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METANALYSIS AND PHONAESTHESIA AS SOURCES OF SECONDARY INITIALS IN IRISH

Abstract. The contention of the article is to account for the sources of three non-etymological initial consonants in Irish, i.e. *n-*, *t-*, and *s-*. It is shown that the initial *n-* and *t-*, originally belonging to the definite article, attach to vowel-initial words through the process of metanalysis. Non-historical *s-*, in turn, operates as a phonaestheme, a segment serving an expressive function, identified universally in Indo-European languages as pejorative.

Key words: Irish dialect; metanalysis; echo-phrases; reduplication; phonaesthetics sound symbolism.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Irish language is known for the pervasive system of consonant mutations. Whenever a morpho-syntactic context requires it, word-initial segments are replaced with their mutated variants, e.g. the initial [b] in *bord* [bord] ‘a table’ surfaces as [m] in *ar an mbord* [mord] ‘on the table’. Mutations, however, have certain side-effects. They make the beginning of the Irish word susceptible to misinterpretation, and ultimately, to a permanent change. The mechanism of this dialectally conditioned process, whereby non-etymological consonants oust the original ones, is referred to as the alteration of initial segments, or reradicalisation (Ó Siadhail 1989, Ball 1992).

The contention of the present article is to point out that mutations are not the only processes behind the reanalysis of certain word-initial segments in Irish. First, there is metanalysis, which yields dialectal variant forms with a prefixed, or deleted for that matter, initial *n-* or *t-* (e.g. *adhal* > *tadhal* ‘fork’, *neasgóid* > *iosgóid* ‘to boil’). The other phenomenon is phonaesthesia.

It is postulated that the initial *s-*, prefixed in a considerable number of dialectal forms (*tráill*>*stráille* ‘wretch’, *clamhaire*>*sclamhaire* ‘mangy creature’) is uniformly associated with pejorative meaning. The evidence from English and Polish shows that the initial *s-* has the same expressive force in other languages of Indo-European descent.

2. METANALYSIS

Metanalysis can be broadly defined as a faulty interpretation of the division between words or syntactic units. The term was coined by Otto Jespersen in 1914 with reference to the ‘determiner plus noun’ sequences like *a nadder* (ME *naddre*) and *an adder*. The process at work here, called also a morpheme boundary shift (Campbell 2013), consists in the reanalysis of the initial *n-* of *nadder* as part of the article *an* before the vowel-initial *adder*. Other well-known English examples of metanalysis are shown below. Some of these are loanwords from French and Spanish, which is to be expected, as loanwords are usually prone to phonetic reinterpretation.

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|---|------------------|
| (1) | <i>a napron</i> (OF <i>napperon</i>) | → | <i>an apron</i> |
| | <i>a noumpere</i> (OF <i>nonper</i>) | → | <i>an umpire</i> |
| | <i>a nauger</i> (OE <i>nafogar</i>) | → | <i>an auger</i> |
| | <i>a norange</i> (S. <i>naranja</i>) | → | <i>an orange</i> |
| | <i>a nouch</i> (OF <i>nousche</i>) | → | <i>an ouch</i> |

There is evidence for the reverse situation in English as well. The context here is an originally vowel-initial word preceded by the article *an*. The final *-n* of the article is ‘carried over’ to the initial position of the following vowel-initial word. There is merely a handful of examples of this change in English: *an ekename*>*a nickname*, *an ewt*>*a newt*, *otch*>*a notch* (Fr. *nouche*). Such process is sometimes referred to as provection, and the non-etymological initial consonant as prosthetic (*cf.* Holmer 1957: 98).

2.1. METANALYSIS IN IRISH

In Irish, metanalysis takes place in the same context as the one previously presented for English. The cases of the reassignment of the final *-n* of the definite article (*an* in Irish) to the following vowel-initial word are pointed out by de Búrca (1958: 135), who records “a transference of *-n* in (*an*) *io-*

marcaidh → [n'umurki:]” in the Tourmakeady dialect. Also Hickey (2011: 366) speaks of the faulty analysis of the nominal phrase in Irish, which results in *n-* prefixation to vowel initial words. The examples of the change in question are provided in (2).

(2)	<i>ach</i>	→	<i>nach</i>	‘but; except, only’ ¹
	<i>eang</i>	→	<i>neag</i>	‘track, trace’
	<i>eangach</i>	→	<i>neagach</i>	‘gusseted; patched’
	<i>easurrmach</i>	→	<i>neasurrmach</i>	‘disrespectful’
	<i>iníon</i>	→	<i>níon</i>	‘daughter’
	<i>uchtóg</i>	→	<i>nuchtóg</i>	‘armful, small heap’

There is evidence of the reverse change as well. In the context of the West Muskerry dialect, Breatnach (1947: 146) views the loss of the initial *n-* in *neasgóid* > *osgóid* ‘a boil’ as the result of the wrong identification of the morpheme boundary in the phrase *an neasgóid*. Quiggin (1906) gives an example from Donegal of O.Ir. *nathir* ‘snake’, which, again, lost the initial *n-* because of a wrong division of the definite article before the noun. The modern form is [əhər]. Other similar examples are the following.

(3)	<i>neasgóid</i>	→	<i>easgóid</i>	‘boil’
	<i>éachtach</i>	→	<i>néachtúil</i>	‘death-dealing’
	<i>núis</i>	→	<i>úis</i>	‘nuisance’
	<i>nóiméad</i>	→	[u:m'e:d]	‘minute’

In Irish, there is still another context for metanalysis. Namely, the sequence of the definite article *an* and a *t-*initial word. As a rule, the initial *t-* is prefixed to vowel-initial masculine singular nouns (nominative, or accusative) when a definite article precedes them, e.g. *an t-alt* ‘the definite article’. Such context leaves open the possibility of the reanalysis of *t-*, originally belonging to the article, as the initial consonant of the noun *talt*. Ó Siadhail (1989: 70) gives examples from Tory Island, i.e. *taos* ‘people’, *tuaim* ‘noise’, *tiarthail* ‘hindquarters of cow’, similar forms from other are *ab-lach* > *tioblach* ‘carcass, carrion’, *adhal* > *tadhal* ‘fork, trident’, *adhal* > *tadhal* ‘fork; trident’, *ómós* > *tómas* ‘homage’, *ulchabhán* > *tulchadán* ‘owl’.

Analogically, the initial *t-* is deleted when it is misinterpreted as a previously prefixed consonant. The nouns in (4) are of masculine gender, hence

¹ The Irish data used in this article are obtained from written sources. These are mainly the phonetic accounts of Irish dialects (e.g. Ó Cuív (1944), Mhac an Fhailigh (1968)), and *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla* by Ó Dónaill (1977).

there are grounds for the reanalysis of the initial *t-* as part of the definite article *an t-*.

- (4)
- | | | | |
|------------------|---|------------------|------------------|
| <i>taisnéal</i> | → | <i>aisnéal</i> | ‘swoon’ |
| <i>tánaiste</i> | → | <i>ánaiste</i> | ‘second in rank’ |
| <i>téarnamh</i> | → | <i>éarnamh</i> | ‘escape; return’ |
| <i>tiolacadh</i> | → | <i>iodhnacal</i> | ‘escort’ |
| <i>tiontú</i> | → | <i>iontú</i> | ‘turning, turn’ |

An interesting fact is that there are also instances of *t-* prefixation and *t-* deletion at the beginning of feminine nouns. The examples of both developments are entered below.

- (5)
- | | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|---|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| a. | <i>aibhse</i> | → | <i>taibhse</i> | ‘immensity’ |
| | <i>easpa</i> | → | <i>teasbhaidh</i> | ‘lack, want’ |
| | <i>iomáin</i> | → | <i>tiomáint</i> | ‘driving’ |
| | <i>obainne</i> | → | <i>tobainne</i> | ‘suddenness’ |
| | <i>uaim</i> | → | <i>tuaim</i> | ‘a noise, sound’ |
| b. | <i>taibshe</i> | → | <i>aibhse</i> | ‘a ghost’ |
| | <i>taisléine</i> | → | <i>aisléine</i> | ‘shroud’ |
| | <i>téiglíocht</i> | → | <i>éiglíocht</i> | ‘faintness’ |
| | <i>teilgeoireacht</i> | → | <i>eiligeoireacht</i> | ‘(act of) casting, moulding’ |
| | <i>toicneáil</i> | → | <i>úicneail</i> | ‘prohibit’ |

The change is unexpected, as the initial *t-* occurs only in the context of the definite article before a masculine noun. One way of resolving this conundrum is to treat the process shown in (5) as a case of analogical extension of the patterns shown in (4) to feminine nouns. Possibly, the grammatical gender of the latter ones is not properly recognised. In an endangered language like Irish, the decline of the processes hinging on the grammatical gender, is to be expected.

3. PHONOAESTHESIA

Phonoaesthesia is a phenomenon whereby a particular phonological sequence (referred to as “a submorpheme” by Crystal 2003, or “a psychomorph” by Markel & Hamp 1960) occurring in etymologically unrelated words is associated with common meaning. A case in point are English words beginning

with *gl-*, which denote sight-related phenomena, e.g. *glance, glare, gleam, glimmer, glow, glower* (cf. Bloomfield 1933, Firth 1930). Other examples from English, offered, among others, by Mattiello (2013: 200-207), are *gr-*, occurring in words denoting ‘deep tone, menacing noises’ (e.g. *grin, growl, grumble, grunt*), or *tw-*, related to the meaning ‘small sounds, twisting movements’ (e.g. *tweak, tweet, twitch, twinkle*). Bolinger (1950) distinguishes phonaesthetic sequences also at the end of words, for instance *-ag* has the meaning ‘slow, tedious, tiring motion’ in *lag, drag, nag, sag*.

Alternatively, the term phonaesthesia refers to a tendency of certain words to change their phonological form in order to be uniform in terms of semantics, as well as phonetics, with the other words in a particular group: “a word with the sense of phonaesthetic cluster member may change in phonetic form, or resist a broader phonological change, to be phonetically in line with a phonaesthetic group” (Mobbs 2007: 6). It will be shown that the insertion of the initial *s-* in English, as well as in Irish, is an instance of such a sound change.

The goal of the following sections is to shed some light on the reasons why the most frequently prefixed non-etymological consonant in Irish is *s-*. In order to achieve this goal, the discussion focuses first on English phonaesthemes beginning with *s-* (e.g. *sn-, sl-*) and *schn-/shm-*. Then the phonaestheme under discussion is Polish *sr-*. Finally, the expressive properties of initial *s-* sequences are analysed on the Irish data.

3.1. *s-* insertion

The voiceless alveolar sibilant [s] is one of the most common sounds in the languages of the world. Maddieson (1984) states that, out of the total of 317 languages he investigated, 275 (87%) have at least one of the coronal sibilant phonemes: [s], or [ʃ]. These consonants (and a similar alveolo-palatal fricative [ç]) are highly perceptible due to a characteristic high-pitched hissing sound they produce. That is why they are used in exclamations such as *sssst!* or *psssst!*, and, as will be shown, they serve as part of phonaesthemes in many languages.²

² Allan (1986: 249) suggests that phonaesthemes may have originated onomatopœically. Philips (2011) also postulates the extralinguistic origin of phonaesthemes on the example of the English initial *sn-*. He lists words from various language families related to (oro-)nasality, all of which contain *sn-*, or an *sVn-* sequence (e.g. English: *scnt* ‘the faculty or sense of smell’, Nama (Khoisan Language): *sun* ‘sniff, smell from’, Zagawa (Nilo-Saharan language): *sina* ‘nose’, Ancient Egy-

3.1.1. *sC*- phonaesthemes in English

English also evidences instances of the expressive initial *s*-. Philps (2011) distinguishes words beginning with a cluster *sC*- as the instances of one of two types of initial phonaesthemes in English, the other being the sequences beginning with any other consonant plus *r* clusters ('CR- words'). In terms of phonetics, *s*- forms a phonaestheme with a following liquid (*slack*, *slouch*), a nasal (*sneeze*, *sniff*), or, rarely, with a voiceless stop (*scurry*, *scatter*).

Most researchers claim that the shared element of meaning all *sC*- phonaesthemes have is 'pejorative'. Rangell (1954), in turn, speaks of "a mixture of unpleasant feelings of a pejorative nature implying envy and hostility" expressed by *sm*-, *sn*-, *schm*-, or *shm*.³ Below, there are shown some English words beginning with *sn*- and *sl*- exemplifying the derogatory meaning associated with these clusters (Miller 2014: 165).

(6)	'noise'	'personal derogation'	'messy liquid'	'(act) improper'
	<i>snite</i>	<i>snub</i>	<i>slime</i>	<i>sly</i>
	<i>snooze</i>	<i>snudge</i>	<i>slag</i>	<i>sloth</i>
	<i>snuff</i>	<i>snake</i>	<i>slubber</i>	<i>slut</i>
	<i>sniffle</i>	<i>snitch</i>	<i>slush</i>	<i>sloven</i>
	<i>snoot</i>	<i>snob</i>	<i>sludge</i>	<i>sleazy</i>

As shown, a given phonaestheme can have multiple meanings, for instance, the words with the initial *sn*- refer to 'noise', or express 'personal derogation'. On the other hand, certain narrow meanings such as 'intoxicated' may be expressed by various *s*-initial sequences, e.g. *stewed*, *slewed*, *sloshed*, *smashed*, *sauced*.

It has been suggested that the initial *s*- is prefixed to some groups of words in order to enhance their 'expressiveness'. Anderson (1998: 118-120) observes "a conspiracy of certain English words with non-historical prothetic /s/, to create a colony of iconic words," as examples he gives the following developments: *crunch* (1801)>*scrunch* (1801), *quelch* (1659)>*squelch* (1620), *plash* (1513)>*splash* (1715). In a similar vein, Philps (2011) discusses prefixation of *s*- to *n*- initial verbs. He proposes a diachronic evolution for the verbs like

ptian (Afro-Asiatic): *sn* 'to smell', *sn̩sn̩* 'to breathe', Georgian (Kartvelian): *sun* 'odour, to smell', Tibetan (Sino-Tibetan): *sna* 'smell (sweet)'.³

³ Cf. Philps (2011), who discusses the relationship of the *sn*- sequence with the notion of nasality without any referral to the derogatory meaning of the element *sn*-.

sneeze, representable as /xn/ > /n/ > /sn/ (where x = /f/, or /g/, /h/, and /k/), which took place word-initially between Old English and Modern English. He claims that *sneeze*, first accounted for in 1495, is a lexical innovation formed by analogy with other ‘*sn-* words’ related to nasality. After the initial *f-* from an earlier Old English verb *fnēsan* ‘to pant, gasp, sneeze’ was dropped, the initial *s-* was inserted in its place. Again, the motivation behind the insertion of this very consonant is the urge to establish a uniform group of *sn-*words associated with nasality. Supposedly, the same process took place in other words giving rise to ‘*sn-/n-* doublets’, as Philps calls pairs of words from English and Scottish dialects which differ only in the presence, or absence, of the initial *s-*. In terms of meaning, the variants do overlap, e.g. a dialectal *snuzzle*, and *nuzzle* could probably be used interchangeably in many contexts.

- (7)⁴ *snag* ‘to snap, bite/nag’ (EDD)
nag ‘to bite’ (EDD)
- snar* ‘to snap, bite’ (EDD)
narr ‘of dogs, etc.: to snarl or growl’ (OED)
- sniff* ‘to draw air through the nose with short or sharp audible inhalations’ (OED)
niff ‘to have a disagreeable smell’ (OED)
- snuzzle* (dial.) ‘of a dog: to sniff or poke with the nose’ (OED)
nuzzle ‘to poke or push with the nose’ (OED)

It is worth noting that these instances of *sn-/n-* variation are very reminiscent of Irish dialectal variants like *glugaire*>*sglugaire* ‘garrulous person’, *glafadh*>*sclamhthadh* ‘barking person’, *aighneasach*>*saighneasach* ‘argumentative; talkative’. It may be postulated at this stage that the initial *s-* in Irish serves the same function as in English. It is an extra expressive element, marking one specific semantic group.

Undoubtedly, apart from its acoustic perceptibility, another fact that facilitated the development of a non-etymological initial *s-* is its historic capability to ‘wander’ (the term employed by Southern 1999). The phenomenon in question is the Indo-European **s*-mobile, whereby the PIE root-initial **s* surfaces in some derivatives of this root, but not in others. An instance of such development is *(*s*)*kep-* ‘cut, scrape’, which gives rise to English *scab*, but Latin *capulare*. Conversely, the root *(*s*)*ton-* ‘thunder’ has an *s*-initial

⁴ The abbreviations in the table below stand for The *English Dialect Dictionary* (Wright 1898-1905), and *The Oxford English Dictionary* (1989) respectively.

reflex in Greek *stenein*, but *s-* is absent from English *thunder* and Latin *tonare*. It can be concluded that the phonaesthetic properties of the consonant *s* may also result from its semantic transparency. That is, the fact that its presence or absence did not impinge on the meaning of a given root enabled *s*-prefixation to be used for purely expressive purposes.

3.1.2. The phonaestheme *schm-/shm-* in American English

Another expressive cluster, widely used mainly in American English, is *schm-/shm-* [ʃm]. The phonaestheme originated in European Yiddish 150 years ago in echo-formations like Russian/Polish *tate shmate* ‘father shmather/rag’, *poezye-schmoezye* ‘poetry and stuff — I couldn’t care less’, or German *gelt-shmelt* ‘money-who cares?’ (Southern 2005, Nevins & Vaux 2003). The phrases are derived *via* a process involving reduplication of the base word and the replacement of the initial part of the reduplicant (segment, syllable or syllable-like element) with the initial *schm-/shm-*.

At the beginning of the 20th century, *schm-/shm-* reduplication, as well as words like *schmuck*, *schlock*, *schlemiel*, *schmaltz*, came along with emigrant Ashkenazi Jews to the United States, England and Australia. Notably, *schm-/shm-* reduplication started to be used in the same fashion as Jews used it in their previous linguistic contexts, and, by the 1930’s, it was in common usage in American English. A few examples are provided in (8), they are obtained from three sources: in (a) it is *The Corpus of Contemporary American English* and *The Corpus of Historical American English*, and in (b) Southern (2005).

(8)

- (a) *children shmildren, women shwomen, metro, or shmetrosexual, chemistry shchemistry, acting shmacting, English Shminglish*
- (b) *fantastic-shmantastic, book-shmook, money-shmoney, linguistics-shminguistics, lunch-shmunch, table-shmable, text-shmext, strike-shmike, apple-shmapple, ugly-shmugly, celebrity shmelebrity, freebies shmeebies, Lara Shmara, Neanderthals shmeandertals*

In the US, the greatest popularity of *schm-/shm-* reduplications falls on the 1950’s and 60’s. Nowadays, phrases like *fancy-shmancy* seem old-fashioned to most speakers, but Nevins & Vaux (2003: 703) claim that “(t)oday *shm-* reduplication enjoys a fairly wide distribution in English”. The examples given in (8) seem to support this view. Phrases like *Lara Shmara*, referring to the Lara Croft character, or *shmetrosexual*, are clearly derived from contemporary American discourse.

Similarly to the pejorative effect that the initial *s-* had in *stewed*, *slewed*, *sloshed*, the initial [ʃ], in reduplicants, is used to downplay or mock the noun. Again, a derogatory phonastheme is a highly perceptible sound, very similar to [s]. More evidence for expressive *s*-related sounds comes from Polish *sr-* reduplication.

3.1.3. The phonaestheme *sr-* in Polish

In Polish, the counterpart of *schm-/shm-* reduplication are expressive *sr-* echo phrases, e.g. *buty-sruty* ‘shoes _’.⁵ The phonaestheme *sr-* is derived from the pre-Indo-European root *sreu-. In Polish, the reflex of the root is a vulgar verb *srać* ‘to shit’. The examples of such phrases, shown in (9), are obtained from *PELCRA*, a corpus of spoken Polish.

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (9) | <i>pieluchy-sruchy</i> | ‘nappies _’ |
| | <i>wykopaliska-srykopaliska</i> | ‘excavation _’ |
| | <i>końcówek-srówek</i> | ‘endings _’ |
| | <i>mamusiu srusiu</i> | ‘mummy _’ |
| | <i>marmury srury</i> | ‘marble _’ |
| | <i>Gracjanem-sracjanem</i> | ‘Gratian (pers. name)_’ |
| | <i>lunczu-sranczu</i> | ‘lunch _’ |
| | <i>Julem-srulem</i> | ‘Jul (pers. name) _’ |
| | <i>burza-srurza</i> | ‘storm _’ |

sr- reduplication can be encountered also in other syntactic patterns. The *s-* reduplicant precedes the base form in *srala-mądrala* ‘smart ass’, reduplicants are coordinated in *tak czy srak* ‘this way or _’, *srysy a nie tysy* ‘_ and not bald’, *srylionerów a nie milionerów* ‘_ and not millioners’. *sr-* words are elements also of lexicalised phrases like *Sraty pierdaty!* ‘Bullshit!’, *srutututu* ‘yada yada yada’.

The resultant meaning of *sr-* reduplication is almost identical to English *shm-/schm-*. Nevins & Vaux (2003: 703) quote a respondent who defines the purpose of applying *shm-* reduplication in the following way: “I care so little about [it] that I will pronounce it flagrantly incorrectly, *so there*”. *sr-* reduplication has the same effect, but, additionally, it is felt to be a case of a sub-standard, if not vulgar, register. English *shm-* does not seem to have such connotations at first sight. It needs to be remembered, however, that the phonastheme *shm-* is rightly associated with the noun *schmuck*, which in Yiddish means ‘penis’.

⁵ Due to a very idiosyncratic nature of Polish *sr-* reduplications, only the meaning of the base word is provided in the glosses, and the *sr-* reduplicant is left untranslated.

3.1.4. *s*-insertion in Irish

In Irish the initial *s*- attaches mainly to consonant initial words, an exception being *aighneas*>*saighneas* ‘argument, discussion’. In accordance with Irish phonotactics, but also in line with all the context where the non-historical *s*- occurs in English, *s*- is prefixed to words beginning with tense sonorants, nasals, and voiceless plosives, e.g. *lantrach*>*slantrach* ‘scales’, *ronna*>*sronna* ‘dribble, mucus’, *mairtíneach*>*smairtíneach* ‘cripple’, *bogánta*>*spogánta* ‘soft, squelchy’, *ceolán*>*sceolán* ‘little bell’, *dorn*>*storn* ‘fist’. There is evidence for such change from several researches, for example Sommerfelt (1922: 115), Ó Siadhail (1989:104), de Bhaldraithe (1945: 114), and Hamilton (1974: 167). All of them speak explicitly of prosthetic *s*-, or *s*- prefixation.

It seems that the greater part of the words with *s*-initial variants have related, pejorative meaning. The examples in (10) are divided into the following groups: (a, d) persons sharing a peculiar characteristics, (b) persons with unaesthetic connotations, (c) persons sharing a peculiar traces of character, and (e) persons associated pejoratively.

(10)

(a)	<i>breoille</i>	→	<i>spreoille</i>	‘lout’
	<i>geolamán</i>	→	<i>sceolamán</i>	‘gawky, foolish-looking, person’
(b)	<i>tráill</i>	→	<i>stráille</i>	‘slavish person, wretch’
	<i>clamhaire</i>	→	<i>sclamhaire</i>	‘mangy, wretched, creature’
	<i>truán</i>	→	<i>struán</i>	‘miserable person, wretch’
	<i>liobar</i>	→	<i>sliobar</i>	‘tattered, untidy, person’
	<i>brocais</i>	→	<i>sprochlais</i>	‘dirty-faced person’
	<i>cifleachán</i>	→	<i>scifleachán</i>	‘tatterdemalion, ragged person’
(c)	<i>aighneasach</i>	→	<i>saighneasach</i>	‘argumentative; talkative’
	<i>glugaire</i>	→	<i>sglugaire</i>	‘garrulous person’
	<i>drannaire</i>	→	<i>strannaire</i>	‘grinner; snarler’
	<i>glafadh</i>	→	<i>sclamhthadh</i>	‘a bark, snap; barking person’
	<i>ceolánach</i>	→	<i>sceolánta</i>	‘talking incessantly; whimpering, squealing’
	<i>clabaire</i>	→	<i>sclaibéir</i>	‘garrulous person’
	<i>breallaire</i>	→	<i>spreallaire</i>	‘silly talker, fool’
	<i>truán</i>	→	<i>struán</i>	‘importunate, annoying talker’
(d)	<i>bícead</i>	→	<i>spícead</i>	‘tall thin person’
	<i>crománach</i>	→	<i>scrománach</i>	‘tall crooked person’
	<i>cuail</i>	→	<i>scuaille</i>	‘tall thin person; lank lazy person’
	<i>cuirliúnach</i>	→	<i>scuirliún</i>	‘lanky, long-legged, person’
	<i>reanglamán</i>	→	<i>sreanglamán</i>	‘long, lean, languid person’
	<i>reangartach</i>	→	<i>sreangartach</i>	‘lean, lanky, rawboned, person or animal’

(e)	<i>meirleach</i>	→	<i>smeirleach</i>	‘thief, robber’
	<i>péacach</i>	→	<i>spéagach</i>	‘sinner’

There is evidence that already in Old Irish the initial *scr-* sequence was common to nouns referring to persons in a derogatory way, e.g. *scaiste* ‘idler, lazy person’, *scrathánach* ‘lazy person’ (source: *The Electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language*). Again, the function of *s-* prefixation may have been to assign particular words to a given phonaesthetic group.

4. CONCLUSION

Concluding, it has been shown that the faulty separation of the article and the following noun, which happened in Middle English, took place also in Irish. As a result, some words acquired the non-etymological initial *n-* and *t-*, and some words lost them and ended up as vowel-initial. Non-historical initial *s-*, on the other hand, was shown to be a segment commonly used in pejorative contexts not only in Irish, but also in Polish and English. Moreover, a surprising parallel was observed between English and Polish mocking phrases, where, except for reduplication, phonaesthemes *shm-/schm-*, and *sr-* appeared at the beginning of a reduplicant.

All in all, one may not lose sight of the fact that, as far as the alteration of Irish initial segments is concerned, mutations are still the main culprit.

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ONLINE CORPORA:

NKJP: National Corpus of the Polish Language, www.nkjp.pl.

PELCRA Polish English Language Corpora for Research and Application, www.pelcra.pl.

COCA The Corpus of Contemporary American English: 450 million words, 1990-present, corpus.byu.edu/coca/.

COHA The Corpus of Historical American English: 400 million words, 1810-2009, corpus.byu.edu/coha/.

METANALIZA I FONESTEZJA
JAKO ŹRÓDŁA SPÓŁGŁOSEK INICJALNYCH W IRLANDZKIM

Streszczenie

Celem artykułu jest wskazanie źródeł powstania trzech irlandzkich spółgłosek inicjalnych, których obecność na początku danych wyrazów nie może być uzasadniona etymologicznie. Dyskusja dotyczy segmentów *n-*, *t-* i *s-*. Dowiedziono, że dwie pierwsze samogłoski, poprzez proces metanalizy (Jespersen 1914), zostały błędnie „przeniesione” z końcówki przedimka określającego *an*, *an t-* do inicjalnej pozycji następującego po nim słowa. Z kolei spółgłoska *s-* pełni funkcję fonestemu (Bloomfield 1933), a zatem segmentu wspólnego dla pewnej semantycznie zdefiniowanej grupy wyrazów. Na podstawie przykładów z różnych języków indoeuropejskich wykazano, że spółgłoska *s-* nadaje wyrazom zwykle koloryt pejoratywny.

Słowa kluczowe: język irlandzki; metanaliza; echo-frazy; reduplikacja; reduplikacja rymująca; fonestezja; symbolika dźwiękowa.