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978-1-107-64553-0 - A Dialect of Donegal: Being the Speech of Meenawannia in the Parish of Glenties Phonology and Texts

E. C. Quiggin

Excerpt

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INTRODUCTORY.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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SYMBOLS.

Vowels: α , æ , ϵ , e , $\ddot{\text{i}}$, i , ɔ , o , U , u , y , ɔ̃ , $\ddot{\text{o}}$, ɪ , ə .Consonants: h , j , w , L , l , N , n , R , r , m , η , ɲ , f , v , χ , g , ɟ , ɕ ,
 s , ʃ , p , b , t , d , k , g .

· before a syllable denotes strong stress.

' after a consonant denotes that that consonant is palatal
(palatalised).` after a final vowel or consonant is sometimes employed to
indicate marked shortness of the preceding sound.

: after a vowel denotes length.

~ denotes nasalisation.

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A. THE VOWEL SYSTEM.

§ 1. We distinguish the following:—

Short vowels:— α , æ , ε , e , ï , ɔ , o , U , ɔ , y , ɔ , ə .Long vowels:— α ː, ε ː, e ː, ï ː, ɔ ː, o ː, u ː, y ː, ɔ ː, ə ː.Diphthongs:— aï , au , a:ï , a:u , ɛi , ɛu , ɛə , ei , e:ï , ia , iu , ɔi , ɔ:ï ,
 $uə$, ui , $yə$, əu , əɔ .(a) The back vowels α , α ː, ɔ , ɔ ː, o , o ː, U , ɔ ː, u ː, ɔ ː, ə ː.1. α .§ 2. The only a-sound which occurs in Donegal is the a of French 'ma' (Sweet mid-back-wide-outer). In this book α is written for purposes of convenience.§ 3. This sound frequently represents O.Ir. a in accented syllables before non-palatal consonants, e.g. *arəm*, 'army', O.Ir. arm; *at*, 'swelling', O.Ir. att; *fanaxt*, 'to stay, remain', O.Ir. anaim; *kapəL*, 'mare', M.Ir. capall; *mak*, 'son', O.Ir. macc; *maLaxt*, 'curse', O.Ir. maldacht; *taxtuw*, 'to choke', O.Ir. tachtad; *tart*, 'thirst', O.Ir. tart; *taruw*, 'bull', M.Ir. tarb.§ 4. O.Ir. e before non-palatal consonants in accented syllables usually gives α , e.g. *ax*, 'steed', O.Ir. ech; *alə*, 'swan', M.Ir. ela; *ax*, 'splice, strip', *axax*, 'fisherman's net', M.Ir. eng; *d'r'am*, 'crowd', M.Ir. dremm; *d'arəg*, 'red', O.Ir. derg; *f'ar*, 'man', O.Ir. fer; *g'al*, 'white', M.Ir. gel; *k'axtər*, 'either', O.Ir. cechtär; *L'anuw*, 'child', M.Ir. lenab; *N'ad*, 'nest', M.Ir. net; *p'akuw*, 'sin', O.Ir. peccad; *fasuw*, 'to stand', M.Ir. sessom; *t'ax*, 'house', O.Ir. tech. The fact that O.Ir. accented e and a result in the same sound leads to great confusion when they¹ Strictly speaking this is a mixed vowel but it will be convenient to treat it with the back vowels.

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

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

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

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

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

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

§ 9. Irish throughout its history has never been very careful to distinguish *ǣ* and *ø* (cp. Wi. bass, boss) and Donegal speech forms no exception in this respect. In a number of words *ə* commonly appears instead of *o*, *ø*. These are: *agəs*, 'and', O.Ir. ocus; *askəL*, 'arm-pit', M.Ir. ochsal; *bəreəb*, 'rough', M.Ir. borb; *bətəL'tə*, 'wap of hay', Di. batailte < Engl., 'bottle'; *bləgod'*, 'bald patch' if < Meyer's bloc .i. cruinn; *brahan*, 'porridge', Di. Macbain brochán, Meyer brothchán; *brəLəχ*, 'breast', Meyer brollach; *fəLæn'*, 'healthy', Di. fóllain (cp. Molloy's 13th dialect-list); *fəχlə*, 'parched', Di. fochla (with different meaning); *fəruw*, 'roost', M.Ir. forud; *fəskuw*, 'shelter', O.Ir. foscad; *kəgnuw*, 'to chew', M.Ir. cocnam; *kəL*, 'hazel', O.Ir. coll; *kəskərt'*, 'to strike, thaw', O.Ir. coscar; *maguw*, 'to mock' < Engl., cp. Louth mogadh; *səp*, 'wisp', M.Ir. sopp (note *f'in' ə səp ə row ə t'iəsk əN*, 'das also war des Pudels Kern'); *skəhuw*, 'to wean', M.Ir. scothaim; *səpəran* but also *spəran*, 'purse', M.Ir. sporán; *təreman*, 'noise', Wi. Ir. T. iv l tormán. In other words sometimes *ə* appears, sometimes *o*, cp. *fəskhuw*, 'to open', fut. *N'i: askləχi:*. Cp. further §§ 25, 60.

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

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tives are formed from substantives ending in *-an* by the addition of *-ta*, e.g. *makaNta*, 'civil, decent', lit. 'filial' < O.Ir. *maccán*, 'puerulus'; *spadaNta*, 'seedy, out of sorts', Di. *spadánta*; *f'iaNta*, 'wild' (used of people), Di. *fiadhanta*; *áwulaNta*, 'foolishly prating', formed from *áwulor*, Di. *amhlóir*, M.Ir. *oblóir*.

a similarly arises from *á* in *f'iastalach*, 'rush', Di. *fiastalach* (which should be spelt with *-á*); *f'adali*, 'to whistle', *f'adalach*, 'whistling', Di. *feadálach*; *f'ek'alach*, 'conspicuous, remarkable, handsome'; *fadalach*, 'slow', Di. *fadálach*; *o'alach*, 'offerings', plur. of *o'al*, Di. *ofráil*. Further *u:has*, 'prodigy', M.Ir. *uathbás*; *pra:kas*, 'small, deformed person', Di. *prácás*; *ra:mas*, 'idle talk'; *d'r'auwlas*, 'licentiousness', *d'r'auwlasach*, 'licentious', cp. Di. *dreabhlas*, *drobhlás*; *orLar*, 'floor', Di. *urlár*.

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

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

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

§ 13. Donegal Irish shews a distinct preference for *a* before *χ* in the termination -ach (O.Ir. -ach, -ech), e.g. *aLax*, 'cattle', O.Ir. ellach; *ma:raχ*, 'to-morrow', M.Ir. i mbárach; *g'araχ*, gen. sing. of *g'er*, 'tallow'; *im'aχt*, 'to depart', M.Ir. imthecht; *raplaχan*, 'rough and ready going fellow', cp. *raplahu:tə*, 'hubbub', Di. rapla húa; *seir'aχ*, 'plough', M.Ir. sessrech; *t'aLax*, 'hearth-stone', M.Ir. tenlach; *ũ:haχə*, *ũ:kaxə*, 'caves', plur. of *ũi*.

This same fondness for *a* before *χ* is further seen in accented syllables in the case of diphthongs, which contain *ə* as their second element, e.g. *f'iaχ*, 'crow', O.Ir. fiach; *f'iaχə*, 'debts', also plur. of *f'ia*, 'deer', M.Ir. fiad; *f'iaχəl*, 'to try', Wi. féchaim; *k'eaχt*, 'plough' (not common), O.Ir. cécht; *p'r'eaχtə*, 'perished with cold', Di. préachta; *uaχə*, plur. of *uw*, 'udder', M.Ir. uth; *uaχt(ə)*, 'pledge', Di. udhacht.

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

2. *a:*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

nr, e.g. *α:nri*, 'broth', M.Ir. *enbruthe*; *α:nrə:*, 'misery', M.Ir. *andró*; *bα:nri:n*, 'queen', O.Ir. *ban-*; *kra:nrə*, 'knot in wood, corn on the foot', Di. *crannra*; *skα:nri:*, 'scared, frightened', cp. Di. *scannruighim*.

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

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