PHONETIC ANALOGY
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The principle of analogy in linguistics is a familiar fact of morphology, in the spread of pronominal endings to the nouns, the spread of thematic inflexion to non-thematic verbs, the establishment of four regular conjugations in Latin, and so on.

Two examples of the working of analogy in the phonology of Modern Irish are of interest to phoneticians, as they are based upon facts of mere phonetics.

The Irish of Cois Fhairrge, Co. Galway, has been described by Professor Tomás de Bhaldraithe.1 In this dialect intervocalic h (< original th) disappears with contraction of two vowels into one long vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Southern Irish</th>
<th>Cois Fhairrge</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bóthar “road”</td>
<td>[bo:hr]</td>
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<tr>
<td>máthair “mother”</td>
<td>[mo:hir’]</td>
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<tr>
<td>fichead “twenty”</td>
<td>[fi:had]</td>
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<tr>
<td>tighthe “houses”</td>
<td>[ti:hi]</td>
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Professor de Bhaldraithe, however, reports some fluctuation in a few words:

flaithcambail “generous” [fLaũ:l’] beside [fLaũ:l’]  
dathamhail “petty” [dau:ũl’]           [dau:ũl’]       [a:ũ]

taithiugadh “to frequent” [tau:ũ]         [tau:ũ]  

And he notes that an intrusive h sometimes occurs in slow speech, where there is an original long vowel:2 an t-ádh “the luck” [ə tuo] beside [ə tau]; dráir (gsg.) “drawers” [dəhir] beside [drai:ũ]. In Carrowroe, eight miles to the west, intervocalic h usually remains, but a preceding long vowel is shortened, so that the opposition long/short is lost before h:

[bo:hr], [mo:hir’], [fi:had], [ti:hi].

1 *The Irish of Cois Fhairrge, County Galway* (Dublin, 1945).
2 For details and exceptions see pp. 104-105.
ar-ice "finds"; prothetic -airce; verbal noun -ivece
imm-airce "suits"; -imearece
con-rece "meets"; -cmaric; -cumarece

Only those compounds with m next before the root have the -mforms:
-ue-cumareng "happens"; verbal noun -eumng
do-ecumareng "happens"; -temng
telemng

It looks as though the m of cum had something to do with the change, and one is reminded of Firth's prosodics.

However that may be, we are faced with this alternation, which gives rise to alternative forms of the verbal noun cumareng, cumung, and it is due to a phonetic change, whether of -ng- to -ng- as in fulangam, or of mkg to mng in unstressed position, or to a spreading of nasal articulation from mng into the unstressed root syllable (unless, indeed, we resort to a suppletive root ang as above mentioned).

In West Muskerry today, a group of words which have no connection, etymological or semantic, with con-ice, -cumareng, those the influence of its forms:

Northern Irish
West Muskerry
-fulang "to endure" fulang [fulog]
tarrang "to draw" tarrac [tarak]
tuirling "to descend" turlic [turlik]
-

In all these examples original -ng has become -n (c), and this pronunciation is apparently constant. The origin of the change is to be found in the existence in Old Irish of cumang beside cumacc, which may have resulted from analogy with chli-

In West Muskerry, for instance, there is in -ng- borrowing from Welsh Gwyddelig, that shows the opposite influence of Its forms.

There is in Old Irish a compound swb, deuterotomic con-ice, prothetic cumareng " he is able, he can", and the verbal noun has alternative forms cumareng, cumung. Thurneysen has explained the forms with m- as modelled on fulang (m- fulang) "he supports", where the m is normal (deuterotomic fo-loing), but is lost where -ng comes together by syncope. Thus fo-loingm "we support", but mfulngm "we do not support" without m-. By analogy with such syncopated forms, a prothetic -cumareng " we can", has given rise to 3rd sg. -cumareng von. cumareng. The objection to this is that the analogy stops there. One might expect occurrences of deuterotomic -cumareng, etc., and they do not appear to be possible. An alternative explanation, perhaps less satisfactory, is to suppose a suppletive root ang for the n-forms of con-ice. It seems to me not impossible that the alternation con-ice, -cumareng is a phenomenon similar to the instances of Verner's Law, *gymk becoming ice when stressed, as is to be expected in Irish, but ing when unstressed, as in the prothetic forms. But there are other compounds of lee that do not show the alternation:

Grammar of Old Irish, p. 354
Pecht, 1921, II, p. 554.