LOCHLANN
A REVIEW OF CELTIC STUDIES

EDITED BY
Alf Sommerfelt

IN COLLABORATION WITH
Carl Hj. Borgstrøm, Reidar Christiansen, Anne Holtsmark,
Carl J. S. Marstrander, Magne Oftedal

VOLUME I

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A LINGUISTIC ATLAS AND SURVEY OF IRISH DIALECTS

by

HEINRICH WAGNER

I. Introduction.

As a result of a discussion held at the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies in 1949, it was decided to entrust the author of this article with the task of compiling a Linguistic Atlas of Irish Dialects. A plan had already been published in Einzige vi 23 ff. During the following winter a long questionnaire was prepared on the lines of that drawn up by Professor B. Hotzenköcherle for his Swiss German Linguistic Atlas. Visits of varied duration to different Irish speaking areas had enabled me to learn the characteristics of the three main dialect groups in Irish (i.e. the dialects of Munster, Connacht and Ulster). Unpublished vocabularies previously collected on the spot by fieldworkers of the Irish Folklore Commission proved very helpful in the search for suitable linguistic items to show both the major and minor differences between Irish dialects. The questionnaire was tested in various places, but had to be revised several times.

I started my systematic fieldwork in the places 1—5 on the map. In order to give the work strict consistency I decided to do the fieldwork myself, with the exception of Points 20 (Dunquin, Dingle peninsula) and 42 (Inishman, Aran) which were covered by Professors D. Greene and M. Dillon respectively.

1 For similar schemes previously planned cf. B. Pop, La Dialectologie pp. 941 note 3, 942 note 6.
Both these scholars, as well as Dr. T. de Bháthraithe, Mr. S. O’Híochaidh and Dr. P. L. Henry gave valuable assistance in other places also.

Holding professorships at the universities of Utrecht (1951–53) and Basel (since 1955), I could only do field work during the long spring and summer vacations. By 1953 this part of the work was almost completed and preparations were made for the publication of the material. The manuscript of the first volume, which contains 300 maps featuring about 370 linguistic items, is almost ready and printing will commence in 1957.

Apart from the questionnaire, the main problem was to find out where native Irish was still available. Irish is rapidly dying out practically everywhere despite having been fostered strongly by successive Irish governments. The Irish Folklore Commission, under the directorship of Professor S. Delargy, has been working at full pressure for the past thirty years collecting folktales, songs and other matters of oral tradition still carried in the memories of the oldest generation in Irish speaking areas. During the last eight years thousands of gramophone records were made by the recording unit of the Commission in most areas where native speakers are still available. These records contain not only folktales and folksongs, but also ordinary conversations, and will therefore be of great importance for future linguistic research.

Before I commenced the fieldwork, Mr. Kevin Danaher of the Folklore Commission outlined to me all the various areas where people could be found who, at least in their youth, spoke Irish, and could therefore be considered native speakers. I followed his suggested itinerary right through and did not meet with any disappointment. For County Cork I relied on previous research work carried out systematically in the whole area by Dr. B. O’Cuív.1 In East Galway (points 25–35) I followed in the path of Dr. T. de Bháthraithe who had previously been working in that area. In Co. Donegal my guide was Mr. S. O’Híochaidh of the Folklore Commission who is indisputably the greatest authority on Folk tradition and the position of Irish generally, in this last refuge of Ulster Irish. Valuable information was also provided by Mr. Seán Mac Ruairí of Radio Eireann, and by others too numerous to mention.

My definition of an Irish native speaker was as follows: a person brought up to speak the Irish dialect which still is, or was once spoken in a given place. I claim that such a person is a representative of this local dialect. In order to eliminate the influence which written Irish might have had on the local dialect of a native speaker, I dealt, as a rule, with people who could neither read nor write Irish. As this is the case with almost all of the older generation of native speakers, the average age of my informants was over seventy. People who came from outside areas, or, which is rare in rural Ireland, who had travelled a lot in different areas, would have been of little value for my purpose. A person, however, who had spent a certain amount of time in Britain or America, i.e. in an English speaking environment, often proved to be an excellent informant on the local dialect of the place in which he was brought up. I worked, in a few cases, with informants who had spent a large part of their lives abroad.

There has been little traffic intercourse between the different Irish speaking areas in the last fifty years. Admittedly, before the first World War, Irish fishermen did sail long distances around the Irish north, west and south coasts, and even as far as the west coast of Scotland, mixing with the populations of the different ports. The first World War, however, brought Irish high sea fishing to a standstill from which it has never recovered. There is linguistic evidence of the intercourse between different ports along the Irish coast, as the following criteria show:

There are very few ports along the Donegal coast. One of them, a place named Downings, in the extreme north (point 71), is well known to the fishermen of Teelin (point 86) in South-West

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1 Cf. his Irish Districts and Irish-Speaking Districts (Dublin 1951).
Donegal. They call it in their dialect Na Dúinín (Na ‘dunzz’). In North Donegal, however, it is called Na Dúnaibh (Na ‘duinzz’, with shortened vowel in the first syllable, a typical feature of North East Donegal Irish). The word for mother (Old Ir. *matlair) is pronounced mbaar’ in Munster and Connaught Irish and mbaar’, i.e. with shortened u: before h, in Ulster Irish (with the exception of S.E. Ulster, i.e. point 65, Omnaith, Co. Louth, which also presents a long a-sound). Curiously enough, S.W. Donegal Irish (point 85, 86) presents a short é-sound, which must be a development from the short a-sound; the S.W. Donegal form sounds something like muhai’. This form was also recorded, besides the form mbaar’, in Downings, where, possibly, it was introduced by S.W. Donegal fishermen, sheltering from time to time with Downings people from stormy seas. I cannot trace the form muhai’ anywhere else in North Donegal. Downings was the main port, if not the only one, to which S.W. Donegal fishermen called while fishing in the north. The dialect of Aran Island, (point 79) also called Arannmore in order to distinguish it from the Aran Islands off the Galway coast (points 41, 42), also has certain features in common with S.W. Donegal Irish. Arammore was another fishing place well known to S.W. Donegal fishermen. Strong affrication of palatal t’ and d’ is typical of both S.W. Donegal Irish and Aran Irish, but not of other Donegal dialects. This feature links S.W. Donegal Irish with North Connaught Irish (p. 88, North Sligo, p. 57—59, North Mayo). Traffic connections over the Donegal Bay were strong in olden times, and there are many other linguistic points which connect S.W. Donegal with the opposite North Connaught coast. Affrication of t’, c’ (phonetically represented by the symbols c’, d’), is also typical of Aran Irish off the Galway coast (p. 41, 42). I cannot see the results of our investigations yet, but I feel there are some linguistic features which link up the various seaports.

A noteworthy feature of the Arammore dialect (p. 79) is found in the following phrase; in: fe’ got ‘an tóchar an’ ift’ tó na goll ‘an tóchar fa choinne aice, “he is going to the well for water”. In this sentence the word for water has lost its final vowel, which is invariably represented as o in all dialects. The loss of final o is a matter of sentence stress and seems to occur when the word in question is at the end of the sentence and strongly stressed. I presume that in this case the first syllable takes the breath away and swallows the weak vowel. The same phonetic feature has been discovered in Erris Irish, (N.W. Mayo, p. 55—56), by E. Mhac an Phailigh (cf. Eigse v p. 253 f.), who shows that the loss of final o also depends on the nature of the preceding consonant. He is wrong, however, in his assertion that this is a “characteristic feature of Erris Irish only” (op. cit. 253), because it is also common in the Arammore Dialect, in the Donegal dialect of Fintaid (69), also, to a lesser extent, in the dialect of Tory Island (p. 85), in the Scottish Gaelic dialect of Rathlin Island (p. 67), and in the South Mayo dialect of Tournakasney (p. 51). The same feature must have been common in the mixed Connacht/East Ulster dialect of Glengiven, Co. Cavan (p. 64), although there was not much material available there. Holmer in his otherwise thorough description of the Rathlin dialect, apparently did not notice it. I should like, therefore, to give two examples from the Rathlin dialect: *fe’ got ‘an tóchar ‘an tóchar ‘to eat’; at the end of a sentence—the form being le’a’s in other positions, cf. Holmer, “The Irish Language in Rathlin Island” (1942) page 207. mar wee c’fan sa fin’s ‘bair’f’ “but for him we would have been (lit. we were) drowned”; here, bairf stands for bairf’ha. The geographical distribution of this feature cannot be accidental: Rathlin is a Scottish Gaelic dialect. The loss of final o is attested in Scottish Gaelic and in Manx (cf. Mann ‘me’ “me” from mien, Irish m’i’). The East Ulster dialects, represented by points 65, Omnaith, Co. Louth, 66 Tyrone and 68, Inishowen, Co. Donegal, partly also by point 64, Glengiven, Co. Cavan, are, of all Irish dialects, closest to Scottish Gaelic and Manx. As we shall see later, there are quite a number of criteria which link up East Ulster and North Connaught (p. 63 Co. Leitrim, 51—62 Mayo and Sligo). The north eastern fringe of Donegal contains strong Scottish Gaelic elements. (p85.}
69, 71, 75). Considering the strong traffic intercourse which existed between some seaports along the northern coast, it seems to me quite possible that the loss of final \( a \) in the dialect of Aranmore (p. 76), is related to the same feature existing in Rabbín Irish and, to a certain extent, in the Irish of Tóirt Island. Example from Aranmore: *git'ha tu krip's ar mo xat an gairfish to craipse or no chótá "will you put a button on my coat?" (\( k\)átá being the pausa form). It has to be emphasized that the loss of \( a \) at the end of a sentence bears no relation to the loss of \( a \) in the middle of a sentence, before a word commencing with a vowel, a feature which is common in all Irish dialects. A feature common to the dialects of Tóirt (p. 76) and Downings (p. 71) is the devoicing of final voiced consonants in pausa position.

I was most anxious to collect my material as soon as possible in those places where there were only a few native speakers left. I worked only with people whose first language had been Irish only, or both Irish and English. As a rule I did not bother with persons who had heard some Irish words or phrases in their youth, but had never spoken the language themselves. In most parts of rural Ireland the local English dialect contains a certain amount of Irish words which could have been useful to me. I left this section of my work, however, to future investigators of Anglo-Irish dialects, (cf. Dr. Henry's article in this volume), and confined myself to the study of the speech of people who, at least in their youth, spoke the Irish dialect of their locality. In most places I was dealing with people who had not spoken Irish for, perhaps, upwards of fifty years, English having become their vernacular at an early stage in their lives. Thus, it was seldom possible to get all the words and grammatical forms needed for my questionnaire. My subjects were aged between seventy and ninety five years, and although they did their best in trying to answer all my questions, they were inevitably at a loss from time to time, as their Irish had become rusty. Many of them were not in the best of health, some being blind or deaf. A number of those interviewed had been bedridden for years, including some who were inmates of hospitals and institutions.

There is no place in Ireland where English is not now understood by the majority of adults; monoglots, apart from small children, have become extremely rare. I therefore applied a direct method in order to get the material required: my informants were asked to translate English words and sentences into their Irish. This method made it possible to collect morphological material systematically, without losing time by suggesting a certain form indirectly. This procedure might be thought to defeat its purpose, in that much of the Irish might be mere translation, not presenting the form it would have taken if the sentence in question had not been suggested in English. In order to avoid that risk I conversed freely in Irish with my informants intermittently during my stay in a given place. For obvious reasons I endeavoured to get lodging as close as possible to the locality of my informants. Having completed the work in all places where native Irish is, to my knowledge, and to the knowledge of helpers and contacts, still available, I have reached the conclusion that, with regard to grammatical forms and to sounds, our informants have invariably given genuine material. As regards syntax and idiom, much of our collection may be corrupt, from the point of view of students of the older language, but most of these sentences occur in current Irish and would be used freely by our speakers, if they still spoke Irish. We are concerned with linguistic reality, and not with an ideal language which may exist in the minds of philologists. Our material will also show the influence which English has exercised on Irish during the past hundred years. In other countries the material for linguistic atlases has been collected by asking informants to translate from a standard language into the dialect of that language. This method is undoubtedly more prone to errors than ours, but has proved successful. If we have corrupt material en masse, it is not due to inefficient methods but to the fact that most of our informants have not spoken Irish for many years. If Irish were to become their vernacular once more, it would be different in many ways from the language spoken by the preceding generation, who knew very little English. In each place I contacted a few subjects who
were able to give me the maximum information possible to collect in four or five days, and who were prepared to spend hours being questioned. The quality or the extent of the material gathered in a given place depends upon, and therefore reflects the position of the language in that place. In this way we get a fairly clear idea of the present situation of Irish. If, say, an old man of eighty five years of age has neither spoken nor heard any Irish for about forty years, we may assume that spoken Irish was dying in his district more than fifty years ago. Thus our collection reflects the different degrees of decay of the language throughout the country. Fortunately there are still a few small areas where Irish may be preserved as a spoken language, if properly fostered. There is no exact census of the present position of the Irish language. The statistics given in *Etudes Celt.* VI 203 ff., as well as the map prepared by *Comhdhail Náisiúnta na Gaeltachta* (A Board for the Gaeltacht, Dublin, 1953), are inaccurate and misleading at many points. B. O’Caí’s *Irish speaking dialects and Irish speaking districts* is mainly concerned with Cork Irish.

We shall now try to describe, geographically, the linguistic situation in all the places we have visited and were able to contact native speakers who gave us the material required by the questionnaire. Most of these places were isolated, representing the last pockets where Irish is still spoken in the areas in question. Indicated by arrows on map 1 are those areas where native speakers are in the majority. In general it was just a matter of tracing the last refugium of the language in a district. This is true for example, of our only point in East Cork, (point 7, Knockadoon), and of Omeath, our only S.E. Ulster point (65). I do not maintain that there were no informants in other localities in these latter regions, but I am convinced that the only places to get fairly good material in these districts were Knockadoon and Omeath. I actually met another Irish speaker in S.E. Ulster, in a place called Inishkrein, Co. Monaghan, about six miles west of Dundalk.

II. The Position of the Irish Language according to our investigations between 1949 and 1956.

1. County Waterford (p. 1, 2, 3, 5) including the southern fringe of Co. Tipperary (p. 4).

Irish is still alive in Ring (p. 1), in its two small fishing villages Bails na nGall and Helvis; but English has become predominant at least with the younger generation. Our three subjects in this area were equally fluent in both languages. In points 2—5 there were only a very few speakers still living in remote localities of the Knockmealdown and Comeragh Mountains. In point 5 (Gleispatrick, g’fúinn ‘faríc’ near Kilcoheen), I met only two speakers, who were able to translate about 60 per cent of my items into Irish but were no longer able to speak Irish fluently. One of them was almost ninety years of age; his son did not understand a word of Irish. In South Tipperary, at the foot of the Knockmealdown Mountains, (p. 4) there was quite a number of speakers left, all belonging to the oldest generation. Point 2 represents Mount Mellary, the famous Cistercian monastery. A few native speakers have survived in this rather desolate area. The mountain district of Sliebe gCua (jf’ta ‘gus’) is now almost deserted. We found a very good subject in a place called Ce: na daum’pean in this area (pt. 3). A collection of Sliebe gCua folk tales was published in *Bealadhais* VI p. 169 ff. In points 2—5 Irish as a spoken language must be dead at least thirty to sixty years. We also traced a speaker near Carrick-on-Suir.

Points 1—5 represent one main dialect, the so called *Deise* dialect. A phonemic description of Ring Irish is found in R. B. Bretnach’s *The Irish of Ring. Co. Waterford* (Dublin, 1947). Valuable information concerning vocabulary, points of grammar and idiom is contained in Most Rev. M. Sheehan’s *Sean-Chaint na nDíse* (sec. ed. 1944).

In North and South Kilkenny (pqs. 6, 6a), material had been collected some twenty years ago by Prof. B. A. Bretnach, Cork. It was presented as a thesis but, unfortunately has never been

3 – *Nord Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap. Suppl. Bind V.*
published. With Prof. Bretnach's kind permission, we were 
able to make use of this material. Kilkenny Irish, although 
related to Deise Irish, must have been a different dialect as far 
as we can gather from Bretnagh's material. Some notes are 
also found in T. F. O'Rahilly's *Irish Dialects Past and Present*.

There are some interesting differences between the dialect of 
points 4, 5, and that of points 1, 2, while the dialect of point 3 
takes an intermediate position. The two dialects are separated 
by the Knockmealdown and Comeragh mountains. In Munster 
Irish (p. 1–24), *tigh* "house" is commonly pronounced as *tig*
the initial dental being more or less palatalized. Points 1, 2 present 
this pronunciation too, but *tig* may become *ti* in certain 
Sandhi positions, cf. Bretnagh op. cit. § 304. In points 3–5 the 
pronunciation is *ti* or *te* in all positions (cf. also below p. 22). 
Our questionnaire sentence "I have to comb my hair every 
morning before I go to school", is concerned with the conjunction 
"before". In points 1–3 the subordinate clause was given 
as *fae: 'rsei m's, in points 4, 5, as *fae: *rsei m'e* or *fata* *rsei m'e*. 
Both forms of the conjunction are peculiar to Deise Irish, as they 
cannot be traced in any other dialect. With regard to our first 
item, point 3 agrees with points 4, 5; but as to our second item, 
with points 1, 2. The examples justify our attempt to reconstruct 
a linguistic area from a very few remaining native speakers. If 
we find independently, the same form in two places, belonging 
to the same "Sprachlandschaft", it cannot be corrupt.

2. County Cork and County Kerry (p. 7–21).

**Knockadown** *(nyk a *dun*) near Ballinacodh (ba'la:nakodh) 
is our only point in east Cork (7). There is a number of native 
speakers left in this place, but Irish has not been spoken very 
much for at least thirty years. One of our informants, a man 
aged more than seventy five years, was living in the last house 
of the village, directly at the seafront. We have frequently 
had that same experience: the last and the best native speaker 
of Irish, living not only in the remotest locality of a certain 
district, but also in the most inaccessible house of that 
locality. Our best informants in points 2, 3, 4, 5, were living far 
from the main roads in hidden parts of these mountain areas. 
The intermediate position of Knockadown Irish, between Deise 
and West Cork Irish, has been discussed competently by B. 
O'Cuív, *Irish Dialects and Irish-Speaking Districts*, p. 60 ff. A 
 thorough description of this dialect would have been desirable, 
but it is too late now as all the remaining speakers are more 
fluent in English than in Irish.

In points 8 (district of Clonakilty, *klanakte's*), 9 (near 
Glounane), and 10, (near Skibbereen, *skibberen*), i. e. along 
the south west coast of Co. Cork, Irish is almost dead, and must 
have been abandoned a long time ago as a spoken language. 
We got, however, good material in point 10, but not quite so 
good in points 8 and 9.

Irish is still spoken a little on Clew Island *(klaev k̪te's* 
our pt. 11. Islands as well as mountains, are the last refugium 
of the language. It is significant that I had to go to the remote 
part of the Island in order to find the best informants. English 
is strongest around the harbor, as we have noticed on other 
Islands, for example Aranmore, p. 79. On Tory Island (p. 75), 
which is still entirely Irish speaking, I have noticed that the 
people of the western village *(ba'la: 'bair'), were more fluent 
than those of the eastern village *(ba'la: 'beir') when they spoke 
English to strangers. We may attribute this to the fact that most 
of the traffic with the mainland is through the western village. 
On Clew Island, Irish is dying rapidly, as this island is strongly 
open to modern civilization.

In points 12 (Coonolun, *ku:nulhul*), 13 (Gloutrasun, *g'lu:trasun*), and 14, (Dunvey Sound, *d'nu:v*), Irish is almost 
extinct. In point 14, my subject was considered the last 
native speaker of the district. 
The Irish of points 8–14 has never been studied systematically, 
and a monograph would be most desirable, but would 
have to be undertaken soon. It differs from *West Munster Irish*
numbers to this very beautiful spot at the end of the Dingle peninsula. Many Celtic scholars, including the author of this article, have learnt their modern Irish in Dunquin. The dialect has been described by M. L. Sjöstedt in two monographs containing a phonetic description and a complete grammar (accidence and syntax) Vol. 1. Phonétique d’un parler Irlandais de Kerry. Paris 1931. Vol. 2. Description d’un parler Irlandais de Kerry. Paris 1938. The material presented in these books is not very comprehensive, the morphology, in particular, is not reliable, but they still represent the most complete description of a modern Irish dialect, taking into account the grammatical categories relevant to the Irish language. I met a number of monoglots during my stay in Dunquin 1945/46. Since then, the Blasket Islanders have been migrated to Dunquin on the mainland. These people have never spoken anything but Irish. It must be remembered, however, that the entire population of Dunquin including the Blasket Islanders, scarcely exceeds 300. Irish is spoken in a few other villages in the immediate neighbourhood of Dunquin and in the direction of Mount Brandon (between points 20 and 21), one of the highest mountains in Ireland. In point 21 (Láminshloe ar su ke/shir) near Cloughane, there are only a very few speakers left, and there is no longer any Irish spoken in this area. There seems to be some small dialect differences between the Irish of the Cloughane district and the Irish west of Mount Brandon, where it is still spoken in some houses. We have indicated this fact with an arrow on map 1.

There is neither a city nor a town in Ireland where Irish is spoken. As a type of settlement, the town is, undoubtedly, a nucleic element in Ireland, and was probably introduced by the English. Its ancestor is the Germanic “Dorf” (village). We have to consider the type of settlement when we study the structure of a geographic-linguistic unit. The single holding surrounded by a certain amount of land, has always been the main type of homestead with innumerable people. An Irish village does not consist of a large cluster of houses, but of holdings scattered
over a fairly big district; a locality might contain a few houses, but is not a real village ("Dorf") in the Germanic sense. In a small place like Dunquin there is a number of localities each having its own name. I stayed at an gCéithirain, "on the Quarter" where there were only a few houses together. There are some old fishing villages, found in points 1, 7, 23a, 23, 59, 69, which in my opinion represent quite a different type of settlement. Taking placenames like Heilevik and Baile na nádall ("the village of the foreigners", point 1) into account, as well as the fact that the fishing terminology in Irish is widely of Norse origin, I believe that, as a type, fishing villages consisting of a number of houses built closely together are Norse in origin. The numbers on our maps therefore, seldom refer to a large community, but to a small locality consisting of not more than half a dozen houses. As a rule, these houses were the most remote and inaccessible ones in the entire district. This type of settlement reflects a strong sense of individuality which dominates life in Ireland, and to a lesser extent in Britain too, where it must be considered an essentially insular Celtic element.

3. County Clare.

In points 22—24, representing the Irish of County Clare, Irish has almost disappeared. Clare Irish, being a Munster dialect, is most interesting from a geographical point of view. A monograph has been prepared by Professor N. Holmer, and will be published soon, we hope, by the Royal Irish Academy. As may be seen from many of our maps, there are strong links between Clare and Déise Irish, particularly our northern Déise points including Kilkenney Irish (points 6, 6a). The form *fì, fìe (points 3—5) for a house is also the Clare and Kilkenney form. Forms like ruairíreamh "fat", suairísamh "summer", guí’síusail "call" are found only in Clare and Kilkenney. All other dialects, including points 1—5, have diphthongs or bisyllabic forms: rúairí, rúairí, which are often strongly nasalized. In Clare Irish the preterite of "to eat" is irregular: dhuilmair "we ate", ní: rúíre m’s "I did not eat", a rúírel (cf. map 2) "did you eat?" These forms are based on Old Irish aduadad "he ate", cf. Pedersen, Vergl. Gramm. der kelt. Spr. II § 753. The same forms are also found in points 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 33, 37, representing a South and East Galway area, which has some linguistic features in common with Co. Clare. Apart from the mentioned Clare and Galway districts, remnants of Old Irish aduadad are found only in points 6, 6a. Breathnach gives the following forms: ní: u: "did not eat", da:il "ate" (all forms are given without subject pronouns; ní: u: is entered on map 2). A most valuable collection of idioms, words and notes on the dialect, is found in Séidhre Mac Chiabáin's Caipit an Chóirid (2 vols., sec. ed. Dublin 1944).

We may sum up our findings in Munster: The only place where Irish is strongly alive is Dunquin (point 20). In points 2—5, 7—10, 12—14, 16, 17, 19, 21—24, only a few native speakers have survived, all belonging to the oldest generation; most of them have not spoken Irish for a long time. In points 11, 15 and 18, Irish is still spoken by some families and by some of the older generation. Apart from point 20, English is the vernacular of the younger generation everywhere. In most districts the population is very thin as a result of emigration which has been going on in all Irish speaking areas for a long time. There is no economic life of any description in any area. The best informants were found in remotest localities, along the seashore, in mountain areas or on islands.

As a matter of fact there are very few places where both Irish and English are equally used. Once English has become fashionable in a place, Irish is considered old fashioned and inferior. This trend is strongly connected with the social structure of Ireland. As it is not spoken in large centres of population, or by persons above a certain social standing, Irish is regarded by rural dwellers as belonging to a primitive, poverty stricken way of life.

Galway is the only county where native speakers can still be found in almost every district. Point 32 represents a place in South Roscommon, about eight miles west of Athlone and near the Galway border, where Professor T. O’Móille (Galway) not long ago discovered a few native speakers. In points 25—33 there were only a few remaining speakers from whom we were able to get more or less complete material: point 25 Kinvara (Kīv’rā’vā); point 26 Carreens (kaz’rin’i) near Tubber on the Galway/Clare border; point 27 Lough Atorick (lō’ tōr’ɪk) near Woodford (sē’ wʊ'df’d); also on the Clare/Galway border; point 29 Craghwell (k’ræ’w’l); point 30 Colmanstown (kōl’mənstɔ’) point 31 Newbridge, point 33 Cnanderry (kən’drě’r’i); in each of points 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33 I depended on one or two remaining speakers, some of whom have since died. The material obtained in points 26, 27, 29, 30 and 31, shows large gaps and contains a fair number of undoubtedly corrupt sentences. A limited number of good speakers can still be found along the coast west of Kinvara (point 25). In a village called Liain na hEillte (‘Eilt’s ’hɛlt’), near point 34 (Cashel, kafel), Irish may still be spoken. The same applies to point 37, Cerramore (kər’ mər’). North and east of Galway city (point 36 Annoydawn, ’annəd’wɔ’n; point 38, Angilham, o’rl’ ə ’wɔl’), as well as south of Tusan (point 35 Balliglum, b’lɛl’ ə ’gləm’), there are a number of small villages, (Menloagh, Muenteilghi, for example) where Irish is still alive to a certain extent.

We have been particularly interested in the South and East Galway areas, as these dialects have never been studied systematically. They are quite different from West Galway Irish (points 39—48). The South Galway dialect not only shows strong connections with Clare Irish, but also presents features not found anywhere else. In the word temppa “tongue” for example, as well as in some other words, ng has become g in this dialect, the pronunciation of the word being invariably f’aga (points 25—29). This feature had been noticed, prior to my investigations, by Dr. T. de Bháthraithe, who unfortunately has not yet published his material collected in East Galway some years ago.

About ten miles west of Galway city, immediately behind the village of Spiddel (sp’rd’l), we enter an almost one-hundred per cent Irish speaking district, stretching out along the coast between our points 40 and 46. (40 Loughanbay, b’ən’v’bl, 46 Clonra, kərn’r’). The population here is still fairly dense, but the younger generation is emigrating in large numbers. This coastline has neither fishing ports nor arable land, and is really a stone desert to which the people were driven in times of persecution. The same is true, to a certain extent, of the coastal districts of Counties Mayo (points 52, 53—59) and Donegal (points 68—86). Nowadays the people of all these areas are being subsidised by the Irish government, or by the earnings sent home by emigrants abroad in Great Britain or America. In the area of points 53, 54, Achill Island, and particularly in North West Donegal (points 74—80), seasonal emigration to Britain (mainly Scotland), is of primary importance in the economic life of these last strongholds of Ulster Irish. We shall see later that the population of Achill Island consists mainly of Ulster people. The country behind the stony coast of points 40—46, consists of rocky land or of immense boggy mountains, which are, apart from little pockets, practically uninhabited. We are indebted to Dr. T. de Bháthraithe for two valuable studies of the dialect of point 40. 1. The Irish of Cois Fhathrige, Co. Galway, (Dublin 1944), containing a phonetic study of the dialect in phonemic transcription, is written on the same pattern as the studies on the Irish of Ring and of West Muskerry, 2. Goidelic Cholos Fhathrige, Baile Átha Cliath 1953, a most comprehensive morphology of an Irish dialect. It should, however, be mentioned here, as none of the reviewers of this book seem to have noticed it (cf. Et. Celt. VI 397, Eige VIII, 2 p. 177 f.), that the grammatical description is based on the categories of Latin grammar.

On Inisheer (point 42), only Irish is spoken. Inisheer (point 41) (i’n’shɛr), the smallest of the Aran islands, is perhaps the
only place in Ireland where the Irish language has gained ground over the past few decades. Although English has become predominant on the largest of the three Islands, the Aran Islands have remained a stronghold of the Irish language. It was on the main Island that F. N. Finck collected the material for his monograph Die Araner Mundart (Marburg 1899), (cf. also the unduly harsh review of this book by Pedersen, IF Anzeiger XI 108—111). The dialect of the Aran Islands is a Connaught dialect (points 25—63), but it is well known that it contains, especially in Inisheer (point 41), elements of the Clare dialect.

In points 47 (Imiligimore, int'mul' 'mor, north west of Roundstone, south of Clifden) and 48 (Letterbeg, Let's af 'bieg, not far from Letterfrock, Let's af 'frak') Irish is almost dead. There may still be a few native speakers on Inishark, the smaller of the two islands opposite point 48. In some mountain valleys of Joyce's Country (cf. point 49 Carrig, karig' and point 50 Shanafaraghain, sjanaf'er'axan on Lough Nafoeg, lox na 'foes's) Irish is still spoken. Within the area enclosed by points 44—49—50—46, Irish is still spoken in small pockets of this almost deserted countryside. Point 51, Tournamandy (tour 'vi'k'edh) belongs geographically to the same mountain area as points 49, 50, but is in Co. Mayo. There are distinct dialect differences between Tournamandy Irish and the Irish of Joyce's Country, which we cannot outline yet. A line connecting points 40—43 (Carrahow) — 44 (Rosmuck) — 46 (Corra) 40—49, 50—51, must be considered as the last vein of Connaght Irish which has not yet run dry.

5. County Mayo (points 51—59, 62).

With the exception of the districts between points 52 and 53, native Irish speakers can be found around the Mayo coast in isolated pockets. In point 52 (Dougnakeen, dou'i'k'oon' near Louisburgh, klu'n 'k'surban), I had to rely entirely on one subject, a man of over eighty years. His daughter, who is a schoolteacher, told me after she had followed the proceedings of our work that she had never known her father knew so much Irish. This is an indication of the time which has elapsed since Irish was spoken in this area. No native speakers seem to be left in the stretch of country between Louisburgh, Westport, Newport, and almost as far as Malleranca (ca. 14 miles east of point 53). A speaker whom we contacted in Newport originally came from Rostark, a few miles east of Malleranca, where I also met another speaker. In point 53 (Carraun Peninsula, k'row'ann) and point 54 (Sallia, sa'l'ia, Achill Island), some Irish is still spoken. My informant in point 53 told me recently, when I revisited him, that Irish has been losing ground rapidly during the six years since I last visited him. On Inishbiggle, a little island almost opposite point 54, Irish was also spoken. The population of this Island has moved to the mainland, and now lives in the Ballinagore area where Professor Dillon only recently collected the material for the survey. In points 55 (Dhuomean, du'm'nea) and 55a (Doo- lough, do'luax), there are a few old people left who can speak Irish fluently, but the language has not been spoken in this area for some time past. At the end of the Belmullet peninsula, in the two villages Follonore (fal 'mor) and Glash (gla), point 56, Irish is still predominant, but the population is sparse. Glash is inhabited by the Inishkea Islanders who were transferred to the mainland some time ago. Our main informants in point 56 actually were Inishkea Islanders. Another small Irish speaking district in the north west corner of Co. Mayo consists mainly of two villages, Carrowrige (k'rr'o'fpiug) and Portalog (port a 'taidx). Geographically and economically it is the most isolated area we visited in Co. Mayo; the younger generation is moving out of it ape. In point 58 (Geeveerane, g'wev'ane near Belderg) and in point 59 representing the district between Ballagastle (ba'l'o' s'at') and Lackenboy, only a few old native speakers have survived. Most of my material was collected in a place called oujn 'Lakse south of Rathlacken.

A phonetic study of Tournamandy Irish (point 51), identical in method with the studies on Ring, West Muskerry and Cois Fhailge Irish, has been written by Dr. Seán de Búrca (Galway.
rule in Munster and Connaught Irish, lenition in Ulster Irish. For example “on the road” was rendered as er’s ‘wocair air an mbótair in points 1–63; as er’s ‘wocair air an bhóthar in points 65, 66 (East Ulster) and er’s ‘wocair air an bhéasach mhór in points 65–66 (Donegal), bhéasach mhór being the equivalent of southern and East Ulster Irish bóthar. Lenition is also the rule in Achill Irish (points 53, 54): er’s ‘mocair, ... ‘mochar. There are plenty of double forms in Achill Irish, one belonging to the Connaught substratum, the other one belonging to the Ulster superstratum.


Point 60 (Ach, a: ‘air’) and point 61 (near Tubbercurry, tobair a: ‘air’:) are in South West Sligo. There are very few speakers in this area, most of whom live at the foot of the Ox Mountains. In point 62 (Kilmoe, ‘e: mO: ‘é:) on the Roscommon Mayo border, we met one person who was able to give us very valuable material, although his Irish had become somewhat rusty; the same is true of our subjects in points 60 and 61. The dialect area of these points presents a number of difficult problems which we are not yet in a position to discuss. There may be other parts in East Mayo where there are some native speakers. In a place near Curry we met an old woman who had fluent Irish. We do not think that further research would have added much more to our knowledge. A complete dialect study is no longer possible in North East Connaught. In the mountain district east of Leugh Allen (Eabha, ‘e: na ‘e:d’s, pl. 63, Co. Leitrim), we met two old men who were able to remember some words and phrases of their native Irish dialect, which they must have spoken in their childhood, probably to their grandparents, who knew Irish only. In clegerein (g’f: N) Co. Cavan (point 64) we also met two old people, who gave us words and little phrases in their native Irish dialect which they had almost forgotten. Leitrim and Cavan Irish died before it could be properly studied. This is a considerable loss to Irish dialect studies, as it must have
been in these districts, that East Ulster and Connaught Irish clashed. It seems that Irish scholars have not taken to heart T. F. O’Rahilly’s words, *Irish Dialects Past and Present*, p. 100: “Further investigation of the Irish of these areas (Lough Allen, Co. Leitrim, S.E. Sligo, North Roscommon), would be highly desirable before the last native-speaker is dead and gone.” (Written in 1932). The little material we were able to get in points 63, 64, will enable us, however, to present on some of the maps the links which once existed between North East Connaught and East Ulster.

A short description of Glengevin Irish is found in Eamonn O’Tuathail’s *Seachas Ghleann Ghabhle* (published as a supplement to *Béilsídean IV*, 1934). Notes and a few texts are contained in S. O’Searcaigh’s *Ghaothdhuich Ghaoidhilge an Tuaiscírt* (1923), especially at p. 184 ff. Notes and texts concerning all Connaught dialects are found in T. Ó Máille’s *Urshadhadheacht* (Baile Atha Cliath 1927).

Before I met any informant in Glengevin, I deduced from information given to me by my Lough Allen (Co. Leitrim) informant that there must be an important linguistic boundary between points 63 and 64. When my subject in point 63 gave me the pronunciation for the word “herring” which was *spudan* in his dialect, he mentioned that *spudan* was said in Glengevin. In this word as in others, all Connaught dialects (points 25–63) present a *u*-sound where Ulster dialects (points 65–86) have an *o*-sound. The Glengevin form given me by the Lough Allen speaker must, therefore, be an Ulster form. I discovered later that the dialects of points 63 and 64 are somewhat mixed, the latter showing a stronger Ulster element than the former. *murt* is the word for *cow* in both places, but *ba* was also given in point 64. *murt* is an Ulster word (point 65, *murt/* point 66) and is only common in the word *murt*eal “beef” in the other Irish dialects, including Donegal Irish (points 68–86). *bo* (Munster, Connaught), *bo* (Donegal), are the common Irish forms for “cow”. East Ulster Irish has features in common with North Connaught Irish which reach much farther west and south west than the one just mentioned. “A horse” is called *kopl* in Munster (points 1–24) and part of Connaught (points 25–51; 62, where the form is *koper*; with the main accent on the second syllable), just as in Manx (*køo*, *køon*). A mare is called *beß* in all these places (Manx *ieß*). In Donegal, *kopol* means a “mare”; a “horse” is called *b’xar* or *b’xar* (points 68–86). East Ulster (points 65, 66) and Rathlin (point 67), also present *kopol* for a mare, but a horse is called *g’xar* in East Ulster (65, 66) and *inx* in Rathlin (point 67). North Mayo has the same words as East Ulster Irish: *g’xar* (point 64), *g’beß* (points 63, 52–61) for a horse, and *kopol* (*kól*) for a mare (points 52–61, 63, 64). It is interesting to note that our East Mayo point (62) conforms with Southern Irish. The word *g’xar* for a *horse* is also used in North East Donegal (points 68–70), which in many other points agrees with East Ulster.

7. East Ulster.

Unfortunately Irish had almost disappeared from East Ulster by the time we began our scheme. Twenty years ago, we would have got excellent subjects, not only in North East Connaught (Leitrim, North Sligo, Roscommon) but also in most northern counties (Louth, South Armagh, Monaghan, Fermanagh, Derry, and Antrim). In Omeath, Co. Louth, which undoubtedly was the last stronghold of South East Ulster Irish, one native speaker has survived (point 65). In Co. Monaghan, in a place called Inishkeen, near Dundalk, we met another one. A short account of S.E. Ulster Irish is found in A. Sommervell’s *South Armagh Irish* (NTS II 107–91, 1927). Native Irish is dead in Co. Antrim, apart from Rathlin Island (point 67), where some fairly good speakers can still be found. The language of Rathlin Island, however, is essentially a Scottish Gaelic dialect, containing strong Irish elements, cf. Nils M. Holmer, *The Irish Language in Rathlin Island, Co. Antrim* (Dublin 1942), which contains a thorough description of the Rathlin dialect. Nearly twenty years ago,
Holmer also contacted the last few native speakers on the blanket of Co. Antrim. The results of his study are found in Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1940:7 (On some Relics of the Irish Dialect spoken in the Glen of Antrim). Notes on the dialects, and short texts concerning all Ulster dialects, are found in S. Ó'Searcaigh’s Foscraidheacht, which we mentioned above. The Scottish Gaelic dialects of Kintyre on the opposite Scottish mainland, and of the Island of Arran, have also been studied by Holmer. The dialects of Rathlin and Arran form, together with the dialect of Kintyre, the real link between Irish on one side, and Scottish Gaelic and Manx on the other. Holmer’s study on Arran Gaelic is being printed at the moment, while the Kintyre manuscript is awaiting publication. In 1950, I collected in a few mountain valleys of County Tyrone (point 66), a considerable amount of material from about twelve native speakers, only one of whom could speak Irish as fluently as English. This is the only area in Ulster where I got complete material. A large collection of Tyrone folktales with an introduction describing the dialect, has been published by Eamonn O’Tuathail (Scoilta Mhainistir Litirigh Dublin 1933).

Ulster Irish consists of two main dialects, an East Ulster (points 65, 66, 68) and a Donegal dialect (points 69—86). In Inishowen (‘in’seuvn’, pt. 68) Irish is almost dead; our main informants were aged more than eighty years. East Ulster Irish shows stronger affinities to Scottish Gaelic and Manx than does Donegal Irish; but some eastern Donegal points share a few typical East Ulster features, as the following examples show:

(a) “I did not give”: points 1—5 n’et ‘hug m’e nior thag mé (analytic inflection); points 7—22 n’et (n’ì) ‘hugas (synthetic inflection); points 23—64 n’et (n’ì) ‘hugus (analytic inflection); points 65—68 (East Ulster), points 69—76 (North East Donegal) ha ‘dug m’e cha diug m’é; points 77—86 (rest of Donegal) N’et ‘hug m’e. cha instead of n’é is also the rule in Scottish Gaelic and Manx. It has caused important changes in the verbal system of North East Donegal Irish, as I hope to show soon in a study on the Irish verb. (b) “Sore”: points 1—5 t’aig; points 6—22 t’aig or Frin; points 23—29 t’in; points 30—38 t’in; points 39—48 t’in; points 49—50 t’in; points 51—52 N’et’n’sx; point 53 t’n’sx; points 54—64 N’et’n’sx; point 65 Frin; point 66 Frin; point 68 Frin. frithir, a typical East Ulster word, is also common in the following Donegal points: 70 (beside N’et’N’sx), 72 (beside N’et’N’sch), 84 (Frin’), 82, 83 (Fribos). Points 69, 71, 73—80, 84—86 have N’et’N’sx; N’et’N’sx (84—86). The Rathlin form is frin. Manx has gornx, gonx.


The dialect of Inishowen (point 68) is essentially an East Ulster dialect. Irish is still commonly spoken in Ballybooskilly pt. 69 (bo’s ‘mepaig) at the end of the Fanad peninsula (‘famad’), but nowhere else in the whole area. This dialect which is quite different from other Donegal dialects, has not yet been studied. In points 70 (Gleensal, g’ta’s ‘waxar), 72 (Drumnaaraun, south east of Creeslough, krksLa) and 73 (Kildaragh, north west of Creeslough), Irish is practically dead. Between Gortahork (gort o ‘cor’ks’) point 74, and Mount Errigal, in the parish of Clonmany (kLo ‘Nbs), Irish is still predominant, but English is creeping in strongly. This applies even more to the parish of Gweedore, representing the very north west corner of Ireland (west of point 74). On Tory Island (point 75), Irish is still the only spoken language. The Island must be considered the firmest stronghold of Donegal Irish. Having spent more than two months there, I intend to prepare a special study of the dialect. I found strong Scottish Gaelic elements in Tory Irish (cf. a pronunciation like Tch for a house, where the mainland has Tch, Tch). In Dunlewy (d’n ‘Lusie’s), point 76, at the southern foot of Mount Errigal, Irish is not now spoken. Point 77 represents a place in the mountain area of Looghe Anure (Lo’Nbe’s), almost the same locality in which A. Sommerfelt collected the material for his extensive study published in 1922 (The Dialect of Torr Co. Donegal, Christania). The population has become extremely sparse in this
area, and Irish is not spoken as widely as it was in Sommer-
feld’s time (cf. the Introduction to his book). Rannafast on
the coast (point 78), one of the bleakest spots in the west of Ireland,
is still Irish speaking. The areas between points 77–78, 78–80
and 77–81 are English speaking. Point 81 Beefeght (B‘flegsxt,
near Doonchar) seems to be empty of habitation except for one
solitary house. In Kingarroe (Kn’IN g’arw, point 82) and in point
83, representing a remote valley of the Blue Stack Mountains
(Na ‘kruxa Na Croune), Irish is still predominant. Point 83 was the
most inaccessible place we visited in Ireland. It was, therefore,
not surprising to find there a number of monoglots, who could
not understand a word of English. Most of the young people
have left this area, where the way of life has not changed for
hundreds of years. On Anavarr (avfr ‘ nowhere, point 79), some
Irish is spoken in the remote part of the island. In a place called
Tusim (tuam’, point 80), near Lettermoonward (Lis’ar ik’ a ‘norwx),
Irish is not spoken, although several people are native speakers.
In point 84 (Crocknagaple, krok n 4 gopel, near Ardara) only a
few native speakers have survived. My informant was aged more
than eighty years. In point 86 (Telin, 4 fel’sIN), English has been
predominant for a number of years, but the area is still partly
Irish speaking. In the mountain area of point 85 (Meenacharyg,
mc’inn a 4 c‘arn), very little Irish is heard, although most of the
people are native speakers. In Glencolmkille (g’LaxN x临am ‘k’In),
the area west of points 85, 86, the position is about the same as
in Telin. Irish ceased to be the predominant vernacular in South
West Donegal some twenty years ago. Between November 1946
and October 1947 I prepared, while living in Telin, an extensive
monograph on the dialect of South-West Donegal, which is being
printed at present. A collection of Telin idioms and proverbs
prepared by my friend Sean O’Haochadh is published recently by the Institute for Advanced Studies (Sean-Chainnt
Teilein 1953). A phonetic transcription is given for each sentence.
Telin was an important fishing place before the first world war,
and connections over the Donegal Bay with North Mayo and

Sligo (points 57–59), were then very strong; thus Teelin Irish,
in spite of being essentially a Donegal dialect, is related to North
Connacht Irish too. (a) The typical Donegal sounds c, g, in
words like kkl, kgl cool “narrow” do not occur in South West
Donegal Irish (points 84–86) which presents, just as all Con-
nacht dialects, the form kkl (Munster kbl). (b) “How are you,”
is expressed in Ulster as gke’dc. mar ‘tu: tu guifl mar tu, in Munster kunas
tain tu (kunas s’h1n tu: tu in points 1, 22; kunas to’/un tu in points
3–5) connas tain tu (there are some further variations in Munster
all based on the same idiom). In South West Donegal the normal
form is gc’dc. mup tu: tu (retroflex 73 often replaced by s). Out-
side South West Donegal, I have found this isogloss in point 61
(South West Sligo: gc’dc. nax tu: tu) and in a place called
Ballygannell, (north west of Sligo town, near Lissadell estate on
Drumcliff Bay), where I contacted a person who had spoken
some Irish in her youth and was able to give me some little in-
formation on the dialect. This speaker had been discovered for
us by Professor T. O’Mallie (Galway). k’e, nax tto: tu: tu was the
form given in Ballygannell (point 88), a mixed Connacht/Ulster
form. It is therefore not surprising that old South West Donegal
speakers also say d’exi tart point n chuoi atti ort? The marf, nax
forms undoubtedly contain the copula is which since old Irish
times is often inserted in verbal prefixes, as I will show soon in
another paper (cf. f. ex. old Irish do-ber “he gives” which requires
an element i between prefix and stem. In my opinion, this element
is wrongly taken as a prefixed subject pronoun, cf. Thurneysen,
A Grammar of Old Irish § 565).
I should mention, as a matter of interest, that our informant
in point 88, an old woman of about eighty years, had spent most
of her life in America. There was some Irish on Inishmaray
in the Donegal Bay, but the people of this Island have been
migrated to the mainland, and now live in Grange (between
Sligo and Bundoran). Our visit to Grange proved fruitless, how-
ever, as we were unable to contact anybody who had Irish. The
following items show that the dialect of point 88 was essentially a Connacht dialect: (a) g’Buain “horse”, kupal “mare”, (b) kahar “chair” (kahar in Donegal) (c) goanar geshar “goat” (goar in Donegal); an old Teelin fisherman had already given me this pronunciation which he had heard in North Sligo. Lassan leabhar “book” (Lassan in Donegal). (d) c’Fhais “coming” (c’Fais in Ulster and Munster) (e) b’Eoin “milking” (b’Eoin, b’Tusa or b’Tusa in Ulster). (f) rath “bread” (rath in Ulster) (g) fath “potatoes” (g’rath in Donegal, peath in Munster) (h) deasr feckh dartheacha finne “toothache” (deasr in Donegal).

The following criteria link South West Donegal with point 88 and other North Connacht points: (a) A nettle is called kyl “fior” in Ulster (kyl “fior” point 65; kyl “fior” point 66; there are a number of other phonetic varieties) and meanmod (N’sanog in Connaght) in Munster and Connacht. Points 84—86 have meanmod as well as kyl “fior.” (b) The sentence it is five minutes past ten was rendered in point 88 as to: fe: karg meacait n’ef a d’cei ta s e c’uig moinna m’eis an deich (notice also the strong affrication common both to North Connaght and South West Donegal dialects, cf. above p. 12). The preposition n’ef “after” is also common in East Ulster (point 66), in other parts of North Connaght (points 53—58, 69, 84) and has been recorded by me in point 85. Teelin, however, presents the ordinary Donegal form a N’ei a d’i. (c) The word for “rich” is pronounced with short vowel in the first syllable, not only in Munster but also in all parts of Connaght; m’ur “wide” widdhlibh. All Ulster dialects present a long vowel: m’ur “wide” or m’ur (points 65, 66, 69—85). In South West Donegal (ps. 84—86) both forms are used, the form with short vowel probably being predominant. Point 88 has m’ur. Our short survey shows how important it was for us to get even a few words and phrases in a place like point 88.

9. On the Isle of Man, which we do not represent geographically on our map (point 87), a fair amount of material was collected from the remaining native speakers of Manx Gaelic, which is practically dead now. It was from these same speakers that Professor Carmody had collected the material for his article Spoken Manx (ZCPH 24 p. 58 ff.) and that Professor Jackson subsequently collected the material for his valuable booklet Contributions to the Study of Manx Phonology (Edinburgh 1955). Some further details on recent Manx studies are found in my review of Jackson’s book (Modern Language Review L). A handbook of Manx Gaelic taking all the published and unpublished material into account has yet to be written.

The findings on the current position of the Irish Language are summed up on map I. As the majority of our points are concentrated in the north western part of Ireland, we decided to produce this section on the scale 1:500000, and the rest of Ireland on the scale 1:1000000. Points which do not contain any symbols are given on the top of our map represent places where, according to our findings, Irish is almost dead. We can safely say that in points 2—5, 8—10, 12, 14, 16, 17, 19, 22a, 24—33, 45, 47, 48, 52, 55, 55a, 58—68, 70, 72, 73, 81, 84, only very few (between 1—15) native speakers have survived, most of whom are aged more than seventy five years. In points 13, 21, 23, 25, 76, 80, there are a limited number of native speakers left, but no Irish is spoken there.

III. The Linguistic Atlas of Irish Dialects.

The Atlas will feature 370 items, words or short sentences, on 300 single maps. As we are not dealing with a language spoken over a wide area, but rather with the ruins of a language, this must be considered sufficient in order to show the structure of a Sprachlandschaft which has now ceased to exist. From a methodical point of view, our work is, in a negative sense, fairly unique. Our approach is not strictly synchronical, as most of our subjects have not spoken the language for a long time. We compare our work with the archaeologist’s task of reconstructing an old building from a few heaps of stones, lying here and there.
in the place where the original building stood. Whether it was worth the trouble may be left to future critics to decide. As for ourselves, we see innumerable interesting problems arising from the maps, which should interest students of history also. As an example of a linguistic map, the sentence *did you eat your fill?* (i.e. *enough*) is featured on map 2. This is a very common expression in rural Anglo-Irish, and is obviously based on the exactly corresponding Irish way of saying *d’id go cét enough?* or *t’i dè do shóit?* etc. The idiom is also found in Old English, cf. t. ex. The Oxford English Dictionary IV p. 214: *drinc na dín fyll* “drink now your fill”, as well as in Old Norse, cf. Cleasby-Vigfusson, Icelandic English Dictionary p. 179: *vél je gefa mír fylli mina af oxnum* “will ye give me my fill of the ox?” As Old Norse and Old English have a number of syntactical features in common with Insular Celtic—cf. E. Lewy’s “Bau der europäischen Sprachen”—, this similarity of idiom may not be accidental (cf. also Vendryes BC. XLI p. 238 ff.).

Beside each number representing exactly the locality in question, we have put the sentence in phonetic transcription exactly as we have heard it from our informant. It is, of course, realised that in depending completely on the ear any phonetic transcription contains a certain subjective element, which has to be taken into account. I have tried to get as near as possible to the real sound, and have therefore, used a fairly narrow transcription. I have not tried to eliminate inconsistencies occurring frequently in our notes. Most of these inconsistencies are not real ones, but are based on fundamental characteristics of Irish phonetics: in Insular Celtic languages, the word shows a minimum of independence in the sentence. It is, to a higher degree than in any other European language, a “sentence word”. The pauseform of a given word has very little reality. Each word presents a number of phonemically irrelevant forms. Apart from this general feature, it is well known to students of spoken Irish that it is the vowels which present difficulties when trying to transcribe a word or a sentence. The reason for this is that the phonemic system of Irish is based on the consonants rather than on the vowels, which latter show great variety, not only in the speech of each community, but also in the speech of each individual. On the other hand, consonants are fairly stable and therefore easier to define. Slight changes of consonant often result in misinterpretation, while the vowels have a wider phonetic radius. Free interchange of so-called mixed vowels (*l, g, ḍ, E, F*), all very close to the irrealis vowel *o*, is a common feature in Irish dialects, and is often the despair of the phonetician who tries to define them exactly. To study the phonetics of a language only from its phonemic point of view is, in my opinion wrong, as it ignores an important aspect of the language which bears as much historical relevance as differentiation of meaning, i.e. the phonemically relevant section. Language is not merely a matter of *meaning*, as Saussurian linguistic philosophy and contemporary structuralism would lead the superficially interested to believe, it is also *expression*. Our transcription is entirely an impressionistic one. Students of phonemics might, however, find interesting points in our material. It must not be forgotten that Trubetzkoy has always emphasised that exact phonetic transcription is the basis of a phonemic study. Our transcription follows broadly those used in the above mentioned studies by Quiggin and Sommerfelt. Some diacritic symbols had to be invented to suit our purposes. We mark length of consonant or vowel by ·, halflight ··, a kind of a glottalstop by · (as Sommerfelt does), the sentence stress by · before the syllable in question. Word stress is unmarked unless the stress falls on other than the first syllable. Our scale of full short vowels is based on the symbols *a* (back-), *æ* (front-), *e* (open), *e* (close), *i* (close-), *æ* (open), *a* (close), *o*, and reads as follows: *u, uː, oː, a, o, æ, ə, ɶ, ɶ, æ, ã, ə, e, ê, i, û, uː*. Palatalization of consonant is marked by ·; in case of slight palatalization only, we underline the consonant in question. Long fortis-consonants are given
in capital letters. These consonants contain most interesting problems in the history of Celtic phonology (cf. Sommerfelt NTS XVII 102 ff.). They do not occur on the map we discuss here. E: is a sound somewhat more retracted than E:; γ: is voiced velar spirant, x = unvoiced velar spirant, x’ = unvoiced palatal spirant. i is a mixed vowel somewhat higher than ø or e which are almost identical. ã is a slightly rounded i. ù denotes a completely, ñ a half unrounded u. Unvoiced stops are generally aspirated (if not, we mark this by a dot under the consonant). Voiced stops are sometimes devoiced (marked by a dot under the consonant). I denotes a lowered and slightly retracted i. χ (x) denotes a sound intermediate between h and x (x’).

I read our map as follows: The sentence given in point 1 is to be transcribed as — ar dhíth tó do dhaothain, ar = interrogative prefix of the past tense, dh = meaningless prefix occurring in Munster Irish before forms of the preterite, habitual preterite and conditional; íth = past tense of the verb ‘to eat’, without any indication of person; tó = subject pronoun; do = second person singular of the possessive pronoun; dhaothain = substantive ‘fill’, hardly used otherwise than in connection with the possessive pronoun, meaning ‘my fill, your fill etc.’. The possessive pronoun involves initial change of the consonant: no dhaothain, do dhaothain, a dhaothain (her fill), a dhaothain (his fill), a ndaothain (their fill) (phonetic: ñEihn’í). The verbal form is analytic in points 1, 3—6, synthetic (íthi “you ate”) in points 2, 7, and in Cork and Kerry Irish in general (points 8—21). In point 20 the item has only recently been collected and is therefore not entered yet. It is identical with the form found in point 21. It is a well-known fact that synthetic verbal forms are strongest in West Munster Irish, while Désie Irish is in general agreement with Connaught Irish, using analytic forms to a large extent. Melleray (pt. 2), however agrees with West Munster Irish in this respect. In South Tipperary (point 4), it was pointed out to me that in Melleray (point 2) they say kénns ta:tr’é connaí tóir “how are you?” as against kénns té: bother is connaí ta:thi tó in South Tipperary. Examining the word “fill”, Désie Irish presents a sound E:, E: not found in the rest of our Co. Cork and Co. Kerry points. (8—21). E:, a more retracted by form of E: is typical of Ring and Knockadoon Irish. Taking the forms íhí and yEíhí into account, the Knockadoon dialect (point 7) is essentially a Cork dialect, showing strong Désie features, as has already been pointed out by O’Cuív, Irish Dialects and Irish Speaking Districts p. 61. The form í in for do of the possessive pronoun is found in points 5 and 7. Points 2, 4, 5, use the interrogative prefix an not only for the present tense as all Irish dialects do, but also for the past. The form í in of the subject pronoun is most interesting from a geographic point of view, as it is typical, not only of Désie Irish (points 4, 5) but of Clare Irish also (points 22, 23). The same geographic connection is shown by the South Clare form yEíhí linking up with the corresponding Désie form yEíhí. yEíhí. In North Clare, the form yEíhí is predominant, and is in general agreement with the West Galway and West Munster forms; it is found also in points 4, 5 which present certain links with West Cork Irish. As a minor detail, the final -í in yEíhí, dóthain does not occur in points 8—21 (West Munster), but is common in both Désie and Clare Irish (point 1—6, 22—24), in point 7 of Cork Irish, as well as in South Galway Irish (points 25, 26). South Clare (points 22, 22a) presents also a form yEíhí (í: = lowered, slightly retracted sound). The three forms doíthain, doíthain, doíthain, (E:, o:; í:; E: being only a phonetic variant of E:) present a difficult phonological problem, but they are attested also in Bardic poetry, i.e. in early modern Irish poetry, to which Professor O’Brien has drawn my attention. The Tracts of the Bards; this word is registered under two different declensions. This may be explained by the fact that it is used as a kind of adverb in the expression “my fill, your fill” (meaning enough), and has therefore, never been properly inflected. IGT Dec. § 15 gives doíthain (i.e. ñEihí), doíthain (Irish-) and doíthain, the latter being considered as “boebach”, i.e. “faulty”, which proves that it was really a
dialect form (examples form Bardic Poetry, cf. IGT § 13, examples 644, 645, 646). IGT § 11 gives the same word as doethan (i.e. phonet. dEc:h-) and dothan (i.e. doch-) and considers the latter also as “lochdach”. (Examples from Bardic Poetry IGT § 11, 362, 364, where dothan, the modern Irish spelling of doethan, rhymes with souther, Munster Irish se:har, se:har “strain”). This is an interesting example of the intimate link between the study of modern dialects and the study of Bardic Poetry. The etymology of this word, which does not occur in the Old Irish Glosses, is unknown. An adjectival derivation occurs in LL 67 b 34 (12th century): ni dethanach comraic “he has not got his fill of the fight” ("er hat nicht genug vom Kampfe”). Other examples: atd ar ndethan bdt ina fl do choarchaib sund, Mer. Ud. 21 "we have our fill of food from these sheep”; do cnaithmek ar fhdethain don inac “we ate our fill of the fish”, Fianaig 58.5. All these examples are quoted from the typescript of letter D of the Dictionary of the Irish Language (p. 1443 f.).

It seems to me highly probable that the three forms dEc:h-, dEc:h-, doch- were already in use in the 13th century, possibly in separate dialect areas. That we have found a form dExIn’t’ in one small district only (points 22, 22a), is an indication of how much we must have missed on the whole. dothain(t) is also common in West Galway Irish (points 25, 26, 39—47, 50) which in many other items is more related to Munster Irish than east Galway Irish, where dothain occurs only in some western districts (point 35, cf. also pt. 50). I am at a loss as to why it occurs also in Teelin Irish (point 86) where it was used quite commonly by certain individuals. There has always been a standard language of sorts in the west of Ireland, namely the language of folk tales, songs and poetry, which undoubtedly has left certain marks on the dialects.

Northern Irish dialects use the word sith in the very same manner as southern Irish dialects use dothain etc. Our map

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A LINGUISTIC ATLAS AND SURVEY OF IRISH DIALECTS presents the lenited form heaz in Ulster (points 65, 66, 68, 69, 71—84, 86), in North Connacht (points 51—63), and in North Galway (points 31—34, 49). Points 36—38, 44, 48 have he: which is used, as well as heaz, in points 30 also. Point 30 constitutes an important boundary between Northern Irish, (Ulster, North Connacht, including North Galway) and Southern Irish. The area which pronounces the word sith as saiz also pronounces the word maith “good” as maiz, while the areas which pronounce sith as saiz, pronounce maith as maiz (Munster Irish, West Galway and South East Galway Irish). The geographical division between the forms saiz and maiz splits Irish into two main dialects. The South East Galway form saiz saiz (points 27—29) is either an original plural form, or a genitive singular form, which might be expected with a quantitative noun used adverbially. According to IGT Decl. § 42, the genitive singular of sith is sithus or sitha, the nominative plural sitha. The form sitha would lead directly to our dialect form saiz: sith is an Old Irish word (cf. f. ex. MI 97 d 10 or LU 3610), and has a fairly clear Indo-European etymology (cf. Latin satar, gothic sato, lithuanian satas “satisfied”), Pedersen VGK I 71. There is also an adjective sithrech “satisfied, filled”, cf. Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language, letter S p. 39 f. In LU containing the oldest version of the Old Irish Epos Táin Bó Cúalnge, it occurs in the sentence nimda soithech dom cuchi bius (LU 4996) “I have not enough of my playing yet”. In LL, which contains a slightly later version of the Táin, we find the adjective dothlech, derived from doethan, in the same context (LL 63 b 10 f. ni roga munub ceart dothlech chcul “I will not go away from them till they have enough of playing”, cf. also dothlech 63 b 10).

From a historical point of view I am inclined to think that saiz is an older word which was replaced by dothain, doethain, dothain in southern dialects, at a fairly early stage. This view is supported by the fact that the latter word does not occur in the Old Irish Glosses (7—10 century).

The form heaz, pronounced with an ordinary back a-vowel,
must be considered the standard form. There is, however, a strong tendency, particularly in northern Donegal dialects, to develop a front a-vowel (a) or even an e-vowel (ë; œ; è; ë), cf. points 69, 73–78. The same development is also true of Manx, as can be seen from other items (for example Manx leir: "mare", Irish bhit). The forms in points 67, 70, 85 are based on the adverb go leir, go bhr, and are due to English influence which is particularly strong in North East Donegal (points 69–73). The form given for point 64 proves nothing, as our subject there could no longer speak Irish. An alternative, do jisba ñ do dhioloth, has been noted in some North Connaught places (points 56, 63). In point 6 we give the word "fill" without possessive pronoun. The uninflected form sec is in point 62 is corrupt; our subject in this place was inclined, for the most part, to give disjointed words as he had lost any feeling for the spoken language. In spite of that however, we got a considerable amount of very valuable material from him, probably because he had a rich store of sayings and a good memory for words.

For some places, we give the forms "I did not eat" and "your fill". This is due to some changes we made in the questionnaire during the course of our investigations. In point 6 the form is given without subject pronoun, and to be transcribed as ni 'unidh "did not eat". Points 25, 27, 31 have nior 'unidh më: points 34, 51, 52, 55a, 57, 58 nior ith më. This alternative does not make any difference in this respect, as the verbal form is the same after the negative prefix nior (pret.) as it is after the interrogative prefix ar (also pret.) in the dialects in question (ar 'unidh tû, nior unidh më, ar ith tû, nior ith më). The form 'unidh, going back to Old Irish adúid, is found in Kilkenny (points 6, 6a), in Co. Clare (points 22–24) and in parts of Galway (points 25–28, 30, 31, 33: as a byform also in point 87, Conn- more). All other dialects have the regular analytic form ith tû (më), or synthetic form ibhí (Cork, Kerry). Certain points in Munster present the limited form of the functionless prefix (limited dh, phonet. / before palatal vowel). The lack of an interrogative prefix in point 11 is a mere slip. In a number of places, the r of both the interrogative and negative prefix is palatalized (r̥, r̥̆: the latter symbol denoting slight palatalization). This palatalization seems never to occur in Munster Irish (points 1–24), but must be considered as being more genuine in Ulster and Connaught than the nonpalatalized form. The form 'd of the subject pronoun in point 67 is typical of Scottish-Gaelic and Manx, as against Irish tû: ñ denotes an unrounded n. an do ith 'd "did you eat?", point 67, is ordinary Scottish Gaelic. The Manx sentence (point 87) is to be analyzed as a rinn 'a g-ibhe go lor, lit. "did you eat enough". Spoken Manx uses scarcely any finite forms of ordinary verbs, but circumscribes them by means of auxiliary verbs ("to be" for durative, "to do" for terminative action) plus the verbal noun of the verb in question. Thus the ordinary inflection of the verb "to eat" would, in Manx, be as follows: rinn mi g-ibhe "I ate", nio g-ibhe "I shall eat", tû mi g-ibhe "I am eating", bi mi g-ibhe "I shall be eating", ro mi g-ibhe "I was eating", tû mi ar (i.e. lor "after") g-ibhe "I have eaten", lit. "I am after eating", ro mi gor ag-ibhe "I am going to eat". Only a few synthetic forms of finite verbs have survived in late Manx: xe going "went", herk 'came', ham "got". The very same is true of late Cornish and I am convinced that there is a geographically-linguistic connection between the two languages, as I shall show soon in a study on the verb of the Insular Celtic languages, as well as of English.

IV. Linguistic Survey of Irish Dialects.

The material presented on the 300 maps of the Atlas contains about one fifth of the material we collected altogether in each place, the bulk of which will be published in one or two volumes in the form of vocabularies for each point. It consists mainly of grammatical forms, of technical terms as well as ordinary words, and of complete sentences, which we will give in phonetics with an English translation. To give an idea of the extent of our
grammatical material, we present here the forms of the verb "to see" from nine places. We also collected everywhere a certain amount of incidental material containing further grammatical forms. We give first our questionnaire form, and then its Irish equivalents.

Forms of the verb to see.

'we see': 4 x'i'me'd; 13 x'i'me'd; 20 k'i'me'd; 24 f'eke'smîd; 33 'f'il'en mîd; 46 'f'eke'smîd; 56 'f'eke'smîd'z; 66 'f'eke'smîd'; 74 'f'eke'smîd'.

'we do not see': 4 —; 13 n'i'k'i'me'd; 20 n'i'; x'i'me'd; 24 n'i'; eke'smîd'; 33 n'i': 'f'il'en mîd; 46 n'i': 'f'eke'smîd; 56 —; 66 ha 'eke'smîd'; 74 ha 'n'i'fgy'g'me'd (sic!).

'I shall see': 4 x'i'me'd; 13 x'i'me'd; 20 k'i'me'd; 24 f'eke'smîd; 33 'f'il'en mîs; 46 'f'eke'smîd; 56 'f'eke'smîd'; 66 f'eke'smîd; 74 f'ajg'i mîs.

'I shall not see': 4 n'i'; x'i'me'd; 13 n'i'k'i'me'd; 20 n'i'; x'i'me'd; 24 n'i': eke'smîd'; 33 n'i': 'f'il'en mîs; 46 n'i': 'f'eke'smîd; 56 n'i': eke'smîd'; 66 ha 'eke'smîd'; 74 ha 'n'i'fgy'g'me'd (sic!).

'did you see?': 4 g'halk'; 13 o'vakî'fî'; 20 o'vakî'fî'; 24 o'vako tu; 33 'vako tu; 46 x'vako tu; 56 'vako tu; 66 ar'hexîk'î tu; 74 'vako tu.

'I saw': 4 x'nakî mîs; 13 x'nak'; 20 x'nak'; 24 x'nakî mîs; 33 'hânikî' mîs; 46 x'nakî mîs; 56 'hênikî' mîs; 66 'hênikî' mîs; 74 han'îkî mîs.

'I did not see': 4 n'i'; x'nak'; 13 x'nak'; 20 n'i'; x'nak' (or n'aka) 24 n'i'; x'nak'; 33 n'i'; x'nak'; 46 n'i'; x'nak'; 56 n'i'; x'nak'; 66 'x'nak'; 74 han'îkî mîs (corrupt); 74 'vako mîs.

'he saw': 4 x'nakî fî; 13 x'nakî fî; 20 x'nakî fî; 24 x'nakî fî; 33 'hênikî' fî; 46 x'nakî fî; 56 'hênikî' fî; 66 'hênikî' fî; 74 han'îkî (han'îkî) fî.

'we saw': 4 x'nakî'maye; 13 x'nakamîle'; 20 x'nakamîle'; 24 x'nakî'smîle'; 33 'hânikî' mîd; 46 x'nakî mîd; 56 'hênikî' mîd; 66 —; 74 x'nakî' mîd.

'I cannot see him': 4 n'i': wu'fe e jîgî'în' (i. e. 'he cannot be seen'); 13 n'i'sted è (ýfânt); 20 n'i': x'nakî fî an' fî dîf'mî'; 24 —; e fî'k'în'; 33 n'i': x'nakî fî an' fî dîf'mî'; 46 n'i': x'nakî fî an' fî dîf'mî'; 56 n'i': x'nakî fî an' fî dîf'mî'; 66 ha dîf'mî fî an k; x'nakî'î fî (i. e. . . . see you); 74 ha dîf'mî fî an k; x'nakî'î fî (i. e. . . . see you).

In order to hold the informants' interest during the hours of our long interrogations, the questionnaire was arranged according to subjects rather than to chapters of grammar. It consists of sections concerning farm animals, the house and the work in and around the house, (spinning, knitting, butter and bread making), terms of relationship (father, mother etc.), the parts of the body (head etc.), farmwork (hay-making, turf cutting, ploughing, tillage), social functions (birth, marriage, death) and entertainment (playing cards, music, dancing, drinking and fishing). The questions were asked in their natural order, each item emerging from the preceding one. This technique was adapted from the afore-mentioned questionnaire of the Swiss German Atlas. Paradigms had to be spread over by inserting them smoothly into discussions on matters of everyday life. To give a general idea of the character of our material, I reproduce here the answers to page 2, 3 of the questionnaire from point 7 Knockadoon, East Cork, and the answers to page 99—100 from point 60 (Aclare, Co. Sligo). Gaps are indicated by a question mark. The whole questionnaire contains well over two thousand items.

a) Pt. 7 Knockadoon (Co. Cork).

1. 'I sold all my cattle': do shálo no xûd 'fûkk go l'ec'z.
2. 'beasts': s'ê'hîg's.
3. 'one single beast': s'ê x'ê'c'hîx s'ê'men.'
4. 'cow': bo.

1 This kind of questionnaire could also be used as an instrument for learning the language.
5. 'bull' sg., pl.: tarún, tu'rón (ə = reduced u; η = secondary stress)
6. 'the tail of a bull': er'abál tax'n. Incidental material: er'abál
bo: b'z x 'he was a (cow's tail)' i.e. 'he was not very clever'
(ro: x'ran', ro: tax'ə 'too clever')
7. 'he is castrating the calf': tu: fe: bol'paraxl an 'youna (g'az)
is used also)
8. 'a bullock': bollxn
9. '(the cow is) bulling': (tə an bho) f:e: 'yax'
10. '(the sh-dog is) in heat': (tə an madra) f:e: 'yajal
11. '(the horse is) in heat': —
12. '(the sow is) in heat': (tə an crain) f:e: 'lac: etc. etc.
  b) Pt. 60 Achre (Co. Sligo).
1. 'house' sg., pl.: ɪ'nx, ɪ'ngs (' marks strong palatalization)
2. 'the back of the house': kajl a ɪ'l
3. 'the front of the house': edan a ɪ'l
4. 'she was running all over the house': ə:n: fi raixə tə xod a
ɪ'l (or: . . . xaiə a ɪ'=xə)
5. 'the four walls': ɪ'xə ba'lxax:; 'wall': ba'lx
6. 'sidewall': ɪ'xbəba'lx:
7. 'gable': ɪ'ln' sg.; ɪ'ln' ɪ'xaxl, ɪ'xəNtxaxl pl.
8. 'door': doria
9. 'the doors are open': tu: no dəsu' fəpələ'1 (ə = reflexive
variant of palatal ʃ)
10. 'he is closing the door': tu: fe: dəs ən 'doria
11. 'close the door!': dəs ə 'doria
12. 'closed': dəs'
13. 'he is opening the door': tu: fe: fəpələ'1 ən 'doria
14. 'open!': fəpəl etc. etc.

1 My thanks are due to Miss Maura Devoy for drawing the maps.
Map 1: The current position of the Irish Language

- Irish is the vernacular in the place.
- ? Irish predominantly spoken, but strong English element creeping in.
- ?? Strong English element in Irish-speaking place.

Indicates area where Irish is still alive to a certain extent.

- Irish spoken in some houses and by part of the older generation, English being the vernacular of the place.
- ? Irish probably spoken in a few houses.
- ? Irish possibly spoken in a few houses.

Indicates area where Irish is still predominant.

Irish is still alive to a certain extent.
A LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF IRELAND
PRELIMINARY REPORT

BY
P. L. HENRY
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have pleasure in expressing my obligation to University College, Dublin, for the financial and other support which has made this work possible. I also owe a great deal to the help so generously given by Professor H. Wagner ever since the idea of a linguistic survey of Ireland was conceived. The Director and staff of the Irish Folklore Commission have always been of the greatest assistance, I am particularly indebted to Mr. C. O'Donachair for advice on my lexical Questionnaire. I wish to thank also the many kind friends throughout Ireland who helped me to establish contact with informants, and to renew my thanks to those, who generously and patiently bore the brunt of the work. I am very grateful to the editor for accepting this long treatise and would like to congratulate the printers on accomplishing a trying task so successfully.

PART I
Introductory and Historical

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INTRODUCTORY AND HISTORICAL

1. The Speech Areas. The following varieties of dialect serve as local vernacular in Ireland to-day:

A. Essentially Ulster Lowland varieties:
   a. Ulster Scots—well and less-well conserved, in the NE (Antrim, Derry, East Down) and in East Donegal.
   b. Mid-Ulster English extending from the Lagan valley through North Armagh, South Tyrone and North Monaghan westward to North Fermanagh.

B. Irish dialects in islands or pockets along the coastal region of the Western half of Ireland mainly. These shades imperceptibly through bilingual zones often quite extensive into

C. Essentially blended dialect of British English with Irish. In Ulster these are mainly highland and outland types and are associated on the physical level with mountain zones, on the linguistic with moribund and recently extinct Ir. dialect. Their distribution in Ulster serves to define the areas of expansion of Aa and Ab. In the rest of Ireland they are found locally everywhere. Ulster dialect should rather be visualized as a series of concessions between the four types described above than as a tripartite division with unmixed elements of each.

Chart 1 shows the contemporary Irish-speaking areas by comparison to their extent in 1925, as well as the chief areas of 17th century Scottish and English immigration. A survey of Ir. dialect in some 87 districts undertaken by Professor H. Wagner is nearing completion. Of Professor Wag-

1 Pending the publication of Professor Wagner’s map, we reproduce that of Gombrich’s Nais na Gaeltairí, Dublin, 1653. The North-Easter sector is adapted from A. Hume, Remarks on the Ir. dialect of the E. language. Liverpool, 1878, Plate V.
ner's informants—it may be relevant to point out, 98% were
bilingual, some 76% of these favouring English as vernacular.
Since the total number of Irish people ignorant of English today
can scarcely exceed 3,000, it is clear that the AI Survey will have
a far greater scope than the Ir. one.

2. Aims of an AI Survey and Scope of the Present Study.
The primary aims of the AI survey are to exhibit the structure
and main facts of current AI in its various local forms, to identify
the various dialects, and to delimit them,—this by a comparative
study of grammatical and lexical features.
Ulster Scots, wreathed now round the North-East as Ir. is
round the West coast, cannot be left out of account, for like Ir.,
its eclipse is due to dialects of its own generating.
A further aim is to piece together whatever evidence is
available of Ir. dialect now extinct throughout the country,
thereby gaining perhaps in depth here, while offering some ex-
tension to the necessarily restricted scope of W's findings (Cf.
particularly §§ 78—99).
In work of this kind the investigator often has recourse to
the historical principle: it supplies him with important criteria
in seeking his facts and with more adequate perspectives in as-
sessing them. This principle may assist the reader too, by offering
him a more familiar approach to the subject, or possibly a dif-
f erent view of the significance of dialect as such.
We introduce the reader in this section, then, to the fortunes
of the E. language in Ireland and to the rise of Modern AI. The
next (§§ 24—103) offers a brief compendium of the more important
problems of contemporary AI from the comparative point of
view, i.e., that of linguistic geography.

3. The Term Anglo-Irish is current:
a. As a compound in which the first element indicates E.
source or origin and the second modifies it. The first element is
capable of receiving the main stress.
b. As a compound in which the second element implies Ir.
on the main stress. c. As a copulative compound denoting a fusion of terms on
an equal basis, so: Anglo-Irish trade, relations, etc.
Of these a) and b) most require comment.

a. Anglo-Irish is in use—beside other terms—as early as 1626
to designate colonists of E. descent living in Ireland (cf. H. M. C.
56. Franciscan MSS., p. 88). The difficulty about it is that it tends
to mean somewhat different things at different times. It is implied
to the colonists of E. and Norman origin in the period 1200—1600
when they had a relatively widespread area of settlement; it is
also applied to the Protestant Ascendancy in the 18th century
when they had an exclusive petty with a characteristic culture
and civilisation. The extension of the term, then, to political or
social phenomena in the period 1200—1800 involves some am-
biguity; on balance, the connotation of non-native origin is empha-
sized and a contrast, not a fusion, implied: so Seymour excludes
"matter in Irish even when written by persons of Anglo-Norman
descent" from his account of Anglo-Irish Literature 1200—1582.3

b. The decline of Anglo-Ireland after 1800 and the adoption by
the native Irish of colonist E. which proceeded apace in the
early 19th century foreshadowed an entirely new order of things.4
The great reality underlying later literary developments was that
Ireland was forging a new language on the pattern of the old
English, transformed in the mouths of an Irish-speaking people,
was fraught with potentiality. Soon the old wine could be offered
in new vessels,—but these had first to be wrought; so the writers

1 Those, lastly, are called Anglo-Irish who at the said time, and continually
thereafter to the present, came into the Kingdom by order or command of
the Kings of England, and so separated themselves from the Old Irish that
they desired neither treaty of firm friendship, nor marriage with them,
and dilated to share with them in laws or customs or language, but in all
the matters aforesaid preferred still to be aliens from them and according
with the English in manner of living, laws and language. Latin original.

2 p. 2.

3 The adoption of E. by Irish Catholics in the later 18th and early 19th
centuries should be seen in its relation to the relaxing of the penal code.

went to school to the people: the preoccupation of Lady Gregory
with local idiom is common knowledge, no less so the interest
of Yeats, the practice of Synge and Stephens; while Joyce's
attention to this as to other aspects of language reveals a linguistic
as well as an artistic flair.

The main sources of inspiration—if not immediately the main
public—of this literature were native and the tone of much of
it was in marked contrast to that of preceding phases of E.
literature in Ireland. Could the term Anglo-Irish be enlisted
to underline essential differences, to clarify rather than confuse?

One critic whose positive achievement it was to mark the
contrast with previous epochs would restrict the term to 19th
century developments. And yet the usage objected to was long
established, anterior to the one approved and no less convenient;
moreover, it was supported by a set of parallel formations:
Anglo-American, Anglo-Canadian, Anglo-Indian . . .

So much for literature. In what sense is our term to be applied
to language in Ireland?

It is premature to make any definitive statement on the
homogeneity or otherwise of dialect throughout the country, as
the matter has received scant scientific attention to date.

A linguistic survey would undoubtedly provide much of the
requisite data, but a comprehensive answer to the question cannot
be had until a certain number of dialects have been inten-
sively studied as well. It may be of interest, meanwhile, to record
the present writer's findings in relation to one dialect of which
a thorough study has been attempted.6 The term Anglo-Irish ap-
piled to a rural dialect of North Roscommon does not find its
justification in the concept discussed under a) above. It should
be taken to signify that the dialect is rather the outcome of adapta-
tion than a relic of adoption. The mind behind it demonstrates
its creative independence in the rejection, selection and summary
reorganization of linguistic matter offered. The grammatical cate-

4 T. MacDunagh, Lit. in Ireland, p. 38.
5 P. L. Henry: An Anglo-Irish Dialect of North Roscommon, Phonology, Ac-
cidence, Syntax, Glossary, University College, Dublin, 1907.
ories of Ir., its sounds and sound-systems are frequently discernible and its intonation patterns are to be inferred. By comparison the immigrant element, considerable in vocabulary and morphology mainly, supplements and modifies at all points, but fails to determine the texture of the whole.

A theory of language which concentrates on the spiritual activity of the speaker and relates the structure of speech immediately to the working psyche will find in rural Ir. of this variety a touchstone of value. For one thing, it is difficult to find elsewhere language in the making on such a vast scale. The linguist has here a rare opportunity of examining biological processes, for the developments of yesterday are being reproduced or matched unceasingly in bilingual areas.

The possibility that some dialects of Ireland may reveal a structure dominated by the immigrant element and qualify for the epithet Anglo-Irish in the original sense chiefly is in no way precluded. A linguistic survey is indifferent to questions of origin and theory such as these. It is a fact-finding quest depending for its success on the susceptibility of the investigator to impression and on his freedom from preconception.

It may be objected to the term Anglo-Irish that as applied to the history of E. in Ireland it means somewhat different things (as described above) at different times; or that as applied to the contemporary picture it suggests affinities which may not exist.

However, the discrepancies—diachronic and synchronic—suggested have never been assessed in linguistic terms, and to this extent the objection seems premature. It is soon enough to consider adjusting terminology when the reality to which it refers has been studied. Meanwhile, for the purposes of a linguistic survey of Ireland, the term Anglo-Irish is used in the neutral sense c).

4. History of Colonist AI. The simple fact underlying the seeming paradox discussed above is that a fusion of Ir. and E. at different times and in different circumstances will result in like but not identical progeny. We have now to consider the times and the circumstances.

The outstanding facts in the history of Colonist AI from 1200—1800 are its decline almost to extinction in the 14th and 15th centuries and its renewal in the 17th. The continuity of this language was precarious and tenous;—it was the E. of the 17th century planters seasoned and moulded which chiefly entered with Irish into the blended language of to-day. The historical pattern is then a chequered one and has entailed a considerable ebb and flow of linguistic frontiers.

5. Its Fortunes To 1600. In the first phase of expansion after the Conquest English speech was spread by feudal tenant, small freeholder and burgess through Meath, Leinster, East Ulster and Munster and to the borders of Connacht. Its fortunes subsequently can best be reviewed by reference to a) rural area, b) town.

a. In rural areas E. had very slight prospects of consolidation, for the first Cambro-Norman aristocracy who ruled the great Lordships of Kildare, Desmond, Ormond, Connacht and elsewhere were themselves French-speaking. Their oppressions and exactions often forced their English-speaking tenantry to migrate back to England. Meanwhile they themselves were becoming hibernicized, accepting Irish tenants and turning from French speech to Irish. From 1320 on rural E. began to disappear and with the resurgence of the native race in the 16th century Irish spread back to the gates of the towns. In two rural areas, Fingall (the coastal stretch from Dublin to Skerries) and the baronies of Firth and Barby in South Westford, the old English dialect persisted down to the 18th and 19th centuries respectively. Even in the Pale itself Irish was being "universally gaged" by the last quarter of the 16th century.

1. Curtis: Mod. Ireland, Spoken Languages; Green: Making and Underest.


3. Stanislaus: Description, p. 11.
b. The Norman-English introduced the medieval system of borough incorporation, and walled towns were built which were to prove the chief points d'appui of the English interest in Ireland. Apart from the Anglo-Irish municipalities there were ancient Irish towns such as Cashel, Cloyne, Trim, Kilkenny, Kildare, and Ostman towns from Dublin round the coast to Limerick. In all, their status ranged from royal towns to unchartered urban settlements.

That the Norse imprint was not obliterated for some time from the cities and towns of the South and East is testified inter alia by the Villa Ostmannorum of Waterford, the Ostmanby suburb of Dublin and the Ostman Liberty of Limerick. In general, however, the Ostmen were moved from the towns into adjacent districts and in time they became one with the native population.

The preoccupation of the new municipalities with defence and consolidation contrasts with the favourable circumstances of the English town while recalling those of France and Italy. Intercivic leagues and compacts showed their mettle and suggest their significance in the medieval scene. They could not afford to relax their vigilance on account of "the great daunger and parelle" that they stood in daily "as wel by the King's Ingleshe rebells as his Yrshen enemies enyroned rounde aboute" (Waterford Town-Book, 1477–78). The towns of Athenry and Sligo may be adduced also as examples. Athenry, shortly after its founding by the De Burgos in 1249, was assaulted by a large but ill-equipped Irish army. The settlers emerged victorious from the ensuing struggle and their access of confidence was reflected in an expansion of population. In a still more decisive engagement near Athenry in 1316 the native side was again signally defeated, and the town enjoyed more than two centuries of prosperity afterwards. A decline set in about the middle of the 16th century, due to the "hevé handle" of the Earl of Clanricarde and the ravages of his sons. This "greate and anciente town", of the Anglo-Saxons in Connacht, was taken and sacked by Red Hugh O'Donnell in 1596, was decimated later by the plague, and sank thereafter to the status of an insignificant village.

The vicissitudes of the urban settler are brought out more clearly still by the case of Sligo, last burghal outpost of the Northwest. This unwalled town, founded about the middle of the 13th century by Maurice Fitzgerald, passed through De Burgo hands and—by the first quarter of the 14th century—into those of O' Conor Sligo. Built round a castle and monastery, it was burnt down at least five times between 1257 and 1400. About the latter date "unfortunate Sligo... was like the kingdom of Judea, as described by the prophet Joel".1 The castle was always the chief bone of contention; towards the close of the 15th century it became the scene of perpetual hostilities.

When all adverse circumstances have been allowed for, the persistence of English speech in Sligo remains little less than remarkable.

By 1500 the Anglo-Irish towns had dwindled greatly in number. Ordinances against the use of Irish in Waterford—which was "esteemed the second to Dublin"—shows that by then this language had become common there. Incidentally, the anti-Irish tone of 15th and 16th century urban enactments indicates rather a concentration of power in the hands of small oligarchies than an absence of Irish citizens.

In the course of the 16th century, many Irish towns, caught in the designs and wars of Tudor reconquest, lost all and went down in one common ruin. The linguistic aspect commented on in the following passage by Fynes Moryson (writing early in James I's reign) shows how the new English forced the old into common cause with and like reaction to the Irish: the mere Irish disdained to learn or speake the English language, yea the English Irish and the very Citizens (excepting those of Dublin where the lord Deputy resides) though they could speak English as

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1 O'Boers, Sligo L. p. 102.
2 Moryson, History of Ireland II, p. 360.
well as wee, yet Commonly speake Irish among themselves, and were hardly inducd by our familiar Conversation to speake English with vs . . . and my selfe and others often observed, the Citizens of Watterford and Corcke having wyues that could speake English as well as wee, bitterly to chide them when they speake English with vs . . .³

6. By 1600 medieval AI had disappeared from the rural scene except in Fingall and South Wexford where—though influenced by Ir.—it preserved its archaic English flavour. In the AI towns the old AI, reinforced in varying degrees by the new official Irish, was in competition with Ir.

We now turn to a consideration of the language itself.

7. Medieval AI. The Kildare Poems exhibit the language of the colonists at the period of its greatest extension (c. 1300). W. Heuser has shown that this language while corresponding to the (South West Midlands) dialect of E. represented by Layamon B, differs from it and from other E. dialect chiefly in the loss of final -e, with all the implications of this. Furthermore, Heuser sees in the dialect of Forth and Bargy the direct descendant of this early AI. H.’s study of phonological, morphological, and rhyming criteria is thorough and carries conviction. At the most one may regret that he leaves syntax out of account or suggest that a few interpretations are faulty.¹

One poem in the Kildare collection² has attracted attention on account of its metrical flatness:

_Love has brought me into evil thought._
_Love has brought me into evil thought._
Post ich ab to blime; I have thought of ceasing; post ich ab to blime;
Filmente hit hit is for negt, Useless to think of ceasing,
Neugt is lone of sinn. Love of sin is nought.

¹ Shakespeare’s Europe, p. 213.
² pp. 59, 64: h sh “Postanegtus” in th, dh, sh, fh.
³ A Rhyme-beginning Fragment (Farnham, EE) p. 21; Schäffer, E. Metrik I, p. 317; Heuser, p. 165.

_Sin has brought me into care._
_Sin has brought me into care._
_Brogt in much distress._
_Brogt in much distress._
_Wins to weld ich had | post; post is | post ich am inne._
_Wins to weld ich had | post; post is | post ich am inne._
_In me is care, how i ssa fare._
_In me is care, how i ssa fare._
_Fare ich wol and funde;_ I will go and depart,
_Funde ich wip osten are;_ Depart without honour,
_Ar i be brogt to gronde._
_Ere I perish.

The exacting formal requirements of the poem have clearly lettered expression to the detriment of meaning. Precisely what depressive effect they may have had on its syntax can only be conjectured.

The five phrases italicised express a psychical relation by means of a prepositional mood with the verb to be (or its systematic supplement has|post). The impersonal mode of expression employed puts the phrase in me is care somewhat apart from the others.

When allowance is made for OE, ME blending of in and on it will be found that the last-mentioned mood is on a par with O.Ir. bátar mithurussa inda fáir³ ‘there were many annoyances on him’, al full fort acht nehtar da all³ ‘there is nothing on (— wrong with) you but one of two things’. This usage is a commonplace in Mod. Ir. and AI.

The other phrases mentioned (lines 1, 5, 6, 8) have in common with 1.9 the curious use of in in a psychical connection—but in a construction more compatible with Mod.E.

Line 1 further illustrates a characteristic diversion of AI from SIE usage. The (original) ascriptive type he has something done gave rise in OE to the type he has done sthng. In Mod. SIE these two forms are systematically related, but the original type is not prevalent.

In Mod. AI dialect on the other hand, the original type, sup-
ported by a parallel Ir. construction has enjoyed an extensive
development while the secondary type has not taken root at all.
These facts may be visualized as follows:

Expression of Resultative (Perfective) Aspect in SIE. and AI
I. Of Action accomplished II. Statal Perfective
(Achievement)
SIE. He has done it AI. He's after doun't
He has it done He has it done

It is not difficult to see that this poem, written in the ME
of Ireland, derives from a milieu open to English, Irish and
French cultural and linguistic influence. Later the French in-
fluence was to fade out and Irish to predominate, a fact of which
the history of the Desmond and Kildare Geraldines offers vivid
and concrete illustration: the first Earl of Desmond, called 'the
rhymer' was celebrated for his love of "Irish speech, letters,
bards, and chroniclers"; the third Earl was a Gaelic poet.
Correspondingly, to the Great Earl of Kildare, Justiciar of Ireland
and a subtle and skilful statesman, is attributed a decidedly
Irish brand of E. in his notable encounter with Henry VII. 2

8. Later Medieval AI Sources. Our chief sources for later
medieval AI are municipal records and legal documents:
Dublin: Calendar of Ancient Records, from 1447, Records of the
Dublin Guild of Merchants.
Waterford: Acts and Statutes of the City of Waterford, from 1305.
Galway: Statute Book of the Town of Galway, from 1485 (written
1550).
Blake Family MS, from 1430; R. O'Tibarty: A Chronograp-
hal Description of West or Iar Connaught.

a. Loss of final -e and retention of short vowels.
Kildare Poems c. 1300:
s) Final -e is lacking: Sar. 175 ber 'bear', XVS 5, 18, 81 take 'take', VIIS 61 eum.
b) Doubling of final or medial consonant as sign of preceding
short vowel: FP 61 ette 'eat', Ex. 2.3, 3.4 Sat. 3.3, 4.3, 17.3
herry.
Inverse Spelling: -e added to doubled final consonant: XVS 33
bisse, Sar. 32 blakke, Nep 7, Tierf 8.5 meene.
Note. In later sources consonant doubling (cf. β) above is
not confined to the position after an historical short vowel
(Merchant Guild yeere 'year' 1438 . . . Dublin Assembly Roll
fly 'life' 1466, wyrt 'write' 1530, strell 'street' 1538 . . . Water-
ford Book dylkes 'dikes' 1582 . . . Galway Book strettes 'streets'
1568, gotees 'goats' 1509 . . . Forth heiell 'health' p. 96 . . . ).
The Merchant Guild has:
α) the early form gras 'grace' (RSAI, p. 47).
β) collis 'coals' (RSAI, p. 52).
Dublin Assembly Rolls:
α) Infinitives tak 'take', had 'hade' 1455, cum 'come' 1453, dat
'date' 1502.
β) ber 'bear' 1456, berryth 1459, berty 1456, beror 1467, beryng
1457, oppyn 'open' 1455, et wodd 'wood' 1453, et etti 'eat' 1496,
commyn, commyth 1454, collys 'coals' 1454, hell, holles 'hole',
holes' 1468, stoll 'stolen' 1456, hel 'to roof' 1464, smeres, smeres
'doors' 1484, werre 'wear' 1466.
hitte 'hit', 1455.
9 - Norsk Tidsskrift for Språkvidenskap, Suppl. Bind V.
Waterford Book:
a) man 1430.  
b) comming 1558, watter 1517, gattes 1521, to breske, brecce 1529, 1521.

Galway Book:
a) Inf. tæk 1485.  
b) comming 1558, watter 1517, gattes 1521, to breske, brecce 1529, 1521.

Conquest:


Secreta:


Forth (19th century):

β) mott ‘meal’.

b. Other fairly consistent general developments are: OE c æ > è (Kild. has some occurrences before t + cons., and occasional æ-spellings); ð æ > i (Kild. has æ-before t + cons., and occasional æ-spellings); ð æ > i (with some reservations in Kild. and Conq.).

OE c æ > ð. Kildare: æpe, heurn (frequently), XVS 37 sterris.

Dublin Book: see 1459, fer ‘far’ 1488, 1465, prest 1554, sear(æ) 1549, 1486.


WS ð æ > i. Kildare: FP 33 andis, VIIIS 8.6 silne, Sat. 14.2 smilil.

Dublin Book: syll 1455, in the style of 1558, hyre, bir 1457, 1469.

Conquest: stilde 6/27, syllæ 38/32, syllir 40/1, to hyr 44/13, anythe ‘at night’ 72/33.

OE ð æ > i. shine (frequently), Bir. 21.4 hin(se), Sar. 31 dun.

Tief. 11.4 rigge, Tief. 14.8 lhær.

Dublin Book: byge 1452, bryge 1455, dyng 1456 (dumg 1466), ysfir 1455.

Conquest: mich ywull 32/7, hyled 128/10, bylder 14/6.

c. The loss or misplacing of initial h- is found in all sources save the Galway and Waterford Books.

Kildare (h- dropped): FP 139 ad, h- (frequently), it (seldom), FP 87 am.

Early Merchant Guild forms (RSAI, 1900, p. 47): h- added: hat, heir, hall, hows, hon.


Conquest: ad(e) ‘had’ 68.2; har ‘ere’.  

Secreta: ham ‘am’ 152.

Forth: ung ‘hung’; helbough ‘elbow’.  


a. Pronouns. 1st Sg. ich is the normal Forth form and is found more often than i in Kildare Poems. Otherwise i is the general Med. AI form.

3rd pl. jai occurs in Kild. and is found in most Med.AI sources (exceptions: Waterford and Galway Books). The typical AI (Acc., Dat.) form ham, and the possessive har are found in nearly all sources (exception: Waterford Books).

b. Inflectional. The original AI ending in the Pres. Ind. Pl. is -b. This yields form ground gradually to -n. In the pp., forms with -i- and without -n yield ground later to -n.


i. A predilection for the Subj. + Infinitive construction (the Inf. being often passive). 2. The prevalence of asymmetry and anacoluthon in the sentence.

i. This is common in contemporary AI, in Ir. and in Shakespearian E. It is rare in Mod.StE.

1) 1455: And whose do the contrary he to be amerced ...
2) 1459: Hit was grawnt ... that they shall pay a gret ... and the Baylygh ... to rer hyt and ovrese hyt.

*Waterford Book.*

3) 1394—5: And his oath and alothor to be recyded hereafter in forme farsaid and none other maner.

*Galway Book.*

4) 1511: And his body to be put in prison that doth the contrary.
5) 1515: It is ordenit that if any freman of this town be areated ... he to fynd suifient suttis ...
6) 1514: It is ordened that none of the town shall by no cattail out of the conty, but onely of trene men; and if ther shold any burtie come to the town by meanes of that cattail bought other wyse ... the bier ( = buyer) thereof to make amendes ...

Either the Subject or the Infinitive may be suppressed, as the implicit logical connection is felt to be strong and clear.

*Galway Book.*

7) 1514: It is ordenit that if any of this town ... shal go about anyye shipe ... without license ... (subject not resumed) to forfait such goodes as he or they hath bought and xx s. and his body (no verb) to prison.

2. Asymmetrical Object Clauses and Anaclittha. An infinitive clause often abruptly alternates with a that-clause. The corresponding Ir. procedure is quite common.

*Dublin Book.*

8) 1459: Also, hit was grawnt by the sayd semblie that John Browne ... shall have the gre ... and he to kepe the watyr clemd, and that (it) breke not away from the towne ...
9) 1457: Also, hit ys grawnt ... that Seint Johnne ys hows shold have the crouns of the watyr ... and they to hyrn ( = bring) hat dede by the post semblie.
10) 1457: That they was acord ... that Emyr Powur schall make a newe rentayll ... and he to have for his laboure sl. s. and that he shall have releeshyd ( = released) to hym darung his life the cheif rent of an orchard.

*Galway Book.*

11) 1507: That no boucher shall take no enuye goulle (= caufou gualame) nor skeinclinic (= sceanglinc) oute of no cove that he selich, and that they sell no chees, whether it be befo, porke, or moton, and that to be very good, befor it be greved by the officers in the shambles ...

12. Leinster AI (Diachronic). Some idea of the relative consistency of Leinster AI may be had from the following comparisons.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kildare</th>
<th>Dublin Book</th>
<th>Forth</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a + n</td>
<td>apan</td>
<td>ap(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a + nd</td>
<td>bond</td>
<td>lond</td>
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<tr>
<td>ding 'dung'</td>
<td>dune 1452</td>
<td>dyng 1456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g &gt; a</td>
<td>leinp, streinb</td>
<td>leynt 1500. (Secr. has length, Conq. streuth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>before</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>ayens (beside more frequent aye, ayens)</td>
<td>ayens 1460.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>false 'many'</td>
<td>false 1538</td>
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<tr>
<td>wurh</td>
<td>wyreme 1466</td>
<td>trough, draught</td>
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<tr>
<td>wharto, whan</td>
<td>throw 1455</td>
<td>fartho, fan (§ 18a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whan</td>
<td>whan 1466</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 This is an early Northern E. and Scots change also. C. W. Hone: Beiträge zur Geschichte der englischen Gutsverfassung, Berlin, 1901, p. 89.
b. The intermediate position of mid-fifteenth century Dublin E. between the language of the Kildare Poems and that of Forth is demonstrated by the treatment of vowels in the endings. Kildare prefers -e to -o generally in unstressed endings. Dublin Book forms (1452–1459) have only -yn in the strong pp.; weak pp. forms in -yd(-a) outnumber those in -yd(-e) slightly (57:53). In the 3rd pres. pl. the ratio is 14 (-eth) to 4 (-eth). Finally, in the pl. of nouns, the -es/-es ratio is 164:69, or approximately 2.3. Forth has mostly -es in the endings.

13. Some Features of Med. Dublin AI found in Forth or retained in contemporary dialect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dublin Book</th>
<th>Contemporary City Forms and General Distribution</th>
<th>Forth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>trewe 1454, 1536</td>
<td>Tre-ua</td>
<td>Treath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>treythe 1536</td>
<td>BreanTae</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breweress 'women brewers' 1470</td>
<td>dgeu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dewke 'duke' 1536</td>
<td>dgeuc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eskewyseg 'excused' 1536</td>
<td>s'gewat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dewyng 'during' 1536</td>
<td>dgevern</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Forth and contemporary Dublin agree 1) in retaining ME -e (F. goon, joudege, Dublin garn, dnoed 'gun, judge'). 2) apparently also in an -e diphthong for ME -a (F. deone, deone, groome, mouth, house, Dublin dgeoan, tewah, greund, mesh, hoonen (heare) 'down, town, ground, mouth, house'. Dublin Book spellings with -ew- (in ME 3-words) probably represents

or incipient diphthongization: townys 1456, growns, ground 1471, 1452, 1500, mouth 1457, how(e)s 1459, 1455.

2. a) ME i > e. b) ME e > a (§§ 37 C, 69).

a) evesyn 'citizen' 1457, petye 'pity', setye 'city'.

delygnent 'diligent', volunter 'volunteer' 1536,
schelwynge 'shillings' 1462,
secknor 1554, 
hes 'his' 1543.

b) panse 'pence' 1452, Fysserall 'Fitzgerald' 1536.

A Mid-Ulster, North Leinster and Dublin City feature (§ 69).

Note: Evidence of the raising of ME e to i (§ 37 C) is scant in Dublin Book and Forth. Cf. F. pipper 'pepper'.

3. Med. Dublin -ei- (of various origin) retained in some words.

| heyn, heyn(e) | bhejan, bhejan |
| sighe 'being' 1501, 1455, 1453, | sejan, srjan |
| sige 'seen' 1483, | s'geat |
| weike 'week' 1556, | week |
| high 'high' 1466, | heigh
| sealt 'agreed' 1500, | s'geat |
4. (a) Substitution of \( T \) for \( \theta \), \( t \) and \( D \) for \( d \), \( d \). Cf. § 44.

(a) \( T \) for \( \theta \).

com(m)lyth, cymyth 'cometh' 1454–60, afendyth 'offendeth' 1464, beryth 'bearth' 1452.

\( T \) for \( t \).

sylthe 'sight' 1455, whathe the boon beryth 1452.

(a) \( D \) for \( d \).

showers 'the owners' 1555, theysh 'the 8th' 1536, teshyr 'the other' 1465.

(b) \( D \) for \( d \).

ordinith and graundith (pp.) by ... 'ordained ...' 1500.

5. Lenisation. Forth shows a clear tendency to voice \( T, t, p \)—much less so \( k \). The interchange of \( k, g \) in Dublin Book seems

to reflect the fact that the sounds \( k, g \) had reached intermediate values.

Forth. \( D \) for \( t \). drus 'true', wa(e)ther 'water', pink 'put', ndh 'out', ndh 'at', godth 'got'.

\( D \) for \( \theta \). thing 'thing', dhurie 'thirty', nothing 'nothing',

\( d \) for \( t \). dwany 'twenty', bidandes 'potatoes', kannes 'cane', deeme 'times'.

\( b \) for p. boor 'poor', blennty 'plenty', Beecher 'Peter'.

\( g \) for w. knanane < Ir. eneann, ga(n)bab(a)ich 'cabbage'.

Dublin Book: \( g \) for k. poynstmagere 1474, planges, plangage 1483, marge, market 1469.

\( k \) for g. kett 'get' 1491, Thoneloke 'Templeogue' 1491.


pt. delveryt 1456, pp. byldit 1452

(byldt 1459), desyrt 1456,

payt 1456,

resyt 1400.

7. -\( ing \). Al has -\( n \) for -\( ng \) of verbal n. and -\( nd \) of verbal adj.

Later Dublin Book spellings often lack -\( g \). Forth has regularly -\( en \) representing a pronunciation found in contemporary Al (§ 47). Contemporary Dublin has -\( an \), -\( n \).

heun(e) 1453, 1455,

heyn 1501,

osyn 1465,

osyn 1502.

Cf. the inverted spellings donsyng 1554,

Dowlesynge 1536.

For stressed syllables cf. heyn 1453, heyn 1457.
8. Assimilation: nd > n, bl > h, mb > m. Cf. §§ 54, 64.
Dublin Book: lanable 'landable' 1452; beyan 'beyond' 1469, found 'found' 1464, growing 'ground' 1471, bill 'build' 1457, 1506, afield 'afiel' 1457; chamber 'chamber' 1504, tummy 'timber' 1492.
Inverse spelling: hold 'whole' 1540.

Forth: speen 'spend', zoon 'send', zoone 'sand', erone 'errand', weeneen 'winding', unner 'under'; boule 'bowl', coole 'cold', sheller 'shoulder'; chaamer 'chamber'.

Note: The following cases of unetymological -e have been noted.
Dublin Book: alyente 1452 (also in Galway Book 1497, 1501), forest 1500.

Forth: villent, strayart 'strayer'. Cf. also valart 'value'.
In Ir. dialect the addition of t to final n, r is widespread, of long standing and has yielded general forms such as baugart, deadhallt, tuisiost. In contemporary Al the addition of unetymological t is a sporadic feature (cf. Antrim, Pts. 1, 2; moizcrt 'miser', Nth. Mon. toist, Dublin tweeist 'twice', Nth. Wexford nist 'niece').

This is also a feature of Sth. Durham and NE Scots dialect (mainly after n). A Northern E. instance as early as 1478 is on record.

9. s, z > j², dʒ > ʧ, Mod. Dublin has sh for s in common with Forth and contemporary rural dialect, sh for z in common with 17th and 18th c. Al. dʒ > ʧ as implied by the spelling (b) common with some present-day City and rural dialect.

relished 'released' 1457.

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relished 'released' 1457.

fa(n)sh < Ir. has 'palms of the hand'.

14. The treatment of w and v in the Dublin Records and in Forth represents an earlier Al levelling of these sounds under Ir. (bilabial) b. Cf. Hogan § 94, Jordan § 163, Diehl § 123.
Dublin Book: lywe 'live' 1551, hav 'have' 1553, gywe 'give' 1560, owe 'over' 1555, waxion 1466; wyng 'weighing' 1500.

Forth: vier, wyer 'weased', weter 'wiser'. Cf. also wish 'fish'.

15. Anyone familiar with traditional Dublin City speech will appreciate the role played there by the alternance of stressed syllable on a high pitch and unstressed syllable(s) in low pitch. The characteristic rhythm of this speech finds its most obvious realisation in the trochaic foot as commonly represented by the radically-stressed bisyllabic word. The following phrase from the Dublin Book catches up this rhythm and suggests the conditions under which it arose:

...that hecawys he hath hylyst an hewes in Sent Wurberowe ye parach...

A typical contemporary Dublin pronunciation of built reproduces the falling pitch which we take to be a vestige of the syllable which has disappeared.

16. Forth Al. Forth dialect is a mosaic of archaic E. and of Ir. in which N.Fr., Flemish and Welsh features are still discernible. Comparisons made above (§§ 9–14) show its contact-position between Med. and Mod.Al. Forms with open (i.e. fricative) k (brough, broughet 'break, breaks', knaugh 'hill', knaughan Ir.Ronan 'hill', naugha 'kneuckle') besides other
forms implying the stop raise the issue of chronology for contemporary AI stop-opening (§ 45); short forms such as mel 'meal', wi(theri)k 'week' (§ 9a) suggest that Ulster stopping (§ 71d) may have found support in Med.AI and that it may be necessary to distinguish with care between the two.

The Forth dialect has never been thoroughly investigated and—though we try to break new ground—we cannot hope to undertake so self-contained a task here. Neither, however, could we afford to ignore a dialect which resumes from the beginning the life-span of one type of English in Ireland and which illustrates so well the influence actually exercised on conservative E. dialect here by its host.

The following brief treatment under the heads Phonology, Vocabulary, Syntax aims merely at pin-pointing features which have either contributed powerfully towards the moulding of the dialect or which are significant from the standpoint of contemporary AI. It is selective and illustrative, therefore incomplete. It is preceded by specimens which suggest, incorporate or exemplify the features in question. Comparisons are drawn where feasible with other E. dialect.


A Yoal Zom, Stanza 1, 3, 4, 7, 11, 12 (Poole, p. 84).

Fede tell thee so bournagh,  
co Joane, zo knagger?  
Th'weithest all credagh,  
wafir, an curoe.  
Lidge w'oise an milagh,  
itis gaa an jounthee;  
4 Buck nigher; y'art sculdeen;  
fartoo zo bacheere?

What ails you so melancholy,  
quoth John, so cross?  
You seem all snappish,  
uneasy and fretful.  
Lie with us on the clover,  
'tis fair and sheltered.  
Come nearer; you're rubbing your back; why so ill-tempered?

Yerstey w'had a beree,  
gist ing oor hoeze.  
Aar gentizte ware bibbern,  
asamil eou no stane.  
Yith Museare had ba hoole,  
t'was mee Tommeeen.  
8 At by mishuck was ee-pit  
t'drive in.

Joud an mould vrem earchee  
ete was ee Lough.  
Zitch vapervene, an shimmereen,  
fan ee-daff ee aar sooth!  
Zitch blisken, an hlayven,  
fan ee ball was ee-drowe!  
12 Chote well aar aim was tyle  
ouz n'er a blowe.

Th'hefflem o'plye  
vell all ing to log:  
An aar w'had Trebree,  
an sturdy Cournig,  
Th'commans trepple;  
th'ball skir an vloe;  
16 Our een wode h'mistren  
f'deurnt up ee akre.

Up cuame ee ball,  
an a dap or a kewe  
Wode zar; met, all aragh  
var ee baronagh-blawe,  
W'vengerm too hard,  
he crum ee commune,  
20 An broughth et stell,  
ing a emothee kagnhane.

Th'ball want a cowlee,  
the gashe mante all rize;  
Lidk a mope an a nile,  
be gat ing a mine;  
Than stakket, an gandett,  
wie of an gridane.  
24 Ourc joyz all ee-smort  
ing a emothee kagnhane.

Yesterday we had a goal,  
just in our hand.  
Their genty were quaking,  
themselves could not stand.  
If Good-for-little had been buried,  
it had been my Tommy,  
Who by mishuck was placed  
to drive in.

Thongs and crowds from each  
quarterm at the Lough;  
Such vapouring and glittering  
when stinted in their shirts!  
Such howling and shouting,  
when the ball was thrown!  
I saw their intent was to give  
us n'er a stroke.

The weight of the play  
fell into the hollow:  
And there we had Trebree  
and sturdy Cournig.  
The ball-clubs they rabbled;  
the ball rose and flew,  
Our eyes would be dazzled  
to look up to the sky.

Up came the ball,  
and a tap or a shove  
Would serve; but all eager  
for the baronagh-stroke,  
When vroom too hard,  
he sunk his bat-club [or bat]  
And broke the handle  
in a plumtree-bill.

The ball o'ertook the goal,  
the dust rose all about;  
Like a fool in a mill,  
he looked in amazement;  
Then stalked and wandered,  
with oh! and with grief.  
Our joys are all answered  
in a plumtree-bill.
The Wedden O Ballymore, Stanza 3 (Poole, p. 94).

Aar was haung kaakie an nettles, ee-mixt wee prasannah huee, Maade a nicest coolecancan that e’er ye did see.
Aar was a munkan o butather ee-laaid apan hot hoot shruanans, 28 An goure ukebaugh ee-sarth uth in cooanees.

Verse in Answer to the Wedden O Ballymore, Stanza 2, 3, p. 100.

Adee! well zide, stuggoon, an thee rate o’graadsache. Go gaume abuth Forth, thou ucket saalvache.
Thou m’er eightest buxks, whit pailsks, breeed-hakee; 32 Cranen t’hose wee aam, thee hoppes shell sake.

Heal, grise, an kin, spaa thee, graacuse Forth, Mye thee friend ne’re waast welcome, nor strauayrt comfoort.
Ribeeneeiks! Leth aam gaume wee aar barth-amang.

36 At ye mye m’er be woovless ta vill a hear jock an coon.

An Old Sou, Stanza 1, 3, p. 106.

"Murreek loam, kish am!" Ich aam goan make me will. At skelpears an loughbreaths mye leigh aar eer vill.
Moot earch oon to aar die. Ich mount ketch a hat.

40 A skudhethes, haung routaa, wull glunde leth aam what.

There was long kale and nettles, mingled with yellow-wood, Made the nicest coolecancan that ever you did see. There was a great heap of butter laid upon hot scraps, And good whiskey served out in wooden cups.

Adee! well said, (with thy had bread, and thy rest of garshay, Go, make game about Forth, thou smooth sweater.
Thou never eatest spiced bread, white palks, (or) bride-cake. Choking (be) to thee with them (when thou gettest them).
Thy ears shall ache (be pulled)?

Health, wealth and regard (be) upon thee, gracious Forth. May thy friend ne’re want welcome, nor the stranger comfort.
Smack-eaters! (who never have a good meal) let them game, with their barley-mung. (I hope) that you may never be unpervided to fill an empty (leather) jack and can.

To my grief, I am a big sow. I am going to make my will, That the piglings and pigs may laugh their overfull. But, every one to his day, I must catch the hat. (must take my hat?)

The knives that were long rusty, well-pleased let them whet.

Vee crappes o’ a shearde In the bushes of the gap (of the rick-yard)
ich had a cousanne. I had a hole to go through.
Ich woode be pitcht ee kurkeen, ar zippins, to a coolaam.
I would be pok’d into the snow or the stack up to the back of my head.
A plauge span Fartheare! A plague upon Porter,
16 Heo be lither me waad, he’d hide me well,
44 Bëtress a kraasberry-bush as an elcheen-gosh, Between the gooseberry-bush and the elder-tree.

18. Phonological Features.

a. hw > f. This implies in the first instance substitution of the voiceless bilabial fricative g for hw (cf. the anglicized spelling Weelan 'O Faolan').

b. f for hw is a sporadic AI feature characteristic of areas where l.r. is dying or recently extinct. It is often found beside the bilabial pronunciation (p. g*) in these areas and represents a facile and familiar step from it for the AI speaker.

Exx. The interrogative pronouns faitho, fa 'what', Rbhô 'who' (The Dublin Merchant Guild has too 'who' 1438, hose 'how', fan 'when' fddi, vide 'where', tartos 'why' (cf. Sc. whereto Ger. worn).

NE Scots has this development (hw > f) in these and other words too. Buchan fr: stands for how and why and is explained as arising in the former meaning by analogy. Cp. our how above.

In this connection it is of interest to point out that an initial mutation f/h attested by Forth hist 'bet', huches 'cross, ill-tempered' (O.Fr. filech, Mod.Fr. faible) is a sporadic l.r. and AI feature: Coerc Dhiubhain has many 'feach', Glangervin his 'ha’Dar 'his father', Eriris his 'ha’Dar 'his father', Treu haRkru 'true for you'. Cf. also Eriris be’cor 'before'.

b. Elosion. This is of very wide scope, affecting mainly the vowel of pretonic words in proclitics.

i) The personal pronouns (1. teh 2. tho 3. hes (hey), sho 'she', 4. wough (wu) 5. ye 6. hi (hye)) have the following pretonic forms: 1. 'eh 2. 'th 3. 'h, 4. 'w 5. 'y 6. 'h (b').
Exx. cham 'I am' (chus 'I was', cha 'I have', choed 'I would', chon 'I know', chaill 'I will'), th'art 'you are', we're 'we are', th'ar 'they are', weh'd 'we had', th'had 'they had'.

b) Form-words (the later def. art. the, the adv. the; neg. particle ne; prepositions; the inf. sign to):
th'ball 'the ball', th'heftlen 'the weight'; th'aller 'the more', th'lass 'the less'; note 'I do not know', mad lek 'had I not?', t'Tommen 'to Tom-in', w'ouse 'with us', t'drive, t'yle 'to give'.

Cf. also t'year 'this year'.

y) Verbs be, yee 'give' in cases such as b'zung 'be sung', y'onge 'give over'.

Note: Enclytics also occur, cf. yarhle, yartha 'art thou', yante 'gave it', and the last he's, she's.

c) Stress. The testimony of observers and the evidence of spellings and rhymes make it clear that in syllabic words the second syllable received either main or equal stress.

Stanhurst says (1886): And most common in words of two syllables they give the last the accent: as they sale, marksal, basken, gosoupe, passout, Robert, Neilase, etc.

C. W. Russell says (1857): In disyllables the accent is almost invariably laid by the Forthians on the last syllable.

Words whose spelling indicate this are: belle 'belly', belouz 'belows', raskall 'rascal', toware 'tower', dhreihare 'thrasher', mistheare 'idler', trenshoars 'trenchers', erroame 'errand', bawkoun 'bacon', madet 'matto', marret 'married', isthres 'mistress', Muresh 'Maurice', Marton 'Martin', Th'dommen 'Tom-in'.

The words brail, brailles 'barrel, barrels', Kealy, Kealeen 'Michael, Michael-in' are cases where concentration of stress has resulted in elision of the first vowel (syllable); similarly the form 'Raugh beside Arraugh (< Ir. erragh) 'Spring', while a third variant Randaugh attempts in vain to reproduce the full form of which the first syllable has become obsolete.

As T. F. O'Rahilly points out, many words are found in Southern Ir. and in Forth E. with the same (final) stress, and there can be little doubt that the ultimate source of this is N.Fr. accentuation. Obvious cases are F. dinare (dennare), zipeare (zipeape), Tasson Ir. diniaer, sniaper, faelien. F. dhernapés 'turnips' has the same (shifted) stress as Corca Dhuibhne tar'naípt.

The decided Forth predilection for stressed endings is shown by the tendency to give stress and body to OE formative (cf. list above) and to Ir. suffixes (baeres < Ir. bide 'goal'). The suffix -es in fact is liable to appear without at all the etymological background, so pousee 'puls', pappe 'pap', oesere 'other', cowlee Ir. ed 'goal', beside threese 'thirty', helles, etc.

The stressed infinitive ending -es represents OE -ian. Cf. the Forth words quingoke < Ir. quinmug sh.; 'churn' = -es 'to churn'; baekoose < OE beocnas + -es 'probably via Fr. bec'oven' to bake';

Stress conditions in poly-syllabic words are further elucidated by the known fact that the vowel of the pl. ending -es was sounded (as it still is in certain cases in Dublin City dialect). As a rule words ending in -es are stressed on the penult: Specimens, lines 38, 40, skelparès, sluaghgardës, skudhèles, so too risheennarès (to rishen — an alternance of stress reminiscent of Fr. jardins/ jardins).

The treatment of other trisyllabic words has a still more intimate relation with Ir. accentuation. F. arnaunne < Ir. árisda + -in 'working at night' may have retained its stress on the second syllable; cluerghean 'crowd' (cf. Ir. clageg, clageg, clagair) would appear from the context in which it occurs (p. 88) to have radical stress. Cf. our discussion of Southern stress § 72.


Further exx. of -es pl. vites 'feathers', branvegan 'bottles, pots, etc.'

1 Heilinshed's Chronicles II, p. 11.

2 Poole's Glossary, p. 133.
-n pl. This retains considerable vitality. Historical cases are: eye, "eyes"; pizzon "peas"; asken "ashes"; been "bees"; loam "toes"; rushen "rushes". Words which in OE showed some contact with the weak declension in the pl. are: aethen "feast", shoene "shoes", tren "trees", kneen "knees", and the mutation pikeyn "coys". Dishen "dishes" is a recruit to this class also.

b. Verbal. Indicative Present: The following endings occur: -eth (1, 3 SG.), -eth (1, 3 PL.). -eth (2 SG.).

Exx. I knoeth en 'I know him', thou keesth 'you know', the westh 'they know': gibben Spenns. 2. yt beeth 'it is', ye pace ... prooth 'the peace ... proves', we wondreth (the) ... 'we wonder ... we are wondered', our eyes wondreth ... 'our eyes rest upon ...', mee been dooth 'my bees die'.


hibern Spenns. 6, goan Spenns. 37.

Preterite: -at, -at, -eth. 2 SG. -est.

Exx. marreeth 'married', parteth 'parted', Gandeth 'wandered', delli 'dog', berti 'heard', daffeth 'doffed', waitheth 'waited', daneth 'danced', godth 'got', returneth 'returned'.

2 SG.: eighteth 'atest'.

Note: The terminative verbs peale 'beat', happen, take the prefix -ee in the pt. The form echobet (pp. 18, 130) seems to stand for assualted and if so, does not belong here.

Past Participles: This has usually (not always) the prefix -ee-< OE ge-; strong verbs do not take the suffix -en. Cp. § 47.

Exx. ee-hade, ee-earnth 'served', ee-told 'told', ee-mixt, ee-zet 'set', ee-amow 'smothered', pichet, malth 'milked'.

P.P. without -en: ee-droze 'thrown', ee-ga 'gone'.

Infinitive: see (§ 18c); suffix null: seen 'send', zar 'serve', maake 'make'; to 'to do'.

B. Pronouns, Possessive Adjectives, Definite Art.

Pronouns: The Subjs. forms are given § 165. The Obj.-forms are: 1. mee 2. thee 3. him; her 4. oun 5. ye 6. aam.

Note: The correspondence between Kilburn P. and Forth pronominal forms: first, also, this, he, aam, her, each -ath (e.g. shen, thy, th, aam, her, thereof). Possessive Adjectives: 1. mee 2. thee 3. his; her 4. oun(e) 5. yer 6. aar.

The older def. art. had the forms a, e; the indef. art. was a also and no doubt this partial identity contributed towards introducing the. The older def. art. was particularly liable to fuse with prepositions.

Exx. a parish 'the parish', a skulhith 'the knives', barch kyse a poage 'each boy gave a kiss', a portion ich gae her 'the portion I gave her' but a dath of a brough 'a slap of a shoe'; pu caule 'on the house', pu shif 'on the silly', ee crappes 'in the bruises'; ee kurren 'into the mow'.

Note: The Forth phrase all a ky 'all the boys' tallies with contemporary South Leinster usage. To what extent has the old article been able to entrench itself and resist encroachment?

29. Vocabulary (General). As W. Barnes points out, Forth has clear affinities in grammar and lexicon with SW English dialect, particularly. Cp. the words leves 'flags that grow in boggy ground', looth 'shelter' (OE bléowp), mell 'meddle', shez air 'gap', zrew 'sweat', zhen 'sharp', venie 'dirty', mkyne 'very' cf. OE megan. The Forth term churchow-hoy 'graveyard' is also Cornish.

Archaic E. words of unusual significance and interest are the old legal terms: hedercp (= bedrip) 'a band of reapers, (later Wexford) any crowd'. This term originally meant 'the reaping of corn on request (OE bedrip) and was applied specifically to the service due from tenants to their landlord to reap his corn at harvest-time. Another term of this kind is hubjow (≡ lawfeite) originally 'a fine paid to the lord for the corruption of a woman, his vassal', and applied in Forth to various kinds of due payable to the lord.

Words showing a specifically Forth development in form or meaning are: wel, welf 'coebt, webyl', therelack 'the eye of a kiln' cf. OE pyrelac, drystall 'blackbird' OE prystle and gen. dial. thrytle 'thrush'. Holghe, Haulgey, holgave 'Shrove Tuesday' cf. 6.

The words for morning and evening in F. dialect are arih (cf. OE ārlice ‘early in the morning’) and caith, each respectively. The latter may represent an OE ār’ith ‘meal-time’. Towards midday the Forths made it their custom to retire from the fields and rest indoors. This siesta was called ented – ‘oe’, says Russell (p. 128) “more properly neste (noon tide) – the noon tide rest”. It is not easy to see his authority for the emendation, though the explanation is plausible enough. An alternative explanation would take as starting-point the O.Fr. verb enotter ‘to shelter (indoors)’.

Of particular interest is the unique form wæstan ‘west, from the west’ (OE ld.) as in wæstan wyne ‘west wind’; also the verbs teach ‘to hand, give’ from OE tićan in the meaning ‘to show sting, to smoly’, cf. Ger. zeig’ mir, and teigih ‘teach’, pt. teigih, teigih from OE toe(ha)n, pt. teah, cf. Got. gaitihan ‘to announce, narrate, proclaim, say’.


Verbs occurring dialectally elsewhere are de ‘dig’ OE ðēlan, ME dole; don/dole (of clothes), ele ‘call, name’ OE eolipan.


The term die oasekean lit. ashen day ‘Ash Wednesday’ has a word-order reminiscent of the Ir. form. The compound pāng(b)mealthale, lit. kising-time is a happy junction of Ir. pāg ‘kiss’ and OE māl ‘time, season, occasion’.

Very close to Ir. usage is Forth avel (= afield) ‘abroad, outside’, cf. Ir. amúch, lit. i magh ‘afiel’d’. The complementary terms F. arum (OE æræm) Ir. istígh, lit. in the house reveal kindred concepts too.

Two striking cases of semantic shadowing are Forth basheat ‘breast’ and voose ‘the foot, all below the knee’. The point is of course that the E. words are aspirants, so to speak, to the semantic ganut of the Ir. words eliath ‘basket, breast’ and eos ‘foot, leg’. This is not uncommon in contemporary A.I. where the E. word hand is used in the meaning of Ir. lisn ‘arm’, and to a less extent, E. finger is applied to toes as well. Cf. § 75.

Contemporary dialect shows that it is the meanings of the better-known language in the first instance which are retained and the words of the other which are adopted. The inference here is that the semantic shifting in question did not arise among Forth speakers themselves in the first instance, but was adopted by them.

Borrow from Ir. not elsewhere commented on in this paper are: substantives: bōynas Ir. bōynéin ‘tying of a sail’, khōsare Ir. cuilleir ‘a crook, pothook’, lóinnr Ir. lóinithe ‘chūrra-dash’, truicke Ir. truicci ‘car’, vareen Ir. fearram ‘headland’, bōghur Ir. bōghar ‘road’, glies < Ir. diasia ‘thatch, straw, tied at one end’, πhουδον Ir. śaidh ‘a hero, a thin, weakly person’, amnácht Ir. amhanntaí ‘dwarf’, gurth Ir. gābhar ‘goat’, pucāt(e)ne Ir. puc “be-goat”; shock Ir. sio ‘see’; comice ‘trust, confidence’. Verbs such as caoradh Ir. caoradh ‘searched’, adjectives such as sauntae Ir. séoghaich ‘comfortable’.

Next in order of importance is the French element, ranging from the ancient and apparently unique jace and sponde (Spenns. 9) to the possibly modern mālsach (Spenns. 30).

The word mean ‘household, folks’ O.Fr. maillons, maillie ‘familie’, is found in Scots and (chiefly) Northern E. Poutees ‘power’ O.Fr. poasté, ME pasté is also Scots. Other French words are core ‘heart’, poake, pooke ‘pocket’, līv ‘confusion, shame’.

Beside the Norse word knظن Forth kūnnlē, which bears
evidence of French mediation. Forth has the Romance word *skudheis* (Spennyn 40). For the word *caul(e)*, *kowl* 'horse', cf. Lat. *caballus*, ME *caulfyle*.

Other Norse words in Forth are *kaal* 'cabbage' and *gláda* in the phr. *to go to gláde* (of the sun) 'to set', cf. Norw. dial. *gláda* 'to set'.

The Forth word *moother*, *moother*, *moother* 'mother' is a relic of the early Flemish element. It has passed into some Southern Ir. dialects in the form *médar* (cf. Dinneen). The Forth word *shít* 'lilly' agrees in meaning with M.Dn. *shote* 'mare' better than with any E. form.

One verb appears several times in Poole with and without initial *d*: the verb *dwythe*, *dwythe*/*wirche*, *wythe*, *weirhe* 'look (on), behold, seem'. It has a derivative *wíthe*, *wíthe* 'the looks, countenance, features' which may also function as an adj.: "gaasy wytheen mihte 'a well-looking girl'. Barnes, obsessed perhaps by Nordic conceptions, suggests that *wíthe* is 'most likely the Scotch *wáith*, the appearance to a man of another about to die'.

The initial alternance *d*/*w* in this word seems quite assured and suggests immediately Welsh initial mutation *g*/*w*. The Welsh phr. *f e wëdd ci hy' 'so it seems' with the verb *ğweddo/* *wëddna* 'seem' suggests the solution. The Forth forms *gwe* 'due' and *gál* 'dál-s' (mentioned in the list of Ir. words above) appears sporadic AI development (§ 46) and shows that initial *g* for *d* need be no obstacle.

Forth has many words of obscure origin such as *harplot* 'strip', *hunang* (hunang in Dorset) 'cupboard', *pumne* 'a strip of land in rondeal'.

All in all, it is hardly possible to assign a specific cultural or other significance to the several elements in Forth vocabulary, for, as offered in Poole, it is almost exclusively the word-store of a farming community reflecting the needs and activities of everyday life.

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1.1 Read *fare elith thee* . . . 1.22 . . . he gating samne; 1.32 Read *graew c'hoo* . . . 1.37 Murrow *leam* represents an intensified version of the common Ir. and Al exclamation *mo lian!* lit. my sore 'a'las! (Cf. Poole p. 132: *leen vetch ee man* 'mischief fetch the man!') It probably stands for *mo dihan-liain*! The Ir. word *cês* 'sow' and its derivative *tíseog* 'young sow' are found in contemporary Al dialect.

Read *Mo dihan-liain! Cês 'cham* . . .
1.44 The final element *-chou* is obscure and is the only rhyming failure in the poem. Factors increasing the likelihood of serital error are: final position (with its psychological implications), and unfamiliarity with the word. Taking requirements of sound and meaning into account, it seems most likely that the final word stands for the hybrid *ellena-chabhal* 'fork of the elder tree'. This, transmuted into Forth, yields *ellena-chou*, *ellena-choul*.

Read *beless* a *kraneberry-bush* an a *ellena-choul*.

1.2 *Te'llieth* 'you seem'. Vb. *wëth*, *wyth*, *wëth*, *wëthe* probably Welsh *gwëdd* *swee*. Cf. W. *gwedd* sb. 'connection, contour, form, shape, the look, aspect' (Evans). Discussed § 20, final section.
1.3 Forth retains Southern *lidje* 'lie', *lidje* 'buy', OE *leogan*.
byorgan, and has initial z, v for s, f in many words. — an early S., SW feature.1
Milagh, Miltlough sb. 'clover' may be connected with the Ir. PN form Mileac.
1.4 Huck neigher 'approach' occurs in the inf. p. 144 'tuck neicher'. Cf. Du. hokken 'come to a standstill; huddle together'.
Scudder pres.p. of seud 'to rub the back, to write or shrug the shoulders'. Cf. Dan. skudder 'to shake', Norw. skudda seg 'to twist the shoulders', Mod.Du. schudden 'to shake'.
Ishcidi O.Fr. tachidi.
1.5 Bare sb. 'goat' Ir. hídre.
1.6 Gentrice sb. 'gentry' also recorded for Galloway in this meaning. In ME generally it had the meaning 'gentle carriage, genility' (Stratmann).
1.7 Yth conj. 'if'. OE gif.
Hole pp. of heli 'cover (over)', in various dialects of England—with long vowel, OE helian. Forth has also heli 'covered' from OE helian.
1.9 Joue an moud 'crowds and throngs'. Joue(e), jande is a variant of O.Fr. geôle 'troupe, bande de soldats'. Moud(e) is a variant of O.Fr. molt adj. 'nombreux', cf. it molt 'un tres grande nombre' (Godefroy). The coupling of these terms is no doubt very old. Ete sb. 'point of the compass, quarter' is a form of dialectal art (used Sc., Irel., Nhp., Cum., Dur., Wm., Yks.) Ir. Gaels., aird.
1.10 Vaperereen, vaperereen (=vapouring) ger. 'bragging, boasting'; a meaning recorded for Ayr and (chiefly) Northern E.

1 Cf. EDD ii 278, 320.

A LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF IRELAND

Eadaff pp. of daif, deif 'to take off (clothes)'. This verb is in gen. dial. use in Sc. and England.
South sb. 'the best of the flax; a fine shirt'. Ir. south.
1.11 Blakene, blakenen ger. 'bawling'. Cf. vb. blake 'to blast', blam.
Blaevoen, blaeven, ger. 'shouting'. Cf. Yks. May 'to blast'.
1.12 Chote < lech 'ote < OE ic wæt 'I know'. Its use for 1. pl. is paralleled elsewhere, cf. az we verile chote (p. 116).
Tyde from OE géfan, uninfluenced by Norse gefa.
1.13 Hellement, hellement (= helting) sb. 'weight'. Heft 'weight' is in widespread dialectal use. The present usage with helting, hellement is idiosyncratic; the hellement o' 'most of', cf. contemporary AI the weight o' in this sense and the Ir. use of hrom sb. 'weight': sin trom a'méid bith a bhliot sin a chatha (BO 1940, p. 100).
Lag, lang sb. 'a hollow or low ground' Ir. lag.
1.15 CommanÈs pl. of comman, conman 'harley' Ir. conmaen.
Rapplie 'rattle', frequentative verb also recorded for Perth. Cf. E. Fries. rappeln 'to rattle'.
Skir vb. 'to rise in the air'; in related meanings in Sc. and various E. dialects.
Mistern ppl. adj. 'dazzled'. Does it represent misting?
T'dearnt 'to look'.
1.17 Kewe, krowe, khow sb. Of uncertain meaning (Poole suggests: A shoe). It may mean 'the iron tip of a shoe; a tap with this' cf. EDD cue sb.1, and vb.
1.18 Arkagh adj. 'eager', Ir. airach 'greedy'.
Burnnagh-blowe sb. lit. limpet-blow 'a blow calculated to dislodge a limpet', hence, a 'decisive blow'. Ir. bánach.
1.19 Vegen sb. This word occurs on p. 114: wi vegen o'ere 'from the strength (or fulness) of our hearts'. In 1.19 it is used in the sense 'undue force' merely—all implication of malice being absent from the context.
It is clear that Poole mistakes this word which is clearly Ir. fulnseach 'force, energy, vigour' for the word 'vegen'.
with its different connotations. So in his glossary he gives
Yenge: venom, spite, malice without taking its meaning in the
texts into account. On the formal side, the consonantal
development is straightforward: initial $l$, $v$ (§ 22,
under 1.3); palatal uninflected $n$ (= $n$) $>$ $g$ intervocally
is normal. The development $m$ $>$ $n$ is not difficult to
account for on the assumption that it was nasal and pre-
ceded by a nasalized vowel. However, a radical vowel $e$ rather than $n$ would be expected.—if it is not actually
disguised by the spelling.

Wright, following Poole, takes this word under venus,
without succeeding, however, in fitting it into his scheme.
1.20 Stell (still) sb. 'a handle, shaft', cp. widespread dial. E. stak.
Emothee sb. 'an ant', cf. Sc., E. dial. amot OE ëmotê 'ant'.
Knaehane, knaughan, knagane sb. 'a small billock' Ir.
enchan.
1.21 Cowlee sb. 'goal' Ir. rú. To go a-cowlee was probably a
fixed phr. meaning 'to pass by the goal'.
Gazh, gozh (= gosp) sb. 'dust, breath, fume, wind'.
1.22 Gandell, gandel 'wandered' pt. of vb. gandel, variant of
gandez 'to wander, ramble aimlessly' Chas., Shn., Norf., Suff.
Gridane sb. 'sorrow, causing grinding of teeth', an expla-
nation suggesting or suggested by the alternative form
gyredane, Cf. Ir. greadh 'heat, torture, burning ...'.
1.25 Kajile (= kale) sb. 'cabbage'. Kale is a Sc., N.Engl., and
Ulster word. ON káll.
Praasagh bue sb. 'charlock' Ir. praiscech bhuil. This, re-
tained at nearly all points of our Pilot Survey as praisceach
or (in the South) praiscach bhui is a general AI word for
charlock.
1.26 Cooldaneann sb. 'a mixed dish of winter greens and pota-
toes, butter and pepper' Ir. cál cearnthoin.
1.27 Muskawn sb. 'a large lump (of butter)' Ir. meanchán 'a pat
of butter'.
Shraan, shraanes sb. pl. 'scraps of cake' Ir. snabhán.

1.28 Usquebaugh sb. 'whiskey' Ir. uísce beatha.
1.29 Singsom sb. 'an idle, ill-bred person'. Cf. Ir. stachán 'a
stubborn horse'.
Grahaech sb. A form of 'garbage' in similar meaning to
forms recorded for Lakel., Wn., S.Pem.
1.30 S leth adj. 'shy, strange, uncouth'. Well represented in E.
dialects in similar form and meaning. ME unkéld, OE éycéld.
Saulvache, Zalavache sb. 'a shaven or shorn'. Cf. Fr. saule vache
a term of abuse.
1.32 Cranein ger. seems to be a mixture of craining and crowing,
cf. EDD crow sb. 'a strong craving for food or drink,
esp. the craving for drink after a night's debauch' and the
cxx; Edith. When this craving is satisfied, the crow (= crow)
is said to be shot; It's no a crow I'm fashed with this morning,
it's mair like an eagle or vulture.
1.33 Heal(e), heal sb. 'health'. Also Sc. OE héló, héil 'health,
prosperity'.
Kín, kén sb. 'regard, liking'.
1.35 Risherearse sb.pl. 'snack-eaters' to ruheen, risheen (= rishing)
'a small meal between dinner and supper', former-
ly a N.Cy., Yks. word.
Barish-anam, barich-anam sb. 'barley-mong' which in
turn is a W.Yks., E. An., Nrf. word signifying 'barley mixed
with milk or water for fattening fowl or pigs'.
1.36 Lear adj. 'empty', in various E. dialects in this meaning.
ME here 'empty', in various E. dialects in this meaning.
ME here 'empty', in various E. dialects in this meaning.

1.37 Cf. £ 21, sub 1.37.
1.38 Skeleparis sb. pl. (= skelpers) 'small pigs', a Forth meaning
only.
Slaughheéds, sloughreéds sb. pl. 'greedy pigs', a Forth word.
Leigh vb. 'laugh' OE híihan.
1.39 Kotch a baid 'take the stick', an action preliminary to de-
parture and capable of symbolising it. The line means:
Every pig has his day and it is now my turn to go.
Bath sb. 'stick', cf. 'a cudgel, staff, thick walking-stick'
Skidheis sb. pl. 'knives'.

1.41 Crappes, crapes sb. pl. of crap (= crop) 'part of a faggot or bush; withered furze cut but not made into faggots'.
Cf. Chs. crap 'the head and branches of a felled tree'.
Shearde, shearde sb. 'gap' also in various E. dialects. On skarð.
Cousane, cousane sb. 'a hole' Ir. cuaisne 'a small hole'.
Kurkeen sb. 'a little stack' Ir. eornaichín.
Zippheen sb. 'stack' appar. Ir. snipín.

1.43 Coolan, coolane, coulan sb. 'the back of the head'. Appar. from Ir. cedhán.

1.43 Luther, vb. a form of the common E. and Sc. dialectal word leather 'to heat, thrash'.

1.44 Betessh, bish prep. 'between' OE between.
Kraane(berry-bush) sb. 'gooseberry-bush'. This is a special Forth meaning of SIE cran(e)berry.
Ellena-ghou(t) sb. Cf. § 21, line 44.


1.1 This idiom with all is current in Dublin, Sc., Northern E. and Glo.

1.3 Gaa an here is really an epithet of boasted meaning 'quite' or 'very'. Cp. from the point of view of structure AI good an ... 'very', níe an ... 'quite', Ir. maith mór, breagh lúdhir. From the point of view of meaning cf. contemporary Sc. and Ulster use of gay adv. 'rather, very' (§ 73a).

1.6 The absolute use of the reflexive (pronoun) forms as subject is characteristically AI. It is also Ir. and Shakespearean: AI (Roscommon) 'herself' 'He (tell you).
Shakespeare (R3 II 18) Madaan, yourself are not exempt from this.

11.7, 8 The preference for a pl. (was) to an expanded tense (would have been) to bring out the actuality of a statement is a pervasive AI feature. Cf. § 48 B.

1.15 The infinitives crapple, skir are employed to express a finite action. This is non-Indo-European, but it is Ir. and thence AI. The AI mould (type: the tyre to burst 'the tyre burst') is less common than formerly.
A verbal noun (preceded by do) with perfective force is a favourite instrument of the Ir. annalists to express doings and happenings:
Annál Ua Laighne 1434:
Hua Brain Laighne do e in blathain s i 'Ua Brain of Leinster died this year'; Ruaidhri Ó Néill do dhúil shuagh mór in blathain s i do milliúid cabail na Mhíthe 'Ua Néill went (with) a great host to destroy the Foreigners of Meath'; Sínigh-Breagh do lsecadh leo ... 'Sínigh-Breagh was burned by them'.
Annál Rioghachta Éireann, 1088:
Ruaidhri Ó Conchobhair co feragh Conaacht do ghabhail Inis ádharach ... 'R. Ó C. with the men of Conaacht took Inis-Ádharach ... .

1.32 In AI as in Ir. a wish (or malediction) is commonly expressed by means of a substantival (prepositional) phrase, cf. also lines 33, 43. SIE may they choke you! is expressed in 1.32 by Forth eraunen ('thee wee anaim) on an Ir. model.
The dynamic force of E. choke is not taken over by Forth eraunen (which is little more than an abstract noun), or at least is shared between it and the prepositional phrases (more properly: pronouns) eth, wee nam.
Líne 33/43: The construction with upon illustrated in these two lines has its prototype in the imperfectly transmitted Forth tosh shut with, a vooreen! Ir. sidh ort, a mbhírin! lit. that (drink) on (to) you! my dear! your health, my dear!' This would be now SIE, in some phrases such as shame on you!
II. SYNCHRONIC.

24. Modern AI has not yet been weaned of Irish in the West or of Scottish in the NE. It can be comprehended in one view which takes in origins and development, contemporary rural dialect, contemporary urban dialect, regional speech, regional speech-standards, general trends and future prospects.

The entity thus viewed is Janus-faced: for all its modernising—and in places there is a considerable amount of it—the countryside remains true to older speech-norms and looks backwards; the towns are more susceptible to regional or national norms and look forwards.

25. The first step towards a Linguistic Atlas of the English of Ireland was undertaken in Summer 1953 with the drafting of a tentative Questionnaire. For this there were many models but few sources. Chief among the former were the Questionnaires of the linguistic atlases of Italy and Southern Switzerland (Jaberg and Jud), New England (Kurath), England (Dieten and Orton), Switzerland (Hofzenkörcherle), Irish-speaking Ireland (Wagner), and Scotland (McIntosh, Udal, Jackson).

Dialect monographs of AI were sadly to seek. While England and Scotland could boast of thirty-two studies apart from the mammoth works of Ellis and Wright, and while AIS could point to a profusion of dialect grammars, only one complete monograph of an AI dialect had as yet been attempted. The era of the Historical Grammar (= Phonology) had proved barren for AI.

However, in the absence of these guides and sources—was one to arrive at a just appraisal of cultural and linguistic characteristics in the main regional zones of Ireland, and how to devise a Questionnaire which would elicit and serve to display most significant linguistic variation?

Familiarity with many varieties of AI and experience gained in Galway and North Roscommon proved valuable assets. The following kinds of source were perused and pressed into use:

- Articles containing illuminating linguistic comment, dilettantist description sometimes offering considerable material, popularized accounts with useful local data, glossaries and word-lists, articles and books on Irish folk-lore, material culture, and social anthropology, sketches and anecdotes of rural life with an illustrative bent, monographs and other studies of Irish dialect.

26. Problems. Quite a number of problems presented themselves at this stage:

A. Whether the towns should be included in the project and if so what type of questionnaire should be established for them.
B. Whether mainly peripheral occupations such as fishing, or regional activities such as the linen industry should be taken into account.
C. Whether phonological or lexical criteria should be given precedence.
D. To what extent syntax could profitably, or intonation possibly be investigated in a survey of this kind.

27. Solutions. It became apparent that while the towns should be included and could be catered for with a reduced and somewhat modified Questionnaire, the survey would bear chiefly on the rural community. Considerations of finance and personnel suggested that the Questionnaire should concentrate on general features—regional problems would be best served in any case by separate investigation.

Experience was to show that phonological items, though less imposing and spectacular when mapped, give more varied and more reliable comparative data than lexical. Nonetheless, AI does offer a profuse and for many reasons most absorbing lexical fund, and our survey should bring much of it to light (§ 72).

In keeping with broadening linguistic horizons, a survey of AI may rightly be expected to display some characteristic syntactical features—even should they prove less variable than other grammatical features. The trouble however is that no appro-
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prise technique is forthcoming for eliciting syntactical material which can hope to be at once comparative and spontaneous. Any approach by way of question involves posing a situation to the informant and this is always laborious, may sometimes seem a shade obtuse to both parties, breaks the rhythm of the interview and may impair energy and goodwill.

A thorough comparative study of AI intonation patterns would be a fascinating and rewarding project. But it is both a large and a complex task posing a variety of intriguing problems. One of these is the relation between the intonation of AI speech and the Gamut of Irish Melody. Others of a more purely linguistic nature are: the extent to which intonation contours are capable of grammatical definition (as opposed to interpretation by attitude); the number of meaningful pitch levels to be posed for AI, and the method of transcription chosen. Dialect research in this sphere would doubtless offset the bias towards insufficiently documented assumption, undue generalisation, and partial suppression of evidence which arise from and are perhaps inherent in the work of modern language teaching.

For purposes of this survey it was thought advisable to note prevalent intonation contours in areas characterized by marked tonal contrasts, and also wherever this feature had a systematic effect on word or sentence stress.

28. Pilot Survey. In the absence of monographs it was decided to make an exploratory circuit of rural areas as a preliminary to a survey proper. The considerations that our socio-economic system seems to have reached a critical phase, that traditional figures—the shanachy for example—are disappearing, that old dialects are changing and old speakers dying out,—such factors were allowed to sway the choice in favour of backward localities remote from main lines of communication where old dialect might yet be found well-preserved.

The pilot survey would put the Questionnaire to the test and suggest the lines on which it could be improved. It would provide data on the homogeneity of AI dialect. It could—and did—bring to light many lexical items of a high comparative value connected with agricultural life and work. Furthermore, an investigation with frankly exploratory aim could take greater account of syntactical and tonal features incidental to conversation. It might provide its net in each district wider than a survey proper commonly does, by using a wider range of informants. The monograph deficiency would be partly eked in this way, for by collation and comparison one could arrive at something like the ideal or phonemic value of the sounds and gauge the structure and disposition of the various systems. This quest for norm and group values involves interpretation and would be of place in a survey proper, which has a strictly reporting role, uses an impressionistic method and concerns itself primarily with the unique, individual case.

29. The Questionnaire. From an early stage two questionnaires were used. The Normal Questionnaire is based mainly on the following topics: the farm and farm animals; farm-work, land, crops; wild animals, birds, insects, flowers; the human body; the weather, time, numbers; social aspects; the house. It is essentially concrete, of manageable proportions (761 questions) and can be piloted in three or four days. The Lexical Questionnaire containing over 300 items is in part an abstract of this and in part a supplement,—its responses are to function as complement and check. Otherwise its name implies both its direction of concentration and its limitations.

As a specimen we give p. 25 of the Normal Questionnaire:

In the Countryside

1. A shallow place where you can walk across a river . . .
2. A thing built for crossing a river . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
   Jan. '55:
2 a. A small fresh-water stream, smaller than a river . . . .

3. What's your name for:
   a. Low-lying marshy ground
      Jan. '55:
   b. A quagmire
   c. Boggy ground under water
      Jan. '55:
   d. Flat fields along rivers and streams
5. What do you call that \[1\] between the two fields? hedgerow, ditch
   Note the meaning of ditch, dike.
6. A track made by animals or people through a field... path
   But horry and car travel on "road"

As it happens, all these questions aim at eliciting the local name of a well-known object;—elsewhere a fair sprinkling of verbs, less so adjectives, and syntactical items are included. The questions here are all of the naming or 'completing' variety. Whenever necessary or possible such questions are supported by pictures and sketches, suggested or forced responses being if possible avoided. Questions above with date prefixed were incorporated in the course of the work, either as new items deemed remunerative (2a, 3d) or as an insurance against vagueness and imprecision (3b). The shedding of items found after trial to be remunerative left room for these newcomers.

As the value of a question or ensemble of questions can be so often measured against the amount of significant variation it elicits, so the success of a questionnaire is intimately bound up with its smooth running. It is fashioned for use with an informant and it is here that it must prove itself.

Morphological and syntactical items are included in an appropriate context, the informant being led on by association of ideas; he has not to perform the mental acrobatics a lack of organization—or a logical organization—imposes. The one exception to this concerns tense and aspect forms: experience shows that these can be most expeditiously arrived at by inspiring stock responses to the stimuli "to-day... to-morrow... yesterday..." etc. The informant can usually play this game with skill and does so patiently or indulgently according to his bent. The responses to the alternative method of elaborately posing a situation may not counteract its unyieldiness or compensate for its wastefulness.

A section in which variant native names abound is that concerning insects and flora. And yet, great circumspection has to be used here, for the sources of confusion are numerous: names of related species tend to interchange; many informants are only vaguely familiar with such matters; explorer and informant may have a different plant or insect in mind and in certain circumstances neither sketch, picture nor specimen may avail. Members of the Order Compositae are commonly confused, (ragweed with the common tansy for example) or associated with the Dipsaceae (Teasel family). Another difficulty is the limited availability of specimens.

Fortunately, other factors militate against uncertainty and vagueness. Folklore, for example, has ascribed alarming designs to the earwig and great baseness to the coachhorse, hence these insects are widely noted and known. In some places, too, the traditional herb doctor is still at the disposal of patient—and of linguist.

30. The Informants. A high proportion of our informants were actively aware or had command of two idioms—one the local dialect of AI, the other IR. or a regional ("more refined") type of AI. The informant who had some knowledge of either—whether receptive or active—was normally unaffected by considerations of 'refinement'. But a small number of areas in which IR. is extinct seem heavily smitten by a refining instinct. In these areas actual local forms may be suppressed or repudiated—one does not own up to inelegance!
A high proportion of speakers are able to modify their local
speech in the direction of the regional norm; the experienced
investigator is quick to detect the two strata but sometimes has
to turn away from a good dialect speaker who is adamant in
speaking "elegantly" to "the man from Dublin". The inexperienced
investigator may feel that all local dialect vanishes in his presence,
but soon learns to adopt protective colouring, select his terrain
and decide whom not to interview.

The exacting work of recording was lightened by the readi-
ness, intelligence, and charm of informants who so often per-
formed a chore as if it were an honour. Many of them close to
the Ir. tradition and bilingualism proper showed a resource-
fulness and comprehension with incidental issues which one
must attribute to the advantages of a double focus and a double
perspective.

31. The Localities. General. Thirty-one places in all were
investigated. This number, neither absolutely fixed in advance
nor arbitrarily chosen, gave a minimum and fairly regular
coverage from the point of view of regional problems. One would
have liked about thirty-six points; but many factors conspired
to draw the line here. What was neglected now could be taken
up to greater advantage later when the mounting material had
been studied.

The points provide samples of the four chief varieties of
AI dialect (§ 1). Counties not sampled are: Louth, Down, Derry,
Sligo, Roscommon, Longford, Offaly, Carlow, Kildare. Sligo and
Roscommon were not included because this was familiar territory
to the investigator. Correspondingly, Ulster—to him the least
familiar area—was somewhat better catered for than any other
province in spite of Down and Derry slipping through the mesh.
A point in North Cork seemed doomed on closer inspection to
disappoint and was abandoned in favour of NW Mayo. In the
event, this decision gave little cause for regret.

The Ulster-Comnaught border region was catered for by a
greater concentration than elsewhere. For the Midland zone one
point on the Westmeath-Longford border and a southerly one
in the heart of Leix had to suffice. The greater effort and the
vacation periods were expended on finishing the program in
distant localities with the result that Leinster emerged somewhat
 scantily covered by five points, the South Dublin one representing
the Lentic Lentic Questionnaire only.

An apt enough title for this first study would be: The Lin-
guistic Geography of the Foothills. This, though not quite accurate,
does convey the original conception, the predominant note, and
the standard of reference. A decisive factor in selecting some
localities, especially in the opening stages, was the availability
of contacts there. In some of these cases the investigator felt that
he would have done better without contacts in neighbouring areas
which he found to conform better to the basic type. And yet
material collected in less fruitful areas gives a welcome leaven-
ing of familiarity to what is generally a rich and idiosyncratic
picture.

The material collected, then, stems from a consciously old-
Fashioned stratum of society; much of it is archaic, not a little
obsolete. It belongs to the extreme verge of the panorama
mentioned § 24 and points back to origins and earlier develop-
ments. That it is an integral part of the total picture no one will
be inclined to dispute who reflects on the decline and present
structure of rural population in Ireland—and on the longevity
of our countryfolk, factors which enable one in many cases to
study conditions of to-day side by side with those of seventy-
five or more years ago.

32. Localities. Detail. The Points investigated are shown on
Chart 2 and are as follows:

Ulster: Points 1—11.

Antrim 1. The Glens (Glendun, Glensann).

2. The Braid area (The Sheddings, Ballyshannon).
4. Armaghbrague, South Armagh.
Tyrone 6. Glenhull (and Glenelly), North Tyrone.
Donegal 7. The Lagan area (Pluck; Galdonagh), East Donegal.
8. Drumron, Frosses, South Donegal.
Fermanagh 9. Glen, Garrison, North-West Fermanagh.

Connacht: Points 12–18.
Leitrim 12. Edenmore, Kilclare, South-West Leitrim.
Mayo 13. Glenamoy (Glenturk, Derreens), Bangor-Earris, NW Mayo.
Galway 15. Glenamaddy district, North-East Galway.
17. Ballymana and neighbourhood, Loughrea, South Galway.

Leinster: Points 18–25.
Leix 18. Truena, Mountrath, Central Leix.
Wicklow 22. Baltinglass, West Wicklow.
Kilkenny 23. Glenpipe, Inistioge, South Kilkenny.
Wexford 24. Kilmore Quay, South Wexford.

Waterford 25. Melleray, Cappoquin, West Waterford.
Clare 27. Feakle, NE Clare.
33. Dialect Studies bearing on our Points. Though, as mentioned § 23, no thorough study of an AI dialect has yet appeared, either of the Wright or of a subsequent school, the purposeful monographs of Mr. G. B. Adams on Ulster dialect make a good beginning and augur well for the future. The present investigator has profited too from the exact observation of E. Úasal Mc an Fhailigh whose articles on Imper and Erris dialect are mentioned below. We do not include here studies of Ir. dialect which have not a direct and close bearing on the individual point in question, —our debt to these is mentioned elsewhere.

Antrim
- The Phonology of the Antrim Dialect (Adams, 1936).
- 1. The Ir. Language in Rathlin Island (Holmer, 1942).
- 1a. The Irish Dialect spoken in the Glen of Antrim (Holmer, 1940).
- 2. Mid-Antrim words contributed to EDD by W. J. Knowles forms the basis of Mr. Adams’s Phonology.

Armagh

Tyrone
- 6. C. F. Séipéal Mhuinntir Luimnigh, Dublin, 1933.

Donegal
- 8. C. F. Adams PNSD dealing with the lowland coastal stretch between Donegal town and Killybegs.
- C. F. Quiggin, A Dialect of Donegal, Cambridge, 1906.

34. Synthesis and Analysis. The material assembled by way of our pilot study is in part presented directly here and in part assessed for its evidence on AI linguistic problems. It is felt that the analysis with which most of the remaining portion of this paper is concerned might gain considerably in point if introduced by some definition of AI in its geographic context on the fringe of Europe and in its linguistic context as a blended language with characteristic general features. We take up this aim in the following paragraphs.

35. The Wider Setting: AI and its Northern Neighbours. AI, the fusion of Celtic with a Germanic tongue in Ireland has some striking traits and tendencies in common with Mod. Ireland. Chief among the phonological correspondences is the alternation of velarized (= broot) and palatalized (= slender) consonance. So the basic feature of Ir. is highly developed in Iceland and in most AI dialect though it lacks in these the grammatical function it has in Ir. In a few areas—chiefly perhaps where...
Scots is strongest—this feature recedes, but there is otherwise no doubt of its great general pertinacity in Ireland.

Exx.:  
Icelandic: *gæta* ‘gets’, *þætta* ‘kitha’, *sjauç*”yr *skógar*, *þlauç*”r *pökis*.  
AI: Tartaragan (Pt. 3): *gæt* ‘a girl’, *gægard* ‘gables’, *þa*”ru *flaat*  
the *gadfly*, *darč* ‘dark’, *bark* ‘bark’.  
Ballymakeery (Pt. 30): *gæd* Ir. *gad*, *dúch* ‘do it’, *dúch*  
’donkey’, *dúf ëilt* ‘the quilt’, *ñiñ* ‘twist’.  

Other striking phonological similarities concern the sound s and the combinations r, m, t.  
The acoustic resemblance of Icelandic s (as in the words sit, kiss for example) to certain Northern AI varieties is very noticeable, for example Pt. 3: *bó* ‘so’, *bambod* ‘somebody’.  
Pt. 8 (Frosses) *brañ* ‘school’, *sir* ‘see’. The Frosses pronunciations *cerr* ‘Irish’, *cerr* ‘chair’, *bhart* ‘chat’ (with s for f) reminded me of an Icelandic speaking English.  

In Norwegian (Riksmål) r is reduced or disappears before s, t, l, n, in Icelandic before s, or m + cons. In AI it is reduced before s in the Northern half and in Leinster; it is reduced before other consonants in Southern Leinster chiefly and sporadically elsewhere.  

The following are exx. of the closely-knit combinations of (r), (s):  
Pt. 3 (Tartaragan) *wef* ‘worse’.  
Pt. 4 (Armaghbrague) *wèfeñ* ‘winkers’, *weñnañ* ‘barrow horse’.  
Pt. 19 (Imper) *hans* ‘horse’, *weñ* ‘wont’, *wèf* ‘of course’, *badgeñ* ‘badgers’.  
Pt. 20 (Nobber) *flarn* ‘flowers’.  
Pt. 23 (Glengcape) *bèf* ‘course’.  

r disappears or is considerably reduced:  
Pt. 3 (Tartaragan) *fatt*, *fart* ‘firsts’, *wanç* ‘working’,  
*weñ* ‘workers’.  
Pt. 8 (Frosses) *weñ* ‘of course’.  
Pt. 9 (Glen) *dun* ‘dark’.  
Pt. 10 (Bawnboy) *wef* ‘worse’.  

(Glenamaddy) *añk* ‘awkward’.  
Pt. 20 (Nobber) *weñ* ‘working’.  
Pt. 21 (Killakee) *hèi* ‘harley’, *meñ* ‘marshy’, *weñ* ‘nervous’, *dañ* ‘dark’, *hèl* ‘hardship’.  
Pt. 22 (Ballyluss) *bàrn* ‘bargain’, *bàr* ‘barking’, *dà* ‘dark’, *hàl* ‘hard’, *wàs* ‘works’.  
Pt. 24 (Kilmore) *duñ ‘dark’, *hàf* ‘harsh’.  
Pt. 25, 30 *mañ* ‘marshy’.  
Pt. 26, 27 *hàf* ‘harsh’.  

Notes: In Tartaragan and Bragan we have noted cf, er for s, t in a few words, i.e., a more retracted articulation. This is reminiscent of Donegal dialect too.  

The mn, rt Combinations: These are a dialect criterion in Icelandic as well as in AI. ‘Icelandic’ versions of them occur in Co. Dublin and Limerick, areas of Norse settlement.  
Exx. Pt. 28 (Annea) *sèf* ‘rise’ Ir. *uinninagh* ‘numbness from cold’, *xèt* ‘Kearney’ (Per. N), the FN *nàk muquàrte base na g–fìnìsh*.  
Pt. 21 (Killakee) *feñ* ‘form’, *irñ* ‘turn’, *hèlì* ‘huri’.  

While otherwise the forms sequences RN, RL are well represented in the West and South, the North prefers the flasent combination *ñ* (reminiscent of some varieties of Norwegian Riksmål).  

The most important remaining varieties are the groups 1 + n, retroflex r + n and these are of wide currency.  

b. Well worth mentioning is the semantic correspondence of Icelandic *frens*, AI (and Shakespearean) *friend* in the meaning ‘relation’.  

c. Idiom depending chiefly on the prepositional system with the verb to he (or its supplements) often shows a notable conformity in IR., AI and Icelandic. The examples which follow are intended to illustrate the similarity of structure in the expression of related notionally complex.

1. Cf. Icelandic *hafa*, *edge*, *verbs*, *kinda*, *legts*, *take*, *for AI have, pat, take chiefly.
Icelandic          Irish          Al
Nú er galltan á  Tá teabach air!  The humour is on
honum 'Now he's in  Tá frouch air!  him now!
high spirits'.
jað er meta osi á  Nach air atá an
honum.
debhath!
Varpa rígr á eithiodh  (Níor dhéin sí och)
'to belittle ...'.  droch-mheas a chaith-
eamh air.

Hón er að ykkur?  Cid tá ort?
'What's wrong with
your?'
Hafs át á e-m  Tá an-chion agam
'to love somebody'.

Mér er ekkli mlíðum  Is mór agam iđ 'they
um hana 'I don't  are very dear to me'.
greatly like him'.
E-m er litlum um  Bá bhocht liom é 'I
'someone does not  thought it small'.
like something'.
Vöflur koma á e-n  Tháinig amhras orm
'one becomes  fós 'I began to
perplexed',
jað er muanatufi í  Tá an-albhach fós
honum 'he is a youth
of promise'.
in a fine man'.

Óg ear ór can  Bhí an-bhriainnighin

harðusti bardoglu mód agu 'they fought
hein 'they fought a
an awful fight with
fiercely'.
two stamps of
tinkerers.

Note: A summary glance at the examples above will show
that all except the last are concerned with psychological
sensation or state. It is clear that in so far as the languages considered
here use this type of idiom—with nouns and prepositions rather
than full verbs, they develop the relational at the expense of the
dynamic. It will not surprise then if the concepts of ownership,
possessions and debt are expressed in this way:

Hann á ekkert hjá  Ní fhéin aige orm
mór 'I owe him
nothing'.

Ég er mód hana  Í óir an tse i gur 'I had
bhean atí i gur 'I had
it here yesterday'.

Hestairn hjá honum  Cé leis é?
'his horses'.  'Whose is it?'

Pt. 26 (Kilkenny)
Pt. 29 (Glencar) 
Hú  'it's mine'.
This is the regular
mode in Glencar.

36. General Features and Tendencies of Al. I. Phonology.
A. Some features of 16th and 17th century E. have been
retained generally in Al (§ 37).
B. The retention of fr. consonant quality, most marked in
the South and West, can be illustrated from most Al dialects
(§ 38).
C. Gilding, sometimes leading to diphthongization, is un-
doubtedly a general AI feature—though it varies in type, scope and partly in effect in different areas (§ 43).

D. The lingual plosives (and fricatives): a. The local treatment throughout Ireland of the lingual stops (and fricatives) t, T, d, D (6, 8) reveal certain underlying general tendencies.

b. A tendency to open the lingual stops t, T, d, D later in most if not all AI has found fullest expression in South Leinster and the Midlands.

c. A widespread sporadic feature—which has flourished exuberantly in one particular area—is the tendency to develop k, c from t and d respectively.

The facts adduced under A help to account for the mellow, round flavour of rural AI.

The second feature (B) is of central importance: it underlies De and accounts in part for C.

AI stop-opening (Dh) as illustrated especially at Pts. 18, 22, 23, 24 finds its closest parallel in the O.fr. lision of t, 4, k, g (Thurneysen § 122) of which it seems to be a re-enactment.

37. Features of 16th, 17th. century E. retained.

A. The vowel e: or its representative: 1) In words with ME e written -ae-. Exx. Pt. 1 (The Glens) speke 'speak', melee 'meals', mei 'corn-meal', -e 'tea'. Pt. 2 (The Braid) krem 'cream', mele 'meals', tei 'tea'. Pt. 3 (Tartaraghban) beat 'beats', spek 'speak'; et 'eat'. Pt. 4 (Armaghbrague) beet 'beet', bean 'beans', krem 'cream'. Pt. 5 (Bragan) fce 'tea', beat 'beats', krem 'cream'. Pt. 6 (Glenhull) flei 'beets', least 'beast'. Pt. 9 flei 'beets', beid 'beads'. Pt. 9 (Empoz) flei 'beats', beid 'beads', fce 'peat', fce 'peat', fce 'peat', scow 'sheaves'. Pt. 24 (Kilmore) hwest 'wheat', meit 'meat', keem 'cream'. Pt. 20 (Glenar) beet 'beet', meelz 'meals', beet 'beet', gat 'eat'.

2) In some words with Late ME ak.

Pt. 1 (Glens) edar 'either', kee 'key'. Pt. 2 (Braid) edar 'either', kee 'key', de 'day'. Pt. 3 (Tartaraghban) kei 'key', de, de 'day'. Pt. 4 (Armaghbrague) klee 'clay', edar 'either', De klee 'the key'.

Pt. 5 kee 'key', edar 'either', de 'day'. Pt. 6 (Glenhull) klee 'key', de 'day'. Pt. 8 (Frosses) klee 'clay', de 'day', kee 'key'. Pt. 12 (Kilclare) de 'day', klee 'clay', pen 'pain'. Pt. 17 (Loughrea) de 'day', klee 'clay'. Pt. 18 (Trumera) de 'day', De 'the key', de 'they'. Pt. 31 (Ross Carberry) de 'day', pen 'pain', De 'the' they.

3) In words such as deafen, equal, secre, fever, queer which retain a 17th century value.

B. ME e, a represented by an unrounded or slightly rounded vowel. Exx. Antrim, Cf. Adams, Phun. Antrim § 50. Pt. 4 (Armaghbrague) pali 'polly', krib 'crock', dpala 'jobber'. Pt. 5 (Bragan) 'trublp 'trollop', 'fubs 'fodder', 'egwari 'jobber'. Pt. 6 (Glenhull) hwa 'what', want 'want', rap 'stopped'. Pt. 7 (Lagan) te 'teas', te 'tea', te 'teas'. Pt. 8 (Frosses) to 'up', te 'tea', te 'tea', 'klek 'creek'. Pt. 14 (Balla) has 'hat' 'horse', ting 'tongue', 'hapled 'bog dealt'. Pt. 15 (Impor) kakh 'cock', fayn 'frog'. Pt. 20 (Kilclare) 'hef-wk 'hayfork', 'pa-lf 'polly'. Pt. 25 (Mellerray) hun 'horse'. Pt. 27 (Freckle) halz 'horse', ra-in 'rotten', hwa-s 'cows'. Pt. 31 (Ross Carberry) kakh 'cock', proph 'prong'.

C. The ME, Early Mod. raising of e to i is well represented in AI apart from Mid-Ulster dialect, and often has a wider scope—where it occurs—than in E.Mod. E.

In Mid-Ulster dialect it is countered by the contrary tendency i > e, by the opening of e to o, a and by the diphthongization of e to oo.

Exx. e > i. Antrim bruf 'bene', dvi 'devil', makst 'next' (Adams § 29). Pt. 9. (Glen) has dit 'devil' but nak 'neck'. Pt. 12 (Kilclare) hinbhus 'henhouse', jis'o des 'yesterday', hain 'when'. Pt. 13 (Glenamoy) pf'titd 'pretending', phi in 'when', dit 'devil', nak 'neck'. Pt. 14 (Balla) nilo 'nettle', miltz 'melts'. Pt. 25 (Ballinglass) tointu 'Wednesday', jis'o d'es 'yesterday'. Pt. 27 (Freckle) hins'o 'Wednesday', jis'o d'es 'yesterday'. Pt. 28 (Antra) to 'ten', kilf 'kettle'. Pt. 31 (Ross Carberry) kilf 'kettle'.

D. Al generally did not participate in the Late Mod. SE. diphthongization of e and o.
E. Al tends to retain forward stress in some words, cf. contrary, (as in Romeo and Juliet I v), influence, discipline, industry, lamentable, character, revired, demonstrate, advertisement, inventory, dictionary.

38. The retention of Ir. consonant quality is a much more thoroughgoing feature of Al than our necessarily curtailing selection of examples below suggest. It is illustrated by the (largely S. and W.) transformation of E. words on an Ir. pattern, cf. Glencar fà:š-'talk', Ross Carbery mînt 'must', kàfjal 'question', Althea bâj 'but', Kilcommon lîft 'twist', Glenamory lîîghra 'little mug', Éire 'cull', Finkle Éll 'quilt'. Further § 41.

One aspect of palatalisation has been widely developed in the South: the preference in E. words for a palatalised consonant to consonant + j. (for example Althea gâ 'new', gîn 'give you'). Elsewhere in the South neutral quality tends to replace palatalised in these cases. (Exx. under Aa below). One should compare the less common absorption of w by preceding velarised (labialised) consonance (under B below).

In at least two areas (28, 29) the strong palatalisation of initial consonance frequently engenders an off-glide to a following vowel.

This feature is thrown into prominence by the striking SW preference for initial slender consonance before broad vowels (of E. words), cf. Exx. under Ab. Pts. 28, 29.

We proceed to illustrate consonant quality from selected Pts. in each province beginning with Munster.

Pt. 28 (Althea) A. Palatalised quality. a. Absorption of j- sometimes 'new', fááí 'dewlap', fírgh 'during', kîvgh 'curlew', s'Àrrhga 'Australia', aïm 'at you', gîn 'give you', s'braîghi 'about you', têlg 'tell you', dîgh 'did you?', aïm 'are you?', waíghi 'for you', mînt 'knock you'.


‘έλερ ‘quicker’, ‘έλελε ‘question’.


B. ‘κκε ‘donkey’.


Cf. Ir. ‘κκκοκ ‘a man’.

38. In Ulster and Leinster palatalisation only is strongly in evidence. It no longer strikes one as part of an almost intact system; instead it seems rather an ensemble of related though nearly independent phenomena each with individual powers of development.

One of the most far-flung of these is the preference for initial and medial kj, gj (or k, g) – or leter versions of these (§ 45) before s, e, e, b, y, y vowels.1

An interesting fact about the distribution of this feature is that only our Coonacht Pt. 12 can illustrate it fully for that province and our NW Tipperary Pt. 26 to any appreciable extent for E. words in Munster. It is strongly represented at all our Ulster Pts. save the Antrim ones and also in Leinster, with the exception of Pt. 23 (where it hardly occurs at all) and Pt. 18.

1 Initial palatalisation is not confined, of course, to these cases, cf. Bannboy ‘κκε ‘two’, Armaghbrugh ‘κκε ‘cleaning’.

where it is only partly realised. Hence it is a Northern and Eastern feature fading to the West and South.


Pt. 23 (Glenpipe) ‘κκε ‘sky’.
Pt. 4 (Armaghbrague) did\(\hat{\text{p}}\) 'did you';
Pt. 5 (Broughan) 3\(\hat{\text{p}}\) occur for \(\hat{\text{d}}\), \(\hat{\text{t}}\) in word and Sandhi; a\(\hat{\text{tan}}\)\(\hat{\text{p}}\) 'attend you', bu\(\hat{\text{se}}\)\(\hat{\text{p}}\) 'beside you', a\(\hat{\text{T}}\)\(\hat{\text{a}}\) 'at you', a\(\hat{\text{en}}\)\(\hat{\text{T}}\)\(\hat{\text{a}}\) 'aren't you?'; a\(\hat{\text{et}}\)\(\hat{\text{s}}\) 'met' 'eat your meat (= food)', s\(\hat{\text{p}}\)\(\text{k}\)\(\hat{\text{e}}\)\(\hat{\text{t}}\) 'educate', m\(\hat{\text{ali}}\)\(\hat{\text{p}}\) 'mildew', t\(\hat{\text{e}}\)\(\hat{\text{r}}\)\(\hat{\text{T}}\)\(\hat{\text{a}}\) 'virtue', cf. also a\(\hat{\text{pa}}\)\(\hat{\text{p}}\)\(\hat{\text{a}}\)\(\hat{\text{p}}\) 'poultry'.
Pt. 6 (Glenhill) a\(\hat{\text{pa}}\)\(\hat{\text{p}}\) 'want you', d\(\hat{\text{p}}\)\(\hat{\text{a}}\)\(\hat{\text{p}}\) 'did you?'. Cf. N\(\hat{\text{h}}\)\(\hat{\text{a}}\)\(\hat{\text{n}}\) 'onions'.
Pt. 7 (Lagan) In Sandhi: a\(\hat{\text{ha}}\)\(\hat{\text{T}}\)\(\hat{\text{a}}\) 'get you', b\(\hat{\text{u}}\)\(\hat{\text{T}}\)\(\hat{\text{a}}\) 'but you', me 'good, you know'. In words: f\(\hat{\text{a}}\)\(\hat{\text{x}}\)\(\hat{\text{T}}\)\(\hat{\text{a}}\) 'fortune'.
Pt. 8 (Prosse) In words: s\(\hat{\text{f}}\)\(\hat{\text{a}}\)\(\hat{\text{n}}\)\(\hat{\text{T}}\) 'furniture', f\(\hat{\text{i}}\)\(\hat{\text{T}}\)\(\hat{\text{e}}\) ('Indian'). Cf. also s\(\hat{\text{i}}\)\(\hat{\text{J}}\)\(\hat{\text{e}}\)\(\hat{\text{t}}\) 'small potatoes', fr. set\(\hat{\text{e}}\)\(\hat{\text{l}}\)\(\hat{\text{d}}\)\(\hat{\text{m}}\).
For Pts. 9, 19, 22 where \(\hat{\text{t}}\), \(\hat{\text{g}}\) cf. § 46.
Pt. 20 (Nobber) D, T, \(\hat{\text{a}}\) in Sandhi: s\(\hat{\text{d}}\)\(\hat{\text{p}}\)\(\hat{\text{a}}\) 'did you?', t\(\hat{\text{e}}\)\(\hat{\text{a}}\) 'eat you', s\(\hat{\text{d}}\)\(\hat{\text{a}}\)\(\hat{\text{t}}\) 'tell you'. T in words: p\(\hat{\text{a}}\)\(\hat{\text{x}}\)\(\hat{\text{T}}\) 'pasture'.
Pt. 18 (Tramerea) n\(\hat{\text{u}}\)\(\hat{\text{T}}\)\(\hat{\text{p}}\)\(\hat{\text{a}}\) 'not used', g\(\hat{\text{r}}\)\(\hat{\text{T}}\)\(\hat{\text{a}}\) 'great use'.
Pt. 23 (Glenpipe) w\(\hat{\text{d}}\)\(\hat{\text{i}}\)\(\hat{\text{p}}\)\(\hat{\text{a}}\) 'would you?'.

42. The following cases of palatalised consonance after palatal vowels (a = ï) are normal and more or less general Al: Armaghbrague b\(\hat{\text{a}}\)\(\hat{\text{k}}\)\(\hat{\text{e}}\) 'back', def. 'dash', sg 'egg', d\(\hat{\text{f}}\) 'dwell', Killakee k\(\hat{\text{a}}\)l 'cattle', b\(\hat{\text{d}}\) 'dash'.
A tendency—unconfined to Ulster and Munster—exists to adopt palatalised consonance also in other cases, cf. Tartaragham d\(\hat{\text{a}}\)k 'dark', b\(\hat{\text{a}}\)k 'back'.
Armaghbrague s\(\hat{\text{p}}\)\(\hat{\text{a}}\)k 'a pack', d\(\hat{\text{a}}\)k 'dark', Glenhill b\(\hat{\text{a}}\)n\(\hat{\text{t}}\) 'burnt', b\(\hat{\text{d}}\)\(\hat{\text{f}}\) 'school', Killakee b\(\hat{\text{a}}\)\(\hat{\text{k}}\) 'back'.
One specific aspect of this is palatalised consonance after (mostly retracted) varieties of the vowel a. It is found chiefly in Ulster and the North Midlands. In some of these dialects the passage from vowel to consonant involves an \(\hat{\text{a}}\)-glide. We have exx. of this from Pts. 1, 4, 5, 6, 19, 20.
Pt. 1 (Glens) baːɻk 'back'.
Pt. 2 (Tartaragh) No glide, cf. baːɻk 'back', blaːk 'black', paːɻ 'pack', ʃəːl 'stack', baːɻ 'backs', baɻɡ 'bag'.
Pt. 4 (Armagh/Barrow) Cf. paːɻ 'pack' beside baːɻk 'back', ʃəpənafəl 'spancel'.
Pt. 5 (Bragan) Cf. saːɻ 'sack', baːɻk 'back' beside baɻɡ 'bag'.
Pt. 6 (Glennull) No glide noted, cf. blaːk 'black', ʃək 'stack', saːɻ 'sack', baɻɡ 'bag', baɻ 'backhand'.
Pt. 8 (Frosses) ʃəɻɡ 'a bag', baɻɡ ˈbad', daɻɡ ˈdash', Daɻɡ 'the ass'.
Pt. 9 (Nobber) Cf. kəɻ 'crack' beside baɻɡ, baːɻk 'back'.
Pt. 19 (Imper) beɻɡ 'back', baɻɡ ˈbag', ʃənafəl 'stacks'.
Note: The Braid and the Lagan resist final palatalisation, the former more successfully, cf. Braid bəɻk 'stack', haɻk 'back', baɻɡ 'bag', dəɡ ˈjaq': Lagan baɻk 'back', baɻɡ 'bag' — but ʃək 'stack'.

43. Vowel Off-gliding and Consonant on-gliding.
A. Ulster Varieties.
 a. The lengthening or diphthonging of e, e sometimes before certain consonants (§ 68). A few exx. are: Pt. 2 (Braid) ʁeːsət 'rest', Pt. 4 (Armagh/barrow) ʰənət 'hens', wesət 'west', Pt. 5 (Bragan) mətən 'men', mənət 'meat'. Other exx. § 68.
 b. The glide from an a-vowel to a following palatalized k, e.g. na in some Ulster dialects to other palatalised consonants also.
 Pt. 4 (Glen) baːɻk 'back'. Pt. 4 (Armagh/barrow) ʃəɻ 'back'.
 c. Cf. ʃəpənafəl 'spancel'. Pt. 5 (Bragan) beɻ 'back'. Pt. 8 (Frosses) baɻɡ 'bag' also baɻd 'bad', daɻɡ ˈdash', Daɻɡ 'the ass'.
Imper (Pt. 19) has go ʃəɻ 'go back', baɻɡ 'bag', ʃənafəl 'stacks'.
 c. Palatal and, more so, neutral-quality glides discussed under B and C below occur in Ulster dialect also, but we do not enter here into their distribution. In the North-Connacht variety of vowel lengthening intimately associated with tonal developments and syllabic structure. This

glide is a function of the preceding (usually long) vowel rather than of a following consonant and has usually central (or ə-) quality.

C. A Southern variety in which the glide may take on the palatalised, velarised or neutral colouring of a following consonant. This is in principle an anticipatory variety rather than a phenomenon of over-lengthening (but cf. exx. sub Pt. 26).

Complications: Since a-glides are common to types B and C, how are we to assign any individual case—particularly in the Midlands and Leinster—to the one rather than the other? Moreover, through velar gliding is scarcely a significant feature outside Munster, palatal gliding is not confined to it and need not necessarily be associated with it.

The net result of this is that the distinction in principle between varieties B and C which is capable of illustration at characteristic points cannot be carried out in practice over the whole area. Our exxs. will show that the South has three shades of glide. North Connacht mainly one and intervening areas mainly two. The relation of these facts to the retention of Ir.

consonant quality will be clear.
Pt. 12 (Kilkhare) a) goɻt 'goat', buːɻ 'haws', ɡεp 'grapes',
Pt. 14 (Balla) a) goɻt 'goats', ʃuɻəl 'school', hoɻt 'coal'.
 b) ɡiɻə ˈbeets', gəɻə ˈgeese'.
Pt. 15 (Glenmaddy) a) ɡeɻə ˈwar', ɡiɻə ˈseen', goɻə ˈgoat', keɻə ˈcall'.
 b) ɡιɻə ˈgreen', fiɻp 'sheep', Daɻɡ 'the beak'.
Pt. 16 (Cromonna) a) ˈDaɻɡ 'is a broth', ʃfiɻə ˈstones',
 c) ɡιɻə ˈwheat', Reɻp 'reap', ʃə ˈmətəd 'a wall'.
 b) Reɻp 'sheep', ʃəɻ 'weeds', ʃəɻɪɻə ˈweek', keɻ ˈbeet', ʃɪɻə ˈricts'.
Pt. 17 (Loughrea) a) keɻə ˈcall', ʃətə ˈfeet', Daɻə ˈmətəd 'the comb'.
 b) Daɻə 'these', fiɻp ˈsheep', ɡiɻə ˈI did'.
Pt. 18 (Trumera) a) beɻə ˈhales', ɡuɻə ˈgoss', ɡəɻə ˈleave'.
 b) ə ˈtrɪɻə ˈa team', Daɻə ˈkətə ˈthe creed', ʃədɨ ˈseeds'.

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Pt. 19 (Imper) a) ｊो'‘l ‘foul’, ｍcerer ‘water’, ｓmen ‘in heat’, b) ｆ'‘t ‘sheet’. Cf. Ir. ｈ’re ‘climbb’. The neutral glide occurs in Leinster, Pts. 21, 22, 23, 24, the palatal glide more commonly in Pts. 23, 24:
Pt. 21 (Killakee) a) ｂｒε ‘crane’, ｓd ‘seeds’, ｄｒ‘n ‘down’, b) ｍ’‘l ‘in heat’.
Pt. 22 (Baltinglass) a) ｍn ‘means’, ｈr’d ‘cold’, ｍ’r ‘wall’, b) ｄ’p ‘deep’.
Pt. 23 (Glengippe) a) ｏ’‘d ‘the seed’, ｑ’‘d ‘oats’, ｔ’ ‘skul’ in school.
Munster:
Pt. 25 (Melleray) a) ｂ’ ‘beestings’, ｇ’ ‘goat’.
Pt. 26 (Kilkenny). At this point a characteristic lengthening of i and u can hardly be dissociated from the present feature (cf. ｆ’ ‘fat’, ｈ’p ‘hill’, ｐ’ ‘pigs’, ｇ’ ‘d ‘I did’, ｊ’ ‘in ‘chin’, ｇ’ ‘good’, ａ’y ‘grug’ on your grug (= bunkers). Exx. of the usual varieties are
a) ｎb ‘nose’, ｂ’ ‘boots’, ｍ’nan ‘moon’.
Pt. 27 (Feakle) a) ｙ’ ‘ghost’, ｇ’ ‘gate’, ｈ’ ‘heak’.
Pt. 28 (Altena) a) ｓ ‘school’, ｓ’ ‘spade’, ｆ’ ‘fool’.
Pt. 29 (Glencar) a) ｓ ‘roads’, ｙ’ ‘rope’, ｋ’n ‘cones’.
Pt. 30 (Ballymackerey) a) ｊ’ ‘thall’, ｔ’ ‘team’, ａ’l ‘old’.
Pt. 32 (Ballymackerey) ｙ’ ‘n’ ‘do’ ‘to-day’, ｄ’ ‘do’ ‘two’, ｉ’ ‘d’ ‘I don’t know’.
Note: The position in Fauna is the most favourable for the realisation of the glides discussed under B, C and D above.

44. The ｔ, ｔ, ｄ, ｔ, ｄ, ｔ sounds.

A. A general Al tendency is the development of ｔ, ｄ from ｔ, ｔ before ( stato).
Pt. 1 (Glens) 'strippinz' 'stripplings', 'bN Dor 'thunder'.
Pt. 2 (Braid) 'Travol 'travel', 'Tragkoli 'knots', 'aDor 'adder'.
Pt. 3 (Tartaraghah) 'Dor 'trades', 'der'Tar 'daughter'.
Pt. 8 (Frosses) 'strippe' 'stripper', 'el'Dar 'adder'.
Pt. 15 (Glennamaddy) 'Truy 'tough', 'kast'Tar 'eastered',
'drawn 'drawing'.
Pt. 19 (Imper) 'fras 'reap' 'straw-ropes', 'spaidar 'spider'.
Pt. 22 (Baltinglass) 'bTrumilk 'buttermilk', 'nislor 'adder'.
Pt. 25 (Melleray) 'sTray 'strain', 'baT or 'butter', 'gtul 'writer',
'gandor 'gander'.
Pt. 29 (Glencar) 'afTorgus 'aftergrass', 'spaidor 'spider'.

This tendency is found elsewhere—notably in Northern E.
J. A. Murray, who was familiar with the Westmoreland and Ulster
tr, tr compares them in these words: I do not at all identify the
th of Ireland with the North of England dental. The Northern
English has a much finer (i.e., more delicate) and more simple-
tony effect.1
B. A useful and interesting dialect criterion on the other
hand—is the local sound substituted for th (8, 9) of E. words,
when unaffected by environment.
Our first nine Pts. reveal an ebb and flow between the
fricatives (8, 9) and the tr. stops (T, D). At none of them is either
absent. Pt. 1 is more mixed than 2 which retains the fricatives
with fair regularity. Other Pts. which retain the fricatives with
reasonable constancy are 3, somewhat less so 6 and 4. The
Donegal Pts. are mixed, and Glen has a majority of stopped
sounds.

Outside Ulster the field is divided between dialects which
substitute T, D and those which show a predilection for t, d.
Some exx. from the latter which are mainly Southern and Midland
are:

1 Ellis IV, p. 1240.

Pt. 18 (Trumera) 'Inum 'thin 'em', inDor 'thatch', meirt
'north', sput 'south', solD 'sycn'.
Pt. 19 (Imper) leit 'brought', de 'de', der 'there', dis 'this'.
Pt. 22 (Glenpipe) til 'thistle', dim 'them'. Usage is mixed here.
Pt. 25 (Melleray) Common in this region: till 'thistle', tre 'tht',
'the', inN Dor 'thunder', datD 'that' a., dim 'then', or'Dim
'within'.
Pt. 29 (Athea) GI. tulf 'thatch' and the lenited forms sot'
'south', wodD 'without'.
C. Some Al. dialects tend to generalise the t, d sounds, others
the T, D sounds. The predilection for t, d is strongest in the South
and Midlands—and helps to account for some developments in
lention (§ 45, sub Pt. 22).

T, D tend to be generalised (so replacing t, d) in some Dublin,
Belfast and Sligo suburban dialects, also in some Donegal
dialects. On the further occurrence of this we have as yet scant
evidence.
For Dublin forms cf. § 13.4; Sligo has such forms as To'm
'town', Do'n 'down', Do'n 'doing'. Frosses 'Duelli 'dirty', Tu'l 'tort'. Lagan
has Durt 'dirty', To'n 'turn'. Cf. also Adams FNEAD, p. 301.

45. Stop-opening (Lenition). This tendency is strongest in
South Leinster and the Midlands where it often affects all lingual
plosives. Its further distribution and scope can be inferred from
our examples.

The opening of t i.e., the slackening or release of its implosion
occurs differently in different dialects; its most common results
are an alveolar point-open variety (t'), this followed by a faint
and transitory (t') (t'), the breath (b) or an affricate (t').

The opening of d commonly results in a voiced point-open
alveolar fricative (d'), this followed by a transitory (d') or an
affricate (d').

The fricatives resulting from the opening of T, D are rather
alveolar than dental (we symbolise d, d').

The k, g sounds yield homorganic affricates or fricatives.
(The only new symbol employed is -chevron for fricative  ; the corresponding voiced sound is distinct from  j, so we symbolise with  g. Modifying rather than changing the plosive symbols has the advantage of showing that we have to do with modification in progress rather than with accompagnie change.)

Pt. 1 (Glen)  'a Christian'.
Pt. 2 (Braid)  'dry'.
Pt. 3 (Tartaragh)  'a straw',  'spider'.
Pt. 5 (Bragan)  'Catholic',  'can',  'can',
 a 'week',  'spark',  'spark'.
Pt. 6 (Glenull)  'back of your neck',  'to take'.
Pt. 7 (Lagan)  'castrated'.
Pt. 8 (Rosse)  'potatoes',  'you can',  'a stake'.
Pt. 9 (Glen)  'kept',  'calm',  'carrot',  'break';
 'milk' 'milk'.
Pt. 10 (Bawnboy)  'red-footed',  'spotted',  'carrots',  'water',  'to eat';
 'cows',  'kicking',  'teat',  'stick'.
Pt. 11 (Longavlin)  'water',  'water',  'water',  'get';
Pt. 12 (Kilclare)  'letters',  'little',  'get',  'a gate';
 'kick',  'child',  'six',  'a gap',  'a good one';
 'again'.
Pt. 13 (Glenamoy)  'butter',  'butter',  'butter',  'dolphins'.
Pt. 4 (Bally)  The opening of  t here is more favoured by the younger generation.
 Pt. 15 the slow, deliberate release of plosive  t sometimes
gives the impression of an incipient affricate as in  nut; but  'beard'.
pt. also  'beak', 'beak',  'beak'.
Pt. 17 (Longbree)  'out',  'got',  'butter',  'rabbit',  'got
 'got',  'drill',  'I did',  'a cake',  'beak'.

Pt. 18 (Trumera) illustrates almost the full gamut of this
feature. The point alveolar  l at  often yield homorganic fricatives
followed by a transitory  s,  in Pausa,  t may alternatively yield
or -  is treated similarly.

a)  'a pity',  'broad bottoms',  'that to that',  'a goat',
 'out and out',  'hat',  'hat',  'hat',  'lid';
 b)  These yield  g,  'a litter',  'waterbag',  'waterbag',  'drum of the drum',
  'the father and mother',
  'keys',  'kettle',  'crooked',
  'clock',  'gate',  'pigs',  'goat',
  'good'.

Pt. 19 (Imper) It was observed here too that the older generation
often retained plosive  t where the younger preferred the open
sound. This has sometimes the suspension of a transitory
following  s as at Pts. 18 and 14. The opened plosive may proceed
to the breath sound  h (as in  'that') or may give the impression
of a halfway stage between the two (as in  'buttermilk,' also
'buttermilk'). Cp. the lenition of  r.  t.

Words with  d- are involved also.

'bottoms',  'foot',  'fat',  'bread',
 'stroke',  'coulter',  'to keep',  'go back',
 'clock'.
Pt. 20 (Nobber) Only one of our informants here regularly
opens plosive  t.

Pt. 21 (Kilclare) Initially  t may yield a genuine affricate (t');
medially and finally  t,  h and values intermediate between these
are preferred.

Pt. 22 (Baltinglass) This is one of the Points of strongest
incidence. Stop-opening here seems more thorough-going and more comprehensive than at Pt. 21.

a. 1, d (T, D). 'chün 'eighteen', 'habtur 'not at all', Do 'hur rich 'the wheat', cet 'rat', híct 'heat', et/dik 'I did',

'st'hig 'I think', wuchar, wurtar, wúntar 'water', 'hïñ 'what? 'who's that?'

c. k, k, g, s. Do 'çíbr 'the killer', Do 'bëg 'the head', 'çílctan yup 'courting couple', met 'muck', a 'gnd 'egg', g'ánDáar 'sander'. Cf. Ir. cróö 'cicada', a 'gurb 'a goban', b'ur Gunn 'begán'.

Pt. 23 (Glénipe). a) t, d. Do yot 'the goat', gëm 'in to .. 'get in to .. 'got 'night', gud 'good', dit 'dig', cat'yjéed 'outside',

b) T, D. tisam 'thin 'en', ao 'st,' of a tree', dàdtar 'daugther', 'múnts 'water', stroms 'streams', 'fàbsan 'fodder 'en'.

c. k, k, g, s. 'çílgil't 'clinkers', Do 'gileeds 'the clouds', Do 'çílg 'the back of your neck', b'ak 'book', b'ak 'cock', b'gínx 'again'. Cf. Ir. cróö 'a citlóig', PN. bátmsé 'Gellymagill'.

Pt. 24 (Kilmure). a) t, d. 'múns 'water', 'bákmillk 'butter-milk', stot 'soon', gu 'goat'.

b) T, D. tóet 'letter', sáj 'cyehe'.

c. k, k, g, s. 'çíçun 'clicking', pig'et 'pick out', Do 'guila 'the culls', met 'mucc', gu 'goose'.

Of our Munster Pt. 25 seems almost unaffected, surprisingly, while 26 and 27 on the other hand are considerably involved. At our West Limerick Pt. only the k-sounds shift to a significant extent and the same applies to the remaining SW Points.

Pt. 25 (Melleray). g'úy, g'ot 'pike'.

Pt. 26 (Kilcornum) (s 'gaw 'a goat', fa-t 'fat', Do 'Rat 'the rat', fa-helte 'letters', bat 'both'.

b) k, k, g, s. b'jçun 'bacon', kuc 'quick', a 'mík 'a week'; a 'kljeg 'a clocker', phúgen 'plucking'.

Pt. 27 (Fenkle). a) t, d, T, D. b'leet 'bleating', bit 'bleating', bi't 'let him', r'baa 'rabbie'.

b) k, k, g, s. cr 'can I can', ce-f 'ear', 'nicpadar 'wicked'.

Pt. 28 (Athea). a) sou 'south', mb'daùt 'without'.

b) 'çíçar 'cricket', 'çíçan 'kicking', 'nçeò 'naked', poïk 'pike', mür 'mag 'working'.

Pt. 29 (Glencr) This feature is unimportant for Glencr.

b) 'pul 'le 'pop 'the goat', pul 'pul 'pike', 'pul 'pig', 'pul 'pul 'chub', to 'clump 'to clump'.

Pt. 30 (Ballymackery) b) a 'gut 'a row', 'duq'T 'doctor', 'b'rug 'crooked', poïk 'pike', s'wíck 'a week'. Cf. Ir. brì 'à 'footing of turf', 'múr 'pol píl 'pism 'loads'.

Note: In the word 'leitàr 'leather -that' a tendency of the D towards t was noted.

Pt. 31 (Ross C.) b) ëq 'a cat', b'gúl 'bank', b'gínx 'a kick', poïk 'pike'.

46. The development of palatalised k, g from t, d sounds. In some Ir. dialects and in Sc. Gaelic t, d and k, g tend to inter-change—not always in the same direction. Cf. Ir. cém 'cúlm to si to st as yeat, leathal .....

Al offers evidence to show that in many cases the rapprochement between these two sets of sounds is made via T, D which are palatal rather than palatalised.

In current Al the development of t, k to d, g seems strongest in the North Midlands, but there is reason to think that it may have a further extension to the South than our material suggests, and that our net has not been close-meshed enough to register this. Elsewhere it is a sporadic development.

We take first the areas of heaviness incidence; Sandhi-forms are considered also:

Pt. 19 (Imper) E. words: 'jęn 'lune', 'mél 'sirius', 'kés 'Christian', 'k'éf 'kaín 'question', 'gúd 'p delap'.

Ir. words: 'fal 'shill 'dash of liquid', b'fir 'a hirt 'small armful', b'pál 'háit 'stick', b'háit 'háit 'striker
of flail, mang' main a 'gap in teeth', PN 'físhbem, 'físhfáv 'Pitteachán', d'uch, g'uis 'set of the head', 'duchó bhúdín 'old tobacco pipe with short shank', 'bléghín 'worn-out knife-blade'.

Sandhi: 'g'ís 'eat you', utla 'with you', 'f'ás-kr 'last year', 'dígh?' 'did you?', Do lagu'mene 'the lad you mean', 'hush na mgo 'çé? 'what would you say?'.

Pt. 10 (Bawnboy) E words: mes'kérísí 'maturity', 'nekó 'natural', 'siglár 'centuries', 'kri-só 'Christian'.

Ir. words: skjál stail 'dare of water', 'skjórín, 'sklín sibhín 'dribbling-stick'. Note the inverse form 'prá-s-lín, prás-bín 'old apron'.

Sandhi: 'dígh 'rídz aí 'did you read it?'. This is the only case of g > g we noticed here. In view of forms such as 'g'ós (fjín) edois (i.e., very) fine — the development of d > g seems to be restricted here while the reported form kren 'train' vouches at least for the wide scope of the other.

Other isolated clues bearing on the distribution of this as a systematic development are:

1. The word teach was pronounced tóch in the Ir. of NE Leitrim, is often pronounced tóch in Cavan, tóch in Cavan Ir. was pronounced keine.3

2. In NW Roscommon k for t is rare and sporadic only.

3. To the SE: N. Dublin has engers 'tanglers', gywek düch 'neck', stóxch deoch 'drink'.4

W. Burke, writing in 1866 says: In Meath, Kildare, Carlow we hear opportunity, fortune.4

In the following we illustrate the sporadic occurrence of this feature briefly; cp. § 41 (T, D in Sandhi).

Pt. 1 (Glens) E words: 'skjóról 'Stewart' Pers. N., 'skjópá 'stupid', 'skóchán 'a Christian' but cf. 'mek-Tóir 'natural'.

Ir. words: am 'grásh 'answ direct', but yng 'ín 'polin'.

Pt. 5 (Bragan) 'dígh 'did you?'. C£ 41.

1. Wagner, Mappe d. 141.
2. Martin, Derry p. 185.
3. De Vere, ID 17, 197, p. 1207.

Pt. 8 (Frosses) Ir. forms: 'k'irá-thóin (call to hens), 'k'ir-aí stail, PN 'gheask Tóirt Biscart.

Pt. 11 (Glengvin) T, D are common in Sandhi, but our development seems to be absent, cf. 'm'rá-Tóir 'natural', 'pór-ta 'polin'.

Pt. 12 (Kilclare) The double forms T/k are common in words here:

bróghín, bróghín 'brightthin', b'fóarn, b'vearn 'sibhín'.

In Sandhi T is more common: en'T d'ar'fón - right that, you know.

aí b'fón 'all but you', 'fón 'fit, you know', a

'fáidh 'a hundred years'.

Pt. 13 (Glenamoy) 'príóc-eil., 'príoc-teál. praiséal 'potatoes roasted in the embers'.

Pt. 20 (Nohber) 'fogha mìdhilín 'tying of a flail'.

Pt. 22 (Baltinglass) In Sandhi T, D seem more usual than k: p.: 'e'n'Tóir? 'ain't you?', 'duchó r'nó? 'don't you know?', 'dígh', 'dígh? 'did you?'.

We have no ex. of this change in words here, but cf. the Central Wicklow PN 'k'ógin Óshín.

Our evidence here terminates with Glencrpu 'mogil 'midilín' and Kilcommon 'skóil 'steal' — both in the meanings already recorded for these words elsewhere.

Note: It is convenient to mention here the occurrence (in the North Midlands especially) of a Northern E. feature, initial k, e. g. > t, d. 4.

Our evidence establishes only the occurrence of this feature, not its distribution:

Pt. 19 (Impey) lothf 'clutch', 'fle'sans 'cleansings', Ir. 'thócer étach 'sound', MGK 'eliah 'credit', dílm 'glin 'grab with hands', 'dílm 'glin 'gurgling noise'.

Cp. Windhill 'H'sh(r) 'clear', 'flasht(r) 'cluster', dílm 'gleam', dílm 'gloom'.

Pt. 5 (Bragan) 'blégh 'clocker', fílím 'clasp'.

1. J. Wright, Dialect of Windhill, London, 1903, pp. 35, 99. In DDI, § 235. W. states that no So. or Ir. dialect shows the change of initial d > t.

47. General Features of AI. 2. Accenture.

Pronouns, adjectives, adverbs. The use of distinctive forms for the 2nd Sg. and 2nd Pl. of the personal pronoun is a general AI feature, while the distribution of 2nd Pl. types (youse[yee]/yee) is a good regional criterion (§ 58).

What has been said of the personal pronoun applies equally to the possessive pronouns and adjectives; in the 2nd pl. the regional variants are you(r)/yee(r).

The relative pronoun is commonly that. Who, whom, whose are scarcely used at all as relatives.

The dem. adj. these is commonly replaced by them (as in vulgar E.) or by these (on an Ir. pattern).

The AI adverb has commonly the adjectival form before an adj. (terrible well, awful bad).

Verb. Present Endings. -s is the common ending of the present pl. Its occurrence in the sg. depends on regional usage (mid-way § 58). Exx. of -s pl. (and of sg. form of verb to be with pl. noun):

Pl. 1 (Glens) a'l 'teiks about Do 'le,m all talks about the same.
Pl. 3 (Tartaragh) p'ipl yl peoople goos.
Pl. 6 (Glenhall) D w'thins kif, the wee things (= children) catchs.

Pl. 14 (Ballag) p'ipl Rod's aka Dam people Norwegian them.
Pl. 16 (Cormac's) Der is 'abounds there is accidents.
Pl. 17 (Louise) D'rrt D, does they.
Pl. 20 (Kilmurry) D'rrt D, does they.

46. General Features of AI. 2. Syntax.

A. Definite Article. A general AI tendency—away from the SIE norm—is to specify definitively with the, e.g., the Christmas, the chapel (church), the meals, the cold. Our material would seem to suggest that the North and West are more thorough-going in this than South and East.

B. Tense and Aspect. A feature for which we have exx. from nearly all areas is the use of a preterite in preference to the Conditional (Present and Past) of SIE. This preterite form brings out a nuance of actuality, certainty or conviction which the speaker associates with the circumstance in question.

To our query What is your word for a cow calving before her timel responses are:

Pl. 2 (Braid) 's Brech'the/kaf, she threwed the call.

But not from E. dialectal usage, et. EDO 275.
Pt. 4 (Armaghbrague) *fis pik'ka-vad, or 'hipD'kavaf she picked, or slipped the calf.

A similar usage was found at Pts. 6, 7, 9, 19, 25, 29.

The preterite form in the following exx. represents a Conditional also:

Pt. 1 (Gleens) *gur'doib *is Do 'delainn you didn't see the lightning,
Pt. 2 (Braad) *It it was pats ... *js 're-kid at ... you raked it,
Pt. 3 (Tartaraghan) The ditch (would be) ... the hole you dug the bank out of.

Pt. 4 (Armaghbrague) *js dibb'd *deen jer 'tied you dabbled down your seed.

Pt. 8 (Frosses) *js *juk at den you shook it then. *De 'win 'kle-nd Do 'te-g.' The wind cleaned the chaff.

Pt. 15 (Glenamaddy) Meat was easier for me to make ... 
Pt. 18 (Trumera) If I had to have it back under me arm, the foot was gone.

Pt. 30 (Ballymakerey) 'Twas no good if 'ou didn't see'it.

This usage with the preterite form has obviously little to do with the time relation and the tense category, cf.

Pt. 4 (Armaghbrague) Narrative sequence: *an qin at 'Dei; *js *teft at Do 'an ten *at *in 'bic *an *erl *an *stak Do 'an *stuck at and when it dries, you left it there and tied it up in bezes and put it in stack then or stock it.

As only verbal aspect is significant here, it is meaningless to speak of sequence of tenses. Other exx. in which only the aspective import of the verbal form is important are:

Ballyfore (Contact area of Braad) A man that doesn't shave, that man were a hussy beard.

Pt. 3 (Tartaraghan) 1) Buyers come round and looked at your ear. 2) If it's too fat some people didn't like it.

Two other aspective constructions discussed in another connection (§ 7) may be illustrated briefly here:

The perfective construction with after:

Pt. 3 (Tartaraghan) *fis *dfis after 'de-in *de-at djab he's just after doing that job.

Pt. 12 (Kilclare) ... *a*eTar 'dronn at ... after doing it.
Pt. 25 (Melleray) You wouldn't know when we'd be after renewing ...

The perfective construction with to have:

Pt. 3. *b i ha' *b-aet 'den he has that done.
Pt. 26 (Kilcommon) *or ha' *u at forgot *I have it forgotten.
Pt. 30 (Ballymakerey) *jard bi a*eTar forgotg ... you'd be after forgetting ...

We should mention finally those tense-forms based on the auxiliaries do, he expressing iterative or durative aspect:

Pt. 5 (Braad) *berg do 't deh b'yftn ... birds that does be a-shooting.

Pt. 15 (Glenamaddy) That's how the master does he.

Pt. 20 (Nobber) Do b-zz *n paryf *n hteuna Do 'kour there be no partition between the cows.

Pt. 29 (Glencairn) *Deer du 'vyls *zour kum on *Dat there do a yellow flower come on that.

Finally, there is the use of a future form to express a nuance of definiteness or certainly in iterative action. This is also Shakespearean.

(Braad) *zum 'I *vu *an *im *at *mee some 'll go and some 'll no(t) go).

We have similar exx. from Pts. 5, 10, 16, 20.

C. The Substantive Phrase; Prepositional usage; Subordination.

a. Substantive phrases of the following type seem to be in general use: what * fer, what's the reason? why?, what way how?, the way * 'so that ...'

'How much?' is commonly rendered by what ...

Pt. 1 (Gleens) *hauw't *nus Do 're-ltn what was the reason why? *hauw't *dfi's 'pf for *at what did you pay for it?
Pt. 2 (Braad) *hauw *me 'a-r 'jt? what way are you?
Pt. 4 (Tartaraghan) *hant dfi's 'gil *fart? what did you give for it? I.e. 'how much did you pay ...'
Pt. 8 (Frosses) *hauw 'is Do 're-ltn what's the reason?
Pt. 14 (Balla) 'Das Do:got huc 'Iread ... that's the why he's called ... 
Pt. 16 (Corannoma) 'qwa-dho dun: 'Dat qar? what did you do that lor?
Pt. 18 (Trumer) ... Da 'wud: Do :wudn't 'breck' the way they wouldn't break.

We have similar exx. from Pts. 26, 28.

b. Prepositional Usage: The importance of the prepositional system in the linguistic economy of Al may perhaps be gauged from the following random selection of idioms—some of them showing certain stylistic potentialities:

Tartaragh th:ar da h:gd ao 'raisell over the head of riots i.e., on account of ... The Connacht version of this is on the head of ... Cf. Ir. th:gam. Bragan He has a different braise (= way of speaking) with him than us. Glenhull They have their tongue in every story; Wait till we get a wee shape put on us 'wait till we attend to our appearance'. Glannery She has 5 years on me 'she is 5 years older than me'. Athea He brought the geanne with him 'he inherited the smi-those (Ir. geanne)'.

For a discussion of the Al Prepositional System cf. N. Re-coman, Syntax, Ch. 6. Dialect usage of the prepositions of, in, on, with especially is in general fairly uniform. We can do little more than broach the subject here:

Also. The expletive genitive is widespread in Al dialect, cf. Bragan 'ope pm 'keer a lump of a candle 'a fair-sized young fellow', 'keiar ao 'a mon a kilbury of a man 'an awkward man'.

In. The notions of presence, existence, inherent quality are commonly and widely expressed with in, cf. Glenar Dar war 'n ev redined 'bigs mst there were no ready-made boots in it (i.e., 'in being'), Glenhull idiomatic and characteristic There's no two ways in if 'there's no doubt about it'. Balla Da war 'g kid: war iun there was nine kids of us in it 'we were 9 in family'.Corannoma

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ptNiDo 'qad 'degan it mat when the fall down is in it 'when there's a downward slope'. Similar exx. from Pts. 25, 26, 30.

On. The Ir. exx. given in § 7 happen to combine two of the more important spheres of reference of Al on as commonly used in the dialects: 1) physical and psychical sensations and states, 2) the detrimental relation. Cf. Glenar h:nt s'dh. garn he has a fooleach on him 'he is unable to speak clearly'. Bragan Da sarTDe 'War garn they sent it to him 'they raised a hoo and cry on his heels'. Glenhull Except when they'd be a seer on them (i.e., on the head). Froasting it'll be gettin' dark on you. Nobber 'in wad 'a Dar anNo ... and not a bother on you '... without any strain (trouble) to yourself'. Athea and Ross Carbery There's a great saothar on you 'you're panting and struggling for breath (after your exertion)'.

With. Al retains the Shakespearean use of with to express agency, cf. Bragan 'kill int 's'har' killed with (= by) a horse. This is supported by Ir. usage with le and is probably of wide occurrence. Other usage is probably less widespread (§ 59c).

c. Subordination: The sentence I saw him as I was going to town is commonly rendered by one of the two following Al versions: I saw him as I (nig)goin' to town, I saw him goin' to town 'nane. Of these the former, with and-phrase equivalent to a subordinate temporal clause, is found at Pts. 6, 18, 19, 22—26, 28—30.

49. Retrospect and Prospect. Up to this our basic theme has been the homogeneity of Al. Henceforth we shall be dealing with its heterogeneity or significant diversification. Our approach is

1 Dhimn 'shweep, stammering, drooping (of speech) — Dimmen.
2 Dhm 'pursuit'.
3 Dhm 'exertion, heavy breathing ...'.
fairly obvious: to be different in our sense, things have at least to be comparable.

Our treatment of diversification follows two lines: we shall first add as briefly as possible other grammatical features of secondary importance and more restricted scope observed on our circuit. Then we shall consider one practical problem in greater detail: the phonological criteria for establishing the North/South border zone.

Knowing how hopeless a task it would be to attempt here any adequate assessment of our lexical material we shall have to content ourselves with some illustrations of its diversification and copiousness in support of our general thesis.

Our section on accentuation south of the Sligo-Dublin line enables us to display in a meaningful context a representative sample of the Ir. material collected. This either supports or offsets previous sections.

We shall conclude with considerations subsidiary to these and with suggestions for the implementation of a large-scale and adequate survey of Al.

50. Regional Features of Al. A preliminary survey, operating with a relatively small number of Points cannot always distinguish rigorously and consistently between general and regional features, or do very much about regional and local features, at times, apart from discovering and identifying them.

In the foregoing account of general Al traits and tendencies we have not sought rigorous distinctions of this kind. It was found at times more convenient to treat these questions originally earmarked for discussion here on the principle that an issue once raised is better accounted for wholly than piecemeal.

The treatment of regional and local features to follow will seem by comparison little more than an inventory. This has its own advantages however—not the least that it facilitates the overall view. It also has its own illness: a preliminary study ought not over-use the microscope.

51. Regional Features. I. Phonology.
A. Features occurring widely or sporadically:
   a. Initial stressing.
   b. St. E. z represented by a back rounded vowel in some words (inverse of § 37B in tendency).
   c. f for St. E. if in some words.
   d. w for St. E. v.

B. South-Western
   a. Lenniation (and Assimilation).
   b. Nasalisation.
   c. Ø for St. E. z in certain words; keeper, St. E. v.
   d. Connacht
      a. a, ai for St. E. unstressed -i (typically for St. E. -i in Pausa).
      b. r, d for St. E. if, d5.

E. Northern
   a. t for l—chiefly for final -l in Sandhi, but also recorded mediately in isolated words.
   b. ç, k for initial šj.

52. Word-stress. One general tendency of Al stressing has already been briefly adverted to (§ 37E): a preference for a more forward accent than in StE.


Cases such as Glenear tl’ig ‘filling’, dl’mR ‘dinner’ closely associated with tonal factors are discussed § 96).

We are concerned here with the inverse tendency: stressing the initial rather than the second syllable (as in high, commerce). Although this is most strongly represented in the SW it cannot
be taken as a SW feature pure and simple. Its strong representation in Ernis as well as its widespread sporadic occurrence open up possibilities best assessed in the light of fuller material.

Pt. 13 (Glenamoy) farninat forinnis 'opposite', kalkfan 'collection', partiklar 'particular', mafen 'machine', kallpants 'corruption', bitli'n 'between'.

Pt. 28 (Athva) bhigg R' before', brusids 'besides', bhiala, bitwur 'between', maguar 'manure', kontiqa an 'continue on', mafen 'sufficient', divign 'division'.

Pt. 29 (Glenacar) bhigg R' before', bitonan 'between', maguar, maguar 'manure', kanis 'cannois', kastre 'castrate', kontiqa an 'continue on', big'niyl 'beginning', mafen 'machine', riligs 'religion'.

Pt. 30 (Ballymakerry) bikor 'before', bhiala, bhiala 'between', bruf logistics 'belong', bigan 'begin', mafen 'machine', dizi 'disease'.

Pt. 31 (Ross C.) maguar 'manure', surpriz 'supreme', fonrstkis 'phonetics'.

Cp. to this the Ross C. preference for initial stress in the groups juckan 'you could', buairs 'he was' without deliberate intention of emphasizing the pronouns.

We have fewer exx. for:

Pt. 5 (Bragan) pocki 'police', Pt. 14 (Balla) Rillafan 'religion'.

Pt. 18 (Trumera) jokliman 'policeman', Pt. 25 (Mellera) kastre 'castrate', bigan 'begin', Pt. 26 (Kilconnor) bigan 'beginning'.

Pt. 27 (Fappell) ymone 'cement', bigan 'beginning'.

53. St. w, yf, v represented by v, f, w.

54. SW Lening (and Assimilation). a. At Pt. 28—31 lening and assimilation combine to produce characteristic forms, cf. Pt. 28 (Athva) dyinn 'don't know', maa... 'most...'; Pt. 29 (Glenacar) dyinn 'don't use', dyinn 'don't leave', kar-nos 'can't know', sa'nan 'salt water'.

Pt. 30 (Ballymakerry) dyinn 'don't need', dinn 'don't know', donn 'wont at', dinn 'don't go', jawge 'can't go', Tagga-d 'thank God'.

Pt. 31 (Ross C.) dyin 'reckon' 'don't wake', dyinn 'don't know', dinn 'man' 'don't sound', kar-nos 'can't go', kar-nos 'can't be fine', kan 'aint ' couldn't tell', Tag 'thank God', jawino 'a big soft ball' jawino 'a soft solid (approximately).

These exx. show the results in Sandhil of assimilation in the wake of lening: — final t, k of negative forms regularly disappear. However, the interior of words is also affected, cf. Ballymakerry farnin 'fortnight'.

b. It is clear from exx. above that the voicing modification has a much wider scope than this, — and exx. to follow will show that at least at one Pt. voiced forms tend to be generalized:

Pt. 28 (Athva) tri 'to it', gbe'dama 'a great man'.

Pt. 29 (Glenacar) nogozt 'noodles', dogtour 'dock-leaf', st
55. Nasalisation; Substitution before n (d for STE. z: b, (β), for STE. γ).

a. At Pt. 25 (Melleray) not only do flanking nasal consonants cause nasalisation of vowels, but nasal modification may occur without such motivation. micht 'me', ní 'knee', bhríom 'broom', mór 'more', Ir. fionnphay sean-ríabhach. Also bríom 'broom', stír 'street' 'stirabout'.

Cp. Ó Cuív, Ch. 7 for West Cork Ir. We have no further ex. but have noticed the tendency in some W. Kerry dialects of AI - and in Dublin City.

b. d for STE. z in the forms bin't, wasn't is found at all our Southern Pts. as well as at Pt. 23 (Sth. Kilkenney), cf. Feakle or was-dät 'I wasn't'; br idät 'he isn't. Beside these, common AI forms are used, or (as in Ross C.) forms with r: durnt 'didn't', was-rat 'wasn't'.

The use of d illustrates AI substitution for a sound not occurring normally in Ir. Another instance of this substitution is b, for STE. γ cf.

c. Pt. 26 (Kilcommon) dìbl, dìl 'defil', habhät 'haven't', sèbh 'seven', sèbhat 'seventy'.

Pt. 27 (Feakle) sèbht, sèimbh 'seventy', sèbh 'seven', stìobh 'eleven', swin, sìgh, shògh 'even'.

56. In deference to its wide occurrence in Ulster we take (the Northern E. feature) t > r here, but it is also common in some Dublin City dialects.

Pt. 1 (Armaghbrague) port 'put it'. Cf. also bérn 'owing', i.e., r in hiatus.

Pt. 5 (Brügen) gért 'get it on', bért 'hit it!', 'ert get . . .

let it get . . .

Pt. 7 (Lagan) if jo 'get if you get it', de 'ret br 'that 'd be', port 'get it out!', per'don 'put it in'.

Pt. 9 (Glen) baur-de-lám 'what'd all him?'. In words: 'leftford, 'reiford 'left-footed, right-footed'.

b, k for initial bh has been noted at Ps. 5, 8, 9, cf. Bragen 'mon 'human', gyes 'Hughey' (Pers. N.), Glen kuy 'Hughy'.

Cf. also Adams PUESD § 2 kúa 'Hughey'.

57. A characteristic value of final, unstressed -γ in N. Connacht is sì, in N. Galway sì. Intermediate values also occur. Tracing the pattern between areas with -γ and those is a desideratum for Connacht.

Pt. 13 (Glenamoy) 'c-ì easy', 'fhuì 'funny', 'días 'Loly', 'fúig 'slipp(ery)'. Also Ir. sì y- 'dīheogāl', phùig 'plíosegal, bhuig' 'borrásītse'.

Pt. 14 (Ballla) 'días 'Loly', 'buìd 'body, dún 'donkey, sì-òg 'very', 'màg 'many', 'bìr-bìr 'billeberries'.

Pt. 15 (Glenamaddy) Local informants point to a dialect difference with Ballygir (near the Roscommon border to the SE) which 'has sì in 'penns 'pennils' against "Glenam. 'penns'.

Other exx. are:

'sìgh 'very', 'bèlsbhaid 'bellyband, shògh-pù 'a happy New Year'.

Pt. 28 (Athea) sòsh, sòb 'seven', Pt. 29 (Glencar) sòsh 'seven'.

Similarly at Ps. 30, 31 β is more favoured, so that the substitution of β rather concerns Ps. 26, 27. Note that in this as well as in the case of η an Ir. palatalised step is substituted for an E. fricative.
88. Regional Features of Al. 2. Accidence.

The considerable local differences in Ulster are such as might be expected from the contact of Sc. with E. dialect there.

Pronouns. The 2nd pl. yuse (unaccented ye) with its poss. (yours) and poss. adj. (your) belongs to Ulster and Leinster. Towards Connacht it extends to Ballinaglera, Co. Leitrim, near Pt. 11; towards Munster it reaches its term at Pt. 23.

A stressed form (hit, cf. OE bít) of the neuter pron. it occurs at both our Donegal Plts., while Lagan has also mor beside ãr for our. While mor is widespread in British dialect, ãr occurs in S. Sc., among other places.

The 3rd pl. obj. form em (without initial consonant) is common in Sth. Leinster and Munster; it is found as far North as our Pt. 15. Cf. Pt. 23 (Glenpipe) 'gexem' get 'em', 'hinam' thin 'em', 'tumam' 'two of em'.

At Plts. 13 and 28 the poss. pronouns ours, yours, theirs sometimes appear without -s. The 'Reflexive' Pronoun appears in the South with first element in possessive form throughout and 'self' as second, e.g., 'Ballymackeery 'De'rsal thesrell, guer'sel ourself. Pt. 13 has forms in part similar: 'onc'fôt ourself, amoi 'Dám'sel among themself.'

The Verb. Southern 'is for 'it is' may not have quite so northerly an extension as 'em (above).

Ahn't for 'is not' (in statement and question) is a Leinster feature. It is quite strong at Pt. 22 but weakens towards Munster (at Pt. 23) in favour of isn't (isn't, isnat). It is rare at Impor. Cf. Pt. 22 (Ballyglass) 'en'Tja! ain't you?

Pt. 24 (Kilmorro) 'cint st? ain't it? Pt. 18 (Trumena) 'en'TDe? ain't they?

Old forms of will not have some currency still, cf. aumat noted for N. Roscommon and Erris. Cf. also Glenamaddy 'wøùnt.

While the movement of strong verbs to the weak class is characteristic for Ulster, analogical movements in Leinster and the South sometimes show the reverse tendency, cf.

Pt. 3 (Tartaragh) awd 'knewed', hrii 'heared'.
Pt. 6 (Glenhull) Treg, Trog: 'threw', le'll 'were', wër 'were', 'fær', sá 'shook', lô'd 'lay', gryb 'grew', gyt, gaw 'gave'. lem 'come' is invariant here and a pl. yoned has been formed beside went to the verb go.
Pt. 7 (Lagan) hirtd, bard 'heard', tóod 'threw'.
Pt. 23 (Glenpipe) skvez 'squeezed', sot set i.e. 'sowed', hof (pl.) 'hit'.

Present Ending of the Singular. In § 47 we have dealt with the present pl. in -s. Hand in hand with this in the West and South is the occurrence of -s in the 1st and 2nd Pers. and its absence in the 3rd. This gives an inflection precisely the reverse of the Received one which we may illustrate here from Melloray:

I, you, we, they thinks; he, she, it think.

We have exx. of part of this system from Plts. 13–18 and of most or all of it from Pt. 23–31.

The Noun: Derivation with -en. This diminutive ending capable of expressing affection, familiarity or contempt is very productive in parts of the West and South, cf.:

Pt. 13 (Glenamoy) 'gerilin 'girl-in', 'bôin 'boy-in', 'ruduin 'road-in', 'kerkin 'cake-in'. The diminutive sense is to the fore in these.
Pt. 14 (Balla) 'magin 'little man', 'Dh'fin 'little dress', 'fe'shin 'little child', 'lòd 'little hat', 'fèpil 'little sheep'.
Pt. 15 (Glenamaddy) Do 'dil 'un'-nz the little one-in, on a 'bag-in, a of a 'bag-in, 'inn 'little leaves'.
Pt. 16 (Cormacmaona) 'bácsin 'little basket', 'gerilin 'little gate'.
Pt. 17 (Loughrea) ylil 'limp-in', 'little lump-in, 'samal 'bilez small bit-in-in.'
Pt. 23 (Glenpipe) rob 'rubin 'little robins'.
Pt. 28 (Alba) 'muscín 'pennis' (in Loughrea 'màcín).
Pt. 30 (Ballymackeery) 'gerligin 'little girl', 'di'llin 'little devil'.
Pt. 31 (Ross C.) ber'drin 'little bird', kowr 'cow 'little calves'.

A LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF IRELAND
59. Regional Features. 3. Syntax.

a. Concord. An interesting feature noted in the Braid area is the preference for he as referent with inanimate objects:

... an'kra: wha 'waid by ... and crane he (= it) would be, fîl prt — 'hÎt irl' prt low-prt he's (= it's) a light peat, 'shill 'bed = he was 'lovely bed, a 'monkiper — 'hÎr a 'bnot a monkiper — he's (= it's) a nest.

It should be pointed out in this connection that in the Ir. pronoun system masculine and neuter are subsumed under one form which is distinct from the feminine.

b. Comparison: nor/lan. In Ulster and parts of Leinster nor is a lively rival to than in comparison (as in he's older than (not) me). In Connacht and Munster nor seems to be comparatively little used.

c. Prepositional usage (cf. § 48 Cb).

With. The use of with in the role of Ir. le to express a lapse of time (as in he's gone with five years 'he's gone this 5 years') is found at Pts. 3, 13, 33, 50.

With is used to establish a reference between a person/thing and a fact or state expressed about him(her), as:

Athea The heart is bad with him 'he has a weak heart'; Now 'is the skin with us 'now we use the skin (rather than the ...')

This impersonal construction with the substantive verb is characteristic. Other uses based on Ir. are the comitative (go away with yourself and the separate (leave it with itself i.e. by itself). Their distribution will be of interest.

Uses of the Ir. preposition as impressed into Al are seen in:

Pt. 13 (Glenamoy) jw: ar 'ra'bd at me: you are robbed of me 'these gifts of yours will leave you penniless'.

Pt. 27 (Athea) 'isn't by me 'it is not in my possession'.

The Ir. preposition ar operates through Al on in the phr.:

Pt. 13 (Glenamoy) The worst one on the lot i.e. of the lot.

This usage is found elsewhere.

d. Uses of the Infinitive. An inf. with perfective shading is

— Al teaches us — an exceedingly versatile instrument. A few uses of it are:

i. Explicative: Pt. 13 (Glenamoy) When you bow'd come — me to keep well-balanced '... I would need to keep well-balanced'.

Pt. 15 (Glenamaddy) It's great the weather to keep fine for the Christmas.

Pt. 27 (Athea) How do you know it's called that? — Began, to hear the people calling it, i.e., by hearing the people ...

ii. Mild Prohibition. Pt. 26 (Kilcommon) ... but not to turn down that road! 'but do not turn down that road!'.

The use of restrictive without, formerly common in literary E. and reminiscent of Ir. can, should be mentioned:

Pt. 13 (Glenamoy) ... without to pin it up, ... without me to know you ... without it be saved right.

Pt. 27 (Athea) I didn't like without to give a run in 'I didn't like not to visit you'. Cf. Galway Book 1497 ... without it be with full business ...

Without is also found with verbal noun: Pt. 17 (Longshore) I'm sure you aren't without having it.

Pt. 37 (Athea) She didn't like without goin' down.

e. Sentence Types.

i. Explicative. Explicative it's ('the how, it's what has been

noted at Pts. 13, 14, 16, 19, 21-31, cf.:

Pt. 13 (Glenamoy) jh bu De: 'pall' 'what they do is to pull it'.

Pt. 16 (Cormacoma) fit g'at nu: w. unkn 'what we say

is: pinn'.

Pt. 29 (Glencar) tic bow De tuirn: De baltel 'ep. 'what they
do is to turn the basket up'.

ii. Statement by way of the interrogative form very often in

the negative is characteristic of much Al dialect, cf.

35 = Novak, Titulzvit for Sprachverh., Suppl. 185, 192.
This rhetorical means has been retained from Irish-speaking days.

SW why not you? — noted in Athea and Ballymacerry — expressing thorough agreement with a remark by another speaker, is but one of the many idioms to which it gives rise.

f. Idiom. Some interesting cases of AI creation and E. survival are:

Southern poss. pron. — 'enough on the pattern of Ir. mo sháth, mo dháthiú 'enough for me', cf. Pts. 23, 25 jur 'enough for you' ; Southern replacing of Ste. none ... no one. . . by any verb in the negative, cf. Pts. 23 'an sonn uaidh baim of Dom 'none of them would come off then', 'an tiul an don't ple' at 'so one plays it'. We have exx. from Pts. 25—29 also.

The partial phonetic resemblance between E. most and Ir. is mó (same meaning) has helped to establish and support usage such as: Western Darning: to be out the most time then are 'the time they are out most', Imper: Dó meót, 'gás ar lwis the most thing you'd see 'the thing you'd see most'.

An idiom found at Pts. 18, 26, 27 is the weight of 'most of', cf. § 22, sub 1.13.

The idiom be to ... in the sense of compulsion is found at Pts. 5, 6, cf. Bragan All be to be done with the hook 'all had to be done with the hook', Dó 'brá to réis 'they have to get up', on jód 'brá to dy: at réis 'and you'd have to do it right'.

Pt. 6 (Glennhull) ar 'brá to ghrá: eis 'he had to go away again', Dó 'brá to blièid 'the two have to be loosened', Dó 'brá: jós 'brá to hómar Dom 'you have to cover the seed potatos'.

The idiom Pád as lie (= I'd as soon . . . ) though noted only at Pts. 5, 7, has probably fairly wide currency, for Joyce notes it as common, and it is reported more recently for North Dublin.

The Loughrea use of must in It must be it does no harm is surely it does no harm' occurs also in North Roscommon; it has more than one Ir. parallel.

The Ros Carbery mould they did to kill a pig is also idiomatic Ir. at one remove.

THE NORTH-SOUTH BOUNDARY

69. The primary dialect boundary in AI—as in Ir.—is a North/South one. Affiliations between Northern AI and Scots are nothing entirely novel; they are an extension—at one remove—and a continuation—on another plane—of relations contracted at an earlier period between Northern Ir. and Sc. Gaelic. Underlying these as older linguistic relations of a like kind is a tale rooted in remote antiquity of continual coming and going over the NE corridor.

Airing immediately out of this is the crucial question: will the North/South border zones of Ir. and of AI approximately coincide? If they do, the so-called 'substratum' theory will have found one of its best illustrations.

This survey provides material for a provisional view of the dynamic aspect over the whole island.

The reader will note the extension of Northern AI features into Leinster, while the Leitrim buffer-strip absorbs them and shays their advance into Connacht. Turning southwards he may have reason to conclude that Munster is a relatively homogeneous and undoubtedly dynamic area vying with Ulster for linguistic expansion in a rather passive Midland and unenterprising Connacht. The distribution of some features will suggest Munster penetration of Connacht over the Shannon in the SE in the direction of SE Mayo.

The reader will find that in respect of expansion more than one-time-level will have to be considered. So in our section on accentuation (§ 78) the later medieval period is involved—against an earlier background: the en...er... criterion (§ 101) is a test-case for expansion affecting no doubt chiefly the 17th cen-
turly;—while the criteria which we shall now consider affect the modern period primarily.

C. Note on Ulster vowel quantity.

62. Vowel On-gliding. This is a pervasive NE feature, being well-represented at Pts. 1, 2, 3. Its distribution in the rest of Ulster cannot be as clearly indicated: Our Armaghbraque fieldwork which represents a partial recording and a first contact with Ulster dialect on this circuit, provides no evidence; the Lagan offers a few exx. of it, but Glenull seems to lack it completely; in Frosses it occurs chiefly if not solely before back vowels; in Bragan it is no more the full-blown Tartaraghian glide but rather an inert and lax transition to vowel position. In the SW of Ulster this feature seems rare (Bawnboy has əə) all but in North Meath something like the thorough-going NE on-glide reappears.

Pt. 1 (Glens) A. vən 'moon', vərən 'moon', dəvən 'John', gərən 'grand', tən'pən 'townland', sə dəvən 'a donkey', bən'in 'blindman's buff', nər əvən 'wee lamb', sələvən 'a sword', kəvən 'corn', pəvən 'yarn', pəvən 'frog', bəvən 'frog', bəvən 'bob', nəvən 'knee', bəvən 'bob', təvən 'rods', dəvən 'trough', kəvən 'call', kəvən 'half'.
A slow Glenna speaker says əəvəl 'all', kəvən 'horse'.
B. To front (or mixed) vowels: dəvən 'do'.
Pt. 2 (The Braid) A. vəz e (beside naː) 'no', təvəzən 'two', səvəzən 'throwing', səvəzən 'man', səvəzən 'ram', bəvəd 'bad', pəvəd 'path', bəvən 'half', təvəf 'call', fəvən 'front', gəvən 'gloves'.
PN əvən 'Buckna'.

B. təvən 'too'.
Pt. 3 (Tartaragh) A. On-glide to back vowels: səvən 'old', kəvən 'coat', səvən 'stone', səvən 'strong', bəvən 'ear', pəvən 'lard'.
B. təvən 'walk', səvən 'fox', səvən 'decker', bəvən 'clock', dəvən 'dog', kəvən 'frog', səvən 'glass', məvən 'maddly', fəvən 'sail', kəvən 'toss', səvən 'straw'.
B. Glide to front (or mixed) vowels: dəvən 'the heak', kəvən 'ball', kəvən 'bings', dəvən 'soot', həvən 'the goat', həvən 'she-goat', təvən 'two', məvən 'knee'.
Pt. 5 (Bragan) A. vəmən 'numb', pəvən 'frog', kəvən 'crabs', fəvən 'tore', təvən 'laugh', nəvən 'mo', bəvən 'throw'.
B. fəvən 'too', səvən 'school', bəvən 'beast'.
Pt. 7 (Lagan) A. vənə, vənə, nəvən 'no', nəvən 'nose'.
B. məvən 'knee', səvən 'see'.
Pt. 8 (Frosses) A. əvən 'all', əvən 'bands', kəvən 'clammp', bəvən 'stab', kəvən 'klocks', fəvən 'toes', nəvən 'no', fəvən 'ewe', təvən 'straw'.
B. fəvən 'your knee'.
Pt. 9 (Glen) A. fəvən 'four', nəvən 'now', təvən 'toes', dəvən 'dog'.
B. məvən 'knee', (apparently the original glide predominates), təvən 'too', Dəvən 'the moon', əvən 'a súghn (= straw rope').
Pt. 20 (Nobber) A. məvən 'wall', səvən 'small', bəvən 'bald', kəvən 'frog-spawn', bəvən 'blackthorn', bəvən 'blue-bottle', təvən 'straw'.
B. əvən 'a besom'.

63. Lenisation. In voiced environment the stops (p, t, k, s) and—sporadically—fricative f tend to soften into half-fortes, half-lenes (h, d, g) or even fully voiced sounds. This is a widespread and fairly distinctive Ulster feature; the Scots dialects, Braid and Lagan, seem to be its best exponents.
In some peripheral dialects this feature recedes (as at Bawnboy) or is accompanied by a tendency towards devoicing (as at Frosses). But North Meath is once more in line with Ulster.
Pl. 1 (Glens) p. Glendon: *Tripene*. Glenaan *Tribe*, *Triban* 'stripplings'.

1. *fearrphant* 'buttermilk', *kæstrpWAR* 'caterpillars', *ge'den* 'get on', *kæll* 'kettle', *karbør-REP* 'castrated'.
2. *blágbót* 'black beetle', *tegga'n'dan* 'stack-garden'.
3. *be'f* 'staff'.

Pl. 2 (Braid) p. *Triban* 'stripplings', *bópet* 'pups', *ge'den* 'parts', *ge'den* 'panes'.

1. *gle* 'top', *keflan* 'kittens', *karwAf* 'sweep it'.
2. *kæt* 'coat', *keer* 'eaves'.
3. (Tartaragh) l. *rodn* 'rotten', d. *bedok* 'the buttocks', *kæt* 'a kettle', *fært* 'fatty'.
4. *apból* 'ankle', *bæ-ga* 'back of'.

Pl. 4 (Armaghbrage) p. *Triban* 'stripplings', *gæp* 'spokes', *bæntôn* 'inchpin'.

1. *bædams* 'bottoms', *bædri* 'thirty', *bæran* 'courtling'.
2. *bægpa* 'back-goat'.
3. (Braun) p. *bæntôn* 'cramping'.
4. *fært* 'fatty'.
5. *blágbört* 'blackberries', *blágbót* 'black boys'.
6. *bæntôn* 'half-length'.

Pl. 6 (Glennull) k. *blágbört* 'blackberries', *bæntôn* 'back-band'.

1. *kæ-t-on* 'all'.

Pl. 7 (Lagan) p. *pæt* 'pot', *ræfta*mul* 'peat-mould', *v* 'pèk' 'a pike (of hay)', *plænt* 'plant', *fæn* 'pin', *pæp* 'pumpe', etc.

1. *kæ* 'lake', *kæ* 'bear', *kæ* 'team', *kæ* 'Tommy', *kæll* 'cattle', *dril* 'a devil's meat (a fungus)'.
2. *kæ* 'Tarba*-*g* 'water-bog', *kænT* 'country'.
3. *kæll* 'cattle', *ræ-ních* 'pancake', *blæmp* 'clamps', *fæt* 'lap-cocks', *dægda* 'jackdaws', *teggn* 'looking'.
4. (Braun) p. *bæntôn* 'poison', *fært* 'pot-slick'.
5. *gle* 'top', *kæll* 'kettle', *kæll* 'kæll' 'cattle'.

Pl. 8 (Proses) p. *pæt* 'pot', *pæt* 'pepper'.

1. *kæ* 'top', *kæll* 'kettle', *kæll* 'kæll' 'cattle'.

Pl. 9 (Glens) t. *kæstrpWAR* 'caterpillars', *wodbe'b* 'weather-breath', *tambl* 'breeches', *kæll* 'cattle'.
2. (Braun) p. *bæntôn* 'cramping'.

1. *bæntôn* 'half-length', *bæntôn* 'back-band'.

46. Assimilation. The dropping of the plosives b, d, g after their respective nasals is not known in AI generally.

The development of old unstressed *-g* finally to *-n* (as in the verbal noun) is a general AI feature (cf. § 47); its development mediately to *-n* (as in fogen 'finger') is a sporadic AI feature. Similarly the dropping of *d* after *h*, *n* in some words such as old, cold, wind is liable to be found anywhere in AI.

For the rest, however, only Ulster dialect makes a systematic use of this type of assimilation.

The ext. show that historical medial e have not been retained—or that euphonic ones have not been inserted.

Pl. 1 (Glens) *grim* 'thimble' OE *grimh*, *fog* 'finger', *yoll* 'older'.

Pl. 2 (Braid) *kægol* 'angle', *færtan*T* 'finger-length', *fænT* 'cinders', *bæntôn* 'handles', *fæn* 'friends', *bæn* 'blind', *bæn* 'hand', *bæntôn* 'scolding'.

Pl. 3 (Tartaragh) *bæptar* 'single-tree', *kænt* 'the handles', *fænt* 'friends', *bæn* 'hand', *bæn* 'blind', *bæn* 'inland'.

Pl. 4 (Armaghbrage) *tæn* 'twenty', *tænt* 'twenty', *tænt* 'handle', *kænt* 'wind-tress', *bæn* 'hand', *kænt* 'husband', *bæntôn* 'handle', *træfl* 'threshold', *fænt* 'child', *kænt* 'the cold'.

Pl. 5 (Braun) *tæn* 'timber', *bæntôn* 'thimble', *bæn* 'hand', *bæn* 'hand', *bæntôn* 'handle', *bæntôn* 'half-length', *wof* 'wild', *fænt* 'a call', *kænt* 'scolding'.
63. We now proceed to consider Ulster (stressed) vowels which serve as criteria for delineation from other Al. Cf. § 63 B.

a. The long (half-long), half-close, often over-rounded back vowel o of various origin, corresponding chiefly to SE. on in words such as home, close, drove, broke.

The two Scots dialects manage to retain o vowel (dipthong) in some of the OE. a words belonging here:

Braid: stem 'stone', zem 'home', hem 'home', sa 'man 'no more', jse 'ip: 'one toe', xTo 'rep-'straw-rope' — but a 'beg' rep 'a bought rope', go 'go.

Lagan: stem 'stone', kiez 'clothes', rep 'rope' is obsolete, kred 'bread' is 50 years dead, and go 'go' is a 'gang and (go) are no longer used' — reports my informant.

In other Al dialects the most prevalent vowel is a lowered and advanced variety of o, as we shall illustrate with a few ex.

66. b. A general Ulster feature is the development of an o vowel in certain words from OE. ou, by shortening of ME ou, and from other sources.

? in Brad words symbolises a glottal stop.

Pt. 1 (Glen's) do 'go', bornt 'burnt', kyr 'cure', kok 'sock'.

Pt. 2 (Braid) kell 'cut', kyr 'curl', logz 'hugs', bry 'bushe', stuf 'much', hop 'hop'.

Pt. 3 (Tartarragan) keyn 'cousins', olt 'dust', math 'mouth', ox 'open 'the sun', fol 'foot'.

Pt. 4 (Armaghbragan) fer 'churn', bornt 'burnt', forst 'first', wonnt 'worst', arof 'enough'.

Pt. 6 (Glenhull) 'tevar 'timber', 'grawr 'female sheep' ON gynfr, hRamol 'bramble' OE brimmel, 'figor 'finger', freoh 'friendly', ha: 'a hand', mygil 'moulding', kylgil 'scolding'.

Pt. 7 (Lagan) fiqor 'finger', ha: 'a hand', xel 'sand', freoh 'friends'. Do hief 'the handles', miinaleTre 'windystraw', bgiil 'hold', kylgil 'scolding'.

Pt. 8 (Frosses) 'tevar 'timber', 'ferfthul 'fairy thimbles (= foxglove)', brawul, bra: 'bramble', fiqor 'fingers', ha: 'a hand', xel 'sand', s xef 'a friend', bgiil 'blind', grin 'ground'.

The types of consonant change in question here have little bearing it seems on Pt. 6: the few ex. which have been recorded (as miil 'mould', keil 'cold') are balanced by unassimilated forms (cf. a bgiil 'yield 'a bold child', kylgil 'we:Tar 'cold water'). In some other respects also, Glen is a border dialect.

Pt. 1 (Glen's) a 'xTryk 'a stroke, bopn 'stone', jor 'moon' you're no going', fcl 'foal', wld beside fll 'old'.

Pt. 2 (Braid) bred 'threw', rfr: 'no', rfr: 'below', brok 'broke', Dree 'drove'.

Pt. 3 (Tartarragan) stu:n 'stone', me 'we-er 'no more', pxd 'post', rep 'rope'.

Pt. 4 (Armaghbragan) keil 'cold', kyr 'crows', bop 'both', reiz 'rose'.

Pt. 5 (Brajon) ek 'oak', wts 'oats', hem 'home', hcl 'hole'.

Pt. 6 (Glenhull) bby 'bath', by 'both', xer 'boar', wld 'old', jyk 'up 'yoke up'.

Pt. 7 (Lagan) gp 'goes', ryp 'road', fcl 'foal', wnpd 'I knew', a 'pok 'a bag'.

Pt. 8 (Frosses) rep 'ropes', hrmz 'holms', qk 'oak', qts 'oats', gor 'goat'.

Pt. 9 (Glen) bby 'both', kyr 'coat', ryp 'road', bcl 'foal', men 'none'. Cf. also Denva Dnúmgh Dúinseach Dreachmach 'Bibley Sunday'.

y denotes an open, p an advanced and very open variety:

Pt. 12 (Kilclare) e ranges from close to forward and advanced. Forms recorded in Imper arc: Dyrts 'the oats', rfr 'row', gp 'go', qyt 'goat', frr 'Shrove', boyz 'broke... broke...
Pl. 5 (Bragan) notl ‘nuts’, woriz ‘worms’, som ‘some’, bief ‘bush’.
Pl. 6 (Glenhill) kott ‘cuts’, fottak ‘footings’, teifl, teif ‘turf’.
Pl. 7 (Lagan) dog ‘dog’, wod ‘wood’, rokk ‘rocks’, gozo ‘goaling’.

Other AI (e = advanced v):

67. SE. (and other AI) u is commonly represented in Ulster dialect by a high-front vowel (y) or high-front to high-mixed (zh) tending in some areas to surrounding. This sometimes represents SE. u.

In Scots and Scots-affected dialects (Pls. 2, 7; 1) some SE. au words appear with this value (Cf. Pl. 2 house, cow, now in place of other Ulster au (§ 70f.). The word drought retains an old vowel value in AI generally.

The local treatment of SE. words with au is a good regional criterion for Ulster dialect.

Pl. 1 (Glen) hyk ‘hook’, blyk ‘stook’, thuf ‘palm of the hand’ ON huk, klu-it eel ‘pig’s foot’, kitle ‘stupid’.

Pl. 8 (Frosses) ryf ‘root’, dis ‘do’, tie, ty ‘two’, gyp, gyp ‘good’.

Other AI shows a tendency not to raise and advance but to lower and advance u. Symbols: n = low u, y = very low and advanced u.

Pl. 19 (Imper) hik ‘hook’, hik ‘boobs’, hik ‘Deur’ who’s there’.

Imper low and advanced u tends towards a rising a diphthong: dyge ‘do’, tyl ‘two’. This is found in other AI.

68. 4. The first nine Pls. attest a typical Ulster lengthening (or diphthongization) of e:
Pl. 2 (Braid) resit ‘rest’, te’n ‘ten’. Cf. Pl. brent ‘beast’, beant ‘beast’.
Pl. 4 (Armaghbrigue) brent ‘hens’, west ‘west’.
Pl. 5 (Bragan) head ‘bed’, heid ‘head’, pen ‘pen’, me ‘men’.
Pl. 6 (Glenhill) hir ‘hens’, fyn ‘friend’, pen ‘pen’, brent ‘bed’, heid ‘bed’.

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Pl. 7 (Lagan) leg 'leg', e.g. 'egg', mean 'men', head 'head'.
Pl. 8 (Frossen) bead 'bed', head 'head', headdy 'hedge', Do 'the best', left 'left', col.Der 'udder'.
Pl. 9 (Glen) snead 'sned', men 'men'.

Other AI:
Leitrim (Killclare) has web: 'web', sign 'sned', hæd 'head', men 'men', ten 'ten', west 'west', def 'dead'.
Westmeath (Impct) has head 'head', snead 'sned', hom 'hens', ten 'ten', pen 'pen', west 'west'.
Forms such as web: 'web', tık 'lick' suggest that Pl. 9 has a border status.

69. c. The development of Ꞅ > ꞃ, ꞅ in words such as nek, get, elder, tell, twelve appears to be a criterion of Mid-Ulster E. Only Pts. 3, 4, 5 of the first 9 are seriously affected.

Other AI has commonly a half-open vowel æ, but in Leinster (Meath, Dublin) an open vowel can often be heard. Hence this criterion is of more value towards the SW of Ulster than the SE.

Pl. 3 (Tartaragh) snead 'second', 'fellows', al'm 'elm', tærbl 'terrible', bat 'bat', harf 'heifer', òldall 'old', 'hen-house'.
Pl. 4 (Armaghbragh) macb, macs 'meadow', spread 'spread', herd 'head', wedg 'wedge', wednác'st 'Wednesday', a wa 'Der 'a weather', a 'et 'a set', lag 'leg', nak 'neck', tal 'tell', gat 'get', staps 'steps', fálâm 'game', òfamn 'chestnut'.
Pl. 5 (Bragan) nek 'neck', raglor 'regular', snead 'second', gatn 'getting', mads 'meadow', homhú'd 'hen-house', hols 'belly', tæbr 'tether', madar 'weather', harf 'heifer', tærbl 'terrible'.

Glen scarcely belongs to this group though it has a few forms such as nek beside nek: All in all it clearly retains a half-open vowel.

Other AI:
Pl. 12 (Kilclare) harf 'heifer', twelf 'twelve', snead 'second', Do 'the neck', brekkfíst 'breakfast'.

Pl. 20 (Nobber) hefoll 'heifer', al'Der 'udder', òsknd 'second', nek 'neck'.
Pl. 19 (Impcr) òsknd 'second', 'Der ' tether', harf 'heifer', hinhú'd 'hen-house'.

70. f. Of the Ulster diphthongs and triphthongs the most distinctive and hence the most serviceable as dialect criteria are ꞅ, ꞃ and ꞅ. We give some exx. in tabular form below.

The diphthong si (as in Bragan mind 'mind', ten 'line') is not exclusively Northern and is of little use for comparative purposes. The current distribution of O. Fr. si (as in poeom, sit, boi) gives a very varied but not equally significant pattern.

Pl. 1: gil 'old', grysl 'gruel', bean 'lying', Drgut 'drought', fyr 'fire', fáiz 'louse'.
Pl. 2: cál 'cold', byard 'boars', fáir 'fire', gúin 'shouting', fáir 'fire', teul 'told'.
Pl. 3: kealz 'cows', myr 'many', 'gúpan full of two hands'.
Pl. 4: speat 'spout', dúr 'door', bis 'bow', jul 'you', 'all 'an 'iron'.
Pl. 5: òfamn 'game', òfamn 'game', òfamn 'game', òfamn 'game', òfamn 'game'.
Pl. 6: byóy 'how', òfamn 'game', òfamn 'game', òfamn 'game', òfamn 'game'.
Pl. 7: mlé, mlé 'mouth', òfamn 'game', òfamn 'game', òfamn 'game', òfamn 'game'.
d. Quantity as a dialect criterion. Of the modifications mentioned in b) above, stopping is the most exploitable criterion for establishing a North/South boundary. In this respect modern Ulster lengthening disappoints, for a lengthened vowel is found in Leitrim and Westmeath (for example) in some of the tri-word used (man, hand bad, bap ...).

Stopping: There is an undoubted general tendency in Ulster to reduce long vowels, particularly e, y, before stops and voiceless fricatives, and this tendency is not shared to anything like the same extent by dialects to the South and West.

Note: The Braid seems to prefer half-length here as elsewhere. My informants are inclined to use a glottal stop before t, k, and this may be a resistant to further reduction. Braid exx. suggest that other forces are at work as well.

Pt. 1 (Glens) '/kʰ/ 'boots', klíth 'hooves', hätt 'heats', dört 'throat', lkk 'hook', tlk 'stock', lop 'speak', fph 'sheep', blp 'palm (of hand)', gg't gospn, lyt 'tooth'.

Pt. 2 (Braid) '/kʰ/ 'roots', lyt 'boots', llt 'feet', 'Deygan ðu 'ter 'wetting the tea', ukr 'week', lppk 'speak', v 'luq ' a hook', lek's 'leeks', ' trip 'straw (of kettle)', krr 'keep', lyt 'tooth'.

Cf. also fgrk 'shoot', lkrk 'a stick', with long vowels, while neck 'neck' and I łrlt 'small potato' are cases of lengthening.

Position and role in the sentence play an important part in reduction, cf. 'uo'ma 'the moon' but 'uo'man 'to slant the moon and the stars.'

Pt. 3 (Tartaragh) '/kʰ/ 'roots', lyt 'boots', llt 'feet', kwlt 'coat', tlt 'took', v 'luq ' a week', ltk's 'stock', lek's 'leeks', spek 'speak', ll't 'beak', grrn 'green', l'baora 'labourers'.

But cf. 'oak 'oak', gryp 'lyre channel'.

Pt. 4 (Armaghbrag) klíth 'hoofs', kwlt 'coat', lyt 'boots', gg't 'goat', llt 'a week', spek 'speak', mek 'make', l'baor 'labourers', fpl 'sheep', gryp 'lyre channel', th't 'tooth'.

But cf. 'sheep 'a slope', and lengthened vowel in kh 'taats'.

Pt. 5 (Bragan) zlt 'worked', bθlt 'bottle 'pounder', llt't 'shaves', fθlt 'superstitions', in the 'in heat', tek 'take', llt't 'take it',
72. The Northern Vocabulary.

The general archaic element of the AI vocabulary is seen in such words from E. sources as the verb *títh 'play truant'; OE nican (i) *the term 'treath! 'Indeed!' and the household terms *kiesl 'shallow tub', *tundis 'bunnet', and *setteld 'bed' (long wooden bench with back and arms); from Fr. the word *soll in the archaic sense 'fleshy-cut grass', *slitk 'small pot', the quality 'people of *bigh* (er) station' from ON such terms as *haggar 'stackyard'.

We shall try here to illustrate briefly two aspects of the AI vocabulary: the nature of its debt to Ir., and the particular (Northern) debt to Scots and Northern E.

73. The Northern Vocabulary. The Scoitish-English vocabulary of the North is a solidly-wrought, stable and distinctive amalgam. In the following we are chiefly concerned with its British affiliations:

a. Mainly Se. and Northern E. only. The following selection of substantives are rather exclusively Se. and Northern E.: *rig 'ridge', *rigs 'roof-ridge', *brig 'bridge', *gloam 'evening twilight', *cloat 'hooch', *whirl 'weasel' (< hwit ret), *gulpin 'greenhorn, hool', *earl (Armaghbrague carn) 'fellow', *a when, a few, a number, several', *shillern 'pimple', *frickles 'freckles', *creep(stool) 'low three-legged stool, *stoup 'spout of a kettle', *ghar 'soft mud', *groop 'channel in cow-house', *hove 'blaze' ON log, mass 'bou', *boon 'voluntary help at harvest, voluntary helping corps' ON *him, *brash 'spell of churning, hout of sickness', *frest 'supposition' ON *fréit 'inquiry, augury' Mod. Icel. 'news, inquiry'.

From Gael. and Ir. come the terms *claher 'mud', *bough 'halo round the moon'; the word *crew, *crow 'pen, fold, sty' has a variety of dialect forms which derive from ON *kru, *kr. and Gaelic crì and other Welsh and Cornish forms of this Celtic word. The two forms cited occur at Pt. 2 (Braid).

Verbs with a similar distribution are *bigh 'build', whammeil (whemmeil), *upset, overturn, *caprise', cf. *whem, and *sweep with almost the same semantic range, though often differently applied, *rait (also sh.) 'harness' ON *rot, *weep 'weep, *rough (with slightly different meanings in British).

Various: *coldhle 'cold, susceptible to cold', *say 'tolerable, considerable', *sham (adj., pron.) 'yonder, *abové, *above'.

b. To this list could be added a further selection with a more extended southerly distribution in England:

*quay 'female calf', *stirk usually 'calf of about one year old', *shov 'fine dust', *peasweep 'green plow', *pist, *planet 'magpie', *saut 'scum', *piv 'powder', *pitt, *pint 'maggot'.

11 - Norse *Tóskvik for *Spróghalrskok, *Spróghalrsk. V.
whamp 'curlew', shiny 'game like hockey', helm 'low-lying level ground on the border of river or stream' ON holm, kale 'cauliflower', (cow)horn 'cow-dung', brock 'badger', paddock 'frog', simmer 'young female sheep', kitling 'kitten', neive 'hand' ON ike, hancock 'oatmeal cake baked on griddle'.

Verbs such as thole 'endure' OE dolian, fash 'trouble', gat 'yawn'. Adjectives such as right 'good, thorough'.

c. Words which seem to be rather exclusively Sc. and Ulster only are nits 'chicken-pox', cutty 'young girl', cawdy 'young boy', cf. Fr. cédé, ablahc 'smallest pig of the litter', foresupper 'evening time from about 7 to 10', wair 'Spring' ON yar Mod. feel. vor, eranruch 'hoar-frost', binns 'cow-telings' from vb. bind. Also the adj. wild 'very', cf. wild tane, wild silly.

d. The word chat 'small potato' is very much a West Country word though it occurs also in Kent and Lincoln. It should be associated then with the E. colonists of Mid-Ulster in the first instance.

e. Ulster has also its home-made terms: weehill 'child' = wee child, on the pattern of westhins (wee things), wanans (wee ones) 'children', cf. Corca Dhubhbae robaí beaga wee things 'children'. The synonyms (Antrim) dayligone (= daylight goin' or daylight gone) 'twilight', (Lagan) dayligotla'n (= dete fa-r-an' de-lt fa-r-an') seem to be confined to Ulster, as also skink 'thin gruel', champ 'kalecannon', i.e. potatoes boiled and mashed with milk, parley, butter. The term eggkilly-curry 'wee-saw' seems confined to Ulster though the adj. eggkilly 'unsteady', is Northern E. Similarly diggwian 'corn marigold' is an Ulster word only, though NE Scots has gwill from OE gilie in this meaning and gowan 'daisy' has the distribution of our a) words above. Finally we have the racy word sevendile, adv. sevendilly.

f. Southern Extension of Northern Vocabulary. The Sc. and Northern E. element in the vocabulary of North Connacht is by no means inconsiderable, such words as deeping, enny (euny), stim(e), kleg, slounge being quite common. It will not always be easy to determine whether a given form is a case of Mod. Ulster influence or an example of the Early Mod. Northern element. Current AI distribution will help of course.

Northern ecrep (shoo) has been adopted at Pt. 12, 13, 14, 19, through other 'in confusion', Ir. be a-chille at Pt. 14. Northern AI terms found at Pt. 12 are group (group) 'byre channel', brough 'spill of churling, bout of sickness', a weel 'a small quantity', brahan 'flour or oatmeal and milk'. Fairlyfleecly 'freckles' seems to be a mixture of fortielike and freckles.

The occurrence of grawls 'children' in the extreme SW and of wee in SW and SE illustrates on the one hand the less significant vagrant propensity of some individual words and the more or less systemic advance of others: in England too the word wee is travelling southwards.

74. The Irish Element. a. Words of Celtic origin in E. may belong like bres 'badger', eero, evo 'sty, pen, fold', bín to an OE layer of borrowing, may like glibor, galbore attest from ME or like bawn, sb., Adj., unheroic later still.

Some Ir. words found in AI generally are séigín, stell, gíosach, ciotóg, ciotach, potín, praiseach, maol (with derivatives), beóin, caileach, broma, spadaich, gad, príorín.

Of these gíosach and caileach are recorded for NE Scots which also has sowans 'oatmeal rummery' (cf. Gaél. Ir. Síobhán) in common with Ulster and N. Connacht.

Ir. terms found fairly generally in Ulster are eirac, strathair, caileach, praiseach, buach, taid buach, dálinn, múne, cóbr, cóill, brea, brauch.

NE Scots has eirac from Gaél. and eorac 'turf clot', eorac common AI and Ir. eoráin in this meaning. It also has caileach 'last sheet' (cf. § 743) and abålach 'insignificant person'.

My informant of colonial extraction and tradition at Pt. 3 did not know the term eriach (Ulster eis), paráidh, fishes (which divides the field with Ulster freets) bonham (= Ulster snickers), bólthir (- Ulster loam, roddan), tráithin (= Ulster windstraw, wizarstraw), At Pt. 7 eriích, gurán, bonham were not known. 11*
b. Meanings of Ir. words.

a) North Mayo, NW Fermanagh and NE Ulster have the Ulster-Scottish meanings capall 'mare', gusiran 'horse'.

b) Meaning (semantic range) of caileach, neall, seamall, (meaning), bróg, maundach, bultineadh, eolassan.

Caileach. OIr. cailech (from caille 'veil') 'a nun, an old woman', a hag'. The conventional meaning—an important consideration for AI—of Mod. Ir. caileach is 'hag'. We proceed now to consider specific local senses of the word. A complication is that in the South this word tends to coincide formally and lose semantically with the word eolach 'cock' due to Southern forward stressing.

Pt. 1 has 'eslín the last corn sheaf cut at harvesting'. Folklore holds the key to this usage: it was believed that a witch-hare would run to this in the last of the corn standing, and cutting this portion is commonly known in AI as huntin' the hare. This use of caileach found also in Scotland derives from the meaning 'hag' to 'witch'.

Pt. 5 has 'kálóg 'an old potato of the previous year's crop'. The application of the term here is quite straightforward: the dried, shrivelled and aged appearance of the potato suggested the metaphor of 'hag'.

Pt. 14 has 'kálóg 'an old woman. 2) outshot i.e. projecting bed-wing of a house. 3) A coiled ball of home-made straw rope, or to give it its own Al name, a bottom of suggins. An interesting fact is that the word hag (háeg) is used beside caileach here in meaning 2, thereby underlining — without elucidating — the association.

At Pt. 19 our word 'kálóg means 'old woman' and is also applied to the minnow, a sense it has in NW Cavan in the form caileach húasóg 'bearded hag'.

Pt. 23 has our word in the form 'kálóg 1) a thatched top on a rick. 2) a minnow. Meaning 1 is of course related to meaning 3 sub Pt. 14. The word 'kálóg 'cock' occurs here.

Pt. 25 has máeg 1) A bottom of suggins. 2) A cock. 3) A long wattle for poaching. 4) A man fond of housework.

Pt. 27 has kéálog 'old hag', kélóg 'cock'.

Pt. 28 has kélóg 'a queer fellow who works inside and whose wife works outside'.

Neall and seamall both commonly mean 'cloud' in Ir. The following interesting local meanings have been found:

Pt. 6 Neol 'indwitive grudge waiting for its opportunity', cf. Tuar 'Néol Deas tair féin tá néill ins an tábhall sin.'

Cp. the local meaning 'treacherous blow' for neamhóg which commonly means 'nottle'.

Seamall. Pt. 13 has the meanings 1) Lining of an egg. 2) Membrane round a new-born calf. 3) Beowliness.

Bróg (Bragan breg). Pt. 5 has the meanings 1) 'Stoppage on the tongue in speaking', which suggests Ir. buroeg. 2) Manner of speaking, or accent (in this sense), cf. Bragan he has a different bróg with him than us 'he speaks differently'.

Maundach occurs at Pt. 12 in its primary Ir. meaning 'gap-toothed'. At Ps. 9 it signifies 'having an impediment in speech'. At Pt. 9 it has the additional meaning 'very drunk' which seems a very reasonable extension of it.

Bultineadh. Bragan has hale bunns 'cabbage stalks'. In Glenamaddy bultineadh has the sense 'girl of 15 or 16 years'. Both of these applications are close to the common Ir. meanings 'shoot, sapling'.

Other words and senses we note in passing are Bragan eolassan 'fool' from Ir. elas 'ear', cf. dialectal use of hag 'fool'; for 'hour frost' Lagan has braistog, Impyr has tráthnúin trochan. Erris has rink 'play' vb. of Ir. rinnne. Glenavar has rafter 'milk without cream' from Ir. eter, and — with Ross Carbery—the word lambhein 'creeping'.

From a Ross C. list of some 900 Ir. words we select xeim 'culls, second-rate men', solais 'illustration' in peoplist sense, cf. he's a solais 'he's a sight', cirglie idirid 'applesauce'.
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required two or more E. substitutes to cover its different denota-
tions, the prospective Al speaker often mistranslated his
foreign coinage. Thus in the Al pl. he had a right to do it
‘he should have done it’ right was used for Ir. ceart. What
happened is clear: the Ir. speaker wished to express the
idea of Ir. bhi sé ceart ag e dhíonadh ‘he should have done
it’, had the two E. counters for ceart ‘duty, right’, but used
the wrong one.

Other linguistic birth-marks from this source are:

Al care ‘family’ (How are all the care!) from Ir. carem ‘care,
family’.

Al whisper ‘I say!’ from Ir. coag ‘whisper (vb.), I say!
(excl.)’.

Al itself ‘even’ (If I went itself ‘If I went, even’) from Ir.
Rin ‘self, even’.

A comparison with Joyce’s Vocabulary, not to speak of earlier
sources, shows that the Al vocabulary is changing considerably.
As might be expected, Ir. words are finding more and more to
be shed, or left unused.

76. Some Particular Aspects of the Al Vocabulary.
a. Terminative Verbs. An interesting feature of the Al
vocabulary is the semantic function of certain terminative verbs (with
and without adverbs). The verb give, exemplified for Pt. 28, is
variously and widely used.

Pt. 5 has rise ‘get up’ in common with Pt. 28, get up ‘grow’,
find ‘hear’ as in W. Kerry, cf. Ir. airighe.

Pt. 13 has grind ‘eat’, cf. Ir. melluin.

Pt. 25 has knock down ‘remove (articles of dress), fall out
‘happened’.

Pt. 27 has knock oneself ‘lie down’, rise out ‘stop’, cf. Ir.

Pt. 0 has the Rising out-day ‘the next assembly-
around socially’. Forth has the Rising out-day ‘the next Sunday or holiday) after a marriage’. Paede,
p. 98.

75. The Al Vocabulary : Growth and Change. It is no doubt
less true now than formerly that Al viewed as a product of
bilingualism tends to be dominated in its vocabulary by E. words
and by Ir. meanings.

However this may be, it is evident that Al has frequently
had recourse to a process of augmenting its resources which
involved the disuse of an Ir. word, the retention of its meaning
and the promotion of an E. word to the vacant place. Thus Pt.
13, 31 have hand meaning ‘arm’ where hands has dispossessed
Ir. limh. Pt. 15 has fingers in the sense ‘toes’ because the disused
Ir. word mear could mean either ‘finger’ or ‘toe’. Pt. 12 has
skyeat ‘snipe’ on the same grounds that it had its predecessor
mission ragach, literally ‘sky kid’. Pt. 28 has red edge for ‘long,
keen edge’ because the Ir. term for this was faobhar dearg.
Similarly, dark is used in some Al dialects for ‘blind’, while
the hoedic (Feakle) salutation Black! conveys a speaker’s pessimistic
view of weather conditions.

A rather good illustration of the derived status and inter-
mediate position of the Al vocabulary is the Sth. Wexford term
eat ‘owl’, which in concept and word shows the influence of
Ir. eagam ‘owl’. The persistence of the Ir. concept in Al may
be further illustrated by the terms brother’s son, sister’s son more
specific than their E. counterpart nephews. These are found at
Pt. 5. Beside them the corresponding terms with daughter are
found at Pt. 7, while father’s brother, father’s sister are found at
Pt. 8 in preference to uncle. At Pt. 13 brother’s son, sister’s son
are the common terms.

As we saw at the outset, E. words deemed to be the conven-
tional semantic equivalent of Ir. words were promoted to their
place. Needless to say, this course was not without its accidents
and hazards, as may be illustrated by one particular dilemma of
the early Al speaker; When, as often happened, one Ir. word

cf. what good is éirghe inaírle? Is rakeidis ‘indifference’, cf. that’s
only rakeidis ‘talk that’s very half-hearted talk’.
Pl. 28 has to give a run in 'to visit'.
Pl. 29 has to throw an an ‘as you’ (= slighting remark).
Pl. 30 has bring ‘find the right word’; carry ‘take away (farm produce by locomotive)’.
Pl. 31 has carry (breadth) to be (a certain breadth).

b. The Local Relation. Two features of the AI vocabulary which strike one are its general partiality to local adverbs (prepositions) in -ing (cf. athout, athin, ahind, afore, abhow, aboon) and the stubborn effort it reveals to reproduce Irish concepts of the local relation.

As is clear from the words taith, sliar, the Ir. names of the Cardinal Points are conceived in terms of the position facing east with the north to the left hand. Three series of adverbs based on the concepts where? whither? whence? serve to express the local relation, and in any statement of relative position it is customary to use one of these.

Aspects of this system rather commonly found in AI are the use of the words north, south, east, west to express the local relation to things within as well as outside the neighbourhood. Another point to be noticed is the furnishing of terms alternative to these to fill the role vacated by the Ir. adverbs of place,—so commonly, back, behind for Ir. sliar, thar.

Exx. At Pls. 29—31 the terms north, south, east and west are all used as described.

Pl. 28. West to Dennis Murphy’s; 1 was east to Mike’s now; You could say, south to John Conner’s.

Pl. 30. 1 go east home; I was east at home; put Tha ‘hoket’ (hoket) up s’IN: ‘hoket’ put the bucket east up in the wall.

Here, up, down are often used for movement north and south respectively, and the younger generation tend to use back back in place of west.

Pl. 31. loch: ge-y-caveT let you go south; neXT in Du ‘land’ north in the land; ‘neXT be Du ‘riper’ north by the river.

At Pls. 15, 16, 18, 26, 27 back is used for Ir. sliar, thar (i.e.

expressing motion and rest) while behind for Ir. thar is a Kerry usage.

Note: The word-order imposed by the important Ir. adv. of place (which sometimes came to have a temporal application) by which it follows its qualifier, can be traced through the AI phrases:

Pls. 25, 30, 31 here around ‘in this district’, cf. Ir. amu timeball.

Pl. 16 here abhow ‘below here’.

Pl. 23 in the river down ‘down in the river’.

Pl. 27 Here down ‘down here’.

Pl. 28 There over. Pl. 27 (In a temporal connection) Not at late down ‘not lately’, cf. Ir. le te niall annus.

c. Culinary and Cuisine. a) Types of bread and other dishes.

The term bokky in the sense ‘dish composed of potatoes grated and strained, with a little flour and salt’ is fairly widespread.

Glencar has bokky for this, NW Tipperary has buckwa beside bokky.

Drang ferre-bread is based on (ungrated) potatoes with a little flour. The Balla ‘phakl'k potato-cake’ is distinct from this. It is made from potatoes peeled, boiled, and mashed, with flour added.

The most complete recipe for the bokky (butter-bread)—usually made on a pan—is the Feakle one: flour, milk, eggs, sugar, cream or tarter to produce a small saucer-like cake.

A variety known variously as dun-, dun-, slinn-, slinn-cake or bread enjoys a wide vogue. The Balla version known as ferm is made of flour, eggs, raisins, butter, on a pan. In Glencar the very thin ‘firmsk’ is baked on a griddle.

Bannocks of oatmeal bread were formerly popular at Pl. 5 and griddle bread at Pl. 27. But Pl. 27 still has an oatmeal variety of oatmeal cake baked on a griddle or tongs and guaranteed to last 6 months. Glencar formerly had a nodalless, squared cake of meal with a little flour called ‘cabát’.
b) Other Dishes. Other dishes are Bragan and Lagan oisla, 'thin gruel', Bragan champ ocelanon and 'spilledon 'a dish composed of bacon, water, oatmeal and white cabbage'.

g) Kitchen Utensils. A few of particular interest are: NW Tipp. keder 'milk tub', and cream-o'wll 'small tub for cream' OE cēfel, Glo., Dev., Corn. o'wll. Frakle mukl 'saucepan'. Bally-knowlery più.THRon 'small saucepan', Ross Carberry ba'tubl 'small, round, three-legged, iron pot'.

d) Distribution. Lexical items which appeal particularly as dialect criteria are a) Till to as inf. sign and local preposition.

b) The distribution of the forms the day/to-day, the year/to-year, the night/to-night, the Morrow/to-morrow and perhaps others of this pattern.

c) The occurrence and meaning of ditch and dike.

While a) and b) can help to establish the bounds of Ulster dialect c) has more immediate utility as a local test of Ulster variation.

a) Till has the uses mentioned, at Pts. 1—8, and seems least affected by the rivalry of to at Pts. 3, 4, 5.

b) The particle the-tends to replace too in the words today, to-night, to-morrow at the first 11 Pts. (excluding Pt. 4 for want of material). Reservations: some forms with to- occur at Pts. 3, 4, 6, 10.

g) Local Ulster variation is illustrated by the first three Pts:
Pt. 1 has shift 'raised bank of earth'.
Pt. 2 has stick in this meaning (as well as in the meaning 'stone wall').
Pt. 3 has shift 'trench that the bank is dug from', the word dike being seldom used.

Pt. 7 agrees with Pt. 2 (first meaning), our other Ulster Pts. generally with Pt. 1. The trench from which the bank is dug is commonly called shoulch, also grills. Where dike occurs (as at Pts. 19, 20) south of the province, it usually means 'trench, deep trench'.

This brings us to our first chart on AI word geography.
77. Chart 3: The smallest and weakest pig of the litter.

The dialectal term covering this concept is often applied to any thing or person which is puny or insignificant. In some cases a variety of terms exist and distinctions are made.

It will be seen in the following that one of the chief marks of word geography is that by establishing an appropriate context for the study of words and meanings (namely, the company of geographical correlatives) an unhampered and unbiassed view of the real development is permitted.

The Gels term snoody, snoddie is obscure. Gael, and Ir. deoraídhrh probably derives like dithreachbhacht, dirtreach (Pl. 25) from the conception ‘outcast’, applicable to a piglet which must be removed from the litter before it can enjoy a luxurious exile as pet pig. The Mayo term darrol dearnál, lit. ‘miserable one’ also derives from the earlier plight of the weaking.

The rather common crowl, crowly, crile is found in kindred meanings in Sc. Cf. also the Sc. v. crull ‘to contract’; cf. Du. kriel ‘dwarf’.

Dwarf (Pl. 3) and droich (Pl. 8) are probably related forms from OE dwerōr and Sc. duirech respectively. Droich, which was borrowed into Gael. in the meaning ‘dwarf’, occurs in our meaning in Perth.

Joyce gives drogh for Armagh.

The origin of the Glenhull and Lagan metaphor drecilin ‘weasel’ is clear. The Bragan form d'rekhan may be a mixture of this with crowl.

Pt. 9 meánróg is not quite clear.

Glanervin d’earr is and Kilclohygher (Pl. 11a) g’ærre is probably the Pers. N. Dorothy. Other personal names applied to our subject are the Daniel at Pt. 12 and Seánín (Ir. na G. 11. p. 188).

At Pt. 11a we encounter the form lbranain—also applied to a person. Other variants of lborpan ‘pigmy’ occur at Pt. 10 (lborban), and Pt. 24 (lbragban). The Kilmore (Pt. 24) word occurs also in Glenpipe in almost the same form and in the meaning ‘small dwarfish fellow’.

The term lbranain encountered at Ps. 12, 14, 15, 17, 19, 23, 27 does not yield up its secrets immediately. To judge from the forms at Pt. 17 it would seem to be a derivative of hool ‘mouse’.

However the juxtaposition at Pt. 10 of our form with a variant of lborpan structurally close to it raises another possibility. Forms of earc, earcín occur at Ps. 13, 14, 16, also at Pt. 11 and near Pt. 9 in our meaning. Tyrone has earcín in the meaning ‘piglet’. Cf. also ocr (cognate with Lat. porus) and its derivative ocachín at Pt. 26.

The Balas (Pt. 14) term seachachín is recorded by Dr. de Bhaldraithe for Coils Fhairghe, W. Galway in the meaning ‘little varagach, lag, trauillithia’.

We have not found the Longheugh term lhrainn 40, lit. ‘little mouse of the litter’ elsewhere so far.

The word rut (Ps. 18, 10, 21, 22) seems to be Al only, but Cym. has ri in our meaning. Nobber (Pt. 20) remun and Suffolk dial. rent a ‘pig when short and fat’ are clearly the same word.

Most of the remaining terms have the relative inferiority of the smallest piglet as general point of reference.

Pt. 26 has rut in the AI sense: a thing rejected. The Ps. 27 word dart occurs on Shetland and the Orkneys in the meaning a small person or thing’. Pt. 28a (Templeglantus, Limerick) sevar fr. serrarh means ‘a remnant’ and so, ‘a miserable animal’.

The association of the weening with the bottom of nest or bag is widespread, cf. Sc. pok shakin (ref. to piglet). Longheugh Bu skrepu a Bu bagn the scraping of the bag, Corca Dhhuibhse Bro skrethad na mhluin (referring to a child). The form ischan mh(m)lin and also ischtar, ischtirín fit into this concept too.

The forms with ad-, occurring where they do, can perhaps best be explained as representing a fusion with the Christian name. The term misthainin (cf. mist) is applied to small lambs also. Of the terms listed above the following occur in Dr. de

1 For the gender difficulty cf. lbran/lborpan, areay/areain, lhrag/lhorpan.
Bhí deacracht a chur i bhfeidhm ar Chineálacha Dáine, BO 22 1953 (120–153); ar, déirte, semailachán. His mearg may help to elucidate our (Pl. 9) mearnig. Other interesting terms are tar, toircín which may be encountered yet in AI. All these words signify a person invariably small and often diminutive, insignificant or weak. With this chart should be compared the corresponding Sc and Ir. ones.

For our final chart cf. p. 200.

**ACCENTUATION**

78. We propose to discuss here traditional accentuation at our Ps. south of the Sligo-Dublin line. Both stress and pitch accent are directly involved. Incidental topics are the reduction of unstressed syllables and the rise of homonyms.

The importance of accentuation as a dialect criterion of Ir. is well known. From the considerable Ir. material—including Place-names—procured through the Pilot Survey, it is possible to sketch the situation in anglicized districts.

The reliability and value of Ir. material so collected is not a constant quantity: one cannot always take it as representing the old tradition pure and undiluted. In practice it depends on the place, the informant and the forms offered.

Our Ps. 6, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 23, 25, 30, 31 do not give rise to exceptional misgiving, as the Ir. language lingers on in these places. In other areas the gap left by the ‘lost generations’ may or may not be bridged by one or two old speakers. It should be borne in mind that the disuse of Ir. at many other Ps. on our circuit is on the whole recent.

Where Ir. has been extinct for some time, one must proceed with caution. For example, some standardised forms are gaining general currency and are of little value in the present connection: cf. potón < potín, trochán < trachán ‘bilberry’, maolán < maolín ‘hornless cow’, suggán < ságáin ‘straw rope’, magórry < muchdhr ‘berry of the wild rose’. Widely-known Place-names have also to be avoided. Ir. words derelict, as it were, in AI may undergo a development of form or meaning different (or at least distinct) from the Ir. one. The forming of hybrids in AI and phonetic developments which seem to remain stages long traversed by the Ir. language, show that dynamic forces are at work.

The problem we are facing here is essentially one of a survey of Ir. dialect as a whole: to what extent—in view of the depleted state of the language—are the facts discovered or discoverable to be accepted as typical of Ir. and genuine; to what extent are they the product of contamination.

To the well-informed reader this may have a familiar ring; but Jaberg and Jud were faced not with a crucial, but with a normal linguistic situation, when they wrote:

Wir wollen aber nicht eine andere Entwicklungsstufe, also nicht die ‘ursprüngliche’ Mundart, sondern die letzte, die jüngste Entwicklungsstufe, die modernen Mundart mit allen modernen Mischungen und Infiltrationen festhalten. Eine genuine Mundart gibt es so wenig wie es eine einheitliche Mundart gibt. ‘Genuin’ nennt man das, was zeitlich weit genug von uns entfernt ist, um uns seine Herkunft zu verheimlichen. ‘Ursprünglich’ und ‘genuin’ wird morgen sein, was uns heute als ‘jung’ und ‘importiert’ erscheint.

79. Ir. and E. words are subject to the same tonal but not to the same stress usage in the dialects. This means that they can be taken together for the one but should be kept at first apart for the other. We are concerned here primarily with Ir. words but do not ignore the others.

By stating here once for all the conditions under which stress is shifted in Southern Ir. we shall save ourselves considerable repetition below. T. F. O’Rahilly says: Southern Ir. throws forward the stress to the second syllable of a word whenever that syllable is long, e.g. culdeán, arí'r

1 Jaberg and Jud, Sprachstudien, p. 141.
(< arthar), dèg'mach, diomhao. Furthermore, the third syllable, if long, attracts the stress to itself when the two preceding syllables are short, e.g. spéaladóir. When the second syllable is stressed and does not contain i or u, a short vowel in the first syllable is weakened and obscured, so that pretonic a, o and u are all pronounced alike, e.g. casóg is pronounced cas og, similarly fasón is pronounced fusón, and spreáin is pronounced spreáin. Short vowels frequently disappear from the first syllable of a word when the second syllable is stressed and begins with l, s, or r, e.g. coliste pron. cliosté, soláthar, pron. soláthar, bicé, pron. bicin, corán pron. crónn (compare Eng. crown from Mid.Eng. crowne)."

Our exx. are given in the following order throughout:
A. Disyllabic Words: a. Prevalent Type. b. Words with level stress. c. The other stressed type. d. Words in - (e)ach.
B. Trisyllabic Words, where available, are cited in the same order.

80. Pt. 12 (Kilclare). In this district stress conditions do not present any particular problem: disyllabic and trisyllabic words retain first syllable stress. Long vowels of second (unstressed) syllables are regularly reduced to half-long, rarely retaining full length. This usage is in agreement with that of North Roscommon.

An. 'beccan' a tree fungus' cf. Ir. beccán, 'black-bon steppe stones across a stream' Ir. beccán, 'chabán' a young sow' Ir. cecog, pcer óg Daog 'creed' Ir. cég, 'brenin, 'brec'h-in 'soft moss' Ir. brec'hin, 'Trampea 'sheep's or goat's fetter' Ir. strámphin.

Alpán 'little stick' Ir. éipin, retains its long vowel.

Ad. e.g. 'numbness from cold', prob. Ir. eighreach, birtv 'lisping' Ir. briothach, amn óth 'gap-toothed' Ir. maithdach, Trurm 'in confusion' Ir. trummach, a 'hale, a stiffness in the forearm from milking' Ir. tsúlaich, 'grípa red ash' Ir. grísínach, spálu 'old turf, old wet turf' Ir. spádach.

81. Pt. 13 (Glenamoy). Similar stress conditions prevail here so that a rising pitch pattern on disyllabic words tends to reduce the interval of prominence between the two syllables. This is not sufficient, however, to imperil or impair the system.

An. 'bhróin 'beetle', 'bhróin 'nestlings' (É. Mhae an Fh. gives bhróin; the three forms are no doubt to be connected with bhróin, boireachán), 'bhróin 'hills berries' Ir. braochog, 'garaín 'carried horse' Ir. gairn, 'bhiollain 'striker of flame', 'foppain 'ant'.

Exx. of rising tonal pattern: 'bóllog 'young heifer' Ir. bollóg

82. Pt. 14 (Baill). A final pattern of the following type is very prevalent here:

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The investigator—and even the interested resident—is often at a loss to know which syllable of a disyllabic word is the more prominent. As a result we have a relatively high number of words with even stress. At the same time there is no doubt at all that the basic stress here is on the first syllable; intonation is merely a disturbing factor.

Aa. With first syllable stress (the vast majority of recorded forms): *fLauna* 'sly (on the eye)' Ir. *sleamhán*, *ské:LTjō* 'fledging' Ir. *sealáin*, *Djó;Ri:zn* 'projecting handles of scythe' Ir. *ó;Ri:n*, *naNjó* 'nettles' Ir. *neamntógl*, *mi;LTjó* 'fly' Ir. *mi;ótljó*.


82. Pt. 15 (Glenamaddy). While Balla shows a certain wavering towards forms with forward stress, Glenamaddy has a small but solid minority of such forms. Along with these there is a still smaller number recorded with even stress, and a number in which the informant in repeating the words reversed his stresses.

Disyllabic words retain radical stress.

It will be clear that while the high proportion of even guarantees the primacy of radical stress, Glenamaddy is by no means a perfect exponent of this.

The prevalent tonal pattern of short recorded forms here is rather similar to that of Balla, though the final interval is smaller:

(1)

A less important pattern is: (II)

Note that the lower pitch of the second syllable does not deprive it of chief or equal prominence. The resemblance between Glenamaddy and some SW dialects may be due in large part to the following features common to both: 1) deliberate utterance, 2) the situation in I above with stress and pitch accent in competition for pride of place and in cooperation to distribute prominence all round.


Ba. Radical Stress: *p:ĥjog* 'loops of cured sna-skín on 15*
tying of flail', 'bo-ka-len 'ragweed', 'kul-pan 'handle of flail'
Ir. celpín.

84. Pt. 16 (Curnamona). Our partial Curnamona recording does not permit the same detail as elsewhere. First syllable stress is the rule here and is not disturbed by intonation to the same extent as in Balla.

Aa. Radical Stress: 'pi-ro-ga 'superstitious', 'ka-lo-g 'sally tree'
Ir. sallog, 'bo-og 'egg with soft shell', 'bo-ko-n 'door hinge'
Ir. bocon, 'le-o-ga-n 'spancel', 'be-o-ga-n 'porridge', 'go-va-n 'boys',
'le-o-n 'hand-grip of scythe' Ir. binnín, 'ba-ta-n 'ignoramus'.

Ad. Words in -e(a)eh: 'pu-re-ga 'soft mud' Ir. paiteach, 'bre-ya-g 'colt' Ir. bramach.

Ba. Radical Stress: 'kán-a-n 'bog cotton'
Ir. ceannabhín, 'fli-bín 'green plover', cf. also 'ba-ko-le-n 'little basket'.

85. Pt. 17 (Longhrea). Here we shall take intonation first. Longhrea intonation may fairly be described as undulating. Cp. the following exx.:

A. 

A seathen of mine told me he saw him in Longhrea last night.  

B. In the end of the house, a bíthel. A riddle.

The final wave of each sample is either rising-falling (a) or falling-rising (v). Cp. now the intonation recorded for the following words and phrases:

The double forms of ciuré and garraín suggest that in this dialect stress and pitch accent can operate in harmony. Cases of stress shifting are otherwise comparatively rare; forms with level stress are neither numerous nor particularly significant. Longhrea seems to show less accent disturbance than Glenamaddy.

Aa. Radical Stress. 'pi-re-ga, 'pár-o-ga 'superstitious', 'ga-'Dróy 'a type of rush', 'ní-og 'fly', 'bo-fa-n 'creech', 't-pa-n 'wren', 'go-va-n 'daisies'.

Ab. Level Stress. 'go-Dró-t 'sod', 'tba-l 'T 'n 'fledglings'.
Ac. Shifted Stress. 'pul-fa-n beside pul-fi 'home-made whiskey'.

Ba. Radical Stress. 'pi-á-sha-n 'green plover', 'mu-dá-r a 'fox'.

Ad. -(e)ach Words. 'kr-ta-n 'left-handed', 'kr-cu- 'pigeon-teed', 'pu-re-ga 'muck'.

86. Pt. 18 (Trumena). The Ir. material collected at this Pt. bas features which place it apart from Southern Ir. proper, cf. 'la' (a) in 'cháit!' (said in chasing a cat), 'fho-sar 'pincers'. Cf. also the Place-names 'pul-fa-n, 'pul-fi-n. 'dé in 'dó-arn, 'dé 'n 'small or delicate animal or person, 'dé 'n 'dust', 'pul-fin. Cf. also the forms 'g-thod diabhal 'devil', 'bo-ha 'boy', 'máNTók 'gap-toothed', and the Place-names 'pul-fa-kr, 'kla-r 'bag, 'logán.'
In the majority of recorded forms radical stress has been retained. In a fair number of syllabic words with long derivatives syllabic the stress has been shifted. Words in -ach do not shift stress. Place-names such as 'kwmeg, 'pabhinn, 'rabhain suggest that in this area stress-shifting was a piecemeal as well as a partial development.

Aa. Radical Stress. 'Tullkha-n 'fool', 'pozaq-n 'small potatoes', 'kiddo-g 'bog bush' Ir. rodlog.

Ab. Level Stress. 'Tra:q:tn trathnin 'long blade of grass', 'kw:bo:q 'gathering of (Easter)eggs'.

Ac. Shifted Stress. 'br:ynq-n 'soft egg', Place-names kwmern, kw'megh Croomeg, dw'men Drommín.

Ad. Words in -oach. 'bun:q Bunnacagh (a nickname), 'pafre 'charlock', 'cgwinj 'dust', 'kumak 'show', 'pafre 'frightened crying child', 'bafra 'light, waste turf'.

Ba. Radical Stress. 'bun:qlaa-n 'ragweed'.

87. Pt. 19 (Imper). Radical stress is retained here.

Aa. Radical Stress. 'gra:N:q 'hedgehog', 'pakaq-a 'blind on roving cow's eyes', 'fikam-n 'very small quantity', 'bun:kfn 'striker of flail', 'ra:q:n 'potatoes roasted in the embers'.

Ad. Words in -oach. 'pafaq 'charlock', 'bafraq 'low-lying wet land'.

Ba. Radical Stress. 'falekka-n 'green plover', 'kawmnan 'bog cotton'.

88. Pt. 21 (Killakee). The scant material available shows that radical stress is retained.

Aa. 'pikra-n 'minnows', 'bouthi:fn 'striker of flail', 'pafaq 'home-made whiskey', 'ku:qyaq 'left-handed person', 'qunam 'young boy'.

Ad. Words in -oach. 'pafre 'charlock'.

89. Pt. 22 (Balinglass). Usable here is very mixed but forms with radical stress seem on the whole to be in the majority.

This comes out clearest in Place-names: 'rabhain, 'forbhen, 'pabhinn, 'nukfin (lit:in). Place-names from the Loughquilla area towards the centre of the county show the same general preference for radical stress.

Aa. Radical Stress. 'gra:N:q 'hedgehog', 'duclog 'pounder', 'Tra:q:tn 'long blade of grass', 'kawmnan 'small urchins'.

Ab. Level Stress. 'pofinj-n 'small potatoes', 'piqraq-n 'minnows'.

Ac. Shifted Stress. 'qikasaq 'left-handed people', 'bun:qna 'egg with soft shell', 'bo:xaq-n 'narrow by-road'.

Ad. Words in -oach. 'pafre 'charlock'.

Ba. Radical Stress. 'falekn 'green plover', 'piqraq 'superstitions'.

The following contours will serve to illustrate prevalent tonal patterns: 

90. Pt. 23 (Glenpipe). Shifted stress is the rule here. The radical vowel may be detached as in: 'bheq 'smallest pig of litter', 'bun:q 'fiddy', 'faphuq 'bilberries'.

The prevalent pitch accent on syllables and tri-syllables is a fairly rapidly falling one. This gives a very specific tonal effect, sometimes suggesting a speaker's perpetual wonderment, cf.

In syllables one case of radical stress due apparently to tonal conditions has been noted: 'forbhen beside 'faphuq (and 'forbhen) 'bilberry'. Presumably the stressing of 'fey 'small person or thing', 'kawmnan 'small piece of turf', 'pafaq 'charlock'.

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[Diagram not visible in text]
"duarnog" (beside more common "Duar'nog") 'thatching sick, glove' can be similarly explained. At all events, words noted with level stress—which provide a point of departure for exceptional usage—form a compact little group.

Of exceptional interest are the forms 'kalaeg' 'cock' and bragg 'hay-roping thatching on rick, hay-roping under-surface of thatched roof, minnow'.

The pitch interval (referred to above) between first and third syllable in trisyllables may be sufficient to give these an effect of equal prominence, as in the word "bilsmouth already given; but where syllable length permits, stress gives the third syllable greater relative prominence, e.g.,

an am Duarn 'a fool', Da mide'Veren 'the fairies', but e mide'Thernen 'a person who has lost all his teeth'.

91. Pt. 24 (Kilmore). Our material, though not very extensive for this Pt. permits the conclusion that long derivative syllables in disyllables generally cause stress shifting. Our words in -ach retain radical stress. The few trisyllable words recorded do not permit a conclusion on the development of this type.

As. Shifted Stress. be'gwn 'egg with soft shell', pe'gyn 'he-goat', bo'gyn 'narrow bye-road', bo'fleg 'earwig'.

Ab. Level Stress. ba'i'lachan 'tom-cat', gret'chen 'pig's foot', 'mej'kyn 'hornless cow', ve'mez'kyn a mfrin (= finger-shield).

As. Radical Stress. gna'ney 'hedgehog', skreyn 'a seaweed', ba'gyn 'piglets'.

Ad. Words in -ach. Do 'bogog 'last corn sheaf cut at harvest ing', 'kalaeg 'straw used in tying sheaves and in thatching', 'preg 'charlock'.

Ba. Radical Stress. Do 'lachan a Do 'litch 'the smallest pig... , an 'sreben 'a pullet', ve'sogla-n 'a ragweed plant'.

92. Pt. 25 (Mellavey). Here final stress prevails in disyllable words. Level stress is not uncommon, but radical stress is almost unknown (our solitary example 'gillaeg 'corn stack' is a by-form). Long vowels in first (unstressed) syllables may or may not be reduced (cf. egnan, kurlin, lvdin, lrcun).

Before l, r short vowels may disappear (klag 'cock, etc.', 'kren'Ven 'skythe stone'); their treatment is not uniform.

The thoroughness of stress-shifting in Mellavey is brought out by disyllabic forms like gleu'nog 'wild bees' nest', flo'gyn 'bilberry' and by trisyllabic forms like gilsegue'n 'ragweed plants', -all with heavy first syllables.

Words in -ach have final stress when the first syllable is short (Draunog 'backband on ploughing horse').

Trisyllabic words have final stress in the usual case—when the preceding syllables are short (ba-nef'fan 'smallest pig of litter'). The first vowel of such a trisyllabic word may sometimes be elided (Deru'r am 'fleg 'foot'). When the first syllable is long it tends to resist stress-shifting (floe'dun 'thistle') but—as we have seen—may occasionally be overborne by a long final syllable. When all syllables are short, radical stress is the rule (flos'tin 'iris', gil'nog 'very small potatoes', beside gin'dun).

A few further exx. are:

Aa. Final Stress. bratina 'seed potatoes', f'lleg 'scarcecrow', lvdin 'little finger'.

Ab. Level Stress. 'lheog 'young salmon'. Do 'kurlina 'the curlew', 'torp'fan 'fungus on trees; stodgy-looking person'.

Ad. Words in -ach. skreog 'scour', pu'fa'g 'weat 'charlock'.

Rhythm and Tonal Patterns. Two consecutive strong stresses are felt to do violence to the rhythmical convention of the dialect, cf. li'hun 'labh 'bat', 'pil'hun 'mireng 'green plover' where initial stress replaces final stress in the first term of each phrase, because of initial stress in the second term. This usage applies in West Muskerry Arba and Glenar as well and has been noted in West Muskerry lr. (Ó Coín, § 241).

One very characteristic intonation pattern made a particularly vivid impression. It is essentially a falling-rising tone with the peculiarity that the interval between the first stressed note and the last is commonly one tone or one semi-tone only. We give
some exx. in tonic solfa as well. In these it was felt that the
important intervals, i.e. those between really tonal words, had
been identified. A notation of this kind can display the role of
stress, the inherent rhythm of speech and the possible repercus-
sions of these factors on quantity. Its chief demerit is the rather
academic one of implying tonal sequences instead of tonal
highlights. For some AI dialects this may not be a great dis-
advantage.

I. $\begin{array}{c}
    r:\bar{i}: \cdot 1 \quad s:\bar{i}: \cdot 1 \quad \bar{d}: 1 \quad \bar{d}: 1 \\
    \text{That's about it now!}
\end{array}$

II. $\begin{array}{c}
    r:\bar{i}: \cdot 1 \quad s:\bar{i}: \cdot 1 \\
    \text{In or around the same.}
\end{array}$

III. $\begin{array}{c}
    r:\bar{i}: \cdot 1 \quad f:\bar{i}: \cdot 1 \\
    \text{I understand what you're sayin'.}
\end{array}$

With Precontour (Anfakt):

IV. $\begin{array}{c}
    t \quad r:\bar{i}: \cdot 1 \quad \bar{d}: 1 \\
    \text{They took this place.}
\end{array}$

V. $\begin{array}{c}
    t \quad d:\bar{i}: \cdot 1 \quad s:\bar{i}: \cdot 1 \\
    \text{We'd only call that a bran-n.}
\end{array}$

VI. $\begin{array}{c}
    f\bar{r}\cdot \quad \text{You're old down here, Sir.}
\end{array}$

93. Pt. 26 (Kilkomain). Disyllabic words take final stress
as a rule. Few words with radical stress have been recorded
and these are mostly by-forms. The number with level stress
recorded is not considerable. Trisyllable words seem to waver
somewhat between initial and final stress (cf. ‘miksi-ne‘ (nis-
chievous) fairies’ but pil'thi‘nz ‘small potatoes’; also the type
with heavy first and final syllables: $\tilde{k}l\tilde{m}u\tilde{r}t\tilde{w}$, $\tilde{k}l\tilde{m}\tilde{r}b\tilde{h}n\tilde{m}$ ‘mist’).

A. Final Stress. $p\tilde{f}\tilde{f}z$ ‘superstitions’, $p\tilde{f}\tilde{f}z\tilde{b}$ ‘kittens’,
$p\tilde{f}\tilde{f}\tilde{b}\tilde{b}$ ‘bings’, $\tilde{t}\tilde{r}\k\tilde{k}\tilde{m}\tilde{m}$ ‘small quantity’.

B. Level Stress. $k\tilde{t}k\tilde{t}$ ‘left-handed person’, $b\tilde{r}\tilde{b}z\tilde{b}$
‘Wren-boy’), $b\tilde{r}\tilde{b}z\tilde{t}u\tilde{w}$ ‘tool’, $D\tilde{e}\tilde{r}\tilde{n}\tilde{r}\tilde{n}$ ‘hand-grips of seythe’.

Ad. Words in -seb. $k\tilde{b}k\tilde{a}$ ‘rough bridge across drain in bog’,
$p\tilde{f}\tilde{f}\tilde{b}z$ ‘charlock’, $k\tilde{b}\tilde{b}\tilde{b}$ ‘minnows’, $D\tilde{u}\tilde{m}\tilde{m}$
‘backhand of ploughing horse’; $k\tilde{b}r\tilde{c}$ ‘low-lying marshy ground’ may not be
a genuine local form.

B. We have no further exx. of trisyllabic words with light
first and second syllables and long final syllable.

94. Pt. 27 (Feakle). We begin with some Intonation contours:

a. Statement

b. Question

In this last case the second syllable is almost as prominent as
the first, for in Feakle disyllabic words—and trisyllabic words too
— have a strong secondary stress with which the rising intonation
cooperates, cf. $b\tilde{r}z\tilde{b}\tilde{t}u\tilde{w}$ ‘better’, $j\tilde{t}\tilde{b}u\tilde{w}\tilde{d}$ ‘yesterday’.
As in Loughrea, individual disyllabic words can have either a falling or a rising tune:

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Trisyllable words and some disyllables favour the falling-rising pattern of VI, cf.

- Beul, 'tree', 'spider', 'spider', 'shoulder', 'shoulder'

Disyllables generally seem to prefer the rising tune to the falling, cf.

Note the opposition of stress and pitch accent in Beul, 'tree', 'spider', 'spider', 'shoulder', 'shoulder'.

The stressing of some disyllabic E. words presents a special problem. Here we may confine ourselves to saying that the second syllable of E. words has generally a secondary stress (cf. vien 'ivy', 'spider', 'water' and (with level stress) 'bet' 'belly', 'between' 'between') and that the rising tune can increase its prominence, cf.

In Ir. words second long syllables are invariably stressed; no radically stressed words of this type were noted and only a few...
with level stress. Disyllables in -ach have final stress when the first syllable is short.

Radical short vowels may be lost as in *gwa:y-z:ach* 'small quantity'. Reduction of radical long vowels is inconspicuous; cf. *ru:tr:ac*; *ru:tr:an* 'hooves, ankles', *kra:-be:x:n*; kra:-be:x:n 'hoof of cow or pig'.

In trisyllables stress is shifted in the usual case. Long first syllables retain radical stress against long final syllables.

Aa. Final Stress. *Tr:ma:*n 'cross rafter', *kra:-be:x:n* 'pig-sty', *ra:-Tyr*, *ra:-Tyr* 'cleaner for pipe stem', *mapa:*Tyr* 'a gap-toothed person'.


Ad. Words in -ach. *Dru:nag* 'back-strap in ploughing; central part of cow-tying; rope-load of hay', *prafa:* 'charlock', *kra:-gy* 'man who takes over the housekeeping', *krax:* 'path over drain in bog'.


96. Pt. 29 (Glencair). The most important intonation contour in statements here seems to be the gradual rise on the last syllable. Breath-groups of three syllables usually reproduce this falling-rising tune; sometimes they show the rise only. Isolated disyllabic words have nearly always a rising tune; a falling tune seems rare and without special significance.

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The very prevalent rising intonation of disyllabic words aided by traditional stressing produces E. forms such as *di:li:q* 'billeting', *di:nu:* 'dinner'. For E. words with SW (initial) stressing cf. § 52.

Our two final intonation contours above—in one of which winnowing reproduces the pattern of nostrils—are designed to show that an a priori division according to grammatical category may be valueless, for here statement and question make use of the same contour.

In Ir. words stress is shifted in all the usual cases. Before -ach an unstressed short vowel may be lost (cf. *kra:y* 'bog curragh bog' 'marsh'). A short vowel may be elided under final stress in trisyllables (cf. *pli:hr:n* 'green plover'); a first long syllable in these retains its stress.

Aa. Final Stress. *ka:*T: *n* 'stonechat', *bi:be:* 'shoehorn female', *ku:*T: *n* 'crouce, boggy grass'.


Ba. Final Stress. *ka:*v:*n* 'a slight', *Du* *ka:*R: *v:*n* 'period from about mid-April to mid-May', *a:pi:* *ku:*n* 'a cone-shaped paper bag'.

97. Pt. 30 (Ballymakeery). Prevalent intonation contours are:

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An essential feature is rising pitch—usually preceded by falling pitch—on a final syllable. A rather rare alternative pattern on isolated words is the falling tune:

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99
49
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In this dialect the relative prominence of a syllable may depend more on pitch than on intensity, cf.

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The rising intonation of *goyR’in*, as we have seen, is very typical of dissyllabic words here and probably developed in harmony with final (breath-)stress. The application of this tonal pattern to E. has resulted in forms such as

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99
49
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In these, tonal and breath accent are at odds.

Our ex. show that the reversal to radical stress for rhythmic reasons noted under Pt. 25 above is not a consistent feature of this area.

Aa. Final Stress. *paR’in* ‘Blindman’s Buff; a blind’;

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Ab. Level Stress. *baR’l* ‘cow-dung (old. case)’;

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99
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Ad. Words in -eh. *kiR*y ‘cock, old woman’;

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99
49
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Ba. Final Stress. *paR’n* ‘bead’;

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99
49
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Sg. *k’ger* ‘slovenly female’.

A rising tune is common on isolated dissyllabic words and replaces Tune 1 sometimes on trisyllables:

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A falling tune on dissyllables is not very common, cf.

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49
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Stress-shifting is carried out here in all the usual cases. Hybrids (E. radical + Ir. formative) are brought into this scheme. Our only example in -saech loses its radical short vowel.

Trisyllabic words adapt themselves to the rhythmical usage referred to above, but dissyllabic words do not.

Aa. Final Stress. *sR’ex-an* ‘castrated horse’;

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99
49
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Ad. Words in -saech. *kR’ex* ‘ant’;

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99
49
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Ba. Final Stress. *kR’ex* ‘charlock’;

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99
49
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Bb. Among trisyllabic words of the relevant structure which retain initial stress are *DumgR’ex* ‘small stacks’;

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99
49
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‘little, flat dry cake’.

13—Norah Thing, for language distribution. See p. 112, p. 114.
99. The intonation contours given above do not show the variety one might have expected. Is this due in part to an encroachment by Southern forms on SE and Central Connacht? At all events it is clear that in the heart of Connacht prevalent contours are found which differ little from some recorded for the SW.

In these Connacht Pts. also the prominence of radical syllables is not uncontested. Will the explanation prove to be that a previous Connacht system with radical stress (and without rising pitch) is no longer intact?

Current accentual conditions render the assumption plausible that stress-shifting in Southern Ir. was accompanied by a rising tone on final syllables. In this light Pt. 30 will appear to be the representative par excellence of the Southern development: pitch and stress accent cooperating to give final syllables absolute prominence. Pt. 23, which seems anomalous now, will fit into the historical picture as an island testifying to an older system of radical stress and falling pitch.

This is as far as we may proceed along the line of interpretation. Our function here is not to seek solutions with a partial material but to define as sharply as possible the more important problems of the Al linguistic background.

We hope we have not exceeded our brief.

MIGRATION, PLACE-NAMEs AND PERSONAL NAMES

100. Before developments in a dialect can be attributed to the influence of migrants, all the available evidence on population movements has to be assembled and assessed. We confine ourselves here to a note on migration from Ulster to the SW and South.

The Term Ultach. In the Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin, I, 1455, the term holtaghys occurs in the sense of 'Ulster vagrants'. To the territorial meaning with, no doubt, its suggestion of the alien and the distant, connotations of magic and cruelty have been added.

These significations are coupled also in the word muintir 'left, sinister; north', while the word taisteartach adds to the already bitter burden the taint of rusticity and rudeness. The adj. ailtach 'wild, weird' which may be homophonous with Ultach is sometimes added to it.

While there could be a very old prejudice against Northerners, these semantic developments seem in part pre-determined (by primary association), in part achieved through accident (homophony).

In our own investigations we have come across the term Ultach (in Al) repeatedly, and always in the sense 'a man of Northern extraction, from Ulster'. The word has not had any connotations of the kind mentioned above.

101. In Connacht and North Munster. Ulster influence on NW Mayo is well-known, and is traceable in large part to the Cromwellian transplantations. Of Uls termen in Ballacroy (Mayo) the following testimony was given in 1896: "The dialect they speak is somewhat different from that of the other peoples of Erris, though not so much so as formerly, and has most of the characters of Ulster Irish". This will be illustrated, no doubt, in detail in Professor Wagner's Irish Atlas and need not be further dwelt upon here.

A point of considerable interest to which we shall proceed instead is the further penetration of Connacht and N. Munster by Northern features.

A useful criterion of this is the change of -n- to -n- after t, d, m, l. The colloquial form of the word euno near Sligo town, in Kill לג (and Balta), in Bangor Erris, in Tourmakeady, in Killcullagh (and Balla), in Carna, near Galway town (in Menlough and Cola Flanrig) in Carna, 1 near Galway town (in Menlough and Cola Flanrig).

1 Cl. O’Rahilly, p. 148.
2 For information about these Pts. I am indebted to Prof. Wagner.
3*
has kr-. Louisburgh is the most northerly point in Mayo with kn- and Cornamona has kn- in cnoc but kr- in the word cnadáin 'a burre'. Glenamaddy has kn- in this word.

Local Place-names often have (kn-) and kr- forms beside one another, cf.


Obviously, the incoming kr- was unable to oust the old kn-form in all of these. In certain circumstances this might permit working assumptions on the size of a migrant element; but seeing that the matter is one of comparatively recent history, surer and more definitive lines can be followed: Local and other records are likely to show that after a certain point spellings with -r- begin to oust -n-. A comparison of this chronology for all places affected would help to elucidate the general historical circumstances, while local tradition contributes its mite on the families and personalities involved.

The Ulach tradition is resumed in South Galway with ‘the goil Táirg ‘mountain (Ulach Mountain) between Loughrea and Woodford and the family names Farrell, McInerney, Hamilton, Fallon and Carey’.

Across the Shannon in the Sl. Bloom area there are clear evidences of this tradition. An informant (D. G.) reports that old James Doherty (b. 1843) claimed that his ancestors came from Inishowen. James attributed their migration to the Ulster plantations of 1609-1610. He used the word gránaíse 'rabble'. Another word attributed to Ulach there was gráthain 'a nondescript group (of pigs or the like). Some families said to be of Ulster origin here are the Quigleys, Carrs, Dohertys, Hanleys, Nolans. An informant named Quigley considered himself of Ulster stock.

The word cnoc has a by-form kruc here attributed to Ulach.

Mr. Quigley offered the word krúbha:n in the meanings ‘hill’ (= eneáin) and ‘small potato’ (= cristach). He also stated that one of the Nolans used the form kruc s'knapal for the local nk s'knapal ‘Cnoc a’ Chapaill’.

From Sl. Clare the form Cnoc Thaidh is reported to us with initial kr- and in Atha (W. Limerick) kr’ké:n has been heard for eneáin. This is as far as our material brings us on the matter.

A cursory glance at the position in Leinster shows that Sl. Dublin has at least its Croghanadroneagh and Wicklow (Barony of Talbotstown Lower)1 a small sprinkling of names with Crok-, Cruknau-.

Place-name research (with exact local phonetic form and precise indication of stress) will be expected to contribute the necessary information further afield.

102. Personal Names. Traditional naming modes bearing witness to a common social and cultural heritage are very persistent in many of our 31 areas. Our exx. below represent the Sl. Bloom area unless otherwise indicated. We do not include the more complicated forms here nor discuss local variations of the types given.

A. The Individual. In practice surnames are not greatly used. Individuals are known by their Christian name with one or the following types of determinative added for greater specification:

1. In - PN: Patsy in Cam, Mat in Cools, Mick in Lag, Mick in Gleann.
2. At - Pers. N.: Mick at Mick's, cf. I'm Mick at Mick's wife.
3. The - Local feature: Ned the Lane, Ger the Hill, Cp. Ir.
4. Mother's Name. A man of somewhat obscure family entering a house as son-in-law (Ir. iompháin iseach) has little

prospect of handing on his own name to his family if his wife's people have made their mark locally.

Exx. 'tum 'ána 'rub 'Tom Áine Bhig', 'mik big 'nelt 'Mick Big Nelly', 'Dhocal 'sao 'Donal Mháire'.

5. Father's Name (This is less common than 4). "tom mac" 'Mac Tom Éamonn 'le Seán' (Kilcomman), 'Bidi dhéim ' rub 'Biddy James Bhidi' (Glangevlin), 'nisi mikt 'dèim 'Owen Micky Jemmy', James Pat Larry (Bragan).

Note the sequence of Christian names; each stands in a genitive relation to the preceding one. Sometimes the AI form shows an effort to recreate this relation with new means, cf. Pat's Larry,


7. Occupation. Paddy the Post.

Finally, a nickname only may be used as: Giant, Peder (Kilcomman), 0e (Bragan). This is a very popular mode (cf. B below) and often serves as basic name for a family for generations. Individuals descended from Giant for example will be known by Christian Name + Giant where this represents an ir. genitive case of descent.

B. Family Branches. When a particular family has enjoyed exceptional increase in an area it becomes necessary to distinguish its branches. According to circumstances, accidents and inspiration, the determinative added to the unmodified family name may be:


Colours commonly serve this purpose: 'rín 'Dun 'Ryan-Dubh', 'rín 'rann 'Ryan-Rán', 'rín 'rua 'Ryan-Ruadh'.

A derogatory nickname may sometimes serve as sole designative: Do bhug-go 'the goose-calling branch of the family'.

2. An Occupation: 'rín 'bú 'Ryan-Buail, i.e. Dairy farmers', 'rín 'farm 'Ryan-Farmers', 'rín 'gob 'Ryan-Gabha, i.e. Blacksmith', 'rín 'feamer 'Ryan-Shoemaker'.

3. Father's Name: 'rín 'darbh 'Ryan-Darbh', 'rín 'rubh 'Ryan-Rody', 'rín 'sáib 'Ryan-Billy', 'rín 'Dun 'Ryan-Donat Mháire'.

4. Mother's Name: 'rín 'rosh 'Ryan-Roger', 'rín 'ána 'rub 'Ryan-Aine Bhig', 'rín Morissey 'Ryan-Morrissey', 'rín 'peig 'Ryan-Peggy Gabha'.

163. Epilogue. A report has to have some limits and the fact-finding part of this one has already reached unusual proportions. It has been compiled in the conviction that it is more constructive and profitable to offer a foretaste of final fruits than a discussion of ways and means for what many—in the present condition of AI studies—may otherwise consider a blind enterprise.

We feel that the prospects of a full-scale AI Survey can be estimated from the present contribution (such as it is) and that familiarity with the subject and with the aims of linguistics generally will enhance the reader's interest in such a project.

The portion of our preliminary material displayed here has been sufficient to show its strength—and weakness. On the one hand, it represents a set of vantage points over the whole country from which progress can be made further afield. It has revealed many of the more important local problems and brought to light a considerable lexical fund; it has given us in certain cases an insight into local phonological systems and enabled us to detect inherent tendencies and outside influences. On the other hand, it has the tantalising quality of raising problems which only a more copious and representative material can hope to solve.

184. Recommendations. For a Linguistic Atlas of Ireland a coverage of 300 places should be adopted, to be apportioned among the provinces as follows: Ulster 93, Leinster 88, Munster 60, Connacht 45. The remaining 14 places should be reserved for later developments and special problems.

All the material should be made available inside 3 years from the date of commencing. This would require the cooperation of
two (trained and enthusiastic) young field-workers beginning in North and South respectively and working towards each other. The present investigator would deal with special problems, more critical areas, more complicated border zones, matters of organization, editing and preparing for publication. Publication should commence inside 5 years.

Chief among the tasks collateral to the Atlas will be the compilation of an AI Dictionary—of which material already gathered will form the nucleus.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
(See also classified bibliographies to Hogan’s E. Lapp. in Ireland and to my Dialect of N. Roscommon.)

Calendar of the Caven MSS, V. contains the Book of Hurlth, ed. Brewer and Bullen, 1871.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations of Middle Anglo-Irish texts in as in Heuser. Abbreviations of Place-names in accordance with Wright, English Dialect Dictionary.

Cardinal Points, singly and in combination: N. S. E. W.; NE NW SE SW.

AI Anglo-Irish
def. art. definite article
Dan. Danish
dem. adj. demonstrative adjective
Du. Dutch
dialectal

A linguistic survey of Ireland

Explanation of the symbols

Our notation is in general accord with the recommendations of the L.P.A. Here we comment on less usual symbols only.

Vowels

1 low and retracted i
2 lowered and retracted i
γ rounded i – low, retracted y
α (close) rounded e
ο rounded central vowel half way between α and α.
υ vowel subject to some variation, usually produced (with inner rounding) between the ι and η areas – advanced, lowered and partly unrounded o, o.
ε low and advanced u
ο slightly rounded o.
CONSONANTS
T voiceless blade-alveolar, dental, or interdental plosive t.
D voiced counterpart of T.
N voiceless blade-alveolar, dental or interdental n.
L voiced blade-alveolar, dental or interdental lateral l.
T, D, N, L palatal counterparts of T, D, N, L.
R voiceless blade-alveolar, dental or interdental lateral.

DIACRITICS
* Palatalisation. The diacritic is not employed as a matter of routine in this Report.
* Labialisation.
* Synchronic articulation (cf. ǎ̅).
* Primary stress.

NOTES
I. Chap. I is appreciative only. Cp. the Gombeili Náo. ne Gaeilge paper "A Æirde dla na Gaeilge" Dublin, 1910. For a discussion of the Gaeilge Commission map on which the Fine-Ghachtach area of 1925 is based cp. E.O. Curr., Irish Dialects and Irish-speaking Districts. Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1951, p. 281. In spite of their shortcomings, these maps exhibit the location and process of shrinking. Their overstatement helps to bring out the fact that in areas where Irish is regressive or seemingly extinct it may not have ceased to operate. This indication is important—and even necessary—for the student of Anglo-Irish.

II. In our sentence the Old Irish sentence explaining the was caused by Luidne to
Cathair runs thus: {
II 7. 486.Cb. The Old Irish sentence explaining the was caused by Luidne to
Cathair runs thus: 18, 2, dicta, ríed do-naífhit a tian re pú bá naífhit.
In Anglo-Irish: 18, 3, dicta, ríed do-naífhit a tian re pú bá naífhit.
For the propositional construction with an cp. further North Roscommon
41, and exx. 7–9 there.

III. For the relative use of asp in nominal phrases cp. North Roscommon
p. 123. Cp. also Old Irish muas cent-twaird, Angle-Irish: In a way that we may understand if SKE. "In such wise that ." .

IV. 75. Icelandic fíhorn means "horn;" front and leg; Icelandic mind "hand;" arm and hand; Icelandic spánu-don "niece;" spánu-don "nephew" and the corresponding terms with prefix.

V. As the printer has placed the point for half-length somewhat high as a rule, this variety has not come out as clearly as was intended.
CONSONANT ALLOPHONES IN PROTO-KELTIC

by

ERIC P. HAMP

1. Once again Professor Sommerfelt has put Keltic studies greatly in his debt by illuminating the distribution, in crucial environments, of consonantal developments in Keltic through the medium of strict comparison of key reflexes in the later languages. As usual, he has enhanced his presentation of the lines of development by exploiting the fruits of recent structural linguistic theory. New and rigorous formulations of existing data have the virtue of generating fresh information on their own account.

At the outset I should like to express my agreement with Sommerfelt’s main thesis. Despite the differences in the particulars of the reflexes in the later languages, strict reconstruction demands that we posit two separate sets of consonantal entities, i.e. long/fortis vs. short/lentis, for the proto-language. The purpose of the present note is to discuss briefly certain subsidiary points raised by Sommerfelt and to carry one step further the analysis of this aspect of the structure of Proto-Keltic.

2. As a preliminary, a few remarks on matters raised by Sommerfelt’s treatment.

I agree with Sommerfelt’s rejection of Pedersen’s attempt to link the phenomena of lenition with the earlier loss of $p$. While the purely phonetic grounds alluded to are well founded, a stronger argument is to be found in the simple structural configuration of the two sets of events: The disappearance of $p$, whatever its initial impulse, is an asymmetrical phenomenon which swept the board in all except some rather trivial (though very interesting)
environments, and which rested on no thoroughgoing marked set of congruent allophones. Its corollary was not the broad and balanced set of events that ushered in lenition, but rather the irregular and staggered collapse of the labio-velars with other phonemes: At a very early date, for some reason or other, the labio-velar lost its labialization as a distinctive feature in the presence of aspiration; thus *g’th fell together with *gh. It may well be that this collapse was engendered in turn by the fusion of one of the old laryngeals with a following *w (surely a common sequence in IE, whereby earlier *g’h’ was restructured, by virtue of its lip-rounded aspiration, as *g’ X (where X = any laryngeal); with the later loss of laryngeals, particularly in post-consonantal position—which may, by the way, be the immediate cause of the loss in Keltic of the “voiced aspirates”—the latter cluster became *g. Thus out of an earlier stage

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{gl} & k^w \\
\hline
d & g & b & g^w \\
\end{array}
\]

we obtain

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{gl} & k^w \\
\hline
d & g & b & g^w \\
\end{array}
\]

dh gh bh g’th

Two transpositions are then possible; either the “aspirates” first collapsed:

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ &g^w \} & \rightarrow & \{ &g \} \\
\{ &d & g & b & g^w \} & \rightarrow & \{ &d & g & b \} \\
\{ &d & h & g & h \} & \rightarrow & \{ &d & g & b \} \\
\{ &d & h & g & h \} & \rightarrow & \{ &d & g & b \}
\end{align*}
\]

or the isolated *g^w collapsed, by pattern pressure, with *b before the “aspirates” collapsed:

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ &g^w \} & \rightarrow & \{ &g \} \\
\{ &d & g & b & g^w \} & \rightarrow & \{ &d & g & b \} \\
\{ &d & h & g & h \} & \rightarrow & \{ &d & g & b \} \\
\{ &d & h & g & h \} & \rightarrow & \{ &d & g & b \}
\end{align*}
\]

In any event, asymmetry was once again restored. In passing, it may be remarked that the last cadre shown, regardless of the arbitrary symbols we choose, is the phonemic picture that a strict reconstruction from the attested languages brings us to. It will be immediately seen from this that the famous alleged distinction between P and Q Kelts is a much overemphasized illusion. Indeed, it was not a matter of phonemic distinction, but only a point of allophonic variation over the early Keltic speech area; in the same fashion the phenomena we see in the earliest strata of Irish loans (Gathraige, cuilth, chlaing, qhmiter, etc.) reflects not sound substitution but the most ordinary and straightforward type of direct phonemic reproduction. It is only our naive and somewhat provincial Western European habits that make us insist that the two presumed phonetic entities must be different and contrastive. For all we know, the precise phonetic production of this phoneme in different phonological environments and in different geographical areas may have varied considerably over a long period of time. Suffice it to say that it was one phoneme; the symbol “g” would do just as well.

Sommerfeld’s formulation (p. 110) of the development of the morphophonemic pair *str- : hr- is a neat and attractive one. On the other hand, I cannot agree with the statement, on the same page, that we have in OIr. acf. W. *gandandui a loss of post-consonantal *w; whatever IE background the Lithuanian cognate may suggest, this pair passes perfectly well for Proto-Keltic *skw.

Sommerfeld’s statement of the intermediate phonemic status of IE *ph as *w (fn. 6, p. 111) is very satisfying indeed. We may therefore, in accord with strict reconstruction from the attested languages, posit the following summary development from IE:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{g} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{g} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{g} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{g} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{g} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph} \\
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{ph}
\end{align*}
\]
In the case of old clusters of liquid plus stop, Sommerfeld’s claim (p. 113) that British Keltic here continues the old system seems eminently reasonable; the general patterning in the reverse direction, which a glance at Sommerfeld’s final table makes clear, would make the departure difficult to explain if British had here diverged.

3. As Sommerfeld remarks succinctly (p. 117), when consonant quantity was first set up it was purely phonetic, that is, allophonically; it did not become phonemic until the (indeed independent) loss of final syllables in the attested dialects. Though Martinet (Language 28:194—7, 1952) is not quite willing to commit himself on the chronology of the beginnings, he agrees in substance. I do not, however, follow Sommerfeld’s brief discussion (p. 105) of Gaulish. It is agreed that earlier evidence, plus Martinet’s arguments from Romance, make it likely that “intervocalic weakenings” had occurred in Gaulish; in other words, the slender Gaulish evidence does indeed confirm the allophonic distribution that we posit for Proto-Keltic. But since the sequence of Gaulish syllables in the attested corpus is in all major respects still intact, we would naturally not expect to find that the two sets of allophones would have yet reached a status of phonemic distinctiveness; and so long as they were not yet phonemically distinct, there could naturally be no morphophonemic alternations (see my remarks Language 27:232 ff., 1951). But this does not diminish in the slightest the Gaulish evidence and such Roman evidence as may be pertinent.

Similarly, it must be insisted that the threefold gradation referred to by Sommerfeld (p. 106) was an allophonic one; the environments may be symbolized \( +Gl \) or \( [Gl] \) or \( [Gl] - [Gl] \). Now this situation is by no means rare in linguistic structures; indeed there are in principle as many allophones as there are environments, and as many allophone sets as there are environment classes. It is rather threefold phonemic gradations that seem to be rare in linguistic structures. Therefore, it would seem that we must seek another reason for the detailed development in British—a structural source somewhere else in the system.

3.1. We come now to the further analysis of the allophonic structure of Proto-Keltic. Sommerfeld’s excellent tabulation (pp. 116—7) may be taken as a listing of occurring sequences of gross allophones on the proto level. While we cannot specify with any precision their exact phonetic range, we can nevertheless observe the configurations of their distribution, on the basis of later divergences, and treat them exactly as we do the allophone sets in living languages.

The first task is that of assembling allophone sets by classes of environments. The most economical statement of these seems to be the following:

In the environments listed in the first column, the phonemes listed in the second column have the allophones \([C]\); in all other environments, they have the allophones \([e]\).

\[
\begin{align*}
& n & t k r m d g b \\
& m & n \& m \\
& s t & t k r m, \text{ perhaps } g d \\
& C & s \\
& d & m n \\
& g & t r \\
& t \& t k r m \\
& k \& x t \\
\end{align*}
\]

Perhaps \( e \) behaves the way it appears to because it was for a long time merely an allophone \( g \) of \( r \), and hence did not, strictly speaking, belong to the class \([C]\).

Having established the above sets of allophones (i.e. classes of conditioned items) and classes of environments (i.e. classes of conditioning items), we now display these classes compactly...
so as to get a composite picture of the allophonic structure of this set of Proto-Keltic phonemes. Boxes are drawn around all classes which are positively defined, i.e., not defined by exclusion.

So far as I see, it is only on the basis of morphophonemic (e.g., assimilation of nasals to following stops, and replacement of voiced stops by voiceless before *s), and not of phonemic, relationships that we are entitled to place *d beneath *t, *g beneath *k, *m beneath *b in the above table. Thus, a structural inspection of the distribution of certain gross allophones in Proto-Keltic gives us a considerable amount of information, rigorously arrived at, regarding the total relationships of phonemes one to another in that language; while we can never know precisely how these, or any other past allophones, actually sounded, we do know a great deal about them. And the kind of knowledge that in this fashion we get of them is by far the most useful and productive sort of knowledge that we can seek for any linguistic system. The general techniques of linguistic analysis contribute greatly to Keltic studies, as they do to any field.

What return do Keltic studies make to general linguistics? In the present instance, we have an excellent illustration of a general lesson which is worth spelling out overtly. When we compare languages for genetic relationship, we start by comparing phonemes and phoneme-sequences of attested languages to find systematic and recurring correspondences in mor-
We know perfectly well that we cannot recall a shred of the absolute phonetics of the distant past without a physical time-reverser. How then are we to breathe phonetic life into our reconstructions? We must face the fact that such attempts will be at best hypotheses of an essentially low-probability order. But it is, of course, distinctly worth trying; many of the statements we make, especially about the past, are of that order. On the other hand, we have found that we can rigorously reconstruct a gratifying amount of the phonemic and allophonic system of a stage long past. In fact, the display that we arrive at above for Proto-Keltic is not at all of an inferior order to those that we devise to show similar features and aspects of living spoken languages, of which we can listen attentively to limited amounts. We must bear in mind, too, that the above display exploits only the single, though admittedly important and pervasive, set of features which Sommerfelt had chosen for treatment in his discussion; if we diligently work at our task, we may expect to see much more flesh put on these sparse bones.

Now, and only now, with a structural understanding of the relevant and patterned oppositions, are we justified in drawing some tentative (and really heuristic) purely phonetic inferences. Meantime, it is interesting to note how much we actually know of the allophonics of the language without a shred of phonetic information.

Finally, let us note that these results are reached entirely by way of strict comparison and structural analysis. There is no place whatever in these operations for any so-called "general phonetics", a body of aprioristic speculation that has nothing at all to offer in the exploration of any phonetics past, present, or future. Pure phonetics is a perfectly respectable and honorable body of statements and applied techniques drawn from a variety of recognized empirical sciences outside the scope of linguistic science proper, and it should not be insulted by being taken for what it is not.

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ADDITIONAL NOTE

The relevant line of the table at the bottom of p. 207 should read:

*\( + [np] \) \( \sim * [np] \) \( \sim * + [np] \).

On reconsideration, Proto-Keltic must be reconstructed with *\( + [np] \) distinct from *\( + [np] \) While the latter yields British /f/, the former appears regularly to give British /f/; therefore, even though the intermediate stage posited by Sommerfelt is true for Irish, Proto-Keltic requires two matching structure-points in this position, differentiated by voicing. Perhaps, then, at an early date the lenis allophone of *\( [p] \) in the "limited" position was absorbed by the following voiceless spirant, thus setting up an independent phonemic *\( + [np] \) of limited distribution. Then, we would have the series:

*\( [C + np] > * [C + np] > * [C + np] > * [C + np] = * [C + np] \)
*\( [V + np] > * [V + np] > * [V + np] > * [V + np] = * [V + np] \)
*\( [C + np] > * [C + np] > * [C + np] > * [C + np] = * [C + np] \)
*\( [V + np] > * [V + np] > * [V + np] = * [V + np] \)

If this is so, then there were actually a few rare instances of morphophonemes (initial mutations) in such situations in Proto-Keltic. I see no other way at present of accounting for all the facts. There would also have been a set of spirants consisting at least of *\( + [np] \) partially matching the stops.

If there were still "taryugabs" present at this time, the velar series would also be complete, and we could envisage an obstruent system for Proto-Keltic with the following minimum cases:

\( \gamma \) \( \delta \)
\( \theta \) \( \pi \)
\( \eta \) \( \xi \)

If *\( \theta \) was a unit phoneme, it could have filled the position shown for *\( [p] \) above, in at least some dialects, in a shape of the order of *\( \theta \).
ON THE NORSE FORM OF THE NAME OF THE PICTS AND THE DATE OF THE FIRST NORSE RAIDS ON SCOTLAND

by

ALF SOMMERFELT

The Old Norse form of the name of the Picts was Péttar or Péttir as already P. A. Munch has seen.1 The Historia Norvegica has Peti (istas insulas primitus Peti el Papa inhabilisbat) and Petlandium mare, the latter corresponding to the Pétlanda, fjörðr of the Icelandic sagas.2 In the Shetlands there are several names in Petta-, Pett-, Pít-, The Old Norse form corresponds to the Pektha, Píðh, Píth, Piðh, Pobha or Píðhast of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Munch seems to think that in Old Norse a form Píðhast had been “nationalized”; in the earlier period “when the instinct of analogy was more alive” the foreign names were changed according to the sound-rules of the language. Since Old Norse had rétt corresponding to Anglo-Saxon riht, etc., Píðhast was changed into Pétar or Péttir.

Munch’s explanation, characteristic of the linguistics of his time, cannot be maintained. In loanwords the guttural in the group “cht” does not disappear, cf. Kunntaktir ‘kunacht’ or bíanak from O.Ir. bendacht. It is evident that the Old Norse form dates before the period when “ht” was assimilated into “th” and that it has followed the development of that group. It must therefore go back to a time before 700 A.D.; sot = sutt from suth of

1 In 1852. Cf. his Samtide Afhandlinger, III, p. 129.
3 Cf. the Petlanda, fjörðr of the Icelandia saga.
4 Cf. J. Jakobsen, The Place-names of Shetland, pp. 168 sqq.
5 Reimondt’s, ed. I. Simulation, III, 261.

the runic inscription from Eggum shows that the development belongs at the latest, to the 7th century.

The Norwegians must consequently have known the Picts before the date when, according to the historical sources, the Viking raids started, the years between 790 and 800. Ships must have crossed to the Islands and the Scottish Mainland long before that date. At the end of the Shetland bronze age Gordon Childe reckons with a connexion between the Islands and Norway on account of the steatite urns made in Shetland and imported into Orkney, urns which are also found in Norway.5 There may, therefore, also have been war raids, precursors of the Viking movement.

In 891 Heinrich Zimmer tried to show that the Norwegians had visited the Hebrides and Ireland already in 617 A.D.,6 and Marstrander has added important arguments in favour of Zimmer’s thesis.7 According to a statement in the Irish annals, those of Ulster, Inisfallen and Tigernach, in the Chronicium Scotorum and in Félire Tamlachta, Domnán of Eigg in the Hebrides and many monks were slain by sea-robers in the month of April 617.8 These robbers came in a seasing fleet (archochbac macrle) in the Martyrology of Donegal, compiled in 1630 from different sources, many of them old, by Michael Ó Clery, there are more details: “Ega is the name of an island in which he (Domnán) was, after his coming from Erin. And there came robbers of the sea (dioberheach na farige) on a certain time to the island when he was celebrating mass. He requested of them not to kill him until he should have had the mass said, and they gave him this favour (coirde); and he was afterwards beheaded and fifty-two of his monks along with him. And all their names are in a certain old book of the books of Erin.”9

Marstrander thinks that the expedition cannot have come

5 Gordon Childe, Prehistoric Communities of the British Isles (1940), p. 141.
8 Hidog fil del marbko sprgo histori I Irland, pp. 4 sqq.
9 For the different sources of the event see A. O. Anderson, Early Sources of Scottish History, I, pp. 142 sqq.
10 Martyrology of Donegal (ed. by Turi and Becces) pp. 104–9.
directly from Norway as Zimmer and Alexander Bugge supposed, but must have belonged to Norwegian colonists in Orkney and the Shetland Islands. The Irish annalists knew the Picts very well and would have named them if they had been the robbers, as most Scottish historians believe. The massacre may have been a sacrifice to a god of war, such as those which were usual among the Teutons, but at this time the Picts were Christian. Marstrander points to passages in the annals which in 681 report an expedition to Orkney by the Pictish king, Brude of Fortrem (Annals of Ulster 681: Orcades deletae sunt la Bruidhe in Bruide), and in 708 another expedition is mentioned in which Artabaldr fell—a name which must be Pictish. In 579 Aedán, son of Gabrain, king of Dál Riada, who was an ally of the Picts, made an attack on Orkney (Annals of Ulster 579). These expeditions cannot have been directed against Picts, but against a hostile population which can only have been Norwegian. If this is correct, Marstrander thinks it is possible to date the first Norwegian colonization to the years between 563, when the king of the Picts Brude, son of Maelschin, was baptized by Columcille, and 579 when an attack on Orkney is mentioned. At Brude's baptism the king of Orkney was present and was ordered by Brude, at the request of Columcille, not to do any harm to the anchorite Cormac.1 The text in the Life of St. Columba, however, does not exclude the possibility that the regulus was not a Pict, but a Norwegian.

The characters of the place-names of Orkney and the Shetlands do not preclude a first Norwegian colonization in the 6th century A.D. The names in setr and land are of particular importance in this respect, the first being found in great numbers

1 “Some of us have recently sailed out, to find a desert in the impossible setr, and in case they chance after long wanderings to come to the Orkney Isles, command this chieftain earnestly, since his hostages are in thy hand, that no harm befall them within his territories.” The naive said this because he foreknew in spirit that after some months this Cormac would come to the Orkneys. This occurred afterwards, and because of the holy man’s aforesaid commendation (Commem) was saved from imminent death in the Orkneys. Life of St. Columba, 11, chapter 42; Anderson’s translation.

from the Sognefjord northward to Tromsøg, with an offshoot inland from Tromsøg southward. The names in land occur most commonly in the south-west of Norway from Telemark to Hordaland. Both names are used for minor farms not of the first rang. The setr names belong to the later iron age (ca. 800–1000 A.D.) and are found parallel with the names in stadir, whereas the land names are somewhat older coming into use in the older period of the time of the great migrations (5th to 6th century A.D.). Vin-names, which in Norway go back to the first millennium A.D. and are used almost down to the times of history, especially when they form the first member of a compound, are found also in the Shetlands. In Orkney there exists one name with s in as the second part of the compound: Lēdlag in Sandwick, from Leik-svin.2 Jakobsen dates the first colonization of the Shetlands to about 700 A.D.3 The distribution of the setr and land names in Norway points to two different immigration waves in Orkney, one, the older, from South-west Norway which brought the main bulk of the names in land; a second one, from more and surrounding districts which gave rise to younger, from more and surrounding districts which gave rise to younger, and land names are relatively small, secondary settlements. . . very definitely settlements of relatively late date”, whereas the land farms “are without any doubt very early and venerable settlements”.

There seems then to be no objection, as far as the history of the place-names is concerned, to the possibility of an early colonization going back to about 600 A.D. Archaeological remains dating from before 800 are very few, however. A shield-box


3 Brogger’s map in his Ancient Emigrants, chapter 111, may be misunder-

4 Marwick, op. cit., pp. 229–32.
found in the Orkneys is of a date which ranges from the late 7th to the early 9th centuries. Breger has dated a find from the Links of Skail, the Mainland of Orkney, to about 800 A.D., or perhaps to a somewhat earlier period, basing himself on the type of a spear-head of a form similar to certain spear-heads used in Norway during the 7th and 8th centuries, but Shetelig is unable to accept this early dating. However, the grave in Midhill, at Lamlash, Arran, containing a shield-boss and a single-edged sword would, writes Shetelig, "if it had been found in Norway . . . without hesitation he referred to the 8th century, and the same date consistently applies to the discovery of a similar Norse grave in Scotland." Shetelig concludes that stray colonists may have been established in the West about 750 A.D.1

The place-names may, of course, date only from the end of the 8th century onwards, but that does not preclude the existence of earlier establishments. The expeditions by the Pictish kings may have exterminated an early colony or completely pacified it. An extermination would explain the fact that very few Pictish or Celtic names have survived. What Diesii writes about 825 A.D. shows that some 30 years earlier Irish anchorites could sail unhindered not only to the Faroes, but even to Iceland. Irish monks had then been settled for nearly a hundred years in the islands which he describes as being separated by narrow channels, a description which points to the Faroes. At the time of his writing, however, the islands were inaccessible on account of the Norwegian pirates (causa latrocinum Norvegicorum).2

The form of the Old Norse name of the Picts shows that their land must have been well known to the Norwegians considerably earlier than the beginning of the Viking age, and the raid of the seagoing fleet in 617 makes it probable that there have been attempts at colonization on the Scottish islands a couple of centuries before the great movement which started at the end of the 8th century.

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THE ENGLISH FORMS OF THE NAMES OF
THE MAIN PROVINCES OF IRELAND

By

ALF SOMMERFELT

In his Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland and Ireland, Worsaae explained the English forms of the names of main provinces of Ireland, Ulster, Leinster and Munster, as compounds containing Old Norse -stolar. This explanation of the forms was evidently suggested to him by the existence of many names in -ster or -bister in Scotland. Such a use of -stolar, however, would not correspond to that of Norway, Iceland or the Norse districts of Scotland or the Isle of Man. There the names in -stolar are used for farms, usually younger than the old main farms.3 In the Isle of Man all the names in -stolar design farms. When one name in the Faroes, Veibaltud, is used for a whole district,4 it has been extended from a farm to the surrounding country. If there had been some element in the Irish names which would have made an association with -stolar or -stolar possible, Worsaae's explanation might have been plausible—there exist at all periods of our language examples of the adaption of a foreign name to a Norwegian element without regard to the sense of this element, e. g. Ladhfar in the Heimskringla which renders the name of the palace Blomcher in Con.

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2 Cf. Magnus Olsen, Studier (Nordisk Kultur, vol. VI) and Fortas og Foras of Ancient Norwegian.
3 Cf. Marstrander, X.T.S. VI, 331.

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Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland VI, pp. 101 sq.
Diesii, Liber de Mensura Orbis Terrarum (ed. G. Parkhaya), pp. 41—44.
a form which cannot contain -stair or -stair as P. A. Munch rightly said as long ago as in 1851 in his review of Worsaae's book. His article seems to have been forgotten since Worsaae's etymology has been accepted both by Alexander Bugge and by Irish scholars. In fact the forms Ulster, Leinster, Munster are interesting examples of Irish elements combined according to Norwegian rules.

It is well known that many of the Norsemen in Ireland were bilingual. They must have adopted many Irish words in the same way as the Norwegian immigrants into the United States have adopted English. We find many traces of this state of affairs in the placenames, names consisting of Irish elements but following the Norwegian order of composition, e.g. Gautier corresponding to an Irish gait, or Irish tre na ngall 'the land of the heathen, of the foreigners', or Irish tir na ngnall, or Irish tre na ngall, or Irish tre na ngnall 'the land of the heathen, of the foreigners', or Irish tre na ngnall, or Norwegian terms following the Irish order of composition, e.g. Briggethurfin 'Thorfin's Bridge'. There are also examples of Irish-Norwegian compounds as, for example, Dannabakki in

The Norwegian origin of the names of the provinces is, however, rendered certain by the existence of the form Ulstair, Ulsdrir in the Saga of Magnus Bareleg in Snorre's Heimskaingla.

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1. C.J. Rees, Mod og Minne, 1919, pp. 79 sq. During the last war the Norwegian women in London transformed the name of their hotel tofcholby into Skolby.
2. § 56, 176, 31.
8. Danmarks Tabellar for Sprogvedshaf, Suppl. Hvid V.
9. Tvor Enghi, Tyrone, Tír Chonamh, 'Tír na-n-Óg 'the land of youth, the blessed
islands' and Old Norse names such as Jamtland 'Jämmland', Jaksland 'Galicia', etc. A formation like Ulæstir is not more surprising than such compounds as seksjonshus 'section house', okse-tim 'ox team', in modern Norwegian American.\(^1\) The English then took over Ulæstir, Middle English Ulæster, Ulæster (the latter form probably influenced by Leinster and Munster).\(^1\) An Anglo-Norman text from 1319 has lost Ulæstire 'the army of Ulster'.\(^1\) The other two names must have been pronounced something like Låtmiar, Leinnstr, and Mũnstrøtr, the Middle English form of Lingtare being Leinster, Legnoster, Legnoster, Legnoster, that of Munster Moomoone, Monoonet.\(^1\)

The western part of Ireland, Irish Connacht has not taken the element -ster, Middle English Coonagh, Coonagh,\(^1\) English Coonagh. Geraldus has Cúanach, Connacht.\(^1\) That conforms with the Old Norse usage. The Saga of Magnus Bareleg (the Kringla manuscript used by F. Jonsson) has Kunnaktrí.\(^1\) This seems to have been regarded as a plural since we have in the dative Kunaktrum, Kunaktrum.\(^1\) On the other hand we find á Kunaktrír, Morkinskíu has á KUNAKTR, but fyrir KUNACTRI (dat. sg.) and of KUNACT. In the Codex Frisianus the forms are baim a Kunactri and uppi a Kunactom,\(^1\) in the Flateybook a Kannakt.\(^1\) Ulæstir is usually not declined with the exception of a passage in the Flateybook: um sumari eftir fell hana a Ulæstiri 'the summer after he fell in Ulster'.\(^1\)

The Old Irish form is Connacht, fem. pl. of an o-stem, gen. Connachta; the modern dialects seem generally to have a fem. sg., e.g. Glevites âkNect, âkNect; âkNecta,\(^1\) West Muskerry âkNec\(^1\)

The Old Norse dative Kunakto might indicate a feminine o-stem Kunakti, Kunakti.

The exact form for Connacht used by the Norwegians in Ireland cannot be determined with certainty. The forms of the Icelandic manuscripts seem to point to a plural Kunaktir, dat. Kunaktum, Kunaktum which would correspond to the Old Irish plural Connacht, and possibly also to a feminine singular Kunakti corresponding to the Modern Irish Connacht. But it is evident that the form used for this province differed from that used for the other three, and this difference is reflected in the Anglo-Irish usage.

2. The English Conquest of Ireland (Early English Text Society), ed. by Fr. J. Pernival (1890).
4. The English Conquest.
5. Ibid.
THE SITUATION OF THE SCOTTISH GAELIC LANGUAGE, AND THE WORK OF THE LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF SCOTLAND

The British census is normally taken every ten years, except that the one due in 1941 was omitted because of the war. Figures of the numbers of Gaelic speakers (i.e., of people who declare themselves to be Gaelic speakers) are recorded, including as a separate item those who can speak only Gaelic. At the last census, in 1931, there were 94,282 Gaelic speakers in Scotland (of whom 2,852 were monoglot), constituting 1.85% of the total population of the country. In 1901 the corresponding figures were 230,806 and 5.66%; in 1911, 262,808 and 4.64%; in 1921, 158,779 and 3.55%; and in 1931, 136,155 and 2.8%. Anyone who makes a graph from these figures can see that it plunges downwards in an almost straight line which will reach the bottom, representing apparently the extinction of the Gaelic language, before the end of the century, if the process of decline continues unchecked.

One has to remember, however, that a considerable part of this decline represents the disappearance of the language in certain areas only, and that in others it has maintained itself well so far. For instance the island of Harris was still over 50% Gaelic-speaking in 1931, and children are still being born there all the time, whose mother tongue, as soon as they can speak, will be Gaelic. Most of these will still be alive long after the end of the century, and it is evident that the line of the graph will
level out towards the end into a much flatter curve (as has happened in the corresponding situation in the Isle of Man). A factor which introduces a considerable element of uncertainty, and makes prophecy very difficult, is the question how far any of these people will still, in fact regularly, speak Gaelic in their old age, or indeed be able to speak it at all. It is all very well to say that thousands of children are being born in the Hebrides every year in Gaelic-speaking homes, but how many of these will actually speak any Gaelic by the age of 70? The Manx evidence suggests that a large number of them may have lost their Gaelic, beyond a few dimly-remembered words and phrases, by that time, if circumstances are unpropitious to the language. Taking all the facts together, the writer believes that Scottish Gaelic will be quite extinct by the middle of next century, if not before, unless some new factor is introduced which radically alters the present situation.

For purposes of assessing the position of Gaelic in Scotland, the Highlands and Islands should be divided into three areas. The first is the mainland east of the great watershed dividing the North Sea from the Atlantic in the north, and east of Loch Linnhe and the southern Argyll coast in the south, together with Kintyre and the islands of Arran and Bute; that is to say, approximately east of a line from the Caithness-Sutherland boundary on the Pentland Firth to Oban and the Mull of Kintyre. Throughout this great expanse of the Highlands the percentage of Gaelic speakers at the last census was almost nowhere more than 30 %, and almost everywhere was far below it. The average for the whole being about 11 %. But even this figure is very misleading. The fact is, as the work of the Linguistic Survey of Scotland has shown, that apart from immigrants from further west, the Gaelic speakers all through this vast eastern and southern area are almost all old people; often very old people; that very few of the middle-aged speak it; and that virtually none of the children do. Moreover, though a fair number of the old people can speak Gaelic, a very much smaller proportion habitually do so; many of them have more or less forgotten it, and English has become the daily language of almost everyone. This means, of course, that Gaelic is approaching extinction here, except for incomers. When the children no longer speak a language it is doomed, and it would not be surprising if local Gaelic entirely disappeared on the mainland east of a line from Caithness to Kintyre in less than twenty years.

The second area is the west coast strip north of Loch Linnhe, the north coast as far east as the Caithness boundary, and the Inner Hebrides. Here the average is about 63 %, for the mainland part of this, Gaelic is now in a very poor way in some districts, such as Morvern and Ardgour (where it is almost extinct), though in others, such as much of Wester Ross and west and north Sutherland, the situation is somewhat less serious at present, particularly in N. and central W. Ross. Some of the Inner Hebrides are still fairly well off, for instance Skye with 6,756 speakers, an average of 79 % (6,021 and 89 % in 1931). It is a very bad sign, however, that this, the largest of the Inner Hebrides, has declined so much in recent years.

The third great area is the Outer Hebrides, the stronghold of Gaelic speaking. In the 1931 census there were over 35,239 Gaelic speakers here, or 91.9 % of the population. In 1951 the figures had dropped to 30,682 and 89.5 %, and the only place much below this average percentage was Stornaway with 76.2 %, who could not speak the language. Prognostication is not easy, but it is clear that the smaller islands, such as Barra, with communities less large and solid than other places, will suffer first; and the effect of the installation of the proposed rocket range in Uist, till now a hearthland of the language, cannot be anything but rapidly disastrous, especially among the children. It would be unwise to do anything to endanger the Gaelic of the children, and experience shows that when English-speaking children enter a Gaelic-speaking school in any numbers the result is usually the disappearance of Gaelic there.
present Lewis seems likely to be the last refuge of the language, and those who wish to study it in the middle of next century may still find there a few old people who can remember it.

The Linguistic Survey of Scotland was founded at Edinburgh University in 1949—50, to collect and study specimens of the dialects of Scots and Gaelic. The Gaelic aspect of this began under Professor Dillon, to whom the writer succeeded in 1960; since then the staff has consisted of himself and one assistant, at first Mr. F. Macaulay and later Mr. A. Dilworth. We have concentrated on the language in those parts where recording is most urgent, and fortunately we have now practically finished the primary collections in the first of the three great areas defined above, having gathered specimens from the last old people in every part of it except those where the local Gaelic is totally extinct (namely the island of Bute and the small Highland parts of the counties of Dumbarton, Stirling, Forfar, and Kincardine). At the time of writing, work is under way in the mainland parts of the second area, which is more than half finished, and in the southern Inner Hebrides.

Our work consists of two aspects. First, we use a questionaire of about 1,200 items, designed to cover the whole phonological system of any dialect and most of the morphology. For this we pick our informants with very great care, making sure that they were themselves born and brought up in the immediate neighbourhood whose dialect we are studying, and that both their father and their mother were likewise. This is absolutely essential, as we have found from experience that even one parent from elsewhere, let alone two, frequently results in the dialect of the son or daughter being much modified. We do not count such people as local speakers of Gaelic at all. We try if possible also to avoid those who are married to speakers of other dialects, or have themselves lived for a very long time in another dialect area. All this makes it difficult to find any informants at all in some places, but on the whole it has been most successful. Having discovered our informant, we go through the entire questionaire with him (it takes about eight hours), filling in his answers in phonetic notation.

The second aspect of our collection then comes into play. When we have finished the questionaire we record our informant on a portable tape-recorder, telling a story or taking part in a conversation. These recordings are later transcribed into phonetic notation in the phonetics laboratory at Edinburgh University; and from this we obtain further illustrative phonological and morphological material, as well as much important information on syntax and vocabulary. In addition to this intensive work on picked informants, we collect casual notes on dialect from suitable people whom we interview in the process of finding the others. This process involves a very thorough personal search of each area in turn, talking with very many people and making sure that those we select are reliable. The writer has himself explored the whole of the ground worked so far (except only Kintyre, Arran, Bute, Strathclyde, and one or two minor glens, which were done by Mr. Macaulay), so that the information on the extent of the Gaelic language in this article is derived from first-hand knowledge. About four fifths the total Gaelic area has already been covered, including places like Caithness, St. Kilda, Braemar, and Arran; and if all goes well the whole should be finished in three or four more years. We already have an archive of information on the Gaelic dialects of practically every part of the mainland Highlands, aside from the few districts already mentioned where no local Gaelic at all is spoken. In another ten years it would be quite impossible to find anything or twenty years it would be quite impossible to find anything of the sort, and the Linguistic Survey of Scotland has come just in time.

When this stage of the work is completed it will then be necessary to sift and analyse the collections, work out losses, construct dialect maps, and so on, and finally to publish the results. Apart from that we intend also to carry out a number of much more detailed and systematic studies of various dialects, of the kind undertaken so successfully by Carl Borgström and
Nils Holmer; but having had before us the choice either of doing this first and letting many mainland dialects die entirely unrecorded while we concentrated in detail on four or five only, or else of getting a general picture of the Gaelic of the entire area of the Highlands and Islands first and leaving the more thorough work till later, we chose the second alternative. To have chosen the first would have meant that we might have got a study of, say, the dialect of Braemar as thorough as Borgström’s on Barra; but that while we were doing this the dialect of, say, Caithness would disappear totally unrecorded.

It is too soon yet to give any account of the results, but one may mention that a number of very interesting and sometimes surprising isoglosses are emerging; for instance, the distribution of pre-aspiration; the development of final -adh in unstressed syllables; the insertion of s in the group rt; and so on.

THE GAELIC TRADITION IN NOVA SCOTIA

by

Major C. I. N. MacLeod

The Gaelic Tradition in New Scotland began with the migration of the Highland Scots to this Province, and the arrival of the “Hector” at Pictou, in 1773. There was a lull during the Revolutionary War, but immigration increased immediately afterwards, and reached its maximum between 1790 and 1830, a period when immigration had become a necessity, due to overcrowding and oppression resulting from the changed economy of the Highlands of Scotland during the latter part of the eighteenth century. These early settlers were ill equipped to establish new communities as they had no experience of commercial, administrative or political matters; many of them were illiterate and few knew any language other than Gaelic. Their initial hardships and tribulations in a strange land can be well imagined, yet, in spite of enormous obstacles in their path to progress the Highland Scots survived and never forgot the intrinsic value of their heritage and traditions in their new environment.

From 1851 to 1912 at least 21 Gaelic publications were printed in Nova Scotia, comprising Journals, Poetry Anthologies, Prose Articles, Gaelic Plays, and Gaelic Newspapers. Some of the more eminent Gaelic writers who contributed to this labour of love, (few, if any of the publications were sold at a profit), were as follows: Angus MacLellan, Rev. Malcolm MacEachern, Monsignor R. C. MacGilivray, Monsignor P. J. Nicholson, Rev. D. J. Rankin, Rev. R. Rankin, James MacNeil, Murdoch Morrison, Malcolm Gillis, Dr. D. B. Blair, Dr. MacLean Sinclair, and Jonathan G.
MacKinnon. Jonathan MacKinnon was the editor of the famous all-Gaelic newspaper entitled "Mac Talla", "The Echo", which was in weekly circulation for 10 years, a record in Gaelic journalism which has not yet been equalled in Scotland.

Such is a general estimate of pioneering in Gaelic literary fields in the days of yore. What is the position in this year of our Lord, 1956? Have we any cause for optimism as far as the language, the undoubted basis of our Canadian-Scottish culture is concerned?

First of all let us glance at the 1951 Gaelic census returns for Nova Scotia. According to this record we have 6,799 Gaelic speakers in the Province. In the 1931 census there were 80,000 approximately.

In Scotland we find a similar dwindling of figures. In 1931 there were 129,419 Gaelic Speakers in the Old Country. In 1951 persons speaking both Gaelic and English numbered 91,630.

As a result of these figures do we down tools, and submit gracelessly to the extinction of the language, or do we take up the cudgels once more and work earnestly and practically for the strengthening of Gaelic in every possible direction? I believe that the root of the decay is not in Gaelic itself but rather in Economics. How can we hope to foster a language either in Scotland or in Nova Scotia when there are not sufficient trades, industries, or professions to entice the native sons to remain in their home communities. The solution as far as the language is concerned seems to be the two-fold approach, viz. (a) grant-sited adult classes under local instructors to strengthen the prestige of Gaelic, and to promote local leadership, and, (b) the teaching of Gaelic in the day-school curriculum. Item, (b) is now a "fait accompli" in four public schools in Cape Breton, and such teaching is under the supervision of the Gaelic Service, Adult Education Division, Nova Scotia Department of Education. This Service was established in the Province on January 1, 1956, in accordance with a policy of support for the Gaelic Language and Scottish heritage. The field of work is particularly among Scottish communities located throughout the Province. The general purpose of the Service is to foster Canadian-Scottish culture as it exists among the people in its various forms of speech, song, writing, music, piping, dancing, dress and sports.

The first few years in a cultural movement of this kind was rather a period of reconnaissance, evaluations, surveys, a search for "felt-needs", desires of the community for cultural activity, in short, an overall process of trial and error, yet, out of the avenues explored there appeared some solid trails which may lead to broader highways in years to come. Some of these are as follows:

(a) The establishment of a Nova Scotia Association of Scottish Societies in 1951 to define common purposes, and to effect a closer inter-Society relationship in the promotion of Canadian Scottish culture.

(b) Accredited Gaelic Courses for teachers at the Nova Scotia Summer School, Dalhousie University. From 1950 to 1955, 53 teachers have received full credits in the Gaelic Language.

(c) Gaelic Radio Lessons prepared by the Gaelic Service were broadcast for 23 weeks over Radio Stations G.K.E.C. New Glasgow, and C.J.F.X., Antigonish, from 1953 to 1955.

(d) The commencement of Gaelic teaching in the day school curriculum in 1955.

(e) The recording of unpublished Gaelic Folksongs and Folktales.

f) Gaelic Service Publications:

(1) "Simplified Gaelic Lessons for Beginners"

(2) "An t-Elithreach" "The Exile" Original Gaelic Poems and Melodies.


(g) The establishment of a Piper at the Nova Scotia Border to greet incoming tourists to the Province.

(h) The recruitment and direction of 18 Provincial Pipe
Bands involving 234 pipers and 145 drummers who participated at the official opening ceremonies of the Causeway, "The Road to the Isles" on August 13, 1955.

(i) The proposed establishment of a Highland Scottish Village in Nova Scotia.

The above-mentioned projects indicate the potential fields of action in which the Gaelic Service can be of assistance in a practical, and also in an advisory capacity.

Good work has been accomplished in the continued survival of the more colourful attributes of our Gaelic tradition, such as Piping and Highland Dancing, by the Antigonish Highland Society, instituted on August 22, 1884. Its annual Highland Games are considered to be one of Canada's premier tourist attractions, and compare favourably with the best in Scotland.

The Gaelic College of Celtic Folk Arts and Highland Home Crafts, at St. Ann's Cape Breton, established in 1939 is also contributing to the general promotion of the Gaelic tradition, especially in its extension services, and its Gaelic Mod.

Since 1950 new Highland Gatherings have been organized, and are now annual events in Dartmouth, Pugwash, and Glace Bay.

Where do we go from here? Are there further avenues to be explored? Again the answer to these questions depends on the internal economy of the Province, and also on the development of the tourist trade. Few Canadian Provinces could supply such a stirring and colourful sight as the March of the Two Hundred Pipers at the official opening of "The Road to the Isles". This medley of colour and atmosphere is indigenous to Nova Scotia: it is a natural and authentic resource which, when "processed", has a tremendous tourist appeal.

On the other hand, local and well-informed leadership in things Scottish should be one of our main objectives within the next few years. The idea of "helping people to help themselves", and to instil the virtue of independence, a virtue so characteristic of our Highland Scottish progenitors who first settled in New Scotland. Performers of the intricate "Sword Dance" for example, should know that this dance was originally executed by Calum a' Cheann Mhòr (Malcolm Canmore), a Celtic Prince, who was a hero of a mortal combat against one of MacBeth's Chiefs at the battle near Dunsinane, in Scotland, circa 1054. When Malcolm won the contest he took his opponent's sword and crossed it with his own on the ground, symbolising the sign of the Cross, and danced over them in exultation.

The Piper should know that Pipe-Music is so old that its early beginnings are lost in the mists of antiquity. He should be informed that the first music of the pipes was not written in staff notation but rather taught by the tutor to the pupil through the medium of a vocal scale, called in Gaelic, "canntaireachd". This was "ceòl-mór", or the classical music of the bagpipes.

The Gaelic student should know that the earliest specimens of the Gaelic Language are the inscriptions in character known as Ogham. They consist of straight lines arranged with reference as Oghams. They consist of straight lines arranged with reference as Oghams. They consist of straight lines arranged with reference as Oghams. They consist of straight lines arranged with reference as Oghams. They consist of straight lines arranged with reference as Oghams. They consist of straight lines arranged with reference as Oghams. They consist of straight lines arranged with reference as Oghams. They consist of straight lines arranged with reference as Oghams. They consist of straight lines arranged with reference as Oghams. They consist of straight lines arranged with reference as Oghams. They consist of straight lines arranged with reference as Oghams. They
medium between the aesthetic and the commercialistic attributes? The long range view has to be considered in this planning aspect. We have to raise our sights from the mundane level to the visionary plane, yet, we cannot afford to neglect the practical sight in cultural promotion. Our planning could take place along these lines with the language as the foundation. There is an apparent need of a compromise between tradition, and the demands of the present day and age.

We are aware of a division of opinion among those themselves of Scottish ancestry, many holding that a sentimental, and rather obscurantist attachment to things of the past is an obstacle to progress among the people of the present.

Our heritage has a wide appeal even to those who are not of Scottish descent. We have in our possession something worthwhile. We can contribute to other ethnic groups in our Cultural Dominion, yet, even before we do this there must be a healthy unity of purpose within our own ranks. One of the keywords in our future planning should be Harmony. Promoting our culture for our own selfish, and personal gain is not the essence of Patriotism or Loyalty. When this state of Harmony is attained in our plan for future years; if we do not become separatistic meantime, and attempt to form a racial barrier, then we can hope for a useful offering to the final cultural plan for Canada, a Cultural Democracy.

Some of us alive today may not see this idea accomplished, but at this very hour the Ship of Canadian Scottish Culture in New Scotland is under full sail; we are at the helm... let us steer a middle course, hoping to reach safe harbour.

WELSH-SPEAKING IN THE NEW WORLD

I. THE UNITED STATES

by

EMRYS JONES

The position of the Welsh language in the New World today is largely the outcome of a process of cultural assimilation which most national and minority groups have undergone in that continent. The retention or loss of a national language in a new country is conditioned mainly by two factors. The first of these is the motive behind the migration, whether the movement is by compact groups whose aim is to preserve their identity, or by individuals and families for their own economic betterment. There are migrant groups whose sole purpose is the maintenance of a certain set of cultural values. They will transplant those institutions in which their values are enshrined, and which they believe to be threatened in their homeland by political oppression. There are Welsh groups whose aim is to preserve the language. The Welsh settlement in Patagonia) is an example of this kind; culturally set up in vacuo, it was meant to be freed from all cultural values other than those held by the migrants. The greater movements into the New World, however, have been those in which the motives were economic. The continuation of the institutions of these peoples depended on the numbers which happened to reach the same locality, and on their willingness to regroup. The two classes of migrants are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Very often the idealisation which is the essence of the first group is felt more strongly among the leaders, whereas many of the rank and file combine it with the much more pressing economic problem of getting a better livelihood.
The second factor which affects the loss of language is the
social condition in which the immigrant group finds itself in the
new continent. The migrants may be—if only temporarily—in the
majority, in which case their social structure will continue to be
the same as it was in their homeland. They may soon become a
minority, ready for assimilation; but assimilation may be slow
or rapid, depending partly on their own reactions and partly on
the reactions of the assimilating majority.

For the greater part the movement of Welsh people into
North America has been dictated by economic motives. It has
been part of the general movement from the British Isles since
the seventeenth century, but comparatively so small a part that
from the beginning it was only an insignificant segment—numerically
at least—of a basically Anglo-Saxon movement. There were
of course exceptions, groups which set out to preserve their
identity as religious communities, for example. Among the more
important of these were the groups which helped to people Penn-
sylvania in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (1). They were
not destined to survive long as independent groups, mainly due
to their increasing participation in the life of the state. After 1735
the Welsh language tended to disappear in Philadelphia (2).

From the end of the eighteenth century individuals and
families formed the bulk of the movement, first from rural and
later from mining districts. In the nineteenth century a growing
tendency to nationalism in Wales was reflected in further efforts
to set up autonomous groups in tracts called “Wales”, “Cambria”
and so on, in North America; but their swamping by superior
numbers led to their failure. Nor was it American policy to
encourage such endeavours. It was the hopelessness of this
situation which led to the establishment of Y Wladfa in Patagonia,
away from any government—away indeed from all people! (2)

National identity was not entirely lost, of course, among the
larger migrant groups. And as migration from Wales continued
steadily up to the first world war, American-Welsh communities
appeared over most of the United States. Their distribution is
now approximately the same as that of the old immigrant (i.e.
North European) groups; and, with the exception of the southern
states, their distribution is not unlike the general distribution of
population, but with a marked concentration in New York State
and Pennsylvania (4).

Rather than discuss in vague terms what is happening to the
Welsh language over this vast territory, however, it may be better
to focus attention on one or two specific points which the writer
studied in one particular community, and relate these to the more
general background when the incidence and the nature of the
change has been dealt with.

The city in which certain aspects of the Americanisation of
a Welsh minority group was studied in some detail was Utica,
an industrial town in upper New York State (5). Here, the first
generation Welsh (i.e. those who were born in Wales) numbered
about 800, and the total American-Welsh community—those still
identifying themselves with the Welsh group though in the second,
third and fourth generation—numbered about 5,000, out of a
total population of 100,000. In some of the farming communities
outside the city the proportion of Welsh is higher, but the Utica
community is one of the strongest and best-knit in the United
States.

A measure of the change which has taken place in the language,
is most obviously seen in the Welsh newspaper, Y Dwych, which,
although it has a special significance in Utica because it is produced
there, is distributed all over the United States, and is now the
only Welsh paper published in North America. The data ob-
tained from it therefore concern all Welsh communities, and it
reflects changes in the entire country.

A measurement in column-inches of the amount of news
items printed in either Welsh or English gave an idea of the
gradual loss of Welsh as a means of communication in the Welsh
communities. Until the decade 1910–20, with the exception of
advertising, Y Dwych was practically a monoglot Welsh paper
from its inception in 1831 (6). In 1920, 5.0 3/4 of the column inches

10^
were in English, and in 1930, 6.5%. This was still very small, but it heralded greater changes to come. There was a very rapid increase in the amount of English, to nearly 30% in 1939, and to over 80% in 1948 (7). Today, to all intents and purposes Y Dych is an English newspaper which also contains a few articles and news items in Welsh. Soon, even these will be lost, for the few correspondents who can still contribute in Welsh are old men. The small number of those who can write fluently in Welsh, and are interested enough to contribute to the paper, shows clearly the decline of Welsh, and the acceptance of English as a main channel of communication.

The change in language shown in the pages of Y Dych is a general one throughout the United States. It began soon after the first world war, and became greatly accelerated in the last quarter century. A slightly more detailed analysis of the change in Utica itself corroborates this. There are two Welsh churches in the city, and the year books of one of these were examined for the period 1889 to 1948 (8), each item in each book being listed according to the language in which it was recorded. Again, up to the first world war the year book proves to be a monoglot Welsh publication, but a gradual change shows itself at the end of the first decade of this century. By 1920 there have been considerable changes, but practically all the items in that change are those concerning women’s societies and the activities of adolescent societies. By 1921 all the affiliated societies are conducting their proceedings in English, but reports of religious services, finance, the minister’s address and so on are still in Welsh. In 1937 these items too (seven of them) become English en bloc, the only concession to the Welsh being the minister’s address, which was still partly in Welsh until 1944. This measurement is more accurate than that of Y Dych and it follows the same trend—the gradual introduction of English from the first and second decades of this century, the slight acceleration in the twenties, and then the complete change-over in the following fifteen years.

Significantly, it is the inner core of activities, the religious services, which are among the last to become English. This is further emphasised by the fact that in this church both morning and evening services were in Welsh until 1927—the six years after all the associated secular activities had become English. The morning service (the more important of the two in an American city) remained Welsh for some time, although English was introduced in the evening in 1927. In 1941 the pride of place was given to the English service, and Welsh was relegated to the evening. The changes in the year books, in fact, predicted the more important changes in the services of this church. Attendance at an evening service would soon convince one that this Welsh “appendage” will not survive for long, for no-one in the congregation is below middle-age, and the majority are old.

One other institution which has played an important part in the social life of Welsh communities in the United States, and which illustrates the decline of the language, is the eisteddfod, a competitive festival for poetry and prose writing, singing and musical items. Again, an analysis of the language in which these items are advertised indicates a change in this century. The programmes analysed were those of the Utica eisteddfod, which has now been held for a century without a break, but conditions and changes are very similar elsewhere, and to generalise from the particular is justified.

The percentage English was less than 10% until after 1910; it was nearly 30% in 1930 and it was 100% in 1948. In some of the most important events in the eisteddfod—poetry, for example—language is of paramount importance. The forms and intricate metres of a cwypel or enlyn are quite meaningless in any language other than Welsh. Consequently this section gradually disappeared, first being restricted to the simpler poetic forms, then being confined to prose items, and finally ceasing entirely. In the United States the continuation of the eisteddfod has depended on the loss of the language, or rather, on its translation into English. Its form—publicly staged competitions in singing,
choral work and recitation remains; but its content has been changed radically (mainly in the loss of written work) and it now becomes part of a larger cultural pattern. It is planned by the Welsh, but all the nationalities in the city take part in it. Again, the greatest changes came between 1920 and 1948. Adjudicators ceased coming from Wales in the 1920s, and the festival was last held in a tent in 1927 (A tent or pavilion is the traditional way of dealing with the vast crowds which attend eisteddfodau in Wales).

It must not be thought that, because the gradual disappearance of Welsh can be fairly accurately dated as beginning during the first world war and accelerating in the last twenty-five years, assimilation has been taking place for the first time in the United States. What we have measured above is a cultural change, or a change in institutions; it represents the sum total of many social actions and reactions. To the individuals involved in the process the picture has, in the past, been a very different one. It was suggested above that even among the early groups, whose idealism envisaged a new Wales, the Welsh language became lost after a generation or so. So it was with each succeeding wave of immigration. Throughout the last century the American-Welsh have been bewailing the disappearance of their language; by that they meant that their children—the first generation of Americans—had no interest in it. The fact was, that although the Welsh preserved their language at home, in the church or at an eisteddfod, in most phases of life they were face to face with a new set of values expressed in another language. Children played a dual role, for school and play, and eventually work, were in English, and these aspects tended to dominate life in the United States. This was especially so with increasing state education, the primary aim of which was to produce a good American citizen.

As the contacts of the new generation with outside groups increased, so Welsh became relegated to the background. In 1860 a writer notes that “the children of the old Welsh settlers, almost without exception, are apathetic to talking, reading and writing in the Welsh language” (9). In 1900 a correspondent in Y Brycheiniog refers to a church divided by the two languages (10). In 1948 the writer more than once heard parents speaking Welsh to their children, only to be answered in English. The problem arose anew in each generation. Some realized too late the value of the literature and art of their forebears, and advised those who wished to keep their language to stay at home.

The process of change is, of course, two-fold. There is the constantly repeated loss of language by the first generation Americans, whether in the eighteenth century or in this; and there is the change in institutions, which as we saw above is only now being completed. The key to this two-fold aspect is the lack of immigration since the first world war. Before that time Welsh communities were constantly being renewed by fresh migrations, and the loss of language due to the Americanization of each filial generation was offset by the reinforcements from the home country. In this way, institutions continued unimpaired; they did not increase, but they did not lose the Welsh language, for the driving force was always the impetus of continuing immigration. When this ceased, the change was bound to become apparent in the institutions themselves. It can now be said that Welsh-speaking is fast disappearing.

It is easy to understand why the second generation, in the vast majority of cases, lost the language of their parents. They belonged to two social groups, the small Welsh group which preserved the language, and the infinitely larger American society. It is obvious that the rewards offered within either of these for adherence to its own cultural values, are vastly different. The Undivided loyalty to the Welsh leads no further than to the limited status of leadership in a minority group; whereas wholehearted acceptance of American values carries limitless possibilities. Again, whereas Welsh could well serve as the language of home, of religion, and in a limited sense, of recreation, English is essential in education, in work, in play, and in means of communication like newspapers, radio and television. It is not sur-
paring that very few indeed make an effort to remain totally Welsh. The vast majority are prepared to accept their origin and be proud of it, are prepared to accept certain Welsh institutions if the language is changed (e.g. church and cistoddfod), but they are American-Welsh, not Welsh-American, and few are concerned with the loss of language which this involves. A very few individuals have not resolved the conflict of belonging to two social groups. There was, for example, the young man whose attachment to his parents was so strong that he continued to attend a Welsh service in the church, in spite of the fact that he hardly understood a word of the language.

The second generation individuals who wholeheartedly accepted all aspects of American culture abandoned the minority group as long as that group continued to receive reinforcements from Wales—for example, they became members of American churches. But when immigration ceased, they remained in the group and gradually took over, first the secular activities, and finally the religious activities. This explains why there are “Welsh” churches which no longer hold services in Welsh, and “Welsh” cistoddfodau in which not a word of Welsh is spoken. They have retained a tradition and a sentimental attachment, even some cultural traits, which distinguish them from other American groups; but the Welsh language is no longer necessary in any aspect of their life.

Paradoxically it seems, then, that to retain group identity today, the language must go so that the Americanized generation can take over. This is happening in “Welsh” churches all over the United States. In Ulica, for example, when the fast diminishing evening congregation of Welsh immigrants has gone, there will still be a flourishing church, ministered by a pastor from Wales, and claiming some kind of separate identity. There are a few churches in which this has not happened. In Chicago services have been continued entirely in Welsh, serving a dwindling congregation which will almost inevitably disappear with the present aging generation. There is no American generation to take over, largely because no compromise has been made in the last twenty-five years.

It was said above that the rapidity of assimilation, i.e. the rapidity with which a language is lost, reflects the ease with which a minority group can adapt itself to the conditions of the larger society, and also, the willingness of the larger society to accept the immigrant group. In both cases, changes for Welsh groups are made easy. Practically none of the Welsh immigrants is monoglot, so that even the first generation can overcome what is the major stumbling-block to most European immigrants. Many of them, seeing the advantages of full participation in American society, actually encourage their children to speak nothing but English. The Americans are prepared to accept readily a people literate in English, a people who are economically better placed than most immigrants by virtue of the number of craftsmen among them, and a people who are invariably protestant. The change over is painless and almost automatic, and in the process the Welsh language is lost.

That period when the United States produced Welsh papers and periodicals and books, and even Welsh leaders, when a Welshman could live a full life in the farming lands of upper New York State without having to learn English; that period belongs to the past. To the younger generation of American-Welsh, the language of their parents is a quaint anachronism, fitting only for sentimental occasions like St. David’s Day, but playing no part in the everyday life of a citizen of the United States.

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II. PATAGONIA

Emrys Jones and W.R. Owen

In South America, in the Chubut valley of Patagonia, the Welsh language is still spoken by a small group of people who are physically and culturally as divorced from Wales as it is possible to be. Welsh has been spoken there for over ninety years. In May 1865 the “Mimosa” set out from Liverpool with 133 Welsh emigrants on board. Two months later, on July 25, they landed on shores whose aridity and inhospitable nature had so impressed Darwin during his voyage in the "Beagle". Their task was to set up a new Wales, in which their language, culture and traditions could be nurtured and developed unhindered by what they considered the crippling handicap of English domination in their homeland.

The conditions under which the Welsh language was to develop and be maintained here were, then, very different from those in North America, because the ideas behind the migration were so different. Since the beginning of the seventeenth century groups of Welsh people had migrated to North America often with no thought other than that of personal economic advancement. In the first half of the nineteenth century, with the growing demand among groups of idealists in Wales for a Welsh territory overseas, there had been several attempts to establish such a settlement in the North. They were doomed to failure, for within a short time of establishing any such settlement in that rapidly expanding country, the Welsh were inevitably swamped by greater number of settlers advancing with a fast-moving frontier. Idealists at
home could see the vast majority of their compatriots losing their identity in the North, in states and territories which were already part of the United States (1). The idea of a purely Welsh state (Gwladfa) had its origins in these conditions of rapid assimilation in the United States (2).

In Wales a growing spirit of nationalism endorsed the idea that a successful Gwladfa could be founded only in a country which had not yet been claimed, which was uninhabited, and which consequently would give a chance for a complete transference of culture. This idea was summed up later by one of the leaders of the movement (3):

"That the kind of society essential to the well-being of the Welsh would have peace to develop... Elbow room to form a society after our heart's desire... (Pod y cynhaliadau hanfodol i gymer y Gymry yn cael i a llwydd i gunddawblgyn... Man i roi le peneth i ffurfio cynhaliadau o dychwyn ein cofioyn)."

The purpose of this migration, then, was essentially the conservation of language and culture, the preservation of national identity.

Of the material aspects of the colonising it is sufficient to note that, after several years of severe hardship, the community established itself in the lower Chubut valley (4). The turning point in its history was the discovery that irrigation could turn the semi-arid landscape into a very fruitful tract. Wheat and fruit, and later, alf and dairying, became the economic foundation of Y Wladfa. Small groups of immigrants continued to join the original settlers until in 1891 there were about 2,500 people in the valley, of whom only a few were not Welsh. Under such conditions the Welsh could afford to ignore the few Argentines and maintain a nominal independence in which their language and culture flourished.

From the beginning of this century, however, two things occurred which were vital in the history of the spoken language; firstly, migration from Wales ceased entirely in 1914; and secondly the number of Argentines increased enormously. By 1914 the population of Chubut Territory was 23,065; and by 1947 it was 53,866. The proportion of Welsh and their descendants has, consequently, diminished to an insignificant level. They are found in the lower Chubut valley, in the tract which they first settled, at Rawson, Gaiman and Trelew—names which, together with Port Madryn, are permanent reminders of the first migrants—and in a series of farming communities as far as Paso de Indios. A detached group is found in the Andes, in Cwm Hyfryd around the town of Esquel, and in the Teca valley, a sub-Andean valley first populated by the Welsh in 1885 as 16 de Octubre.

Under strong leadership the aims of Y Wladfa were realised in the first half-century of its existence; though almost from the beginning its hopes of being a self-governing territory were destroyed. The very fact of settlement gave Argentina the claim she needed over the territory of Patagonia, formerly disputed by Chile. An Argentine official was soon in residence, and in 1884 Argentinean rule was formally extended to Patagonia. In practice the Welsh were free to do as they wished until Argentinean settlers became the majority.

Their determination to foster their own language and culture was shown by the speed with which the Welsh re-established the institutions which had been threatened in Wales. A church was built immediately, and soon afterwards a school. In 1891 these people numbering approximately 2,500 had the benefit of five voluntary schools, two free government schools and a private high school for girls; and the first number of Y Drafod—one of the oldest papers in Argentina—had appeared. The fact that the oldest papers in Argentina had by then established two schools is, however, argentinian and the establishment of a school board in 1877. The Welsh had already opened three schools by that time, but they agreed to accept the national school if the 150 dollar grant which the government offered with it were shared among the Welsh schools as well.
Instruction in the national school was, of course, in Spanish, and the teacher, an Argentinian of Welsh descent, wrote a first text-book of Spanish in Welsh. This was the beginning of a process of acculturation which was hardly appreciated at that time, but which was later to become the major stumbling block in maintaining Welsh as a living language. *Y Wladfa* was in the meantime producing its own books in Welsh, the first being a Welsh reader—*Gweondy i ddygwy darllen cynnarog, gan R. J. Beswn a Thomas Pugh* (1878)—so that the opinion of an English observer in 1891, that “a very few years will see all the Welsh characteristics almost obliterated” (5), was a pessimistic comment which underestimated the tenacity of the Welsh.

With free education in Spanish, a great increase in numbers of Argentinian settlers, lack of migration from Wales and increasing intermarriage, the problem of keeping the Welsh language alive became more acute after the first decade of this century. It was preserved intact in very many homes, in the numerous small churches, in the newspaper and in the *Eisteddfod*, a festival of music and poetry which had been a focus of entertainment in Wales itself. But Spanish became increasingly the language of work and play and of communication. The new generation in the twentieth century was bilingual in Welsh and Spanish.

Some indication of these changes is found in the Welsh newspaper of *Y Wladfa—Y Drefod*. The first copies were, of course, entirely in Welsh, and as far as news items were concerned this remained true for half a century. *Y Drefod* linked all the small communities in *Y Wladfa*. It gave not only local items, but general news from Wales; it discussed Argentinian affairs; it was informative on international situations: “it was the means by which the people of *Y Wladfa* were kept in touch with the great world outside” (6). And the means of communication were entirely Welsh.

The advertisements however speak of an increasing bilingualism, and advertising increased considerably in the twentieth century. In 1921, for example, half of one issue is advertising, and of this, 55% measured in column-inches, is in Spanish.

By 1938 advertisements account for 60% of the space, and of them 66% is in Spanish. During this period *El Mentor* was published separately in Spanish as a news sheet, and in the early 1940s the sub-title *El Mentor* was added to *Y Drefod* and it became a bilingual newspaper. An issue in January 1945, for example, is mainly news items (70%), of which 52% is in Spanish. An important change then occurs. A February 1951 issue is 100% Welsh again as far as news items are concerned, and the advertisements only, accounting for a mere 17%, are in Spanish. Since 1948 the trend has been a marked increase in the Welsh news items and articles, and a sharp decrease in the amount of advertising which was invariably in Spanish by that date. *Y Drefod* has changed its content, ceasing to be a general newspaper, and printing local news only, together with interest articles concerned with Wales. As far as content is concerned this is exactly what happened to *Y Drech* in the United States, but in *Y Wladfa* the small minority which is still being served by this newspaper is a truly Welsh minority.

It seems that bilingualism was consciously adopted as the only means of preserving the institutions which were cherished, and which could be fully appreciated in the Welsh language only. This meant that the circles in which Welsh could be used were becoming increasingly smaller as Spanish became the language of school, work, commerce and entertainment. The remarkable thing is that, in spite of this, Welsh has been maintained by the second and third generation, so that an institution like the *Eisteddfod* can still be carried on in Welsh. In the United States, in order to preserve the form of the *Eisteddfod*, its language was gradually changed, and the event became an American affair which was open to all nationalities; this implied radical changes in the content, especially in the rapid disappearance of all poetry competitions. The *Eisteddfod* in *Y Wladfa* certainly hasn’t maintained the popularity and vigour of that in the United States. It is not a regular annual event, and when it is held, doubts are voiced as to its possible success, because of the small number.
who can compete. It is a minority event. But it is a truly Welsh, 
esteddfodd. The 1951 programme lists competitions for a *pmddeddl* 
(a long poem in free metre), *cpwydd* (a poem of specified metres), 
*englynion* (a short form, again to strict metres), satirical verse, and 
a lyric, as well as four prose items in Welsh. The surprising thing 
is, not that the success of such a competition should be in doubt, 
but that such forms should have survived at all among such a 
small minority.

The position of the *esteddfod* here reminds one of the choice 
facing the churches in North America; to retain their identity by 
changing their language, or to retain their form and eventually 
lose their identity. But so far in *Y Wladfa* identity is far from 
being quite lost. Even in the children’s *esteddfod* as late as the 
1920s (e.g. Gaiman, 1924) (8) all the items are in Welsh with the 
exception of four competitions for translation, two from Welsh 
into Spanish and two from Spanish into Welsh. Even then there 
was still a young generation which could take part in an *esteddfod*, 
and minor concessions only were made to bilingualism.

One of the overwhelming impressions of *Y Wladfa* today is 
that Welsh speaking is diminishing even more rapidly than the 
decreasing proportion of Welsh people in the population would 
suggest. It is still a first language for many who are descendants 
of migrants who came before 1914. Among these Welsh is spoken 
with a purity which is lacking in many parts of Wales itself, 
though it would be impossible to link it with any dialect differ-
ences inside Wales either in accent or in idiom. The migrant 
groups were drawn from most regions of the homeland, and 
although it is possible at times to detect some vowel sounds which 
characterise Meirioneddshire and the valleys of Glamorganshire, 
one can also hear—in the same person’s speech—phrases and 
characteristics reminiscent of Caernarvonshire. This amalgam has 
been passed on to the second and third generation.

For many of these, too, Welsh is a first language insofar as it 
was the language of childhood and the home. But these genera-
tions are, of course fully, bilingual, their education having been 
entirely in Spanish. Their spoken Welsh is distinguished by an 
unmistakable fill of the voice, combined with a certain harshness; 
and many of those who speak no Welsh after leaving home may 
hardly ever have occasion to speak in that language. The latter 
have a slight shyness, and it would be true to say that they speak 
Welsh with a Spanish accent.

In all cases where Welsh is at all spoken it is much less con-
taminated than the language often is in Wales. Sometimes the 
lack of a technical Welsh word necessitates the use of a Spanish 
term: the English equivalent would not, of course, be understood. 
Thus, whereas a Welshman would say “*Rerf y ddal y bus*” 
(“I want to catch the bus”) the Patagonian Welsh would say 
“*Rerf y ddal yr autobus*”.

The institutions which safeguarded the Welsh language for 
such a long time are today in danger of disappearing altogether 
from lack of support, a direct result of the acculturation of the group, 
mainly by formal education, but also because of the obvious 
advantages of the adoption by the minority group of the culture 
of the majority. The *esteddfod* is sporadic and no longer draws 
the vast audiences which it once did. The fifteen churches in the 
valley are no longer the active centres of Welsh culture which 
they once were; they are served now by one minister only, and 
leadership is no longer found in the churches. In *Cwm Hirfed*, 
one of the two churches holds its services in Spanish; in the other 
a handful of children and no more than a score of adults maintain 
a Welsh Sunday school—although there are a thousand of Welsh 
descent in this valley. Desperate attempts are being made here to 
get a minister from Wales, because again the main difficulty is 
lack of leadership.

It was a realistic approach to the problem which prompted 
one of the older members of the group to describe the future of the 
Welsh language as hopeless, in spite of the “long and bitter 
struggle to keep it”. Welsh societies, which once centred on the 
churches, have weakened enormously, and many of the young 
folk leave the Chubut valley if they wish to follow occupations.

other than farming; many girls go to Buenos Aires to train as nurses, many men enter the colleges of larger towns to become teachers. Once they have left the valley there is no reason why they should even remember their old language. Nor have they any interest now in other aspects of the language: the Welsh library is rarely used—hardly ever by a young person.

In spite of all this, a visitor cannot but be impressed and surprised by the amount and purity of Welsh still being spoken in Y Wladfa. Trelew, the biggest town in the Chubut valley, is almost entirely Argentinian, as is Esquel in the Andes; but in Gaiman, for example, and in the farming areas of valley and mountain, Welsh is still the language of the home for many of the descendents of immigrants and their children. Most of the middle-aged speak Welsh, but there is considerable admixture. Among the younger people Spanish is much more frequently spoken and preferred.

The practical difficulties of maintaining the Welsh language are immense. One factor alone, intermarriage, illustrates this. One example will suffice. A Welshwoman, the daughter of an immigrant, and whose first language is therefore Welsh, married an Argentinian. Their daughter, who understands Welsh but does not speak it fluently, married the son of an Argentinian mother and an Italian father. They have two small daughters whose first language is Spanish. The grandmother speaks Welsh to these children (their father has no objections). She may be successful, but she is tackling it as a problem: she has promised a bicycle to one of the children if she learns Welsh successfully. This last point is significant. Society itself no longer has a reward for Welsh-speaking. Status in the community does not depend on it. Therefore it is purely as something “extra” that it is being taught.

This, then, is a unique community. In it a visitor can attend a concert in which Welsh items (strongly recalling the Wales of half a century ago) alternate with Argentinian folk songs; in which a choir singing a Welsh hymn might be mistaken for a choir from Wales, but in which the next recitation will be given with a strong Spanish accent. The people are extremely conscious of the difficult position of their disappearing language, and there is even a tendency to blame Wales for having ignored them for nearly fifty years. Some would like to see more contact with Wales. Not only are they asking for the leadership which they so deplorably lack, but they would welcome exchange of books and music; even an exchange of farmers was suggested as one way of insulating new life into the Welsh community.

On the anniversary of the first landing in 1865 Welsh and its attendant traditions are each year extolled. To the realist this seems to be nothing more than mere sentimentality. But the remarkable thing is that there is still a spark of life in the language, that there are still children who can and do speak it. But it is unlikely that Wales will ever infuse new spirit and leadership into this valley. It would be false optimism indeed to imagine a purely Welsh community reviving here, for in the last resort the Gwladfa’yr themselves must choose. And their choice is uncompromising. They say, “We are Argentinians.”

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CHRONIQUE

THE WELSH LANGUAGE

AS A MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION IN

THE UNIVERSITY OF WALES

BY

Iorwerth C. Prate

The University of Wales is comprised of four university colleges and a school of medicine. The University Colleges at Aberystwyth, Bangor, Cardiff and Swansea have their departments of Welsh in which naturally the medium of instruction is Welsh. But in all the other departments, the normal medium is English. During session 1952–3, out of a total of 3856 students in the University, 1691 came from homes where Welsh was the language used.

In 1951 the University Court resolved to appoint a committee to inquire into the advisability of establishing as one of the constituent Colleges of the University of Wales a College in which the medium of instruction would be the Welsh language. This Committee reported back to the University Court in December 1955.

Its recommendations can be summarized as follows:

(1) That provision be made for the appointment by the University Colleges of additional members of staff in suitable subjects, whose particular duty it will be to teach those subjects through the medium of Welsh.

(2) That to avoid unnecessary duplication of staffs for the purposes of bilingual teaching in the future, advantage should be taken by the University Colleges of every opportunity that occurs of appointing suitably qualified bilingual teachers when filling vacancies in their staffs.

(3) That the University should call the attention of the various authorities responsible for secondary school education to the importance it attaches to a thorough-going bilingual policy and its implications for the grammar schools and should assure the local education authorities that it is willing and eager to extend the use of Welsh within its walls step by step as the number of students trained in the grammar schools to study in Welsh increases.

(4) That additional teachers be appointed to the staffs of the Education
departments of the Colleges whose business it will be to prepare graduates in their training year for the work of teaching their special subjects through the medium of Welsh.

(5) That immediate and effective steps be taken by the University in collaboration with the Welsh Joint Education Committee [which is the body responsible for secondary school examinations] to secure the production of textbooks for the teaching of all subjects through Welsh in grammar schools.

(6) That further serious attention be given by the University to the question of devising and publishing suitable technical terms and to the many other tasks, such as the production of textbooks etc., which must be performed before the Welsh language can take its full place as a language of University education.

(7) That the use of literary Welsh as a medium of expression in the Colleges be further encouraged by the establishment of annual prizes for essays written in Welsh for translations into Welsh from other languages.

(8) That the University Court should keep progress in these directions under review and that an inquiry be made in five years' time to take cognisance of what has been achieved in the meantime and to consider what further steps should be taken in the progressive task of giving the Welsh language its due place in the University of Wales.

These recommendations were adopted by the University Court. It will be seen that the University authorities take the view that the use of Welsh as a medium of instruction in the University depends upon its prior use in the secondary schools and have committed the University to an undertaking to ensure, in collaboration with the Welsh Joint Education Committee, the means necessary to use Welsh as a medium in the schools. The recommendations, as far as they go, are excellent.

It will be noted, however, that the University 'calls attention ... to the importance it attaches to a thorough-going bilingual policy'. There is in Wales a number of thinkers who hold that such a policy is mistaken and that a completely bilingual Wales is impossible, particularly in view of Wales's geographical relationship to England. Their experience has shown that while the all-Welsh school is a wholly Welsh community, the language in the communal activities of the bilingual school is invariably English. This school of thought maintains that Welsh should ultimately be given sanction as the one official language of Wales and that it should at the present time be given official status equal with English in all public appointments. It maintains that it is as reasonable to expect English speakers who apply for posts in Wales to learn Welsh as it is for Welshmen who seek posts in England (and, at the present time, in Wales) to learn English. Furthermore it is felt that the giving of this long-overdue sanction to the language is the only certain method of preserving Welsh as a flourishing national language.

THE WELSH FOLK MUSEUM

BY

JORWERTH C. PEATE

The National Museum of Wales in Cardiff was founded in 1897 but owing to various causes, not least the First World War, the present building (about one half of the proposed complete scheme) was not opened until 1927. During this period of twenty years, largely under the inspiration of Dr. W. E. Hoyla, the first Director, a small but important collection of Welsh folk material was formed. From 1927 onwards, intensive collecting was carried out, a Sub-Department of Folk Culture being instituted in 1932. In 1936 this became a full Department of Folk Life. During the 1930's attempts were made to secure a suitable site for a national folk museum. The second war intervened but in 1947 the magnificent site of St. Fagans Castle and approximately one hundred acres of land were acquired through the generosity of the Earl of Plymouth as the site of the new national Welsh Folk Museum. St. Fagans is four and a half miles from the centre of Cardiff, the capital of Wales, and is ideally situated for the purposes of a folk museum.

In July 1948 St. Fagans Castle, as the nucleus of the proposed folk museum, was opened to the public. It is a 16th-century mansion built on the ruins of a medieval castle and has eighteen acres of impressive gardens and grounds. The Department of Folk Life at Cardiff now ceased to exist, its Keeper becoming Curator of the new Welsh Folk Museum, St. Fagans is four and a half miles from the centre of Cardiff, the capital of Wales, and is ideally situated for the purposes of a folk museum.

The principal activity since 1948 has therefore been the development of the collection. Many of the buildings are representative of different parts of South Wales and have been reconstructed in a manner which will be added to the collection. The一部分 of the new Welsh Folk Museum is now completed and the buildings have been brought into public use.

It was intended to illustrate, amongst other things, the traditional crafts of Wales in the Folk Museum. A wood-turner has been employed in the craft, since 1948 and two young lads have been trained by him in the craft.
a third being apprenticed at the present time. A basket-maker is also employed and the woolen mill is worked daily by two textile workers. Products are on sale to visitors. Later it is hoped to have a smith, a potter etc. as members of the staff.

With the development in the 19th century of a wholly literate folk community the craft of the oral folk tale is no longer characteristic of the Gaelic-speaking areas of Ireland and Scotland, largely disappeared from Wales. Traces of the craft however still remain in a modified form. The miraculous survival of the Welsh language in varying degree in each of the thirteen countries of Wales has resulted in the preservation to our own day of vocabularies—domestic, craft, agricultural, religious, etc.—which are of the utmost importance to the students of both language and dialect and of social history and folk culture. In addition, many folk practices and much folk music remain unrecorded. The Welsh Folk Museum has appointed a competent scholar to its staff to initiate this work: it is intended to make as complete a survey as is possible of every aspect of the Welsh oral tradition.

The Welsh Folk Museum's paramount need is funds to complete its new building. Until this is achieved, it will be impossible to display more than a very small part of its folk collection while it still awaits adequate store-rooms, administrative offices, lecture rooms, a theatre and other such essential requisites of a national institution.

THE DUBLIN SCHOOL OF CELTIC STUDIES

BY

MYLES DILLON

The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies was established in 1940 by an Act of Dáil Éireann (Number 13 of 1940) to provide facilities for the furtherance of advanced study and the conduct of research in specialised branches of knowledge, and for the publication of advanced study and research whether carried on under the auspices of the Institute or otherwise. Two schools were at first established under the Act, the School of Celtic Studies and the School of Theoretical Physics. A third, the School of Cosmic Physics, was established in 1947, and there is provision in the Act for the establishment of other schools as the public interest may require. Each School is governed by a separate Board, under the control of the Council which governs the whole Institute.

The duties of the School of Celtic Studies are stated to be the promotion of Celtic Studies generally, and in particular:

(a) the investigation, editing, and publication of extant manuscript material in the Irish language;
(b) the grammatical, lexicographical, and philological study of Old, Middle, and Modern Irish;
(c) the phonetic investigation of existing Irish dialects and the recording of the living Irish speech;
(d) the collection and study of Irish place-names;
(e) the study of Irish social history and of all branches of Irish history which require for their investigation a knowledge of the Irish language;
(f) the preparation and recommendation to the Council of the Institute for publication of works dealing with any of the subjects mentioned in any of the foregoing paragraphs of this sub-section and of other works calculated to promote a more general knowledge of the Celtic languages and of the literatures of these languages and of the cultural and social background of Celtic civilization;
(g) the training of advanced students in the methods of research in any of the said subjects;
(h) the organisation of seminars, conferences, and lectures on the Celtic languages and on the literatures of those languages and, in particular, on matters of interest to students of the Irish language and of its literature;
(i) the provision of facilities for advanced study and research in Celtic studies for university professors and lecturers on leave of absence from their academic duties;
(j) the commissioning of competent scholars, whether associated or not associated with the Institute, to undertake, either with or without remuneration, the writing or the editing of works dealing with Celtic studies;
(k) the assistance of research in Celtic studies in other countries and the exchange with such countries of advanced students in those studies;
(l) such other functions and duties in relation to Celtic studies as may from time to time be decided upon by the Governing Board.

Professor Osborn Bergin, Professor R. J. Best and Professor T. F. O’Rahilly were the first Senior Professors of the School of Celtic Studies, and Bergin was chosen as Director. He resigned in 1941 and was succeeded by O’Rahilly who held the Directorship until his retirement in 1947. Dr. Best retired in 1947. The Senior Professors at present are Professor M. A. O’Brien (Director), Professor D. A. Bunchby and the writer.

From the first the work of the School reflected O’Rahilly’s special interest in Modern Irish. He organised a course in phonetics, and arranged for the publication of three books describing particular dialects; and he directed the activities of the junior staff towards the editing of the great mass of unpublished material of the modern period (1400–1800). There was also a plan to excerpt these texts in the course of a large number of volumes of ancient poetry and of modern prose romances which have been published, and a mass of material for the dictionary has accumulated.

1 A list of publications is appended pp. 301 sq.
One of the regulations of the School provides for a Statutory Public Lecture to be delivered each year. The first lecture, given by O'Flahilly himself in March 1941, was entitled 'Palaeothina and Patrick,' and aroused a controversy about the patrician question which is still proceeding. The lecture was published in 1942 under the title The Two Patriarchs. O'Flahilly had in recent years been devoting himself more and more to mythology and early history. In 1947 he brought out a volume of studies in this field which is the most important work of its kind that has appeared for many years, and will be a basis for future study. Best and Bergin had been preparing an edition of the famous Book of Leinster, and three volumes of the six projected have appeared. After Bergin's death in 1950, O'Brien became co-editor with Best, and the fourth volume is now in the press.

Professor Thommyse was commissioned by the Irish Government to prepare a second edition of his Handbuch der Alteurische to be published in English, and had completed the work before his death in 1946. The translation was made by Bergin and Bunchy and was published in 1946.

Meanwhile, four special series are in course of publication, Irish Franciscan Texts for the republication of the devotional works produced by the Irish Franciscans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; Scriptores Latinus Hiberniae, which will include the writings of Columbanus, Adamnan's Vita Columbae, and De Loctis Sanctis, the collection of Canons known as the Hibernensis, the Penitentials, and other Hiberno-Latin works of the early Middle Ages; the Medieval and Modern Irish Series, which includes texts in prose and verse edited with notes and vocabulary in a form suitable for class-work; and the Medieval and Modern Welsh Series, of which the first volume has just appeared.

In 1950 the Board approved a proposal to make a linguistic atlas of the Irish dialects. Dr. Heinrich Wagner, now professor of German Philology at the university of Zurich, a former scholar of the Institute, undertook the work, and the field-work has been completed. The maps are now in course of publication.

Three volumes of annals have been published, and Dr. Sean Mac Airt of Queen's University, Belfast is engaged upon an edition of the important Annals of Ulster. The Director is editing a Corpus of Irish Genealogies and Professor Bunchy is editing a Corpus Juris Hiberniae to include the whole of the surviving Irish legal tracts. The writer has been engaged on an edition of the Book of Rights.

The third volume of our journal, Cefion, published in 1956, was dedicated to the memory of Johann Caspar Zues, a servant. It will be seen that the scope of the School's activities is wide, and its achievement is not negligible. The establishment provides for professors, assistant professors, assistants and scholars, and for the employment of scholars outside the School upon special projects. Professor Vendyres of the University of Paris has for some years been preparing an Etymological Dictionary of Irish, and a number of scholars at home and abroad have undertaken work of various kinds. A Colloquium was held in 1948 and again in 1949, and Summer Schools of Irish studies were held in 1952 and 1954. Scholarships tenable for two years are offered by the School, and young scholars have come from France, Switzerland and the United States as well as from Irish universities. Members of the staff have been sent as visiting lecturers to Austria, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Wales and the United States, and scholars from abroad have been invited to lecture at the School.

It is our hope that the School of Celtic Studies in Dublin will develop into an international centre of research, so as to widen the range of interests at home, and to provide an authority towards which those abroad who share these interests may turn for support.

SIR JOHN RHYS AND EDWARD LHWYD

Sir John Rhys and Edward Lhwyd are undoubtedly the greatest Celtic scholars of Welsh birth. Rhys who was born in 1840 and died in 1915 had a remarkable career which is well brought out in a small book, written both in Welsh and in English, by T. H. Parry-Williams, entitled John Rhys' 1840–1915.1 Rhys was of very modest origin, born in a small single-storey cottage in the uplands of north Cardigan-shire and at the foot of Plynlimon, the son of a farm labourer. He learnt to read Welsh at the Sunday school, but had until his fifteenth year only a very rudimentary schooling, working on the farm, tending sheep and from his twelfth year working in a lead-mines. 15 years old, however, he was able to go to the newly opened 'British' school in Pen-llwyn and from there, five years later, to the New Normal College in Bangor. He would be a school-master in order to gain the money required for a university education. From 1861 to 1865 he was an elementary school-teacher in Anglesey. Already in 1864 a lecture he read at the National Eisteddfod showed that he mastered the history of the Welsh language, and a paper published in the Transactions of the Philological Society in 1865 testified to his knowledge of comparative Indo-European grammar. He now went to Oxford and used his vacations for studies in France and Germany. In 1871 he became inspector of schools for the counties of Flint and Denbigh. In 1877 he was elected to the new chair of Celtic in Oxford, supported by Max Muller and Whitley Stokes. In the same year appeared the first edition of his Lectures on Celtic Philology. In 1895 he was elected principal of Jesus College. He

1 University of Wales Press, Cardiff 1941; 72 pp.
rapidly became one of the leading Celtic scholars of his time, active in the different fields of our discipline, not only as a linguist and philologist who wrote Inscriptions and Language of the Northern Picts and Outlines Landawensis and the Red Book of Hergest, but also as historian, prehistorian and folklorist (Celtic Heathendom; Celtic Folklore, Welsh and Manx; Studies on the Arthurian Legend; Early Britain, Celtic Britain; Early Ethnography of the British Isles; Celts and Gaels; The Welsh People, together with David Brynmor Jones, etc.). Although much of what he wrote is obsolete now more than a century after, all those who want to tackle the general problems of Celtic Britain must study his books. It does not fall to the lot of many scholars to last that long.

In volume XVI of the Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap, pp. 370 sqq., I drew attention to some letters written by Edward Lhwyd to Henry Rowlands, the author of Maina Antiqua Restaurata, letters which are of the greatest interest to the history of comparative grammar, but which seem to be unknown to the historians of linguistics. I did not know, then, that Lhwyd's extant letters, with chapters on his life, had been published by R. T. Gunther as volume XIV of Early Science in Oxford, printed for the subscribers.

Lhwyd was not only a great antiquarian and philologist; his early interests were the natural sciences; he was one of the great naturalists of his time. He started collecting and studying plants, minerals and fossils already before he came to Oxford in 1682, 22 years old. His publications deal also with other natural phenomena, e.g. locusts. In 1691 we find him helping John Ray with the second edition of a Collection of English Words not generally used, and the same year he tries to explain the meaning and origin of some Welsh place-names. From 1693 to 1695 he assisted Edmund Gibson in preparing a new edition of Camden's Britannia. He dealt with British antiquities, sending round a questionnaire and travelled himself to Monmouthshire. There he started to prepare for more extensive travels, which were intended to give him the necessary material for a British Dictionary, an Archæologia Britannica and a Natural History of Wales. He asked for help by sending out four thousand sheets of Porochial Queries in Order to a Geographical Dictionary, a Natural History, etc., of Wales. Means were raised by subscription in advance. In 1694 he writes that he is learning Irish had finds himself on account of the lack of a dictionary. Then he set out on his grand tour which lasted four years from 1697 to 1701 and took him round in Wales, and to Cornwall, Ireland, Scotland and Brittany. He and his assistants were exposed to the suspicions of the local people as they were taken for spion or secret agents of Parliament. In Brittany he was arrested and sent back to Britain; the war of the

Spanish Succession had broken out. In Cornwall the language was already dying so that good speakers were difficult to find. In Ireland he visited New Grange of which he gives an interesting description. He was able to get hold of some 20—30 Irish manuscripts, among them the famous Book of Leinster, but complains bitterly that he is not able to read Irish manuscripts and that no help was to be got in Ireland. The books, however, he understood without great difficulty. The Irish alphabet, he says, is derived from the British.

Lhwyd spent his last years in Oxford, preparing his great work. His health had broken down and he suffered from chronic asthma. He had to postpone the historical and geographical part of his work and concentrate upon the Glossographia. His only absence from Oxford and its surroundings took place in 1702 when he visited Cambridge where he copied the Epitomes of Giraldus Cambrensis. In a letter to Humphrey Foulkes from Oxford dated December 26, 1702, he copies the famous three epiphrases written in the margin of a Juvencus manuscript. He asks his correspondent's opinion on them: "I shall forbear inserting Mr. Baxter's reading least it should prejudice you, only to tell you in general that he declares it to be a very plain prediction that our gracious Queen shall have another prince who shall reign after her" (1). In a letter of October, 1703, he points to the absence of initial p in Irish which has e corresponding to Welsh p (pen : rian or ern, pene : cren, plant : chlemd, pen :nur : cathun) and proposes to call the two Celtic groups C Britons and P Britons. The word after was, as far as he could learn, never used in Welsh, Cornish or Armorice for water, but all the same there are rivers all over England called Aw, In, Ac, Er, Us. He draws from this and similar observations the conclusion that the C Britons were the first Gaulish colony in Britain, and that the P Britons were another Gaulish colony that came afterwards and forced the first one northwards.

Lhwyd died in June 1709 in his 48th year after a chill which developed into a pleurisy.


1 Interpreted by Sir Williams in Lectures on Early Welsh Poetry, pp. 28 sqq.

THE GAELIC OF LEURBOST, ISLE OF LEWIS

The 19th of December Mr. Magne Olufsen, in order to obtain the degree of Dudder Philanthropin, defended his thesis The Gaelic of Leurbost, Isle of Lewis before the Faculty of Letters in the University of Oslo. The Faculty Committee, consisting of Professors Marenstrøm, Summerfeldt and Jorgensen, had advised the Faculty to accept the thesis for defence and had declared themselves satisfied with Mr. Olufsen's two public lectures, the one on the Norse linguistic influence on...
LE PLURIEL BRETON

Parmi les celtisants, dont le nombre n'est pas grand, le groupe de ceux qui s'occupent du breton est malheureusement très petit. Je suis donc particulièrement heureux de pouvoir signaler une nouvelle arrivée.

La thèse principale contient une étude synchronique des formations du pluriel dans les différents parlers bretons, étudiées à l'intérieur du système des degrés de nombre et dans leur structure. Un chapitre spécial est consacré au pluriel dans les noms de lieux. M. Trépos se propose de remanier le livre et d'y inclure une étude diachronique de la question avant de le faire imprimer — à cause des frais d'impression en France on peut maintenant présenter des thèses remaniées.

M. Trépos a l'avantage d'être Breton bretonnant qui n'a parlé le français qu'à l'âge de 6 ans. Encouragé par notre confrère, M. Falchouin, et par le doyen Mayer, il a commencé ses études celtiques à l'âge de 35 ans après avoir été d'abord instituteur, puisse professeur de lettres. Il est maintenant maître de conférences à la Faculté des lettres à Rennes.

A.S.

SCOTTISH GAELIC LESSONS

FOR BEGINNERS ON LONG PLAYING RECORDS

Series I of Scottish Gaelic Lessons for Beginners is the first of its kind ever to be produced in North America. The disc contains everyday phrases of simple conversational Gaelic without delving too deeply into grammatical intricacies. Major MacLeod, (Alasdair), Gaelic Ad-

viser, Adult Education Division, N. S. Department of Education, acts as the teacher and native speaker. Mrs. MacLeod, (Seonaid), plays the part of the acquérir of Gaelic. Explanations are in English, and the various Gaelic phrases are repeated by the teacher and pupil throughout the 40 minute lesson.

A monograph script of the lessons accompanies each disc so that pronunciation and the written word may be compared and studied.

The price of the record is $4.85 each and it is obtainable from Frank McKnight, Music Store P.O. Box 291, 357 Charlotte Street, Sydney, Nova Scotia, Canada.

A.S.

SCOTTISH GAELIC IN EDUCATION AND LIFE

Dr. John Lorrie Campbell's Gaelic in Scottish Education and Life: Past, Present and Future, which was published in 1944, attracted considerable attention and led to much discussion in Scotland. A new edition became necessary. This new edition has been somewhat extended; a number of final notes deals with points on which the statements of the author have been challenged.

The pamphlet contains a very useful exposition of facts which explain the great decline which Scottish Gaelic has suffered since the 18th century; in fact, it is rather surprising that it is still spoken in spite of official hostility down to quite recent times and the terrible Highland clearances which went on from 1782 to 1853. The reformation was destructive as in so many other fields, and Gaelic was largely identified with Catholicism. The Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge and its schools banned Gaelic completely—they contributed also to the disappearance of Norn. Dr. Johnson had to intervene in favour of a translation of the New Testament into Gaelic. Even in modern times the use of Gaelic in the Gaelic speaking districts has not and still is bureaucratic opposition—especially from school inspectors. And since the broadcasting system as it should be expected to occupy. The Ordinance Survey declines assistance from Gaelic experts so that the Gaelic place names are distorted, as also the Norse names are in the Gaelic districts (Hurns, for example, has become Unamais).

Dr. Campbell concludes with a set of recommendations for future policy. His recommendations are in no way revolutionary, but in their modesty seem entirely justified if Gaelic is to enjoy a status comparable of minority languages in many countries.

* Published by Saltire Society by W. A. K. Johnston Ltd. Edinburgh 1950. 34.
SOUTH UIST

The British Government have resolved to establish a guided missile range in South Uist. It is obvious to all those who have studied folk culture and folk traditions that the influx of a large number of speakers of English into South Uist which such an establishment must necessarily carry with it will bring about the rapid disappearance of Gaelic and all that goes with it. This is doubly regrettable since South Uist is perhaps the area in Scotland where the old Highland civilization is best preserved. Scotmen have protested vigorously to the Government and in letters to the press; they have been joined by the six Celtic scholars of the University of Oslo in a letter to “The Times”. It has all been in vain. A demand for a grant intended to finance a survey of language and traditions in South Uist has been turned down. It is surprising and sad that the British authorities should be lagging so much behind the rest of the civilized world in the understanding of the importance and value of folk culture. Future generations will judge them as severely as we in Norway judge the vandals who in the beginning of last century pulled down old churches to replace them by “modern” ones.

A.S.

FR. ALLAN M. DONALD

In a pamphlet: Fr. Allan M. Donald of Eriskay, 1859—1965, Priest, Poet and Folklorist (Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh 1954, 3 s. 12.), Dr. Campbell tells the moving story of Fr. Allan M. Donald who was priest in South Uist and Eriskay. Campbell publishes some of his hitherto unpublished poems and gives an account of his activities as a folklorist—much of what he collected was used by others. The pamphlet also contains a detailed bibliography, not only of Mr Donald’s published and unpublished work, but also of the material used by others.

A.S.

THE CELTIC DEPARTMENT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

BY DEREK S. THOMSON

Towards the end of 1956 a Chair of Celtic Languages and Literature was founded in the University of Glasgow, thanks partly to the efforts of the Osianic Club and a donation from the Ross Trust, and Mr. Angus Matheson was appointed as the first Professor. It is appropriate now to review briefly the history of the teaching of Celtic in Glasgow University.

From the year 1876 onwards classes in Gaelic were conducted in the University buildings, by the Rev Alexander Cameron, editor of Pelagius Celticus and founder of the short-lived Scottish Celtic Review. These classes, however, were originally under the auspices of the Free Church College, and it was in the year 1900 that a part-time lectureship in Celtic was founded, under the will of the Rev Archibald Kelly McCallum. In 1910 a further bequest was made for Celtic teaching, this time by Alexander Fleming, and thereafter the lectureship was entitled the McCallum-Fleming Lectureship in Celtic.

Magnus Maclean, who was at the time Professor of Electrical Engineering at the Technical College in Glasgow, was the first to teach Celtic at Glasgow University under University auspices, and his lectures, delivered in 1900—1903, appeared in book form in his Literature of the Celts and Literature of the Highlands. He was succeeded in 1903 by Kuno Meyer, whose work need not be summarised for readers of Lochlann. Meyer was followed in 1906 by George Henderson, who showed a commendable awareness of the need to study the Norse element in the history and language of the Scottish Highlands. His book, The Norse Influence on Celtic Scotland, although now out-dated, might have been followed up with profit by Scottish Gaelic scholars. Scottish Gaels are in particular indebted to him for his edition of John Morrison’s religious poetry, Daluain Buidhe.

Henderson’s successor, in 1912, was another clergyman, George Calder. His publications include editions of Amraiciwr a-n-Erinn, Teithiu na Teine, and the Gaelic poems of Duncan Ban MacIntyre and William Ross, together with a Gaelic Grammar which, for all its imperfections, is still the fullest available. Working on an edition of Daluain a-n-Erinn a few months before his death, he is reported to have remarked to a friend, “Death is a terrible nuisance when a man is busy”. Many of his students still remember his teaching and his eccentricities, with affection.

In 1935 James Carmichael Watson was appointed to the lectureship. The youngest son of W. J. Watson, he filled this position with great distinction until his appointment, in succession to his father, to the Royal Chair of Celtic at Edinburgh University in 1938. Joining the Royal Navy in 1941, he was lost at sea in 1942, a sad loss for Scottish Gaelic and Celtic scholarship. In the few years which his father had left for scholarly and Celtic scholarship. In the few years which his father had left for scholarly work he produced editions of Measg Uain and the Gaelic Song of Mary Mòineadh, and Vols. II and IV of Carmina Guelphica, consisting of traditional material which had been collected by his maternal grandfather, Alexander Carmichael. He had done much work also on the remaining MSS of his collection.

In 1938 Mr. Angus Matheson, who had been a class-mate of Watson’s,

18—Norvik Tilbladk for Språkvidenskap, Norges. Kopi. 68.
was appointed to the lectureship in Celtic, and now, after eighteen years' tenure of this post, he is welcomed to the newly founded chair. Mr. Matheson, born in 1912 in Harris of Lewis parents, and brought up in North Uist, is, unlike his two immediate predecessors, a native Gaelic speaker in the full sense of the words. He went to school at Inverness Royal Academy, and proceeded to Edinburgh University, where he graduated with first class honours in Celtic, studying there for a year in Dublin and for a year in Bonn, before becoming assistant to W. J. Watson in Edinburgh. During the war he served in the Intelligence Corps, and for these years the Celtic classes at Glasgow were taken by Mr. Alexander Nicolson. Mr. Matheson has a wide background of linguistic knowledge, and it is hoped that his inclusion in the scholarship will issue in more published works. He is, rightly, in view of the scarcity of scholars in this field—largely concerned with Scottish Gaelic studies. In 1954 he edited Vol. V of Carmina Gaelica, and is at present working on Vol. VI, a trust bequeathed to him by the late James C. Watson.

An important part of the work of Celtic Departments, in the three Scottish Universities where Celtic is taught, is to provide some vocational training for students who will afterwards teach or preach or write Gaelic within a living Gaelic community. The work of the Ordinary and Advanced classes in Celtic is normally geared to these requirements, while it aims also to extend the student's range in more general Celtic studies. The Celtic Department at Glasgow has taken its full share of this work. Honours candidates have been comparatively rare, because of the scarcity of posts available for Celtic specialists, and because of the popular view—that some extent mistaken—that a degree in Celtic qualifies a student only for such posts.

In 1949 the scope of the Celtic Department at Glasgow was enlarged, when a Lectureship in Welsh was instituted. Since that date it has been possible to read for Honours in pure Celtic, whereas before, a non-Celtic language (as Latin etc.) required to be studied on the Honours standard. Honours candidates now have the opportunity of studying Scottish and Irish Gaelic, and Welsh, with some restricted study of Manx and Medieval Breton. The present writer had the privilege of planning and putting into operation courses in Welsh and Breton for the new Celtic Honours group. The present Lecturer in Welsh is Mr. Eury iiwr Howlands, a graduate and Fellow of the University of Wales.

We look forward, in due course, to further news of progress in Celtic studies at the University of Glasgow.

OBIITUARY

PROFESSOR ÉAMONN Ó TOOLE
(1883–1956)

The unexpected death of Professor Éamonn Ó Toole last July came as a great shock to his intimate friends. Some of them knew that he had been in failing health for more than twelve months before his fatal collapse, but none of them expected his passing with such suddenness.

Éamonn Ó Toole began his Irish studies in Belfast towards the end of the last century under the tuition of a native Irish-speaking British civil servant from the South of Ireland who had been transferred for duty from Britain to Belfast. Members of the civil service were forbidden to take any active part in politics, but there was no prohibition against their engaging in cultural activities. Under the influence of the recently founded Gaelic League many Irish-speaking English-speaking British officials were particularly enthusiastic about imparting a knowledge of Irish to young people. It was by a member of the customs and excise service Éamonn was taught his first Irish lessons. He made rapid progress, for we find him in the early years of the present century being appointed a travelling teacher of Irish in the larney district of County Monaghan, where a small number of native Irish speakers still survived. (Readers of the Ulster Cycle of Literature will recall that this was the territory over which Eogan mac Duthacht ruled.)

Éamonn Ó Toole was one of the 67 students who attended the first session of the newly founded summer College of Irish in Cuchulainn, Co. Donegal, in 1906. On his appointment as teacher of Irish in Co. Monaghan he found that those interested in reviving Irish in the North Monaghan he found that those interested in reviving Irish in the North Irish, he had acquired a certain mastery over the accent and pronunciation of Southern Irish, he set about learning the Northern pronunciation and vocabulary. His success was such that when a vacancy occurred on the staff of the Cuchulainn Irish College in 1907 he was appointed to the vacant position. For many years he remained a member
of the professorial staff of the College, and also acted as Secretary for a number of years before the pressure of other work forced him to resign.

In the winter of 1906 the Leinster College of Irish was founded in Dublin. Shortly after its establishment Éamonn Ó Tuathail was appointed as one of its professors. At a later date he was promoted to the position of Principal. The purpose and aim of the College was to train teachers in the use of both oral and written Irish so that they could impart a knowledge of the language in due course to their pupils. As teachers were engaged in their schools during the day classes were held in the College on several evenings each week. This arrangement enabled Éamonn to attend lectures in University College, Dublin, during the daytime. He pursued a course in Celtic Studies under Dr. Douglas Hyde, Professor Forgan, and Professor Lloyd-Jones. Having been awarded the Degree of B.A. with Honours, he immediately set to work on a thesis for the Degree of M.A. He chose for his subject the life and poetic compositions of one of the South Uhter poets of the 18th century. This aroused his interest in the work of the poets of that district of that period, as may be seen from the number of poems of the South Uhter poets of the early 18th century he edited and published from MS sources. In 1914 he was awarded the Degree of M.A. with Honours for his thesis by The National University of Ireland.

In the meantime he had become a teacher in P. H. Pearse's School at Rathfarnham. Éamonn Ó Tuathail never became involved in politics. He had, however, many opportunities of hearing and estimating the political aims of his Headmaster. He attended the famous centenary lecture of the birth of Thomas Davis delivered by W. B. Yeats in the Rotunda in 1914, and he used delight afterwards in giving a summary of the lecture and of the speeches of Pearse and of the other speakers who spoke on that occasion.

After the 1916 Rising Professor Ó Tuathail acted as substitute teacher in Castledermot College, near Dublin, for Mr. Frank Fahy, who afterwards was elected Cúmnachaire or speaker of Dáil Éireann, the lower house of the Irish Parliament. At a later date he was appointed to the staff of the Carmellic College, Terenure. His work as Professor in Terenure College and as Principal of the Leinster College of Irish gave him little opportunity for research work in the field of Irish studies. Yet until his appointment to the chair of Irish in Trinity College, Dublin, in the summer of 1929 he did have much leisure to devote himself to the work of research, for a condition of his appointment to this latter position was that he resign from the posts he held in Terenure College and in the Leinster College of Irish.

Yet before 1929 his first important publication, called Rotann agus Amhrán, had appeared. It is comprised of a collection of poems composed by natives of Meath, Louth, and Armagh. The title of the volume was suggested by a particular form of poetic composition, called le rotann agus amhrán, employed chiefly by Séamus Mac Cuarta, the greatest of the 18th century South Uhter school of poets. Each poem of this class contains three opening stanzas in syllabic metre, usually taimiseoidheal tóir, and a closing stanza in assonantal metre. In Clar Lúiridhcheacht na Nua-Ghaeilge, II, 1896–1906, I find 90 Irish poems listed as having been edited and published by Éamonn Ó Tuathail in various Irish periodicals at different dates from 1916 to 1926. The number could be greatly increased now for he continued until recently to edit and publish Irish poetic compositions. Many of these were from the pen of Padraig Mac Giolla Fhlinnmainn, a school-master of the early 18th century who befriended Mac Cuarta, sheltered him in his home, and vigorously refuted in writing accusations of impiety brought against the blind poet.

A call for some of him to the professors and students of the Leinster College of Irish on the occasion of his appointment to the chair of Irish in Trinity College enabled Professor Ó Tuathail to record many traditional stories and songs from native Irish-speakers in Irish-speaking districts of Tyrone where he spent his boyhood, and in the mountainous districts of Tyrone where he spent his boyhood, and in the mountainous districts of Tyrone where he spent his boyhood, and in the mountainous districts of Tyrone where he spent his boyhood, and in the mountainous districts of Tyrone where he spent his boyhood.
This is the most important contribution to Celtic studies which has been published during the last generation. Hitherto we had, apart from Pedersen's and Bandisch's historical grammars of the Brittonic languages, only a number of separate articles and treatises, mainly by Joseph Loth, to which must be added Forster's bulky book on the name of the Thames. It was therefore very difficult to get an up-to-date view of the present state of research. Now we have a thorough chronological survey of the Brittonic languages from the first to the twelfth century A.D., as the subtitle of the book runs. The author is well known especially from his important contributions to the study of Britain during the dark age. This book must be supplemented with the recent articles: The British Language during the Period of the English Settlements, 1 The Pictish Language, 2 and with his Notes on the Ogam Inscriptions of Southern Britain. 3

Professor Jackson's book gives the history of the external as well as the internal development mainly of the phonemic systems. A thorough discussion and exposition of the sources and the relevant facts of British history, as far as they are known, is followed by a study of the phonemic systems which covers two thirds of the book.

Particularly valuable is Jackson's treatment of the Latin element. He shows that the earlier theories of the general use of Latin cannot be accurate. Latin was used for government purposes, in the army, in all large-scale trade and commerce and in the Christian church; it was the ordinary language of the upper class, but whether the lower class population of the towns spoke Latin as its usual language is problematic. The urban population seems to have been partly romanised, but the Lowlands, apart from the land-owners who had received a Latin education and were bilingual, must have been British-speaking, and even the children of the land-owners would have used British during childhood. The language of the Highland Zone, apart from the army and its native ramp-fellows, was to all intents and purposes exclusively British. The numerous Latin loanwords in British must have been borrowed in the Lowland Zone and hence have passed to the Highlanders, carried there especially by inhabitants from the Lowlands who settled before the Anglo-Saxon invaders. The characters of the Latin which was used in Britain differed in some important respects from the Vulgar Latin of the Continent. Short stressed i and u, for example, were not assimilated before initial s, b, or c (cf. for, etc., and s, b, c, etc., etc., in English). The British did not distinguish between vowels and a; between b, s, and s, and between p, t, k and f, and between p, t, k, and p, t, k (cf. 319). The “over developement” of the Latin language in Britain is reflected in the expansion of the vocabulary, the assimilation of Latin words to British, and the simplification of the Latin verb system.

1 In Studies in Early British History, edited by Nora K. Chadwick.
2 In The Problem of the Picts, edited by F. T. Walterwright.
3 In The Early Cultures of North-west Europe (H. M. Chadwick Memorial Studies).
a certain extent, have followed the British development so that intoncable p, t, k, b, d, g, m became b, d, g, b, d, g, p, and m became t; these changes such as that of s into c or e into c or d into c, for example, according to MacNeill that pronunciation of Latin was used down to the fourteenth century. The discussion of the inscriptions and the study of the relations between the British and the Saxons as they appear mainly through the painstaking philological research. Some of the details of Jackson's results may not be of a definitive character in spite of the author's handling of philological as well as of the linguistic methods—that is due to the extreme difficulty of the subject—but all the same this part of his work is of fundamental importance. On the basis of an exposition of the general history of the Saxons and the map of the British river names—the material for a satisfactory distribution map will not be available before the publications of the English Place Name Society are complete—he divides England and Wales into four areas as far as the relations with the Saxon conquerors are concerned.

The second half of the book deals with the development of the British phonemic systems. Nothing definite is known of the British accent. In Late British, before the separation of the three languages, it held on the penultimate syllable. The author discusses the nature of the accent and believes, against Loth who reckoned with a tonic one, that it was a strong stress accent. I think the question of the force of the stress is of minor importance. As Roman Jakobson has shown languages with a free quantity usually have not got a free accent and vice versa. The penultimate accent, which is not phonemic, which Trehetzky termed a Grenzsignale. Reduction of short syllables, independent of any stress accent, is possible in languages where vowel length is phonemic. In Vulgar Latin quantity became dependent upon stress and is regulated by the nature of the stressed syllable, being long in open, short in closed syllables. I agree with Professor Jackson that a similar system must be at the basis of the present Welsh system. Welsh has been subject to

1 Parallel examples could be quoted from the Norwegian pronunciation of written Danish in the 15th century.

2 The author distinguishes the following periods: Early British during the Roman occupation until the middle of the fifth century, Late British from that time until the middle of the sixth century when the separation into Primitive Welsh, Primitive Cornish and Primitive Breton took place. The stage lasts until appearance of written records at what time we get Old Welsh from late in the eighth century, Old Cornish from the late sixth century and Old Breton from the early part of the sixth century. Middle Welsh lasts from the second half of the twelfth century until the fourteenth century, Middle Cornish from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century and Middle Breton from the eleventh to twelfth century to the sixteenth or seventeenth. From these we get the modern periods which is the case of Cornish ends late in the eighteenth century.

the same influence as the Teutonic languages in this respect. The present Welsh system in which the stressed vowel of a penultimate before a single consonant is short is due to a later development. I do not think that the current theory according to which such a vowel is half long is correct. From the phonemic point of view there exist only two degrees in Welsh, short and long. Phonetically final unstressed vowels may be as long as the phonemic long ones. It is not necessary, therefore, to reckon with a lengthening to half length in the penultimate in such cases as midod > midam (p. 340). Some Breton dialects, e.g. that of St. Pol-de-Léon, have retained the same system as that of Vulgar Latin.

As far as the consonant system is concerned one might have wished to see the existence of an old Celtic difference of consonant quantity brought out more clearly. It is this system which explains the character of Celtic accent. This accent is quite different from the spirantization of long and in certain positions geminated British p, t, k. In the latter case the spirantization is due to an anticipation of the strong aspiration following the explosion and to the difficulty of having three degrees: short and weak, long and strong and long and strong consonants.

The development of initial x (or) into x (pp. 367 and 368) is explained by the existence of the opposition between strong and weak consonants initially according to morphophonemic rules.

In Irish x enters into this general system of consonant quantity, and it has been supposed by others (amongthem myself) that British x did the same, but that in its case the alternation x > x had been given up early. Professor Jackson follows Morris Jones in judging that the Brittonic development is independent of the Irish and adds the arguments of the former that of chronology—generalization must be considerably younger than the development x > x. He thinks that by the late first century A.D. a stage x had been reached, probably a loose, possibly lipped x quite distinct from the Latin bisected x. I admit that the author has good reasons for his view, but if he is right it is surprising that there are cases in which initial x has been retained so that we have parallel forms—though they are few—where and without x.

The state of development in Brittonic resembles more the state of initial x in the Irish loanwords in Norse, for example, of anglophone from Irish sean, susthod from Irish síodh—that the development of initial x in Armenian or Ionian-Attic where there has been a general weakening of initial and intervocalic x.

Professor Jackson tries to date all the different changes, mainly
by external criteria. Among the most important results one may mention that $x > \tilde{z}$ is placed in the second half of the first century AD, and Latin internal $\tilde{a} > \hat{a}$ to the late first century, $\tilde{a}$ or early fifth century, $\tilde{a}$-affection to the first half of the fifth century, $\tilde{a} > i$ to the middle of the fifth century, $\tilde{a}$ to the second half of the fifth century, $\tilde{a} > \tilde{a}$ the late fifth, to early sixth century, the beginning of the loss of final syllables to the end of fifth century, $l > l$ in West British to first half of the sixth century, the completion of the loss of final syllables and syncope of composition vowels to the middle of the sixth century, syncope of other unstressed internal syllables to the mid or later sixth century, proto nasal and i (< 0) to broad and slender reduced vowels in Primitive Welsh, to the second half of sixth century, the new quantity system to about 600, internal $i$-affection to Primitive Welsh to the seventh century, $i' >$ Prim.W. $i$, to second half of seventh century, $i' >$ Prim.W. $i$, to the early or mid eighth century, stressed $p > m$ in Prim.W. and internal $i$-affection in Prim.Cornish and Prim.Breton to the eighth century, $p$, $n$, $n$ already $> m$, $m$, $\hat{n}$ in the late eighth century and $\hat{n}$, $n$, $\hat{n}$ in early ninth century.

To this may be compared the tentative chronology which the author sets up for the changes during the Primitive Irish period (pp. 142–43): $n$, $n$, $n$ $> d$, $g$, $g$ between the first and early fifth centuries, oldest ogham inscriptions late fourth or early fifth century, main body of Cathach loanwords; $l$-lenition, reduction of unstressed long vowels, $a$ and $u$ affection of stressed syllables, $a$ and $u$ affection of unstressed syllables, second half of fifth century, loss of final syllables, about 500, reduction of $o$, $e$, $a$, $g$, $p$, $p$ first half of sixth century, syncope, mid sixth century.

It would have been desirable to have these dates confronted with internal criteria, that is to see what sort of overall system one would have obtained at the different stages of development. There may be cases here of developments which presuppose each other, but which seem to belong to different periods on account of the nature of the material. One may regret that the different systems through which the languages have passed do not stand out more clearly in the exposition. Thus the question of the existence of palatal consonants ought to have been dealt with systematically. The Welsh $l$, for example, serves to go back to an original palatal $l$. The voiceless $l$ found before $i$ in some Norwegian dialects is practically identical with Welsh $l$ and represents a palatal liquid. The palatal $l$ seems therefore to have been generalized in a similar way as that of the non-palatal $l$ (Welsh, rh).

It might also have been desirable to deal more precisely with the psycho-physiological details of phonetic change than the author has done. Cases in point are, for example, the changes of British and Latin $a$ and $i$ before a labial in Welsh, Cornish and Breton (p. 276). The examples of $n > \hat{n}$ are sporadic cases of differentiation, those of $l > \tilde{a}$ cases of assimilation. P. 347–48. It seems unnecessary to reckon with a hiatus filling $j$ here. As before another vowel is exposed to differentiation (as in Romance mera $> mi$); before the stress the reduction in quantity may also lead to a rise in height of the vowel, P. 346. The development of intervocalic $t$ into $\tilde{d}$ is not quite analogous to the Gothic into $d$. The first is a case of ordinary differentiation, the second one of segmentation and differentiation. P. 373. $o > \hat{a}p$ is due to differentiation, not to assimilation. P. 562. The term prevention for $n > \tilde{a}$-is not very appropriate. It is the result of a combined assimilation of point of articulation and differentiation of retention (tenus).

Finally a couple of other points. P. 7 German $\hat{e}$ is not bilabial, but labiodental. P. 17. I do not think all Bretons would have understood Cornish, since today there exist mutually unintelligible Breton dialects.

These points, however, are of minor importance compared to the great merits of Professor Jackson’s book. He has done pioneer work and his book is indispensable to all Celtic scholars. It is only to be regretted that the price has, against the author’s advice, been fixed too high. It is to be feared that few scholars can afford to buy it, and that most of them will have to depend upon the use of a library copy.

A. S.

Hooton, Earnest A. and Davenport, C. Wesley: The Physical Anthropology of Ireland. With a Section on the West Coast Irish. Females by Helen Dawson. Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, vol. XXX, Nos. 1–2. 8°, No. L. XX + 204 pp., No. 2, Statistical tables and half-tones. $10.00.

This work is one of the results of the great anthropological survey, including social anthropology, archaeology and physical anthropology, undertaken in the nineteen thirties by Harvard University, helped by a five years grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. The field work was done by C. W. Davenport and Miss Helen Dawson who examined some 1800 women from the west coast. The number of men measured by Dr. Davenport was about 1800. The measurements and morphological observations are very elaborate, taking into account a large number of elements. Blood groups, however, were not examined. The facts of physical anthropology are correlated with those of social such as language, education, occupation and religion and also with those of physical geography. Dr. Hooton is the author of the first volume with physical geography. Dr. Hooton is the author of the first volume with physical geography. Dr. Hooton is the author of the first volume with physical geography. Dr. Hooton is the author of the first volume with physical geography.
The book is of considerable interest to the historian and the linguist, though the conclusions one is able to draw as far Irish prehistory and history are concerned are of a very tentative nature. It brings out well the Irish type with blue or light eyes and dark hair and kills the popular legends about descendants of 'Turks' or of shipwrecked people of the Spanish Armada. The authors distribute the material between the following eight types:

1. Pure Nordic. Ash blond or golden hair, blue eyes, cephalic index below 80, all stature. 55 individuals, 0.6 % of total.

2. Predominantly Nordic. Red, ash blond, golden or light brown hair, mixed eyes or blue, combined with light brown hair, cephalic index under 80, stature over 170 cm. 160 individuals, 1.9 % of total.

3. Celtic. Dark or red hair and blue eyes, all stature. 2408 individuals, 25.2 % of total.

4. East Baltic. Red hair and mixed or blue eyes, cephalic index over 80, nasal index over 63; ash blond or golden hair with mixed or blue eyes, cephalic index over 80. 105 individuals, 1.1 % of total.

5. Dinaric. Dark hair, dark, mixed or blue eyes, red hair and blue eyes, red-brown hair and blue, mixed or dark eyes, light brown hair and blue, dark or mixed eyes, cephalic index over 80, nasal index under 63. 1768 individuals, 18.6 % of total.

6. Nordic Mediterranean. Dark, red or red-brown hair and mixed eyes (all stature combined with dark hair, stature under 170 cm. with red hair), light brown hair and dark eyes, cephalic index under 80. 2749 individuals, 28.0 % of total.

7. Pure Mediterranean. Dark hair and dark eyes, all stature, red-brown hair and dark eyes, cephalic index under 80. 35 individuals, 0.3 % of total.

8. Nordic Alpine. Dark hair and blue or mixed eyes, red-brown hair and blue or mixed eyes, light brown hair and blue, mixed or dark eyes, cephalic index over 80, nasal index over 63. 1754 individuals, 18.4 % of total.

These types are not to be regarded as 'races', but perhaps as 'subraces', perhaps only as 'breeds'. The point of view of Dr. Hooten does not seem to be quite clear; all the criteria used are not permanent, inherited ones since he writes (p. 152) that the Pure Nordic type disappears before 50 years when the hair turns grey. On the other hand he evidently considers the main criteria to be inheritable and not to undergo any serious transformation under the influence of diet or climate, for example, since he tries to correlate the eight types with prehistoric and historic groups of invaders of Ireland. The term Celtic is an unfortunate one which will contribute to the popular confusion between language and race. There exists no Celtic race, no more than any Teutonic or Slavic. Very few of the individuals belonging to the 'Celtic' type have any Irish. The survey demonstrates that there is no connexion between language and anthropological type in Ireland. Irish has maintained itself in the poor outlying parts of the island which have been the least exposed to urban influence. The authors do not find any correspondence of the types of today to the earliest metalolithic skills found in Ireland, but skins from the Neolithic or Bronze Age periods are well within the range of the present types. The material is very scanty, however, and does not permit of any precise conclusions. Early Christian skills are known in a number of approximately 140 from the Gallen Priory in Ferbane—Howells who has analyzed them concludes that the Early Irish cranial series was probably the result of an amalgamation of Neolithic and Bronze Age elements.

The authors reject Coon's view that the Irish people represent a blend between two principal racial groups, (a) the survivors of the unreeduced Upper Paleolithic people of northwestern Europe, in a mesocephalic or sub-branchy cephalic form, and (b) a Celtic Iron Age Nordic. The other two factors, (c) the tall long-headed Mediterranean form and (d) the Dinaric introduced brought by the Megalithic invaders, are significant. The authors try to correlate their results with O'Bailey's hypothesis of the different invasions propounded in his great work Early Irish History and Mythology. They identify the first invasion, that of the Gruthin or Pretailt with the long-headed, dark-haired, mixed-eyed Nordic Mediterranean form, the second that of the Bulgi or Bolgi (Belgians) more or less of the brachycephalic types (East Baltic and Dinaric), the third invasion, that of the Lughnan tribes with the dark-haired, light-eyed invasion, that of the Lughnan tribes with the long-headed Kelte type (though its present distribution does not correspond to the invasion theory which limits it to the east coast), and finally the last invasion, that of the Galli, that of the Galli, tentatively with one or all of the brachycephalic types (East Baltic and Dinaric), the third invasion, that of the Lughnan tribes with the long-headed Kelte type (though its present distribution does not correspond to the invasion theory which limits it to the east coast).}

As far as the question of the Vikings is concerned the authors are on surer ground, but their ideas about the roles played by the norwegians and the Danes respectively are lamentably confused. The battle of Carlingford Lough, for example, was won by the Danes, not by the Norwegians.
the Aran Islands were plundered by Norwegians from the Hebrides in 1015, not by the Danes, etc. In fact, the overwhelming majority of the Viking population in Ireland must have been Norwegian as the loan-words and the place-names show. Giraldus who visited Ireland in 1188 and 1186, shortly after the Anglo-Norman conquest, calls the Scandinavians Norwegenses and Ostrogothi. In Dublin documents the descendants of the Scandinavians are called Norran, Norris or Ostmanni. There may, of course, have been Danish chieftains in Ireland as there were Norwegian chieftains among the Danes in England and in Normandy. The rulers of Cork may have been of Danish descent. From the anthropological point of view the authors are inclined to exaggerate the difference between Norwegians and Danes, believing that the Norwegians are pure Nordico, but the Danes 'something else' (p. 217). It may be that the so-called Nordic type is somewhat less common in Denmark than in most parts of Norway, but on the other hand not all Norwegians belong to this type. The Danelaw people are well represented in southwest Norway, the part of Norway from which so many of the invaders of the British Isles originated. The East Baltic type too is well represented, especially in eastern Norway.

The discussion of the special Danish anthropological characters in the chapters on the Vikings is therefore irrelevant. But it is interesting to note that the Waterford-Wexford area has the second highest proportion of Northerns in all of Ireland and that the Nordic Alpine type is found in strong concentration there. Nordic traits are further found in West Galway and East Galway—Roscommon, a fact which seems to point to a Norse colony somewhere in Galway Bay, not recorded by the annals, but not improbable in view of the presence of the Norwegians in Donegal. The strongest Nordic representation is in Longford-Westmeath, in the centre of Ireland. The authors attribute this fact to Norwegian settlements round Loch Do. It seems possible, however, that the Nordic traits would be more recent origin there, due to the plantation, since the Norse permanent colonisation seems mainly to have been located in towns and strongholds along the coast. The authors think that the elements introduced by the English-Scottiish colonisation have not changed the former character of the population to any appreciable degree.

Objections may be raised to many of the conclusions of the authors, but the material they have gathered and analysed is a precious contribution to the social history of Ireland.

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1 Historic and Municipal Documents of Ireland. A. D. 1172—1229. — from Dr. Archif Wexford. London 1870.
2 Cf. A. Haega, Catharina Galliathia Codd, p. 131.
The author is evidently not a linguist; on p. 172 he regards dialect forms as 'corruptions'. He believes that the Vikings of Dublin and Limerick were Danes. Both towns were founded by Norwegians, as is well known; the Danes, the 'Black Gentiles' conquered Dublin from the Norwegians about 850, but were driven off again in 853 by Ogy (Amalsh Cosung).

Sir Idris Bell has written an Appendix of 172 pages dealing with the 20th century. It is a most interesting and valuable addition, giving both a history and an evaluation of Welsh writing of our time. Without reducing his claims as to quality he insists on the remarkable rise in quality of the literature of the 20th century, doubtless remarkable when one considers the very small Welsh public and the formidable obscurity put in its way. No Welsh author, using only Welsh, can make his living by his pen. It is only natural that in view of these circumstances and of the part played by the Eisteddfod the short story and traditional poetry should be the favourite themes of Welsh literature.


A.S.


This book will be studied with equal profit and pleasure by linguists and historians of literature. The language belongs to the Old Irish and Middle Irish periods and the book illustrates the development of the language in an excellent way. Its literary interest is obvious, because, as Professor Murphy writes, Irish lyric poetry is unique in the Middle Ages in freshness of spirit and perfection of form. The collection comprises monastic as well as secular poems. Every poem has been printed and many of them translated before, but the editor has done a fresh collation of the manuscripts and has often been able to correct and ameliorate the translations. He has tried to make them as literal as is consistent with the writing of normal English, and they read very well.

The edition of Irish poetical texts presents—Professor Murphy insists on this—special difficulties. The technique elaborated by the editors of Latin texts cannot be applied to Irish texts. The language of the latter was not fixed and standardized as a dead language could be, but was in a constant state of development, the scribes deliberately modernizing. Emendation is therefore necessary; the editor must, Professor Murphy writes, first decide the age of the poem. Then, using our knowledge of the language and metre current of that date, and altering the manuscript texts as little as possible, we must try to construct a text which at least would not shock the original author so greatly as the scribes' texts certainly would.

All the poems are in the so-called new metres (bòth-chadhar), rhymed stanzaic metres based on syllable-counting with rhyme fixed only in the last foot of each line. They are modelled on early continental Latin hymn-metres.

In addition to the ample and enlightening notes the edition contains a glossary of the more unusual words. This glossary might have been somewhat more systematic as far as the Old Irish forms are concerned. The inclusion of the more difficult and deviating ones, from the standpoint of Middile and Modern Irish, would have rendered the collection more useful as textbook—A. S.


Under the generic title of Breat y Tywysogion have been included some seven texts. Two of them (Breat Abergegion and Breat Ieuan Brechfa), both forgeries of Jolo Morganwg, two other texts Breat y Saeson from the end of the fourteenth and Tegarnedd y Saeson of the late fifteenth century are of no appreciable value. The three remaining, Breat y Tywysogion, Penlarth MS. 20 version, Breat y Tywysogion, Red Book of Hergest version and Brechfaidd y Saeson represent, as Sir John Edward Lloyd has shown, three independent Welsh translations of the three slightly different texts of a Latin chronicle composed towards the end of the thirteenth century by an unknown historiographer who probably worked in the Glastonbury abbey of Strata Florida in Cardiganshire. Professor Jones has made a special study of these texts. In 1941 he published a diplomatic edition of the Penlart MS. 20 version and in 1952 a translation of this text with a survey of the work which has been done, both in manuscript and in print, on the different versions of the chronicle. This chronicle was written in the form of annals extending from 690 (in the Red Book), 681 (Penlarth 20) or 683 (Brechfaidd y Saeson) to 1362, and 1352 in the case of the two Red versions. The entries after 1282 in Penlarth 20 are in other hands so that it is clear that the first two ended originally in the same year.

The present volume offers a critical text of the Red Book of Hergest version with a translation and a introduction containing a thorough
examination of the manuscripts and the history of the earlier edition. Professor Jones gave priority to the Penarth 20 version because it is the most complete of the three and because there was no edition of it which exists as an edition full of errors in the Byzantine Archival, This third is a composite text which is derived in part from the Latin text underlying the two first versions and in part from the Annals of Winchester.

A special chapter (§ 4) of the Introduction deals with the principles Professor Jones has followed in establishing his critical text and gives a number of illustrative examples, another (§ 6) deals with the chronology, The Red Book version is less complete as far as the dates are concerned than the Penarth 20 and the Brehonned y Sasan versions. In the text the dates of the version, when they are given, are printed in ordinary type and what the editor regards as the true dates follows in bold face. It is evident that in the early sections the latter can only be approximate. The text is followed by copious notes. Finally, there is a full index and a very useful list of Welsh words.

A Scandinavian scholar is naturally interested to know the character of the chronicle as a source as far as the history of the Norse and Danish invasions are concerned. As a source it cannot be compared with the Irish annals, but it contains a certain number of interesting entries, beginning with a mention of the raids of 795 which are placed in 796. The chronicle is particularly important for the knowledge of the history of the Norse Kingdom of Dublin. But it is most confused about the nationality of the Viking raiders. Canute is called king of England, Denmark and Germany, Harald Hardrada king of Denmark—it is said that he was slain through the innate treachery of the English—and Magnus Bareleg king of Germany (in Brehonned y Sasan calls him brenhin Norueg); according to the Red Book version he was killed in Scotland—all the versions have bungled here. Adolph or Almuen are used for Germany.

Professor Jones' scholarly editions and translations are very important contributions to the knowledge of Welsh language and literature and to the history of the British Isles. It is to be hoped that the third publication, that of the Brehonned y Sasan, will soon follow.

A. S.


This book is a challenge to the 'nativistic' view of the medieval literature of North-western Europe. Mr. Carney contends that the early Irish sagas are literary works which have the characters of written works. They may in part be based on oral tradition, but the traditional element is often a mere nucleus. The authors, most of them clerics, drew not only on traditional material, but on their whole literary experience which included a direct knowledge of a certain range of Latin literature. Greek epic through intermediary Latin sources, the scriptures, apocryphal works and the lives of the saints. Some of the detailed argument may be open to query, but on the whole I think that the author has been able to make good his main points. It is interesting to see how his views are similar to those of modern Irish scholars who maintain that the so-called family sagas are not the written forms of prose epics which had lived for a long time on the lips of the people, but a sort of historical foundation, others more or less fiction. They are the latent of the literary style, not the oldest as scholars generally believed hitherto. The family sagas were developed after the sagas of the kings which in part at least must go back to traditional material, originally oral, consisting of royal lists, genealogies, scholarly verses, etc., from the royal court.1

The first chapters of the book deal with the Talín Bó Frích which was written by a man who used the Talín Bó Cauilige, a primitive form of the Víte Kéntegnari and is used of Seville's Élégies. The manuscripts of TBF go back to a common source from the 15th century, but the language points to a date which is about 300 years earlier. The Víte Kéntegnari was written by Jocelin who lived in the 12th century and had as one of his sources a Vite written another style, and it was such a source which must have been in the disposal of the author of TBF. Among his other sources are the Aidín Forget macs Niall and the Book II, chapter 27 of Adamnan's Vite Columbae (better part of the seventh century). The author also holds that the Froach incident in the Talín Bó Cauilige was written by the author of TBF, yet, and grafted on to a copy of the latter which was used by the final compiler. The TBF shows, as a piece of literature, traces of ecclesiastical influence and precisely the same as the THF, the Élégies of Isiod of Seville and the Víte Kéntegnari.

An important chapter deals with Irish influence in Beowulf due to different types of Irish material—a folk-tale, perhaps ultimately of Eastern origin but which before influencing Beowulf had assimilated an Irish background and Irish concepts, Irish ecclesiastical material, and the Irish tales Talín Be Frích. About 700 there must have been many in England, especially among the clergy, the author thinks, who had travelled in Ireland, and were familiar with Irish and insular literature. As a typical example he mentions King Alfred of Northumbria whose typical example he mentions King Alfred of Northumbria whose typical example he mentions King Alfred of Northumbria whose typical example he mentions King Alfred of Northumbria whose typical example he mentions King Alfred of Northumbria whose typical example he mentions King Alfred of Northumbria whose typical example he mentions King Alfred of Northumbria whose typical example he mentions King Alfred of Northumbria whose typical example he mentions King Alfred of Northumbria whose typical example he mentions King Alfred of Northumbria whose typical example he mentions King Alfred of Northumbria whose typical example he mentions King Alfred of Northumbria whose typical example he mentions King Alfred of Northumbria whose typical example he mentions King Alfred of Northumbria whose typical example he mentions King Alfred of Northumbria whose typical example he mentions King Alfred of Northumbria whose typical example he mentions King Alfred of Northumbria whose typical example he mentions King Alfred of Northumbria whose typical example he mentions King Alfred of Northumbria whose typical example he mentions King Alfred of Northumbria whose Irish is remembered in Ireland under the name of Plant Pátraic.1

1 For a good exposition of the modern saga theory, see W. H. Stace, The History of the Northumbrian Saga (Kopenhagen Verlag, Stockholm, 1936); cf. also S. Nor-


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poems and wise sayings are attributed to him. He died in 705. The
tale-tale element consists of Beowulf’s fight with Grendel and Grendel’s
mother. A form of the same story is found in an Irish folktale and in
Mr. Carney opposes the traditional view that these stories derive inde-
pendently from an early Teutonic original, and agrees with von Sydow
and Gerald Murphy in seeing in them direct influence from the Irish
tale-tale in the case of Beowulf, direct or indirect of Beowulf on Grettis-
saga in the case of the latter.

Another interesting case is that of Siulhe Gelt and Gishe Ciuine
Lir. The theme of Siulhe Gelt passed to Ireland from the British
kingdom of Strathclyde in the eighth century. Siulhe is, as Jackson has shown
already, identical with Myoldin, Lailoken and the Arthurian Merlin.
In Ireland the story of Siulhe was fused with that of St. Moling. The
Gishe Ciuine Lir is modelled directly on the Buile Suibne.

Particularly interesting to Scandinavian scholars is the chapter
entitled "The Irish affinities of Tristan." Mr. Carney’s view of Tristan,
which as he says himself must needs be somewhat provisional, much
research having still to be done, is the following: The tale of Tristan
was composed and written in N. Britain some time before 800. It
survives, on the one hand, in forms in which it was adopted in the 12th
and 13th centuries in France and Germany, on the other hand in Irish,
or at least Gascon, adaptations dating from between 800 and 1150 or
1200, and in the Icelandic Kormássaga, obviously secondary to some
Irish adaptation. The Irish and Icelandic material help us to see some
of the elements in Tristan that are due to continental innovation
occurring in the French and German versions where they were neces-
sitated by the transfer to a world very different from the old Celtic
environment. As examples of stories which show affinity with Tristan
one may mention Dianmait and Grisine or Longus Mac n’Uisenn. The
story of Liadan and Coitirfir, the author gives, the authors, a better idea
of what must have been the primitive form of Tristan than any other—
it dates in its present form from about 850 A.D., but may conceivably
be somewhat older. It shows significant resemblances with the Kormá-
saga which the author sums up thus: (1) the achieving of the fate
Irish situation (reluctant hero); (2) the heroine’s overhearing of a plot
against the hero’s life and warning him; (3) the discussion of the hero’s
appearance with the servant maid; (4) their meeting and going off
together; (5) their speaking through a partition; (7) Kormak being a
poet; (8) the tale ending as in Liadan with the departure of the hero
over the sea; (9) the weakened form of ‘union in death’ (Kormak dies
with Steinger’s name upon his lips; Liadan lives out her life upon the
flag-stone where Coitirfir used to pray, and which at her death is placed
over her grave).

The book also contains an amusing chapter on a controversy
between Osborn Jerling and the poet and critic Austin Clarke. In a
following chapter: The external element in Irish saga, Mr. Carney
points to the Latin and Christian elements in the Táin Bó Cúailnge
(papall < papall, beneadhac < beneidhac, maithac < muidhac, celt-
crith < ceathrú, Diu do beithi ‘God is your life’, the Irish greeting,
ach < iarr, and one might add popa < popa). He thinks Inmearm
Brain was written in a literate Christian community and that the
author of Scélag Can Ceitinn has borrowed from Inmearm Brain. Aided
Coimchobar is, the author believes, based on a nucleus of pre-Christian
oral tradition, but is in its earliest written form basically influenced by
Christian culture. The "rhetorical" passage spoken by Coimchobar, is
Christian in character. "Nativist scholars would do well," the author
writes, "to reflect upon the fact that this author sat down and deliberately
composed the difficult, obscure and archaisms-seeming rhetoric which
Coimchobar was supposed to have uttered when he heard of the Crossfit-
ion. From this it would emerge that we can never assume that merely
because rhetics contain linguistic archaisms they are older in point
of composition or "writing down" than the text in which they are in-
corporated. The author often wished to appear to present the fixatime
zorba of a character in the remote past, but both he and his audience
were conscious of the fact that legal maxims and other material of a
similar nature handed down orally from primitive times had an archaic
flavour. Hence the incorporation of archaic monologues or dialogue
would give a story an appearance of realism and authenticity. This
I have no doubt, it is also the explanation of the rhetorical dialogues in
TBC (p. 298).

A final chapter deals with the problem of Patrick. Mr. Carney
modifies O’Rahilly’s thesis in so far as he thinks there was only one Pat-
trick who came to Ireland about 457 and died about 490. The tradition
has confused him with Palladius who came to Ireland in 431 and then
preceded the great missionary. The seventh-century biographies felt
just as many people feel to-day, that acceptance of this as a fact tended
to ‘dehuman’ the saint. Belief in Patrick as the hero of the mission had
come to be so strong that almost inevitably the conclusion was reached
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period an oral literature consisting of a prose tale with interspersed verses as was Meilliet’s opinion, but that will have to be examined in the light of the results of further study of the characters of the oldest Indo-European literatures.

The relations between Irish and Icelandic literature raise special problems. That Norse tradition has been influenced by the Irish is well known. Many of the Norwegian settlers in Iceland had for some time lived in the western islands or in Iceland and they must have brought many Irish speaking thralls and dependents with them. There are Icelandic scholars who think that the Gaelic element in the Icelandic population amounts to about a third of the total. The influence is seen not only in the sagas such as in the cases quoted by Mr. Carney, but also in the mythology, especially in the myths of Thor—his journey to Utgard and how he got the whetstone in his bract. Such cases may be due to oral transfer. But in the case of the Kormaktauga Mr. Carney evidently reckons with the influence of written literature. That can only have been through the text in Latin or French; there are no indications of a knowledge of Irish written work neither in Iceland nor in Norway.

A. S.


The island of South Uist, situated between Barra and Benbecula, is one of the larger islands in the Outer Hebrides. It covers approximately 100,000 acres or about one-eighth of the total area of the Outer Hebrides, and the number of inhabitants is about 2,700. The island is famous in Gaelic song and legend, and is known in history as Flora MacDonald’s birthplace. Practically the whole population is Gaelic-speaking, but most of the inhabitants also have a fair knowledge of English. The British Government now plans to build a guided-missiles range on the island. It is estimated that over 3000 servicemen, some with families, will be stationed in South Uist and the adjacent smaller island of Benbecula. Serious warnings have come from folklorists, sociologists, and linguists at home and abroad that these plans and the plans, if carried through, will bring about the destruction of the old culture of the island, or rather precipitate a cultural change which is already in full development and creates difficulties even without this sudden artificial transformation of the community. The Government, however, has given no heed to these warnings and seems intent on seeing the plans fulfilled. We must therefore be thankful for all that has been salvaged in time, and especially when the salvaging has been carried out in such a superior fashion as Mrs. Shaw has done it.

It has been truly said about the Outer Hebrides: ‘The stranger to

these islands is either attracted to them or repelled by them. He will either love them intensely or hate them intensely: he will never be merely indifferent about them.’ Margaret Fay Shaw, who came to the Hebrides as a young American student, fell in love with the islands so intensely that she stayed in South Uist for several years and subsequently took up permanent residence on the Isle of Canna just across the Minch, as the wife of John Loron Campbell, the well-known scholar and champion of Gaelic language and culture. Folk Songs and Folklore of South Uist contains, above all, folk-songs. More than two-thirds of the book are devoted to them. There are over a hundred songs, each with music, Gaelic text, and English prose translation. The Hebrideans are still a singing and song-loving people, and even the large number of songs recorded in this book includes only part of the repertory of the best singers of South Uist. Mrs. Shaw writes: ‘Peòg (one of the singers) in spite of her years is a frequent visitor to my house on the Isle of Canna, and has now recorded on wire more than 200 songs and several anecdotes, after telling us that forty or fifty songs exhausted her memory.’ The author also tells us that the total number of Gaelic songs recorded by herself, her husband and their friends is considerably above a thousand.

Gaelic airs sound queer and almost oriental to persons who hear them for the first time, and the songs are delivered with a technique which differs considerably from the recognized standards of European which differs considerably from the recognize standards of European concert singing. It is probable this fact that has led the well-known concert performer to “polish up” the tunes by making transcribers of Gaelic folk-music to “polish up” the tunes by making

transcribers of Gaelic folk-music to “polish up” the tunes by making

these deviations from orthodox “European” rules were merely due to lack of musical education on the part of the singers. Mrs. Shaw, who went to musical education on the part of the singers. Mrs. Shaw, who went to
brated collector, affectionately called Marsaith nan Oran, certainly
deserves her fame, but perhaps chiefly for making the songs accessible
to the public, which might not otherwise have been in a position
to appreciate their beauty.

The songs are divided into the following groups: In Praise of Uist,
Sailing Songs, Songs of War, Lamentations, Songs about Hunting, Songs
of Love, Songs of the Fair, Little Songs, Lullabies, Milking Songs, Fairy
Songs, and, above all, the two kinds of Gaelic songs which are perhaps
best known: Fuirn-a-bheirt (vocal dance music); and Orain laudadh
(walking or fulling songs). There is no separate section for songs about
memorable events. According to my own observation, nearly any hap-
pening breaking the routine of daily life may be commemorated in verse,
often satirically, by local bards. Mrs. Shaw reports that there
were no less than four bards in the small village where she lived (South
Lochboisdale). The author’s reason for not including a separate section
for songs of this character may have been that each one of the specimens
she prints can be fitted into some other section. An entertaining example is
"Oran na Politicthe" which is placed under the heading of Sailing
Songs. This song was composed by a local bard as late as 1942, and the
title alludes to a contemporaneous event, the wreck of the S.S. Politicthe
off Eriskay. The ship carried a large cargo of export whisky, and this
episode, with its many subsequent imbroglios, has been immortalized
by Compton Mackenzie in his hilarious novel Whisky Galore, and the
film based on it (in America known as “Tight Little Island”). On the
other hand, the collection also includes such songs of events as “Oj
Gum b’aostrum linn an t-sadar” and “Tha mo chuid, tha mo chuid,”
both dealing with events that occurred in the Napoleonic Wars and
apparently composed in that period. Several other songs in the book
may be still much older.

This gives us an idea both of the tenacity with which the songs are
memorized and transmitted—oral—from generation to generation,
and of the strong position which Gaelic poetry still holds in the Hebridean
community. It is not only alive and productive, but also to a large ex-
tent faithful to the ancient rules of versification. Take, for instance, a
half-stanza from "Oran na Politicthe" and compare its system of con-
sonance with the arrangement of so-called rhymes in a stanza found in
the ninth-century manuscript from St. Gall.

South Uist:
Bha cho marach ‘s gard’k’.
Chu chumion! aig each am modhboin.
’g mach caidh riost gu ninn lad hao.
Gum bhain i stron air tir ann.

St. Gall:
Fhuinn-chins cuide mò - modhair mò -
bl a bh-choil chos de dhangadh dao.
Datob, na-n-chomhdir in cuimh.
cuile-orraim to rade reas.

Even the metres of these two quatrains are closely related, the
only basic difference between them being the change from syllable to
accidental metre, which took place both in Ireland and Scotland about
1600.

A detailed examination of the song texts is beyond the scope of
the present reviewer, who can only express his general opinion that the
collection as a whole carries the imprint of great accuracy, reliability,
and faithfulness to the sources; more so, perhaps, than most of the
collections of Gaelic poetry that have appeared since Hamish MacDonald
published his pioneer work Comh-Chreinnneachd Grunnabh Goldbodh
in 1774.

Apart from the songs, prayers, and danced, the book contains a
valuable collection of proverbs and sayings, including riddles; further
some old curses and recipes, and a few stories. The latter are printed only
in English; it would have added to the value of the book if they had been
accompanied by the original texts. The long introduction to the book as
well as the shorter introductions to the individual sections contain
a wealth of information about local customs and beliefs. It is
interesting to note that the author herself is a firm believer in the
second sight, quite independently, as it seems, of modern parapsychology.
This shows to what extent she has identified herself with the Gaelic
community. It should be added, however, that she tells of her own
experiences in such a detached manner that this trait, which we usually
class with superstition, does not weaken our belief that she is not only
an acute observer but records her observations with scientific impartial-
ity. Indeed, as long as the existence of psychic phenomena cannot
be definitely disproved, our own scepticism, although more "rational",
is ultimately founded on belief, no less than the Gaels’ faith in these
things.

A word about the language in the Gaelic texts. Mrs. Shaw writes
(p. 76): “With the help of my friends, I have tried to make the Gaelic
in this book true to the speech of the reciters, without departing too far
from conventional spelling.” The reviewer’s knowledge of South Uist
Gaelic is too scanty to permit him to judge whether or not the author
has succeeded in rendering the dialect faithfully. As a linguist, I cannot
but regret that the proverbs and songs have not been printed in phonetic
or phonemic transcription along with the orthographic version. This
is a very intricate analysis and symbolization of Gaelic sounds, however, a
very wretched task, and we can hardly expect anybody but trained phoneticians
and phonemicists to undertake it.

The photographs are excellent and give a vivid impression of the
South Uist scenery, of the people and their daily life.

Magest Oidjedh.

In this important article Mrs. Cradwick compares Irish and Icelandic saga-telling. The earliest Irish secular manuscript is the Book of Dunmore (Cíte Drummu Sceichi), possibly from the first half of the 8th century or even earlier. It is now lost, but its contents are well known from references and copies in other Irish codices. It did not attain the same literary quality, but it is a rich source for the study of the saga tradition. In Iceland the prose saga has maintained a rich literary tradition, with many fine examples of narrative poetry. Mrs. Cradwick compares the two traditions, noting the similarities and differences in their development.

Chadwick, George Sheffern: Wales and the Arthurian Legend. Caer Sidan (University of Wales Press), 1956. 8°, and 231 pp. 21s.

Celtic scholars will be grateful to the University of Wales Press for having invited Professor Loomis to join together into a book a series of his articles, nine in all, on the Arthurian legend. Two of these have undergone only minor changes but in two ("More Celtic Elements in Gwathin and the Green Knight" and "The Spell of Awen") some sections have been omitted, and one article ("Chastel Bran, Dinis Reis, and the Grail Castle") has been revised. The book deals with a number of the main Arthurian problems of which the author is a leading expert.

The first chapter "Segontium, Caer Seint, and Silanor" shows convincingly the importance of the ruins of the Roman fort of Segontium, built by Agricola on a hill above Caer Sidan, for the genesis of legend, the second the Irish origin and the Welsh development of the Grail legend. Many heathen traits and elements survived in the Irish sagas and passed into Wales. In the third chapter Professor Loomis identifies Chastel Bran of the Fouke Fitw Warin with the Castell Dinus Bran near Llangollen, identification made already by Louis Brandin, and points out the analogy between it and the Grail Castle. The next chapter "Brân the Blessed and Sone de Nansaig", which has not been published before, shows how the romance of Sone de Nansaig, composed apparently late in the thirteenth century, has been influenced by the legend of Benigniglearn. A series of traits in the two have important elements in common. The next chapter deals with Arthur and the Antipodes and the belief, current in Brittany and in Wales, in a subterranean fairyland. The author disagrees with such scholars as F. Lot, Farni and Tatlock who exclude any influence from Celtic tradition. Chapters VI and VII trace elements in "Gwathin and the Green Knight" and "Didot Pereceval" to Welsh and Irish legends, originally myths. In "Morgain le Feu and the Celtic Goddesses" he shows that goddesses were originally Celtic divinities, some of their stories were transferred to Welsh and Irish myths, and others survived in those traditions. The result is a lasting influence on all Celtic literature.

Geoffrey of Monmouth with his Historia Britannum, which was in circulation by the year 1135, has been regarded as the creator of the Arthurian legend. Professor J. S. P. Tatlock, wrote in 1928: "Before Geoffrey, Arthur was relatively obscure, somewhat absurd or vague, and without a cycle of stories. Geoffrey made him an important, imposing, and attractive figure; not such, however, as to lend himself much to romance on the basis of what Geoffrey gives. To Arthur, I should think, were attributed tales already existing about others, not so little connected with him, and sheer invention". In a final chapter Professor Loomis energetically combats this view. He points out much evidence to the existence of the legends before Geoffrey's book—eleven references in all, not all equally convincing, but some of them impressive. Professor Loomis thinks, agreeing with such scholars as Heinrich Zimmer and Joseph Hölder, that the Breton contours, who had followed William the Conqueror, learnt the legends from the Welsh and Bretons in general, developed them and passed them on to France, whereas others, among them F. Lot, Vendryes and Jean Mars, believe they have been transferred directly from Wales to the Anglo-Norman of England. In such matters as those dealt with in Professor Loomis' book, where one has to reckon with individual invention and fancy, rigorous proof is extremely difficult, if not impossible to obtain; one has the impression that much is left to feeling and intuition and that the methods have not yet attained the required precision. I think that the main ideas of the book, that Arthurian legends contain a considerable number of Celtic traits of Welsh and Irish origin and that much of the matter of the medieval French texts has had an oral existence before it was taken over, transformed and added to by individual authors, are well substantiated. But the details of the manner in which the author thinks the different legendary elements have passed from the Celts to the French often seem doubtful.

A. S.
Church, at a time when the Church was still liberal in outlook. Many of the codices were compiled by ecclesiastics. From references in sagas from both countries we know that story-telling was a favourite pastime.

The possible influence of Irish literature on Iceland is a much discussed and a controversial problem. The closest parallels are found, as Mrs. Chadwick points out, in the 'kötuljó sátir', the Lýsiþark or fornaðarsaga — Scandinavian scholars were struck by that parallelism long ago: 'I came to the Irish and asked: Eddie poems? And always I received the reply: Fornaðarsaga', Axel Olrik wrote in 1907. But even in the Íslandinga Sàgur motifs of Irish origin are found. Mrs. Chadwick calls attention to the following cases of parallelism between Irish, Welsh and Icelandic stories:

(1) In the Lantforða Ság it is told that supernatural horses have red ears. That is a typically Celtic trait found both in Irish and Welsh sources.

(2) In chapter 10 of the Brúmundarmannasaga and the Staff Mæl Mæ Meðal she finds a close parallelism in the quarrel between Egill and the confederates and that between Cú Mac Machté and the Ulster heroes. The same formula is found when a man is silenced: Desiðe side desa 'then the other sat down'; hann settet sidu. (3)

The adventures of Pwyll, Prince of Dyfed in the Mahabharata, when hunting is overtaken by darkness, meets Arann, king of Awnen which Mrs. Chadwick regards as the abode of the dead. Pwyll spends a year in Awnen in the semblance of Arann and slays Haigun, another king of Awnen, whereas Arann takes Pwyll’s place as prince of Dyfed in the semblance of Pwyll himself. Afterwards they return each to his own sphere. In the Norse Saga of Egill and Æsmundr, Æsmundr is cast hunting and is overtaken by night. The next day a thick mist surrounds him, a supernatural trait both in Celtic and Norse tradition, and after wandering three days he meets a tall man, dressed in scarlet (a supernatural colour), who calls himself Arsin. They swear breastbrotherhood and make a mutual compact that whichever dies first shall be accompanied by the other alive into the tomb. Arin dies and Æsmundr is buried with him. At night Arin comes alive, attacks Æsmundr who overcomes him and escapes. It is evident that Arin and Arin are the same name. Mrs. Chadwick wonders if we here have an original Hebridean sign.

(4) The motif of rebirth is found both in Irish and in Icelandic literature. In Irish, from the Cín Einnme Sancéith, we have the story of Ithri, an Irish princess who is born in at least three generations. She is of Ísid origin, wife of a god Midir, reborn as the wife of a mortal, retaining her name and personal identity throughout. The daughter of the third Étain becomes the wife of the great prehistoric peace-king Conall Mór. Mrs. Chadwick compares this to the trilogy of the Hjólp poems and to the Saga of Heimundr Gripsson which contain details similar to those of the Irish story. In both Irish and Norse tradition rebirth is connected with the barrow of the dead; Midir is the king of a sid connected with the barrow of the dead; Midir is the king of a sid. And he, the most striking illustration is the story of Gofa mound. In Norse the most striking illustration is the story of Gofa mound, that St. Olaf Grísstada-Alfr was Gofa mound, that St. Olaf Grísstada-Alfr reborn.

(5) The Irish god Lir, father of Manannán, and the Welsh Lir, father of Manannán, are both a god of the sea whose sphere seems to have been the inner Hebrides and Man. He is, Mrs. Chadwick thinks, identical with the Norse god Æir, the god of the sea whose sphere seems to have been the inner Hebrides and Man. He is, Mrs. Chadwick thinks, identical with the Norse god Æir, the god of the sea whose sphere seems to have been the inner Hebrides and Man. He is, Mrs. Chadwick thinks, identical with the Norse god Æir, the god of the sea whose sphere seems to have been the inner Hebrides and Man. He is, Mrs. Chadwick thinks, identical with the Norse god Æir, the god of the sea whose sphere seems to have been the inner Hebrides and Man. He is, Mrs. Chadwick thinks, identical with the Norse god Æir, the god of the sea whose sphere seems to have been the inner Hebrides and Man. 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He is, Mrs. Chadwick thinks, identical with the Norse god Æir, the god of the sea whose sphere seems to have been the inner Hebrides and Man. He is, Mrs. Chadwick thinks, identical with the Norse goddess 1

1 Finnur Jónsson is right in regarding the Eirik Súgur as young, but not that it is without interest (Icel. Ólafsfarstar og Ólafsfarstrátt Lithunia, Stockholm 1866, p. 80). The author has used old heathen traditions and romanticised them in a Christian spirit.
penetrated into Thor’s head during his fight with Urmungol and of the ball containing Mengagra’s brain which Cet mac Matach, in his fight with Conchobar threw from his sling so that it penetrated through the medium of the Gollsidel, the Gaolbodgar of the Oservingillbeni who lingual. Thor was evidently the main god of the Norwegians in the War. The first, fourth and fifth of Mrs. Chadwick’s cases would also seem to belong to this category. Other cases such as the third, with the name Arin seem to imply a literary transfer. The Norse author would have been inspired by a tale about Arin — Aráin and would have given it a Norse setting. But how would he have known the Irish story? It is well known that when the Norwegians arrived in Iceland they found Irish monks who lived and spoke the language. It is not clear how they were Irish men. The contact with Ireland seems to have involved more than just the arrival of Magnus Bareleg in the beginning of the 12th century. It is significant that the fall of the Norse city states in Ireland 1169—71 is not mentioned in either Northern nor in Icelandic sources. Knowledge of Irish literature must have come from Latin translations and that would mean that much more than we have supposed hitherto has disappeared.

A. E.


In 1943 Professor Estyn Evans published Irish Heritage, The Landscape, the People and their Work, ‘an introductory study of an unexplored field, necessarily speculative and documented’, as the author writes in this new and more comprehensive work on the same subject. It is a most interesting book which comes at a moment when Irish studies are in the field of modern life with its mechanical civilization which makes itself felt in Ireland as everywhere. The fact that it gives a reconstruction of Irish popular culture based on the author’s personal observations and on literary sources is not, therefore, preparatory to the field of Irish life from different periods.

Irish popular culture is of particular importance to the history of European civilization as, until the great famine, it had remained extraordinarily conservative, having preserved traits in some cases going as far back as the stone age (though hardy to the paleolithic), as the author writes, p. 6, but at the most to the mesolithic period. The author thinks that the ground pattern of regional differentiation in Ireland was established in the mesolithic era during the first half of the second millennium B.C. (p. 17). Even today we find the old crouching in use, a type of boat which is of stone age origin — in the Boyne crouching the covering is still made of hide. The dug outs seem to have been made down to the 17th century, in places probably even later. Only in the English Pale was feudalism and the series system introduced whereas cattle-economy prevailed in the rest of the island. Crochans, hamlets consisting of a number of cottages with plots which changed hands periodically among co-partners by the casting of lots, have in some cases persisted to our own time (the Rathdown cluster to 1942) — just as we had the scattered ballyhunty (mixing of plots) in Western Norway down to the end of last century. Originally the women occupied the left side of the fire, the men the right; Gordon Childe found that the same repartition must have existed at Skara Brae in the neolithic period. The Irish environment, however, underwent changes owing to climatic factors and the action of man. The sub-Atlantic climatic deterioration (in the last millennium B.C.) accelerated peat-formation and forests were overwhelmed, but some oak and alder forests survived until the seventeenth century when almost all of them were destroyed by man through military action — the disappearance of the forests is thus not due to the Norwegians, or the ‘Danes’, as popular tradition affirms. The book contains chapters on the village, on the house, furniture and implements, farms and farms, ovens, agriculture with implements, cars and carts, the use of peat and seaweed, boats and fishing, fairs and gatherings, festivities, weddings and wakes, charms and spells. It thus also deals with oral tradition and folklore. The Celtic scholar will regret that the terminology is mainly that of Anglo-Irish — only a few genuine Gaelic terms are recorded.

In some cases certain usages have lasted longer in Ireland in the Irish speaking districts than the author seems to believe. When I stayed in Turr, Donegal, in 1915—16, the lime-kin was in regular use. I went through the process of limeburning and whitewashing myself. I also visited a house where the cows were kept in the kitchen (which is as usual in that part of Donegal).

Another detail (p. 257) Irish crofters certainly reached Iceland. Irish crofters have been found in Iceland and the sagas say expressively that Irish paper were there before Norwegians arrived.

Only in a few cases the author compares Irish traits to continental or Scandinavian ones, and he cannot be blamed on that account. He

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5 Source Edda, chapter 17.
6 E. Meyer, Deitl-tales of the Ulster Heroes, pp. 2–22.
7 Cf. Morstrands, Håndbok til de norske Sporhe Historier i Irlaund, pp. 5–11.
has, however, furnished material for such a comparative study which
will have to be undertaken. It would be particularly interesting to us
Norwegians to find out if there still are Norwegian elements to be found
ample. Irish cultural influence in Norway is seen in such loanwords as
sunn or been, used for drying corn or malt, from Irish sonra, sun or salt
from Irish saist, furze from Irish coccum, ker (cattle-pro) from Irish
cró, kearan (a sort of scoop used in making beer) from Irish searáin and
fess (magic formula) from Irish feasa.

The book is well illustrated and indexed.

A. S.

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