The phonology of English loan-words in Inis Meáin Irish

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The systematic changes in the phonetic form of English words\(^1\) adopted into the Irish of Inis Meáin,\(^2\) the centre one of the Aran Islands, have not been dealt with as yet, although many of them are given in Ó Siadhail (1978) and in de Bhaldraithe (1953) which, however, deals with those loan-words found in the Irish of Cois Fláirrhge, the dialect of which shows only slight if any differences to that of Inis Meáin. Both authors, in their phonetic transcriptions, used symbols and diacritics which are common to all works on Irish phonetics and phonology. These symbols are, however, imprecise in many cases and are over-influenced by the orthography of Irish rather than being strictly based on spoken usage. Here the method of transcription is that of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), in a narrow interpretation. This has the advantage of explicitness and accessibility to non-Celtologists and also, most importantly, it allows one to establish the relation of symbol to articulation,\(^3\) something which is not possible with the specifically Irish symbols (such as [L], [N], etc.) as they are not satisfactorily defined.

In considering English loan-words in Inis Meáin Irish (IMI) it is necessary to see both consonants and the vowels in relation to each other. This is especially the case where vowel quality is frequently determined by the nature of the neighbouring consonants. However, for the purposes of classification I have chosen to examine firstly the vowel phonemes of Standard English\(^4\) and their reflexes in IMI while dealing with consonants where their realization is either effected by the vowel phonemes or in turn determines them. The consonant phonemes will be treated subsequently inasmuch as they will not have been touched upon already by then.

The values given for all vowel phonemes are those which they have in received pronunciation (RP). It must be stressed, however, that the form they had or have\(^5\) while in contact with IMI is that of Hiberno-English (HE)\(^6\) which in the area of vowel quality shows considerable deviation from RP. The main differences are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RP</th>
<th>HE</th>
<th>RP</th>
<th>HE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/iː/</td>
<td>[ii]</td>
<td>[iː]</td>
<td>[iː]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛi:/</td>
<td>[ɛi]</td>
<td>[æ]</td>
<td>[æ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑː/</td>
<td>[ɑː]</td>
<td>[oʊ]</td>
<td>[oʊ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔː/</td>
<td>[ɔː]</td>
<td>[oʊ]</td>
<td>[oʊ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/uː/</td>
<td>[uː]</td>
<td>[uː]</td>
<td>[uː]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/</td>
<td>[ʃ]</td>
<td>[ʃ]</td>
<td>[ʃ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Monophthongization and r-colouring are the most salient features of HE vowel quality in comparison with RP. In this respect it has affinity with Irish which phonemically has only four diphthongs (/ai/, /au/, /iə/, /uə/) and which also has a
post-vocalic, pre-consonantal r. The realization of the RP vowels can thus be shown in the ensuing examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>IMI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i:/</td>
<td>[i:]/[ii]</td>
<td>[i]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exx.: steamer → ['stǐ:mər]
cheese → [tʃ:i:s]

As opposed to both RP (/i:/ → [ii]) and HE this vowel (/i:/) is a long tense monophthong in Irish. The existence of the phonemic diphthong /in/ in Irish (cf. bia ‘food’ → [bia]) acts against any tendency to diphthongize /i:/, particularly as a centring diphthong such as HE [ii].

/i:/ has a palatalizing effect on the preceding consonant in accordance with the phonetics of Irish. This is seen most clearly when the consonant in question is /r/, e.g.
breeze → [bɾ:i:s]
The quality of this [ɾ] varies from a slightly fricative [ɾ] as in the same word pronounced in RP to a variant which has the blade of the tongue so close to the hard palate that a sibilant results which is close to [ɾ].

<table>
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<tr>
<td>/ı/</td>
<td>[ı]</td>
<td>[ı]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exx.: Synge → [sɪŋk]
crazy → ['kɾi:saɪ]

When [ı] is in a post-stress syllable it is very often weakened in its distinctiveness to [ə]. In stressed syllables it is fully maintained as is to be expected because of its phonemic status in Irish. In isolated cases where [e] is followed in the next syllable by [ı] we find dissimilation of vowel quality which because of [e] being realized as [ı] in Irish leads to [ı] being realized as [e].

Ex.: Wellingtons → ['wɪŋtəns]

A similar type of dissimilation is to be seen in the word busy → ['bɪzɪ] where the quality of the first vowel was altered, not to [e], however, but to a more centralized version [e], ['bɪ:si] which could reflect slight uncertainty on the part of the speaker (cf. the realization of RP /au/).

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>HE</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/eə/</td>
<td>[eː]</td>
<td>[eː]/[eː]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exx.: crazy → ['kɾi:eiʃi]
play → [pɾi:ei]
slightly lowered version of /e/, i.e. [eː] (e.g. in sé ‘he’ → [ʃeː]) we still have a stable vowel in loan-words, e.g. *pancake* → [ˈpæŋkək]  

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{RP} & \text{HE} & \text{IMI} \\
\hline
/e/ & [ɛ] & [i] \\
\hline
\text{Exx.:} & \text{friendly} & \text{[fɾiːn ð i]} \\
\text{sexy} & \text{[ʃɪksə]} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

The raising of RP /e/ to [i] is among the more prominent shifts in vowel realization in IMI. It cannot be traced back to phonetic conditioning which obtains in Irish and it does not depend on phonotactic or prosodic restrictions. Note that the shift occurs even when change of stress has lead to /e/ being in an unstressed syllable: *cement* → [ˈsmɛnt].

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{RP} & \text{HE} & \text{IMI} \\
\hline
/æ/ & [æ] & [æː] \\
\hline
\text{Exx.:} & \text{flat} & \text{[fɾæ:t]} \\
\text{bank} & \text{[bæŋk]} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

The vowel used in IMI for RP /æ/ is qualitatively different from the long allophonic variant of /æ/ in RP [ʰændɪ] for *handy*. In addition to increased length and tenseness the lips are more spread and the vowel may be partially nasalized towards the end of its articulation:

Ex.: IMI [ʰændɪ] or [ʰændɪ]

The nasalization is always present with those speakers who nasalize this vowel in Irish anyway, even in open syllables, e.g. the realization of *sea* ‘yes’ (lit.: it is) as [ʃæː].

It is worth remarking that the vowel used for RP /æ/ in IMI, i.e. [æː] is an allophone of the vowel phoneme /æ/ which has the following distribution in IMI:

\[
[æː] / \text{C [+]palatal} / – \\
/æ/ / [aː] / \text{C [–]palatal} / – \\
\]

Exx.: *teach* ‘house’ → [tʃæ:x]  
*lag* ‘weak’ → [læ:g]

See also the distribution conditions for /a/. The choice of [æː] instead of [aː] for RP /æ/ is made on the strength of the articulatory proximity of the former to the RP vowel.

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{RP} & \text{HE} & \text{IMI} \\
\hline
/ɑː/ & [aː] & [æː] \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]
Exx.: chance {\rightarrow} [\aeːns]  
blastáil ‘blasting’ {\rightarrow} [\b{\text{\textsuperscript{1}}}l\aeːst\text{\textsuperscript{1}}:l]

The shift in articulation which takes place in IMI with RP /\text{\textsuperscript{1}}æ:/ is unexpected as IMI has a phoneme which lies very close to this, i.e. /\text{\textsuperscript{1}}æ/ whose realization can be seen in the following schema:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[\text{\textsuperscript{1}}æ:] / C [-palatal] } \\
/\text{\textsuperscript{1}}æ/ \\
\text{[\text{\textsuperscript{1}}æ:] / C [+palatal] } \\
\end{array}
\]

Exx.: lán ‘full’ {\rightarrow} [\text{\textsuperscript{1}}n\text{\textsuperscript{1}}n]  
ceann ‘head’, ‘one’ {\rightarrow} [k\text{\textsuperscript{1}}\text{\textsuperscript{1}}n]

Nonetheless the shift to [æ:] is attested in many examples. An explanation could be sought in the advanced variety of [æ:] found in HE which then leads with loan-words to a further advancing and phonemic merger with RP /æ:/:

RP /æ/  
IMI [æ:]

However, precisely this advanced variety of /æ:/ is found in IMI as one of the allophones of /æ/; nonetheless it has not been used for RP /æ:/ in any of the forms recorded.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{RP} & \text{HE} & \text{IMI} \\
/\text{\textsuperscript{1}}æ:/^{12} & [\text{\textsuperscript{1}}æ:] & [\text{\textsuperscript{1}}æ:] \\
{\rightarrow} & [\text{\textsuperscript{1}}æ:] & [\text{\textsuperscript{1}}æ:] \\
\end{array}
\]

The following represents examples of both realizations of RP /æ/:

Exx.: (i) porch {\rightarrow} [pɔːt] (HE: [pɔːt])  
(ii) shawl {\rightarrow} [ʃɔːl] (HE: [ʃɔːl])

In considering the realization of RP /æ:/ in IMI one must first look at the intermediary stage in HE. Here we have phonetic distinction of homophones in RP, e.g.:

RP [kɔːt] {\rightarrow} HE [kɔːt] caught 
{\rightarrow} HE [kɔːt] court

This is due to the rhotic character of HE which preserves ME /ɔː/ before /r/. In those cases where /æ:/ before /r/ arose from ME /æ:/, the HE value of RP /æ:/ is more open probably to maintain the perceptual distinction between it and the HE realization of RP /ɔː/, [ɔː]/.[ou].
In comparing the realizations of various RP vowels in IMI with each other one must couple /ɔ/ not with its raised long equivalent /a:/ but with its lowered unrounded long equivalent /æ:/ inasmuch as these two RP phonemes appear in IMI as [æ:]. This realization is as unexpected as that of /a:/ as again one would expect an allophone of Irish /a/ as the realization of RP /ɔ/.

We can begin, however, by saying that the length of [æ:] is a non-distinctive feature in IMI which is not necessarily found in other Irish dialects and a slightly shorter variant is found with some speakers, especially in rapid speech.\(^14\) Thus we can formulate the following change:

\[
\text{RP} /\text{o}/ \rightarrow \text{IMI} /\text{æ}/ \rightarrow [\text{æ:}]\]

On a phonemic level then the equivalence is between short vowels. As the vowel /n/ does not occur short phonemically the following shift is not allowed:

\[
\text{RP} /\text{o}/ \rightarrow \text{IMI} [\text{n}] \rightarrow [\text{æ:}] \text{ (*IMI} /\text{o}/\text{)}
\]

Furthermore it holds true for all vowel shifts between RP and IMI that changes in phonemic vowel quantity do not take place.

\[
\text{RP} /\text{o}/ \rightarrow \text{HE} [\text{a:}] \rightarrow [\text{a:}]
\]

Exx.: 

dole \rightarrow [dɔ:ʒ]

rope \rightarrow [rɔ:p]

Little needs to be said here as the long monophthong of HE is carried over practically unaltered into IMI. It is merely tenser and slightly closer to cardinal [a:].

\[
\text{RP} /\text{u}/ \rightarrow \text{HE} [\text{u}]/[\text{u}:] \rightarrow [\text{u}]
\]

Exx.: 

true love \rightarrow ['tru:] xf]

womb \rightarrow [wʌm]

As with RP [iɪ] so also here with RP /u/ (= [uu]) we have a long monophthong which again as with [i:] in IMI tends to be conserved due to the existence of the phonemic diphthong /uə/ as in bua ‘victory’ \(\rightarrow [bua]\). The centring diphthong present in HE is by no means adopted for loan-words.

\[
\text{RP} /\text{u}/ \rightarrow \text{HE} [\text{u}] \rightarrow [\text{ʊ}] \sim [\text{ɔ}] \sim [\text{a}]
\]
The realization of this RP phoneme is to be seen in close connexion with that of RP /ʌ/. Both are altered in their phonetic shape when they appear in IMI. /ʊ/ can have as its realization a vowel which is just a slightly centralized version of the RP vowel ([ʊ̈]). /ʌ/ as it is realized in advanced varieties of RP, i.e. where it closely resembles [a], is raised and retracted considerably, so much so that it may nearly have the form of cardinal /ʌ/. The latitude in the realization of /ʊ/ and /ʌ/ can further be extended to the central vowel [ə] which therefore would have an occurrence in both stressed and unstressed positions.

In all realizations, however, we have phoneme substitution: the particular vowel used is always the same speaker’s realization of the vowel phoneme /ʌ/ found in Irish, e.g. doras ‘door’ → [ˈdɔɾəs].

In the transcription above and below I use [ʌ] as the IM equivalent of both /ʊ/ and /ʌ/ as this is the realization most frequently encountered in this dialect of Irish. This is the only short vowel phoneme found in the mid to high back area in IMI. It is variously represented in Irish dialectology, chiefly as /o/ (see de Bhaldraithe, 1953: 14 where we have however an adequate articulatory description. His term ‘member’ should be replaced by ‘allophone’ so that we can say that a retracted allophonic variant occurs before velar consonants). If /o/ is taken to be cardinal [ɔ] then it is incorrect for Connemara Irish on at least two accounts: (i) it is rounded and (ii) it is too far back.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Exx.}: & \text{putty} & \rightarrow [ˈpʌtɪ] \\
\text{trust} & \rightarrow [trʌst]
\end{array}
\]

See preceding comments.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Exx.}: & \text{pension} & \rightarrow [ˈpɛnʃən] \\
\text{package} & \rightarrow [ˈpækækt]
\end{array}
\]

The phone [ə] occurs in unstressed syllables as in RP as a reduced form of some vowels. All vowels can be so reduced in IMI. Among those speakers who have [ə] for /ɜ:/ it naturally occurs in stressed position as well, i.e. in the first syllable of almost all non-prefixed words.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Exx.}: & \text{tern} & \rightarrow [ˈtɜːn] \\
\text{Birr} & \rightarrow [ˈbɔːr]
\end{array}
\]
As the tense, stressed version of [ə] (arising out of [ɑɪ]), /æ/ is represented by its obsolete value, and transcribed here as [σ], which it has maintained in HE. Occasionally a tendency to advance this vowel in the direction of cardinal [ɛ] was noted, e.g. in *nervous* → [ˈnɛvəs]. This may be an effort to distinguish it from /ʌ/ which has a partially similar value to stressed [σ].

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{RP} & \text{HE} & \text{IMI} \\
/ɑi/ & [ɑɪ] & [æi] \\
\end{array}
\]

Exx.: *firelighter* → [ˈfɪəɹlɪtə]  
*alright* → [ˈɑɹlɑrt]

In HE the realization of this RP phoneme is characterized by an energetic falling stress on the first element followed quickly by a glide to [i] which is thus further than with RP /ɑi/ (= [æ]). This also holds for the Irish phoneme /ai/ (e.g. *cláí* → [kʰai]) so that no alteration of the HE realization of /ɑi/ occurs in English loan-words except for the slight raising of the starting point from [a] to [æ].

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{RP} & \text{HE} & \text{IMI} \\
/ɑi/ & [ɑɪ] & [æi] \\
\end{array}
\]

Exx.: *oilers* → [ˈɑɪlɛəs]  
*toilet* → [ˈtəɪlət]

The shift in this RP diphthong is consistent with that of /ɔi/ → [æ] in IMI. Here the starting-point is displaced, otherwise the diphthong is normal, that is, a vocalic glide to an end-point at [i] with the characteristic strong stress on the initial element.

Among those speakers who have a particularly long realization of the phoneme /æ/ there is an extended articulation of the first element of this diphthong. Thus *toilet* → [ˈtəɪlət].

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{RP} & \text{HE} & \text{IMI} \\
/au/ & [ɑʊ] & [ʊ] ([ɔʊ]) \\
\end{array}
\]

Exx.: *lighthouse* → [ˈlaɪθhaus]  
*counter* → [ˈkʊntə]  

When considering the realization of RP /au/ in IMI it is necessary to distinguish monolingual speakers from partially bilingual ones. The realization as [ʊ] is only present with monolingual speakers (of which there are relatively few, they all being among the older generation). For example *lighthouse* was rendered by one monolingual speaker in her late fifties as [ˈlaɪθhaus] which not only shows the complete monophthongization of RP /au/ but also lengthened [ɑː] and the velarised geminate [h]. The same word was realized by a partially bilingual speaker as [ˈlaɪθhaus] with slightly shorter [l]. This is not a case of substitution (as Irish also has /əu/, e.g. *poll* ‘hole’ → [paul]) but of phonemic shift.

Possible evidence of a general shift of /au/ to [ʊ] in Irish may be afforded by
generally attested loan-words such as bácús (< bakehouse). The difficulty here is that of determining when the item in question entered Irish, the earliest example of it occurring in 1400 (Oxford English Dictionary, 1971: 629). If it was adopted into Irish within 100 years then it probably had a form like [‘ljae:khus].19 If later than the Great Vowel Shift then the shift described above is also valid here.

A similar case is presented by púdar (< powder) → [‘pu:dʊ] which if it was adopted early (the Oxford English Dictionary, 1971: 1209 gives 1200 as the first attested date) still had the vowel [ʊ]. As both these words belong to the domestic sphere then the possibility of their being taken over into Irish from the early English settlers (from c. 1200 onwards) is distinct.

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ə/</td>
<td>[ɪ]</td>
<td>[ʊ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛə/</td>
<td>[ɛɪ]</td>
<td>[ɛʊ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/uə/</td>
<td>[ʊ]</td>
<td>[ʊ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exx.: pier → [pɪə]
pear → [pɛə]
tour → [tʊə]

These centring diphthongs (see Gimson, 1980: 142) all have as their second element the r-coloured schwa typical of both HE and Irish in general. They have been carried over into IMI with approximately the same value as they have in HE. A slight modification of [ʊ] may occur by centralizing the initial element, i.e. [ʊ] → [ʊ]. Note that the first element of [ɛɪ] is not shifted to [i] as it normally is when it occurs as the only vowel of a syllable.

In viewing the realizations of RP consonant phonemes in IMI it is of primary importance to consider the phenomenon of palatization as it is responsible for the changes which have taken place. Thus most of the consonant phonemes of RP can have two equivalents in Irish, one of which is non-palatal and the second of which is palatal. Because palatal consonants occupy such a central position in the phonology of Irish dialectologists do not as a rule show any discrimination in the description of such consonants but content themselves with writing them as the non-palatal consonants with a stroke placed to the upper right-hand side, e.g. /p/ and /p/. Such an undifferentiating type of transcription has various faults: it does not distinguish between palatal and palatalized consonants, it does not give any indication of the phonemic or non-phonemic status of the consonant and it shows the use of a diacritic which is not an element of the IPA. A further more serious flaw in works on Irish dialectology is that writers tend to place the stroke diacritic after every instance of a consonant followed by an orthographic front vowel. This is doubly incorrect: (i) it suggests that consonants in these positions are palatal phonemes which they are not and (ii) it shows the erroneous derivation of phonetic transcription from the orthography of Irish and not from speech. Lastly the question of vowel quality, which is often a decisive factor in distinguishing word forms when a palatal/non-palatal distinction is not made among the consonants, is rarely treated adequately.

A palatal consonant can only have phonemic value when it contrasts minimally with a non-palatal consonant. In those instances where we simply have a consonant followed by a front vowel I will refer to it as palatalized; here it is a neutral allophone of the palatal consonant.
When discussing a language such as Irish it is necessary to define the notion of palatalization in articulatory terms. The essential feature of a palatal consonant is a short [j]-glide after the consonant. This arises because of the position of the tongue during the articulation of the particular consonant and which is held briefly after its release. With those consonants which have the blade of the tongue as active articulator the hard palate becomes the passive articulator when the consonant is palatal (e.g. for [tʲ]). The latter can be termed cases of primary palatalization, all others as secondary palatalization as the blade of the tongue does not make direct contact with the hard palate.

The singling out of the [j]-glide as the distinguishing feature of palatal consonants can be justified when one looks at minimal pairs such as:

\[
poc \quad \text{‘goat’} \rightarrow /p\check{\text{k}}/
\]
\[
pioc \quad \text{‘pick’ (V.)} \rightarrow /p\check{\text{j}}\check{\text{k}}/
\]

However it has a disadvantage when the [j]-glide, which is rarely prominent, is completely absorbed into the preceding consonant. In this case one must fall back on concomitant features of these consonants. Two of these which are distinctive are tenseness and spreading of the lips (this refers to labial and labio-dental consonants only, of course). Thus we can label the phonemes in the example above as:

\[
/p/ \quad [-\text{tense}] + [-\text{spread lips}]
\]
\[
/pʲ/ \quad [+\text{tense}] + [+\text{spread lips}]
\]

Just as a [j]-glide is often present after /pʲ/ a [wu]-glide can be attendant on the articulation of a non-palatal phoneme. This glide occurs because of the back position of the tongue during the articulation of the consonant. Again as with the [j]-glide this glide can be heard faintly when it is followed by a vowel which is its opposite with reference to the features [+front] or [+back]. Observe the glides in the following examples:

\[
\text{buí} \quad \text{‘yellow’} \quad \rightarrow [b\text{u}pː] \quad \text{V}[+\text{front}]
\]
\[
\text{beag} \quad \text{‘small’} \quad \rightarrow [b\text{j}\dot{a}ɡ] \quad \text{V}[+\text{back}]
\]

Both consonants have neutral (non-glide) variants when before vowels with reversed features:

\[
\text{bog} \quad \text{‘soft’} \quad \rightarrow [b\check{\text{x}}g] \quad \text{V}[+\text{back}]
\]
\[
\text{bi} \quad \text{‘is’} \quad \rightarrow [b\text{i}] \quad \text{V}[+\text{front}]
\]

Finally it should be conceded that an alternative interpretation of palatal consonants is possible. This is that of vowel quality: in the examples above the vowels which are transcribed similarly are not in fact the same. Thus /iː/ after /b/ is not as high as after /bʲ/ so we have

\[
/iː/ \rightarrow [iː] / /bʲ/ ––
\]
\[
/iː/ \rightarrow [iː\text{ː}] / /b/ ––
\]
Equally we can register a vowel quality difference with back vowels:

\[
/\text{ß}/ \to \ [\ddot{a}:]\text{ß} / /\text{b}^\text{ß}/ - \\
/\dddot{X}/ \to \ [X] / /\text{b}/ -
\]

However, to consider the difference between say [b\text{ß}i:] and [b\text{ß}i:] as one of vowel quality is to disregard both the perceptual difference between the initial consonants of each word and the fact that they maintain their acoustical form (with the possible exception of the glide) even when the following vowel differs.

The following shows the main realizations of RP consonants in the loan-words registered in IMI. In my transcription I have not shown aspiration of voiceless stops as this is the same in IMI as in HE and RP.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RP</th>
<th>HE</th>
<th>IMI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| /p/ | [p] | (i) [p]  
  |     | (ii) [p\text{ß}] |
| Exx.: (i) | porch | [po:ʃ] |
|           | pancake | [p\text{ß}æŋk] |

The example for (ii) above shows the realization of RP /p/ as [p\text{ß}]. There is no glide present here (or indeed after any palatal consonant followed by [æː]), but the [p\text{ß}] is distinguished by tenseness and spreading of the lips. An instance of a non-palatal /p\text{ß}u/ followed by [æː] is afforded by teapot \to [\text{tæːp\text{ß}æːt}].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RP</th>
<th>HE</th>
<th>IMI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| /b/ | [b] | (i) [b]  
  |     | (ii) [b\text{ß}] |
| Exx.: (i) | bottle | [b\text{ß}æːt] |
| (ii) | bank | [b\text{ß}æŋk]; blast | [b\text{ß}læːst] |

The second example in (ii) shows the occurrence of two palatal consonants in immediate sequence. In general it is true of any consonant sequence where one member is palatal that the entire group is consequently palatal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RP</th>
<th>HE</th>
<th>IMI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| /f/ | [f] | (i) [f]  
  |     | (ii) [f\text{ß}] |
| Exx.: (i) | toffee | [t\text{æːf\text{ß}i}] |
| (ii) | flat | [f\text{ß}læːt] |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RP</th>
<th>HE</th>
<th>IMI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| /v/ | [v] | (i) [v\text{ß}] (= /v\text{ß}/)  
  |     | (ii) [w] (= /v/) |
| Exx.: (i) | drive | [d\text{ß}rɪæv\text{ß}], van | [v\text{ß}æn] |
| (ii) | university | [juːnweɪv\text{ß}æt] |

The non-palatal /v/ is realized in IMI (and in Connemara Irish in general) as [w].
This has arisen from the lenis low-friction articulation which has been pursued to the point of reaching the frictionless continuant [w]. In the phonology of IMI (and that of the English loan-words) [w] is the non-palatal pendant to /v/ which because of its fortis, tense articulation has been preserved fully as a labio-dental (occasionally with some speakers bilabial) fricative. The development of /v/ → [w] has been favoured by the non-existence of /w/ in IMI. [w] occurs also where /b/ has been lenited (i.e. fricativized) as in mo bhicycle, ‘my bicycle’ → [ma'wæstkl].

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{RP} & \text{HE} & \text{IMI} \\
/\theta/ & [\theta]/[t] & [t] \\
\end{array}
\]

Exx.: Thurles → [ˈtʰəɾ̠əs]; Ruth → [ˈɾəɾ̠t]

Ambi-dental fricatives in HE have varying realizations with different positions which can be represented schematically as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c}
\text{RP} & /\theta/, /\delta/ & [\theta], [\delta] & C & # \\
\text{IMI} & &[t], [d] & C & # \\
\end{array}
\]

In IMI, however, they are both represented by dental plosives irrespective of their position in a word. As the phonemes /t/ and /d/ are dental in IMI anyway, the realization of RP /\theta/ and /\delta/ occurs by means of phoneme substitution.

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{RP} & \text{HE} & \text{IMI} \\
/\delta/ & [\delta]/[d] & [d] \\
\end{array}
\]

Exx.: weather → [ˈweðəɾ]

See preceding comments.

No example of initial /\delta/ was recorded. As this phoneme only occurs initially with pronouns or a handful of adverbs this is not surprising as no need arises in IMI to use them.

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{RP} & \text{HE} & \text{IMI} \\
/\upsilon/ & [t] & \begin{array}{c}
(\text{i}) [t] \rightarrow [t]
(\text{ii}) [\upsilon]
\end{array} \\
\end{array}
\]

Exx.: (i) traffic → [ˈtræfɪk]; toilet → [ˈtɔɪlət]
(ii) blast → [ˈbʌltəst]; steamer → [ˈstərəmər]

In the majority of loan-words RP /\upsilon/ becomes [t] (thus phoneme merger of RP /\theta/ and /\upsilon/ → [t]). However, the alveolar articulation of /\upsilon/ is by no means unknown and some younger speakers regularly use an articulation of loan-words which is at least post-dental.

The [t] used with English loan-words is the neutral allophone of /\upsilon/. The truly non-palatal allophone has a very brief [ə] after it due to the curving downwards of the tongue during its articulation, thus tui ‘straw, thatch’ → [tʰi]. Analogously with /t/ a neutral allophone is used. This is only to be expected as the realization of a
particular consonant in a loan-word is determined by the quality of the vowel which follows or by its position at the end of a word or in a consonant cluster. A truly palatal allophone cannot occur since this would involve the conscious manipulation of consonants such that they would oppose the vowel which follows them with regard to the feature [+back]. Such manipulation is not attested, however.

A case of phonemic contrast between a loan-word and a native word can be seen with the minimal pair *tea* → [teːə] and *té* ‘person, he who’ [tɬəːə] where /t/ and /tɬ/ operate the distinction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RP</th>
<th>HE</th>
<th>IMI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>[d]</td>
<td>(i) [d]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ii) [dɬ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exx.: (i) *dole* → [dɔːɬ]
(ii) *doll* → [dɬæːɬ]

The remarks concerning RP /t/ are equally applicable to /d/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RP</th>
<th>HE</th>
<th>IMI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>[s]</td>
<td>[s]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exx.: *score* → [skɔːɹ]
*slash* → [slːæːʃ]

RP /s/ is realized unchanged in IMI. In those cases, however, where it precedes a palatal consonant it is usually realized as [ʃ]. In certain instances this is not so, it remaining as [s]. Thus in Irish words where it is followed by [c] or [ɾ] it is not assimilated palatally. Assimilation takes place before [nɬ] and [ɬ] though before [pɬ] usage varies. In this respect IMI distinguishes itself from the other Irish dialects, including that of Cois Fharraige.

This neutralization of /sɬ/ does not apply before a vowel, e.g. *seacht*, ‘seven’ → [ʃæːkt] but it leads to the realization of English /s/ as [s] in certain preconsonantal positions where one would expect [ʃ]. The realization of RP /ʃ/ is not affected by this, however.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RP</th>
<th>HE</th>
<th>IMI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/z/</td>
<td>[z]</td>
<td>[s] ([z])</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exx.: *crazy* → [skɔːɹ]
*breeze* → [bɹiːs]

/z/ does not exist as a phoneme in Irish (though it has been found sporadically in some dialects, such as that of Cape Clear, as the equivalent to nasalized or eclipsed /s/ but it is known to Irish speakers because of its frequent occurrence in loan-words. Whether it is realized in such words as [z] or devoiced depends largely on the particular speaker. With older loan-words which are common to all Irish dialects the traditional pronunciation is maintained, this being [s], e.g. *scissors* → *siosúr* → [ʃiəsuɾ]. With more recent borrowings usage varies. Some words show /s/ only and others have either the voiced or devoiced alveolar fricative. One example
in particular, *gansy* seems of all loan-words to be the one consistently realized with [z]. However, with one elderly speaker the realization was [ˈɡænsi].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RP</th>
<th>HE</th>
<th>IMI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/tʃ/</td>
<td>[tʃ]</td>
<td>[ʃ] ~ [tʃ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exx.: *porch* → [pɔ:ʃ]; *cheat* → [ʃə:t]

Irish has no phonemic affricates (slow release primary palatal phonemes such as /tʃ/ in Donegal Irish excluded). For this reason RP /tʃ/ is substituted by a variety of sounds, the most common of which is [ʃ] which shows the splitting of the affricate into its component parts. Among those speakers who have a plosive at the onset of their realization of RP /tʃ/ one can discern a varying degree of friction at the end. Where there is very little the sound is perceptually identical with [tʃ]; an intermediary stage is represented by [tʃ] with the full affricate [tʃ] most frequently occurring in non-initial positions and not necessarily always being the same speaker’s realization of RP /tʃ/. Thus a partially bilingual speaker who had [pɔ:ʃ] for *porch* had [tʃip] for *chip* perhaps to avoid phonemic merger with [ʃip].

<table>
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<tr>
<th>RP</th>
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<th>IMI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/dʒ/</td>
<td>[dʒ]</td>
<td>[ʃ] ~ [dʒ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exx.: *package* → [ˈpærəkʃən]; *jam* → [dʒæm]; *joke* → [dʒə:k]

The realization of RP /dʒ/ as a voiceless affricate seems to occur in word-final position only which is in accordance with the tendency to ‘Auslautverhärtung’ in IMI. In initial environments the affricate was realized as [dʒ] which may be due to the non-existence of /ʒ/ in IMI thus preventing the dissection of the biphonic affricate which was often to be observed with /tʃ/ and the adoption of /dʒ/ as a new and entirely separate unit. Historically, however, we find dissection of this affricate (with attendant devoicing) for example with *jacket* → *seaicéad* → [ˈʃækəd̪]. In IMI this accepted form was rejected and a pronunciation as [ˈdʒækət] was given which is what one would expect bearing in mind the phonology of the other loan-words in IMI.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>RP</th>
<th>HE</th>
<th>IMI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ʃ/</td>
<td>[ʃ]</td>
<td>[ʃ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exx.: *shawl* → [ʃə:d̪]

In Irish the phone [ʃ] is the palatal equivalent of [s] and appears in those morphonemic environments in which palatalization occurs, e.g.

{SE} → [sə]/V, C[−palatal] — [ʃə]/V, C[+palatal] —

{SE} = emphatic suffix with personal pronouns, ‘self’
Exx.: mise ‘myself’ → ['nuə]
tusa ‘yourself’ → ['taə]

As such it is reasonable to write /s'/ for this phoneme. /s'/ occurs in all consonant clusters where any element is also palatal, e.g. /s'k'/ so that we would expect the realization [ʃ] were it not for the neutralization (explained above) which annihilates the distinction between /s/ and /s'/ in such environments.

The only consonant in English which can follow immediately on /ʃ/ is /r/, e.g. shrimp → [ʃimp]. In IMI /s'/ before /r'/ is usually realized as [s], e.g. srian, ‘bridle’ [srən] as it is if there is a plosive between it and /r/, e.g. spreagadh, ‘incitement, encouragement’ → [sp_install]ə]. Unfortunately no loan-word was recorded with either of these environments to test the realization of RP /ʃ/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RP</th>
<th>HE</th>
<th>IMI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/s'/</td>
<td>[ʃ]</td>
<td>[ʃ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exx.: vision → ['vʃən]

As with the shift of /z/ to [s] in IMI we have here devoicing of the wide-grooved alveolar fricative phoneme of RP. This coincides with Irish phonology.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RP</th>
<th>HE</th>
<th>IMI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>[k]</td>
<td>(i) [k]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ii) [kʃ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exx.: (i) joke → [dʒək]
(ii) tank → [tʃəŋk]

The velar consonant phonemes in Irish (/k/, /g/, /x/, /ɣ/) have in their palatal equivalents an advancing of the point of articulation to the beginning of the hard palate, the tongue covering a relatively large area. Such consonants which are allophonic in English (e.g. keel → [kl]iəl]iəl]) are phonemic in Irish and thus occur before back vowels (e.g. ciún, ‘quiet’ → [kliən]). As the tongue is the active articulator an [j]-glide is always to be heard between palatal consonant and following vowel.

Among English loan-words only the neutral allophones of (i) and (ii) above are used as the following vowel always determines the point of articulation of the preceding consonant.26

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RP</th>
<th>HE</th>
<th>IMI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>[g]</td>
<td>(i) [g]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ii) [gʃ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exx.: gas → [gæs]
green peas → [gʃplʃs]

See preceding comments.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RP</th>
<th>HE</th>
<th>IMI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>[n]</td>
<td>(i) [nʃ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ii) [ŋŋ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Exx.: (i) *ration* → [ɪəːʃən]
(ii) *knock* → [mæːk]

The realization of RP /n/ (along with that of /l/) shows two variants, the first of which is palatal; the second, however, is not merely non-palatal but a strongly velar geminate as well. Velarization is indicated by a wave through the consonant and gemination by double writing. Both [m̩] and [H] are continuant and apico-dental and have lowering of the body of the tongue into a concave shape and an articulation while it is kept in that position, for a period which is phonemically long. The long strongly velarized phonemes, one lateral and one nasal, which arise from this articulation are usually rendered in Irish dialectology as /L/ and /N/ respectively. However, it is possible with the IPA to illustrate these phonemes (/H/ and /m̩/ respectively) and moreover to give an indication of their articulation, something which we do not have with the Irish symbols. Both /H/ and /m̩/ have neutral allophones which occur in positions away from the centre of stress in a word. But as opposed to other phonemes which always have neutral allophones in English loan-words, manipulation of the phonetic form of such words takes place in Irish so that we have the velarized geminates in their full forms. In the case of RP /n/ we have the neutral allophone of /n/, that of /m̩/ and the full form of /m̩/. As with the palatal phonemes, /m̩/ can occur in positions where it is not contextually determined, i.e. before front vowels, e.g. in *naoi*, ‘nine’ → [m̩n̩iː] as opposed to *nígh*, ‘wash’ (V.) → [n̩ʰiː]. It should be stressed that velarization is present with other phonemes (e.g. /t/) but that it is auditive remarkable with /H/ and /m̩/ because of their length and quality as continuants.

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>RP</th>
<th>HE</th>
<th>IMI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>[m]</td>
<td>(i) [m]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ii) [m̩]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exx.: (i) *mug* → [m̩ɡ]
(ii) *mattress* → [m̩æːt̚r̚ɛs]

The realization of /m/ following a familiar pattern shows the two possibilities of rendering it in IMI. Unfortunately no example was recorded of /m̩/ before a front vowel. Thus the labial glide after /m/ cannot be illustrated with a loanword. It is found regularly, however, with Irish words particularly with nouns where the genitive leads to vowel change, e.g. *muc*, ‘pig’ → (m̩k) but genitive *muice* → [m̩uːɪk̚].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>RP</th>
<th>HE</th>
<th>IMI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
<td>(i) [ŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ii) [ŋ̩]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exx.: (i) *trunk call* → [ˈtr̚kʰoʊl̚]
(ii) *bank* → [b̚æŋ]}

It should be noted that both the articulatory and auditive difference between /ŋ̩/ and /n̩/ is often very slight, i.e. the advancing of the tongue for /ŋ̩/ can nearly coincide with the palatal position taken up for /n̩/. In the loan-words this is, however, of little
relevance as [ŋ¹] only occurs before [k¹] and the full form of /n¹/ does not occur in them at all.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{RP} & \quad \text{HE} & \quad \text{IMI} \\
/l/ & \rightarrow & [l] & \rightarrow (i) [l¹] \\
&& & \rightarrow (ii) [H]
\end{align*}
\]

Exx.: \(\text{Wellingtons} \rightarrow [\text{'wɛlɪŋtəns}]/[\text{'wɛlɪŋtəns}]\)

\(\text{firelighter} \rightarrow [\text{fiər'laɪtə}]\)

Only the full form of /H/ occurs as a realization of RP /l/ in IMI. That of /l¹/ as with /n¹/ is not found in loan-words. With regard to the nature of /H/, see the remarks on /nn/ above.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{RP} & \quad \text{HE} & \quad \text{IMI} \\
/r/ & \rightarrow & [ɾ] & \rightarrow (i) [ɾ] \\
&& & \rightarrow (ii) [ɾ¹]
\end{align*}
\]

Exx.: \(\text{rope} \rightarrow [rəp]\)

\(\text{breeze} \rightarrow [bɾʰ:i:s]\)

The Irish phoneme /r/ is realized as [ɾ] as is the RP phoneme /ɾ/ when found in loan-words. In the environment of a high front vowel, /iː/ or /i/ is realized as a non-distinctive variant of Irish /ɾ¹/. This is as with the other palatalized sounds in loan-words contextually determined.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{RP} & \quad \text{HE} & \quad \text{IMI} \\
/h/ & \rightarrow & [h] & \rightarrow (i) [h] \\
&& & \rightarrow (ii) [ç]
\end{align*}
\]

Exx.: \(\text{handy} \rightarrow [\text{'hænди}]\)

\(\text{Healey} \rightarrow [\text{'heɪli}]\)

In all but a few instances the realization of RP /h/ is as [h]. Before [iː] the tongue, in anticipation of the position for this vowel may be so close to the hard palate as to produce [ç]. This is due to conditioning in Irish where /h/ before [iː] appears as [ç]. With the shorter and retracted [ɾ] the tenuous [ç] sound is lost and the friction is less pronounced, e.g. \(\text{Ó hÍcí} \rightarrow [\text{ˈɑlˈhiki}]\).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{RP} & \quad \text{HE} & \quad \text{IMI} \\
/j/ & \rightarrow & [j] & \rightarrow [j]
\end{align*}
\]

Exx.: \(\text{yacht} \rightarrow [jækt]\)

\(\text{yoghurt} \rightarrow [ˈjoɡɑːt]\)

/j/ which in Irish is the palatal pendant to /ɣ/ shows no alteration with regard to phonetic form in IMI.
Exx.:

mo bhicycle → [məwæːsɪkl]
watch → [wæːtʃ]

For remarks on /w/, see entry for /v/.

Where [w] stems from the same phone in English (see second example above) it is unaltered. Furthermore [w] may arise not only from leniting [b] (as in the first example above) but also from leniting [v] as the word van → [væn] where preceded say by a possessive pronoun, sin é a vhan, ‘that’s his van’ → [ʃiː eː wæn].

### Additional sounds

[w]

The voiceless labio-velar fricative\(^\text{28}\) which is consistently employed in HE and which gives rise to such minimal pairs as which and witch (→ [ʍɪtʃ] and [wɪtʃ] respectively) was recorded in only one loan-word, i.e. whale → [ʍæːl]. The closest sound to it in IMI is [w] which, however, was not substituted. As with [ð] (in initial position) [w] is not likely to occur in IMI as English has it chiefly as a variant realization of wh with a limited number of interrogatives.

[ʔ]

It is not the case in Irish, as in German for example, that vowels are generally preceded by a glottal stop nor does it occur as intervocalic consonant substitution as in certain English dialects but is limited, in IMI at least, to those positions where two like vowels border on each other directly, e.g. a athair, ‘his father’ → [æʔəθʰər]. Among the corpus of loan-words one example with [ʔ] was found a fharm, ‘his farm’ → [æʔəːrəːm].

[s\(^3\)] and [z\(^3\)]

These post-stress fricative allophones\(^\text{29}\) of HE /t/ and /d/ do not occur at all in IMI. Nor do we have allophonic fricativization of any plosive phonemes in IMI. Thus alright → HE [ɔʔləɪt] → IMI [ˈɔːləɪt].

### Epenthesis

In accordance with a phonetic rule in IMI an epenthetic vowel occurs between /r/ and a following nasal among those loan-words which show this sound sequence, e.g. farm → [ˈfæːrəm]. An epenthetic vowel between /r/ and a following labio-dental/bilabial fricative as we have in meirbh, ‘sultry’ → [ˈmɛrɪv] or marbh, ‘dead’ → [ˈmæəv]\(^\text{30}\) occurred in Mervin → [ˈmɛvɪn].
Prosody

Although in general quite different from both that of HE and RP the prosody of IMI in individual words is unproblematical. The strong initial stress of IMI with attendant vowel lengthening and the shortened low-pitch articulation of all preceding or following unstressed syllables characterizes the loan-words also. In those cases where English has non-primary stress a vacillation between primary and post-primary stress was to be noticed, e.g. both [ˈsɪmənt] and [sɪˈment] for cement. No word pairs were found in IMI which are prosodically minimal in RP.

Phonotactics

In many aspects the phonotactics of Irish and English are in direct contrast to one another. Thus for example [ŋ] can occur initially in Irish (e.g. in a nglór, ‘their voice’ → [əŋˈlːor]) but not in English; on the other hand /æ/ can occur finally in Irish (e.g. in sea, ‘it is, yes’ → [ʃæː]) but not in English. So with English loan-words the influence of Irish phonotactics is to be seen in the following changes:

(i) RP /ŋ/ → IMI [ŋk] / — #
   Ex.: Synge → [siŋk]
(ii) RP /l/ → IMI [ɻ] / — [ai]
    Ex.: lighter → [ˈlɪətə]
(iii) RP /dʒ/ → IMI [tʃ] / — #
     Ex.: package → [ˈpæːkætʃ]
(iv) RP /tʃ/ → IMI [ʃ] / # —
    Ex.: check → [ʃɛk]31

(iii) shows the limits of phonotactical rules for loan-words as [tʃ] has a precarious existence in IMI in a small number of cases where juncture gives rise to it and in loan-words such as that given.

Another phonotactic rule of IMI which is of some importance for loan-words states that neutral versions of phonemes (palatal or velar) cannot occur before long stressed vowels. This explains, for example, the occurrence of [ɻ] and not [l] in this position among loan-words.

Notes

1 The examples found here were collected during a stay in Inis Meáin during the summer of 1980. They were culled from a relatively large number of speakers, not all of whom were monolingual. Nonetheless all speakers used Irish exclusively in family life and dealings with their neighbours. Furthermore Inis Meáin represents the closest approximation to a homogeneous speech community among the Irish speaking districts of present-day Ireland. It should be remarked that the informants (or the entire population of Inis Meáin for that matter) read very little so that no possible influence of the orthography of Irish or English was detected.

2 It is necessary to clarify what one means by loan-word here: all examples of
English words used by speakers of Inis Meáin Irish are treated as such. There are three main groups of loan-words: in the first of these many words have Irish counterparts already, e.g. bicycle [bæsɪk] and hóthar [ɪxh] to mention a well-known example, nonetheless the English word is often preferred to the native one, even if this is itself an older loan-word (see the example of jacket below). In the second group we have those words which belong to areas of experience which are either foreign to Inis Meáin or have not been lexically catered for in Modern Irish. The third group contains a number of non-Irish names which are, however, pronounced in accordance with the phonology of Inis Meáin Irish. The order of the groups also reflects their quantitative significance.

3 This can be done simply by comparing the symbols used with the chart provided by the IPA which indicates the place and manner of articulation of each of the symbols listed.

4 Understood as the sociolect ‘Received Pronunciation’ (RP). See Gimson, 1980: 89 ff.

5 All the loan-words registered are recent loans (most of them have entered within this century) and do not have a special Irish orthography. Contrast the few older examples mentioned below.

6 This is of course a conglomeration of different lects. The phonetic values given here are true for middle class urban HE which is generally valid throughout the country and used in the radio network by means of which a large proportion of many of the recent loan-words have entered IMI.

7 A narrow transcription is preferred at this point because it shows the slight diphthongization of /iː/ and /uː/ in RP.

8 When RP /əː/ precedes In then it has approximately the same value in HE except slightly shorter, thus farm → [fær.m]. Otherwise it is realized as [aː] e.g. laugh → [laːf].

9 The monophthong is the usual realization of RP /iː/ in HE. However, with some urban speakers a slight diphthong may be heard here which is always a centring diphthong [iː] as in HE [fiːd] for feed.

10 This word occurs only with the Irish word for ‘wind’ (gaoth) in the combination breeze gaoth → [bɹiːz̪ gɔˈθ̪] a type of double marking which is often found.

11 Attested in the form [ˈpɹɪːz̪ əəl] which could be graphically represented as playáil, áil being the formation morpheme for the verbal noun in Irish. The entire sentence was Ní raíbh sé ach ag playáil. ‘He was only playing’. For more such formations, see de Bhaldraithe, 1953: 7.

12 For the precise value of /ɔː/ in present-day RP see Gimson, 1980: 117.


14 A shorter variant, relative to other vowels of course, that is in rapid speech a considerably shortened variant.

15 All four low vowel allophones tend to be long in IMI.
16 In Munster Irish [ə] is most often used for /ɔ/, e.g. droichead ‘bridge’ → [ˈdrɔːhəd]. In Donegal Irish /ɔ/ is rounded and considerably less centralised, e.g. corr ‘odd, occasional’ → [kɔr].

17 Compare the standard German realization of Feier ‘celebration’ as opposed to fire, [faɪə] vs. [faeə]/[faː]. The monophthongization of /ai/ → [aː] before [ə] does not occur in HE as it always has [ɪ] instead of [ə] in this position. Thus fire → HE [faɪə].

18 This raising does not apply where /ai/ follows a velarised geminate, see the realization of firelighter above.

19 Strang, 1970: 171 gives 1370 as a tentative date at which α in the discontinuous sequence α–e still had the value [aː]. This appears to be an acceptable dating, see Pyles, 1971: 185 as well.

20 The duration and prominence of this glide varies but its signal phonetic value is indisputable as it is often the phonetic difference between a minimal pair. In Donegal Irish it is often generalized, cf. amárach Don.I. [əˈməɾə] Con.I. [əˈməɾə], ‘tomorrow’.

21 The notion of the neutral allophone is necessary to cover two occurrences of consonants in Irish: (i) that of palatalised consonants before front vowels and (ii) that of non-palatalised consonants before back vowels. In both these instances the consonants are determined by the articulation of the following vowel and as such are non-distinctive, i.e. neutral.

22 This vowel is exactly that of the advanced variety of RP described by Gimson, 1980: 110/11. Thus beag can be pronounced as bug but with tensed spread lips for the initial consonant.

23 In Irish, as opposed to English loan-words, /s/ is never realized as [z] even among those speakers who have [z] for RP /z/.

24 Affricates do occur due to phonotactic conditioning. Thus bhíonn → [vıːənts] or due to assimilation: chreid sé ‘he believed’ → [ˈx̪ɾ̲ˈʃɛː]. See de Bhaldráithe, 1953: 36.

25 Although the front of the tongue is the active articulator with this phone, the palatal equivalent is formed by widening the groove in the tongue, so that strictly speaking the phone is neither primarily nor secondarily palatal; an arching of the tongue does take place, however, where the following phone is primarily palatal.

26 Anomalies are to be found among established loan-words such as ceamara → [ˈk̪ɾ̲ˈæːməɾə] which cannot be explained in terms of phonotactics as /k/ can occur before /a/ in Irish.

27 After dentals (i.e. [t] and [d]) /t/ is, however, realized as [r]. In addition note that Donegal Irish has two r-phonemes: /t/ → [i] as elsewhere and /t/ → [ɾ] (i.e. long apical trill) and hereby distinguishes words which are homophones in the remaining Irish dialects. [R] which is found in some HE dialects is not used in Irish. Confusion is compounded, however, by Irish dialectologists who use
the IPA symbol for uvular r ([R]) as the symbol for the apical trill of Donegal Irish.

De Bhaldraithe, 1953: 18 gives [f] as the realization of wh in Connemara Irish. I doubt if this is the case unless a shift from bilabial to labio-dental articulation has taken place. It would seem more credible that the velar element would disappear first so that /w/ → [ϕ]. This appears all the more likely as many speakers of Connemara Irish often have Irish f → [ϕ] so that the perceptual difference between this and [w] may be slight if non-existent for them. This suspicion is strengthened as de Bhaldraithe in his treatment of English /f/ in Cois Fhairrge does not mention [ϕ] as a possible realization; in fact he does not use the symbol at any point. Neither does Ó Siadhail, 1978.

For a treatment of these HE allophones see Hickey, ‘Dental and alveolar phonemes in Hiberno-English’ (forthcoming).

The varying realization of the epenthetic vowel (i.e. as [a] or [i]) depends on whether the preceding consonant is non-palatal or palatal.

The word for cheque exists as an established loan-word pronounced exactly the same and written seic.

References

DE BHALDRAITHE, TOMÁS (1953): Nua-Iasachtaí i nGaeilge Chois Fhairrge. in: Éigse, 7, 1-34.


