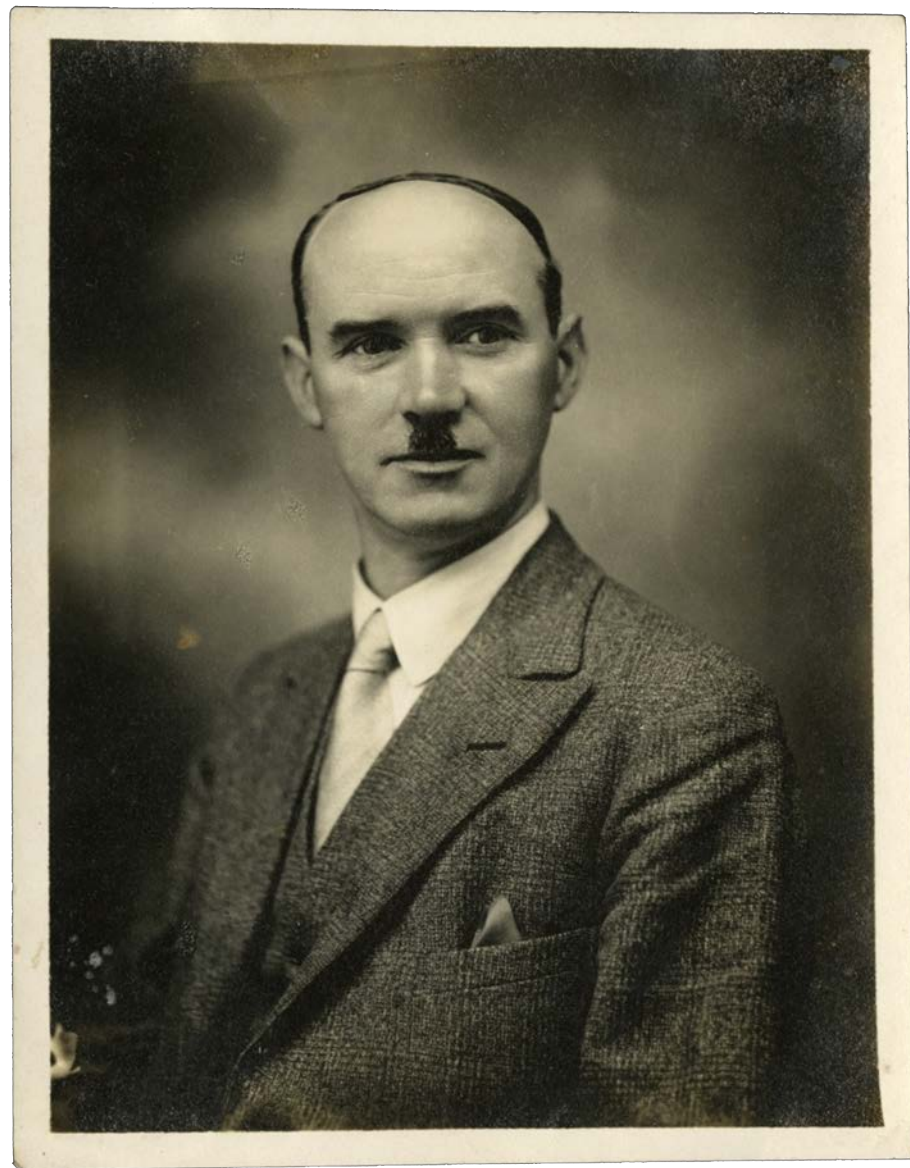


*3 Stories  
from the Mid-Tyrone  
Gaeltacht*

# Three Stories from the Mid-Tyrone Gaeltacht

Three stories from  
Professor Éamonn Ó Tuathail's  
Collection of Folklore in Irish  
with a revised edition by  
Peadar Mac Gabhann



*Éamonn Ó Tuathail (1880-1956) was Professor of Irish at Trinity College Dublin from 1929 until 1955.*

*Tíolacadh*

*Do mo mháthair, Pearl (Nic Mhathghamhna) Smith*

Originally published as part of  
*Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh: Munterloney Folk-Tales*  
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Introduction, Revised Edition of the text of three stories and Textual Notes  
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This work presents a parallel edition of three stories from  
Professor Éamonn Ó Tuathail's collection of folklore in Irish from Tyrone.  
On the left is printed the text as published in 1933 by Éamonn Ó Tuathail;  
a revised edition of the three tales, undertaken by Peadar Mac Gabhann, is printed on the right.

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## Foreword

### Réamhrá an Chathaoirligh

Mar Chathaoirleach ar Chomhairle Ceantair Fhear Manach agus na hÓmaí, tá lúcháir orm an brollach a scríobh do *Three Stories from the Mid-Tyrone Gaeltacht*.

Chuir an Dr Peadar Mac Gabhann an-obair isteach chun taighde agus nótaí nua a thiomsú ar an chanúint Ghaeilge a labhraítí i dTír Eoghain agus ar stair bhailiúchán *Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh*.

Tá muid fíorbhuíoch de as a chuid oibre ar an fhoilseachán seo a chuireann ar ár gcumas an tseoid seo d'oidhreacht teanga, chultúrtha agus liteartha Thír Eoghain a chur chun cinn agus a chaomhnú.

Tá eolas pearsanta agam féin ar na scéalta seo ón taobh áitiúil de. Bhíodh iomrá orthu sa bhaile nuair a bhí mé óg, agus bhí deis eile agam foghlaim faoina thábhachtaí atá siad agus mé i mo mhac léinn Léinn Cheiltigh ag Ollscoil na Ríona (QUB) i lár na 1980í.

Is maith is eol dom go raibh an Ghaeilge mar phríomhtheanga ag líon suntasach daoine i Lár Thír Eoghain suas go dtí na 1950í. Áiríodh leo sin daoine ar an Chreagán, ar an Chaisleán Ghlas, i Rúscaigh, i nGleann Choll agus ar an Ghoirtín.

Ba léir dom i gcónaí an saibhreas cultúrtha seo sa ghnáthshaol laethúil agus i ngnáth-thagairtí laethúla araon.

Is iontach an rud é gur caomhnaíodh guth Ghaeilgeoirí Thír Eoghain a d'inis na scéalta agus go bhfuil rochtain ag an léitheoir nua-aimseartha orthu anois.

Gabhaim ár mbuíochas le sliocht na rannchuiditheoirí agus le muintir Uí Thuathail as a naisc phearsanta leis an am atá thart a chomhroinnt leis an mhórphobal.

Cabhróidh sé sin lena chinntiú go gcuimhneofar ar na scéalta seo go ceann i bhfad.

Is mór ag Comhairle Ceantair Fhear Manach agus na hÓmaí oidhreacht uathúil ár limistéir áitiúil. Aithníonn an Chomhairle go bhfuil an Ghaeilge ina cuid luachmhar d'oidhreacht chultúrtha chomhroinnte ár gCeantair agus ceiliúrann sí na traidisiúin teanga a chabhraigh le stair an limistéir seo a mhúnlú, go háirithe stair Lár Thír Eoghain.

Oibríonn muid chun ár gcomhpháirtithe sa phobal Gaeilge a chumhachtú agus chun stair shaibhir na Gaeilge laistigh dár gCeantar a léiriú.

### Chair’s Foreword

As Cathaoirleach of Fermanagh and Omagh District Council, I am delighted to provide the foreword for *Three Stories from the Mid-Tyrone Gaeltacht*.

Dr Peadar Mac Gabhann has spared no effort in compiling new research and notes on the Tyrone dialect of Irish and the history of the *Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh* collection.

We are truly grateful to him for his work on this publication which helps to promote and preserve this jewel in the linguistic, cultural and literary heritage of Tyrone.

I am personally familiar with these stories from a local point of view. They were talked about in our house *nuair a bhí mé óg* and I had a further opportunity to learn of their importance as a student of Celtic Studies at Ollscoil na Ríona (QUB) in the mid-1980s.

I am particularly conscious that the Irish language was spoken as a first language by a significant number of people in Mid-Tyrone, including Creggan, Greencastle, Rouskey, Glenhull and Gortin up until the 1950s.

This cultural wealth has always been apparent to me in everyday living and references.

It is great to see that the voice of the Tyrone Irish-speakers who recounted the tales has been retained whilst making them accessible to the modern reader.

I extend our appreciation to the descendants of the contributors and the Ó Tuathail family for sharing their personal links to the past with the wider public.

This helps to ensure that these *scéalta* / stories continue to be remembered for generations to come.

Fermanagh and Omagh District Council treasures the unique heritage of our local area. The Council recognises that Irish language forms a valuable part of our District’s shared cultural heritage and celebrates the linguistic traditions that have helped to shape the history of this area, not least Mid Tyrone.

We work to empower our Irish language community partners and to showcase the rich history of *An Ghaeilge* within our District.

**An Comhairleoir Barra Mac Giolla Dhuibh**  
**Councillor Barry McElduff**

**Cathaoirleach Chomhairle Ceantair Fhear Manach agus na hÓmaí**  
**Chair of Fermanagh and Omagh District Council**

### Preface

A collection of three stories from Éamonn Ó Tuathail’s *Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh* (1933; 2015; reprinted 2016) forms the centrepiece of this publication. To make those three stories as accessible as possible to as wide an audience as possible while retaining the storytellers’ voices, Ó Tuathail’s edition has been laid out in parallel with a revised edition that employs a version of the spelling system of the *Caighdeán Oifigiúil* (Official Standard). Preceding the three texts is an Introduction that provides the reader with a survey of the historical context in which the stories were told and collected. Textual Notes provide the reader with a guide that will enable them to better appreciate the language in which the stories were told. *Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh* will remain the definitive collection of twentieth-century Tyrone Irish. It primarily sought to convey the sound of Irish as *spoken* in Tyrone. The focus of the present work is different; it concerns itself more with the form of the dialect than with its sound.

The word ‘dialect’ has a pejorative connotation in English. More useful for our purposes is the Early Modern Irish term *canamhain* which conveys the sense of an every-day spoken variety or register of language. The dialect of Irish spoken in Tyrone was not a linguistic peculiarity, but an integral constituent of what was once a vibrant linguistic community that extended from north Connacht in the west, through Ulster, north Leinster and across the Sea of Moyle to the west of Scotland.

It is to be hoped that this publication will breathe new life into old stories.\* *Go maire na scéalta sin agus na daoine ónar bailíodh iad inár gcuimhne go brách.*

\* For recently published material of a similar nature, see Séamas Ó Catháin & Seosamh Watson, ‘*Bréagái Éireann / The Great Liar of Ireland and An Crann as Éirinn / “The Beam” from Ireland: Two Munterloney Folktales*’, *Béaloideas* 85 (2017) 143-194.

## Acknowledgements

I am indebted to An Cumann le Béaloideas Éireann (The Folklore of Ireland Society) and Comhairle Bhéaloideas Éireann (The Folklore of Ireland Council) for granting me permission to republish three texts from *Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh* by Professor Éamonn Ó Tuathail. I also wish to acknowledge the assistance of Cnuasach Bhéaloideas Éireann (The National Folklore Collection) under the guidance of its Archivist, Dr Críostóir Mac Cárthaigh, at University College Dublin, for permitting me to refer to materials from the notebooks of Éamonn Ó Tuathail. I am particularly indebted to Professor Ríonach uí Ógáin, Professor Emeritus of Irish Folklore at University College Dublin and the former editor of *Béaloideas*, for her encouragement and generous assistance.

The staff of Cnuasach Bhéaloideas Éireann / National Folklore Collection at University College Dublin kindly provided me with the photographs of Éamonn Ó Tuathail and Eoin Ó Cianáin. The photograph of Fr Conn Mhac an Ghirr was provided to me by Mr Michael Anderson.

The Royal Irish Academy granted permission to use an image of the pedigree of the Cenél Moain from a fourteenth-century manuscript in their possession, namely, the Book of Ballymote.

I am grateful to Professor Ailbhe Ó Corráin (Professor Emeritus of Irish at Ulster University), Professor Seosamh Watson (Professor Emeritus of Modern Irish at University College Dublin), Dr Nioclás Mac Cathmhaoil (Lecturer in Irish at Ulster University), and Dr Éamonn Ó Ciardha (Reader in History at Ulster University) for making valuable suggestions that enhanced this book.

Dr Ciarán Ó Duibhín's perceptive comments and penetrating queries have been invaluable. Seán Mac Labhraí patiently answered my queries regarding photographs of Fr Conn Mhac an Ghirr. Séamus Mac Giolla Phádraig (Pomeroy) shared much insightful and constructive comment with me. Brian Mac Cionnaith, Suidh Daingean (Sedennan), Omagh provided practical help when my work on Éamonn Ó Tuathail was in its early stages. Caoimhín Goodwin was a constant source of encouragement. Fiona Crudden and Carol Follis steered *Three Stories from the Mid-Tyrone Gaeltacht* through the publication process.

This book has been greatly enhanced by the informative maps of Tomás Ó Brógáin

and the imaginative illustrations of Kikki Ghezzi. Cathal Tunney designed the cover.

I am grateful to Fermanagh and Omagh District Council for commissioning me to undertake this project. It has been a great honour to commemorate and to celebrate the Irish speakers of the Tyrone Gaeltacht in this publication.

## List of Illustrations, Photographs and Maps

The front cover features the Ogham Stone at Achadh Scríobach; the back cover uses as its background the pedigree of the Cenél Moain from whom the Muintir Luinigh are descended. The image is taken from Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, Manuscript 23 P 12 – the Book of Ballymote – folio 45 verso, column d. It has been reproduced here by permission of the Royal Irish Academy © RIA.

The photographs are of Éamonn Ó Tuathail, Eoin Ó Cianáin and Conn Mhac an Ghirr.

The illustrations encapsulate the essence of the three folktales presented herein.

The maps are of Ulster and Louth, the Tyrone Gaeltacht, and the North and Mid-Tyrone Gaeltacht c. 1901.



Maps

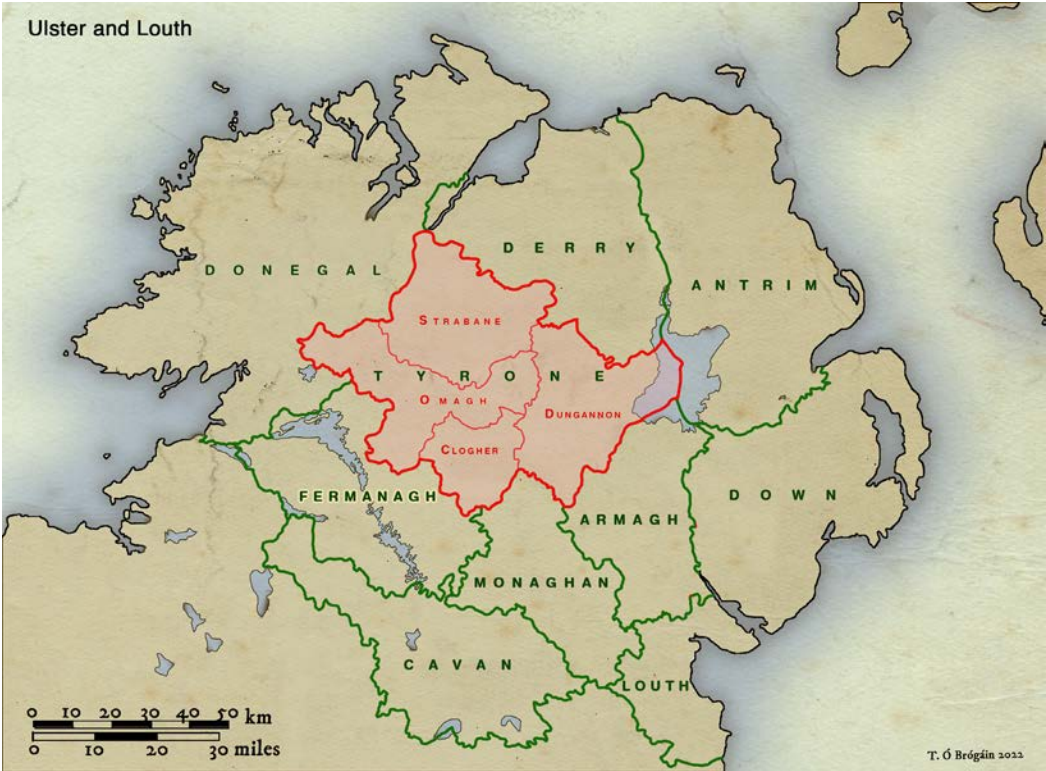


Figure 1: Map of Ulster and Louth c. 1901



Figure 2: The Tyrone Gaeltacht and Adjacent Locations c. 1901



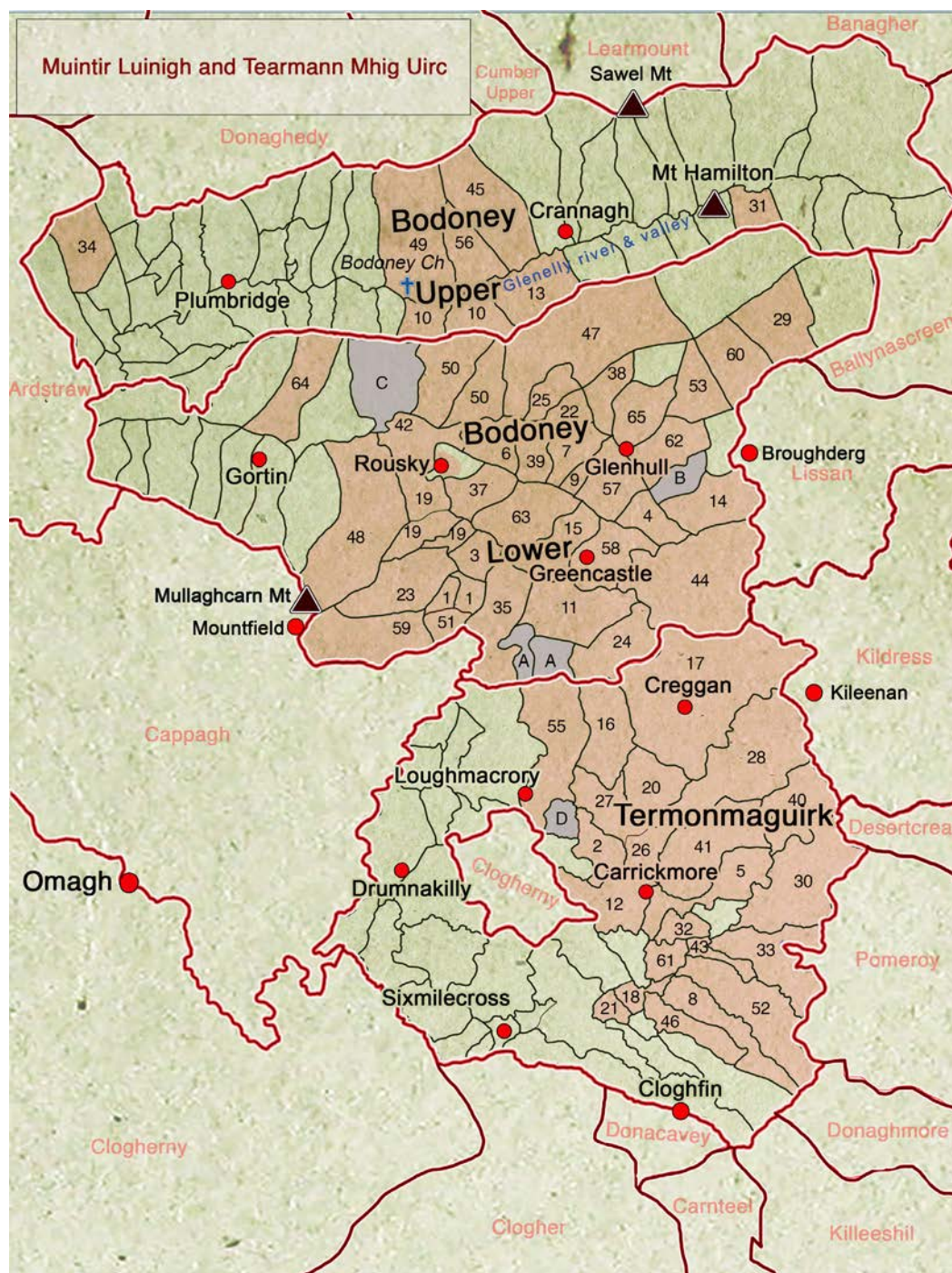


Figure 3: Muintir Luinigh and Tearmann Mhig Uirc c. 1901

1. Achadh Buí Uachtarach agus Íochtarach (Aghaboy)
  2. Achadh na gCreagán (Anagreggan)
  3. Achadh na Méarógán [or Achadh na Meireagán] (Aghnamirigan)
  4. Achadh Scríobach (Aghascrebagh)
  5. Achadh Uí Eochagáin (Aghagogan)
  6. Áit Teach (Attagh)
  7. Alt an Chamchosaigh (Altacamcosy)
  8. Altánach (Altanagh)
  9. All Bhuaile [?] (Alworries)
  10. An Bearnas Uachtarach agus Íochtarach (Barnes Upper and Lower)
  11. An Caiseal (Cashel)
  12. An Charraig Mhór (Carrickmore)
  13. An Clocharnach (Clogherney Glebe)
  14. An Cnoc [= Cnoc Uí Néill] (Crock)
  15. An Cnocán Buí (Crockanboy)
  16. An Copánaigh (Copney)
  17. An Creagán (Creggan Upper & Lower)
  18. An Eiscir Bhúi (Eskerboy)
  19. An Falach [or An Fhallach] [Íochtarach, Meánach agus Uachtarach] (Fallagh Lower, Middle-, and Upper); Gleann an Fhalaigh (Fallagh Glen)
  20. An Ghreanach (Granagh)
  21. An Gort Fionn (Gortfin)
  22. An Grianán (Greenan)
  23. An Léanach (Lenagh)
  24. An Leathan (Leaghan)
  25. An Leicín / An Leiceann (Leckin)
  26. An Mullán Beag (Mullanbeg)
  27. An Mullán Mór (Mullanmore)
  28. An Sailtean (Sultan)
  29. An Taobh Bhreac (Tievebrack)
  30. An Truim Óg (Tremoge)
  31. An tSamhail Bheag (Sawelabeg)
  32. Áth an Rí (Athenree)
  33. Baile na Slogán (Sluggan)
  34. Baile na Solas (Ballynasollus)
  35. Binn an Phrácháin [or Binn na bhFraochán] (Binnafreaghan)
  36. Both Domhnaigh (Bodoney Church)
  37. Cas [or Cuas] Eorna (Casorna)
  38. Cnoc an tSean-Toighe (Crockatanty)
  39. Corrach an Ealta [or Corrach an Aillt] (Curraghinalt)
  40. Creag an Chon Ruaidh (Cregganconroe)
  41. Creag an Dubhuisce (Creggandevesky)
  42. Droim Léith (Drumlea)
  43. Dún Misc (Dunmisk)
  44. Formail (Formil)
  45. Gleann Caol (Glenciel)
  46. Gleann Eidhnigh (Gleninine / Gleneeny)
  47. Gleann Leirge [or Gleann Láirc] (Glenlark)
  48. Gleann Mhic Cathbhairr (Glenmacofferr)
  49. Gleann Róin [or Gleann Ruadháin] (Glenroan)
  50. Gort an Chaisil Uachtarach agus Íochtarach (Gorticashel Upper and Lower)
  51. Ineasclann (Inisclan)
  52. Inis an Taoibh (Inishatieve)
  53. Lag (Log) an tSneachta (Ligatraght)
  54. Lag (Log) na Seamar (Legnashammer) in Mullán Mór townland
  55. Loch Mhic Ruairí (Loughmacrory)
  56. Mín na gCrann (Meenacrane)
  57. Muine na Míol (Moninameal)
  58. Seisceann Siúil (Sheskinshule)
  59. Srath Domhain (Stradowen)
  60. Taobh na Míne (Tievenameena)
  61. Tír Uaithne (Tiroony)
  62. Toigh Bán [or Taobh Bhán] Éirí na Gréine (Teebane East)
  63. Toigh Bán [or Taobh Bhán] Luí na Gréine (Teebane West)
  64. Trian an Amadáin (Trinamadan).
  65. Ucht Muine Cruaidh (Oaghmonicroy)
- A: An Bhreacagh Thuaidh & Theas (Brackagh North & South)
- B: Carnán Ransaithe (Carnanransy)
- C: Garbh Achadh (Garvagh)
- D: [An] Sceach Bhúi (Skeboy)

**Notes on the Map:** The Civil Parishes of Upper and Lower Bodoney are approximately coterminous with the early twentieth-century boundaries of Muintir Luinigh. It is important to note that Irish speakers resided in every townland depicted on this map c. 1901. The map's primary focus, however, is on the southern part of Muintir Luinigh and the northern part of Tearmann Mhig Uirc whence the stories in this publication.

## Abbreviations and Short Titles

ACU = *Amhráin Chúige Uladh le Muireadhach Méith* (ed. Colm Ó Baoill, Skerries, Co. Dublin 1977).

AFM = *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters* (ed. John O'Donovan, 7 vols., Dublin 1848-1851).

CO = An Caighdeán Oifigiúil (The Official Standard).

DED = District Electoral Division.

DIAS = Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

eDIL 2019: *An Electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language, based on the Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1913-1976) (www.dil.ie 2019).

FGB = *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla* (ed. Niall Ó Dónaill, Dublin 1977; 1992).

IDPP = *Irish Dialects Past and Present with Chapters on Scottish and Manx* (Originally Published, Dubin 1932; Second Edition 1972; reprinted 1976, 1988).

IGT = *Irish Grammatical Tracts* (ed. Osborn Bergin, *Ériu* 8, (1916); 9 (1921-23); 10 (1926-28); 14 (1946); 17 (1955).

LASID = *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects*, 4 vols. (ed. Heinrich Wagner, Dublin 1958-1969).

RIA = The Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

SML = *Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh* (ed. Éamonn Ó Tuathail, Dublin 1933; second edition with translation by Seosamh Watson, 2015; repr. 2016).

UCD = University College Dublin.

*Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic = Contributions to a Comparative Study of Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic* (Colm Ó Baoill, Belfast 1978).





# Introduction

## Location of the Tyrone Gaeltacht

According to the 1911 census, 7,584 inhabitants of county Tyrone spoke Irish.<sup>1</sup> It is probable, however, that this figure under-estimates the county's true number of native Irish speakers at that time.<sup>2</sup> As Róise Ní Bhaoill has remarked — I give here the translation of her original Irish text —:

It is highly likely that many of those who returned themselves as bilinguals were not fully functional English speakers. In addition, the established prestige of English and the increasing social stigma associated with Irish may have led some to exaggerate their knowledge of English. Many recorded bilinguals may have had only enough English to 'pass themselves' in town or cities, for the hiring fair or for seasonal work in Scotland, or to emigrate. There is also the possibility that some of those in areas where Irish was very weak, and who did not have the opportunity to use the language much, may no longer have considered themselves Irish speakers and therefore, returned themselves as English speakers.<sup>3</sup>

The areas with the highest percentages of Irish speakers in Tyrone included An Cnocán Buí (Crockanboy),<sup>4</sup> Gleann Leirge (Glenlark),<sup>5</sup> Trian an Amadáin

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1 Róise Ní Bhaoill (ed.), *Ulster Gaelic Voices: Bailiúchán Wilhelm Doegen 1931* (Belfast: Iontaobhas Ultach, 2010) 12-13, Tábla 1. This discussion drew on the work of G. B. Adams in his important article, 'The Validity of Language Census Figures in Ulster, 1851-1911', *Ulster Folklife* 25 (1979) 113-122. These figures would have included people who spoke Irish only, as well as those who spoke both Irish and English. See also Garret FitzGerald, 'Irish-Speaking in the Pre-Famine Period: A Study Based on the 1911 Census Data for People Born before 1851 and Still Alive in 1911', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy: Archaeology, Culture, History, Literature*, Vol. 103C, No. 5 (2003) 191-283.

2 Circumstantial evidence indicates that many people who could speak Irish were reticent about admitting that fact for various reasons. The following quotation from the national weekly newspaper of the Gaelic League, *An Claidheamh Soluis*, on Saturday 31 August 1912 (p. 7) supports that assertion: "The report of the annual general meeting of the Tyrone Coiste Ceanntair is a good record of work done. (...). Most interesting is it to the writer of this note to see that there is a representative on it from Glenmacaffer, for in that very parish some years ago he could not get any of the inhabitants upon whom he chanced during his rambling to even admit that they knew a word of Irish! How much things have changed for the better since that!"

3 Ní Bhaoill, *Ulster Gaelic Voices*, 16-17.

4 Original Irish placenames have been preferred in this work. Forms in these lists are, with a few notable exceptions, as given in Ní Bhaoill, *Ulster Gaelic Voices* (2012).

5 The form of this name is uncertain. The form *Gleann Leirge* is preferred in *Ulster Gaelic Voices*, 29. That form

(Trinamadan) in the Gortin district; Gleann Caol (Glenchiel), Gleann Róin (Glenroan), Cnocán Hamaltún (Mount Hamilton), Sraith na Gallbhuaile (Strangalwilly) in the Plumbridge district; An Creagán (Creggan), An Charraig Mhór (Carrickmore), Loch Mhic Ruairí (Loughmacrory), Áth an Rí (Athenree), Droim na Coilleadh (Drumnakilly), and An tAchadh Leathan (Mountfield) to the east of Omagh; Cill Fhionáin (Killeenan) and Baile na Solas (Ballynasollus) in the Pomeroy district. West Tyrone's highest concentrations of Irish speakers were in Corr Dhoire (Corgary),<sup>6</sup> Machaire na gCaorach (Magheranageeragh)<sup>7</sup> and Coill Íochtair (Killeter).<sup>8</sup>

In 1911, the Gaeltacht remained strongest in Mid-Tyrone, North Tyrone, and West Tyrone. The Mid-Tyrone Gaeltacht, which encompassed the southern portion of the ancient territory of Muintir Luinigh and northern part of Tearmann Mhig Uirc, was the most vibrant. The Gleann Aichle (Glenelly) valley, which formed the northern portion of Muintir Luinigh constituted the north Tyrone Gaeltacht.<sup>9</sup> At the heart of the west Tyrone Gaeltacht lay the ancient parish of Tearmann Uí Mhongáin.

### Folklore Collectors and Language Activists

Many reasons are proffered for the rapid decline of Irish in the second half of the nineteenth century. It is, however, beyond contention that Irish speakers suffered most severely in the Great Famine of 1845-1850, leaving them in a dazed state in 1851. Their situation changed with the foundation of Conradh na Gaeilge / the Gaelic League in July 1893, an epochal moment in Irish history. The League sought to preserve and to 'extend' the Gaeltacht by promoting the Irish language and its literature to the optimum in both the Gaeltacht and the Galltacht.<sup>10</sup>

is used here, but with reservation. The form *Gleann Láir*, which was recorded by Heinrich Wagner in 1950, is probably derived from *Gleann Láirc*; Gearóid Stockman and Heinrich Wagner, 'Contributions to a Study of Tyrone Irish', *Lochlann* 3 (1965) 43-236: 82. See also Appendix 1: 'Notes on Some Important Placenames'.

<sup>6</sup> 'Corgary First', Logainm.ie: Bunachar Logainmneacha na hÉireann, accessed 15 October 2022, <https://www.logainm.ie/en/64847>.

<sup>7</sup> 'Magheranageeragh', Logainm.ie, accessed 15 October 2022, <https://www.logainm.ie/ga/64883>.

<sup>8</sup> Ní Bhaoill, *Ulster Gaelic* Voices, 28-31.

<sup>9</sup> The original form of Glenelly is uncertain. The form I have used throughout is *Gleann Aichle*. See also 'Gleann Aichle', Logainm.ie, accessed 12 September 2022, <https://www.logainm.ie/ga/122008>. See Appendix 1: 'Notes on Some Important Placenames'. Éamonn Ó Tuathail used the spelling *Gleann Aichle* in *Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh* (1933) 208 = *Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh* (2015) 315.

<sup>10</sup> Diarmuid Ó Súilleabháin, 'Leathanradharc ar Chonradh na Gaeilge sna Laethanta Tosaigh' in *Athbheochan na Gaeilge: Cnuasach Aistí* (Dublin: Conradh na Gaeilge, 1998) 1-34.

A strategy of preservation and promotion led to the appointment of Irish language teachers, particularly in areas in which the Irish language had been until very recently the dominant community language.<sup>11</sup> Examples included Farney in south-east Monaghan and the Muintir Luinigh area of mid- and north Tyrone. Some of the teachers were assigned to extensive geographical areas throughout which they travelled by bicycle to deliver lessons on language, music, song, and dance. Among their ranks was Pilib Ó Bhaldrain (1874-1952),<sup>12</sup> who worked in the Muintir Luinigh area c. 1908.<sup>13</sup> Other teachers were attached to a particular school or cluster of schools, as in the case of Áine Ní Oisín,<sup>14</sup> who was appointed as a language and music teacher by Father Matt Maguire (c. 1863-1927) of Cill Scíre (Kilskeery).<sup>15</sup>

While many of those language teachers, such as Pilib Ó Bhaldrain, also functioned as part-time collectors of folklore, folksong and music, other language activists also contributed to the efforts to collect and publish lore and song from the fast-vanishing Gaeltacht. The Omagh-born poet, Alice Milligan (1866-1953)<sup>16</sup> and her sister, Charlotte Milligan Fox (1864-1916)<sup>17</sup>, transcribed the airs of an extensive corpus

11 Diarmuid Ó Súilleabháin, *Na Timirí i Ré Tosaigh an Chonartha 1893-1927* (Dublin: Conradh na Gaeilge, 1990).

12 The Anglicised form of his name was Philip Waldron. When publishing in the *Ulster Herald* (Omagh), he used the spelling *Ó Bhaldrain*, a dialectal representation of *Ó Bhaldráin*. The more usual form of his surname, however, is *de Bhaldráithe*, which he sometimes spellt as *de Bhaldra*.

13 Diarmuid Breathnach & Máire Ní Mhurchú, 'De Bhaldráithe, Pilib (1874-1952)' in *1882-1982: Beathaisnéis a Ceathair* (Dublin: An Clóchomhar, 1994; 2002) 21-22. Séamas Ó Catháin, 'Conraitheoir Connachtach in Ultaibh (1906-1912)' in Ailbhe Ó Corráin, Fionntán de Brún, Maxim Fomin (eds.), *Scotha Cennderca cen On: A Festschrift for Séamus Mac Mathúna* (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2020) 393-404; Peadar Mac Gabhann, 'A Mháirín Óg Ní Cheallaigh: A Tyrone Song of Connacht Provenance', *Dúiche Néill: Journal of the O'Neill Country Historical Society* 17 (2008) 216-229. Pilib de Bhaldra, 'Seanchuidhe Éireann do bhuail liom I' *An Lóchrann*, Feabhra 1930, 8. Pilib de Bhaldra, 'Seanchuidhe Éireann do bhuail liom II', *An Lóchrann*, Márta 1930, 7. Pilib Ó Bhaldrain, 'Ceól na n-Gleann: Amhráin agus Dántaí Gaedhealtachta Thíre Eoghain', *The Ulster Herald*, 24 June 1911.

14 *An Claidheamh Soluis*, 26 Deireadh Fomhair 1907.

15 Breathnach & Ní Mhurchú, 'Maguidhir, Maitiú (c1863-1927)' in *1882-1982: Beathaisnéis a Trí* (Dublin: An Clóchomhar, 1992) 62-63. Eoghan Ó Ceallaigh, *An Dá Thaobh* (Dublin: An Clóchomhar, 1968) 80-89.

16 Catherine Morris, *Alice Milligan and the Cultural Revival* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2012). Sheila Turner Johnston, *Alice: A Life of Alice Milligan* (Omagh: Colourpoint Press, 1994). *An Claidheamh Soluis*, Saturday, 10 June 1911, page 12 noted: 'Miss Alice Milligan paid a visit to the district last week and was delighted with the work done for the restoration of our mother tongue. She attended a meeting of the Greencastle Branch on Sunday week, where she delivered a very instructive lecture on the Irish revival movement'.

17 Charlotte Milligan Fox will be forever associated with the re-discovery of the 'Bunting Collection'.



of Irish songs from the repertoire of Éamonn Ó Treasaigh (Tracey) and his sister, Neansaí Ní Threasaigh (d. 1913) of Binn an Phréacháin (Binnafreaghan).<sup>18</sup>

The Milligan Sisters' work with Muintir Threasaigh (the Traceys) was inspired by the fieldwork that had been undertaken some months previously in the winter of 1909 by the school inspector, Énrí Ó Muirgheasa (1874-1945),<sup>19</sup> who remarked:

I have heard Irish singing in or from every county where Irish still lives, but the recollection that remains as the sweetest thing my ears have heard is the singing in unison of Eamonn and Nancy Tracey on the side of that remote glen in Tyrone.<sup>20</sup>

Muintir Threasaigh and other singers and *seanchaithe* attracted many eminent scholars, language activists and thinkers to Muintir Luinigh in the early decades of the twentieth century. They included Eoin Mac Néill (1867-1945),<sup>21</sup> Carl Hardebeck (1869-1945)<sup>22</sup> and Roger Casement.<sup>23</sup> The Lower Bodoney (Gortin-Greencastle) Branch of Conradh na Gaeilge did much to bolster the Tyrone Gaeltacht by

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This was a collection of manuscripts that contained transcriptions in staff notation of the music played by the last generation of Irish harpers. Edward Bunting (1773-1843) led the project. See Fionnuala Carson Williams, 'Fox, Charlotte Olivia (née Milligan)', Dictionary of Irish Biography, accessed 17 November 2022, <https://www.dib.ie/biography/fox-charlotte-olivia-nee-milligan-a3345>. See also, Collette Moloney, *The Irish Music Manuscripts of Edward Bunting (1773-1843): An Introduction and Catalogue* (Dublin: Irish Traditional Music Archive, 2000).

18 Charlotte Milligan Fox, 'Folk Song in County Tyrone', *Journal of the Irish Folk Song Society* 8 (1910) 23-28. Peadar Mac Gabhann 'Cloch ar a gCarn: Macalláí Ghaeltacht na Speiríní', *Comhar* 48, no. 1 (January 1989) 30-34. Also, Peadar Mac Gabhann, 'Traidisiún Amhránaíocht na Gaeilge i dTír Eoghain san Fhichiú hAois', in Peadar Mac Gabhann & Sinéad Coyle (eds.), *Guth an Iarthuaiscirt: Essays on Songs and Singing from the North-West of Ireland* (Belfast: Thomas and Samuel Roycroft for Éigse Cholm Cille, 2016) 15-33. For a recent discussion see Brian Gilmore, 'Séarlas Óg and Óró 's é do Bheatha abhaile', *Dúiche Néill* 26 (2022) 177-209.

19 Diarmuid Breathnach & Máire Ní Mhurchú, 'Ó Muirgheasa, Énrí (1874-1945)', [ainm.ie](https://www.ainm.ie/Bio.aspx?ID=93), accessed 6 September 2022, <https://www.ainm.ie/Bio.aspx?ID=93>. Proinsias Ó Muirgheasa & Peadar Ó Casaide, *A Man of Farney: A Short Story of the Life of Henry Morris. Together with Topographical Names and Dialect Words* (Monaghan: Éigse Fhearnmhaí, 1974). Séamas P. Ó Mórdha, 'Saothar Énrí Uí Mhuirgheasa', *Clogher Record* 3 (1975) 227-253.

20 Énrí Ó Muirgheasa, *Céad de Cheoltaibh Uladh* (Dublin: M. H. Mac Giolla & a Mhac, 1915) 236-237.

21 Breathnach & Ní Mhurchú, 'Mac Néill, Eoin (1867-1945)' in 1882-1982: *Beathaisnéis a Ceathair* (Dublin: An Clóchomhar, 1994; 2002) 63-66. Eoin Mac Néill, 'Irish Tyrone', *An Claidheamh Soluis*, 22 September 1900.

22 Breathnach & Ní Mhurchú, 'Hardebeck, Carl Gilbert (1869-1945)' in 1882-1982: *Beathaisnéis a Trí* (Dublin: An Clóchomhar, 1992) 39-40.

23 Brian Gilmore, 'Munterloney, the Tyrone Gaeltacht and the Greencastle Summer School – an Introduction', *Dúiche Néill* 26 (2022) 166-176.

show-casing the talents of its own singers and *seanchaithe* at recitals and lectures which formed part of its summer schools,<sup>24</sup> and *aeríochtaí*.<sup>25</sup> Regular language classes were held during the evenings in local schools and halls in an attempt to sustain the Gaeltacht.<sup>26</sup> The years 1908-1913 appear to have been the *apogee* of such activities. Political events in Ireland overtook the movement to revive and restore the Tyrone Gaeltacht, which began the long road to terminal decline after 1921.

Pádraig Ó Baoighill, the Rann na Feirste-born writer and language activist, considered Johnny Bán Mac Giolla Uidhir (d. 1972) of Muine na Míol (Munanameal) to have been the last person who could confidently be called a native speaker of Tyrone Irish.<sup>27</sup>

### Muintir Luinigh

The placenames Muintir Luinigh and Tearmann Mhig Uirc recur in the milieu of the Irish-speakers of Mid- and North Tyrone; their location and significance are central to our study. Muintir Luinigh has been identified as a branch of the Cenél Moain ('The Families Descended from Moan'),<sup>28</sup> a small but powerful sept that was led by Ó Gairmleadhaigh (O'Gormley).<sup>29</sup>

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24 A report in *An Claidheamh Soluis*, 21 June 2013, p. 8 stated: 'We are glad to learn that *An Sgoil Ghaedhilge* at Caisleán Glas [Greencastle] in Tír Eoghain will open on July 1st. Dáil Uladh has given a grant of £15 and Eoin Ó Gallchobhair, the experienced *múinteoir Gaedhilge* of Cill Scíre has been appointed principal. He will be assisted by Mac Uí Mhuiris [Solomon Morris] and others. An tAthair Mac Gabhann stated at the meeting of An Dáil held last week that there were over 2,600 Gaelgeoirí in the district. Sixty students, including thirteen teachers, attended *An Sgoil Ghaedhilge* last year.'

25 *Aeridheachtaí* [= modern spelling: *aeríochtaí*] were out-door festivals of Irish music, dance, and song. A report in *An Claidheamh Soluis*, Saturday, 15 June 1907, p. 11 stated: 'Although the weather was severe on Sunday morning, the great *Aeridheacht* at Greencastle was triumphantly carried through. (...)'. The *Timthire's* [language teacher] address was listened to with rapt attention, especially by the *sean-Ghaedhilgeoirí* [elderly Irish speakers]. It was splendid to hear the *sean-sgéaltaí* [old stories] and the *sean-amhráin* [old songs] and to see that they were regaining their rightful place in the lives of the people.'

26 The leading lights in the Irish language movement in Muintir Luinigh were Solamh Ó Muirgheasa (Solomon Morris), Éilis Nic Culadh (Alice McCullagh), An Máistir Mac Giolla Uidhir (Master McAleer) and Peadar Ó Cléirigh (Peter Clarke). *An Claidheamh Soluis*, Saturday, 6 April 1907, p. 9 noted: 'Solamh Ó Muirgheasa, N.T., is a tower of strength and keeps Irish well to the front in his school. Gael addresses brother Gael in the Greencastle districts of Tír Eoghain in the vernacular as a matter of course even yet. Mac Uí Ghiolla Uidhir, J.P., Co. C., is a worker in Achadh Leathan (Mountfield).'

27 Pádraig Ó Baoighill, *Padaí Láidir Mac Culadh agus Gaeltacht Thír Eoghain* (Dublin: Coiscéim, 2009) 137-147.

28 Moan was the son of Muiredach son of Eoghan son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, the ancestor of the Uí Néill dynasty. See Ciarán J. Devlin, *The Making of Medieval Derry* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2018) 112.

29 Séamus Ó Ceallaigh, *Gleanings from Ulster History: Punann ó Chois Bhanna* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1951) 7.

Squeezed out of their original territory, Magh nÍotha,<sup>30</sup> on the west bank of the Foyle by the Clann Dálaigh (The O'Donnells) during the late middle ages, they carved out a new home for themselves under the Clanna Néill (The O'Neills) in a territory that embraced the civil parish of Urney,<sup>31</sup> as well as the adjoining districts of what is now the town of Strabane to the north and Coill Íochtair (Killeter) in the Derg Valley to the south. At that juncture or shortly afterwards, the Cineál Moain split into three family groups: Muintir Fhlaithbheartaigh (The Lavertys),<sup>32</sup> and the descendants of Luineach mac Gairmledhaigh, whence the surnames Uí Luinigh<sup>33</sup> and Uí Ghairmleadhaigh (Mod. Spelling: Uí Ghormlaigh).<sup>34</sup> The lordship of the Cenél Moain may have rotated on a consensual basis among these three families but was dominated by Uí Ghairmleadhaigh.

In 1178 violent internecine strife erupted between these three leading branches of the Dynasty when Domhnall Ó Gairmleadhaigh found himself temporarily

ousted from the lordship of the Cenél Moain by Conchobhar Mac Con Allaidh Uí Luinigh.<sup>35</sup> That violence may have been the spark that led the Muintir Luinigh branch of the Cenél Moain to move to the Sperrins and establish themselves as a separate population group there. They dispersed and settled in three valleys, the Abhainn Riabhach Valley (Owenreagh Valley, Greencastle), the Abhainn Choilleadh (Owenkillew Valley, Gortin) and the Gleann Aichle (Glenelly Valley), moving as far north-east as Samhail at the eastern end of the Glenelly Valley and as far south-east as Bruach Dearg (Broughderg).<sup>36</sup>

A rump of the Cenél Moain remained in the lower reaches of the Sperrins.<sup>37</sup> They appear to have been caught in a vice-like pincer movement: to their west was the ever-encroaching Clann Dálaigh in what is now east Donegal; to their south and north lay the Clanna Néill of west Tyrone. The territory available to the Uí Ghairmleadhaigh-led rump of the Cenél Moain must have been limited indeed.

While little is heard of the Muintir Luinigh branch of the Cenél Moain during subsequent centuries, the Annals do occasionally provide us with information on the Uí Ghairmleadhaigh branch, who appear to have been reduced to the role of Ó Néill's marcher lords in his west Tír Eoghain border country. The Annals tell us, for example, that Brian Ó Gairmleadhaigh, the lord of Cenél Moain, was killed by Ó Domhnaill's men during a military action in 1507.<sup>38</sup> Séamus Ó Ceallaigh remarked that the lordship of the Cineál Moain went into decline from the beginning of the sixteenth century:

His name [Ó Gormlaigh] is almost lost sight of in the annals, and his country under

30 This area encompassed the parishes of Urney, Donaghmore and Clonleigh, all of which are in the barony of Raphoe but in the diocese of Derry. See Donnchadh Ó Corráin's revised edition of Edmund Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum*, 's.v. 20798 *mag ítho* \**mag ítha*, *mag n-ítha*\* *Mag Ítha*, DIAS.ie, accessed 6 September 2022, [https://www.dias.ie/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/E-Onomasticon\\_Text.pdf](https://www.dias.ie/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/E-Onomasticon_Text.pdf).

31 I suspect that their inauguration site was at Tullymoan in the Electoral Division of Urney East, Civil Parish of Urney, the Barony of Strabane Lower (54° 46' 16" N, 7° 31' 52" W).

32 They appear to have remained in the lower reaches of the Foyle River Valley, in the parish of Clonleigh.

33 Ó Ceallaigh, *Gleanings from Ulster History*, 7. The line of descent down to Gairmledach was: Níall Noígíallach (of the Nine Hostages) – Éogan – Muiredach – Muan (Moan) – Colmán – Fáelán – Édalach – Tendalach – Gairmledach; see Dublin, Royal Irish Academy Manuscript 23 P 2 – The Book of Lecan (Cat. No. 535), folio 56 verso, line 2 = Dublin, RIA MS 23 P 12 – The Book of Ballymote (Cat. No. 536), folio 44 verso, column a. A text entitled *Míniugud Senchusa Clainne Conchobair Cenél Moain* ('The Explication of the History Pertaining to the Descendants of Conchobar of the Cenél Moain') explains that Gairmledach had four sons, one of whom was Luineach whence the Uí Luinigh; see Seamus Pender, 'The O Clery Book of Genealogies: 23 D 17 (R.I.A.)', *Analecta Hibernica* 18 (1951) ix, xi-xxxiii, 1-198: 43, § 560 which states 'Ceithri mic la Gairmlegach (...) Luinech (a quo .h. Luinigh)'. See also, Pender, 'The O Clery Book of Genealogies', 44.

34 For a full account of this historical process, see Ciarán Ó Doibhlin, 'Ó Bhoth Domhnaigh go Muintir Luinigh, Sinsearas' in Tadhg Ó Dúshláine (ed.), *Féilscríbhinn an Doibhlinigh, Irisleabhar Mhá Nuad* 1996-1997 (Maynooth: An Sagart, 1997) 364-375: 369. See John O'Donovan (ed. & trans.), *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*. 7 vols. (Dublin: Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1848-1851); abbreviated henceforth to AFM. References here are to the online version at Celt: The Corpus of Electronic Texts, [celt.ucc.ie](http://celt.ucc.ie), <https://celt.ucc.ie/published/G100005C/index.html>. Pertinent references include AFM 1232.13 [= AD 1232, entry 13] *Conchubhar mac Neill Uí Gairmledhaigh toiseach Cenel Moain d'éc* ('Conchobhar son of Niall Ó Gormlaigh, lord of Cenél Moain died'). See also AFM 1485.10 for a reference to Muintir Luinigh as a specific area.

35 See AFM 1178.4 which is available online at: John O'Donovan, 'Annals of the Four Masters', Celt: The Corpus of Electronic Texts, accessed 6 September 2022, <https://celt.ucc.ie/published/G100005C/index.html>. Séamus Ó Ceallaigh, 'A Preliminary Note on Some of the Nomenclature on the Map of S.E. Ulster Bound up with the Maps of the Escheated Counties, 1610 (Southampton: Stationary Office 1860)', *The Journal of the Royal Society of the Antiquaries of Ireland* 81, No. 1 (1951) 37-42: 39.

36 Fr. Ciarán Devlin describes this process in detail in *The Making of Medieval Derry* (p. 65): 'Cineál Moain – the kindred – lost the western part of their lands and were moved away from the Finn and Mourne valleys. Some pushed up Glenelly and the Owenkillew and Owenreagh glens, to which they gave the alternative name by which the sept is known Muintir Luinigh (Munterloney)'.

37 Ballyfatten [Baile Uí Pheataín] is in the Electoral Division of Urney East, in Civil Parish of Urney, in the Barony of Strabane Lower (54° 47' 51" N, 7° 28' 37" W). It must have been the homeplace of the Uí Pheataín branch of the Cenél Moain.

38 See John O'Donovan, 'Annals of the Four Masters', AFM, 1507.8, Celt: The Corpus of Electronic Texts, accessed 25 September 2022, <https://celt.ucc.ie/published/G100005E/index.html>.

the name of “Sliabh Síos” or “Sliabh Thíos,” (the Mountain Going North) seems to have been eventually set aside for the Tánaiste [heir apparent] of Tír Eoghain.<sup>39</sup>

The name *Muintir Luinigh* became attached to the land in which that branch of the Cenél Moain dwelt, a territory co-extensive with the parish of Both Domhnaigh and containing the ancient Patrician foundation of Both Domhnaigh.<sup>40</sup> Éamonn Ó Tuathail records that: ‘He [Eoin Ó Cianáin] states Muintir Loinigh | (LIni:) is about the same | As Uppr. & Lr. Badoney | Bunadh Mhuintir Loinigh | Glenelly (or part of it) | Is in Muintir Loinigh.’<sup>41</sup> To the south of the parish of Both Domhnaigh lay the parish of Tearmann Mhig Uirc (Carrickmore) and the archdiocese of Armagh.

The Muintir Luinigh Irish speakers who provided Ó Tuathail with material included Eoin Ó Cianáin, Formaol (Formil); Proinsias Ó Treasaigh, Binn an Phréacháin (Binafreagan); Jane Nic Ruairí, Gleann Leirge (Glenlark); Brian Ó Cairealláin, Mín na gCrann (Minnacran), Gleann Aichle; Mícheál Mhac Culadh, Samhail Bheag (Sawelabeg) and Pádraig Mac Giolla Bhríde, An Clocharnach (Clogherney), Gleann Aichle.<sup>42</sup> He collected two of the three stories in this collection, *An Fear a Raibh an Bhean Dheas Aige* (SML, Story XIV) and *An Dóigh a bhFuair Loch Dearg a Ainm* (SML, Story XXXVII) from Eoin Ó Cianáin of Muintir Luinigh. The remaining story in this publication, *Brian Bréagach* (SML, Story XX (A)), was collected by Conn Mhac an Ghirr from an unidentified Tearmann Mhig Uirc storyteller.

### Tearmann Mhig Uirc

At the most north-westerly point of the Archdiocese of Armagh is situated the parish of Tearmann Mhig Uirc (Termonmaguirk).<sup>43</sup> That parish was once called Tearmann Cuimmíne (Termoncomyn), which means ‘The Churchlands of Saint Cuimmín,’<sup>44</sup> or

39 Ó Ceallaigh (*Gleanings from Ulster History*, 7, n. 3) remarks: ‘This is the real reason why Toirdhealbhach, son of Niall Conallach, was called Luineach, though writers of history books, following Ó Donnabháin, will go on asserting that it was because he was fostered by Ó Luinigh, who hardly existed there any longer. Cf. note by the writer *Journal of the Royal Society of the Antiquaries of Ireland*, June 1934, pp. 143-4.’

40 Ciarán Ó Doibhlin, *The Making of Medieval Derry* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2018) 205-212.

41 Dublin, UCD, National Folklore Collection, Ó Tuathail Papers, Box 1, EOT 02-08-05, p. 30.

42 *Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh* (1933) xlvii = *Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh* (2015) xlix.

43 For an excellent map of the townlands of Tearmann Mhig Uirc parish, see Pádraig Ó Gruagáin, ‘Map of the Parish’, *An Tearmann: Parish Magazine of Termonmaguirk* (Winter 1978) 42-43.

44 Tomás Ó Fiaich, ‘Brian Mac Gurk, Dean of Armagh’, *Seanchas Ard Mhacha* 12, No. 1 (1986) 68-88: 68. Early seventeenth-century English documentation refers to ‘Termonmaguirk’, alias Termoncomyn; see, for example,

‘The Churchlands of Colum Cille’, since as Pádraig Ó Riain has indicated, Cuimmín is a ‘pet-form’ of the name ‘Colum Cille’.<sup>45</sup>

The name Tearmann Mhig Uirc (Termonmaguirk) ‘The Churchlands of Mc Gurk’ appears first as the name of the parish in the fifteenth century.<sup>46</sup> The Méig Uirc family derived from the Cineál Binnigh sept, who, in turn, belonged to the Cineál Eoghain dynasty that controlled Inis Eoghain and modern-day counties Tyrone and Derry.<sup>47</sup> The association between the Méig Uirc (Mc Gurk) family and Tearmann Cuimmíne goes back to the early fifteenth century.<sup>48</sup> At some stage during that century, a member of the Méig Uirc family, became *airchinnech* (‘erenagh’) over the lands of Tearmann Cuimmíne which appear to have belonged in their entirety to the Archbishopric of Armagh.<sup>49</sup>

One element of the erenagh’s role was to manage churchlands. Tomás Ó Fiaich estimated that the Méig Uirc family controlled about sixteen balliboes before the Plantation,<sup>50</sup> including Gort Fionn (Gortfin), Tír Uaithne (Tiroony), Dún Misc (Dunmisk), Baile na Slogán (Sluggan), An Truim Óg (Tremog), Creagán Dubhuisce (Creggandevsky), An Mullán Beag (Mullanbeg), An Mullán Mór (Mullanmore), Achadh na gCreagán (Aghnagregan), An Charraig Mhór (Carrickmore), Aghagogan

the Ulster Inquisitions, Appendix II, cited in William Reeves, *Acts of Archbishop Colton the Metropolitan Visitation of the Diocese of Derry, AD MCCCXCVII* (Dublin: The Irish Archaeological Society 1850) 3, note g.

45 Pádraig Ó Riain (*A Dictionary of Irish Saints* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011; 2016), s. n. ‘Cuimín’, 243) noted that ‘This name [Cuim[m]ín] is a diminutive of *Cuimme* (also *Cumma*, *Caimme*), a hypochoristic or pet form of Colum. The name often served, therefore, as a means of providing local devotees of Colum Cille, founder of Iona, with an appropriately endearing form of his name.’ Colum Cille was the patron of the Uí Néill dynasty whence the Méig Uirc, whereas St Patrick was the patron of the Ulaid, who controlled Armagh until the Uí Néill invaded, and then ejected, and propelled the Ulaid across the Bann. Tearmann Mhig Uirc’s associations with Colum Cille are evident in the fact that its historic graveyard was called Reilig Cholum Cille.

46 Ó Fiaich, ‘Brian Mac Gurk, Dean of Armagh’, *Seanchas Ard Mhacha* 12, No. 1 (1986) 68-88: 68. See Appendix 1.

47 Ó Fiaich, ‘Brian Mac Gurk, Dean of Armagh’, 69.

48 Ibid, 69. See Appendix 1.

49 Ibid, 69. See Appendix 1.

50 Dublin, Trinity College, Manuscript N. 2. 2., early seventeenth century, folio 165 contains the following statement ‘The Countie of Tyrone is diuided into certen pcells of land called Balliboes, a Balliboe being a quantety of land, contayninge 60 English acres or thereabouts. The whole Countie by the Survey contains 1550 balliboes.’ Concerning this source, see T. W. Moody, ‘Ulster Plantation Papers’, *Analecta Hibernica* 8 (March 1938) 179, 181-187, 189-297: 287. For a general discussion of Irish land measurements, see ‘Units of Land Measurement’, Clare County Library, clarelibrary.ie, accessed 17 November 2022, [https://www.clarelibrary.ie/eolas/coclare/history/territorial\\_divisions/units\\_land\\_measurement.htm](https://www.clarelibrary.ie/eolas/coclare/history/territorial_divisions/units_land_measurement.htm).



(< *Irish* Achadh Uí Eochagáin ?),<sup>51</sup> Áth an Rí (Athenree), and part of Inis an Taoibh (Inishatieve).<sup>52</sup>

While most of the parishes of the north of Ireland were overseen by an erenagh, not every erenagh was a coarb;<sup>53</sup> only erenaghs who were regarded as being the local successors to the founding father of the district's church or monastic foundation were assigned that honorific.<sup>54</sup> Although an outsider to Tearmann Cuimíne, in historical terms, Mag Uirc was regarded as the coarb to Saint Colum Cille; he fulfilled many of the roles that were associated with the day-to-day running of the Church's temporal estate.

As coarb, Mag Uirc rented out the lands of the Church, expending a portion of his rental income on 'maintaining and repairing the church and providing hospitality for the archbishop and his party whenever he came on visitation.'<sup>55</sup> A further portion of the income from levying church tithes on parishioners enabled the coarb to pay the stipends of the parish priest and his curate.<sup>56</sup>

In addition to accruing rental income from the church lands and income from the parishioners' tithes, this coarb availed of an extra source of income, namely, his role as keeper of the Clog Cholum Cille (the Bell of St. Colum Cille),<sup>57</sup> which bore the epithet *Díoltas Dé* ('The Vengeance of God'). When disputes arose, the contending parties swore on the Bell. Clann Mhig Uirc were recompensed for the use of the Clog Cholum

Cille. Eventually, it was sold to the appropriately named John Bell, a Dungannon-based collector of antiquities, from whom it was acquired by the National Museum of Scotland in 1868.<sup>58</sup>

After the Plantation of Ulster (1609), the Churchlands of Tearmann Mhig Uirc became part of the estate of the Church of Ireland's Archbishop of Armagh.<sup>59</sup> Many members of the Mc Gurk family remained in the Tearmann Mhig Uirc area, including the illustrious Dean Brian Mag Uirc (c. 1635-1713).<sup>60</sup>

Tearmann Mhig Uirc provided a rich harvest of material in Irish for Fr Conn Mhac an Ghirr during the years 1904 and 1912.<sup>61</sup> Ten stories from his work as a field collector were published in 1952 by Mhac an Ghirr's grand-nephew, Seán Mac Airt.<sup>62</sup> The storytellers included Caitlín Nig Eoghain (Cathleen McKeown), An Creagán Íochtarach (Lower Creggan), An Charraig Mhór (Carrickmore); Eoghan Ó Brollcháin (Owen Bradley), An Truim Óg (Tremoge), An Charraig Mhór; and Bean Uí Shírin (Mrs Sheerin), An Charraig Mhór.<sup>63</sup> Story 5 (*Maicín agus Sionaid*) agus Story 7 (*Peadar Seórsa agus a Thriúr Mac*) were undated and unattributed. Story 6 (*Luach na Sé bPinghinn*) was also undated and unattributed but Mac Airt suggested that adjacent references in Mhac an Ghirr's work appeared to indicate that the source of that story was Bean Uí Chaoindealbháin (Mrs Quinlivan), An Charraig Mhór.<sup>64</sup>

58 Ibid, 70.

59 Ó Fiaich, 'Brian Mac Gurk, Dean of Armagh', 70. The records of the Civil Survey (1654-56) note that Jon Gieves, who is described as an 'English Protestant', leased much of the land of Tearmann Mhig Uirc from the archbishop of Armagh; Robert C. Simmington, *The Civil Survey, AD 1654-1656. Counties of Donegal, Londonderry and Tyrone*, Vol. III (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1937) 359-360.

60 Ó Fiaich, 'Brian Mac Gurk, Dean of Armagh', *Seanchas Ard Mhacha* 12, No. 1 (1986) 68-88.

61 Michael Anderson, 'Rev. Cornelius Shortt PP., 1918-25', in Michael Anderson, *Parish of Ballymore and Mullabrack. St Joseph's Church, Poyntzpass: its Parish Priests and Curates, 1788-1996* (n. p.: Michael Anderson, 1996) 48-49. See also Ciarán Ó Duibhín, 'Daoine a Chuidigh le hOidhridheacht Ghaedhealach Chúige Uladh a bhuanú: Tír Eoghain: Con 'ac a' Ghirr, sagart (1862-1925)', Gaedhilg Oirthear Uladh, accessed 18 November 2022, <https://www3.smo.uhi.ac.uk/oduibhin/daoine/oidhridheacht.htm>. See also Cormac Mac Giolla Uidhir, 'The Gaelic League and its Influence in Termonmaguirk', *An Tearmann: Parish Magazine of Termonmaguirk* (Winter 1978) 49-52.

62 Seán Mac Airt, 'Sgéaltaí ó Thír Eoghain', *Béaloidéas* 20 (1950-1952) 3-48. Seán Mac Airt, a native of Keady, county Armagh, was one of Ireland's most eminent Celtic scholars in the mid-twentieth century. See Breathnach & Ní Mhurchú, 'Mac Airt, Seán Breandán (1918-1959)', 1882-1982: *Beathaisnéis a Trí* (Dublin: An Clóchomhar, 1992) 49-50; see online at <https://www.ainm.ie/Bio.aspx?ID=264>.

63 Mac Airt, 'Sgéaltaí ó Thír Eoghain', *Béaloidéas* 20 (1950-1952) 47-48.

64 Mac Airt, 'Sgéaltaí ó Thír Eoghain', 48.

51 See Appendix 1 for a discussion of this name.

52 An Inquisition held at Dungannon in 1609 recorded that there were sixteen balliboes (Ulster Inquisition, Appendix II) in Tearmann Mhig Uirc. A later Inquisition held at Dungannon in 1633 reported that the territory of 'Termon Mac Gwyrch, alias Termoncomyn' consisted of eighteen balliboes, 'subdivided into sixty-five parcells or subdenominations (the names of all which are recited) to be held under the see of Armagh (Ulster Inquisition Tyrone, No. 40, Car I)', cited in Reeves, *Acts of Archbishop Colton*, 3, note g.

53 The word 'erenagh' is derived from Old Irish *airchinnech* 'administrator (of ecclesiastical land, monastic estate)'; eDIL s.v. *airchinnech* or dil.ie/1719. 'Coarb' is derived from Old Irish *comarbae* 'successor to the founder of a specific church or monastery'; see eDIL s.v. *comarb(b)ae* or dil.ie/10741; Modern Irish *comharb*.

54 Ó Fiaich, 'Brian Mac Gurk, Dean of Armagh', *Seanchas Ard Mhacha* 12, No. 1 (1986) 68-88: 69. Kenneth W. Nicholls remarked 'as representative of the saint he [the coarb] was always to enjoy, down to the end, a considerable but indefinable spiritual prestige'; see Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2003) 127-130: 127. By drawing on the evidence provided by the jury of the Inquisition of Ulster that was held at Dungannon in 1609, Reeves explains the difference between the lands of the *airchinneach* ('herenagh land') and the lands of a *comharb* ('coarb land'); see Appendix 1.

55 Ó Fiaich, 'Brian Mac Gurk, Dean of Armagh', 69. See Appendix 1.

56 Ó Fiaich, 'Brian Mac Gurk, Dean of Armagh', 70. See note above.

57 Ó Fiaich, 'Brian Mac Gurk, Dean of Armagh', 70.



Tearmann Mhig Uirc Irish speakers who provided songs in Irish to Conn Mhac an Ghirr included Proinsias Mag Uirc (Frank McGurk), Lag na Seamar, An Charraig Mhór (Carrickmore);<sup>65</sup> Bean Uí Shírín (Mrs Sheerin), an Eiscir Bhuí, An Charraig Mhór;<sup>66</sup> Máire Nic Eachadha (Mary Haughey), Cornóg, An Creagán;<sup>67</sup> and Bridget Gormley, Gleninine,<sup>68</sup> An Charraig Mhór.<sup>69</sup>

In contrast to Mhac an Ghirr during the years 1904-1912, Ó Tuathail appears to have had fewer Irish speakers from Tearmann Mhig Uirc available to him in 1929. Peadar Joe Ó hEachadha (Peadar Joe Haughey) of An Creagán is the only Tearmann Mhig Uirc source who personally provided Ó Tuathail with material for *Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh*<sup>70</sup> (XVII, XXVII, XLIX).<sup>71</sup> However, as noted above, Ó Tuathail supplemented his own collection from Ó hEachadha with other Tearmann Mhig Uirc material that had been collected by Mhac an Ghirr many years earlier. One of those texts was *Brian Bréagach*. In fact, he presented Eoin Ó Cianáin's version of that story first and then the version that was collected by Father Conn Mhac an Ghirr in Tearmann Mhig Uirc.<sup>72</sup> Unfortunately, Mhac an Ghirr did not record the name of the person from whom he transcribed *Brian Bréagach*.

65 Colm Ó Baoill (ed.), *Amhráin Chúige Uladh le Muireadhach Méith* (Skerries, Co. Dublin: Gilbert Dalton, 1977) 114-116; this is a re-edition of Lorcán P. Ó Muireadhaigh, *Amhráin Chúige Uladh 1-2* (Dundalk: Tempest Press, 1927, 1937). For background regarding the Tearmann Mhig Uirc Irish speakers, see Monica Haughey, *Out of the Embers: A History of Creggan through its People* (Creggan, Carrickmore: Creggan Community Association, n.d. (c. 1988) 196-204. See also Ciarán Ó Duibhín, 'Cainnteoirí Dúthchais agus Foinsí Béaloideas Gaedhilge as Oirthear Uladh: Na Speiríní: North Tyrone/South Derry/North-East Donegal', Gaedhilg Oirthear Uladh, accessed 25 September 2022, <https://www3.smo.uhi.ac.uk/oduibhin/cainnteoir/speirini.txt>.

66 Ó Baoill, *ACU*, 121, 122.

67 Ó Baoill, *ACU*, 122-123.

68 = Gleneeny, Athenree DED.

69 Ó Baoill, *ACU*, 147.

70 This title is henceforth abbreviated to *SML*. References to specific sections in *SML* that are concerned with Ó Tuathail's study of the Irish dialect of Tyrone are indicated by the symbol § and an arabic numeral. This referencing system is the same in the 2015 and the 1933 editions. Pagination in the two editions, however, differs. Reference by page numbers will henceforth be to the 2015 edition. Where I diverge from this policy, I supply both sets of page references.

71 Éamonn Ó Tuathail noted: 'P Haughey (Peadar O hEachú) is about 57 years of age. I retained the record as it is broken'. Dublin, UCD, National Folklore Collection, Ó Tuathail Papers, Box 1, EOT 02-08-05, p. 8.

72 During Ó Tuathail's visit to An Creagán in April 1932, Eoin Ó Cianáin remarked that he had recited *Brian Bréagach* for Fr Mhac an Ghirr; Dublin, UCD, National Folklore Collection, Ó Tuathail Papers, Box 2, EOT 11-05-01.

Ó Tuathail's approach to disseminating Mhac an Ghirr's work was methodologically sound: he printed Mhac an Ghirr's transcription in Appendix 1 of *Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh* and reproduced his own edition of that transcription under the title 'XX (A) Brian Bréagach' in the body of that book. An edition of Mhac an Ghirr's transcription of *Brian Bréagach* also appeared in *An tUltach*,<sup>73</sup> and is prefaced by the following note:

D'aithscríobh mé an scéal seo ó leagan tuaimnidheach a scríobh an tAthair Mhac-an-Ghirr ó bhéaloideas duine éigin i gCarraic-Mór; acht cha dtearn mé aon áthrach eile 'san scéal. Mise atá thíos leis na nótaí - "F. an U."

I re-wrote this story from a phonetic version that Father Shortt had written down from the recital of someone in Carrickmore; but I have made no other change in the story. I am responsible for the notes - "F an U."<sup>74</sup>

### Eoin Ó Cianáin

Born to Anna Nig Uirc (d. 1901) and Tomás Ó Cianáin (Tam Ruadh, d. 1906) in the townland of Achadh Scríobach (Aghascreebagh)<sup>75</sup> on 14 October 1857, Eoin Ó Cianáin spent his childhood on his father's farm in the townland of Formaoil (Formil) and attended primary school in Greencastle.<sup>76</sup> His father spoke English and Irish, while his mother had some knowledge of English. Despite being a monolingual Irish speaker until aged ten, and being able to read and write English, he never learned to read or write Irish. On 23 August 1898, he married Mary Mellon (Mallan), a native of the townland of An Creagán, parish of Tearmann Mhig Uirc. They had three daughters: Alice, Anne, and Mary. While Eoin's new family still resided at his parent's house in Formaoil (Formil) at the time of the 1901 census, they were living with Eoin's father-in-law, James Mellon in An Creagán by the time of the 1911 census.<sup>77</sup>

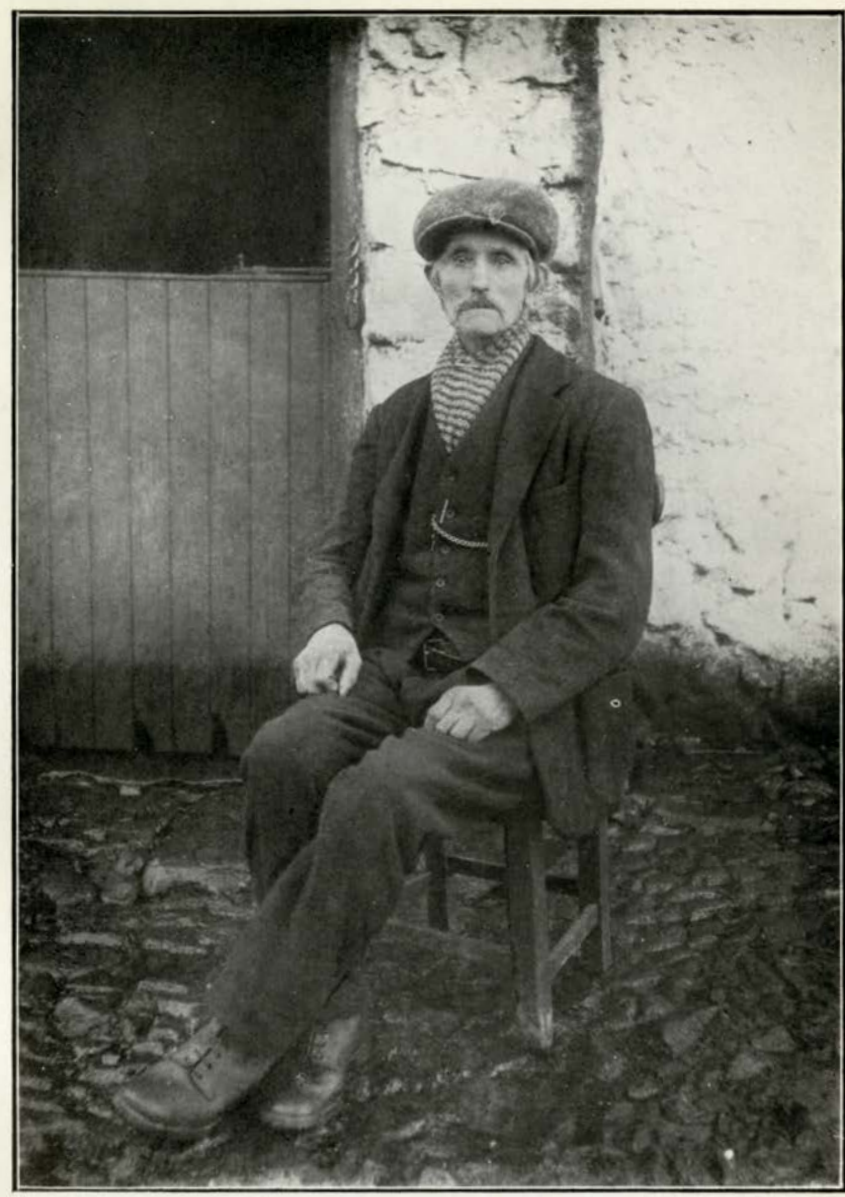
73 Conn Mhac an Ghirr, 'Brian Bréagach: *An tUltach* 3, No. 5 (Meitheamh 1926) 6.

74 I take 'F an U' to be Lorcán Ó Muireadhaigh, the editor of *An tUltach*.

75 The original form of this placename is uncertain. For a discussion of its form and meanings, see Appendix 1.

76 Ciarán Ó Duibhín, 'Eóin Ó Cianáin (1857-1937)', Creggan, Carrickmore, Co Tyrone', Gaedhilg Oirthear Uladh, accessed 6 June 2022 <https://www3.smo.uhi.ac.uk/oduibhin/doegen/ocianain.htm>. See also Cormac Mac Giolla Uidhir, 'Eoin Ó Cianáin, 1857-1937', *An Tearmann: Parish Magazine of Termonamaguirk* (Spring 1980) 86-87.

77 Ó Duibhín noted that the Mallon homestead, now sadly in ruins, is located to the south side of the A505, about 1 mile east of An Creagán Centre, at the top of a small brae and adjacent to road; see 'Eoin Ó Cianáin', 'Cainnteoirí Dúthchais Agus Foinsí Béaloideas Gaedhilge As Oirthear Uladh: Na Speiríní: North Tyrone/South Derry/North-East Donegal', accessed 24 September 2022, <https://www3.smo.uhi.ac.uk/oduibhin/cainnteoir/speirini.txt>.



Eoin Ó Cianáin (1857-1937), storyteller, was born in Formil in the parish of Bodoney and resided in the townland of Creggan in the parish of Termonmaguirk.

Ó Cianáin's forebears included many storytellers and poets. His maternal grandfather, Eoin Mag Uirc, who made his living as a tailor in the townland of Achadh Scríobach, was a noted poet; his paternal uncle, Peadar Ó Cianáin supplied him with stories; and another forebear, Proinnsias (Frank John Tarry) Ó Cianáin, enjoyed a reputation as a very good storyteller.<sup>78</sup>

Eoin Ó Cianáin recited *An Dóigh a bhFuair Loch Dearg a Ainm* and *An Fear a Raibh an Bhean Dheas aige* to Ó Tuathail on 31 December 1929 and 27 July 1930 respectively. As noted above, however, the version presented here of *Brian Bréagach*, 'XX (A)' in *Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh*, is that told to Father Mac an Ghirr by an inhabitant of Tearmann Mhig Uirc parish. Muintir Luinigh's famous *seanchaí* died in An Creagán on 25 July 1937.

### Éamonn Ó Tuathail: His Life and His Work

Born on 28 July 1880 on the south Dublin – north Wicklow border, in the townland of An Bhearna Dhearg, to Terence O'Toole and Mary Driscoll, Ó Tuathail, was one of three children.<sup>79</sup> After Terence, a native of Rathvilly, county Carlow, emigrated to the US, the family moved northwards to Lord Dufferin's estate at Clandeboye, county Down, where Mrs O'Toole's, brother, John O'Driscoll served as land-steward.

Éamonn served as an apprentice coachbuilder to the Hutton family in Belfast. During his early teens, Éamonn developed an interest in the Irish language and its literature and joined the Gaelic League in Belfast. Many of the League's teachers in Belfast hailed from the south-west Munster Gaeltacht. These included Séamus Ó Dubhghaill (1855-1929), who served as a customs and excise officer in Belfast and Derry and wrote under the pen name of 'Beirt Fhear'. Ó Tuathail's first exposure to spoken Irish was consequently to that of Munster. Thus equipped, he took up the position of *múinteoir taistil* (travelling teacher) with the Gaelic League in 1901 in south Monaghan, an area in which there still resided many native Irish speakers.

78 For Proinsias Sheáin Thoirdealbhaigh's version of *An Dochtúir agus an Bás* as transcribed by Eoin Mac Néill, see Gearóid Mac Giolla Domhnaigh & Gearóid Stockman (eds.), *Athchló Uladh* (Belfast: Comhaltas Uladh, 1991) 82-95.

79 Diarmuid Breathnach, 'Ó Tuathail (O'Toole), Éamonn', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 30 May 2022, <https://www.dib.ie/biography/o-tuathail-otoole-eamonn-a9591>. Diarmuid Breathnach & Máire Ní Mhurchú, 'Ó Tuathail, Éamonn (?1883-1956)', 1882-1992: *Beathaisnéis a Dó* (Dublin: An Clóchomhar, 1990) 138-140. Diarmuid Breathnach & Máire Ní Mhurchú, 'Ó Tuathail, Éamonn (1880-1956)', *ainm.ie*, accessed 30 May 2022, <https://www.ainm.ie/Bio.aspx?ID=225>.

The establishment by Dáil Uladh of Coláiste Uladh in Gort an Choirce in north-west Donegal during the summer of 1906 transformed Ó Tuathail's scholarly life. The primary objective of Dáil Uladh was to promote Irish as a spoken language throughout Ulster and to encourage the publication of literature in Ulster Irish.<sup>80</sup> Coláiste Uladh was to be its centre for the education of teachers, both native speakers and highly proficient non-native speakers, to impart the Irish language and its literature within the Gaeltacht and Galltacht. While attending Coláiste Uladh, Ó Tuathail became acquainted with a large network of native-speaking writers and scholars like Séamus Ó Grianna of Rann na Feirste and Séamus Ó Searcaigh of Cruit Island, who also studied and taught at Coláiste Uladh. Undoubtedly, this contact with so many native Irish-speaking writers must have sparked Ó Tuathail's interest in living Irish dialects, especially those that were under immediate threat of extinction. It must also have raised his proficiency level in spoken and written Irish. Within a year of the opening of Coláiste Uladh, Ó Tuathail had secured for himself a position on the teaching staff.<sup>81</sup>

In October 1910, St. Enda's in Dublin, a secondary school founded by Patrick Pearse, offered Ó Tuathail a teaching position. He subsequently taught at Coláiste Laighean, the Leinster School of Irish. Writing of his links with Coláiste Laighean in his obituary for Ó Tuathail, Séamus Ó Searcaigh explained that:

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.<sup>82</sup>

Having been awarded the degree of B.A. in Celtic Studies under the guidance of Douglas Hyde and Osborn Bergin among others, Ó Tuathail commenced an M.A. thesis on eighteenth-century south-east Ulster Irish poetry at UCD in 1914. His career at Coláiste Laighean advanced with his appointment to the principalship in 1914. In addition to working at Coláiste Laighean, he taught at two prestigious Dublin

80 Séamus Ó Néill & Bernárd Ó Dubhthaigh (eds.), *Coláiste Uladh: Leabhar Cuimhne Iubhaile Leith-Chéad Blian, 1906-1956* (np.: Coiste an Choláiste, 1956) 7.

81 Ibid, 9.

82 Séamus Ó Searcaigh, 'Obituary: Professor Eamonn Ó Tuathail (1883-1956)', *Lochlann* 1 (1958) 275-277: 276.

secondary schools, namely, Castleknock College and Carmelite College, Terenure. A busy teaching schedule meant that he had little time to conduct research. Almost a decade later, he married Emily Noble of Dún Laoghaire, county Dublin, and had a son and a daughter.

To rejuvenate itself following the ravages of the Civil War, the Gaelic League established a sub-committee in 1925, whose members included Ó Tuathail and the eminent Louth scholar, Lorcán P. Ó Muireadhaigh (Fr. Lawrence Murray). Both men favoured the founding of a sister organisation that would focus on the revival of Irish in the northern half of the country, and their idea came to fruition in the foundation of Comhaltas Uladh in 1926.

Ó Tuathail's academic advancement continued unabated. In 1929, he became Thomas F. O'Rahilly's successor as Professor of Irish at Trinity College Dublin. His subsequent research interests fell into eight main categories: Irish manuscripts, scribes and patrons;<sup>83</sup> bardic poetry from the era of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries;<sup>84</sup> Ulster and north Leinster poetry in syllabic verse from the seventeenth century;<sup>85</sup> south Ulster accentual poetry of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries;<sup>86</sup> the eighteenth and nineteenth-century song tradition; placenames;<sup>87</sup> Irish dialects,<sup>88</sup> and oral literature and folklore of the Irish country people. As his former colleague, Professor Eleanor Knott of Trinity College Dublin wrote:

Although he habitually used the north-western speech in speaking and writing, Ó Tuathail had no dialectal prejudice and was skilled in them all, and also in the classical and neo-classical writings and in Scottish Gaelic. Nor was he ignorant of

83 See, for example, Éamonn Ó Tuathail, 'Arthur Brownlow [d. 1710] and his Manuscripts', *Irish Book Lover* 24 (1936) 26-28; Éamonn Ó Tuathail, 'The Bennett Family of Forkhill, Co. Armagh', *The Irish Book Lover* 22 (1934) 32.

84 See, for example, Eamonn Ó Tuathail's edition of two poems by William Nugent, son of the Baron of Delvin in *Éigse* 2 (1940) 1-11.

85 Éamonn Ó Tuathail, 'Mór sochair na haimsire', *An tUltach* 29, No. 8 (Lúnasa 1953) 11-12. This poem was written by Bishop Tomás Déis (c. 1568-1651/2), Catholic bishop of Meath, and a scion of one of the most notable Old English families of the Pale.

86 See, for example, Éamonn Ó Tuathail, 'Cia hé seo 'na shuan go huaigheach' [by Art Mac Bionaid], *An tUltach* 29, No. 11 (Samhain 1953) 10-11; *An tUltach* 30, No. 1 (Eanáir 1954) corrigenda at 10.

87 See, for example, Éamonn Ó Tuathail, 'Notes on Some Irish Place-Names', *Journal of the Royal Society of the Antiquaries of Ireland* 67 (1937) 77-88.

88 See, for example, Éamonn Ó Tuathail, 'The Mutation of Sibilants in the Dialect of Slievemurphy', *Éigse* 6 (1948 / 1952) 163-164.



the earlier stages of the language; I remember on one occasion receiving a note from him in irreproachable Old-Irish. His liveliest interests were the living dialects, and folklore, and year after year to the very end the greater part of his vacation would be spent in the Gaeltacht to record tales and sayings. He gave particular attention to places which though apparently hopelessly Gallicized might still contain hidden ‘pockets’ of Irish speakers, and those explorations were in some cases surprisingly successful.<sup>89</sup>

1923 saw the publication of his first book, an anthology of forty poems from counties Meath, Louth and Armagh dating to the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>90</sup> This collection is significant in two regards: it introduces the general reader to the works of lesser-known writers such as Liam Mac Giolla Chiaráin, and it depicts a literary landscape that served as a refuge and a source of inspiration to a remarkable number of poets of national and international importance.

Two other major studies of Ulster Irish followed: *Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh* (1933) and *Seanchas Ghleann Ghaibhle* (1934). At the core of the latter publication was a collection of folklore in Irish from the north-west Cavan Gaeltacht of Gleann Ghaibhle (Glangevlin),<sup>91</sup> which served as the basis for a detailed investigation into that dialect of south-west Ulster Irish.<sup>92</sup>

Ó Tuathail’s three books give us a limited insight into the breadth and depth of his scholarship. His scholarly capacity is more accurately represented by his articles. According to the bibliography entitled *Clár Litridheacht na Nua-Ghaedhilge, II, 1850-1936*,<sup>93</sup> he published and edited 89 poems in Irish between the dates 1916 and 1926, an unrivalled feat of editing over a decade-long period.<sup>94</sup> *An tUltach*, the journal of Comhaltas Uladh, preserves 83 articles, the vast majority of which are

89 Eleanor Knott, ‘Eamonn Ó Tuathail, 1883-1956’, *Éigse* 8, No. 3 (1956 / 1957) 263-267: 263.

90 Éamonn Ó Tuathail, *Rainn agus Amhráin: Cnuasacht Rann agus Amhrán ó Chonndae na Midhe, ó Chonndae Lughmhaidh agus ó Chonndae Ardmhacha* (Dublin: Brún agus Ó Nóláin, 1923).

91 ‘Gleann Ghaibhle’, logainm.ie, accessed 15 October 2022, <https://www.logainm.ie/ga/127341>.

92 Éamonn Ó Tuathail, *Seanchas Ghleann Ghaibhle: Glangevlin Folk-Lore. Collected and Edited, with Introduction, Notes and Glossary* (Dublin: Institiúid Béaloideas Éireann, 1934) in *Béaloideas: the Journal of the Folklore of Ireland Society*, 4, No. 4, Supplement, (December 1934); Corrections and additions, 6, No. 1 (June 1936) 132.

93 Risteard de Hae, *Clár Litridheacht na Nua-Ghaedhilge, 1850-1936. II. Filidheacht I dTréimhseacháin* (Dublin: Oifig Dhíolta Fhoillseacháin Rialtais, 1939).

94 Séamus Ó Searcaigh, ‘Obituary: Professor Eamonn Ó Tuathail (1883-1956)’, *Lochlann* 1 (1958) 275-277: 277.

focused on the texts of poems from the south Ulster region and date from c. 1700-c. 1850.<sup>95</sup> A profound knowledge of the manuscript tradition of the north of Ireland, coupled with an intimate acquaintance with spoken Irish dialects as a consequence of conducting field-work in nearly every county of that same region, underpinned his impressive scholarship. It is worth noting, moreover, that Ó Tuathail resumed work on Antrim Irish that had originally been commenced by Séamus Ó Duilearga in the early 1920s.<sup>96</sup>

### Ó Tuathail in Tyrone

In his Preface to *Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh*, Ó Tuathail explained that four-fifths of the material contained therein had been collected by him during the years 1929-1932.<sup>97</sup> His notebooks give us more precise information. His visits in Tearmann Mhig Uirc occurred between 28 December 1929 and 4 January 1930; 28 March and 3 April 1930; 25 July and 29 July 1930;<sup>98</sup> 1-7 January 1931;<sup>99</sup> Easter 1931; September 1931 and the post-Easter period in 1932.<sup>100</sup> He based himself in Gleann Aichle in the northern portion of Muintir Luinigh between the 8th and 11th April 1931.<sup>101</sup>

Ó Tuathail’s methodology involved asking Irish speakers who had been born in the parishes of Both Domhnaigh and Tearmann Mhig Uirc to recite tales and lore in Irish so that he could record them on ‘a Dictaphone record’.<sup>102</sup> He subsequently transcribed the material from those recordings. Making a note of ‘indistinct words

95 Gearóid Mac Giolla Domhnaigh, *An tUltach 1924-1987* (Belfast: Comhaltas Uladh, 1988) *sub* ‘Éamann Ó Tuathail’.

96 Seosamh Watson, ‘Séamus Ó Duilearga’s Co. Antrim notebooks’, *Éigse* 20 (1984) 187–211. See also Seosamh Watson, ‘Séamus Ó Duilearga’s Antrim notebooks. I: Texts’, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 40 (1984) 74–117; ‘Séamus Ó Duilearga’s Antrim notebooks. II: Language’, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 42 (1987) 138–218.

97 Dublin, University College Dublin, National Folklore Collection, Ó Tuathail Papers, Box 1, ‘Tír Eoghain III’, EOT 02-08-05, preliminary page [B1].

98 Dublin, UCD, National Folklore Collection, Ó Tuathail Papers, Box 1, EOT 02-08-05, ‘Tír Eoghain III’, inside cover & p. 16.

99 This entry is not contemporaneous and is not in the hand of Éamonn Ó Tuathail. Dublin, UCD, National Folklore Collection, Ó Tuathail Papers, Box 1, EOT 02-08-05, ‘Tír Eoghain III’, p. 18.

100 Dublin, UCD, National Folklore Collection, Ó Tuathail Papers, Box 1, EOT 02-08-05, ‘Tír Eoghain III’, p. 18.

101 Dublin, UCD, National Folklore Collection, Ó Tuathail Papers, Box 2, EOT 06-01-009.

102 As Séamas Ó Catháin has indicated, in his Foreword to the 2015 edition of *Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh* (xiii), Ó Tuathail’s recording machine was in fact a cylinder phonograph, which transferred the recorded sounds onto wax cylinders.



or phrases, Ó Tuathail would then return on his next visit to the speakers concerned and ask for ‘verification’.<sup>103</sup> In the case of his main source of information on Tyrone Irish, Eoin Ó Cianáin, he stated: ‘I read over all of Eoin Ó Cianáin’s tales with him in case he wished to revise any part of the wording. This he did on several occasions.’<sup>104</sup>

On completion of the transcriptions, Ó Tuathail would take his records to Stewart’s workshop in Dublin where they erased the sound recordings to enable the Dictaphone records to be re-used. Consequently, only a small number of his own audio recordings have survived. These have been preserved in Cnuasach Bhéaloideas Éireann.<sup>105</sup>

In his Preface to *Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh*, Ó Tuathail remarks that he visited:

about twenty townlands in search of Irish speakers able to recite material worth recording. The result of my search was not very encouraging. Many of the old people I met were able to speak Irish more or less fluently, but very few were able to recite the tales which they told me they had often heard in their youth.<sup>106</sup>

He readily acknowledged his over-dependence on material provided by a single speaker, namely, Eoin Ó Cianáin, noting that: ‘Were it not for Eoin Ó Cianáin this collection would be very small indeed.’<sup>107</sup> Indeed, he highlighted lacunae in some of Ó Cianáin’s stories.

Ó Tuathail corresponded in writing with Eoin Ó Cianáin regarding several of his queries. The professor sent him questionnaires to which the latter responded in writing. One example will suffice:

**Ó Tuathail wrote:** ‘11. In a story of Father Shorts there was a man sitting behind a “tarpag fee-ih”. “Tarpag” means a “clump” I think. What sort of clump is a “tarpag fee-ih”? (If you haven’t the word just say so and don’t bother about it. May be he did not take it down right.)

103 *Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh* (2015) xxi.

104 *Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh* (2015) xxi.

105 Two were on-line (2013) at [http://www.bealbeo.ie/ediphone/1006\\_cuach\\_bui.html](http://www.bealbeo.ie/ediphone/1006_cuach_bui.html) (*Cuach mo Lon Dubh Bui*) and [http://www.bealbeo.ie/ediphone/1007\\_an\\_bas.html](http://www.bealbeo.ie/ediphone/1007_an_bas.html) (*Gabha an tSoic*).

106 *Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh* (2015) xxi. Ó Tuathail’s notebooks give us the following list of places visited during Christmas 1929: ‘Boc, Formal, Leaghan, Cashel, Binnefreaghan, Granagh, Legnashamar, Anagregan, Loughmacrory and Innishamouhan’. Dublin, UCD, National Folklore Collection, Ó Tuathail Papers, Box 2, EOT 02-08-05, p. 49.

107 *Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh* (2015) xxi.

**Ó Cianáin wrote back in response:** the word *thorpagh freigh* is what we call a heathery hurplagh[,] that is[,] large lumps[,] round of[,]<sup>108</sup> bog with heath growing on them[.] These grow on deep bog like stones or stony land.<sup>109</sup>

Séamas Ó Catháin contextualised Ó Tuathail’s Tyrone collection on its republication in 2015:

The value of this collection rests not only in these forty folktales – whatever about their occasional lack of finesse – but also in the variety and quality of the other “specimens” to which [Michael J.] Murphy adverts. The samples of legends, songs, proverbs, riddles, prayers, charms, toasts and miscellaneous accounts of calendar and other folk customs are not only typical of “a far richer mass of such lore” but mirror, in large part, similar materials of this ilk from other parts of Gaelic Ulster (profusely documented in Donegal tradition) and, indeed, other parts of Ireland as a whole.<sup>110</sup>

Ó Tuathail’s *Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh* was criticised in 1965 in the following terms by Stockman and Wagner:

The most important account of Tyrone Irish is E. Ó Tuathail’s ‘Scéalta Mhuintir Luinigh’ (1933), his work being based upon the uncorrupted speech of some good native speakers. Had he provided us with an accurate transcription our own work would have been unnecessary. The only thorough phonetic account of an East Ulster dialect has been so far A. Sommerfelt’s ‘South Armagh Irish’ (N[orsk] T[idsskrift for] S[progvidenskap], 2 [1929] 107-91 (...).<sup>111</sup>

This observation fails to consider Ó Tuathail’s background as a Gaelic League activist for whom the communication of Irish scholarship to as wide an audience as possible transcended narrow academic considerations. Ó Tuathail may have believed that a full-blown phonetic transcription of complete texts would have impeded that process of communication.

108 The words ‘round of’ have been inserted above the line

109 Dublin, UCD, National Folklore Collection, Ó Tuathail Papers, Box 2, EOT 02-06-198. Transcribed here as presented in the manuscript. Editorial intervention has been indicated by the use of square brackets.

110 *SML* (2015), ‘Foreword’, xii. Ó Tuathail remarked in *SML* (2015) 289: ‘É. Ó C. does not understand this word [*fiach* (*fee-ih*, MS)]. He thinks it should be *fraoigh*, gen. of *fraoch* ‘heather’.

111 Gearóid Stockman and Heinrich Wagner, ‘Contributions to a Study of Tyrone Irish’, *Lochlann* 3 (1965) 43-236: 44, n. 1’. Abbreviated henceforth to ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’.

### Father Conn Mhac an Ghirr

Conn Mhac an Ghirr (Cornelius Shortt) was born in the townland of Clay, in the parish of Keady to Catherine Mone and Cornelius Shortt in 1862.<sup>112</sup> Ordained in Dundalk in 1888, he served as curate in several parishes before being appointed to the parish of Tearmann Mhig Uirc in 1904 where he lived until 1918. He collected folklore in Irish from all parts of the parish during that time. Unusually, he invented his own system of phonetic transcription based on the spelling system of English.



Conn Mhac an Ghirr (1862-1925) was curate in Termonmaguirk from 1904 until 1918.

Mhac an Ghirr's main advantage over Ó Tuathail was that he worked a quarter of a century earlier when many more Irish speakers could be interviewed and recorded. One need only think of the large numbers of Tyrone Irish speakers who lost their lives during the Great Influenza Pandemic between 1918 and 1920. In addition, Mhac an Ghirr's position as a priest gave him immediate access to Irish speakers in a manner that would have been impossible for a layman. Mhac an Ghirr published initially in *The Ulster Herald* and subsequently in *An tUltach*, the magazine of Comhaltas Uladh.<sup>113</sup> In 1918, he was appointed as Parish Priest of the parish of Ballymore and Mullaghbrack in county Armagh, remaining there until his death in Tandragee on 22 January 1925.

<sup>112</sup> See footnote 61.

<sup>113</sup> Liam an tSoluis', Item III in *SML*, was originally published by Conn Mhac an Ghirr using his own 'phonetic' spelling system in *The Ulster Herald* in February 1918. It was republished in a revised edition by Lorcán Ó Muireadhaigh [?] in *An tUltach* 2, No. 5 (Bealtaine 1925) 7, using conventional Irish spelling.

### Early Sound Recordings of Tyrone Irish Speakers

The earliest extant sound-recordings of Tyrone Irish date from late September 1931. Professor Wilhelm Doegen (1877-1967) of the Prussian State Library Sound Department in Berlin, with the assistance of his sound-engineer, Karl Tempel, captured the speakers' voices on shellac disks.<sup>114</sup> The Irish Free State's Department of Finance financed their work, which was overseen by the Department of Education and administered by The Irish Studies Committee of the Royal Irish Academy. The Tyrone material forms a small but very significant part of a project that aimed to record samples of Irish dialects. Undertaken on a restricted budget during short intervals in 1928, 1930 and 1931, this material is known as the Doegen Collection.<sup>115</sup>

The Muintir Luinigh recordings, namely, those of Eoin Ó Cianáin (1857-1937) and Jane Nic Ruaidhrí (c. 1880-1962) were made at Queen's University Belfast, while Máire Nic Dáibhéid (c. 1864-1938) and Pádraig Ó Gallchobhair (c. 1852-1940) of Tearmann Uí Mhongáin in west Tyrone were recorded at Letterkenny Courthouse.<sup>116</sup>

These four speakers have left us twenty-four recordings which can now be heard and enjoyed on the website of the Royal Irish Academy.<sup>117</sup> Their value for the history of the Irish language is beyond estimation. Ten items are by Eoin Ó Cianáin. 'Leaganacha Cainte' is of particular significance since it illustrates conclusively the pronunciation of specific sounds that typify most Ulster and north-Leinster Irish dialects and distinguish them from those of the rest of Ireland.<sup>118</sup>

Ó Tuathail facilitated the Doegen Collection at a practical level, identifying potential speakers for the project such as Eoin Ó Cianáin and Jane Nic Ruaidhrí.

<sup>114</sup> For the background to this project see, Ciarán Ó Duibhín & Nollaig Mac Congáil, 'Scéim na bPlátaí Doegen', *Glórtha ón tSeanaímsir* (Belfast: Comhaltas Uladh, 2009) 1-4; online with minor emendations as 'Scéim na bPlátaí Doegen', <https://www3.smo.uhi.ac.uk>, accessed 15 October 2022, <https://www3.smo.uhi.ac.uk/oduibhin/doegen/sceim.htm>. As Ciarán Ó Duibhín reminds us, Doegen only visited Ireland once, namely, in September 1928 when he worked on the Munster aspect of the project. He delegated the work thereafter to his technician, Karl Tempel.

<sup>115</sup> *Doegen Records Web Project: Irish Dialect Sound Recordings 1928-31*, Royal Irish Academy & Digital Humanities Observatory, accessed 6 September 2022, <https://doegen.ie>.

<sup>116</sup> Ní Bhaoill, *Ulster Gaelic Voices*, 42-43.

<sup>117</sup> *Doegen Records Web Project: Irish Dialect Sound Recordings 1928-31*, Royal Irish Academy & Digital Humanities Observatory, accessed 6 September 2022, <https://doegen.ie>.

<sup>118</sup> Ó Duibhín, 'Eoin Ó Cianáin (1857-1937)', Creggan, Carrickmore, Co Tyrone', *Canamhaintí Chúige Uladh: Scéim na bPlátaí Doegen 1931: Liosta na gCainteoirí Ultacha*, accessed 26 September 2022, <https://www3.smo.uhi.ac.uk/oduibhin/doegen/ocianain.htm>

He undoubtedly attended some of the recording sessions as he knew many of the speakers and may have been involved in chaperoning them in Belfast.<sup>119</sup>

### Recordings by RTÉ

As a member of Radio Éireann Mobile Recording Unit, Proinsias Ó Conluain (1919-2013), a native of Benburb,<sup>120</sup> recorded several of Muintir Luinigh's last native Irish speakers during February 1951.<sup>121</sup> He and Dermot Maguire, his driver-cum-sound engineer, established their 'base' at the residence of John McCullagh of Glenhull. Their mission was to 'talk to the last of the Irish-speakers and to compile a number of programmes in the Irish language.'<sup>122</sup> Their original sound recordings, made on acetate discs, are preserved in the archives of RTÉ, and have been digitised and subsequently broadcast by Proinsias Ó Conluain, Ian Lee and John Bowman in a series of programmes on RTÉ and Raidió na Gaeltachta.<sup>123</sup>

### Recordings by Pádraig Ó Baoighill and Gary Pentland

Pádraig Ó Baoighill conducted a series of interviews with master-craftsman and *seanchaí* Pádraig Fheidhlimí (Padaí Láidir) Mac Culadh (1882-1958) of Corrach an Ealta (Curraghanalt) in 1956.<sup>124</sup> Recordings and transcriptions of Padaí Láidir's

119 Ó Tuathail took care of practical arrangements such as making sure that there was a taxi to take Eoin Ó Cianáin and Jane Nic Ruairí to their lodgings in Belfast on 23 September 1931; Dublin, UCD, National Folklore Collection, Ó Tuathail Papers, Box 1, EOT 02-07-08, p.43. Ciarán Ó Duibhín is of the opinion that Ó Tuathail was the chief 'facilitator' for the Ulster aspect of the project. The other scholars who oversaw it were Séamus Ó Néill, Michael A. O'Brien and Myles Dillon.

120 Níav Gallagher, 'Ó Conluain, Proinsias,' Dictionary of Irish Biography, accessed 11 August 2022, <https://www.dib.ie/biography/o-conluain-proinsias-a10070>.

121 Proinsias Ó Conluain, 'The Last Native Irish-Speakers of Tyrone,' *Dúiche Néill: Journal of the O'Neill Country Historical Society* 4 (1989) 101-118 + maps.

122 Ó Conluain, 'The Last Native Irish-Speakers of Tyrone,' 105.

123 Examples of the RTÉ archival materials can be heard on the CD (tracks 6-11) that accompanies Pádraig Ó Baoighill's *Padaí Láidir Mac Culadh agus Gaeltacht Thír Eoghain* (Dublin: Coiscéim, 2009).

124 Ó Baoighill, *Padaí Láidir Mac Culadh*, 1. Ciarán Ó Duibhín, 'Pádraig Mhac Culadh (Pádraig Feilimidh Láidir), Curraghinalt (1882-1958),' *Cainnteoirí Dúthchais Agus Foinsí Béaloidis Gaedhilge As Oirthear Uladh: Na Speiríní: North Tyrone/South Derry/North-East Donegal*, accessed 17 October 2022, <https://www3.smo.uhi.ac.uk/oduibhin/cainnteoiri/speirini.txt>. Breandán Mag Fhinn, 'Pádraig Fhéilimí Láidir Mac Cú Uladh' in Tadhg Ó Dúshláine (ed.), *Féilscribhinn an Doibhlinigh: Irisleabhar Mhá Nuad 1997-97* (Maigh Nuad: An Sagart, 1997) 359-363.

tales are presented in Ó Baoighill's publication.<sup>125</sup> Together with his friend Conn Mac Culadh, Gary Pentland recorded an interview with Eibhlín Mháire Bhidí Uí Dhoibhlin (Ellen Devlin), who died in 1970.<sup>126</sup>

While those recordings from the 1950s and 1960s are linguistic and cultural treasures of immense value, it is the Doegen collection, coupled with the work of Ó Tuathail in Tyrone in the early 1930s, that form the bedrock of our knowledge of spoken Irish in Tyrone. In many respects, the speech of Eoin Ó Cianáin and his contemporaries embodies the Irish language as spoken in Tyrone during the second half of the nineteenth century. The folktales told by Ó Cianáin and others to Ó Tuathail provide us with a means of 'repossessing' that language.

### The Last Days of the Tyrone Gaeltacht

Séamus Ó Duilearga, head of the Irish Folklore Commission, dispatched the South Armagh folklore collector and writer, Michael J. Murphy to collect folklore in the Sperrins in December 1949. Having established his family in Glenhull, Murphy collected folklore in Muintir Luinigh and the adjacent areas on a full-time basis until May 1951. Sadly, Murphy knew little or no Irish despite being the grandson of a native speaker from South Armagh. Although, much of the material he collected had to be mediated to him through his storytellers' second language, English, he nevertheless provides us with an invaluable pen-picture of the last days of the Tyrone Gaeltacht in his moving *Tyrone Folkquest*.<sup>127</sup>

### Editions, Translations and Commentaries

The publication in 2015 of a new edition of *Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh*, with a parallel translation by Seosamh Watson, a new Introduction by Séamus Ó Catháin and folklore notes by Kelly Fitzgerald has introduced new generations of Irish speakers to the treasures of the Tyrone Gaeltacht.

Furthermore, publications such as those by Séamus Ó Catháin and Seosamh Watson have shed light on two important aspects of the last days of the Tyrone Gaeltacht – the

125 Ó Baoighill, *Padaí Láidir Mac Culadh*, CD, tracks 1-6.

126 Ó Baoighill, *Padaí Láidir Mac Culadh*, 170-180; CD, track 12.

127 Michael J. Murphy, *Tyrone Folk Quest* (Belfast, Blackstaff Press, 1973). Also, B. McCann, 'Lost- and Found, The Gaeltacht of Tír-Eoghain,' *The Irish Press*, 3 January 1951, 6.



work of field collectors and the Irish language revival movement.<sup>128</sup> Of paramount importance in re-discovering the Tyrone Gaeltacht is the work of Ciarán Ó Duibhín.<sup>129</sup> So detailed is his ground-breaking research that it brings us into the homes of the last generations of native Irish speakers in Tyrone in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

### The Dialect: An Overview

By the time Wagner visited Tyrone to conduct fieldwork for his *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects*, in October 1950, the language was in an advanced state of decay, causing him to regretfully note:

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.<sup>130</sup>

Wagner remarked that:

Ulster Irish consists of two main dialects, an East Ulster (points 65, 66, and 68)<sup>131</sup> and a Donegal dialect (points 69-86) ... East Ulster Irish shows stronger affinities to Scottish Gaelic and Manx than does Donegal Irish; but some eastern Donegal points have a few typical East Ulster features (...).<sup>132</sup>

128 Séamas Ó Catháin, 'Conraitheoir Connachtach in Ultaibh (1906-1912)' in Ailbhe Ó Corráin, Fionntán de Brún & Maxim Fomin (eds.), *Scotha Cennderca cen On: A Festschrift for Séamus Mac Mathúna* (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2020) 393-404. See also Séamas Ó Catháin & Seosamh Watson, 'Bréagaí Éireann / The Great Liar of Ireland and An Crann as Éirinn / "The Beam" from Ireland: Two Munterloney Folktales', *Béaloideas* 85 (2017) 143-194.

129 Ciarán Ó Duibhín, 'Gaedhlig Oirthear Uladh', accessed 9 November 2022, [https://www3.smo.uhi.ac.uk/oduibhin/index.htm#ulaidh\\_thoir](https://www3.smo.uhi.ac.uk/oduibhin/index.htm#ulaidh_thoir).

130 Wagner, 'A Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects', *Lochlann* 1 (1958) 9-48: 32. Presumably, Wagner was referring to the province of Ulster except Donegal. For the purposes of this book, the study published by Gearóid Stockman and Wagner in 1963 and based on Wagner's visit to Tyrone in October 1950, has been invaluable.

131 Point 65 = Omeath, county Louth; Point 66 = Muintir Luinigh & Tearmann Mhig Uirc, county Tyrone; Point 68 = Inis Eoghain, (Inishowen), county Donegal.

132 Heinrich Wagner, 'A Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects', *Lochlann* 1 (1958) 9-48: 32.

### Some Personal Reflections

In concluding this study, one is struck by the dearth of material from the West Tyrone Gaeltacht. The few extant recordings of that dialect are due to the work of Wilhelm Doegen and Karl Tempel. One can only wonder wistfully what jewels of story-telling genius Ó Tuathail might have discovered in the countryside that stretches from Dromore to Aghyaran.<sup>133</sup>

As noted above, the last fluent native speaker of Tyrone Irish was probably Johnny Bán Mac Giolla Uidhir (d. 1972) of Muine na Míol, Greencastle. I was fortunate enough to encounter several people in Muintir Luinigh and Tearmann Mhig Uirc who could recite fragments of prayers and recall individual words and phrases in Irish during the late 1980s.<sup>134</sup> They represented the end of a line that extended seamlessly back through the mists of time to at least the fifth-century scribes of the Ogam Stone of Achadh Scríobach in Muintir Luinigh. To quote John Montague:

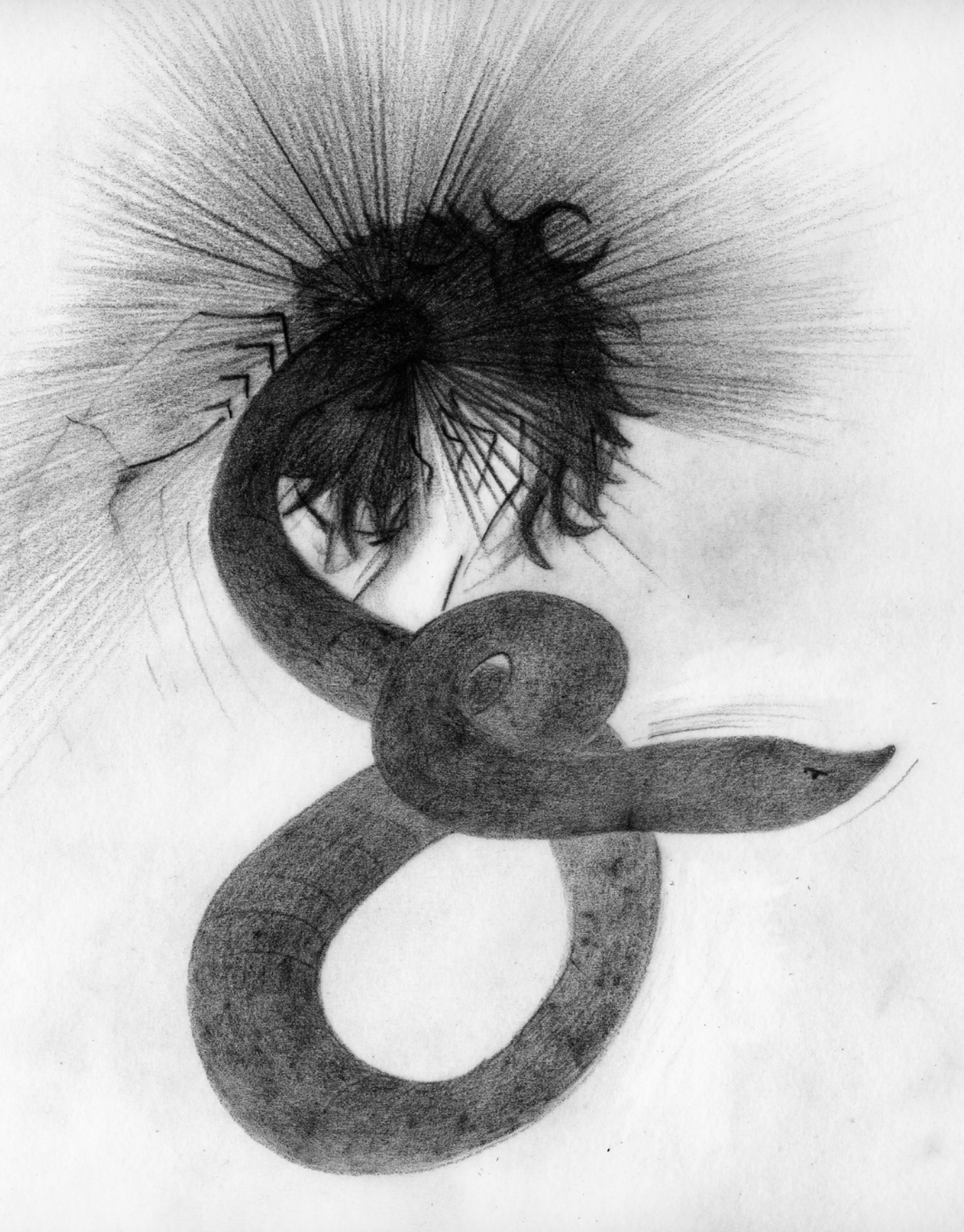
Out to the pale Sperrins.  
'I like to look across,' said  
Barney Horisk leaning on his *sleán*  
'and think of all the people  
who have bin.'<sup>135</sup>

We are indebted to Éamonn Ó Tuathail and Conn Mhac an Ghirr for allowing us into the world into which Barney Horisk was peering.

133 Correspondence between Éamonn Ó Tuathail and the Parish Priest of Aghyaran suggests that the former had intended to visit that district. However, the visit never seems to have taken place.

134 See, for example, Peter Smith [Peadar Mac Gabhann] & Francis Clarke, *Songs from the Sperrins*, CD 1, Track 7, 'John (Mici Frainc) Tracey discusses singing in Irish'.

135 John Montague, *The Rough Field* (Winston-Salem, N. C.: Wake Forest Press, 1972; 1989) 34.



## Editorial Policy

### Layout

The text of each story is laid out on the left page as it was presented by Éamonn Ó Tuathail in his original 1933 edition; a revised edition of that text is presented on the right page. Line numbers have been inserted for ease of reference.

There are seven categories of substantive changes to Ó Tuathail's editions: the provision of supplementary text; the omission of redundant text; the provision of alternative text; the alteration of the punctuation; the regularisation of the spelling system and conventions; the rejection of dialectal forms which would now be unintelligible to all but the oldest native speakers of North Donegal Irish in favour of more readily comprehensible forms; and editorial emendation. Ó Tuathail's practice of printing English loan-words in italics has been retained here. A comprehensive guide to my editorial interventions is presented in Appendix 2.

### Supplementary Text

The use of square brackets indicates that supplementary text has been supplied by Ó Tuathail that did not form part of his original transcription. An example occurs at III.17 where he transcribes *Bhí práinn ar an fhear* from Ó Cianáin. In this instance, Ó Tuathail clarifies the meaning of the phrase in question by supplying to the reader / listener within square brackets a more precise reference point in the form of *rí* 'king' instead of the ambiguous noun *fear* 'man' after the traditional scribal abbreviation *.i.* for *eadhon* 'that is (to say)'. Thus, Ó Tuathail prints: *Bhí práinn ar an fhear* [*.i. an rí*]. His provision of extra text has been adhered to in every instance except one: [*lá ar n-a bháireach*] II.156-157.

I have provided further clarification in the present edition by using additional sets of square brackets. One example is at III.18-19: [*Nuair a tháinig siad*], *chuaigh sé chuig an | fhear is sine* [*agus deir sé*]. By provision of these few extra words the flow of the story is sustained.

Square brackets indicate the insertion of the relative particle *a* 'that, which, who' as in the example *le haghaidh na díge* [*a*] *bhí i bhfogas don toigh* (III.84-85) 'for the drain / ditch that was close to the house'. This particle is often weakly pronounced and



subject to elision with a preceding or following vowel in spoken Irish. It is therefore frequently omitted by Ó Tuathail. In this edition, however, it has been restored to enhance the reader’s understanding of the text.

**Redundant Text**

In a few instances, a word has been omitted from the edition where it was felt to be redundant. An example is at *Gabhaigí uilig chuig a leithéid seo (a) | dh’fhear amárach ar féasta* (III.9-10). Such editorial omissions have been indicated by parentheses.

**Alternative Text**

In the case of this edition, where a pronoun or an ambiguous noun has been replaced by the relevant noun or a more precise phrase for the sake of disambiguation, provision of that specifying noun or phrase has been highlighted by an asterisk before it and after it. One example is the replacement of *arsa seisean* ‘said he’ (I.22) with *arsa \*an fear a bhí ag moladh na mná\** ‘said the man who was praising the woman’ (I.22).

**Punctuation**

The punctuation that was used by Ó Tuathail in writing down these stories has been retained in the first two stories in our collection. The third story is characterised by very long sentences that consist of many clauses that are linked by the conjunction *agus*. In the present edition, such long sentences have been broken down into a series of shorter sentences. An example is given below. Such changes to punctuation have been kept to a minimum.

**Ó Tuathail**

*Bhí rí insa tír seo i bhfad ó shoin, agus bhí triúr mac aige, agus rachadh na mic i measc na còrsan air ais agus air aghaidh, agus bheadh siad i measc na haois’ óga, agus gheanfadh siad damhsa agus cuideachta a’s cach a’n rud, agus gheód siad cuireadh thiar a’s a-bus air féasta.*

**Revised Edition**

*Bhí rí insa tír seo i bhfad ó shin, agus bhí triúr mac aige. Agus rachadh na mic i measc na gcomharsan ar ais agus ar aghaidh, agus bheadh siad i measc na haoise óige. Agus dhéanfadh siad damhsa agus cuideachta is gach aon rud. Agus gheobhadh siad cuireadh thiar is abhus ar féasta.*

In one instance, III.38-39, commas, which were used by Ó Tuathail to enclose the storyteller’s aside, have been replaced by em dashes.

**Spelling System and Spelling Conventions**

To reflect the indigenous dialect, Ó Tuathail spelled many words according to his own system which he explained in a brief note that precedes his Glossary.<sup>136</sup> Such spellings have been rendered into an approximation of the *Caighdeán Oifigiúil* (The Official Standard) in this edition where they do not affect the representation of the dialect.<sup>137</sup>

As Ó Tuathail discovered, editing traditional oral literature is the scholarly equivalent of walking a tightrope: on the one hand the editor desires to represent the authentic voice of the storyteller, while on the other hand, he or she, simultaneously wishes to make the subject matter of the storyteller as accessible to as wide an audience as is possible. Objectivity and consistency in editorial practice are difficult to achieve under such circumstances.

The present work has been guided as far as possible by four principles. Firstly, where the *Caighdeán Oifigiúil* (henceforth abbreviated to ‘CO’) conveys adequately the voice of the storyteller it has been used. Thus, for example, the relative particle, which is barely noticeable in everyday speech, has been restored in square brackets.

Secondly, where the CO fails to adequately convey the voice of the speaker in terms of form, then the dialectal form has been preferred. Thus, for example, *toigh* has been used instead of *teach* in the nominative singular.<sup>138</sup> Retention of *toigh* in this instance is significant as it exemplifies the links between Tyrone Irish and Scottish Gaelic.

Thirdly, where a form is encountered that would have been common in the early twentieth century Ulster Gaeltacht but is now only intelligible to a small number of elderly native speakers in north Donegal, it has been eschewed in favour of more common alternatives. Thus, for example, the comparative construction *na ba mhó* has been rejected in favour of *níba mhó*, which would in any case have been perfectly intelligible to Ó Cianáin in his own day.

My fourth editorial principle has had to grapple with the thorny issue of historically correct forms that were inherited by Tyrone Irish from the Classical period (1200-1650), but which are now obsolescent in all spoken dialects. One of the most notable

136 SML (1933) 197 = SML (2015; 2016) 302.

137 *Caighdeán Oifigiúil* is henceforth abbreviated to CO.

138 This practice highlights at least one inconsistency: the use of old nominative *ceann* instead of the historical dative *cionn*, which supplanted *ceann* in Ulster even where the syntax traditionally required the historical nominative. Learners of Modern Irish in Ulster, however, are generally taught to pronounce *ceann* as *cionn*.

examples of these is the form *fogh* for *faigh* ('get!'). A small number of such forms have been retained and elucidated for easy comprehension by a footnote.

Editorial Emendation

A very small number of grammatical emendations have been made. Examples are given below:

| Ó Tuathail's Text | Caighdeán Oifigiúil | Edition                |
|-------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| na còrsan         | na gcomharsan       | na gcomharsan (III.2)  |
| na haois' óga     | na haoise óige      | na haoise óige (III.4) |

Rationale for the Textual Notes

The 'Textual Notes' provide a key to the kind of language used by Ó Cianáin and his fellow Tyrone storytellers in 1930. The notes explain Ó Tuathail's editorial decisions within the context of the systematic study of Tyrone Irish conducted by Heinrich Wagner and Gearóid Stockman in the 1960s, which in turn was based on field-recordings made by Wagner in October 1950.<sup>139</sup> Much of the material that Wagner collected, especially that garnered from Peadar Joe Ó hEachadha<sup>140</sup> of Creagán constituted point number 66 on Wagner's *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects*.<sup>141</sup>

Six principal speakers were interviewed by Wagner in 1950: Peadar Joe Ó hEachadha, 84 years of age, An Creagán (Creggan);<sup>142</sup> Seán Ó Cairealláin, 60 + years of age, Gleann Caol, An Chrannóg (Cranagh);<sup>143</sup> Jane Nic Ruairí, c. 60 years of age, Gleann Leirge (Glenlark);<sup>144</sup> Ellen Mary Bhidí Ní Dhoibhlin, Gleann Leirge;<sup>145</sup> Peadar

139 Stockman and Wagner, 'A Study of Tyrone Irish', *Lochlann* 3 (1965) 43-236.  
140 Peadar Joe's surname is given as Ó hEachadha by Éamonn Ó Tuathail, *SML* (2015) xlix. The surname was pronounced [ə ha:u]; see Stockman and Wagner, 'A Study of Tyrone Irish', *Lochlann* 3 (1965) 43-236: 46.  
141 Heinrich Wagner, *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1958-1969), 4 vols. Volume 1 was co-edited with Colm Ó Baoill.  
142 Peadar Joe Ó hEachadha was one of Wagner's main sources of information concerning Tyrone Irish for volume 1 of *The Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects* (1958).  
143 On this speaker, see Ó Baoighill, *Padaí Láidir Mac Culadh agus Gaeltacht Thír Eoghain* (Dublin: Coiscéim, 2009) 243-55. See also accompanying CD, tracks 13 & 14 for a second recording of Ó Cairealláin.  
144 See Ó Baoighill, *Padaí Láidir Mac Culadh agus Gaeltacht Thír Eoghain*, 181-185. See also accompanying CD, tracks 6 & 7. Jane Nic Ruairí died in 1962.  
145 Ibid, 170-177. See also accompanying CD, track 12.

Ó Brolcháin, c. 75 years of age, Gleann Leirge;<sup>146</sup> and Pádraig Láidir Mac Culadh, c. 65 years of age, Alt an Chamchosaigh (Altacamcosy).<sup>147</sup> Wagner and Stockman published in 1965 an overview of the former's research in *Lochlann*, a Scandinavian journal of Celtic Studies.<sup>148</sup>

A further reference work of significance is a booklet entitled *Sgéul fa Bheatha Agus Pháis ár d-Tighearna agus ár Slánuightheóra, Íosa Críost, le h-ághaidh úsáide na n-Ulltach a n-Doire agus a d-Tír Eoghain, an a d-teangaidh cuigeadhaigh féin* ['The Story of the Life and Passion of Our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, for the use of the Ulster people in Derry and Tyrone in the language of their own province'], which was published by Gudmhain & a Chomh-Chuideacht at 79 Marlborough Street, Dublin in 1849 for the Reverend Roibeard Ua Cionga (Robert King), curate of St. Anne's Church in the Sixtowns in the parish of Ballinascreen, county Derry. This booklet consists of a preface of 11 pages and a text of 24 pages and measures only 9 x 14 cms. Breandán Ó Buachalla could only locate one copy of this publication in 1969 when he presented the results of his linguistic analysis of that text in an article entitled 'Nótaí ar Ghaeilge Dhoire agus Thír Eoghain'.<sup>149</sup>

Today scholars also have the benefit of being able to draw on more recent studies of Ulster Irish dialect materials such as Noel Hamilton's *The Irish of Tory* (1974), Colm Ó Baoill's *Contributions to a Comparative Study of Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic* (1978), Leslie Lucas's *Grammar of Ros Goill Irish, Co. Donegal* (1979), Heinrich Wagner's *Gaeilge Theilinn* (1979), Seosamh Watson's edition of *Mac na Míchomhairle* (1979), Cathair Ó Dochartaigh's *Dialects of Ulster Irish* (1987), and Malachy McKenna's edition of *The Spiritual Rose* (2001). In addition, Art Hughes has provided us with a valuable survey of Ulster Irish dialects in *Stair na Gaeilge* (1994). These and other resources enable us to gain a better impression of the similarities and differences between the Irish dialect of Mid- and North Tyrone and the dialects that were once spoken in other parts of the north of Ireland. Constraints of space and time have meant that the textual notes have focused mainly on two points of comparison: the Donegal dialects and Scottish Gaelic. In

146 See Ó Baoighill, *Padaí Láidir agus Gaeltacht Thír Eoghain*, 187-193.  
147 Ibid. For a sound recording of Padaí Láidir, see accompanying CD, tracks 1-4.  
148 See Stockman and Wagner, 'A Study of Tyrone Irish', *Lochlann* 3 (1965) 43-236. My textual notes make constant reference to their work.  
149 Breandán Ó Buachalla, 'Nótaí ar Ghaeilge Dhoire agus Thír Eoghain', *Éigse* 13, No. 4 (1969-1970) 249-78.

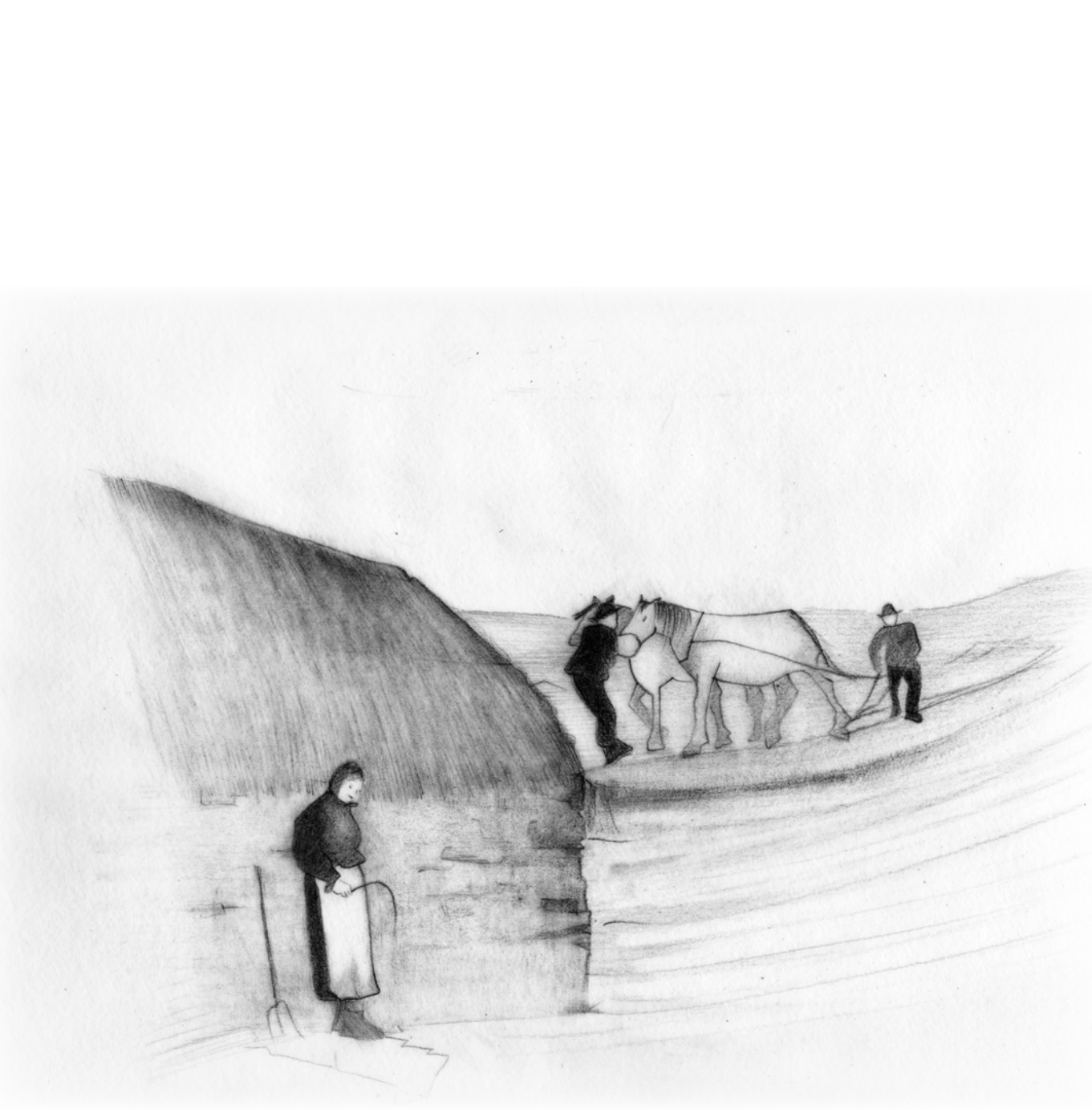
conclusion, it is worth recalling the words of Colm Ó Baoill in his discussion on the ‘Gaelic Continuum’:

Learners of Gaelic, Irish or Scottish, nowadays tend to learn ‘central’ dialects, so that Irish and Scottish Gaelic are usually treated as two distinct languages (these ‘central’ dialects not being mutually intelligible), but the reality of the traditional living dialects may suggest that we are still dealing with a single language, Gaelic, which has many dialects.<sup>150</sup>

The present work, I believe, confirms the insightfulness of Ó Baoill’s comments.

150 Colm Ó Baoill, ‘The Gaelic Continuum’, *Éigse* 32 (2000) 121-134: 121.

| Concordance                               |                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|-------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| This Edition (2023)                       | Éamonn Ó Tuathail, <i>Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh</i> (Dublin: Irish Folklore Institute, 1933) | Éamonn Ó Tuathail, <i>Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh</i> . Translated by Seosamh Watson (Dublin: Comhairle Bhéaloideas Éireann, 2015; reprinted 2016). | Source                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| I. An Fear a Raibh an Bhean Dheas aige    | XIV. ‘An Fear a Robh an Bhean Dheas aige’, pages 53-55.                                     | XIV. ‘An Fear a Robh an Bhean Dheas aige’, original Irish text and English translation, pages 80-83.                                             | Collected by Éamonn Ó Tuathail from Eoin Ó Cianáin, 27 July 1930.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| II. Brian Bréagach                        | XX (a). ‘Brian Bréagach’, pages 78-83.                                                      | XX (A), ‘Brian Bréagach’, original Irish text and English translation, pages 116-123.                                                            | Collected by Conn Mhac an Ghirr from an unidentified source in Carrickmore.<br><br>Mhac an Ghirr’s ‘phonetic’ transcription of <i>Brian Bréagach</i> is reprinted in <i>SML</i> (2015), Appendix 1, 317-319. The same text was published in conventional Irish orthography in <i>An tUltach</i> 3, No. 5 (1926) 6. |
| III. An Dóigh a bhFuair Loch Dearg a Ainm | XXXVII. ‘An Dóigh a bhFuair Loch Dearg a Ainm’, pages 111-115.                              | XXXVII, ‘An Dóigh a bhFuair Loch Dearg a Ainm’, original Irish text and English translation, pages 170-175.                                      | Collected by Éamonn Ó Tuathail from Eoin Ó Cianáin, 31 December 1929.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |





**An Fear a Raibh an  
Bhean Dheas aige**

XIV. AN FEAR A ROBH AN BHEAN  
DHEAS AIGE

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Bhí fear air a' bhaile s'againne agus bhí bean dheas aige. Shaoil se nach robh bean air bith co deas léithe ná co maith, agus bhead se i gcônuí dá moladh.                                                                                                         | 1  |
| Bhí sé a' treabh' air a'n iúl le fear, agus bhí se i gcônuí ag ársú dó bha'n mhraoi mhaith a bhí aige.                                                                                                                                                             | 5  |
| A'n lá amháin, a's bhí lá fuar ionn, a's thionnta' se na caiple isteach goirid agus thug sé air mhullach carraice iad. Bhris se cáil do na húmachaí, agus chuir se na caiple air seachran.                                                                         |    |
| "Druid do bhéal", arsa 'n fear, arsa seisean, "Agus ná hainmnigh do bhean nas mó," arsa seisean "go mbe' muid réidh a' treabh'. Tá mo chroí briste ag éisteach leat bha'n mhraoi. 'Á mbeifeá marbh," arsa seisean, "bhead sí pósta faoi sheachtain ó inniú aríst." | 10 |
| "Cha phósfad sí duine air bith," arsa seisean, "fora dúir' sí liom, dá mbéinn marbh, nach gcuirfead sí Rí na Fraince in m'áit."                                                                                                                                    | 15 |
| "Well, cuirfe mise mo ghearran a gheall i n-aghaidhs do ghearrain-sa, dá mbeifeá marbh air maidin, go bpósfad sí."                                                                                                                                                 | 20 |
| "Cuirim leat," arsa seisean.<br>Rinn siad a' margan innsin — an dá ghearran i n-aghaidhs a chéile.                                                                                                                                                                 |    |
| "Goidé mar gheanfas me innsin ['un] a dhéanamh                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 25 |

I. AN FEAR A RAIBH AN BHEAN  
DHEAS AIGE

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Bhí fear ar an bhaile s'againne agus bhí bean dheas aige. Shíl sé nach raibh bean ar bith comh deas léithe ná comh maith, agus bheadh sé i gcónaí dá moladh.                                                                                                                 | 1  |
| Bhí sé ag treabhadh ar aon iúl le fear, agus bhí sé i gcónaí ag ársú dó fán mhnaoi mhaith a bhí aige.                                                                                                                                                                        | 5  |
| Aon lá amháin, is bhí lá fuar ann, is thiontaigh sé na caiple isteach gairid agus thug sé ar mhullach carraige iad. Bhris sé cáil de na húmachaí, agus chuir sé na caiple ar seachrán.                                                                                       |    |
| "Druid do bhéal", arsa an fear [eile], arsa seisean. "Agus ná hainmnigh do bhean níos mó," arsa seisean "go mbeidh muid réidh ag treabhadh. Tá mo chroí briste ag éisteach leat fán mhnaoi. Dá mbeifeá marbh," arsa seisean, "bheadh sí pósta faoi sheachtain ó inniu arís." | 10 |
| "Cha phósfadh sí duine ar bith," arsa seisean, "nó dúirt sí liom, dá mbeinn marbh, nach gcuirfeadh sí Rí na Fraince in m'áit."                                                                                                                                               | 15 |
| "Bhuel, cuirfidh mise mo ghearrán de gheall in aghaidh do ghearráinse, dá mbeifeá marbh ar maidin, go bpósfadh sí."                                                                                                                                                          | 20 |
| "Cuirim leat," arsa *an fear a bhí ag moladh na mná*.<br>Rinne siad an margadh ansin — an dá ghearrán i n-aghaidh a chéile.                                                                                                                                                  |    |
| "Cad é mar [a] dhéanfas mé ansin [chun] a dhéanamh                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 25 |

amach?” arsa 'n fear seo a bhí a' moladh na mrá.

“Gabh amach ar maidin, cosnochaí,” arsa seisean, “agus buin ultach luachra, agus tar isteach agus glac tinneas imlinn, agus ná bíodh léas ar bith ort,” arsa seisean, “go dtí go bhfuí tú bás leis an ócaid,” arsa seisean, “agus beidh mise ag goil thart fa’n áit, agus tífe mur mar rachas na graithí sul a mbeidh deireadh thart.”

Air maidin lá ar na bháireach d'írig an fear seo a bheadh i gcônuí a' moladh na mrá, agus fuaidh se amach agus bhuin sé ultach ceart luachra agus é cosnochtuí, agus thainic se isteach ansin 'uig an mhraoi.

“Ó,” arsa seisean “tá deireadh liom air deireadh.”

“Ó, air ghrádh Dé!” arsa sise.

“Tá. Tá tinneas imlinn orm, agus fuair mé fuacht in mo thaobh astuigh, agus creidim go maith nach bhfóim thaire leis.”

Thosuigh sí ar théidheadh bainne mhilis dó agus a chur éaduí the air, agus cach a'n seórt dá ndéanfadh sí, bhí a'n léas amháin nas measa ná an cionn eile. Air deireadh luigh se siar agus fuair se bás uaithe. Fuaidh sí amach agus fuaidh sí ar mhullach an chladh is uirde bhí fa'n toigh, agus leig sí grág aisti chluinfeá thall insa Fhrainc, agus bhí an fear seo ag goil thart

amach?” arsa an fear seo a bhí ag moladh na mná.

“Gabh amach ar maidin cosnochtaithe,” arsa seisean,  
“agus bain ultach luachra, agus tar isteach agus  
glac tinneas imlinn, agus ná bíodh leigheas ar bith ort,”  
arsa seisean, “go dtí go bhfuighidh tú bás leis an ócáid,  
arsa seisean, “agus beidh mise ag gabháil thart fán áit,  
agus tchífimid mar [a] rachas na gnaithí sula mbeidh  
deireadh thart.”

Ar maidin lá arna mhárach d'éirigh an fear seo a bheadh i gcónaí ag moladh na mná, agus chuaigh sé amach agus bhain sé ultach ceart luachra agus é cosnochtaithe, agus tháinig sé isteach ansin chuig an mhnaoi.

“Ó,” arsa seisean “tá deireadh liom ar deireadh.”

“Ó, ar ghrá Dé!” arsa sise.

“Tá. Tá tinneas imlinn orm, agus fuair mé fuacht in mo thaobh istigh, agus creidim go maith nach bhfoghaim<sup>151</sup> thaire leis.”

Thosaigh sí ar théamh bainne mhilis dó agus a chur éadaigh the air, agus gach aon seort dá ndéanfadh sí, bhí aon leigheas amháin níos measa ná an ceann eile. Air deireadh luigh sé siar agus fuair sé bás uaithi. Chuaigh sí amach agus chuaigh sí ar mhullach an chlaí is airde [a] bhí fán toigh, agus lig sí grág aisti [a] chluinfeá thall insa Fhrainc, agus bhí an fear seo ag gabháil thart

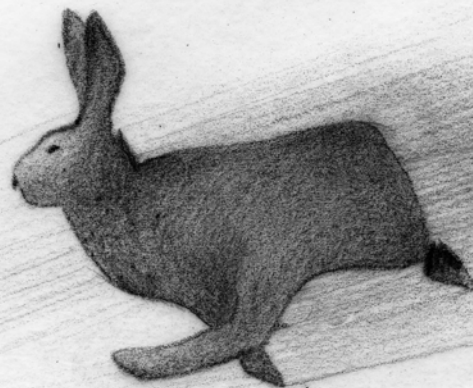
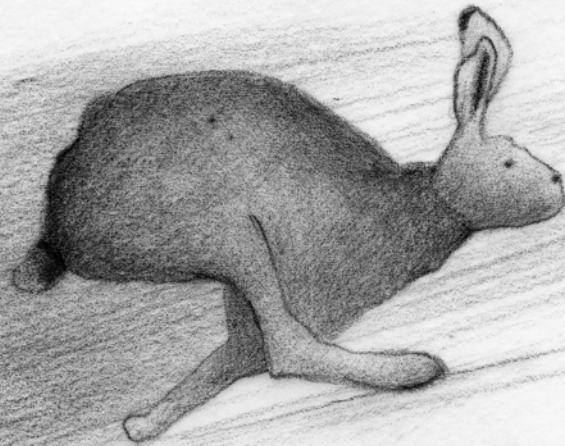
151 = bhfaghaim.

|                                                                                                                                                                              |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| agus bhí an beathach sa pháirc aige, má b'fhíor, ag<br>goil a threabh', agus thainic se aníos.                                                                               |    |
| “Goidé seo atá contrailte air maidin leat?” Shaoil<br>mise go robh an fear seo amuigh sa pháirc a' feitheamh<br>orm.”                                                        | 55 |
| “Ó, chan fheic tú a chaoche sa pháirc e. Tá m'fhear<br>breá-sa marbh.”                                                                                                       |    |
| “Ó, tá sin dona go leór,” arsa seisean. “Cha<br>dtiocfadh leis sin a bheith. Fear a bhí ag treabh' ar<br>a'n iúl liom tránóna inné!”                                         | 60 |
| “Ó, <i>well</i> , tá sin mar sin,” arsa sise.                                                                                                                                |    |
| Thainic siad isteach innsin. D'amhairc a' fear a<br>bheith marbh go siúrailte. Bhí leath-phionta póitín<br>leis agus thug se gloine de duithe. Chaoin sí bha'n<br>fhear.     | 65 |
| “Goidé gheanfas mise?” adearfad sí.                                                                                                                                          |    |
| “Ó, bí 'do thost, a bhean,” arsa seisean. “Ar<br>ndóighe, 'á mbeadh a' sgéal seo thart”, arsa seisean,<br>“d'fhéadfá pósadh aríst agus fear na b'fheárr ná<br>eisean fháil.” | 70 |
| “Ó, ca hé ghlacfadh mise?” adeir sí.                                                                                                                                         |    |
| “Ó, ní'l a fhios aghad,” adeir seisean, “nach ndéanfá<br>hín agus mise suas cleamhnas,” arsa seisean, “ach<br>gan a' dadaí leigint ort hín go dtí go mbeadh se curtha.”      |    |
| “Cha bheadh sin co holc,” arsa sise.                                                                                                                                         | 75 |
| “Ó, th'anam 'on diabhal, a bhean,” arsa'n fear<br>a bhí marbh, “agus mé mo ghearran a chaill a gheall<br>ort!”                                                               | 78 |

|                                                                                                                                                                              |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| agus bhí an beathach sa pháirc aige, má b'fhíor, ag<br>gabháil a threabhadh, agus tháinig sé aníos.                                                                          |    |
| “Cad é seo atá contráilte ar maidin leat?” arsa seisean. “Shíl<br>mise go raibh an fear seo amuigh sa pháirc ag feitheamh<br>orm.”                                           | 55 |
| “Ó, chan fheic tú a choíche sa pháirc é. Tá m'fhear<br>breá-sa marbh.”                                                                                                       |    |
| “Ó, tá sin dona go leor,” arsa *an fear*. Cha<br>dtiocfadh leis sin a bheith. Fear a bhí ag treabhadh ar<br>aon iúl liom tráthnóna inné!”                                    | 60 |
| “Ó, bhuel, tá sin mar sin,” arsa sise.                                                                                                                                       |    |
| Tháinig siad isteach ansin. D'amharc an fear a<br>bheith marbh go siúráilte. Bhí leathphionta poitín<br>leis agus thug sé gloine de duithe. Chaoin sí fán<br>fhear.          | 65 |
| “Cad é [a] dhéanfas mise,” a déarfadh sí.                                                                                                                                    |    |
| “Ó, bí i do thost, a bhean,” arsa an fear. “Ar<br>ndóigh, dá mbeadh an scéal seo thart, arsa seisean,<br>d'fhéadfá pósadh arís agus fear níb fhearr ná<br>eisean [a] fháil.” | 70 |
| “Ó, cé hé [a] ghlacfadh mise?” a deir sí.                                                                                                                                    |    |
| “Ó, níl a fhios agat,” a deir seisean. “Nach ndéanfá<br>féin agus mise suas cleamhnas,” arsa seisean, “ach<br>gan aon dadaí a ligint ort féin go dtí go mbeadh sé curtha.”   |    |
| “Cha bheadh sin comh holc,” arsa sise.                                                                                                                                       | 75 |
| “Ó, t'anam don diabhal, a bhean,” arsa an fear<br>a bhí marbh, “agus mé mo ghearrán a chaill de gheall<br>ort!”                                                              | 78 |



# Brian Bréagach



XX (A). BRIAN BRÉAGACH

|                                                           |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|----|
| I bhfad ó shoin 'air a bhí an díbir' air na Gaeil         | 1  |
| 'n na sléibhte agus 'n na ngleannta, bhí fear a dtóirfí   |    |
| Síomus 'ac Ruairí air, agus thainic se ó Chondae Árd-     |    |
| mhach' 'un na tíre seo, — e hín agus a bhean, agus triúr  |    |
| mac. Bhí duine do na mic a dtóirfí Peadar air, duine      | 5  |
| a dtóirfí Eóin air, agus duine a dtóirfí Brian air — an   |    |
| fear is óige. Thainic siad in éis na hoíche go háit       |    |
| a dtugadh Loch Láirc air, thall innsin i nGleann          |    |
| Aichle. Agus 'air a thóg Síomus a chionn air maidin       |    |
| ó chúl torpog fiach, d'amhairc se thart air, agus dúirt   | 10 |
| se:                                                       |    |
| “Tá tír mhór ámaid innseo. Tá tobar maith fíor-           |    |
| uisge innseo. Cuirfe muid suas toigh innseo i bhfogus     |    |
| don tobar sa dóigh a mbeidh uisge go leór againn dar      |    |
| gcuid eallaigh agus muc insa tsamhradh.”                  | 15 |
| Chuir siad suas toigh agus bhris siad isteach talamh,     |    |
| agus 'air a d'írigh siad 'uige saebhreas, chuir siad suas |    |
| dhá thoigh eile — toigh acu do Pheadar agus toigh do      |    |
| Eóin. Fuaidh cach a'n duine acu 'un a dtoighe hín         |    |
| agus d'fhág siad Brian, an mac is óige, i sean-toigh an   | 20 |
| athara. 'Air a d'éag an t-athir 's an mháthir, pósadh     |    |
| Brian air bhean mhór as Condae Árdmhach. N'air            |    |
| a bhí se tamallt pósta, reath se síos sa tsaol, agus      |    |
| cha robh se ábalta air a' cíos a dhíol. N'air a bhí       |    |
| cíos sheacht mblian air, thainic an tiarna 'uige, agus    | 25 |
| d'fhiafruigh de goidé bhí se a' goil a dheanamh leis      |    |
| fa'n chíos.                                               | 27 |

II. BRIAN BRÉAGACH

|                                                                   |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| I bhfad ó shin nuair a bhí an díbirt ar na Gaeil                  | 1  |
| chun na sléibhte agus chun na ngleannta, bhí fear a dtabharfaí    |    |
| Séamus Mac Ruairí air, agus tháinig sé ó Chondae Ard              |    |
| Mhacha chun na tíre seo — é féin, agus a bhean, agus triúr        |    |
| mac. Bhí duine de na mic a dtabharfaí Peadar air, duine           | 5  |
| a dtabharfaí Eoin air, agus duine a dtabharfaí Brian air — an     |    |
| fear is óige. Tháinig siad in éis na hoíche go háit               |    |
| a dtugadh Loch Láirc air, thall ansin i nGleann                   |    |
| Aichle. Agus nuair a thóg Séamus a cheann ar maidin               |    |
| ó chúl torpóg fraoich, d'amharc sé thart air, agus dúirt          | 10 |
| sé:                                                               |    |
| “Tá tír mhór adhmaid anseo. Tá tobar maith fíor-                  |    |
| uisce anseo. Cuirfimid suas toigh anseo i bhfogas                 |    |
| don tobar sa dóigh a mbeidh uisce go leor againn dár              |    |
| gcuid eallaigh agus muc insa tsamhradh.”                          | 15 |
| Chuir siad suas toigh agus bhris siad isteach talamh,             |    |
| agus nuair a d'éirigh siad chuig saibhreas, chuir siad suas       |    |
| dhá thoigh eile — toigh acu do Pheadar agus toigh do              |    |
| Eoin. Chuaigh gach aon duine acu chun a dtoighe féin              |    |
| agus d'fhág siad Brian, an fear is óige, i seantoigh an           | 20 |
| athara. Nuair a d'éag an t-athair is an mháthair, pósadh          |    |
| Brian ar bhean mhór as Condae Ard Mhacha. Nuair                   |    |
| a bhí siad tamall pósta, reath sé síos sa tsaol, agus             |    |
| cha raibh Brian ábalta ar an chíos a dhíol. Nuair a bhí           |    |
| cíos sheacht mblian air, tháinig an tiarna [talaimh] chuige, agus | 25 |
| d'fhiafraigh de cad é [a] bhí sé ag gabháil a dhéanamh leis       |    |
| fán chíos.                                                        | 27 |

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| “Tá muc reamhar agham innseo, agus ’air a mhuir-feas me í, gheó tú a luach.”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |    |
| “Gheanfa sin graithe go leór, a dhuine bhoicht,”<br>arsa’n tiarna.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 30 |
| Fuaidh se air shiúl, agus d’fhan se ar shiúl trí seachtaine gur chuala se gur mharbh Brian an mhuc. Thainic se air ais agus dúirt se le Brian [an cíos a thóirt dó.]                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 35 |
| “Írigh,” arsa Brian le n-a mhraoi, “agus fógh an t-airgead a thug me duid le fágailt i dtaisgidh go dtóirfe muid don duine uasal seo e.”                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |    |
| “Níl se agam-sa,” arsa’n bhean. “Tá se agat hín.”<br>“Írigh,” arsa Brian, “agus fógh an t-airgead nó is daor a cheannachas tú e.”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 40 |
| “Chan fhuil se agam” arsa sise. “Agat hín atá se.”<br>Ghlac Brian corruí, agus thóg se sgean agus sháith se an sgean i n-áprun na mrá, an áit a robh mála mór na muice agus an fhuil cruinnighè ionn. Reaith an fhuil síos air an urlar, agus reaith a’ tiarna amach as a’ toigh le heagla go ngabhfaidh an dliú e hín, co maith le Brian, air shon mharbhadh na mrá. | 45 |
| D’fhan se air shiúl fada go leór innsin, gur chuala se nach robh an dadaí contrailte leis an mhraoi. Thainic se ’uige Brian aríst, agus n’air a chainic siad a’ teacht e, deir Brian leis an mhraoi:                                                                                                                                                                  | 50 |
| “Sin a’ tiarna a’ teacht, agus goidé gheanfas muid anois leis?”<br>“’N fhuil fhios agham,” arsa’n bhean.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 55 |

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| “Tá muc ramhar agam anseo, is nuair a mhuirbh-feas mé í, gheobhaidh tú a luach” [arsa Brian].                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |    |
| “Déanfaidh sin gnaithe go leor, a dhuine bhoicht,”<br>arsa an tiarna.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 30 |
| Chuaigh an *Tiarna* ar shiúl, agus d’fhan sé ar shiúl trí seachtaine gur chuala sé gur mharbh Brian an mhuc. Tháinig sé ar ais agus dúirt sé le Brian [an cíos a thabhairt dó.]                                                                                                                                                                                          | 35 |
| “Éirigh,” arsa Brian lena mhnaoi, “agus fogh <sup>152</sup> an t-airgead a thug mé duit le fágáil i dtaiscidh go dtabharfaidh muid don duine uasal seo [ar shon a chíosa] é.”                                                                                                                                                                                            |    |
| “Níl sé agamsa,” arsa an bhean. Tá sé agat féin.”<br>“Éirigh,” arsa Brian, “agus fogh an t-airgead nó is daor a cheannóchas tú é.”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 40 |
| “Chan fhuil sé agam” arsa sise. “Agat féin atá sé.”<br>Ghlac Brian corraí, agus thóg sé scian agus sháigh sé an scian in aprún na mná, an áit a raibh mála mór na muice agus an fhuil cruinnithe ann. Reaith an fhuil síos ar an urlár, agus reaith an tiarna amach as an toigh le heagla go ngabhadh an dligheadh é féin comh maith le Brian, ar shon mharbhadh na mná. | 45 |
| D’fhan sé ar shiúl fada go leor ansin, gur chuala sé nach raibh aon dadaí contráilte leis an mhnaoi. Tháinig sé chuig Brian arís, agus nuair a chonaic siad ag teacht é, deir Brian leis an mhnaoi:                                                                                                                                                                      | 50 |
| “Sin an tiarna ag teacht, agus cad é [a] dhéanfas muid anois leis?”<br>“Níl a fhios agam,” arsa an bhean.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 55 |

152 = faigh.

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| “Tá nead ghearrfhia thall innseo,” arsa Brian, “air chroc a’ locha, agus bhearfa mise cionn acu isteach ’ugatsa, agus coinneacha me hín cionn eile, agus n’air a fhiafrachas an tiarna cá bhfuil mise, abair go bhfuil me i Sasain a’ teanamh an chíos dó, agus go gcuirfe tú a’ gearrfhia seo do mo iarraidh.” | 60       |
| Thainic a’ tiarna isteach agus d’fhiafruigh se:<br>“Cá bhfuil Brian?”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |          |
| “Tá sé i Sasain le corradh agus bliain a’ teanamh an chíos duit-se, agus maga bhfuil se aige anois duit, ’n fhuil fhios agham goidé tá se a dheanamh.”                                                                                                                                                          | 65       |
| “Goidé mar bheadh fhios agham-sa goidé tá aige Brian i Sasain,” arsa’n tiarna.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |          |
| “Tá teachtaire beag astrach innseo agham-sa,” adúirt a’ bhean, “agus cuirfe me dá iarraidh e.”                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 70       |
| Thug sí aníos gearrfhia, agus bhuail sí bos insa tóin air, [agus dúirt sí leis:]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |          |
| “Gabh agus abair le Brian a theacht ’n a’ mbaile, agus cibé airgead a’s atá aige a bheith leis, — go bhfuil an tiarna innseo ag iarraidh an chíos.”                                                                                                                                                             | 75       |
| D’imigh an gearrfhia fríd na sléibhte agus na móinte ’air a fuair sé an bealach leis. ’Air a bhí se tamallt air shiúl, thainic Brian isteach agus an gearrfhia eile leis.                                                                                                                                       |          |
| “A’ dteacha se do do iarraidh co gasta sin?” adeir a’ tiarna.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 80       |
| “Fuaidh” adeir Brian, “agus dá mba mhaith léithe gan a chur do mo iarraidh go cionn seachtaine eile bhí mé a’ goil a theacht ’n a’ mbaile, me hín, agus bheadh an cíós liom. Ach thainic an sgéal co gasta nach bhfuair mé am mo chuid <i>lying time</i> a thógailt.”                                           | 85<br>86 |

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| “Tá nead ghearrfhia thall anseo,” arsa Brian, “ar chnoc an locha, agus bhéarfaidh mise ceann acu isteach chugatsa, agus coinneochaidh mé féin ceann eile, agus nuair a fhiafróchas an tiarna cá bhfuil mise, abair go bhfuil mé i Sasain ag déanamh an chíos dó agus go gcuirfidh tú an gearrfhia seo do mo iarraidh.” | 60       |
| Tháinig an tiarna isteach ansin agus d’fhiafraigh sé:<br>“Cá bhfuil Brian?”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |          |
| “Tá sé i Sasain le corradh agus bliain ag déanamh an chíos duitse, agus mura bhfuil sé aige anois duit, níl a fhios agam cad é [a]tá sé a dhéanamh,” [arsa bean Bhriain].                                                                                                                                              | 65       |
| “Cad é mar [a] bheadh a fhios agamsa cad é [a]tá ag Brian i Sasain,” arsa an tiarna.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |          |
| “Tá teachtaire beag astrach anseo agamsa,” a dúirt an bhean, “agus cuirfidh mé dá iarraidh é.”                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 70       |
| Thug sí aníos gearrfhia, agus bhuail sí bos insa tóin air, [agus dúirt sí leis:]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |          |
| “Gabh agus abair le Brian a theacht chun an bhaile, agus cibé airgead agus atá aige a bheith leis, — go bhfuil an tiarna anseo ag iarraidh an chíos.”                                                                                                                                                                  | 75       |
| D’imigh an gearrfhia fríd na sléibhte agus na móinte nuair a fuair sé an bealach leis. Nuair a bhí sé tamall ar shiúl, tháinig Brian isteach agus an gearrfhia eile leis.                                                                                                                                              |          |
| “An dteachaigh sé do do iarraidh comh gasta sin?” a deir an tiarna.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 80       |
| “Chuaigh” a deir Brian, “agus dá mba mhaith léithe gan a chur do mo iarraidh go cionn seachtaine eile bhí mé ag gabháil a theacht chun an bhaile, mé féin, agus bheadh an cíós liom. Ach tháinig an scéal comh gasta nach bhfuair mé am mo chuid <i>lying time</i> a thógáil.”                                         | 85<br>86 |



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| “Goidé ghlacfas tú air a’ ghearrfhia?” arsa ’n tiarna.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |     |
| “Cha ghlacfainn ní mhaith,” arsa Brian.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |     |
| “Tá cíós sheacht mblian ort,” arsa’n tiarna, “agus bhearfa mé cíós na seacht mblian air an ghearrfhia.”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 90  |
| “Cha ghlacaim e,” adeir Brian, “ach má bheir tú cíós ocht mblian dû, glacfa me e. Ba mhaith liom a bheith bliain níos fuide ar aghaidh ná mo chòrsain.”                                                                                                                                                                                               |     |
| Thug an tiarna sgríbhinn air shon cíós ocht [m]blian dó, agus thug sé an gearrfhia leis ’n a’ mbaile. Thug se dá mhraoi e agus dúirt se léithe:                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 95  |
| “Tá a lán oibre agham-sa i Sasain, agus racha me anonn go bhfeicfe me goidé mar tá siad a dheanamh, agus am air bith ar maith leat-sa me theacht ’n a’ mbaile, cuir a’ gearrfhia seo do mo iarraidh. Chuir bean Bhriain a’ gearrfhia seo dá iarraidh go Sasain, agus fhad ’s a bhí muid a’ caint aig an teinidh, thainic se isteach agus Brian leis.” | 100 |
| Fuaidh a’ tiarna go Sasain, agus d’fhan sé ionn go robh se aosta críon, agus a bhean aosta críon [fost]. Air deireadh, thainic se ’n a’ mbaile agus corruí mhór air nar chuir a bhean fios air. ’Air a thainic se isteach, deir se leis an mhnaoi:                                                                                                    | 105 |
| “Goid as nar chuir tú an gearrfhia do mo iarraidh?”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 110 |
| “Chuir me an gearrfhia do do iarraidh sul a robh tú trí seachtainí air shiúl.”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |     |
| “Well, sin bab eile a bhuaile Brian bréagach orm-sa. Má tá, cha bhuaileann se cionn nios mó orm.”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |     |
| Chruinnigh se suas a chuid báillí, agus fuaidh go                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 115 |

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| “Cad é [a] ghlacfas tú ar an ghearrfhia?” arsa an tiarna.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |     |
| “Cha ghlacfainn ní mhaith,” arsa Brian.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |     |
| “Tá cíós sheacht mblian ort,” arsa an tiarna, “agus bhéarfaidh mé cíós na seacht mblian ar an ghearrfhia.”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 90  |
| “Cha ghlacaim é,” a deir Brian, “ach má bheir tú cíós ocht mblian domh, glacfaidh mé é. Ba mhaith liom a bheith bliain níos faide ar aghaidh ná mo chomharsain.”                                                                                                                                                                                                               |     |
| Thug an tiarna scríbhinn ar shon cíós ocht [m]blian dó, agus thug sé an gearrfhia leis chun an bhaile. Thug sé dá mhnaoi é agus dúirt sé léithe:                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 95  |
| “Tá a lán oibre agamsa i Sasain, agus rachaidh mé anonn go bhfeicfidh mé cad é mar [a]tá siad a dhéanamh, agus am ar bith ar maith leatsa mé [a] theacht chun an bhaile, cuir an gearrfhia seo do mo iarraidh. Chuir bean Bhriain an gearrfhia seo dá iarraidh go Sasain, agus [a] fhad is a bhí muid ag caint ag an teinidh, tháinig *an gearrfhia* isteach agus Brian leis.” | 100 |
| Chuaigh an tiarna go Sasain, agus d’fhan sé ann go raibh sé aosta críon, agus a bhean aosta críon [fosta]. Ar deireadh, tháinig sé chun an bhaile agus corraí mhór air nar chuir a bhean fios air. Nuair a tháinig sé isteach, deir sé leis an mhnaoi:                                                                                                                         | 105 |
| “Cad é as nár chuir tú an gearrfhia do mo iarraidh?”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 110 |
| “Chuir mé an gearrfhia do do iarraidh sula raibh tú trí seachtainí ar shiúl,” [arsa an bhean].                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |     |
| “Bhuel, sin bob eile a bhuaile Brian bréagach ormsa. Má tá, cha bhuaileann sé ceann níos mó orm.”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |     |
| Chruinnigh *an tiarna* suas a chuid báillí, agus chuaigh go                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 115 |

toigh Bhriain, agus thug siad Brian leófa [ceâghailte]  
ina sac fa choinne a bháú ina loch a bhí píosa maith  
air shiúl. Chuir siad a' sac air a nguailleacha, agus  
fuaidh siad fhad le toigh an leanna. D'fhág siad  
Brian insa mhála aig an doras, agus [fuaidh siad  
isteach].

Thainic fear air aghaidh agus bhuail se bárr a bhróige air a' mhála, agus deir se:

“Goidé tá innseo?”

“Ná buin dû-sa,” adeir Brian. “Mise fear atá ag  
goil go flathûnas.” 125

Goidé ghlacfá, arsa 'n fear, “a’s mise a leigint [isteach] sa mhála?”

“Cha ghlacfainn ní mhaith,” arsa Brian.

“Tá céad cionn eallaigh agham innseo air a’ tsráid  
[a bhfuil me] ag goil go Sasain leófa. Bhearfá me  
duid iad, má leigeann tú sa mhála me.”

“Cha ghlacaim iad,” arsa Brian.

“Well, tá dhá chéad punta in mo phóca nach mbíonn féim agam air ag goil an bealach sin, agus bhearfá me duid e.”

“Well, glacfa mé a’ t-airgead agus a’ t-eallach,” arsa Brian. “Sgaoil a’ córda don tsac agus leig amach me.”

Sgaoil se an córdá don tsac a's thainic Brian amach, agus chuir se fear an eallaigh isteach, agus cheâghail se an córdá air a' tsac aríst. Agus fuaidh Brian 'n a' mbaile, agus thiomail se an t-eallach leis.

'Air a thainic a' tiarna agus na báillíannú amach,  
thóg siad a' sac air a nguailleacha aríst. Chaith siad

toigh Bhriain, agus thug siad Brian leofa [ceangailte]  
i sac fá choinne a bháthadh i loch a bhí píosa maith  
ar shiúl. Chuir siad an sac ar a nguailleacha, agus  
chuaigh siad [a] fhad le toigh an leanna. D'fhág siad  
Brian insa mhála ag an doras, agus [chuaigh siad  
isteach].

Tháinig fear ar aghaidh agus bhuail sé barr a bhróige ar an mhála, agus deir sé:

“Cad é [a]tá anseo?”

“Ná bain domhsa,” a deir Brian. “Mise fear atá ag gabháil go flaithiúnas.” 125

Cad é [a] ghlacfá, arsa an fear, “as mise a ligint [isteach] sa mhála?”

“Cha ghlacfainn ní mhaith,” arsa Brian.

“Tá céad ceann eallaigh agam anseo ar an tsráid  
[a bhfuil mé] ag gabháil go Sasain leofa. Bhéarfaidh mé  
duit iad, má ligeann tú [isteach] sa mhála mé.”

“Cha ghlacaim iad,” arsa Brian.

“Bhuel, tá dhá chéad punta in mo phóca nach  
mbíonn feidhm agam air ag dul an bealach sin [dom], agus  
bhéarfaidh mé duit é.”

“Bhuel, glacfaidh mé an t-airgead agus an t-eallach,” arsa Brian. “Scaoil an córda den tsac agus lig amach mé.”

Scaoil \*an fear\* an córdá den tsac is tháinig Brian amach, agus chuir sé fear an eallaigh isteach, agus cheangail sé an córdá ar an tsac arís. Agus chuaigh Brian chun an bhaile, agus thiomáin sé an t-eallach leis.

Nuair a tháinig an tiarna agus na báillíannadh amach  
thóg siad an sac ar a nguailleacha arís. Chaith siad

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| suas e co hárd a's a thiocfadh leófa agus leigfead siad dó tuitim anuas air phionnaí shistil, agus dearfadh an fear:                                                                                                                   |     |
| “Seo dóigh fhrithir le ghoil go flathûnas.”                                                                                                                                                                                            |     |
| [N'air a bhí an fear bocht leath-mharbh acu] chaith siad isteach ina loch mhór e chois a' bhóthir, agus báitheadh e. Thainic a' tiarna 'n a' mbaile [agus é] sásta go robh se réitiste le Brian.                                       | 150 |
| N'air a fuaidh Brian 'n a' mbaile leis an eallach, thiomail se amach iad ar chroc a' locha.                                                                                                                                            | 155 |
| N'air a d'írigh Peadar agus Eóin ar maidin [lá ar n-a bháireach] agus d'amhairc siad anonn ar chroc a' locha, deir Peadar le Eóin:                                                                                                     |     |
| “I n-áit an tiarna Brian a shárú, rinn se duine de. Tá croc a' locha faluiste le eallach breac aige. Is fheárr duinn a ghoil 'uige Brian go bhfeicfe muid goidé mar fuair se an t-eallach, agus b'fhéatar go bhfuíod sinne cáil fost.” | 160 |
| Fuaidh siad 'uige Brian.                                                                                                                                                                                                               |     |
| “A Bhriain, cá bhfuair tú an t-eallach seo?” arsa siad.                                                                                                                                                                                | 165 |
| “Tá, astuigh insa loch sin,” arsa Brian, “agus bhí cionnaí i bhfad níos fheárr ionn níos fuide anonn, ach nach robh cuidiú agham-sa 'un a dtóirt amach.”                                                                               |     |
| “Rachainn-se fa chuid acu, dá bhfuínn iad,” arsa Peadar.                                                                                                                                                                               | 170 |
| “Well, tá siad astuigh sa loch sin,” arsa Brian.                                                                                                                                                                                       | 172 |

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| suas é comh hard agus a thiocfadh leofa agus ligfeadh siad dó titim anuas ar phionnaí shiostail, agus déarfadh an fear [a bhí taobh istigh den mhála]:                                                                                           |     |
| “Seo dóigh fhrithir le gabháil go flaithiúnas.”                                                                                                                                                                                                  |     |
| [Nuair a bhí an fear bocht leathmharbh acu] chaith siad isteach i loch mhór é de chois an bhóthair, agus báitheadh é. Tháinig an tiarna chun an bhaile [agus é] sásta go raibh sé réitiste le Brian.                                             | 150 |
| Nuair a chuaigh Brian chun an bhaile leis an eallach, thiomáin sé amach iad ar chnoc an locha.                                                                                                                                                   | 155 |
| Nuair a d'éirigh Peadar agus Eoin ar maidin agus d'amharc siad anonn ar chnoc an locha, deir Peadar le Eoin:                                                                                                                                     |     |
| “In áit an tiarna Brian a shárú, rinne sé duine de. Tá cnoc an locha folaiste le eallach breac aige. Is fearr dúinn a ghabháil chuig Brian go bhfeice muid cad é mar [a] fuair sé an t-eallach, agus b'fhéidir go bhfuigheadh sinne cáil fosta.” | 160 |
| Chuaigh siad chuig Brian.                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |     |
| “A Bhriain, cá bhfuair tú an t-eallach seo?” arsa siad.                                                                                                                                                                                          | 165 |
| “Tá, istigh insa loch sin,” arsa Brian, “agus bhí cinn i bhfad níos fearr ann níos faide anonn, ach nach raibh cuidiú agamsa chun a dtabhairt amach.”                                                                                            |     |
| “Rachainnse fá chuid acu, dá bhfuighinn iad,” arsa Peadar.                                                                                                                                                                                       | 170 |
| “Bhuel, tá siad istigh sa loch sin,” arsa Brian.                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 172 |

Léim Peadar isteach i lár na locha fhad a's thioctadh leis, agus n'air a bhí sé ag goil síos, agus a' t-uisge ag goil isteach 'na bhéal, — “Flub! Flub!” arsa se, 175  
'air a bhí sé dá bháú.

“Goidé deir se?” adeir Eóin.  
“Tá, ‘Ceap a’ bhollóg údaí. Tá an cionn is fheárr ar shiúl uaim.’” 180

Léim Eóin isteach 'un a' bhollóg a cheapadh, agus báitheadh Eóin co maith le Peadar. 180

Bhí toigh agus talamh a' dá dhreáthir aige Brian [innsin,] — agus d'fhág mise an tír sin san am sin, agus char chuala me iomrá ó shoin goidé mar bhí siad a' teanamh. 185

Léim Peadar isteach i lár na locha [a] fhad is [a] thioctadh leis, agus nuair a bhí sé ag gabháil síos, agus an t-uisce ag gabháil isteach ina bhéal, — “Flub! Flub!” arsa sé 175  
nuair a bhí sé dá bháthadh.

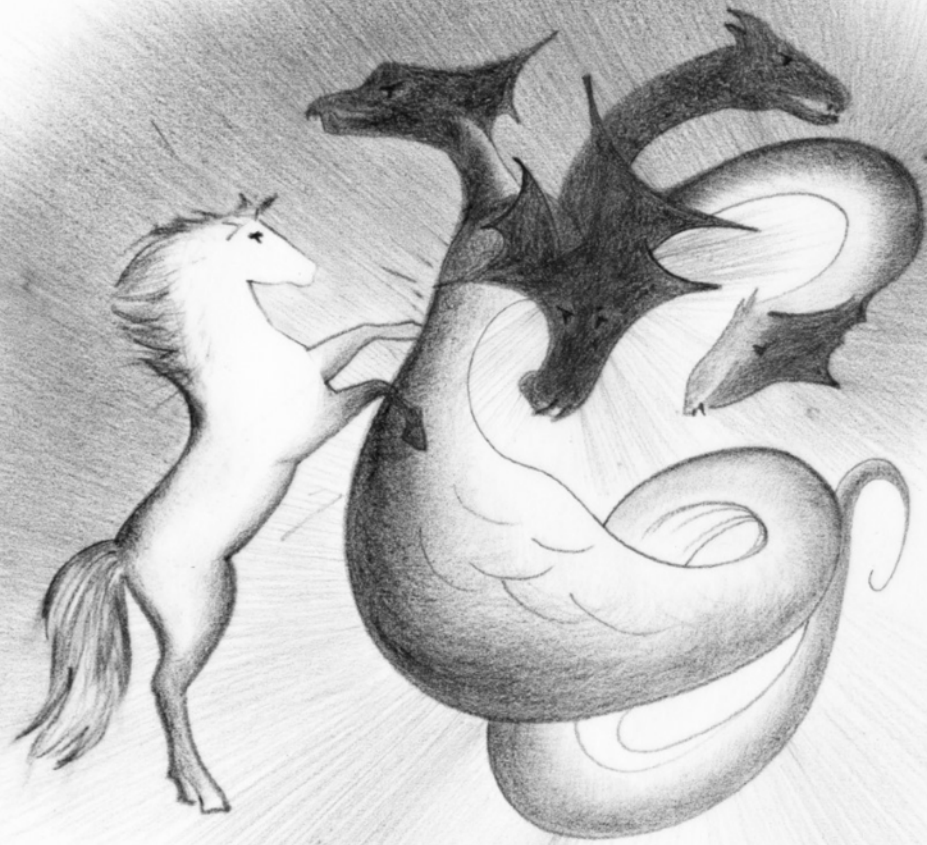
“Cad é [a] deir sé?” a deir Eoin.  
“Tá, ‘Ceap an bhollóg údaí. Tá an ceann is fheárr ar shiúl uaim,’” [a deir Brian]. 180

Léim Eoin isteach chun an bhollóg a cheapadh, agus báitheadh Eoin comh maith le Peadar. 180

Bhí toigh agus talamh an dá dheartháir ag Brian [ansin] — agus d'fhág mise an tír sin san am sin, agus char chuala mé iomrá ó shin cad é mar [a] bhí siad ag déanamh. 185



# **An Dóigh a bhFuair Loch Dearg a Ainm**



XXXVII. AN DÓIGH A BHFUAIR LOCH  
DEARG A AINM

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|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Bhí rí insa tír seo i bhfad ó shoin, agus bhí triúr mac aige, agus rachadh na mic i measg na còrsan air ais agus air aghaidh, agus bheadh siad i measg na haois' óga, agus gheanfad siad damhsa agus cuideachta a's cach a'n rud, agus gheód siad cuireadh thiar a's a-bus air féasta.                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 1  |
| Ach bhí a'n fhear amháin insa chòrsain nach robh a' tóirt féasta dófa am air bith, agus adeir an sean-rí a'n lá amháin: "Góigí uilig 'uig a leithéid seo a dh'fhear i mbáireach air féasta," arsa seisean, "agus maga dtóirfe se féasta duibh, is daor a cheannachas se e." Fuaidh a' triúr air shiúl 'un na féasta, agus bhí donan acu, a' fear is óige, nach dtiocfadh leat a shású, cé air bith goidé gheanfá leis. Fuaidh siad 'uige toigh an fhir seo agus chuir siad isteach a' tránóna. | 5  |
| Bhí práinn air an fhear [.i. an rí] go bhfeicead se a' teacht iad. [Nuair a thainic siad,] fuaidh se 'uig an fhear is sine.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 10 |
| "Goidé an seórt lae a bhí agaibh?" arsa seisean.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 15 |
| "Well, cha dtiocfadh linn lá na b'fhearr a bheith aghainn," arsa seisean, "ón aer anuas. Fuair muid ar sáith le n-ithe a's le n-ól agus ar sáith cuideachta do cach a'n seórt."                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 20 |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 24 |

III. AN DÓIGH A BHFUAIR LOCH  
DEARG A AINM

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Bhí rí insa tír seo i bhfad ó shin, agus bhí triúr mac aige. Agus rachadh na mic i measc na gcomharsan ar ais agus ar aghaidh. Agus bheadh siad i measc na haoise óige. Agus dhéanfadh siad damhsa agus cuideachta is gach aon rud. Agus gheobhadh siad cuireadh thiar is abhus ar féasta.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 1  |
| Ach bhí aon fhear amháin insa chomharsain <sup>153</sup> nach raibh ag tabhairt féasta dófa am ar bith. Agus adeir an sean-rí aon lá amháin: "Gabhaigí uilig chuig a leithéid seo (a) dh'fhear amárach ar féasta," arsa seisean, "agus mura dtabharfaidh sé féasta daoibh, is daor a cheannóchas sé é." Chuaigh an triúr ar shiúl chun na féasta, agus bhí donán acu, an fear is óige, nach dtiocfadh leat a shásamh, cé ar bith cad é [a] dhéanfá leis. Chuaigh siad chuig toigh an fhir seo agus chuir siad isteach an tráthnóna. | 5  |
| Bhí práinn ar *an rí* go bhfeiceadh sé ag teacht [chun an bhaile] iad. [Nuair a tháinig siad], chuaigh sé chuig an fhear is sine [agus deir sé]:                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 10 |
| "Cad é an seort lae a bhí agaibh?" arsa *an rí*                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 15 |
| "Bhuel, cha dtiocfadh linn lá ní b'fhearr a bheith aghainn," arsa seisean, "ón aer anuas. Fuair muid ár sáith le n-ithe is le n-ól agus ár sáith cuideachta de gach aon seort."                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 20 |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 24 |

153 comharsa = comharsnacht = 'neighbourhood'.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Fuaidh se 'uig an dárna fear agus d'fhiafruigh se de goidé mar rinn se:                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 25 |
| “Bhí an lá is fheárr a thainic ariamh aghainn,” arsa seisean, “agus sgoith na cuideachta a’s go leór le n-ithe a’s le n-ól.”                                                                                                                                                 |    |
| Fuaidh sé 'uig an deóruí seo innsin, agus deir se:                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 30 |
| “Goidé an seórt lá a bhí agaibh inniú?”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |    |
| “Lá bocht acrach,” arsa seisean. “Chan fhuair me greim le n-ithe ná le n-ól,” arsa seisean.                                                                                                                                                                                  |    |
| Dúir’ se [.i. an donan] rud ar bith ’á robh innsin, go robh se aige-san fa choinne Finn ’ic Cúill agus a chuid fear, agus nach robh se ag goil dá thóirt duinne.”                                                                                                            | 35 |
| “Is daor a cheannachas se sin,” arsa’n rí.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |    |
| Bhí an fear óg seo, cé air bith goidé bhí contrailte le n-a chionn, chaithfeadh fear inteach i gcónaí an ghruag a bhuint de, agus ’air a bhuin se an ghruag de, chroch se [.i. an rí] e nó chaith se e le h-eagla go n-ársachad se goidé bhí contrailte leis a’ mhac óg seo. | 40 |
| Chuir se 'uig an fhear seo e a thug an fhéasta do na mic, ag ársú dó go robh an fhéasta aige n-a bhunadh-san air shiúl i n-áit a chonnlain-san, le n-a ghruag a bhuint de.                                                                                                   | 45 |
| Fuaidh se 'uig an fhear ’un a’ ghruag a bhuint de agus deir se leis an fhear seo:                                                                                                                                                                                            |    |
| “Thainic me ’ugad ’un a’ ghruag a bhuint duíom.”                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |    |
| “Sin obair nach bhfuil furast,” adeir se. “A réir mar thuigim, gach a’n duine ’a mbuineanns a’ ghruag duíot-sa,” arsa seisean, “cuirthear ’un báis iad le h-eagla go n-ársachad siad goidé tá contrailte leat.”                                                              | 50 |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 53 |

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|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Chuaigh *an rí* chuig an darna fear agus d'fhiafraigh sé de cad é mar [a] rinne sé:                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 25 |
| “Bhí an lá is fhearr a tháinig ariamh againn,” arsa seisean, “agus scoith na cuideachta is go leor le n-ithe is le n-ól.”                                                                                                                                                                    |    |
| Chuaigh *an rí* chuig an deoraí seo, [an mac is óige] ansin agus deir sé:                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 30 |
| “Cad é an seort lae a bhí agaibh inniu?”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |    |
| “Lá bocht ocrach,” arsa seisean, “chan fhuair mé greim le n-ithe ná le n-ól,” arsa seisean.                                                                                                                                                                                                  |    |
| Dúirt *an donán* “rud ar bith dá raibh ansin, go raibh sé aigesean fá choinne Finn Mhic Cumhaill agus a chuid fear, agus nach raibh sé ag gabháil dá thabhairt dúinne.”                                                                                                                      | 35 |
| “Is daor a cheannóchas sé sin,” arsa an rí.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |    |
| Bhí an fear óg seo — cé ar bith cad é [a] bhí contráilte lena chionn — chaithfeadh fear inteacht i gcónaí an ghruaig a bhaint de, agus nuair a bhain *an duine sin* an ghruaig de, chroch *an rí* é nó chaith sé é le heagla go n-ársóchadh sé cad é [a] bhí contráilte leis an mhac óg seo. | 40 |
| Chuir *an rí an donán óg* chuig an fhear seo (é) a thug an fhéasta do na mic, ag ársú dó go raibh an fhéasta ag a bhunadh-san ar shiúl in áit a chonláiin-san, lena ghruaig a bhaint de.                                                                                                     | 45 |
| Chuaigh *an donán óg* chuig an fhear [sin] chun an ghruaig a bhaint de agus deir sé leis an fhear seo:                                                                                                                                                                                       |    |
| “Tháinig mé chugat chun an ghruaig a bhaint díom.”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |    |
| “Sin obair nach bhfuil furasta,” a deir se, “de réir mar a thuigim, gach aon duine dá mbaineann an ghruaig díotsa,” arsa seisean, “cuirtear chun báis iad le heagla go n-ársóchadh siad cad é [a] tá contráilte leat.”                                                                       | 50 |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 53 |

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|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| “Well, caithfe tú an ghruag a bhuint duíom air dhóigh air bith,” arsa seisean.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 55 |
| Bhuin se an ghruaig de, agus bhí rásur ghéar aige. N’air a bhí se réidh le buint na gruaige de, cé ar bith goidé bhí se ag goil a dheanamh léithe — ’n fhuil fhios agam — ach n’air a bhuin se na <i>bandages</i> dá chionn, goidé bhí ach crapan mór air mhullach a’ chinn, agus seo an áit a robh an <i>secret</i> — le heagla go n-ársachadh a’n duine go robh an crapan seo air — agus bhí se a’ caint leis, agus go díreach tháirnn se an rásur air a’ chrapan agus léim crumhog as a’ chrapan a bhí slat go leith air fad, agus bhí siad ag goil a mharabha na crumhóige. | 60 |
| “Cha déan”, arsa’n tsean-bhean, ar sise, “go gcuirfear fios air chailleach na gcearc go n-ársachaidh sise goidé ’a chóir a dheanamh leis a’ chrumhoig.”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 65 |
| Bhí cailleach na gcearc aige bun a’ <i>loanin’</i> agus cuireadh fios urthi agus thainic sí, agus chainic sí a’ chrumhog agus an áit a dtainic sí as, agus fiarfuigh-eadh duí an mbeadh se ceart a’ chrumhog a mharabha.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 70 |
| “C’aige a bhfuil a fhios,” arsa cailleach na gcearc, “nár bh’ionann cliú don chrumhoig agus don té a thóg í, nár bh’ionann saol don chrumhoig agus don ghasur? B’fheárr duibh a cur ina ndíg uisce agus a sáith a thórt duithe le n-ithe sa díg, for a má éaganns a’ chrumhog, b’fhéadar go n-éagfadh an buachaill fost.”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 75 |
| Rinn siad sin, agus fuair a’ fear a bhuin an ghruag de, fuair sé air shiúl, agus choinnigh siad a’ chrumhog                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 80 |

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| “Bhuel, caithfidh tú an ghruaig a bhaint díom ar dhóigh ar bith,” arsa *an donán óg*.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 55 |
| Bhain sé an ghruaig de, agus bhí rásúr géar aige. Nuair a bhí sé réidh le baint na gruaige de, cér bith cad é [a] bhí sé ag gabháil a dhéanamh léithe — níl a fhios agam — ach nuair a bhain sé na <i>bandages</i> dá chionn, cad é [a] bhí [ann] ach cnapán mór ar mhullach an chinn. Agus seo an áit a raibh an <i>secret</i> — le heagla go n-ársóchadh aon duine go raibh an cnapán seo air. Agus bhí *an fear* ag caint leis. Agus go díreach, tharraing sé an rásúr ar an chnapán agus léim crumhóg as an chnapán a bhí slat go leith ar fad. Agus bhí siad ag gabháil a mharbhadh na crumhóige. | 60 |
| “Cha déan,” arsa an tseanbhean seo, [a bhí ag gabháil thart san am], ar sise, “go gcuirfear fios ar chailleach na gcearc go n-ársóchaidh sise cad é [b]a chóir a dhéanamh leis an chrumhóg.”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 65 |
| Bhí cailleach na gcearc ag bun an <i>loaning</i> agus cuireadh fios uirthi agus tháinig sí agus chonaic sí an chrumhóg agus an áit a dtáinig sí as. Agus fiafraí-odh duí ansin an mbeadh sé ceart an chrumhóg a mharbhadh.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 70 |
| “Cé aige a bhfuil a fhios,” arsa cailleach na gcearc, “nár bh ionann clú don chrumhóg agus don té a thóg í, nár bh ionann saol don chrumhóg agus don ghasúr? B’fhearr daoibh a cur i ndíog uisce agus a sáith a thabhairt duithe le n-ithe sa díog, nó má éagann an chrumhóg, b’fhéidir go n-éagfadh an buachaill fosta.”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 75 |
| Rinne siad sin: agus fuair an fear a bhain an ghruaig *den donán óg*, fuair sé ar shiúl. Agus choinnigh siad an chrumhóg                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 80 |



innsin, agus choinnigh siad ag iompur cach a'n seórt  
'uici air fud míosa, agus bhí sí ag írí co mór cach a'n  
lá go mbeadh cionn eile urthi cach a'n seachtain, agus  
air deireadh, bhí sí ag írí ró-mhór le h-aghaidh na  
díge bhí i bhfogus don toigh. Bhí siad ag írí corthaí  
ag iompur 'uici agus shaoil siad a'n tránóna amháin  
go gcruinneachad siad suas cuidiú agus go gcuirfead  
siad ina loch í.

Thug siad ar shiúl í agus chaith siad isteach ina loch í, agus d'fhás sí co mór le péist insa loch, agus thiocfad sí amach tránóna agus bhearfad sí bó nó capall isteach 'un a' locha le hithe agus chan fheicfeá sin na b' ó.

Cha robh fhios acu i nÉirinn goidé gheanfad siad leis a' phéist innsin. Bhí an phéist in sa loch agus cha dtiocfadh leófa fáil fhad léithe, na, 'air a thiocfadh siad i bhfogus duithe, cha dtiocfadh leófa a cathamh ná a'n dadaí; bhead sí i gcônuí air shiúl isteach sa loch.

Bhí Naomh Pádraic ag goil fríd a' tír ins an am sin,  
agus d'ársuigh siad do Phádraic bha'n phéist a bhí sa **100**  
loch. “Caithfe me lámh a ghlacaint leis sin,” arsa  
Pádraic. Fuaidh se lá ar na bháireach, agus bhí  
gearran bán aige, agus chuir se an gearran isteach insa  
loch fa choinne an phéist a mharabha, agus throid siad  
go dtí gur fhág siad a' loch uilig go léir lán fola, agus co **105**  
dearg le fuil, agus bhí sí i bhfogust amach don ghearran  
a *bhéatail* go dtí go dtug Pádraic láidreach, neart dúb-  
ailite dó, 'un a' phéis' a mharabha, agus n'air a bhí  
se a' teacht amach innsin le mórán *power*, dúirt Naomh  
Pádraic go mbáithfí sa loch e le h-eagla go dtiocfad se **110**

ansin. Agus choinnigh siad ag iompar gach aon seort chuici ar fud míosa. Agus bhí sí ag éirí comh mór gach aon lá go mbeadh ceann eile uirthi gach aon seachtain. Agus ar deireadh, bhí sí ag éirí rómhór le haghaidh na díge [a] bhí i bhfogas don toigh. Bhí siad ag éirí corthaí ag iompar chuici. Agus shíl siad aon tráthnóna amháin go gcruinneochadh siad suas cuidiú agus go gcuirfeadh siad i loch í.

Thug siad ar shiúl \*an chrumhóg\* agus chaith siad isteach i loch í. Agus d'fhás sí comh mór le péist insa loch. Agus thiocfadh sí amach tráthnóna agus bhéarfadh sí bó nó capall isteach chun na locha le hithe agus chan fheicfeá sin níba mhó.

Cha raibh a fhios acu in Éirinn ansin cad é [a] dhéanfadh siad leis an phéist ansin. Bhí an péist insa loch agus cha dtiocfadh leofa fáil [a] fhad léithe, nó, nuair a thiocfadh siad i bhfogas duithe, cha dtiocfadh leofa a caitheamh ná aon dadaí. Bheadh sí i gcónaí ar shiúl isteach sa loch.

Bhí Naomh Pádraig ag gabháil fríd an tír insan am sin,  
agus d'ársaigh siad do Phádraig fán phéist a bhí sa **100**  
loch. “Caithfidh mé lámh a ghlacaint leis sin,” arsa  
Pádraig. Chuaigh sé lá arna mhárach, agus bhí  
gerrán bán aige, agus chuir sé an gerrán isteach insa  
loch fá choinne an phéist a mharbhadh. Agus throid siad  
go dtí gur fhág siad an loch uilig go léir lán fola, agus comh **105**  
dearg le fuil. Agus bhí \*an phéist\* i bhfogas amach don ghearrán  
a bhéatáil go dtí go dtug Pádraig láidreach, neart dúb-  
ailte \*don ghearrán\* chun an phéist a mharbhadh. Agus nuair a bhí  
\*an gerrán\* ag teacht amach [as an loch] ansin le mórán *power*, dúirt Naomh  
Pádraig go mbáithfí sa loch é le heagla go dtiocfadh sé **110**

amach agus caill a dheanamh air fud na tíre. Báith-eadh gearran Phádraic sa loch leis a’ phéist a thainic as cionn a’ donain, agus baisteadh Loch Dearg air a’ loch sin ón lá sin go dtí an lá inniú.

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amach agus caill a dhéanamh ar fud na tíre. Báith-eadh gearrán Phádraig sa loch leis an phéist a tháinig as cionn an donáin, agus baisteadh Loch Dearg ar an loch sin ón lá sin go dtí an lá inniu.

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## Textual Notes

### I. AN FEAR A RAIBH AN BHEAN DHEAS AIGE

**I.2 Shíl sé]** *shaoil se* ‘he thought’. The underlying spelling *saoil* is also found in Stockman and Wagner’s collection in the form of *saoilsteán*.<sup>154</sup> This spelling, with broad *s*, suggests that the Muintir Luinigh speakers pronounced the initial consonant of this verb as non-palatal *s* [s] rather than as palatal *s* [ʃ]. Indeed, Peadar Joe Ó hEachadha is recorded as saying *saoilim* [sɪl’əm].<sup>155</sup> There is some evidence to suggest that initial *s* in this word was also pronounced as a broad *s* [s] rather than a slender *s* [ʃ] in late eighteenth-century south Ulster and north Leinster.<sup>156</sup>

Ó Tuathail’s *-aoi-* spelling represents the long version of the vowel *i* [i:].<sup>157</sup> However, there is evidence that speakers sometimes shortened this long *i*-sound in everyday speech. Stockman and Wagner recorded *sílim* ‘I think’ as *silim* [sil’əm] for Gleann Aichle<sup>158</sup> or with a final broad *m*,<sup>159</sup> [sil’əm] for Gleann Leirge and Gleann Aichle.<sup>160</sup> A similarly shortened *i*-sound is found in Toraigh.<sup>161</sup> The long-*i* pronunciation [i:], however, may have been the norm. Stockman and Wagner also reported that Ó hEachadha, for example, pronounced the word *saoileann* / *síleann sé* as [si:l’ən ʃa].<sup>162</sup>

The spelling *se* of *sé* is due to the reduction of long *e* [e:] to an unclear vowel [ə]. Subject pronouns are more lightly stressed than verbs.<sup>163</sup> On the shortening of *é* [e:] to *schwa* [ə] in the pronouns, *mé*, *sé*, *é*, see *SML* § 5. As Ó Tuathail noted in *SML* § 5, ‘In prayers and charms, and in verse, the long vowels are more usual’.

<sup>154</sup> Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, *Lochlann* 3 (1965) 43–236: 131, s.v. *saoilsteán* ‘thinking’.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid, 131.

<sup>156</sup> Terence McCaughey, ‘Muiris Ó Gormáin’s English-Irish Phrasebook’, *Éigse* 12, Part 3 (1968) 203–227: 213.

<sup>157</sup> Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 181. See T. F. O’Rahilly, *Irish Dialects Past and Present with Chapters on Scottish and Manx* [henceforth abbreviated as *IDPP*], (Dublin: DIAS, (1932) 1988) 27–38.

<sup>158</sup> Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 131.

<sup>159</sup> See C. Ó Baoill, ‘Pronunciation of *-m* in the First Person Singular, Present Indicative’, in *Contributions to a Comparative Study of Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic* (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, QUB, 1978) 223. Henceforth abbreviated to *Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic*.

<sup>160</sup> Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 131.

<sup>161</sup> John Noel Hamilton, *The Irish of Tory Island*, (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, QUB, 1974) 320, s. v. *síl*.

<sup>162</sup> Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 131.

<sup>163</sup> Hamilton, *Irish of Tory Island*, 160, § b.

Wagner and Ó Baoill give the form *saoileann sé* [‘si:l’ən ʃa] for Tyrone in *LASID* (Vol. 1, map 73).

**I.2 comh deas]** *co deas* ‘as nice’. Irish expresses the equative construction as exemplified by English ‘as white as snow’, using the adverb *chomh* / *comh* ‘as’ (Ó Dónaill, *FGB*). The unlenited variant, which predominated in Ulster except in Gleann Ghaibhle, is recognised by the *Caighdeán Oifigiúil*,<sup>164</sup> see Ó Dónaill, *FGB*, 278, s.v. *comh*. Among the examples that Ó Searcaigh (1939) gives are: *Bhí Seán comh láidir le Tomás* (‘Seán was as strong as Thomas’) and *Tá tú comh mór liomsa* (‘You’re as big as me’).<sup>165</sup>

The initial consonant was pronounced as [k] or [g] in most of Ulster and in Omeath.<sup>166</sup> Thus Stockman and Wagner have *comh tapaidh leis an sionnach* [gə’təpi l’əʃə ʃIN:a] ‘as cute as a fox’, but *comh bocht leis an deor* [kə bɔrt l’əʃə d’jɔ:r] ‘as poor as a beggar (?)’.<sup>167</sup> Hamilton gives *comh* as [gə, gə, go, kə] for Toraigh.<sup>168</sup> In the Inis Eoghain version of the famous folktale entitled ‘Ashy Pet’, which Ó Tuathail collected in September 1929 in Leitir in the Iorras district of Inis Eoghain from Diarmaid Mac Giolla Chearra, the initial sound of this word was pronounced as *go* as exemplified by the phrase: *nach dtiocfadh leis-sean buachaill fháilt go (chomh) maith leis* ‘that he could not find a boy as good as him’.<sup>169</sup>

The vowel sound in *comh* appears to have been reduced from a long *o*-sound [o:] to the unclear vowel, schwa [ə], by many of the Tyrone speakers.<sup>170</sup>

**I.3 léithe]** *léithe*. While the CO uses the form *léi* for the normal 3 sg. feminine form of the preposition *le* ‘with’, most Ulster dialects including Muintir Luinigh use *léithe*. When discussing Ulster Irish prepositional forms, T. F. O’Rahilly noted:

‘In prepositional pronouns compounded with prepositions ending in a vowel the

<sup>164</sup> Henceforth abbreviated as CO.

<sup>165</sup> Séamus Ó Searcaigh, *Coimhréir Ghaedhilg an Tuaiscirt* (Dublin: Oifig an tSoláthair, 1939) 64.

<sup>166</sup> See Wagner & Ó Baoill, *LASID*, Vol. 1, map 47. Note that Wagner and Ó Baoill’s map has initial *ch-* [x] for Gleann Ghaibhle. For evidence of the use of *comh* rather than *chomh* in late eighteenth-century south Ulster and north Leinster, see McCaughey, ‘Muiris Ó Gormáin’s English-Irish Phrasebook’, *Éigse* 12, Part 3 (1968) 203–227: 212, s. v. *co*.

<sup>167</sup> Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 166, s.v. *comh*.

<sup>168</sup> Hamilton, *Irish of Tory*, 258, s. v. *comh*.

<sup>169</sup> Éamonn Ó Tuathail, ‘Ashy Pet’, *Béaloides* 2, No. 2 (1929) 148–56: 149.

<sup>170</sup> Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 166, s.v. *comh*.

extended use of the termination *-he* in the 3 sg. fem. is characteristic of N. Ir., e.g. *duihe*, ‘to her’, *lehe*, ‘with her’ (instead of *lé*, *dí*); as likewise the ending *-fa* (= *bh* + *-ha*) in the 3 pl., e.g. *dófa*, *leófa*, *uafa*.<sup>171</sup>

The evidence presented by Wagner and Stockman suggests that the initial *l* of the 3 sg. feminine form of the preposition was weakly pronounced in Muintir Luinigh to produce [l’*e*:jə], [l’*e*:x’ə] or [l’*ex*’ə].<sup>172</sup> In contrast, Teileann, for example, can have a strong *l* [L’] here.<sup>173</sup>

**I.3 bheadh sé** *bhead se*. Here the 3 sg. conditional mood *bheadh sé* ‘he would be’ is used instead of 3 sg. imperfect indicative (past habitual) *bhíodh sé* to express the meaning ‘he used to be’.

Standard English distinguishes in form and meaning between: *I used to go to the shop every day* (imperfect indicative) and *I would go to the shop if I could* (conditional mood). Irish also drew that distinction: *Théinn go dtí an siopa gach lá* (imperfect indicative / past habitual) and *rachainn chun an tsiopa dá bhféadfainn* (conditional mood). Many Ulster Irish dialects and Scottish Gaelic,<sup>174</sup> however, have let this distinction fall into abeyance in the spoken language. Thus, in Scottish Gaelic, the imperfect indicative supplanted the conditional, whilst in Ulster Irish the conditional displaced the imperfect indicative giving us sentences like *rachainn chun an tsiopa gach lá* ‘I used to go to the shop everyday’.<sup>175</sup> Where greater precision is required, contemporary Donegal speakers generally opt to use the construction *ba ghnách* + *le* (preposition) + verbal noun, thereby rendering the old imperfect indicative largely obsolete.

Like Muintir Luinigh Irish, the north Donegal dialects used the conditional mood where Irish historically used the imperfect indicative tense.<sup>176</sup> As Hamilton remarked:

The Imperfect Indicative, and with it the Imperfect Subjunctive, is no longer in use in Tory (or for that matter in North Donegal as a whole). Their place is nearly

171 O’Rahilly, *IDPP*, 217.

172 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 161, s.v. *Le* ‘with’. Similarly, see E. C. Quiggan, *A Dialect of Donegal: Being the Speech of Meenawannia in the Parish of Glenties. Phonology and Texts* (Cambridge: CUP, 1906) 84, § 230.

173 Heinrich Wagner, *Gaeilge Theilinn* (Dublin: DIAS, 1979) 197.

174 Ó Baoill (*Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic*, 32) stated: ‘In Scotland, the older conditional and imperfect tense forms (*bhéadh* and *bhíodh* in Irish) have fallen together as *bhitheadh* or *bhíodh* (...)’.

175 *IDPP*, 171-172.

176 See Lucas, *Grammar of Ros Goill Irish*, 110, §§ 420-421.

always taken by the Conditional Mood, e. g. *Nuair a bhí mé óg rachainn amach agus gheobhainn an bhó* [‘When I was young I used to / would go out and I used to find / would find the cow’]. An alternative construction, also quite common, is: *Ba ghnáth liom a dhul amach* etc.<sup>177</sup>

The opening lines of the Inis Eoghain version of ‘Ashy Pet’ contain an example of this use of the conditional instead of the imperfect indicative:

*Bhí gasur ionn a’n uair amháin, agus bhí sé fallsa, agus cha deánfadh sé a’n turn dófa ach (...)*. ‘There once was a boy, and he was lazy, and he would not do a single ‘turn’ for them [his parents] other than (...)’.<sup>178</sup>

Examples of the usage of the conditional for the imperfect indicative in *SML* are too numerous to mention here.<sup>179</sup> Coalescence of the conditional and the imperfect indicative was also a characteristic of south-east Ulster and Omeath Irish:

Fuair sí lóisdin aige Nansaí Mhóir Luimneach agus d’fhan sí aici rith na bliadhna 7 **bhéadh** Nansaí 7 an cailín ag sníomh gach aon oíche, agus **cha sgarfadh** Nansaí léithi ar airgead ar bith.

‘She found lodgings with Nansaí Mór Luimneach and remained with her during the year and Nansaí and the young girl would be spinning every single night, and Nansaí would not part with her for any money at all.’<sup>180</sup>

In contrast to the north Donegal dialects,<sup>181</sup> the north-western<sup>182</sup> and south-western Donegal dialects<sup>183</sup> maintained to some extent the historical distinction

177 Hamilton, *Irish of Tory*, 171.

178 Ó Tuathail, ‘Ashy Pet’, *Béaloides* 2, No. 2 (1929) 148-56: 148.

179 See A. J. Hughes’s discussion of this feature in ‘Gaeilge Uladh’, *Stair na Gaeilge*, 644-645.

180 Eibhlín Ní Anluain, Óméith, ‘An Leanbh do ghoid na Daoine Sídhéan’, in Laoide, *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, 91.15-18. (References to *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall* are by page number, then line number; thus, ‘91.15’ refers to page 91, line 15).

181 For this publication, I take ‘north Donegal’ as being coterminous with the coastal area that extends from Inis Eoghain (55.187, -7.27774) in the East as far as Cnoc Fola (55.1528, -8.28238) on the western boundary of the civil parish of Tulacha Beigile in the West. Oileán Thoraigh is reckoned here to be part of ‘north Donegal’.

182 The coastal district that extends from Cnoc Fola via Gaoth Dobhair (55.0361, -8.25027) southwards to Gaoth Beara (54.8484, -8.31987) is considered here as part of the ‘north-west Donegal’ region.

183 The dialects of Teileann and Gleann Cholm Cille.



in form between the imperfect indicative tense and the conditional mood.<sup>184</sup> Two examples of the north-west Donegal preservation of this distinction between the two tenses in storytelling will suffice. Both our examples are from storytellers who hailed from Rann na Feirste in the Rosses. In the story entitled ‘Billí Crosta’, Annie Bhán Nic Grianna says *Théadh sé, amannaí eile* ‘He used to go, on other occasions, (...)’.<sup>185</sup> In ‘Maolmhuire an Bhata Bhuí’, Micí Sheáin Néill Ó Baoill tells us: *Iascaire a bhí ann agus nuair nach mbíodh sé amuigh ar an fharraige mhór ba ghnách leis a bheith amuigh ar abhainn An Leacaigh, ag iascaireacht breac agus bradán* ‘He was a fisherman and when he used not to be out on the open sea, he used to be out on the Leacach River fishing for trout and salmon.’<sup>186</sup>

On the matter of the pronunciation of the personal pronouns beginning in *s* after *-(e)adh*, Wagner recorded *bheadh sé* as [v’edʲe] in Alt an Chamchosaigh and as [v’edʲʃa] in An Creagán.<sup>187</sup> Moreover, for Toraigh, Hamilton noted that ‘*dh* before *sé, sí, siad, sibh, sin* in the Imperative and Conditional may appear as [d, t, d’, t’]’.<sup>188</sup> Among the other examples from our text are: *bhead sí pósta* ‘she would be married’ (I.14); *cha phósfad sí* ‘she would not marry’ (I.16); *nach gcuirfead sí* ‘that she would not put’ (I.17-18). Stockman and Wagner added a cautionary note on this sound-rule:

This ending [-*adh*] in the conditional and imperfect when followed by a personal pronoun beginning with ‘*s*’ is not always consonantal ...<sup>189</sup>

While they cited common forms like *gheobhadh siad* [jo:dʲʃiəd] and *cha dhéanfadh sé* [ha janədʲʃa], they also noted a small number of forms like *rachadh sé* where the *-adh* was pronounced as a variety of [u] before the personal pronoun beginning in *s* (*sé /sí / siad*).<sup>190</sup> Interestingly, the majority of these come from performance pieces such as songs, poems and stories. It is possible, therefore, that the consonantal [d / t]

sound may have been a feature of everyday speech, whereas the [u] sound, which I suspect was half-long, was a characteristic of the performance register.

**I.3 i gcónaí** *i gcónaí* ‘always’. Ó Tuathail used a circumflex over *o* to indicate that this *o* was heavily nasalised (SML, § 18). The historical spelling of this and similar words demonstrates the process more effectively: *-o-* after *-mh-* in words like *comhnaidhe* (*cónaí*), *Domhnall* (*Dónall*), *Domhnaigh* will assume a nasal quality because of the vocalisation of *-mh-*.<sup>191</sup> Stockman and Wagner state succinctly: ‘Vowels and diphthongs are nasalised when they are beside a nasal consonant.’<sup>192</sup> In his study of the Irish of Teileann, Wagner concluded that nasalisation was not a feature of that dialect, whereas a short distance away in the townland of Mín an Churraoin, there persisted the nasalisation which was at that time — the 1970s — so characteristic of the speech of older speakers of Mid-<sup>193</sup> and North Donegal Irish.<sup>194</sup>

**I.3 dá moladh** *dá moladh* ‘praising her’. CO uses *á* (< the 3 sg. feminine possessive adjective *a* + the preposition *ag*) to express the 3 sg. feminine direct object ‘her’ as in *bheadh sé i gcónaí á moladh*, meaning literally ‘he would always be at the praising of her’, i.e. ‘he used to always praise her’. Similarly, Ros Goill Irish has *Bhí sé á thachtú féin* [v’i:ʃə hahtu he:n’] ‘he was choking himself’.<sup>195</sup> In Tyrone this would have been: *bhí sé dhá thachtú féin*. Thus, Tyrone Irish formed this construction with the preposition *do*. Indeed, a Gleann Ghaibhle story entitled ‘An Págannach agus an Críostaí’ contains the phrase: *bhí sé dhá thachtadh* ‘he was choking’.<sup>196</sup> Diarmuid Mac Giolla Chearra’s ‘Ashy Pet’ contains the lines: *agus a’ cionn is milse thiocfadh leis fháilt bhí sé dá ithe, agus a’ chuid shearbh bhí sé dá gcathamh anuas* (= CO *agus an ceann is milse a thiocfadh leis a fháil bhí sé á ithe, agus an chuid shearbh bhí sé á gcaitheamh anuas*) ‘and the sweetest one that he could find, he was eating it, and the bitter ones, he was throwing them down.’<sup>197</sup>

**I.4 Bhí sé ag treabhadh** *Bhí sé a’ treabh* ‘He was ploughing’. Ó Buachalla had

184 Wagner, *Gaeilge Theilinn*, 105-106.

185 Alan Harrison & Máiri Elena Crook (eds. & trans.) *Seanchas Annie Bhán: The Lore of Annie Bhán by Gordon W. MacLennan* (Dublin: Seanchas Annie Bhán Publication Committee, 1997) 162.

186 Lorcán Ó Searcaigh, *Lá de na Laethaibh: Béaloideas le Micí Sheáin Néill Ó Baoill* (Monaghan: Cló Oirghialla, 1983) 37.

187 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 112.

188 Hamilton, *Irish of Tory*, 157-158; 165.

189 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 206, ‘*-adh* in verbs’.

190 Ibid, 206.

191 Ó Tuathail, SML, § 18.

192 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 187, ‘Nasalisation’.

193 ‘Mid-Donegal’ is here taken as being coterminous with the district that runs from Gaoth Beara Bridge (54.8484, -8.31987) eastwards via Na Cruacha Gorma (The Blue Stacks) to An Bhrocaigh (Brocagh: 54.8557, -7.93544).

194 Wagner, *Gaeilge Theilinn*, 81.

195 Lucas, *Grammar of Ros Goill Irish*, 127.

196 Seán Mag Uidhir, ‘An Págannach agus an Críostaí’, in Ní Bhaoill (ed.), *Ulster Gaelic Voices*, 308-309.

197 Ó Tuathail, ‘Ashy Pet’, *Béaloideas* 2, No. 2 (1929) 148-56: 148.

the following to say about the loss of *g* [g] before a verbal noun beginning with a consonant in Ó Cionga's *Sgéul fa Bheatha Agus Pháis ar d-Tighearna*:

Fágtar an réamhfhocal *ag* ar lár roimh an ainm briathra go minic, go háirithe nuair is guta nó consan balbh a thagann roimis: *Agus a bheith guidhe air mur son x, a bheith lábhairt leibthe ix, ...*<sup>198</sup>

The preposition *ag* is often omitted before the verbal noun, especially when a vowel or silent consonant comes before it: 'And to be praying for you' (x), 'to be speaking to them' (ix), ...

For the verbal noun *treabhadh*, Wagner and Stockman give the monosyllabic pronunciation [t'ro:] from Gleann Aichle and the disyllabic pronunciation [t'ra:u]<sup>199</sup> from An Creagán.<sup>200</sup> For the geographical distribution of the various pronunciations of this word, see *LASID* (Vol. 1, map 176).

**I.4 ar aon iúl le** *air a'n iúl le* 'together with'; literally '[He was ploughing] on the same track / furrow with'. The simple preposition *ar* 'on, upon' has been used instead of *air*.

Ó Tuathail writes *a'n* here to indicate that the vowel sound in *aon* 'any' has been reduced to schwa [ə], as is the case in many northern dialects.

*Iúl* is a 'late' form of Old Irish *éol*, which has four basic meanings: (1) 'knowledge'; (2) 'lore, history'; (3) 'that which is familiar in terms of surroundings'; and finally, the meaning here (4) 'information, direction, guidance; right way'.<sup>201</sup> The *Electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language* notes that *iúl*, the dative singular of *éol* appears to have supplanted the old nominative.<sup>202</sup> Ó Dónaill (*FGB*, 734, s.v. *iúl*) explains this meaning with the help of the following examples: *bheith ar an iúl / bheith ar aon iúl le chéile* 'to be acting along the same lines, behaving in the same manner as someone'. He also cites the phrase: *Bhíomar ar an iúl céanna* 'we were on the same track'. Dinneen in *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla* (1996) 619, s.v. *iúl* (bye-form of *eol*), gives the phrase *ar a n-iúl* 'together' for Ulster and Omeath.

198 Ó Buachalla, 'Nótaí ar Ghaeilge Dhoire agus Thír Eoghain', 260, § 5.5.

199 I use the symbol [Λ] where Stockman and Wagner used *o* with two dots underneath it.

200 Stockman and Wagner, 'A Study of Tyrone Irish', 136, s.v. *treabhadh*.

201 eDIL s.v. 1 *éol* or dil.ie/20153; see eDIL s.v. 1 *éol* or dil.ie/20153; retrieved 29 October 2022.

202 *éol* was a masculine *o*-stem noun; later also *iúl* (confusion of dative singular and nominative singular); gen. *eóil*, *íuil*, *iúil*; see eDIL s.v. 1 *éol* or dil.ie/20153; retrieved 29 October 2022.

**I.5 ag ársú dó** *ag ársú dó* 'telling him'. Most attestations of this verbal noun in the Stockman-Wagner collection, exhibit a palatal medial *s*, as in [arʃu].<sup>203</sup> In contrast, Dinneen, (*Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla*, 60), in keeping with Ó Tuathail, gives this verbal noun with a non-palatal *s* in the traditional spelling *ársughadh*. Dinneen, (*Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla*, 60), lists the 1 sg. present indicative as *ársuighim* and gives its definition as 'I tell, recite, relate', adding that it is used in 'Innishowen, Der., Omeath, Monaghan, Meath, etc.'. Commenting on the geographical distribution of this verb, Williams noted that while it was found in many parts of the Ulster Gaeltacht 'from Inishowen in the North-west to Meath and Louth in the South-east', 'it was apparently not known in the extreme West, South-west or North-west of the province'.<sup>204</sup>

Unsurprisingly therefore, the verb is attested in the material collected from the Omeath Irish-speaker, Bríd Ní Chaslaigh, who declares: *d'ársaigh sé an scéal do C[h]ailleach na gCearc* ('he told the story to the Hag of the Hens').<sup>205</sup> Attestations of this verb from south-east Ulster and Louth abound in *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*. Just two examples from south Monaghan will suffice here: *gan a ársuighe do dhuine ar bith beo goidé chonnaic se* (CO: *gan a ársú do dhuine ar bith beo cad é a chonaic sé*) 'not to tell anyone alive what he had seen',<sup>206</sup> and *Ársóchaidh mise duid* (= CO *ársóidh mise duit*) 'I will tell you'.<sup>207</sup>

For the early nineteenth century, Ó Buachalla recorded *arsaim / arsaím* 'I relate' in his study of the Irish used in Roibeard Ua Cionga's publication.<sup>208</sup> In a footnote (p. 267, n. 29) he remarked:

Tuigeadh don údar gurbh aon fhocal amháin iad *arsaim / arsaím* agus *aithrisím* ach ní dóigh liom gur fíor san. In aineoinn a n-abrann N. J. A. Williams (*Éigse* xiii, 181-5) is deacair glacadh leis, ó thaobh na fóneolaíochta amháin de, gur ó *aithrisim* a thagann *arsaim / arsaím*.

203 Stockman and Wagner, 'A Study of Tyrone Irish', 110, s.v. *áirsiú* 'telling'.

204 Nicholas Williams, 'The Etymology of *ársuighim*', *Éigse* 13, Part 3 (1970) 181-85.

205 Bríd Ní Chaslaigh, 'An Buachaill Láidir', in Ní Bhaoill, *Ulster Gaelic Voices*, 260. Bríd Ní Chaslaigh (1860-1937) was from Droim an Mhullaigh (Drumullagh), Omeath, county Louth.

206 Tomás Mac Ruadair (Carraig Lios na nÁirneach), 'Ridire Labhradha Luirc', S. Laoide (ed.), *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall .i. Sgéalaidhe Fearnmhuighe agus Tuilleadh leis* (Dublin: Conradh na Gaeilge, 1905) 11-12: 11.

207 Tomás Ó Corragáin (Caisleán Thoir), 'An Dearbhráthair Bocht agus an Dearbhráthair Saidhbhir' in Laoide, *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, 12-16: 14.

208 Ó Buachalla, 'Nótaí ar Ghaeilge Dhoire agus Thír Eoghain', 267. His examples include *mar h-arsadh dhóibtha* (4) and *ag arsadh do'n t-saoghal mhór* (ix).

‘The present author [originally] understood that *arsaim* / *arsáim* and *aithrisim* were one and the same word, but I do not think that that is true. Despite what N. J. A. Williams says (*Éigse* xiii, 181-5) it is difficult to accept on phonological grounds alone that it is from *aithrisim* that *arsaim* / *arsáim* comes.’<sup>209</sup>

**1.5 fán mhnaoi mhaith** *bha’n mhraoi mhaith* ‘about the good wife’. Stockman and Wagner list *bha’n* under *bha*, *fá* and define it as ‘for, about, of, from.’<sup>210</sup> Old Irish (AD 700-900) distinguished between (1) *ó / úa* ‘from’; (2) *fo / fa / fá* ‘under, beneath’; and (3) *im*, whence Modern Irish *um*, meaning ‘about’ (physically and figuratively). Ó Tuathail suggested that these three prepositions had become confused in Tyrone Irish.<sup>211</sup> He discussed the principal features of the Tyrone prepositional system, including the use of *fá* ‘about, for’ and its interchange with *bha*, in his introduction to *SML*.<sup>212</sup>

How might this confusion have arisen? By the end of the Early Modern Irish period (1200-1650) the leniting preposition *im(m)* appears to have given rise to an unlenited form *ma / mo*, whose origins went back to the 3 sg. masculine prepositional pronoun *im(m)e* which itself lost its initial vowel. The process might be summarised thus: *im(m)* > *im(m)e* > *ime* > *’me* > *mo / mu / ma*. A further stage in the development of this form was the lenition of *mo / ma* to *bha*. The coalescence of these forms is clearly visible in a line from the [Early Modern] Irish Grammatical Tracts which states: *uime, um fhear a chiall , bha fhear , ma fhear a chiall* (IGT Introd. 19.2).<sup>213</sup> In this example we see that *um* (< O. Ir. *im(m)*), *bha*, and *ma* all have the same meaning, ‘about, concerning’. Herein lies the confusion that Ó Tuathail identified in the Irish of Muintir Luinigh.

Ó Tuathail explained that ‘to set about doing something’ is expressed by *a bheith ag gabháil fá: rachaidh mise fá mo gnaithe* ‘I will set about my business’; ‘to be concerned about something’ is: *a bheith buartha fá: bhí an gasúr buartha fá na caoirigh* ‘the boy was concerned about the sheep’; ‘to tell someone about something’ is *a bheith ag ársú do dhuine inteacht fá rud inteacht: chan ársaím don fhear seo aon dadaí bhua* ‘I will not tell this man anything about it.’<sup>214</sup>

As O’Rahilly pointed out as early as 1932, ‘confusion between different prepositions, resulting in the loss of one or more of them, is a well-known phenomenon in the history of Irish (...)’.<sup>215</sup> He believed that *fá* had begun to supplant *um* ‘about’ since the Middle Irish period (900-1200). While he conceded that *um* is ‘still in use to some extent in parts of Munster’, he indicated that *um* had generally been supplanted by *fá* in the form *fé* in Munster and *faoi* in Connacht. He further highlighted the fact that Scottish Gaelic maintained the distinction between *fo / fa* meaning ‘under’ and *mu* ‘around; concerning’ which had its own full set of prepositional pronouns beginning with *umam*.

The evidence from Wagner’s 1950 collection supports Ó Tuathail’s assertion that the prepositions, which had originally been distinct, were by now confused. Stockman and Wagner’s examples in which *fo / fa / fá / bho / bha* express the meaning ‘from’ [< the preposition *ó / ua*] include: [*tá an ghaoth ag teacht bha* [wa] *Mullach Clochach* ‘[the wind] is coming from Mullach Clochach’;<sup>216</sup> and *cuireann an ól daoíní bha* [wə] *toigh agus bhaile* ‘drink puts people out of house and home’.<sup>217</sup>

Examples in which *fo / fa / fá / bho / bha* express the meaning ‘concerning’ [< *fá / um*] include: *bhí sé ag caint bhuam-sa* [wuəmsə] ‘he was talking about me’; *bhí sé ag airsiú damh bhua-san* [wuəsən] ‘he was telling me about him’.

Stockman and Wagner’s lists do not appear to record any examples of *bho* being used for *fa / fá* ‘about’ in terms of physical location. However, a good example of this usage is to be found in the speech of Omeath native, Bríd Ní Chaslaigh, in the story ‘An Chearc Ghoir’ when she says: *chan fheil cearc bho’n toigh* (‘there is not a hen about [i.e. in the proximity of] the house’).<sup>218</sup>

Three examples of *bho* being used for *ó / ua* in Gleann Ghaibhle are: *Agus nuair a bhí sé an t-am ag na fir a ghoil amach ar maidin bho obair na hoíche* ‘and when it was time for the men to go out in the morning from the night’s work’;<sup>219</sup> *leag sé an sac*

209 Seosamh Watson, in a personal communication, has remarked that Ó Buachalla has overlooked the fact that historically broad and slender *-rs-* clusters are both retroflex in Ulster as in Scottish Gaelic.

210 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 156.

211 See Ó Tuathail, *SML* (2015) xl, note 1. See Ó Baoill, *Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic*, 243-244, § 20.2.

212 Ó Tuathail, *SML* (2015) xxxix-xl.

213 eDIL s.v. 1 *imm*, *imb* or *dil*.ie/27635.

214 Ó Tuathail, *SML* (2015) xxxix.

215 O’Rahilly, *IDPP*, 225.

216 = *tá an ghaoth ag teacht ón Mhullach Chlochach*. For the Tyrone example see: Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 156, s.v. *bha*, *fá*, ‘for, about, of, from’.

217 = *cuireann an t-ól daoine ó theach is ó bhaile*. For the Tyrone example see: Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 156.

218 Ní Bhaoill, *Ulster Gaelic Voices*, 264.

219 Seán Mág Uidhir, ‘An Fear a chuaigh go hIfreann’ in Ní Bhaoill, *Ulster Gaelic Voices*, 300-303: 302.



*anuas bho dhroim a bheathaigh* ‘he took the sack down from his horse’s back’;<sup>220</sup> and *Tháinig an tuile anuas bhon tsiabh, bho Bhinn Eachlainn* ‘The flood [of iron] swept down [from] the mountain, from Benaughlin’.<sup>221</sup> In a similar vein is Peadar Joe Ó hEachadha’s statement *fuair mé airgead fá’n bhean sin* [fuər m’a èrig’əd fan ‘v’ənʃən] ‘I got money from that woman’, which in Donegal Irish would be expressed as *fuair mé airgead ón bhean sin*.<sup>222</sup>

Ó Tuathail’s spelling of the dative singular of *bean* ‘a woman’ merely reflects the pronunciation of *n* in this context as [r]. Compare with I.32 *na gnaithí: na graithí*. As in all of Ulster, Louth and North Connacht, *n* is pronounced as *r* when *n* follows *c*, *t*, *g* and *m*.<sup>223</sup> As O’Rahilly says: ‘In the combinations *cn*, *gn*, *mn*, *tn*, Northern Irish has substituted a nasalized *r* for *n* (...)’.<sup>224</sup>

Noteworthy here is the preservation by Ó Cianáin of the old dative singular form *mnaoi* in the first instance. Retention of the historical dative singular form of this noun occurred throughout the Ulster song and story-telling tradition but was uncommon in everyday speech. Doegen’s Gleann Ghaibhle material gives us examples of both the historical [*mnaoi*] and the contemporary [*bean*] usage in the speech of Seán Mag Uidhir when he declares *gan é huilig a fhágáil ag an mnaoi óg* ‘and not [to] leave it all to the young woman’<sup>225</sup> and *bhí sé ag síneadh a mhuinéal síos chuig an mbean óg* ‘it was stretching its neck down towards the young woman’.<sup>226</sup>

The tendency to lenite the initial of an adjective in the dative singular case in Muintir Luinigh is confirmed by the following examples from Ua Cionga’s text: *air a dóigh chéadna* (24) ‘in the same manner’; *a m-baile mhór* (5) ‘in a town’; *san am chéadna* (16) ‘at the same time’; *sa chruth dhamanta chéadhna* (19) ‘in the same damnable form’.<sup>227</sup>

**I.6 thiontaigh sé]** *thionnta’ se* ‘he turned’. The final *-(a)igh* of second conjugation

220 S. Mag Uidhir, ‘Bearnaí an Chustaim’ in Ní Bhaoill, *Ulster Gaelic Voices*, 312-315: 314-315.

221 S. Mag Uidhir, ‘Muileann an Iarainn’ in Ní Bhaoill, *Ulster Gaelic Voices*, 316-317.

222 For the Tyrone example see: Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 157.

223 For this sound change in words like *mná* etc., see Heinrich Wagner, *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects*, vol. 1, 132, 245, 262.

224 IDPP, 22.

225 S. Mag Uidhir, ‘Siúd thall é’, in Ní Bhaoill, *Ulster Gaelic Voices*, 304-307: 304-305.

226 S. Mag Uidhir, ‘Siúd thall é’, in Ní Bhaoill, *Ulster Gaelic Voices*, 306-307.

227 Ó Buachalla, ‘Nótaí ar Ghaeilge Dhoire agus Thír Eoghain’, 258, § 4.3. Numbers in parentheses refer to Ua Cionga’s pagination.

verbs in the past tense, which was typically unstressed in Ulster Irish, was generally reduced to schwa [ə].

**I.7 na caiple]** *na caiple* ‘the horses’. CO has nominative plural *capaill*. However, Dinneen, (*Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla*, 164), noted a nominative plural in *caiple* for Donegal and Connacht (s.v. *capall*).

**I.8 Bhris sé cáil de na húmachai]** *Bhris se cáil do na húmachai*. ‘He broke a piece of the harness’. Ó Dónaill (*FGB*, 70, s.v. *cáil*, meaning 3) defines *cáil* as ‘amount, portion’. As Colm Ó Baoill remarked, *cáil*’s original semantic field extended to mean ‘some of, a certain amount of’ in East Ulster texts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>228</sup> It could also mean, as is the case here, ‘a part of’. *FGB* (70) has the example *cáil dá bpléisiúr é* ‘it is part of their pleasure’. Finally, Ó Baoill highlighted its presence in the poetry of the Scottish Gaelic poet, Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair (c. 1698–1770).<sup>229</sup> See the example below: II.162-163 *b’fhéidir go bhfuigheadh sinne cáil fosta*.

*De* and its set of prepositional pronouns have been restored in this edition where the desired meaning is ‘off, of, from’ rather than ‘to, for’. Muintir Luinigh, like all Ulster Irish dialects confused *de* and *do*.<sup>230</sup> It should be noted that the prepositions *do* ‘to, for’ and *de* ‘of, off, from’ have been confused since the Middle Irish period (900-1200). In his seminal book on the syntax of Ulster Irish, Séamus Ó Searcaigh remarked: *Bhí claonadh le fada ar mheasgadh a dhéanamh eadar ‘de’ agus ‘do’*. ‘Do’ a deirtear indiu in ionad ‘de’.<sup>231</sup> ‘There has been a long-standing tendency to confuse *de* and *do*. *Do* is said today instead of *de*’.

Teileann and Gleann Ghaibhle were among the few districts in Ulster in which the distinction between the pronominal forms of the prepositions *de* and *do* was preserved to any extent. Regarding the latter, Ó Tuathail remarked:

The forms *d(h)ú*, *d(h)uid*, etc., are now employed to express ‘from me’, ‘to thee’, etc., but *d(h)uíom*, *d(h)uíod*, etc., are occasionally heard in everyday conversation and are usual in verse.<sup>232</sup>

228 Ó Baoill, *Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic*, 177-78, s.v. *cáil* ‘anything’.

229 Ibid., 177-78.

230 See Hamilton, *Irish of Tory*, 190; Wagner, *Gaedhilg Theilinn*, 198. Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 209, § 7.

231 Séamus Ó Searcaigh, *Coimhréir Ghaedhilg an Tuaiscirt* (Dublin: Oifig an tSoláthair, 1939) 153, note.

232 Ó Tuathail, *Seanchas Ghleann Ghaibhle*, xxix. Seosamh Watson has remarked (in a personal communication) that he has heard *fá dhéin inse duíod* [= *duid* / *duit*] in Ros Goill.



In respect of Teileann, Wagner stated:

Tá *daom* [= CO díom ‘off me’] agus *domh* [= CO dom ‘to me, for me’] measctha le chéile go maith. abairtí: *d’fhiafruigh sé de* (nó *do*); *bhain mé an fhéasóg daom* (nó *domh*); *fa dtaobh daom-sa* (nó *domh-sa*); ...<sup>233</sup>

Daom [= CO díom] and *domh* [= CO dom] are quite confused. sentences: *he asked of him*; *I shaved the beard off me*; *about me* ...

*Húmachaí* is the (dative) plural of the feminine word *úim* ‘a harness’ (Ó Dónaill, *FGB*, 1298, s.v. *úim*) which has a nominative plural in *úmacha*. Historically, the form here would have been *de na húmachaibh*, with final *-aibh* [< iv’] being pronounced as [i:] or [i] in this dialect.

**I.9 ar seachrán]** *air seachran* ‘astray’. Stressed words bear the stress on their first syllable in the dialects of Ulster and North Connacht. O’Rahilly declared: ‘Northern Irish is characterized by always retaining the stress on the initial syllable.’<sup>234</sup> Furthermore, in such dialects, historically long vowels in subsequent unstressed syllables are generally shortened.<sup>235</sup> It is for this reason that Ó Tuathail omitted the length mark over the *a* in *seachrán*. He pursued this policy throughout where *-án* occurs in an unstressed syllable. See, for example, *mo ghearran* (I.19).<sup>236</sup>

In his analysis of the data collected by Heinrich Wagner for his *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects*, Colm Ó Baoill stated that ‘the *-án* ending is shortened in all Ulster points [of *LASID*] except Gleann Ghaibhleann<sup>237</sup> (pt. 64), but there too the short *-an* may sometimes be heard (...).’<sup>238</sup>

**I.11 níos mó]** *nas mó* ‘any more’. The particle which is usually prefixed to the comparative degree of the adjective in Irish is *níos* in the present and future tenses and *níba* (or *níb* before a vowel or lenited *f*) in the past tense and conditional mood.

233 Wagner, *Gaeilge Theilinn*, 198, § 511.

234 O’Rahilly, *IDPP*, 99.

235 See ‘Unstressed Long Vowels’ in Cathair Ó Dochartaigh, *Dialects of Ulster Irish* (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, QUB, 1987) 19-62. Malachy McKenna refined the rules for the sound-changes that occurred because of the shortening of historically long vowels in unstressed syllables; see ‘Gutaí Fada Neamhaiceanta in Oirdheisceart Uladh’, *Éigse* 19, No. 1 (1982-1983) 145-149: 148.

236 Stockman and Wagner (‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 170) noted that ‘Written *-án*’ is usually *-an*.’

237 North-west Cavan.

238 Ó Baoill, *Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic*, 260. See also Gearóid Stockman, ‘Giorrú Gutáí Fada Aiceannta i nGaeilge Chúige Uladh’, in S. Watson (ed.), *Féilscríbhinn Thomáis de Bhaldraithe* (Dublin: UCD, 1986) 11-18.

Scottish Gaelic has *nas* in the present and future and *na bu* in the past tense.<sup>239</sup>

In Muintir Luinigh Irish, the Scottish comparative particle, *nas*, as in the example *nas mó* [nəs 'mō:], is found alongside the more usual *níos* / *nios mó* to express the comparative degree of the adjective *mór*.<sup>240</sup> Thus, *Tá Peadar nas mó ná Seán* ‘Peter is bigger than John’ could have occurred alongside the more conventional *Tá Peadar níos mó ná Seán* in Muintir Luinigh. Accordingly, Wagner and Stockman heard *nas bodhra ná mise* ‘deaf than I am’ from Peadar Ó hEachadha of Creagán. For an example of the corresponding past tense form, see the phrase *fear na b’fheárr ná eisean fháil* (I.68-69).<sup>241</sup>

*Nas* has been recorded throughout Ulster except in south-west Donegal and in north-west Cavan.<sup>242</sup> Ó Baoill noted that, while Rathlin had only the Scottish form *nas*, everywhere else in the north of Ireland, which had *nas*, also had *níos* / *nios*.<sup>243</sup> Ó Tuathail (*SML*, § 3) remarked that ‘*nas* occurs more frequently [than *níos*] in E. Ó C.’s speech’.

Note the use of *nas* by Máire Mhic Daibhéid of west Tyrone in her story entitled ‘Nuair a bhí mé i mo ghiosach’: *agus char mhothaigh mé aon dadaidh nas mó* (‘and I did not feel anything anymore’).<sup>244</sup>

Stockman and Wagner listed the comparative particle *nas* as the second item in their list of features that indicated a Scottish Gaelic influence on Tyrone Irish.<sup>245</sup> They drew particular attention to lenition of the comparative form of the adjective in *nas*

239 Ó Baoill, *Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic*, 195, § 16.5, s.v. *nas* ‘more’. Rathlin Irish also had *nas* [nas] in the present and *na ba* [na bə] in the past tense. See N. M. Holmer, *The Irish Language in Rathlin, Co. Antrim*, Todd Lecture Series 18, (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy and Hodges, Figgis 1942) 87.

240 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 166. Ó Baoill, *Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic*, 195.

241 Ó Baoill, *Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic*, 195, § 16.5.

242 For Íochtar Fhánaide and Gleann Bhairr, Emrys Evans stated that ‘The Donegal form of the comparative particle, namely [Nis] *níos*, is replaced by the East Ulster and Scottish Gaelic form [nəs] *nas* in the speech of several individuals; Emrys Evans ‘A Vocabulary of the Dialects of Fanad and Glenvar, Co. Donegal’, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 32 (1972) 167-275: 173. See also Ó Baoill, *Comparative Study of Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic*, 195.

243 Ó Baoill, *Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic*, 195, § 16.5, s.v. *nas*. See Nils M. Holmer, *The Irish Language in Rathlin, Co. Antrim*, Todd Lecture Series 18, (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy and Hodges, Figgis 1942) 88.

244 Ní Bhaoill, *Ulster Gaelic Voices*, 220. Máire Mhic Daibhéid, née Máire Nic Mheanamáin (c. 1864-1938), was born in Mín an Chaorthainn (Meenakeeran) and spent her married life at Mín na Bláiche (Meenablagh).

245 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 207.

*fhéarr*, a feature which Tyrone Irish shared with Scottish Gaelic.<sup>246</sup>

For a detailed analysis of this feature, see Cathair Ó Dochartaigh, ‘Northern Irish *Níos / Nios / Nas*’, *Éigse* 19, Part 2 (1983) 333-340. On the geographical distribution of *níos* as against *nas*, see *LASID* (Vol. 1, map 227).

**I.13 *Dá mbeifeá marbh*] *Á mbeifeá marbh*** ‘If you were dead’. The initial of the conjunction *dá* ‘if’ is lenited in some dialects to give *dhá* and is often reduced in speech to yield *á* as here. Ó Buachalla noted the presence of this feature in Roibeard Ua Cionga’s *Sgéul fa Bheatha Agus Pháis ár d-Tighearna*.<sup>247</sup>

**I.15 *arís*] *aríst*** ‘again’. *Aríst* [əˈriːʃtˠ] is recorded by Stockman and Wagner in their list of examples in which ‘intrusive t’ attaches itself to the final consonant of a word.<sup>248</sup> In the preface to *Sgéul fa Bheatha Agus Pháis ár d-Tighearna*, Ua Cionga stated: ‘It is common or rather a general practice to say, *aríst* for *arís* again.’<sup>249</sup>

**I.16 *Cha phósfadh sí*] *Cha phósfad sí*** ‘She would not marry’. Compare with *bhead se* (I.3). In Muintir Luinigh, the negative particle *cha* [ha]<sup>250</sup> is used to the exclusion of *ní* before regular verbs in the present tense, the future tense, and the conditional mood; similarly, *char* is preferred everywhere to *níor* in the past tense before regular verbs. While Toraigh,<sup>251</sup> Ros Goill,<sup>252</sup> Íochtar Fhánaide<sup>253</sup> and Gleann Bhairr<sup>254</sup> agree with Muintir Luinigh and East Ulster in their preference for *cha* over *ní*, their treatment of the initial consonant is more complex and need not concern us here.

O’Rahilly believed that *cha* had been ‘introduced to Ireland by the Scots.’ His

depiction of the use of *cha* in 1932 is worth quoting:

*cha* established itself firmly in Ulster, so much so that in the spoken language of the greater part of the province it [*cha*] was practically the only negative employed. In Donegal both *cha* and *ní* are in use to-day; in the south of that county the common negative is *ní*, *cha* being rare, but in Inishowen and Fanad in the extreme north, it appears that *cha* alone is employed, except in *níl*. Regarding Fermanagh and Down I have no information. In the remaining six counties of Ulster, and in Louth, *ní* seems to have disappeared completely from the spoken language, except in *ní fhuil* (*níl*) or *ní bhfuil*. *Cha* penetrated into part of North Leinster; thus it is known to have been used as far south as Athboy in Co. Meath. On the western side *cha* stopped short at the Connacht boundary (...).<sup>255</sup>

While this representation of the geographical distribution of *cha* in early twentieth-century Ireland is undoubtedly accurate, contemporary scholars are not as convinced by O’Rahilly’s arguments regarding the origins of *cha* in the north of Ireland.<sup>256</sup>

Finally, it is worth recalling that Wagner and Stockman noted *cha* as the first in their list of features that were indicative of a Scottish Gaelic influence on Tyrone Irish. They remarked:

‘Cha’ is the negative particle used before verbs but, probably because of corruption, it is frequently followed by the future tense. The only one instance in which ‘ní’ has been noted is in ‘níl’.<sup>257</sup>

For a recent discussion of *cha*, see C. Ó Baoill, ‘The Gaelic Continuum’, *Éigse* 32 (2000) 121-134: 128-129.

**I.17 *nó dúirt sí liom*] *fora dúir’ sí liom*** ‘because she told me’. Wagner and Stockman drew a distinction between (1) *for*, a causal conjunction meaning ‘for’ (in the sense

246 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 207. The Rathlin usage is exemplified by: *tá e nas fhéarr na sin* [ta ə nas s ɛ:r na jɪn]; see Holmer, *The Irish Language in Rathlin, Co. Antrim*, 87-88. Seosamh Watson, in a personal communication, informs me that he has heard this form in mid- and south Donegal.

247 Ó Buachalla (‘Nótaí ar Ghaeilge Dhoire agus Thír Eoghain’, 255, § 2.5) remarked: ‘Téann *d* ar ceal sa chónasc *dá*’ (*d* is lost in the conjunction *dá*).

248 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 205.

249 Ua Cionga cited by Ó Buachalla, ‘Nótaí ar Ghaeilge Dhoire agus Thír Eoghain’, 253, § 0.3 (xii).

250 *Cha* becomes *chan* before an initial vowel or lenited *f*. Examples: *cha bhrisim* (I do not break), *chan ólaim* (I do not drink), and *chan fhágaim* (I do not leave).

251 Hamilton (*The Irish of Tory*, 174) noted: ‘The usual negative in Tory and North Donegal generally is *cha* / *chan* in all tenses except the Past. In the Past Tense it is *char*, except in some cases of the irregular verbs where it is *cha*, *chan*. The alternative negative *ní* is only used sporadically in Tory.’

252 Lucas, *Grammar of Ros Goill Irish*, 25.

253 I use the term Íochtar Fhánaide ‘Northern Fanad’ to refer to an area that is roughly co-extensive with Fánaid Thiar and Fánaid Thuaidh Electoral Divisions.

254 Evans ‘A Vocabulary of the Dialects of Fanad and Glenvar’, 173.

255 O’Rahilly, *IDPP*, 166.

256 For a powerful rebuttal of many of O’Rahilly’s arguments regarding this feature, see especially B. Ó Buachalla, ‘*Ní* and *Cha* in Ulster Irish’, *Ériu* 28 (1977) 92-141. See also C. Ó Dochartaigh, ‘*Cha* and *ní* in the Irish of Ulster’, *Éigse* 16, Part 4 (1956) 317-336. See also Ó Dochartaigh’s important assessment of the influence of O’Rahilly’s view on Irish dialectology in *Dialects of Ulster Irish* (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, 1987) 205-231. For Heinrich Wagner’s assessment of the various arguments relating to this topic, see ‘Iarfhocal ar *Ní* agus *Cha* sa Ghaeilge’ in S. Watson (ed.), *Féilscríbhinn Thomáis de Bhaldraithe* (Dublin: UCD, 1986) 1-10. For a useful summary of the various elements of the debate, see A. J. Hughes, ‘Gaeilge Uladh’ in Kim McCone, Damian McManus & Cathal Ó Háinle (eds.), *Stair na Gaeilge*, 610-660: 614-618.

257 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 207, ‘Influence of Scottish Gaelic on Tyrone Irish’.

of ‘because’) and (2) *fora* a temporal conjunction meaning ‘before’.<sup>258</sup> Under *for* ‘for’ [‘because’] they record *for tá sé bródúil beadaí*<sup>259</sup> ‘for he is proud and pert’ and under *fora* ‘before’, they include the examples: *fora dteachaidh sé chun an choláiste* ‘before he went to college’ and *fora rachaidh mé* ‘before I [will] go’.

Roibeard Ua Cionga’s comments on *for* (*a*) are enlightening:

Instead of *óir*, for, the common expression in this country, (given also by O’Brien in his dictionary), is *far*, agreeing with the English word for, which also has been made use of in the following pages.<sup>260</sup>

Examples from Ua Cionga’s work include: *ná bíodh eagla oruibh, far féuch, tá mé a tábhairt* (3) ‘Let ye have no fear, for, look, I am giving’; *Imthig air mo chúla, a Shatain: far atá sé sgríobhtha* (9) ‘Get thee behind me, Satan: for, it is written’; *far ’s é Céuphas, nó Peadar, cómh-ainm do thug Tighearna Iosa do Shíomóin* (22) ‘for Cephas or Peter is the name which the Lord Jesus gave to Simon’; *far a fuair tú grás[t]a ó Dhia* (1) ‘for you have received grace from God’; *far a saoilim náchar sgríobh duine air bíth a ríamh* (ix) ‘for I believe that no one has ever written’.<sup>261</sup> In the preceding list, it is suggested that the last two examples are like *fora dúir’ sí liom* in our text. In those two instances, we have the conjunction *for* + relative particle *a*, as in our example.

I suspect that we are dealing with a single conjunction that could take the form *for* + declarative clause or *for* + relative clause. A parallel might be *mar tá sé mór / mar go bhfuil sé mór* ‘because it is big’.

It is possible that *for(a)* is descended from the Old Irish conjunctive *ar* ‘for, since, seeing that, for the reasons that’ (eDIL s.v. 2 *ar* or dil.ie/3903) with prosthetic *f* prefixed to it.

One might speculate, moreover, that interference from another conjunction – Modern Irish *mar* ‘because’ < Middle Irish *amar* < Old Irish *amal* – might have occurred in this instance.

The loss of *-t* between *r* and *s* in the form *dúir’ se* has also been noted in Toraigh by Hamilton: ‘Between *r* and *s* a consonant is sometimes lost, e. g. *dubhairt* (= *dúirt*) *sé* – [du:ř še]’.<sup>262</sup>

**I.18 in m’áit]** *in m’áit* ‘in my place’. Another example of the use of the form *in*<sup>+nas.</sup> instead of *i*<sup>+nas.</sup> meaning ‘in’ is to be seen in the phrase *in mo thaobh istigh* (I.42). Ua Cionga’s *Sgéul fa Bheatha Agus Pháis ár d-Tighearna* has the following examples of this feature before the 2 singular and 2 plural possessive adjectives *do* and *mur*: *an do lámhasa* ‘in your hands’ (20); *an mur d-teangaidh* ‘in your (plural) language’ (preface, p. ix).<sup>263</sup> Muintir Luinigh agrees strongly with Toraigh in this respect, for, as Hamilton noted, ‘*i* is more often heard as *in* (still nasalising), e. g. *in dToraigh, in bpríosún, in mo chead, in do dhéidh, in bhfíon, in bPáras* etc.’.<sup>264</sup>

**I.19-20 cuirfidh mise mo ghearrán de gheall in aghaidh do ghearráinse]** *cuirfe mise mo ghearrán a gheall i n-aghaidhs do ghearráin-sa* ‘against’ ‘I will bet my horse against your horse’; (literally: ‘I will put my horse as a wager against your horse’). The *-f-* of the *f*-future is normally reduced to [hə] in this unstressed syllable in this dialect, as in the other Ulster dialects. As O’Rahilly noted:

‘The *f* of the future and conditional, like medial *f* generally (p. 207), tends to be reduced to *h*, e. g. *chuirfinn* > *chuirhinn*. This *h* is liable to disappear dialectally, (...). In Irish speech the *f* has usually become *h*, but it tends to be preserved in certain conditions: (a) in the ending *-fa, feá*, of the 2 sg. conditional, (b) in the endings of the passive *-far, faíor*, etc. and *faí, -fí* (< *-faídhe, -fidhe*), and (c) after a vowel or *h*’.<sup>265</sup>

Ó Tuathail (SML, § 23) noted the clear pronunciation of the *f* sound in the 2 sg. of the conditional mood in Tyrone Irish. In the revised edition, the final *-f-idh* of the first conjugation future ending has been restored.

The preposition *de* ‘of, off, from’ is often lenited in Muintir Luinigh and in other Ulster dialects to *dhe*. It is then reduced to *schwa* [ə] with the result that one finds phrases like *de chois na farraige* ‘by the sea-side’ being reduced to *é chois na farraige* and eventually to *c(h)ois na farraige*.<sup>266</sup>

The phrase *i n-aghaidhs* may be derived from the combination of the compound preposition *in aghaidh* ‘against’ and the simple preposition *as* ‘out of, from’ to produce

258 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 163.

259 Their spelling has been modernised in this instance.

260 Ua Cionga’s preface quoted by Ó Buachalla in ‘Nótaí ar Ghaeilge Dhoire is Thír Eoghain’, 253, § 0.3 (vii).

261 Ó Buachalla, ‘Nótaí ar Ghaeilge Dhoire is Thír Eoghain’, 270, s. v. ‘*far(a)*’.

262 Hamilton, *Irish of Tory*, 169, § a.

263 Ó Buachalla, ‘Nótaí ar Ghaeilge Dhoire is Thír Eoghain’, 260, s.v. *I*.

264 Hamilton, *Irish of Tory*, 190, § c.

265 O’Rahilly, *IDPP*, 222.

266 Hamilton (*Irish of Tory*, 168, § c) noted that ‘The initial vowels are usually lost in *é chois, i dtaca, é chóir*, e. g. *ná tar é mo chóir* (...) – don’t come near me.’



a new prepositional form as has occurred with *thaire le*; alternatively, it may be a combination of the compound preposition *in aghaidh* with the conjunction *is*. The initial vowel of the preposition *as* has been elided after the vowel sequence in *aghaidh*. Having been unable to discern the underlying form in *i n-aghaidhs*, I have employed *in aghaidh* in the revised edition.

Strictly speaking, *gearrán* means ‘gelding’ (FGB, 624, s.v. *gearrán*), but it appears to have been used as a generic term for ‘horse’ in much of east and south Ulster.<sup>267</sup> In contrast, Donegal generally preferred *beathach* (FGB, 104, s.v. *beithíoch* [= *beathach*] meanings (1) ‘beast’; (5) ‘horse’) and indeed that word is attested in I.51: *agus bhí an beathach sa pháirc aige* ‘and he had the horse in the field’. *Capall* is attested in our stories at III.92, with its plural *caiple* being found at I.7. It is therefore unsurprising that *LASID* (Vol. 1, map 52) records that all three words for ‘horse’ were to be heard in Tyrone and Inis Eoghain.

Since *ghearráin* ends in a slender consonant, one might accordingly expect the emphatic suffix to appear here in its slender form *-se* [ʃə] rather than in its broad form *-sa* [sə]. However, some dialects of Ulster Irish appear to have generalised the broad version of the emphatic suffix *-sa* [sə] at the expense of its slender counterpart *-se*. Thus, for example, *chan fhaghaim-sa* ‘I will not get’ (*Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, 8.27 = CO *ní fhaighimse*) and *Cha dtugaim-sa thusa liom* ‘I will not take you with me’ (*Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, 17.12), both from Farney.

This characteristic of Ulster Irish must date to at least the eighteenth century since it is found in the poetry of the south Armagh poet, Art Mac Cumhaigh (1738-1773). Ó Fiaich cited the examples of *cluinnim-sa* (5, 49) and *cha dtéim-sa* (21, 241) in his edition of Mac Cumhaigh’s poetry.<sup>268</sup>

**I.22 Cuirim leat]** *Cuirim leat* ‘I (will) bet against you’, i.e. ‘I accept your bet’. The idiom is *rud éigin a chur de gheall le duine éigin*. Modern Irish *le* has inherited the meaning ‘against’ from the Old Irish preposition *fri*, Middle Irish *ri* / *re*.

**I.23 an margadh]** *a’ margan* ‘the deal’. In his preface to *Sgéul fa Bheatha Agus Pháis ár d-Tighearna*, Ua Cionga asserted that ‘*An*, the article is generally pronounced *a* before a consonant, omitting the *n*’.<sup>269</sup>

267 Wagner & Ó Baoill, *LASID*, map 52. See also, Ó Baoill, ‘The Gaelic Continuum’, *Éigse* 32 (2000) 121-134: 129-130.

268 Tomás Ó Fiaich, *Art Mac Cumhaigh: Dánta* (Dublin: An Clóchomhar, 1973) 67-68.

269 Cited by Ó Buachalla, ‘Nótaí ar Ghaeilge Dhoire is Thír Eoghain’, 253 (xi).

*margadh* [marəgu] ‘a deal, a bargain’ is the form cited by Stockman and Wagner. Ó Tuathail (*SML*, § 31) suggested that *margan* was a borrowing into Irish of English ‘bargain’ and an example of initial *m* replacing initial *b*.

**I.25 Cad é mar [a] dhéanfas mé]** *Goidé mar gheanfas me* ‘how will I proceed’, literally ‘what is the way that I will do’. In CO, the expected form would be *Cad é mar a dhéanfaidh mé*. The interrogative particle *cad é* is derived from Old Irish *cote* ‘what (is)?’<sup>270</sup> Rudolf Thurneysen noted the following two examples from the eighth century Würzburg Glosses: *cate* [= Mod. Ir. *cad é*] *an fírinne* ‘of what sort is the righteousness?’ (4 d 23) and *as-bera coteet* [= Mod. Ir. *cad iad*] *mo béssi-se* (9 a 17) ‘he will say what (sort) my manners are’.<sup>271</sup>

Most Ulster Irish dialects have transformed this word’s initial voiceless velar plosive [k] into a voiced velar plosive [g] to produce *goidé* [gə’d’e:].<sup>272</sup> Roibeard Ua Cionga’s *Sgéul fa Bheatha Agus Pháis ár d-Tighearna* has *go dé mar* ‘how’ in phrases like *go dé mar tá tú féin* (viii) ‘how are you?’ and *go dé* ‘what’ in *níl fios aca go dé tá siad a dhéanadh* (19) ‘they know not what they are doing’.<sup>273</sup> The Louth religious text, *The Spiritual Rose* (1800), provides us with numerous examples of *goidé*.<sup>274</sup> In the case of Gleann Ghaibhle, Ó Tuathail noted that ‘Initially, *c* has become *g* in *god eile*, ‘what else’; *goid as* ‘why’ and *goidé* ‘what (is it)’.<sup>275</sup> For the geographical distribution of *goidé* as against *caidé* and *cad* (é), see *LASID* (Vol. 1, map 142).

According to Ó Tuathail, Classical Modern Irish irregular verb [gh] *ním* : *ní déanaim* (= CO *déanaim* : *ní dhéanaim* ‘I do : I do not do’) evolved into the forms [gh] *ním* or *gheanaim* : *cha deanaim* in the 1 singular present indicative in Muintir Luinigh Irish. The dialect had *tean(a)* in the 2 singular imperative; and *gheanfaidh* [= *dheanfaidh*] *mé*: *cha deanfaidh mé* in the future indicative, with a verbal noun in *deanamh* / *teanamh*.<sup>276</sup> The future form according to the 1950 collection was: *gheanfaidh* [= *dheanfaidh*] *mé*

270 eDIL s. v. *cote* or dil.ie/12664.

271 Rudolf Thurneysen, *A Grammar of Old Irish* (Dublin: DIAS, 1980) § 462.

272 Lucas, *Grammar of Ros Goill Irish*, 196 and Wagner, *Gaeilge Theilinn*, 335. Note, however, that Hamilton gives both *caidé* and *goidé* for this interrogative pronoun (*The Irish of Tory*, 186, § b).

273 Ó Buachalla, ‘Nótaí ar Ghaeilge Dhoire is Thír Eoghain’, 271, s. v. *go dé*.

274 Malachy McKenna (ed.), *The Spiritual Rose: Prayers and Meditations in Irish* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 2001) 347, s. v. *goidé* ‘what’.

275 Ó Tuathail, *Seanchas Ghleann Ghaibhle*, xxi.

276 *SML* (2016) xlv.



[ja:nə m'a] 'I will do': *cha deanfaidh mé* [ha d'a:nə m'a] 'I will not do'.<sup>277</sup>

Hughes has remarked that the spelling of the beginning of this verb with initial *gh-*, as in Ó Tuathail's *ghean-f-*, is probably historically more 'correct' here than *dhean-f-* since Old Irish has *do-gén-* as its future stem, and Classical Modern Irish has *do-ghéan-f-*.<sup>278</sup>

In many Ulster dialects, vocalic length in this verbal stem moved from *e* to *a*. Thus, *déan* > *deán*.<sup>279</sup> Regarding the matter of vocalic length in this verb in Muintir Luinigh, Ó Tuathail (§ 15) noted that:

'The vowel in *dean-* (= *déan-*), *ghean-* (= *ghéan-*) fluctuates in length. It is always short in *deanamh* and *teanamh*. The verbal forms are always short except in pausa'.<sup>280</sup>

Similarly, the length of the vowel was often, but not always, reduced to give *deanaim* in Donegal. Thus, while Toraigh like Tyrone, uses the independent form *dheanfaidh* [janhə] with reduced vocalic length in the future tense,<sup>281</sup> Ros Goill, for example, appears to have retained vocalic length in that tense in *dheánfaidh* [ja:Nhə].<sup>282</sup>

In all examples of future tense verbs in *SML*, the unstressed final syllable in *-f-aidh* / *-f-idh* is reduced to [hə].<sup>283</sup>

As for the ending *-eas*, it was historically an indication that a 3 singular present or 3 singular future verb was operating within a relative clause.<sup>284</sup> However, in many Ulster dialects the *-eas* ending spread to the 1 and 2 singular and plural as a relative clause marker for both those tenses.<sup>285</sup> Accordingly, in Roibeard Ua Cionga's *Sgéul*

277 The 1 sg. future independent forms given by Stockman and Wagner ('A Study of Tyrone Irish', 118-119) are: [janə m'a, jənə m'a, jənə m'ε] from Creagán; [janə m'a] from Gleann Aichle; and [ja: nə m'iʃə] from Gleann Leirge.

278 A. J. Hughes, 'Gaeilge Uladh', in Kim McCone, Damian McManus, et al (eds.), *Stair na Gaeilge in Ómós do Pádraig Ó Fiannachta*, (Maynooth: St. Patrick's College Maynooth, 1994) 652.

279 Ó Buachalla ('Nótaí ar Ghaeilge Dhoire agus Thír Eoghain', 254, § 1.7) noted the shortening of 'éa > ea sa bhfocal a dheanadh [do dhéanamh]'.<sup>280</sup>

280 *SML* (2015) xxviii.

281 Hamilton, *Irish of Tory*, 206.

282 Lucas, *Grammar of Ros Goill Irish*, 135.

283 Hughes ('Gaeilge Uladh', 642) cites the example *glanfaidh* [glanhə] from the first conjugation where *-f-* is realised as [h] in the future active voice and the ending *-(a)idh* is reduced to ə.

284 Hughes, 'Gaeilge Uladh', 641-642.

285 See Wagner, *Gaedhilg Theilinn*, 103-104.

*fa Bheatha Agus Pháis ár d-Tighearna*, the special relative ending in *-(e)as* has also spread beyond the 3 sg. present and future (with the relative particles *do* or *a*, or without them), to the 2 sg. present and 2 sg. future relative.<sup>286</sup> An example of the 2 sg. future with special relative ending in *-(e)as* from Ua Cionga's text is *an tan thiocfas tu* (19) 'when you will come'.<sup>287</sup>

It should be noted that the south Ulster texts published by Seosamh Laoide show both the innovative *-(e)as* ending and the historical ending in this context. Thus, for example, Tomás Ó Corragáin from Farney says both *níl a fhios agam goidé dhéanfas mé leat* 'I do not know what I will do with you'<sup>288</sup> and *Goidé dhéanfaidh me?* 'What will I do?'<sup>289</sup>

**I.25 chun a dhéanamh amach** [ʼun] a dhéanamh amach 'in order to ascertain or determine it'. For the idiom *déan amach* 'make out; conclude, determine', see Ó Dónaill (*FGB*, 380, s.v. *déan amach*).

Ó Tuathail has restored the word *chun*, but printed it in its abbreviated form as used in everyday speech. The word *chun* is used here to establish the infinitive construction; the object pronoun 'it' is conveyed by inserting the 3 sg. masculine possessive adjective *a* (leniting) 'his / its' before the verbal noun *déanamh*.

**I.26 ag moladh na mná** a' moladh na mra 'praising the woman'. For another example of the loss of *g* [g] before a verbal noun beginning with a consonant, see *a' treabh'* (I.4). On the pronunciation of *n* as [r] in this context, see note 1.5.

**I.27 cosnochtaithe** *cosnochtaí* 'barefooted'. According to Wagner, *cosnochtaithe* [kɔsNɔxdi] was used alongside *costarnocht*, the more common Donegal word for 'bare-footed' in Teileann.<sup>290</sup> The final *-the* [hə] of the verbal adjective (past participle) ending of second conjugation verbs was often dropped in everyday speech in Ulster dialects. Compare this with Ó Corragáin's sentence: *An é nach leigfidh tú do ghasúr bhocht cosnochtaí isteach?* 'Is it the case that you will not let in your poor, barefooted boy?'<sup>291</sup>

**I.28 ultach luachra** *ultach luachra* 'an armful of rushes'. Ó Dónaill defined *ultach* as 1) 'armful, breast-load'; 2) 'load, burden'; *FGB*, 1301, s.v. *ultach*. *Luachra* is the

286 Ó Buachalla, 'Nótaí ar Ghaeilge Dhoire agus Thír Eoghain', 262, § 7.5.

287 Ibid., 263, § 7.5.

288 Tomás Ó Corragáin, 'Aodh Beag Ó Leabharcha', in Laoide, *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, 8.7-8.

289 Ó Corragáin, 'Tigh na Gann-Choda', in Laoide, *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, 41.16, 41.28.

290 Wagner, *Gaeilge Theilinn*, 225.

291 Ó Corragáin, 'Gobha an tSuic', in Laoide, *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, 47.6-7.

genitive singular of the feminine collective noun *luachair* [luəxərˈ] ‘rushes’; *FGB*, 803, s.v. *luachair*. Padaí Láidir Mac Culadh is recorded as saying: *thug mé ultach* [ʌtə] *féir chuici* ‘I brought an armful of grass over to her’.<sup>292</sup>

**I.29 tinneas imlinn]** *tinneas imlinn* ‘stomach-ache’. *Imlinn* is the genitive singular of a noun that is derived from the Old Irish *n*-stem *imliu*, *imbliu* meaning ‘navel’; eDIL s.v. *imliu*, *imbliu* or *dil.ie/27623*. Ó Dónaill equates it with *imleachán* (*FGB*, 705, s.v. *imlinn*).

**I.29 leigheas]** *léas* ‘a cure’. *-gh-* between vowels is lost in many words that were historically polysyllabic. Ulster dialects compensated for this loss by lengthening the vowel or vocalic sequence that was left behind, whereas the western and southern dialects compensated by transforming the vestigial vowel(s) into a diphthong. Hence, Ó Tuathail’s spelling in *é* [e:] and the pronunciation [Lˈe:s].

To quote O’Rahilly:

Stressed *eigh*, *oigh*, *aigh* [when non-final], give a diphthong in Irish generally (outside Ulster), i. e. the palatal *gh* became *i* which combined with the preceding short *e*, *o*, or *a*. In Ulster and N. Meath, on the other hand, the *gh* disappeared with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, with the result that *e(i)gh* became *é*, *oigh* became *aé* (= *E:*), and *aigh*, after passing through *oigh*, also became *aé*. Thus *feidhm* > *fém*, *leigheas* > *léas* (...).<sup>293</sup>

**I.30 go dtí go bhfuighidh tú bás]** *go dtí go bhfuí tú bás* ‘until you die’. *Go bhfaighidh* in CO.

**I.30 leis an ócáid]** *leis an ócaid* ‘on account of the incident’. The simple preposition *le*, which is here combined with the article, can mean ‘by reason of, as a result of’; *FGB*, 754, s.v. *le*, (meaning 20). Examples of this usage cited by Ó Dónaill include: *Ná cuir thú féin in easláinte leis* ‘Don’t ruin your health because of it’; *Níor chuala mé é le gleo na bpáistí* ‘I did not hear it because of the noise of the children’.

Although the general meaning of *ócáid* is ‘occasion’, it can specifically mean ‘particular happening, incident’ (*FGB*, 919, s.v. *ócáid*, 2). In this dialect, the historically long vowel of the unstressed syllable would have been shortened.

Alternatively, we might understand *ócaid* as representing *aicíd* ‘a disease’. Ó Tuathail

may have been trying to imply that the initial vowel was not the expected unrounded vowel *a* [a], but a rounded vowel *o* [ɔ].

**I.31 ag gabháil thart fán áit]** *a’ goil thart fa’n áit* ‘going past the place’. Old and Middle Irish *téit* ‘he goes’, Early Modern and Classical Irish (1200-1650) *téid* and Modern Irish *téann* / *t(h)éid* (Ulster) had a verbal noun *dul*, *dol* ‘the act of going’. Alternatively, one could use *gaibid*, with its verbal noun *gabál* [= Modern Irish *gabháil*] to express the meaning ‘goes’. That verb however, had several additional meanings. Among its transitive meanings were ‘seizes, receives’; its intransitive meanings included ‘lands, settles’; ‘reigns’; ‘sings’.

Ó Tuathail wrote a detailed note in *SML* on the forms *ag dul* and *ag gabháil*,<sup>294</sup> he concluded that these two words were confused and had contaminated each other.<sup>295</sup> Ó Tuathail noted the same phenomenon in north-west Cavan Irish: ‘The form of the verbal noun, viz. *go(i)l* is due to the confusion of *dul* and *gabháil*’.<sup>296</sup>

The contamination must have begun at the level of both meaning and sound. In the first instance, both verbs conveyed the meaning ‘goes’. In the second, lenited *d* in *dhul* and lenited *g* in *ghabháil* produced the same sound, a voiced velar fricative [ɣ].

The difficulty in distinguishing between the two verbal nouns is exemplified by the following example from Ros Goill: *Caithfidh tú a ghoil roimhe mhéara an bhaile mhóir*: ‘you’ll have to go before the mayor of the town’.<sup>297</sup> The same issue is to be seen in the following example from a story told in south Monaghan: *D’iarr se orthú a dhul* ‘He asked them to go’.<sup>298</sup>

Moreover, in dialects where the palatalisation of final *l* and *r* is not strongly marked in unstressed syllables, like those of Ros Goill and Muintir Luinigh, then the distinction between underlying *gabháil* and *dul* is rendered impossible. As a consequence, *dul*, the old verbal noun of *t(h)éid* : *ní théann* was displaced by *gabháil*, which in turn was generalised in Tyrone as the verbal noun for expressing ‘the act of going’.<sup>299</sup>

*Dul* has been also displaced by *gabháil* as the verbal noun for *t(h)éid* in Ros

<sup>294</sup> *SML* (2015) xlv.

<sup>295</sup> *SML* (2015) lvi.

<sup>296</sup> Ó Tuathail, *Seanchas Ghleann Ghaibhle*, xxxv, s.v. *téim*.

<sup>297</sup> Pádraig Ó Conaglaigh, ‘An Saighdiúir a D’Imir Cardaí sa Teampall’, in Ní Bhaoill, *Ulster Gaelic Voices*, 106-107.

<sup>298</sup> Ó Corragáin, ‘Parra Mac Ghiolla Riabhaigh’, in Laoide, *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, 36.25.

<sup>299</sup> Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 123-24, s. v. *gabháil*.

<sup>292</sup> Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 109, s.v. *ultach* ‘an armful’. I use the symbol [ʌ] for Stockman and Wagner’s [o] with two dots underneath it.

<sup>293</sup> O’Rahilly, *IDPP*, 181.

Goill<sup>300</sup> and in Toraigh.<sup>301</sup> So great was the confusion between these two verbal nouns in Teileann that Wagner collected hypercorrect *dul bradán* [dʌl braDʌn] ‘catching salmon’ for *gabháil bradán*.<sup>302</sup> Like Tyrone and Donegal, Gleann Ghaibhle uses *goil* [gabháil] rather than *dul* as its verbal noun for *t(h)éid*.<sup>303</sup> An example from Brian Mac Cuarta – *bhí cearc ag goil thart* ‘a hen was going past’ – may suggest that Omeath Irish had also replaced *dul* with *gabháil*.<sup>304</sup>

In contrast, Louth’s Mathew Kennedy maintained the historical distinction in the early nineteenth century text, *The Spiritual Rose*.<sup>305</sup> In this regard, it is interesting to note that there are very few instances of *gabháil* being used in *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, but this may be due to Seosamh Laoide’s editorial intervention.<sup>306</sup>

The evidence collected by Stockman and Wagner might be interpreted as evidence for the verbal noun *gabháil(t)* being pronounced differently depending on the meaning involved. Thus where *gabháil* is used with the meaning ‘singing, chanting’, then it appears to have been pronounced as a disyllabic word as in *ag gabháil cheoil* ‘singing’.<sup>307</sup> *LASID* (Vol. 1, map 190) indicates that *ag gabháil(t)* was often pronounced with a long *o*-sound [o:] or a variant thereof in this context in Tyrone, Inis Eoghain, Gleann Ghaibhle, and Omeath.

In contrast, where *gabháil* was used with the meaning ‘going’, it appears to have been generally pronounced as a monosyllable, as in the phrase, *ag goil* [ə ɡol] ‘*chun an aonaigh*’ ‘going to the fair’.<sup>308</sup>

Ó Tuathail’s remarks on the confusion of *dul* and *gabháil* in Gleann Ghaibhle are worth quoting: ‘The latter [gabháil], however, has survived as a distinct form, being now represented by *geóil* or *góil* in the expression *ag geóil cheóil*, ‘singing a song’.<sup>309</sup>

300 Lucas, *Grammar of Ros Goill Irish*, 137, §. 537, s.v. *gabháil*.

301 Hamilton, *Irish of Tory*, 204-205, s. v. *gabh*.

302 Wagner, *Gaeilge Theilinn*, 50, § 16.

303 Ó Tuathail, *Seanchas Ghleann Ghaibhle*, xxxiii-xxxiv.

304 Brian Mac Cuarta, ‘Mo Athair agus an Slat Iascaireachta’, in Ní Bhaoill, *Ulster Gaelic Voices*, 254-57: 254-55.

305 McKenna, *The Spiritual Rose*, lxvi, s.v. *téighim*.

306 See, for example, *go rabh se ag dul a dh’iarraidh nighne an ríogh* (= CO *go raibh sé ag dul a iarraidh iníne an rí*) ‘that he was going to ask the king’s daughter; Ó Corragáin, ‘Aodh Beag Ó Leabharcha’, in Laoide, *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, 1.18-19. See also *ag dul i gcrannaibh* (*Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, 21.25).

307 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 123, s.v. *gabháil*.

308 See Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 123.

309 Ó Tuathail, *Seanchas Ghleann Ghaibhle*, xxxv.

**I.32 tchífimid]** *tífe mur* ‘we will see’. The verb is *tchím* / *tím* [= CO: *feicim*] ‘I see’. Ulster Irish uses the verb *tchím* where Connacht has *feicim* and Munster *chím*. The Ulster and Munster forms are derived from the Old Irish verb *ad-cí* ‘sees’. In Old Irish (AD 700-900), it was possible to infix object pronouns into such verbal complexes. Thus, Old Irish *at-chí* means ‘he sees it’. However, as Old Irish evolved into Middle Irish (AD 900-1200), such infixed object pronouns became petrified and meaningless. In the case of this verb, Old Irish *at-chí* ‘he sees it’ merely rendered the meaning ‘he sees’ by the end of the Middle Irish period. Moreover, the initial vowel in *at-chí* had become unstable and was eventually lost to produce *tchí*, which some scholars, including Ó Tuathail, spelt as *tím*.

This 1 plural future form is of particular interest. The ending *-mur*, more properly *-mar*, is the 1 plural ending that was historically suffixed to past tense verbs in written Ulster Irish in the eighteenth century, thus giving forms like *rinneamar* ‘we did’. A strongly marked or emphatic form of this personal ending is found in Ua Cionga’s text: *agus atámur inne* (1 plural present < *atá*)<sup>310</sup> *go deárbhtha afulang pionus go ceart do réir mar thuil ar n-drochoibreacha* (19) ‘and we are certainly suffering punishment appropriately in accordance with what our wicked doings have deserved’.<sup>311</sup> In this instance, the 1 plural past tense ending has migrated into the future tense; see Nollaig McGonagle, ‘Migration of Verbal Teminations’, *Ériu* 37 (1986) 93-97: 94.

**I.32 mar [a] rachas na gnaithí]** *mar rachas na graithí* ‘how matters will go’, literally ‘how it is that matters will go’. The relative particle *a* has been restored after the conjunction *mar* [mər]. Concerning the relative ending in *-eas* / *-as*, see note I.25.

On the pronunciation of *n* as *r* when *n* follows the letters *c*, *t*, *g* and *m*, see note 1.5. The CO uses *gnó* ‘business, affair, matter’ for the nominative singular, whereas many of the Ulster dialects used the form *gnaithe* [grəihə] for the nominative singular,<sup>312</sup> and *gnaithí* as the nominative plural.

**I.34 d’éirigh an fear seo]** *d’irigh an fear seo* ‘this man [who was always praising his wife] arose’. Under the sound-change *é > í*, Ó Tuathail listed the examples: *Íomann* (= *Éamonn*), *Stómus* (= *Séamus*), *hín* (= *féin*), *írig* (= *éirigh*).<sup>313</sup> While the verb *éirigh*

310 = < *atámur* + *shinne*.

311 Ó Buachalla, ‘Nótaí ar Ghaeilge Dhoire agus Thír Eoghain’, 262, § 7.3.

312 Hamilton, *Irish of Tory*, 286. Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 82. Wagner, *Gaeilge Theilinn*, 38.

313 SML (2015), xxv, § 2. Seosamh Watson reminds us that the long-*i* sound [i:] that emerged in Modern Irish



was generally pronounced with an initial *í* [i:] sound in Ulster, this pronunciation was not ubiquitous. Initial *é* in the verb *éirigh* was pronounced as it was written, as [e:], but also as *í* [i:] in south-west Donegal, Cavan, Rathlin and the Glens of Antrim.<sup>314</sup> It is worth noting that while most instances of this verb show an [i:] sound in the Stockman-Wagner corpus from Tyrone, pronunciations in [e:] as well as [i:] were found therein. Peadar Joe Ó hEachadha of An Creagán said *d'éirigh sé* [d'í:rI fɛ] 'he got up', while Jane Nic Ruairí of Gleann Leirge said *d'éirigh sí* [d'í:rI fɪ] 'she got up'.<sup>315</sup> Seosamh Watson attributes this sound-change, which may indeed have been to [i:] rather than to simple [i:], to an underlying historical form.<sup>316</sup>

**I.35 chuaigh sé** *fuaidh se* 'he went'. The use of *fuaidh* for *chuaigh* was common throughout Ulster and in North Connacht. Ó Tuathail (*SML*, § 40) listed this change as an example of *ch* > *f*. Wagner and Stockman give the forms [fuə], [fuəi], and [fuI].<sup>317</sup> It is worth noting, however, that more 'conventional' *chuaigh* [xuə] or [xuəI] was also recorded by Wagner in Gleann Leirge and Gleann Aichle.<sup>318</sup>

**I.37-38 chuig an mhnaoi** *'uig an mhraoi* 'to his wife', literally 'to the wife'. Initial *ch-* [h] in the preposition *chuig(e)* was regularly dropped by Ó Cianáin to produce a sound [ig'ə].<sup>319</sup> However, not all Tyrone speakers omitted initial *ch-* in this instance.<sup>320</sup> Interestingly, omission of initial *ch-* [h] is also common in Toraigh.<sup>321</sup> A good example of omission of initial *ch-* is to be seen in a sentence from a tale told by Farneyman, Tomás Ó Corragáin: *Chaith se an cionn 'uig an rígh* 'He threw the head to the king'.<sup>322</sup>

*éirí* in Tyrone was not analogous to the *í* [i:] sound that arose in *Séamus* in Tyrone.

314 Ó Baoill, *Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic*, 44-45, § 5.13, s.v. *Írí*.

315 Stockman and Wagner, 'A Study of Tyrone Irish', 120, s.v. *éirghe*.

316 Personal communication from Seosamh Watson.

317 Stockman and Wagner, 'A Study of Tyrone Irish', 124.

318 Ibid., 124. For a detailed discussion of this feature, see Breandán Ó Buachalla, 'Modern Irish *fuaidh*', *Celtica* 25 (2007) 160-165; Cnochúr Mag Eacháin, 'Varia II: *fuaidh* sa Nua-Ghaeilge', *Éigse* 40 (2019) 333-339.

319 O'Rahilly (*IDPP*, 210) noted: 'Initial *ch-*, when the lenition is permanent, tends to be weakened everywhere except in S[outhern]. Ir. Thus *cha* is commonly *ha*; *chugam* is *hugam* or *ugam*; *chun* (< *dochum*) is *un* or even *n* in N[orthern] Ir. (...)'.  
 320 Stockman and Wagner, 'A Study of Tyrone Irish', 157.

321 Hamilton, *Irish of Tory*, 220.

322 Ó Corragáin, 'Aodh Beag Ó Leabharcha', in Laoide, *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, 4.3-4.

In some north Donegal dialects, omission of initial *ch* in this preposition is so common that *chuig* 'to, towards' and *ag (aig)* 'at' have become confused. As O'Rahilly remarked:

In N. Ir., on the other hand, *chugam* has lost its *ch-* and become *hugam* or *agam*, with the result that it and *agam* have generally become confused.<sup>323</sup>

An example of this kind of confusion is to be seen in the Inis Eoghain version of 'Ashy Pet' as told by Diarmuid Mac Giolla Chearra in 1929 when he says: *chaith sé aige toigh chailleach na gcearc iad* (= CO *chaith sé chuig teach Chailleach na gCearc iad*) 'he threw them towards the house of Cailleach na gCearc'.<sup>324</sup>

The clarity of the context in our phrase means that there was no need to employ the 3 sg. masculine possessive adjective *a* 'his' to express the meaning 'his wife'; here the article *an* 'the' suffices.

Ó Tuathail's spelling of the dative singular of *bean* 'a woman' reflects the pronunciation of *n* in this context as [r]; see note 1.5.

**I.42-43 nach bhfoghaim thaire leis** *nach bhfóim thaire leis* 'that I will not get over it'. This is the 1 sg. present indicative dependent form of the irregular verb (*do-*) *gheibhim* : *ní fhaghaim* (= CO *faighim* : *ní fhaighim*). The tendency to use the forms of the present indicative to convey a future meaning is ubiquitous in Scottish Gaelic.<sup>325</sup> It is also found in negative relative sentences in many Ulster Irish dialects.

The use of the vowel *-o-* rather than *-a-* in the stem is now unusual, but that was not always so. In his discussion of the Classical Modern Irish, *do-gheibh* 'faigheann', Damian McManus reminds us that this verb in the present tense could indeed have an *o*-vowel in its stem:

*Tá rogha an-fhairsing foirmeacha sa tamhan spleách. Ceadaítear foirmeacha dar tús f nó guta, rogha idir an guta a agus o (o nó u san fhaistíneach) agus an bh a bheith ann nó as (m. sh. 1 u., tascach láithreach spleách: -faghbhaim, -aghbhaim, -foghbhaim, -oghbhaim, -faghaim, -aghaim, -foghaim, -oghaim 'faighim').*<sup>326</sup>

323 *IDPP*, 217. Hamilton (*Irish of Tory*, 190) noted that: 'ag and *chuig* have fallen together, both phonetically identical and appearing as *agam* / *'ugam*, *agat* / *'ugat* etc.'

324 Ó Tuathail, 'Ashy Pet', *Béaloides* 2, No. 2 (1929) 148-56: 149.

325 In *IDPP*, O'Rahilly (167) stated: 'In Scottish and in Manx, (...), the present tense has taken over the functions of the future, (...)'.  
 326 D. McManus, 'An Nua-Ghaeilge Chlasaiceach', in McCone, McManus et al, (eds.), *Stair na Gaeilge in*



There is a very wide choice of forms in the dependent stem. Forms are permitted with initial *f* or with an initial vowel; [there is] a choice between the vowel *a* and *o* (*o* or *u* in the future) and for there to be *bh* or not (e.g. the 1 sg. indicative present dependent: *-faghbhaim*, *-aghbhaim*, *-foghbhaim*, *-oghbhaim*, *-faghaim*, *-aghaim*, *-foghaim*, *-oghaim* ‘I get’).

Note the attestation of the imperative form in our example *fógh an t-airgead* ‘Get the money’ (II.36).

*O* is attested in this verbal stem in Art Mac Cumhaigh’s *Mairgneach faoi Chaisleán na Glasdromainne* (‘Ag bruach Dhún Réimhe ar uaigneas lae’): *Ó bhreoigh tú mé le glór do bhéil*, | *’s nach bhfoghtar* (Manuscript: *bhfór*) *le léigheas* (Manuscript: *léas*) *ón bhás mé* (‘Since you enfeebled me by the sound of your voice, and I will not be retrieved from death by a cure’).<sup>327</sup> In this instance, there is rime between *glór* and *bhfoghtar*. The *o* sound in *bhfoghtar* was long and was pronounced as either [o:] or [ɔ:]. There is also rime between *foghaim* and *stóir* in lines 71 and 72 of the same poem.

*Thaire le* is here taken as a compound preposition meaning ‘over’. See Ó Tuathail’s discussion on *thaire le* in *SML*.<sup>328</sup>

**I.44 Thosaigh sí** *Thosuigh sí* ‘she [the woman] began’. The Muintir Luinigh past tense of the verb *tosaím* ‘I begin’ is at odds with Toraigh which has 3 sg. past tense *thoisigh sé* [hɔʃə ʃe] ‘he began’.<sup>329</sup> Wagner noted that Teileann Irish differed from North Donegal in general, and even from Gleann Cholm Cille in south-west Donegal insofar as its medial *s* in this verb was pronounced as a broad *s* [s] rather than as a slender *s* [ʃ] as exemplified by [hosə ʃe].<sup>330</sup>

**I.45 gach aon seort** *cach a’n seórt* ‘everything’. The use of *cach* for *gach* may be an archaic usage. According to Ó Tuathail, Ó Cianáin preferred to use *cach* rather than *gach*; see *SML*, § 29. Other examples are: *cach a’n duine* (II.19); *cach a’n rud* (III.5), *cach a’n seórt* (III.24, III.81), *cach a’n lá* (III.82-83), *cach a’n seachtain* (III.83). Following Hamilton, the spelling *seort* [ʃɔ:rt] ‘a sort, kind’ has been retained here.<sup>331</sup> Stockman

and Wagner give [ʃɔ:rt] from Gleann Láirc and [ʃo:rt] from Gleann Aichle.<sup>332</sup> The phrase *gach aon seort* occurs repeatedly in Tomás Ó Corragáin’s Irish.<sup>333</sup>

**I.46 níos measa** *nas measa* ‘worse’. On the use of *nas* alongside *níos*, see the note on I.11 *níos mó*.

**I.46 an ceann eile** *an cionn eile* ‘the other one’. In most Ulster dialects, dative singular *cionn* has displaced the historical nominative *ceann*, even in instances where the syntax would normally have required *ceann*. This is the case throughout this collection of stories. For the geographical distribution of the various pronunciations of nominative *ceann* and genitive *cinn*, see *LASID* (Vol. 1, map 120).

**I.48 ar mhullach an chlaí is airde** *air mhullach an chladh is uirde* ‘on top of the highest ditch’. Old Irish masculine noun *clad*, genitive singular *claid*, is defined as ‘a ditch, trench; dyke’.<sup>334</sup> For Early Modern Irish, Dinneen, (*Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla*, 197), gives *cladh*, *claidh* ‘an earth-work’; that is, ‘a fence’, but adds that the form ‘generally’ used ‘now’ [early twentieth century] was *claidhe*. Ó Dónaill, *FGB* (237, s.v. *clai*) gives nominative *clai*, genitive *clai* for the contemporary Modern Irish form. This last form is reflected in a monosyllabic nominative singular *clai* [kLi:] from Ros Goill,<sup>335</sup> and *clai* [kli:] in Toraigh.<sup>336</sup> A disyllabic form, however, is also found as *claidhe* [kli:ə] in Toraigh<sup>337</sup> and as [kləiʲə] in Teileann.<sup>338</sup> Finally, it should be recalled that one list of words that may have been collected in Mid-Tyrone by Father Conn Mhac an Ghirr gives the pronunciation of *cladh* as [kle:h] and [klÁ:].<sup>339</sup>

Ó Tuathail’s form suggests that Ó Cianáin had nominative singular *an cladh* and genitive singular *an chladh*, probably a slip of the tongue on Ó Cianáin’s part when one recalls that Wagner collected *claidh* [klöə]<sup>340</sup> for the nominative and *an chladhe*

332 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 100.

333 Ó Corragáin, ‘Aodh Beag Ó Leabharcha’, in Laoide, *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, 9.5.

334 eDIL s.v. *clad* or dil.ie/9294

335 Lucas, 244, s.v. *clai*.

336 Hamilton, *Irish of Tory*, 254, s.v. *claidhe*.

337 Hamilton, *Irish of Tory*, 254, s.v. *claidhe*.

338 Wagner, *Gaeilge Theilinn*, 80, § 222, s.v. *claidhe*.

339 A. J. Hughes, ‘A Phonetic Glossary of Tyrone Irish’, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 46 (1994) 119-163: 140.

340 This is an instance of a form that was historically a dative form being used in the nominative case in a sentence; compare; *toigh* being used for *teach*.

*Ómós do Phádraig Ó Fiannachta* 335-445: 413, § 7.20.

327 T. Ó Fiaich, *Art Mac Cumhaigh: Dánta* (Dublin: An Clóchomhar, 1973) 81, lines 65-66.

328 *SML* (2015) xli.

329 Hamilton, *Irish of Tory*, 333.

330 Wagner, *Gaeilge Theilinn*, 215.

331 Hamilton, *Irish of Tory*, 320.

for the genitive in the phrase *trasna an chladhe* [trasnə ən xlö:ə].<sup>341</sup> Alternatively, Ó Cianáin may have been declining the word as *an cladh*, genitive *an chladha*. In this instance, the final *a* would have coalesced with the first *a* to produce a genitive singular *chladha* [xla:].

Regarding *is airde*, Ó Tuathail's spelling of *is uirde* for *is airde* is reflected in Wagner's recording of the comparative degree of the adjective *ard* 'high' in An Creagán as *nas airde* [nə's öRd'ə].<sup>342</sup>

**I.49 fán toigh**] *fa'n toigh* 'about the house'. Tyrone Irish here preserves the old singular dative form of *teach*. CO uses *faoin teach*. For this old dative singular spelling, see Ó Dónaill, *FGB*, 1249, s.v. *toigh*. The dative singular in the western and southern dialects is *tigh* or *tig*, as in the phrase *tigh Thomáis* (in 'Thomas' house'). The spelling with broad initial *t* is preferred here as it accurately reflects the Tyrone pronunciation [ti].<sup>343</sup> For a detailed discussion of the inflection of this word, see below II.13 *toigh*] *toigh* 'a house'.

**I.49 lig sí grág aisti**] *leig sí grág aisti* 'she uttered a raucous cry'; literally 'she let a raucous cry out of her'. The spelling *leigim* for the verb *ligim* 'I let, I release' reflects to some extent Old Irish *léicid* 'he lets go, releases'; eDIL s.v. *léicid* or dil.ie/29766. Yet there appears to be no vestige of the Old Irish vocalism in Tyrone Irish in this instance. Stockman and Wagner, for example, have 2 sg. imperative *lig* [l'ig']. Notice the weakness in this instance of the initial *l*, which one might expect to be a fortis *l* [L']. However, Hamilton also found this same weak *l* in Toraigh.<sup>344</sup>

*Grág* is attested in Old and Middle Irish as *grác* and is defined as 'Of sound made by raven or other bird, 'caw'; see eDIL s.v. 1 *grác* or dil.ie/26453. Ó Dónaill defines the word as a 'hoarse, raucous cry; a caw'; *FGB*, 663, s.v. *grág*.

**I.51 beathach**] 'horse'. See the discussion on *gearrán* in I.20.

**I.52 tháinig sé**] *thainic se* 'he came'. Final slender *g* in words like *tháinig*, *carraig*, *Pádraig* and *Gaeilg* was pronounced as [k'] in Muintir Luinigh; hence Ó Tuathail's spelling of such words with *c*; see *SML*, § 30. While Muintir Luinigh shares this feature

with Scottish Gaelic,<sup>345</sup> it is worth noting that Emrys Evans found similar 'sporadic instances of de-voicing of consonants' as far west as Gleann Bhairr on the Fanad Peninsula.<sup>346</sup>

In Northern and Western dialects, the 3 sg. masculine personal pronoun is often reduced to *se* [ʃə]; see *SML*, § 5. See also my note on I.2 *Shíl sé*] *shaoil se*.

**I.53-54 Shíl mise**] *Shaoil mise* 'I thought'. See I.2 *Shíl sé*] *shaoil se*.

**I.54-55 ag feitheamh orm**] *a' feitheamh orm* 'waiting for me'. In this instance, the meaning of the preposition *ar* is 'for (the sake of) someone'; see eDIL s.v. 1 *ar* or dil.ie/3902.

**I.56 chan fheic tú a choíche**] *chan fheic tú a chaoche* 'you will never see'. This is the 2 sg. present indicative dependent form of the verb *tchím* : *ní fheicim* ('I see'). It is another example of a present tense form being used to convey future meaning. Note O'Rahilly's comments on the use of the negative particle *cha* in this context: 'In Irish there has been no confusion between the two tenses; but, following the Scottish (and Manx) usage the present tense must always, when *cha* precedes, be used to express a future meaning, e. g. *cha dtéid se* 'he will not go', in contrast to *racha se* 'he will go'.<sup>347</sup>

Ó Tuathail's spelling of *choíche* with *-ao-* suggests that Ó Cianáin pronounced this word as [x̣y:ihə] rather than as [xi:hə].<sup>348</sup> It is worth quoting O'Rahilly on the matter of the pronunciation of *ao* in Ulster in the early twentieth century:

The vowel spelled *ao* to-day has two pronunciations in Northern Irish: (1) a lowered and retracted *i*, which we may denote in Irish spelling by the combination *aíó* (or *uíó*), and in phonetic script by *I:*, and (2) an unrounded *ū* (high-back-narrow), which we may indicate phonetically by an inverted *y* [*ȳ*]. The first pronunciation is found in Connacht, in N.W. Cavan, and in N. Meath. The second is, or was, found in the greater portion of Ulster, including Derry, Tyrone, Monaghan, Armagh, and Antrim. In N.W. Ulster (Donegal) both pronunciations (*I:* and *ȳ*) are in use, but the former has been gaining ground in recent years.<sup>349</sup>

341 Stockman and Wagner, 'A Study of Tyrone Irish', 63, s.v. *claidhe* 'a fence'. The *Dictionary of the Irish Language* eDIL gives masculine nominative *clad* 'a ditch', genitive singular *claid* (eDIL s.v. *clad*).

342 Stockman and Wagner, 'A Study of Tyrone Irish', 137, s.v. *árd* 'high'.

343 Ibid, 105, s.v. *teach*, *toigh*.

344 Hamilton, *The Irish of Tory*, 294, s.v. *leig*, *lig*.

345 Evans, 'East Ulster Features in Inishowen Irish', 89 stated: 'In the Scottish Gaelic dialects the voiced stops [b], [d'], [d], [g'], and [g] are regularly devoiced in unstressed syllables in the following positions. First, after an original short vowel. (...)'

346 Evans, 'A Vocabulary of the Dialects of Fanad and Genvar', 172-173.

347 O'Rahilly, *IDPP*, 167.

348 Stockman and Wagner, 'A Study of Tyrone Irish', 148, s.v. *choidhche* [xi:hə] Gleann Aichle.

349 O'Rahilly, *IDPP*, 27.

O’Rahilly believed that the Old Irish diphthong *oi* had gone through various phases of transformation (*oi* > *E*: > *ɛ*:) to arrive at Ó Cianáin’s pronunciation.<sup>350</sup> There must have been variation, however, between the [ɛ:] and the [i:] sound in Muintir Luinigh. Stockman and Wagner recorded [i:χ’ə] from Pádraig Láidir Mac Culadh in Alt an Chamchosaigh, but [λ:ix’ə]<sup>351</sup> and its variant [ỹ:ix’ə] from Peadar Ó hEachadha of An Creagán for *oíche*.<sup>352</sup>

Séamus Ó Searcaigh believed that the [ɛ:] sound<sup>353</sup> represented a more archaic pronunciation than the long *i*-sound [i:].<sup>354</sup> He noted that while [ɛ:] could still be heard among the older speakers in Donegal, it was being gradually ousted by long *i* [i:]. He noted the presence of this sound [ɛ:] in words like *oíche* and *choíche* in Donegal, Tyrone, and south Ulster.<sup>355</sup>

**I.64 thug sé gloine de duithe]** thug se gloine de duithe ‘he gave a glass of it to her’. The simple preposition *do* ‘to, for’ is conjugated thus in the CO: 1 sg. *dom*, 2 sg. *duit*, 3 sg. masculine *dó*, 3 sg. feminine *di*, 1 pl. *dúinn*, 2 pl. *daoibh*, 3 pl. *dóibh*. While CO would use the 3 sg. feminine preposition *di* here, Eoin Ó Cianáin, like many Donegal speakers, preferred *duithe*. O’Rahilly reminds us that:

In prepositional pronouns compounded with prepositions ending in a vowel the extended use of the termination *-he* in the 3 sg. fem. is characteristic of N[orthern] Ir[ish], e. g. *duithe*, ‘to her’, *léhe*, ‘with her’ (instead of *lé*, *di*) (...).<sup>356</sup>

The practice of many Donegal texts is to spell this 3 sg. feminine prepositional pronoun as *daoithe*, but Ó Tuathail’s spelling *duithe* here avoids confusion with the plural of *daoí* ‘an ignorant person’.<sup>357</sup> While Wagner recorded the basic form *di* [di] in

Gleann Leirge,<sup>358</sup> Ó Tuathail does not record *di* in his paradigm of the preposition.<sup>359</sup>

**I.66 Cad é [a] dhéanfas mise?** *Goidé gheanfas mise?* ‘What will I do’, literally ‘what is it that I will do?’. The relative particle *a* is elided with the subject pronoun *é* and thereby lost in everyday speech. On the spread of the relative ending *-(e)as* from its historical domain, see note I.25.

**I.69-70 fear núb fhearr ná eisean [a] fháil]** *fear na b’fheárr ná eisean fháil* ‘to get a better man than him’, literally ‘to get a man who would be better than him’. On *na b’*, see note I.11.

The particle *a* [< preposition *do*] has been supplied. The infinitive in Irish was expressed by the construction *do* [leniting preposition] + verbal noun. An example is *do bheith* > *a bheith*. The preposition *do* must have been lenited in this context in many dialects to produce *dho*, which was then reduced to *a* and pronounced as *schwa* [ə]. The vestigial particle *a* must have been particularly unstable before a vowel or lenited *f* and omitted. The process of evolution in this instance was *do fháil* > *dho fháil* > *a fháil* > *’ fháil*.

**I.72 agat]** *aghad* ‘at you’. O’Rahilly noted that ‘Except in Southern Irish, the *g* of the prepositional pronoun *agam*, *agad*, etc., is liable to disappear.’<sup>360</sup> This feature was also common in Scottish Gaelic. It is therefore unsurprising that intervocalic *-g-* was often lenited in this preposition in Muintir Luinigh Irish,<sup>361</sup> as was the case historically in Teileann, which pronounces *aghat* as [ejəd] and [əd].<sup>362</sup> For lenition of intervocalic *g* in this preposition in Omeath, see Bríd Ní Chaslaigh’s *níl a fhios agham* (‘I don’t know’).<sup>363</sup> See other examples in these stories: *agam]* *agham* (II.28, II.130, II.135); and *againn]* *aghainn* (III.122) .

The voicing of the dental plosive *t* [t] to *d* [d] in 2 sg. prepositional pronouns like *aghad* and *duid* (< *duit*) was widespread in Ulster: Ros Goill has both [agət] and [agəd] for *agat*; and [dəd’] for *duit*. While the *-t* forms predominate in Toraigh in the

*Theilinn*, 198.

358 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 158, s.v. *de* ‘off’. For *duithe* they give: [di:ə] and [diʰə].

359 SML (2015) xxxix.

360 IDPP, 217-218.

361 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 210 noted: ‘Both lenited and unlenited ‘*g*’ are found in ‘*agam*’, ‘*agat*’, ‘*againn*’, ‘*agaibh*’ (...).

362 Wagner, *Gaeilge Theilinn*, 196, 233. Teileann pronounces *agham* as [ejəm], [ejjəm], [əm] (*Gaeilge Theilinn*, 196, § 505).

363 Ní Bhaoill, *Ulster Gaelic Voices*, 264.

350 O’Rahilly, IDPP, 31-32.

351 Ó hEachadha nasalised the initial vowel [λ:] in this word. Stockman and Wagner marked this nasalisation with a tilde symbol.

352 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 183. They tell us that *y*: ‘is a palatalised form of *λ*: and frequently represents ‘*ao(i)*’ of spelling’ (183).

353 i. e. Stockman and Wagner’s [λ:]. Hughes uses [ɛ:] here; see ‘Gaeilge Uladh’, 627. Ó Searcaigh used [w:] in this instance; see *Foghraidheacht Ghaedhilge an Tuaiscirt* (Dublin: Brún & Ó Nualláin, 1925) 19.

354 Séamus Ó Searcaigh declared (*Foghraidheacht Ghaedhilge an Tuaiscirt*, 19, § 40): ‘Ó chaint na sean-daoine is léir gurbh é *w*: an foghar coitcheannta i dTír Chonaill sa tsean-am’.

355 Ó Searcaigh, *Foghraidheacht Ghaedhilge an Tuaiscirt*, 19, § 41.

356 IDPP, 217.

357 See, for example, Hamilton’s *daoithe* [di:x’ə, dihi], *Irish of Tory*, 220; Wagner, [di:hə, dihə], *Gaedhilg*



case of *duit* and *agat*, it does indeed exhibit the *-d* form in [agəd] for *agat*.<sup>364</sup> Teileann's 2 sg. of the preposition *ag* ends with *-d* [d] as in [ɛjəd] and [əd]. Finally, it should be noted that *agad* and *duid* occur frequently in Laoide's collection of tales from south-east Ulster and Louth.<sup>365</sup>

**I.74 aon dadaí]** *a' dadaí* 'anything'. *Aon* 'any' has here been reduced to *an* / *a'n* and finally to *a'* before initial *d*. Note also the following examples: II.50 *nach raibh aon dadaí]* *nach robh an dadaí* 'that there was nothing'; and III.98 *aon dadaí]* *a'n dadaí*.

Ó Baoill noted that 'In Irish *aon*, when meaning 'any', carries normal stress in Munster and Connacht, and sometimes in Ulster. In Scottish *aon* rarely means 'any, except occasionally in the literature.'<sup>366</sup> He also noted that *aon* was recorded as being unstressed and appearing as *a'n* in Achill, north-west Mayo, east Mayo, Sligo, mid-Donnegal, north Donegal, south-east Ulster, south Cavan, Louth, and Meath.<sup>367</sup> Only south-west Donegal seems to have had a stressed form of *aon* with the meaning 'any'.<sup>368</sup>

*Dadaí* is used with verbs in the negative to connote 'nothing'; it is common in Ros Goill,<sup>369</sup> Toraigh<sup>370</sup> and Teileann.<sup>371</sup> The Reverend William Neilson (1774-1821),<sup>372</sup> a native of south Down, whose family originated in north-west Tyrone, wrote *a dadamh* [< *an dadadh*] in the phrase *Ni fiú a dadamh na hubhlaigh ud eile* 'Those other apples are worth nothing'.<sup>373</sup> *Dadamh* is the form that is found in Roibeard Ua Cionga's publication: *má deir duine air bith dadam[h] libh na thimcioll* (13) 'if anyone says anything to you (pl.) about it'.<sup>374</sup>

For a discussion of this word, see Seosamh Watson, 'Dada i nGaeilge na hÉireann agus na hAlban' in Eoin Mac Cárthaigh & Jürgen Uhlich (eds.), *Féilscríbhinn do Chathal Ó Háinle* (Indreabhán: Cló Iar-Chonnacht, 2012) 983–1008.

364 Hamilton, *Irish of Tory*, 221.

365 Laoide, *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall: agad*: 9.26, 21.13; *duid*: 14.19 etc.

366 Ó Baoill, *Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic*, 10, § 2.3, s.v. *aon* 'any'.

367 Ibid, 10.

368 Ibid, 10.

369 Lucas, *Grammar of Ros Goill Irish*, 104.

370 Hamilton, 'Irish of Tory', 265, s.v. *dadaidh*.

371 Wagner, *Gaedhilge Theilinn*, 208-209.

372 Diarmuid Breathnach & Máire Ní Mhurchú, 'Neilson, William (1774–1821)', ainm.ie, accessed 21 April 2022, <https://www.ainm.ie/Bio.aspx?ID=1133>.

373 William Neilson, *An Introduction to the Irish Language* (1808) (Belfast: Ultach Trust, 1990) 111.

374 Ó Buachalla, 'Nótaí ar Ghaeilge Dhoire agus Thír Eoghain', 270, s. v. *dadam[h]* 'anything'.

**I.74 féin]** *hín* 'self'. The word *féin* was pronounced as [he:n'] and as [hi:n'] in Tyrone.<sup>375</sup> In his preface to *Sgéul fa Bheatha Agus Pháis ár d-Tighearna*, the Reverend Roibeard Ua Cionga, stated:

'The *f* in *féin*, self, is mostly pronounced in this district as if it were aspirated, or rather as *h* or *th* as *go dé mar tá tú féin*, how are you yourself? in which the last word is pronounced *heen* (...).<sup>376</sup>

The pronunciation of *féin* as [hi:n'] is also typical of the Mid-Donnegal Gaeltacht;<sup>377</sup> Scottish Gaelic often pronounces *féin* as [hi:n'] after the 1 sg. personal pronoun.<sup>378</sup> On the geographical distribution of the various pronunciations of this word, see *LASID* (Vol. 1, map 297).

**I.76 t'anam don diabhal]** *th'anam 'on diabhal* '[Damn] your soul to the Devil!'. O'Rahilly noted that: 'The 2 sg. possessive pronoun is historically *t'* before vowels; but in Northern Irish this is frequently replaced by *d'*'.<sup>379</sup> In his discussion of Munster Irish, Seán Ó Súilleabháin reminds us that '*t* is heard before a vowel in place of *do*'.<sup>380</sup> Speakers like Ó Cianáin may have preserved this archaic usage in petrified phrases like this one.

**I.77-78 de gheall ort]** *a gheall ort* 'on account of you'. Stockman and Wagner defined the compound preposition *de gheall ar* as 'for the sake of'.<sup>381</sup> They perceived *de gheall ar* as being synonymous with *mar gheall ar*, which they also defined as 'for the sake of'.<sup>382</sup> This compound preposition was common in Ros Goill: *d'fhan sé sa bhaile [de] gheall ar an toirneach* [daN'ʃə sə wɛlə jaL əɾ ə ta:rN'a].<sup>383</sup>

375 Stockman and Wagner, 'A Study of Tyrone Irish', 153.

376 Ó Buachalla, 'Nótaí ar Ghaeilge Dhoire agus Thír Eoghain', 253 (xiii).

377 'Mid-Donnegal' is here taken as being co-terminous with the district that runs from Gaoth Beara Bridge (54.8484, -8.31987) eastwards via Na Cruacha Gorma (The Blue Stacks) to An Bhrocaigh (Brocagh: 54.8557, -7.93544).

378 Personal communication from Seosamh Watson. For a discussion of *hín*, see also Colm Ó Baoill, *Comparative Study of Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic*, 141-142, § 13.7, s.v. *hín* 'self'.

379 IDPP, 216.

380 'Cloistear *t* roimh ghuta in áit *do*'; S. Ó Súilleabháin, 'Gaeilge na Mumhan' in McCone, McManus et al (eds), *Stair na Gaeilge*, 479-638: 503. On this devoicing of *d* to *t*, see also McManus 'An Nua-Ghaeilge Chlasaiceach', in McManus et al (eds.), *Stair na Gaeilge*, 431.

381 Stockman and Wagner, 'A Study of Tyrone Irish', 158, s. v. *de gheall air*.

382 Ibid, 161-62.

383 Lucas, *Grammar of Ros Goill Irish*, 184, s.v. (*de*) *gheall ar*.



## II BRIAN BRÉAGACH: TEXTUAL NOTES

**II.1 I bhfad ó shin nuair]** *I bhfad ó shoin 'air* 'Long ago, when'. The initial *n* of *nuair* 'when' appears to have been dropped here after the final *n* of *shoin*. Alternatively, this may be an instance of the use of the temporal conjunction *air* 'when'; see my note on II.9 *Agus nuair a thóg Séamas]* *Agus 'air a thóg Síomus*.

The diphthong in this word, *ua*, was often reduced by the Tyrone speakers from [ua] to [uə]; it was sometimes further reduced from [uə] to [ö] or [a] or even [ə]; furthermore, there was a tendency in this dialect for final palatal *r* to be broadened so that [r'] was transformed to [r]. Accordingly, Stockman and Wagner noted a wide range of forms among which were [nuər] from An Creagán and Alt an Chamchosaigh and [nər] from Gleann Leirge.<sup>384</sup> In no instance was the palatal quality of final *r* detected in these examples from Tyrone.

**II.1 díbirt]** *díbir* 'banishment'. The final *t* of *díbirt*, the verbal noun of *díbrim* 'I banish' has been dropped. A similar form, *díbir* [d'i:b'ir'] 'banish' is listed in 'A Phonetic Glossary of Tyrone Irish'.<sup>385</sup>

**II.3 bhí fear a dtabharfaí Séamas Mac Ruairí air]** *bhí fear a dtóirfí Síomus 'ac Ruairí air* 'there was a man who was called Séamus Mac Ruairí'. We might expect the imperfect indicative passive *a dtugtaí* here. However, the conditional mood has displaced the imperfect indicative in this dialect. See the discussion above on I.3 *bheadh sé]* *bhead se*.

The spelling of *dtabharfaí* as *dtóirfí* indicates that *-abh-* was pronounced as a long *o* sound [o:] in Muintir Luinigh. This was the case throughout Ulster except in Gleann Ghaibhle in north-west Cavan.<sup>386</sup> Terence McCaughey showed that Muiris Ó Gormáin (?-1794),<sup>387</sup> a famous south Ulster scribe, must have pronounced *-abh-* and *-obh-* as a long *o*-sound.<sup>388</sup> O'Rahilly believed that the pronunciation of *-abh-* as *ó* [o:] in Ulster went back to the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>389</sup>

384 Stockman and Wagner, 'A Study of Tyrone Irish', 163, s.v. *nuair*.

385 A. J. Hughes (ed.), 'A Phonetic Glossary of Tyrone Irish', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 46 (1994) 119-163: 145.

386 Ó Tuathail (*Seanchas Ghleann Ghaibhle*, xvi, § 24) noted: 'Normally Old Irish *ab* gives *auw* in stressed syllables. (...). The vowel in *toir* (< *tabhair*) and *toirt* (< *tabhairt*) is short'.

387 Máire Ní Mhurchú & Diarmuid Breathnach, 1782-1881. *Beathaisnéis* (Dublin: An Clóchomhar, 107-108).

388 Terence McCaughey, 'Muiris Ó Gormáin's English-Irish Phrasebook', *Éigse* 12, Part 3 (1968) 203-227: 211. McCaughey's examples from Ó Gormáin's Phrasebook include *tóir* for *tabhair*.

389 O'Rahilly, *IDPP*, 178.

**II.3 Séamas Mac Ruairí]** *Síomus 'ac Ruairí* 'James McRory'. Stressed *é* [e:] was pronounced as a long *í* [i:] in this personal name; see Ó Tuathail, *SML*, § 2.<sup>390</sup>

*Mac*, as an element in surnames, was not stressed. It was susceptible to lenition in the northern dialects so that it became *Mhac* and even *'ac* as here. The final *c* in *M(h)ac* was very unstable and tended to be voiced to *g* if the following consonant was *l* or *r*. Thus, one finds variation between the English forms *Mc Rory* (*Mc Crory*) and *Mc Grory*, which are all derived from *Mac / Mag Ruairí*.

**II.3-4 Ard Mhacha]** *Árd-mhach* 'Armagh'. The final syllable in this placename is unstressed. Its final vowel has been dropped. Compare *fosta* > *fošt* (III.78). The loss of final unstressed vowels was also a feature of the Irish of Erris in north-west Mayo. This trait was rarely found in Toraigh.<sup>391</sup>

**II.4 é féin]** *e hín* 'himself'. The 3 sg. masc. pronoun *é* [e:] is often reduced in speech to [ə]. On the pronunciation *hín* [hi:n'], see I.74 *féin]* *hín* 'self'.

**II.5. de na mic]** *do na mic* 'of the sons'. The simple prepositions *de* 'of, off, from' and *do* 'to, for' have been confused. The appropriate preposition has been restored for ease of comprehension.

**II.7 i n-éis na hoíche]** 'after (the) night'. The compound preposition *i n-éis* 'after' is a striking feature of this dialect.<sup>392</sup> The common form in contemporary Irish is *tar éis*. While Wagner's speakers from Teileann and Gleann Cholm Cille preferred to use *i ndiaidh*, his speakers from Mín an Aoire favoured *i n-éis*.<sup>393</sup> For the geographical distribution of the compound prepositions *i n-éis*, *tar éis*, *i ndiaidh*, see *LASID* (Vol. 1, map 235).

**II.9 Agus nuair a thóg Séamas]** *Agus 'air a thóg Síomus*. Ó Tuathail appears to have understood the word, which he printed as *'air*, as an abbreviated form of *nuair*. However, Colm Ó Baoill has identified *air* as the temporal conjunction 'when'<sup>394</sup> and stated:

390 *SML* (2015) xxv.

391 Hamilton, *The Irish of Tory*, 168, § g.

392 Stockman and Wagner, 'A Study of Tyrone Irish', 161, s. v. *in éis*, 'after'.

393 Wagner, *Gaeilge Theilinn*, 202, § 530.

394 Middle Irish *úa(i)r* could be used with or without the article as a subordinate conjunction to introduce a temporal clause; eDIL s.v. 2 *úar*, *úair* or dil.ie/42763; see under III *úar*, *úair*, *óir*; also, *úaire*, *óre* (gen. sg.) as subordinate conjunction.

This conjunction may be, as Holmer suggests (HA 142, n. 1) a form of *uair*. It seems to occur mostly as an alternative to *nuair*, used less often, and is sometimes apparently confined to the speech of a few individuals within a dialect area.<sup>395</sup>

Ó Baoill identified examples from Lewis, North Uist, Mid-Argyll, Arran and Rathlin in the north, as well as from Tyrone, south-east Ulster, Inis Eoghain, Fánaid and north-west Mayo to the south of our region.<sup>396</sup>

He noted that *air* / *ar* ‘when’ was particularly common in the speech of Eoin Ó Cianáin. Ó Baoill’s examples from Fánaid illustrate this temporal conjunction’s meaning: *ar a bhí mé comhgarach* [CO: *cóngarach*] *dó* ‘when I was close to him’ and *ar a casadh domh inné é* ‘when I met him yesterday’. One excellent Scottish example from Ó Baoill’s collection from mid-Argyll illustrates the links between Tyrone Irish and Scottish Gaelic: *ar a shiubhail an duine* ‘when the person walked (moved)’.<sup>397</sup>

Other examples from our collection are: II.28-29 *nuair a mhuirbhfeas mé* ‘air a mhuir-feas me’ ‘when I (will) kill’; II.77 *nuair a fuair sé an bealach leis* ‘air a fuair se an bealach leis’ ‘when he properly found his way’; II.176 *nuair a bhí sé dá bháthadh* ‘air a bhí se dá bháú’ ‘when he was drowning’; and III.40 *agus nuair a bhain sé* ‘agus air a bhuin se’ ‘and when he removed’. In all such instances, I have replaced the now obsolete temporal conjunction *ar* / *air* with more readily recognisable *nuair*.

**II.10 ó chúl torpóg fraoich** *ó chúl torpog fiach* ‘from the back of a clump of heather.’ *Torpóg* as found in Muintir Luinigh appears to be a variant of *torpán* which is defined in *FGB* as a (small) clump, clod’ ‘a roundish thing’; *FGB*, p. 1256, s.v. *torpán*. *Fiach* is probably a mistake in Mhac an Ghirr’s transcription for *fraoich*, genitive of *fraoch* ‘heather’. It has been amended accordingly; see pages 20-21.

**II.13 toigh** *toigh* ‘a house’. In south-east Ulster, Muintir Luinigh, and Inis Eoghain, the historical nominative singular of the word for ‘house’ was largely displaced by the historical dative singular *toigh* as the normal form of this noun.<sup>398</sup> Apart from Inis Eoghain,<sup>399</sup> however, the entire Donegal Gaeltacht preserved historical *teach* as its

nominative singular. It should be noted, however, that Wagner did record *teach* [t’ax] in Gleann Aichle.<sup>400</sup>

Old Irish *tech* ‘a house’ had nominative singular *tech*, genitive singular *tige* or *taige* and dative singular *tig* or *taig*. From the Old Irish genitive singular form *taige* is derived Ulster Irish *toighe* as in *fear an toighe* ‘man of the house’; from the Old Irish dative singular form *taig* is derived Ulster Irish *toigh* as in *fán toigh* ‘about the house’ (see note I.49). The Old Irish forms *tige* and *tig* produced Modern Irish *tighe* and *tigh* for the genitive singular and dative singular respectively in south Connacht and in Munster.

In the case of both the genitive singular and the dative singular, the initial *t* in Ulster is non-palatal, whereas it is palatal [t’] in south Connacht and in Munster. Non-palatal initial *t* in *toighe* and *toigh* has been preferred in this book.

On *toigh*, see C. Ó Baoill *Contributions to a Comparative Study of Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic*, 99, § 8.,12, s.v. *Taigh*. For the geographical distribution of *toigh* versus *teach*, see *LASID* (Vol. 1, map. 247).

**II.12 tír mhór adhmaid** *tír mhór ámaid* ‘a great country [abounding] in timber’. When *-dh-* [ð] ceased to be pronounced in this word, the remaining short vowel, *a*, was lengthened in the north of Ireland to *á* [a:] but transformed into a diphthong in the west and south.<sup>401</sup> For the geographical distribution of the various pronunciations of *adhmaid*, see *LASID* (Vol. 1, map 176).

**II.13-14 i bhfogas don tobar** *i bhfogus don tobar* ‘close to the well’. The compound preposition, *i bhfogus do* ‘within proximity of’ is attested in various texts from the early eighteenth century such as *Stair an Bhíobla*. It appears to have been more common in south-east Ulster than in Donegal. Ua Cionga’s text contains examples of its usage: *agus anuair a thainig siad abhfogus do Iárúsalem* (12) ‘and when they came close to Jerusalem’; *bhí ... na seasamh a bh-fogas do chroich Íosa* (19) ‘(...) was standing close to the cross of Jesus’.<sup>402</sup> Tomás Ó Corragáin used this compound preposition frequently: *Nuair a bhí se i bhfogus do gheata an ríogh* ‘when he was close to the king’s gate’.<sup>403</sup>

**II.17 saibhreas** *saebhreas* ‘wealth’. *-ai-* in *saibhreas* (traditional spelling

395 Ó Baoill, *Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic*, 266, § 21.2, s.v. *air* ‘when’.

396 Ibid, 266.

397 Ibid, 266, § 21.2.

398 Stockman and Wagner (‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 105, s. v. *teach, toigh* ‘a house’) noted [t’ax] in Gleann Aichle, presumably from Seán Ó Cairealláin. I doubt the validity of this form as Ó Cairealláin could read Irish and this may have influenced his usage here.

399 Emrys Evans, ‘East Ulster Features in Inishowen Irish’, *Studia Celtica* 4 (1969) 80-98: 91-92.

400 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 105, s. v. *teach, toigh* ‘a house’.

401 Mícheál Ó Siadhail, *Modern Irish: Grammatical Structure and Dialectal Variation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) 84, 87.

402 Cited by Ó Buachalla in ‘Nótaí ar Ghaeilge Dhoire agus Thír Eoghain’, 271, s.v. *fogas*.

403 Ó Corragáin, ‘Aodh Beag Ó Leabharcha’ in Laoide, *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, 1.14-15.

*saidhbhreas*) has been transformed into a long vowel *ae* / *é* [e:]; see Ó Tuathail, *SML*, § 7.<sup>404</sup> It is possible that the transformation of this vocalic sequence into a long vowel in Ulster as against a diphthong in the rest of Ireland may have occurred under the influence of the [av'] sound; note the Gleann Ghaibhle vocalisation of *gheibhim* 'I get' to *ghéim*. For numerous examples of this sound being attested in *saibhir* and *saibhreas* in the early eighteenth-century poetry of south-east Ulster, see Ó Doirín's poetry.<sup>405</sup>

**II.19 chuaigh gach aon duine acu** *Fuaidh cach a'n duine acu*. 'Each one of them went'. See note I.35.

**II.20-21 i seantoigh an athara** *i sean-toigh an athara* 'in the father's old house'. The conventional genitive singular form of *athair* is *athar*. The form found here, *athara*, is indicative of the development of new genitive singular forms for words that would normally have shown that they were in the genitive by broadening their final slender consonant; thus, *an t-athair* 'the father' > *ainm an athar* 'the name of the father'.<sup>406</sup> O'Rahilly noted that 'when a gen. sing. ends historically in a non-palatal consonant, the tendency of Ulster Irish is to add -a to it, e.g. *athara*, *máthara*, *Éireanna*, (...)'.<sup>407</sup> Examples from Mathew Kennedy's *The Spiritual Rose* include *toil* [a] *Athara* (105.5) 'the will of his Father' and *glóir an Athara* (126.8) 'the glory of the Father'.<sup>408</sup>

**II.23 tamall** *tamallt* 'a while'. The addition of *t* to final *l* or *ll* is found in other Ulster dialects but appears to have been more common in south-east Ulster than in Donegal.<sup>409</sup> Other examples are *dícheallt* ('best effort'), *fágáilt* ('act of leaving'), *coinneáilt* ('act of keeping') and *tógáilt* ('act of lifting, building').<sup>410</sup> For this so-called 'parasitic -t', see *SML*, § 50.

**II.23 reaith sé síos sa tsaol** *reaith se síos sa tsaol* 'he went down in the world'; literally 'he ran down in the world'. This form can be explained in two ways. It could be an archaic 3 sg. past indicative form of *rithim* 'I run'. Late Old Irish *reithid* 'he runs' formed its past tense with *ā*, as in *ráith* 'he ran'; see eDIL s.v. *reithid* or dil.ie/34983.

Alternatively, *reaith se* may be a past tense form of *reathaim* 'I run', which was also found in Teileann, where it had a non-palatal initial *r*,<sup>411</sup> as in 3 sg. past *rath sé* [raʃə].<sup>412</sup>

Two attestations of the verb *reathaim* from the storytelling of Annie Bhán Nic Grianna of Rann na Feirste on the north-west Donegal coast include: *Reath a' máistir gránna* 'the poor master ran off'<sup>413</sup> and *Reathadh sé ansin* (...) 'he used to run then (...)'.<sup>414</sup>

We would expect a present tense in Muintir Luinigh of *reathaim* 'I run', and indeed Wagner and Stockman recorded *reathann sé chuige* 'he runs towards him' under *reath*, but give past tense *rith* : *char rith* 'he ran : he did not run'.<sup>415</sup> Perhaps Tyrone, like Teileann, had two verbs for 'run'. It is worth noting that Stockman and Wagner distinguished the verbs *reath* 'running' and *rith* 'running'.<sup>416</sup>

**II.28 agam** *agham*, literally 'at me'. On the lenition of *g* between two vowels in this preposition, see note I.71.

**II.28-29 nuair a mhuirbhfeas mé** *air a mhuir-feas me* 'when I will kill'. The CO would use *nuair a mharóidh mé*. On the temporal conjunction *ar* / *air* 'when', see note II.9 *Agus nuair a thóg Séamas* *Agus air a thóg Síomus*. Regarding this verb, the *Electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language* (s.v. *marbaid*) notes: 'Fut. stem *mairb-*, later *muirb-* (often *mair-*, *muir-* before *f* of inflection), rarely *marb-* (*mar-*)'.<sup>417</sup> Wagner's practice of writing *muirbhfidh* [mür'h'i] has therefore been followed here.<sup>418</sup> Moreover, Lucas remarked that 'in this verb the stem vowel varies'. Thus, he noted the future forms [mirhə, mərhə, murhə] for Ros Goill.<sup>419</sup>

Examples from south-east Ulster include *muirbhfidh mé thú fhéin indiú* 'I will kill you today'; *b'fhéadar go muirbhfinn thú fhéin indiú* 'perhaps I would kill you today'; *muirbhfidh se thú* 'He will kill you'; *mhuirbhfeadh na fir mhóra sin thú* 'Those big men

404 Stockman and Wagner, 'A Study of Tyrone Irish', 180.

405 Breandán Ó Buachalla, *Peadar Ó Doirín: Amhráin* (Dublin: An Clóchomhar, 1969, 1970) 34, 35, 40, 43, 47 *et passim*.

406 Hughes, 'Gaeilge Uladh', 635.

407 IDPP, 214.

408 McKenna, *The Spritual Rose*, li.

409 In Ros Goill both *tamall* and *tamallt* are found; see Lucas, *Grammar of Ros Goill Irish*, 160.

410 Stockman and Wagner, 'A Study of Tyrone Irish', 205.

411 Wagner, *Gaeilge Theilinn*, 345, s. v. *rathaidh* 'running'.

412 Wagner, *Gaeilge Theilinn*, 120.

413 Harrison & Crook, *Seanchas Annie Bhán*, 158-59.

414 Ibid, 162. (The translation in this instance is mine).

415 Stockman and Wagner, 'A Study of Tyrone Irish', 131, s. v. *rith*.

416 Ibid, 131, s. v. *reath* 'running'; s. v. *rith* 'running'.

417 eDIL s.v. *marbaid* or dil.ie/31573.

418 Wagner, *Gaeilge Theilinn*, 57; see [mür'hə], p. 147. See also *Grammar of Ros Goill Irish*, 137.

419 Lucas, *Grammar of Ros Goill Irish*, 137, § 538.



would kill you.’<sup>420</sup> For the geographical distribution of *muirbhfidh*, see *LASID* (Vol. 1, map 37). On the relative ending in *-eas*, see note I.25.

**II.30 Dhéanfaidh sin gnaithe]** *Gheanfa sin graithe* ‘That will do the job’. For *dhéanfaidh*, see I.25. While CO uses the form *gnó* ‘business, affair, matter’, many of the Ulster dialects used the form *gnaithe* [grəihə].<sup>421</sup> See note I.32.

**II.33 gur mharbh Brian an mhuc]** *gur mharbh Brian an mhuc* ‘that Brian had killed the pig’. The CO uses the form *mharaigh* for the 3 sg. past tense of *marbhair* ‘I kill’. Toraigh has a variant 3 sg. past tense in *mharbh* [warəw], which corresponds to the Muintir Luinigh form.<sup>422</sup> Stockman and Wagner noted 3 sg. past tense forms that included *mharbh sé* [waruf ja] from Gleann Leirge and [waruw je] from Gleann Aichle.<sup>423</sup> Examples from south-east Ulster include: *mharbh tú mo dhearbhráthair indé* (= CO *mharaigh tú mo dheartháir inné*) ‘you killed my brother yesterday’;<sup>424</sup> and *shaoil tú gur mharbh tú iad* (= CO *shíl tú gur mharaigh tú iad*) ‘you thought that you had killed them.’<sup>425</sup> See also Malachy McKenna, ‘Conjugation of the Verb in Areas of East Ulster Irish: Now You See It, Now You Don’t’, *Journal of Celtic Linguistics* 1 (March 1992) 23–60. On the geographical distribution of *mharbh* (*sé*) versus *mharaigh* (*sé*) etc., see *LASID* (Vol. 1, map 37).

**II.36-37 Fogh an t-airgead]** *Fógh an t-airgead!* ‘Get the money!’. *Fógh* or *Fogh*, the Muintir Luinigh form of the second singular imperative of the irregular verb *gheibhim* ‘I get’ (= CO *faighim*), is distinctive. For a discussion of the verbal stem, *fogh*, see I.42-43 *nach bhfoghaím thaire leis]* *nach bhfóim thaire leis*.

Wagner collected this form in Gleann Leirge in 1950.<sup>426</sup> *fagh* [fa:] is found in south-west Donegal;<sup>427</sup> *faigh* [fa:i] is the Toraigh form;<sup>428</sup> and Ros Goill has both *fagh* [fa:] and *faigh* [fei].<sup>429</sup>

420 Laoide, *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, 4.14, 5.26, 27.20-21, 38.6-7.

421 Hamilton, *Irish of Tory*, 286, s.v. *gnaithe*, *gnoithe*. Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 82. Wagner, *Gaeilge Theilinn*, 38.

422 Hamilton, *Irish of Tory*, 300.

423 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 128.

424 Ó Corragáin, ‘Aodh Beag Ó Leabharcha’, in Laoide, *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, 4.9-10.

425 Ó Corragáin, ‘Gobha an tSuic’, in Laoide, *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, 47.22.

426 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 120.

427 Wagner, *Gaeilge Theilinn*, 144.

428 Hamilton, *The Irish of Tory*, 195.

429 Lucas, *Grammar of Ros Goill Irish*, 136, § 535.

**II.37 le fágáil]** *le fágailt* ‘to leave’. For the addition of *t* to polysyllabic words that end in *-ll* or *-l*, see the note on *tamall* / *tamallt* (II.23) above.

Ó Tuathail deliberately omits the *síneadh fada* from the *a* in *-áilt* to indicate that the vowel has been shortened in keeping with the long-established rule in Ulster Irish which states that historically long vowels in unstressed syllables are shortened. This rule applied in Louth, south-east Ulster, north-east Ulster, mid-Ulster and in north and mid-Donegal.<sup>430</sup> In contrast, historically long vowels in unstressed syllables often remained long in south-west Donegal and in north-west Cavan. This may also have been the case in Fermanagh, for which, sadly, we have no evidence.

Wagner and Stockman noted that ‘-áil(*t*) is usually *-aʰ(tʰ)*’.<sup>431</sup> Furthermore, Ó Baoill observed:

The verbal noun ending *-áil* occurs with short *-a-* in all Ulster points [of *LASID*] ... though in Gleann Ghaibhleann (pt. 64) it may retain its length. In the Achill area too (pt. 53) both long and short *-a-* are recorded in this ending ...<sup>432</sup>

**II.37 i dtaiscidh]** *i dtaisgidh* ‘in safe keeping’. Muintir Luinigh Irish, like many of the Donegal dialects, preserves this dative singular form of *taisceadh*.

**II.41 is daor a cheannóchas tú]** *is daor a cheannachas tú* ‘it is dearly that you will pay for it’. Here we have another example of the old 3 sg. relative ending in *-(e)as* being used outside its normal domain, in this instance, in a relative clause that involves the 2 sg. future; see note I.25. Note how Ó Tuathail omits the *síneadh fada* to demonstrate the reduction of historically long *ó* [o:] to *o* [a] or [ə]. On the *-eo-* / *-ó-* of second conjugation verbs in the future and conditional, see note II.58.

**II.42 Chan fhuil sé agam]** *Chan fhuil se agam* ‘I do not have it’. Muintir Luinigh Irish prefers *chan* (past tense *char*) over *ní* as its marker of negation in declarative statements, thus *chan fhuil* [ʰhanəlʰ]<sup>433</sup> is probably more common in *SML* than *níl* (< *ní fhuil*). *Chan fhuil* is used in Toraigh, but ‘only as an emphasised answer-form’.<sup>434</sup>

**II.43 Ghlac Brian corraí]** *Ghlac Brian corruí* ‘Brian became angry’. Colm Ó Baoill

430 Hamilton, *The Irish of Tory*, 161.

431 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 170, § g.

432 Ó Baoill, *Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic*, 260.

433 Stockman and Wagner noted this form in Gleann Leirge, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 111, s. v. *bheith* ‘being’.

434 Hamilton, *Irish of Tory*, 207. For the use of the negative particle *cha* / *chan* and *char* in the past tense, see *Irish of Tory*, 174-175.



has noted that the noun *corraí* ‘anger’<sup>435</sup> is derived from Old Irish *corraige* ‘restlessness, uneasiness, unsteadiness’.<sup>436</sup> Ailbhe Ó Corráin reminds us that this expression is also to be found in Donegal<sup>437</sup>. He cites the example of *duine .. nach nglacfadh corruighe le rud ar bith*.<sup>438</sup> Wagner collected *tá corraí orm* [ta kōri ɔrəm] from Peadar Joe Ó hEachadha.<sup>439</sup> From Omeath, we find Bríd Ní Chaslaigh saying in the story ‘An Buachaill Láidir’: *An bhfeil corraí ort?* (‘Are you angry?’).<sup>440</sup> One of the characters in ‘An Saighdiúir a d’Imir Cárdaí sa Teampall’ as told by Pádraig Mac Conaglaigh of Fánaid to Doegen, says: *Cha bheadh corraí ar bith orm* ‘I wouldn’t be angry at all’.<sup>441</sup> Finally, in one of his notes, Ó Tuathail writes: *Tá corruí orm* (angry) or *Tá fearg orm*.<sup>442</sup>

**II.43 scean]** *sgean* ‘a knife’. The more usual form of the Modern Irish word for ‘knife’ is *scian* [ʃk’i:an], which was heard by Wagner from Peadar Joe Ó hEachadha in Creagán.<sup>443</sup> Gleann Leirge had *scean* [ʃk’an], the same form as Ó Cianáin, while Gleann Aichle had the usual Donegal form *scin* [ʃk’In’].<sup>444</sup>

The Old Irish nominative of this historically feminine noun was *scían*; its accusative and dative singular was *scín*, later *sciain*.<sup>445</sup> Donegal and North Tyrone appear to have supplanted the old nominative form with its dative and subsequently shortened its vowel. For the geographical distribution of the various pronunciations of this word, see *LASID*, Vol. 1, map 165.

**II.47 an dligheadh]** *an dliú* ‘the Law’ [d’l’i:uw]. CO prefers the form *dli*. Nevertheless, Ó Dónaill acknowledges the existence of the form *dligheadh* (FGB, 421, s.v. *dlighe*). *Dligheadh* is the form that the northern dialects preferred.<sup>446</sup> The sense here is ‘the legal authorities’.

**II.48 ar shon mharbhadh na mná]** *air shon mharbhadh na mrá* ‘for the killing of

the woman’. *Ar s(h)on* can be used as a conjunction with the meaning ‘in order to’ or as a compound preposition with the meaning ‘for (the sake of)’. In Ros Goill, *son* was generally lenited after *ar*.<sup>447</sup> However, Lucas noted that ‘there is usually no lenition of the verbal noun after a compound preposition which takes the genitive’.<sup>448</sup> The example which he gives is: *ar shon marbhadh an tseanduine* ‘for killing the old man’.<sup>449</sup>

**II.50 nach raibh aon dadaí]** *nach robh an dadaí* ‘that there was nothing’. See I.74 on *aon dadaí*.

**II.51 chuig Brian]** *’uige Brian* ‘to Brian’. On the dropping of initial *ch* [h] in this preposition, see note I.37–38 *chuig an mhnaoi]* *’uig an mhraoi*. A distinctive feature of Muintir Luinigh Irish is the use of a strengthened form of certain simple prepositions that correspond to the form of their 3 sg. masculine prepositional pronoun. Thus, in this instance, *chuige*, which corresponds to the 3 sg. masculine prepositional pronoun of the simple preposition *chuig*, displaces the latter form. Wagner and Stockman recorded *chuige bean eile* [hig’ə b’an ’hel’ə] ‘to another woman’.<sup>450</sup> Among the examples of this linguistic feature from Seosamh Laoide’s collection of tales from south-east Ulster is *go dtáinic se chuige rígh a bhí le bás* (= CO *gur tháinig sé chuig rí a bhí le bás*) ‘until he came to a king who was dying’.<sup>451</sup>

**II.56 nead ghearrfhia]** *nead ghearrfhia* ‘a hare’s nest’. CO uses the spelling *giorria*; FGB, 635, s.v. *giorria* ‘hare’. The historical form, which more accurately reflects the Tyrone pronunciation, has been retained here. See *LASID*, Vol. 1, map 213.

**II.58 Coinneochaidh mé féin]** *coinneacha me hín* ‘I will keep’. In Ulster and North Connacht, second conjugation verbs, that is verbs of two or more syllables whose stem ends in *-(a)igh*, as for example, in *ceannaigh* and *éirigh*, will form their future and conditional forms in *-eochaidh* / *-óchaidh*.<sup>452</sup> In a similar vein, O’Rahilly noted that ‘the future and conditional stem of verbs of more than one syllable in *-igh* had three forms in E[arly] Mod[ern] Irish, viz *-eógh*, *-eóch* and *-eóbh*; thus the 1 sg. future of *mínigh* was indifferently *míneóghad*, *míneóchad*, and *míneobhad*. (...) a good part

435 Ó Baoill, *Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic*, 192, § 16.2, s.v. *corraí* ‘anger’.

436 eDIL s.v. *corraige*.

437 Personal communication.

438 Seaghán Bán Mac Meanman, *Sgéalta Goiride Geimhridh* (Dublin: Conradh na Gaeilge, 1915) 1.

439 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 67, s. v. *corruighe* ‘anger’.

440 Ní Bhaoill, *Ulster Gaelic Voices*, 260.

441 Ní Bhaoill, *Ulster Gaelic Voices*, 110–111.

442 Dublin, UCD, National Folklore Collection, ‘Éamonn Ó Tuathail Papers’, EOT 02-08-05, p. 64.

443 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 98, s. v. *scian* ‘a knife’.

444 Ibid, 98.

445 eDIL s.v. *scían* or *dil.ie/36452*.

446 Hamilton, *The Irish of Tory*, 269, s.v. *dligheadh*.

447 Lucas, *Grammar of Ros Goill Irish*, 7, § 15.

448 Ibid, 15, § 34, (j).

449 Ibid, 15, § 34, (j).

450 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 157, s. v. *chuig* ‘to’.

451 T. Mag Ruadair, ‘An Fear a chuir Cluain ar an mBás’, in Laoide, *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, 18.6.

452 Hughes, ‘Gaeilge Uladh’, *Stair na Gaeilge*, 643.

of the Northern area adhered to the *ch* form.<sup>453</sup> Thus, *coinneoidh* of CO will appear as *coinneochaidh*.

Ó Tuathail uses the *-eacha* ending here to demonstrate that final unstressed *-eochaidh* has been reduced to [a<sup>3</sup>] in Muintir Luinigh. Accordingly, Stockman and Wagner give: *ceannóchaidh mé* as [k'aN:aə m'ə].<sup>454</sup>

**II.59 agus nuair a fhiafróchas an tiarna]** *agus n'air a fhiafrachas an tiarna* 'and when the lord will ask'. CO would express this as *agus nuair a fhiafróidh an tiarna*.

The temporal conjunction *nuair* 'when' is conventionally followed by a relative clause, as is the case here. The relative clause involving this 3 sg. future tense verb is marked by the insertion of the relative particle *a*, thereby causing lenition of the initial of the following verb.

Early Modern Irish as well as numerous Ulster and north Connacht dialects marked the relative nature of such clauses by supplying a special relative ending in *-(e)as*, thereby explaining the form used here. The *síneadh fada* has been restored. Note, however, that this vowel would have been short in speech since it is in an unstressed syllable, and historically long vowels in such unstressed syllables were subject to shortening in the Ulster dialects.

**II.60 ag deanamh an chíosa]** *a' teanamh an chíosa* 'making up [enough money for] the rent'. Ó Tuathail explained that the verbal noun of the verb *do-(gh)ním : ní dhéanaim* existed as *deanamh* and *teanamh* in Muintir Luinigh:

'The former occurs after the prepositions *do* (*a*) and *gan*, the latter after *ag* (*a'*) and *le*. Possessive pronouns, even when preceded by *ag* or *le*, take *deanamh*. Instances with *a* (= her) have not been noted, but *mo*, *do*, and *a* (= his) are followed by *dheanamh*, not *teanamh*. *Ar*, *mur* (= *bhur*) and *a* (= their) are followed by (*n*)*deanamh*.<sup>455</sup>

On the geographical distribution of *déanamh*, *díonamh* and *teanamh*, see *LASID*, Vol. 1, map 254.

**II.65 mura bhfuil sé aige anois duit]** *maga bhfuil se aige anois duit* 'if he does not have it for you now'. Muintir Luinigh Irish expressed *mura* 'unless, if not' with the construction *má go*. Among the examples of this usage recorded by Wagner and

Stockman are *má go bhfuil sé réidh* 'if it is not ready'; *má go rachaidh muid na mbaile* [i. e. *chun na mbaile*] 'if we do not go home'; *má go rachaidh mé mé féin* 'if I do not go myself' etc.<sup>456</sup>

There are two possible explanations for the origins of *maga*. It may be derived from *amach ach go* 'unless, if not'.<sup>457</sup> Unstressed *a* in *a-mach* has been omitted; then *-mach* and *ach* have been elided to produce *má*, thereby yielding *má go* when inserted before *go*. Alternatively, *maga* may trace its origins back to *amach ó go*. The phrase *amach ó* means 'apart from'. Using underlining to indicate loss of syllables, the process may have been something like *amach ó go* > *amach* *ó go* > '*mach* *ó go* > '*mach* *ó go* > *maga*.<sup>458</sup> Attestations of this preposition were collected by Lesley Lucas in Ros Goill.<sup>459</sup>

**II.69 Tá teachtaire beag astrach anseo agamsa]** *Tá teachtaire beag astrach innseo agham-sa* 'I have a little roving messenger here'. *Astrach* is a variant form of *aistreach*; see *FGB*, 31, s.v. *aistreach* 'journeying, roving; restless, unsettled'. Note the normalisation here of the adverb of place *innseo* [ən'ʃə] 'here' to *anseo*.

**II.73 chun an bhaile]** '*n a' mbaile* 'home, homewards'. Another distinctive feature of Muintir Luinigh Irish was the use of nasalisation before the word *baile* 'home' to express 'homewards' where most other Ulster Irish dialects supply lenition after *chun an* to give *chun an bhaile*.<sup>460</sup>

**II.77 nuair a fuair sé an bealach leis]** '*air a fuair se an bealach leis*. The context here suggests to me that the meaning is something like 'when it [the hare] found the way clear'. Note, however, Seosamh Watson's translation (*SML* (2015) 118): 'When the hare was released ...'.

**II.80 An dteachaidh sé]** *A' dteacha se* 'Did he go?'. The *n* of the interrogative particle *an* has been restored. It is normally not heard in everyday speech.

The normal dependent form of *chuaigh* in Muintir Luinigh was *teachaigh / teachaidh* and after initial mutation *dteachaigh*. Wagner and Stockman give *Cha dteachaidh mé* [ha d'aə m'ə] from Gleann Leirge and [ha d'aI m'e] from Gleann

456 Stockman and Wagner, 'A Study of Tyrone Irish', 164, s. v. *má go* 'unless'.

457 Gearóid Stockman, 'Má go, amach ach', *Celtica* 20 (1988) 130–131.

458 Seosamh Watson is the source for this alternative explanation.

459 Lucas, *Grammar of Ros Goill Irish*, 192, § 672.

460 Teileann is unusual within Donegal in its use of *abhaile*. Wagner cites the example *gabh abhaile* [go əwa. l'ə]; see Wagner, 224.

453 *IDPP*, 220.

454 Stockman and Wagner, 'A Study of Tyrone Irish', 115, s.v. *ceannach* 'buying'. See also 'Second Conjugation Futures' in Ó Baoill, *Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic*, 54, § 5.24.

455 *SML* (2015) xlv, s.v. *gheanaim*.

Aichle.<sup>461</sup> A similar form is found in Toraigh<sup>462</sup> and in Ros Goill.<sup>463</sup> Ó Tuathail noted *-teacha(idh)* as the dependent form of this verb in the case of north-west Cavan.<sup>464</sup>

**II.89 ní mhaith]** *ní mhaith* ‘even a good arrangement’, literally ‘a good thing’. Historically, *ní* is the neuter form of the indefinite pronoun *nech* (= Mod. Ir. *neach*); eDIL s.v. 1 *ní* or dil.ie/33145. In Modern Irish, the word took on the meaning ‘thing; something’; (with neg.) ‘nothing’ (FGB, 910, s.v. *ní*).

**II.92 Cha ghlacaim é]** *cha ghlacaim e* ‘I will not take it’. For a detailed discussion of the negative particle *cha*, see I.16 *Cha phósfadh sí]* *Cha phósfad sí*. The most noteworthy aspect of this phrase is the use of the present tense after *cha* to convey future meaning. In this context, we can recall O’Rahilly’s words that ‘*cha* is never used with the future tense, the present being used instead.’<sup>465</sup> O’Rahilly’s assertion can be cross-checked against the Irish of Tomás Ó Corragáin of Caisleán Thoir (East Castle) in Farney in south Monaghan. In a story entitled ‘Aodh Beag Ó Leabharcha’, one of his characters says: *chan fhagham-sa bás a choidhche* (CO: *Ní bhfaighidh mé bás a choíche*) ‘I will never die.’<sup>466</sup> In another story by the same *seanchaí* we find: *Ó, cha bhím beo ar maidin leis an ocras* (CO: *Ní bheidh mé beo ar maidin leis an ocras*) ‘I will not be alive in the morning on account of the hunger.’<sup>467</sup>

**II.95 scríbhinn]** *sgríbhinn* ‘a written document’, i.e. ‘a contract in writing’ (FGB, 1064, s.v. *scríbhinn*).

**II.103 ag an teinidh]** *aig an teinidh* ‘at the fire’. In Old Irish this word was a lenited dental stem with nominative singular *teine*, genitive singular *teined*, and dative singular *teinid*; eDIL s.v. 1 *teine* or dil.ie/40385. The historical dative singular in Modern Irish was *teinidh* which was preserved in the Ulster dialects. That form has been retained here. CO has nominative singular *tine* with genitive and dative *tine*.

**II.110 Cad é as nár chuir tú]** *Goid as nár chuir tú* ‘Why did you not send?’. Stockman and Wagner listed this adverbial interrogative particle under *Goidé’s*

‘why?’.<sup>468</sup> The spelling *’s* indicates that the initial *a* of the preposition *as* ‘out of, from’ has been elided with the preceding *é* in *goidé* resulting in the loss of *é* from *goidé*. The literal meaning of *goidé as* is ‘what is the source of ...?’, hence ‘why?’. The formula *goidé as* appears to have been confined to the south-east Ulster and Tyrone areas; see *LASID*, Vol. 1, map 242.

**II.113 sin bob eile]** *sin bab eile* ‘that is another trick’. Ó Tuathail noted this word as an example of the sound-change of *o* to *a* in a stressed syllable; *SML*, § 13. This may have been an old feature of Ulster Irish given that this kind of variation is found even in Old Irish where there is variation in words like *mór* : *már* ‘big’.

**II.114 Má tá]** *Má tá* ‘[And] even if he has’; see FGB, 813, s.v. *má*.

**II.114 cha bhuaileann sé ceann níos mó orm]** *cha bhuaileann se cionn nios mó orm* ‘he will not play one [i.e. a trick] on me any more’. This is an excellent example of the use of a present tense form with future tense meaning after the negative particle *cha*; see my note on *cha ghlacaim é* (II.92). Notice the use of *nios* rather than *nas* as the comparative particle, albeit with *í* [i:] having been shortened to *i* [i]. Cf. note I.11.

**II.116 thug siad Brian leofa]** *thug siad Brian leófa* ‘they took Brian with them’. While CO uses *leo* as the 3 plural prepositional pronoun here, Tyrone Irish, like Donegal Irish uses *leofa*. Initial *l* in *leofa* could have been pronounced fortis [L’ɔ:f ə] or lenis [l’ɔ:f ə].<sup>469</sup> Ua Cionga noted in the preface to his *Sgéul fa Bheatha Agus Pháis ár d-Tighearna* that:

The next very remarkable and common impropriety of speech in very general use (and retained in this tract) is the addition of the syllable *-a*, *-e*, or *fa*, or *tha* to the pronouns in composition, as *leófa* or *leóibhtha* which is commonly said here for *leo*, with them; in like manner, *dóibhthe* or *dóbhtha*, to them (...).<sup>470</sup>

**II.117 fá choinne a bháthadh]** *fá choinne a bháú* ‘in order to drown him’. The loss of the sound [h] for *th* between vowels in written Irish was a distinctive feature of Tyrone Irish; see Ó Tuathail, *SML*, § 46. Wagner recorded *dá bhfuighinn tusa a bháthadh* [wa:uw] ‘if I could drown you.’<sup>471</sup> See below II.202 *nuair a bhí sé dá bháthadh]* *air a bhí se dá bháú*.

461 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 124, s. v. *gabháil* ‘catching, going, etc.’

462 Hamilton, *Irish of Tory*, 204.

463 Lucas, *Grammar of Ros Goill Irish*, 137, § 537.

464 Ó Tuathail, *Seanchas Ghleann Ghaibhle*, xxxiii, s.v. *théim*.

465 IDPP, 167.

466 T. Ó Corragáin, ‘Aodh Beag Ó Leabharcha’, in Laoide, *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, 1-10: 8.

467 Ó Corragáin, ‘Tigh na Gann-Choda’, in Laoide, *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, 39-42: 41.

468 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 149, s. v. *Goidé’s* ‘why?’.

469 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 161, s. v. *Le* ‘with’.

470 Cited by Ó Buachalla, ‘Nótaí ar Ghaeilge Dhoire agus Thír Eoghain’, 252, § 0.3 (ii).

471 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 111, s. v. *báthadh* ‘drowning’.



Ó Searcaigh noted that the loss of intervocalic *-th-* in stressed syllables in words like *máthair*, *bráthair*, *láthair* and *báthadh* was a feature that Tyrone shared with south-east Ulster.<sup>472</sup>

**II.125 Ná bain domhsa]** *Ná buin dû-sa* ‘Don’t touch *me*! The idiom *bain do* means ‘touch’, ‘interfere with’; *FGB*, s.v. *bain*, 78. The 1 sg. of the simple preposition *do* is here combined with the emphasising suffix *-sa*.

**II.126 go flaitheamhnas]** *go flathûnas* ‘to heaven’. Ó Dónaill (*FGB*, 552, s.v. *flaithiúnas*, 2 (b)) defines this word as ‘kingdom of heaven, heaven’. Stockman and Wagner collected *flaithiúnas* [flaũxnəs].<sup>473</sup> *Flaitheamhnas* is the standard Scottish Gaelic term for ‘heaven’.

**II.130 Tá céad ceann callaigh agam]** *Tá céad cionn callaigh agham* ‘I have one hundred head of cattle’. The number *céad* was historically treated as a substantive.<sup>474</sup> It was followed by the genitive plural of the object that it enumerated. *Ceann*, the genitive plural of the masculine noun *ceann* ‘head’ has therefore been restored.

*Eallaigh* is the genitive singular of the masculine collective noun *eallach* (*FGB*, 477, s.v. *eallach*). While the dialects of Ulster, north Leinster, north-west Mayo and central-eastern Connacht used *eallach* for ‘cattle’, south Connacht followed Munster in its use of *beithigh*; see *LASID*, Vol. 1, map 2.

On lenition of intervocalic *g* in the pronominal forms of the preposition *ag*, see *agat*: *aghad* (I.72) and *agam*: *agham* (II.28).

**II.134-135 nach mbíonn feidhm agam air]** *nach mbíonn féim agham air* ‘that I will not need’. The historical form of *feidhm* [f’e:m’] has been restored.<sup>475</sup> See *FGB*, 530, s.v. *feidhm*, meaning 3 ‘need’. Ó Dónaill’s examples show a preference for the preposition *le* as in *feidhm a bheith agat le rud*. However, Stockman and Wagner’s collection have the examples *níl feidhm* [f’e:m’] *ar bith againn ar airgead* ‘we don’t need any money’.<sup>476</sup> This construction with *feidhm* is used regularly in Scottish Gaelic and was common in Donegal.

For a parallel situation in which vowel lengthening occurs to compensate for the loss of the medial consonantal cluster *gh* in Ulster, see note I.29 on *leigheas*. On the lenition

of intervocalic *g* in *agam*, see *agam*] *agham* (II.28). See also Ó Baoill, *Comparative Study of Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic*, 283-284, § 21.14, s.v. *feidhm* ‘need’.

**II.141-142 cheangail sé]** *cheâgail se* ‘he tied’. A very distinctive feature of Tyrone Irish was the weakening of both broad *ng* [ŋ] and slender *ng* [ŋ’] between vowels or between a vowel and a consonant in the stressed syllable of polysyllabic words until the original sound disappeared; the remaining vowel was regularly lengthened to compensate for the loss of *-ng-* and was *sometimes* nasalised.<sup>477</sup> Ó Tuathail (*SML*, § 47) described the production of this sound thus:

‘The back of the tongue is raised towards the soft palate but no friction is heard. The preceding vocalism is nasalized. In *briôghloidigh* and *ceâghail gh* tends to disappear leaving a long diphthong.’<sup>478</sup>

Forms like *aingeal* [e:əl], *brionglóidigh* [b’rələd’i] and *ceangal* [k’e:əl] or [k’eəl] emerged from this process.<sup>479</sup>

Tyrone shares this trait with the dialects of east Ulster, many Scottish Gaelic dialects, and the Isle of Man.<sup>480</sup> While this feature did not occur in Cavan<sup>481</sup> or in south-west Donegal, it is found in certain words in the northern part of the latter county. Toraigh, for example, tends to denasalize *-ng-* in *brionglóideach* [b’rīgLəd’a].<sup>482</sup> Inis Eoghain, however, was the only place in Donegal where medial *-ng-* was consistently lost in this context.<sup>483</sup> It has been noted that a semi-vowel [j] sometimes replaced slender *ng* [ŋ’] to give forms like *aingeal* [ajəl] in Inis Eoghain.<sup>484</sup> The Fanad Peninsula –

477 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 202. O’Rahilly (*IDPP*, 183) noted: ‘In the greater part of Ulster outside Donegal intervocalic or final *ng* after a stressed vowel became *gh* with nasalization of the preceding vowel, and later the *gh* generally disappeared with compensatory lengthening (...). This change of *ng* to *gh* goes back to the fifteenth century, (...)’.

478 For the nuances of this sound change, in south-east Ulster and Louth, see McKenna, *The Spiritual Rose*, xxxvi.

479 Emrys Evans, ‘East Ulster Features in Inishowen Irish’, *Studia Celtica* 4 (1969) 88.

480 Evans, ‘East Ulster Features in Inishowen Irish’, 80-98: 88-89.

481 ‘Medially and finally palatal *ng* is usually preserved. The only exceptions noted are *daighean*, Middle Irish *daingean*, and *pínn*, ‘penny’, Middle Irish *pinginn*. As to non-palatal *ng*, Middle Irish *ingantach* is represented by *íontach*. *Íolach*, ‘numbness in fingers’ occurs beside *ionglach* (...). *ng* stands in *brionglóid*, ‘dream’, *ceanglaim* ‘I bind’, *seangán* ‘ant’ and *teangaidh* ‘tongue’. See Ó Tuathail, *Seanchas Ghleann Ghaibhle*, xxi, § 55.

482 Hamilton, *Irish of Tory*, 146, § d.

483 Evans, ‘East Ulster Features in Inishowen Irish’, 88.

484 Ibid., 88.

472 Ó Searcaigh, *Foghraidheacht Ghaedilge an Tuaiscirt*, 5-6, § 5.

473 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 78, s.v. *flaitheamhnas* ‘heaven’.

474 Thurneysen, *A Grammar of Old Irish*, 244, § 390.

475 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 77, s. v. *feidhm* ‘need’.

476 Ibid.



Íochtar Fhánaide and Gleann Bhairr – is the most westerly point at which this trait was exhibited, but *-ng-* was also retained by some speakers in that district.<sup>485</sup> Finally, it is worth recalling the words of Roibeard Ua Cionga in the preface to his *Sgéul fa Bheatha Agus Pháis ár d-Tighearna*:

Ng is expressed here by a guttural or vocal sound which is hardly perceptible to the ear. Thus, *aingeal*, an angel, is pronounced almost as if written *éal*, or *é-yel*; *brionglóid*, a vision nearly as if written *briolóid*; *teanga*, a tongue, as if *teighe* etc., but it is impossible to express this guttural sound accurately by writing.<sup>486</sup>

**II.143 thiomáin sé]** *thiomail se* ‘he drove’. This is an instance of dissimilation, whereby *l* and *n*, which are articulated in adjacent parts of the mouth, are switched. Note the shortening of this historically long vowel *á* [a:] in the unstressed syllable. This form is also found in Ros Goill.<sup>487</sup> The form *thiomail* is attested in an Omeath story from Aodh Mac Gréacháin: *thiomáil leis go dteachaidh sé isteach* ‘and he drove on until he went into (...)’.<sup>488</sup>

**II.144 agus na báilliannadh]** *agus na bailliannú* ‘and the bailiffs’. Dinneen’s entry (*Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla*, 70) under *báille* ‘a bailiff’ gives *báillí* as the most common plural form of this noun, but also notes that both Ulster and Connacht have an alternative plural in *báillidheanna* [= modern spelling *báillianna*].

The Muintir Luinigh nominative plural *-iannú* ending in this word appears to be a conflation of two suffixes: the *-ann(a)* suffix and the *-adh(a)* suffix. They appear to have combined to produce a new plural ending in *annadh* [əNu / ənu]. Stockman and Wagner recorded examples of plural forms in Tyrone with the *-(e)anna* / *-(e)annu* ending.<sup>489</sup>

Words like *gearrán* ‘a gelding’ and *scadán* ‘a herring’, also have this nominative plural ending in Omeath, south Armagh and in Inis Eoghain. Our form can be compared with the Inis Eoghain plural *gearránu* [g’arənu].<sup>490</sup>

485 Evans, ‘East Ulster Irish Features in Inishowen Irish’, 89.

486 Ó Buachalla, ‘Notai ar Ghaeilge Dhoire agus Thír Eoghain’, 253, § 0.3 (xiv).

487 Seosamh Watson in a personal communication.

488 Aodh Mac Gréacháin, ‘Eachtra Thoirdealbhaigh Mhic Ríogh na hÉireann’ in Laoide, *Sgéalaidhe Oirghialla*, 66-85: 66.

489 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 211.

490 Evans, ‘East Ulster Features in Inishowen Irish’, 90-91.

**II.149 ar phionnaí shiostail]** *ar phionnaí shistil* ‘on hackling pins’. Ó Dónaill defines *pionna* as a ‘pin’ or a ‘peg’; see *FGB*, 951, s.v. *pionna*. *Siostail* is the genitive singular of *siostal* ‘hackle’; *FGB*, 1102, s.v. *siostal*.

**II.149 dóigh fhrithir]** *dóigh fhrithir* ‘a sore way’. Muintir Luinigh shares the word *frithir* [f’ri:r’] ‘sore’ with south-east Ulster, Inis Eoghain, Gleann Bhairr, Íochtar Fhánaide, Craoslach and the Mid-Donnegal Gaeltacht [f’ri:hər’].<sup>491</sup> *Nimhneach* [N’iv’N’a] predominates in north and north-west Donegal as well as in south-west Donegal.<sup>492</sup> For the geographical distribution of *frithir* and *nimhneach*, see *LASID*, Vol. 1, map 145.

**II.151 chaith siad isteach i loch mhór é]** *chaith siad isteach ina loch mhór e* ‘they threw him into a big lough’. Compare with III.76 *a cur i ndíog uisce]* *a cur ina ndíg uisge*. East Ulster Irish dialects often used a so-called ‘strengthened’ form of their simple prepositions that was identical to their 3 sg. masculine prepositional pronoun, but which functioned as a simple preposition. Thus, we find *ina ndíg* (III.76) for *i ndíog* ‘in a ditch / drain’; and *ina loch* (III.88) for *i loch* ‘in a lough’. Here, the form *ina* is used instead of the simple preposition *i* + nasalisation. Interestingly, Wagner and Stockman’s examples from Tyrone contain conventional *i* + nasalisation as in: *i mbarraille* ‘in a barrel’.<sup>493</sup>

Colm Ó Baoill has remarked that:

In Scotland the preposition for ‘in’, when it occurs directly before a noun, is most often *ann an*, a ‘strengthened’ form in which the first element is the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular prepositional form of the same preposition. Similar forms in Ulster never totally replace the simple *in* (*i n-*).<sup>494</sup>

The Irish of Tomás Ó Corragáin of Farney exhibits this feature, as for example, in: *Tharla go rabh páiste óg ine dtigh an ríogh* (CO: *Tharla go raibh páiste óg i dteach an rí*) ‘It happened that there was a young child in the king’s house’.<sup>495</sup> At the opposite end of the geographical spectrum in Inis Eoghain, one encounters the line *fuaidh*

491 Evans, ‘East Ulster Irish Features in Inishowen Irish’, 93.

492 Seosamh Watson, in a personal communication, has remarked that he has heard *frithir* in Gleann Cholm Cille.

493 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 159.

494 Ó Baoill, *Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic*, 289, § 21.18, s.v. *ine* ‘in’.

495 T. Ó Corragáin, ‘An Bacach Mór’, in Laoide, *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, 19-26: 25.

(*chuidh*) *sé isteach ionna dtoigh* (CO: *chuaigh sé isteach i dteach*) ‘he went into a house’ in Diarmuid Mac Giolla Chearra’s version of ‘Ashy Pet’.<sup>496</sup> In the case of north-west Cavan, Ó Tuathail remarked that ‘The reduplicated form *ina* occurs beside *i*, ‘in’.<sup>497</sup>

**II.153 go raibh sé réitiste le Brian]** *go robh se réitiste le Brian* ‘that he had made [his] peace with Brian’. *Réitiste* is the dialectal form of *réitithe*, the verbal adjective (past participle) of the verb *réitim* which has the basic meaning ‘I make smooth or clear’. For another example of this feature, see *faluiste* II.186.

A distinctive feature of many Ulster Irish dialects was the use of *-(a)iste* instead of *-(a)ithe* as the ending of the verbal adjective (or past participle) of second conjugation verbs.<sup>498</sup> Thus, while most dialects have *réitithe* ‘resolved, sorted out’, many Ulster Irish dialects had *réitiste*. O’Rahilly declared that ‘*-iste* is evidently made up of *í* (the N. Ir. pronunciation of historic *-ighthe*) [= modern spelling *-ithe*] and *iste*’.<sup>499</sup> He went on to assert that *-iste* was ‘an Irish adaptation of the Scottish *-ichte*’, as found in *ceannaichte* ‘bought’.<sup>500</sup> But note Ó Baoill’s comments on this feature: ‘This [O’Rahilly’s] explanation may be too simple, and forms listed below also include S. Donegal conditional and imperfect passives in *-istí* or *-eastaoi*, because of the possibility that they may have some relevance to the past participles in *-iste*’.<sup>501</sup> Stockman and Wagner list this as the third item in their list of features which are indicative of Scottish Gaelic influence on Tyrone Irish.<sup>502</sup>

**II.159 Brian a shárú]** *Brian a shárú* ‘getting the better of Brian’. FGB, 1034, s.v. *sárú*, has ‘thwart’ and ‘overcome’ as this verb’s third and fourth meanings.

**II.160 folaithe le eallach breac]** *faluiste le eallach breac* ‘covered with speckled cattle’. The verb is *foláim* ‘I cover’, verbal noun *folú*, and verbal adjective (past participle) *folaithe* ‘covered’ in CO. Two features present themselves here: firstly, the kind of variation of *o* > *a* as in *bob* > *bab* ‘a trick’ (II.113) and the use of the verbal adjective (past participle) ending *-(a)iste* as found in *réitiste* (II.153). Note the absence of *h* after the preposition *le* and before the initial vowel of the following noun, *eallach*.

496 Ó Tuathail, ‘Ashy Pet’, *Béaloidéas* 2, No. 2 (1929) 148-156: 148.

497 Ó Tuathail, *Seanchas Ghleann Ghaibhle*, xxx.

498 Breandán Ó Buachalla, ‘The Verbal Adjective Formant *-iste* in Ulster Irish’, *Ériu* 31 (1980) 39–45.

499 O’Rahilly, *IDPP*, 172.

500 Ibid.

501 Ó Baoill, *Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic*, 295, § 21.23.

502 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 207.

The interchangeability of *le h*-before an initial vowel with *le* before an initial vowel occurs in Old and Middle Irish.

**II.160-161 Is fearr dúinn]** *is fheárr duinn* ‘it is better for us’. In Muintir Luinigh, declarative *is fearr* is rendered as *is fhearr*, thereby demonstrating that the lenition that had once been a distinctive marker of relative usage must have spread beyond its original domain to declarative statements; see note II.178. Wagner recorded *is fhearr liom* [ə’sa:r ləm] in Gleann Leirge.<sup>503</sup>

**II.162 b’fhéidir]** *b’fhéatar* ‘perhaps’. In Tyrone, intervocalic *d* [dʲ] in the word *b’fhéidir* ‘perhaps’ is devoiced to produce a *t* [tʲ] sound. Thus, Peadar Joe Ó hEachadha gave the form [bʲe:tʲər] to Wagner.<sup>504</sup> A second process is represented here in Ó Cianáin’s *b’fhéatar*, whereby palatalised *t* [tʲ] loses its palatal quality and yields [t].<sup>505</sup> Accordingly, Wagner recorded *b’fhéatar* [bʲetər] in Gleann Leirge, Gleann Aichle and Alt an Chamchosaigh.<sup>506</sup> Note also the shortening of the historically long vowel *é* [e:] to *e* in the first syllable of *b’fhéidir* in Gleann Leirge, Gleann Aichle and Alt an Chamchosaigh.

**II.162-163 go bhfuigheadh sinne]** *go bhfuíod sinne* ‘we would get’. CO uses *go bhfaighimis* here. Our form displays several interesting features. The first is the Ulster practice of pronouncing final *-(e)adh* in the conditional mood as *-d* or *-t* before *s*. See note I.3.

The second is the disintegration in the north of Ireland of the system whereby the verbal stem plus the subject pronoun were conjoined in so-called synthetic verbal forms as in, for example, *glanaimid* ‘we clean’ as against its corresponding analytical form *glanann muid* in which the verbal stem and its subject pronoun are separated. Since the seventeenth century, Irish grammarians have acknowledged the co-existence of these two parallel verbal systems. Historically, speakers of Ulster Irish have opted to generalise the analytical verbal system in speech, whilst their counterparts in Munster, south Leinster and south Connacht have generalised the synthetic verbal system in speech.

Thus, when we consider the paradigm of the verb in the conditional mood as presented by Hughes, we find that only Teileann in south-west Donegal has the synthetic form *ghlanfamuist* ‘we would clean’, while a range of alternative analytical

503 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 43, s. v. *maith* ‘good’.

504 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 196, § c.

505 Ibid.

506 Ibid.

forms (*ghlanfas muid*, *ghlanfadh muid*, and *ghlanfadh sinn*) are found elsewhere in Donegal.<sup>507</sup> *Ghlanfadh sinn*, the form found in mid-Donegal, is the one that corresponds most closely to our *go bhfuíod sinn*.<sup>508</sup>

**II.163 cáil]** *cáil* ‘some’. Note that *cáil* means ‘a portion’, or ‘a piece’ in I.8 *Bhris sé cáil de na húmachai]* *Bhris se cáil do na húmachai*.

**II.163 fosta]** *fost* ‘too’. Compare *Árd-mhach*’ (II.3-4). For an example of the reduction in west Tyrone of *fosta* to *fosta*, see Pádraig Ó Gallchobhair’s phrase *agus dhéanfaidh mise aithreachas fost*’ (‘and I will do penance also’) in the story ‘An Peacach’.<sup>509</sup>

**II.168 cinn]** *cionnaí* ‘ones’. This non-historical plural form of *ceann* ‘a head; one’ is found in various western dialects. Stockman and Wagner recorded *cionnaí cearta* [k’ɛN:i k’artə] ‘right ones’.<sup>510</sup> This plural form is attested in a story by the Omeath Irish speaker, Brian Mac Cuarta, *dúirt sí gur cionnaí deise a bhí agam* ‘she said that they were nice ones that I had’ (referring to trout that he had caught).<sup>511</sup>

**II.168 i bhfad níos fearr]** *i bhfad níos fheárr* ‘much better’. *Fearr*, comparative degree of the adjective *maith*, is sometimes lenited after the comparative particle *níos* / *nios* / *nas* in Muintir Luinigh. Thus, Wagner collected *nas fhearr* [nə’s ɛ:r] in An Creagán and *nas fhearr* [nə’s a:r] in Gleann Aichle and Gleann Leirge as against *nas fearr* [nəs f’a:r] in Gleann Aichle and *nas fearr* [nəs f’a:r] in Alt an Chamchosaigh.<sup>512</sup>

**II.170 Rachainnse fá chuid acu]** *Rachainn-se fa chuid acu*. ‘I would go for some of them’. Examples in which *fo* / *fa* / *fá* / *bho* / *bha* express the meaning ‘for’ (before an indirect object or regarding duration of time) from Stockman and Wagner’s list include *chuaidh sí chun an tobair bha* [wa:] *uisce* ‘she went to the well for water’;<sup>513</sup> *tá an gamhain ag muilgíreacht bhua* [wuə] *a cuid bainne* ‘the calf is lowing for its milk’;<sup>514</sup>

*bhí sí tinn fá* [fa] *trí nó ceithre uaire* ‘she was sick for three or four hours’;<sup>515</sup> *tá an soitheach seo fá* [fa] *uisce* ‘this vessel is for water’.<sup>516</sup> This is a highly distinctive feature of Tyrone Irish; see *LASID*, Vol. 1, map 175. For a discussion of the other meanings of *fa* / *fá*, see the note 1.5 *fán mhnaoi mhaith]* *bha’n mhraoi mhaith*.

**II.176 nuair a bhí sé dá bháthadh]** *air a bhí se dá bháú* ‘when he was drowning’, literally ‘when he was at his drowning’. See note II.117.

**II.178 ceap an bhullóg udai]** *Ceap a’ bhullog udai* ‘Catch that bullock’. The fifth meaning of the verb *ceapaim* in Ó Dónaill’s dictionary is ‘block path of; stop, catch’ (*FGB*, 209, s.v. *ceap*).

The *n* of the article was not generally pronounced in this context in speech. It has, however, been restored here.

*bullóg* ‘a bullock’ is found with a single or a double *l*; moreover, the vowel in the initial syllable can be *-u-* or *-o-*; thus *bulóg*, *bullóg* and *bológ* are all attested. The preferred form in CO, however, is *bológ* (*FGB*, 124). Notice the shortening of *ó* [o:] in the final, unstressed syllable of this word in Tyrone. Wagner collected *bullóg* [bʌL:ag] in Alt an Cham Chosaigh.<sup>517</sup> For the geographical distribution of this word as against western and southern *bullán*, see Ó Baoill & Wagner, *LASID*, Vol. 1, map 7.

*Udaí*, a demonstrative adjective that is derived from *úd* ‘yon, yonder’, tends to have a short initial *u* in the dialects. Stockman and Wagner spell this word as *adaí* [adi].<sup>518</sup>

**II.178 an ceann is fhearr]** *an cionn is fheárr* ‘the best one’. On the use of historical dative singular *cionn* instead of the historical nominative or accusative singular *ceann*, see note I.46.

In relative clauses many of the Donegal dialects show lenition of *fearr* after *is* in an echo of Classical Modern Irish *as* + aspiration. Thus, *sin an rud is fhearr liom* ‘that is the thing which I prefer’, literally ‘which is the best to my mind’. Compare with: *Tá an ceann is fhearr ar shiúl uaim* (II.204-205), literally ‘the one which is best is away from me’; and *Bhí an lá is fhearr a tháinig ariamh againn* (III.27), literally ‘we had the day which is best that ever came’.

507 Hughes, ‘Gaeilge Uladh’, 643.

508 Ibid.

509 Ní Bhaoill, *Ulster Gaelic Voices*, 226. Pádraig Ó Gallchobhair (c. 1852-1940) was from Tulaigh na Séan (Tullyshane), Coill Íochtair in the parish of Tearmann Uí Mhongáin.

510 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 61, s. v. *ceann* ‘a head’.

511 Brian Mac Cuarta, ‘Mo Athair agus an tSlat Iascaireachta’, in Ní Bhaoill (ed.), *Ulster Gaelic Voices*, 254-257: 256.

512 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 143, s. v. *maith* ‘good’.

513 = *chuaigh sí chun an tobair fá choinne* *uisce*. See Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 156, s.v. *bha*, *fá* ‘for, about, of, from’.

514 = *tá an ghamhain ag géimneach fá choinne* *an bhainne*.

515 = *bhí sí tinn fá choinne* *trí nó ceithre huair*.

516 = *tá an soitheach seo fá choinne* *uisce*.

517 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 56, s.v. *bullóg* ‘a bullock’. I use ʌ for the open-mid back unrounded vowel that is represented in the work of Stockman and Wagner as the letter *o* with two dots underneath it.

518 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 146, s. v. *adaí* ‘yonder’.

Among the attestations of *is fhearr* in south-east Ulster material is: *Goidé 'n dóigh is fhearr leat troid?* (= CO *cad é an dóigh is fearr leat troid?*) 'Which way do you prefer to fight?'<sup>519</sup>

**II.184-185 mar [a] bhí siad ag déanamh** *mar bhí siad a' teanamh* 'how they were doing'. Ó Tuathail gives the Muintir Luinigh forms of the verb 'to do' as *gheanaim* / (gh)ním 'I do'; ní *deanaim* 'I do not'; with 2 sg. imperative *teana*; and verbal noun *deanamh* / *teanamh*. Wagner recorded the unmutated verbal noun as *teanamh* [t'anu].<sup>520</sup> That *teanamh* was common in Farney is clear from: *gur'b é an bradán ab' fhaide síos bhí ag teanamh (déanamh) spóirt is ceoil ar an mball sin* [= CO *gurb é an bradán ab' fhaide síos a bhí ag déanamh spóirt is ceoil ar an mball sin*] 'that it is the salmon who was farthest down who was making fun and music in that spot'.<sup>521</sup> Both *deanamh* and *teanamh* were to be heard in north-west Cavan.<sup>522</sup>

### III. LOCH DEARG: TEXTUAL NOTES

**III.3-4 i measc na haoise óige** *i measg na haois' óga* 'among the young people'. There are two possible explanations for what appears to be a slip by Ó Cianáin here. The first is the more likely. He may have conflated two words. The first of these two words is *aos*, which means 'people, folk' (FGB, 54, s.v. *aos*) therefore *an t-aos óg* 'the young people'; *i measc an aosa óig* 'among the young people (gen.)'. The second word is *aois*, which means 'age' (FGB, 51-52, s. v. *aois*). The situation, however, is confused by the fact that *aois* 'age' has a variant spelling in masculine *aos*. In any case, one might expect here *i measc an aosa óig* 'among the young people' or *i measc na haoise óige* 'among the younger aged [people]'. A second, but less likely possibility is that Ó Cianáin did not mark the palatalisation of *g* in *óige* and what Ó Tuathail heard was closer to *óga*.

A further possibility is one suggested to me by Seosamh Watson, namely, that Ó Cianáin may here be qualifying this collective noun with a plural adjective as is sometimes found in the phrase *an mhuintir óga*.

519 Eibhlín Ní Anluain, 'Eachtra Thoirdehealbhaigh Mhic Ríogh na hÉireann' in Laoide, *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, 84.20.

520 Stockman and Wagner, 'A Study of Tyrone Irish', 119-120, s.v. *deanamh* 'doing', making'.

521 Tomás Ó Corragáin, 'An Bacach Mór', in Laoide, *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, 21.23.

522 Ó Tuathail, *Seanchas Ghleann Ghaibhle*, xxxiii, s.v. *ním* [ghnám].

**III.4 dhéanfadh siad damhsa** *gheanfadh siad damhsa* 'they would dance'. See note I.25.

**III.5-6 thiar agus abhus** *thiar a's a-bus* 'here and there'. This adverbial phrase is derived from Old Irish *i fus* 'in the state of being stationary, at rest'. In this dialect, the *bh* in this word was often de-lenited. Stockman and Wagner noted *bhí sí i bhfos* 'she was here' as [v'i: jī bos].<sup>523</sup>

**III.7 insa chomharsain** *insa chòrsain* 'in the neighbourhood'. FGB records the feminine noun *comharsa* as meaning (1) 'neighbour'; (2) 'neighbourhood'; it is derived from an Old Irish feminine *n*-stem *comarsa* which also meant (a) 'neighbour'; and (b) 'neighbourhood' (eDIL s.v. *comarsa* or dil.ie/10756). The form here is the dative singular of *comharsa* 'neighbourhood'. See also *comharsain* in Wagner's collection.<sup>524</sup>

**III.8 dófa** *dófa* 'to them'. CO uses *dóibh* for the 3 plural of the preposition *do* 'to, for'. Wagner (*Gaeilge Theilinn*, 198) recorded both *daofa* and *dófa* as the 3 plural prepositional pronoun in Teileann but added the caveat that the latter form was very rare there. In contrast, he noted that *dófa* was very common in North Donegal.<sup>525</sup> Regarding the geographical distribution of *dófa* as against *dóibh*, see *LASID*, Vol. 1, map 259.

**III.9-10 a leithéid seo (a) dh'fhear** *a leithid seo a dh'fhear* 'such a man'. The revised edition has omitted *a*, which I take to be a heavily reduced form of the lenited simple preposition *de* that has arisen from the process: thus *de* > *dhe* > *a*. Ó Cianáin may have simply stumbled here and repeated the simple preposition in its lenited form *dhe*.

**III.11 mura dtabharfaidh sé féasta** *maga dtóirfe se féasta* 'if he does not give a feast'. In their 'Contributions to a Study of Tyrone Irish', Stockman and Wagner noted this conjunction.<sup>526</sup> They defined *má go* as a conjunction that meant 'unless'. Among the examples of this usage that they cite are: *má go bhfuil sé réidh* 'if it is not ready' and *má go rachaimid na mbaile* 'if we don't go home'. For a discussion of the origins of this conjunction, see II.65 *mura bhfuil sé aige anois duit* *maga bhfuil se aige anois duit*.

523 Stockman and Wagner, 'A Study of Tyrone Irish', 205.

524 Ibid, 66.

525 For *dófa* [dɔ:fə] in Toraigh, see Hamilton, *Irish of Tory*, 220. Compare this form with *leofa*.

526 Stockman and Wagner, 'A Study of Tyrone Irish', 164, s.v. *má go*.



**III.11 daoibh]** *duibh* ‘to you (plural)’. Ó Tuathail’s spelling here indicates that Ó Cianáin pronounced the 2 plural prepositional pronoun *daoibh* [däivʰ] as Jane Nic Ruairí of Gleann Leirge did for Wagner.<sup>527</sup>

**III.13 donán]** *donan* ‘miserable creature’. *DIL* defines *donán* as ‘a miserable creature, a wretch’ (eDIL s.v. *donán*). The term is probably similar in meaning to *créatúr bocht*. By omitting the *síneadh fada* over the *a* in the final, unstressed syllable of this word, Ó Tuathail has indicated that this historically long *á*-sound [a:] has by now been reduced to [a] at the very least or more probably *schwa* [ə]. On the shortening of historically long vowels in unstressed syllables, see note I.9.

**III.14 cé ar bith cad é]** *cé air bith goidé* ‘regardless of what’ (literally ‘whatever it be in the world that it is’). *FGB* equates *cé (ar) bith* with *cá bith*. It notes (*FGB*, 165, s.v. *cá*, 6): ‘(Combines with *ar bith* to form adjectival and pronominal phrase *cár bith*) Whatever.’ *Cé* and *Cá* are variants of each other in this instance. *FGB* cites the example *Cár bith rud é* ‘whatever it is’ which is the equivalent of our phrase *cé ar bith cad é*, which is simply a strengthened form of *cé ar bith*, which when contracted appears as *cér bith*. The entire phrase *cé ar bith cad é* [a] *dhéanfa leis* means ‘regardless of what you would do with him’.

**III.15 chuig toigh]** *’uige toigh* ‘to a house’. We see three interesting features here: the first is the omission of initial *ch-*, for which see note I.37-38. The second is the use of a form of the preposition that is identical to the 3rd singular masculine prepositional pronoun instead of the simple preposition: thus, *chuige* instead of *chuig* ‘to, towards’; *aige* instead of *ag* ‘at’, etc. For another example of this feature, see note III.44. The third interesting feature here is the appropriate use of the old dative singular of *teach* ‘a house’ after the preposition. See *toigh* (II.13).

**III.17 Bhí práinn ar \*an rí\*]** *Bhí práinn air an fhear* [.i. *an rí*] ‘The king was anxious’. The conventional meaning today of *práinn* is ‘hurry, rush; urgent need’ (*FGB*, 967, s.v. *práinn* (1)). However, Dinneen cites the following phrase which concurs with our meaning: *ní léan liom a bpráinn* ‘I rejoice at their trepidation’; *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla*, 857, s. v. *práidhinn*.

**III.21 lá níb fhearr]** *lá na b’fhearr* ‘a better day’. On the use of the comparative particle, *nás* in the present and future tenses and the use of *na ba / na b’* in the past tense and conditional moods, see note I.11. For another example of *na ba / na b’*, see

I.69-70 *fear níb fhearr ná eisean* [a] *fháil* *fear na b’fhearr ná eisean fháil*.

**III.22 againn]** *aghainn*, literally ‘at us’. On lenition of intervocalic *g* in this prepositional pronoun, see *agat*: *aghad* (I.72) and *agam*: *agham* (II.28).

**III.23 ár sáith cuideachta]** *ar sáith cuideachta* ‘our fill of [good] company’. *Sáith* means ‘sufficiency, enough’; *FGB*, 1025, s.v. *sáith*. For the geographical distribution of *do sháith* as against *do dhotháin*, see *LASID*, Vol. 1, map 92.

**III.27 an lá is fhearr]** *an lá is fhearr* ‘the best day’, literally ‘the day which is best’. On lenition of *fearr* after the copula in what were historically relative clauses, see *an ceann is fhearr* (II.204).

**III.28 scoith na cuideachta]** *sgoith na cuideachta* ‘the very best of company’. Ulster Irish dialects generalise the dative singular form, *scoith*, at the expense of the old nominative singular form *scoth* leading to the complete supplanting of *scoth* within the noun system.

**III.30 an deoraí]** *an deoruí* ‘a pitiable person’. The secondary meaning of *deoraí* according to *FGB* (397, s.v. *deoraí*) is ‘a pitiable person’. The meanings of the Old and Middle Irish word from which *deoraí* is derived is informative. Its basic meaning is ‘outsider, outcast; person whose protection and rights have been restricted/forfeited’ (eDIL s.v. *deorad* or *dil.ie/15524*). One of the connotations of the word is being ‘defencelessness’.

**III.32 ocrach]** *acrach* ‘hungry’. For the variation *o > a*, compare *bob > bab* (II.113) and *foluiste > faluiste* (II.186); see *SML*, § 13. *Acrach* is the standard spelling of this word in Scottish Gaelic.

**III.34 Dúirt sé]** *Dúir’ se* ‘he said’. See *fora dúir’ sí liom* (I.17).

**III.34 dá raibh ansin]** *’á robh innsin* ‘all of what was there’. *’á* has arisen from the combination of the preposition *de* with the indefinite pronoun *a* ‘that (which), what’; *dá* has been lenited to produce *dhá*, which in turn has been reduced to *’a*; the three phases can be summarised as *de + a > dá<sup>Len.</sup> > dhá<sup>Len.</sup> > ’a<sup>Len.</sup>*.

**III.39 lena chionn]** *le n-a chionn* ‘with his head’. The old dative singular of *ceann* ‘head’ has been retained here.

**III.39-40 an ghruaig]** *an ghruag* ‘the hair’. Wagner recorded *an gruag* [ən 'gruəg].<sup>528</sup> There are two possible explanations for this form. The first is that it is derived from

527 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 158, s.v. *do*.

528 See Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 84, s.v. *gruag*.

the Old Irish feminine *ā*-stem *grúac* ‘hair of head’.<sup>529</sup> Alternatively, this may be an instance of historically palatal *g* in final position in an unstressed syllable being depalatalised, thus: *gruaig* > *gruag*. The first explanation is the preferred one here. Other dialects have opted to use the dative singular, as exemplified by the phrase *bán sa ghruaig*, in instances where the nominative, as exemplified by *tá an ghruag ag éirí tanaí*, was used historically.

**III.40 agus nuair a bhain sé]** *agus ‘air a bhuin se* ‘and when he cut off’. On the possibility that *‘air* is a temporal conjunction *air* ‘when’, see note II.9.

**III.41 nó chaith sé é]** *nó chaith se e* ‘or he shot him’. Muintir Luinigh Irish used the verb *caithim* to express the concept of ‘shooting something’.<sup>530</sup>

**III.41-42 go n-ársóchadh sé]** *go n-ársachad se* ‘that he would tell’. For the verbal noun, see *ag ársú* (I.5) and *ag ársú dó* (III.44). On the *-eo-* / *-ó-* future and conditional stems of second conjugation verbs, see note II.58. For the sounds [d] or [t] before *s* in the conditional mood, see *bheadh sé* (I.3) and *Cha phósadh sí* (I.16) etc.

**III.43 an fhéasta]** *an fhéasta* ‘the feast’. Old Irish *fésta* was neuter in gender.<sup>531</sup> After the loss of neuter gender in Irish, this noun was generally treated as a masculine noun. Tyrone Irish, however, treated *féasta* as a feminine noun, hence the lenition of its initial consonant after the article in the nominative singular case.

**III.44 ag a bhunadh-san]** *aige n-a bhunadh-san* ‘at the [residence] of his people’. This is another instance of a form that is identical to the 3 singular masculine of the preposition, in this case, *aige*, being used instead of *ag* for the simple preposition. In this instance, the 3 singular masculine possessive adjective (*a* + lenition) has been attached to a preceding *n*; thus, *aige* + *n* + *a*.

As Emrys Evans noted:

In the East Ulster dialects there is a marked tendency to retain the full 3 sg. masculine form, with the meaning of the simplex, before consonants, although before vowels the final syllable is elided, much as one would expect. This, by the way, is a feature shared not only by Scottish Gaelic but oddly enough by Munster Irish also.<sup>532</sup>

529 eDIL s.v. *grúac* or dil.ie/26706.

530 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 114, s.v. *caitheamh*.

531 eDIL s.v. *fésta* or dil.ie/21795.

532 Evans, ‘East Ulster Features in Inishowen Irish’, 92; see Nils Magnus Holmer, *The Gaelic of Arran* (Dublin: DIAS, 1957), § 229; Nils Magnus Holmer, *The Dialects of Co. Clare*, Volume 1 (Dublin: DIAS, 1962), § 153.

This was a very common feature of south-east Ulster Irish. Some examples from *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall* include: *fuair se an bás aige n-a chionn*<sup>533</sup> (= CO *fuair sé an bás ag a cheann*) ‘he found Death at his head’; *go raibh se aige tigh an Bhacaigh Mhóir*<sup>534</sup> (= CO *go raibh sé ag teach an Bhacaigh Mhóir*) ‘until he was at the house of the Big Beggar’; *char stad se go raibh se aige tigh an Fhathaigh Mhóir*<sup>535</sup> (= CO *níor stad sé go dtí go raibh sé ag teach an Fhathaigh Mhóir*) ‘he did not stop until he was at the house of the Great Giant’.

The practice of adding the possessive adjective to a strengthened form of the simple preposition was not confined to *ag* / *aige*. Examples from south-east Ulster with *chuig* / *chuige* include: *Thainic se isteach aon lá amháin chuige n-a mháthair*<sup>536</sup> (= CO *Tháinig sé isteach aon lá amháin chuig a mháthair*) ‘He went in one day to his mother’ and *Chuaidh an buachaill a bhaile chuige n-a mháthair*<sup>537</sup> (= CO *Chuaigh an buachaill abhaile chuig a mháthair*) ‘The boy went home one day to his mother’.

*bunadh* is defined in *FGB*, 160, s.v. *bunadh* as (1) ‘origin’; (2) ‘stock, kindred’; (3) ‘native inhabitants’. It seems to have been preferred in some dialects to *muintir*; see *LASID*, Vol. 1, map 107. Here it seems to refer to the ‘extended family’, or ‘kin-group’.

By suffixing the emphasising particle *-san* to the noun *bunadh*, the storyteller highlights that he is referring to the [residence of the] kin-group of the former, i.e. the man who is about to cut the hair of the king’s son.

**III.45 in áit a chonlái-san]** *i n-áit a chonnlain-san* ‘instead of [at the residence of] his [i.e. the king’s] own family’. *Conlán* is defined in *FGB*, 293, s.v. *conlán* as (1) ‘gleaning, collection’; (2) ‘group, band, family’. It appears to have been more frequently used in Tyrone than *teaghlach*. Note again that *-san*, the version of the emphasising suffix that has a non-palatal initial *s* has been generalised at the expense of *-sean*, which is what we might expect here.

**III.51 gach aon duine dá mbaineann an ghruaig díotsa]** *gach a’n duine ‘a mbuineanns a’ ghruag dúíotsa* ‘every single person who cuts the [i.e. your] hair off you’; literally ‘every single person of all of those who cut the hair off you’. *Dá* is comprised of the preposition *de* with its partitive sense ‘of’ + the demonstrative relative particle

533 Tomás Mag Ruadair, ‘An Fear a chuir Cluain ar an mBás’, in Laoide, *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, 18.8-9.

534 Tomás Ó Corragáin, ‘An Bacach Mór’, in Laoide, *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, 23.7-8.

535 Ó Corragáin ‘Fáthach Mór Ó Reibhleáin’, in Laoide, *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, 32.27-28.

536 Ó Corragáin, ‘Aodh Beag Ó Leabharcha’, in Laoide, *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, 1.3-4.

537 Tomás Mag Ruadair, ‘Ridire Labhradha Luirc’, in Laoide, *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, 11.15.

a ‘that which, those who’<sup>538</sup> + nasalisation.

In Early Modern Irish (1200-1650), this verb had the following forms in the 3 sg of the present tense: *bainidh* ‘he cuts’; *ní bhaineann sé* ‘he does not cut’; *b(h)aíneas* (3 sg. direct relative) ‘which he cuts’; *dá mbaineann sé* (3 sg. indirect relative ‘from which he cuts’). Whilst direct relative clauses involving the 3rd singular required the special ending in *-(e)as*, indirect relative clauses, such as those containing a preposition, used the conventional dependent ending in *-(e)ann*. Proof of this is to be seen in two eighteenth-century attestations of this verbal form: *duine dá mbaineann leis* ‘a person [lit. ‘of all those’] associated with him’ in *An Bheatha Dhiadha nó an tSlighe Ríoghda* (1708: 197); *nó én ní dá mbaineann leithe* ‘or anything whatsoever that is associated with her’ in *Tóraidheacht na bhFíreun air Lorg Chríosta* (1762: 243).

In Modern Irish, the northern and western dialects preserved a formal dichotomy between declarative and relative clauses. Thus, *cuireann an fear an síol* ‘the man sows the seed’ but *sin an fear a chuireas an síol* ‘that is the man who sows the seed’. Some of the north Connacht dialects and the south-west Donegal dialects, however, developed a hybrid form of the 3rd singular relative in *-ns*, a feature exemplified by the Teileann phrase: *is goirid a bhíonns na bliadhanta a dul thart* [is gairid a bhíonns na blianta ag dul thart].<sup>539</sup> In this instance, Tyrone concurs in the use of the hybrid relative form which is characteristic of south-west Donegal and Connacht dialects.

**III.52 cuirtear]** *cuirthear* ‘is put’. The present passive (impersonal / autonomous) ending of verbs like *cuirim* ‘I put’ generally appears as *-(e)ar*, thus, *cuirtear*, *bristear*, *tugtar* etc. However, Ó Buachalla recorded the forms *tugthar*, *bhéirthear*, *labharthar* in Ua Cionga’s text.<sup>540</sup>

**III.59 nuair a bhain sé na bandages dá chionn]** *nàir a bhuin se na bandages dá chionn* ‘when he removed the bandages from his head’. The preposition *de* ‘of, off, from’ is here combined withn the 3rd singular masculine leniting possessive adjective *a* ‘his’. Historically, the preposition *de* / *do* put the following noun into the dative case. *Ceann* ‘head’ had a historical dative singular *cionn*. Accordingly, *c(h)ionn* has been retained in the edition.

**III.60 cnapán]** *crapan*. *Cnapán* [krapən] means a ‘lump’ (FGB, 257, s.v. *cnapán*). *-n-* in *cnapán* was pronounced as *r*; the historically long *á* of the final syllable was

538 Compare the construction *Sin a bhfuil agam* ‘That is all that I have’.

539 Wagner, *Gaeilge Theilinn*, 103-104.

540 Ó Buachalla, ‘Notaí ar Ghaeilge Dhoire agus Thír Eoghain’, 262, § 7.4 (i).

shortened. For a discussion of these features, see notes 1.5 *fán mhnaoi mhaith]* *bha’n mhraoi mhaith* ‘about the good wife’ and I.9 *ar seachrán]* *air seachran* ‘astray’.

**III.63 tharraing sé]** *tháirnn se*. In Ulster Irish in general, the word final consonantal sequence *-ng*, in its broad form [ŋ], and in its slender form [ɲ], is reduced to *-nn* [N] and *-inn* [N’] respectively.<sup>541</sup> Thus *tharraing* [haRəŋ’] ‘pulled’ becomes *tharrainn* [haRəN’]. Muintir Luinigh Irish goes a stage further by reducing *nn* [N’] to [n’] and then de-palatalising the vestigial consonant from [n’] to [n].<sup>542</sup> Thus, Donegal’s *tharraing sé* [haRəN’] *je* ‘he pulled’ is realised as [harən je] in Muintir Luinigh.<sup>543</sup>

**III.64 crumhóg]** *crumhog* ‘a maggot’. Ó Tuathail prints the final *-óg* of *crumhóg* ‘a maggot’ with a short *o* to indicate that this historically long *o* [o:] has been shortened in keeping with the Ulster Irish sound rule that dictates that historically long vowels in unstressed syllables are shortened in spoken Irish. Ó Baoill commented that:

the *-óg* ending may be shortened in most of Ulster, often becoming *-ag*, as in Scottish, though there seems to be a strong tendency to retain the long *o* in S. W. Donegal (*Gaeilge Theilinn*, § 253). (...) This shortening is also typical of S. E. Ulster (...), apart from Gleann Ghaibhleann, where the *o* is apparently half-long ... or long.<sup>544</sup>

Concerning the treatment of *-eog* / *-óg* in unstressed syllables, see Ó Dochartaigh.<sup>545</sup>

**III.65 ag gabháil a mharbhadh na crumhóige]** *ag goil a mharabha na crumhoige* ‘going to kill the maggot’. The Early Modern Irish construction here would have been *ag gabháil do mharbhadh na crumhóige*, while the CO would have *ag dul a mharú na crumhóige*. The preposition *do*, which precedes the verbal noun when it is used as an infinitive, as here, has been lenited to *dho* and reduced to *a* [ə].

In historical Irish orthography, one would expect *a mharbhadh*; CO has *a mharú*. Ó Tuathail’s spelling here aims to replicate the sound [waruwə] or [warəwə]. Wagner and Stockman noted *mharbhadh* [waruwə] in Wagner’s 1950 field-work collection

541 Hamilton, *Irish of Tory*, 141, § g. See, for example, [ʃg’il’iN’] in Teileann (*Gaeilge Theilinn*, 101).

542 A similar process occurs in Toraigh where *fairsing* is initially reduced to [farsiN’] and even to [farsin’]; see *Irish of Tory*, 144 (b).

543 See Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 134, s. v. *tarraingt* ‘pulling’. Wagner collected *tharraing sé* as [haRəN’] *je* in Teileann (*Gaeilge Theilinn*, 138, § 386).

544 Ó Baoill, *Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic*, 259.

545 Cathair Ó Dochartaigh, *Dialects of Ulster Irish* (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, QUB, 1987) 85-95.



for the *Linguistic Atlas of the Survey of Irish Dialects*.<sup>546</sup> Note, however, that Wagner also collected *marú* [maru] in Gleann Leirge, presumably from Jane Nic Ruairí.<sup>547</sup> *Marbhadh* [marəwə], also co-existed with *marú* [maru] in Ros Goill.<sup>548</sup>

The *-(e)adh* ending of verbal nouns in Ulster and Louth is usually pronounced [u]. Thus, the verbal noun *marú* is normally a reliable orthographical representation of what was originally written as *marbhadh*.

**III.66 cha déan]** *cha déan* ‘Do not do so!’. On this verb, see note I.25. Ailbhe Ó Corráin has suggested to me that the speaker is here using an emphatic present for the future after *cha*. He regards it as an emphatic injunction, which was used even in ‘ní-areas’ such as Rann na Feirste. It may be translated as ‘No you don’t! / No you won’t / You shall not / or (less precisely) ‘Do Not!’

Ó Corráin also draws our attention, for instance, to Seosamh Mac Grianna’s translation of Walter Scott’s *Ivanhoe* where one finds *Ní cóir duit é - cha déan tú é* (*Ivanhoe* 384.20) which translates the author’s ‘You must not - you shall not!’. Note the same use of *cha* with the 2 sg. present / future of the verb ‘to go’ without the personal pronoun (as here) in the line: *cha dtéid nó fad do choise arsa m’athair* (Domhnall ‘ac Grianna, *Gadaidheacht le Láimh Laidir*, 326.21). Compare also: *stad, cha dtéid tú* (*Dith Céille Almayer*, 207.27) which translates Conrad’s ‘Stop, you shall not go!’

For the 2 sg. imperative of *do-ghnám* : *ní déanaim*, the south-east Ulster Irish speakers used *ná teana!*<sup>549</sup>

**III.67 cailleach na gcearc]** *Cailleach na gCearc*, literally ‘the Hag of the Hens’ is a name for a *bean feasa* ‘a wise woman’.

**III.68 leis an chrumhóig]** *leis a’ chrumhoig* ‘with the maggot’. The dative singular of this feminine noun has been preserved.

**III.69 bun an loaning]** *bun a’ loanin* ‘at the foot of the loanin’. *The Dictionary of the Scots Language* defines ‘loaning’ as ‘An enclosed track for animals through cultivated or park land; a grassy strip serving as a milking place: a common road or

green of this sort’.<sup>550</sup> For an attestation of *loanin*, see Arran 1914 Bk. of Arran II. 198: ‘Round them [farm buildings] stretched a piece of pastureland, on which the cattle might be collected and by which they could be led beyond the corn land. This was the *loaning*’.<sup>551</sup>

**III.71-72 fiafraíodh duí]** *fiarfuigheadh duí* ‘she was asked’. The usual form here of the past tense passive is *fiarfuigheadh*, modern spelling *fiafraíodh*. Ó Cianáin may have preserved an archaic form. eDIL tells us: ‘In Mid. Ir. conjugated as a weak verb, *íarfaigid*, with pro[s]thetic *f-*, *fiarfaigid*, and with metathesis, *fiafraigid*’.<sup>552</sup> Alternatively, he may have metathesised the ‘modern’ form and unwittingly resorted to an older form!

See Ó Baoill’s discussion of this verb in which he focuses on whether the dialects pronounced medial *f* or lenited it so that it was silenced.<sup>553</sup>

The pronominal forms of the simple preposition *de* ‘of, off, from’ are 1 sg *díom*, 2 sg. *díot*, 3 sg. masculine *de*, 3 sg. feminine *di*, 1 plural *dínn*, 2 plural *díbh* and 3 plural *diobh*. *Duí* is the Tyrone form of *di*.

**III.72 an chrumhóg a mharbhadh]** ‘to kill the maggot’. See III.65.

**III.74-75 nárbh ionann clú don chrumhóig agus don té a thóg í]** *nár bh’ionann cliú don chrumhoig agus don té a thóg í* ‘Wouldn’t reputation be as meaningful to the maggot as to the one who raised it?’. The preferred spelling in CO is *clú*. The spelling *cliú* is, however, acknowledged as a variant in FGB (246, s.v. *cliú* = *clú*). The word is not attested in Stockman and Wagner’s study of Tyrone Irish. However, Ó Tuathail’s spelling confirms that *clú* was pronounced with a palatal *l* [l’] as is the case in Teileann [k’l’u:] and in Ros Goill.<sup>554</sup>

**III.76 a cur i ndíog uisce]** *a cur ina ndíg uisce* ‘to put it (feminine) into a sheugh [i.e. a drain of water]’. *a cur* is here interpreted as ‘to put her’ [i.e. ‘the maggot’]. To express the direct object pronoun ‘her’, Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic uses the 3 sg. feminine possessive adjective before the verbal noun. Compare this example with *is maith liom d’fheicéail*: ‘I like to see you’. Cf. III.97 below.

<sup>546</sup> See Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 128. s.v. *marbhadh*.

<sup>547</sup> Ibid, 128. s.v. *marbhadh*.

<sup>548</sup> Lucas, *Grammar of Ros Goill Irish*, 137, § 538.

<sup>549</sup> See Ó Corráin, ‘Aodh Beag Ó Leabharcha’, in Laoide, *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, 3.12, 7.20; *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, 35.19

<sup>550</sup> Dictionary of the Scots Language, s. v. ‘Loning n.’ accessed 27 Jul 2022, <https://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/loning>.

<sup>551</sup> Dictionary of the Scots Language, *ibid*, accessed 27 July 2022, <https://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/snd/loanin>.

<sup>552</sup> eDIL s.v. *íarmi-foich* or *dil.ie/27020*.

<sup>553</sup> Ó Baoill, *Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic*, 41, § 5.9, s.v. *fiafraigh* ‘ask’.

<sup>554</sup> Wagner, *Gaelige Theilinn*, 76, § 208; Lucas, *Grammar of Ros Goill Irish*, 245, s.v. *cliú* [k’l’u:].



The form *ina* is here used instead of the simple preposition *i* + eclipsis, perhaps by analogy with *aige* for *ag*. Interestingly, Wagner and Stockman's examples contain conventional *i* + eclipsis as in: *i mbarraille* 'in a barrel'.<sup>555</sup> Under the entry *ine*, Ó Baoill has remarked that:

In Scotland the preposition for 'in', when it occurs directly before a noun, is most often *ann an*, a 'strengthened' form in which the first element is the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular prepositional form of the same preposition. Similar forms in Ulster never totally replace the simple *in* (*i n-*).<sup>556</sup>

Other simple prepositions in Ulster, Connacht and in Scotland have forms with added final *schwa*.

eDIL gives the medieval form of this word as *díc* and defines it as 'a dike, ditch; moat, trench'; eDIL s.v. *díc* or dil.ie/16065. *Díog* 'ditch, trench; drain' is the preferred form in the CO; see *FGB*, 409, s.v. *díog*. However, *díg* is recorded as an acceptable variant in *FGB* (see 405, s.v. *díg* = *díog*).

**III.77-78 nó má éagann an chrúmhóg]** *fora má éaganns a' chrúmhóg* 'because if the maggot dies'. This is the causal conjunction *for(a)*.<sup>557</sup> See note I.17. *nó dúirt sí liom]* *fora dúir' sí liom* 'because she told me'. Instead of the conjunction *nó*, the conjunction *óir* could be used here.

The second element here, *má éaganns*, involves the conjunction *má* 'if' and 3 sg. present relative of *éagaim* 'I die'. Historically, relative forms were not used in Irish after the conjunction *má*; however, this does appear to have been a feature of Tyrone Irish. Stockman and Wagner noted this feature in their list of items that offer evidence of Scottish Gaelic influence on Tyrone Irish.<sup>558</sup> They stated: 'The relative form after *'má'*, common in Scottish Gaelic and Manx, has been noted in *'má rachas tú'*, if you go'.<sup>559</sup> For the hybrid relative ending in *-ns*, see III.51.

**III.82 ar fud míosa]** *ar fud míosa* 'for a month'; (literally, 'for the length of a month').

Ó Cianáin's phrase is comprised of the preposition *ar* 'on, upon' *fud*, dative singular of *fad* 'length (of time or space)' and then the feminine noun *mí* in the genitive case. There is no evidence in *FGB* for the survival of this usage in contemporary Modern Irish.

**III.85 Bhí siad ag éirí corthaí]** *Bhí siad ag írí corthaí* 'they were becoming weary'. This is the past participle of the verb *coir* 'tire, exhaust' (*FGB*, 270, *coir*<sup>2</sup>, v.t. & i. (verbal noun *cor*, past participle **cortha**). *Duine a choir* means 'to tire someone out'. *Éirí cortha de rud* means 'to become tired of or fed up with something'. However, given that Stockman and Wagner record *corthaí* [kʰɾi,<sup>560</sup> kʰɾi] and define it as 'tired', that form has been retained in the edition.<sup>561</sup> Finally, it should be noted that Ó Tuathail wrote in one of his notebooks: *Tá mē kʰɾi* 'I am tired'.<sup>562</sup> On the geographical distribution of *cortha* / *corthaí* 'tired', see *LASID*, Vol. 1, 255.

**III.88 go gcuirfeadh siad i loch í]** *go gcuirfeadh siad ina loch í* 'that they would put it [literally her] into a lough'. See notes II.151 and III.76.

**III.90 péist]** *péist* 'a monster'. *FGB* (947, s.v. *péist*) defines *péist* as a '(Fabulous) beast, reptile, monster'. One of the Seven Sisters, the small lakes which are situated in the Creagán area, is called Loch na Péiste. *FGB* gives 'worm' as the secondary meaning of *péist*.

**III.93 níba mhó]** *na b' ó* 'ever again'. Ó Tuathail's spelling is a contraction of *na ba mhó*. See note I.11. For another example of *na ba* / *na b'*, see I.69-70.

*Ní 'mhó* is the south-east Ulster contraction for *níba mhó*: *Char chuir se aon dhuine 'un báis ní 'mhó* 'He did not put anyone to death any more';<sup>563</sup> and *cha dtainic ar ais ní 'mhó* 'and they [the two people] did not come back any more'.<sup>564</sup>

**III.96 nó]** *na* 'for'. The unstressed conjunction *nó* 'for, since' was liable to be written as *ná* or *na*.

**III.97 cha dtiocfadh leofa a caitheamh]** *cha dtiocfadh leófa a cathamh* 'they could not shoot her'. CO would use *Ní thiocfadh leo* here. For a detailed discussion of the negative particle *cha*, see I.16 *Cha phósfadh sí]* *Cha phósfad sí*. On *leofa* see II.116

<sup>555</sup> Stockman and Wagner, 'A Study of Tyrone Irish', 159.

<sup>556</sup> Ó Baoill, *Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic*, 289, § 21.18, s.v. *ine*.

<sup>557</sup> Stockman and Wagner, 'A Study of Tyrone Irish', 163.

<sup>558</sup> Ibid, 207-208. See also *IDPP*, 134 where O'Rahilly notes: 'The use of the relative form of the verb after *ma*, 'if', is common to Scottish and Manx, e.g. Sc. *ma bhitheas e*, Ma. *my vees eh*, where Irish uses the dependent ending *-ann* of the present: *má bhíonn sé*'.

<sup>559</sup> Stockman and Wagner, 'A Study of Tyrone Irish', 208.

<sup>560</sup> The symbol ʰ has been used here to represent the open-mid back unrounded vowel which Stockman and Wagner expressed as an *o* with two dots underneath it.

<sup>561</sup> Stockman and Wagner, 'A Study of Tyrone Irish', 139.

<sup>562</sup> Dublin, UCD, National Folklore Collection, Éamonn Ó Tuathail Papers, EOT 02-08-05, page 64.

<sup>563</sup> Mag Ruadair, 'Ridire Labhradha Luirc', in Laoide, *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, 12.14-15.

<sup>564</sup> Ó Corragáin, 'Tigh na Gann-Choda', in Laoide, *Sgéalaidhe Oirghiall*, 42.14.

*thug siad Brian leofa*] *thug siad Brian leófa* ‘they took Brian with them’. Here the 3 sg. feminine possessive adjective is inserted before the verbal noun to express a direct object in an infinitive construction which can be deconstructed as: ‘it would not come with them (i.e. they could not) + her + to shoot’.

A spelling with initial *cath-* rather than with *caith-* has been used here to indicate that the first syllable of the verbal noun was pronounced as [kah] as is the case in Toraigh.<sup>565</sup> Stockman and Wagner noted *cathamh* [kã:ũ<sup>w</sup>] from Peadar Joe Ó hEachadha.<sup>566</sup>

**III.98 aon dadaí**] *a’n dadaí* ‘anything’ or ‘any such thing’. See I.74 *aon dadaí*] *a’ dadaí* ‘anything’.

**III.101 Caithfidh mé lámh a ghlacaint leis**] *Caithfe me lámh a ghlacaint leis* (literally) ‘I will have to take a hand to it’, i.e. ‘I will have to have a go at it’. In the edition, the final *-fidh* of the first conjugation future ending has been restored. It is normally reduced to [hə] in this unstressed syllable.

There is evidence that the *-f-* that historically characterised the future tense of first conjugation verbs was pronounced not only in the passive forms of future and conditional verbs in Tyrone, but also in some active forms of verbs in those tenses. The following example from Stockman and Wagner’s collection illustrate the continued pronunciation of historical *-f-*: *caithfidh mé* [kaf’ə m’a] ‘I will have to’; *caithfidh tú* [kaf’ə tʌ] and *caithfidh siad* [kaf’I ʃiəd].<sup>567</sup>

The 1 sg. subject pronoun in everyday speech was generally reduced from *mé* [m’e:] to *me* [m’ɛ, m’a, m’ə].

The verbal noun of the verb *glacaim* ‘I take’ normally takes the form *glacadh* [glaku]. However, there is a variant verbal noun in *glacaint* [glakəN’t’], which is attested in north Donegal.<sup>568</sup>

**III.106-107 bhí sí i bhfogas amach don ghearrán a bhéatáil**] *bhí sí i bhfogust amach don ghearrán a bhéatáil* ‘she was very close to beating the horse’, literally ‘she was very close to the horse to beating’. Donegal Irish would express this as *dóbair duithe an beathach a shárú*.

On the compound preposition *i bhfogas do*, see note II.13-14. The final *-t* of *bhfogust* is an example of the intrusive *t* that was noted by Stockman and Wagner.<sup>569</sup>

They also noted that the adverb *amach* ‘out’ was often used with adjectives to give intensifying force to them, as in *tinn amach* ‘very sick’.<sup>570</sup> Compare ‘He is happy out’ in dialects of Hiberno-English in Munster.

The object of the structure is expressed by the preposition *do* + the article and then the noun-object, *gearrán*.

*a* is all that is left of the preposition *do*, which in Early Modern Irish would have been lenited and then reduced from *dho* to *a* [ə] in this dialect. It is inserted before the verbal noun to construct an infinitive, which in this case is ‘to beat’ (in the sense of ‘to overcome’).

*bhéatáil* is a borrowing from English ‘beating’ with the English participle ending *-ing* being replaced by the very productive Irish verbal noun ending in *-áil*.

**III.109-110 dúirt Naomh Pádraig go mbaífi sa loch é**] *dúirt Naomh Pádraic go mbaífi sa loch e* ‘Saint Patrick said that it [the steed] ought to be drowned in the lough’. *g* [g] at the end of words like *Pádraig* is devoiced to *c* [k] in Tyrone Irish. This is a distinctive feature which East Ulster dialects share with Scottish Gaelic.<sup>571</sup> It constitutes number 9 in Stockman and Wagner’s list of Scottish Gaelic features in Tyrone Irish (op. cit. 207-208). Scottish Gaelic pronounces the voiced plosives *b*, *d*, and *g* as their unvoiced equivalents, namely, as *p*, *t*, and *k* respectively where they occur after originally short vowels in unstressed syllables.<sup>572</sup> Thus, final *g* in words like *carraig*, *Nollaig*, *Pádraig*, *tháinig* is written by Ó Tuathail as *c* to represent the sound [k].<sup>573</sup>

The conditional mood here is operating where historically Irish might have used a past subjunctive with a jussive sense to convey what should be done. This conditional passive form must have retained its historical *-f-* sound (*SML*, § 23).

The 3 sg. masculine object pronoun *é* has been reduced to *ě* [ɛ].<sup>574</sup> Ó Cianáin must be referring here to Saint Patrick’s *gearrán*.

569 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 205.

570 Ibid, 208.

571 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 207; see esp. 195.

572 IDPP, 146.

573 *SML* (2015), xxxi, § 30.

574 Ibid, 154, s.v. *sé, é*.

565 Hamilton, *The Irish of Tory*, 248, s.v. *caith*.

566 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 114, s. v. *caitheamh* ‘shooting’ etc.

567 Stockman and Wagner, ‘A Study of Tyrone Irish’, 114, s.v. *caitheamh*.

568 Hamilton, *The Irish of Tory*, 285, s.v. *glac*.

**III.111 caill a dhéanamh ar fud na tíre]** *caill a dheanamh air fud na tíre* ‘wreak destruction throughout the country’. *FGB* (171, s.v. *caill*) defines *caill* as ‘loss’. Furthermore, it notes the examples: *rinneadh caill ar na barraí* ‘the crops were badly damaged’; *ní dhearnadh caill air* ‘no great harm was done to him’.

## Appendix 1: Notes on Some Important Placenames

### Gleann Leirge / Gleann Láirc (Glenlark)

*Gleann Láir*, the form recorded by Heinrich Wagner from Jane Nic Ruairí in 1950, is probably a variant of *Gleann Láirc*.<sup>575</sup> Ciarán Ó Duibhín has posited an original form, ‘*Gleann Láirc* — the glen of the haunches or thighs’.<sup>576</sup> He notes further that ‘The Glenlark River flows the length of the glen, about seven miles, from north-east to south-west. At the mouth of the glen the river joins with the Abhainn Choilleadh (Owenkillew), coming from the south-east, and they continue to flow west, to become eventually part of the Foyle system’.<sup>577</sup>

In a seventeenth-century list of Derry and Tyrone placenames that is now preserved in University College Dublin, Franciscan Collection, Manuscript A 31, item 4, Brother Pól Ó Gormlaigh, (Fratre Paulo Gormleo, O.F.M.), wrote *Glenn Laarc*.<sup>578</sup> In his commentary on Ó Gormlaigh’s list, Séamus Ó Ceallaigh remarked ‘Irish speakers always said *Gleann Láirc*’.<sup>579</sup>

### Gleann Aichle (Glenelly)

Donnchadh Ó Corráin’s revised online edition of Hogan’s *Onomasticon Goedelicum*, under entry 17239, has ‘*glenn aichle* LL [Book of Leinster] 183, Lec [Book of Lecan] 139; in Cenél Eogain, [Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh’s] *Betha Aeda Ruaid*, 272; AFM-ndx, BB 48a; Glennelly nr Strabane, c. Tyrone’.<sup>580</sup>

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575 Stockman & Wagner. ‘Contributions to a Study of Tyrone Irish’, *Lochlann* 3 (1965) 43-236: 82.

576 Ciarán Ó Duibhín, ‘Glenlark’, *Gaedhilg Oirthear Uladh*, accessed 26 September 2022, <https://www3.smo.uhi.ac.uk/oduibhin/oirthear/glenlark/glenlark.htm>.

577 Ibid. For further on this form, see eDIL s.v. *lárac* or [dil.ie/29581](http://dil.ie/29581) with variant spellings in *láarg*, *loarc*, *lorac*, *larac*, *ládaing*, *loarc*, *laarg* and meaning ‘upper part of leg, thigh, hip’.

578 Canice Mooney, ‘Topographical Fragments from the Franciscan Library: II. Derry and Tyrone Placenames’, *Celtica* 1, no. 1 (1946) 67-73: 71, item 65. For a description of Ó Gormlaigh’s manuscript, which was originally held at the Franciscan House of Studies at Killiney, see Myles Dillon, Canice Mooney & Pádraig de Brún, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Franciscan Library Killiney* (Dublin: DIAS, 1969) 65-68: 66. For an image of the relevant portion of the manuscript, see <https://www.isos.dias.ie/resources/image.html>; accessed 17 October 2022.

579 Séamus Ó Ceallaigh, ‘Notes on Place-Names in Derry and Tyrone’ *Celtica* 1, No. 1 (1946) 118-140: 131.

580 Donnchadh Ó Corráin, ‘A Revised Electronic Edition of Edmund Hogan’s *Onomasticon Goedelicum*’,



However, it should be noted that the name appears as *Gleann Fhoichle* in the *Annals of the Four Masters* (1632-1636) under the year AD 854, entry 10 in the sentence *Roinedh mór ria n-Aodh, mac Néill, for Gallgaidheala h-i n-Gliond Fhoichle, co ro ladh a n-ár leis* ‘A great victory was gained by Aedh, son of Niall, over the Gall Gaidheala, in Gleann Fhoichle, where he made a slaughter of them.’<sup>581</sup>

Brother Pól Ó Gormlaigh, (‘Fratre Paulo Gormleo, O.F.M.’), wrote *Glenn Aithle*.<sup>582</sup> ‘Carnan Oichle is over the east end of the glen (Carnanely Mtn.).’<sup>583</sup> *Aichle* appears to be the genitive of an ancient and undefined placename ‘Achall’.

### Achadh Scríobach / Achadh Scríbe (Aghascrebagh)

This placename is often written in Irish as *Achadh Scríobach* or as *Áth Scríobach*. The ambiguity as to whether the first element is *achadh* ‘a field’ or *áth* ‘a ford, fording place on a river’ arises because *ch* between vowels in this dialect was very weakly pronounced. A word like *achadh*, therefore, would have been reduced to [ah] and had a similar sound to *áth* [a:h]. This similarity in pronunciation is further complicated by the fact that the field in which the Ogham stone is situated has two watercourses running along two sides of it. One of these is the Abhainn Choilleadh River which runs along the floor of the valley. A fording place was probably located near the Ogham Stone. Thus, the English transliteration ‘Agha’ could represent either *Áth* ‘the fording place’ or *Achadh* ‘the field’.

The second element, which is transliterated into English as ‘screbagh’, is either *scríbe* or *scríobach*. The long *i*-sound [i:] of the original Irish name appears to have been shortened with the transmission of this placename into English.<sup>584</sup> The first possibility is that ‘screbagh’ is derived from a noun *scríob*, which means ‘scrape,

scratch, score’; see Ó Dónaill, *FGB*, 1065, s.v. *scríob*<sup>1</sup>. The second possibility is that ‘screbagh’ is derived from *scríobach*, an adjective, which is based on *scríob* ‘a scraping, scratching, scrawl’; see *FGB*, 1065, s.v. *Scríobach*<sup>2</sup>.

Unfortunately, this dialect did not distinguish in speech between final *-ach* [-ax] and final *-e* [ə]. Both would have been pronounced as *schwa* [ə], hence the confusion regarding the spelling. Syntactically, either the qualifying adjective, *scríobach* ‘abounding in markings or inscriptions’, or the attributive genitive of the noun *scríbe* ‘of the inscription’ is possible. I have adhered to the adjectival form *scríobach*, which appears to have gained currency in modern times. Incidentally, it is worth noting that both *scríobh* ‘act of writing’ and *scríobadh* ‘act of scraping, scratching’ are derived from the Proto-Indo-European root *\*skreyb<sup>h</sup>-*, which means ‘to cut, to carve’.

### Aghagogan < Achadh Uí Eochagáin

A pedigree preserved in the Book of Ballymote records the existence of a man called Gocán, a son of Eochu Binnech, whence the Cenél Binnig branch of the Uí Néill.<sup>585</sup> Gocán may have been commemorated in this placename, Achadh Uí Gogáin ‘The field of the grandson / descendant of Gogán.’<sup>586</sup> For simplicity’s sake, however, the form found in The Northern Ireland Place-Name Project’s database has been used here. It traces Aghagogan back to Achadh Uí Eochagáin, ‘The Field of Ó Eochagáin.’<sup>587</sup>

### Tearmann Cuimmíne / Tearmann Mhig Uirc and its Coarbs

#### The Role of the Airchinnech

Reeves provides relevant information regarding the role of the *airchinneach* (erenagh) and the *comarb* (coarb) that was given by the jury of the Ulster Inquisition at Dungannon on 23 August 1609:

And further, they say uppon their oathes, that in all places of the said countie of Tyrone, where the tiethes are divided betwixt the parson, vicar, and herenagh, they are to bear the chardge of repairinge and maynteyninge the proper parishe church e quallie between themselves. And the said jurors doe uppon their oathes,

Dias.ie, accessed 4 October 2022, [https://www.dias.ie/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/E-Onomasticon\\_Text.pdf](https://www.dias.ie/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/E-Onomasticon_Text.pdf).

581 John O’Donovan, *The Annals of the Four Masters*, accessed 12 September 2022, <https://celt.ucc.ie/published/T100005A/text068.html>.

582 Canice Mooney, ‘Topographical Fragments from the Franciscan Library: II. Derry and Tyrone Placenames’, *Celtica* 1, no. 1 (1946) 67-73: 71, item 64. In his commentary on Ó Gormlaigh’s list (‘Notes on Place-Names in Derry and Tyrone’, 131), Séamus Ó Ceallaigh wrote ‘Recte *Gleann Aichle* or (*Fh*)*oichle*; cf. *Onomasticon Goedelicum*’.

583 Ó Ceallaigh, ‘Notes on Place-Names in Derry and Tyrone’, 131.

584 A parallel is to be seen in the Omagh placename ‘Crevenagh’. The vowel in its initial syllable was long as is illustrated by the spelling ‘Creevenagh’ in official documentation c. 1900. Its original form was thus Craobhánach ‘place abounding in branches’.

585 See eDIL s.v. *gocán* or [dil.ie/26293](https://dil.ie/26293); *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 8 (1912) 296.21.

586 See also ‘Aghagogan’, [logainm.ie](https://logainm.ie), accessed 14 November 2022, <https://www.logainm.ie/en/64677>.

587 ‘Aghagogan’, Northern Ireland Place-Name Project, [PlacenamesNI.org](https://placenamesni.org), accessed 21 February 2023, [https://experience.arcgis.com/experience/9b31e0501b744154b4584b1dce1f859b/page/Place-Name-Info/?data\\_id=dataSource\\_1-PlaceNames\\_Gazeteer\\_No\\_Global\\_IDs\\_3734%3A26920](https://experience.arcgis.com/experience/9b31e0501b744154b4584b1dce1f859b/page/Place-Name-Info/?data_id=dataSource_1-PlaceNames_Gazeteer_No_Global_IDs_3734%3A26920).

finde and present, that the erenagh land was att first given by the temporall lords immediathe to the first founders of the churches, and that those founders did give the same to severall septs, for payinge rents and other dueties to the bushopps and for repairinge and maytenyinge their parish church, wherein they often tymes did beare a third parte, and some tymes twoe third partes of the chardge, and for keeping of hospitalitie, and that these septs or erenaghs have, tyme out of mynde, inherited the said lands accordinge to the Irish custome of tanistrie, and that neither the said lord archbushopp nor any other bushopp, nor their predecessors, could att any tyme heretofore, or nowe can, remove the said herenaghs out of the said lands, and further, they say, that termonland had often tymes more privileges as sanctuarie and the like, which was not allowed to many of the herenaghes, againe the chief tenaunt of the termon land was called a corbe [recte 'coarb'], in many places, hath under him one or more herenaghes to whom he giveth a portion of land free, or for rente or customes, and other liberties as he saw fitt (Ul[ster] Inquis[ition], App[endix] II).<sup>588</sup>

The ultimate ownership of Tearmann Mhig Uirc by the Archbishop of Armagh is emphasised in the following excerpt from the same Inquisition held at Dungannon in August 1609:

and further, the said jurors doe uppon their oathes, present and finde, that the lord archbushopp of Armagh is lawfully seised, as of fee, in right of his archbushoppricke, of and in the yearly rent of thirtie foure shillings ten pence, and ten meathers of butter per ann[um], yssinge out of the corbe land of Termonmaguyrke al[ius] Termonconnyn [sic], containing sixteen balliboes in the baronie of Omaigh, together with fynes for bloodshed as before; (Ulster Inquisition, Appendix II, 'Tyrone').<sup>589</sup>

### *Clann Mhic Giolla Duibh as Airchinnigh*

Correspondence between the Vatican and the Archbishop of Armagh that dates from the early 1400s suggests that the Clann Mhic Giolla Duibh (McElduff family) exercised control over the parish of Tearmann Cuimmíne in their capacity as the *airchinnigh* (erenaghs) of that parish. It further demonstrates that the Vatican was dissatisfied with the way in which that control was exercised. Accordingly, it instructed the

588 Reeves, *Acts of Archbishop Colton*, 5, note k. See Henry A. Jefferies, 'Erenaghs in Pre-Plantation Ulster: An Early Seventeenth-Century Account', *Archivium Hibernicum* 53 (1999) 16-19. Ciarán Ó Scea, 'Erenachs, erenachships and church landholding in Gaelic Fermanagh, 1270-1609', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Section C, 112 (2012) 271-300.

589 James Hardiman (ed), *Inquisitionum in Officio Rotulorum Cancellariae Hiberniae Asservatarum, Reportorium*. Vol. II (London: The House of Commons, 1829) [11]. The pages of the Appendix are not numbered.

Archbishop of Armagh to 'rehabilitate' the Clann Mhic Giolla Duibh's *airchinnech* as a priest, but to suspend him from his duties as *airchinnech*. The following extract from the papal correspondence illustrates those points:

1417

4 Id. Dec.

Constance

(folio 103)

To the dean of Armagh. Mandate to rehabilitate, after temporary suspension, Murianus Macgilladuib, priest, of the diocese of Armagh, who simoniacally<sup>590</sup> gave money to Malachy Maceada, in order to induce him to resign in his favour the rectory of Termonncomayn in the said diocese to the late Nicholas, archbishop of Armagh, who, perhaps in ignorance of the transaction, made collation and provision of it to Murianus. Murianus is to resign. Sedes apostolica, pia mater.

Ibid.

To the same. Mandate, recapitulating the preceding, to collate and assign to Murianus, upon his resignation, the above rectory, value not exceeding 8 marks. Hodie siquidem pro parte. (Antonius. xxii. Secundo Kal. Septembris Anno Secundo. de Ponto.)<sup>591</sup>

It appears that Murianus Mac Giolla Duibh refused to step down if we are to believe the evidence of the following document:

1425

8 Kal. March.

SS. Apostoli, Rome.

(folio 88d)

To the abbot of St. Peter's, Armagh. Solomon Maccreuare [Solamh Mac Ruairi], canon, and the official, of Armagh. Mandate to collate and assign to Malachy Maceadgha [Malachy Mac Aodha ?], priest, of the diocese of Derry (who lately received papal dispensation, as the son of a priest and an unmarried woman, to be promoted etc. as above, f. 81, after which he was so promoted and obtained the rectory of Tarmucumun in the diocese of Armagh, on its voidance in a certain way), the said rectory, value not exceeding 12 marks, which has become and is still void by

590 'Simony' is defined as 'the buying or selling of a church office or ecclesiastical preferment'.

591 J. A. Twemlow (ed.), *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Papal Letters*, Volume 7. AD 1417-1431. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1906) 66. Available online as: 'Lateran Regesta 191: 1417-1419,' in *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 7, 1417-1431*, ed. J A Twemlow (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1906), 65-69. *British History Online*, accessed December 8, 2022, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-papal-registers/brit-ie/vol7/pp65-69>.

his resignation made to archbishop John; Murianus Migillaguib, priest, of the diocese of Armagh, who has unduly detained possession for about seven years, as he still does, being removed. Vite etc. (Pe. Gratis pro deo. Sextodecimo Kal. Aprilis Anno Octauo. de Casatiis.) [See above, p. 66.]<sup>592</sup>

### *Clann Mhig Uirc as Airchinningh*

That the Clann Mhig Uirc (The Mc Gurks) resided in Tearmann Cuimmíne from as early as the beginning of the fifteenth is evident from the following quotation from a document used by William Reeves:

*Dermicius M<sup>c</sup>Gork habet cartem super terras de Athrych, Ineske, Molynmor et Molynebeg in dominico de Termoncomyn* — AD circa 1405 (Reg Flem fol 39).  
Diarmuid ‘Mag Uirc (Demott McGurk) has a charter [of ownership / jurisdiction?] over the lands of Áth an Rí, Iniske (?), Mullán Mór and Mullán Beag in the demesne of Tearmann Cuimmíne.’<sup>593</sup>

However, it is not until around 1441 that the Clann Mhig Uirc had secured a firm grip on Tearmann Cuimmíne as the following papal document indicates:

**1441**  
**17 Kal. Sept.**  
**Florence**  
**(fol. 100d)**

To the abbot of SS Peter and Paul’s Armagh. Mandate (the pope having being informed by Rory Otomoltan [Ruairí Ó Tomaltáin], clerk of the diocese of Derry, that formerly Patrick Macgorke [Pádraig Mag Uirc], perpetual vicar of Termuncumyn in the diocese of Armagh, promised and paid a sum of money to Denis Olucarean [Donnchadh Ó Lochráin], priest in order that he might resign the said vicarage and that collation and provision thereof might be made to Patrick, thereby incurring the sentences etc. promulgated against simoniacs, after which Denis [Donnchadh] resigned of his own accord, as he said, the said vicarage to archbishop John, who perhaps ignorant of the said bargain, admitted the resignation and made collation

<sup>592</sup> J. A. Twemlow (ed.), *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Papal Letters, Volume 7. AD 1417-1431*. (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1906) 398. Online at: ‘Lateran Regesta 252: 1424-1425,’ in *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 7, 1417-1431*, ed. J A Twemlow (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1906), 395-401. *British History Online*, accessed December 8, 2022, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-papal-registers/brit-ie/vol7/pp395-401>.

<sup>593</sup> Reeves’ original source, (‘Reg Flem fol 39’), is available in H. J. Lawlor, ‘A Calendar of the Register of Archbishop Fleming’ in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 30 (1912 / 1913) 94-190: 144.

and provision of the vicarage thus void, to Patrick [Pádraig], who under the pretext thereof obtained possession), seeing that the said collation and provision are therefore without force, and that the vicarage is still void as above, to summon Patrick and others concerned and if he find the above to be true, to decree the said collation and provision null and void and remove Patrick, and in that event to collate and assign to Rory [Ruairí] (who was lately dispensed by authority of the ordinary, as the son of a priest and an unmarried woman, to be tonsured) if found fit, the said vicarage, value not exceeding 5 marks sterling. He is hereby dispensed to be promoted to all, even holy orders and hold the vicarage, notwithstanding the said defect etc.’<sup>594</sup>

<sup>594</sup> J. A. Twemlow (ed.), *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Papal Letters*, Vol. IX. AD 1431-1447 (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1912) 193-194.

## Appendix 2: Normalisation of Spelling System Used in Revised Edition

### Editorial Method

1. The *síneadh fada* (length mark) has been written in accordance with contemporary conventions: *se* > *sé* (I.2), *i gcônuí* > *i gcónaí* (I.3), *dá mbéinn* > *dá mbeinn* (I.17), *contrailte* > *contráilte* (I.53), *go leór* > *go leor* (II.14), *áprun* > *aprún* (II.44), *bárr* > *barr* (II.122), *donan* > *donán* (III.13), *seórt* > *seort* (III.20), *dárna* > *darra* (III.25), *rásur* > *rásúr* (III.56), *dheanamh* > *dhéanamh* (III.68), *crapan* > *cnapán* (III.60), *thainic* > *tháinig* (III.70), *deán* > *déan* (III.66), *crumhog* > *crumhóg* (III.64), *gearran* > *gearrán* (III.103), *móran* > *mórán* (III.109), *inniú* > *inniu* (III.114).
2. Word-divison has been imposed in accordance with contemporary conventions: *i mbáireach* > *amárach* (III.10), *ar na bháireach* > *arna mhárach* (III.102).
3. Consonants that have been elided are restored: *air a' bhaile* > *ar an bhaile* (I.1), *go mbe' muid* > *go mbeidh muid* (I.12), *'á* > *dá* (I.13), *'uige* > *chuige* (II.25), *a' teacht* > *ag teacht* (II.52), *'un* > *chun* (II.2); *díbir'* > *díbirt* (II.1), *dúir'* > *dúirt* (III.34), *a' réir* > *de réir* (III.50), *gheód siad* > *gheobhadh siad* (III.5), *a bháú* > *a bháthadh* (II.117), *tránóna* > *tráthnóna* (III.16).
4. Non-historical additional consonants have been omitted: *aríst* > *arís* (I.15), *tamallt* > *tamall* (II.23), *i bhfogust* > *i bhfogas* (III.106).
5. Historically appropriate consonants have been restored.
  - 5.1 *g* has been restored to *c* in initial, medial, and final position: (i) *goidé* > *cad é* (I.25); (ii) *uisge* > *uisce* (II.13), *i dtaisgidh* > *i dtaiscidh* (II.37), *sgéal* > *scéal* (II.85); and (iii) *i measg* > *i measc* (III.2).
  - 5.2 *c* has been restored to *g* in medial and final position: (i) *carraice* > *carraige* (I.8); and (ii) *Pádraic* > *Pádraig* (III.107), *thainic se* > *tháinig se* (I.37, I.52, III.18).
  - 5.3 *d* has been restored to *t* in initial and final position: *aghad* > *agat* (I.72), *teanamh* > *déanamh* (II.185), *'ugad* > *chugad* (III.49).
  - 5.4 *r* has been restored to *n*: *mhraoi* > *mhnaoi* (I.5), *na graithí* > *na gnaithí* (I.32), *na mrrá* > *mná* (I.35), *crapan* > *cnapán* (III.60).
  - 5.5 Final *ng* has been restored: *tháirnn* > *tharraing* (III.63).
  - 5.6 *n* has been restored before *g* in stressed syllables in words like *ceangail*; thus, *cheaghail se* > *cheangail sé* (II.141-142).

5.7 Lenited intervocalic *gh* has been restored to its unlenited counterpart; thus, *aghainn* > *againn* (III.22).

5.8 Final *-the* [hə] has been restored in the verbal adjective (past participle) of second conjugation verbs: *cosnochtuí* > *cosnochtaithe* (I.37).

6. Metathesised forms have been restored to their historically 'correct' equivalent: *fiarfuiheadh* > *fiafraíodh* (III.71-72).
7. The palatalisation of consonants has been restored in the edition where it has been omitted in Ó Tuathail's orthography: *an ghruag* > *an ghruaig* (III.39-40), *urthi* > *uirthi* (III.70), *b'fhéadar* > *b'fhéidir* (III.78), *cathamh* > *caitheamh* (III.97).
8. Non-palatalisation of consonants has been restored where it is non-historical: *cliú* > *clú* (III.74).
9. Medial *-bh-* after a vowel has been restored where Ó Tuathail writes *ó*: *gheód siad* > *gheobhadh siad* (III.5), *tóirt* > *tabhairt* (III.8), *góigí* > *gabhaigí* (III.9), *dá thóirt* > *dá thabhairt* (III.36).
10. Medial *-gh-* after a vowel has been restored where Ó Tuathail writes *é*: *léas* > *leigheas* (I.46).
11. Neutral vowels in stressed and unstressed syllables have been written as *a*, *ea*, and *ai* in accordance with contemporary conventions: *thosuigh sí* > *thosaigh sí* (I.44), *bhuin sé* > *bhain sé* (I.36), *corruí* > *corraí* (II.43), *iompur* > *iompar* (III.86), *bhuint* > *bhaint* (III.40), *i bhfogus* > *i bhfogas* (III.97).
12. Additional vowels have been omitted: *'uige saebhreas* > *chuig saibhreas* (II.17).
13. Elided vowels have been restored in medial and final positions: *air a'n* > *ar aon* (I.4), *n'air* > *nuair* (II.22); *Árd-mhach'* > *Ard Mhacha* (II.3-4), *leithid* > *leithéid* (III.9), *fost* > *fosta* (III.78), *furast* > *furasta* (III.50), *rinn* > *rinne* (I.23, III.26); *c'aige* > *cé aige* (III.73).
14. *a* has been restored where Ó Tuathail writes *o* in stressed syllables; thus, *faluiste* > *folaista* (II.160), *acrach* > *ocrach* (III.32), *chainic* > *chonaic* (III.70).
13. *é* has been restored where Ó Tuathail writes *í* in stressed syllables; thus, *d'írih* > *d'éirigh* (I.34), *Siomus* > *Séamas* (II.9), *ag írí* > *ag éirí* (III.82).
15. *í* has been restored for *-aoi-* [i:] in the word: *shaoil* > *shíl* (III.86).
16. *-ae-*, when pronounced as [e:] in stressed syllables, has been replaced by *ai*, thereby restoring the corresponding historical forms: *saebhreas* > *saibhreas* (II.17).
17. *-oi-* [i] in stressed syllables has been replaced by *ai*: *goirid* > *gairid* (I.7).



18. The historical spelling in *-oí-* has been used where Ó Tuathail writes *-ao-*: *chaoche* > *choíche* (I.56).
19. The historical spelling has been restored where Ó Tuathail uses *ô* to indicate nasalisation of the long vowel before a nasal in medial position; thus, *chôrsain* > *chomhairsain* (III.8). The exception to this policy is: *i gcônúí* > *i gcónaí* (III.98).
20. The simple preposition *ar* ‘on, upon’ has been written according to contemporary conventions: *air* > *ar*.
21. The simple preposition *bha* is realised in the edition as *fá* (II.170); *bha’n*, the preposition *bha* + the article *an*, is realised in the edition as *fán* (I.5, III.100).
22. The 3 sg. masculine prepositional pronoun has been written according to contemporary conventions: *ionn* > *ann* (I.6, etc.).
22. The preposition *i* ‘in’ + the article is retained as *insa*: *insa tsamhradh* (II.15).
23. *Sin*, the demonstrative pronoun ‘that’ has been restored according to contemporary conventions: *ó shoin* > *ó shin* (II.1).
24. *Ansin*, the adverb of place and time, ‘there’ / ‘then’ has been restored according to contemporary conventions: *innsin* > *ansin* (III.30).
25. The numeral *aon* has been restored thus: *a’n* > *aon* as in *a’n fhear amháin* > *aon fhear amháin* (III.7).
26. The short form of the connective conjunction *agus* ‘and’ has been printed as *is*; thus, *a’s go leór* > *is go leor* (III.28).
27. *hín* has been restored to *féin* throughout.
28. The conjunction *na* ‘for’ has been restored to *nó* (III.96).
29. The adverb which is used to form equative constructions *comh* (CO = *chomh*) has been restored. Thus, for example, *co deas* > *comh deas* (I.2).
30. The personal endings of the verb in the **conditional mood** have been restored to their corresponding historical forms thus: *cha phósfad sí* > *Cha phósfadh sí* (I.16), *nach gcuirfead sí* > *nach gcuirfeadh sí* (I.17-18), *bhead siad* > *bheadh siad* (III.3), *gheanfadh siad* > *dhéanfadh siad* (III.4), *gheód siad* > *gheobhadh siad* (III.5), *gheanfá* > *dhéanfá* (III.14), *go bhfeicead se* > *go bhfeiceadh sé* (III.17), *go n-ársachad siad* > *go n-ársóchadh siad* (III.53), *go gcruinneachad siad* > *go gcruinneochadh siad* (III.87), *thiocfad sí* > *thiocfadh sí* (III.91), *bhearfad sí* > *bhéarfadh sí* (III.91) *thiocfad siad* > *thiocfadh siad* (III.96), *bhead sí* > *bheadh sí* (III.98).

31. The personal endings of the verb in the **future tense** have been restored to their corresponding historical forms thus: *cuirfe mise* > *cuirfidh mise* (I.19), *cuirfe muid* > *cuirfidh muid* (II.35), *a cheannachas se* > *a cheannóchas sé* (II.41), *coinneacha me* > *coinneochaidh mé* (II.58), *caithfe tú* > *caithfidh tú* (III.54), *go n-ársachaidh* > *go n-ársóchaidh* (III.67).
32. The following **past tense** verbal forms have been restored to their corresponding historical forms thus: *thionnta’* > *thiontaigh* (I.6), *robh* > *raibh* (III.36), *rinn sé* > *rinne sé* (III.26), *fuaidh* > *chuaigh* (III.12).
33. The verbal stem *déan-* rather than *ghean-* has been used in the case of Classical Irish *do-(gh)ním* : *ní dhéanaim*. Examples are: *goidé mar gheanfas me* > *Cad é mar [a] dhéanfas mé* (I.25), *Goidé gheanfas mise* > *Cad é [a] dhéanfas mise* (I.66), *gheanfa sin* > *dhéanfadh sin* (II.30).
34. The verbal noun *ag goil* has been restored to one of its probable predecessors: *ag goil* > *ag gabháil* (III.65).
35. The historical form of the verbal noun *ag marbhadh* (= CO *ag marú*) has been restored thus: *a mharabha* (= CO *a mharú*) > *a mharbhadh* (III.73).
36. The phrase *’n fhuil fhios agam* has been printed as *níl a fhios agam* (II.55, II.66).
37. The phrase *cach a’n seórt* has been normalised as *gach aon seort* (I.45, etc.).

Replacement of Obsolete Dialectal Forms with More Current Forms

There is a small number of cases in which the *form* of the text has been amended. In the case of this edition, the original text will in all instances be retrievable by reference to the corresponding line in Ó Tuathail’s parallel edition. A representative list is nevertheless given here below:

| Ó Tuathail’s Text                         | Caighdeán Oifigiúil                       | Edition                                                            |
|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ’air a thóg Síomus                        | nuair a thóg Séamas                       | nuair a thóg Séamus (II.9)                                         |
| ’n a’ mbaile                              | chun an bhaile                            | chun an bhaile (II.84)                                             |
| ’uige saebhreas, ’uige Brian, ’uige toigh | chuig saibhreas, chuig Brian, chuig teach | chuig saibhreas (II.17), chuig Brian (II.51), chuig toigh (III.15) |
| a bháú ina loch                           | a bháthadh i loch                         | a bháthadh i loch (II.117)                                         |
| a cur ina ndíg uisge                      | a cur i ndíog uisce                       | a cur i ndíog uisce (III.76)                                       |
| abus                                      | abhus                                     | abhus (III.6)                                                      |
| aige Brian, aige bun a’ <i>loanin</i> ’   | ag Brian, ag bun a’ <i>loanin</i> ’       | ag Brian (II.67-68), ag bun <i>an loaning</i> (III.69)             |
| fora dúir’ sí                             | nó dúirt sí                               | nó dúirt sí (I.17)                                                 |
| fora má éaganns                           | nó má éagann                              | nó má éagann (III.77)                                              |
| gloine de duithe                          | gloine de di                              | gloine de duithe (I.64)                                            |
| i n-aghaidhs                              | in aghaidh                                | in aghaidh (I.19)                                                  |
| ina loch mhór                             | i loch mór                                | i loch mhór (II.151)                                               |
| maga bhfuil se                            | mura bhfuil sé                            | mura bhfuil sé (II.65)                                             |
| maga dtóirfe se                           | mura dtabharfaidh sé                      | mura dtabharfaidh sé (III.11)                                      |
| na b’ ’ó.                                 | níba mhó                                  | níba mhó (III.93)                                                  |
| na b’fheárr                               | ní b’fhearr                               | ní b’fhearr (I.69, III.21)                                         |
| nach bhfóim thaire leis                   | nach bhfaighidh mé thairis                | nach bhfóghaim thaire leis (I.42-43)                               |
| nas mó, nas measa                         | níos mó, níos measa                       | níos mó (I.11), níos measa (I.46)                                  |
| teanamh.                                  | déanamh                                   | déanamh (II.185)                                                   |
| thiomail se                               | thiomáin sé                               | thiomáin sé (II.143)                                               |

Retention of Dialectal Forms

On a few occasions, dialectal forms that are now rare such as *fógh* [= *fogh*, II.36, II.40] and *bhfóim* [= *bhfoghaim*, I.42-43] have been retained on the basis that they are established Classical Modern Irish forms and reflect an old substratum in Tyrone Irish. In contrast, a dialectal form like *fora má éaganns* (III.77) would have been considered *lochtach* ‘faulty’ by the standards of Classical Modern Irish and consequently would not have been permitted in writing. Such forms have here been rejected.

Preference is given to historical forms and / or spellings over those of the CO, where those historical forms and / or spellings more accurately reflect the form and pronunciation of Tyrone Irish:

| Ó Tuathail’s Text        | Caighdeán Oifigiúil    | Edition                              |
|--------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (cuirfe muid suas) toigh | (cuirfimid suas) teach | (cuirfidh muid suas) toigh (II.13)   |
| in m’áit, in mo thaobh   | i mo áit, i mo thaobh  | in m’áit (I.18), in mo thaobh (I.42) |
| dlíú                     | dlí                    | dligheadh (II.47)                    |
| a’ gearrfhia             | an giorria             | an gearrfhia (II.61)                 |

Finally, it should be noted that the dialectal pronominal forms of the prepositions have been retained:

| Dialectal Forms | Caighdeán Oifigiúil | Examples from the Edition |
|-----------------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| léithe          | léi                 | léithe (I.3)              |
| duithe          | di                  | duithe (I.64, III.97)     |
| duí             | di                  | duí (III.72)              |
| leófa           | leo                 | leofa (II.116, III.96)    |

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