

Interrogatives in Muskerry Irish

Standardised Irish (*Gaelainn Chaighdeánaithe*; hereinafter GCh) accepts a variety of usages found in the various Irish dialects. However, learners of a particular dialect will be seeking detailed information on usages in the dialects they are learning. I aim here to clarify interrogative usages in Muskerry Irish, based on the works of Peadar Ua Laoghaire (references here to Ua Laoghaire are to Peadar Ua Laoghaire) and other speakers of Muskerry Irish. Learners will be interested in whether forms such as *cén* and *cén fáth* are found in the dialect, and in how to express in Irish sentences such as “who am I?”, “what am I?” and “how hot is it?”, which turn out to be harder than expected to put into Irish.

Cad?

Although some Irish interrogatives seem to have a range of meanings, it seems best to order the presentation under the Irish words (*cad*) and not the English words (*what?*). The most fundamental interrogative is *cad?* “What?” is *cad* and not *cad é* (other than in copula usages, where the *é* is a subsubject as discussed below or a subject in sentences like *cad é féin?*) or *céard* in the dialect. Usage of interrogatives with relative clauses illustrates the way in which relatively advanced grammar is required to express simple concepts in Irish. Usage with the substantive verb (*tá*), *deir* and the copula (*is*) requires separate comment. Let us first take a look at usage with other verbs:

1. *Cad a thuigean tú le neamh?* (*An Teagasg Críosdaidhe*, 11)

We see here that *cad* along with other interrogatives requires a relative clause, in this case a direct relative clause, shown by the leniting relative particle *a*.

2. *Cad fhéadfadh aoinne amháin a dhéanamh?* (*Mo Sgéal Féin*, 101)

In GCh, the relative particle is always written out, which may indicate to learners an unnatural pronunciation. Before vowels, the relative particle has a zero pronunciation and it was traditionally acceptable not to write out an unpronounced implied relative particle. A possibly clearer compromise would be to use an apostrophe where the relative particle is elided: *cad 'fhéadfadh?*, /kad iətəx/ (/kad ə? iətəx/, with an English glottal stop, would be wrong in any dialect of Irish).

3. *Ní fheadar ó thalamh an domhain cad dhéanfaid siad.* (*Séadna*, 145)
4. *Cuir rómhat ar maidin cad a dhéanfair.* (*Aithris ar Chríost*, 33)

The relative particle is often omitted before consonants too, and is often omitted in Ua Laoghaire’s Irish (i.e. in pronunciation and in writing) in the exclamatory or rhetorical expression *cad ' dhéanfad!* (literally “what [on earth] shall I do?”, but more often in the sense of “what is to become of me?”) and related conjugated forms, as shown in (3) above, where the exclamatory expression is used as a noun clause in a longer sentence. As (4) shows, where the phrase has its normal (non-exclamatory) sense, it often, in the works of Ua Laoghaire, shows the relative particle. (We should note, however, that in the Irish of Ó Loingsigh, as transcribed semiphonetically by Donncha Ó Cróinín, no elision of the relative particle in an exclamatory *cad a dhéanfad!* is shown.)

5. “*Seadh, a gharsúin*”, *arsa’n sagart*, “*cad tá uait?*” (*Mo Sgéal Féin*, 51)
6. *Cad deir Murchadh?* (*Niamh*, 65)

Sentence (5) shows that the relative particle is not heard between *cad* and the substantive verb. The spelling *cad atá* has been standardised on, but /kad ta:/, or often /ka ta:/ (see *The Irish of West Muskerry*, p59), is the pronunciation in the dialect. The recording of the Irish of the Clare native

Liam Ó Dileáin held in the Doegen archives shows that in some parts of Munster the relative particle was heard where the *t* was lenited: /kad ə'ha:/; the /kad ə'ta:/ form taught to learners of GCh cannot be recommended to learners of Muskerry Irish. Sentence (6) shows an analogous situation: the relative particle is not heard in *cad 'deir sé?*, *cad 'duairt sé?* and similar sentences.

Difficulties mount with the copula. Bearing in mind Cormac Ó Cadhlaigh's division of Irish nouns into concrete nouns, mass nouns and abstract nouns (*Gnás na Gaedhilge*, §§222-237), we note that the construction *cad is X ann?* is a general way of asking for a general definition of an abstract noun, although the example in (7) is being used as a rhetorical device. Other attested examples include *cad is eagna ann?*, *cad is fíos ann?*, *cad is grásta ann?* and *cad is tuiscint ann?* *Cad is X ann?* questions anticipate discursive answers (or are rhetorical), as is particularly appropriate with abstract nouns. However, sentence (8) shows the same use can be found with an indefinite concrete noun. In (9), we see that *cad is X?* may be used with an adjectival subject.

7. *Deir Pílát leis: Cad is fírinne ann? (Na Cheithre Soisgéil, 279)*
8. *Ach ó's fáig tu innis dom cad is laoch ann, mar ní h-eól dom é. (Lúcián, 22)*
9. *A Thighearna, is duit-se is eól cad is maith, agus conus. (Aithris ar Chríost, 128)*

Gerald O'Nolan explained in his *Studies in Modern Irish: Part 1* (p48) that sentences like *cad is ainm duit?* appear to contain an elipsis. He argued that the subject of the copula is really (*an ainm is*) *ainm duit*. This forms part of his argument that the copula cannot stand next to the subject in any copula sentence. Consequently, in (7) (*rud is*) *fírinne ann* may be inferred as the underlying subject.

A construction used to request identification of a definite concrete noun is shown in the examples below. In such constructions, the copula is deleted in the present tense, with the syntax of the construction being PsS, where *P* (the predicate, or an interrogative standing for the predicate) is *cad*, *s* is a subsubject (*é* or another third-person pronoun) and *S* the subject.

10. *Cad é an luacht saothair a thug Dia do na h-aingiolaibh d' fhan dilis? (An Teagasg Críosaíoch, 14)*
11. *Cad í an onóir a bheirimid di? (An Teagasg Críosaíoch, 24)*
12. *Cad iad na h-úrnuighthe is mó a cómhairlighthar dúinn do rádh? (An Teagasg Críosaíoch, 23)*
13. *Caidé an scéal atha agaibh? (Scéalaíocht Amhlaoibh, 7)*
14. *Cad é an talamh an gort so? (Saothar Bliana, 61)*
15. *Cad é an tslighe, cad é an áit*, are what is said. Not *cad í an tslighe*, etc., though the words are feminine. (*Notes on Irish Words and Usages*, 127).
16. *Cad é an ainim atá ar an gcnuic mór san? (Mo Sgéal Féin, 78)*
17. *Agus nuair airigh sé an tsluagh ag gabháil thairis d'fhiafraigh sé cad ab é sin. (Na Cheithre Soisgéil, 200)*
18. *Is ceist chruaidh ar lucht eóluis cad é an brígh a bhí ag Íosa leis an gcainnt sin, cad a cialluighítear leis an gcorpán, agus cad ab iad na fiolair. (Críost Mac Dé, Vol 3, 356)*
19. *Má 'seadh fiafraigh de h-Ómór cad é an saghas me nuair a bhíos sa chogadh i dteannta na nGréagach. (Lúcián, 154)*
20. *Tuigim an rud a chím, agus chím cad é an saghas anois tu. Thuig muinntir na h-aimsire úd cad é an saghas an uair sin thu. (Lúcián, 154)*

English often uses an interrogative adjective where Irish uses an interrogative pronoun: (11) may be translated “what is the honour that we give her?”, but is more naturally “what honour do we give her?” in English. The example in (14), *cad é an talamh*, shows that *cad é* may mean “what kind of?” The subsubject is *é*, *í* or *iad*, depending on the subject. However, note Ua Laoghaire's comment in (15) and his frequent coupling of *é* with *an ainim* (Ua Laoghaire's preferred spelling of

ainm, whereby he clarified the epenthetic vowel), *an áit*, *an chúis*, *mo thuairim* and similar phrases in copula sentences. One way of explaining this would be to argue that the masculine subsubject anticipates in a general way the predicate that gives the answer to the interrogative question. Examples of a past-tense copula, which is not deleted, are very rarely found, but an example of *cad ab é sin* is given above in sentence (17), “he asked what it was”. Sentence (18) contains a clause with a past-tense copula meaning “what were the eagles?” Sentences (19) and (20) show *cad é an saghas me* and *cad é an saghas thu* in a past-tense context. This illustrates the tendency highlighted by Seán Ua Súilleabháin for the present copula to be used in past or conditional environments where the meaning is otherwise clear (*Stair na Gaeilge*, p534). For this reason, *cad ab é* is rarely found.

The interrogative pronoun does not combine with the article to produce *cén* or *cé na* in the dialect. Sentence (13) and Donncha Ó Cróinín’s general approach to the transcription of Ó Loingsigh’s Irish in *Scéalaíocht Amhlaoibh* (where we find *caidé*, *caidí* and *caidiad*) show that the *d* of *cad* may be slenderised before the pronoun (/d’/ is pronounced on the alveolar ridge). However, in *The Irish of West Muskerry*, Brian Ó Cuív transcribes Ó Loingsigh’s pronunciation of *cad í an chúis* and *cad é sin* as /kad i: n xu:ʃ/ and /gə'de: ʃin/ respectively (pp93, 109), with a broad *d* in each case.

The phrase *cad í an chúis* is worthy of note, as Ua Laoghaire consistently wrote *cad é an chúis*, and *Scéalaíocht Amhlaoibh* consistently has *caidé an chúis* (e.g. p27 and elsewhere). Yet *cad í an chúis* is what was given by Ó Loingsigh on this occasion: the transcription on p93 of *The Irish of West Muskerry* is of the story *Seán Gadaighe*, the recording of which is online in the Doegen archives, allowing us to verify that *í* was indeed the pronoun used. Ó Cuív states that the *c* of *cad* becomes /g/ only occasionally. A pretonic vowel (such as the *a* in *cad í* or *caidí*) tends to retain its quality where the subsequent stressed vowel is /i:/ (p105 therein).

Classification (as opposed to identification) requires the expansion of the subject with *rud*, *saghas* or *ní*. Compare *cad is laoch ann* above with *cad é an rud prás* in (21). *Prás* is a mass noun, a sort of metal that can be pointed to rather than a concept requiring discursive elucidation (*cad is prás ann?* would make no sense here). The subject is *an rud prás*, which contains a concealed relative clause, viz., *an rud (is) prás*. Sentences (22) and (23) show that this structure is used with definite concrete nouns. Sentences (24) and (25) show use with definite subjects that are personal pronouns.

21. *Is eól dom cad é an rud prás.* (Lúcián, 56)
22. *Cad é an rud an gabhar?* (Cómhairle Ár Leasa, 118)
23. *Cad é an rud Céile Dé, a Pheig?* (Séadna, 99)
24. *Ansan iseadh thaisbeánann Tú dhom féin mé, cad é an saghas mé, cá rabhas, agus cá bhfuilim tagaithe; óir is neamhnídh mé, agus ní raibh fhios agam é.* (Aithris ar Chríost, 113)
25. *Ní fheadramair go minic cad 'tá ar ár gcumas, ach taisbeánann an cath cad é an saghas sinn.* (Aithris ar Chríost, 22)

We may note here that Dónall Bán Ó Céileachair objected to the sentence *cad é an saghas na tríní?* published in *Aodh de Róiste*, a translation of a nineteenth-century novel that he did jointly with Dómhnall Ó Ceocháin (see p154 therein). He insisted in the quarterly journal *An Músgraigheach* that *cad é an saghas iad na tríní* should have stood there (“Aodh de Róiste”, p12). The subject of the sentence, *an saghas (is) iad na tríní*, thus in turn resolves itself as a relative clause with the sentence bearing the syntax P(v)sS. However, the addition of the subsubject in the nested relative clause is at variance with Ua Laoghaire’s usage in similar sentences.

**Cad me* or **cad mise* are not found in Ua Laoghaire’s works: the correct form is given in (24) above, *cad é an saghas me?* (once we adjust *mé* to *me* in line with the preferred pronunciation).

Where classification of a person is referred to, Ua Laoghaire most frequently used *saghas* rather than *rud* (although there are counterexamples). Sentence (25) shows that the same construction, with a singular *an saghas*, is used to classify plural pronouns in the subject. The forms are therefore as follows:

cad é an saghas me?
cad é an saghas tu?
cad é an saghas é?

cad é an saghas sinn?
cad é an saghas sibh?
cad é an saghas iad?

26. *D'airigheas-sa duine 'ghá rádh gurab iad rudaí na síobhraí, 'ná aingil an uabhair agus na deamhain aeir. (Séadna, 176)*

Sentence (26) does not contain an interrogative, but it is worth bringing it in here to note the use of *iad rudaí*. The reason why *rudaí* is plural is because the elves (*síobhraí*) are being classified, not as one category, but as more than one category of thing: *aingil an uabhair agus na deamhain aeir*. We note in passing that the definite article is omitted here because *rudaí* is defined by a later clause beginning with *'ná*. I cannot find examples in Ua Laoghaire's works of a plural *saighseanna* after *cad*, but it is likely that if a plural response were expected, in other words, if the subject were expected to be classified as more than one category of thing, we would find sentences like *cad iad na saighseanna sinn?* ("what various sorts of people are we?").

27. *An Tighearna.- A mhic, tá a lán neithe le foghlaim fós agat nár fhoghlumuighis go dtí so ach go h-olc. An Seirbhíseach.- Cad iad na neithe iad san, a Thighearna? (Aithris ar Chríost, 119)*
 28. *Cad iad na rudaí iad san, a thighearna? (Ua Laoghaire's manuscript translation of Zechariah 6:4)*

Sentences (27) and (28) confirm our view that a plural subsubject *iad* is used where the response is expected to contain more than one noun. We see that the subject phrase (*na neithe iad san/na rudaí iad san*) contains a plural noun and a suppressed relative copula (*na neithe/rudaí is iad san*).

These forms (*cad*+a definite concrete noun or personal pronoun in the subject phrase) are generally present-tense. In English, any combination of tense can easily be formed, however rarely required in speech ("what was I?", "what will I be?", "what would I have been?", etc). We might assume from *cad ab é sin?* above that a past-/conditional-tense form could be posited: *cad ab é an saghas me?* (and with multiple predicates anticipated, *cad ab iad na saighseanna sinn?*). In fact, *cad ab é sin?* and *cad ab iad na fiolair?* are the only relevant examples I've been able to locate.

Although *Graiméar Gaeilge*, a reference grammar of GCh, accepts both *cad é sin?* and *cad sin?* (§13.77), Ua Laoghaire's works do not contain any examples of *sin/san* on its own used as the subject of such sentences. However, (29) below may be understood to indicate that *cad san?*, if it were found, would have a slightly different meaning to *cad é sin?*

29. Besides the demonstratives "*é seo*," "*é sin*," and "*é siúd*," we have the forms "*so*," "*san*," and "*súd*." These latter forms point out things taken in a body, or collectively. For example, *is olc é sin*, that is a bad thing. But *is olc san uait-se*, that course of action is bad on your part. (*Notes on Irish Words and Usages*, 123)
 30. If one hears some astounding or unexpected news, or is told some false and foolish story, he might suddenly exclaim — *cad é sin agat dh'á rádh? Cad é an rud é sin?* is said in regard to given objects. *Cad é sin?* is used to distant and unknown objects, and as exclamations of surprise and doubt. (*Notes on Irish Words and Usages*, 125)

Ua Laoghaire's explanation of the difference between *cad é an rud é sin?* and *cad é sin?* in (30) is the same as (and probably the ultimate source of) that given in *Graiméar Gaeilge*, §16.14. Ua Laoghaire also wrote that the pronoun *ea* can be used with *cad* with the intervention of the copula. His view that *ea* is really a noun is idiosyncratic:

31. In questions we have *cad é*, *cad í*, and *cad iad*. But if *eadh* is to be used we must say *cad iseadh*. The reason is that the word *eadh* is really a substantive, and not a neuter pronoun. It means the truth of a statement, just like the English word "fact." The true English of *iseadh* is "it is a fact." *Cad iseadh?* corresponds to the English, "what?" or "what is that?" i.e., what is the statement you have made? (*Notes on Irish Words and Usages*, 124)

The following sentences show (as also in *Graiméar Gaeilge*, §13.85) that where *cad eile* is found in the predicate the interrogative pronoun may be reduplicated, but that this is not possible where *cad* is separated from *eile*:

32. *Airiú, cad eile cad 'tá agat, a Shile?* (*Mo Sgéal Féin*, 40)
33. *Cad é an rud eile bhéadh uatha, a Niamh?* (*Niamh*, 280)

This construction was explained by Ua Laoghaire in an undated letter to Shán Ó Cuív held in the G,1276 collection of manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland:

"*Agus cad eile cad dubhradar?* is what I have always heard in all questions of that sort. 'What else is it?' is in Irish always 'What else what is it?' *Cad eile cad é an nídh é?* 'What else did he do?' = *Cad eile cad a dhein sé?* 'What else could I do?' = *Cad eile cad fhéadfínn a dhéanamh?* There is, you see, a sort of double interrogative. In fact, the English which the people use in that last question is 'What else what could I do?' i.e. 'What could I do? and in what is (the thing you would say) different from this?' It's an Irish mode of thought quite different from any English mode of thought. An intervening word might spoil the double character of the question e.g. *Cad é an focal eile a dubhradar?* No second *cad* ever came in there." [Underlining as given in the original manuscript.]

It's interesting to note Ua Laoghaire's claim that there is a double meaning of *cad eile cad* ("what?" and "wherein lies the difference?" combined). This may simply be his attempt to concoct an explanation for the syntax as it is difficult to read a double meaning into each such usage. Although Ua Laoghaire stated above that *cad* is "always" reduplicated, he also often used a single *cad*, as in the following sentence, indicating that it was not always necessary to give a double meaning to a *cad*-clause.

34. *Cad eile dh'fhéadfimis a dhéanamh!* (*Sgothbhualadh*, 104)

Where a preposition is used with the interrogative, it is used in the form of a prepositional pronoun placed directly after *cad* and an indirect relative clause is required:

35. *Cad leis go samhlóchaimid rígeacht Dé?* (*Na Cheithre Soisgéil*, 97)
36. *Cad air gur féidir duit-se gearán, a dhuine gan ghus?* (*Aithris ar Chríost*, 125)

In a way that is somewhat counterintuitive to learners (while being in fact directly analogous to similar usage in English), a *cad*-clause can be directly governed by a preposition, as shown in the following example where St. Peter denies Christ:

37. *Agus do bhís-se leis i bhfochair Íosa Nasareit. Agus do shéan seisean agus dubhairt: Ní'l fios ná eólus agam ar cad deirir.* (*Na Cheithre Soisgéil*, 131)

Cad may also be a pronoun functioning as a direct object in the manner of the French *ce que* (“that which”):

38. *Do lég sé cad a bhí sgríofa. (Cnósach Focal ó Bhaile Bhúirne, 46)*

Finally, while the primary meaning of *cad* is “what?”, there are meanings that may be less obvious to a learner of Irish. *Cad as duit?* and, less frequently, *cad as tu?* mean “where are you from?” *Cad as* is also used to form indirect relative clauses meaning “where from?”, as in (41):

39. *“Cé h-íad sibh?” arsa Iósue leó, “agus cad as daoibh?” (Sgéalaidheachta as an mBíobla Naomhtha, Vol 2, 124)*

40. *“Admhuighim,” ar sise ansan le muinntir an rí, “go dtáinig a leithéidí anso, ach ní raibh fhios agam-sa cad é an saghas iad ná cad as iad.” (Sgéalaidheachta as an mBíobla Naomhtha, Vol 2, 106)*

41. *Cad as go bhfuil cómhachta ag na sacramintí chum grásta thabhairt dúinn? (An Teagasg Críostaidhe, 24)*

The use of *cad* to mean “why?” is discussed elsewhere here. Usages of *cad* with definite nouns to mean “how?” in expressions of degree and with verbs and abstract nouns in rhetorical exclamatory expressions are also discussed elsewhere here.

Cé?

“Who?” is *cé?* in the modern language. This is followed by a direct relative clause. However, the relative particle cannot be heard after *cé* and is thus often not written out in traditional Irish, either being elided entirely in the orthography or represented by an apostrophe. The substantive verb may be lenited in such circumstances.

42. *Dhein Murchadh agus Dúlainn gairí a ndóthin nuair a chonacadar cé bhí acu. (Niamh, 231)*

43. *Cé 'tá uaibh? D'fhreagradar é: Iosa an Nasarénach. (Na Cheithre Soisgéil, 276)*

44. *Cé dúbhairt go raibh? (Séadna, 108)*

45. *Cé thá a' teacht? (Scéalaíocht Amhlaoibh, 77)*

The copula is shown after *cé* in sentences such as (46) and (47) below. Such sentences appear to contain an ellipsis (*cé hé an duine is rí orthu* > *cé is rí orthu*, PsSvP > SvP). We may note in passing that, in (46), the copula is followed by a definite noun predicate (*rí* being a definite noun here). Gerald O’Nolan argued that there was no rule that a definite noun cannot stand next to the copula. Rather, the subject may not. But we see that such definite predicates standing adjacent to the copula in sentences like (46) do not explicitly show the definite article. Apart from this subset of sentences, the copula is deleted after *cé* in the present tense, with the syntax once again PsS:

46. *Annsan beidh 'fhios againn cé is rí ortha. (Lughaidh Mac Con, 36)*

47. *Agus pé cathair nó dún n-a raghaidh sibh isteach ann, fiafraighidh cé is creideamhnach ann, agus fanaidh ansan go dtí go mbeidh sibh ag imtheacht. (Na Cheithre Soisgéil, 25)*

48. *Do thug m'Athair dómh-sa gach uile nídh, agus ní h-eól d'aoinne cé h-é an Mac ach do'n Athair; ná cé h-é an t-Athair ach do'n Mhac agus do'n t-é d'ár toil leis an Mac é dh'fhoillsiú. (Na Cheithre Soisgéil, 173-174)*

49. *“Ach! a rí,” arsa Dáibhid leis, “cé h-é mise, nú cé h-íad mo mhuinntir, nú ce h-é m'athair, nú ca bhfuil aon chreideamhaint againn i n-Israél chun a rádh go mbeinn-se am' chleamhain ag an rí!” (Sgéalaidheachta as an mBíobla Naomhtha, Vol 3, 377)*

50. *D'innseas di cé r' b' é mé. (Mo Sgéal Féin, 126)*

The present-tense forms are *cé hé* or *cé hiad*, etc. In the past tense, the form *cérbh* is found before the subsubject. *D'innseas di cé r' b' é mé* in (50) may be another instance of the present-tense copula being used in past-tense context as referred to above. However, as the phrase *d'inseas di cérbh é me* is frequently found (see p72 of *Mo Sgéal Féin* for an example), it is more likely this is a typo for *cé r' bh' é mé* (i.e. *cérbh é me*).

Ua Laoghaire commented as follows on a sentence found in Vol III of his *Sgéalaidheachta as an mBíobla Naomhtha* and explains that the subsubject before *thusa* has to be *é*, even in reference to a woman:

51. *Cé h-é thusa?* (Sg. III. 321), not *cé h-í thusa?* Although it was a woman. One woman asks another, *an bhfuil fhios agat cé h-é me?* never, *cé h-í me*. (*Notes on Irish Words and Usages*, 125)

Although first- and second-person pronouns require a subsubject in such sentences, third-person pronouns do not:

52. *Is truagh chráidhte nár innsís dom fad ó cér' bh' é thu.* (*Lughaidh Mac Con*, 40)
53. *Chromas-sa ar bheith ag cur tuairisge na gcómharsan air, féachaint cé r' bh' iad a bhí imthighthe anonn...* (*Mo Sgéal Féin*, 179-180)

In §13.85, *Graiméar Gaeilge* gives *cé eile cé roimhe a bhfuil eagla ort?*, which appears to be based on the following sentence of Ua Laoghaire's, the original form of which shows that *cad eile cé* and not *cé eile cé* is desirable, in traditional Muskerry Irish at any rate. (A large number of sentences in *Graiméar Gaeilge* appear to be taken from Ua Laoghaire's Irish, although the source is unattributed.) In (54), it seems the use of *cad eile cé* is particularly useful given the need to fit in the prepositional pronoun *roimis* after *cé*. The sentence means "who else are you afraid of?"

54. *Cad eile cé roimis go bhfuil an t-eagla agat?* (*Táin Bó Cuailnge 'na Dhráma*, 85)

As with *cad*, a preposition may be used with *cé* in the form of a prepositional pronoun placed directly after *cé*, with an indirect relative clause required:

55. *Ach cé leis go samhlóhad an tsliocht so?* (*Na Cheithre Soisgéil*, 28)
56. *Féach chúghat féin, agus tuig cé dhó gur deineadh seirbhíseach díot nuair a chuir lámh an Easboig san Órd Beannuighthe thú.* (*Aithris ar Chríost*, 254)

Indirect relative sentences with the copula after *cé* are a thorny area of grammar:

57. *Cé leis an íomháigh seo agus an sgríbhinn seo?* (*Na Cheithre Soisgéil*, 62)
58. *Do bhuaíl sé fé dhéin na ceartan maidean, agus do chonaic sé roimis ar a' mbóthar an gini breá óir. "Féach," aduairt sé. "Cad a chuir ann é, ní fheadar, nú cér leis é?"* (*Scéalaíocht Amhlaoibh*, 76)
59. *Fé dheire do h-innseadh cé go mba leis an t-arbhar.* (*Cé go mba leis* is often shortened to *cé 'mba leis*.) (*Notes on Irish Words and Usages*, 133)
60. *"Is cuma linn-na cé go mba leis indé é," arsa na h-Arabaigh, "ach is linn-na indiu é, agus cimeád-fimíd é."* (*Sgéalaidheacht na Macabéach*, Vol 2, 189)
61. *Ní fheadar cé h-í ná cé 'ro díobh í.* (*Séadna*, 208)
62. *Tá fhios aige cé 'ra mac tu.* (*Niamh*, 144)
63. *Céra peictiúir é sin?* (*Seanachas Amhlaoibh*, 365)
64. *Ní raibh fhios acu cé r' bh' é ná cé 'ra díobh é, ach gur bh' ógánach uasal é a tháinig anall*

Ua Laoghaire's authorised *Foclóir do Shéadna* (p94) states that the form variously spelt *cé 'ra* and *cé 'ro* in Ua Laoghaire's works is an abbreviation of *cé gurab*. Historically, it seems, however, that, in addition to *ag* (*ag>go*), the prepositions *do*, *i* and *le* have all been used as "helping" prepositions stripped of their own prepositional meanings to set up indirect relative clauses in the manner of quasi-relative particles. I haven't found any instances of *i* used after *cé* or *cía* to set up an indirect relative copula, but I found these forms in the 1827 recension of the 17th-century *An Bíobla Naomhtha*:

65. *Cía dar ab inghean thú?* (Genesis 24:23)
66. *Cía léar leis thu? & cáit a racha thú? & cía lear leis iad so rómhad?* (Genesis 32:17; I here transcribe the Tironian *et* with an ampersand.)
67. *Cía ar leis an cailinsi?* (Ruth 2:5)
68. *Cía dhar mac an tógánachsa?* (1 Samuel 17:55)
69. *Cía ler leis an dúithche?* (2 Samuel 3:12)
70. *Cía dár ab íomháig so & cía ré a mbeanann an sgríbhinn so na thimcheall?* (Matthew 22:20)
71. *Créud do chithear dhibhse a dtimcheall Chríod? cía dár mac é?* (Matthew 22:42)

Cér or *céra* are thus abbreviations of forms that have been written out more fully as *cé gura(b)*, *cé dára(b)*, *cé léra(b)* and *cé ar(b)*. The sentences I have located show that in Ua Laoghaire's Irish the indirect relative form of the copula is entirely deleted before *leis* in the present tense, as in (57), or alternatively *cér* is found in the same circumstance in (58) in Ó Loingsigh's Irish (the copula in this sentence appears to be present-tense also). In the past tense, note Ua Laoghaire's use of *go mba* after *cé* in two instances before *leis* in (59) and (60); such usages appear to be rarely found in print. *Céra* is found before *díobh* apparently in both present- and past-tense contexts if sentence (64) contains a past-tense usage. However, this is probably another instance of the tendency for the present copula to be used in past and conditional environments. *Céra díobh é?* therefore means "what family does/did he belong to? where is/was he from?" It is unclear why an *a* is found in *céra díobh é?* and not in *cé(r) leis é?* We may note that it is indeed *cér díobh é?*, without *a*, in GCh. The various forms attested in traditional Muskerry Irish are given in the following table.

	Present	Past
+leis	<i>cé leis é?</i> or <i>cér leis é?</i>	<i>cé (go) mba leis é?</i>
+díobh	<i>céra díobh é?</i>	<i>(céra díobh é?)</i>
+noun	<i>céra mac é? cér' iníon í?</i>	<i>(possibly céra mac é? too)</i>

Some of these forms are extremely obscure, occurring rarely even in Ua Laoghaire's large corpus of Irish. In Ua Laoghaire's manuscript translation of Genesis 24:47, we read *cé ro' inghean tu?* This appears to rule out the intervention of a *b* (**cérb iníon tu?*). The past-tense forms are yet more obscure. In a trip to Muskerry, I found that current native speakers don't appear to recognise sentences such as *céra mac é?* I was told *céra díobh é?* would be used instead of this. Past-tense forms, such as **cé go mba d(h)íobh é?*, that might be predicted, don't appear to exist.

The syntax shown above seems appropriate only for *cé*+copula+prepositional pronoun+noun/pronoun. This is an obscure area of grammar, but the occasional attestation of *cé* with longer copula clauses requiring the indirect relative shows the syntax in sentences (72) and (73).

72. *Cia h-é gur b'eól dó neart t'fheirge-se?* (Ua Laoghaire's manuscript translation of Psalm 89:11)
73. *Is minic a bhíodh sé ag cuimhneach ciarbh iad gur leo na feadhmannagh a cheannuigheadh na morgáistí agus na cairt teidil ón dtiarna so.* (Aodh de Róiste, 73; Ó Céileachair stated in "Aodh de Róiste", 11, that *cairt* should have read *cairteacha* here.)
74. *Thug sé dhom gach aon tuairisg go cruinn; cé'r bh'iad a bhí tar éis bháis; cé'r bh'iad a bhí pósta; cé'r bh'iad a bhí ag déanamh go maith, agus cé'r bh'iad a bhí ar a mhalairt de chuma.* (Ár nDóithin Araon, 40)

These examples show that the intervention of a pronoun in *cé hé go* and *cérbh é go* solves many difficulties with a subsequent copula in an indirect relative construction. We may note in passing from (74) that even with direct relative constructions, it is often convenient to use *cé+copula+subsubject* (not *cé a bhí tar éis bháis*, but *cérbh iad a bhí tar éis bháis*). This also allows us to draw a distinction between "who? (singular)" (*cé hé+relative*) and "who? (plural)" (*cé hiad+relative*), a distinction that is drawn in some other languages.

Finally, like *cad*, an interrogative clause starting with *cé* may be governed by a preposition:

75. *An t-é a bhíonn ag argóint ar cé h-é an naomh is mó nó cé h-é an naomh is lúgha.* (Aithris ar Chríost, 230)

Ceocu?

Ceocu, "which? which of them?", is derived from *cé acu* and pronounced /k'ukə/. *Ceocu* may be followed by a prepositional pronoun formed from *ag* or *de*. Forms such as *ceocu agaibh* (/k'ukə giv'/, "which of you?"; derived from *cé acu agaibh*) thus contain prepositional pronouns using *ag* twice. A *ceocu*-noun phrase may be used with a prepositional pronoun and a direct or indirect relative clause as appropriate. We see in sentence (76), meaning "which of you is Nireós and which of you is Tirsités?", that no subsubject is required. Sentence (77) means "to which of them does the woman belong?/whose wife is she?" *Ceocu* may also directly qualify a noun in the capacity of an interrogative adjective, as in (78) below ("which school?"), with the implication that a small number of known nouns of the class is being drawn from ("which of these schools?" and not "what school?", which would be *cad í an scoil?*).

76. *Ach cé 'cu agaibh Niréos agus ce 'cu agaibh Tirsités? Ní léir an méid sin fós.* (Lúcián, 153)
77. *D'á bhrígh sin, nuair thiocfaidh an aiseirighe, agus nuair a dh'eireóchaid siad go léir, cé 'cu dhíobh gur leis an bhean?* (Na Cheithre Soisgéil, 122)
78. *... feuchaint cé 'cu sgoil a churfadh amach an buachail ab fheár nú an cailín ab fheár.* (Sgothbualadh, 119)

Ceocu means "whether" when followed by a direct relative clause:

79. *Ní fheadar cé 'cu a dhein nó nár dhein, agus is cuma liom.* (Niamh, 335)
80. *B'é nídh é sin 'ná cad a bhí imthighthe ar Amhlaoibh nó cé 'cu beó nó marbh a bhí sé.* (Niamh, 97)

Pé

Pé, "whichever, whoever, whatever", results from a truncation of *cibé*, in itself a historical fusion of *cé* and the present subjunctive form of the copula. *Pé* may govern a noun, or may take the copula with the following forms:

81. *Dein anois é, dein féin anois, a mhic mo chroidhe, pé rud a dh'fhéadfair a dhéanamh.* (*Aithris ar Chríost*, 49)
82. *"Léigh é, pé rud é!" arsa'n rí.* (*Mo Sgéal Féin*, 198)
83. *"Ná féadfá an méid sin do rádh gan duine do mhilleadh led' chuid glinneamhna, pé h-é thú féin?"* (*Séadna*, 10)
84. *Cé h-iad is déanaighe a chaith dhíobh é? Pé h-iad féin is mithid dóibh é.* (*Cómhairle Ár Leasa*, 233)
85. *Bhí an ceart aige pé 'r bh' é féin.* (*Sgothbhualadh*, 144)
86. *Pé áit as a dtáinig sé, nó pé comhacht a thug ann é, is eagal liom ná himtheóchaidh sé gan díoghbháil a dhéanamh.* (*Táin Bó Cuailnge 'na Dhráma*, 59-60)
87. *Tá sé imthighthe anois pé duine go mba leis é.* (*Notes on Irish Words and Usages*, 133)

As *pé* means, not just "whatever", but "whoever" (as in *pé hiad féin* above, equivalent to *pé daoine iad féin*), logically we might have expected indirect relative forms of the copula similar to those found with *cé*. Yet I have found no attestation of clauses like **pér leis é* ("whoever it belonged to") or **péra d(h)íobh é* ("wherever he is from/whatever family he belongs to"). This is probably because the meaning of *pé* extends to "whoever" only when adjacent to a personal pronoun. Indirect relatives supplying the required meanings are formed with *pé*+noun, as in sentences (86) and (87) above.

Peocu

The use of *ceocu* to mean "whether" can be hard to differentiate from *peocu*, derived from *pé acu*, pronounced /p'ukə/. *Peocu* is often followed by a relative clause in a very similar fashion to *ceocu*. Gerald O'Nolan explained in his *Studies in Modern Irish Part I* (p76) that *ceocu* is used with substantival clauses (*ní fheadar cia 'cu thiochfaidh sé nó ná tiocfaidh*), whereas *peocu* is used with adverbial clauses (*pé 'cu thiochfaidh sé nó ná tiocfaidh, fanfad-sa*). Just as with *ceocu*, *peocu* may be followed by *ag* or *de* (often written *do*), with the relevant section of sentence (90) meaning "whichever of the three of you".

88. *Pé 'cu chodlas nú nár chodlas ní baoghal gur sgar an sgéal le m'aighe.* (*Sgothbhualadh*, 18)
89. *Tá órdú tabhartha ag Méibh dá fearaibh cuidridh má chíd siad sa chath me gan me dhul beó as, pé 'cu ag Ultaigh nó ag Fearaibh Éirean a bheidh buadh.* (*Táin Bó Cuailnge 'na Dhráma*, 236-237)
90. *... peocu don triúr agaibh is mó a bhuaifig bob.* (*Scéalaíocht Amhlaoibh*, 223)

Cá?

Cá is a generic interrogative adjective, meaning "what X?" and "which X?" Its precise meaning is best appraised from context. When used as an interrogative adjective, *cá* does not eclipse and prefixes *h* to a vowel where necessary.

91. *"Cé h-é thusa, a fhir bhig?" ar seisean, "nó cá tír as a dtánaís?"* (*Eisirt*, 42)
92. *Ca bhfios domhsa ceocu Fearghus nó Conchobhar ba mhó a bhí ciontach!* (*Táin Bó Cuailnge 'na Dhráma*, 104)

We see here that *cá tír* means "which country?" (equivalent to *ceocu tír*) and is followed by an indirect relative clause. I haven't found any examples of such usage by Ó Loingsigh, and such usages are rare in Ua Laoghaire's works too (and thus they may not be forms found in the colloquial dialect, but rather forms picked up by Ua Laoghaire in his wider reading in Irish). Ó Céileachair rejected the phrase *cá tír?* found in the published version of his *Aodh de Róiste* (p76), correcting it

to *cad é an tír?* (“Aodh de Róiste”, p11). The extended meaning of the frequently encountered phrase *ca bhfios* is “how would I know?” I include it here in the discussion of the use of *cá* as a generic interrogative adjective qualifying a noun, but Ua Laoghaire’s frequent use of the spelling *ca bh’fhios* found elsewhere in his works indicates that he did not believe that in this phrase *cá* governed a noun as an interrogative adjective with exceptional eclipsis, but rather that the *bh* derived from a lenited conditional-tense copula. If so, *ca* here would be an interrogative adverb, “how?” *Ca bhfios* is frequently found in Ua Laoghaire’s works spelt with a short *a*, indicating the dialectal pronunciation /kavəs/.

The use of *cá háit?* to mean “where?” is also an instance of *cá* as a generic interrogative adjective. I can only identify one use of *cá háit* in Ua Laoghaire’s works:

93. *Ach tá aithne againn air seo, cá dtáinig sé; ach Críost, nuair a thiocfaidh sé, ní h-eól d’aoinne cá h-áit gurab as é. (Na Cheithre Soisgéil, 245; cá dtáinig sé illustrates the fact that in older Muskerry Irish, the verb *tigim/tagaim* did not take *ro* in the past tense; this phrase is equivalent in meaning to *cár tháinig sé*, both *cá dtáinig* and *cár tháinig* being found in Ua Laoghaire’s works.)*

Cá huair (also found in Ua Laoghaire’s works as *cá uair*), “when?”, is used with the copula. Both *cá huair* and *cá uair* are exceedingly rare in Ua Laoghaire’s works and are thus unlikely to be natural phrases in Muskerry Irish. The form without the *h* appears to reflect a wider tendency to omit grammatically required *h*’s in Ua Laoghaire’s works (compare, for example, the forms *an ceathramhadh uair* and *an ceathramhadh h-oidhche* in his Irish).

94. *Cá huair ba chóir dúinn úrnuithe do rádh? (An Teagasg Críosaíde, 23)*

Diarmuid Ua Laoghaire (Peadar Ua Laoghaire’s second cousin) has *ca huain* with a short vowel in *ca* to mean “when?”:

95. *Ní dócha go bhfuil páiste in Éirinn ná go mbíon ag cuir ’s ag cúiteamh, rátha roim rae, feuchaint ca h-uain a bheadh An Nodlaig ann. (Cogar Mogar, 11)*

Cá may also be used with nouns, comparative adjectives and verbs in rhetorical questions. The first example here means “who would fault someone for defending himself?” The second example, meaning literally “how is the toiler more needful of rest than the soil?” really means “isn’t the soil just as needful of rest as the toiler?” The final example means “how is it that I should have any brands upon me?”

96. *Cá locht ar dhuine é féin a chosaint! (Cogar Mogar, 39)*
97. *Cá gádhtraighe an sglábhaidhe, nó capall na hoibre, le sos, agus le suaimehneas, agus le greas codlata ná an chré, ó is í a thugann barraí agus beatha uaithi. (Saothar Bliana, 26)*
98. *Cár cuireadh aon chómharthaí orm-sa? (Lúcián, 82)*

The generic nature of *cá* is shown by the fact that this word, used without a noun, is also an adverb meaning “where?”, followed by eclipsis or n-prefixation of a vowel. In the past tense, *cár*, which lenites, is found. *Cá/cár* often has the meaning “where from?”, as well as “where?” We may note in passing Gerald O’Nolan’s explanation that *cá* derives from an earlier *ca* with a suffixed preposition *an* (“where from?”): this accounts for the length of the vowel, but also for the distinctive syntax following *cá* compared with the other Irish interrogatives (see *The New Era Grammar of Modern Irish*, p52).

99. *Cá mbíonn tú nuair ná bíonn tú ad’ láthair féin? (Aithris ar Chríost, 69)*

100. *Cá n-imtheóch' sé uatha? (Sgothbhualadh, 6)*
101. *Do thógadar an Tighearna as an dtuama, agus ní fios dúinn cár chuireadar é. (Na Cheithre Soisgéil, 282)*
102. *Cár ghlac sé corp agus anam mar atá againne? (Aithris ar Chríost, 13)*

Used with the copula, *cá*, “where?”, becomes *cár* (*cárb* before a vowel) without lenition in the present tense, and *cár* (or *cárbh* before a vowel) with lenition in the past/conditional tense. The spellings *cár ab as mé* and *cár bh' as í* in (105) and (106) are worthy of note, given the additional vowel in the former, but not in the latter. As this contradicts wider evidence that an epenthetic vowel cannot be formed after a liquid consonant in a syllable with a long vowel, the vowel in *ab* may be seen as a truncation of *gurab* and thus not epenthetic at all.

103. *B'fhéidir go bhféadfá-sa a dh'innsint dúinn cár ceart dúinn aghaidh a thabhairt anois, nó cad é an treó baill 'n-a mbeadh aon deabhramh go dtiocfaimis suas leis an sgéal. (Guaire, Vol 2, 202)*
104. *Cár mhaith leat go ndéanfaimis an cháisg d'ollamhú dhuit le caitheamh? (Na Cheithre Soisgéil, 75)*
105. *Tá aithne agaibh orm-sa agus is eol daoibh cár ab as mé; agus ní uaim féin a thánag; ach tá an t-é a chuir uaidh mé fíor, agus ní'l aithne agaibh-se air. (Na Cheithre Soisgéil, 245-246)*
106. *D'fhiafraigh fear an tíghe dhi cár bh' as í. (Mo Sgéal Féin, 7)*

Cárb as tu? is thus similar in meaning to *cad as duit?* and *cad as tu?* mentioned above.

Eile may be used with *cá* in the form *cad eile cá+verb* (“where else?”). (The example given below illustrates the frequent use of the spelling *ca bhfuil* in the Irish of both Ua Laoghair and Ó Loingsigh, which clarifies the short vowel in the pronunciation of this phrase: /ka vil'/.) I also give an example below of a *cá*-clause being governed by a preposition.

107. *Agus cad eile ca bhfuil oiread óir le fághail agus atá le fághail anso againne? (Lúcián, 57)*
108. *Ní raibh aon tuairisg sa leabhar, ná ar chiúmhaís an leabhair, ar cad é an caisleán é ná ar cá raibh sé. (Mo Sgéal Féin, 101)*

We may note in passing that indirect relative usages give in *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla* such as *cá air*, *cá leis* and *cá uaidh* are not attested in Muskerry Irish. Finally, use of *cá* with nouns and adjectives in the meaning of “how much” is discussed in the appropriate section below.

Canad?

Canad?, “where?”, is derived from *cá ionad?* and is thus technically a use of *cá* as an interrogative adjective. *Canad* is relatively rare, but can be seen to suit copula usage and one-word questions particularly well. The use of an appended *isteach* is also found (*canad isteach?*). Whereas Ua Laoghair has a direct relative clause *canad a chonacthas é* in (110), Ó Loingsigh regularly uses the form *canad ann* followed by an indirect relative.

109. *Agus dubhradar-san: Canad is toil leat go n-ollamhóchaimis é. (Na Cheithre Soisgéil, 210)*
110. *Do ghluais Gormfhlaith ar fuid an ríghtheighlaigh ag ceistiúchán ar na seirbhísigh feuchaint cé ba dhéanaighe a chonaic an tíghearna óg. Amhlaoibh, agus canad a chonacthas é. (Niamh, 302)*
111. *“Ó, chím-se fós iad,” adeireadh duine. “Canad?” adeireadh duine eile. (Eisirt, 89)*

112. *Nuair a chua sé abhaile ón scuraíocht ní fheadair sé canad isteach, geall leis, go bhféatadh sé dul sa chúirt álainn go léir a bhí roimis i n-inlead an tseana-bhotháin. (Scéalaíocht Amlaoibh, 50)*
113. *Ní fheadair Donacha canad ann 'na raibh an bhean le fáil. (Scéalaíocht Amhlaoibh, 206)*

Eile may be used with *canad*. Sentence (114) is the only example I can find; no instances of *cad eile canad* have been identified. However, sentence (115) shows a slightly different sort of reduplication of interrogatives that may be analogous.

114. *“Ní hannso do chaithfead mo phroinn amáireach.” “Agus canad eile, a dhe?” arsa Ó Domhnaill. (An Cleasaidhe, 9)*
115. *“Canad i n-aon chor cá bhfuil sé ag dul,” arsa Billy leis féin. (Aodh de Roiste, 252-253)*

Cathain?

“When?” is normally *cathain* (derived from *cá tan* and thus a use of the generic interrogative as an adjective), pronounced /kə'hin/. Spellings *cathain*, *cathoin* and *cathin* are all found in Ua Laoghaire's works. *Cathain* is followed by a direct relative clause. *Cathain* may be used with the copula. Compare also *cá huair* with the copula in (94) above.

116. *“Tuisgint” an nádúr atá sa choileach le n-a n-aithnighean sé cathin sa n-oidhche is ceart dó gladhach. (Ua Laoghaire's manuscript translation of the footnote to Job 38:36)*
117. *“Airíú, cathain a chonaicís í, a Sheághain?” ar siad. (Séadna, 177)*

Cad fá? and other phrases with cad meaning “why?”

Cén fáth for “why?” is not found in Muskerry Irish. There are a large number of choices here, including *cad fá?*, *cad 'na thaobh* and *cad chuige*. Interestingly, Seosamh Laoide stated that *cad 'na thaobh*, pronounced /ka nə 'he:v/, may contain, not *cad*, but *ca*, the original form of the generic interrogative *cá* found in some interrogative phrases—see *Focloir do cuireadh le Fionn & Lorcán*, p116. If so, there is correctly no /d/ in the pronunciation. (We note in passing that *cad 'na thaobh* means “why?”; compare *i dtaobh cad é?*, “about what?”, which I came across in Dónall Bán Ó Céileachair's *Aodh de Róiste*, p15. Dr Seán Ua Súilleabháin of University College Cork has pointed out to me that this is acceptable as a colloquialism because it asks for clarification of *tá cathú orm i dtaobh a* [sic] *scéil* spoken by an interlocutor in the previous sentence.) All three may take a subordinate clause introduced by *go*:

118. *Cad fá go leigimid sinn féin ar ár nglúinibh i lathair íomhágtha Chríost agus na naomh? (An Teagasg Críostaidhe, 21)*
119. *Cad fá an t-eagla so oraibh? (Na Cheithre Soisgéil, 97)*
120. *Cad 'n-a thaobh, d'á bhrígh sin, ná fuilim níos mó ar lasadh le grádh dhuit, agus mé ad' láthair? (Aithris ar Chríost, 238)*
121. *“Agus cad 'n-a thaobh an cogadh má 'seadh?” arsa mise. (Niamh, 222)*
122. *Cad chuige go mbrisid do dheisgiobhuil-se nósa na sean? (Na Cheithre Soisgéil, 41)*
123. *Cad chuige an bhuaire agus an gol? (Na Cheithre Soisgéil, 100)*

Cad é an chúis (an example of a masculine subsubject with a feminine noun), *cad ar a shon* and *cad uime* may also mean “why” or something analogous to it (“for what reason?”, “in relation to what?”, etc) in Ua Laoghaire's Irish. *Cad ar a shon* and *cad uime* have not been found in Ó Loingsigh's Irish. *Cad fé ndéar* (or *cad fé ndeara*) is occasionally found with a subordinate clause introduced by *go*, but is more generally followed by a noun or pronoun subject or a verbal noun.

Cad fé ndeár san? and *cad fé ndeár é sin?* are attested (as is *cad 'na thaobh san?*), meaning “why is that?” Finally, *cad* on its own as in (129) can also mean something similar to “why” in an elliptical construction:

124. *Bhí fhios agam cad é an chúis n-a mbíodh Caoilte ag teacht fé dhéin teighlaigh Thaidhg Mhóir uí Chealla.* (Niamh, 188)
125. “Airiú,” ar sise, “*cad ar a shon go dtabharfá an oiread san airgid dom roimh ré?*” (Séadna, 63)
126. *A Dhia, a Dhia, cad uime gur thréigis mé?* (Na Cheithre Soisgéil, 83)
127. *Ní fheadar an tsaoghal cad fé ndeara do mhnáibh na h-Éirean a leithéid de dhúil a bheith acu ann, nú cad fé ndeara dhóibh bheith 'ghá labhairt le n-a gclainn.* (Sgothbhualadh, p70)
128. *A Thighearna, cad fé ndeár go ndéanfair thu féin a thaisbéaint dúinne agus ná taisbéanfair thu féin do'n tsaoghal?* (Na Cheithre Soisgéil, 268)
129. “Airiú,” arsa Diarmuid, “*agus cad ba ghádh an dithneas go léir?*” (Séadna, 42)

Conas?

Similar *conas* (from *cá ionas* and thus a use of the generic interrogative as an adjective) is found in Muskerry in the place of the *cad é mar* and *cé(n) chaoi* used elsewhere in Ireland to form the interrogative “how”. Possibly illogically, *conas* usually takes a direct relative clause, although counterexamples, as in (130) below are found. The *conas atá tú?* form taught to learners of Irish ignores the fact that the relative particle is not heard and *conas 'tánn/'taíonn tú?* represents the pronunciation better. In *The Dialects of Co. Clare*, Nils Holmer stated that /kənəs ə'ha tə/ was found in Co. Clare when the Gaeltacht survived in that part of Munster (see pp87, 129 in that work); it seems that if the relative particle is clearly heard, the *t* in the substantive verb should be lenited too. By way of a counterexample, Ua Laoghaire does write out the relative particle in *conus atáthar* in (131); this may be because the autonomous form of the verb is more rarely found than *conas 'taíonn tú?* *Conas* is also used with the copula in a direct relative construction.

130. “*Cionnus ar thugais dó í?*” arsa an mháthair. (Measgán Músgraidhe, 66; 108 therein states “So also *cionnus a bhfuil tú?* in parts of Muns. esp. in Thomond”.)
131. “*Conus atáthar ag an muintir mhóir mhaith seo indiu?*” arsa Guaire. (Guaire, Vol 1, 78)
132. *Conus is féidir an t-arán agus an fion d' athrúghadh i bhfuil agus i bhfeoil Críosa?* (An Teagasg Críosaide, 26)

As well as *conas eile*, “how else” may also be *cad eile conas*. As with the other interrogatives, *conas* may be governed by *ar*.

133. *Cad eile conus fheuchfá 'n-a súilibh, mara rud é go bhfuilid siad féin chómh caoch leat?* (Lúcián, 115)
134. *Mar do bhreithnigheadar go dlúth ar conus iad féin do chimeád ó gach mian saoghalta, ansan d'fhéadadar gach féith 'n-a gcroíde a thabhairt do Dhia agus iad féin do chimeád gan cheangal.* (Aithris ar Chríost, 17)

Conas san? is a question (or a question with rhetorical exclamatory force), meaning “how come?” *Conas é sin?* is also found elsewhere in Ua Laoghaire’s works; *é sin* may indicate something more specific than *san*.

135. “*Ach feuch, a Amhlaoibh. Tá an sgéal go h-olc agat-sa.*” “*Conus san airiú!*” “*Caithfear an ceann a bhaint díot.*” (Niamh, 161)

The subordinate-clause use of *conas mar* expresses “how it is that something is”, “how something happened to take place”, with a direct relative clause:

136. *Cad é a mhinicighe a dh’airighis conus mar a thuit an fear so le claidheamh. (Aithris ar Chríost, 49)*

Cad é mar?

Cad é mar, while not used in the general interrogative sense of “how?” in Muskerry Irish, may be found in subordinate clauses to express “how it is that something is” in a manner similar to *conas mar*. It takes a direct relative clause. It will be noted that all uses of *cad é mar* in Ua Laoghaire’s Irish seem to have rhetorical force, and so there seems to be an additional rhetorical nuance compared with *conas mar*, with the meaning approaching “just how much; to what a great extent”. In (138), the meaning is “just how much he kept on demanding things from me”.

137. *Ó, an t-é go mbéadh ’n-a chroidhe aige an léas is lúgha d’fhíor-ghrádh Dé, do chífedh sé go soiléir cad é mar ná fuil i neithibh saoghalta ar fad ach folamhas. (Aithris ar Chríost, 26)*
138. *Fág fúm-sa a thuisgint cad é an saghas Aristotelés; cad é mar a bhíodh sé ag lorg neithe orm. (Lúcián, 36)*

Cad é mar may also be used with a noun in an interrogative sentence (“just what sort of X are you?”). This is essentially a copular construction, with the use of *cad é mar* adding a rhetorical flourish.

139. *Cad é mar shaghas duine thú? Nó cad tá uait? (Séadna, 87)*
140. *Cad é mar dhuine é seo go bhfuil gaoth agus faraige úmhal dó? (Na Cheithre Soisgél, 21)*

The use of *cad é mar* in rhetorical exclamations to mean “what a X!” is discussed below.

“How?” in questions of degree

The generic interrogative *cá* may also express “how” in questions of degree when governing adjectives or nouns. Compare the following:

141. *An fada d’ fhan corp Chríost san uaig? (An Teagasg Críostaidhe, 16)*
142. *Cá fada, a Thighearna, a dhéanfir dearmhad díom go crích? (Ua Laoghaire’s manuscript translation of Psalm 12:1)*
143. *Cá fada tar éis deasgabhála Chríost gur chuir sé an Spioraid Naomh uaidh? (An Teagasg Críostaidhe, 16)*

The use of the interrogative particle *an*, as opposed to interrogative adverbs such as *cá*, is not the focus of this article. However, we note that *an fada* means “how long?” (and also “how far?” in distance) and that the use of *an* as an interrogative appears to be a more natural usage in such questions. *An fada* contrasts in the edition of Uilliam Ua Cathain’s catechism edited by Ua Laoghaire with *cá fada*, also meaning “how long?”, on the same page of the catechism as shown in (141) and (143) above. *An fada* and *cá fada* may both take direct relatives. The use of *cá* in questions of degree does not occasion consonant mutation, but would prefix *h* to a vowel, as shown in *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla*, which gives *cá hard*. However, no instances of *cá* governing an adjective beginning with a vowel have been located in the Irish of Ua Laoghaire or Ó Loingsigh.

Cá beag and *cá mór* mean “how little” and “how large”. However, these phrases have extended idiomatic meanings (“how come it’s not enough? isn’t it enough for you?” and “how come it’s excessive? why shouldn’t you?” respectively), as shown in the following examples; Ua Laoghaire’s literal translations given in (144) indicate that he interpreted the generic interrogative *cá* to mean “where?”, not “how?”, but the generic interrogative nature of *cá* means that this distinction is not significant. *Cár bheag* shows that the use of *cá* to mean “how” is essentially a copula construction, which can therefore take the past/conditional form of the copula in the form of *cár* (with lenition). I haven’t located any examples of *cá féarr* or *cá miste*. All such usages are likely to be foreign to the dialect: Dónall Bán Ó Céileachair insisted that *cá féarr?* in the published edition of *Aodh de Róiste* (p19) was not his Irish, and corrected it to *an féarr?* (“Aodh de Róiste”, p10).

144. *Cá beag* and *cá mór* are emphatic interrogative forms of *ní beag* and *ní mór*. *Cá beag duit do cheart fhághail?* Where is it too little for you to get your right? i.e. is it not enough for you to get your right? *Cá mór dom mo cheart féin do bhaint amach?* Where is it too much for me to insist on my own right? i.e. must I not insist...? (*Notes on Irish Words and Usages*, 146-147)
145. *Cár bheag dom chun mé chosg ar iad a dhéanamh an chrích a rug mo bheirt drithár mar gheall ar bheith ag déanamh gníomhartha d’á sórd?* (*Sgéalaidheachta na Macabéach*, Vol 2, 222)

“How many?” is generally found in Muskerry Irish as *an mó?* However, Ua Laoghaire does occasionally use *cá mhéad* and *cá mhéid* (but not *cé mhéad*), where the generic interrogative governs a noun. It seems that *cá mhéad* resulted from an early fusion of *cá+a+méad*. If *cad é mhéid aimsire* in (148) is not a typographical error, it may contain an unexpressed proleptic possessive and/or the influence of *cá mhéad*. This example avoids the use of the generic interrogative *cá*, but is the only identifiable instance of *cad é mhéid* in Ua Laoghaire’s works.

146. *An mó uair atá a cúig i bhfichid? Ceithre h-uaire. Cá mheud uair atá a trí ann? Sé h-uaire, agus a dó fairis.* (*Eólas ar Áireamh*, 32)
147. *Cá mhéid pearsa i nDia?* (*An Teagasg Críosaíde*, 12)
148. *Tar éis raint aimsire bheith caithte agam sa sgoil sin Mhichíl de Bhál i Maghchromtha, ní cuimhin liom anois i gceart cad é mhéid aimsire, do labhair Micheál de Bhál le m’ athair.* (*Mo Sgéal Féin*, 60)

No examples of constructions like *cé chomh te* have been found in the Irish of Ua Laoghaire or Ó Loingsigh. This construction appears to be foreign to the dialect. In Ua Laoghaire’s Irish, the somewhat rare use of *cá* to govern a noun or adjective in questions of degree (as in *cá fada*) is supplemented by the use of *cad é* with a definite noun (*é* is used even with a feminine noun, possibly in anticipation of the response). We note in (149) below that *cad é an fhaid* is found on the same page of Ua Laoghaire’s catechism as *an fada* and *cá fada*. *Cad é an fhaid* is found with the direct relative. *Cad é an fhaid aimsire*, as shown in (150), is found much more frequently than *cad é mhéid aimsire*. *Cad é an méid aimsire* with the article is also attested in (151). The use of *cad é an t-aos tu?*, translated by Ua Laoghaire as “what age are you?”, but much more naturally “how old are you?” in English, replaces the forms *cá haois t(h)ú?* and *cén aois t(h)ú?* found in other forms of Irish.

149. *Cad é an fhaid d’ fhan Críosaíde ar an dtalamh so tár éis na h-aiseiríge?* (*An Teagasg Críosaíde*, 16)
150. *Aon duine, a Dhonchadh, go bhfuil an Ghaeluinn ’na bhéul aige, cad é an fhaid aimsire is dóich leat ba ghádh dhó thabhairt ag foghlaim conus Gaeluinn do léighe agus do sgrí’?* (*Sgothbhualadh*, 8)

151. “*Cad é an méid aimsire a bhéadh uait?*” arsa ‘n ceann airm. (*Séadna*, 215)

152. *Cad é an t-aos tu?* What age are you? (*Mion-Chaint, Cuid a II*, 33)

Rhetorical “how!” and “what a X!”

Although *cé chomh te* is not found in Muskerry Irish, *chómh* on its own in this rhetorical exclamation from Diarmuid Ua Laoghaire comes close to that form (“if only you had seen how agitated he was!”).

153. *Dá bhficfá chomh buartha ‘s do bhí sé!* (*Cogar Mogar*, 2)

Aside from this example, the examples I have come across of a rhetorical “how!” all contain *cad*, *cad é* or *cad é mar*. In the following example, *cad* means “how” (“how extremely foolish it/he looked to me when I was listening to his threats!”).

154. *Ní féidir liom gan a dh’innsint duit, ámhthach, cad a dh’fheuch baoth thar na beartaibh dom nuair a bhíos ag éisteacht le n-a bhagarthóireacht.* (*Lúcán*, 140)

Cad é is used in rhetorical exclamations followed by an abstract noun with a proleptic possessive particle. We note that these abstract nouns are often feminine, but the subsubject is, nonetheless, *é*. The form of abstract nouns varies in Ua Laoghaire’s works. An example of *cad é a mhiniceacht* is given below, but *cad é a mhinicighe* and *cad é a mhinice* are also found elsewhere, as in (136) above. Such rhetorical phrases, essentially interrogative copular sentences, may be used as clauses in longer sentences, as in (156) and (157).

155. *A Ierúsalem, a Ierúsalem, a mharbhuigheann na fáidhe, agus a ghabhann do chlochaibh ins na daoine a curtar chúghat, cad é a mhiniceacht dob’ áil liom do chlann a bhailiú chugham mar a bhailigheann an chearc a h-ál fé n-a sgiathánaibh, agus níor bh’áil leat!* (*Na Cheithre Soisgél*, 67)

156. *Agus ansan, má bhíon an sgéal chómh dona san ag na righthibh is uiriste a thuisgint cad é a olcas a bhíon an sgéal agá ndaoineibh.* (*Lúcán*, 62)

157. *Gan grádh Dé ann ní’l aon tairbhe sa ghníomh sofheicse, ach aon rud a deintear le grádh do Dhia, is cuma cad é a luighead ná a shuaraigheacht, tairbhe agus toradh ar fad iseadh é.* (*Aithris ar Chríost*, 25)

There appears to be a difference in construction between *questions* like *cad é an fhaid?* in (149) and (150) above, with the definite article, and rhetorical *exclamations* such as *cad é a luighead!*, with the possessive, although the choice in exclamations of the definite article or the possessive is in fact determined by the later run of the sentence. Rhetorical exclamations would usually contain the possessive. Given in (158) below is the only example of a rhetorical exclamation I can find with *méid* and not *a mhéid* (the citation contains a question mark, but the Douay version of Matthew 6:23 show this to be a rhetorical exclamation: “If then the light that is in thee, be darkness: the darkness itself how great shall it be!”). As *cad é* is followed by *méid na doircheachta*, possessive use is not possible here.

158. *Agus má’s ionan agus doircheacht an solus atá ionat, cad é méid na doircheachta féin?* (*Na Cheithre Soisgél*, 15)

By contrast, questions of degree usually have the article (but may have the possessive, as in *cad é mhéid aimsire*, which may be construed as having an elided possessive, where there is a need to refer back to or anticipate something).

Note the following use of *cad é* with the comprehensive relative particle to form an exclamation (“how many people!”):

159. *Cad é a bhfuil de dhaoine d’á gcailleamhaint tré eolus bhaoth an tsaoghail, agus gan puinn suime acu i seirbhís Dé! (Aithris ar Chríost, 8)*

This usage appears exceptional, as it is the only instance I can identify of *cad é a bhfuil* in Ua Laoghaire’s works. *Cad a bhfuil* is the form he generally uses, as shown in (160) and (161) below. There are at least six identifiable instances of *cad a bhfuil* in Ua Laoghaire’s published works. Yet McCionnaith’s English-Irish dictionary gives (p629 therein) *cad é &c a bhfuil de dhaoine ghá marbhú* as a Munster form (with the &c indicating that a number of variants exist). Although *cad é a bhfuil* seems grammatically correct—as *a bhfuil* is a definite noun phrase in such constructions—it seems likely that *cad a bhfuil* was Ua Laoghaire’s preferred form, and that the use of the pronoun in (159) reflects syntactical contamination from phrases such as *cad é an mhéid daoine a bhí sa tír* (found in *Seanmóin agus Trí Fichid*, Vol 1, p22; this citation appears to contain a typographical error as *an mhéid* means “the size” as opposed to *an méid*, “the amount”), or that Ua Laoghaire originally intended to write *cad é an m(h)éid* before following *cad é* by *a bhfuil de* instead.

160. *Cad a bhfuil de dhaoine do mealladh, agus gur stracadh anam a’ colainn acu gan choinne! (Aithris ar Chríost, 49)*
161. *Ó, cad a bhfuil agam ’á fhulang laistigh! (Aithris ar Chríost, 196)*

Cad é mar may be used in rhetoric expressions qualifying a noun in a similar fashion to “what a!” in English (“what a world!”). *Cad é mar* may be followed by a direct relative in a rhetorical exclamation that could possibly be translated as “how it seems that...!” in (162), (163) and (164). In (165) the same construction is found with the copula in a rhetorical sentence that could be translated “how right it is to render unto thee praise and thanks on account of these things!”

162. *Ó, cad é mar shaoghal! Cad é mar ná fuil ann ar fad ach trioblóid agus mí-fhortiún agus ceilg namhad ar an uile thaobh. (Aithris ar Chríost, 138)*
163. *Cad é mar ná tagan aon lá breágh! How extraordinary that no fine day comes! (Notes on Irish Words and Usages, 143)*
164. *Cad é mar atá an fear láidir ar lár! How the strong man is down. A common construction in the mouths of old Irish speakers. It expresses wonder, admiration, astonishment. (Notes on Irish Words and Usages, 143)*
165. *Cad é mar is ceart moladh agus buidheachas a ghabháil leat mar gheall ar na neithibh seo! (Aithris ar Chríost, 244)*

More rarely, *cad iad mar* can be found in a rhetorical flourish with a plural noun:

166. *Féach, a Mháighistir, cad iad mar chlocha agus cad é mar dhéanamh! (Na Cheithre Soisgéil, 123)*

The rhetorical exclamation *cad é mar obair* is worth mentioning separately. Ua Laoghaire gives his translation of this in (167). In some sentences, such as (168), the meaning tends towards “why on earth would he imagine there was no accuracy or neatness of expression anywhere else, other than where he himself was born and brought up!” A variant, *cad é mar ghnó*, is shown in (169).

167. *Cad é mar obair duit dul, etc. (Sg. III. 280), what sort of conduct was it. This sentence can be past or present according as the sense requires. Cad é mar obair duit é siúd a dhéanamh indé! Cad é mar obair duit bheith ’ghá dhéanamh san anois! (Notes on Irish*

Words and Usages, 83)

168. *Pé ceart nú pé deise cainnte atá i mbeul cainnteóra i ndúthaigh áirighthe cad é mar obair dó a cheapadh i n-a aigne ná fuil ceart ná deise cainnte i n-aon áit eile ach sa n-áit 'n-ar rugadh agus 'n-ar tógadh é féin!* (*Cómhairle Ár Leasa*, 229)
169. *Cad é mar ghnó dhuit mé fhágáilt anso ar feadh cheithre h-uair 'chloig, am' leathadh le fuacht na h-oidhche?* (*Ár nDóithin Araon*, 18)

One notices, however, how dependent many of these examples, particularly of questions of degree meaning “how” and rhetorical exclamations meaning “how!” and “what a!”, are on the works of Ua Laoghaire. *Cad é mar*, for example, is not found in what is attested of the Irish of Ó Loingsigh. Yet Ua Laoghaire states in (164) that some of these phrases were common in colloquial Munster Irish. Other interrogative phrases that are rarely attested may have been picked up by Ua Laoghaire elsewhere or in his reading of Irish literature. *Aithris ar Chríost*, Ua Laoghaire’s translation of *Imitatio Christi*, is a particularly rich source of such phrases. Without Ua Laoghaire’s works, it would be difficult to say what forms many interrogative sentences would have taken in the Irish used by speakers of traditional Muskerry Irish.

References

- “Aodh de Róiste”, in *An Músgraigheach*, Uimhir 4, Earrach 1944.
- Bedel, William. *Leabhair an Tsean Tiomna, ar na dtarruing on teanguidh ughdarach go Gaidhlig*, Dublin: G. & J. Grierson & M. Keene, 1827.
- Congregation of Christian Brothers. *Graiméar Gaeilge na mBráithre Críostaí*, Baile Átha Cliath: An Gúm, 1999, available in electronic form at http://www.scriobh.ie/ScriobhLe/Media/Graimear%20Gaeilge%20na%20mBráithre%20Críostaí_Eag1999.pdf.
- Holmer, Nils M., “The Dialects of Co. Clare”, in *Todd Lecture Series: Part I*, Vol XIX, Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co, 1962.
- Laoide Seosamh (ed). *Measgán Músgraidhe: cnuasach beag sgéalaídeachta*, Baile Átha Cliath: Connradh na Gaedhilge, 1907.
- Laoide, Seosamh and Ó Muimhneacháin, Conchubhar. *Foclóir do cuireadh le Fionn & Lorcán &rl*, Baile Átha Cliath: Connradh na Gaedhilge, 1913.
- McCionnaith, L. *Foclóir Béarla agus Gaedhilge: EnglishIrish Dictionary*, Baile Átha Cliath: Oifig Díolta Foillseacháin Rialtais, 1935.
- Ó Briain, Micheál. *Cnósach Focal ó Bhaile Bhúirne*, Baile Átha Cliath: Institiúid Árd-léighinn Bhaile Átha Cliath, 1947.
- Ó Cadhlaigh, Cormac. *Gnás na Gaedhilge*, Baile Átha Cliath: Oifig an tSoláthair, 1940.
- Ó Ceocháin, Dómnall and Ó Céileachair, Dómnall (translators). *Aodh de Róiste*, Baile Átha Cliath: Oifig Díolta Foillseacháin Rialtais, 1933.
- Ó Cróinín, Donncha, “Scéalaíocht Amhlaoibh Í Luinse”, in *Béaloideas*, Vol 35/36, 1967/1968.
- Ó Cuiv, Brian. *The Irish of West Muskerry, Co. Cork*, Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1944.
- Ó Dileáin, Liam. “Seacht sleibhte an óir” (audio recording), in the Doegen Records Web Project; available online at http://doegen.ie/LA_1165g1.
- O’Domhnuill, Uilliam. *An Tiomna Nuadh Ar dTighearna agus Ar Slánuightheóra Iosa Criosd, air na tharruing go firinneach as an nGreigis ughdarach*, Dublin: G. & J. Grierson & M. Keene, 1827.
- Ó Dónaill, Niall. *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla*, Baile Átha Cliath: An Gúm, 1977.
- O’Leary, Peter and Borthwick, Norma. *Foclóir do Shéadna*, Baile Átha Cliath: Irish Book Company, 1909.
- Ó Loingsigh, Amhlaoibh. “Seán gadaí” (audio recording), in the Doegen Records Web Project; available online at https://doegen.ie/LA_1034d1.
- Ó Luinse, Amhlaoibh. *Seanachas Amhlaoibh Í Luinse*, Dublin: Comhairle Bhéaloideas Éireann, 1980.
- O’Nolan, Gerald. *Studies in Modern Irish: Part I*, Dublin: Educational Co. of Ireland, 1919.
- O’Nolan, Gerald. *The New Era Grammar of Modern Irish*, Dublin, Cork: Education Co. of Ireland, 1934.
- Ua Laoghaire, Diarmuid. *Cogar Mogar*, Baile Átha Cliath: Muintir na Leabhar Gaedhilge, 1909.
- Ua Laoghaire, Diarmuid. *Saothar Bliana*, Baile Áthar Cliath: Oifig Díolta Foillseacháin Rialtais, 1935.
- Ua Laoghaire, Peadar (ed.) and Ua Cathain, Uilliam. *An Teagasg Criosdaidhe*, Baile Átha Cliath: Brún agus Ó Nóláin, 1920.
- Ua Laoghaire, Peadar. *Aithris ar Chríost*, Baile Átha Cliath: Muintir na Leabhar Gaedhilge, 1914.
- Ua Laoghaire, Peadar. *An Cleasaidhe*, Baile Átha Cliath: Brún agus Ó Nualláin, 1913.
- Ua Laoghaire, Peadar. *Ár nDóithin Araon*, Baile Átha Cliath: Brún agus Nuallán, 1919.
- Ua Laoghaire, Peadar. *Cómhairle Ár Leasa*, Baile Átha Cliath: Brún agus Ó Nóláin, 1923.
- Ua Laoghaire, Peadar. *Críost Mac Dé*, Baile Átha Cliath: Brún agus Ó Nóláin, in three volumes, 1925.
- Ua Laoghaire, Peadar. *Eisirt*, Baile Átha Cliath: Muintir na Leabhar Gaedhilge, 1909.
- Ua Laoghaire, Peadar. *Eólas ar Aireamh*, Baile Átha Cliath, Brún agus Ó Nóláin, 1902.
- Ua Laoghaire, Peadar. *Guaire*, Baile Átha Cliath: Muintir na Leabhar Gaedhilge, in two volumes, 1915.
- Ua Laoghaire, Peadar. *Lúcián*, Baile Átha Cliath: Brún agus Ó Nóláin, 1924.
- Ua Laoghaire, Peadar. *Lughaidh Mac Con*, Baile Átha Cliath: Muintir na Leabhar Gaedhilge, 1914.
- Ua Laoghaire, Peadar. *Mion-Chaint, Cuid a II*, Dublin: The Irish Book Company, 1902.
- Ua Laoghaire, Peadar. *Mo Sgéal Féin*, Baile Átha Cliath: Brún agus Ó Nualláin, 1915.
- Ua Laoghaire, Peadar. *Na Cheithre Soisgéil*, Baile Átha Cliath: Brún agus Ó Nualláin, 1915.
- Ua Laoghaire, Peadar. *Niamh*, Baile Átha Cliath: Brún agus Ó Nóláin, 1910.

- Ua Laoghaire, Peadar. *Notes on Irish Words and Usages*, Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1926.
- Ua Laoghaire, Peadar. *Séadna*, Baile Átha Cliath: The Irish Book Company, 1904.
- Ua Laoghaire, Peadar. *Seanmóin is Trí Fichid*, Baile Átha Cliath: Muinntir na Leabhar Gaedhilge, in two volumes, 1909.
- Ua Laoghaire, Peadar. *Sgéalaidheacht na Macabéach*, Baile Átha Cliath: Brún agus Ó Nóláin, in two volumes, 1926.
- Ua Laoghaire, Peadar. *Sgéalaidheacht as an mBíobla Naomhtha*, Baile Átha Cliath: Brún agus Ó Nóláin, in seven volumes, 1922-1925.
- Ua Laoghaire, Peadar. *Sgothbhualadh*, Baile Átha Cliath: Brún agus Ó Nóláin, 1904.
- Ua Laoghaire, Peadar. *Táin Bó Cuailnge 'na dhráma*, Baile Átha Cliath: Muintir na Leabhar Gaedhilge, 1915.
- Ua Laoghaire, Peadar. Undated letter, Gaelic manuscript collection G 1,276 comprising correspondence of An tAthair Peadar Ua Laoghaire of Castlelyons (Caisleán Ua Liatháin), Co. Cork, with Shán Ó Cuív, Shán Ó Cuív Papers, National Library of Ireland, Dublin.
- Ua Súilleabháin, Seán, “Gaeilge na Mumhan”, in McCone, Kim (ed.) *et al, Stair na Gaeilge*, Maigh Nuad: Roinn na Sean-Ghaeilge, Coláiste Phádraig, 1994.