Contents

		page
	List of tables	xiii
	List of figures	xiv
	Preface	xv
	List of abbreviations	xvii
0	**General introduction**	1
0.1	Broad aims	1
0.2	Historical background	1
0.3	Dialects of Irish	2
0.4	Sources	5
0.5	Labelling of examples	7
0.6	The approach	8
0.7	Adaptation of I.P.A. for Irish	8
0.8	Broad and slender consonants and the Irish spelling system	9
0.9	Concluding remarks	11
	Part I Phonology	
1	**Introduction to Phonology**	15
1.1	The approach	15
1.2	Common underlying forms	17
1.3	Major and minor rules	18
2	**The syllabic system**	19
2.1	Basic form of syllable	19
2.2	Epenthetic vowel	20
2.3	Syllabic adjustment	22
2.4	The secondary epenthetic vowel	22
2.5	Pretonic elision	23
2.6	Vowel coalescence	24
2.7	Lengthening in place of /h/	25
2.8	Stress	26
	2.8.1 Distribution of stress	26
	2.8.2 Stress-shift 1	27
	2.8.3 Stress-shift 2	29
3	**The vowels**	35
3.1	The vocalic system	35

3.2 Vowel separation 36
3.3 Raising and lowering of vowels 37
3.3.1 Raising of low vowels to mid-vowels 37
3.3.2 Raising of low vowels to high vowels 39
3.3.3 Raising/lowering between low and mid-vowels 39
3.3.4 Raising of mid-vowels to high vowels 1 42
3.3.5 Raising of mid-vowels to high vowels 2 44
3.3.6 Lowering of high vowels to mid-vowels 46
3.4 Syllable lengthening before tense consonants 48
3.4.1 Syllable lengthening 1 49
3.4.2 Syllable lengthening 2 50
3.4.3 Syllable lengthening 3 53
3.5 Diphthongization 56
3.5.1 Optional diphthongization before *ch/th* /h/ 56
3.5.2 Diphthongization of /iː/ before the stress 56
3.5.3 Sporadic diphthongization of *é* /eː/ 57
3.6 The vowel /ɯː/ 57
3.6.1 The vowel *ao* /ɯː/ changed to /iː/ 57
3.6.2 The vowel *ao* /ɯː/ changed to /eː/ 58
3.6.3 The vowel *ao* /ɯː/ changed to /uː/ or /oː/ 58
3.7 Low vowels 59
3.7.1 Treatment of low vowels in Connemara 59
3.7.2 Treatment of long *a* /aː/ in Donegal 60
3.7.3 Shortening of long *a* /aː/ before *mh* /w̃/ in Kerry 60
3.8 Falling diphthongs 61
3.8.1 Elision of second element before a nasal 61
3.8.2 Change of diphthong *ia* /iə/ to *é* /eː/ 62
3.8.3 Change of *é* /eː/ to /iːa/ 62
3.8.4 Elision of second element after removal of *dh/gh* /ɣ/ 62
3.8.5 Change of *ua* /uːə/ to /ɯːə/ or /iːə/ 63
3.8.6 Insertion of semi-vowel /w/ 63
3.8.7 Variation between *ua* /uːə/ and *ó* /oː/ 63
3.8.8 Variation between *ia* /iːə/ and *ea* /a/ 64
3.9 Prevocalic glide 64

4 The semi-vowel and consonant systems 67
4.1 Semi-vowels 67
4.1.1 Slender fricatives 67
4.1.2 The voiced velar fricative 70
4.1.3 Merger of semi-vowels with neighbouring vowels 72
4.1.4 Removal of final semi-vowel 76
4.1.5 Treatment of semi-vowel broad *mh* /w̃/ as a consonant 77
4.1.6 Defricatization of the semi-vowels broad *mh/bh* /v̰/ and slender *mh/bh* /v̰ʲ/ 78
4.1.7 Treatment of /h/ 79
4.2 Consonants 82
4.2.1 Overview of system 82

4.2.2 Slender quality 83
4.2.3 Devoicing 89
4.2.4 Voicing 92
4.2.5 Liquids and nasals 92
4.2.6 Metathesis 101
4.2.7 Expressive clusters 104

Part II Morphology

5 Introduction to morphology 107
5.1 The approach 107
5.2 The concept of extension 108
5.3 Regularity 109

6 General morphological rules 111
6.1 General discussion 111
6.2 Initial mutations 111
6.2.1 General description 111
6.2.2 Grammatical functions of lenition 114
6.2.3 The insertion of *h* and hiatus 122
6.2.4 Grammatical functions of eclipsis 125
6.2.5 Non-reversion of initial mutations 131
6.3 Final mutations 134
6.3.1 Slendering and broadening 135
6.3.2 Vowel addition 139

7 The noun 143
7.1 Gender 143
7.1.1 Single gender 143
7.1.2 Double gender 145
7.1.3 Gender agreement of anaphorical pronouns 147
7.2 Inflection 148
7.2.1 Inflectional patterns 148
7.2.2 Variations in inflection 154
7.3 Formation of the plural 159
7.3.1 Long and short plurals 159
7.3.2 Vowel addition 160
7.3.3 Consonant extension and vowel addition combined 160
7.3.4 Other long plurals 164
7.3.5 Marked plural forms 165

8 The verb 169
8.1 Phonetic shape 169
8.1.1 General discussion 169
8.1.2 Verb categorized by the shape of the root 170
8.1.3 Effect of phonological rules on the inflection 171
8.1.4 Use of *-óidh/eoidh* **/oːj/** and *-(a)igh* **/əj/** in Category 2 verbs 172

8.1.5 Variation in the use of *-(a)igh* /əj/ and *-óidh/eoidh* /o:j/ or /ahəj/ (D) 173
8.2 Grammatical categories 175
8.2.1 Tense 175
8.2.2 Combination of tenses and aspect 177
8.2.3 Mood 178
8.2.4 Personal/impersonal endings 179
8.3 Root variation and irregular verbs 185
8.3.1 General discussion 185
8.3.2 The irregular verbs 185
8.3.3 Other features of irregular verbs 193
8.4 Nominal and adjectival forms 195
8.4.1 Introductory remarks 195
8.4.2 Verbal nouns 195
8.4.3 The verbal adjective 198

Part III Syntax

9 Introduction to Syntax 205
9.1 Basic word order 205
9.2 Major variations in basic order 207
9.2.1 Movement of pronouns to sentence-final position 207
9.2.2 Narrative fronting 210
9.2.3 Deletion following finite verbal forms 211
9.2.4 Repetition of the topic 212
9.2.5 Avoidance of finite complementation 213
9.2.6 Sentence-initial adverbial phrases 214
9.2.7 Omission of the substantive verb in fronting 215
9.2.8 Use of *agus/is* 'and' or *ná* 'nor' in responsives 216
9.2.9 Three further dislocations 217

10 The copula 219
10.1 Two verbs 'to be' 219
10.2 Forms of the copula 219
10.2.1 Distinction between present/future and past/conditional blurred 219
10.2.2 Distinction between preconsonant and prevowel forms blurred 221
10.2.3 Use of preverbal particles and complementizers with the copula 221
10.2.4 Prevention of elision of vowel in *ba* 'was' 222
10.2.5 Use of generalized forms *is é, ab é, nab é, gob é* 223
10.3 Overview of syntax of copula 223
10.3.1 Linking of nouns and pronouns 224
10.3.2 Linking of nouns/pronouns and adjectives 229
10.3.3 Use in prepositional phrases 231

10.3.4 Use with *seo, sin, siúd* etc. 234
10.3.5 Use in fronting 236
10.4 Deletion of copula 244
10.5 Responsive system 245
10.6 General discussion of copula system 249
10.7 Summary of dialectal differences 251

11 Complementation and modal and auxiliary verbs 253
11.1 Complementation 253
11.1.1 Types of complementation 253
11.1.2 Syntactic functions of the complement 260
11.1.3 Extraposition 270
11.1.4 Verbal noun complement as a unit 275
11.1.5 Avoidance of possessive adjective in verbal noun complement 277
11.1.6 Other types of verbal noun complement 278
11.1.7 Verbal noun complements identified by *do* 'to' 281
11.1.8 Complements subordinated by *agus* 'and' 284
11.1.9 Attributive use of verbal noun complements 286
11.2 Modal verbs 287
11.2.1 Construction of modal verbs 287
11.2.2 Distinctive features of modal verbs 288
11.2.3 Dialectal variation 291
11.3 Auxiliary verbs 293
11.3.1 The substantive verb in periphrastic aspectual phrases 294
11.3.2 The auxiliary verb *déan* 'make, do' 302
11.3.3 Other auxiliaries 306
11.4 Summary of dialectal differences 308

12 Non-complemental subordination and marginal syntactic features 311
12.1 Non-complemental subordination 311
12.1.1 Relatives 311
12.1.2 Conditionals 319
12.1.3 Questions 321
12.1.4 Adverbial subordination 322
12.2 *Diabhal* 'Devil' etc. as a syntactic device 326
12.2.1 The assertive usage 326
12.2.2 The conditional usage 326
12.2.3 The negative usage 326
12.2.4 Conclusion 311
12.3 Questions expecting negative answers 311
12.4 Compounding of neutral coordinators with subordinators 332
12.4.1 *Agus/is* 'and' 332
12.4.2 *Nó* 'or' 334
12.5 Proportional correlations 335
12.6 Suspensive *ná* 336

12.7 Variant order in perfectives with *chomh* 'so' 337

Glossary 339
References 341
Index of Irish words 347