

A History and Phonological Study of the Native Modern Irish
of Co. Wexford.

PhD Thesis 2022

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DECLARATION

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Robert Sinnott

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Summary

Chapter 1 is a brief preview of the substance of the thesis by chapter.

Chapter 2 is a historical study of the last days and last traces of Irish in Co. Wexford. It begins with the introduction of Norse in the 9th century, proceeding through the many stages of introduction of English to the county. It then looks at Irish survival in the county up until the 20th century, from historical, folkloric, and placename evidence. It concludes with a 20th century appraisal of the last remains of native Wexford Irish, using the same historical and folkloristic sources, but focusing on the Census returns for 1901 and 1911.

Chapter 3 examines the Irish and Hiberno-English primary sources (including oral sources for the latter), on which the phonological study is based, including, where possible, a focusing on contexts of the production of the texts, and the individuals who produced them.

Based on those sources, Chapter 4 looks at the evidence pertaining to syllable stress of native Irish in Wexford; Chapter 5 looks at what such evidence tells us about Irish vowel-sounds in Wexford; and Chapter 6 explains what such evidence tells us about consonant sounds in any Wexford dialect(s) of the language.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Scope

This thesis is an investigation into the (recent) history and phonology of the now-extinct native dialect(s) of Irish in Co. Wexford. The form of the thesis is strongly influenced by the structures in the chapters of *Stair na Gaeilge* (McCone et. al., eds., 1994), except that because of the necessary limitations of size applicable to a doctoral thesis, and the complexity of the evidence discussed in this work, matters such as morphology and lexicography have necessarily been set aside to be incorporated into a more substantial volume for publication at a later date.

1.2 Historical background

Chapter 2 documents the last days of the Irish-speaking communities in the county, as they succumbed to the powerful forces behind the English language, so that such linguistic communities slipped into history, almost unnoticed and unrecorded in their departure. The chapter looks at the tenacity of some aspects of the Irish language in leaving their mark, indelibly, and literally, on the Hiberno-English landscape, including in the south-east of the county, showing that even in this strong Anglo-Norman region, anglophone hegemony was not instantaneous, and that Irish held on there, even up until the twentieth century. This chapter also contains an in-depth analysis of the Census returns for the early part of the twentieth century, which concludes that native Irish speakers must have lived well into the twentieth century in every region of the county – not least in the south-east – and that the last clusters of Irish speakers are discernible through the Census figures.

1.3 Analysis of sources

Chapter 3 examines the Irish and Hiberno-English textual sources with reference to the context of their production and their relative authenticity or usefulness as a source in providing evidence for attempts at language description of ‘native’ Wexford Irish. Among the findings in this chapter are the earliest known transcription of an Irish keen (3.3.4); and Presbyterianism operating through Irish in the eighteenth century, with an English-Irish dictionary and glossary possibly intended to aid in proselytising (3.3.5).

1.4 Phonology

The remaining chapters (4. Syllable Stress; 5. Vowels; and 6. Consonants), are an attempted description of the phonology of the Irish of County Wexford, based on evidence from the Irish and Hiberno-English texts, as well as Irish survivals in the speech of older or more traditional speakers of Hiberno-English, whose treasures have, so far, not been published. While occasionally, in the description, connections are made with dialectal characteristics elsewhere in Ireland, the description of the Irish of Wexford is prioritised throughout.

Note that all spellings from manuscript in this dissertation are dependent on the accuracy of my transcribers who were advised to copy directly from the sources without making any amendments. Otherwise, all spellings from published sources are retained as found.

Chapter 2: Historical Context of Irish in Wexford

2.1 Before English

2.1.1 Early history

Speakers of a Proto-Celtic language arrived in Ireland in about the sixth century BCE, and from 300–150 BCE, two branches of the Brythonic-speaking Belgae (from north-eastern Gaul) are thought to have settled in the south-east of Ireland (Mernagh, 2008, 148). Ogham-stones, bearing Early Irish inscriptions, were erected throughout Ireland and the western fringes of Britain from the fourth to the seventh centuries CE, and several such stones have been found in Wexford, mainly in the vicinity of the south coast.¹ Early historical evidence suggests that Irish was the predominant language of Wexford in the second half of the first millennium CE (cf. Byrne, 2001, 133).

2.1.2 Arrival of Old Norse

From the ninth to the fourteenth centuries, the Vikings had a considerable presence in the county (Culleton, 1992–3); but the legacy of Old Norse on nomenclature and other recorded vernacular is nonetheless very slight when compared to areas settled by the Vikings outside of Ireland, such as in the Isle of Man (Williams, 1994b, §7.9), the Hebrides in Scotland (Ofstedal, 1954, cit. Watson, 1994, §1.2), or the north-eastern half of England (Yokota, 2004).²

¹ See Megalithic Ireland: <http://www.megalithicireland.com/Ogham%20Stones%20Page%201.htm> for three Ogham stones in Tacumshin, and one in Ferns. Ogham stones at Hook Head and on the Saltees are mentioned in NFC S 877, 100.

² Most of the Norse that is extant in Wexford vernacular, in the literature and spoken Hiberno-English of today, is to be found in placenames: e.g. Selskar (possibly meaning ‘sandbank of the seal’) and Tuskar (‘Dubh skar — Black rock’ (Mernagh, 2008, 148). The Rock OF Scar and barony of Scarawalsh contain the same *skar* element (‘sandbank’ or ‘reef’), but the latter, at least, came after the arrival of the Anglo-Normans and the genesis of the surname Walshe. Also cf. the Irish borrowing from Old Norse, *scairbh* (FGB, s.v.). The second element (-sore) in Carnsore and Greenore, come from Old Norse (Culleton, 1992–3, 154), as does O.N. *ffjord* in placenames such as Craanford, and Wexford itself. The Wexford Town expression of wonderment, “Skerdinky Skerdaa!” is of probable Old Norse origin too, going by process of elimination and the sound of /skæɹ/. Ó Muirthe (1997, 27) notes that the *sk* initial itself is suggestive of Old Norse, and includes in his list of English borrowings from Old Norse, the word *screed* < O.E. *screade*, which has been borrowed by Irish (as *scríd*, cf. FGB, s.v. *scríd*), and which is also a word still commonly used in the Hiberno-English of south Wexford (e.g., /skɹi:d/ was commonly used by my own grandmother (1919–85), and is to be found in Hall (1847, 71, 279, 300, 321), Lambert (1995, 190), Kennedy (1855, 52; 1870, 104; 1869, 42), always used in a negative clause. Another such word is “scrawb”, “scrawb < Ir. *scráib*, which is derivative of Old Norse (Ó Muirthe, 1997, 28), and is also found throughout Wexford (my own mother (1950–78) pronounced this word as /skɹi:ab/, and used it regularly; also cf. “scrawbing” (NFC S 873, 308; Browne, 1927, 135; Lambert, 1995, 190). There remains in the Hiberno-English of Wexford Town (as with Arklow and Belfast), an intonation remarkably similar to that still usual in Norwegian and Swedish, but no comparative research appears to have been conducted into these similarities. The legacy of the Norse presence in Wexford is also apparent in the surname Doyle < Ir. *Dubhghall* ‘dark-

2.2 The Arrival of English

2.2.1 The Old English

Even though the concept of Wexford as a county was only manifested in 1210 — a notional creation of Anglo-Norman administration — the area was the first region in Ireland to be settled by speakers of English, with the arrival of the Normans in the 1160s.³ Even though elsewhere in Ireland the Normans became ‘more Irish than the Irish themselves’ (cf. de Bhál, 1958, 112), in south Wexford, their integration with the local Irish appears to have been more limited — albeit with a certain fusion of cultures between the poorer class of settler and the native Irish; while the higher classes of the settlers retained a political and cultural affinity with England, at least up until the reign of Henry VIII, in the sixteenth century, and remained in the ascendancy of the south and much of the east of the county up until the Cromwellian Wars of the mid-seventeenth century (cf. Hore, 1921; Furlong, 1990; see also the remainder of this section 2.2 below).⁴

Ambiguity in such affinities with England undoubtedly arose due to the Reformation of the Church by Henry VIII (begun in the 1530s and consolidated throughout the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries), so that by the time of the 1641 Rebellion in Ireland, the Old English threw their lot officially (and irrevocably) in with the plight of the native Irish, when “a new national identity was forged around the Catholic religion” (Whelan, 1990, 24).⁵ Some

haired foreigner’ (epithet for the Danes), which still proliferates throughout the county. In 1407, there is mention, in the administrative records, of John Swayne being the rector of Tacumshin (Hore, 1920, 72), and there is mention of a nearby placename, Balysweyn, in 1325 (ibid., 68), which appears to be from Old Norse *Sveyn/Sven*, even if it has come through Irish *Suibhne* as suggested in the eponymous placename. The whereabouts of the placename, incidentally, is lost to history. Finally, there is O’Laughlin, which is relatively common in the county in the 1901 census, and which has Norse provenance (< Ir. *Ó Lochlainn*, ‘grandson of Norseman’).

³ Wexford is taken to be the administrative region of Co. Wexford as it is today, but a much smaller version of the county (in the south) was first established by King John of England in 1210 (*Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland* vol. 3, 1846, 534). The settlers in south Wexford probably also included speakers of contemporary French, Flemish, Welsh, and Cornish.

⁴ In 1515, “it was reported that the only counties “subgett unto the Kinges lawes’ are given as Uryell, Meath, Dublin, Kildare, and Wexford”. Even in these counties, only half the county is reckoned as loyal; furthermore, it was noted that “all the comyn peopple of the said halff countyes, that obeyeth the Kinges lawes, for the more parte ben of Iryshe byrthe, of Iryshe habyte, and of Iryshe langage”. As for the rest of the country, it was stated that “all the English folke of the said countyes ben of Iryshe habyt, of Iryshe langage, and of Iryshe condyions, except the syties and the wallyd tounes” (State Papers, 1834 II, iii: 8., cit. Kallen (1986, Ch 2)). See also Murphy (1988–9).

⁵ Despite the multicultural make-up of the original Anglo-Norman settlers, the group has come to be known as the ‘Old English’, to differentiate them from the New English settlers of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century plantations, onward. As a group, the Old English were characterised by “adherence to Catholicism, extensive possessions, a tradition of political influence, commitment to English rule in Ireland, and a sense of the uniqueness of their ancestry” (Murphy, 1988–9, 7). In administrative documentation, mention is made of ‘the

elements of the legacy of the cultural distinctiveness of this Old English settler-group nevertheless appear to have remained in south-east Wexford until the nineteenth century, at least.⁶

2.2.2 Relative distribution of English placenames in Wexford

Table 1: Official placenames by language and barony in Wexford⁷

Barony	Ir.	En.	Both	?	Tot.	%Ir.	%En.
Forth	186	200	10	9	405	46	49
Bargy	105	94	15	7	221	48	43
Shelbourne	83	43		1	127	65	34
Bantry	150	71	7	1	229	65	31
Shelmalier E.	49	22		1	72	68	31
Shelmalier W.	105	34	7		146	71	23
Gorey*	175	33			208	84	16
Ballaghkeen N.*	232	34	1		267	87	13
Scarawalsh	197	29	1		227	87	13
Ballaghkeen S.	171	21			192	89	11
Total	1,453	581	41	19	2,094	69	28

English baronies near Wexford’, in 1655 (Hore, 1921, 41) and ‘the English baronies’ (ibid., 42), although it should be noted that in the latter document, ‘Irish Papists’ of the region who have not yet transplanted to Connaught, are also referred to. It is also clear from such documentation, from the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries, that English surnames vastly outnumber Irish surnames in the elite of the barony of Forth (i.e., among landholders, jurors, clerics etc. (Hore, 1920, 66–104; see also Appendix B). In the list of more than 700 names of those charged with rebellion in the 1640s, it is clear that Old English surnames make up the vast majority of the elites of an area south of a line from New Ross to Wexford town (Whelan, 1990, 25). Although the Old English and Irish were clearly united as one Catholic nation by the 1640s, the roots of such a union almost certainly go back a hundred years before that, with the dissolution of the monasteries in Ireland by Henry VIII, in 1541, and more latterly, the Plantation of the New English by James I in east and north-east Wexford from 1612.

⁶ For a seventeenth-century general description of Old English culture in the baronies of Forth and Bargy, see Hore (1921, 61-2, 66), and for descriptions of clothing in particular, see ibid. 57, n.(d); for a general cultural description regarding Forth in 1764, see ibid., 69–72; for Jacob Poole’s observations in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century, see O’Broin (1999, 42); for Forth 1780, see Hore (1920, 72–3); for a description of the culture of both baronies from 1814, see Whelan, ed. (1986–7); for the account of an Irish traveller in 1834, see Inglis (1964, 177–9). For accounts of survivals possibly up until the twentieth century, see Ó Muirthe & Nuttall (1999). Note, though, that in many of these descriptions and accounts, there is clear survival and incorporation of Irish culture and folk tradition. It is also of note, regarding distinct dress, that Patrick Kennedy, writing about the early-nineteenth century, contrasts clothes worn by both sexes, respectively, in Wexford (generally, as opposed to south-east Wexford), with those in Carlow and Kilkenny (Kennedy, 1867, 84). In July, 1776, Arthur Young (1892, 89) remarks that the county is unusual as a whole in the wearing of straw hats by the menfolk (i.e., the English style).

⁷ The data used in the collation, as set out in Appendix A, is from Ó Cruaíoch (2016), townlands.ie and logainm.ie. All other English spellings and Irish translations in this thesis are from Ó Cruaíoch (2016 (CÓC)), unless otherwise stated.

* Taking the north-east region as a whole (i.e., Ballaghkeen North + Gorey, the figures are as follows:

North-east	407	67	1	475	86	14
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Table 1 shows that the strongest mark left by English on official placenames is in the south-east of the county, radiating out to the south-west, and to the north (i.e., as far north as east Wexford, the barony of Shelmalier East, just to the north of Wexford town). The latter barony, and the four southern baronies (Forth, Bargy, Shelbourne, and Shelmalier West) are above the average English proportion of 28%, and Bantry (in mid- and west-Wexford) is only brought above this average due to the cluster of English names in and around the port of New Ross (See Appendix A), Bantry, St. Mary’s). Thus, apart from New Ross port and Shelmalier East, English placenames are a rarity in the northern two thirds of the county, and, without qualification, this can certainly be said for the northern half of the county entirely.

2.2.3 Expansion and integration by the Old English

Despite the traditional narrative of these Old English settlers being insular,⁸ there is placename evidence that they had spread their net quite early on, and that they had even integrated into native Irish society: for example, in Shelmalier West (in the south centre), we find Aughwilliam (Ir. áth + AN William), and Polehore (Ir. *poll* + E. Hore), ‘Hore’s hole’;⁹ in Ballaghkeen South (in the east), we find Garryntinodagh, < Ir. *Garraí an tSionóidigh* (i.e., ‘Sinnott’s Garden’); in Ballaghkeen South (in the east), we find Ballyvaldon, (Ir. *Baile Bhdaldain*, ‘Baldwin’s Homestead’;¹⁰ in Bantry (in the mid-west), Ballywilliam (Ir. *baile* + AN William); and in Carlow, Ballyredmond (Ir. *baile* + Franco-Norman *Raymond*).

⁸ For example, “The people of Forth and Bargy were of a stay-at-home disposition and rarely married outside their territory” (DÓM, 6); “While hospitable to strangers they kept to themselves, married among themselves...” (Hore, 1920, 62); that the people of Forth ‘marrye within themselves’, in 1680 (Hore, 1921, 66); from a 1764 account, referring to Forth Mountain, as part of the bounds of the Barony, and says ‘nothing can induce them to pass it, or stray from their own country, even a furlong’ (ibid., 70).

⁹ This placename appears as Polle in 1305, and Thomas Hore of Poll is mentioned in 1540, and Polhoare in 1576 (CÓC).

¹⁰ cf. Baldwinstown, in the mid-south, and *baldún*, word for ‘a tomcat’ (RÓS, s.v.); (DÓM, 22, 33), EG2; Lambert (1995, 188); Ffrench-O’Neill (2009, 124). Cf. *bhdaldúin* (cit. Ó hÓgáin, 2012, 241), Graiguenamanagh, east Co. Kilkenny. I have heard this word as far west as Bennetstown (Co. Kilkenny), and have heard of it in Clonmel (south Co. Tipperary). Ó Muirthe suggests the possibility of *baldún* being derived from the surname ‘Baldwin’ (DÓM, 22).

2.2.4 Gaelicised personal names of the Old English

We find more evidence of the spread and Gaelicisation of the Old English in the mentioning of names in official documents. Such evidence includes: 1575 “Nic and Mathew boy (‘boy’ < Ir. *buí* ‘sallow’), Furlonge of Davidstowne”, i.e., in mid-west Wexford (Hore, 1920, 85); in 1603, Maighréad óg de Róiste > “Margaret Og otherwise Roche” of Taghmon (Ó Cruailaoich, 2004, 10, n.39 (pp.17–8)); and Ó Cruailaoich identifies at least six other Roches mentioned whose names show evidence of Gaelicisation throughout the county between 1582 and 1603, as well as at least two Hores (ibid., 12, n.55 (p.18)). In 1582, in Ballyhackbeg, in Shelbourne (south-west Wexford), the surname Walshe has been Gaelicised to “Branagh” < Ir. *Breatnach*, (ibid., 8). Adding to those Gaelicised Norman names mentioned above, some other evidence of their being Gaelicised occurs in the list of those indicted for rebellion in 1641 (Whelan, 1990): in Ballaghkeen South, “Henry M’Pearse Synnott of Tincknocke, gent”,¹¹ “Edmund Roche Fitzredmond”,¹² “Thomas Roche Fitzredmond”,¹³ in Gorey, “Hugh M’Murtagh [Redmond] of Tobbernerine”;¹⁴ and in Bantry, “John Boy Roch of Mounksland”.¹⁵ As noted by Ó Cruailaoich, such examples of Gaelicisation would not exist in documents of an Anglophone/English administration without such personages being clearly embedded in Irish language communities (ibid., 11, n.46 (p.18)). On the other hand, it can also be noted that most of the names of these Anglo-Norman internal migrants remain in pure English form in the 1641 list, indicating that they had kept up their use of English, and perhaps even spread the influence of English northward (Whelan, 1990; see Appendix B).

More generalised evidence of the Old English spreading into the rest of the county is found in the 1641 list—which is effectively a snapshot of the Catholic elite of Wexford (Whelan, 1990, 25); Anglo-Norman names comprise 84–92% of the southern four baronies (Shelbourne, Bargy, Forth, and Shelmalier West); about 50% of names from the east of the

¹¹ #637 on the list (Whelan, 1990): “Henry M’Pearse Synnott” is not only Irish because of the M’ (Ir. *mac Phiarais* ‘son of Pierce’), but also because there is more than one name after the forename in terms of family identity.

¹² Whelan, ibid., #659: as with the previous example, the double-surname is Irish rather than English in origin, even though the Anglo-Norman appears to come directly after the forename, unlike the previous example. The probable Irish was *Éamonn Roche Mac Réamoinn*.

¹³ 660 in the list, as given by Whelan (ibid); probably the Irish form being *Éamonn de Róiste Mac Réamoinn*. Again, the triadic name structure, as well as *mac*, suggests Gaelicisation.

¹⁴ #282 on the list as given by Whelan (ibid.); from Irish *Aodh Mac Muirheartaigh*, apparently of the Norman descendants of a Raymond > Redmond.

¹⁵ #475 in Whelan’s list (ibid.), “boy” < Ir. *buí* ‘yellow’, possibly referring to hair-colour or sallow skin complexion.

county; just over a third of those in Bantry (in the west and middle of the county); just under a third of those names from the north-east of the county; and 24% of those in Scarawalsh, in the north-west (see Appendix B).

2.2.5 Mention of spouses

Reference to spouses in historical documents demonstrates integration of the Old English with the native Irish in two ways. Firstly, the obvious fact that marriages took place between the two cultures/traditions and secondly, that the Irish wives kept their Irish patronymics (instead of adopting their husband's surname as in English custom) (Ó Cruaíoch, 2004, 13). In 1585, the wife of Walter Deverox of Courtoyle (in Bantry — in mid-west Wexford), is Katherine ny Brene Cavanagh (ibid., 7); in 1601, 'Walter fitx Nich. Devereux' is married to 'Katherine ny Brian' in Ballyhoge (east-central Wexford) (ibid.); in 1551, a Philip Furlong near Taghmon is married to Gráinne Chaomhánach (ibid., 8). Similarly, Constanc Lacy (= Ní Laitheasa according to Ó Cruaíoch) is mentioned as being married to a Jack Furlong in 1638,¹⁶ in Horetown, in the south centre (ibid., 7), and the same feature is to be seen in 1624, in New Ross (mid-west Wexford), where Luke Blake is married to Ann Blake al' Bolger (Áine Ní Bholguír) (ibid., 6).¹⁷

In the north-east, in 1640, Alex Masterson is married to Isbell Cavenagh al' Masterson (ibid., 9); and in the same region, we even find the wife's name apparently added to the husband's as a shorthand or colloquial identifier, when in 1584, Méabh (Mew Kavanagh) is married to Anthony Maeve Peppard (ibid., 10).

2.2.6 Gaelicisation of the Old English in Forth and Bargy

The most notable example of integration through marriage, however, is that of Robert Hay of Tacumshin (in Forth) to the daughter of Dónal 'Spáinneach Ó Caomhánach' in the early-seventeenth century (ibid., 10, n.32, (p.16)). That such marriages were taking place between an Old English family from the south-east of the county and a traditionally powerful Irish family in the north of the county indicates that the affinities between the Old English

¹⁶ Ó Cruaíoch (2004, 7), equates the surname Lacey to Irish *Ní Laitheasa*, implying that Lacey is originally Irish. However, it is possible that Lacey is from the Anglo-Norman de Lacey clan which settled Co. Meath in the late 12th century.

¹⁷ Since Blake is not noted as one of the Anglo-Norman names of Wexford, it is possible that this Luke Blake was of the urban merchant class (in New Ross), of newer arrival.

and their erstwhile motherland had already begun to be supplanted by the religious affinity of a Catholic identity leading to a new Irish identity (mentioned in 2.2.1 above).

Other cultural integration by the Old English is evident in the following: Jacob Poole (in 1823) took down a 12-verse song in the Middle English dialect (Yola) about a hurling match between two barony-of-Forth teams (DÓM, 76–81); an example of a *caoineadh* ‘keen’ in Yola is preserved (Browne, 1927, 128) and there was possible enjoyment of harp-music at mealtimes (Hore, 1921, 61, note b) — all in the baronies of Forth and Bargy.

But the Old English of Forth and Bargy may also have been integrating linguistically with the Irish (see 2.3.1–3 below). Ó Cuív tells us that “...as late as 1600 we find Oxford-educated Nicholas Stafford, a native of Wexford, strongly recommended for the See of Ferns because of his ability to speak Irish” (Ó Cuív, 1951, 14).¹⁸ Also, in the south-eastern heartland of the Old English, there is other evidence of influence by Irish culture. We find the placenames Ballysampson, (Ir. *baile* + E. Sampson ‘Sampson’s homestead’ etc.) mentioned in 1324 (Hore, 1920, 67); Ballymorris < Ir. *Baile Mhuiris* — written as Ballymorrish in 1638, and Ballymurish in 1663, — and Grayrobin (Ir. *Gráig Roibín*, E. ‘Robin’s Monastic Village’) — which is recorded as ‘Gragrobben’ in 1608. The Old English were using ‘Patrick’ as a first name in Forth from at least the fifteenth century.¹⁹ Also, we find the use of the Irish air and refrain *Thugamar Féin an Samhradh Linn* > “ug a mor fane a zour a ling,” ‘we, ourselves, brought the summer with us’, in a Yola song from Forth (DÓM, 86), which is also just one example of the linguistic borrowings of Irish in the ‘Yola’ dialect.

2.3 The Yola dialect of the Old English

2.3.1 Influence of Irish on the Yola lexicon

The Yola dialect of the Old English was engendered by the twelfth-century arrival of the Normans, and because of the relative isolation of the colony from the rest of the Anglophone world, the dialect survived in the south-east of the county until the nineteenth century (DÓM, 7, 13). Two early reports appear to portray Yola as an early Anglo-Irish creole or patois. In commenting on the people of Forth in 1577, Richard Stanyhurst writes:

¹⁸ It is probable that Nicholas Stafford is one of the Staffords of Ballymacane, Tacumshin, who owned Ballymacane Castle until being dispossessed by the Cromwellian administration in 1656 (NFC S 879, 36); and this is the same family from which came Fr. John Stafford (c.1734–81), co-adjutor bishop of Ferns (Priondagrás, 1974, 33) (see Ch. 3.4.4, below).

¹⁹ e.g., Patrick Roche, in 1409 and 1416 (Hore, 1920, 73); Patrick Stafford, in 1419 (ibid., 74); Pat Roche and Pat Ketyng, in 1538 (ibid., 75); Patrick Lamporte, in 1543 (ibid., 76); and Patrick Whitty of Balmakoysshyn (ibid., 77) etc.

“in our days ... [they] have so acquainted themselves with the Irish as they have made a mingle-mangle or gallamaulfrey of both the languages and have in such medley or checkerwise so crabbedly jumbled both together as commonly the inhabitants of the meaner sort speake neyther good English nor good Irish” (ibid., 10).²⁰ Almost two hundred years later, in 1764, Amyas Griffith writes: “The inhabitants are old Saxons, and speak a lingua, or jargon, peculiar to themselves; it is a kind of Saxon, but corrupted both by the Irish and English, as it is a mixture of all.” (Hore, 1921, 69).

There is evidence of continued borrowing of Irish words by Yola, at least up until the seventeenth century, as with the Yola example of *sneesheen* < Ir. *snaoisín*, i.e., ‘snuff’ (DÓM, 65). Anglo-Irish combinations occurred, as in modern Hiberno-English, with use of an English noun with an Irish diminutive suffix, e.g., “Billeen,” ‘little Bill/William’; and “Tommeen,” ‘little Tom/Thomas’ (O’Rahilly, 1932, 96), and the diminutive *-ín* is also found in the field-name “Kitteens hye”, ‘little Catherine’s Garden’ in Lady’s Island (Byrne, 2002, 102). Also, there are possible Irish stems with English suffixes, e.g., “slougherdhès”/“slauch(a)ardhès,” ‘piglets’ (DÓM, 90) < Ir. ?*slug* + English plural suffix ?-‘erdhès’ (possibly pointing to pre-vowel shift pronunciation).²¹

Nonetheless, perhaps because of continuing evolution of the dialect, most observers from the seventeenth century onwards perceived Yola to be an older English dialect.²² Words and texts collected in the latter days of Yola (from the late-eighteenth century on) appear to support the contention that “although...some significant Irish words and phrases were borrowed, the influence of Irish was so slight that it merely helps to underline the

²⁰ A caveat on Stanyhurst’s report is that he “was a Dublin-man, and may have become acquainted with Yola when he was in school in Kilkenny” (O’Rahilly (1932, 98).

²¹ “Slougherdhès (sb.pl.) Greedy pigs [Wexford] (see Slug)” (DÓM, 65). cf. Hiberno-English ‘slugger’, as in the line of the folk-song, *The Irish Rover*, “There was Slugger O’Toole who was drunk as a mule...” < Ir. *slug* v. ‘to swallow’ + English suffix *-er*. Also cf. English suffix *-ard* in ‘drunkard’, ‘laggard’, ‘braggart’ etc.

²² In 1581, Henry Wallop supposed Yola to be ‘Old English of a Flemish origin’, (Mernagh, 2008, 149–50); a source in 1680 says, ‘They retaine their first Language (old Saxon English) and almost onely understand the same, unless elsewhere educated’ (Hore, 1921, 57); and ‘They retaine amongst ye common people ye old or Saxon language’ (ibid., 66). In the late 1770s, Arthur Young offers the following comments: “In a district near Dublin, but more particularly in the baronies of Bargie and Forth in the county of Wexford, the Saxon tongue is spoken without any mixture of the Irish, and the people have a variety of customs ... which distinguish them from their neighbours” (Young, 1780, 179); and in July, 1776, “They all speak a broken Saxon language, and not one in an hundred knows any thing of Irish. They are evidently a distinct people; and I could not but remark their features” (Young, 1892, 89). However, Young’s accuracy, in terms of the culture of the lower orders, may be suspect (An Ildána, 1920, 111–8). In the *Parochial Survey of Ireland* (1814–9), we are told the following: “They formerly spoke a dialect of the Saxon language, their vernacular or mother tongue, which is now very much corrupted by the intermixture of English words” (PSI, vol. iii, 129–30); and “They at this day speak the language in which the first English poet, Chaucer, wrote, in the middle of the fourteenth century ... They were fully competent to interpret, explain, and even to translate every line and passage [of *The Canterbury Tales*] ... This language was imported by their ancestors ... [who] came over in the army with Strongbow in the twelfth century, as is the opinion entertained by their descendants; it is still a matter of some surprise, that they have preserved any vestige of a tongue for ... six hundred years” (ibid., 413–4).

conservatism of the English of a people ...” (DÓM, 10). Indeed, of the c.1800–1900 Yola words which have been documented, only 163 have a high probability of being from Irish, and another 172 have possible Irish provenance. In fact, in Yola texts collected in the latter days of the dialect, Irish borrowings tend to be confined to occasional nouns.²³

2.3.2 Irish Influence on the pronunciation of Yola?

Our knowledge of the pronunciation of Yola is relatively limited, particularly regarding vowel-sounds. We are told that forward stress predominates in bisyllabic words in the dialect (sometimes, possibly, coming from the influence of Francophone Normans via Irish (O’Rahilly, 1932, 94–8); and Poole’s orthography indicates compatibility with certain Irish consonants: i.e., dental plosives [d̪] > ‘dh’, and [t̪] > ‘th’;²⁴ the dental lateral [L];²⁵ and the velar fricatives [x] and [ɣ] > ‘gh’.²⁶ The word “bhlock” [black] may demonstrate a lenited ‘b’ from Irish lenition of adjectives after a feminine noun, as well as the back open unrounded vowel which is commonly made of ‘a’ in Irish.²⁷ Other Irish influences on pronunciation in Yola may have been present, but obscured by the absence of a standard way

²³ The published Yola texts are to be found in DÓM, 76–, and Browne (1927). In this dissertation, words or phrases have only been designated as having Yola origin where this is explicitly the case (i.e., either collected by Poole, Vallancy, Stanyhurst, or Barnes, or else where embedded in the Yola texts). Words and phrases collected in the twentieth century (e.g. by Browne (1927), Ó Muirthe (1979, 1996), or Byrne (2002)), do contain Middle English survivals, but also contain Irish words which may have been preserved in the native Irish of the area, and from there, have made it into modern Hiberno-English — as opposed to coming via Yola to modern Hiberno-English) (see 2.3.1 below). It is somewhat ironic though, that some words, such as the aforementioned Ir. *snaoisín* > “sneesheen” are found in Yola, but nowhere recorded elsewhere in modern Hiberno-English or Irish texts from Wexford. It should also be noted that among the c.1,700 words and phrases of Yola collected by Jacob Poole, many examples are of unknown origin — with Flemish, and even Manx, being suggested as possible origin by some (cf. O’Broin, 1999, 44), as well as Old French (cf. O’Rahilly, 1932, 95–6), and perhaps, too, Old Norse from the remainder of the Viking settlements of the latter centuries of the first millennium A.D. The Yola texts in the manuscript of O’Neill (1876), show hardly any Irish borrowings.

²⁴ For example, from Irish loan-words, *coardhed* (< past part. of Ir. *cuardaigh*), *Dhonal* (< Ir. *Dónal*), “gidhaan” < *giodán*; Thieg (Tadhg), Butheraan (*bodhrán*), ‘shud with’ < *siúd duit*, and even in English, *adh* ‘at’, *albeedhel*, *Beedheer* ‘Peter’, *dhen* ‘ten’, *dhurth* ‘dirt’, butheree ‘buttery’ (DÓM, Yola glossary). Regarding single words from this publication, the page-number will be referenced in this dissertation, to avoid confusion between Ó Muirthe’s Modern Hiberno-English glossary (ibid., 21–30), and the Yola glossary which is the primary corpus of the publication.

²⁵ Cf. Irish loan *lug* > “lhug”, and also words of unknown origin such as “lhowse/lhause” ‘open,’ “lhowsaane” ‘opening’ and “lhauch” ‘griddle’, as well as in English words “lhaung” ‘long’ and “lhawm” ‘lamb’, “lhoan” ‘land’, and “lhose” ‘less’ (ibid., s.v.).

²⁶ Cf. Irish loans *earrach* > “arraugh” (DÓM, s.v. “curthere;” *bairneach* > “barnaugh,” *cnoc* > “knaugh,” “*knaughtaan*,” *cnocán*, *póg* > “paugh,” *maolach* > “meelough”/“milagh”, *?pusach* > “pussough” ‘plump’, and the apparent Irish adjectival suffix *-ach* also in “earnough” ‘comical, droll’ (ibid., Yola glossary, s.v.). However, it should be recognised that the velar fricative is equally likely to have been a legacy of the speech of the original Anglo-Norman settlers, and we know it was a phoneme found in Old English (Baker, 2012, 15). Plenty of Yola words of English provenance preserve this phoneme, e.g., “helbough” ‘elbow’, “keough” ‘cough’, “aught” ‘anything’, “doughteers” ‘daughters’, etc. (DÓM, Yola glossary, s.v.).

²⁷ Cf. English ‘rat’ > “rot” in Mid-West Wexford in the early-nineteenth century (Kennedy, 1869, 68).

of phonetic description at the time Jacob Poole (1774–1827) was collecting. On a final point regarding pronunciation, as in Irish, in Yola, metathesis occurs at least in one example, “dhrivés” [turf] (*ibid.*, DÓM, 44).

2.3.3 Irish idioms in Yola

There is an apparent Irish idiomatic influence on Yola in phrases such as: “dhen score” (DÓM, 82, cf. Ir. *deich scór*); “Hele an greve apa thee!”, ‘Health & Wealth to you!’ (cf. Ir. *sláinte is saibhreas ort*); “Aar’s no gazb in him”, ‘There’s not a breath of life in him’ (cf. Ir. *níl gíog/anáil ann*;²⁸ “Aar’s dhurth a heighe!”, ‘There’s dirty weather on high’ (cf. Ir. *tá sí salach thuas*) “Caules will na get to wulow to die”, ‘Horses won’t be able to tumble today’ (cf. Ir. *faigh* ‘get’, idiomatically used in the sense of ability to do something in Irish (Din s.v. *do-gheibhim*); “a portion ich gae her was keow an dwanty shilleen”, ‘the dowry I gave her was a cow and twenty shillings’ (cf. Irish syntactical construction, *Is é an spré a thug mé di ná bó is fiche scilling*).²⁹

2.3.4 Comparative legacies of Yola and Irish

There is barely a trace of Yola surviving in the speech of Forth & Bargy today, even among the older native speakers of local Hiberno-English, and indeed, the same is evident from the National Folklore Schools Collection in the 1930s, where there is no shortage of Irish words in the Hiberno-English of the two baronies (as is to be seen in this thesis). The relative failure of Yola to leave its mark on the local Hiberno-English vernacular was probably due to the relative ease of assimilation of Middle English words into similar-sounding Modern English equivalents — something which is less likely with Irish analogues.

2.4 The New English and modern Hiberno-English

2.4.1 Modern English comes to Wexford through the ports

²⁸ *Gíog* is still to be found in the Hiberno-English of south-east Wexford. Among personal phrases sent to me by Paddy Berry, a native of Duncormick, is “There wasn’t a geeg of air in the tyres.” *Gíog* is also mentioned in a wordlist from the north of the county, as “geeg” ‘a small sound’ (EG1).

²⁹ Yola examples here come from O’Broin (1999, 46–7).

While the lower orders of the Old English preserved and adapted the Yola dialect, it appears that the higher orders, including the merchants, kept up their interaction with the rest of the Anglophone world.³⁰ “During the early modern period, Wexford was the nearest safe harbour in Ireland to England, Wales, and mainland Europe” (Furlong, 1987, 150, 490, cit. Ollmeyer, 1988–9, 25), and from the thirteenth century on, New Ross had been a major port (Tóibín, 1950, 126). This meant that certain classes in south Wexford had much more exposure to the culture and language of the putative ruling nation (England), than anywhere else in Ireland. The mercantile class of Wexford town and port were overwhelmingly Old English in the early-seventeenth century (Murphy, 1988–9, 8), and the names of alleged Confederate rebels in New Ross from 1641 also show a predominance of English surnames more generally (Whelan, 1990). Indeed, the official language of the Confederation of Kilkenny (1642), itself, was English (O’Rahilly, 1932, 10). So, by the seventeenth century, it is not surprising to find Modern English — of whatever dialect — being used as a vernacular in both the ports of Wexford and New Ross.

2.4.2 English and the Catholic Church in Wexford

Elsewhere in Ireland, the neglect of Irish by the Catholic Church was to have profound and disastrous implications for the language, especially when the Church was to control the education system of Catholics from the 1830s (O’Rahilly, 1932, 12). In Wexford, these effects appear at least as early as the seventeenth century. As with ownership of land and commerce in south Wexford, and suggested by the use of English by the New Ross Jesuits (see footnote 31), by the seventeenth century, the ‘Old English’ dominated the hierarchy of the Catholic diocese of Ferns, and it appears that Modern English was their everyday language of communication in the seventeenth century.³¹

³⁰ We have already seen how Stanyhurst (1577) intimated that Yola was strongest among the ‘meaner sort’; Similarly, a correspondent of the surveyor, William Petty, in 1681, wrote: ‘they preserve their first language [old Saxon English] and almost only understand the same unless elsewhere educated’ (DÓM, 7); and in the early-nineteenth century, Jacob Poole tells us that Yola was “the mother-tongue of the poorer classes for generations” (O’Broin, 1999, 43).

³¹ From the 1630s to the end of the century, the respective archbishops of Ferns were John Roche, Nicholas Ffrench, and Luke Waddinge (c.1630–1693) - de facto archbishop of the diocese from 1678–1693 (Murphy, 1988–9). While studying in Paris in the 1650s, Waddinge acquired a keen interest in English poetry (ibid., 12); his personal notes and correspondences to other members of the diocesan hierarchy, at least, from 1671-, were in Modern English (ibid., 14). In 1684, Waddinge published a book of poems and songs, including Christmas-tide Carols which were performed in Kilmore village up to the twentieth century (NFC S 877, 141–54, 158–61; 878, 29–32), and it is notable that in the heart of what is conventionally considered to be a Yola-speaking area, these carols are unmistakably in Modern English rather than Middle English.

From the accession to the throne of James II in 1685, the Catholic Church recognised the monarch of England as being also the rightful monarch of the three kingdoms (Ireland, Scotland and England), and despite the House of Stuart being overthrown in 1688, the position of the Church regarding their regal title was maintained until the nineteenth century (Furlong, 1968, 2–3). As such, James II and his heirs were granted power in Irish Catholic ecclesiastical matters, including the right of episcopal appointments — a right which was exercised in Ireland at least up until 1777 (*ibid.*). As noted earlier (in 2.2.1 above), in Wexford, Irish identity or nationalism was closely bound to the religious identity of Catholicism, at least from the mid-seventeenth century until the late-eighteenth century, but this religious institution, at least locally, did not have any particular affinity for native Irish cultural markers, not least for the Irish language itself.³² In this context, it is not surprising that we see preference for Modern English in the transactions of the hierarchy of the Church continue throughout the eighteenth century.³³

2.4.3 The Plantations and subsequent New English settlements

While the higher orders of the Old English were introducing Modern English to the county up to the seventeenth century and beyond, in the second decade of the seventeenth century, the New English arrived as part of the Plantations in the east and north of the county (Lenihan, 2008, 56; Tóibín, 1950, 123). The long-term legacy of these arrivals, and their continual arrival, particularly under Cromwell in the 1650s, and under William III of England in the 1690s, was the planting of an English-rooted Protestant land-owning ascendancy throughout the county. Their numbers were undoubtedly relatively small, and their impact on the vernacular is difficult to measure. Yet, the ‘big house’ was certainly a source of employment for the poor (Irish-speakers and Yola-speakers alike), and so, is likely to have

³² Even though it is said by others of Irish, that ‘A good many of the manuscripts and handwritten texts were of a spiritual nature between 1600–1850’, and ‘Christian instruction produced by both Catholics and Protestants was mostly intended for the ordinary people’ (Williams, 1994a, §1.1); many if not most of these texts were of Protestant provenance, and there was no concerted effort on the part of the Catholic Church to encourage literacy among its flock, let alone to encourage them to read religious material, in any language (cf. Hastings, 1996). Note that all English renderings of Irish texts by me in this thesis (including Williams (1994a)), are my own translations, unless otherwise stated.

³³ Nicholas Sweetman (1696–1786), archbishop of Ferns from 1744–1786. Two letters (one from him, and one received by him) survive from 1747 (Furlong, 1968, 6–8). They are part of a heated dispute between the bishop and a Franciscan friar, and thus indicative of vernacular; they are in full-flowing and sophisticated Modern English. Sweetman’s personal notes are also in Modern English (*ibid.*, 10–13). In writing a lament for the parish priest of his native Newbawn, in 1762, Sweetman writes in Latin and English (*ibid.*, 15). Traces of dialect are difficult to find in Sweetman’s English. However, despite his preference for English and Latin, it appears that Sweetman had a good understanding of Irish (see 2.8.3 below).

played a part in the establishment of Modern English as the primary vernacular in the county from the eighteenth century on.³⁴

2.5 Irish In south-east Wexford up to the seventeenth century

2.5.1 Introductory note

Because the baronies of Forth and Bargy are exceptional in terms of their linguistic history, and because historians have tended to overshadow any possible survival of Irish by their tendency to concentrate on the ethnically English lords in the area, and because of their fascination with the Yola dialect from the sixteenth century on, evidence of native Irish has fallen through the gaps in most narratives. For these reasons, in what follows below, the analysis of the state of Irish in Forth and Bargy is treated separately to that of the rest of the county.

2.5.2 Direct historical evidence of Irish in Forth and Bargy up to the seventeenth century

Even though the Norman settler families quickly came to dominate the agricultural, commercial, political, and religious life of south Wexford from the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries at least, and Yola and Modern English were respectively facilitated as a result, it is possible, if not probable, that Irish nevertheless remained as a vernacular in the most Anglicised baronies, even if only as a minority language. It should be remembered that the Norman settlement in south Wexford was not a hostile invasion, but rather, it came about as a result of an invitation from the High King of Leinster — a payment for mercenary services rendered in his bid for the High Kingship of Ireland; and it appears that the native Irish chief of Forth initially made the best of a bad lot, and welcomed his new neighbours (Hore, 1920, 64).

From later documentary records, we have comparatively direct evidence that the native Irish of Forth and Bargy remained in the area. One hundred and fifty years after the first Anglo-Norman arrivals in Wexford, a legal document (from 1323–4) says of two

³⁴ Before leaving Hiberno-English for now, a particular dialectical note is of interest in distinguishing Yola from the local Modern Hiberno-English. As mentioned earlier (2.3.2), the opacity of Yola transcriptions makes phonetic comparisons with local Hiberno-English difficult; but one feature in particular does stand out: in Yola, we find “dher” *ʔ/d̪v̪eɪ/* for ‘door’ (DÓM, 43); but in traditional Hiberno-English throughout Wexford, as elsewhere in south Leinster (as far north as south Offaly), and in east Ulster, ‘door’ is pronounced as [d̪u:(ə)ɪ]; a vowel-sound which is equally found in the word ‘floor’.

neighbouring townlands in the heart of Forth, ‘there are several tenants at Ballyregan and Ballysampsion, as well English as Irish’ (ibid., 67). The ethnic distinction being made here suggests a persistence of the Irish culture in this part of the ‘Pale’, at least.

Some evidence of Irish surnames or patronymics in Forth and Bargy is forthcoming from other documents from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries, as can be seen in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Irish names in Forth and Bargy (fourteenth-seventeenth centuries)

1380: we know of 47 acres in the parish of Tacumshin being rented from the King by a chaplain, ‘Nicholas Tohyle’ (O’Toole) and this same chaplain is again mentioned in 1381 (ibid., 71). Other mentions of Irish names in Forth & Bargy in the records up to the seventeenth century include:
1575: ‘the goods and chattels of John McLaurence and Donagh O’Molane of Clonard, husbandmen [...] (ibid., 85);
1576: John Collen of Collene... Edmund Owen, late of Inishe, Kern (ibid., 86);
1601: ‘James Donnell, horseman, Mary Murchue his wife’ Ballimore (Ó Cruialaoich, 2004, 9);
1604: Derraiigh O’Doyrane of Re mockeston (Doran of Redmondstown, named as gentlemen (Hore, 1920, 97);
1641: John O’Murragh of Mayglass... before the rebellion began Sinnott and O’Murragh frequented the Protestant Church, but since is revolted and gone to Masse (ibid., 103);
1642: Dermot O’Murrow as a resident of Carne (ibid., 104);
1655: Robert Hughes as a petitioner (Hore, 1921, 40);
1653: Anthony Murphy, transplanted to Connaught (ibid., 41).
1655: petition made by Anthony Murphy as well as nine Old English to the Cromwellian government. They have been transplanted and want to return to settle affairs (ibid.).
1665: Constantine Neale granted land in Tacumshin (Hore, 1921, 48).

As can be seen in Figure 1, Anglicisation is more apparent in some names than others, perhaps indicating the extent to which the individuals themselves had been Anglicised. However, it should also be remembered that it would not be surprising for a bilingual

individual to provide an Anglicised version of their name for official English administrative purposes, while retaining the original Irish version of their names for Irish language contexts.

2.5.3 Placename evidence

As can be seen in Table 1, there is ample placename evidence that the native Irish did not vacate the territory. Even in the most Anglicised barony of Wexford, Forth (in the south-east), 186 Irish official placenames remain today, compared to the 200 English placenames which have been accruing since the arrival of the Normans; in Bargy (mid-south), Irish placenames still have the majority (105 : 94); in Shelbourne (south-west), Shelmalier West (south-centre), and Shelmalier east (mid-east), Irish official placenames predominate with a ratio of well over two-to-one.

Figure 2: Irish Elements in south-east Wexford placenames³⁵

Element (English < Irish)	Forth	Bargy
Bally- < Ir. <i>Baile</i> 'homestead'	55	19
Kil(l)- < Ir. <i>cill</i> 'cell, little church'	11	8
Rath-, Raheen- < Ir. <i>ráth/ráithín</i> 'ring-fort'	9	9
Cool- Ir. <i>cúil</i> 'back of hill/slope'	7	6
Gra-, Graay, graigue < Ir. <i>Gráig</i>	10	9
-salagh < Ir. <i>salach</i> 'dirty'	1	2
-derry < Ir. <i>doire</i> 'oak'	-	1
Ring(-) < Ir. <i>rinn</i> 'promontory'	8	1
Poll- < Ir. <i>poll</i> 'hole'	4	2
-pill < Ir. <i>gs. of poll</i>	-	1
Knock- < Ir. <i>cnoc</i> , 'hill or clump of furze'	6	6
Knockan < Ir. <i>cnocán</i> dim of <i>cnoc</i>	1	-
Nagee < Ir. <i>na gaoithe gs.</i> 'of the wind'	1	-
Teach- < Ir. <i>teach</i> 'house'	4	-
(-)Shil- < Ir. <i>?sil</i> 'stream'	4	-
Bun- < Ir. <i>bun</i> 'base/mouth of)	3	-
Ball- < Ir. <i>ball</i> 'place'	2	-

³⁵ The derivations in this table are almost all taken from Ó Cruaíoch, 2016.

(-)boher(-) < Ir. <i>bóthar</i> ‘road’	3	1
Plud < Ir. <i>plud</i> ‘mud’	-	1
Lough < Ir. <i>loch</i> ‘lake’	2	2
Gorteen- < Ir. <i>goirtín</i> ‘little field’	2	1
Scough < Ir. <i>sceach</i> ‘hawthorn’	1	-
Mul- < Ir. <i>maol</i> ‘hillock’	1	-
Mullin < Ir. <i>Mullán</i> ‘summit’	1	-
Dun- < Ir. <i>Dún</i> ‘fort’	-	1
A-, < Ir. <i>áth</i> ‘fjord’	1	1
Achar- < Ir. <i>achar</i> ‘area’	2	-
Tom- < Ir. <i>tom</i> ‘thicket’	-	2
Ross- < Ir. <i>ros</i> ‘promontory’	-	1
Cross- < Ir. <i>cross</i> ‘cross’	-	2
Hardy-, -ard, < Ir. <i>ard</i> ‘height’	3	-
Garry- < Ir. <i>garraí</i> ‘plot’ or ‘garden’	-	2
Tully/Tulla/Tilla < Ir. <i>tulach</i>	-	2
Carrick < Ir. <i>carrraig</i> ‘rock’	-	2
Bel- < Ir. <i>béal</i> ‘mouth of river’	-	2
Gibber- < Ir. <i>tiobar</i> ‘spring’	-	2
Glen < Ir. <i>gleann</i> ‘glen’	-	1
Clon- < Ir. <i>cluan</i> ‘meadow’	1	1
Ling < Ir. <i>linn</i> ‘pool’	1	-
Downey < Ir. gen. sg. <i>Domhnaigh</i> ‘of a shrine’	1	-
Banoge < Ir. <i>An Bheannóg</i> ‘little peak’	1	-
-nedan < Ir. <i>an Éadain</i> ‘the promontory’	1	-
-ask < Ir. <i>easca</i> ‘bog, marsh’	1	-
Tra < Ir. <i>trá</i> ‘strand’	1	1
Barna < Ir. <i>bearna</i> ‘gap’	1	-
Wheel/cales < Ir. <i>caol</i> ‘slender’	1	1
Chour < Ir. <i>teamhair</i> ‘tower’	1	-
Clough < Ir. <i>cloch</i> ‘stone’	1	1
-hull/Cull < Ir. <i>-choll / coll</i> ‘hazel’	-	3

-ishal < Ir. <i>íseal</i> ‘lower’	-	1	
-cam < Ir. crooked	1	-	
Inish < Ir. <i>inis</i> ‘island’, ‘inch, watermeadow’		2	1
-moor, -more < Ir. <i>mór</i> ‘big’	4	-	
Beg < Ir. <i>beag</i> ‘little’	1	-	
Drinagh < Ir. <i>draighneach</i> ‘blackthorn’	2	-	
Fasagh < Ir. <i>fásach</i> ‘desert, prairie’	1	-	
-ssaly < Ir. <i>sáile</i> ‘salty’	1	-	
Carn(-) < Ir. <i>carn</i> ‘heap’	2	-	
Bing < Ir. <i>binn</i> ‘slope’	1	-	
Crin < Ir. <i>cruinn</i> ‘round’	2	-	
-brack < Ir. <i>breac gpl.</i> ‘speckled’	1	1	
Managh < Ir. <i>manach</i> ‘monk’	-	1	
Ballagh < Ir. <i>bealach</i> ‘way’	-	1	
Gaddy < Ir. <i>-gadaí</i> ‘thief’	-	1	
Riesk < Ir. <i>riasc</i> ‘swamp’	1	-	
Seskin < Ir. <i>seisceann</i> ‘swamp’	-	2	
Maine < Ir. ? <i>meán</i> ‘middle’	1	-	
May < Ir. <i>maigh</i> ‘plain’	1	-	
Glass < Ir. <i>glas</i> ‘green’	2	-	
Cloon, clon, < Ir. <i>cluain</i> ‘meadow’	2	-	
-ougher < Ir. <i>uachtar</i> ‘upper’	1	-	
Aghar < Ir. <i>achar</i> ‘space’	1	-	
Boley < Ir. <i>buaille</i> ‘(summer) milking place’	1	2	
Aspick < Ir. <i>easpaig gs.</i> ‘bishop’	1	-	
Kisha < an Chíseach ‘causeway’	1	-	
-ree < Ir. <i>fhraoigh gs.</i> ‘heather’	1	-	
Faythe < Ir. <i>faiche</i> ‘green’	2	-	

Figure 2 shows a rich variety of extant Irish elements in official placenames of Forth and Bargo. Rath- < Ir. *ráth* ‘ring-fort’ is pre-Norman, and Bally- < Ir. *baile* ‘homestead’ dates to either just before the Norman settlement, or is contemporaneous with it. Other placenames

containing Irish elements could have been coined at any time before the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries (when they first appear in records), but even if they were coined prior to the arrival of the Normans, their survival in such numbers is testament to the steadfastness of the Irish native population and culture in the area for at least some time after the Norman arrival.

Figure 3: Continuity between Irish placenames in Forth & Bargy and surnames in the 1901 census

Placename	Surname	Forth	Bargy	Elsewhere
Ballyconor, < Ir. Baile Uí Chonchúir/O'Connor/Connors,		115	58	1,033
Ballybrennan < Ir. Baile Uí Bhraonáin/Brennan		109	25	344
Ballyreilly < Ir. < Ir. Baile Uí Raighilligh/(O')Reilly/Riley		39	-	191
Ballymurragh, 35, Baile Uí Mhurchú/Murphy,		932	297	4,280
Ballykelly < Ir. Baile Uí Cheallaigh/(O')Kelly,		218	60	872
Ballyconnick < Ir. Baile Uí Chonnaic/Connick,		25	17	33
Ballycleary, < Ir. Baile Uí Chléirigh/Cleary		62	59	198
Ballyhealy < Ir. Baile Éilí/ Healy,		30	2	38
Ballycogly < Ir. Baile Uí Choigligh/Cogley/Quigley,		27	33	261 ³⁶
Ballymacane < Ir. Baile Mhic Eichiairn/(A)He(a)rn/Heron		6	6	3 ³⁷
Ballygarvey, < Ir. Baile Uí Ghairbhíth/Garvey,		1	-	4
Ballyregan, < Ir. Baile Uí Riagáin/Regan,		-	1	35
Ballymacushin etc.	Cushen/Cushin	-	-	18
	/Cush	-	-	14
	?/Cash	-	-	56
	/Kissane	1	-	-
	/Cousins/Cussins	57	46	31
Rathronan < Ir. Ráth Rónáin;	Ronan,	27	20	102
Ballygrangans < Ir. Baile Uí Ghrangáin /?Grandon		9	-	-
	Grindon/Grendon	4	-	-
Ballykereen< Ir. Baile Uí Chéirín/	Crean	37	2	78
?Kirwin		1	-	21
	Cf. Kearns < Ó Ciaráin/Ó Ceirín.	58	18	169
Duncormick < Ir. Dún Chormaic McCormack/		33	3	27
Grahormick < Ir. Gráig Chormaic		-	7	10

³⁶ The Cogley variant is exclusive to Forth and Bargy, and the Quigleys are almost completely outside of those baronies.

³⁷ There is a variant, “Herne”, which is exclusive to the south-western Barony of Shelbourne, with 43 members.

GorteenminogeIr. Goirtín Mionnóg,	Minogue	-	-	1
Pollrankin < Ir. Poll Rancáin	Rankin	2	-	-
Ballyminaun < Ir. Baile Uí Mheannaín, ?Manning		1	-	16
Knockruth < Ir. Cnoc Rúit	Ruth	24	-	46
Scaughmolin < Ir. <i>Sceach Moling</i>	Mullen(s)	-	-	3
	/Mullin(s)	2	13	35
Mulgannon < Ir. <i>Maol gConáin</i>	Gannon	6	-	50

It is possible that the surname Gunning, which appears once in 1901 in New Ross, is an Anglicisation of the Irish *Mac Fhionnáin*, as is possibly the case with the second elements in placenames (notwithstanding logainm.ie pronouncements): Loughgunnen, < Ir. *Loch gConáin*, Tagunna < Ir. *Teach gConáin*, and possibly Carrigunane, even though logainm.ie gives its derivation as < Ir. *Carraig an Eidhinn*. Mulgannon is mentioned in the table. There are many other Irish placenames in Forth and Bargo with Irish patronyms which are no longer extant.³⁸

2.5.4 Continuity of Irish names from the twelfth to the twentieth centuries

Many of the Irish patronyms which follow Bally- or Rath- are still to be found in the area as surnames today, or at least in the 1901 census (see Figure 3), showing a continuity between the twelfth and twentieth centuries. Indeed, in the same two baronies, by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we also see Irish surnames integrated into English placenames, e.g., Kellystown Ir. *Baile Uí Cheallaigh*, Bogganstown *Baile Uí Bheagáin*, Murntown *Baile Mhúráin*, Quanstown *Baile Uí Chomháin*, Owenstown *Baile Eoghain*, Piercestown *Baile an Phiarsaigh*, Doogans Warren *Coinicéar Uí Dhuíginn*, Mauritiustown *Baile Mhuiris* - cf. Ballymorris also in Forth), Cumshinstown *Baile Choimsín* and Cousinstown *Baile Chúisín*,³⁹ Gibboghstown (*Baile Ghiobac*), Muckranstown (*Baile Muchrain*), Mackenstown (*Baile Macain*),⁴⁰ Muckstown (*Baile Mhoic*), Weneytown (*Baile*

³⁸ For example, a selection of such names in the Barony of Forth alone includes: Ballycarran, < Ir. *Baile Corráin*, Ratholm < Ir. *Ráth Cholaim*, Gibboghstown < Ir. *Baile Ghiobac*, Graheeroge < Ir. *Gráig Chiaróg*, Rathrolan < Ir. *Ráth Throláin*, Ballyfane < Ir. *Baile Anfáin*, Ballysheen < Ir. *Baile Oisín*, Kildavin < Ir. *Cill Damháin*, Murntown < Ir. *Baile Mhúráin*, Rathlannon < Ir. *Ráth Lonáin*, Ballykilliane < Ir. *Baile Uí Choileáin*, Killiane < Ir. *Cill Liaine*, Ballydusker < Ir. *Baile Duscair*, Ballyminaun < Ir. *Baile Uí Mheannaín*, Ballyrane < Ir. *Baile Odráin*, Coolkeeran < Ir. *Cúil Chiaráin*, Killinick < Ir. *Cill Fhionnóg*, and Kilmacree < Ir. *Cill Mhic Croí (CÓC)*.

³⁹ Cf. Ballymacushin, which Ó Crualaoich suggests to be *Baile Mhic Oisín*, but which is possibly from *Baile Mhic Cuisín*; cf. Tacumshin < *Teach Chuimsín*, and Cumshinstown in the same barony, as well as Cushenstown and Cussenstown (both translated as *Baile Chuisín* by Ó Crualaoich (CÓC)).

⁴⁰ Macken here could alternatively be from Irish *Mac Cana* (surnamedb.com s.v.).

Uininn), and Furziestown (*Baile Fursa*). Of those names not already mentioned in the Irish placenames in Figure 2 above, Boggan, Cowan, Macken, and Doogan/Duggan are also found in Forth and Bargy in the 1901 census.

Given that, as with the names of Norman settlers, only a fraction of local Irish patronymics are represented in extant nomenclature, we can posit the probability that many other Irish surnames appearing in the 1901 census for Forth and Bargy had also been direct descendants from south Wexford Irish natives in the twelfth and subsequent centuries (see 2.5.2 above).

We see continued integrated English-Irish usage in other placenames in the baronies, both in terms of personal names and physical description: e.g., in the unofficial placename Tagh-Edward [Edward's house], in Carne, in 1665 (Hore, 1921, 49); and official placenames such as Gibberwell (Ir. *Tiobar*), Walshegraique (*Gráig Bhreatnach*), Woodgraique (*Gráig na Coille*), Knock of the Rocks (*Cnoc Carraigeach*), Knocknamarshal (*Cnoc an Imreascaín*), Ford of Ling (*Áth na Linne*), Maxboley (*Buaile Macs*), Philippintown (*Baile Philibín*), and Rostonstown (*Baile Rostúin*).⁴¹ Even though these are first mentioned from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, we cannot be sure when precisely they were coined, and it is possible that some or many of them are Anglicisations of original Irish placenames. However, they are necessarily newer than the Bally- Kill-, and Rath- names above, showing again that the Irish language was in use at least long enough for its nouns to be conjoined with English in official nomenclature.

2.5.5 Extant saints' names

When the Normans came to Ireland, they brought their own saints with them, and this is certainly notable in parish and official placenames in Forth and Bargy, as well as in dedications of holy wells and chapels in the parishes.⁴² But in this context, we also find the

⁴¹ Another possible bilingual or macaronic name is that of Yolegrew. Cf. Yola *yole* 'old' and Ir. *grua* 'ridge'.

⁴² Saint-names imported by the Normans, or possibly also by the new European-based religious orders just prior to the Norman settlements, are found in the parishes (now often reduced to curacies) of St. John's, St. Margaret's, St. Mary's, St. Michael's, and St. Peter's. Chapels are dedicated to: St. Catherine, in Walshestown (Hore, 1921, 58), Tacumshin, and Ballysampson (*ibid.*, 59); to Our Lady, at Tacumshin; to St. Nicholas, at Ballymacane, and Ballyconnor; to St. Anthony, at Furziestown; and to St. George, at Rathmore (*ibid.*, 59–60). Holy wells are dedicated to: St. Clement, in Duncormick (NFC S 877, 79); St. James, and St. Anne, respectively, in Tomhaggard (NFC S 877, 263); St. John, in Tullycanna (NFC S 875, 65); Lady's Well, in Bannow (NFC S 876, 22); St. John, in Kilmore (NFC S 877, 189); St. Margaret, in Ballymore (NFC S 878, 83); St. John, in Lady's Island (NFC S 878, 198); St. Catherine, and St. George, respectively, in Carne (NFC S 878,

names of Irish saints, e.g. parishes named for saints Iberius < *Íbar*, Doologue < *Dúlóg*, and St. Helen's < *Cill Eilleáin*; townlands named St. Tenant's < *Cill Anáin* and Brideswell, named for St. Brigid.⁴³ We also find the unofficial placename of "St. Patrick's Bridge" describing a series of rocks between Kilmore Quay and the Saltee Islands (NFC S 877, 139).

In a tract concerning the barony of Forth, written c.1681, there is mention of chapel dedications to St. Brigid 'Patroness of Ireland' in Rathaspick, Trimmer, and two other (unknown) locations; to St. Fintan in Mayglass and Carne, respectively; to St. Kevan < *Caomhán* in Drinagh; to St. Deignian at Killiane, 'Shaght Eneen Eee' < ?*Seacht nIníon Aoidh* 'Seven daughters of Aodh' in Ballybrennan;⁴⁴ to St. Munn (in Ishartmon); to St. Inicke 'one of the seven sisters aforesaid' in Kilsoran; to St. Brandan < *Breandán* at Hill of Sea; to St. Rane < *Ruadhán* in Kilrane; and to St. Breagh in Rosslare (Hore, 1921, 57–60).⁴⁵

Dedication of holy wells follows a similar pattern to that of chapels; very often with a holy well being dedicated to the parish patron saint (Norman or Irish), or to that of the closest chapel. Of those wells dedicated to Irish saints with no recorded matching chapel, we find saints Brigid in Ballymore (NFC S 878, 81–2, 84), Kevin and Mogue (also Shemoge), respectively, in the Bannow district (NFC S 875, 65–6); St. Myles' (NFC S 877, 79), where Clomawn's "Tobar *Clomawn's*" Well is also reported (NFC 1399, 349–50); St. Sennan and St. Bridget, respectively, in Piercestown (NFC S 879, 291); and in Kilmore are wells dedicated to St. Patrick (NFC 1399, 303), and St. Ciaran (ibid., 308).

2.5.6 Other placename evidence

Also, regarding placenames, there is much evidence of Irish in unofficial placenames, including field-names. All things being equal, one would expect that the more significant the place (in terms of size, population, or cultural importance), the less likely that its name will change over time; and the converse is also the case: i.e., the places of least social significance

201); St. Edward, in Carne (NFC S 879, 3); St. Catherine, in Tacumshin (NFC S 879, 35); and, again, St. Catherine, in Murrintown (NFC S 879, 222).

⁴³ Mention of Irish saints in this regard does not include the possible saints' names in placenames with *Cill* as their first element, e.g., Kilcavan < *Cill Caomhán*, Killag < *Cill Laig*, Kilcowan < *Cill Chomhán*, Kilmannan < *Cill Moninne*, Kildavin < *Cill Damhán*, Killiane < *Cill Liaine*, Killinick < *Cill Fhionnóg*, Kilmacree < *Cill Mhic Croí*, Kilrane < *Cill Ruáin*, Kilsoran < *Cill Scabhráin*, and Killillane < *Cill Eilleáin* (CÓC).

⁴⁴ 'A chapel ded. to Seaven Saints, Sisters at one birth brought forth, at Ballibrenan, commonlie called in Irish Shaght Eneen Eee, or the seven daughters of Hugh, their father, so called; neere which is a fountain wherein young languishing infants being bathed have immediately by the Divine Clemency been restored to perfect health and strength' (Hore, 1921, 59).

⁴⁵ Four other names in the 1680-2 list reproduced by Hore (1921, 57–60), are St. Jefellen, St. Devan, St. Kevil, and St. Tullan, also likely to be local Irish saints. The chapel dedicated to St. Kevil is in Ballybrennan, and the same townland contains a holy well dedicated to the same saint 'Keevil' (ibid., 76).

should be more amenable to linguistic changes, yet, often, still preserving elements of local speech which have disappeared from the present-day vernacular.

As shown in Appendix C, there are well over eighty-seven unofficial placenames in Carne and Lady's Island that are either entirely from Irish or contain probable Irish elements; and thirty-six are found in Bannow, thirty-eight in Rathangan, as well as sundry others elsewhere in Carne and Bannow.⁴⁶ It might be inferred from this that Irish remained more steadfast in these parishes, but a significant caveat is that comprehensive lists of unofficial placenames from the early-twentieth century do not appear to have been made for other districts.

2.5.7 Irish preserved in the local Hiberno-English vernacular

We have already seen that the Irish language influenced the Yola dialect of the Old English peasantry, at least up until the seventeenth century (2.3 above), and that Irish culture had influence in the use of the Irish refrain *Thugamar féin an samhradh linn* in a Yola song documented in the early-nineteenth century (2.2.6 above).⁴⁷ Although it cannot be ruled out that there was influence from wider Hiberno-English — and, in particular, Hiberno-English from the rest of the county — the depth of use of Irish terms for flora and fauna, in particular, as well as the preservation of regular and consistent instances of Irish phonemes — not only in surviving Irish words, but in the wider Hiberno-English dialect itself — is suggestive of a more intimate acquaintance with Irish in Forth and Bargy than would be expected to have been the case were these examples of borrowing from outside.

2.5.8 Survival of Irish folklore in Forth and Bargy

This intimacy is further suggested by the normality of traditional Irish folklore practices in the baronies as documented at the turn of the nineteenth century and in the 1930s (see Appendix D). These cultural traditions include fairy folklore such as belief in the banshee (locally called the “bow” < Ir. *badhbh*, as in the rest of the county), the leprechaun (locally given the distinctive name of the “looricaun” < *luthrachán*), and the site-specific beliefs relating to ring-forts (locally known as “raths” < Ir. *ráth*); the Dead Coach; life cycle

⁴⁶ The Roman Catholic parish of Rathangan comprises the civil parishes of Duncormick and Kilcowan, respectively.

⁴⁷ Hundreds of Irish words that have survived in the traditional Hiberno-English of Forth and Bargy (as well as from Yola) are collated by me in a corpus which is too large to include in this work).

customs such as liminal burials of the unbaptised, and survival of wake customs along the lines of those elsewhere in the country; celebration of Celtic seasonal festivals [and the playing of Irish ‘traditional’ music (ibid.)]. Among the historical folklore is a tradition about the local ‘priest-catcher’ in the Penal Times (sporadically enforced from 1695 for up to thirty years afterwards). It is notable that the epithet of this priest-catcher in Mayglass (Forth) was an Irish one - *Seán na Sagart* [John of the Priests] (NFC S 877, 172–6).⁴⁸

2.6 Irish elsewhere in Wexford before the eighteenth century

2.6.1 Irish up to the sixteenth century

On the death of Dermot Mac Murrough (Diarmaid Mac Murchadha) in 1171, his son, Donal Kavanagh (Domhnall Caomhánach) inherited the title of King of Leinster, a title which the McMurrough-Kavanagh clan, based in Ferns, Enniscorthy, and Clonmullen, were to retain uncontested (neither internally from the Irish, nor externally from the English) until the sixteenth century (McHugh, 2003, 4). In practice, this meant Irish hegemony over Wexford outside of the baronies of Forth and Bargy, and the port of New Ross, up until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁴⁹ The *Leabhar Branach* was composed (c.1550-c.1630) under the auspices of the O’Byrnes of Wicklow, but at least 34 poems therein are from what is now Co. Wexford (see Ch. 3.1.1 below).

2.6.2 The beginning of the end of Irish

Although the Plantation of north and east Wexford — and subsequent dispossessions of Irish landowners throughout the county — in the early-seventeenth century were not quite as thorough as elsewhere (McHugh, 2003, 18), the status of the Irish-speaking order had been very much diminished, for instance with the territory of the McMurrough-Kavanagh clan being constricted to the border areas of Wexford and counties Carlow and Wicklow (ibid., 4–5). Their attempt at restoration in the 1641 Rebellion was undone by the Cromwellian devastation (1649–59), a destruction which was completed by the Williamite Wars (1688–91; cf. Tóibín, 1950), so that by the 1690s, 90% of the land-ownership had been transferred to the

⁴⁸ That *Seán na Sagart* was native, and not imported folklore, is bolstered by a north Wexford equivalent being Hunter Gowan (as told to me by folklorist Michael Fortune).

⁴⁹ Included in the strong evidence for Gaelic Irish families throughout Wexford in Ó Cruaíoch’s article, is a large settlement of the (O’)Moore clan south of New Ross — in the south-west (Ó Cruaíoch, 2004, 7, n15 — (pp.16–7)). Otherwise, the extent of Irish names and Gaelicisation of the Old English throughout the county outside of Forth and Bargy is necessarily testament to a sustained Irish language presence from the pre-Norman times.

new English-speaking settlers, reflecting the national pattern (Gahan, 1987, 220–1, n. 527). Irish families still made up the majority of the population outside of Forth and Bargo, but their subservient status had become all-pervading, and the status of the Irish language had become very much diminished and marginalised as a result (see Ó Háinle, 1994, §2.1).⁵⁰

2.7 Irish in Forth and Bargo in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

2.7.1 Irish keening in Rathangan (1781)

Notwithstanding Arthur Young’s comment, in July 1776, that in Forth and Bargo, “not one in an hundred knows any thing of Irish” (Young, 1892, 89); apparently the earliest *caoineadh* ‘keen’ ever to be transcribed, comes from the parish of Rathangan, Bargo, in 1781 (see Ch. 3.4.4). That this ‘lament’ is a keen, rather than a *marbhna*, is significant in that it means that the text is not the result of just one erudite admirer trying to maintain the flame of the Irish tradition; but rather, that there was an Irish-language community in Bargo in the late-eighteenth century.⁵¹ The fact that the keen was recorded at all, suggests that it left something of an impression on the general participants of the obsequies, even beyond the natural sense of bereavement on the loss of a champion of the community.⁵²

2.7.2 Shaw Mason’s Parochial Survey (1814–19) in Forth and Bargo

From 1814–1819, the Irish bibliographer and statistician, William Shaw Mason, edited and published a detailed survey of Church of Ireland Unions in Ireland — titled *Statistical Account or Parochial Survey of Ireland* — which was based on detailed observations by Church of Ireland clergymen in response to twelve specific questions set out by Shaw Mason, including a question specifically eliciting information about the language of

⁵⁰ Irish, of course, was still in use, as shown when ‘Timothy Whiteing reported to the Irish Revenue Commissioners in 1674–75 that riding officers at Wexford and Waterford should have the “linguo of the country” in order to gain necessary information’ (Kallen, 1986, Ch. 2, citing McNeill 1930, 178). Also, Irish surnames predominate in most baronies of Wexford c.1659 (Pender, ed., 1939, 522–556, cit. Ó Cruaíoch, 2004, *passim*).

⁵¹ Speculation as to the details of the context of this keen are for another time, but it will suffice to say here that notwithstanding the opposition of the Catholic Church to keening from the mid-eighteenth century on (Lysaght, 1997, 66–8), priests were being keened in the south-east of Ireland, possibly up until the 1840s, at least (Hall, 1841, cit. Ó Madagáin, 1981, 313).

⁵² Contrasts or comparisons might be made with the most famous keen to have been recorded, i.e., *Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoghaire*, which was originally recited in north-west Cork, in 1773, but which was added to over several years (Bromwich, 1948, 244; Lysaght, 1997, 71). The first excerpt of *Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoghaire* was first recorded in 1800, and the full version was not published until the late-nineteenth century (Lysaght, 1997, 68). Whereas *Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoghaire* involves interaction among the speakers, as well as vivid and rich imagery, the ‘Lament for Bishop Stafford’ is noticeably pale by comparison; and the renown of the main subject may have been the sole reason for survival of the keen.

the people. Problems of subjectivity or bias are discussed in 2.8.2.6 below, but, for our present purpose, here, we may note that there are no reports directly from Bargy in the *Survey*, and in the two from Forth, we are told the following by Rev. Richard Bevan in the relatively small parish of Carne: “The Irish language’ is not spoken or known either in this parish or barony, or in the neighbouring barony of Bargy. These are called the English baronies by all the other parts of this county, as if they were completely distinct countries” (PSI, vol. iii, 129). Tacumshane Union comprises at least half of the barony of Forth, and its rector, Rev. William Eastwood, reported: “The Irish language is not spoken, nor even understood by any of them” [i.e., the people/inhabitants] (ibid., 415).

2.7.3 Nineteenth-century evidence for Irish in Forth and Bargy

Don S. Piatt tells us that Irish was spoken in Carrick-on-Bannow in the 1830s or later (Piatt, 1933, 8), but does not give his source for this.⁵³ In possible support of this (as we shall see in 3.21.3 below), Mrs. S. C. Hall,⁵⁴ in two short stories based in Bannow in the third decade of the nineteenth century, makes reference to hired keening-women.⁵⁵

There is evidence that proselytising of Catholics by Protestants in Kilmore during the 1840s was carried out partly through Irish. In his collecting for the Irish Folklore Commission, in 1954, J. G. Delaney received the following information from Denis Kehoe, a native of Tenacre (Kilmore parish): “

There was soup-kitchens in the Barony of Forth, but only children went to it. The grown-up people avoided them. The children were given tracts and copies of the Bible. An old lady in Kilmore gave the schoolmaster a Gaelic Bible printed during the Famine years. She found it in the house, and it had been there from those times, most probably. She gave it to the schoolmaster in Tomhaggard — Master Gorman (NFC 1344, 455).

⁵³ Given the timing, Piatt’s possible source for this evidence is O’Donovan.

⁵⁴ Mrs. S. C. Hall is Anna Maria Hall née Fielding (1800–1881).

⁵⁵ On the other hand, in the case of two hedge schools (in the neighbouring parishes of Bannow and Rathangan, respectively), we are explicitly told that Irish was not taught. For example, in the parish of Bannow, Bargy, it is said of hedge schools that “No Irish was taught to my remembrance in these times” (Collected in 1938 from Mrs. J. Furlong (74), Littlegraique: NFC S 875, 19). From the neighbouring parish of Rathangan, we are told: “A navigation school at Rolleen, Rathangan, was carried on by Walter Stafford, and boys who intended following a seafaring life attended, and some became very proficient navigators. Quill pens, slate pencils and slates were used in all these schools; no Irish was taught in any of them, and the teachers only received a few pence from each child, per week, or its equivalent in meal potatoes or other commodities.” (NFC S 877, 24).

A letter from James McGrady, dated December 1st, 1849, says of a man named Ambrose Fortune, “. . . though brought [up] by the side of the Lady's Island Lough, in the heart of the Saxon colony that never spoke Irish, he can not only sing Irish songs but give the meaning—word for word”; and McGrady even supplies the first stanza (six lines), with translation, of one of those songs, “*Ma chailín donn deas na gealtaígh bána,*” ‘nice brown-haired girl of the sweet promises’ [*Éigse* 1 (1939) 181]⁵⁶

In an anecdote from 1876, William O’Neill tells us of an importunate woman, Munster Peg (c.1769-c.1873), a native of Dungarvan, Co. Waterford, who roamed the roads of Forth seeking alms from c.1823-1873). He says of her, “Her conversation was mostly in Irish, but she understood English, though spoke it with apparent difficulty” (O’Neill, 1876, 126). For Munster Peg’s Irish conversation to have been sustainable, and for her to be able to get by without fluency in English, despite travelling the barony for fifty years, we must presume that there were enough people in the barony of Forth who had at least limited abilities in Irish, and that their Irish was necessarily native, since it was not being taught in the National Schools (cf. Ó Háinle, 1994, §3.6).

2.8 Irish elsewhere in Wexford in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

2.8.1 Introductory note

Before looking further into the historical and folkloristic evidence, it is worth signposting here that the eighteenth-century texts discussed in Ch. 3.3 and 3.4 below, primarily consist of the writing of two scribes in the parish of St. James and Dunbrody (in south-west Wexford): namely, Philip Ua Giobúin / Gibbons (writing at least from 1740–80); and Séamas Ó Murchadha (writing at least from 1769–1799). We also have the remnants of two songs about the events of 1798 — one relating to the Battle of New Ross, collected in mid-west Wexford in the 1830s, and the other from the Battle of Arklow, which turns up in a contribution to the Schools Collection from the south of the county (see Ch. 3.5 and 3.11 below).

⁵⁶ De Brún (1970, 45, footnote 20) presumes that Fortune must have learnt the songs from pilgrims from outside of the district, but such a presumption is to try to make the facts fit the orthodox or traditional narrative rather than vice versa. That Fortune is able to explain the meanings of the songs, word for word, suggests that he himself had Irish; and if this were the case, it would be of no surprise that he would be the bearer of local Irish traditions, no less than anything he might have picked up from pilgrims.

There exist three reliable primary historical sources for Irish in Wexford in the eighteenth century, and three for the early-nineteenth century. Also, we have valuable secondary (folkloristic) sources which augment our qualitative understanding as well as adding to our quantitative data. Although I give the historical evidence here first, implying primacy of these sources, sometimes the line between history and folklore is blurred, with the only actual difference being that the former is published and the latter is not.⁵⁷

2.8.2 1743 Trial

In an account of a trial involving the Annesley estate in 1743 (Goodall, 2003, 47–9), a Michael Downes, parish priest of Tintern (barony of Shelbourne, south-west Wexford), since 1701, gives evidence, and says, *inter alia*, that he understands Irish (*ibid.*, 49).

2.8.3. Bishop Sweetman's notes (1753)

From May to July, 1753, Nicholas Sweetman (1696–1786), Archbishop of the Catholic diocese of Ferns, inspected twenty-three parishes in the diocese, and took brief notes (in English) of what he found. In July he begins to mention the language that the sermons of the Confirmation ceremonies were given in, for the nine parishes he visited that month: those in Enniscorthy (in the north-west), and Clongeen (in the south-centre, were given in English).⁵⁸ The Irish sermons were located as follows: Bree (in central Wexford), by Fr. Michael O'Brien; Kilmyshall (in the north-west), Killann, Rathgarogue, and New Ross (in the mid-west) — these last four sermons were all given by Fr. Martin Redmond (of Killann), who was accompanying the bishop; Dunganstown/Whitechurch (mid-west), given by Fr. James Nolan; Ramsgrange (in the south-west), an explanation of the Sacrament of Confirmation given by Fr. Thomas Broaders (*de Bhál*, 1958, 115–6; Furlong, 1968, 12). Sweetman, himself a native of Newbawn (in the mid-west) (Furlong, 1968, 6), clearly

⁵⁷ For example, a contemporary account can be distorted due to prejudice or hear-say (or both). While assisting the Ordinance Survey, O'Donovan, as a native Irish speaker, was a potentially excellent source for dialects of Irish in Leinster, but 'Before he came to Wexford, Donovan was of the opinion that there was no Irish whatsoever left in that county, and he says as much in a letter he writes from Gorey on May 20th, 1840, and when he was about to begin his work in the county' (*de Bhál*, 1958, 117–8). Again, O'Donovan appears to have had a poor view of Irish vernacular spoken outside of his own native south Kilkenny (Piatt, 1933, 18). The reliability of Arthur Young is called into question (Ildána, 1920), and much of what is published in Piatt (1933), is hear-say — for instance, the report of the death of the last Irish speaker in the Bannow district, in 1902 (*ibid.*, 25). On the other hand, the folklore sources provide illuminating quantitative and qualitative information appropriate to a historical account.

⁵⁸ The sermon in Clongeen was given by a Fr. Bernard Downes, possibly related to Fr. Michael Downes, parish priest of near-by Tintern, in 1743 (see 2.8.1 above).

understood the Irish sermons, praising three of them and recognising that Martin Redmond gave the same sermon on all four occasions (de Bhál, 1958, 115–6; Furlong, 1968, 12).

That Martin Redmond accompanied the bishop and gave sermons in Irish far from his own parish, should not lead us to infer that the priests in those parishes did not themselves have sufficient Irish. For instance, Redmond gives the sermon in New Ross, where James Nolan is pastor, but James Nolan later gives a sermon in Irish in Whitechurch. It is possible that Sweetman took Redmond as his travelling companion because although Sweetman himself could understand Irish, he may not have been a proficient speaker — which meant he would have needed a translator in areas where there were mostly monoglot Irish-speakers. With such a consideration, it may be of particular interest that Sweetman chose to be accompanied by an Irish-speaking priest from Kilmysall in the north-west, at least to Whitechurch in the south-west of the county, suggesting the possibility that the western part of the county was mostly monoglot Irish-speaking in 1753. Regarding Newbawn (in which it is inferred that the sermon was in English), it is also notable that Sweetman’s native Newbawn DED is one of the few Wexford DEDs not to report any Irish-speakers in either the 1901 or 1911 census (see Tables E9 and F9).

2.8.4 New Ross, 1798

As part of the 1798 Rebellion, the Battle of Ross (i.e., New Ross) took place on June 5th. A British colonel who was centrally involved in the battle was James Alexander, and in his account of the battle (published two years later), he asserts that most of the rebels (i.e., predominantly from the barony of Bantry in the mid-west of the county), were speaking Irish throughout (de Bhál, 1958, 116; Dunne, 1998–9, 208, 211).⁵⁹

2.8.5 Trotter’s tour (1812)

From June to October, 1812, John Bernard Trotter (1775–1818), a native of Co. Down, toured Wexford by foot (Anon., *The Past*, 1973–4, 48–54). Having just spent his first few days in the county, travelling to Ferns, and from thence to Bunclody (both in the north-west), he writes: “The Irish language is spoken almost generally in the county of Wexford;

⁵⁹ I have also heard folklore from a Dublin-man, a stranger whose name I did not get, that one of the rebels in Ross was nicknamed *Fan*, since he kept using this imperative — equivalent to English ‘wait’ - in his part in the battle.

we heard it every where in the fair [of Bunclody].” (ibid., 49). With regard to education, he writes:

Schools at all the chapels ... but [the pupil] cannot get English books to read, and too often forgets how to do so, if he had them. Books in Irish are not to be had, a want, in my opinion, much to be deplored. I would cultivate the human mind by every mode. The best authors, the noble ancient poets, drest in their own interesting and expressive language, would be greedily read by the Irish who had received any education (ibid., 50).⁶⁰

Writing from New Ross (mid-west Wexford), on June 17th, Trotter mentions that the country people at the fair “speak Irish”, and remarks that “since the arrival of the English in this neighbourhood ... they have made little impression on the language, religion, or mind of the country”, and “Religion, language, manners, a common country — common suffering — keep them blended and united” (ibid.).

On the way from New Ross to Dunbrody (in the south-west), Trotter notes: “The Irish language is almost universally spoken” (ibid. 51). That night (Midsummer’s Eve), on the way back from Slievecoiltia to New Ross, Trotter notes the following:

“[in every cottage] we heard Irish spoken as we passed through the valley... Among the peasants and farmers we found the greatest urbanity. They directed us with friendly care, and as most of them spoke English as well as Irish, we found no difficulties, though we returned to Ross by a different and more romantic walk than in the morning” (ibid.).⁶¹

This latter passage is significant in that it points to the existence of monoglot Irish speakers in this area of north-west Shelbourne and south-west Bantry, albeit that they were a minority of those that his party met.

The next morning (June 21st), while walking south from New Ross and overlooking the River Barrow, Trotter observes, in relation to the boatmen on the river: “their loud

⁶⁰ These early schools facilitated the spread of English in Irish-speaking areas (Ó Háinle, 1994, §2.2), and in keeping with the low status and impoverishment of Irish, there was a dearth of published Irish material throughout Ireland at the time of Trotter’s writing (ibid., 3.1).

⁶¹ This bilingual fluency, witnessed by Trotter, may be contrasted to the possible monoglot Irish majority implied by Sweetman’s need for an Irish-speaking companion almost 59 years earlier in the same area (2.8.3, above).

conversation in Irish, and vehement gestures, as they passed, made a novel and animated scene” (ibid.).

2.8.6 *The Parochial Survey of Ireland (1814–9)*

A brief description of the *Parochial Survey* has been given in 2.7.2 above. The *Parochial Survey* only accounts for about one third of the county, but as we shall see, some of these districts overlap with locations where Trotter recorded having heard Irish.

South of New Ross, the picture of the Irish language painted in this survey is far less positive than that described by Trotter. Trotter’s most vivid description of general Irish speech, including the existence of monoglots (i.e., in the cabins of the peasantry at night), corresponds in location to the Church of Ireland Union of Whitechurch and Kilmokea, where we are told the following in Shaw-Mason’s survey: “The language in general use is English, which all can speak, though they occasionally converse with each other in Irish” (Rev. Thomas Hancock, PSI vol ii, 544). In the relatively small Union to the south (Killesk), which contains Dunbrody (destination of Trotter on June 20th, 1812), we are told: “The Inhabitants speak good English and very little Irish” (Rev. William Glascott, PSI vol I, 472). Such a comment from this specific location is in contrast, not only with Trotter’s contemporary account, but more obviously with Archbishop Sweetman’s depiction of a monoglot Irish community (in its parish chapel at Ramsgrange) sixty years earlier (see 2.8.3 above). In Tintern district and Church of Ireland Union (directly to the east), it is reported of the people generally that, “they speak English universally” (Rev. William Archdall, (PSI, vol. 3, 491). This is far more likely to mean that the author thinks that everyone can speak English, or at least, that English is to be heard everywhere, rather than that none can speak Irish (as is the interpretation of at least one author (Ó Cuív, 1951, 81)). Indeed, the English ability (rather than an Irish inability) is further suggested by the author’s acquaintance with a local centenarian by the name of Connors, and given what we know elsewhere (in this section and elsewhere), it is almost certain that this acquaintance with an Irish surname could speak Irish.⁶²

The only other geographical overlap between Trotter’s reporting of Irish and the reports in the *Parochial Survey*, is in the far north of the county, between Arklow and Gorey,

⁶² “A man of the name of Connors resides at Taylorstown, who is upwards of 100, and in wonderful health; he is in perfect possession of all his faculties, and possessed of the same sharpness, and would make a bargain as well as at any period of his life; his eyesight is a little impaired” (Rev. William Archdall, PSI, vol. iii, 491).

where once again we are told: “The English language is exclusively spoken” (Rev. Henry Lambart Bayly, PSI vol. ii, 45). In the five parishes around the town of Enniscorthy, we are told: “The English is the language used” (Rev. Richard Radcliff, PSI vol. I, 352).

Elsewhere in the county, the *Parochial Survey* points to a rather healthier state of Irish, albeit in a bilingual setting. In the Church of Ireland parish of Killeghney (i.e., in mid-west Wexford, half way between New Ross and Enniscorthy), it is reported that

The language among the peasants, except the Protestants, in their discourse with one another, is mostly Irish; but they all speak English. The only man who could not speak English, died a few years ago (Rev. James B. Gordon, PSI, vol. I, 456).

However, the inexorable decline of the Irish language appears to be reflected by the Rector of the Church of Ireland parishes of Newbawn and Adamstown (comprising most of the south of the barony of Bantry, from just east of New Ross, all the way east to the River Slaney):

The people are very sagacious, industrious, and obliging. They are also sober and honest. During my constant residence here for the last ten years, the Irish language, which was generally spoken, is getting rapidly out of use, and the civilisation of the country is happily supplying its place. They are distinguished by no peculiar manners or customs, and are seldom involved in popular commotions. (Rev. Edw. Barton, Archdeacon of Ferns, PSI, vol. I, 5).

2.8.7 Reconciling Trotter and the *Parochial Survey*

There is a notable contrast between Trotter’s account of ubiquitous Irish throughout the west of the county, and the relative paucity of references to the spoken language in corresponding areas in the *Parochial Survey*, possibly suggesting a bias in either or both sources. It is clear that Trotter had a sympathy with Irish Catholics, and his mentioning of the language wherever he hears it shows that he is aware of its disappearance in other places he has travelled through (i.e., that it was no longer to be taken for granted). His description of Irish spoken in the homes at night in the Killesk-Whitechurch districts (see 2.8.5 above), would appear to be far too vivid to be imagined or exaggerated.

Regarding the *Parochial Survey*, it would appear that its various reports were detailed in so many respects that one would be tempted to take them entirely at face value. However,

subsequent reports in the nineteenth century (see below in this section), indicate that several contributors to the *Parochial Survey*, who stated that there was no Irish in their vicinity, are clearly mistaken. Such errors might be explained by the subjective nature of reporting on cultural matters, and indeed, an outward display of what cannot have been entirely genuine deference to the tithe-taking Protestant clergy by the Catholic peasantry is evident throughout the *Parochial Survey*; as such, then, it is likely that the poorest, at least, were putting their best foot forward (for reasons of betterment of their family in employment for instance) in their encounters with such clergymen.⁶³

The most probable conclusion is that a majority of the population of the west of the county was bilingual in the second decade of the nineteenth century (in contrast to 1753), but that only some Anglican clergymen took much or any notice of the Irish that was still being spoken among Catholics — with the details of trends etc. given from Adamstown, in particular, as being a rare reflection of what was actually happening to Irish on the ground. However, as we shall see below, there is strong evidence of the continuation of an Irish-language community in the east of this Church of Ireland parish well into the second half of the nineteenth century — something which there is no hint of in the *Parochial Survey* report.

2.8.8 O’Donovan (1840)

In 1840, when the historian John O’Donovan (1806–61) visited Wexford as part of the Ordinance Survey, he had expected that there would be no Irish speakers left. However, in the south-west, he reports getting the pronunciation of the placenames Fethard and Ballybrazil from local Irish speakers. Additionally, he says of the native population of Templeludigan “in the north-west), ‘they still speak Irish reasonably well, and call the place *Teampall Lúdagáin*’” (de Bhál, 1958, 118). Don S. Piatt tells us: “Irish was spoken at Dunbrody, Whitechurch ... and along the Wexford-Kilkenny-Carlow border less than a century ago” (Piatt, 1933, 8), but although his source for this appears to be O’Donovan (given the time period), Piatt gives no further detail.

2.8.9 Evidence from the censuses

⁶³ An example of the overtly amicable interpersonal relations reported by the Protestant clergy is: “If you enter, the hospitable board is immediately exhibited; and if it be not covered with an elegant collation, you are sure to meet with a clean and comfortable luncheon, sweetened by the most inviting consideration, a hearty welcome” (Rev. William Eastwood, Tacumshane, PSI, vol. iii, 409).

Some general information concerning the speaking of Irish survives from the censuses for every decade from 1851–1891. Commentators appear to be in agreement that, whereas there is probably a slight underrepresentation of Irish speakers in the nineteenth-century figures, the underlying trends and relative strengths of the language from region to region, and even from district to district, are reflected in the data (cf. Ó Cuív, 1951, 20, 27, 77; Woollard, 2007) (see 2.9–18 below for more detailed evaluation of census material). The 1851 returns for Wexford report 800 with Irish (0.4% of the population), including one monoglot; of these, 327 are in Bantry, and 317 in Shelbourne, in the south-west (Ó Cuív, 1951, 81). By 1891, the county-wide figure had fallen to 320 (0.3% of the population), with the greatest number — 109 — being in Bantry.⁶⁴

2.8.10 Irish taught in hedge schools

The Schools Collection gives a unique insight into the unofficial education system in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the teaching of Irish therein. In relation to south-west Wexford, we are told:

There was a hedge school in Killesk near Campile in the year 1717, in Mr John Murphy's field ... The books they used were Arithmetics and Irish books⁶⁵

and

A Hedge School master. Some where around Dunmain and Rathimney there lived a fine young fellow Michael Dalton was his name ... young Dalton received his learning from another old school master who stayed in his house. When Dalton was only a little boy O Rahilly was the old man's name[;] he could speak Irish English and Latin. I heard O Rahilly was buried in Ballyhack (NFC S 871, 236).

⁶⁴ Ó Cuív notes that Bantry borders the baronies of St. Mullins in Carlow, and Ida in Kilkenny, and that Shelbourne is just across the Barrow Estuary from Waterford, i.e., that Irish in these Wexford baronies was strongest because of their being adjacent to Irish-speaking neighbours. However, it is worth noting that even though Bantry does comprise mid-west Wexford, it also extends eastward to the River Slaney, to areas such as Bree, Galbally, and Oylegate — districts which appear to be getting their Irish sustenance, if from anywhere, from Kilmallock DED in east Wexford in 1901 (see 2.9 below). See also 2.8.8 below for Irish in hedge schools in the mid-nineteenth century in Ballyhoge, Bree, and Galbally.

⁶⁵ Collected from Mrs. Foley, Grange, Rathnure. Age 39 (NFC S 900a, Rathnure GNS, May Foley, “A Hedge School”).

Again relating to the south-west of the county (NFC S 871, 351–6), a relatively comprehensive list is given of the local hedge-school teachers, and the subjects they taught; and these include:

“Master Fitzsimons (NATIVE), Kilbraney (in own barn, Gusserane) — subs. Irish, writing, arith ...”; “Master Joseph O’Dwyer, Foley’s barn, Rathimney, New Ross-Irish spoken in this school. ARITH. Reading also taught. Taught for 30 yrs. Paid by chn.;

Master O’Farrell. Teacher came from Mayo - Barn belonging to Mr. Thos. Dwyer Garryduff Campile[...] A well is where school was called ‘Tobar na Scoile’ — Irish spoken”; “Martin Moyle, In a house lately occupied by Miss Catherine Power, Ballycullane — Irish taught generally.

It is most likely that this above information concerns the last of the hedge schools, i.e., which were phased out by the State-run National Schools in the middle of the nineteenth century (cf. Ó Háinle, 1994, §2.3). Not far to the east, in the barony of Shelmalier West (in south-central Wexford), we are told:

There was a hedge school in a barn near Collop’s Well near the Blessed Well of Tubber – Da – Annraou ... Some English was taught there ... There was an old hedge school in Horetown in the Penal days ... Arithmetic and Irish that was all that was taught in it. He had a very little knowledge of English at all (NFC S 882, 238–9).

From the centre of the county, we are told:

There was a hedge school in Bree. It was held in a house belonging to Mr. Byrne. Mr. Lawler of Ballyhogue was the hedge-school-master ... English and Irish were taught. Arithmetics, and English books were used.⁶⁶

Not far to the east of this we find:

⁶⁶ Collected from Mr P Barron, Bree, Ballyhogue, age 60 (NFC S 900a, Rathnure GNS, Nancy Barron, “Hedge School”).

“There was a hedge school in Ballyhogue, County Wexford, about fifty years ago [c.1888] ... The teachers name was Miss Murphy[...] She taught English, Irish, and sums. This school was not a National school, and the children did not sleep in it at night.⁶⁷

In the same vicinity, another school is mentioned in three separate accounts:

There was an old school at the cross of Ballymorris about a hundred years ago. It was in a field belonging to Harry Lett of Ballyindara ... They taught, English, and very little Irish, and some Arithmetics, and very little wrighting;⁶⁸

Up to 1850 there was a hedge school at the cross of Ballymorris... Very little Irish was taught in his school;⁶⁹

There was an old school in Ballymorris about 70 years ago... The subjects taught were Arithmetic, very little Irish, and writing.⁷⁰

In the Boulavogue district — in the north-east — we are told:

One time there was an old school in Mr Kelly's old forge in Clone. The teacher was a Mr Lacey. He did stay at Kelly's for a while and then he went to some other house. The teacher taught English and sums and a little Irish. The children used to sit on stones and they brought a bundle of sticks apiece, they had a good fire. The children wrote on slates. They had to be in at half-past nine in the morning, and were let home at three o'clock in the evening”.⁷¹

From the north-west of the county we are told:

⁶⁷ Collected from Mrs M Brennan, Galbally, Ballyhogue (NFC S 902a, Gallbhaile, Maighréad Ní Bhreatnach, “Hedge School”). It is probable that the '50 years ago' is an underestimation, given what we know of the roll-out of National Schools generally (cf. Ó Háinle, 1994, §2.3).

⁶⁸ Collected from Mrs Magaret Cosgrave, Ballybrennan, Bree (NFC S 902a, Gallbhaile, Nellie Rashford, “Old Schools”).

⁶⁹ NFC S 902a, Gallbhaile, Maighréad Ní Bhraonáin, “Hedge School.”

⁷⁰ Collected from Mr. Ptk. Quirke, Ballymorris, Ballyhogue (NFC S 902a, Gallbhaile, Peggy Murphy, “Old Schools”).

⁷¹ Collected from Michael Gahan (52), Barmona (NFC S 890, 167).

There was an old school in Rossard ... The children learned English, Reading, Irish, Arithmetic and Writing (NFC S 891, 106). In two other schools in the north-west, significance of Irish is minimal.⁷² In mid-west Wexford: “In 1831 there was a school held in Ballymackessy. It was called a hedge school ... They used Irish and English books, and arithmetics for the high standards”;⁷³ “There was a hedge school in Ballindoney 95 years ago [c.1843] ... She [the schoolmistress] was from Courtnacuddy. She taught everything through Irish except arithmetic and an English book”;⁷⁴ “There is a graveyard in Castledockrill and the first man buried in it was Gerard Carty. He was an Irish teacher”;⁷⁵ and “There is a great Irish teacher buried in the new graveyard. His name was Gerald Carty”.⁷⁶

2.8.11 Other accounts from folklore

In the mid-eighteenth century, a famous outlaw, Cahir Rua, appears to have been a monoglot Irish speaker:

“In November 1735 [...] he was captured after a hot chase. [...] His captors had him lodged in irons in Naas jail to await his trial in Portleix. Knowing only broken English, Cahir made his defence in his native tongue. His den is locally called ‘Cahir Ruadh's Den [i.e., in mid-west Wexford] (NFC S 900, 131).

Other accounts from folklore give us a more qualitative insight into attitudes towards Irish in its final days. Notwithstanding the teaching of Irish in hedge schools detailed above (2.8.10), one piece in the Schools Collection, in saying that Irish was not taught in the local hedge school, gives a very succinct and pragmatic description of the prevailing attitude in the nineteenth century towards Irish and the teaching of it:

⁷² For example, in the north-west: “There was another old school in Kilrush Graveyard. And there was no Master in it but a Mistress, and her name was Miss King. Very little Irish was spoken at that time”, and the collector says the same of the neighbouring hedge school in Ballyellis (NFC S 895, 127).

⁷³ Collected from Mr J. Bowe, Forrestalstown, Clonroche. Age 19 (NFC S 900a, Rathnure GNS, Alice Bowe, “A Hedge School”).

⁷⁴ Collected from Mr Michael Doyle, Tomanine, Rathnure; age 39 (NFC S 900a, Rathnure GNS, Lizzie Whelan, “A Hedge School”).

⁷⁵ NFC S 895a, Castledockrell, Pádraig Ó Laoghaire, “The Graveyard”.

⁷⁶ NFC S 895a, Castledockrell, Eamonn Ó Dubhghaill, “The Graveyard”.

About eighty years ago [i.e., the 1850s], there were night schools held in the townland of Glinglass. There was no Irish taught as it would be of no use. The people had to emigrate to foreign countries for a means of livelihood.⁷⁷

And yet, Irish did survive, albeit in an ever-worsening state of decline. One account, also in the Schools Collection, from north-west Wexford, of the folk ritual on St. Brigid's Eve, is given in the past tense, but appears to be from the remembered experience of the teller (i.e., from the mid-nineteenth century at the earliest):

“The youngest girl or boy in the house would kneel outside the house doorway, with the rushes on his arm and knocked thrice at the door and said in Irish down on your knees and humble yourselves and let Brigid in”.⁷⁸

Also in Marshalstown, it is reported: “Some of the old people around Marshalstown heard Irish spoken when they were young”, again indicating that an Irish language community survived in the area, at least until the 1860s or 1870s.⁷⁹

Even more echoic are two accounts from a Mrs. O'Connor in Ballyvaldon (east Wexford), in relation to the skimming of a well on a May morning:

“He [Darby, protagonist in Mrs. O'Connor's account] came on a woman skimming the dew in a certain field and at the same time crooning a tune in Irish. Darby answered with another rhyme in Irish also ... Mrs O'Connor doesn't know the rhymes (NFC S 885, 256);

and in relation to the skimming of May-morning dew for the same reason,

skimming the dew in a certain field and at the same time crooning a rhyme in Irish [...] (Mrs O'Connor had no idea of the words of the rhyme (ibid., 100).

⁷⁷ Collected from Mrs. Doran, Glinglass (NFC S 900a, Rathnure GNS, Mary Doran, “Old Schools”).

⁷⁸ NFC S 893a, Baile Marascail, Mary O'Leary, “Festivals”.

⁷⁹ NFC S 893a, Baile Marascail, Nicholas Doyle, “Marshalstown”. This reference to Irish being remembered by some of the old people in the parish is despite assurances from all the other eight small copies for the school (Mary O'Leary's previous reference notwithstanding), that no-one over 70 could ever remember Irish being spoken in the district.

2.8.12 Reports of last native speakers in the late-nineteenth century

Séamas de Bhál suggests that a woman by the surname of Doran, who died in the mid-1880s, was the last native speaker of Irish in Templeludigan, in mid-west Wexford, near the Kilkenny border (de Bhál, 1958, 118). Accounts from the same parish in the Schools Collection say that the last speaker was a man named ‘Mr. Doran’,⁸⁰ and gives the impression of a strong Irish-speaking community among those born up to the 1820s or 1830s, but that a huge shift had happened before the birth of those in the 1860s, who had very little Irish:

There are about eleven people over seventy in the townland [Templeludigan]. None of them know any Irish except very little, but they record that their fathers were fluent Irish speakers (NFC S 901, 43).

Also in the Schools Collection, we are told of a basket-maker in Rathnure (near the Carlow/Kilkenny border):

John [O’Connell] died in 1890 at the age of 90 years. He knew a great deal of Irish, and could speak it fluently, but there were no old people in the district who could converse with him in Irish (NFC S 900, 210).

2.9 Wexford Irish in the early-twentieth century — making sense of the census

2.9.1 Introduction to twentieth century historical sources

Setting aside, for the moment, the twentieth-century Irish texts from Wexford (see Ch. 3), the evidence we have for native Wexford Irish in the early-twentieth century is of two types, neither of which are clear-cut: firstly, we have written references in the Schools Collection to the Irish-speaking abilities of named elderly people in the districts of Killesk and Duncormick (see 2.11.1 and 2.12.3 below), as well as two observations of native Irish abilities of children by visitors to schools in Balloughter and Duncannon (in 1911 and c.1950, respectively (see below 2.11.1 and 2.15.1)); secondly, we have the census returns from 1901 and 1911, which include data on a question relating to language ability. However, what these sources can tell us about the extent of surviving Wexford Irish depends on our knowledge

⁸⁰ “The last person to speak Irish in the district is supposed to have been a man named Doran, whose descendants still occupy the same house and have also a knowledge of the language” (NFC S 901, 47).

and understanding of the Gaelic League, which supplanted the native Irish communities with learnt Irish, more often with teachers who came from other parts of the country with different dialects, but also with those who had learnt Irish only in a formal setting.⁸¹

2.9.2 The urban nature of the Gaelic revival

Table 2: Total Wexford-born population by age-cohort in the censuses of 1901 and 1911⁸²

	<1841	1841–51	1851–61	1861–71	1871–81	1881–91	1891–1901
1901	13,279	12,142	12,591	14,142	18,856	20,241	19,558
1911	6,249	8,068	9,193	11,876	14,712	15,839	17,523

Table 3: Urban proportion of Irish-speakers by age in 1901

	70+	60s	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	1–9	Total	%	of
Total	30	38	48	82	139	255	387	83	1,062	1.12	94,390
Rural	21	21	31	53	80	132	180	44	562	0.82	68,813
Urban	9	17	17	29	59	123	207	39	500	1.95	25,577
Urban as %	30	45	35	35	42	48	53	47	47	27.1 ⁸³	

Table 4: Urban proportion of Irish-speakers by age in 1911

	70+	60s	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	1–9	Total	%	of
Tot.	26	30	81	86	185	400	1,331	237	2,376	2.6	91,236
Rural	14	21	62	50	99	224	605	81	1,156	1.75	66,038
Urban	12	9	19	36	86	176	726	156	1,220	4.84	25,198

⁸¹ The Gaelic League was initiated in Wexford in 1900, with Irish classes held by Kerry-born Michael O’Sullivan in Enniscorthy (Ó Murchadha, 2005, 5, and online census of the National Archive). Natives of Ballyvourney, west Cork, taught in Castlebridge (1903), and Wexford CBS (from 1913, and in St. Peter’s College/Seminary from 1915 (ibid., 7). Pádraig Ó Foghludha, from Kerry, was employed as a full-time teacher in 1919 (ibid., 8). Most of the full-time teachers employed by the Gaelic League in Wexford in the 1920s were from Munster, with the exceptions being one from west Galway, and another from Kilkenny (ibid., 12–33).

⁸² The data in this table are based on an estimation of each cohort, using the +/- 5 years tool on the National Archive website. All census data mentioned in this work are based on those born in Wexford, only, unless otherwise stated. All tables and consequent analysis in the remainder of this chapter are based on Appendices E and F.

⁸³ i.e., 27% of the entire Wexford-born population are urban dwellers.

Urban as %	46	30	23	42	46.5	44	54	66	51.35	27.62
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It can be seen in Tables 3 and 4 above that the combined towns of Wexford, Enniscorthy, New Ross, and Gorey have almost three times the rate of Irish as do rural areas. Towns comprise 27/28% of the county’s population, but are above this percentage for those with Irish in all but one decile — those born 1851-61 in both censuses, and the overall proportion from the towns by decile is greatest in the teens in 1901 (53% of teens with Irish being in towns); and by children under 10 in 1911 (66% of these being in towns). Of teens with Irish in 1911, 54% are in towns. So, with urban-dwellers being nearly three times more likely to speak Irish than rural-dwellers (i.e., more influenced by the Gaelic revival), presence of towns in a barony will inevitably skew the general census patterns of Irish towards inclusion of Irish-learners rather than native Irish-speakers, and so, removal of towns from such calculations is likely to give a more accurate picture in terms of regional distribution and trends of the native vernacular.

2.9.3 The Gaelic revival and age

Ó Cuív suggests that if there was an underestimation of Irish in the censuses until 1881, there was overestimation from 1901 onwards because of the Gaelic revival and Irish being seen as a cultural asset (Ó Cuív, 1951, 27).⁸⁴ Garrett Fitzgerald’s remedy for this distortion when analysing the 1911 census was to measure only those reported to have Irish if they were 70 or over (i.e., born in 1841 or before), since they would be the least likely to have been influenced by the Gaelic revival, and so, the Irish they were reported to have had was probably of native origin (Fitzgerald, 2003, 194).⁸⁵ From age patterns of competence in

⁸⁴ As shown in 2.17 below, the opposite is probably the case when it comes to native Irish in Gaeltacht areas — i.e., that such ability is underestimated.

⁸⁵ Fitzgerald finds two DEDs in Wexford in 1911 with four or more with Irish who were 70 or over, i.e., in Fethard (in the south-west, and Kilcomb — in the north-west (2003, 211-2). However, based on the online census data from the National Archives, there is no DED in Wexford in 1911 with four or more Irish-speakers who are 70 or over, and in 1901, there is only one rural DED with four speakers born in 1841 or earlier) — i.e., Castle Ellis (in the east, in the vicinity of the coastal village of Blackwater) (see Tables E6, E11, F6, and F11). Continuing, for now, with this metric, in 1901, of the four other DEDs with more than one person with Irish born in or before 1841, two are in the east (Castletalbot and Kilmallock), and two are in the mid-west (i.e., Ballyanne and Old Ross — both in the west of the county). In 1911, the leading rural DED for those with Irish born in or before 1841 is Castledockrell (in the mid-west), with three speakers. Of the four other DEDs, in 1911, with more than one Irish-speaker born in or before 1841, two are in the north-west (Kilcomb and Ballindaggin), and two in the south-west (Fethard and Templetown — at Hook Head) — all four DEDs having just two with Irish who are 70 or over (see Table F11).

the Irish language, the Gaelic revival is a discernible influence in the online census data for Wexford (cf. Tables E1 and F1), with declared Irish-speaking spiking in the second youngest decile, and decreasing as the deciles progress in age.⁸⁶ More than two thirds (68.2%) of those declared to have Irish in 1901 are under 30, and in 1911, the equivalent proportion is more than four fifths (83.2%) (data calculated from Tables E1 and F1).

Table 5: Changes in Irish abilities by cohort in the censuses

Note: the first number in each column is from the 1901 census, and the second (after the hyphen) from 1911.

	<1841	1841-51	1851-61	1861-71	1871-81	1881-91	1891-'01
SW	4-4	2-7	2-22	9-15	10-15	17-30	2-69
SE	17-5	16-8	25-16	39-23	72-40	101-89	29-4449
SC	2-1	4-1	7-6	6-1	5-6	5-17	3-13
E	8-2	4-1	9-4	24-9	41-16	31-38	6-112
NE	5-3	3-2	3-6	13-8	17-23	31-50	4-172
NW	9-5	7-6	21-18	31-16	67-46	142-86	23-267
MW	25-6	12-5	15-9	17-14	43-39	60-90	16-249
Tot	68-26	48-30	82-81	139-86	255-185	387-400	83-1,331

Table 6: Percentage of each cohort with Irish

	<1841	1841-51	1851-61	1861-71	1871-81	1881-91	1891-1901
1901	0.51	0.4	0.65	0.98	1.35	1.91	0.42
1911	0.42	0.37	0.88	0.72	1.26	2.52	7.6

Table 7: Regional changes in numbers of Irish-speakers by cohort in the censuses (rural only)

	<1841	1841-51	1851-61	1861-71	1871-81	1881-91	1891-'01
SW	4-4	2-7	2-22	9-15	10-15	17-30	2-69
SE	10-2	9-5	14-8	18-8	22-8	38-23	9-122
SC	2-1	4-1	7-6	6-1	5-6	5-17	3-13
E	8-2	4-1	9-4	24-9	41-16	31-38	6-112
NE	3-2	2-1	3-6	2-6	7-15	12-41	4-115

⁸⁶ In 1901, the number of those declared to have Irish under the age of 10 is less than those in their 30s, but more than those in their 40s; and in 1911, the equivalent number is less than those in their 20s, but more than those in their 30s.

NW	4-2	2-2	10-11	9-7	22-18	53-26	10-111
MW	11-3	8-4	8-9	12-10	25-25	24-67	10-121
Total	42-16	31-21	53-66	80-56	132-103	180-242	44-673

As can be seen in Tables 4–7, the only cohorts to report a relative increase in their competence in Irish, between 1901 and 1911, were those born 1891–1901 (where the number increases more than twenty-fold); 1881–1891, where the increase is just under a third; and those born 1851–61, where there is a drop from 82–81 between the two censuses, but a pro-rata increase of just under a third. Those entering their 30s during the first decade of the twentieth century report a proportional decrease in Irish by about 8%, and those entering their 40s report a decline by 27%. These latter two decreases suggest that these cohorts were not as affected by the Gaelic revival as might hitherto have been thought. The relative decline of Irish ability of those born before 1861 between 1901–1911 has two primary possible explanations: a) the more well-off or more comfortable probably lived longer than their poorer contemporaries, but the latter were more likely to have Irish and b) if these older cohorts were not living in Irish-language communities, then the longer the time since they had last spoken Irish, the less likely they would be inclined to declare an ability in the language (for other reasons, see 2.18 below).

In general, on the other end of the age spectrum, the increasing numbers and proportions claiming to have had Irish as age decreases, may not only be due to the learning of Irish as part of the Gaelic revival, or wishful thinking by some who claim to have Irish, but it may also be due to a confidence in having Irish (native or learnt) among the young which is not shared by the older generations who had played an active part in its decimation. However, there is likely to be an overlapping between denial and pride in the deciles, which makes this phenomenon harder to decipher in the statistics.

2.9.4 Choosing the most useful age filter to best gauge clusters of the last native speakers

Tables E2 and F2 show reported Irish-speaking in rural Wexford by region in 1901 and 1911, respectively. In general, as with the complete tables (E1 and F1), Irish tapers off as the deciles get older, except that there is a slight dip for those in their 40s — or elevation for those in their 50s. In choosing a cut-off point to draw a map of the last redoubts of Irish in Wexford in the early-twentieth century, a balance must be struck: the later the cut-off point,

the more substantial the vista, but the greater the risk of distortion due to the influence of the Gaelic revival.⁸⁷

The three options, in this respect, are:

a) Focusing on those born before 1841: this is the strictest filter, and that used by Garret Fitzgerald (1984) in his breakdown of the national figures by county and — to some degree — DEDs with strongest Irish in counties of the *Galltacht* (predominantly English-speaking areas).⁸⁸ This filter means that for our purposes, those in the 1901 census must be 60 years old or over, and those in the 1911 census must be 70 years old or over.

b) Focusing on those born before 1861: this is probably the latest date to be useful since those born from 1851–61 are the youngest cohort to be demonstrably unaffected by the Gaelic revival, by dint of the decrease in their declared Irish ability between the two censuses, and also their being less likely to emigrate.

c) Focusing on those born before 1851: this year is simply a compromise between the two previous alternatives.

The actual numbers and percentages of total populations are relatively small, but are likely to represent larger Irish-speaking communities, albeit communities on the verge of extinction. Possibly because of these relatively small numbers, the reporting of Irish in the 1901 and 1911 censuses in Wexford is notable for a remarkable degree of discontinuity. Very rarely is it possible to trace a continuous thread of Irish by the same individual or household between the two censuses, regardless of age, and as such, it is useful to accumulate the respective numbers reported as having Irish in both censuses born before either of the three cut-off points, 1841, 1851, or 1861, in order to more easily establish any general geographical pattern among the last native speakers.

⁸⁷ Other approaches possible using those four tables are a). the basic numbers approach and b). the percentage approach, ranking rural DEDs by the proportion who are declared to have Irish. In essence, because of the probable under-reporting of native Wexford Irish in the censuses (see 2.18 below), all of these indices, in conjunction with cut-off dates as strongest indicators, may be more or less relevant, and can be used in conjunction with each other, but especially with a view to looking out for geographical clusters of DEDs, and several of these clusters are suggested by the data when choosing 1861 as the cut-off date.

⁸⁸ Fitzgerald only examines the 1911 census. Another reason he gives for choosing 1841 as a cut-off point is that it pointed to geographical patterns of Irish usage before the Great Famine — which decimated the Irish-speaking population more than any other linguistic category.

Table 8: Irish-speakers born before 1841, by rural region⁸⁹

	1901	1911	Total	% of	1901 + 1911 = total
SW	4	4	8	0.0525	7,969 + 7,267 = 15,236
SE	10	2	12	0.0501	12,165 + 11,791 = 23,956
SC	2	1	3	0.0231	6,600 + 6,367 = 12,967
E	8	2	10	0.0699	7,426 + 6,872 = 14,298
NE	3	2	5	0.0196	13,004 + 12,568 = 25,572
NW	4	2	6	0.029	10,210 + 10,446 = 20,656
MW	11	3	14	0.0671	10,933 + 9,937 = 20,870

If we take 1841 as the cut-off date, the eastern region is proportionally strongest with Bantry (the mid-west barony) coming a close second. The south-west and south-east are close together in third and fourth, respectively, with the remaining three regions close together in fifth to seventh positions — with the north-east being the weakest.

Table 9: Irish-speakers born before 1851, by rural region

	1901	1911	Total	% of	1901 + 1911 = total
SW	6	11	17	0.112	7,969 + 7,267 = 15,236
SE	19	7	26	0.109	12,165 + 11,791 = 23,956
SC	6	2	8	0.062	6,600 + 6,367 = 12,967
E	12	3	15	0.105	7,426 + 6,872 = 14,298
NE	5	3	8	0.031	13,004 + 12,568 = 25,572
NW	6	4	10	0.048	10,210 + 10,446 = 20,656
MW	19	7	26	0.125	10,933 + 9,937 = 20,870

If we take 1851 as the cut-off point, the mid-west is strongest, followed closely by the south-west, south-east, and east. The north-east, once again, is the weakest area.

⁸⁹ In order to arrive at a more accurate representation of the proportions, it would be preferable to measure the numbers of Irish-speakers as a proportion of their own cohorts (i.e., those generally being born in the region before the respective cut-off dates). However, for the purposes of this work, we will focus on their proportion of the entire population of each respective region.

Table 10: Irish-speakers born before 1861, by rural region

	1901	1911	Total	%	1901 + 1911 = total
SW	8	33	41	0.269	7,969 + 7,267 = 15,236
SE	33	15	48	0.2	12,165 + 11,791 = 23,956
SC	13	8	23	0.177	6,600 + 6,367 = 12,967
E	21	7	28	0.196	7,426 + 6,872 = 14,298
NE	8	9	17	0.067	13,004 + 12,568 = 25,572
NW	16	15	31	0.15	10,210 + 10,446 = 20,656
MW	27	16	43	0.206	10,933 + 9,937 = 20,870

However, as mentioned above, since all cohort deciles before 1861 show a decrease in Irish ability between the two censuses — showing themselves generally to be impervious to the Gaelic revival, 1861 itself appears to be the best cut-off date, since it increases the numbers we are dealing with — helping to illustrate a more detailed picture — while retaining the certainty that those being counted are actually native speakers. When using this cut-off-point, the south-west is substantially stronger than all other regions, with the mid-west and south-east almost tied for second place. The east, south-centre, and north-west, are next, with the north-east once again being the weakest.

As a general comment on the outcome of these three filters, it is not surprising to find Bantry or Shelbourne among the top three regions for native Irish in Wexford, since as a rule of thumb, native Irish, from the beginning of its decline, was strongest in the west of the country and, as such, was strongest, by degree, in the west of each county. Indeed, a much simpler analysis of the census statistics would appear to support this schema for Wexford (Ó Cuív, 1951, 81). However, Tables 8–10 demonstrate that the situation is not as straightforward in Wexford, at least, where a south-west / north-east difference is more notable, with Irish being substantially weaker in the northern third of the county. Also of note is that the south-east region (historically more renowned for the Yola dialect of English), holds its own, relatively speaking, in terms of retention of native Irish in the early-twentieth century.

Table 11: Irish speakers born before 1861 by DED⁹⁰

		1901	1911	Combined totals ⁹¹
Fethard	SW	-	20	20
Bridgetown	SE	7	3	10
Kilmallock	E	7	2	9
Clonroche	MW	4	4	8
Kilcowan	SE	3	4	7
Artramon	E	4	3	7
Rathroe	SW	1	5	6
Castle Ellis	E	6	-	6
Castledockrell	MW	-	6	6
Harperstown	SE	4	1	5
Rosminoge	NE	2	3	5
Bree	MW	5	-	5
Barronstown	MW	3	1	4
Kilmokea	SW	4	-	4
Whitechurch	SW	2	2	4
Kilmore	SE	4	-	4
Killinick	SE	4	-	4
Lady's Island	SE	3	1	4
Kilbride	SC	4	-	4
Killurin	SC	3	1	4
Courtown	NE	-	4	4
Ferns	NW	4	-	4
Kiltealy	NW	2	2	4
Ballindaggin	NW	2	2	4
Tintern	SW	-	3	3
Templetown	SW	-	3	3

This line shows the percentages of each decile which lives in towns, and the overall percentage of the general population living in towns.

⁹⁰ These figures include reports from the Schools Collection in Killesk and Duncormick.

⁹¹ By using the combined totals, we can iron out inconsistencies in admissions to having Irish between the two censuses within particular DEDs, and so to more easily approximate an index for ranking. Where speakers are replicated between the two censuses, their inclusion in the ranking is still useful in representing consistency.

Rathaspick	SE	2	1	3
St. Helen's	SE	-	3	3
Tomhaggard	SE	2	1	3
Taghmon	SC	1	2	3
Kilcomb	NW	-	3	3
Newtownbarry	NW	-	3	3
Old Ross	MW	3	-	3
Ballyanne	MW	3	-	3
Monamolin	MW	3	-	3
Carnagh	MW	1	2	3
The Leap	MW	2	1	3
Killesk	SW	1	-	2*
Rosslare	SE	2	-	2
Carrick	SC	1	1	2
Inch	SC	2	-	2
Ardcavan	E	2	-	2
Ballyhuskard	E	1	1	2
Ballybeg	NW	2	-	2
Kilbora	NW	1	1	2
St. Mary's	NW	2	-	2
Ballyhoge	MW	1	1	2
Kilscoran	SE	1	-	1
Mayglass	SE	-	1	1
Tacumshin	SE	1	-	1
Duncormick	SE	-	-	1*
Carrickbyrne	SC	1	-	1
Glynn	SC	1	-	1
Ardcolm	E	1	-	1
Ballylarkin	NE	1	-	1
Bolaboy	NE	1	-	1
The Harrow	NE	1	-	1
Kilpatrick	NE	-	1	1

Balloughter	NE	-	-	1*
Marshalstown	NW	-	1	1
Tinnacross	NW	-	1	1
Tombrack	NW	1	-	1
Kilrush	NW	1		1
Moyacomb	NW	1	-	1
Killann	MW	1	-	1
Rochestown	MW	1	-	1
Clonleigh	MW	1	-	1
Castleboro	MW	1	-	1
Whitechurch	MW	-	1	1

* = +1 because of other textual evidence of native Irish in an area.

If we break down the pre-1861 births of Irish-speakers in these two censuses, according to DED, some notable bands and clusters emerge across the county as a whole — i.e., connecting Irish-speaking DEDs, with some DEDs being focal clusters, and Irish-speaking areas crossing regional boundaries in bands.

2.9.5 The mid-Wexford band

As can be seen in Table 11, there is a cluster of native Irish in the three neighbouring DEDs of Clonroche, Castledockrell, and Barronstown, between Enniscorthy and New Ross, and it is notable that Clonroche corresponds to the Church of Ireland Union of Killegney in which ubiquitous Irish was reported in the *Parochial Survey* in 1814. As seen in Table 10, the mid-west is the second strongest region for native Irish in the early-twentieth century. Fifteen of the twenty DEDs in this region (the barony of Bantry), report natives with Irish born before 1861 in the censuses of the early-twentieth century.

Consequently, to the west of the Clonroche cluster, there is more or less a contiguous (albeit weaker) Irish-speaking area stretching west to New Ross and the Kilkenny border. To the north, the Clonroche cluster is connected to a Ferns cluster in the north-west via The Leap and Marshalstown DEDs (west of Enniscorthy) (see Tables E8, E9, F8, and F9). This

latter cluster, in the north-west, stretches to Bunclody to the west, and the Harrow to the east, and Rossminoge and Balloughter (near Gorey) to the north-east).⁹²

In central Wexford, on the western bank of the River Slaney, in the south-east of Bantry, are the neighbouring DEDs of Bree and Ballyhoge, with a well-balanced Irish-speaking population (by age). Further south along this bank into the south-central region (barony of Shelmalier West), this band spreads to the DEDs of Killurin and Kilbride (just to the west of Wexford Town). Directly across the Slaney, to the east, are the three DEDs of Artramon, Ardavan, and Ardcolm (relatively strong native Irish-speaking regions in the south of the eastern region) just north and north-east of Wexford Town. There appears to be a weakening of Irish in the middle of this region, but in its north, the DEDs of Ballyhuskard, Kilmallock, and Castle Ellis, once again show relatively strong native Irish. This Kilmallock cluster extends north to Bolaboy DED in the north-east (see Tables 7, E5, E9, F5, and F9).

Notwithstanding the small percentages concerned, we can see in Tables E2 and F2 that in both censuses, east Wexford, by percentage, has more Irish than any other region in the county (1.66% in 1901, almost a third more than the proportion of the next region (north-west); and in 1911, 2.72% (a sixth more than the south-west)).⁹³ In 1901, seven of the nine DEDs of east Wexford have people reported as having Irish born before 1861, and it has four of its DEDs fitting this description in 1911. As indicated above, Kilmallock DED (in the north-west of the region) has the core of the Irish in the east (see Tables 7, E6, and F6).

2.9.6 The south-eastern band

Another continuous band is discernible in the south-east, with Bridgetown, Harperstown, and Kilcowan DEDs at its core, and this comprises the strongest native cluster in the county. This band extends east to St. Helen's (containing modern-day Rosslare Harbour) with an adjacent cluster of Killinick and Kilsoran.

2.9.7 Shelbourne

Seven of the nine DEDs in the south-west appear to have native Irish in the early-twentieth century (including Killesk, as reported in the Schools Collection in the 1930s —

⁹² (Balloughter native Irish as reported by Horgan in 1911 — see 2.15.1 below).

⁹³ The east Wexford region comprises a triangle with the apex to the south in Wexford town, going north along the coast to the village of Blackwater, west to Enniscorthy, and south-east again along the Slaney to Wexford town.

see 2.11.1 below); and Fethard DED by itself, constitutes the largest representation of Irish by any DED in the county in either census — by dint of its strong showing in the 1911 census.

2.10–2.17 Microanalysis of twentieth-century Wexford Irish by region

2.10. Features of microanalysis of census data

2.10.1 Urban/rural and age filters

We have already seen (§2.9.2) how the Gaelic revival was more an urban than a rural phenomenon in Co. Wexford, with urban dwellers being three times more likely to have declared that they can speak Irish in the 1901 and 1911 censuses. Besides this, as pointed out by Garret Fitzgerald (1984), the Gaelic revival is more likely to have affected younger than older people. As with Fitzgerald's studies (1984 and 2003), the concern here is to attempt to measure those with **native** Irish language ability, and to try to work out trends, such as in age and geography, by reducing the distortion effect of the Gaelic revival in so far as we can; and by applying the urban/rural and young/old filters, we have seen the results (§2.9 and Appendices E and F).

However, factors such as age and urban dwelling etc. can only be used in terms of **probability** and **mitigation** on the macro scale, and this does not mean that all or any of the urban-dwelling Irish speakers born before 1861 (who are excluded by our macro-filtering) have acquired their Irish as a result of the Gaelic revival – even though, given that the Gaelic revival is much stronger in those areas, one would expect that they would be more likely to be affected, through confidence in declaring, or through language-learning, by the Gaelic revival.⁹⁴

It might also be remembered that in order for towns to grow during the 19th century, they necessarily took in immigrants from the surrounding baronies, meaning that some

⁹⁴ A corollary of the probable existence of urban-dwelling native Irish-speakers is the possibility or probability that at least some of those born before 1861 in rural areas have been impacted by the Gaelic revival. However, as seen in §2.9, we should expect a very high probability to be that rural-dwelling Irish-speakers born before 1861 have native Irish. When we speak of literacy in this context, we are necessarily speaking about literacy in English, since even if a person has literacy in Irish at the turn of the 20th century, it is necessarily on the back of literacy in English for a multitude of reasons, including the education system being based on English, and there being a relative paucity of Irish literature (Ó Háinle, 1994, §§3.1-2, 3.9-11). Also, in the unlikely event that there was a person left in Ireland at the turn of the 20th century who could read Irish but not English, the Census would not have picked this up, unless the Irish-speaker said they had no English, since the censuses did not specify as to the language a person was literate in – apparently presuming it to be English.

proportion of urban dwellers born before 1861 had to have been born and raised in a rural Wexford setting. Similarly, as we shall see below, just because someone is born after 1861 does not necessarily mean that their Irish is non-native, and it is useful to discuss the factors that would help to identify native Irish probabilities outside of the urban/rural and age-related filters. That is to say, there are other, often interrelated, factors, requiring further research, which would be expected to mitigate against the Gaelic revival effect when trying to gauge the prevalence of native Irish speakers in the last years of the native language in Wexford, and which are essential to any microanalysis. Primarily, the aim here is to try to find evidence of a pre-Revival Irish-language community (whether that community be just a household, small professional network, or something much larger).

2.10.2 Social status

Since, at least by 1882, the general population was not behind the Gaelic revival movement (Ó Háinle, §2.7); and those who retained native Irish were more likely to be poor, and without much social status or education (ibid., cf. §2.1-2, 2.12, 3.1), when we find older people or rural dwellers who have low-status professions, such as labourer, or have literacy deficits, even though the coalescence of these factors in one person is not absolute proof that their Irish is native, they should be considered as further factors indicating native Irish authenticity, and even more so when additional likely factors (as per 2.10.3 below) are present.

2.10.3. Other possible micro or local factors as authenticity markers

Inter-household connections: Using age, class, and literacy deficits, even in an urban environment (missed by the macro-survey material), one can find people who may be considered as having a relatively high probability of having native Irish. For example, of the 21 reported Irish-speakers born before our filter date in 1861 in Enniscorthy in 1901, we find two fruit-dealers living on different streets, and both unable to read or write: Michael Knox (60), and Elizabeth Ryan (60) (notes to Table E8). In this example, in addition to the multiplicity of factors (i.e., age, low-status profession, literacy deficits), there is the strong probability of a **professional connection**, meaning that these acquaintances probably continued to speak Irish to each other. A similar professional nexus can be found in Taghmon, in 1911, where James Whelan (72) a cooper, and William Joseph Martin (58), a

vintner, comprise two of the three declared Irish speakers in Taghmon Town (notes to Table F5). The third person is the son of the vintner, just mentioned, and since none of the other three close relatives in the household (including the son's twin sister) have Irish, it can be surmised that the son's Irish is being picked up at work from his father and at least one associate, the local cooper). Similarly, the aforementioned Elizabeth Ryan may have been responsible for the declared Irish of her son, Edward (22), since even though there are 44 others in their 20s, in 1901, in Enniscorthy who declare themselves to have Irish, this is still only a tiny minority of those in their 20s, since the population of the town is 6,942.

Intra-household factors: given that we should expect the head of household to be the one completing the census form, where the only declared Irish speaker(s) in the household conform to some of the factors already stated, this should be seen as an indicator of native Irish survival rather than a product of the Gaelic revival: for example, Mary Bannett (2.11.2, below), who was born c.1851, and a servant, and is the only one in a household of thirteen to have Irish; and Edward Rourke (63 in 1911) who cannot write, and is the only occupant declared to have Irish (note to Table F5).

Age profile in a DED: where the age profile of declared Irish-speakers is relatively well distributed across cohorts, the negation of the Gaelic revival, which is predominantly a youth movement (2.9.3 above), is far less likely to be a factor, and so we should pay particular attention to the relationships of all reported speakers. For example, in 1901, Bree DED has 47% of Irish speakers born before 1871; of the 13 in Castle-Ellis, none are under 20, and 6 are born before 1861; and in Clonroche, 5 of the 7 are born before 1861 (Table E10). In these circumstances, it would be reasonable to presume that in a household such as that of William Sinnott, Castle-Ellis, where all five occupants have Irish (ages 24-70), the younger ones have a very high probability of having native Irish.

Other reports of relatively recent Irish in a DED: In DEDs, such as Bree, where we have late reports of Irish being taught in hedge schools, it would be expected that a relatively high proportion of those born before 1841 would have native Irish. Although the collapse of the Irish language community can explain why this is not necessarily reflected in the census, this **hedge school** factor adds extra credence to those older people who do declare Irish in the census there. Similarly, the suggestion of monoglot Irish-speaking children in Kilmore in the 1840s (§2.7.3 above), gives weight to the census evidence that Bridgetown

DED (which is in Kilmore Parish), is the second strongest DED for native Irish – for those with Irish born in 1861 or earlier – and indeed, of the neighbouring parish of Kilcowan, which is fifth in that table (Table 11).

As illustrated by some examples already given above, and of many more in sections 11-17 of this chapter, the most significant advantage in microanalysis is the investigation into the inter-generational aspect of the residual native Irish language communities, which shows that these communities were not restricted to those born before 1861 etc., and ultimately, that people with a reasonable knowledge of native Wexford Irish must have lived well into the twentieth century, albeit, long after the language community (even if just a household) from which they acquired their native Irish, had dissolved.

2.11 The South-West

2.11.1 Reports of Irish in the mid-twentieth century

Mícheál Ó Rodaighe was a National School inspector in Wexford from c.1946-c.1952, and his son, Colm, tells me that his father claimed to have encountered pupils with native Irish in Duncannon [Convent] N.S. in the late 1940s or early 1950s.⁹⁵ Duncannon is only about 3km from Ballyhack (locality of the eighteenth-century Irish writer, Philip Gibbons (see Ch. 3.3)). In itself, this report does not necessarily contradict the common picture given of Irish in south-west Wexford in the 1930s (in the Schools Collection):

As is to be found throughout the Co. Wexford the Irish language, prior to its revival by the Gaelic League, was practically dead in those districts. Still, there is a fair amount of Irish words in use in everyday life in rural parts to be found with the people here... (NFC S 873, 105);

and:

There are very few people in the townland, or parish, that can talk Irish. In all county Wexford there are very few.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ I have not been able to verify this. Colm, himself, said that his father was overly fond of the Irish, not allowing any other language to be spoken by Colm or the rest of the family, and he thinks that such enthusiasm may have skewed his father's objectivity in the matter.

⁹⁶ NFC S 873b, Horeswood, Jennie Cummins, "My Home District".

Indeed, also in the Schools Collection, we get a glimpse of one of these few speakers in two descriptions of Tinnock townland (Killesk Civil Parish):

There are four people over seventy in the district. Mr Kavanagh tells Irish stories and he sings Irish and English Songs (NFC S 873, 68, collected by George Sutton);

and from the same school:

There are a number of people over seventy in the district. Mr Kavanagh tells Irish stories and he sings Irish and English songs. His address is: Mr Tom Kavanagh, Tinnock, Campile, Co. Wexford..⁹⁷

2.11.2 Overview from the census

According to the 1901 census, most Irish for this region (the barony of Shelbourne), is reported as being located in the north-west of the barony — the general area associated with the eighteenth-century scribes Gibbons and Ó Murchadha. This includes a small cluster of reported Irish-speakers in Kilmokea DED (the district of the villages of Campile and Horeswood), an area specifically associated with Ó Murchadha, and also with Thomas Kavanagh, mentioned in the Schools Collection of 1938. In the 1901 census, this cluster is largely accounted for by the O’Brien family of Ballynamona (the two parents being 57, and their five children (the youngest being 15) — all seven O’Briens having Irish). In the same census, there are five spread-out speakers in Whitechurch DED (district of the villages of Aughclare and Ballykelly, and site of the ubiquitous night-time home Irish reported by Trotter in 1812). For example, Mary Bannett (60) is a servant and the only one reported to have Irish in a farming household of thirteen in Whitechurch townland. Also in the 1901

⁹⁷ NFC S 873a, Killesk, Peggie Gordon, “My Home District”. Peggie was also writing about the townland of Tinnock, but others writing about the same place were not aware of this fact: i.e., “people living in [Tinnok] who are over seventy ... but none of them can speak a word of Irish, but they can tell numerous storys in English” (NFC S 873a, Horeswood, Stasia Rowe, “My Home District”, collected from Michael Rowe; “none of [those over 70] can speak a word of Irish” (NFC S 873a, Horeswood, Gus Malone, “My Home District”. In the same way, then, other negative statements as to spoken Irish are not as reliable, since a collector cannot know what they do not know. Examples of other such statements are “There are five people over seventy living [in Ballykelly]. None of them speaks Irish” (NFC S 873, 311); [the people over 70 “do not speak Irish [in Whitechurch]” (NFC S 873a, Ballykelly, Bridy Molloy, “My Home District”). There are no Kavanaghs reported in Tinnock in the 1901 or 1911 censuses, and the closest Thomas Kavanagh in the county in terms of age is one found in Churchtown, Templetown, a farmer who is 53 in 1911, and has nothing filled in for the language box. It would be unusual to see a farmer born c.1848, who has a son about thirty years younger than him — i.e., on a family farm which projects continuity of ownership — to have moved about twenty miles north to remote Tinnock by the 1930s.

census, Rathroe DED (also in the north of the barony) has the highest percentage of Irish-speakers in the barony, with 1.2%.

Table 12: Irish-speaking by age in the south-west from the censuses

Year	70s	60s	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	1–9	Total	%	of
1901	2	2	2	2	9	10	17	2	46	0.58	7,969
1911	4	7	22	15	15	30	69	9	171	2.35	7,267

As is clear from the above, the picture coming from the 1911 census is quite different to that found ten years earlier. As a result of renewed interest in the Irish language, fuelled by language enthusiasts, it is as if a fog has lifted on the reported Irish-speaking population of the rest of the barony— in particular, the contiguous DEDs of Fethard, Tintern, and Rathroe, with Fethard having increased its Irish-speakers from one to seventy-seven — making it the greatest Irish-speaking DED of any in Wexford in either of the two censuses. But it is the age-range of this population which suggests that much of this Irish predates the Gaelic revival, and suggests a relatively robust Irish language-speaking community (see F3, F10, and F11).

2.11.3 The Fethard cluster

9.2% of the population of Fethard DED is reported to have Irish in 1911: of the 77, 20 are in Grange, ranging in age from 6–71, and numbering two speakers over 70 (Bridget Foley and Peter Barden, both 71). These Grange Irish-speakers include 4 Molloys (6–68) and 3 Foleys (16–71). 14 Irish-speakers are in Fethard Town (13–65), including 5 of the Mc Namara family (14–55) and 3 Ryans (13–49). 12 Irish-speakers (8–66) are in the townland of Dungulph, and these include 6 members of the Murphy family (8–66). This townland also has three members of the Irish-speaking Banville/Bonville Family (16–20). In Fethard townland, there are 6 other Irish-speaking members of the Banville family (3–51). There are 7 Irish-speakers in the townland of Ralph (15–52), 3 in Ramstown (24–38), and 2 in Stonehouse (15–49).

In Tintern DED (the DED directly to the north of Fethard, and the district of the village of Ballycullane), 18 people are said to have Irish, including: nine in Saltmills, chiefly comprising the eight members of the Downes family (8–59); in the townland of Tintern, 3 of

the Furlong family, Kate (48), and her sons Thomas (25) and John (20). The Somers family in Coolroe shows evidence of yet more continuation of the native tradition, with the recording of Ellen (59) and her children Teresa (22) and Jeremiah (16) as all having Irish.

2.11.4 Kilmokea cluster

Back to the north-west of the barony, in 1911, in Whitechurch DED, 24 Irish-speakers (4.2% of the population) are reported, including the two parents of the Croke family (56 and 34), and their servant (17). In neighbouring Rathroe (district of the village of Ramsgrange) 20 Irish-speakers are reported, including: 3 in Ballygow (21–61), including Hannah Gleeson (61) and her son Patrick (21); 5 in Battlestown (15–50), including Martin Hanton (50), and his daughter Ellen (15); 2 in Kilbride - Mary Culliton (66), and her son John (33).

2.11.5 Templetown

Also in 1911, in the southern tip of the barony (just north of Hook Head, i.e., in Templetown DED), there are 15 reported Irish-speakers, including 3 in Haytown (34–70), with the eldest being Benjamin O Keeffe; and 2 in Houseland, namely, John Hearne (52) and his wife Ellen (43). The two speakers reported from Templetown townland are Margaret Breen (72) and her daughter, Annie (30).

2.12 South-East (Forth and Bargy)

2.12.1 Introductory note

The following account follows a trajectory from west to east across the baronies of Forth and Bargy.

2.12.2 Bannow and Kilcavan

Don S. Piatt reports that “according to Seán Ó Lionáin, Irish teacher, the last native Irish-speaker of South County Wexford was buried by the Parish Priest of Carrick-on-Bannow about 1902” (Piatt, 1933, 25). However, no native Irish-speakers appear for Bannow DED in either of the two censuses (1901, 1911), and the same is the case for the parish of Kilcavan (immediately to the north, and comprising Harristown DED).

2.12.3 Rathangan and Kilmannan parishes⁹⁸

Although some, in Rathangan parish, in the 1930s, explicitly reject the idea of there being a native Irish tradition in the area,⁹⁹ we learn from a 1938 account in the Schools Collection that:

The oldest person in the townland [Saltbridge] is Edmund Furlong, who is over 82 years old; his address is Blackstone, Duncormick, Co. Wexford. He is able to talk in Irish, and tells lots of old stories - some in Irish and more in English.¹⁰⁰

This indicates that Edmund was born c.1855, meaning it is unlikely that his Irish was inspired by the Gaelic League (see 2.9.4 above). That he tells stories in Irish at all, suggests an Irish language community in this remote part of the county. The 1901 and 1911 censuses, respectively, tell us that Edmund, of Blackstone, Killag, is a farmer who can read and write — with the ‘Irish language’ space left blank in the 1901 census, and ‘English’ written in for 1911.¹⁰¹

We learn from the same school’s submissions that in Bellgrove, Duncormick,

The oldest people are Morans... They are seventy-three years old and know some Irish. They tell some stories in English (NFC S 877, 49).

Even though this couple are born c.1864, i.e., three years after our filter-date, it is still not probable that their Irish is inspired by the renewed interest in the language brought about by the Gaelic revival, and rather, that they picked it up locally in their youth; this is not only because their births are so close to our cut-off date, but also because of the remoteness of the

⁹⁸ Whereas the parish of Kilmannan is in Bargy, and this incorporates the population centre of Cleristown, the Kilmannan DED mostly covers areas of the barony of Shelmalier West.

⁹⁹ One contributor to the Schools Collection, for Bannow N.S., writes: “Long ago people knew no Irish, as there was no one to teach them” (NFC S 876, 19); and Sam Sinnott (c.1927-2020), long-time owner of the main shop/pub in Duncormick village, assured me, in 2012, that ‘no-one ever spoke Irish in Duncormick’. Sam did say, however, that Irish classes were run by a Fr. Walshe in the parish hall (presumably in Duncormick), in the ‘troubled times’, i.e., c.1919-23.

¹⁰⁰ NFC S 877, 48, Duncormick N.S., collected by Alice Walshe.

¹⁰¹ In the 1901 census he appears as “Edmond Furlong” (45), living with his sister (40), and two servants (19 and 16). By the 1911 census, “Edmand” is said to be 50, and he has a wife, Anne (40). They have two children — Catherine (2), and Patrick (newborn). His wife is also marked as speaking English.

townland they reside in. In the first two censuses of the twentieth century, the closest match to be found in Belegrovecross is that of Thomas Moran and his wife, Elizabeth (in 1911) and the Irish language section in their form is left blank.¹⁰²

Table 13: Kilcowan and Harperstown DEDs — Irish in censuses

Year	70+	60s	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	1–9	Total	%	of
1901	4	-	1	2	2	3	-	1	13	1.39	936
1911	2	1	2	3	2	3	2	-	15	1.8	834

In Kilcowan DED (area of origin of the ‘Lament for Bishop Stafford’ and the Irish text in Ch.3.10 from Baldwinstown N.S.), 1.21% are reported to have Irish in 1901, and 12.1% in 1911 (one of the highest proportions in the south-east). In this DED, all five members of the Byrne family in a house 1, Muchtown (ages 9–80), have Irish in 1901.¹⁰³ In the same house in 1911, the son of the previous householder, i.e., James (34), is now said to be aged 42, has taken over the farm, and is married with three children (the eldest being 6 years old), but the Irish language field is not filled in. In Newtown, in the same DED, we do find all three members of the Staples family (20–54) also farmers, recorded as having ‘Irish’ in 1901; but in 1911, this same family of three are each marked as having ‘English’.¹⁰⁴

Immediately to the north, in Harperstown DED (Kilmannan parish), in the 1901 census, seven Irish-speakers are found (five of whom were born in the 1860s or earlier, and two being born before 1841, namely, Elizabeth Kehoe (72), and Margaret Doran (71). In the Kehoe household — of which Elizabeth, farmer, is head — five of the ten occupants are said to have Irish. By 1911, the professed Irish-speaking population has fallen to five, with only two being born before 1871. The oldest is James Cullen (60), and the other born before 1871

¹⁰² In 1901, is found Thomas Moran (30), agricultural labourer who *can* read and write, and his wife, Maryanne (42), who cannot read or write; they have two children (7, 3), and have a boarder (5). The language section is left blank for all. In 1911, Thomas is now 41, and he has a new wife, Elizabeth (33). Thomas’s two children from the previous census are (17 and 10 respectively) are in the same house, and four more are mentioned (aged 11, 9, 5, and 3). Neither Thomas nor his wife can read or write, but all of the children, excepting the youngest two, have both skills.

¹⁰³ The Censuses use the indefinite article before the word ‘house’ to indicate that the numbers did not fit a definite pattern from census to census or in terms of geographic distribution. Given the extent of ad hoc dwellings up until the planning permission legislation of the 1960s, rural dwellings, in particular, were prone to be unreliable as fixed referenceable objects.

¹⁰⁴ Unless Patrick Staples (54) had a particular involvement in the Irish language movement, given that he was born in the 1850s, it is probable that he was a native Irish speaker. It is also likely that this family is related to the Staples family, all 12 of whom are recorded as having Irish in the 1901 census in Rathjarney, Killinick.

is John Kehoe (46), part of the Kehoe household of 1901. In his current household, the other two Irish speakers (out of six), are servants (see notes on Table E4).

2.12.4 Kilmore Parish

In Kilmore parish (i.e., the DEDs of Bridgetown, Kilmore, and Tomhaggard), 41 Wexford-born Irish speakers are recorded in 1901, and 49 in 1911. The age-profiles of both censuses are shown in Table 14 below.

Table 14: Irish in the censuses in Kilmore Parish

Year	70+	60s	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	1–9	Total	%	of
1901	2	1	2	8	4	6	16	4	43	1.53	2,805
1911	-	1	3	2	2	7	39	5	59	2.21	2,669

Even allowing for the appearance that the Irish language is particularly strong in the parish — as suggested by the 1891–1901 cohort being the only one to increase its Irish-speaking rate between the two censuses — the number of those born before 1861 recorded as having Irish is much higher than neighbouring parishes, and indeed, is one of the highest in the county. Otherwise, apart from the large Hassett farming family in Churchtown (Bridgetown DED), there is no continuity between the reports of Irish speakers in Kilmore parish in 1901 and those reported in 1911 (see Appendices E4 and F4 for details). That is to say, apart from a concentration of Irish-speakers — including those born before 1861 — in Bridgetown DED. This DED has the highest proportion of Irish in the south-east, with 4.22% in 1901 and 6.54% in 1911.

2.12.5 Ballymore and Lady’s Island¹⁰⁵

Moving from south to north in the barony of Forth, we begin with the parishes of Ballymore (including the curacy of Ishartmon), and Lady’s Island (including the curacies of Tacumshin and Carne).

Table 15: Irish in the censuses, southern Forth

Year	70+	60s	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	1–9	Total	%	of
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¹⁰⁵ In the 1901 census, “Ladysisland” is a DED, but in 1911, this has been changed to “Lady’s Island.”

1901	-	1	1	1	3	1	7	1	16	1.01	1,591
1911	-	1	-	1	2	4	40	6	52	3.38	1,536

In 1901, Mary Whitty (51) is a National School teacher in Ballysampson (parish of Tacumshin, but DED of Kilsoran), who, along with her son (18), has Irish and English, but her daughter (14) does not have Irish. In Tacumshin, in 1911, the increase in the lowest two deciles appears to be due to the commencement of the teaching of Irish in the local National School not long after the 1901 census,¹⁰⁶ but otherwise, the numbers of Irish-speakers of those who are 30 or over has fallen from six to two, suggesting that the Gaelic revival was not responsible for the declarations of Irish competency in 1901, and that the Gaelic revival had not captured the imagination of those over 30 by 1911. On the contrary, for instance, James Lawlor (51) of Hilltown, Tacumshin, is the only one in his household recorded as having Irish and English in 1901. However, in 1911, James (now 60), and an agricultural labourer instead of a miller, has nothing marked under Irish language, but his son, Richard (17), a post-master, has Irish.¹⁰⁷ The parish priest, Thomas Byrne, is the only person to be marked as having Irish in both censuses for Tacumshin.

East of Lady's Island Lake, in 1901, John Clear (60), a labourer, and his wife, Annie (56), a seamstress, have Irish, but appear not to be passing it onto their two children. By 1911, only one person above the age of 25 is declared to have Irish: 'a caretaker, Andrew Keating (65), Rathdowney, who may have spoken Irish to Katie Sinnott (20), and National School teacher, Mary Dunbar (24), who live not too far away, in Eardownes. The remaining five are between the ages 10–19, and are likely to have learnt their Irish at school, perhaps from Mary Dunbar (see Appendix F3 Notes).

2.12.6 Mid-Forth

¹⁰⁶ According to local accounts, the teacher in question would appear to be Alice Lucking, from Wexford town, but she does not appear on either census. My primary source here is Chris Sinnott, who remembers Alice Lucking as an old woman teaching at the national school in the early 1940s, and in her own contribution to the Schools Collection (NFC S 879 S 31–40), she writes much about her first-hand experience of Fr. Yrne (parish priest of Tacumshin in the 1901 and 1911 censuses).

¹⁰⁷ One cannot rule out this being an example of traditional Irish giving way to learnt Irish, in the same way that folk traditions of right and wrong gave way to educated perspectives in other spheres — including in farming practices etc. When class is added into the mixture, i.e., including aspirations of the lower classes which is evident in the career of the son, here, the association of old ways of speech with poverty may lead to their being denigrated or hidden, as they make way for the new, the modern, and the progressive. It might be remembered too that the context here (i.e., the census) is one of officialdom, formality, and modernity.

In the next west-east segment to the north, including the curacies of Mayglass, Killinick, Kilsoran, and St. Helen's, we find a summary in Table 16:

Table 16: Irish speakers by age in mid-Forth

	70+	60s	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	1-9	Total		
1901	-	-	2	3	4	8	14	3	37	2.21	1,674
1911	-	1	3	1	2	3	18	1	29	1.21	2,397

The fall in reported Irish speakers in this area between 1901 and 1911 is unexpected, given that the Gaelic revival was in full swing throughout the country. The number in the second lowest decile has increased in line with the Revival, but there is a substantial drop of declared speakers for the decile cohorts of 20s, 30s, and even 40s, with slight increases for those in their 50s and 60s.

One third of the 1901 total for the area is made up of the 12 occupants of the Staples' household (5-55), in Rathjarney, Killinick (with Killinick having 2.38% with Irish in 1901, and 1.11% in 1911). Although the parents, Michael (55) and Mary (49) are of an age which would suggest their having native Irish, they are farmers, and their eldest son (21), is a medical student, suggesting, instead, that they are of the wrong class for retention of native Irish, but of the right class (literate, land-owning, professionals etc.), to be interested in the Gaelic revival. However, in 1911, when Michael is in the same house with his wife, three children and another servant, every single occupant has their respective 'Irish language' field left blank, suggesting that having Irish was not considered to be something of status by this family.

Thomas Doyle (51), a farmer in Randalstown (Mayglass DED), has Irish and English in the 1911 census, although both of his children have only English, and his wife has no indication as to her language ability. In 1901, Thomas was said to be 43 and living with his wife, brother-in-law (a Hayes), and a servant, but nothing is indicated under 'Irish language' for anyone in the household.

In 1911, in Churchtown (St. Helen's DED), all seven occupants of a house have Irish and English, i.e., farmer, John Furlong (61), his wife, Ellen (50), their four children (10-20), and a relative (52), who is a seamstress. Ten years earlier, we find the same family (with John

being 47), and Anistatia (now 34) a sister of Ellen's, and the four children — but the Irish language field is left blank.

2.12.7 Northern Forth

This area stretches from Murntown and Forth Mountain, in the north-west of the barony, to the Rosslare peninsula in the east. In Rathaspick and Rosslare DEDs, once again, the Gaelic revival's influence on the young is evident in the increase of the lowest three deciles (i.e., for those under 25).

Table 17: Wexford-born Irish speakers in northern Forth

	70+	60s	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	1–9	Total
1901	2	-	2	-	4	2	1	-	11
1911	-	1	-	1	-	5	27	4	39

Thomas Keating (52) a shopkeeper in 1901, appears to be the same person as Michael Keating (62), a shop-keeper and postmaster in 1911, and has English and Irish in both censuses, as had his wife (who had since died) in the 1901 census. The three members of the Furlong family (24–70) on Forth Mountain, said to have Irish and English in 1901, are of particular interest, especially since the eldest, Margaret, had limited education — only being able to read. When we meet the same family again in 1911, they are joined by a grandson of Margaret's, Mathew (8). This time we are told that Margaret cannot read or write, her daughter (Bridget) and grandson can read only, and the only one who can read and write is her son, Michael (now 38). This time (in 1911), under Irish language, English is all that is marked for each occupant.¹⁰⁸

The blacksmith in the townland of Ballybrennan Big (Rosslare DED) in 1901, is Thomas Rigley (70), who like his son, John (24), is said to have Irish and English, while John's wife, Anne (55) is just marked as having Irish. Ten years later we only find John (30),

¹⁰⁸ Margaret's daughter, Bridget, is recorded as being 30 in 1901, and 43 in 1911, further suggesting a lack of numeracy skills in the household. Margaret herself has gone from being 70 in 1901 to being 83 in 1911. The son's name has gone from Michael in 1901 to Micheal in 1911 — cf. Ir. *Mícheál*. He has aged from 24–38 in the intervening ten years.

living as head of family, with his niece (19), and sister (43) with all occupants just said to have English.¹⁰⁹

2.13 South-central Wexford (Shelmalier West)

2.13.1 Introductory note

As with the treatment of Kilkenny Irish by Dáithí Ó hÓgáin (Ó hÓgáin, 2012, 191), our tour is *tuathal* (anti-clockwise) rather than *deiseal* (clockwise). Having discussed Forth and Bargy already (see 2.11 above), we divert to the barony to the north of those baronies — Shelmalier West. This barony covers an area extending from Wexford Town to New Ross, and incorporating the modern villages of Taghmon, Wellingtonbridge, Foulksmills, Shanowle, Camaross, and Barntown.¹¹⁰

For analysis of background of Caroreigh N.S. Irish texts of 1936 (NFC S 883, 1–4), see Ch.3.14, below. All other information in this section is based on Tables E2, E5, F2, and F5, and notes thereof).

Table 18: Irish as reported by census in south-central Wexford

Year	70+	60s	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	1–9	Total		
1901	1	1	4	7	6	5	5	3	32	0.48	6,600
1911	1	1	6	1	6	17	13	4	49	0.77	6,367

2.13.2 Description from the censuses

Being the least populated region, it is not surprising that overall numbers of reported Irish speakers are lower here than elsewhere. Having said that, though, the DEDs themselves have comparatively low reporting of Irish, with the highest being Killurin and Glynn, respectively, in 1901 (with 7), and Carrick in 1911 (with 13). By percentage, Glynn is by far the strongest DED for Irish in both censuses, with 2.41% in 1901, and 4.1% in 1911).¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ John’s sister’s name is spelt “Lizziebeth” < Elizabeth, indicating that the standard of education achieved was basic enough, even for the time — increasing the likelihood of a traditional Irish language immediate background.

¹¹⁰ Neither Foulksmills nor Wellingtonbridge appear to be mentioned in either census, although Ballyowen (original townland of Wellingtonbridge) is mentioned).

¹¹¹ Note, however, that the pre–1861 combination of the 1901 and 1911 census results puts Kilbride as the strongest DED for native Irish in the south-central region.

Nonetheless, the age-spread of those who are reported often suggests that native Irish was still living: for example, in Killurin in 1901, four of the seven Irish-speakers are over 30 (including three over 40); and in Taghmon DED, all are over 30; two of the three in Inch are over 40; and in Carrick DED, the only two Irish speakers are recorded in the same townland, Hayestown — Luke Doyle (51), and Henry Lambert (20). In 1911, three of the five Irish-speakers in Ballymitty are over 50, and two of the three in Taghmon are over 50 (i.e., one in their 60s and one in their 70s; see Appendix F5).

Notwithstanding the low number of those with Irish born before 1841 in the barony in the 1901 census, they are not isolated: in Carrigmannon, Glynn DED, Mary Harpur (70) lives with her daughter, Bridget O'Brien (33), and five grandchildren (1–10), and they all have Irish and English. James Whelan, in Taghmon Town, 'Master Cooper', is said to be 63 in 1901, and when we see him again in 1911, he is recorded as being 72. He has Irish and English, and even though he is the only one in his household recorded as being bilingual in either census, in 1911 we also find, in Taghmon Town, William Joseph Martin (58), who is a vintner, and his son, Michael (25), who also have both Irish and English. William and James are likely to have had professional links, at least, and so we can entertain the probability that they regularly conversed with each other in Irish, with William's eldest son (presumably working with his father), learning by osmosis. This presumption is supported by William's not having passed Irish onto either of his other two children (23–25).

In 1901, if we include those born before 1851, Carrick, Kilbride and Killurin DEDs come into view. However, by 1911, even though three of the five Irish speakers in Ballymitty are over 50, Taghmon is the only DED to record an Irish speaker born before 1841, and Horetown the only other to record one born before 1851 — with Inch recording no Irish speakers of any age.

2.14 Irish in east Wexford (Shelmalier East and Ballaghkeen South)

2.14.1 Reports of Irish in the mid-twentieth century

In Castlebridge, in 1937, a contributor to the Schools Collection writes:

One woman living near me has plenty of Irish words which she uses constantly and old sayings such as 'As sure as the hearth money'. Another old saying of hers is 'Go mbeimid annso san am sa aris' and many others".

The woman in question is Mrs. Brennan, 83, of Ballyboggan Lower.¹¹² Of the same woman, another contributor writes:

I know one old lady who has lots of Irish proverbs and her speech is mixed up with many a word in Irish. She has lots of stories also and gave me lots of information about things and people of the district long ago.¹¹³

Similar embers or echoes of a recently deceased Irish language community are found in the twenty-seven words and phrases given by a Mrs. Devereux (79), Ballina (near Blackwater), to Máiréad Ní Chearbhaill for the Schools Collection of Naomh Brighid N.S.¹¹⁴

2.14.2 Overview from the censuses

Table 19: Census reporting of Irish in east Wexford

Year	70+	60s	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	1–9	Total		
1901	2	6	4	9	24	41	31	6	123	1.66	7,426
1911	2	1	4	9	16	38	112	5	187	2.72	6,872

In 1901, Kilmallock DED (which covers the district south-east of Enniscorthy, and east of Oylegate village), is recorded as having 57 Irish-speakers (7.34% of its population) — the highest of any rural DED in Wexford in that census.¹¹⁵ Even though two thirds are below the age of 30, the DED is adjacent to two DEDs on the other side of the River Slaney, in Bantry, to the west, which have smaller, but well-balanced Irish-speaking populations —

¹¹² Written by Evelyn A Shortall, Ballyboggan Lower, Castlebridge, (NFC S 885, 31-2).

¹¹³ Written by Kathleen Murphy, Butlerstown, 25th November 1937 (ibid., 39). The woman in question appears to be the same as an Elizabeth Brennan, found in the 1901 and 1911 census as living at house 16 and 17, respectively, in Ballyboggan Lower (Artramon DED). In 1901, she is said to be 41, and lives with her husband (43) who is a malster, and their four children (2–9). The language field is left blank in all cases. The language fields for the 1911 census are notable: neither Elizabeth (54), nor her husband (55) — a general labourer — nor their two youngest children (9 and 12) have anything written in that field, but the three eldest children (15, 17, 19), have Irish and English — the first two being scholars, and the third a dressmaker. We can infer that the three eldest children have learned their Irish from an external source, perhaps as part of the Gaelic revival. This is not to say that their parents did not have Irish of their own, or at least some phrases from their own youth picked up in the community.

¹¹⁴ NFC S 886a, Naomh Brighid, Máiréad Ní Chearbhaill, between “Old Riddles” and “Boxty Bread”. We cannot be sure whether the sentence “The following are some of the Irish words I heard in my locality” comes from Máiréad herself or her informant.

¹¹⁵ Kilmallock > ‘Killmallock’ in the 1911 census.

namely, Ballyhoge and Bree; and two other strong DEDs to the south (along the eastern bank of the Slaney, namely, Kilpatrick and Artramon. The Kilmallock number falls to 39 in the 1911 census, with 86% being under the age of 40, but it is still among the highest recorded rates of Wexford DEDs in 1911 (see Table F6). In Kilpatrick DED (to the south and also bordering the Bantry Irish-speaking DEDs) all of three of the Laffan family (26–70), in the Deeps, have Irish and English in 1911.

In 1901, four DEDs report Irish speakers born before 1841: i.e., four in Castle-Ellis, two in Kilmallock and Castletalbot, respectively, and one in Ardavan. When those born before 1861 are included, only three of the nine DEDs (namely Castle Talbot, Edermine, and Kilpatrick) do not come into view. However, in 1911, Kilpatrick is one of the two DEDs in the region to report an Irish speaker born before 1841 (the other being Artramon). When those born before 1861 are included in the 1911 figures, only Kilmallock and Ballyhuskard join Kilpatrick and Artramon in the picture. The DED reporting the highest proportion of Irish in 1911 is Artramon (which includes the village of Crossabeg), with 8.35%.

A closer look at the census figures shows evidence of both transmission and discontinuation of the Irish language tradition/community among the younger generations. In terms of discontinuation, the following examples are important: in Castle Ellis DED, in 1901, Patrick Leacy (73), and William Power (64), are clearly not passing Irish on to their family; and in the same DED in 1901, although all five of the Sinnott family (24–70) have Irish, there is no trace of any of them in 1911.

Other families show evidence of an Irish-speaking background — suggesting that they at least have Irish but they do not declare it: in Ballina Lower (Kilmallock DED), 3 unmarried Dempsey siblings (46–50), and their servant, John Darey (25) work their farm and have Irish and English in 1901. But in 1911, the three occupants of the same house are two different Dempseys and another servant, who have ‘English’ (only). The head of family is ‘More’ < Ir. *Mór* (female forename), and the other Dempsey is her niece, Bridget (36).¹¹⁶ In 1901, in a house in Ballymurn Upper, (Kilmallock DED), three of the eight occupants are said to have Irish and English, i.e., farmer, Peter Sinnott (60), and his two brothers-in-law, Grannells (30 and 32). Ten years later, Peter’s wife is head of family, and does not mark the language fields, except, that her brother, Michael Grannell, who was said to have Irish in 1901, is now written as “Micéal Mac Ranail”.

¹¹⁶ There is only one resident of a house 3 in Turkyle, Kilmallock DED, in 1911, i.e., widow and farmer, Johanna Dempsey (76), who cannot read. The language section is left blank.

The slight prospects of hope for the language are to be seen in the many older people who have declared that they have Irish in 1911, but did not do so in 1901.¹¹⁷ Of possible interest among these is the Cummins family of Ballylucas (Kilmallock DED), where seven (11–29) are said to have Irish, but in 1911, not only have the same seven siblings still retained Irish, but their father, Lawrence (68) is recorded as having Irish as well.

2.15 Irish in north-east Wexford (Gorey and Ballaghkeen North)

2.15.1 Non-census evidence of Irish in the north-east

In 1911, when Cork-born Conor Horgan was conducting a survey of National Schools in the county for the Gaelic League, he reported of Ballyoughter N.S. that, “some of the children are native Irish speakers” (Ó Murchadha, 2005, 19).¹¹⁸ In the 1901 census, even though Balloughter is the DED in the north-east with the greatest proportion of reported Irish (1.71%), all seven reported to have Irish in the district were under 20, and in 1911, all fourteen were under 30.¹¹⁹

In the Schools Collection of the 1930s we find two sets of short Irish texts from rural north-east Wexford (see Ch.3.16–17). The first, that of B. Ní Shionóid, is from Oulart; and when we look at the census returns for the corresponding DED (Bolaboy), in 1901, we find three Irish-speakers reported (16–75). In Oulart, scholar, Laurence Lacey (16) is the youngest of a family of five, and the only one to have the language field filled in (Irish and English). In 1911, no Irish speakers are reported from Oulart. Elsewhere in Bolaboy, however, Michael Brien (75) has Irish and English, in Castle Ellis, in 1901; and in 1911, probable relatives of his, sisters Lizzie Brien (20), and Katie (18), have Irish and English — but they are the only two of the six occupants to have the language field filled in, and among those to have the language field left blank is Peter Brien (89), apparently a brother of Michael’s from the previous census.

¹¹⁷ The general pattern of discontinuity between declared Irish speakers of all ages throughout the county is evident even from a cursory comparison of the households and names mentioned in Appendices E and F.

¹¹⁸ The full report of the school is: “Máiréad Nie Giolla Eoin, principal; Síle Ní Bhréanáin, assistant) - The work done in this school is excellent. All are taught Irish. The language is used generally by teachers and pupils in all school work. Their prayers and songs are in Irish. The tone of the school is inspiring. Some of the children are native Irish speakers.”

¹¹⁹ In the 1901 and 1911 censuses, Ballyoughter > Balloughter.

The other Irish texts in the Schools Collection are from the contributions of Castletown N.S. No Irish speakers are reported from the corresponding DED, Kilgorman, in 1901; and in 1911, all of the six reported to have Irish are under 30.

2.15.2 Overview from the census

Table 20: Census reporting of Irish-speaking in north-east Wexford excluding Gorey

Year	70+	60s	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	1–9	Total	%	of
1901	2	1	2	3	2	7	12	4	33	0.25	13,004
1911	2	1	6	6	15	41	115	8	194	1.46	12,568

In 1901, the DEDs outside of Gorey to report at least one Irish speaker born before 1841 are as follows: Ballylarkin (on the Wicklow border); and between Enniscorthy and the east coast — the southern part of the north-east region, and adjoining the Kilmallock / Castle Ellis cluster in the eastern region — are the neighbouring DEDs of Bolaboy and Monamolin. No other DEDs emerge if we include those reported to be born before 1851, but the neighbouring DEDs of Rossminoge and The Harrow (in the west of the region), come into view when we include those born before 1861 (i.e., next to the Ferns cluster in the north-west, and just west of Balloughter (mentioned in 2.15.1 above).

On the one hand, the Gregory family (23–75), in Ballylarkin, show evidence of transmission of Irish to the younger generation, but in 1911, in what might be seen as a reverse of the Gaelic revival effect, the two children, James and Margaret (now 35 and 33), are marked only as having English. Similarly, when we see husband and wife, Richard and Margaret Connors (58 and 55, respectively, in 1901), in Monamolin, in 1911 (when they are aged 68 and 69, respectively), their language field is left blank. Neither of them are able to write, so the questioning of their language ability may not have been thoroughly investigated by the enumerator; but in 1901, their son, Moses (14), is living with them, and since he can write, has probably filled in the form — including his first-hand knowledge of his parents’ ability to speak Irish. Moses, who has Irish in 1901, is not found, in Wexford, in the 1911 census. Elsewhere in Monamolin, where four of the seven Doyles had Irish in 1901, ranging in age from 14–67, by 1911, only one of those Irish speakers is reported as remaining in Monagreany, i.e., Mick (22) is now Michael (32), who is still living with his mother and one

sister, and still has Irish and English — with the other two householders having the language field left blank.

Of the four DEDs reporting Irish speakers born before 1861 in north-east Wexford in 1911, only Rossminoge was present in the same filter in 1901, and Courtown DED is by far the most numerous in terms of reported Irish speakers (i.e., 24), including the Hall family (52–87), who are Church of Ireland members. In the whole of the north-east, outside of Gorey, the only other person over 70 to reportedly have Irish is Ellen McCann (82), Newbridge, in Rossminoge DED, who lives with her Irish-speaking son, Andrew (37). In the 1901 census, only the son (then Andy (27)), was said to have Irish, with his mother, Ellen (then 70), marked explicitly as having ‘English’; however, a grand-daughter of hers, Mary Finn (14) is reported as having Irish and English in that 1901 form. In 1911, we also learn that two of Ellen’s daughters (45 and 54) only have English. In cases such as these, where there is an apparent split within a family, i.e., an elderly parent with Irish, and only some of their children with Irish, the explanation may be in contexts such as occupational dealings, in which a bilingual parent passes on Irish to some children but not to others. Also, in such contexts, if the child is the non-Irish-speaking enumerator, the Irish language ability of the parent may be glossed over.

In 1911, In the same DED, in the townland of Ballyduffbeg, all four of the labouring Kinsella family (17–61) are said to have Irish, but apparently, the same family, this time in Balloughter DED in 1901, only had one occupant with ‘Irish and English’ — namely a daughter, Bridget (11), and all other language fields are left blank.¹²⁰ If we piece this information together with Horgan’s mention of children with native Irish in Balloughter N.S. (2.15.1 above), in 1911, the case for native Irish in Balloughter DED (as presented by the censuses) becomes less concerning.

In 1911, Redmond Doorneen (56), in Ballynestragh, is a retired RIC Officer with Irish. He is not present anywhere in the 1901 census. The only other Doorneens in Wexford in either census are a family in Tarahill — presumably relatives of Redmond — (Courtown DED) — in both censuses. Although it would not have been unusual for Redmond Doorneen to have been stationed elsewhere in Ireland in his RIC service, and the strong possibility exists that he learnt his Irish while posted elsewhere (i.e., in a much stronger Irish-speaking

¹²⁰ In a house 5, Tobernierin Upper, Balloughter, in 1901, a family of Kinsellas is reported with some similarities. Head of household is also John, a farm labourer, and is 52 (cf. 61 in 1911). His wife, Bridget is 46 (cf. 55 in 1911). In this Balloughter household is a son, John Kinsella (6), cf. the son, John Kinsella (17) in 1911 in Rossminoge. Otherwise, though, the son, John (35 in 1911) is 6 in the 1901 household, and the 1901 return has two children absent from the 1911 count — namely, Bridget (11), who has Irish and English, Katie (9), and Michael (4). Bridget (11) is the only member of the family to have the language field filled in in 1901.

community), we might note that all four members of the Doorneen family in both censuses have their respective language fields left blank — which is not quite the same as if they had specifically written ‘English’ (only) in the spaces.

2.16 Irish in north-west Wexford

2.16.1 Census overview for the north-west

Table 21: Irish in the census of the rural north-west

Year	70+	60s	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	1–9	Total		
1901	1	3	2	10	9	22	53	10	110	1.03	10,716
1911	2	2	11	7	18	33	121	24	218	2.09	10,446

2.16.2 Individual cases

In the north-west region as a whole, census reports of Irish speakers born in 1841 or before are few. In 1901, we find two in Ferns:¹²¹ Edward O’Connor (67), who is accompanied, among others, by his Irish-speaking daughter, Annie Mary (11). In 1911, Edward (79), a grocer, is still head of household, where he lives with two daughters (with Annie Marie not present) and a son-in-law (28–31), and a servant (19). Again, we see, however, a negation of the Gaelic revival effect, since all of the occupants have their respective language fields left blank.

Also in Ferns, in 1901, three of the Donnolly family have Irish: the eldest is John (60), and the youngest is 13. This family appears to be absent from Wexford in the 1911 census.

¹²¹ In 1901, Ferns is the DED with the third highest reported Irish-speaking population in the county — and has 5% with Irish (the highest in the region) —, although this position might be somewhat explained by Ferns being a large village, and so effected more by the urban flourishing of the Gaelic revival than other rural DEDs — with 84% of the reported speakers being under 30. Nonetheless, in that census, Ferns has two speakers born before 1841, and one other born before 1851. Ferns is the fourth largest Irish-speaking rural DED reported in 1911, but by then, only one of the reported forty speakers is above the age of 40. Nearby Kilcomb DED contains only the small village of Comolin, and it reports no Irish-speakers in 1901, but by 1911, it is the second-highest ranking Irish-speaking DED in the county, with 62 reported (9.19%); however, 95% of these are under 40, strongly suggesting the influence of the Gaelic revival movement in the intervening years in this district. The most populous rural village in the north-west, Newtownbarry (now Bunclody), only reported two speakers in 1901, rising to twenty-two in 1911, with 88% being under 40.

A more ambiguous example is that of the Sullivans in Killealy.¹²² In 1901, John (45), is a farmer and rate collector with Irish and English, but the language field for his brother and sister (44 and 39) are left blank. When we find the same household in the 1911 census, John is reported to have ‘English’ (only). In 1901, in Kilbora DED, Thomas Phyre (80) has Irish, as does his son, Thomas (36). No person of that surname appears in Wexford in the 1911 census. In 1911, there are three over 70 who are reported to have Irish in the Enniscorthy urban districts, and outside of that, there are only two — both in the townland of Coolycarney, Ballindaggin DED — parents of the Larkin family (33–71) — all five of whom speak Irish. If we broaden the filter out to those born before 1861, the DEDs of Kilbora, Killealy, Newtownbarry, St. Mary’s, and Tinnacross, come into view.

2.17 Native Irish in Bantry in the twentieth century¹²³

2.17.1 Census overview

For this region (spanning from the mid-west to central Wexford), in 1901, the three DEDs with the highest reported number of Irish-speakers were: Bree, in east central Wexford (with 17); Ballyanne, near New Ross, (with 15); and Whitemoor, also in the mid-west (with 11). Three Irish speakers in Bree and Ballyanne, respectively, are born before 1851, with Ballyanne having two born before 1841, and Bree having 1. The proportion of those under 30 in these latter DEDs is also notable — 53% in Bree, 68% in Ballyanne — less than the 80%+ under 30 which is indicative of the Gaelic revival being almost entirely responsible for the reporting of Irish in the census for many other DEDs in Wexford. Similarly, even though there are only six speakers reported in Barronstown, in 1901, three are over 40, including one over 70. Elsewhere, in 1901, of the ten speakers reported in Old Ross DED, three are born before 1841. Some other DEDs report one Irish-speaker born before 1841: i.e., Ballyhoge, Carnagh, the Leap, and Whitechurch. When the 1861 filter is applied to the 1901 figures, only seven of the twenty-one DEDs in the region do not appear (namely, Adamstown, Barrack Village, Castledockrell, Newbawn, Rosbercon, Templeludigan, and Whitemoor).

¹²² Returns for Killealy suggest an unusual pattern for the time, with Irish-speakers said to have fallen from eighteen to four in the intervening ten years. In 1901, 88% were under 30, and in 1911, two of the four speakers are over 50.

¹²³ The barony of Bantry covers mid-west and central Wexford — from the river Barrow in the west to the Slaney in the East, and it contains New Ross in its south-west, and borders Enniscorthy to its north-east.

Table 22: Reported Irish from census of Bantry natives

Year	70+	60s	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	1–9	Total	%	of
1901	5	7	10	8	12	26	27	10	105	0.91	11,544
1911	3	4	9	11	27	62	113	21	250	2.2	11,291

As with the south-west region (2.11.2), the 1911 census appears to lift a veil on Irish speakers who had not been reported in the 1901 census for Bantry. In 1911, Clonroche has jumped from 7 to 53 speakers, making it the DED with the third largest reporting of Irish in the county — albeit with 88% under 40. But if we go back to the 1901 census, even though Clonroche only declared six Irish speakers, only two of those were under 30, suggesting a generational continuity, rather than influence from outside Irish. The 1901 declarations include a married couple in their fifties (the Whelans of Coolaght), and the Hickey couple (36 and 29), who are farm labourers with Irish, but who cannot read or write, and whose children only have English.

Even though the 1911 returns show a paucity of those over 40 with Irish in Clonroche, as well as the other prominent DEDs in 1901, in Castledockrell, adjacent to Clonroche, only five of the twelve said to have Irish in 1911 are under 40, and indeed, four are over 60 (including 3 over 70). However, in 1911, no other Bantry DED outside of New Ross reports any Irish speaker over 70. In Carnagh (effectively in the south-west region), we do find the Whitty family, all five of whom have Irish, including the two parents, in their 60s (i.e., born before 1851) (see Table F9). When we apply the 1861 filter to the 1911 figures, only three other DEDs come into view (namely, Ballyhoge, Barronstown, and the Leap).

Table 23: Census reporting of Irish in Bantry

Year	70+	60s	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	1–9	Total
1901	9	14	13	15	17	41	52	13	174
1911	6	4	10	13	36	78	222	41	412

Despite later reports that the last native speaker in Templeludigan died in the late-nineteenth century (2.8.12), in 1901, four out of seven of the seven Doyle family (14–67) of

Monagreany, and all three of the Connors family (14–58) in the townland of Barraglen, have Irish — both being in the parish of Templeludigan.

In The Leap DED, all six of the Bartholomew family (9–45), and their servant (40), are reported to have had Irish and English in 1901, but in 1911, the head of household has only aged six years (51), and only two other occupants share the house with her (two of her children (now 22 and 24)). This time, all of them report only having English.

2.17.2 Intergenerational transmission

Evidence of intergenerational depth throughout this region, particularly in the 1901 census, is widespread, and documented in more detail in E9 Notes and F9 Notes. Here, for illustration, let us take Bree DED for example. In the 1901 census, of the 14 Irish-speakers in Bree, 8 are in Carrig (2–64), and 5 of those are Doyles (2–37). The other five (in Sparrowsland), are of the Mernagh family (3–51). In neighbouring Ballyhoge, all six residents of the Power household (14–72) are reported to have Irish.

2.18 Underestimation of Wexford native Irish in the census

2.18.1 Introductory note

It is a truism that the smaller the number of a category within a poll, the greater the effect of the margin of error, and this would be expected to be the case in *Galltacht* (English-speaking) areas where native Irish is on the verge of extinction. Yet, could the underrepresentation of Irish speakers be much more substantial than a margin of error? As it happens, there are groups of people in Wexford that are highly probable to at least know Irish as a native tongue (whatever about their using it), and we can see how reliable the censuses are in regard to them.

As noted in 2.85-6, above, in 1812 and 1814, Irish was the home language of the general population of the south-west and mid-west/centre of the county, at least in certain areas, and as such, if the census is reliable as to reporting of Irish ability (as opposed to use), then we would expect those born before 1821 or 1811 in those areas to be reported as having Irish. However, this does not happen, even once.

Remembering Shaw-Mason's 1814 account of Killegney above, in 1901, in Clonroche, John Sinnott (92) is a fully literate blacksmith with the Irish language field left blank, and the same is the case for the fully literate farmer, Michael Gorman (90). In the same

DED in 1901, we find nine people in their 80s, and all have the language field left blank. Four of these cannot read, including a peddler, Patrick Byrne (80).

Following Trotter's 1812 mentions of ubiquitous Irish, in 1901 there are three Wexford-born people over 90 in Newtownbarry — two explicitly having 'English' (implied only), and one is blank — Elizabeth Ellis, Ballyprecas, who cannot read. Fourteen are in their 80s in this DED, including just one who has 'English' (only), and Katherine Sullivan (87), who is said to have 'No English', i.e., either meaning that 'that English is all she has', or that she only has Irish.¹²⁴ None of the other twelve have the language field filled in. In Ballyhack, there is no-one in their 90s, but thirteen in their 80s — with all of their language fields left blank. In Whitechurch DED, Bridget Flanagan (90) of Ballykeeroge, is a farm servant who cannot read, and her language field is blank. Of the eight in their 80s, one has English (only), and the other seven have the language field left blank.

In Kilmokea DED, the area of Trotter's midsummer's walk, there is no-one over 90 in either census, but what we find for those in their 80s is of interest: in 1901, there are four (80–87), and none of them can read; two of them have no occupation, but the remaining occupations are given as 'labour' and 'fisherman'; their respective surnames are Sullivan, Doyle, Shallow, and Kent; but all of their respective language fields are left blank. In 1911, again, there are four people in their 80s, and these can all read and write: one has 'English', but the other three have the language field left blank, with only two of these being assigned an occupation (housekeeper, and farmer, respectively); the names of the three with blank language fields are Mary Furlong (88), James Stafford (80), and Maria O'Sullivan (80).

2.18.2 Explaining the under-representation of native Irish in the 1901 and 1911 censuses

There are several reasons why one would expect those with native Irish ability to be under-represented in all *Galltacht* regions, including Co. Wexford, in either census.

a) Subjectivity of language question

Even basic particulars of a census may be inaccurate on an individual basis — e.g. age and literacy, because the answer may not be known (in the objective question of age), or

¹²⁴ All five members in Katherine's household (18–87) have "No English" under the Irish language heading. Given their location this far east in Ireland in 1901; given the age-range in the household; given that there are very few declared Irish-speakers elsewhere in the DED; and given that at least some English would have been necessary to trade from a farm in that place and time; it is almost certain that what is meant here is 'No [not Irish], but English'.

the question may not be understood (in the subjective questions of literacy or language). Consequently, the Irish language section is far more problematic, because as often as not, it is left blank — often for everyone in a household. Although it is easy to see why a blank for the Irish-language field could or should be interpreted as meaning that the person has no Irish, as shown above, it is probable that this was not always the case. Furthermore, as we have also seen, the inconsistency between censuses, in reported Irish, in terms of geography, individual and family ability, etc., is testament to the lack of reliability of the census in the Irish question. Because Irish is the minority language (often perceived to be belonging to the past), this lack of accuracy is more likely to lead to its underrepresentation in older age-groups (those essential to our filters).

b) Use vs. knowledge of Irish

As may be the case in the foregoing examples, it is not clear to the form-filler nor to the particular individual being marked, whether the Irish language question relates to current useage, or to latent or dormant language ability. For example, in 1901, all ten people in Galway reported to be aged 100–110 have ‘Irish and English’, or ‘Irish’, but of the corresponding six people in that decile in Wexford (1901), not one has their language field filled in. Five of them have no literacy, and so, may have had no agency in the response on their behalf. In this way, again, the minority language (perceived to belong to the past), is less likely to be given the benefit of the doubt, and indeed, is more likely to be glossed over.

c) Confirmation bias

When a language falls below a certain critical mass of speakers, the default presumption of someone filling out a census would be that a person would not have the minority language. This bias is indicated in the centenarian contrasts between Galway and Wexford, just mentioned.

d) Less agency by Irish-speaking population in filling in censuses

Those most likely to retain native Irish were of lower social status (i.e., the least educated and the poorest; (cf. Ó Háinle, 1994, §2.1, §3.1)). This lower status is reflected in higher rates of dependence, illiteracy, and live-in servant/labouring employment — all of which give those with lower status less autonomy or agency on what is reported about them in censuses. As noticeable in the notes to Appendices E and F, people born before 1871 are very unlikely to be recorded as Irish speakers unless the head of household has first put

themselves down as an Irish speaker. This bias is, to some extent, detectable when gender is used (with women more likely to be of lower status): in 1901, the ratio of male to female with Irish is 6 : 4; albeit that this ratio is even in 1911, when reporting of Irish-speaking is more acceptable, and, probably more importantly, Irish learners born after 1891, in particular, make up the vast majority of those reported with Irish — an education which apparently did not discriminate along gender lines.

e) Internalised negative attitudes towards Irish

Many of those born after 1820 and before the 1870s or 1880s etc., were of generations who were ashamed of Irish, and even punished their children for speaking it. Secondly, if they understood the question to be in the present tense, many would naturally have thought that it is so long since they spoke Irish, that the self-reporting answer must be in the negative. As discussed below, this is far less likely of those born from 1871 or thereabouts.

f) Confidence in Irish-speaking ability ('correct' Irish)

The lack of confidence in a dialect on the verge of extinction may also have expressed itself in people not being sure their own Irish was of good enough quality for them to be considered an Irish speaker. Even if they had not been raised through Irish, they may have been out of practice, and perhaps, not identified their latent abilities with the new confidence of the imported dialects being taught by the Gaelic League and in some schools. This effect appears to be visible in the figures: in 1901, 68 of those declared to have Irish were born before 1841, and this figure has fallen to 26 in 1911 — a two thirds collapse that very much surpasses a natural decline as a result of mortality. Also in Table 6, declines in all the other cohorts (apart from 1851–61) may be explained by this phenomenon. On a micro-level, of the several examples given of a person reported to have Irish in 1901 but not in 1911, the example of James Lawlor, Hilltown, Tacumshin, born c.1850, appears to be of particular illustrative interest, since his loss of Irish in 1911 coincides with the gaining of Irish by his son, a postal worker.

Chapter 3: Primary sources for linguistic analysis

3.1 Classical Irish sources from Wexford

3.1.1 Classical Irish literature (overview)

Classical Irish, in which the bulk of poetry was composed in the Early Modern Irish period (1200–1650), had strict conventions, which required rigorous learning, and which were so conservative in terms of form (orthography and grammar) as to be relatively impervious to linguistic changes elsewhere in society – including those relating to dialect – (McManus, 1994, §1.1). The first collection of texts germane to this thesis are those found in *Leabhar Branach*, and were composed in the final decades of the Early Modern Irish period (see 3.1.2–3 below).

3.1.2 *Leabhar Branach*

To the north of the McMurrough-Kavanagh clan, in modern-day Co. Wicklow, was based the O’Byrne clan, and four collections of praise-poetry relating to this clan, written in Classical Modern Irish between 1550–1630, survives in a *duanaire* known as *Leabhar Branach* (Mac Airt, 1944, vii; cf. de Bhál, 1958, 114).¹ Fourteen of the contributing poets are connected with two poetical families from Pallas, in north-east Wexford, accounting for at

¹ The text used here is that of Mac Airt (1944) kindly supplied by the TCD Irish Department from its Database of Bardic poems.

least thirty-four poems in *Leabhar Branach*, (de Bhál, 1958, 115), i.e., about half the material in the collection overall (Mac Airt, 1944, xiii).²

3.1.3 Relevance of *Leabhar Branach*

Of the seventy-three poems in *Leabhar Branach*, fifty-seven are in strict *Dán Díreach*, fourteen in loose *Dán Díreach* or *Ógláchas*, and two in accentual metre (ibid.). Given the period and the poetic form, the texts predominantly accord with Classical Irish orthography and grammar (cf. Williams, 1994a, §1.1), but some spellings connote influence of modern vernacular, as does some internal rhyming (Mac Airt, 1944, xiii-xiv).³

3.2–5 Eighteenth-century texts

3.2.1 The emergence of dialect in literature

The Battle of Kinsale (1601), proved a death-knell for the Gaelic political system, which by extension, necessarily brought an end to the elite poetry schools in which standard literary Irish had been taught (Williams, 1994a, §1.1). While writers in the first half of the seventeenth century continued to adhere to the standard which had been passed down to them through the schools, as Classical Irish textual forms such as *Dán Díreach* disappeared as the century progressed, cracks began to appear in the edifice of old conventions, and the vernacular began to find its way, more obviously, into written texts – a phenomenon precipitated and accelerated by the proliferation of other forms, such as vernacular prose and folk poetry – (ibid.). The eighteenth-century texts relevant to this thesis fall into that bracket: that is, in varying degrees, retaining the strong legacy of Classical Irish spelling, with varying or unstable degrees of adherence to Classical Irish grammar, and with features of dialect being more or less apparent.

For the purposes of this research, the 18th-century texts from Wexford comprise extracts from the following types of literature: poetry in the *marbhna* form; folk songs; a

² Séamas de Bhál estimates the bulk of the Wexford contributions to be as follows: 8 from Giolla na Naomh Rua Mac Eochadha (pardoned in 1598); 6 from Domhnall Mac Eochadha (pardoned in 1601); 6 from Aonghas Ó Dálaigh (pardoned in 1601); 5 from Fearghal (mac Lughaidh) Mac Eochadha (pardoned in Pallas in 1598); 3 from Donnchadh (mac Domhnaill) Mac Eochadha; 2 from Fearghal Óg Mac Eochadha (pardoned in 1601); 1 from Tomás Mac Eochadha; 1 from Seán (mac Fearghail) Mac Eochadha; 1 from Seán (mac Philip) Mac Eochadha, in Kilcavan; 1 from Ruaidhrí Mac Eochadha of Ráth Phiarais (pardoned in 1581); as well as contributions from two poets with incomplete names –? Mac Eochadha, and one from Domhnall Mac ‘Fir Gan Ainm’ (Mac Airt, 1944, 434–5; de Bhál, 1958, 114).

³ For a summary of *Dán Díreach* see McManus, 1994, §1.5.

keen; prose texts from the Fenian Cycle; and an English-Irish glossary (see below in this chapter). The assonance of vowel-sounds in the metrical sources are the least reliable in terms of vernacular phonology, since they are liable to be from an older tradition with its own conventions, which are not necessarily related to local vernacular. The texts can, however, offer more concrete indicators in ‘mistakes’, or departures from traditional orthographic convention. 18th-century texts have been used to elucidate Leinster Irish dialectology by others (cf. O’Rahilly, 1932, *passim*; Williams, 1994a; de Brún, 1870, 46; and Ó hÓgáin, 2012). As elsewhere in this thesis, we are not dependent on any one type of source, but rather, are seeking to identify patterns (if any) among the various sources, as well as agreements with what is known from surrounding counties.

3.3 Philip Gibbons (1718-c.1790) and associated texts

3.3.1 Background

The scribe, lyricist, and lexicographer, Philip Gibbons, lived in the townland of Kilhile (which also contains the ferry village of Ballyhack) on the eastern banks of Waterford Harbour, in the parish of St. James and Dunbrody, in south-west Wexford. He also spent some time teaching in Kilkenny City (de Brún, 1970, 44; Ó hÓgáin, 2012, 187).⁴ Gibbons is responsible for three extant texts in four manuscripts, all of which are preserved in the Royal Irish Academy (de Brún, 1970, 44).⁵

3.3.2 Gibbons’ notebook (1740–1780)

⁴ I am grateful to Charles Dillon for transcribing some material for me from the Royal Irish Academy manuscripts by Gibbons.

⁵ A Philip Gibbons is the writer of several Irish manuscripts, including much of Egerton, MS 117 (Flower, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, p. 237), but this would appear to be another Philip Gibbons (possibly a son or grandson of our Philip Gibbons), since Egerton MS 117, at least, was written in 1814, about twenty-four years after our Philip Gibbons had died. Furthermore, the later Philip Gibbons consistently writes in a partially phonetic orthography (i.e., partly based on English orthography), whereas, in his notebook (1740-1780), the earlier Philip Gibbons writes in conventional Irish orthography, apart from occasional ‘mistakes’, so-to-speak. The later Philip Gibbons is presumed by James Hardiman (1782-1865) to have collected his folk songs from oral sources in Connacht (Flower, 1926, 237), whereas, in so far as we know, the earlier Philip Gibbons spent his life between counties Wexford and Kilkenny.

With regard to the two texts of *A Mháire a Rún* and respective parodies, they appear to have been written in different hands (3.3.3), and neither of them comes close to the level of phonetic orthography in the 1814 text. On balance, I am accepting Ó hÓgáin’s conclusion (2012, 185-7) that the *A Mháire* and parody texts are composed by the Philip Gibbons born in 1718, and that the songs were composed in the mid-18th century.

By far the largest and most significant of Gibbons' extant manuscripts is a notebook (RIA MS 23 D 8) which he compiled between the years 1740–1780, and which contains 382 pages, each 6 inches high, and three-and-a-half inches wide (Anon., *The Past*, 1973, 17). The main contents of that manuscript are: *Merlino Maligno*; *Teagasg Criosdaidhe Galldubh*; *An Teanga Bithnuadh*, *Agallamh an Choirp is an Anma*; several poems by Aogán Ó Rathaile and Seaghán Clárach Mac Domhnaill; “index of some hard old Irish words explained in English” (pages 281–350) – the first entry of the list being ‘*a n'allód* i. formerly or anciently’; and an untitled Irish-English vocabulary/lexicon (pages 375–82).⁶

That there are sixty-nine pages of an Irish-English vocabulary, written alphabetically and in columns in the manuscript, means that Gibbons is the author of a dictionary (albeit, perhaps, only intended for personal use), which appears to have been hitherto overlooked or unknown to those writing on Irish lexicography up until now.⁷ Also, as mentioned above, Gibbons has compiled a mini English-Irish dictionary of eight pages (RIA, 23 D 8, 375–82) also in alphabetical order, but its brevity – comprising the translation into Irish of 457 words or expressions – means that it is not substantial enough to be counted as a dictionary in its own right.

3.3.3 Anonymous love song and Gibbons' parody

There are two written versions of Gibbons' song, “a parody on the foregoing song, Máire a rún” (RIA 23 E 1, 221–2; 23 F 22, 83) (see Ó hÓgáin, 2012, 187). The song which is being parodied by Gibbons – *A Mháire a rún* – is a love-song composed in the mid-eighteenth century by an anonymous poet, but Ó hÓgáin suggests it is likely that the poet was also a native of south-west Wexford, since Gibbons responded directly to him (*ibid.*, 185). The lyrics of this song precede those of Gibbons' parody of it in both texts (RIA 23 E 1, 219–20; 23 F 22, 81–2).

Given the local nature of the material, as mentioned above, we may also surmise, accordingly, that both manuscripts were not compiled too far away from the sources of the compositions. Judging by some significant differences in spelling (which can also cause difference in meaning), both sets of texts appear to have been written independently of each other.

⁶ All these details on the contents of RIA 23 D 8 were kindly sent to me by Charles Dillon of the Royal Irish Academy.

⁷ For example, Ó Háinle (1994, §8.2), mentions five dictionaries ‘of reasonable volume’ being compiled from the seventeenth to the late-nineteenth century, two of which (like Gibbons’) were unpublished.

Figure 4a: Full texts of *A Mháire, a rún*.

RIA 23 E 1; 219

RIA 23 F 22: 82

Verse 1

O'a Mhaire a rún a bhláth na n-úbhal
Na mealltar thú leis an Munsterman
Is go gcuireadh se a gcéill duit le briathra béil

Cúig céad bréaga an uair de lo
Do budh fhearr liom féin a bheith curtha a gcré
O! ná beith a bpian go bhfaghain[n] fein bas
Ná beith pósta ag race bocht do siubhlad Eire
ag innsinn breig is a mealladh mnaibh.

O! A Mháire a rún a bhlath na n-ubhal,
na mealtar thu leis a Munsterman,
's go curedh se geal duit le briartha
bheul,
is cuig cead breige an uair dhe lo.
Do abar liom fhéin a beith curtha a ccre
O! na bhe a bpian go bhoin fean bas
Na a bheth posta ag rake bhocht a
shuibhlaidh Éire
ag innseacht breig is a mealladh mnaibh.

Verse 2

Ta mo chois dóighte, is mo lámh dheas leonta
Tainic an oigbhean agam asteach
D'iar mé póg uirre uair no dhó
is go bhfuighin-se foirthinn o rígh na bhfeart
mail ail leo! mo mhíle brón!
gan an oide rom is me pósta leat
Ni fhuil go foil is ni bheith go deóigh
Is a mhíle stór mo bheannacht leat.

Ta mo chos doite is mo lamh dheas
leointe
thainig an oigbhean agam asteach
D'iar me póg uirthi uair no dho
is go boinse foruint o righ na bherth
Mail ail leoil mo mile bróin
gan an oite rom is me posta leat
Ni'l go foil is ni bhe go deoigh
is a mhíle stor mo bhennacht leat.

Verse 3

Tug me grádh do'd chuirnín ban
Seachus mnáibh na cruine go léir
Ach cad é an fáth? mar bhí tú breágh
Cia go mo scar an cumann leat
Mo chreach! mo chrádh! nach bhfuair me bás
An oidhche na'n lá da rugadh me
Súil na mbeidh as si ag an bpiobaire bán
Is go mbeidh air lamh ag fear am dhiaigh

Thug me gradh dhid cuirnin ban
seachus mnaibh na cruine go leir
is gad e an fath ach mar bhi tu breagh
Cia go mo sgar an cuman e.
Mo chreach 's mo chra nach fuaras bas
an oidhche nan la dha rugadh me
sul na mbeid si (lena) ag an piobaire bán
go mbetha air laimh ag fear mo dheigh.

Figure 4b. Full texts of Gibbons' parody of *A Mháire, a rún*

RIA MS 23 E 1: 221

RIA 23 F 22:83

Verse 1

A Maire (a rún) mhúinte a Maire run
 As aille gnúis 's as gille dreach
 Is gur sháraidh tú an Maire úd
 Ce gur bláth na n-ubhal í madh friotal ceart

Da áilleacht cúilfhionn a mhámhail mhúinte

Da dtainic sud air do chine air fad
 Is gur fearr do chliú-sa a staid bhean mhúinte
 Iona na tainthe diobh sud an gach cainis maith

A Mháire muinte, a(ir) Mhaire rún
 a aile gnúis 'sas gille dreach,
 Is gur sharuidh tú an Maire úd,
 ce gur blath na n'ubhail i madh fritail
 ceart

Da aileacht cuilfhionn a mhamhuil
 mhúinte

Da ttainig sud ar do chinne ar fad
 Is gur fearr do cliúsa a stáid bean muinte
 na na tainthe diobh sud ans gac cainis
 maith

Verse 2

Tá binn is aorach an a beal
 Anois is mian liom i a moladh a gceart
 Gan cuma breige air fheabhus a treartha
 A thogh bean e ta suigte deas
 Labhairfinn gaodhailge gan fault gan aon locht

A togh na reailtail air an maith
 Da dtabharfadh beithe Parnassus abhran
 A gceann a chéile ní fhaigin a leach

Tha binn is aorach ann a beul
 anois is mian liom i a moladh a ceart
 Gan coumtha breige ar fheus do threatha
 a thou bean e ta suite deas
 Labharfuinn gaodhlaig gan *fault* gan aon
 locht

a thou na raoltail ar a maith
 Dha ttabhartha beite *Parnassus* abram
 a ccean a cheile ni fhaigin a leach

Verse 3

Tá si saoithe geanamhail mín deas
 Gasta líomhtha ar a beul
 Air cran is creachta sí is compa dheanadh
 Samhuil na gréine lé na snáthad chaol
 Ce ar tean mo leun! Air do cheann-sa
 a dhéigh-bhean(n)
 Is feabhas do threathrasa a Maire shéimh
 Gur a ngeall a t-saothair a sgríobhas an fearsa

Ce ar fánn me an eiefacht tá an dan sin reidh

Ta si saoithe cceanamhail min deas
 gasta liomhtha ar a bheul
 Ar cran is creachta si is compa deanach
 samhail na gréine le na snachtaid caoil
 Ce ar tean ma leun ar do ceansa
 a dheighbhean
 Is feous do ghrearthasa a Maire seimh
 Gur a ngeal a tsaothar a scriobhas an
 bhfearsa

Ce ar fann me an efeacht ta an dan sin
 reidh

Figure 5: A Mháire, a rún – rhyming scheme

Verse 1
 Line1 *n-úll* Line 2 *Munsterman*
 Line 3 *béil* Line 4 *ló*

Verse 2
 Line 1 *leointe* Line 2 *isteach*
 line 3 *dhó* Line 4 *bhfeart*

Line 5 <i>gcré</i>	Line 6 <i>bás</i>	Line 5 <i>brón</i>	Line 6 <i>leat</i>
Line 7 <i>Éire</i>	Line 8 <i>mnáibh</i>	Line 7 <i>deo</i>	Line 8 <i>leat</i>

Verse 3

Line 1 <i>bán</i>	Line 2 <i>léir</i>
Line 3 <i>breá</i>	Line 4 <i>leat</i>
Line 5 <i>bás</i>	Line 6 <i>mé</i>
Line 7 <i>bán</i>	Line 8 <i>dhéidh</i>

Figure 4: A *Mháire, a rún* – internal assonance

Verse 1:

Line 1: <i>Máire, rún, bláth, n-úll:</i>	á/ú/á/ú
Line 2: <i>mealltar, tú Munsterman:</i>	all/ú/u/a
Line 3: <i>gcuirfeadh, gcéil, briathra béil:</i>	i/é/ia/é
Line 4: <i>cúig, bréaga, uair, ló:</i>	ú/é/ua/ó ⁸
Line 5: <i>b'fhearr, féin, curtha, gcré:</i>	á/é/u/é
Line 6: <i>ná(?), bpian, bhfaighim bás:</i>	á/ia/a/á ⁹
Line 7: <i>pósta, réic, siúlfadh, Éire:</i>	ó/é/ú/é ¹⁰
Line 8: <i>insint bréig, mealladh mnáibh.</i>	i/é/a/á

Verse 2:

Line 1: <i>tá, dóite, lámh leointe</i>	á/ó/á/ó	
Line 2: <i>Tháinig, óigbhean, agam(?), isteach:</i>	á/ó/a/a	half-asonating ¹¹
Line 3: <i>d'iarr, póg, uair, dhó</i>	ia/ó/ua/ó	half-asonating
Line 4: <i>bhfaighinnse, fóirhint, rí, bhfeart</i>	ai/ó/í/a	half-asonating ¹²

⁸ If the song itself used *uair de(n) lae* (gs.), rather than the technically correct dative of *de ló*, there would be a full rhyme, and it is possible that the scribes corrected the grammar in the redacting of the lyrics. However, given that the second redaction is much closer to phonetic spelling, and still uses 'dhe lo', this may not be the case.

⁹ Assonance is possible here if in the different order of 1/2/2/1 (instead of 1/2/1/2), and if this were the case, *go bhfaighim* has the vowel-sound of ⟨i:⟩.

¹⁰ This would be a full assonance if *pósta* was pronounced with ⟨u:⟩ for its initial vowel (cf. *fógra* > 'fuagra' (Gibbons, c.1780, 375).

¹¹ This half-complete assonance would only work if *agam* has back-stress, as in Connacht and Ulster.

¹² This half-complete assonance would only work if *bhfaighinnse* has the vowel-sound ⟨i:⟩.

Line 5: <i>mail, leó, mhíle, brón</i>	<i>a/ó/í/ó</i> ¹³	
Line 6: <i>eite, romham, pósta leat</i>	<i>e/ó/ó/a</i>	half ¹⁴
<i>Fhuil, fóill, bheith, deo</i>	<i>u/ó/e/ó</i>	half
Line 8: <i>mhíle, stór, beannacht, leat</i>	<i>í/ó/a/a</i> ¹⁵	

Verse 3:

Line 1: <i>thug, grá, chuirnín, bán</i>	<i>u/á/u/á</i>	half
Line 2: <i>seachas, mnáibh, cruinne, léir</i>	<i>a/á/w/é</i>	?no
Line 3: <i>é, fáth, bhí, breá</i>	<i>é/á/í/á</i>	half
Line 4: <i>cia, scar, cumann, leat</i>	<i>ia/a/u/a</i>	half
Line 5: <i>chreach, chrá, bhfuair, bás</i>	<i>a/á/ua/á</i>	half
Line 6: <i>oíche, lá, rugadh, mé</i>	<i>í/á/u/é</i>	?no ¹⁶
Line 7: <i>sál, mbeidh, bpíobaire, bán</i>	<i>á/e/í/á ?</i>	no ¹⁷
Line 8: <i>mbeidh, lámh, fear, dhéidh</i>	<i>e/á/a/é</i>	half

Gibbons' response uses the same form and length as *A Mháire a Rún* itself, but this parody has an A/B/A/B/ rhyming-scheme throughout (i.e., rhyming based on the stressed syllables of the last words in alternate lines): e.g., in verse 1: *rún / dreach / úd / ceart / mhúinte / fad / mhúinte / chainnis*. The assonance scheme is less reliable (see figure 6). Lines 1, 3, 5, and 7, of verse 1, have a scheme of A/B/A/B; and even though lines 2, 4, 6, and 8 have A/B/C/D (i.e., no assonance at all) there appears to be a pattern of corresponding vowel-sounds in each of the four stresses A/B/C/D, so that A in line 2 has a rhyme in A of line 4, 6, and 8, etc. Assonance in the second verse is not so clear: excluding lines 1 and 12, a similar pattern to the previous verse more or less holds. The pattern is as follows: Line 3, A/b/C/B; Line 5, A/B/?A/B; line 7, A/B/C/A. In verse 3, assonance is clear, but again, the pattern changes: Line 1, A/B/A/B; line 2 (different vowels) A/B/A/C. After this, lines 3 and 5 share stressed vowels in A/B/A/B and line 7 shares with them the first and second stressed vowels in A/B/C/D. Lines 4 and 6 share identical vowels in A/B/C/B, but line 8 appears to conform

¹³ *Mail ail leó* would need the initial vowel-sound to be ⟨i:⟩ for this assonance to be complete.

¹⁴ This assonance could be complete if *leat* is pronounced with the vowel-sound ⟨ɛ⟩. This does appear to happen for *deas* in Wexford Town, and with *ina sheasamh* in north Louth (*Bríd Ní Cuarta agus an Cat* – Brian Mac Cuarta, doegen.ie).

¹⁵ A half-complete assonance is present if the schema is 1/2/3/3, and to support this there is back-stress in *beannacht*.

¹⁶ A half-complete assonance rhyme would be possible only if *lá* is pronounced with the vowel-sound ⟨æ⟩ (a near-open-unrounded vowel), as is found in the Ulster pronunciation of words such as *lá*.

¹⁷ There could only be a half-complete assonance here if the schema was A/B/C/A.

with the latter three stressed vowels, but not the first in it's a/B/A/B.¹⁸ In short, the assonance is not reliable enough for absolute confidence in inferring vowel-sounds, but is suggestive of such sounds.

Figure 5: Stressed vowels by line in Gibbons' parody

Verse 1	
Line 1: <i>Máire, mhúinte, Mháire, rún</i>	<i>á/ú/á/ú</i>
Line 2: <i>áille gnúis, gile, dreach</i>	<i>á/ú/i/a</i>
Line 3: <i>sháraigh tú Máire úd</i>	<i>á/ú/á/ú</i>
Line 4: <i>bláth, n-úll, ?friotal, ceart</i>	<i>á/ú/i/a</i>
Line 5: <i>áilleacht, cúilfhionn, mhámhail, mhúinte</i>	<i>á/ú/á/ú</i>
Line 6: <i>dtáinig, siúd, chine, fad</i>	<i>á/ú/i/a</i>
Line 7: <i>fear, chlú-sa, stáidbhean, mhúinte</i>	<i>a/ú/á/ú</i>
Line 8: <i>táinte siúd, cainnis, maith</i>	<i>á/ú/a/a</i>
Verse 2	
Line 1: <i>binneas, aerach, ina, bhéal</i>	<i>i/é/i/é</i>
Line 2: <i>anois, mian, mhóladh, gceart</i>	<i>i/ia/o/a</i>
Line 3: <i>cumadh, bréige, fheabhas, tréartha</i>	<i>u/é/a/éa</i>
Line 4: <i>thogh-bhean, é, suite, deas</i>	<i>au/é/i/a</i>
Line 5: <i>labharfainn, Gaelg, fault, aon</i>	<i>au/é/au/é</i>
Line 6: <i>thogha, réaltaíl, ar, mhaith</i>	<i>au/é/a/a</i>
Line 7: <i>dtabharfadh, béithe, Parnassus, amhrán</i>	<i>a/é/a/a</i>
Line 8: <i>gceann, chéille, fhaighim, leath</i>	<i>au/é/a/a</i>
Verse 3	
Line 1: <i>suite, geanúil, mín, deas</i>	<i>i/a/i/a</i>
Line 2 : <i>gasta, líofa, ar, bhéal,</i>	<i>a/i/a/é</i>
Line 3: <i>crann, créachta, compa, dhéanfadh</i>	<i>au/é/au/é</i>
Line 4 : <i>samhail, gréine, snáthaid, caol</i>	<i>au/é/á/é</i>
Line 5: <i>theann, léan, cheannsa, dhéighbhean</i>	<i>au/é/au/éi</i>
Line 6: <i>feabhas, thréartha, Mháire, shéimh</i>	<i>au/é/á/é</i>

¹⁸ Lines 4, 6, and 8, have a perfectly symmetrical assonance pattern if *samhail* and *feabhas* get the vowel-sound (a:).

Line 7: *ngeall, tsaothair, scríobhas, fear* *au/é/í/a*
 Line 8: *fán éifeacht, dán réidh* *á/é/á/é*

3.3.4 *Dánmholadh na Gaeilge*

Gibbons also authored 30 lines (in three stanzas) of a song, *Dánmholadh na Gaeilge*, ‘Praise-Poem to Irish’ (set to the tune of *The Royal Princess*) (Goodman, 1903, 32–3; *An Claisceadal*, 1930, No. 26; Ó hÓgáin, 2012, 188–9).¹⁹ Although there are assonantal patterns between the final syllables in each line (e.g., verse 1: A/A/A/B; C/C/C/D/D/E), the internal assonance also has some apparent consistency (see figures 8a and 8b): In verse 1, there appears to be assonance between the first three lines in the first, second, and fourth stressed syllables; and indeed, assonance between lines 2 and 3 in all four stressed syllables. In verse 2, all four syllables assonate in lines 1 and 2, but line 3 has no syllables assonating with the previous two. In verse 3, all four stressed syllables assonate internally between the first three lines. Line four in all verses is a resolving line, musically speaking, and the stressed syllable vowels are independent of any other lines.

Within each respective verse, lines 5, 6, and 7 are closely related in terms of syllabic stress and assonance: in the first verse, each of the four syllables of each line appears to assonate with the equivalent stressed syllable in the other two lines. In verse 2, lines 6 and 7 appear to have corresponding vowel-sounds for all four of their respective stress syllables, but line 5 only matches the latter two with its final two stressed syllables. In verse 3, lines 5 and 6 appear to match the vowel-sounds of all four of their respective stressed syllables, but only the second, third, and fourth stressed syllables in line 7 appear to match their counterparts in the previous two lines.

Musically, in every verse, the last three lines are a resolving diminuendo to the closing of the tune, and each is independent of the previous line, in terms of assonance with the final line, being similar to the fourth line in terms of the ending of a musical part.

Figure 6a: The text of *Dánmholadh na Gaeilge* (Ó hÓgáin, 2012,188-9)

‘Sí an teanga Ghaeilge is greanta cló,
 Go blasta léitear í mar cheol,
 ’Sí a channadh bréithre binn-ghuth beoil,
 ’S is fíor gur mór a háitreabh.

¹⁹ I have not been able to locate the original manuscript source of this song and the published texts are very much standardised in terms of spelling.

Níl teanga ar domhan dá bhreáthacht í,
 Le blas is fonn nár sháraigh sí,
 Is go ceart a labhraid dáimhe linn
 Na dánta is ceol do fháil ina cóir
 Is seanchas na rí-fhlaith mór
 Is saoithe cróga chlár Loirc.

Dá mbeadh ríthe Éireann fós ina suí
 Sa ríocht i gcéim is i gcoróin ba bhinn,
 Siollaí na Gaeilge leo
 Ar chaoinchruit cheoil is táibhlpeis,
 Beidh filí léinn go sásta sóch
 Ag déanamh saothair dánta dhóibh –
 Gach éigeas díobh san áras mór
 Ag moladh an rí is a shár-mhaithghníomh,
 Is a shinsir uaisle tréana groí
 'S i gcríocha Fódla a n-ársacht.

Do bheadh saol órga ag Éirinn arís
 Le saibhreas comhachta, réim is brí,
 Lucht léinn faoi mhór-chaithréim san ríocht
 Is tréanlucht díbirt námhad,
 D'éireodh an Ghaeilge i gcéimibh ard,
 I gcló is i gcéill thar Bhéarla cháich –
 Is startha Gael dá lé' do ghnáth,
 Is seanchaíocht is teagasc Críost,
 Is diagairí Dé go séimh de shíor
 Ag léir-mhíniú dlí neámhdha.

Figure 8b: Assonance in *Dánmholadh na Gaeilge*

	Verse 1	
Line 1: <i>teanga, Ghaeilge, greanta, cló</i>	<i>a/é/a/ó</i>	A/B/A/C
Line 2: <i>blasta, léite, í, cheol</i>	<i>a/é/í/ó</i>	A/B/C/D
Line 3: <i>cannadh, bréithre, binn-, beól</i>	<i>a/é/í/ó</i>	A/B/C/D
Line 4: <i>fíor, mór, háitreach</i>	<i>í/ó/á</i>	A/B/C
Line 5: <i>teanga, domhan, bhreáthacht, í</i>	<i>a/au/á/í</i>	A/B/C/D
Line 6: <i>blas, fonn, sháraigh, sí</i>	<i>a/au/á/í</i>	as previous
Line 7: <i>ceart, labhraid, dáimhe, linn</i>	<i>a/au/á/í</i>	as previous
Line 8: <i>dánta, ceol, fháil, cóir</i>	<i>á/ó/á/ó</i>	A/B/A/B

Line 9: <i>seanachas, rí-, mór</i>	<i>a/í/ó</i>	A/B/C/
Line 10: <i>saoithe, cróga, clár</i>	<i>í/ó/á</i>	A/B/C

Verse 2

Line 1: <i>ríthe, Éireann, fós, suí</i>	<i>í/é/ó/í</i>	A/B/C/A
Line 2: <i>ríocht, gcéim, gcoróin, bhinn</i>	<i>í/é/ó/í</i>	A/B/C/A
Line 3: <i>siollaí na Gaeilge leo</i>	<i>í/é/ó</i>	ABCD ²⁰
Line 4: <i>chaoín-, cheoil, táibhléis</i>	<i>í/ó/á</i>	A/B/C
Line 5: <i>filí, léinn, sásta, sóch</i>	<i>í/é/á/ó</i>	A/B/C/D
Line 6: <i>déanamh, saothar, dánta ,dhóibh</i>	<i>é/é/á/ó</i>	A/B/C/D
Line 7: <i>éigeas, díobh, áras, mór</i>	<i>é/í/á/ó</i>	A/B/C/D
Line 8: <i>moladh, rí, shár-, -ghníomh</i>	<i>o/í/á/í</i>	A/B/C/B
Line 9: <i>shinsir, uaisle, tréana, groí</i>	<i>i/ua/é/í</i>	A/B/C/A
Line 10: <i>gcríocha, Fódla, n-ársacht</i>	<i>í/ó/á</i>	A/B/C

Verse 3

Line 1: <i>saol, órga, Éirinn, arís</i>	<i>é/ó/é/í</i>	A/B/A/C ²¹
Line 2: <i>saibhreas, comhachta, réim, brí</i>	<i>a/ó/é/í</i>	A/B/A/C
Line 3: <i>léinn, mhór-, caithréim, ríocht</i>	<i>é/ó/é/í</i>	A/B/A/C
Line 4: <i>tréanlucht, díbirt, námhad,</i>	<i>é/í/á</i>	A/B/C
Line 5: <i>D'éireodh, Ghaeilge, gcéimibh, ard,</i>	<i>é/é/é/á</i>	A/B/B/C
Line 6: <i>gcló, gcéill, Bhéarla, cháich</i>	<i>ó/é/é/á</i>	A/B/B/C
Line 7: <i>startha, Gaeil, lé', ghnáth,</i>	<i>a/é/é/á</i>	A/B/B/A
Line 8: <i>seanchaíocht, teagasc, Críost</i>	<i>a/í/a/í</i>	A/B/A/B
Line 9: <i>diagairí, Dé, séimh, shíor</i>	<i>ia/é/é/í</i>	A/B/B/A
Line 10: <i>léir, dlí, neámhda</i>	<i>é/í/á</i>	A/B/C

3.3.5 What the texts might tell us about the writer

Gibbons was not only a writer of advanced ability in Irish and English, but, as is clear from his 'Vocabulary', he also possessed a knowledge of English grammar.²² Unusually for a

²⁰ There are only three stressed syllables in this line.

²¹ This reading depends on the first stressed syllable being *saol*.

non-clerical Irish speaker at the time of the Penal Laws, Gibbons could not only write English, but the words he translates to Irish are strongly influenced by the text of the English (probably King James) Bible. Indeed, the ‘Vocabulary’ appears to have been intended as an aid in translating the Bible, either for the sake of the note-taker, personally, or for the sake of a wider congregation.²³ Moreover, at least nineteen of the translated words or phrases suggest that the list was also intended to aid with the spread of evangelical, or non-conformist, Protestantism.²⁴

That Irish was Gibbons’ first language might be suggested by his having the confidence to parody a locally composed Irish love-song (see 3.3.3, above), but it is also possible that he acquired Irish as a second language, perhaps for the purposes of proselytism. If this latter scenario is the case, then Gibbons’ notebook is an exercise book to aid in his learning and exploration of Irish as his second language. This possibility is strengthened by his use of the term “hard old Irish words” to describe the keywords of his Irish-English dictionary. Whereas it might be argued that this description of the source content being difficult merely refers to the literary provenance of the material, the question would still

²² Ua Giobún’s use of the grammatical terms ‘adj.’ < ‘adjective’ and adv. ‘adverb’, *for example*, and his inclusion of the word “tares” (a weed found in corn), show that he had an understanding of English well beyond the Bible.

²³ Examples of words and phrases Gibbons has apparently translated from the Bible to Irish include: *to anoint; to appear; an accuser; I adorn; abomination; administration; an adulteress; I appeal unto; anguish; agony; to beget; he begat; to bring forth (young); behold; to betray; blameless; blasphemy; before [in sense of presence]; I beseech you; a centurion; a cheek; chief priests; circumcision; to conceive; she conceived; to cast out; to corrupt; a cloke; a cubit; concupiscence; devil; to destroy; to divorce; the dumb; the deaf; desolation; a debtor; a decree; a dove; I descend; an eunuch; I err; evil-speaking; a furnace; to foretell; a footstool; a feast or festival; I flee; a fatling; gentiles; a garment; a governor; to glorify; gnashing of teeth; a gnat; I gird myself; I grind; a groaning; hypocrisy; a hypocrite; Herod; happy ye; Hebrew; Hebrews; homage; a helmet; a harlot; infallible; an idol; idolatry; instrument [i.e., person who as an ‘instrument of the Lord’]; Judea; loins; leaven; leper; to minister; Mount of Olives; meak; a multitude; I magnify; a mote; a moth; a nation; to offer up; I overthrow; only begotten son; a parable; Passover; a psalmist; to profane; I preach; revelation; righteousness; to be reconciled; a synagogue; a serpent; to spue; Sabbath; a sower; a shepherd; I shake off; sack-cloth; tabernacle; tribulation; treasure; a tittle; a throne; trespasses; I tempt; tribute; a trumpet; unclean; unbelieving; unleavened; unto you all; unto thee; unto them; unto me; unrighteous; ungodly; undefiled; a viper; a vigil; vanity or vainglory; a vineyard; virtue; a voyage; a visitation; vice; wilderness; Wise Men; woe; a witness; whosoever. This list is based on words or expressions which either are only heard in a Biblical context (such as Mount of Olives), or else, are very likely to come from the Bible, because they are quite unusual (even in the eighteenth century) outside of that context – e.g., *to cast out* (from the ‘casting out of demons’) often mentioned in the New Testament. This list comprises 135 of the 457 words and phrases translated into Irish by Gibbon, in total; but it is possible that a vast majority of the vocabulary was in some way an aid to translating from the Bible.*

²⁴ The words and expressions in the list which indicate a sympathy with evangelical, or non-conformist, Protestantism, are: *being* (born again); *to conform; charity; ye elect; elders; I enlighten; Godliness; a hymn; a Minister; to ordain; a proselyte; I predestinate; priesthood; quotation; quire of singers; sober; transfiguration; testimony; usury*. Whether Gibbons was born into such a religious milieu, or whether he was a convert, we can only guess; but that the ‘Vocabulary’ occurs relatively later in Gibbons’ life (c.1780), might suggest that he was a late convert. It is also possible that his religious affiliation played some part in the exceptional fact that some of his work was not only preserved, but that it also eventually made its way to the Royal Irish Academy (unlike any other eighteenth-century Irish texts from Wexford apart from those of Séamus Ó Murchadha (see 3.4 below).

remain as to why a native Irish speaker would attempt to specifically and systematically translate such a niche category of words from Irish to English in a notebook. The nearest analogue to similar contemporary interest in bringing anything of high Irish to an English linguistic milieu was the collecting of Charlotte Brooke (a Presbyterian) in counties Longford and Down, in the late-eighteenth century (cf. Ó Giolláin, 2005, 90–1).

Dánmholadh na Gaeilge can be seen in the light of eighteenth-century cultural nationalism such as that championed by Presbyterians in the late-eighteenth century in Ireland.²⁵ In the examples below we find more specific evidence of a particular Protestant cultural Irish nationalism:

a) reference to Irish as a literary (i.e., read) language and also as a means of religious instruction; also notable is the use of *diagairí* (divine/theologian (i.e., preacher), rather than *sagart* ('priest'), which may indicate a non-Catholic worldview.

Examples:

Line 2: *Go blasta léitear í mar cheol* ('she [Irish], is nicely read, like music')

Line 27: *Is startha Gael dá lé' do ghnáth* ('and stories of the Irish being commonly read')

Line 28: *Is seanchaíocht is teagasc Críost* ('and the telling of old tales and the teaching of Christ')

Line 29: *is diagairí Dé go séimh de shíor* ('and preachers of God peaceful forever')

Line 30: *Ag léir-mhíniú dlí neámhdha* ('explaining the heavenly law')

b) the depiction of Irish as a competing language among the world's competing languages (a modernist nationalist motif) (cf. Hastings, 1996):

Example:

Lines 5/6: *Níl teanga ar domhan dá bhreáthacht í / Le blas is fonn nár sháraigh sí* 'there's no language in the world however lovely that she has not surpassed in delicacy and music'

c) Irish is also portrayed throughout as an artistic essence (i.e., a nationalist trope); and the reference to the harp is redolent of the antiquarian interests of the Presbyterian-led cultural nationalism of the eighteenth century:²⁶

²⁵ Cf. Harbison (1986, 24); and McDowell (1967, 232–49).

²⁶ Harping competitions were held in north Leinster, south Ulster, and Belfast, up until 1792, and organised by Presbyterians interested in ancient Irish culture. The harp, itself, had been replaced by the forerunners of the

Examples:

Line 7: *Is go ceart a labhraid dáimhe linn* ‘and rightly speak companies [of artists] to us’

Line 8: *na dánta is ceol do fháil ina cóir* ‘to get the poems and music for her (Irish’

d) Unlike what would be expected from the native tradition, where in the eighteenth century, the House of Stuart was the *cause celebre*; throughout the song, there is a literary nostalgia for ancient Irish kingship, generally speaking, and not in favour of any particular sept:

Examples:

Line 11: *dá mbeadh ríthe Éireann fós ina suí* ‘if the Kings of Ireland were still sitting’

Line 12: *san ríocht i gcéim is i gcoróin ba bhinn* ‘in the kingdom that was excellent in rank and crown’

e) Explicit Irish nationalism is expressed (in non-religious terms):

Examples:

Line 21: *Do bheadh saol órga ag Éirinn arís* ‘Ireland would have a golden era again’

Line 24: *Is tréanlucht díbirt námhad* ‘and a strong force to expel enemies’

So, if the above reading of the clues from the texts is correct, then, rather than Gibbons being an early native-Irish-speaking educator/disseminator of English in the area, it is more likely that he was tapping into Irish as a nationalist and proselytising resource or asset.²⁷ In the same parish of St. James and Dunbrody, we have already seen a sermon given in Irish in 1753 (2.8.2 above), suggesting a majority monoglot Irish-speaking population in the area. As such, it would be an irony that the Catholic archbishop of Wexford was in the area at that time, a man who apparently was not comfortable in speaking Irish, while in the same area dwelt an apparent ‘dissenter’, whose Irish was fluent, albeit, possibly, as a second language.

piano as the centre of musical entertainment in the big houses, a process which was ongoing during O’Carolan’s time in the early-eighteenth century. As a result, few harpists remained by the end of the century (cf. Valley (ed), 1999; Harbison, 1986).

²⁷ For parallels to this teaching of English by Irish scholars in later Gaeltacht areas, see Ó Háinle (1994, §2.2).

3.4 Séamas Ó Murchadha

3.4.1. Background

Given the diversity of Séamas Ó Murchadha’s writing, it is clear that he was part of “the remarkable cottage industry of manuscript copying’ which was particularly strong in Munster” (Dunne, 1998, 34). He appears to have been a teacher who made his transcriptions of Irish manuscripts from 1769–1799, and in 1778 he mentions that his place of writing is Campile, i.e., in south-west Wexford (de Brún, 1970, 43).²⁸ Extracts of three of Ó Murchadha’s manuscripts are discussed below (3.4.2–4) and in the other five manuscripts in Ó Murchadha’s hand, not relevant to this thesis, are to be found poetry from Munster (Co. Cork in particular), Co. Down, and the Isle of Man (ibid., 44).

3.4.2 Elegies (1769)

Ó Murchadha’s earliest extant manuscript (MS 6 in King’s Inns) is comprised of *marbhnaí* ‘elegies’ (de Brún, 1970, 45), in stressed metre such as were common from the seventeenth century on (cf. Ó Madagáin, 1981, 311), and the accompanying note by Eugene O’Curry states that the elegies relate to traditions of the scribe’s own locality. The extract used for analysis here is the first five pages of this manuscript, i.e., the first 39 lines of an elegy on the death of John Fitzgerald. The only reliable rhyming scheme is on the final accented vowel in each line.

The elegy opens as follows:

*Iargnuadh air bhás tSéadháin Mic Gearailt do marbhadh a bhfeall.
Dáithbhí Mhac Gearailt .cct.*

*A mhic na páirte táimsi ad agall
Bíodh se cian nár fhiadus labhairt
Ós mithid é tábhair sgéal dod athair
táisg do bháis a ghradh ’s a dhalta.*

²⁸ This is also in the south-west, and in Ballyhack DED – like Kilhile to its west. The area is just across the Barrow estuary from east Waterford. De Brún (1970, 43), gives Ó Murchadha’s earliest known text as being from 1771, but MS 6 in King’s Inns is from 1769). De Brún notes that there are mathematical texts in two of Ó Murchadha’s six manuscripts (de Brún, 1970, 43), and given Ó Murchadha’s exceptional erudition for a member of the laity, that it is probable that he was a hedgeschool teacher.

*Bliadhain is ráithche táim gan amharc
Na spéire na raolta 'sna ranna
Sgéal is truadh fuarus aca
Sinn araon re chéile sgaradh.*

*Cia an stiall do bhain Dia dá lasra
No deamhan aedhir lear séana flaitheus
No an fill araibh uisge is mallacht
No leadrán slighe do smúin tú bhasga.*

3.4.3 Ossianic tales / The *Fenian Cycle* (1778)

The first seventy pages of Ó Murchadha (1778), just under a third of MS 7 (King's Inns), is selected for present analytical purposes. The entire volume consists of stories from the *Fenian Cycle*. Apart from occasional flourishes such as *sgaoileadar a ccoin líomhtha ghaideacha sheang shugacha dhuiledhearga bhéalmhóra* (ibid., 47), the language of this text is relatively prosaic, and the syntax and style are very matter of fact – rather than being a direct derivative of the *Fiannaíocht* tradition in which a specialist teller could tell a story over three days at wakes, for example, with intricate stylised runs and rhetorical patterns (see Delargy, 1945, 18, 21, 33–7). In other words, this text is, rather, merely an outline of the main events which would have featured in the recitation of the *Fiannaíocht* (the *Fenian Cycle*).

Expert story-tellers – themselves a rarity because of their exceptional memory skills and performance ability – were known to have used literary material as a resource, and this also included written versions of Irish folktales by poor scholars, for example, read aloud at farmhouses during carding or at wakes.²⁹ Speaking of such texts in the context of the immediate wake of the last of the poor scholars, James Delargy writes: “into these miscellanies they wrote:

[...] the Ossianic ballads and tales for which they hungered. These poor tattered copy-books mark the end of a continuous literary tradition; they are

²⁹ James Delargy finds that one of the last expert story-tellers was able to recite, word-for-word, Standish O'Grady's published version of *Tóraíocht Diarmada Agus Gráine* – despite his own illiteracy – having heard it read aloud (Delargy, 1945, 28).

the last link in the long chain of Gaelic literature which stretches back unbroken for over twelve hundred years ...” (ibid., 28).³⁰

3.4.4 Lament for Bishop Stafford (1781)

In the latest extant manuscript in the hand of Séamas Ó Murchadha (MS 30 in King’s Inns), dated 1799, there is written a 96-line ‘lament’ under the title *Air bhás an dochtuir diadhacht oirdheirc an t’athair Seodhan Staford noch do fuir bas an chéad lá don tochtmhad mídhe aois an tighearna*, 1781, ‘on the death of the renowned Doctor of Theology, Father John Stafford, who died on the first day of the eighth month, in the year of Our Lord, 1781’ (de Brún, 1970, 47). The same John Stafford (1734/5–81) had been parish priest of his native Rathangan (in Bargo) from 1768 until his death, and had been coadjutor bishop of Ferns from 1772, having been appointed by his uncle, archbishop Nicholas Sweetman (ibid., 43).

De Brún appears to assert that the text is an example of a *marbhna* “the usual metre for the more literary kind of lament in Irish” (ibid., 45). However, the text appears to be a rare early example (and perhaps the earliest extant example) of a transcribed *caoineadh* ‘keen’ i.e., an extempore poem addressed directly to the corpse, primarily recited and composed by the chief female mourner or a hired *bean chaointe* ‘keening woman’ (see Bromwich, 1948; Ó Madagáin, 1981; and Lysaght, 1997).³¹ Even though the *marbhna* and *caoineadh* may share many characteristics, the latter is distinguished by having a vocative phrase or salutation at the beginning of each stanza, and having stanzas of irregular length (Ó Madagáin, 1981, 312, 315–6); and these are two characteristics which are consistent throughout the ‘Lament for Stafford’ (see figures 9 and 10 below). Moreover, the text itself implies that it is a keen. In line 72 is written: “*Is mur do bhi tú ann do mharainn aseadh chaoininnse féin thú*” > M.Ir ‘*Is mar a bhí tú i do mharthain is ea a chaoinfinnse féin thú*’ (E. “It’s as you were when alive is

³⁰ It is worth remembering that Delargy, here, is using “literature” to include oral storytelling (ibid., 1, passim.). This informal writing down of folklore by poor scholars embedded in the community can be contrasted with the publications of such literature (mainly of poetry) in the late-eighteenth century and early-nineteenth century, usually by antiquarians or other collectors who were not native Irish speakers (cf. Ó Háinle, 1994, §3.1).

³¹ According to de Brún: ‘The poem is composed in the metre called *caoineadh*, the usual metre for the more literary kind of lament in Irish’ (de Brún, 1970, 45), and by this he appears to be confusing *marbhna* with *caoineadh*. Cf. the statement by Rachel Bromwich: “These keens are to be sharply distinguished from the dignified and formal *Marbhnaí*, or elegies, which were the work of professional poets in some way connected with the family and were probably presented after the burial had taken place” (Bromwich, 1948, 240). De Brún holds that the ‘Lament for Bishop Stafford’ is of the same poem-type as the elegies in Ó Murchadha (1769, i.e. in MS 6 discussed above), but, the first five pages of that manuscript, at least, contain an elegy consisting of quatrains, with only a vocative initial line happening in the first line of the composition, i.e., ‘*a mhic na páirte*’.

how I would keene you’), and the remainder of the stanza appears to affectionately describe the corpse.³²

The last five lines of the text are as follows:

*“Dá mbéidheach agam Bearla Gréigis na Laitin
nó glór chaoin béil ós na sagairt
comhairle ón Róimh na glór on easbog
chuirinnse do thréartha-sa a cceil dus na hangil
is go bhfaicinn fá chomhachta na glóire tu fe mhaidin*

E. (‘If I had English, Greek, or Latin
or a refined voice as from priests
advice from Rome or the voice of a bishop
I would let the angels first know of your traits
and that I would see you under the power of glory by morning’.

We have already seen (2.7.4 above) that the use of an Irish Bible in Kilmore (the next parish to the east) during the Famine, suggests that there were several people in the locality – more than sixty years after the composition of this text – whose Irish abilities were greater than their English; and so it is not so remarkable to have a self-professed monoglot Irish speaker in Rathangan in 1781.³³ This, as well as the professed absence of abilities in Greek and Latin, indicates that the composer was relatively uneducated for the late-eighteenth century, and so was not likely to be literate, let alone an inheritor of the literate poetic tradition, such as that of the *marbhna* (cf. Ó Madagáin, 1981, 311). Rather, such a profile does fit that of an average keener, probably a woman, and possibly hired (cf. Bromwich, 1948, 240, etc.; Lysaght, 1997, *passim*).

³² An alternative translation could be ‘as you were in your ?corpse, that’s how I myself would keene you’, but that seems less likely.

³³ De Brún (1970, 45), writes of this, ‘It is interesting to see the poet bemoaning his own lack of knowledge of English in line 91, but this may be as much for rhyme as for reason’; however, it is difficult to imagine that a learned poet would draw attention to his own educational shortcomings – indeed, the opposite would be the case for his need to attempt to advance his prestige in the community; and so, also, it is even more unlikely that such a poet would artificially denigrate his credentials to satisfy a rhyming scheme.

Given that there appears to be no strong tradition of the transcription of keens, and that keens themselves were necessarily and intrinsically an oral ritualistic art form, it is likely that the text is based, however loosely, on an actual Irish keen which was recited over the corpse of Dr Stafford, and which had, to some degree at least, remained in folk memory. This is not to say, however, that the keen was not in some way (large or small) embellished between its recital in 1781 and its being written down (at some time in the intervening eighteen years).

Figure 7: First stanza of Lament for Stafford as sample of text (full text in de Brún, 1970, 47–51):

A athair Seón is tusa mo dheacair
 Níor 'bhiongnadh liom fhéin dá meith Eclips air gheallach
 Dá dtiteach na spéaradh le chéile air an talamh
 Da sgoilteach an fhuinnseóg an a barradh
 Da mbeith na badh géimne ann gach aon taobh don bhaile
 Da mbeith an Bhadhughadh caoine go claoite agad gheata
 A cíora a cinn ó oidhche go maidion
 Tre Easbog an éide mo g(h?)éire a bheith marbh.

Figure 8: Opening lines of stanzas in the Lament for Stafford

Every stanza begins with a vocative salutation, as follows:

Line 1 (stanza 1)	<i>A Athair Seon, is tusa mo dheacair,</i>
Line 9 (stanza 2)	<i>A Athair Sheoin, is tusa mo bhuaire,</i>
Line 22 (stanza 3)	<i>A Athair Sheoin, is tusa mo ghéire,</i>
Line 31 (stanza 4)	<i>A Sheoin, is tusa mo chráiteacht,</i>
Line 37 (stanza 5)	<i>A Athair Sheoin, is tusa mo dhíth-se,</i>
Line 43 (stanza 6)	<i>A Athair Sheoin, is tusa mo dhíth-se,</i>
Line 49 (stanza 7)	-
Line 58 (stanza 8)	-
Line 65 (stanza 9)	<i>A Athair Sheoin, is tusa mo bhuaire.</i>
Line 71 (stanza 10)	<i>A Athair Sheoin, is tusa mo ghéire,</i>
Line 90 (stanza 11)	<i>A Athair Sheoin, is tusa mo dheacair</i> (see de Brún, 1970, 47–51).

There is regular rhyme between the final stressed vowels of each line in any one verse (see figure 11). However, even though there is ample evidence of internal assonance, this is not evident in every line (de Brún, 1970, 45; see figure 12), and because whatever assonance does exist has no predictable pattern from line to line, it cannot be relied on in postulating vowel-sounds.³⁴ In the round, though, the text has much of interest to offer from a dialectological perspective (to be referenced in the remaining chapters).³⁵

Figure 9: Rhyming between final stressed vowels in the Lament for Stafford

Verse 1: *ghealach / dtalamh / barra / bhaile / gheata / maidin / marbh*

³⁴ The opening line of each stanza is devoid of assonance within itself, as well as with adjacent lines (apart from the rhyme on the final stressed syllable as just mentioned above). In verse 1, line 4 appears to only have three stressed syllables, but all other six lines have four, with the second and third stresses rhyming in /e:/ in every case. In verse two the second line has the second and third syllables rhyming in /a/, and line 3 possibly in /i/ ('chaoil' / 'chraobh'); line 4 has the same two stressed syllables rhyming in /a/, but line 5 appears to have dissonance (*chlé / faighidh*); line 6 once again rhymes the second and third stresses on /e:/, but line 7 again appears dissonant (*múinte / tréigean*; line 8 once again rhymes these syllables in /a/; but line 9 once more has dissonance (*anoir / síontaí*); line 10 is once again dissonant (*bhrat / Dhia*); but the final two lines appear to rhyme in /a/ in the second and third stressed syllables. In the third verse, there is dissonance between the two middle stressed syllables in the second line (*dheacar-sa / t'iomraí*); but there is iassonance of /u:/ in line 3, /a/ in line 4. In line 5, there is possible assonance between *am* and *conntas* (especially if the diphthong /au/ is intended. Line 6 appears only to have three stressed syllables (with no assonance); and line 7 is dissonant (*uainn, easpag*), and also in line 8 (*eolais / shagairtí*), and in the final line (*suíte / charaid*). In verse 4, there may be assonance between *anon / afódhluim* < *ag foghlaim* in line 2, but the /o:/ in *foghlaim* is dissonant with *bhFranc* in line 3 – where both occur as the third and second stressed syllables, respectively. Line 4 has assonance on /e:/, but line 5 is dissonant in *abhaille ? chraobh*. The final line (line 6) rhymes in /a/. In verse 5, there is possible assonance in line 2 between *ghéire / ghaolta*, but in line 3, *bpéist* and *thaoibh* appear to be dissonant. Line 4 has assonance in /e:/, and line 5 possibly also, with *naomh / adéanadh* < *ag déanamh*. The final line has almost certain assonance between *éide / ghéire*. In verse 6, the second line has assonance of /a/. Line 3 has dissonance between 'Ratangan' and *luibhne*. Line 4 rhymes on /a/. Line 5 has dissonance between *eolais* and *leis*, and there is apparent dissonance between *bradán* and *urlár* in line 6 (assuming that the first vowel-sound in *bradán* is not being raised as in south Connacht). In Line 7, *donn* and *abhainn* may assonate but line 8 has dissonance between *cirt* and *lár*, and the same is the case for *donn* and *deise* in line 9. The remaining verses continue in the same inconsistent way.

³⁴ This is possible, but if so, it fits very awkwardly on the metre.

³⁵ Back-stress (as found outside Munster) is occasionally obvious, and more often suggested (see Chapter 4). There are three examples of *ao* /e:/, and two of *ao* /i:/, albeit with *ón ghaoith* being in the dative (see Chapter 5). Vowels before long sonorants appear to agree with Connacht half-lengthening, rather than Munster diphthongisation (see *ibid.*). Intervocalic *-bh/mh-* agrees with Munster dropping of consonants and compensatory lengthening of vowels (see *ibid.*). There is suggestion that 'mn' has not become 'mr' as outside of Munster (see *ibid.*), and as in east Munster, final *-th* /x/; *-adh* /ə/; *-odh/ogh-* /o:/ as outside Munster, rather than a diphthong (as in Munster); final *-aith/aigh-* /ə/, as outside Munster (see Chapter 5). Munster *ná* < *nach* + static initial of following vowel is the only form found; there is a preservation of Classical Irish forms in preposition + article + noun, in that the initial of the noun is generally eclipsed in the accusative, and lenited in the dative, but with a slight tendency for the former to dominate regardless of case; strong plurals are used, as is more likely outside of Munster; *faigh* is used in the sense of 'ability', as in east Munster and Kilkenny (see Chapter 6); Only analytic forms of the second person singular of the past tense are used, something more likely outside of Munster. *Ag* > 'a' before verbal nouns; 'fe' < *fá/faoi* agrees with Munster). *An Bhadhughadh* < *an Bhadh*, i.e., a south Leinster form, is used. English words, such as 'whip', 'tulips', and 'spur' are used.

Verse 2: *bhuaireamh / gluaiseacht / shuaimhneas / chuaille / ghualainn / fuaradh / stuaime / ghruaige / fuar / aduaidh / anuas / duain / fuascailt*

Verse 3: *ghéire / dhéanach / tsaol / scéal / dhéanamh / ghaolta / éide / chéile*

Verse 4: *chráiteacht / Páise / ngrása / Phápa / álainn / ardfhuil*

Verse 5: *dhíse / chaoineadh / sínte / mhínchnis / díon / sínte*

Verse 6: *dhíth – se / ghaoith / ndaoine / shaoire / chroí –se / sínte*

Verse 7: *dhí-se / croí / luibhne / thimpeal / chríonna / títaoide / mine / gníomha*

Verse 8: *dhíth-se / ndísce / sínte / dhaoine / tíortha / ghníomha / sínte*

Verse 9: *bhuaireamh / buatais / uaisle / stuaime / uachtar / gluaiseacht*

Verse 10: *ghéire / féin / chéile / féineach / méile / fhéar*

Verse 11: *séimh / tsaol / réir / tréithe / scéimhe / suae / shéimheacht / thréithe / néata / gréine / méad / ghealdéide / féin.*

Verse 12: *dheacair / Laidin / sagairt / easpaig / haingil / mhaidin*

Figure 10: Stafford Lament, internal assonating scheme

		Verse 1
Line 1	<i>athair / Seon / tusa / dheacair</i>	<i>a/ó/u/a</i>
Line 2.	<i>Ionadh / fhéin/ éiclips / ghealach</i>	<i>í/é/é/a</i>
Line 3.	<i>dtitfeadh / spéartha / chéile / dtalamh</i>	<i>i/é/é/a</i>
Line 4.	<i>scoiltfeadh/ / fhuinseog / barra</i>	<i>i/i/a</i>
Line 5.	<i>Ba / géimneach / aon / bhaile</i>	<i>a/é/é/a</i>
Line 6.	<i>bhadhb / caoineadh / cloíte / gheata</i>	<i>au/í/í/a</i>
Line 7.	<i>cíoradh / cinn / oíche / maidin</i>	<i>í/í/í/a</i>
Line 8.	<i>easpag / éide/ ghéire/ marbh</i>	<i>a/é/é/a</i>
		Verse 2
Line 9.	<i>Athair / Sheoin / tusa / bhuaireamh</i>	<i>a/ó/u/ua</i>
Line 10.	<i>thainig / am / cheann / gluaiseacht</i>	<i>á/au/ua</i>
Line 11.	<i>bhfeighil, leaba, aice, shuaimhneas</i>	<i>[ai]/a/a/ua</i>
Line 12.	<i>iomaire / chaol / chraobh / chuaille</i>	<i>i/í/í/ua</i>
Line 13.	<i>lámh / dheas / scarúint / ghualainn</i>	<i>á/a/a/ua</i>
Line 14.	<i>lámh / clé / faighidh / fuaradh</i>	<i>á/é/[ai]/ua</i>

Line 15.	<i>Éadan / shéimh / tréigean / stuaim</i>	<i>é/é/é/ua</i>
Line 16.	<i>cheann / múinte / tréigean / ghruaige</i>	<i>au/ú/é/ua</i>
Line 17.	<i>Drúcht / maidin/ allas / fuar</i>	<i>ú/a/a/ua</i>
Line 18.	<i>Ghaoth / anoir/ síontaí / aduath</i>	<i>í/i/í/ua</i>
Line 19.	<i>Sneachta / bhrat/ Dhia / anuas</i>	<i>a/a/ia/ua</i>
Line 20.	<i>ainneoin / charaid / tháinig / duain</i>	<i>ó/a/á/ua</i>
Line 21.	<i>Bhfaighidh / sagairt/ n-easpag / fhuascailt</i>	<i>í/a/a/ua</i>

Verse 3

Line 22.	<i>Athair, Sheoin, tusa, ghéire</i>	<i>a/ó/u/é</i>
Line 23.	<i>Dhia / dhocharsa / t'iomraí / dhéanach</i>	<i>ia/o/o/é</i>
Line 24.	<i>Tabhairt / chúil / dubhach / tsaol</i>	<i>a/ú/ú/é</i>
Line 25.	<i>Brón / bhás / caillte / scéal</i>	<i>ó/á/a/é</i>
Line 26.	<i>Thug / am / contas / dhéanamh</i>	<i>u/á/ú/é</i>
Line 27.	<i>bhfágfá / síochán / ghaolta</i>	<i>á/í/á/é</i>
Line 28.	<i>scuaib / uainn / n-easpag / naofa</i>	<i>ua/ua/a/é</i>
Line 29.	<i>déanamh / eolais / aitrí / éide</i>	<i>é/ó/a/é</i>
Line 30.	<i>Bhíodh / bhun / suite / chéile</i>	<i>í/w/i/é</i>

Verse 4

Line 31.	<i>[athair] / Sheoin / tusa / chráiteacht</i>	<i>a/ó/u/á</i>
Line 32.	<i>chuaigh / anon / foghlaim / Páise</i>	<i>ua/o/ó/á</i>
Line 33.	<i>chuaigh / bhFrainc / foghlaim / grása</i>	<i>ua/a/ó/á</i>
Line 34.	<i>thug / théarma / oirdhearc / Phápa</i>	<i>u/é/i/á</i>
Line 35.	<i>tháinig / abh<u>a</u>ile / chraobh / álainn</i>	<i>á/a/é/á</i>
Line 36.	<i>buinneán / bheannaithe / bheannaigh / ardfhuil</i>	<i>u/a/a/á</i>

Verse 5

Line 37	<i>athair / Sheon / tusa / dhíth-se</i>	<i>a/ó/w/í</i>
Line 38.	<i>Dhia / ghéire / ghaolta / chaoineadh</i>	<i>ia/é/é/í</i>
Line 39.	<i>leaba / bpéist / thaoibh / sínte</i>	<i>a/éi/é/í</i>
Line 40.	<i>Rí / naomh / déanamh / díon</i>	<i>í/é/é/í</i>
Line 41.	<i>áit / n-éan / chré / mhí<u>n</u>chnis</i>	<i>á/é/é/í</i>

Line 42. *easpag / éide / ghéire / sínte* a/é/é/í

Verse 6

Line 43. *athair / Sheoin / tusa / dhíth-se* a/ó/w/í

Line 44. *chomhla / chláir / scáth / ghaoith* ó/á/á/í

Line 45. *leaba / chodlata / chosa / ndaoine* a/o/o/í

Line 46. *drúcht / maiden / mhaise / shaoire* ú/a/a/í

Line 47. *fear / fás / lár / chroí* a/á/á/í

Line 48. *easpag / éide / ghéire / sínte* a/é/é/í

Verse 7

Line 49. *athair / Sheoin / tusa / dhíth-se* a/ó/w/í

Line 50. *chonarc-sa / aisling / chealg / croí* o/a/a/í

Line 51. *raibh / Ratangan / síor/ luibhne* a/a/í/í

Line 52. *chruinnigh / saithe / beach / thimpeall* u/a/a/í

Line 53. *dúirt / bheach / eolais / chríonna* ú/a/ó/í³⁶

Line 54. *bhfeicim / bradán / urlár / tí* e/á/á/í

Line 55. *bradán / donn / abhainn / taoide* á/o/au/í

Line 56. *easpag / múinte / ceartlár / mine* a/ú/a/í,³⁷

Line 57. *plór / donn / dheise / ghníomha* ú/o/e/í

Verse 8

Line 58. *athair / Sheoin / tusa / dhí-se* a/ó/w/í

Line 59. *tthú / mbocht / téadh / ndísce* ú/oi/é/í

Line 60. *bhíodh / oscailte / lámh / sínte* í/o/á/í

Line 61. *Déanamh, fuascailt, uain, dhaoine* é/ua/ua/í

Line 62. *gcloisim-se / tuairisc / mór / tíortha* i/ua/í/í

Line 63. *fheabhas / mhíteal / dheiseacht / ghníomha* au/i/e/í

Line 64. *easpag / éide / ghéire / sínte* a/é/é/í

Verse 9

Line 65. *athair, Sheoin, tusa, bhuaireamh* a/ó/w/ua

³⁶ This is possible, but if so, it fits very awkwardly on the metre.

³⁷ This is possible, but only by really stretching the metre.

Line 66.	<i>deas, thuagadh, spur, buatais</i>	<i>a/ua/u/ua</i>
Line 67.	<i>Culaith, néata, éadach, uaisle</i>	<i>u/é/é/ua³⁸</i>
Line 68.	<i>Hata / béabhar / cheann / stuaime</i>	<i>a/é/au/ua</i>
Line 69.	<i>Ghearrán / thógáil / uachtar</i>	<i>a/ó/ua</i>
Line 70.	<i>D'fhuip / chin-<u>air</u>gid / dhoirne / gluaiseacht</i>	<i>i/a/ó/ua³⁹</i>

Verse 10

Line 71	<i>athair / Sheoin / tusa / ghéire</i>	<i>a/ó/u/é</i>
Line 72	<i>bhí / mharainn / chaoifinn-se / féin</i>	<i>í/a/í/é</i>
Line 73	<i>cnámh / chorp / deise / cheile</i>	<i>á/o/e/é</i>
Line 74	<i>alt / leat / staid / féineach</i>	<i>a/a/a/é</i>
Line 75	<i>is shúl, drúcht, méile</i>	<i>ú/ú/é</i>
Line 76	<i>béal bhrollaigh / eala / fhéar</i>	<i>é/o/a/é</i>
Line 77	<i>is shorn / cumtha / séimh</i>	<i>ó/u/é</i>
Line 78	<i>mhalaí / mhailíos / tsaol</i>	<i>a/a/é</i>
Line 79	<i>dhia, dhealbha / suite / réir</i>	<i>ia/a/i/é</i>
Line 80	<i>ghile / dheirge / guirmeach / tréithe</i>	<i>i/e/i/é</i>
Line 81	<i>rug / barr / bhláth / scéimhe</i>	<i>u/á/á/é</i>
Line 82	<i>chas / thais / scuaib / suae</i>	<i>a/a/ua/é?</i>
Line 83	<i>chiúineacht / mhúinteacht / shéimheacht</i>	<i>ú/ú/é</i>
Line 84	<i>fheabhas / mhíteal / dheiseacht / tréithe</i>	<i>au/i/e/é</i>
Line 85	<i>dheas / chois / bróig / néata</i>	<i>a/o/ó/é</i>
Line 86	<i>dheise / ghruaig / tulips / gréine</i>	<i>e/ua/i/é</i>
Line 87	<i>Dheise / gháire / brae / méid</i>	<i>e/á/é/é</i>
Line 88	<i>easpag / mhúinte / geal / déide</i>	<i>a/ú/a/é</i>
Line 89	<i>mhór / trua / dreo / chré</i>	<i>ó/ua/ó/é</i>

Verse 11

Line 90	<i>Athair / Sheoin / tusa / dheacair</i>	<i>a/ó/u/a</i>
Line 91	<i>mbeadh / Béarla / Gréigis / Laidin</i>	<i>é/é/é/a</i>
Line 92	<i>ná / glór / béil / sagairt</i>	<i>ó/é/a</i>
Line 93	<i>comhairle / Róimh / glór / easpag</i>	<i>ó/ó/ó/a</i>
Line 94	<i>chuirinnse / thréartha / gcéil, aingil</i>	<i>i/é/é/a</i>

³⁸ Here it is possible if *niata* rhymes with *éadach*.

³⁹ possible if *ai* and *oi* are both sounded as *e*.

3.5 Bualadh Ros Mhic Thriúin

3.5.1 Historical background

The prima facie evidence points unequivocally to *Bualadh Ros Mhic Thriúin* being a native Wexford text. It was collected in mid-west Wexford, in the mid-19th century, by Seán Ó Doinn, from a Seán Ó Héalaí, both parties apparently being from Wexford (Ó hÓgáin, 1980, 95; Dunne, 1998, 31). The song relates to a historic event that occurred in mid-west Wexford (i.e., the failed and calamitous attack by Wexford rebels on New Ross, on June 5th, 1798). Not only were the rebels in the action native to Wexford, but the majority were from the barony of Bantry (Dunne, 1998-9), in the approximate vicinity of where the text was collected. As indicated by the title (which means ‘the New Ross defeat’), the song is a lament, and the text (which may be only an excerpt of the original oral rendition), consists of four verses of four lines each. It is probable, given the contemporary affairs mentioned in the second verse, that the song itself was not written until the aftermath of the Battle of Marengo, Italy, in the summer of 1800.⁴⁰

Figure 11: *Bualadh Ros Mhic Thriúin*

Text from Ó hÓgáin, 1980, 39

’Dén trácht athá ar na fáidhí ar Shliabh na mBan
 Ná triallann siad aniar chughainn in am tar lear?
 Mar ba dhen chliar iad ná fiarfadh – ’bhí dílis ceart-
 A stróicfeadh airm Sheoirse le faobhar neart sleá.

Thá Bonaparte ins an Eadáin is a fhórsaí tréan

An tImpire go lagbhríoch agus a dhlí gan réim

⁴⁰ We know the song was written after the Wexford Rebellion of 1798 because of its alluding to the Battle of Vinegar Hill (June 22nd, 1798); as well as the composer’s expressed wishes to visit its heroes abroad (where they are in exile) see verse 3). In June 1798, Napoleon was en route (via Malta) to Egypt, and he was not to visit Italy until November 1799. However, the Battle of Marengo, and the subsequent Convention of Alessandria (in June, 1800), not only vanquished the Holy Roman empire (a.k.a the Austro-Hungarian Empire) from most of northern Italy, but it was perhaps the single event which contributed to the making synonymous with France the name of Napoleon for the next fourteen years (Hollins, 2005, 96).

Thá buaite air mar do chualas ins na news dá léamh,
 Agus a fhórsaí le fóirneart go bráth faoi chréim.

Is dá mbeadh long agam faoina hancaire ina luí chois trá
 Do thriallfadh ina ndiaidh siúd 'on bhFrainc nó 'on Spáinn
 Ag cuir tuairisc' na mbuachailí ba airde cáil
 'Bhíodh go tréan ar Chnoc Fiodh na gCaor nó ar shliabh le cáil...

An cúigiú lá don bhFéil Seáin is ea bhí an news dá léamh-
 I Ros Mhic Thriúin bhí an cath ar siúl is neart lámhach piléar
 Bhí clanna Luther go tinn dubhach i dtúis an lae
 Is gur treascadh na fearaibh groí le dúil sa mbraon.

3.5.2 Note on syllable stress

The time signature of 6/4 (with five syllable/vowel-stresses to a line) much more easily fits the lyrics in most of the lines, but not in verse 1, line 4, nor verse 3, line 3; and this time signature does not give us a regular pattern of assonance (see figure 14). On the other hand, the time signature of $\frac{3}{4}$, albeit necessitating quavered and semi-quavered runs, makes possible the fitting of everything in a line while fitting the bar, and it does produce a pattern of assonance - a/a/b/c – throughout (see figure 15).⁴¹ The final stressed vowel of every line rhymes with its other three counterparts in their respective verses (see figure 16).

Figure 12: Assonance in *Bualadh Ros Mhic Thriúin* with a 6/4 time signature

Verse 1		
Line 1:	<i>trácht / athá / fáidhí / Shliabh / mBan</i>	<i>á/á/á/ia/a</i>
Line 2:	<i>triállann / siad / aniar / am / lear</i>	<i>ia/ia/ú/a/a</i>
Line 3:	<i>cliar / iad / fiarfadh / dílis / ceart</i>	<i>ia/ia/ia/ í/a</i>
Line 4:	<i>stróicfeadh / airm / Sheoirse / faobhar / sleá</i>	<i>ó/a/ó/é/á⁴²</i>

⁴¹ However, the performance of each line may have been more freestyle, as is the case with the performance of 'The Battle of Ross' by Sylvester O'Murray from Waterford (itma.ie s.v. Battle of Ross).

⁴² This can be made to fit the possible A/B/B/C/D patterns of other lines, only if the first word/vowel, 'A' is stressed and prolonged for several (perhaps) three full notes.

Verse 2

Line 1:	<i>Bónap<u>ar</u>t / Eadáin / fhórsaí / tréan</i>	<i>ó/a/á/ó/é</i>
Line 2:	<i>t<u>im</u>pire / lagbhríoch / <u>a</u>gus / dhlí / réim</i>	<i>i/a/a/í/é</i>
Line 3:	<i>bu<u>a</u>ite / air / chualas / news / léamh</i>	<i>ua/e/ua/ú/é</i>
Line 4:	<i><u>a</u>gus / fhórsaí / fóirneart / bráth / chréim</i>	<i>ó/ó/á/é</i>

Verse 3

Line 1:	<i>mbeadh / <u>a</u>gam / hancaire / luí / trá</i>	<i>e/a/a/í/á</i>
Line 2:	<i>thriallfadh / ndiaidh / siúd / bhFrainc / Spáinn</i>	<i>ia/ia/ú/a/á</i>
Line 3:	<i>tuairisc / mbu<u>a</u>chailí / airde / cáil</i>	<i>ua/ua/í/a/á</i>
Line 4:	<i>tréan / chnoc / gCaor / shliabh / cáil</i>	<i>é/o/é/ia/á</i>

Verse 4

Line 1:	<i>cúigú / lá / Seáin / news / léamh</i>	<i>ú/á/á/ú/é</i>
Line 2:	<i>Thriúin / cath / siúl / lámhach / piléar</i>	<i>ú/a/ú/á/é</i>
Line 4:	<i>Luther / tinn / dubhach / dtúis / lae</i>	<i>ú/í/ú/ú/é</i>
Line 4:	<i>treascadh / fearaibh / groí / dúil / mbraon</i>	<i>a/a/í/ú/é</i>

Figure 13: Bualadh Ros Mhic Thriúin – syllable stress with a 3/4 time signature

Verse 1

Line 1:	<i>trácht / fáidhí / shliabh / mban</i>	<i>á/á/ia/a</i>
Line 2:	<i>triallann / aniar / am / lear</i>	<i>ia/ia/a/a</i>
Line 3:	<i>chliar / fiarfadh / dílis / ceart</i>	<i>ia/ia/í/a</i>
Line 4:	<i>stróicfeadh / Sheoirse / faobhar / sleágh</i>	<i>ó/ó/é/á</i>

Verse 2

Line 1:	<i>Bonap<u>ar</u>te / Eadáin / fhórsaí / tréan</i>	<i>a/a/ó/é</i>
Line 2:	<i>t-impire / lagbhríoch / dhlí / réim</i>	<i>í/í/í/é</i>
Line 3:	<i>bu<u>a</u>ite / chualas / news / léamh</i>	<i>ua/ua/ú/é</i>
Line 4:	<i>fórsaí / fóirneart/ bráth / chréim</i>	<i>ó/ó/á/é</i>

Verse 3

Line 1:	<i>agam / hancaire / luí / trá</i>	<i>a/a/í/á</i>
Line 2:	<i>thriallfadh / ndiaidh / bhFrainc / Spáinn</i>	<i>ia/ia/a/á</i>
Line 3:	<i>tuairisc' / mbuachailí / airde / cáil</i>	<i>ua/ua/a/á</i>
Line 4:	<i>tréan / gCaor / shliabh / cáil</i>	<i>é/é/ia/á</i>

Verse 4

Line 1:	<i>lá / Seáin / news / léamh</i>	<i>á/á/ú/é</i>
Line 2:	<i>Thriúin / siúl / lámhach / piléar</i>	<i>ú/ú/á/é</i>
Line 3:	<i>Luther / dubhach / dtúis / lae</i>	<i>ú/ú/ú/é</i>
Line 4:	<i>treascadh / fearaibh / dúil / mbraon</i>	<i>a/a/ú/o</i>

Figure 14: Final vowel-stress by line in *Bualadh Ros Mhic Thriúin*

Verse 1:	<i>mban / lear / ceart / sleá</i>
Verse 2:	<i>tréin / réim / léamh / chréim</i>
Verse 3:	<i>trá / Spáinn / cáil / cáil</i>
Verse 4:	<i>léamh / piléar / lae / mbraon</i>

3.6–16 20th Century Texts

3.6 Introductory remarks on the texts

3.6.1 Two main sources

The relevant Irish texts from the twentieth century come from two settings: a) two essays, possibly by different authors, published in a local history journal, *The Past*, in 1920, and 1921, respectively (3.7–8 below); and b) texts collected in a primary school setting – mostly for the Schools Collection in a nationwide folklore project of the 1930s (3.8–16 below).

3.6.2 Problem of determining native Irish authenticity

These twentieth-century texts (as with texts already discussed above) are selected on the basis that – without evidence to the contrary, and on the balance of probability – the text/author is/was from Wexford. Such a premise is straightforward enough with regard to the pre-twentieth-century texts, since those writing Irish – in particular, unpublished Irish – had a high probability of being native speakers, or else, of working from native vernacular sources. However, in the twentieth century, given the decimation of the number of native Irish speakers and given the influence of external dialects on the revivalist movement in Wexford (see Chapter 2, n.79), it cannot be automatically presumed that these twentieth-century Irish texts, in themselves, reflect native Wexford dialect, either in part, or in their entirety. For instance, even were we to work on the premise that a writer had native Irish, as opposed to Irish learnt from outside influence (e.g., Gaelic League teachers from Munster or National School teachers who themselves were not native speakers and who had learnt Irish from non-native or external sources), we cannot know the extent to which their native Wexford Irish was *influenced* by outside dialects in the Gaelic revival – either spoken around them, or, indeed, picked up through literary sources such as national publications (e.g., *The Gaelic Journal*, and *An Claidheamh Solais*).

Although Irish literacy may have been transmitted up until the last of the ‘hedgSchools in the middle to late-nineteenth century (see 2.8.8 above) and less probably from adults to children after this, it is almost inevitable that our twentieth-century authors would have learnt their written Irish in an official school setting, since most of them were, presumably, too young to have been involved in the Gaelic League outside of school, and since the Gaelic League does not appear to have made inroads into extracurricular lessons in the National Schools, at least in the north and middle of the county by 1911 (Ó Murchadha, 2005). On the other hand, even though Irish had only been afforded a place in the ordinary National School curriculum in 1900 (Ó Háinle, 1994, §2.4), the language was being taught in some sort of a uniform way in Christian Brothers’ schools throughout Ireland, from 1901, with the publication of *Gramadach na Gaedhilge* (ibid., §14.2). Also, if the publication of the first edition of Dinneen’s Irish-English dictionary in 1904 influenced those with a particular interest in Irish (such as Irish-teachers), the second edition (1927), appears to have had a much stronger general effect on the homogenisation of spelling (ibid., §8.4, §14.2).

3.6.3 Factors favouring persistence of native dialect

Without underestimating those factors which necessarily negatively impacted the already dying local dialects, some caveats in expressing the possible retention and significance of those dialects are also worth noting. Accounts of the popularity of the Gaelic League from 1901 until the 1920s, at least among the young (cf. Murphy, 1997–8, 33; Ó Murchadha, 2005), could lead one to an exaggerated view of the impact that the Gaelic League had on the actual speaking and knowledge of Irish throughout the county. The popularity of the Gaelic League among the young is attested to by elevated numbers of declared Irish-speakers in the 1911 Census from those in their teens, and receding to those in their 30s, but at its height among this younger population in 1911, only 7.6% of teens, and 2.52% of those in their 20s, are said to have spoken Irish (see Table 6).⁴³ Furthermore, the ‘Gaelic’ (i.e., Irish language) element of the Gaelic League, may have been somewhat exaggerated, as evident in a rare account of a Gaelic League celebration, in 1919, in which English songs predominated (Anon, *The Past*, 2002–3, 84).

In addition, notwithstanding factors of homogenisation, there was no official concerted effort to standardise Irish until the 1940s (Bliss, 1981) or 1950s (Ó Háinle, 1994, §14.1). At the time of the Schools Collection (in the 1930s), teacher-training was not yet established, and as such, any standardisation of Irish that was under way would necessarily be relatively inconsistent. Depending on the competency of the teacher in Irish, they may even have deferred to students with a more advanced knowledge of Irish – even native Irish (e.g., those more likely to have contributed Irish pieces for the Schools Collection).

3.6.4 The politics (linguistic and otherwise) of the Schools Collection

Regarding the Irish texts in the Schools Collection of Wexford, and the *Galltacht* more generally, it could be suggested that such texts, rather than representing extant native Irish folklore, represent attempts by the various principals to put their best foot forward, so to speak, in order to impress the powers-that-be in Dublin.⁴⁴ As can be seen in 3.9–18 below, there are several reasons for believing that such scepticism would not be well founded, but first, it might be useful to note some key features in the development of the Schools Collection in order to help to gauge the general attitude of the principals involved.

⁴³ We cannot presume that all of these two deciles in 1911 had learnt their Irish, and the Notes in Appendix F attest that many are living in families where native Irish has been handed down.

⁴⁴ I am grateful to Professors Bairbre Ní Fhloinn and Ríonach ú Ógáin of the School of Irish Folklore (University College Dublin) for these suggestions in 2012.

Originally, the Schools Collection had been initiated by the Department of Education, in March, 1934; but this scheme had to be aborted a year later, when the Irish National Teachers Organisation (INTO), the largest teachers' union, instructed its members not to cooperate because the covering leaflet stated: "Although the work is voluntary, official recognition is to be taken of it" (Ó Catháin, 1998, 3). Of our primary source texts in the Schools Collection (discussed in more detail below), The Kilmore Convent texts were collected in the Spring of 1935; and the Baldwinstown text might have been transcribed by the principal in the aborted scheme; but we know that the Taghmon texts come from 1936; and that all other Irish texts come from the official collection (1937–9), when the teachers knew there was nothing to gain by translating folklore to Irish. Moreover, the instructions suggested that the official folklore schemes be part of English in Gaeltacht areas, clearly indicating that Irish was not expected;⁴⁵ and so, there was no reason for the teachers to feel any pressure to submit any Irish texts, including those that were collected as part of the failed scheme.

3.6.5 Determining native Irish authenticity (if any) in the texts

We have already seen (3.6.2), how all Irish texts in a school setting need to be approached with strong caution when it comes to looking for evidence pertaining to dialectology. However, as with the other sources, we are not **relying** on the Schools Collection as an only source, but rather, we are seeing if the texts therein complement idiosyncratic features found in other Wexford sources. The easiest approach would be to accept received wisdom without question, that all texts from the Schools Collection contain only elements of taught Irish, with no remnants of native Irish, and as such, that such texts should be dismissed out of hand. However, for the sake of academic rigour, not only is it worth comparing school texts with other Wexford sources, but it is also worth trying to

⁴⁵ Note, however, that the texts from Wexford CBS were clearly part of curricular Irish exercises. The Departmental instruction to the Schools was in GMT 9/37 §1, and reads: "During the period from September to June in the school year 1937–38 the time allotted to English Composition for pupils in Fifth and higher standards in Gaeltacht [English-speaking] areas, the time allotted to Irish Composition for these pupils in Gaeltacht [Irish-speaking] areas, and the time allotted to Irish or English Composition for pupils in Breac-Ghaeltacht [English- and Irish-speaking] areas, shall, as part of the ordinary school work be devoted to Folklore composition and the recording of stories and traditions collected by the pupils in their homes or districts" (Ó Catháin, 1998, 4).

ascertain the background of the scribes, as well as the nature of their written material.⁴⁶ Only seven out of 130 Wexford schools contributing to the Schools Collection contain Irish text from any collectors, and even then, such texts are only a tiny part of each school's submission.

An example of continuity of an idiosyncrasy between some school sources and other textual sources is that of the dative plural (a historic form), not only surviving, but being used instead of the nominative plural and historic accusative plural. This feature is found in non-school Wexford Irish texts, from both the 18th century⁴⁷ and from the 20th century, respectively,⁴⁸ and we find this characteristic breaking through in some school texts, e.g., survival of the dative plural in *De deascaibh* (*The Kilmore Journal*, 2015-6, 135, line 13);⁴⁹ *leis na daoinibh* (NFC S 877, 120); *chuidh ...amach ina mbádaibh* (NFC S 883, 3); *do bhuail sé a ordóg i gcoinnibh cluiche* (NFC S 881c, Wexford CBS, Séamus de Brún, “*An t-Amadán Agus na Bróga*”); and *Do shlóigtibh* (NFC S 891, 14, line 11). The continuity of the occurrence of this historic form, across cases of the plural number, is indicative of a trace of continuity which could be reflective of local dialect.

In terms of phonology, it is interesting to match the Schools texts with other sources. other (non-school) sources suggest *that* ao /i:/ predominates in all regions of Wexford except the south-west, where it appears to be evenly matched by ao /e:/ (see 5.8.31, 5.8.3-5 below). However, albeit that there are not many relevant examples from the scholastic texts, we only find two examples of ao /i:/ (both in Bargy), with the remaining four being ao /e:/ (5.8.2 below). Of the three ao /e:/ examples, one comes from folklore collected from an oral source at home, in the south-west (*aon* > *éan*), which also fits the pattern of the other sources. The three other ao /e:/ examples are anomalous: the first, because it is almost certainly an imitation from the Irish teacher's pronunciation in Wexford CBS, where *laethannta* > *laonte* in an Irish exercise copybook; the second may be explained by its being located in verse

⁴⁶ Even despite the highly standardised English expected in the school setting, very strong vernacular Hiberno-English can be found (e.g., NFC S 871c, St. Leonard's, Peggy Hennesi; 878a; NFC S 878a, Kilturk; and NFC S 882a, Carrickbyrne, Josie Kehoe, 1 & 2).

⁴⁷ For the dative plural instead of the accusative plural, cf. *D'éireodh an Ghaeilge i gcéimibh ard* (*Dánmholadh na Gaeilge*, verse 3, line 5); for the dative plural replacing the nominative plural, cf. *do thréithe* > *do thriathaibh* (*Ó Murchadha, 1769, verse 18, line 1*); *géaga* > “*géugaibh*” (*Ó Murchadha, 1778, 3*), etc.

⁴⁸ The dative plural replaces the nominative plural in *na laochra* > *na laochraibhe* (*Ó'Sionóid, 1920, 120*); and the accusative plural in *tríd na sleibhtibh* (*ibid.*, 119), etc.; and *go gainimh-Bhórdaibh* (Anon. 1921, 127). In other words, the nominative plural, which undoubtedly replaced the historic accusative plural form, has in turn been replaced by the dative plural – indicating a more generalised replacement of the nominative plural with the dative plural.

⁴⁹ The dative is retained in Standard Modern Irish, generally, according to Dineen (s.v. *deascadh*), who uses *do dheascaibh*.

(*Ceol an Mhála*, in Gorey); and the third, where *éinneacht* > *aonacht* appears to have been collected from a local (home folklore) source in north-east Wexford (ibid.), must remain a point of wonder, unless any other information comes to light about the oral source.

Given the uncertainties regarding the authenticity of native Wexford Irish texts in the twentieth century, all we can do is to gather what few factual details there are about the author or the context of the writing. But, essentially, for the most part, we must rely on the texts themselves to evaluate the authenticity – if any – of the local vernacular, noting idiosyncrasies among themselves as well as conformity with idiosyncrasies found in Wexford texts from previous centuries, as well as features of neighbouring counties noted elsewhere.

3.7 Irish Essays in *The Past* (1920, 1921)

3.7.1 *The Past*, 1920

In the first issue of *The Past*, Tomás Ó Sionóid wrote an Irish essay in Gaelic script (*Cló Gaelach*), “*Trathnóna Domhnaigh ar Mhullach Chnuic Bhri*” (‘Sunday evening on the summit of Bree hill’ – c.1,800 words in length (Ó Sionóid, 1920, 118–21). The essay is effectively a brief folk-historical tour of the county from the geographical vantage point of Bree Hill, just south of the centre of Wexford (in the barony of Bantry).

In the 1901 census, we find a Thomas Sinnott (18) in a house 6, Ballyelland, Bree DED. There is nothing filled in for the Irish language field for any of the 11 occupants of the house, although it may be worth noting that the head of the household was Thomas’s grandmother, Mary Sinnott (82). In 1911, we find the same Thomas (18), in a house 10, Ballyelland. He is still a scholar, but he has Irish and English, like all five of his younger siblings. The language field is still blank for Thomas’s farming parents (64 and 51), for an aunt on his mother’s side (60), aunt on his father’s side (56), and an uncle on his mother’s side (56).⁵⁰ Unusually, the children of this household are the only ‘scholars’ in Bree DED to be reported as having Irish.⁵¹

⁵⁰ It is clear from the names of his parents, John and Anne/Annie, and his siblings, that the two Thomas Sinnotts are one and the same, but that an error has been made in the transcription of the age in the 1901 census (18 instead of 8). This may be the Tomás Ó Sionóid who is County Manager and interviewed for an RTÉ documentary in 1951 (in English), as republished on the DocOnOne app, in 2018.

⁵¹ If, as would seem most probable, the children of the house had learnt Irish outside the family, that they are the only scholars in the parish to be reported to have Irish would suggest a certain pride in the head of household that this was the case – a pride that was not replicated in the same way elsewhere in the DED. A benign inference from a nativist perspective would be that the elders in the household were so deferential to the taught Irish that they were ashamed to have declared their own. Another interpretation is that the adults had not spoken Irish for so long that they did not report themselves as Irish speakers. With an 82-year-old in the household, in

We know, from earlier, that Bree was a relative stronghold of Irish, even into the latter half of the nineteenth century (2.8.10 above), and as such, it should be of no surprise if at least the grandmother of Tomás Ó Sionóid (born c.1819-) had native Irish. There is some evidence, in the text, that Ó Sionóid was acquainted with Wexford vernacular Irish; i.e., his use of two quotes which are apparently local Irish folklore/expressions: “*ar Aonach Charmain ‘na gcuanta casta*” (ibid., 118), (‘In the Fair of Wexford of the tricky harbours’); and “*Fiodh na gCaor ansiúd tá lámh leat, mar ar doirteadh fuil na sárfhear*” (ibid., 120), ‘Vinegar Hill over there beside you, where the blood of the heroes was shed’.

3.7.2 *The Past*, 1921

In 1921, in the second edition of the same journal, another essay was published in *Cló Gaelach*, but this time anonymously (Anon., 1921, 127–8). The 894-word piece, “*Uíbh Ceinnsealaigh nÉigse agus na Scoileanna*” (‘Hy Kinsella of the poets and Schools’) argues that the Gaels came to Ireland through Wexford, spreading their learning and civilisation throughout the country; that among these civilising incomers was the Kinsella sept; that from among this sept were the founders of the first Christian schools and churches – Ibar, Fintan, Dubhthach, and Aodán/Maodhóg – with the former two predating the coming of Patrick to Ireland; that, indeed, the Slaney estuary had been the refuge for Christians fleeing from (the Roman Emperor) Diocletian, since they knew their own kind already lived there; and that this was a gateway of trade and learning with continental Europe for hundreds of years before the arrival of Patrick. All this suggests, since the piece is written from a narrow, localised perspective, that the author himself was a native of the county, and possibly, given the religious focus, a Roman Catholic clergyman.

3.8 Kilturk (1936)

3.8.1 Overview

The Kilmore Parish Journal (2015–6, 113, 135) published two pages of a school copybook for the subject of Irish, from Kilturk National School, from October 22nd, 1936. The first page consists of an exercise letter of gratitude, in Irish, and then in English. It is signed off as being from a Michael Morgan (i.e., the apparent owner of the copybook).

Bree, of all places in Wexford (see 2.9 above, and Appendices E and F), it is difficult to believe that there would not have been imparting of local Irish to the scholars within the household.

The second piece is a poem, “*Scamall nó Ceó*” ‘Cloud or mist’, signed off as being authored by a ‘S. Ó Briain’, who we know from the contribution of Kilturk N.S. to the Schools Collection (NFC S 878, 1) to have been the school’s principal, at least in 1938.⁵² Even though the theme of the principal’s poem is a lament for the loss of tradition, its form and style are innovative. In terms of style, besides marshalling a few traditional Irish proverbs to the cause, the author appears to lay down a few of his own original proverbs, e.g., *Ní féidir imeacht saor gan bhreithniú go grinn* (‘One cannot leave freely without looking carefully [where one is going]’).⁵³

As for form, the author writes nine verses, each comprising three lines followed by a single word or laconic phrase. The metre (if any) is not obvious from the text, but if we force a 4/4 time signature onto the first three lines of each verse, a volatile stress system is suggested (see figure 17). However, it is clearly not intended that all the initial three lines per verse are to conform to 4/4 meter. For example, *Inár láthair laethúil / inniú gan inné/ cóip de chóip* (line 21, a.k.a. verse 6, lines 1-3). Although this verse, or just the first line of it, could be an aberration from the general metre of the poem, it weakens any certainty that a 4/4 metre is necessarily intended in all other lines.

Figure 15: Possible metre of *Scamall nó Ceó*, based on 4/4 time signature

<u>Probable stressed vowels underlined</u>	<u>number of stresses in each line</u>
Title: <u>S</u> camall nó <u>C</u> eo	2
Sa t <u>s</u> eanaim <u>s</u> ear bhí scamall sm <u>a</u> ointe	3 ⁵⁴
Ina <u>r</u> aibh taith <u>í</u> ag be <u>a</u> gnach gach <u>é</u> inne.	4 ⁵⁵
‘Ar sc <u>á</u> th a ch <u>é</u> ile a mh <u>a</u> ir na da <u>o</u> ine’ uile.	4 ⁵⁶
Line 4: <u>U</u> air dá <u>r</u> aibh	2
An <u>o</u> is i laethanta ár <u>l</u> inne tá scamall <u>ú</u> r-nua	4
Ina <u>g</u> cuirt <u>e</u> ar sm <u>a</u> ointe agus mo <u>t</u> hú <u>ch</u> áin.	4

⁵² The name is too common to give us reliable information from an investigation of the census data. The surname Breen/Brien/Brian/O’Brien etc. is very common in Wexford, and the initial ‘S.’ could indicate *Séamas* or *Seán* (‘James’ or ‘John’), two very common personal names in Ireland.

⁵³ The author puts known proverbs in inverted commas, suggesting that those not in inverted commas are his own.

⁵⁴ The final syllable in ‘t-seanaimsear’ is not stressed, but still the second beat in the bar (musically speaking).

⁵⁵ It is also possible that back-stress is intended in *taithí* and *beagnach*, but this would not affect the number of syllable stresses in the line.

⁵⁶ It is also possible that *scáth* was not intended to have syllable stress, with *mhair* getting the stress to make the count of four to the bar.

Ach, ‘Ní <u>be</u> athaíonn na <u>bri</u> athra na <u>brá</u> ithre’	4
Line 8: <u>Fara</u> oir	1
San <u>am</u> seo ’ <u>g</u> ainne bíonn <u>son</u> as ’s <u>don</u> as	4
Nach <u>ám</u> harach an <u>té</u> a <u>é</u> alaíonn ón <u>droc</u> -ádh.	4
‘Níl <u>í</u> seal ná <u>uas</u> al ach <u>thi</u> os seal is <u>thu</u> as seal’	4
Line 12: Mo <u>lé</u> an	1
De <u>dhe</u> ascaibh <u>mear</u> bhaill ní <u>aith</u> nítear <u>de</u> a-ádh	4
Ar nós <u>feir</u> meóir <u>son</u> asach í <u>gcón</u> ai ag <u>gear</u> áin.	4
<u>Éist</u> ! ‘Is <u>giorra</u> cabhair <u>Dé</u> ná an <u>dor</u> as.’	4
Line 16: Is <u>fí</u> or	1
Ní <u>féid</u> ir imeacht <u>saor</u> gan <u>bhreith</u> niú go <u>grinn</u>	4 ⁵⁷
<u>Baol</u> ach do <u>marc</u> ach <u>toinne</u> , <u>trá</u> cht an <u>t-idir</u> líon	4
<u>Breith</u> ; ‘An <u>madra</u> <u>rúa</u> i <u>mbun</u> na <u>gcear</u> c.’	4
Line 20: <u>Se</u> achain	1
Inár <u>láthair</u> <u>laethúil</u> : <u>inniú</u> gan <u>inné</u> : <u>cóip</u> de <u>chóip</u> :	6 ⁵⁸
<u>Tóir</u> <u>sealbha</u> <u>glac</u> amid le <u>máistir</u> de <u>chuille</u> <u>shórt</u>	4 ⁵⁹
‘Ó b’ <u>anamh</u> leis an <u>gcát</u> <u>srathar</u> a <u>bheith</u> air.’ 4 ⁶⁰	
Line 24: <u>Fé</u> ach	1
Ni <u>miste</u> don <u>cine</u> <u>daonna</u> <u>léirsmaointe</u> <u>domhain</u>	4
Gan a <u>bheith</u> <u>caifeach</u> lena <u>lucht</u> <u>leanúna</u> <u>glan</u> .	4
Mar, ‘Is <u>maith</u> <u>comhairle</u> ach is <u>fearr</u> <u>cabhair</u> .’	4
Line 28: <u>Cin</u> nte!	1
<u>Scamall</u> ach, <u>ceóbhrán</u> ach: ach <u>dearcadh</u> <u>nua</u>	4
Is <u>cosúil</u> go <u>bhfuil</u> ár <u>saol</u> seo mar a b’ <u>áirithe</u> ?	4
‘Níl ach <u>ún</u> sa <u>céille</u> <u>scapaithe</u> ar <u>fúd</u> an <u>t-saoil</u> .’	4
Line 32: <u>Cú</u> ram	1
Ni <u>miste</u> don <u>saoltán</u> ach <u>tosaíochtaí</u> a <u>shocrú</u> ,	4
<u>Machnamh</u> go <u>doimhin</u> ar <u>thoscaí</u> an <u>t-saoil</u> .	4
‘Is <u>libh</u> an <u>domhain</u> agus <u>gach</u> a <u>bhfuil</u> <u>ann</u> .’	4
Line 36: <u>Fáilte</u>	1

⁵⁷ The stress could be on either syllable of *bhreithniú* for the metre to work.

⁵⁸ *Laethúil* could be intended to have back-stress, but this does not affect the stress-count.

⁵⁹ In a four-syllable stress reading, the final stress could possibly be on *shóirt*. It is also possible that this line follows the six-syllable-stress of the previous line.

⁶⁰ As with the previous line, in a four-syllable-stress reading, the final stress could be on the final word (*air*). Also, as with the previous line, a six-syllable-stress reading is possible, conforming to the first line of the verse.

In terms of vowel-sounds, there is neither assonance, nor reliable rhyming among line-endings (see figure 18).

Figure 16: Vowel-rhyming by final syllable stress in each line

Verse 1:	<i>smaointe / éinne / uile</i>	<i>í/é/i</i>
Verse 2:	<i>úr-n<u>ua</u> / mothuc[h]áin / bráithre</i>	<i>ua/á/á</i>
Verse 3:	<i>donas / droc[h] / thuas</i>	<i>o/o/ua</i>
Verse 4:	<i>dea-ádh / gearán / doras</i>	<i>a/a/o</i>
Verse 5:	<i>grin / t-idirlíon / gcearc</i>	<i>í/i/a</i>
Verse 6:	<i>cóip / short / bheith air</i>	<i>ó/ó/?e</i>
Verse 7:	<i>domhain / glan / cabhair</i>	<i>o/a/a</i>
verse 8:	<i>nua / áirithe / t-saoil</i>	<i>ua/á/i</i>
Verse 9 :	<i>shocrú / t-saoil / ann</i>	<i>o/í/ ?a</i>

3.9 Mary Egan’s proverbs (south-west Wexford)

3.9.1 Note on the sources

Three Irish proverbs are found at random among thirty-five proverbs written in Hiberno-English in a contribution by Ballycullane N.S. to the Schools Collection (NFC S 870, 319). There does not appear to be an obviously accredited collector/writer of this particular text, but Mary Egan is the name given to the collector on the following page.⁶¹ Mary Egan’s small copy for Ballycullane (dated 8th February 1938, and which contains no proverbs), gives her address as Owenduff (i.e., approximately half way between the villages of Fethard and Gusserane – to the northwest of Fethard).

In late 1938, Mary Egan, with the same address, contributes one of the small copies for Poulfur N.S. (in Fethard), to the same collection, and this document contains another list of proverbs – the first seventeen in Hiberno-English, and the final six in Irish (NFC S 870a, Poulfur, Mary Egan “Proverbs”). To add to the probability that the same pupil compiled both lists, it is notable that among the scores of other lists explicitly under “proverbs” from Wexford, in the Schools Collection, not one contains a proverb in Irish.

⁶¹ The handwriting on both pages is identical, but it should be remembered that the texts in these large copies were usually transcriptions from elsewhere. The principal of Ballycullane in 1937–8 is Sean Ó Dubhghaill.

Only one Irish proverb appears in both of Mary’s lists, so that in total, she gives us eight Irish proverbs. The final proverb in the second list is unusual, and may have been quite localised: *Éan (= Aon) tsúil amháin i gceann is cuma í do bheith ann nó as* (‘one eye in a head, no matter whether it is there or not’),⁶² ‘éan’ < *aon* suggests that the pupil took down the proverb from an oral source, and may (perhaps like the teller, too) not have been sure of its precise meaning. Again, it might be remembered that these were not part of Irish homework, but rather, the recording of folklore from the home, in an English copybook, and appearing alongside English proverbs (albeit with many of those coming from Irish).

As already seen (2.9, Table 9, etc. above), the neighbouring DED of Fethard appears to be the strongest native-Irish speaking part of Wexford in 1911, and two of those in Fethard reported to have Irish are John and Patrick Egan (38, and 29) (see Appendix F3 Notes) – quite possibly relatives of Mary, or even her source for the proverbs. Mary Egan is also the source of seven Irish fieldnames, also in her contribution for Poulfur N.S. (NFC S 870a, Poulfur, Mary Egan, “Names of Fields”, and another unofficial placename in her small copy for Ballycullane N.S. *Och-na-scullubh* < áth na scolb (NFC S 870a, Ballycullane, Mary Egan, “Ghost story”. Consequently, each of the above factors tends to point, albeit incrementally, in the direction of Mary Egan’s proverbs being part of a local vernacular tradition.

3.10 Máire Ní Fhurloing (Baldwinstown N.S., south-east Wexford)

3.10.1 Background

One contribution to the Schools Collection from Baldwinstown N.S. (Rathangan parish, Kilcowan DED) in the barony of Forth and Bargy, in south Wexford, contains 632 words of Irish text (NFC S 876, 391–4). The piece is a local ghost-story collected by a pupil, Máire Ní Fhurloing (Mary Furlong) from Nioclás Breathnach (Nicholas Walshe). It has been transcribed by the Principal, Riostáird Mac Pilib (Dick Philips) at some time between February 2nd 1935 and January 11th 1939.⁶³ Twelve pupils from Baldwinstown, including

⁶² This is possibly a riddle with the answer being a needle, but if so, it is idiomatically borrowing from English ‘eye of a needle’. As to the unusual nature of the proverb or riddle, on 2016.2.16, on the RTÉ Raidió na Gaeltachta programme *Rónán Beo@3*, Rónán Mac Aodha Bhuí hosted the weekly hour devoted to Irish expressions and words, with guest experts, Míicí Whiting (Donegal), Máire Feiritéir (Galway), and Tús Mac Gearailt (Kerry). I sent in the proverb/riddle for their appraisal, and no-one on the panel had ever heard of anything like it. No variant of the expression appears to be published in online Irish corpora.

⁶³ Both the 1935 and 1939 dates appear on the Baldwinstown contributions to the Schools Collection. According to the niece of Dick Philips (the schoolmaster), in 2011, the manuscript was written by her uncle. Denice lived in the same house as Dick when she was young, and he used to help her with her homework (from brief meetings I had with Denice in Malahide, Co. Dublin – where she worked – in 2012).

Mary Furlong, each contributed a small copy on behalf of Baldwinstown N.S. to the Schools Collection, but there is no Irish text in those documents (NFC S 876a, Baldwinstown).

It might be suggested that the propensity of the principal to write the collectors' details in Irish (in the large copy entries) indicates a proclivity towards Irish on the part of the principal (who transcribed the material), and by implication, that such a proclivity towards Irish led him to translate this legend, collected by Mary Furlong, from English to Irish.⁶⁴ Against this, however, it should be noted that of the other forty-four items in the large copy (all written in English), only three give the collectors' details in Irish. This, perhaps, is less than one might have expected, since in the circular supplied by the Irish Folklore Commission to folklore collectors (including teachers), the headings for details of the collector and informant etc., are in Irish, and this explains the occasional collectors' details given in Irish by other teachers elsewhere in Wexford. It might also be noted, in contradiction of the sceptical 'best-foot-forward' suggestion (mentioned in 3.6.4 above), that strong Hiberno-English vernacular is evident in several of the other articles submitted by the school.

According to the niece of the scribe, Dick Philips was far from being an Irish language enthusiast, and she thinks he was not particularly "good at it".⁶⁵ There are clues in the text, itself, which support a theory that Dick Philips transcribed the text from another source, but did not always understand what he was transcribing. Sometimes there is no punctuation between sentences, and at least on one occasion, the punctuation begins a new sentence in the wrong place, e.g., "*theit an, bhean ar son a h-anam*" (ibid., 393); "*Bhíod eagla ar na daoine go léir. Roimis & in deire na dála, tháinig sagart ní.*" (ibid)).

As for the source of the legend, a Nicholas Walsh (45), is a farmer found in the 1911 census in the townland of Pollmanagh, Bridgetown DED, parish of Kilmannan (as is Cleristown, which is mentioned in the legend). Neither Nicholas nor the other two occupants in the household have anything marked under 'Irish Language'. This puts Nicholas' birth at c.1866 and means that he would have been about seventy years old when giving the story to Mary Furlong (at some time in the mid 30s).

The story itself reads like a direct transcription from a speaker, rather than a composition written some time after hearing a story. Phrases such as *dar ndóig* < *dar ndóigh*

⁶⁴ I am grateful to Prof. Bairbre Ní Fhloinn for helpfully offering this observation (in 2012), albeit in an informal context.

⁶⁵ I spoke to the niece of Dick Philips, who was working in Malahide Sports Centre, in 2012, and we spoke about her uncle. Dick lived with Alice's family up until the mid 1970s, at least, and he used to help her with her homework. According to Alice, he was neither very good at Irish nor had he much of an interest in it.

‘indeed’ (used as a filler); and *na créatúirí bochta neamhurchóideacha* ‘the poor harmless craythurs’, after referring to named individuals, are redolent of speech patterns, rather than written composition. The story contains several Irish idioms which have no English equivalent: *bhí sé ar shlíge na firinne*, ‘he was on the path of truth’ – i.e., ‘dead’; and *bhí an bheirt aca ag tabhairt an fhéir*, ‘the two of them were giving the grass’ – i.e., ‘dead’; *mo shean-duine*, ‘my old person’ and *mo dhuine*, , equating somewhat to Hiberno-English vernacular, ‘your man’ (and also vernacular Irish rather than written Irish, usually); and *bhí sé ina shuidhe go te*, which could equate to English ‘He was sitting pretty’, but the latter idiom itself is not used in traditional Hiberno-English of the area; *an áit a bhfearr a d’oir dó* could loosely equate to English ‘the place that suited him best’ but the idiom is unusual – possibly a regional variant, and apparently from a proficient, – if not a native – speaker of Irish. As already mentioned, we know from placenames that the legend is specific to the locality, but one uncommon form, and perhaps localised, is also found, i.e., *An Muir Ruad* < *an Mhuir Ruadh*, which appears to be St. George’s Channel.⁶⁶

3.11 The *Battle of Arklow* (sourced in south Wexford)

3.11.1 Introductory note

This text is contained in the single small copy submission from Chapel Convent, Kilmore, for the Schools Collection, in the 1930s (NFC S 877a, Clochar an tSéipéil). The contents of the copy are generally in English, and cover a variety of topics relating to folklore and antiquarian interests. “The Battle of Arklow” appears as a heading, among several others, giving an account of the 1798 Rebellion. Most of the narrative relating to ’98 is written at a historical remove, possibly by the principal of the school, a Sister “M. Fiontán” (NFC S 877, 91), but some of it is written in the first person, as a contemporaneous account – including a section under the heading “The Battle of Arklow”. Three sources are mentioned for the accounts of the 1798 Rebellion, with the most significant being an Archdeacon O’Neill, who was raised by a grandfather who had participated in the rebellion.⁶⁷ This is possibly the source, too, of the snatches of verse we have of the Irish song in relation to the *Battle of Arklow* (is south Wicklow) – merely two disjointed quatrains of what is clearly a much longer song (i.e., the missing narrative of the intervening verses is shored up by prose accounts, the

⁶⁶ This information was given to me by Críostóir Mac Cárthaigh, curator of the Irish Folklore Collection.

⁶⁷ The other two sources given by the narrator during this account of 1798 are a) an unspecified publication of 1811 and b) *The Annals of Ballitore*, by Mary Leadbetter (mistakenly ascribed by the narrator to ‘Mary Shackleton’), but this appears to be directly related to the execution of Fr. John Murphy, specifically.

implication being that the readers would themselves be able to fill in the lyrical gap, so to speak).

3.11.2 The text

Battle of Arklow

1

*Is iomdha baile margaidh
Is cathair aoibhinn ceoil
Is cuint aige na Sasanaigh
Chun seasaimh i n-ár gComhair*

2

*Innis mar scéal uaimse,
Go bfuil Captaen Lambert fuar, lag,
Ar thaob an tsleibe i n-uaigneas
Gan tuamba air, gan leac.*

The event itself was a failed attempt, by the rebel occupiers of Gorey, to take Arklow, which occurred on June 12th, 1798. The two surviving quatrains are sparse enough and give few clues regarding dialect. The only reliable rhyming is between the final stressed syllables of alternate lines (see figure 19 below).

Figure 17: Rhyme scheme in the *Battle of Arklow*

First stanza: *margaidh / ceoil / Sasanaigh / gCom[h]air* (a/ó/a/ó).

Second stanza: *uaimse / lag / n-uaigneas / leac* ua/a/ua/a)

3.12 Texts from Kilmore Convent N.S. (south-east Wexford)

3.12.1 Overview

The first three pages of the large copy folklore entries for Kilmore Convent N.S. (NFC S 877, 119–21), contain two legends written in Irish, both written in 1935 or early

1936, in the hand of Elizabeth ‘Bessie’ Cahill (1919–1985).⁶⁸ Bessie was 16 years of age at the time – much older than would have been expected of a primary school student in the 1930s. Bessie had to leave school at the age of 11 to go into service for the parish priest of Kilmore, since she had ten – mostly younger – siblings, with very meagre household income from her father, Bill, a bootmaker.⁶⁹ According to Bessie, Irish was spoken by ordinary people in Kilmore (parish) when she was growing up, and that it was a different kind of Irish than that which was to be heard on RTÉ, and different to what was being learned in school. Bessie’s exceptional knowledge of local Irish for someone of her generation may have been a factor in her being invited by the school to make a contribution to the folklore collecting scheme set out by the Department of Education in 1934, despite her not having been a pupil of the school for five years at that time.

3.12.2 The St. Martin’s Eve tragedy

The first of the two texts for Kilmore Convent N.S. was collected, or at least originally contributed, by Kate Lambert (Cáit Ní Lamport as given in Irish in the large copy), aged 14, from Ballyhealy, on the south coast, just east of Kilmore Quay. The general legend appears to be confined to the south-eastern counties of Wexford and Waterford, and has several variants, with multiple specific locales. All of them involve fishermen who break the taboo of going out to sea to fish on St. Martin’s Eve (November 11th) and either being punished by scores of them being lost at sea, or narrowly escaping that calamity.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ The handwriting was identified to me by Bessie’s son, Richard, who noted her unusual way of writing the letter ‘r’. In the large copy, Bessie gives her name, in Irish, as Éilbhís Ní Chathail.

⁶⁹ Being a grandson of Bessie’s, I heard her impart this information to others on at least one occasion in the early 1980s. Bessie was awarded a scholarship, despite being only aged 11, but was not able to accept it, since she had to help support her family.

⁷⁰ The first piece – ‘the St. Martin’s Eve Fishing Tragedy’ – is a legend that has many local varieties around the coast from north-east Wexford to west Waterford, and there are 25 other versions from around Wexford contained in the Schools Collection. Two versions from the south-west region: Loftus Hall N.S., (NFC S 870, 10-2: in this subtype, set in Dungarvan, west Waterford, the Devil saves some fishermen from the wrath of St. Martin; the most rudimentary version comes from Gusserane BNS. (NFCS.871, 283–4). One version appears to come from Bannow: NFC S 881c, Wexford CBS, Séamas Bergin, “St. Martin’s Eve Disaster”; This version is again quite different from the norm, and is very sparse and enigmatic, but like the Ballyhealy variant, involves strangers. There are two divergent Kilmore Quay versions given by Nicky Lambert for Kilturk N.S. (NFC S 878, 24; NFC S 878a, Kilturk, N. Lambert, “Boats Lost”). Nearby Ballyhealy is the site of four versions (including the one in Irish here given by Cáit Ní Lamport: the most elaborate and cataclysmic version of the legend appears as a song, “The Fall of Ballyhealy,” in a contribution for Mulrankin N.S. (NFC S 877, 228–33) – a version in which an angel appears. Another Ballyhealy-based version is given for Chapel Convent N.S. (NFC S 877, 94–5); there is an almost identical version from Kilmore Convent N.S., (NFC S 877, 126–7), with the source being given as Richard Sinnott (50), Ballyhealy. There are two versions based in Rosslare: NFC S 879a, Carne, John Meyler, “St. Martin’s Day”; fourteen based in Wexford Town: NFC S 879a, Carne, Bridget Ryan, “St. Martin’s Day;” *ibid.*, Mary Parle, “St. Martin’s Day;” NFC S 883a, Caroreigh, Annie Ryan, “St. Martin’s Day;” 879a, Kilrane, Bernadette Codd, “Story about St. Martin’s Day;” Tagoat N.S., NFC S 879, 137–8;

In the Schools Collection, there is one other version of the legend written in Irish (from Carrowreigh N.S., (NFC S 883, 3), and it is noted there that the collector saw it in the paper, meaning that the legend, there, as written, was probably a translation to Irish from a memory of what had been read in English. However, the Caroreigh text is situated out of Wexford Town, instead of Ballyhealy.

All the recorded Ballyhealy variants (including this one, by Kate Lambert), have the same basic narrative: statement of the taboo on fishing on St. Martin's Eve; seeing the foreign fishermen profiting from this, and the native fishermen being mocked by the foreigner; the fishermen ignore entreaties by their families to stay at home, and break the taboo; calamity strikes; and there is a sorrowful aftermath. The element of competition with imposter fishermen, whether foreign or 'stranger,' is found in no other variants excepting the Bannow version, all four Ballyhealy tellings, and one of the Wexford Town tellings. In other words, it seems likely that Kate Lambert's version of the legend was a local variant; but the question of interest here is whether this telling is a translation from the English, or are the other three (English) Ballyhealy tellings based on the Irish language version?

3.12.3 Gentleman Brown and the bull

The second legend, written and originally contributed by Bessie Cahill, is set in Cousinstown (Kilmore parish) where the local landowner prevents mass-goers from taking a shortcut through his land, by putting a bull there; he is hoisted on his own petard, as the bull kills him. There is just one other version of this legend in the Schools Collection, which is in English, set in the same place, and has several elaborations, including the death of the

Murrintown N.S., NFC S 879, 210; Piercestown BNS (NFC S 379, 349); two from St. Brigid's N.S., NFC S 880, 84; Presentation Convent N.S., NFC S 880, 113; anonymous N.S., NFC S 880, 238–40, based in Wexford but stating that the tradition is known from Kilmore to Curraclloe, and is associated with Wexford Bay; Wexford CBS (NFC S 881, 124–5; NFC S 881a, Wexford CBS, Francis Greene, "St. Martin's Eve Disaster;" NFC S 881c, Stephen Foley, "St. Martin's Eve Disaster;" NFC S 881d, Wexford CBS, Liam Stafford, "St. Martin's Eve Disaster;" Two from Tinaberna in the mid-east: a contribution from Naomh Brigid N.S., (NFC S 886, 24–5), the detail involved suggesting that the incident was historic, but it may have been mapped onto the St. Martin's Eve tradition. Verse accompanies this entry, and indeed, another song is extant in Tinaberna, concerning a very similar incident, with different names involved (recorded by Mick Fortune). There is one mention of the legend in the north-east of the county, where a minimalist version is supplied (with date) in a contribution from Riverchapel N.S. (NFC S 888, 66–7). In the north-west, no site is given for the legend in a text from Marshalstown N.S., NFC S 893.

villain’s wife into the bargain.⁷¹ The Irish text also has the moralising aphorism towards the end: *Filleann an feall ar an bhfeallaire* (‘the evil deed comes back to bite the evil-doer’).

3.13 Irish texts from Wexford CBS (Wexford Town)

3.13.1 Scholastic texts

Among the seventy-seven small copybooks accompanying the contribution to the Schools Collection by Wexford CBS are four exercise copybooks, all written in 1938, containing Irish texts written by the pupils. In order of those with the most Irish text, they are as follows: a) anonymously written (1,208 words);⁷² b) Mícheál Ó Croghallaigh (Michael Crowley), 893 words); c) Séamas de Brún (James Browne), 874 words); and d) Martin Beale, 194 words); (all in NFC S 881c and 881d, Wexford CBS). The anonymous texts and those of Séamus de Brún (James Browne), are exclusively Irish exercise copybooks, while the other two contain a mixture of Irish schoolwork and homework, as well as folklore pieces written in English.⁷³ There are several dictations common to many of the copybooks, with each *deachtú* (‘dictation’) being a component part of a larger narrative which is assembled in the final title, *Lá an Dreoilín* (‘the Day of the Wren’). The remaining exercises – where we have examples of more than one pupil writing them, are almost identical in terms of content, vocabulary, and phrasing. Consequently, if these texts are to tell us anything about dialect, it is almost certain that it is the Irish of the teacher that the exhibits elucidate, rather than that of the scribes themselves.

Figure 18: List of titles by author/copy in the CBS texts

Titles	Pupil/copy
<i>Seacrán Fainnce</i>	anon.
<i>Lá an Aonaigh</i>	anon.

⁷¹ Collected by Nancy Collier from Peggy Collier (17), Bridgetown, for Mulrankin N.S. (NFC S 877, 179).

⁷² It is possible, as indicated by an unclear signature in the exercise letter in this copybook, and the existence of a folklore copy entirely by a D. Carthy, the Faythe, Wexford (NFC S 881a), Wexford CBS, that the writer is Daniel Carthy.

⁷³ The first ten pieces of Martin Beale’s notebook are folklore pieces in English, and the final one is in Irish (NFC S 881c, Wexford CBS, Martin Beale). The first seven in the notebook of Mícheál Ó Croghallaigh are homework and schoolwork in Irish, and the final six are folklore pieces in English (NFC S 881d, Wexford CBS, Mícheál Ó Croghallaigh). Séamas de Brún is very probably the same as a James Browne who has written a copybook of English-language folklore along normal lines, to be found in the same school’s submission.

<i>Deachtú 29–4–38</i>	anon	
<i>An t-Amadán</i>	anon. de Brún	
<i>Deachtú 28–5–38</i>	anon. de Brún	
<i>An Buachaill agus an Scilling</i>	anon. de Brún	Ó Croghallaigh
<i>Deachtú (C)</i>	anon. de brún	Ó Croghallaigh
<i>An t-Amadán agus na Bróga</i>	anon. de Brún	Ó Croghallaigh
<i>An Scoil Seo Againn</i>	anon. de Brún	Ó Croghallaigh
<i>An Litir</i>	anon. de Brún	Ó Croghallaigh
<i>An Chuach</i>	anon. de Brún	Ó Croghallaigh
<i>Deachtú (5)</i>	anon. de Brún	Ó Croghallaigh
<i>Lá an Dreoilín</i>	anon. de Brún	Ó Croghallaigh

3.13.2 The blackbird of Derrycairn

In a slip of paper contained in one of the copies from Wexford CBS, also as part of the contribution to the Schools Collection (NFC S 881c, Wexford CBS, Seán Ó Cadagáin), we find four quatrains in Irish – extracted, with some variation (see figure 21), from an eighteenth-century Jacobite poem, written in syllabic verse, and which was the inspiration for Austin Clarke’s twentieth-century poem in English, *The Blackbird of Derrycairn* (Welch, 1974, 41–51).⁷⁴ Of the original 36 lines, only lines 1–4, and 13–24 are contained in our Wexford source.

Figure 19: Differences between original and NFC texts of *An Lon Dubh*

	Original	Wexford
Line		
2	<i>Ní chuala mé i n-aird san bhith</i>	<i>Níor chualas in-áird san mbith</i>
3	<i>Ceól ba binne ná do cheól</i>	<i>Ceol ba bhinne ná do ghuth</i>
4	<i>Agus tú fá bhun do nid</i>	<i>Agus tú fá bhinn do nid</i>
13	<i>I gcrích Lochlann na sreabh ngorm</i>	<i>I gcrích <u>lochlainn</u> na sreabh ngorm</i>
14	<i>Fuair mac Cumhaill na gcorn ndearg</i>	<i>Fuair <u>mac</u> Cumhaill na gcorn ndearg</i>
15	<i>an t-éan do-chí sibh a-nois -</i>	<i>An t-éan <u>do chíonn tú</u> anois</i>

⁷⁴ An original of this text is located in the Matheson Collection of the National Library of Scotland, *Measgra Dánta* (37) <https://digital.nls.uk/early-gaelic-book-collections/archive/80518195?mode=transcription> and the full text is available on <https://celt.ucc.ie/published/G402568/text037.html>

16	<i>ag sin a sgéal doit go dearbh</i>	<i>Ag sin a <u>sceól duit</u> go dearbh</i>
18	<i>mar a ndéindís an Fhiann fos</i>	<i>Mar a <u>ndeinfidís</u> an Fhiann fós</i>
19	<i>ar áille is ar chaoimhe a crann</i>	<i>Ar <u>áilne's</u> ar chaoimhe a crann</i>
20	<i>iseadh do cuireadh ann an lon</i>	<i>'<u>Seadh do chuireadh</u> ann an lon</i>
21	<i>scolghaire luin Doire an Chairn</i>	<i><u>Scolartach</u> luin Doire an Chairn</i>
22	<i>búthre an daimh ó Aill na gCaor</i>	<i>Búithre <u>daimh faille</u> na gCaor</i>
23	<i>ceól le gcolladh Fionn go moch</i>	<i>Ceol le <u>n-a gcodladh</u> Fionn go moch</i>
24	<i>lachain ó Loch na dTrí gCaol</i>	<i>Lachain ó loch na dtrí gCaol</i>

The poem may be from west Munster (i.e., *Loch na dTrí gCaol* may refer to Castlemaine Harbour, Co. Kerry; *Doire an Chairn* could refer to Derreenacarrin (*Doirín an Chairn*), south-west Co. Cork; 'Faill na gCaor' may well refer to *Faill na gCaorach* in *Corca Dhuibhne* (west Kerry – on the north-western tip of the Dingle peninsula – logainm.ie s.v.). The handwriting is not that of Seán Ó Cadagáin, but otherwise is anonymous. The family name Cadogan also suggests a connection with Co. Cork. In the 1901 Census, there are several Cadogan households in south-west Wexford, and one in Enniscorthy. The household of interest here, however, is in Barrack Street, Wexford Town. The head of the household is Jeremiah F. Cadogan (51), born in Co. Cork, a general servant who is recorded as having English (implicitly, English only). Jeremiah had five surviving sons, born between 1883–1897 – and this information is verified by the 1911 Census (by which time their father was dead). It is likely, therefore, that John Cadogan (of South Main Street), who was attending Wexford CBS in the late 1930s, is a grandson of the Cork-born Jeremiah, and that the poem was handed down, albeit in written form, but possibly even by word of mouth, and written at the time.

There are some aspects of the texts which indicate that either or both versions were written outside of Munster. In both the original and Wexford versions, the muting of the final consonant in *bhuair* < *bhuairiamh* (line 22), suggests a vernacular outside of west Munster (see 6.4.7 vs. Ua Súilleabháin, 1994, §2.23). In line 2 of the original text, the analytic form of the past tense of the verb *clois* is used (*chuala mé*), as opposed to the synthetic form *chualas*, which is found in the Wexford text, and which would be expected in the west Munster vernacular.

3.14 Texts from Caroreigh N.S. (south-central Wexford)

3.14.1 Background information

In 1936, four pieces of folklore from Caroreigh N.S. were written in Irish (NFC S 883, 1–4); see also 2.13.1, above). No Irish speakers are reported from the corresponding DED (Kilgarvan) in either census.

The first piece, “*Cros Tigh Munna*” ‘Taghmon Cross’, was collected from Mícheál O Murchadha (Michael Murphy, who was in service to the priest), and collected by Cáit Ní Mhurchadha (Kate Murphy – perhaps a relative). There are two men of the same name in Taghmon DED in the 1911 census, although, both are said to have English (only).⁷⁵ The next item, “*Béal-oideas a Bhaineann le Teach Munna*”, ‘Folklore Relating to Taghmon’, is collected by Mary Ryan, Mulmintra, from her brother, Patrick.⁷⁶ The third is another version of the St. Martin’s Eve fishing disaster, mentioned above (3.12.1), as a legend which also appears in Irish in the contribution of Kilmore Convent N.S. as well as in many English forms in the Schools Collection from Wexford, and in other Wexford sources. The collector of this third piece is Eilís Óg de Beanbhail (Elizabeth Banville), of Shanowle, who gives her source as “the Paper”.⁷⁷ In 1911 (see Appendix F3 Notes), there is a family of six Irish-speaking Banvilles reported in Fethard (about 10km to the southwest) and Elizabeth may be related to that family.⁷⁸

The fourth text, “An Chill Bán”, ‘Whitechurch’, was collected by Máigréad de Róisce (Margaret Roche), from Eamonn de Códá (?Edmund Cody). In 1911, there are only 27 people with the surname Cody in Wexford, and none of them have anything marked under language. In relation to Shelmalier West, 9 are in Upton, Horetown (aged 11–64), and 4 in Aughwilliam (aged 49–60). However, the closest to Taghmon are in Slevoy, Ballymitty: siblings, Edward Cody (69), a retired farmer, and his sister Johanna (67), neither of whom

⁷⁵ The first is an agricultural labourer (66), who lives with his wife (67), in Blastknock. He would probably be 91 if he were alive at the time of Kate Murphy’s collecting. The second Michael Murphy is aged 5 in 1911, and so would be about 25 at the time of the collection. He is the firstborn of his parents, who live with him and his infant brother in Coolcull.

⁷⁶ Annie Ryan, from the same townland, gives fourteen fieldnames, either totally or partially made up of Irish elements (NFC S 883a, Caroreigh, Annie Ryan, “Names of Fields”).

⁷⁷ In my own experience, as a native of south Wexford, locally, ‘I saw it in the paper’ usually means the local paper (in this case, *The People*), and given that this is an English-language paper, with no record of Irish articles in it, the likelihood is that the legend was translated by Eilís from English to Irish.

⁷⁸ Of the 129 Banvilles in Wexford in the 1911 Census, 70 reside in the same barony as Taghmon and Shanowle (Shelmalier West), and these almost completely reside in the western half of the barony. 39 live in Shelbourne (including the Fethard Banvilles mentioned; 5 in Bargy; 1 in Scarawalsh, and 14 in Wexford Town.

can read. However, if this Edward is the same Eamonn (the source of the Irish folklore), then he would have been well into his 90s in 1936.

3.14.2 Note on dialect

As with the texts from Baldwinstown N.S. and Kilmore Convent N.S. (discussed above), it may be worth noting that not only are these texts in Irish, but that they relate to local folklore, possibly suggesting a local, rather than an imported, provenance. The inclusion of epenthetic vowels in the texts may also suggest that the folklore records the spoken Irish of the informants (see 5.7.3): e.g., *seanchros* > *seanna-chros* (NFC S 883, 1); *seana-chaisléan* < *sean-chaisleán* (ibid., 1, 2); *sean-chill* > *seana-chille* (ibid., 4]; and *Gurb é* > *gu rab é* (ibid., 2).

3.15 A riddle from the Blackwater district (east Wexford)

3.15.1 Description

The following riddle appears in the main contribution of Naomh Brighid N.S., Blackwater, to the Schools Collection (NFC S 886, 7):

IrishText	Translation
<i>bionn sí thoir bionn sí thiar</i>	She is east, she is west
<i>bionn sí i ngáirdín Bh'l'á Cliath</i>	She is in the garden of Dublin Town.
<i>is mó a greim na greim chapail</i>	Her bite is greater than a horse's bite
<i>ach ní bhlaiseann sí an biadh</i>	but she doesn't taste food
<i>[freagra] Speal</i>	Answer: a scythe.

There is no information as to where this riddle was collected, or from whom. Other Irish material in this volume is written by the principal, Seán Ó Broin, a native of west Cork, and is explicitly said to be from the Castletownbere district (NFC S 886, 6, 151–7). However, this riddle is surrounded by folklore, in English, from the Blackwater district. The handwriting is that of the Cork-born teacher, so it may be presumed that there would not be a great deal to be learned from the orthography in terms of Wexford dialect. There is a wordlist of local vernacular Irish recorded in one of the small copies from the same school (NFC S

886a, Naomh Brighid, Maighréad Ní Chearbhaill), which is evidence that some Irish had survived in the locale up until the 1930s, at least.

3.16. Texts from Oulart (north-east Wexford)

3.16.1 Overview

In the main contribution to the Schools Collection by Mercy Convent (Wexford Town) (NFC S 881, 275–7) are to be found two Irish texts, accredited to a ‘*B. Ní Shionóid, Ubhallghort*’ (‘B. Sinnott, Oulart’). The first of these texts is a list of seven *piéseoga* (‘superstitions’), and the second comprises two *Nósa*, (‘customs’).

3.16.2. A text of Kilkenny Irish?

Another Irish text also appears in the same contribution (NFC S 881, 174), accredited to a *M. Ní Chonchubhair, Bóthair Naomh Eoin, Loch Garman* (‘Ms. M. O’Connor, St. John’s Road, Wexford’), but since the text concerns Mount Brandon (the highest point in Kilkenny – about 16km north-northwest of New Ross), it may be presumed that M. O’Connor was herself a native of a Kilkenny district in the vicinity of that mountain, and as such, was a bearer of Irish from Kilkenny, which technically falls outside of the scope of this work.

3.17 The Castletown texts

3.17.1 Overview

In the contribution to the Schools Collection by Castletown N.S., Irish is to be found (NFC S 888, 160–4). Both from the material, and the sources (when given), the folklore is necessarily particular to the locality, or at least to north Wexford. Given that the first two pieces have no ascription, by default, we might expect them to be from the scribe, and principal, Seán Ó Broin. The first piece, “*Tobar Pádraig*”, (‘Patrick’s Well’), consists of the following Irish phrases:

Suidhte in Cill Pádraig. Cois farraige. I ndeisceart Paróiste an Inbhir Mhóir. Tá trí tobair ann ach is deacair ceann amháin d’fheiscint. Tá an dá ceann eile taobh le chéile in carraig. (NFC S 888, 160), (Tr ‘Situated in Kilpatrick. By the sea. In the

south of Arklow Parish. There are three wells, but it is difficult to see one of them. The other two are beside each other in Carrick’).

The next piece, “St. Michael’s Well”, begins with the macaronic phrase *Suidhte in Clonough*, ‘Situating in Clonough’, but continues in English for the remainder of the article.

The ascription of the third piece, “1798”, is “Told by John McDonald Kilpatrick descendent of the above” (i.e., three *Mach Domhnaill* brothers mentioned in the ’98 legend]. The fourth piece, “1798 *Ar lean. Bealtaine 1938, Antoine Ó hAicéad*” (‘1798 continued, May, 1938; Anthony Hackett’), comes from the telling of the mother of its collector, Pádraig Ó Braonáin. The fifth piece, “1798- *Ceann an Athar Micheál Ó Murchadha*” (‘1798 – Fr. Michael Murphy’s head’), comes from the telling of Seán Ó Broin’s grandmother.

3.18 Ceól an Mhála

3.18.1 Overview

In the main submission to the Schools Collection for Gorey CBS, an Irish poem/song is included (NFC S 891, 14). The piece is entitled “*Ceól an Mhála*”, ‘Music of the Bag’, and is an ode to the bagpipes, containing four verses of six lines per verse. The author is unknown, but it was collected by Pádraig Mac Domhnaill (Patrick McDonald) from Micheál Mac Domhnaill (Michael McDonald), both of Main Street, Gorey.

In terms of rhyming scheme, an evolving pattern is apparent. There is rhyming between the final stressed vowel of lines 1, 2, 4, and 5 of each verse and in verses 1 and 2, the final stressed vowel rhymes between lines 3 and 6; in other words, a rhyming scheme of A / A / B / A / A / B (see figure 22). A similar pattern is apparent for verse 3, except that although lines 3 and 6 are rhymed together, the rhyming between lines 1 and 2 is different to that between lines 4 and 5 (*ibid.*). In the final verse, all final stressed vowels rhyme with each other.

Text:

(from NFC S, 891, 14); *Ceól an Mhála* – ní fios cé dhéin

1 *Ceól an Mhála*
An ceól is breaghtha,
is córa cáil is éirim,
Dár chualaidh dáimh,
Ó seoladh táin.

De phór na bhfáidh go hÉirinn

- 2 Ceól chómh bríoghmhar
Fóghanta, fighthe
le ceól na píbe péalaidhe
Ní heól do rígh,
Do shlóigtibh sídhe.
Ná fós do bhuidhin na héigse
- 3 Ceól níos binne
Ar fhod na cruinne,
Níor chualaidh duine in-aon chor
Ceól gan ghruaim é,
Ceól gan bhuidreamh,
Ceól binn, buanmhar, aerach.
- 4 Ceól na nGaedheal é
Ceól ar laochradh,
Ceól breagh séimh na saor-fhlaith,
Ceól na naomh,
Is ceól na dtréan
Thug Éire saor ó dhaor-smacht

Do bhailig: Pádraig Mac Domhnaill, An Phríomhshráid, Guaire
Ó: Micheál Mac Domhnaill, An Phríomhshráid, Guaire.

Figure 20: Rhyming of final stressed vowels in *Ceól an Mhála*

Verse

1. *Mhála / breághtha / éirim / dáimh / táin / hÉirinn*
á / á / é / á / á / é A / A / B / A / A / B
2. *bríoghmhar / fighthe / péalaidhe / rígh / sídhe / héigse*
í / í / é / í / í / é A / A / B / A / A / B
3. *binne / cruinne / in-aon chor / ghruaim é / bhuidreamh / aerach*
i / i / é / ua / ua / é A / A / B / C / C / B
4. *nGaedheal é / laochradh / saor-fhlaith / naomh / dtréan / dhaor-smacht*
é / é / é / é / é / é A / A / A / A / A / A

3.19 Hiberno-English sources (oral)

3.19.1 The value of Hiberno-English as a Source

With the disappearance of native Irish language communities in Wexford, as with most of Ireland, a handful of Irish texts (as discussed above) need to be supplemented by the invaluable fossils of Irish words preserved in Hiberno-English (cf. O’Rahilly, 1932, 3). It might be argued by some that when words and phrases from an old language are preserved in a newly acquired language, such as from Irish to English, such words and phrases are no longer of the old language but of the new one instead, and thus, that Irish words and phonemes were corrupted once they survived in an English-speaking context. Whatever the semantic validity of the first point, there is a danger that the survival of Irish phonemes in English is often overlooked and undervalued. Not only may native Irish speakers use Irish phonemes when speaking their second language, English (especially in the days before radio and television), but when they preserve Irish words in English – perhaps because they do not recognise an adequate English alternative word with the same meaning – it is even more likely that this preserved Irish word will retain its traditional pronunciation, because the native Irish speaker knows they are the expert in that word and that that word belongs to them and their community. Not only may this be the case in the first generation to switch from Irish to English, but the preservation of Irish phonemes in certain words among older speakers of Hiberno-English today, including in Wexford, is testament to the fact that phonetic fidelity has been retained through the generations along with the transmission of particular words – even where the precise meaning of the word has been lost. As such, the Irish words are not so-much borrowed by Hiberno-English, but rather, they are carried into Hiberno-English by native Irish speakers as their own inheritance, and handed on to future generations, often with the same sense of propriety and fidelity to pronunciation. As Patrick Kennedy himself describes it: “They simply abuse *ea*, and indulge in aspirations—faults which are owing to their retaining the pronunciation of the native Gaelic after the meanings of most of its words have escaped their memory” (Kennedy, 1870, ix). Examples of such preservations are especially to be seen in collected words which are used in the phonology section of this thesis (i.e., Chapters 4–6), and luckily, unlike in Kennedy’s day, we have the advantage of being able to use the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) to describe and represent the phonology more precisely.

3.19.2 Notes on oral sources

Regarding the oral sources, questions may be asked as to the possibility that some Irish words in current use in Wexford may have been introduced through the influence of the post-independence school system or through modern media such as the radio. There is no

easy way to dispel such doubts as to authenticity, since it would be difficult, if not impossible, to prove an absolute negative among the hundreds of words collected by myself, and other collectors, from oral sources; but the following factors mitigate against such external influences:

i). The oral sources were not specifically asked for Irish words, and indeed, they were hardly ever aware that the Irish words they provided were actually Irish. The words were either contained in everyday vernacular Hiberno-English speech, in the telling of local folklore, and occasionally in the request that they try to remember any everyday words that are no longer used in association with a certain context. Indeed, sources showed a tendency to be self-conscious if they were mentioning a word from school or media, with three different sources acknowledging, where relevant, that a word had come from an external context.⁷⁹ Such awareness and ability to discriminate is almost certainly because they saw Irish as being so removed from their own lives, that they felt on shaky ground when consciously mentioning words they knew to be Irish.

ii). for the most part, the sources were unable to directly translate their examples into English: e.g., *sceach* ('hawthorn'), *buachallán* ('ragweed'), *a bháib* ('baby'), *bá(bhú)n*

⁷⁹ The examples of declaration of external influences or origins are as follows. Chris Sinnott (1937-), from Tacumshin, in Forth, one day, recalled how to count from one to ten in Irish, which he had learnt in school in the mid-1940s (with *hon* /he:n/ and *naoi* /ne:/), as in much of Munster. Chris gives *cearc uisce* /'ce.ɾic 'iʃgə/ but Chris says he knows the phrase from *Gerrit Van Gelderen*, in his presentation of the series *To the Waters and the Wild*, broadcast on RTÉ in the late 70s and early 80s. His cousin, Richard Sinnott (1944-2020), from the same townland (Sigginstown), said the only vegetables in Irish he remembered from school were *bítis dearg* ('carrot'), and *bítis bán* ('parsnip'). Richard is my own father, so I knew him well growing up, but only heard him use these two Irish references for the first time when he was 74 years of age; i.e., it was a specific schoolday recollection, not a reference to words of everyday use. Richard's sister, Betty Price (1945-), remembers one Irish word from school, namely *cnap* /kən'ap/. It may also be worth noting that none of my sources ever used standard school Irish phrases such as *suigh síos* ('sit down'), *seas suas* ('stand up'), *lámha suas/amach* ('hands up/out'), not to speak of basic salutations. Even where a word might be associated by many with school, e.g., *amadán*, Denis Cadogan's 21st-century reporting of the word /'amə.ðɑ:n/, is corroborated in vernacular wordlists from the mid-20th century (e.g., NFC S 870, 104; 871, 437; RÓS, s.v. *amadán*; Hall, 1847, 93, etc.). most of my own primary sources felt alienated from school from a young age and had left school by their early teens (since the 1967 Education Act had yet to come). Moreover, even those who got on well at school (e.g., Richard Sinnott (1944-2020), did not see the point of Irish, and had no particular interest in it, let alone introducing it into their everyday speech. Also, up until the 1950s and 1960s, males, in particular, were liable to be off school doing farm work, as is evident in the predominance of female collectors for the Schools Collection (e.g., with none of the eight small copybooks submitted by Tacumshin N.S. (NFC S 879a, Tacumshin), being from males). As such, the older male sources (such as James Sinnott (1918-1989), or Chris Sinnott (1937-)) were influenced even less by school than their female or better-off peers. Michael Fortune, whose work I have drawn on, especially for north Wexford examples, informs me that the vast majority of his sources are the less well-off in terms of socio-economic status, and that they tended not to do so well at school. The poorest echelons of society tend to be the best preservers of tradition (including traditional language patterns).

/ba:n/ ('farm enclosure' or 'haggard').⁸⁰ Had their examples come from school or the media, one would expect the Wexford sources to know the English equivalent of the everyday items they refer to. Indeed, the Irish words which are more likely to have been preserved, refer to flora, fauna, and other subjects which are not commonly referred to in the media or even in elementary school Irish. Furthermore, they often came up with the same words, with shared meanings, independently of each other. For instance, in the examples just cited, were they to have been obtained from school or the media, it would be extremely coincidental were the Wexford oral sources to have simultaneously replaced English words with Irish forms only in such expressions or words which, indeed, were rarely, if ever, used in school or the media.

iii). The scores of unofficial local placenames provided by Wexford oral sources are necessarily of local origin: e.g., /ba:n ə 'jaɲə/ ('farm enclosure of the gate'), and *Bábhún na Sceiche* /,ba:nə'ʃce:/ ('farm enclosure of the hawthorn'), both told to me by Mogue Curtis, of Adamstown, on 2016.10.28, etc; or *Ball Cloiginn* /ba:l 'tʃi.ɟ(ə)n/, ('place of the skull'), near Murrintown, told to me by Paddy Berry (see also NFC S 876, 223). It is worth noting, too, that there is no shortage of such extant placenames from Irish in the baronies of Forth and Bargy.

iv). Other examples are likely to be of local origin, given the context of their usage: e.g., *bach* ('grunt' or 'noise made by a pig') > /baxi/ in "...Bocky Sinnott...because he had so many pigs" (told by Richard Sinnott, 1944-2020 about a neighbour long gone. Many of the words collected by Michael Fortune (my primary channel for oral sources in north Wexford), are from his great-grandmother, Jane, (1909-2014), who passed her zeal for **local tradition** onto her grandson, and who was, if anything, antagonistic towards the education system and modern influences from the media. Her linguistic foundations were laid before the establishment of either the Irish education system or the introduction of electronic media. Examples of Jane's passed on to Michael include: *breac* /bɾak/ ('a speck'), *brídeog* /'bɾi:do:g/ ('St. Brigid's doll' used in Brigid's Eve ritual); *ciaróg* /'ci:.(ə)ɾ.o:g/ ('an earwig'), and many

⁸⁰ Chris Sinnott only very lately learnt that *cáitín* equated to English 'grey heron' from seeing the bird in a book he bought on Irish birds. Richard Sinnott learnt that *buachallán* equated to English 'ragweed' or 'ragwort' from seeing the "noxious weed" agricultural leaflets distributed to farmers. *Sceach* is generally used to refer to any bush, in the parish of Tacumshin. English 'haggard' is used instead of *bábhún* in Forth and Bargy, as opposed to *bábhún* in the rest of Wexford (a point made by Thomas Murphy (native of Clonroche) to me. Such a sharp isogloss could not be credibly explained by reference to media or educational influence.

of Jane's words were recorded by Michael, and the audio used by me for the purpose of accurate phonetic transcription.⁸¹

v). many of the words are not Standard Irish, but would appear to be uncommon variants: e.g., *cáitín* ('grey heron'), *lúracán* or *lúirícín* ('leprechaun'), *?brinneán* ('a type of limpet'), and *baldún* /baldu:n/ ('a tomcat' in the south, and 'a man who acts like a tomcat', throughout the county). etc.⁸²

vi). Even though there is no standard pronunciation in Irish, often, pronunciations from the Wexford sources are nonetheless idiosyncratic, e.g., *bóthar* > *bóchar* /'bo:xəɹ/ ('road') (see 6.7.1, below); *badhbh* /bəu/ ('banshee') (cf. de Brún, 1970, 46); *bradó* > *bardóg* ('sprat') (6.13.1, below) (*bodhrán* /bu:ra:n/, ('a shallow winnowing-dish made of goat-skin'); (see 6.6.3, below); and *stíall* /ski:(ə)l/ ('a streak'). Sometimes a particular type of word has an unusual form. For example, in disyllabic words where the first vowel-sound is the diagraph *ea* and the final syllable is a diminutive *-án* or *-óg*, the *ea* is pronounced as /i/ rather than /e/. It is particularly notable where today's oral sources corroborate the older written sources in this respect (see 5.2.1 below). The syllable stress conclusions of Chapter 4 (below) are based almost entirely on oral source examples. The geographical patterns which are clearly discernible from the data (e.g., in the northern two thirds of the county, more of a tendency to back-stress in disyllabic words containing a short vowel in the first syllable and a long vowel in the second; and more of a tendency to even stress, or even forward stress, in the southern third). Such distributions could not be explained by influences from the education system or the media.

vii). Some words are specific to traditional contexts, e.g.: *brídeog* /'bʲi:do:g/, ('St. Bridget's Cross'), in the north-east;⁸³ *ballán* /'balən/, ('wrasse'), found as "Ballon wrasse" among fishermen (generally used); *bainbhín* /bani:nj/, 'piglet' (heard by me on the farm when growing up and recorded by Michael Fortune from local men in Taghmon, 2019.11.13;

⁸¹ To corroborate Jane's reporting of *ciaróg* as being rooted in the Wexford vernacular, the word occurs nine times in the texts, from all regions of the county: "ciarrogue" (NFC 1399, 329); "Keerogue" (Kennedy, 1867, 221; EG1; EG2); "keeroge" (NRS 5.5, 5); and *ciaróg* (NFC S 888, 103; 890, 72; 892, 124; 901, 318). See also, *GJ* (1902, 127, 96; Piatt, 1933, 16, 17).

⁸² For use of *baldún* in an Irish language context (in Graiguenamanagh, Co. Kilkenny), see Ó hÓgáin, 2012, 241. In Hiberno-English, I have found it in Bennetstown, Co. Kilkenny, and as far west as Clonmel, in south Tipperary. Ó Muiríthe suggests that *baldún* comes from the English surname Baldwin (DÓM, 22), and the name is Gaelicised in the townland of *Baile Bhaldain* > Ballyvaldon in east Wexford, and is preserved in English in the townland of Baldwinstown, in Bargo (south Wexford).

⁸³ Told to me by Michael Fortune: "bridóg dolls', effigies of St. Brigid brought from house to house by mummers on St. Brigid's Eve." Mick heard the word from his grandmother, Jane Fortune, who herself was a native of Gorey. Cf. *Bréda óg* (NFC S 881c, Wexford CBS, Liam Ó hAodha, "Customs for Saint Brigid's day").

see 6.4.8, below). This is found as “bònn-yeen” in a 1928 wordlist from north Wexford (IFC 0096, 277, #45), which renders influence from the education system or electronic media implausible. There are many different pronunciations of *bóithreán* (‘dried cowdung’) (see 6.12.2 below), and item that one would not expect to find in the education system or media, let alone with local Wexford variations of pronunciation into the bargain.

viii). Sometimes, where a word is commonplace today, caution should be taken, but more often than not, in such cases, examples can be found from older texts or collections, e.g., *bas* (‘boss’ of a hurl) /‘baʃ/ (RÓS, s.v. *bas*), or from the early 19th century as “bash, bashe” in Yola (DÓM, s.v.). Similarly, one might presume that James Sinnott’s (1918-89) use of *geansaí* /‘ʝaŋvzi:/, (‘jumper/sweater’), is from school Irish, but in a wordlist from 1938 in the south-west, we find, “Gansey. always used instead of jersey” (NFC S 870, 103).⁸⁴ However, even after all the mitigations, there may be occasional words or pronunciations from the oral sources which are based on external influences. *Bóithrín* /bo:’ɹi:n/, (‘lane’), in the south-west and south-east, are somewhat disagreed with by /bo:ʃi:n/ (in New Ross), “bocheen” in the north-west (Kennedy, 1869, 281), and /,bo:xəi’zi:n/ in the south-east, and may have come from the Standard Hiberno-English form in the media. Nonetheless, even here, we find *bóithrín* > “boareen” from a wordlist in 1905 (NRS 5.26, 5), and 1928 (NFC 0096, 276, #30).

A general rule of thumb is that younger sources need to be treated with more caution. However, this does not mean throwing the baby out with the bathwater, but rather, establishing where they heard their phrase, word, or pronunciation. Very occasionally, in my research, I have come across a word which could be of dubious authenticity. For example, *glic* /dʒ’ic/ (see 6.2.4, below). In this case, my source was born in 1978, and raised in Wexford Town. He was emphatic that *glic* was used in everyday vernacular, meaning “sly”. However, by the 1980s or 1990s, it is more difficult to say with any type of assurance that *glic* did not come from the education system into the vernacular, especially when there is scant evidence of the word anywhere else in Hiberno-English sources.⁸⁵ However, such examples are exceedingly rare, and are based on the relative qualities of the source, where there is no other evidence for the existence of the word in Hiberno-English. For example, James Moloney, of Lady’s Island, and born c.1940, tends to use received pronunciation in his

⁸⁴ Albeit that Ir. *geansaí* < English ‘Guernsey’. I never heard anyone else in Wexford use *geansaí* in Hiberno-English, and yet, it was the only word ever used by James for a ‘jumper’. His wife, Bessie Cahill (1919-85), tended to use the English word ‘pullover’ for the same garment.

⁸⁵ We find “glict,” but in an apparently different context: “When calling cats you say chessie. When calling dogs you say glict” (NFC S 879a, Kilrane, Loretta Kehoe, “The Farm”).

Hiberno-English, but has provided examples from his memory of words, growing up, which are either corroborated by other sources, or are so idiosyncratic as not likely to be from the media or education system. Two examples of the latter type are: *Maol Domhnaigh* > ‘Moloney’ /,mə'ləuni:/ - providing evidence (albeit fragmented when seen in isolation) of the diphthong being pronounced in *-omh-* contexts; and secondly, *marach* /'mɑ:ɹəx/ (‘defect’), in the expression, “It didn’t take *marach* out of him”, i.e., didn’t adversely affect him” – which provides an extra piece in the jigsaw concerning general back-stress, in Wexford, in disyllabic words with a short vowel in the first syllable, and *-ach* suffix as the second syllable.

3.20 Textual sources of Hiberno-English

3.20.1 Overview of textual Hiberno-English sources

A general criticism might be made of the methodology of using text-based hiberno-English sources to try to arrive at appraisals of original Irish pronunciations: i.e., that rules of English orthography are not a reliable way of ascertaining true Irish phonemes. In response to this possible criticism, it is argued here that while the general point has some validity, instead of ignoring evidence completely, we should use it by factoring in, and – in so far as is possible – safeguarding against its failings. Rather than throwing the baby out with the bathwater, all such sources should be examined for clues, and on a specific rather than a general basis, each scrap of evidence should be taken on its own merits in conjunction with suggestions from other sources. Textual sources, of course, can never replicate sound patterns in any language: even when using narrow IPA and technical descriptions, one can only arrive at a relatively approximate precision. The elucidation of Irish dialect in Irish manuscripts has been discussed in 3.2 above, but Hiberno-English texts’ use of Irish words with analogous or attempted English spelling can bring out features necessarily missed by Irish texts (3.20.2, below).

Compared to oral sources, Irish words in Hiberno-English texts (especially from the nineteenth century) can be temporally closer to the source with less influence by English phonemes, or even Hiberno-English from other parts of the country: for example, Mrs. S. C.

Hall, and Patrick Kennedy, respectively, were both writing of a time in the early-nineteenth century when Irish-language communities were a strong, albeit waning, reality in Wexford (see 2.8 above).

3.20.2 Irish-language qualities elucidated by Hiberno-English texts

As well as sometimes giving some contextual description of native Irish, the Hiberno-English textual sources can give useful clues regarding dialect in three particular ways – namely, spelling, more detailed phonetic description (broad IPA), and through more generalised descriptions of words. Examples of all three aids to our phonological understanding of the native Irish spoken in Wexford can be seen when it comes to description of syllable stress – an aspect which is generally quite difficult to discover in Irish texts. Sometimes, we find a clue to stress in the spelling of a word, e.g., *bioráinín* > “brawneen,” ‘little pin’ (DHE); sometimes stress is more explicitly given in basic forms of IPA, e.g., *amalach* amaluck /'amlək/, ‘awkward’ (DÓM, 21); and on very few occasions, we get generalised descriptions of syllable stress (e.g., RÓS, 102; NFC S 886, 80, for the east of the county; – see also Chapter 4, below).

Vowel-sounds can be difficult to ascertain from a text alone, primarily because of Anglophone homophonic dyadic and triadic letter combinations often used to demonstrate to the Anglophone reader how such sounds are to be pronounced, e.g., ‘ow’ ‘ou’ which can either both indicate the /əu/ or respectively connote /o:/ or even /u:/. Sometimes, however, the context solves the problem of such ambiguities: for example, *ou* /u:/ is clear in examples such as *a chuisle* > “a'coushla,” vocative phrase meaning ‘my pulse’ (Hall, 1847, 68, 70, 72, 230), “My own coushla” (ibid., 297), etc.; or *Buachaill na Gruaige Doinne* > “Bouchal na Gruaga dhowna,” ‘brown of the brown hair’ (Kennedy, 1867, 61), and “*Bouchal na Gruaga Dhouna*” (Kennedy, 1866, 136). In these cases, because the Irish pronunciation options are limited, it is clear that *ui* and *ua* > ‘ou’ > /u:/. Also, in the last of the examples just cited, we find *doinne* (feminine genitive singular of the adjective *donn* ‘brown’) rendered separately as ‘dhowna’ and ‘Dhouna’, indicating by cross-reference that both *ow* and *ou* here = the diphthong /əu/, i.e., that *doinne* is morphing into the male form *donn*, but retaining the neutral vowel suffix of the feminine form, and thereby demonstrating that Hiberno-English texts can sometimes offer us a glimpse into grammatical shifts as well as providing phonetic insights.

As well as offering clues into the phonology of vowels before long sonorants, such as –*onn* in the example just given, Hiberno-English texts can also give clues as to the retention

of vestigial or lenited consonants: e.g., *abhac* > “amach, “ammache,” ‘dwarf’, in Yola (DÓM, 36, 37) – i.e., a nasalisation and retention of the original *bh*; or conversely, these texts can show the compensatory lengthening or diphthongisation of vowels as a result of dropped, medial, lenited, consonants: e.g., *tabhairt amach* > “toust amock,” ‘giving out / scolding’, (DHE, s.v. *tabhairt amach*), > /təʊft əmɑx/ (RÓS, s.v.). In Irish, the initial lenited broad *bh/mh* can either be pronounced as /v/, or /w/, a characteristic which is generally impossible to ascertain in Irish texts, but which is a feature which is usually easily apparent in Hiberno-English texts: e.g., *mo mhúirnín* > “mayourneen,” ‘my darling’ (Hall, 1847, 76, 79, 230, 325, etc.), and *a Mhuire is trua* > “Wirrasthrew,” ‘Our Lady and pity!’ (ibid., 254). Other consonantal sounds are also elucidated, e.g., *tráithnín* > “thraawnyeen,” ‘a straw’ (NFC S 870, 103), which demonstrates a broad dental plosive in the initial, as well as a palatalised *nʲ* which is common in most Irish dialects. Light can also be shed on ‘r’-sounds: e.g., a sibilant palatalised ‘r’ as in the above example of *tabhairt amach* > “toust amock” etc.; or a ‘j’-glide as allophone with the palatalised ‘r’, e.g., *a Mhuire* > “vuya,” ‘Our Lady!’ (Kennedy, 1870, 45).

In the case of *amalach* > “amaluck” /'amlək/ (DÓM, 21), the IPA tells us that the /x/ fricative has become Anglicised to a /k/ plosive, and such assimilation to Anglophone phonetics is to be expected across the board, especially the further the Irish language recedes into the past, and with the aid of certain homogenising influences of Hiberno-English through print and audiovisual media. Also, however, such Irish phonemes may be ironed out, so to speak, by the writer of a Hiberno-English text, e.g., *sceach* > “skock,” ‘hawthorn’ (NFC S 877, 245) – where the palatalised initial /sc/ in Irish pronunciation has also been ironed out and replaced with velarisation. The best way to mitigate against such ironing out in the Hiberno-English texts is to give weight to examples where the same Irish phonemes are preserved or approximated in Hiberno-English texts, especially in the same region or district. In this example, the general pronunciation of the word is still /sçɑx/, /sçɑx/ in Forth and Bargy, illustrating the ironing out effect in that written example from the Schools Collection more than eighty years ago.

3.21–6 Specific Hiberno-English sources

3.21 The National Folklore Collection (UCD)

3.21.1 Overview

The manuscripts of the National Folklore Collection (NFC) in University College Dublin, provide more useful examples in dialectal analysis of Irish from Hiberno-English than any other single source for Wexford. The NFC itself is made up of various collections. By far the greatest single source for this work, because of its volume alone, is the National Schools Collection (1937–9), to which Co. Wexford schools contributed 33 large bound volumes (a.k.a. ‘large copies’), and c.200 boxes of small copybooks (known as ‘small copies’). In this collection, there are occasional lists of scores of Irish words used in English, and just as numerous are lists of local (unofficial) placenames or fieldnames. Outside of this, in the ordinary texts – so to speak – of the folklore, there are sparser (but often just as precious) gleanings.

3.21.2 Wordlists

The following are the landmark wordlists to be found in the Wexford section of the Schools Collection:

Tara Hill N.S. (in the north-east), under the principal, Pádraigh Mac Fhlannchadha, contributed a list of 161 words, with many pronunciations, explanations and examples of context (NFC S 888, 102–7).

Newtownbarry BNS, in the north-west, has a wordlist containing 96 Irish words from the local Hiberno-English vernacular (NFC S 892, 123–6), mostly collected from a Pat Burke.

Charles Hearne, principal of Templetown N.S. – in the south-west – compiled a list including 73 Irish words and phrases (NFC S 870, 101–6), as well as dozens of local Irish placenames, and nicknames, etc. throughout the same contribution (cf. *ibid.*, 195–8; 200–9).

Boulavogue N.S. supplied a wordlist (NFC S 890, 872–4) with 52 Irish examples, obtained from Lorcan Ó Braoin, Carrigeen, Ferns (in the north-west), collected on June 21st, 1934, presumably for the aborted folklore collection of 1934–5.

Faythe N.S. submitted a wordlist containing 43 examples of Irish words from the area – the outskirts of Wexford Town, in the south-east (NFC S 882, 1–2) with the majority being collected from a Charles Furlong (born between 1861–4), residing in Wexford Town in the 1930s.

M. Vaughan, the principal of Hollyfort N.S. (on the Wicklow border with north-east Wexford) appears to be the collector of much of the material in the large copy contribution from that school, including 34 Irish words in a wordlist (NFC S 888, 172–4).

Baile Uachtar (in the north-east), under its principal, P. Sheehan, supplied 31 examples in its wordlist (NFC S 891, 49–50).

3.21.3 The small copies

We also find material in the small copies which is not found in the large bound volumes (meaning, also, that it is not currently available online at duchas.ie). Fourteen fieldnames of interest are written in two lists (NFC S 883a, Caroreigh, Annie Ryan, “Names of Fields” in south central Wexford. All material supplied by Kilturk N.S. (in the south), (NFC S 878, 1–32; NFC S 878a, Kilturk, N. Lambert, (and) Nicky Lambert) was written by pupil, Nicky Lambert, providing a useful resource for Irish idioms in Hiberno-English, as well as for Irish survivals. The east of the county is the area from which the least amount of useful examples have been found. Nevertheless, Máiréad Ní Chearbhall, in her small copy for Naomh Brighid N.S. (Blackwater), collected 27 words and expressions from a Mrs. Deveraux (aged 78), Ballina (NFC S 886a, Naomh Brighid, Maighréad Ní Chearbhall). Introducing the list is the line “The following are some of the Irish words I heard in my locality”, and since this was written after Mrs. Deveraux’s details, we might infer that the first-person pronoun refers to herself. As such, we cannot be sure that these words were common in the 1930s, but it is also possible that Mrs. Deveraux heard pure native Irish in her youth.

3.21.4 The main collection

Another component of the National Folklore Collection is the variety of work by official collectors working for the National Folklore Commission (1935–70). In particular, J. G. Delaney’s collecting in 1954 provides useful words and observations (NFC 1344 and 1399), including a section on language, containing several Irish words from the south-east (NFC 1399, 327–31). Also of interest, on July 16th, 1954, is Delaney’s interview with a Walter Furlong (83) from the parish of Rathnure – in the west, near the Carlow-Kilkenny border. What Walter has to say about his aunt, points to one of the last survivors of the native Irish language tradition in that part of the county:

Aunt of Mr. Furlong’s who spoke Irish: I had an aunt who had a lot of Irish. She got it from her parents who lived in the White Mountain. She used to say that *arán Dowsely*

and *bun an Crócair* were the best foods. She was born in Ballybaun. All the fields that my father had over there, she had Irish names on them. *Gort na Fuinneóige, Slee Beg* (as pronounced by W. Furlong), Gort an Eel (as pronounced). (Mr. Furlong did not know the English of any of these JD) (NFC 1344, 76).

From this we can gather that Walter Furlong (born c.1871) had no native Irish (excluding the scraps he has picked up from his aunt, and of which he either does not know or is not sure of the meaning). This also indicates that among the previous generation (e.g., born in the 1840s), the decline of Irish was not uniform, since his aunt continued to use it (while those around her spoke English), and yet, it is implied that her sibling(s), at least Walter Furlong's parent on his aunt's side, chose not to use Irish, or took no interest in it, growing up (see 2.8.11–12 above for local attitudes towards Irish, and last native speakers, including in the Rathnure district).

Also in the Irish Folklore main Collection, there is a list of 246 words collected in 1928, by F. MacColuim, from north Wexford (NFC 0096, nos. 274–304).

3.22 The work of Patrick Kennedy (1801–73)

3.22.1 Overview

The second source in terms of quantity of useful examples of Irish words in Hiberno-English is the work of Patrick Kennedy. Diarmuid Ó Muirthe gathered c.150 words and phrases from Kennedy's publications and included them in his *A Dictionary of Anglo-Irish* (DHE). In Kennedy's six best-known publications, though, there are at least 600 Irish words and phrases in a Hiberno-English setting, collected by him between the years c.1817-21, in the mid-west and north-west of Wexford. J. G. Delaney says of Kennedy's writing: "details of tradition are hung upon a somewhat stylised plot of romance" (Delaney, 1964, 68), meaning that an overarching and simple romantic plot is used as a vehicle to carry the substance of folklore. "He had no talent for fiction" (ibid., 77; cf. Kennedy, 1869, v) and as such, "he is more of a reporter...than an artist" (Delaney, 1964, 84). The folkloristic aspects cover many facets of traditional life, including sports, dancing, festival customs, music, wake-custom etc. The insights he gives us into the Irish language occur, on the whole, in the story-telling and everyday conversation relayed in his writing.

3.22.2 Background

Kennedy was born in north-west Co. Wexford, at the foot of Mount Leinster, in Kilmyschal (Delaney, 1964, 11), in the old barony of Duffrey (now part of Scarawalsh). He spent most of his formative years (1807–19, aged 6–18) between Castleboro (Killegney Civil Parish), Coolbawn (Rossdroit Civil Parish), and Cloughbawn – a mile from Clonroche (Chapel Civil Parish) – all in the barony of Bantry, about half way between New Ross and Enniscorthy (ibid., 20–1). The only exception to this was his studying near Taghmon, in the south centre of the county, about the year 1814 (ibid., 23). In March, 1819 or 1820, he went to teach in Tombrick, in the locality of his birth and early years.⁸⁶ Apart from three months attending a teacher-training centre at Kildare Place (probably in the Autumn of 1821) (ibid., 33), Kennedy continued teaching at Tombrick until May or June 1822 or 1823 (ibid., 38),⁸⁷ at which time, he moved to Dublin, to work as junior assistant to the superintendant of the teacher-training institute he had himself trained in at Kildare Place.⁸⁸ His move to Dublin was to be a permanent one.

Largely due to pressure from the Catholic Church, government sanction and funding for the nascent education system was transferred from the ecumenical Kildare Place Society to a multi-denominational system in 1831, and for most of the rest of that decade, Kennedy worked as a drawing-master (Delaney, 1983, 54).⁸⁹ In 1839, he began his career as a librarian and bookseller (ibid.), a profession which he maintained for the rest of his life, and which, most importantly for our current purposes, afforded him the time to write.

3.22.3 Kennedy's writing career

Writing under the pseudonym of Harry Whitney, Kennedy began writing pieces for the *Wexford Independent*, the *Duffrey Fireside Magazine* (which had a four-year run), and the

⁸⁶ Kennedy, himself, states that he was “twenty years of age” (*Legends of Mount Leinster*, p.171), which would make the year 1821, but in *Evenings in the Duffrey*, p.27., he states that he was nineteen, which would make the year 1820. Kennedy intimates (*Evenings in the Duffrey*, p.409), that he was master of Tombrick school from 1820–3. However, Delaney puts his arrival at Tombrick as being a year earlier, at 1819, based on Kennedy's account (*Evenings in the Duffrey*, p.1) of receiving the proposal that he teach at Tombrick, at the funeral of Bishop, Dr. Ryan – which Delaney gives as March, 1819 (Delaney, 1964, 28-29).

⁸⁷ ibid. p.38. We might also bear in mind Kennedy's assertion that he taught at Tombrick from 1820–1823 (*Evenings in the Duffrey*, p. 409), but allow for Delaney's assertion that Kennedy was a year behind in his recollection.

⁸⁸ This institution was the Society for the Promotion of Education of the poor of Ireland, better known as the Kildare Place Society (1811–1831). See Delaney, 1964, 34; and Delaney, 1983, 53–4).

⁸⁹ Cf. the 1826 publication of “Resolutions on Education in the Diocese of Ferns,” *The Past: The Organ of the Uí Cinsealaigh Historical Society*, No. 7 (1964, 139–40). See also, Delaney, (1964, 34).

Dublin University Magazine (to which he contributed for twenty years (Delaney, 1964, 25). Under the same pseudonym of Harry Whitney, his first published book was *Legends of Mount Leinster* (1855) (ibid., 55). The first two thirds, and final segment, are set, mainly, at his godmother's fireside during his time at Tombrick (c.1819-22). The remainder consists of a detailed account of life at the Kildare Place Society in Dublin (c.1822–31), including pedagogical techniques, and a humourous description of the vexed life of a librarian in Patrick Street.

Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts was published in 1866, and, as is noted by Delaney, was composed in the form of Crofton Croker's *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland* (1825), but "stories are told, for the most part, in the dialect of the Wexford peasantry" (ibid., 75). *The Banks of the Boro* was wholly or mostly finished by 1856, but was not published until 1867 (ibid., 72), and is set in the Castleboro area of the mid-west (1817–8). *Evenings in the Duffrey* was published in 1869 (ibid.), and is a more detailed reprise of the aforementioned *Legends of Mount Leinster* (1855). *The Fireside Stories of Ireland* was published in 1870, and by correlating placenames mentioned in other books, it is likely that the stories in this 1870 publication originated in Kennedy's native Wexford. According to James Delaney (ibid., 76), the only other books from Kennedy were *The Bardic Stories of Ireland*, and *The Book of Irish Anecdotes* (1872), but these are not of much value to any investigation of Irish fragments in the Hiberno-English of Co. Wexford.

3.22.4 Kennedy's literary style and its wider literary context

In conjunction with the more succinct description of Kennedy's work (3.22.1 above), Delaney sets Kennedy's writings in a tradition of "Irish" [i.e., Hiberno-English] fiction', which began with Maria Edgeworth's novel, *Castle Rackrent* (1800), as well as subsequent writers, Hall, Maxwell, Lover, Lever, Crofton-Croker, the Banims, Griffin, and Carleton, who all paid close attention to the world of the Irish peasantry, including culture, mannerisms and Hiberno-English idiosyncrasies.⁹⁰ Delaney notes that it was the writing of the above authors, as well as the encouragement of his friend, la Fanu, which inspired Kennedy to put his own knowledge and memories of Irish rural life on record, as well as collecting and

⁹⁰ For Edgeworth's influence on Kennedy, see Delaney, 1964, 41; for the influence of Griffin, Lover, and Carleton, see Kennedy (1870, 166–70); for the influence of Crofton Croker, see ibid (132). For influence of Michael Banim, see Delaney (1964, 53), and Banim's *Crohoor of the Billhook* is mentioned in Kennedy (1867, 88).

writing about the experiences of others; and that this inspiration happened at a time (after the Famine) when it seemed like Irish society was undergoing a massive cultural shift (ibid., 57).

3.22.5 Kennedy and Irish

As mentioned in 3.22.1 above, it is in these legends, and the everyday speech of many of the characters, that evidence of the Irish language in Hiberno-English is recorded by Kennedy. The notes given by him at the end of *The Banks of the Boro* (1867) are testament to his taking the representation of vernacular vocabulary quite seriously, and perhaps as part of his general folkloristic endeavour. His brief comment on (apparently Wexford) Irish pronunciation, also is evidence of his aural acquaintance with the living language: “The diphthong *ea* is never pronounced in Irish as it is heard in *meat*. It is sounded sometimes as *ay* in *day*, and sometimes as *a* in *calf*” (Kennedy, 1855, ix).

Kennedy’s texts also have much to offer us in terms of understanding the state of Irish in Wexford in the early-nineteenth century and attitudes towards the language. Delaney tells us that he is certain that Kennedy’s “knowledge of Irish was limited to a few words and phrases that were current in the English spoken in his district in his day, and that his knowledge of Irish was of the most general and vaguest kind in spite of the fact that Irish was generally spoken by the peasantry round about him” (Delaney, 1983, 64). That there was Irish all about Kennedy in the second decade of the nineteenth century is evident when we cross-reference his whereabouts with reports from Trotter (in 1812), and the Shaw Mason *Parochial Survey* (1814–9). As we have already seen in Chapter 2.8.5–7 above, according to Trotter’s report, at the time, Irish was the *lingua franca* at the fair in Newtownbarry (Bunclody), which is the urban centre of Duffrey (where most of Kennedy’s writing is set); and the *Parochial Survey* tells us that Irish was the primary language of the Church of Ireland parish of Killegney, where Kennedy grew up, and where *The Banks of the Boro* is set.

This apparent disparity can be explained by Kennedy’s being part of the vanguard Catholic class in Wexford, and east Leinster, more generally, which had actively forsaken Irish in the second half of the eighteenth century (Ó Háinle, 1994, §2.1). In other words, Kennedy was part of a nascent and aspirant Catholic middle-class which took pride in assimilating to the norms of the ascendant or dominating English culture (cf. Delaney, 1964, 13, 23, 34, 40; 1983, 58), and as such, was among the first Irish Catholic children to receive a formal education – i.e., in the class-room setting that we would recognise today – which was patronised, sponsored, and often run by Protestants (Delaney, 1964, 19–20; 1983, 51); and as

in all such known cases, these established schools had instruction through the medium of English (Ó Háinle, 1994, §2.4).

As for Kennedy's first-hand encounters with Irish speakers, at least two of his three (albeit oblique) references relate to the poorest members of society – as we might expect. Firstly, one of Kennedy's primary sources (c.1820), Owen Jourdan, a faggot-cutter (cf. Delaney, 1964, 59–60), hints at his own Irish ability when he is quoted by Kennedy as saying, when wondering about the etymology of the River Slaney, “we say ‘*Slaintha*’ for health, when the Irish gets uppermost” (Kennedy, 1855, 11); secondly, he recalls “a version of the legend given by a servant girl, who came from the Roer in Kilkenny, and had only slight knowledge of English” (Kennedy, 1866, 39);⁹¹ thirdly, Delaney notes another instance where reference is made in Kennedy's writing to an apparent native Irish speaker: “This worldly and unedifying song (‘The Shandaine’ < *An Seandaine*) was versified from a literal translation of the Irish version by the writer's most obliging Wexford friend who chooses to call himself Aodh Beag” (Kennedy, 1867, 47, cit. Delaney, 1983, 80).

The relationship of the native (poorer) Irish-speaking classes to their betters is keenly illustrated in the following passage:

We sat at dinner at a table necessarily large, for it had to accommodate twelve individuals. The head of the house and the eldest daughter used a smaller one near the fire. One distinguishing feature of the meal-hour was that the conversation never ceased. A subject was started, probably at the upper table, it travelled to the lower one, and passed from tongue to tongue, everyone adjusting it after his or her peculiar taste; and finally it was rounded off or, got the finishing-touch, from one of the labourers, or Owen Jourdan, the hereditary faggot-cutter of the Duffrey (Kennedy, 1869, 3).

The world portrayed here is one in which everyone knows their place, but the use of the phrase “hereditary faggot-cutter” betrays a particular class hierarchy that is also apparent in the course of the typical conversation described. Not only were the Irish-speaking labourers not setting the agenda, but as is clear from Kennedy's works throughout, the evening's entertainment at such well-to-do houses was through the medium of English. The

⁹¹ The Rower / *An Robhar* is close to the Kilkenny-Wexford border, not far from New Ross (logainm.ie), s.v.).

bilingual labourers, being at the bottom of the pecking order, knew their place, and as with Owen Jourdan, spoke English, if they could.⁹²

One anecdote given by Kennedy gives us a glimpse of the determination of Irish speakers to speak English, despite the communicative difficulties that their lack of proficiency in the language necessarily entailed. Kennedy records Owen Jourdan as saying:

You heard of Shan Risthard [‘John Richard’] of Ballyphilip?’ ‘Oh! who did not hear of Shan that would never speak the Irish he knew so well; but would for ever be making offers at the English, though he couldn’t put three words of it after one another. He meant to tell a neighbour’s child one day that ‘she had a nose like a weesel’, but he could only settle the Irish sounds in something like an English form: so says he, ‘Och, you lazy *Ceolán* (‘cry-baby’) (c hard), you have a sock on you like a planet (Kennedy, 1869, 395).

Elsewhere, an account is given of the efforts of an Irish poet to come to terms with the English language out of necessity, the point of the story being to ridicule and make fun of his shortcomings in mastering English norms of speech. The anecdote is set in the late 1770s, with the poet, Peter, bringing a complaint to the local magistrate regarding stolen turf.⁹³ From the outset, the description of him is prejudiced:

a tall ungainly man, with his big coat fastened like a cloak, and the sleeves dangling down [...] his forehead and eyes showed the poet, but the lower part of the face was of a weakly character. His whole air and appearance showed he was fonder of wool-gathering and dreaming on his two legs than tailoring or working in his little field (Kennedy, 1869, 284). Peter was attempting to transfer his poetry skills from Irish to English, to better impress the magistrate.

However, Peter had difficulties in switching language codes, and explains it as follows:

⁹² This is not to say that the labourers were not, for the most part, complicit in the hierarchy and concomitant destruction of the Irish language, albeit through expediency.

⁹³ The narrator effectively tells us that the events happened some time after events recounted involving Donogha (Kennedy, 1869, 279). This refers to an account of events surrounding Donogha Rua forty-five years before the narration (*ibid.*, 188), and since the relevant books themselves, *Legends of Mount Leinster*, and *Evenings in the Duffrey*, are set in 1820–1, we can estimate the account of Peter the poet to be set in the late 1770s.

I composed them [verses] in Irish, but of course, I was then forced to find out English words. My sorrow on it for English, for thoughts don't look the same in it all, at all; and the music instead of moving with fine free strides, seems as if it was a horse striving to get on with his two fore legs spancelled (ibid., 285). To aid his case, he recited a praise poem to the magistrate which, in equal measure, disparaged the alleged offender. For illustration, the fifth verse is included here, as follows:

Now this Jones of Achasallach is a monkey-faced rascal
He is swarthy in the face, and admirable yalla
Not so by Adam Colclough [the majistrate], he's both white and red
He's handsome when he's dressed, and even handsomer in bed" (ibid., 186).

We are told that the recitation had the effect of causing the audience to “roar out laughing”, and to compound matters, the poet apparently thought the reaction related to phonetic poetic convention, rather than to the juxtapositions and metaphors which sound strange in English, at least: “You need not be grinning, Simon; if I did not end the two last lines with the same letter, it's yourselves would be the first with your stupid jokes and remarks, as you always are, when I only mind to have the same vowels in the end” (ibid.).

3.23 Yola sources⁹⁴

3.23.1 Overview

The Dialect of Forth and Bargy (DÓM) contains a Yola-English glossary (DÓM, 36–73), which consists of an amalgamation of wordlists compiled by up to four collectors, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, but compiled primarily by Jacob Poole (1774–1827), and which has been edited to include probable and possible etymologies by the two modern scholars (T. P. Dolan and Diarmuid Ó Muirithe).⁹⁵ The publication also contains songs and metrical pieces from the same collectors, as well as “A Congratulatory Address to Earl Mulgrave, 1836” (ibid., 92), which is a rare example of a Yola prose text. Some verses of a Yola keen, many phrases, and a wordlist containing sixteen words, were collected by

⁹⁴ A more general discussion of the early Hiberno-English dialect of Yola is contained in Chapter 2.3 above.

⁹⁵ The manuscript on which this publication is based is at the Library of the Society of Friends, Dublin, as MS Y M, Historical Collection, 4 N 2 (cit. *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, s.v. Jacob Poole: Cambridge University Press): <https://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a7420>

Kathleen Browne, and published in an article, “The Ancient Dialect of the Baronies of Forth and Bargo, Co. Wexford” (Browne, 1927, 127–37).

The final primary source for Yola is a manuscript by William O’Neill (1876) (NLI, Ms. 10.674). This latter source has copious amounts of what appears to be editorial notes in the form of highly idiosyncratic Irish text, but the hand is not O’Neill’s, but rather, that of the scholars, Joseph Lloyd Senior and Junior, and as such, even if they were not so indecipherable (or “eccentric” as the library’s note describes them), it is doubtful that they would add anything to our understanding of native Irish in Wexford. In terms of O’Neill’s own writing (which is in blue ink, as opposed to the black ink of the Irish script), there are few useful examples of Irish survivals.

3.23.2 Irish and Yola

It appears that at least 150 words from Yola are Irish survivals. Some of these may have been cocooned in the dialect from its early development in the thirteenth century (e.g., the aforementioned *abhac* > “amach, ammache” ‘dwarf’ (3.20.2 above) with retention of an albeit altered consonant which is generally dropped in Modern Irish. Also, as mentioned earlier (2.3.1 above), *snaoisín* > “sneesheen”, ‘snuff’, is a borrowing from Irish that can be dated to the seventeenth century. Other examples are words which have been borrowed, both by Yola and Irish, from Old French, borrowings which may have occurred around the same time as each other: for example, Yola “bawkoon,” Early Modern Irish *bagún*, ‘bacon’ (McManus, 1994, §11.2), both from Old French *bacon* (cf. DÓM, 36). There are also about a hundred possible survivals from words whose origin is unknown, but which might have come from Irish dialects, for example, *brogeen* (Browne, 1927, 130) < ? Ir. *bróigín*, ‘little shoe’.⁹⁶

3.24 Newspaper Wordlists (1952)

3.24.1. Overview

In March, 1952, two anonymously compiled wordlists of mostly Irish survivals in Hiberno-English were published in Wexford newspapers (*The Enniscorthy Guardian*, and

⁹⁶ This is a possibility suggested to me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney.

The People), presenting 301 examples of Irish survivals from the Hiberno-English vernacular between them.⁹⁷

3.24.2 The northern list

The first list appeared in *The Enniscorthy Guardian*, March 22nd, page 3, and contains 228 words and phrases collected in north Wexford, with 184 being Irish survivals. The collector has consciously sought out Irish survivals, and says so in the introduction, but says that such words “are now seldom heard”. It appears that this wordlist was sent to the paper in handwriting, but certain misinterpretations of the manuscript are apparent in the typeset of the publication: e.g., “danshagh” < *óinseach*, ‘(female fool)’; “rallicn” = “a hungry animal” [cf. Ir. *ráilleán* > “rallion”. At other times, it can be difficult to tell the misredacted from the authentic phonetic variant: e.g., “scrawn” < *scram*, ‘(to scratch)’; “slawn” < *slán* ‘(smear)’; “goob” < *cúb*, ‘(chicken/hen-coop)’, etc.

At least twenty words in the northern list have an unclear etymology: e.g., “cunoo”, ‘(a corner or narrow space)’; “ribber”, ‘(a run of a root)’; but cf. Ir. *rib*, ‘a hair’]; “sheraw”, ‘(a stagger)’; “smaan,” ‘(a disease of cattle)’; “stang,” ‘(a rood of ground)’; “slang,” ‘(a long narrow field)’; “scrill,” ‘(a small potato)’; “keout,” ‘(a treacly person)’; “tang,” ‘(a leather strap’; [?])’; “crounash,” ‘(a spancel for a cow)’; “spin,” ‘(a cow’s teeth)’; and “lob-scouse,” ‘(a sauce), ’ etc. Many more examples are clearly not Irish survivals: e.g., “blain” (SME < OE); “griddle” (SME < AF); “noggin” (SME < OE); “gausey” (NF); “sgunce” (cf. Dutch *schans* (earthwork – online etymology, s.v. *ensconce*)); “shag” (SME < ?OE); “fetch” (SME); “ruck” (SME < MHG), “tally” (SME < AF); “flummery” (SME < Welsh); “oxter” (SME), “croodle” (variant of SME ‘*canoodle*’), etc.⁹⁸ Occasionally, we find a hybrid, for example, an English word with an Irish diminutive suffix, such as “pinkeen”, ‘a sprat’ (English *pink* + Ir. *-ín*).⁹⁹

⁹⁷ In the introduction to the second/southern list, the compiler mentions that s/he read the previous wordlist in *The People* (a newspaper of the south-east), as opposed to the *Enniscorthy Guardian*. Examples by Diarmuid Ó Muirthe (2000) which he accredits simply to *The People*, are also found in either of the 1952 lists, and so it is probable that these lists were his source regarding all such references. Thus, it is probable that both lists also appeared in *The People* paper

⁹⁸ All these examples, except “croodle” have been cross-referenced with <https://www.etymonline.com> s.v. For ‘croodle’, see Chapter 5. SME = Standard Modern English; OE = Old English; and MHG = Middle High German; AF = Anglo-French; and ONF = Old Northern French.

⁹⁹ Such hybrid words also occur in the previously mentioned Hiberno-English texts, but in those texts, they are not presented as being Irish survivals.

3.24.3. The southern list: contrasts and comparisons

The second list appears in *The Enniscorthy Guardian*, March 29th, (page 6), containing 187 examples (including 134 Irish survivals) of words and phrases still “in everyday use amongst the older people of these Baronies” (i.e., Forth and Bargy, in the south-east and south of the county). The southern writer is writing in reaction to the northern wordlist, since s/he noted that the main difference between the two lists is in the pronunciation of the suffix *-án*. In the introduction, the same collector also writes: “I have never heard several of the words which you publish spoken in these parts, and I expect the same applies to my list in North Wexford”. Indeed, 114 words appear in the northern list, but not in the southern list;¹⁰⁰ and 71 words and phrases appear in the southern list, but not in the northern list.¹⁰¹ Some words in the north Wexford list are not found anywhere else in Hiberno-English sources from anywhere in Wexford: e.g., “goaraan” < *gorán* (‘a hot coal’; cf. DHE, s.v. *gorán*); “boll” < *bail*, (‘state, appearance’); “shiltagh” < *silteach* (‘careless’); and “gibbagh” < *giobach* (‘a rag’), etc. and other examples in the northern, but not the southern, list, are found in other northern sources, but not in any southern source: e.g., “bottyogue” < *baiteog* (‘a small stick’), which is recorded as “batóg” in Ferns (NFC S 890, 72); “geogagh” (‘a rogue’), which is found throughout Kennedy’s work as “geochach” (e.g., Kennedy, 1869, 114; 1870, 95); “liew” < *liú* (‘lowing of a cow’), which is again found in Kennedy as the verbal forms “lued” (Kennedy, 1870, 36), “lues” (Kennedy, 1869, 52), and “lue” (ibid., 170). It is worth noting, however, that many of the words or phrases in one list, but absent in the other, can be found elsewhere from other sources in that end of the county. For example, for words only in the northern list, we can see examples from other sources in the south in figure 20.

¹⁰⁰ These words and phrases are as follows: graug, gaug, spaug, scrawn, lawagh, shiltagh, gibbagh, plaikeen, boccagh, geogagh, omadhawn, gomillya, liew, goaraan, groothaun, griddle, griskin, mischaun, piggin, grug, reesk, gosher, togher, cunoo, ribber, cluvver, girrogue, bir, buddagh, shooraun, sheeve, pluck, sheraw, gillab, trummaun, smaán, laige, coor, grawagh, stubbagh, stang, slang, boll, coreesk, drolleen, bruss, prawkaus, gowlyogue, bottyogue, mockdawn, pleska, raheen, sruleen, moantyeen, ruaig, mullawn, moocawn, lusnagh, prohogue, clauber, phuddagh, spaul, scrill, bun, gannatt, keout, guig, pillakeen, brack, fack, slane, ruck, roolyaan, srumachaun, iricky, snosh, keolaun, skib, kigger, lough, cooagh, score, tally, scraw, boltyeen, tang, rinnyach, crownlash, clownyeen, gad, goddhee, rallion, asker, cant, sowan seeds, borragh, snob, kish, scathe, poostyeen, boolya, taulyogue, geeg, croodle, croost, slig, spin, dullachaun, scrig, glugger, polthogue, cugger, lob scouse, pillilieu, moryah, cark, and sharoosagh.

¹⁰¹ These words and phrases are as follows: drigeen, angish, banshee, ballcoot, beesens, briss, boneyeen, baldoon, curlag, cul, cota more, coleen, cullooder, cawchee, cleevawn, clock, comeheather, chi, dart, dull, eolas, fassan spittal, faolach, fraughawns, gom, gombeen, greeshagh, graanyogue, grummagh, gob, gunshelaan, gawbalyune, holeyaan, hushlin, heyats, kithogue, lapeen, lepracawn, lock, leef, mah duh, polths, rawagh, roacheen, spigh, snew, stife, spiritogue, spalpeen, slowack, shamrogue, sconce, seem, shag, moyther, meeraam, stub, shee geeh, smithereens, sheeree share, sawk, shillelagh, sowkans, skoolyune, sagairt, srangles, skeran, tullavawn, van a tigh, whick, Na bac leis, and Omadhawn.

Figure 21: Examples of other southern sources for northern list words

<u>Irish</u>	<u>northern list</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>other southern source</u>
<i>Gág</i>	gaug	(‘crack in skin’)	/ga:g/ (DÓM, 25)
<i>Lách</i>	lawagh	(‘pleasant’)	/la:k/ (RÓS, s.v.)
<i>Bacach</i>	bocagh	(‘beggar’)	bocher (Hall, 1847, 85).
<i>Amalach</i>	ommalagh	(‘awkward’)	amaluck /'amlək/ (DÓM, 21) ¹⁰²
<i>Gamairle</i>	gomillya	(‘fool’)	/gaməliə/ (RÓS, s.v.)
<i>Meascán</i>	mischaun	(‘knob (of butter)’)	muskawn (in Yola: DÓM, 58)
<i>Pigín</i>	piggin	(‘a pale’)	piggon (NFC S 879, 317)
<i>Griog</i>	grig	(‘to tease’)	grig (in Yola: DÓM, 49). ¹⁰³
<i>Riasc</i>	reesk	(‘march’)	/'ri:.əsk/ and /'ri:.əjk/ (RSS)
<i>Tóchar</i>	togher	(‘causeway’)	/to:xθr/ (RÓS, s.v.).
<i>Bodach</i>	buddagh	/'bodθk/	(RÓS, s.v.; ‘buddaugh’ (Hall, 1847, 269)
<i>Borrach</i>	‘borragh’	(‘a wisp’)	‘barrough’ (Yola: Browne, 1927, 136)
<i>Bior</i>	bir’,	(‘pin’)	/b(ə)ɹ/ (Paddy Berry); ¹⁰⁴

Found in the south-west, but with no example in the south or south-east

<i>Spág</i>	spawg	(‘a big foot’)	spág (NFC S 870, 105)
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Forty-one words are more or less identical in spelling and definitions given in both north and south lists.¹⁰⁵ One of these is so remarkably identical as to indicate that the southern writer was influenced by the northern writer: namely the repetition of the unusual meaning given to “bow” = “spirit”; < Ir. *badhbh* ‘the banshee’.

Forty-five more words are shared between the two lists, but with slightly different spellings and usually slightly different definitions, e.g.,? *áilleáin* > “holeyaan” = “worthless fellow” (south), vs. “oalyaan” = “worthless fellow” (north); and *balbhán* > “bullawn” =

¹⁰² Another example is found, also in Bargy, as /aməliθx/, RÓS, s.v.).

¹⁰³ An example of *griog* > “grig” is also found in Whitty (1986–7, 42), in the Barony of Bargy.

¹⁰⁴ This pronunciation was phonetically transcribed from Paddy Berry by Sascha Santschi-Cooney, who generously shared it with me. The example sentence given by Paddy is ‘the wind would cut the ber off you’ – with *bior* hear apparently being a metaphor for the nose (cf. NFC S 890, 72, in Ferns, in north-west Wexford).

¹⁰⁵ These words are: ommalagh, flahoolagh, park, noggin, cruiskeen, brogue, causey, blain, keerogue, puck, call, minnigower, spidogue, shag, foster, scollop, bow (a spirit), fetch, potyeen, loob, coob, caubeen, streel, boreen, tilly, meelia, sugawn, snig, pinkeen, cree, drigeen, cleave, oxter, meeg, modda rue, boss, skeow, gale, pishrogue, and flummary,

“dumb” (south), vs. “bullavawn” = “a dumb person” (north), etc.; “bonyeen” = “small pig” (south), vs. “a young pig” (north); and *bodhrán* > “booraan” = “a sheepskin” (south), “booraun” = “a sieve covered with sheepskin”, etc.; ? > “rawagh” = “a rough fellow” (north), and “untidy” (south); *ainniseoir* > “angishore” = “a wretched person” (north), and “weak person” (south); *bábhún* > “baun” = “a farmyard” (north), “field in front of house” (south);¹⁰⁶ *rí-rá* > “reeraw” = “a sing-song” (north), and “uproar” (south); and “raum” = “grab” (north), and “prod” (south), etc.; but most of these can be found, with spellings or definitions matching those in the northern list, in other lists in the south. Other differences in meaning between the lists are those found in all parts of the county and many parts of the country: For instance, in the northern list, “puss” = “lips”, but in the southern list “puss” = “face”. (cf. FGB, *pús*).

Seventy-two words appear in the southern list, but not in the northern list. Again, most of these are to be found in other sources in the north: e.g., “van a tigh” < (*a*) *b(h)ean an tí*, (‘voc. phrase, ‘woman of the house’) which is found in abundance in other northern sources, e.g., “The vanithee” (Kennedy, 1866, 61; 1867, 113, 147, 159, 203, 205), “*bean a tigh*” (Kennedy, 1869, 231), “the bhanithee” (Kennedy, 1855, 44, 58, 89; 1869, 32, 37, 42, 45, 280), etc. Words exclusively recorded in the southern list, and not found in any northern sources (excluding standard words such as survivals of *cailín* (‘girl’), *cál* (‘cabbage’), etc.), include “cawchee” = “a stork” < *cáitín* (cf. DIN, *Cáitín Rua* in east Galway); “curlag” < *corlag*; “gawbalyune” < ? *gabarlún*, etc. Of the 187 words in the Forth & Bargy wordlist, thirteen are of probable English origin.¹⁰⁷

3.25 Other Hiberno-English sources

3.25.1 Mrs. S. C. Hall

Hall’s *Sketches of Irish Life and Character* is a compilation of short stories which was first published in 1829, and is, for the most part, based in the baronies of Bargy and Forth, and in particular in the parish of Bannow, where she was raised (Clarke & Sturgeon, 2009). Hall’s wealth as a source comes from her keen eye and ear for the customs, mannerisms and dialect of the Irish peasantry, and – as the title of the book suggests – a concern for

¹⁰⁶ My uncle, Thomas Murphy, from Clonroche, once remarked on the fact that his crowd (farmers) always called the farmyard a bawn, but we at home call it ‘the haggard’. Just in front of the farmhouse and outhouses at home is called ‘the street’, although an outsider would think its probably part of the farmyard. Ir. *bábhún* > H-E. *bawn*

¹⁰⁷ These words of probable English origin are: *ballcoot*, *beesens*. (i.e., beastings), *blain*, *cooler*, *clock*, *chi*, *fetch*, *lapeen* (lapwing), *oxter*, *shag*, *spunk*, *stub*, and *stife*).

preserving such authenticity in her presentation of her peasant characters – i.e., in the genre and style of her contemporary, Maria Edgeworth, which influenced later writers such as Banin and Carleton etc.(cf. Delaney, 1964, 55).¹⁰⁸

Although Hall’s dialogue has at least 143 examples of Irish survivals in Hiberno-English, mostly, her writing merely hints at the existence of the Irish language among the lower classes. Hall has “an old keener” play a bit-part in one of her stories (1847, 146), and in reference to a gloomy wake, she writes: “The best ‘keeners’ were collected, but their hired cries were not heeded” (ibid., 210–1).

In a passage of conversation, Hall has an English woman take umbridge at something said by an Irish woman because the former did not understand “Irish metaphors”, and says: “I don’t understand Irish... and I think I make many mistakes for that reason”, but the gist of that conversation (ibid., 258–9) seems to indicate that “Irish” here means Hiberno-English. Similarly, when Hall refers to “Irish ditties” being sung in the vicinity of the Forth Mountain (ibid., 265), we cannot be at all sure that such songs were in the Irish language.

3.25.2 The work of Diarmuid Ó Muirthe

In 1978, Diarmaid Ó Muirthe, in his research on Yola, collected from six sources, three from Bargo (in the south) and three from Forth (in the south-east). He published the data, including phonetic transcriptions, in a wordlist, in *The Dialect of Forth and Bargo* (DÓM, 21–30) and 126 examples from that wordlist appear to be Irish survivals, either directly from Irish, or via Yola.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, Ó Muirthe published *A Dictionary of Anglo-Irish* (2000) in which he includes several more examples he had collected from elsewhere in the county, including twenty-seven from Margaret Whitty, Horeswood (in the south-west); ten from Frank Murray, New Ross (in the mid-west), and four from Paddy Cullen, Gorey district (in the north-east).

In *The Dialect of Forth and Bargo* (1996), Ó Muirthe’s broad phonetic description based on IPA (DÓM, 17), is undoubtedly useful, not least because it includes narrow elements such as information of syllable stress e.g., *cailleach* > “colyock” /'kaɫʲæk/ (ibid., 21). The same example also shows Ó Muirthe’s useful distinction between the back open

¹⁰⁸ Her interest in the folk culture of the peasantry is exemplified in her co-writer *Ireland, its Scenery, Character &c.* (1840, 1843), which is a detailed observation on the customs of the Irish peasantry in the south-east.

¹⁰⁹ Eighty-nine appear to be obvious Irish survivals, thirty-seven are possible Irish survivals, and 2 are examples of English words being given an Irish diminutive suffix.

vowel (a) and the front open vowel (a), the latter often being used by others, by default, to represent both vowel sounds (cf. Breatnach, 1947, §420 (p.116)). Ó Muirthe confines other narrow descriptions to a more detailed general prose description of the Hiberno-English of Forth and Bargy in the introduction to his glossary (ibid., 17–21), but from this very description, it is apparent that the examples of Irish survivals, such as that of *cailleach* (just mentioned), need to be adjusted so that the final consonant is a voiceless velar fricative [x], rather than a voiceless velar plosive [k]. In Ó Muirthe’s own words, “.../k/ is used always. It may be worth noting that this variation between /k/, /c/ and /x/ is to be heard particularly in words which come from Irish, e.g., /bɑːʃək/ (bawshuk); /ˈkɑːlɪək/ (colyock)” (DÓM, 18).¹¹⁰ Indeed, in keeping with the same phonetic ‘rule’ employed by speakers of the local vernacular who are least affected by linguistic standardisation, this use of the fricative [x] in an intervocalic context also holds true, i.e., in contexts such as “aracaun” /ˈeːrəkən/ (DÓM, 21 > /ˈeːrəxən/.¹¹¹

Similarly, adjustment needs to be made to replace the designated velar plosive [k] with palatalised velar fricative [ç] etc., or palatalised velar plosive [c], where the velar plosive occurs in the proximity of any front vowel, including an open front unrounded vowel [a] or [a:]. As Ó Muirthe puts it:

“In initial position prior to a front vowel; in final position after a front vowel; and in medial position in different cases in the vicinity of a front vowel, the above symbols indicate palatal consonants, or consonants which are semi-palatal/semi-velar. In other contexts, they (k, g, ŋ) are velar consonants (ibid.).¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Although Ó Muirthe’s sources fluctuated between the broad voiceless velar plosive, affricate, and fricative at the end of a word, it is possible that what he was noticing was a transition from a more localised form of Hiberno-English to a more homogenous type, as is to be expected with the influence of radio and television in the mid-twentieth century. I have private recordings of speakers who never use a plosive in this context, but always a voiceless velar fricative, regardless of whether the word is an Irish survival or as English as Henry VIII. The two speakers are Chris Sinnott (1937-), and his cousin, Richard Sinnott (1944-2020), both born and raised in Sigginstown, Tacumshin, in the barony of Forth, south-east Wexford). Examples include ‘rock’ /ɹɑx/, ‘lough’ [lɑx] < *loch*, and ‘stuck’ [stʰɑx];

¹¹¹ For this too, I rely for corroboration on my native knowledge of the traditional dialect, including speech patterns by Chris Sinnott and Richard Sinnott mentioned in the previous note, as well as many individuals, such as James Sinnott (1918–89) who have no recordings, private or otherwise, to leave to linguistic posterity. Whereas, I have never found an example of *arcán* (unlike Ó Muirthe), the same sound – in similar context – is to be found, as expected, in *buachalán* [ˈbuːxəˌlɑːn] (still general in Tacumshin). This ‘rule’ of ⟨k⟩ > ⟨x⟩ in intervocalic contexts is uniform in Hiberno-English words, e.g., ‘looking’ > [ˈlʊx(ə)n], ‘rocking’ [ˈɹɑx(ə)n], and the once ubiquitous ‘fucker’ [fʊx(ə)ɹ] not necessarily pejorative) – all using the cardinal ⟨u⟩.

¹¹² The palatalised form of the velar fricative is used in other contexts, e.g., ‘Jack’ also (> Ir. *Jeaic*) [çʲaːç], Ballyboy [ˌbal.əˈbuːəj], < Ir. *Baile Uí Bhuaigh* (CÓC), etc. Indeed, in the traditional Hiberno-English dialect of Forth & Bargy (at least as spoken in the twentieth century), the ⟨k⟩ plosive is not used in any context, always yielding to the fricative: e.g., ‘calf’ [çɑːf]; *Carne* < *Cairn* and [çɑːɹn], (‘corn’.

In his *A Dictionary of Anglo-Irish*, Ó Muirthe’s phonetic description can be ambiguous. For example, *stíall* > “skjaul” (DHE, s.v.), appears to be a broad IPA representation, but is only presented as ordinary text.

3.25.3 Wordlists from *The Gaelic Journal* (1902)

In 1901, a competition, “*Feis Laigheann agus Midhe*,” was advertised, with the contestants expected to record as many words as possible of Irish or “doubtful’ origin” used in the Hiberno-English of Leinster. The resulting wordlists were published in the *Gaelic Journal* of the following year. 191 examples refer explicitly to Co. Wexford, with 173 being Irish survivals, and fourteen being of uncertain origin. Most of the words heard in Wexford were collected by Lorcán ÓTuathail (*Gaelic Journal*, 1902, 41–2) with 125 examples. ÓTuathail appears to be based in south Wicklow, so it is likely that most of the words he collected in Wexford were from the north of the county. 36 examples, explicitly from Wexford, are supplied by Fionnghalach (Dublin; *ibid.*, 141–3) and 30 more are given by an anonymous collector (*ibid.*, 126–8). Don S. Piatt is critical of these lists for their total neglect of syllable stress (Piatt, 1933, 11) and for other inaccuracies, including representation of *-ach* > “-ock”, when the fricative is still clearly in use in Wicklow and Dublin (*ibid.*, 14). Given the previous discussion on Ó Muirthe’s IPA (3.25.2, above), it is probable that the same misrepresentation of velar fricatives as velar plosives is also the case south of the Wicklow-Wexford border.

3.25.4 Riobárd Ó Scannláin

A wordlist containing 116 examples of Irish survivals was collected by Riobárd Ó Scannláin, mostly from the Bannow area, in the barony of Bargy (i.e., south Wexford) and published in *Éigse* v, ii (1945–7, 102–7). Tomás de Bháldraithe is responsible for the phonetic transcription (*ibid.*, 102), but presumably, he was working from Ó Scannláin’s own verbal approximations of what he heard when in Bannow. The result appears to be a skewed representation which requires adjustment to be useful.

Firstly, two types of ‘a’ and ‘á’-sounds, respectively, are represented: a) an unrounded near-open front vowel [æ] and [æ:], and [a] and [a:], which means there is no mention of the back open vowel [ɑ] and [ɑ:], which we know, from other sources, is an integral part of the

Irish survivals in the Hiberno-English in the region. For example, Ó Muirthe describes the two types of ‘a’-sounds as being close enough to being cardinal vowels, with one being slightly retracted from being a front open vowel (i.e., [a], and [a:]), and the other being slightly advanced from being a back open vowel (i.e., [ɑ], and [ɑ:] DÓM, 20). Moreover, when de Bháldraithe is describing the phonemes that accompany his symbols, as expected, he equates [æ] with an unrounded near-open front vowel, but he equates [a] to an open centre vowel [a] (RÓS, s.v.). In effect, it appears that between them, Ó Scannláin and de Bháldraithe have over-advanced the back-vowel, and erroneously raised the front vowel, and as such we should read [æ] > [a], so that /æŋiʃ/ > /aŋiʃ/ etc., and [a] > [ɑ], so that /batji:n/ > /batji:n/ etc.¹¹³

Ó Scannláin’s reporting of the diphthong [au] may also need to be taken with some circumspection, since [əu] is much more widespread in the Hiberno-English of Wexford, including among older traditional speakers.¹¹⁴ Among the words affected are *badhbh*, *gabhlóg*, *stíall*, *sleamhac*, and *tabhairt* (RÓS, s.v.).

As with Ó Muirthe (3.25.2) and the wordlists in *The Gaelic Journal* (3.25.3), Ó Scannláin’s velar plosive [k] instead of the velar fricative [ç] or [x] is questionable. The same adjustments or transpositions are probably necessary, also, for the voiced equivalents of these velarised phonemes, [g], and even [ɟ] > [ɣ], and [j]. The final adjustment in the Ó Scannláin/de Bháldraithe description, is that of the alveolar rhotic approximant [r] instead of the retroflex approximant [ɻ] as described by Ó Muirthe (DÓM, 18).

3.25.5 Richard Lambert’s collection from Rathangan Parish

Richard Lambert’s *Rathangan, a county Wexford Parish...its emerging story* (1995) is a local publication containing 32 examples of Irish survivals in English (between a wordlist and a list of fieldnames). Lambert supplied many words found in abundance in the region: e.g., *ainnis* > “angish”, *baldún* > “balldoon”, *bainbh* > “bonamh” (Lambert, 1995, 188).

¹¹³ The alternative would be for Ó Scannláin to have heard an open-vowel system in Bannow, in 1944, that is not suggested by any other text from Bannow or anywhere else in Wexford. On the other hand, we know that a back open vowel (ɑ) is highly probable in the following examples where Ó Scannláin reports ⟨a⟩ as the primary vowel in *amalach*, *badara*, *baldún*, *bainbhín*, *bastún*, *bas*, *baitín*, *bán*, *cáilseog*, *garsún*, *lag*, *má*, *macht*, *práiscín*, *sceach*, *sceachóid*, *lab*, *lách*, *speech*, *spreach*, ‘*sprong*’, *támáilseach*, *gamaile*, *stracáilt*, and as the final vowel in *amach*. The presence of ‘*sprong*’ in this list, < ? Middle English *prong*, and with only the open back vowel form used, is confirmation that Ó Scannláin’s account to de Bháldraithe was schematically flawed in terms of the open vowel system.

¹¹⁴ Once more, I am relying on my own knowledge of the dialect, which is my home dialect. The first phoneme of the diphthong – ⟨ə⟩ - with many speakers, has the tongue slightly advanced towards the mid-open vowel position.

Some of the fieldnames he included appear to be from the Carne and Lady’s Island districts of Forth, rather than being from Rathangan in Bargy: e.g., *ard-ghraighneán* > “Hardy-grey-nane” (ibid., 244), is only referred to elsewhere as being in Carne, as /'ha:ɹdi d̪ɹəina:n/ (John Cussins), /'ha:ɹdi g̪ɹina:n/ (Sascha Santschi-Cooney), “The Hardy Grianán” (NFC S 878, 191), and “the hardy-gree-naan” (Byrne, 2002, 85).¹¹⁵ Nonetheless, Lambert does provide rare examples of his own, e.g., *amalach* > “omular” (Lambert, 1995, 189); *brios; diúg* > “juuge” (ibid., 188); and *gobán* > “gobawn “ (ibid., 189), which is the only example of the word to be found in the south-east.

3.25.6 Liam Byrne’s PhD thesis

Liam Byrne completed his PhD thesis (awarded by the Department of Linguistics, TCD) in 2002, and the title of the work is *Change in the Dialect of Forth and Bargy*. The subject of the thesis was the English dialect of Yola, but within this, especially Ch. 5, we find 62 examples of Irish survivals, with another 17 as possible survivals. A significant shortcoming of Byrne’s work is the total absence of phonetic description.

3.25.7 Bessie Ffrench-O’Neill

Sixty-eight examples of Irish survivals come from the south-centre of the county in Bessie Ffrench-O’Neill’s article ‘Across the Fields to School’, for the journal of the Taghmon Historical Society, (2009, 121–5).

3.25.8 Fr. Thomas Butler S.C.

Between ordinary vernacular words and unofficial placenames, Butler’s publication, in 1985, of *A Parish and its People: history of Carrick-on-Bannow, Co. Wexford*, supplies 25 examples of Irish survivals from the Bannow area of Bargy (south Wexford). Butler does not give his sources, but he does provide several examples of Irish survivals not found elsewhere in texts from Bannow. For example, the fieldnames, *an Bábhún Gearr* > “Bawngarr”, *Bábhún na Síog* > “Bawnasheogue”, ? *Baillín an Dhúin* > “Bawleendoon”, *na Gainmhíni* > “Goneens” etc. (Butler, 1985, 220).

¹¹⁵ John Cussins (Carne), gave me this unofficial placename on 2015.7.28.

3.25.9 The Kilmore Journal

More Irish survivals are found in an annual journal, published by Tomhaggard & Mulrankin Muintir na Tíre, between 1972–2000. Articles by Jim Hurley for 1985–6; by Kevin Whitty in the 1986–7 edition; and by Nicky Lambert in the 1987–8 edition, have provided useful examples.¹¹⁶

3.25.10 Don S. Piatt

Don S. Piatt made a useful contribution to our knowledge of the Irish dialects of Leinster (*Dialect in East and Mid-Leinster: Gaelic Survivals*, 1933, second edition 1935, containing placenames as spoken by the people and several hundred local Gaelic words with pronunciation). Wexford is relatively peripheral to Piatt's collecting, but nevertheless, he provides several examples he has personally collected from the north-east and the mid-west of the county.

3.25.11 John Roche's collection

In the past few years, John Roche (Wexford Town) has compiled an unpublished wordlist of 450 examples of local Wexford words in Hiberno-English. He collected the words from his own memories (including of his father, from Caim, in the north-west); from Nick Sheridan (Dungeer, in south-central Wexford); from Pádraic Sinnott (Ferns in the north-west); and from Paddy Berry (south and south-east Wexford). 63 words in the list are certainly Irish survivals, and a further 19, possibly so.¹¹⁷

3.26 Official placenames

The use of official placenames as a potential source for indicators of local phonological features is fraught with difficulties. In particular, the various spellings of the respective placenames are likely to have been devised by scribes with no Irish, or with non-Wexford Irish. This can mean that, not only is the original Irish meaning a matter of guesswork, but that there remains the possibility of an official English spelling having influence on the general pronunciation, and even the local pronunciation of a placename.

¹¹⁶ Kevin Whitty has generously provided me with oral versions of words in his wordlist.

¹¹⁷ John Roche has generously shared with me the pronunciations of the words in his wordlist.

However, when the local **pronunciation is** used with caution, and in conjunction with other sources, official placenames can point to, or complement, certain patterns (e.g., cf. 5.1.5 and 5.1.11 for *a*-vowel-sound patterns). Sometimes, the Anglicised spelling of an official placename can be a clear indicator, e.g., *ao* /e:/ in *An Chaol* > Kale (in the west of the south-centre), and *Caológa* > Keeloges (in the eastern part of the south-centre) (see 5.8.5, below). In conjunction with spellings of official placenames, I have used traditional pronunciation as given by older people (which often are markedly different to the official spellings). The oral sources have also been useful in terms of the provision of syllable stress (see Chapter 4, below) In addition to all of the foregoing, historical differences in the spelling of an official placename can point to a shift in pronunciation (e.g., the dropping of a medial consonant, and compensatory diphthongisation, in Ballindinas: see 6.4.6, below).

Chapter 4: Syllable stress

4.1 Surrounding context

4.1.1 Introduction

Traditionally, syllable stress has been seen as the most important distinguishing feature in Irish dialects (cf. O’Rahilly, 1932, 81). In disyllabic words with a long vowel in the final syllable, Old Irish stressed the first syllable. However, up to 1200–1550, with the exception of words with second-syllable stress like *amach*, *isteach*, *anseo*; and compounds such as *tráthnóna*; and loanwords such as *tobac* and *meaisín* – which follow the English stress-pattern (cf. Ó hUiginn, 1994, §2.1 for Connaught Irish, but applicable to all dialects) – lasting changes to this system were happening in different ways in respective dialects (O’Rahilly, 1932, 83); Ua Súilleabháin, 1994, §2.1).

4.1.2 Munster

Whereas back stress refers to stress on the first syllable of a word, or possibly even of stress being brought closer to the beginning of multisyllabic words, ‘forward stress’ occurs when the stress is on the final syllable in a disyllabic word, or on the second or third syllable in a trisyllabic word. The most advanced development of forward stress is to be found in most Munster dialects. If the second syllable of a disyllabic or trisyllabic word contains a long vowel, then the stress is brought forward from the first syllable to be placed on that long vowel (e.g., *arbhar* /əˈru:r/, *ógánach* /oːˈgɑ:nəx/; and if the third syllable contains the only long vowel, then that final syllable gets the stress (e.g., *spealadóir* /,spaləˈdo:r/ (O’Rahilly, 1932, 89; Ua Súilleabháin, 1994, §2.1).¹ In declensional forms where the first and third syllables of a trisyllabic word have long vowels and the last vowel is *í*, then stress is also on the final vowel, e.g., *Muintir na Feothanaí* (Ua Súilleabháin, 1994, §2.1).

¹ O’Rahilly’s example of *arbhar* is particularly useful here, since it demonstrates that syllable stress and spelling are unrelated. In the case of *arbhar*, the intervocalic consonant (after the development of an epenthetic vowel) ‘bh’ has been dropped, and compensatory lengthening has occurred in speech – something which is not apparent in the spelling. Regarding the stress on the final syllable in trisyllabic words with the only long vowel in the final syllable, O’Rahilly shows that this was done by analogy with disyllabic words which had become trisyllabic through the addition of epenthetic vowels, e.g., *seirbhís* /,serˈəˈβi:f/ (O’Rahilly, 1932, 89).

Forward stress also occurs in most cases where *-(e)ach(t)* occurs in the second syllable of a disyllabic word, or second or third syllable of a trisyllabic word; however, this latter characteristic is not predominant in north Clare (*ibid.*, 2.2).²

Where the forward stress involves the second syllable beginning with a sonorant, the vowel of the first syllable, if short, can be dropped altogether, resulting in the word dropping a syllable from two to one, or three to two, e.g., *cuideachta* > *cuileachta* > *cleachta*, in west Kerry (*ibid.*, 2.3). Sometimes, in the same context, i.e., if the syllable getting the forward stress begins with a sonorant, the vowel from the first syllable is pushed into the second syllable, leaving the first syllable without a vowel, and once again making a monosyllabic word of a disyllabic word, or making a disyllabic word of a trisyllabic word, e.g., *turas* > *trus*, or *urchar* > *ruchar/uruchar* (*ibid.*). Otherwise, in these cases of forward stress, the initial vowel can be neutralised to schwa [ə], unless *ú* or *í* are in the stressed syllable. Sometimes the vowel of the first syllable is forgotten, as in *seanaigh*, gen. sg. and nom. pl. of *sionnach* (*ibid.*). None of these forward stress characteristics are features of Irish spoken in that part of north Clare close to the Galway border (*ibid.*, 2.5). All other word-types get back stress (*ibid.*, §2.1), except where forward stress occurs in compound words (cf. Ó hUiginn, 1994, §2.1 for Connaught, but this also applies to Munster).

Forward stress is the rule in the disyllabic prepositional pronoun forms of *ag* (e.g., *agam* /ə'gum/, and is sometimes also the case in pronominal forms of *ar* (e.g., *orm* /ə'rum/, and *um* (e.g., *umam* > *amum* /ə'mum/; (Ua Súilleabháin, 1994, §2.4).

4.1.3 Connaught

Back stress is the norm throughout Connaught, except that there is a preservation of the vowel-length in second or third syllables (O'Rahilly, 1932, 99). However, particularly in east Connaught (from east Mayo and east Galway east to the Shannon Basin) and in the *sean-nós* tradition, there is twentieth-century evidence of surviving forward stress, particularly in disyllabic words, not necessarily with long vowels in the second syllable, ending in *-ll*, *-m*, or *-n(n)* (such as *tearmann*, *iarainn*; Ó hUiginn, 1994, §§2.1-2). There is evidence that this forward stress had emanated from Munster, up the Shannon Basin, to be widespread in Connaught (Williams, 1994a, §10.3), but had receded again, to be replaced once more by

² Although native Irish is extinct in Co. Clare, the present tense is used here because a description is being made in a virtual way – as if Irish were still spoken in Co. Clare – the better to facilitate the understanding of patterns of dialects with surrounding areas. The same applies to all other areas of Ireland, mentioned in the remainder of this work, where Irish is no longer spoken.

back stress (Ó hUiginn, 1994, §2.2). The receding of this forward stress left, in its wake, a change in qualities of vowels in first syllables (i.e., the original vowel-sound having been forgotten during the forward stress era): e.g., *paráiste* /'pura:ʃd'ə/, *coláiste* /'kula:ʃd'ə/, *scadán* /'skuda:n/, *sgéartán* /'ʃcirta:n/, *caisleán* /'kuʃL'a:n/, *bradán* /'brada:n/ > /brə'da:n/ > /'bruda:n/ etc. (O'Rahilly, 1932, 99; Ó hUiginn, 1994, §2.1; Williams, 1994a, §10.4). A smaller number of words never recovered their first syllable, having lost it in the flow and ebb of the forward stress tide, e.g., *arán* > 'rán, *dorú* > d'ró, *paráiste* > p'ráiste, *coláiste* > c'láiste, *biorán* > b'rán, etc. (ibid.).

In west Connaught, back stress is so strong in the pronominal forms of the preposition *ag*, that the intervocalic [g] is lost, and compensatory lengthening ensues in the monosyllabic result, e.g., *agam* /a:m/ etc.; but from east Cois Ferraige to the Shannon Basin, these pronominal forms take forward stress, so strong that they can even lose the first syllable [a], e.g., *agam* > /gum/ (Ó hUiginn, 1994, §2.2, §7.2).

4.1.4 Ulster (including Co. Louth and north Co. Meath)³

Ulster Irish always retains back stress in the relevant contexts discussed above (O'Rahilly, 1932, 83). Where the vowel of an unstressed syllable is short, it is further reduced to a schwa [ə], e.g., *fada* /'fadə/ (Hughes, 1994, §4.1); and where the final syllable has a long vowel *á*, *é*, or *ó*, this vowel is shortened, so that *ciotóg* became *ciotag*, 'with the final syllable reduced from long *ó* to short clear *a*', *sgadán* > *sgadan* (O'Rahilly, 1932, 83). Where the second or final syllable is *í* or *ú*, it is generally shortened, except in the southern penumbra districts, where it keeps its length (ibid., 102). Finally, another feature of syllable stress in Ulster Irish is the shortening of a stressed long vowel before [h], e.g., *máthair* /mahər/ (Hughes, 1994, §4.1).

4.1.5 Leinster

It appears that the Ulster shortening of unstressed long vowels in unstressed syllables is found at least as far south as Trim, Co. Meath (Piatt, 1933, 15) and even possibly comprises the main stress system in Dublin and Wicklow (ibid., 12). In general, Piatt has the main hinterland of forward stress (including in *-(e)ach(t)* endings etc.) not extending far

³ O'Rahilly includes Louth as being part of the Ulster Irish region by default (O'Rahilly, 1932, 101), but sees Co. Meath as being a penumbra between Ulster and Connaught dialects, in regard to syllable stress (ibid., 102, 104).

outside Munster: i.e., predominating in south Kilkenny (ibid., 24, 33); but although this forward stress can be found as far north as south Laois, even in south Kilkenny, itself, the forward stress tendency is much weaker than in Munster (Williams, 1994a, §10.5).⁴

Occasionally in east Leinster, disyllabic words with *-án* endings and a short vowel in the first syllable are slightly more likely to have forward stress (Piatt, 1933, 16), and in north Carlow, they are likely to have even stress (ibid., 18, 33). Williams (1994a, §10.7), notes that forward stress survivals in east Leinster are still a rarity, and suggests that they are the relics of the Vikings bringing with them the Irish of Munster to Leinster.

In general, however, the stress-system of Irish in south, mid, and east Leinster is often held to be identical to that of Connaught. In relation to east Leinster, Piatt notes that “the few ‘Southern’ characteristics are ones found in South Connaught” (Piatt, 1933, 25); and indeed, we can extend this to include east Connaught, north Leinster, and the Wicklow Mountains, in terms of words with forward stress with *-ll*, *-m*, or *-n(n)* endings (see 4.1.3 above). In Longford, O’Rahilly notes that the placename Craane, to the south of Longford town, represents Ir. *carrán*; and we find the surname Ó Cuinín anglicised as O Knyne in Co. Longford in the early-seventeenth century (O’Rahilly, 1932, 101).⁵ Williams (1994a, §10.7) notes forward stress in some placenames in the Wicklow Mountains which may have avoided the reversion to back stress, but he does not discount such placenames being influenced by outside dialects, e.g., such as through the immigration of labourers to local mines (see also Piatt, 1933, 10).

In terms of syllable stress in prepositional pronouns, in Dublin (1547), forward stress is evident in *go raibh maith agat* > “grahamagood”, but back stress in *agat* > “oket” (Ó hÓgáin, 2012, 23–4). Information from elsewhere appears to be scant, apart from information

⁴ I am deferring to Nicholas Williams here, since he has found back stress examples in south Kilkenny which I have not been able to find – in part, because these examples are unsourced (Williams, 1994a, §10.5). My own research paints a slightly different picture. Whereas south Kilkenny appears to use only forward stress, north and mid Kilkenny appear to be in a transitional state between the two types. In south Kilkenny, we find forward stress in *feirmeoir*, *comhnuidhe*, *garsún*, *scioból*, *imeacht*, *aráin*, *t-arán* /trá:n/, *agam*, *sporán*, *chuideachta* (Breatnach, 1939, 61–4); and forward stress in north Kilkenny is found in *buidéal* /bid'e:l/ (Breatnach, 1939, 67), and *imeacht*, (ibid., 65). However, whereas forward stress is used in *beannacht* in north Kilkenny (Tomás ‘ac Óda, Ballinfoyale, Kilmadum, Ó Casaide (c.1910), in Ó hÓgáin, 2012, 200, §31), back stress is used in the same word in the Rower, in the mid-east of the county (OSL Kilkenny, O’Donovan (1839, 2, 156; publication, 2: 48), in Ó hÓgáin, 2012, 240). Otherwise, in north Kilkenny, back stress is also found in *síóg* (in Hiberno-English *Síóg* > ‘SHEE-ag’ (Piatt, 1933, 14), and *lúibín* and *marcach* (In the song *Seán Ó Duibhir*, Breatnach 1939, 66). Furthermore, in Tullaroan, north-west of the county, we are told that disyllabic words ending in *each* or *eacht* are generally back stressed (Mac Craith, 1911, ‘Points of Pronunciation’ II); examples include ‘*mullach*, ‘*marcach*, ‘*cailleach*, and elsewhere, ‘*innseacht* < *insint* (ibid. §9), ‘*earrach*, ‘*tuirseach* (ibid), with exceptions being *cruintheacht* (‘wheat’), *fuireach* (‘waiting’), and *imeacht*, which get forward stress as they do elsewhere in Kilkenny (ibid.).

⁵ It is more probable that this placename comes from Irish *corrán* ‘crescent’.

on Kilkenny. South Kilkenny has forward stress for *agat* (see footnote 4, and north Kilkenny appears to agree. We are told that in general, pronominal forms of *ag* get forward stress (Mac Craith, 1911, “Points of Pronunciation” (II.). In Tullaroan (north-west Kilkenny), forward stress is also apparent in the first person singular prepositional pronoun *orm* > ‘o Rm’, and in the first person plural form *orainn* > o Rrainn (ibid., “Points of Pronunciation”); however, in north-east Kilkenny, we find *orm* /orəm/ (Breatnach, 1939, 65).

4.2. Wexford

4.2.1 General description

Two school principals, writing in the Schools Collection, give us two general descriptions of Irish words pronounced in north-west, and east Wexford, respectively, which both indicate back stress norms. In north-west Wexford (Bunclody district), the principal of Newtownbarry BNS, Br. Ua Giollamath, prefaces a wordlist entitled “Irish words used in the district”, with “words pronounced as in Galway” (NFC S 892, 123).⁶ In the east, Diarmaid Ó Súilleabháin, principal of Naomh Brigid N.S., and himself a native Irish-speaker from west Cork, is explicit in his meaning: “The local people pronounce these names and whatever Irish words still in use after the manner of the Connacht dialect — for instance the word *bualteán* (striking part of a flail) they stress ‘*buail*’ and not as in Munster ‘*teán*’. Similarly with the proper names as ‘*Ballmadrissogue*’ they stress the word at ‘*driss*’ not at ‘*ogue*’ as would be in Munster speech” (NFC S 886, 80).

However, the picture is not so emphatic in the southern third of the county. In Bannow (in Bargy, in the south), Riobard Ó Scannláin tells us that if the long vowel is in the second syllable of a disyllabic word, then the stress is always even; and where it is in the third syllable in a trisyllabic word, the stress is evenly placed on the first and third syllables (RÓS, 102). Don Piatt reports a similar system for south-west Wexford, saying that this region has more even stress than is common in Munster (Piatt, 1933, 33); but, as will be shown below, there are mixed patterns in the mid-west and south-west of the county.

⁶ In the absence of anything more specific, we can presume that he was referring to what was seen as the most important linguistic marker at the time, i.e., syllable stress (cf. Williams, 1994a, §10.10).

4.2.2 The Irish sources

Some indicators of syllable stress occur in the Irish texts, but they mostly occur in the context of verse, which means they would not necessarily reflect the local vernacular. Most of the examples are from the south-western quarter of the county, which is the source of the extant eighteenth-century literature. The first example is *beannacht*, which appears to have back-stress, due to poetic meter (Anon., *A Mháire a Rúin*, line 16, RIA MS 23 E 1, 219). In Ó Murchadha (1769), back stress is also indicated in the following: *aca* from rhyming with *amharc, ranna, aca* and *sgaradh* (verse 2); *Ceasrach* rhyming with *caruid, sleachta* and *leadra* (verse 17; and *againn* rhyming with *sleachta, chleachtuid, bhfeaca* and *aguinn* (verse 19). Back stress is also apparent in *beannacht* (verse 38, line 4). In prose, Ó Murchadha (1778, 22), suggests back stress in *seachrán* > “*seacrann*”.

Forward stress for the first person prepositional pronoun of *ag* (i.e., *agam*), is suggested in the stress pattern in the line of the Rathangan keen “*Chonaircsa easluinn do chealg an croídhe agam*” (line 50, de Brún, 1970, 49). In the twentieth century texts, forward stress is suggested in *The Past*, in *págánach* > *Pagánach*, ‘pagan’ (Ó Sionóid, 1920, 119); and *Danann* > *Danáan* (ibid.). Back stress or even stress is suggested in *sparán* > *spárán*, ‘purse’ (NFC S 870a, Poulfur, Mary Egan “Proverbs” (19)).

4.2.3 Disyllabic words with no long vowel

Where there are no long vowels in a bisyllabic word, the apparent tendency in north Wexford (unlike examples from east Connaught – 4.1.3 above) is for back stress, e.g., in north-west Wexford, *Buaile na bhForcrann* > Boolynavoughran; and in the north-east, *Tobar an Iarainn* > Tobaranierin / ˌtʰob(ə)ɹ̩ˈniːɹ̩ŋ/, i.e., back stress on the final element.⁷

4.2.4 Disyllabic words with short vowel in first syllable and long vowel in second

In the case of disyllabic words with a short vowel in the first syllable and a long vowel in the second, we have already seen (4.2.1, above), that in the east, as well as probably in the rest of the northern two thirds of the county, back stress is the norm. Don Piatt is

⁷ This pronunciation of Tobaranierin is general throughout the county, with the dental ‘t’ being heard still among older speakers. We can reasonably infer back stress of the final element in Boolynavoughran, (a.k.a., Ballinavockran), by the spelling.

emphatic about this norm predominating in the north-east (Piatt, 1933, 25), and suggests that it prevails at least as far south as New Ross, i.e., in the mid-west (ibid., 14).

The vast majority of examples we find in this context clearly indicate that back stress was the predominant system in all parts of Wexford, excepting Forth and Bargy. This is exemplified by the following. In the north-west we find: *bollán* ['bula:n] ‘boulder’;⁸ *an unofficial placename*, “The *Tollán*” [ˈtʰola:n] ‘the Tunnel’;⁹ *bradó*g [ˈbrado:g] ‘sprat’;¹⁰ an official placename, *Tuaim na Fuinseoige* > Tomnafunshoge /-ˈfinʃo:g/ (CÓC);¹¹ in the north-east: ‘*cailín*, ‘*garsún*’/ *gasún*, ‘boy’ (Piatt, 1933, 25); *Cnoc na Beannóige* > Banogehill /ˈbino:g/ (CÓC); mid-west: *lochán* [ˈlaxa:n] ‘little lake’; *pocán* [ˈpuka:n] ‘billygoat’;¹² east: unofficial placename of *Poll na nGearrán* [pəul nə ˈɟaɾan] ‘Hole of the

; ¹³ *cipín* [ˈcipi:n] ‘short stick’;¹⁴ *Mullán* > Mullawn /ˈmuljan/; *Áth na Gealaí* > Auhgnagalley /əkneˈgali:/ /əkneˈgˈali:/ (CÓC); south centre: *Cnoc Cuimsín* > Knockcumshin /nəkˈumʃən/ (ibid.);¹⁵ *gailseog* [ˈgalʃo:x] ‘earwig’;¹⁶ south-west: *bainbhín* [ˈbanˈi:n] ‘piglet’; *baitín* [ˈbatʃi:n] ‘little stick’; *bogán* [ˈboga:n] ‘soft egg’; *ciotóg* [ˈci tʰo:g] ‘left hand’;¹⁷ and *gailseog* [ˈgalʃo:k] ‘earwig’.¹⁸

Occasionally, though, shifting stress is reported in north-east Wexford: e.g., ‘*dromán*, ‘harness between horse and plough’ (Piatt, 1933, 21), and ‘*brachán*, ‘porridge’ (Piatt, 1935, 33), with the latter, at least, alternating between back and even stress. Even though unambiguous forward stress is a rare occurrence, it exists in the vernacular pronunciations of

⁸ *Bollán* comes from Camolin, in “*bullán* stone”, described as follows: “Bullaun Stone (wart stone), Toome Graveyard, Ballinclare, Camolin [...] It’s a fine example of a bullaun stone which was a mortar believed to be used for crushing ore, nuts, grain etc. Over time this particular one became known as a wart stone, locally, where people would use the water to cure their warts.

<https://www.facebook.com/michael.fortune.wexford/posts/2027599057261542>

⁹ This pronunciation was recorded by Michael Fortune from Jim Byrne, Cloroguemore, and played to me so that I could make an accurate phonetic transcription. *Tollán* is an unofficial placename. It is beside Knockroe Hill, between Mt. Leinster and the Blackstairs Mountains, and about three miles from Killealy.

¹⁰ Collected by Michael Fortune: *bradó*g is a word used in Enniscorthy for a sprat.

¹¹ The etymology of this placename appears to be somewhat uncertain. There are many placenames prefixed with *Tom-* throughout Wexford, and these are generally held by O’Donovan (1840) to be from *tuaim*, where in all likelihood, they might actually be from *tom* ‘clump’.

¹² Both words told to me by Mogue Curtis, Adamstown, 2016.10.28. *Lochán* is a fieldname.

¹³ *Poll na nGearrán* is a fieldname in Clonnasheogue, Kilmallock civil parish, told to me by Helen Rath, Killabeg, in the same parish, in August, 2020.

¹⁴ I heard this in August, 2017, from a native of Castlebridge whose name I did not get – since it was a fleeting encounter in a public house in Phibsboro (where she has been living for many years now).

¹⁵ Knockcumshin appears to show evidence of forward stress in the second element up until the nineteenth century (CÓC).

¹⁶ From my hearing of a recording of several men from Taghmon, made by Michael Fortune, c.2018.

¹⁷ These examples of *baitín*, *bainbhín*, *bogán*, and *ciotóg* were told to me by Denis Cadogan, Killesk, in August, 2015. Denis told me many more such examples, and all were back stressed in this context of a short vowel followed by a long vowel in first and second syllables, respectively, of a disyllabic word.

¹⁸ The south-west Wexford source for *gailseog* here is a field recording made by Michael Fortune of many speakers in Campile, and played to me so that I could accurately make a phonetic transcription.

several placenames: e.g., in the north-east: *Cnoc Leatháin* Knocklahaun /nɔk.lə'hɔ:n/, /nɔk.lə'hɔn/ (CÓC); in the mid-west: *Ráth Gearróg* > Rathgarogue [ˌɾatʰja'ɾo:g];¹⁹ and in the south-west: *Baile Uí Choileáin* > Ballycul'lane (as generally pronounced). We have one example where the same placename gives us back stress in the east, but forward stress in the north-east: i.e., *Baile na Beannóige* > Ballybanoge /bali:nə'bano:g/ (in the east); and > Ballybanoge /bali:bə'nɔ:g/ in the north-east (CÓC).

4.2.5 The south-east in the same context

In the south-east, the situation is more fluid, but can be summed up by saying that even stress is the default type, albeit with much evidence of instability. Not only is this prevalence of even stress to be seen in Ó Scannláin's description of Irish survivals in Bannow (1945–7, 102), but many examples still survive or have survived up until the late-twentieth century: e.g., *bainbhín* [ban'i:nɪ] 'piglet';²⁰ *bradóig* [ba:ɾɔ:g] 'sprat';²¹ the unofficial placename of *Mót' Caillí* [ma: kaɫ'i:] 'hag's moat';²² and the official placename *Crois Fhearnóg* > Crossfarnoge [kɾasfəɾno:g];²³ *baldún* [balɟvu:n];²⁴ and *an Bheannóg* > Banoge [ba.no:g].²⁵

Nevertheless, in this context, all three types (i.e., back stress, even stress, and forward stress) can be found by different speakers of the same word: e.g., *bastún* ['bastʰn] 'poltroon' (James Sinnott, Tacumshin, 1918–89), versus /basdu:n/ (RÓS, s.v.); ? *brinneán* ['bɾɪŋja:n],²⁶ [limpet' vs. [bɾɪŋja:n],²⁷ and Ó Muirthe finds even stress for the same word in the same parish (Kilmore) as the two examples given (DÓM, 23); and the second element of the official placename *Goirtín Mionnóg* > Gorteenminoge is reported to have either back or

¹⁹ Told to me by Aileen Lambert, Ballindagga, September, 2019.

²⁰ This pronunciation of *bainbhín* as used by Richard Sinnott (1944-2020) and his father James Sinnott (1918–89), both of Tacumshin.

²¹ This is the form of *bradóig* found in Tacumshin, and the even stress is always used.

²² This unofficial placename was told to me by Sam Sinnott (1927-2020), Duncormick.

²³ This pronunciation of Crossfarnoge is general among traditional speakers in Bargo and Forth, but I took the phonetic description down from Leck Bates in November, 2014. Leck spent his life as a fisherman in Kilmore Quay, i.e., Crossfarnoge, and was in his late 80s when I spoke to him.

²⁴ This even stress form of *baldún* is general throughout the county. Up until recently, in Tacumshin, only *baldún* was used, never "tomcat".

²⁵ As pronounced by Richard Sinnott (1944-2020).

²⁶ *Brinneán* as spoken by Liz Jeffers in 'A People Apart', RTÉ (1969).

<https://www.rte.ie/archives/2019/0503/1047290-baronies-of-forth-and-bargo/>

²⁷ Told to me by Kevin Whitty, Bridgetown. Kevin sometimes has equal syllabic stress, but tends to have a first-syllable stress.

forward stress (CÓC). All three stress-types are found in *ciotóg*: in Bannow, *ciotóg* /cito:g/ (RÓS, s.v.); in Tacumshin, [ˈçitʰo:g];²⁸ and in Wexford Town [çitʰy.ˈo:g].²⁹

Although the Viking influence from Munster, suggested by Williams (see 4.1.5 above), might be an explanation for the forward stress in the Wexford Town example, there is some evidence that the even stress, itself, may have been unstable, in so far as one speaker may use up to three different stress-types on the same word: e.g., Richard Sinnott (of Tacumshin), *pacán* [poˈxɑ:n], [ˈpoxɑ:n] and [poxɑ:n].

Similarly, placenames with disyllabic elements of a short vowel in the first syllable and a long vowel in the second do not appear to show a consistent pattern: e.g., the unofficial placename ? *corrán* + *tighín* [kʰɑ:n tiˈgi:n];³⁰ and the official placename Baile Oisín > Ballysheen [ˌbaləˈʃi:n],³¹ which both show forward stress; but we find back-stress in *Baile Mhic Oisín* > Ballymacushin [ˌbaləməˈkuʃ(ə)n].³² *Goirtín*, ‘little field’ gets even stress in *Goirtín Mionnóg* > Gorteenminoge /gortʃi:n-/ (CÓC). We find both forward and even stress in the official name of *Bloinsín* > Blunsheens [blun(ˈʃi:nz)].³³ This variation may be explained by the even stress being the most unstable of the three stress-types, and as such, the even stress may be the default.

In such cases it is rare for a word to be attested with back stress only, but these are found: for example, in *piseog* [ˈpɪs.o:g] ‘supersticion’,³⁴ and the official placename *an Leacán* > Lacken [ˈlaçn].³⁵ Some words only have forward stress reported: e.g., *buinneán* > “bungyawn” /buŋˈja:n/ ‘part of a flail’ (DÓM, 23);³⁶ and in placenames: e.g., *Baile Uí Mhuirígh* > Ballymurry [ˌbaləməˈi:ɪ]. Most examples of placenames ending in *-án*, in this context, are given forward stress: e.g., *Baile Uí Mheannáin* > Ballyminaun [baləmənˈa:n],

²⁸ This pronunciation of *ciotóg* from Richard Sinnott, Tacumshin.

²⁹ The Wexford Town source for *ciotóg* is my brother Patrick Sinnott (who was raised in Wexford Town). I heard the words from him on many occasions.

³⁰ Phonetic transcription given to me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney, Carne.

³¹ This pronunciation of Ballysheen is general in the curacies of Carne, Lady’s Island, and Tacumshin.

³² This pronunciation of Ballymacushin is reported to me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney.

³³ Both pronunciations of Blunsheens told to me by Chris Sinnott, Tacumshin, and Sascha Santschi-Cooney, Carne, respectively.

³⁴ The only person I have heard using this word was my father, when he was completely ridiculing a *piseog*, and therefore, suited him to accentuate, and even alter the first syllable to promote the ‘piss’ angle. For example, when I asked him (in 2012), if he ever heard of anyone burying anything in the foundation of a house, or if he had done it himself in his days of vernacular building, he replied, dismissively, “We never had any time for them out’ pissoges!”

³⁵ Noted from Mary Windle née Cloney, raised in Duncormick in the 1940s.

³⁶ But cf. the even stress in the bilingual ‘whinéan’ [ˌwɪnˠi.(j)a:n] (Richard Sinnott) Whinyaan is still in general use throughout Wexford, and means ‘a complainer’ in Tacumshin, and ‘a small farmer’ in north-west Wexford (according to Michael Fortune), and in Kilmore Quay, it is used for ‘flotsam’ (DÓM, 30). ‘Whin’ is English dialect for ‘furze’, or ‘gorse’ (Wright, 1898, s.v.), but otherwise, the etymology is unclear.

[baləmən'ɑ:n];³⁷ *Ráth Stólaín* > Rathshellane [ˌɾaʃ(ə)'la:n];³⁸ *Rinn Síoraín* > Ringsherane [ɾiŋʃɾa:n]; *Baile Uí Ghiollaín* > Ballygillane [ˌbalə'jəla:an];³⁹ and *Ráth an Gheadáin* [ˌɾajə'ɟa:n] ‘ringfort of the arse’ (a nick-name for the official placename *Ráth an Éadaín* > Rathnedan ‘ringfort of the promontory (> forehead).⁴⁰ Exceptions to this forward stress in placenames of Forth and Bargy appear to be rare, but include: *Baile Cuisleáin* > Ballycushlane [ˌbalə'xuʃ'la:n] (even stress); and *Teach Coimseáin* > Tacumshin [ˌtə'kumʃən] (back stress on the relevant element), although it also is given forward stress [ˌtaxum'ʃa:n].⁴¹

4.2.6 Disyllabic words with a long vowel in each syllable

We have seen, in 4.2.1 above, that *buailteán* (a disyllabic word with a long vowel in each syllable) gets back stress in east Wexford, and this is consistent with other examples in this region, e.g., *Baile Bhúdráin* > Ballywoodrane /balə'vu:dra:n/ (CÓC). This same tendency appears also to prevail in the north-east — e.g., *taoibhín* ‘patch for a shoe’, *práiscín* ‘apron’ (Piatt, 1933, 25), *brídeog* [ˌbʲi:do:g], *ciaróg* [ˌci:(ə)ɾo:g] ‘earwig’,⁴² and the placenames *Baile na gCaológ* > Ballinageeloge /bəlɪ:nə'gi:lo:g/, and *Baile an Ráithín* > Ballyrahan /bal'rahən/ (CÓC); in the north-west, *cruatán* [ˌkʲu:ɾʲa:n] ‘sub-layer of turf’,⁴³ in the mid-west, *gráinneog* ‘hedgheog’, *taoibhín* (Piatt, 1933, 14), and the placenames Ballynabanoge /balənə'bɑ:no:g/, Créacán > Creakan /ˌkre:kən/, *Ráth Mhaoiléin* > Rathphylane /rafə'le:n/ (CÓC), as well as the common noun *lúbán* /ˌlu:bɑ:n/ ‘fool’;⁴⁴ in the south centre: *Cill Liúráin*

³⁷ The first example of Ballyminaun comes from Richard Sinnott, and the second from Nellie Wright née Redmond, who was in her early 90s when I spoke to her in 2013.

³⁸ This pronunciation of Rathshellane is still general in Tacumshin.

³⁹ Ballygillane as pronounced by Eony Whelan, Ballygillane (i.e., Rosslare Harbour), but the pronunciation is still general in the region.

⁴⁰ These pronunciations of Ringsherane and *Ráth an Gheadáin* were given to me by Chris Sinnott (1937-) of Sigginstown, Tacumshin.

⁴¹ The first example of Tacumshin is general throughout the county. The second is rarely heard, and the last person I heard it from was Joe Sinnott, Cumshinstown, born c.1971 (in September, 2015). There is a slight chance that the latter pronunciation is the newer, since Mike Meyler, who worked in the only pub in Tacumshin from the 1930s to the early 2000s, and owned it for much of this time, would frequently regale visitors with P. W. Joyce’s would-be etymology of the name (i.e., *Teach chum Seáin* – apparently, ‘house of the hollow of Seán’), and enunciate each of the three syllables clearly as he explained. However, Mike did use the back open vowel rather than the front open vowel of the example, so it may well have existed separately to Mike’s explanations. Cumshinstown is locally pronounced [xum'dzi:nʒəun].

⁴² Both these examples of *brídeog* and *ciaróg*, respectively, come from Michael Fortune, who heard them, while growing up, in Ballygarrett.

⁴³ This word was collected by Michael Fortune from Jimmy Byrne, Ballindaggin, 2018.9.13, and Michael played the recording to me so that I could more accurately transcribe the phonemes.

⁴⁴ Told to me by Thomas Murphy, a native of Clonroche. Tommy is my uncle, so I heard the word often enough from him growing up.

> Killurin [ci'lu:ɹən];⁴⁵ and in the south-west, *súgán* ['su:ga:n] 'straw rope', and *lúbán* ['lu:ba:n].⁴⁶

In this context, examples of forward stress in the northern half of the county appear to be very rare, with only one example noted, i.e., the second element in the official placename *Ros Méanóg* > Rosminoge [ɹas mə'no:g].⁴⁷ And yet, there is evidence of a shift to even stress the further south one goes: e.g., both back stress and even stress in east Wexford in the official placename *Baile Léimín* > 'Ballylemin' /balə'le:mi:n/, /balə'li:mi:n/ (CÓC).⁴⁸ Indeed, in the western fringe of the mid-west (in New Ross), forward stress, as well as even stress, can be found in *bóithrín* > "Bosheen" [bo:'j̥i:n],⁴⁹ which is also found with forward stress in the south-west.⁵⁰

In the south-east, such words generally get even stress: e.g., *súgán* /su:ga:n/ (RÓS, s.v.), *lúbán* /lu:ba:n/ (ibid.), *Ard a' Draighneáin* ['ha:ɹdi d̪ɹəina:n] 'height of the blackthorn',⁵¹ *slíbhheog* [sli:β'o:g],⁵² *slíbhín* [sli:β'i:n] 'a sly person',⁵³ *cábóg* [ka:bo:g] 'a fool',⁵⁴ *tlámóg* > 'claamogue' /kla:'mo:g/ ('loiterer' DÓM, 23), and *Gráigín* > [ɣɹa:ji:n].⁵⁵ However, as with the previously discussed context (4.2.5 above), instability is apparent. For example, both even stress and back stress can be found in *tóiteán* [t̪o:ca:n] 'a burnt object' (in Tacumshin),⁵⁶ [to:ça:n] (in Bannow RÓS, s.v.), /'to:kja:n/ (in Kilmore: DÓM, 29). We even find all three stress-types used in some words, e.g., *bodhrán* ['bu:ra:n],⁵⁷ /bu:ra:n/ (RÓS, s.v.), /bu:'ran/ (from Liz Jeffers, Kilmore, in DÓM, 22); and *faocha* > *paochán* /'pe:ka:n/ (in Kilmore: Liz Jeffers in 'A People Apart', RTÉ (1969),⁵⁸ /pi:kja:n/ (RÓS, s.v.), and [pe:'ka:n] 'periwinkle'.⁵⁹ Even though the stress-type in these examples is dependent on the source, i.e., with Liz Jeffers preferring back stress, Ó Scannláin and natives of Lady's Island

⁴⁵ This is a pronunciation general throughout the county.

⁴⁶ Both *lúbán* and *súgán* told to me in this case by Denis Cadogan, Killesk, August, 2015.

⁴⁷ This pronunciation of Rosminoge is from Michael Fortune, whose sister lives in Rosminoge.

⁴⁸ Told to me by Thomas Murphy, a native of Clonroche. Tommy is my uncle, so I heard the word often enough from him, while growing up.

⁴⁹ My mid-west sources for *bóithrín* are Anthony Griffin, who I knew when I was very young and who is from Bosheen Estate in New Ross; and Mark Colfer, also a native of New Ross, working in Arthur's pub, Thomas Street, Dublin.

⁵⁰ My south-western source is Denis Cadogan, Killesk, and told to me in August, 2015.

⁵¹ This unofficial placename in Nethertown was Told to me by John Cussins, Carne, August, 2015.

⁵² *Slíbhheog* heard by Richard Sinnott Jr. (my brother), from Oliver Duggan, Rosslare Harbour.

⁵³ This pronunciation of *slíbhín* is general in Tacumshin.

⁵⁴ Told to me by David "Mod" Walshe, Sigginstown, Tacumshin.

⁵⁵ This pronunciation of *Gráigín* was heard by me, very often, from my father, Richard Sinnott, Tacumshin.

⁵⁶ This pronunciation of *tóiteán* is used by Chris Sinnott, Sigginstown. If anything is overcooked, it might be "burnt into a *tóiteán*."

⁵⁷ This pronunciation of *bodhrán* told to me by James Moloney, Ballyhit, Lady's Island.

⁵⁸ <https://www.rte.ie/archives/2019/0503/1047290-baronies-of-forth-and-bargy/>

⁵⁹ This pronunciation of *faocha* > *paochán* is from Richard Sinnott, Tacumshin.

parish preferring even stress; occasionally, the same speaker can use back stress and even stress, e.g., *cáibín* ['kɑ:b'i:n], [kɑ:b'i:n] ‘an old hat’ (Paddy Berry), and indeed, some examples are only found with back stress, e.g., *maoileog* > moolyogue /'mu:ljo:g/ (DÓM, 27), *Cnoc Húilín* > Knockhowlin [,nɑ'xəulən], but these are the minority.

4.2.7 Trisyllabic words

The examples we have do not show consistency in the trisyllabic contexts. Piatt (1933, 25) reports that where the first and final syllables had long vowels in a trisyllabic context, there is even stress on the first and third syllables: e.g., in the north-east, the unofficial placename *tóinicín* > ‘tóincín’; and in the south-west, *cōsarán* ‘footpath’. In relation to Bannow, in the south, De Bhaldraithe agrees with this, in that he tells us that where there is a long vowel in the second or third syllable of any word, there is even stress on that long vowel and the first syllable (RÓS, 102). However, in the same context, we find forward stress in the south-west in *liúdarmán* ['lu:ɟʷərə,mɑ:n] ‘fool’, *lutharacán* ['lu:ɪə,xɑ:n], and *buachallán buí* ['bu:xə,lɑ:n bʷi:] ‘ragweed’,⁶⁰ and strong back stress is suggested in the north-western placename *Coill Aileagáin* > Killalligan /kil'aligən/ (CÓC).

Examples of this context in the south-east suggest instability, i.e., back stress and forward stress used by different speakers on the same word, *buachallán* ['bu:xə,lɑ:n] (Tacumshin), and [,bu:xə'lɑ:n] (Bridgetown);⁶¹ and whereas even stress is suggested by de Bháldraithe for *lutharacán* /lu:rəka:n/ (RÓS, s.v.), the same word always receives back stress in Tacumshin — *lutharacán* ['lu:ɪə,çɑ:n], and this back stress is also found in Kilmore /'lu:rəka:n/ (DÓM, 26).

Fewer examples exist of the only long vowel being in the final syllable. There is agreement in opposite ends of the county for back stress in *amadán* ['aməða:n] ‘fool’ (in the north-east and south-west),⁶² ['aməɟɑ:n] (in the south-east).⁶³ However, in the south-east, some examples show even stress, e.g., *carragín* ['xɑɪə'ji:n] ‘a type of seaweed’;⁶⁴ ? *scairbhín* [sçɛɪə'wi:],⁶⁵ [sçɑɪə'wi:] ‘unofficial placename and alternative name for a tern’.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ These pronunciations of *liúdarmán* and *buachallán buí* were told to me by Denis Cadogan, Killesk, in August, 2015.

⁶¹ The first example of *buachallán* is the one I grew up with in Tacumshin. The second was collected by Sascha Santschi-Cooney from Tom Watson, Bridgetown, in May, 2019.

⁶² This pronunciation of *amadán* told to me by Michael Fortune, Ballygarrett (north-east Wexford), in June, 2017, and by Denis Cadogan, Killesk (south-west Wexford), in August, 2015.

⁶³ This pronunciation of *amadán* told to me by Richard Sinnott, Tacumshin, and Chris Sinnott, Tacumshin.

⁶⁴ Pronunciation from Richard Sinnott (1944-2020).

⁶⁵ This pronunciation of *scairbhín* is from both Richard Sinnott and Chriss Sinnott, Sigginstown, Tacumshin.

The one example found of a short first syllable, but long vowels in the second and third syllables, respectively, is in a placename in north-east Wexford which can get either forward or back stress, i.e., *an Leathráithín* > ‘Laraheen’ /'larəhi:n/, and Laraheen Hill /larə'hi:n/ (CÓC).

4.2.8 *-(e)ach(t)(-)*

We have seen, in 4.1.4 above, how *-(e)ach(t)(-)* brings syllable stress on itself in Munster. In Wexford, however, such a forward stress is rare, and back stress is generally retained in such contexts, as it is elsewhere outside of Munster, e.g., in north-west Wexford, *cailleach* ['kaɫʲik] ‘hag’;⁶⁷ north-east, *Teach na Sionnach* > ‘Tinnashinnagh’ /tənə'ʃinə/, Scearnach > ‘Scarnagh’ /'sk'a:rnə/; (CÓC); mid-west, *Baile na nGreallach* > Ballynagrallagh’ /-'graləx/ (ibid.); east, *Bealach an Bhlácaigh* > ‘Ballaghablake’ /balənə'ble:k/, (ibid.); and south centre, *Ardeannach* > ‘Ardenagh’ /'ardi:nə/ (ibid.).

The examples which suggest forward stress in this context are all in east Wexford: i.e., *Corlach* > ‘Curclogh’ /kut'klək/ or /'kurklə/ (ibid.) — i.e., either back or forward stress; and forward stress is possibly the key to unlocking the etymology of the fieldname in Ballyvalloo, in the east of the county, *Sloch Salach Sléibhe* > ? “Sluc Slac Slée” ‘dirty cavern of a hill’ (NFC S 886a, Naomh Brighid, Dómhnaill Choinnig, ‘Local Place Names’). There is no ambiguity about the fieldname, *Poll Salach* > ‘Poul Slach’ ‘dirty hole’, near Castlebridge (NFC S 885, 50). Where the only long vowel is on the middle syllable, the few examples suggest back stress, e.g., in east Wexford, *Meathánach* > ‘Mahanagh’ /'mahənə/ (CÓC).

Back stress prevails in equal measure in Forth and Bargy. In Bargy (in the south), we find the placenames *Gleann Drisleach* > Glendrislagh, and *an Bealach* > Ballagh, with back stress on the respective relevant elements (ibid.); and the same holds for *Draighneach* Drinagh ['d̪r̪v̪əɪnəx],⁶⁸ in Forth (in the south-east). In both baronies we find back stress in

⁶⁶ This pronunciation of *scairbhín* is from Chris Sinnott.

⁶⁷ This pronunciation of *cailleach* was told to me by Michael Fortune, November 15th, 2015, in the following comment: ‘On Halloween Night, they’d say, ‘the ‘collyics’ are out tonight’; and ‘collyicin’ is dressing up and going about on that night’.

⁶⁸ This pronunciation of *Draighneach* is a pronunciation I rarely heard growing up, from older people, and possibly also from my father, Richard Sinnott of Tacumshin, but may be seldom if ever heard any more. The newer, more Anglicised form, retains back stress.

cailleach /'kaɫjək/ (DÓM, 23), ['kaɫək].⁶⁹ Back stress is also clear in the pronunciation in Tacumshin (Forth), of *praiseach* ['pɾaʃox] 'groundsel'.⁷⁰

4.2.9 Relics of a receded forward stress (syllable reduction)

In agreement with Munster (4.1.2 above), and some examples from east Connacht and north Leinster (4.1.3, 5 above), some Irish survivals in Wexford demonstrate that at some stage in the past, its forward stress was so heavy as to reduce the short vowel of the first syllable not only to a neutral vowel [ə], but in cases where the second syllable begins with a sonorant (*l*, *n*, or *r*), the short vowel of the first syllable has disappeared, so that the first syllable has merged with the second. We can see this clearly in two examples that are found throughout the county (including the south-east). The first is *torán*, 'wireworm', which in the south-east has phonetic descriptions given as /tra:n/ (RÓS, s.v.), 'traans' /tʰra:nz/ (DÓM, 29), and [tʰra:n];⁷¹ in the south centre as [tʰra:nz],⁷² and in the north-east [trʰa:n];⁷³ and indicated in spelling as "trawn" in the south-west (NFC S 870, 357); "traithn" in the north-west (NFC S 892, 125); and in the mid-west, "thran" (NFC 1344, 169), "thrane" (ibid., 223), and "trans" (NFC S 901, 308). The second widespread example, *corán*, is only found in placenames, e.g., in the south-centre, *Corrán Dónaill* > Crandonnell; in the east, *Corrán na gCam* > Craanagam, and *an Corrán Rua* > Craanroe; in the north-east, *an Corrán Mór* > Craan; in the north-west, *an Corrán* > Crane; and in the mid-west, *an Corrán* > Craane (CÓC). In the south-east, syllable reduction for the same word appears to hold in fieldnames, e.g., in the south, ? *Corrán* > Kranne (Lambert, 1995, 244); and in the south-east, The Craane (NFC S 878, 189), and ? *Corrán a' Tighín* [kʰa:n ti'gi:n].⁷⁴ A similar phenomenon is to be seen in the /tʰra:n/ field < ? *Páirc an tSrutháin*, in Forth.⁷⁵

There are other examples of this truncating effect, for example, in the north-east, we find this in the placenames *Doireánach* > Drannagh (CÓC), and *Páirc na Síóg* >

⁶⁹ This *Cailleach* is the name of a rock off the coast of Carnsore Point, known to local fisherman, and the pronunciation was given to me by Alan "Boots" Moran, Tacumshin.

⁷⁰ As pronounced by Richard Sinnott, Sigginstown.

⁷¹ This pronunciation of *torán* is that of the late Richard Sinnott, Tacumshin, heard by me on many occasions.

⁷² This pronunciation of *torán* was recorded by Michael Fortune from local men in Taghmon, November 13th, 2019, and kindly shared with me by Michael, so that I could accurately transcribe the pronunciation.

⁷³ This pronunciation told to me by Michael Fortune, Ballygarrett.

⁷⁴ Phonetic transcription given to me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney, Carne.

⁷⁵ This fieldname is shared with me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney, who collected it from Richard Sinnott, Cumshinstown, Tacumshin. The field is in Allenstown, near the village of Broadway. It is small, and has a stream at one end.

Parknashogue (*ibid.*) — the latter showing that at some stage the forward stress was so strong that it turned a disyllabic word into a monosyllabic one.

Two other examples are of particular interest because, coincidentally, they are also among the cited examples of the same effect in Connacht (O’Rahilly, 1932, 86; Ó hUiginn, 1994, §2.1). The first example is found In Bargo (south Wexford, and is *arán* > “*rán*” > “*rawn*” in “*rawnsha*” < *arán seagail* ‘rye-bread’ (DHE, s.v. *arán seagail*). The second example is *biorán* > “*brawn*” ‘a pin’, in the south-west (*ibid.*, s.v.), and this diminutive itself is further diminished into *bioráinín* > “*brawneen*” (*ibid.*, s.v. *bioráinín*), /braa:nji:n/ (RÓS, s.v.); thus lending further weight to Piatt’s statement that “the few ‘Southern’ characteristics [of the east Leinster dialect of Irish] are ones found in South Connacht” (Piatt, 1933, 25).⁷⁶

⁷⁶ For a list of Connacht examples, see O’Rahilly (1932, 86), and Ó hUiginn, (1994, §2.1).

Chapter 5: Vowels

5.1 *a*-vowels

5.1.1 Broad context

This section is predicated on the fact that, unlike any other of the five vowels, *a*-vowels – whether short or lengthened – have two very distinct forms of articulation. So distinct, in fact, that they each occupy different cardinal points of articulation: namely, the front open unrounded vowel [a]/[a:], and the back open unrounded vowel [ɑ]/[ɑ:]. Therefore, while distinguishing between short and lengthened *a*-vowels, in this dissertation the primary focus and schema is that of the front-vowel versus back-vowel dichotomy.

5.1.2 Back open vowel examples in broad contexts

In short vowels, the back open unrounded vowel [ɑ] is the only type found in the following examples: *slab* [slab] ‘mess, messy person’, in general use today,¹ but also found in literature: in the mid-west and north-west “slob” (Kennedy, 1855, 73; 1866, 5, 120, 244; 1867, 94; 1869, 205, 375; 1870, 76); in the south-west (NFC S 871, 29); and in the east (NFC S 886, 77). Other examples include: in unknown region, *aguisín* > “ockasheen” ‘an extra bit’ (NRS, 6.2, 5), and *clab* > “clob” ‘big mouth’ (*ibid.*, 1905, 5, 26, 5); in north Wexford *cac* > “kock” ‘excrement’ (NFC 0096, 281, no. 94), and *gadaí* > “goddhee” ‘robber’ (EG1); *snab* > “snob” ‘stub’ in the north-west, (NFC S 895, 22); *lab* > “lob” ‘considerable sum’ in the mid-west (Kennedy, 1866, 147), and /lab/ in Bargy (RÓS, s.v.);²

¹ This pronunciation of *slab* is extant in the North Slobs, and South Slobs, two large swathes of land reclaimed from the sea in the nineteenth century – the former in the east, and the latter in the south-east of the county. One of my significant primary sources, Richard Sinnott (1944-2020), of Tacumshin, worked on the South Slob from 1969–1992.

² For the remainder of this dissertation, it is useful to note that ‘south-east’ refers to the baronies of Bargy and Forth, even though Bargy, itself, clearly occupies the region of Wexford corresponding to the cardinal point of

and in *bata* > “botha”, ‘stick’ in an unknown region, probably outside the south-east (NRS, 6.2, 5).

Examples of the lengthened vowel which are only found with a lengthened back open vowel [ɑ:] include: *má hé* /ma: he:/ ‘as if’ (RÓS, s.v.), and *rí-rá* > “reeraw”, ‘uproar’ in the south-east (EG2), and “ree-raw”, ‘sing-song’, in the north (EG1);³ *balbhán* > “bullawn”, ‘a dumb/mute person’ in the south-east (EG2), and as “boulavaun” in the south centre (Ffrench-O’Neill, 2009, 124), “bullawn” in the north-east (NFC S 888, 105), and “bullavawn” in the north, generally (EG1); *rásáí* [ˈɾɑ:si] ‘an impudent girl’ in the north-west,⁴ and *rásáí* > “rawsey” in the south-east (NFC S 882, 2); *spág* > “spawg”, in the north-east (NFC S 888, 107), [spa:g] in the south-west;⁵ and *lán* [la:n], ‘full’, in the north-west,⁶ > “laun” in the south-east and north (EG2; EG1), and also in the mid-west (Kennedy, 1867, 39). Unique examples include: in the south-east, *cábóg* [ka:bo:g] and the unofficial placename *an Logán* > the Lugawn (NFC S 876, 44).;⁷ in north Wexford, *fág* > “fawg”, ‘leave’ (NFC 0096, no. 284, no. 127); *prácas* > “prawkaus”, ‘idle talk’ (NRS, 4.16, 5; EG1); and in the south-west, *plásáí* > “plausy”, ‘a flatterer’ (DHE, s.v. *plásáí*). The related word *plámás*, ‘flattery’ also only has the back open vowel, e.g., [pla:ma:s], general in the south-east, even where the first syllable appears to be unstressed in *plámás* > “plomaus” (Lambert, 1995, 189).⁸

5.1.3 Front open vowel examples in broad contexts

There are far fewer instances where examples only show the front open vowel [a], [a:], but, for short vowels, these are: in the north-west and mid-west, *asal* > “assol” ‘donkey’ (Kennedy, 1867, 50; 1870, 93); *bradóg* [ˈbrado:g] ‘sprat’ in the north-west⁹ — cf. also

south, and Forth corresponds to the cardinal point of south-east. Similarly, when ‘mid-west’ is mentioned, it refers to the barony of Bantry, which approximates to the cardinal west of Wexford, but also stretches east to the River Slaney in the centre (and technically, in the east-centre in places such as Galbally — as the Slaney flows south-east from Enniscorthy to Wexford Town).

³ For the use of the expression *má hé* in mid-west Wexford, see DHE, s.v., *má hé*.

⁴ This pronunciation of *rásáí* was collected by Michael Fortune in Ballindaggin.

⁵ This pronunciation of *spág* was told to me by Michael Fortune as he heard it while collecting in south-west Wexford.

⁶ This pronunciation is from Joan Lambert née Doyle, Marshalstown, collected by Michael Fortune in the phrase *lán a’ mhála*, and the recording shared with me so that I could phonetically transcribe with accuracy.

⁷ Told to me by David “Mod” Walshe, Sigginstown, Tacumshin.

⁸ The lengthened back open unrounded vowel sound in *plámás* is used in both syllables generally in the south-east. This is just something I know from hearing it growing up, generally, rather than being from one particular source.

⁹ This pronunciation of *bradóg* was collected by Michael Fortune, in Enniscorthy, where the word is still commonly used for a ‘sprat’.

[ba:ɹdɔ:g] in Forth,¹⁰ and [ba:rdo:g] in Bargy (RÓS, s.v.); and *nasc* > “nask” ‘link’, in the south centre (O’Reilly, 2009, 22). In the north and mid-west, we find *gad* > “gad” ‘an osier with’ (*EGI*; (NFC S 901, 310)).¹¹ Examples with only a long forward vowel [a:] are also rare. *Torán* [tʰva:n] etc. is found throughout the county, as is *Corrán* > “Craan” (see 4.2.9 above. All examples of *grá* ‘love’ take the front open vowel, e.g., *a ghrá* /ə gra/ (RÓS, s.v.), in the south-east; *a ghrá* > “a gra” in the north-east (NFC S 891, 50); and *a ghrá gil* > *a ghrá geal* > “a gra gal”, ‘my bright love’, in the mid-west (Kennedy, 1867, 270), etc.

5.1.4 Examples where both back and front *a*-vowels are found in broad contexts

The key here is to see if there is a pattern in space (geographically) and time (historically). Before seeing if a pattern can be identified, it needs first to be acknowledged that, just as in parts of Munster, throughout Wexford, often both back and front types of ‘a/á’ exist cheek by jowl in the various usages of the same word (cf. Ua Súilleabháin, 1994, §2.11). For example, for the short vowel, we find the back open vowel in Ir. *garsún* ‘young boy’ which itself comes from OF. *garson*, which is found as [ˈga.ʃu:n] in the south-west;¹² [ˈgas.u:n] and [ga.su:n] in Tacumshin, in the south-east;¹³ in north Wexford, we find “gossoon” (*EGI*) and “gorsoon” (Kennedy, 1855, 96; 1869, 30, 77, 360; 1870, 44, 104) etc.; but in the same word, we find the front open vowel in Yola “garsoon, garson” (DÓM, 49), and also in Modern Hiberno-English as “garsoon” in the north-east (NFC S 891, 49), and in the north-west (NFC S 892a, Bunclody Convent, May Barry, “Dinnie the Garsoon”). Notwithstanding the northern examples of the front open vowel here, it is notable that modern Hiberno-English in the south-east prefers the back open vowel, while Yola retains the option of the front open vowel.

bas ‘palm of hand’: in the word *bas*, we find the back open vowel throughout the county, e.g., “bosh” in the north-east (NFC S 888, 104), and “boss” generally in the north (*EGI*); and similarly, in the east, we have both “bosh” (NFC S 884, 24), and “bos” (NFC S 886, 78); even in the modern Hiberno-English of the south-east, we find both these forms in /baʃ/ and [bas] (RÓS, s.v.; DÓM, 22); and even in Yola, we find the back open vowel in

¹⁰ This pronunciation of *bardóg* is still general in Tacumshin, e.g., as told to me by Jackie Eight, of The Fence.

¹¹ The retention of the /a/ in *gad* may have been to avoid confusion with English ‘God’.

¹² This pronunciation of *garsún* was told to me by Denis Cadogan, Killesk, in August 2015.

¹³ The first of these pronunciations of *garsún* was heard by me from Nellie Wright (nee Redmond), in February, 2013. The second was heard by me from David “Mod” Walshe, Tacumshin, on several occasions growing up.

“baushe” DÓM, 38). But it is in Yola that we find the only examples of the word with the front open vowel [a], i.e., “bash” (ibid.), and “bashes” (Browne, 1927, 129).¹⁴

Lengthened vowel examples:

camán ‘a hurl’: the final syllable in the word *camán* > “camawn” gets the lengthened back open vowel in the north-east (NFC S 891, 49), and although this lengthened back open vowel is also in Yola “commaun” (DÓM, 41), most of the Yola forms get lengthened front open vowel in this word, i.e., “comman” (ibid.), “commanes” (ibid., 78), and “camánn” (ibid., 77).

ceochán ‘hoarseness’: we find *ceochán* > “keochaun” (the lengthened back open vowel) in the north (EG1), and “kreochaan” (the lengthened front open vowel) in the south-east (EG2).

dromán ‘back-band of plough’: even though the lengthened back open vowel is found in Yola “drummaun” < *dromán* (DÓM, 45), the only front open vowel examples of this word in the county are found in the south-east: /druma:n/ (RÓS, s.v.), and “drumaan” (EG2); elsewhere in the county, we find the lengthened back open vowel in the north-east, “dromaun” (NFC S 891, 50), and generally in the north as “drummaun” (EG1).

lúbán ‘a bent object, a fool’: the lengthened back open vowel is found in *lúbán* [ˈlu:ba:n] in the mid-west and south-west,¹⁵ and also as “loobawn” in Bargy (Lambert, 1995, 189); while the only example with a lengthened front open vowel is found in Bargy as /lu:ba:n/ (RÓS, s.v.).

slam, tlám ‘handful of wool’: whereas we only have examples of the lengthened back open vowel in the north in the word *slam* [sla:m]¹⁶ > “slawm” (EG1), in the south-east, we only find examples which contain the lengthened front open vowel, e.g., *slam* [sla:m]¹⁷ > “slaam” (EG2), and “slaamin” (Lambert, 1995, 190). Similarly, with *tlám*, we only find examples which contain the lengthened front open vowel in the south-east, e.g.,

¹⁴ Cf. *bas* > /baʃ/ in *east Munster* (Breatnach ed., 1961, 38).

¹⁵ This pronunciation of *lúbán* was told to me by Denis Cadogan, Killesk, in August, 2015.

¹⁶ This pronunciation of *slam* is reported to me from the Enniscorthy area by Michael Fortune.

¹⁷ This pronunciation of *slam* is generally extant in Tacumshin, e.g., “slaam a bit o’ butter on that oul’ bread,” or “...slaamin’ some tar on it” (Richard Sinnott).

tlám [t̪la:m]¹⁸ > “claamed” (NFC S 876, 96), and *tlámóg* claamogue /kla:ˈmo:g/ (DÓM, 23); but in New Ross, in the mid-west, the back open vowel is used in *tlám* > *dlám* [d̪l̪ɑ:m].¹⁹

buachallán ‘ragweed’: on the other hand, the complexity of the situation can be demonstrated by looking at the word *buachallán*, where Yola uses the back open vowel in *buachallán* > “boouchelawn” (DÓM, 39), and we do find this in modern Hiberno-English of the south-east as “bouclawn”, (Butler, 1985, 219), “boucalawn” (Lambert, 1995, 188, 219; Hall, 1847, 271); and “buachaillaun” (Byrne, 2002, 82); and, indeed, this is in line with most examples from outside the south-east, e.g., *buachallán buí* [ˈbu:xəla:n bˈwi:] in the south-west,²⁰ “boohalaun” in the north, generally (EG1), “booliaun buis” in the mid-west and north-west (Kennedy, 1866, 166; 1870, 16) and in the mid-west as “buacalaun” (NFC S 902, 250) and “boucallawns” (NFC1344, 87. However, it is in the modern Hiberno-English of the south-east that the front open vowel is more likely to be found in this word: e.g., /Bu:kəla:n/ (RÓS, s.v.), [ˌbu:xəˈla:n],²¹ [ˈbu:xəˌla:n],²² > “buachalaun” (EG2), “buhalan” and “buchalas” (NFC S 879a, Carne, Bridget Ryan, ‘Folktale’ [item 14]); “buchailleane” (Byrne, 2002, 82), and “bouchelans” (NFC S 879, 46). Otherwise, elsewhere in the county, we find only occasional examples of the front open vowel in this word: as “bucklann” and “bucklaans” in the south-west (NFC S 871, 288), and “boolians” in the north-west (Kennedy, 1869, 336).

There are many more examples which indicate a tendency towards greater use of the lengthened front open vowel in the south-east, and greater use of the lengthened back open vowel elsewhere in the county, but since time and space are necessarily limited, selected examples must suffice, rather than including an exhaustive list. The tendency towards using the lengthened front open vowel in Irish survivals in Hiberno-English of the south-east is probably due to more words having survived in the older Hiberno-English (Yola dialect) there. However, even in Yola, in the late-eighteenth century, many examples of the lengthened back open vowel are to be found, e.g., *bán* > “baun” ‘white’ (DHE, s.v. *gearrán*), and *bácún* > “bawkoon” ‘bacon’ (DÓM, 38), etc. so there is clearly no bias in the dialect against the lengthened back open vowel; but rather, the survivals containing lengthened back

¹⁸ This pronunciation of *tlám* is still common throughout Forth and Bargy. For example, used by Semas “Shammie” Cloney and Paddy Berry, both natives of Duncormick, by Richard Sinnott, Tacumshin, etc., and many others I heard while growing up, as well as by Jack Devereaux, Kilmore Quay (DÓM, 23), and Tommy Watson, Bridgetown (as collected by Sascha Santschi-Cooney and kindly shared with me).

¹⁹ This pronunciation of *tlám* was told to me by Mark Colfer, native of New Ross.

²⁰ This pronunciation of *buachallán* was told to me by Denis Cadogan, Killesk, in August 2015.

²¹ This pronunciation of *buachallán* was collected by Sascha Santschi-cooney from the late Tommy Watson, Bridgetown, in Bargy, and kindly shared with me in 2018.

²² This pronunciation of *buachallán* was the only one used by James Sinnott (1918–89) of Tacumshin, and his son Richard Sinnott (1944–2020), also of Tacumshin, in Forth.

front vowel appear to be preservations of the phoneme as it was borrowed into Yola from Irish at any time from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries.

So, once again, the relative prevalence of the lengthened front open vowel in Yola, as contrasted to modern Hiberno-English throughout the rest of Wexford, is an indicator that the surrounding Irish of the greater part of the Yola period had a greater prevalence of the lengthened front open vowel, and that the lengthened back open vowel has grown in usage in the surrounding Irish dialects from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries, explaining why the lengthened back open vowel is more prevalent in Modern Hiberno-English throughout the county, and even, albeit to a lesser extent, in the Modern Hiberno-English of south-east Wexford, itself.²³

5.1.5 Patterns of the back and front open vowels in placenames

This theory of more recent retraction of open vowels appears to be supported when we look at placenames, where a semblance of a pattern is also to be found. Official names are standardised in the Ordinance Survey Maps of 1840, and as discussed in Chapter 2, the Irish language was very much in decline in Wexford at this stage, so it is also less likely that unofficial names would have been coined in Irish after this date. A semblance of a pattern is discernible, in which the front open vowel is more likely in official placenames in the southern third of the county, more so than in unofficial placenames. In the rest of the county, the back open vowel has already made quite an impact on official placenames.

The following are examples involving the short- vowel:²⁴ the front open vowel is evident in the south-west, *Gallinatraw* < ?*Gallán na trá* ‘standing stone of the strand’ (OS. 1840); in the south centre, *Garraí Draighin* > Garradreen ‘plot of the blackthorn’; in the north-west, *an Tuaim Gharbh* > Tomgarrow, and *Tom Salach* > Tomsallagh; in the mid-west, *Baile Uí Mhacasa* > Ballymackesy; in the north-east, *Glascharraig* > Glascarrig, and *Garraí Dubh* > Garyduff; in the east, *Baile Bhdaldain* > Ballyvaldon, with which can be contrasted the Irish survival of the common noun *baldún* /baldu:n/, ‘tomcat, or man who acts like one’

²³ As for examples where Yola uses the back open vowel and modern Hiberno-English has the front open vowel, this can be explained by there being no one homogenous way of saying any word, either in Yola, or in modern Hiberno-English of the south-east. Occasionally, back-vowel varieties of words were picked up by Jacob Poole, in particular, where forward-vowel varieties of the same word were still in abundance, and indeed, lasted down to our day (e.g., *buachallán*, as just discussed).

²⁴ Since we are speaking here about a tendency, rather than a rule, a full survey of official vs. unofficial placenames by region would be warranted, to show geographical nuances and historical tendencies. We only have time here for an overview of these phonemes, so, once again, examples must suffice. The translations used here for the official placenames are from Ó Cruaíoch, 2016, s.v, but in all cases, I have heard the pronunciation of the placename in the respective region.

which is found in the south-east, south-centre, north-east, and north-west.²⁵ It is in the mid-west, though, that we find rare examples of placenames getting the back open vowel for the short vowel /a/: “Corrageen Lane” < *carraigín* (NFC S 901, 21), and *Áth na gCapall* > Ochna-Goppal ‘ford of the horses’ (Kennedy, 1866, 179; 1867, 1, 81, 138).

Regarding the lengthened open vowel: in the south-west, *Ráth na gCosarán* > Gusserane has the lengthened front open vowel; while the unofficial placenames Gallinatraw < ?*Gallán na trá* (OS. 1840), and Toberbawnacroaka < *Tobar Bán* + na Cruaiche ‘white well of the ledge’ (ibid.), both get the lengthened back open vowel. In the south-centre, *An Liagán* > Leegane, gets the lengthened front open vowel, but the unofficial placename *Móinteán* > “Moon Kauns” ‘paths through a bog’, gets the lengthened back open vowel. In the mid-west, we find the lengthened front open vowel in the official placename *Baile na Bánóige* > Ballinabanoge. In the north-west, we find the lengthened back open vowel in the official placenames of *an Chúil Bhán* > Coolbaun, and *Seangán* > Shingaun, as well as in the unofficial placename “the Ludawn” <? *an Lodán*. In the north-east, the lengthened back open vowel also predominates, e.g., *an Bhuaile Bhán* > Boleybaun, an *Mullán Riabhach* > Mullaunreagh, *an Mullán Fionn* > Mullaunfinn ; and *an Pháirc Bhán* > Parkbaun (CÓC). The lengthened back open vowel in unofficial placenames is found in “The Ginnaun Field” < ? *Gainmheán* ‘small grain of sand’ (NFC S 886, 345). In the east, the lengthened back open vowel once more predominates, e.g., in *an Gearrán* > Garraun, *an Mullán* > Mullaun; and *An Cnoc Bán* > Knockbaun (CÓC). However, in the south-east, such is the default of official placenames getting the lengthened front open vowel (cf. 4.2.5, above), that only one has the lengthened back open vowel, namely, *An Rinn Bhán* > Ringbaun [iɲba:n].²⁶

5.1.6 Short open vowels before slender consonants (-ai-)

The shortened form of this vowel-sound is usually the front open unrounded vowel, as in: *claibín* > “clabeen” ‘latch’, in the south-west (DHE, s.v.); *ainnis* [ˈaɲɪʃ] ‘miserable’, in the south-west,²⁷ south-east (RÓS, s.v.), east,²⁸ > “anguish” in the south centre (Ffrench-O’Neill (2009, 123); “anish” in the north-west (NFC S 892, 125) and “angish” in Yola (DÓM, 37).²⁹

²⁵ In the south-east, cf. RÓS, s.v.; and all other regions are reported or recorded by Michael Fortune (see Chapter 4.2 above).

²⁶ This pronunciation of Ringbawn is general in Tacumshin.

²⁷ This pronunciation of *ainnis* was collected by me from Denis Cadogan, Killesk, August 2015.

²⁸ This pronunciation of *ainnis* was collected by me from Joan O’Connor, Screen, on September 13th, 2018.

²⁹ Ir. *ainnis* < OF *anguisse*, ME *anguisse* (DÓM, 37).

In relation to the *baile*- prefix in placenames, traditional speakers throughout the county are inclined towards *Baile* ['balə], and in the only example we have outside of this context, the same front vowel is still evident, i.e., *fág an baile* > “Faug-on-balye” ‘leave the place’ (NFC 0096, 284, No. 127), in the north-east. In the modern Hiberno-English of Bargo, we even find what appears to be the preservation of an off-glide [b^wa] from an initial broad consonant to the following slender consonant in this context, i.e., *baic* > “bwaig” ‘a person who is guaranteed to put his foot in his mouth’ (DHE, s.v.).

Occasionally, the back open vowel can be found in this context. The most widespread of these examples is *cailín* > “coleen” ‘girl’ in the south-west (NFC S 870a, Poulfur, Mary Ann Bohanna, “Song”), and the south-east (EG2); and as “colleen” in the north-east (NFC S 891, 49), north-west (NFC S 895a, Castledockrell, Lúchás Ó Dubhghaill “The Potato Crop”), and in the mid-west (NFC 1344, 66), etc. Almost as widespread is *bainbhín* ['banʲi:nʲ] in the south-west,³⁰ [banʲi:nʲ] in the south-east and south centre,³¹ “bonyeen” in the mid-west (Kennedy, 1867, 212), and in the north, generally (EG1). Another example is *baitín* ['ba.tʃi:n] in the south-west,³² and *baiteog* > “bottyogue” in the north (EG1). Sometimes, even, this back open vowel is also lengthened, e.g., *gailseog* ['ga:lʃo:g] in the mid-west;³³ *práiseach* > “praw-shock” (NFC 0096, 290, no. 189) in the north; and for *raiméis*, [ˈɾa:me:ʃ] in the south-west;³⁴ “rawmaish” ‘nonsense’, in the south-east (EG2), and “rawmause” in the north (EG1); and this lengthened vowel even occurs with a front open vowel in the same context in [ɾa:ma:ʃ] in the south-east.³⁵

5.1.7 Lengthened open vowels before a slender consonant (-ái-)

Where the lengthened open vowel is conventionally long before a slender consonant, the situation is complex, but is not inconsistent with a pattern of a recent trend towards retraction towards the lengthened back open vowel, albeit not to quite the same extent as its non-palatalised equivalent. We have evidence that the lengthened back open vowel was in use in this context at least as early as 1582, in the female forename

³⁰ This pronunciation of *bainbhín* was told to me by Denis Cadogan, Killesk, in August 2015.

³¹ This pronunciation of *bainbhín* was heard by me from my father, Richard Sinnott, and his father, James Sinnott, on many occasions growing up.

³² This pronunciation of *baitín* was told to me by Denis Cadogan, Killesk, in August 2015.

³³ This pronunciation of *gailseog* is from a recording made by Michael Fortune of a group of women in New Ross and shared with me for the purposes of accurate transcription of phonemes.

³⁴ This pronunciation of *raiméis* was given to me by Denis Cadogan, Killesk, in August 2015.

³⁵ This pronunciation of *raiméis* was told to me by David “Mod” Walshe, Sigginstown, Tacumshin.

Áine > “Onie”; and we see it again in 1601 – *Áine* > “Onye”, even if the lengthened front open vowel was still in use in 1612 in the east of the county – *Áine* > “Ayneh” (Ó Cruailaoich, 2004, 6).³⁶ As with *Áine* in the early-seventeenth century, in this context, it is unusual to find the lengthened back open vowel in all examples of the same word, but an example of this is *táilleog* > “tall-yoge” ‘loft’ in the north-east (NFC S 888, 103), “taulyogue” in the north generally (EG1), and “thauloge” from an unknown region (Ó Muriithe, 2000, s.v.). Other examples have only one source, such as *táithín* > tawheen ‘pubic hair’ in Bargy (ibid.), or *a bháib* [ə 'wa:b], [ə 'wab] ‘my baby’³⁷ in the south-east.

***Tráithnín* ‘straw’**: the first syllable in this word tends to get the lengthened front open vowel in the north-west and south-east, but the lengthened back open vowel in the north-east and south-west. In the south-west, we find the lengthened back open vowel in “thraawnyeen” (NFC S 870, 103), as well as in [ˈtʰɾʰʌni:n].³⁸ In the north-east we find the lengthened front open vowel in “traneen” (NFC S 888, 102), and the lengthened back open vowel in “trawneen” (NFC S 891, 50) but we find the lengthened back open vowel on the Wicklow border in “thrauneen” (NFC S 888, 172), and in north Wexford more generally as “thraanyeen” (EG1). However, all the examples of *tráithnín* given by Kennedy from the north-west and mid-west are with the lengthened front open vowel: “thraneen” (Kennedy, 1869, 6), and “thraneens” (Kennedy, 1855, 272; 1866, 44; 1867, 47, 281; 1869, 326, 369). The lengthened front open vowel predominates in the south-east - /tra:nji:n/ (Ó Scannláin, 1945–7, s.v.), [tʰra:ni:n],³⁹ “thraneen” (Hall, 1947, 159; NFC S 876, 313), “traneen” (Hall, 1847, 174, 207, 321), “traanyeen” (EG2), and “traaneens” (Lambert, 1995, 190) – and we only have one example with the lengthened back open vowel, i.e., “thrawneen” (NFC S 882, 1).

***Scráib* ‘scratch’**: the lengthened front open vowel predominates in Bargy and Wexford Town in the word *scráib*, but everywhere else, including Forth, the lengthened back open vowel prevails: *scráib* [skɾa:b] in Bargy and Wexford Town;⁴⁰ and the

³⁶ The use of ‘o’ in the spellings of *Áine* here could, indeed, indicate that the back open vowel had been raised (see 5.1.13, below), but whether or not this is the case, the base point was necessarily a back open vowel.

³⁷ Both these pronunciations of *a bháib* were heard often by me growing up, from my father, Richard Sinnott (1944-2020), Tacumshin.

³⁸ This pronunciation of *tráithnín* was told to me by Denis Cadogan, Killesk, in August, 2015.

³⁹ This pronunciation of *tráithnín* was collected by Sascha Santschi-Cooney from Roy Watson, Bridgetown, in 2018, and kindly shared with me for this dissertation.

⁴⁰ This pronunciation is from the following: Anne Cloney (1950–1978), Duncormick; Patrick Sinnott (1978-), raised in Wexford Town; and the late Tom Watson, Bridgetown, recorded and shared by Sascha Santschi-Cooney in 2018.

lengthened front open vowel is also suggested in “scrabing”, a rare example of a lengthened front open vowel in *scráib* from outside those two areas — i.e., from the south-west — (NFC S 873, 308); as well as “scaab” in Bargy (Lambert 1995, 190). Otherwise, *Scráib* [skɪɑ:b] is reported in Killesk, Tacumshin, Ballindaggin, and Ballygarrett,⁴¹ as well as in spellings “scrawb” (NFC S 899b, Clonroche, Máire Ní Shionóid, “The Games I Play”), and in Forth, in the south-east (Browne, 1927, 135).

Cáibín ‘an old hat’: the situation is more balanced in the word *cáibín*: [ˈkɑːbˈiːn] in the south-east,⁴² “caubeen” in the north of the county (*EGI*), as well as in the mid-west (Kennedy, 1867, 31). However, we have two examples of the lengthened front open vowel, *cáibín* > “caabeen”, in Forth Mountain, in the south-east (Hall, 1847, 269), and in the south centre (Ffrench-O’Neill, 2009, 123).

Práinneach ‘urgent’: both examples of *práinneach* in the Hiberno-English of Wexford come from Bargy: one uses the lengthened back open vowel i.e., “praunyuk” /ˈpraːnjək/ (DÓM, 27), and the other uses the lengthened front open vowel, i.e., /praːnjək/ (RÓS, s.v.).

Páid(ín) (male forename): both front and back lengthened open vowels are also found in *Páid* > “Poig”, “Poigue” in the south-centre (NFC S 883, 17) and “Paudh” in the north-west and mid-west (Kennedy, 1855, 98; 1867, 223; 1869, 288), as well as *Páidín* > “Paudheen” (Kennedy, 1855, 97; 1869, 287), in the north-west; but in the south-east the name gets the lengthened front open vowel, e.g., *Páidín* > “Paddeen” (Hall, 1847, 273; (NFC S 876, 392) and is still current as *Páid* > ‘Padge’ [padʒ].⁴³

mar atáim ‘as I am’: an example of where a word only gets a lengthened back open vowel in this context, is in the phrase *mar atáim*, In the south-east: /miːraːm/ (RÓS, s.v.), *miraam* /mərəːm/ (DÓM, 27), and “mi-raam” (Byrne, 2002, 91).

5.1.8 (-)áí- in placenames

Páirc, and ***Ráithín***, which are common elements in placenames, almost always get the lengthened front open vowel, e.g., in the south-west, *Páircín na Síóg* > Parkeennasheog

⁴¹ These pronunciations are from Denis Cadogan, Killesk, in the south-west; Richard Sinnott (1944-2020), Tacumshin, in the south-east; Michael Fortune, Ballygarrett, in the north-east; and Aileen Lambert, Ballindaggin, in the north-west.

⁴² This pronunciation of *cáibín* was told to me by Paddy Berry, a native of Duncormick.

⁴³ For an example of *Páid* > ‘Padge’, we have the former Wexford County Councillor, Padge Reck.

(O.S., 1840), and an *Ráithín* > the Raheen (NFC S 870, 233); in the south-east, *Ráithín na Múr* > Raheenmoor [ɾa:mu:(ə)ɾ], and the common noun *páirc* [pa:ɾɨç].⁴⁴ In the east we find *Tigh an Ráithín* > Tinraheen; in the north-east, the official placenames *An Ráithín Loiscthe* > Raheenlusk, and *Páirc na gCros* > Parknacross; in the north-east, the official placenames *Ráithín na Gaoithe* > Raheenagee and *Baile na Páirce* > Ballinpark; and in the mid-west, the fieldname *Páircín* > Parceen (NFC S 882a, Carrickbyrne, Nick Ffrench, “Names of Fields”), and the official placename *Ráithín na hAbhann* > Raheena-houn (Kennedy, 1867, 19). The only exceptions to this are the official placename “the Rawheens” < *Ráithín*, in the mid-west and possibly, the fieldname “Paur Fán” < Ir. ? *an Pháirc Fhionn* in the south centre (NFC S 882, 263).

In the south-east we find both the front and back open vowel types in *Baile Uí Mheannáin* > Ballyminaun, with the latter only being reported as having the lengthened back open vowel for the first time in 1840 (CÓC). The examples found outside the south-east with the lengthened front open vowel, are *Baile an Chorráin* > Ballycrane, and *Baile Bhúdráin* > Ballywoodrane’ in the east, and *Cill an Fháin* > Killynann and *Baile an Choráin* > Ballinacrane in the north-east. Examples of the lengthened back open vowel-sounds in placenames outside of the south-east include, in the south-west: *Páirc na Cloiche Báine* > Parknacloghabaunia ‘field of the white stone’ (O.S., 1840); in the mid-west: *Cúil an Pholláin* > Coolafullaun (CÓC), and *Tobar na Bó Báine* > Tobernabobaunia ‘well of the white cow’ (O.S., 1840); in the east: *Baile an Ruáin* > ‘Ballyrooaun’; and in the north-east, *Cnoc Leatháin* > Knocklahaun, and *Baile Uí Mheannáin* > Ballyminaun.⁴⁵

5.1.9 (-)ea-

⁴⁴ Both these pronunciations of *ráithín* and *páirc* are from Richard Sinnott (1944-2020), Tacumshin. It is highly probable that the placename is from *Ráithín Mór*, discussed later in this chapter.

⁴⁵ As mentioned above, one of the rare occasions where the back open vowel is used in an official placename in Forth and Bargy is *Baile Uí Mheannaín* > ‘Ballyminaun’ (recte *Uí Mhionnáin*?). However, even this has two local pronunciations, [baləmən'ɑ:n], the back open vowel as indicated by the official spelling,⁴⁵ and [baləmən'a:n], with the front type.⁴⁵ The following anecdote may be illustrative of the displacement of the front open vowel by the back open vowel, and the literal marginalisation of the latter. I met Nellie Wright (née Redmond) in Ballyminaun, in February 2013, and she was in her early 90s at the time. Nellie pronounced the townland as [baləmən'ɑ:n], and I asked her about [baləmən'a:n]. The answer was surprising: she told me that the latter was somewhere very close, but she couldn't exactly say where. We see here that for Nellie, the two pronunciations were noticeably different, and not interchangeable, but that as the latter pronunciation slips from public consciousness into the past, it slips to the liminal margins of the townland itself before it disappears. It might be wondered that the front type pronunciation lasted as long as it has done, given that the official spelling uses the back type, as the standardisation of the spelling of placenames since 1840 necessarily mitigates against a diversity of pronunciations, and often is antithetical to older forms – including Irish phonemes which are supplanted by Hiberno-English sounds.

Usually, where ‘e’ comes before a broad consonant, e.g., in ‘ea’ and ‘éa’ contexts, the on-glide has not only become a full phoneme in its own right, but has supplanted the ‘e’ as the dominant phoneme ‘a’/‘á’, relegating the ‘e’ itself to an off-glide. This is noted in other dialects (e.g., Munster: Ua Súilleabháin, 1994, §2.7; Connaught: Ó hUiginn, 1994, §2.6; and Ulster: Hughes, 1994, §4.4). Exceptions to this in disyllabic words of *-ea-án* construction are discussed in 5.4 below.

Where this *ea* > /a/ phenomenon occurs the most likely result is a front open vowel. For example, in an eighteenth-century Irish text from the south-west, *reatha* > “ratha” (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 4, 5). Examples from Hiberno-English survivals of Irish words include the following:

***Fear* ‘man’:** in Forth we find *fear sí* > “far-shee” (NFC S 879, Tagcoat, Ella Doyle, “the Leipreachan”), in the north-west, *fear rua* > “Far Rua” (Kennedy, 1866, 20), and in region unknown, *fear óg* > “faroge” (*GJ*, 1902, 127).

***Bean* ‘woman’:** in the north and mid-west of the county, *b(h)ean a’ tí* always gets *ea* > ‘a’: e.g., “van a tigh” (EG1), “vanithee” (*GJ*, 1902, 143; NRS, 5.2, 26; Kennedy, 1866, 61; 1867, 113, 147, 159, 203, 205), “the Ban-a-teagh” (Kennedy, 1866, 66), and “the banatigh” (Kennedy, 1870, 77).

***Ceant* ‘auction’:** as a noun, this word appears as “cant” in the Hiberno-English of the south-west (NFC S 873, 92), in the south-east (Hall, 1847, 150), in the north, generally (EG1) and in the mid-west (NFC S 899a, Raheen, Johnny Whitty, “Buying and Selling”).

***Feac* ‘spade’:** this becomes “fack” in the north, generally (EG1), and “faic” in the south centre (Ffrench-O’Neill, 2009, 124).

Other examples include *beannacht leat* > “banacht llath” ‘blessing with you’ (Kennedy, 1870, 41, 44) *dreas* “dhrass” ‘a turn at something’ (Kennedy, 1866, 161), and *a ghrá geal* > “a gra gal” (Kennedy, 1867, 270), in the mid-west and north-west; *geansáí* [ˈjɑŋvzʲiː]⁴⁶ in the south-east, > “gansey” in the south-west (NFC S 870, 103); *meas* [mas] ‘respect’⁴⁷ in the south-west and *preab* > “prab” ‘jump’ in Bargy (DHE, s.v.).

5.1.10 -eá-

Where a lengthened open vowel is preceded by a slender consonant and followed by a broad consonant, there is a mixture between back and front articulations of this unrounded

⁴⁶ This pronunciation of *geansáí* is from James Sinnott (1918–89), Tacumshin.

⁴⁷ This pronunciation of *meas* is from Denis Cadogan, Killesk, in August, 2015.

vowel, but with a strong tendency towards the latter; and with a tendency more to the lengthened front open vowel in the south-east, and the lengthened back open vowel elsewhere. This geographical divide is very neatly illustrated in the following examples:

Coileán ‘pup’: in the south-east, *coileán* /ho:lja:n/ (RÓS, s.v.) > “cullyaan” (EG2), “cull-yaane” (Lambert 1995, 188), and “cullyane” (Byrne, 2002, 84); and elsewhere, we find [ˈko:lja:n],⁴⁸ “culyawn” (NRS, 5.2, 5), and “cullyawn” (EG1).

tóiteán: in the south-east alone, we find both articulations used in the second syllable of *tóiteán*. We find the lengthened front open vowel in Bargy as /to:ça:n/ (RÓS, s.v.), “tow can” (Whitty, 1986–7, 42), and “towkjaan” (DHE, s.v. *tóiteán*); and in Forth as [t̪o:ca:n].⁴⁹ Examples with the lengthened front open vowel are much less frequent e.g., in Bargy, ‘towcaun’ (Lambert 1995, 190), and in Forth “thoke-awn” (Browne, 1927, 136). One speaker, Liz Jeffers of Kilmore (Bargy), appears to use both articulations, “tokyaun” /ˈto:kja:n/ (DÓM, 29).

niúdar neádar ‘fool’: all the examples we have of *niúdar neádar* are from the south-east, and all use the lengthened front open vowel, i.e., “noody naadie” (EG2), “nudinaa” (Byrne, 2002, 92, 89), and “nudinadin” (ibid.).

The situation is not so cut-and-dry with other examples, for instance: in the north-east we find the only example of *gabhaileán* [ˈgo:lja:n] ‘a fool’, i.e., the lengthened back open vowel.⁵⁰ In the north-west, we find both articulations in the male forename *Mícheál* > “Mihal” (Kennedy, 1855, 89; 1869, 280), and from the same source, “Mihawl” (Kennedy, 1855, 164).

5.1.11 á-vowels between slender consonants

We find the lengthened front open vowel in the official placenames *Baile Uí Choileáin* > Ballycullane in the south-west, and *Dún Soinneáin* > Dunsinane in the mid-west. Both back and front articulations can be used in unofficial placenames of the south-west and south centre: i.e., *Carraig Sheáin* > “Carrag Shan”, ‘John’s rock’, in the south-west (NFC S 870a, Ballycullane, Elizabeth Furlong “My Townsland” (Taylorstown), and “Carrig-Shawn” (NFC S 874, 200); similarly, in an unofficial placename in south central Wexford, the

⁴⁸ Reported to me by Michael Fortune from speech in the area of Ballindaggin, in the north-west.

⁴⁹ This pronunciation of *tóiteán* was heard by me many times from Chris Sinnott (1937-), Tacumshin.

⁵⁰ This pronunciation of *gabhaileán* is from Ivan Kelly, Gorey, and recorded by Michael Fortune, and played to me for the purposes of accurate phonetic transcription.

lengthened front open vowel is found in the final syllable in *móinteáin* “Moon Cans” (O’Reilly, 2009, 22), and “the Mooncáins” (NFC S 882, 274), but the lengthened back open vowel in “Moon Kauns” (NFC S 882, 273).⁵¹ In the north-east we find the lengthened back open vowel in the official placename *Moing an Oileáin* > Moneylawn (CÓC).

For examples from the south-east, we can choose the unofficial placename in Carne, *Ard a’ Draighneáin* [ˈha:ɹ̥di d̪ɹ̥ina:n],⁵² /ˈha:ɹ̥di g̪ɹ̥ina:n/ > “Hardy-grey-nane” (Lambert, 1995, 244),⁵³ “the hardy-gree-naan” (Byrne, 2002, 85), which all get a lengthened front open vowel. On the other hand, in Yola, a lengthened back open vowel is indicated in *airneáinín* > “arnaaneen” ‘work done at night’ (DÓM, 37).

5.1.12 *a* before long sonorants⁵⁴

There is a contrast of tendencies between the northern two thirds and the southern third of the county with regard to ‘*a*’ before long sonorants.

To judge by the evidence, diphthongs (e.g., [əu]) in this context are the least likely outcome in general, in Wexford, but they are the most likely form in the northern two thirds of the county in *-ann* contexts. In *-all* and *-am* contexts, a lengthened back open vowel [ɑ:] is prevalent in the north of the county. A short front open vowel [a] is normal for *-am* in the south-east of the county, but in this region, a lengthened back open vowel [ɑ:] predominates in *-all* contexts.

(a) *-all*

We do not have many examples of *-all* from the north of the county, but what we do find suggests the use of a lengthened back open vowel [ɑ:]: i.e., *maillín* > “mawl-yeen” ‘a slow-coach’ in the north (NFC 0096, 290, no. 183), and *diall* > ”jall” ‘appearance’ in the east

⁵¹ The difficulty with these examples of *Móinteáin* are that they may have been reduced to *móinteán* (the singular) before being affixed with the English plural suffix ‘s’, following English linguistic norms.

⁵² This pronunciation of *Ard a’ Draighneáin* was told to me by John Cussins (c.1937-) of Carne, in July 2015.

⁵³ This pronunciation of *Ard a’ Draighneáin* was collected by Sascha Santschi-Cooney, Carne, and kindly shared with me for this dissertation.

⁵⁴ In most dialects, vowels that were originally short were half-lengthened before long sonorant consonants i.e., *m*, *nn*, *ng*, *ll*, *rr*, and before *r* + a voiced consonant, especially when they were not followed by another consonant (cf. O’Rahilly, 1932, 49; Williams, 1994a, §2.3). In Munster, such vowels are diphthongised, except before *-rr* or ‘*r*’ + a voiced consonant (cf. Ua Súilleabháin, 1994, 2.14). In Ulster, the vowel usually remains short, except before *r* (O’Rahilly, 1932, 50). Ó hUiginn (1994, §2.21), notes that in these ‘*a*’-contexts, lengthening occurs (i.e., rather than diphthongisation). Although Ó hUiginn does not distinguish here between back or front open vowels, in surviving Connaught dialects, a (half-)lengthened back open vowel is usual in these contexts. Not having access to the monographs from Connaught, I am relying on my five years working on Inis Oírr (1999-2004), and regular consumption of Irish language media for this latter observation.

(NFC S 884, 36). The same vowel-sound [ɑ:] is indicated in the south-west, where we find *stiall* > “skjaul” ‘a streak’ (DHE, s.v. *stiall*), as well as in the mid-west, in the unofficial placename *Ball Mín* > “Ballmeen” (NFC S 873, 214). In the south-east, we find the same vowel [ɑ:] in the official placenames *Cnocán Gall* [ˌnɔxənˈgɑ:l]⁵⁵ and the unofficial placenames *Ball (a’) Chloiginn* [ba:l ˈtʰiːj(ə)n],⁵⁶ and *Baillín Domhain* > “Bawleendoon” (Butler, 1985, 220); as well as in Yola, where we find the common noun *steall* > “sthall” ‘poured out quantity’ (DÓM, 66).

(b) -am

The tendency with *-am* is for a lengthened back open vowel [ɑ:] in north Wexford, and a short back open vowel [ɑ] in the south-east of the county.

In an Irish text from the south-west, we find a lengthened open vowel (albeit with no indication as to whether it has front or back articulation), i.e., *m an am* > uim anám (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 2, 6); ‘uime an ám’ (ibid., 5); fán ám (ibid., 11, 32); and the same writer transcribes the lengthened open vowel in Stafford’s Lament (1799), in *An t-am* > an tám (line10); *am* > ‘ám’ (Ó Murchadha, 1799, line 26).

cam(-) ‘crooked’: on the Wicklow side of the north-east Wexford border, we find the fieldname *an Garraí Cam* > “the garriecaum” (NFC S 888, 204), and “The Gorrie Caum” (ibid., 290). From the same area, we find *cam* > “caum” — meaning ‘sick-looking’ (NFC S 888, 173), and this lengthened back open vowel is also used in north-west, east, and south-west Wexford in Hiberno-English [ˈkɑ:m^wɪʃ] > ‘caumish’ < Ir. *cam* + E. suffix *-ish*, although, the same word is found as “camish” in Ferns (in the north-west)⁵⁷

There is evidence of a short back open vowel [ɑ] in the south-east, in the unofficial placename, in Carne, *Camdrisleach* [kandrɪsl’ɑx], [kantri]l’ɑx] > “The condrishloch” (Byrne, 2002, 101), and “contrishelagh” (DÓM, 42).⁵⁸ However, all other examples from the

⁵⁵ Pronunciation of Knockangall is from Paddy Berry.

⁵⁶ This pronunciation of *Ball Cloiginn*, and any other information I have on the place, was told to me by Paddy Berry. He remembers that in the 1950s, when he and his friends would be cycling from Duncormick to Wexford Town, to watch a movie, they would be somewhat afraid when on the road through Murrintown, where *Ball Cloiginn* was on their left. No-one knew what the name meant, but it was a place that scared them (reason not explained).

⁵⁷ The word “cawmish” (tasteless) is from Mairéad Timmons, Marshalstown, via Michael Fortune, 2020.6.26). In the Marshallstown example it is used in the sense of tasteless food. In south-west Wexford, and Oilgate (in the east), *caumish* is used to describe an upset stomach, e.g., in sea-sickness (Arthurstown). In Ferns (north-west Wexford), it gets the spelling “camish”

https://www.facebook.com/folklore.ie/posts/1213304185693696?comment_id=1213466479010800

⁵⁸ The first pronunciation of *camdrisleach* was told to me by John Cussins in July 2015. The second was told to me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney of Barnawheel, Carne.

south-east are of the short front open vowel [a] articulation: in modern Hiberno-English, a short front open vowel [a] is used in *cam* [ham]⁵⁹ > ‘ham’ (NFC S 876, 3),⁶⁰ and the unofficial coastal placename of *an chamóg* > “the Hamogue” (NFC S 876, 3). This phoneme appears to be mirrored in the south centre in “Like Moll Cams lamentation, sorry too late” (NFC S 882, 287). This phoneme is also found in Yola as *cam bata* > ‘cambaute’ (DÓM, 41), but it is lengthened [a:] in the Yola unofficial placename of “The well of Caam Stone” (Browne, 1927, 130).⁶¹

sram(-) ‘*sleep matter in eye*’: in the north, generally, we find the usual lengthened back open vowel [ɑ:] in *sram* > “sraun” (EG1), and this is mirrored in the north-west/mid-west in *sramóga* > “shraumogues” (Kennedy, 1870, 98).⁶² In the south-east, the lengthened front open vowel [a:] is found in *sram* [sra:m], and a short back open vowel [ɑ] is noted in *sram* > “srom” (EG2).⁶³

(c) *-ann*

Evidence from the Irish texts gives us *gránlann* > grann-lann (Gibbons, 1740–80, 377, s.v., ‘a garner’), possibly equating *-ann* with a lengthened back open vowel [ɑ:]. Ó Murchadha (1778) is more unambiguous about this vowel-sound being a short front open vowel [a]: e.g., *leanbh* > “leannbh” (ibid., 9), and *bean* > “bean” (ibid, 40, 61). The diphthong [əu] is apparent in an Irish text from Bargy, 1936, where there is apparent rhyming between *domhain* / *ann* (*the Kilmore Journal*, 2015–6, 135, line 35).

Crann ‘tree’: in an eighteenth-century text from the south-west, *crann* > “cran” (Gibbons’ Parody, line 19), suggests a short, and therefore, more probably a front open vowel [a], and this appears to be agreed with by another Irish text from a contemporary in the same region: *i gcrann* > accran (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 9). In the Hiberno-English texts, in the north-west, we find the diphthong [əu] in *crann smáil* > “crown small” (NFC S 892, 126).

⁵⁹ This pronunciation of *cam* was told to me by Richard Sinnott Jr., in relation to Tacumshin Lough, “the ham o’ the lough,” (i.e., the bend or cove in the shore (in Ballyboy)). remembered from James Sinnott (1918–89), who would take a cot out on the lough for fishing and pleasure. The word is close to extinction these days, since ‘the bend’ meant something to boatmen looking inland, but since nobody any longer goes out in cots on the lough, the cove is invisible to the onlooker (unless from aerial views).

⁶⁰ “the ham of the green” – cf. “ham of the lough,” above.

⁶¹ Sascha Santschi-Cooney has identified the location of the Caam Stone Well, and describes it as being one stone on top of another flat stone, but that the stone on top is like an ‘s’-shape and is very bent.

⁶² Incidentally, Don S. Piatt also reports the lengthened back open vowel of both *cam* and *sram* in Wicklow (Piatt, 1933, 16, 17).

⁶³ The pronunciation of *sram* I heard from my father, Richard Sinnott (1944–2020). When I was about nine years old, I asked him what the stuff you wipe from your eyes when you wake up, was called. I had thought it to be Standard English until much older.

However, in the same region, the short front open vowel [a] is apparent in *crann tabhail* > “cran-tuabhal” (Kennedy, 1855, 16); and possibly, also, we have a lengthened front open vowel [a:] if *crann* > “crane” (Kennedy, 1866, 72).⁶⁴

Cancrán ‘cantankerous person’: the only word that only has examples of the diphthong [əu] articulation in this context theoretically should not be getting it: *cancrán* > *canncrán* > “unkran” (Kennedy, 1866, 86; 1867, 208), ‘ounkrawn’ (Kennedy, 1870, 77), and ‘ounkraan’ (Kennedy, 1867, 265), in the mid-west.

Glean ‘glen’: the diphthong [əu] is common in *gleann*: e.g., in the north-east, the unofficial placename *an Glean* [d̪ʲəun],⁶⁵ as well as a fieldname on the Wicklow side of the border, “Glown” (NFC S 888, 290). In the east, we find the unofficial placename *Gleann Tí Eoin* [d̪ʲəun ti: ‘o:ən].⁶⁶ In the mid-west, there is the unofficial placename (*an*) *Gleanntán* > “Glounthaan” (Kennedy, 1855, 128; 1866, 179; 1869, 133; 1870, 149). On the other hand, Piatt tells us that in Wicklow, “*gleann* is always *glann*, as in Ulster, and north Leinster and north Connaught, never *glown* as in Munster” (Piatt, 1933, 9), and this short front open vowel [a] is evident in *Gleann* > “glann” in a fieldname in the north-west (NFC S 892, 115); and also in south-west and mid-west Wexford; in the south-west, the unofficial placename *Gleann Dabháin* > “Glann dabhainn” (NFC S 870a, Ballycullane, Elizabeth Furlong, “My Townsland” (Taylorstown); and in the mid-west, the unofficial placename *Gleann na Móin* > “Glan-amoin” (Kennedy, 1855, 110), “Glanmuin” (Kennedy, 1867, 1, 8, 11), and “Glanmuin” (ibid., 190).⁶⁷

Ceann ‘head’: in keeping with *-all* and *-am* examples in the northern two thirds of the county, in particular, in the north-west, we find the lengthened back open vowel in the *-ann* context in *ceann-ghadaí* > “Caun Godhy” (Kennedy, 1870, 38), in the mid-west or north-west, but such examples are surprisingly rare.; indeed, this one may be unique.

Ran ‘verse’: > in the north-west “ranns” (Kennedy, 1855, 94) indicating a short front open vowel [a].⁶⁸

⁶⁴ The sentence in which “crane” is used renders its meaning ambiguous: “When I got to the market, I went to the crane, plucked the wool off, sold it, and brought home the skin.” Possibly, “crane” < *crann* ‘a frame’ (on which hides were hung at a fair).

⁶⁵ This pronunciation of *glean* is from Brian Ó Cléirigh, Screen. Brian says, ‘The Gleann is where the famous hurler, Martin Storey, lives (November 2014).

⁶⁶ This pronunciation of *Gleann Tí Eoin* is from a recording made by Michael Fortune in the Blackwater area, of local, native residents, and shared with me for the purposes of accurate phonetic transcription.

⁶⁷ In Hiberno-English representation of placenames, Glynn/Glin, or Glen, comprise the majority of the representations of this element. The dative singular *glinn* could be responsible for the former, and the latter could be an Anglicisation.

⁶⁸ The English plural suffix *-s* indicates to us that the *ran* is to be read as in English orthography.

Teann ‘hole’: we have seen (above) that the short front open vowel is used in south-west Wexford in *gleann* > “glan”, and the only other relevant examples we have in the south-west agree with this, and all relate to the word *teann* > “chan” in Hiberno-English unofficial placenames: “Black Chan” (NFC S 870a, Loftus Hall, Maggie Colfer, “Names of places”), “Charlie's Chan” (NFC S 870a, Loftus Hall, Lilly Colfer, “Place names”), “Claim Chan” (NFC S 870a, Loftus Hall, Mary Barry, “Place names”), and “Peggie Hurlies Chan” (*ibid.*).⁶⁹

(d) -arr

Vowel-lengthening is apparent in an Irish text from Caroreigh N.S., in the south centre, i.e., *gearrtha* > *geárrtha* (NFC S 883, 2). Otherwise, the only examples we have for this context point to the usage of the front open vowel (possibly short [a]). In the mid-seventeenth century, in the north-east, we find the placename *Barr Easca na gCaorach* > “Baraskynegiragh” (Civil Survey, 1654); and in the north-west, the unofficial placename of *Barr a' Gheata* [ba:ɹə 'ʃaɹʲə], and the nickname, *Seán Gearr* > “Shan Gar” (Kennedy, 1869, 169).⁷⁰ This sound is also suggested in the mid-west, with *cú gearr* > “cooyar” (Kennedy, 1867, 143), and *gear-phota* > “yarra futtha” (Kennedy, 1867, 269). In the south-east, again, the front open vowel is evident in unofficial placenames such as *Ard a' Draighneáin* ['ha:ɹdi dɹəina:n],⁷¹ and with the element *bairrín* in “The Breen lock” (Lambert, 1995, 244)

5.1.13 Allophones for ‘a’

(a) short front open vowel [a] > [e:]

The only example we have of a short front open vowel being turned to an allophone [e:] in a non-palatalised context is in the Hiberno-English of the south-east, where *arcán* > “aracaun” /'e:ɹəkan/ and “aeracaun” ‘the runt of a litter’ (DÓM, 27–8).

(b) ai > [a] > [e]

Even though the first syllable of *praiseach* (‘groundsel’) generally gets a front open vowel ‘a’ in Wexford, the front mid-open unrounded vowel is also found in two regions, e.g.:

⁶⁹ Teann, apparently, is used meaning ‘hole’ in this part of the county (Furlong, 2004, 189–90). For possibly similar usage in Forth, cf. ‘The Chants Field’ /tʃants/ in Lady’s Island – told to me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney.

⁷⁰ This pronunciation of *Barr a' Gheata*, in Ballindaggin, was told to me by Michael Fortune.

⁷¹ Collected by me from John Cussins, Carne, on July 28th, 2015.

in the south-west, “preshough” (NFC S 873, 313), and in the north-west, “preshaugh” (NFC S 892, 207) etc.⁷² In other words, using Irish orthography, *praiseach* > *preiseach*.

(c) **á > é [e:] allophone**⁷³

This apparent vowel-raising (from lengthened front open to lengthened mid-open vowel) sometimes occurs where *á* is between two slender consonants: e.g., “A Shéadhain” (Ó Murchadha, 1769, 4, verse 30, line 1); *réamhráite* > *reimh réidhte* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 61); E.Mod.Ir. *go meadhón laoi/lae* > Mod.Ir. *go meán lae* > “go méadhan lao” (ibid., 19); and *Gráinne* > *Greinne* (ibid. 40).

Práta ‘potato’: both O’Rahilly (1932, 241) and Williams (1994a, §12.2) see the variants *práta* and *préata* as being a lexicographical matter, with the latter variant being in northern dialects of Irish, and the former being in southern dialects — and both being found in Leinster, with *préata* even being found in south Kilkenny. However, *práta* > *préata* could instead be a reflection of the raising of the lengthened front open vowel to a lengthened front near-open unrounded vowel [æ:], a lengthened slightly retracted front mid-close unrounded vowel [ɛ:], or because the last vowel-sound in particular lends itself less to lengthening, the allophone is even raised all the way to a lengthened front near close unrounded vowel [e:].⁷⁴ In the word *práta*, the raising of the lengthened front open vowel is evident in [ˈpɾe:ti:z] in south-east and east Wexford;⁷⁵ in “peates” (EG2), “paytee” (DHE, s.v. *práta*), in the south-east; “prates” in the north-west (NFC S 896b, Ballymore, Susie Rynhart, “Potato crop”) and “praita” in the north, generally (EG1), and in the mid-west (NFC 1344, 89). From unknown areas, we also find “paytee”, “pratie”, and “praita” (DHE, s.v. *práta*), and “praytee” (NRS, 4.16, 5).⁷⁶

⁷² Examples of front open vowel in *praiseach* include “prasip” in the south-west (NFC S 870, 17), [ˈpɾɪʃɔx] in the south-east,⁷² *praiseach buí* > “prasaugh buce” in Yola (DÓM, 82), *praiseach* > “prashock” in the south centre (Ffrench-O’Neill, 2009, 125), “prashoc” (NFC S 888, 172) in the north-east, “phrashuck” in the north-west (NFC S 893, 30), and “prashock” in the mid-west (NFC S 899b, Adamstown, Thomas P. Doyle “The Sprayer”).

⁷³ It may be of interest to note a possible example of this phenomenon in Garryrickin, mid-west Kilkenny, where *tá* > *tá* > *thá* > ‘the’ as found in an Irish text (Seán Ua Duinn, in Ó hÓgáin, 2012, 221).

⁷⁴ In this proposed schema, *fata* (cf. ORahilly, 1932, 241), is lexicographical because of the magnitude of the divergence from *práta*.

⁷⁵ This pronunciation of *práta* is from Richard Sinnott (1944-2020), Tacumshin; and Joan O’Connor, on 2018.9.13, who heard it from her grandad (a native of Curraclloe).

⁷⁶ The front open vowel appears to be found in *práta* > “pratee[s]” (Hall, 1847, 24, 32, 90, 150, 197), in the south-east; but the only other variant found elsewhere is *práta* > “pyates” (NFC S 870, 195), and “piates”/“piaties” (Byrne, 2002, 93); and again “pyates” in the south-east (Lambert, 1995, 190), or “pyatie”/“pyaties” in the north-west and mid-west (Kennedy, 1869, 49), as well as “pyatees” (ibid., 99; 1866, 177), and in the mid-west, “pyates” (NFC S 899, 376, 402).

Áth ‘ford’: throughout most of Wexford, *áth* gets a lengthened back open vowel-sound⁷⁷ but the default pronunciation of *Áth Chláir* > ‘Aughclare’ in the south-west is [e: ʰe:(ə)ɪ].⁷⁸

In other examples In other official placenames we find *Béal Átha an Trá* > “Ballintray” in the north-east and *Buaile Phrácáis* > “Ballyprecas”, in the north-west. Regarding common nouns, we find possible clues to this same phenomenon: e.g., where *gág* ‘crack in skin’ generally gets the lengthened back open vowel throughout the county, we still find *gág* > “gaiog” in the north-east (NFC S 888, 107).⁷⁹ We also find the vowel-raising allophone suggested in the long vowel in *Camán* > “comain”, in the mid-west (Kennedy, 1855, 24);⁸⁰ and P.W. Joyce writes *arán seagail* > “reansha” (cit. DHE, s.v. *arán seagail*).⁸¹ The final example of this possible vowel-raising is in *Yola*, where *báire* > “bairy” ‘goal in the game of hurling’ (DHE, s.v. *báire*).

This allophone is also suggested in *práiscín* > “praisceen” in Bargy (Lambert, 1995, 190), despite this word generally receiving the lengthened back open vowel in other Wexford examples.⁸² Although *geáitsí* ‘antics’ gets the lengthened front open vowel throughout the county, in the Hiberno-English of Bargy, it gets a front mid-open unrounded vowel as [ɟets].⁸³ In the north-east, there is suggestion of raising to [e:] in *méireán* > “mareyeen” ‘peg’, (NFC S 888, 237). In the Hiberno-English of the south-east, in the setting

⁷⁷ Examples of the back open vowel in *áth* are “Aughnamore Ford” (O.S. 1840 in the south-west; “The Och Road,” in the south-east (NFC S 875, 44); “The Awk Hill” in the south centre (NFC S 882, 273); *áth beag* > “Auchbeag” in the east (NFC S 885, 46); *Áth na gCaorach* > “Aghnegeragh” in the north-east, in the (Down Survey, Parish of Kilcavan); *Áth(a) Salach* > “Achsalach” in the north-west (Kennedy, 1855, 155); and *áth* > “och” [ax/] in the mid-west (NFC 1344.234). The exception is *Áth Sáile* > Assaly [(ə)‘sa:li] in Forth – as pronounced by Richard Sinnott (1944-2020).

⁷⁸ My informant here was the late Mary Power, married to the late Leo Power, Somertown. Mary, herself, attended Aughclare National School in the 1930s.

⁷⁹ Examples of *gág* with the back open vowel include *gág* > “gawg” in the north (EG1), and in the mid-west (DHE, s.v. *gág*), > “gawg” /ga:g/ (DÓM, 25), in the south-east.

⁸⁰ The lengthened vowel in *Camán* can be either front or back open in *Yola*: “commanes” (DÓM, 78) and “comman”/commaun” (ibid., 41); it gets the back open vowel in the north-east in “camawn” (NFC S 891, 49).

⁸¹ The lengthened back open vowel is found in *arán seagail* > “rawnsha” in Bargy (DHE, s.v. *arán seagail*).

⁸² Examples of *práiscín* with the front open vowel include (throughout the county) “prasceen” (EG1; Kennedy, 1870, 147; EG2, (NFC 1399, 329); NFC S 879, 355), and in the north-east, “prasceen” (Howard, ed., 1984, 73), “prashgeen” (NFC S 888, 102), and “prashkeen” (NFC S 891, 49). The only examples of a back open vowel in the first syllable of *práiscín* are found in the south-east – as /pra:ski:n/ (RÓS, s.v.), and “prawskins” (NFC S 878a, Kilturk, Nicky Lambert, “Heard a Screech” [item 11]).

⁸³ This pronunciation of *geáitsí* was heard often enough by me, in the phrase “Look at the gets of him”, from Elizabeth ‘Bessie’ Cahill (1919–85), who was my granny, and who was ‘born and reared in Kilmore’, as she would say. The shortening of the vowel should not be surprising here, whether because of association with English ‘get’ or the rare practice of lengthening this vowel-sound in either English or Irish (unless possibly in the raised *á* contexts discussed elsewhere in this subsection). Examples of the usual front open vowel usage in this context in Wexford include /ja:tʃ/ in the south-east (RÓS, s.v.); “gaatchee”, in the south-west NFC S 870, 104); and “gaach” in the mid-west (Kennedy, 1867, 221). The only back open vowel example is “gauching”, in the south centre (Ffrench-O’Neill, 2009, 124).

of a short vowel before a long consonant, and in a palatalised context, we have *aird* > “aits” /e:ts/ ‘direction’ (DÓM, 27).

(d) *á* [o:] allophone⁸⁴

This occasional allophone appears to be a development from a lengthened back open vowel to a lengthened back mid-open vowel. In Stafford’s Lament, from Bargy, in south Wexford, we find this allophone in *Seán* > *Seodhan* (Ó Murchadha, 1799, title); *a Athar Sheáin* > *A athair Sheóin* (ibid., lines 22, 37, 43, 49, 58, 65, 71, 90); *a Sheáin* > *A Sheóin* (ibid., line 31); and *Seán* > *Seoin* (ibid., line 90). In another Irish text from the same scribe, we find *sampla* > *sómpla* (Ó Murchadha, 1769, 3, line 18), where the ‘a’ before the long sonorant has been lengthened to *á* before being raised to *ó*. The clearest example in Hiberno-English is that of the unofficial placename in the north-east, *Poll Sheáin* > “Pollshone Head” (O.S., 1840) /pəul ʃo:n/.⁸⁵ An example that is less clear is that of *áilleán* > “holeyaan” ‘a useless person’ in the south-east (EG2), “owlyawn” (Howard, ed., 1984, 73), and “oalyaan” (EG1), in north Wexford.⁸⁶ The same effect is also reflected in Hiberno-English in the mid-west, *foirneálaí* > “fourneils” ‘last of the eggs from a hen’ (NFC S 899a, Rathgaroge, Annie Furlong, “Care of Farm Animals”). We even find the possibility of the lengthened back open vowel being raised all the way to a lengthened back close vowel /u:/. In the Hiberno-English *sciúlán* [ʃcu:l̪u:n],⁸⁷ /sku:l̪ju:n/ ‘apron’ (RÓS, s.v.), ‘skuleyune’ /sku:l̪’ju:n/ (DÓM, 28), in the south-east; and [’sku:l̪u:n], in the mid-west.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Collected by Joseph Lloyd, in *An Claidheamh Solais*, February 2nd, 1911, 5–6; cit., Ó hÓgáin, 2012, 197.

⁸⁵ In north-west Kilkenny can be found the official placename *Tullach Ruáin* > Tullaroan, which suggests a raising of the back open unrounded vowel to a back mid-open position (i.e., ⟨ɑ:⟩ > ⟨o:⟩), at least when adjacent to a sonorant. Two examples of this phenomenon are reported in the vernacular Irish of Johnswell, north Kilkenny: i.e., *beirt bhan* > *beirt mhná* > *beirt mhnó*;⁸⁵ and *Dé Máirt* > *Dé Móirt*. I have heard the pronunciation of Polshone from several natives of Ballygarrett, including Michael Fortune.

⁸⁶ Once source explicitly equates “ole-yawn” to *áilleán* (NFC 0096, 274, no. 2), but cf. Ó Muirthe (2000, s.v. *uaileán*) for the note of uncertainty.

⁸⁷ This pronunciation of *sciúlán* is from Diarmuid Ó Muirthe ‘A People Apart’, (RTÉ, 1969). ‘...their word for an apron’. Diarmuid has even syllable stress in his pronunciation, and says that the first element [ʃcu:l̪] is from Flemish, and that the *-iún* is an Irish diminutive. <https://www.rte.ie/archives/2019/0503/1047290-baronies-of-forth-and-bargy/>

⁸⁸ This pronunciation of *sciúlán* was told to me by Mogue Curtis, Adamstown, on October 28th, 2016. There are several written examples of the word from the south-east, e.g., “school-une” (Browne, 1927, 136); “skowloon” (NFC S 876, 6); “scoolune” (NFC S 878a, Kilturk, Nicky Lambert, “Heard a Screech” [item 11]); “skoolyune” (EG2), “schoolyune” (NFC 1399, 329), “skewlune” (Butler, 1985, 220); and “sculewn” (Lambert, 1995, 190).

5.2 *e*-vowels⁸⁹

5.2.1 *-ea-*

The *ea* diagraph usually reduces the ‘e’ to a signifier of palatalisation of the preceding consonant, so that only the ‘a’ is pronounced as a vowel or a phoneme in its own right (cf. 5.1.9 above), but there are exceptions to this. T. F. O’Rahilly notes *ea* > *e* as “preserved” in some Ulster examples (O’Rahilly, 1932, 176), suggesting that historically, ‘e’ was the main vowel, and that ‘a’ primarily signified that the following consonant was velarised. In Wexford, the only possible example of this effect from the Irish texts is *seacht* > *secht* (Ó Murchadha, 1769, verse 5, line 3). In spoken Hiberno-English, today, there are a few possible examples. Firstly, a common expression of appraisal or approval in Wexford Town is [de:(i)ʃ], [dɛ(i)ʃ] < ? *deas*.⁹⁰ Kennedy spells the plural of *meadar* as “medhers” ‘beeker’ (Kennedy, 1855, 14), and “methers” (Kennedy, 1869, 229), in the north-west; and this latter spelling is also found in the south-west (NFC S 870a, Loftus Hall, Lilly Colfer, “Food in olden times”).⁹¹ From an unknown region, we find *seas* > “shess, shiss, shass” ‘stand’ (NRS, 4.16, 5).⁹²

This last example clearly also shows an instance of vowel-raising from *ea* > *e* > *i*, and indeed, *ea* > *i* in disyllabic words with ‘ea’ in the first syllable; and ‘án’ or ‘óg’ in the second, is evident in Wexford Irish, especially where the medial consonant is a sonorant. Such examples are as follows: *sceallóg* > “sgiológ” and “skilloge”, ‘a small potato’ in the north-east (NFC S 888, 102); *sceallán* > “scilleán”, ‘small potato, in south central Wexford (Ffrench-O’Neill, 2009, 124); *sgiollán* in the north-west (NFC S 890, 72), and perhaps, a transitional type (a front mid-open vowel), is suggested in “scelens” (NFC S 881, 229). In at least one word, the most recent position of a front close vowel is so marked that it is even

⁸⁹ In Standard Modern Irish, the letter ‘e’ does not often appear in Irish spellings unless it is accompanied by another vowel, with either ‘e’ or the accompanying vowel being reduced to the role of indicating the quality of the adjacent consonant. For example, in *deas*, ‘a’ is usually the main vowel, while ‘e’ indicates that the initial ‘d’ is palatalised. Where the following consonant is slender, in such cases, it is preceded by *-ei-*, e.g., *deise*. Where the preceding consonant is broad, (generally in loan words), this can be indicated by using ‘a’ or ‘u’ as the signifier of the velarised quality, e.g., *tae*, *bhfuel*, etc. Apart from where ‘e’ is used as a suffix (see 5.2.6, below), ‘e’ is only unaccompanied in prepositions *de* and *le*, as well as the adjective *te*, where ‘e’ is usually pronounced as a front mid-open unrounded vowel (ɛ). There being no evidence to the contrary in the Irish texts of Wexford, it may be presumed that the vernacular Irish of Wexford agrees with its counterparts everywhere else.

⁹⁰ I heard this word often, while visiting my cousins and brother in Wexford Town, growing up in the 1970s and 80s. Sometimes also heard, especially used by boys of a toy, “deadly desh/daysh”. Another example, from Bargo, in the early-nineteenth century, shows *ea* > ‘a’ in “Colleen das Crutheen Amo” (Hall, 1847, 167).

⁹¹ These ‘e’-spellings of *meadar*, can, however, be contrasted with examples of *smeadar* in Hiberno-English, i.e., in the mid-west, “smeádared” (DHE, s.v. *smeadar*); and in the north, generally, “smather” (EG1)

⁹² By contrast, Patrick Kennedy only represents the ‘a’ as the primary vowel in *seas* > “shas” (Kennedy, 1867, 134), and “shass” (Kennedy, 1870, 121).

lengthened as well as stressed. Throughout the county, we find *gearróg* > *giorróg* > *gíorróg* ‘a short drill in the corner of a field’: in the south-west [ˈji:ro:g],⁹³ in the south-east /ˈgi:ro:g/ (DÓM, 25), and this is mirrored in Taghmon, in the south centre;⁹⁴ and in the north-west [ˈji:əro:g];⁹⁵ although, the stressed vowel appears to be kept short in north-eastern examples, “girraed” (Piatt, 1933, 11; 1935, 33), and *giorróg* (NFC S 888, 102). Otherwise, among common nouns, in south Wexford, we find *spealóg* > “spilloque” ‘a tall person’ (Hall (1847, 21); *brealláin* > “brill-yawns” ‘items of furniture’ (DHE, s.v. *briollán*),⁹⁶ and *do gearrán* > *do giorrán* (Ó Murchadha, 1799, line 67).

In two words we find examples of *ea* > *io* > /u/: the first is *geadán* > *giodán* > *gudán* ‘state of nudity; buttocks’: in the north-west, we find *giodán* [ˈʝi.da:n],⁹⁷ and this ‘i’ variant is also found in Yola as “gidhaan”, modern Hiberno-English of Forth as “giddhawn” (Browne, 1927, 136); and the ‘u’ variant is found in opposite ends of the county: i.e., in Bargy [ˈguda:n] [ˈguda:n] /guda:n/ (DÓM, 25);⁹⁸ and in the north-east “good-gawm” (NFC 0096, 286, no. 146). Both ‘i’ and ‘u’ articulations are also found in Spreasán > *spriosán* > “sprishan” ‘a worthless person’ (Kennedy, 1855, 163; 1867, 190, 330; 1869, 8); *sprusán* in the south-west (NFC S 870, 103), and “sprushawn” from an unknown part of the county (*GJ*, 1902, 143 see 5.3 below).

In Connaught, *beag* > /b’og/, and /b’eg/ (Ó hUiginn, 1994, §2.6), and this latter variant predominates in east Munster (Breatnach, 1947, §41; Breatnach, ed., 1961, s.v. *beag*).⁹⁹ Hiberno-English gives the only clues with regard to Wexford in this regard, and these suggest that /b’eg/ is overwhelmingly predominant (in agreement with east Munster). We find *ceannbhán beag* > “canavonbeg”, ‘self-heal (herb)’ in the south-east (NFC S 879, 278), “canivawn beg” in the south centre (NFC S 883, 131), “canavan beg” in the east (NFC S 886, 135), “canabanbeg” in the north-east (NFC S 891, 50), “canavan-beg” in the north-west (NFC S 895, 327], etc. This tendency is apparent in scores of unofficial placenames, including *an Ghaineamh Bheag* > “The Goinabeg”, ‘little sand’ in the south-west (NFC S

⁹³ This pronunciation of *gearróg* > *giorróg* told to me by Denis Cadogan, Killesk, in August, 2015.

⁹⁴ This pronunciation of *gearróg* > *giorróg* > *gíorróg* is from a recording by Michael Fortune of local men in Taghmon, and played to me for accuracy.

⁹⁵ This pronunciation of *gearróg* > *giorróg* > *gíorróg* was told to me by Patrick Lambert, Ballindaggin.

⁹⁶ cf. similar properties in east Munster (Breatnach, ed., 1961, 60), *briolláin* (pl.) /b’r’u.la:n’, PH, CB/ Breatnach writes “I have not heard the word in Ring.” The alternative spelling *bhri-lláin* would suggest that Dr. Breatnach, ed., heard a sound nearer /i/ than /u/ in the first syllable,

⁹⁷ This pronunciation of *geadán* > *giodán* is from Mairéad Timmons, Marshalstown (via Michael Fortune, 2020.6.26), and recording shared for accurate recording of phonetics.

⁹⁸ Liz Jeffers in ‘A People Apart’, RTE (1969). <https://www.rte.ie/archives/2019/0503/1047290-baronies-of-forth-and-bargy/>

⁹⁹ In surviving dialects, /b’eg/ prevails in northern Connaught and throughout Ulster, while /b’og/ prevails in Connemara and west Munster. Unfortunately, here, though, I did not have access to the monographs.

873, 122); and other desultory examples include *cóta beag* > “cota-beg”, ‘little coat’ in the north-west (Kennedy, 1855, 13), and *pota beag* > “puttha beg,” ‘little pot’, in the mid-west (Kennedy, 1867, 269). In the primary sources, only one example of /b’og/ appears, and that is in the east of the county, in the unofficial placename *Áth Beag* > “Auchbeugh”, ‘little ford’ (NFC S 885, 53), and even though this may be agreed with by “Auchbeag” (ibid., 46), another source uses /b’eg/ in pronouncing the same placename: i.e., “Oc Beg” (ibid., 120). The same [e] pronunciation of this vowel is also found in *bheadh; dá mbeadh* > *dá meith* (Ó Murchadha, 1799, line 2; in de Brún, 1970, 47).

5.2.2 -éa-

We do not have many Irish survivals in daily Hiberno-English which shed much light on *éa* before a broad consonant, but *éa* [e:ə] is suggested in *céad* > “Kaid,” ‘a hundred’ (cit. de Vál, 1972–3, 91);¹⁰⁰ *Bláithnéad* > “Blanaid” – female forename – (Kennedy, 1869, 230, 231), and *buidéal* > “buideal,” ‘bottle’ (Kennedy, 1870, 44). Official placenames provide us with an abundance of examples: in the north-east, *Buaile Éana* > Boleany, and *Cill Éanach* > Killenagh; in the north-west, *Cill Chéasáin* > Kilcaysan, in the mid-west, *Béal an Átha Bhéaraigh* > Ballinavary, in the east, an *Bhuaile Bhréagach* > Ballybregagh, in Bargy, *Béac* > Beak [be:k], and in Forth, *Ráth an Éadain* > Rathnedan [ˌr̥aːˈtʰn̪eːd̪ˠn̪] (CÓC).

However, evidence of *éa* > /ia/, as in Munster (Ua Súilleabháin, 1994, §2.8), is to be found in the south-west and south of the county. In the Irish texts we find *Nár fhéadas* > *nár fhiadus* (Ó Murchadha, 1769, 1, verse 1, line 2), *téarma* > *tíorma* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 5), *nár fhéadadar* > *nár fhiadadar* (ibid., 61), and *néata* > *niata* (Ó Murchadha, 1799, line 85). In the Hiberno-English of Bargy, we are told of the fieldname *Coinicéar* > “Connigiar” (NFC S 877a, Mulrankin, Máire Ní Ryan “Names of Fields”).

5.2.3 -ei-

E before a slender consonant (i.e., *-ei-* [e]) is found in derivatives of the root *meil*, ‘grind’, which is preserved in Hiberno-English “melly,” ‘grindings’, in the south-west (NFC S 871, 92), and “melt” in the south-east (Whelan, ed., 1986–7, 18); in the south-west, in the semi-official placename *Tobar Fheileastraim* > “Ellistrum Well” (O.S., 1840); and from an unknown part of the county, *feiseog* > “fayshogue,” ‘a nap’ (*GJ*, 1902, 127). There is

¹⁰⁰ *Agus céad míle fáilte* > “agus kaid mille failthe,” from a verse written in 1830m MS 108 in the library of Dún Mhuire, the Franciscan House of Studies at Killiney.

occasional departure from this where *ei* > [i], e.g., in an Irish text from Bargy, *trí-dheirge* > *trí-ghirge* (Ó Murchadha, 1799, line 80); in Hiberno-English from Bargy, *leid* [led] > “lid,” ‘pointer; clue’ (DÓM, 21);¹⁰¹ and in the phrase *ná bac leis* > “nabocklish,” ‘don’t mind it/him’, in the mid-west (Kennedy, 1867, 129), which is also reported from an unknown part of the county (NRS, 5.2, 5).¹⁰²

5.2.4 (-)éi-

(-)éi- [e:] (lengthened front near close unrounded vowel) is widespread in Wexford Irish. In a 1930s’ Irish text from the north-east of the county, we find *in aoinneacht* (Early Modern Irish) > *in aonacht* (Modern Irish) > *in éineacht*: (NFC S 881, 276, §2), and in Wexford Town, *aoinne* > *éinne* > *aenne* (NFC S 881c, Wexford CBS, *Gan ainm*, “*Deachtú*” (3); “*Lá an Dreoilín*”); Séamus de Brún, “*Deachtú*” (2); “*Lá an Dreoilín*”); and “*d’aenne*” (NFC S 881c, Séamus de Brún, “*Deachtú*” (2)). There are several examples in Hiberno-English which agree with this, e.g., in Bargy, *féirín* > “fairín,” ‘a gift’ (DHE, s.v., féirín); in the north, *géil* “gale,” ‘yield’ (EG1, etc.); a fieldname in the mid-west, *Bá(bhú)n na Féire* > “Bánafaira,” ‘enclosure of the grass’ (NFC S 873, 214); and *b’fhéidir sin* > “bathershin,” ‘maybe that’ (Hall, 1847, 223). In exception to éi [e:] we find evidence of the [əi] diphthong in *péire* > “feidhre,” ‘pair’ (NFC S 881c, Wexford CBS, *Gan Ainm*, “*An t-Amadán agus na Bróga*”; Séamus de Brún, “*An t-Amadán agus na Bróga*” Mícheál Ó Croghallaigh, “*An t-Amadán agus na Bróga*”).¹⁰³

5.3 *i*-vowels and diphthong

5.3.1. [i], [i:]

There is one example of lengthening of the front close unrounded vowel [i:] in the Irish texts: e.g., *ciste* > *císte* (NFC S 881c, Wexford CBS, *Gan Ainm*, “*Deachtú*” (4)), but this is not corroborated anywhere else in the Irish texts, nor in Hiberno-English survivals, e.g., *cipíní* [ˈcipi:nz],¹⁰⁴ and *cis* [kiʃ], ‘basket’; or in spellings such as *driseoga* > “driseogs”

¹⁰¹ The pronunciation *leid* was heard often by Richard Sinnot Jr. from James Sinnott (1918–89) while the two were out fishing in a cot.

¹⁰² *Ná bac leis* > “nabocklish” is also recorded by Piatt, (1933, 16), in an east Leinster wordlist.

¹⁰³ Dinneen tells us that *péire* > *feidhre* in Munster (DIN, s.v. *péire*).

¹⁰⁴ This pronunciation of *cipíní* was told to me by Denis Cadogan, Killesk, in August 2015, and is general throughout the county.

‘bramble, blackberry bush’ (DHE, s.v. *driseog*). In at least one Irish survival in Hiberno-English, the ‘i’ is even reduced to a neutral vowel, even on the stressed syllable: *ciseán* [kəʃa:n], [ˈkəʃa:n], little basket’.¹⁰⁵ Also, in Hiberno-English survivals there may be shortening of lengthened ‘i’ e.g., *gríscín* > “griskin,” ‘a pork or lamb chop’ (Hall, 1847, 256; EG2), and “grisgín” (*GJ*, 1902, 41).

5.3.2 The diphthong (-)ia-

We have seen above (5.1.12), that the ‘i’ in *dial* and *stiall*, is reduced to an off-glide after the initial slender consonant, at least in examples from east and south-west Wexford, as well as from Bargy, in the south. However, two sources in Forth report *stiall* [sci:(ə)l].¹⁰⁶ Similarly, where *diabhal* ‘devil’, in all regions outside of Forth, has the ‘i’ reduced to a signifier that the initial consonant is palatalised, in a Yola song we find *diabhal* > “deel” (Browne, 1927, 133), even though, in Yola, we also find *diabhal* > “goul” (ibid., 132). We can see in these examples that the ‘i’ is not only the dominant vowel, but that it is also lengthened; and this is the situation in other instances of ‘ia’: e.g., *ciaróg* [ˈci:(ə)ɹ.o:g],¹⁰⁷ > “Keerogue” (EG2), etc., and *bia* > “bee,” ‘food’ (NFC S 871, 282; 888, 102; 892, 139; 902, 136), etc.

5.3.3 (-)io-

There are three main ways in which (-)io- is pronounced in Wexford. By far the most common is (-)io- [i] i.e., a front close unrounded vowel, with the ‘o’ being supposedly reduced to an on-glide onto the following broad consonant. However, representations of this on-glide appear to be absent from Irish survivals in Hiberno-English. Examples include *ciotóg* [ˈci t̪.o:g] in the south-west,¹⁰⁸ [ˈci t̪yo:g] in the south-east,¹⁰⁹ and “kithogue” in the north (EG1). Also, in the north, we find *sciob* > “skib,” ‘to snatch’; and *giobach* > “gibbagh,”

¹⁰⁵ This pronunciation of *ciseán* was told to me by Denis Cadogan, Killesk, in August 2015.

¹⁰⁶ This pronunciation is from Richard Sinnott (1944-2020), of Tacumshin, who used the word “skeel,” meaning ‘streak’ – e.g., ‘skeels of mud on the wheel of the tractor’. The second source is Ronan Barry of Piercestown, who reported the word to Michael Fortune in the context of ‘skeels of blood on your arm after a scratch’; as reported by Michael Fortune to me in the summer of 2020.

¹⁰⁷ This pronunciation of *ciaróg* is from Jane Fortune (1909-2014), from north-east Wexford, as recorded and shared with me by her grandson, Michael Fortune.

¹⁰⁸ This pronunciation of *ciotóg* was told to me by Denis Cadogan, Killesk, in August 2015.

¹⁰⁹ This pronunciation of *ciotóg* was told to me by Richard Sinnott (1944-2020), Tacumshin.

‘unkempt’(ibid.); and from the north-west and mid-west, Kennedy gives us *giolla* > “gilla,” ‘servant boy’ (Kennedy, 1866, 23, 27, 30; 1867, 358; 1870, 67, 99, 103).¹¹⁰

In eighteenth-century Irish texts from the south-west, we see *-io-* > ‘i’ in the following examples: *friotal* > *fritail* (Gibbons, RIA 23 F 22, 83, line 4); *mac ríogh na hIorrua* > *mac Rígh na hirruadh* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 26); and *ridire* > *rioduire* (ibid., 52, etc.). Regarding Irish survivals in Hiberno-English, as seen in 5.2.1, above, *-ea-* > *-io-* in disyllabic words with *-án* or *óg* diminutive suffixes, e.g., *sceallán* > *sciollán*, *sceallóg* > *sciollóg*, *spealóg* > *spiolog*, *gearróg* > *giorróg*, and *breallán* > *briollán*. It may be no coincidence that the intervocalic consonants in all these cases are sonorants.

The second most common variant is (*-*)*io-* > [u/o], i.e., the back close rounded vowel or back mid-close rounded vowel (hereafter the ‘u-type’). Words with examples only of this type, in Wexford, are much less common than the previous type, but include: in Forth, *sciodar* [ˈskuɹ(ə)ɹ] ‘**diarrhoea**’; *driog* > “droog” /d̪ˠruːgi/ ‘droplet’ in Bargy (DÓM, 24) *gliogar* > “glugger,” ‘rattling sound’, in the north-east (EG1), and the south-east (Byrne 2002, 85). In the north-west, we find the unofficial placename *Baile (na) Sionnach* > “Ballashonach,” ‘homestead of the fox’ (NFC S 892a, Newtownbarry BNS., Tomás Ó Dubhghaill, “Local place-names”), and “Ballyshonach” (NFC S 892a, Bunclody Convent, May Barry, “Mass Paths”), i.e., *io* [o].

Regarding words which have examples of both types, we have already seen how *ea* > *io* > ‘u’ in some words which can also have an *i*-type (5.2.2 above). The *i*-type is found in *giodán* in Yola, as well as modern Hiberno-English of the north-west and Forth, in the south-east. Similarly, we have seen how *spreasán* > *spriosán* can have either the *i*-type, as in examples from the north-west and mid-west, and the *u*-type, in examples from the south-west, and an unknown region of the county (ibid.).

So far, then, there is no geographical pattern to the distribution of the *u*-type, but a pattern emerges when we look at official placenames, where *-io-* > ‘i’ is the only form found in all regions except east Wexford, where the *i*-type and *u*-type are found in equal measure. In Bargy, we find *an Tiobar* > Gibberwell, and *Tiobar Phádraig* > Gibberpatrick, *Baile Liobarnach* > ‘Ballylibernagh’; in Forth, *an Briotás* > Brittas [ˈbriθəs], *Baile Giobac* > Gibboghstown, *Goirtín Mionnóg* > Gorteenminoge (CÓC) and in Yola, “Gur=cheen=min=ogue”; and *Baile Uí Ghiolláin* > Ballygillane (CÓC). In the south-east we

¹¹⁰ In Munster, this glide more often produces a /u/ phoneme, albeit with a preceding glide. In Ulster, this sound is more likely to be /i/ or neutral; and Connaught to agree with either. For example, cf. examples of *friotal*, and *pioc* in teanglann.ie, *foghraíocht*, s.v.

find *Baile Shiota* > Ballyhit; In the north-east, *Garraí an Bhriotaigh* Garrybrit, *Tigh na Sionnach* > Tinnashinnagh, *Cúil an Triondaill* > Coolatrindle; in the north-west: *Baile na Mionanach* > Ballynaminnan; and in the mid-west, *Coill Ghiobiúin* > Kilgibbon, *Baile an Bhriotáis* > Ballybrittas, *Easca an Bhiolair* > Askinvillar, and *Baile Ghiolsnaí* > Ballygillstown. In east Wexford we do find *Garraí Ghiobúin* > Garrygibbon, and *Buaile na mBriogadán* > Ballynabrigadane; but we also find *Sliabh na nGiorraithe* > Slievenagorea, and *Baile an dTiobrad* > Ballintubbrid.

A third variety is *io* [e], but we only find this in two words. The first is *Griog* > “greg,” ‘tease’, in the modern Hiberno-English of New Ross (DHE, s.v., *griog*), and Bargy (Whitty, 1986–7, 42; DÓM, 25), as well as in Yola (*ibid.*, 49). The second word is *giolcach* ‘broom’ and its inflections. Mostly, in this root *giol*, *-io-* [i] occurs. In the south-west, for example, we are told of the fieldname *Bá(bhú)n na Gíolcaí* > “Báwnagillty” (NFC S 870a, Poulfur, Mary Egan “Names of Fields”), and *giolcach* > *gilteac* (*ibid.*) — which is also found in the south-east (NFC S 877, 53) — “guilltock” (NFC S 871, 323), and *gilteoich* (NFC S 873, 69); and in the mid-west, “gieltagh” (NFC S 898, 87–8), and “gieltagh” (NFC S 898a, Park, Kitty O’Connor “Local Cures”), and “guilteac” (NFC S 899a, Raheen, Jack Whitty “Old Crafts”); and in the south centre, as “guilteach” (Ffrench-O’Neill, 2009, 125). The only *-io-* /e/ type to be found for this root is in Clonroche, in the centre of the county where we first find *giolcach* > “kiltie” (NFC S 899b, Clonroche, Máire Ní Chaoimh, “Local Cures”, the *i*-type, but which links to “flower of Keltie” < Ir. *giolcaí* (NFC S 899b, Siún Ní Uallacháin, “Local Cures”). This *e*-type may also be reflected in Anglicised official placenames such as *Fíodh Ard* > Fethard, and *Baile Iodoc* > Ballyeaddock (in the south-west of the county).

In one example only, the main vowel in *io* is neutral, i.e., the Irish survival in the modern Hiberno-English of Forth & Bargy, *bior* > [bəɹ],¹¹¹ but this may be an aberration, since we know that *bior* > “bir” is found in the north of the county (EG1). There are two examples, but only evidenced in Anglicised official placenames, of *-io-* /a/: i.e., *Tulaigh Uí Chionaoith* > Tullycanna, and *Ráth Iomgháin* > Rathangan, both in Bargy.

5.3.4 (-)ío-

¹¹¹ This pronunciation of *bior* is from Paddy Berry, collected by Sascha Santschi-Cooney, and kindly shared with me for the purpose of this dissertation.

(-)*í*o- [i:], i.e., a lengthened front close unrounded vowel, has examples including *gríosach* > [ˈg.i.iːfəx]¹¹² [ˈg.i.iːfak]¹¹³ /ˈg.i.iːfəx/ ‘embers’ (RÓS, s.v.);¹¹⁴ *cíoc* > “keek” /ki:k/ (DÓM, 26); *a bhanríon* > “vanreen,” ‘my queen’ (Kennedy, 1866, 227); *Beit na Díoga* > “bet-na-dheega,” ‘Bess of the ditches’ (Kennedy, 1867, 48, 191); *dlíog* > “dlieeg,” ‘ringing of bells’ (Kennedy, 1869, 98); *gíog* > “geeg,” ‘puff of wind’ (EG2), and *míog* > “meeg,” ‘cheep’ (EG1, EG2). These examples may indicate that, as with its shortened counterpart *io*, the onglide that would be expected in the transitioning front close vowel to the broad consonant has apparently disappeared, but it is also possible that the onglide was pronounced, but absent from the orthography (cf. DÓM, 20).

5.3.5 The vowel *i* before long sonorants

(a) *-ill*

Cill: in this context, the only useful examples we have of *-ill* following a slender consonant is in the word *cill*, ‘cell/chapel’, as it survives in Hiberno-English placenames, and occasionally as a common noun. The short ‘i’ [i] is evident in “the Kill Field”, which is recorded, respectively, in Bargy and Shelmalier West (south and south-centre) (NFC S 876, 126, 336; 883, 14). In the mid-west, we find this variant both in the fieldname and as a common noun when we are told of “The ‘kill field’ because there is a kill there” (NFC S 899a, Raheen, Bridie Kennedy “Local placenames”) in the north-east as “Killtown”, corrected by the teacher to “Churchtown” (NFC S 889b, Craanford, Sally Doyle, “Ancient Schools and Monasteries”); and *cill* > “kill” is obvious in an unofficial placename in the same region (NFC S 889b, Ballycanew, Betty Gregan, “Old Graveyards”). On the other hand, in north-east Wexford, we find the diphthong [əi] evident in the same word: e.g., *cill* > “kyle” (as a common noun) (NFC S 890a, Boulavogue, Mary Breen, “local raheens, moats and kyles”; John Leacy “Kyle”; Joseph Doran (2), “a kyle”). The diphthong also appears in all examples of *Seanchill*, ‘old chapel’, we find in Wexford: “Shankyle” in Bargy (Butler, 1985, 220), and “the Seana Kyle” in the north-east (NFC S 889, 44).¹¹⁵

¹¹² This pronunciation of *gríosach* was told to me by Denis Cadogan, Killesk, in August 2015.

¹¹³ This pronunciation of *gríosach* is from Mairéad Timmons, Marshalstown, with Audio produced and shared with me by Michael Fortune, 2020.7.2.

¹¹⁴ Of the 27 mentions of *gríosach* in the Hiberno-English texts, from throughout the county, only one has the possibility of representing the on-glide: *gríosach* > “grioshach” (NFC S 882a, Carrickbyrne, Josie Kehoe (2) [item 2]).

¹¹⁵ Although many of the sources conclude that these are from *seanchoill* (‘old wood’), it is much more likely that the origin is from *seanchill* (‘old graveyard/church’), given that the creation of new woods was not a well-known feature in Irish history – if anything, the opposite was the case, with clearances to create new arable land

Where *-ill* is preceded by a broad consonant, the three Irish survivals in Hiberno-English which provide clues are *aill* ‘cliff’, *coill* ‘wood’, and *poill* (*gs.* of *poll* ‘whole’) and are only found in placenames. The diphthong [əi] predominates, but some examples of the short ‘i’ [i] variants are also found, especially in *coill*.

Aill: *Aill an Phocáin* > Islafalcon (CÓC); > “Isle of Facan” (NFC S 885, 46), is an official placename in the east.¹¹⁶

Coill: the diphthong is evident in Forth in “The Kyle Rock” [kail ɹak].¹¹⁷ In official placenames, the diphthong is evident in *Ráth Coill* > Rathkyle (CÓC), and “Rathguile” (NFC S 899, 363), in the south centre; *an Choill* > Kyle’, Cnoc na Rátha Coill, > Knockrathkyle and Tor Coill > Turkyle, in the east: *Coill an Iarainn* > Kilanerin [kəilə'ni:ɹən], and *an Choill* > Kyle, in the north-east and *an Choill* > Kyle in the north-west (CÓC). However, the preponderance of such examples is of the short /i/, e.g., in Bargy, *Coill Logair* > Killugger; in the east: *Coill Mheistin* > Kilmisten, *an Choill Liath* > Killeagh, *Coill Leathard* > Killahard, *Coill Phiarais* > Kilpierce; in the north-east there are six, in the north-west there are eight, and in the mid-west, there is Kilgibbon < *Coill Ghiobúin* (CÓC).¹¹⁸

Poill: the only examples we have of *poill* come from the southern third of the county, and the only one not using the diphthong is in Bargy: *Móin Phoill* > Mountpill /mo:ən ɸi:əl/, and in Yola, (The) “Moan Field”, translated as Montfield.¹¹⁹ All other examples use the

and to eradicate possible refuge for outlaws and rebels. On the other hand, graveyards were liable to become full, and so, their churches abandoned and let go to ruin. Other examples may also point to the diphthong variant, e.g., the unofficial placename of “The Kyle” in the south-west (NFC S 871, 385, 386, 389, 395); but in such cases, it has not been ascertained as to whether the ‘Kyle’ in question is from *cill* or *coill*. Note the absence of the diphthong, as one would expect, from examples of the diminutive form, *cillín* > “Killeen” (NFC S 901, 210; NFC S 900a, Rathanubhair, Mary Doran “Old Graveyards”, as well as in the official placename *Tigh Cillín* > Tikillin, in the east.

¹¹⁶ *Aill an Phocáin* is glossed as “Áill na Phuchaín” (NFC S 885, 46).

¹¹⁷ This fieldname and IPA rendering is given to me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney, who comes from the same townland as the field itself. He writes: “‘Kyle Rock’ /kail ɹak/. The farm worker said it’s down in Barnawheel. There used to be a big rock there, supposedly about 200 tonnes in weight, which was blown apart some years ago (I suppose for the harbour wall in Rosslare). The rock was called the Kyle Rock and so naturally the whole field was given this name. The field goes up a gentle slope. It’s only two fields away from The Craantigeen. I think I’ve heard (or read) it being called the Cord Rock, but for now I only have the name “The Kyle Rock” on it.” Sascha later told me that there were some hawthorns growing close by the rock, which is only made possible in this windswept locality by the fact that the area is sheltered from the prevailing south-westerly winds by the gentle slope mentioned in his quote. It is possible that this clump of hawthorns was once much larger.

¹¹⁸ The six in the north-east are: *Coill Eigrin* > Killegran, *Torchoill* > Tarahill, *Coill Chonaib* > Kilconnib, *Coill na Smután* > Kilnasmuttaun, *Coill Chorcaí* > Kilcorkey, *Coill Droimín* > Kildrimeen. The twelve in the north-west are: *Coill Dalbhaigh* > Kildalco, *an Choill Bheag* > Killabeg, *Coill Bhóru* > Kilbora, Kiltomas, < Ir. *Coill Tomáis*, *Coill na dTamhan* > Kiltown, *Coill Chasathaigh* > Kilcasey, *Coill Chlochráin* > Kilcloran, *Coill Aileagáin* > Killalligan, *Coill Eachroma* > Killoughrum, *Coillte Riabhacha* > Kiltrea, *Coill an Iuir* > Killanure, *Coill Mhic Dhiarmada* > Kilmacdermot.

¹¹⁹ This IPA is based on the pronunciation of Mountpill from Chris Sinnott (1937-), Sigginstown, Tacumshin. The Yola source is Jacob Poole’s manuscripts in the Library of the Society of Friends, Dublin, as shared with me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney.

diphthong [əi]: e.g., in the south-west, *Ceann Poill* > Campile, and *Baile an Phoill* > Ballinphile; and in the south centre, Ros Poill > Rosspile (CÓC), and *Carraig a' Phoill* > Carrickfoyle Rock (O.S., 1840).

(b) *-im*

In an eighteenth-century Irish text from south-west Wexford, the diphthong [əi] is indicated in this context: *n chéad ghreim* > *an chéad ghréidhm* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 37); and *greim* > *gréidm* (ibid., 63).¹²⁰ There appears to be agreement with this in an Irish survival in the Hiberno-English of Forth (in the south-east of the county), where *an t-im* > “chime,” ‘butter’ (NFC S 879, 233).¹²¹

Where the ‘i’ is preceded by a broad consonant (signified by that consonant being followed by a broad vowel), examples of *suim*, ‘interest’, in most regions of the county indicate a lengthening of the ‘i’. We find it in the same Irish text as the previous example, where *suim* > *suím* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 55b); and *suim* > “seem” [si:m]¹²² survives in Hiberno-English in the south-west (NFC S 870, 101), in Bargy (NFC S 878, 2), and the south-east generally (EG2); in the south centre (NFC S 899b, Adamstown, Michael Master [first item]); and in north Wexford (EG1).

(c) *-inn*

In *Dánmholadh na Gaeilge*, there is apparent rhyming between *suí / bhinn* (Ó hÓgáin, 2012, 188, lines 11 and 12), suggesting a (half-)lengthened ‘i’ [i:] in *binn*; This is not the case in the verb *seinn*, where *ei* > short ‘i’ [i], in *sheinn é do shinn é*, and *dá sheinim* > *dá shinim* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 32). In the modern Hiberno-English of Forth (in the south-east), we have evidence of lengthening, with the diphthong [əi] as a rare alternative where *rinn* is used in placenames. This appears to be the case in the unofficial placename of An Roinn Mór > “Ryan Moor” (NFC S 878a, Carne, John Meyler, “Ryan Moor”).¹²³ Evidence of lengthened ‘i’ [i:] is found in Tacumshin, where Richard Sinnott (1944–2020) pronounced

¹²⁰ Cf. *feidhm* > *Féidhm* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 43).

¹²¹ To quote from this contribution for Murrinctown N.S., “I have a dash churn at home. [...] The top of it is called chime and the lower part is the body.” Ir. *an t-im* ‘the butter’ is the substance found at the top of the contents of the churn after churning.

¹²² This pronunciation of *suim* was told to me by Denis Cadogan, Killesk, in August 2015.

¹²³ *An Roinn Mhór* may have been an alternative name for the townland of Raheenmor, which Richard Sinnott pronounced as [ɾa:mu:(ə)r], or else, it may be an alternative name for the nearby townlands of the Ring, or Ring Green. All three townlands are on the eastern shore of Lady’s Island Lough.

the placename and placename suffix *Rinn* [i:ɪŋ].¹²⁴ This vowel-lengthening may have been far more widespread, or even general throughout the county, but have fallen foul of the ironing out of creases in the Anglicised spelling of *Ring* and *An Bhinn* > *Bing*' (also in *Forth*), etc. On the other hand, in mid-west Wexford, *linn* > "ling", as a noun, 'period of time' (Kennedy, 1867, 236.); and in the unofficial placenames, *Linn Bheag* > "Ling Veg", and *Linn Mhór* > "Ling Vore" (NFC S 897, 64), unless, of course, these too are merely convenient Anglicisations of what should be lengthened vowels. Nor do we see any evidence in the *Forth* placename *An Toinn* > *Ting*, which may originally have been sounded with the lengthened vowel (as with *Ring*, mentioned above).

Where the preceding consonant is broad (as indicated by the broad vowel after that consonant), (half-)lengthening [i:] is once again suggested in eighteenth-century Irish texts from the south-west: e.g., *a mhuinntir* > *a mhuántir* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 25), and this survives in the Hiberno-English of the mid-west/north-west of the county, in *muinntreach* > "meentrach," 'friendly' (Kennedy, 1866, 37).¹²⁵

(d) *i* before 'r' where 'r' is a long sonorant in a monosyllable

For examples of *aird* and *aired*, see 5.1.13 (e).

5.4 *i* after a broad consonant or *o* before a slender consonant

5.4.1 Overview

The diagraphs *oi* and *ui* signify that the preceding consonant (if there is one), is broad, and that the following consonant is slender, but either of the two letters in the diagraph can become the dominant vowel, reducing the first vowel to an off-glide, or reducing the 'i' to a mere signifier that the consonant is slender. The general trend in Wexford is for a mixture of these types in the (-)*io*- diagraph, and for the latter type (reduction of 'i') in the (-)*ui*- diagraph.

Before going any further, though, it is worth making a note on interpretation of Hiberno-English orthography in light of representations of Irish short 'o' [o]. Although the cardinal [u] is still found among older speakers of Hiberno-English, 'u' in Hiberno-English

¹²⁴ Richard made a point, one evening, of telling me that *Ring* etc. used to be pronounced as "Reeng", and proposed a phonetic spelling of "r.e.e.n.g.". At the time, we were discussing the locations of the Tacumshin places, the *Ring*, *Ringknock*, and *Ring Park*, respectively.

¹²⁵ Cf. the diphthong found in *muinnteara* /main't'ɾə/ in east Munster (Breatnach, ed., 1961, 303).

spellings is more likely to represent a short ‘o’ [o] as pronounced. This is not only the case in Standard English words such as ‘but’, but also in vernacular words where there is no conventional spelling. Hence, the use of ‘u’ in examples such as ‘thuckeen’ below is indicative of [o], or [ʊ] rather than [u]. Whereas, in tandem with this lowering of the /u/ vowel, ‘o’ has also lowered to a back open vowel [ɑ], as in the Standard English spelling ‘pot’ > Hiberno-English /pat/; the ‘o’ found in the below spellings, where relevant, are in the context of the older tradition (in the case of Yola), and established convention based on older linguistic conventions (in the case of official placenames etc.). Therefore, we cannot be sure that the use of ‘o’ here originally indicated the lowered vowel as it does in Modern Hiberno-English.

5.4.2 (-)oi-

Relevant examples from the Irish texts indicate *-oi-* [i]: e.g., in the south-west, *choilg* > *chuilg*, (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 33), and *bhoirb* > *bhuirb* (ibid.); and from Bargo, *foireann* > *fuireann* (*The Kilmore Journal*, 2015–6, 113).

Cnoic(ín), ‘(little) hill/thicket’: [i] tends to dominate in *Chnoic(ín)*, but [o] is more common in unofficial names in the south-east, and survives in occasional official placenames elsewhere. Examples of ‘i’ dominance can be seen in the following unofficial placenames: *cnoicín* > “Grikeen” (NFC S 892a, Ballindaggin, Teresa Hughes “Old Roads”), in the north-west; “The Crickeen” (NFC S 873, 214), in the mid-west; “Cricíns” (NFC S 871, 393) and “The Knickeen” (NFC S 873, 122), in the south-west; “The Crickeens” (NFC S 882, 274), in the south centre; *na Bánchnoic* > “the bawnicks” (NFC S 876, 3), and *Cnoicín* > “Nickeen” (NFC S 876, 44), in Bargo; “The Nickeens” (NFC S 878, 193), in Forth, and the official placename of *Tigh an Chnoic* > Tinnick, and *Cúl an Chnoic Bhig* > Coolaknickbeg in the east. On the other hand, we do find the unofficial placenames of *Baile an Chnoic* > “Ballyknock” (NFC S 884, 27), in the east; and the fieldnames *cnoicín* > “knockeen” (NFC S 877a, Mulrankin, Máire Ní Ryan, “Names of Fields”), in Bargo; “The Nuckeen” (Gaul, 2000, 85), in Forth; as well as the official placenames *Tigh an Chnoic* > Tinnock (in the south-west and north-east). Since the more recent *cn* /kr/ allophone articulations use only ‘i’ dominance, and ‘o’-articulations appear to be slightly more pervasive in the older *cn* /kn/ allophone

examples (see Chapter 6), we can surmise that *oi* [i] is more recent than *oi* [o], but that its usage came before the arrival of *cn* /kr/.

At first glance, it might look as if other relevant placename elements do not necessarily support this surmise, but such apparent incongruities can often be explained.

Cros > Crois ‘cross’: we find the common noun *croisín* > “crusheen” in the south centre (NFC S 882, 478); but regarding the unofficial placenames, even though we have *cros* > *crois* > “crush” in the north-west (NFC S 892a, Ballindaggin, Peggy Codd, “Hidden Treasure”), and *Crois Philib* > “Crush Philip” in the mid-west (NFC S 882, 417, 452; 897, 60) in other unofficial placenames we find the ‘i’ dominating, e.g., *na Crosa Beaga* > *na Croise Beaga* > “the Chrishe Bega” in the north-east (NFC S 888, 75), *Crois Mháirtín* > *Criosmáirtín* in the south-west (NFC S 873, 366), *croiseog* > “Crishoge” in the north-west (O.S., 1840), and *croiseoga* [ˈkɾiso:ɣ(s)], in the east. The ‘o’-type is evident in *cros* > *crois* as indicated in the official placenames such as *na Crosa Beaga* > Crossabeg in the east, and *Baile na Croise* > Ballycross in Bargy.¹²⁶

Cos > Cois ‘footpath’: a similar development of *cos* > *cois* may well have occurred as an element of unofficial placenames (i.e., meaning ‘footway’): e.g., “Cush-a-mi-shouk” in Forth (Gaul, 2000, 85), “The Cush Gap” and “the Cush Caam”, ‘the crooked footpath’, in the east, and “Somers’s Cush” in the north-east.¹²⁷

Cloch > Cloiche (gs.) ‘of the stone’: in Bargy, we find the unofficial coastal placename, *An Cloichín* > *An Clicín* (NFC S 876, 3), but all other examples of *cloiche* are ‘o’-type: e.g., in the south-western fieldnames *Bán na Cloiche Léithe* > “Bána-clocailei” (NFC S 870, 218), and *Páirc na Cloiche Báine* > “Parknacloghabaunia” (O.S., 1840), as well as in the official placename *Bealach Cloiche* > Ballyclogh in the north-east. It is notable that the only ‘i’-type in these examples occurs in the diminutive form *cloichín*. For *cloiche* to have ‘i’ dominate might be cause for confusion with the nominative singular *cluiche* ‘game’. We actually do find this confusion in an Irish text: *cloiche* > *cluiche* (NFC S 881c, Wexford CBS, Mícheál Ó Croghallaigh, ‘an t-Amadán agus na Bróga’).

¹²⁶ Unusually, *o* > *e* is apparent in the Bargy official placename of *Cros Fhearnóg* > Crossfarnoge [kɾasʲʲaɲoːg] (Yola: “Cress Varnogue”) (From Sascha Santschi-Cooney’s kind sharing of his transcription of Jacob Poole’s recording of Yola versions of placenames from the Library of the Society of Friends, Dublin).

¹²⁷ “The Cush Gap” is reported to me by Michael Fortune and Sascha Santschi-Cooney, respectively, and is a coastal spot near the village of Blackwater. According to Michael, it is in the townland of Ballyconniger Upper. Cush Caam (in Knocknasilloge), and Somers’s Cush (in Ballinoulart, near Kilmuckridge), were told to me by Michael Fortune, who tells me that all three cushes are short-cuts used by fishermen. The Cush Caam is windy enough, since it has to go around several sand-dunes.

Goirtín ‘little field’: the ‘i’-type does not appear to have affected some placename elements, e.g., *goirtín* is given the ‘o’-type in all examples, e.g., in the unofficial placenames “Guirtín” in the south-west (NFC S 871, 53), “the Curcheen” in the mid-west (NFC S 899, 356), “Gortin” in the south centre (ibid., 354), and in the north-west (Kennedy, 1855, 2); and the official placenames in Bargo *-na Goirtíní* > Gortins (in Yola, “Gur=theen=es”), and in Forth, *Goirtín Mionnóg* > Gorteenminoge (in Yola, “Gur=cheen=min=ogue”).¹²⁸ Although there is no obvious explanation why there is no example of an ‘i’-type in *goirtín*, it is worth noting that throughout the official placenames of Ireland, there is not one example of an ‘i’-type for this word, either, with only *Gorteen* and *Gurteen* to be found (logainm.ie s.v., *goirtín*).

Coinicéar ‘rabbit burrow/warren’: similarly, in at least the southern third of the county, ‘o’ is the only type found in the placename element *Coinicéar*: e.g., “Conigear” in the south-west (NFC S 870, 16), “Connigear” (NFC S 870a, Loftus Hall, Seosaimhín Ní Dhubhgaill, “Names of places”); and in Bargo, “Connigiar” (NFC S 877a, Mulrankin, Máire Ní Ryan “Names of Fields”). To explain the preservation of the ‘o’-type here, it might be remembered that English has a very long, and relatively strong, presence in the southern third of Wexford, and so the older Irish ‘o’-type was more likely to have been preserved, and indeed, latterly, have become the default, with the extinction of Irish.¹²⁹

Notwithstanding the ‘o’-type in the only example of the common noun *croisín* (mentioned above), and the Yola preservation of *coimrí* > “comree,” ‘trust, confidence’ (DÓM, 42), and in the mid-west, *toitín* > “totheen,” ‘cigarette’ (Kennedy, 1867, 120); the ‘i’-type is to be found in the few remaining relevant examples of common nouns. In a 1938 Irish text for the Schools Collection, *lár an toir* > *i lár an tuir* (NFC S 881c, Wexford CBS, Séamas de Brún “Deachtú” [1]); in Bargo, *roisín* > “risheen” /riˈʃi:n/ ‘raisin > snack’ (DÓM, 28). Where words begin with *oi-*, [i] seems to predominate, e.g., *oiniúin* > “ingion,” ‘onion’ (EG2), and “innion” (EG1) [ˈiŋˠən];¹³⁰ and the unofficial placename, *Oileán Eachtach* “illan Eachtach” (Kennedy, 1866, 174). This does not appear to be the case in the male

¹²⁸ These Yola representations have been transcribed from Jacob Poole’s manuscripts in the Library of the Society of Friends, Dublin, and kindly shared with me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney.

¹²⁹ The placename element *drom* has not been included in this discussion, since the variant ‘drom’ appears to be the only form used in Wexford placenames (cf. FGB, s.v. *drom*).

¹³⁰ This pronunciation of *oiniúin* was general in Tacumshin, at least while people grew their own, and didn’t buy them from shops. I have not heard many people use the word since the last of my grandparents died (James Sinnott (1918–89). My brother Patrick’s foster granny, Margaret ‘Maggie’ Murphy, from Ballymurn, was of a slightly newer vintage, and he reported to me that when asked what was in a stew she was making, she would reply “Pig’s ting ‘n’ ingyins.”

forename, *Oisín* > “Ossian” (NFC S 900a, Rathanubhar, Katie McGrath, “**Ossian Back in Ireland**”).

5.4.3 Alternative vowel-sounds for (-)oi-

oi > [e]: in Déise Irish, *oi* /e/ in *croiceann*, *oibre*, *oibrigh*, *oifig*, *troigh*, *troid* (Breatnach, 1947, §453). In mid-west and north-west Wexford, we find *Giolla an Chraiceann* [*Chraiceann*] *Gabhair* > “Gilla na Chreckan Gour,” ‘the boy-servant of the goatskin’ (Kennedy, 1870, 103), and “Gilla na Chreck an Gour” (Kennedy, 1866, 23, 27); and in the north-west, *troithín* (< *troithín*) > “a threheen,” ‘a slipper or stocking’ (Kennedy, 1869, 306).¹³¹ The same *oi* [e] pronunciation is evident in official placenames with the element *doire*, e.g., *Corrdhoireán* > Corderraun, as well as sundry other examples throughout the county (CÓC).

toicín > “tuckeen,” ‘teenage girl’ (*EG1*) in north Wexford, and “thuckeen” in the mid-west (Kennedy, 1867, 236), demonstrates a persistence of the ‘o’-type in everyday common nouns, although we do find the ‘i’-type in the south centre as “teekeen *ticín*” (Ffrench-O’Neill, 2009, 124). However, other examples of *toicín*, from Forth and Bargo, illustrate another vowel-shifting phenomenon. As suggested by the Modern Irish spelling *craiceann* (< *croiceann*), *-oi-* [a] is sounded in this word in Connaught and Ulster (teanglann.ie s.v. *craiceann* (foghraíocht)). In Forth and Bargo, we see this shift in *toicín* > “tackeen” (*EG2*, Lambert, 1995, 190), “thackeen” (Butler (1985, 220; (NFC S 882, 1)) /*taki:n*/ (RÓS, s.v.).¹³²

The same characteristic might be indicated in an eighteenth-century Irish text from south-west Wexford: *scoilt* > *sgailt* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 34), but alternatively, this example could indicate *-oi-* > *-ai-* /e/, by analogy with *craiceann* (as mentioned in the previous paragraph).

5.5 o-vowels

5.5.1 Basic and common o/ó-sounds: o

¹³¹ cf. “troighthíní, trehans, footless stockings,” (North Meath), *GJ* 1902, 143).

¹³² In Munster, *oi* /i/ in *toice*, and in Connaught, a transitional type is evident in *oi* > /e/ (FGB, s.v. *toice* (foghraíocht)).

O’Rahilly (1932, 176) notes that the usual Modern Irish *o/ó*-sound (the rounded back mid-open vowel [o]), was originally much lower, i.e., closer to a back open vowel [ɑ]. In Wexford, this older form is commonplace in Irish survivals in Hiberno-English, but so is the more recent raising of the vowel to [o]. The only evidence in the Irish texts is of this more modern form, so that it is possible that the older form was, at least, on the wane by the time the last native Irish was being spoken in the county. In Hiberno-English, this trend is evident in *-io-* > ‘u’ in Irish survivals of Hiberno-English discussed in 5.4.1 above, but we also find it in such survivals with broad consonants on either side. It might be considered, also, that the back open vowel [ɑ] was increasingly used for *a*-vowels (see 5.1 above), which would have encouraged the raising of the ‘o’ > [o] to avoid confusion. In other words, it is probable that a synchronised vowel-shift occurred somewhere towards the latter days of spoken native Irish in Wexford.

The following examples are in order of the predominance of the back open vowel [ɑ:] articulation, or type:

Gab, ‘mouth’: the Irish survival *gab* in Hiberno-English, shows ‘o’ [ɑ]: e.g., *gab* > “gob” (EG2), in the south-east.

Colpa, ‘calf, unit of land’: the older (open) form [ɑ] is also found in Forth & Bargo, as “*collop*” (EG2), and in north Wexford (EG1); but the newer (raised) form is evident in Bargo “*colpaun*” /kol’pa:n/ (DÓM, 23).

Loch, ‘lake’: Piatt notes the earlier (open) [ɑ] form in Irish survivals in mid-Wexford in the 1930s, in *loch*, and *in torc*, ‘boar’ (Piatt, 1933, 25). Elsewhere, in north Wexford, *loch* > “lock (NFC 0096, 288, no. 166); in Forth, *loch* [lax],¹³³ and Bargo, ? *Báirín (a’) Locha* > “The Bareen lock” (Lambert, 1995, 244.); in the south centre, *Bullán a’ Locha* > “Bullan Loc” (NFC S 883, 31); and in the mid-west, *lochán* [’laxɑ:n].¹³⁴ in east Wexford, *Loch Dubh* [lax du:],¹³⁵ and *Loch Mór* [lax ’mo:ə^h];¹³⁶ and in north-west Wexford, *Loch na bPéist* [lax

¹³³ This pronunciation of *floch* is standard among more traditional speakers of Hiberno-English in Tacumshin.

¹³⁴ This pronunciation of the fieldname, *lochán*, was told to me by Mogue Curtis, Adamstown, on October 28th, 2016.

¹³⁵ This pronunciation of the unofficial placename, in Screen, was told to me by Michael Fortune.

¹³⁶ This unofficial placename was collected by Michael Fortune from Mick and Tommy Carroll of Ballyconniger, near Blackwater, on June 7th, 2019, and the recording shared with me for the purposes of phonetic transcription.

nə 'pe:sti].¹³⁷ But, on the other hand, we do find 'o' [o], also: in east Wexford, *Loch na mBó Marbh* [lox nə mo: mɑ(ə)v], and *Loch na bPéist* [lux nə bi:st].¹³⁸

Cloch, 'stone': this word has mostly examples of 'o' > [ɑ]: e.g., in the south-west, *Tigh na gCloch* > "Tinnaglogh" (O.S., 1840), "Thinaglock" (NFC S 874, 182), and 'Tighnaglock' (ibid., 195); and in the same region, *Tobar na Gloch* > "Tobernaglogh" (O.S., 1840). The only /o/-type we find for the survival of this stem, *cloch*, in Hiberno-English is in the common noun *clochán* > "cluckawn" (GJ, 1902, 127).

Scolb 'scollop used in thatching': we find this in the south-west and north-east as "sgollups" (NFC S 870, 103; 888, 98, 262), and "scollop" in Forth & Bary (EG2), and north Wexford (EG1). The only example where we find the newer (raised) [o] articulation is in the south-central unofficial placename *Áth na Scolb* > *Och-na-scullubh* (NFC S 870a, Ballycullane, Mary Egan, 'Ghost story'), but in another text, the same placename is assigned open articulation [ɑ] as "Augh na Scolp" (NFC S 882, 274). *There is also* a third type, in that a front open unrounded vowel [a] can also be used, at least according to some Hiberno-English survivals: e.g., in Forth ['ska.ləp] as well as ['skaləp],¹³⁹ which is spelt as "scallop" from an unknown part of the county (NRS, 4.16, 5), and we find the plural "scallops" just north of the Wexford/Wicklow border (NFC S 888, 172).

Cogar, 'whisper': in this word, both lowered and raised articulations of the vowel appear throughout the county, with no apparent pattern. The older, open, form appears in Bary as "cochering" (Hall, 1947, 136); in Forth as "cogairing" (iFSC.882, 1); in the north-west as "coggeren" (NFC S 890, 72) and "cogaring" (NFC S 892, 126). The newer (raised) form [o] is reported in Bary /kugər/ (RÓS, s.v.), and "cuggerin" /'kögərn/ (DÓM, 24); in the north-east, as "cuggering" (NFC S 888, 106), and in the north, generally, as "cugger" (EG1).

colúr < Early Modern Irish *colbhar*, 'pigeon': This word provides us with one example of each of the vowel-types mentioned, and both are in Yola: i.e., "colure" (DÓM, 94), and "cooloor" (ibid., 42), albeit with an extra and lengthened raising to [u:] in the latter example.

dromán: the raised vowel [o] is predominant here, e.g.: in Bary /druma:n/ (RÓS, s.v.); in Forth & Bary, "drumaan" (EG2), and in Yola, as well as in north Wexford, as

¹³⁷ This pronunciation of *Loch na bPéist* was recorded by Michael Fortune from Eddie Warren, Gorteen, Templeshambo, and shared with me for the purposes of this research.

¹³⁸ These pronunciations of *Loch na mBó Marbh* and *Loch na bPéist* (small lakes near Screen), were told to me by Brian Ó Cléirigh, in November, 2014.

¹³⁹ Both pronunciations of *scolb* were told to me by Richard Sinnott (1944-2020), Tacumshin.

“drummaun” (DÓM, 45; EG1). Our only old (open) [a] example is from the north-east, “dromaun” (NFC S 891, 50).

poc-, ‘billygoat’: all examples of this word use the raised vowel-type, sometimes even raised to [u]: [puka:n] in the south-west;¹⁴⁰ in Bargy, /puka:n/ (RÓS, s.v.); [po'xa:n] in Forth;¹⁴¹ ['pux a:n] in the south centre;¹⁴² ['puka:n] in the mid-west;¹⁴³ in the south centre, *poc* > “puck” (NFC S 882, 546); in the north, “puck” is ‘a blow’ (EG1); from just north of the Wicklow/Wexford border, we find *pocán* > “puckawn” (NFC S 888, 172); and even from the Yola dialect we find “puckawne, puckane” (DÓM, 62).

Scológ, ‘small farmer’: in the remaining words, which also only have the raised vowel-type in examples, we do not have many sources. From mid-west Wexford, we find “scullogue” (Kennedy (1867, 124), and from the same source, as well as an unknown source from an unknown region, “sculloge” (Kennedy, 1869, 8; *GJ*, 1902, 142).

Dol, ‘noose’: in the north-east, *dol* > “dul” (NFC S 888, 103) [dol];¹⁴⁴ in the north-west, “dull” (NFC S 892.270), and in the mid-west, “dhull” (NFC S 899b, Clonroche, Máire Ni Chaoimh, “Old Houses” etc.).

Pota, ‘pot’: *pota* > “puttha” is found twice on the one page in a text based in the mid-west (Kennedy, 1867, 269).

As mentioned earlier, in the Irish texts we see evidence of /o/ articulation, or evidence that the more open vowel-type was not intended: e.g., *go moch* > *go much* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 16); and *thomadh* > *thumadh* (ibid., 61). Similarly, we find such forms in the Wexford CBS contributions to the Schools Collection in 1938: e.g., *ollamh* > *ullamh* (NFC S 881c, Wexford CBS, Gan Ainm, “*Deachtú*”, 29–4–38; ibid., Martin Beale, “*Deachtú*”, 24–6–38).

5.5.2 ó

In this context we do find examples of *ó* [a:] (i.e., the back open vowel), and almost all of these are found in Yola, or the modern Hiberno-English of Forth & Bargy.

Tóchar ‘causeway’: the first example of the open vowel [a] being articulated for ‘ó’ is *tóchar* [ˈtakə], as found in north-west Wexford,¹⁴⁵ and agreement with this is apparent,

¹⁴⁰ This pronunciation of *pocán* was told to me by Denis Cadogan, Killesk, in August 2015.

¹⁴¹ This pronunciation of *pocán* is from Richard Sinnott (1944-2020), Tacumshin.

¹⁴² This pronunciation of *pocán* is from a recording of local men in Taghmon, on November 13th, 2019. It was recorded and shared by Michael Fortune. Those in the recording are Maurice O’Shea, Eddie Waters, Lar Molloy, Jim Morrissey. All further reference to this recording will be truncated for the reader’s convenience.

¹⁴³ This pronunciation of *pocán* is from Mogue Curtis, Adamstown, and told to me on October 28th, 2016.

¹⁴⁴ This pronunciation of *dol* was collected by Michael Fortune from Paddy O’Leary (1937-), Kilmuckridge, and the audio shared on Facebook, 2019.9.24, 9.02pm. The definition given is ‘a handful of straw used in thatching’.

with lengthened vowel intact, in *tóchar* > “tauCHer” from an unknown region (*GJ*, 1902, 42), and possibly with the spelling “Tocair” in the east of the county (*NFC S* 885, 22). Even with *tóchar*, though, the raised vowel is found, e.g., in Bargy, [to:xər] (*RÓS*, s.v.).

Sóch ‘satiated’: all examples of this word use *ó* /[ɑ] e.g., in Bargy, ‘saak’ /sa:x/ (*DÓM*, 28); in Forth & Bargy, “sawk” (*EG2*); and in Yola, “saaughe” (*DÓM*, 63).

póg: while we find *ó* [o:] in the survival of this word in Yola, i.e., “poage, poag” (*DÓM*, 61), we find the older open vowel [ɑ:] in “paugh-meale” (*ibid.*, 60), and *póg* > “paugh” (*Browne*, 1927, 135).

Bóthar, ‘road’: in Yola it is reported that *bóthar* > “bater” (*DÓM*, 38), which is redolent of *scolb* > “scallop” mentioned in the previous subsection, but even in Yola, we find *ó* [o:] in *bóthar* > “boagher” (*ibid.*, 38), and “burgher” (*Browne*, 1927, 129). Other examples of this word contain *ó* [o:]: e.g., in Bargy, *bóthar* /bo:xər/ (*RÓS*, s.v.), and “bótar” /bo:ʔər/ (*DÓM*, 22), and in Forth, [‘bo:x(ə)].¹⁴⁶

Móta, ‘moat’: in Bargy there is a bridge called *Móta Caillí* > *Mát Caillí* > “Mát Cailee” (*NFC S* 877, 22), or “Ma Caillye” (*Lambert*, 1995, 244) [ma: caʎi:].¹⁴⁷

Otherwise, apart from some examples of *ó* being further raised to [u:] when adjacent to a sonorant (see next subsection), the remaining examples are of *ó* [o:]: e.g., in Bargy, *tóiteán* > /to:ça:n/ (*RÓS*, 107), and “tokyaun” /‘to:kja:n/ (*DÓM*, 29); and in Forth, [ʔo:.ca:n];¹⁴⁸ As mentioned in the previous subsection, in the east, is the unofficial placename *Loch na mBó Marbh* [lox nə mo: mar(ə)v]; and in the north-east, is the official placename, *Fódach* > Fodagh [fo:dək].¹⁴⁹

5.5.3 *ó* /u:/ adjacent to sonorants

Examples of the raising of *ó* [o:] > [u:] in the proximity of a sonorant is exemplified in the north-west, in *Áth na Tóna* > “Ac na Tuainne,” ‘? ford of the back end’ (*NFC S* 893, Baile Marascaile, Mary Connors, “My Home District”) and in the mid-west, *buachaill an*

¹⁴⁵ This pronunciation of *tóchar* was told to me by Michael Fortune. It is the name of a path in the foothills of the Blackstairs Mountains in north-west Wexford.

¹⁴⁶ This pronunciation of *bóthar* was general in Tacumshin, at least up until the 1980s or 1990s. It gave its name to a local newspaper, *The Boker*, as well as being an element in many fieldnames and other unofficial placenames in the surrounding curacies.

¹⁴⁷ This pronunciation of *Móta Caillí* was told to me by Sammy Sinnott (c.1927-2020). *Móta* < Anglo-Norman *mote* (*McManus*, 1994, §11.3).

¹⁴⁸ This pronunciation of *tóiteán* was told to me by Chris Sinnott (1937-), Sigginstown, Tacumshin.

¹⁴⁹ This pronunciation of *fódach* > Fódagh was told to me by Michael Fortune, Ballygarrett.

dreoilín > “*Bouchal na dhruleen*,” ‘wren-boy’ (Kennedy, 1867, 234); and in Forth, *bord* [bu:(ə)ɹd] ‘table’.¹⁵⁰

Several examples of *móin* > /mu:n/, ‘bog’ have been mentioned in 5.1.6 above, from south-central Wexford, and we can add to this the wonderful English transposition of “the Moon Wheels” (NFC S 882, 273), < Ir. ? *na Móinte Mhaola/Chaola*; and in the mid-west, the same vowel-sound is apparent in *Poll a’ Mhóin* > “Pullavunes” (see next subsection); however, we find *móin-* /mo:n-/ in north Wexford in the common noun *móintín* > “moantyeen” (EG1). Similarly, we find *ó* /u:/ in the south-west, where the unofficial placename *móiteán* > “Moochawn,” ‘little moat’ (NFC S 873, 121), and as the common noun “moocawn” in the north (EG1); but we find *ó* /o:/ in the unofficial placenames *Móitín* > “Moteen” in the north-east (NFC S 889, 44), and *Móta Beag* > “Motabeg” in the east (NFC S 886, 268).

Mór, ‘big’: as an element in placenames, sometimes we find *mór* /mu:r/: a fieldname in the mid-west is called *an Bá(bhú)n Mór* > “The *Bán Moor*” (NFC S 882, 453) and *an Bog Mór* > “the Bog Moor” (NFC S 898a, Park, James O’Neill, “Local Place-Names”); in an unofficial placename in Forth, *an Rinn Mhór* > “Ryan Moor” (see 5.3.5c, above), and a 1654 form of the official placename of *an Baile Mór* > “Ballamoore” (Down Survey, and CÓC, s.v.). Also, in Forth, we have the official placename *Síol Mór* > “Shilmoor” /ʃil’ mu:ɹ/, sometimes in Modern Hiberno-English, as well as ‘Sheel=moor’ in Yola.¹⁵¹ Traditional speakers of modern Hiberno-English in Bargy and Forth still pronounce *an Chill Mhór* [çil’ ‘ mu:(ə)ɹ].¹⁵² However, in all other examples from throughout the county, *ó* /o:/ prevails. From the northern end of the county, we find *buí mór* > “Bweemore,” ‘dyer’s rocket’ (*GJ*, 1902, 127),¹⁵³ *clú mór* > “cloomore,” ‘great fame’ (ibid.), *lus mór* > “lussmore,” ‘foxglove’ (*GJ*, 1902, 141; Kennedy, 1866, 92–3); in Forth & Bargy, *cóta mór* > “cota more,” ‘great coat’ (EG2); and in east Wexford, the fieldname, *Garaí Mór* [gari mo:ɹ] ‘big plot’,¹⁵⁴

5.5.4 o before long sonorants

¹⁵⁰ This pronunciation of *bord* was told to me by John Roche, Wexford Town.

¹⁵¹ The IPA for Shilmore was kindly shared with me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney, himself a native of Carne, who heard it locally pronounced with both /u:/ and /o:/. The official translation of ‘Shil-’ < *siol*, is possibly in error, and the common element ‘Shil-’ could instead be from *sil*, a local dialect word for a stream.

¹⁵² In English, this parish and two villages (including the Quay), are Kilmore. Bessie Cahill (1919–85), for example, a native of Kilmore, as well as her son, Richard Sinnott (1944–2020), only ever used this pronunciation of [çil’ ‘ mu:(ə)ɹ].

¹⁵³ *Buí mór*: *bot: reseda luteola* (dyer’s rocket); (lit: ‘big yellow’)

¹⁵⁴ This pronunciation of *Garaí Mór* was told to me by Michael Fortune on November 7th, 2015.

(a) *-oll*

The only examples we have for *o* in the *-oll* context is in the placename element *poll*, ‘whole’. Most official placenames with *poll* as the first element are pronounced with the diphthong [əu]i.e., /pəul/: e.g., in the south-west, Poll Maolmhuaidh > “Poulmaloe”; in Bargy, *Poll Raithín* > Pollrane [pəulɾa:n];¹⁵⁵ in Forth, Poll Rancáin > Pollrankin [ˌpəulˈɾanç(ə)n];¹⁵⁶ in the east, and in the mid-west, Pollpeasty [ˌpəulˈpe:sti]¹⁵⁷ < Ir. Poll Péiste (CÓC). Similarly, the majority of unofficial placename examples use the diphthong [əu], i.e., *-oll* /əul/: e.g., in the south-west, “the Poul” (NFC S 870, 363; 871, 178, 260); in the south centre, *Poll Bán* > “Poul Bann” (NFC S 882, 273); in the mid-west, *Poll an Easa* > “Poulenass” (NFC S 902, 180, 191), and “Poulnass” (NFC S 902a, Ballyhoge, Peggie O’Brien, “Local Heroes”); in the east, *Poll Salach* > “Poul Slach” (NFC S 885, 50); in the north-west, Poll a’ Phaiste /pəul əˈpasti/; and in the north-east, *Poll Sheáin* > [pəulʃo:n].¹⁵⁸

However, other pronunciations of the vowel in this context are also apparent. In Bargy, the official placename, *Poll Manach* > Pollmanagh /pu:lmanəx/,¹⁵⁹ as well as /pəul-/, e.g., in Yola, “Poul=managh”,¹⁶⁰ and in modern Hiberno-English, “Poulmanna” (NFC S 876, 219). Also, in Bargy, both the diphthong [əu] and the lengthened back close vowel [u:] are found in the unofficial placename *Poll Móna* > “poulmona (pool móna)” (Butler, 1985, 220). The vowel is given another articulation in mid-west Wexford, i.e., [u] in *Poll (na) Móna* > *Poill a’ Mhóna* > “the pullavones” (NFC S 899, 355), and “the pullavunes” (NFC S 899b, Adamstown, Kitty Bradley, “Names of Local Fields”); using the same sound, *poll* is probably also the first element of the unofficial coastal name in north-east Wexford of “Pulliskeen” /ˌpɒlɪˈski:n/.¹⁶¹

(b) *-om*

In Bargy, we are told of a fieldname, *crompáin* > “Croompawns” (Butler, 1985, 220), agreeing with two examples of *-oll* in Bargy (just mentioned) with a lengthened back raised vowel [u:] in this context. All other relevant examples in the *-om* context are from eighteenth-century Irish texts from south-west Wexford, and they indicate a lengthened vowel (rather

¹⁵⁵ This pronunciation of Poulrane is from Richard Sinnott (1944-2020), Tacumshin.

¹⁵⁶ This pronunciation of Poulrankin was also told to me by Richard Sinnott (1944-2020), of Tacumshin.

¹⁵⁷ This pronunciation of Poulpeasty was told to me by Noel Redmond, a native of the townland.

¹⁵⁸ This unofficial placename was given to me by Michael Fortune, Ballygarrett, who grew up close to the place.

¹⁵⁹ This pronunciation of Pollmanagh was told to me by Richard Sinnott (1944-2020), Tacumshin.

¹⁶⁰ This Yola spelling of Pollmanagh was transcribed by Sascha Santschi-Cooney from Jacob Poole’s manuscripts at the Library of the Society of Friends, Dublin, and kindly shared with me.

¹⁶¹ The placename and pronunciation were told to me by Michael Fortune, a native of Ballygarrett.

than a diphthong). Although we cannot be sure whether the ‘ó’ in these spellings indicate a back close vowel, or a back mid vowel, the final example in the following list indicates *ó* > *ú*, albeit in *-oim* > *-úim*, rather than an *-om* context. The examples include: *com* > *cóm* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 5), *do chrom* > *do chróm* (ibid., 44), *trom-shluaite* > *tróm shlóightibh* (ibid., 2), *trom* > *tróm* (ibid., 7, 19), *dromlán* > *dhrómlán* (ibid., 39), and *i ndroim* > *an dhrúim* (ibid., 40).

(c) -onn

In this context, we have the possibility of four variants, i.e., *-onn* [əun], [o:n] or [u:n], and ‘-ann’, indicating either a lengthened front open vowel [a:], or a lengthened back open vowel [ɑ:]. As mentioned in 3.20.2, above, *Buachail na Gruaige Doinne* > “Bouchal na Gruaga dhowna” indicates (via *doinne* > *donn* + *a*), the diphthong [əu] in the mid-west (Kennedy, 1867, 61).

-onn [o:n]: Early Modern Irish *fonamhaid* (Modern Irish *fonóid*) > *fonnmhuid* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 10).

-onn > [u:n]: *connracht* > *cúnracht* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 57); *-onn* > /un/: *igconnradh* > *a ccunnradh* (ibid., 11), *anonn* > *anunn* (ibid., 65); *-onn* > ‘-ann’: *fonn* > “fann” (ibid., 68).

(d) -ionn

Fionn: there are four ways of pronouncing the vowel in this word/context. In the south-west, we find the fieldname *na Bá(bhú)nta Fionna* > “Bána fionn (fune)” (NFC S 870, 218), which suggests a lengthened back close vowel [u:]. In Forth, the nickname for someone called Fintan is *Fin* [fʰon], and this may be reflected in the spelling, *Fion* from the mid-west (Kennedy, 1866, 174; NFC S 898, 29). In the north-east, *Fionn* > “Fin” (NFC S 888, 105), and we also find this spelling just north of the Wicklow/Wexford border (NFC S 888, 172), as well as in north-west Wexford (NFC S 893, 25). In the north-west and mid-west, *fionn* > “Fann” (Kennedy, 1866, 204).¹⁶²

(e) -or(-)

The raising of the lengthened back mid vowel [o:] to a back close vowel [u:] predominates in the limited examples we have for this context. Examples are:

¹⁶² Nicholas Williams prefers to see these different pronunciations of *Fionn* as a lexicographical matter (Williams, 1994a, §11.10).

bord: in Forth, *bord* [bu:(ə)ɹd],¹⁶³ and in the south-west, in an Irish text from the eighteenth century, gs. *an bhúird* > *an bhúird*, (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 55b); *npl. búird* (ibid., 58); *boird* > *búird* (ibid., 58), *ar an mbord* > *air an mbórd* (ibid., 55b). all suggesting ó [u:]. In Bargy, *ar bord* > *ar bhórd* (NFC S 876, 392), which possibly indicates /o:/ over /u:/.

We also find *ordóg* > *úrdóig* and gs. *na hordóige* > *na húrdóige* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 70), i.e., ó [u:].

Doirnín, ‘little fist’: in an Irish survival in Hiberno-English, we find, in north-east Wexford, *doirnín* > “dure-nyeen” (NFC 0096, 282, no. 103).

doirse: Early Modern Irish *doirseadh* (Modern Irish *doirse*) > *dóirse*, ‘doors:’ (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 55a).

5.6 *u*-vowels and diphthong

5.6.1 Lowering of /u/ > [o]

It has been noted (in 5.4.1 above), that Hiberno-English has tended to lower [u] > [o], but a similar trend is also apparent in the Irish texts: e.g., *ar an mbullán* > *air an mbalán* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 51); *a chumas* > *a chommus* (ibid., 55a). In a Hiberno-English text from the north-west, *buailteáin* > “*bólecáns*” (NFC S 893, 19). However, this does not mean that lowering of [u] was the norm. *u/ú* /u [u:] appears to be intact elsewhere, e.g., *súgán* [ˈsu:ga:n] in the south-west;¹⁶⁴ /su:ga:n/ in Bargy (RÓS, s.v.), as well as /bundu:n/ (ibid.).

5.6.2 The diphthong (-)ua(-)

This diphthong retains a vestige of the second vowel where the following consonant is slender (i.e., *-uai-* contexts), e.g., *Buachaill na Gruaige Doinne* > “Bouchal na Gruaga dhowna” (Kennedy, 1867, 61) and the fieldname, *Guaigín Anna* /ˈgu:ə.gʲi:n ˈana/ ‘Anna’s folly’, both from mid-west Wexford.¹⁶⁵ Where the following consonant is broad, in some examples, especially in the north of the county or preserved in Yola, diphthong [uə:] is retained: e.g., the fieldname, *an Cruachán* > “The Cruacawn” (NFC S 881, 5); in the north,

¹⁶³ This pronunciation of *bord* was told to me by John Roche, Wexford Town.

¹⁶⁴ This pronunciation of *súgán* was told to me by Denis Cadogan, Killesk, in August 2015.

¹⁶⁵ The fieldname and pronunciation of *Guaigín Anna* ‘Anna’s Folly’, I heard from Breda O’Sullivan (1944-), a native of Bree, where the fieldname is still in use. The intervocalic consonant is a definite slender plosive, rather than an aspirated fricative.

generally, *cuach* > “cooagh,” ‘cuckoo’ (EG1); and in Yola, *cuardaithe* > “coardhed” (DÓM, 41). Especially in the southernmost third of the county, though, the second vowel in the diphthong appears to disappear completely, at least in Hiberno-English survivals: e.g., in Bargy, the unofficial placename *Gruadhán* [gɾu:ɣa:n] ‘ridge’,¹⁶⁶ in Forth, *buachallán* [ˈbu:xə,la:n],¹⁶⁷ and in south-west Wexford, *buachallán buí* [ˈbu:xəla:n bʷi:];¹⁶⁸ in the north-west, *cruatán* [ˈkɾu:ɫʰa:n].¹⁶⁹

***gruamach* > *grumach* ‘morose’**: in this word, not only has the second vowel in the diphthong fallen away completely, but the first vowel ‘u’ has been shortened, and this applies to all regions of the county: in the south-west [.grumək], in Bargy /grumək/ (RÓS, s.v.), and also in Forth as “grummagh” (EG2); it is in the north-east as “grumack” (NFC S 888, 107), and in the north, as “grummagh” (EG1).

5.6.3 *u* before long sonorants

The Irish texts show evidence of lengthening of ‘u’ > [u:] in this context: e.g., *urlacan* > *úrlagan* (Gibbons, 1740–80, 380, s.v., ‘Vomiting’); *urlár* > *úrlár* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 55b); *ag dul* > *ag dúl* (NFC S 881c, Wexford CBS, Gan Ainm, ‘*Seachrán Fairrge*’); ‘naoi púint’, ‘deich bpúint’ (ibid., *Lá an Aonaigh*).

5.6.4 (-)ui(-)

The older form appears to be *ui* [u], as found in Yola *Muiris* > “Mureesh” (DÓM, 58). This is the only form found in the following examples:

buinneach > “bunyuck,” ‘diarrhoea’ in Bargy (NFC 1399, 455; Butler, 1985, 219); and in north Wexford, “bun-nack” (NFC 0096, 276, no. 36).

buinneán > “bungyawn” /buŋˈja:n/ ‘part of a flail’ (DÓM, 23), and “bunyane” in Yola (ibid., 16).

(a) *c(h)uisle* > “acoushla,” ‘my pulse’ (Hall, 1847, 68, 70, 72, 230, etc.), /ə kuʃlə/ (RÓS, s.v. *a chuisle*.), in Bargy, and “acushla” in the north-west and mid-west (Kennedy,

¹⁶⁶ This placename in Ballybough, Kilmore, was told to me by Richard Sinnott (1944-2020).

¹⁶⁷ This pronunciation of *buachallán* was general in Tacumshin in the 1980s, e.g., used by James Sinnott (1918–89), and Richard Sinnott (1944-2020).

¹⁶⁸ This pronunciation of *buachallán buí* was told to me by Denis Cadogan, Killesk, in August 2015.

¹⁶⁹ This pronunciation of *cruatán* is from Jimmy Byrne, Ballindaggin, as collected and kindly shared by Michael Fortune, on September 13th, 2018.

1855, 57, 273; 1867, 57; 1869, 327), as corroborated in the mid-west “a chushla” (NFC S 899a, Raheen, Mick Kane, “A Funny Story”).¹⁷⁰

ruidín > “rudeen,” ‘little thing’ in the north-east (NFC S 891, 50).

This ‘u’ articulation tends to be predominant in other examples, e.g.:¹⁷¹

puis-: *puisín* [puʃˈiːn] ‘pussy’, in the north-west;¹⁷² *puisín* > “pusheen” in Bargy (Hall, 1847, 237; DHE, s.v., *puisín*); ? *puisireán* [ˈpuʃəːɾaːn];¹⁷³ and ? *puisiún* > ‘pushoon’,¹⁷⁴ as a call to a cat, “Push Push” in the south-west (NFC S 871, 282), but in the north-west as “pish — wish — wish” (NFC S 892a, Ballindaggin, Teresa Hughes, “Farm Animals”).

puililiú and variants (an articulation of mourning): e.g., in Yola, as “ulalu” (DÓM, 61); in Bargy “hulabaloo” etc. (Hall, 1847, 268, etc.); in the north-west “pullalu” etc. (Kennedy, 1855, 91, etc.), and “hullabulloo” (Kennedy, 1866, 110, etc.); although we do find two ‘i’-variants in articulation: in north Wexford as “pillilieu” (EG1), and in the mid-west, as “pillullu” (Kennedy, 1867, 49).

Muine ‘thicket’: the ‘u’-form predominates in unofficial placenames containing this word as an element: e.g., *Muine* > “money” in Bargy (NFC S 876, 126, 336), the south centre (NFC S 882, 185, 244, 262, 455); in the east (NFC S 885, 236); in the north-east (NFC S 886, 297); in the mid-west, *Muine na Muc* > “Monanamuch” (Kennedy, 1867, 293). The odd one out is *an Mhuine Bheag* > “Muiny Beg” in Bargy (NFC S 877, 21).

Muise, interj. ‘well’: the ‘u’ articulation is found in Bargy, as “musha” (Hall, 1847, 34), and throughout Kennedy’s writing, i.e., from the north-west and mid-west (Kennedy, 1855, 43, 273; 1866, 5, etc.), and also found in the north-east (NFC S 888, 104). Dinneen notes a Munster form *mhuise* (DIN, s.v., *muise*), and we find this in as “wisha”, in Bargy (Hall, 1847, 67, 101, 227, 23; Lambert, 1995, 189), and in the mid-west, near the Kilkenny border (NFC S 900, 183).

In other words, we find more of a mixture of both articulations among the examples.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. *A chuisle* > ‘acushla’ from Dublin (GJ 1902, 126). However, this may be contrasted with the ‘i’-type found in east Munster: *cuisle* /kishl’ə/ (Breatnach, etc., 1961, s.v. *cuisle*).

¹⁷¹ The only other example where only the ‘u’-form is found is in the word *muisiriún* > “musharoon” in Bargy (Hall, 1847, 158), and Forth [ˈmuʃiːuːɾɪːnz]. This pronunciation of *muisiriún* was told to me by Richard Sinnott (1944-2020), Tacumshin, on many occasions, at home, growing up. I have not included this example in the main text because of the strong possibility of its being influenced by its English cognate ‘mushroom’.

¹⁷² This pronunciation of *puisín* was told to me by Aileen Lambert, Ballindaggin.

¹⁷³ This pronunciation of ? *puisireán* is from Tommy Redmond, Ballygarrett, and recorded and played to me by Michael Fortune. The meaning given is ‘a kitten, or baby animal of any kind’.

¹⁷⁴ This word – *puisiún* > ‘pushoon’ – is from an unpublished wordlist compiled by John Roche of Wexford Town, and kindly shared with me for the purposes of this research. The meaning given is ‘a baby animal of any kind’.

Muire ‘St. Mary’: this is another word which can be either ‘i’ or ‘u’ in articulation: in unofficial placenames we find *Tobar Muire* [.tobər .mwidzə] in the north-east;¹⁷⁵ in the east, as “tobar mudga” (NFC S 886, 125) and “Tobar a’ mudja” (ibid., 132) [.tobər .mudzə].¹⁷⁶ However, in the expression, *A Mhuire*, Kennedy indicates a ‘u’ articulation: “vuya” (Kennedy, 1870, 45; 1869, 53, 180, 327; 1866, 18, 161), but also has both variants in “vuya, miya” (Kennedy, 1867, 105, 242, 258), as well as the unusual “vuya vuya (mauria)” (Kennedy, 1855, 66, 273). In Bargy, Hall indicates the ‘i’ variant in *a Mhuire is trua* > “wirrasthrew” (Hall, 1847, 254);

Cuid (term of affection, ‘my part’): in the north-west, *a chuid* > “achudh” (Kennedy, 1867, 269, 287, 338; 1869, 93). But in the south-west, *cuid* > “quid” (NFC S 870, 103).¹⁷⁷

Uisce, ‘water’: we find the ‘u’-form in Yola as *uisce beatha* > “usquebaugh” (DÓM, 68, 82), and this form is also preserved in Kennedy’s Hiberno-English of north-west Wexford, in “usquebaugh” (Kennedy, 1869, 229, 261, 285). It is in official placenames that we find the ‘i’-forms: *Gráig an Uisce* > Granisk in Forth; *Garraí an Uisce* > Garrynisk, in the east; and *Geata an Uisce* > “Gataniska”, name of a stream in the mid-west (O.S., 1840). Even though the second element is much worn in our two examples of *ráib uisce*, both vowel-sounds appear to be preserved: in “rawbush” in the south-west (NFC S 870, 103) and “raabish” in Forth (Byrne, 2002, 94).

Guigín, ‘a fidgety person’: we find the u-form in “googeen” in the north-east (NFC S 888, 105), and “googein” in the north-west or mid-west (Kennedy, 1870, 78, 173); but the ‘I’ form is given from two other sources in north Wexford “gwig-een” (*GJ*, 1902, 41), and *guig* > “gwig” (EG1).¹⁷⁸

Cuinneog, ‘churn’: we have just one case where the only examples of a word is of the ‘i’-form i.e.: *cuinneog* > “kuingokee”, “khuingoke”, “quingokee” in Yola (DÓM, 53, 86–7).

Duileasc (a variety of seaweed): there is one example, only, where *-ui-* > ‘e’, i.e.: *duileasc* > “delisk” (Hall, 1847, 17, 32, 344).

¹⁷⁵ This pronunciation of *Tobar Muire* was told to me by Michael Fortune, who reports the well to be in Oulart, and that it is also known as “Mogue’s Well.”

¹⁷⁶ This pronunciation of *Tobar Muire* was also told to me by Michael Fortune, and relates to a well near the village of Blackwater.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. *cuid* /kid’/ in east Munster (Breatnach, ed., 1961, s.v. *cuid*).

¹⁷⁸ Cf. *guigín* > “guaigín” in Carlow Town (*GJ*, 1902, 62), “*gaig*” around Carlow (ibid., 62). Also, cf. *gug* ‘child’s word for an egg’ (FGB), s.v.).

5.7 Unstressed Vowels

5.7.1 Short unstressed vowels

Where a short vowel is followed by a stressed syllable, that short vowel tends to be reduced to a neutral vowel [ə]: e.g., in a word that derives from a compound, such as the second word in the phrase *dul amú* /duləmu:/ ‘a confused person’ (RÓS, s.v.), and *tar isteach* /har əˈstʲax/. ‘come in’.¹⁷⁹ A similar effect is found where a short vowel precedes a stressed syllable in a phrase or string of words: e.g., *a bháib* [əˈwa:b],¹⁸⁰ [*Barr a’ Gheata* [ˌba:ɪ əˈʲatʲə].¹⁸¹ In disyllabic words where the final syllable contains the suffixes *-án* or *-ach*, and which have forward stress, the short unstressed vowel in the first syllable if followed by a sonorant, can disappear completely, resulting in the word becoming monosyllabic: e.g., in the east of the county, *poll salach* > “Poul Slach” (NFC S 885, 50); possibly another unofficial placename in the same region, *Sloch Salach Sléibhe* > “Sluc Slac Slée” (see 4.2, above; and *bioráinín* /braa:nji:n/ (RÓS, s.v.). This is not apparent in the official placename of *Ráth Gearróg* > Rathgarroge [ˌɾatʲnʲaˈɾo:g], where the short vowel is preserved.¹⁸² A short unstressed vowel is usually reduced to a neutral vowel /ə/ after a stressed syllable e.g., *bodach* /ˈbodək/ (ibid.); *Brosna* [ˈbrəsna], ‘fuel’;¹⁸³ *bolscaire* [ˈbalstəɪ] ‘braggard’;¹⁸⁴ and *amadán* [ˈaməˌda:n].¹⁸⁵

5.7.2 Short vowels in final unstressed open syllables

Short vowels in final unstressed open syllables can either be a neutral vowel [ə] or a front close vowel [i]. The neutral form is suggested in Irish texts: e.g., *ráite* > ráidhta (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 20); *suidhte* > suidhta (NFC S 883, 1); but it is in Irish survivals in Hiberno-English that we find most examples of this feature: e.g., *gamaile* /gamələ/ (RÓS, s.v.), *streachaile* /strakəlʲə/ (ibid.), *trína chéile* /ˈtʲe:nəˈce:lʲə/,¹⁸⁶ as well as in the general

¹⁷⁹ This phrase, from the Ballindaggin area, and used for calling pigs, was told to me by Michael Fortune.

¹⁸⁰ This phrase was a favourite of Richard Sinnott’s (1944-2020), when talking to a baby.

¹⁸¹ *Barr a’ Gheata*: pronunciation and information of this unofficial placename in Ballindaggin was told to me by Michael Fortune.

¹⁸² Told to me by Aileen Lambert, Ballindaggan, September 2019. See Chapter 4 for a more in-depth geographical analysis of syllable stress in Wexford.

¹⁸³ This pronunciation of *Brosna* was recorded and kindly shared by Michael Fortune on November 13th, 2019 – collected from local men in Taghmon.

¹⁸⁴ This pronunciation of *bolscaire* was told to me by Michael Fortune, Ballygarrett, with the explanation that it means ‘a ghost of a dead sailor who saves other sailors by warning them’.

¹⁸⁵ This pronunciation of *amadán* was told to me by Denis Cadogan, Killesk, in August 2015.

¹⁸⁶ This pronunciation of *trína chéile* was told to me by Ailín Ó Súilleabháin, who heard it from Jim McMahon of the Forth Mountain.

official placename element *baile-* as in Baile Uí Bhraonáin > Ballybrennan

[,balə'bi:ən(ə)n].¹⁸⁷

The second type of articulation (*i*-form) is evident in Irish survivals in Hiberno-English: e.g., *Cailín Deas Crúite na mBó* > “Colleen das Crutheen Amo” ‘pretty girl milking the cows’ (Hall, 1847, 167), and *maide* > “muddy,” ‘stick’ (Lambert, 1987, 19); in the Hiberno-English of Forth, *Buaile* > “Booley” /'bu:li:/ ‘stride’;¹⁸⁸ in Yola, *báire* > “baree” ‘goal in hurling’ (DÓM, 38, 76, 78), “bairy” (ibid., 38), and “baury”, and “baarees” (DHE, s.v., *báire*). in the north, *dide* > “didí” (NFC 0096, 283, no. 115) /didi/ ‘tit/teat’,¹⁸⁹ *a thaisce* > “ahaskey,” ‘my treasure’ (DHE, s.v., *a thaisce*), and *tuilleadh* > “tilly,” ‘more’ (EG1), which is also found in Bargy, “tilly” /'tili:/ (DÓM, 29), and in Forth, also, as “tilly” (NFC S 882, 1), and in the mid-west as the plural “tillies” (Kennedy (1867, 201.).

5.7.3 Epenthetic vowels ¹⁹⁰

Where a plosive or fricative is adjacent to a sonorant in the same syllable, an epenthetic vowel is inserted to separate them, causing an extra syllable to be pronounced. In the Irish texts we find this where compounds mean that the final phoneme of the prefix, and the initial letter of the root-word, cause such consonants to be adjacent, even if they originally belonged to different syllables: e.g., in an eighteenth-century text from the south-west, *ceannphort* > *ceannaphuirt* and ? *seanchobhlach* > *seana chonblach* (sic, Ó Murchadha, 1778, 55a). In Irish texts from the Schools Collection, the same characteristic is evident: e.g., *seanphota* > *Seana phota*, and *an-gharbh* > *ana gharbh* (NFC S 881c, Wexford CBS, Gan Ainm, “Seachrán Fairrge”); *an-ghearr* > “*ana-ghearr*” (ibid., Mícheál Ó Croghallaigh, “*An Chuach*”; Séamas de Brún, “*An Cuach*”); *an-ghnóthach* > *ana ghnóthach* (ibid., Séamas de Brún, “*Litir*”); *an-bheag* > “*ana-bheag* (ibid., “*An Cuach*”); in south central Wexford, *seanchros* > “*seanna-chros*” (NFC S 883, 1) and *gurb é* > *gu rab é* (ibid., 2) etc.

In Irish survivals in Hiberno-English we can see epenthetic vowels occurring from compounds in every region, for example, from most regions in the word *ceannbhán* (< *ceann* + *bán*): e.g., in Forth, *ceannbhán beag* > “canavonbeg” (NFC S 879, 278), in the south

¹⁸⁷ The neutral vowel in this situation is generally lowered much of the way towards a front open vowel. The pronunciation is still general among traditional speakers of Hiberno-English throughout the County.

¹⁸⁸ This pronunciation of *buaile* from Carne, was told to me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney.

¹⁸⁹ This pronunciation of *dide* was told to me by Michael Fortune, Ballygarrett.

¹⁹⁰ In Early Modern Irish and in other dialects of Modern Irish and Gaelic languages, where a sonorant and plosive or fricative are adjacent in the same syllable, an auxiliary, or epenthetic, vowel /ə/ or /i/ will be inserted to separate them (McManus, 1994, §2.9; Ua Súilleabháin, 1994, §2.2; Ó hUiginn, 1994, §2.25; Watson, 1994, §5.3; Williams, 1994b, §3.12).

centre, “canivawn beg” (NFC S 883, 131); in the east, “canavan beg” (NFC S 886, 135); in the north, generally, “Kanna-bawn beg” (NFC 0096, 281, no. 92), and in the mid-west, “ceannabhán beag” (NFC S 901, 232).

In more basic (non-compound) forms, Hiberno-English gives us no shortage of examples, including: *dailc* > “dollock,” ‘a chunk’ (NRS, 5.2, 5); *fear dorcha* > “Fir Dhorocha,” ‘dark-haired man’ (Kennedy, 1866, 108–9, 118), in the north-west and mid-west; in Bargy, the first element of the fieldname “Madery High” < *madraí* ‘dogs’ (Lambert, 1995, 244), and in Forth, the phrase *madra rua* [ˈmɑd̪ə.ɾəˈɹuːə] is extant,¹⁹¹ and we find this in texts from elsewhere in the county: i.e., the mid-west, *madra rua* > “moddhera rua” (Kennedy, 1866, 7), or *maidrín rua* > “moddhereen rua” (Kennedy, 1870, 49), or “modhereen rua” in an unknown region (*GJ*, 1902, 141). Other examples include *mealbhóg* > “malavogue”, from both north and south Wexford (EG1, EG2); *banbh* [ˈbʌnəv],¹⁹² and “bonnives” (Kennedy, 1869, 247); *balbhán* > “boulavaun” (Ffrench-O’Neill, 2009, 124), and “bullavawn” (EG1), and *scolb* [ˈska.ləp] as well as [ˈskaləp], which has already been mentioned in 5.5.1 above. As a final example of epenthesis, the Hiberno-English verb ‘to gollop’ appears to come from Irish *ag alpadh*, e.g., *ag alpadh* > “gollopin” (NFC 0096, 274, no. 11).¹⁹³

5.8 ao

5.8.1 Eighteenth-century Irish texts

In the texts associated with Philip Gibbons, rhyming schemes and orthography suggest *ao* [e:] in the following examples: *aerach* > *aorach* (RIA MS 23 E 1 [221], line 9); *Gaeilge* > *gaodhailge* (ibid., line 13); *réaltaíl* > “na raoltail” (RIA 23 F 22:83, line 14); *chaol* > *ceoil* (RIA 23 F 22:83, line 20); *beul / chaol / shéimh / reidh* (RIA MS 23 E 1 [221] verse 3); and *aon* > *éin* (Gibbons, 1740–80, 378, s.v., “By any means”). Séamas Ó Murchadha, a contemporary of Gibbons, also in south-west Wexford, has examples of the same type: e.g.,

¹⁹¹ I got this pronunciation of *madra rua* from Chris Sinnott (1937-), Sigginstown, Tacumshin, on December 24th, 2018. I asked Chris if he had heard *modher rue* for ‘fox’ (from the Enniscorthy Guardian list of 1952.3.29). He thought first I was referring to foxglove and did not repeat the ‘m’ word. When I mentioned that I was referring to the fox, he then recalled the above pronunciation. “Now, that’s an old word’. Going back to a time when fox-hides were sold.”

¹⁹² This pronunciation of *banbh* is from a recording made on November 13th, 2019, of local men in Taghmon, by Michael Fortune, and kindly shared by Michael.

¹⁹³ Unlike the Standard English *gulp*, which is generally applied to liquids, air, etc., “gollop,” like Ir. *alp* (*ag alpadh*), means to eat ravenously, or swallow food quickly. Examples are: ‘Gollop it up, we’re in a hurry’; ‘You’re gollopin’ it down. You must be hungry’, ‘Serves you right for gollopin’ your food’.

réalta > *raolta* (Ó Murchadha, 1769, verse 2, line 2);¹⁹⁴ *baol* > *béil* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 4); *craolta* > *créolta* (ibid., 25); *á réabadh* > *a raoba* (ibid., 34). In the keen he transcribes from Bargy, we find the same apparent *ao* /e:/-articulation in the rhyming schemes in: *ghéire* / *dhéanach* / *saoghal* / *sgéal* / *dhéanamh* / *ghaodhalta* / *naomhtha* / *éide* / *chéile* (Ó Murchadha, 1799, verse 2); and *séimh* / *saoghal* / *réir* / *tréithe* / *sgéimhe* / *suae* / *shéimheacht* / *tréithe* / *níata* / *gréine* / *méid* / *déide* / *cré* (ibid., lines 77–89). From mid-west Wexford, in *Bualadh Ros Mhic Thriúin* (Anon., 1800), the same *ao* /e:/ is evident in the rhyming scheme of *léamh*, *piléar*, *lae*, *mbraon* (lines 13–16).

Yet, we also have examples of *ao* [i:]. Ó Murchadha uses both forms in *laoch* > *laeoch* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 39), and “*laoich* (ibid., 70). Gibbons uses *craobhaí* > *criabhaídhe* (Gibbons, 1740–80, 376, s.v., “A husbandman”). Ó Murchadha also gives us *do chlaoidheadh* > *do claodheag* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 27); *ná an ghaoth* > *nan gcaoith* (ibid., 45); *go fraochta* > *go fraoichda* (ibid., 50); *saoth* > “*saoith*” (ibid., 74); *caoga* > “*caoigad*” (ibid., 76); and *ina leataobh* > *ionna leattaobh* (ibid., 38).¹⁹⁵ In a verse he transcribes, we also see the rhyming of *ghaoith* / *fraoch* (ibid., 24, verse 5).

5.8.2 Twentieth-century Irish texts

Ao [e:] is indicated in the following examples: From Bree, in the centre of the county — technically in mid-west Wexford - *Gaelacha* > *gaodhulocha* (Ó Sionnóid, 1920, 120); in 1938, in the south-west, *aon* > *Éan* (NFC S 870a, Poulfur, Mary Egan “Proverbs” [22]); from Wexford CBS, also in the Schools Collection, we find *laethannta* > *laonte* (NFC S 881c, Mícheál Ó Croghallaigh, “An Scoil Seo Againne”); in north-east Wexford, *in éineacht*: (< Early Modern Irish *in aoinneacht*) > *in aonacht* (NFC S 881, 275 (2)), and the same articulation is evident in the rhyming of *Ao* /e:/: *in-aon chor* / *aerach* (NFC S 891, 14, verse 3, lines 15 and 18), and *nGaedheal* / *laochradh* / *naomh* / *dtréan* (Ibid., verse 4). We find just three examples of *ao* [i:] in the Irish texts from the 20th century. The first is in an anonymous text from an unknown part of the county, where *leataobh* > *leath-thaoibh* (*The Past*, 1921, 127), and the remainder are from Bargy: *faraor* > *faraoir* (*The Kilmore Journal*, 2015–6, 135, line 8); and *thar maoil* > *thar maol* (NFC S 877, 119).

¹⁹⁴ The possibility that *ao* > [i:] here, as with the Northern *ao* sound, and the *éa*-sound common in Munster, is doubtful because of the confusion which would result from *réalta* and *rialto* being homophones.

¹⁹⁵ Ó Murchadha also uses the old slender inflected form of *taoibh* in *ar gach taoibh* > ‘*áir gach taoibh*’ (ibid., 4), *ar a taoibh* > ‘*air a taoibh*’ (ibid., 33), etc., and *i dtaobh* > ‘*attaobh*’ (ibid., 11); but such examples may be a retention of the oblique cases of the noun *taobh*, particularly if the feminine variant of this noun was in use.

5.8.3 The pre-twentieth-century Hiberno-English sources

In general, the Hiberno-English sources also indicate a mixture, but give more weight to *ao* [i:].

In Yola, /i:/ is clearly indicated in *maolach* > “meelough” ‘clover’ (DÓM, 56); and the same sound is suggested by “Ghiel-laaune” (ibid., 90–1)¹⁹⁶ and “quiel laaune” (ibid., 62), if these are derived from Irish *caol lán* ‘slender and full’.¹⁹⁷

In the mid-west and north-west, [e:] is suggested by Kennedy’s spelling of *Caomhghán* > “Coemghan” – a male forename – (Kennedy, 1855, 16), and *laoghaire* > “Laéré” – a male forename – (Kennedy, 1866, 320).¹⁹⁸ On the other hand, *ao* [i:] is clearly indicated by him in *Gobán saor as* “Gubawn Seer” ‘a free tradesman or craftsman’ (Kennedy, 1866, 66-7); *Aodh* > “Ee” – a male forename – (Kennedy, 1867, 367); and the female forename “Aoibhil’ (< *Aoibheall*) is pronounced as (English) ‘evil’” (Kennedy, 1870, 133), even if this name appears to be *Aodhbhall*.¹⁹⁹ Similarly, Kennedy writes of a “meel cow” (< Ir. *maol*, ‘hornless’) (Kennedy, 1867, 307).

5.8.4 Twentieth- and twenty-first-century Hiberno-English sources

In the south-west, *ao* [e:] is apparent in a cow’s name, “Maley” (< Ir. *maol*) (NFC S 871, 280), but this is the only example of *ao* [e:] in the Hiberno-English sources from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Also in the south-west, *deargdaol* > “dearragadeel,” ‘a type of beetle’ (NFC S 870, 101); in Forth and Bargy, in 1954, the folklorist, J. G. Delaney, reports the surname *Ó Maonaigh* > “Meeney” (NFC 1344, 457) and in an offering to the Schools Collection from Wexford Town, *naomh* > *naoimh* ‘saint’ (NFC S 882, 1a).²⁰⁰ In south central Wexford, the surname *Ó Maolagáin* > “Meeligans” (NFC 1344, 10. In Galbally N.S., in central Wexford, on the banks of the Slaney, *thart le taobh an bhalla*, ‘around beside the wall’ is the name of a children’s game in the 1930s, and in its reporting we find *le taobh* > *le Taoibh*,²⁰¹ *le Thaoibh*,²⁰² and *le taoib*,²⁰³ In the north-east, the nick-name *Caol a’*

¹⁹⁶ Collected by Jacob Poole from Tobias Butler, in DÓM, 90, and translated as “Peter the Smart Man” (ibid., 91).

¹⁹⁷ This is Translated by Poole as “A smart lively fellow,” ibid., 62. cf. *fear cael leabhair* ‘a long slender man, so much so that the wind blows through him’ (Breatnach, ed., 1961, 261). It is my opinion that the original meaning became corrupted in Yola, or at least was not fully understood by Poole’s informant, i.e., ‘thin, but substantive/full’ (in other ways).

¹⁹⁸ “King Leoghairé (pr. Laéré),” *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts* (1866, 320).

¹⁹⁹ Cf. *Rachfad go hAodhbhall síos na craige* (Ó Murchadha, 1769, 2, verse 1, line 1).

²⁰⁰ ‘Oide: An tSr. Columcille, Clocha Naoimh Eoin le Dia’, NFC S 882, 1a).

²⁰¹ Gallbhaile N.S., NFC S 901, 93.

ghabhair > “Wheel-a-gower,” ‘slenderness of a goat’ (NFC S 889b, Craanford, Maura Doyle, “Nick-names”;²⁰⁴ and as with Kennedy (above), in the north-west of the county, *maol* > “maoil” (NFC S 892, 125), “meel” (NFC S 890, 73), and in north Wexford, generally, “mweel” (EG1).

5.8.5 Placename evidence

In the south-west, *ao* [e:] is possible in the unofficial placenames ? *maológ* > “Mealoge” (O.S., 1840), and ? *an Pháirc Chaol* “Paurkhale” (NFC S 874, 170), both on the shores of Waterford Harbour. *Ao* [i:] is clear in the official placename *Ráth na gCaorach* > Rathnageeragh, and “Rathnageera” (NFC S 871, 394) and “Rawnageeruck” (NFC S 873, 123).

In Bargy (i.e., south Wexford), *ao* [i:] is clear in the official placename *Slaodach* > “Sleedagh” /'sli:dax/. A few rocks off the coast of Bannow (in the south) are officially called the Keeragh Islands < *Oileáin na gCaorach* and are known locally as the /k'i:ræxs/.²⁰⁵

In Forth (south-east Wexford, *ao* [e:] is found in the official placenames of *Cnoc Aonaosa* > Knockaneasy [ˌnaxən'e:zi],²⁰⁶ and *Baile Aonaosa* > Ballynaas. *Ao* [e:] is also possible in the unofficial placename of ? *Cnoc Lán (na) gCaor* > “Knock lan gear” (Gaul, 2000, 86), *ao* [i:] is apparent in the official placename *Ráth Mhac nAodha* > Rathmacknee. Also, we have a report of the fieldname “Drumawnee” < ? *dromán Aodha* (Gaul, 2000, 86), and *Caológ* > “Keelogue” (ibid., 87).

In the south centre, *ao* [e:] in the official placename of *an Caol* > Kayle, and possibly in the fieldname *Bá(bhú)n na gCaor* > “Bánagéar” (NFC S 883, 31), or “Bánagear” (NFC S 883a: Caroreigh, Annie Ryan, “Names of fields”).²⁰⁷ *ao* [i:] is possible in the reported fieldname? *Caonach* > “Keenagh”,²⁰⁸ and certain in the official placename of *Na Caológa* >

²⁰² Ibid., 94.

²⁰³ Ibid., 95; NFC S 902a, Galbally, Maighréad Ní Bhreatnach, “Games I Play;” and ibid., Stasia Foley, “Games I Play”.

²⁰⁴ “...he got this name because he is tall and thin like a man called Wheelagower” NFC S 889b: Craanford, Maura Doyle, “Nick-names”.

²⁰⁵ This pronunciation was told to me by Richard Sinnott Jr., Tacumshin.

²⁰⁶ See logainm.ie, s.v. and Ó Cruaioich 2016, s.v.

²⁰⁷ NFC S 883a, Caroreigh, Annie Ryan, “Names of fields”. The collector gives the translation as “the sheep field,” translated back to Irish by the teacher as *bán na gcaoire*’ (i.e., < *bán na gcaorach*).

²⁰⁸ Kennagh > *Caonach* (i.e., the fieldname itself and the suggested Irish translation, is from Ailín Ó Súilleabháin’s M.A. thesis for the Department of Irish in U.C.D., *Gaeilge Chontae Loch Garman* (1999, Ch.2), which has disappeared from the archive of theses in the U.C.D Library. I have come by the information from Ailín’s kindly sending me Chapter 2 by email – but without footnotes (useful referencing). It is probable that

Keeloges.²⁰⁹ The official placename, Clough < *Cloch na gCaorach* appears to have /i:/ in its English mentions from 1734 onwards.²¹⁰

In the east, *ao* [e:] in the official placename *an Caoraíocht* > Kereight, and in the historical ? *Tom Caol* > Tomkale (Civil Survey, 1654).

In the north-east, *ao* [e:] is found in the official placenames of *an Chraobhach* > Creagh, *Baile Uí Aoláin* > Ballyellin, and *Baile Caol* > Ballykale; but *Ao* [i:] in the official placenames of *Móin na Lao* > Monalee, *An Chraobhaigh Mhór* > Creemore, *Baile na gCaológ* > Ballinageeloge, and *Easca Chaol* > Askakeel.

In the north-west, *ao* [e:] is found in the fieldname of ? *Bán na gCraos* > “Bán a Greas” (NFC S 892a, Ballindaggin, Teresa Hughes, “Old roads”). However, *ao* [i:] is clear in the official placename *Móin na gCaor* > Monagear, /mo:n ə 'gi:(ə)r/.²¹¹ The same *ao* [i:] is apparent in the unofficial placename *Bán Cíall*, possibly from Ir. *Bábhún Caol* (NFC S 892, 230).

5.8.6 *ao* > ‘a’

Occasionally, there are examples of *ao* > ‘a’, i.e., front open and back open vowels, respectively.

The word for ‘bilberry’, *fraochán* > “frochans”,²¹² “frochawns”,²¹³ “frachan”,²¹⁴ “fraughans”,²¹⁵ “frocken(s)”,²¹⁶ and “frokin”²¹⁷, as well as the verb “frokin”,²¹⁸ suggest /'frak(ə)n/, /'frax(ə)n/ or /'fraxɑ:n/ etc.²¹⁹

Kennagh comes from the Schools Collection, and possibly even from the submission by Clongeen N.S., in NFC S 882 (since Ailín does give the information that the field is in the parish of Clongeen).

²⁰⁹ In the Civil Survey (1654), *ao* /i:/ in *Srón Mhaol* > “Stronveele” (Ó Súilleabháin, 1999, Ch.2); and also in *Móin Chaol* > “Monekeele” (ibid.) and this is probably the same place as “The Moon Wheels” (NFC S 882, 273), and “The Moon Whells” (ibid., 274), with the latter example suggesting *ao* /e: “whells” may be a spelling in error, instead of “wheels.” However, I have not included these examples as relevant in this section, because they would appear to be more probably exemplary of the slender inflection.

²¹⁰ See logainm.ie, s.v. and *CÓC*, s.v.

²¹¹ This pronunciation of Monagear was reported to me by Mick Fortune, who has heard it thus by several informants in the area.

²¹² NFC S 881b, Wexford CBS, Liam Ó Drisceoil, “A Story” (A place called Pucán View).

²¹³ Faythe N.S., NFC S 882, 1.

²¹⁴ From the district of Caroreigh (Ffrench-O’Neill, 2009, 124).

²¹⁵ Harry Whitney (= Patrick Kennedy) *Legends of Mount Leinster* (1855, 76, 208); Patrick Kennedy, *Evenings in the Duffrey* (1869, 322); NFC S 889a, Monaseed, Mary Kavanagh 2 [Untitled letter to an aunt]; ibid., Denis McDonald “Composition – A Picnic;” ibid., Katie McDonald, “Composition – A Picnic.”

²¹⁶ Boulavogue N.S. (NFC S 890, 74).

²¹⁷ NFC S 897a, Naomh Ióseph, Clochar na Trócaire, Pattie O’Neill, “Cures.”

²¹⁸ John Roche’s wordlist; Mercy Convent N.S. (New Ross), NFC S 897, 152.

²¹⁹ According to Michael Fortune, this pronunciation is extant in north-west Wexford. Piatt (1933, 16) noted the same Anglicisation, “fraughan” in east Leinster.

Maodhóg (< *mo Aodhóg*) > ‘**Mogue**’ /mo:g/: this pronunciation is in all regions of the county as a personal name as well as the name of a saint.²²⁰ We also find a possible variant of *m’Aodhóg* in the name of a placename and Saint in Carne (in the south-east): this holy well, place etc. is known variously as St. Vawks,²²¹ St. Vawk’s²²² St Vouge’s,²²³ and St. Vaux²²⁴ etc., and today the second element is generally pronounced /va:xs/.²²⁵ Notwithstanding the many theories on the origin of Vauk, it is possible that it is a survival from an Early Middle Irish pronunciation of *m’Aodhóg* or *Aodhóg* preserved in Yola.

The Irish surname *Caomhánach* > Kavanagh remains common in Wexford, and its root, the name *Caomhán*, is extant in Wexford placenames such as *Cill Caomháin* > Kilcavan, in Bargy, and *Ard Chaomháin* > Ardavan in east Wexford.²²⁶ Similarly, in the south-west, we find the official placename *Móin na Caothaí* > “Monacahee” and from an unknown region of the county, we find the common noun *caorán* > “carán,” ‘**a small sod of turf**’ (*GJ*, 1902, 41).

5.8.7 *ao* > [u:] or [u:]

Particularly in placenames, and when *ao* is adjacent to a sonorant, *ao* > /u:/ or /u:/: i.e., a back close vowel. O’Rahilly uses the example of “Northern Irish’ *canach* > Southern Irish *cúnach, cúnlach*”²²⁷ as an “interchange” of *ao* > /u:/²²⁸ (with the neutral vowel of the second syllable supposedly equating to a back close value in the shift). In mid-west Wexford, we have mention of an unofficial placename and river, respectively, each called “Connogue”²²⁹ < *caonóg*.²³⁰ *Ao* /u/ is also apparent in the placename element *Maol(án)* >

²²⁰ For example, Templetown N.S. in the south-west, (NFC S 870, 207); in Yola as “Moake” and “Mogue,” (DÓM, 58); in the mid-east, as “Móg,” Naomh Brighid N.S. (NFC S 886, 129); in the north-east, “Holy Well of St. Mogue (Aedan),” St. Aidan’s N.S. (Ferns), (NFC S 896, 107); in the north-west, “Saint Aidan or Mogue is the Patron of our Diocese;” “Mogue’s moor” ((NFC S 899b, Adamstown, Aidan Lawler, “The Names of Local Fields.”

²²¹ Chapel Convent N.S., Kilmore, (NFC S 877, 117).

²²² Carne N.S., (NFC S 879, 2).

²²³ Wexford CBS, (NFC S 880, 318).

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, 105.

²²⁵ The origin of “Vawk’s” may be contentious, and this may be the first time *Maodhóg* has been posited as its origin.

²²⁶ Cf. Kilcavan > ‘Kil=ke=vaan, Kil=ke=vaun’ in Yola (as kindly shared with me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney from his transcription of Jacob Poole’s MS in the Library of the Society of Friends, Dublin.

²²⁷ Cf. the Modern Irish Connemara *sean-nós* song, *Cúnlá*.

²²⁸ O’Rahilly, 1932, 35.

²²⁹ As placename (NFC S 899b, Adamstown, Nellie Crean, “Folklore [5];” Told by Mrs Whelan, (Died 1924 aged 80 yrs) Raheenduff, Adamstown; (NFC S 889b, Adamstown, Mary L. Hughes ‘Folklore [3];” and as river, (NFC S 899b, Adamstown, Alice Murphy, ‘Weather lore’; *ibid.*, Mary B. Kelly, “Weather-Lore;” (*ibid.*, Mary L. Hughes).

²³⁰ Cf. Coonogue < *Caonóg* in Co. Carlow (logainm.ie, s.v.).

Mul(lin), e.g., in the official placenames of *Maol Raincín* > Mulrankin, in Bargy, and *Maolán na nGabhar* > Mullinagore” in east Wexford. The Anglo-Norman surname *de Poer* > Ir. *de Paor* > Modern English Power shows *ao* /u:/ in some examples: “Poor” in the south-west (NFC S 874, 212), and in Forth (Byrne, 2002, 94); and “Phoor” in the mid-west (Kennedy, 1867, 49).

5.8.8 *aoi* before a consonant

Aoi [i:]: Before a consonant, *aoi* > /i:/ is evident in two examples from an eighteenth-century Irish text from south-west Wexford: *cloígh* > *chlaoigh* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 50), and possibly, also in *gaoil* > *guil* (ibid., 60). In Hiberno-English, *straoil*- /stri:l/ > “streele” ‘untidy woman’ (EG1; EG2), in north, as well as south Wexford.²³¹ From north-west Wexford, some days of the week ending in *-daoin* are reported by Kennedy as *Dé Chéadaoin* > “Dha Haed-yeen,” ‘Wednesday’, and *Déardaoin* > *dé Déardaoin* > “Dha Yaerd-yeen,” ‘Thursday’ (Kennedy, 1866, 103); and in Bargy, we find *taoibhín* /ti:vi:n/ ‘a patch’ (RÓS, s.v.). In Yola, (as mentioned in 2.3.2 above), *snaoisín* > “sneesheen” and “snisheen” (DÓM, 65). In official placenames, in Forth, we find Gráig Aoileach > Grageelagh /gra:gi:lag’/;²³² in the south centre, *Cluain Caoin* > Clongeen; in the east, *Baile an Chaoil* > Ballinkeel; in the north-east, *Tigh na Craoibhe* > Tinnacree; in the north-west, *Buaile Chathaoir* > Bolacaheer; and in the mid-west, an *Mhaoil Gharbh* > Meelgarrow (CÓC).

Aoi > *é, ú, a/u* or *ái* in an eighteenth-century Irish text from the south-west, there is a rhyme between *Rae* / *Aoife* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 75, verse 1, lines 3–4). Regarding official placenames, in Bargy, *Crois-Chaoil* > Crosscales.²³³ The common noun and placename *maoileog*, ‘little plateau of a summit’, provides both *aoi* [e:] and *aoi* [u:]: as an unofficial maritime placename, *maoileog* > “maelyeóg” and “maelyeogue” in the south-west (NFC S 870, 201), but to the east, in Forth or Bargy, is reported the common noun, *maoileog* > “moolyogue” (EG2), and in Bargy, “moolyogue” /’ mu:ljo:g/ (DÓM, 27). As a placename,

²³¹ This pronunciation of *straoil*, from the south-west, was told to me by Denis Cadogan, Killesk, in August, 2015, and meaning “a tall thin person; an untidy person.” It is also found in Bargy (RÓS, s.v.), meaning ‘a ragged dirty woman’. Ó Muirthe indicates the same *aoi* /i:/ in /sθri:l/, also in Bargy (DÓM, 29), meaning “a slut; a slovenly woman.”

²³² This pronunciation of Grageelagh was told to me by Richard Sinnott (1944-2020) while I was growing up.

²³³ Cf. the Yola version of Crossgales > “Cress Kea=les”: kindly shared with me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney from his transcription of the Jacob Poole MS in the Library of the Society of Friends, Dublin.

maoilín > “Mooleen” is found in Bargy (NFC S 877, 163); and in east Wexford, we find *maoileán* > “Muileán” (NFC S 886, 2), and “Molyawn” (NFC S 881, 5).

5.8.9 -*aoi* endings in monosyllabic words

spraoi: *aoi* [i:] is clear in *spraoi* > “spree,” ‘great fun’ — in the south-west (NFC S 871, 285), in Bargy (Hall, 1847, 66, 90, 374), (NFC S 877, 213; NFC 1399, 479], in Forth (NFC S 879, 40), in the south centre (NFC S 882, 404), in the north-east (NFC S 890, 172), in the north-west (Kennedy, 1870, 44), and in the mid-west (Kennedy, 1867, 287; NFC 1344, 105).

Dlaoi ‘wisp of straw’: *aoi* [i:] is also clear in *dlaoi* > “dlee”, collected in Bargy (DHE, s.v., *dlaoi*), however, the diphthong [əi] is evident in the westernmost parish of Bargy as /dləiv/ (RÓS, s.v.), as well as in Yola, as “dlies” (DÓM, 48).

naoi: this example probably comes directly from Munster as part of the twentieth-century Gaelic revival, but is worth giving nonetheless. Chris Sinnott (1937-), who attended Tacumshin N.S. under Alice Lucking in the early 1940s, was taught *naoi* /ne:/. It is likely that Lucking began teaching in that school in the first decade of the twentieth century.²³⁴

²³⁴ Alice Lucking was “old enough,” according to Chris, when he was taught by her, and she retired while he was attending the school in the 1940s. Lucking’s own writing (NFC S 879, 31–41), where she mentions knowing a parish priest, Fr. Byrne, several times, indicates that she was in the parish in the first decade of the twentieth century. Byrne, himself, is to be found as the only priest in Tacumshin in the 1901 Census. Lucking’s family is based in Wexford Town, but there is no mention of Alice herself in either the 1901 or 1911 censuses.

Chapter 6: Consonants

I: PLOSIVES

6.1. *b/p*

Regarding the voiced or unvoiced bilabial plosive, there is nothing of importance to report from the sources researched.

6.2. *c/g*

6.2.1 ‘c’ adjacent to front vowels

(i) Irish texts

In this context we find lenition of the unvoiced velar plosive /c/ in a twentieth-century Irish text from the north-east: *Ní ceart* > *Ní cheart* (NFC S 881, 276 (No. 7)) and in another, from the mid-west, lenition appears to be accompanied by velarisation: *scaip* > *schaip* (Ó Sionóid, 1920, 118); and *deachair* (ibid.). In a slender context, lenition is also evident at the end of a word in a Bargo Irish text: *chonaic* > *chonnaich* (NFC S 876, 391); in Forth *chonaic* > *chonnaich* and *Tháinigh* (NFC S 881c, Wexford CBs, Gan Ainm, “*Seachrán Fairrge*”); *go dtáinigh* (ibid., “*Lá an Aonaigh*”); and in the mid-west as *chnoic* (*gs.*) > *chnuich* (Ó Sionóid, 1920, 118, 121) and *Ros-Mhich-Treoin* (ibid, 121.).

(ii) Hiberno-English survivals

toicín > “tuckyeen,” ‘teenage girl’ (EG1), from north Wexford, is the only example in the Hiberno-English texts where a strong palatalisation of ‘c’ in an Irish survival is clearly indicated, and indeed, the ‘y’ in this example might even indicate a slight off-glide. Otherwise, traditional speakers of Hiberno-English simultaneously palatalise and lenite ‘c’ /k/ > /ç/, and ‘g’ /g/ > /j/, when it is followed by a front vowel, and the lower that front vowel (i.e., the nearer it is to an open position), the more likely it is to be followed by an off-glide /j/.¹ The resulting fricative is relatively short, often coming close to being a plosive; and to

¹ This is at odds with Ó Muirthe’s description of the Hiberno-English of Bargo (DÓM, 18), which classifies these consonants as alveolar plosives, rather than fricatives. I have intimate access to, and knowledge of, traditional Hiberno-English speakers in Forth, unlike Ó Muirthe, who was a visiting researcher conducting fieldwork in the late 1970s. Critically, this meant that Ó Muirthe was not in a position to observe the generational differences between speakers, or to notice which speakers were more likely to preserve the dwindling singular characteristics of the dialect. Although my claims to Hiberno-English for the county are primarily based on older people in the Tacumshin district of Forth, I have occasionally noticed these features in the speech of older speakers throughout the county. Some of these have been recorded for posterity by folklorist,

add to this effect, it is somewhat aspirated. Regarding Irish survivals in Hiberno-English, this effect is clear in *lúracán* ['lu:ɹə,çʲa:n],² and *geansaí* ['jaŋvʲzi:],³ at least, in Forth. The same effect is discernible elsewhere, but possibly with different cause: e.g., in Forth and Bargy, the surname Cahill [çɑ:ilʲ], could be a result of sandhi from the original Irish *Uí Chathail*,⁴ and the unofficial placename in Forth, *Ráth Gheadáin* [raʝə'ðva:n], might have the first consonant of the second element lenited (*gh*), in Irish, with an intervening article, *Ráth a(n) Gheadáin*.⁵

Similarly, in traditional Hiberno-English, the ‘c’ /k/, or ‘g’ undergoes the same effect when preceded by a front vowel, irrespective of whether it is close or open. For example, the official placename *Baile Hac* > Ballyhack in the south-west, is pronounced /,balə'haç/,⁶ and the lenition is indicated, at least in the eastern fieldname *Garn tobach* ((< Ir. *Garrán Tobac*), ‘tobacco plot’ (NFC S 886a, Naomh Brighid, Dómhnaill Choinnig, “Fields”).

However, in today’s Hiberno-English vernacular (including Irish survivals), the alveolar plosive — which is the norm in Irish, when adjacent to a slender vowel — is now widespread: e.g., *cipíní* ['cipi:nz] in the south-west;⁷ *ciotóg* [ciʲv.'o:g] in Wexford Town;⁸ and *ciaróg* ['ci:(ə).o:g] in the north-east.⁹ As with lenition in 6.2.2 below, it is possible that the lenition in the Hiberno-English context was not a feature of Irish dialect, but rather, associative from Irish lenition in certain cases, e.g., the possessive case (3rd person, masculine); and that the *séimhiú* marks in Irish are not necessarily reliable. However, this is the evidence as it is found, albeit possibly in degenerated form.

Michael Fortune, but the quantity of such recordings over twenty years is vast, and should be the likely subject of further linguistic research.

² This pronunciation of *lúracán* is still general among older people in Tacumshin, including Chris Sinnott (1937-). I also heard the same pronunciation from the late Richard Sinnott and Nellie Wright, née Redmond. The pronunciation is in keeping with the more generalised rule of pronunciation of ‘c’ /k/ adjacent to a front vowel in the native Hiberno-English of these speakers.

³ This pronunciation of *geansaí* is from James Sinnott (1918–89), Sigginstown, Tacumshin.

⁴ This pronunciation of Cahill was the only pronunciation of the name used by the Cahills of Kilmore, of whom my granny, Bessie Sinnott, née Cahill (1919–85), was one. I never heard the conventional pronunciation of Cahill /'kahəl/ until meeting a family of Cahills from north Wicklow, but certainly never heard it growing up in Wexford.

⁵ *Ráth Gheadáin* is an unofficial name for Rathnedan, in Ballymore, Forth, and the pronunciation, as well as any other information I have on the placename, is from Chris Sinnott (1937-), Tacumshin.

⁶ This pronunciation is from Eony Whelan, native of Mayglass, in Forth.

⁷ This pronunciation of *cipín* was told to me by Denis Cadogan, Killesk, in August, 2015.

⁸ This pronunciation of *ciotóg* was told to me by Patrick Sinnott (1978-).

⁹ This pronunciation of *ciaróg* is from a recording of Jane Fortune (1909–2014), Gorey, made by her grandson, Michael Fortune, and kindly shared with me for the purposes of accurate phonetic transcription.

(iii) /k'/ > /t'/ and /ak/ > /ap/ allophones

ci- > *tí*: in what appears to be a more general interchangeability between ‘c’ /k/ /c/ and ‘t’ /t'/, we have just one example where this occurs for the initial ‘c/k’ followed by a front vowel: i.e., a north-western example of the female forename ‘Kitty’ > “Titty” (Kennedy, 1855, 99).¹⁰

6.2.2 ‘c’ / ‘g’ adjacent to back vowels

(i) The Irish texts

An eighteenth-century text from south-west Wexford suggests palatalisation of *c/g* in two types of instances where the velar plosive is adjacent to a back vowel (i.e., /k/ > /c/ and /g/ > /ɟ/) in *do thóg* > *do thóig* (ibid., 23), and *níor fhág sé* > *níor fháig se* (ibid., 66). This effect is replicated in a medial position in a text from south central Wexford from the Schools Collection: *Tógtha* > *tóighthe* (NFC S 883, 1).

Lenition alone of ‘c’/‘g’ is evident in an intervocalic context in an eighteenth-century Irish text from the south-west: *go bhfaca* > *go bhfeachadh* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 3). We find this mirrored, almost two centuries later, in the same region: *focal* > *fochail* (NFC S 870a, Poulfur, Mary Egan, “Proverbs”), *breac* > *breach* (ibid.); as well as in the mid-west *mac* > *mach* (Ó Sionóid, 119); in Forth as *cuma* > *chuma*, *aca* > *acha* (NFC S 881c, *Gan Ainm*, “Seachrán Fairrge”);¹¹ and in the north-east in *ghlacadh* > *glachadh* (NFC S 888, 162).

Where the consonant is adjacent to a back vowel, traditional Hiberno-English speakers lenite ‘c’ /k/ > /x/, and ‘g’ > ‘gh’ /ɣ/, including in the pronunciation of Irish survivals. As with the ‘c’ and ‘g’ adjacent to front vowels, these fricatives are very short, and are accompanied by a slight aspiration, to some degree mimicking the staccato of a plosive, or sounding something like a muffled plosive. Examples of this occurrence are *cuinneog* > “khuingoke”, in Yola (DÓM, 53), *lúracán* /'lu:ɪə, xɑ:n/ in the south-west, *gam* /ɣam/, and *sponc* /sponx/ in Forth, and *cac* > “hock” /hak/ (DÓM, 26), in Bargy, albeit with the final plosive retained in the latter example.¹² Other examples include *súgán* > *gs. an tsughain*

¹⁰ In mitigation against the relevance of this example for even a localised dialect, it might be borne in mind that the native-Irish-speaking character who is said to have made this pronunciation was being lampooned for his inability to speak English properly. As such, ‘Kitty’ > “Titty” could be a caricature.

¹¹ Note also *chonaic* > *chonnaich*, and *Tháinig* (NFC S 881c, Wexford CBS, *Gan Ainm*, “Seachrán Fairrge”); *go dtáinig* (ibid., “Lá an Aonaigh”).

¹² The pronunciations of *gam* and *sponc* are from Richard Sinnott (1944-2020), Tacumshin. This fricatisation is not reflected in any of the many Hiberno-English texts containing the word throughout the county, but this can be explained by there being no naturally corresponding consonant in English, and ‘k’ or ‘g’ are thus used as the closest equivalents. Ó Scannláin gives the IPA /spuŋk/and, as discussed in Chapter 3, Ó Scannláin’s phonetic

(NFC S 901, 267) in the mid-west; *beag* > *beugh* (NFC S 885, 53) in the east; *bacach* > “bocher” (Hall, 1847, 85) in Bargo; > *bocchoch* (NFC S 888, 99) in the north-east; and *bacach* > “bochachs” (Kennedy, 1867, 50), in the north-west.

Generally, though, nowadays, a velar plosive is pronounced throughout the county in this context: e.g., *cábóg* /ka:bo:g/ in Forth, *cainc* > /kank/ ‘nose’, in the north-east, and *gab* /gab/ throughout the county.¹³

A non-palatalised voiced or voiceless velar fricative appears to occur where *cao-/gao-* is pronounced with the velar fricative being followed by an off-glide to the front close vowel /i:/, e.g., in the north-east, ? *caol a’ ghabhair* > “Wheel-a-gower”, “Wheelagower” (NFC S 889b, Craanford, Maura Doyle, “Nick-names”).¹⁴

6.2.3 Voicing and devoicing *c/g*

In Hiberno-English survivals of Irish words, some interchangeability of ‘c’ and ‘g’ is to be observed. Devoicing of ‘-g > ‘-c’ can occur in an unstressed syllable: e.g., *gailseog* /'galʃo:k/ in the south-west, and /'galʃo:x/ in the south centre;¹⁵ and *cuinneog* > “khuingoke” (DÓM, 53), in Yola. Even in *gailseog*, such devoicing is not inevitable, and may not even be the norm, e.g., /'ga:lʃo:g/ in the mid-west; /'galʃo:g/ and “goulsheog” (Ffrench-O’Neill, 2009, 125) in the south centre; and “golshóg” (NFC S 888, 106) in the north-east.¹⁶ Devoicing occurs in the initial position in other examples: e.g., “caulchoke” (NFC S 870, 102) in the south-west; /kalʃo:g/ (Ó Scannláin, 1945–7, s.v.), and “coltshogue” /'kaltʃo:g/ (DÓM, 23), in Bargo; and *caillseog* (NFC S 882, 1), and “clostshogue” (Byrne 2002, 84), in Forth. There appears to be only one example of the voicing of slender ‘c’ (/k’/ > /g’/): i.e., *baic* /bag/ (DÓM, 22) in Forth, /baj/.¹⁷

transcription can be a useful indicator, but apart from the limitations inherent to it being a broad transcription, it has other issues which need to be factored in when appraising the text. The ‘c’ > ‘ch’ > ‘h’ in Ó Muirithe’s example of *cac* > ‘hock’ is evidence of this development, albeit with it having gone the extra step to the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ by Ó Muirithe’s informant, Jack Devereux.

¹³ The pronunciation of *cábóg* was told to me by David “Mod” Walshe, Sigginstown, Tacumshin. The pronunciation of *cainc* (meaning ‘nose’), was told to me by Michael Fortune, Ballygarrett.

¹⁴ Note, however, that no lenition is apparent in and *caol-lán* > “quiel laaune” (DÓM, 62), in Yola, even though the off-glide is clearly indicated.

¹⁵ The first of these pronunciations of *gailseog* is courtesy of Michael Fortune, who recorded a conversation between Campile men (in the south-west) on May 8th, 2017, and kindly shared an audio clip with me for the purposes of phonetic transcription. The second pronunciation is also courtesy of Michael Fortune, from a recording he made of a conversation with local men in Taghmon, on November 13th, 2019.

¹⁶ The mid-western pronunciation of *gailseog* is from a clip recorded by Michael Fortune in New Ross, and kindly shared with me. The south centre pronunciation is reported by John Roche to me, as pronounced to him by Taghmon-native, John Curran.

¹⁷ The pronunciation of *baic* is from James Sinnott (1918–89), as a pejorative for a woman ‘an oul’ bag’. As noted by Ó Muirithe (ibid.), cf. *baic-Béarla* = ‘a solecism, crooked reasoning’ (DIN). In Bargo, Ó Scannláin

6.2.4 Lateral c/g

In traditional Hiberno-English, ‘cl’ and ‘gl’ are always pronounced as lateral plosives, albeit with the lateral plosive being more velarised in a broad context. Examples involving Irish survivals include: *glean* /d͡ʒⁱəun/;¹⁸ *glic* /d͡ʒⁱɪc’/;¹⁹ and *glug* /d͡ʒug/ (soundimitative of fast swallowing).²⁰

6.3 d/t

6.3.1 Dental broad ‘d’ and ‘t’

The dental plosives of ‘d’ and ‘t’ are apparent in some Irish survivals in Hiberno-English contexts: e.g., *gadaí* > “goddhee” EG1), in the north; *amadán* [‘aməɖɑ:n] in Forth, and “omadhaun” in the south-east, generally (EG2); “omadhaun” in the north-east (NFC S 891, 49), and “omadhan” in the north-west (Kennedy, 1855, 194; 1869, 69, 70).²¹ We even find this dental ‘d’ in Yola, in *geadán* > “gidhaan” (DÓM, 48). The dental ‘t’ is evident in *cruatán* [‘kɹu:ɹvɑ:n] in the north-west.²² Nearby, in the mid-west, we have reference to an unofficial placename, *Gleanntán* > “Glounthaan” (Kennedy, 1855, 128; 1870, 149), and Kennedy uses this also as a common noun (plural) in “glounthaans,” ‘glens’ (Kennedy, 1866, 179). As an initial, there are also many examples of the dental ‘t’, e.g., the male forenames of *Tomás* > “Thummaas” (Kennedy, 1855, 136) and “Thummaus” (Kennedy, 1869, 8), in the mid-west; and *Tadhg* > “Thieg” in Yola (DÓM, 67), and > “Thigue” in the north-west (Kennedy, 1869, 339). In the traditional Hiberno-English of the south-east, both broad ‘d’ and ‘t’ are dental when preceding ‘r’ (DÓM, 18), including in Irish survivals: e.g., *trap* [ɹvrap]

defines /baig/ as ‘a vulgur person. A man who would do the wrong thing instead of the wrong thing [recte. Right thing] (RÓS, s.v.). Ó Muirthe’s Bargo source, Jack Devereux, defines “baig” /bag/ as ‘a person who says the wrong thing at the wrong time;’ cf. the Hiberno-English phrase, also common in Wexford, ‘to make a bags of something’ /bajz/, meaning ‘to make a mess of something’.

¹⁸ This pronunciation of an unofficial placename in Oulart, in the north-east, was given to me by Brian Ó Cléirigh of Screen. He adds that it is where the famous hurler, Martin Storey, lives.

¹⁹ This pronunciation of *glic* was told to me by Patrick Sinnott (1978-), a native of Wexford Town. Patrick says that *glic* was part of Wexford “Townie” vernacular when he was growing up, and given the context of its usage, was of the opinion that it had not come from school Irish. It is used in the sense ‘sly’.

²⁰ This word, used to describe a sound of swallowing, or of water draining, was used in Tacumshin when I was growing up, and has been reported to me, also, by Michael Fortune, as being used when he was growing up in Ballygarrett, in the north-east.

²¹ The pronunciation of *amadán* is from Richard Sinnott (1944-2020), Tacumshin.

²² This pronunciation of *cruatán* was collected from Jimmy Byrne, Ballindaggin, by Mick Fortune, 2018.9.13. “This material resembled coal and was burnt like coal.”

‘style’, and *Draighneach* > Drinagh [ˈd̪ˠr̪ˠəməx] in Forth.²³ In Bargy, the dental [t̪ˠ] is used after ‘s’ in *a stór* > “asthore,” ‘my treasure’ (Hall, 1847, 230, 254), and this is also found in the east (NFC S 881, 26), and in the mid-west as “asthure” (Kennedy, 1867, 335). Also in Forth, the dental ‘d’ [d̪ˠ] is found in *madra rua* [ˈmaɟə.ɾə ˈɾuːə] ‘fox’, and this is reflected also in the mid-west as “moddhera rua” (Kennedy, 1866, 7), and *maidrín rua* > *madairín rua* > “moddhereen rua” (Kennedy, 1870, 49), where an epenthetic vowel has separated the ‘d’ and ‘r’. In the final position, we have the examples of *bearad* > “birredh,” a conical hat’ (Kennedy, 1855, 13, 100, 250, etc.); *beannacht leat* > “banacht llath” (Kennedy, 1870, 41, 44; 1870, 12); and *Dia leat* > “Dhialath,” ‘God be with you’ (Kennedy, 1867, 155).

6.3.2 Lenition of broad ‘t’

In the Irish texts, there are two examples of the lenition of initial broad ‘t’ i.e., *T* > *th*: *Tógfad* > *Thógfad* (NFC S 881c, *Gan Ainm*, “Lá an Aonaigh”); and *tá* > *thá* > *tha* (RIA 23 F 22:83, line 9).²⁴ There is one example in a medial position: *fhriotaladh* > *friothaladh* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 6). In Hiberno-English, the initial broad ‘t’ is lenited in some examples: e.g., *tar isteach* /har əˈstʰax/ ‘come in (call to pigs)’, in the north-west,²⁵ and this is represented in the texts as “Haush teack” in Bargy (Lambert, 1995, 189), “Hur steac” in the north-east (NFC S 889, 148), and *Haristeac* in the mid-west (NFC S 900, 52).²⁶ In Hiberno-English, in Forth, lenition is also possible in *tais* /haf/ ‘damp’.²⁷

6.3.3 ‘d’ > ‘g’ and ‘t’ > ‘c’ allophones

Regarding broad ‘d’ > ‘g’, the clearest example of this allophone is in the north, where *dailtín* > “gal-keen” ‘pupil, young person’ (NFC 0096, 282, no. 109), but this may be explained by this example coming from the vocative phrase, *a dhailtín*. For the allophone of

²³ Both of these pronunciations of the unofficial placename, The Trap, and the official placename, Drinagh (both in Forth), were told to me by Richard Sinnott (1944-2020). The Trap is the location of an old style onto a church-path running from Ballyhiho to Tacumshin chapel in the Fence, and was there up until the 1960s, just at a sharp bend in the road from Ballymacane to Rostoonstown. For mention of the dental form of ‘d’ and ‘t’ before ‘r’ in the modern (albeit traditional) Hiberno-English, see DÓM, 18).

²⁴ Cf. Ua Súilleabháin, 1994, §8.79.

²⁵ Collected by Michael Fortune as a call to pigs in Ballindaggin.

²⁶ However, note also that the initial ‘t’ can be unlenited in this phrase, e.g., *tar isteach* > “tarais deoc deoc” (NFC S 902, 133), “Tar arís deach deach” (ibid., 135), and with the dental ‘t’ in “tharais deoch, tarais deoc” (NFC S 902a, Gallbhaile, Maighréad Ní Bhreathnach, “Proverbs,” and “Thar arís deach deach” (ibid., Stasia Foley, “Care of Farm Animals).”

²⁷ Used in Tacumshin, in the expression, ‘That’s a *hash* oul’ evenin’, said in reference to stormy weather. The initial consonant of the adjective is lenited to *h* after the noun, ‘evening’ (*tráthnóna*). I have never heard it in its unlenited form or context.

broad ‘t’ > ‘c’, a rare example is found in the east, where we find the unofficial placename of *Loch na bPiast* (< *Loch na bPiasc*) > *Loc na bíasc* ‘Lake of the Monsters’ (NFC S 886a, Naomh Brighid, Dómhnaill Choinnig, “Local place names: bogs”), > loch na (biaisc (ibid., Naomh Brighid, Máiréad Ní Chearbhaill “Local place names”).

6.3.4 Interchange of voiced and devoiced forms of the plosives d/t

In Hiberno-English, we find the Irish survival *tlám* [t̪l̪a:m] > *claam* /kla:m/ ‘handful’ (DÓM, 23) in Forth and Bargo, but [d̪ʒa:m] in New Ross, in the mid-west.²⁸

6.3.5 Basic pronunciation of slender d’/t’

Evidence of the retention of the slender Irish ‘d’ and ‘t’ can be found in the Hiberno-English texts: e.g., *dúidín* > “doodyeen,” ‘a pipe for smoking’, in the south-west (NFC S 870, 103), and in the north (EG1), which we find with the broad dental initial ‘d’ from an unknown region as “dhudyeen” (*NRS*, 6.2, 5), and in the mid-west as “dhudheen” (Kennedy, 1867, 174). The palatalised ‘t’ is also evident in the medial position in *buaitín* > “boltyeen,” ‘part of a flail’, in the north (EG1), and “booltyeens” in the mid-west (Kennedy, 1867, 49), as well as *móintín* > “moantyeen,” ‘path through a bog’, and *páistín* > “poostyeen,” ‘a child, young animal’ (EG1); and *poitín* > “potyeen,” ‘home-made spirits’, in the north and south-east (EG1; EG2).

Beyond this, there are two basic variants of the pronunciation of /d’/ and /t’/ evident from the Irish survivals in Hiberno-English sources. The first is the palatal dental plosive [d̪ʲ] and [t̪ʲ]. These are apparent in the following examples: *scraidín* > “scradheen,” ‘a ne’er-dowell’, (*lit.* ‘little scream’) (Kennedy, 1855, 163; 1867, 189) in the north-west and mid-west; and “skradheens” (*GJ*, 1902, 143), in an unknown region. Kennedy also gives us *gáirdín* > “Gairdheen,” ‘garden’ (Kennedy, 1870, 13), and *Páidín* > “Paudheen,” – a male forename – (Kennedy, 1855, 97). For ‘t’ examples, we have *baitín* > “botheen” in the north-east (NFC S 888, 105). Kennedy also gives us *Beit na Díoga* > “bet-na-dheega” –Elizabeth of the Ditches’ (Kennedy, 1867, 48, 191); *Dé Chéadaoin* > “Dha Haed-yeen,” ‘Wednesday, and *Déardaoin* > “Dha Yaerd-yeen,” ‘Thursday’ (Kennedy, 1866, 103); *Dial eat* > “Dhialath,” ‘God be with you’ (Kennedy, 1867, 155), and *dreas* > “dhrass” (Kennedy, 1866, 161).

²⁸ The *t*-articulation was told to me by Seamus “Shammie” Cloney, and Paddy Berry (both natives of Duncormick, in Bargo), and this pronunciation is still extant in the Tacumshin district (in Forth). The *g*-type of articulation was told to me by Mark Colfer, New Ross, among others.

The second subtype in this context is the sibilant alveolar plosive [dʒ], [tʃ], and examples of this type are mainly found in the southern third of the county, albeit with occasional examples from every other region: for example, initial ‘d’ gets this articulation in Bargo, in *deannach* > “jannock,” ‘dust’ (Lambert, 1995, 189) /dʒanəx/ (RÓS, s.v.); in the east in *dial* > “jall,” ‘appearance’ (NFC S 884, 36); in the mid-west, *diabhal* /dʒo:l/ ‘devil’,²⁹ and this is “jowl” in the north-east (NFC 0096, 300, no. 278), and > “jewil” in Bargo (Hall, 1847, 8, 162, etc.); and In the north-east, we find *diúg* > “juge,” ‘a drop’ (NFC 0096, 182, no. 102). This subtype is also possibly in the south-west as “Jeensulan” < ? *díon súlán*, ‘covering of the little juice (a herb)’ (NFC S 872, 77). Medial examples include *dúidín* > “duh’ geen” (NFC 0096, 282, no. 108). In sibilant ‘t’ examples, we find *teann* > “chan,” ‘hole (from tightness)’, in the south-west (see 5.1.12c, above); *baitín* > “botcheen,” ‘little stick’ (NFC S 870, 104), /‘ba.tʃi:n/ in the south-west,³⁰ and /batʃi:n/ in Bargo (RÓS, s.v.). *Teach Munna* /tʃax.mun/ and *cáití(n)* [ka:tʃi:], ‘grey heron (lit. little Kate)’, are found in Forth;³¹ and *cruit* > “crutch,” ‘a hump’, in the south-east, generally (EG2). In the south centre, we find the fieldname *an Goirtín* > “the Curcheen,” ‘the little field’ (NFC S 899, 356).

Primarily in the southern third of the county, an alveolar ‘d’ or ‘t’, as in English, is also suggested in some examples: in the south-west, *Bábhúin Aitinn* > “Bawn-otton,” ‘enclosure of heather’ (NFC S 873, 122); in Bargo, *deamhas* /dəus/, and *deas* > “das” (Hall, 1847, 167); and in Yola, *diabhal* > “deel,” ‘devil’ (Lambert, 1995, 193).

6.3.6 Lenition of slender d’/t’

In the Irish texts, there are two examples of lenition of slender ‘t’: “*ní mar siltear bítear*’ (Anon., *The Past*, 1921, 128); and *táinte* > *tainthe* (RIA MS 23 E 1 [221 line 8). There are two apparent examples in Hiberno-English: i.e., *baitín* > “baheen,” ‘little stick’, in the north-west (NFC S 895, 154), and *craibhtéal* > “crahail” /kra’he:l/, ‘a contrary person’, in Bargo (DÓM, 24).

²⁹ This pronunciation of *diabhal* is from Noel Roche, New Ross, who was analyst on a South-East Radio commentary on a Wexford Gaelic Football match in June, 2017. Noel said, ‘I don’t want to put the jole on him’ – meaning ‘hex’.

³⁰ This pronunciation of *baitín* was told to me by Denis Cadogan, Killesk, in August, 2015.

³¹ Both of these pronunciations are generally extant in Tacumshin. *Cáití(n)* is the common name for the grey heron, and *Teach Mun(a)* is the common name for the graveyard on the Fairy Lane, Ballyboher (in the old parish of Ishartmun).

6.3.7 Slender ‘t’ /t’/ > slender ‘c’ /c/ /ç/ allophone

A slender ‘t’ > slender ‘c(h)’ allophone is occasionally found in several regions: *tóiteán* > “tokyaun” /'to:kja:n/ ‘a burnt thing’ (DÓM, 27), in Bargy, and [t̪o:ca:n] in Forth;³² in the south centre, we find a fieldname, *na Móinteáin* > “Moon Kauns” (NFC S 882, 273), > “the Mooncáins” (ibid., 274), > “Moon Cans” (O’Reilly, 2009, 22.); and another fieldname is the singular version, *an Móinteán* > “The Mooncaun” (NFC S 882, 455). In the north, we find the common noun *móiteán* > “moocawn,” ‘marsh’ (EG1), and *dailtín* > “gal-keen” (NFC 0096, no. 282, §109). This allophone is also evident in the eastern unofficial placename of *Loch na bPéist/bPiast* > “Lough Beisg” (NFC S 886a, Naomh Brighid, Máiréad Ní Chearbhaill “Local place names”), and > “Loch na bPiast” (Piatt, 1933, 25). However, as can be seen in 6.3.6 above, this feature is not the norm, and indeed, even most examples of the eastern *Loch na bPéist* etc., retain the ‘t’, e.g., > “loch-na-piasta” (NFC S 885, 207) /lax nə be:ft’/, /lax nə bi:st’/.³³

II: FRICATIVES

6.4 *bh/mh*

6.4.1 *bh-/mh-*

As in Irish, generally, initial slender *bh-/mh-* > /v’/: e.g., *a mhic* /ə 'v'ic/ ‘(voc. phrase) my son’, in the south-west, > “avic” in the east (NFC 0106, 14); and *a bhean a(n) tí* > “van a tigh” in the south-east (EG2), > “The vanithee” in the north-west and mid-west (Kennedy, 1866, 61, etc.).³⁴

Regarding initial broad *bh-/mh-*, on June 16th, 1905, P. W. Kavanagh, a native of Templederry, in north-east Wexford, tells us: “It will be noted the sounds of *mh* and *bh*, broad, are pronounced in Wexford as they are often in the South West, ‘v’ not ‘w’, as they are in Connacht” (NRS, 6.16, 5). A thorough examination of the evidence confirms this, generally speaking, but examples of /w/ in initial contexts (including in compounds) are to be found in the eastern regions.

³² This pronunciation of *tóiteán* is from Chris Sinnott (1937-), Sigginstown, Tacumshin.

³³ Both pronunciations of *Loch na bPéist/bPiast* are from Brian Ó Cléirigh, kindly told to me in November, 2014.

³⁴ This pronunciation of *a mhic* is from Denis Cadogan, Killesk, from my conversation with him in August, 2015. It might also be noted that there is recorded *a mhic* > “a mic” in the south-west (NFC S 871, 215), and in the north-east (NFC S 888, 102), but these might be Irish spellings with the *séimhiú* omitted.

Examples

In *Hiberno-English*, the /v/ predominates: e.g., *a mhúirnín* > “avourneen,” ‘(voc. phrase) my darling’, in Bargy (Hall, 1847, 58, 68, 72, 231, 234 etc), “voorneen” in Yola (DÓM, 70); and in the mid-west > “a vourneen” (Kennedy, 1867, 215). Kennedy also gives us the exclamation *abhoch* > “ovoch” in the north-west and mid-west (Kennedy, 1855, 282, etc.); and in the mid-west, *a Mháire* > “Vauriagh,” ‘(voc. phrase) my Mary’, (Kennedy, 1855, 61), *bhuel* > “vwell,” ‘well’ (Kennedy, 1867, 221), and *Mallaí Bhán* > “Molly Vawn,” ‘sweet Molly’ (Kennedy, 1867, 294).

***Lán a’ mhála* ‘full up (lit. full bag)’:** in the north-west, we find *lán a’ mhála* [ˈlɑ:n ə ˈvɑ:nə],³⁵ and in the mid-west, > “launa-vauya” (Kennedy, 1867, 339). But just over the Wicklow border with north-east Wexford, the phrase is found as “lawn-a-wallah” (NFC S 888, 172), and the /w/ is reported in north Wexford, generally, in “laun-a-wala” (EG1).

***A Mhuire* ‘(voc. phrase addressing St. Mary):** Kennedy gives us *a mhuire* > “vuya” in the north-west (Kennedy, 1855, 273, etc.); but in Bargy, ‘w’ is evident in *a Mhuire is trua* > “Wirrasthrew,” ‘St. Mary and pity’ (Hall, 1847, 254).

***Ceannbhán* ‘‘bog flax’ etc.:** in this compound (*ceann* + *bán*), we find /v/ versions in the north-west, e.g., “canavan Ban,” ‘bog cotton’ (NFC S 896a, Ferns BNS, Seamus Redmond, “Old Cures”), in Forth as “canavonbeg,” ‘(herb) self-heal’ (NFC S 879, 278), in the south centre as “canivawn beg” (NFC S 883, 131), in the east as “canavan beg” (NFC S 886, 135), in the mid-west as “canavánbeg” (NFC S 902a, Ballyhogue, Mary E. Kavanagh, “Herbs”), The only example of ‘w’ in this immediate context is found in “canawan-beg,” in the east (NFC S 884, 130).

The only example where /w/ is the only sound is in the vocative phrases used by Richard Sinnott (Forth), e.g., *a bháb* /ə ˈwɑ:b, ə ˈwɑb/.³⁶

³⁵ This pronunciation of *lán a’ mhála* was told to me by Aileen Lambert, who got it from her mother, Joan Lambert née Doyle, originally from Marshalstown.

³⁶ Richard transposed this vocative phrase even more into English, by analogy: e.g., “a wog(gie)” (my lovely dog; *a mhadaidh*).

6.4.2 *-abh-/-amh-*

In sum, although there is a slight predominance of the use of the diphthong /əu/ in this context, the remaining picture appears mixed, with all possible pronunciations of the *-abh-/-amh-* alternative being found throughout the county. From the below evidence, though, it is probable that even were one to disentangle the historical variations from the regional variations, one would still find a mix of variants in each region, even up to the last native Irish speakers.

(i) The Irish texts

Although evidence of *-bh-/-mh- /əu/* is not apparent in the Irish texts, it might be remembered that this diphthong is rarely detectable in Irish texts except where it is apparent through rhyming.

A short version of the vowel before the consonant is suggested in *-abh-/-amh- /a/*, in rhyming of *amharc / ranna / aca/ sgaradh* (Ó Murchadha, 1769, verse 2), and also *dheacair / leaga / dhalla / samhuil* (ibid., verse 6), but in these cases, we cannot be certain that the consonant has been dropped. However, compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel before a probable dropped consonant (i.e., /ɑ:/), is apparent in the same MS, in *tabhair > tábhair* (ibid., verse 1, line 3); as well as in the Fiannaíocht texts by the same scribe: *nach rabhadar > nár fhábhadar* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 18), and *rábhadar* (ibid., 56); *labhair > lábhair* and *go dtabharfadh > go dábharach* (ibid., 21), and *gabhadh > gábhadh* (ibid., 46). The same effect is evident in *-amh-* in *I gcnoc Samhna > accnoc Sámhna* (Ó Murchadha, 1769, verse 10, line 3); and *is amhlaidh > is ámhla* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 63).

-abh- > /o:/, /u:/, /o:/ is clear in *le fheabhas > le bfheos* (RIA 23 F 22:83, line 11, in margin). *leamhán > leómhan* (Gibbons, 1740–80, 378, s.v., "a moth"), and it is likely in *cabhair > cobhair* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 48). Similarly, we find *-abh- /u:/* in *an-amhrach > anubhrach'* (ibid., 4).

(ii) Hiberno-English sources

The diphthong /au/ is apparent in the following examples: *gabha /gəu/ > "gow,"* 'smith' in the north-west (Kennedy, 1855, 163), and in the mid-west (NFC S 901, 29).³⁷ In the north-west, *Breabhsaí > "browzy"* 'town-crier' (Kennedy, 1855, 16). In other one-off

³⁷ This pronunciation of *gabha* was told to me by Michael Fortune, Ballygarrett, in north-east Wexford.

examples, *Thugamar Féin an Samhradh Linn* > “ug a mor fane a zour a ling,” ‘we brought the summer with us’, in Yola (DÓM, 86); a meal for All Saint’s Day is called “sowans” (< *Samhain*) (/əu/) ‘Hallowe’en’, and is still remembered in Wexford town.³⁸ In Bargo, *cabhla* > “cowl,” /kəul/ ‘goal’ (DÓM, 24), and *deamhas* > “douse” /dəus/ ‘slap’;³⁹ and in the Carlow border area (in north-west Wexford), is the unofficial placename, *Mullán na nGamhain* /mu'la:n ə gəun/ ‘summit of the calves’.⁴⁰

In some examples, the intervocalic consonant survives: e.g., in Yola, where we find a fossil of the medial *-bh-* not being dropped, but rather, being nasalised: *abhac* > “amach, ammache,” ‘dwarf’ (DÓM, 37).⁴¹ Similar evidence of non-muting of the intervocalic *-bh-* is found in the south-west, where we find the male forename *Abhán*, > “Avon” (NFC S 871, 215), and in Adamstown, in the mid-west, where the patron saint is *Abhán*, it is pronounced /'ab(ə)n/ in the English of today.⁴² In the 1930s it is spelt as “Abban” (NFC S 899, 117, 159).

Occasionally, the only examples of a word containing medial *-abh-/-amh-* involve compensatory lengthening before the dropped consonant: e.g., *rabhán* /ra:m/ ‘spasm, grab’, is found in the north-east and north-west,⁴³ and in the 1950s *rabhán* > “raun” is reported in the south-east (EG2), as well as in the north (EG1). In Bargo, *rabhach* (< *rabhán*) > “rawk,” ‘broom’ (NFC S 877, 54, 56), and in north Wexford, *rabhach* > “rawagh” (EG1), might demonstrate the compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel /a:/ before the dropped consonant *-bh-*, but it might, otherwise, indicate a residual preservation of the *-bh-* as an approximant /w/.

/u:/ is evident in *crann tabhail* > “cran-tuabhal,” ‘catapult’ in the north-west (Kennedy, 1855, 16.).

In other examples, medial *-abh-/-amh-* can produce varying effects, including alternatives between /o:/ and /u:/.

Gabhar: in Bargo, *meannán gabhair* > “minigower” /'mini: gaur/ ‘jacksnipe’ (DÓM, 27). The second element in this couplet is also spelled as “gower,” ‘goat’, elsewhere in the

³⁸ This pronunciation of “sowans” was told to me by John Roche, Wexford Town, in August, 2018.

³⁹ This pronunciation of *deamhas* was told to me by Kevin Whitty in 2015, and the spelling, “douse” is from his article in *The Kilmore Journal* (1986–7, 41).

⁴⁰ All information I have on *Mullán na nGamhain* is from Michael Fortune.

⁴¹ McManus (1994, §2.1), notes a tendency of nasalisation of *-mh-*, and the mutation of *-bh-* to a bilabial fricative /v/. The Yola example *abhac* > *amache* etc. is evidence of two things: 1) the *-bh-* could also be nasalised; and 2) this characteristic, rather than the mutation of this consonant, was still apparent in at least the thirteenth century, in south Wexford.

⁴² This pronunciation of *Abhán* was told to me by Mogue Kearns in 2016.

⁴³ The north-eastern source is Michael fortune, Ballygarrett. And the north-western source is collected by Michael Fortune as follows: “to make a rawm at a woman” = ‘a grab at her:’ collected by Michael Fortune from Pat Lambert, and Jim and Katty Byrne, and video posted to folklore.ie and Michael’s Facebook page at 2019.10.7, 5.05pm.

county (e.g., in the north-east (NFC S 888, 172; 890, 74), north-west (NFC S 892, 157), and mid-west (NFC S 902, 196), apparently matching the /au/ of Ó Muirthe’s phonetic transcription). Also, in the mid-west, Kennedy reports the unofficial placename, *Áth na nGabhar* > “Och-na-Gour,” ‘ford of the goats’ (Kennedy, 1867, 311), and the legendary character *Giolla an Chraiceann Gabhair* > “Gilla na Chreckan Gour,” ‘boy servant of the goat-skin’ (Kennedy, 1870, 103). The only exception to the above /au/ examples is the /o:/ example of the east Wexford placename of *Mullán na nGabhar* > “Mullinagore” (in the 1901 and 1911 censuses), even though its official spelling today, ‘Mullanagower’ indicates the /au/ diphthong.

tabhairt: in mid-west Wexford, we find *tabhairt amach* > “toust amock” (DHE, s.v., *tabhairt amach*), ‘giving out, scolding’, and this is also found in Bargy as /təʊft əmɑx/ (RÓS, s.v.). However, /u/ is suggested in the east, where we find *tuairt* < ? *tabhairt*, ‘giving’ (NFC S 886, 106).⁴⁴

Labhraí:⁴⁵ this male forename (in the guise of the legendary king *Labhraidh Loingseach* > “Lora Lonshach” in north-west Wexford (Kennedy, 1866, 248), indicating an ‘o’-lengthened articulation; but *-abh-* is voiced as /v/ in the mid-west, “Lavra” (NFC S 897a, Ros Mhic Threoin, James Walsh, “A funny old Story”).

Feabhrán ‘cow parsnip’:⁴⁶ in north-east Wexford, we find *feabhrán* > *súirán* (NFC S 888, 102); “shurawn” (Howard, ed., 1984, 73); and *feabhairíní* > “shureawns” (NFC S 888, 295). This tendency towards close back rounded vowel is reflected in north Wexford, more generally, as “shoorawn” (EG1), and *siumhrán* (GJ, 1902, 42). The only exception to this u-lengthened form is from the north-west of the county, where we find the /au/ diphthong in “fowráns” (NFC S 895a, Castledockrell, Sinéad Ó Néill, “Herbs”).

diabhal ‘devil’: *diabhal* > “deel” in Yola, has already been mentioned in 5.3.2 above, but of the examples directly relevant to *-abh-*, three types are found. In north Wexford, *diabhal* > “jowl” (NFC S 0096, 300, no. 278), indicating the diphthong /au/. In the mid-west of the county, we find *diabhal* /dʒo:l/, and this is reflected in the spelling from 1798, in the same region, “deoil” (Mernagh, 2008, 155).⁴⁷ In Bargy, we find *diabhal* > “jewil” (Hall, 1847, 8, 23, 162), and “jewel” (ibid., 21, 107, 155), ostensibly suggesting the ‘u’-lengthened

⁴⁴ The sentence containing *tuairt* is as follows: “The iarlais was immediately ‘put out on the shovel’ and there was such *tuairt* outside they thought the house might fall.”

⁴⁵ Early Modern Irish *Labhrás*; from Anglo-Norman *Laurens* (McManus, 1994, §11.4).

⁴⁶ *Feabhrán* = *heraclium sphondylium*, cow-parsnip, hogweed (DHE, 27).

⁴⁷ This pronunciation of *diabhal* is from Noel Roche, New Ross, in his analysis of a Wexford county Gaelic Football match in June, 2017.

articulation, but it is also possible that it represents /au/ > /eu/, which is an Anglicisation from older Hiberno-English speaking regions of the country.⁴⁸

Gabháil ‘going, handful’: in the south-west, we find ga(b)awáil (NFC S 870, 105),⁴⁹ but the same author tells us that *góilt* is also used. Indeed, both sounds are also indicated by one author in the north-east, in *gól*, and “goul” for the same word (NFC S 888, 102). All other examples indicate only /o:/ articulation: in the north-east, we find “goleen” (NFC S 888, 172); and in the north-west, “goalT (NFC S 890, 74); and “gole” (NFC S 892, 123).

gabhlóg /gəul̪iːoːg/ ‘fork’: this is reported in Bargy (RÓS, s.v.), and in Enniscorthy (in north-central Wexford), /ˈgauloːg/ is said.⁵⁰ In the south centre, the spelling “goulog” seems to also indicate the /au/ diphthong (Ffrench-O’Neill, 2009, 125). On the other hand, articulation as /ɑ:/ is to be found at opposite ends of the county: in the south-west as “gawleóg” (NFC S 870, 101), and in the north-east as “gawlog” (NFC S 888, 104), which equates to compensatory lengthening before the dropped consonant.

Sleabhac ‘a type of seaweed’: in Bargy, we find *sleabhac* /sləuk/ (RÓS, s.v.; DÓM, 28). In Hiberno-English orthography, “slowk (-án ” in south-west Wexford (NFC S 870, 103); “slough” (Byrne, 2002, 96), and “slowk” (NFC S 882, 1), in Forth; “slouk” in Yola (DÓM, 65); and “slowack” in north Wexford (EG1). However, two examples depart from this generalised use of the diphthong: in the south-west, *sleabhac* > “sleawk” (NFC S 870, 103), indicating /sl̪ˈɑ:k/, and in north-east Wexford /sl̪iːu:k(ə)n/ is a verb still in use.⁵¹

Sceabha, ‘askew’: *this* is found in the adjective ‘sca-ways’ /sca.weːz/ in the north-east, which also indicates compensatory lengthening;⁵² but elsewhere we find the diphthong /au/, i.e., *sceabha* > “skeow” (NFC S 891, 49), and there is agreement with this in north-west Wexford /scəuweːz/.⁵³

baileabhair ‘uproar’: > “balyourin” /baˈljəurn/ (DÓM, 22), and “bale ourin” (Lambert, 1995, 188) are found in Bargy; “ballouir” (NFC S 888, 104) in the north-east; > “bellower” in the north, generally (EG1), all pointing to *-abh-* /əu/. However, the spelling of

⁴⁸ /au/ > /eu/ is a particular feature of the Hiberno-English of east Waterford, most of Kilkenny, and south-west and mid-west (at least in the New Ross area) of Wexford (e.g., in the word ‘now’ /neu/. Not surprisingly, this phenomenon is also notable in the Hiberno-English of working class Dublin, and of the traditional Hiberno-English of south Dublin and north Wicklow.

⁴⁹ Cf. /gə.va:l̪/, Breatnach ed., 1961, 206.

⁵⁰ This pronunciation of *gabhlóg* was reported to me by Paddy Berry in 2015.

⁵¹ This pronunciation of *sleabhac* was told to me by Michael Fortune, Ballygarrett, on several occasions. The verb, in its current usage, means ‘to slink’: e.g., ‘The cat is slyukin (about all day) Sittin’ around all day...then sidlin’ up to you looking for something like a pet’. Cf. *sliúc* < *sleabhac sleabhcadh* (2), n. ‘inclination’; *sleabhcánta* (2) ‘slinking, sly’ (FGB).

⁵² This pronunciation of *sceabha* was told to me by Michael Fortune, Ballygarrett.

⁵³ This pronunciation of *sceabha* was told to me by Aileen Lambert, Ballindaggin. We have an ambiguous example in the south centre, where *sceabha* > “skuy” (Ffrench-O’Neill, 2009, 124).

“balyore” in Bargy (DHE, s.v., *baileabhair*), not only indicates *-abh-* /o:/, itself, but highlights the possible ambiguity of the ‘-lower’ spellings in the above examples.

Some official placenames in the south-east show evidence of raising and lengthening of the vowel in front of this dropped consonant ‘-bh-’, e.g., in Bargy, *Cnocán Seabhac* > Shouks [shu:ks], and in Forth, *Cill Scabhráin* > Kilsoran /-sko:ran/ (CÓC.). Preservation of the consonant in some form is also evident: e.g., *Tulach Dhamháin* > Tilladavin, in Bargy; and *Cill Damháin* > Kildavin in Forth (*ibid.*).

In the south-west, Irish survivals in Hiberno-English (above) do not suggest raising of the ‘a’ before the dropped consonant ‘-bh-’, but this is apparent in the unofficial placename “Cawnahoona” < *Cabha + na hAbhna* (NFC S 873, 122). Preservation of the ‘-bh’ as a consonant is possibly evident in *Gleann Dabháin* > “Glann dabhainn” (mentioned in 5.1.13 (c) above).

6.4.3 *-ábh-/ámh-*

The most common and widespread example of the dropping of *-bh-/mh-* after ‘á’ is in the common noun and placename element *bábhún* /ba:n/, as pronounced in Bargy and mid-west Wexford, and which is agreed with by spellings: *bábhún* > “bawn” in the south-west (NFC S 870, 279), Forth (NFC S 879, 53), east (NFC 654, 25), north-east (NFC S 888, 37), and north-west (NFC S 892, 24); and ‘bawen’ in Yola (DÓM, 38).⁵⁴ The only example of the word to retain the medial consonant is “barven”, in Bargy (Lambert, 1995, 192). The only other relevant example is in the east, where we find retention of the consonant in the official placename *Rámhainn* > The Raven (CÓC).

6.4.4 Medial *-obh-/omh-*

In eighteenth-century Irish texts from the south-west, compensatory lengthening of the vowel before the dropped consonant in this context is evident: e.g., *faoin a gcomhair* > *fá na ccóbhair* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 11); *i gcomhair* > *accóir* (*ibid.*, 50); *chomhairle* > *chómhairle* (*ibid.*, 32); *chomhraic* > *cómhruic* (*ibid.*, 30), *domhan* > *dómhain* (*ibid.*, 19, 33, 42), *dómhuin* (*ibid.*, 21, 26, 55a); *gs. domhain* > *an, dómhuin* (*ibid.*, 35); and *romhainn* > “reomhuin” (*ibid.*, 24). However, in a twentieth-century Irish text, articulation of the

⁵⁴ The Bargy source for the pronunciation of *bábhún* is RÓS, s.v., the mid-west Wexford source is Thomas Murphy, a native of Clonroche – now living in Ballymurn.

diphthong /əu/ is suggested by possible assonance in “*Is maith comhairle ach is fearr cabhair*” (1335, line 27); also in “*Is libh an domhain agus gach a bhfuil ann*” (ibid., line 35)

/əu/ diphthong articulation

The two clearest examples of this articulation in Hiberno-English are both from Forth, and both indicate the use of the diphthong /əu/ for medial *-omh-* before a sonorant: i.e., the official placename Ráth Domhnaigh > Rathdowney /əu/ (CÓC), while in Yola, the same diphthong is suggested in the spelling “Ra=dew=nee”.⁵⁵ The second example is of an old pronunciation of the surname *Maol Domhnaigh* (Moloney in Standard English) /mə'ləu,ni/.⁵⁶

6.4.5 Intervocalic broad *-ubh-/-umh-*

In this context, all the examples point to compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel /u/ after the dropped consonant. In an eighteenth-century text from the south-west, *dubha* > *dúbha* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 44, 61, 62); *go cumhach* > *go cúmhach* (ibid., 3) and *naoinumhair* > *naonámhur* (ibid., 9). Also in the south-west, we are told of the unofficial placename *Átha Cumhra* > “Átha Cúra,” ‘fragrant ford’ (NFC S 871, 53). Matching this, in Hiberno-English, we have *a leanbh cumhra* > “alannah coora,” ‘voc(. phrase) my fragrant child’, in the mid-west (DHE, s.v.), and in the north-west, this phrase is found as “a leanbh cúmhra” (NFC S 892, 124). Similarly, in Bargo, we find the surname *Dubhghall* > “Dool” (Hall, 1847, 84), “O’Doole” (ibid., 255, 257, 260), and “Deeule” (DÓM, 14).

6.4.6 The medial slender context (*-eibh-/-eimh-*)

In an eighteenth-century Irish text from the south-west, the diphthong /əi/ is indicated in this context, as *doimhin* > *dóighinn* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 4). However, the fricative medial *-mh-* is probable in the spelling of *Cuan Gaillimhe* > *cuan na Gaillbhe* (ibid., 20). In a text from Bargo, the same scribe once more drops the fricative in *do shuaimhnis* > *do shuimhneas* > *do shuaineas* (Ó Murchadha, 1799, line 11).

The Irish survivals in Hiberno-English point unequivocally to the dropping of the consonant and to a consequential compensatory diphthongisation /əi/ in a medial position,

⁵⁵ The pronunciation (with diphthong) of Rathdowney, is general among traditional speakers of Hiberno-English in Tacumshin. The Yola spelling is from Jacob Poole’s manuscripts at the Library of the Society of Friends, Dublin, and transcribed, and kindly shared with me, by Sascha Santschi-Cooney.

⁵⁶ This pronunciation of Moloney was told to me by James Moloney (1942-), a native of Lady’s Island.

and to mutation (without diphthongisation) where the intervocalic fricative occurs in a final syllable of a disyllabic word. For the medial examples, we have the phrase ‘*Sea go deimhin* > “*Sha gu dheine*,” ‘it is, indeed’, in the north-west (Kennedy, 1866, 251; 1866, 71); the unofficial placename *Gleann Doimhin* > “Glendine,” ‘deep glen’, in the south-west (NFC S 874, 176), and the official south-central placename of *Baile an Doimhnisigh* > Ballindinas pronounced with the diphthong /əi/. In this latter placename, though, it is worth noting that it is written as Devenstown in 1540, and Deveinstowne in ?1638 – indicating preservation of the retention of the articulation of the medial consonant – albeit with all other spellings from 1628 to the present indicating the dropped consonant (CÓC, Ballindinas).

When *-imhe/-ibhe* is in final position, the dropped consonant is evident in the southwestern unofficial placename of *Clais Gainimhe* > “Clasganny,” ‘ditch of sand’ (NFC S 871, 391). The remaining examples come from *sléibhe* (gs. of *sliabh*) ‘mountain’, as the final element in the unofficial eastern placename of ? *Sloch Salach Sléibhe* > “Sluc Slac Slée” (NFC S 886a, Naomh Brigid, Dómhnaill Choinnig, “Local Place Names”); and the official placenames of *Baile an tSléibhe* > Ballintlea in the north-east, mid-west, and south centre, respectively (CÓC).

6.4.7 Final *-bh/-mh*

Apart from *-amh* /u:/ in *taidhbhreamh* > *taidhbhriúdh* (Gibbons, 1740–80, 380, s.v., “a vision”), the evidence from Irish sources shows a clear tendency to mute this final fricative, leaving just the neutral vowel /ə/. We can see this in the spelling of *-amh* verbal noun endings: e.g., *caitheamh* > *caithe* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 55a); *buaireamh* > *buaire* (ibid., 12); *dhéanamh* > *dhéanadh* (ibid., 44, 69); and also *go dtiocfadh* > *go ttiocfamh*, indicating the neutral vowel for both *-adh*, and *-amh* endings (ibid., 22). In the keen for Stafford, the same tendency is reflected in *mo bhuaireamh* > *mo bhuaire* (Ó Murchadha, 1799, lines 9, 65); *a dhéanamh* > *do dhéanadh* (ibid., line 26); *ag déanamh* > *ag deana* (ibid., line 29), *adéanadh*’ (ibid., line 41), and *ag déanadh*’ (ibid., line 61). Also, in a twentieth-century Irish text from the mid-west, *gan chuimhneamh* > *gan cuimhniughadh* (Ó Sionóid, 1920, 120).

For the most part, this situation appears to hold in the Irish survivals in Hiberno-English. Kennedy gives several examples of the dropping of the final fricative in *dubh*: e.g., *ceann dubh* > “*ceann dhu*” ‘black head’ (Kennedy, 1867, 119, 197; 1866, 72); *coileach dubh* > “*Cuileach Dhu*,” ‘black rooster’ (Kennedy, 1866, 7); *Nioclás Dubh* > Nicholas Dhu,” ‘black Nicholas’ (Kennedy, 1867, 99); and *páistín dubh* > “Paustheen Dhu” (Kennedy,

1869, 249), etc.; and in the east we find the unofficial placename, *Loch Dubh* /lax du:/ ‘black lake’.⁵⁷

In the south-west, we find the unofficial placename *Baile na Gainimhe* > “Ballynagaune,” ‘homestead of the sand’ (NFC S 871, 394), agreeing with *Clais Gainimh* > “Cleasgonyah” (NFC S 873, 123) (notwithstanding the *Clais Gainimhe* variant of the same place given in 6.4.6 above). There are two rare exceptions to this muting in the Irish survivals in Hiberno-English, namely, *claiómh* > “chloive,” ‘sword’ (Kennedy, 1866, 264), and *an Chontae Riabhach* > “Contha Riavach,” ‘the striped county’ (Kennedy, 1869, 274), although this latter example is countered by the official placenames *An Muileann Riabhach* > Mullinree, and *An Cheathrú Riabhach* > Carroreigh, in the south centre; *Mullán Riabhach* > Mullaunreagh, in the north-east; and *an Cnoc Riabhach* > Knockreagh in the north-west (CÓC).

6.4.8 Medial or final broad *-bh(-)/-mh(-)* immediately following sonorants

The following examples of Irish survivals in Hiberno-English relate to broad *-bh(-)* immediately following a sonorant (*l, n, r*). As can be seen, the *-bh-* fricative is preserved where it has been separated from the sonorant by an epenthetic vowel, but otherwise, it tends to be dropped entirely.

***Mealbhóg* ‘a blow’:** > /maləvo:g/ (RÓS, s.v.) shows the full retention of the *-bh-* fricative in Bargy, and this is attested in all other (epenthicised) examples of the word: “malavogue” in the south-east and north, generally (EG1; EG2), and “mala-vogue” in the north, generally (NFC 0096, 289, no. 177).

balbhán > “bullawn” ‘a mute person’ is found in the south-east (EG2), and north-east (NFC S 888, 105), demonstrating the complete muting of the *-bh-*, but the fricative is fully preserved (albeit beside an epenthetic vowel) in the south centre, where we find *balbhán* > “boulavaun” (Ffrench-O’Neill (2009, 124), and in the north, generally, as ‘bullavawn’ (EG1).

banbh > “bons” /ban/⁵⁸ ‘piglet’, is found in the south-west (NFC S 873, 118), and in Forth. This muting is carried over to the diminutive, i.e., in a palatalised context: e.g., *bainbhín* [ˈbanʲiːnʲ] in the south-west,⁵⁹ /banʲiːnʲ/ in Bargy (Ó Scannláin, 1945–7, s.v.),

⁵⁷ This pronunciation of *Loch Dubh* was reported to me by Michael Fortune.

⁵⁸ These pronunciations of *banbh* are from Denis Cadogan, Killesk (from an interview in August, 2015), and from Richard Sinnott (1944–2020), who was recalling his father’s word for a piglet. His father, James Sinnott (1918–89), of Tacumshin, kept pigs, as well as an assortment of other farm animals and poultry until the 1980s.

⁵⁹ This pronunciation of *bainbhín* was told to me by Denis Cadogan, Killesk (August, 2015).

[ban̪i:n̪] in Forth and the south centre;⁶⁰ and these pronunciations match the spelling, “bonyeen” found in the south-west (NFC S 870, 104); in the north (EG1), and in the mid-west (Kennedy, 1867, 212). A similar effect is noticeable, with *gainmhín* ‘grain of sand’, in the unofficial placename *Áthán na nGainmhín* > “Augh-in a gone-yeen”, in the south-west (NFC S 873, 122).

However, all other examples of *banbh* throughout the county, including in the south-west and Forth, in some way preserve the *-bh* by inserting an epenthetic vowel, e.g.: *banbh* /'banəvz/ in Forth;⁶¹ ['banəv] in the south centre;⁶² and “bonnives” in the north-west (Kennedy, 1869, 247). In one example, the *-bh-* is preserved, but weakened, in the diminutive form *banbháin* > “bonahans” in the north-east (NFC S 896a, Monagear, Jamie Rigley, “Farm animals”). Indeed, the final *-bh* in this word, when preceded by an epenthesis, can be nasalised to /m/: e.g., “bonhams” in the east (NFC 0654, 41), in the north-east (NFC S 896a, Monagear, Stasia Nolan 2, “Local Fairs”), in the north-west (NFC S 895, 184), and in the mid-west (NFC S 899, 100a).

We find the fricative has become a neutral vowel /ə/ in *leanbh* > “leanna,” ‘child’, in Forth (NFC S 882, 1), and the vocative phrase, *a leanbh* [ə 'l'anə] in the south-west, and /ə 'lanə/ in Bargy (RÓS, s.v.); > *a leanna* in the north, generally (NFC 0096, 274, no. 7), which is “Alannah” in the mid-west (Kennedy, 1867, 196); and in the east we find the unofficial placename *Gainmhín na Leanbh* ['gan̪i:n̪ 'l'anə] ‘little sandy place of the children’.⁶³

6.5 *ch*

6.5.1 Broad *ch*

In initial position, this fricative appears to be preserved in the Hiberno-English “*achree*” < *a chroí* ‘(voc. phrase) my heart’ (*GJ*, 126). In medial position, it survives in the south-west as *buachallán buí* ['bu:xəla:n b^wi:], and in the south east ['bu:xə,la:n] ‘ragweed’;

⁶⁰ The Forth pronunciation of *bainbhín* is from Richard Sinnott (1944-2020), and the south central pronunciation is report is from local men in Taghmon, recorded by Michael Fortune (2019.11.13), and kindly shared with me.

⁶¹ This pronunciation of *banbh* is also from Richard Sinnott (1944-2020), and was also known by Nellie Wright nee Redmond (c.1924-2015), of Tacumshin.

⁶² This pronunciation of *banbh* was recorded by Michael Fortune from local Taghmon men, 2019.11.13, and kindly shared with me for the purposes of phonetic transcription. The men’s names are Maurice O’Shea, Eddie Waters, Lar Molloy, and Jim Morrissey

⁶³ This pronunciation of *Gainmhín na Leanbh* was Collected in Blackwater by Michael Fortune (2019.6.7), and kindly shared with me. The sources are Mick and Tom Carroll of Ballyconniger. The whole area is reportedly very sandy.

and in the north, generally, in *tóchar* > “*togher*”, ‘causeway’ (EG1).⁶⁴ In final position, the fricative is widespread in Hiberno-English: e.g., *sceach* [sc^hax] ‘hawthorn’ in the south-west, and [sç^hax] in Forth; in the north, generally, *barrach* > “*borragh*,” ‘tow’ (EG1), and in the north-east we find the unofficial placename *An Bealach* > “the Ballagh” [‘baləx] ‘the way’.⁶⁵ This is countered by three examples in the Irish texts: in the south-west, where we find the combination of *-(e)ach*: *biseach acu* > *bise aca* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 21); and in the south centre, where we see *cumhacht leigheasa* > *comhacht leigheasa* (NFC S 883, 1, 5).

6.5.2 Slender *ch*

In the medial position, it appears that there is compensatory lengthening of the preceding slender vowel as a result of the consonant /ç/ being dropped, as in the mid-western unofficial placename, *Bábhún na Sceiche* [-,ba:nə'ʃce:] ‘enclosure of the hawthorn’, and the unofficial pronunciation of the Civil Parish of *Ros Droichid* > *Rosdroit* > “*Ross-street*,” ‘headland of the bridge’ (NFC 1399, 234); but useful examples are tantalisingly scarce.⁶⁶ In the final context, slender ‘ch’ /ç/ may be interchangeable with slender ‘th’, as indicated in an Irish text from the south-west, where *ar bruaich* > *air bhruaith* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 66).

6.6 *dh/gh*

6.6.1 Basic *dh-/gh-*

As noted earlier, it is possible that the vocative phrase *a dhailtín* > “gal-keen” (NFC 0096, 282, no. 109), suggests an articulation of the standard Irish *dh-* [ɣ], but such phonetic evidence is otherwise absent. In the medial position (i.e., final position before the diminutive suffix *-án* is added), though, the fricative is fully preserved in *Gruadhán* [ɣɹu:ɣa:n], which is an official placename in Forth (Grogan), and an unofficial placename in Bargy.⁶⁷ In the final

⁶⁴ The south-western pronunciation of *buachallán* is from Denis Cadogan, Killesk, as told to me in August, 2015. The south-eastern pronunciation is still generally extant in Tacumshin, and was collected by Sascha Santschi-Cooney from Tommy Watson, Bridgetown, in 2018, and kindly shared with me.

⁶⁵ This pronunciation of the Ballagh is from Michael Fortune.

⁶⁶ This pronunciation of *Bábhún na Sceiche* was told to me by Mogue Curtis, Adamstown (2016.10.28). Regarding *Rosdroit*, J. G. Delaney writes “*Rosdroit* (local pronunciation is *Ross-street*); there is a bridge there now: this divides the townlands called Coolmurray and *Rosdroit*” (NFC 1399, 234).

⁶⁷ This pronunciation of *gruadhán*, in both placenames, is from Richard Sinnott (1944-2020), of Tacumshin. Richard reported the Bargy unofficial placename to me as being in the townland of Ballybought, Kilmore, where he worked in his early teens. He described it as being “a ridge five or six feet high, in front of Power’s land.”

position (before the adjectival suffix *-ach*) was added, ‘gh’ may have been weakened in *lághach* > “law-ock,” pleasant’ (NFC 0096, 288, no. 164).

In an initial slender context, standard Irish [j] is suggested for both *dh-* and *gh-* in *trí dheirge* > *trí ghirge* (Ó Murchadha, 1799, line 80). In final slender position, the voiced palatalised velar fricative is preserved in the pronunciation of the official placename *Baile Buaigh* [ˌ bal.ə. 'bu:.əj].⁶⁸

6.6.2 Intervocalic ‘dh’/‘gh’ (-)adh-/(-)agh-

In the *Fiannaíocht* text from the south-west, we find *-agh(a)-* > /i:/ in *saighead* > *saoid* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 60); but also, *-agh(a)-* /e:/ in *theaghlach* > *théadhlach* (ibid., 36), and *théidhleach* (ibid., 53).⁶⁹ However, otherwise, the Hiberno-English examples point to a predominance of *-adh-* *-agh-* /əi/. In south-west Wexford, *-agh-* /əi/ is found in *aghaidh fhidil* > “eye fiddle” etc. (NFC S 870, 103, 250; 871, 273, 285). The same diphthong is evident in *leadhb* > /lʲaib/ ‘chunk’ in Bargy (RÓS, s.v.; DÓM, 26), and the spelling “libe” agrees with this, including in the north-east (NFC S 888, 105, 111; as does “libe” in the north, generally (EG1). Of further interest is the example *leadhb* > “lyab”, where the triphthong has formed (NRS.6.2, 26). *-adh-* /ai/ is also supported in placename evidence: e.g., the official placenames *an Ladhrán* > Lyrane in the north-east, and an *Ladhar* > Lyre, in the north-west (CÓC). In Bargy, the unofficial placename “The Liereesks” (NFC S 877, 21), “Liereasks” (ibid., 22), or “Lieriesks” (Lambert, 1995, 244) may also be in agreement with the /ai/ diphthong articulation if this placename is from *Ladhar Riasc*.

Monosyllables ending in *-adhbh* have a rule unto themselves, where the diphthong /əu/ is articulated: e.g., *badhbh* /bəu/ ‘banshee’, in Bargy (RÓS, s.v.; DÓM, 22), in Forth, and the north-east; > “bow” in the south centre (NFC S 882a, Carrickbyrne, Pádraig Mac Cuirtéis, “A story”), in the north-west (NFC S 890, 74), and “bou” in the mid-west (NFC S 901, 8).⁷⁰ However, the female forename, *Sadhbh*, is treated differently, e.g., *Sadhbh* > “Sawe” in the

⁶⁸ This pronunciation of Ballyboy, in the parish of Ballymore, is general in Tacumshin, but Richard Sinnott (1944-2020) also used the same pronunciation for Ballybought in Kilmore parish, in Bargy.

⁶⁹ In this context, technically speaking, *aréidh théadhlach* should be in the genitive case > *teaghlaigh*.

⁷⁰ The south-eastern pronunciation of *badhbh* is general in Forth, including as pronounced by Aisling Wright, who heard it from her grandmother (c.1910-), who was a native of Maudlintown, and from Chris and Richard Sinnott, Sigginstown, Tacumshin. The north-eastern pronunciation is from Michael Fortune, who heard it from the older people when he was growing up in Ballygarrett. Michael has found this pronunciation as far north as Castledermot (Kildare), and Baltinglass (Wicklow). Paul Ryan, from Carlow Town, tells me that his father (also a native of the town), was called “the Bow Ryan”, when he was growing up.

north-east, in 1584 (Ó Cruailaoich, 2004, 12); and in unknown regions of north Wexford, *Sadhbh* > “Save” (ibid., 11–2), and “Saav” (Kennedy, 1866, 314).

6.6.3 Medial *dh/gh* (-*odh*-/*ogh*-)

In the Irish texts, this fricative appears to be dropped from speech in this medial context, resulting in compensatory lengthening: e.g., *táim dom bhodhradh* > *Táim dom bhóghradh* (Ó Murchadha, 1769, verse 7, line 1); *ag foghlaim* > *ag fóghluim* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 6); *a fhoghlaim* > *d'foluim* (ibid., 9); *chum fóghluim gaisge*” (ibid., 45); *ag foghlaim* > “*afódhluim* (Ó Murchadha, 1799, line 32). There is one example where the diphthong /əu/: is apparent: i.e., *thogha* > *a thou* (RIA 23 F 22:83 lines 12, 14).

In Hiberno-English, our evidence is drawn, primarily, from the word *bodhrán*, where we mostly find the compensatory lengthening, but with the raised vowel /o:/ > /u:/, possibly because it is adjacent to the sonorant /r/: e.g., /bu:ra:n/ (RÓS, s.v.), /bu:'ran/ (DÓM, 22), in Bargy; /'bu:ra:n/ in Forth;⁷¹ > ‘búráwns’ in the south-west (NFC S 872, 82); > “booraun” in the north (EG1), and > “booran” in the mid-west (NFC 1344, 69). The Yola examples are of interest, for not only do we find “booraan”, as elsewhere, but we also find the preservation of the fricative in “butheraan” (DÓM, 39), suggesting that the consonant had not yet been dropped by the thirteenth century, at least. A rare example of the possible diphthong /əu/ is *bodhrán* > “bow-ran” in Wexford Town (NFC S 882, 1), and this diphthong may also be apparent in the spelling of the official placename, in Forth, *An Mullán Odhar* > Mullanour, even though the pronunciation is /,mulə'no:ɪ/ (CÓC).

6.6.4 -*adh* endings

(i) General -*adh* endings

In this context, the Irish texts indicate a strong tendency towards equating the final fricative with the neutral vowel /ə/: e.g., in the south-west, *go bhfaca* > *go bhfeachadh* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 3); *i ndeireadh* > ‘andeire (ibid., 10), *deire* (ibid., 17, passim.); *codladh* > *codla* (ibid., 34, passim.); *cuireadh* > *coire* (ibid., 63); *eatartha* > *eatarthadh* (ibid., 13); *iongnadh* > *iongna* (ibid., 37, 45); *ghleanntadh* (gpl.) > *ghleannta* (ibid., 36); *spéartha* > *spéaradh* (Ó Murchadha, 1799, line 3); and *na ba* > *na badh* (ibid., line 5). The same

⁷¹ This pronunciation of *bodhrán* was told to me by James Moloney, Lady’s Island.

tendency is apparent in the twentieth-century Irish texts: e.g., in the mid-west, *na laochra* > *na laochradh* (Ó Sionóid, 1920, 119, 120); in Bargo and the north-east, *deireadh* > *deire* (NFC S 876, 392, 393; 881, 275); and in Bargo, *a thuilleadh* > *a thuille* (NFC S 876, 393).

(ii) *-adh* as verbal-noun suffix

The same dropping of the fricative and reduction to a neutral vowel is evident in this verbal noun context: e.g., *lasradh* > *lasra* (Ó Murchadha, 1769, verse 3, line 1); *séanadh* > *séana* (*ibid.*, verse 3, line 2), etc.;⁷² *teitheadh* > *teithe* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 2); *a rósta* > *do rósta* (*ibid.*, 5); *gan casadh*, *gan filleadh*, *gan fiaradh* > *gan casa gan fille gan fiara* (*ibid.*, 9); etc.⁷³ *géimneadh* > *géimne* (Ó Murchadha, 1799, line 5); *caoineadh* > *caoine* (*ibid.*, line 6); *ag cíoradh* > *A cíora* (*ibid.*, line 7); and *dod' chaoineadh* > *ad caoine* (*ibid.*, line 38).

(iii) Conditional suffix *-fadh*

There are two types of sound in this context, as suggested by the Irish texts: a). /ə/ and b). /ax/. The former (dropped consonant and neutralised vowel), is very much in the minority, but evident in *Dá dtabharfadh* > *Dha ttabhartha* (RIA 23 F 22:83, line 15).

The /ax/ articulation is evident in *déanfadh* > *deanach* (RIA 23 F 22:83), line 19); *is go gcuirfeadh* > *sgo ccirach* (RIA 22 F 22, line 3); *go ccuirfeach* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 2), *go ccuireach* (*ibid.*, 49) etc; *gcaithfeadh* > *dá ccaithfeach* (*ibid.*, 4); *tabharfadh* > *do thabharach* (*ibid.*, 4); *dá gcasfadh* > *dá ccasach* (*ibid.*, 34); *nach léimfeadh* > *nach léimeach* (*ibid.*); *mura mbainfeadh* > *mona mbainfeach* (*ibid.*) etc.; *dá dtuitfeadh* > *Dá dtiteach* (Ó Murchadha, 1799, line 3); *dá scoiltfeadh* > “Da sgoilteach” (*ibid.*, line 4); and *ina rachfadh* > *na téidheach* (*ibid.*, line 59).

(iv) *-adh* (past passive suffix)

In this context, there are three alternatives, according to the Irish texts. As with the conditional suffix, just discussed, the most predominant is the /ax/ articulation: e.g., *fuairadh* > “fuireach” (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 2); *dá dtugadh* > “dá ttugach” (*ibid.*, 26, 30, 38); and *a*

⁷² Other examples in this text include *bascadh* > *bhasga* (Ó Murchadha, 1769, verse 3, line 4); *leagadh* > *leaga* (*ibid.*, verse 6, line 2); *glacadh* > *glaca* (*ibid.*, verse 7, line 4); *chaoineadh* > *chaoine* (*ibid.*, verse 9, line 4); and *ag glacadh* > *aglaca* (*ibid.*, verse 12, line 4).

⁷³ Other examples in this text include *gan bhualadh* > *gan bhuala* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 19); *ag stealladh* > *astiala* (*ibid.*, 34); *le phósadh* > *le pósa* (*ibid.*, 19); *géileadh* > *géile* (*ibid.*, 24, 27); *do scaoileadh* > *do sgaoile* (*ibid.*, 34); *á réabadh* > *a raoba* (*ibid.*, 34); *a briseadh* > *abhrise* (*ibid.*, 37), *do bhrise'* (*ibid.*, 38); *ag screadadh* > *ag sgreada* (*ibid.*, 40); *ag teitheadh* > *ag teithe* (*ibid.*, 40); *a ghlacadh* > *do ghlaca* (*ibid.*, 47); *caoineadh* > *caoine* (*ibid.*, 60).

thagadh > *do thagach* (Ó Murchadha, 1799, line 66). There is one example of the dropped consonant and remaining neutral vowel: i.e., *do chruineadh* > *do chruinne* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 2); and there is one example of *-adh* > ‘ag’ in this context: i.e., *do chlaoidheadh* > *do claodheag* (ibid., 27).

6.6.5. *-aidh/-aigh*

In this context, also, the Irish texts suggest the dropping of the final consonant, leaving only the neutral vowel /ə/: e.g., *tapaidh* > *tapa* (Ó Murchadha, 1769, verse 11, line 3; verse 39, line 1); *ar oscail(t) a brollaigh do Dhiarmuid* > *air osgladh a bhrolla do Dhiarmuid* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 40); *do bhrollaigh* (gs.) > “do bhrolla” (Ó Murchadha, 1799, line 76); and *uaigh* > *uadh* (Ó Murchadha, 1769, verse 25, line 4). This effect is also evident in the future tense in *ní rachaidh tú* > “ní rachadh tú” (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 26).

We see the same tendency in the preterite: e.g., *do dhiúltaigh* > *do dhiúlta* (Ó Murchadha, 1769, verse 16, line 3);⁷⁴ *bheannaigh* > *bheannadh* (Ó Murchadha, 1799, line 36); and *gur chruinnigh* > *gur chruinne* (Ibid., line 52), and the dependent *go ndeachaigh* > *go ndeachadh* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 4, 5, 14, 38) ; *do chuaigh* > *do chuadh* (ibid., 25), *chuadh* (ibid., 28), *a chuaigh* > *do chuagh* (ibid., 41); *d’iompaigh* > *d’iompadh* (ibid., 37); and *d’éirghighe/d’éirghe* > *Déirghe* (ibid.).⁷⁵ On the other hand, the same scribe gives us *do stiuruig sé* (ibid., 26); *leathnaigh* > *leathanuig* (ibid., 35); and *d’fhiafraigh* > “d’fiafruig” (ibid., 36), suggesting the possibility that the fricative can also be preserved in speech; but this option is not apparent in the verbal noun *ag iarraidh* > *d’iara* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 10), *aig iarra* (ibid., 18), *ag iara* (ibid., 16, 25, 31); or ‘*ag iaradh*’ (ibid., 36, 56).

6.7. *th*

6.7.1 Broad *th* (medial and final)

In this context, apart from the possibility of the standard *-th-* > *-h-*, the two main alternatives are a) a *th* > *ch* [x] allophone, and b) the dropping of the consonant, resulting in compensatory lengthening. The Irish texts carry examples of the former effect: e.g., in the south-west, *snáthaid* > *snachtaid* (RIA 23 F 22:83, line 20); *a ndóthainn* > “andóchuinn” (Ó

⁷⁴ This is on the third line on page 3 of the manuscript, but may be line 4 of verse 16, since verse 16 appears to begin with a single line at the foot of the previous page.

⁷⁵ Other examples from the same scribe include: *d’fhiafraigh* > *dfiafradh* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 3, 5, 25, 27, 30, 31, 46, 49, 51, 52, 57, 61, 65, 68); > *dfhiafrad* (ibid., 41), > *dfiofradh* (ibid., 53); > *go ndeacha* (ibid., 7, 19, 37, 40); *go ndeaca* (ibid., 28, 49); *dá ndeachaigh* > *dá ndeacha* (ibid., 5); *a ndeachaigh* > *andeacha* (ibid., 19).

Murchadha, 1778, 47), *andóthchuin* (ibid., 57), and *fáth > fágh* (ibid., 48). In a twentieth-century Irish text from the mid-west, the allophone is also palatalised: i.e., *a cruthaíodh > a cruichuigheadh* (Ó Sionóid, 1920, 118).

In Hiberno-English, in the medial position, this effect is only found in the southern third of the county: e.g., *bóthar* /bo:xər/ ‘road’, in Bargy (RÓS, s.v.), [ˈbo:x(ə)] in Forth; “boagher” in Yola (DÓM, 39); and in the spelling “boker” in the south-west (DHE, s.v., *bóthar*).⁷⁶ *Bóthar* also provides examples of compensatory lengthening before the dropped consonant: e.g., in the unofficial placename of *Bábhúinneog a’ bhóthair* > “bán yogeabore,” ‘little enclosure of the road’ (NFC S 895, 166), in the north-west. This effect is also found in the southern third of the county: e.g., the coastal shelter, and unofficial placename of *An Scathán* > “The Skane,” /sce:n/ ‘the shelter’, and the Barony of Forth < *Fotharta, etc.*⁷⁷ as well as *Bóthar a’ Trá* > “Borotray,” ‘road of the strand’ (NFC S 870, 215), and *Bán a’ Rátha* > “Bána rá,” ‘enclosure of the ringfort’, in the south-west (NFC S 870, 218). In the south-west, examples exist of two rare alternatives: i.e., *-th-* > *-v-* in *cluthar* > “cluver” (DHE, s.v., *cluthar*); and the retention of a dental ‘t’ in Bargy in *bóthar* /bo:ɥər/ (DÓM, 22).

Just one example of the final position *-th* > *-ch* is found in the Irish texts: *a leath > a leach* (RIA MS 23 E 1 [221], line 16). In Hiberno-English, it is found in every region, except for Forth and Bargy, in the placename element *Áth* ‘ford’: e.g., *Áth Fada* /ax fadə/ in the south-west;⁷⁸ *Áth na Scolb* > “Augh na Scolp” in the south centre; *Áth Beag* > “Aucbheag” in the east (NFC S 885, 46); *Áth na gCaorach* > “Aghnegeragh” in the north-east (Civil Survey, 1654); *Áth(a) Salach* > *Achsalach* in the north-west (Kennedy, 1855, 155); and *Áth na gCapall* > “Och-na-Goppal” in the mid-west (Kennedy, 1866, 179). The dropping of the final broad *-th* is evident in *ráth* /ɾa:/ in Forth and the north-east;⁷⁹ > “rah” in the mid-west (NFC S 902, 99, 100); and in the unofficial placename of *an Ráth Beag* > “Rah-Beg” in the north-west (NFC S 895, 172). There is a nod to this effect, albeit with compensatory lengthening, in an Irish text from the mid-west: i.e., *foth-chupáin > fó-chupáin* (Ó Sionóid, 1920, 118).

⁷⁶ This Forth pronunciation of *bóthar* was commonly used in Tacumshin in the early 1990s when there was a free newspaper, called ‘the Boker’ available in Mike Meyler’s shop.

⁷⁷ The Skane is in Nethertown, Carne; and all information on it was kindly told to me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney. For another possible example of this effect in Forth, cf. *bleathach* > “blah” /bla:/ (DÓM, 22), > ‘blah’ /bla:/ in Wexford Town (Ó Dúshláine, 1973–74, 65).

⁷⁸ This pronunciation of *Áth Fada* (in the Fethard district) was told to me by Michael Fortune.

⁷⁹ This pronunciation is in the north-east, as told to me by Michael Fortune, and in Forth, in the pronunciation, by Richard Sinnott, of the unofficial placename *Ráth Mór* /ɾa: mu:əɹ/, on the eastern shore of Lady’s Island Lake.

6.7.2 Slender *th* (medial and final)

Again, in this context, the main options are a) the allophone of *-th'(-) > -ch'(-)* [x] (originally [ç]), or b) muting of the consonant, and compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, if applicable. The allophone is apparent in the Irish text, with examples such as *ráithe > ráithche* (Ó Murchadha, 1769, verse 2, line 1); *a ithe > d'ithche* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 37, 38); and in the mid-west, *do theith > Do theich* (*The Past*, 1921, 128); and in Forth, *ní aithneodh > Ní aichneochadh* (NFC S 881c, Wexford CBS, Mícheál Ó Croghallaigh, “*Lá an Dreoilín*”). In Hiberno-English, a rare example is *flaithiúlach* /flaktu:lək/ ‘generous’, in Bargy (RÓS, s.v.), /fla'ku:ɹləx/ in Forth, > “flock-oor-ock” in the north (NFC 0096, 283, no. 118).⁸⁰ Examples of the dropped consonant are occasionally found in Hiberno-English: e.g., the unofficial placenames of ? *Carraig 'a hÁithe > “carraigahoy,”* ‘rock of the kiln’ (NFC S 870, 209) and *Bábhúnn na hÁithe > “Bawnahoy”* (NFC S 871c, Ráth na Coiseairbhán, Pádraig Ó Dúbhghaill, “Names of places”), in the south-west.

6.8 *f*

6.8.1 *-f > -h-* allophone

-f /h/ in verbal suffixes, brought about by sandhi, appears to be the norm: e.g., in the conditional mode: *dá ngabhfadh > dá ngabhadh* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 7); *muna stracfhadh > mona stracadh* (ibid., 9) *go nighfidis > go nithidís* (ibid., 33, 38); *béarfainn > beirinn* (ibid., 16) *go ttigeadh, go ttabhrach* (ibid., 30), etc. Initial *f > h-* is found in *Féin > fhéin* (*Bualadh* (Anon., 1800, line 2), in the mid-west.

6.8.2 /f/ /ʃ/ allophone

As seen in 6.4.2 (ii) above, initial slender ‘f’ has an allophone of /ʃ/ in the word *feabhrán*, at least in the north-east.⁸¹

6.9 *s*

⁸⁰ This Forth pronunciation of *flaithiúlach* was told to me by James Moloney, Lady’s Island, who heard it from Mag Sinnott, Bonargate, Tacumshin. It is notable, that alongside the *-ith- /x/* effect, the more standard *-ith- /h/* predominates in this word, e.g., “flahoolagh” in the south-east (EG2), “flautulock” in the south centre (Ffrench-O’Neill, 2009, 125), and “flahoolagh” in the north (EG1).

⁸¹ In interpreting Irish survivals in Hiberno-English of the east and south-east, it might also be useful to consider this allophone in medial contexts, including where *-fr-* combinations occur.

6.9.1 Palatalisation and depalatalisation of *s*

/s/ > /ʃ/ is evident in words with the stem *gríos-*: in the Irish texts, *a ghríosadh > a ghríseadh > do ghrísiughadh* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 10), and this is reflected in the Hiberno-English of the same region (south-west), more than two centuries later, in *gríosach* [*'g.i:ʃəx*];⁸² *> “greeshin” /'gri:ʃən/* in Bary (DÓM, 25), *'g.i:ʃəx/* in Forth;⁸³ *'g.i:ʃəxt/* in the south centre;⁸⁴ *'g.i:ʃə/*, *'g.i:ʃək/* in the north-east;⁸⁵ and [*'g.i:ʃək*] in the north-west.⁸⁶

In an Irish text from the twentieth century, in Bary, we find *a dtásc > a dtáisc* (NFC S 876, 392). In a Gibbons-related text from the south-west, in the eighteenth century, we find *Tá mo chos dóite > Ta mo chois dóighte* (RIA MS 23 E 1). In Hiberno-English; *cos > cois* is noted as a development in unofficial placenames in 5.2.4, above. In Hiberno-English, as noted in Chapter 4, *bas > /bɑʃ/* as well as */bas/*, throughout the county, and in at least one unofficial placename, *crois > crois*, i.e., the first element in *Crois Pilib > “Crush Philip”* in the south centre (NFC S 882, 417).

III: SONORANTS

6.10 *l*

6.10.1 Palatal ‘*l*’ and off-glides

The preservation of the off-glide resulting from the Irish palatal/slender ‘*l*’ in Hiberno-English survivals is evident in examples such as *fág an baile > “Faug-on-balye,”* ‘leave the town’, in the north (NFC 0096, 284, no. 127); *Bán na Faile > “Banafaille (fallye)”* in the south-west (NFC S 870, 218); the official placename, *Baile na Buaille /,balənə'bu:lɪə/* in the mid-west;⁸⁷ *coileán > “cullyaan,”* ‘pup, in the south-east (EG2); the unofficial placename, *an Maoileán > “The Molyawn”* in the east (NFC S 881, 5), and *táilliúir > “tall-your,”* ‘tailor’, in Yola (Browne, 1927, 136).

⁸² This pronunciation of *gríosach* was told to me by Denis Cadogan, Killesk, in August, 2015.

⁸³ This pronunciation of *gríosach* is still general in Tacumshin.

⁸⁴ This pronunciation of *gríosach* is from Taghmon, local men recorded by Michael Fortune, 2019.11.13, and kindly shared with me for phonetic transcription.

⁸⁵ This pronunciation of *gríosach* was recorded from local people in Clonsilla, Ballynestragh, Gorey, by Michael Fortune, and kindly shared with me for the purposes of phonetic transcription.

⁸⁶ This pronunciation of *gríosach* is from Mairéad Timmons, Marshalstown, from an audio recording produced and provided by Michael Fortune, 2020.7.2. There are written analogues to these pronunciations of *gríosach* in the Hiberno-English texts from every region: e.g., “greeshuck” in the south-west (NFC S 870, 101), “grioshach” in the mid-west (NFC S 882a, Carrickbyrne, Josie Kehoe [item 2]); “Greeshagh” in the south-east (EG2) and north (EG1).

⁸⁷ This pronunciation was told to me by Mark Colfer, New Ross.

6.10.2 ‘l’ > ‘n’ allophone

/-l’/ > /-n’/ is an allophone occasionally found in the Irish texts: e.g., *san Iodáil* > *san Iodáinn* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 33); *Mac Rí na hIodáile* > *Mac Rígh na hiodáine* (ibid., 35); *mac Rígh na hIadainne* (ibid., 36); *Mac Rígh na hiodainne* (ibid., 38); and in *Bualadh Ros Mhic Thriúin* (Anon, 1800), *san Iodáil* > *ins an Eadáin* (line 5). In the survival of an Irish phrase in Hiberno-English, this characteristic is found where a broad ‘l’ has been palatalised: e.g., *lán a’ mhála* > *lán a’ mháile* > “launa-vauya” (Kennedy, 1867, 339), > “Lawn-a-vàinne” (NFC 0096, 288, no. 165), in the north, before apparently being velarised again as in [ˈlɑːn ə ˈvɑːnə].⁸⁸

6.11 n

6.11.1 Palatal n and off-glide

An off-glide from the slender ‘n’ is evident in Irish survivals in Hiberno-English: e.g., *doirnín* > “dure-nyeen,” ‘little fist’, in the north (NFC 0096, 282, no. 103); *tráithnín* > “thraawnyeen,” ‘straw’, in the south-west (NFC S 870, 103), and “traanyeen” in the south-east (EG2). We also see this effect, through sandhi, in the phrase *an ea* > “Inyagh,” ‘is it?’, in the north-west (Kennedy, 1855, 95), and in the mid-west “inyah” (Kennedy, 1867, 319).⁸⁹

6.11.2 n > r allophone

Evidence for this /kn/ > /kr/ allophone is primarily seen in the placename element *cnoc(án)/cnoicín*, ‘little hill’, with all examples being in unofficial placenames. The fieldnames *cnoicíní* > “Cricíns” (NFC S 871, 393), and *Cnoicín* > “Crickeen” (NFC S 873, 121) are found in the south-west; and the fieldname *na Cnoicíní* > “The Crickeens”, is reported in the south-centre (NFC S 882, 274). It is also likely that in the north-west, the fieldname “Grikeen” derives from *Cnoicín* (NFC S 892a, Ballindaggin, Teresa Hughes “Old Roads”), and *cnoicín* > “The Crickeen” is also found in the mid-west (NFC S 873, 214). Also in the mid-west, *Cnocán* > “crochán” (NFC S 901, 233), and in the east, the first element in the unofficial placename, Cruckanoonster, may be *cnoc* + *án* (NFC S 881, 6). This

⁸⁸ This pronunciation of *lán a’ mhála* was told to me by Aileen Lambert, from her mother, Joan Lambert née Doyle, of Marshalstown, in the north-west, on 2019.9.10.

⁸⁹ Kennedy also has an example where this palatalisation does not occur: i.e., “inagh” in the north-west (Kennedy, 1869, 326) and from an unknown region (Kennedy, 1866, 33; 1870, 28, 98).

effect is also present where there is no diminutive suffix: e.g., *Cnoc na Mallacht* > “Cruic na Mallact,” ‘hill of the curses’, in the north-west (NFC S 896, 14–5). In the north-east, we find *cnocadóir* > “cruckadar,” ‘hill-walker’ (NFC S 886, 302). We even see this Irish allophone cross over into English, i.e., ‘*canoodle*’ > “croodle”, in the north-west (Ó Muirithe, 1997, 99).

It should be noted, however, that this allophone is far from the only form being used. There are no examples of *cn-* /kr/ from either Bargy or Forth. Indeed, given that *mn-* /mr/ is a corollary of *cn-* /kr/ (cf. Williams, 1994a, §10.11), it is notable that in a Bargy text (lament for Stafford), *géimneadh* > *géimne* is found (Ó Murchadha, 1799, line 5), suggesting the preservation of the ‘n’ in the vernacular of that region in the eighteenth century. Moreover, outside of the south-east, there is evidence that the *cn-* /kr/ was not the only possibility. Despite the many *cn-* /kr/ examples for the north-western *Cnoc na Mallacht*, already mentioned, other examples clearly indicate that the *cn-* /kn/ also survives, albeit as a minority preference: e.g., *Cnuc-na-Mallacht* (NFC S 896a, Ferns BNS, Patrick McGuinness, “Monuments”); and in the east, a fieldname, *an Cnoc* > “Cunnock” (NFC S 886a, Brighid Ní Bhroin, “Names of Fields”).

6.11.3 *-nn(-) /ŋ/*

There is strong evidence of slender *-nn(-)* > velar /ŋ/, at least in the southernmost third of the county. In the Irish texts: *innilt* > ‘ingilt’ (Gibbons, 1740–80, 376, s.v., ‘Feeding’); *ainnir* > ‘aingir’ (Ó Murchadha, 1769, verse 12, line 3); and *a bhuinneáin* > ‘A bhuingáin’ (Ó Murchadha, 1799, line 36). In Irish survivals of common nouns in Hiberno-English, we find *buinneán* > “bungyawn” /buŋˈja:n/ in Bargy (DÓM, 23); and we find *cuinneog* > “khuingoke,” ‘churn’, in Yola (ibid., 53). In Forth, the effect is apparent in the official placenames of *an Bhinnng* > ‘Bing’ [biŋ], *an Rinn* > ‘Ring’ [riŋ], and *an Toinn* /tiŋ/, etc. (CÓC), as well as the unofficial placename *An Linn* the /liŋ/.⁹⁰ In the mid-west, the unofficial placenames of *An Linn Bheag* > “Ling Veg” and *An Linng Mhór* > “Ling Vore” are reported on the Barrow, near to New Ross (NFC S 897, 64).

⁹⁰ Pronunciations of *an Rinn*, *an Bhinn*, and *an Toinn* are from Richard Sinnott (1944-2020), and the pronunciation of *An Linn* is from Richard Sinnott Jr. (1970-) his son. The Ling is the name of a large pool of water in Rathnedan, close to Tacumshin Lough, and has a good reputation for eel-fishing.

6.12 *r*

6.12.1 Broad *r*

According to the evidence we have, the broad *r* usage in the southernmost third of Wexford is compatible with the Déise typology (see footnote 91), except that there is no sign of an uvular fricative being used.⁹¹ On the other hand, the northern two thirds has a variety of *r*-types and allophones, with general agreements with Ulster and Connaught, respectively.

(i) The *r*-tap

The simple intervocalic broad *r* gets the voiced *r*-tap in north-west Wexford in the pronunciation of the river Urrin /'urʲ(ə)n/.⁹² In the south-east, speakers of traditional Hiberno-English use an *r*-tap in the combinations *dr*-, and *tr*- (DÓM, 18). Otherwise, in Irish words surviving in Hiberno-English, broad 'r' in Wexford is pronounced the same as in English words in the county (i.e., either as a post-alveolar approximant [ɹ], or a retroflex 'r' [ɻ], including in *marla* > ['mɑ:ɹlə] 'marl', and *bearna* ['bɑ:ɹnə] 'gap'.⁹³

(ii) Palatalisation of broad *r*

This effect is occasionally seen in Irish texts in the south-west and Bargy, respectively: e.g., *drúcht* > *Driúcht* (Ó Murchadha, 1799, line 46); *mar dhrúcht* > *mur dhriúcht* (ibid., line 75); and *do mhairbhiú* (NFC S 870, 319); and this is probably due to the *r*-tap being used in both the broad and slender contexts, making confusion between the two more likely (see 6.12.2 (vi, vii), below).

⁹¹ Broad *r* in the Déise is primarily a voiced apical *r*-tap ⟨r⟩ (Breatnach, 1947, §:2645). This phoneme is alternatively called the 'r-flap'. This *r*-flap is unvoiced when *r* is combined with an unvoiced consonant (Breatnach, 1947, §266). In initial position or in the diads *-rd(-)*, *-rl(-)*, *-rn(-)*, or *-rt(-)*, the post-alveolar approximant ⟨ɹ⟩ can also be used (ibid., §267), or a voiced uvular fricative ⟨ʀ⟩ (ibid., §268).

⁹² Collected by Michael Fortune from Jimmy Byrne, Ballindaggin (near the White Mountain), in north-west Wexford, on 2018.9.13).

⁹³ *Marla* from Denis Cadogan, Killesk, south-west Wexford, and *Bearna* (used in other placenames) from Richard Sinnott, in the South-east of the county.

6.12.2 Slender *r*

As with most broad *r*-sounds in Irish survivals in Hiberno-English, in Wexford today, slender *r* in words that are originally Irish — just like their English counterparts — are usually pronounced as either a post-alveolar approximant [ɹ], or a retroflex ‘r’ <ɻ>. However, apart from those products of continued Anglicisation of the vernacular, we have evidence for a much richer variety of slender *r* sounds, particularly in the northern two thirds of Wexford, much of which are still to be heard in everyday speech.

(i) The *j*-glide

Often in Ulster, intervocalic or final slender ‘r’ is reduced to a [j] glide (cf. Hughes, 1994, §3.4), and there is evidence of this type being used in the Irish of Trim, Co. Meath,⁹⁴ and as far south as Tullaroan in north-east Kilkenny.⁹⁵ The same feature is also recorded in north-east Connacht, not only for intervocalic slender ‘r’, but also for an initial slender *br*- e.g., *breá* /bj’a:/ (Ó hUiginn, 1994, §2.50). Evidence for this phenomenon in an intervocalic context is strong in the northern two thirds of Wexford. From the early-nineteenth century, in the north-west of the county, we find *a Mhuire, a Mhuire* > “vuya vuya” (Kennedy, 1855, 166, 273; 1869, 53, 180, 327; 1870, 45); and from the mid-west, “vuya, miya” for the same phrase (Kennedy, 1867, 105, 242, 258). Also, from the mid-west, Kennedy reports “Mauidh” < *Mairéad*,⁹⁶ and *Máirín* > “Maueen” (Kennedy, 1867, 257, 339, 357). About a century later, in the east, we find “Moya Dixon” (< *Máire*) given as the name of one of the collectors for the Schools Collection (NFC S 885, 82). We even find the *j*-glide applied, through sandhi, in the context of an intervocalic broad ‘r’, as *mar ea* > *moyadh* being reported from the mid-west or north-west (Kennedy, 1870, 77) of the county (see 6.12.1 (ii), above, for palatalisation of broad *r*).⁹⁷ The *j*-glide still survives in the *-thr-/-rth-* combinations in: *bóithreán* [ˈboːjɑːn] in south-east and north-central Wexford,⁹⁸ and is also reflected in

⁹⁴ *Ar cúl* > *air cúl* > *eh cool* (Piatt, 1933, 15).

⁹⁵ “yeeav (ariamh)” (Mac Craith, 1911, No. 35); *ag fuireacht leat* > *ag fuigheach leat*, (Ibid., “Points of Pronunciation”).

⁹⁶ Kennedy, (1867, 99). The name is from Early Modern Irish *Mairgréag/Mairgréad* < Anglo-Norman *Margareta*) (McManus, 1994, §2.1).

⁹⁷ “*Mar ‘dh eadh’*” (moryah) in Wexford pronunciation moyad” [i.e., moyadh], P. W. Kavanagh, Templederry, Gorey, writing in the *New Ross Standard*, May 5th, 1905, p.5.

⁹⁸ Collected by John Roche, from Dungeer in south-central Wexford; and by Michael Fortune from Travellers originally from the Enniscorthy area in north-central Wexford. For the *-thr-* > *-rth-* shift in *bóithreán* in Déise Irish, see Breatnach ed., 1961, 52.

spellings of *bóithrín* > “bohyeen” (Kennedy, 1866, 61), and “bochyeen” (ibid., 163), in the mid-west.

(ii) *-r'-* > *-l'-* allophone

/-r'-/ > /-l'/ is a feature of dissimilation found in the Irish of south Connemara (Ó hUiginn, 1994, §2.50). There is one recorded example of this simple type in Wexford, namely *feirmeoir* > *feiliméar*, in the north-west (NFC S 890, 72);⁹⁹ but we also find it in the *-thr/-rth-* combination in *bóithreán* [ˈboːl̪iːɑːnz] in the north-west, and as “boleyawn” in the north-east.¹⁰⁰ In the texts, we even find *bóithrín* (also meaning ‘dried cow-dung’) in the north of the county, as “boneyeen” (*EGI*), showing the shift from *-thr/rth* > *r* > *l* > *n*, the latter transition being discussed in 6.10.2, above).

(iii) *-r'-* > *-d'-* allophone

This is a phenomenon known in Connaught Irish (Ó hUiginn, 1994, §2.50), and it is the most probable explanation for the pronunciation of a holy well in the north-east, *Tobar Muire* > “tobar mudga”, “**Tobar a' mudja**” [ˌt̪ʷobəɹ̪ ˈmˠw̪ɪdʒə], and [ˌt̪ʷobəɹ̪ ˈmudʒə],¹⁰¹ but there is also the slight possibility that this is a consequence of a modified form of the voiced sibilant [z] found in the Déise etc., (discussed in the next paragraph).

(iv) Sibilance

-thr' > [ʃ] is noted as being a feature of Kilkenny and Wexford Irish survivals by Ó Muirthe (DHE, 16), but the only apparent examples of this are in Ó Muirthe’s native New Ross: i.e., “Bosheenn” < *Bóithrín* [boːˈʃiːn];¹⁰² and this is perhaps the same area referred to in the Schools Collection as “the Bosheen lane” (NFC S 897, 152), and perhaps too, *Bóithrín a'*

⁹⁹ NFC S 890, 72 (Boulavogue N.S.): the example is given by the principal of Boulavogue N.S., in an introductory list, written in Irish, of the details of an informant (Lorcan Ó Braoin, Carrigeen, Ferns), in June 1934. The principal gives his own address as Ferns. it might be noted that we find ‘*an feirim*’ in pure Irish text also in the north of the county, from Castletown N.S. in the Schools Collection (NFC S 888, 163).

¹⁰⁰ The phonetic version comes from several sources recorded by Michael Fortune: 2 women from Ferns, and another from Clonsilla, Ballynestragh, Gorey, <https://www.facebook.com/michael.fortune.wexford/posts/2139933512694762>

¹⁰¹ As *Tobar Muire* in Ballyvaldon N.S., (NFC S 885, 273); as ‘tobar “mudga” in Naomh Brighid N.S. Blackwater, (NFC S 886, 125); and as “Tobar a' mudja,” (ibid., 132). The pronunciation is from Mick Fortune who has heard it from collecting folklore in the area.

¹⁰² First told to me in 1978 by a native of the area, Anthony Griffin. It is notable that there appear to be Irish non-sibilant forms of this word in the near vicinity, e.g., [boːˈʃiːn], given to me by Denis Cadogan, Killesk, in August 2015; and “bohereens” in Ballyhack Convent N.S., (NFC S 874, 122).

tSláin > “Bósheen – a – Sláwn” (NFC S 871, 135) etc.¹⁰³ In Forth, slender *r*’ becomes a voiced sibilant in the two unofficial placenames, both named *an Bóthairín* > *The* “Bocharzeen” (Byrne, 2002, 100), [ˌboːxəɹ̥ˈziːn].¹⁰⁴

(v) *r*’ as *r*-tap

In the Déise, the diads /*d*’*r*’ and /*t*’*r*’/ can contain an *r*-tap [ɾ] (Breatnach, 1947, §262).¹⁰⁵ This voiced alveolar flap is suggested (by dint of the apparent use of the Irish dental *d*’), in the *dr*- combination by such spellings as *dreas* > “dhras” (Kennedy, 1866, 161), and *dreoilín* > “dhruleen” ‘wren’ (Kennedy, 1867, 233), both from north-west/mid-west Wexford.

(vi) Depalatalisation of slender *r*’ in *-rn*’- contexts

In south-east Wexford, depalatalisation in Irish survivals in Yola is suggested by *áirneáinín* > “arnaauneen,” ‘work done at night’ (DÓM, 37); *báirneach* > “baurnagh,” ‘limpet’ (ibid., 38, 78); and in the Hiberno-English of Forth, *Cairn* > *Carne* [çɑːɹ̥n], and O.Fr *parc* > Ir. *páirc* [paːɹ̥ç].¹⁰⁶

6.12.3 Other features

In some examples, in Irish survivals in Hiberno-English, the broad *r* is pronounced as a neutral vowel, and in slender contexts, it appears to be muted entirely. The former effect is evident in the eastern unofficial placename of *Loch Mór* [lax ˈmoːə^h],¹⁰⁷ the latter effect is found in most of the examples of *báirseach*: e.g., > “bawshuk” /bɑːʃək/, in Bargy (DÓM, 22), “baw-shook” in the north (NFC 0096, 276, no. 32), and “baw-shuck” in the mid-west (NFC 0106, 206); and *aired* > ‘aits /eːts/ in Bargy (DÓM, 21).

¹⁰³ It is notable that one collector uses both “Bosheen—na slane” (NFC S 897a, Ros Mhic Threóin – Michael St., Michael McLennon (2), “Local Roads”), and “bóthairín na slain” (ibid., “Local Things”). Other variants are found, also from the same region: e.g., “Boheen-na-slán” (NFC S 897, 44) and “Boreen-a-Slaun,” (NFC S 883, 139).

¹⁰⁴ As pronounced by Chris Sinnott, referring to an unofficial placename in Lingstown, Ballymore, “the Bokherzeen.” He also pronounces it as /boːxəɹ̥ zeːən/, but is certain that there is no road ending in the place. For /s/ > /z/ in the Yola dialect of Middle English, see DÓM, passim.

¹⁰⁵ Breatnach refers to the *r*-tap as an “*r*-flap”.

¹⁰⁶ See Online Etymology (s.v. park). The pronunciation comes from the Tacumshin area, and is generally extant. The depalatalisation in all of these Irish survivals could instead have come about purely through Anglicisation.

¹⁰⁷ This pronunciation of *Loch Mór* was collected by Michael Fortune from Mick and Tommy Carroll, Ballyconniger, on June 7th, 2019, and kindly shared with me for the purposes of phonetic transcription.

IV MISCELLANEOUS

6.13 Metathesis

Metathesis, or the swopping of the order of phonemes, is a feature in the Irish of the Déise (Breatnach, 1947, Ch. XVII), and Co. Kilkenny.¹⁰⁸ All but one example from Wexford are found in the southern third of the county. We find two examples in an eighteenth-century Irish text from the south-west, *achrannach* > *achtarnach* (Ó Murchadha, 1778, 12), and *chnocadar* > *choncadar* (ibid., 22). In the 20th century, in Bargy, *deartháir* > *driotár* [recte. ‘driothár’] (NFC S 876, 391); and in the north-east, npl. *deartháireacha* > *driotharacha* (NFC S 888, 162).¹⁰⁹ In Irish survivals in Hiberno-English, we find *bradóóg* (‘a sprat’) > /ba:ɹdɔ:g/ in both Forth and Bargy; albeit that it is found without metathesis as /‘brado:g/ in and around Enniscorthy.¹¹⁰ In Forth, *cailseog* ((earwig) > “clostshogue” (Byrne, 2002, 84), even though this is the only example of this word, out of ten throughout the county (including four in Forth & Bargy), to contain metathesis.¹¹¹ Ó Muirthe suggests that the first element in Yola “*kurkeen*” (little stack or mow) is from Irish *cruach* (DÓM, 54), and this may, in turn, have resulted in the Yola verb, “*kurk*” ‘to bend down’ or squat), reported in one written source from Forth (Browne, 1927, 136), and one from Bargy (NFC S 878a, Kilturk, Nicky Lambert).

¹⁰⁸ For example, in Johnswell, Rathcoole, north-east Kilkenny, *Cill Chainnigh* > *Ce Chloinne, Dé Sathairn* > *Dhé Sáthrain* (Ó hÓgáin, 2012, 197); *purgóid* > *prugóid* (ibid., 203), and *de Buitléar* > *de Builthéar* (ibid., 204-6). In Tullaroan, north-east Kilkenny, *urchar* > *ruchar* (Mac Craith, 1911, no. 45), *deartháir* > *drehár*, and *deirfiúr* > *drefiúr* (ibid., “Points of Pronunciation”).

¹⁰⁹ Albeit that such metathesis is general in the same word in Connaught and Munster (cf. Din. s.v. *dearbhráthair*).

¹¹⁰ In Forth, /ba:ɹdɔ:g/ is the only term used for a sprat, e.g., as pronounced by Jackie Eight (nee Parle), the Fence, Tacumshin. This form is also indicated as “bardogues” in John Roche’s unpublished wordlist, and as “bardógs” also in (NFC S 882, 1). This form is also indicated in Bannow, in Bargy (RÓS, s.v. *bardóg*). The Enniscorthy form /‘brado:g/ was heard and told to me by Michael Fortune.

¹¹¹ In the south-west: *Gailseog* /‘galʃo:k/ (as collected by Michael Fortune from a man in Campile, 2017.5.8), and “caulchoke” (NFC S 870, 102); in Bargy: /kaʃo:g/ (RÓS, s.v.), and “coltshogue” (DÓM, 23); Forth: “cailseog” (NFC S 882, 1); in the south centre: /‘galʃo:g/ (from John Curran, Taghmon, in John Roche’s wordlist), /‘galʃo:x/ (as recorded by Michael Fortune from local men in Taghmon, 2019.11.13) and “goulsheog” (Ffrench-O’Neill, 2009, 125); in the north-east: “golshóg” (NFC S 888, 106); and in the mid-west: /‘ga:lʃo:g/ (as collected by Michael Fortune in New Ross).

Appendix A: Official placenames by language of origin

The following tables list civil parishes with the number of townlands within them broken down according to language of origin: Irish (Ir.), English (En.), Bilingual (Bi), unknown (?)

Table A1: Shelbourne (in the south-west)

Civil Parish	Ir.	En.	Bi	?	Tot.	%Ir.	%En
Ballybrazil	7	1			8	87.5	12.5
Clonmines	2				2	100	
Fethard	7	4			11	64	36
Hook	4			1	5		44
Killesk	6	1			7	86	14
Kilmockea	7	4			11	64	36
Owenduff	12	1			13	92	8
Rathroe	5				5	100	
St. James & Dunbrody	13	5			18	72	18
Tellarought	2				2	100	
Templetown	6	8			14	43	57
Tintern	9	10			19	47	53
Whitechurch	7	5			12	58	42
Total	83	43		1	127	65	34

Table A2: Bargy (in the south)

Civil parish	Ir	En	Bi.	?	Tot	Ir%	En%
Ambrosetown ¹¹²		2	5	2	2	11	18 45
Ballyconnick ¹¹³		3	4			7	43 57
Bannow	13	7	2	1	23	56	30
Duncormick	13	15	3		31	42	48
Kilcavan	7	8			15	47	53
Kilag	5	7	1		13	38	54
Kilcowan	14	10			24	58	42
Kilmannan	9	16	2		27	33	59
Kilmore	12	7	1	4	24	50	29
Kilturk	10	3	2		15	67	20
Mulrankin	7	10			17	41	59
Tomhaggard	9	7	1		17	53	41
Unofficial	1	3	1		5	20	60
Total:	105	94	15	7	221	48	43

Table A3: Forth (in the south-east)¹¹⁴

Civil parish	Ir.	En.	Bi.	?	Tot.	%Ir.	En%
Ballybrennan	12	5	1		18	67	28
Ballymore	15	12			27	56	44
Carn	24	14	2	1	41	71	34
Drinagh	2	12			14	14	86
Ishartmon	5	7		2	14	36	50
Kerloge	2	1			3	67	33
Kildavin	4	9		1	14	29	64
Killiane	3	1			4	75	25
Killinick	9	6		1	16	56	37.5
Kilmacree	3	4			7	43	57
Kilrane	13	9		1	23	57	39
Kilscoran	14	7	1		22	64	32
Ladysisland	5	4			9	56	44

¹¹² The first element of Gibblestown appears to be an Irish forename (Ir. *Baile Gubail*).

¹¹³ Philippintown shows evidence of a Norman name in the first element (i.e., use of Irish diminutive *-ín*).

¹¹⁴ Some townlands, e.g., Butlerstown, Linziestown, Littlebridge, Sigginstown, Knockhowlin, Ballyboher etc. are in more than one parish. Many of the names with English phrasing (e.g., with the final element being the main element, have Irish personal names, including saints' names: e.g., Kellystown, Murmtown, Mackenstown, Quanstown, Owenstown, Cousinstown, Cumshinstown, and Muckstown. The first element of Rostonstown may be from Ir. *garastún*, < O.Fr. *garrison*. The origins of St. Vogues', St. Vaughs, St. Vaux, in Carne and St. Awries, are unknown. Irish saints in Anglicised placenames are St. Bridget's, St. Doologe's, St. Iberius, and St. Patrick's. The second element in St. Selskar's appears to be from Old Norse (see chapter 2, footnote 2). Similarly, a smaller number of placenames of Irish provenance contain settler names, e.g., Ballysampion. Both elements of Castlepaliser, in Carne, are English, but the order they appear in is Irish. Anglo-Norman saints' names include St. Helen's, St. John's, St. Margaret's, St. Mary's, St. Michael's, and St. Peter's.

Maudlintown	1	6		7	14	85	
Mayglass	15	22		37	41	59	
Rathaspick	8	15		23	35	65	
Rathmacknee	9	10		19	47	53	
Rosslare	6	19	2	27	22	70	
St. Bridgets		1			1	-	
St. Doologe's		1			1	-	
St. Helen's	6	3		9	67	33	
St. Iberius	5	6		11	45	55	
St. John's	2			2		100	
St. Margaret's	4	2	1	7	57	28	
St. Mary's	1			1			
St. Michaels of Feagh	3	2	1	6	67	33	
St. Patrick's		1		1		100	
St. Peter's	5	5	1	11	45	45	
St. Selskar's				1	1		
Tacumshin	15	19	1	35	43	54	
Total	186	200	10	9	405	46	49

Table A4: Shelmalier West (in the south centre)

Civil parish	Ir.	En.	Bi.	?	Tot.	%Ir.	%En.
Ardcandrisk	7	2			9	78	22
Ballingly	1	1			2	50	50
Ballylannan	4	2			6	67	33
Ballymitty	5	2			7	71	29
Carrick ¹¹⁵	8	6	1		15	53	40
Clongeen ¹¹⁶	9	2	1		13	69	31
Coolstuff	8	5		1	14	57	36
Horetown	2	4			6	33	67
Inch	6				6	100	
Kilbrideglynn	12	5	2		19	63	26
Kilgarvan	9				9	100	
Killurin	6	2			8	75	25
Taghmon	27	4	3		34	79	12

¹¹⁵ The second element of Ballyboggan is uncertain in that it has not been definitively established that the patronym is Irish (*Uí Bhogain* as deduced by O'Donovan in the Ordinance Survey in 1840, or *Uí Bheagáin* as deduced by the National Placenames Commission, logainm.ie, s.v.). There does appear to be a Boggan surname of Irish origin (johngrenham.ie s.v. Boggan), but there also appears to be several different Boggan families originating in England, i.e., Cornwall (housofnames.com s.v. Boggan), Durham, and Lancashire (ancestry.com s.v.), and the large cluster of the name in south-east Wexford in Griffiths' Survey (1847–64), could suggest that the Wexford Boggans came over with the Norman settlers in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries.

¹¹⁶ Garyrichard uses the Irish grammatical possessive order –the Gaelicised element *garraí* with Norman Richard.

Total	104	35	7	147	71	24
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Table A5: Shelmalier East (in the east)

Civil Parish:	Ir.	En.	Bi.	?	Tot.	%Ir.	%En.
Ardcavan	8	5			13	62	38
Ardcolm	13	6			19	68	32
Artramon	10	1			11	91	9
Ballynaslaney	11	5		1	17	65	29
Kilpatrick	7	5			12	58	42
Total	49	22		1	72	68	31

Table A6: Ballaghkeen South (in the east)

Civil parish	Ir.	En.	Bi.	?	Tot.	%Ir	%En
Ballaghkeen (E)	28	1			29	97	3
Ballyvaldon	18				18	100	
Ballyvalloo	6				6	100	
Castle-Ellis	30	1			31	97	3
Edermine	16	5			21	76	24
Killila	4	1			5	80	20
Killisk	15	1			16	94	6
Kilmallock	11	1			12	92	8
Screen	11				11	100	
St. Margaret's	7	2			9	78	
St. Nicholas	3	3			6	50	50
Templeshannon	12	2			14	86	14
Tikillin ¹¹⁷	10	4			14	71	29
Total	171	21			192	89	11

Table A7: Ballaghkeen North (in the north-east)

Civil parish	Ir.	En.	Bi.	?	Tot.	%Ir.	%En
Ardamine	18	3			21	86	14
Donaghmore	26	8			34	76	24
Kilcavan	33	2	1		36	92	6
Kilcormick	26	2			28	93	7
Killenagh	12	2			14	86	14
Killincooly	19	2			21	90	10
Kilmakilloge	18	2	3		23	78	9

¹¹⁷ Ballywater (Ir. *baile* + E. Water/Walter), first appearing in 1659 as Ballewater (ibid., C C, sv).

Kilmuckridge	15		4	19	79	11
Kilnamanagh	13		2	15	87	13
Kiltennel	11	3		14	79	11
Meelnagh	16	1		17	94	6
Monamolin	25	3		28	89	11
Total	232	34	1	267	87	13

Table A8: Gorey (in the north-east)

	Ir.	En.	Bi. ¹¹⁸	?	Tot.	%Ir.	%En.
Ballycanew	14	2			16	87.5	12.5
Carnew		6	1		7	86	14
Crosspatrick	3				3	100	
Inch	18	4			22	82	18
Kilgorman	18	4			22	82	18
Kilnahue	36	7	1		44	82	16
Kilnenor	13	2			15	87	13
Kilpipe	8	1			9	89	11
Kiltrisk	15	1			16	94	6
Liskinfere	16	6			22	73	27
Rosminoge	9	1			10	90	10
Toome	19	4			23	83	17
Total	175	33			208	84	16
North-East Total	407	67	1		475	86	14

Table A9: Scarawalsh (in the north-west)

Civil parish	Ir.	En.	Bi.	?	Tot.	%Ir.	%en.
Ballcarney	19		1		20	95	5
Clone	15	1			16	94	6
Ferns	19	5			24	79	21
Kilbride	13	6			19	68	32

¹¹⁸ Bilingual placenames in the north-east: Ballyvaldon, Ballygarrett, Ballywater, Kilmichael, Parkannesley, Ballytracey, Ballymacsimon, Kilmichael, Ballythomas, and Knockrobin.

Kilcomb	10			10	100	
Kilrush	39	3		42	93	7
Monart	23	10		33	70	30
St. Mary's (E)	5	3		8	62.5	37.5
St. Mary's (B)	19	1		20	95	5
Templeshambo	35			35	100	
Total	197	29	1	227	87	13

Table A10: Bantry (in the mid-west)

Civil parish	Ir.	En.	bil.	?	Tot.	%Ir.	%En
Adamstown	7	4		1	12	48	33
Ballyanne	9	3			12	75	25
Ballyhoge	6				6	100	
Carnagh	1	1			2	50	50
Chapel	5	1			6	83	17
Clonmore	19	5			24	79	21
Doonooney	2				2	100	
Kilcowanmore	7	-			7	100	
Killann	11	6	1		19	58	32
Killegney	7	4			11	64	36
Kilscanlan	2				2	100	
Newbawn	10	2			12	83	17
Oldross	15	8	1		23	65	35
Rosdroit	16	1	1		18	89	6
St. John's	6	4			10	60	40
St. Mary's	9	26	1		36	25	72
Templeludigan	11	-	1		13	85	
Whitechurchglynn	8	6	2		15	53	40
Total	150	71	7	1	230	65	31

Appendix B: Distribution of Irish, Anglo-Norman, and English names in Wexford from a list of those implicated in the 1641 rebellion (as printed in Whelan, 1990).

Anglo-Norman/English families comprise most of the elite in five baronies (in the south and east of the county), and Irish families comprise the majority of the elite in the other five baronies. That being said, the level of Old English domination is overwhelming in the baronies where it does pertain, and the dominance of Irish families much less so where the Irish hold sway.

Table B1

Distribution of Irish, Anglo-Norman, and English names in Wexford from a list of those implicated in the 1641 rebellion.

	Irish	AN/E	Norse	Total
Shelbourne	4 (8%)	50 (84%)	4 (8%)	58
Bargy	7 (11%)	56 (87.5%)	1 (2%)	64
Forth	7 (8%)	82 (92%)		89
Shelmalier W.	5 (13%)	33 (87%)		38
Shelmalier E.	9 (32%)	19 (68%)		28
Ballaghkeen S.	38 (58%)	28 (42%)		66
Ballaghkeen N.	40 (68%)	19 (32%)		59
Gorey	75 (65%)	35 (30%)	2 (2%)3 (3%)	115
Scarawalsh	30 (71%)	10 (24%)	2 (5%)	42
Bantry	19 (59%)	11 (34%)	2 (6%)	32

Appendix C: Some unofficial placenames with Irish elements in Forth and Bargo

From Bannow

- Bawleendoon (Butler, 1985, 220) < Ir. ? *Baillín (an) Dúin* (fieldname)
- Banscog (ibid.) > ? Ir. *bábhún* > *bán*
- Bawngar (ibid.) < Ir. *Bán Gearr* (fieldname)
- Monnymore (ibid.) < Ir. *Muine Mhór* (fieldname)
- Bawnasheeogue (ibid.) < Ir. *Bán (na) Síóg* (fieldname)
- Parkmore (ibid.) < Ir. *an Pháirc Mhór*
- Croompawns (ibid.) < Ir. ? *cromthán*, pl. *cromtháin* (fieldname). Compare Béarra *Croumhane* < Irish *Cromthán* (M. Mac Cárthaigh, *Dinnseanchas* 5:2 (1972), 32–3)
- Gortaphilla (ibid.) < Ir. *gort a' Pholla* ?
- pool móna, (ibid.) < Ir. *poll móna*
- Killawn (Hall 1847, 150) < Ir. ? *cilleán**
- Meenagh (Butler, 1985, 220) < Ir. ? *maoineach* (fieldname)*
- Shankyle (ibid.) < Ir. ? *sean-choill* (fieldname)
- The lugawn (IFC S 876, 44) < Ir. *logán* (fieldname)
- Bawnreke (IFC S 876, 3) < Ir. *bá(bhú)n* ?
- The Clickeen, An Clicín (or Cluichín) (ibid.) < Ir. *cloichín* (coastal)
- The Boker Hill (ibid., 29) < Ir. *Bóthar*
- Kill o' grague field' (ibid., 44), < Ir. *Cill, Gráig*
- Bailey's knock (ibid., 43) < Ir. *cnoc*
- The Knocks (Rattigan, 2000–1, 115), (fieldname) < Ir. *cnóic*

The Nawrdeen (IFC S 876, 3) < Ir. ? *an Nóirdín* (fieldname)
 The bawnicks (ibid.) < Ir. ? *na Bánchnoic* (fieldname)
 The Hamogue (ibid.) < Ir. ? *an Chamóg* (coastal)
 Peekán's eye (ibid., 43) < Ir. ? *Oileán a' Faochan* or *Faochain* fieldname: *Faochan*
 Shebeen park (ibid.) < Ir. ? *Páirc an tSíbín* (fieldname)
 Shéamogues (IFC S 882, 274), (churchyard in Grague Little); St. Mogue's well (or as it is called locally, Shemogue's. Shee=moak=es – Shimogues (SSC)
 The Rath field (IFC S 875, 21; 882, 184) < Ir. *ráth* (fieldname)
 Kill o' graigue field (IFC S 876, 44) < ? Ir. *cill, gráig*
 Upper nickeen, Lower nickeen (IFC S 876, 44) < Ir. *cnoicín*
 The Hill of the Toker (IFC S 875, 59), The hill of the Thocar (IFC S 876, 63) < Ir. *Tóchar* /to:xər/ (road).

From Civil Parish of Rathangan

Ban glas < Ir. *Bá(bhú)n Glas* (fieldname) (IFC S 870a, Ballycullane, Elizabeth Furlong, "My Townsland" (Taylorstown)
 Bawreen Kee (Lambert, 1995 : 244)) < Ir. ? *bairrín* ?
 The Bareen lock (ibid.) < Ir. ? *Bairrín (na) Loch* (fieldname)
 Bonnaholla (ibid.), < Ir. ? *bun a(n) halla* (fieldname)
 Booley field (ibid.) < Ir. *buaille*
 Bunargue (ibid.), < Ir. ? *bun ard* (fieldname)
 Dareen (Lambert, 1985, 243) < Ir. ? *Doirín* (fieldname)
 The Liffey (ibid., 244) (fieldname) ? < Ir. *An Life*
 Julock (ibid.) < Ir. ? + *loch* (fieldname)*
 Lub na naa < Ir. *lúb na* ? (fieldname)*
 Rathanuisce (ibid.) < Ir. *Ráth an Uisce* (fieldname)
 The boker (ibid.) < Ir. *bóthar* (fieldname)
 Cub's lock < Ir. ? + *loch* (fieldname)
 The old field of the lug' (ibid.) < Ir. *lug* (fieldname)
 The cockle field (ibid.) < Ir. ? *cochall* (fieldname)
 The Marua (ibid.) < Ir. ? *mágh rua* (fieldname)*
 The pugas hull (ibid.) < Ir. *púca* (fieldname)
 Raf (ibid.) < ? Ir. *ráth* (fieldname)
 The weasley knock (ibid.) < Ir. *cnoc*

Muiny Beg (IFC S 877, 21) < Ir. *Muine Bheag* (fieldname)
 Long Rathvastree /ɫa:β a:.stʲi:/ IFC S 877, 22) < Ir. *Ráth ?Mháistrí* (bridge)¹¹⁹
 The Brick field (ibid., 75, 76) < Ir. ? *broic*
 (The) Ir. *Láicin* (ibid., 22), (fieldname)
 The Liereesks (ibid., 21) < Ir. *ladhar + riasc* (fieldname)
 The Maddrey High (ibid., 22) < Ir. ? *madra* (fieldname)
 The Rabes (ibid., 21, 23) < Ir. *ráib* (fieldname)
 The Barren Knock... The Miller's Knock (ibid., 22)
 Drummerd (ibid., 21) < Ir. *an Droim Ard*
 Gairin (ibid.) < Ir. ? *an Gairrín* (fieldname)
 The Láicin (ibid., 22) < Ir. ? *Láicín* (Corpus 6, s.v.)
 Shell Bridge (1840 O.S.: bridge adjoining Gibberwell and Gibberpatrick) < ? Ir. *sil*
 ('stream')
 Aughamostein Ford (ibid.,: bridge also adjoining Woodgrague, and Ambrosetown)
 The Finours (IFC S 875, 55), The Fionnbúrs (IFC S 877, 22), Finnoors (Butler, 1985,
 220), < Ir. ? *fionnúir* (fieldname)¹²⁰

In the Vicinity of Lady's Island Lake

Bokawn (Leighin, 1920, 139) < Ir. ? *bacán*
 The Cloon (ibid.) < Ir. *cluain*
 Cortcheenteer (ibid.), < Ir. *goirtín + ?*
 The Curnews (ibid.), > ? Ir. *cor + nua*
 Cush-a-mi-shouk (ibid.) < Ir. ? *cois* (path) + ?
 Hay-ne-get (ibid.) < Yola *hye + Ir. na gcat*
 Knock lan gear > ? Ir. final element ? Ir. *Cnoc na gcaor*
 Lyacraan (ibid., 138), > cf. Ir. *luí a' chorráin*
 Mowl-jordan (ibid., 139), > Ir. *meal Shiúrdáin*
 Oth-lone (ibid., 138) cf. Ir. *áth + Yola loane* ('land')
 Othen-a-lie (ibid., 139), cf. Ir. *áthán a' luí*
 Rashel-eyes (ibid.), Ir. *Ráth + sil + luí*
 The Reflawk (ibid.), cf. Ir. *ráth + 'lawk'*
 Riesks (ibid.) < Ir. *riasc*

¹¹⁹ Pronunciation collected by me from Sam Smith (c.1927-2020).

¹²⁰ Butler (1885, 220), claims this field for Bannow.

Relions (ibid.), cf. Ir. *reilgeán*
 Ryna Park (ibid.) < Ir. *roinn na páirce*
 Scawthul-eyes (ibid.) < ? Ir. *scáth + luí*
 Scolth-allies (ibid.), (possibly same place as previous);
 The Slaps (ibid.) < ? Ir. *slab*
 The Splawck (ibid.) < Ir. *spleách*
 Willcraan (ibid., 138) < ? + Ir. (*a'*) *chorráin*
 Back-na-lee (ibid., 139) < Ir. *bac na Luí*
 The Big Drumawnee (ibid.) < Ir. ? *droimeáinín*, or ? *dromán Aodha*
 The Wutchy park (ibid.) < ? Yola *mucha* 'big' + Ir. *páirc*.¹²¹
 Keelogue (ibid.) < Ir. *caológ* (fieldname)
 Kiteens-hye (ibid., 137)), The Kiteen Hye (Byrne, 2001, 102) < Ir. ? *Citín*
 (fieldname)
 Kraan (IFC S 878, 189) < Ir. ? *corrán* (fieldname)
 The Mill Ring (ibid., 191) < ? Ir. *roinn*
 The Noneen Field (ibid., 190) < Ir. *nóinín*
 Scarrageen (IFC S 878, 125, 126) < ? Ir. *carraigín*

Carne

Barna Bui (Byrne 2002, 80) < Ir. *an Bhearna Bhuí*
 The bow char (ibid., 100) < Ir. *bóthar*
 Bocharzeen (ibid.) < Ir. ? *bóithrín*
 Cawcheen croinn (ibid., 101) < Ir. ? *goirtín cruinn*
 Booley (DÓM, 22), (< Ir. *buaille* (SSC)
 The Nuckeen (Gaul, 2000, 85) < Ir. ? *cnoicín*
 Ir. *túir na tine* (IFC S 879, 7) 'fire tower'
Taghire (DS) < Ir. *teach thiar*.
 The Carnagh Field (IFC S 878, 193) < Ir. ? *carnach* (fieldname) – alternatively this is
 in Carna.
 The Nickeens (ibid.) < Ir. *cnoicíní* (fieldname)
 The cúichs (ibid., 191), The cooicks. Cooicks (Byrne, 2002, 101),

¹²¹ The *m > w* initial happens if at some stage Yola was borrowed into Irish and it becomes *páirc mhuite* (lenition of the adjective after the feminine noun). This explanation also accounts for the changing of the final vowel in the second element – evident in Irish dialect from Mayo to Wexford).

The Cooches (IFC S 878, 190)
 The raa /ɹa:/¹²² < Ir. *ráth*
 The Kyle Rock /kail ɹak/ < Ir. ? *coill*¹²³
 Craanlough /-au/ -x/ < ? Ir. *corrán/carrán* + *loch*¹²⁴
 The Raans /ɹa:nz/ < Ir. *Ráthán*¹²⁵
 The Long Lawks (IFC S 878, 188) < Ir. ? *lách*
 The Mongs (ibid.) < Ir. ? *Mong*
 The Ring Park (ibid.) < Ir. *Páirc na Rinne*
 The Sally Grove (ibid.) < Ir. *saileach* (fieldname)
 The Lugs < Ir. *lug*¹²⁶
 The Town < Ir. ? *tamhan*¹²⁷
 Ir. ? Barr an tóin /barən tu:ən/¹²⁸
 The Munchie Field < Ir. ? *Na mónta* (npl.) > var. *móintí*¹²⁹
 The Cockle Bed < Ir. ? *cochall*¹³⁰
 Cawcheen ditch (Byrne, 2002, 101) < ? Ir. *goirtín*
 The cowelcaam /'kauəl ka:m/¹³¹ < Ir. *An cúl cam*
 Trapahilyarragh Stile (1840 O.S) < Ir. *trap*¹³²
 Crantigeen /kɹa:n ti'gi:n/ < ? *corrán* + *tighín*¹³³
 /raun nax/ (SSC)Rown nock < English 'round' + *cnoc*
 The Scroot < Ir. *scrúid*¹³⁴
 The Boker Fields /bo:kəɹ/ < Ir. *bóthar*¹³⁵
 Canockawn (Byrne, 2002, 101) < Ir. *cnocán*
 The condrisleach < Ir. ? *Candrisleach* /kandrisl'ax/¹³⁶

¹²² Reported to me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney. It is a little park at the cross of Ballyfane, just beside the Lobsterpot restaurant.

¹²³ This placename, in Barnawheel, is reported to me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney.

¹²⁴ This placename also reported to me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney.

¹²⁵ This placename is also reported to me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney.

¹²⁶ Reported to me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney. It is a hollow area in the dunes between the lane of stones and the Coom Lane.

¹²⁷ This coastal point is reported to me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney.

¹²⁸ This fieldname, Barrentoons, is reported to me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney.

¹²⁹ This fieldname is reported to me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney.

¹³⁰ This fieldname, in Castletown, is reported to me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney.

¹³¹ This placename, beside townland of coolcaam, is given to me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney.

¹³² This was a stile between the Hill of Chour and Nethertown.

¹³³ This fieldname is reported to me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney.

¹³⁴ The fieldname is reported to me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney.

¹³⁵ The fieldname is reported to me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney. It is in Nethertown (near a point on the beach and road called the Boker, and a slipway known as the Boker gate.

¹³⁶ This coastal placename was told to me by John Cussins (1938-).

The Skane < Ir. ? *scáthán*¹³⁷

Ryan Moor (IFC S 878a, Carne, John Meyler) < Ir. *an Rinn Mór*

The Bock /bax/ < Ir. ? *bac*¹³⁸

Comaacre, <Ir. *cam* + English ‘acre’¹³⁹

The Kill Hye < Ir. *Cill* + Yola hye¹⁴⁰

Rashel-eens < Ir. ? *Ráth Sílin* (‘fort of the little streams’)¹⁴¹

The Chants Field /tʃants/ < Ir. ? *teann*¹⁴²

Raanmoor /.ra:nmu:r/ < Ir. *Ráthán Mór*¹⁴³

The Hardy Grianán /'ha:ɹdi dʒɹina:n, 'ha:ɹdi ɡɹaɹina:n/ < Ir. ? *ard a' dhraighneán*¹⁴⁴

The Pubble /pobl/ < ? Ir. *puball*¹⁴⁵

The Hole in the Cran > ? Ir. *corrán*¹⁴⁶

The Pucks Hole < Ir. *poc*¹⁴⁷

¹³⁷ This coastal placename is reported to me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney.

¹³⁸ This fieldname is reported to me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney. It is up on a small hill near the loch, beside the Ring marsh which floods)

¹³⁹ This fieldname is reported to me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney. It is next to the Cowlcaam (

¹⁴⁰ Fieldname reported to me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney.

¹⁴¹ Placename reported to me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney.

¹⁴² This fieldname is reported to me by Sascha Santschi Cooney.

¹⁴³ This placename also reported to me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney.

¹⁴⁴ This fieldname was told to me by John Cussins (1938-), in July, 2015.

¹⁴⁵ This fieldname was told to me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney.

¹⁴⁶ Collected by Sascha Santschi-Cooney from James Moloney, Lady’s Island.

¹⁴⁷ Reported to me by Sascha Santschi-Cooney. The field is in Lady’s Island parish.

Appendix D: Evidence of Irish folklore in south-east Wexford

Fairy lore

The banshee: Bannow (IFC S 876, 41), Tullycanna (IFC S 876, 147), Rathangan (IFC S 876a, Baldwinstown, Patrick Walsh, ‘the Banshee’, Kilmore (IFC S 878, 21–2), Wexford Town (IFC S 880, 334–42; 881, 343).

The leprechaun: Tullycanna (IFC S 876, 158), Rathangan (IFC S 876, 355), Carne (IFC S 879a, Carne, Bridget Ryan, ‘Folktale’, [§14]), Tagoat (IFC S 879, 152), Piercestown (IFC S 879, 347), Wexford Town (IFC S 881, 66–7).

The dead coach: Bannow (IFC S 875, 25), Kilmore (IFC S 877, 289), Ballymore (IFC S 878, 95), Wexford Town (IFC S 880, 2; 881, 69–71), .

Fairy funeral: Kilmore (IFC S 878, 2), Wexford Town (IFC S 880, 368).

Fairy cow (Lady’s Island, IFC S 878, 203), Carne (IFC S 879a, Carne, Bridget Ryan, ‘Story’ [§11], Wexford Town (IFC S 881, 290).

Miscellaneous fairy traditions: Bannow (IFC S 876, 43, 52), Rathangan (IFC S 876, 264–70; 877, 21; IFC 1399, 352), Kilmore (IFC S 877, 206, 244; 878, 13–7; IFC 1399, 424–5), Ballymore (IFC S 878, 88, 91, 94), Carne (IFC S 879a, Carne, Bridget Ryan, ‘Story’ [§9]; IFC S 879, 109–10), Mayglass (IFC S 879, 160–1, 65–6), Wexford Town (IFC S 880, 369, 374–5, 384–5, 389, 405; 881, 876–9; 882, 149).

Life Cycle

Liminal unbaptised burials: Bannow (IFC S 875, 31–2),

Vulnerable soul of the recently deceased: Rathangan (IFC S 877, 83), Wexford Town (882, 133).

Death customs: Kilcavan (IFC 1399, 477), Kilmore (IFC 1399, 117, 426–34), Carne (879, 5–6), Wexford Town (IFC S 880, 17–21, 37–40; 882, 80; IFC 1399, 243–58), Kilmore (IFC 1399, 175–88).

Calendar Customs

St. Brigid's Eve: Kilmore (IFC S 877, 224, 227)

May Bush: Kilcavan (IFC 1399, 482), Cleristown (IFC S 876, 235), Carne (IFC S 879, 22), Tagoat (IFC S 879, 113–4). Murrintown (IFC S 879, 231), Piercestown (IFC S 879, 349), Wexford Town (IFC S 882, 7).

Halloween: Carne (IFC S 879, 24), Tacumshin (IFC S 879a, Tacumshane, Maggie Browne, 'Hallow'een customs'), Murrintown (IFC S 879, 230), Wexford Town (IFC S 882, 6, 105–8, 110).

The Day of the Wren: Kilcavan (IFC 1399, 483), Tagoat (IFC S 879, 111–2), Piercestown (IFC S 379, 404).

Folk Tales

Connolly and the cuckoo: Tullycanna (IFC S 876, 144). Rathangan (IFC S 876, 384–9 – from newspaper).

King of the cats: Tullycanna (IFC S 876, 157), Rathangan (IFC S 876, 357), Kilmore (IFC S 878, 6–7; IFC 1399, 367),

Hurling: Kilmore (IFC S 877, 186–7), Tacumshin (IFC S 879, 41), Murrintown (IFC S 879, 244–5),

English

Mumming: Bannow (IFC S 875, 35; 876, 81)

Appendix E: Wexford-born Irish speakers in the 1901 census

118 DEDs in seven regions

The following tables relate to Wexford-born people marked on the census form as having a) Irish, or b) ‘Irish and English’ or ‘English and Irish’. The regions and baronies correspond as follows: south-west = Shelbourne; south-east = Forth and Bargy; south-centre = Shelmalier West; east = Shelmalier East and Ballaghkeen South; north-east = Gorey and Ballaghkeen North; north-west = Scarawalsh; and mid-west = Bantry.

Table E1: Overall County

Region	70+	60s	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	1–9	Total	%	of
SW	2	2	2	2	9	10	17	2	46	0.58	7,969
SE	12	5	16	25	39	72	101	29	299	1.28	23,407
SC	1	1	4	7	6	5	5	3	32	0.48	6,600
E	2	6	4	9	24	41	31	6	123	1.66	7,426
NE	2	3	3	3	13	17	31	4	76	0.49	15,481
NW	2	7	7	21	31	67	142	23	300	1.75	17,152
MW	9	16	12	15	17	43	60	16	186	1.21	15,343
Total	3038	48	82	139	255	387	83		1,062¹	1.12	94,390

Table E2: Overall County (excluding towns)

Region	70+	60s	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	1–9	Total	%	of
SW	2	2	2	2	9	10	17	2	46	0.58	7,969
SE	8	2	9	14	18	22	38	9	120	0.99	12,165
SC	1	1	4	7	6	5	5	3	32	0.48	6,600
E	2	6	4	9	24	41	31	6	123	1.66	7,426
NE	2	1	2	3	2	7	12	4	33	0.25	13,004
NW	1	3	2	10	9	22	53	10	110	1.08	10,210

¹ This number is made up of 827 marked as having ‘Irish and English’, 99 as having ‘Irish’, and 136 with Irish indicated in some other way (excluding learners).

MW	5	6	8	8	12	25	24	10	98	0.9	10.933
Total	21	21	31	53	80	132	180	44	562	0.82	68,813

Table E3: South-west (Shelbourne) – 10 DEDs

DED:	70+	60s	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	1–9	Total	%	of
Ballyhack	-	-	-	-	1	-	5	-	6	0.45	1,320
Dunmain	-										315
Fethard	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	0.1	933
Killesk	-	1	-	-	1	2	-	-	4	0.52	762
Kilmokea	1	-	2	1	1	6	2	-	13	0.43	537
Oldcourt	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	0.49	400
Rathroe	1	-	-	-	-	2	9	2	14	1.68	832
Templetown	-										890
Tintern	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	4	0.29	1,369
Whitechurch	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	3	0.49	611
Total	2	2	2	2	9	10	17	2	46	0.58	7,969

E3 Notes

Of the 9 in Kilmokea, 8 are in Ballynamona (15–57), with two Irish speakers being 57 – viz. the parents of the O’Brien family who make up all but one of the Ballynamona Irish-speaking contingent. The other two are in Kilmannock, i.e., Mary Kinsella (20), and her sister Katie (24).

Rathroe: 3 Doyles and 3 Tobins (all children/teens) have Irish. In a house 5, Haggard, Rathroe, Ellen Reville (73) is the only one of the 6 occupants to have Irish (and English). She is head of family, and lives with her daughter and four grandchildren.

Tintern: Those with Irish are 4 Meanys in Saintleonards, (all in their 30s).

In a house 4, Whitechurch, [Whitechurchglynn], one of the thirteen occupants has Irish and English: Mary Bannett [recte. Bennett] (60), is a domestic servant in the Hanlon household (on a farm).

Table E4: South-East (Forth & Bargy) – 20 DEDs

DED	70+	60s	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	1–9	Total	%	of
Ballymore	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	4	0.92	435
Bannow	-										1,157
Bridgetown	1	1	-	5	3	6	12	3	31	4.22	733

Drinagh	-											613
Duncormick	-											501
Harperstown	2	-	1	1	1	2	-	-	7	1.58		442
Harristown	-											558
Kilcowan	2	-	-	1	1	1	-	1	6	1.21		494
Killag	-											367
Killinick	-	-	1	3	-	2	6	3	15	2.39		628
Kilmore	1	-	2	1	1	-	4	1	10	0.65	1,538	
Kilsoran	-	-	1	-	4	5	6	-	16	2.38		713
Ladysisland	-	1	1	1	1	-	3	1	8	1.4		571
Mayglass	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	3	0.66		455
Rathaspick	1	-	1	-	2	1	-	-	5	0.73		676
Rosslare	1	-	1	-	2	1	1	-	6	0.91		659
St. Helen's	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	3	0.59		506
Tacumshin	-	-	1	-	2	1	-	-	4	0.68		585
Tomhaggard	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	0.37		534
Wexford	4	3	7	11	21	50	63	20	179	1.52	11,242	
Total	12	5	16	25	39	72	101	29	299	1.28	23,407	

E4 Notes

Barony of Bargy

Rathangan and Kilmannan parishes

In a house 1, Muchtown, Kilcowan (Rathangan parish), 5 of the 7 occupants are said to have Irish. The head of family is John Byrne (80), a farmer who can read and write. His wife Ann (70), son James (34), a road contractor, daughter Anna Eliza (27), and niece Marcella (9), a scholar, all have Irish. Their two servants (20, 17) are marked blank in the Irish language field.

Harperstown (Kilmannan parish): five of the ten occupants of house 4, Moortown, have Irish and English: the head of family, Elizabeth Kehoe (72), a farmer; her daughter, Mary (48), and two sons, James (50), and John (48); the remaining Irish speaker is a servant, Thomas Martin (24). Two other daughters (44, 30) have the Irish language field unmarked, and ditto for three labourers (14–30).

Still in Harperstown, in the townland of Waddingtown, Margaret Doran (71) is the only one of nine occupants to have Irish, and she cannot read or write. She is mother of the householder (35), a farm labourer who can read and write, who lives with his wife and six children aged from 0–10.

Kilmore and Forth parishes

In a house 1, Sheephouse (Bridgetown) [i.e., curacy of Mulrankin, parish of Kilmore), one of the four occupants has Irish and English, i.e., the head of family, Denis Goff (70), a farm labourer. His two daughters (35, 29), and his granddaughter (12) have their Irish language fields left blank.

In a house 3, Harpoonstown, Bridgetown, two of the six inhabitants have Irish and English: Nicholas Howlin (67), a farmer; and his son Michael (15), a scholar. His wife (52), other sons (28, 20), and daughter (11) have 'English'.

In a house 5 in the same townland, five of the nine occupants have English and Irish, and the remainder are unspecified regarding language. Head of family, and farmer, Richard Dillon (34), his wife, Mary (34); his brother, Patrick (25); uncle, James Hore (18), and a servant, Kate Ryan (19). The remaining four comprise Patrick's children (6 and under).

In a house 3, in Oldhall, Bridgetown DED, three of the seven occupants in the house have Irish and English, and the remainder are unmarked regarding Irish language. William Kehoe, an agricultural labourer (46), his wife, Catherine (43), and their children, Patrick (22), and Catherine (14). Those we can infer have no Irish comprise the four younger children (5–12). There are three other Kehoes in Bridgetown DED with Irish and English, as follows: Paul F. Kehoe (43) lives in a house 25, Common, and is a Catholic Priest; his two servants (in their thirties) have no mark for the 'Irish language' field. In a house 4, Moor, John Kehoe (35), and three others, including his wife, born outside of Wexford.

Also in Bridgetown DED), there are 7 Hassetts (6–40), and 7 Lamberts (10–22), Collective local memory has it that the Hassetts had come from Tipperary in the previous generation, and there is a strong association with Kathleen Browne and Irish nationalism, suggesting that their Irish is not necessarily native Wexford vernacular.

In a house 5, Ballask, Kilmore, Patrick Dake (58), a farm labourer, cannot read. No information is given for his wife's (55) language abilities, but unlike her husband, she can read and write.

In a house 7, Libgate, Kilmore, all 10 occupants are said to have Irish. The occupancy primarily consists of the mostly Dublin-born Carey family, but a boarder, John Stafford (70) is Wexford-born and a miller. The head of the family is 34.

In a house 3, Bastardstown, Kilmore, John Radford (46) is a fisherman who cannot read or write, and in the Irish language field is marked 'English I'.² The language field for his wife (50), and children (11–24), is left blank.

In a house 8, Cousinstown, Tomhaggard (parish of Kilmore), one of the five occupants has Irish and English: Thomas Bent [recte. Bennett] (59), 'Farmer Vex Sergt R.H.'. his brother (65), and two sisters (61, 57), and nephew (31) have 'English'.

In a house 2, Grayrobin, Tomhaggard, Philip Walsh (45) is an agricultural labourer who has 'I English'. His wife (44), and children (5–12) have only 'English' marked in the same field.

Barony of Forth

Lady's Island parish

In a house 2, Hilltown, Tacumshin, one of the eight occupants has Irish – James Lawlor (51), head of family, and a 'corn miller'. The rest of the household comprises James' wife, children, and a grandchild, for whom the field is left blank in the 'Irish language' section. In a house 1, the Fence (i.e., Tacumshin village), the local main general shop etc. has three occupants. The owner (50) has no Irish, but his two children, William Stafford (28), a carpenter, and Catherine Stafford (25), a postmistress, have Irish and English. The only other Wexford-born Irish-speaker recorded in Tacumshin is the parish priest, Thomas Byrne (30), living in Ballyhiho.

In a house 8, Ballysheen, Lady's Island, two of the four occupants have Irish: the head of family is John Clear (60), a labourer, and his wife, Annie (56) is a seamstress. They have two daughters (8, and 5).

In a house 1, Pullingtown, in the curacy of Carne, John Adams (30), a fisherman, has Irish and English, but his parents (64 and 70), labourers, only have English.

In a house 4 in Ballysampson (Kilscoran DED, but in Tacumshin parish), two of the four occupants have Irish and English. Mary Whitty (51) is a national teacher and farmer, and her son, James (18), are the two Irish speakers. The other, non-Irish speakers, comprise Mary's daughter (14) and three servants.

Mid-Forth

² The presumption is that 'English I' is not the intention, meaning English language. The abbreviations/initials 'I E' are used by some elsewhere in the censuses to connote 'Irish and English'. 'English L' is also used for 'English Language', e.g., by Kate Byrne (31), Ballina, in Ardcolm DED.

In a house 3, Rathjarney, Killinick, all twelve occupants have Irish and English: Michael Staples (55), a farmer; his wife, Mary (49), seven children (5–21), and a servant, Catherine Furlong (45). The family appear to be relatively well-off, since the eldest son, Thomas (21) is a ‘student of medicine’. On the other hand, the eldest child to be at school is Alice (11), with her brother John (13) no longer a scholar.

In a house 2, Ballyrane, Killinick, three of the five occupants have Irish and English: i.e., head of family, Henry Meadows (49), ‘Clerk Crown’ and magistrate of the peace; his daughter, Annie (10), and her governess, Lilian Delafield (25), the latter being born in Berkshire, England. The Meadows are Church of Ireland. Their Catholic maid, apparently, has no Irish.

In a house 1, Fiveacre, Killinick DED, four of the six occupants have Irish and English, with the remaining two having only English. The Irish speakers are head of family, and farmer, Patrick Cooney (38), his wife, Ellen (32), his sister, Margaret (41), and a servant, Mary Furlong (18). Patrick’s brother (36), and a labourer (36) have English only, indicating that the Irish here is from the Gaelic revival.

Northern Forth

In a house 39, Forth Commons, Rathaspick (Barony of Forth), all three occupants have Irish and English: the head of family is Margaret Furlong (70), a farmer who can read only. Her children are Bridget (30), and Michael (24).

In a house 8, Murntown Lower, in the same DED, two of the four occupants have Irish and English. Head of family is Thomas Keating (52), a shopkeeper; his wife, Jane (39) is a schoolteacher; the remainder of the household comprises their two employees (17, 31), who are said to have English.

In a house 1 in Ballybrennan Big (Rosslare [i.e., Killinick], there are five occupants. Three have Irish. The head of family is Thomas Rigley (70), a blacksmith who can read and write; his wife Anne (55) is said to have Irish only, but can read and write, so we can presume that she has English too. Their son, John (24) is, like his father, a blacksmith with Irish and English. Their two daughters (28 and 9) are left blank.

Wexford Town

In House 23, South Main Street, Wexford, three of the six occupants have Irish and English: the head of family is John Codd (70), a shipwright who can read and write.

Everyone else in the house is a boarder, one of whom is Margaret Hayes (75), who has no occupation, but can read and write. The other Irish speaker is 23 and Cork-born (a tea-agent)

In a house 2, Spawell Road, Wexford Town, all three occupants have Irish and English: the head of family is Thomas Edmunds (75), whose occupation is listed as ‘car proprietor’. His two sons are George (26), and Richard (24), who have the same occupation as their father.

In a house 6, Monck Street, Wexford Town, all four occupants have Irish. Mary Kelly (76) is head of family and hotel manager who can read and write (as can all the others). She shares the residence with her nephew Richard (40), and niece Johanna (30). The final member is Mary Connors (19), a servant.

In a house 7, Cornmarket Street, three of the six occupants have Irish and English: head of family is shopkeeper, Anastasia Doyle (50), and the other Irish speakers in the house are her sons Luke (19), a printer compositor, and Michael (12).

In a house 8, Townparks, Wexford Town, two of the three occupants have Irish and English: head of family, Thomas Mahady (60), retired farmer, and a servant (35) from Mayo. Thomas’s wife (50) has English only.

In a house 6, Stonybatter, Wexford Town, one of the three occupants has Irish: Mary Cullen (60), is the mother of the head of family, a farm labourer, and they share the house with her daughter.

In a house 37.1, Barrack Street, Wexford, one of the four inhabitants has Irish and English: head of family, Thomas Roche (60), labourer. He lives with his wife and two children.

In a house 46, John Street, Wexford, John Sullivan (48), is the only one of six occupants with Irish. The others comprise his wife, two sons, stepbrother, and niece.³

In a house 4, Waterloo Road, all seven occupants have ‘Irish’. Margret Watkins (43), housekeeper, and her six children (1–14) .

In Waterloo Road, Timothy O’Callagan (41); his daughter, Mary O’Callagan (27, and John (16).

In a house 6, Park, Wexford Rural DED, all four occupants have ‘Irish’: Patrick Browne (50), is head of family and a labourer; his wife Margaret (45), and children, Patrick (9), and Agnes (6).

³ The details of the occupants are duplicated in the online version of the 1901 Census.

In a house 10, Duke Street (Wexford Town DED), all fourteen occupants have ‘Irish’: John Hynes (48), a labourer, is head of family, and his wife, Jane (42); they have eleven children (3–25; the remaining occupant is James Tathann (49), a boarder and labourer.

Table E5: South Centre (Shelmalier West) – 14 DEDs

DED	70+	60s	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	1–9	Total		
Aughwilliam	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	0.23	429
Ballymitty	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	554
Carrick-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	0.37	545
Carrickbyrne	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	0.18	541
Clongeen	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	0.16	604
Forth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	307
Glynn	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	3	7	2.43	287
Horetown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	570
Inch	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	3	0.57	525
Kilbride	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	4	1.72	232
Kilgarvan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	403
Killurin ⁴	-	-	1	2	1	2	1	-	7	1.47	477
Newcastle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	312
Taghmon	-	1	-	-	3	1	1	-	6	0.74	814
Total	1	1	4	7	6	5	5	3	32	0.48	6,600

E5 Notes

Glynn

All eight occupants of house 1, Carrigmannon, in Glynn DED have Irish and English. The head of household is Cork-born Denis Lee O’Brien (41), who is a farmer and miller. His wife, Bridget (33), their five children (1–10), and Bridget’s mother, Mary Harpur (70), comprise the seven Wexford-born bilingual occupants.

Taghmon

⁴ In the 1901 online census data, Killurin > Killucin.

In a house 5, Taghmon Town, the only one of the 4 occupants with the language section filled in is the head of family, James Whelan (72), master cooper. He has Irish and English, and lives with his wife (57), and two sons (19 and 15).

Otherwise in Taghmon village, there are just two other Irish-speakers noted – two Kearns sisters (32 and 34).

Kilbride

In a house 6, Oldboley, Kilbride, Lawrence McLoughlin (50), a farm-labourer, is the only one of seven occupants with Irish. His wife has no Irish, and the language has not been passed on to his three children. Neither the wife’s mother nor sister have Irish.

Carrick

In Carrick, note the proximity of Luke Doyle (51) and Henry Lambert (20) in Hayestown

Killurin

Of the seven in Killurin, four live in Lambstown Great, the Cloneys (18–53). Three live in Blackhall (37–47), including two Meylers.

Inch

All three in Inch (in the very west of the region), are in Ballygarvan (21–48), the older two being Hanlons.

Table E6: East (Shelmalier East & Ballaghkeen South) – 9 DEDs

DED	70+	60s	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	1–9	Total	%	of
Ardcavan	-	1	-	1	6	8	9	-	25	2.89	864
Ardcolm	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	2	0.28	720
Artramon	-	1	1	2	1	1	4	2	12	2.12	565
Ballyhuskard	-	-	-	1	1	2	3	-	7	0.6	1,170
Castle-Ellis	2	2	1	1	2	5	-	-	13	1.36	958
Castle Talbot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	864
Edermine	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	2	0.2	990
Kilmallock	-	2	1	4	12	22	13	3	57	7.34	777
Kilpatrick	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	1	5	0.96	518
Total	2	6	4	9	24	41	31	6	123	1.66	7,426

E6 Notes

Ardcavan DED

In a house 2, Galballybeg, Ardcavan, all eight inhabitants are said to have Irish and English: head of family, Patrick Devereux (66), farmer; his daughters Mary (29), Annastatia

(26), Bridget (18), and Johanna (16); and sons Thomas (25), John (22), and William (13). The youngest three are scholars.

In Ardcahan: 8 Devereuxs (18–66), 3 Keatings (16–25), 3 Dixons (18–24), and 3 Kehoes (27–31).

Artramon DED 3 Learys (14–48) in Ballyboggan; 2 Shortles (18–58), in Castlebridge.

Kilmallock DED

In a house 3, Ballina Lower, all four occupants have Irish and English: head of family, farmer, Moses Dempsey (50); his sister, Rose (48), and Kate (46); and a servant, John Darey (25).

In Ballylucas, 7 Cummins (11–29); and 3 Learys (23–27); in Ballykelly, 5 Cullens (5–40); in Ballymurn, 6 diverse (10–60); in Ballybrigadane, 3 Murphys (23–35); in Ballysilla, 3 diverse (14–29); in Clonnasheeogue, 3 Raths (13–26); in Garryvarren, 3 O’Connors (22–35); in Bishopland, 3 diverse (25–36); in Killelan, 4 Parkers and a Neville (13–27); in Turkyle, 6 (14–60), including 3 Ronans – one of whom (Sarah) is 60.

In a house 1, Ballymurn Upper, Kilmallock, three of the eight occupants have Irish and English: head of family, Peter Sinnott (60), farmer; his brothers-in-law, Thomas Grannell (32), and Michael (30) farmer’s sons, other occupants without Irish are his wife (38); sister-in-laws Elizabeth and Ellen Grannell (34 and 33), and a servant (40).

In a house 1, Turkyle, Kilmallock, all six residents have Irish and English: head of family is John Ronan (83),⁵ he lived with his wife, Sarah (60), his sons Matthew (38) and Peter (36). The other inhabitants are three servants, John Murphy (28), marked as female, Margaret Whitty (25), and Ellen Doyle (14).

Castle Ellis

In a house 4, Ballina Upper (Castle Ellis [i.e., Civil Parish of Ardcolm], all 5 occupants are said to have Irish: head of family is William Sinnott (70), a farmer who can read and write; and he lives with his wife Catherine (66), and sons George (32) and William (30), and daughter Mary (24).

In a house 6 in Newfort (Castle Ellis), head of household, Patrick Leacy (73), is the only one of the three occupants to have Irish and English. He is a steward, and lives with his

⁵ This head of household does not appear in the 85+/- search in the online Census.

son (26) who is a labourer, and his daughter (25), with no stated occupation. All three can read and write.

In a house 3, Ballyroe, Castle Ellis (Civil Parish of Edermine), the only one of the four occupants to have Irish and English is the head of the family, William Power (64), farmer. He lives with his nephew and two servants (21–37).

Table E7: North-east (Gorey and Ballaghkeen North) – 25 DEDs

DED	70+	60+	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	1–9	Total	%	of
Ardamine	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	82
Balloughter	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	2	7	1.71	409
Ballycanew	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	495
Ballygarrett	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	0.16	626
Ballylarkin	1	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	4	0.99	402
Ballynestragh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	597
Ballyvaldon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	779
Bolaboy	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	3	0.41	737
Cahore	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	303
Coolgreany	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	411
Courtown	0.23	870	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	-
Ford	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	0.23	431
Gorey	-	2	1	-	11	10	19	-	43	1.74	2,477
Huntingtown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	191
Kilcormick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	582
Kilgorman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	465
Killenagh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	411
Killincooly	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	298
Kilnahue	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	249
Limerick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	511
Monamolin	-	1	2	-	-	1	3	-	7	1.15	611
Monaseed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	639
Rossminoge	-	-	-	2	-	1	1	-	4	0.97	412

The Harrow	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	2	0.43	464
Wells	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	657
Wingfield	0.32	631	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	
Total	2	3	3	3	13	17	31	4	76	0.49	
15,481											

E7 Notes

Bolaboy DED

In a house 5, Castle Ellis, only one of the eight has the language field filled in, and that is head of family, farmer, Michael Brien (75), who has Irish and English. He lives with his wife, and six children (7–25).

Ballylarkin DED

In a house 6, Ashwood Lower, Ballylarkin DED (parish of Inch), all three occupants have English and Irish. Head of family is Thomas Gregory (74), a caretaker who can read only. His son James (25) is a labourer who can read only, and his daughter Margaret (23) can read and write and is a domestic servant.

Monamolin DED⁶

In Barraglen, Monamolin, Richard Connors (58) and his wife, Margaret (55), are reported to have Irish, as is their son, Moses (14). Only Moses, of the three, can write.

In a house 1, Monagreany Lower, Monamolin, 4 of the 7 inhabitants have Irish and English. The head of family is John Doyle (67), farmer, and his sons Mick (22), Eddy (16), and Patk (14). Notably though, John's wife (57), daughter (19), and brother (69), who is an unmarried farmer, have the default dash in the language competency space, presumably meaning they only have English.

Rossminoge

⁶ Technically, this DED is north of New Ross, on the Kilkenny-Carlow border, and so not quite between New Ross and Enniscorthy, but it borders New Ross to the east, which is part of this cluster.

In a house 2, Carrigbeg, Patrick Shea (45), who is a farmer, has Irish and English. However, the other occupants of the house, his uncle (89), and sisters (55, 50), have the language space left blank.

Only one of the eight occupants of house 1, Shrule, is said to have Irish and English, namely, John Donohoe (40), who is a farm servant who can neither read nor write. The remainder of the household are a female farmer (70), her nephew (38), and sundry farm assistants (11–48). John Donohoe is the only one among them who cannot read nor write.

The other two reported to have Irish and English in the DED are Andy McCann (27), Bewbridge, and Mary Finn (11), son and granddaughter, respectively, of the head of household – a female farmer (70). Apart from Andy and Mary, who have Irish and English, three of the four remaining occupants are marked as having ‘English’, and one, a farm servant (18) has the language space left blank.

The Harrow

In a house 3, Ballyhaddock, only one of the seven occupants is said to have Irish and English, namely, Michael O Brien (26), brother of the head of household (35), who has a wife (36), and two children (1, 3, and a new-born child). Michael’s sister (32) is also resident. No-one else in the house, apart from Michael, has the language section filled in.

In a house 9, Tobergal, only one of the occupants has Irish, namely, head of household, James Long (42), who is a clergyman and curate. The other occupants are two servants (14, 29), and a visitor (5), who have their respective language fields left blank.

Gorey DED

In a house 25, Main Street, Gorey, two of the three occupants have Irish and English: head of family, James Redmond (65), a victualler; and his son Michael (33). His daughter (23) has English only.

At a convent, house 3.1, St. Michael’s Road, Gorey, 3 of the 32 occupants have Irish and English: Maire Concopta [recte. Concepta] Muriada (60), is the only Irish-speaker to be Wexford-born.

Table E8: North-west (Scarawalsh) – 19 DEDs

DED	70+	60s	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	1-9	Total	%	of
Ballindaggan	-	-	1	1	1	2	6	-	11	1.58	697
Ballybeg	-	-	-	2	1	-	2	3	8	1.65	429
Ballycarney	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	0.68	295
Ballyellis	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	356
Enniscorthy	1	4	5	11	22	45	89	13	190	2.74	6,942
Ferns	-	2	1	1	1	11	17	1	34	5	680
Kilbora	1	-	-	-	1	-	3	-	5	1.74	286
Kilcomb	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	3	0.4	754
Killoughrum	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	516
Kilrush -	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	3	0.61	491
Kiltealy-	-	-	2	-	3	10	3	-	18	3.05	590
Marshalstown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	712
Moyacomb	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	3	5	1.55	322
Newtownbarry	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	2	0.13	1,576
Rossard	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	6	1.21	494
Saint Mary's	-	-	-	2	2	1	-	-	5	0.74	674
Tinnacross	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	-	4	0.55	726
Tombrack	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	4	0.65	612
Total	2	7	7	21	31	67	142	23	300	1.7	17,152

E8 Notes

The Ferns Cluster

In a house 70.1, Ferns Town, two of the five inhabitants have Irish and English: Edward O'Connor (67), hotel keeper; his daughter, Annie Mary (11), a scholar. Edward's wife (26), and daughter (24), shop assistants, and a housemaid/servant (16), have English only.

In a house 76, in Ferns Town, three of the six occupants are said to have Irish and English, one to have just Irish, and two to have English only. Head of family is John Donnoly (60), victualler; his sons Patrick (20), and Edward (13) – the former a postman and the latter a scholar; his daughter Bridget (15), a scholar, is marked as having Irish (obviously bilingual, however). His wife (50) and daughter (15) have English only.

Thomas Phyre (80), house 6 in Kilbora (parish of Ferns), is a farmer who can read and write. His wife Mary (70) has English only, but his son Thomas (36) does have Irish. His daughter (20) has English only.

To the west of Kilbora DED is Ballybeg DED, and in a house 25, Ballybeg, head of family is James Mythan (45), agricultural labourer, who lives with his wife Mary (40), and

their five children. Their eldest, Thomas, is also an agricultural labourer, and he has three siblings who are scholars: Mary A (9), Ellen (8), and John (6). The only one in the house not to have 'Irish' written in the Irish language field is a new-born, James.

Not far to the west, in a house 5, Lackendarragh, Kilrush, one of the two occupants has Irish and English: head of family, James Morries (65), a farm servant. He lives with his wife (55).

Kiltealy

Of the 17 in Kiltealy, 15 are in the village of Kiltealy (7–45), including 3 Whelans (10–15), 3 O'Briens (18–28), 5 Morans (5–22), 3 Fitzpatricks (10–40).

In a house 17 in Kiltealy, John F Sullivan (45), is a farmer and rate collector with Irish and English. The other two occupants are his brother (44), and sister (39).

St. Mary's

In a house 7, Cromoge (Saint Mary's DED), all five occupants have Irish and English: head of family, farmer, Nicholas Ward (42), his brothers, Patrick (42) and John (38) sister, Anne (36), and a servant, 'Sarah Lary' (26). We are told that the youngest brother can only read, but we might gauge that the head of family himself was not comfortable in writing, since he writes 'R and Rite' < 'read and write' in the case of the four occupants, including himself.

Enniscorthy

In a house 14, New Street, Enniscorthy, one of the seven occupants has Irish: head of family, Sarah Quigley (70), housekeeper. She lives with her son, daughter, son-in-law, and three grandchildren.

In a house 46, Irish Street, Enniscorthy, both inhabitants have Irish and English: head of family, Elizabeth Ryan (60), a fruit-dealer who cannot read or write, and her son Edward (22), (who has 'Nil' put down as his occupation), who can read and write.

In a house 28, New Street, Enniscorthy, one of the two inhabitants has Irish and English: Michael Knox (60), a fruit-dealer, who lives with his wife, 60 – neither of whom can read nor write.

In a house 28, New Street, Enniscorthy, Michael Knox (60), a fruit-dealer has Irish. His wife (60) has no Irish.

In a house 36, Irish Street, Enniscorthy, Elizabeth Ryan (60), who can't read, has evidently transmitted Irish to her son, Edward (22). Elizabeth is a fruit-dealer, like Michael Knox, and her son has no occupation, but can read and write.

In a house 6, New Street, Enniscorthy, the only occupant to have both Irish and English is the head of family, Sarah Quigley (70), who is a housekeeper who can read and write. She lives with her son, daughter, and daughter's family.

Table E9: Mid-West (Bantry) – 21 DEDs

DED	70+	60s	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	1–9	Total	%	of
Adamstown	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	0.44	452
Ballyanne	1	1	1	-	2	3	5	4	17	2.49	682
Ballyhoge	1	-	-	-	4	-	1	-	6	0.79	763
Barrack Village	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	0.53	189
Barronstown	1	-	-	2	-	2	1	-	6	1.06	564
Bree	-	1	2	2	3	3	1	5	17	2.05	831
Carnagh -	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	3	0.6	496
Castleboro'	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	0.26	765
Castledockrell	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	450
Clonleigh	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	3	0.59	510
Clonroche	-	-	2	2	1	2	-	-	7	0.73	955
Killann	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	0.08	1,134
New Ross	4	8	4	7	5	18	36	6	88	1.79	4,916
Newbawn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	579
Old Ross	1	2	-	-	-	5	2	-	10	2.76	362
Rochestown	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	2	0.66	305
Rosbercon	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	3	4.35	69
Templeudigan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	506
The Leap	-	1	-	1	-	-	4	1	7	0.95	739
Whitechurch ⁷	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.2	487
Whitemoor ⁸	-	-	-	-	-	6	5	-	11	1.83	601
Total	9	16	12	15	17	43	60	16	186	1.17	15,343

E9 Notes

⁷ Six of the townlands in this DED are in Bantry, and four in Shelmalier West. Whitechurch 565; townlands: Barmoney, 54; Bricketstown, 26; Castlehayestown, 24; Coolnagree, 31; Doonooney, 25; Dungeer, 27; Moddybeg, 7; Poulpeasty, 14; Wilkinstown, 40. 248

⁸ This DED is "Whitemore" in 1911.

The Bree Cluster (i.e., between Wexford and Enniscorthy)

In a house 1, Carrig, Bree, all 8 of the occupants have Irish and English: head of household, John Doyle (31), farmer; his wife, Lisset (37); his aunt, Antie Cartie (64), his sister-in-law Catherine (30), his daughter Mary (5); his sons Patrick (3), and John (2) and a servant, Nicholas Fitzpatrick (23).

In Bree itself, three speakers are in the townland of Park, including two Redmond brothers in their 20s, and an Anastatia Power Murphy (65).

House 7, Sparrowsland, Bree, is of interest for the young children with Irish; and the father, Patrick Murnagh (51), who can read only; and the mother, Mary (46), who cannot read.

In a house 4, Raheenahoon, Ballyhoge (civil parish of Kilcowanmore, Bantry), all six occupants are said to have Irish. The head of family is Nicholas Power (72), a farmer who can read and write (like all others in the house). He lives with his son Nicholas (35), daughter Mary (37), and grand-son Nicholas (14), as well as two servants, William Johnson (32), and Johanna Maud (35).

Between New Ross and Wexford

Of the 6 in Barronstown, 3 are in Templenacroha (26–80), including in a house 1 in this townland, Bridget McDonald (80), farmer, lives with two others, including her niece, Mary Gray (24), a dressmaker, and they are both said to have ‘Irish and English’. Bridget’s son (52), an agricultural labourer, is the other occupant, who has a blank language-field.

In a house 21, Templeudigan, in Clonleigh DED, Peter Byrne (55), is a National School teacher, and head of family which includes his daughter Bridget (25), and they both have Irish. Unusually for the time, three others of his children (14–21) have marked in the Irish Language field ‘Learning Irish and English’ (i.e., learning Irish but fluent in English). Two other children (29 and 27) have the language field left blank.

Between New Ross and Enniscorthy

Ballyanne

In a house 14, Ballyleigh, Ballyanne, Mary Cloney (61) is the only occupant, and she has Irish and English. She is a housekeeper who can read and write.

Of the 15 Irish speakers in Ballyanne, 10 are in Gobbinstown (1–50) and 7 of those are Morans (1–13). There are 3, in separate households, in Ballyleigh (26–61). The oldest of these is Mary Cloney (61), the only occupant of house 14. She has Irish and English, and she is a housekeeper who can read and write

Patrick Maher (78), Heathpark in Old Ross is a farmer, has Irish and English; lives with his wife (67) who only has English. Both can read and write.

In a house 9, Moorfields, Old Ross, 1 of the 6 occupants is said to have Irish and English, that is, the head of family, Edward Grace (67), who is a labourer.⁹

In Clonroche, Thomas Whelan (55) and his wife Agnes (53), living in Coolore, both have Irish and English.

In Clonroche itself, note the spelling of the surname of Irish-speaker, Jas. R. Dier (44) < Ir. *Duibhir*.

John Hickey (38), in a house 3, Ballymackesy, and his wife, Magrieta (29), but each of their five children (1–11) is said to have English (alone). Their daughter (11) is the only one in the house who can read or write (including the other older children, 9 and 7). The occupation of each adult is given as ‘Farmer Servant’.

Of the 8 in the Leap, 5 are of the Bartholomew family in Dunsinane⁹–16).

In Ballyaden, the Leap, James Lambert (60).

The Leap

All seven occupants of house 1, Dunsinane, are said to have Irish and English. Farmer, Frances Evelin Bartholomew (45), and her five children: Mary Charlotte (16), Frances Maria (14), Michael George (15), Frederick Charles (9), and William Danson P (11). The family is Church of Ireland. The final occupant (also with Irish and English), is Roman Catholic servant, Eliza Larkin (40).

New Ross

⁹ This household appears twice in the Online version of the 1901 Census. DED name can be spelt as Kilmokea, or Kilmockea.

Mary Byrne (76), Cockpit Lane, New Ross, a dressmaker, can read and write and has Irish and English, like her husband (78) who was born in Kilkenny City, who is a shoemaker. Their daughter (38) and son (35) are the only other occupants and have English only.

In a house 8, Cockpit Lane, New Ross, all four inhabitants are said to have Irish and English: head of family, John O'Connor (68), bootmaker & shoemaker; his wife Johanna (58); his son, James (18), a clerk; and niece, Mary (13), a scholar.

At the workhouse in New Ross (15.4 Charlton Hill), three Wexford-born inmates have Irish and English, and their ages are 95, 85, and 65. The younger two are male labourers, and the eldest is said to be a blacksmith's wife.

In a house 3, Sugar House Lane, James Allen (80), is a labourer who cannot read or write. He has English and Irish. The only other occupant is his daughter, Hannah Allen (40) who also has English and Irish and is a domestic servant who can read and write.

In a house 4.1, Cross Lane, New Ross, one of the two occupants has Irish and English: Mary Creagh (68), who can read (only), lives with her husband (61), who is listed as head of family.

In a house 3, Lady Lane, New Ross, one of the two occupants is said to have Irish and English, and the other to be marked default '-' (dash), indicating English only. The head of family, Bridget Keogh (60), farm servant, who cannot read or write. She lives with a boarder (45).

All four occupants in a house 11, Mary Street, New Ross, have Irish and English: the head of family, Eliza Doran (60), shopkeeper; her sons, John and Patrick (29, 26), and her daughter Catherine (20).

In a house 2, Quay Street, New Ross, all six inhabitants have Irish and English. The head of family, John Moran (60), shopkeeper; his wife, Mary (60), shopkeeper; their four children are also shopkeepers – Mary (30), Ellen (28), Stasia (24), and Daniel (22).

In a house 28, South Street, New Ross, three of the five occupants have Irish and English: head of family, Anne Molloy (60), shopkeeper; her daughter, Annie (21), and a lodger from Galway (34). The other two inhabitants are a lodger (28) and a servant (18).

In a house 1, Irishtown, New Ross, Michael Kavanagh (50) cannot read, but his wife (40), who can read and write, has no Irish.

Whitechurch

In a house 7, Haystown, James Heffernan (78), is head of family and a farmer who can read and write – has English and Irish. The Irish language field is left blank for his wife (60) and six children 22–33.

Table E10: Top DEDs for Irish

DED		Reg.	No.	%	Age Profile
Killmallock	E	7.34	57	67%	<30; 19 30> and 7 40>
Ferns	NW	5	34	85%	<30; 5 30>, 4 40 >
Bridgetown	SE	4.22	31	68%	<30; 10 over 30 and 7 over 40
Ardcavan	E	2.89	25	68%	<30; 8 30>, 2 40>
Kiltealy	NW	3.05	18	89%	<30; 2 40>, but no-one 50>
Ballyanne	MW	2.49	17	68%	<30; 5 30> and 3 40>
Bree	MW	2.05	17	53%	<30; 8 30> and 5 40>
Kilscoran	SE	2.38	16	65%	<30; 6 30> and 1 40>
Killinick	SE	2.39	15	73%	<30; 4 40>
Rathroe	SW	1.68	14	93%	under 30; 1 70>
Castle-Ellis	E	1.36	13	no-one	under 20; 38% <30; 8 30>, 6 40>
Kilmokea	SW	0.43	13	62%	<30; 5 30> and 4 40>
Artramon	E	2.12	12	58%	<30; 5 30>, 4 40>
Whitemoor	MW	1.83	11	all	<30
Old Ross	MW	2.76	10	70%	<30; 3 60>
Kilmore	SE	0.58	10	50%	<30; 4 30> and 3 40>
Glynn	SC	2.43	7	5/7	<30; 2 30> (incl. 1 70>)
Killurin	SC	1.47	7	3/7	under 30; 4 30+ and 3 40+.
Monamolin	NE	1.15	7	4/7	<30; 3 50>
The Leap	MW	0.95	7	6/9	<30; 3 40> (incl. 1 60>).
Clonroche	MW	0.73	7	2/7	<30 and 5 50>; 2 50>
Barronstown	MW	1.06	6	3/6	<30; 3 30>/40> incl. 1 70>)
Ballyhoge	MW	0.79	6	1/6	<30; 4 30> and 1 40>/70>
Kilcowan	SE	1.21	6	2/6	<30; 4 30> incl. 2 70>
Taghmon	SC	0.74	6	all	over 30, incl. 1 60+>
Kilbora	NW	1.74	5	3/5	<30; 2 30> and 1 70>
Kilbride	SC	1.72	4	no-one	<30; 4 30>
Rossminoge	NE	0.97	4	2/4	<30; 2 40>
Kilrush	NW	0.61	3	2/3	<30; 1 60>
Carnagh	MW	0.6	3	2/3	<30; 1 60>
Inch	SC	0.57	3	1/3	<30; 2 40>

Bolaboy	NE	0.41	3	1/3 <30; 2 30> and 1 70>
Clonleigh	MW	0.39	3	2/3 <30 and 1 50>
The Harrow	NE	0.43	2	¾ under 30; 2 40+
Rochestown	MW	0.66	2	½ <30 and 1 50>
Carrick	SC	0.37	2	1/2 <30 and 1 50>
Castleboro	MW	0.26	2	½ <30 and 1 50>
Carrickbyrne	SC	0.18	1	40>
Killann	MW	0.08	1	40>

Table E11: Numbers with Irish of older cohorts in rural DEDs

	Reg.	<1861	<1851	<1841
Kilmallock	E	7	3	2
Bridgetown	SE	7	2	2
Castle-Ellis	E	6	5	4
Bree	MW	5	3	1
Ferns	NW	4	3	2
Harperstown	SE	4	3	2
Kilmore	SE	4	3	1
Kilmokea	SW	4	3	1
Artramon	E	4	2	1
Clonroche	MW	4	2	-
Killinick	SE	4	1	-
Kilbride	SC	4	2	-
Old Ross	MW	3	3	3
Castletalbot	E	3	3	2
Ballyanne	MW	3	3	2
Kilcowan	SE	3	2	2
Monamolin	NE	3	3	1
Ladysisland	SE	3	2	1
Killurin	SC	3	1	-
Barronstown	MW	3	1	1
Ardcavan	E	2	1	1
Ballindaggin	NW	2	1	-
The Leap	MW	2	1	1
Rathaspick	SE	2	2	1
Rosslare	SE	2	2	1
Inch	SC	2	-	-
Whitechurch	SW	2	1	-
Ballybeg	NW	2	-	-
Kiltealy	NW	2	-	-
Rosminoge	NE	2	-	-
St. Mary's	NW	2	-	-

Tomhaggard	SE	2	-	-
The Harrow	NE	1	-	-
Rathroe	SW	1	1	1
Killesk	SW	1	1	1
Ballyhoge	MW	1	1	1
Glynn	SC	1	1	1
Ballylarkin	NE	1	1	1
Carnagh	MW	1	1	1
Castleboro	MW	1	1	1
Taghmon	SC	1	1	1
Whitechurch	SC	1	1	1
Bolaboy	NE	1	1	1
Kilbora	NW	1	1	1
Kilrush	NW	1	1	1
Whitechurch	MW	1	1	1
Kilscoran	SE	1	1	-
Clonleigh	MW	1	1	-
Ballyhuskard	E	1	-	-
Tacumshin	SE	1	1	-
Ardcolm	E	1	1	-
Carrick	SC	1	1	-
Carrickbyrne	SC	1	-	-
Moyacomb	NE	1	-	-
Tombrack	NW	1	-	-
Killann	MW	1	-	-

Appendix F: Tables and notes on 1911 census

The following tables relate to Wexford-born people marked on the census form as having a) Irish, or b. 'Irish and English' or 'English and Irish'. The regions and baronies correspond as follows: south-west = Shelbourne; south-east = Forth and Bargy; south-centre = Shelmalier West; east = Shelmalier East and Ballaghkeen South; north-east = Gorey and Ballaghkeen North; north-west = Scarawalsh; and mid-west = Bantry.

Table F1: Deciles by region

Reg.	70+	60s	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	0–9	Total	%	of
SW	4	7	22	15	15	30	69	9	171	2.35	7,267
SE	5	8	16	23	40	89	449	117	747	3.24	23,072
SC	1	1	6	1	6	17	13	4	49	0.77	6,367
E	2	1	4	9	16	38	112	5	187	2.72	6,872
NE	3	2	6	8	23	50	172	13	277	1.83	15,113
NW:	5	6	18	16	46	86	267	48	492	2.91	16,899
MW	6	5	9	14	39	90	249	41	453	2.9	15,646
Tot.	26	30	81	86	185	400	1,331	237	2,376 ¹⁰	2.6	91,236

Table F2: Deciles by region excluding urban centres¹¹

Reg.	70+	60s	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	0–9	Total	%	of
SW	4	7	22	15	15	30	69	9	171	2.35	7,267
SE	2	5	8	8	8	23	122	16	192	1.63	11,791
SC	1	1	6	1	6	17	13	4	49	0.77	6,367
E	2	1	4	9	16	38	112	5	187	2.72	6,872
NE	2	1	6	6	15	41	115	8	194	1.46	12,568

¹⁰ 62 of these have 'Irish' only marked in the Irish language field, and 2,119 have 'English and Irish'.

¹¹ The urban areas excluded here are Wexford (c.11,000), Enniscorthy (c.6,000), New Ross (c.4,000), and Gorey (c.2,000). The remaining large villages do not tend to have a noticeable statistical effect: i.e., Bunclody (in Newtownbarry DED - 1,527); Kilmore (1,494 – mostly outside of Kilmore Village); Ballycullane (in Tintern DED - 1,190); Campile, Ballyhack, and Duncannon (in Ballyhack DED - 1,152); Oulart (in Ballyhuskard DED - 1,122); Bannow (1,044), and Oylegate (in Edermine DED - 1,023).

NW	2	2	11	7	18	26	111	23	200	2.01	9.937
MW	3	4	9	10	25	67	121	21	260	2.31	11,236
Tot.	16	21	66	56	103	242	663	86	1,253	1.9	66,038

Table F3: South-West (Shelbourne)

DED	70+	60s	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	0-9	Total	%	of
Ballyhack	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	2	0.17	1,152
Dunmain		-									308
Fethard	2	5	13	8	7	15	22	5	77	9.2	837
Killesk	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	4	0.57	706
Kilmokea	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	-	5	0.97	513
Oldcourt	-	-	-	-	-	1	5	-	6	0.014	432
Rathroe	-	2	3	3	1	1	10	-	20	2.5	800
Templetown	2	-	1	1	4	3	4	-	15	1.97	760
Tintern	-	-	3	1	2	4	7	1	18	1.51	1,190
Whitechurch	-	-	2	1	1	4	15	1	24	4.22	569
Total	4	7	22	15	15	30	69	9	171	2.35	7,267

F3 Notes

Fethard

In a house 17 in Grange, all seven occupants are said to have ‘Irish and English’. Head of household is a farmer, Peter Barden (71), who is a widower; and the other occupants are his nephew, general labourer, William Cowman (41), who is single; Peter’s niece Mary Seery (41), a widow; his grand-niece, Anastasia Seery (20); his grand-nephew, farm servant, John Seery (18); and grand-nephew, William Seery (16), farm labourer. The last three were all born in South America.

All four occupants of house 29 in Grange have ‘Irish and English’. Head of family is fisherman, Valentine Molloy (68); his wife is Kate (65); his son Joseph (24), is a farm labourer; and his daughter Katie (6) is a scholar who can read only.

In a house 33, Grange, both occupants have Irish. Head of family is farmer, James Foley (58), and the other occupant is his sister Bridget (71). Both are single. This can be contrasted with the Foley family of house 44, Grange, where only one of the nine occupants has ‘Irish and English’, Mary Anne (16); all others in this household have ‘English’, ranging in age from 8–64.

In a house 53 in Grange, two of the three occupants have Irish and English: head of household is a farmer, (58), who cannot read or write, and it is explicitly written under the

‘Irish language’ section – ‘cannot’. His two sons, John (38), and Patrick (29), can read and write. It is probable that Mary Egan, who will write eight Irish proverbs for the Schools Collection (see Chapter 3.9), is a close relative of these two Egans.

Fethard Town

In a house 9 in Fethard Town, all five occupants have Irish and English: head of family is a qualified carpenter, William Mc Namara (55); his wife is Ellen (55); and his children are coachman, Moses (19), and scholars, Thomas (16), and Mary (14).¹²

In a house 12, all six occupants have Irish and English: head of family is farm labourer, Matthew Banville (51); his wife is Bridget (41); and his children – all scholars – Anastasia (14), James (9), Bridget (5), and Gerald (3).

In a house 18, three of the nine have ‘Irish English’, and one can ‘read’ Irish: the head of family is saddler, Thomas Molloy (34); his wife is Annie (36); and their daughter, Mary (7), who is the Irish reader. Thomas has an apprentice, Mark Whitty (20). The remainder of the occupants comprise the Molloy children, all under 6.

All three occupants of house 34 have Irish: head of family is John Ryan (46), a farmer and victualler, and his wife is Ellen (49), and their son is John (13).

In a house 39, both occupants have Irish: head of family is Mary Murphy (65), who is not given a profession; and she has a boarder, farmer, Charles Galgey (53).

None of the three occupants of house 40 has Irish: Mark sailor, Mark Barden (22). His father (66, and also a sailor), and mother (57), are said to have ‘English’ (i.e., implicitly only English). Cf. the Irish-speaking Barden household in Grange townland, in the same DED (above).

Rathroe DED

In a house 6, Ballygow, two of the six occupants are said to have Irish: head of family is farmer, Hannah Gleeson (61), and she has a son, Patrick (21). Her other three children (19–25) have the Irish language section unmarked, and the same omission or implication is the case for a servant (20).

¹² Moses is an improbable proper name in Wexford, but is often used in official documents, gravestones, etc., as an Anglicised form of Mogue < Ir. *Maodhóg*.

In a house 3, Battlestown, all four occupants have Irish and English: head of family is Anne Rossiter (50), and the others are her sister, Mary (47), a ‘visitor’, Ellen Hanton (15), and a farm labourer, Martin Hanton (50). In a house 25, in the same townland, Simon McGrath (43), a farmer, is the only occupant, and has Irish and English.

In a house 7, Kilbride, two of the three occupants have Irish and English: Mary Culliton (66) is a farmer’s wife, and her son John (33); her husband (62) has ‘English’.

The five Irish speakers reported from Ramsgrange include several from the Parle family (13–19).

In a house 7, Haytown (Templetown DED), three of the four occupants have Irish and English: head of family is Benjamin O’Keeffe (70), a farmer; his niece, Mary Ellen (22), and a farm servant, Edward Banville (34) a scholar/boarder is 11 with English.

In a house 6, Houseland, two National School teachers have Irish and English: John Hearne (52), and his wife, Ellen (43). Their five children (3–11) have the Irish language section unmarked, as does a servant (47).

In a house 25, Templetown townland, two of the four occupants have Irish and English: Margaret Breen (72), and her daughter, Annie (30). The head of family is a shoemaker (77) with ‘English’, and the language section is unmarked for his granddaughter (6).

There are five Irish speakers in Haggard (18–30).

All eight occupants of house 21, Saltmills (Tintern), have Irish and English: head of family Patrick Downes (59), a farmer; his wife, Mary Anne (54); and their six children, Bertie (20), Thomas (16), Patrick (15), Katie (19), Ellie (17), and Mary Anne (8).

In a house 7, Tintern townland, three of the eight speakers have Irish and English: head of family, Kate Furlong (48), who is not given an occupation, and for literacy, has just ‘read’; her sons Thomas (25), and John (20), both agricultural labourers. Her other four children (10–14) have the language section blank; and the same is the case for a boarder (38).

In a house 7, Coolore, three of the eight occupants have Irish: Ellen Somer’s (59) her daughter, Teresa (22), and son, Jeremiah (16). Her husband (59), a farmer, and three other children (23–27) are said to have ‘English’.

Whitechurch

In a house 7, Ballykeerogemore, three of the five occupants have ‘Irish and English’: head of family, Patrick Croke (56), a farmer; his wife, Mary (34); and Mary Power (17), a servant.

Table F4: South-East (Forth and Bargy)

DED	70+	60s	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	0–9	Total	%	of
Ballymore	-	-	-	1	1	3	9	1	15	3.78	397
Bannow	-										1044
Bridgetown	-	1	2	1	1	7	27	4	43	6.54	657
Drinagh	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	-	17	2.8	606
Duncormick											469
Harperstown	-	1	-	1	2	-	1	-	5	1.38	361
Harristown	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	0.18	543
Kilcowan	2	-	2	2	-	3	1	-	10	2.11	473
Killag	-										368
Killinick	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	1	7	1.11	629
Kilmore	-	-	-	1	1	-	10	1	13	0.87	1,494
Kilscoran	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	-	4	0.57	700
Lady’s Island ¹³	-	1	-	-	-	-	7	-	8	1.42	564
Mayglass	-	-	1	-	1	1	4	-	7	1.63	430
Rathaspick	-	1	-	-	-	4	6	4	15	2.34	641
Rosslare	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	2	0.29	684
St. Helen’s	-	1	2	1	-	1	6	-	11	1.72	638
Tacumshin	-	-	-	-	1	1	24	5	31	5.39	575
Tomhaggard	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	3	0.58	518
Wexford	3	3	8	15	32	66	327	101	555	4.92	11,281
Total	5	8	16	23	40	89	449	117	747	3.24	23,072

F4 Notes

In John’s Street, Wexford town, there are 22 reported as having Irish, but the only one over 25 is Annastatia Healy (55), wife of an insurance agent. Three are reported as having Irish in Cornmarket: David Douglas Reid (60), a ‘sheet meller worker’, and his wife Ann (58); the other being Patrick Carroll (24), a draper.

Ballymore

¹³ This DED is written as “Ladysisland” in 1901.

7 of the 8 speakers are reported to be in Milltown, comprising 4 of the McCullagh family (11–30), and 3 Bolgers (13–26), and Thomas Nangle (48) is the only speaker reported in Ballintore.

Bridgetown

In a house 11, in the townland of Mulrankin, all eight occupants (the Lambert family), are said to have Irish and English: head of family, Walter (61), a farmer; his children William (34), Lizzie (32), Teresa (30), Patrick (29), Maggie (25), Kathleen (24), and James (22).

In a house 20, in Common, Bridgetown DED (Mulrankin parish), five of the occupants are said to have ‘Irish and English’, and three to have ‘English’. The Irish speakers are: head of family, James O’Keeffe (59), a farmer and shopkeeper; his children Edward (20), Thomas (18), Ellen (15), and Patrick (10). James’ wife (43) and two youngest children (7 and newborn), are marked in the language field as ‘English’.

In a house 19 in the same townland, four of the seven (i.e., the Doyle family), occupants are said to have Irish and English, but they all range in age from 11–17. The three adults, including their mother (50), have no information in the language field.

In Churchtown, there are reported 11 Irish-speakers (11–50), including all 9 of the Hassett family and their servants.

Harperstown

There are 3 Irish-speakers in a house 6, Moortown Little (19–46), the eldest being John Kehoe (farmer and surveyor). The youngest, Matthew Martin appears to be related to one of the speakers in Knockbine. The other person is John Whitty (34), a servant.

In a house 5, Knockbine (Harperstown DED): head of family, James Cullen (60), a farmer; has Irish and English. The other seven occupants have no information in the language field, and they are James’s wife (50), five children (5–15), and a servant (21).

In a house 9 in the same townland, Patrick Martin (37), who is a victualler and head of household, is reported as having Irish and English. The language field is left blank for the other five occupants, i.e., his wife (28), three children (newborn – 3), and niece (12).

Kilcowan

In a house 5, Croase, in Kilcowan DED, all four occupants have ‘English I’ (i.e., English and Irish): head of family is Thomas Coughlan (76), a farmer who cannot read or write; he lives with his sister, Ellen (73), his niece, Margaret (46), and a servant, Patrick Walsh (20). All four are single.

All three occupants of house 4, Newtown, have Irish, i.e., the Staples family. Head of household is Patrick (54), farmer, lives with his wife, Mary (50), and son, Richard (20).

Lady’s Island

The only one of the eight not to be under 25 is a caretaker, Andrew Keating (65), Rathdowney, who may speak Irish to Katie Sinnott (20), and National School teacher, Mary Dunbar (24), both living not too far away in Eardownes. The remaining five are between the ages 10–19, and are likely to have learnt their Irish at school, perhaps from Mary Dunbar.

Mid-Forth

Of the seven speakers reported in Mayglass DED, of interest are Thomas Doyle (52), of house 5 in Randalstown. He lives with his wife ‘M E’ (42) and two servants. Although the servants are said explicitly to have English, the wife is marked with a dash. A Mary Dayle (14), at a farmhouse in Gardamus, where she is niece to the head of household, Ellen Fortune (70), may be Thomas’s daughter. Mary also has Irish.

In a house 14, Churchtown, St. Helen’s DED, all seven occupants have Irish and English. John Furlong (61), is a farmer and head of family; he lives with his wife, Ellen (50), sons, Patrick (20) and Thomas (16); daughters, Margaret (20) and Anistatia (10), and ‘relative’, Anistatia Dunne (52), a seamstress.

Rathaspick

There are three speakers in Murntown Lower: in a house 2, Thomas Keating (62) is a sub-postmaster, grocer and farmer has Irish, and has an Irish-speaking boarder, Kate Devereux (29), a school-teacher.

All four occupants of house 10 in Cromoge have Irish and English: head of family Owen O’Brien (54), farmer; his wife Bridget (54); their son Terence (22), and daughter Margaret (14).

Tomhaggard

There are three Irish-speakers in Cousinstown, in two households. Thomas Bent (59), is a farmer and ‘Vex Serg’, and is the only one in his household of five (31–65) to have Irish. The other two are the Murphy brothers (10 and 12) who do not have anyone in their family who has Irish.

Table F5: South-Centre (Shelmalier West)

DED	70+	60s	50s	40	30s	20s	10s	1–9	Total	%	of
Aughwilliam											366
Ballymitty	-	-	3	-	1	1	-	-	5	0.19	518
Carrick	-	-	1	-	-	3	7	2	13	2.27	573
Carrickbyrne	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	0.28	481
Clongeen	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	0.18	550
Forth	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	2	0.61	329
Glynn	-	-	-	1	1	2	5	2	11	4.51	244
Horetown	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.17	580
Inch	-										517
Kilbride	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	3	1.55	194
Kilgarvan	-									2.97	337
Killurin	-	-	1	-	1	3	-	-	5	0.96	520
Newcastle	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	4	1.34	298
Taghmon	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	3	0.35	860
Total	1	1	6	1	6	17	13	4	49	0.77	6,367

F5 Notes

Horetown

In a house 3, Cullenstown, Edward Rourke (63) is a farmer who can read (only). He is the only one of the four occupants to have the language field filled in, and for him, it is

marked as ‘Irish’. The other three occupants comprise his son (18), and two servants (25, 20), and all of these can read and write.

In a house 8, Taghmon Town, James Whelan (72), is a farmer and cooper, and head of household; he has Irish and English. He lives with his wife (67) and son (27), who only have English.

In a house 97, Taghmon Town, William Joseph Martin (58), a ‘lied vintner’, has Irish and English, and is head of household, as does his son, Michael Joseph Martin. Michael’s mother (48), his twin sister, and younger brother (23) have English only.

Table F6: East (Shelmalier East & Ballaghkeen South)

DED	70+	60s	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	1–9	Total	%	of
Ardcavan	-	-	-	1	3	3	13	2	22	2.58	853
Ardcolm-	-	-	-	2	2	14	-	18	2.76	651	
Artramon	1	-	2	-	1	9	24	-	37	8.35	443
Ballyhuskard	-	-	1	2	-	3	10	-	16	1.43	1,122
Castle Ellis	-	-	-	1	1	-	13	1	16	1.53	850
Castle Talbot	-	-	-	1	2	4	15	-	22	2.9	759
Edermine	-	-	-	-	1	3	6	-	10	0.98	1,023
Kilmallock ¹⁴	-	1	1	3	4	13	16	1	39	5.73	681
Kilpatrick	1	-	-	1	2	1	1	1	7	1.43	490
Total	2	1	4	9	16	38	112	5	187	2.72	6,872

F6 Notes

Artramon

In a house 16, Ballyboggan, Mogue Murphy (75), is a farmer living with his granddaughter (21), but he is the only one of the two with Irish. Fourteen residents of Ballyboggan Lower (10–75) speak Irish. Four of the six occupants in a house 1: the Fogarty children (12–19); their parents (57 and 53) are marked default. There are six diverse (15–19) living elsewhere throughout the townland.

All five occupants of house 5 in Crossabeg have Irish: Head of family, John Fortune (57), farmer; his wife Eliza (54), shopkeeper; their two children, Anne (16), and Ellen (14), and a step-son, Patrick Foley (25).

¹⁴ In the 1911 census, the spelling is “Killmallock.”

Ten residents (11–29) of Castlebridge Town have Irish.

Ballyhuskard

In a house 2 in Ballymoty Beg, head of family, Edmund Duff (50), farmer, is the only occupant to have Irish. He lives with his wife (40), and three children (2–5). In Ballymoty More, the Murphy sisters (14 and 12) are the only two in their household to have Irish.

Ballyvaldon

In a house 2, Ballintubbrid, seven of the nine Howlin family are Irish-speakers: Richard (54), his wife Catherine (48), and their sons Edward (22), Richard (18), and Peter (16), each being ‘Agricultural Labourer’. Their daughters Margaret (13) and Bridget (8), are scholars. The two marked as default are their sons (7 and 2), both being described as scholars.

Castle Ellis

In a house 5 in Ballyfarnoge, three of the five inhabitants have Irish, and the other two are under the age of 3. James O’Connor (45) is a farmer; his wife is Aileen (35), and Mary Byrne (14) is a general domestic servant.

Kilmallock

In a house 10, Ballylucas, all eight occupants have Irish: Head of family is farmer, Lawrence Cummins (68); his children are Martin ((39), Johanna (35), Michael (32), Anastatia (29), James (27), Bridget (26), and Walter (21). See Appendix E.

In a house 6, Garrylough Lower, two of the three occupants have Irish: head of family is William Whelan (52), a ‘stewart’ [recte. Steward], and his nephew is Patrick Bolger (16), a farm labourer. William’s cousin (70) has the language field left blank. All three occupants are single. Eight other diverse (11–28) are said to have Irish in Garrylough.

In a house 4, Killelan, two of the four occupants have Irish: William Neville (48), is a farmer's son, and Marcella Neville (45) is his his sister. However, both their mother (77) and their sister (42) have 'English' (only).

Kilpatrick

In a house 10, the Deeps, all three occupants (the Laffan family) have Irish: head of family, Anne Laffan (71), farmer; her son, Michael (41), and daughter, Anne (36).

Table F7: North-East (Gorey and Ballaghkeen North)

DED	70+	60+	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	1-9	Total	%	of
Ardamine-	-	-	-	-	1	2	8	-	11	1.42	774
Balloughter	-	-	-	-	-	5	9	-	14	2.95	474
Ballycanew	-	-	-	1	1	-	14	-	16	3.12	507
Ballygarrett	-	-	-	-	-	2	4	-	6	1.09	548
Ballylarkin	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	3	0.73	413
Ballynestragh	-	-	1	-	-	2	11	-	14	2.54	551
Ballyvaldon	-	-	1	2	4	5	9	3	24	3.38	711
Bolaboy	-	-	-	1	-	1	6	1	9	1.25	722
Cahore	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	324
Coolgreany	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	443
Courtown	1	-	3	-	2	1	16	1	24	2.7	890
Ford	-	-	-	-	2	4	8	1	15	3.91	384
Gorey	1	1	-	2	8	9	57	5	83	3.22	2,545
Huntingtown	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	0.47	213
Kilcormick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	580
Kilgorman	-	-	-	-	-	4	2	-	6	1.41	426
Killenagh-	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	4	1.18	338	
Killincooly	-	-	-	-	-	5	13	-	18	6.5	277
Kilnahue	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	269
Limerick	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	0.21	486
Monamolín	-	-	-	1	2	2	2	1	8	1.42	564
Monaseed	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	0.16	607
Rossmínoge	1	1	1	-	2	-	7	-	12	2.86	420
The Harrow	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	447
Wells	-	-	-	1	-	1	3	-	5	0.89	601
Wingfield	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	0.34	599
Total	3	2	6	8	23	50	172	13	277	1.83	15,113

Bolaboy

In a house 16, in Slievenagrane, Mary Manning (49), a National Teacher, is the only one of three occupants to have Irish. She is boarding with a husband and wife (81 and 56).

Courtown

In a house 9 in the townland of Courtown, all four occupants (members of the Hill family) have Irish and English. Head of family is Eleanor (87), 'Old Aged Pensioner'. She can neither read nor write. Her daughter Mary (57) is a housemaid/domestic, and her other daughters Jane (54) and Ruth (52) have the default dash as occupation, possibly suggesting they are also housemaids. The family are Church of Ireland.

Rossminoge

In a house 4, Ballyduffbeg, all four occupants (the Kinsella family) have Irish: head of family, John (61), a labourer; his wife, Bridget (55), and their sons James (35), and John (17), both labourers.

In a house 2, Newbridge, the two oldest members of the five occupants have Irish: head of family, Ellen McCann (82), and her son, Andrew (37). The other members of the household comprise two of Ellen's daughters (45, 54), and a grand-daughter (15), who are explicitly marked as having 'English' (only).

Ballynestragh

In a house 1, Ballydermot, one of the two inhabitants has Irish and English: namely, Redmond Doorneen (56), a retired RIC Officer. His sister (52) has the language field left blank.

The Harrow DED

All 10 occupants of house 10 in Ballyeden have Irish and English. Head of family, William MacDonald (50), farmerborn in 'Ballygally'; his wife, Margaret Elizabeth (36); five children (1-5); The three servants are Thomas O'Neill (39), Sylvester O'Neill (26), and John Joseph Cushen (14). None of the servants can read or write. The household family is Church of Ireland, and the servants Roman Catholic.

Monamolin

In Courtballyedmond, house 16 has all nine occupants with Irish, however the news is not necessarily positive from the perspective of a native Wexford tradition. The head of family is Meath-born James Brady (46), National Teacher; his wife Sarah (45), is Wexford-born and also a National Teacher; They have seven children (1–16).

Table F8: North-West (Scarawalsh)

DED	70+	60s	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	1–9	Total	%	of
Ballindaggan	2	-	-	2	3	1	5	-	13	1.85	703
Ballybeg	-	-	-	-	1	-	10	1	12	3.11	386
Ballycarney	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	-	5	1.5	331
Ballyellis	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	307
Enniscorthy	3	4	7	9	28	60	156	25	292	4.18	6,962
Ferns	-	-	-	1	6	8	19	5	39	5.49	710
Kilbora	-	-	1	1	-	-	8	2	12	4.1	293
Kilcomb	-	2	1	1	7	6	35	11	63	9.19	686
Killoughrum	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	-	4	0.77	520
Kilrush	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	0.2	498
Kiltealy	-	-	2	-	1	-	1	-	4	0.7	569
Marshalstown	-	-	1	1	-	1	6	2	11	1.75	700
Moyacomb	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	288
Newtownbarry	-	-	3	1	-	4	13	1	22	1.44	1,527
Rossard	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	497
St. Mary's ¹⁵	-	-	2	-	-	1	2	-	5	0.75	668
Tinnacross	-	-	1	-	-	-	5	-	4	0.66	610
Tombrack	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	3	0.47	644
Total:	5	6	18	16	46	86	267	48	492	2.91	16,899

F8 Notes

The Ferns Cluster

Kilcomb

In a house 5, Raheen, all seven occupants have Irish and English: farmer, Matthew Reddy (61), and his wife, Elizabeth (61), live with their five children, Ellie (19), Matthew (21), Lizzie (23), Julia (30), and James (32). Their next-door-neighbour in a house 4, Raheen, is also a farmer called Matthew Reddy (46), and he is the only one of three occupants to have Irish – the other two being his wife (42) and son (8).

In a house 8, Clonee (Upper), farmer, John Brennan (53), is head of family, and claims to have a ‘knowledge’ of Irish. The same field is marked blank for his wife (52), and is marked ‘student’ for his nephew (25), presumably indicating that the nephew is learning

¹⁵ This is “Saint Mary’s” in 1901.

Irish. There are no other occupants in the house. I have included ‘knowledge’ as a positive indication of Irish ability.

Ballindaggan

In a house 13, Coolycarney, all five of the Larkin family have Irish: farmer, James (71), and his wife, Mary (70) can both read (implying that they cannot write). Three of their children live with them – Matthew (35), Mary Anne (33), and Maggie (33). A farm labourer (25) has the Irish language field left blank.

In a house 11 in Coolycarney, four of the nine occupants have Irish: head of family, Hugh O’Byrne (45), schoolmaster; his three daughters (12–18). Hugh’s wife (45), a schoolmistress, has no Irish, and same for their children (4–8), and a servant (29).

In a house 12, in Ballindaggan itself, Canon ‘Thos’ Meehan’ (64), is head of household, and has ‘English ?’ indicated in the online archive. A servant (24), has ‘speak English only’, but the only other occupant, a housemaid, Margaret Kavanagh (42), has marked in the Irish field ‘Speak Irish only’. The priest, here, is probably bilingual, but since it is not explicitly stated, I do not include him in the count. The description of Margaret Kavanagh’s ability is, to say the least, very surprising for a date so late in the extinction of native Irish in Wexford; but there it is, as explicit a depiction of an Irish monoglot as can be expected, and we should take it at face value lest we lead ourselves down a road where our expectations change the very data we are working with.

Table F9: Mid-West (Bantry)

DED	70+	60s	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	1–9	Total	%	of
Adamstown	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	-	5	1.12	446
Ballyanne	-	-	-	3	2	6	16	1	28	4.56	614
Ballyhoge	-	-	1	-	1	7	2	-	11	1.49	740
Barrack Village	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	1.2	167
Barronstown	-	-	1	-	4	2	1	1	9	1.7	528
Bree	-	-	-	-	-	3	13	2	18	2.09	863
Carnagh	-	2	-	-	1	3	-	-	6	1.31	457
Castleboro’	-	-	-	-	2	2	4	-	8	1.03	775
Castledockrell	3	1	2	1	3	2	-	-	12	2.93	409
Clonleigh	-	-	-	-	1	7	14	3	25	5.57	449

Clonroche	-	-	4	2	4	8	28	7	53	5.34	992
Killann	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,037
New Ross	3	1	-	4	14	23	128	20	193	4.37	4,410
Newbawn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	537
Old Ross	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	3	0.81	368
Rochestown	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	0.35	283
Rosbercon	-	-	-	-	-	5	4	-	9	7.2	125
Templeludigan	-	-	-	-	-	7	10	1	18	3.54	509
The Leap	-	-	1	1	4	5	19	5	35	4.3	814
Whitechurch	-	1	-	2	1	1	1	-	6	0.18	521
Whitemore	-	-	-	1	1	4	4	1	11	1.83	602
Total	6	5	9	14	39	90	249	41	453	2.9	15,646

F9 Notes

Old Ross DED

In a house 1, Old Court, Barronstown, four of the occupants are said to have ‘Irish and English’, and the other six having nothing recorded in the language field. Head of household is Philip Doyle (55), a farmer; his wife, Ellen (39); and daughter, Ellen (5), who is a scholar unable to read. Ellen has three siblings (3 and under), explaining why the language field is left in those cases. James Doyle (37), is a brother of the householder, and also a farmer who has Irish and English. The other three who have the language field unfilled are servants (16–19).

Castledockrell

In a house 10 in Mountfin (or Ballinturner Lower), all three occupants have Irish and English: head of family is Michael Murphy (77), an old-age-pensioner; he lives with his wife, Mary (76), and his son, Michael (37), who is an agricultural labourer. The married couple cannot read or write.

In a house 4, Tombrick, all four occupants have Irish and English: head of family is Henry Nolan (46), a farmer who cannot read or write; he lives with his sisters, Annie (30), Lizzie (50), and brother, Thomas (36). The latter two are described as being ‘servant’ and ‘farm servant’, respectively.

In a house 5, Tombrick, both residents have Irish and English: head of family is Katie O’Neill (74), a farmer; and she lives with a ‘relative’, Patrick Tyrrel (54), who is a farm servant.

In a house 13, Tombrick, two of the four occupants have Irish and English: Patrick Tomkins (25), and his brother, John (22), are labourers, but their parents (62 and 64) have the Irish language field left blank.

Carnagh

This DED is really in the south-west, between New Ross and the barony of Shelbourne.

In a house 8, Kilsanlan, all five occupants have Irish: farmer, John Whitty (62), his wife, Annie (67), their son, Patrick (24), and daughters, Mary (22), and Annie (20).

In a house 23, Tellarought, two occupants have Irish and English – husband and wife, Natinal School teachers – John J O’Donohoe (35), and Annie M. O’Donohoe (29). The remainder are their three children (under 3), and a domestic servant (16).

Table F10: DED by ranking of reported Irish speakers

DED	Reg.	No.	%	Age Profile
Fethard	SW	77	9.2	64% <40; 28 40> and 20 50>
Kilcomb	NW	63	9.19	94% <40; 4 40>
Clonroche	MW	53	5.34	89% <40; 6 40>
Ferns	NW	39	5.49	97.5% <40; and 1 40>
Bridgetown	SE	43	6.54	91% <40; 4 40>
Kilmallock	E:	39	5.73	87% <40; 5 40>
Artramon	E	37	8.35	92% <40; 3 40>
Tacumshin	SE	31	5.39	all <40
The Leap	MW	35	4.3	94% <40; 2 40>
Ballyanne	MW	28	4.56	89% <40; 3 40> but none 50>
Clonleigh	MW	25	5.57	all <40
Whitechurch	SW	24	4.22	87% <40; 3 40>
Courtown	NE	24	2.7	83% <40; 4 40>
Ardcavan	E	22	2.58	95% <30; 1 40>
Newtownbarry	NW	22	1.44	82% <40; 4 40>
Castle Talbot	E	22	2.9	95% <40; 1 40>
Rathroe	SW	20	2.5	60% <40; 8 40>, incl. 2 60>
Tintern	SW	18	1.51	78% <40; 4 40>
Templeludigan	NW	18	3.54	all <40
Bree	MW	18	2.09	all <40
Drinagh	SE	17	2.8	all <20

Rathaspick	SE	15	2.34	93% <40; 1 60>
Templetown	SW	15	1.97	73% <40; 4 40> incl. 2 70>
Carrick	SC	13	2.27	12/13 <40; 1 50>
Ballindaggan	NW	13	1.85	69% <30; 4 40s> inc. 2 70>
Kilbora	NW	12	4.1	83% <40;
Castledockrell	MW	12	2.93	42% (5/12) <40; 7 40> inc. 3 70>
Ballybeg	NW	12	3.1	all under 40
Marshallstown	NW	11	1.72	82% <40; 2 40>
Ballyhoge	MW	11	1.49	10/11 <40; 1 50>
Whitemoor	MW	11	1.83	10/11 <40; 1 40>
St. Helen's	SE	11	1.72	64% <40; 4 40>
Glynn	SC	10	4.1	9/10 <40; 1 40>

Table F11: DEDs by Irish speakers born before 1851 or 1841

DED	Reg.	<1861	<1851	<1841
Fethard	SW	20	7	2
Castledockrell	MW	6	4	3
Rathroe	SW	5	2	-
Kilcowan	SE	4	2	2
Courtown	NE	4	1	1
Clonroche	MW	4	-	-
Rosminoge	NE	3	2	1
Bridgetown	SE	3	1	-
Tintern	SW	3	-	-
Ballymitty	SC	3	-	-
Templetown	SW	3	2	2
Ballindaggin	NW	2	2	2
Artramon	E	3	1	1
Whitechurch	SW	2	-	-
St. Helen's	SE	3	1	-
Newtownbarry	NW	3	-	-
Kilcomb	NW	3	2	-
Taghmon	SC	2	2	1
Kilmallock	E:	2	1	-
Kiltealy	NW	2	-	-
St. Mary's	NW	2	-	-
Carnagh	MW	2	2	-
Kilpatrick	E	1	1	-
Harperstown	SE	1	1	-
Lady's Island	SE	1	1	-
Horetown	SC	1	1	-
Mayglass	SE	1	-	-

Rathspick	SE	1	1	-
Tomhaggard	SE	1	-	-
Carrick	SC	1	-	-
Killurin	SC	1	-	-
Ballyhuskard	E	1	-	-
Ballynestragh	NE	1	-	-
Ballyvaldon	E	1	-	-
Kilbora	NW	1	-	-
Marshallstown	NW	1	-	-
Tinnacross	NW	1	-	-
Ballyhoge	MW	1	-	-
Barronstown	MW	1	-	-
The Leap	MW	1	-	-
Whitechurch	MW	1	1	-

Abbreviations

General

BNS = Boys National School

DED = District Electoral Division

GNS = Girls National School

N.S. = National School

TCD = Trinity College Dublin

UCD = University College Dublin

Grammatical

adj. = adjective

gpl. = genitive plural

gs. = genitive singular

lit. = literally

npl. = nominative plural

ns. = nominative singular

v. = verb

Languages

AF = Anglo-French

E. = English
MHG = Middle High German
NF = Old Norman French
OE = Old English
OF = Old French
ON = Old Norse
SME = Standard Modern English
SMG = Standard Modern German

Bibliographical

CÓC = Conchobar CÓC
DIN = Dinneen's Irish-English Dictionary, 1904
DÓM = Dolan & Ó Muirthe (1996)
DHE = *A Dictionary of Hiberno-English* (Ó Muirthe, 2000).
DS = Downes Survey of Ireland (1641–1654)
NFC = National Folklore Collection, manuscripts from the main collection in the Dellargy Building, University College Dublin.
NFC S = manuscripts of the Schools Collection (also part of the National Folklore Collection in University College Dublin).
RÓS = Riobárd Ó Scannláin (1945-7).

EG1 = *The Enniscorthy Guardian*, (Marh 22nd, 1952, 3)
EG2 = *The Enniscorthy Guardian*, (March 29th, 1952, 6)
FGB = *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla (Ó Dónaill)*
GJ = *The Gaelic Journal*
NRS = *New Ross Standard*
PSI = William Shaw Mason's *Parochial Survey of Ireland* (1814–19)

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