir

30Ó Siadhail (1978).
33Dillon (1939).
APPENDIX A. UNPUBLISHED PAPERS
ON THE ARAN FIELD RESEARCH

a bhaint as téacs trí pharagraph atá breactha sios go cúramach ag taighdeoir.

D’fhéadfadh muid bailiúchán breá scéalta Heinrich Becker a chrú leis an scéal gairi sin, scéalta a bhailigh sé in Inis Oírr sa bhliain 1939 ach náir n-foilsíodh go dtí an bhliain 1997, faoi teideal I mBéal na Farrage: Scéalta agus Seanchas faoi Chúrsaí Feamainne ó Bhéal na nDaoine. Níl scéalta Becker i bhfogharscriobh, ach is féidir tréithe de dheilbhóacht agus de chomhréireáil a bhfuil in earraí ag an scéal a fháil, ná is féidir tréithe de dheilbhíocht agus de chomhréireáil a bhfuil in earraí ag an scéal a fháil.

Maidir le deilbhóacht an bhriathair sa chanúint, tá tráchtas M.A. Bhriain Uí Chatháin mar phríomhfhoirmhionn luachmhar. Bhain an Cathánach leas ní amháin as na foinsí atá pléite cheana (seachas taighde Becker) ach freisin as ábhar scríofa agus taifeadta ó Roimh Béaloideas Éireann, Ollscoil na hÉireann, Baile Átha Cliath, as ábhar taifeadta ó Raidió na Gaeltachta, agus as ábhar taifeadta a bhailigh sé fén in Inis Oírr sna blianta 1988–89. Cé go bhfuil córas litrithe na bhfoilsiú go lir caighdeáinaithe in aon fhoigharscriobh amháin atá an-foilseacht, pléitear gach sampla de bhriathar in héasca ann leis an thairne de fhoileadh, deilbhócht agus comhréireáil a bhiathartha go léir chomh maith.

Mar fhocal scoir, is fùs cúpla alt a lua: ceann a scríobh an Cathánach féin faoi thrí athrú a tháinig ar Ghaeilge Inis Oírr agus ceann a scríobh Séamas Ó Murchú faoi fhuaimniú an logainm Inis Oírr.

Mar a dúirt mé, tá fúm toradh an taighde a rinneadh in Oileáin Árann a tharlaíonn as na foinsí atá plaisteach. Beidh an t-ábhar teangeolaíoch seo as Oileáin Árann a chur i gcomhthéacs i bhfad níos forleithne.

Mar shampla, d’aicmigh mé féin na léarscáileanna mar a leanas: forainmneacha (3 cinn), réamhfhocail (3 cinn), forainmneacha réamhfhocail (5 cinn), briathra inbhílte neamhrí-34Becker (1997).
36Ó Catháin (1993).
alta (20 ceann), briathra infhillte rialta (13 cinn), briathra saora (9 ceann), ainmfhocail bhriathartha (43 ceann), aidiachtaí briathartha (6 cinn), aidiachtaí (24 ceann), agus do-bhriathartha (5 cinn). (B’iontach liom nach raibh ann i measc na n-aidiachtaí ach sampla amhain den fhoirm chomparáideach!)

Maidir le hainmfhocail, tá 228 ceann ann, agus is féidir iad sin a aicmiú ina réimsí sácharfúra maidir le hainmfhocail a bhaineann le daoine, le hainmhithe tís, le hainmhithe alta, le hainmhithe agus le treallamh na feirme, le dreach na tíre, leis an aimsir, srl. Bhéadh na fo-chathaoirí ar-thábhachtach 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 amhain ach ar dháileadh fóirne focal a bhaineann le rud amháin chun ionhá sáchar téagarthta, casta a fháil ar cabhlóidh na Gaeilge thor cheantair fhairinge — agus ar cabhlóidh 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, Foríom 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 dhéantar!) orthu, ar an gcéim chomparáide, srl. Ar ndóigh, tá léargas iontach ar mheath an tuisí ghinidigh agus ar mheath înfhilleadh na haidiachta maidir le hinscne nó le huimhir an ainmfhocail a rialaíonn í san fhrása ainmfhoclach.

Sa tráchtas eile, Na Forainmneacha Réamhfhooclacha i gCanúintí na NuaGhaeilge in Éirinn le Dáithí Mac Cáthaigh, 39 tá plé ar fhoirmeacha na bhforainmneacha réamhfhooclacha ag gach pointe san atlas. Ní gá a ra anseo go mbaineann an t-ábhar seo ar fad go dtí lá náisiúntaí, leis na canúintí sa Oileáin Árann, na forainmneacha réamhfhooclacha go húirtéite, mar tá síad ar na príomhthreithte a scarann na canúintí saoil eile agus ó na canúintí 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 bheidh acu chun obair thábhachtach chanúineaíochta a dhéanamh le haghaidh LASID. Theastaigh eolas maith náthú ar fhogharscribhí IPA agus ar fhogharscribhí Wagner, ach thabharfadh cúrsa leathanbhliana san fhoghraíocht an méid sin do scoláire maith aibh 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 tsábhath agus ag braidadh sós leaganacha de glutaí airiúthe nuair nach raibh ach cúrsaí na ndaoine amhain agus tuiscint mhaith aici ar chúrsaí na ndaoine in aon oghúr.

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 féithí 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 ndaoine in measc an aois óig.

Céard a theastaigh óna leithéidí chun taighde tábhachtach a dhéanamh ar dháileadh

38Ó Droighneáin (1995).
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 oíle?

Maidir le foinsí eolais ar na canúintí in Oileáin Árann, tá siad ag dul i meid 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 mbhuintir 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 Árann: Caint agus Comhrá as Inis Mór, agus tá macalláí Oirthear na Gaillimhe agus Chinn Mhara le cloisteáil ’chuile Dhomhnach ar an gcéad Bailiúchán Mháirtín Ó Chadhain.

Tá muid ar ais arís ag an tús, ag breathnú amach ar “Sprachlandschaft” Wagner. Tá fómhar le baint. Cé a dhéanfas an obair?

(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.)

40Ar ndóigh, ó léadh an páipéar seo, tá na “Mná Fiontracha” ag obair go bisiúil in Árann, ag taifeadh bhéaloideas agus seanachais, á gcru a mhiondioscaí, ag cruthú cartlann leictreonach, agus ag foilsí foilseachán — obair áistíúil nach feudir a shárá. Is iad na mná a ghlac leis an dúshláin!

Séamas Ó Direáin— A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
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 for 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.\textsuperscript{41}

First of all, however, I would like to lay out for you a linguistic landscape (or Sprachlandschaft, as Dr. Heinrich Wagner termed it\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{42}Cf. Wagner (1981)
boundaries would seem everywhere, and, if Nicholas Williams were correct in his talk of *Gaeilge Cháileonach*, 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 Bóinne peninsula (speakers of Inis Óírr 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 Bóinne 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 Bóinne 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.

It is said that the monograph *Gaeilge Chois Fhairrge: An Deilbhíocht* 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*, 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 Óírr, 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 Óírr Irish.)

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

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44*de Bhaldraithe (1953).
45de Bhaldraithe (1966)
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 [səːvro] and [səːmrɔ] (= 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 from someone 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 1894-9549, 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 [ŋŋ] in the word teanga, a cluster which he had at times reduced to the

47It is worth drawing attention here to the importance of those many variant forms in the footnotes — especially for dialectologists concerned with neighbouring dialects.
48Ó hUiginn (1994), 552.
49He 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.
50Finck (1899).
single consonant \([\mathbf{y}]\). 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 Óírr 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 Óírr: the verb form \(\mathbf{brifim}\) \(\approx \mathbf{bruthim}\), a form with the future tense marker \(\mathbf{f'}\) in it, though the verb exemplified is actually in the habitual present tense.

One could accept that he had been on Inis Óírr 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 Óírr 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 \([\mathbf{e:}]\) instead of the diphthong \([\mathbf{i@}]\) in words such as \([\mathbf{fear}]\) \(\approx \mathbf{siar}\). 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, \(\mathbf{ní thagann mé}\) instead of \(\mathbf{ní thagaim}\)).

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 \([\mathbf{tʃæŋa}]\) from someone instead of \([\mathbf{tʃæŋga}]\) or \([\mathbf{ʃæɡ:}]\)\(^{52}\) instead of \([\mathbf{ʃæɡd}]\). 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 \([\mathbf{tʃ}]\) and \([\mathbf{dɬ}]\) instead of their normal palatalised counterparts \([\mathbf{t’}]\) and \([\mathbf{d’}]\), since those affricates are still endemic in local speech from Cill Rónáin on Inis Mór eastward through Inis Óírr. The only area in which I suspect that he went astray, perhaps, is in his forms \(\mathbf{go cispɔ}/ \mathbf{go jispɔ}\) \(\approx [\mathbf{ʃai}]\) \(\text{tuige}\)\(^{54}\), with the affricates \([\mathbf{tʃ}]\) or \([\mathbf{dɬ}]\) in place of the velarised consonant \([\mathbf{t}]\) in \(\text{tuige}\). Pedersen’s notes

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\(^{51}\)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 \(\text{Scéalta Mháirtín Neile. Ce collection Scéalta...}\) (1994), xlvi-lv.

\(^{54}\)This of course is the historical form \(\text{Cad chuige...?}\)
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 [oːaː], 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: [aː], e.g., [o g’æ:Naː] (= 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

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\(^{55}\)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), xlv-lix.

\(^{58}\)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)*\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{63}, another written by Brian Ó Catháin\textsuperscript{64}, and a third written by Séamas Ó Murchú\textsuperscript{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*\textsuperscript{66}. The book

\textsuperscript{61}Cf. Wagner (1981, 1982).
\textsuperscript{62}Cf. Ô Flanagáin (1932, 1934, and 1939).
\textsuperscript{63}Ô Dochartaigh, L. (1973).
\textsuperscript{64}Ô Catháin (1993b).
\textsuperscript{66}Ô 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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*\textsuperscript{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*.\textsuperscript{70}

I myself encountered odd examples on Inis Oírr such as “Ab’ íú 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.\textsuperscript{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*\textsuperscript{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.


\textsuperscript{68}Ó Dochartaigh, C. (1987).

\textsuperscript{69}I have transcribed these in Roman characters.

\textsuperscript{70}These are also transcribed here in Roman characters.

\textsuperscript{71}Dillon (1939).

\textsuperscript{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.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, and one written by Séamas Ó Murchú on the pronunciation of the place-name Inis Oírr.

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 for 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 (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!)

73Ó Catháin (1990).
74Ó Catháin (1993).
76That is to say, past participle verb forms.

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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, 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 Carthaigh, 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

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77Ó Droighneáin (1995).
78Mac 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 Árann: 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 Máirtín 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?  

(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.)

79Since 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!

Séamas Ó Díreáin— A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
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 Oileáín Árann. Ar ndóigh, chuir an scoláire Eilbhéiseach Heinrich Wagner ceistneoir Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects (LASID) ar fhaisnéiseoirí in Inis Ór ina dháil an bhliain roimhe sin, agus chuair an scoláire Éireannach Myles Dillon an ceistneoir céanna ar fhaisnéiseoirí in Inis Meáin faoin am. D'athraigh sé aon taighde in Árainn féin (Inis Mór) ag an am, mar, dar le Heinrich Wagner, nár bhfuil an obair a dhéanamh ó bhí an chanúint chomh lú sin ann.

D’fhág sin nach raibh aon taighde teangeolaíoch déanta in Inis Mór ó bhlianta deireannacha an nóis aós déag, nuair a tháinig an scoláire Dannhargach 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 le haghaidh ach le canúint Chois Fharraige ar an móthair freisin.

Maidir le canúint Inis Ór, ba léir go raibh gaol gairid idir sin agus canúintí Chontae an Chialáir ar thaobh amháin agus canúintí Chuana na Gaillimhe ar an taobh eile ó Chinn Mhara soirt ó thuaidh beagnach chomh fada le Mionloch, lámh le Gaillimh, cibé baint a bheadh aici le canúint an dá oileán eile.

Bhí mar phríomhfhoinsí eolaíse agam ag an am sin ní amháin na ceistneoirí as Inis Meáin agus as Inis Ór a foilsíodh i LASID agus an leabhar Die Araner Mundart le Franz Nikolaus Finck, saothar a bhí ina dhiaidh sin, ach bhí saothar eile tábhachtach ann chomh maith — Cuntas Sionchrónach ar Mhoirfeolaíocht an Bhriathair i nGaeilge Inis Óirr, 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 fiúthiu liom aithris a dhéanamh ar shaothair Thomaís 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 ag cur cheistteoir LASID ar bheirt fhaisnéiseoirí i gCorrúch i lár an oileáin nach mór mórán próiseas atá tábhachtach a chur ar bith idir canúint Inis Mór agus canúint Chois Fharraige, sa chaoi go bhfuil faoi fhaidh faothaíochtaí Thomaís de Bhaldráite a bheith mar bhuma theoir, lena leaganachca canúna a iomadú a mbeadh séantróideachta Inis Mór agus Inis Meáin mar shaochann chuidiú ithiúil.

Ar ndóigh, fuair mé m’oiliúint mar shochtheangerló — ní mar shanúneolaí, agus tá againn ar scoththeangerlaithe cleachtach ar thaighde a dhéanamh ar dhornán tréithe — minic go leor ar thréith nó dhó — a scaradh aicní den phobal céanna ón chéile. Is iomdúla a bhainfhadh

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na difríochtaí sin leis an bhfográfocht, agus scaradh na miondifríochtaí sin cainteoirí an phobail óná chéile de réir bunús eitneach, de réir creidimh, de réir glúine nó aoise, nó de réir gnéas an chainteora.

Dá bhri sin, agus mé do mo threorú ag muintir Inis Mór, cheap mé nach mbeadh orm ach teacht ar an leathdhosaen tréithe a scaradh Inis Mór agus Inis Meáin óná chéile, agus a scaradh dhá cheann an pháirc Inis Mór óná chéile, ó bhí an-chaint ag muintir Inis Mór ar “mhuintir an Chinn Thoir” agus ar “mhuintir an Chinn Thiar” — ach go háirithe ar chothrom bruach agus ar fhadadh na ndé-fhoghar 40 agus 60 ag “muintir an Chinn Thoir”. Is é sin, i leabha “Gabhfaidh mé siar an Bóthar Ó Thuaidh”, chloisfeá “Gabhfaidh mé séar an Bóthar Ó Thó” uathu. Mádir le canúint Inis Oírr, bhí a fhios agam cheana gur rud eile a bheadh inti sin.

Rinne mé taighde in Inis Mór amháin i samhradh na bliana 1990, ag cur cheistneoir LASID ar bheirt faisnéiseoirí — deartháir agus deirfiúr — in gCorrúch, mar a dúirt mé cheana. Chuir an ceistneoireacht na bhfreagraí iontas orm, agus thuig mé go bhféadfadh cúrsaí a bheith nóis casta ná mar a cheap mé ar dtús.

Chuir mé ceistneoireacht eile ar na faisnéiseoirí in gCorrúch, agus, ina dhiaidh sin, ar leathdhosaenaisnéiseoirí eile in Inis Mór, idir ghaolta agus chró. D’iarr mé ar na faisnéiseoirí breis agus 40 abairt Bhéarla a aistríú go Gaeilge, abairtí a mbeadh saothrachtaí in an caúlna go tiubh iomáin a scaradh muintir an Chinn Thoir agus muintir an Chinn Thiar óná 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. Fuair bhi ceistneoir eile an réidhíocht ag muintir Meáin, le rá go bhfuil leathdhosaenaisnéiseoirí eile in Inis Mór, idir ghaolta agus chairde. D’aistear eile an ráiteas i leith na caitheamh ina dhiaidh sin. Ansin, theas 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 thugadh idir na haois a bhí ann i leith na chuidí. Agus d’fhéadfadh cúrsaí a bheith níos casta. Más mian liom breathnú ar leaganacha den fhoirm bhriathartha dhiúltach chaighdeánach ní dhearna, feicfidh muid an leagan níor rinne.

80Chuir mé ceistneoireacht eile fós orthu an bhliain ina dhiaidh sin, ach faoin am sin, bhí mo dhá dóthain agam le plé leis, agus níor bhain mé leas ceart riamh as faisnéis sin an tríú bliain.

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(nó ní rinne) ina háit ag síneadh soir in Inis Mór ó Bhungabhla go hEochaill in oíthear an oileáin. Ach tiofaighd gá 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 aghaithd gá hInis Meáin, tiofaighd gá muid ar níor rinne arís, agus gan aon trácht ar ní dhearna, ach in Inis Óirr, ní bheidh ceachtar den dá leagan sin ann ach leaganacha cosúil le níor dhein nó níor dhion ina n-áit.

Ach maidir le castacht, cénard a déarfá leis na mionphatrún sna leaganacha éagsúla seo den fhuras aidhchacht níos roimhre ó Inis Mór féin? Gheoфа níos roimhre, leis an nguta fada [it] sa chead siolla, ag Bungabhla agus ag Eoghanacht sa cheantar is faide siar, ach soisraidh sin, i lár an oileáin ó An Sruthán trí Chorrúch, gheoфа leagan eile ar fad — níos roimhre/tharab, le guta gearr, neodrach sa cheadh siolla, agus an consan ina dhiaidh gan séimhiú. Ach ón deirfiúr ag Corrúch, gheoфа leagan eile fós, níos raithmhre, le de-phoghrú an cheadh gluta, ach gan séimhiú ar an geonsan a leamh é. Sna bailte fearainn is faide soir, ó Eochaill go Cill Éinne, gheoфа na leaganacha níos roimhre/tharab le guta gearr arís, ach le séimhiú ar an geonsan ina dhiaidh.

In Inis Meáin, gheoфа an leagan níos roimhre arís, chomh maith le ceann sách saothair in oileáin, ach gheoфа leagan eile fós ón mbearcthús na feithisí ciúileoirí is sine, níos raithmhre, le de-phoghrú an cheadh gluta agus séimhiú ar an geonsan ina dhiaidh. Ach fan — bheadh leagan eile le fáil ón bhfaísnéiseoir is óige ann, ceann a chuala muid chun sa cheantar is faide soir in Inis Mór, níos roimhre.

Ní móin dom a duineadh, ánimh, go bhfuil an tsaol leaganachta seo — leaganachta atá chomh cosúil leis, níos roimhre, ach in Inis Óirr, gheoфа leagan eile fós ón mbearcithús na feithisí ciúileoirí is sine, níos raithmhre, le de-phoghrú an cheadh gluta agus séimhiú ar an geonsan ina dhiaidh.

Ach má bhí castacht ag baint leis an micionchanúineolafocht (“microdialectology”), bhí an leagan thartab in Inis Mór ó cheann ceann an oileáin, ach gheoфа dhá leagan eile chomh maith cla roinse soir sa sampla: thartu ó fhear i gCill Rónáin agus thartab ó bhean i gCill Éinne.

In Inis Meáin, ní bhfuil sé ó níos roimhre agus an leagan thartab a bhí ann ón mbeirt bhan — go dtí mar-thí an scéal sa cheantar is faide soir in Inis Mór.

Ach ní leor sin; tugann an cainteoir is óige, bean óig d'aois, sampla eile faoi níos roimhre agus leise ata an tsaol leaganachta seo. Gheoфа an leagan thartab in Inis Mór ó cheann ceann an oileáin, ach gheoфа dhá leagan eile chomh maith chun an scéal sa cheantar is faide soir.

B'fhéidir go mbeadh amharc araís ar an tsaol leaganachta seo. Dá bhfear sin, bheadh leaganachta eile a dhéanamh i gCill Éinne, ach ní mór dom a duineadh, ánimh, go bhfuil an tsraith leaganachta seo — leaganachta atá chomh cosúil leis, níos roimhre, ach in Inis Óirr, gheoфа leagan eile fós ón mbearcithús na feithisí ciúileoirí is sine, níos raithmhre, le de-phoghrú an cheadh gluta agus séimhiú ar an geonsan ina dhiaidh.

Ní mór dom a duineadh, ánimh, go bhfuil an tsraith leaganachta seo — leaganachta atá chomh cosúil leis, níos roimhre, ach in Inis Óirr, gheoфа leagan eile fós ón mbearcithús na feithisí ciúileoirí is sine, níos raithmhre, le de-phoghrú an cheadh gluta agus séimhiú ar an geonsan ina dhiaidh.

B'fhéidir go mbeadh amharc araís ar an tsaol leaganachta seo. Dá bhfear sin, bheadh leaganachta eile a dhéanamh i gCill Éinne, ach ní mór dom a duineadh, ánimh, go bhfuil an tsraith leaganachta seo — leaganachta atá chomh cosúil leis, níos roimhre, ach in Inis Óirr, gheoфа leagan eile fós ón mbearcithús na feithisí ciúileoirí is sine, níos raithmhre, le de-phoghrú an cheadh gluta agus séimhiú ar an geonsan ina dhiaidh.
APPENDIX A. UNPUBLISHED PAPERS ON THE ARAN FIELD RESEARCH

dheirfiúr, gheofá idir dhrioithár agus dhreabhar in Inis Mór, ach dhreabhar amháin in Inis Meáin agus in Inis Oírr. The other paper is also available — dhrioithár, le [f] ag tús an dara siolla, agus gheofá sin ó na cainteoirí bun in Inis Mór — ach amháin ó sheanbhean ag Corrúch i lár an oileáin agus ón mbéar is óige ar na faisnéiseoirí. Mádhir leis na fir, ní bhfaighfear an leagan dhrioithár ach ón bhfear is óige ann.


Mádhir 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 f. 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 scaradh na trí oileán óna chéile, agus a lán randamachta thairis sin.

Anois, agus na ceadta tréith fogafrachta, deilbhíochta agus comhréireachta scrúdaíthe thar na trí oileán agam, fheidaim a rá gurb iad na mionphatrúin seo na rudaí is suntasaí faoi na dátaí seo as Oileáin Árann. Ní randamachta 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 dèshíollach in Inis Meáin agus aonsiollach in Inis Oírr, agus fágaim miondífríochtai eile ar leataobh.
83 Tá an bhean seo ar na faisnéiseoirí as Inis Oírr chomh maith.

SÉAMAS Ó DIREÁIN— A SURVEY OF SPOKEN IRISH IN THE ARAN ISLANDS, Co.Galway
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 for 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 almost as far as 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 Deilibhíocht, 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.

SÉAMAS Ó DIREÁIN— A SURVEY OF SPOKEN IRISH IN THE ARAN ISLANDS, CO.GALWAY
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

84There 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 sár an Bóthar Ó Thóaidh” from them, you would hear “Gabhfaidh mé sár an Bóthar Ó Thó”.
85I 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 Choire 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 thúra mé from speakers on Inis Mór, tiúra mé/ní thúra mé from speakers on Inis Meáin, and tūra 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 Rónán 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 raímhre/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 reimhre, 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.  

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.

But there is another variant as well — *dhrioifur*, with the segment [f] at the beginning of the second syllable, and you would 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.

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.

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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.)
Séamas Ó Díreáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co. Galway
Appendix B

Selected References

REFERENCES ON METHODOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL ISSUES


Séamas Ó Direáin— A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway


REFERENCES OF RELEVANCE TO ARAN IRISH


Séamas Ó Direáin— *A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co. Galway*


APPENDIX B. SELECTED REFERENCES


Ó’ Rahilly, T. (1932) Irish Dialects Past and Present, with Chapters on Scottish and Manx. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.


Séamas Ó Direáin— A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway

Séamas Ó Direáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co. Galway
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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>BUNGABHLA</strong> $F_{43}$</th>
<th><strong>EOGHANACHT</strong> $F_{73}$</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>LOWERING AND MONOPHTHONGISATION OF DIPHTHONGS</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>$[iə &gt; eə]$</td>
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<td>Dia</td>
<td>$i^\circ \ (\ldots yat'/ynt') \ [x4] \sim \ iə \ [x2] \sim i^\circ \ [x2]$</td>
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<td>$i^\circ \sim i^\circ$</td>
<td>$i^\circ$ $^1$</td>
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<td>(ag) fiafraí/iarraidh</td>
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<td>pian</td>
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<td>sios</td>
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<td>Bríd</td>
<td>$i^\circ \ [x2]$</td>
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<td>(Dia) daoibh!</td>
<td>$i^\circ$</td>
<td>$i^\circ \ [x2]$</td>
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$^1$ After prompting.
### Lowering and Monophthongisation of Diphthongs

#### Lowering

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<th>AN SRUTHÁN</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F 70</td>
<td>M 60</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1. \(i\) \((\ldots \text{yt}'\)) \(\sim\) \(e\) \((\ldots \text{h}'\))
2. \(i^\circ\)
3. \(i^\circ\)
4. \(i^\circ\)
5. \(i^\circ\)

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<tr>
<th>AN SRUTHÁN</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE</th>
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<td>F 70</td>
<td>M 60</td>
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<th>(i^\circ)</th>
<th>(i^\circ) ((\ldots \text{yt}')) ([x3]) (\sim) (e) ((\ldots \text{h}')) (\sim) (d'e^\circ v)</th>
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</table>

3. \(\sim\) \(e;\) \((\ldots \text{jih}'\)) \(\sim\) \(d'e^\circ v\)
4. \(\sim\) \(e;\) \((\ldots \text{jih}'\)) \(\sim\) \(d'e^\circ v\)

---

1. "Dia daoibh!"
2. After prompting?
3. After prompting with liath.
4. In the phrase "\(\ldots a' \text{fáilt liath} \ldots\)."
5. Cf. also \([N'i:s]\) (= anios).
### PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>LOWERING AND MONOPHTHONGISATION OF DIPHTHONGS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ [i\check{a} > e:] \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dia</th>
<th>siar</th>
<th>thiar</th>
<th>iascaire</th>
<th>iascairí</th>
<th>(ag) fiafraí/iarraidh</th>
<th>bliain</th>
<th>grian</th>
<th>pian</th>
<th>(níos) léithe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>\text{e} \ (\ldots ji:b)</td>
<td>\text{e}: \sim \text{e} \ (\text{fero}; \sim \text{fero}')</td>
<td>\text{e}:\ (\text{feru};) [x2]</td>
<td>\text{e}:\ (\text{e}skur'i:)</td>
<td>\text{e}:\ (\text{e}skur'i:)</td>
<td>\text{e}:\ (\text{feru};) [x2]</td>
<td>\text{e}:\ (\text{feru};) [x2]</td>
<td>\text{i}:</td>
<td>\text{i}:</td>
<td>\text{i}:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ [i: > e:] \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sios</th>
<th>Bríd</th>
<th>(Dia) daoibh!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>\text{i}:</td>
<td>\text{i}:</td>
<td>\text{i}:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 “...liath...”

2 Note the lowering of the vowel in the phrases “...ina taobh...” ([\text{\`N}o te^\prime r\nu]) and “...ina dtaobh...” ([\text{\`N}o d\prime r\nu]), elicited in I.9 and I.11, respectively.
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eochaill M 68</th>
<th>Cill Rónáin M 50</th>
<th>Cill Éinne F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i^o \sim [x2] \sim i^o \sim [x2] \sim)</td>
<td>(i^o (\delta j i^o \ 'yitf) \sim)</td>
<td>(e: (\ldots yitf/yi:v') [x6] \sim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i^o \sim e^o)</td>
<td>(e^o (d' e^o \ 'ji:b'))</td>
<td>(e^o (\delta e^o \ 'ji:b'))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i^o \sim i^e \sim e^e)</td>
<td>(i^o \sim e^e)</td>
<td>(e^o \sim e^e)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[i\] \sim \(i\) \sim \(i\) \sim \(i\) \sim \(i\) \sim \(i\) \sim \(i\)\)

\[e^o\] \(ri^o (e^o skar'i)\)  \(i^o (iskar'i)\)

\[e^o\] \(e^o (e^o skar'ir)\)  \(e^o (eskar'iri)\)

\(e\) \( Feru\) \(i^o (\delta'i^o rui)\)

\(ex\) \(i^o (v'i^o n)\)  \(e^o (v'i^o e^o n')\)

\(e^o\) \(i^o (jr'i^o n)\)  \(e^o (\delta'N' jri^o e^o N)\)

\(e^o\) \(e^o [x3]\) \(i^e (\delta'i^e n)\)  \(i^e (p'i^o n)\)

\(i^o\) \( (L'i^o xt'i)\)  \(i^o\) \( (n'tis L'i^o)\)  \(i^o\) \( (L'i^o xt ji)\)

\(i\) \( i\)  \( [x2]\)  \( i: [x2]\)

\(i\) \( i\)  \( i: [x2]\)  \( i: [x6]\)

---

1. In the phrase \(\delta e^o \ 'ji:b'\). 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 [b"i:xas l'e: d'ce] Buíochas le Dia, along with [bi:"xas l'e: d'ir'], recorded under the same item. 2. For contrast, note the diphthongisation and the strongly disyllabic nature of the vowel in the word aer ([a:jər]), 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 ...” ([a:Nə d'i:xt:v]), occurring twice in I.11, which has no lowering of the long front high vowel.
### PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS

#### INIS MEÁIN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M 70</th>
<th>F 60+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>LOWERING AND MONOPHTHONGISATION OF DIPHTHONGS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[iə &gt; eː]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dia</td>
<td>iː (dɪʃiː ʏrʃʃ/jiːb’) [x2]</td>
<td>iː (dɪʃiː ʏrʃʃ’) [x4] ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>eː (dəʃə jɪʃb’) ~</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siar</td>
<td>iː ~ iː</td>
<td>iː [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thiar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iascaire</td>
<td>iː</td>
<td>iː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iascaír</td>
<td>iː (gəʃəʃ ʃəʃəʃ) ...</td>
<td>iː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag) fiafraí/iarraidh</td>
<td>iː (ʃiːriːt) [x2] ~</td>
<td>iː (ʃiːriːt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iː (ʃiːʃa) [x2] ~ iː (ʃiːʃa)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bliain</td>
<td>iː (ʃiːʃa)²</td>
<td>iː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grian</td>
<td>iː ~ iː</td>
<td>iː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pian</td>
<td>pː [x2]</td>
<td>iː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nías) léithe</td>
<td>iː³</td>
<td>iː (ʃiːʃʃʃʃʃ)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[iː &gt; eː]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bríd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Día) daoibh!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Note the response [moːɾ iːb’], which was offered as well. 2 Note also [Naː ʃəb’iːʃʃə] (... 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 ([aʃar]), found in the phrase san aer in the same item. 3 “... liath...”
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i°  (ði° ÿt°) [x2] ~</td>
<td>i°  (ði° ÿt°) ~</td>
<td>ø ('d'ø 'ÿt°) ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a°  (ða° jev°) [x3] ¹</td>
<td>i°  (ði° jib°)</td>
<td>i°  (ði° ib°)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i°  [x3]</td>
<td>i°  ~ i°</td>
<td>i°  ~ i° (f'ar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i°</td>
<td>i°</td>
<td>i°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i°</td>
<td>i°  ~ i° [x2]</td>
<td>i°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i°</td>
<td>i°</td>
<td>i°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i°  (f'ir°ra)</td>
<td>i°  (f'ir°rit)</td>
<td>i°  (ir°)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i°</td>
<td>i°</td>
<td>i°  (v°ri°N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i°</td>
<td>i°</td>
<td>i°  (an yr°i°N) (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i°</td>
<td>i°</td>
<td>i°a (pi°aN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñ  2</td>
<td>ñ  2</td>
<td>ñ  2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i: [x2]</td>
<td>i:</td>
<td>i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i: [x2]</td>
<td>i: [x2]</td>
<td>i: [x3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e°  (ða° jev°)³ [x3]</td>
<td>i°  ⁴</td>
<td>i°  (ði° ib°) ⁵</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Cf. [“ra°ñt°” (= arùa)], uttered twice in I.2. ²...liath... ³ Cf. also [tew] (= taobh) in II.16 and [so yºe°v°t°e] (= sa gheimhreadh) in II.44. ⁴ Cf. also [tirv] (= taobh) in the phrase (= le taobh an chroc (sic)) in II.16. ⁵ Cf. also [hirv] (= 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[\text{[uɔ &gt; o]}]</td>
<td>(\text{suas} \quad \text{u}^\alpha \sim \text{a (sas)} \quad \text{u}^\alpha \sim \text{u})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(\text{gruaig} \quad \text{u}^\alpha )</td>
<td>(\text{u}^\nu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(\text{(níos) luaithe} \quad \text{u}^\alpha )</td>
<td>(\text{(L}x\text{xt}^\nu))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(\text{(níos) nuá} \quad \text{u}^\alpha )</td>
<td>(\text{u}^\nu \quad \text{(N}u\text{a)})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|  | \(\text{(ag) cuardach} \quad \text{u}^\alpha \) | \(\text{[x3] } \sim \text{ u}^\nu \)  
|  |  | \(\text{(km}^\nu\text{tu/km}^\nu\text{tu)}\) |
|  | \(\text{chuala} \quad \text{u}^\nu \) | \(\text{u}^\nu\) |
|  | \(\text{ualach} \quad \text{u}^\nu \) | \(\text{[x2]} \quad \text{u}^\nu\) |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[\text{[uɔ &gt; o/ə]}]</td>
<td>(\text{buailte} \quad \text{u}^\nu )</td>
<td>(\text{u}^\nu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(\text{buailte} \quad \text{u}^\nu )</td>
<td>(\text{u}:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(\text{(ag) bualadh} \quad \text{u}^\nu )</td>
<td>(\text{u}^\nu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(\text{buachaill} \quad \text{u}^\nu )</td>
<td>(\text{[x2]} \sim \text{ o})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(\text{buachaill} \quad \text{u}^\nu )</td>
<td>(\text{u}^\nu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(\text{nuair} \quad \text{e} )</td>
<td>(\text{e})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Cf. *chuaigh* and *fuair* under verb forms.
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$u^o \sim o$ (sos)</td>
<td>$u^o$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$u^e$</td>
<td>$u^i$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$u: (Nu:)</td>
<td>$u^o (Nu^ox^\prime)$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$u \ [x^2] \sim o$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(kurtur$^\prime$/gort$^o$/kortur$^\prime)$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$o \ (xoLa)$</td>
<td>$u^o (xo^o) (sic)$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$u^r$</td>
<td>$o^r$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$u^c$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$u^o$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$o^o$</td>
<td>$u:$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$u^o \sim u^o \sim o$</td>
<td>$u^o \sim u^o$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$u^o$</td>
<td>$o$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\ddot{u}$</td>
<td>$e$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS**

| Lowering, Monophthongisation, Shortening and Centralisation of Diphthongs |
|---|---|
| **[uə > oː]** | **CRRUCH M 82** | **CRRUCH F 72** |
| suas | $u^\circ \sim o^\circ$ | $o:\ [x2]$ |
| gruaig | $u^i$ | $o^i$ |
| (nós) luaithe | $u^a$ | $o:\sim o:\ [x2]$ |
| (Luːxt’i) | *(Loːxt’i/Loːxt’i [x2])* |
| (nós) nuai | $u:\ldots u^a\ [x2]$ | $u:\$ |
| (Nuː\ldots Nuːxt’i/nurxt’i) | *(m:xt’i)* |
| (ag) cuardach | $o$ | $o:\ [x2]$ |
| (kortur’) | *(ko:rtur’ [x2])* |
| chuala | $o:\$ |
| ualach | $u:\$ | $u:\$ |
| [uə > o/a]** | **buaile** | **bualte** |
| | $e$ | $e$ |
| (ag) bualadh | $o^\prime \sim A\ [x2]$ | $u:\$ |
| buachaill | $e \sim e\ [x2]$ | $o^\prime\ [x2] \sim u \sim o:\ [x2]$ |
| buachaillí | $u^g\sim u^g\sim o^2$ | $e$ |
| nuair | $e$ | $u^\prime \sim o^\prime$ |

---

1 Cf. *chuaigh* and *fuair* under verb forms.

2 Elicited in I.36.
### Lowering, Monophthongisation, Shortening and Centralisation of Diphthongs

#### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EOCHAILL M 68</th>
<th>CILL RÓNÁIN M 50</th>
<th>CILL ÉINNE F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>u̯ ~ o̯</td>
<td>u̯ ~ o̯</td>
<td>o̯ [x2]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oː</td>
<td>uː</td>
<td>uː</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u ~ o̯</td>
<td>uː</td>
<td>o̯ [x2]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Luːxt’i/Loːxt’e)</td>
<td>(Luːxt’e)</td>
<td>(Loːxt’e)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u̯</td>
<td>uː</td>
<td>uː</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Nuːxt’i)</td>
<td>(Nuːt)</td>
<td>(Nuːt)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oː ~ oː ~ o</td>
<td>oː ~ oː</td>
<td>(&quot;kortur’/koːrtur’ [x2])</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(&quot;kortur’/koːrtur’ [x2])</td>
<td>(&quot;kortur’/koːrtur’ [x2])</td>
<td>(&quot;kortur’/koːrtur’ [x2])</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oː</td>
<td>uː</td>
<td>uː</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uːːo̯</td>
<td>uː</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə</td>
<td>uː</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uː</td>
<td>uː</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uː</td>
<td>uː ~ u</td>
<td>uːːo̯ ... uː</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uː</td>
<td>uː ~ u</td>
<td>ə ~ ə [x3]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u̯</td>
<td>u̯ [x2]</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td>uː</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS**

**INIS MEÁIN**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M 70</th>
<th>F 60+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>LOWERING, MONOPHTHONGISATION, SHORTENING AND CENTRALISATION OF DIPHTHONGS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>([u@ &gt; o]:^1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suas</td>
<td>(u^\circ \sim u^\circ)</td>
<td>(u^\circ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gruaig</td>
<td>(u^\prime)</td>
<td>(u^\prime)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(níos) laithe</td>
<td>(u^\circ)</td>
<td>(o: [x2])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Luxtİ)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Nuxtİe [x2])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(níos) nuai</td>
<td>(u^\circ)</td>
<td>(o^\prime)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Nuxtİ)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(kuertu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag) cuardach</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chuala</td>
<td>(u^\circ)</td>
<td>(o^\prime)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ualach</td>
<td>(u^\circ)</td>
<td>(u^\circ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>([u@ &gt; o/a]:^1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buaile</td>
<td>(u^\circ)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buailte</td>
<td>(u^\circ \sim u^\circ)</td>
<td>(buהתאftxı/buølfxı)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag) buadalh</td>
<td>(u^\circ)</td>
<td>(u^\circ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buachaill</td>
<td>(u^\circ)</td>
<td>(u^\circ \sim u^\circ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buachaillí</td>
<td>(u^\circ)</td>
<td>(u^\circ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuair</td>
<td>(e)</td>
<td>(e)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^1 Cf. chuaigh and fuair under verb forms.
## INIS OÍRR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>u̯  ~ o̯</td>
<td>u̯ [x2]</td>
<td>u̯ [x2]</td>
<td>u̯ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u̯</td>
<td>u̯</td>
<td>u̯</td>
<td>u̯</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u̯</td>
<td>u̯</td>
<td>u̯</td>
<td>u̯</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Lu̯xt'ε)</td>
<td>(Lu̯xt'ε/Lu̯xt'ε/Lu̯xt'ε)</td>
<td>(Lu̯xt'ε/Lu̯xt'ε/Lu̯xt'ε)</td>
<td>(Lu̯xt'ε/Lu̯xt'ε/Lu̯xt'ε)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o̯</td>
<td>u̯</td>
<td>u:</td>
<td>u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Nu̯)</td>
<td>(Nu̯)</td>
<td>(Nu̯)</td>
<td>(Nu̯)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o [x3]  ~ o</td>
<td>o:</td>
<td>o:  ~ o [x2]  ~ o</td>
<td>o:  ~ o [x2]  ~ o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kortu: [x2]/kortu/ kortu:)</td>
<td>(kortu [x3])</td>
<td>(kortu [x3]/ kortu))</td>
<td>(kortu [x3]/ kortu))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o:</td>
<td>u̯</td>
<td>u̯</td>
<td>u̯</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u̯</td>
<td>(buaLo)</td>
<td>uω  ~ u̯</td>
<td>uω  ~ u̯</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u̯  ~ o̯</td>
<td>u̯  ~ u̯ [x2]</td>
<td>u̯  ~ u̯ [x2]  ~ uae</td>
<td>u̯  ~ u̯ [x2]  ~ uae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u̯</td>
<td>u̯</td>
<td>u̯</td>
<td>u̯</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>ε</td>
<td>ε</td>
<td>ε</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Cf. the phrase [o fas sos] (= ag bás suas) in the interview for the sociolinguistic questionnaire.
### Phonological Variables: Vowels

**Bungabhla F 43**  
**Eoghanacht F 73**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOWERING OF THE LONG HIGH BACK VOWEL</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[u: &gt; o:]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(níos) lú</td>
<td>u: [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(níos) túisce</td>
<td>u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag) gnúsacht</td>
<td>u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag) fiarú (= fiafraí)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fúithi</td>
<td>u: (fur')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fúthu</td>
<td>u: (furb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ar) chúl</td>
<td>u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ciúin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cúnamh</td>
<td>o: 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1. Cf. *Tabhair!, t(h)abharfaidh, t(h)abhairt* and *(ní) dúirt* under verb forms.
2. “Méanfach”!
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOWERING OF THE LONG HIGH BACK VOWEL</th>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[u: &gt; o:]¹</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(níos) lú</td>
<td>uː�</td>
<td>uːu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(níos) túisce</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag) gnúsacht</td>
<td>oː</td>
<td>uː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag) fiarú (= fiafraí)</td>
<td>oː ~ o'</td>
<td>u: [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f'eroː/f'ero')</td>
<td>(f'eroː: [(x2)])</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fúithi</td>
<td>uː (faː)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fúthu</td>
<td>uː (faː[p])</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ar) chúl</td>
<td>u'</td>
<td>u: [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ciúin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cúnamh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Cf. *Tabhair!, t(h)abharfaidh, t(h)abhairt and (ní) dáirt* under verb forms.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eochaill M 68</th>
<th>Cill Rónáin M 50</th>
<th>Cill Éinne F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>u:</td>
<td>u:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>u:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u:</td>
<td>u'</td>
<td>α: (ĝsNɔsæxt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ˈɜːrə)</td>
<td>(ˈɜːrəruː)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u:</td>
<td>u: (fʊhɪ)</td>
<td>u: (fʊ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u: [x2] (fʊ: [x2])(^1)</td>
<td>u' (fʊhɪ(^a))</td>
<td>u: [x2] (fʊ: 1/fʊb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u:</td>
<td>u:</td>
<td>u: [x3]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) The Standard Irish form fúthu with an elided voiceless glottal central fricative?
**PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS**  \*INIS MEÁIN*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M 70</th>
<th>F 60+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LOWERING OF THE LONG HIGH BACK VOWEL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[u: &gt; o:](^1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nios) lú</td>
<td>u'</td>
<td>oːwɔ (Loːwɔ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nios) túisce</td>
<td></td>
<td>u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag) gnúisacht</td>
<td>u:</td>
<td>u: [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag) fiarú (= fiafraí)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fútí</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fúthu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ar) chúl</td>
<td>u:</td>
<td>u'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ciúin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cúnamh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Cf. *chuaigh* and *fuair* under verb forms.
### INIS OÍRR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>u:</td>
<td>(r dus)(^1)</td>
<td>u:</td>
<td>u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ō: ... o:</td>
<td>u:</td>
<td>u:</td>
<td>u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e)g' yr'ösaxt ... (e)g' grosaxt)</td>
<td>u: (fr)</td>
<td>u: (fr)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>u: (fr'b)</td>
<td>u: (fr'b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o:</td>
<td>u'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) “...ar dtús...”
**PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RAISING OF LONG MID BACK VOWELS</th>
<th>BUNGABHLA F 43</th>
<th>EOGHANACHT F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[øː &gt; uː]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... a gcónafom ...</td>
<td>øː</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... ar chónaigh ...</td>
<td>øː</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i gcónaf</td>
<td>øː ~ øː</td>
<td>uː</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RAISING AND/OR LENGTHENING OF SHORT MID BACK VOWELS</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[o &gt; u]</td>
<td>cnoc</td>
<td>u (gō xNukaːN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[a/o &gt; oː/uː]</td>
<td>lom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>róthrom</td>
<td>øː</td>
<td>øː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chrom</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cromadh</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o'</td>
<td>u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o:</td>
<td>o:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o ~ ó (&lt;...eN xNók'&gt;)</td>
<td>o ~ u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o:</td>
<td>u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Genitival construction.
**PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>RAISING OF LONG MID BACK VOWELS</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɔː &gt; uː]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...a gcónafonn ...</td>
<td>uː [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...ar chónaigh ...</td>
<td>uː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i gcónaf</td>
<td>o'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RAISING AND/OR LENGTHENING OF SHORT MID BACK VOWELS</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[o &gt; u]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cnoc</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lom</td>
<td>uː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>róthrom</td>
<td>uː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chrom</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cromadh</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eochaill M 68</th>
<th>Cill Rónáin M 50</th>
<th>Cill Éinne F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(\text{o}^1)</td>
<td>(\text{o}^a)</td>
<td>(\text{u}^{*})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{o}) ((\text{ku:Ni}r))</td>
<td></td>
<td>(\text{u}^{*})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{u})</td>
<td>(\text{u} \sim \text{u} \ [x2])</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{e})</td>
<td>(\text{u})</td>
<td>(\text{u}^{:\ 2})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{ou})</td>
<td>(\text{u})</td>
<td>(\text{e})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{e})</td>
<td>(\text{e})</td>
<td>(\text{e})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{e})</td>
<td>(\text{e}^{\ 3})</td>
<td>(\text{u})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. In the phrase “... a bhí cóntai air ...” (sic).
2. After prompting with *lom*.
3. In the phrase “... nach gcromfadh ...”.

---

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### PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS

#### INIS MEÁIN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M 70</th>
<th>F 60+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

#### RAISING OF LONG MID BACK VOWELS

\[ [\hat{\text{o}} : > \hat{u} :] \]

\[
\begin{align*}
... a \text{ gcónaíonn} ... & : o : \\
... \text{ar chónaigh} ... & : u : \sim \hat{u} : o : \\
(\text{kun}/\text{Nil}/\text{Nø xo:Nil})^1 & \\
i \text{gcónaf} & : \hat{u} :^2 & : o : \sim \hat{u} :
\end{align*}
\]

#### RAISING AND/OR LENGTHENING OF MID SHORT BACK VOWELS

\[ [\hat{\text{o}} > \hat{u}] \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choc</th>
<th>o ~ u</th>
<th>o</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

\[ [\text{o} / \hat{\text{o}} > \hat{\text{o}} : / u \hat{\text{r}}] \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lom</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Róthrom</td>
<td>u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chrom</td>
<td>ò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cromadh</td>
<td>ò</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 “cónaf” and “ina chónaí”, respectively.

2 Cf. also [qu ‘hunduíl’ (= go hiondáil)], which was elicited twice as an alternative form, once in I.19 and once again in II.63.
INIS OÍRR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o: 1</td>
<td>o: 1</td>
<td>o: 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o: 2</td>
<td>o: 2</td>
<td>o: 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o: 3</td>
<td>o: 3</td>
<td>o: 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o: 4</td>
<td>o: 4</td>
<td>o: 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o: 5</td>
<td>o: 5</td>
<td>o: 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 In the phrase “ina chónaí”.
2 In the phrase “…a bhí cónaí air …”(sic).
3 After prompting.
4 Cf. also the form [k’om’] (= ciúin) in II.15, which is a clear case of vowel lowering. On the other hand, note the form [yum] (= dom) in I.2, which involves backing, lengthening and raising of the vowel.
5 Cf. also the form [k’om’] (= ciúinn), which was elicited twice in II.15, and which is a clear case of vowel lowering.

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## PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS

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<th>BUNGABHLA F 43</th>
<th>EOGHANACHT F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### RAISING OF LOW FRONT VOWELS

\[ \text{[æ:} > \text{e:]} \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Bungabhla Form</th>
<th>Eoghanacht Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bean</td>
<td>æ: [x3] ~ ær [x2] ~ æ: [x6] ~ ær ~ æ</td>
<td>ær [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sean</td>
<td>æ:</td>
<td>æ: [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deas</td>
<td>ær ~ æ [x2]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i mo/ina) sheasamh</td>
<td>æ [x3]</td>
<td>a ~ æ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teach</td>
<td>æ [x8]</td>
<td>ær [x2] ~ æ [x4] ~ e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isteach</td>
<td>æ [x3]</td>
<td>æ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teacht</td>
<td>æ [x3]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cá/a) ndeachaigh</td>
<td>ær ~ æ [x3]</td>
<td>ær ~ æ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceachtanna</td>
<td>æ [x2]</td>
<td>ær ~ æ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seachtain</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>ær</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cleachtadh</td>
<td>ær</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Is é do) bheatha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(With Dialectal Variants of Standard Forms)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Bungabhla Form</th>
<th>Eoghanacht Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tresna (= trasna)</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>æ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teagann (= tagann)</td>
<td>ær [x2] ~ æ [x2]</td>
<td>ær [x2] ~ æ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaga(ig)l/teagadh</td>
<td>ær [x2] ~ æ [x2]</td>
<td>ær [x2] ~ æ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(= Tagaigfl/tagadh)</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teagtha (= tagtha)</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Raising of Low Front Vowels

INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70  FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60

ae: [x6] ∼ ae'  ae: [x4] ∼ ae' [x3] ∼ ae

ae:  ae'

ae: [x12]  ae: [x6] ∼ ae'

ae: [x2]  ae [x2]

ae: ∼ ae' [x2] ∼ ae  ae' [x2] ∼ ae

ae' ∼ ae [x5]  ae: ∼ ae' ∼ ae [x4]

ae' ∼ ae [x2]  ae: ∼ ae'

ae' ∼ ae [x2]  ae [x3]

ae: ∼ ae  ae [x2]

ae

ae: ∼ ae
PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Raising of Low Front Vowels ¹</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[æː &gt; eː]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sean</td>
<td>æː</td>
<td>æː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deas</td>
<td>æː [x3]</td>
<td>æː ~ eː ~ e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i mo/ina) sheasamh</td>
<td>æː [x2] ~ æː</td>
<td>æː [x3] ~ æː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isteach</td>
<td>æː [x2] ~ æː</td>
<td>æː ~ æː ~ æ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teacht</td>
<td>æː ~ æː [x2]</td>
<td>æː [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cá/a) ndeachaigh</td>
<td>æː [x3]</td>
<td>æː ~ æː [x3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceachtanna</td>
<td>æː [x3]</td>
<td>æː [x2] ~ æː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seachtain</td>
<td>æː</td>
<td>æː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cleachtadh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Is é do) bheatha</td>
<td>æːː</td>
<td>æː</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(With Dialectal Variants of Standard Forms)

|                  |              |              |
| treasna (= trasna) |              |              |
| teagann (= tagann) | æː             | æː             |
| Teaga(ig)l/=teagadh (= Tagaigl/tagadh) | æː |
| teagtha (= tagtha) |                |               |

¹ Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables.
| INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eochaill M 68</th>
<th>Cill Rónáin M 50</th>
<th>Cill Éinne F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>æ’</td>
<td>æ’</td>
<td>æ’ ∼ æ’[x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ: [x6] ∼ æ’</td>
<td>æ ∼ æ [x5]</td>
<td>æ: [x8] ∼ æ’ [x3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ: ∼ æ</td>
<td>æ’</td>
<td>æ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ: [x3]</td>
<td>æ’ ∼ æ [x2]</td>
<td>æ’ ∼ æ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ: [x2] ∼ æ’</td>
<td>æ ∼ æ [x2]</td>
<td>æ ∼ æ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ’ ∼ æ</td>
<td>æ ∼ æ</td>
<td>æ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ: [x2] ∼ æ’</td>
<td>æ [x3]</td>
<td>æ [x4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ’ [x2] ∼ æ</td>
<td>æ ∼ æ</td>
<td>æ [x3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ:</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>æ ¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ: [x2] ∼ æ</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>æ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Note the occurrence of a short low central vowel in the word [sLaxtar] (= slachtmhar) in II.56.
**RAISING OF LOW FRONT VOWELS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M 70</th>
<th>F 60+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[æː &gt; eː]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bean</td>
<td>æː [x3] ~ æː [x2] ~ æː [x7] ~ æː</td>
<td>æː [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sean</td>
<td>æː ~ æː ~ e</td>
<td>æː ~ e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deas</td>
<td>æː ~ æː ~ e</td>
<td>æː [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i mo/ina sheasamh)</td>
<td>æ [x2]</td>
<td>æ [x3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teach</td>
<td>æ [x7] ~ e [x3]</td>
<td>æː ~ æ [x3] ~ e [x3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isteach</td>
<td>æ [x2] ~ e [x2]</td>
<td>æ [x2] ~ e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teacht</td>
<td>æ [x3]</td>
<td>æ ~ e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cá/a) ndeachaigh</td>
<td>æ [x2] ~ e [x2]</td>
<td>æː ~ e [x4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceachtanna</td>
<td>æː ~ æ</td>
<td>æː ~ æ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seachtain</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>æ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cleachtadh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Is é do) bheatha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(With Dialectal Variants of Standard Forms)*

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tresna (= trasna)</td>
<td>æ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teagann (= tagann)</td>
<td>æ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaga(ig)lí/teagadh (= Tagaigí/lí/tagadh)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teagtha (= tagtha)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Æ: $[x4]$ ~ æ' ~ æ</td>
<td>Æ: $[x8]$</td>
<td>Æ: $[x3]$ ~ æ' ~ æ $[x3]$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Æ:</td>
<td>Æ:</td>
<td>Æ' $[x2]$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Æ: $[x2]$ ~ æ' ~ æ</td>
<td>Æ: $[x5]$ ~ æ'</td>
<td>Æ: $[x7]$ ~ æ' $[x3]$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Æ: ~ æ' ~ æ</td>
<td>Æ: $[x3]$ ~ e</td>
<td>Æ: ~ æ' ~ æ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Æ: $[x2]$ ~ æ'</td>
<td>Æ: ~ æ $[x5]$</td>
<td>Æ' ~ æ $[x2]$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Æ'</td>
<td>æ ~ æ:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Æ' ~ æ $[x2]$</td>
<td>Æ $[x2]$</td>
<td>æ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Æ: $[x2]$</td>
<td>Æ: ~ æ' $[x2]$</td>
<td>æ' (k'æ'xtir)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>æ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\sim$
### PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel Fronting</th>
<th>Bungabhla F 43</th>
<th>Eoghanacht F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( [a:] &gt; æ)</td>
<td>( a' \sim æ' \sim a \sim æ ) ([x2])</td>
<td>( a: \sim æ: \sim a: ) ([x3])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baile</td>
<td>( æ' \sim æ' \sim a \sim æ ) ([x2])</td>
<td>( æ' \sim a )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cailíní</td>
<td>( a )</td>
<td>( a' \sim a )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cailleann</td>
<td>( a' )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cailleadh</td>
<td>( a' \sim æ' )</td>
<td>( æ: \sim æ: )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaill</td>
<td>( æ' )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aill</td>
<td>( a' \sim æ' \sim a \sim æ ) ([x2])</td>
<td>( æ: \sim æ: )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... na haille (Genitive)</td>
<td>( (a') ) ( \ldots æN æ'l't' )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaillimh</td>
<td>( æ' )</td>
<td>( a )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaineamh</td>
<td>( æ' )</td>
<td>( æ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bainne</td>
<td>( æ: \sim æ )</td>
<td>( æ: \sim æ' )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aimsir</td>
<td>( a' ) ([x2])</td>
<td>( a' \sim a )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caint</td>
<td>( æ: \sim æ' )</td>
<td>( æ: )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sláintiúil</td>
<td>( æ' \sim æ' )</td>
<td>( æ' \sim æ' )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... (a) maireann ...</td>
<td>( a' \sim æ' ) ([x3])</td>
<td>( æ' \sim æ' ) ([x3])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caite</td>
<td>( a )</td>
<td>( æ' \sim æ' ) ([x3])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cnaípe</td>
<td>( a' )</td>
<td>( æ' \sim æ' ) ([x3])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tada (= dada)</td>
<td>( a' ) ([x4])</td>
<td>( a: \sim æ: ) ([x3])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tastafoinn (= teastafoinn)</td>
<td>( æ' \sim æ: ) ([x3])</td>
<td>( a: \sim a )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trasna</td>
<td>( æ' \sim æ: ) ([x3])</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maith</td>
<td>( æ' )</td>
<td>( æ' )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scaitheamh</td>
<td>( æ' )</td>
<td>( a' )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dathúil</td>
<td>( æ' )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba (= beithigh)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aᵢ [x3] ∼ æː</td>
<td>a: ∼ æː ∼ aᵢ [x3] ∼ æ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a: [x2]</td>
<td>aᵢ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a: [x2]</td>
<td>aᵢ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æː</td>
<td>æː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æː</td>
<td>æː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aᵢ</td>
<td>æː ∼ æ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>aᵢ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a: ∼ aᵢ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aᵢ [x2]</td>
<td>a [x4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>æː</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SÉAMAS Ó DIREÁIN— A SURVEY OF SPOKEN IRISH IN THE ARAN ISLANDS, CO. GALWAY
### PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS

**VOWEL FRONTING**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[a:]</td>
<td>[a:]</td>
<td>[æ:]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baile</td>
<td>æ [x2]</td>
<td>æ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cailíní</td>
<td>a:</td>
<td>a:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cailleann</td>
<td>æ:</td>
<td>æ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cailleadh</td>
<td>a:</td>
<td>æ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaill</td>
<td>æ:</td>
<td>æ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aill</td>
<td>æ: [x2]</td>
<td>æi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...na haíle (Genitive)</td>
<td>æ:</td>
<td>æ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaillimh</td>
<td>a:</td>
<td>æ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaineamh</td>
<td>æ:</td>
<td>æ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bainne</td>
<td>æ:</td>
<td>a’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aimsir</td>
<td>æ:</td>
<td>æ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caint</td>
<td>a: ~ a’ [x2]</td>
<td>æi ~ æi [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sláintúil</td>
<td>æ:</td>
<td>æ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...(a) maireann ...</td>
<td>æ [x2]</td>
<td>æi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caite</td>
<td>æ:</td>
<td>æi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cnaípe</td>
<td>æ:</td>
<td>æi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tada (= dada)</td>
<td>æ: ~ æ [x2]</td>
<td>æ: [x3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tastaíonn (= teastaíonn)</td>
<td>æ: ~ a’ [x2] ~ æ [x2]</td>
<td>æ: ~ æ [x3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trasna</td>
<td>æ:</td>
<td>æ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maith</td>
<td>a’c</td>
<td>a’c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scaitheamh</td>
<td>æ:</td>
<td>æ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dathúil</td>
<td>æ:</td>
<td>æ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba (= beithigh)</td>
<td>æ:</td>
<td>æ:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eochail M 68</th>
<th>Cill Rónain M 50</th>
<th>Cill Éinne F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a: [x2]</td>
<td>a’ [x2]</td>
<td>a: [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a: [x2]</td>
<td>α’</td>
<td>α’ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a’</td>
<td>a [x2]</td>
<td>a: [x3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a’ ¹</td>
<td>α’</td>
<td>a’ ∼ a’ ¹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| a: [x2]     |                     |                 |
| a:          | æ:                 | a:              |
| a:          | æ:                 | a:              |
| æ’          | æ [x2]             | a:              |
| a: ∼ a ∼ a ¹ [x2] | a’ [x2]       | a’ ¹ ∼ a ¹       |
| a: ∼ a ¹     | α:                 | a’ [x2] ∼ a ¹   |
| a ¹          | a ¹ ∼ æ’ (wæ’r’)  |                 |
| a’ ²         | æ                 | a               |
| æ’          | a                 | æ               |

| æ: [x3]     | a: ∼ a’ [x2]       | a: [x2]         |
| a:          | a [x4]            | a [x2] ∼ æ      |
| a:          | a’ [x4]           | a: ∼ a’ [x2]    |
| æ:          | æ                 | æ: (skæ:)       |

1 The informant apparently corrected herself with a second variant.
2 Note, however, the fronted vowel in the noun phrase [N wæ’g’m’] (= an mhaidin) in I.1.
### PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M 70</th>
<th>F 60+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>VOWEL FRONTING</strong>(^1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>([a:] &gt; \ae:)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baile</td>
<td>a(\sim [x2]) (\sim \ae,: [x4]) (\sim a)</td>
<td>a(\sim \ae,: [x2]) (\sim a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cailíní</td>
<td>a(\sim a)</td>
<td>a(\sim [x2]) (\sim a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cailleann</td>
<td>a(\sim [x2])</td>
<td>a(\sim \ae:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cailleadh</td>
<td>a(\sim \ae:)</td>
<td>a(\sim \ae:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaill</td>
<td>a(\sim \ae:)</td>
<td>a(\sim \ae:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aill</td>
<td>a(\sim \ae:)</td>
<td>a(\sim \ae:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...na huille * (Genitive) Gaillimh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaineamh</td>
<td>a(\sim [x2])</td>
<td>a(\sim [x2])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bainne</td>
<td>a(\sim \ae:)</td>
<td>a(\sim \ae:) (\sim a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aimsir</td>
<td>a(\sim \ae,: [x2])</td>
<td>a(\sim \ae,: [x2])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caint</td>
<td>a(\sim a) (\sim \ae,: [x2])</td>
<td>a(\sim [x2])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sláintiúil</td>
<td>a(\sim a) (\sim \ae,: [x2])</td>
<td>a(\sim a) (\sim \ae,: [x2])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...(a) maireann ...</td>
<td>a(\sim a) (\sim \ae,: [x2])</td>
<td>a(\sim a) (\sim \ae,: [x2])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caite</td>
<td>a(\sim \ae,: [x2])</td>
<td>a(\sim [x2])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cnaípe</td>
<td>a(\sim \ae,: [x2])</td>
<td>a(\sim \ae,: [x2])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tada (= dada)</td>
<td>a(\sim [x2])</td>
<td>a(\sim [x2])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tastaíonn (= teastaíonn)</td>
<td>a(\sim [x2])</td>
<td>a(\sim [x2])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trasna</td>
<td>a(\sim \ae,: [x2])</td>
<td>a(\sim \ae,: [x2])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maith</td>
<td>a(\sim \ae,: [x2])</td>
<td>a(\sim \ae,: [x2])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scaitheamh</td>
<td>a(\sim \ae,: [x2])</td>
<td>a(\sim \ae,: [x2])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dathúil</td>
<td>a(\sim \ae,: [x2])</td>
<td>a(\sim \ae,: [x2])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba (= beithígh)</td>
<td>a(\sim \ae,: [x2])</td>
<td>a(\sim \ae,: [x2])</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Cf. also the intensifying particle *an-* under adjectival inflection. Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables.
### INIS OÍRR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a:</td>
<td>[x8]</td>
<td>a: [x7] ~ a</td>
<td>a: [x3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'</td>
<td>[x2]</td>
<td>a: ~ a'</td>
<td>a: [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Æ'</td>
<td>Æ'</td>
<td>Æ'</td>
<td>Æ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ:</td>
<td>[x2]</td>
<td>æ: [x2]</td>
<td>æ: [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Æ'</td>
<td>Æ'</td>
<td>Æ'</td>
<td>Æ'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| æ:   | æ:   | æ:   | æ:   |
| 1æ:  | 1æ:  | 1æ:  | 1æ:  |
| æ:   | æ:   | æ:   | æ:   |

1 Cf. the fronted vowel in [hæːnə] (= cheana) in I.19.
2 The informant went on to substitute a variant of beithigh.
### PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BUNGABHLA F 43</th>
<th>EOGHANACHT F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[aː &gt; aː]¹ 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nár ²</td>
<td>aː ~ a</td>
<td>aː [x2] ~ a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ná (Negative Imperative Particle)</td>
<td>aː [x2] ~ a</td>
<td>aː ~ aː [x2] ~ a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ná (Comparative Particle)</td>
<td>aː [x2] ~ a</td>
<td>aː ~ aː ~ a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cā</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>aː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dá</td>
<td>aː ~ a³</td>
<td>aː: ⁴ ~ ?o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>má</td>
<td>aː ~ a</td>
<td>aː: [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mám (&quot;handful&quot;)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| [aː > aːː]²   |                |                 |
| -tá/-fá       | aː: [x2] ~ a    |                 |
| -teá/-feá     |                 | aː: [x2] ~ a⁴   |
| breá          | 'aː (b’r”aː)   | aː: [x5]        |

|                |                |                 |
| VOWEL BACKING  |                |                 |
| [aː > aː]¹ 1   |                |                 |
| am             | aː [x2]        | aː ~ aː         |
| gann           | aː: (aːN³ yarn) |                |
| mall           | aː              | aː:            |
| anall          | aː              | aː:            |
| thall          | aː              | aː:            |
| sall (= anonn) | (ar) ball      | aː:            |

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 [aː¹] and [aː], respectively, of dá.
⁴ Representing the reduced form [aː].

---

**Séamas Ó Direáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \alpha: 1 \sim \alpha: \sim \text{æ} )</td>
<td>( \alpha: [x3] )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \alpha: [x2] \sim \alpha )</td>
<td>( \alpha: [x2] )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \alpha: [x4] \sim \alpha )</td>
<td>( \alpha: \sim \alpha [x2] )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \alpha )</td>
<td>( \text{æ} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \alpha^\ast (\text{yæ}^\ast) \sim \lambda (\text{d} \lambda) )</td>
<td>( \alpha^\ast (\text{t} \alpha^\ast) \sim \text{æ} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \alpha: [x2] )</td>
<td>( \alpha: [x2] )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \alpha: [x2] )</td>
<td>( \alpha: [x2] )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \alpha: [x2] \sim \text{æ} 3 \sim \alpha )</td>
<td>( \alpha 4 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \alpha: \sim \alpha^\ast )</td>
<td>( \text{æ}: \sim \alpha^\ast [x2] \sim \text{æ} 5 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \alpha: [x3] )</td>
<td>( \alpha: )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \alpha: [x2] )</td>
<td>( \alpha: )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \alpha: (\text{am yam}) )</td>
<td>( \alpha: (\text{æ}: \text{yam}) )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \alpha: [x2] )</td>
<td>( \alpha: [x2] )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \alpha: )</td>
<td>( \alpha: )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 In the phrase [\( \text{na}: \text{rin}^\prime \text{e} \)] (= nach ndearna).
2 Representing the reduced form [\( \text{æ} \)].
3 In the sentence [\( \text{æ}: \text{g} \text{æ} \text{N} \text{a} \text{ wem}^\prime \text{e} \)] (= An gceannófá uaim é?).
4 In the anomalous phrase [\( \text{æ}: \text{g} \text{æ} \text{N} \text{a} \text{ tu} \ldots \)] (= An gceannófá ...).
5 As an off-glide in the phrase [\( \text{æ}: \text{m} \text{e}^\theta \ldots \)] (= An mbeifeá ...?).
### PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[a:] &gt; a:]&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ná (Negative Imperative Particle)</td>
<td>a: [x2]</td>
<td>a: [x2] ~ a'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ná (Comparative Particle)</td>
<td>a: [x2] ~ a' ~ a</td>
<td>a: [x2] ~ a' [x2] ~ a'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cā</td>
<td>a'</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dá</td>
<td>a ~ a ~ a&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>a: (dā:) ~ λ (dā)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mā</td>
<td>a'&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>a ~ a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mám (&quot;handful&quot;)</td>
<td>a:</td>
<td>a:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[a:] &gt; a:/æ:]&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tá/-fá</td>
<td>a: ~ a [x2]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-teá/-feá</td>
<td>a: ~ æ: ~ æ' ~ æ [x2] ~ a</td>
<td>a: ~ a' ~ æ ~ e&lt;sup&gt;5&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breá</td>
<td>æ:</td>
<td>æ:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VOWEL BACKING</th>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[a:] &gt; a:]&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>am</td>
<td>a: [x4]</td>
<td>a: [x3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gann</td>
<td>a: (a:n yǎ:n)</td>
<td>a: (a:n yǎ:N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mall</td>
<td>a:</td>
<td>a:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anall</td>
<td>a:</td>
<td>a:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thall</td>
<td>a:</td>
<td>a:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sall (=annonn)</td>
<td>a:</td>
<td>a:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ar) ball</td>
<td>a:</td>
<td>a:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>1</sup> Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables.

<sup>2</sup> Problematic non-standard forms such as ná(r) raibh and ná(r) rinne are included in the tally of instances of this item.

<sup>3</sup> All vocoids in this item represent reduced forms of dá.

<sup>4</sup> In the phrase [ma:r a:gn tu:] (= má thagann tú ...).

<sup>5</sup> In the phrase [N'i: wa:je ...] (= ní bhfaighfeá ...).
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EOCHAILL M 68</th>
<th>CILL RÓNÁIN M 50</th>
<th>CILL ÉINNE F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>α:</td>
<td></td>
<td>α: [x2]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>α: [x3] ∼ a’ ∼ a</td>
<td>α’ ∼ a [x2]</td>
<td>α: [x2] ∼ a [x3]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>α: ∼ a ∼ ø</td>
<td>α’ [x2] ∼ a</td>
<td>α: ∼ a’ [x2]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>α: ∼ ø</td>
<td>α</td>
<td>e’ ∼ e (k’e’/k’e’)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>α: [x2] (da:)</td>
<td>α (da) ∼ ø</td>
<td>α: [x2] (da:) ∼ a ∼ a³ [x2]³</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>α:¹</td>
<td>α: ∼ a</td>
<td>α: ∼ a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>α’</th>
<th>α: ∼ a’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>α: [x2] ∼ a’ ∼ a’</td>
<td>α’</td>
<td>α: ∼ a’</td>
<td>α: [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>α: [x2] ∼ a’ [x2] ∼ a</td>
<td>α: ∼ ø</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>α: [x2]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>α: [x2]</th>
<th>α: ∼ a</th>
<th>α: [x2] ∼ æ:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>α: [x2]</td>
<td>α: ∼ a’</td>
<td>α: [x2]</td>
<td>α: [x2] ∼ æ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>α: (áː ‘αː:N)</td>
<td>α:</td>
<td>α:</td>
<td>α:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>α: [x2] ∼ a’</td>
<td>α:</td>
<td>α:</td>
<td>α: [x2]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Note the anomalous form [mar “duːrt’] (= mar adúirt?) elicited in II.14.
2 Representing the reduced form [a]菡。
3 The last two vocoids in the series represent reduced forms of dá.
4 In the form [Iːk’ɑː] (= ligfeá). 
5 In the form [Iːk’a:] (= ligfeá).
### PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[aː &gt; aː]</th>
<th>INIS MEÁIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>M 70</strong></td>
<td><strong>F 60+</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>[aː &gt; aː]¹</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ná</td>
<td>aː ~ æː ³ ~ a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ná (Negative Impe-</td>
<td>a [x2] ~ a [x3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rative Particle)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ná (Comparative</td>
<td>a: ~ a’ ~ a [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Particle)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cá</td>
<td>a’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dá</td>
<td>a: ~ a’⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>má</td>
<td>a [x2]⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mám (&quot;handful&quot;)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| [aː > aː/æː]¹ |           |
|              |            |
| -tá/-fá     | a’ ~ a ~ o ⁷ | a: ~ o ⁶ ~ ø |
| -teá/-feá   | a: [x2] ~ a’ ~ | a [x2] ~ ø [x2] |
|             | a ~ ø [x2] |               |
| breá        | a: [x4] ~ æ: [x2] | a: [x2] |

#### VOWEL BACKING

| [aː > ø]¹ |           |
|           |            |
| am        | a: [x3]⁸  | aː ~ a’ |
| gann      | a:         | a: [x2] (aːn⁹/aːN yːN) |
| mall      | a:         | a: |
| anall     | a:         | a: |
| thall     | a:         | a: |
| sall (= anonn) |           |       |
| (ar) ball | a:         |       |

¹ Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables. ² Problematic non-standard forms such as ná(r) raíbh and ná(r) vinne are included in the tally of instances of this item. ³ In the phrase [Næː eː♭r’iː ...] (= 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 [ot’] (= aít) in I.32. ⁶ In the sentence [aN g’ːæːN oː wɛm’ eː] (= An gceannófá uaim eː?). ⁷ In the sentence [ə g’ːæN oː wɛm’ eː] (= An gceannófá uaim eː?). ⁸ Note the absence of backing in the word cam ([kaːm]) as well as in the final discussion at the end of the interview in Part II.
### INIS ÓÍRR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a’~a</td>
<td>a: [x2] ~ a’ [x2]</td>
<td>a: [x3] ~ a’ ~ o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:~a:</td>
<td>a: [x2] ~ a: ~</td>
<td>a: [x2] ~ a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a’</td>
<td>a: ~ a’ [x3] ~ a</td>
<td>a’ ~ a ~ a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:</td>
<td>a’</td>
<td>(knaːt)²</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a’ (‘waːn’ʃl . . .) ~ æ ¹</td>
<td>a’ ~ a ~ o (da)⁴</td>
<td>æ [x2] (da)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:~æ</td>
<td>a: [x3]</td>
<td>a ~ æ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sLɑːm)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:~æ’</td>
<td>a’ ~ e’ ⁷</td>
<td>a’ ~ a’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ ⁵ ~ a’ [x2] ⁶</td>
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<td>a’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:</td>
<td>a’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a: [x3]</td>
<td>a: ~ a: [x2]</td>
<td>a: [x2] ~ a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a: (‘āː ‘ɣɑːN)</td>
<td>ɣː: (‘ɣː:N)</td>
<td>a: [x5] (ɣɑːN/aːN ɣɑ: [sic])</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:</td>
<td>a:</td>
<td>a: [x4]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:</td>
<td>a:</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ One instance of this variant occurs in the anomalous phrase [naːr’ im’ɡiː: . . .] (= 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 [maːɾə m’eːɾ o tu . . .] (= Mura mbeisfá . . .?/Mura mbeidh tú . . .?), elicited in II.13.

⁶ In the verb forms [v’iːɾo . . ./v’eːɾo . . .] (= Bhíteása . . ./Bheifeá . . .).

⁷ In the phrase [‘d’uːɾeː k’æd . . .] (= An dtabharfá cead . . .?).
### Phonological Variables: Consonants

#### Consonant Loss ¹

\[ h > \emptyset \] (Word-Initially)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bungabhla F 43</th>
<th>Eoghanacht F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( h )</td>
<td>( h )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \emptyset )</td>
<td>( \emptyset )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( h )</td>
<td>( h )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \emptyset )</td>
<td>( h )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ h > \emptyset \] (Word-Medially)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Eoghanacht F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>( h )</td>
<td>( \emptyset )</td>
</tr>
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<td>( \emptyset )</td>
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<td>( \emptyset )</td>
<td>( \emptyset )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \emptyset )</td>
<td>( \emptyset )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ v' \sim n' \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bungabhla F 43</th>
<th>Eoghanacht F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( n' )</td>
<td>( m'n' )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( v'N' )</td>
<td>( k'm'n'u' )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ N' > n' \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bungabhla F 43</th>
<th>Eoghanacht F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( N' )</td>
<td>( N' )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( n' )</td>
<td>( N' )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( N' )</td>
<td>( N' )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>∅ [x4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>∅ [x3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h ~ ∅ (b’εhr¿/b’æi`)</td>
<td>∅ [x3] (b’ε;i/b’ε;i/b’æi`)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>∅ (n stra:n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>∅ [x2] (jr’α:’r’/jr’α’r’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>∅ (jr’a^w_e r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>∅ (jr’awør)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v’N'</td>
<td>n'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N’ [x2] ~ n’</td>
<td>N’ [x3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N’ [x2]</td>
<td>N’ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N’ ~ N ~ n¹</td>
<td>N’ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N’ [x5]</td>
<td>N’ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N’ [x2]</td>
<td>N’ [x3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N’</td>
<td>n’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N’</td>
<td>N’ ~ n’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ This item elicited first [tN`oLho:r’], which was corrected to [tN’oLho:r’]. The variant [mærhɔ:r’] was also elicited.
## PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: CONSONANTS

### CONSONANT LOSS 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[h &gt; ∅] (Word-Initially)</th>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Ná) himíg!</td>
<td>∅ [x2]</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ná) hosclaíg!</td>
<td>∅ [x2]</td>
<td>h ∼ ∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(má) thagann ...</td>
<td>∅ [x2]</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ar) thug ...?</td>
<td>h ∼ ∅</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CONSONANT WEAKENING 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[N' &gt; n']</th>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inné</td>
<td>N' [x4]</td>
<td>N' [x4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>immiu</td>
<td>N' [x2]</td>
<td>N' [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>innealtóir</td>
<td>N' [x2] 2</td>
<td>N' [x2] 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>choimnigh</td>
<td>N' [x2]</td>
<td>N' [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coinneáil</td>
<td>N' [x2]</td>
<td>N' [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bainne</td>
<td>N' [x2]</td>
<td>N' [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>álaimn</td>
<td>N' [x2]</td>
<td>N' [x2]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables. 2 Elicited as [IN'oLo'r'] twice. 3 Elicited as [IN'oLo'o'r'] and as [IN'oLo'o'r'].
**INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EOCAILL M 68</th>
<th>CILL RÓNÁIN M 50</th>
<th>CILL ÉINNE F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>h [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅ [x4]</td>
<td>h ~ ∅ [x3]</td>
<td>∅ [x4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h (raho-′r′)</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅ [x2] (b′æ-1)</td>
<td>∅ [x2] (b′e)</td>
<td>h ~ ∅ (b′eih/ b′æ-1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅ [x2] (jr′a:′r′/jra:′r′)</td>
<td>h [x2] ~ ∅ (jr′o:′æ/ jr′o:′æ)</td>
<td>h ~ ∅ (jr′o:′æ/ jr′o:′æ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h ~ ∅ [x2] (jro:′:r′/)</td>
<td>∅ [x2] (jr′a:′æ/ jr′a:′æ)</td>
<td>f ~ ∅ (jro:′æ/jra:′æ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jrawurh/jrawurh'</td>
<td>f (jr′efur')</td>
<td>f [x2] (d′efurh ... jr′efur)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅ (jra:′aw)</td>
<td>f (jr′efur')</td>
<td>f [x2] (d′efurh ... jr′efur)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n′</td>
<td>v′n′ [x2]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N′ [x4] ~ n′</td>
<td>N′ [x4] ~ n′</td>
<td>n′ [x5]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N′ [x2]</td>
<td>N′ [x2]</td>
<td>N′ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N′ ~ N 1</td>
<td>n′ [x2]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N′ [x2]</td>
<td>N′ [x2]</td>
<td>N′ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N′ [x2]</td>
<td>N′ [x2]</td>
<td>N′ [x4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N′ [x2]</td>
<td>N′ [x2]</td>
<td>n′ 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n′ [x2]</td>
<td>N′</td>
<td>n′</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Elicited as [iN′a:lta] and as [jiN′a:lta], respectively. 2 Cf. also [k′il′ e:n′e] (= Cill Éinne) at the end of Part One.
**PHONOLICAL VARIABLES: CONSONANTS**

**INIS MEÁIN**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSONANT LOSS ¹</th>
<th>M 70</th>
<th>F 60+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>([h &gt; \emptyset]) (Word-Initially)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ná) himíg!</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ná) hosclaíg!</td>
<td>(\emptyset)</td>
<td>h ([x2])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(má) thagann ...</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ar) thug ...?</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSONANT LOSS ¹</th>
<th>M 70</th>
<th>F 60+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>([h &gt; \emptyset]) (Word-Medially)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bóthar</td>
<td>(\emptyset) ([x4]) (^2)</td>
<td>(\emptyset) ([x4])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rothar</td>
<td>h (rohur)</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beithigh</td>
<td>(\emptyset) (bʼe(^4))</td>
<td>(\emptyset) (bʼe(^4))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dathúil</td>
<td>(\emptyset)</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(An) Sruthán</td>
<td>(\emptyset) ([x2]) (jr(\text{ä}r) (sic) / j(\text{ä}r)(^r))</td>
<td>h (\sim) (\emptyset) ([x2]) (j(r\text{ä}h\text{ä}r)(^r)/ j(r\text{ä}r)(^r)/r(\text{ä}r)(^r))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(mo) dheartháir</td>
<td>h (jr(\text{ë}hur)(^h))</td>
<td>(\emptyset) (r(\text{aw}or))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(mo) dheirfiúr</td>
<td>(\emptyset) (jr(\text{ä}w)or)</td>
<td>(\emptyset) (on’ d’r(\text{ä}w)or)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| [v’n’> n’] | | |
| cuimhneamh | | |
| cuimhnionn | N’ (ki:N’o)\(^3\) | |

| CONSONANT WEAKENING ¹ | | |
|----------------------| | |
| [N’> n’] | | |
| inné | N’ \([x3]\) | N’ \([x5]\) |
| inniu | N’ \([x2]\) | N’ \([x2]\) |
| innealtóir | N’ \([x2]\) | N’ \([x2]\) |
| choinnigh | N’ \([x2]\) | N’ \([x2]\) |
| coinneáil | N’ \([x3]\) | N’ \([x2]\) |
| bainne | N’ | N’ |
| álaimn | N’ \([x2]\) | N’ |
Consonant Loss; Consonant Weakening

**INIS OÍRR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(\emptyset) (^1)</td>
<td>(\emptyset)</td>
<td>(\emptyset)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\emptyset)</td>
<td>(\emptyset) [x2]</td>
<td>(\emptyset)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h (x2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\emptyset) (x3)</td>
<td>(\emptyset) (x4)</td>
<td>(\emptyset) (x3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\emptyset) (x2) ((\text{b'}e^i))</td>
<td>(\emptyset) (x2) ((\text{b'}e^i/\text{b'}ae^i))</td>
<td>(\emptyset) (x2) ((\text{b'}e^i/\text{b'}ae^i))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h ((\text{strah}n))</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>(\emptyset)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\emptyset) (x2) ((\text{jr}'\alpha:r'))</td>
<td>(\emptyset) (x2) ((\text{jr}'\alpha:r' / \text{r}'\alpha:r'))</td>
<td>(\emptyset) (x2) ((\text{r}'\alpha:r'))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\emptyset) ((\text{jr}'\alpha u'h))</td>
<td>(\emptyset) ((\text{r}'\alpha u'r))</td>
<td>(\emptyset) ((\text{r}'\alpha u'r)) (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\emptyset) ((\text{yr}'\alpha u'r))</td>
<td>(\emptyset) ((\text{L}'\alpha u'r)^2)</td>
<td>(\emptyset) ((\text{r}'\alpha u'h))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'</td>
<td>n' (x2)</td>
<td>n' (x3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n') (x3)</td>
<td>(n') (x3)</td>
<td>(n') (x3) (\sim n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N') (x2)</td>
<td>(N') (x2)</td>
<td>(N') (x2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n) (x2) ((\text{inalt}ar'))</td>
<td>n'</td>
<td>n'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N') (x2)</td>
<td>(N') (x2)</td>
<td>(N') (x2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n')</td>
<td>(n')</td>
<td>(n')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n')</td>
<td>(n')</td>
<td>(n')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) In the anomalous form \([\text{Nar}' \text{im}'\text{g}'i]\. \(^2\) In the apparently phonologically problematic phrase \([\ldots \text{e} \text{L}'\alpha u'r \ldots \text{e} \text{jr}a' u' \ldots \text{L}'\alpha u'r \ldots]\).
## PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: CONSONANTS

### BUNGABHLA F 43  EOGHANACHT F 73

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(CONSONANT SUBSTITUTION IN CONSONANT CLUSTERS) 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BUNGABHLA F 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>([kN &gt; kr]) cnoc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>([kN] \ xN) cnaipe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>([gN &gt; gr]) (de)ghnáth/gnách gnáthdhuine gnúsacht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>([mN &gt; mr]) mná ((gen./nom.pl.))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>([wr &gt; mr]) samhradh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>([v^\prime r^\prime &gt; m^\prime r^\prime]) geimhreadh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>([rf &gt; rs]) tuirseach fairsing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>([f^k &gt; sk]) scian scéal sciobtha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>([ft &gt; st]) isteach</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables.
2 Prompted by husband.
3 Informant produced \([m^\prime i:Nu:x]\) (= méanfach).

---

Séamas Ó Direáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( k^oN \sim (\ldots \omega N) \times N )</td>
<td>( k^oN \sim (\omega\tilde{g}) \times N )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( kN )</td>
<td>( kN )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( (d'\varepsilon) \gamma N \ [x^2] \sim gn )</td>
<td>( g^\circ N )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( g^\circ N \ [x^2] ) (^1)</td>
<td>( g^\circ N )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( g^\circ N )</td>
<td>( g^\circ r \ (g^\circ r:\text{u:s\text{a}xt}) )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( mN \ [x^2] \sim mn )</td>
<td>( mN \ [x^2] \sim mn )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \tilde{a}^\text{u:a} \ (s\tilde{a}^\text{u:a}\omega) )</td>
<td>( \tilde{a}^\text{u:r} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( i:\text{m'r'} \ [x^2] )</td>
<td>( i:\text{v'r'} \ [x^2] )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( rs )</td>
<td>( rs )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( rf )</td>
<td>( rf )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( f\tilde{k'} \sim sk' )</td>
<td>( f\tilde{k'} \sim sk' )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( f\tilde{k'} )</td>
<td>( f\tilde{k'} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( f\tilde{t'} \ [x^3] )</td>
<td>( f\tilde{t'} \sim st' )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) \([g^\circ N:\text{x}d\text{m'\i}]\) (sic).
**PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: CONSONANTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSONANT SUBSTITUTION IN CONSONANT CLUSTERS</th>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[kN &gt; kr]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cnoc</td>
<td></td>
<td>kn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cnaipe</td>
<td></td>
<td>kn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[gN &gt; gr]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(de)ghnáth/gnách</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gnáthdhúinna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gnúsacht</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[mN &gt; mr]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mnú (gen./nom.pl.)</td>
<td>mN</td>
<td>mN ∼ mn [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[wr &gt; mr]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samhradh</td>
<td></td>
<td>a°r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[v′r′ &gt; m′r′]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geimhreadh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[rf &gt; rs]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>tuirseach</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>fairensing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[fS &gt; sk′]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scian</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scéal</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sciobtha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ft &gt; st′]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isteach</td>
<td>ft′ ∼ st′ [x2]</td>
<td>ft′ [x2] ∼ st′</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables.

2 Note the interrogative form [m Nα:x . . . ] (= Ar ghnách . . . ?).
**Consonant Substitution in Consonant Clusters**

**INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eochaill M 68</th>
<th>Cill Rónáin M 50</th>
<th>Cill Einne F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$xN$ (…ә $xNa'k'$)</td>
<td>$xN$ (…ә $xNuk$)</td>
<td>$kn \sim xN$ (^1) \sim xr (^2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$kr$</td>
<td>$kr$</td>
<td>$kn$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$g^2N$</td>
<td>$\eta N$ (ә $\eta Na:yiN'e$)</td>
<td>$g^2N$ (ә $g^2Na:a:r$) (^3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$gN$</td>
<td>$gN$</td>
<td>$g^2N$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$mN$ [x4]</td>
<td>$mN$ [x2] \sim $m^2N$</td>
<td>$mN$ [x4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$a'vr$</td>
<td>$a:vr$</td>
<td>$a:vr \sim a'vr$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i:v'r' \sim i:r'</td>
<td>$i:v'r'$ [x2]</td>
<td>$i:v'r'$ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rs</td>
<td>rs</td>
<td>rs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rf</td>
<td>rf</td>
<td>rf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$fk'$ [x2]</td>
<td>$fk'$ [x2]</td>
<td>$fk' \sim sk'$ [x3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$fk'$ (fk'i-a-L)</td>
<td>$fk'$</td>
<td>$fk' \sim sk'$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ft' \sim st' [x2]</td>
<td>$ft'$ [x2] \sim st'</td>
<td>$st' \sim stf$ [x2]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) In the phrase [ә $Na:r$ ә $xNuk$] (= ingar do chnoc).

\(^2\) In the phrase [ә $Na:r$ ә $xruk$] (= ingar do chnoc).

\(^3\) Gnáthfhearr.
## Phonological Variables: Consonants

### Inis Meáin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSONANT SUBSTITUTION IN CONSONANT CLUSTERS</th>
<th>M 70</th>
<th>F 60+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[kN &gt; kr]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cnoc</td>
<td>kr \sim xr (g\textsuperscript{\textdagger} xr\textdagger)</td>
<td>kn \textsuperscript{2} \sim xr \textsuperscript{3}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cnaipé</td>
<td>k\textsuperscript{a}N \sim kr \textsuperscript{4}</td>
<td>kr (kr\textsuperscript{a}e\textsuperscript{p}e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[gN &gt; gr]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(de)ghnáth/gnách</td>
<td>gN</td>
<td>gr (gr\textsuperscript{a}y\textsuperscript{n}e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gnáthdhuine</td>
<td>gr</td>
<td>gr [x2] \textsuperscript{5}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[mN &gt; mr]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mná (gen./nom.pl.)</td>
<td>mN [x4] \sim mr [x4]</td>
<td>mr [x3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[wr &gt; mr]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samhradh</td>
<td>a\textsuperscript{u}r</td>
<td>a\textsuperscript{u}r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[v\textsuperscript{r} &gt; m\textsuperscript{r}]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geimhreadh</td>
<td>i\textsuperscript{v}r [x2]</td>
<td>7i\textsuperscript{v}r [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[r\textsuperscript{f} &gt; rs]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuirseach</td>
<td>rs [x2]</td>
<td>rs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fairsing</td>
<td>r\textsuperscript{f}</td>
<td>r\textsuperscript{f} [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[f\textsuperscript{k} &gt; sk\textsuperscript{r}]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scian</td>
<td>f\textsuperscript{k} \sim sk\textsuperscript{r} [x3]</td>
<td>sk\textsuperscript{r} [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scéol</td>
<td>sk\textsuperscript{r}</td>
<td>sk\textsuperscript{r}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sciobtha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[f\textsuperscript{t} &gt; st\textsuperscript{r}]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isteach</td>
<td>f\textsuperscript{t} \sim st\textsuperscript{r} [x3] \textsuperscript{6}</td>
<td>st\textsuperscript{r} \sim st\textsuperscript{f} [x2]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{1} Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables.  
\textsuperscript{2} The second segment was apparently corrected in mid-articulation.  
\textsuperscript{3} In the phrase [Nek N xrek\textsuperscript{r}] (= in aice an chnoic).  
\textsuperscript{4} Either variant is acceptable to the informant.  
\textsuperscript{5} After prompting the informant with [gNu:s\textsuperscript{x}xt] and [gru:s\textsuperscript{x}xt].  
\textsuperscript{6} Note the cluster [st\textsuperscript{f}] in the form [is\textsuperscript{t}\textsuperscript{f}t] (= istigh) in I.2.
In the clause [v'ip'x 'a:n 'tors or'm] (= ... Bhíodh an-tuirse orm ...)  

Note the cluster [st'] in the phrase [o fa:st'i:] (= ... a pháistí ...) in I.3.
## PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: CONSONANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AFFRICATION 1</th>
<th>BUNGABHLA F 43</th>
<th>EOGHANACHT F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[t’ &gt; tf] (Word-Initially)\ 2</td>
<td>teach/tí (t’ \ [x10])</td>
<td>teach/tí (t’ \ [x7])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(an) tseachtain (t’)</td>
<td>(an) tseachtain (t’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>teach (t’ \ [x2])</td>
<td>teach (t’ \ [x2])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tinn (t’)</td>
<td>tinn (t’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tuilleadh (t’)</td>
<td>tuilleadh (t’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[t’ &gt; tf] (Word-Medially and Word-Finally)\ 3</td>
<td>caite (t’)</td>
<td>caite (t’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>áit (t’ \ [x4])</td>
<td>áit (t’ \ [x4])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>caint (t’ \ [x2])</td>
<td>caint (t’ \ [x2])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>buailte (pl. \ of \ buaile) (t’)</td>
<td>buailte (pl. \ of \ buaile) (t’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>beirt (t’)</td>
<td>beirt (t’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[rt’ &gt; rft’]</td>
<td>tabhairt (t’)</td>
<td>tabhairt (t’ \ [x2])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>labhairt (La^nrt \ l^rf) 5</td>
<td>labhairt (t’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>düirt (t’ \ [x2]) (\sim (du^rt \ m^re)) 5</td>
<td>düirt (t’ \ [x2]) (\sim (du^rt \ m^re)) 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>beirt (t’)</td>
<td>beirt (t’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[d’ &gt; Ʉ] (Word-Initially)</td>
<td>Dia (d’ \ [x4])</td>
<td>Dia (d’ \ [x2])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(go) dtí (d’)</td>
<td>(go) dtí (d’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>de (d’)</td>
<td>de (d’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>di (d’)</td>
<td>di (d’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d’imigh (d’)</td>
<td>d’imigh (d’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Déanaig! (d’)</td>
<td>Déanaig! (d’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>deas (d’ \ [x2])</td>
<td>deas (d’ \ [x2])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(i) dteach (d’)</td>
<td>(i) dteach (d’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1 Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables. 2 Cf. \(Turl!, \ Téigh!, \) and \(Tabhair!\) under verbs. 3 Cf. the comparative forms of adjectives. 4 But note \(\text{do:rtfùr} (= \text{doirteadh})\) in II.4. 5 Note absence of palatal release.
**INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t'</td>
<td>t'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'</td>
<td>t'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'</td>
<td>t'</td>
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<td>t'</td>
<td>t'</td>
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<td>t'</td>
<td>t'</td>
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<tr>
<td>t'</td>
<td>t'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'</td>
<td>t'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Laúrt l'ef [x2])¹</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'</td>
<td>(durt m'e/ʃʃi ~ du:rtʃe)¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'</td>
<td>t'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'</td>
<td>d'</td>
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<tr>
<td>d'</td>
<td>d'</td>
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<td>d'</td>
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<td>d'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'</td>
<td>d'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Note absence of palatal release.
# Phonological Variables: Consonants

## Affrication

1. Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables.
3. Cf. the comparative forms of adjectives.
4. Note absence of palatal release.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affrication</th>
<th><strong>CORRÚCH M 82</strong></th>
<th><strong>CORRÚCH F 72</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>[t’ &gt; tf]</strong> (Word-Initially)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teach/tí</td>
<td>t’ [x9]</td>
<td>t’ [x11]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(an) tseachtain</td>
<td>t’</td>
<td>t’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teach</td>
<td>t’ [x2]</td>
<td>t’ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tinn</td>
<td>t’</td>
<td>t’ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuilleadh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>[t’ &gt; tf]</strong> (Word-Medially and Word-Finally)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caite</td>
<td>t’</td>
<td>t’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áit</td>
<td>t’</td>
<td>t’ [x6]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caint</td>
<td>t’ [x3]</td>
<td>t’ [x3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buailte (pl. of <em>buaile</em>)</td>
<td>t’</td>
<td>t’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beirt</td>
<td>t’ [x3]</td>
<td>t’ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>[rt’ &gt; rft’]</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tabhairt</td>
<td>t’ [x2]</td>
<td>t’ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labhairt</td>
<td>t’</td>
<td>t’ [x10]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dúirt</td>
<td>t’</td>
<td>t’ [x2]</td>
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<tr>
<td>beirt</td>
<td>t’ [x3]</td>
<td>t’ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>[d’ &gt; ðk]</strong> (Word-Initially)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dia</td>
<td>d’</td>
<td>d’ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(go) dtí</td>
<td></td>
<td>d’ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di</td>
<td>d’ [x2]</td>
<td>d’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d’imigh</td>
<td>d’ [x2]</td>
<td>d’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Déanaígl!</td>
<td>d’ [x2]</td>
<td>d’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deas</td>
<td>d’ [x3]</td>
<td>d’ [x3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) dteach</td>
<td>d’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eochaill M 68</th>
<th>Cill Rónáin M 50</th>
<th>Cill Einne F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t' [x6]</td>
<td>t' [x5] ~ tf [x3]</td>
<td>tf [x10]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'</td>
<td>tf</td>
<td>tf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t' [x2]</td>
<td>tf [x2]</td>
<td>t' ~ tf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'</td>
<td>tf</td>
<td>tf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t' [x2]</td>
<td>t' ~ tf</td>
<td>tf [x2]^2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(La^ separat)</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>tf [x2] ~ tf (tfur't')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La^ separat</td>
<td>t' [x2]</td>
<td>tf [x2] ~ tf (tfur't')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t' [x2]</td>
<td>t' ~ tf</td>
<td>tf [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d' [x6]</td>
<td>d' ~ dh</td>
<td>dh [x6]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>dh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d' [x2]</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>dh [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>dh [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>dh [x2]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Note also the past participle [doírtefh] (= doírte) in II.4. 2 Note also the past impersonal verb form [doírfhur] (= doírteadh) in II.4. 3 Note absence of palatal release. 4 Note also [dhí:v] (= dhíobh) in II.2. 5 ... (ag) déanamh ....
### Phonological Variables: Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AFFRICATION ¹</th>
<th>M 70</th>
<th>F 60+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[t′ &gt; tf] (Word-Initially) ²</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teach/tí</td>
<td>t′ [x7] ∼ tf [x2]</td>
<td>tf [x8]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(an) teachtain</td>
<td>tf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teacht</td>
<td>t′ [x2] ∼ tf</td>
<td>tf [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tinn</td>
<td>tf</td>
<td>tf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuilleadh</td>
<td>t     ∼ tf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| [t′ > tf] (Word-Medially and Word-Finally) ⁴ |      |       |
| caite          | tf    |       |
| áit            | t′ [x3] ∼ tf [x2] | tf [x5] |
| caint          | t′ [x2] | tf [x2] |
| buailte (pl. of buaile) | tf [x2] |       |
| beirt          | t′ [x2] |       |

| [rt′ > rft′] |      |       |
| tabhairt      | t′ [x2] ∼ ft′ | tf ∼ ft′ |
| labhairt      | (La₄rt 1rf)² | (La₄rt 1rf)² |
| dúirt         | ft′ [x2]⁶ | ft′ [x2]⁷ |
| beirt         | t′ [x2] | ft′ |

| [d′ > ðš] (Word-Initially) |      |       |
| Dia            | ðš [x2] | ðš [x7] |
| (go) dtí       |       |       |
| de             |       |       |
| di             | ðš [x2] | ðš |
| d'ímigh        | ðš [x2] | ðš |
| Déannaigí!     | ðš    | ðš |
| deas           | d′ [x2] | ðš [x2] |
| (i) dteach     | d′ [x2] | ðš |

¹ Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables. ² Cf. Tar!, Téigh!, and Tabhair! under verbs. ³ In the phrase [n tfseqtn' tʃoa kætʃu] (= ... an tseachtain seo caite ...).

⁴ Cf. the comparative forms of adjectives. ⁵ Note absence of palatal release. ⁶ The first occurrence is in the form [duʃft' ʃ] (= dúirt sé) and the second in the form [d'fər ft'ə] (= deir sé?). ⁷ Followed by the pronouns [m'e] and [mudš], respectively.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( t' ) ([x9])</td>
<td>( t' \sim tf ) ([x7])</td>
<td>( t' \sim tf ) ([x7])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{[n' fæxtən']} )</td>
<td>( \text{[n' fæxtən']} )</td>
<td>( tf ) ([x2])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( t' ) ([x2])</td>
<td>( t' \sim tf )</td>
<td>( tf ) ([x2])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( t' )</td>
<td>( tf )</td>
<td>( tf )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( t' \sim tf ) ([x3])</td>
<td>( t' \sim tf ) ([x3])</td>
<td>( tf ) ([x3])</td>
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<tr>
<td>( t' ) ([x3])</td>
<td>( t' ) ([x3])</td>
<td>( t' ) ([x2])</td>
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<tr>
<td>( t' )</td>
<td>( tf )</td>
<td>( tf )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( d' \sim ð [x2])</td>
<td>( ð [x2])</td>
<td>( d' \sim ð)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( d' )</td>
<td>( ð)</td>
<td>( z' ) ([z'1])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ð [x3])</td>
<td>( d' \sim ð)</td>
<td>( ð [x2])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ð)</td>
<td>( ð)</td>
<td>( ð [x2])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( d' \sim ð [x2])</td>
<td>( d' \sim ð [x2])</td>
<td>( ð [x3])</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Note the absence of palatal release in the phrase \([\text{á:t d'æ:s]}\) (= ...áit dheas ...) in II.30. 2 In II.30.
**PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: CONSONANTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BUNGABHILA F 43</th>
<th>EOGHANACHT F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AFFRICATION (Cont’d.)¹</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[d’ &gt; ɔ] (Word-Medially and Word-Finally)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bríd</td>
<td>d’ [x2]</td>
<td>d’ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuid</td>
<td>d’ [x11]</td>
<td>d’ [x10]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cairde</td>
<td>d’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ŋf &gt; ntʃ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anseo</td>
<td>ŋf [x5]</td>
<td>ŋf [x3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ansin</td>
<td>ŋf [x3]</td>
<td>ŋf [x4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOCALISATION ¹</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɔv &gt; uː]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarbh</td>
<td>uː</td>
<td>uː</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(In the Impersonal Simple Past)

|            |                  |                 |
| cailleadh  | uː ~ u           | uː ~ u’         |
| doirteadh  | u              | u’ (do:rtfu’)   |
| rugadh (ar ...) |              | u’             |
| fuarthas   | u’ [x3] (for’u’/for’u’/\Når wIr’u’) | u’ (far’u’)    |

CONSONANT SUBSTITUTION AT WORD BOUNDARIES ¹

|            |                  |                 |
| [y > w]    |                  |                 |
| (b) dhaoine | ya: ĭn’ɛ        |                 |
| (beirt) daoine |              |                 |
| [ʊ > j]    |                  |                 |
| (Fág taobh) amuigh é! | ...tiv’ ʊmu’j ɛ | ...ti: ʊmu’ ɛ |

¹ Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables.
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$d' \ [x2]$</td>
<td>$d' \ [x2]$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$d' \ [x3] \sim \delta \ [x5]$</td>
<td>$d' \ [x10]$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\delta \ [x5]$</td>
<td>$\delta \ [x5]$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$n\phi \ [x5]$</td>
<td>$n\phi \ [x5]$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$n\phi \ [x4]$</td>
<td>$n\phi$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$u$</td>
<td>$u$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$u: \ (nær \ f\acute{r}\grave{i}:u:) \sim u \ (f\acute{or}u:/n\acute{a}r \ wi\acute{r}u)$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$o: \ wi\grave{n}e$</td>
<td>$b\acute{e}rt \ wi\acute{n}i$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\ldots ti\acute{v} \ ~^{a}mu \acute{i} \ e$</td>
<td>$\ldots ti\acute{v} \ ~^{a}mu \acute{i} \ e$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: CONSONANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AFFRICATION (Cont’d.)¹</th>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[d’ &gt; dʃ] (Word-Medially and Word-Finally)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bríd</td>
<td>d’ [x6]</td>
<td>d’ [x3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cairde</td>
<td>d’ [x2]</td>
<td>d’ [x2]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| [nʃ > ntʃ] |              |              |
| anseo | nʃ [x4] | nʃ [x4] |
| ansin | nʃ [x4] | nʃ [x4] | nʃ [x3] | ~ n’t’ (n’t’m’) |

| VOCALISATION ¹ |              |              |
| [øv > u:] |              |              |
| tarbh | u ² | u’ |

(In the Impersonal Simple Past)

| cailleadh | u |              |
| doirteadh | u’ (do:rftʃu’) | (rugus) |
| rugadh (ar ...) | u (b’er’u) | u: (Na:r o’r’u:/ for’is) |
| fuarthas | u’ [x2] (f’ir’u’) |              |

| CONSONANT SUBSTITUTION AT WORD BOUNDARIES ¹ |              |              |
| [y > w] |              |              |
| (ó) dhaoine | o: vajm’c |              |
| (beirt) daoine | ya: yim’i [x2] |              |

| [θ > j] |              |              |
| (Fág taobh) amuigh él! | ...ti:v ʰmu₁j e | ...ti:v ʰmu₁ e |

¹ Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables.
² Prompted by F72 with [tarru].
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affrication</th>
<th>Vocalisation</th>
<th>Consonant Substitution at Word Boundaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d’ [x2]</td>
<td>d’ [x2]</td>
<td>d’ ~ &lt;$\delta$&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d’ [x3] ~ &lt;$\delta$&gt; [x9]</td>
<td>&lt;$\delta$&gt; [x4]</td>
<td>&lt;$\delta$&gt; [x11]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nʃ [x8]</td>
<td>nʃ [x2] ~ n’s’ [x3]</td>
<td>n’tʃ (n’tʃo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(n’s’o) ~ n’t’ (n’t’o)</td>
<td>~ n’t’ (n’t’o)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nʃ [x5]</td>
<td>n’tʃ (n’tʃin’)</td>
<td>nʃ ~ n’tʃ [x4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ n’t’ (n’t’in’)</td>
<td>(n’tʃin’)$^1$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u’</td>
<td>oʊv</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>u [x2]</td>
<td>u’ ~ u [x2] $^2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u’</td>
<td></td>
<td>u’ (do:rtʃu’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u: ~ u’</td>
<td>u (fr’i:hu)</td>
<td>u: ~ u’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(fur’u:/n’i:r’ fr’i:u’)</td>
<td>(fr’i:u:/fr’i:u’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b’ert’ yi:n’i</td>
<td></td>
<td>o: wi:n’i:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^1$ Note also the form [n’tʃu:d] (= ansiúd) in II.45, and the phrase [N ac’tʃin’] (= ... an áit sin ...) in II.32.

$^2$ The anomalous forms [ba:su’] and [ba:su] (from the intransitive verb básaiigh) were also elicited.
### Phonological Variables: Consonants

#### Inis Meáin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AFFRICATION (Cont’d.)¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[d’ &gt; ð] (Word-Medially and Word-Finally)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bríd d’ [x2]              d’ ~ ð [x3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuid d’ [x3] ~ ð [x12]    ð [x11] ~ tf²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cairde d’                         ð</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[ŋf &gt; ntʃ]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anseo n’tʃ [x5] (n’tʃe/ntʃə) n’tʃ [x3] (n’tʃə/ m’tʃə/entʃə)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ansin n’tʃ (n’tʃm’) ~ tf   n’tʃ [x2] (n’tʃm’/ ə’tʃm’³) entʃm’⁴</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Vocalisation ¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[øv &gt; u:]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tarbh u:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(In the Impersonal Simple Past)*

<p>| |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cailleadh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doirteadh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rugadh (ar ...)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fuarthas v [x2] (Fr’i:v/ Nax fr’i:v)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Consonant Substitution at Word Boundaries ¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[y &gt; w]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(ó) daoine o: ə:n’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(beirt) daoine b’ert’ wi:n’e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[θ &gt; j]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Fág taobh) amuigh é! ...ti:v ə’mui e ...ə’mui³ e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables. ² In the construction *[fap’iri- getʃ haɛti’]* (= *Faighigí bhur gcuid hatai ...*) in II.3. ³ Cf. also *[tʃud]* and *[tʃu:t]* (= *ansiúd*) in II.32 and in II.45, respectively, and the phrase *[er sko ft’n’i]* (*sic*) (= *...ar an scoil sin*) in I.44. ⁴ Cf. also the phrase *[eg’ an’ skal’ tf’n’i]* (= *...ag an scoil sin*) in I.44.
### INIS OÍRR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M 55</th>
<th></th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th></th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d'</td>
<td>x3</td>
<td></td>
<td>d'</td>
<td>x2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'</td>
<td>x2</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>ð</td>
<td>x6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nf</td>
<td>x2</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>n'tf</td>
<td>x2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>~</td>
<td>n't'</td>
<td>x3</td>
<td>(n't'o)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tf</td>
<td>(ðtfin')&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>n't'</td>
<td>x3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ð'tim'/on't'im')</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp;</td>
<td>x2</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>øv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>øv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>u'</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(rugas)</td>
<td>(rugas)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>x2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(o:</td>
<td>wi'n't'or' ... )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o:</td>
<td>No du'n'i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>...ti:v ø'mə ɛ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>...ti:v 'mo ɛ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>1</sup> In the phrase [ha:l ø'tfin'] (= ... thall ansin).
<sup>2</sup> Cf. also the phrase [g' skal tf'in'] (= ... ag an scoil sin) in I.44.
<sup>3</sup> In the phrase [ha:l ø'tfin'] (= ... thall ansin).
### Phonological Variables: Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[ŋ &gt; N]</th>
<th>Bungabhla F 43</th>
<th>Eoghanacht F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) ngar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(go) ngabhfaidh ...</td>
<td>ŋ′ (gə ŋ′eu)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(go) gnóthóidh ...</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ar an) ngaineamh</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[ŋ′ > N]′

| (sa) gheimhreadh | ŋ′ [x2] | ŋ′ [x2] |

#### Glides and Re-syllabification

| gabhar | ga″r | ə ya″wər (sic) |
| gabhair | ga″wər′ | əwən′ |
| (an) ghrían | əN jr″PN | əŋ′ g′r′i:əN |
| (mo) dheartháir | mi jr″əhr′ ~ | mi jr″əhr′ ~ |
| | mo jr″ər′ | əmi jr″ər′ |
| (mo) dheirfiúr | mi jr″ər′ | mi jr″əfər |
| (a) dheirfiúr | i jr″awər′ (sic) | i: jr″awər |

1 Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant Substitution at Word Boundaries; Glides and Re-syllabification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>η</td>
<td>η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>η</td>
<td>η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N (gə Nuŋ)</td>
<td>η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>η</td>
<td>η</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( N' \sim g' \) (sa \( g'\hat{m}r'e \))  \( \eta' [x^2] \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ga'ur</th>
<th>gAwa'ur</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gawn'</td>
<td>gAwa'n'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i jr'iN</td>
<td>j'r'N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi jr'ao' ( \sim )</td>
<td>məi jr'a'r' ( \sim )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>məi jr'ar'</td>
<td>mi jr'a'r'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi jr'aawər</td>
<td>mi jr'Aawər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i: jr'awər</td>
<td>i jr'awər</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: CONSONANTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSONANT SUBSTITUTION AT WORD BOUNDARIES (Cont’d.)</th>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ŋ &gt; N]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) ngar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(go) ngabhfaidh . . .</td>
<td>N (&quot;No&quot;)</td>
<td>N (No ɡa Na&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(go) ngnóthóidh . . .</td>
<td>ŋ ~ N (Na'x No:) ŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ar an) ngaineamh</td>
<td>N (er ø Næ:n') ŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ŋ’ &gt; N’]</td>
<td>ŋ’ [x2]</td>
<td>ŋ’ [x2]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**GLIDES AND RE-SYLLABIFICATION**

| gabhar     | ɡa:wɔːr   | ɡa:ɔr   |
| gabhair    | ɡa:war’   | ɡawar’ |
| (an) ghrian | ɔN’ jɾ’ːN | ɔN jɾ’ːN |
| (mo) dheartháir | mɔː jɾ’ːr’ ~ mɔː jɾ’ːr’ ~ | mɔː jɾ’ːr’ |
| (mo) dheirfiúr | mɔː jɾ’ːwɔːr | mɔː jɾ’ːur |
| (a) dheirfiúr | (dɔ jɾ’aːwar) | i jɾ’aːr |

---

1 Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eochaill M 68</th>
<th>Cill Rónáin M 50</th>
<th>Cill Éinne F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ŋ</strong></td>
<td><strong>ŋ</strong></td>
<td><strong>ŋ</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ŋ [x3] (go ŋa:tu/ go ŋa:tu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ' [x2]</td>
<td>ŋ'</td>
<td>ŋ' [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gawur</td>
<td>ga:mr (sic)</td>
<td>ga:r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga:wr̂'</td>
<td>gawr̂</td>
<td>ga:mr̂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i:j'r:o:n</td>
<td>i:j'r:i:o:n</td>
<td>i:j'r:o:n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m: o:j'r:'</td>
<td>m: o:j'r:ar'</td>
<td>m: o:j'r:ar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m:i: j:r:ar'</td>
<td>m:i: j:r:ar'</td>
<td>m:i: j:r:ar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m: o:j'r:ar'</td>
<td>m: o:j'r:ar'</td>
<td>m: o:j'r:ar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m: o:j'r:ar'</td>
<td>m: o:j'r:ar'</td>
<td>m: o:j'r:ar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i:j'r:a:ŵr̂'</td>
<td>i:j'r:a:ŵr̂'</td>
<td>m: o:j'r:ar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b:wi: j:r:A:ŵr̂'</td>
<td>m: o:j'r:ar'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i:j'r:a:ŵr̂'</td>
<td>i:j'r:a:ŵr̂'</td>
<td>m: o:j'r:ar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Séamas Ó Direáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co. Galway**
### PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: CONSONANTS

**INIS MEÁIN**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>M 70</strong></th>
<th><strong>F 60+</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>CONSONANT SUBSTITUTION AT WORD BOUNDARIES (Cont’d.)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>[ŋ &gt; N]</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) ngar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(go) ngabhfaidh . . .</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(go) ng nóthóidh . . .</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ar an) ngaineamh</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ŋ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>[ŋ’ &gt; N’]</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sa) gheimhreadh</td>
<td>ŋ’ [x2]</td>
<td>ŋ’ [x2]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### GLIDES AND RE-SYLLABIFICATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Syll.</th>
<th>Syll.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gabhar</td>
<td>ga&quot;r</td>
<td>ga&quot;r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gabháir</td>
<td>gaw'ar'</td>
<td>gaw'ar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(an) ghrian</td>
<td>mi' jr'ar' ~</td>
<td>məi' jr'əhər' ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(mo) dhearthaír</td>
<td>mi' jr'ar'</td>
<td>məo jr'ər' ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(mo) deirfiúr</td>
<td>mi' jr'ehur'h</td>
<td>məi' rəwər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) deirfiúr</td>
<td>i jr'A'ər</td>
<td>(ən' d'r'A'ər)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1 Data from Parts I and II are conflated in these tables.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INIS OÍRR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>η [r2]</td>
<td>η</td>
<td>η</td>
<td>η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>η' [r2]</td>
<td>η' ~ j</td>
<td>η' ~ j</td>
<td>η' ~ j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga\textsuperscript{u}r ~ ga\textsuperscript{u}r\textsuperscript{h}</td>
<td>ga\textsuperscript{u}r\textsuperscript{h}</td>
<td>ga\textsuperscript{u}r' (sic)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga\textsuperscript{w}r'</td>
<td>ga\textsuperscript{w}r'</td>
<td>ga\textsuperscript{u}r'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'n jr'i\textsuperscript{a}n</td>
<td>i jr'i\textsuperscript{a}n</td>
<td>ən yr'i\textsuperscript{a}n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mə jr'æ:r' ~ mi jr'æ:r' ~</td>
<td>mə 'r'æ:r' ~</td>
<td>mə 'r'æ:r' ~</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi jr'æ:r'</td>
<td>mi: 'r'æ:r'</td>
<td>m 'r'æ:r'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi\textsuperscript{r} jr'a\textsuperscript{u}r \textsuperscript{h}</td>
<td>mi\textsuperscript{r} a\textsuperscript{u}r</td>
<td>mə r'a\textsuperscript{u}r'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə yr'a\textsuperscript{u}r</td>
<td>ə L'a\textsuperscript{u}r ... ə jra\textsuperscript{u}</td>
<td>ə r'a\textsuperscript{u} ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>... ə L'a\textsuperscript{u}r</td>
<td>ε: r'a\textsuperscript{u}r\textsuperscript{h}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Phonological Variables: Consonants

Séamas Ó Direáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
Part VII

Grammatical Variables
## Grammatical Variables

### BUNGABHLA F 43

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB FORMS</th>
<th>EOGHANACHT F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>tar</strong></td>
<td><strong>t'ær</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tar!</td>
<td><strong>gəlʼ (nəo)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tagaig!</td>
<td><strong>gəl'gəi: (nəo)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tagann</td>
<td><strong>t'ærn (məl')</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>t'ærən [N] (Nə kal'ir'ni')</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>~ t'ærə (kəd'e...)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(má) thagann</td>
<td>(ma) hərən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sula) dtagann</td>
<td>(səLə) dærən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag) teacht</td>
<td><strong>t'ærəxt [x2] (gə fəl't')</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>~ (əq') t'ærəxt</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tagtha</td>
<td><strong>t'ærək</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Forms formed on the phrase “Gabh i leith!”.
2 Cf. II.2.
3 “[gə fo'əL'] de réir na leabhar; [fəs] a déir (sic) siad.”
4 Cf. [ə hi'əxt] in a non-finite verb compliment in II.62.
**INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gə (Nuː L u'ʃə)</td>
<td>gəl'1 (u'ʃə)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tagiːʃə2 (Nuː L u'ʃə)</td>
<td>tariː (…'liː u'ʃə)3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tagamN' ~ tagamN'</td>
<td>tagam'w id'...tagam'w id'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ taːgN</td>
<td>~ tagN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(maː) haːgN</td>
<td>(ma) 'agN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(saːL ma) hagəN ~ (hoL) d'oko (fiːtsaːN)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ə) t'irəxt ~ (ə) t'irəxt</td>
<td>(eg') t'irəxt ~ (ə) t'irəxt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 “Gabh i leith anseo!”
2 “Tagaːʃə ...”, with the emphatic particle -se.
3 “Tarai i leith anseo!”

---

SÉAMAS Ó DIREÁIN—A SURVEY OF SPOKEN IRISH IN THE ARAN ISLANDS, Co.GALWAY
## GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

### CORRÚCH M 82   CORRÚCH F 72

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB FORMS</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>tar</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tar!</td>
<td>ta'r (n'ja)</td>
<td>tar (n'ja)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tagaig!</td>
<td>ta[r][ŋ]</td>
<td>targ'[ŋ] (n'ja)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tagann</td>
<td>tagam'^N ~</td>
<td>tagam'^N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'ægøn</td>
<td>~ tagN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(má) thagann</td>
<td>(ma) a:gn</td>
<td>(ma) ha:gn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sula) dtagann</td>
<td>(so:r) ha:gn (fe:dsan)</td>
<td>(so:L mar) ha:oN (fe:dsan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag) teacht</td>
<td>^t'i:xt [x2]</td>
<td>(a) t'æxt ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ (l'e ...l'e·) hæxt</td>
<td>(t'h fed a) t'æxt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ (a) t'æ:xt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Séamas Ó Direáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eochall M 68</th>
<th>Cill Rónáin M 50</th>
<th>Cill Éinne F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tar (ˈn̪ˠʃa) [x2] ~ tar (n̪ˠʃ’a) ~ tarə (…NaL a’m)</td>
<td>~ gəl’i (n̪ˠʃ’a) ~ gəl’ə [x2]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təgɪ: ~ təgɪ</td>
<td>təgɪ: (n̪ˠʃ’a)</td>
<td>təgɪ’i: (NaL a’m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təgN, t’əgN</td>
<td>təgəN’</td>
<td>təgəN (məc)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(muʃ) ~ t’əgN</td>
<td>~ təgəN</td>
<td>~ təgN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(muː) həgN</td>
<td>(muː) həgN (tu)</td>
<td>(muː) həgə (tu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(hʊə) həgN ~ (sʊL) daqN (t’ɪːdsN)²</td>
<td>(sʊL ma) hağəs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a’t’əxt ~ a’tfəext ~ a’tfəext</td>
<td>(eɡ’) t’əext</td>
<td>(o) t’fəext</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təkɪ: ~ təkɪ’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ “Gabh i leith!”
² Cf. I.10, [sʊLəhər dom’iɡ’ fɛ] (= “sular tháinig sɛ”).

Séamas Ó Direáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
## Grammatical Variables

**Irregular Verb Forms**

### Grammatical Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Forms</th>
<th>M 70</th>
<th>F 60+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>tar</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tar!</td>
<td>goL’i ~ gwoL’e [x2]</td>
<td>tar (n’tfø) ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ gwo (gL’e)</td>
<td>~ goL’e (n’tfø)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tagaig</strong></td>
<td>goL’i:1 ~ tagi: (n’tfø)</td>
<td>tagi (n’tfø) [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ taggag’ir ~ goL’ig’i:</td>
<td>~ goL’i:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tagann</strong></td>
<td>tfokə (muø)</td>
<td>tfokə (muø)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tagaN</td>
<td>~ t’ægN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(má) thagann</td>
<td>(ma) hagN</td>
<td>(ma) hægN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sula) dtagann</td>
<td>(sar) hukə (fi’tsN)</td>
<td>(ro’psaN ~ ro’psaN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(soL mar a) x’okas (fi’tsN)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag) teacht</td>
<td>(ə) t’aext [x2] ~ tʃæxt</td>
<td>(ə) tʃæxt ~ tʃæxt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(hə:n’ig’)</td>
<td>(hə:n’ig’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Forms based on the phrase “Gabh i leith!”
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>M 55</strong></th>
<th><strong>F 41</strong></th>
<th><strong>F 18</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t’er’ (uːfə)</td>
<td>go (ft’æx uːfə)</td>
<td>go (Ng: L uːfə)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ go (Ng: L m’fə)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ tar’ ~ tar’ (’ft’æx)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tfer’ (uːfə)</td>
<td>tori; (ft’æx n’fə)</td>
<td>tagi; ~ tagg’iː</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ tʃær’ɪg’iː (uːfə)</td>
<td>~ tagg’iː; (’Ng: L n’fə)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t’ægN (muːg)</td>
<td>t’ægomuŋ ~</td>
<td>tagN (muːg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ (hæn’ɪɡ’ )</td>
<td>t’ægɜN (muːɡɛ) ~</td>
<td>~ tæɡɲ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tʃæɡN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(mə) hæɡN</td>
<td>(mə) hæɡN</td>
<td>(mə) ‘hæɡɲ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(rɪv’ ə) hæɡɲ</td>
<td>(rɪv’ ə) hæɡɜN</td>
<td>(rɪv’ ə) dæɡN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a’tiːɔxt ~ (ə) t’æɛxt</td>
<td>(ə) t’iːɔxt ~ tʃliːɔxt</td>
<td>(ə) tʃæxt ~ tʃæxt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a’tiːɔx</td>
<td>(hæn’ɪɡ’)</td>
<td>ta’kiː</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Cf. II.3
**GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB FORMS</th>
<th>BUNGABHLA F 43</th>
<th>EOGHANACHT F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>téigh</td>
<td>t'ɛr'ɪ (wælɪ)</td>
<td>go (wælɪ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>téig!</td>
<td>(N²) t'ɛr'ɪ' (wælmax) [pl.]</td>
<td>(N) t'ɛr'ɪ: (wælmax)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ (Nₐ) m'ɪg'ɪ (lɪv')</td>
<td>~ (Nₐ) hɪm'ɪg'ɪ (lɪv')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ m'ɪg'ɪ (lɪv')</td>
<td>~ m'ɪg'ɪ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rachaidh</td>
<td>go (mId)</td>
<td>t'ʊ... go (mId)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(go) rachaidh</td>
<td>(go) ɻɛu (tu)</td>
<td>(kɑːd') m'ɒ: (tu')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) chuaigh</td>
<td>xu² ~ xo²</td>
<td>xu² [x2] ~ xo ~ xo¹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Cf. I.19 .
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TÉIGH 581</th>
<th>INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</strong></td>
<td><strong>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’ar’o (wæ:l’e)</td>
<td>t’er’e (wæ:l’e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Na:) t’e:i’i: (’ma:x)</td>
<td>(Na:) geq’i: (ma:x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∼ (Na) hm’i’r’i: ∼ t’e:i’r’i [pl.]</td>
<td>∼ im’i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∼ g’i:æd (l’æ:t) [pl.]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga’u (mød’i)</td>
<td>t’u... go’ (mdd’i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k’eN æ:d ø) go: (tu:)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ø) xu’ (tu) ∼ (ø) xo’ (tu) ∼ ho [x2]</td>
<td>axo (tu) ∼ axo (tu) ∼ xo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Grammatical Variables: Irregular Verb Forms

#### Verb Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Corrúch M 82</th>
<th>Corrúch F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>téigh</td>
<td>t’eːl (‘wæl’i)</td>
<td>go (wæl’i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>téig!</td>
<td>(nɔː) gɔɡ’iː (məx)</td>
<td>(nɔː) gɔ (məx)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rachaidh</td>
<td>ɡaː (mɛɪN’i)</td>
<td>ɡo (mɛɪN’i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(go) rachaidh</td>
<td>nɔː (sic)</td>
<td>(No go) Naː (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) chuainigh</td>
<td>ɔ xa (tur) ~</td>
<td>(a) xa (tur) ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a) ha (tur) [r2]</td>
<td>(a) xa[r] (tur)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ xa (fe)</td>
<td>~ xa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*Séamas Ó Díreáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway*
# INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EOCAILL M 68</th>
<th>CILL RÓNÁIN M 50</th>
<th>CILL ÉINNE F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t’ór’e</td>
<td>tʃer’</td>
<td>tʃo’r’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Na:) t’o’g’iː (max) ~ (Na) tʃo’r’ (‘mæx)</td>
<td>(Na) tʃo’r’ (max)</td>
<td>(Na) tʃo’r’ (max)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’im:ːː (Ib’)</td>
<td>tʃiː (Ib’) [pl.] ~</td>
<td>tʃiː (Ib’) [pl.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’aːg’iː (ə b’æːlə)</td>
<td>(Na) im’iː ~ im’iː</td>
<td>~ im’iː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaː (moːgiatan)</td>
<td>gaː (miN’)</td>
<td>gaː (moːgiatan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ga) naː</td>
<td>(ga) ːuoː</td>
<td>(nu ga) ːuN (tu) ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xuː ~ xoː ¹ ~ hɔː ~ xoː</td>
<td>xuː ~ xoː ~ xo</td>
<td>xɔ (moːd’) ~ xo (moːd’) ~ xo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Cf. I.19, [(n’) t’æxtm’ foː ɣɔ (= a ghabh?) harr’ (sic)].
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB FORMS</th>
<th>INIS MEÁIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>téigh</td>
<td>t'e:r' (a'wa:l'ě)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>téig!</td>
<td>(Na) t'eg'íː ː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Na) kәr (i'ɾ'i:j]) [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ faN (i's'ti)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rachaidh</td>
<td>b'eː moːd' i do jiː ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(go) rachaidh</td>
<td>kә:ʤ) 'm'o (tu: ...)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ (ga) ɲuː (tu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) chuaigh</td>
<td>xo ~ xuː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(k'ë hi) d'ẽN (tu)¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(k'ë fә Nax) d'ẽN (tu)²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ “Cén chaoi a dtéann tú ...?”
² “Cén fáth nach dtéann tú ... ?”
## INIS ÓIRR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t’er’ (ə’wa:l’ɛ)</td>
<td>t’er’ (ə’wa:l’ɛ)</td>
<td>ɡo (va:l’ɛ)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Na) t’er’ [pl.!]</td>
<td>(Na) t’er’</td>
<td>(Na) ɡoɡ’ir’ (max)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ t’oɡ’ir’</td>
<td>~ (Na) kor (ʰmax)</td>
<td>~ ɡuɡ’ir’ [x3] (max)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b’e; m’fe [x2] ...</td>
<td>ga⁵两个人 (muθi)</td>
<td>ga⁵ (muθi) ~</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə goɡ’ ə’wa:l’ɛ</td>
<td>(ax a) Na⁵u (sic) (muθi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>(go) ɡa⁵</td>
<td>(go ɡi;:) ɡa⁵s (u’)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) xo [x3] (tu ha:rtu)</td>
<td>xo (tu ha:tʃ er’...)</td>
<td>(a) xo ~ xo ~ (a) x⁶</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ xo ~ xu’duar²¹</td>
<td>~ ...xo (tu ha:ra) ~ xo (tu ha:ra) ~ xo³</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(tu ha:r’ [x2]) ~ xo²</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Cf. II.8
2 Cf. also [kn aːt’ ə xo m buæxxɔl’] (“Cén áit a chuaigh an buachaill . . .?”), II.60.
3 Cf. also [ku’dʒa:n ə buxil’ (“Cá dtéann an buachaill . . .?”), II.60.
## Grammatical Variables: Irregular Verb Forms

### Verb Forms

| faigh | faig! | fa: (‘gyd’ ka:j p‘i:n‘i:) | fa:|’i: |
| faigheann | fa:xn | fa:xN |
| (ní) fhaigheann | (n‘ij) α:xN (fesN) | (N‘i:) α:xN (fosaN) |
| (an) bhfaighidh ...? | (nN‘e:) 2 | (nN‘e:) 2 |
| (ní) bhfaighidh | (n‘i:) jα | (N‘i:) wa |
| (ní) bhfaighfeá | (N‘i:) wa tu | (n‘i:) wa tu |
| (dá) bhfaighinn | (a) jo:x m‘ifs | (mα: ...?a) wa:nfo |
| fuair | fur (fιd) |
| fuarthas | for‘u: ~ for‘u:3 | far‘u: |
| (nach) bhfuarthas | (Na:r) wι‘u: | (nα r uwr‘ fιd) |
| gheofar | ja:xfar | (b‘e: fe l’e kο:ɔ d‘e:)4 |
| (ag) fái | fa:l | αfα:l |
| (a) fháil | (a) ?α:l [x2] | α:l |

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>An Sruthán F 70</th>
<th>Fearann An Choirce M 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t’ur (l’act) ... togi’ (l’ib’)</td>
<td>fav’ir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa’N</td>
<td>fa’N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N’ir) ?a’?N (føaN)</td>
<td>(a’ n’irj) or’N (føaN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) wai</td>
<td>wai (tu an p’enfon)2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N’ir) ja’u</td>
<td>(u’ir) wai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n’i:) jawa:</td>
<td>(n’i:) wia: (en’ p’enfon)2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>([y]ar’) wa’nfe</td>
<td>(t’ar’) wa’nfo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for’ (fi’d)</td>
<td>for’ (fad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v’i: ñ ta:ru’) fa:ti3</td>
<td>far’u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(na’r) fr’i:u:</td>
<td>(na’r) wri’u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>je:’or [x2]</td>
<td>(b’e1 je l’e fa:l’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) fa:l’</td>
<td>2fa:l’t’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(o) a:l’ [x2]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 “ach ...”
2 “... aon phinsean”
3 “Bhí an tarbh fáite.”

Séamas Ó Direáin— A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
<table>
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<th>GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES</th>
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<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
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<tr>
<td>VERB FORMS</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>faigh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faigfi</td>
<td>fa:i'g:i:</td>
<td>fa:i'g:i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faigheann</td>
<td>fo:aN</td>
<td>f'ar:n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ní) fhaigheann</td>
<td>(N'i:) wa:aN (sa:saN)</td>
<td>(N'i:) a:N (sa:aN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(an) bhfaighidh ...?</td>
<td>(a) wa:jæsa1</td>
<td>(a) wa1 (tu')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ní) bhfaighidh</td>
<td>(N'i:) wa:d2</td>
<td>(N'i:) wai [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ní) bhfaighfeá</td>
<td>(n'i:) wa:jæ: (sic)</td>
<td>(N'i:) wa1je (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(dá) bhfaighinn</td>
<td>(a) wa1N' ~</td>
<td>(da:) wa1N'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a) wa1haN'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fuair</td>
<td>fo:r  ~ for:r (fed)</td>
<td>for' (fed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fuarthus</td>
<td>f'or'u' [x2]</td>
<td>for'is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nach) bhfauirhas</td>
<td>(Nax) wIP'O:</td>
<td>(nax:) o:r'u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gheofar</td>
<td>fa:lfor</td>
<td>wa1far</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag) fáil</td>
<td>(a) fo:l'</td>
<td>fo:l'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) fháil</td>
<td>a:l'</td>
<td>a:l'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 “An bhfaighfeása ...?”
2 “Ní bhfaighead.”
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EOCHAILL M 68</th>
<th>CILL RÓNÁIN M 50</th>
<th>CILL ÉINNE F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fœgfíː</td>
<td>fœgfíː</td>
<td>fœgfíː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fœːN (fiːe)</td>
<td>fœːu (fiːi)</td>
<td>fœːːN (fiːe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n’iː) aː n’ː (ʃʊəN) [2]</td>
<td>(n’iː) aːŋ’ː (ʃʊN)</td>
<td>(n’iː) aːːN (ʃʊəN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wɒl ː ~ ːwɒl ː</td>
<td>N’eːu ː¹</td>
<td>ːN’eːu ː¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n’iː) wɒl ː</td>
<td>(n’iː) jaːu</td>
<td>(n’iː) jaːu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n’iː) wɒljaː</td>
<td>(ɡə) wiːhɑːr</td>
<td>(n’iː) jɔ̆ːwɑː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(dɑː) wɒnʃo</td>
<td>(dɑː) N’aːwːnʃ</td>
<td>(dɑː) N’aːx m’eːr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>furː (fed) [x2]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>furːuː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n’iːrː) fr’ːuːrː³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jɔːfɔːr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faːl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɑːl’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1 Non-standard “An gheobhaidh ...?”.  
2 Non-standard “Dá n’gheobhainnse ...”.  
3 ‘Perhaps ‘Níor fríothadh’.”
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>VERB FORMS</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faigh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faigí!</td>
<td>faíg′i~fóg′i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faigheann</td>
<td>ja”(fí’:[sic])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ja”(fí:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ní) fhaigheann</td>
<td>(níi:) wi: (sasaN) [x4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(an) bhfaighidh ...?</td>
<td>wi (tása)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ní) bhfaighidh</td>
<td>(níi:) wi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ní) bhfaighfeá</td>
<td>(níi:) wí:a:~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(níi:) wí:a:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(dá) bhfaighinn</td>
<td>(á:) wí:nfi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fuair</td>
<td>fur′:oder′ (bas:s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fuarthas</td>
<td>fr′:iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nach) bhfuarthas</td>
<td>(nas) fr′:iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gheofar</td>
<td>jofar’h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag) fáil</td>
<td>(a) fál’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) fháil</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Apparently the emphatic form of the past subjunctive; cf. *GCF*, p.112.
**INIS OÍRR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>faː [pl.]</td>
<td>faːɡ'ɪː</td>
<td>faːɡ'ɪː (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faː'N</td>
<td>faː'= (ʃɪr)</td>
<td>faː' (tʃəN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n'íː) ja²N¹</td>
<td>(n'íː) ə'n' (ʃəN)</td>
<td>(n'íː) ʃən' (tʃəm')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>³waː</td>
<td>³yoː²</td>
<td>Naː (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n'íː) ya⁴</td>
<td>(n'íː) ya⁴</td>
<td>(n'íː) ya⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n'íː) N'áu³ tu</td>
<td>(n'íː) ya³x tu</td>
<td>(n'íː) wiːjaː (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>³waː:ni</td>
<td>(da) waː'mfe</td>
<td>(da) vai'⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tə fəd bəisiː)</td>
<td>(kæ:l'u ɾ⁴d)</td>
<td>fur' (ʃəd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v'íː n də) fa:t'ɛ⁴</td>
<td>f'ɪv (sic)</td>
<td>(v'íː n təʃɛv) fa:t'ɛ [x²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(naːr) f'ɪv ~</td>
<td>(nər) vuːr' (ʃəd) [x²]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Nər'v') ... uːɾ'odəɾ'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga²n' (ʃəd)</td>
<td>ja³far</td>
<td>(b'ɛːd'ur' gə) wiː (ʃəd ...)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ə) faːl' (sic)</td>
<td>'fuːl'</td>
<td>(ɛ) faːl'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Non-standard “Ní gheobhann”.
2 Non-standard “An ngabhfaidh ...?”
3 “Ní n-gheobhadh” ??
4 “Bhí an damh faite.”
### Grammatical Variables

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Eoghanacht F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tabhair</strong></td>
<td>t’ūr’ ∼ t’ūr’ ′</td>
<td>t’ūr’ ∼ t’ūr’ ′ (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ná’) t’ūr’ ′</td>
<td>(Ná’) t’ūr’ ′ (l’aet)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tugaig!</strong></td>
<td>t’ūr’ ′ a (yam ...) [sg.]</td>
<td>taran’s (fa gud’ eidi)(^1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tugann</strong></td>
<td>tukia (fid)</td>
<td>t’ūr’aN (fi’d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tabharfaidh</strong></td>
<td>t’ūr’</td>
<td>t’ūr’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ní) Tabharfaidh</td>
<td>(Ní’) x’ūr’</td>
<td>(Ní’) x’ūr’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(Ar) Thug . . . ?</strong></td>
<td>(Ar) hug</td>
<td>(’r) ug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(A) Thug . . .</strong></td>
<td>(a) hug</td>
<td>(’fe:) hug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(Ag) Tabhairt</strong></td>
<td>t’ūr’t′</td>
<td>t’ūr’t′</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(A) Tabhairt</strong></td>
<td>(ad a) x’ūr’t′(^2)</td>
<td>(ad a) x’ūr’t′(^2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^1\) “Tugaigí dom bhur gcuid éadaí!”

\(^2\) “. . . iad a tabhairt . . .”
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t’ur’~ t’ur (scí)¹ ~ tʊr’</td>
<td>t’ur’ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’ur (dam) ... tu’giː (γам)</td>
<td>t’ur (du:N’ da gud’ e:dir) (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tugN (fjíd)</td>
<td>tugN’ (fød) ~ tugN (fød)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N’ir) x’ur’a</td>
<td>(N’ir) x’ur’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ør) hɔg</td>
<td>hɔg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) hɔg</td>
<td>ʰg(ʊ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰt’ur’t’</td>
<td>t’ur’t’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iːd ø) x’ur’t’</td>
<td>(ed to) x’ur’t’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ "Tabhair soir . . .!" (Cf. I.17.)
**GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB FORMS</th>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>tabhair</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tabhair!</td>
<td>t’ur’ ~ t’ur’ (~ t’ur’)</td>
<td>t’ur’ ~ t’ur’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tugaig!</td>
<td>t’ur’ [x2] [pl.]</td>
<td>togi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tugann</td>
<td>tugan (fíd) [x3]</td>
<td>togN ~ t’urN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tabharfaidh</td>
<td>t’ur’o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n) thabharfaidh</td>
<td>(N’i) x’ur’o</td>
<td>(N’i) x’ur’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ar) thug . . .</td>
<td>(or) hug ~ (or) ogh</td>
<td>hug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) thug . . .</td>
<td>ogh</td>
<td>hug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag) tabhairt</td>
<td>t’urrt’</td>
<td>t’urrt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) thabhairt</td>
<td>(sd a) x’o’rt’</td>
<td>(st a) x’ur’t’</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1 “Tabhair siar . . .!”
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Cill Rónáin M 50</th>
<th>Cill Éinne F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>túráı̈ ~ turaı̈ [x2]</td>
<td>tfúráı̈ ~ fur'</td>
<td>tfúráı̈ ~ fur'~ tür'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'úr'n1 ~ túghí</td>
<td>tfúr (γN' n'e'dax)²</td>
<td>tfúr (γN' a ga' e'dír)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuggí (fóed)</td>
<td>tuggíd</td>
<td>tugN (fóed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'úrri (fí'/d)</td>
<td>tfúrř</td>
<td>tfúrř (m't)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n'i) h'úrřa</td>
<td>(n'i) x'úrrí (m'e)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(or) húg</td>
<td>(or) hóg</td>
<td>(or) húg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) hóg</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>(a) hóg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'úrt³ ~ (a) tari</td>
<td>tfúrřf (fí'ráN)</td>
<td>tfúrř'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e'd a) xúrřt⁵</td>
<td>(e'd a) xúrrt'</td>
<td>(e'd a) xúrrt⁵</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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<tr>
<td><strong>tabhair</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tabhair!</td>
<td>$t'ur' \sim tfur$ ([t])**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tugaig!</td>
<td>$ka$ ([jìt ...[x3]]) $\sim$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tugann</td>
<td>$hugox$ ([ma]).$^2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tabharfaidh</td>
<td>$tfurao \sim t'urao^3$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nì) thabharfaidh</td>
<td>($n'ì$) $hurao$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ar) thug ...?</td>
<td><strong>(or) $hug$</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) thug ...</td>
<td>($ø$) $hug$ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag) tabhairt</td>
<td>$t'urft' \sim tfur$ ($sk'i''N$)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\sim tfurt$ ($sk'i''n$ $'l'om$)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\sim tfurtt'$ ($f[k'i''N$ $æ''N'$)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) thabhait</td>
<td><strong>(ø) $hurt'$</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 “Caith diot ... ~ caithigh diobh ....”
2 Habitual Past, I.2.
3 Cf. II.1.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INIS OÍRR</th>
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</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tur ~ tur' (læt)</td>
<td>tur' ~ tur (læt)</td>
<td>tur' ~ tur (læt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ (Na) tur (na . . .)</td>
<td>~ (Na) tur (læt)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu (yum) (sic)</td>
<td>tur (yum) [x3] [sg.]</td>
<td>tur'ír [x2] . . . tug'íi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . tuiri: [x3] [pl.]</td>
<td>. . . tug'íi: (sic)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tugN</td>
<td>tugón' (fíd)</td>
<td>turn' (fjad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turé</td>
<td>turé</td>
<td>tug'í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nír) huré</td>
<td>(nír) huré</td>
<td>(nír) huré ~ (nír) hurí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ (nír) hurí</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a du:re:1</td>
<td>a duré x tusó1</td>
<td>hurlí2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(òr) hug</td>
<td>(er) hug</td>
<td>(òr) hug [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(fm' è) hug</td>
<td>(ò) hug</td>
<td>(a) hug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turt (fki:N)</td>
<td>turt (skí:N)</td>
<td>turtf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urt'</td>
<td>(a) hurtf ~ hurrtf</td>
<td>(a) hurtf ~ hurrtf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ hurrtf</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 “An dtabharfá . . .?” Cf. II.49.
2 “Thabharfá . . .” Cf. II.12.
### Grammatical Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB FORMS</th>
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<th>Eoghanacht F 73</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>bí</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bí</td>
<td>b’í [pl.]</td>
<td>(fa’ng’íː)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bheifeá</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(dá) mbeifeá</td>
<td>(aː) m’eːaⁿsa¹</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nura) mbeifeá</td>
<td>(marɔ wil’ tu’)</td>
<td>(marɔ wil’ tu’) (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhínn</td>
<td>v’iːⁿx m’e</td>
<td>v’iːN’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhíteá</td>
<td>m’iːⁿx tu . . .</td>
<td>v’iːⁿx tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ v’iːⁿx tu</td>
<td>~ v’iːːː (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(Indirect Relative)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) mbíteá</td>
<td>(ə) m’iːⁿx tu . . .</td>
<td>(^r k’læːxt æd ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>...a’Nɔxt əːN)² [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(In Responses and Short Queries)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An raibh tú?</td>
<td></td>
<td>(ə) raⁿʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhí mé!</td>
<td>v’iː</td>
<td>v’iːːs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ “Dá mbeifeása . . .”.
² “. . . a raibh cleachtadh agat fanacht ann”.

Séamas Ó Direáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co. Galway
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>b̃i [pl.]</th>
<th>b̃i [sg.?]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṽæ:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ə) m'ĕa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(mar̃e) r̋ t̋ ŏs̋e</td>
<td>(mar̃e) m'aĕr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṽi:N̋</td>
<td>(m' æ:n tərsəx)¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṽi:a:s̋e ~ ṽi:a:s̋e</td>
<td>(ṽi:x mud t'i:n') (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ (n'er' ṽx m'i:d')</td>
<td>~ ṽi:x tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(er gna:x l'æt 'a:nɔxt)</td>
<td>(əN æN æ:t') ṽi:a:x tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(fr'ɔxt)²</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ə) r̋ ŏ tŭ</td>
<td>r̋ tŭ . . .(ə) r̋</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṽi:s</td>
<td>ṽi:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ “(Bhí) mé an-tuírseach”.
² “...san áit a bhíteá ag fuireacht”.
**GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB FORMS</th>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>bí</strong></td>
<td>bí: ~ bíː [pl.?]</td>
<td>bíː gíː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bheifeá</td>
<td>(a) m’eːjæː</td>
<td>(də bə b’aiːn u)²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(dá) mbeifeá</td>
<td>(mərə) m’eːjæː</td>
<td>(mərə) m’æx tuː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(mura) mbeifeá</td>
<td>(mərə) m’æx tuː</td>
<td>(cf. v’æx m’eː)³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhínn</td>
<td>bə gNæːx l’aːm (sic)</td>
<td>v’æx m’eː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhíteá</td>
<td>bə gNæːx l’æt (sic)</td>
<td>v’æx tuː ~ v’æː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ m’iːæ</td>
<td>~ v’iːæ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(Indirect Relative)*

| (a) mbíteá | (m Næːx l’æt ...?) (sic) | (bə γNæːx l’æt) |
|            | (ɔ mə gNæː l’æt ...?) | ~ ɔv’iːːə |

*(In Responses and Short Queries)*

| An raibh tú? | re taːu | (ə) roɾ’ |
| Bhí mé!      | v’iːːs | v’iːs |

¹ “Dá mbeifeása ...”.
² “Dá mba bhean tú ...”.
³ Cf. II.50.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EOCHAII M 68</th>
<th>CILL RÓNÁIN M 50</th>
<th>CILL ÉINNE F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b'iːg'ɐ</td>
<td>b'iːg'ɐ</td>
<td>[pl.?]</td>
<td>b'iːg'ɐ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v'ɛja:</td>
<td>(ə mə v'æːN u)¹</td>
<td>(ə bə b'æːn)¹ ...</td>
<td>a¹ m'ox tu (n də v'æːN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>~ (a¹ mbə b'æːN hu')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(marə) rə tu'</td>
<td>(marə) rə tu'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v'iːN'</td>
<td>v'iːN'</td>
<td>v'iːN'</td>
<td>v'iːN'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v'ix tu ~ v'iːa:</td>
<td>v'ix tu</td>
<td>v'ix tu</td>
<td>v'ix tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(səN aːt' o) v'iːa</td>
<td>(ə) m'iːːx tu'</td>
<td></td>
<td>(ə) m'iːːx tu'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ə) rə tu' ~ rəf</td>
<td>(Na') ro ~ (Nax) ro</td>
<td>(ə) rə tu</td>
<td>(ə) rə tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v'iː m'ε</td>
<td>v'iː</td>
<td>v'is</td>
<td>v'is</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ "Dá mba bhean tú . . ."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES</strong></th>
<th><strong>INIS MEÁIN</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>VERB FORMS</strong></td>
<td><strong>M 70</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bí</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bí!</td>
<td>b’i [sg.?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bheifeá</td>
<td>v’ej@</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(dá) mbeifeá</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nura) mbeifeá</td>
<td>(mar’no wul’ tu’) ~ (mar’no wul tu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(m@N@o m’e:ha:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhínn</td>
<td>v’i:N’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhíteá</td>
<td>v’i:a: ~ v’i:a:x tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Indirect Relative)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) mbíteá</td>
<td>(a) m’i:a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(In Responses and Short Queries)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An raibh tú?</td>
<td>(a) ro tu:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhí mé!</td>
<td>v’i: m’e: ~ v’is [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M 55</td>
<td>F 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>b’i:</strong> [pl.]</td>
<td><strong>b’ig’i</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**v’e:**¹</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(ma:rə) m’e:ɔ tu</strong></td>
<td><strong>(ma:rə) m’e:x tu</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>v’im’</strong></td>
<td><strong>v’i:u:</strong> [2 sg.?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>v’i:a x tu ~ v’i:a so²</strong></td>
<td><strong>v’i:a x tusə ~ v’i:a x tu</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(ə) v’i:x tu</strong></td>
<td><strong>(ə) v’i:a x tu</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(e) r’ə</strong></td>
<td><strong>(ə) rə</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>v’i: m’e:</strong></td>
<td><strong>v’is</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Note the lenition of the future indicative form in I.26: [v’e: f’ax ...] (= “Beidh sé flurch” ...).

² “Bhitéása”. 
### Grammatical Variables: Irregular Verb Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB FORMS</th>
<th>Bungabhla F 43</th>
<th>Eoghanacht F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>bí</strong> (Cont’d.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(In Negative Relative and Negative Finite Complement Clauses)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nach raibh</td>
<td>(Na) ra</td>
<td>(Na) ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(With 3 sg.)</td>
<td>ta (fe) [x3] ~ ta (fe)</td>
<td>ta (fe) [x2] ~ ta (fe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tá (sé /sí)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(With 3 pl.)</td>
<td>ta ( fid) [x2]</td>
<td>ta (fid/fíd) [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tá (siad)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhí (siad)</td>
<td>v’i (fíd) [x2] ~ v’i: (fíd)</td>
<td>v’i: (fíd) ~ v’i: (fíd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ní) raibh (siad)</td>
<td>(N’i:) ra (fid)</td>
<td>(N’i:) ra (fíd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(go) raibh (siad)</td>
<td>(go) ra (fad)</td>
<td>(go) ru (fèd)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Cf. II.58.
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

#### AN SRUTHÁN F 70

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(Na:) rə</th>
<th>(Na') rə</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tə (fe) [x2] ~ tə (je') ~ tə (je)</td>
<td>tə (t'urt') ~ trə (m'í:l't'e) (sic) ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b'e) fɪ'd</td>
<td>tədər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v'ı (fəd) ~ v'ı (fɪ'd) ~ v'ı (fəd)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N'ı) rə (fɪ'd)</td>
<td>(n'ı) rə (fəd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g) r (fəd) ~ (ga) rə (fəd)</td>
<td>(ga) rədər</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60

1 The first three examples lack an audible pronoun, while the last example lacks an audible verb form.
### Grammatical Variables

**Corrúch M 82**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Forms</th>
<th>Corrúch F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bí (Cont’d.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(In Negative Relative and Negative Finite Complement Clauses)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nach raibh</td>
<td>(Na:) ra [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(With 3 sg.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tá (sé /sí )</td>
<td>ta [x4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(With 3 pl.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tá (siad)</td>
<td>ta (fad) [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhf (siad)</td>
<td>v’izar ~ v’idar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ní) raibh (siad)</td>
<td>(N’i:) r (fad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(go) raibh (siad)</td>
<td>(go) r (fad)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EÓCHAILL M 68</th>
<th>CILL RÓNÁIN M 50</th>
<th>CILL ÉINNE F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Nax) rə</td>
<td>(Nax) rə</td>
<td>(Nax) ri (n'tʃm')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tə (ʃeː) ~ tə: (ʃeː)</td>
<td>tə (ʃeː) ~ (ax ʃeː m'ɾiL'tʃeː)</td>
<td>tə (ʃeː) ~ tə (ʃeː/ʃeː)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ tə (ʃeː) [x2]</td>
<td>~ tə (ʃeː/ʃeː)</td>
<td>(ʃh aɾ a'm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tə (ʃed/ʃed2/ʃed)</td>
<td>tə (ʃəd)</td>
<td>tə (ʃed/ʃed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v'í: (ʃed) [x2] ~ v'í: (ʃed)</td>
<td>v'í: (ʃed) ~ v'íd'ɾ'í</td>
<td>v'ídəɾ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N'í) rə (ʃiːd)</td>
<td>(N'í) rə (ʃed)</td>
<td>(N'í:) rʊdəɾ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(gə) rə (ʃed) [x2]</td>
<td>(gə) rə (ʃəd)</td>
<td>(gə) rʊdəɾ [x2]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 “...ach tá sé millte” (with the finite verb form inaudible).
2 Cf. II.10.
3 (Articulated very rapidly.)
### GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB FORMS</th>
<th>INIS MEÁIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>bí (Cont’d.)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(In Negative Relative and Negative Finite Complement Clauses)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nach raibh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(With 3 sg.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tá (sé / sí)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(With 3 pl.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhí (siad)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ú) raibh (siad)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(go) raibh (siad)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>VERB FORMS</strong></th>
<th><strong>INIS MEÁIN</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Na) re (n'tfe)</td>
<td>(Na') ro [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Nax) re (n'tfe)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tó (fe) ~ tó (fe')</td>
<td>tó (fe') ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tse (tfurt ... )</td>
<td>tó (fe) [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'ae (tfurt' ... )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tó (jó̂d)</td>
<td>tó (jó̂d) [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v'ídær</td>
<td>v'íd'ær (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ v'ídær</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nú) ro (jipd)</td>
<td>(Nú) ró̂r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(go) ró̂r</td>
<td>(go) ro (jó̂d)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 “...nach raibh anseo”.

2 Note the fused form of verb and pronoun.
## INIS ÓÍRR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(náː) rə</td>
<td>(náː) rə</td>
<td>(ⁿNaː)ⁿrə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tə (je) [x2] ~</td>
<td>tə (je) ~ tə (je) ~</td>
<td>t² (j²) ~ tʃe¹ ~ je¹</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tə (je) ~ tə (je)</td>
<td>tə (je) ~ tə (je)</td>
<td>~ t² (ʃ²)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tə (ʃæʃʃəd)</td>
<td>tʃəd¹ ~ t² (ʃ²t)</td>
<td>tʃəd¹ ~ t² (tʃəd)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v'ídər, v'ídər</td>
<td>v'ídər ~ v'ídər</td>
<td>v'iː (ʃəd') (sic)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ v'iː (ʃəd)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n'íː) rədər</td>
<td>(n'íː) rədər</td>
<td>(N'íː) rə (ʃəd)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ə) rədər</td>
<td>(ɡə) r (ʃəd)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Note the fused form of verb and pronoun.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB FORMS</th>
<th>BUNGABHLA F 43</th>
<th>EOGHANACHT F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abair</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deir</td>
<td>d'er' ~ du'rt' [x4]</td>
<td>d'er' ~ du'rt' [x4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ durt'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(má) deir</td>
<td>(ma`) d'er'</td>
<td>(ma`) er'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ní) deirimid</td>
<td>(N'i) je'r[i] [N] (ma')</td>
<td>(N'ir') je'r'am (ta'da)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>... (N'i) je'r'mnd (ta'da)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ní) déarfaidh</td>
<td>(N'i) je're (ma ta'da)</td>
<td>(N'i) je're (ma ta'da)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>déarfainn</td>
<td>d'erIN'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dúirt</td>
<td>du'rt' [x5] ~ du'rt (m'e)</td>
<td>du'rt' [x3] ~ du'rt' [x5]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ du'rt' [x3]</td>
<td>~ du'rt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ní) dúirt</td>
<td>(N'i'r) ur't (mod ta'da)</td>
<td>(N'i'r) ur't (mod ta'da)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Cf. II.2. “‘Fós’ a deir siad”.
2 “Ní deirimid dada.”
3 “Ní déarfaidh muid dada.”
## INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

### AN SRUTHÁN F 70

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>du:rt'[x5] ~ d'er'</th>
<th>du:rt'[x2] ~ dur (fe) ~ r (fe)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(ma:) du:rt'</td>
<td>(ma) jer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N'ir) a'bri'man (ta'da)</td>
<td>(N'ir) jer'md (ta'da)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N'ir) jer'a (md')</td>
<td>(N'ir) jerǝ (md')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'erin' ~ (mar ǝ) d'era¹</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>du:rt'[x5] ~ du:rt'[x4]</th>
<th>dur (m'e/fjǝ) ~ dur (fe/tǝso/fi) ~ tfe²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(N'ir) urt (mo ta'da)</td>
<td>(N'ir) urt (mod ta'd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L r ham/'tg' fe)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ “Mar a déarfá...”. Cf. II.58.

² Fused form. Note first line above, also.
### Grammatical Variables

#### Verb Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Corrúch F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>abair</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>deir</strong></td>
<td>d'ér' [x4] ~ d'ér (fe)</td>
<td>d'ér' ~ du:rt' [x2] ~ du:rt' [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(má) <strong>deir</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ma) abren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ní) <strong>deirimid</strong></td>
<td>(Níír) je'ra (mu tæda)</td>
<td>(Níí) a'braN (míd')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ní) <strong>déarfaidh</strong></td>
<td>(Níír) je'ra (mu tæda)</td>
<td>(Níí) a'bra' (míd')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>déarfainn</strong></td>
<td>(fe:i'm' gə ...)</td>
<td>(fi:i'm' gə ...)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ (a) N'é:rəx</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ní) <strong>dúirt</strong></td>
<td>(Níír') e'r'amòd (tæda)</td>
<td>(Níír) u:rt (man tæda)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1 “Ní déarfaidh muid dada.”
2 “Sílim go . . .”
3 “Dé ár réidh . . .” Cf. II.14.
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EOCHAILL M 68</th>
<th>CILL RÓNÁIN M 50</th>
<th>CILL ÉINNE F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>duːrt’</strong> ([x4]) (~) duːrt’</td>
<td><strong>dʒɛr</strong> (fe) (<del>) dʒɛr’n’ (fe) (</del>) duːrtfe(^1) (~) duːrtfe(^1) ([x3])</td>
<td>**duːrtfe(^1) (<del>) duːrtfe(^1) (</del>) duːrtfe(^1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{ máːr } \alpha) duːrt’...</td>
<td>(\text{ máːr } \alpha) abr@N</td>
<td>(\text{ máːr } \alpha) abr@N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{ n’iːr} ) jɛr’ə (m@ tæːd@)(^2)</td>
<td>(\text{ n’iːr} ) abːram@N</td>
<td>(\text{ n’iːr} ) abːram@N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{ n’iːr} ) jɛr’ə (m@ tæːd@)(^4)</td>
<td>(\text{ n’iːr} ) abr@N (m@N)</td>
<td>(\text{ n’iːr} ) abr@N (m@N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>duːrt’</strong> ([x3]) (<del>) duːrt (m’e’) (</del>) duːrt’ (fe;/fi) (~) duːrtj(^1)</td>
<td><strong>duːrt’</strong> ([x2]) (~) duːrt’ ([x3])</td>
<td><strong>duːrt’</strong> ([x2]) (~) duːrt’ ([x3])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{ duːrt} ) (~) duːrt’ ([x3])</td>
<td>**duːrtfe(^1) (<del>) duːrtfe(^1) (</del>) duːrtfe(^1)</td>
<td>**duːrtfe(^1) (<del>) duːrtfe(^1) (</del>) duːrtfe(^1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{ n’iːr}’) ur@t (m@ tæːd@)(^5)</td>
<td><strong>tuːrt’</strong> (m@ tæːd@)(^5)</td>
<td><strong>tuːrt’</strong> (m@ tæːd@)(^5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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: \[n@ːN (m@ʒɛ)\] (II.10); \[dʒɛr@n (fed)\] (II.53); \[ɛrN (moŋʃ)\] (II.14); \[abr@N (m@ŋʃ)\] (I.30).

Yet other examples are given in direct relative constructions: \[...dʒɛr’ns (maŋʃ)] (I.2); \[...abri ...ɛr’ns (maŋʃ)] (I.1); \[...a’brins (moŋʃ)] (I.25).

4 “Ní déarfaidh muid dada.”

5 “Ní dúirt muid dada.”

---

Séamas Ó Direáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co. Galway
| VERB FORMS | abair | deir | duːrtʃe¹ ~.del′ | ~.d.ʃ.e/ʃe ~.d.ʃ.e (ʃe/ʃe) | ñ e [5] |
|           | (má) deir | (má) duːrt (mí:. jraːɾ)² | (má) ʃ.e′ |
|           | (ní) deirimid | (N′ːir) uːrt′ | (n′ːr) ʃ.e′N |
|           | (ní) déarfáidh | (n′ːi) jɛɾ′a (mOd tada) | (n′ːr) jɛɾ′a (mOg) |
|           | déarfáinn | duːɾɪn′ [x3] ~.ðiɾɪN′ | ñiɾ′ɪn′ |
|           | düirt | duːt′ ~ duːrt′ | duːt′ ~ duːɾʃt′ (m′e) |
|           | ~.d.ɛɾ′ [x2] ~.d.ʃ.e~ | ~.d.ʃe² ~ duːɾʃʃe³ | ~.d.ʃe²~.d.ʃ.e~ |
|           | duːɾʃt′ɛ¹ ~.d.ʃ.e [x2] | duːɾʃt′ɛ³ | duːɾʃt′ɛ¹ ~ duːɾʃt′ɛ¹ |
|           | ~.d.ɛɾf′ɛ² | | |
|           | (ní) düirt | (n′ːr) uːrt′ ~ (N′ːr) uːrt′⁶ | (n′ːr) ʃuːrt′ (mOg) |

¹ “Duːrt sė” as a fused form, with a dental affricate as a third consonant.
² “Má düirt mo dheartháir . . . .”.
³ “Duːirt sise” as a fused form, with a dental affricate as a third consonant.
⁴ “Duːirt sė” as a fused form, with metathesis of the palatalised dental plosive and the sibilant.
⁵ Apparently, “Deir sė” as a fused form, with metathesis of the palatalised dental plosive and the sibilant.
⁶ Cf. I.21.
### INIS OÍRR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zuːrt fe¹</td>
<td>duːrt' [x2] ~ duːrt (fe)</td>
<td>duːrt' [x4] ~ duːrt (fe)</td>
<td>eːr' fe' (~) duːrt [x4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duːrt' [x2] ~ d'er'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>duːrt fe ~ duːrtfe²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(maː) jerrN</td>
<td></td>
<td>(ma) duːrft (mi jreːr)'[x2]</td>
<td>(ma) jerr³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n'iː) jerrN</td>
<td></td>
<td>(n'iː) eːrN</td>
<td>(N'iː) jerr'amuʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n'iː) jero (mod')</td>
<td></td>
<td>(n'iː) jero (mod')</td>
<td>(N'iː) jero (mul)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duːrt' [x2] ~ duːrtfe²</td>
<td></td>
<td>duːrt' [x4] ~ duːrt (m'e)</td>
<td>duːrt' [x2] ~ duːrt' [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duːrt (fʃ) ~ duːrt'</td>
<td></td>
<td>~ duːrt' [x3] ~ duːrt (fe)</td>
<td>~ duːrtʃi⁴~ duːrtfe²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duːrt' [x2] ~ duːrt'</td>
<td></td>
<td>~ duːrt'</td>
<td>~ duːrt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n'iːr) urt (mod 'taːdə)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(n'iːr) 'urt (mo taːdə)</td>
<td>(N'iːr) oːrt'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB FORMS</th>
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<th>EOGHANACHT F 73</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>déan</td>
<td>d’r’Nig’i:</td>
<td>(foLomi:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) dhéanann</td>
<td>(a) jeNəNs</td>
<td>(gə) N’eNN¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sula) ndéanann</td>
<td>(səLa) jeNən (fe)</td>
<td>(hLu:) N¹i:Nə (ʃi’d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ní) dhéanfainn(se)</td>
<td>(N’i’) jeNəx m’if (e)²</td>
<td>(N’i:) jeNuf (e)²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhéanfá(sa)</td>
<td>jeNax tis (e)²</td>
<td>(j)r’N’us (e)²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ní) dhearna</td>
<td>(N’i’) rN¹</td>
<td>(N’i’r) rN¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(go) ndearna</td>
<td>(ga) rN¹</td>
<td>(gar) rN¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nach) ndearna</td>
<td>(Nax)³ r’N’e (sic)</td>
<td>(na:r)³ rN’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Indirect Relative)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) ndearna</td>
<td>rN¹ [x3]</td>
<td>rN¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(é a) dhéanamh</td>
<td>(?e’ ?e’) jenə</td>
<td>(e) jNə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. nior, etc.).

⁴ “...le h-é a dhéanamh”. Cf. II.58.
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

<table>
<thead>
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<th>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dí:nn [pl.]</td>
<td>(n’ir) jenn…(n’ir im’i:n)(^1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a jinn’s</td>
<td>a jinn’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sor a) jínax (je)</td>
<td>d’eNN…(sao) N’iNN (je)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N’i) jínaf (e)(^2)</td>
<td>(n’i) jínaf (e)(^2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ji:Nnasə</td>
<td>ji:Nax tōso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N’ir) riN’i</td>
<td>(N’ir) riN’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(gər) riN’i</td>
<td>(gər) rəN’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Nə:r)(^3) riN’e</td>
<td>(nər)(^3) riN’ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riN’i [x3]</td>
<td>a riN’e ~ riN’i ~ r’N’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) ji:Nə ~ (e) ji:Nə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1. Mistranslation. I.15 heard as “Children don’t go away” (declarative).
2. “…ė” (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

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<th>Corrúch F 72</th>
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<td>déan</td>
<td>(fo:lam da xid’...)</td>
<td>d’oNg‘i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d’iN [x2] (da yid’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[sic] ... ) [pl.?]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) dhéanann</td>
<td>jiNøNs ... ji:NøNs¹</td>
<td>(a) jøNNs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sula) ndéanann</td>
<td>(sor a) jiNø(u) (se’ (sic)</td>
<td>(sor a) ji:NN (fe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ (sor a) jiNN (fe)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ní) dhéanfainn</td>
<td>(N’i:i) jiNøN (fe’ e)</td>
<td>(N’i:i) jiNøx m’if (e)²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhéanfá(sa)</td>
<td>jiNøx tis (e)²</td>
<td>jiNøx tafø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ní) dhearna</td>
<td>(N’i:i) riN’i ~</td>
<td>(N’i:i) jørNø ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(N’i:i) jarrNø</td>
<td>(N’i:i) riN’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(go) ndearna</td>
<td>(gar) riN’i ~</td>
<td>(gar) riN’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ga) N’urNø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nach) ndearna</td>
<td>(Nør)³ riN’e</td>
<td>(Nør)³ riN’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Indirect Relative)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) ndearna</td>
<td>riN’i [x2] ~ ⁵riN’i</td>
<td>(a) N’urNø ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ riN’i [x3]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(é a) dhéanamh</td>
<td>(e:) jiNø</td>
<td>(a¹) jiNø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EOCAILL M 68</th>
<th>CILL RÓINÁIN M 50</th>
<th>CILL ÉINNE F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(fo:Lam ... fo:Lm‘i)</td>
<td>³cénig’i¹</td>
<td>Ú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) jeNNs</td>
<td>(a) jəNaNS</td>
<td>(e) n’i:ns² ~ (a) jINNs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(had a) jəNcn‘ (je)</td>
<td>(suLa) jINš³ (je)</td>
<td>(soL ma) jINatʃe⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n’ir) jəNnf (e)⁵</td>
<td>(n’ir) jIN:nf (e)⁵</td>
<td>(n’ir) jINox m’iʃ (e)⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jINNs (e)⁵</td>
<td>jiNats (e)⁵</td>
<td>jiNox tʃʃo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n’ir) riN’e</td>
<td>(N’ir) jatNə</td>
<td>(n’ir) jatNə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(gar) riN’e</td>
<td>(go) N’atNə</td>
<td>(gar) riN’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Nəːr)⁷ riN’e</td>
<td>(Nə̂x go) ðəNə ...⁸</td>
<td>(Nə̂x) riN’ (ə guʃ ...)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>²riN’e [x3]</td>
<td>n’atNə ~ N’atNə ~ ²N’atNə</td>
<td>²riN’i [x2] ~ (gar) riN’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) jeNə [x2]</td>
<td>(e) jINə</td>
<td>(ə³) jeNə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

¹ “...agus déanaíg...”? ² “[e n’íːn]: bhíodh sé ag cuide go na sean-ndaoine”. ³ Future tense form? ⁴ Non-standard “...sul má dhéanfadh sé...”. ⁵ “...e” (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. niːr, etc.). ⁸ “...nach raibh ag déanadh...”.

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</thead>
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<td>déan</td>
<td>déanaigí!</td>
<td>(pl.?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>déanaigí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ògí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) dhéanann</td>
<td>(a) rín’ (é fin’)</td>
<td>(a) jINNs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sula) ndéanann</td>
<td>(sor a) jINNs</td>
<td>(sor a) N’eNáN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ní) dhéanfainn(see)</td>
<td>(níi: jINnf (e)¹</td>
<td>(níi: jINnf (e)¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhéanfà(sa)</td>
<td>jIN’u’sa</td>
<td>jIN’u’sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ní) dhearna</td>
<td>(N’iá)r rIN’e</td>
<td>(N’iá) rIN’i² [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(go) ndearna</td>
<td>(gar) rIN’e</td>
<td>(gar) rIN’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nach) ndearna</td>
<td>(Ná:r’ e/b’r’i)³ . . .</td>
<td>(Ná:r) rIN’ (oN... )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Indirect Relative)</td>
<td>(Ná:r) rIN’e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) ndearna</td>
<td>rIN’e [x2]</td>
<td>(e) rIN’1 ~ (gá) rIN’1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(é a) dhéanamh</td>
<td>‘(ó) jINw... ’(e’1) jINw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ (...a) jINw</td>
<td>(e’/e:) jINw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ “...é” (direct object pronoun).
² Cf. the positive 3 pl. form [rIN’ádáir] in II.8.
³ “...né oibrigh ...”.

Séamas Ó Direáin— A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ðοNíř</td>
<td>ðeNí</td>
<td>ðοN (vø̈h)¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ ðeN (vø̈)¹</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ə jeN)²</td>
<td>(ə) jeNəNs</td>
<td>(ə) jəNØ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(rivv) a jeNax (je)</td>
<td>(rivv) a jıNØ (tfe)</td>
<td>(rivv) a n’iNən’ (je)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n’i) jeNØ (e)³</td>
<td>(n’i) jıNəf (e)³</td>
<td>(n’i) jıNiNf (ox)⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jeNøs (e)³</td>
<td>jıNax (tusə)</td>
<td>jıNax tus (e)³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n’Ir) jeN (sic)</td>
<td>(n’Ir) jın’ (je’)</td>
<td>(n’Ir) jəN⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ga) jın’ (tfe)</td>
<td>(ga) jımn’ (tfe)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nar) jen’</td>
<td>(Na’r) jen’</td>
<td>(Na’r) jeN [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jeN [x2] ~ ojeN</td>
<td>jeN [x2] ~ ojeN</td>
<td>jıN ~ ojeN⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(l’æl) jeNə⁷,</td>
<td>(e) ojeNə⁸</td>
<td>(əl) jeNø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(…ə) jeNø</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ “Déanaigí bhur…”. ² Simple past tense form in a direct relative clause construction. ³ “…é” (direct object pronoun). ⁴ “Ní dhéanfainse (é) ach…”. ⁵ Note the positive simple past verb form in the conditional construction [mə jəN] (cf. II.14). ⁶ Note the extremely reduced verb form in the construction [xi’tu 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: [jıN/ n’Ir jəN/ d’aNø (m’ae jın’)/ n’i: jəNø (m’ae jımn’)]. 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 [dʒeN (e’)] (“déanta aige”). Cf. 1.12.
**GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB FORMS</th>
<th>BUNGABHLA F 43</th>
<th>EOGHANACHT F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ith</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itheann</td>
<td>iːsən [x2]</td>
<td>iːsəN ~ iːsəNs¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ní) ithim(se)</td>
<td>(Nʾiː) iːsəN mʾiːfi</td>
<td>(Nʾiː) iːsmʾʃ (eːNʾ oːlʾ)²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) ithe</td>
<td>(a) ʔɪːθɛ</td>
<td>ʔɛː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>fan</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(an) bhfanfaidh . . .?</td>
<td>(o) waːNoʔ [x2]</td>
<td>waːno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) dʾfhantá</td>
<td>(neːɾʾ oː) daːNəx tu</td>
<td>(neːɾʾ oː ʔiːaː (sic)  fəːnəxt . . .)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Indirect Relative)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) bhfantá</td>
<td>(ə mʾiːɻəx tuʾ fəːnəxt əːN)</td>
<td>(o) waːNəx tuʾ (əːN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fanta</td>
<td>faNtə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>beir</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rugadh (air)</td>
<td>rугuʾ (ɛrʾ) ~ (forʾuɾ ɡʾrʾiːmʾ ɛrʾ)</td>
<td>rугuʾ (ɛrʾ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breith (air)</td>
<td>бʾrʾɛ (ɛrʾ)</td>
<td>(nʾiː r mʾeːɾ n aːN ə hiːəxt suːs lʾɛf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>clois</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chuala</td>
<td>xuːˈlə</td>
<td>xuːˈlə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>caill</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cailleann</td>
<td>karʾɭım (ʃɛ)</td>
<td>(korʾən ʃɛː ?ə₉muː  ʂɡuːNiː  ɛ)³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaill</td>
<td>xaɾʾlʾ (ʃɛ)</td>
<td>xaɾʾlʾ (ʃɛ) (sic)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Direct relative verb form. Cf. II.46. ² “Ní ithimse aon fheoil.” ³ Cf. [ɡoN e. ʰxaɾʾɭʾ] (“...gan é a chaileadh”) in I.21.
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i:ám ñ ~ i:rásn¹</td>
<td>i:sN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N:ir) i:mm:j (i:)</td>
<td>(N:ir) i:sN m':j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i:</td>
<td>('g') i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:wa:no</td>
<td>(w)ano^n (tu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(núr' a) da:na</td>
<td>(n:er' v'x mid' a:N ø f'r'øxt a:N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(er gna:x l'æt a'nøxt)</td>
<td>(...øN ø:N ø:t' v'i:sx tu f'r'øxt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rugu (er')</td>
<td>rugu... (er')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'r'e (er')</td>
<td>b'r'e (er')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xøLø</td>
<td>xuø (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka:L'an (je)</td>
<td>kal'm'(je)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xa:L' [x2]</td>
<td>xa'í' (je) (sic)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Direct relative verb form. Cf. II.46.
**GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Forms</th>
<th>Corrúch M 82</th>
<th>Corrúch F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ith</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itheann</td>
<td><em>i:s@n ~ i:s@ns</em>¹</td>
<td>*i:n (f:e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ní) ithim(se)</td>
<td>*N′i:i:s@N m′if (c)*²</td>
<td><em>(N′) im m′if</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) ithe</td>
<td><em>i:</em></td>
<td><em>i</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>fan</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(an) bhfanaidh ...?</td>
<td><em>wa:Ni:N³ (tu′) [x2] ...wa:Nɔ</em></td>
<td><em>(θ) wamo:</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) d′thantá</td>
<td><em>(θ) da:Nŋa:</em></td>
<td><em>(θ) dæ:nək tʊ</em> (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Indirect Relative)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) bhfantá</td>
<td><em>(θ) mʊŋŋa: l′æ:t fa:Nɔxt</em>⁴</td>
<td><em>(bə ɣŋŋa:x l′æt fa:Nɔxt ~ ʰv′i:a′ fa:Nɔxt)</em> (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fanta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>beir</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rugadh (air)</td>
<td><em>b′ɛr′u (ɛr na jiŋ fm⁵)</em></td>
<td><em>rugus (ɛr′)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breith (air)</td>
<td><em>b′r′e (ɛr′)</em></td>
<td><em>b′r′e (r′)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>clois</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chuala</td>
<td><em>dær′t ⁶</em></td>
<td><em>xɔ:Lɔ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>caill</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cailleann</td>
<td><em>kæ:l′ɒn (fɛ)</em></td>
<td><em>kæ:l′ɒn (fɛ)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaill</td>
<td><em>kæ:l′</em></td>
<td><em>kæ:l′</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eochaill M 68</th>
<th>Cill Rónán M 50</th>
<th>Cill Éinne F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>i:s</strong> (fesoN) (sic)</td>
<td><strong>thau</strong> (fesN)</td>
<td><strong>i:s</strong> (fesN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Nax N′i′) i:sam¹</td>
<td>(n′i′ jaNanfa)²</td>
<td>(n′i′) i:mi:jí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g′) i</td>
<td>(°g′) i</td>
<td>(°tə tu′) ji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:waNɔ</td>
<td>wano</td>
<td>a:waNɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da:Naː (sic)</td>
<td></td>
<td>a:da:nɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( saN a:t′ ø v′i:a fa:Naxt)</td>
<td>(ø m′i:a:x tu′ fa:Naxt)</td>
<td>(fa:ki:)³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Na′x) rugas (er′)⁴</td>
<td>rugu (er′)</td>
<td>rugu: (er′)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b′r′e(h) (er′)</td>
<td>(g′r′i:w øl′ er′)⁵</td>
<td>b′r′e (er′)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xu:Lə</td>
<td>xu:Lə</td>
<td>xu:Lə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka:L′u′ (je) [x2]</td>
<td>ka:L′u′ (je)</td>
<td>ka:L′m′ (je)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xa:l′ (je)⁶</td>
<td>xa:L</td>
<td>xa:l′...xa:l′</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ "...ach ní ithimse". ² "...ní dhéanfaimse?" ³ "fáitha". ⁴ "...ach rugadh air". ⁵ "...greim a fháil air". ⁶ But cf. [kɔ:l′t′i] ("caillte") in II.10.

---

Séamas O Direáin— A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
## Grammatical Variables: Irregular Verb Forms

### Grammatical Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Forms</th>
<th>M 70</th>
<th>F 60+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ith</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itheann</td>
<td>isən’ (fe*)</td>
<td>isNs (fe) (\sim) isNs¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ní) ithim(se)</td>
<td>(N'íːt) ism’s²</td>
<td>(n’iːt) ismfe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) ithe</td>
<td>iː</td>
<td>iː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>fan</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(an) bhfanfaidh ...?</td>
<td>waNo</td>
<td>aːvaːNo’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) d’fhantá</td>
<td>(ə daːNa</td>
<td>(ə daːNa (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Indirect Relative)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) bhfantá</td>
<td>(ə m’lːə faːnəxt ...</td>
<td>(ə m’lːə guːNiː aːN)³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fanta</td>
<td>faniː</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>beir</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rugadh (air)</td>
<td>ruguː (er’*) [x2]</td>
<td>rugus (er’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breith (air)</td>
<td>b’r’eːh (er’)</td>
<td>b’r’e (er’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>clois</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chuala</td>
<td>xuːLə</td>
<td>xuːLə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>caill</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cailleann</td>
<td>kuːL’m’ (fe*/fe) [x2]</td>
<td>kuːl’n (tfc)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaill</td>
<td>xoːl’</td>
<td>xoːl’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Direct relative verb form. Cf. II.46.
² With the nonpalatalised form of the emphatic particle -sa?
³ “... a mbíteá i gcónaí ann”.

---

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iːsan' (fe)</td>
<td>iːSa (fe)</td>
<td>iːsan' (fe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n′iː) iːʒmʲ (sic) (ɛːn′ oːl′)²</td>
<td>(N′iː) iːSa mʲ (ɛ)¹</td>
<td>(n′iː) iːsaN mʲ (ɛ)¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g′) iː¹</td>
<td>(g′) iː</td>
<td>(g′) iː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waːnɔ</td>
<td>(ə) waNO</td>
<td>(ə) vaːNɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ə) daːnox tu</td>
<td>(ə) daːnox tu</td>
<td>(ə) daːNax (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ə v′iːx tu faːnɔxt ...)</td>
<td>(ə v′iːx tu faːNɔxt ...)</td>
<td>(ɛg′) daːNax (əN)³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rogus (er′)</td>
<td>rogus (er′)</td>
<td>b′eːrə (er′)⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b′r′e (er′)</td>
<td>b′r′e (er′)</td>
<td>b′er′ (er′) ~ b′er′extal′ (er′)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daːr′i ⁵</td>
<td>xuːLo</td>
<td>xoLo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuːL′u (fe)</td>
<td>kuːL′u (tfe)</td>
<td>kəl′u (tfe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xuːl′</td>
<td>xuːl′</td>
<td>kəl′ (sic)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ “... é” (direct object pronoun).
² “Ní ithimse aon fheoil.”
³ “... a bhfantá amn”.
⁴ Future impersonal tense form?
⁵ “D’airigh ...”.

---

Séamas Ó Direáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co. Galway
# Grammatical Variables

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<tr>
<th>Bungabhla F 43</th>
<th>Eoghanacht F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verb Forms</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(έ a) mhilleadh</td>
<td>(g@N e) v′ri′ (ax &quot;n′iʃ . . .&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>millte</td>
<td>m′ri′t′o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| crom          |                 |
| cromadh       | (g@N) krɔmə     | (Nax) gramæx 1 |
| chrom         | xɔm            | xrom′ (ʃi′)     |

| rith          |                 |
| rithfidh      | ri:             | ri:            |
| rith          | (εg) ri′xt      | (a) re′xt      |

| buiúth        |                 |
| buíthfidh     | (fəxə)²         | (xir′I m′e: fi:s . . .) |

| búaigh        |                 |
| (go) mbuaifdh |                 |                 |

| gnóthaigh     |                 |
| (go) gnóthóidh | (g@) ηNuə . . . (g@) ηNo: | (g@) ηNo′ə (~ a γNɔs)³ |

| coinnigh      |                 |
| (do do) choínneáil | (g@ əd@) xIN′aL | (g@ ma) xIN′aL [x2] |
| (ag) coinnéáil | 2kIN′aL        | kIN′aL⁴         |

---

1 “. . . nach geromfadh . . .”.
2 “Fiuchfaidh . . .”.
3 Direct relative verb form.
4 Cf. [ŋ′er ə xIN′i: u: [x4]] (“Céard a choinnigh thú?”) in I.29.
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| (gN e’) ʰvɪl’i | (gαN a’) ʰvɪl’ɪ |}
| m’i:l’t’i | m’i:l’t’ɪ |
| (gαN) kroma (sic) | (gαN) kroma |
| xром | (xɔɪb)⁴ |
| ri: | ri: |
| ʰriːx | rɑːxt |
| bri: (∼ fɔxɔ) | bri: |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bu⁵ [x2]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(gɔ) wʊ? . . . (gɔ) Nuːi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| (gα da) xiN’ɑ:L² | (’da) xiN’ɑ:Łɔ³ |
|                 | ~ (da) xɔN’ɑ:Łɔ³ |
| ʰkɔN’ɑ:L | kn’ɑ:Ł⁴ |

---

¹ "Chúb . . . ."

² This contraction was preceded by the sentence [k’ɛrd ø xɔN’ u̯r/ʔur/lu’], repeated three times, the last two times with careful articulation.

³ Preceded by the sentence [k’ɛrd ø xN’ u̯r].

⁴ Preceded by the phrase [k’ɛrd i ʰxiN’i].

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Séamas Ó Direáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
## Grammatical Variables

| Verb Forms | Corrúch M 82 | Corrúch F 72 |
|------------|--------------|--|---|
| **Mill**   | (é a) mhilladh | (goN e') v'ir'1 | (goN aí) v'ir'1 |
|            | millte       | m'i:L't'1       | m'i:L't'1       |
| **Crom**   | cromadh      | (gān) kroma     | (goN) kroma     |
|            | chrom        | xrom            | xrom            |
| **Rith**   | rithfídh     | ri:             | ri:             |
|            | rith         | a'ri:a:x        | a'ri:x          |
| **Bruith** | bruithfídh   | vru [x3]        | bri:            |
| **Buaigh** | (go) mbuaifdh |                 |                 |
| **Gnóthaigh** | (go) ngnóthóidh | (gə) ηNo: ~  | (gə) ηNo: |
|            |              | (Nax) No:e (sic) |                 |
| **Coinnigh** | (do do) choinneáil | (da) xIN':a:L  | (da) xIN':a'l2 |
|            | (ag) coinneáil | kIN':a:L        | a'kIN':a'l'     |

1 Apparently, a simple past tense verb form.
2 Preceded by the sentence [k'e:rd a xIN' u:].

Séamas Ó Direáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

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<tr>
<th>Eochaill M 68</th>
<th>Cill Rónáin M 50</th>
<th>Cill Einne F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(gaN a1) v'il'ɛ</td>
<td>(gaN e1) v'il'ɛ</td>
<td>(gaN a1) v'il'ɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m'i:l't'(i)</td>
<td>m'i:l't'ɛ</td>
<td>m'i:l't' (agot)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(gaN) krama</td>
<td>(b'ɑ:r Nax) gromax</td>
<td>(gaN) krama (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xram</td>
<td>xram</td>
<td>xram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ri:</td>
<td>ri:</td>
<td>ri:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra:xt ~ (eg’) ri:ɔx</td>
<td>(ɛ) ri</td>
<td>ri:ɔxt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ ri ~ ra:x1 [x7]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brɔ1</td>
<td>(ɑ) vru2</td>
<td>bri:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:wuɔs3</td>
<td>(ɡɔ) mu:</td>
<td>(ɡɔ) mu: ~ (n'i: wu: [x2] ~ n'i: wu')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(da) xiN'ɑ:L</td>
<td>(ɡo da) xiN'ɑ:L4</td>
<td>('da) xiN'ɑ:L5 ~ (ɡo da) xiN'ɑ:L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(γa:) xiN'ɑ:L6</td>
<td>a:kN'ɑ:lut7</td>
<td>a:kN'ɑ:L8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Possibility of final [t] rejected by informant. 2 Verbal noun form. 3 Direct relative verb form. 4 Preceded by the sentence [k'ɛrd ɑ xoN' u']. 5 Preceded by the sentence [k'ɛrd ɑ xoN' u']. 6 Preceded by the phrase [xN'i fɑ:N] ("... a choinnigh Seán"). 7 Preceded by the sentence [k'ɛrd ɑ xoN' i fɑ:N]. 8 Preceded by the sentence [k'ɛrd ɑ xoN' i fɑ:N].

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### GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

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<th>VERB FORMS</th>
<th>INIS MEÁIN</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$M , 70$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### mill
- (é a) mhilleadh: $(g\dot{a}N \, e^1) \, v'\alpha L'\epsilon$
- millte: $m'^{i}l'^{t'}$ (æt)$^1$

#### crom
- cromadh: $(g\eta) \, xrom\alpha$
- chrom: $xrom$

#### rith
- rithfídh: $ri:\alpha$
- rith: $(\alpha) \, r\alpha$

#### bruith
- bruithfídh: $bri:\alpha$

#### buaigh
- (go) mbuaifídh: $(g\alpha \, mu{^2}x)$

#### gnóthaigh
- (go) ngnóthóidh

#### coinnígh
- (do do) choineáil: $(d\alpha) \, x\alpha{N}'\alpha{L}^2$ [x2]
- (ag) coinneáil: $k\alpha{N}'\alpha{L}$ (x$'\alpha{^4}n'$)$^4$

---

1 “...millte agat”.
2 Preceded by the phrase [o xIN' u2] (“...a choinnigh thú”).
3 Preceded by the phrase [o xIN'1 lu2] (“...a choinnigh thú”).
4 Preceded by the phrase [o xoIN'ír] (go:IN] (“...a choinnigh Seán”).
5 Preceded by the phrase [o xoIN'ír] (go:IN] (“...a choinnigh Seán”).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(gaN a(^1)) v'il'e</td>
<td>(gaN a(^1)) v'il'e</td>
<td>(gaN a(^1)) v'il'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m'ii:t'f (æt)(^1)</td>
<td>m'ii:t'f</td>
<td>(tfe) m'ii:t'f ((^n)n'f)(^2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(gaN a) krom()</td>
<td>(ga'n) krom()</td>
<td>(gaN) krom()</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xrom</td>
<td>xrom</td>
<td>krom (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ri:'f'i</td>
<td>ri:</td>
<td>ri:'f'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) re:xt</td>
<td>(a:) ri:a(^3)</td>
<td>(e: g) ri:a(^3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bri:'f'e</td>
<td>bri:'f'i</td>
<td>bri:'f'e [(x2)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wu:a(^4)</td>
<td>(ga) 'mu-a(^1)'f'e</td>
<td>(ga) 'mu-a(^2)'f' ((an) . . .)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(da) xoN'al'</td>
<td>(da) xoN'al'</td>
<td>(da) xoN'al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keN'ar'l'</td>
<td>kin'ar'l'</td>
<td>kin'ar'L</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) "...millte agat".
\(^2\) "Tá sé millte anois."
\(^3\) "...é ag rith."
\(^4\) Direct relative verb form.
### Grammatical Variables

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<th><strong>Verb Forms</strong></th>
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<th><strong>Eoghanacht F 73</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>tóg</strong></td>
<td>(a) thógáil</td>
<td>(a) ko’g’á:l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(o) ho:g’a:l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>imigh</strong></td>
<td>imígí!</td>
<td>m’íg’í: (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ná) himígí!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Na’) imígí’r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d’imigh (siad)</td>
<td>d’im’í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(o wil fíd) im’í’r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(tə fad) im’í</td>
<td>(ər’) im’í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>oscaíl</strong></td>
<td>(ná) hosclaígí!</td>
<td>(Na:) həskləg’í’r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Na) ?əskləg’i’r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>fág</strong></td>
<td>fág!</td>
<td>fa:g (ti: a mu’i e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fággaigí!</td>
<td>fa:g [x5] (da xd’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kər’ti’) [pl.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d’fhág</td>
<td>dərg [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(sular) fhág</td>
<td>(sar) dərg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>foghlaím</strong></td>
<td>foghlainmigíf!</td>
<td>foňəmi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>foghlamtha</td>
<td>foňəmə (ʃl’d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Cf. [ə ho:k’əx yo:b e:] (“...a thógfadh dóibh é”) in II.58.

2 Cf. [kar’iɡ’ti:] (“Cuirígí ...”) in I.3.
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

#### AN SRUTHÁN F 70  |  FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a) hoc'h'ar</th>
<th>(a) hoc'h'ar (sic) ~ (l'e) hoc'h'ar l'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g'ra:d (læ:t)</td>
<td>im'i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Na) hım'ig'i'</td>
<td>(n'i') im'i:n ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'im'i [x2]</td>
<td>d'im'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(er') im'i</td>
<td>(or') im'i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(Na:) haskil' [pl.]</th>
<th>(Na:) (a)sti: (sic)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f'ag (ti:v' *mu]i e)</td>
<td>fag (ti:v' *mu]i e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f'ag'gi'</td>
<td>fag'gi'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da:γ ~ duk (fe)</td>
<td>da:γ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(suLar) aγ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| do:λm (fi:nd)       | fo:λm (ak:ob)       |

---

1 Cf. I.20.
2 Stimulus sentence misheard as the declarative sentence “Children don’t go away”.

---

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## Grammatical Variables

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<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
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<tr>
<td>tóg</td>
<td>(a) thógáil</td>
<td>(a) ho:gh’æ:L (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imigh</td>
<td>imíg!</td>
<td>im’i (læ:ct) …</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ná) himíg!</td>
<td>(Næ:) im’i ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Næ’) im’i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d’imigh (siad)</td>
<td>d’im’è ~ d’im’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ar) imigh …?</td>
<td>(ir’) im’ødør</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oscail</td>
<td>(ná) hosclaígh!</td>
<td>(Næ:) oskLi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fág</td>
<td>fág!</td>
<td>fa:ǵ (ti:v əmu:i ɛ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fa:ghi!</td>
<td>fa:ghi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sular) fhág</td>
<td>(saL ma:səL Næ?) da:gı</td>
<td>(saL ma:r) da:gı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foghlaim</td>
<td>foughlaimígh!</td>
<td>for:Lam (do xid′… ) [sg.?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>foughlamtha</td>
<td>do:Lm’i (ʃæd)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

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<th>Cill Rónáin M 50</th>
<th>Cill Einne F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(o) ho:g’a:L</td>
<td>(o) ho:g’a:l’</td>
<td>(o) ho:g’a:l’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’a:gi:i</td>
<td>m’ig’i’</td>
<td>m’ig’i’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Na) im’i</td>
<td>(Na’) im’i</td>
<td>(na) hm’ig’i’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d’im’i [x2]</td>
<td>d’im’i ∼ d’im’e</td>
<td>d’im’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(er’) im’i</td>
<td>(er’) im’e ∼</td>
<td>(er’) im’edar’h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Na:) askL:i</td>
<td>(Na:) (a)skil’</td>
<td>(Na:) haskLig’i: ∼ (Na:) haskLig’i’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa:g (ti: m:M e)</td>
<td>fa:g</td>
<td>(e a:go:l ti:’M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa:gi:</td>
<td>fagi:</td>
<td>fa:gi’i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da:g, da:g</td>
<td>da:g ∼ da:’g</td>
<td>da:g ∼ da:g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xud a) da:g (se/jfe) (sic)</td>
<td>(soLar/soLar) a:g</td>
<td>(soL ma:) da:g¹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>for:Lam (a gíd’) ... for:Lim’i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>for:Lamt (a’kap)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Cf. [fa:ki:] (“fágtha”) in II.4.
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</tr>
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<td>tóg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) thógáil</td>
<td>(a) ho:ɡɑ:ɻ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imigh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imígh!</td>
<td>ha:ɡi: (fɪb̥)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(~ imí:</td>
<td>~ imí:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ná) himígh!</td>
<td>(Na) hɪmí:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ (Na) t’eɡi:</td>
<td>~ (Na) t’eɡi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d’imigh (siad)</td>
<td>ɡɪmídər ~ ɡɪmí (fiːd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ar) imigh...?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oscail</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ná) hosclaígh!</td>
<td>(Na) (a)skLi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fág</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fág!</td>
<td>fəɡ (tɪvə’mui ɛ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fágaigí!</td>
<td>fəɡi [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d’fhág</td>
<td>ɡəɡə ~ daɡ ~ daɡə ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ daɡ (fiːd) ~ daɡədər</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sular) fhág</td>
<td>ɡəɡə (sər maːr ə) daɡə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faghaim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faghaimígh!</td>
<td>ɡɪN [sg.?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faghlamtha</td>
<td>(… ɡər) o:ɡɪm’ (ʃd)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The single instance of [imí:ɪ] that occurs is a realisation of the verbal adjective imithe.
2 “D’fhoghlaim siad”.

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<th>F 18</th>
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<tr>
<td>(ø) jeNa</td>
<td>&quot;ho:s'æ:ľ'</td>
<td>(ø) ho:s'æ:ľ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>im'ígi: ~ t'ø:gi:i'</td>
<td>im'ígi: ~ bal'i: (I'íb')</td>
<td>gug'i: [x3]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(næ:ř') im'ígi: (sic)</td>
<td>(næ:) im'ígi:</td>
<td>(næ) im'ígi:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dżim’íðær [x2]</td>
<td>dżim’íðær ~ d'im'i</td>
<td>dżim'i [x2]</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ dżim’íðær'</td>
<td>(ër') im'i</td>
<td>(ër') im'i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Næ:) (ø)skłig’i:</td>
<td>(Næ:) øskł' [x2]</td>
<td>(Næ) (ø)skł'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fæk (tiv ø'mø e)</td>
<td>fæg (tiv: 'mo e)</td>
<td>fæk (tiv ø'mø e)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fæg [pl.]</td>
<td>fæggi'</td>
<td>fæggi' (sic)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dazg, dazg</td>
<td>dazg ~ dazg</td>
<td>dazg ~ dazg</td>
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<tr>
<td>(rivα) dazg</td>
<td>(riv') dazg</td>
<td>(rivα) dazg</td>
<td>(rivα) dazg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dżanig’i:</td>
<td>dżanig’i</td>
<td>dżan (vøř b ... )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ dżen (vøř ...)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fo:læmt (akøv)</td>
<td>fo:læmt (akøb)</td>
<td>do:læm (fi’d)</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Grammatical Variables

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<tr>
<td><strong>ceannaigh</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(an) gceannófa...?</td>
<td>(oN) g’æNóx tu</td>
<td>g’æNóx tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cheannaíteá</td>
<td>(v’iæx tu e k’æNóxt)</td>
<td>(v’ia: ?o k’æNóxt)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>lig</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(an) ligfeá...?</td>
<td>(o) L’ik’óx tuso</td>
<td>l’ik’ó (tu):¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ligfi</td>
<td>L’ik’fí:</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>labhraíonn</td>
<td>la’rin</td>
<td>la’rin</td>
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<td><strong>teastaigh</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>teastaíonn</td>
<td>tasti:N [x3]</td>
<td>tasti:N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(an) dteastaíonn...?</td>
<td>aðæstí:n</td>
<td>(o) dastí:n’ (fe’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>cuimhnhigh</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuimhníonn</td>
<td>kív’N’iN</td>
<td>o xi:N’i:Ns²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag) cuimhneamh</td>
<td>(o) kí:n’u: ~ (o) kí:n’u:</td>
<td>(o) kí:m’n’u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>fiafraigh</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag) fiafraí</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>larr</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag) iarraidh</td>
<td>(g’) i’eø</td>
<td>(g’) i’eø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>doirt</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doirte</td>
<td>(doírt’u):³</td>
<td>(doírt’fu:)³</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) <em>g'a</em>Nₐ (wem' c)</td>
<td>(a) <em>g'a</em>Nₐ tu¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(<em>v'₁</em>ₚₚₖₚ...<em>k'æ</em>nₚₓₚ)</td>
<td>(<em>v'₁</em>x tu <em>k'æ</em>nₚₓₚ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'l'ik'α: (*'jt'æx c)</td>
<td>'l'ik'α</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'l'ik't'i:</td>
<td>(*v'æ: l'ik'i st'æ:x)²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laₐᵣᵱ' (ji)</td>
<td>Laₐᵣᵱ' (ji)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tastim ~ tasti:N ~ ta'sti:N</td>
<td>hastox ~ hasu (<em>k'æ:N...</em>) ~ tasti:N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(wil' fe t'æ'sta'l' wet')</td>
<td>dasti'n' (*fe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kir'N'iφ₈N ~ smiₐ:i:N</td>
<td>kin'φₐ:i (*fe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g r 'ɔd a) smiₐ:n'*u ... (go ræ:d eg') smiₐ:n'*u</td>
<td>(go ræ:d) *k'æ:rə ...)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g') l:φₐ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dot't'i:</td>
<td>dot't'i:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ A blended form with the inflected hypothetical conditional verb form followed by a pronoun?
² "...bheifeá ligthe isteach".

SÉAMAS Ó DIREÁIN—*A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway*
### Grammatical Variables

#### Verb Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ceannaigh</th>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(an) gceannófá ...?</td>
<td>a 各式各样 (tu)(^1)</td>
<td>a 各式各样 tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cheannaíteá</td>
<td>(mí:ae kæ:Нax)(sic)(^2)</td>
<td>(ví:æ kæ:Нax)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lig</th>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(an) ligfeá ...?</td>
<td>'lìːkæ:eːsa(^3)</td>
<td>'lìːk eː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ligfé</td>
<td>(N'iː) l'ík'fìː</td>
<td>l'ík'fìː</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>labhair</th>
<th>labhairénn</th>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>labhairíonn</td>
<td>Labhair ínn (fìː)</td>
<td>labhairínn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>teastaigh</th>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>teastaíonn</td>
<td>taːstiːN ⊃ laːstax ([x^2])</td>
<td>teastaːN ⊃ laːstax ([x^2])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(an) dteastaíonn</td>
<td>hæstoːx(^4)</td>
<td>dæstíːn' (fè)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cuimhnigh</th>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cuimhníonn</td>
<td>kin'ínn' (fè)</td>
<td>smíːN'ínn fè  (≈)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag) cuímheamh</td>
<td>(a) kin'úː ~ (a) kin'úː</td>
<td>(a) kin'úː</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>fiafraigh</th>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(ag) fiafraí</td>
<td>(a) færoː ~ (a) færoː</td>
<td>(a) færuː ([x^2])</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>iarr</th>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(ag) iarraidh</td>
<td>(v'ɛx m'ɛ) d'ɛːrə</td>
<td>d'ɛːrə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>doirt</th>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>doirte</td>
<td>(dɔːɾftʃuː)(^5)</td>
<td>dɔːɾt'íː</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^1\) 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.

---

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### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eochaill M 68</th>
<th>Cill Rónáin M 50</th>
<th>Cill Éinne F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'g'æːNʊː</td>
<td>òg'ær'ʊːxːso (wem' e)</td>
<td>'g'ær'ʊx tu:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x'æːNɔːːx:</td>
<td>x'ær'ɪːx tu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ël'ɪk'æːx tusə</td>
<td>l'ɪk'ə</td>
<td>ël'ɪk'æː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v'ɾjaː l'ɪk'iː ʃt'æːx)</td>
<td>l'ɪg'ʃiː</td>
<td>l'ɪk'ʃiː:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laʰrɪn' (fi)</td>
<td>Laʰrɪn</td>
<td>Laʰrɪn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'æstɪn [x2] ~ t'æstɪn [n]</td>
<td>tastɪn [x2] ~ tastɪn</td>
<td>tastɪn [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>din'i ~ òhæstɪns³</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëd'æstɪn' (fe)</td>
<td>dastɪn' (fe)</td>
<td>(ə) dastɪn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kɪn'ɪn' (fe)</td>
<td>(ðɪNən ə ñNə:ɣɪn'e smɪ:n'ə)⁴</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æk'ærə ~ ækɪn'u</td>
<td>⁵knv'n'ə ~ ⁵knv'n'e⁶u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ℓ'reu:</td>
<td>òtʊn'ɪːxt</td>
<td>òfɪ'ɔru:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'æstɪ:n [n]</td>
<td>(g') irə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(doːrt'ʊ)⁵</td>
<td>doːr'fɪ</td>
<td>(doːr'fʊ)⁵</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Apparently a reduced form in rapid speech of the non-standard construction “...an gcéannódh 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: Regular Verb Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB FORMS</th>
<th>INIS MEÁIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>M 70</strong></td>
<td><strong>F 60+</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ceannaigh</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(an) gceannófái ...?</td>
<td>(a) g’æ:No (wem’ e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cheannafteá</td>
<td>(v’i:æ:x tu k’æ:No, v’i:æ:x fe k’æ:No)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>lig</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(an) ligfaoi ...?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ligfí</td>
<td>(v’e:jæ l’ik’i: ‘st’ex)²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>labhair</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labhraíonn</td>
<td>La”rin’ (Ji’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>teastaigh</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>cuimhnigh</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuimhníonn</td>
<td>ki:N:o: fe: smo:No:i:N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag) cuimhnéamh</td>
<td>(a) smi:N:u: (sic) smi:N:u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>fiafraigh</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag) fiafraí</td>
<td>(a) f”iri: [x2] (æg’) f”iri:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>iarr</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag) iarraidh</td>
<td>hastox hæ:stox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>doirt</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doirte</td>
<td>dort’i: dot”r:ı:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“Ligtear” as an impersonal imperative form? Cf. [f’ik’ær] (“feictear”) in the impersonal present form (e.g., in the phrase “Feictear dom ...”) on Inis Mór. ² “...bheiféá ligthe isteach”. 

---

Séamas Ó Direáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
### INIS OÍRR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o gأمNae</td>
<td>'gأمNae</td>
<td>gأمNae 'tusأ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vìs ø kأمNøx)</td>
<td>(vìx tu kأمNøx)</td>
<td>xأمNøx tusأ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o lìkø (tu)¹</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v'e: lìk'i: st'æ:x)²</td>
<td>Lìk'i:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La'rn (tṣi)</td>
<td>La'ron' (ji)</td>
<td>LA'rn (tji)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o tasti:l' (sic)</td>
<td>tasti'n [x2] ~ tasti:N</td>
<td>~ tasti (kæp'e)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o da:sti'n' (fe)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kim'im</td>
<td>kin'im [x2]</td>
<td>kin'i:N [x2]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ kin'im</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) kin'u:</td>
<td>(a) kin'u:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) fìrø</td>
<td>(a) fìrì:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(g') irø</td>
<td>(g') irø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do:rt'i:</td>
<td>(dort'øv)³</td>
<td>dort'i:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB FORMS IN INTERROGATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Cén chaoi) a ndeachaigh . . .?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cén chaoi) a ndearna . . .?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cén chaoi) a bhfuil . . .?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cén fáth) a ndeachaigh . . .?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cén fáth) a ndearna . . .?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cén fáth) a raibh . . .?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cé dó) a ndearna . . .?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cé leis) a raibh . . .?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cé leis) a bhfuil . . .?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cé aige) a bhfuil . . .?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cá) ndeachaigh . . .?1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cá fhad) go rachaidh . . .?1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cé mhéad) . . .?1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ (k‘e: m‘e:dǝ’ . . .</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</strong></th>
<th><strong>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(k’e xí) N’æxə...</td>
<td>(t’e xi) N’æxə...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k’e xi) rN’i...</td>
<td>(ka1) rN’e...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ka w[ə]s ‘dit’1)</td>
<td>(x’e hw’r) wil’...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k’e m fu:) N’æxə...</td>
<td>(k’e fu:) g° N’æxə°...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k’e m fu:) rN’i...</td>
<td>(k’e fu:) rN’i...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k’en fu:) ra...</td>
<td>(k’e fu) ra: (N wik’)...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k’e yo:) rN’i...</td>
<td>(k’e yo’) rN’i...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k’e l’) a ra...</td>
<td>(k’e l’ef) r (tur) ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k’e: g’) a wου (giiL’ [L’ef])²</td>
<td>(k’e g’i) wil’ (giiL’ l’ef)²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ka) N’æxə...</td>
<td>(ka) N’æxə...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k’eN a:d’) a yo:...</td>
<td>(k’en taxar a v’e’ fe)...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k’e: v’e:d’)...</td>
<td>(k’e m’e) to ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ (k’e: v’e: [dm’i])</td>
<td>~ (k’e m’e [dm’])...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 “Cá bhfios duit?.”  2 “Cé aige a bhfuil gaol leis?”

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## Grammatical Variables

### Verb Forms in Interrogative Constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>M 82 Form</th>
<th>F 72 Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Cén chaoi) a ndeachaigh . . .?</td>
<td>(k’e xì) N’ax̂ . . .</td>
<td>(k’é xì) N’ax̂. . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cén chaoi) a ndearna . . .?</td>
<td>(k’e xì) riN’i . . .</td>
<td>(k’é xì) o N’urna . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ (k’e xì) o riN’i . . .</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cén chaoi) a bhfuil . . .?</td>
<td>(k’e xì) ‘wí’ . . .</td>
<td>(k’é xì) wí’ . . . [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cén fáth) a ndeachaigh . . .?</td>
<td>(k’em fá) N’ax̂ . . .</td>
<td>(k’e fá) N’ax̂. . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cén fáth) a ndearna . . .?</td>
<td>(k’é fá) riN’i . . .</td>
<td>(k’em fá) riN’i . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ (tuq’i [x2]) riN’i . . .</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cén fáth) a raibh . . .?</td>
<td>(k’em fá) ra . . .</td>
<td>(k’é[n] fá) o ra . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cé dó) a ndearna . . .?</td>
<td>(k’e yo) ‘riN’i . . .</td>
<td>(k’é yo) o riN’i . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cé leis) a raibh . . .?</td>
<td>(k’e yo) ‘tá . . .</td>
<td>(k’e yo) v’i . . . [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ (k’e yo) ‘tá . . .</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cé leis) a bhfuil . . .?</td>
<td>(k’e yo) ‘wí’ . . .</td>
<td>(k’e yo) ‘wí’ . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cé aige) a bhfuil . . .?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cá) ndeachaigh . . .?</td>
<td>(k’a) N’ax̂. . .</td>
<td>(k’a) N’ax̂ . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cá fhad) go rachaidh . . .?</td>
<td>(k’en tax̂o o v’ēl fe) ‘No . . . (sic)</td>
<td>(k’e xo fádo s v’ēl fe) No go Na . . . (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cé mhéad) . . .?</td>
<td>(k’e: v’ēd) . . . [x3]</td>
<td>(k’e: m’ēd’). . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ (k’e: m’ēd’ [di:n’i]). . .</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*Séamas Ó Direáin— A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway*
## Verb Forms in Interrogative Constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eochaille M</th>
<th>Cill Rónáin M</th>
<th>Cill Éinne F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(kʻe xi) Nʻæxə...</td>
<td>(kʻe xi) Nʻæxə...</td>
<td>(kʻe xi) Nʻæxə...</td>
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<tr>
<td>(kʻe: xi) ətNʻe...</td>
<td>(kʻe xi) nʻærNa...</td>
<td>(kʻe xi) ətNʻ1...</td>
</tr>
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<td>(kʻe: xi) ətNʻe...</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kʻe fa) Nʻæxə...</td>
<td>(kʻe: ya) əNʻærNa...</td>
<td>(kʻe: yəf) ətNʻ1...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kʻe: ya) əNʻærNa...</td>
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<td>(kʻe: ya) əNʻærNa...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kʻe fa) vʻi'...</td>
<td>(kʻe fa) ra: (N mok)...</td>
<td>(kʻe fa) əNʻærNa...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kʻe ya) ətNʻe...</td>
<td>(kʻe: ya) əNʻærNa...</td>
<td>(kʻe: yəf) ətNʻ1...</td>
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<td>(kʻe: yəf) ətNʻ1...</td>
<td>(kʻe ya) ətNʻ1...</td>
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<td>(kʻe ya) ətNʻ1...</td>
<td>(kʻe: yəf) ətNʻ1...</td>
</tr>
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</table>

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<td><strong>VERB FORMS IN INTERROGATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cén chaoi) a ndeachaigh ...?</td>
<td>(k’e hi) d’eN¹...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cén chaoi) a ndearna ...?</td>
<td>(k’ë hír) riN’e...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cén chaoi) a bhfuil ...?</td>
<td>(k’ë xír) whl’...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cén fáth) a ndeachaigh ...?</td>
<td>(k’e fa) Nax d’eN¹...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cén fáth) a ndearna ...?</td>
<td>(k’en fa) riN’e...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cén fáth) a raibh ...?</td>
<td>(k’e fa) rí...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cé dó) a ndearna ...?</td>
<td>(k’e yor) ²ra (tu g abur’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cé leis) a raibh ...?</td>
<td>(k’e lef) a ra...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cé leis) a bhfuil ...?</td>
<td>(k’e lef)² a ra...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cé aige) a bhfuil ...?</td>
<td>(k’e: eg’) a we’...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cá) ndeachaigh ...?</td>
<td>(kâ’) N’aexa...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cá fhad) go rachaidh ...?</td>
<td>(k’a:ki ...k’e xo fa:da s v’e’i fe) go yu...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ (k’a:ki) im’o...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cé mhéad) ...?</td>
<td>(k’e ‘v’e:e) to...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ (k’e ‘v’e:e [dim’])...</td>
<td>~ (k’ë me:ki)...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 “...dtéann...” 2 Cf. [k’e l’á] (“Cé lena aghaidh...?”) in I.33.

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SÉAMAS Ó DIREÁIN — A SURVEY OF SPOKEN IRISH IN THE ARAN ISLANDS, CO.GALWAY
### Verb Forms in Interrogative Constructions

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(k'e , xi;) n'æx(\ddot{a}) . . .</td>
<td>(k'e , xi;) n'æx(\ddot{a}) . . .</td>
<td>(x'i;) n'æx(\ddot{a}) . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(~ k'e , xi;) (\ddot{a})n'æx(\ddot{a}) . . .</td>
<td>(~ k'e , xi;) (\ddot{a})N . . .</td>
<td>(~ x'i;) N . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k'e , xi;) (\ddot{a})N . . .</td>
<td>(k'e , xi;) (\ddot{a})N . . .</td>
<td>(x'i;) N . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k'e , xi;) wI(\ddot{a}) . . .</td>
<td>(k'e , xi;) wI(\ddot{a}) . . .</td>
<td>(k') wI(\ddot{a}) . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(~ k'e , \ddot{a})N . . .</td>
<td>(~ k'e , \ddot{a})N . . .</td>
<td>(~ x'i;) N . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k'e , \ddot{a})N . . .</td>
<td>(k'e , \ddot{a})N . . .</td>
<td>(x'i;) N . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(~ k'e , \ddot{a})N . . .</td>
<td>(~ k'e , \ddot{a})N . . .</td>
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</tr>
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<td>(~ k'e , \ddot{a})N . . .</td>
<td>(~ x'i;) N . . .</td>
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<tr>
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<td>(~ k'e , \ddot{a})N . . .</td>
<td>(~ x'i;) N . . .</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[1\] "... dtéann..."

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Séamas Ó Direáin— A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co. Galway

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### GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

#### VERB FORMS IN ATTRIBUTIVE INDIRECT RELATIVE CLAUSES

| (san áit) a gcónaíonn/ a maireann ... | (... α’t’) α go’Ni^2N ... | (... α’t’) α ma’r’an ... |
| (sa teach) a raibh ... | (... t’aex) α m’i’a⎯x tu’ ... | (... t’aex) α r’d k’l’a⎯xt ... |
| (faoi scian) a raibh ... | (... sk’i:N) α r o’Laːv’ ... | (... sk’i:N) α r’ o’Laːv’ ... |
| (an bhean) a ndeachaigh ... | (... v’aN) α N’aexa tu’ ... | (... v’aN) α xu^2 tu ... |
| (na mná) a ndeachaigh ... | (... mNa’r) α xu^2 tu ... | (... mNa) α xu^2 tu ... |

#### VERB FORMS IN “BEFORE” TEMPORAL RELATIVE CLAUSES

| (sula) dtagann ... | (sola) d’a’gn ... | (xoLa) d’a’gaoN ... |
| (sula) ndéanann ... | (xoLa) je’Na:n ... | (hLa:) Nu:Na ... |
| (sular) tháinig ... | (sLo ma) ha’n’ig’ ... | (sLo:x) ha’n’ig’ ... |
| (sular) fhág/imigh ... | (sar) dazg ... | (sLo:x) m’e ... |
| (sular) éirigh ... |

1 Note the unusual construction [ar t’aex α wa’r’i fe α:N] (“An i dteach a hair sé?”) in I.47.
Verb Forms in Indirect Relative Clauses; Verb Forms in “Before” Temporal Relative Clauses

**INIS Mór: An Ceann Thiar**

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<tr>
<th>An Sruthán F 70</th>
<th>Fearann An Choirce M 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(...) α'it' α ma'í'en...</td>
<td>(...) αt' o wa'í'n...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(...) t'æx er gna:x...</td>
<td>(...) α't' v'l'æx tu...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(...) fk'í'N α ro kaf...</td>
<td>(...) sk'l'n τ kaf...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(...) væ:ñ α xu³ tu...</td>
<td>(...) v'æ'ñ αx³ tu...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(...) mNa'í α xo³ tu...</td>
<td>(...) mNo'í αx⁰ tu...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(soL ma) hagòN...</td>
<td>(soL ma) N'íNú...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(...haL) d'oka...</td>
<td>(...haL) N'íNú...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sor) α jiNax...</td>
<td>(sor) α jiNax...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sar) ar ham'ig'...</td>
<td>(L) τ ham'ig'...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(suLar) a:g...</td>
<td>(suLar) a:g...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Grammatical Variables

### Verb Forms in Attributive Indirect Relative Clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(san áit) a gcónaíonn/a maireann...</td>
<td>(...ánt') a war'íNs...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sa teach) a raibh...</td>
<td>(...t'æx) bo yNax...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(faoi scian) a raibh...</td>
<td>(...sk'ir²N) a ro kaf...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 After Nan prompting Tom with the construction.

### Verb Forms in “Before” Temporal Relative Clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(sula) dtagann...</td>
<td>(so:r) hargøN...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sula) ndéanann...</td>
<td>(so:r) a jìN³n...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sular) tháinig...</td>
<td>(so:l mar) horm'íg'...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sular) fhág/imigh...</td>
<td>(so:l ma/Na[?]) dàgh...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sular) éirigh...</td>
<td>(so:r) a d'ó't'í...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EOCHAILL M 68</th>
<th>CILL RÓNÁIN M 50</th>
<th>CILL ÉINNE F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(...)at' *ma'ir'm' (juN)...</td>
<td>(...)t'fic <em>aN</em> wa'll'...</td>
<td>(...)at' a xo<em>N</em> ni'ns... 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(...)at' a v'î;a...</th>
<th></th>
<th>(...)tfæx a m'ir'&lt;x tu'...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(...)v'aen a xo'&lt; tu...</th>
<th>(...)v'aen a xo'&lt; tu...</th>
<th>(...)v'aen a xo... a xas mod l'er... (Nu') *xo m'd'...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(...)mNar a xo'&lt; tu...</th>
<th>(...)mNar a xo'&lt; tu...</th>
<th>(...)mNar a xo m'd'...</th>
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</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(hod) a haggN...</th>
<th>(soLa) dagN...</th>
<th>(soLa) hag'Ns...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>~ (soLa) d'æc'gangN...</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(hod) a jeNc' (je'c)...</th>
<th>(soLa) jma3...</th>
<th>(soLa) jN*tfe'4...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<p>| ~ (soLa) d'æc'gang' (je)c... | | |
| ~ (xod) a hag'ig' (fe)... | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(xod) a dag...</th>
<th>(soLa) aqg...</th>
<th>(soLa) dag</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

---

1 Cf. [ar tfæx a xu*N* ñe a'N] (“An i dteach a chónaigh sé?”) in I.47.

2 Cf. [aN t'æx a waer fr' a'N] (“An i dteach a mhair sí?”) in I.47.

3 Future tense form.

4 “...sula ndéanfadh sé...”
**Grammatical Variables**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M 70</th>
<th>F 60+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Verb Forms in Attributive Indirect Relative Clauses**

- (san áit) a gcónaíonn/
  a maireann...
  
- (sa teach) a raibh...
  
- (faoi scian) a raibh...

| (san áit) a gcónaíonn/  | (...at) a ma'íre 1 (tfe:N) |
| a maireann...          | (....at) a ma'íre 1 (tfe:N) |
| (sa teach) a raibh...  | (...t'ex) a m'ír... |
| (faoi scian) a raibh... | (....sk'ír) a ro kaf... |

| (an bhean) a ndeachaigh... | (...v'ae:N) 2 N'ích tu... |
| (na mná) a ndeachaigh... | (...mra:) a N'ích tu... |

| (an bhean) a ndeachaigh... | (...v'ae:N) 2 N'ích tu... |
| (na mná) a ndeachaigh... | (...mra:) a N'ích tu... |

**Verb Forms in “Before” Temporal Relative Clauses**

- (sula) dtagann...
- (sula) ndéanann...
- (sular) tháinig...
- (sular) fhág/imigh...
- (sular) éirigh...

| (sula) dtagann... | (sar) huko... |
| (sara mar) a x'ukas... |
| (sula) ndéanann... | (sar) a jINaNs... |
| (sar) a jINaNs... |
| (sular) tháinig... | (sar) h'm'ig'... |
| (sar mar) h'm'ig'... |
| (sular) fhág/imigh... | (sar mar) h'm'ig'... |
| (sar') a âg... |
| (sular) éirigh... |

1 “Seán”.

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<th>INIS OÍRR</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verb Forms in Indirect Relative Clauses; Verb Forms in “Before” Temporal Relative Clauses</td>
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<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(...a&quot;t) a d’g’m tu; (fǔN a ma’tá) ²</td>
<td>(...tfi:) a go:Ñi; (fǔ:N)¹</td>
<td>(...tfaex) a go wil’... (fǔ:N a xo:Ñi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(...t’æ:x) a v’ix tu...</td>
<td>(...tfaex) a v’ir:x tu...</td>
<td>(...tfaex) eg’ da:Ña: (a’N)³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(...v’æn) a xo tu...</td>
<td>(...v’æn) a xo tu...</td>
<td>(...v’æn) a xo tu...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(...mr:u:) a xo [x2] tu...</td>
<td>(...mr:u:) a xo [x2] tu...</td>
<td>(...mr:u:) a xo f’ib’...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(riv’) a ha:gn’ (tfi’tsaN)</td>
<td>(riv’) a ha:gnN...</td>
<td>(riv’) ⁴ a da:gnN...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(riv’) a jë:ñaX...</td>
<td>(riv’) a jiN: (tfe)...</td>
<td>(riv’) a n’i:ñaN’ (f:)...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(riv’) a ha:mn’ig’...[x2]</td>
<td>(riv’) a ha:mn’ig’...</td>
<td>(riv’) a ha:mn’uk’ (f:)...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(riv’) ³da:gn...</td>
<td>(riv’) da:gn...</td>
<td>(riv’) a da:gn’... ~ (riv’) a da:gn (f:í) [x2]...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ “... (ar chúl an) tí a gcónaíonn Seán” (sic).  
² “... áit a thuigim a bhfuil Seán...”.  
³ “... ag a bhfantá”.  
⁴ Cf. also [... riv’ N’a u tu... ] (“... go dtí go ngabhfaidh tú...”) in II.53.
**GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BUNGABHLA F 43</th>
<th>EOGHANACHT F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>THE COPULA</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Present Tense)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An tú (Séamas)?</td>
<td>or tu’ (femas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An iascaire (thú)?</td>
<td>or i’skar’a (thú)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Past Tense)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ar mhúinteoir (thú ...)?</td>
<td>(ó ró tóis dó wun’t’or’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ar mhic léinn (sibh ...)?</td>
<td>(ó ró jib’...aNo skala’rí’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbh fleirmeoirí (iad ...)?</td>
<td>ar f’el’m’erí (v’i aNT’ab) (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbh i dteach ...?</td>
<td>ar a d’aeX...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B’eisean ...</td>
<td>cSóN...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FROM Tu (Je:ma:s)</td>
<td>Tu (Je:ma:s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FROM I's:kı'r i (hu)</td>
<td>I's:kı'r (u')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FROM mım't'o'i'r (a v'i'-a'Nı')</td>
<td>&quot;r ts'd wu:N't'or'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ra jıb'...a'Nı' m'e:k' L'e:N'...</td>
<td>&quot;r' jıb'...a'Nı' skuLar'i':...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FROM f'tl'i'm'o'i'r:i (i'd)</td>
<td>&quot;r f'tl'i'm'eri (i'o'd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FROM a d'æx...</td>
<td>r t'ær:x (a' xu:Nı' fe a'nu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'v' e:sN...</td>
<td>b'v' e:sN...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Grammatical Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THE COPULA</th>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>(Present Tense)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An tú (Séamas)?</td>
<td>ar tu (feméas)</td>
<td>ar tu (feméas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An iascaire (thú)?</td>
<td>ar eiskrí (ur)</td>
<td>ar eiskrí (tisá)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(Past Tense)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ar mhúinteoir (thú ...)?</td>
<td>(a ro tsi do wu'N't'or'í...)</td>
<td>(a ro tsi do wu:N't'or')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ar mhic léinn (sibh ...)?</td>
<td>(a ro fú... na m'ik L'eN...)</td>
<td>(a ro fú ana m'ik f'eN')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbh fheirmoírí (iad ...)?</td>
<td>a' féim'íreí (ed)</td>
<td>a' féim'íre'í (í'd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbh i dteach ...?</td>
<td>ar 'd'æx...</td>
<td>ar t'æx (ar xu:Nao fe aN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B'eišean ...</td>
<td>is ešaN...</td>
<td>as ešaN...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eochaill M 68</th>
<th>Cill Róináin M 50</th>
<th>Cill Éinne F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ar tu' (fémós)</strong></td>
<td><strong>aN tása (fémós)</strong></td>
<td><strong>ar tu' (fémós)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ar' éskir' (ur')</strong></td>
<td><strong>an' r'eskir' (hsa)</strong></td>
<td><strong>ar' iskair' (hur)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **(ra tása da wraith'or')**
- **(ra fah'...na skolair'íi:...)**
- **ar fah'mair'í (i'd)**
- **ar t'æx e: (s v'ir kuir:Ní:)**
- **ar' aN**

**is e'ssaN...** | **eSNI:** | **e'bh e'ssaN1...**

---

1 A declarative construction, not an interrogative one.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES</th>
<th>INIS MEÁIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>THE COPULA</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Present Tense)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An tú (Séamas)?</td>
<td>aN tusa (femaos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ er tu: (femaos)</td>
<td>aN tusa (femaos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An iascaire (thú)?</td>
<td>i'sk̑ar' (u: 'b'ae)¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ er sk̑ar' (hussa)</td>
<td>~ er sk̑ar' (hussa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Past Tense)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ar mhúinteoir (thú ...)?</td>
<td>(a ra tu do wum:t'o'r')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ er m:m't'or' (tos N'tjm')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ar mhic léinn (sibh ...)?</td>
<td>(a ra tu do wak L'e:N')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ or jkoLr'r'i: (sib')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbh fleirmeoirí (iad ...)?</td>
<td>f'e'l'm'er'r' (i'd ar 'o'v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ er f'e'l'm'er'r' (i'd)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbh i dteach ...?</td>
<td>a d'aex (a v'i: fe kni: b'ae)¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ or d'aex (a v'i: fe Na kni: 'b'ae)¹</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ or t'faex (a xo:Na fe) ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B'eisean ...</td>
<td>s asaN... ~ f'faN...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ or t'faex (a xo:Na fe) ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ or t'faex (a xo:Na fe)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ “...ab ea?”
## Interrogative Constructions: Present Tense/Past Tense

### INIS OÍRR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;b’ ú...&quot;b’ o: (fe:mos)</td>
<td>&quot;b’ é t...&quot;b’ u:...</td>
<td>a ’tusa (fe:mos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b’ é i'skúr’ (u)</td>
<td>b’ é t...i’skúr’e (tusa)...</td>
<td>an’ i’skúr’ic (tusa)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| (o ró tosa "N dá wum’t’ar... ) | b’ é mun’ú’or’ (a v’ir aNóNtu)\(^1\) | (o ró tosa dá wum’ú’or’... ) |
| (ra fíb’ ma skáLán’r’i’...) | (ra fíb’... na sklánr’i’...) | (a r fíb’... an skáLán’r’i’...) |
| "rad2 ma v’ér’im’f’ri’... | b’ ét é’ f’ér’im’f’ri’ (v’ir aNtab) | f’ér’im’f’ri’ (v’ir Ntab)\(^3\) |
| "b m’ t’æ’x (a wí: fé) | ab’ é t’æ’x (a v’í) | a t’æ’x (a r f aN)...a t’æ’x... |
| "wánr’æxtal’ on) | kóñic er’i’) | a b’ t’æ’x (a v’í fé Nə xo:Nil: on) |
| fm’ æ... | be f’ef’on...~ b’ t’f’on... | is t’son... |

1 “...ionat?”
2 “An rabhdar...?”
3 Uttered by the informant as a statement.
**GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES**

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<tr>
<th>BUNGABHLA F 43</th>
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<td><strong>THE COPULA</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(In Subordinate Clauses: Present Tense)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...gur innealtóir (é)</td>
<td>(gər will' fe na ?nυ'lτo'r' e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...gurb álainn ...</td>
<td>(gər wil' òN α't' gə hα:lIn')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(In Subordinate Clauses: Past Tense)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...gurbh innealtóir (é)</td>
<td>gər “engineer” (e)...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ιn'υ'lτo'r' i' ò v'i: 'α:N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...gurbh iscairí ...</td>
<td>gər iskar'i' (μd')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...gur dhochtúir ...</td>
<td>gər daxtúr (m'e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...gur chloch mhór ...</td>
<td>gr kLax wo'r (i) [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...gurbh iontach ...</td>
<td>(gə rə N α't' har k'i:n)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( gər \text{n}^e\lambda\text{h}o{r}' (\text{?e:}) )</td>
<td>( gər \text{n}^e\lambda\text{t}o{r}' (\text{e'}) )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( (gər \text{a}:t' \alpha:\text{LIN}' \epsilon) )</td>
<td>( (gər \text{a}:t' \alpha:\text{LIN}' \epsilon) )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( gər \text{iNo mər}ho{r}' (\text{e:}) )</td>
<td>( gər \text{iNo to}x{r}' (\text{e'}) )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( gər \text{i'sk}u{r}' (\text{o v'i 'i NoN'}) )</td>
<td>( gər \text{i'sk}u{r}' (\text{o v'i 'aN}') )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( gər \text{dax}tu{r} (\text{o v'i i Nam}) )</td>
<td>( gər \text{dax}tu{r} (\text{o v'i 'aNam}) )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( gər \text{kLax wor} (\text{o v'i aN}) )</td>
<td>( \text{kLax wor} (\text{v'i 'an})^1 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( (gər \text{a}:t' i:ntox \epsilon) )</td>
<td>( (gər \text{a}:t' i:ntox \epsilon) )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^1 This is a subordinate clause without the subordinating particle “\( gər \)”.

---

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**GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES**

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<td><strong>THE COPULA</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(In Subordinate Clauses: Present Tense)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...gur innealtóir (é)</td>
<td>gər in'olort' (e:)</td>
<td>gər in'olort' (e:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...gurb álann ...</td>
<td>(gər o:lt' o:ln' e)</td>
<td>gər o:ln' (N o:t' e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(In Subordinate Clauses: Past Tense)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...gurbh innealtóir (é)</td>
<td>gur in'olort' (o:t: a:N)</td>
<td>gər in'olort' (ə v:i: án)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...gurbh iascairí ...</td>
<td>gər e'skor'i: (m'w:ln')</td>
<td>gər eskor'i (mőd')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...gur dhochtúir ...</td>
<td>gər doxtur (m'ë)</td>
<td>gər doxtur (m'ë)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...gur chloch mhór ...</td>
<td>gər kLox mo't (ë)</td>
<td>gər kLox mo't (ae)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...gurbh iontach ...</td>
<td>(gur o:lt' i:n'tax e)</td>
<td>gərw i:n'tax (N o:t' e)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

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<th>Cill Rónáin M 50</th>
<th>Cill Éinne F 70</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gər enˈdɛmˈizər (ˈta an)</td>
<td>gər jinəltɔrə ˈ(ɛ)</td>
<td>gər məltɔrˈ(ɛ:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(gər ˈaːtʃə ˈə:linˈ ɛ)</td>
<td>(gər əˈtʃə ə:linˈ ɛ)</td>
<td>(gər əːtʃə ə:linˈ ɛ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gər enˈdɛmˈizər (ɛ)</td>
<td>gər iˈnəltɔrə (ˈvːi ˈən)</td>
<td>gər məltɔrˈ (ɛː heːn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gər eskərˈiː (ˈvːi ˈənˈ)</td>
<td>gr ɛskərˈiː (mən)</td>
<td>gər eskərˈiː (ə vːiː əNən)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gər dəxtʊr (mət)</td>
<td>gr dəxtʊr (mət)</td>
<td>gər dəxtʊr (ə vːiː əNəm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gər kəlɔx woːr (ˈvːi ˈən)</td>
<td>gər kəlɔx mɔr (ɛ)</td>
<td>(gər mə klɔx mɔɾ)¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(gər ˈaːN ətʃə ɛ² [ˈɾɛ] ...ətʃə ə:linˈ ɛ)</td>
<td>(gər əːtʃə ɪntɔx ɛ)</td>
<td>gər ɪntɔx (n əːtʃə ɛ)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Non-standard “…gurb ‘in cloch mór’.
² Non-standard “…gur an-áit ɛ”.

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### Grammatical Variables: The Copula

#### Inis Meáin

<table>
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<th>M 70</th>
<th>F 60+</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Copula</strong></td>
<td><strong>(In Subordinate Clauses: Present Tense)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...gur innealtóir (é)</td>
<td>gər ɪn'əltoir' (e he:n')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...gurb álainn ...</td>
<td>gər hə'lin' (əN a:t' e)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**(In Subordinate Clauses: Past Tense)**

| ...gurbh innealtóir (é) | gər ɪn'əltoir' (e) | gər ɪn'əltoir' (e) |
| ...gurbh iascairí ... | gər ʃi'skər'i (mud') | gər ʃkər'i (maːx) |
| ...gurbh dhochtúir ... | gər dəxtʊr (m'e) | gər dəxtʊr (m'e) |
| ...gurbh chloch mhór ... | gər kŁax wɔr (e) | gər kŁax wɔr (e) |
| ...xŁax wɔr (i...iːː) | gər hİndə́ (N a:t' e) | (gər a:tʃ i:ntəx e) |

1 The informant was emphasising the gender of the noun.

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### INIS OÍRR

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<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>(gə rə fə n məltər’)</strong></td>
<td>gər ɛn’ʤi’n’ir (e)</td>
<td>gə ɛn’ʤi’n’i:i (e)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(gə rə N æ:t’ gə hə:lin’)</strong></td>
<td>(gər æ: t dæ:s e)</td>
<td>(g æ:t æ:Lin’ e)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(gə rə fə n məltər’)</strong></td>
<td>gərb’ e...gər ‘in’əltəx’ (ə v’i’ æ:N) ~</td>
<td>gə ɛn’ʤi’n’i:i (e)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gərb’ ɛn’ʤi’n’ir (ə v’i’ æ:N)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(gə rə...)</strong> gər ‘i’skən’ir (ə v’i’ ən’in’)**</td>
<td>gər ɛn’ʤi’n’ir (ə v’i’ æ:N)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gə ɛn’ʤi’n’ir (ə v’i’ æ:N)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(gə rə m’e ma yəxtər)</strong></td>
<td>gər dəxtər (ə v’i’ məm)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gər dəxtər (m’e)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(gə rə fə nə xLəx məx’r’)</strong></td>
<td>[gə?] kLəx məx’r (ə v’i’ æ:N)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gə x...gə kLəx məx’r (ə v’i’ æn)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(gə rə N æ:t’ i:Ntəx)</strong></td>
<td>(gər æ:t’ ə:iNtəx e)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(g æ:t’ i:Ntəx ə v’i æN)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Grammatical Variables

**THE COPULA**

*The Past/Conditional Tense in Selected Constructions*

| B'fhéidir ... | (is doiri') \sim b'e'd'ir' | (is doiri') \sim b'e'd'ir' |
| Niorbh fhéidir ... | n'i:rv' e:d'ir (l'am) | (n'i' r m'e' n a:N...) |
| B'fhiú ... | b'u; | bə v'u: |
| B'fhearr ... | (v'ex fe N'is f'ar...) | b'ar |
| ...gurbh fhearr ... | gorv' a'r | gor a'r |
| B'iontach ... | (gorw i:ntax) |
| Dá mba bhean ... | a: mə b'æ:n (tusa) | (a: m'e'a:sə do v'a:N)\(^1\) |

\(^1\) “Dá mbeifeása i do bhean...”.
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

**AN SRUTHÁN F 70** | **FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>b'ed'ir' ( [x2] )</th>
<th>b'ed'ir' ( \sim ) b'ed'ir'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( n'ir ) ed' m'e... )</td>
<td>( n'i' ) etin'... )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bə v'u' ( \sim ) bə v'u; ( [x2] )</td>
<td>b'u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'ar</td>
<td>bə v'ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gorv' ar</td>
<td>gə v'ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(gor o:t' intax c...</td>
<td>(gor o:t' intax c...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bə ?ut' intax c)</td>
<td>bə ?ut' intax c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>də bə r b'ə:n (husə)</td>
<td>(ə m'ə\localized{n} da v'ə:n)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Grammatical Variables

#### The Copula

*(The Past/Conditional Tense in Selected Constructions)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Corrúch M 82</th>
<th>Corrúch F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B’fhéidir ...</td>
<td>(<em>s do:xa</em>)</td>
<td>b’e:d’ur’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[x2]</td>
<td>[x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niór b’fhéidir ...</td>
<td>(<em>n’i: etim’</em>)</td>
<td>(<em>n’i: etim’</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B’hiú ...</td>
<td>b’u</td>
<td>b’u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B’fhéarr ...</td>
<td>b’ær [x2]</td>
<td>bær v’ær</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...gurbh fhéarr ...</td>
<td>gær’ v’ær</td>
<td>gær’ v’ær</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gær v’ær</td>
<td>gær v’ær</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B’iointach ...</td>
<td>b’w i:Nta:N</td>
<td>b’w i:Nta:N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dá mba bhean ...</td>
<td>(a m’e:d’sa do v’æ:N)</td>
<td>d’ba b’a:‘n (u)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eochaill M 68</td>
<td>Cill Rónáin M 50</td>
<td>Cill Éinne F 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m‘(?i)ɛːd’ɾ’ ~ b‘eːd’ɾ’</td>
<td>(faːns) ~ b’eːd’ɾ’</td>
<td>(is dɔːxə ~ s dɔːː [x2])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n’iː ‘ɛːtɪn’...)</td>
<td>(n’iː rə m’e N əːN...)</td>
<td>(n’iːr’ eːd m’e...)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b’uː</td>
<td>b’uː</td>
<td>b’uː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v’iː fe n’iː b’ær...)</td>
<td>b’ær</td>
<td>bə b’ær</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ b’ær¹</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɣə m’əːr ~ ɣə m’ær</td>
<td>ɣə m’ær</td>
<td>ɣəv’ əːr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b’əːt’ əːlm’ e)</td>
<td>b’ ɪntəx</td>
<td>(b’wɨː... əːtʃ ɪntəx e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daː wʊ b’æːN (u)</td>
<td>ə mə v’æːN (u)</td>
<td>ə bə b’æːn...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ (a’l m’əːx tu ndə v’æːN)</td>
<td>~ a’m bə b’æːN (hu’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Cf. II.32.
**GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INIS MEÁIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**THE COPULA**

(_The Past/Conditional Tense in Selected Constructions_)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inis Meáin</th>
<th>M 70</th>
<th>F 60+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>b’fhéidir</strong> . . .</td>
<td><code>b’e:d’ir’~ b’e:d’ir’</code></td>
<td><code>b’e:d’ir’ [x2]</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Níorbh fhéidir</strong> . . .</td>
<td><code>N’irv e:d’ir’</code></td>
<td><code>(N’i’ etm’...)</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B’fhìú</strong> . . .</td>
<td><code>b’u ~ bø v’u</code></td>
<td><code>(gørv’ v’u’u) ~ b’u:</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B’thearr</strong> . . .</td>
<td><code>(v’et’i: vad N’is fær as...1)</code></td>
<td><code>b’uir</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>. . .gurbh fhearr</strong> . . .</td>
<td><code>gø m’a:t</code></td>
<td><code>gø m’a:r</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B’iontach</strong> . . .</td>
<td><code>b’w i:NTax</code></td>
<td><code>(gørv ø:tf i:NTax ø)</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dá mba bhean</strong> . . .</td>
<td><code>a: bø b’ae:N (u’u)”~</code></td>
<td><code>ga mø b’ae:N (u)</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**. . .a bø r b’ae:N (ø v’ex ø’t’m’...)2`</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 “Bheadh sí i bhfad níos fearr as...”.

2 “Dá mba bhean a bheadh ansin...” as comment in response to II.40.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m’e:d’r’</td>
<td>b’e:d’r’ [x2] ~ b’e:d’r’</td>
<td>b’e:d’r’ ~ b’e:d’r’ [x2]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n’r’ e:d’r’</td>
<td>(n’i: e:tm’...)</td>
<td>(n’i ro m’e ’N a’N...)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(gər’ v’u’)</td>
<td>bə ’v’u:</td>
<td>b’u:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(...n’is f’ær...)</td>
<td>b’ær</td>
<td>(v’i: fe: n’is f’ær...)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gə v’ær</td>
<td>gə m’ær</td>
<td>gə ’b’ær</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(gə ra N a:t’ i:ntōx)</td>
<td>(b a:tʃ i:ntōx ə)</td>
<td>(b a:tʃ i:ntōx ə)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a ə b ə b’ae:n (ə v’ex aŋat... )</td>
<td>a’ b’e ... a b’e b’ae:n (ə v’ex aŋat... )</td>
<td>də ma b’ae:N (hu:0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Note the lenition of the relative form of the copula found in I.23: [... a v’exər (l’am)].
### THE COPULA

*(Deictic and Related Constructions: Present Tense)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BUNGABHLA F 43</th>
<th>EOGHANACHT F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seo (ceann maith)!</td>
<td>fad (k’á:N mae’)!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sin (droch-cheann)!</td>
<td>fn’ (k’á:N dəNə)!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seo (é)!</td>
<td>fad (‘e: ?e:)!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sin (é)!</td>
<td>fn’ (‘e: ?e:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An é seo (é)?</td>
<td>ab’ ‘ad (‘e: ?e:)!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ní hé seo (é)!</td>
<td>ní: həd (‘e: ?e:)!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...gurb é seo (é)</td>
<td>...fad (‘e: ?e:)!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...nach é seo (é)</td>
<td>...ní: həd (‘e: e:)!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...an é seo (é nó) nach é</td>
<td>...ob’ ‘ad (e: Nu:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nax b’ e’</td>
<td>Nax e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 A subordinate clause without a subordinating conjunction and related mutations.
### Deictic and Related Constructions: Present Tense

**INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ù macOS (k’a:N ma:)</td>
<td>ù MacOS (k’a:N ma:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ù fis’ (k’a:N døNø)</td>
<td>ù hìn’ (k’a:N døNø)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ù ùad (e: ‘e:)</td>
<td>ù ùad (e: e:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ù (o: n’ìr hæ:) ù fis’ (e:)</td>
<td>ù (n’e æ:) ù ùad (e: e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ù ùb’ ùd (e: e:)</td>
<td>ù ùd (e: e:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ù n’ìr ùhad (e’)</td>
<td>ù n’ìr ùhad (e: e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ù ùgø maj ød (øe: ‘øe:)</td>
<td>ù ùgø ùad (ø: øe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ù ùna’tøv ød (ø ‘øe:)</td>
<td>ù Na ùhad (ø: øe:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ù ù...ùeb’ ùd (ø øe ø Nu)</td>
<td>ù ù...ùb ød (ø: Nu:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ù ùnax ø</td>
<td>ù ùNax ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Séamas Ó Direáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co. Galway
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>THE COPULA</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Deictic and Related Constructions: Present Tense)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seo (ceann maith)!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sin (droch-cheann)!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seo (é)!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sin (é)!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An é seo (é)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ní hé seo (é)!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...gurb é seo (é)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...nach é seo (é)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...an é seo (é nó) nach é</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Séamas Ó Dreach—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway*
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>EOCHAILL M 68</strong></th>
<th><strong>CILL RÓNÁIN M 50</strong></th>
<th><strong>CILL ÉINNE F 70</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(s ’k’a:N ’ma: e fə)</td>
<td>(k’a:N ma: e fə)</td>
<td>(is k’a:N ma: e fə)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fən’ (k’a:N doNə)</td>
<td>(drəxx’æN œ fən’) (sic)</td>
<td>(s drəxx’æN œ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fən’(e: e:)</td>
<td>fən’(e:)</td>
<td>fən’(e:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’fən’ (e) [x²]</td>
<td>(nə:) ...’fən’ (e’)</td>
<td>fən’ (e hə:L e)¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṡb’ ed (e: e:) ~</td>
<td>b’ əd (e)</td>
<td>ṡb’ ’i:j’d (e:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṡb’ ed (e’ e’)²</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N’ir’ e: fə (e) ~</td>
<td>n’ir’ həd (e)</td>
<td>n’ir’ həd (e:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n’ir’ he: fə (e)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gəb’ ed (e: e:)</td>
<td>gəb’ ed (e)</td>
<td>gəb’ ’ed (e:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nax dəd (e: e:)²(sic)</td>
<td>Nax rəd (e) (sic)</td>
<td>Nax b’ed (e:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...b’ ed (e: Nu’)</td>
<td>...əb’ əd (e Nu)</td>
<td>...əb’ n’ (e: Nu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nax b’ e’</td>
<td>nax e’</td>
<td>Nax b’ e:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Cf. [fən’ ed Na rudi: ...] in I.45.
² With a definite stress over each of the two final vowels.
### Grammatical Variables: The Copula

(Deictic and Related Constructions: Present Tense)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THE COPULA</th>
<th>INIS MEÁIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Seo (ceann maith)!</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fe (k’ αːN maː)</strong>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sin (droch-cheann)!</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fim’ (k’ αːN daNæ)</strong>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Seo (é)!</strong></td>
<td><strong>Faw (é):</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sin (é)!</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fim’ (é): (N’iː hæ: ax ɛː fuːd)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>An é seo (é)?</strong></td>
<td><strong>An a Faw (é): 1 (sic)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ní hé seo (é)!</strong></td>
<td><strong>N’Iː hæw (é): 1 (N’Iː hæ)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>...gurb é seo (é)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Gæb’ hæw (é):</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>...nach é seo (é)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Nax e Fim’ (é):</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>...an é seo (é nó) nach é</strong></td>
<td><strong>...æb’ (éː Nu):</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 With rising intonation over the last two vowels.
2 With rapidly falling intonation over the last vowel.
### Deictic and Related Constructions: Present Tense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'đad ('k’ːN ‘maː')</td>
<td>'đad (k’ːN ‘maː')</td>
<td>'đ (k’ːN maː)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hm' ('k’ːN ‘dəNə)</td>
<td>'jm' (drəx’ːN)</td>
<td>'jm' (k’ːN dəNə)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'đad (eː; ɛː)(^1)</td>
<td>'đo (eː)</td>
<td>'đo (ɛ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'đad (eː)</td>
<td>'jm' (eː)</td>
<td>'jm' (æ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɑb’ əd (eː)</td>
<td>b’ əd (eː)</td>
<td>ɑb’ əd (ɛ)(^2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niː ʰad (eː)</td>
<td>niː ʰad (eː)</td>
<td>'niː: ʰad (æ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(‘đad eː; zərt ʃe)</td>
<td>ɡəb’ əd (eː eː)</td>
<td>ɡəb’ əd (ɛd) . . . ɡəb’ əd (æ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ňax əd ...</td>
<td>nax ʰad (eː; ‘eː)</td>
<td>NAX ’xəd (əN əːtf) . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Na had (eː)</td>
<td>NAX ’xəd (æ)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...b’ əd (eː; n’ k’ːN)</td>
<td>...ɔb’ əd (eː ‘eː; Nə)</td>
<td>...a b’ əd (eː) . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eː Nə n’ k’ːN ɛl’ɛ)</td>
<td>nax e ...Nu nax e</td>
<td>...a b’ əd (eː) . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAX xəd (æ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) With falling and rising intonation, respectively, over the last two vowels.

\(^2\) With light palatalisation of the bilabial plosive.
### Grammatical Variables: The Copula

**GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BUNGABHLA F 43</th>
<th>EOGHANACHT F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>THE COPULA</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Deictic and Related Constructions: Past Tense)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B’é seo (é)!</th>
<th>B’iad seo (iad)!</th>
<th>Arbh é seo (é)?</th>
<th>Níorbh é seo (é)!</th>
<th>Níorbh iad (na cinn . . .), arbh iad?</th>
<th>...nárbh é seo (é)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fo (?e’ ?e’)</td>
<td>fad (é: )</td>
<td>ab’ e · n’ k’a:n’ fa e</td>
<td>n’i:r ...n’i: hød (?e’ ?e’ )</td>
<td>N’i: hpd (N’o k’i:N’ . . .)</td>
<td>...N’i: he’...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fad (é:d i’d)</td>
<td></td>
<td>ab’ a’d (’e:)</td>
<td>n’ai: hIn’ (’e: e)</td>
<td>Je (N’o k’i:N’ . . .) et</td>
<td>N’i:rv’ e fa ?e!:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o’b’ i:’d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 A subordinate clause without a subordinating conjunction and related mutations.
**INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>buj (e: e:)</td>
<td>fəd (e: e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iːd 'fə)</td>
<td>b uːd (eːd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'b' ed (e: e:)</td>
<td>(nu) b ød (e: e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'iːrv' m' ('e:)</td>
<td>n'iː hød (e: e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N'iː hɪn' ('id Nə rədɪ...)</td>
<td>b ød (əd Nə k'iːN'...)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>øb 'iːrd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naːrv' ød (e:)</td>
<td>nə hød (e: e)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Grammatical Variables

### The Copula

*(Deictic and Related Constructions: Past Tense)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Corrúch M 82</th>
<th>Corrúch F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B'è seo (é)!</td>
<td>fow (é:)</td>
<td>bə bəd...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bə ad (é: é:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B'iad seo (iad)!</td>
<td>fu:d (i^d)</td>
<td>b' in' (é:d id)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b' u:d (i^d)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbh é seo (é)?</td>
<td>b' o:w (é:)</td>
<td>e:b' ad (é:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niorbh é seo (é)!</td>
<td>ni: həw (é:)</td>
<td>n'i:rv' ad (é:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niorbh iad (na cinn ...), arbh iad?</td>
<td>(fi'n éd) ... e:b' e:d...</td>
<td>ni: h'm' (é:d) ... e:b' ed...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e:b' e:d (Na rodi: ...)</td>
<td>arb e:d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...nárbh é seo (é)</td>
<td>nax həw (é:)</td>
<td>na'rv' ad (é:)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Séamas Ó Direáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co. Galway**
## Deictic and Related Constructions: Past Tense

### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EOCHAILL M 68</th>
<th>CILL RÓNÁIN M 50</th>
<th>CILL ÉINNE F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fad (e· n' k'α:N e) ~</td>
<td>b'i j ad (e)</td>
<td>fad (e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is ad (e· n' k'α:N e)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fad (e:d ed) [x₂] ~</td>
<td>b'w i:d fо (v'ir ntu)¹</td>
<td>'b' u:d (e:) ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fad (ed No k'ι:m')~</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fo: (e'd ed)²</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'b' ed (e' e') ~</td>
<td>r' ad (e)</td>
<td>'b' m' (e')~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'b' ed (e· n' k'α:N e)</td>
<td></td>
<td>oN (e:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ 'b' ed (e)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'i ('he:)</td>
<td>n'i:rw e fо (e)</td>
<td>N'i: 'hад (e:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'i: he: Jm' (e) [x₂]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jm' (e:d No k'i:N'...)</td>
<td>n'i: 'hin' (ed m k'm'...)</td>
<td>n'i: 'hin' (ed No rodi: ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b' e:o'd</td>
<td>n'i: ha:³</td>
<td>'b' i:o'd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nax hад (e: e) [x₂]</td>
<td>Nax hад (e)</td>
<td>Nax b' ed (e' ?e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nax b' ed (e η α'tf e')⁴</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ “B'iad seo a bhí iontu”.

² Cf. [had' ed No mNo: ...] (“those were the women ...”) in I.52.

³ “Ní hea”.

⁴ “…nárbh é an áit é.”
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>THE COPULA</strong></th>
<th><strong>(Deictic and Related Constructions: Past Tense)</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B’è seo (é)!</td>
<td><strong>buj 'e: fə (e:)</strong> <strong>bəv' ('e:)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B’iad seo (iad)!</td>
<td><strong>bəvi: ?iəd fə (iət)</strong> <strong>bəv' (iət) ...</strong> <strong>bəv (iəd) ~</strong> <strong>bəv' (iəd) ...</strong> <strong>bəv' m' (iəd) ...</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbh é seo (é)?</td>
<td><strong>ərb' e: fo ...</strong> <strong>əN 'e: fə (e:)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Níorbh é seo (é)!</td>
<td><strong>N'írv' e: fən' (e:)</strong> <strong>N'írv' 'e fə (e:)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Níorbh iad (na cinn ...)</td>
<td><strong>(fən' e[d] Nə rodi: ...</strong> <strong>N'írv' (iat fən'...</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arbh iad?</td>
<td><strong>Nú: b' iəd</strong> <strong>Nə') rv' ët</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

...nárbh é seo (é) |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>...nárbh é seo (é)</strong></th>
<th><strong>Nax m' ... [x₃]</strong></th>
<th><strong>(Nax [x₂] mar fən' 'e:)</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

---

1 Cf. I.45.
2 With rising intonation over the last two vowels.
Deictic and Related Constructions: Past Tense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'fád (e:)</td>
<td>fo (?e· ?e') ...</td>
<td>b 'ad (e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fo (e:) ...</td>
<td>b 'ad (e· e·)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'b' 'ad (ed) ~</td>
<td>'fá (i'd)</td>
<td>bu e:t 'fád (e) ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fád (ed i'í)</td>
<td>b'i e:t 'fád (ed)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'b' 'ad (e:)</td>
<td>'b' 'ad ...</td>
<td>'b' 'ad (e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b' 'ad (?e· ?e·) [2]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'i 'hád (e:)</td>
<td>n'i 'hád (e· e·)</td>
<td>'n'i: hád (e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b' m' (ad na rodi' ...)</td>
<td>n'i: (hir'd 'N rodi' ...)</td>
<td>n'i: hin' (na kod' ...)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'q' i'd</td>
<td>b' i'd</td>
<td>'b' æ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'r 'ad (e N 'at')</td>
<td>nax 'e: fo (e:)</td>
<td>Nax 'had (æ)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Grammatical Variables: The Copula

#### Bungabhla F 43

**THE COPULA**

*With Human Subjects: Present Tense*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Irish</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Irish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Is é Seán (é).</td>
<td>(\text{f`e, f`a:\text{N}})</td>
<td>(f`m`e, f`a:n)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An í an bhean ...?</td>
<td>'N b' m' i' N (\text{v`ae:\text{N}}) ...</td>
<td>b' m' i: N (\text{v`ae:\text{N}}) ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An iad na mná ...?</td>
<td>b' ad e~d a mNo: ...</td>
<td>b' ad e~d Na mNo: ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ní hé an tríú fear.</td>
<td>N'í: h~e n' t'\text{r'\text{v}o} dm'\vtext{e}</td>
<td>N'í: h~e n' t'\text{r'\text{v}o} fæ'r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Eoghanacht F 73

*With Human Subjects: Past Tense*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Irish</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Irish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B'é Seán (é).</td>
<td>F e f`a:\text{N} ((\text{a v`i' a:\text{N}}) (\sim)) buj e: f`a:N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbh é Seán (é)?</td>
<td>eb' e` f`a:\text{N} ((\text{a v`i' a:\text{N}}) (\sim))</td>
<td>(\text{b`e, f`a:\text{N}}) ((\text{e})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...arbh é Seán (é nó)</td>
<td>b' e` f`a:\text{N} (e` \text{Nu}:) (\sim)</td>
<td>(\text{e`v`e, f`a:\text{N}}) (Na ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nárbh é</td>
<td>Nax b' e`</td>
<td>Nax e`</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</strong></th>
<th><strong>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>if eː faːN ~ (fod eː faːN)</td>
<td>(fim' e faːN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;b' m' iː N v'ærN...</td>
<td>b' m' i N v'ærN...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;b' ad iːd Nə m'Naː...</td>
<td>b' m' ad Nə mNoː...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niː heː n' t'ɾiuː f'ær</td>
<td>niː ʰi ɾ t'ɾiːvə dm'ɾ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'ij 'eː</td>
<td>biːj eː faːN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'ij eː faːN¹</td>
<td>b' m' eː faːN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(or faːN ʰta g'ɛft')¹</td>
<td>a'b' eː faːN (Nu')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰb' eː faːN (Nu) Nəɾv' eː</td>
<td>a'b' eː faːN (Nu) Nəɾv eː</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ With question intonation.

**SÉAMAS Ó DIREÁIN— A SURVEY OF SPOKEN IRISH IN THE ARAN ISLANDS, CO.GALWAY**
### THE COPULA

**With Human Subjects: Present Tense**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Corrúch M 82</th>
<th>Corrúch F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Is é Seán (é).</td>
<td>( \bar{f} ) e: ( \bar{f} )a:N (( \epsilon )) ([x2])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \sim (\text{hun}' \ e: \bar{f}a:N) )</td>
<td>( (\text{Jo}^{w} \ e: \bar{f}a:N) )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \sim (\text{fin'} \ e: \bar{f}a:N) )</td>
<td>( \bar{f} ) e: ( \bar{f} )a:'N (( \epsilon' )ta ( \eta ))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An í an bhean ...?</td>
<td>( b' ) m' ( \bar{i} )e:aN ( v'\eta)eN...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An iad na mná ...?</td>
<td>( b' ) m' ( \text{c} )d ( \eta )m( \eta )a:...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ní hé an tríú fear!</td>
<td>(( '\text{L})æ:b( \eta ) t'r'i'( \text{u} ) fæ:r)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**With Human Subjects: Past Tense**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Corrúch M 82</th>
<th>Corrúch F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B'é Seán (é)!</td>
<td>( \bar{f} ) e: ( \ldots \bar{f} ) e: ( \bar{f} )a:N (( \epsilon ))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \sim \bar{f} ) e: ( \bar{f} )a:N (( \epsilon ) ( \text{xin'ik}' ) ( m'e: ) ( \eta')e:)</td>
<td>( \bar{w} )e: ( \bar{f} )a:N (( \epsilon ))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbh é Seán (é)?</td>
<td>( b' ) e: ( \bar{f} )a:N (( \epsilon ))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...arbh é Seán (é nó)</td>
<td>( \bar{a} )b' e: ( \bar{f} )a:N (( \epsilon ) ( N)u')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nárbh é</td>
<td>Nax e'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eochaill M 68</th>
<th>Cill Rónáin M 50</th>
<th>Cill Éinne F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$f \ e: \mathfrak{f}a:\mathfrak{n} \sim$</td>
<td>$f \ e: \mathfrak{f}a:\mathfrak{n} \sim$</td>
<td>$(\mathfrak{f}in' \ e: \mathfrak{f}a:\mathfrak{n}) [x2]$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f \ e: \mathfrak{f}a:\mathfrak{n} (e) \sim$</td>
<td>$(\mathfrak{f}in' \ e: \mathfrak{f}a:\mathfrak{n})$</td>
<td>$f \ e: \mathfrak{f}a:\mathfrak{n}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'f $e: \mathfrak{f}a:\mathfrak{n}$</td>
<td>$(\mathfrak{f}in' \ e: \mathfrak{f}a:\mathfrak{n})$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'f $e: \mathfrak{f}a:\mathfrak{n}$</td>
<td>$(\mathfrak{f}in' \ e: \mathfrak{f}a:\mathfrak{n})$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'f $e: \mathfrak{f}a:\mathfrak{n}$</td>
<td>$(\mathfrak{f}in' \ e: \mathfrak{f}a:\mathfrak{n})$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$b' m' i: \eta' \mathfrak{v}\alpha\mathfrak{m}n \ldots$</td>
<td>$an' i: \mathfrak{f}in' \ a \mathfrak{v}\alpha\mathfrak{m}n \ldots$</td>
<td>'b' $m' i: \mathfrak{v}\alpha\mathfrak{m}n \ldots$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$b' \ \mathfrak{a}d \ \mathfrak{c}d \ Na \ m\mathfrak{N}n\ldots$</td>
<td>$an' \ 'id \ \mathfrak{f}in' \ Na \ m\mathfrak{N}n\ldots$</td>
<td>'b' $m' \ \mathfrak{c}d \ Na \ m\mathfrak{N}n\ldots$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'n'i' $e: \eta' ,t'\mathfrak{r}'\mathfrak{i}:\mathfrak{u}: \mathfrak{f}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{e}r$</td>
<td>'n'i': he $N \ t'r'\mathfrak{i}:\mathfrak{u}: \mathfrak{f}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{e}r$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 'f $e: (e)$ | $b' i: \ e: \mathfrak{f}a:\mathfrak{n}$ | $b\mathfrak{a}v' \ e: \mathfrak{f}a:\mathfrak{n} \sim$ |
| 'f $e: (e)$ | $b' i: \ e: \mathfrak{f}a:\mathfrak{n}$ | $b\mathfrak{a}v' \ e: \mathfrak{f}a:\mathfrak{n} \ (e:)$ |

| $a'b' \ e: \mathfrak{f}a:\mathfrak{n} \sim$ | $r \ e \mathfrak{f}a:\mathfrak{n} (e)$ | $a'r b' \ e \ 'f\mathfrak{a}:\mathfrak{n} \ (e)$ |
| $a'b' \ e: \mathfrak{f}a:\mathfrak{n} (e)$ | $r \ e \mathfrak{f}a:\mathfrak{n} (e)$ | $a'r b' \ e \ 'f\mathfrak{a}:\mathfrak{n} \ (e)$ |

| $a'b' \ e: \mathfrak{f}a:\mathfrak{n} (e \ 'Nu)$ | $b' e \mathfrak{f}a:\mathfrak{n} (e \ Nu)$ | $b' e: \mathfrak{f}a:\mathfrak{n} \ (e' \ Nu')$ |
| $N\mathfrak{x} \ b' \ [x2]$ | $N\mathfrak{x} \ e$ | $N\mathfrak{x} \ b' \ e:$ |

1 The whole sentence is articulated with care.

*Séamas Ó Direáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway*
## GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

### M 70

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>THE COPULA</strong></th>
<th><strong>INIS MEÁIN</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Is é Seán (é).</td>
<td>fín' e f α: N x2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An í an bhean ...?</td>
<td>b' m' i: n' v'æ:n...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An iad na mná ...?</td>
<td>b' iN' e'd n̂ o m̂ ro: ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ní hé an tríú fear!</td>
<td>n̂ i: hI t' r' i'u fæ:r x2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### F 60+

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B'é Seán (é)!</td>
<td>buj 'e: ~ buj 'e:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbh é Seán (é)?</td>
<td>buj 'e: sic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...arbh é Seán (é nó)</td>
<td>b' e' f α: N o ...b' (e'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nárbh é</td>
<td>Nu') Nax e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Séamas Ó Direáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(həd e· fa:n)</td>
<td>(fo e· fa:N) [x3]</td>
<td>(o· ·· fa:N əta aN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b' m' i· n' v'æn ···</td>
<td>b' m' i· n' v'æn ···</td>
<td>b' 'm' e· n' v'æn ···</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b' m' id nə mraː ···</td>
<td>b' m' ed Nə mNaː ···</td>
<td>b' 'm' nə mraː ···</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'b' rəd mNaː ··· (sic)</td>
<td>a'b' m' e'd nə mraː: ···</td>
<td>a'b' m' nə mra ···</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'ɪ· e· n' t'ɾ'ːːu dm'ɛ</td>
<td>n'ɪ· hɛ· n' t'ɾ'ːːu dm'ɛ</td>
<td>n'ɪ· n' t'ɾ'ːːu dm'ɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>if 'e· fa:n</td>
<td>b' e· fa:N (ə v'ɪ· aːN) ···</td>
<td>b' fa:N (v'ɪ· aN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'b' 'e· x'ɑːn'2</td>
<td>ɛ'b' e· fa:N (ə v'ɪ· aːN)</td>
<td>a'fa:N (ə v'ɪ· aN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'b' e· fa:N (ə v'ɪ· aːN) 'Nuː) Nax ɛ</td>
<td>b' e· fa·N (ə v'ɪ· aːN) Nu) nax ɛ</td>
<td>fa:N (ə v'ɪ: aːN)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 With careful articulation.
2 Perhaps misunderstood as non-standard “Ab' é, a Sheáin?”
**GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BUNGABHLA F 43</th>
<th>EOGHANACHT F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>THE COPULA</strong></td>
<td><strong>(Miscellaneous Constructions)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cárb as (é)?</td>
<td>k'e' ?æ's (e')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cárbh as (é)?</td>
<td>k'e' bə ?æs (e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cá bhfios duit?</td>
<td>(k'e xi' gə wɪl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɪs æts e)(^1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cén cineál cόta (é)?</td>
<td>k'e' k'iN'æ:L ko:tə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) “Cén chaoi a bhfuil a fhios agatsa (é)?”
INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

AN SRUTHÁN F 70  

FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k’e ‘æ:s (e)</td>
<td>k’ æ:s (e) ~ k’ æ:s (ə hæːn’iɡ’ ʃɛ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’eːrb æ:s (e)</td>
<td>k’ æ:s (ə hæːn’iɡ’ ʃɛ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kə w[ə]s ‘dit’</td>
<td>(x’ɛ hwiː  wil’ is əɡut’sə)¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’e soːrt k’ɪn’n’ːl²</td>
<td>k’e  doːr koːr’ (e)³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koːt (e;)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. [k’en soːrt k’ɪn’nːl a’b’r’i ...] ("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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THE COPULA</th>
<th>(Miscellaneous Constructions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cárb as (é)?</td>
<td>k’e: æ:s (do’) ~ k’e: æ:s (e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cárbh as (é)?</td>
<td>k’e:rw æ:s (e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cá bhfios duit?</td>
<td>(k’e xi’ ₅wil’ is æt ... ætsa)¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cén cineál cóta (é)?</td>
<td>k’em’ k’m’ː:L kɔ:t (æ’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ “Cén chaoi a bhfuil a fhios agatsa?”
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eochall M 68</th>
<th>Cill Rónáin M 50</th>
<th>Cill Éinne F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k’eb æ:s (e)</td>
<td>k’e ‘æ:s (e)</td>
<td>k’e ‘æ:s (e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’eb æ:s (e)</td>
<td>k’e æ:s (ə fær ə ka’l’u)</td>
<td>k’eːrv ‘æ:s (e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘kːaː wːs ḃːtʃ (ə)</td>
<td>kːaː wːs ḃːtʃ</td>
<td>(k’eː xiː wiːl’ is æːdsə)¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’eː sor kɔːt (e)</td>
<td>k’eː sːr t . . . k’eːn sːr t kɔːt (e)</td>
<td>k’eːn sːr t kɔːt (ə v’iː a’n)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ "Cén chaoi a bhfuil a fhios agatsa?"
### Grammatical Variables: The Copula

#### The Copula

*(Miscellaneous Constructions)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Inis Meáin</th>
<th>Inis Meáin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cár bhfios duit?</td>
<td>k'a's dit' ~</td>
<td>(k'ë xī: wil'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(k'ë xī: wil'</td>
<td>is 'agatsa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>is xē:d e)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cén cineál cóta (é)?</td>
<td>k'ẽdes¹ kōt</td>
<td>k'ẽ:N k'm'ā:l' kōt:ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(e he:n') [x2]</td>
<td>(N' æ ...a: s'æ)²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k'ẽ k'm'ā:L kō:t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ɔ'ta ɛr')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ The form [k'ẽdos] was later elicited from the informant after being prompted with the Cois Fharraige form “céardós” by the investigator.

The unusual form [k'ẽn' ŋ] (= “Céard é?”) was uttered by the informant in another context (Cf.I.18).

² “An ea? Á, seal!” 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 [s' ].
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'k'e æ:s ... (e:) ~</td>
<td>k'e: æ:s (e)</td>
<td>k'e:b æ:s (e)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'e æ:s (ən' fær)</td>
<td>k'e:rv' æ:s (e)</td>
<td>k'e:rb æ:s (e)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k'e xi' wil')</td>
<td>(k'e xi wil')</td>
<td>(k' wul')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is 'æ:tsə)</td>
<td>is at)</td>
<td>is a'tsə)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'en' sort k'in'æ:L</td>
<td>k'e:1 so'rt kə:t</td>
<td>k' sə kə:t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko't (e fim')</td>
<td>(e:)</td>
<td>(e)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 With no nasalisation of the vowel.
### Grammatical Variables

#### Bungabha F 43

#### Eoghanacht F 73

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grammatical Variables</th>
<th>Bungabha F 43</th>
<th>Eoghanacht F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nominal Inflection</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Nouns in the Vocative Case)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(sg.)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Sheáin!</td>
<td>...fúna [x2] ~ ...fur̂n</td>
<td>...ə x'uer' [x2] ~ x'uer' [x2]¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(~ ...abhaile) a Mháire!</td>
<td>...wai'it1 ³wa'ir1</td>
<td>...wa'ir1 ³wa'ir1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(pl.)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a ghasúra!</td>
<td>...³ya'sur'~</td>
<td>ya'sur'~¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a feara!</td>
<td>...³ya'sur'...¹</td>
<td>(a:) ya'sur'...¹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Genitival Constructions with Indefinite Head Noun</strong></th>
<th>Bungabha F 43</th>
<th>Eoghanacht F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>glac/mám fhataí</td>
<td>La:N La:v'ə ə fa'ti:</td>
<td>glék' ati:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scian coise duibhe</td>
<td>n'i:s mu: spai:s</td>
<td>(N'i:s mo::)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>(... with Definite Head Noun)</em></th>
<th>Bungabha F 43</th>
<th>Eoghanacht F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rothar an bhuaill ceile</td>
<td>rohər öN L'æd əl'1</td>
<td>rohər öN boxil' əl've</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i gContae an Chláir</td>
<td>³go:Ndé əLə'ir'</td>
<td>(æs) koNdé ³xLə'ir'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Sentence-initial vocative construction.
Nouns in the Vocative Case; Genitival Constructions with Indefinite/Definite Head Noun

### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

#### AN SRUTHÁN F 70

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Vocative Constructions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>...a x'úː n' ~ a x'an' [x2]</td>
<td>...a x'úː n' ~ x'an' [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(...waeːl'e) waːr'ė</td>
<td>(...waeːl'e) waːr'ė</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a faːʃ̂ːiː ... [x2] ~</td>
<td>a ʃ̂ːiː yasu'ɾ' ... ~ yasu'ɾ' ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a faːʃtʃiː ...</td>
<td>a ʃ̂ːiː yasu'ɾ' ... ~ yasu'ɾ' ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...a ?æːɾa</td>
<td>...æːɾa ~ ...æːɾa'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LaːN ... LaːN maːm ... maːm fati</th>
<th>Län mo wafėː2 ~</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n'is ... n'is muː spæːs [x3]</td>
<td>n'is muː smaːs (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rəhəɾ əN wuːʁiL' eľ'e</td>
<td>rəhəɾ aN wuːʁiL' eľ'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(oː wiːn'ɛ ʁes⁴) kənde n xlaːɾ'</td>
<td>(oː wiːn't'iɾ') xuːndeː n xlaːɾ'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1 Sentence-initial vocative construction.
2 "...láːn mo bhoise-se ..."
3 "...láːn mo ghaile [i bhfataf?] ..."
4 "...dhaoine as ..."
**GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOMINAL INFLECTION</th>
<th>CORRÛCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÛCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Nouns in the Vocative Case) (sg.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Sheáin!</td>
<td>(x'am' \sim x'am'N') (^1)</td>
<td>(x'am' \sim x'am') (^1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(…abhaile) a Mháire!</td>
<td>(wa'ri)</td>
<td>(wa'ri)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(pl.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a ghasúra!</td>
<td>(\sigma ya'sur') (^1) \sim (\sigma ya'sur') (^1)</td>
<td>(\sigma ya'sur') (^1) \sim (\sigma ya'sur') (^1) [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a fheara!</td>
<td>(\sigma n') [x2]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| (Genitival Constructions with Indefinite Head Noun) |               |               |
| glac/mám fhataí | \(ma:�m fatti:\) | \(ma:m patti\) |
| scian coise duibhe |           |               |
| níos mó spáis | \(n'is mu spàs\) | \(n'is mu: spàs\) |

| (…with Definite Head Noun) |               |               |
| rothar an bhuachalla eile | \(ro: \sigma ma:xIL'\) \(\sim\) \(ro: \sigma bo:xIl' \sigma e\) | \(ro: \sigma bo:xIL' \sigma e\) |
| i gContae an Chláir | \(i kò:nte: \ldots\) | \(i go:nte' \ xLa:tr'\) |
| kùNe: \(xLa:tr'\) |               |               |

\(^1\) Sentence-initial vocative construction.
### Nouns in the Vocative Case; Genitival Constructions with Indefinite/Definite Head Noun

**INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EOCHAILL M 68</th>
<th>CILL RÓNÁIN M 50</th>
<th>CILL ÉINNE F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>...ə x'ɑ'n' [x3]</td>
<td>...ə x'ɑ'n' [x3]</td>
<td>...ə x'ɑ'n'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ ə x'ɑ'n'...¹</td>
<td>~ x'ɑ'n'...¹</td>
<td>~ x'ɑ'n'...¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(…°wæl'e) wæl'</td>
<td>(…°wæl'i) wæl'r'e</td>
<td>(…°wæl'a) wæl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...yasu:r'~</td>
<td>yasu'r'...¹ [x2]</td>
<td>°faj'ti:...¹ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>°yasu'r'...¹</td>
<td>yasu'r'...¹</td>
<td>°yasu'r'...¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...°aco</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lɑ:N gLek'e g atti:</th>
<th>Lɑ:N mə ya'rNə</th>
<th>Lɑ:N mə Lek'e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ðe ñati'</td>
<td>gə fati'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jk'ir N o əsaf 'do</td>
<td>jk'ín 'Lɑ'v' do</td>
<td>jk'ir N Nə kəfə drv'~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'ils mu: spəs</td>
<td>n'ils mu: spəs</td>
<td>n'ils mu: spəs²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roho'r'°N bur'əL' el'e</td>
<td>bo'sik'il' fər' el'e</td>
<td>(roho l'εl o maçiL' el'e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ə wi:n't'ər') xu'Ntə</td>
<td>goNde xLar'r'</td>
<td>ə goNde n xLar'r'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə xLar:r'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Sentence-initial vocative construction. ² Invariable form.
## Grammatical Variables: Nominal Inflection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M 70</th>
<th>F 60+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nominal Inflection</strong></td>
<td><strong>Inis Meáin</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(Nouns in the Vocative Case)*

**sg.**
- *a Sheáin!*
  \[x'\alpha'n' \ldots \sim x'\alpha'n' \ldots \]
- \( x'\alpha'n' \sim x'\alpha'n' \)

**pl.**
- *(...abhaile) a Mháire!*
  \[(...\omega'\omega'\epsilon) \omega'\epsilon \sim (...) \omega'\epsilon \]
- \( \omega'\epsilon \sim \omega'\epsilon \)

**Genitival Constructions with Indefinite Head Noun**

- *glac/mám fhataí*
  \[L\alpha:N \ m\alpha:d\ldots \]
- \( L\alpha:N \ m\alpha:d \)

- *scian coise duibhe*
  \[sk'i:N \ N \ k\alpha:f \ dI\sim^3 \]
- \( sk'i:N \ N \ k\alpha:f \ dI\sim \)

- *níos mó spáis*
  \[n'\mathbf{i}s \ m\alpha:o \ s\alpha:p\mathbf{s} \]
- \( n'\mathbf{i}s \ m\alpha:o \ s\alpha:p\mathbf{s} \)

*(... with Definite Head Noun)*

- *rothar an bhuchalla eile*
  \[r\alpha:h\alpha:r \ \alpha:w\alpha:h\alpha:l\prime \ \epsilon\prime \]
- \( r\alpha:h\alpha:r \ \alpha:w\alpha:h\alpha:l\prime \ \epsilon\prime \)

- *i gContae an Chláir*
  \[i \ g\alpha:nde \ \eta \ x\lambda:\alpha:r' \]
- \( i \ g\alpha:nde \ \eta \ x\lambda:\alpha:r' \)

---

1 Sentence-initial vocative construction. 2 “Ara, ...” 3 “Doilí”?
### INIS ÓÍRR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>...àn’</td>
<td>...àn’ ~ fàr ...1 ~</td>
<td>...aN ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ ...àn’</td>
<td>xàn’...1 ~ x’an’...1</td>
<td>fàN...1 [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(...tuss) wan’e</td>
<td>...ə wan’əe</td>
<td>(gə va’n’əe) wan’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...ə faʃt’i ~ ...ə faʃt’i:</td>
<td>ə faʃt’i: ...1 ~ ə faʃt’i: ...1</td>
<td>gasúr’...3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ ...faʃt’r ~ ...faʃt’r:</td>
<td>ə faʃt’r: ...1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...?ærə</td>
<td>...ærə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| glæk’im’ b’eg fatí: | slɔ:m ...’gLek’ fatí: | glak fatí: |
| (fr’u’) ʃk’i:n ə xaʃ ’do | ʃk’i:n ...[?] ... ʃ’imo xaʃ do | (sk’i:n l’ə La:rv’ du) |
| n’is mo spà:s | n’is mo: spà:s | n’is mo: spà:s |
| ba’sk’l’ na ʃ’edz ʃ’əe | ba’sk’l’ en bu’xəl’ ʃ’el’ | ba’sk’l’...əv 4 ... bu’xəl’ ʃ’el’ |
| (ə wi’n’t’or’) xuNtə’ | (ə wi’n’t’or’) xaNdu | (ə No du’n’i) |
| a’xLar’ | xLar’ | gənte xLar’ |

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 Gasúr!”.
4 English “of”?
## Grammatical Variables

### Bungabhla F 43

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trasna Na Sráide</th>
<th>t'ráesnə Na srud'1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Le Taobh An Chnoic</td>
<td>Íe tív' ān arda:ñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>... Nu āN a:lt2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Os Comhair An Tí</td>
<td>eg' tosax 3'ti ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>eg' tosax a t'i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ar Chúl An Tí</td>
<td>(t'ív [sic] hi3:r āN t'æx)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>... é karL a t'i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Os Comhair An Fiur Mhóir</td>
<td>eg' tosax āN l'ær mor1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ʔaN tos3 er' ə v'ær mor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Os Comhair An Fiur Eile</td>
<td>eg' tosax āN l'ær l'í ( ~ rív' āN l'ær l'i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(N tos2 er' ə v'ær l'ė)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tar Éis An Dinnéir</td>
<td>tar ef ə d'inn'er'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r ef ə d'inn'er'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tar Éis An Bhricfeasta</td>
<td>tar hef ə v'r'ik'faste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hr ef ə v'r'ik'fast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Haghaidh a Dhinneir</td>
<td>l'ena jin'ér</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(eg' ?jin'ér)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1 The disjunctive pronoun é.
2 “...an áilt” (= “...na haille”; cf. FGB.)
3 “chun tosaígh ...”
The informant had problems in translating the English phrase “in front of”, and often preferred to translate the English phrase “behind” instead.

The informant meant to produce “ar aghaidh an dorais”. A discussion followed, with the examples \[ \text{Er' } a^1 \text{ N } 'd'c' \ldots \] (“ar aghaidh na fuinneog”) and \[ \text{Er' xuL } a \ t'i: \] (“ar chul an tF”) given by the informant.
## GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

### CORRÚCH M 82  
### CORRÚCH F 72

| NOMINAL INFLECTION |  
| Genitival Constructions, Cont’d. |  
| trá:sn@ na sra:d’ |  
| tra:sN@ na tra:d’ |  
| trasN@ sra:d’c |  
| N æk’e na hæ:L’e |  
| ~ N æk’ N æ:L’ |  
| ~ l’æ:tiv N æ:L’ |  
| træsN@1 N træ:d’~ |  
| trasN@1 N sra:d’c |  
| trasN@1 ~ N tra:d’~ |  
| trasN@1 N sra:d’c |  
| trasN@1 ~ N tra:d’~ |  
| trasN@1 N sra:d’c |  
| træsN@1 ~ N tra:d’~ |  
| trasN@1 N sra:d’c |  
|  
| le taobh an choic |  
| er’ e’ n’ t’i: ~ |  
| er’ e’ n’ t’æx |  
| er’ ai n’ t’i: |  
| er’ e’ n’ t’æx |  
| er’ ai n’ t’i: |  
| le haghaidh a dhinnéir |  
| (l’æ:b@N@ k@˜i:v@Eg@) |  
| (l’æ:b@N@ k@˜i:v@Eg@) |  
| (l’æ:b@N@ k@˜i:v@Eg@) |  
| (l’æ:b@N@ k@˜i:v@Eg@) |  
| (l’æ:b@N@ k@˜i:v@Eg@) |  
| (l’æ:b@N@ k@˜i:v@Eg@) |  

1 The first two consonants are unpalatalised, despite the fronted and raised quality of the following vowel.  
2 “tar éis a mbhricfeasta”.  
3 Cf. also the phrases [N æ:t’... N a:k’i: v’ego] (“in áit na gceann beag”) and [l’æ:b@N@ k’i: v’ego] (“i leaba na gceann beag”) in II.17, where not only the nominative plural forms of noun and adjective are used in place of the expected genitival forms, but where the appropriate initial mutations are also omitted.

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**INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EOCHELL M 68</th>
<th>CILL RÓNÁIN M 50</th>
<th>CILL ÉINNE F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>trásNó Nó sraːdːe</td>
<td>t’r’áesNó n woːhr’</td>
<td>t’r’áesNó Nó sraːdːe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l’e tiv’ o xNuk’</td>
<td>l’e tiv’ o xNuk</td>
<td>(ə Naːr go xNuk) (∼ (ə naːr go xruk))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>er’ a’i n’ t’iː</td>
<td>əs kór’ a tfiː</td>
<td>dasax N tfiː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘guːL o t’iː</td>
<td>r xuːL a tfiː</td>
<td>er’ xuːLo N tfiː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>os kór’ ‘N’ n’ wɔːr’</td>
<td>os koːɾ’ a n f’ar mɔːt</td>
<td>(dasax er’ a v’ær mɔːt) (∼ er’ xuːL ‘N’ æːr ∼ ən’ n’ wɔːr (sic))¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>er’ a’i ‘N’ æːr ɛl’e</td>
<td>os koːɾ’ a f’ær ɛl’e</td>
<td>er’ xuːLo ∼ ‘N’ æːr ɛl’e¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’r’ eʃ ə d’im’ɛər’</td>
<td>hɛʃ ə d’im’ɛər’</td>
<td>h eʃ a m d’im’ɛər’ (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’r’ eʃ b’r’iːk’fəːsta</td>
<td></td>
<td>har eʃ ə m’eːl’iː²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l’eː haː d’im’ɛər’</td>
<td>l’ənə ʃimər</td>
<td>l’eː n paːfFe³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l’e haː d’im’ɛər (sic)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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”.

---

**Séamas Ó Direáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES</th>
<th>INIS MEÁIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>NOMINAL INFLECTION</strong></td>
<td><strong>F 60+</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Genitival Constructions, Cont’d.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trasna na sráide</td>
<td>trasNø Na srud’è t’ræsNø N srud’ø (e)³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le taobh an chnoic</td>
<td>(’N æk’ [ŋ] t’i: N ek’ N xrek’ eIL gO xruk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>os comhair an tí</td>
<td>eIr øi n’ t’i: eIr øi n’ t’i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ar chúl an tí</td>
<td>eIr ku:IL ø t’i: ø xu:IL ø t’i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>os comhair an fhir mhóir</td>
<td>eIr øi N’ ær mo: b eIr øi N’ n’ voy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>os comhair an fhir eile</td>
<td>eIr øi N’ xa:IL eIL eIL øi N’ øi eIL eIL øi N’ n’ øi eIL eIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tar éis an dinnéir</td>
<td>ør øf ø d’i:N’e:r’ t’r øf øN d’i:N’e:r’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tar éis an bhricfeasta</td>
<td>t’r øf øN v’r’i:k’fæsta . . . t’r øf øN v’r’i:k’fæsta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le haghaidh a dhinnéir</td>
<td>l’eI n’ d’i:N’e:r’ l’eI n’ d’i:N’e:r’ . . . go:Ir øjN’e:r (sic)²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1 The disjunctive pronoun ø.
2 “...i gcomhair dinnéir”.

_Séamas Ó Direáin— A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway_
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>træ:sna³ n tra:d’</td>
<td>træ:sNø N tra:dø</td>
<td>har’ goⁿ sra:d’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i ga:r goañ xruk)</td>
<td>I’e tiv øN xruk</td>
<td>er tiv ø xrok,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td>er hi:v ø xrok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...te:v ø xruk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ti’ ‘mo goañ ‘tí: [sic])</td>
<td>(tiv mo goN t’æx)</td>
<td>tasax ø tfi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>er’ xul ‘n’ ‘tí:</td>
<td>(tiv hi’r go) ...</td>
<td>(tiv hi’r goø t’æx)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>er’ xul ‘n’ ‘tí:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>er’ e³ ‘n’ f’aer ‘mó:rh</td>
<td>(er ...tasa er’ aær mor</td>
<td>a tasax ø f’aer mor’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...tasa er’ v’aer mor)</td>
<td>...tasa ø f’aer mor’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>er’ e³ ‘No ...’n’</td>
<td>(tiv hijar goN ëaer mor</td>
<td>tiv ø mo goN f’aer mor’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f’aer ef’e</td>
<td>...tiv hi’r je jin’²</td>
<td>...ga f’aer ef’e ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tiv’ ‘mo g’ f’aer mor?</td>
<td>...f’aer ’cl’²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘r eʃ ø d’in’er’</td>
<td>tør ‘eʃ ø d’in’er</td>
<td>t’or’ eʃ ø d’in’er</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h eʃ øN [z²] v’rik’fast</td>
<td>tar’ eʃ ø v’rik’fastø</td>
<td>t’or’ ‘eʃ ...t’or’ ‘eʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l’e³ n’ d’in’er</td>
<td>(er’ ø jin’er)</td>
<td>l’enø jin’er’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bungabhla F 43</th>
<th>Eoghanacht F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Genitival Constructions in Progressive Verb Phrases</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ag tabháithe scine (chugainn)</td>
<td>t’urr sk’i:ⁿ (aN [sic])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ag bualadh an bhuachalla</td>
<td>buLò N wu-aXl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ag lorg Mháire</td>
<td>ò kuːrtu wár’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ag lorg Bhríd</td>
<td>ò kuːrtu v’r’iːd’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ag coinneáil Sheáin</td>
<td>&quot;ktN’gL x’αːn’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Progressive Verb Phrases with a Pronominal Direct Object**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>do do coinneáil</th>
<th>aN zu xN’gL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Embedded Genitival Constructions in Progressive Verb Phrases**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ag lorg theach Mháire</th>
<th>a kuːrtu t’áex wár’i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ag lorg theach na mná eile</td>
<td>a kuːrtu t’áex aN v’áeN eːl’i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 This item is included here for convenience.
## INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t’urt’ sk’i:N (hugi:N’)</td>
<td>t’urt’ f’k’i:N (æ:n’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu:Lə ñ wuxIL’</td>
<td>eg’ bu:Lə ñ wuxIL’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø kir tür’ifk’ wa:r’c</td>
<td>ø kî tu:r’ifk’ wa:r’c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø kir tür’ifk’ v’ri:d’</td>
<td>kortur v’ri:d’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kæN’a:L fæ:n</td>
<td>kæN’a:L x’a:n’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| gæ da xæN’a:L | gæ da xæN’a:Lsæ1 ~
| da xæN’a:Lsæ1 | da xæN’a:Lsæ1 |
| æg tøri:axt t’aex wa:r’c | kurtur t’aex wa:r’c |
| eg’ tøri:axt t’aex | æg’ɔtæa . . . t’aex |
| ø v’aæ:N æl’e | ø m’aæ:N æl’e (sic) |

1 With the emphatic particle.

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### Grammatical Variables

#### (Genitival Constructions in Progressive Verb Phrases)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Corrúch M 82</th>
<th>Corrúch F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ag tabháirt scine (chugainn)</td>
<td>t’uərt’ sk’i:oN (æN’)</td>
<td>t’uərt’ sk’i:oN (æN’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ag bualadh an bhualalla</td>
<td>bo’l Ə wəxil’ ~ balə [x2] wəxil’</td>
<td>bu:lə ʰ wuxil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ag lorg Mháire</td>
<td>(ə fəro: fi1 wər’i) ~ ə salər’ wər’i</td>
<td>(ə fəru: fi1 ... ) ~ kᵝ tur’ifk’ wər’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ag lorg Bhrid</td>
<td>(ə fəroː fi1 v’r’id’) ~ ə salər’ v’r’ed’</td>
<td>kᵝ tur’ifk’ v’r’id’ ~ (ə fəru: fi1 v’r’id’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ag coinneáil Sheáin</td>
<td>kiN’a:l fa:n’</td>
<td>“kiN’al’ fuːN”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### (Progressive Verb Phrases with a Pronominal Direct Object)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>do do coinneáil</th>
<th>do xin’al [x2]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ag lorg theach Mháire</td>
<td>kortu’ ~ a tor’e’xt t’æx wər’o</td>
<td>a’ kortu’ t’e:x wər’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ag lorg theach na mná eile</td>
<td>to:r’iːxt t’æx ...</td>
<td>aN v’aeN el’i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### (Embedded Genitival Constructions in Progressive Verb Phrases)

1 “...ag fiafraí faoi ...”.
2 “...ag soláthar ...” Prompted by F 72.
3 This item is included here for convenience.

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**INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EOCHAILL M 68</th>
<th>CILL RÓNÁIN M 50</th>
<th>CILL ÉINNE F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t′u:rt' fki:=G (agm')</td>
<td>tfi:rt' fki:G (峙N')</td>
<td>α tfi:rt' ski:G (agN')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu:La η wuxil'</td>
<td>bu:La η buxil'¹</td>
<td>bu:La η wuxil'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;kr' tur'fjk' (f'i:</td>
<td>&quot;tor'fxt mar'i:ɛ</td>
<td>&quot;fir:o: f'i: wa'r'i:ɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>war'e ~ feru; f'i:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kortu: (w?)r'iid'</td>
<td>&quot;tor'fxt b'r'iid'</td>
<td>eg'... kortu v'tr'id'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ya: xIN'a:L)</td>
<td>&quot;kiN'a:l' fam</td>
<td>&quot;kiN'a:L x'a:N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>də xIN'a:L</td>
<td>go də xIN'a:l'</td>
<td>də xIN'a:L ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kortu 't'ex war'e</td>
<td>tor'fxt t'ex wa'r'i:ɛ</td>
<td>kortu tfex wa'r'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kortu b'axN/ t'ax</td>
<td>a tor'fxt t'ax</td>
<td>kortu tfex N'...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N v'axN el'ɛ</td>
<td>a wa... a v'axN el'ɛ</td>
<td>tfex Nə mNə: el'ɛ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ The plural form of this phrase is given as [⁰bu:La η bu'xil'iː], again with no initial mutation on the noun to mark the genitive case.
**GRAMMATICALLY VARIABLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>M 70</strong></th>
<th><strong>F 60+</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>(Genitival Constructions in Progressive Verb Phrases)</strong></td>
<td><strong>INIS MEÁIN</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{ag tabhairt scine (chugaínn)}$</td>
<td>$\text{tfúr sk'í}N$  $\text{eg' tfúrtf sk'í}N$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xɔ  fada l'am) $\ldots$</td>
<td>(ag1N')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{tfúr sk'í}N'$ (l'um) $\ldots$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{tfúrt' sk'í}N$ (æ'N') $\ldots$sk'æN' (æ'N')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{ag bualadh an bhuaichall}$</td>
<td>$\text{bu}L a_wu^xi$ $\text{i}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(go:l' er' ò ə ãasur')</td>
<td>gy' $\text{bu}L N pæf$ $\ldots$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\varepsilon$ go:l' oræb</td>
<td>N ãasur ... N pæft' æ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\sim \alpha$: mu$La)$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{ag lorg Mháire}$</td>
<td>$\text{ig' iræ wæri}e \ldots$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æg' f'iræi: vaæri'æ</td>
<td>$\sim$ æ æer' k'æftf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\sim$g' iræ wæri'æ</td>
<td>(f'æ: wæri'æ'æ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{ag lorg Bhríd}$</td>
<td>$\text{g' iræ v'ri}dl'$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{æg' Lær}g$ v'ri}dl'</td>
<td>$\sim$ æ æær' v'ri}d'k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{ag coineáil Sheáin}$</td>
<td>$\text{kiN'æl'} x'ær'æn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ææg' $\text{kiN'æl'} x'ær'æn'$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(Progressive Verb Phrases with a Pronominal Direct Object)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{do do choinneáil}$</td>
<td>$\text{do xin'a}L$ $[x2]$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{do xin'a}L$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(Embedded Genitival Constructions in Progressive Verb Phrases)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{ag lorg theach Mháire}$</td>
<td>$\text{tæcor'æxt t'æx wæri}e$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{æg' Lær}g$ tæx wæri'æ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{ag lorg theach na mná eile}$</td>
<td>$\text{ætæcor'æxt ...tæx}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\vææx N' æl'æ [x2] \sim$</td>
<td>$\text{ææg' Lær}g$ æN tæx æl'æ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{tæx Næ mæææx æl'æ [x2]}$</td>
<td>$\sim$ æææ $\vææx$ æl'æ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1 This unusual form, which could also be represented as $[wu^xi]$, results from the conversion of final $[L']$ to the palatal glide $[j]$, a phenomenon characteristic of this informant. Cf. $[bu^xaj]$ (buachaill) in II.1. Cf. also $[kæl'æx kæje]$ (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.

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Séamas Ó Direáin— A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
## INIS ÓÍRR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$M\ 55$</th>
<th>$F\ 41$</th>
<th>$F\ 18$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>turt $\Uparrow k'i^N$ (aen')</td>
<td>turt $\Uparrow sk'i^N$ (aen')</td>
<td>turt $\Uparrow sk'i^N$ (yu'n')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$^\circ bu^\theta\alpha , n , bu^\alpha\xi^l'$</td>
<td>bual $\alpha, aN, vu^\alpha\xi^l'$</td>
<td>bual $\alpha, an, bu^\alpha\xi^l'$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(o f'i'ri; xar'ee)</td>
<td>(o f'i'ri; k'e xi ro mar'e)</td>
<td>'g' iro mar'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kortu: $, ^\circ v^\prime!i'd'$</td>
<td>kortu $, v^\prime!i'ng$</td>
<td>kortu $, b^\prime!i'ng$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'eN'al' fa'n'</td>
<td>kIN'al' faN</td>
<td>kIN'al' fa'n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do xoN'al'</td>
<td>do xoN'al'</td>
<td>do xoN'al'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kortu: t'ae'x va'ng'e</td>
<td>kortu t'ae'x va'er'e</td>
<td>kortu: t'ex vaer'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o kortu va... &quot;n'</td>
<td>kortu t'ae'x</td>
<td>o kortu: t'ex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'ex a v'aeN el'e</td>
<td>n' v'aeN el'e</td>
<td>an' v'aeN el'e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Cf. also [t'ae'x n' v'aeN wo'r] and [t'ae'x n' aei el'e] in I.35.
### Grammatical Variables

#### Bungabha F 43  Eoghanacht F 73

### Nominal Inflection

*Miscellaneous Plural Noun Forms*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Na cinn</th>
<th>Na k'i:N' ~</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Na k'i:n' [x2]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A gcairde</th>
<th>(gud') k:a:rd'i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a gud' gi:lt:ta) ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a gud') k:art:ik:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A gceachtanna</th>
<th>(a) g'æxt:a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a) g'æxt:a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Gender Assignment in Nouns*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>An phian</th>
<th>N p'i:oN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n' f:i:a: N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>An mhuc</th>
<th>N wik'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
|               | *wuk'...
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Na r̂di̊̊̊̊̊̊) ~</td>
<td>Na k̂i:N' ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n̂a r̂di̊̊̊̊̊̊) ~</td>
<td>Na k̂i:n' [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n̂a r̂di̊̊̊̊̊̊)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(o ĝd̂) k̂ar̂k̂e</td>
<td>(o ĝd̂ d̂i:n'ı m̂i:n't'r'ox̂)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n̂a) k̂'æxt̂a</td>
<td>(ta ĝd̂') k̂'æxtr̂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n̂' f̂i:n̂N ~ n̂ f̂i:n</td>
<td>m̂ p'e:N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N wik'</td>
<td>N wik'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>NOMINAL INFLECTION</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Miscellaneous Plural Noun Forms)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na cinn</td>
<td>(Nə rədːiː) [x2] ~</td>
<td>Nə k'iːN' ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nə k'iː ~</td>
<td>Nə k'iːN' ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nə k'iːN'</td>
<td>Nə k'iː [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a gcairde</td>
<td>(ə) gəːrd'iː ~</td>
<td>(ə) gəːrd'e [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ə) gəːrd'iː:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a geeachtanna</td>
<td>(ə ɡʊð) kæːxtə</td>
<td>(ə ɡ'eːxt ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ə ɡʊð) k'æːxtə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Gender Assignment in Nouns)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an phian</td>
<td>N f'iːːəN</td>
<td>N p'eːən [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an mhuc</td>
<td>N wɪk'</td>
<td>aN wɪk'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eochaill M 68</th>
<th>Cill Rónáin M 50</th>
<th>Cill Einne F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Na k′ι:N′ ~</td>
<td>mi k′ι:m′ ~</td>
<td>(Na rudi) [x2] ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na k′ι:m′ [x2]</td>
<td>na k′ι: [x2]</td>
<td>Na k′ι:m′ ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(o gu’d kəmrə:doxi:)</td>
<td>(α) garde</td>
<td>(o gu’d) kərde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ o gu’d’ kəmpa:ni’)</td>
<td>(tα: gu’d’) k’æxta</td>
<td>(tα gu’d) k’æxta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m′ p’e:μN [x3]</td>
<td>n’ f’i:n</td>
<td>n’ p’i:μn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ò wik’</td>
<td>N mok</td>
<td>“N wik’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grammatical Variables: Nominal Inflection</th>
<th>INIS MEÁIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M 70</td>
<td>F 60+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOMINAL INFLECTION</td>
<td>(Miscellaneous Plural Noun Forms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na cinn</td>
<td>(Na rōdī; ~ Na rōdī; Na rōdī [x3]) ~ Na rōdī) ~ Na k’i:N’ ~ (Na rōdī)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a gcairde</td>
<td>(ə gɪd͡ʒ) kær’d̪e (ə gɪd͡ʒ) kær’d̪e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a gceachtanna</td>
<td>(ə gɪd’') kæxtə (ə) g’æxt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Gender Assignment in Nouns)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an phían</td>
<td>en p’iːn ~ n f’iːn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n p’iːn’ (t’r’iːd’')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an mhuc</td>
<td>əN wɪk’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### INIS OÍRR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M 55</th>
<th></th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th></th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(nə rudiː)</td>
<td>(Na rudiː)</td>
<td>(nə kəd'1)</td>
<td>(~)</td>
<td>(~)</td>
<td>(~)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nə/nə rudiː</td>
<td>[x2]</td>
<td>[Na] rudiː [x2]</td>
<td>Nə rudiː [x2]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(̓gi̓d̓k [x2]) kəmpə:nɪː</td>
<td>(ə) gaːɾd̓kə</td>
<td>(ə ̓gi̓d̓k) kəːrd̓kə</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tə ̓gi̓d̓k) k'æx̓tənɪː</td>
<td>(tə: ̓gi̓d̓') k'æ...</td>
<td>(ə ̓gi̓d̓k k'laex̓tɪ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n' p'iːn</td>
<td>m p'iː'n</td>
<td>m p'iː'n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(m' p'iq')</td>
<td>̓n mək</td>
<td>̓n mək</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>̓n mək</td>
<td>̓n mək'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ̓kaːd̓ n'ɪrs Lu: web'].

---

SÉAMAS Ó DIREÁIN— A SURVEY OF SPOKEN IRISH IN THE ARAN ISLANDS, CO.GALWAY
### GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BUNGBHLA F 43</th>
<th>EOGHANACHT F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ADJECTIVAL INFLECTION</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Lenition of Singular Adjectives Modifying Feminine Singular Nouns)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(bean) mhór dheas</td>
<td><em>(bˈæːn)</em> moːr dˈæːs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>(bˈæːn)</em> vˈrˈaː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(bean) shlachtmhar</td>
<td><em>(bˈæːn)</em> sLaːxtər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(bean) fholláin/shláintiúil</td>
<td><em>(bˈæːn)</em> sLəˈnˈtulˈ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(bean) thábhachtach</td>
<td><em>(bˈæːn)</em> təˈwəxtəx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cloch) mhór</td>
<td><em>(kLəx)</em> woːr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ar an gcloch) mhaol</td>
<td><em>(eˈrˈ N gLəx)</em> wiˈL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cos/lámh) dhubh</td>
<td><em>(ləvˈ)</em> duˈ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Plural Adjectival Forms)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(éadaí) salacha</td>
<td><em>(də xˈədˈ exdiˈ)</em> saˈLəx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(na cinn) mhóra</td>
<td><em>(Nə kˈiːnˈ)</em> moɾə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(na cinn) bheaga</td>
<td><em>(Nə kˈiːnˈ)</em> vˈɛɡə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Note the singular diminutive form [kˈəːNˈiːNˈ] (= ceann beag) in I.23.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</strong></td>
<td><strong>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b’aën) b’r’a: mo:r' (sic)</td>
<td>(b’aën) a:Lin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b’aën) yahul'¹</td>
<td>(b’aën) dæu’l'¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b’aën) sLa:n’t’ul</td>
<td>(b’aën) sLa:n’t’ul’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b’aën) tawståx</td>
<td>(b’aën ø wil' kα’l' ørø)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kLax) wɔ:n</td>
<td>(kLax) wɔ:n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(er' ø gLax) Le:m</td>
<td>(er' ø gα:rɡ')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kaf) y'</td>
<td>(kaf) yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Na hédi:) sα:Lax</td>
<td>(dα gɔ:n' er'å:di) sα:Lax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Na rαdi:) mo:rø</td>
<td>(Na k’i:n') wɔ:nø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Na rαdi:) b’egø</td>
<td>(Na k’i:n') v’egø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ "d(h)athúil".
GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADJECTIVAL INFLECTION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Lenition of Singular Adjectives Modifying Feminine Singular Nouns)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(bean) mhór dheas</td>
<td>(is d’aes mor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(bean) shlachtmhar</td>
<td>(b’ae:n) d’aes mor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(bean) fholláin/shláintiúil</td>
<td>(b’ae:n) de:ul’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(bean) thábhachtach</td>
<td>(b’ae:n) ta:xtax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cloch) mhór</td>
<td>(kLax) mor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ar an gcloch) mhaol</td>
<td>(er’ o garig’ Lu:m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cos/lámh) dhubh</td>
<td>(kaf) du</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Plural Adjectival Forms)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(éadaí) salacha</td>
<td>(o N’edli) sa:Lax ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(na cinn) mhóra</td>
<td>(N o k’i:) wo:ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(na cinn) bheaga</td>
<td>(N o k’i:N’) e:i’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(N o k’i) v’ega [e2]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Lenition of Singular Adjectives Modifying Feminine Singular Nouns; Plural Adjectival Forms

#### Inis Mór: An Ceann Thoir

**EOCHAILL M 68** | **CILL RÓNÁIN M 50** | **CILL ÉINNE F 70**
---|---|---
(b̂æ:n) mo:r a:Lin' | (b̂æ:n) wo:r tfe:ɡarəx | (b̂æ:n) b̂r′a: mo:r
(b̂æ:n) dæ:hu:l' | dahu:l' | (b̂æ:n) sLaxtər
(b̂æ:n) sLa'n'tu:l' | sLa:n'tu:l' | (b̂æ:n) sLa'n'tfu:l'
(b̂æ:n) tə:wəxtəx | tə:wəxtəx | (b̂æ:n) kə:jul'
(kLa:x) wo:r | (kLa:x) mo:r | (kLa:x) mo:r
(ə r′ e gLa:x) ýLas | (ə r′ e ga:ɡriŋ′) Lu:m | (ə r′ e məLa:n jIn′)
(jk′i:n ə xəf) Ḟa | (jk′i:n ˈLo:v′) Ḟa | (jk′i:n Nə kafu dəv′i ∼ sk′i:n Nə kafu dəv′i)
(ə xuɡ eːdiː) sa:Ləx | (n′e:dax sa:Ləx)² | (ə guɡ eːdiː) sa:Ləx
(ə guɡ eːdiː) sa:Ləx | ~ | 
(Nə k′i:n′) woːrə | (Nə k′iːn′) woːrə | (Nə k′iːn′) woːrə ∼ (Nə rədiː/nə rədiː) moːrə
(Nə k′iːn′) v′eɡə | (Nə k′iːn′) v′eɡə | (Nə k′iːn′) v′eɡə

---

1 “téagarthá”.
2 “a n-éadach salach”.
3 “cáiliúil”. Note the conversion of the liquid [l] to the palatal glide [j], a phenomenon normally associated with the more strongly palatalised liquid [L']. (Cf. M 70 on Inis Meáin, for example).
4 “ar an mbollán siú”.

---

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<table>
<thead>
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<th><strong>GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES</strong></th>
<th><strong>INIS MEÁIN</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ADJECTIVAL INFLECTION</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Lenition of Singular Adjectives Modifying Feminine Singular Nouns)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(bean) mhór dheas</td>
<td>(b′æ:n) wɔr v′r′ɑː: ∼ (is b′r′ɑː:  mɔr  an′ v′æːN  i′)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(bean) shlachtmhar</td>
<td>(b′æːN) əLI′N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(bean) fholláin/shláintiūil</td>
<td>stLaːn′t′uːl′</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(bean) thábhachtach</td>
<td>tawɔxtəx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cloch) mhór</td>
<td>(kLaːx) wɔr (ɛ) ... (kLaːx) mɔr (ɛ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(xLaːx) wɔr (i, iː¹)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ar an gcloch) mhaol</td>
<td>(ɛr′ o  gɑːriv′  Luːm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cos/lámh) dhubh</td>
<td>(sk′iːɔ Nɔ  kafɛ  dli′i) (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Plural Adjectival Forms)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(éadaí) salacha</td>
<td>(o t′ɛːdəx) saːLax ... (dɔ  xiq  eːdiː) saːLax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(na cinn) mhóra</td>
<td>(Nɔ  rədi̞i) mɔrə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(na cinn) bheaga</td>
<td>(Nɔ  rədi̞i) b′ɛɡə [x2]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ For emphasis.
² “...nochttha”.

Séamas Ó Direáin—*A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>((b'æ:n...v'æ:n)) mo(r \ d\æ(s))</td>
<td>((b'æ:n) \ vor \ jæ:s)</td>
<td>((b'æ:n) \ vor' \ d\æ:s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>((tæ \ fiː \ &quot;b'æ:nu\ge \ Æ... \ ge \ Æ))</td>
<td>((b'æ:n) \ slæ:xtæː)</td>
<td>((b'æ:n) \ dahu'\l')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>((agos \ b'æ:nu; \ fuLær'n'))</td>
<td>((b'æ:n) \ ælæn')</td>
<td>((b'æ:n) \ slæ:n't'u'\l')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>((agos \ tæ \ fiː \ ... \ tæ \ æ: \ taræxtæː))</td>
<td>((b'æ:n \ iːntæx) ...)</td>
<td>((b'æ:n) \ tæwæxtæ)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>((...na \ xLæx) \ mo(r'))</td>
<td>((kLæx) \ vor)</td>
<td>((kLæx) \ mo(r))</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>((er'... æ xLæx))</td>
<td>((er' æn \ gLæx) \ yLæs)</td>
<td>((er' æ gæːr' \ Læm))</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Næxti' \ ...Læm)</td>
<td>((er' æ gLæx \ Læm))</td>
<td>((er' æ gæːr' \ Læm))</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>((f'k'ë:n æ xaf) \ do)</td>
<td>((f'ina \ xaf) \ do)</td>
<td>((sk'í:\n \ l'ë \ Læv') \ do)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>((do \ xæd' \ edid) \ saLæx)</td>
<td>((do \ hædidi) \ saLæx)</td>
<td>((o \ kæd' \ edid) \ saLæx)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(&quot;(gæːd' \ edid) \ saLæx)</td>
<td>(&quot;(gæːd' \ edid) \ saLæx)</td>
<td>(&quot;(vur \ edid) \ saLæx)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>((Næ \ rudidi) \ mo(ræ))</td>
<td>((Næ \ rudidi) \ mo(ræ))</td>
<td>((Næ \ rudidi) \ mo(ræ))</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>((Næ \ rudidi) b'ëgo)</td>
<td>((rudidi' \ b'ëgo)</td>
<td>((Næ \ rudidi) b'ëgo)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{1}\) "...ina chloch mhór". \(^{2}\) After prompting. \(^{3}\) After prompting with \(täbhachtach\).
### Grammatical Variables

#### Bungabhla F 43  Eoghanacht F 73

**Adjectival Inflection**

(Lenition of Nouns after Cardinal Numerals)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun Form</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beirt daoine</td>
<td>b'ert' dín'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beirt siúinéirí</td>
<td>ya: x'un'é:ro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. This item is included here for convenience.
2. After prompting with siúinéara.

(Forms of Ordinal Numerals)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinal Noun</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>an dara duine</td>
<td>an dara fær</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an tríú duine</td>
<td>n' t'r'i:wo dm'e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Miscellaneous: Lenition after “gach uile”)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun Form</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'chuile bhliain</td>
<td>x'il'e (sic) b'li'ú'n'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Séamas Ó Direáin— A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co. Galway
Lenition of Nouns after Cardinal Numerals; Forms of Ordinal Numerals; Lenition after “gach uile”

**INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b′ert′ ~</td>
<td>b′ert′ wi:n′t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b′ert′ œr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya: xærp′in′t′er ~</td>
<td>ya: x′un′erə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya: x′un′erə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>œ da:œr fœ:r</td>
<td>n da:œr fœ:r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...n′ t′r′iui: fœ:r</td>
<td>n′ t′r′i:vo dm′t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xa:l′i v'l′i′n′</td>
<td>xa:l′e v'l′e:n′</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Grammatical Variables

**ADJECTIVAL INFLECTION**

*(Lenition of Nouns after Cardinal Numerals)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>beirt daoine</th>
<th>b’ert [x2] (\sim) b’ert di:n’i:</th>
<th>ya: ym’i [x2]²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beirt siúinéiri</td>
<td>ya: fu:n’erə</td>
<td>b’ert’ fu:n’eriri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(Forms of Ordinal Numerals)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>an dara duine</th>
<th>ñ dərə fəːr</th>
<th>ñ dərə fəːr</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>an tríú duine</td>
<td>ñ t’r’iːuː fəːr</td>
<td>ñ’ t’r’iːuː fəːr/fəːr [x2]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(Miscellaneous: Lenition after “gach uile”)*

| ‘chuile bhliain | “xol’i v’l’e:n’                  | xol’i v’l’e:n’ |

---

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EOCHAILL M 68</th>
<th>CILL RÓNÁIN M 50</th>
<th>CILL ÉINNE F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b'ert' yim'i</td>
<td>b'ert'</td>
<td>b'ertf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y'a: x'un'ɛtə</td>
<td>'b'er 'tʃu:N'erɪ</td>
<td>b'ertf ʃu:n'erɪ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'ert' x'un'ɛtə</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>^daːrə fæ:r</td>
<td>ŋ daːɾə fæ:r</td>
<td>ŋ daːɾə fæ:r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n' t'r'iːu fæ:r</td>
<td>ŋ t'r'iːu fæ:r</td>
<td>ŋ t'r'iːu fæ:r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ ŋ t'r'iːwə ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(gaːx b'ɛɛtɛn')</td>
<td>xal'ɛ ʃliːn</td>
<td>xal'ɛ ʃliːn'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Séamas Ó Direáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co. Galway
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES</th>
<th>INIS MEÁIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ADJECTIVAL INFLECTION</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Lenition of Nouns after Cardinal Numerals)</em>(^1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beirt daoine</td>
<td>b’er’t’ w‘i:n’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beirt siúinéiri</td>
<td>b’er’t’ jum’e:ro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Forms of Ordinal Numerals)</em>(^1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an dara duine</td>
<td>ø d:arø fær’h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an tríú duine</td>
<td>n’ t’ri:u: fær’ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Miscellaneous: Lenition after “gach uile”)</em>(^1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘chuile bhliain</td>
<td>xa’l’e v’l’i:en’ ~ (Na(^1) Nø b’I:i:øNa)(^2) [x2]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) This item is included here for convenience.

\(^2\) “... in aghaidh na bliana”.

Séamas Ó Direáin— A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
\textbf{INIS OÍRR}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b€™ert'</td>
<td>b€™ertf</td>
<td>b€™ert'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaː ... b’aert</td>
<td>gaː [x] x’om’erə</td>
<td>gaː x’u’n’erə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka’rge</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n dacrə dm’e</td>
<td>n dacrə dm’ı</td>
<td>œn dacrə f’ær’ (sic)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n’ t’r’i:u dm’e</td>
<td>n’ t’r’i:u dm’ı</td>
<td>(n’ir) n’ t’r’i:u dm’ë¹</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xal’e v’l’i:n’</td>
<td>xal’e v’l’i:n’</td>
<td>xal’e v’l’i:n’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Note the absence of a pronoun after the negative copula in this identificatory copula construction.
### GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

**BUNGABHLA F 43**  | **EOGHANACHT F 73**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ADJECTIVAL INFLECTION</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Comparative Forms of Adjectives)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| níos fearr | N′i:s f′ar | b′ar \((d′e)\)\(^1\) |
| níos lú | N′i:s Lu' \([x2]\) |  |
| níos dorcha | N′i:s dər'x̌ | N′i:s daraxə |
| níos túisce | N′i:s Lu²xt'ĩ | N′i:s tu:jk'e |
| níos moiche | N′i:s tu:jk'i | N′i:s tu:jk'e |
| níos fliche | N′i:s f'L'ax ... | N′i:j f'L'e:i |
|  | N′i:s f'L'axt' ('ma'r'ax) |  |
| níos giorra | n′i:s g'ir'e | n′i:s g'ir'e |
| níos raimhre | n′i:s ri:v'r'e | n′i:s ri:v'r'e |
| níos doimhne | n′i:s da³v'n'e | n′i:s da³v'n'e |
| níos léithe | N′i:s L'i³h'ʃ | N′i:s L'i³xt'ĩ |
| níos nuaí | N′i:s Nu³xt'ĩ |  |
| níos breátha | N′i:s b'r'ax \((cN'e')\) | N′i:s b'r'ax |

\(^1\) “B’fhearr di ...”
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b'ur (d'i) ∼</td>
<td>bo v'ur ∼</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N'is f'ur₁</td>
<td>N'is f'ur₁</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N'is Lu:</td>
<td>N'is Lu:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N'is daraxa</td>
<td>(b' f' daraxa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'is tušk'e ∼ n'is tušk'i</td>
<td>n'is tušk'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N'is tušk'e</td>
<td>N'is tušk'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N'is f'li:</td>
<td>n'is f'li:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'is gaš'ir'd'e</td>
<td>n'is g'ir'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'is rím'ir'i</td>
<td>n'is rím'ir'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'is dš'v'n'e</td>
<td>n'is dš'v'm'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N'if L'ir</td>
<td>(šur'š ur' L'ir)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N'is Lu₂</td>
<td>n'is Lu₂</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Extracted from I.25.
## Grammatical Variables

### Grammatical Variables

**Comparative Forms of Adjectives**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>níos fearr</td>
<td>bhr (d'i) [1] ...</td>
<td>bhr (d'i) [1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bhr (d'i) [1]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>níos lú</td>
<td>N'ís Lu'n</td>
<td>N'ís Lu'n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>níos dorcha</td>
<td>N'ís doraxa</td>
<td>N'ís div'1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>níos túsce</td>
<td>N'ís sk'ipí</td>
<td>N'ís Lo:x't'1 [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>níos moiche</td>
<td>N'ís Lu'xt'1</td>
<td>N'ís Loxt'1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>níos fliche</td>
<td>N'ís f'li'i; [2]</td>
<td>N'ís f'li'i;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>níos giorra</td>
<td>N'ís gar'id' ...</td>
<td>N'ís gar'id'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N'ís ga'r'd' ...</td>
<td>N'ís ga'r'd'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>níos raímhre</td>
<td>N'ís rim'r'1</td>
<td>N'ís ra'm'r'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>níos doimhne</td>
<td>da'wN'e  ~</td>
<td>N'ís da'v'm'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>da'v'n'e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>níos léithe</td>
<td>(a fal' l'e;) [3]</td>
<td>N'ís L'iaxt'1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>níos nuái</td>
<td>N'ís Nu'xt'1 [x2]</td>
<td>N'ís nuxt'1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>níos bráitha</td>
<td>N'ís b'r'axt'1</td>
<td>N'ís b'r'axt'1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[1\] “B’fhéarr di ...”  
\[2\] After prompting with the form by F 72.  
\[3\] “... ag fáil liath”
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EOCHAILL M 68</th>
<th>CILL RÓNÁIN M 50</th>
<th>CILL ÉINNE F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n'i: b'ær (d'i)</td>
<td>b'ær ~ n'írs f'ær</td>
<td>b'ær b'ær (dgi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ n'írs f'ær₁</td>
<td>~ N'i: b'ær₁</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'írs Lu:</td>
<td>n'írs Lu:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'írs daraxo</td>
<td>n'írs daraxo</td>
<td>n'írs daraxo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'írs LUxt'í</td>
<td>n'írs Lu'x'e</td>
<td>n'írs tu'f'k'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'írs moxt'e</td>
<td>n'írs tu'f'k'e</td>
<td>n'írs Lo'xt'f'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'írs Loxt'c</td>
<td></td>
<td>n'írs LOxt'c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'írs f'L'i:</td>
<td>n'írs f'L'íx'e</td>
<td>n'írs f'L'i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'írs g'in'i</td>
<td>n'írs g'in'e</td>
<td>n'írs g'in'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'írs riv'r'i</td>
<td>n'írs riv'r'e</td>
<td>n'írs riv'r'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'írs da'v'n'e</td>
<td>n'írs dev'n'e</td>
<td>n'írs da'v'n'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'írs L'i:xt'í</td>
<td>n'írs L'i:</td>
<td>N'iis L'i:xt'í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'írs Nu:xt'í</td>
<td>n'írs Nu:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'írs b'r'axt' (N'e'f')</td>
<td>b'r'axha ... n'írs b'r'axha</td>
<td>n'írs b'r'axa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Extracted from 1.25.
² "[n'íis b'r'axt'f] (a) abrafonns muide."
### Grammatical Variables: Adjectival Inflection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M 70</th>
<th>F 60+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ADJECTIVAL INFLECTION</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Comparative Forms of Adjectives)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>M Form</th>
<th>F Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>níos fearr</td>
<td>n'i:s f'ar</td>
<td>b'ar (dgi) ~ n'i:s f'ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>níos lú</td>
<td>n'i:s Lu</td>
<td>n'i:s Lu;o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>níos dorcha</td>
<td>n'i:s dorax ~ n'i:s musfθ ~ n'i:s dorax</td>
<td>n'i:s muskri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>níos túsce</td>
<td>n'i:s e:sk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>níos moiche</td>
<td>N'i:s moxt' ~ n'i:s tuf:k</td>
<td>n'i:s tuf:k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>níos fliche</td>
<td>n'i:s f'le:hí [x4]</td>
<td>n'i:s f'l'e;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>níos giorra</td>
<td>N'i:s gerd</td>
<td>n'i:s g'ir'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>níos raimhre</td>
<td>N'i:s ræv'n'</td>
<td>n'i:s rev'r'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>níos doimhne</td>
<td>N'i:s dev'm</td>
<td>n'i:s da'n'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>níos léithe</td>
<td>(eg' eir'v L/θ)</td>
<td>n'i:s L'i:xt'θ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>níos naí</td>
<td>n'i:s N'xt'</td>
<td>n'i:s N'xt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>níos breátha</td>
<td>b'v'xt' (oN Lu; ...)</td>
<td>n'i:s b'r'xt'f</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Extracted from I.22. 2 "...níos múchta?" 3 "...níos múscra?" 4 [n'i:s f'l'oxt''] used jokingly by the informant as an explication of the preceding form.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>n'í: </code>f<code>a:r ~ </code>b<code>a:r (</code>bú)</td>
<td><code>n'í: </code>f`a:r</td>
<td><code>b</code>a:r</td>
<td><code>n'í: </code>f`a:r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>o </code>v<code>a:r (</code>l<code>óm)</code>¹</td>
<td><code>n'í:se: </code>Lú:²</td>
<td><code>n'í:se: </code>Lú:</td>
<td><code>n'í: </code>f`a:r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>n'í:</code>d<code>arax</code>e</td>
<td><code>n'í:</code>d<code>arax</code>e</td>
<td><code>n'í:</code>d<code>arax</code>e</td>
<td><code>n'í:</code>d<code>arax</code>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>n'í:</code>d<code>arax</code>e</td>
<td><code>n'í:</code>d<code>arax</code>e</td>
<td><code>n'í:</code>d<code>arax</code>e</td>
<td><code>n'í:</code>d<code>arax</code>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>n'í:</code>s `e:ska</td>
<td><code>n'í:</code>s `e:ska</td>
<td><code>n'í:</code>s `e:ska</td>
<td><code>n'í:</code>s `e:ska</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>n'í:</code>s `e:ska</td>
<td><code>n'í:</code>s `e:ska</td>
<td><code>n'í:</code>s `e:ska</td>
<td><code>n'í:</code>s `e:ska</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>n'í:</code>s <code>f</code>l`á:x</td>
<td><code>n'í:</code>s <code>f</code>l`á:x</td>
<td><code>n'í:</code>s <code>f</code>l`á:x</td>
<td><code>n'í:</code>s <code>f</code>l`á:x³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>n'í:</code>s <code>g</code>a:r<code>i:</code>d`e</td>
<td><code>n'í:</code>s <code>g</code>i:<code> [x2] (</code>sic)</td>
<td><code>n'í:</code>s <code>g</code>i:`</td>
<td><code>n'í:</code>s <code>g</code>i:`</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>n'í:</code>s <code>r</code>a:<code>v</code>e</td>
<td><code>n'í:</code>s <code>r</code>a:<code>v</code>e</td>
<td><code>n'í:</code>s <code>r</code>a:<code>v</code>e</td>
<td><code>n'í:</code>s <code>r</code>a:<code>v</code>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>n'í:</code>s <code>d</code>a:<code>v</code>n`e</td>
<td><code>n'í:</code>s <code>d</code>a:<code>v</code>n`e</td>
<td><code>n'í:</code>s <code>d</code>a:<code>v</code>n`e</td>
<td><code>n'í:</code>s <code>d</code>a:<code>v</code>n`e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>(o </code>f<code>a:l</code> <code>L</code>íp)</td>
<td><code>(f</code>a:l<code> </code>L`íp)</td>
<td><code>n'í:</code></td>
<td><code>n'í:</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>n'í:</code></td>
<td><code>n'í:</code></td>
<td><code>n'í:</code></td>
<td><code>n'í:</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>n'í:</code></td>
<td><code>n'í:</code></td>
<td><code>n'í:</code></td>
<td><code>n'í:</code></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjectival Inflection</th>
<th>Bungabhla</th>
<th>Eoghanacht</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>The Intensifying Particle an-</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-tuirseach</td>
<td>an törfo</td>
<td>an tórso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-fholláin/an-sláintiúil</td>
<td>am slæn't'ul'</td>
<td>(b'r'a: slæn't'ul')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-fhairsing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-ghann</td>
<td>a:Nya ya:n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Intensifying Particle *an-*

**INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>a:n tásəx</em></td>
<td>(m') <em>a:n tásəx</em>¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(b'r'aː slən't'u:l')</em></td>
<td><em>æ:nslæn't'u:l</em>²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>aːN ərʃin'</em></td>
<td><em>(faːrʃin'</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>aːn ɣən</em></td>
<td>æː ɣəːn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjectival Inflection</th>
<th>Corrúch F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>an-tuirseach</strong></td>
<td>(ə v') æːn tɔɾʃaxⁱ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>an-fholláin/an-sláintiúil</strong></td>
<td>æːN aːlɔːn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>an-fhairsing</strong></td>
<td>æːn aːɾʃIn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>an-ghann</strong></td>
<td>æːn yaːn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ⁱ “...a bheith an-tuirseach...”
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EOCHAILL M 68</th>
<th>CILL RÖNÁIN M 50</th>
<th>CILL ÉINNE F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'a:N 'tårsox'</td>
<td>'a:n 'tårsox'</td>
<td>'a:n tårsox'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'a:N 'sLa'nt'ul'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'a:n sLa'nt'l'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'a:N 'a'refin'</td>
<td>(farfin)</td>
<td>a:N ærfin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'à: 'ga:N'</td>
<td>(ga:N)</td>
<td>(ga:N)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SÉAMAS Ó DIREÁIN—A SURVEY OF SPOKEN IRISH IN THE ARAN ISLANDS, CO.GALWAY
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES</th>
<th>INIS MEÁIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJECTIVAL INFLECTION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(The Intensifying Particle an-)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-tuirseach</td>
<td>(æ'r α'v'e təɾsəx ~ hær α'v'e təɾsəx)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-fholláin/an-sláintiúil</td>
<td>an tla'n't'uíl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-fairsing</td>
<td>a:N æɾʃɨn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-ghann</td>
<td>(gaːN)(\textsuperscript{2})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The intensifying particle is treated phonologically here as though it were a normal adjectival prefix.

2 According to the informant, [gaːN] (and not [gaːN]) is used on Inis Meáin.
## INIS ÓÍRR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(...'aːn 'tɔɾs əŕ̝ːm)</td>
<td>āːn tɔɾʃəx</td>
<td>(səx tɔɾsəx)(^1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(...'aːn 'sɬə'n̥t̪ʼ əɡəm)</td>
<td>aːn ɬəːn̥'</td>
<td>āː sɬəː'n̥t̪ʼuːl̪ʼ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'aːn 'aːɾʃɪn̥'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'āː ʼyəːN</td>
<td>āː yūːN</td>
<td>'aːN ɡəːN (\text{sic})(^2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) “...sáčh tuirseach”.
\(^2\) After prompting.
## Grammatical Variables: Pronominal Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronominal Forms</th>
<th>Bungabha F 43</th>
<th>Eoghanacht F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(An) tú ...</td>
<td>(or) tu' ...</td>
<td>(or) tuso ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(An ...) thú?</td>
<td>(...a) ?u'</td>
<td>(...i) h'u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Dá mba ...) thú ...</td>
<td>(...n) tuso</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(As Direct Object) ... thú</td>
<td>(...a xN') u'</td>
<td>(...a xN'i:) u'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ (...x) u</td>
<td>~ (...x) u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seisean</td>
<td>fesoN ~ fesN</td>
<td>fusoN [x3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eiscéan</td>
<td>esoN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muid(e)</td>
<td>md' [x5]₁ ~ md (t...)</td>
<td>md' [x3]₁ ~ mod'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ mod (t...) ~ ma (t...)</td>
<td>~ mod (t...) ~ mod (t...)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ mN't' ~ mN'1</td>
<td>~ ma (t...) ~ md'1 [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ mod'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sibh(se)</td>
<td>fnb' ~ fip'ft</td>
<td>fnv'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siad(san)</td>
<td>fad [x5] ~ fasad [x3] ~ fadsaN</td>
<td>fad' [x6] ~ fasd ~ fasd ~ fasaN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iad</td>
<td>i'ad ~ e'd ~ ed ~ ad ~ (fasd) i''ad i''ad ~</td>
<td>i'ad ~ i''ad ~ i'ad ~ ed ~</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(or) tu ...</td>
<td>'tu ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(...i) hu:</td>
<td>(...r')¹ u'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(...N) hũo</td>
<td>(...o xIN') u'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ (...x) hũ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fũoN [x2]</td>
<td>fũoN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(if) fũoN...²</td>
<td>(...na') fũoN³ ~ (b⁵v') eũN...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mũd' [x2] ~ mũN' [x2]</td>
<td>mũd' [x3] ~ mũd (t...) ~ mũd (t...)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ mũN'(s...) ~ mũn (t...)</td>
<td>~ mũd (s...) ~ mũg ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ mũd¹ ~ mũN'</td>
<td>~ mũd¹ ~ mũd¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fũb' [x3] ~ fũp'ẽ⁴</td>
<td>fũb' ~ (a) fũp'ẽ⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jũd¹ [x8] ~ jũd ~ jũd [x2]</td>
<td>jũd [x2] ~ jũd ~ jⁿd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iⁿd ~ iⁿd [x3]⁶ ~ iⁿd ~</td>
<td>(i¹'r) jⁿd ~ jũd [x2] ~ jẽd ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N¹i· hũn') jũd</td>
<td>(b⁵d) jẽd (N...) ~ (b⁵m') jũd ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(bũd) jẽd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(An) tú ...</th>
<th>(or) tu: ...</th>
<th>(or) tosa ...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(An ...) thú?</td>
<td>(...r′)1 u:</td>
<td>(...t) tosa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Dá mba ...) thú ...</td>
<td>(...n) u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(As Direct Object)...thú</td>
<td>(...x) u′</td>
<td>(...x) u′</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>seisean</th>
<th>sásan [x2]</th>
<th>sásan [x2]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cisean</td>
<td>tásan</td>
<td>tásan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>muid(e)</th>
<th>múd′ [x2]2 ~ mód (t...)</th>
<th>múd′ [x3] ~ múd′[x2]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ mú (t...) ~ mód′1</td>
<td>~ mod (s...) ~ mIN′</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ mÌn′d′ ~ mÌn′N′ [x2]</td>
<td>~ mán (t...) ~ mÌn′N′3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ mÌn′N′1 ~ mIN′1</td>
<td>~ mÌn′N′1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sibh(se)</th>
<th>fáb′ [x2]2 ~ fáfp′fí [x2] ~</th>
<th>fáb′fí ~ fáfp′fí ~</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fáfp′fí′</td>
<td>fáfp′fí [x2]</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fáed [x3] ~ fáedsaN [x2]</td>
<td>~ fát ~ fáedsaN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>iad</th>
<th>i′éd [x2] ~ eíd ~ e’d [x2]</th>
<th>i′éd ~ e’d ~ e’d [x2] ~ ašt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ e’d [x5]2 ~ 1d ~</td>
<td>~ (ab’) ‘e’d ~ (ab’) ‘e’d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(‘b’) ‘e:’d [x2]</td>
<td>~ (b’ m’) ‘e’d ~ (b’ m’) ‘e’d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 “...iascaire...”
2 Examples conflated from Parts I and II.
3 Extracted from II.42.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject Pronouns and Object Pronouns</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>EOCHAILL M 68</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ár) tu' ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(...r')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(...N) u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(...ó xoN') u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ (~ (...x) u)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| | | |
| fésN [x2] ~ fásóN | fásN ~ fésN | sesóN ~ sesóN ~ sásN |
| ~ fésN² | | |
| e³sóN² | sásN ~ esóN | ("b") esóN³ |

| | | |
| mud' ~ moók | | |
| mad (s...) ~ mó (t...) | ~ mí (u') | ~ mó (s...) ~ mó (t...) |
| [x3] ~ mud't ~ moók | | |

| | | |
| fáb' | fáv' [x2]⁴ | fáb' ~ (priók) fáp'fe⁵ |

| | | |
| fád⁶ ~ fá'd ~ fád | fád [x3] ~ fád [x2] ~ | fád ~ fád ~ fád [x2] |
| | fád [x3] ~ fád [x2] ~ | (...N) tfá'dsN |
| fád [x5] ~ fád [x3] ~ | (...N) tfád |
| | | |
| i³d | i³d ~ e'd ~ ed | i³d ~ e'd ~ ed [x8] |
| | | |
| e'd ~ e't ~ (b') e'ó'd ~ | (ó'í') l'd (fí'm) ~ | ~ ("b") i³d ~ ("b") e'ó'd |
| (bád) e'd ~ (fád) e'd | (N'í:) hí³d⁷ | ~ (b'ú:d) e'ó'd [x2] |

1 “...iascaire ...” 2 Cf. also [fí:fe] in I.7 with a similar long vowel as well as the expected [fí:fe] (in I.41) and [físfe] (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 [fésóN] and [esóN] 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRONOMINAL FORMS</th>
<th>INIS MEÁIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(An) tú ...</td>
<td>(An) toso ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(An ...) thú?</td>
<td>(....) huso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Dá mba ...) thú ...</td>
<td>(....) N u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(As Direct Object)...60:212-East</td>
<td>(.... x) hu:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 “...iascaire ...” 2 Note the emphatic form of the third singular feminine pronoun *sise*, which yields the variant *[Jip’fe] (in I.7)* with a long vowel as well as the expected *[Jipë] (in I.41). 3 “Is cisean ...”
Subject Pronouns and Object Pronouns

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(‘b’') o . . . (‘b’') or (fem:os)</td>
<td>(‘b’') o . . . (‘b’') ur (fem:os)</td>
<td>(‘a) ‘tusa . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b’e . . . i’skn’i) o</td>
<td>(b’e . . . i’skn’i) tusa . . .</td>
<td>(‘i . . .) tusa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b’e: i’skn’i) tu³</td>
<td>(b’e: i’skn’i) tusa</td>
<td>(b’e: i’skn’i) tusa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(‘i . . .) tusa</td>
<td>(‘i . . .) tusa</td>
<td>(‘i . . .) tusa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sasaN [x2]</td>
<td>jefaN</td>
<td>(fan’ t:ifaN²) . . . jefaN . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b’e) jefan</td>
<td>(b’e) jefan</td>
<td>(b’e) jefan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mod’ (t . . .) [x2]</td>
<td>mod’ (t . . .) [x2]</td>
<td>mod’ (t . . .) [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mod (t . . .) ~ mod (s . . .)</td>
<td>mod (s . . .) ~ mod (t . . .)</td>
<td>mod (s . . .) ~ mod (t . . .)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ moðh ~ moðh</td>
<td>mod’ (s . . .) ~ mod’ (t . . .)</td>
<td>mod’ (t . . .) ~ mod’ (s . . .)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ moðh ~ moðh</td>
<td>moðh [x2] ~ moðh</td>
<td>moðh [x2] ~ moðh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ moðh ~ moðh</td>
<td>mod’ (t . . .) ~ mod’ (s . . .)</td>
<td>mod’ (t . . .) ~ mod’ (s . . .)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Séamas Ó Direáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
### Grammatical Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRONOMINAL FORMS</th>
<th>BUNGABHLA F 43</th>
<th>EOGHANACHT F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ár (geuid)</td>
<td>gd’ (gru’g’i)</td>
<td>‘gru’g’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| bhur (geuid) | (da x’d’ eidi’)
(da xid’ koti)
(da xot (nu’fo)
(da xid’ koti’)[x2]
‘gd’ (kæp’i’ni’)
‘gd’ (kÆxtanä) | ‘gd’ (kæp’i’ni’i)
gd’ (kÆxtanä) |
| (in) bhur (scoláirí) | aNo (skæLa’ri) | |
| (i) do (dhiaidh) | ta jir’ |
| (i) do (sheasamh) | | |
| (i) mo (sheasamh) | ma asa’ |

1 Confirmed as a plural construction by the informant.
2 Extracted from I.5.
3 Extracted from I.34.
INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \ddot{o} \text{ gru'g'} )</td>
<td>( \ddot{t}a' \text{ gru'g'} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \ddot{a} \text{ god'} (\text{exti}) )</td>
<td>( \ddot{d}a \text{ god'} (\text{exti}) ) (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \ddot{a} \text{ god'} (\text{koxti}) )</td>
<td>( \text{god'} (\text{koxti}) )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \ddot{a} \text{ god'} (\text{hasti}) )</td>
<td>( \text{gd'} (\text{hasti}) )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \ddot{d}o \text{ xed } k'\text{æxta})(^1)</td>
<td>( \ddot{d}o \text{ xid } k'\text{æxta})(^1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \ddot{a}N\dot{o} \text{ (m'ek' L'e'N')} )</td>
<td>( \ddot{a}N\dot{o} \text{ (skoLar'it)} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d \text{ haesa}</td>
<td>m(^a) \text{ ha'es (as ...)}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) A plural construction?
**GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRONOMINAL FORMS</th>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>(Possessive Pronouns)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ár (gcuid)</td>
<td>grúi'g'</td>
<td>gd' (groi'g'i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhur (gcuid)</td>
<td>a N'ëdìi:</td>
<td>a gd' (ëdì:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a gd' (ëdì:)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(go:ëòì:)</td>
<td>a gd' (kòtì:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gd' (hàtti:)</td>
<td>a gd' (hàtti:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a gòk (k'èxtà)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(in) bhur (scoláirfí)</td>
<td></td>
<td>a na (mì'ik' l'è:àn')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) do (dhiáidh)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) do (sheasamh)</td>
<td>Nà hàesa¹</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) no (sheasamh)</td>
<td>Nà hàesa¹</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Though this invariable locative construction occurs in the contexts [v'ì: tòso Nà hàesa] and [v'ì: mìfì Nà hàesa] in L.34, the same construction inflected for number and gender occurs in the context [ta' mà:ì'ì eNà 'faesa . . . ] (“Tá Máire ina seasamh . . .”) in L.31.
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eochaill M 68</th>
<th>Cill Rónáin M 50</th>
<th>Cill Éinne F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>grę (gro:g’i)</td>
<td>ʰgru’g’</td>
<td>ʰgrę (gro:g’i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə grę (edii)</td>
<td>n’é’dax</td>
<td>ə grę (edii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰgo:ti:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grę (hæcte/hæte) [x2]</td>
<td>ʰgæp’im’i:</td>
<td>ʰgæp’im’i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə gid’ (k’æxta) ~ ə gid’ (k’æxta)</td>
<td>ʰgæp’im’i:</td>
<td>ʰgæp’im’i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>¹nə (skolæ:ri:)</td>
<td>ənə (skolæ:ri:)</td>
<td>¹nə (ma:k L’e:N’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Cf. also the form of the possessive pronoun in the locative construction [v’i: moth’ nə si] (“Bhí muid inár suí . . .”) in I.37.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES</strong></th>
<th><strong>INIS MEÁIN</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PRONOMINAL FORMS</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Possessive Pronouns)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ár (gcuid)</td>
<td>guð̂ (gru’g’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhur (gcuid)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a guð̂ (kɔt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>guð̂ (kɔtɪ́)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>guð̂ (hætɪ́) [x3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a guð̂ (k’æxtəNɪ́)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(in) bhur (scoláirí)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) do (dhiáidh)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) do (sheasamh)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) mo (sheasamh)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## INIS ÓIRR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“gi (gru’g’)</td>
<td>kid’ (gru’g’)</td>
<td>n gru’g’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“goig (exd’i) [x2]</td>
<td>u goig (exd’i)</td>
<td>u’t exd’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“goig (koc’i)</td>
<td>varh koc’i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— (kæp’im’i)</td>
<td>var’ hæti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“goig (kæxt’i)</td>
<td>goig (kæxt’i)</td>
<td>var Na’h’i (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“væ (skæ’r’i)</td>
<td>“væ (skæ’r’i)</td>
<td>an (skæ’r’i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“væ (skæ’r’i)</td>
<td>“væ (skæ’r’i)</td>
<td>an (skæ’r’i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“væ (skæ’r’i)</td>
<td>“væ (skæ’r’i)</td>
<td>an (skæ’r’i)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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., [t’a mat’ e si: ...] ("Tá Máire ag suí ..."), [t’a mæ’i: si: ...] ("Tá Máirtín ag seasamh ..."), [v’i: tæ:s si: ...] ("Bhí tusa ag seasamh ..."), and [(v)’i: m’æ:s ...] ("Bhí mise ag seasamh ...") in sentences I.31, I.32, and I.34, respectively.
## Grammatical Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prepositional Phrases</th>
<th>Bungabhla F 43</th>
<th>Eoghanacht F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(With a Non-Finite Clause as Object)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag caint) ar/faoi theach a thógáil</td>
<td>er' tæx o hóg'æ:ll</td>
<td>er' o hæx o k'og'æ:ll (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag smaoineamh) ar fheur a fhostú</td>
<td>er' fæ:r ... (l'e fæ:r o ?ail'...) ~</td>
<td>er' din' 'k'int' a'l'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le é a phiocadh suas</td>
<td>l'e 'e p'ukø su'=s</td>
<td>l'e e p'ukø su'=s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tar éis (labhairt leis)</td>
<td>tær 'ef (La^rt 'ef)</td>
<td>hr ef (La^rt' 'ef)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(With a Genitival Noun Phrase as Object)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trasna ...</td>
<td>tr'æse:no (Nø sræ:d')</td>
<td>tr'æse:no (Nø sræ:d' [e])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tar éis ...</td>
<td>tar ef (ø d'im'er')</td>
<td>r ef (ø d'im'er')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le haghaidh ...</td>
<td>l'enø (ji:n'ær)</td>
<td>(eg' ?ji:n'er)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(er' \text{ hæx } a \text{ ho:g'\text{al}})</td>
<td>(fi: t'\text{æx } a \text{ ho:g'\text{al}})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(er' \text{ fæ:r} \ldots)</td>
<td>(r' \text{fæ:r } (\omega) a:l'\ldots)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>((l'e \text{ fæ:r } a a:l') \ldots)</td>
<td>(er \text{ æ:r } a a:l')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(l'e \text{ e' f'uk\text{o sura}s} \ldots)</td>
<td>(l'e (e) \text{ ho:g'\text{al'}} N'i:s \ldots)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(t'r' \text{'ef (La}^u\text{rt l'ef)} \ldots)</td>
<td>(t'r' \text{'ef (v'\text{e ka}^n't' l'ef)} \ldots)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(t'\text{æ:r' e}^f (La}^u\text{rt l'ef)} \ldots)</td>
<td>(t'\text{æ:r' e}^f (L\text{a}^u\text{rt l'ef)} \ldots)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{t'r'æ:sn\text{o} (nø sr\text{u}';d'\text{e})}^1)</td>
<td>(t'\text{rasn\text{o} (N tr\text{a};d')})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(t'r' \text{'ef } (&quot;d'\text{im'er}) )</td>
<td>(hær \text{ e}^f (\omega \text{$i:m'\text{e}r}))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(t'\text{æ:r' e}^f (v'\text{'rik'fast\text{a}}))</td>
<td>(r \text{ e}^f (\omega \text{b'rik'fast}))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(l'e' (d'\text{im'er}))</td>
<td>(l'\text{e:n\text{o} (ji:m'\text{e}rb)})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1 Cf. \( [t'r'æ:sn\text{o} \text{gø d'it: du:l\text{m'}}] ("...trasna go dtí Dúlainn") \) in II.53.
**Grammatical Variables: Prepositional Phrases**

**Corrúch M 82**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(With a Non-Finite Clause as Object)</th>
<th>(With a Genitival Noun Phrase as Object)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>(ag caint) ar/faoi theach</em> a thógáil</td>
<td><em>trasna</em> ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>er’ hæ:x ə høg’æ:l’</td>
<td>træsNø (N traːd’*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(ag smaoineamh) ar fheur</em> a hóstú</td>
<td>r eʃ [x2] (o d’iːm’ær)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>er’ fær æ:l’ [x2]</td>
<td>r eʃ (a d:iːN’er)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le ɕ a phicadhsuas</td>
<td>r eʃ (m’ r’ik’faːst)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l’e e f’ôkə su’s</td>
<td>r eʃ (o v’r’ik’faːst)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tar éis (labhaír leis)</td>
<td>le haghaidh ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r eʃ (o v’e kæn’t’ l’ɛʃ)</td>
<td>l’e: (d’iːm’ær) ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(l’e: d’iːm’ær æːl’ ~)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l’e: (d’iːm’ær) ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(l’e: d’iːm’ær æːl’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 “... tar éis a mbricfeasta”?

**Corrúch F 72**

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EOCHAILL M 68</th>
<th>CILL RÓNÁIN M 50</th>
<th>CILL ÉINNE F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tʰiː tʰæːx a hoːɡ'ær</td>
<td>er tʰæːx a hoːɡ'ær</td>
<td>er tʰæːx a hoːɡ'ær</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(l'ː fʰær aːl'ː) ~</td>
<td>fʰːr astu (sic)</td>
<td>er' fʰær 'aːl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(r') fʰær a oːstʊ:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l'ː eː fʰːkʰ sʊːs [x2]</td>
<td>l'ːnə fʰːkʰ sʊːs</td>
<td>l'ː eː fʰːkʰ sʊːs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰr' eʃ (ə v'ː eː õk'nt' l'ef)</td>
<td>tʰr' eʃ (lær't' l'ef)</td>
<td>h eʃ (ə lær't' l'ef) ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>har 'eʃ (ə lær't' l'ef)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trəːsNə (Nə sruːd'ɛ)</td>
<td>t'rəːsNə (ŋ wɔːhur')</td>
<td>t'rəːsNə (Nə sruːd'ɛ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰr' eʃ (ə d'ĩːn'ɛr')</td>
<td>hɐː eʃ (ə dʃiːn'ər')</td>
<td>h eʃ (aːm dʃiːn'ɛr') ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰr' eʃ (b'r'ɪk'fɛːstɔ)</td>
<td></td>
<td>h eʃ (ə m'ɛːlːr)¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l'əː ʰaːi (d'ĩːn'ɛr') ~</td>
<td>l'əː (jǐːnəɾ)</td>
<td>l'əːi nə (jim'ɛr) ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l'eː ʰaːi (d'ĩːn'ɛr')</td>
<td></td>
<td>l'əːi (ə jim'ɛr)² ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l' eː 'həːi (ə jǐːn'ɛr)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 "... tar éis a mbéile"?
2 Cf. [l' eː n pəː fɛːr] (sic) (= "le haghaidh an pháiste") in II.65.
## Grammatical Variables: Prepositional Phrases

### Inis Meáin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M 70</th>
<th>F 60+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### Prepositional Phrases

**With a Non-Finite Clause as Object**

| (ag caint) ar/faoi theach a thógáil | er’ hæx ø jeNø... ø hɔɡ’ɑ:L |
| (ag smaoineamh) ar fhear a hóstú | er’ fɑær ø i:k... ø fɑer ø... østɔːw |
| le ę a phiocadh suas | l’eNø f’òkø sr’s |
| tar éis (labhairt leis) | h’r’ ef (La”rt l’ef) |

**With a Genitival Noun Phrase as Object**

| trasna ... | trasNø (Nø sɾɑː’d’e) |
| tar éis ... | øɾ’ ef (o d’i:N’e’ɾ’) |
| le haghaidh ... | l’e¹ (n’ d’i:N’e’ɾ’) |

1 After prompting with fostú.
Note the use of what appears to be the compound preposition *le haghaidh* with a non-finite clause as object in II.57: [*l'æ:x @ jE*].
**GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BUNGAHLA F 43</th>
<th>EOghANACHT F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES</strong></td>
<td><strong>(Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ag/chuig</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agam</td>
<td>am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agat</td>
<td>æ·d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>againn</td>
<td>(...)sk’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agaibh</td>
<td>aqi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acu</td>
<td>(kid′)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Direct object pronoun.
2. Preceded by the lexical item scian.
### Inflected Prepositional Pronouns: ag/chuig

#### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>agəm</td>
<td>əm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agətsə</td>
<td>agət ~ agut'sə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hugiN' ~ aN'</td>
<td>æn' ~ aN'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akəb</td>
<td>(t'il') ekəb¹ ~ akəb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ “tuilleadh acu”.

---

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**GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES</th>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>(Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ag/chuig</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agam</td>
<td>әм</td>
<td>агm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agat</td>
<td>әґat ~ әt ~ аt</td>
<td>ат ~ аt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>агtso</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>againn</td>
<td>әN’ [x2] ~ әN’</td>
<td>әN’ ~ әN’ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agaibh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acu</td>
<td>akоб [x2]</td>
<td>aқub</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Séamas Ó Direáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
**INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eochaill M 68</th>
<th>Cill Rónáin M 50</th>
<th>Cill Éinne F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akøm ~ a'gøm</td>
<td>øm ~ am&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>øm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:ɡøt</td>
<td>a:ɡ</td>
<td>a:ɡøt ~ agøt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agiN' ~ aɡm'</td>
<td>æ:N' ~ æ:ɡN'</td>
<td>agiN' ~ æN'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:køb ~ a:køp</td>
<td>økø</td>
<td>økø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>1</sup> Extracted from I.2.<br> <sup>2</sup> Extracted from II.44.
### Grammatical Variables: Prepositional Phrases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grammatical Variables</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>INIS MEÁIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M 70</td>
<td></td>
<td>F 60+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Prepositional Phrases

*(Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ag/chuig</th>
<th>am</th>
<th>akam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>agam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agat</td>
<td>æd</td>
<td>æt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>againn</td>
<td>æN'</td>
<td>æN'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agaibh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acu</td>
<td>(tu'/tfI') ækəb [r2]</td>
<td>ækəb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ ækəb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Inflected Prepositional Pronouns: ag/chuig

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>æm</td>
<td>æm</td>
<td>æm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æat</td>
<td>æat</td>
<td>ãt</td>
<td>ad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æntsə</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a'tsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æn′</td>
<td>æn′</td>
<td>æn′</td>
<td>eN′</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(t′il′) akə(b)</td>
<td>akə(v)</td>
<td>(kuŋ) əkəb</td>
<td>akəb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**INIS ÓÍRR**

Séamas Ó Direáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
### Grammatical Variables: Prepositional Phrases

**Bungabhla F 43**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prepositional Phrases</th>
<th>Eoghanacht F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>De</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cuid) de</td>
<td>(kid’e) yo:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(kid’i) d’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>díbh</td>
<td>?íb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diobh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d’fhataf</td>
<td>go fá:ti:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(gLék’ a:ti:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de ghnáth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cuid) den bhainne</td>
<td>(kid’e) go wæ:n’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(kid’e) go wæ:n’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>... goN wæ:n’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cuid) de na mná</td>
<td>(kid’e) go Nə mNə:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(kid’e) go Nə mNə:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</td>
<td>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kid{1} el{1}) je</td>
<td>(kid{1} je)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ma{1}m fat{1})</td>
<td>ø væ{1}ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d‘e γNα: [x2]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kid{1}) gən væ{1}n’e</td>
<td>(kid{1} gəN væ{1}n’e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kid{1}) gə nə nə mna:</td>
<td>(kid{1} gə nə nə mna:)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES</strong></td>
<td><strong>(Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>de</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cuid) de</td>
<td>(kid'e \ldots t\textsuperscript{ir'e}\textsuperscript{1}) je</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>díbh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>díobh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'fhataf</td>
<td>(ma:\textasciimac{m} f\textasciimac{a}ti:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de ghnáth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cuid) den bhainne</td>
<td>(kid\textasciicirc{e}) g\textasciion wae:\textasciinet{N}e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cuid) de na mná</td>
<td>(kid\textasciicirc{e}) g\textasciion n\textasciio n\textasciin m\textasciinet{n\textasciio}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{1} “tuilleadh”?
**INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eochaill M 68</th>
<th>Cill Rónáin M 50</th>
<th>Cill Éinne F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(kudhI) je</td>
<td>(kidh) yo:</td>
<td>(kidh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g ati:</td>
<td>dhe ?ati:</td>
<td>gə fati:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kudhI) gəN waN′i</td>
<td>(kidh) gəN wæ:N′e</td>
<td>(kidh) gən wæ:n′e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kIDhO) gə Nə mNu: [x2]</td>
<td>(kidh) gə Nə mNu:</td>
<td>(kidh) gə Nə mNu:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Extracted from II.2.
### Grammatical Variables: Prepositional Phrases

#### (Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prepositional Phrase</th>
<th>INIS MEÁIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>M 70</strong></td>
<td><strong>F 60+</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>de</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>diot</td>
<td>jì: [x3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cuid) de</td>
<td>(kúd̂i:) je [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dfbh</td>
<td>ji:v'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diobh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>d’fhataf</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>de ghnáth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(cuid) den bhaínne</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(kúd̂i:) goN wæN’è</td>
<td>(kúd̂i:) goN va’N’è</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(cuid) de na mná</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(kúd̂i:) go Nə mNə:</td>
<td>(kúd̂i:) go nə mNə:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kúd̂i:) (d̂)esNə mNə:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### INIS OÍRR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(ki₃i) je</td>
<td>(ku₃i) je</td>
<td>(ku₃i) je</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tor'g'i) ji;b (\ldots)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ku₃i) ji;b</td>
<td>(mo:ra:N) ji;b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(gLæk'í:n' b,eg' fati:)</td>
<td>(gLæk' fati:)</td>
<td>(gLak fati:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ku₃i) gən wa:ni</td>
<td>(ku₃i) gən wa:N'ë</td>
<td>(ku₃) gəN va:n'ë (\sim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ku₃a) ga na mra:</td>
<td>(ku₃) gəsə na mra:</td>
<td>(ku₃) ga na mra:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Grammatical Variables: Prepositional Phrases**

**BUNGABHILA F 43**  
**EOGHANACHT F 73**

**Prepositional Phrases**

*(Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>do</th>
<th>yarn</th>
<th>(taram(^1) ... )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>duit</td>
<td>yit(^2) [x2]</td>
<td>yit(^1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dó</td>
<td>yo:</td>
<td>yo:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di</td>
<td>(N'ìs f'ar) zi</td>
<td>(b'ar) d'è</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dúinn</td>
<td>(... o hòg) tN(^1)</td>
<td>('fe: hòg) tN(^1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daoibh</td>
<td>jib(^1)</td>
<td>jib(^1) [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dóibh</td>
<td>yoib(^2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don ghasúr</td>
<td>go ya:sur(^1) (sic)</td>
<td>goN fu:jft(^1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do na cailíní</td>
<td>go no kal'í:n'i:</td>
<td>go no kal'í:n'i:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1 "Tabhair dom ..."
2 Extracted from II.58.

---

Séamas Ó Direáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co. Galway
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

**AN SRUTHÁN F 70**  
**FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60**

| (t'urr) | dom | ~ |
| (tou'git|) | òam |
| yit' | ~ |
| (ka u[w[a][s]) | 'drit' |
| yo | |
| (b'orr) | d'I |
| (~...o hog) | iN' |
| du'iN' | [x2] |
| d'e'b' | ~ (j)i:b' |
| ji:b' |
| gən fa:j't'i | gən fa:j't'e |
| gə na ka:l'i:n'i' | gə na ka:l'i:n'i' |
| gə na pusjt'i | gə na pusjt'i |

1 “C’bhfios duit?”
2 “Dia daoibh!”
3 Extracted from II.65.
### Grammatical Variables

**Prepositional Phrases**

**(Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>do</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dom</td>
<td>(t’ur’/tugí)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duit</td>
<td></td>
<td>y’t’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dò</td>
<td>yo:</td>
<td>yo:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di</td>
<td>(b’air) d’r ~ d’i:</td>
<td>(bo v’a:r) d’i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dúinn</td>
<td>yIN’ ~ yaN’ ~ yIN’i</td>
<td>du:N’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(EsaN’ oj) yIN’1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daoibh</td>
<td>jib’</td>
<td>jib’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dóibh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don ghasúr</td>
<td>gəŋ yasur’ (sic) … gəŋ gasur’ (sic)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gəŋ yasur’, gə Nə gasur’’’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do na caillín</td>
<td>gə Nə kəl’im’i:</td>
<td>gə Nə kəl’im’i: ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gə Nə kəl’im’i’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 “Eisca a thug dúinn . . .”
**INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EOCHAILL M 68</th>
<th>CILL RÓNÁIN M 50</th>
<th>CILL ÉINNE F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>γιφ' [2]</td>
<td>γιτά ~</td>
<td>γιτά</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(’κα ως) διτά 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γο:</td>
<td>γο:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ν'ι: β'αρ) δ'ι</td>
<td>(βω 'β'αρ) θι</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γο'ν'</td>
<td>γιν' [2]</td>
<td>γιν' ~ γιν'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γο καϊ'ν'ι:</td>
<td>γο καϊ'ν'ι:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γο καϊ'ν'ι:</td>
<td>γο καϊ'ν'ι:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 “Cá bhfios duit?”

2 “le haghaidh an pháiste”
**GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES** | **INIS MEÁIN**
---|---
**PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES** | **M 70** | **F 60+**

*(Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>do</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>duit</th>
<th>γιτ [x4]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(ka&quot;s) dit'</td>
<td>γιτ' [x4]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dó</th>
<th>γο'</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| di | (b'ar) dž | |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dúinn</th>
<th>(o hug) iN'</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(... a tær'ig'ad) iN'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>daoibh</th>
<th>jib' [x3]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| dóibh | |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>don ghasúr</th>
<th>gō fajt'í</th>
<th>gəm fajt'íc</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>do na cailíní</th>
<th>gə nə kal'ïn'i</th>
<th>gə Nə kal'ïn'i: ...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gə nə kal'ïn'i: ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 “Cá bhfions duit?”
2 “Mora daoibh!”
## Inflected Prepositional Pronouns: do

### INIS OÍRR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>γum</td>
<td>γum</td>
<td>γum</td>
<td>γum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γut'</td>
<td>γut'</td>
<td>γut'</td>
<td>γut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γo:</td>
<td>γo:</td>
<td>γo:</td>
<td>γo:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n’i:s f’ar) δç</td>
<td>(b’ar) δç</td>
<td>(n’i:s f’ar) z’ī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(...hug) n’</td>
<td>γūn’</td>
<td>γūn’</td>
<td>γūn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d’gá) je:n’ [x3]</td>
<td>(d’gí) ib’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v’r’e: n’ fa:ft’e ??)</td>
<td>do: N fa:ft’e</td>
<td>gəŋ gə:sur (sic)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 “Dia daoibh!”

2 Cf. [də du:l’m’] (= “go Dúlaimn”) in II.53.
## Grammatical Variables: Prepositional Phrases

### Inflected Prepositional Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>Inflected Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ionam</td>
<td>i:ntob (sic)</td>
<td>i:ntob</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ionat</td>
<td>mta</td>
<td>mta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ionainn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ionaibh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iontu</td>
<td>s (mik'e:d)</td>
<td>s (mik'e:d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s (mu'l'e)1</td>
<td>s (mu'l'e)1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa (bhúicéad)</td>
<td>s (mik'e:d)</td>
<td>s (mik'e:d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s (mu'l'e)1</td>
<td>s (mu'l'e)1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa (pháirc)</td>
<td>s (yu:v'v're)</td>
<td>s (yu:v'v're)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s (yu:v'v're)</td>
<td>s (yu:mire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa (ghéimhreadh)</td>
<td>s (yu:v'v're)</td>
<td>s (yu:mire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s (yu:v'v're)</td>
<td>s (yu:mire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa (samhradh)</td>
<td>s (yu:v'v're)</td>
<td>s (yu:mire)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 “sa bhuaile”
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t'Nam</td>
<td>oNam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oNáit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'NaN'</td>
<td>oNú'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i:ntə</td>
<td>i:Ntəb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| msə (muk'et)    | sə (muk'et)              |
| sə (mur'í)¹     | sə (ba:r'k')             |
| sə (N'mr'e) (sic) ~ | sə (y'i:v'r'i) ~       |
| sə (g'im'r'e)   | sə (y'i:v'r'e)           |
| nəsə (sə'ra) (sic) | sə (sə'ra)            |

¹ “sa bhuaile”
### Grammatical Variables: Prepositional Phrases

#### (Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i</th>
<th>ionam</th>
<th>ionat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ionaínn</td>
<td>ionaíbh</td>
<td>iontu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **sa (bhuícead)**
  - sa (mok’e:d)  
  - sa (mok’e:a:d)

- **sa (pháirc)**
  - sa (má’l’c)\(^1\)  
  - saN (má’l’c)\(^1\)

- **sa (gheimhreadh)**
  - sa (y’i:m’r’e) \([x2]\)  
  - sa (y’i:m’r’e) ∼ sa (y’i:m’r’e)

- **sa (samhradh)**
  - sa (sá:mra)  
  - sa (sa’rə)

---

\(^1\) “sa bhuaile”
INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EOCHAILL M 68</th>
<th>CILL RÓNÁIN M 50</th>
<th>CILL ÉINNE F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>aNam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Nm’

\(i\)N\(t\)o \(\sim\) a\(N\)t\(o\) \([x^2]\) \(\sim\) i\(n\)t\(b\)\)

\(\sim\) i:\(n\)t\(b\)\(^1\)

\(s\)\(o\) (muk’e:d) \(\sim\) (muk’e:d) \(\sim\) (muk’e:t) \(\sim\) (muk’e:t)

\(s\)\(o\) (m\(a\)l’e)\(^2\) \(\sim\) (mu:li’e)\(^2\) \(\sim\) (pa:ri’k) \(\text{sic}\)

\(s\)\(o\) (\(\eta\)'i:v’r’e) \(\sim\) (\(\eta\)'i:v’r’e)\(^3\) \(\sim\) (\(\eta\)'i:v’r’e) \(\sim\) (\(\eta\)'i:v’r’e)

\(s\)\(o\) (s\(a\)'r\(a\))\(^4\) \(\sim\) (sa:v\(r\)a) \(\sim\) (sa:v\(r\)a) \(\sim\) (sa:v\(r\)a)\(^5\)
### Grammatical Variables: Prepositional Phrases

**Prepositional Phrases**

*(Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>Inis Meáin</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>M 70</strong></td>
<td><strong>F 60+</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Grammatical Variables**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>Inis Meáin</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>M 70</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F 60+</strong></td>
<td><strong>Prepositional Phrases</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Ionam*

- ionam
- ionat
- ionáin
- ionaíbh
- iontu

*Sa (bhuncad)*

- sa (muk'e'd) ~ sə (mək'e'd)
- sə (muk'e'd) \[x2\]

*Sa (phairc)*

- sa (ba'rκ')
- sə (məl'ɛ) \[1\]

*Sa (gheimhreadh)*

- si (y'i:v'r'ɛ) ~ sə (y'i:v'r'ɛ) \[x2\]
- sə (y'i:v'r'ɛ)

*Sa (samhradh)*

- sə (sa'ɾə)
- aNsaN (sa'ɾə)

---

**Séamas Ó Direáin— A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway**
**Inflected Prepositional Pronouns:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ane</td>
<td>ane ~ aNanu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ann</td>
<td>aNan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o:Nta(b)</td>
<td>u:Nta ~ aNta</td>
<td>iNta ~ iNta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se (muk'e'd)</td>
<td>se (muk'ed)</td>
<td>se (muk'e'd) ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se (ya:ri)¹</td>
<td>se (ya:ri)¹</td>
<td>se (ya:ri)¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se (y'i:v'r'e) ~ se (y'i:v'm'r'e) ~ se (y'i:v'r'e) ~</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se (y'e:v'r'e)</td>
<td>se (ji:v'r'i)</td>
<td>se (ji:v'r'e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se (sa&quot;ra)²</td>
<td>si (y'... sa&quot;ra)</td>
<td>se (sa&quot;ra)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ "sa gharraí"

² Note the fuller form of the preposition used in the phrase [esø ya:ri] ("sa ghaineamh") in II.4.


### Grammatical Variables: Prepositional Phrases

**Bungabhla F 43**  
**Eoghanacht F 73**  

#### Prepositional Phrases

*(Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bungabhla</th>
<th>Eoghanacht</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>thar</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thairsti</td>
<td>(hart)</td>
<td>hart’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tharainn</td>
<td></td>
<td>harh’n’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tharstu</td>
<td>hartub (sic)</td>
<td>hart@b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thar (am)</td>
<td>har (a’m)</td>
<td>har (am)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>le</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leat</td>
<td>l’æt ~ l’ct</td>
<td>l’æt [x2] ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>libh</td>
<td>l’r’v’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leo</td>
<td>l’o’p’</td>
<td>l’o:b’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>trf</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tríthi</td>
<td>t’r’i:t’e ... t’r’i:</td>
<td>(t’r’i:na kæNæblæx)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tríbh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tríothu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Extracted from I.19.  
2 Elicited after several attempts.  
3 “trína conablach”
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hartí (sic)</td>
<td>hart' (er' ...)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hartabh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hař (a:м)</td>
<td>hæř (a:м)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l′æ:t [x3] ~ l′æ:t</td>
<td>l′æt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l′b'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l′o:b</td>
<td>l′o:(b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hř′i: ... t′ř:i:he ~ t′ř:i:ho(^1)</td>
<td>rřd' [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hř′i:b' [x2]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) The informant remained uncertain of the correct form.
### Grammatical Variables: Prepositional Phrases

#### Prepositional Phrases

*(Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>Corrúch M 82</strong></th>
<th><strong>Corrúch F 72</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thairsti (I . . . hart)</td>
<td>hær’i . . . (hart), hær’i . . . hær’t (ny’ . . .)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tharainn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tharstu</td>
<td>hær’tab</td>
<td>hær’tab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thar (am)</td>
<td>hær (am)</td>
<td>hær (am)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leat</td>
<td>l’æxt [x2]</td>
<td>l’æxt ~ l’æxt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leot</td>
<td>l’ët [x2]</td>
<td>l’ët ~ l’ët</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>libh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leo</td>
<td>l’o:b ~ l’o:(b)</td>
<td>l’o:b ~ l’o:b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trithi</td>
<td>tri:d’ ~ tri:</td>
<td>t’r’i:t’i [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trifb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trithu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Third person singular feminine pronoun?
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eochaill M 68</th>
<th>Cill Rónain M 50</th>
<th>Cill Éinne F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>harr’ (er’...)</td>
<td>harrfi</td>
<td>harrfi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harr (er’...)</td>
<td>harto</td>
<td>harrtab ~ harrtab [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>~ harrab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hær (a:m)</td>
<td>hær (a:m)</td>
<td>hær (a:m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l’æt ~ 1æt</td>
<td>l’æt</td>
<td>1æt [x2] ~ 1æt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l’o:</td>
<td>l’o:</td>
<td>l’o:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tr’i:d’ (sic)</td>
<td>tr’i:he</td>
<td>(rí:na kolaN) (sic)¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tr’i:d’ [x2]</td>
<td></td>
<td>brian fipfe²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ “...trína colaínn.” ² In the context [brian aig guis el’e, brian fiphe] (= “tríd an gcuid eile [agaibh], tríbhse”).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES</th>
<th>INIS MEÁIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES</strong></td>
<td><strong>(Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thairstí</td>
<td>harjtí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>harjtíe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tharainn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tharstu</td>
<td>harrob</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thar (am)</td>
<td>hær (am)³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hær (am)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leat</td>
<td>l’æt [x2] ~ l’æt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l’æt ~ l’æt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>libh</td>
<td>l’ib’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leo</td>
<td>L’o:ób</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l’o:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tríthí</td>
<td>t’r’æs ærsti ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t’r’ætfe [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t’r’ætfe’ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t’r’ætfe’ i’ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tríbh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tríothu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 But note [æ:r (“v’e társao”) ~ hær (o v’e társao)] (= “thar a bheith tuirseach”) in II.44.
### Inflected Prepositional Pronouns: *thar/le/trí*

#### *Inis Oírr*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><em>M 55</em></th>
<th><em>F 41</em></th>
<th><em>F 18</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>hær’if</em></td>
<td><em>hæríf</em> (tr’ ... )</td>
<td><em>hær</em> ~ <em>hør i</em></td>
<td><em>hør i</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hárto</em></td>
<td><em>hárób</em> [x2]</td>
<td><em>hárób</em> ~ <em>här’</em></td>
<td><em>här i’d</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hær (a)m</em></td>
<td><em>hár (a)m</em></td>
<td><em>hár (a)m</em></td>
<td><em>hár (a)m</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>l’æt ~ l’et</em></td>
<td><em>l’æt ~ l’et</em> [x2]</td>
<td><em>l’æt ~ l’et</em></td>
<td><em>l’æt ~ l’et</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>l’ib’</em> [x2]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>l’ó:</em></td>
<td><em>l’ób</em></td>
<td><em>l’ób</em></td>
<td><em>l’ób</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>t’rór’té</em> (sic)</td>
<td><em>t’rór’it’i</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>hhr’it’i</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

*Séamas Ó Direáin— A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galmay*
## Grammatical Variables: Prepositional Phrases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Idír</th>
<th>Bungabha F 43</th>
<th>Eoghanacht F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Eadrainn</strong></td>
<td>cd’ır xód’í</td>
<td>cd’ır’ xód’í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Eadraibh</strong></td>
<td>(ed’ır xól’e</td>
<td>a’dri’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ym’ ‘aigí)¹</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Eatarthu</strong></td>
<td>a:trób</td>
<td>a:trób</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Faoi</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fúthi</strong></td>
<td>fír . . . fu [x2]</td>
<td>fu:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fúthu</strong></td>
<td>fu:b</td>
<td>fu:b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Róimh</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Róimpi</strong></td>
<td>rim’p’í</td>
<td>rí:n’p’í² ~ rim’p’í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rompu</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ “...idír ‘chuile dhuine agaibh”

² After being prompted with roimh.
### Inflected Prepositional Pronouns: *idir/faoi/roimh*

**INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</strong></th>
<th><strong>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aːdrin' ~ aːdrIn′í</td>
<td>adrí . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ aːdrIn′e</td>
<td>(ad′n′ k′eːxtar agí:)¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aːtrə</td>
<td>atrə(b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fuː</td>
<td>foː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fuːb</td>
<td>fuːb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rim′p′í</td>
<td>rim′p′í ~ rim′p′íʃa²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>romp̂əb</td>
<td>romp̂əb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ “...idir ceachtar agaibh”

² The emphatic form of the prepositional pronoun.
**GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES</strong></td>
<td><strong>(Inflected Prepositional Pronouns)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>idir</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eadrainn</td>
<td>adrIN’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eadraibh</td>
<td>adari:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eatarthu</td>
<td>atrab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>faoi</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fúithi</td>
<td>(’Nα te’v)(^1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fúthu</td>
<td>(’Nα drv)(^1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>roimh</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roimpi</td>
<td>rim’p’i(^2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rompu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) “ina taobh”, “ina dtobh”, respectively.
\(^2\) The form [rum’p’i] was rejected by the informant.
\(^3\) After being prompted.
### INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eochaill M 68</th>
<th>Cill Rónáin M 50</th>
<th>Cill Éinne F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adríN‘e</td>
<td>adríN‘e</td>
<td>a:dríN‘i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adríː</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atrə</td>
<td>atrə</td>
<td>ætrəb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fuː</td>
<td>fuːhə</td>
<td>fuː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fuː [x2] (sic)</td>
<td>fuːhə ː fuːhə</td>
<td>fuːb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ríːmp’i</td>
<td></td>
<td>ríːmp’i dù²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rúːmpə ː rúːmpəb [x4]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 After prompting with [ríːmp’i] and [rúːmp’i]. The form [rúːmp’i] was rejected by the informant.

2 The emphatic form of the prepositional pronoun. According to the informant, the form [ruːm’p’i] is in fact more common in Cill Éinne [k’iːl’iːn’ẹ].
### Grammatical Variables: Prepositional Phrases

#### Inis Meáin

| Prepositional Phrases (Inflected Prepositional Pronouns) | 
|---|---|
| **M 70** | **F 60+** |
| **Idir** |  |
| eadraíonn | eadraíonn | a·drǐn̂ |
| eadraíbh | a·dri: | a·dri: |
| eatarthu | atro | ætrob |
| **Faoi** |  |
| fúithi |  |
| fúthu |  |
| **Róimh** |  |
| roimpi | roimpi | roimpi |
| rompu | rompu | rompu |

1. The form [romp′p′i] was accepted by the informant.
2. Emphatic forms.

Séamas Ó Direáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
### Inflected Prepositional Pronouns: *idir/faoi/roimh*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>a:drin</code></td>
<td><code>a:dr</code> (sic)</td>
<td><code>ed</code> modh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>exdr</code> <code>e:mn</code>e (^1) ...</td>
<td><code>a:dr</code> (sic)</td>
<td><code>ed</code> jibf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>æ:drm</code> (sic)(^2)</td>
<td><code>æ:tr</code>ob (sic)</td>
<td><code>ed</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>fu:</code></td>
<td><code>fu:</code> (^3)</td>
<td><code>fu</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>{fu}</code></td>
<td><code>{fu}</code></td>
<td><code>{fu}</code></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) “...*idir aon duine ...*”

\(^2\) The informant was apparently confused.

\(^3\) In contrast, note the basic form of the preposition elicited from the informant: \([f^i] \sim f^e\].

\(^4\) The form \([ru:m\`p\`i]\) was rejected by the informant.

\(^5\) Elicited in the discussion at the end of Part II.

\(^6\) The form \([rub]\) was rejected by the informant. Cf. I.60.

---

**Séamas Ó Direáin— A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway**
Part VIII

Lexical Variables
### LEXICAL VARIABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BUNGAHLA F 43</th>
<th>EOGHANACHT F 73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“(in the) field”</td>
<td>(sə) mu:ˈlːə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“fields”</td>
<td>bu:ˈlːə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“hill”</td>
<td>(ə) xarkir’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“...of the hill” (gen.)</td>
<td>...əN ə:rdəːN ~ ...g̃ ñokə:N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ionaí</td>
<td>mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uile go léir</td>
<td>’lːəg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cill Mhuirbhigh</td>
<td>k’ːlː ’rˈvːɾ’ɾːɾ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cill Éinne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“(to/at) An Sruthán”</td>
<td>eqː əN trəhəːN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Séamas Ó Direáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway*
“in the” field, “fields”, “hill”, “...of the hill”, iomaí, uile go léir, Cill Mhuirbhigh, Cill Éinne, “(to/at) An Sruthán”

**INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THIAR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN SRUTHÁN F 70</th>
<th>FEARANN AN CHOIRCE M 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(sə) mu“l'í</td>
<td>(sə) bǎrk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu“l't'ë</td>
<td>pɑ:rk'ɔnũi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kⁿNök</td>
<td>kⁿNök</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...əN xNôk'</td>
<td>...gə xNuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əmu:</td>
<td>imu'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'L'ug [x5]</td>
<td>'L'ug [x3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ʃL' 'wŋ'iv'i:</td>
<td>k'ʃL' 'wŋ'iv'i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əN srə:ũ</td>
<td>...n s'ɾum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Instances of this variant from both Parts I and II are conflated in this figure.
## LEXICAL VARIABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CORRÚCH M 82</th>
<th>CORRÚCH F 72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“(in the) field”</td>
<td>(sə) məl’e</td>
<td>(səN) məl’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“fields”</td>
<td>bəl’t’oxiː</td>
<td>bəl’t’oxiː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“hill”</td>
<td>(ə) xaːrkIr’</td>
<td>knok ~ (ŋ) xaːrkIr’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“...of the hill” (gen.)</td>
<td>...nə hæːL’e ~ ...nə æːL’</td>
<td>...N æːL’ [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iomáí</td>
<td>umuː ~ umuː</td>
<td>umuː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uile go léir</td>
<td>‘l’og ~ ‘L’og ~</td>
<td>‘l’og ~ ‘L’og ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(...k) L’og [x2]</td>
<td>‘L’og ~ (...e) L’og [x2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cill Mhuirbhígh</td>
<td>k’iːl’ ‘rəriː</td>
<td>k’iːL’ ‘worv’iː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cill Éinne</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“(to/at) An Sruthán”</td>
<td>...gon sruːN</td>
<td>...n sruːN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(in the) field”, “fields”, “hill”, “...of the hill”, *iomáí, uile go léir, Cill Mhuirbhígh, Cill Éinne, “(to/at) An Sruthán”

**INIS MÓR: AN CEANN THOIR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EOCHAILL M 68</th>
<th>CILL RÓNÁIN M 50</th>
<th>CILL ÉINNE F 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(sa) mál'c</td>
<td>(sa) mu:l'c</td>
<td>(sa) mál'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(sa) par'r'k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu:l't'óxi'</td>
<td>bu:l't'óxi'</td>
<td>par'r'k'óNe:i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) xarkur'</td>
<td>(a) xarkur'</td>
<td>kNak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...o xNak'</td>
<td>...ó xNuk</td>
<td>...go xNuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>...go xruk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hámù:</td>
<td>ùmu:</td>
<td>ùmu'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'L'ug</td>
<td>'L'ug [x2] 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'dl' wurv'ír</td>
<td>k'dl' wurv'íi:</td>
<td>k'dl' wurv'íi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k'dl' 'em'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... goN srah:n</td>
<td>...go sran</td>
<td>...'g' 'sra:N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Instances of this variant from both Parts I and II are conflated in this figure.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>LEXICAL VARIABLES</strong></th>
<th><strong>INIS MEÁIN</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>M 70</strong></td>
<td><strong>F 60+</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| “(in the) field”      | (sə) baːˈrˠk’ | (tNSəN) muːˈlɛ |
| “fields”              | paːrk’ənɪː | paːɾf’k’iNi |
| “hill”                | kroːk       | knuk         |
| “...of the hill” (gen.) | ...gɔ xʁɔk | ...ŋ xʁɛk’ |

| ionaí | homuː | omuː |
| uile go léir | (...eː) L’ɒɡ | (...iː/ɾ) L’ug [x2] |

| Cill Mhuirbghigh | k’ɾl’ woɾ’ɾiː | k’ɾl’ maɾ’ɾiː |
| Cill Éinne       |               |               |
| “(to/at) An Sruthán” | ...sə sɾɾm | ...sə sɾɾhːN |
“(in the) field”, “fields”, “hill”, “…of the hill”, *iomáí*, *uire go léir*, *Cill Mhuirbhigh*, *Cill Éinne*, “(to/at) An Sruthán”

**INIS OÍRR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M 55</th>
<th>F 41</th>
<th>F 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(sə)</td>
<td>ɲəːɹi</td>
<td>(sə)</td>
<td>ɲəːɹi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ɡə)</td>
<td>ʃəːrk</td>
<td>(ɡə)</td>
<td>ʃəːrk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pəːrkənɪ</td>
<td>gəːrənti</td>
<td>gəːrənti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kroːk</td>
<td>kroːk</td>
<td>kroːk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...ɡəː xruːk</td>
<td>...əɾ xruːk</td>
<td>...ə xroːk ~</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...ə xroːk</td>
<td>...ə xroːk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>humuː</td>
<td>humʊː</td>
<td>əm⁴i:⁹</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’l’uɡ</td>
<td>’l’uɡ ~ ’l’uɡ</td>
<td>~ (...’l’uɡ [x²]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’ɪl’ wʊɹ’vɨ</td>
<td>k’ɪl’ wʊɹ’vɨ</td>
<td>k’ɪl’ məʔi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...ɡ’ə sl̩əɾən</td>
<td>...u’ sl̩əɾN</td>
<td>...ɡə sraːN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 In the phrase [*ɡə boː ... əm⁴iː faːr’⁴*] (sic) (= ...*garbh ...iomáí 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. 841 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.

SÉAMAS Ó DIREÁIN— A SURVEY OF SPOKEN IRISH IN THE ARAN ISLANDS, CO.GALWAY
**PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: VOWELS**

**PART ONE**

LOWERING AND MONOPHTHONGISATION OF DIPHTHONGS

\[ [\text{i}a > \text{e}:] \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dia</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siar</td>
<td>17, 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thiar</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iascaire</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iascairí</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag) fiafraí/iarraidh</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bliain</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grian</td>
<td>(end of questionnaire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pian</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(níos) léithe</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ [\text{i}: > \text{e}:] \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sios</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bríd</td>
<td>33, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Dia) daoibh!</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PART TWO**

LOWERING, MONOPHTHONGISATION, SHORTENING AND CENTRALISATION OF DIPHTHONGS, Etc.

\[ [\text{u}a > \text{o}:] \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>suas</td>
<td>20, 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gruaig</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(níos) luaithe</td>
<td>4, 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(níos) nuaí</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag) cuardach</td>
<td>33, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chuala</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ualach</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ [\text{u}a > \text{o}/\text{a}] \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>buaile</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buailte</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag) bualadh</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buachaill</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag) buachaill</td>
<td>7, 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuaí</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag) nuaí</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Cf. *chuaign* and *fuair* under verb forms)

*Séamas Ó Diréáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co. Galway*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[u:] &gt; [o:]</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(níos) lú</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(níos) túsce</td>
<td>4, 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag) gnúsacht</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag) fiaicha (= fiafraí)</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fúithi</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fúthu</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ar) chúl</td>
<td>31, 32, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ciúin</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cúnamh</td>
<td>48 (F 73)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cf. Tabhair!, t(h)abharfaidh, t(h)abhairt and (ní) dúirt under verb forms)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

RAISING OF LONG MID BACK VOWELS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[o:] &gt; [u:]</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>...a gcónaíonn ...</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...ar chónaigh ...</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i gcónai</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

RAISING AND/OR LENGTHENING OF SHORT MID BACK VOWELS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[o &gt; u]</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cnoc</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[o/a &gt; o:/u:]</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lom</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>róthrom</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chrom</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cromadh</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

RAISING OF LOW FRONT VOWELS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[æ: &gt; e:]</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bean</td>
<td>35, 51, 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sean</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fear</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deas</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i mo/ina) sheasamh</td>
<td>32, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teach</td>
<td>31, 32, 35, 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isteach</td>
<td>1, 2, 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teacht</td>
<td>2, 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cá/a) ndeachaigh</td>
<td>51, 52, 56, 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceachtanna</td>
<td>9, 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seachtain</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cleachtadh</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Is é do) bheatha</td>
<td>1 (M 82, F 72)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(With Dialectal Variants of Standard Forms)

treasna (= trasna) 47, 53
teagann (= tagann) 4 1, 2 (F 73), 17
teagaigí!/teagadh! 2 (= tagaigí!/tagadh!)
teagtha (= tagtha) 2

VOWEL FRONTING

[a: > æ:]
baile 4, 5, 16, 53 1 (M 82, F 73), 61, 66
cailíní 1, 3
cailleann 19
cailleadh 10, 39
chaill 19
ail 16
... na haille (Genitive) 16
Gaillimh 66
gaineamh 4
bainne 16 4
aímsir 25
caint 27 57, 61
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teastaíonn 22, 23, 24 59
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ba (= beithígh) 16 6

(Cf. also the intensifying particle an- under adjectival inflection.)

[a: > a:]
nár 7, 8, 9, 48
nà (Negative Imperative Particle) 2 15, 17, 55
nà (Comparative Particle) 37, 60 1, 43
cá 60
dá 36 12
má 36 14, 17
máim (“handful”) 65
### Vowel Backing

**[a: > a:/æ:]**

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5, 6, 12, 13, 45 (*M 70*), 49, 63

### [a: > a:]**

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<td>45, 53</td>
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<td>sall (= anonn)</td>
<td>53 (<em>M 60</em>)</td>
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<td>(ar) ball</td>
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PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES: CONSONANTS

CONSONANT LOSS

\[ [h > \emptyset] \text{ (Word-Initially)} \]

- (ná) himíg! 15
- (ná) hoscláig! 55
- (má) thagann . . . 17
- (ar) thug . . .? 3

\[ [h > \emptyset] \text{ (Word-Medially)} \]

- 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

\[ [\prime n' > n'] \]

- cúimhneamh 39 58
- cúimhníonn 39 58

CONSONANT WEAKENING

\[ [N' > n'] \]

- inne 25, 45 9
- inniu 25 9
- innealtóir 28, 29
- choinnigh 29, 30
- coínneáil 29, 30
- bainne 4
- álaimn 30, 56

CONSONANT SUBSTITUTION IN CONSONANT CLUSTERS

\[ [kn > kr] \]

- cnoc 56 16
- cnaípe 24
[\text{gN} > \text{gr}]  
(\text{de})\text{ghnáth/ghách}  
\text{gnáthdhuine} 39  
\text{gnúsacht} 59

\[\text{mnN} > \text{mr}\]
\text{mná} 35, 52, 60

\[\text{wr} > \text{mr}\]
\text{samhradh} 44

\[\text{v'rb} > \text{m'r'}\]
\text{geimhreadh} 5, 44

\[\text{rf} > \text{rs}\]
\text{tuirseach} 44  
\text{fairsing} 45

\[\text{fk'} > \text{sk'}\]
\text{scian} 18, 19 (F 73), 58  
\text{scéal} 58  
\text{scibotha} 1 (M 82)

\[\text{ft'} > \text{st'}\]
\text{isteach} 2, 16  
\text{12, 49}

\text{AFFRICATION}

\[\text{t'} > \text{tf}\] (Word-Initially)
\text{teach/tí} 31, 32, 35, 47  
\text{(an) tseachtain} 19  
\text{teacht} 2, 9  
\text{tinn} 5  
\text{tuilleadh} 2, 43

(cf. \text{Tar, Téigh, and Tabhair under verbs})

\[\text{t'} > \text{tf}\] (Word-Mедially and Word-Finally)
\text{caite} 19  
\text{áit} 32  
\text{30, 31, 32, 33, 45, 63}

\text{caint} 27  
\text{57, 61}

\text{buailte (pl., \text{buaile})} 45

\text{beirt} 54

(cf. \text{Comparative Forms of Adjectives})
[rt’> rft’]
tabhairt 18 64
labhairt 27 57, 61
dúirt 12, 21, 40, 41, 46 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35
beirt 54

[d’> ð] (Word-Initially)
Dia 1
(go) dtí 17, 57 32, 53, 66
de 4
di 20
d’imigh 8
Déanaí! 8 (M 50), 15
dees 55 56
(i) dteach 47

[d’> ð] (Word-Medially and Word-Finally)
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[nf > ntʃ]
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ansin 17 5, 9, 10, 32, 45

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[ɔv > uː]
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(In the Impersonal Simple Past)
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CONSONANT SUBSTITUTION AT WORD BOUNDARIES
[y > w]
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(beirt) daoine 54

[∅ > j]
(Fág taobh) amuigh é! 14

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[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

gabhara (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
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(Indirect Relative)
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VERB FORMS IN INTERROGATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

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(Cén chaoí) a ndearna ...? 13
(Cén chaoí) 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 ...? 60
(Cá fhad) go rachaidh ...? 53
(Cé mhéad) ...? 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
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VERB FORMS IN “BEFORE” TEMPORAL RELATIVE CLAUSES

(sula) dtagann ... 4
(sula) ndéanann ... 39
(sular) tháinig ... 10
(sular) fhúg/ímhígh ... 60
(sular) éirigh ... 37

---

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.

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THE COPULA

(Present Tense)
An tú (Séamas)? 50
An iascaire (thú)? 49

(Past Tense)
Ar mhúinteoir (thú ...)? 43
Ar mhic léinn (sibh ...)? 44
Arbh fheirmoiri (iad ...)?? 42
Arbh i dt each ...? 47
B’eisean ... 48

(In Subordinate Clauses: Present Tense)
...gur innealtóir (é) 28
...gurb alainn ... 30

(In Subordinate Clauses: Past Tense)
...gurbh innealtóir (é) 29
...gurbh iascairí ... 41
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(The Past/Conditional Tense in Selected Constructions)
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Níorbh fhéidir ... 62
B’fhéidir ... 62
B’fhéara ... 20
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B’iontaigh ... 33
Dá mb a bhean ... 12

(Deictic and Related Constructions: Present Tense)
Seo (ceann maith)! 18
Sin (droch-cheann)! 18
Seo (é)! 19
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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)!

B'iad seo (iad)!

Arbh é seo (é)?

Níorbh é seo (é)!

Níorbh iad (na cinn ...), arbh iad?

...nár bh é seo (é)

(With Human Subjects: Present Tense)

Is é Seán (é).

An í an bhean ...?

An iad na mná ...?

Ní hé an tríú fear.

(With Human Subjects: Past Tense)

B'é Seán (é).

Arbh é Seán (é)?

...arbh é Seán (é nó) nár bh é?

(Miscellaneous Constructions)

Cárb as (é)?

Cárbh as (é)?

Cá bhfíos duínt?

Cén cineál cóta (é)?

(Deictic and Related Constructions: Past Tense)

B'é seo (é)!

B'iad seo (iad)!

Arbh é seo (é)?

Níorbh é seo (é)!

Níorbh iad (na cinn ...), arbh iad?

...nár bh é seo (é)

(With Human Subjects: Present Tense)

Is é Seán (é).

An í an bhean ...?

An iad na mná ...?

Ní hé an tríú fear.

(With Human Subjects: Past Tense)

B'é Seán (é).

Arbh é Seán (é)?

...arbh é Seán (é nó) nár bh é?

(Miscellaneous Constructions)

Cárb as (é)?

Cárbh as (é)?

Cá bhfíos duínt?

Cén cineál cóta (é)?
NOMINAL INFLECTION

(Nouns in the Vocative Case)
a Sheáin! 1, 2, 16
a Mháire! 5
a ghasúra! 2, 3, 15
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glac/mám fhataí 65
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níos mó spáís 43
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i gContae an Chlár 6
trasna na sráide 47
le taobh an chnoic 16
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ar chúl an tí 32
os comhair an fhír mhóir 34
os comhair an fhír eile 34
tar éis an dinnéir 49
tar éis an bhricfeasta 64
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ag bualadh an bhuaechalla 7
ag lorg Mháire 33
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ag coimneáil Sheáin 30

(Progressive Verb Phrases with a Pronominal Direct Object1)
do do choimneáil 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
cáirde 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) mhóir dheas 56
(bean) shlachtmhár 56
(bean) fhollán/shláintíúil 56
(bean) thábhachtach 56

cloch) mhóir 46
(ar an gcloch) mhaol 14
(cos/lámh) dhluibh 58

(Plural Adjectival Forms)

(éadaí) salacha 2
(na cinn) mhóra 17
(na cinn) bheaga 17

(Lenition of Nouns after Cardinal Numerals1)

beirt daoine 54
beirt siúinéirí 54

(Forms of Ordinal Numerals1)

an dara duine 51
an tríú duine 51

(Miscellaneous: Lenition after “gach uile”)

'chuile bhliain 8

1 This item is included here for convenience.
(Comparative Forms of Adjectives)

nós fearr 20
nós lú 23
nós dorcha 26
nós túisce/moiche 4, 37 1
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nós raimhre 50
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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.
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!

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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.

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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 tugaígí düínn 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.
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 i.
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'hhearr di gan cromadh.
21. Dúirt mé leat gan é a mhilleadh, ach anois tá sé millte (agat).
22. Teastaíonn carr níos nua uain.
23. Teastaíonn cinn níos lú uait.
24. Teastaíonn cnaipe uaim.
25. Is breá an lá inniu é, ach bhf an aimsir níos breítha inné.

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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 choinneál?
30. Céard a bhí ag coinneál Sheáin?
32. Tá Máirtín ina sheasamh ar chúl an tí ina gcónaíonn Seáin.
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 fhír mhóir, agus bhí mise i mo sheasamh ar aghaidh/os comhair an fhír cile.
35. Bhí mé ag lorg/tóraíocht theach Mháire, agus bhí Bríd ag lorg/tóraíocht theach na mná cile.
36. Dá bhfhaighinn rothar an bhuchaille eile, an gceannófá uaim é?
37. Déirigh muide níos moiche/luaishe/túsce ná eisean.
38. Ní dhéanfainnse é, ach dhéanfása é!
39. Smaoiníonn an gnáthdhuine an gnáthdhuine sula ndéanann sé rud mar sin.
40. Dúirt sé gur dhochtúir mé.
41. Dúirt sí gur iascaírí muid.
42. Arbh fhéinmeoirí iad?
43. Ar mhúinteoir thú ag an am sin?
44. Ar mhíic léinn/dhaltaí síbh go léir ag an scoil sin?
45. Nórbh 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 tús Séamas Ó Gallachóir?
51. An í sin an bhean a ndeachaigh tú thairisti 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.

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55. Labhraíonn sí go deas, agus gléasann sí (i 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 má 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 bhuaicéad fós.

5. Bhíteá tinn nuair a d’fhantá anscin sa gheimhreadh.

6. Cheannaighteá ba/beithigh ó na daoine i gContae an Chláir.


11. An bhfuil do hata agat?

12. Dá mba bhean thú, ligfí isteach thú.

13. Mura mbeiféá sáth sean, ní bhfaighfeá pinsean.

14. Má deir mo dheartáir go bhfuil an t-ualach trom, fág annuigh ar an geloch/gcarraig lom é.

15. A pháistí/gasúir, 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.


19. Seo é! Ní hé! Sin 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.


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27. Ní raibh a fhios agam agus arbh é Seán é nó nár bh é.
29. Dúirt sé gur bh innealtóir é.
30. Deir sé gurb é alainn an áit é.
31. Dúirt sé gur bh iontach an áit é.
32. Dúirt sé gur bh fhéarr leis dul ann.
33. B’ión tach an áit é/’áit iontach é.
34. Deir sé nach é seo é.
35. Dúirt sé nár bh é seo é.
36. B’fhíú (é) a dhéanamh. Cá bhfíos duitse?
37. Cén cineál cóta é?
38. Cár as é? Cá leis é?
39. An fear a cailleadh—cár as é?
40. Chuaigh an phian tríthi.
41. Céard a chuirs muid iontu?
42. D’fhág sé spás eatarthu.
43. Tá nós mó spás eadráinn ná mar atá eadraigh go léir.
44. Bhíonn an-tuirseach sa gheimhreadh, ach an-fholláin/shalintiúil sa samhradh.
45. Tá páircanna 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.
49. An ligfeara isteach é tar éis an dinneir?
50. Teastaíonn ceann nós raímhre, nós giorra, agus nós doimhne uain.
51. Siúlim/ceaipaim gurb é an dara fear a ghnóthós/bhuafás an rás—nif hé an tríd fear.
52. Deir sé gurb iomaí fear a dhéanann sin.
53. Cá fhad go ngabhfaidh tú anong go Dúilinn?
55. A pháiste/ghasúra—sibhse go léir, imígí libh, agus ná hosclaígh an doras sin!

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56. Is bean mhóir 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 fhéar a fhostú.

59. An dtéastaíonn sé uait/an bhfuil sé ag teastáil uait?

60. Cá ndeachaígh 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 má móm prídeir 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’athaír? (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 labhrafadh na múinteoirí libh as Gaeilge sna ranganna? As Béarla?
   Cárbh as na múinteoirí?
   An raibh na téacsleabhair scríofa as Gaeilge? As Béarla?
   Cé na cuimhni 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 difríochtai?
   An bhfuil an tseanGhaeilge á labhairt ag daoine áirithe? Cé hiad?

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7. An labhraíonn tú Gaeilge le daoine as áiteacha eile?
   Cé na háiteanna arb as iad, go hiondúil?

8. An léann tú nuachtáin, irisleabhraí, 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


2. Máire Ní Dhireáin (Mrs. Mary Flaherty/“Máire Bhríd Rua”): housewife, Fearann an Choírce. Born in Eoghanacht, 1917. (Represented on the linguistic tables as Eoghanacht F 73.)


4. Seán Ó Dioráin (John Dirrane/“Seán na Creige”): farmer/publican, Fearann an Choírce. Born in Fearann an Choírce, 1930. (Represented on the linguistic tables as Fearann an Choírce 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.)

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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.)


4 Inis Oírr


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")
   \text{ta\text{ru} (A)/ ta\text{\textcircled{a}}o (T)}
   
   ("the tail of a bull")
   \text{t\text{\textquotesingle}r\text{\textquotesingle}ib\text{\textquotesingle}l, ta\text{\textcircled{u}}ru (A)/ t\text{\textquotesingle}r\text{\textquotesingle}ib\text{\textquotesingle}l n ta\text{\textcircled{ru} (T)}}

2. ("I sold all my cattle")
   \text{je: L m\text{e} m\text{\textcircled{a}} xud\text{' b\text{\textquotesingle}e\text{\textcircled{i}} 'L\text{\textcircled{a}}g (A)/ je: L m\text{e} m\text{\textcircled{a}} xud\text{' b\text{\textcircled{i}} 'L\text{\textcircled{a}}g (T)}
   
   ("a beast")
   \text{b\text{\textcircled{j}}ux (A)/ b\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{j}}ax (T)}

3. ("cattle buyer")
   \text{k\text{\textcircled{a}}:N\text{\textcircled{e}}x\text{\textcircled{o}}r' b\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{j}}ux (A)/ k\text{\textcircled{a}}:n\text{\textcircled{e}}h\text{\textcircled{o}}r' b\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{j}}ax (T)}

4. ("dry cattle")
   \text{b\text{\textcircled{j}}ax t\text{\textcircled{i}}r\text{\textcircled{'}m\text{\textcircled{i}}} (A)/ b\text{\textcircled{j}}ax t\text{\textcircled{i}}r\text{\textcircled{'}m\text{\textcircled{i}}} (T)}

5. ("he is castrating the calf")
   \text{t\text{\textcircled{a}} fe: g\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{a}} N L\text{\textcircled{i}}: (A)/ t\text{\textcircled{a}} fe g\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{a}} N L\text{\textcircled{e}}: (T)
   
   ("...the bull")
   ... N ta\text{\textcircled{ru} (A/T)

6. ("the calf is castrated")
   \text{ta: \text{\textcircled{a}}N L\text{\textcircled{i}}: g\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{a}} (A)/ ta: N L\text{\textcircled{e}}: g\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{a}} (T)
   
   ([k\text{\textcircled{a}}L\text{\textcircled{t}'i} (A/T) also used]

7. ("he will be castrated before we sell him")
   \text{b\text{\textcircled{e}} fe: g\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{a}} sor \text{\textcircled{a}} ju:\text{\textcircled{a}}s \text{\textcircled{m}}\text{\textcircled{u}}d\text{' e (A)/}
   \text{b\text{\textcircled{e}} fe g\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{a}} sor \text{\textcircled{a}} xa\text{\textcircled{L}}\text{\textcircled{a}}s \text{\textcircled{m}}\text{\textcircled{u}}d\text{' e (T), (corrected by A)
   > b\text{\textcircled{e}} fe x\text{\textcircled{a}}L\text{\textcircled{t}'i sor \text{\textcircled{a}} je:L\text{\textcircled{a}}s \text{\textcircled{m}}\text{\textcircled{u}}d\text{'... (T) ([e:] added by A)

8. ("the cow is bulling")
   \text{ta: N wo: f\text{\textcircled{i}}: yo:r' (T)

9. ("the mare is in heat")
   \text{ta: N L\text{\textcircled{a}}r\text{\textcircled{i}}: a:xm\text{\textcircled{r}}t' (A)/ ta: N L\text{\textcircled{a}}r f\text{\textcircled{i}}: a:x\text{\textcircled{m}}r (T)
"the donkey is in heat"

 tá n ta:s (A) (after discussion) f'í: a:xmr (A/T)

(N'i: jeramn ta:d@ ... [= ní dei r muid dada ...] said by T during discussion)

10. ("she [the sow] is in heat")

t@: N...đ xra:n'... (A) ...f'í x'L'i:j (T)/ ...f'í: x'L'i: (A)/

t@: N xra:n' f'í: x'L'i:j (T)

11. ("the ewe is in heat")

t@: N to:ska'N f'í: re:w@x (T)

("the goat is in heat")


t@: ŋ ga'rr f'í: re:w@x (T)/ t@ ŋ ga'rr fr'e re:w@x (A)

("the dog [bitch] is in heat")

(no word elicited for bitch in heat)

12. ("she was bulled")

v' fí: dara (A) ...(with "yesterday" added as prompt)

v'í fí: d@ro ... 'N'e: (A)/ ...d@r'u N'e: i' (T/A)

13. ("she is bulled")

t@ fí: dara (T/A)

14. ("an in-calf cow")


t@ fí: ... (T)/ ...og ump@rt' li: (A)/ t@ fí: 'Nle: (T)/

...i'Nli (A)

15. ("the cow calved this morning")

rug@ n wo: "ma'd@m' f'0 > ...er' ma'd@m' (A) (after correction by T)/

rug ř wo: er' ma'd@m' (T)

16. ("water-bag [as of cow]")

b@L@gL@N isk'í (sic) (T)/ b@L@gL@N uʃk'í (A)

17. ("after-birth [as of cow]")

sa:L@x@r (A)/ sa:L@x@r ŋ wo: (T)

18. ("calf [pl. / gen. sg."]

Lí: ...kLig'N ŋN Lí: (A)/ kLég'aN Le: (T)

19. ("special terms for cattle: yearling heifer")

ga'w@n' 'b@w@N'aN (T)/ ga'N b@w@N'aN (A)

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20. (“two-year-old heifer”)
   bu dó'g' ya: v'l'en' (T)/ bu dó'g' ya: v'l'en' (A)
   ("springer")
   bu dó'g' i:NLi (A)/ bu dó'g' fæs (= s/h/æsè?) (T) (corrected by A, concurs with A)
21. (“stripper”)
   bo: fæsk e jm', Nu' v'ox t'ir'm', bo: v'ox t'ir'm' (A)/ Nu fæsk (T/A)
22. (“milch cow”)
   bo: wæ:N'e (T)/ bo: wæ:N'i (A)
23. (“biestings”)
   ba'N'i b’yl: (A)
   ("cards")
   (Informants not familiar with “curds”; [m’e:jug] (A)/ [m’e:jig'] (T) [= meadhg?]
   offered as a substitute)
24. (“a theiving cow”)
   bo: (w)raːdæx (T, A)/ bo: vraːdæx (A)
25. (“the cow is lowing”)
   tₐː: wo' g'leːm'ɭ'ak (T)/ "g'leːm'nøxt] an rud ceart" (A)
26. (“the horse is neighing”)
   taː oN karpəl ə fet'r'əx (A)/ ta ŋ karpəl o fet'r'əx (T)
27. (“the pig is grunting”)
   taː N...wek' gruːsəx (T)/ ...aN wIk'...gruːsəxt (A)
28. (“the dog is barking”)
   taː N maːdo sk'æwɪl' (A)/ taː m maːdo sk'æwɪl' (T)
29. (“a stripper in the second year”)
   bo' t'ir'm' i: ...jm' no fæsk (A)/ Nu fæsk ...ya: v'l'en' (T, A)
30. (“how many cows have you?”)
   ’k’eː ’mæ:d˘ ’boː æt (A)
31. (“she has five cows”)
   taː xuːg woː e:k'ɪ (?) (A)/ taː xuːg' woː e:x'k'ɪ (T)
32. (“they have three cows”)
   taː t'r'ɪː [u] woː aːkəb (A)
33. (“the cow is chewing the cud”)
   t̂@ ka:Ng (T) / t̂@ ka:Ng (A)

34. (“I would not chew tobacco if I got it for nothing”)
   N’i: xa:Ng L’u:n t’u:bk a ‘xa:n guN t’ad e (A) /
   N’i: xa:Ng L’u:n t’u:bk a ‘wa’N’ gaN t’ad [e] (T) /
   ... Nu da’ wa’n’ ‘N æ:jk’ e (A)

35. (“the cows’ horns [pl.]”)
   a’jærk a:Ng (T) / [a’jærk?] N wo: (A)

36. (“she has to be cured”)
   kæ:f (T) / kæ:f (A)

37. (“she was cured”)
   L’e:su: i: (T) / t’a j: L’a:stə (A)

38. (“ticks”)
   sk’irh’tu:n (T/A)

39. (“paradigm of ‘tying’ | we tie the cows every evening”)
   k’æ:ŋ’ɡ’əl m’w:i’d a wo: ... (T) /
   k’æ:ŋ’ɡ’əl m’w:i’N a wo: ‘xil’a hra’N:No:Na (A) (with voice overlap; difficult to hear)
   (“we tied the cows last night”)
   x’æ:ŋ’ɡ’əl m’w:i’N a wo: ‘re’r (A) / x’æ:ŋ’ɡ’əl m’w:i’N a wo: ‘re’r (T)
   (“we will tie the cows tomorrow”)
   k’æ:ŋ’ɡ’l o m’w:i’k ɡ wo: ... No b’e i å l’a: ‘m’a:’r’ (A)
   k’æ:ŋ’ɡ’l o m’w:i’N a wo: ‘m’a:’r’ (T)
   (“we are tying the cows now”)
   ta mæd’ e k’æ:ŋ’ɡ’l/’... No ... b’e i wæ:h’N’i ... (ya:) g’æ:ŋ’ɡ’l (A)

40. (“the cows are grazing’”)
   t’a ... N b’e i wæ:h er’ fe:roɣ (T) (with prompting by A)

41. (“cow-shed”)
   t’ær bo’ (A) / stɑ:blə bo’ (T/A)

42. (“he is cleaning the cow-shed”)
   t’a fe: L’æ:No stɑ:blə N wo: ... No t’ær N wo: (T) (with prompting from A)

43. (“bedding for cattle”)
   L’æ:bo L’e b’æi (T)
44. (“she went to the well for water”)
   \( x \text{e} f \text{eg} \text{ } o \text{ } t\text{a} \text{b} \text{o} \text{ } o \text{ guyN} \text{ } i\text{f}k' \text{ } i \ldots \text{No} \text{ g}' \text{e} \text{r} \text{ } i\text{f}k' \text{ } (A) \)
   
45. (“he came to me”)
   \( h\text{a}n'\text{ig}' \text{ } j\text{e} \text{'agm} \text{ } (A) / h\text{a}n'\text{ig}' \text{ } j\text{e} \text{'agm} \text{ } (T) \)
   (“\ldots to her”)
   \( . . . \text{ek}' \text{ } (A/T) \)
   (“\ldots to them”)
   \( . . . \text{ak}\text{b} \text{ } (A/T) \)
46. (“he was calling me”)
   \( \text{v'i} \text{ } j\text{e} \text{glili}*'\text{aram} \text{ } (A) / \text{v'i} \text{ } j\text{e} \text{gle}x \text{ } \text{aram} \text{ } (T) \)
47. (“he called me”)
   \( \text{vl}i \text{ } j\text{e} \text{aram} \text{ } (A) \)
48. (“there is a stream through that field”)
   \( \text{v'i} \text{ } \text{sr} \text{a}N \text{ } \text{ri}\text{d}_\text{x} \text{ } \text{a} \text{ } \text{malear} \text{ } \text{fin}' \text{ } (A) \) (with prompting from T)
49. (“a teat”)
   \( \text{fin}e't' \text{ } (A) \)
50. (“the udder of the cow”)
   \( \text{oo} \text{N} \text{wo:} \text{ } (T) / \text{uu} \text{N} \text{wo:} \text{ } (A) \)
51. (“‘red water’ [murrain: a cattle disease]”)
   \( \text{muN} \text{ fui} \text{ } (T/A) \)
52. (“other cattle-diseases: ‘pine’ [general decay of cattle]”)
   \( \text{g'} \text{m'}\text{ext} \text{aes} \text{ } (A/T) \)
   (“black-leg”)
   \( \text{N} \text{kae}r\text{u:} \text{ } (A/T) \)
53. (“I gave the cow an armful of hay”)
   \( \text{hug} \text{m'e:} \text{g}o:\text{N}L' \text{fer'} \text{goN} \text{wo:} \text{ } (T) / \text{g} \text{m'e:} \text{goL'} \text{eir'} \text{gowo:} \text{ } (A) \)
54. (“she is milking the cow”)
   \( \text{to} \text{fi:} \text{ ‘b'la:N} \text{ } \text{wo:} \text{ } (A/T) / \ldots \text{Nu} \text{ ‘kro:} \text{ } \text{N} \text{wo:} \ldots \text{kru:} \text{ } (A) \)
55. (“I shall milk”)
   \( \text{b'li:} \text{m'e} \text{N} \text{wo:} \text{ } (A) / \text{b'li:} \text{m'e} \text{ } (T) \)
56. (“we milk the cows every day”)
   \( \text{b'li:N} \text{mm'N} \text{N} \ldots \text{ } (A) / \text{b'li:N} \text{mmid'} \text{ } \text{e} \text{wo:} \text{xele} \text{La:} \text{[x2]} \text{ } (T) \)

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57. (“we didn’t milk them”)
   N‘i:r v‘L‘i mʊd ɛd (A/T)

58. (“milked”)
   tə ʃeːd b‘L‘ɪtʃɪ (A/T)

59. (“milking stool”)
   stʊL ɬ‘e ɬ‘eɪʔN (A)

60. (“the strappings”)
   N ʂɾ (T)

61. (“milk”)
   b“æːN‘i (A)/ baːN‘i (T)

62. (“cream”)
   baː bæːN‘i (A)/ baː baːN‘i (T)

63. (“thick milk”)
   baːN‘i tʃʊ (A)/ baːN‘i tʃə (T)

64. (“sour milk”)
   baːN‘i ɡ‘ɛːr (A/T)

65. (“buttermilk”)
   baːN‘i ɡ‘ɛːr ... baːN‘i kəɾ (A)

66. (“give me a drink of buttermilk!”)
   t‘ur‘i ... d‘əx baːN‘i ɡ‘ɛːr dəm (A)/ t‘ur‘i ... d‘əx baːN‘i ɡ‘ɛːr (dəm) (T)

67. (“whey”)
   ɡrʊ ... m‘ɛːjʊg (A/T)

68. (“new milk is sweeter than buttermilk”)
   baːN‘i wʊr (T)/ bæːN‘i wʊr (A)/ tə ʃe ɬ‘iːs mɪiːʃə ... (T)/ Nʊː baːN‘i ɡ‘ɪːr (A)/ Nʊː baːN‘i ɡ‘ɛːr (T)

69. (“she [the woman of the house] is churning”)
   b‘æːN ə t‘iː ... tə ʃɪː ... d‘ɛNə mæːʃt‘ɪr‘ɪ (A)/
   tə: b‘æːN N t‘iː ... d‘ɛNə mæʃt‘ɪr‘ɪ (T)

70. (“a print of butter”)
   p‘r‘uNd ɪm’ (A)/ p‘r‘uNd ɛːʃm’ (T)

71. (“froth”)
   kʊr ɛr‘ ə mɑːN‘i (T)/ kʊr ɛr‘ ə mɑːN‘i (A)
72. ("a dish [sg."])
   $\text{s@j@x} \ (T)/ \text{sr@j@x} \ (A)$
   ("dishes [pl."])
   $\text{sa@r} \ (T)/ \text{sa@r} \ (A)$

73. ("which do you prefer, new milk or buttermilk?")
   $k'e \ a:k@b \ a@ f@r \ l@t \ . . . \text{ba@N}@i \ 'u@r \ Nu' \text{ ba@N}@e \ g'@e@r} \ (A)/$
   $k' \ æ:k@b \ s \ f@r \ (sic) \ l@a@t \ . . . \text{ba@N}@' \ 'u@r \ No \text{ ba@N}@i \ g'@e@r} \ (T)$

74. ([a] "do you want a drink of buttermilk?")
   $\text{wU@l} \ tu \ g' \ @r @x \ bæ @x \ (A)/$
   $tu \ a@g' \ e@r @x \ ba@N}@i \ g'@e@r} \ (T) /
   \text{No} \text{ da@st@n} @x \ w@t' \ (T, A) \ 
   ([b] "we don't need anything")
   $N'i@l' \ mN' \ g' \ e@r \ t@x@da@ \ (A) /
   N'i@l' \ ë \ Ya: \ yin' \ g@ ha@d@ [x2] \ (T) $

75. ("I am very thirsty")
   $tæ @æ:n \ 'tart \ ø@r@m} \ (A)/ tæ @æ:n \ 'tart \ ø@r@m} \ (T)$

76. ("maybe you would rather have a drink of new milk")
   $b'ed@n' \ go \ m@r@ \ l@e@t \ @x \ ba@N}@' \ 'u@r} \ (A)/$
   $b'ed@n' \ go \ m@r@ \ l@e@t \ @x \ ba@N}@' \ 'u@w@r} \ (T)$

77. ("I shall give you your choice")
   $t@r@o \ m@e \ d@ \ r@o@ \ yet' \ (T) /
   dë @ r@o@ \ (A/T)$

78. ("a sheep [paradigm]")
   $k@r@e} \ (T)/ k@r@o} \ (A)$
   ("sheep [pl.]")
   $k@r@i} \ (A/T)$
   ("the head of the sheep [gen. sg."])
   $k@leg'N \ N@k@r@o} \ (A)/ k@leg'N \ ø \ xi@r@o} \ (T/A)$
   ("the heads of the sheep [gen. pl.]")
   $k@leg'@e \ . . . \ (A)/ k@leg'N \ N@g@r@e} \ (T)/ k@leg'N \ N@g@r@i} \ (A)$

79. ("lams [pl."])
   $o@:m@n' \ (T)/ u@:m@n' \ (A)$

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80. (“the lambs are frolicking”)
   ...d'ín spri: (A)/ ...suːgrə (T/A)

81. (“the sheep are bleating”)
   tə jəd ə m'əl'ext (A)/ m'ələx (T/A)

82. (“there was a flock of sheep on the road”)
   v'í skətə kir'ə er'ə mo:k (T)

83. (“wether [castrated]”)
   mu:lt (A)/ mo:lt (T)

84. (“special terms for sheep: hogget [yearling]”)
   o'skə:n' [pl.] (T/A)
   (“ewe”)
   o:skə:n ya: v'le:jin' (T)

85. (“cataract on the eyes [sheep’s disease]”)
   bə'ra:t er'ə su:w'l (T)/ brət er'ə su:l (A)

86. (“scab [sheep’s disease]”)
   'gə:lə 'skræt:k (T/A)

87. (“wool”)
   o:lIn' (A)/ o:In' (T)

88. (“he is shearing the sheep”)
   tə le b'agə ...no kir'i (A)/ b'agə no ɡə'ir'e (T)/ b'agə no gir'i (A)

89. (“the sheep are shorn with the shears”)
   tə jəd b'agə l'e susur (A)
   (“We shear them with the shears”)
   v'ag m'ən ed l'e susur ...v'ag m'əd' no kir'e so susurz (sic) (T)

90. (“a fleece of wool”)
   'Lumrə 'o:In' (A)/ Lumar 'o:In' (T)

91. (“the sheep went astray”)
   xo no kir'ə ...mu:wa [ə2] (T)/ o'mu: (A)

92. (“straying”)
   xədər er'ə fəxra:n (T)/ er'ə fəkra:n (A)
   ...fə:r (= is fearr) e: fə:n’ na' maː (= amá) (T) (discussion) ...xə 'fə:r e fəxra:n (T)

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93. ("a few sheep were lost in the snow")
   κας’λ’υ: γα: ... κυριο φιον ... δοιν≡κτ’ο (T)/ σο σπερ’κτο (A)

94. ("I am perished with cold")
   το με’ πρι’κτη’ντ’ο κιν ο λιν≡κ (T)/ το με’ πρε’κτη’ντ’ο λιν ο λορ (T)
   ([ου] confirmed by T and A )

95. ("tallow")
   γέρ’ (A/T)

96. ("lard")
   γέρ’ λ’α:τ’ι (A/T)

97. ("mutton")
   κιρ’ολ’ (A/T)

98. ("beef")
   μαρτ’ολ’ (T, A)

99. ("this is a big goat")
   γα’φωρ ορ ε: ιν (T)/ γα’φωρ ε: ιν (A)
   ("goats [pl."])

100. ("a kid")
    μ’ινα’κ (A)/ μ’ωνα’κ (T)

101. ("wild animals")
    βιέ’ο φικαι’ν ... νο β’ε’λ φικαι’ν (T)/ β’ε’λ φικαι’ν [x2] (A)

102. ("she was helping me")
    νι’ βι’ τ’υρτ κιν’να ναμ (A/T)/ να: κιν’να: λομ (A)

103. ("you are a wild fellow")
    ις διν’ι φικαι’ν ου: (T)/ ις διν’ι φικαι’ν ου (A)

104. ("he is a quiet fellow")
    δ’ιν’ι ρε’λ ου (A)/ δ’ιν’ι ρε’λ ου (T)

105. ("a pig [paradigm]")
    μακ’ (A)/ μαρκ’ (T)
    ("pigs [pl."])
106. ("pig’s cheek")
\[ k\text{\text{"{e}}n} \ m\text{\text{"{o}}}k^{i} \ (T/A) \]
\[ L^{' \text{ek}^{' \text{e}}}\text{\text{"{a}}}N \ m\text{\text{"{o}}}k^{i} \ (T) / L^{' \text{ek}^{' \text{e}}}\text{\text{"{a}}}N \ m\text{\text{"{o}}}k^{i} \ (A) \]

107. ("pig’s feet")
\[ k\text{\text{"{r}}}u:b^{{\text{e}}} \ (T) / k\text{\text{"{r}}}u:b^{i}n^{i} : \ldots k\text{\text{"{a}}}s\text{\text{"{a}}} \ m\text{\text{"{u}}}k^{\text{a}} \ (A) \]

108. ("pig’s snout")
\[ s\text{\text{"{r}}}o:n \ N\text{\text{"{a}}} \ m\text{\text{"{w}}}k^{i} \ (T) / s\text{\text{"{r}}}u:n \ N\text{\text{"{a}}} \ m\text{\text{"{w}}}k^{i} \ (A) \]

109. ("pork")
\[ m\text{\text{"{u}}}k^{'} o:l^{'} \ (A) / m\text{\text{"{u}}}k^{'} o:l^{'} \ u:r \ (A/T) \]

110. ("sow")
\[ k\text{\text{"{r}}}a:n^{i} \ (T/A) \]

111. ("boar [sg.]")
\[ k\text{\text{"{a}}}\text{\text{"{l}}}\text{\text{"{a}}}x \ (T/A) \]
\[ ("boars [pl.]") \]
\[ k\text{\text{"{a}}}\text{\text{"{l}}}\text{\text{"{a}}}x^{{i}} \ (A/T) \]

112. ("pigsty")
\[ f\text{\text{"{a}}}l^{'} \ w\text{\text{"{i}}}k^{i} \ (T/A) \]

113. ("a shoat or pigling [sg.]")
\[ b\text{\text{"{a}}}n:\text{\text{"{u}}} : \ (A) \]
\[ ("piglings [pl.]") \]
\[ b\text{\text{"{a}}}n:\text{\text{"{i}}}v^{i} \ (A) \]

114. ("the piglings are sucking the sow")
\[ t\text{\text{"{f}}}\text{\text{"{e}}}d \ 0 \ k\text{\text{"{N}}}\text{\text{"{a}}}r^{i} \ 0 \ gr\text{\text{"{a}}} : n^{i} \ (A) / \]
\[ t\text{\text{"{a}}} \ N\text{\text{"{a}}} \ b\text{\text{"{a}}}n:\text{\text{"{i}}}v^{i} : \text{\text{"{e}}}g^{i} \ k\text{\text{"{N}}}\text{\text{"{a}}}r^{i} \ 0 \ gr\text{\text{"{a}}} : m\text{\text{"{w}}}n^{i} \ (T) / \]
\[ t\text{\text{"{a}}} \ N\text{\text{"{a}}} \ b\text{\text{"{a}}}n:\text{\text{"{i}}}v^{i} : \text{\text{"{e}}}g^{i} \ k\text{\text{"{N}}}\text{\text{"{a}}}r^{i} \ 0 \ gr\text{\text{"{a}}} : n^{i} \ (A) \]

115. ("a litter of pigs")
\[ a:\text{\text{"{L}}} \ b\text{\text{"{a}}}n:\text{\text{"{i}}}v^{i} \ (A) / a:\text{\text{"{L}}} \ b\text{\text{"{a}}}n:\text{\text{"{i}}}v^{i} \ (T) \]

116. ("the pigs are rooting up the ground")
\[ t\text{\text{"{w}}} \ w\text{\text{"{i}}}k^{i} : \text{\text{"{e}}}g^{i} \ t\text{\text{"{a}}}x\text{\text{"{i}}}t^{i} : t^{i} \ 0 \ t\text{\text{"{a}}}l\text{\text{"{a}}} : \ldots t\text{\text{"{a}}} \ N\text{\text{"{a}}} \ m\text{\text{"{u}}}k^{\text{a}} : \ldots t\text{\text{"{a}}}x\text{\text{"{i}}}t^{i} : t^{i} \ 0 \ t\text{\text{"{a}}}l\text{\text{"{a}}} : (T) \]

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117. ("the ground is rooted up")

\[ t^o \text{ fe } \text{to}x\text{l}^\prime \text{t}^\prime \text{t}^\prime \text{t} \text{ (A) / ta } \text{ N} \ldots \text{ta:Lo } \text{ta}x\text{Lo}^i \text{ (T)} \]

("Tá an dá leagan ann" [A])

118. ("the pig is a year and a half old")

\[ \text{ta} \ldots \text{N } w^o\text{l}^\prime \text{b}^\prime \text{i:n}^\prime \text{ go } \text{L}^\prime \text{e} \ldots \text{ (T) / go } \text{ji:f } \text{ (A) / go } \text{ji:f } \text{ (T)} \]

119. ("hen [paradigm"]

\[ k^e:rk \text{ (A)} \]

("hens [pl."]")

\[ k^\text{ær}k^\alpha \text{ (T)} \]

("the head of the hen")

\[ k^\text{leg}^\text{a}N \text{ (n) } k^\text{ær}k \text{ (A) / k}^\text{leg}^\text{a}N \text{ o } x^\text{ær}k \text{ (T)} \]

("the heads of the hens [pl."]")

\[ k^\text{leg}^\text{n}^\prime \text{e } \text{No } g^\text{ær}k^\alpha (T, A) \]

(cf. \( k^\text{leg}^\text{a}N \text{ o } tf\text{k}^\prime \text{i:n}^\prime "[the head of the chicken"] (A/ T))

120. ("the scour [as of hens]")

\[ b^N^\text{ox} \text{ (T)} \]

121. ("the hens are scraping the ground")

\[ \text{ta} \ldots \text{N } k^\text{ær}k^\alpha \text{ f}k^\prime \text{i:b}^\alpha \text{ N } \text{ta}xa (T) \ldots \text{sk}^\prime \text{i:b}^\alpha \text{ N } \text{ta}xa (A) \]

122. ("the hen is hatching")

\[ \text{ta} \ldots \text{N } k^\text{ær}k^\text{er}^\prime \text{ gor } (T) / \text{ta } \text{N } x^\text{ær}k^\text{er}^\prime \text{ gor } (A) \]

("a hatching hen")

\[ k^\text{ær}k^\prime \text{y}^\prime (A/T) \]

123. ("the hens are at the gate")

\[ (\ldots ) \text{N} \text{N} \text{N} k^\text{er}k^\prime \text{e}^\prime \text{ o } \text{qa}^\text{a}^\text{ta} \text{ (A) / ta } \text{N } k^\text{ær}k^\text{e}^\prime \text{ e } \text{qa}^\text{a}^\text{ta} (T) \]

124. ("a pullet; a chicken [sg."]

\[ \text{f}k^\prime \text{i:n}^\prime (T) / \text{f}k^\prime \text{i:n}^\prime (A) \]

125. ("the hens are cackling")

\[ \text{ta } \text{N } k^\text{ær}k^\alpha \text{ gr}^\text{equil}^\prime (T) \]

126. ("she is plucking the hen")

\[ ^a\text{ba}^\text{N}^\text{t}^\prime \text{f } \text{e}^\text{g}^\text{uy} \text{x}^\text{lu:x} \text{ goy } x^\text{ær}k^\prime (A) / \]

\[ ^a\text{ba}^\text{N}^\text{t}^\prime \text{f } \text{e}^\text{g}^\text{uy} \text{x}^\text{lu:x}^\prime \text{ goy } x^\text{ær}k^\prime (T) \]

127. ("a strong wing feather [sg."]

\[ k^\text{L}^\prime \text{et}^\prime \text{c } \text{La}^\text{d}^\prime \text{in}^\prime \ldots \text{sk}^\text{ia}^\text{N} \text{ o } x^\text{ær}k (A, T) \]

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128. (“hen-roost”)
   kro: k'ærk (A/T)
   (“have they gone to roost yet?”)
   wəl' fad Nə ɡəːlə fəːs (A)/ ...fəːwəs (T)

129. (“hen-coop”)
   kuːp (A/T)

130. (“nest egg”)
   N'æ:d k'ærk ... oː N'æ:d (A)/ ...oː N'æd' (A/T)

131. (“she is making a nest”)
   tə ʃiː gu đɪnə N'æ:d (A)/ tə ʃiː dɪnə N'æ:d (T)

132. (“she is sitting in the nest”)
   tə ʃiː iNə Lo¹ ...oːN'æ:d (T)

133. (“the fox killed nearly all my hens last night”)
   jINəx (T/A)
   ... waːrə Nə ... waːr ɬ jINəx mo'ɾaːN mə xid' k'ærk ɾəjɪn' (T)

134. (“cocks [pl.]”)
   kəl'əxiː (A)

135. (“an old hag”)
   ʃəː'xəLəx (T/A)

136. (“the cock is treading the hens now”)
   tə N kəl'əx ɾu N'i Nə ɡ'ærk (A)/ tə ɲ kəl'əx ɾuN'i Nə ɡ'ærk (T)

137. (“the cock is crowing”)
   tə ɲ kəl'əx ɾəliʃəx (A)/ tə ɲ kəl'əx ɾəliʃəx (T)

138. (“the cock’s comb”)
   k'ɪr'ɪn' əʃ əl'əx (A)/ k'ɪr'ɪn' ə əl'əx (T)

139. (“one of her wings is broken”)
   tə k'ə: ɡaː xid' skiːʃən' b'rɪfɪt' (A)/ k'əː ɡaː xid' skiːʃən' b'rɪfɪt' (T)

140. (“the hen is flying”)
   et'əL (A)/ tə Nə k'ærko [ɡ?] əɡ' et'əL (T)
141. ("foxes [pl."])

faNax#: (T)/ tfaN#: (A)

("the head of the fox")

kLe{Schjef"...kLe{Sch"a:" faNax (T)

142. ("the fox killed more than twelve hens")

wa:" N fINax n'is mu: N" ya: x`a-r`n' d'e:B' ga x`a-rk`...Nu` 'ya: x`a-rk d'e:B' (T)

143. ("he will kill more tomorrow")

maro fe n'is mu: m`ma-r`r`ax (T)

144. ("he is killing them")

t` fe ya mar{aw (T)

145. ("he kills")

mar{in' fe (A)/ mar{in' fe (T)

146. ("I would like if you killed the fox")

b` wa` l`om a marox tu{e ?aN tfuNax (A)/

ha`n'ox fe: l`om ya mar{a n` fINax (T)

147. ("don't kill yourself! [sg."])

Na mar` o: he:n' (A)/ Na: mar`s o: he:n' (T)

148. ("don't kill yourselves! [pl."])

Na mar{ig`i` f`b` he:n' (A)/ Na: mar{ig`i` f` 'p'e:n' (T)

149. ("the den [as of a fox]")

a:fox (A)/ a:fox (T)/ a:fox N t'INax (A, T)

150. ("he is as cute as a fox")

t` fe xo k'r`n`o` ye` faINax (T/A)

151. ("he is hunting hares")

t` fe f'{ijax g'er{e (T)

("hares [pl."])

g`r`ux`r` ...g`r`a`x`i (A)/ g`e`r`a`x`i` ... g`r`i`a`x`i` (T)

152. ("I saw! [answer to question: an bhfaca tu madadh ruadh ariamh? have you ever seen a fox?"])

n`i ako (T)/ n`i: a`ko (A)

("I saw a fox")

xun`ik` m`e: fUNax (A/T)/ xUN`ik` m`e: fUNax (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")
   fur' m'è skándrə ... Nu  g'èt' (A)/
   fur' m'è g'èt'... Nu'r' ø xin'ik' m'e  Nə ... ëNəx ...
   far' "m'è' g'èt' Ner' ø xin'ik' m'e'  n' ëNəx ...
   ská:mr̄i...Ner' ukot  fe  sk'ër̄i' (T)
   (= "scanraithe, nuair a thiocfadh sé sciobtha")

154. ("egg-shell")
   'bl̄iːsk 'u (A)/ 'bl̄eːsk 'ø (T)

155. ("yolk of an egg")
   b'x̄k̄oN (T/A)

156. ("white of an egg")
   'ḡæ:lk̄aN 'əv̄e (T)

157. ("lining of an egg [the skin which encloses the white"]
   L'iː'N̄oN (T) (N'iː'N̄oN [?] on second repetition)

158. ("goose [sg."])
   g'è: (T, A)
   ("geese [pl."])
   g'è:wɔ (T, A)
   ("this is a big goose")
   s g'è: mor iː fo (T)/ s g'è: mor eː fo (A)
   ("a goose egg")
   'o 'jeː (A)/ o jeːl̄e (T/A)
   ("a flock of geese")
   skaːtə g'è:wɔ (A/T)

159. ("the geese are wicked")
   ta Nə g'è:w əl̄k (T)/ Nu  ëL̄'v̄eːsɔx (A)/ Nu  ëL̄'v̄eːsɔx (T)

160. ("gander")
   gaːNdəl (A/T)

161. ("turkey")
   (No word elicited for "turkey" in Irish)

162. ("the duck has ducklings")
   ò Lə:xa'n p ɔg eg' en' Lə:xaⁿ (A)/ ò Lə:xa'n (sic) ɔg eg' ø Lə:k xo (T)
   ("duck egg")
ov La:xə (A)/ o La:xə (T)
(“ducks [pl.]”)
La:xin’ (A/T)
(“duck eggs”)
rɪəxi: ’La:xin’ (T)

163. (“drake”)
bo:rdəl (T/A)

164. (“bees [pl.]”)
m’æixin’ (T)
(“bee [sg.]”)
b’ɛi (A)/ b’æi (T)/ sm’æi (T/A) (form used on Inis Mór)
(“bee’s honey”)
’m’ɪl’ Nə ’m’æi: (A/T)
(“a nest of bees”)
’Næːd ’sm’æi: (T)

165. (“he is buying cattle”)
tʃe k’æ:Nəxt b’ɛi (A)/ tə se (sic) k’æ:Nəx b’ɛi (T)

166. (“he screamed when the bee stung him”)
sk’r’æ:dən’ ʃe Nər’ e . . . xir’aNs ə (? ) sm’æi: gæ: a:N . . .
sk’r’æ:d ʃe: Nər’ ə xir’ əN . . . sm’æi: gæ: a:N (T)

167. (“the skin is swollen”)
tə N kræ:k’N atti: (T) (second repetition, after prompting with [attɪ:] from A)

168. (“that’s a fine horse”)
b’r’a: N kæpəl . . . ʃi:n’ (A, T)
(“horses”)

kæpəl’ (T)

169. (“stallion [sg.]”)
stæ:l’ (A)/ stæ:l’ (T)
(“stallions [pl.]”)

170. (“gelding, garron”)
g’eːɾə:N (T/A) . . . g’eːɾə:N (second repetition) (T/A)
171. ("the horses are running all over the field")
   to Na káːpɪl̂ ʰrɪːxt himpɔːl̂ o wəl̂ e (T)

172. ("I shall run after her")
   ḅ x′ært am ʰrɪːxt ʰNa N′eːl̂ e (T) (misheard by T as the plural pronoun "them")

173. ("we run to school every day")
   rrːN mʊd̂ (…) xəl̄ə lə: (T)

174. ("the race is run")
   ta N raːsə rṭ′i (A/T)

175. ("the horses are trotting")
   ʰsədəɾnə (A)/ to N káːpɪl̂ ə sədəɾnə (T)

176. ("colt")
   brəməx (T)

177. ("filly")
   (kəpəl̂ ḅ′nən̂ ʰnax æ ?) ʰnə:k′r′i (A)
   (T thinks the term láir appropriate for an older horse; no term elicited from him)

178. ("he is riding a horse")
   tʃe g mark′æxt er′ ə gəpəl̂ (A)/ ta fe mərki′xt er′ ə gəpəl (T)

179. ("this horse is blacker than the other one")
   ta N kəpɪl̂ fe Nǐːs dɨvi Nə ʰk′əːn el′e (T)

180. ("stable")
   stə:bə (T, A)

181. ("horseshoe [sg.]")
   'kru' kəpɪl̂ (T/A)
   ("horseshoes [pl.]")
   krɪː ("san oileán seo") (T)/
   krɪf ′ ([kəf ʰd′er′nə s ʰd (sic) ə gənə ʰməɾə]) (A)

182. ("the horse jumped over the fence")
   x ʰ… ha ʰN kəpəl̂ oN klɔj (T)

183. ("ditch [sg.]")
   tɾiːn′fe (A/T)
   ("ditches [pl.]")
   tɾiːn′fi (A/T)
184. ("I couldn’t find a seat in the room")

ʻx:i:N əɾəm ʻæːnʼ ʻt:iːL aːL sə ʃumə (A)

("seat" heard as "seed"; in this, a second repetition of the sentence, the verbal noun [ʃiːd] is again pronounced with a final velarised liquid consonant)

185. ("donkey [sg."])

əsəl (A)

("donkeys [pl."])

əsəlʼ (T, A)

("that’s a fine donkey")

ʻbɾəː N ʻtəsəl ʻc ʃiːnʼ (T)

186. ("bottom of pannier-baskets")

təwənʼ əŋ ʻxʼL′iːv (T)

187. ("the cross-stick on the bottom of the pannier-baskets")

bʰwɪN′i (b′e) (= "ˈbuinne’, ab ea?") (A)

nʼiː æ... sLaːtʼ... traːsNə... Nə sLaːtʼ traːsNə... Nə sLaːtʼ ta traːsNə (T)

188. ("straddle [a wooden straddle with pins from which the pannier-baskets are hung, ‘srarrhə’]")

ne sraːrʼ (A)

189. ("a wooden band which holds the two sides of the straddle together, ‘coirb’")

kər′ibʼ (T)

190. ("the straddle-pad")

tiː sə sraːr (A)

191. ("the two pins of the straddle")

sKəN′rNei (T)

192. ("the crupper")

kæ′r′iːnʼ (T/A)

193. ("girth, belly-band")

t′iːɾəx (sic) (T)

194. ("horse-cart")

kər ˈkapiːlʼ (T)

195. ("donkey-cart")

kər əsəlʼ (T)

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196. ("float’, sleigh")
   (not known to informants)

197. ("shafts of a cart")
   fe:sti N xaːr (A)

198. ("the parts of a cart")
   'paːrt'əNeː 5(ŋ) 'xaːr (T/A)

199. ("wheel [sg."])
   roːː (A)
   ("wheels [pl."])
   roː'tːiː (A, T)

200. ("axle")
   aːkastɔːr' (T, A)

201. ("other parts of a wheel")
   partʃaNi ɛiː ɡəN roː: (A)
   ("spokes")
   spoːkiː (A)/ spoːkiː (T)

202. ("dog [sg."])
   maːdə (A, T)
   ("dogs [pl."])
   maːdəriː (T)/ maːdəriː (A)

203. ("puppy")
   kul'aːN (A)

204. ("cat [sg."])
   kut (A/T)
   ("cats [pl."])
   kut' (A/T)

205. ("the cat was licking himself")
   v'iriː N kʊt yaː L'iːxaːN həːn' (A/T)

206. ("he is rubbing himself")
   taː fe aː xəm'il't eːn' (T)/ aː həxəs eːn' (A)/ Nu: ə'kum'il't... ə'kum'il't' (T)

207. ("kittens")
   kʊt' əoxə (T/A)
208. (“the cat scratched me”)

sk'r'ib ə kut m'e (T)

209. (“he took the skin off me”)

ho:g' fə ə kræ:k'n' d'im (T)

(“... off her”)

... d'i/ jî (T)

(“... off them”)

... d'ib (T)

(“... off him”)

... d'e (T) / ([je] accepted by T and A)

210. (“he is digging the ground”)

tə fe taxil't' N ta:la (T)

211. (“rabbit [sg.]”)

kNI'n' (T)/ k'NI'n' (A)

(“rabbits [pl.]”)

kNI'n'i: (T/A)

212. (“he is shooting rabbits”)

tə fe: f'i:əx ... ka: kNI'n'i: ... Nu f'i:əx kNI'n'i: (T)

(“I shall shoot him”)

kæ: m'e he (A)/ ka: m'e e (T)

(“I shot him”)

ha:l m'e: e (T)/ ha:l m'e e (A)

(“shot [verbal adjective]”)

tə fe kæt'i (A)/ tə fe kæ:t'i (T)

213. (“the rabbits heard me when I was very near them”)

da'r'i: No kNI'n'i: m'e Nur' ə v'i m'e ŋar do:b (A)/
da'r'i: No kNI'n'i: m'e Ner' ə v'i m'e ŋar (sic) o:b (T)

214. (“they did not hear me at all”)

N'i:r ar'r'j f'd əəərəb'i m'e (T)

215. (“I heard what you said”)

təs am k'er'd ə d'er' t'u ... No da'r'i m'e k'er d'er' t'u (T)

216. (“she is a good knitter”)

tə fi go ma: k'r'it'a:l' (T)/ ... k'r'it'a:l' (A)
217. (“give me the scissors!”)  
tur wam oN sosur (T)  

218. (“I have lost my thimble”)  
xal m’e n’ m’e:rokə:N (T)/ ... m’e:rokə:N (A)  

219. (“where did you put the thread?”)  
kar xor’ tu’ N sNa: (T)  

220. (“now I want a needle”)  
n’efta: sNa:d’ o ta:stal’ wam (T)/ ta:stim sNa:d’ wam (A)/  
Nu ta:stim sNa:d’ wam (T)  

221. (“will you put a button on my coat?”)  
... kNa:p’ er’ m oxot(a?) (A)/ gu’i tu’ kNa:p’ er’ m oxot(a) (T)  

222. (“she is twisting the thread”)  
to ji: kaus N sNa: (T) (after prompting by A with kau N sNa:)  

223. (“a ball of thread”)  
L’i:ro:’d’ sNa: (T)  

224. (“do you a knitting pin?”)  
wo:’ b’ira:n’ k’ir’t’alə a:γət ... b’ira:N k’ir’t’alə (T)  

225. (“a pair of stockings”)  
p’er’e stoki: (T)  

226. (“put a patch on his trousers!”)  
kir’ pis er’ o hr’”sor (T)  

227. (“she is spinning”)  
tfi eg’ sN’i:v (A)/ to ji: sN’i:juv (T)  

228. (“she spins faster than I do”)  
sN’i:wae’ fii ni:sk’ip’i: Na’ m’ife ... Na’ ... hN’i:waeN m’i:ft (T)  

229. (“the wool is spun”)  
ta’ N oLm’ ... ta’ Na Nolm’ (sic) sN’i:fta (T) (after prompting by A with [sN’i:fta])  

230. (“the wool must be carded before it is spun”)  
ka’ N ... N oLm’ e ve kar’da:l’it’ su’t o sN’i:far e (T)  

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231. (“parts of the spinning-wheel”)

    part' goN...turn'e (T)
    ta spoikí: (T)
    so'ræng ...sraęng (T)/ sraęng (A)
    færsad (T/A)
    ro: (A/T)
    prof'ti (A)
    malf (T) (a guess for mol; he has difficulty remembering the term)

232. (“a skein of thread”)

    ska:N'e sNa: (A/T)

233. (“she is scouring the thread”)

    ta fi' sp'i:Na (T)/ ...sp'i:Na (A)

234. (“warp”)

    dLu: (A)
    (“weft”)
    in'ox (A)

235. (“she is winding thread”)

    ...tfi ka:s o sNa: (A)/ ta fi ka:s o sNa: (T)

236. (“homespun cloth”)

    sN'i:fť eg' ba:l'e (T)/ jN'i:fť eg' ba:l'e (A)/ b'e'r'e:d'i:n' (T)/ b'r'e:d'i:n'
    ba:l'e (A/T)

237. (“red dye”)

    da1 d'ærög (T)

238. (“tailor [sg.]”)

    ta:l'ur (T)
    (“tailors [pl.]”)
    ta:l'ur' (T)

239. (“the woman is washing”)

    tă N v'æ:n ā N'i'xan (T)

240. (“manure-heap”)

    ka:Na:N i:l'ox (T/A)

241. (“the clothes are bleaching”)

    ta' ...NaN...t'edax g'æ:Laxa:N (T) (with prompting of t'eadach and a' gealachán from A).
242. ("I am not used to this kind of work")

N’f’l æ:N o:L...N’f’l æ:N...x’f’æ:xt æm...ctr’ ð k’m’al’ ðo əbə’r’ Nu
əb’r’i...ə k’m’al’ ðo əb’r’i (A)

(edited down, with considerable overlap from T).

243. ("could you do that for me?")

v’eta: ʃ’in’ ə jeNø ɣ’om (T)

244. (“they couldn’t do that for us”)

N’l’ ʃ’eta’d:iʃ ʃ’in’ ə jeNø ɣ’N (T)

245. (“are you able to do that?”)

waɬ tu N ’a:N ə ʃ’in’ ə jeNø (T)

246. (“put out your tongue!”)

kIr’ ɛ’mæx ə do hæŋø (T)

247. (“tongues [pl.]”)

t’æŋɡoxø/ t’æŋɡoxi: (T)

t’æŋɡøi/ t’æŋɡoxi: (A)

248. (“the tip of the tongue”)

’bæ:r ’t’æŋɡø (T)/ ’bæ:r ə ’t’æŋɡø (A)

249. (“this is a nice place”)

d’æs N æt’ e fo (T)

(“the people of this place”)

din’e ə hæt’e fo (A, T)/ m’æ:n’t’Ir’ ə hæt’e (A, T)

(“the people of those places”)

din’e ə hæt’oxø/ hæt’oxi ʃ’in’ (A/T)

250. (“a head of cabbage”)

’kleg’N ’gəba:ʃte (T/A)/ ’kleg’N ’ko:ʃIʃ (T) [“Cabáiste an rud ceart!” (A)]

(“the cabbage stalk [sg.]”)

’bøN ə ’xo:lʃ (A)/ ’bøN ’gəba:ʃte (T)

(“cabbage stalks [pl.]”)

’bøNøN’i ’ko:ʃIʃ (A)/ ’bøNøN’i ’gəba:ʃte (T)

251. (“leaves of cabbage”)

’b’r’o:ɡi: ’kəba:ʃt’I (A)/ ’b’r’o:ɡi: (sic) N ’gəba:ʃt’I (T)

252. (“Indian meal”)

m’N’ ə’wi: (A)/ m’’en’ ə’wi: (T)
253. (“oatmeal”)

m‘en’e ‘xørk’c’ (T)/ m‘m’ kørk’k’ı (A)

254. (“sowens [cáith-bhruith]”)

(“sowans” heard as “ sowings”, which elicits [sq: ‘ji↵Lte] ( [sq] sá síolta) (A/T))

255. (“meal-chest”)

(not known to informants)

256. (“she is making a cake [home-made bread]”)

tə ‘ji jinə (sic) kaxk (T)/ Nu f’i:n’k kaxk (A)/ Nə fən’t’ ... tə ‘ji f’i:n’ kaxk (T)

257. (“kneading the bread”)

f’i:n’ (A)/ tə ‘ji f’i:n’ a xaxk (T)

258. (“pots [pl.”)

pote (A)/ potə (T)

(“pot-stick”)

(not known to informants)

259. (“pounder or beetle [for mashing potatoes or for pounding the flax]”)

pəndər (A)/ pəndər (T)

260. (“the mice ate the bread-crumbs”)

[N’?] isoN Nə LoxeN’ Nə ... (T)/ ... krumz (A)

261. (“crust [of bread]”)

krustə N xaxk (T/A)

262. (“give the child a bite of bread!”)

t’uqg (= tíúg?) oN ... (T)/ t’ur’ p’isə kaxk: doN... (A)/ ... yə yasur (T)/ Nu gəm faʃt’ı (A/T)

(a discussion of terms for children follows: [Ni:Nə’s] (nursing infant), [paʃt’ı]/ [L’æ:Nu] (toddler, young child) and [gasur] (a child past the age of reason))

263. (“cut me a piece of bread!”)

g’a:r p’isə ra:N dum (A/T)/ (pl.) g’a:rəg’ı: ... (A/T)

264. (“go and buy a loaf of bread!”)

t’ơr’ əgəs ... k’æ:Nə bul’in’ ra:N (A) (after prompting by T with [k’æ:Na])/ ... bul’in’ ra:N (T)

265. (“baking bread”)

bə:kəl’ ra:N (A, T)

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266. ("potatoes roasted on the embers: 'brissle'")
    fa:ti: ro:sti: er' Na sma:xo:d'ir (T)

267. ("he spat on the floor")
    ha: fe smugrl' er' eN a:rl'a:r (T)

268. ("he was yawning")
    vi ti fe m'i:a:Nu:x (A)/ vi ti fe m'i:a:Nox (T)

269. ("he began to cry")
    hasa fe kin'e (T)

270. ("it is beginning to rain")
    to fe tos eg' ba:fi:ox (T)

271. ("we shall begin to work")
    toso m'IN a:g ab'un' (T)

272. ("he is stuttering")
    to fe ...stud'r'ox (T/A)/ vi: sta:d o:N (A)

273. ("he has a hiccough")
    to fa:fi' er' (A/T)

274. ("he is farting")
    to fe ...fe:rti:ug (A)/ bra:mo:Ni: (T)
    ("he let a fart")
    rin' fe: b'r'im' (...rad Na:do:ra) (T)

275. ("my clothes are damp")
    ta mo xo:g e:di: ta:fi (A/T)

276. ("she has new clothes")
    to e:da: Nu: a:ra (T)

277. ("he was found drunk on the road")
    far'u er' m'i:fk' er' a mo:w'r e (T)/ for' fad o:lt'a:x ... (A)
    (after prompting with [fr'ihu:] and [fr'ihu:]; fr'i:ur' [A, T]
    " [fr'ihu:], 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")
    for'im'w'ug a:er'ig'ad er' (T)/ Nu fa:N m'w'd'... (A)/
    Nu fa:N m'iN' a:er'ig'ad ... fa:N mud' a:er'ig'ad ... (T)

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279. (“we do not get any money”)

N′i: waN mid’ e:N ær’ig’ød er’...ə ɣN: (T)/
N′i: ə:N mid’ ær’ig’ød ə ɣ N: hundul’ (A)/
N′i: wi:N m=N ə:N...ær’ig’ød ə ɣ hundul’ er’ (T)

280. (“he would not get anything”)

N′i: waəx se ...N′i: waəx se ...ta:d (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”)

N′i: wur’ fe e:N...N′i: wur’ fe ta:d (T)

282. (“we have got the money”)

fur’ m=N ə ta:r’ig’ød (T)

(“the money was gotten easily”)

fur′ ə N ta:r’ig’ød ə heskə ...Nu: ə ra’ (T)

(“gotten”) (after prompting with [fa:t’e, fa’i’t’e, faxt’e])

fa:t’i (A/T)

(“he is getting the money”)

tə fe fa:l’ e:N ær’ig’id’ (A)/ ta fe fa:l’ e:N ær’ig’id’ (T)

283. (“a suit of clothes [sg.]”)

kəl ə’də (T)

(“suits of clothes [pl.]”)

kəltən’ ə’də (T)

284. (“shirt [sg.]”)

L’e:N’e (A)/ L’e:n’e (T)

(“shirts [pl.]”)

L’e:n’thəx (T)

285. (“my shirt is dirty”)

tə mə L’e:N’ə saːləx (T)

286. (“your shirt is dirty too”)

tə tu l’e:n’ə saːləx frəmissing (T)

287. (“sleeves [pl.]”)

m=N əN/iː: (A)/ smol’miː: (T)

288. (“where are my gloves?”)

kə: l’mu əd’ m’ətəɡiː (A/T)

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289. (“light cloth”)
\[ \text{\textit{c:da\dot{x} e:dr@m}} \] (T)/ \[ \text{\textit{c:da\dot{x} o\textquoteleft dr@m}} \] (A)

(“heavy cloth”)
\[ \text{\textit{c:da\dot{x} t ro\textquoteleft m}} \] (T)/ \[ \text{\textit{c:da\dot{x} tru\textquoteleft m}} \] (A)

290. (“over-coat”)
\[ \text{\textit{kot@ m@r}} \] (A, T)

291. (“show me your house!”)
\[ \text{\textit{s p@\textquoteleft n h@\textquoteleft m}} \] (T)/ \[ \ldots \text{\textit{d@ h@\textquoteleft m}} \] (A)

292. (“I shall show you my house”)
\[ \text{\textit{s p@\textquoteleft n” m@r d@ m@r h@\textquoteleft m} \] (A)

293. (“he is showing them the land”)
\[ \text{\textit{t@} s p@\textquoteleft n’t@ o t@l@ d@b} \] (A)

294. (“he showed me his cattle”)
\[ \text{\textit{s p@\textquoteleft n’ \textit{fe} x@l@ b’e\textquoteleft \textit{y@m}}} \] (T)

295. (“he did the same thing”)
\[ \text{\textit{r@n’ \textit{fe} \@ r@d k’e\textquoteleft N@}} \] (T)

296. (“you need food when you are working”)
\[ \text{\textit{t@s@t@\textquoteleft N@ b’i\textquoteleft o w@t’ N@r’ o t@ to g@ b@r’}} \] (T) (after prompting from A)

297. (“too much food is bad”)
\[ \text{\textit{n’im@k@” b’i\textquoteleft o \textit{t@ fe g@ do@N@}}} \] (T)

(“food is scarce”)
\[ \text{\textit{t@ N b’i\textquoteleft o g@N@}} \] (T) (after prompting from A with \textit{bia} and \textit{gann})/
\[ \text{\textit{t@ N b’i\textquoteleft o g@N@}} \] (A)

(“there is no scarcity here”)
\[ \text{\textit{N’il’ \textit{\~a ya:nt@n@s n’ja}} (T)/ \ldots \text{\textit{\~a ya:nt@n@s o@n’ja}} \] (A)

298. (“he eats three meals a day”)
\[ \text{\textit{t@\textquoteleft n@ fe: t’r@: v’el@i s@ l@o:}} \] (A)/
\[ \text{\textit{t@\textquoteleft n@ fe t’r@: v’el@i s@ l@o@}} \]
\[ \ldots \text{\textit{t@\textquoteleft n@ fe \ldots t’r@: v’el@i s@ l@o@}} \] (T)/
\[ \text{\textit{t@\textquoteleft n@ fe \ldots}} \] (A)

299. (“breakfast”)
\[ \text{\textit{b’r@k@f@st@}} \] (A, T)

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300. (“dinner”)

d’i:n’er (A)/ d’i:n’ér (T)

301. (“supper”)

sup’er (A)/ sip’ér (T)

302. (“he is eating his dinner”)

tə so (sic) g’i ji:n’ér (T)

303. (“we ate our dinner long ago”)

d’i m@N ar N’...ar N’i:N’er fa:do: (T)

304. (“did you eat enough?”)

r’ i tu də yə:wən’ (T)

305. (“I shall eat whatever you will give me”)

jıso m’e rud ə b’i x’urəs tu: yəm (T)/
issə m’e: [x2] ...k’ib’e k’er’d e x’urəs tu yəm (A)

306. (“I didn’t eat anything today because I was sick”)

N’i r’i m’e taidə ‘N’i mær v’i m’e t’i:N’ (T/A)

307. (“give me something to eat!”)

ṭur rud ə k’i:n’t’ L’e N’i yəm (T)/
t’ur rud ə k’i:n’t’ dom ’L’o’i N’i ...Nu L’o’i ‘N’i yəm (A)

308. (“he gives money to the poor”)

hag fe ær’ig’əd da Nə bəxt (T)/
t’ugn’ (sic) fe ær’ig’əd da Nə bəxt (A)/
tugn’ fe ær’ig’əd da Nə bəxt (T)

309. (“he doesn’t give”)

N’i x’ugn’ fe eN a’r’ig’əd gə Nə bəxt (A)/
N’i x’ugn’ fe N ær’ig’əd gə Nə bəxt (T)

310. (“he wouldn’t give”)

n’r x’u:rəx fe (T)/ n’r x’u:rəx fe (A) (but cf. item 280)

311. (“we gave”)

hug m’əd’ (A)/ hug məN’ (T)/ hugəmər (A)

312. (“he gave it to a beggar”)

hug mid’ gə fær d’e:r’k’ e (A)/ hug məd’ gə fær d’e:r’k’ e (T)
313. ("Give! [sg."])
   t’u:r’ (yo: e) (A)/ t’u:r’ (yob e) (T)
   ("Give! [pl.")
   tugí (go N: din’i:/ din’i . . .) (A, T)
   [tugáigí] (sic) given initially by A, with evident difficulty in articulation; changed to [tugí])
314. ("my clothes are torn")
   ta m@ xud’ edí: stro:ok’i: (A)/ ta m@ hud’ edí: stro:ok’i: (T)
   ("his clothes are torn")
   (question omitted by interviewer through oversight)
315. ("salt")
   sa:LoN (A/T)
316. ("meat")
   fo:ll’ (A)/ fo:wel’ (T)
317. ("I gave the dog a piece of meat")
   hug m’e p’i:ssa fo:ll’ goN wa:d@ (A)/ huga m’e p’i:ssa fo:ll’ gð wa:d@ (T)
318. ("a penny [sg.")
   p’i:n’ (A)/ p’i:jm’ (T)
319. ("a shilling [sg.")
   f’k’L’nj’ (A/T)
320. ("my pocket")
   m@ fo:k@ (A/T)
321. ("he is earning a lot")
   t@ fe ‘si:ru: go L’orr’ (A)/ t@ fe si:ru gu L’or:war (T)
322. ("he earns only a little")
   N’i: hi:ran’ fe ax b’e:ga:N (A)/ N’i: hi:ran’ fe ax b’e:ga:N (T)
323. ("you will earn money")
   siro tu æ:rg’ad (A/T)
324. ("we earned money")
   hi:ra mud’ æ:rg’ad (A/T)
325. ("bacon")

\[ m\text{uk'o:}l' \ (A/T) \ldots b\text{a:gu:N} \ (A)/ b\text{a:go:N} \ (T) \]

("bacon" heard first as "begging", then as "baking")

326. ("gruel, stirabout")

\[ L'e: \ (A)/ L'\text{et'c} \ (T)/ b\text{ra:x}a:N \ (T/A) \ ("I\text{s e} \sin, t\text{a}na\text{t}") \ (A) \]

Leite, on the other hand, is thick ([t'\text{o}] = tiabh)

327. ("soup")

\[ a:\text{n}d\text{r}@ \ (A)/ a:n\text{r}@ \ (T) \]

328. ("let us play a game of cards!")

\[ m\text{r'i:x} \ m\text{w\text{a}d'} k\text{l}\text{f}\text{t}i \ k\text{a}r\text{t}i \ (A)/ m\text{w}n'i:x \ m\text{\text{a}d'} k\text{l}\text{f}\text{t}i \ k\text{a}r\text{t}i \ (T) \]

(note the hypercorrect verb form given by T; cf. item 330)

329. ("he won the game")

\[ \gamma:\text{No:} \ f\varepsilon \ a\text{N} k\text{l}\text{f}\text{t}i \ (A)/ \gamma:\text{Naw} \ f\varepsilon \ a\text{N} k\text{l}\text{f}\text{t}i \ (T) \]

330. ("we don't play cards at all")

\[ n'i: \ m\text{r'i:} \ m\text{w}\text{a}d' \ k\text{a}r\text{t}i \ \varepsilon 'x\text{ar}'\text{ib}'i \ (A)/ \]

\[ n'i: \ m\text{\text{a}n}'i:n \ \text{m\text{a}d'} k\text{a}r\text{t}i \ \varepsilon 'x\text{er}'\text{ib}'i \ (T) \]

(note the hypercorrect verb form given by T; cf. item 328)

331. ("names of playing cards: spades")

\[ s\text{p'\text{e}r'}\text{\varepsilon}t \ (T/A) \]

("diamonds")

\[ m\text{\text{a}l'}\text{\varepsilon}t\varepsilon \ (T)/ m\text{\text{a}l'}\text{\varepsilon}t\varepsilon \ (A) \]

("clubs")

\[ t\text{\text{r}'\text{\varepsilon}f} \ (T/A) \]

("hearts")

\[ h\text{\text{a}r\text{t}} \ (T)/ h\text{\text{a}r\text{t}} \ (A) \]

332. ("trump")

\[ k\text{u\text{l}'\text{\varepsilon}t}\varepsilon \ (A/T)/ (p.l.) k\text{u\text{l}'\text{\varepsilon}t}\varepsilon \ (A) \]

("queen")

\[ b\text{a:nri:}N \ (A)/ b\text{a:nre:N} \ (T) \]

("knave [?]")

\[ h\text{\text{i}:N} \ \text{\varepsilon} h\text{\text{a}r\text{t}} \ (A)/ \text{i:n'} t\text{\text{r}'\text{\varepsilon}f} / \text{i:n'} s\text{p'\text{e}r'}\text{\varepsilon}t \ (T) \]

("king")

\[ a\text{N} \ \text{\varepsilon} \text{N} \ \text{\varepsilon}r\varepsilon \ (T)/ a\text{N} \ \text{\varepsilon}r\varepsilon \ (A) \]
333. (“non-trumps”)
   (nothing elicited from informants)
334. (“father”)
   e:r’ (A)/ æ:r’ (T)
335. (“my father’s house”)
   t’æk m æ:r’ (A/T)
336. (“mother”)
   ma:r’ (A/T)
   (“my mother’s house”)
   t’æk ma war’ (A/T)
337. (“grandfather”)
   fæ:Nær’ (A/T)
   (“grandmother”)
   t’æ:Ngwar’ (A)/ fæ:Nwar’ (T)/
   (children’s terms for ‘mother’)
   mæ:m‘i: (corrected to) mami’/ mam (A)
   (children’s terms for ‘father’)
   d’æ:d’i/ d’æ:d’ (A)
338. (“I have written to your father”)
   sk’r’i:v m’e g’ t æ:r’ (A/T)
339. (“I have written a letter”)
   sk’r’i:v m’e L’et’ir’ (A/T)/ tø· L’et’ir sk’r’i:ft aigm (A/T)
340. (“I hope you will write to me soon”)
   tø· sul’ a’m gu sk’r’i:fo tu a’m gu Lu:wø (A)/
   ta su:ll’ a’m go sk’r’i:fo to a’m go Lø:wø (T)
341. (“write to her!”)
   sk’r’i:w ek’i (A/T)
342. (“I write home once a week”)
   sk’r’i:vN m’e “wæ:l’e or’ so t’æxtin’ (A)/
   sk’r’i:vN m’e wa;l’e or’ so t’æxten’ (T)

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343. ("I am writing")

tα m’e sk’r’i:u (A)/ ta m’e sk’r’i:u (T)

344. ("The Lord’s Prayer")

(recited by T as a prayer)

əɾ Næ:iɾ’ ta: r’ N’a:v

ɡə Ne:for tə ʔæ:n’im’

ɡə d’ɪɡ’ə do re:’x

ɡə N’eNtəɾ (da hɪl’?) əɾ’ ə tɑ:lə

mar ə N’iNtəɾ əɾ’ N’a:v

təɾ dũ:n’ (the rest is inaudible)

(2nd repetition)

əɾ Næ:iɾ’ əɾ: əɾ’ N’a:v

ɡə Nifor ʔæ:n’im’

ɡə d’ʊkə do rɛx:

ɡə N’iNtəɾ də hɪl’ əɾ’ ə tæ:lə

mar ə (ji:?)Ntəɾ əɾ’ N’a:v

tar du:N’e əɾ Ła: Łe:uɬ’

ma: yu’N’ əɾ v’ɪ:əxə

(unintelligible stretch)

Nə’ L’ig’ jɪn’ i ɡæ:w-

ax (the rest is unintelligible)

345. ("brothers [pl."])

d’r’ə:r’əxi (A/T)

346. ("sisters [pl."])

d’r’e’rəxi (A/T)

("gen. sg. of ‘sister’: my sister’s husband")

f’ær k’e:l’e mə  jr’ər (A)/ f’ær k’e:l’e mə  jr’awər (T)

347. ("my sister has a big house in the town")

tə t’æx mə:ɹ ɡ’ mə  jr’ər sə mə:ɬ’e sə mə:ɬ’e mə:ɹ (A)/
tə t’æx mə:ɹ ɡ’ mə  jr’awər sə mə:ɬ’e mə:ɹ (T)

("how many brothers and sisters have you?")

k’e: m’e:d’ d’r’ə:r’əxeɬ gəs d’r’ərəxi əɾə ... agət (A)/

k’e: v’e:d’ d’r’ərəxi gəs d’r’ərəxi əɾə agət (T)
RESPONSES IN IRISH TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE OF THE LINGUISTIC
ATLAS AND SURVEY OF IRISH DIALECTS: CORRÚCH, INIS MÓR, 1990

348. (“she is very thin”)

to fi 'æːN 'tæːNi (A/T)

(no falling tone on the particle an-; there is a level high tone on both stressed syllables)

349. (“daughters [pl.]”)

'iN'iːN'æːxi (A) / 'iN'iːN'æːxi (T)

(“gen. sg. of ‘daughter’: my daughter’s house”)

t'æːx 'møN'ëːn (A/T)

350. (“the people of Ireland”)

møːn't'ir' Nø he'r'm' (A) / møːn't'ir' Nø he'r'ën' (T)

351. (“he is very friendly with children”)

tu fe 'ēːr'æːx:r'ud'ul' l'ë pæːf't'i (A)/
ta fe ēː xæːx r'ud'ul' l'ë pæːf't'i (T)

352. (“widow”)

ba'ːn't'r'óx (T/A)

(“the widow’s son”)

ma'k Nø baːn't'r'i (A/T)

353. (“there was a crowd of women talking on the road”)  

vi 'skaːt'o mNø: æːg' ka'n't' er' ø mɔːr (A)/  

viː skæːt'o maː ... vi skæːt'o mNø: əkɑːn't' er' ø mɔːwɔːr (T)

354. (“the child was baptised last Sunday”)

vi en pæːf't'i bæːf't'i: øN duːNøx fe kæːt'i (A)/

viː N pæːf't'i bæːf't'i N duːNøx fe kæːt'i (T)/

Nu bæːf't'u m pæːf't'i øN duːNøx fe kæːt'i (A)

355. (“cradle”)

k'liːwəːN (A) / k'liːwəːN (T)

356. (“do you speak Gaelic?”)

"La'riːN tuː g'æːl'g'i (A) / "La'riːN tuː g'æːl'g'e (T)

357. (“Cardinals 1-10”)

hiːjø (A) / heːjø (T)

do: (A) / doːxo (T)

t'r'iː (A) / t'r'iː (T)

k'æːr' (A/T)

kuːwɔː (A) / kuːw (T)
feː: (A)/ feːː (T)
faːx (A/T)
əx (A/T)
Nəːiː (A/T)
d'ẽ (A/T)
(“twenty”)
f'ı (A)/ f'ẽ (T)
(“forty”)
k'æːr'əxɔ (A)/ k'æːr'əx (T)
(“hundred”)
k'eːjəd (A/T)
(“thousand”)
m'íːlẽ (A/T)

358. (“Ordinals: the first man . . . (1-10)”)
ŋ' 'x'ẽːd 'æːr (A)/ ŋ' ,x'ẽːd 'æːr (T)
ŋ' 'darrNɔ 'fær (A/T)
ŋ' 't'r'ɪu 'fær (A/T)/ ŋ' 't'r'æs 'fær (A)
ŋ' 'k'æːru: 'fær (A)/ ŋ' 'k'æːru: 'fær (T)
ŋ' 'kug'ʊ 'fær (A)/ ŋ' 'kug'ʊ 'fær (T)
ŋ' 'ʃeːw 'fær (A)/ ŋ' 'ʃeːw 'fær (T)
ŋ' 'faʃtuː 'fær (A)/ ŋ' 'faʃtuː 'fær (T)
ŋ' 'təxtuː 'fær (A)/ ŋ' 'təxtuː 'fær (T)
ŋ' 'Nʊːr 'fær (A)/ ŋ' 'Nʊːr 'fær (T)
ŋ' 'd'ẽːɡ 'fær (A)/ ŋ' 'd'ẽːɡ 'fær (T)

(“Personal numerals: two people (etc.)”)
b'ert' dɛːm'ɪː (A)/ b'ert (sic) dɛːm'ɪː (T)
t'ɾ'ur dɛːm'ɪː (A)/ t'ɾ'ur dɛːm'ɪ (T)
k'ær dɛːm'ɪː (A)/ k'ær dɛːm'ɪ (T)
kug' ... kug'ør (A)/ kug'ør dɛːm'ɪ (T)
ʃeːfər dɛːm'ɪ (A)/ ʃeːfər dɛːm'ɪ (T)
ʃaʃtɔr dɛːm'ɪ (A)/ ʃaʃtɔr dɛːm'ɪ (T)
ɔxtɔr dɛːm'ɪ (A)/ ɔxtɔr dɛːm'ɪ (T)
NɨNʊː (A)/ Nɛ'Nʊːr (T)
ɖɨNʊːr dɛːm'ɪ (A)/ dɛ'Nʊːr dɛːm'ɪ (T)
359. ("how many people were there?")

k’č m’é:d din’i’ ɲ’tʃm’ (A) / k’e’ v’č:d din’i’ v’i’ ɲʃm’ (T)

360. ("five inches high")

’kʊ’g’ ɑ’ɾtʰi’ ər’ a’ɾd’i (A) / ’kʊg’ ɑ’ɾtʰi’ ər (sic) a’ɾd’e (T)

361. ("four yards long")

x’ɛr’e ʃa:t ər’ a’d (A) (with the prompt [ər’ a’d] from T) / x’ɛr’e ʃa:t ər’ a’d (T)

362. ("three feet wide")

t’ɾ’i: tɾ o ər’ L’ɛ:d (T, A)

363. ("a foot [measure]")

tɾ (T/A)

("many feet")

’mo:ɾaN’ tɾ (A/T)

364. ("fathom [sg.]")

f’ə: (T/A)

("fathom [pl.]")

f’ə:ɾi (T) / f’ə:ɾ (A)

("one fathom deep")

f’ə: ər’ ɬawN’ (T) / f’ə: ... ər daN Nu ər dA’N’ə (A)

365. ("names of countries")

spɑ:’n’ (A)

f’ɾæn’k’ (A)

ɡ’æ:ɾmɑ:n’ (A)

ruf (A)

po:ɬaN’ (A)

t’ɾ’i: ‘fɔ’ ‘hɪN’ (A)

əN ‘əLɑ:n’ (A)

ən hʊɡær’ (A)

ən ru:ɾmɑ:n’ (A)

ən’ t’i:n’ (A)

ə:ʃi (A)

m’er’iːkə: (A)

sa:saNə (A)

ə:La:ɾɪN’ (A)

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k'ærNədə (A) (with prompting from T)

η' t'ærə:ə:n' (A)

ɛNœ'gas'læ:v (A)

əN da:Nə'reg' (A)

əN (sic) el'v'e:j (A)

η' g'ɾ'eg' (A)

əN... ida'il (A)

ɛɾwei ("Norway") (A)

366. ("many an Irishman went to America")

əs əmu: ə fə:r æ:s er'ɪn' ø xo ɡə m'er'ɪkuə (A)/

əs əmu: fə:r æ:s er'ɪm' ø xo ɡə m'er'ɪku (T)

367. ("I was born in the parish of [name of parish in which speaker was born]")

ɾuɡu: m'e: "bəɾə:f't' m'if mər (A/T)

368. ("a Jew [sg."])

ju:ðəx (A/T)

("Jews [pl.]")

ju:dɪ (A)/ ɡ'udəi (T/A)

369. ("he fell on the top of his head")

hɪt' ɾe: r'... (A)/ er' woɑx ø x'ɪz'm'... hɛt' ɾe: er' woɑx ø x'ɪn'

(T)

("he was against me")

v'i: ɾe moj (A)/ v'i: ɾe məj (T)

370. ("she is complaining about a headache")

tə fɪ: ... ɾklo"NsaəN er' t'ɪn'ʃ k'ɪn' (A)/

tə fɪ klo"NsaəN er' t'ɪn's (sic) k'ɪn' (T)

371. ("he is sweating")

tə tʃe kʊər' ə:lɪʃ (A)/ tə ʃe kʊər' ə:ləs (T)

372. ("mouth")

b'ɜ:ɾL (A/T)

("shut your mouth!")

dən' də v'ɜ:ɾL (A)/ dən' də v'ɜ:ɾL (T)

(dən' də xLə:b d'ɜ:ɾd'ɪʃ... ki: ɛl'ɛ [A])

373. ("lips")

Lɪp'j: (A/T)

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374. (“cancer”)
æ:L’fI (A)

375. (“cheeks”)
L’ek’n’e (A)/ L’ek’n’e (T)
(“your jaw”)
da jì:nL (A)
(“eyebrows”)
mæ:l’I (A)/ mæ:l’I (T)
([æs k’i:’N da ’hownel’] [T])

376. (“hair”)
gro:’g (A)/ gro:’w’g (T)
(“the color of the hair”)
dæ: Nø gru:eg’e (A)/ da Nø gru:eg’e (T)

377. (“I have to comb my hair every morning before I go to school”)
ka m’e mæyro:’g’ a ret’ox xul’i wæðm’n’ səl mar d’e’i:n’ m’e eə’ skæl’ (A)/
ka m’e mæyro:’g’ a ret’ox xul’i wæðm’n’... so’r e yaNs m’e g’ e skæl’ (T)

378. (“if I didn’t comb my hair, my mother would be angry”)
maræ re’t’oxN’ mo yro:’g’ v’ox fæ:rog er mæ wə:n’ (A)/
maræ re’t’ox ... m’e mæyro:’g’ v’ox fæ:rog er mæ wə:n’ (T)

379. (“I have to shave myself”)
ka m’e m’e hən’ e ’v’æ:i:no ... ’v’æ:i:no (A)/
ka m’e m’e hən’ e ’v’æ:i:no (T)

380. (“beard”)
m’e:ɡ’oL Nu f’isog’ (“[m’e:ɡ’oL] an rud ceart, déarfainn”) (A)/
m’e:ɡ’oL (T)

381. (“don’t pull my hair!”)
Na’ tə:ɡ’N ma yro:’g’ (A)/ Na’ tə:ɡ’N ma yro:’g’ (T)

382. (“it wouldn’t do you any harm”)
n’i: jINæx fe: e:’N d’i:’va:t’ dit’ (A)/
n’i: jINæx ... Nu ’a’N ’dɔxɔr ... nu dɔxɔr ... 
n’i: jINæx fe N dɔxɔr it’ (T) (= “... aon dochar dhuit”)
383. ("chin")

\[ sm'ig' (A) / sm'eg' (T) \]

384. ("neck")

\[ m\text{\textae}L (A) / mun'\text{\textae}L (T) \]

("on the back of my neck")

\[ er xu:L mo win'\text{\textae}L (T) \]

385. ("shoulder [sg.]")

\[ gu\text{\textae}Lin' (A/T) \]

("shoulders [pl."]")

\[ gu\text{\textae}Lin'\text{\textae}xi (T) / gu\text{\textae}L'N'i (A) \]

("on the top of my shoulder")

\[ er' war: m\text{\textae} gu\text{\textae}Lin' (T/A) \]

386. ("ear [sg.]")

\[ klu:wos (A) / klu:wa\text{\textae}f (T) \]

("ears [pl."]")

\[ klu\text{\textae}so (A) / klo\text{\textae}so (T) \]

("on the top of my ear")

\[ bar m\text{\textae} xlo:wi\text{\textae} (T) / bar m\text{\textae} xlo:\text{\textae}f (A) \]

("on the top of my ears")

\[ bar m\text{\textae} xlo:so (A) / bar m\text{\textae} xlo:\text{\textae}so (T) \]

387. ("did you hear the noise?")

\[ ar a'\text{\textae}r\text{\textae} tu. N taro\text{\textae}N (A/T) \]

388. ("I heard")

\[ xo:Los (A) / Nu dær'i (T) / Nu da'r'i (A) \]

389. ("you will hear")

\[ klu\text{\textae}f tu e . . . Nu a'\text{\textae}riv tu e (A) / klu\text{\textae}f tu. (T) \]

390. ("could you hear it?")

\[ u'glu:fi tu e . . . Nu Na'riv tu e (A) / Nu Næri'N tu e (T) \]

("could you hear it last night?")

\[ rai'r\text{\textae} tu e \text{\textae}r\text{\textae}r\text{\textae} (T) / rai'r\text{\textae} tu \text{\textae}r\text{\textae}r\text{\textae} (A) / \]

\[ . . . v'exta: (a) æ:r\text{\textae}xta' (T) \]

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391. ("we hear")
\[\text{kL}u\text{jN} \text{mod} \ 'n'if \ e \ldots \text{Nu} \text{æ:e}r'i \text{N} \text{mod} \ 'n'if \ e \ (A)/\]
\[\text{æ:e}r'i \text{N} \text{mod} \ 'n'if \ e \ (T)\]

392. ("I have good hearing")
\[\text{ta} \ \text{e:sft'æxt} \text{mæ æ:gm} \ (A)/\text{ta} \text{ e:sft'æxt} \text{mæ: æ:gm} \ (T)\]

393. ("I have bad hearing")
\[\text{ta} \text{ dræ:e:sft'æxt} \text{æ:gm} \ (A)/\text{ta} \text{ dræ:e:sft'æxt} \text{æ:gm} \ (T)\]

394. ("deaf")
\[\text{ba}^w\text{ur} \ (A)/\text{ba}^w\text{ar} \ (T)\]
("deaf (comparative form")
\[\text{N'is} \text{ ba}^r'i \ (A)/\text{N'is} \text{ ba}^r'e \ (T)\]

395. ("eye [sg."])
\[\text{sul}' \ (A)/\text{su:wal}' \ (T)\]
("eye [pl."]
\[\text{sul}'e} \ (A)/\text{su:le} \ (T)\]
("the color of the eye [sg."]
\[\text{'dæ:} \text{Na} \ '\text{su:l'e} \ (A)/\text{'dæ:} \text{Na} \ '\text{sod'e} \ (T)\]

396. ("we see")
\[\text{fæk'N} \text{ muN} \ (A)/\text{fæk'N} \text{ maN} \ (T)\]

397. ("we do not see")
\[\text{n'i} \ '\text{fæk'N} \text{ muN} \ (A)/\text{n'i} \ '\text{fæk'N} \text{ maN} \ (T)\]

398. ("I shall not see")
\[\text{n'i} \ '\text{ck'i} \text{ m'e} \ (A/T)\]

399. ("I saw it")
\[\text{xun'tik} \text{ m'e} \ (A)/\text{xun'tik} \text{ m'e} \ (T)\]

400. ("did you see it?")
\[\text{"wak's} \text{ tu} \text{ e} \ (A/T)\]

401. ("I did not see it")
\[\text{n'i} \ '\text{ako m'e} \ (A/T)\]

402. ("he saw it")
\[\text{xun'tik} \text{ fe} \text{ e} \ (A/T)\]

403. ("we saw it")
\[\text{xun'tik} \text{ muj e} \ (T, A)\]
404. ("I can't see him")

'ní i 'eg'im' e: ... ní i 'fe'd'ir' I'm a 'ek'á:l (A)/ ní i 'e:dím' e e k'á:l (T/A)

405. ("the sight of the eyes")

[a:fr@k Nə 'su:l] le súil amháin, ... ach [a:fr@k Nə 'so:mm] sa dá sháil" [T])

406. ("he is short-sighted")

A and T think that there may have been other terms [a:fr@k Nə jæ:n'í:]]

407. ("my pipe is nearly out")

[T prefers the form ['ŋarə v'e ə:s]]

408. ("he looked at me very sharply")

(A/T)

409. ("he was watching me")

A/T)

410. ("he is keeping me back")

(T)

411. ("keep it for yourself!")

(T)

412. ("I shall keep it")

(T)

413. ("he tried to kill me")

(T)

414. ("he was trying to do it")

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415. ("try to lift that stone!")

d’i?N e?r?x t ... d’i?N e?r?x t øN xlæx fìn’ ø xraœø ... Nu tra’jœ:l’ ...
(A)/
d’rN e:r?x t (sic) ø xlæx fìn’ ø xraœø (T)

416. ("what do you think about the war?")
k’erd ø x’ærNø tu di:w ø xæø (A)/
k’erd ø x’ærNø tu N di:w ø xæø (T)

417. ("he thinks that I am a fool")
k’ærN fe gor æmæøøø N m’e (A)/
k’ærN fe gor æmæøøø N m’e1 (T)

418. ("listen to me!" [sg.])

e:ft’ l’øm (A)/ e:ft l’øm (T)
("listen to me!" [pl.])
e:ft’yã’l’ l’øm (A)/ e:ft’yã’l’ l’øm (T)

419. ("he wouldn’t listen to me")

’n:í: e:ft’ux fe l’øm (A)/ n’í: e:ft’ax fe l’øm (T)

420. ("I was listening to her")
v’i m’e eg’ e:ft’axt l’e (A)/ v’i m’e eg’ e:ft’ax l’e (T)
("shut up!")
dun’ da v’e:L ... Nu: dun’ da xlæ:b (A)/ don da xlæ:b (T)

421. ("do you feel the pain?")

ær’o: m’e e ... N’is de’rNí: (A)/
ær’o: m’e e N’is de’rNí (T)

422. ("I didn’t feel it")

’n’ir ær’i m’e e (A)/ n’ir ær’i m’e e: (T)

423. ("I shall feel it later on")

ær’o: m’e e ... N’is de’rNí: (A)/
ær’o: m’e e N’is de’rNí (T)

424. ("the eyebrows")

N@ ma:l’í: (A)/ ma:l’í (T)

425. ("eyelashes")

for@xi: (A)/ for@xø (T)

Nø for@1 (T)/ Nø for@1 ... for@1 (A)

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426. (“she wouldn’t see anything without glasses/spectacles”)

‘ní é cn’ox fí: tado guN Nə sp’eːkLər’iː ... Nu gLIn’uxi (A)/
... gO N gLIn’oːxi (T)

427. (“he has a squint”)

(nothing elicited)

428. (“nose”)

sroːN (A)/ sroːwɔN (T)

(plural difficult to elicit)

(“the tip of my nose”)

bɔːr mə ɦrun’i (A)/ bɔːr mə hroːwɔN (T)

(“nostrils”)

puLa’r’iː: (A/T)

429. (“mucus from the nose/’snout’”)

sniːf (A/T)

430. (“handkerchief”)

Næːp’k’iːn’ (A)/ Næp’k’iːn’ (T)

431. (“he is sneezing”)

to fe ɡ’ sNiːʃɔrt’ (A)/ to fe sNiːʃɔrt (T)

432. (“snuff”)

sNiːʃiːn’ (A)/ sNiːʃiːn’ ... sNeʃiːn’ (T)

433. (“he is smoking tobacco”)

to fe oːkaː tɔːbæk (A)/ to fe oːkaː tɔːbæk (T)

434. (“that is a fine pipe”)

bɔːr’ːa: N pɔːp e jin’ (T, A)

435. (“freckles”)

bɔːr’ik’iːn’iː: (A)/ bɔːr’ik’iːn’iː (T)

436. (“he has warts on his hands”)

ta ʃaːn’oːxi: ɛr’ e Lɔːv (A/T)

(“wart [sg.]”)

ʃam’i (A/T)

437. (“she has a fine set of teeth”)

ta draːd bɔːr’ːaː fί=ɔ{kL eck’i (A)/

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438. (“I lost a tooth yesterday”)
   xa1l' m'e f'i:ku1' 'n'e: (A)/
   ha1l' m'e f'i:kal' 'n'e: (T)/
   Nu d'im'i f'i:ku1' u'-m' 'n'e: (A)

439. (“I have a toothache”)
   to da1axi' f'i:kl øæm (A)/ to da1axi' f'i:kl øæm (T)

440. (“I have bad teeth”)
   to 'draxe:kL øæm (A)/ to draxe:kL øæm (T)

441. (“bone [sg.]”
   k'Nâ:v ... k'Nâ:v' [z2] (A)/ k'Nâ:v' (T)
   (“bones [pl.]”)
   k'Nâ:w@ (A/T)
   (“the color of the bone”)
   'dâe: 'xNâ:v' (T, A)

442. (“I nearly broke my arm when I fell this morning”)
   s b'æg Nær v'r'f m'e m@ yo:lin' (= ghualainn) Ner' ø hit' m'e N
   wæ:d'im' f@ (A)/
   b'æg Nær v'r'f m'e m@ yo:lin' Ner'... hit' m'e ð wa:d'im' (f@) (T)

443. (“armpit [sg.]”
   askoLaL' (T/A)
   (“armpits [pl.]”)
   askoLaLoxi: (T)
   (“elbow [sg.]”)
   îL'i:n' (T)/ îL'i:n' (A)
   (“elbows [pl.]”)
   îL'i:n'@xî: (T, A)

444. (“hand [sg.]”
   Lo:w' (A/T)
   (“hands [pl.]”)
   Lo:w@ (T, A)
   (“the color of my hand [sg.]”)
   da: m@ Lo:w' (T, A)
   (“the color of my hands [pl.]”)
   dae: m@ Lo:w@ (A)/ da: m@ Lo:w@ (T)

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445. ("wash your hands!")

Ní d' féadfadh sé (A/T)

446. ("your right")

tiúv d'áes (A)/ tiúv d' féadfadh (T)

("your left")

tiúv d' féadfadh k'lit (T)/ tiúv d' féadfadh k'le:if' (A)

447. ("I am washing myself")

té m' ceadh mo Ní iámh (A)/ té m' ceadh mo Ní iámh (T)

Nu m' slífh haimh (A)

té m' ceadh mo slífh haimh (A/T)

(folcadh unlenited in all three utterances)

448. ("I didn't wash myself")

Ní: m' ceadh m' slífh (A/T)

449. ("we shall wash ourselves after a while")

Ní: m' òg bhreag sharply (h)emh' (A)/

Ní: m' òg bhreag sharply (A/T)

(folcadh unlenited in all three utterances)

450. ("finger [sg."])

m' er' (A, T) (voices overlap)

("fingers [pl.]")

m' er' roixi: (T/A)

("the tip of my finger")

't beur m' v' e: r' e (T, A)

451. ("names of the fingers")

a' rdo: g' (A)/ a' rdo: g' (T)

a' v' er' is gáh' na gán a' rdo: g' (T) (= the first finger)

a' m' er' faor (A)/ (o) m' er' Lá: r' (T) (= the second finger from the thumb)

La' r' i'm' h' in' (A)/ Lo' r' i'm' h' in' (T) (= the little finger)

452. ("he cut his finger")

jain fe: òv' er' (A/T)

453. ("fingernail [sg."])

ùghe (T, A)

("your fingernails [pl.]")

ni' g' n' í: d' Féadfadh (A)

Séamas Ó Direáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co. Galway
454. ("peeling of skin at the nail")

\[ \begin{align*} &\ddot{\text{g}} \text{ kræ:k'N ég' m'ext ge dò ... t' ù.pgò ...} \ (A)/ \\
&\text{kor 'ù.pgò} \ (A/T) \end{align*} \]

455. ("fist [sg.]")

\[ \begin{align*} &\text{dorNò} \ (A)/ \text{dà'rnò} \ (T) \\
&(\text{"fists [pl.]"}) \\
&\text{dà'rní:} \ (A/T) \\
&(\text{"the top of my fist"}) \\
&\text{bà:r mo ùa'rnò} \ (A, T) \end{align*} \]

456. ("he struck me with his fist")

(overlooked by investigator)

457. ("knee [sg.]")

\[ \begin{align*} &\text{glú:wn'} \ (A/T) \\
&(\text{"knees [pl.]"}) \\
&\text{glú:ní} \ (A)/ \text{glú:n'ë} \ (T) \\
&(\text{"the top of my knee [sg.]"}) \\
&\text{bà:r mo ùlo:wn'} \ (T)/ \text{bà:r mo ùlú:ní} \ (A) \end{align*} \]

458. ("shin-bone [sg.]")

\[ \begin{align*} &\text{ka:lpo ... knò:v de xa:lpo} \ (A) (= your shin-bone) \\
&(\text{"shin-bones [pl.]"}) \\
&\text{ka:lpi'} \ (\text{sic}) \ (T/)/ \text{ka:lpi'} \ (A) \end{align*} \]

459. ("the palm of the hand")

\[ \begin{align*} &\text{krí: mo lú:n'ë} \ (A) \\
&\text{ba:j} \ (T/A)/ \ddot{\text{g}} \text{ waf} \ (A) \\
&(\text{"palms [pl.]"}) \\
&\text{ba:sò} \ (T/A) \end{align*} \]

460. ("calf [sg.]")

\[ \begin{align*} &\text{ka:lpo} \ (A/T) \\
&(\text{"calves [pl.]"}) \\
&\text{ka:lpi'} \ (A)/ \text{ka:lpi'} \ (T) \end{align*} \]

461. ("ankle")

\[ \begin{align*} &\text{ru:t'ìn'} \ (T)/ \text{ru:t'ìn'} \ (A) \end{align*} \]
462. (“hip [sg.]”)

kəroʔ’g’ (T)

(“hips [pl.]”)

kəroɡːiː (A)/ kəroɡ’iː (T)

463. (“foot [sg.]”)

kæ’f (T)/ kæf (A)

(“feet [pl.]”)

kaSe (T, A)

(“the tip of my foot”)

ba:r mə xaʃo (A/T)

(“toes”)

m’erəxiː mə xaʃa (A/T)

464. (“heel [sg.]”)

sæːl’ (A/T)

(“heels [pl.]”)

saːło (A/T)

465. (“sole [sg.]”)

buːN mə xaʃi (A)/ buːN mə xaʃe (T)/

buːN mə xaʃe (A)/ baN mə xaʃe (T)

(“soles [pl.]”)

baNəxiː (T, A)

466. (“the old woman is sitting on her hunkers”)

er’ e krumud’i (A)/ er’ e gugud’e (T)/ er’ e gugud’i (A)

(both phrases are in use)

467. (“back-bone”)

knaːv mə yrɑːmə (A)/ kraːv mə yrɑːmə (T)

468. (“he is lying on his back”)

tə fe Na La1 er’ a yrɪm’ (A)/ tə se (sic) Na La1 er’ a yrɪm’ (T)

469. (“heart [sg.]”)

kriː (A)/ kraje (T)

(“hearts [pl.]”)

kriːNəi (A)

(“the hearts of the people”)

ə griː ... kriː Na Nɪːn’iː (A)
470. (“he has a good appetite”)
\[ \text{ta kum’p’l’e:sk mæ’ eg’e} (A) / \text{ta fe N ‘a:N ‘i go ma’} \] (T/A)

471. (“liver”)
\[ \text{iju} (A) / \text{iju:} (T) \]
(“kidneys”)
\[ \text{dua’N} (T) / \text{dua’N} (A) \]
(“sinev/ vein [sg.]”)
\[ \text{f’e:j} (T) / \text{f’e:} (A) \]
(“sinev/ veins [pl.]”)
\[ \text{f’ir’xi: ... fe’o’xi:} (T) / \text{f’e’o’xi:} (A) \]

472. (“body [sg.]”)
\[ \text{k’aLoN’} (T) / \text{k’aLoN’} (A) \]
(“bodies [pl.]”)
\[ \text{k’aLoN’oxi:} (A/T) \]

473. (“rib [sg.]”)
\[ \text{t’asNø} (T) (= your rib)/ \text{a:sNø} (A) \]
(“ribs [pl.]”)
\[ \text{t a:sNøxi: (A) (= your ribs)/ a:sNøxi:} (T/A) \]
(A asks if the investigator is tired; [tσ̂rσ̂x] used three times)

474. (“blood”)
\[ \text{f’wil’} (A) / \text{f’wil’} (T) \]

475. (“he is bleeding”)
\[ \text{ta fe’ t’ur’ft’ uLø} (A) / \text{ta fe’ t’ur’ft’ iLø} (T) \]
(T is corrected by A, who offers [t’ur’ft’ uLø])

476. (“chest”)
\[ \text{k’L’e:v’r’ox} (A/T) \]

477. (“the female breast [sg.]”)
\[ \text{k’føx} (A) \]
(“breasts [pl.]”)
\[ \text{k’i:əxø} (A/T) \]

478. (“her two breasts were sore”)
\[ \text{v’i: ‘ya: k’i:ox t’i:N’} (A) \]
479. ("my throat is sore")

tə ma skōrnəx tʰiːn\(^{'}\) (A/T)

480. ("the brain")

tʰ iːn\(^{'}\)n\(^{'}\) (A) (= your brain)/ iːn\(^{'}\)n\(^{'}\) (T/A)

481. ("navel")

tʰ miːLʰəkəːn (A) (= your navel)/ iːm\(^{'}\)Lʰəkəːn (T/A)

482. ("penis")

(nothing elicited)

("vagina")

(nothing elicited)

("testicles")

(nothing elicited)

483. ("the back of the house")

kuːL ə tʰiːː (A)/ kuːL ə tʰiːː ... kuːL ə tʰiːː (T)

484. ("wall of the house")

baːL en\(^{'}\)tʰæks (T)/ baːL en\(^{'}\)tʰiː (A/T)

("walls [pl.]")

baːlːiː (A/T)

485. ("gable [sg.]")

bʰiːjɪn\(^{'}\) (T)/ bʰiːn\(^{'}\) (A)

("gages [pl.]")

bʰæːnə (T/A)

486. ("he is opening the door")

tə feː g əskil\(^{'}\)tʰ ən dáɾəs (A)/

tə se (sic) g əskil\(^{'}\)tʰ ə dáɾəs (T)

("doors [pl.]")

Nə dəɾfɪ (T, A)

487. ("shut the door!")

duːn\(^{'}\) ən dáɾəs (A)/ duːn\(^{'}\) dən\(^{'}\) dáɾəs (T)

Nu dəɾ\(^{'\text{red}}\) (T)/ dɾed\(^{'\text{red}}\) (A) (dáin used in Inis Mór)

488. ("the door is shut [v. adj.]")

təː n dáɾəs duːntʰiː (A/T)
489. ("open the door!")

əskɪl' ə dərəs (A, T)

490. ("lintel")

L'i:N'dʒer (A)/ L'i:N'dʒer ... L'i:N'dʒær (T)

491. ("key [sg."])

əx{-}r (A/T)

("keys [pl."]

əx{-}rəxi: (T)

("keyhole")

pəL əN' əxə (A), (corrected to [pəL əN' əx{-}r] (T/A))

492. ("bolt [of the door!")

bəLtə (T)

("bolts of the door")

bəLtI: əN dorəs (A)

493. ("next-door neighbour")

ku:'rso m'el der'ʃ [x2] (T) ("comharsa i mbéal dorais")/

ku:'rso b'e:ʃ der'ʃ (A)

494. ("he is living in the neighbourhood")

tə Jɛ mə'rəxtəL sə gərsəNəxt (A)/

tə Jɛ mə'rəxtəL sə gərsəNəx (T)

495. ("he built a new house")

hɒg' Jɛ t'æx Nə: (T)/ hɒg' Jɛ t'æx Nə: (A)/

Nə ɾIn'ɛ Jɛ t'æx Nə (T/A)

496. ("an old house")

ʃən't'æx (A/T)

497. ("stairs [sg."])

stəˈrɪ (A)

("stairs [pl."]

stəˈrɪ: (T)

498. ("window [sg."]

fəN'əʊg (A/T)

("window [pl."]

fəN'əʊgi: (A/T)

Séamas Ó Direáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co. Galway
(“what is on the window?”)

k’er' @ta' r' o wN'og (A)/ k’er'd ta' r' o wN'og (A/T)

499. (“bed [sg.]”)

L'ae:bo (A/T)

(“beds [pl.]”)

L'ae:poxi: (A/T)

(“the back of the bed”)

ti:w @n' L'ae:bo (T) (corrected to [ku:l @n' L'ae:bo] (T/A))

(“he is lying in bed”)

to @fe @a L'ae:bo (A)/ to @fe @a L'ae:bo (T)

500. (“will you lie down?”)

@La@ tu@ si:ar (A)/ @La@ tu@ si:ar (T/A)

501. (“we wouldn’t lie down”)

Ni La@x mod' fi:re: (A)/ Ni La@x mod' fi:jarh (T)

502. (“he lay down”)

Lo @fe' fi:re: (A)/ Lo @fe' si:ar (T)

503. (“lie down! [sg.]”)

Lo fi:jar (T)/ Lo si:r (A)

(“lie down! [pl.]”)

La'gi:i: (A)/ La'gi:i: [x2] Sijar (T)

504. (“sit down and rest yourself! [sg.]”)

su fi:si ... agas L'ig' de sk'i:e (T)/ si fi:si agas L'ig' de sk'i: (A)

(“sit down and rest yourselves! [pl.]”)

si:gi'i: fi:si ... L'ig'i: sk'i: ... si:gi'i: fi:si ... L'ig'i: sk'i: (A)/

si:gi'i: fi:si agas L'ig'i: sk'i:e (T)

505. (“sheet [of the bed]”)

bru:Lim' en' L'eqo (A)/ bru:Lim' en' L'eqo (T)

506. (“he is asleep”)

to @fe @a xalo (A)/ to @fe @a xalo (T)

507. (“I wouldn’t sleep during the day”)

Ni xoLo'x me ... rid' @Lo: (A/T)

508. (“he slept for a long time last night”)

xo:al' je: "wad ... (A)/ xo:al' je: "wad Nu ... axor fad' (T)/

"re't' [x2] (A)/ re't' (T)

Seamas O Direain— A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
509. ("I was awake for a long time last night")

\[\text{v'i m'e m@ yu:joxt } \text{awd (sic) re}^\text{1} \text{r'} \text{(A)/}
\]
\[\text{v'i m'e m@ yu:joxt } \text{awd } \text{re}^\text{1} \text{r'} \text{(T)}\]

510. ("we woke up early")

\[\text{yu:j'E m'e: gu Lu:w@ (A)/ yu:j'E m'e go Lo:o' (T)}\]

511. ("I shall wake you earlier tomorrow")

\[\text{du:j'o m'e: } \text{go Lo:w@ } \text{du:j'o m'e: go Lo:w@ er' mad'm' (T)/}
\]
\[\text{du:j'o m'e: u: go Lo: er' mad'm' } \text{du:j'o m'e n'is Lo: u } \text{... mad'm'...n'is Loxt'i u } ... \text{(A)/}
\]
\[\text{du:j'o m'e n'is Loxt' u' er' mad'm' (T)}\]

512. ("it is likely that he will not come")

\[\text{'sdo:i' d@ Nax d'uko fe (A)/ sdo:i' Nax d'uko fe (T/A)}\]

513. ("she will have to sweep the floor")

\[\text{ka: fi 'N... ta'rdar a sko:b@ (A)/ ka: fi N ta'rdar a sko:b@ (T)}\]

514. ("with the brush")

\[\text{sku:eb' (T)/ sku:eb' (A)}\]

515. ("chair [sg.]")

\[\text{ka:j'r' (A)/ ka:j'r' (T)}\]

("chairs [pl."]")

\[\text{ka:j'r'oxi: (A/T)}\]

516. ("I am sitting on a chair")

\[\text{ta m'e m@ hi: er' xajr' (A)/ ta m'e m@ hi: er' xa}^\text{1} \text{r' (T)}\]

517. ("room [sg.]")

\[\text{fu:mmr@ (A)/ fu:mmr@ (T)}\]

("rooms [pl."]")

\[\text{fu:mmri: (A)/ fu:mmre}^\text{1} (T)\]

518. ("table [sg.]")

\[\text{baw@rd (A, T)}\]

("table [pl."]")

\[\text{baw@rd' (A/T)}\]

("on top of the table")

\[\text{er' wa:r N wa}^\text{2} \text{rd' (A)/ er' wa:r } \text{wa}^\text{2} \text{rd' (T)}\]

Séamas Ó Direáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
519. (“dresser”)  
*d’r’esu:r* (A)/ *d’r’esu:r* (T)

520. (“she is washing the dishes”)  
*t^a f^i N^i N_o s’aja . . .* (A)/  
*t^a f^i N^i-xa`N N_o s’ai* (T)/ *t^a f^i N^i-xa`N N_o s’ai* (A)

521. (“knife [sg.]”)  
*sk’i:j@N* (A/T)  
(“knives [pl.]”)  
*sk’a:No* (A/T)  
(“the tip of the knife”)  
*bAr N_o sk’m’e* (T)/ *bAr N_o sk’m’i* (A)

522. (“the top of the house”)  
*bAr n^i t’i:e* (T)/ *bAr e t’i:* (A)

523. (“he is thatching the house”)  
*t^a fe: . . . ti:do’r’ux* (A)/ *t^a fe: ti:do’r’ax* (T/A)  
(“thatched house”)  
*t’ax k’a:N ti:* (A)/ *t’ax k’a:N te^l* (T)

524. (“slated house”)  
*t’ax k’a’N’ fl’m’i* (A)/ *t’ax k’a’N’ sL’in’e* (T)

525. (“a thatcher”)  
*ti:do’r’* (T/A)

526. (“yard [in front of house]”)  
*sr’A:d’* (A)/ . . . *er’ A^i e^n’ t’i:e* (T)  
(“backyard”)  
*kul’srA:d’* (A)

527. (“the cave-thatch”)  
*sk’t@N* (= sciathán) (A)/ *buNd@L@* (T)/ *buNd@L(o)^1* (A)

528. (“is the thatch tied with ropes [súgáin] or with ‘scollops’?”)  
*wil’ eN t’i:l* k’a:n’g’il’i l’e ro:pi (A)/  
*wil’ eN t’i: k’a:n’g’il’i l’e ro:pi* (T)  
(“scollop [sg.]”)  
*sk@L@b* (A/T)  
(“scollops [pl.]”)

Séamas Ó Direáin— A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
skol’ib’ (T/A) 
(“straw rope”)

sugan (T) / sugan (A)

529. (“straw”) 
Ta’ (T) / Ta’ (A)

530. (“making /twisting/ a rope made of straw”) 
ka:so sugan’ (A) / ka:so sugan (T) 
(“the twister /person who turns the rope-handle/”) 
(nothing elicited) 
(“a rope handle”) 
kawar (T) / kau’r (A)

531. (“saddle”) 
ser’ (A) / ser’ (T) 
(“riding saddle [sg.]”) 
d’i-Lid’ (A/T) 
(“riding saddles [pl.]”) 
d’i-Lidd’ (A/T)

532. (“a spancel used to tie a cow’s hind legs while being milked”) 
borax (T) / bu’rax (A) 
(“spancels [pl.]”) 
burax (A)

533. (“a fetter to tie fore-feet of a sheep”) 
bor’im’ (A/T) / bor’im’ kase ta:so (T)

534. (“names for the parts of the inside roof of a house: beams”) 
ti:wan’ (A) 
(“rafters”) 
ra:ti: (T/A) 
(“ties”) 
bumbel’ (T) (“ties” heard as “tiles” by A)

535. (“tool [sg.]”) 
bat (sic) au’rn’i (A/T) 
(“tools [pl.]”) 
a’urn’i (T)

Séamas Ó Díreáin— A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
536. (“wedge [sg.]”)

\[g'\text{i}:\text{n} (A)/\ g'\text{i}:\text{n} (T)\]

(“wedges [pl.]”)

\[g'\text{æ}:\text{n}t\text{ra}x\text{æ}: (T)/\ g'\text{æ}:\text{n}t\text{ra}x\text{æ}: (A)\]

537. (“sledge-hammer”)

\[\text{award} (T)/\ a"\text{rd} (A)\]

538. (“I forgot to tell you”)

\[\text{rN' m'\ e d'æ:rma\ d e "ra: l'æt (A/T)}\]

539. (“pick-axe”)

\[p'k\text{k}\text{o}:\text{d} (A)/\ p'k\text{k}\text{o}:\text{d} (T)\]

540. (“fire [sg.]”)

\[t\text{m}' (A)\]

(“fires [pl.]”)

\[t\text{m}'t'r'\text{uxi}: (A)/\ t\text{m}'t'r'\text{oxi}: (T)\]

(“in front of the fire”)

\[\text{æs/ es ku:n' i t\text{m}' (A)/ e'r' o\ ð t\text{m}' (T/A)}\]

541. (“heat”)

\[t'\text{e}s (A)/\ t'\text{æ}s (T)\]

542. (“we are sitting at the fire”)

\[\text{ta mu}N \ œ si: eg' e t\text{m}' (A)/\ \text{ta mu}N \ œ si: eg' e t\text{m}' (T)\]

543. (“hearth”)

\[t'\text{æ}:\text{Lox} (T/A)\]

544. (“the kitchen is full of smoke”)

\[\text{ta n' x'ift'oNøx \ Læ}:\text{gø jæ:tøx (A)}\]

(after prompting by T with [Læ]:gø jæ:tøx])

545. (“kindling the fire”)

\[f\text{ad}u: n' t\text{m}' (A)/ f\text{ad}u: n' t\text{m}' (T)\]

(“she kindled the fire”)

\[d\text{ad}o: \text{fi}: n' t\text{m}' (A)/ d\text{ad}o: \text{fi}: n' t\text{m}' (T)\]

(“she will kindle the fire tomorrow morning”)

\[f\text{ad}:\text{fi}: n' t\text{m}' \text{er ma}:\text{dd}'\text{m}' \text{a}m\text{a}t\text{øx} (A/T)\]

(“she kindles the fire every morning”)

\[f\text{ad}:\text{m}' \text{fi}: n' t\text{m}' xø'\text{a} wæd'm' (A)/ f\text{ad}:\text{m}' \text{fi}: n' t\text{m}' xø'\text{a} wæd'm' (T)\]
546. (“ashes”)

\[\text{Lo:wb} (T)/ \text{Lu:w} (A)\]

547. (“soot”)

\[\text{su:i} (T, A)\]

548. (“raking the fire”)

\[\text{r:akatl' en' t'mi} (A/T)\]

(“saving the fire”)

\[\text{ka'g'itl' en' t'mi} (A)/ \text{ka'g'itl' o t'me} (T)\]

(“she saved the fire last night”)

\[\text{x:ag'il' fi n' t'm' \text{t:reir'} (A/T)\]

(“she will save the fire tomorrow morning”)

\[\text{ka'g'lo' fi n' t'm' er m:d'm' a:m'ax} (T)\]

(A points out that one would kindle a fire in the morning, not save it!)

549. (“a red ember”)

\[\text{sm'a: xo:d' d:xro} (A/T)\]

(non-lenition of initial consonant of adjective is clear)

550. (“a blaze in the fire”)

\[\text{La:sr'} (T)\]

(“flames”)

\[\text{La:sra:xi:} (T, A)\]

551. (“don’t tickle me!”)

\[\text{Na' kr' d'ugd'in' n:sam (A)/ \ldots d'ugd'in' \ldots} (T)\]

(word repeated by T in isolation)

552. (“ashes containing small coals of fire [gríosach]”)

(content of item 549 elicited at first; [\text{g'r'i:sax}] elicited from both T and A after prompting with \text{gríosach})

(“Bheadh beagán rudaí dearag ‘ríd a’ luaithe \[\text{Lo:wo}” [T] )

553. (“turf”)

\[\text{mu:w'n} (A)/ \text{mo:w'm} (T)\]

(“he is cutting turf”)

\[\text{ta fe g'ar mo:Na} (A/T)/ \ldots \text{No b:nt' wo:Na} (T)\]
554. (“turf-bog [sg.]”)

portəx (A)

(“turf-bogs [pl.]”)

porhət (T)/ porti: (A)

555. (“a bog”)

portəx (A/T)

(“a moor”)

κr’i-rax (A)

(“Ní bheadh món ar bith le fáil ar chriathrach” [A]. The terms riasc, eanach, corrach not heard on Inis Mór. “There’s no bog here” [A])

556. (“a bank of turf”)

kro:əx mu:Nə (T)/ kro:x mu:Nə (A)

557. (“he is going past me”)

tə tfe əgal’ hæ:əm (A)/ tə fe əgal’ hæ:əm (T)

(“he is going past her ”)

tə fe gal’ hæ:rhtɨ (A)/ tə fe gal’ hæ:rhtɨ (T)

(“he is going past them”)

tə fe gal’ hæ:rhtub (A)/ tə fe gal’ hæ:rtəb (T)

558. (“I passed him”)

xə m’e hæ:rɨf (A)/ xə m’e hæ:rɨf (T)

559. (“I shall pass him”)

go: m’e: hæ:rɨf (T)/ ga:n m’e: hæ:rɨf (A)

560. (“he passes me often on the road”)

t’ən’ fe’ hæ:rmə m’n’ik’ er’ en mor (A)/
t’en’ fe’ hæ:rmə m’n’ik’ er’ e mωr (T)

561. (“that’s the way they did it”)

jm’ e m’ bə:ələxə rN’ədər e . . . Nu ə xi: δ rN’ədər e (A)

(“how did he do it?”)

k’e xi: ə rN’e fe’ e (T)/ k’e xi: ə rN’e fe (A)

k’e xi: N’orNə fe e (A)/ k’e xi: N’orNə fe e (T)

(“Tá an dá bhealach ann” [A])

562. (“a turf-spade”)

sl’æ:n (A/T)
563. (“stripping the sod in a turf-bog”)
ban’t’ o wà:r gò fortàx (T)
(“Níl a fhios a’m; we have no bog here” [A])

564. (“spreading the turf”)
skà:rò N wà:wìn’ (T)/ skà:rò N wù:n’ (A)

565. (“on the spreading-ground [of a turf-bog]”)
(“Níl a fhios a’m; we have no bog here” [A])

566. (“a sod of turf [sg.]”)
fo:d mo:Nò (T/A)
(“a sod of turf [pl.]”)
fo:d’e mo:Nò (A)/ fo:d’e mo:Nò (T)

567. (“footing sods”)
eg’ gro:ğ’e (T)/ gro:ğ’e n mu:n’ (A)/ gro:ğ’e mo:Nò (T)
(“footed [verbal adj.]”)
gro:k’i’ (A/T)
(“the sods are footed”)
ta Nò fo:d’e grok’i (A)

568. (“a group of harvesters [meitheal]”)
(According to A, the word meitheal [m’eL] is known in Inis Mór, but is not used.)

569. (“scraw [sg.]”)
skræ: (T/A)
(“scraws [pl.]”)
skræ:*xi’ (A)/ skra:*xi’ (T)

570. (“turf-mould”)
smudáir mo:Nò (T)

571. (“wet, heavy turf [e.g., last year’s turf left on the bog exposed to the weather]”)
klà:wxu:wìn’ (A)/ (term rejected by T)
spa:rt’òx (A)/ spa:rt’òx (T)
(“that’s wet, heavy turf; don’t use it!”)
fin’ in spa:rt’òx ... ‘Nò: usø:*d’ ‘e:j’e (T)

572. (“the turf is not dry enough yet”)
N’il’ oN wuw:n’ t’er’im’ gu L’or fòs ... Nu’ sa:x t’er’im’ fòs (A)/
N’il’ o wuw:n’ sa:x t’er’im’ fòs (T)
912

573. (“it has to be dried properly”)

\[\text{kaɪ fe v'ɛ t'r'í:mi: (A)/ ka fe v'ɛ t'r'ími: (T)}\]

574. (“we have not footed our turf yet”)

\[\text{n'i:r yrɔ:ɡ mod' o ṻu:n' fo:s (A)}\]

575. (“burning turf”)

\[\text{do: munə (A)/ do: moːnə (T)}\]

576. (“we burn eight tons a year”)

\[\text{doːn mʊn' ɔx duːnə moːnə sə m'l̂eːn' (A)/ doːn mən' hax duːnə moːnə sə m'l̂eːn' (T)}\]

577. (“I shall burn the paper”)

\[\text{do: m'ɛ n̂ pəp'ɛr (A)}\]

578. (“he burned his finger”)

\[\text{vo: fe əv'ɛər' (A/T)}\]

579. (“it is burnt”)

\[\text{tə fe ... doːt'ɪ (A)/ tə fe doːt'ɪ (trisyllabic) (T)}\]

580. (“a basket [sg.]”)

\[\text{k'ɫ̂iːn (A/T)}\]

(“baskets [pl.]”)

\[\text{k'ɫ̂eːwə (A)/ k'ɫ̂eːwə (A/T)}\]

581. (“lobster-pot [sg.]”)

\[\text{pətə g'ɫ̂iːməx (A)}\]

(“lobster-pots [pl.]”)

\[\text{pətɪ: g'ɫ̂iːməx (T)}\]

582. (“ruin [of a house]”)

\[\text{foroːxo t'ɪ: (A/T)}\]

583. (“fairies”)

\[\text{ʃɪŋɡɪ (A/T)}\]

584. (“ghost [sg.]”)

\[\text{təv'fɪ (A)/ təv'fe (T)}\]

(“ghosts [pl.]”)

\[\text{təv'fɪ: (A/T)}\]

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585. (“only for him, we would all have been drowned”)

marax osaN... v' ex mud' bar' er fa:d (A)/
marax osaN... v' ex mun't/ mon' 'L'ug ba:it'i (trisyllabic) [x2] (T)

586. (“this bucket is for water”)

is L'e:... L'e ha' ifk'í ñ buk'æd fo...
buk'æd le: ifk'í å... buk'æd fo... Nu L'æ ha' ifk'í... (A)/
... L'e: ifk'í ñ buk'æd fo (T)

587. (“grass”)

f'æ:r (A)/ fe:jor (T)

(“making hay”)

eg' sa:wa:l't' fe:jor (T)/ sa:wa:l't' fe:ør (A)

588. (“a marsh”)

'a:tt' 'bag (A) (not found on Inis Mór)

589. (“scythe [sg.]”)

sp'æ:L (T)/ sp'e:L (A)

(“scythe [pl.]”)

sp'e:Lo (A)/ sp'æLo (T)

(“the tip of the scythe”)

bar' a sp'æ:L (T)/ bar' a sp'e:ø:L (A)

590. (“the handle-grip of a scythe”)

dorn'inn' (T)

591. (“sharpening the scythe”)

kw'ir' fe:i:wr er' e sp'e:ø:L (A)/
kIr' fe:i:wr er ø sp'æ:L (T)

592. (“whetstone [scythe-board]”)

klæx sp'e:L (A)

593. (“a mower”)

(nothing elicited)

594. (“rake [sg.]”)

rako (T/A)

(“rakes [pl.]”)

rak'ør (A)/ rak'ø (T)
595. (“turning the grass”)
umpúr m feːr (A)/ g’ ū:NTúr N feːr (T)

596. (“I shall turn the grass”)
umpó m’e n’ feːr (A/T)

597. (“he turned the grass”)
d’umpó fe a’n’ feːr (A)/ d’umpó fe a’n’ feːr (T)

598. (“turn around! /sg.”)
umpóhάrt (T)/ umpo hе:rt (A)
(“turn around! /pl.”)
umpí: hάrt (T, A)

599. (“a hay-cock”)
kókó feːr’ (A/T)

600. (“a hay-stack”)
(nothing elicited)

601. (“drawing in hay”)
tarrm’t’ in’ er’ (A)/ tarΝ N οN’ eːr (T)

602. (“it is all drawn in”)
te fe ’tarrN’i· ’Lug a’n’if (T)/ Nu kur i’s’t’æːx (A)

603. (“we shall draw in the hay”)
bə x’æːrt dun’ a feːr a harαNt i’s’t’æːx (T)/
tarrNø m’wIN’ i’s’t’æːx a feːr (A/T)/
tarrN’ o m’wIN’ a feːr i’s’t’æːx a’mar’äch (T)/
tarrN’o· m’e (T) (after being presented with a choice between [tarrNø m’e:] and [tarrN’o: m’e]’)

604. (“he drew my tooth”)
harrm’ fe: feːkɔL wem’ (A)/ harrm’ fe: feːkɔL wem ... wem’ (T)

605. (“carrying a load”)
umpɔrt’ m’aːxɔn’ (A)/ ... Nu g’ umpɔrt’ uɔːɔx (T)/ ...Nu g umpɔrt’ oLɔ [x2] (A)/ *g’ umpɔrt’ uɔːɔx (T)

606. (“loads, burdens /pl.”)
oLisa: ... umLι: (A)/ uɔLe (T)

Séamas Ó Direáin— A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
607. (“parts of the plough”)

\[\texttt{part\textquoteright} \\texttt{en\textquoteright} \\texttt{x\textacute{e}xt\texttt{o}} (T)/ \texttt{k\textacute{e}xt\texttt{t}} (A)

(no parts elicited; plows not used on Inis Mór)

608. (“the man ploughed the field”)

\[\texttt{hr\textquoteright} \texttt{e\texttt{n}} \texttt{N\texttt{a}} \texttt{tr\textquoteright} \texttt{..} \\texttt{T})/ \texttt{hr\textquoteright}\texttt{o\textquoteright} \texttt{fe} \texttt{...} (A/T)/...\texttt{park\texttt{t}} \texttt{Nu} \texttt{wol}\texttt{t} (= \textit{an bhuaile}) \\
\texttt{T}/\texttt{fark\texttt{t}} \texttt{Nu} \texttt{wol\texttt{t}} (A)

609. (“he is ploughing the field”)

\[\texttt{t\texttt{e}} \texttt{fe} \texttt{tr\textquoteright} \texttt{e\texttt{n}} \texttt{N} \texttt{wol\texttt{e}} (A/T)

(“the field is ploughed”)

\[\texttt{t\texttt{e}} \texttt{wol\texttt{e}} \texttt{(sic)} \texttt{tr\textquoteright} \texttt{e\texttt{n}} \texttt{t\texttt{e}} (T/A)

(“he ploughs it every year”)

\[\texttt{t\textquoteright} \texttt{e\textquoteright} \texttt{n\textquoteright} \texttt{fe} \texttt{fe} \texttt{he\textquoteright} \texttt{on} \texttt{v\textquoteright} \texttt{le\textquoteright} \texttt{tn\textquoteright} (T)

(“he’ll plough it next year”)

\[\texttt{t\textquoteright} \texttt{e\textquoteright} \texttt{n\textquoteright} \texttt{fe} \texttt{e} \texttt{en} \texttt{v\textquoteright} \texttt{le\textquoteright} \texttt{tn\textquoteright} \texttt{fa} \texttt{hug\texttt{in}} \texttt{(A, T)}

610. (“bridle”)

\[\texttt{k\textquoteright} \texttt{carNox} (= \textit{ceaurach}?) (T/A) (elicited after much discussion; T and A not very sure of the correct terms. The word \textit{srian} is known, but was not used with that meaning.)

611. (“halter”)

\[\texttt{ta\textquoteright} \texttt{star} (= \textit{an t-adhastar}?) (A)/ \texttt{a\textquoteright} \texttt{star} (T/A)

612. (“bridle-bit”)

(“\textit{Ní bhíodh aon Ghaeilge ar \textquoteright} bit\textquoteright" [A]; \textit{“Ní bhíodh”} [T])

613. (“collar [on horses]”)

\[\texttt{kol\textquoteright} \texttt{ae\texttt{r}} (T/A)

614. (“the hames”)

\[\texttt{N\texttt{a}} \texttt{gum\textquoteright} \texttt{i} (= 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”)
\[\text{ga:ri: fati: (A/T)/ ... Nu p\text{ar}k' [fatii:] (T)}\]

620. (“oat-field”)
\[\text{ga:ri: kafk'i (T)/ ga:ri: k\text{ark}'i (A)}\]

621. (“meadow or pasture”)
\[\text{mun'er (T)/ mun'e:r (A)}\]

622. (“garden [sg.]”)
\[\text{gare¹ (A)/ ga:ri: (T/A)}\]
\[\text{ (“gardens [pl.]”)}\]
\[\text{gare²Nti: (A)/ ga:reNti: [x2] (T/A)}\]

623. (“herding [cows]”)
\[\text{bu'xal'\text{oxt N\text{o mo: (A)/ bu'xil'\text{oxt N\text{o mo: (T)}}}\]

624. (“a herdsman”)
\[\text{b\text{oxt bo: (A/T)}\]

625. (“potato [sg.]”)
\[\text{fati (A/T)}\]
\[\text{ (“potatoes [pl.]”)}\]
\[\text{fati: (A/T)}\]

626. (“we cannot live without potatoes”)
\[\text{n\text{i: war'ox mud' g\text{\~o}} fati: (T)}\]

627. (“ridge [as of potatoes]”)
\[\text{umr'\text{i (T/A)}}\]
\[\text{ (“ridges [pl.]”)}\]
\[\text{umr\text{\~o}xi: (T)/ umr\text{\~o}xi: (A)}\]

628. (“seed potatoes”)
\[\text{fati: ji:Lt\text{\~o (T)/ fati: ji:Lt\text{\~o (A)}}}\]

629. (“he is manuring”)
\[\text{t\text{o fe' g' L\text{\~a}esu: (A)/ t\text{o fe'} L\text{\~a}esu: (T)}\]

630. (“a furrow”)
\[\text{kLaejf (T/A)}\]
\[\text{ (“furrows [pl.]”)}\]
\[\text{kLaejoNe¹ (A/T)}\]
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631. ("earthing potatoes")
(no immediate response; continued with following phrase)
("‘moulding, filling’ potatoes")
^knr' fo:d arâb ... ^knr' fo:d âr tâxtâ (A)

632. ("shovel [sg."])
slu'sid' (T, A)/ slu^sid' (T)/ slu:sid' (A)
("shovels [pl."])
slu'sid'âxÎ: (A)/ slu:sid'âxÎ (T)
("the tip of the shovel")
bar a tlLu'sed' (T)/ bar a tlLu'sid' (A)

633. ("choosing potatoes")
ta" Nê wâ:ti' (A)

634. ("he is chosen")
t^ tfe ta"tî (A)/ tâ fe ta"t'ê (T)
("the people choose the president")
tâ"N Nê dîn'i: âN... tâ'xtârâN (A)/
ta"N Nê dîn'i N tâ'xtârâN (T)
("he chooses the president")
tâ"n' fe N... N tâ'xtârâN (A)/ ta"n' fe N tu'xtârâN (T)
("he will choose the president")
ta" fe N tâ'xtârâN (A)/ ta" fe N tu'xtârâN (T)
("he chose the president")
thâ" fe N tâ'xtârâN (A/T)

635. ("spade [sg."])
spa'd' (A/T)
("spades [pl."])
spa:d'âNÎ (T)/ spa:d'âNi (A)
("the tip of the spade")
bar Nê spa:d'ê (T/A)

636. ("take hold of the spade!")
b'rr' e^r'im' âr e spa:d' (T)/ b'rr' e^r' âN spa:d' (A/T)
(repeated carefully by both informants)

637. ("the remainder ['waste'] of a potato after the seed is cut out")
sklâ:v'in' (T/A)/ ska:Lo:'g' (A/T)/ ska:Lo:g (A)
638. (“potatoes spoiled by the sun”)

\[ \text{fati: do: g'r'e:n'\text{\textasciitilde}ax (T/A) } \]

639. (“roasting potatoes”)

\[ \text{fati: rost (A/T) } \]

640. (“boiling potatoes”)

\[ \text{fati: brit'e (T/A) } \]

641. (“we boil potatoes”)

\[ \text{vrU mud' fati: (T) } \]

642. (“he boiled potatoes”)

\[ \text{vrU fe: ... (A/T)/ ... 'n'e: (= inn\text{\textasciitilde}o) (A) } \]

643. (“go and boil them!”)

\[ \text{go gos br\text{\textasciitilde}o e:d (T)/ go gos br\text{\textasciitilde}o e:t (A) } \]

(repeated carefully)

\[ \text{g\text{\textasciitilde} ... agos bro jet ... bro e:d (A)/ } \]

\[ \text{gos bro i:ae (T) } \]

(“call them!”)

\[ \text{gL\text{\textasciitilde}a \text{\textasciitilde}ar\text{\textasciitilde}b ... gli: \text{\textasciitilde}ar\text{\textasciitilde}b (A)/ gli: \text{\textasciitilde}ar\text{\textasciitilde}b (T/A) } \]

(“call her!”)

\[ \text{gL\text{\textasciitilde}a \text{\textasciitilde}ar\text{\textasciitilde} ... gli: \text{\textasciitilde}ar\text{\textasciitilde} (A) } \]

644. (“I shall boil them”)

\[ \text{bri: m'\text{\textasciitilde}e e:d ... bri: m'\text{\textasciitilde}e e:d (A)/ bri: m'\text{\textasciitilde}e e:d (T) } \]

645. (“I would not walk another step”)

\[ \text{N'\text{\textasciitilde}i: x'\text{\textasciitilde}u:li:\text{\textasciitilde}o x m'\text{\textasciitilde}e: kafm'e:g' e'l'e (A)/ } \]

\[ \text{N'\text{\textasciitilde}i: x'\text{\textasciitilde}u:li:\text{\textasciitilde}o x m'\text{\textasciitilde}e: kafm'e:g' e'l'e (T) } \]

646. (“mashing potatoes”)

\[ \text{m'aes\text{\textasciitilde}k\text{\textasciitilde}a fato\text{\textasciitilde} (A)/ bru: fato\text{\textasciitilde} (T) } \]

647. (“we mash potatoes”)

\[ \text{bru:N mid' fato\text{\textasciitilde} (T)/ bru:N miN' fato\text{\textasciitilde} (A) } \]

648. (“potatoes are plentiful in Ireland”)

\[ \text{ta: fati: 'ae:N 'arf\text{\textasciitilde}n' Nu fl\text{\textasciitilde}urf\text{\textasciitilde}ox 'N' er'iN' (A)/ } \]

\[ \text{ta fati: farf\text{\textasciitilde}n' 'N' er'iN' (T) } \]

(A says that fairsing is used on Inis Mór, but thinks that flúirseach is probably more correct)

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649. (“hazel nuts”)
   \[\text{kawu} \text{L} \ (A)/ \ \text{kawu} \text{L} \ (T)\]
   (“‘Cnó’ a bheadh ar choll” [A])
   \[\text{kNo} \ : \ (A/T)\]

650. (“blackberries”)
   \[\text{sm’e} \text{ru} \ (sic) \ \text{du} \ldots \ \text{sm’e} \text{r} \text{ò} \ \text{du} \ (A)/ \ \text{sm’e} \text{ri} : \ \text{do} \ (T)\]

651. (“gooseberries”)
   \[\text{sp’i:Na} : \text{n’} \ (T/A)\]

652. (“apple [sg.]”)
   \[\text{u:Lo} \ (A/T)\]
   (“apples [pl.]”)
   \[\text{u:Li} : \ (A)/ \ \text{u:Le} \ (T)\]

653. (“the apples are not ripe yet”)
   \[\text{n’:Lo} \ \text{No} \ \text{hu:Lo} \ldots \ \text{N’i:L} \ \text{f} \text{ed} \ldots \ \text{æ:b’i} : \ \text{f} \text{o:wos} \ (A)/\]
   \[\text{N’:i:L} \ \text{No} \ \text{hu:Li} : \ \text{æ:b’i} : \ \text{f} \text{o:s} \ (T)\]

654. (“corn”)
   \[\text{a:ru:r} \ (T)/ \ \text{a:ro’r} \ (A)/ \ \text{a:ru:r} \ (T, A)\]

655. (“oats”)
   \[\text{kærk’i} \ (A)/ \ \text{kørx’k’ç} \ (T/A)\]

656. (“rye”)
   \[\text{fæ:goL} \ (T/A)\]

657. (“barley”)
   \[\text{o:rnø} \ (T/A)\]

658. (“sowing oats”)
   \[\text{ki:r’ xarx’k’ç} \ (T)/ \ \text{ki:r’ xarx’k’ç} \ (A)\]

659. (“young corn [geamhar]”)
   \[\text{a:ru:r} \ \text{or’g} \ (T)/ \ \text{g’e:wr} \ (A)/ \ \text{g’æ:wr} \ (T/A)\]

660. (“grain of corn [sg.]”)
   \[\text{gra:N’ç} \ldots \ \text{a:ru:r’} \ (A)/ \ \text{gra:N’} \ ‘\text{a:ru:r’} \ (T)\]
   (“grains of corn [pl.]”)
   \[\text{gra:N’oxi} : \ (\text{a:ru:r’}) \ (T/A)\]
   (“grain [coll.]”)
   (no collective word for “grain” elicited)
661. ("an ear of corn")

\[d'e\'es\ (T)/ \ d'e:\s\ (A)/ \ d'e:\s\ \ 'a\ru'\r\ (T)\]

662. ("the corn is shooting, bursting, earing [ag dul i gcraobh, ag dul i ndéis"])

\[t\' \ N \ldots \ t\ro\r \ \ 'd\'e:\s \ldots \ 'k\ir \ldots \ d'e:\s \ldots \ 'm\ax\ (T)/\]
\[t \ N \ t\ro\r \ 'k\ir \ldots \ d'e:\s \ldots \ 'm\ah\ (A)\]

663. ("cutting oats")

\[g\'a\:\r\ k\o\rk'\i\ (A)/ \ g\'a\:\r\ k\o\rk'\i\ (T)\]

664. ("chaff")

\[\ka: \ (T/A)\]

665. ("a swelling of the fore-arm from working with a hook or scythe [tálach, trálach"])

\[a:t \ldots \ m\o \ L\o\w\ (T)/ \ d\o \ L\o\w \ a:t: \ Nu \ a:t \ 'd\o \ L\o\w\ (A)\]

(note subvocalisation of \i\ in \at\ i do \lámha\ and of \tá\ in \tá\ do \lámha\ ataithe\ in the examples above)

\[tr\o\l\o\x (A/T) \ (after prompting with \tálach\ and \trálach\)

("Dhá n-iomprá meáchan trom [t\o\w\a\m\], chuírfeadh sé trálach \’n do \ldots \ láimh \ldots
bheadh sé cineál bodhar’ [T])\]

666. ("a sheaf")

\[d\a\"r\o\Na:\N \ k\o\rk'\e\ (T)/ \ d\a\"r\o\Na:\N \ k\o\rk'\e\ (A)\]
\[p\o\Na:\N \ tr\j\ (A) \ (after prompting with \punan\n\n("chúig dornán in éineacht ['N' \ e\Na\x] \ [x 5] \ [T])\]

\([p\o\Na\N] \ used \ later \ in \ the \ discussion \ by \ both \ A \ and \ T, \ along \ with \[p\o\Na\N]\)

667. ("a stack")

\[\m\Ah\ (T/A)\]

668. ("a stack")

\[k\o\rk'\o\g \ (T/A)\]

669. ("we have a good crop of oats this year")

\[t \ b\o\r \ m\ae: \ o\r\Na\ldots \ k\o\rk'\e \ a'\g\i\N \ldots \ m'\le\Na\ (A)/\]
\[t \ b\o\r \ m\ae: \ k\o\rk'\e \ a'\g\i\N \ldots \ m'\Li:\Na\ (T)\]

670. ("winnowing oats")

\[b\o\Na \ k\o\rk'\i\ (T)/ \ b\o\Na \ k\o\rk'\i\ (A) (= ag bualadh coirce)\]
\[k\o: \ a\ru'\r\ (T/A) \ldots \ k\o: \ k\o\rk'\i\ (T)/ \ k\o: \ k\o\rk'\i\ (A) \ (after \ explanation \ by \ investigator)\]

671. ("a riddle, a sieve")

\[fe\Na\N \ (A) (=‘strainer’)\]

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672. (“a sheepskin used for winnowing [bodhrán]

(Neither [bo:ra:N] nor [ba"ra:N] heard on Inis Mór)

673. (“flail [sg.]”)

su:ft′1 (T)/ tu:ft′1 (A)

(“flails [pl.]”)

tu:ft′i: (A)/ su:ft′i: (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: [ma:d′c da"rNo:n′]

“maide amháin rounáilte . . . a’ bualadh an tuí”, etc.)

676. (“a haggard”)

(nothing elicited; iothlainn unknown to informants)

677. (“a mill [sg.]”)

muL′oN (A/T)

(“mills [pl.]”)

muL′N′i (A)

678. (“a miller”)

muL′or (A)

679. (“ground [V. adj. of ‘grinding’]”)

to fe m′iL′t′i (T/A)

(“spoiled [V. adj. of ‘spoiling’]”)

to tfe m′iil′t′i (A)

680. (“a quern [sg.]”)

bro: (A)/ bro: (T) (used with maide rounáilte)

(“querns [pl.]”)

bro:t′i (A/T)

(pestles were not used; rotary querns were used)

681. (“a weaver”)

fi:do:′r′ (T/A)

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682. (“a loom”)

ʃuːwəl (T) / ʃuːwəl (A)

(“looms [pl.]”)

ʃuːlə (A/T)

683. (“a spider”)

‘duwaːn ˈəːlə (T/A)

(“spiders [pl.]”)

duwaːn’ ˈəːlə (A) / ‘duwaːn’ ˈəːlə (T)

684. (“he goes visiting every night”)

t’en’ fe r kɔr’t’ xɔl i: (A) / ...Nu kɔrteɪx (A/T) /

əkɔrteɪx xɔl i: (A)

685. (“telling a story”)

g’ inʃɔxt sk’eːl (A) / g’ ɨʃɔx sk’eːjəl (T)

686. (“he is courting her”)

tə tʃe kʊr’t’erəx l’eː (A) / tə fe kʊr’t’erəx l’e (T)

687. (“sing a song!”)

kast ɔɾən Nu goːl’ ɔɾən (A/T) (verbal noun phrases?)

(at after clarification) kast ɔɾən (A/T) (command)

688. (“he gave her a kiss”)

hə fe’ pok’ d’i (A) / hə fe puː’g’ d’e (T)

689. (“they made a match between them”)

riN̂i fəd əl’eːnə (T) / k’l’eːnə (A/T) / k’l’eːnə (T)

690. (“he went to the wedding”)

xə fe ə ə d’i: ən... xə tʃe eg’ ən mæːn’ɪf (A) /

xə fe eg’ ə mæːn’ɪf (T)

691. (“they will be married soon”)

b’eː fəd ə ... o: buːsə ɡə gæːr’ɪd’ (A) /

b’eː fəd ə poːsə ɡə gæːr’ɪd’ (T)

692. (“he married a Dublin girl”)

fəːs fe kəl’iːn’ əs b’lə k’l’eː (A) /

fəːs fe kəl’iːn’ əs b’lə k’l’eː (T)

693. (“Shrovetide”)

mər’t’ ən’id’i (A/T)
694. (“she was married twice”)

v'i fi po:sta f'Ve yo: (A)/ v'i fi po:sta f'Ve yo: (T)

(“she was married three times”)

v'i fi po:sta t'r'i: o't'r'i (A/T)

695. (“she married again”)

fos fi: 't'r:i: (A)/ fos fi: 't'r:i: (sic) (T)

696. (“did you like the dance at the wedding?”)

ær hæ:n' aN dâ'nsa l'et eg' en man'if (A)/
ær hæ:n' N dâ'nsa l'et eg' æ man'if (T)

697. (“I heard him when he whistled”)

xu:Lə md'r e Nur' æ v'i fe fæ:di: (sic) (A)/
xo:Lə md'r e Nur' æ v'i fe 'fæ:di: (sic) (T)

698. (“playing the fiddle”)

ka:sə Na ... v'el'i:n' (A)/ ka:sə N v'æ'l'i:n' (T)

(“he will play the fiddle tonight”)

ka:sə fe æN v'el'i:n' æNəx (A)/
ka:sə fe N v'æl'i:n' æNəx (T)

699. (“he plays every day”)

ka:sN fe æxə'ə lə: (A)/ ka:sN fe 'axə'ə lə: (T)

700. (“her husband died this morning”)

ka:l'U: æfə: k'el'i ... aN wa:d'in' fo' (A)/
ka:l'U: æfə: k'el'i' en wa:d'in' fo ... Nu fo' fe bu:s (T)

701. (“he is dead”)

tə fe mərəv Nu bu:si: (A)/ tə fe mərəv: Nu bu:si: (T)

702. (“it was a grand wake”)

ba d'æ:s æ to:r æ (sic) (A)/ v'i 'N to:rə æ d'æ:s (T)

703. (“I don’t like wakes”)

N'i: hæ:N'ı:N to:rë l'om (A)/ n'i: hæ:N'ı:N to:ri l'om (T)

(“I went home after the wake”)

xə m'ı: wait' æref 'N to:rə (A)/ xə m'ı: wait'æ ref æ to:rə (T)

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704. ("funeral [sg."])
\[sxadx\d\acute{i} \ (A)\]
("funerals [pl."]
\[tsaxdx\d\acute{i} \ (A)/ \ sxadx\d\acute{i} : \ (sic) \ (T)\]
("after the funeral")
\[ref \ o \ t\text{axd}(d'e?) \ (T)/ \ ref \ oN \ t\text{axd}i \ (A)\]

705. ("shroud, habit [dressing of the corpse"]
\[\text{eb}i:d' \ (A)/ \ \text{æb}i:d' \ (T)\]
(\text{plural form})
\[\text{eb}i:d'i: \ (A)/ \ \text{æb}i:d'i: \ (T)\]

706. ("the old woman cried when her husband died")
\[v'i \ N \ t'\text{æ:n}'\text{v}AN \ æg \ g\text{u}L \ Nor' \ o \ k\text{æ:L}'u \ o \ f\text{e:r} \ k'e:l'e \ (A)/\]
\[v'i \ n' \ t'\text{æ:n}'v\text{æ:n} \ æg \ g\text{u}L \ Nor' \ o \ k\text{æ:L}'u \ æfæ:r \ k'e:l'e \ (T)\]
("she cried")
\[v'i \ tfi: \ \text{ækin}'i \ (A)/ \ v'i \ \text{f}i \ \text{kin}'e \ (T)/\]
\[\text{xim}' \ \text{f}i: \ (T/A)\]

707. ("she laughed")
\[v'i \ \text{f}i: \ \text{gaur}'i: \ (A/T)\]

708. ("he was laughing")
\[v'i \ \text{fe} \ \text{gaur}'i: \ (A)/ \ v'i \ \text{fe} \ \text{gaur}'i: \ (T)\]

709. ("wherever you go, I shall follow you")
\[p'e \ b'i \ k'e:N \ a't' \ o \ \text{ɣ}\text{a}'s \ tu \ \ldots \ \text{L}\text{æ:N} \ m'e: \ u: \ (T)/\]
\[p'e \ b'i \ ka: \ \text{ɣ}u \ tu \ \ldots \ (T)/ \ k'e \ b'i \ ka: \ \text{ɣ}u \ tu \ \ldots \ (A)\]
(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")
\[v'i: \ m'e: \ ^g \ \text{ab}r' \ \text{ref} \ \text{g} \ \text{r} \ \text{m}e: \ t'in' \ (A)/\]
\[v'i: \ m'e: \ ^g \ \text{ab}r' \ \text{ref} \ \text{g} \ \text{r} \ \text{m}e: \ t'in' \ (T)\]

711. ("coffin [sg."]
\[kundr\acute{e} \ (A)/ \ kunr\acute{e} \ (T)\]
("coffins [pl."]
\[kundr\acute{e}xi: \ (A)\]

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712. (“graveyard [sg.]”)

rel’ik’ (A)

(“graveyards [pl.]”)

rel’ik’axi: (A)

(“grave [sg.]”)

u:wo (A)/ u:o (T)

(“graves [pl.]”)

u’Noi (T)

(“over the grave”)

æs k’i:N æN u:wo (A/T)

713. (“he is buried in the clay”)

to fe karo sê wowod (T, A)/ ...sê g’r’e:fo:g (A)/...

...sê g’r’e:fo’g’ (T)/ sê g’r’e:le (A)/ sê g’r’e: (T)

714. (“the priest anointed him”)

xor’ æN sa:got æN æ N er’ (A/T)

715. (“smith [sg.]”)

gaw’u (A)/ gaw’o (T)

(“smiths [pl.]”)

gaw’v’NI (A)/ gaw’NI (T)

716. (“tenant [sg.]”)

taNu:Na (A)/ taNo:Ntæ (T)

(“tenants [pl.]”)

taNu:Nti: (A)/ taNo:Ntei (T)

717. (“a forge”)

k’a:rta (A/T)

(“forges [pl.]”)

k’a:rta: (T/A)

(“above the forge”)

æs k’i:N æ x’a:rta (A/T)

(“the smith is in the forge”)

ta N gawu sê g’a:rta (A, T)/ sê g’a:rta (A)
718. ("the smith’s tools")

\(\text{\textasciitilde r\textasciitilde n\textasciitilde i\textasciitilde f} \ldots\) (A)/ \(\text{\textasciitilde r\textasciitilde n\textasciitilde i\textasciitilde f} \ \text{\textasciitilde yaw} \ \text{\textasciitilde o}\) (T)

("bells")

\(\text{\textasciitilde n\textasciitilde o\textasciitilde l\textasciitilde i\textasciitilde g} \) (A)/ \(\text{\textasciitilde n\textasciitilde l\textasciitilde i\textasciitilde g} \) (T)

("hammer")

\(\text{s\textasciitilde u\textasciitilde r} \) (T)/ \(\text{s\textasciitilde u\textasciitilde r} \) (A)

("sledge-hammer")

\(\text{aw\textasciitilde r} \) (T)

("tongs /sg,pl")

\(\text{tL\textasciitilde o\textasciitilde n\textasciitilde i} \) (T)/ \(\text{tL\textasciitilde u} \) (A)

("tongs /pl,")

\(\text{tL\textasciitilde u\textasciitilde n\textasciitilde i} \) (A)/ \(\text{tL\textasciitilde u\textasciitilde n\textasciitilde i} \) (T)

719. ("the iron")

\(\text{i\textasciitilde r\textasciitilde o\textasciitilde n} \) (A/T)

("he put the iron in the fire")

\(\text{x\textasciitilde r\textasciitilde f\textasciitilde \textasciitilde e\textasciitilde : N\textasciitilde o} \) (sic) \(\text{t\textasciitilde i\textasciitilde r\textasciitilde N} \ \text{\textasciitilde s\textasciitilde m} \) \(\text{\textasciitilde t\textasciitilde m\textasciitilde i} \) (A)/

\(\text{x\textasciitilde r\textasciitilde f\textasciitilde \textasciitilde e} \ \text{\textasciitilde e\textasciitilde n} \ \text{\textasciitilde t\textasciitilde i\textasciitilde r\textasciitilde o\textasciitilde n} \ \text{\textasciitilde s\textasciitilde m} \ \text{\textasciitilde t\textasciitilde m\textasciitilde e} \) (T)

720. ("he is melting the iron")

\(\text{\textasciitilde t\textasciitilde o} \ \text{\textasciitilde f\textasciitilde e} \ \text{\textasciitilde L\textasciitilde a\textasciitilde w \ \textasciitilde o\textasciitilde n} \ \text{\textasciitilde t\textasciitilde i\textasciitilde r\textasciitilde o\textasciitilde n} \) (A/T)

("the iron is melted")

\(\text{\textasciitilde t\textasciitilde a} \ \text{\textasciitilde n} \ \text{\textasciitilde t\textasciitilde i\textasciitilde r\textasciitilde o\textasciitilde n} \ \text{\textasciitilde L\textasciitilde a\textasciitilde t\textasciitilde i} \) (A)/ \(\text{\textasciitilde t\textasciitilde a} \ \text{\textasciitilde n} \ \text{\textasciitilde t\textasciitilde i\textasciitilde r\textasciitilde o\textasciitilde n} \ \text{\textasciitilde L\textasciitilde a\textasciitilde t\textasciitilde e} \) (T)

("he melts the iron")

\(\text{\textasciitilde L\textasciitilde a\textasciitilde n\textasciitilde n} \ \text{\textasciitilde f\textasciitilde e} \ \text{\textasciitilde n} \ \text{\textasciitilde t\textasciitilde i\textasciitilde r\textasciitilde o\textasciitilde n} \) (A)/ \(\text{\textasciitilde L\textasciitilde a\textasciitilde n\textasciitilde n} \ \text{\textasciitilde f\textasciitilde e} \ \text{\textasciitilde n} \ \text{\textasciitilde t\textasciitilde i\textasciitilde r\textasciitilde o\textasciitilde n} \) (T)

("he melted the iron")

\(\text{\textasciitilde L\textasciitilde a\textasciitilde : \text{\textasciitilde f\textasciitilde e} \ \text{\textasciitilde n} \ \text{\textasciitilde t\textasciitilde i\textasciitilde r\textasciitilde o\textasciitilde n} \) (A/T)

("he will melt the iron tomorrow")

\(\text{\textasciitilde L\textasciitilde a\textasciitilde : \text{\textasciitilde f\textasciitilde e} \ \text{\textasciitilde n} \ \text{\textasciitilde t\textasciitilde i\textasciitilde r\textasciitilde o\textasciitilde n} \ \text{\textasciitilde m\textasciitilde a\textasciitilde r\textasciitilde o\textasciitilde n\textasciitilde x} \) (A, T)

721. ("he has good pay")

\(\text{\textasciitilde t\textasciitilde a} \ \text{\textasciitilde p\textasciitilde a\textasciitilde j\textasciitilde o} \ \text{\textasciitilde w\textasciitilde o\textasciitilde o\textasciitilde n} \ \text{\textasciitilde d\textasciitilde o} \) (A)/ \(\text{\textasciitilde t\textasciitilde a} \ \text{\textasciitilde p\textasciitilde a\textasciitilde j\textasciitilde o} \ \text{\textasciitilde w\textasciitilde o\textasciitilde o\textasciitilde n} \ \text{\textasciitilde d\textasciitilde o} \) (T)

722. ("I hired a man last year")

("hired" first heard as "heard"; after prompting with \textit{fostú}, the following was elicited)

\(\text{\textasciitilde d\textasciitilde s\textasciitilde t\textasciitilde o\textasciitilde m\textasciitilde e\textasciitilde f\textasciitilde e\textasciitilde r\textasciitilde n\textasciitilde e} \) (A)

("\textit{Ní \textasciitilde é\textasciitilde r\textasciitilde a\textasciitilde n\textasciitilde n\textasciitilde m\textasciitilde o\textasciitilde n\textasciitilde n\textasciitilde , \text{\textasciitilde n\textasciitilde a\textasciitilde c\textasciitilde h\textasciitilde (\textasciitilde s\textasciitilde i\textasciitilde c)} \ \text{\textasciitilde t\textasciitilde á \ \textasciitilde s\textasciitilde é \ \textasciitilde a\textasciitilde n\textasciitilde n\textasciitilde , \text{\textit{fostú}} \ "} \) [A])
723. ("shoemaker [sg."])

\[\text{g}^\prime \text{re}^\prime \text{s}^\text{a} \text{i}: \text{ (A)}\]

("shoemakers [pl."]

\[\text{g}^\prime \text{re}^\prime \text{s}^\text{a} \text{i}: \ldots \text{g}^\prime \text{re}^\prime \text{s}^\text{axi}: \text{ (A/T)}\]

724. ("shoemaker's tools")

\[\text{o}^\text{nu}^\text{rn}^\text{i} \text{f} \text{a} \text{n} \ldots \text{a} \text{n} \text{g}^\prime \text{re}^\prime \text{s}^\text{i}: \text{(sic)} \text{ (A)} / \text{a}^\text{nu}^\text{rn}^\text{i} \text{f} \text{e} \text{n}^\prime \text{ j}^\prime \text{re}^\prime \text{s}^\text{i}: \text{ (T)}\]

("awl [sg."]

\[\text{m}^\text{a}^\prime \text{e}: \text{n}^\text{a} \text{ (T/A)}\]

("awls [pl."]

\[\text{m}^\text{a}^\prime \text{e}: \text{n} \text{a}^\text{1} \text{ (A)}\]

(often items)

\[\text{s}^\text{n}^\text{a}^\prime : \text{d}^\prime \text{ (A)}\]

\[\text{k}^\prime \text{a}^\prime \text{p} \text{ (T) / k}^\prime \text{e}^\prime \text{p} \text{ (A)}\]

725. ("schoolmaster [sg."]

\[\text{m}^\prime \text{a}^\prime \text{ft}^\prime \text{r}^\prime \text{ sk}^\prime \text{e} \text{ (A/T)} / \text{e}^\prime \text{d}^\prime \text{ e} \text{ sk}^\prime \text{e} \text{ (A/T)}\]

("schoolmasters [pl."]

\[\text{e}^\prime \text{d}^\prime: \text{ sk}^\prime \text{e} \ldots \text{m}^\prime \text{a}^\prime \text{ft}^\prime \text{r}^\prime: \text{ sk}^\prime \text{e} \text{ (A) / m}^\prime \text{a}^\prime \text{ft}^\prime \text{r}^\prime: \text{ (T)}\]

726. ("people didn't go to school long ago")

\[\text{n}^\prime: \text{j}^\prime \text{e}^\prime \text{x} \text{ a} \text{n} \text{ d}^\prime \text{i}^\prime \text{n}^\prime: \text{ e} \text{ r}^\prime \text{ sk}^\prime \text{e} \text{ 'f}^\prime \text{a}^\prime \text{d}^\prime \text{o} \text{ (A)} / \]

\[\text{n}^\prime: \text{j}^\prime \text{e}^\prime \text{x} \text{ a} \text{n} \text{ d}^\prime \text{i}^\prime \text{n}^\prime: \text{ e} \text{ r} \text{ sk}^\prime \text{e} \text{ 'f}^\prime \text{a}^\prime \text{d}^\prime \text{a} \text{ (T)}\]

(note shortening and neutralisation of final vowel in 'fado)

("they didn't go to school very often")

\[\text{n}^\prime: \text{j}^\prime \text{e}^\prime \text{x} \text{ a} \text{ d} \text{ e} \text{ r}^\prime \text{ sk}^\prime \text{e} \text{ g}^\prime \text{u} \text{ m}^\prime \text{m}^\prime \text{r}' \ldots \text{ (A)}\]

("he used to go home early") (elicited later)

\[\text{he}^\prime \text{x} \text{f}^\prime \text{e}^\prime \text{ w}^\prime \text{e}^\prime \text{ r}^\prime \text{e} \text{ g}^\prime \text{u} \text{ L}^\prime \text{u}^\prime \text{w}^\prime \text{a} \text{ (A) / h}^\prime \text{e}^\prime \text{x} \text{ w}^\prime \text{a}^\prime \text{r}^\prime \text{e} \text{ g}^\prime \text{u} \text{ L}^\prime \text{u}^\prime \text{w}^\prime \text{a} \text{ (T)}\]

727. ("he is going home")

\[\text{t}^\prime \text{a} \text{ t}^\prime \text{e}^\prime \text{ 'g}^\prime \text{a}^\prime \text{l}^\prime \text{ 'w}^\prime \text{a}^\prime \text{e}^\prime \text{l}^\prime \text{i} \text{ (A) / t}^\prime \text{a} \text{ t}^\prime \text{e} \text{ 'g}^\prime \text{a}^\prime \text{l}^\prime \text{ 'w}^\prime \text{a}^\prime \text{e}^\prime \text{l}^\prime \text{e} \text{ (T)}\]

728. ("he wouldn't go")

\[\text{n}^\prime: \text{ 'y}^\prime \text{a}^\prime \text{w}^\prime \text{x} \text{ f}^\prime \text{e} \text{ (A/T)}\]

729. ("I shall not go")

\[\text{n}^\prime: \text{ 'y}^\prime \text{a}^\prime \text{w}^\prime \text{ m}^\prime \text{e} \text{ (A/T)}\]
730. (“he went to town yesterday”)

χ̄ fe ɡə d’iː N bæːl’e mɔɾ ˈn’eːː (A)/
χ̄ fe ɡə d’iː N bæːl’e mɔɾ ˈn’eːj (T)
(“we went to town yesterday”)
χ̄ mod’... (A/T)

731. (“we didn’t go”)

n’iː jexə mod’ (A)/ n’iː jæːxə mɔN’ (T/A)

732. (“go home/[sg.]”)

g̊ə wæːl’iː (A)/ gə wæːl’e (T)/
... Nu t’oːr’ əwæːl’e (T/A)
(“go home/[pl.]”)
t’oːr’iː: wæːl’iː (A)/ t’oːr’iː: wæːl’e (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 Na’x̌ m̩nN’ əwæːl’iː ... (A)/
m̩rə Na’x̌ m̩nN’ əwæːl’e ... n’iː: v’ex oːr N æːr’ sɔːstə (T) (after prompting by A with [marə Na’x̌ m̩n’d’...])/
m̩rə Na’x̌ m̩n’d’ əwæːl’iː ... n’iː: v’ex oː N æːr’ sɔːstə (A)
(T’s uncharacteristic substitution of [N] for [ŋ] is apparently influenced by A’s prompt)
(“if ye didn’t go home, your father would not be pleased”)
m̩rə N’æːxə sib’ əwæːl’iː ... n’iː: v’ex oː N æːr’ sɔːstə (A)/
m̩rə N’æːxə sib’... n’iː: v’ex oː N æːr’ sɔːstə (T)

734. (“if you went home, I would be pleased”)

də Nɔ’x tu wæːl’iː ... v’eːn’ sɔːstə (A)/
ɣə Nɔ’x tu wæːl’iː ... v’eːn’ sɔːstə (T)

735. (“he is a good teacher”)

is mʊn’t’oːr mae ə (A)/ is mʊn’t’oːr maː e (T)
(“I thought he was a good teacher”)
x’æːp m’e gər mʊn’t’oːr’ mae ə (A)/
x’æːp m’e gər mʊn’t’oːr’ maː e (T)
(“was he a good teacher?”)
ɾə fe əNə wʊn’t’oːr’ wæː (A)/ɾə fe əNə wʊn’t’oːr’ waː (T)/
ər mʊn’t’oːr’ mæ... ?e (A)
RESPONSES IN IRISH TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE OF THE LINGUISTIC
ATLAS AND SURVEY OF IRISH DIALECTS: CORRÚCH, INIS MÓR, 1990

(after prompting with the eclipsed forms of the copula [ə mə] and [gu mə], e.g.,
“A’ mba múinteoir maith é?”; “Shíl mé go mba múinteoir maith é”, only the following
response elicited)

“Déarfadh muinn [ər ‘mum’t’ar’ ma: v’i: a:N]” (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”)

wu:n’ fe go L’or du’n’ (A)/ wu:n’ fe go L’or du’n’ (T)

737. (“we didn’t learn much from him”)

n’i:r o:lam məd’ mor:a:N wa¹ (A/T)

738. (“he was teaching us”)

v’i fe ya: mu:Nə (A)/ v’i fe ya: mo:Nə (T)

739. (“he is a learned man”)

e s fær L’e:Nt e (A)/ e s fær L’e:a:Nt e (T)

740. (“our teacher knows everything”)

ta: s eg’ ar mum’t’or’ gax rud ... Nu’ xul’e rud (A)/
ta: s eg’ e mum’t’or’... xol’e rud (T)

xul’e rud e:NS muNi (A)/ xul’e rud e:NS məN’ (T)

(“[xul’e rud] ’caranns muinn[ef]”)

741. (“everybody knows that he is a fool”)

ta: s eg’ xul’i yin’e gor ... aməda:N æ (A)/
ta: s eg’ xul’i yin’e gor aməda:N e (T)

742. (“I don’t know whether you are right or wrong”)

n’i:l’ is agm an wul’ tu: k’ær’t No ‘m’i:x’ær:t (A)/

743. (“butcher [sg.]”

bu:ft’erə (A/T)

(“butchers [pl.]”

bu:ft’erə (A)/ bu:st’eri: (sic) (T)

744. (“soldier [sg.]”

sa’d’u:r’ (A/T)

(“soldiers [pl.]”

sa’d’u:ri: (A)/ ... No sa’d’u:r’ (T)

(“[sa’d’u:r], duine amháin” [T])

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745. ("he is a rich man")

"s feur sev'ir' e (A)/ "s fær sev'ir' e (T)
("they are rich people")

"s din'i: sev'ir' e:d (T)/ "s din'i: sev'ir' æd (A)

746. ("the tinker stole all our hens last night")

yad' aN t'iu'kær a gud' k'ærk 'L'ug "ra'r' (A)
("tinkers [pl."]

t'iu'kær (T)
("the tinkers stole all our hens last night")

yad Næ t'iu'kæræ ... "ra'r' (T)/ ar gud' k'ærk 'L'ug ... æ gud' k'ærk 'L'ug ... Nu "gud' k'ærk ær' fa:d (A)

747. ("they steal every day")

gad'n' fed xa'la Læ: (T)/ gad'n' fed xa'la Læ: (A)

748. ("he goes to the public house in the evening")

t'eu' fe go d'i aN... t'æx ostæ (A)/ ...t'æx ta'rnæ (T)/
...xa'le' hro'Nu:Næ (A)/ ...xa'le' hro'Ne:Næ (T)

749. ("he gave me a glass of whiskey")

hug fe glm'n' f'ifk'i dam (A)/ hug fe glm'n' f'ifk'i yam (T)

750. ("where is the bottle?")

kæ: w'il' aN bud'æ:l (A)/ kæ: l' æN bud'æ:l (T)
("where are the bottles?")

kæ: l Næ bud'el (A)/ kæ: l Næ bud'el (T)

751. ("give us another drink!")

t'ur' d'æx ef'e du'n' (A)/ t'ur' d'æx ef'e du'n' (T)

752. ("have another one!")

b'ix d'æx ef' æd (A)/ b'iæx k'æ:n el' æd (T/A)

753. ("how many bottles did you drink last night?")

k'æ: v'e:d bud'æ:l a do:l (sic) tu: "re'r' (A)/
k'æ: v'e:d bud'æ:l a do:l tu: "re'r' (T)

754. ("we have enough")

tu ... ar Næm' æ:N' (A)/ tu r Næm' æ:N' (T)

755. ("we drank enough")

do:L mud' a Næ:win' (A)/ do:L m'æ:wIn' a Næ:win' (T)
756. (“you had too many drinks last night”)

\[ \text{ví: N’ mārkə d’āxəNə\(^1\) ... ví N’ mārkə d’āxəNî: \text{“rər’ æd (T)”/}} \]

\[ \text{ví: N’ umārkə d’āxəNî: \text{“rər’ æd (A)”}} \]

757. (“he does be drunk at times [sometimes]”)

\[ \text{b’im’ fe oːltəx aːməNtir\(^1\) (A)/ b’im’ fe oːltəx aːməNtə\(^1\) (T)} \]

(“he was sick for hours”)

\[ \text{ví: fe t’im’ er’ fē: ... oːr’əNtir (A)/ er’ oːr’əNtir ... er f’æ: oːr’əNtir- (T)} \]

758. (“put a pint on the counter!”)

\[ \text{kur’ p’iNT er’ æ gaːNtər (A)} \]

(“put pints on the counter!”)

\[ \text{kur’ p’iNTu\(^1\) er’ en’ gaːNtər (A)} \]

(“pints [pl.]”)

\[ \text{p’iNTe\(^1\) (T)} \]

759. (“midwife”)

(nothing elicited)

760. (“a baby was born to her”)

\[ \text{rugú: L’æːNəv d’i rər’ ... NiːNəN (A)} \]

761. (“she has twins”)

\[ \text{ví: kuːPL eki (T/A)} \]

762. (“he is a twin”)

\[ \text{L’æːkuːPLə (A)/ L’æːx’ɐːN ’kuːPL e (T/A)} \]

763. (“a new-born infant, a baby”)

\[ \text{NiːNəN reʃ ə v’r’e (T/A)/ NiːNəN (A/T)} \]

764. (“a child”)

\[ \text{L’æːNəv (A/T)/ L’æːNu’ (T/A)} \]

\[ \text{gasúr (A, T) (“nios sine”)} \]

(A páiste would be around two or three years old; a gasúr would be older, perhaps up to 10 or 11 years old. [marLax] (= malrach, pl. [malraː\(^4\)]) 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”)

\[ \text{’buxIL’ ’bəg (A/T)} \]

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766. (“a young girl”)

\[\text{‘kal′i:n’} \text{ ‘b′eg} \text{ (A/T)}\]

767. (“he is a bold boy”)

\[\text{buxil′} \text{ ‘du:N æ (A)} / \text{ buxil′} \text{ ‘da:N æ (T)}\]

768. (“she is a nice girl”)

\[\text{s ka:l′i:n′} \text{ ‘dæ:s i} \text{ (A/T)}\]

(“she is a goodlooking girl”)

\[\text{‘kal′i:n′} \text{ ‘dæ:ul′ i} \text{ (A/T)}\]

769. (“he is a queer fellow”)

\[\text{es ... din′ ‘æft′ox e (A/T)}\]

770. (“he is an honest man”)

\[\text{is fæ:r ‘kn′æstæ (A)} / \text{ is fæ:r ‘k’n′æst e (T)}\]

771. (“he is a merry fellow”)

\[\text{‘fær ‘kid′æxtu:l’ e ... Nu ‘spruːl’ (A)}\]

772. (“that’s a funny story”)

\[\text{sk′uːL baruLɔx (A)} / \text{ sk′eL baruLɔx (T)}\]

773. (“it was said to me [I was told] that you were sick”)

\[\text{duːruː lɔm gɔ rə tuː tfuːn (A)} / \text{ duːruː lɔm gɔ rə tuː t′uːn (T)}\]

774. (“I am going to the chapel”)

\[\text{tə m′e gɔl′ gɔ dəi ... gɔl′ eg′ e jep′æl} \ldots \text{ Nu gɔ dəi n′ jep′æl (A)} / \text{ ta m′e gɔl′ eg′ æ jep′æl (T)}\]

775. (“Protestant church”)

\[\text{aN... jep′æl præstusNɔx (A)} / \text{ Nu ægLaf præstusNɔx (sic) (T)}\]

(A adds that séipéal is used for eaglais in Inis Mór)

(plural forms) \[\text tjep′el′ (A)} / \text jep′el′ (T)} / \text ægLafi: (A/T)}\]

776. (“Protestant [sg.]”)

\[\text præstusN (A)} / \text præstusNɔx (T)}\]

(“Protestants [pl.]”)

\[\text præstusNi: (A)} / \text præstus′n’ (T)}\]

777. (“Catholic [sg.]”)

\[\text kæt′l′ŋ′æx (A)} / \text kæt′l′ŋ′æx (T)}\]

(“Catholics [pl.]”)

\[\text kæt′l′ŋ′i: (A)}\]
778. (“we go to mass every Sunday”)

t'eːN mˠəN' eg' œN æʃ'əN gax duːNəx (A)/
t'eoːN' eg' œN æʃ'æN gax duːNəx ... Nu xil'ə yu:Nəx (T)

779. (“priest [sg.]”)

saːɡɔrt (A/T)

(“priests [pl.]”)

saːɡɔr't (A/T)

780. (“learn your catechism!”)

foːləm də hæːɡəs k'r'iːstaːl (A/T)

781. (“rosary”)

paːd' ... paːd'r'ɪn' (A)/ paːd'r'ɪn' (T)/ paːd'r'ɪn' (A)

782. (“altar [sg.]”)

aːltɔr' (A/T)

(“altar [pl.]”)

aːltɔr'reːxiː (A)/ aːltɔr'ərx (T)

783. (“holy water”)

ɪʃk'iː kɔrsk'ɪ ... ɪʃk'iː kɔrsk' (A)/
ɪʃk'iː kɔrsk' ... ɪsk'iː kɔrsk'ɪ ... ɪsk'iː b'æːNi (T)

(note the sibilants in the last two examples)

784. (“she goes to confession every fortnight”)

t'ə'n' fiː eg' fɪːʃ'ɪn' gax ... Nu xil'ə xa'k'iːʃ (A)/
t'eo'n' fiː g' fɪːʃ'ɪː: xil'ə xa'k'iːʃ (T)

785. (“he gave her absolution”)

huːg fe æːbsəlɔːd' (d')i (A)/ huːg fe æːbsəlɔːd' (d')e (T)

786. (“the curate”)

əN ... tʃəp'ɪn'əx (A)/ tʃəp'ɪn'əx (T)

787. (“that's a sin”)

ʃiː (sic) p'əːkə (A)/ ʃiː (sic) p'əːkə (T)

788. (“I told him all my sins”)

d'ɪn'ʃf m'eː ma xoːd' p'æːkiː L'ug doː (A)/
d'ɪn'ʃf m'eː ma haːd' p'æːkiː L'ug uː (T)

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789. (“he gave me a penance”)

hug fe: b’r’æ:Nus a’r’i: dəm (A)/
hug fe: b’r’e”Nus a’r’i: yəm (T)

790. ("purgatory")

pərgədo’r’ (A/T)

791. ("there will be no sermon today")

N’i: v’e1 æ:N... fæ:Nəmo’r’ ‘N’5 (A)/
n’i: v’e: em’ fæ:Nəmo’r’ ‘N’uw o:N (T)

(“the gospel [sg.]”

ən safk’æ:L (A)/ ṉ safk’æ:L (T)

(“gospels [pl.]”

safk’æl’ (A, T)

792. ("he is in Heaven now")

tə fe sNə flæ:f əN’Af (A)/ tə fe sNə flæ:f əN’Af (T)

793. ("we should pray to God for health")

bu x’ær’t dm’e giv’i er’ je: f”i:n tLa’n’t’i (A)/
ba x’ær’t in’ giv’i ... er’ ji:o f”i: əN tLa:n’t’e (T)

(“he is saying his prayers”

tə fe ru: xud’ pa:d’r’axi Nu xud’ ærNəj (A)/
tə fe ru: xud’ pa:d’r’axa:j ... (T)

(“‘páidreachaí’ ‘eireanns maide’” [A])

794. ("he has no religion")

n’i:l’ ə: x’r’ed’ eg’e (A)/ n’i:l’ e:N x’r’ed’ eg’e (T)

795. ("he didn’t bless himself")

N’i: ro’ (sic) xorsik’ fe e he:n’ (A)/ N’ir xorsik’ fe e he:n’ (T)

796. ("today is a fast day")

əs Lə: trəsk ’N’u (A)/ Lə: trəsk o:N əN Lə? ’N’u (T)

("fasting before going to Mass [céadlongaí]"

trəskə riv’ æ yəl’... eg’ əN æʃfr’əN... trəskə riv’ əN æʃfr’əN (A)

("abstinence")

t’r’e:Nas (A/T)
797. ("bishop [sg.]")
\[æːspəɡ (A)/ æːspəɡ (T)\]
("bishops [pl.]")
\[æːspəɡ' (T, A)\]
798. ("the Devil [sg.")
\[æːn' ðəwɔːl ... ÆN təwɔːsər't (A)\]
("devils [pl.]")
\[d'ær'wɪl' (T)/ d'awɪl' (A)\]
799. ("Easter")
\[kæsk (T/A)/ doːNəx kæsk (T)\]
("Easter Sunday")
\[dʊNəx kæskə (A)/ doːNəx kæskə (T)\]
800. ("Whit Sunday")
\[dʊNəx kɪŋ'k'iːf (A)/ dʊNəx kɪŋ'k'iːf (T)\]
801. ("Christmas")
\[NəLɪk' (A)/ NəLɛk' (T)\]
("Christmas Night")
\['NəLək (A)/ 'NəLəg (T)\]
802. ("Good Friday")
\[ɪm'e x'ɛːstə (A)/ ɪm'e x'ɛːstə (T)\]
803. ("he will be home about Christmas")
\[b'ɛl fe wai:lɛ tɪmpɔl Nɔ NəLɛk'... Nu fɛ'i: NəLɪk' (A)/ b'ɛl fe wai:lɛ fɛ'i: NəLɪk' (T)\]
804. ("St. Patrick’s Day")
\[Lə: l' ɬɛəɾɪk (A)/ Lə: l' ɬɛəɾɛɡ (T)\]
805. ("a fly [sg.]")
\[kɪl'ɔːɹɡ' (A/T)\]
("flies [pl.]")
\[kɪl'ɔːɡi: (A)/ kɪl'ɔːɡɛl (sic) (T)\]
806. ("a horse-fly")
\[kɪl'ɔːɡ kəpɪl' (A)/ kɪl'ɔːɡ kəpəl (T)\]
807. ("louse [sg.]")

m’i:jo̞L (A)

("lice [pl.]")

m’i:jo̞Lo̞ (T/A)

("wood-lice")

m’i:Lô k’r’i:Nô (A/T)

808. ("ciaróg [a beetle"])

ki:rO̞:’g’... ki:rO̞:g (T/A)

(note velarised initial consonant)

("priompalán [a beetle"])

p’r’i:mpa:nô:N (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.]")

tre:Na:x (T)/ tre:Nax (A)

("corncrakes [pl.]")

tre:Naxi (A/T)

813. ("worm [sg.]")

pe:ft’ (T, A)

("worms [pl.]")

pe:fti (T/A)

814. ("hedgehog [sg.]")

gra:N’o:q’ (T)/ gra:N’o:q (A)

("hedgehogs [pl.]")

gra:N’o:qi (A)/ gra:N’o:qi (sic) (T)

815. ("hornet")

(nothing elicited)
816. (“mouse [sg.]”)

Lax (A) / LaxO1g’ (T/A)

(“mice [pl.]”)

LaxOg’i: (A) / LaxOg’i: (sic) (T) / Laxin’ (A/T) (= pl. of Lax)

817. (“the house is full of mice”)

t’ N t’aex L’aN ‘l’e Laxin’... Nu Lá: gə Laxin’ (A)

818. (“rat [sg.]”)

fra:nkəx (T/A)

(“rats [pl.]”)

fra:nkə (T/A) / fra:nkəi: (A/T) / Nə Laxin’ o:ro (= “mhóra”) (A)

819. (“frog”)  

(nothing elicited, though the English word is known; frogs are not found on Inis Mór)

820. (“hare [sg.]”)

g’nir’ə (A) / g’nir’ie (T)

(“hares [pl.]”)

g’niraxi: (A) / g’niraxo (T) (note velarisation of the final consonant of the root)

821. (“snail [sg.]”)

fel’mid’i (A)

(“snails [pl.]”)

tfel’mid’i: (A)

822. (“bird [sg.]”)

c:n (A/T)

(“birds [pl.]”)

c:naxi: (A/T)

823. (“chick [sg.]”)

fik’i:n’ (A) / tfik’i:n’ (T)

(“chicks [pl.]”)

fik’i:n’i: (A/T)

824. (“crow [sg.]”)

p’r’xan (T/A) / ka:ro:g’ (T) / ka:ro:g (A)

(“crows [pl.]”)

p’r’x:n’ (A/T) / ka:ro:gi: (A) / ka:ro:gi: (sic) (T)

(“Tá an priachán níos mó ... [A] / ... agus tá guala níos láidir (sic) aige ná ‘n charóig” [T])

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825. (“raven”)  
(nothing elicited)

826. (“seagull [sg.]”)  
fa'IL'aN (T/A)  
(“seagulls [pl.]”)  
fa'IL'a'N’ (A)/ fa'IL'an’ (T)

827. (“pigeon [sg.]”)  
koLaam (T/A)  
(“pigeons [pl.]”)  
ko'le'm’ (T/A)

828. (“hawk [sg.]”)  
faewuk (T)/ fe'uk (A)  
(“hawks [pl.]”)  
faewuk’ (T)/ fe'uk’ (A)

829. (“gannet [sg.]”)  
gun'e:d (T/A)  
(“gannets [pl.]”)  
gun'e:d’ (T)/ gun'e:ð (A)

830. (“diver [a bird]”)  
(nothing elicited)

831. (“water-hen [sg.]”)  
kærk uf'k’ (A)/ kærk uf'k’ (T)  
(“water-hens [pl.]”)  
kærk'o Nu uf'k’ (T)/ kærk’ ‘:f’k’i Nu kærk'oNi: (i)f'k’i (A)

832. (“wild-goose [sg.]”)  
g’e: fi:a'n’ (A)/ g’e: fi:jam’ (T)  
(“wild-geese [pl.]”)  
g’e:wó fi:a’n’ (A)/ g’e:wó fi:jam’ (T)

833. (“eagle [sg.]”)  
lar ... l'raox (A)/ e:rlæox ... ørlæox ... orlæox (T)  
(“eagles [pl.]”)  
l'rux’ (A)/ l'ra’ (T)/ l'ri’ (A)  
(“Bíonn ‘eagles’ anteo [= anseo]” [A])

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834. (“snipe [sg.]”)

\textit{Ní:sk@sk} (A/T)

(“snipes [pl.]”)

\textit{Ní:sk@N@ Ní:sk@N@ } (A)

835. (“sparrow [sg.]”)

\textit{g@:L@:N } (T)/ \textit{g@:L@:N } (A)

(“sparrows [pl.]”)

\textit{g@:L@:n@} (T)

836. (“swallow [sg.]”)

\textit{fan@:g@:} (T)

(“swallows [pl.]”)

\textit{fan@:g@:} (T)

837. (“owl”)

(not found on Inis Mór; \textit{fu:aN a:Le} offered by T)

838. (“woodcock”)

\textit{k@l@x k@l@e \ldots k@l@x k@jE} (T)

(repeated clearly; the same pronunciation of the liquid consonant in the second example of “\textit{coille}” was elicited from M 70 on Inis Meáin)

(“woodcocks [pl.]”)

\textit{k@l@x: k@l@e} (T)

839. (“grouse”)

(nothing elicited)

840. (“lark [sg.]”)

\textit{f@:fo:}\textit{g@} (T)/ \textit{fu:o:gi:} (A)

(“larks [pl.]”)

\textit{f@:fo:gi:} (T)/ \textit{fu:o:gi:} (A)

841. (“thrush [sg.]”)

\textit{smo:L@x} (T)

(“thrushes [pl.]”)

\textit{smo:L@x} \textit{[x2]} (T)/ \textit{smo:L@i:} (A)

842. (“cuckoo [sg.]”)

\textit{k@w@x} (T)

(“cuckoos [pl.]”)

\textit{k@w@N@} (T)/ \textit{k@w@N@} (A)
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843. ("blackbird [sg."])

'Thun 'do (T/A)

("blackbirds [pl."])

'Thun: 'do ' (A)/ 'Thun: 'do (T)

("magpie")

("an rud óganna" [T])

844. ("we have good weather today")

't 'æ:m'fín' wa: 'N'úr eN' (A)/ 'tæ:m'fín' wa: 'N'úr eN' (T)

845. ("the weather is broken")

'ta N æ:m'fín' b'r'íf'ti (A/T)

846. ("it rained")

'rIn' fe ba:j't'ox (A)/ rIn' fe ba:j't'ox (T)

("it will rain")

d'Inø fe ba:j't'ox (A, T)

("Éarann siad [feran] (sic) [in áiteacha eile le 'báisteach'] nach (sic) ní éarann muinne [feraN]; ní éarann muinn ach 'báisteach'" [A])

847. ("don't be out in the rain!")

Na' b'i: mu so ma:j't'ox (A)/ Na' b'i: ma w ma:j't'ox (T)/

...Nu: mo f'ø:N ma:j't'ox (A)

848. ("a rainy day")

La: ba:j't'i: (A/T)

849. ("it's a bit cold")

'ta fe b'æ:ga:N fu:war (A)/ ta fe b'æ:ga:N fu:war (T)

850. ("it is fairly cold")

'ta fe 'ri:n't' fu:r (A)/ No re:saN:o fu:r (T)

851. ("it is terribly cold")

'ta fe 'æ:N 'u:war (A)/ ta fe 'ufu:saX fu:war (T)

852. ("thunder and lightning")

'ta'rn'ox ágos Lásra:xi (A)

853. ("snow")

'fn'ëxta [x2] (A)/ 'fn'ëxta (T)

("a snowy day")

La: 'fn'ëxta / (A)/ La: 'fn'ëxta (T)
854. ("snowflakes [pl."])
ka:Lo'gi: jn'e:xtə / (A)/ ka:Lo'gi: sn'æ:xtə (T)
("snowflake [sg."])
ka:Lo:g / (A)/ ka:Lo'g' (T)

855. ("hailstone [sg."]) kLox jn'e:xtə (A)/ kLox sn'æ:xtə (T)
("hailstones [pl."])
kLoxə jn'e:xtə (A)/ kLoxə sn'æ:xtə (T)

856. ("I went out after the shower") xo m'ë max ref o wu:ur’... ref oN wu:r' (A)/ xo m'ë max ref oN wowur' (T)
("showers [pl."])
mu:roNə1 (T)/ muri:l' (A/T)

857. ("a rainbow") k'e: ba:ft'í (A)/ ska' ba:ft'í (T)
("Ach [re'nbo] éaranns muinne" [A])

858. ("we have to take shelter") ka mud' o yəl' er' fa:ska (A)/ ka: muN' o yəl' er' fa:skə (T)

859. ("frost") jũk (A)/ jũk (T)
("a frosty day")
La: jũk (A)/ La: jũk (T)

860. ("it was freezing last night") v'i fe: jũk a'rej' (A)/ v'i: fe a'jũk a'rej' (T)

861. ("ice") 'Lærk 'ərj'1 (T/A)

862. ("the weather is getting very bad") tə: N 'aːm'fır' e 'fə:li' 'æːN 'do:Nə (A)/ tə: N 'aːm'fır' o 'fə:li' 'æːN 'do:Nə (T)

863. ("he fell in the mud") hit' fe səN... (A)/ ... so buːt'əx (T/A)
(words for “mud")
put'ax (A/T)/ Laː'b' (T/A)
(“Bíonn a’ puiteach níos boige; bíonn níos má visce 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”)

\[\text{gi: n'ú:is (A) / gi: N'á:is (T)}\]  
(“north wind”)

\[\text{gi: du:wo (A) / gi: do:wo (T) / gi: do: (A)}\]  
(“west wind”)

\[\text{gi: N'i:á:r (A) / gi: n'i:jar (T)}\]  
(“east wind”)

\[\text{gi: ë'Ner' (A/T)}\]

865. (“a whirlwind”)

([umLr^xt/ u:mLr^xt] 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”)

\[\text{v'i: fe N'ís f'í: 'n'e: (A/T)}\]

867. (“the road is very wet”)

\[\text{t'o: m bór 'áen'i:fr (A/T)}\]

868. (“hot”)

\[\text{t'e (A/T)}\]  
(“hotter”)

\[\text{n'ís 't'o:xo (A/T)}\]

869. (“higher”)

\[\text{n'ís a'rd'í (A/T)}\]

870. (“longer”)

\[\text{n'ís fád'í (A) / n'ís fád'e (T)}\]

871. (“close”)

\[\text{ku:ngó:ox (A) / ku:ngó:ox (T)}\]  
(“closer”)

\[\text{n'ís ku:ngó:ri (A) / n'ís ku:ngó:ri (T)}\]  
(“firm [daingean]”)

\[\text{Lo:d'nr' (A)}\]  
(after prompting with daingean)

\[\text{dæng'g'èN (A/T)}\]
RESPONSES IN IRISH TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE OF THE LINGUISTIC
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943

(“firmer”)

*n’is daen’g’n’i (A)/ n’is daen’g’n’i: (T)

872. (“short”)

gær’id’ (A/T)

(“shorter”)

*n’is g’nr’i (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”)

gLáis (for objects) (T)/L’i’e [x2] (for hair) (A)

874. (“go out quickly!”)

g@ ma:x g@ sk’ipw:i ... g@ ta:p@ (T, A)

875. (“he is quicker at his work than I am”)

t@ Se n’i:s sk’ipw:i ... (T)/ ... eg’ ø xud’ øb’r’i Na: m’i:fi ... n’i:s ‘Lo:La:wi: (A)

([Lu:]La:wox] (A)/[Lo:La:wox] (A, T) used for one who is quick at his/her work [= luathlámhach?])

(after prompting for the comparative form of *luath*)

sk’ipw:i (T)/ sk’ipw:i (A)

876. (“he died suddenly”)

fUr’ fe bas ‘ab@N (A)/ far’ fe bas ‘ab@N (T)

877. (“strong”)

Lád’ur’ (A/T)

(“stronger”)

*n’is Lád’ur’i (A)/ n’i:s Lád’er’e (T)

878. (“I am living near the town”)

t@ m’e eg’ ma:r’o:xta:l’ l’e ‘hæ:f øN wa:l’e ‘mohr (A)/

t@ m’e ma:r’o:xta:l’ l’e ‘æ:f ø wa:l’e ‘mohr (T)

Nu gær goN... (T, A overlap)

Nu gær goN wa:l’e mo:r (A)

879. (“yesterday was finer than today”)

v˚i ‘N’e n’i:s ... (A)/ ... n’is b’r’a:x’t˚i Na: N La: ‘N˚... (T)/ ... n˚is b’r’a:x’t˚i Na: ‘N˚u (A)/ ... Na: ‘N˚u (T)

Séamas Ó Direáin— A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
880. (“it is difficult to kill them”)

\[d'\v{e}k\v{i}r \ e:\d \ \v{a} \ \v{w}a:ru^n (A)/ \ d'\v{a}\'\v{e}k\v{i}r \ i:\d \ \v{a} \ \v{w}a:ru (T)\]

(“it is difficult to kill you [sg.]”)

\[t' \ fe: \ d'\v{e}k\v{i}r \ u: \ \v{w}a:ru (A)/ \ t' \ fe \ d'\v{a}\'\v{e}k\v{i}r \ u: \ \v{w}a:ru (T)\]

(“it is difficult to kill you all [pl.]”)

\[d'\v{a}\'\v{e}k\v{i}r \ f'ib' \ \v{a} \ \v{w}a:ru^n (A)\]

881. (“this is a narrow path”)

\[k\v{u}sa\v{n} \ ki:ju:l (A)/ \ Nu \ k\v{u}:\v{y} (T)/ \ Nu \ k\v{u}:\v{y}g (A)/\]

\[k\v{u}:\v{y}g \ldots \ k\v{u}sa\v{n} \ k\v{o}:\v{y} (T)\]

(“narrower”)

\[n'\v{i}:s \ k\v{r}\v{y}'\v{g}'e (T/A)\]

882. (“ugly”)

\[gr\v{o}:\v{n}\v{o} (A)/ \ a:ft'\v{a}x \ldots \ a:ft'\v{a}x (T)\]


“Rud fi? midhathuÁil [m'i:\v{y}a:nu'l] [A]”

(“uglier”)

\[n'\v{i}:s \ gr\v{o}:n'\v{i} (sic) (A/T)\]

883. (“he comes oftener than you”)

\[tug\v{o}n \ fe: \ n'\v{i}:s \ m'\v{m}'i:k'i \ Na' \ tu:ts\v{o} (sic) (A)\]

(repeated)

\[tug\v{o}n \ tfe \ No \ tug\v{o}n \ tfe \ n'\v{i}:s \ m'\v{m}'i:k'i: \ Na' \ tu:s\v{o} (A)\]

(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 Corrúch)

884. (“this is a fat sheep”)

\[is \ k\v{i}:\v{r}o \ ra:va:r \ e: \ f\v{o} (A/T)\]

\[is \ k\v{i}:\v{r}o \ ra:va:r \ e: \ f\v{o} (A)/ \ is \ k\v{i}:\v{r}o \ ra:va:r \ i: \ s\v{o} (sic) (T)\]

(“fatter”)

\[n'\v{i}:s \ r\v{m}'i:r'i (A)/ \ r\v{m}'i:r'i \ldots \ n'\v{i}:s \ r\v{m}'i:r'i (T)\]

885. (“it would be better for you to go”)

\[b'\v{a}:r \ d\v{u}:t' \ m'\v{o}xt (A)/ \ b'\v{a}:r \ y\v{a}:t' \ m'\v{o}xt (T) (T)\]

886. (“it is easy to do that”)

\[t' \ fe \ e\v{s}k \ o^1 \ j\v{m}' \ \v{a} \ j\v{n}\v{o} (A)/ \ t' \ fe \ e\v{s}k \ e \ j\v{m}' \ \v{a} \ j\v{n}\v{o} (T)\]

(“easier”)

Seamas O Direain—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
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n′i:s e:sk@ (A)/ n′i:s e′sk@ (T)
(after prompting with furasta, A says “Éarann [frusta]”)
... n′i:s frusta (sic) ... g@s n′i:s e:sk@ ...
(“Bfhéidir gur [frusta] an rud ceart.” [A])

887. (“it was worthwhile to do it”)
b′u: a′ jN@ (A)/ b′u: a′ jN@ (T)
(“it is worthwhile to do it”)

888. (“old”)
fe:n... Nu ist@ (A)
889. (“my father is older than yours”)
t@ m æ′r′ n′i:s ist@ Nu ... æ′r′ tusa (sic!) (A)
(after prompting with sean)
n′i:s jN@ (A)/ n′i:s jN@ (T)
890. (“there are black clouds in the sky”)
v′i kLa′n′i: du s@N e:j@r (A)/ ... No N′e:LsN@ (T)
(T also offers the forms [N′i:Ls] [sg.] and ... [N′i:Ls] [pl.])
(after prompting with spéir)
s@N aj@r (T)/ s@ sp′e:r′ (A/T)

891. (“darker”)
d@r@x@ ... du (A)/ d@r@x@ (T)/ n′i:s duv′i ... n′i:s d@r@x@ (A)
892. (“today is a fine day”)
t@ N ′La: N′u geo b′r′a: (T/A)
(note placement of stress)
893. (“fog”)
k′o: (A)/ k′o:wa (T)
(“a foggy day”)
′La: k′o: (A/T)
894. (“dirtier”)
sal@x (A/T)/ n′i:s so′yi: (A/T)
895. (“I have a cold”)
sL@da:N... fuwxt (A)/ t@ fuwxt am (T/A)/
t@ sL@da:N am Nu: œram (A)
(either word can be used)

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946. ("it was raining all night")
\[v'i \text{ fe' } \text{ba:ft'ox } 'ga: \text{ n' o hi: (A)/ } v'i \text{ fe' } \text{ba:ft'ox } 'ga: \text{ n' o hi: (T)}\]

947. ("star [sg.]")
re:Lt (T, A)
("stars [pl."]
re:Lto:gi' (A)/ re:Lto:gi' (T)/ Nu re:Lt@ (A)

948. ("there is heat in the sun")
\[v'i \text{ t'æs s' } \text{y'r'i^2N } (A/ T)\]
("the sun")
\[\text{aN}^* \text{ g'ri:jaN } (A)/ \text{y' jr'i^2N } (T)\]

949. ("there is a ring around the moon")
\[v'i \text{ fa:N' i } \text{hi}mp^t, \text{ N' g'æ:xli' } (T)/ \text{gar' } (A)/\]
\[\text{gar' } \text{hi}mp^t\text{ o } jæ:ljox } (T)/ \text{fa:N' i } \text{hi}mp^t\text{ o } jæ:ljox } (A)\]
("a ring [sg.]")
\[\text{fa:N' i } (A)/ \text{fa:N' e } (T)\]
("rings [pl."]
\[\text{fa:N' i: } (T, A)\]

950. ("week")
\[\text{fa:xtin'} (A)/ \text{fa:xtin'} (T)\]
("next week")
\[\text{fa:xtin'} \text{ fa } \text{lugiN'} (T)/ (n') \text{ t'æxtm' fa } \text{lugiN'} (A)\]
("we came home last week")
\[\text{ha:n'g'} \text{ m'}^wN' \text{ o'wa:l' en' t'æxtm' tf } \text{ka}^t'i } (A)/\]
\[\text{ha:n' } \text{m'}^wN' \text{ o'wa:l' en' t'æxtm' fa } \text{ka}^t'e } (T)\]
("seven weeks ago")
\[\text{fa}x \text{ fa:xtm' i' o: } \text{w''m'} (A)/ \text{fa}x \text{ fa:xtm' i' o: } \text{w''m'} (T)\]

951. ("the days of the week")
\[\text{LejN'i: ... LejoN'ta N' fa:xtm'(i) ... LejoN'o N' fa:xtm'(i) } (A)\]
(after prompting for the plural form of the word "day")
\[\text{LejoN'ti N' fa:xtm'e N' LejoN'i: N' fa:xtm'(i) } (A)\]
("Monday")
\[\text{'d' } \text{Lu:N } (A)\]
("Tuesday")
\[\text{'d' } \text{mart'} } (A)\]
902. ("I shall be back in about four or five weeks")

b'è m'è er' ë:f... (A)/ t'impal... (T)/... t'impal k'èr Na ku:g go hextm'ì: (A)

b'è m'è er a:j (T) t'impal k'æ:r Na ku:g ò haxtì: (T)

903. ("month [sg."])

m'ì: (A)/ m'ì:j (T)

("months [pl."])

m'ì:No (A)/ m'ì:No (T)

("the end of the month")

d'èr'è No m'ì:sò (A)/ d'er'è No m'ì:sò (T)

904. ("names of the months")

æ:Noir (A)

fjà:ro (A)

mà:to (A)

e'b'r'α:N... a'b'r'α:N (A)

b'ò:tìn'mè... (T)/... b'ò:tìn'mì (A)

m'è:n (A)

u:l (A)

Lu:Nesø (A)

'm'α:Nuswàr (A)

d'er'èfù:wàr (A)

sa"n (A)

NøLìk (A)
905. ("seasons of the year")

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Season</th>
<th>Irish</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spring</td>
<td>fesu'fr'</td>
<td>&quot;spring&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summer</td>
<td>a'rea</td>
<td>&quot;summer&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fall</td>
<td>sa'ra</td>
<td>&quot;fall&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winter</td>
<td>g'ire</td>
<td>&quot;winter&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After being prompted by the variant [ŝa:mr̂], A responds first.

"Éarann, ach I think [sa:ra] 's the right way; it's a better word than [ŝa:mr̂] [A]/" Éarann muid [ŝa:mr̂] [T])

906. ("I got up at dawn")

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Irish</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a'ir'im</td>
<td>&quot;got up&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma:N'axiN</td>
<td>&quot;at dawn&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'err'i m'e</td>
<td>&quot;I think&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma:N'axiN</td>
<td>&quot;the right way&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...Nu l'e b'r'e:k</td>
<td>&quot;better word than&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

907. ("twilight [in the evening]")

klapĥl̂ (A)

908. ("the sun is rising")

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Irish</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tu n' jr'e:N a'g' a'ir'í:</td>
<td>&quot;the sun is rising&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu n' jr'i-&quot;a'g' a'ir'í:</td>
<td>&quot;the sun is going down&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to fi 'gal' f'i:i</td>
<td>&quot;I think&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to fi: 'gal' 'f:i:le</td>
<td>&quot;it's the right way&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

909. ("it is midnight")

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Irish</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tu fe 'na 'v:a:N 'i:</td>
<td>&quot;it is midnight&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...'m:a:N 'i:jí</td>
<td>&quot;it is midnight&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

910. ("you walk very slowly")

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Irish</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>su:f'en tu: a:en 'wa:l</td>
<td>&quot;you walk very slowly&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fo:aN tu: 'a:</td>
<td>&quot;you walk very slowly&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'wa:l</td>
<td>&quot;you walk very slowly&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

911. ("the morning star")

re:al N: ma:N'í (A/T)

912. ("it is just noon")

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Irish</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N'i:l' fe ax ...</td>
<td>&quot;it is just noon&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...La:r o Le:</td>
<td>&quot;it is just noon&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

913. ("he came in the evening")

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Irish</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>h:am'íg' fe tra'N'ou:</td>
<td>&quot;he came in the evening&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h:am'e fe tra'N:ou:</td>
<td>&quot;he came in the evening&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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914. ("where did ye go? [pl."])

'kǝ N′ɛ:xǝ fi̱t (A)/ ko 'N′æ:xǝ fe:s̄ d ... fe:s̄ d (T)
(with correction for the pronoun)
ko 'N′æ:xǝ jəb' (A/T)
("where did ye put it? [pl."])
kǝ:r (sic) xor jəb' e· (A)/ kǝ:r xor jəb' e (T)

915. ("I work every second night")

b′i:N m′e g əbîr’ x′e:n darrNə h′i: (A)/
b′i:m' əg əbîr' x′em darrnə hi: (T)
(="I work nearly every second night")
b′i:N m′e g əbîr' b′egNax x′e:n darrNə h′i: (A)/
... b′agNax x′em darrnə hi: (T)

916. ("from morning till night")

o’ wæ:d̄gin' gu f′i:n' (A)/ o’ wæ:d̄gin’ gu f′i:n' (T)

917. ("the day after tomorrow")

'Lo’ rNə ‘wa:r’r’ox (A)/ ‘aːrʊ: ‘mɑː:r’ox (T)/ ‘aːro ‘mɑː:r’ox ... ‘aːro
‘mɑː:r’ (sic) (A)
("the day before yesterday")
Lo: rəv’ ‘N’e:e[,] (T)/ aːru: ‘n’e:e[,] (A)

918. ("next year")

v′ile’n’ jə hugUni (A)/ v′ile’n’ jə hugini (T)
("last year")

v′ile’n’ jə kæt’e (A)/ v′ile’n’ jə kæt’e (T)
(after prompting with anuraidh)
Nərə (A)/ Nərə (T)
(after prompting with san athbhliain)
sun ‘æ:v′ile’n’ (A)
(both anuraidh and san athbhliain used in Inis Mór)

919. ("what time is it now?")

k′eN tam ən’ɪf e (A)/ k′eN tam ən’ɪf e (T)

920. ("it is eleven o’clock")

tə tʃe’ ‘hin’ ‘eg’ o x̑l̑ag (A)/ tə tʃe’ ‘hin’ ‘eg’ o x̑l̑ag (T)
("it is twelve o’clock")
’dɔː jəːɡ o x̑l̑ag (A)/ ’dɔː jəːɡ o x̑l̑ag (T)

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921. ("I was waiting for her for two hours")

v'i m'e: ⁹g fa:Nəxt l'e: ... 'ya: uuər' (A)/
(v'i) m'e fa:Nəxt l'e: I'e: 'ya: uuər' (T)

922. ("he waited")

dam' fe (A)/ dam' fe' (T)

923. ("wait! [sg.]")

fa:N (A/T)
("wait! [pl.]")

fa:Ni' (A, T)/ Nə No fa:Ni' (A)

924. ("I shall wait for you")

fa:No: m'e: l'et (A)/ fa:No m'e l'æ:t (T)

925. ("it is ten minutes past five")

tə fe: 'd'e 'Nəm'e:d də 'ref ø 'ku:g' (A)/
tə fe 'd'e 'Nəm'e'd 'ref ø 'ko:wɪg' (T)
("it is five to twelve")
tə fe 'xʊɡ' 'um'e:d xəN do: 'je:g (A)/
...'xʊɡ' 'um'e'd øN do: 'je:jʊg (T)

926. ("he gave me his blessing [...a bheannacht]")

hug fe œv'e:Nəxt yam (A)/ hug fe œv'a:Nəx dam (T)
("he gave me his curse [...a mhallacht]")

hug fe' œwə:ləx dum (A)

927. ("greeting at meeting [in the morning]")

mad'm' v'rɑ: (A/T)/
Nu: d'eə' yit' ər mad'm' (A)/
d'i' yit' ("is mő") ...d'i' yit' ər mad'm' (T)
("answer: ...")
d'e: gus mor'i yit' (A, T)/ d'e: œs morə yit' (T)

928. ("good-bye!")

'slæ:n' l'æ:t (A)/ 'slan' l'æ:t (T)

929. ("I met him on the road last night")

ka:su: dum e er øN mor œrɪ (A/T)

930. ("maybe we wouldn't meet each other again")

b'ed'n' Nəx gəsfi' er ø x'e:l' 'r'i:fɪt' mʊd' (A)/
b'ed'n' Nəx gəsfi' er ø x'e:l' 'r'i:fɪt' mʊN' (T)

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931. ("I know him well")
tə ə:ləs maː ãm er’ (A)/ tə ə:ləs maː ... agm er’ (T)

932. ("he did it in spite of me")
riN’i fe ɣuN wiːxos dum æ (A)/
riN’i fe ɣo wiːxos dam æ (T)

933. ("he did it unknown to me")
riN’i fe ɹ ɬuNəs dam æ (A)/
riN’i fe ɹ ɬuNəs dam æ (T)

934. ("I am well [answer to ‘how are you?’"])
tə m’ə gə maː (A)/ tə m’ə gə mə: (T)

935. ("there is nothing wrong with him")
N’il tədə kuːNtraːl’ɪ ɪɛf (A)/
Nu: ‘m’iːxær’t ... ɬuN tədə ‘m’iːhær’t ɪɛf (T)
(cearr not used on Inis Mór; A pronounces the word [k’ær])

936. ("he didn’t speak to me when I met him yesterday")
N’er ləur fe ləm Nor’ æ kəsə dam ‘n’eː ɛ (A)/
N’er ləur fe ləm Ner’ æ kəsə dam ‘n’eː ɛ (T)

937. ("I am a stranger")
is ‘stræːnʃər m’ə (A)/ ...stræːnʃər ... (T)/
Nu  ka’k’riːp (A) (= “foreigner”)

938. ("you’re welcome!")
tə fəːlt’ɔ ruːt (A)/ fəːlt’ɔ roːt (T)
(“answer: ... ”)
ɡu ˈmaːr’iː tuː (A)

939. ("what is your name?")
k’eːN ‘tæːN’im’ ɬt ort ... Nu kə’d æəN’m’ dit’ (A)/
k’eːN ‘tæːən’m’ ɬt ært (T)
(Cén t-ainm atá ort? is the more frequent of the two phrases on Inis Mór)

940. ("where are you from?")
k’eː ɛːs dit’ (A)/ k’eː ɛəs dit’ (T)

941. ("where are you coming from?")
k’eː ɛːs ‘tə tʊː tˈæːxt (A) k’eː ɛːs ‘tə tʊː tˈiːʃəxt (T)
942. ("he didn't tell me where he was from")

Nîr mîf fe dom k'ërw ë? ... k'ë: ë:s ë ... Nu k'ërw ë:s ë (A)/
Nîr mîf fe dom k'ëu ë:s ë (T)

943. ("he is going to and fro [annon 's anall]")

tô tfe go' ë ... (A)/ Nu:N s "Na:L (T)/ Nu:N s "Na:L (A)

944. ("you would see houses here and there [anseo 's ansiúd"]

t@ tS @ ... (A)/NU: NS @ NA: L (T)/NU: NS @ NA: L (A)

945. ("westwards")

fîr (A/T)
("eastwards")

sê (T)/ sæ (A)
("northwards")

ô: ho:" (T)/ ô: ho: (A)
("southwards")

ô: jë:s (T)/ ô: jë:s (Nu) tîw ô: jë:s (A)/
tîw ô: jë:s (T)

946. ("he is inside the door")

tô tfe tîw "st'i goN darës (A)/ tô fe tîw "st'i goN darës (T)
("he is outside the door")

tô tfe tîw "nu goN darës (A)/ tô fe tiv "nu goN darës (T)

947. ("when will you come back?")

k'ën tam okês (= a thiocfas) tu' er' e:j (A)/
k'ën tam ukas tu' er' ë:j (T)
("why didn't ye come? [pl.]")

k'ê fa Ñar (sic) hâm'íg' fîb' (A/T)

948. ("how did you do that?")

k'ê xî "riN'i tu e tfîm' (A)/ k'ê xî: riN'i tu' e fn' (T)

949. ("come in! [sg.]")

tar "st'ë:x (A)/ tar "st'ë:x (T)/
gê st'ë:x ... gê st'ë:x (A/T)
t'ë:Nom "st'ë:x (A)
("come in! [pl.]")

Séamas Ó Direáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
tag:ix ʃt'ɛ:x (A)/ ta:gi- st'æ:x (T)
(“wait till he comes!”)
fa:Ng wu d'uku ʃe (A)/ fa:Ng wu d'uku ʃe (T)
950. (“if he wouldn't come, I would not be pleased”)
mar@ d'ikæx ʃe ... Ni: v'ɛx m'i: sa:stæ ... Nu Ni: v'e:i' sa:stæ (A)/
mæd d'ikæx ʃe ... ni: 'vən' sa:stæ (T)
951. (“he used to come on Saturdays”)
bu yNa:x ʃeʃ he"xt er' d'e sa:n'í (A)/
bu yNa:x ʃeʃ he:xt d'e sa:n'í (T)
(“he comes every Sunday”)
ta:gæN ʃe gaN duNa:x (A/T)
(“his brother came often last summer”)
hæn'í' jir'ar' gø m'ni:k' øn sa²ra ʃə kæ:t'i (A)/
hæn'í' jir'ar' gø m'ni:k' øn sa²ra ʃə kæ:t'i (T)
952. (“there is somebody at the door”)
v'i: 'dun'i k'in't' ek' øN da:ra (A)/
v'i: dm'i k'in't' eg' ø da:ra (T)
953. (“he didn't come at all today”)
n'i:ør hæn'í' ʃe ʃær ør b'í 'N'u (A)/
n'i:ør hæn'í' ʃe ʃær ør b'í 'N'ø (T)
954. (“who is in the house?”)
k'e: tø sa t'ɛ:x (A)/ t'e: (sic) tø sa t'æ:x (T)
955. (“the boys were throwing stones at each other”)
v'i: Nø bæxil'i: økæ: klæxø ʃe: xu'e:i' (A)/
v'i: Nø bæxil'i: kæklæxø ʃe: xu'e:i' (T)
956. (“he fired a shot”)
xaø ʃe: øræxø (A)/ xaø ʃe: øræxø (T)
957. (“a mountain [sg.] [sliabh]”)
ʃl'ijøv (A)/ sl'ir^øv (T)
(“mountains [pl.]”)
ʃl'ɛf't'i (A)/ sl'ef't'e (T)
(“on top of the mountain”)
er wær ø t'Le: (A)/ wær ø sl'æ:v'e (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.”)

\[\text{kNuk} (A) / \text{kNok} (T)\]

(“hills [pl.]”)

\[\text{knOc} (A) / \text{knEc} (T)\]

“on top of the hill”

\[\text{er’ war a xNeck} (T)\]

“on top of the cliff”

\[\text{er’ war na hecil’i} (T/A)\]

(“The [fL:ew] is higher than the [kNuk]” [A])

(for elevations smaller than a hill, only móta is given)

\[\text{muta} [sg.] (T)\]

\[\text{muti: [pl.] (A/T)}\]

(“a rise in the road [carcair]”) 

\[\text{ka:rkir’} [sg.] (A/T)\]

\[\text{ka:rkir’oxi: [pl.] (A/T)}\]

\[\text{er’ war a xa:rkir’} (sic) (T) / \text{er’ war a xa:rkir’} (A) [gen. sg.]\]

959. ("a farmer")

\[\text{fél’im’or’} (A) / \text{fél’im’or’} (T)\]

960. (“he has a good farm”)

\[\text{ta fél’im’ ‘wo:rg’e} (A) / \text{ta’ fél’im’ ‘wo:rg’e} \text{Nu fél’im’ ‘wa:rg’e} (T)\]

961. (“the ground [talamh]”)

\[\text{N ta:Lo} (T/A)\]

(“plots of ground”)

\[\text{ta:lti:} (T)\]

(“on top of the ground”)

\[\text{er’ war aN ta:Lo} (A) / \text{war a ta:Lo} (T)\]
962. (“landlord”)

\[ t'i'\text{r}N\text{O} ta:L\text{O} (A)/ t'i'\text{r}N\text{O} ta:L\text{u}:N (T) \]

963. (“he is laughing at her”)

\[ t\text{f}\text{e} ga:r'i:f u (A)/ t\text{f}\text{e} ga:r'i:f u (T) \]

(“he is laughing at them”)

\[ t\text{f}\text{e} ga:r'i:f f\text{u:b} (A/T) \]

964. (“I am in a hurry”)

\[ t\text{\textprime}Ef\text{\textprime}Ir\text{\textprime}r@m (A) \]

Nu t\text{\textprime}Ef\text{\textprime}Ir\text{\textprime}r@m (A) / Nu t\text{\textprime}Ef\text{\textprime}Ir\text{\textprime}r@m (T) 

(“hurry up!”)

\[ \text{\textprime}Ef\text{\textprime}Ir\text{\textprime}r@m... Nu \text{\textprime}Ef\text{\textprime}Ir\text{\textprime}r@m (A) \]

965. (“I know nothing about him”)

‘N\text{\textprime}i:l’ is agm ‘tad\text{\textprime}m ‘f\text{\textprime}i: (A)/ ‘N\text{\textprime}i:l’ is agm ‘tad\text{\textprime}m ‘f\text{\textprime}i:le (T)

966. (“clay”)

\[ k'r\text{\textprime}r\text{\textprime}f\text{\textprime}r\text{\textprime}w\text{\textprime}g\text{\textprime}... No k\text{\textprime}e: (sic) (T)/ k\text{\textprime}r\text{\textprime}e: (A/T)/ k'r\text{\textprime}r\text{\textprime}f\text{\textprime}r\text{\textprime}w\text{\textprime}g' (A/T) \]

(“cultivated land”)

\[ ta:L\text{L\textprime}a \text{t\textprime}kura (A)/ ta:L\text{L\textprime}a k@ra (T) \]

(“lea-land”)

\[ ta:L\text{L\textprime}a \text{f\textprime}r\text{\textprime}ox (T)/ ta:L\text{L\textprime}a 'sakr@ (A) \]

(question not clearly understood by T and A; investigator then prompted with talamh b\text{\textacute}n)

\[ ta:L\text{L\textprime}a \text{b\textprime}u:n' (sic) (T/A) (“You’d cultivate that” [T]) \]

(talamh f\text{\textacute}ar\text{\textacute}ch is for cattle)

967. (“there is a big wood on the hill”)

\[ t\text{a} k@l' \text{w}or \text{er} \text{a} ga:r\text{r}x\text{r}k\text{r} (T)/ ... \text{er} \text{a} ga:r\text{r}k\text{r} (A) \]

(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.)

\[ i:sf\text{\textacute}l\text{\textacute}a:N (T) (T comments that an ísleán is a “slopee, like a carcair ... in a field”) \]

(investigator then prompted with the term ard\text{\textacute}n)

\[ a'r\text{\textacute}da:n (A, T) (“You’d have that in a field” [A]) \]

(“woods [pl.]”)

\[ k@l't\text{\textprime}I (T)/ k@l't\text{\textprime}f\text{\textprime} (A) \]

SÉAMAS Ó DIREÁIN— A SURVEY OF SPOKEN IRISH IN THE ARAN ISLANDS, Co.GALWAY
(“in the middle of the wood”) 

Là:r əŋ xãL’ (A) Là:r ə xãL’ . . . ə xãL’ (T) / Nu’ Là:r Nə koL’i (A)

968. (“a tree /sg./”) 

kra:N . . . kra:N (A)/ kra:N (T) 

(“trees [pl.]”) 

kriN’tfi (A)/ kriN’ti (T) 

(“on top of the tree”) 

er’ war ə xra:N (A/T)

969. (“leaf /sg./”) 

b’Il’o:ɡ (A) 

(“leaves [pl.]”) 

b’Il’o:gi: (A/T) 

(“the leaves of the trees”) 


970. (“branch /sg./”) 

kre:jɔv (T)/ kri:v (A) 

(“branches [pl.]”) 

kri:vɔNə (T)/ kri:vɔNə³ (A/T)

971. (“withered /as of branches/”) 

ʃɛ:ɾakoː (A)/ ʃɛ:ɾakoː (T)

972. (“a briar /sg./”) 

d’Ir’iʃ (A)/ d’Ir’iʃ (T) 

(“briars [pl.]”) 

d’Ir’iʃuxi (A)/ d’Ir’iʃæxø (T)

973. (“a thistle”) 

d’Ir’oːsaðaːN (T/A)

974. (“yellow ragweed /buachalán/”) 

bəxələːN b’wej (T)

975. (“a blackthorn stick”) 

‘maːɡə ‘draːN (A)/ ‘maːɡə ‘draːN (T) 

(t’uga’mu’n’ sk’æx ər ʃin’ . . . ax tuga’moN draːN f’r’ʃin’ or’ [“Tiuga’ muinne ‘sceach’ air sin, . . . ach tuga’ muinn ‘draighéin freisin air’”] [T]) 

sk’æx g’æːl (T) (has white flowers and a pleasant fragrance)
RESPONSES IN IRISH TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE OF THE LINGUISTIC
ATLAS AND SURVEY OF IRISH DIALECTS: CORRÚCH, INIS MÓR, 1990

976. (“I came by the short-cut”)  
ha:n′ æ:x N i; (T) (plural form)

977. (“how far is it from here to Cill Rónáin?”)  
k′eN ta:xr æ:s fō go k′el′ ro:Nan′ (T)

978. (“who was with you?”)  
k′e v′i: t′est... Nu k′e v′i: N′ir=Nax l′et (A)/ k′e v′i t′æt (T)

979. (“most of the people have gone away”)  
N′a: æ:k′e @x @s mU:g@ N′a: (T)

980. (“I was making a creel but I failed”)  
v′i m′e d′inNoh krīb′ ax x′in′ ′a θəm... rump (?) ′e θəm (A)/
v′i m′e d′inNoh... krīb′ ax x′in′ ′e θəm... Nu hERP′ ′e θəm (T)

981. (“he is afraid of me”)  
ta: fa:t′i:s eg′e rum (A)/ ta: fa:t′i:s eg′e ro:m (T)/
Nu ta: skā: eg′e rum (A)/ Nu ta: skā: eg′e rum (T)
(“...of him”)  
...riv′ (A/T)  
(“...of her”)  
...rump′ [x2] (A)/ ...rump′ [x2] (T)
(“...of them”)  
...rumpub (A)/ ...rompub (T)

982. (“shy”)  
ku:woL (A)/ ku:woL (T)

983. (“I gave him a fright”)  
hag m′e: skā:Nno do (A)/ hag m′e: skā:Nno yo (T)
No wa:t′ m′e: g′et′ es (A/T)

Séamas Ó Direáin— A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
984. ("the shoes don't fit me")

Níl' Na bróg@ k'ért a'm ... Nu f'él'ú:Nax a'm (A)/
Níl' na bróg@ k'ær t am (T)
(“they didn’t fit”)
Ní ra' Na bróg@ k'ért am ("céaranns muinn") (A)
("they will fit")
b'é1 fad 'k'ért (A)/ b'é1 fad 'k'ær t (T)
("d'fhéil siad dom", etc., not used in Inis Mór)

985. ("suitable")
fré:grax (A)/ fré:a:grax ... No sa:sul (T)/ sa:sul' (A)

986. ("the children are making a lot of noise")
To Na gasur' a d'IN ea L'or ... tar@N (A)

987. ("coal")

gu:w@L (A/T)

988. ("the fire went out for want of coal")

xo n' t'm' máx ger'ise gu:w@L ... Nu xe:L guw@L (T)
([ta n' t'm' 'es:]- "The fire is out", that's the most common thing we say" [A])
ger'ise guw@L ... Nu aspo guw@L (A)/ aspo guw@L (T)/
Nu xe:L guw@L (A)/ xe:L guw@L (T)

989. ("I am surprised that you didn’t come")

ta in'tas a'm ... (T)/ ... Na: hú:na'íg' tu (A)/ ... Na: hú:na'íg' fi (T)

990. ("breath")

t a:na:l' (T/A) (= t' anáil)

991. ("tie a knot on that rope!")

kar sNú:m'... (A) kar sNú:m'... (T)/
er' en ro:po jin' (A)/ er' ó ro:po jin' (T)

992. ("knots in the timber")

ta a:lt@n@ saN a:m@d (A)
("knot [sg.]")
a:lt (A/T)
("finger joint")
a:lt d@ L@:v'e (A)/ a:lt do v'e:r'e (T/A)
("finger joints [pl.]")
æ:l't' (T/A)
993. ("he imitates you all the time")

\[ \text{v'í fē g ar'if't' ert əN ta:m 'L'ug (T)} \]

994. ("did you make it?")

\[ ^{2}r\text{N'í tu e ... Nu N'a:rNə tu e (A/T)} \]

995. ("he makes shoes")

\[ d'\text{INN fē bro:go (A/T)} \]

996. ("he does nothing at all")

\[ n'i jINN fē 'ta:də (A/T)/ ... rød e b' (T) \]

997. ("I will make butter today")

\[ d'\text{INə m'ē im' 'N'o (A)/ d'INə m'ē im' 'N'o (T)/} \]

\[ Nu d'INə m'ē ma:jfr' (A) \]

998. ("I will not make it")

\[ n'i 'jINə m'ē e (A/T) \]

999. ("if you would make butter, I would make bread")

\[ a' N'INax tu: ... i:m' ... jINp'fē ra:N (A)/} \]

\[ ma' jeNN to i:m' ... d'eNə m'fe ra:N (T) \]

1000. ("it didn't hurt you anyhow")

\[ n'ir yorti fē ?u ... er' xor er' ... er' e:N xor (A)/} \]

\[ n'ir yorti fē u er' ē: xor (T)/...Nu N e:N xor (A) \]

1001. ("I was alone last night")

\[ v'í: m'ē: 'ləm 'h've:n' 'rer' (A)/ v'í: m'ē: 'ləm he:n' 'rer' (T) \]

(note the velarisation of [h] in the first response)

1002. ("he seldom visits our house")

\[ òs a:Nə ... (T)/ t'ugN (sic) fē: kor:t' er' ər d'ə'x ka'ron'r Nu a:Nə (A)/} \]

\[ òs a:Nə ho:gn' fē kor:t' er' (T) \]

([gə hə:Nə] (= go hannamh) elicited from A in a later repetition of the question — after item 1003)

1003. ("I gave them a present")

\[ hug m'ē: fer'inn' do'b (A)/ hug m'ē fer'inn' do'b (T) \]

\[ (er'əN fəd t'ir:Nə la:v'é [= sîneadh lâimhe] [A]/} \]

\[ d'ərəN... tə t'ir:Nə la:v'é fr'e:son [T]) \]

("I think that would refer to money — [fɪn'e la:v'é] [A])

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(after prompting with *bronntanas*)

**bru:NtÚNu:s** (A)/ **bru:NtÚNu:s** (T)

(*bronntanas* is heard more frequently than *féirín* in Inis Mór)

1004. ("he didn't thank me for the present")

n'ír ɣLa:k fe b'w'ixos l'um *f'í:n f'er'ín*... Nu *f'í:n mruntÚNu:s* (A)

(second repetition from T)

n'i(r ɣ)La:k fe b'w'ixos l'um *f'í:n mru:NtÚNu:s* (T)

1005. ("we were lonely after him")

v'i moð u:rg'n'ox əNə je' (A)/ v'i moð' u:rg'n'ox əNə je' (T)

1006. ("avoid bad company!")

ʃe:xIn əN ɬrəx'xu:Lo:dər (T)/ ʃa:n ɡlə:n er' ə ʃrəx'xu:Lo:dər (A)

1007. ("mind yourself! [sg.]")

t'u:r' ə'r'i ɬiːt' he:n' (A)/ t'u:r' ə'r'i ɬət' he:n' (T)

("mind yourselves! [pl.]")

tuɡi' ə'r'i d'iːb' he:n' (A)/ tuɡi' ə'r'i jib' he:n' (T)

1008. ("nothing is troubling him")

N'i:l taːdə kir' t'r'ibLo:d' er'... Nu kir' 'st'əx er' (A)

1009. ("he has a big family")

ta' ku:Lo:dər mər eg'e (A)/ ta ko:Lo:dər mər eg'...e (T)

(After prompting with the word *muirín*, A responds with: "*[mur'ín]*, that’s the old saying, the old word for it. *[mur'ín* Nu ku:Lo:dər*] you’d hear here" [rather than *cáram]*)

1010. ("he didn’t let me go")

n'ír l'ıːɡ' fe yam 'um'ex .. 'um'ext (second repetition) (T)/

n'ír l'ıːɡ' fe dam 'um'ext (A)

1011. ("he went through a lot of trouble")

 xAxis fe re' gu L'o:r t'r'ıbLo:d' (A)/

xə fe ri gu L'o:r t'r'ıbLo:d' (T)/

... t'r'ıbLo:d'ír (A)

1012. ("the pain went through her")

xə m p'eiːN... (A)/ xə m fe "N ri (T)

(A has difficulty in translating “through her”. “I don’t know how to say that. *[t'r'ıd' i]: would you say that?”)
1013. (“wait till I am at home!”)
fa:N gə m’e m’e sə ma:l’i (A)/ fa:N gə m’e m’e sə ma:l’e (T)

1014. (“the thief was caught last night”) 
rug: er’ e ɬ’mədə ɬ’məd’ (A)/ rug: er’ e ɬ’məd: ɬ’məd’n (T)

1015. (“they caught him”) 
rugudər e Nu’ ɬmədər e . . . ɬmədər e (A)/ ɬmədər e (T)/
Nu’ rugudər e (A)/Nu’ rugudər e (T)

1016. (“he is caught”) 
t@ SE I ɬr’i:m’ (A)/ t@ SE I ɬr’i:jIm’ (T)

1017. (“he will be caught”) 
b’e1 fe ‘ɬr’i:m’ (T/A)

1018. (“they catch thieves every day”) 
b’er’n’ ɬd ɬrəb ɬn’ xol’e La: (T)/
...er’ ɬɔdrı’ . . . er ɬəd: xil’e La:
Nu k’eNs’ən ɬd (= ceausaíonn) ɬəd: “xil’e La: . . .
k’eNs’ən ɬd ed (A)/ k’æNs’nə (T)
(plural of ɬəd) 
gadU1 . . . ɬəd: (A/T)
(“You could say [ɡaxdi]; [ɡaxdi] we say” [A])

1019. (“I would not be bothered with him”) 
n’i: v’ex m’e “nu ɬwədərə:l ɬen’ l’ef (A)

1020. (“we are nearly finished”) 
qa muq N Na:r (sic) θ v’e k’r’i:xN’i (A)/
qa muq N Na:r θ v’e k’r’i:xN’e1 (T)/
Nu b’eNax k’r’i:xN’ə (A)/ Nu b’eNax k’r’i:xN’ə (T)

1021. (“they didn’t ask me who I was”) 
n’i:r erə fe d’i:m k’e m’e he:n’ (A)/
n’i:r erə fe d’i:m k’e m’e hejen’ (T)

1022. (“he was asking me what time it was”) 
v’i: fe f’e:ru k’eN təm v’i: fe (T)/ v’i: fe f’i:ru k’eN təm æ (A)

1023. (“what did the shoes cost?”) 
k’er’d θ xaʃin’ nə brogə . . . nə brog ɬ’sə (A)/
k’er’d θ xaʃin’ nə brog ɬ’sə (T)
(“[brog ɬ’ardə] are boots” [A])
1024. ("they will cost a lot")

kafN'o' fad gu L'o: (A)  
("they cost a lot [present tense]")

kaf'n' fad gu L'owor (T)  
("the house will cost a lot")

kafN'o' n' t'æx gu L'o: (A) /

kafN'o' n' t'æx gu L'o: (T)

1025. ("there is no difference between you and me")

n'i: ræ (= ni raibh) em' d'if'r'íæxt ed'ir m'if agas tasa (T)/

...tusa (A)

("between us")

æ:daïN' (T)/ æ:daïN' (A)

("between them")

æ:træb (A)/ æ:træb (T)

1026. ("lime")

iæl (A)/ i:æl (T)

([t'æx i:l] = white-washed house [A])

1027. ("he didn't say anything")

N'ir u:rt' fe ta:da (A)/ N'ir u:rt' fe ta:da (T)

1028. ("did he say anything?")

er u:rt' fe ta:da (A)/


S ræ fe ta:da Nu r u:rt fe ta:da (T)

(A second elicitation failed to clarify the situation. Is a by-form of the defective verb ar [e.g., ar se] being used here?)

1029. ("say your prayers! [sg.]")

a:br a: fud'r'æxi: (A/T)/ Nu . . . du xud' ær^Ni: (A)

("ach 'páidreachair' 'eireanns munne" [A])

("say your prayers! [pl.]")

a:brí: gud' . . . (T)/ a:brí: gud' pa:d'r'æxi: (A)

a:bre: gud' pa:d'r'æxe (T)

1030. ("we didn't pay for the shoes")

N'ir ik mud' er nè brog 'i:foLa (A)/

N'ir ik m'íN' er' nè brog 'i:foLa (T)
1031. (“he is selling clothes”)
\(\text{t@fe d'i}l\) e:dx (A)/ \(\text{t@ fe d'i}l\) e:dx (T)

1032. (“he is reading”)
\(\text{t@ fe: eg' L'e:a\ldots Nu' L'e:a (A)/}\)
\(\text{t@ fe: g' L'e:a (T)}\)
(“he has read the book”)
\(\text{t@ n' L'a\ldots I'etf eg'e (A)/ t@ n' L'a\ldots I'et' eg'e (T)}\)
(“he read the book”)
\(\text{L'e: fe n' L'a\ldots (A)/ l'e: fe n' L'a\ldots (T)}\)
(“he will read the book”)
\(\text{l'e: fe n' L'awor (A)/ fe: fe n' l'a\ldots (T)}\)
(“he will not read the book”)
\(\text{n'i: l'e: fe n' L'a\ldots (A/T)}\)
(“he reads a lot of books”)
\(\text{l'e:n' fe gu L'or L'a\ldots (A/T)}\)

1033. (“she has rheumatism”)
\(\text{t@ skol'toxi: oxo (A)/ ta skol'toxi: oxo (T)}\)

1034. (“we are ready”)
\(\text{t@ mud'i re\ldots (A)/ t@ mud' re: (T)/ Nu f'n: r'eo' (A)}\)

1035. (“I knew that before”)
\(\text{v'i: s a' gem i' fin' 'ha:n\ldots (A)/ v'i: s a' gem i' fin' 'ha:n\ldots (T)}\)

1036. (“apron”)
\(\text{Napru:N (A)/ Napru:N (T)}\)

1037. (“the water is boiling”)
\(\text{t@: N tusk' eg' f'oxu (A)/ ta: N task' eg' f'oxo (T)}\)

1038. (“God give you luck! [go gcuire Dia rath ort!]”)
\(\text{hug'\ldots}\)
\(\text{Nu kir'i d'e: N to' ort (A)/}\)
\(\text{kir'i d'e: N to: ort (T)}\)
(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”)
\(\text{k'erd \a rin' tu: er mae:d'm' (A)/ k'erd \a rin' to' er mae:d'm' (T)}\)
1040. (“I didn’t do anything”)

N’iːr rIN’i m’e tada ... 
Nu n’iː j₉ₐrN̓ə m’e tada (A)/
N’iːr rIN’i m’e tada (T)

1041. (“I waited for him a while”)

daːN m’e l’ef er’ fæ skæː (A)/
daːN m’e l’ef er’ fæ skæː (T)

1042. (“the days are getting longer”)

t@ N LeːNti ... gaː N fasː (A)/ Nu “fæl fadas (T)

1043. (“the nights are getting shorter”)

t@ N hᵢːNti g’iruː Nu fæl’ g’ar (A)/
t@ N hᵢːNti g’iruː Nu fæl’ g’ar (T)

1044. (“the girl is growing”)

t@ N kal’iːn’ eg’ fas (A)/ t@ N kal’iːn’ eg’ fas (T)

1045. (“we don’t need any more potatoes”)

n’iː hëːstN n’iːs muː fætI wɛn (A)/
n’iː ëːstI’ n’iːs muː fætI wɛn’ ...

1046. (“you needn’t do any more work”)

n’iː g@ːN t’iːs muː a’l’r’ ə jIN̓ (A)/
n’iː g@ːN t’iːs muː a’l’r’ ə jIN̓ (T)

1047. (“the house is on fire”)

t@ n’ t’æːx ‘r’eː Læː ... Nuː ’tr’iː hIN̓ (A)/
t@ n’ t’æːx ’tr’iː m’i ...Nu ē Læː (T)

1048. (“if you would go, I would be pleased”)

daː N’im’ox tu ... v’ën’ səːsta (A)/
γa N’im’hax tu ... v’ën’ səːsta (T)

1049. (“the sea [sg.”)

aN aːrɪg’I (A/T)

(“the seas [pl.”)

N̓ə fərɪg’I: (A/T)

(“above the sea”)

es k’IːN N̓ə fərɪg’I (A)/ əs k’IːN N̓ə fərɪg’I (T)
1050. (“it is high tide”)

\[
\text{t\ä\text{\`a}; } \text{t\`i:l\text{\`a}; \, a\text{\`a:r\ `}\d\text{\`a;N \, (A)/}}
\]
\[
\text{t\ä\text{\`e \, N\ä; \, wa\`\text{r\`o} \ldots \, L\ä;:\, ma\`\text{r\`a; \, (T)}}
\]

([n\ä; \, y\ä;\, fi \, n\ä;:\, f\ä;\text{\`e}] \, [T])

1051. (“it is low tide”)

\[
\text{t\`i:l \, \text{\`a; \text{\`a;N \ldots \text{\`a;N \, ma\`\text{r\`a; \, (A)/}}}}
\]
\[
\text{m\ä;\, re; \ldots \, m\ä;:\, fa\`\text{\`a;N \, (A)/}}
\]
\[
\text{\text{\`a;N \, hi:l \text{\`a; \text{\`a;N \, (A)}}}
\]

1052. (“a spring-tide”)

\[
\text{ma\`\text{\`a;r\ä; \, (T)}
\]

1053. (“a neap-tide”)

\[
\text{ma\`\text{\`a;r\ä; \, (T)/ \, ma\`\text{\`a;r\ä; \, (A)}}
\]

1054. (“the tide is ebbing”)

\[
\text{t\ä; \, N \, ti:l \, e \, tra; \, (A)/ \, t\ä; \, N \, ti:l \, e \, tra;[\text{v\ä;}] \, (T)}
\]

1055. (“the tide is rising”)

\[
\text{t\ä; \, N \, ti:l \, eg \, a\text{\`i;r\ä; \, (A)/ \, t\ä; \, N \, ti:l \, eg \, a\text{\`i;r\ä; \, (T)}}
\]

1056. (“a mermaid”)

\[
\text{ma\`d\ä;\, na\`\text{\`a;r\ä; \, (T)/ \, ma\`d\ä;\, na\`\text{\`a;r\ä; \, (A)}}
\]

1057. (“there was a new moon last night”)

\[
\text{v\ä; \, g\ä;:\, la\`\text{\`a;x \, Nu; \, \text{\`a;\text{\`e;} \, \text{\`a;N \, (A)/ \, v\ä; \, g\ä;:\, la\`\text{\`a;x \, Nu; \, \text{\`a;\text{\`e;} \, \text{\`a;N \, (T)}}}}}
\]

1058. (“there is a change on the moon”)

\[
\text{v\ä; \, a\text{\`a;r\ä; \, er\ä; \, a\`\text{\`e;} \, la\`\text{\`a;x \, (A) \, (last word overlaps with T’s utterance)/ \, v\ä; \, a\text{\`a;r\ä; \, er\ä; \, \, a\`\text{\`e;} \, la\`\text{\`a;x \, (T)}}}
\]

1059. (“the phases of the moon”)

\[
\text{\text{\`a;x \, ga\`\text{\`a;r\ä; \ldots \, ta\`\, k\ä;\, \text{\`a;\text{\`e;} \, \text{\`a;N \, (A)}}}
\]

1060. (“wave of the sea”)

\[
\text{m\ä;\text{\`a;}\, (m\ä;)} \, \text{\`a;r\ä;\, (A)/ \, m\ä;\text{\`a;}\, \text{\`i;m\ä;} \ldots \, m\ä;\text{\`a;}\, \text{\`i;m\ä; \, na \, \text{\`a;r\ä;\, (T)}}
\]

(“waves [pl.]”)

\[
\text{m\ä;\, \text{\`a;r\ä;\, (T)/ \, m\ä;\, \text{\`a;r\ä;\, (A)}}
\]

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(“above the wave”)

æs k’i:N ə wi:m’ (A)/ æs k’i:N ə məjm’ (T)

1061. (“types of sea: surf”)

tə bəŋə sa wərɪɡi (T/A)

(“the shallow part of the water”)

ta:nɭx (T)/ ər’ ə taːnɭt . . . ər’ ə ta:nɭx (A)/ . . . ta:nɭx (T)

(“the deeper part of the water”)

ər’ ə dəwn’ (T)/ ər’ ə dəʌn’ (A)

1062. (“the sea is rising”)

tə N ærɪɡ’ eg’ ər’tiː (A)/ ta N ærɪɡ’ eg’ ər’tiː (T)

1063. (“the sea is getting calm”)

tə N ærɪɡ’ ə faːl’k’uːn’ (A/T)

(fáil not elicited after prompting with fáil and fáilt)

Nu: k’uːn’uː . . . tə N ærɪɡ’ k’uːn’uː (A)/

ət ə K’i:n’oːu . . . k’uːn’oː (T)

1064. (“sea-shore”)

kəl’əʊχ (T/A)

1065. (“we were walking along the shore”)

v’i ˈmud tʃuːL ˈxeʃ ə xəl’əʊ (A)/

v’i ˈməd ˈfoːL ˈxeʃ ə xəl’əʊ (T)

1066. (“a sandbank [sg.]”)

ˈmuːtə ɡən’ə . . . moʊtə ɡən’ə (T)/ muːtə ɡən’iː (A)

(“sandbanks [pl.]”)

muːtəj . . . muːtə: ɡən’ə (T)/ muːtə: ɡən’iː (A)

1067. (“cliff [sg.]”)

a’l’ (T/A)

(“cliffs [pl.]”)

a’l’troːxi (T/A)

(cf. the genitive singular of aill in the phrase [ər’ waːr ə hə:l’i] [“on top of the cliff”] in item 958)

1068. (“a submerged rock”)

ˈkərɪɡ’ fəiː N əf’k’i (T)
1069. ("bay [sg."])  
k'æ:v' (A)/  b:æ:/ (T/A)  
("bays [pl."])  
ba:ənti (T/A)  
("above the bay")  
æs k'i:NI x:æ:w;i (T/A)  

1070. ("quay [sg."])  
k'æ:v' (A)  
("quays [pl."])  
k'æ:v'ænæ (A)/ k'æ:v'æNæ (T)  
("he went down to the quay")  
xa fe f:is er' æg'æ:v'... Nu er' æg' æg' æg'æ:v'...  
gu d'i: ã x:æ:v'... (A)  

1071. ("harbour [sg."])  
k'u:ɔN (A)/ k'ɔ:wɔN (T)  
("harbours [pl."])  
k'u:Ntæ (A)/ k'u:Ntæ (T)  

1072. ("an underground inlet of the sea")  
g'r'i:n'æ:n æ:r:i (A)/ Næ:x:æ:r:i (T)  
(question apparently misunderstood)  

1073. ("strand [sg."])  
tra: (T/A)  
("strands [pl."])  
tra:"Ne: (T)/ tra:"Næ: (A)  
("above the strand")  
æs k'i:NI x:æ:w:a tra: (A)/ æs k'i:NI x:æ:w:a tra: (T)  

1074. ("a sandy beach [sg."])  
tra: xæ:n'æ (A)/ tra: xæ:n'e (T)  
("sandy beaches [pl."])  
tra:Næ xæ:n'e (T)/ tra:Næ xæ:n'æ (A)  

1075. ("he was standing at the water's edge")  
v'æ fe ... æNæ hæ:s æg'... k'u:j æN æsk'i: (A)/  
v'æ fe ḇæ æNæ hæ:s æg' k'u:j æN æsk'i: (T)/ Nu Bró:j æN æsk'i: (T/A)
1076. (“sand”)

\[\text{gæn}'i \ (A)/ \ gan'\text{i} \ (T)\]

(“the colour of the sand”)

\[\text{dæ}: \text{N} \ yam'\text{i} \ (A)/ \ dæ: \ æ \ yam'\text{i} \ (T)\]

1077. (“sea-coast”)

\[\text{ko} \text{st} \text{a} \text{f} \text{h} \text{r} \text{g}'\text{i} \ (A)/ \ \text{ko} \text{st} \text{a} \text{N} \text{a} \text{r} \text{g}'\text{e} \ (T)\]

1078. (“valley [sg.]”)

\[\text{g}'L\text{a}:\text{N} \ (A/T)\]

(“nach 'in é 'gleann' ‘valley’?” [A])

(“valleys [pl.]”)

\[\text{g}'L\text{a}:\text{Nt} \text{e} \ (T/A)\]

(“above the glen”)

\[\text{as} \ \text{k}'\text{i}:\text{N} \ \text{on} \ \text{g}'L\text{a}:\text{N} \ \text{(sic)} \ (A)/ \ \text{as} \ \text{k}'\text{i}:\text{N} \ \text{æ} \ \text{jL}'\text{a}:\text{N} \ (T)\]

1079. (“there was a rotten smell from the sea”)

\[\text{v}'\text{i} \ \text{ba}:\text{La} \ '\text{br}'\text{e}':\text{N} \ \text{on} \ \text{arrig}'\text{i} \ (A)/ \ \text{v}'\text{i} \ \text{ba}:\text{La} \ \text{Lof} \ \text{on} \ \text{arrig}'\text{i} \ (T)\]

1080. (“the potatoes are rotten”)

\[\text{t} \text{æ} \ \text{N} \text{e} \ \text{f} \text{a}:\text{t} \text{e}: \ \text{Lof} \ (A)/ \ \text{t} \text{æ} \ \text{N} \text{e} \ \text{f} \text{a}:\text{t} \text{e}: \ \text{Lof} \ (T)\]

1081. (“they are rotting in the ground”)

\[\text{ta} \text{d} \text{ə} \ \text{La} \ \text{s} \ \text{ta}:\text{La} \ (A)/ \ \text{ta} \ \text{f} \text{d} \ \text{æ} \ \text{Law} \ \text{s} \ \text{ta}:\text{La} \ (T)\]

1082. (“a rock [sg.]”)

\[\text{k}'\text{r} \text{e} \text{g}' \ (A/T)\]

(“rocks [pl.]”)

\[\text{k}'\text{r} \text{g}'\text{n}'\text{ux} \ (A)/ \ \text{k}'\text{r} \text{g}'\text{axe} \ (T)\]

(“above the rock”)

\[\text{æs} \ \text{k}'\text{i}:\text{N} \ \text{æ} \ \text{x} \text{r} \text{e} \text{g}' \ (T)/ \ \text{æs} \ \text{k}'\text{i}:\text{N} \ \text{æ} \ \text{x} \text{r} \text{e} \text{g}' \ (A)\]

(“different sizes of rocks: small rocks [pl.]”)

\[\text{k}'\text{r} \text{g}'\text{axi} \ \text{b}'\text{íg} \ (T)\]

(“stones”)

\[\text{kLax} \ (T/A)\]

(“cleft between rocks [sg.]”)

\[\text{skæ:\text{l}'p} \ldots \ \text{skal}'\text{p} \ (T)\]

(the foregoing item was elicited through a misunderstanding by T, but allowed to stand)

(“clefts between rocks [pl.]”)

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skæ:l′p′oN@s (T)/ skæ:l′p′r′æxi′ (A)/ skæ:l′p′r′æxi′ (T)/

skæ:l′p′æxi′ (sic) (A)

(“boulder [sg.]”)

ma′l′ar′b (T)

(“boulders [pl.]”)

ma′l′er′e (T)/ ma′l′er′ (A)

1083. (“crab [sg.]”)

portA:N (A/T)

(“crabs [pl.]”)

portA:n′ (T/A)

1084. (“limpet [sg.]”)  

bærN′ox (T)

(“limpets [pl.]”)

bærn′ (T)

1085. (“edible seaweed”)  

d′l′æsk (T/A)

k′r′æ:nox (T)/ k′r′e:Nox (A)

fL′e:ko:N (T/A)

karig′in′ (T/A)

f′i:okin′ (A) (= “sea-food”)

1086. (“beach-comblings [cnuasach]”)  

(nothing elicited, even after prompting with cnuasach and cnuasach mara. After further prompting with brith faoi thír by a visitor from Mayo, raic is elicited.)

rae:k′ (T) ([a:m@d o hokox st′æx . . . o:N a:ngi]) /

rae:k′ (A) (“Sin an Béarla!”)

1087. (“seaweed”)  

f′e:moN′ (A)/ f′æ:moN′ (T)

(“the colour of the seaweed”)

de: No f′e:moN′ (A)/ dæ: No f′æ:moN′ (T)

1088. (“various kinds of seaweed”)  

(cf. item 1085; question omitted unintentionally in elicitation)
1089. ("barnacles on timber: giúrainn, etc.")

\[\text{g}^\prime\text{u}^\prime\text{r}^\prime\text{n}\'\text{x}\text{i}, (A/T) \("\text{an rud a bhíonn ar a’ gcreathnach" [T])}\

\[\text{g}^\prime\text{u}^\prime\text{r}^\prime\text{N}\text{\'x}^\prime\text{i}, (T/A) \("\text{an rud a bhéas ar an adhmad a bhéas i bhfad i bhfarraige" [T])}\

\[\text{g}^\prime\text{u}^\prime\text{r}^\prime\text{N}\text{\'x}^\prime\text{a}, (T)/ \text{g}^\prime\text{u}^\prime\text{r}^\prime\text{N}\text{\'x}^\prime\text{a} \text{(sing)} (A)\) (singular form)\]

("the colour of the giúrainn")

\[\text{dæ: N\text{\'} g\text{\'u}r\text{\'n}\text{\'i}, [x2] (T)/ ... N\text{\'} g\text{\'u}r\text{\'n}\text{\'i} , (A)/}\

\[\text{dæ: N\text{\'} ju:rn\text{\'x}, (T)}\]

1090. ("boat /sg./")

\[\text{ba:d} \text{(A/T)}\]

("boats /pl.")

\[\text{ba:d}\text{\'}\text{\'g}, (A)/ \text{ba:d}\text{\'}\text{\'d}, (T)\]

("the colour of the boat")

\[\text{dâ \ 5 wâd, (T)/ dê N wâd\' (A)}\]

1091. ("coracle /sg./")

\[\text{kâr\text{\'}x}, \text{(A/T)}\]

("coracles /pl.")

\[\text{kâr\text{\'}x}, \text{(A/T)}\]

("the colour of the coracle")

\[\text{dæ: N\text{\'} kâr\text{\'}i, (A)/ da: N\text{\'} kâr\text{\'}i, (T)}\]

1092. ("parts of coracle or boat")

\[\text{L\text{\'}ur\text{\'}x}, (T) ([\text{tum\'} \text{\' a xar\text{\'}x} \text{[T]. These run the length of the curach})}\

\[\text{funs\text{\'}i, (T) (fo}ns\text{\'}i\text{ used for the ribs of a curach; easnachai used for the ribs of a boat. [T])}\]

\[\text{frâ}m\text{\'}o, (T) (the rim of the curach)}\

\[\text{tâs \ 5 xâr\text{\'}i: ... tâs \ 5 xar\text{\'}x, (T) (the prow)}\

\[\text{d\text{\'}\text{e}r\text{\'}, \ 5 xor\text{\'}x, (T) (the stern)}\

\[(\text{gob na curá\text{\'}i is also used for t}os\text{\' an curach})\]

\[\text{mad\text{\'}i \ ra:wn\text{\'} (T) (oars)}\]

\[\text{mad\text{\'}e} \ ra:wn\text{\'}, (A/T) (oar [sg.])\]

\[\text{gL} \text{\'am\text{\'}o, (T) (clamp)}\]

\[\text{gL} \text{\'am\text{\'}o}^\prime, (T) (clamps [pl.])\]

\[\text{kN\text{\'}ug\text{\'}o, (T) (thole-pin)}\]

\[\text{kN\text{\'}ug\text{\'}i: (A/T)}\]

\[\text{fæ:s\text{\'}a\text{\'}N\text{\'}a, (T) (thwarts, seats)}\]

\[\text{tfæ:s (T) (thwart [sg.])}\]

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1093. ("ship, vessel [sg.]")

seːjəx (A/T)
("ships, vessels [pl."])  
SəΛ (T) / SΛ (A)

1094. ("row-boat [sg."])

ˈbaːd ˈuːːməː (T) / ˈbaːd ˈuːːməː (A)
("row-boats [pl."])  
baːd ˈuːːmə (T/A)

1095. ("sail-boat [sg."])

baːd ‘tʃəʊwəl’ (A) / ‘baːd ‘ʃəʊwəl’ (T)
("sail-boats [pl."])  
Ṭaːd ‘ʃəʊwəl’ (A) / baːd ‘ʃəʊwəl’ (T)
(The hypercorrect singular forms [baːd ‘ʃəʊwəl’] [A] and [baːd ‘ʃəʊwəl’] [T] were also elicited after the plural forms were given)

1096. ("parts of oar")

(nothing elicited)

1097. ("rowlocks")

(cf. cnogáí in item 1092)

1098. ("rudder")

ʃt’uːwɪɾ (T)

1099. ("helm")

haːləmədɔːɾ (A) / haːləmədɔːɾ (T)

1100. ("the boat is leaking")

təː N ə d’RN ə ʃkɪ (sic) (T) / ... (ə) d’eN ʃkɪ (A)

1101. ("anchor [sg."])

aːŋkəɾɪ (A/T) / g’r’ɪʃ’d (T)
("anchors [pl."])  
aːŋkəɾɪ (T/A) / g’r’ɪʃ’d (T)
(griféad was dimly remembered by T)

1102. ("sail [sg."])

ʃoːwəl (T) / ʃoːl (A)
("sails [pl."])  
ʃoːl (A/T)

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1103. ("mast [sg.]")

krə:N (T/ A)

("masts [pl.]")

krəjən’ (T) / krin’ (A)

1104. ("fair wind")

gi: fa:wəx (T/A)

(later, after prompting with céir)

ko:ənr’ (T)

1105. ("bailing out the boat")

təmə ܢ ʷaː’d’ (T)

1106. ("crew [sg.]")

kᵈ’r’u: ܢ Li:i’g’î (A)/ kᵈ’r’u: .� ʷaː’d’ (T)

("crews [pl.]")

kᵈ’r’u:’No’d (T)/ kᵈ’r’u:No:i: (A)

1107. ("we were rowing hard")

v’i mʷIN’ eg’ ūmər’ə ܓ ܠۆ’d’r’ (T)

1108. ("fishing net [sg.]")

aŋɡəx . . . Li:iʃN ʾaːskəx (A)/ Li:iʃN (T)

("fishing nets [pl.]")

aŋɡəxi: . . . Li:iʃəNtə (T)

(no difference in meaning between the two terms. "I’d say eangach is the old Irish” [A])

("the colour of the fishing net")

daː ܢ’ Li:iʃN . . . daː ܢ aŋɡəx (T/A)

daː ܢ Naŋɡəxi: (T) (pl.)

1109. ("boarding nets")

tarNt’ (sic) ܘ Li:iʃN (T)

(the syllabic nasal consonant in the word tarraingt is clearly velarised; the word was repeated several times by T)

1110. ("casting nets")

kur’ ܢ Li:iʃNtə (A)/ kir’ . . . kur ܢ Li:iʃNtə . . .

Nu kur’ ܢ haŋɡəxə’: (T)
1111. (“mesh of fishing-net [sg.]”)  
\text{mugol} (T)  
(“mesh of fishing-net [pl.]”)  
\text{mugolaxi} (T)/ \text{mugol}’ (A/T)  

1112. (“cork [sg.]”)  
\text{kork} (A)  
(“corks [pl.]”)  
\text{kirx’k}’ (A)/ \text{kirx’k}’ (T)  

1113. (“mending the nets”)  

1114. (“sinker [sg.]”)  
(after prompting with \text{luaidhe})  
\text{Lu:wi: ... Lowi:} (T)/ \text{Lu:wi:} (A)  
(used for fishing lines and trammel nets)  
(“sinkers [pl.]”)  
\text{Lu:we:Ntí: ... Lowe:Ntí: ... Lu’wi’Ntí:} [x2] (T)  

1115. (“fishing-rod [sg.]”)  
\text{staxt eskəx} (A/T)/ \text{staxt r’skəx} (T)  
(“fishing-rods [pl.]”)  
\text{staxt’ r’skəx} (A/T)  

1116. (“fishing-line [sg.]”)  
\text{dəru:} (T/A)  
(“fishing-lines [pl.]”)  
\text{dəru’Ntí:} (A)/ \text{dəru’Ntí:} (T)  

1117. (“frame of fishing-line [sg.]”)  
\text{g’r’i:Ndo} (A/T)  
(“frames [pl.]”)  
\text{g’r’i:Ndo}’ (A)/ \text{g’r’i:Ndo}’ (T)  

1118. (“snood [lighter portion of the fishing line next to the hook]”)  
\text{sNu:də} (A/T)  
(“snoods [pl.]”)  
\text{sNu:də}’ (T/A)  

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1119. ("hook [sg.]")

\textit{du:w\u{a}N} (T/A)

("hooks [pl.]")

\textit{du:w\u{a}n'} (T/A)

("parts of hook")

\textit{f'r'i:d'i:n'} (T) \([\textit{o xIN'o:s} \equiv \textit{b\u{w}i:t' er'} \equiv \textit{du:w\u{a}N}] [T])

1120. ("bait")

\textit{b\u{w}i:t'\i} (A)/ \textit{b\u{w}i:t'e} (T)

1121. ("lug-worm [as bait]")

\textit{L\u{a}g} (T)

("lug-worms [pl.]")

\textit{L\u{a}gi} (T)

1122. ("the fish are rising well [aiste, freagairt]")

\textit{kL\i:f\i} (T/A) \([\textit{eg' bar N isk'i} (\text{sic})] [T]) \((= \text{cluicheadh})\)

1123. ("buoy [sg.]")

\textit{b\u{u}w\i:i} (A)/ \textit{b\u{u}i;i} (T)

("buoys [pl.]")

\textit{bu:eNTi} (A)/ \textit{bu:eNTi} (T)

("the colour of the buoy")

\textit{d\ae}: \textit{N\o\, wu'i} (A/T)

("the colour of the buoys [pl.]")

\textit{d\ae}: \textit{N\o\, bu:eNTi} (A/T)

1124. ("lobster [sg.]")

\textit{g\l'i:max} (A/T)

("lobsters [pl.]")

\textit{g\l'i:mo\i} (A)/ \textit{g\l'i:mo ... g\l'i:mo\i} (T)

1125. ("crayfish [sg.]")

\textit{kra:f'i\j'\i\k'} (A)

("crayfish [pl.]")

\textit{kra:f'i\j\o\x\o\i} (T)

1126. ("other types of shell-fish")

\textit{b\o:rN'\o x} (sic) (A)

\textit{f\o:i:jaxn'} (T) \([\text{sg.} \text{f\o:i\x\o}] [T/A])

\textit{S\u{e}amas \O D\u{e}r\u{e}ain— A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway}
porta’n’ (pl.) ... portam’ ru:wa (T)/ porta’n’ ru (A)
(“portáin mór’ e’d” [T])
sk’a:No ma:ro (A/T) (no sg.)
mur’un:i: (A) (sg. [mur’un:] [A])

1127. (“salted fish”)
 r’sk go:rt’... i:sk sa:lt’t’i (T)/ e:sk sa:lt’t’i (A)

1128. (“fresh fish”)
e:sk ur (A)/ e:sk u:war (T)

1129. (“we were curing fish”)
 v’i m’unN’ e sa’l’ e:sk (A)/ v’i munN’ e sa’l’ e:jask (T)

1130. (“we got a good catch of fish”)
 fur a munN’ sl:a:m ‘e:sk (T)

1131. (“the fish are schooling/playing”)
 ta: N’ ... a t’i:sk e sk’e... sk’e: ... sk’e:v ... sk’e (T)
(= ag secitheadh?)

1132. (“the entrails of fish”)
p-u:to:gi N’ e:sk ... puto:gi (A)

1133. (“fins”)
La:N’ ... La:Ni: (A) (cf. item 1136)/
eti: (T/A) (sg. [eti] [T/A])

1134. (“respiratory apparatus of fish”)
g’o:rlax (T)/ g’o:rlax (A)

1135. (“fishspawn, the roe, smelt”)
 v’i fe fr:lu (A) (“spawning”)
sax (T) (“sa séasúr” [T])
La:ba:N (T) (“as a’ séasúr” [T])

1136. (“scale [of fish]”)
La:N (T)
(“scales [of fish]”)
La:N (T/A)
1137. (“the gall”)  

(nothing elicited initially. After prompting with domlas [da:mLa:s], [du:mLa:s], the following forms were elicited.)

du:La:s / (T/A)/ do:La:s (T)

(“...le beithiósch [b'e:蛟] is mó a bhaineann sé ...b'fhéidir go mbaineann sé leis an iasco” [T])

1138. (“a string of fish”)  

strap 'esk (A)/ strap 'e:sk (T)  

(“strings of fish”)  

strapv'i: e:fk' (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”)  

n'i:l 'e:N 'a:id eg'ec (A)/
Nu ta fe m'ia:i'd@ax (A/T)

1140. (“the day of judgement”)  

La: N 'v'r'N@N (A/T)

1141. (“I see your shadow on the wall”)  

'tk'ím do 'skал' er' a 'maLa (A/T)

skal'Li (sic) (T) (sg. “shadow”)
skal'Fi (T, A) (pl. “shadows”)

1142. (“he wouldn’t work”)  

n'i: 'yo:x fe g 'aibír’... Nu 'n'i: a'bír'ox fe (A)/

No 'n'i: a'bír'ox fe (T)

1143. (“he wouldn’t tell us his name”)  

n'i: in'fo: (sic) fe yin'i a:n'im' (T)/

n'i in'fo:x fe yin'i e a:n'im' (A)

1144. (“the story is told”)  

tâ: sk'e:lt i:N'tl'i: (A)/ ta: n' sk'e:lt i:N'tl'i: (sic) (T)

1145. (“we told him our names”)  

d'm'if mud do: a Na'n'im' (A)/ d'm'if m'if do: a Na:n'im' (T)

(The symbol [D] 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!”)

\[\text{m’sf dam t ac:n’im’ (A/T)}/\]
\[\text{Nu k’en tae’n’im’ “t o:rt (A)}/\]

(“tell me your names! [pl.]”)

\[\text{m’sf dam da . . . a guf c:n’im’n’axi (A)/}\]
\[\text{m’sf dam a guf ac:n’im’n’axi (T)}/\]

(after prompting with *insígí!*)

\[\text{m’fugí: dam a guf c:n’im’n’axi (A)}/\]

(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”)

\[\text{(n’) i:n’fe’n’ fe n’ fk’e=a l ‘xo:l’ ‘i:ej . . .}/\]
\[\text{i:n’fe’n’ fe sk’e=a l ‘xo:l’ ‘i:ej (T)/}\]
\[\text{i:n’fin’ fe sk’e=l ‘xo:l’ ‘i: (A)}/\]

1148. (“the boat had to turn back [filleadh] on account of the rough sea”)

\[\text{b’e cg’on gan wa:dl fil’ar’ (sic) er’ ae:j mar jeL er’ aN . . .}/\]
\[\text{aN ar:ig “g arou” . . . No’ d’er:ox m’id’ far:i: su’rt’i (T)}/\]

(“He returned”) \[\text{d’il’ fe er’ e:j (A)/ d’il’ fe er’ ae:j (T)}/\]

(“He will return tomorrow”) \[\text{f’il’ fe er’ ae:j “ma:r’ox (T)/}\]
\[\text{f’il’ fe er’ e:j “ma:r’ox (A)}/\]

(“He is returning now”) \[\text{ta fe cg’ f’il’ “n’if (A)/}\]
\[\text{to fe cg’ f’il’ “n’if (T)}/\]

(“He returns every week”) \[\text{f’il’an’ fe ‘xo:l’e ‘hæxtim’ (T)}/\]

(“return now! [sg.]”) \[\text{f’il’ “n’if . . . Nu ta:r er’ e:j “n’if (A)}/\]

(“return now! [pl.]”) \[\text{f’il’ig’i: . . . f’il’ig’i: “n’if (T)/ f’il’ig’i: (A)}/\]

1149. (“bridge [sg.]”)

\[\text{dre:jAd (A/T)}/\]

(“bridges [pl.]”) \[\text{dre:juds (A)/ dre:jud’ (T)}/\]

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1150. ("lake [sg.]")

gLəx (sic) (A)/ Ləx (T)
(lakes [pl.])

LəxaNə (T/A)
("on the edge of the lake")

er' wro'x Nə Ləxə (T/A) (at normal speed)
er' vru'wəx Nə Ləxə (T) (slow, careful speech)
er' vru'x Nə Ləxə (A) (slow, careful speech)

1151. ("river [sg.]")

a:wIN' (T/A)
(rivers [pl.])

a'v'n'axi' (A/T)
("on the edge/shore of the river")
er' vru'x Nə ha'v'n'i (T)
Nu er' x'uwif Nə ha'v'n'i (A)/
er' x'uwif Nə ha'v'n'i ... bru'x Nə k'uwif (T)

1152. ("where are you going?")

ka: L 'tu: gən' (sic) (A)/ ka: L 'tu: gəf' (T)

1153. ("there are a lot of boats in the harbour")

tə gə 'Lo:r 'bə:d' sə 'ɡu:N (A)/ tə gə 'Lo:r 'bə:d' sə 'ɡu:wəN (T)

1154. ("an accident happened to us this morning")

d'er'i ... d'ær'i t'im'p'sfn'e yon' e wəd'm'n' fe (T)/
d'ær'i t'im'p'st' (sic) yIN' e wəd'm'n' ʃə (A)

1155. ("there was only an odd boat fishing last night")
n'ir rə moqrəN bə:ʃ eg' əskəx "rər" (A)/
n'ir ax kə'wə:d əɡ' i'skəx "rəjər" (T)

1156. ("he comes only an odd time")

n'ir haɡn' fe ax 'kər əm (T)/
əx 'kər u:r' (A)/ Nu kər o:r' (T)

1157. ("the boat sank")
xə m bəd tflis (A)/ xə m bəd fijis (T)

1158. ("nine fishermen were drowned")

bə'w: Nə!Nu:r de'ni ... Nu Nu:Nər əskəri' (T)

Séamas Ó Direáin— A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
1159. ("you will be drowned if you go out in that boat")

'ba:for u: ma 'e:N tu 'ma:x së 'ma:d fn' [x2] (T)/

'ba:for u: ma he:N tu ma:x së ma:d tfn' (A)

1160. ("they were all killed in the war")

marriu 'L'ug e.d së gug@ (T)/

v'i fed 'L'ug marri së gug@ . . .

v'i fed 'L'ug marriu (= marbh?) së gug@ . . .

marriu: L'ug ed së gug [x2] (A)

1161. ("a ship’s captain")

kæp’t’i:n’ m saj@x . . . kæp’t’i:n’ saj@x (T)/

kæp’t’i:n N ñ Líj’g’i (A/T)/ kæp’t’i:n’ ñ Løg (T)/ kæp’t’i:n’ ñ Løg (A)

("ship [sg."])

Løg (A/T)

Lu:wiązan (A/T) ("is doíche" [A])

(forms with bád also given. [ba:d’ is mu’ er’ns mud’i] [A])

1162. ("there was a flood in the river")

v'i fu:rlOx sëN è”n’ . . . sëN æ:wIN’ (T)

("floods [pl."])

fu:rlI: (A)/ fu:rl1 (T)

1163. ("there was a good market today")

v'i mar:ga ma: ñIN’u (T)/ v'i N mar:ga go ma: ’N’u (A)

1164. ("I went to the fair")

xa m’e: er’ ñIN x:’ñax (T)/ xa m’e: er’ ñIN e:ñax . . . Nu eg’ ñIN i’ñax (A)

([eg’ ñIN i:ñax er’ns mun’] [A])

1165. ("I don’t eat fish")

n’i: ’ism’ e:ñ’ i’øsk (T)/ ’n’i: i’m’ ’er’øsk (A)

1166. ("two boats went out for herring yesterday")

xa ’vg: ’wad õmax ’N’e: g’ er’ø skud’a:n’ (T)/

Nu ’gøN’i skudæ’n’ (A)

([’g’ erø skud’a:n’ er’ns mø’m’ . . . b’e:d’Ir’ gur ’gøN’i skud’a:n’ is fær (= is fearr)] [A])
1167. ("names of fish")

skudά́n’ (A)/ skudά:n (T)
ruNάxί (A/T)
ba:Łάxί (A/T)
ma:ŋgόxί (A/T)
bre:ḿ (A)/ bre:じem’ (T)
krudά́n’ (A/T)
La:ŋgί́ (A/T)
trάsk (T)/ trόsk’ (A)
rek’... ([rak] sg.) (T)
ɡΛa:sόg (T)
fi:ɡόx (T)/ fi:ɡux (A) (pl. [fi:ɡόx̓] [T])
ka:Ło:mό:ł’ (T/A)
ka:Ło:gi: (A)
bolό:rn’ (T/A)
ma:ɛ:ɛd’ (T)/ mu:ɛ:ɛ̃k (A)
askόN’ (T)/ as:kiN’ (A) (pl. [as:kiN̓e] [sic] [T/A]/[as:kiN̓όxί] [T])

1168. ("seal [sg."])

ru:woN (T)/ ru:N (A)
(“seals [pl.”)
ru:’n’t́i (T)

1169. ("the fish are spawning")

tα η’ t’i:sk ə fe:Łɔ̃a ... ta η’ t’i:sk ə fi:Łu: (T)

1170. ("he is measuring the field")

to fe tof en wοl’e (T)/
to fe tof ə wοl’e ... to fe tof en wοl’e (A)
(cf. [tu:wiʃ] [T]/ [tuʃ] [= “guess”] [A])

1171. ("world")

aN dawn (A)/ dawn (T)

1172. ("what are ye having to drink?")

k’ɛɾ to tu: o:L (A)/
k’ɛɾ ta: aɡɔt le: N o:wɔL ... Nu k’ɛɾ to tuW o:wɔL (T)/
k’ɛrd o:Lɔs tu (A)

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1173. ("yes! [Is ea!"])
   (after prompting with Is ea!)
   fæ: (A)/ fæ: (T)

1174. ("the last time I saw him")
   aN oIR d’er’Næx o xɔn’ik’ m’e e (A)/
   Nɔ aN tə:m d’er’Næx o xɔn’ik’ m’e (e) (T)

1175. ("a trade [sg."])
   k’ajɔrd (A)/ k’ajard’ (T)
   ("trades [pl."])  
   k’ɛrdɔNi (A)/ k’ɛrd’ɔNé (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 > tj]), 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel Change</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[iə &gt; e:]</td>
<td>(ina) dhiaidh</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[uə &gt; o:]</td>
<td>gualainn</td>
<td>442</td>
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<tr>
<td>[a1 &gt; i/e:]</td>
<td>maidhm</td>
<td>1060</td>
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**DIPHTHONGISATION**

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<tr>
<th>Diphthong</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>References</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[u/u: &gt; aʊ]</td>
<td>inniu</td>
<td>953</td>
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<td></td>
<td>amú</td>
<td>91, 92</td>
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**VOWEL LOWERING**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>References</th>
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<tr>
<td>[i: &gt; e:]</td>
<td>búí</td>
<td>974</td>
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<tr>
<td>[u: &gt; o:]</td>
<td>cúig</td>
<td>925</td>
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<tr>
<td>[e: &gt; æ:/ə:]</td>
<td>aon</td>
<td>184, 242, 279, 281, 297, 357, 382, 791, 794, 1000, 1025, 1139, 1165</td>
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**VOWEL RAISING**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[e: &gt; i:]</td>
<td>ae</td>
<td>471</td>
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**VOWEL FRONTING**

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<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Examples</th>
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<tr>
<td>[a: &gt; æ:]</td>
<td>an-</td>
<td>348, 351, 408, 648, 851, 862, 867, 910</td>
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<td>353, 470, 669, 721, 735, 844, 931, 934, l30, 1163</td>
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<td>935, 965, 996, 1008, 1027, 1028, 1040</td>
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Table 2: **PHONOLOGICAL ITEMS: VOWELS (CONT’D.)**

VOWEL BACKING

\[ \text{[a:} > \text{æ]} \]

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Code</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ball</td>
<td>535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fearr</td>
<td>92, 1166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(mar) gheall (ar ...)</td>
<td>1148</td>
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</table>

VOWEL SHORTENING AND CENTRALISATION

\[ \text{[u}^\text{u} > \text{ə]} \]

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<th>Word</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>buachaill</td>
<td>955</td>
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<tr>
<td>buachallán</td>
<td>974</td>
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</table>

VOWEL ADDITION

\[ [\emptyset > \text{ə}] \]

<table>
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<th>Word</th>
<th>Code</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>is iomáí fear</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sin peaca</td>
<td>787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urchar</td>
<td>956</td>
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</table>
Table 3: **PHONOLOGICAL ITEMS: CONSONANTS**

**CONSONANT LOSS/CLUSTER REDUCTION**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Word(s)</th>
<th>Reference(s)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[m &gt; 0]</td>
<td>domlas</td>
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<tr>
<td>[v &gt; 0]</td>
<td>annamh</td>
<td>1002</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>taobh (amuigh)</td>
<td>946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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**CONSONANT WEAKENING/VOCALISATION**

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Séamas Ó Díreáin—A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co.Galway
Table 4: **PHONOLOGICAL ITEMS: CONSONANTS (CONT’D.)**

(CONSONANT WEAKENING/VOCALISATION, Cont’d.)

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<td>[l’ &gt; j]</td>
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CONSONANT ADDITION/CLUSTER EXPANSION

| [VV > VjV] | d’aois | 118 |
| [r’ʃ > r’st’] | chuir sè | 719 |
| [rt > rʃt] | rabharta | 1052 |
| [nɾ > ndɾ] | 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′ > tj] | croinnte (= craíinn) | 968 |

| [ʃ > tj] | 1 |  |
| sin      | 948, 1159 |
| sós      | 1157     |
| seas     | 1092     |
| (tá) sé  | 1 | 475, 499, 506, 557, 686, 727, 730, 792, 849, 883, 920, 943, 946, 1148 |
| (bhí) só́ | 1 | 706 |
| (ag) síul | 1065 |
| (bád) seoil | 1095 |
| seilid | 821 |
| (an) siomnach | 146 |
| anseo   | 944 |
| ansínúd | 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, tʃe in item 178, tʃe in item 293, tʃi (= tá sí) in item 235, and tʃe d (= 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.)

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**METATHESIS**

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### Table 7: Grammatical Items: Verbs and Verbal Nouns

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Only certain forms of possible interest to the reader are listed here.
Table 8: **GRAMMATICAL ITEMS: VERBS AND VERBAL NOUNS (CONT’D.)**

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Table 10: **GRAMMATICAL ITEMS: VERBS AND VERBAL NOUNS (CONT'D.)**

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### Table 11: GRAMMATICAL ITEMS: VERBS AND VERBAL NOUNS (CONT'D.)

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<td>suigh</td>
<td>504, 542</td>
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Table 13: **GRAMMATICAL ITEMS: VERBS AND VERBAL NOUNS (CONT’D.)**

<table>
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<th>Verb/Word</th>
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<td>tuodóireacht</td>
<td>523</td>
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<td>tum (cf. taom)</td>
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<td>úsáid</td>
<td>571</td>
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</table>
Table 14: **GRAMMATICAL ITEMS: COMPARATIVE FORMS OF ADJECTIVES**

| (níos) airde    | 869 |
| (níos) aosta    | 889 |
| (níos) bréá     | 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) luathlámhaf | 875 |
| (níos) milse    | 68  |
| (níos) minice   | 883 |
| (níos) raímhre  | 884 |
| (níos) salaí    | 894 |
| (níos) sine     | 889 |
| (níos) teo      | 868 |
Table 15: **GRAMMATICAL ITEMS: PRONOUNS**

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<td>103, 147, 511, 709, 880, 1000, 1159</td>
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<td>303, 344, 733, 738, 740, 746, 754, 755, 1002, 1145</td>
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<td>504, 733, 1029, 1146</td>
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<td>286, 338, 344, 454, 473, 480, 481, 990, 1146</td>
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**Table 16: GRAMMATICAL ITEMS: PREPOSITIONAL FORMS**

| 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 |
Table 17: **GRAMMATICAL ITEMS: PREPOSITIONAL FORMS (CONT’D.)**

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Table 18: **GRAMMATICAL ITEMS: COMPOUND PREPOSITIONS, etc.**

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