
SURVEY
OF THE
GAELIC
DIALECTS
OF SCOTLAND
VOL. III

In August 2017 I was requested to spend 3 days with group of visitors to the Isle of Lewis on a pilgrimage organised by the New York Open Center. The international group included scholars from Iceland and Norway. I took 2 of them to meet my friend since our first day in Primary 1 in Leurbost J.S. School, Alex George Morrison of 66 Leurbost. I was in awe at how Alex George seemed to be on an equal scholarly footing with such professors. Furthermore, as I listened, a name that kept recurring was Magne Oftedal, who had stayed in the village to study its Gaelic for about 9 months over 1950 - 51. A native Gaelic speaker, Alex had known some of Oftedal's informants, and knew also of his book through the Stornoway library.

Fast forward, and in February 2023 I was contacted by BBC Radio 4 with a request to comment on the Gaelic concept of "cianalas" (a profound and wistful longing, especially for home and deep belonging). I phoned Alex to check on the pronunciation as I am not a Gaelic speaker. Yet again, Magne Oftedal's name came up. As we chatted, I looked his book up on the internet and found that, such was its rarity, that only one copy in the world was on sale, and it had belonged to another linguist of Gaelic, Prof Elmar Ternes (see next page).

Opportunities to appreciate a friendship that's lasted for the best part of 60 years don't come every day, and Ternes' copy was clearly begging to come home to Leurbost. But in view of it being so hard to get hold of, and being published so long ago and from a publishing house that no longer exists, I threw caution to the wind and scanned this copy. It will go either on the village website and/or my own, I hope, with Prof Oftedal's posthumous blessing.

Most of these pages will be of interest only to linguistic scholars who have the Gaelic. However, for monoglot English speakers, I would draw attention especially to the introductory pages 9 - 19. Note the warmth with which he speaks of the Leurbost people on p. 10, how the Introduction on p. 13 is sub-headed, "The Community" (because that is what it was and is as long as we work to keep it so), the account of the human ecology of the village including its religion, the kind-heartedness and good humour. Note also the village stories at the back, in English translation from p. 310 (the Gaelic prior to that). Some of them are wonderfully imaginative to the point of being surreal. And spare a thought for how we men suffered, with stories like the place "where many of the women were wise and many of the men stupid" (p. 316)! Note too the descriptions in the introduction of the changes taking place as English made more and more inroads into the village in the early 1950s.

On that account, my father, Ian McIntosh, was a doctor in North Lochs from 1960 until his passing in 1986. Although he had Gaelic grandparents, he like me was bad at languages: a monoglot English speaker. On one occasion he had Angus MacKinnon the South Harris doctor come up to stand in for him. Angus spoke the Uist Gaelic wherever he went, and in he went to a house to see an old bodach who had requested a visit. "Well, what are your symptoms?" asked Angus in fluent Gaelic. "Well, doctor!" the man replied, also in Gaelic. "I've got it all thought out in the English. Because I was expecting Dr McIntosh. And it's in the English that you're going to get them!"

As I was scanning this book today, I got a text from Alex George to say that it was the funeral of one of our old primary school teachers, Miss Mackinnon of Balallan (married as Mrs Marion Anne Macdonald) who had recently passed away. On behalf of all our teachers at Leurbost, I'd like to dedicate the effort of scanning this book to her. She was a strict disciplinarian, my goodness! But she had 19 of us in the class of 1960. She helped to get us all to where we are now. God rest her.

Alastair McIntosh, formerly of the Gleann Mor surgery, 3 March 2023.

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MAGNE OFTEDAL

THE GAELIC OF LEURBOST, ISLE OF LEWIS

1956

A PDF SCAN OF THE COPY WITH ANNOTATIONS,
FORMERLY BELONGING TO PROF ELMAR TERNES

Comprising Vol III of "A Linguistic Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland"
Norwegian Universities Press, Oslo, London & Boston

ABOUT THIS PDF OF TERNES' COPY OF OFTEDAL'S BOOK

This copy of Magne Oftedal's book, "The Gaelic of Leurbost" (1956), was purchased in February 2023 from an antiquarian bookseller, Antiquariat Zorn, Marburg, Germany. Michael Zorn, the proprietor, had acquired the entire library of Professor Emeritus Dr Elmar Ternes (1941 - 2020), professor of phonetics at the University of Hamburg, after his death. It was purchased through Abe Books.

Professor Ternes wrote a seminal work in 1973, "The Phonemic Analysis of Scottish Gaelic: Based on the Dialect of Applecross, Rosshire", the 3rd edition of which came out in Dublin, 2006.

What makes Terne's personal copy especially interesting, indeed, unique, is that it carries his penciled name and address near the front, and his notes and corrections on scattered pages throughout. These were difficult to scan, both to pick up the light markings and to position the pages within the scanner frame to catch the margins as needed. It meant that I had to move the page positions about and adjust the scan density without causing it to over-enlarge the black guttering down the middle. I apologise that this detracts slightly from the appearance and text flow, but I thought that linguists in Leurbost would value seeing his edits. As he appears to have been fastidious, what he did not remark upon might be of as much interest as what he did.

In July 13, 2015, five years before his passing, Professor Ternes was awarded an honorary doctorate from the University of Glasgow. The picture on the right is of this occasion, taken from the University of Hamburg website. Unfortunately it is only available in very low resolution. For the record, I was unable to find a corresponding photograph of Professor Oftedal.



NORSK TIDSSKRIFT FOR
SPROGVIDENSKAP

UNDER MEDVIRKING AV
KNUT BERGLAND, HARRIS BIRKELAND, CARL HJ. BORGSTRØM,
OLAF BROCH, GEORG MORGENSTIERNE, MAGNUS OLSEN,
D. A. SEIP, E. W. SELMER, ALF SOMMERFELT,
CHR. S. STANG, HANS VOGT

UTGITT AV
CARL J. S. MARSTRANDER

SUPPL. BIND IV

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NORWEGIAN UNIVERSITIES PRESS

A LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF THE
GAELIC DIALECTS OF SCOTLAND

VOL. III

MAGNE OFTEDAL

THE GAELIC OF LEURBOST
ISLE OF LEWIS

NORWEGIAN UNIVERSITIES PRESS

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Elmar Tines
28. Februar 1967
Trier

BIANCO LUNOS BOGTRYKKERI A/S

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Preface

The research of which the present volume is the principal outcome was made possible by a grant received from the Norwegian Research Council for Science and the Humanities (Norges almenvitenskapelige forskningsråd) in 1950. I take this opportunity of extending my best thanks to the Research Council for its active interest in my project.

Among all those who deserve thanks for their encouragement of my studies, I wish, above all, to mention my teachers, Professors Carl J. S. Marstränder, Alf Sommerfelt, and Carl Hj. Borgstrøm. None of them has contributed directly to this paper, but I am indebted to them for their inspiring instruction and for many fruitful discussions. Professor Borgstrøm's works on Scottish Gaelic dialects have been a constant source of reference, and his previous studies in the field have facilitated my task enormously.

Further, I wish to thank Mr. David Abercrombie, Head of the Phonetics Department, Edinburgh University, for the loan of tape-recording apparatus, and C. G. S. Addison, M.A., Rector of the Nicolson Institute, Stornoway, for letting me use a room in his school for my recording sessions.

Special thanks are due to Frederick G. Macaulay, M.A., who checked my orthographic transcriptions of the tape recordings with the disc copies in the archives of the Phonetics Department of the University of Edinburgh. Mr. Macaulay, who is a native speaker of Hebridean (North Uist) Gaelic, saved me from many errors of interpretation and also offered interpretations of numerous passages that were more or less unintelligible to me.

Last, but not least, I want to express my warmest thanks to the people of the village of Leurbost, who accepted my wife and

myself as members of their community and extended to us a hospitality which will always be remembered. The invaluable contributions of my informants will be acknowledged in the Introduction; our material welfare was aptly taken care of by our two successive landladies, Mrs. Catherine MacIver and Miss Murdina Smith (now Mrs. Norman Murray).

There are still many whom I would like to mention specifically, but as it would be impossible to do full justice to all, I must limit myself to those whose contributions have been most important. To all the others who, by their innumerable acts of kindness, contributed to giving us a high opinion of the people of Lewis, I can only say that their friendliness will never be forgotten.

Oslo, March 1954.

The Author.

Abbreviations and References

- Archiv*: Archiv für keltische Lexicographie, Halle a. S., 1900 ff.
 Be.: The Gaelic dialect of Bernera, Lewis, as described by Borgstrøm in DOH.
Bidrag: C. Marstrander, Bidrag til det norske sprogs historie i Irland, Oslo, 1915.
 cas. obl.: oblique cases (of O.N. nouns).
 DB: C. Borgstrøm, The Dialect of Barra in the Outer Hebrides, NTS VIII, Oslo, 1937.
 Dinneen: P. S. Dinneen, An Irish-English Dictionary, Second Edition, Dublin, 1927.
 DOH: C. Borgstrøm, The Dialects of the Outer Hebrides, NTS Supplementary Volume No. 1, Oslo, 1940.
 Dwelly: E. Dwelly, The Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary, Fifth Edition, Glasgow, 1949.
 E.: English.
 I.: Irish.
 IPA: International Phonetics Association.
 Lane: T. O'Neill Lane, English-Irish Dictionary, Dublin and London, 1904.
Language: Language, Journal of the Linguistic Society of America, Baltimore, Md.
Language (Bloomfield): L. Bloomfield, Language, New York, 1933.
 Lb.: The Gaelic dialect of Leurbost as described in the present volume.
 MacBain: A. MacBain, An Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language, Stirling, 1911.
 M.E.: Middle English.
 Meyer: K. Meyer, Contributions to Irish Lexicography, Halle a. S., 1906.
 M.I.: Middle Irish.
 Mod.I.: Modern Irish.
 N.: Norse.
 NG: O. Rygh, Norske Gaardnavne, Oslo, 1897—1936. NG Indl.: Forord og Indledning, Oslo, 1898.
 NTS: Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap, Oslo, 1928 ff.
 O.E.: Old English.
 O.I.: Old Irish.
 O.N.: Old Norse.

- O'Reilly: E. O'Reilly, *An Irish-English Dictionary*, Dublin, 1864.
 Pedersen: H. Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, Göttingen, 1909—13.
 Sc.: (Anglo-)Scots.
Sc. Gael. Stud.: *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, Oxford, 1926 ff.
 Thurneysen: R. Thurneysen, *A Grammar of Old Irish*, Dublin, 1946.
 VL: M. Oftedal, *The Village Names of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides*, NTS XVII, Oslo, 1954.
 Watson: W. J. Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, Edinburgh and London, 1926.
 Windisch: E. Windisch, *Irische Texte mit Wörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1880.

Other abbreviations and references are conventional and will be understood from the context. When Cormac's, O'Clery's, and O'Davoren's glossaries are quoted, the quotations are taken from Meyer or Windisch.

INTRODUCTION

The Community

1. The Isle of Lewis, or as it is sometimes called, the Lews, is the largest and northernmost of the Outer Hebrides. Properly speaking, it is not an island by itself. It constitutes an island together with Harris, but is always spoken of as *Eilean Leòdhais* 'the Isle of Lewis'. The two are separated by a mountainous and uninhabited region, and it is noteworthy that an important bundle of isoglosses follows this natural boundary. Lewis is part of Ross and Cromarty, while Harris, together with the rest of the Outer Hebrides, belongs to Inverness-shire.

The area of Lewis is about 680 square miles, or a little over half the total area of the Outer Hebrides. The population is about 25,000, of which approximately 5000 live in the town of Stornoway, the rest in about a hundred crofting villages and hamlets along the coasts of the island. The interior of the island is practically uninhabited, consisting almost entirely of peat-bog, fresh-water lochs, and moorland unfit for cultivation. The largest concentration of population is on the west coast and on Point (or Eye) Peninsula on the east coast; the rest of the east coast, where the soil is rather poor, has relatively few villages.

2. Gaelic is spoken throughout the island. Even the town of Stornoway, where English has made rapid headway, is still Gaelic-speaking to a large extent. Gaelic is spoken by many and understood by many more. But the influence of English is steadily increasing. The local newspaper, the *Stornoway Gazette*, read throughout Lewis, is in English, except for a weekly Gaelic column ("Litrichean a Bearnaraidh"), occasional Letters to the

Editor, and advertisements for lost sheep, which must be composed in Gaelic because of the technical terms in which their earmarks are described.

Very few Lewismen are able to put their mother tongue in writing. The medium of instruction in all schools is English, and this is the language preferred for letter-writing. Gaelic is now taught in most schools, but only as a second language, and the instruction is, as far as I can see, rather superficial. The people are unaccustomed to reading Gaelic books other than the Bible, and many are practically analphabets as far as Gaelic is concerned, although the standard of literacy on the whole is high. Orally, most Lewis people of the middle and young generations have a good mastery of English. Their English is essentially Standard English, but with the intonation of Lewis Gaelic and a phonemic system more or less adapted to Gaelic. The amount of Gaelicisms varies with the age and individuality of the speakers. There is little influence from Anglo-Scots dialects except in vocabulary (largely such well-known Scotticisms as *bonnie*, *brae*, *lassie*, *wee*, *haddie* 'haddock') and perhaps in patterns of pronunciation.

The linguistic attitude is largely one of indifference. Although many speakers take a certain pride in their Gaelic mother tongue, they are fully aware of the practical advantages of English. The prestige of Gaelic is weakened by the common belief that the Lewis dialect is not the "right Gaelic", which is variously identified with the dialects of Barra, Uist, Inverness, and Argyllshire.

3. The village of Leurbost is situated on the northern shore of Loch Leurbost, a narrow, four-mile long arm of the Minch which cuts into the east coast of Lewis six miles south of Stornoway. The village itself is about two miles long, which is apparently enough for minor dialectal differences to manifest themselves from one end to the other. The last houses of Leurbost to the east are only a quarter of a mile distant from the next village, Crossbost. A little further to the east are the villages of Ranish and Grimshader; beyond these, there are no settlements in the immediate neighbourhood.

Leurbost is the common English spelling of the name; variants are Luerbost and Lurebost. The local pronunciation is *Lu:rbòsd* (genitive *lu:rbòsd'*); an adequate Gaelic spelling would be *Liùrbost*. The name was originally a Norse farm name ending in *-bólstaðr*; the first component cannot be identified.

The village has about 535 inhabitants. The main source of income is weaving; a large number of crofters operate their automatic looms in sheds erected for the purpose. The cultivation of the crofts enables most inhabitants to raise their own potatoes, hay for the cattle (usually one cow per family), and a little oats and barley; beyond this, agriculture is negligible. Many have their own motor or rowing boats with which they do a little fishing in the sea-loch. One of their chief occupations in the spring and summer months, and an incessant topic of conversation, is the cutting of peat for fuel. A number of men and girls work in Stornoway, which is eight miles distant by road, with a good bus service.

Most of the houses of Leurbost are of the modern type called "white houses" as opposed to the thatched, dry-masonry cottages called "black houses", of which only a few are left. The houses are heated by peat and lit by paraffin lamps, but electricity was said to be on the way in 1951 and has perhaps been laid in by now. There is no running water except in the houses of a few well-to-do families. Many have wireless sets run with batteries and are eager listeners especially to the news bulletins and the few Gaelic programs transmitted by the Scottish Home Service.

4. The inhabitants of Leurbost are all Protestants, some belonging to the Presbyterian Free Church and some to the Church of Scotland. Religion plays a prominent part in community life. In addition to the regular services which take place twice every Sunday, there are religious meetings once or twice during the week. Both churches impose rather severe rules of conduct upon their members, especially with regard to Sunday observance. Church attendance is universal, although some deplore a certain lack of interest in religious matters on the part of the younger

generation. The meetings are often conducted by the elders, who frequently display an astonishing proficiency in improvising speeches and prayers. All religious services and meetings are conducted in Gaelic throughout, except when the congregations are visited by itinerant preachers without knowledge of the language.

In spite of the severity of their religious views, the villagers are good-humoured, kind-hearted people. They are very hospitable and friendly to strangers; what may at first be interpreted as a certain reserve on their part is merely due to fear that the strangers may scorn or ridicule the simplicity of their life, of which they are extremely self-conscious.

The great majority of the villagers were born in Leurbost or the neighbouring villages. Gaelic is the everyday speech of nearly all except a few incomers who either "have no Gaelic" or speak Gaelic dialects which differ very much from the speech of Lewis. Several of these understand the local dialect perfectly but prefer to use English. Monoglot speakers of Gaelic are only to be found among the very oldest and children under infant-school age.

Informants

5.

- (1) Roderick Martin, called Roddy (*Ròdi*), was my chief informant. He was born in 1888. This informant, who used to be a weaver, had had to give up his occupation because of an ailment of the legs which rendered him unfit for the heavy pedal-work on the automatic loom. He had practically unlimited time at his disposal, and I spent several hours with him every day. I am indebted to him for the majority of words, forms, and expressions in my material. After some preliminary training, he became quite proficient in the routine of answering questions aiming at grammar and vocabulary. His greatest virtue as an informant was his limitless patience, even on days when his disease caused him great pain and discomfort; his only drawback a slightly

nasal twang and a certain restraint of lip movements which sometimes impeded visual observation of his articulations.

- (2) Ishbel Martin, Roddy's wife, born 1886, who was present during most of my sessions with her husband, supplemented Roddy's information with many valuable suggestions and also acted as his substitute when he was not at home. Ishbel had a rich, clear voice and an extremely distinct articulation. In spite of the fact that her and Roddy's parents were next-door neighbours, her dialect differed on some points from Roddy's, both in phonemic distribution and in grammar. Thus, she used the obsolescent dative forms of feminine nouns more frequently than her husband. She knew a wealth of traditional oral poetry (*òrain luadhaidh* and other *òrain*, *puirt-a-beul*, etc.) and recited it willingly, although she complained that she didn't know all the verses.
- (3) Colin MacKenzie, called Cailean Ruairidh (*'kalan 'ruəði*), born 1897, crofter. An excellent story-teller, he furnished me with the majority of my connected texts. His stories were (yarns) (*meuranaich*) rather than traditional stories; whenever he came in for a *céilidh*, or visit, he would amuse everybody present with his highly personal renderings of the latest happenings in the village. Unfortunately, many of the comical points of his stories can hardly be appreciated without personal knowledge of the characters. Cailean was also a bard, but he was not willing to let me take down any of his poems, alledging—probably out of modesty—that he had forgotten them. Cailean's voice was clear and well modulated, his articulation very distinct.
- (4) Alasdair Smith (An Tàillear), born 1880, a former village tailor, furnished me with some lexical material and one text.
- (5) Alasdair Smith (Am Baker), born 1878, shopkeeper and baker, gave me one text.
- (6) Kenneth MacLeod (Kenny Beag), born 1918, now living

in Stornoway where he owns a bakery, furnished me with several tape-recorded texts, two of which are included in this volume.

I had many occasional informants in addition to these six. In fact, nearly everybody in the central part of Leurbost has contributed more or less to my material, and it is impossible to do justice to them all by mentioning them individually.

Field Work

6. The only previous scientific treatment of Lewis Gaelic is C. Hj. Borgstrøm's excellent study of the dialect of Bernera, which constitutes the first part of his book *The Dialects of the Outer Hebrides*, Oslo 1940 (Supplementary Volume No. 1 of the NTS), and his "Notes on some Dialects of Ness, Lewis," in the same volume. No dialect from the east side of Lewis has been investigated before, and this was my main reason for selecting Leurbost as my field of study.

7. I stayed in the village from September to December, 1950, and from April to August, 1951, altogether about nine months. As much of the time was spent in acquiring a practical working knowledge of the dialect, my material is not so copious as the length of time would have permitted of under more favorable conditions. Naturally, I took notes from the very beginning, but many of my early notes had to be discarded as later enquiries proved them to be inaccurate. In my field work, I had the great advantage of being able to use Borgstrøm's works (*The Dialects of the Outer Hebrides* and *The Dialect of Barra*) as questionnaires, thus procuring the Leurbost equivalents of nearly all the words and paradigms given there. Further questionnaires were made up from various sources during the work. Care was taken to record as many words as possible in natural contexts. Connected texts were written down from the informants' dictation. During the second period of my stay, I was enabled to make some tape record-

ings, through the kindness of the Head of the Phonetics Department of Edinburgh University, Mr. David Abercrombie, who very obligingly lent me the necessary apparatus. As I had to take my informants to Stornoway for the recording, on account of the lack of electricity at Leurbost, these recordings are not so extensive as might be desired. Disc copies are kept in the archives of the Phonetics Department, Edinburgh University.

Notation

8. The alphabet used for the representation of Leurbost sounds is mainly the one used by Borgstrøm, which again is based on the system developed by E. C. Quiggin, A. Sommerfelt and others for the description of Northern Irish. One or two of Borgstrøm's symbols will be exchanged with symbols taken from the alphabet of the International Phonetics Association (IPA).

Words quoted in phonemic transcription are printed in italics. I shall use phonemic transcription whenever possible; this is the reason why my notation will appear as greatly simplified compared with Borgstrøm's, which is phonetic throughout. Whenever words are given in phonetic transcription in the present volume, they will appear between square brackets.

Single sounds or sound combinations from older language stages (whether Gaelic, English, or Norse) will be represented by their usual graphic symbols, printed in heavy type. Words from older language stages will be printed in spaced type, as well as words from Modern Irish when quoted for historical comparison.

Principles of Description

9. The description will be mainly synchronic, but with references to linguistic history. The history of the phonemes will be dealt with fairly exhaustively. Historical considerations will

not be allowed to interfere with the synchronic analysis, and historical statements should always be easy to distinguish from synchronic ones.

The description embraces phonology, morphophonemics, and morphology. There is no section on syntax, partly because a reliable structural analysis of syntax would require a larger material than mine, and partly because the chapter on syntax in Borgström's *Dialect of Barra* (pp. 198–205) is equally applicable to Lewis Gaelic. In my morphological section, however, a good deal of observations regarding syntax will be found.

10. The chapters on morphology are not the result of a thoroughgoing structural analysis. The first analytical operation, the division of the text into words, was omitted, likewise because of the insufficiency of the material, and an arbitrary delimitation of words was substituted. It is apparently impossible to find a simple criterion for the demarcation of words in Scottish Gaelic. Bloomfield's definition, for instance, of the word as a minimum free form (*Language* page 178) cannot be used for this language, because the resultant units are heterogeneous and quite inadequate as terms of linguistic description. It may even be doubted whether words may be said to exist in the language. They are, nevertheless, useful for the linguistic description, even if we use 'word' in a more or less traditional sense of the term. The following will suffice to indicate our working definition of the word:

(1) Words must be separated so that the initial mutations become word-initial (or constituent-initial in the constituents of compound words).

(2) The following units are words: Nouns, adjectives, the article, and verbs, all with their inflectional forms, further pronouns, particles, prepositions, adverbs, simple numerals, interjections, prepositional pronouns, combinations of preposition and article and of preposition and interrogative particle, and finally some combinations of particles which will be discussed in their proper places, as the problems arise.

11. By phonology we shall understand the phonetic, distributional, and historical description of sounds and sound classes. Phonemics deals with phonemes and prosodemes.

12. The phonemes are, in principle, classes of minimum segments of sound capable of conveying differences of meaning. This definition is chosen among the many extant for several reasons. It implies that the phoneme cannot be defined by phonetic criteria alone, nor can it be regarded as a psychological phenomenon (e. g. an ideal sound or the thought of a sound), but it must be determined by comparison of actual phonetic phenomena with meanings.

A phoneme as such has no meaning; if, as is often the case, a morpheme seems to consist of one phoneme (*s* 'and', *a* 'from' etc.) this is only apparent, because the term morpheme comprises the meaning as well.

The word "minimum" is chosen for lack of a more precise term. The character of the units which we ultimately decide to consider as minimal, depends very much not only upon the point of departure of the individual researcher, but also—strangely enough—upon literary tradition. The chief reason why the English word *kill* is usually considered as consisting of three phonemes, is that we spell it with three letters in phonetic and phonemic transcription (*kɪl*), which in its turn is derived from the Latin alphabet. In theory, there is nothing to prevent us from dividing the sequence *kɪl* up into two or four phonemes or even from stating that the whole sequence of sounds constitutes a single phoneme, incapable of further segmentation. The crucial point is the identification of some sound features with other, phonetically similar, sound features, which is largely a matter of personal judgment. If we identify the velar closure of *kɪl* with the velar closure of *gɪl* (*gill*), and the aspiration of *k* with *h* as in *hɪl* (*hill*), we may transcribe the word 'kill' as *ghɪl*, thus arriving at four phonemes, whose differentiating value may be demonstrated by comparing the words *ghɪl* (*kill*) – *bhɪl* (*pill*) – *grɪl* (*grill*) – *ghal* (*cull*) – *ghɪn* (*kin*). (The phonetic difference between voiced and

voiceless must in this case be regarded as a concomitant, non-distinctive feature.)

There is probably a reason—perhaps one of economy in writing—why no national orthography or scientific system of transcription has seriously attempted to divide sound sequences into smaller segments than those commonly symbolized by separate letters. But this problem has, to my knowledge, never been thoroughly investigated. Until the question has been solved, the researcher may use the very lack of precision of the term “minimum” to his advantage, choosing as his minimum units those which, in his opinion, will lead to the simplest possible description compatible with a fair amount of consistency. Simplicity of description implies not only conciseness but also readability. The phonemes should therefore, as far as possible, be of such a nature that each of them can readily be represented by a letter.

A phoneme is not a sound, but a class of sounds. The phoneme *a* embraces all the individual occurrences of *a*-sounds within the dialect to be described. Allophones are subclasses of the phonemes. The members or occurrences of each allophone have one or more common phonetic features that separate them from all other allophones. In theory, every occurrence of a member of a given phoneme constitutes an allophone by itself, but in practice, only such phonetic differences are accounted for as are readily perceptible to the trained linguist. These differences are usually conditioned by differences in the surrounding sounds. A phonemic description is theoretically complete, but of little practical value if not supplemented by a description of the allophones and their distribution.

13. Some significant sound features are best regarded as being superposed on the succession of phonemes. These include, in our case, stress, quantity, and nasality of vowels, and we shall call them prosodemes. Several attempts have been made to find a theoretical basis for the distinction between phonemes and prosodemes (or segmental and suprasegmental phonemes), but I have not found any of them entirely convincing. The distinc-

tion made in the present paper between phoneme and prosodeme is a wholly pragmatical one, introduced with the specific purpose of reducing the inventory of phonemes.

14. A corollary of our definition of the phoneme is this: Two segments of sound which are mutually exclusive (or in complementary distribution, i. e. are never found in identical surroundings) are allophones of one and the same phoneme. It is, however, necessary to make the following two reservations:

(1) Two mutually exclusive sound features belong to different phonemes if their distribution cannot be described exhaustively by a small set of simple rules.

(2) The members of a phoneme must all be phonetically similar.

These reservations are especially important for the description of languages with a very great number of phonemes, where the possible combinations are so numerous that we cannot hope to find every possible pair of phonemes in mutual contrast in absolutely identical environments, but in several cases must content ourselves with analogous environments.

15. When the term overlapping, or partial overlapping, is used in the following chapters, it refers to a phenomenon frequently met with in Lb., namely, a non-distinctive alternation between otherwise distinctive phonemes or prosodemes, or, in Pike's terminology, a free fluctuation between full independent phonemes. Examples are *egLif* and *əgLif* 'church', *sa:vəx* and *sā:vəx* 'quiet'.

16. In the sections on phonological history, the various phonemes will, as far as possible, be traced back to their Common Gaelic origins, chiefly represented by Old and Middle Irish. The phonology of Norse and English loanwords will also be discussed, but it must not be inferred, as the typographical arrangement might suggest, that the phonemes of Old Norse words are directly comparable with their modern Gaelic counterparts. Naturally, the Norse loans were wholly or partially adapted to the phonemic system of the Gaelic of the thirteenth century and earlier, and if

the Norse model words are quoted instead of their Early Gaelic imitations, it is only because few of the latter are attested in written sources. English loanwords have entered Gaelic at many stages of its development, some during the Middle English period and some later, both from Anglo-Scots dialects and from Modern Standard English. I shall not, however, attempt a detailed classification of English loans.

PHONOLOGY

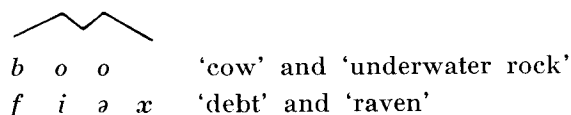
The Syllable

17. The syllable is a very important phonetic unit. It is, to use a metaphor coined by Einar Haugen ("Phoneme or Prosodeme?", *Language* 25. 3, 1949), nothing less than the metronome of human speech. The phonetic reality of the syllable has seldom if ever been questioned. Although full agreement has not yet been reached as to its exact definition, it is almost unanimously accepted that the syllabic limits are minima of some physiological or acoustical quantity. It is with regard to the identity of this quantity that opinions differ: it is variously stated to be muscular energy, degree of opening of the vocal tract, sonority, amplitude of oscillation, etc. In practice, every linguist still has to determine the number of syllables and the syllabic limits by ear.

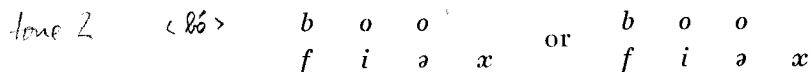
The syllable is not in itself a phonemic or prosodic entity. We cannot, however, dispense with it in our description of phonemes and prosodemes, because the syllable is "that recurrent sequence of sounds, in terms of which the phenomena of linguistic timing can be described." This definition is borrowed from Haugen's article (quoted above); the term linguistic timing includes stress, pitch, duration, and juncture. For "phenomena of linguistic timing" we shall substitute "prosodemes".

18. The units which it is convenient to regard as syllables for the purposes of linguistic description do not always correspond exactly to those which are singled out as such by the trained ear. In Lb., we find word pairs such as *bo*: 'cow' ~ *bo-o* 'underwater rock', *fiæx* 'debt' ~ *fi-æx* 'raven' (phonemic transcription), with a significant difference between the first and second members of

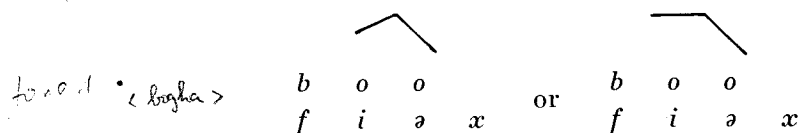
each pair. In strictly phonetical terms, all four words seem to vacillate between monosyllabic and dissyllabic pronunciations; all contain a long vocalic segment the total duration of which appears to be approximately the same at a constant rate of speech, and, according to my impression, all may or may not have two peaks of dynamic stress, which may be symbolized thus:



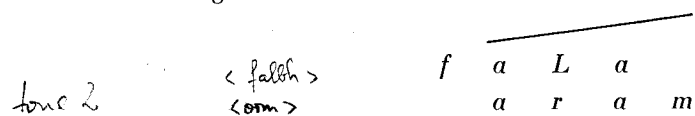
There is never a glottal catch or constriction, nor intermission of the voicing in either word pair. The chief difference is one of pitch, the words for 'cow' and 'debt' being always pronounced on a level or rising tone:



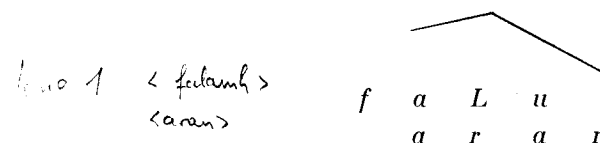
while the words for 'underwater rock' and 'raven' begin on a rising or high level note and end in a rather abrupt fall:



A similar distinction is found in two-vowel words where one of a certain class of consonants intervenes between the vowels, such as *faLà* 'to go (away)' ~ *faLu* 'empty', *aràm* 'on me' ~ *aran* 'bread'. *faLà* and *aràm* have a rising tone movement throughout:



while *faLu* and *aran* begin with a rising (sometimes perhaps high level) and end on a falling tone:



There is also a difference in stress. *faLà* and *aràm* stress the first and second vowels almost evenly; if one vowel receives a stronger stress it is always the second (this is my reason for marking this type of accentuation with a grave accent on the second vowel¹). *faLu* and *aran*, on the other hand, have a strong stress on the first vowel while the second is pronounced with very little energy. (Borgstrøm holds that, in the dialect of Bernera, there is an additional difference in the placement of the syllabic cut: in *aràm*, the *r* belongs to the second syllable (*a-ram*), while in *aran* this sound is part of the first syllable (*ar-an*), see DOH p. 55 f. I can hear no such difference in Lb., where an intervocalic *r* or *L* always belongs—phonetically spoken—to the following syllable.)

It would, at first glance, seem natural to interpret the distinction as one of tone, comparable to the tone distinction of Norwegian and Swedish. I prefer, however, to regard it as a distinction of extent of the syllable: *bo:*, *fiəx*, *faLà*, and *aràm* are regarded as monosyllabic, while *bo-o*, *fi-əx*, *faLu*, and *aran* are dissyllabic. According to this interpretation, *bo:* contains a single long vowel, *fiəx* a diphthong, while *bo-o* and *fi-əx* each contain two short vowels (one stressed and one unstressed) separated by hiatus. *aran* and *faLu* each contain one stressed and one unstressed vowel, while in *aràm* and *faLà* there is one stress distributed on a monosyllabic group of vowel plus consonant plus vowel. Such a group will be called a svarabhakti group.

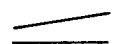
19. Every syllable, accordingly, contains a phonemic minimum of one of the three following types: (a) a short vowel,

¹ The accent is placed after the vowel if the latter is provided with a nasality mark: *ānā'm* 'name'.

(b) a long vowel or a diphthong, (c) a svarabhakti group. Stressed syllables have all three types; unstressed syllables have only Type a (short vowel). The tonal parallism of the different types will be made clear by the following diagrams of syllabic sequences with the first syllable stressed. The diagrams also show how the number of unstressed syllables is immaterial for the tone movement.

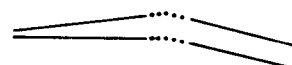
Monosyllables,
tone rising or level.

Type


			
a	<u>d a h</u>	'dye'	
b	<u>b o:</u>	'cow'	
b	<u>f i ə x</u>	'debt'	
c	<u>a r à m</u>	'on me'	

Polysyllables,
tone rising-falling or level-falling.

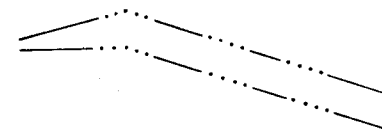
(1) Dissyllables.

			
a	<u>d a h ə n</u>	'dyes'	
a	<u>f i - ə x</u>	'raven'	
b	<u>b a: h ə x</u>	'byre'	
b	<u>f i a x i N'</u>	'to t:y'	
c	<u>f a r à m ə n</u>	'sermon'	

(2) Trisyllables.

			
a	<u>a r i ç ə n</u>	'fathers'	
a	<u>m ï - a n ə x</u>	'middle'	
b	<u>b a: h i ç ə n</u>	'byres'	
b	<u>k ə i l ə x ə n</u>	'wheels'	
c	<u>k a r à v a n ə x</u>	'marine perch (?)'	

(3) Tetrasyllables.

			
a	<u>a h ə R ə x ə γ</u>	'a change'	
a	<u>f u - a l ə m i</u>	'I shall sew'	
b	<u>t ə: f i ç i m i</u>	'I shall begin'	
b	<u>x u ə L ə m i - a</u>	'I heard him'	
c	<u>f a r à m ə n ə x ə γ</u>	'to preach'	

To the possible objection that interpreting *aràm*, *faLà* etc. as monosyllables means departing too far from the phonetic facts, it may be remarked:

(1) That the only consonants which can appear between the two vowels of a svarabhakti group are the most sonorous consonants of the system (l-sounds, r-sounds, and nasals), and that the auditory impression (received both by Borgstrøm and myself) that *aràm* and *faLà* are phonetically dissyllabic may be due to unconscious comparison with similar sound sequences in other languages.

(2) That svarabhakti groups are recognized as monosyllabic by educated native speakers. This may be partly due to the spelling, where the second vowel of a svarabhakti group is left out (*orm*, *falbh*); but it is significant that in songs, even local *òrain* that have never been written down, a svarabhakti group is sung on one note. Compare Borgstrøm's remarks on the attitude of Barra speakers to svarabhakti words, DB p. 77 f.

20. The syllabic cut. The exact border lines between the syllables are not always easy to determine. Hiatus constitutes a natural syllabic cut which is always easy to identify; so does the onset of stress in many cases, cp. 'ba:t 'afiç ['ba:ht'afiç] 'ferry-boat' with 'ya: 'taRiç ['ya:t'aRiç] 'pulling her or it (f.)'. In the majority of cases, however, the syllabic cut seems to be either

predictable in terms of phonemes, or fluctuating. I am not able to give a full set of rules, but there is a clear tendency towards placing the syllabic cut at or near the onset of intervocalic consonants or consonant clusters. This apparently happens regardless of morphemic junctures. The following sentence will serve to illustrate this. Line 1 is the phonetic transcription with the syllabic borders marked by hyphens, line 2 is a phonemic transcription with word division, and line 3 a literal translation.

1. ['xŪ-Ni-ǰə-N'w-N'ə-'fiə-iç-gə-Rə-N'w-N'e-lŋ-nə-bə-'t'rəs-
2. 'xũNiǰ ə NduN'ə 'fiə-iç gə Rə NduN' 'elə nə bə 'trəs
3. saw the man wild that was the man other stronger

1. .na:, ə-ɣəs-li-ǰə-e-'ðs-ə-də .]
2. .na:, əɣəs liǰ a eð 'ə-əRd a .
3. than he, and let he forwards him.

(The wild man saw that the other man was stronger than he, and he let him proceed.)

Where the syllabic limits fluctuate or are predictable they can have no linguistic significance, but are merely recurrent phonetic phenomena in the chain of speech. We are, therefore, at liberty to establish conventional syllabic limits if this can help to simplify the phonemic description. The units resulting from such a division may be termed phonemic syllables as opposed to phonetic syllables.

21. In our case, it is highly desirable to operate with syllables as the constituent parts of *words*. If our working definition of the word (p. 10) is accepted, it turns out that the phonemic and prosodic structure of the word may be substantially different from that of sequences of words. E. g., the rules for the combination of consonants into clusters only work within the word. Sandhi phenomena can only be described with reference to word limits (or similar morphemic border lines), and the rules governing the

distribution of allophones apply generally only within the word. This does not mean that all sequences of words have a structure different from that of single words, compare 'sguð i 'she stopped' with 'sguði 'will stop' (both phonetically ['sku-ði]), but operating with words saves us from having to regard, e. g., the *sx-* of *s 'xuð a* 'and he put' as a consonant cluster, and from all the ensuing difficulties of classification.

22. Our definition of the phonemic syllable will be the following:

A syllable is always contained between the initial and final limits of a word. Within the word, the following rules apply: (a) There is one syllable for every phonemic vowel, diphthong, and svarabhakti group. This, of course, implies that in words with only one vowel, the syllabic limits are identical with the word limits. (b) A consonant or consonant cluster which precedes the first vowel of a word, belongs to the first syllable. (c) The onset of a stress, primary or secondary, always introduces a new syllable. (d) Any consonant or consonant cluster not covered by the preceding rules belongs to the same syllable as the vowel which precedes it.

Some sample words with phonemic syllable division: *fu-al-i* 'will sew', *blĩN-ə* 'year', *Ləsg-əɣ* 'to burn', *fɛxg-əN'-ən* 'weeks', *jũdr-aN'* 'to miss', *farəm-ən-əx-əɣ* 'to preach', *bə-'Nta:t* 'potato(es)', *'fði-ra-ad* 'by-road, footpath'.

Some phonemes in the chain of connected text do not belong to a syllable as defined above. These are single consonant phonemes which constitute words. Such non-syllabic words are *s* 'and', *s* 'is', *h* 'is', *b* 'was', *v* 'was', and others. Many examples will be found in the texts at the end of this paper. All of these words are reduced forms which alternate with fuller, monosyllabic or even dissyllabic variants: *əs* and *əɣəs* 'and', *əs* 'is', *ha* and *ha:* 'is', *bə* 'was', *va* and *va:* 'was'.

Prosodemes

Stress

23. Stress is significant in Lb., cp. 'xūNiġ 'afiN' chunnaic esan 'he (stressed) saw' with 'xuNiġ a fiN' chunnaic e sinn 'he saw us'. There is, however, hardly a pair of single words by which a stress distinction can be demonstrated, the reason being that, with a very few exceptions, every stressed word receives the stress on its first syllable. Accordingly, when isolated words are quoted, stress is generally left unmarked except when it falls on a non-initial syllable (*də'mbak* 'tobacco', *bə'Nta:t* 'potato(es)', *a'dres* 'address') and when, as it occurs in many compounds and words with derivational prefixes, the word contains more than one stressed syllable (*'Lēh'Lā:n* 'half full', *'fōi,ra-ad* 'footpath', *'ku:L,iəkLən* 'back teeth', *'mī:'ɔRsdan* 'misfortune', *'fjē:'dūN'ə* 'old man' etc.). As will be seen from these examples, two signs for stress are used, ' for primary and , for secondary stress in the following syllable. There are probably two or more significant degrees of stress besides stresslessness, but their significance can only be demonstrated on the sentence level, and as my material is hardly large enough to permit of a reliable analysis of sentence stress, I prefer not to deal with this matter in the present paper except in a cursory way. For the description of words, it is sufficient to distinguish between primary stress, secondary stress, and lack of stress, as in the second syllables of *'mī:'ɔRsdan* 'misfortune', *'fōi,ra-ad* 'footpath', and *'mī:haLu* 'a scolding' (originally 'bad luck', misfortune').

24. Most words are capable of receiving stress, but there are some which never receive stress. Among these are the article, preverbal particles, the meaningless particle (*ə*) of (*ə*) *'māx* 'out', (*ə*) *'Raið* 'last night', etc., nearly all simple conjunctions (exceptions: *əγəs* 'and', *na* 'than', *gade*^{LF1} 'though' which are occasionally stressed), the prepositions *gən*, *gə^N* 'without' and *feð* 'from, off', further the possessive pronouns, and all forms of the copula.

¹ The superscript capitals represent morphophonemes, see pp. 164 ff.

25. The stressing of words in the sentence plays about the same rôle syntactically as in most other European languages. Nouns, adjectives, and adverbs are more often stressed than not. Personal pronouns have special forms when stressed. All verbs except the copula may be stressed; generally, the verb is stressed more frequently than in English. This is largely due to the lack of words for "yes" and "no": stressed verbs occur regularly in answers to yes-or-no questions and in corroborating or contradicting statements. Examples: The question *Rə u 'fd'ɔ:Rnəvay ə 'N'd'e:?* 'an robh thu an Steòrnabhagh an dé 'were you in Stornoway yesterday?' is answered either by *va:* 'yes' (literally 'was') or by *xa 'Rəh* 'no' (literally 'was not'). The common greeting *ha 'La-a 'māh aN ə 'N'd'uh* 'to-day is a good day' (literally 'there is a good day to-day') is usually answered with *'ha:*, *'La-a 'mā γa 'ði:ðu* 'yes, a good day indeed'.

26. One of the most characteristic features of Lb. accentuation is its extremely frequent stressing of prepositions. I find this phenomenon remarkable enough for deserving particular attention. Prepositions may be stressed whether they occur directly before nouns or are combined with the article, possessive pronouns, or personal pronouns. This holds both for compound and simple prepositions.

The nominal element of a compound preposition nearly always receives stress, primary or secondary: *'xuə 'ka:l ə 'xuəL a ma 'je-iN' ə 'Nda:t'* 'everything he had heard about the place'; *ha i eð ə 'fa:gal ə 'fīn ɔR,sən 'tri: 'fexgəN'an* 'it (the peat) is left there for three weeks'. If the compound preposition governs a pronoun, the nominal element generally receives a primary stress: *xa Rə 'xə:R ma 'je-iN'* 'chan robh chòrr m'a dheidhinn 'there was no further ado', literally 'there was not more about it' (where *ma* is the preposition *ma* with incorporated possessive pronoun). However, the stress may be lost if a further stressed element is added, compare *eð ə 'hən* 'for him, for his sake' with *eð ə hən 'he:n* 'for himself, for his own sake'.

As regards the simple prepositions, a prepositional pronoun (pp. 219 ff.) is always or nearly always stressed if it is followed by an emphatic particle: *ha 'baRəxg 'ga:liǵ 'agəməs eð ə h 'ajəds* 'I know more Gaelic than you'; *xa 'N'd'el a gə 'd'ifər 'γð:sə* 'it is just the same to me'.

Among the simple prepositions, *də^L*, *(ə)^L* 'to' (do) and *də^L*, *(ə)^L* 'from' (de) cannot receive stress unless they are combined with the article or a personal or possessive pronoun. Nearly all other simple prepositions may be stressed under certain conditions which cannot as yet be accurately determined. A large part of my instances consist of prepositions signifying 'with', 'to', 'from', 'through', 'before', after verbs meaning 'go', 'take', 'bring', 'get', 'come', 'say', 'tell'. The verb, in most cases, is stressless. Examples from this category are: *huRd me 'vɛ̃n 'rɔ̃ũm gə . . .* 'my wife said to me that . . .'; *'heiL a 'fd'ex əγəs huRd a 'ði 'kuRsdɪ* 'he returned home and said to Christina'; *ǰi:f i 'γa: gə . . .* 'she told him that . . .'; *huRd i 'ði-ə nax də 'rug 'if eð 'afəL ə 'ðiəv* 'she said to her that she had never handled a donkey before'; *ma feð u 'γð 'fã:N'ə* 'if you will give me a ring'; *ha mi təRd ə 'vð:N'ə sə 'gə 'krəsə,bəsd* 'I am taking this peat to Crossbost'. A good example of stressless verb plus stressed preposition, stressed verb plus stressless preposition is *əγəs Nduð ə vis i 't'idəm əR,sən ə kur 'gənə 'Rə-id'*, *'tə:ǰiçi mi 'NduəR,sən na 'pəkəNən γa 'taRiǵ gənə 'Rə-id'* 'and when it (the peat) is dry (enough) to be taken to the road, then I begin to carry it to the road in bagfuls'. Further examples: *Ndug u 'let nə māl'fəxən ə v eðə 'və:Rd?* 'did you take with you (take away) the matches that were on the table?'; *ha mi dəL 'äũN* 'I am going there' (literally 'in it', cp. French *j'y vais*); *xa mi 'eðə 'xa:r ə 'N'd'e:* 'I went by motorcar (literally 'on the car') yesterday'; *ha mi dəL 'xənə 'Ləx* 'I am going to the loch'; *hed' i 'as də 'xðĩnə 'Ndra:sd* 'you will forget it now (i. e. the Gaelic language)', literally 'she will go out of your memory now'; *ma vis a 'flux 'fesgər, xa d'ed' ǰiN' 'γanə 'valə* 'if it is wet (rainy) to-night, we will not go to town'; *xaj a 'trənə 'pa:ðiǵən* 'he went through (across) the

fields'; *ha mi t'in 'a 'krəsə,bəsd* 'I am coming from Crossbost'; *ax ə faiN' 'rənə ,vũLũ'xag 'xa:f* 'so that I might get ahead of the ball of cheese (which was rolling down a slope)'; *gəs ə ,fãjəγ a 'rẽ-ə* 'so that he would get ahead of it'.

After the verb *vih* 'to be', stressed prepositions are less common and probably limited to certain constructions. In the following examples, the preposition may, I believe, occur with or without stress, possibly with a small stylistic distinction: *ha i 'ði 'N'ĩ-udaLəxg* 'she is washing clothes'; *ha mi 'name 'hujə* 'I am sitting'; *ha a 'γa: 'vuəLəγ sən* 'he is beating him'.

The occurrence of stressed prepositions seems to be partly conditioned by rhythm. Nearly every stressed preposition in my material is immediately preceded by at least two unstressed syllables. (This statement does not include the prepositional pronouns: *huRd mə 'vɛ̃n 'rɔ̃ũm* 'my wife said to me'.)

However, neither a preceding unstressed verb nor the presence of two or more unstressed syllables immediately before the preposition requires that the latter be stressed. There are many examples of stressless prepositions under the same conditions.

27. The phonetic definition of stress meets with the same difficulties as in other languages. From the articulatory point of view, the stressed syllables seem to be pronounced with more muscular energy (both in the respiratory and articulatory organs) than unstressed ones; in auditory terms, stressed syllables are somewhat louder than the stressless segments. Stressed syllables are further characterized by a level or rising tone, while the unstressed ones may be pronounced both on rising, level, and falling notes, depending on their positions in relation to the stressed elements (they usually rise when they lead up to a stressed syllable and fall when they follow it). Finally, the phonemic segments of stressed syllables are longer than the corresponding segments of unstressed ones at the same rate of speech; thus, the first *a* of *aran* 'bread' is, although phonemically short, perceptibly longer than the second *a* of the same word.

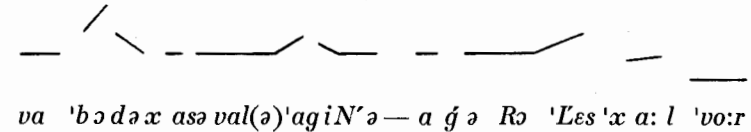
The difference between stress and non-stress is always easy to hear, as is that between primary and secondary stress. The only complication arises in words of the svarabhakti type, where the tendency to stress the second vowel more than the first (cp. pp. 27 ff.), as well as the rising tone, may induce the investigator to record [ma'ra^v] or [ma'ra^{v̄}] for ['marà^{v̄}] 'dead', as I have repeatedly done. It is, indeed, possible to make a non-contradictory description of the dialect even if we interpret [marà^{v̄}] phonemically as ma'ra^v, which would enable us to dispense with the concept of svarabhakti, but after several attempts I have refrained from this procedure as it did not simplify the description and tended to distract attention from some important structural features.

28. Historically, stress in Lb. corresponds to stress in Old Irish. In O.I., non-initial stress was frequent in verbs; the total disappearance of this type of words in Lb. is due to the fact that the stressless preverbal elements of O.I. (prepositions, particles, and infixed pronouns) have either been lost or acquired a more independent status, so that we are justified in regarding them as separate unstressed words.

Intonation *S. Lochl. IV p. 273 ff*

29. As we have seen (p. 27), there are no significant word or syllable tones in Lb., according to our interpretation. There are, however, doubtlessly significant patterns of sentence intonation. As an analysis of these patterns would require a larger material than mine as well as visual recordings of the tone movements, I am not in a position to describe them here, but can only mention a couple of salient traits.

The final contour of a sentence is usually falling. If the last syllable of the sentence is stressed, it does not lose the level or rising tone common to all stressed syllables, but is pronounced on a lower note so that the general direction of the contour is preserved:

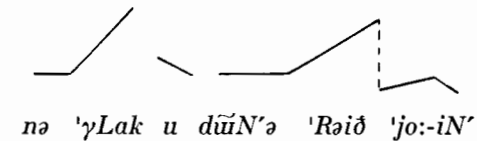


va 'bɔ də x asə val(ə)'agiN'ə — a ǰ ə Rə 'Les 'x a: l 'vo:r

'there was an old man in our village who had a big cabbage patch'.

This sample sentence also illustrates, in its first part, an intonation pattern that marks the statement as non-final. It, also, consists in a falling contour, but the fall ends on a higher note than the final fall.

There is also a question pattern, but even here the final fall is preserved, unlike many other European languages, where at least yes-or-no questions have a rising "question contour". Questions differ from statements in that the former have larger intervals between high and low notes, which makes the rises and falls more abrupt:



nə 'ɣLak u dūN'ə 'Rəið 'jo:-iN'

'did you catch anybody last night, Ewen?'

Quantity

30. The distinction of vocalic quantity has two terms, long and short. Examples: *ji*: 'knitted, wove' ~ *ji(h)* 'to her', *nī*: 'will do, make' ~ *nī(h)* 'washed', *fa:dən* '(single) peats' ~ *fada* 'long', *gɔRsd* 'sore' ~ *ɣɔ:Rsd* 'spilled', *ɔ:L* 'to drink' ~ *ɔL(ə)* 'oil', *fi:də* 'silk' ~ *fid* 'that', *pa:-əɣ* 'to pay' ~ *pa-əɣ* 'thirst', *Ru:-əɣ* 'first stacking of the peat' ~ *Ru-u* or *Ru-ə* 'promontory, headland'.

The opposition between long and short is only found in

stressed monophthong vowels. The diphthongs are always long, the unstressed monophthongs always short. Unstressed diphthongs hardly exist; for one exception see p. 148. In svarabhakti groups, both vowels are always short, but it is convenient to regard the whole svarabhakti group as equivalent to a long vowel.

31. There are some cases of interdependence between vocalic quantity and postvocalic consonants and clusters:

Only long vowels and diphthongs are found

- (a) Before final *R* and final or medial *Rd*, *Rt*, *Rl*, *Rn*, and *Rh* (long vowels and opening¹ diphthongs): *ba:R* 'top; cream', *a:Rd* 'high', *sda:Rt* 'started', *ɔ:Rlæx* 'inch', *iəRniǵəɣ* 'to iron', *a:Rhad* (and *a:Rad*) 'a certain'. Exceptions are *pjəRnə* 'reel (of thread)' and *kəRlæx* 'curly'. Before *Rs*, however, both long and short vowels are found: *kaRsd* 'right' ~ *ka:Rsdæx* 'smithy'.
- (b) Before final and preconsonantal *m* (long vowels, closing¹ diphthongs, and svarabhakti groups): *ĩ:m* 'butter', *ĩ:mpəðə* 'emperor', *jǵũmbæxəɣ* 'to convert', *bəððm* 'yeast'. (The *m* does not count as final if followed by a caducous *ə* (p. 149): *kom(ə)* 'indifferent' has a short vowel.)
- (c) Before final *N* and medial and final *Nd*, *Nt*, *N'd*, *N't*, *N'ǵ*, and *N'f* (closing diphthongs; long vowels sometimes before a cluster): *LǵũN* 'launching-roller', *glǵũN* 'valley', *drǵũNdan* 'to grumble', *bǵũNtræx* 'widow', *kǵũN'dæx* 'certain', *sLǵ:N'tə* 'health', *Le:N'tən* 'shirts', *tǵũN'ǵ* 'thanks', *tǵũN'ǵal* 'thankful', *tə* 'fǵũN'f (and *tə* 'fǵũN'f) 'inn, pub'.

Only short vowels and opening diphthongs are found before intervocalic *N*: *LũNən* 'launching rollers' (pl. of *LǵũN*), *bjǵNæxǵ* 'blessing', *blǵNə* 'year', *fǵũNi* 'giant'. Exceptions are *grǵũNan* 'many, much, a good deal' and *tǵũNərəj* name of an island, which both have closing diphthongs.

¹ See § 40.

Only short vowels are found

- (a) Before final *h*: *duh* 'black', *t'eh* 'hot'.
- (b) Before the cluster *Ng* [*ŋg*]: *pəNgəl* 'prompt, punctual', *frǵNgæx* 'French(man)', *trǵNg* 'busy'. Also before *Nk* [*ŋk*] which is recorded only in *fũNk* 'anything' (= *ka:l*).

32. The phonetic difference between long and short vowels is very clear, in spite of the relatively long duration of stressed short vowels in certain environments. The short vowels are quite short before aspirated stops (*p*, *t*, etc.), a trifle longer before other voiceless consonants, and attain their greatest length before voiced consonants and hiatus, where I have sometimes recorded them with the IPA symbol for "half-length": [*ãˑnal*] *ǵnal* 'breath', [*t'ɛˑɣə*] *t'ɛɣə* 'tongue', [*pˑaˑəɣ*] *pa-əɣ* 'thirst'. To make up for this, the long vowels are often exceedingly long, which contributes much to the peculiar "drawling" character of Lewis Gaelic. These over-long vowels are noticed most in strongly stressed syllables; under secondary stress, the length is considerably reduced, but not so much as to cause confusion with short vowels.

32b. Vowel length in Lb. corresponds generally to vowel length in O.I. or O.N., but under certain conditions, Lb. has a long monophthong or a diphthong corresponding to an earlier short vowel. This is the case where the originally short vowel was followed by

- (a) non-lenited **r**, **l**, **n**, **m** (palatal or non-palatal) in word-final position and as first components of medial and final homorganic clusters (**rd**, **lt**, **mb**, etc.). Examples will be found under the historical treatment of the separate vowels, especially *a*:, *i*:, *ɔ*:, and the closing diphthongs (§§ 50, 59, 62, 76, 78, 80, 82, 84, and 86). Before the clusters **rs**, now *Rs*, and **rt**, now *Rsd*, this lengthening was not effected.
- (b) preconsonantal fricative **b**, **d**, **g**, **m** (palatal or non-palatal) which have regularly been lost. Examples will be found §§ 59, 65, 74, 76, and 80.

Before modern hiatus, short vowels often correspond to earlier long vowels or diphthongs, notably in Norse loans: *Ra-anif* village name O.N. Ráarnes, *sə-vaL* mountain name O.N. Sauðafjall.

Sporadic instances of Lb. short vowels corresponding to older long vowels: *je-iN* 'I would go' O.I. *tégin*n, *t'íðam* 'dry' O.I. *tírim*, *jih* 'to her' O.I. *dí*, *Lígi* 'will let' O.I. *léicid*, *foja* 'from him' cp. O.I. *úaid*, *Rud* 'thing' O.I. *rét*. Most of these reductions of quantity may be attributed to frequent use in unstressed positions.

Nasality in Vowels

33. Any stressed vowel or diphthong, short or long, may be nasal (i. e. oral-nasal) or oral, except long *ɔ:* and *u:*, which are never nasal. Long *e:* is nasal only in *Nē:* (§ 304).

Borgstrøm distinguishes (DOH p. 13) between dependent and independent nasality. Dependent nasality means a non-phonemic nasality which occurs in vowels in immediate contact with nasal consonants; independent nasality is not conditioned by such a contact.

In Leurbost, the distribution of vocalic nasality is different. The distinction non-nasal ~ nasal is present not only in non-nasal environments (e. g. *ta:v* 'hand-net' ~ *tã:v* 'rest, repose') but also, although with less distinctive power, near nasal consonants (*sǵiən* 'knife' ~ *Lĩn* 'fishing-net', *trə:n* 'corn-crake' ~ *Rã:n*, lenited *rã:n* 'patch of land') We shall, however, keep the terms dependently and independently nasal, and use them for vowels with and without nasal consonant environments, respectively, as such a distinction has been found useful. It must, of course, be kept in mind that the terms do not mean quite the same as in Borgstrøm's description.

34. Nasality in vowels is one of the most elusive features of Lb. phonemics. Nasality, even when independent, has little distinctive value, and misunderstandings because of failure to make the distinction are practically excluded.

The degree of phonetic clearness of the distinction varies with the speakers. While informant No. 1, Roddy, whose nasal twang makes all his vowels a little nasal, does not compensate for this by overemphasizing nasality where it is phonemic, his wife, who has very clear oral vowels, pronounces her nasal vowels with a very marked nasal resonance.

The degree of nasality also varies with the phonemic environments. On the basis of my field notes, where I used symbols for two degrees of nasality, it is possible to set up the following rules:

(a) Independent nasality is often stronger than dependent nasality. This impression may, however, be due to a bias in the writer, who, being accustomed to languages where vocalic nasality is not phonemic (e. g. English and Norwegian), observes vocalic nasality more easily in non-nasal surroundings.

(b) In long vowels and diphthongs, nasality is stronger (or easier to observe) than in short vowels.

(c) Dependent nasality is strongest if the neighbouring nasal consonant is *N*, considerably less strong if it is *m*, and often almost imperceptible with *n*.

There are several words which have nasal vowels in some speakers, non-nasal vowels in others. It is also possible that some speakers use both forms indiscriminately. Such cases of overlapping are *fakəL* and *fākəL* 'word', *favað* and *fāvəð* 'wild man', *gra:də* and *grā:də* 'ugly', *sa:vəx* and *sā:vəx* 'quiet'.

35. The strongest nasality observed is fully as strong as in French nasal vowels, the weakest may perhaps be compared to the nasal twang in many speakers of General American English. Nasality sometimes alters the vowel timbre considerably; for details of this, as well as details of distribution, consult the section on Phonetics, Distribution, and History (pp. 52 ff.).

36. In stressless syllables, the vowels may be more or less nasalized according to their environment, but this nasality is entirely non-phonemic and will not be marked in the transcription.

37. Historically, vocalic nasality originates in the influence of nasal consonants. Independent nasality may be due to

- 1) An **m** which has become lenited and then denasalized (phonemically if not phonetically), as *tā:v* 'rest, repose' M.I. *tám*. Phonetically, the *v* may still be nasal [*tā:ṽ*], but the phonemically relevant nasality has been shifted from the consonant to the vowel. A reflection of this historical process is observable synchronically in the distinction between radical and lenited initial *m* as in (ə) '*mā:həð* 'her mother' ~ (ə) '*vā:həð* 'his mother'.
- 2) A nasal consonant which has been dropped before another consonant: *jðūsəxəγ* 'to learn, teach' cp. M.I. *insaigid* 'to look up, visit'.
- 3) An **n** which has become *r* or *ð* in the initial clusters *gr*, *gð*, *kr*, *kð* from older **gn**, **cn**, e. g. *krð*: 'nut' O.I. gen. *cnó*.

Some words have vowels whose nasality is difficult to explain historically: *āviN* 'river' O.I. acc. *abinn*, *fāk(ə)* 'saw' (dependent preterite) O.I. 'accāe, *fēk* 'will see' (dependent future) O.I. 'aicci, *fākəL* (and *fakəL*) 'word' O.I. *focul*, *ūāvasəx* 'terrible' M.I. *úathbásach*, *kLāju* 'sword' O.I. *claideb*.

Other words have oral vowels where nasals might be expected: *d'íavN* 'idle' M.I. *dí-máin* 'vain, useless', *ev* 'raw' cp. M.I. *om*, *kə* '*viəd* 'how much, how many' cp. O.I. *mét*, *méit* 'size, quantity', (ə) '*diav* 'ever (in the past)' O.I. *rīam* 'before it' (cp. § 90, 3), *sa:vəx* (and *sā:vəx*) 'quiet' M.I. *sám* 'rest, ease'.

The vicinity of *r* seems to have counteracted the development of nasal vowels to a certain degree (e. g. *mo:r* 'big'); the same holds good for the position in svarabhakti (e. g. *taLāviN* 'earth, land' (genitive) cp. O.I. acc. *talmain*). But this is only a tendency, not a strict rule; there are many instances of nasal vowels both near *r* and in svarabhakti.

Stressed Syllables

The Vowel System

38. There are nine monophthongs and ten diphthongs. Diphthongs differ from monophthongs by being always long. They will be regarded as single phonemes, not as two-vowel clusters.

Monophthongs.

39. All monophthongs may be either short or long. The following table presents the nine monophthongs in a semi-phonetic arrangement:

	Front unrounded	Back unrounded	Back rounded
High.....	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>
Mid.....	<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>
Low.....	<i>ε</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ɔ</i>

Word pairs demonstrating the chief phonemic distinctions:

- i* ~ *u* : Short: *hiγ* 'will come' ~ *huγ* 'understood'. For long *i*: ~ *u*:, I have no better example than ('*drəx*)'*hi:d'ə* '(bad) weather' ~ *u:d'anəx* 'leaky'.
- u* ~ *u* : *tuLəγ* 'more' ~ *duLəx* 'foliage'; *ku:L* 'narrow' ~ *ku:L* 'crust (of bread)'.
- e* ~ *ə* : *bled'agən* 'sleet' ~ *bləd'al* 'slyly begging'; *tre:n* 'strong' ~ *trə:n* 'corn-crake'.
- ə* ~ *o* : *təbifd'* 'accident' ~ *tobəð* 'a well'; *sNə:fan* 'snuff' ~ *Nö:fan* 'interest, notion'.
- ε* ~ *a* : *dēv* 'oxen' ~ *dāv* 'ox'; *se:v* 'saws' ~ *sa:v* 'a saw'.
- a* ~ *ɔ* : *ax* 'but' ~ *ɔx* 'o, ah' (exclamation of reassurance, etc., e. g. '*ɔx* '*ha*: 'o yes'); *ba:Rd* 'poet, bard' ~ *bɔ:Rd* 'table'.
- i* ~ *e* : *iç* 'eat!' ~ *eç* 'horses'; *i:vəxγ* 'facial expression' ~ *e:vəxγ* 'to shout'.
- e* ~ *ε* : *lesən* 'with him' (emphatic) ~ *lesiç* 'improved' (pret.); *he:viγ* 'shaved' ~ *hε:v* lenited form of *tε:v* 'hand-nets'.

u ~ *ə* : No good example for short *u* and *ə*. Long: *fu:vər* 'edge (of cutting implement)' ~ *ə:vər* 'cause, reason', *eðə* 'Ndu:vər 'on the edge' ~ *eðə* 'Ndə:vər *fin* 'for that reason, therefore'.

ə ~ *a* : *kəLə* 'wood, forest' ~ *kəLəx* 'old woman, wife'; *mə:rəx* 'mussel, shellfish' ~ *mā:rəx* 'to-morrow'.

u ~ *o* : *hug* 'gave, took' ~ *hog* 'lifted; built'; *bu:* 'shop' ~ *bo:* 'cow'.

o ~ *ɔ* : *Ro-əRd* 'spring-tide' ~ *Rɔ-əɣ* 'frost, to freeze'; *mɔ:r* 'great, big' ~ *mɔ:r* a woman's name (anglicized Marion).

Diphthongs.

40. The diphthongs may conveniently be divided into closing and opening diphthongs. The terms have been coined specifically for our purpose with reference to decreasing versus increasing aperture. These classes may also be defined on distributional criteria: the closing diphthongs have their greatest frequency before *N* and *L* (u-diphthongs), before *N'* and *L* (i-diphthongs), and before *m* (both i- and u-diphthongs), while the opening diphthongs are rare in these positions. The diphthong *ui*, phonetically closing (being always pronounced with a rather open *u* and narrow *i*) will be classed with the i-diphthongs, although its distribution is so limited that it can hardly be used as a base for any classification.

Closing		Opening	
i-diphthongs	u-diphthongs		
<i>ei</i>	<i>ui</i>	<i>əu</i>	<i>iə</i>
<i>əi</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>ia</i>
			<i>uə</i>
			<i>ua</i>

ei ~ *əi* : *pēiN'd'* 'pint' ~ *pāiN'd'* 'pounds' (weight). Some speakers do not seem to make this distinction, cp. § 77.

əi ~ *ui* : *māid'an* 'maid, bride', *kLāiN'd'an* 'to hear' ~ *mūijən* 'to threaten', *kLūid'əx* 'down (of birds)'.

əi ~ *ai* : *rāiN'* 'to us' ~ *rāiN'* 'did, made'.

əu ~ *au* : *NāūL* 'over there' ~ *NāūL* 'over here'.

iə ~ *ia* : *fiəx* 'debt' ~ *fiəx* 'try!'

uə ~ *ua* : *kūān* 'sea' ~ *dūān* 'poem'; *būāN'* 'to harvest' ~ *ūāN'* 'lambs'.

i-diphthongs are different from groups of vowel plus the consonant (semivowel) *j*: *mūi* 'mane' ~ *mūj* 'out(side)', *Luihən* 'hymns' ~ *kujhər* a village name. The phonetic difference consists in the longer duration of the diphthong, especially of its last element, and the very frequent devoicing (partial or complete) of *j* when final or preconsonantal.

For the further classification of the vowels, see under Morphophonemics, § 212.

The Consonant System

41. There are thirty-two consonant phonemes. Their symbols are shown in the diagram below, which also illustrates the chief features of the articulation of their most frequent allophones.

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Pre-palatal	Medio-palatal	Velar	Glottal
Unaspirated stops	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>d'</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>g</i>	
Aspirated stops ..	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>t'</i>	<i>k̄</i>	<i>k</i>	
Voiced fricatives .	<i>v</i>	<i>ð</i>			<i>ǰ̄</i>	<i>ɣ</i>	
Voiceless fricatives	<i>f</i>	(<i>θ</i>)			<i>ç</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>h</i>
Sibilants		<i>s</i>		<i>ʃ</i>			
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>N'</i>			
Laterals		<i>L</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>L'</i>			
Trills and flaps ..			<i>R r</i>				
Semivowels	(<i>w</i>)				<i>j</i>		

42. The consonants may be divided into classes by distributional and morphophonemic criteria. Thus, stops and fricatives

may be defined by their mutual relationship in initial mutations; dentals, velars, and palatals by their correlations in final mutations, while the labials are defined partly by their mutual relationship and partly by their ability of forming initial clusters with a following *j*. Such a classification will be undertaken (in such a measure as seems convenient for our exposition) in the section on morphophonemics. At the present stage, we shall only point out that (a) the phoneme δ is only phonetically a dental fricative; in distribution and morphophonemics, it plays the part of a palatal *r*-sound; (b) the phonemes θ and *w* are infrequent and found only in words recognized as English by all speakers (the former is often replaced by *t* by old people with an imperfect knowledge of English).

The following examples will serve to demonstrate the chief phonemic distinctions:

- b ~ d* : *bauL* 'thick rope' ~ *dauL* 'blind'.
 d *b̥ ~ d'* : *d'e:d* '(set of) teeth' ~ *xa* 'd'e:d' 'will not go'.
d' ~ g̃ : (*asə*) 'vðe:d' '(in the) patch' ~ (*asə*) 'vðe:g̃' '(in the) lie'.
g̃ ~ g : *g̃auL* 'promise!' ~ *gauL* 'person from the mainland'.
p ~ t : *pəuL* 'peat-bank' ~ *təuL* 'hole'.
t ~ t' : *tānə* 'thin' ~ *t'ānə* 'fire'.
t' ~ k : *t'āūN* 'tight' ~ *kāūN* 'head'.
k ~ k : *kaRsd* 'right' ~ *kaRsd* 'bark (of tree)'.
 d *j ~ γ* : *ʃə* 'will find, get' ~ *γə* 'took'.
ç ~ x : *fru:ç* 'heather' (gen.) ~ *fru:x* 'heather' (nom.).
x ~ h : *māx* 'out' ~ *māh* 'good'.
s ~ f : *bə* 'vīsə' 'was worst' ~ *bə* 'vīfə' 'it was I'.
f ~ ç : *ʃi:* 'fairy' (as in *dūN'ə* 'ʃi: 'fairy man') ~ *çi:* 'will see'.
m ~ N : *āūm* 'time' ~ *āūN* 'in him, in it, there'.
N ~ n : *āNas* 'rarity, novel' ~ *ānal* 'breath'.
n ~ N' : *auran* 'song' ~ *auraN'* 'songs'.
N ~ N' : *bāNəx* 'bannock, scone' ~ *bāN'ə* 'milk'.
L ~ l : *baLə* 'wall' ~ *balə* 'village, town'.
l ~ L : *kaləx* 'cock' ~ *kaLəx* 'old woman, wife'.

- L ~ L* : *LāūN* 'launching roller' ~ *LāūN* 'beer'.
R ~ r : *Ruədi* 'Roderick' (nominative) ~ *ruədi* 'id.' (genitive).
r ~ δ : *La:r* 'floor, ground' ~ *La:δ* 'mare'.
R ~ δ : *kaRəx* 'cross, peevish' ~ *kaδəx* 'guilty, at fault'.
L ~ R : *Lā:v* 'hand' ~ *Rā:v* 'oar'.
l ~ r : *alan* 'Allan' ~ *aran* 'bread'.
b ~ p : *baL'tən* 'villages' ~ *paL'təs* 'abundance'; *tobəδ* 'a well' ~ *topag* 'lark'.
d ~ t : *du:r* 'dour' ~ *tu:r* 'tower'.
d' ~ t' : *d'es* 'south' ~ *t'es* 'heat'; *id'ir* 'at all' ~ *Lit'ir* 'letter'.
g̃ ~ k : *g̃eraN'* 'to complain' ~ *kerəδ* 'four (persons)'; *hiḡ* 'will come' ~ *hiḡ* 'to her'.
g ~ k : *gauL* 'person from the mainland' ~ *kauL* 'to lose'; *hug* 'gave; took' ~ *huk(ə)* 'to them'.
v ~ f : *vaLəx* 'boys' (gen. pl.) ~ *faLəx* 'hiding, to hide'.
ǰ ~ ç : *ǰa:R* 'cut' (pret.) ~ *ça:R* 'left; wrong' (lenited).
γ ~ x : *γāiniç* 'asked' ~ *xāiniç* 'reminded'.
b ~ v : *ba:* 'cow' (gen.) ~ *va:* 'was'.
p ~ f : *pīən* 'pain' ~ *fīən* 'wine'.
g̃ ~ j : *g̃i:fəγ* '(at) telling' ~ *ǰi:fəγ* 'would tell'.
k ~ ç : *kāNiç(ə)* 'merchant' ~ *çāNiç* 'bought'.
g ~ γ : *gəd'* 'to steal' ~ *γəd'* 'stole'.
k ~ x : *kuδ* 'put!' ~ *xuδ* 'put' (pret.).
m ~ v : *marəv* 'dead' ~ *varəv* 'killed' (pret.).
j ~ j : *ǰūsīç* 'taught, learnt' ~ *ǰūsīç* 'teach, learn!'.
v ~ w : *vel* 'is (it)?' ~ *wel* 'well' (interjection).

Clusters.

43. The consonants combine into a great number of clusters. They are so numerous, indeed, that it would take a large and varied material to bring forth all the existing combinations. The following list cannot be regarded as complete. Many of the gaps in the list are purely accidental. Initial **mpj*- and **Nkδ*-, for instance, are bound to exist in the dialect as the nasalized counterparts of *pj*- and *kδ*-. Clusters like **tL*-, **tl*-, **dl*-, and **sbr*- are

very likely to exist, if only in one or two instances each, cp. the entries *tlachd*, *tliochd*, *dlighe*, *sprochd* in Dwelly's *Dictionary*. My failure to elicit forms containing these clusters from my informants cannot be taken as conclusive evidence that they are absent from the dialect. But in spite of its shortcomings, the list will nevertheless reveal some of the chief structural features, such as the inability of *j* to combine with consonants other than labials in initial clusters, the absence of palatal stops as first components of initial clusters, etc.

44. As several clusters will not be dealt with explicitly elsewhere in this paper, I find it proper to give examples of the use of all recorded clusters in connection with the list. One example will be given for each cluster, in the order of their appearance in the list, reading from left to right across the rows.

Initial Clusters.

(a) Stop + *j*, *r*, *ð*, *L*, *l* :

<i>bj-</i>	<i>pj-</i>				
<i>br-</i>	<i>pr-</i>	<i>dr-</i>	<i>tr-</i>	<i>gr-</i>	<i>kr-</i>
<i>bð-</i>	<i>pð-</i>			<i>gð-</i>	<i>kð-</i>
<i>bL-</i>	<i>pL-</i>	<i>dL-</i>		<i>gL-</i>	<i>kL-</i>
<i>bl-</i>	<i>pl-</i>			<i>gl-</i>	<i>kl-</i>

(b) Nasal + stop :

mb- *mp-* *Nd-* *Nt-* *N'd-* *N't-* *N'g-* *N'k-* *Ng-* *Nk-*

(c) Nasal + stop + *j*, *r*, *ð*, *L*, *l* :

In principle, each of the clusters listed under *a* may be preceded by a nasal. The following combinations have been recorded: *mbj-*, *mbr-*, *mbL-*, *mpð-*, *Ndr-*, *Ntr-*, *Ngr-*, *Ngl-*, *Nkr-*, *NkL-*, *Nkl-* and, in addition, *NtL-* and *Ntl-* which have no recorded counterparts without a nasal.

(d) Fricatives and nasals + *j*, *r*, *ð*, *L*, *l* :

<i>mj-</i>	<i>vj-</i>	<i>fj-</i>			
	<i>vr-</i>	<i>fr-</i>	<i>γr-</i>	<i>xr-</i>	<i>hr-</i>
	<i>vð-</i>	<i>fð-</i>	<i>γð-</i>	<i>xð-</i>	

	<i>vL-</i>	<i>fL-</i>	<i>γL-</i>	<i>xL-</i>
	<i>vl-</i>	<i>fl-</i>	<i>γl-</i>	<i>xl-</i>
(e) s-clusters:				
	<i>sb-</i>	<i>sd-</i>	<i>fd'-</i>	<i>sg-</i>
	<i>sbj-</i>			
		<i>sdr-</i>		
	<i>sbð-</i>			<i>sgð-</i>
				<i>sgl-</i>
	<i>sm-</i>	<i>sN-</i>	<i>fN'-</i>	
		<i>sL-</i>	<i>fL'-</i>	
	<i>smj-</i>			
	<i>sw-</i>			<i>sgw-</i>

Examples:

- (a) *bjāRsdæx* 'rich', *pjāRnæ* 'reel', *bruædær* 'a dream', *pruhæx* 'whooping-cough', *dræim* 'back', *tro-æd* 'come!', *gru:gxæ* 'dim (about light)', *krætan* 'a cold', *bðiaγ* 'a lie', *pðuγijf* 'trousers', *gðæiv* 'effort', *kðek* 'to sell', *bLæniγ* 'lard', *pLad'æ* 'blanket', *dLu:* 'close', 'tight', *gLæn* 'clean', *kLa:r* 'wooden tray', *bleh* 'to grind', *plasdær* 'plaster', *glæũN* 'valley', *klia* 'a harrow'.
- (b) *mbahæð* 'my father', *gæ* 'mpæ:sæγ ad' 'that they would marry', (æ) 'Ndobæð' 'the work', (æ) 'Ntænæm' 'the name', (æ) 'N'd'æx' 'the drink', (æ) 'N't'esæx' 'the fever', *gæ* 'N'gæRæγ a' 'that he would cut', (æ) 'N'kæũN' 'the head', *aNæ* 'Nga:liγ' 'in Gaelic', (æ) 'Nkð:ni' 'always'.
- (c) *aNæ* 'mbjæ:Læ' 'in English', *mbræ-æn* 'women, wives', (æ) 'mblæNæ' 'this year', *aNæ* 'mpðuγijf' 'in trousers', (æ) 'Ndra:sd' 'just now', (æ) 'Ntræsg' 'the codfish', *aNæ* 'NgræũNd æ' 'xafd'al' 'in the castle grounds', *aNæ* 'NglæũN' 'in a valley', (æ) 'NkræLæ' 'the moss', (æ) 'NkLæ:' 'the tweed', *aNæ* 'Nkliæv' 'in a creel', (æ) 'NtLuæj' 'of the crowd', (æ) 'Ntli-æ' 'the way'.
- (d) *mjæũL* 'a shower', *γanæ* 'vjaRsd' 'to the loom', *fjæulæγ* 'kilt', *vra:ðhæn* 'brothers' (gen. pl.), *frasæx* 'crib, manger', (æ) 'γra:j' 'my dear!', *xrah* 'shook', *ræ* 'hræũm' 'too heavy', *vðe:d'æn* 'patches (on clothes)' (gen. pl.), *fðif* 'broke', *asæ* 'γðe:N' 'in the sun', *xðæxniç* 'finished' (pret.), 'dræx' 'vLas' 'disagreeable

taste', *nə helanən* 'flaNaɣ 'the Flannan Isles', *ɣLag* 'bells' (gen. pl.), *xLə-iç* 'dug', *vlɛ(h)* 'ground' (pret.), *flux* 'wet', (*ə*) *ɣliN'ə* 'of the valley', *xlaxɣ* 'was accustomed to'.

- (e) *sbirəd* 'spirit', *sdad* 'to stop', *fd'u:ð* 'rudder', *sgjal* 'tale, rumour', *sga:han* 'mirror', *sbjaL* 'scythe', *sdriahəRdiç* 'to sneeze', *sbðe:j* 'cattle', *sgði:vəɣ* 'to write', *sglɔ:tag* 'small lythe or pollack', *smð:N'əxəɣ* 'to think', *sNā:v* 'to swim', *fN'ĩv* 'to spin, twist, sprain', *sLuəɣ* 'crowd', *fLi-ə* 'way', *smjð:rəx* 'a bird (thrush?)', *swetər* 'sweater', *sgwɛ-ər* 'square'.

Postvocalic Clusters.

45. The postvocalic clusters may be divided into medial (followed by a vowel belonging to the same word) and word-final. Most final clusters occur in medial position as well, while several medial clusters are excluded from final position. In the list below, exclusively medial clusters are symbolized by an appended hyphen; clusters which appear in both positions are symbolized by (-), while exclusively final ones receive no extra symbol.

- (f) Beginning with a stop:

-br-	-dr-	-tr-		-gr-	-kr-
-bð-		-d'ð-	-l'ð-	-gð-	
				-gL-	-kL-
		-d'f(-)	-l'f(-)	-g'f(-)	
				-gv-	
-bd-				-gd-	

- (g) Ending in a stop:

	-jp						
-rb-	-rp(-)	-Rd(-)	-Rt	-ðl'(-)	-ðk(-)	-rk(-)	
	-Lp-	-Lt(-)	-Lt'(-)	-lk	-Lk		
-mb	-mp-	-Nd(-)	-Nt(-)	-N'd'(-)	-N't'(-)	-N'g(-)	-Nk(-)
-sb-		-sd(-)	-fd'(-)	-f'g(-)	-sg(-)		
		-fd	-çd'(-)		-xg(-)		

- (h) r-sound, l-sound or nasal with fricative or sibilant:

-vr-(?)	-fr-	-sr-	-fð-	-xr-	
			-sl-	-fL-	-xL-
		-sN-	-fN'-		
			-çn-	-ɣn-	-xn-
	-rf-	-Rs(-)		-rx-	
	-lfç				
	-Ns-	-N'f-			

- (i) h-clusters:

-vh- -jh- -Rh- -rh- -ðh- -Lh- -lh-

- (j) Other two-consonant clusters:

-mr- -nr- -Rn(-) -Rl-

- (k) Three-consonant clusters:

-Rsb- -Rsd(-) -sgL- -Ntr- -ðkn-

Examples:

- (f) *ə:brəN* 'ankle', *jðüdraN'* 'to miss', *patran* 'pattern', *su:grəɣ* 'diversion, sport', *Ləkriçən* pl. of *Ləkəð* 'plane', *N'ibðiç* 'handkerchief', *ɔ:d'ðəvəL* mountain name, *fi'l'ðiç* 'to neigh', *ɔ:gðə* 'youth', *egLif* 'church', *fækLən* 'teeth', *kðəd'fiN'* 'to believe', *mātfəxən* 'matches', *tuçf(ə)* 'to understand', *t'əgvəx* 'doubtful', *kabdəl* 'chapter', *dəɣdar* 'doctor'.
- (g) *fojɣp* 'from her', *Lu:rbəsd* village name, *sgarp* island name, *ɔ:Rd* 'hammer', *sda:Rt* 'started', *sgi:ðt'ən* 'parishes', *uðkən* 'young pig', *kək* 'hen', *sgaLpiç* 'dandruff', *faLt* 'hair', *māk* ^{ai'l'ta} 'disgusting', *ə* 'Ndulk' 'son of evil' (term of abuse), *ɔLk* 'evil' (noun and adj.), *jðümbəxəɣ* 'to convert', *i:mpəðə* 'emperor', *sāüNdəx* 'ambitious', *LāNtiN'* 'to follow', *kēiN'd'əx* 'sure, certain', *Le:N't'an* 'shirts', *tāiN'g* 'thanks', *trāNg* 'busy', *baNk(ə)* '(sand) bank', *usbəɣ* 'breath of wind', *asdər* 'distance', *bəfd'əɣ* 'to baptize', *Lefç* 'lazy', *trəsg* 'codfish', *g'ifd* 'gift', *viçd'ə* 'would be' (impersonal form), *fəxɣ* 'seven'. \rightarrow indefinite
- (h) *səivras* (*səivərəs*? recorded [səiv'ras]) 'wealth', *ifriN'* 'hell', *suəsriN'* 'acquainted', *N'ifðəvəL* mountain name, *taxri* 'will happen', *breslet* 'bracelet', *mī:fLə* 'sweeter', *axLif* 'armpit', *kəsNəɣ* 'to win, earn', *buN'əxɣ* 'witchcraft', *d'eqnər* 'ten

(people)', *Nāīynar* 'nine (people)', *xđiāxniç* 'finished', *mīārfal* 'miracle', *taRsiN* 'across', *mo:rxuf* 'proud, haughty', *sçelf* 'shelf', (*ə*) 'NkaNsar 'the cancer', *tə* 'fēiNf 'pub, change-house'.

- (i) *Lā:vhəy* (and *Lā:vəy*, *Lā:vay*) 'axe', (*ə*) 'γajhar 'at once', *a:Rhad* (and *a:Rad*) 'a certain', (*ə*) 'N'd'erhəð 'the day after to-morrow', *vra:ðhən* 'brothers' (gen. pl.), *juLhiN* 'cornyard', *kðelhag* (and *kðelag*) ^{biting fly} 'wasp'.
- (j) *e:mriç* 'lowing of cow', *ə:nranəx* 'lonely, lonesome', *ə:Rn* 'on us', *ka:Rləvay* village name.
- (k) *aRsbag* 'the largest kind of sea-gull', *əRsd* 'on you', *fəsgLəy* 'to open', *bāūNtrəx* 'widow', *ūāðknəx* (and *ūāðkənəx*) 'solitary, undisturbed'.

46. In recent loans from English, we may find some clusters which are not mentioned in the list above, such as *Rds* [tʃ] and *gs* [ks] in 'pəRdsəs 'tegs 'purchase tax'.

47. A few further clusters are found in combinations of preposition plus article in the plural, e. g. *sn* in *asnə* 'in the', *fn* in *lefnə* 'with the', and in combinations of prepositional pronouns with emphasizing particles, e. g. *ms* in *lāūms(ə)* 'with me', *ts* in *γuts(ə)* 'to you'. These are indicators of juncture rather than true clusters; the reasons for regarding these combinations as single words will be explained § 248 and § 258, a.

Phonetics, Distribution, and History of the Separate Phonemes

Vowels.

Monophthongs.

a.

48. *a* has the principal allophones [a] and [a]. The former is a low front unrounded vowel. It resembles the French "a antérieur" as in *battre*; it is more front than the E. *a* in *father* and approaches E. *æ* in *bad*. [a] is similar to French *a* in *bas* or E.

a in *father*; it may be characterized as low central to back, not rounded. [a] is used ~~when N, L, or R follows immediately~~; ^{nearly always before and often after N, L and R.} [Lā:n] 'full', [ɸaLəx] 'boy', [ɸaRəxk] 'more', [kāNəx] 'to buy', [nə 'fa:R] 'better'. [a] is used in all other positions: [agəm] 'at me', [ɸarəs] 'door', [fāhkəL] 'word', [fa:s] 'to grow', [fā:Nə] 'a ring'. For the allophone [a] between *j* and *L, R, x*, cp. § 145.

a has a greater frequency and a more even distribution than any other vowel. It is found before and after palatal, neutral, and non-palatal consonants. Its greatest frequency, however, is between non-palatals, and it is never found between two palatals. My material contains only one exception to this rule, viz. *N'āçūNtəx* 'innocent'.

When long, *a* is always nasal in immediate contact with a nasal consonant. This is not always the case when the vowel is short. *marəv* 'dead' and *marə-əy* 'to kill' have decidedly non-nasal *a*; this may also be true for *markiç* 'rider' and *markad* 'market', while a few other notations such as [Raŋgəs] 'rubbing-piece (on boat)', [mask] 'mesh', and [N'aʃt] 'strength' are in all probability due to mishearing.

49. Short *a* corresponds to:

- (1) O.I. **a**, before palatals and non-palatals: *nax* 'āk(ə) 'that . . . did not see' O.I. 'accæe, *aLābə* 'Scotland' O.I. Albu, *aLtəxəy* 'to say grace' O.I. attlugud, *āmədan* 'fool' M.I. ammatán, *āNə* 'knowledge' O.I. aithgne, aidgne, *ānal* 'breath' O.I. anál, *aðāqəd* 'silver, money' O.I. argat, *āvərəs* 'notion' M.I. amaras, *balə* 'village' M.I. baile, *dah* 'colour, dye' M.I. dath, *faRsiç* 'wide' O.I. fairsiung, *gānā'vhəx* 'sand' cp. M.I. ganmech 'sandy', *gLas* 'grey' O.I. glass 'blue, green', *kaləx* 'cock' O.I. cailech, *kaLəx* 'old woman; wife' O.I. caillecha 'nuns', *kLāju* 'sword' O.I. claideb, *La-a*, *La-ə* 'day' O.I. lae, laa, lá, *taLu* 'earth, ground' O.I. talam.
- (2) O.I. **o**. This vowel, usually represented by *ɔ* or *o* in Lb., has become *a* in a number of words, e. g. *agəm* 'at me' O.I.

ocum, *aràm* 'on me' O.I. form, *baLàg* 'bellows' M.I. bolg, bolc, *bLāniġ* 'lard' M.I. blonaicc (dat.), *braLax* 'breast' cp. M.I. brollach, *faLaN'* 'healthy' M.I. follán, *fākəL* and *fakəL* 'word' O.I. focul, *faLəsgəy* 'burning of heather in order to make grazing on the moor' cp. O.I. forloisethe 'igni examinatus', *faràməd* 'envy' O.I. format, *fasgəy*, *fasgay* 'shelter' M.I. foscud, *frasgən* 'eyelashes' O.I. rosc 'eye', *kadəL* 'sleep' O.I. cotlud, *kaLàman* 'pidgeon' M.I. colmán, *kas* 'leg' O.I. coss, *kLax* 'stone' O.I. cloch, *krakəN* 'skin, hide' M.I. croccend, crocunn, *xaj* 'went' O.I. do·coïd, do·cuaid, *Laràg* 'a track; to look for, to find' M.I. lorg, lore, *Ra-əd* 'road' M.I. rout (but the gen. is *Rə-id'*). In some cases, there was vacillation between **a** and **o** already in O.I. and M.I.: *fadə* 'long' M.I. fota, fada, *faRàġə* 'rough sea' O.I. fairggæ, foirggæ, foirree, *fafġ* 'close, near' cp. O.I. acus, oculus 'near' and aicse, oicse 'proximity', *gLāNə* 'glass' M.I. glaine, gloine. The development from **o** to **a** may have been conditioned, at least in part, by certain distributional features, but it is not now possible to formulate these conditions in simple rules. It may be noted, however, that **a** is the normal representative of O.I. **o** in svarabhakti words, where **ə** is found only occasionally.

- (3) O.I. **e**, especially before the consonants now represented by **N**, **L**, and **R**, where **ε**, the normal representative of O.I. **e** before non-palatals, does not occur. Examples: *bjāNəxg* 'blessing' O.I. bendacht, *d'aLt* 'dew' M.I. delt, *gđāNəx* 'cross, peevish' cp. perhaps Windisch grennach 'long-haired, bristly', *ġaL* 'white' M.I. gel, *jaLə* 'swan' M.I. ela, *jaLəx* 'load, burden' M.I. ellach, *jaRəx* 'spring' M.I. errach, *kāNəx* 'to buy' M.I. cennach, *kaRsd* 'right, correct' M.I. cert, *mjāLəy* 'to deceive, disappoint' M.I. pres. mellaim, *faLāvəx* 'lucky' cp. O.I. selb 'possession', *jaRəx* 'colt' M.I. serrach, *sbjaL* 'scythe' M.I. spel, *l'aLəx* 'a forge' M.I. tenlach, tellach. But an older **e** has resulted in **a**

also before consonants other than **N**, **L**, **R** in a fairly large number of words. The preceding consonant seems to play a part here, cp. *l'ānə* 'fire' O.I. tene with the lenited form *hēnə*; *d'arkəy* 'to look' M.I. pres. dercaim with *kərk* 'hen' M.I. cerc and *d'es* 'south' O.I. dess. Further examples of **a** from older **e**: *adar* 'between', *atəRə* 'between them' O.I. eter, etir, etarru, etarro, *bjaxg* 'opinion' cp. M.I. becht 'exact, sure, certain', *habəð* 'say!' O.I. epir M.I. apair, *xlaxg* 'used to' (pret.) M.I. pres. clechtaim, *Labi* 'bed' M.I. lepaid, lepad (but gen. *Ləp(ə)* M.I. leptha), *Lānu* 'baby' M.I. lenab, *las* 'need' (*xa liġ u 'las* 'you need not') O.I. less, *Rāvər* 'fat, thick' O.I. remur, remor, *farāv* 'bitter' O.I. serb. The preposition *a*, *as* 'out of' has **a** in all its "conjugated" forms, unlike O.I. where some forms had **a**, others **e**: *asəm* 'out of me', *as* 'out of him' (O.I. ass), *afd'(ə)* 'out of her' (O.I. eissi, esse), *asu* 'out of you' (pl.), *asd(ə)* 'out of them' (cp. O.I. essib).

- (4) O.N. **a**: *akəð* 'anchor' O.N. akkeri, *Ləx* 'gaLtagro lake name O.N. Galtargróf (name of a stream after which the lake is named), *karāvanəx* 'a red sea-fish (marine perch?)' O.N. cas. obl. karfa, *Lāyə* 'ling' O.N. langa, *sgarāv* 'cormorant' O.N. acc. skarf, *sgaLpaj* and *tavaj* island names O.N. Skalpøy and Haføy.
- (5) O.N. **o** in *tarəfġər* 'peat-iron' O.N. torfskeri, *tarəmad*, *tarəməd*, *tarəməd* man's name (anglicized Norman) O.N. acc. Pormund.
- (6) O.N. long **á** before hiatus in the village name *Ra-anif* O.N. Ráarnes.
- (7) Various E. vowels: *basgad'* 'basket', *brakəfd'* 'breakfast', *barəgan* 'bargain', *dra-að* 'drawer', *flagə* 'flag', *karkəf* 'carcass', *paRsal* 'parcel', *patran* 'pattern', *farāvəNt* 'servant', *sđāmag* 'stomach', *tak(ə)* 'farm' (Sc. *tack*), *tasdan* 'shilling' "from Sc. *testan*, *testoon*, a silver coin of the 16th century with Mary's head (*teste*) on it" (MacBain), *tarəgad'* 'target', *travəlað* 'traveller'.

50. Long *a*: corresponds to:

- (1) O.I. **á**, before palatals and non-palatals: *a:Rad'*, *a:Rhad'* 'a certain' cp. M.I. áirithe, *bLa:* 'warm' O.I. mláith 'smooth, gentle', *bra:həð* 'brother' O.I. bráth(a)ir, *da:*, *ɣa:* 'two' O.I. dá, (*ə*) 'Ndã:N' 'the destiny' O.I. dán 'gift', *fa:gal* 'to leave' O.I. fácbáil, *fã:N'ə* 'ring' O.I. áinne, *fa:s* 'to grow' O.I. ás 'growth', *fa:s* 'empty, hollow' O.I. fás, *gra:də*, *grã:də* 'ugly' M.I. gránna, grande, *gra:ɣ* 'love' O.I. grád, *grã:N'* 'hate' M.I. gráin, *ha:* 'is' O.I. attá, *hã:niɣ* 'came' O.I. 'tán(a)ic, *kã:N'əɣ* 'to slander, gossip' M.I. pres. cáinim, *kLa:r* 'wooden tray' M.I. clár 'board', *krã:v* 'to chew' M.I. cnám, *La:r* 'floor, ground' M.I. lár, *La:ð* 'mare' M.I. láir, *mã:həð* 'mother' O.I. máth(a)ir, (*ə*) 'mã:ræx' 'to-morrow' M.I. imbárach, *Ra:j* 'quarter of a year' M.I. ráithe, *rã:niɣ* 'reached, arrived at' O.I. 'rán(a)ic, *sa:L* 'sea' M.I. sál, *sa:l* 'heel' M.I. acc. sáil, *sa:vəx* and *sã:vəx* 'quiet, silent' cp. M.I. sám 'rest, ease', *sLã:n* 'sound, healthy, whole' O.I. slán, *sNã:had* 'needle' M.I. snáthat, *sNã:v* 'to swim' O.I. snám, *tra:* 'early' M.I. tráth 'hour', *tra:əɣ* 'ebb-tide' M.I. trágud.
- (2) O.I. short **a** or **o**, lengthened before final **rr** or preconsonantal **r**: *a:Rd* 'high' O.I. ardd, *ba:Rd* 'bard' M.I. bard, *ba:R* 'crop' M.I. barr, *fa:Ləs* 'skylight' M.I. forléss, *ka:Rdal* 'related' M.I. cairddemail 'friendly'.
- (3) O.I. short **e**, lengthened before final **rr** or preconsonantal **r**: *ja:R* 'cut' (pret.) M.I. pres. gerraim, *Ka:R* 'wrong' M.I. cerr, *ka:Rd* 'tinker, gypsy' M.I. cerdd 'artisan', *mjã:Rlæx* 'robber, burglar' M.I. merlech, *nə 'fa:R* 'better' O.I. ferr.
- (4) O.I. **ó** in *bra:* 'millstone' O.I. bró, brau, *fa:d* 'a peat, sod of peat' O.I. fót, foot, *ɣa:* 'to him' O.I. dó.
- (5) O.N. **á**, **a**, and **e**; the development is closely parallel to that which has taken place in words of native origin: *ba:t(ə)* 'boat' O.N. acc. bát, *Nã:bi* 'neighbour' O.N. nábúi, *ta:v* 'hand-net for young coalfish' O.N. acc. háf 'landing-net'; *ga:Rəɣ* 'stone wall or fence' O.N. acc. garð, *ka:Rləvəɣ*

village name O.N. acc. Karlavág; *ǵa:Ri* 'small piece of land surrounding a house or shieling' O.N. gerði 'enclosure, field'.

- (6) Various E. phonemes: *a:Rnif* 'furniture' M.E. harneis, *fa:Rdin* 'farthing', *fa:vər* 'favour', *ka:r* 'motorcar', *la:ri* 'lorry', *mã:ði* 'Mary', *pa:əɣ* 'to pay', *pa:ðiɣ* 'field' probably from M.E. parrok, *Ra:kəð* 'drake' (with G. suffix and loss of initial **d**), *sa:v* 'a saw', *sda:bəL* 'stable', *ta:Lað* 'tailor', *t'a:R* 'tar' (gen. *t'aRə*) M.E. terre.

Obscure etymology: *a:t'əx* 'spring-work', *a:vi'd'* 'customary, (?) custom' M.I. ábaise (the word corresponds well phonetically to O.N. *ávist, suggested by Meyer, *Archiv* I 96, but the meaning is hard to reconcile with the possible meanings of this hypothetical O.N. word), *ga:liɣ* 'Gaelic' cp. M.I. Goédel, *kã:nan* 'language' cp. Mod. I. canamhain (with short *a*), *La:d'ir*, *La:d'ər* 'strong'.

ε.

51. *ε* is a front unrounded vowel with a wide range of articulation, from a rather high [ɛ] approaching [e] to a very low [æ] (almost like the vowel of Southern E. *bat*) which approaches the front allophones of *a*. Long *ε*: is always rather high, perhaps somewhat higher than French "è ouvert" in *bête*, and often difficult to distinguish from *e*. When short, the vowel is generally pronounced [æ] ([ɛ̃], [æ̃]) before all consonants except *t* and *h*: [*b̃æ̃n*] 'wife', [*b̃ðæ̃p̃ətað*] 'weaver', [*f̃æ̃miN'*] 'seaweed', [*d̃'æ̃viʃ*] 'sheep-shears', [*Læ̃hp*] 'bed' (gen.), [*d̃'æs*] 'south', [*N'æ̃t*], [*N'ɛ̃t*] 'nest', [*p'æ̃hkəɣ*] 'sin', [*k'ærəð*] 'four persons', [*fæ̃xk*] 'seven', [*smæ̃gət*] 'chin', [*t'æ̃ɣə*] 'tongue'. Before *t*, [ɛ] is the usual allophone: [*d̃'ehtəmæx*] 'important', [*m̃ehtəl*] 'metal'. [ɛ] is further used before hiatus, where it sometimes varies with lower allophones: [*sɛ-əx*], [*sɛ'-əx*], [*sɛ-ɛx*] or [*sæ:x*] (falling intonation) 'vessel' (in both meanings, 'receptacle' and 'ship'), [*sɛ-əɣ*] 'arrow', [*ɛ-ən*] 'heifers', [*Nɛ̃-əxk*] 'news'. Before *h*, or zero in variation with *h*, there is often fluctuation not only between the different

allophones of ε , but even between the phonemes ε and e . I quote from my material: [$\beta\varepsilon^h$] and [$\beta\varepsilon^h$] 'life', [$\varepsilon h\bar{a}r$], [$\varepsilon^h\bar{a}r$], [$\varepsilon^h\bar{a}r$], and [$\varepsilon h\bar{a}r$] 'boat', [$k^e h$] 'will be spent' (dependent form), but [$x\varepsilon h\bar{a}s$] and [$x\varepsilon\text{-}\bar{a}s$] relative form), [$k^e\bar{a}hu$] 'to be spent or consumed', [Le], [$L\varepsilon^h$], and (lenited) [$l\varepsilon h$] 'half', [$L\bar{e}hiN$] and [$L\bar{e}hiN$] 'broad, wide', [$le\text{-}it$ '], [$le^h\bar{a}it$ '], and [$l\varepsilon h\bar{a}it$] 'the like of it'. This variation or fluctuation seems to be either individual or completely optional. Note: [$Le\check{c}\bar{a}t$] 'fifty', [$L\bar{e}h\bar{a}\delta$] 'half-hour', and other compounds with leth- and a reduced second component have only been recorded with e . It is remarkable that, in spite of the partial overlapping of the phonemes e and ε , the distinction apparently subsists in [$\beta\bar{e}h\bar{a}x$] 'animal' ~ [$\beta\bar{e}h$] 'life'; I have only heard e in the former and variants of ε in the latter.

ε is absent before all palatals except t' , where it appears in a few words: *ket* 'cats', *kLax* 'et'i' 'whetstone', *et'u* 'to thaw'. The word *k\bar{o}elag* ^{biting fly} ~~wasp~~ is an exception to this rule; it is also, and more frequently, heard as *k\bar{o}elag*, *k\bar{o}elhag*. ε does not occur before N , L , or R , except in some recent loans from E., such as forms of the verb *p\bar{e}Nt\bar{a}y*. In contact with a nasal consonant, ε is practically always nasal.

52. Short ε corresponds to:

- (1) O.I. \mathbf{e} before most non-palatal consonants: *b\bar{e}h* 'life' O.I. *bethu*, *b\bar{e}n* 'wife' O.I. *ben*, *b\bar{e}ni* 'will touch' O.I. *benaid*, *b\bar{o}eb\bar{a}y* 'to kick' cp. Mod.I. *preabadh* (*b\bar{o}eb\bar{a}d\bar{a}\delta* 'weaver' and *b\bar{o}eb\bar{a}d\bar{a}\bar{x}g* 'weaving' are probably derived from this verb), *d'ex* 'went' (dependent pret.) O.I. 'dechuid, *d'es* 'south' O.I. *dess*, *\bar{e}x* 'horse' O.I. *ech*, *\bar{e}h\bar{a}r* 'boat' M.I. *ethar*, *\bar{f}edag* 'a whistle' M.I. *fet\bar{a}n*, *m\bar{a}* 'feh\bar{a}r' 'of my sister' O.I. *mo fethar*, *\bar{f}\bar{e}miN* 'seaweed' cp. M.I. *femnach*, *\bar{f}er* 'man' O.I. *fer*, *\bar{f}er\bar{a}N* 'earth, land' M.I. *ferand*, *\bar{f}esg\bar{a}r* 'evening' O.I. *fescor*, *\bar{g}er\bar{a}N* 'to complain' M.I. pres. *geranaigim*, *\bar{k}ed* 'permission' M.I. *cet*, *\bar{k}er\bar{a}\delta* 'four persons' O.I. *cethrar*, (\bar{a}) 'N\bar{k}eru' 'the fourth' O.I. *cethramad*,

\bar{k}erk 'hen' M.I. *cerc*, *L\bar{e}h\bar{a}r* 'leather' M.I. *lethar*, *n\bar{a}* 'L\bar{e}p' 'of the bed' M.I. *leptha*, *L\bar{e}s* 'garden, cornyard near the house' M.I. *less*, *L\bar{e}s\bar{a}x\bar{a}y* 'to improve' M.I. *lesugud*, *m\bar{e}r\bar{a}xg* 'a lie' cp. perhaps M.I. *mer* 'quick, sudden, merry' and *mer* 'madman', *N'\bar{e}d* 'nest' O.I. *net*, *p\bar{e}k\bar{a}y* 'sin' O.I. *peccad*, *peccath*, *sme\bar{g}\bar{a}d* 'chin' cp. M.I. *smech* and *smeget* (O'Davoren's *Glossary*), (\bar{a}) 'd'ex' 'in, inside' (adverb of motion) O.I. *tech* 'house', *\bar{f}e\bar{x}g* 'seven' O.I. *secht*, *\bar{f}e\bar{x}g\bar{a}N* 'week' O.I. *sechtmon*, *\bar{f}\bar{e}n\bar{a}\delta* 'grandfather' M.I. *senathir*, *\bar{f}\bar{e}n\bar{e}'va\delta* 'grandmother' M.I. *senm\bar{a}thir*, *\bar{f}esg* 'barren, dry' (about cows) M.I. *sesc*, *\bar{f}esu* 'to stand' M.I. *sessom*, *\bar{f}L\bar{e}viN* 'slippery' O.I. *slemon* 'smooth', *t'\bar{e}y\bar{a}* 'tongue' O.I. *teng(a)e*, *t'es* 'heat' O.I. *tess*.

- (2) O.I. \mathbf{e} in a few cases before palatal fricatives: *bleh* 'to grind' O.I. *mleith*, *d'\bar{e}t\bar{a}m\bar{a}x* cp. O.I. *dethiden* 'care, concern', *d'\bar{e}vij* 'sheep-shears' M.I. *demess* 'scissors', *L\bar{e}-ad* 'a slope' cp. O.I. *lethet* 'breadth, size' (*Liad* 'breadth' must have a different origin), *L\bar{e}hid* 'the like (of)' M.I. *lethet*, *lethid*.
- (3) O.I. \mathbf{e} final or followed by hiatus: *\bar{j}eh* 'from him' O.I. *de*, *t'eh* 'hot' O.I. *te\bar{e}*.
- (4) O.I. \mathbf{a} or \mathbf{o} before palatal fricatives and palatal $\mathbf{t(t)}$: *d\bar{e}v* 'oxen' M.I. *daim*, *\bar{e}-\bar{a}* 'heifer' gen. (nom. *\bar{a}y*) M.I. *aige*, *\bar{k}ehu* 'to be consumed' (perhaps also 'to consume, waste' as in Dwelly's *Dictionary*, but only the former sense is attested in my material) O.I. *ca(i)them* 'to consume', *\bar{k}et* ^{1 k?} 'cats' M.I. *caitt*, *m\bar{e}-\bar{a}f\bar{d}'\bar{a}\delta* 'master' M.I. *magister*, *R\bar{e}n\bar{a}x* 'fern' M.I. *raithnech*, *\bar{s}e-\bar{a}d* 'arrow' O.I. *saiget*, *\bar{s}e-\bar{a}x* 'vessel' M.I. *soideach*, *t\bar{e}h\bar{a}n* 'houses' O.I. *taige*.
- (5) Other O.I. (M.I.) vowels: *\bar{f}er\bar{a}s\bar{d}* 'easy' M.I. *urusa*, *erusa*, *aurusa*, *\bar{e}v* (sic, non-nasal) 'raw' M.I. *om*. Words of uncertain origin: *k\bar{o}e\bar{x}an* 'a kind of mussel', *N\bar{e}-\bar{a}xg* 'news', *et'u* 'to thaw', *kLax* 'et'i' 'whetstone' (from M.E. whetten?).
- (6) O.N. \mathbf{e} in *n\bar{a}* 'her\bar{a}y' 'Harris', probably from O.N. *Hera\delta* or pl. *Heru\delta*.
- (7) Loans from E.: *dresig\bar{a}y* 'to dress', *m\bar{e}t\bar{a}l* 'metal', *p\bar{e}n\bar{a}* 'pen

(for writing)', *pēNtəγ* 'to paint' (pret. *fēNt*), *swetər* 'sweater', *fekad* 'jacket'.

53. Long *ε*: occurs only in a limited number of words. It corresponds in several cases to O.I. *é*: *Re*: 'flat, even' O.I. *réid*, *kε*: 'give!' identified by Borgstrøm with O.I. *cé* 'here, this', *fε*: 'muscle, sinew' M.I. *féith*, *gδē*: 'nature, disposition' O.I. *gné*, *fε*: 'he is; yes' O.I. *isé*, *fē:v* 'quiet' cp. Mod.I. *séimh*. Corresponding to O.I. *á* before palatal consonants: *kδē:v* 'bone' (with palatal *δ*, not *r* as expected) O.I. *cnáim*, *fε:həm* 'hem' cp. Mod.I. *fáithim*, *fáthfhuaim*, *Rē:v* 'oars' from **Rā:v*, cp. sg. *Rā:v*. About *ge:-əL* 'Highlander' and *N'ē:v* 'heaven' see Borgstrøm, DOH p. 28.

ε: corresponds to O.N. *é* in *krē:biLl'* 'garter' O.N. **knébelti*; in a couple of words, it represents O.N. *á* or *ó* mutated through the palatalization of a following consonant: *te:v* gen. sg. and nom. pl. of *ta:v* 'hand-net' O.N. *há f* (acc.), *te:b* gen. sg. and nom. pl. of *to:b* 'bay' O.N. *hóp* (acc.).

Similarly in the E. loan *se:v* gen. sg. and nom. pl. of *sa:v* 'a saw'. Other loans from E.: *be:kər* 'baker', *mē:d'far* 'major', *pe:par*, *pe:par* 'paper', *plē:nə* 'plain' (adj.).

e.

54. *e* is a higher-mid front vowel. In most cases it resembles French "é fermé" as in *été*; this is always the case when it is long. When short, it has a somewhat more open articulation [*e*], [*ε*] before certain consonants (*p*, *t*, *k*, *s*): [*k'ehp*] 'a spadeful (of earth)', [*rēhp*] 'before her', [*t'rēhp*] 'through her', [*g'eht*] 'gate', [*le'ht*] 'with you', [*hδe'hk*] 'trout', [*h're'sleht'*] 'bracelet', [*le'sən*] *leis-san* 'with him' (emphatic). These variants resemble the higher allophones of *ε* very much, and as *e* and *ε* are almost in complementary distribution, it is sometimes difficult to decide to which phoneme a given sound of this intermediate quality belongs. [*le'ht*] 'with you' has decidedly the phoneme *e*, while [*p'e'ht*] 'a pet' has *ε*. Border cases are [*mēhtəl*] 'metal', [*swehtər*] 'sweater', and [*d'ehtəmæx*] 'important', which all seem to have

a vowel higher than that of [*pe'ht*] but lower than that of [*le'ht*]. I shall—somewhat arbitrarily—assign these variants to the phoneme *ε*; the material does not impose one or the other classification. (Both *e* and *ε* are rare in the position before *t*; in fact, the words mentioned above are the only examples contained in my material.)

Short *e* appears mainly before palatals and neutrals, but is also found before the non-palatals *g*, *t*, *k*, and *s*. For *t*, *k*, and *s* see examples above, for *g*: *beg* 'small', *egLif* (also *əgLif*) 'church', *fegəL* and *egəL* 'fear'. Noteworthy is the exceptionally great frequency of short *e* before *l* and *δ*. Long *e*: is not limited to the position before palatals and neutrals; it is found quite often before *d* and *n*. Both long and short *e* are rarely preceded by non-palatals; the most important cases are *xa* 'Ndēk' 'will not see' (and other nasalized forms of the verb *fēkiN'*), *dek* 'deck', pronominal forms of the prepositions *rə* 'before' and *trə* 'through': *rē-ə* 'before him', *trēp* 'through her' etc.; *de:lə* 'partition wall', *tre:n* 'strong'.

e does not occur before *N*, *L*, and *R*. It has also rather curious relations to nasal consonants. Short *e* occurs, as a rule, neither before nor after a nasal consonant; one exception in my material is *medèg* 'rust'. Long *e*: is often followed by a nasal consonant but apparently never immediately preceded by one. Long *e*: is never nasal except in *N'ē*: (§ 304); short *e* is (independently) nasal only in forms of the verb *fēkiN'* and the pronominal prepositions (*rē-ə* etc.) mentioned above.

55. Short *e* corresponds to:

- (1) O.I. *e* before a palatal consonant: *beði* 'bears, lays (eggs)' O.I. *berid*, *d'eç* 'ten' O.I. *deich*; *d'ef*, *d'efal*, *d'efəl* 'ready, prepared, finished' and *d'efə* 'suit of clothes' are apparently derived from O.I. *dess* 'south; right', *desse* 'right side' (for the development in meaning, cp. Mod.I. *deisighim* 'I mend, repair, put right, dress' and *deise* 'neatness, dress, accoutrement'); *d'edəγ* 'end' O.I. *dered*, *eç* gen. sg. and

nom. pl. of *ex* 'horse', M.I. *eich*, *el*, *vel*, *mbel* dependent forms of the verb *vih* 'to be' O.I. *feil*, *fil*, *fail*, *ǵeð* 'suet' M.I. *geir*, *heðig* 'gol' cp. O.I. *eirg*, *kðek* 'to sell' O.I. *creicc* 'to buy', *Kehað* 'four' O.I. *cethir*, *kefd* 'question' O.I. *ceist*, *Lefǵ* 'lazy' M.I. *lesc*, *lef* 'with him' O.I. *leiss*, *lais(s)*, *LefǵaL* 'excuse' Mod.I. *leithscéal*, *meðǵ* 'rust' O.I. *meirg*, *peðkəL* 'jaw' cp. Mod.I. *peirceall*, *preiceall*, *breiceall* 'double chin', *feç* 'a hide' M.I. *seiche*, *veð*, *feð* 'will give' O.I. *do·beir*.

- (2) O.I. *e* before certain non-palatal consonants: *beg* 'small' O.I. *bec(c)*, *began* 'a little' M.I. *becán*, *behæx* 'animal' M.I. *bethadach*, *bðek* 'trout' M.I. *brecc*, *-d'e-i* (also *-d'a-i*) 'after' (*as ma* 'je-i 'after me') O.I. *-degaid*, *egLif* (also *əgLif*) 'church' O.I. *ecl(a)is*, *feǵaL* and *egəL* 'fear' O.I. *ecal* 'timid', *fehu* 'to wait' M.I. *fethem*, *kep* 'spadeful' M.I. *cepp* 'log, stump, trunk', *let* 'with you' O.I. *latt* but M.I. *lett*.

Note that O.I. *e* is often represented by *ε* in similar surroundings, see § 52, 1, above.

- (3) O.I. *a* and *o* before palatal consonants in a few cases: *d'ej* 'ice' O.I. *aig*, *ek(ə)* 'at her' O.I. *occ(a)i*, *elan* 'island' M.I. *oilén*, *ailén* (ultimately perhaps from O.N. *øyland*, although the short vowel is unexpected), *elə* 'other' O.I. *aile* (but M.I. *e(i)le*), *eð* 'on him' O.I. *fair*, *heðif* 'across' O.I. *tarais*, M.I. *tairis* (this word also has the form *hadif*; one speaker made a distinction between the two: *xaj a* 'heðif 'he capsized' ~ *xaj a* 'hadif 'he went across'), *fēk* 'will see' (dependent form) O.I. 'aicci.
- (4) Other O.I. vowels: *ǵe-iN* 'I would go' O.I. 'téginn, *trē-ə* 'through him' cp. O.I. *triiit*, M.I. also *tremiit*, *trēp(ə)* 'through her' cp. O.I. *tree*, M.I. also *trempi*. *rē-ə* 'before him' and *rēp(ə)* 'before her' bear little resemblance to their semantic equivalents in O.I. (*rīam* and *remi* respectively); they have obviously been remodelled on the pattern of other prepositional pronouns.

- (5) O.N. *e* in *ǵeð* 'skerry' O.N. *sker* or dat. *skeri*.
- (6) E. loans: *beǵað* 'beggar', *breslet* 'bracelet', *dek* 'deck', *e-ər* 'air', *ǵet(ə)* 'gate', *pelə* 'pail', *pef'an* 'waistcoat', according to MacBain from Sc. *petycot* 'a short sleeveless tunic worn by men', *ǵelf* 'shelf', *te-ə*, *te-e* 'tea'.

56. Long *e*: corresponds to O.I. *é*:

- (1) Before palatals and finally: *bðe:d'* 'patch (on garment)' M.I. *bréit*, (ə) *'N'd'e:d'əy* 'the toothache' cp. O.I. *dét* 'tooth', (ə) *'N'd'e*: 'yesterday' O.I. *indé*, *e:ði* 'to rise' M.I. *érge*, *e:vəxg* 'to shout' M.I. pres. *égim*, *fe:L* 'a fair' O.I. *féil*, *gle*: 'very', probably identical with O.I. *glé* 'clear', *ǵðe:m* 'a hold, grip' O.I. *gréimm* 'compulsion, power', *ǵðe:N'* 'sun' (dative) M.I. *gréin*, *he:d'* 'will go' O.I. *téit*, *he:n* 'self' O.I. *féin*, *ke:li* 'a visit, to visit' M.I. *célide*, *ke:m* 'a step' M.I. *céimm*, *ke:ð* 'wax' M.I. *céir*, *Le:m* 'a jump' O.I. *léim(m)*, *Le:nə* 'shirt' O.I. *léine*, *gə* 'Le:ð 'altogether' M.I. *co(l)léir*, (ə) *'Re:ð* 'according to' M.I. *réir* (dative of *riar* 'voluntas'), *fe:d'əy* 'to blow' O.I. pres. *séitid*.
- (2) Before non-palatals, *é* has mostly become *ia*, but the following words have *e*: *d'e:d* 'teeth' (collective sg.), O.I. *dét* 'tooth', *f'e:dər*, *b'e:dər* 'has to, had to' cp. M.I. *fétar* 'can' (*f'e:dər* *γō* 'faLà 'I have to go'), *ǵe:g* 'sprig (of heather)' M.I. *géc* 'branch', *tre:n* 'strong' M.I. *trén*. To this class belong perhaps *sbe:rədað* 'weather-prophet', *sbe:ðadaðəxg* 'weather-prophesying', both derived from *sbe:r* 'sky' (the latter word is lacking in my material and is quoted from memory), an early loan from Lat. *sphaera*.

In Norse loans, *e*: represents

- (3) O.N. *ei* and *é* (in all probability also *é*, but I have no certain example from Leurbost): *bēiN* 'e:t'faL mountain name O.N. *Eiðsfjall*, 't:b 'le:ðavaj bay name O.N. acc. *Leiru-vág*, *fd'e:faL* mountain name O.N. *Steinsfjall*, *ǵðe:nəvaL* mountain name O.N. *Grónafjall*.
- (4) Loans from E.: *de:kən* 'deacon', *de:lə* 'wooden partition(?)

in old-style house' (from E. *deal*?), *e:miǵəy* 'to aim', *ke:f* 'envelope' (E. *case*), *pe:nə* '(window) pane', *se:ər* 'chair', *se:məs* 'James', *se:f* 'bench' (from E. *chaise longue*?), *se:viǵəy* 'to shave'. The words *kðe:tər* 'creature' and *fe:sd(ə)* 'a treat' have probably come through M.E. rather than directly from Lat. *creatura* and *festum*.

Some words with *e:* are difficult to explain historically: *t'e:* 'one' (feminine, e. g. *t'e: ak* 'one of them', referring to female persons or nouns of feminine gender, opposite *fər*), with article (ə) *N't'e:* 'the one' (opposite (ə) *fər*), compare Mod.I. an *té* O.I. *int-í* which, however, means 'he who'; (ə) *ðe:fd'(ə)* 'now'.

i.

57. *i* is normally a high front unrounded and rather narrow [i]. It has, however, a somewhat lowered and slightly retracted allophone [i̠] or [ɪ], which is used frequently for the short vowel in connection with nasality, before non-palatal consonants, and occasionally before hiatus. Examples: [mĩsan] 'fruits', [mĩl] 'honey', [nəs 'mĩsə] 'worse', [nə bə 't'ɪN'ə] 'tighter' (pret.), [(ə) 'vĩnift'að] 'of the minister', [(ə) 'vĩk] 'his son's', [nə 'skĩnə] 'of the knife', [ɪmə] 'about him', [ĩŋkə] 'ink', [mĩhtagən] 'mittens', [fɪy] 'wood', [fɪs] 'knowledge', [ɪ-aɔ] (and [i-aɔ]) 'they', [bɪ-i] gen. of *biəy* 'food'. [ɪ] is also sometimes heard in other positions: [hɪk] 'to her', [sə 'bɪh] (and [sə 'biɪ]) 'any, at all' ('*Rud sə 'biɪ* 'anything at all'). A third allophone, a retracted [i̠] or [ɪ], which is often difficult to distinguish from the front varieties of *u*, seems to be confined to svarabhakti words: [ɪ̠imək] 'navel', [ɪ̠iməx] 'to lick', [ɪ̠iməy] 'to mention', [ɪ̠iməL] 'mistake', [ɪ̠iməy] 'to row' (pret. [jɪ̠im]), [ɪ̠ðimɪç] 'baggage; to move'. If the consonant following the svarabhakti vowel is palatal, [i] is the normal allophone: [t'imiçəL] 'around', [ɣhatəL 'd'iliǵənəx] 'the pins and prickles'.

[i] is similar to the vowel of French *île*; [ɪ] resembles E. *i* in *bit* (some varieties of Scottish pronunciation come nearer to

it than Southern E., as the latter lacks the element of retraction). [ɪ̠] is less lowered and more retracted than [ɪ]; for this sound I can find no illustration from more well-known languages.

Long *i:*, especially when final, often ends in a phase of diminished tension, where the tongue reverts towards its neutral position: [ski:̠] 'tired'. A similar phenomenon is found in the case of long *u:*.

The phoneme *i* occurs before palatals, neutrals, and non-palatals. It has, notably when long, a smaller frequency before non-palatals than before palatals and neutrals. It cannot be preceded by non-palatals other than *n* and *r*. *i*, whether short or long, is apparently always nasal in contact with a nasal consonant. My material contains two or three exceptions for the short vowel, but they should probably be ascribed to slips of the pen. *i* is often independently nasal.

58. Short *i* corresponds to:

- (1) O.I. *i* in the majority of cases: *bi-i* 'food' (gen.) O.I. *biid*, *bigə* 'small' (gen. f. sg.) O.I. *bicce*, *bir* 'pin' M.I. *bir* 'a spit', *birəx* 'sharp' M.I. *birach*, *d'i-if* 'two (persons)' O.I. *diis*, *fiçad* 'twenty' O.I. gen. *fichet*, *fi-əx* 'raven' O.I. *fiach*, *fiy* 'wood' O.I. *fid*, *fi-i*, *fi-əy* 'to weave, knit' O.I. *fige*, *fiðaNəx* 'man' M.I. *firend*, *fis* 'knowledge' O.I. *fiss*, *fðiyan* 'bristle' M.I. *frighan*, *fði-aLəy* 'to attend' M.I. *frithalum*, *glik* 'wise, sagacious' O.I. *glicc*, *ĩ-aN* 'John' M.I. *Ioin*, *Eoin*, *ilimag* 'navel' cp. O.I. *imbliu*, *imə* 'about him' O.I. *imbe*, *imlçifd'* 'doubt' *imcheist*, *iməray* 'to mention' O.I. *imrádud*, *iðimɪç* 'baggage; to move' M.I. *immirge* 'to travel', *iç(ə)* 'to eat' O.I. *ithe*, *il'(ə)* 'feather' O.I. *itte*, *ette*, *ĩ-uNtəx* 'surprising, curious' M.I. *ingantach*, *jid'ər* 'knows' O.I. *ro-fitir*, *ki-ən*, *kihən* 'snow-flakes' cp. M.I. *cith* 'shower', *Lit'ir* 'letter' O.I. *litir*, *mil* 'honey' O.I. *mil*, *miləy* 'to destroy' M.I. *milliud*, *N'ĩ-ə* 'to wash' M.I. dat. *ɳigi*, *nige*, *pðifəy* 'to break' M.I. *brissed*, *ðif* 'to him' O.I. *fris(s)*, *smĩr* 'marrow' M.I. *smir* O.I. *smiur*,

sbirəd 'spirit' O.I. spirut, *filəy* 'to drip, leak; to rain' M.I. silim 'tropfe, lasse fliessen' (Windisch), *fīn* 'that' O.I. sin, *fLi-ə* 'way' M.I. slige, *fLiġə* 'shell' M.I. slice, *t'imī'çəL* 'around' O.I. timmchell.

- (2) O.I. **f** in *t'idəm* 'dry' O.I. tírim, *jih* 'to her' O.I. dí.
- (3) O.I. **e** in some cases before palatals or in connection with nasality: *'NkadəL* *'d'ilīġanəx* 'the pins and prickles' M.I. delgnech 'thorny', *id'ir* 'at all' O.I. etir, *mīniġ* 'often' O.I. menic, *sqīnə* 'knife' (gen.) M.I. sceine, *t'ilīġal* 'to throw' O.I. teilciud, (ə) *'vīk* 'his son's' M.I. meic (but O.I. maicc); *kī-aL* 'to tie' M.I. cengal, *mī-an* 'middle' O.I. medón, *mīnəx* 'bowels' M.I. menach, *mīsen* 'fruits' M.I. sg. mess, *nəs* *'mīsə* 'worse' O.I. messa, *mīsgəxəy* 'to mix' M.I. pres. mescaim.
- (4) Various O.I. phonemes: *bri-iN'* (also *brui-iN'*) 'to speak' cp. Mod.I. bruighean 'strife; nonsense talk'; *hiġə* 'to him' O.I. cuc(c)i, *hīk(ə)* 'to her' O.I. cuicce, *Liġi* 'will let' O.I. léicid, (ə) *'nīfə* M.I. indossa, innossai, *prīç* 'to cook' M.I. bruith(e), *fid* 'that' O.I. siut, sūt.
- (5) Loans from Norse: *sqībəy* 'a team, crew' O.N. skipan 'ship's crew', *N'if* 'Ness' (parish name) O.N. dat. Nesi.
- (6) E. loans: *bdi-əs* 'breeze', *ġisag* 'a kiss', *mīniġəy* 'to mean', *mīnīf'd'að* 'minister', *mīnad'* 'minute', *N'ibdiġ* 'handkerchief' (from E. *naptery*?), *sqībað* 'skipper' (because of its meaning, I take it to be English rather than O.N. skipari 'crew member; ruler'), *sqīliġ* 'penny' (pl. *sqī-iN'*) O.E. scilling, *fili* 'jam' E. jelly, *fīməlað* 'chimney', *fīnəlað* 'general'.

Words of uncertain origin: *ġībəRnəx* 'octopus, cuttle-fish', *ġīməx* 'lobster', *sbiðif* 'hen-roost'.

59. Long *i*: corresponds to:

- (1) O.I. **f**: *çi*: 'sees, will see' O.I. ad·cí, *d'i:çəL* 'effort, one's best' (*d'i-īçəL* has also been recorded, see text No. 18) Meyer díchell, *d'i:çəLəx* 'industrious', *d'i:ðəy* 'to climb, ascend' M.I. dír(u)gud, *d'i:ðəx* 'straight, directly' M.I.

dírech, *fī:ðiN'* 'truth' M.I. fírinde, *kī:ð* 'comb' M.I. cír, *Lī:N'* 'nets' O.I. lín, *mī:lə* 'thousand; mile' O.I. míle, *nī:* 'will do, make' O.I. do·gní, *Rī:* 'king' O.I. rí, ríġ, *sgði:vəy* 'to write' O.I. pres. scríb(a)id, *fī:* 'fairy' (as in *dūN'ə* *'fī:* 'fairy man', *bən* *'fī:* 'fairy woman, banshee') M.I. síde, *fī:ġ* 'large hay-stack' cp. Mod.I. síog, gen. síge 'rick of corn', *fī:nəy* 'to lie down' M.I. sínim 'I stretch', *sqī:* 'tired' O.I. scíth, *trī:* 'three' O.I. trí, *t'i:ð* 'land' O.I. tír. — Before non-palatals, an older **f** has normally become *iə*; an exception is *fī:də* 'silk' M.I. síta. The prefix O.I. mí- 'mis-, ill-, wrong' is usually represented by *mī:* regardless of the quality of subsequent phonemes: *mī:xəLəx* 'dissimilar, unlikely' (*kəLəx* 'similar, likely'), *'mī:γəðəsəx* 'inconvenient' (cp. pl. *gəðəsən* 'conveniences'), *'mī:voγal* 'impolite', *mī:voγ* 'an insult' (cp. *moyal* 'polite, good-mannered' and O.I. mod 'modus').

- (2) O.I. short **i**, lengthened before certain consonants and clusters: *ī:m* 'butter' O.I. imb, *ī:fə*, *ī:fəy* 'to tell' M.I. innisin, *ī:nə* 'nail (of finger or toe)' M.I. pl. ingni, *ī:mpəðə* 'emperor' M.I. imper, *i:bəRd* 'a sacrifice', *i:brəy* 'to sacrifice' O.I. idbart, edbart (this word had O.I. **ö** according to Pederesen, I p. 339).
- (3) *i*: corresponds to O.N. **f** and **y**: *bī:d'əy* 'to bite' O.N. bíta, *āviN'* *'γði:d* (a river) O.N. Grýta, *Rī:saj* (an island) O.N. Hrísoy.
- (4) E. words: *pī:s* 'piece', *pði:səN* 'prison', *sqī:ðə* 'parish' O.E. scír, *pði:f* 'price' M.E. pris.

The word for 'self', O.I. féin, is usually *he:n*, but in the first person sg. and pl. it is always *hī:n*, presumably developed under the influence of the pronouns *mī* and *fīN'* (although it is used even after prepositional pronouns that do not contain *i*, e. g. *agəm* *'hī:n* 'at myself').

λ *i*: is also found in some words of more or less obscure origin: *bði:ġ* 'a pile, heap', *d'i:ləb* 'heritage' cp. Mod.I. dílb, *d'ivəRd*

'to spew', *i:væxg* 'facial expression', *γα* 'ði:ðu' 'indeed' Mod.I. dá ríribh, *sdri:pæx* 'whore' Mod.I. striapach, *fi:han* 'flower' (this is the usual word for flower in Lb. but has, to my knowledge, not been recorded outside of Lewis. It is not found in the dictionaries. It does not seem to correspond phonetically to M.I. sían (slébe) 'foxglove', as a long vowel is usually shortened before old hiatus, but cp. Mod.I. (Lane) síodhán, síothán sléibhe).

ɔ.

60. ɔ is a back rounded vowel, always lower than *o* (see below, § 63) but with a rather wide range of articulation. It varies from a very low and open [ɔ̄] to a higher [ɔ] which is not always easy to distinguish from *o*. The higher variety is used always when the vowel is long; it is slightly higher than the French "o ouvert" of *alors, loge*. Short ɔ is represented by relatively high allophones, of a quality similar to that of long ɔ, in final position and before hiatus. Before consonants, it is generally a good deal lower, sometimes even lower than French *o* in *note, robe*. Examples: [Lɔ̄-ər] 'book', [nə 'kʷ-əɣ] 'of the mist'; [bɔ̄-ɬæx] 'old man; husband', [ɬɔ̄-nə] 'bad'. Before *p*, *t*, and *R*, it is often a little higher than before other consonants: [kʷhpan] 'cup', [Lɔ̄ht] 'scar', [kʷRan] 'sickle'.

ɔ, short and long, is found before and after palatals, non-palatals, and neutrals, but is much rarer in contact with palatals than with other consonants. Between two palatals it is found only in a very few cases: *jɔ̄:ð* 'grass' (gen.), *kLaNə'klɔ̄:d* 'Macleod' (*Clann Mhic Leòid*), *gɔ̄:j* 'geese' (also and more commonly *gɔ̄:j*).

Long ɔ: has the peculiarity of never being nasal, not even in those very few cases where it is in immediate contact with a nasal consonant: *eð ə 'lɔ̄:n* 'injured' (masc.; fem. *Lɔ̄:n*).

61. Short ɔ corresponds to:

(1) O.I. **o**: *bɔ̄dæx* 'old man; husband' cp. Mod.I. bodach 'clown, churl', *bæxg* 'poor' O.I. bócht, *bɔ̄ðəNæx* 'woman' cp. M.I. boinenn, *bɔ̄f* 'palm of the hand' M.I. dat. bois(s),

bais(s), *dɔ̄lɔ̄jəs* 'sadness' cp. M.I. doilgi 'difficulty', *dɔ̄nə* 'bad' M.I. dona, *dæɔ̄x* 'dark' O.I. dorch(a)e, *dræxid*, *dræhid* 'bridge' M.I. droichet, *d'ɔ̄x* 'a drink' late O.I. deoch, *drɔ̄mə* 'back' (gen.) O.I. drommo, *fɔ̄-əd* 'under you' O.I. fout, *fɔ̄-ə* 'under him' O.I. fou, *gɔ̄gædiç* 'to cackle' cp. Mod.I. gogalach, *gɔ̄Rsd* 'sore, painful' M.I. goirt, *gɔ̄rəm* 'blue, green' M.I. gorm, *kɔ̄gafg* 'conscience' M.I. co-cubus, *kɔ̄gəɣ* 'war' O.I. cocad, *kɔ̄həRəɣ* 'earmark on sheep' O.I. com-arde, M.I. comartha 'sign, token', *kɔ̄hinal* 'congregation' O.I. comthinól, *kɔ̄nəs* 'gorse' Meyer conasc, *kɔ̄N* 'dogs' O.I. coin, *kəɔ̄m*, *kəɔ̄ham* 'weight' M.I. com-thromm, *kəɔ̄k* 'oats' M.I. corca, *kəɔ̄fæxg* 'to walk' Meyer cossidecht, *xəɔ̄fiN* 'won' (pret.) cp. O.I. 'cosn(a)i 'contends', *xəɔ̄x* 'hanged' (pret.) M.I. pres. crochaim, *Lɔ̄-əð(ə)* 'leprosy' M.I. lobar, *Ləsgəɣ* (also *Lusgəɣ*) 'to burn' O.I. loscud, *Lət* 'scar' M.I. lot 'destruction, wound', *mɔ̄Ləɣ* 'to praise' O.I. molad, *mɔ̄t'al* 'proud' cp. Mod.I. moiteamhail 'sulky, pettish', (ə) 'Nɔ̄xg 'to-night' O.I. innocht, *ɔ̄L(ə)* 'oil' O.I. olae, *ɔ̄nað* 'honour' M.I. dat. acc. onóir, *ɔ̄Rsd* 'on you' O.I. fort, *ɔ̄R(ə)* 'on her; on them' O.I. forrae 'on her', forru 'on them', *ɔ̄ð* 'edge, rim' M.I. or, *ɔ̄Lk* 'mischief' O.I. olc(c), *prɔ̄Nəɣ* 'to harrow (the ground)' cp. perhaps Meyer bronnaim 'I spoil, hurt, destroy', *Rɔ̄-id* 'road' (gen.; cp. nom. *Ra-əd*) M.I. roit (dissyllabic), *sbɔ̄h* 'to castrate' Mod.I. spothaim, spochaim, *sbɔ̄ran* 'pouch, purse, sporran' Mod.I. sporán, *sgɔ̄l* 'school' M.I. dat. scoil, *səkəð* 'quiet' M.I. soccair, *sɔ̄Ləs* 'light' (noun) O.I. solus 'bright', *səfɡaL* 'gospel' O.I. soscéle, *tɔ̄Rə* 'a drill' cp. Mod.I. tor, *tɔ̄ræx* 'fruitful' cp. M.I. torrach 'pregnant', *tɔ̄liçd'(ə)* 'cheerful; satisfied' cp. O.I. acc. toil 'will', *tɔ̄fæx* 'beginning' O.I. tossach, *trəç* 'dwarf' Windisch troich, (ə) 'vəs 'over here, on this side' (opposite *hauL*) M.I. i fos, i fus.

(2) O.I. **a**: *bɔ̄Nə* 'milk; drop' M.I. banne, bainne, banna, *bɔ̄Næx* 'bannock, girdle scone' Mod.I. bannach, *gɔ̄-al* (also

- go-al* and *gu-al*) 'to take' O.I. *gabáil*, *təRd* 'to take, give' O.I. *taba(i)rt*, *xa* 'dɔ-əð 'will not take, give' O.I. 'tabair.
- (3) O.I. *e*, *é*: *Lə-ər*, *Lə-ər* 'book' O.I. *lebor*, *lə-ə* 'with them' O.I. *leu*, *leo*, *lethu*, *Rə-əγ* 'frost, hoar; to freeze' O.I. *réud*, *trə* 'through' O.I. *tre*, *tri*, *trə-əγ* 'to plough' M.I. *trebad*.
- (4) Other O.I. sounds: *kəNtəx* 'guilty' M.I. *cintach*, *ɔ-ə*, *ɔ-ɔ* 'grandchild' O.I. *haue*, *tə-ər* 'manure' cp. perhaps Mod.I. *tuar* 'field, bleach-green, dung'.
- (5) O.N. *o*: *dərəγ* 'fishing-line' O.N. *dorg*, *krəsəbəs* (a village) O.N. *Krossabólstaðr*, *Ləx* 'rəfjil (a lake) O.N. *Hrossgil*, *trəsg* 'cod' O.N. acc. *þorsk*. Before original or secondary hiatus, where O.N. long vowels and diphthongs are shortened in Lb., *ɔ* may represent O.N. *ó* and *au*: *krə-əðgəRi(h)* (croft name) O.N. *Króargerði*, *sə-əval*, *sə-əval* (name of at least two mountains) O.N. *Sauðafjall*. *elan* 'crəsaj, a very frequent name of islets separated from land only at high water, seems to correspond to O.N. *Orfirisøy rather than Ørfirisey, attested from Iceland.
- (6) Loans from E.: *bənad* 'bonnet', *bəRə-igəγ* 'to borrow', *bətəl* 'bottle', *dələ* 'doll', *dəgdər* [dɔktər] 'doctor, physician', *fərən* 'abroad' (e. g. *xaj a 'fərən* 'he went abroad') from E. *foreign*, *kLək* 'clock', *kəfi* 'coffee', *kəpər* 'copper', *kərpələð* 'corporal', *kətan* 'cotton', *pək(ə)* 'bag, sack' Sc. *pok*, *pock*, *pəlɪfman* 'policeman'; *də-əs* 'a dose', *ə'fləd* 'afloat', *kəsde* 'coast', *pəs* 'postman', *Rəlīgəγ* 'to roll', *fənaγ* 'Joan'; *bərəbəd* 'barber', *sNəg* 'snug', *təsəl* 'tassel', *trək* 'rubbish' from E. *truck*.

Some words of doubtful origin: *bəkəγ* 'to trample', *kənəs* 'anger' (homophonous with *kənəs* 'gorse'), *krəsgəγ* 'starfish' (contains either G. *cross* or O.N. *kross*), *mərəγan* 'gravel', *ɔ-əfj*, *ɔ-ifj* 'year-old lamb', *pəRsdan* 'a small crab' cp. Mod.I. *portán*, *səLt* 'tame'.

62. Long *ɔ*: corresponds to:

- (1) O.I. *ó*, or *o* contracted with a following vowel: *bə:d'an* 'vows, promises' (pl.) M.I. sg. *móit*, *də:xəs* 'hope' M.I. *dóchus*, *γə:Rsd* (pret.) 'spilled' M.I. *dóirtim*, *kə:ð* 'generous' O.I. *coair*, *cóir*, *gə* 'Lə:r 'enough' O.I. *lour*, *ɔ:γ* 'young' O.I. *óac*, *ɔ:jə* 'nun' cp. M.I. *óge*, *óige* 'integritas, virginity', *ɔ:L* 'to drink' O.I. *ól*, *oul*, *ɔ:r* 'gold' O.I. *ór*, *pə:səγ* 'to marry' M.I. *pósad*, *Rə:n* 'seal' M.I. *rón*, *sdrəN* 'nose' O.I. *srón*; *tə:fəxiN*, *tə:fəxəγ* 'to begin', *hə:fic* 'began' are certainly derived from O.I. *toísech* 'leader', where *ó* must have been substituted for the diphthong *oi* at a rather early date; the meaning was probably influenced by *təfəx* 'beginning, start' O.I. *tossach* (see DOH p. 210).
- (2) O.I. *o*, lengthened before certain consonants and clusters: *bə:Rd* 'table' M.I. *bord(d)* (ultimately from O.E. *bord*), *ɔ:Rd* 'hammer' O.I. *ord*, *ɔ:Rdag* '(big) toe; thumb' O.I. *ord(d)u* 'thumb', *ɔ:Rləx* 'inch' cp. Mod.I. *órdlach*, *órlach*, *ɔ:Rn* 'on us' O.I. *fornn*, *tə:R* 'heap; many' cp. Mod.I. *torr* 'pile, heap, etc.'. Other products of lengthening: *Lə:riçən* 'books' cp. M.I. dat. pl. *lebraib*, *Rə:d'an* 'roads' cp. sg. *Rə-əd*, gen. *Rə-id*'.
- (3) O.I. *é*, *é(i)u*: *bjə*: 'living, alive' O.I. *béo*, *béu*, *fjə:l* 'meat, flesh' O.I. *féuil*, *féoil*, *jə:ð* 'grass' (lenited gen.) O.I. *féiuir*, *jə:Ləs* 'knowledge' cp. O.I. *éola* 'knowing', *kə*: 'mist, fog, smoke' M.I. *céo*, *kə:L* 'music' M.I. *céol*, *fə:L* 'sail' O.I. *séol* (a loan from O.E. according to Thurneysen, see his *Grammar* § 924).
- (4) In loans from Norse, *ɔ*: represents O.N. *ó* and *au* (probably also *ǫ*, but of this I have no example from Lb.): *brə:g* 'boot' M.I. *bróc* 'breeches' from O.N. *brók* 'breeches', *Ləx* *krə:gəvat* (a lake) O.N. *Krókavatn*, *Lə:d* (a man's name) O.N. acc. *Ljót*, *Rə:naj* (an island, North Rona) O.N. *Hraunøy*, *tə:b* 'bay' O.N. acc. *hóp*.
- (5) Various E. sounds: *kLə*: 'tweed' E. *cloth*, *kə:Rdəγ* 'to agree with, please' probably from E. *accord* (e. g. *ha 'fɪn ə 'kə:Rdəγ* *rəm* 'I like that'); *kə:Rnəð* 'corner', *kə:Rnələð* 'colonel',

taj 'ɔ:-əsɔd 'inn' cp. E. *host*, ɔ:gəsɔd 'August', pɔ:kad 'pocket' cp. E. *poke*, prɔ:fal 'proud' cp. Mod.I. prós, próis 'prowess, ostentation' from M.E. *prowes*, *pruesse*, Rɔ:p 'rope', Rɔ:sad 'rosin, resin', Rɔ:sdəɣ 'to fry' E. *roast*, fɔ:Rəsə 'sort, kind'.

Of uncertain origin are gɔ:Rəx 'stupid', Rɔ:gif 'starling', sglɔ:tag 'small lythe or pollack', sgɔ: 'cloud' (hardly identical with O.I. scáth 'shadow, shelter').

o.

63. *o* is a mid-back rounded, rather narrow [o], not dissimilar to French "o fermé" as in *beau*, *rose*. This sound is, in some positions, difficult to distinguish from [U], allophone of *u*, and vacillation between the two is found in [t'ðNag] – [t'ŨNag] 'duck', [Nðht] – [NŨht] 'pound (sterling)', [oɔk] – [Uɔk] 'eight'. There is, indeed, a possibility that [U] may be interpreted as an allophone of *o* rather than of *u*. Borgström's word pair from Bernera, [oɔk] 'eight' ~ [Uɔk] 'lap, breast' cannot be used to demonstrate a distinction in Lb., where the two words are homonymous and may both be pronounced with [o] or [U]. My reasons for not regarding [U] as an allophone of *o* are the following: (1) [U] is undoubtedly in complementary distribution with [ü]. (2) Although my material contains no "minimal pairs" where the substitution of [o] for [U] produces a change in meaning, there are strong indications that the absence of such pairs is due to deficiencies in the material; compare [ULtəx] 'armful' (always with [U]) with [skoLtəɣ] 'to split' (always with [o]); [xŨNiǵ] 'saw' (pret.) with [koNəɣ] 'fuel'.

The phonemic difference between *o* and ɔ is clear, but occasionally there is overlapping: *krotəL* and *krɔtəL* 'moss, lichen', *gɔ:j* and *ǵɔ:j* 'geese'.

The distributional features of *o* are rather peculiar: Short *o* is never preceded by a palatal except *j* and never followed by a palatal except *j*. It is very frequently followed by hiatus. Long

o:, on the other hand, may be preceded or followed by palatals as well as non-palatals and neutrals; it may even be found between palatals as in *jð:N* 'birds'. In contact with nasal consonants, long *o:* is generally nasal, with two important exceptions: *mo:r* 'big, great' and *fo:ni* 'suffices, is enough' (as opposed to, e. g., *mð:Nə* 'peat' and *d'ð:nəx* 'willing'). Short *o*, however, is very often non-nasal in the neighbourhood of nasal consonants: *kom(ə)* 'not caring, indifferent' (but *kðmən* 'a gathering', *kðmaNt* 'ordinary'), *koNəɣ* 'fuel', *moɔ* 'early', *toman* 'small hillock or heap', *toNag* 'duck'.

64. Short *o* corresponds to:

- (1) O.I. **o**, mostly in connection with a labial: *bog* 'wet, soft' O.I. *boc(e)*, *bo-ər* 'deaf' M.I. *bodar*, *gob* 'beak' M.I. *gob*, *go-o*, *go-ə* 'blacksmith' O.I. *goba*, *ɣðh* 'to me' O.I. *dom*, *dam*, *hð-if* 'measured' (pret.) cp. O.I. *tomus* 'weight; to measure', *kð-ad* (and *kũ-ad*) 'to look' O.I. *comét* 'to preserve, guard', *kð-əRlə* 'advice' O.I. *comairle*, *ko-əð* 'comfort' O.I. *cobir*, *kðhəRdiç* 'to bark' (prefix *comh-*, cp. Welsh *cyfarth*), *kðmən* 'a gathering' M.I. *commond*, *cumann*, *mð-əxəɣ* 'to perceive' M.I. *mothaigim*, *moɔ* 'early' M.I. *moch*, *obəð* 'work' O.I. *opair*, *obi* 'abrupt, blunt' (in manner) cp. M.I. *opond*, *tobəð* 'a well' O.I. *topur*, *toman* 'tussock' diminutive of *tðm* M.I. *tom*. Without a labial: *koNəɣ* 'fuel' M.I. *condud*, *connad*, *kroh* 'cattle' M.I. *crod*, *krðk* 'hillock' O.I. *cnoc*, *o-ər* 'dun-coloured' M.I. *odar*, *oxg* (and *uxg*) 'eight' O.I. *ocht*, *sgoLtəɣ* 'to split' M.I. *scoltad*, *togal* 'to lift; build' M.I. *tocbail*, *tóc-bail* (also found in the form *trogal*), *toNag* (and *tuNag*) 'duck' cp. Mod.I. *tonnóg*.
- (2) O.I. **a** or **e** followed by a labial fricative: *go-ər* 'goat' O.I. *gabor*, *gabur*, *go-al* 'to take' O.I. *gabáil*, *ɣo* 'took' O.I. 'gab, *jo* 'will get', *jo-əɣ* 'would get' (does not correspond exactly to O.I. *gaibid* or 'gaib, but cp. Mod.I. (do-) *gheibh sé*), *Ro-iN* 'warning' cp. M.I. *rabad*, *so-əL* 'barn' M.I. *saball*, *trð-əd* 'through you' M.I. *tremut*.

- (3) Other O.I. sounds: *grð-iç* 'business' cp. Mod.I. *gnó* 'business', *gnóthach* 'busy', *kom(ə)* 'not caring, indifferent' O.I. *cumme*, *rð-am* 'before me' O.I. *rium*, *trð-am* 'through me' O.I. *trium*, *vojə*, *fojə* 'from him' O.I. *úa(i)d*, *fof* 'from you' O.I. *úait*.
- (4) Norse loans: *bo-ə*, *bo-o* (a) 'submerged rock' O.N. cas. obl. *boða*, (b) 'bow' (fiddle bow or weapon) O.N. cas. obl. *boga*, *kLo-u* 'pair of tongs' O.N. cas. obl. *klofa*, *Lot(ə)* 'loft, attic' O.N. *lopt* (if not from E. *loft*), *tot(ə)* (a) 'thwart' O.N. *þopta*, (b) 'site of (ruined) house' O.N. *topt*.
- (5) Loans from E.: *ho-əs* '(water-)hose', *kop* (also *kəp*) 'foam' perhaps from M.E. *copp* 'vertex' (MacBain), *Nðt(ə)* (and *Nūt(ə)*) 'pound (sterling)' E. *note*, *smðkiçəç* 'to smoke (tobacco)'.

Of doubtful origin are *topag* 'lark' and *tro-əd* pl. *tro-əd'u* 'come!'.

65. Long *o*: corresponds to:

- (1) O.I. *ó*: *bo*: 'cow' O.I. *bó*, *ko:ç* 'five' O.I. *cóic*, *krð*: 'nut' O.I. gen. *enó*, *mo:r* 'big, great' O.I. *mór*, *mð:Nə* 'peat' cp. M.I. *móin* 'bog', *mð:ləx* 'moor' cp. M.I. *móin* and pl. *móinte*.
- (2) O.I. *o* lengthened in connection with the loss of the first member of a following consonant cluster: *fo:ni* 'suffices, is enough' cp. O.I. *fognam* 'service', *kð:Lə* 'leaf of a door' M.I. *cómlla*, *kð:ni* 'to live, dwell' O.I. *comnaide*, *kð:Rnəd* [*k'ð:ŋd*, *k'ð:ŋəd*] 'flat, even' M.I. *com-ard(d)* Mod.I. *cómhárd*, *cómhnárd* 'equally high, level', *kð:ray* 'to speak; speech, conversation' Mod.I. *cómhrádh*, *tð:fəxan* 'riddle' Mod.I. *toimhseachán*; a lengthened and labialized **a** is found in *so:Liçən* 'barns' from **sabl-* (sg. *so-əL* M.I. *saball*). In *dð:-əL* 'Donald', written *Domhnull*, the whole cluster *-mhn-* has been lost. Unexpected is the long non-nasal *o* in *do:-iN* 'deep' O.I. *domuin*.
- (3) O.I. *éo*, *é(i)u*: *d'ð:nəx* 'willing', cp. M.I. *deonaigim* 'I am

- willing, I assent', *ço:j* (also *ço:j*) 'geese' from **géoid* (M.I. nom. sg. *géd*), *jð:N* 'birds' O.I. *éoin*, *éuin*, *éiuin*, *smjð:rəx* 'a bird (thrush?)' *smeðrach* (Mod.I. *smólach*).
- (4) Loans from E.: *Nð:fan* 'interest' (*ha 'Nð:fan açəm ə vi 'çiəsgəx* 'I take an interest in fishing') E. *notion*, *to:-ə* 'a hoe', *to:-içəç* 'to hoe'.

o: corresponds apparently to an older **u** in *mð:xəç* 'to choke' M.I. *múchad*. Not quite clear are the etymologies of *kð:Ləç*, *kð:Lhəç* 'together' (see Borgström, DOH p. 73), *kð:ði* 'together with', *N'ð:nəx* 'curious, funny', *eð 'N'ð*: (also *eð ə 'jðh*) 'or else'.

u.

66. *u* has the two principal allophones [ú] and [U]. [ú] is a high central rounded vowel, much higher and more fronted than most varieties of E. *u*. On the other hand, it is more retracted than French *u* [y] in *nu*. Many speakers of English from various parts of Scotland use a similar sound in words like *you*, *do* etc.; it also bears some resemblance to an allophone of General American *u*, namely the one heard after *j* as in [*juz*] (*use*), [*fju*] (*few*). [ú] is very similar to the highest varieties of Norwegian and Swedish *u*. Long [ú:], especially when final, often ends in a phase of diminished tension, where the tongue reverts towards its neutral position, resulting in pronunciations like [*k'u:ə*] for *ku*: 'dog'. — [U] is phonetically very different from [ú]. It is a high back rounded vowel but very open, resembling the vowel of E. *full*, *bull* (Southern English rather than Scottish or American pronunciation) or Norwegian and Swedish *o*. It is somewhat opener or lower than French *ou* in *boue*. — In a few instances, we find a third allophone [*u*], intermediate between [ú] and [U].

[U] is found in the following positions:

- (a) Immediately before and after *N*, *L*, and *R*: [*gŪNə*] 'gun', [*U:Lən*] 'apples', [*iULəð*] 'eagle', [*k'URan*] 'carrot', [*LUd'ag*] 'rag', [*RUd*] 'thing'.

- (b) Before *x* when short: [fUx] 'wet', [iUxəð] 'key'.
 (c) Before *j* when short: [bUjə] 'yellow', [vUjəx] 'the jaundice', [mŮj] 'outside'.
 (d) Before *L* when a stressless vowel intervenes (in this case, [U] alternates with [u⁻]): [U-əL] 'apple', [fu-aL] 'to sew', [dĩ-əL] 'dense, close' (about air). Also before *R* and with an intervening *h*, but of this I have only one example: [iUhUR] (phonemically *juhuRn*) 'hell'.

It appears from these rules that while *N*, *L*, and *R* condition a strong retraction and lowering of both a following and a preceding *u*, and regardless of the quantity of the vowel, *x* and *j* affect only a preceding short *u* in this manner. Thus, we find either [ú] or an only slightly more retracted [u⁻] in such words as [dú:x] 'country' (gen.), [bđú:xk] 'seaware cast ashore', [xú:f] 'the condition, state', [xúq'] 'the part', [xúmiN'] 'I would hold, keep'. The word written a h-uile 'every' is a rather intriguing exception. By some speakers, it is pronounced [xULə], which conforms well to the rules (this form is found in my informant Kenneth MacLeod). But a more common pronunciation is [xUlə], which would seem to demand the establishment of a phonemic distinction between [U] and [ú], in view of such forms as *[xúlan], *[xúlag], lenited forms of [kúlan] 'whelp' and [kúlag] 'fly' (I have not recorded the two forms in question, but I have no doubt that I remember them correctly; compare also e.g. [xúq'] and [xúmiN'] above). In order to avoid the complication of introducing an additional phoneme because of this unique word, it is necessary to locate the significant difference not in the vowel itself but in its environment. This can be done in various ways; the most satisfactory solution is perhaps to state that a prothetic *x* demands the allophone [U] of a following initial *u*, thereby explaining this apparently irregular occurrence of [U] as a phenomenon appearing in a certain type of morphemic juncture. As there is no other example of a prothetic *x*, this statement does not contradict any other rule; that we are really in the presence of a morphemic juncture (in other words, that

(ə) *x-* is a morpheme although it does not exist outside of the combination (ə) 'xulə) is proved by the existence of the word *ulə* [úlə] 'all'. (It goes without saying that this explanation does not purport to have any historical implications; it is introduced merely to simplify the synchronic description.)

In all other positions, *u* has the allophone [ú]: [bú:], [bú:ə] 'shop', [bú:ht'an] 'shops', [dú-ag] 'kidney', [fúN'ətəð] 'baker', [N'úri] 'last year', [rúgəγ] 'was born', [ú:s] 'ounce', etc. Note variations like [RU:-əγ] ~ lenited [rú:-əγ].

Long *u*: is always nasal in contact with a nasal consonant; short *u* is occasionally non-nasal in this position: *muð* 'sea'.

u may be preceded and followed by practically any type of consonant; it does not, however, seem to occur immediately before a labial fricative.

67. Short *u* corresponds to:

- (1) O.I. *u* normally: *bujə* 'yellow' O.I. *buide*, *duh* 'black' O.I. *dub*, *duLag* 'leaf' cp. M.I. *duille* 'foliage', *ful* 'blood' O.I. *fuil*, *fulùgi* 'will suffer' O.I. 'fuilngid, *fūN'ə* 'to bake' O.I. *fuine*, *fudic* 'wait!' cp. M.I. *fuirigim*, *gruh* 'curds' M.I. *gruth*, *γut* 'to you' O.I. *duit*, *hug* 'gave, took', *xa* 'dug' 'did not give, take' O.I. 'tuicc, 'tucc, *hugəm* 'to me' O.I. *cuccum*, *kLuçə* 'to play' O.I. *cluiche*, *kud'* 'part' O.I. *cuit*, *kud'əxg* 'also, too, as well' M.I. *cuitechta* 'concourse, company', *kū-əg* 'narrow' M.I. *cumung*, *cumucc*, *kuǵaL* 'distaff' M.I. *cuicel*, *kulag* 'a fly' M.I. *cuil*, *kūNaRdəx* 'dangerous' cp. O.I. *cumtubart*, *cundubart* 'doubt', *kuð* 'put!' M.I. *cuir*, *kufiL* 'vein' M.I. *cuisle*, *Lusən* 'herbs' M.I. sg. *luss*, *Lux* 'mouse' M.I. *luch*, *mūk* 'pig' O.I. *mucc*, *γanə* 'vūk' 'to the pig' O.I. dat. *muicc*, *mūLəx* 'top; ceiling, roof' M.I. *mullach*, *mūjə* 'a churn' M.I. *muide* 'vessel', *muð* 'sea' O.I. *muir*, *Nduri* 'last year' O.I. (Wb 16^o14) *ó*'nn-urid, *tul* 'flood, great rainfall' O.I. *tuile*, *tu-u*, *tu-əγ*, *tu-uy* 'thatch' M.I. *tuga*, *u-əL* 'apple' O.I. *ubúll* (gen. pl.), *uh* 'egg' O.I. og gen. *ug(a)e*, *ū-iL* 'obedient' M.I. *umal* 'humble', *uliN'* 'elbow' M.I. acc. *uillind*.

- (2) O.I. **i**, especially before **u**-coloured and other non-palatal consonants, rarely before palatals, occasionally before hiatus followed by stressless **u**: *flux* 'wet' O.I. *fliuch*, *ǵu-əs* 'pine tree' M.I. *gíus*, *juhuRn* 'hell' O.I. dat. *ifurnn*; *iffiurn* (*juhuRn* is the profane word for 'hell'; in religious language it is *ifriN'*, certainly a reading pronunciation), *juLəð* 'eagle' M.I. *ilur*, *juLhiN'* 'cornyard' O.I. dat. *ithlaind*, *pju-ər* 'sister' O.I. *sīur*, *Ruj* 'to run' O.I. *rith*, *riuth*, *RūNag* 'star' O.I. *rind*, *RūNəx* 'mackerel' (from **rindach* 'starred'; for a parallel semantic development cp. *bðek* 'speckled' and 'trout'), *fūNəx* 'fox' M.I. *sinnach*, *sindach*, *fu-əL* 'to travel' O'Clery *siubhal*, *t'uh* 'thick' M.I. *tiug*, *ūmad*, *ū-əd* 'about you' O.I. *immut*, *ūNəd* 'in you' O.I. *indiut* M.I. *innut*. — Unexpected is *u* in *ūN'an* 'anvil' M.I. *indeoin*, cp. *īN'əL* 'machine' M.I. *indel(l)* 'tool'.
- (3) O.I. **o** (not very often): *duliç* 'sad, difficult' M.I. *doilig*, *dūNūxəγ* 'Duncan' *Book of Deer* Donchad, *kū-ad* (also *kð-ad*) 'to look' O.I. *comét* 'to preserve, guard', *kūmal* 'to hold' M.I. dat. *congbáil*, *kur* (also *kuð*, influenced by finite forms) 'to put' O.I. *cor*, *xūNiç* (pret.) 'saw' O.I. 'condairc', *Lūjəs* 'navy' M.I. *longes*, *nəs* 'mū-u 'more' O.I. *mó*, *móo*, *móu* etc., *suRag* 'vent of a kiln' cp. M.I. *sornd*.
- (4) Other O.I. sounds: *būN'i* 'belongs' O.I. *ben(a)id* (probably by contamination with some other word, as *ben(a)id* is also represented by *bēni* 'will touch'), *fu-al* (pret.) 'sewed' cp. M.I. *fuaigim* (with diphthong), *gu-al* (also *go-al* and *gə-al*) 'to take' O.I. *gabáil*, *muR* 'sun' [*mU'sun*] 'thus' *mar sin*, *Rud* 'thing' O.I. *rét*, *urəd* 'as much, so much, as many, etc.' M.I. *eret*, *airet*, *uLəxəγ* 'to make ready' cp. O.I. *aurlam*, *airlam*, *irlam*, *erlam* 'ready', *uRsiN'* 'doorpost' M.I. *aursa*, *irsa* (the two last-mentioned had O.I. *ö* according to Pedersen, § 238).
- (5) O.N. **u**: *LūNən* 'launching rollers; props for keeping boat upright on shore' O.N. *hlunn-*, *sgudəL* 'rubbish' conceivably

from an O.N. **skutl* 'rubbish, waste' cp. Mod.Norw. *skutla* 'to waste', *Ləx grūNəvat* O.N. *Grunnavatn*. — In the village name *kujhər*, *uj* represents the **ví** (phonetically [*wi:*]) of *Kvíar*, a development less surprising than it seems at first glance — *uj* instead of long *uj* or diphthongal *ui* is due to the usual shortening of a long vowel before hiatus, see § 32 b.

- (6) Loans from E.: *bukəL* 'buckle', *bukəs* 'box', *dusan* 'dozen', *gūNə* 'gun', *kðu-ə* 'crew', *kufd'an* 'question', *pukad* 'bucket', *putəN* 'button', *supəl* 'supple, flexible', *fuRaj* 'sheriff' (from M.E. *shirreve*, O.E. *scīrgerēfa*).

68. Long *u*: corresponds to:

- (1) O.I. **ú**: *bru:d* 'animal' M.I. *brút*, *brúit*, *du:hiç* 'country, region, parish' M.I. *dúthaig*, *dū:n* 'heap; broch, fort' O.I. *dún*, *gLū:N* 'knee' O.I. *glún*, *ku*: 'dog' O.I. *cú*, *ku:L* 'back side; bread crust' O.I. *cúl*, *Lu:b* 'bent' (pret.) M.I. pres. *lúpaim*, *smū:d* 'drizzle' cp. M.I. *smútcheó* 'cloud of mist', *smū:r* 'dust, especially of peat' M.I. *smur* Mod.I. *smúr*, *su:l* 'eye' O.I. *súil*, *su:fd* 'flail' O.I. *súist*, *ū*: (nasal!) 'udder' cp. Corm. *uth* Mod.I. *úth*, *u:r* 'new' M.I. *úr*, *u:ð* 'earth filling the space between the outer and inner dry-masonry walls of an old-fashioned house' Corm. *ur*, *uir* (gl. *taíam*). Here may also be mentioned *ku:f* 'condition, state' M.I. *cúis* O.I. *cáu(i)s*.
- (2) O.I. **íu**: *çu:l* lenited gen. of *kə:L* 'music' O.I. *cíuil*, *d'ū:məx* 'angry' cp. perhaps M.I. *díumus* 'pride', *díumsach* 'proud', *Nū:L* 'clouds' O.I. *níuil*, *fu:l* 'sails' O.I. *síuil*.
- (3) O.I. **ö** (Pedersen § 238) in *u:Rni* 'prayer, to pray' O.I. *irnigde*, *ernigde*.
- (4) O.N. **ú**: *kru:b* 'crouch!' O.N. *krjúpa*, *krúpa* (see Marstrander, *Bidrag* p. 40), *Ru:-an* 'pile of three or four peats put on end to dry' and *Ru:-əγ* 'to pile the peats in this manner' O.N. *hrúga*, *hrúfa* 'pile, heap' (note that *Ru-ə* 'promontory' has short *u*; in Bernera this latter word is [*RU:-əγ*], and

Borgstrøm derives it too from O.N. hrúga, hrúfa), *Læx sgu:davat* O.N. Skútavatn.

- (5) O.N. *ý* in *fd'u:ð* 'rudder' O.N. *stýri*; O.N. *ví* [*wi:*] in the village and parish name *u:g* O.N. *Vík*.
- (6) Examples of *u:* in loans from E.: *bu:Rn* 'fresh water' Sc. *burn*, *du:bəl'l* 'double', *ku:bað* 'cooper', *ku:Rstaðan* 'curtains', *fu:dər* 'gunpowder', *fu:kar* 'sugar', *tu:r* 'tower'.

u.

69. *u* is a vowel of varying timbre and articulation. The articulatory features common to all its allophones may be summarized in the formula "central to back, high to higher mid, unrounded". It has a variety of articulations within this range. When short, it is rather advanced (lower high-central) in connection with palatals, especially between *t* and a palatal and before *g*: [*t'ur-Ləγ*] or [*t'ɾ-Ləγ*] 'more', [*t'ur-kf*] 'to understand', [*hur-k*] 'understood'; this allophone is also found between *r* and *h* in [*ru-h*] 'ran'. Its auditory effect is comparable to that of Russian *u* in *быстро* 'fast'. A slightly less advanced variety is found in words like [*uɸk*] 'rain', [*p'ðuɸjif*] 'trousers', [*suðùj*] 'to court', [*huɸt'*] 'fell', [*suɸj*] 'sit down!', [*uɸən*] 'eggs', [*guɸjə*] 'to swear', [*dùN'ə*] 'man', [*ùN'ag*] 'window'. This sound type seems to have all its features in common with [*ù*] except for the lip-rounding of the latter; the auditory impression is similar to that of [*ù*], especially if a *j* follows: [*guɸjə*] sounds almost as [*gùjə*] (but there can be no confusion between phonemes, as the phoneme *u* is represented in this position not by [*ù*] but by the entirely different-sounding [*U*]). I have not distinguished this allophone in my phonetic notation from the "normal" variant, lower high-back unrounded [*u*], which is found in most other positions: [*urùbəlL*] 'tail', [*t'umùnəγ*] 'testament', [*t'urius*] 'journey; time'. The description lower high-back unrounded also holds for the most frequent allophone of long *u:*, as found in [*u:st*] 'old', [*u:f*] 'age', [*k'ur:rə*] 'sheep', [*gu:*] 'wind', [*u:ðrəm*] 'light (not heavy)', [*fu:vər*] 'cutting edge', [*t'ur:v*] 'side', [*sku:L't'əx*]

'spreading'. Finally, the phoneme *u* has some retracted and lowered variants [*ur*], [*ur*], [*ur*], used both for long and short *u* in contact with *N*, *L*, and *R*: [*nəs 'Lur-u:*], [*nəs 'Lur-ə*] 'smaller', [*Lur'rur-məxk*] 'naked', [*Rur-xk*] 'form, looks', [*sLūr-N'əγ*] 'surname', [*sLur:ɸ*] 'stretch!', [*guur:L*] 'love'. A long [*ur:*] or [*ur:*] is not always easy to distinguish from allophones of the phoneme *ə*; in the word for 'glue' my notations show hesitation between [*gLur:*] and [*gLə:*]. *N*, *L*, and *R* may influence *u* even if the contact is not immediate: [*ur:ɸəN*], [*ur:ɸN*] 'face', [*sur:-əL*] 'world'. A curious diphthongal sound is found between *L* and *γ* in [*Ləɸγ*] 'calf'; this sound must be regarded as a further allophone of *u* (it cannot be identified with any other diphthong, and it seems to be in free variation with *ur:* in this particular position).

The distribution of *u* shows several interesting features. Both long and short *u* are found before palatals, non-palatals, and neutrals, but in the position after palatals they are rare, the only occurrences in my material being *t'umùnəγ* 'testament', *t'urùməxəγ* 'to dry', *pðuɸjif* 'trousers', *bjuRsemad'* (also *biRsəmad'*) 'balance', and *d'u:Ləγ* 'to revenge'. *u* is hardly ever found between two palatals.

There are some limitations to the distribution of *u* in connection with nasality. Short *u* occurs before *m* (in *trumùçəN* 'dizzy' and *t'umùnəγ* 'testament') and frequently before *N*, in which latter case it is always nasal (*dùN'ə* 'man', *ùN'ag* 'window' etc.); it is independently nasal in *krùj* 'a small white worm', but it cannot be preceded by a nasal consonant. Long *u:* is never nasal and does not occur in immediate contact with nasal consonants.

70. Short *u* corresponds to:

- (1) O.I. *u* before a palatal or *r*: *duɸjə* 'black' (gen. f.) O.I. *dub(a)e*, *dùN'ə* 'man' O.I. *du(i)ne*, *guɸjə* 'to wish; swear' O.I. *guide*, *hut'* 'fell' (pret.) M.I. *ro·thuit*, *krùj* 'small white worm' M.I. *cruim*, (*ə*) *xruɸj* 'of the cattle' cp. M.I. nom. pl. *cruid*, *krùN'əxəγ* 'to gather' M.I. *cruinnechad*,

suja, *suja* 'to sit' O.I. *suide*, *suðuj* 'to court, woo' M.I. *suirge*, *tuLəy* 'more' M.I. *tuilled* 'addition', *turuy* 'drought, dry weather' M.I. *turud*, *turus* 'journey; time' M.I. *turus*, *uſg(ə)* 'rain' (occasionally also 'water') O.I. *usce* 'water'.

- (2) O.I. **i** before a non-palatal constant: *Ruxg* 'form, looks, appearance' O.I. *richt*, *ʹumùnəy* 'testament' cp. O.I. *timne* 'injunction', *ʹurùməxəy* 'to dry' cp. O.I. *co thírmaigid* (Ml 44^d) and Mod.I. *tiormughadh*.
- (3) O.I. **o** in a few cases: *sLũN'əy* 'surname' M.I. *sloinded*, *sloindud*, *Lufji* 'will burn' M.I. *loscid*, *Lusgəy* (also *Ləsgəy*) 'to burn' O.I. *loscud*, *Lurùməxg* 'naked' M.I. *lomnocht*, *trumùcaN* 'dizzy' cp. Mod.I. *troim-chean-nach*.
- (4) O.I. **ö** (Pedersen § 238): *nəs* 'Lu-u, nəs 'Lu-ə 'smaller' O.I. *laugu*, *lugu*, *laigiu*, *urùxər* 'a shot' M.I. *aurchor*, *urchor*, *erchor*, *irchor*; *urùbəl* 'tail' is only attested as *erball* in M.I. but may have had **ö**.

In Norse loans, the phoneme *u* is rare. It represents O.N. initial **vi-** [*wi-*] in *ũN'ag* 'window' O.N. *vindauga*; the village name *grumùfadər* is probably O.N. *Gromssetr*, see VL p. 397.

Loans from E.: *pəugif* 'trousers' E. *breeks*, *breeches*, *bruuf* 'brush'.

71. Long *u*: corresponds to:

- (1) The O.I. diphthong **ái áe ói óe**: *dur:r* 'dear, expensive' O.I. *doír*, *frur:x* 'heather' M.I. *fráech*, *fur:vər* 'cutting edge' O.I. *fáebor*, *gu*: 'wind' O.I. *gáith*, *gu:L* 'love' M.I. *gáel*, *ku:L* 'narrow' O.I. *coíl*, *ku:Lanən* 'guts' M.I. sg. *cóilán*, *ku:rə* 'sheep' O.I. *cáera*, *Lur:γ* 'calf' M.I. *lóeg*, *Lur:x* 'hero' O.I. *laích*, *sgu:ləy* 'to spread' and *sgu:Lf'əx* 'spreading of clothes for bleaching' cp. M.I. *scáilim*, *sur:r* 'joiner' and 'free; cheap' both M.I. *sóer*, *sáer*, *sur:vəL* and *sur:əL* 'world' O.I. *saígul*, *tu:v* 'side' O.I. *toíb*, *ur:f* 'age' O.I. *aís*.

- (2) O.I. **é**, especially in initial position: *ur:dəx* 'clothing' O.I. *étach*, *ur:dəN* 'face' O.I. *étan*, *ur:gifg* 'bad look' M.I. *écosc* 'appearance', *ur:drəm* 'light (not heavy)' O.I. *étrømm*, and other words with the prefix O.I. **é-**: *ur:d'anəx* 'leaky' (cp. *d'ĩnəx* 'tight'), *ur:kəLəx* 'unlikely' (cp. *kəLəx* 'similar, likely'). Also after *f* in *fur:di* 'may, can' M.I. *fétaim*.

ur: is further found in *d'ur:Ləy* 'to revenge' cp. O.I. *dígal* 'vengeance', *sLur:d* 'stretch!', *sLur:dəx* 'slow' cp. Mod.I. *slaodaim* 'I drag, trail' and *slaodach* 'drooping; sliding; lazy', *tu:g* 'a bruise, as on laminated metal' (origin doubtful).

ə.

72. *ə* may be described as a mid-back to mid-central vowel. It is generally unrounded, but may occasionally be slightly rounded (in which case it is probably also somewhat advanced) in contact with labials. Its most frequent phonetic value is [ə], mid-back unrounded. This allophone is used practically always when the vowel is long, and also usually when it is short. For acoustic effect, it may be compared to the vowel of E. *burn* (Southern E. pronunciation), but to my ear it resembles far more a normal Norwegian [ø] as in *sət* 'sweet', in spite of the fundamental difference in articulation (Norwegian [ø] is a front rounded vowel). It does not so much resemble the French [ø] of *peu* or the German [ø] of *könig*, where the stronger lip-rounding causes a considerable difference in timbre. An advanced and lowered variety [a], very similar to E. *a* in *cut*, is often heard before *s* and *n*, sometimes also before other consonants: [*fəskLəy*] 'to open', [*ānən*] or [*ānŋ*] 'one', [*bāNtal*] 'bundle', [*gəd'*] 'to steal', [*gal*] 'to boil', [*səLəð*] 'bright'. In all these cases, [ə] is heard as well.

In some words there is overlapping between *ə* and *e*: *həb* and *heb* 'had nearly', *əgLif* and *egLif* 'church', *af* 'd'ə-i and *af* 'd'e-i 'after'.

ə is found before and after palatals, neutrals, and non-

palatals, but never between two palatals. When long, it is only rarely preceded by a palatal.

Short *a* is very seldom nasal, even in contact with nasal consonants. Exceptions are: *ānan* 'one', *fānā`xas* 'story', *fānā`-old*, *ānā`xiN* 'brain', *bāNdal* 'bundle', *fN`āγan* (also *fN`ēγan*) 'ant'. Long *a*:, on the other hand, is nearly always nasal in contact with a nasal constant; I have only one certain exception from this rule, viz. *trā:n* 'corn-crake' (as opposed to e. g. *Rā:n* 'field, patch of land', '*da*: '*rā:n* 'two fields'). Independently nasal *a* is found e. g. in *kā:l* 'agreeable; to like'.

73. Short *a* corresponds to:

- (1) O.I. **a**, **e**, and **o** before fricative **d** and **g** (whether the fricative has been preserved or not): *a-əLtranās* 'adultery' O.I. *adaltras*, *a-əðk* 'horn' M.I. *adarc*, *əγ* 'heifer' M.I. *ag*, *af* '*d`a-i*, *a d`a-i* 'after' O.I. *in-degaid*, *eð* '*fəγ* 'through-out, all over' M.I. *ed* 'space of time; extent of length', *fəγiN* 'some, somebody' M.I. *fedan* 'party, team', *fə-əd`an* 'patience' O.I. *fodaitiu*, *fəvər* 'autumn' M.I. *fogmar*, *frə-ark* 'eye-sight' M.I. *rodarc*, *kLə-əx* 'to dig' M.I. pres. *cladaim*, *claidim*, *Lə-ər* 'hoof' M.I. *ladar*, *Lə-əγ* 'to melt' O.I. *legad*, *Lə-if* 'to cure' M.I. *leges*, *fəγ*, *həγ* 'yes' O.I. *is ed*, *tə-əγ* 'to choose' O.I. *togu*. Also in *əγās* 'and', where *γ* corresponds to an O.I. occlusive (ocus).
- (2) O.I. **a**, **o** (frequently) and **e** (occasionally) before palatals: *bləd`al* 'sly, slyly begging', *bləd`əðə* 'sly person' cp. Mod.I. *bleideamhail*, *bleidire*, *d`əðv* 'to warp' cp. O.I. *delb*, Mod.I. *deilbh*, *gəd`* 'to steal' M.I. *gait*, *garid`* 'short' M.I. *ga(i)rit*, *gəðəsən* 'conveniences' (only recorded in the pl.) cp. M.I. *gaire* 'proximity', *gəðəm* 'to crow' M.I. *gairm*, *gəðəman* 'indigo dye' *goirmean*, *jə* (also *jo*) 'will get' < **gheibh* (O.I. 'gaib), *kəLə* 'wood, forest' M.I. *coill*, *caill*, *kəLag* 'a kind of mussel' Irish *coilleóg* (O'Reilly), *kəðəd`f(ə)*, *kəðəd`fiN* 'to believe' O.I. pres. *cretid*, *xəN`iç* 'met' and *kəN`u* 'a meeting' cp. M.I. *coinne* 'meeting', *Lət*

'rotten, decayed' cp. M.I. *lobaim* 'decay', *sgəLl`* (pret.), *sgəLl`əγ* (inf.) 'split, cut open' M.I. pres. *scoiltim*, *səLəð* 'bright' cp. Mod.I. *soiléir*, *təj* and *tə* 'house' O.I. dat. *taig*, *təðəv* 'bulls' M.I. tairb, *trəj* 'foot' (pl. both *trəjən* and *trəjən*) O.I. *traig*, *trəf* 'a while' cp. perhaps Early Mod.I. *treise* 'three days, triduum' (Dinneen).

- (3) O.I. **o**, **u**, and **e** before a non-palatal other than fricative **d** or **g** in the following cases: *əγLif* (and *egLif*) 'church' O.I. *ecl(a)is*, *fəsgəl* 'open!' M.I. pres. *oslaicim*, *frəgəð* 'answer!' M.I. *frec(c)raim*, *gəðəs* 'speed' (heard in the expression '*gəðəs* 'ə*Rsd* 'hurry up!') cp. M.I. *gressim* 'I urge on, stimulate', *kəNgi-ən* (pl. form, has apparently no sg.) 'medicine(s), medicament' M.I. *cəngnad* 'a helping', '*kəNə,xrəjən* 'ribs supporting thwarts in a boat' Dwelly *ceann-chnagan*, *mərəxəγ* man's name (anglicized Murdo or Murdoch) Early I. Murchad, *mjəg* 'whey' O.I. *medg*, *pəNgəl* (also *pəNgal*) 'prompt, punctual' cp. M.I. *ponc* 'punctum', *fānā`xas* 'story; to chat' O.I. *senchas*, '*fānā`-xaLəx* 'old woman' *sean-chailleach*, '*fān`ur:dəx* 'old clothing' *sean-aodach*, *təbifd`* 'accident' Mod.I. *tubaiste*, '*təγəsg* 'to preach' M.I. *tecosc*, '*təγvəx* 'doubtful', *gə* '*N`t`əgu* 'without doubt' O.I. *tecmang* 'chance'.

Note also *ānā`xiN* 'brain' O.I. *inchinn*, *ānan* 'one' cp. O.I. *oín*, *óen*.

- (4) Norse loans: *fə-əl* 'ford' O.N. acc. *vaðil*, *Ləγ* 'law' O.N. *lög*, *sgəðəv* pl. of *sgarəv* 'cormorant' O.N. acc. *skarf*.
- (5) Various E. phonemes: *bəs* 'bus', *bləfiqəγ* 'to blush', *dəl* 'gloomy' E. *dull*, *fəlar* 'funnel' E. *filler*, *əγəLəx* 'ugly', *ələsdər* 'overcoat' E. *ulster*, *kəRləx* 'curly', *kəvriqəγ* 'to cover', *kləb* 'a haircut' E. *clip*(?), *kləvər* 'fast, quick' E. *clever*, *pjəRnə* 'reel (of thread)' Sc. *pirn*, *Rəbar* 'rubber', *fəðəvəfəx* 'servant' (probably E. *service* plus G. -*ach*), *tənə* 'tin', *trəqə* 'trick', '*təγəð* 'tether'.

74. Long *a*: corresponds to:

- (1) O.I. short **a** and **o** before a consonant cluster whose first member was fricative **d** or **g**: *a:brəN* 'ankle' O.I. odbrann, *a:vər* 'cause' O.I. adbar, *fə:Ləm* 'learning', *fə:Ləmiç* 'scholar' O.I. foglaim(m), *Lə:rən* 'hoofs' ladhran (pl. of *Lə-ər* M.I. ladar), *trə:n* 'corn-crake' < *traghn-, cp. Mod.I. traghan, troghan, and traona.
- (2) O.I. **ái áe óí óe** in contact with a nasal consonant: *dǣ:N'ə* 'men' O.I. doíni, *fǣ:N'* 'crazy' and *fǣ:N'as* 'trifle' cp. M.I. fáen (Windisch) and O'Reilly faon 'void, empty, feeble', 'ǣ: 'dūN'ə 'one man' O.I. oín, óen, ǣ:nranəx 'lonely' O.I. oín-, óen-, *kǣ:l* 'agreeable, to like' M.I. coém (with final *l* from the preposition *le* which usually follows: *s 'kǣ:l ləm* 'sgadan 'I like herring', 'Nkǣ:l let 'sgadan 'do you like herring?'; hence: *xa 'xǣ:l* 'no', *xa 'xǣ:l u a* 'you don't like it'), *mǣ:l* 'bald; forehead' O.I. máel 'baldness', *Nǣ:v* 'holy' O.I. noíb, *Rǣ:n* 'field, patch of land' cp. M.I. roe 'field, plain'.
- (3) Various other O.I. sounds: *bjə:Lə* 'English language' O.I. béltre, bérle 'language', *smǣ:N'əxəγ* 'to think' cp. M.I. smuaintiugud, 'fǣ:'jilə 'bachelor' and 'fǣ:'nī-un 'old maid' cp. O.I. sen 'old'.
- (4) Norse loans: *Rə:əL* (non-nasal *a*:) a man's name O.N. acc. Rǫgnvald, *Rǣ:niLl'* a woman's name O.N. acc. Ragnhildi.
- (5) *sNǣ:fan* 'snuff' is probably from E. *sneezing* in "sneezing powder".

Words of obscure origin: *drə:* 'stretch!' (reminds one very much of O.N. draga 'to pull, draw', but the vowel would not normally be lengthened here), *mǣ:rəx* 'mussel, shellfish' cp. Mod.I. maorach, *Rə:daN'* 'timber-worms' cp. Mod.I. réadán, *tǣ:m* 'pour!' (it is tempting to associate this word with O.N. tóma 'to empty', but the resemblance between the two can hardly be more than coincidental).

Diphthongs.

ai.

75. *ai* is usually pronounced [ai], with the more advanced allophone of *a*. Its auditory effect is not unlike that of the E. diphthong of *sky*, *why*, etc., but it rises higher, ending in a narrow high-front [i], not [ɪ] as in E.

ai is chiefly found before palatal and neutral consonants. Before non-palatals, I have found it only in *āinə* gen. sg., *āiniçən* nom. pl. of *āviN'* 'river', and in *āirel'* 'strife, disagreement'. *ai* is never preceded by a palatal except in recent loans like *laibrəri* 'library'. *ai* is always nasal in contact with a nasal consonant, and is often independently nasal.

76. *ai* corresponds to O.I. **a** or **o** in certain positions:

- (1) Before a final or preconsonantal non-lenited palatal nasal or lateral (the nasal has been lost in several cases): *āilən* pl. of *ājəL* 'angel' cp. O.I. acc. pl. aingliu, *bāif(ə)* gen. of *bānif* 'wedding' M.I. baindse, *brāiN'* 'belly' O.I. acc. broinn, *kāiLað* 'candlestick' cp. M.I. caindel 'candle' and Early Mod.I. caindleóir, *kāiN'l'* 'speech' M.I. caint, *RāiN'* 'to divide, share' M.I. dat. raínd, roinn, *saiL* 'fat, fatness' M.I. saill, *saiLl'* 'salt' (adj.) M.I. saillte.
- (2) Before a preconsonantal palatal fricative, now disappeared or rather absorbed by the diphthong: *āinə* gen. sg. and *āiniçən* pl. of *āviN'* 'river', cp. O.I. dat. pl. aibnib, *āirel'* (-l' sic) 'strife, disagreement' cp. M.I. amréid, *rāiN'* 'did, made' < *do-roigni, O.I. do'rigni (see Borgström, DOH p. 38), *sNāim* 'a knot; to tie' M.I. snáidm. *Rāiðəxg* 'fatness' seems to represent an older *remrecht, cp. O.I. remur Lb. *Rāvər* 'thick, fat'. An irregular development is found in *kLaiç* gen. of *kLax* 'stone', which I believe I have heard besides the regular *kLaç*, M.I. cloiche.
- (3) Before a final or intervocalic palatal fricative in *γaiu* 'to them' O.I. doaib, dóib, duaib, doib, and *Lāiv(ə)* gen. of *Lā:v* 'hand' O.I. acc. láim and gen. lámae.

The etymology of *kLāivan* 'doorlatch' is uncertain; cp. Mod.I. *claibín*, *claimpín* 'bolt for a door'. *fāiN'* is often heard for *fājiN'* 'to get'.

Loans: *fāiN'g* 'fank' (from Scots), *sdrāifað* 'stranger', *tāiN'g* 'thanks'.

ei.

77. The symbol *ei* gives a fairly good idea of the pronunciation of this diphthong. It resembles the vowel of E. *vain*, especially as pronounced in General American, [eɪ], but it differs from this in that the second element is higher. Also, the first element is often a somewhat retracted [e̞]. In the speech of some individuals it is difficult to hear the difference between [p̚ēiN'q̚] 'pint' and [p̚ēiN'q̚] 'pounds', and I am not sure that all speakers distinguish between the two—in other words, there is a possibility that some speakers have no phonemic distinction between *ei* and *əi*.

ei is very limited in its distribution, occurring only before *N'* and *L*. It may be preceded by a palatal or neutral, never by a non-palatal. It is always nasal in contact with a nasal consonant and may also be independently nasal.

78. *ei* corresponds to O.I. *e* or *i* before final or preconsonantal non-lenited palatal **n** or **l**: *bēiN'* 'mountain' M.I. dat. *beind*, *ēiN'd'ə* 'in her' O.I. *inte*, *ēiN'd'an* 'mind' cp. Mod.I. *inntinn* (ultimately < Lat. *intentio*), *gēiN'* (and pl. *gēiN'd'an*) 'wedge' M.I. *geind*, *glēiN'* 'valleys' *glinn*, *gðēiN'* 'smart, nice, well behaved' M.I. *grind*, *grinn*, *heiL* '(re)turned' (pret.) *thill*, *kēiN'* 'head' (gen.) M.I. *cind*, *kēiN'ax* and *kēiN'd'ax* 'certain, sure' M.I. *cinntech*, *fēiN'* 'to sing' cp. O.I. *sennid* 'plays', *l'ēiN'* 'ill, sick' M.I. *tind*, *vēiL* 'destroyed' (pret.) cp. M.I. *pres. millim*.

Loans: *bēiN'g* 'bench' (Sc. *bink*), *eiLl'aðan* 'elders' (of congregation), *pēiN'd'* 'pint', *tə* 'fēiN'f 'pub' ('change-house').

əi.

79. This diphthong has many variants, which, however, are not widely dissimilar. [əi], [əi̯], [ai̯], and [øi̯] resemble acoustically

the Norwegian diphthong *øy*; the last-mentioned allophone has a weak lip-rounding. These variants are used indiscriminately in all positions. After labials, velars, *N*, *R*, *r*, *s* and initially they are more often than not replaced by [ɔ̞i] or [ur̥i], which have a "hollower" sound that resembles that of *ui*, described below. Examples: [bur̥iL] 'thick rope' (gen.), [fɔ̞-iw] 'from you' (pl.), [gur̥i] 'wind' (gen.), [k'ur̥ilə] 'wheel', [xur̥i] 'never', [Nūrijan] 'baby', [Rɔ̞-ið] 'last night', [k'rur̥i] 'horseshoe', [sur̥ijan] 'small coal-fish', [ur̥i-əl] 'pleasant', [ur̥i-ifd'] 'Uist'.

əi does not normally occur after palatals, except possibly in the speech of persons tending to confuse *əi* and *ei* (see under *ei*, above). Exceptions are *lēiN'* 'with us', *ləiW* 'with you' (pl.), which always have *əi*. *əi* may be followed by a palatal or neutral or else by *n* or *ɣ*, occasionally also by *d* and *t* (mostly in recent loans). *əi* is nearly always nasal in contact with nasal consonants; only *dəimən* 'diamond' which occurs several times in my material, has always non-nasal *əi*. *əi* may be independently nasal.

80. *əi* corresponds to:

- (1) O.I. **u** or **o** before a final or preconsonantal non-lenited palatal **l**, **n**, or **m**: *bəiL* 'thick rope' (gen.) O.I. *baill*, *boill*, *drəim* 'back' O.I. *druimm*, *kəiLl'an* 'woods' M.I. dat. pl. *cailtib*, *coilltib*, *l'in'as kəim* 'diarrhoea' (lit. 'illness of chest or bowels') cp. M.I. *cuimm* nom. pl. of *comm* 'waist, trunk', *kLēiN'd'an* 'to hear' cp. M.I. *cluinsin*, *krēiN'* 'round' M.I. *cruind*, *məid'ər*, *məiN'd'ər* 'people, inhabitants' O.I. *muintir* 'familia', *məiLə* 'mill' (gen.) < **muilne* cp. M.I. *muilind*, *məiLað* 'miller' cp. Mod.I. *muilneoir*, *səim* 'regard, esteem' cp. Mod.I. *suim* 'sum; regard', *təiL* 'holes' *tuill*.
- (2) O.I. **a**, **o**, or **u** followed by a preconsonantal palatal fricative: *dəiN'ə* 'depth' M.I. *doimne*, *əiç(ə)* (usually non-nasal *əi*, contrary to most other Hebridean dialects) 'night' O.I. dat. *aidchi*, *fəijə* and *fəi* 'to beg' O.I. *foigde*, *gəiNə* 'smiths' *goibhne* (sg. *go-o*, *go-ə*), *gəiNə* 'yearling calves' *gaimhne* (sg. *gəviN'*), *kəin(ə)* 'memory' O.I. *cuimne*, *kəinal* 'hos-

pitabile' and *kāinas* 'hospitality' cp. O.I. *coibnius* 'kinship', *xai* 'ever' (combines with negative *xa* to render 'never') M.I. *caidche*, *chaidche* 'till night; ever', *said'að* 'soldier' M.I. *saigteoir* (Lat. *sagittarius*), *saiwar* 'wealthy' and *saiwaras*, *saiwaras* 'wealth' cp. M.I. *saidbir*, *saidbre*, *taif(ə)* 'ghost' cp. O.I. *taidbsiu* 'to show'.

- (3) O.I. **ái áe oí óe** followed by a palatal fricative: *ai-əl* and *ai-al* 'pleasant' cp. O.I. *oíph* M.I. *áeb* 'appearance, beauty' (Mod.I. *aoibheamhail*), *ai-axg* 'accommodation, lodging' cp. O.I. *oígi* 'guest' and M.I. *óigedacht* 'hospitality', *gai* 'wind' (gen.) M.I. *gáithe*, *krāiv(ə)* 'tree' (gen.) cp. M.I. nom. *cróeb*, *cráeb*, *Nāījan* 'baby' cp. O.I. *noídiu* and *noídenán*.
- (4) O.I. **i** in *rāīN* 'to us', *rāiv* 'to you' (pl.), *lāīN* 'with us', *lāiv* 'with you' (pl.), O.I. *frinn*, *frib*, *linn*, *lib*.
- (5) Other O.I. sounds and combinations: *fāīN*, *vāīN* 'from us' O.I. *úain(n)*, *fāiv* 'from you' (pl.) O.I. *úaib*, *γāīN* 'to us' O.I. *dún(n)*, '*hāī* *d'īag* 'eleven' O.I. *a oín dé(e)c*, *krāi* 'horseshoe' cp. Mod.I. *crudh*, *Nāīγ* 'nine' O.I. *noí*, *(ə)* '*Rāið* 'last night' M.I. *irair*.
- (6) *ai* is not frequent in Norse loans. It represents O.N. **ei** or rather the whole combination **eið** in *ai* 'a narrow passage between two lochs' O.N. *eið* 'isthmus'. *ai-ifd* 'Uist' is called *Ívist* in the Norse sagas; the modern form may have developed from the Norse name, even if—as is not improbable—the latter is a transformation of some pre-Norse name. *sdrāīγ* 'string', M.I. *sreng*, is a loan from O.N. (acc.) *streng*, according to Marstrander, *Bidrag* p. 22.
- bait'ag* 'angleworm' comes ultimately from O.N. *beita* 'bait' but has probably passed through English. The same goes for *sāijan* 'young coal-fish, saithe' O.N. acc. *seið*.
- (7) E. loans: *dāimən* 'diamond', *fāīnə* 'fine, thin' (as e. g. china ware), *kāilə* 'wheel; spinning wheel', *māīd'əN* 'maid, bride', *pāīfan* 'poison', *Rāidiqəγ* 'to ride', *sdair(ə)* 'staircase', *tāit* 'tight', *trāīfar* 'plate' (*trencher*).

ui.

81. *ui* is always pronounced with one of the retracted varieties of *u*. [*uɪ*] is used after *m*, [*Ui*] elsewhere. *ui* is met with only in a few words, in all of which it is preceded by *L* or *m*. It is nasal in contact with a nasal consonant and may be independently nasal.

82. *ui* corresponds to:

- (1) O.I. **ái áe oí óe** before a palatal fricative: *Lui* (and pl. *Luihən*) 'hymn' O.I. *loíd*, *Lui* 'calf' (gen.) M.I. *loíg*, *mūījan* 'to threaten' cp. M.I. *máidim* Mod.I. *maoidhim* 'I boast'.
- (2) O.I. **u** before certain palatals: *kLūī* 'wool' and *kLūīd'əx* 'down' cp. M.I. *clú(i)m* 'down', *mūī* 'mane' M.I. dat. *muing*.

au.

83. *au* has two sets of allophones: (a) [*aU*], [*æU*], and (b) [*au*], [*æu*], [*œu*]. The (a) variants resemble somewhat the E. vowel of *town* (Southern E. or General American pronunciation); they are used in the immediate neighbourhood of *N*, *L*, and *R*: [*gāŪN*] 'scarce', [*k'aUL*] 'to lose', [*hīæUL*] 'looked', [*bāŪRi*] 'queen', [*RāŪsəxəγ*] 'to search'. Also when nasal before *d*, as in [*brāŪti*] (phonemically *brāūdi*) 'brandy'. The (b) variants are used in all other positions. They all resemble Norwegian *əu* as in *draum* 'dream' or the diphthong of E. *town*, *crowd* as very commonly pronounced by Scottish speakers of Standard English. Examples: [*dāūm*], [*dāūm*] 'milldam', [*k'æūm*], [*k'āūm*] 'crooked, wry', [*āūm*] 'time', [*k'æūrifk*] 'bareheaded'. Note variations like [*RāŪsəxəγ*] 'to search' — [*rāūsiç*] 'searched'.

The diphthong *au* is not very frequent outside of the position before *m*, *N*, and *L*. It may be preceded by palatals, neutrals, and non-palatals. It is nearly always nasal whether or not a nasal consonant is present, except before *L* where it may also be non-nasal, and in recent loans from E., as *kraud* 'crowd'.

84. *au* corresponds to O.I. **a** or **e** followed by non-lenited,

non-palatal final or preconsonantal **l**, **n** (**nd**), **m**, or by lenited preconsonantal **m**: *āūm* 'time' M.I. amm, *āūN* 'in him, in it' O.I. and, *auran* 'song' M.I. amrán (the nasality of the vowel has been lost), *baul* 'thick rope' O.I. ball 'limb, member', *bāūNtræx* 'widow' M.I. ban-trebthach, *bāūRi* 'queen' ban-rìgh, *gaulLiN* 'to promise' M.I. pres. gellaim, *gāūræγ* 'winter' M.I. gemred, *kāūm* 'crooked, wry' O.I. camm, *kLāūN* 'children' O.I. cland, *kāūN* 'head' O.I. cenn, *kāūrifǵ* 'bare-headed' ceannrùisgte, *NāūL* 'over here' O.I. anall, *sāūNdæx* 'ambitious' M.I. santach, sanntach, *sāūræγ* 'summer' M.I. samrad, *fauL* 'look!' cp. M.I. pres. sellaim.

In Norse loans, *au* corresponds to O.N. **a** under similar conditions: *Rāūsæxæγ* 'to search, ransack' O.N. rannsaka, *Læx sāūNdævat* O.N. Sand(a)vatn. Noteworthy is *āūLaj*, a man's name, O.N. Áleifr. The modern form does not correspond well with the classical O.N. spelling (although the initial **á** was undoubtedly nasal), but is quite consistent with the M.I. renderings Amlaiph, ^{Amlaiph} ~~Amlaiph~~, etc. (see Marstrander, *Bidrag* p. 61). It seems to have developed from a pre-literary O.N. form *Aⁿlaif (acc.), where the superscript ⁿ represents a disappearing but yet perceptible nasal consonant.

au also occurs in E. loans: *brāūdi* 'brandy', *dāūs* 'dance', *gāūlag* 'crowbar' (ultimately corresponding to O.E. gafeloc 'spear'), *LāūNtað* 'lantern'.

ou.

85. Like *au*, this diphthong has allophones with different types of *u*. [ɔU] may be compared to the diphthong of tone, hole as pronounced by most American speakers, but is more clearly diphthongal because the first element is more open or lower. This allophone is used before *N* and *L*: [ɔ̄5ŪN] 'dark brown', [p̄5ŪNt] 'pound' (weight), [d̄5ŪLtæγ] 'to refuse'. In most other positions, we find a sound type that I have transcribed more or less indiscriminately by [ɔ·u], o·u], and [əu]. It resembles the diphthong of E. *tone*, *hole* as pronounced by educated speakers

especially from the south of England (Received Pronunciation) and also, to a certain degree, Norwegian *au* as in *draum* 'dream'. From this latter remark it will be understood that this allophone is rather similar to an allophone of the diphthong *au*. The main difference is probably that the allophones of *ou* are higher or more retracted or both. Examples of their use are [x̄5·ūm] 'held', [ʃ̄5·ūtraN] 'to miss', [t̄r̄ō·ūmpaɖ] 'trumpet'. Between a palatal and *s*, the first component approaches the second in timbre, so that *j̄5ūsic̄* 'learn' may occasionally sound almost as [ʃ̄ū:sic̄] — 'learn!' or [ʃ̄·ū:sic̄]. After *R*, the diphthong is represented by [ɔur], an intermediate between [ɔU] and [ɔ·u], as in [R̄5ū·m] 'room'. Before *l* and hiatus, the first component has a distinct [ø] or [ø·] quality: [ʃ̄j̄ouləγ] 'kilt', [L̄ou·əs] '(Isle of) Lewis'.

The distribution of *ou* is similar to that of *au*. It has its greatest frequency before final or preconsonantal *m*, *N*, and *L*. Outside of the position before *L*, it is nearly always nasal; the only exception I have registered is *dout* 'doubt', which may be a mishearing for *daut*. (see *Addenda* p. 323)

86. *ou* corresponds to O.I. **o**, **u**, or **i** followed by non-lenited, non-palatal final or preconsonantal **l**, **n** (**nd**), **m**: *b5ūN* 'sole; foot of mountain' M.I. bond, *f̄5ūN* 'ago' cp. O.I. ar chinn, ar chiunn 'before', *d5ūN* 'dark brown' M.I. dond, *d'5ūLtæγ* 'to refuse' O.I. díltud, *j̄5ūsæxæγ* 'to learn, teach' cp. M.I. insaigid 'to visit, look for', *j̄5ūmbæxæγ* 'to convert' cp. O.I. impúd 'turning', *k5ūNtraj* 'neap-tide' M.I. contracht, *l5ūm* 'with me' O.I. li(u)mm, *L5ūN* 'beer' O.I. lind 'a drink', *N5ūL* 'over there' (motion) O.I. innunn (with *L* in analogy with the antonym *NāūL*, O.I. anall), *ʃ̄5ūNt(ə)* 'in them' O.I. intiu, *r5ūm* 'to me' O.I. frimm, friumm, *tuL* 'hole' M.I. toll, *tr5ūm* 'heavy' O.I. tróm, trom(m), *t'5ūNtæγ* 'to turn' O.I. tintúth.

Similarly in loans from Norse and English: *gr5ūN* 'bottom' O.N. acc. grunn or M.E. grund, *L5ūN* 'launching roller' O.N. acc. hlunn, *p5ūNd* 'pound' M.E. pund (note however *ū:s* 'ounce' M.E. unce), *R5ūm* 'room' M.E. roum, *tr5ūmbad* 'trumpet'.

ou must have a completely different origin in *ʃ̄j̄ouləγ* 'kilt'

and *Lou-əs* 'Lewis'. Of the former, I have seen no satisfactory etymology (it may be connected with the *úanfebli* of the *Fled Bricrend*); the latter probably reflects *Ljóðhús* of the O.N. sagas, as *Lə-əs* in the southern Hebridean dialects certainly does.

L'ɔ:-əs, L'eo:-əs
ia.

87. *ia* is a diphthong beginning in a normal [i] and ending in a normal [a]. The variation between its allophones is slight.

ia is never found immediately followed by a palatal consonant. On the other hand, the preceding consonant, if any, is always a palatal or neutral. *ia* is always nasal when immediately preceded or followed by a nasal consonant.

88. *ia* corresponds normally to O.I. *é* before non-palatals: *biaL* 'mouth' O.I. *bél* 'lip', *bðiag* 'a lie' O.I. *bréc*, *d'ĩānu* 'to do, make' O.I. *dénun*, *d'iar* 'drop' O.I. *dér* 'tear', *fiāxiN* 'to try; to look' M.I. pres. *féchaim*, *fiar* 'grass' O.I. *fér*, *fiasag* 'beard' O.I. *fés*, *fiasgan* 'horse-mussel' cp. Mod.I. *féascán*, *giay* 'goose' O.I. *géd*, *giar* 'sharp, sour' M.I. *gér*, *gliasay* 'to sharpen' cp. M.I. *glés* 'tuning (of harp)', *ĩān* 'bird' O.I. *én*, *kðia* 'clay' O.I. *cré*, *Liānə* 'a plain' cp. Mod.I. *léana*, *mĩār* 'finger' O.I. *mér*, *Rĩāvəx* 'root' O.I. *frém*, *fia* 'six' O.I. *sé*, *sǵiaL* 'story, rumour' O.I. *scél*.

I have not found early equivalents to the words *mĩāLiç* 'mewing; bleating' (Mod.I. *miamhaoileadh*), *sǵĩāvəl* 'neighing; grunting' (Mod.I. *sceamhghail* 'barking'), and *sdriahəRdiç* 'sneezing' (Mod.I. *sriath(f)artach*, *sraoth*, etc.).

ia is not found very frequently in loans; it represents O.N. *æ* in the mountain name *triaLəval* O.N. *Prælafjall*.

ia.

89. *iə* has three principal allophones. [iə] ([iə]) is used in most cases; it is not dissimilar in sound to South-Eastern Norwegian [i:ə] in words with Accent 2, e. g. [s:i:ə] 'side', but the [i] is shorter. Under special circumstances, we find [ĩũ] and [iU]. [ĩũ] is found only before *n* and only when the diphthong is nasal:

[Liũn] 'net', [fiũn] 'wine' (when non-nasal, the allophone used is [iə] even before *n*, as in [skian] 'knife'). The allophone [iU] is found (a) always before *x*: [fiUx] 'debt; worth', [k'ðiUx] 'end; dividing line' (exception: when *x* belongs to a subsequent morpheme the allophone used is [iə], as in [d'ia,xðĩn] 'oblivion', cp. *kðĩnə* 'memory'); (b) always before *N*: [bliŨNə] 'year', [fiŨNi] 'giant'; (c) before *L*, but only when nasal: [N'ĩŨL] 'Neil', [miŨL] 'louse' (but [fiəL] 'seed', [k'iaL] 'sense').

iə is never immediately preceded by a non-palatal and never immediately followed by a palatal. It is usually but not always nasal in contact with a nasal consonant. It may be independently nasal as in *fiəv* 'facial expression', *gðĩəv* 'deed; effort'.

90. *iə* corresponds to:

- (1) The O.I. diphthong *ia*: *blĩəNə* 'year' O.I. acc. dat. *blíadnai*, *d'ia* 'God' O.I. *Día*, *d'iaəL* 'devil' M.I. *diabul*, *fiay* 'deer' M.I. *fiad*, *fiakiL* 'tooth' O.I. *fiacail*, *fiəx* 'debt; worth' O.I. *fiach*, *fiəNi* 'giant' cp. Mod.I. *fiannaidhe* 'warrior, Fennian', and O.I. *fiān* 'band of roving warriors', *iəRi* 'to ask for, want' M.I. dat. *iarraid*, *iəRuN* 'iron' O.I. *iarn*, *iarn*, *iəsg* 'fish' O.I. *iāsc*, *klia* 'a harrow' M.I. *clíath*, *kliaəv* 'creel, hamper for peat etc.' O.I. *clíab*, *KiaL* 'sense' O.I. *ciāll*, *pĩən* 'pain' O.I. *pían*, *RiaLəy* 'to govern' cp. O.I. *riagol* 'regula', *Riasg* 'peaty ground' cp. Corm. *riasc* 'morass', *sǵia* 'wing' M.I. *sciath*, *fiāsid* 'thigh' M.I. *slíasait*.
- (2) O.I. *í* before a non-palatal consonant: *d'iaəN* 'idle' M.I. *dí-máin*, *d'ĩənəx* 'tight' cp. M.I. *dín* 'protection, shelter', *d'ia,xðĩn* 'oblivion; forgetfulness' M.I. *dí-chumne*, *fiəN* 'wine' O.I. *fín*, *gðĩəv* 'deed; effort' O.I. *gním*, *iəsəL* 'low' O.I. *ísel* (the non-palatal *s* probably comes from the antonym O.I. *úasal* Lb. *uəsəL* 'high'), *fiəm* 'from me' O.I. *dím*, *kðiax* 'end; dividing line' O.I. *crích*, *kðiasdəl* 'godly' cp. O.I. *Críst* 'Christ', *Liān* 'a net' O.I. *lín*, *Liānəy* 'to fill; high tide' O.I. *línad*, *mĩəL* 'louse' O.I. *míl* 'animal', *mĩəs*

'month' O.I. cas. obl. *mís*, *mīðrfal* 'miracle' M.I. *mírbail*, *fiäl* 'seed' O.I. *síl*, *fiäRi-æxg* 'eternity' cp. O.I. *sír* 'long', M.I. also 'everlasting', *fiäs* 'down' O.I. *sís*, *fN'īðv* 'to spin' M.I. *sním*.

- (3) O.I. dissyllabic **ia** in *biäγ* 'food' O.I. *bīad*, (ə) 'ðiäv 'ever (in the past)' O.I. *rīam* 'before it', *sgīän* 'knife' O.I. *scīan*. The lack of nasality in (ə) 'ðiäv and *sgīän* (as opposed to e. g. *gðīðv* and *Līðn*) reflects the original dissyllabicity: the nasalizing effect which the final **ia** and **n** may have had upon the immediately preceding, stressless **a** [ə] did not extend beyond the syllabic limit, and when the two syllables were contracted to one, the non-nasality of the stressed vowel prevailed (otherwise Borgström, DOH p. 43).
- (4) O.I. **é** in *kīäd* 'hundred' O.I. *cét*, (ə) 'çiad 'the first' O.I. *cétn(a)e*, and *kə* 'viäd 'how much, how many' cp. O.I. *mét*, *méit* 'size, quantity'.
- (5) Norse loans: *īðvər* a man's name, O.N. acc. *Ívar* (**f** nasal) or conceivably *Ingvar*, *Yngvar*; *fīðman* 'rope, esp. one made of heather' O.N. cas. obl. *síma*.

ua.

91. *ua* has the allophones [úa] and [Ua]. [Ua] is used when the phoneme is nasal: [Ūän] 'lamb', [Ūäγə] 'cave', [NŪäs] 'up; down (toward speaker)'. [úa] is the non-nasal variant: [t'úahanəx] 'farmer'; in [suralə] 'big wave' the first diphthongal component seemed to me somewhat more retracted. For the distribution and origin of this diphthong, see under *uə*, below.

uə.

92. *uə* has the allophones [úø] and [Uə], where [ə] is a retracted and somewhat rounded element approaching [ɔ]. The latter allophone is used whenever the diphthong is immediately preceded or followed by *L* or *R*: [RUəγ] 'light brown; reddish', [sUəRəx] 'trifling; insignificant', [LUəγ] 'to full', [gUəL] 'coal'. In other positions, even before *x*, the allophone [úø] is

found: [t'úø] 'south', [grúøg] 'wig', [fúøxk] 'a cold'. There is frequently variation between the two allophones within the paradigm: *Ruairidh*, a man's name (anglicised *Roderick*), is in the nominative [RUəði], but in the genitive or vocative (with lenited initial) [rúøði]. Other examples: [gUəLiN'] 'shoulder' ~ pl. [güøLən], [úøð] 'hour, time' ~ [N'Uəçən] (phonemically *NduəR_sən*) 'at that time, then'.

uə is apparently in complementary distribution with *ua* (see above), but we shall nevertheless regard the two as different phonemes, as their distribution cannot be described by a simple set of rules (see § 14, 1). *ua* is nasal in nearly all the recorded instances, while *uə* is nasal only in a very few words. Both are usually nasal in immediate contact with a nasal consonant; an exception is *fuəm* 'sound, noise' which is expressly marked "non-nasal" in my notes. *ua*, but apparently not *uə*, may be independently nasal. Neither diphthong is ever preceded by a palatal consonant; *uə* is not infrequently followed by a palatal, which is only rarely the case with *ua*.

93. Both *ua* and *uə* correspond to O.I. **úa**. *ua* has developed in connection with nasality, as in *dūän* 'poem' M.I. *duan*, (ə) 'Nūäs 'up; down' O.I. *an-úas*, *ūäγə* 'cave' M.I. *úam*, *ūäγəð* 'wild man living in holes or caves' (derived from the preceding; Borgström's [fūäγəð] 'a giant' is probably the Bernera version of the same word and not, as suggested in DOH p. 44, connected with MacBain's *famhair* and E.I. *fomór*, which is found in Lb. as *favað* 'wild man, giant'), *ūän* 'lamb' O.I. *úan*; in *ūävasəx* 'terrible' M.I. *úathbásach* and *tuahanəx* 'farmer' (connected with *tuə* 'countryside' O.I. *túath*) it is difficult to detect any influence from nasal consonants, although the former has now a nasal diphthong.

On the other hand, nasality in the diphthong or adjoining consonants does not demand *ua*. *uə* is found in *kūän* 'ocean' M.I. *cúan*, *būðN'* 'to harvest' M.I. *búain*, and regularly before non-lenited *m* as in *grūðman* 'gloom, displeasure' cp. Mod.I. *gruaim* and *fuəm* 'sound, noise' M.I. *fúaim*. Further examples

of *uə* are *bruəç* '(river) bank' M.I. *brúach*, *fuər* 'cold' O.I. *úar*, *huəð* 'got' cp. O.I. *fo'fúair*, *xuəLə* 'heard' (pret.) O.I. 'chúal(a)e, *Luə* 'ashes' O.I. *lúaiht*, *Luəγ* 'to waulk' cp. M.I. *lúathaim* 'ich bewege, treibe' (Wind.), *sguəb* 'broom' M.I. *scuap*, *truəγ* 'lazy; poor, sad' O.I. *tróg*, *trúag*, *tuə* 'north' O.I. *túaid*, *túaiht*, *tuə* 'countryside' cp. O.I. *túath* 'tribe, people', later meanings 'tenants; husbandry; country'.

Consonants.

Stops.

94. All stops are generally voiceless except in the initial clusters *mb-*, *Nd-*, etc. It is possible that the unaspirated stops are occasionally voiced in contact with voiced consonants in medial position, but I have recorded no certain instance of this.

The distinction *b ~ p*, *d ~ t*, etc. is a distinction between non-aspirated and aspirated stops.

b, *d*, *d'*, *g*, and *g* are pronounced with less energy than for instance French [*p*], [*t*], and [*k*]. They sound not unlike the unaspirated stops of Mandarin Chinese, and remind one very much of the mediae of Modern Icelandic. A similar kind of mediae is found in the writer's native dialect (Southwest Norwegian) and sporadically in other Norwegian dialects. In my field notes, I have distinguished between two degrees of energy in the unaspirated stops, the stronger symbolized by [*p*, *t*, *t'*, *k*, *k*] and the weaker by [*b*, *d*, *d'*, *g*, *g*]. The weaker degree is—rather unexpectedly—found in initial position (*gǣũN* [*gǣũN*] 'scarce') and after stressed vowels (*Lag* [*Lag*] 'weak'), while the stronger degree is found after stressless vowels as in *fu:ləg* [*fu:lək*] 'sea-gull'. After *s*, the allophone used is the stronger one: [*skarəv*] 'cormorant'. An exception to the rule is *d*, which has the allophone [*t*] even after stressed vowels: *mǣdiN* [*mǣt'iN*] 'morning'.

The aspirated stops are *p*, *t*, *t'*, *k*, and *k*. The aspiration follows an initial stop (postaspiration) and precedes a medial or final stop (preaspiration). Postaspiration consists, in principle,

of a voiceless interval with escape of breath between the explosion of the stop and the onset of voice in the following sound. Preaspiration is practically the inverse: a voiceless interval after the voiced part of a preceding vowel, or devoicing of a preceding voiced consonant, before the closure of the stop. Note that preaspiration implies a more complete devoicing of an ordinarily voiced consonant than does postaspiration: the *L* of [*k'Lax*] is devoiced only in its first part, while the *L* of [*faLt*] is completely devoiced. Initial aspirated stops are very energetically articulated, more so than in most varieties of English, cp. for instance the initial of *tʃũN* 'wave' with that of E. *tone*. Devoicing of voiced consonants before occlusives generally takes place even before unaspirated stops, but this devoicing is only partial. An example: The [*ŋ*] of *LaNgədər* [*Laŋgətər*] 'a kind of seaweed' is voiceless only in its last part, while the [*ŋ*] of *baNk(ə)* [*bəŋk(ə)*] is completely voiceless. The existence of such pairs as this leads us to reject, for Lb., Borgstrøm's statement for Be. (DOH pp. 57—60) that the stops are "neutral with regard to the correlation of aspiration" after consonants. On the other hand, stops that follow an ordinarily voiceless consonant (where there can be no question of "devoicing") are always unaspirated stops [*p*, *t*] etc., as the [*t*] of [*k'əptəl*] or [*k'aptəl*] 'chapter', [*astər*] 'distance'; here, there is no distinction between *b* and *p*, *d* and *t*, etc. Since there is no audible aspiration in these cases, we shall interpret the words mentioned as *kəbdəl*, *asdər* etc.

Examples of the phonemic interpretation of the phonetic features: (Aspirated) [*k'aht*] or [*k'a^ht*] *kat* 'cat', [*māhk*] *mak* 'son', [*mīnahkəð*] *mīnakəð* 'vinegar', [*faLt*] *falt* 'hair', [*i:mpəðə*] *ĩ:mpəðə* 'emperor'. (Unaspirated) [*dah*] *dah* 'a dye', [*sətəγ*] *sədəγ* 'to throw, fling', [*baskat*] *basgad* 'basket', [*ʃũmbəxəγ*] *ʃũmbəxəγ* 'to convert'. A sample text in phonetic transcription will be found on p. 330.

95. Historically, the aspirated stops correspond generally to Q.I. voiceless stops or tenuis. The unaspirated stops correspond to O.I. voiced stops or mediae. In loans from O.N., it is neces-

sary to distinguish between initial and postvocalic stops. Initially, the unaspirated stops represent O.N. mediae (**b, d, g**); the aspirated stops correspond to O.N. tenues (**p, t, k**). After vowels, however, the unaspirated stops represent O.N. tenues **p, t, k** (O.N. had no mediae in this position; the postvocalic **g** in O.N. orthography was the symbol for a fricative, hence the very frequent variant spelling **gh**). The aspirated stops correspond, as a rule, to O.N. geminates (**pp, tt, kk**); after long vowels and diphthongs they are occasionally found as the representatives of O.N. single tenues. Examples will be found under the treatment of the separate stops.

96. The initial clusters of nasal plus stop, hereafter to be called nasalized stops, need a special description. Clusters of this type are limited to word-initial position except in the two words *də'mbak(ə)* 'tobacco' and *bə'Nta:t(ə)* 'potato(es)', where they are syllable-initial within the word.

The nasalized stops are difficult to describe phonetically. Usually, the stop itself is so strongly reduced that it is not heard as an occlusive at all, in the generally accepted sense of the term. Occasionally, one may hear [(ə) 'm^balə] for (ə) 'mbalə 'the village', or [(ə) 'N^hahəð] for (ə) 'Ntahəð 'the father', but by far the most frequent pronunciations are [(ə) 'm^aalə] and [(ə) 'N^hahəð], where ['] symbolizes what I imagine to be a certain kind of juncture less close than, e. g., the one found between [m] and [a] in [māLə] *māLə* 'eyebrow'. One might suspect that the difference lay in the nasalization of the vowel: *m* generally nasalizes a following vowel, *mb* does not,—were it not for the two facts that (a) nasal vowels are also found after nasalized stops, as in [(ə) 'm^ʰʂN^ʰə] (ə) 'mbʂN^ʰə 'the milk' (cp. [bʂN^ʰə] *bʂN^ʰə* 'milk'), and (b) a non-nasal vowel sometimes follows a nasal consonant, as in [*maràv*] *maràv* 'dead'. To solve the question of the phonetic difference between [m-] and m^ʰ-, we have to examine the articulations in detail.

In all cases, there is, from the outset, an oral closure combined with lowering of the velum, so that the nasal passage is open.

The velum may be raised and the nasal passage closed at different stages of the articulation.

In [māLə] *māLə*, the velum is not raised until after the articulation of [ā]. It may, indeed, remain open throughout the articulation of one or two following phones if their phonetic nature permits it.

In [m^bq̄lə] *mbalə*, the velum is raised before the oral closure is released, so that, for a short space of time, no air escapes at all. The vocal chords are in vibration all the time, and the release of the oral closure is really identical with the explosion phase of a voiced stop. The acoustic impression is that of a very short voiced [b].

In [m^ʰq̄lə] *mbalə*, the release of the oral closure seems to be simultaneous with the raising of the velum. My acoustic impression is that of a nasal consonant followed immediately by a non-nasal vowel.

In [m^ʰqr̄v̄] *maràv*, the initial [m^ʰq̄-] is very difficult to distinguish from [m^ʰq̄-] in [m^ʰq̄lə]. I have not been able to find a constant articulatory difference between the two groups of phones, and it is quite possible that they are pronounced alike in many cases, e. g. under reduced stress. But in any case, there is a potential distinction between the two: besides the more frequent [m^ʰalə], one may sometimes hear [m^balə], but *[m^baràv] is never heard for [*maràv*]. This distinction probably implies a constant difference in articulatory movements, so small that it does not always reach the level of auditory perception. Only a minute instrumental investigation can be expected to clarify this problem.

The nasalized aspirated stops, *mp-*, *Nt-*, etc., consist of a voiced nasal consonant followed by aspiration, i. e. a voiceless breathed interval before the onset of voice in the following vowel or consonant: [*N^hahəð*] *Ntahəð* 'the father', [*N^hli-ə*] *N^hli-ə* 'the way'. Sometimes the raising of the velum takes place before the release of the oral closure, and we get the impression of a voiced or voiceless stop, as in [*N^hahəð*], [*N^hli-ə*]; [*N^dahəð*], [*N^dli-ə*]. It is possible to interpret the aspirated nasalized stops as nasal

plus *h*, viz. *mh-*, *Nh-*, *N'h-*, *jh-*, and *ɲh-*, but this will not be done in the present paper, first, because this interpretation would conceal the morphological affinity which exists between *p-* and *mp-*, *t-* and *Nt-*, etc., secondly, because it would require the mediopalatal and velar nasals of [ɲk-] and [ɲk-] to be counted as separate phonemes, whereas the interpretation *N'k-* and *Nk-* permits us to regard them as allophones of *N* and *N'* respectively.

The nasal element in the nasalized stops is not syllabic: *mbalə* and *Ntahəð* are both dissyllables. This is not only the most convenient phonemic interpretation; they really sound dissyllabic even to an ear not accustomed to this type of initial clusters. This is in contradiction with most current theories of syllabic structure; but it is nevertheless a fact that there is a noticeable difference, with regard to syllabicity, between *Nta:t'* 'the place' (monosyllabic) and *bə'Nta:t* 'potato(es)' (dissyllabic), while *mbə'Nta:t* 'the potatoes' and *bə'Nta:t* appear to have the same number of syllables. The question of the syllabicity of an initial preconsonantal nasal does not arise in most other Gaelic dialects, where such clusters are not usually found in utterance-initial position but are regularly supported by a preceding *ə* or another vowel, but it becomes quite important in *Lb.*, where a proclitic *ə* disappears in absolute initial position (see § 177).

Labials.

97. *b* and *p* are bilabial stops of the same type as *E. b* and *p*, except for the difference in voicing and aspiration. They are pronounced with spread lips in contact with high front vowels (in the same manner as Irish *b* and *p*), but there is no phonemic contrast *b* ~ *b'* or *p* ~ *p'*. The variation is exclusively conditioned by phonetic environment.

98. *b* corresponds historically to

- (1) O.I. **b** (also written **p**), both palatal and non-palatal: *bēn* 'wife, woman' O.I. *ben*, *bujə* 'yellow' O.I. *buide*, *brāiN'*

'belly' O.I. acc. *broinn*; *tobəð* 'a well' O.I. *topur*, *aLàba* 'Scotland' O.I. *Albu*, *i:bəRd* 'a sacrifice' O.I. *edbart*, *idbart*.

- (2) O.I. **m** before consonant in *braç* 'malt' O.I. *mraich*, *brah* 'advantage by unfair means' O.I. *mrath* 'deceit, betrayal', *bLa:* 'warm' O.I. *mláith* 'smooth, gentle', *bLas* 'taste' O.I. *mlas*, *bleh* 'to grind' O.I. *mleith*. Also before vowel in *bə:d'an* 'vows, promises' (pl.) M.I. sg. *móit*.
- (3) O.N. initial **b:** *bak* 'bank' O.N. cas. obl. *bakka*, '*bak*, *bə:Rd* 'windward side' O.N. *bakborð* n. or *bakborði* m., *ba:t(ə)* 'boat' O.N. acc. *bát*, *bí:d'əɣ* 'to bite' O.N. *bíta*, *bo-o* 'submerged rock' O.N. cas. obl. *boða*, *bo-o* 'a bow' (in several senses: weapon, fiddle bow, rainbow) O.N. cas. obl. *boga*, *brə:ɣ* 'boot' O.N. *brók* 'breeches, trousers', *bðu:ɣ* 'sea-ware cast ashore' O.N. *brúk* (irregular development both of **r** and **k**). Also postvocally where O.N. **b** began the second member of a compound: *krē:biLl'* 'garter' O.N. **kné-belti* (literally 'knee-belt'), *Nā:bi* 'neighbour' O.N. *nábúi*.
- (4) O.N. postvocalic **p:** *kru:b* 'crouch!' O.N. *krjúpa*, *krúpa* 'crawl', *sǵibəɣ* 'crew' cp. O.N. *skipan*, *tə:b* 'bay' O.N. acc. *hóp*.
- (5) O.N. initial **v** in *ba:ɣ* 'bay' O.N. acc. *vág* (back formation).
- (6) *E. b:* *barəbərə* 'Barbara', *basgəd* 'basket', *bəs* 'bus', *bəðəm* 'yeast' (*barm*), *bərðbað* 'barber', *bu:Rn* '(fresh) water' Scots *burn*, *brāūdi* 'brandy', *brakʃd'* 'breakfast', *bði-əs* 'breeze', *sda:bəL* 'a stable', *Rəbar* 'rubber'.
- (7) *E. p:* *kləb* 'a haircut' (*clip*), *ku:bəð* 'cooper', *sǵibað* 'skipper'.

99. *p* corresponds to

- (1) O.I. voiceless **p**, palatal and non-palatal: *pekəɣ* 'sin' O.I. *peccad*, *peccath*, *pīðn* 'pain' O.I. *pían*, *pə:səɣ* 'to marry, wed' M.I. *pósad*; *kep* 'spadeful, as of earth' M.I. *cepp* 'block, log', *Lep* gen. sg. of *Labi* 'bed' M.I. *leptha*.

- (2) Older voiced **b**, especially before consonants: *pric* 'to cook' M.I. *bruith(e)*, *pðifəγ* 'to break' M.I. *brissed*.
- (3) In *pe:n*, the allomorph of *he:n*, *hī:n* 'self' used after the personal pronoun 2. pl. *fu* and after pronominal prepositions in the same person (*agu* 'pe:n' 'at yourselves'), the *p* must result from an intensification of the geminate fricative which arose from the contact between the final **b** [β'] of *sib*, *occaib* etc. and the initial **f** [φ] of *féin*: *[-β'φ-] > *[-φφ-] > -p-.
- (4) O.N. postvocalic *pp* in *krāp* 'heap; lump', perhaps from O.N. acc. *knapp* 'button; small eminence of rock, earth, etc.', see NG Indl. p. 61.
- (5) E. *p*: *pēNtəγ* 'to paint', *pðifan* 'poison', *pa:əγ* 'to pay', *pel'an* 'waistcoat' from Scots *petycot* (Mac Bain), *pði:səN* 'prison, gaol', *pði:f* 'price', *pðūs* 'prince', *plasdər* 'plaster'; *gra:p* 'graip, iron dung-fork', *apərən* 'apron'.
- (6) E. *b* in *putəN* 'button', *pukəd* 'bucket', *pðugif* '(pair of) trousers' from E. *breeks*, *breeches*.

p occurs in a number of words of doubtful origin: *pa-əγ* 'thirst', *paL'* 'plentiful', *pasgəγ* 'to fold', *pelað* 'bullet' (late M.I. *pelér*), *pəRsdan* 'a small crab' (Mod.I. *portán*), *pruhəx* 'whooping-cough', *pLad'ə* 'blanket' (Mod.I. *plaid*), *pLūməl*, -*al* 'to splash, paddle'; *dripəL* 'busy', *sdri:pəx* 'whore', *tapə* 'thanks', *topag* 'lark'.

Dentals.

100. *d* and *t* are true dentals, not supradentals or alveolars as in most varieties of English. They are pronounced with the tip of the tongue against the upper front teeth at points varying from near the alveoli to the edge of the teeth. In this respect, they resemble the East Norwegian dentals. In contact with a preceding *R*, they have cacuminal (retroflex) allophones, which will be dealt with under *R*. Before a high-front vowel, one may hear a short vocalic off-glide, as in [*māi^əiN'*] *mādiN'* 'morning'. There is no similar on-glide from a preceding high-front vowel

to a dental stop, but a preceding *i* often has the lower allophone [ɪ], see under Vowels, § 57.

101. *d* corresponds historically to

- (1) O.I. non-palatal **d** (also written **t**): *dajəN* 'strong, brave' O.I. *daingen* 'firm', *dəL* 'to go' O.I. *duL*, *dərəx* 'dark' O.I. *dorchae*, *drāim* 'back' O.I. *druimm*, *dLu:* 'close, tight' M.I. *dluith*; *kīəd* 'hundred' O.I. *cét*, *fa:d* 'single peat' O.I. *fót*, *fout*, *kadəL* 'sleep' O.I. *cōtlud*.
- (2) eclipsed O.I. **t** (non-palatal) in dependent forms of irregular verbs: *xə* 'dɔ-əð' 'will not give' O.I. 'tabair, *xə* 'da:niǵ' 'did not come' O.I. 'tánaic, *xə* 'dug' 'did not give' O.I. 'tucc.
- (3) O.N. **d** in *dərəγ* 'fishing-line' O.N. *dorg*.
- (4) O.N. postvocalic **t** in *Lə:d* man's name O.N. acc. *Ljót*, *āviN'* 'γði:d river name O.N. *Grýta*, *Ləx* 'squ:dəvat O.N. *Skútavatn*.
- (5) E. *d* in *dāūs* 'dance', *de:kən* 'deacon', *dusan* 'dozen', *dra-að* 'drawer'; *brāūdi* 'brandy', *fu:dər* 'gunpowder', *Rəidiǵəγ* 'to ride'.

102. *t* corresponds to

- (1) O.I. voiceless **t** or **tt**, only non-palatal before vowels, palatal and non-palatal in the cluster *tr*: *tānə* 'thin' O.I. *tanae*, *təif(ə)* 'ghost' cp. O.I. *taidbsiu*, *tul* 'flood, great rainfall' O.I. *tuile*, *trəj* 'foot' O.I. *traig*, *tri:* 'three' O.I. *trí*; *let* 'with you' O.I. *lat(t)*, *kat* 'cat' M.I. *catt*.
- (2) O.N. **t** in *tarəfǵər* 'peat iron' O.N. *torfskeri*, *tot(ə)* 'walls of ruined house' O.N. *topt*; *vatəsaj* island name O.N. *Vatsøy*, *bə:t(ə)* 'boat' O.N. acc. *bát*.
- (3) O.N. **pt** (probably pronounced [ɸt]) in *tot(ə)* 'walls of ruined house' O.N. *topt*, *tot(ə)* 'thwart' (oarsman's bench) O.N. *þopta*. Perhaps also *Lot(ə)* 'loft, attic' O.N. *lopt* if this word has not come through E.

- (4) O.N. **p** in *tot(ə)* 'thwart' O.N. *þopta*, *taràmad* (-əd, -əd) man's name O.N. acc. *Þormund(?)*, *trəsg* 'codfish' O.N. acc. *þorsk*.
- (5) O.N. **h** in *ta:v* 'hand-net for small coal-fish' O.N. acc. *há f* 'landing-net', *tavaj* island name O.N. *Haføy*, *t:b* 'bay' O.N. acc. *hóp*. These are back formations from positions in which a G. *t* would regularly be represented by its lenited counterpart *h*.
- (6) E. *t*, e. g. in *tənə* 'tin', *tasdan* 'shilling' (Scots *testan*, *testoon*, a 16th century silver coin), *tak(ə)* 'farm' Scots *tack*, *taràgad'* 'target', *trəifar* 'plate' (*trencher*), *trək* 'rubbish' (*truck*), *trusəγ* 'to gather' (*truss*); *bətəl* 'bottle', *mītagən* 'mittens', *pət* 'pet'.
- (7) E. *th* in *tāiN'j* 'thanks', *traNg* 'busy' Scots *thrang*.
- (8) E. *h* in *to:-ə* 'a hoe' (back formation).

t occurs in several words of obscure etymology, as *toNag* 'duck' (cp. Mod.I. *tonnóg*), *tapə* 'thanks', *topag* 'lark'.

Prepalatals.

103. *d'* and *t'* are articulated with the front part of the tongue against the front part of the hard palate, or against the alveolar rim. The tip of the tongue is bent downwards and may touch the lower incisors. Several types of glides are heard before and after these stops.

(a) *d'* has a fricative off-glide, which sounds like a reduced advanced [j]: [*d'jæs*] *d'es* 'south', [*gəd'j*] *gəd'* 'theft, to steal'. *d'* has no marked on-glide. (For [j], see § 116).

(b) *t'* has a sibilant-like off-glide when initial and post-aspirated: the aspiration consists of a short *f*-like sound, less energetically articulated than the full phonemic *f*; cp. [*t'fæγə*] *t'fæγə* 'tongue' with [*k'δsl'f(ə)*] *kδəd'f(ə)* 'to believe'. Note that this glide is rather dissimilar to the off-glide of *d'*.

(c) The preaspiration of post-vocalic *t'* is a fricative on-glide similar to *ç*, but more advanced and probably shorter than the full phoneme *ç*. Non-initial *t'* followed by vowel or pause has

an off-glide which also resembles *ç* but is very short. Examples: [*mʃt'ʰal*] *mʃt'al* 'proud', [*iʰt'ʰ(ə)*] *it'(ə)* 'feather'; cp. [*viçt'ʰə*] *viçd'ə* 'would be' (indefinite). After a long vowel the friction of the glide is less perceptible than after short vowel: [*mō:ʰt'ʰəx*] *mō:t'əx* 'moor'.

The nasalized prepalatals, *N'd'* and *N't'*, lack the fricative and sibilant off-glides of non-nasalized *d'* and *t'*, but are followed by a semi-vocalic *j*-like glide: [(ə) 'N''je:] (ə) 'N'd'e: 'yesterday', [(ə) 'N'N''jəsk] (ə) 'N't'jəsg 'the fish'.

104. *d'* corresponds to

- (1) O.I. palatal **d** (also written **t**): *d'aLàv* 'picture' O.I. *delb*, *d'e:d* '(set of) teeth' O.I. *dét* 'tooth', *d'īānu* 'to do, make' O.I. *dénun*; *jid'ər* 'knows' O.I. *ro'fitir*, *mād'ə* 'stick' M.I. *maite*, *māid'ər* 'people' O.I. *muintir* 'familia'.
- (2) O.I. eclipsed palatal **t** in dependent forms of irregular verbs: *xa* 'd'ig 'will not come' O.I. *·tic*, *xa* 'd'e:d' 'will not go' O.I. *téit* (substitution of the O.I. absolute form for conjunct *·tét*).
- (3) O.I. zero in *d'ej* 'ice' O.I. *aig* (influenced by gen. *egū*). This is probably a back formation from the definite form (ə) 'N'd'ej.
- (4) O.N. postvocalic **t** in *bi:d'əγ* 'to bite' O.N. *bíta*, *fid'igāRi* a place-name O.N. *Fitjargerði*.
- (5) E. *d* in *māid'ən* (*māid'əN*) 'maid; bride' M.E. *maide(n)* O.E. *mægden*, *t'i:d'ə* 'time, weather' M.E. *tide*.

105. *t'* corresponds to

- (1) O.I. palatal **t** (**tt**): *t'iligal* 'to throw' cp. O.I. *teilciud*, *t'šūNtəγ* 'to turn' O.I. *tintúuth*, *tintúth* 'translation', *t'uh* 'thick' M.I. *tiug*; *a:t'(ə)* 'place' M.I. *áit*, *it'(ə)* 'feather' O.I. *itte*, *ette*, (ə) 'xet' 'of the cat' M.I. gen. *caitt*.
- (2) E. *t*: *t'əγəδ* 'tether', *t'a:R* 'tar' M.E. *terre*, *t'i:d'ə* 'time, weather' M.E. *tide* 'time, hour, season'; *pel'an* 'waistcoat', see above under *p* (5), *bəil'ag* 'angleworm' from E. *bait*.

- (3) O.N. *ð* before *s* (perhaps pronounced *ts* already in O.N.) in *bēiN* 'e:ʔʃaL (e:ʔʃaL) mountain name O.N. Eiðsfjall.

Mediopalatals.

106. *ǰ* and *k* are articulated with the middle part of the tongue against the palate, usually, I believe, the back part of the hard palate. The tip of the tongue ordinarily touches the lower incisors. The stops are preceded and followed by very distinct glides in certain positions:

(a) *ǰ* has a *j*-like off-glide into a following vowel. The glide is less fricative than the *j*-like glide after *d'*, and it is barely noticeable before *i*: [*ǰʲimæx*] or [*ǰimæx*] *ǰimæx* 'lobster', while it is always heard distinctly before other vowels: [*ǰʲaL*] or [*ǰjaL*] *ǰaL* 'white'. In utterance-final position, the glide is hardly perceptible: [*ga:lik*] *ga:liǰ* 'Gaelic'. Unlike *d'*, *ǰ* has a marked on-glide after vowels other than high front ones: [*k'o:ǰ*] *ko:ǰ* 'five', [*u:ǰ*] *u:ǰ* village name.

(b) The aspiration of initial *k* is a *j*-like glide with little or no friction, as in [*kʲi:ǰN*] *kū:N* 'calm'. The preaspiration of postvocalic *k* is similar to the one of *t'*, but, of course, more retracted: [*gliʔk*] *glik* 'wise'.

The nasalized *N'ǰ* and *N'k* have off-glides closely similar to those of non-nasalized *ǰ* and *k*.

107. *ǰ* corresponds historically to

- (1) O.I. palatal **g** (also written **c**): *ǰaL* 'white' M.I. *gel*, *ǰāūræγ* 'winter' M.I. *gemred*, *ǰiaγ* 'goose' M.I. *géd*; *hiǰ* 'will come' O.I. 'tic, *kuǰaL* 'distaff' M.I. *cuicel*, *medèǰ* 'rust' O.I. *meirg*. Also O.I. **cc**, which is not always kept quite distinct from **c** (**g**) in writing: *hiǰa* 'to him' O.I. *cuc(c)i*, *biǰa* gen. f. sg. of *beg* 'small' O.I. *bicce*. *ǰ* corresponds to O.I. non-palatal **c(c)** in *aǰa* 'at him' O.I. *oc(c)o*, *oc(c)a*.
- (2) O.N. **g** initially: *ǰa:Ri* 'green plot around house or shieling' O.N. *gerði* 'enclosure, meadow'.
- (3) O.N. postvocalic **k** in *u:ǰ* village and parish name O.N. *Vík*.

- (4) E. *g* in *ǰet(ə)* 'gate', *ǰifd* 'gift'; *beǰað* 'beggar'.
- (5) E. *k* in *ǰisag* 'a kiss', *trəǰa* 'trick'.

108. *k* corresponds to O.I. voiceless palatal **c (cc)**: *kāūN* 'head' O.I. *cenn*, *kiəL* 'sense' O.I. *ciáll*, *kə*: 'fog, mist, smoke' M.I. *céo*; *ǰə* 'fēk mi 'that I will see' O.I. 'aicci, *glik* 'wise' O.I. *glicc*, *kðek* 'to sell' O.I. *creicc* 'to buy'.

Velars.

109. *g* and *k* have approximately the same point of articulation as E. *g* and *k* in *good*, *cut*. They are never advanced as in *give*, *key*. A short vocalic glide tends to appear between a *g* or *k* and a following high front vowel: [*hugʲiN*] *hugiN* 'let's go!' (literally 'to us'), [*fiəʰkʲiL*] or [*fiəhkʲiL*] *fiakiL* 'tooth'. The aspiration of *k* has little or no friction. In [*kʲs*] *kas* 'leg' it is a pure breathing sound similar to [*h*]; in [*māʰk*] or [*māhk*] *māk* 'son', it is very much the same, in this case a voiceless continuation of [*ā*].

110. *g* corresponds to

- (1) O.I. non-palatal **g** (also written **c**) and O.I. geminate **gg** (usually written **cc**): *go-o* (*go-ə*) 'blacksmith' O.I. *goba*, *gur*: 'wind' O.I. *gaíth*, *gra:γ* 'love' O.I. *grád*, *grō-iç* 'business' cp. O.I. *gnó*, *gLū:N* 'knee' O.I. *glún*; *ɔ:g* 'young' O.I. *óac*, *bog* 'soft, wet' O.I. *boc(c)*, *egLif* 'church' O.I. *ecl(a)is*, *su:græγ* 'diversion, sport' M.I. *súgrad*.
- (2) O.I. palatal **g** in the initial palatal clusters **gr-** and **gl-**: *gðe:m* 'a hold, grip' O.I. *gréimm*, *glāūN* 'valley' O.I. *glenn*. Also in the cluster *gð-* from older palatal **gn-**: *gðē*: 'nature, disposition' O.I. *gné*, *gðēv* 'effort, deed' O.I. *gním*.
- (3) O.I. voiceless non-palatal **c** in *gax* 'each' O.I. *cach*.
- (4) O.N. *g* in *ǰa:Rəγ* 'stone wall between fields' O.N. acc. *garð*, *Ləx* 'grūNəvat O.N. Grunnavatn, *gðe:nəvaL* mountain name O.N. Grónafjall, *grumūfadər* village name O.N. Gromssetr (see VL p. 397).

- (5) O.N. postvocalic **k** in *Lǫx* 'krǫ:gǫvat O.N. Krókavatn.
 (6) E. *g*: *gūNə* 'gun', *gēNsi* (?recorded *gens*) 'cardigan' (*Guernsey*); *baràgan* 'bargain', *flagə* 'flag', *taràgad* 'target'.
 (7) E. postvocalic *k* in *dəgdar* 'doctor', *pðugif* 'trousers' (*brecks*).

111. *k* corresponds to

- (1) O.I. voiceless non-palatal **c** (**cc**): *karid* 'friend' O.I. acc. car(a)it, *kəgəγ* 'war' O.I. cocad, *ku:rə* 'sheep' O.I. cáera, *krǫm* 'crooked, bent' O.I. crumb, *kLǫju* 'sword' O.I. claideb; *fǫkiL* 'tooth' O.I. fíacail, *krǫk* 'hillock' O.I. enoccc, *mūk* 'pig' O.I. mucc.
 (2) O.I. palatal **c** in the initial palatal clusters **cr-**, **cl-**: *kǫia* 'clay' O.I. cré, *klǫv* 'creel' O.I. clíab.
 (3) O.N. **k**: *ka:Rlǫvəγ* village name O.N. acc. Karlavág, *karàvanəx* 'a red sea-fish (marine perch?)' O.N. cas. obl. karfa, *kujhər* village name O.N. Kvíar, *krǫsbǫsd* village name O.N. acc. Krossabólstað, *krǫ-əðǫgaRi* village name O.N. Króargerði, *Lǫx* 'krǫ:gǫvat O.N. Krókavatn, *krub* 'crouch!' O.N. krjúpa, krúpa, *krǫp* 'heap; lump' see above under *p* (4), *krē:biLl* 'garter' see above under *b* (3), *kLǫ-u*, *kLo-u* 'pair of tongs' O.N. acc. klofa.
 (4) O.N. *kk* in *akəð* 'anchor' O.N. akkeri, *bak* 'bank' O.N. cas. obl. bakka.
 (5) E. *k* in a great number of words. Examples: *kəfi* 'coffee', *kə:Rnəlað* 'colonel', *kufd'an* 'question', *kǫu-ə* 'ship's crew', *kLək* 'clock', *klǫvər* 'quick' (*clever*); *bukəs* 'box', *smǫkiǫgəγ* 'to smoke', *fekad* 'jacket'.
 (6) E. *h* (*hw*) in *kǫilə* 'wheel', a back formation from lenited *xǫilə* (the local pronunciation of *wh* in speaking E. is still *xw* in older speakers; young people use *hw*).

k is found in a great number of words of difficult etymology; among the most common are *kafəγ* 'blizzard', *kuəgəx* 'lame', *kus* 'too much', *krǫsgəγ* 'starfish' (cp. perhaps Mod. Norwegian dialects *krossfisk*, *krosskunta*), *kǫeləg*, *kǫeləhəg*, *kǫeləg* ^{biting fly} 'wasp', *kǫeəxən* 'scallop'.

Fricatives.

112. There is one set of voiced fricatives: *v*, *j*, *γ*, and one set of voiceless ones: *f*, *ç*, and *x*. The consonant *ð*, although phonetically a fricative, is better classed with the r-sounds. The voiceless *θ* has no voiced counterpart; this phoneme is hardly found at all in monolingual speakers of Lb. and, therefore, occupies a peripheral place in the system.

The voicing is not always complete, especially in *v* which is regularly half-voiced, sometimes almost completely devoiced, before *h* and in word-final position: [*tʰrð-əv*] 'through you' (pl.), [*Lǫ:vəhəγ*] (also [*Lǫ:vəγ*], [*Lǫ:vqγ*]) 'axe'. 1 a

Labials.

113. *v* and *f* are less energetically articulated than the corresponding E. sounds. It is somewhat difficult to decide whether they are bilabial or labiodental because of what Borgström calls "a certain looseness in the articulation" (DOH p. 63). *v* and *f* are kept well apart in initial position, but in medial and final position they come very near to being in complementary distribution. At any rate, I have no word pair in my material which can be safely used to demonstrate a phonemic distinction between *v* and *f* outside of initial position. Medially and finally, *f* is only found in a very few words such as *kafəγ* 'blizzard', *kafəγ* 'haste', *Rəf* 'reef-(on sail)'. In some words, it is in free alternation with *v* or *vh*, e. g. *ǫfiç* and *ǫviç* 'neck', *barəfas*, *barəvas*, and *barəvhas* village and parish name.

114. *v* is the regular lenited form of initial *b* and *m*. In words where it cannot be regarded as lenited from a synchronic point of view, it corresponds to

- (1) O.I. fricative **b**, palatal and non-palatal: *ǫviN* 'river' O.I. acc. abinn, abuinn, *fǫv* 'from them' O.I. diib, díb, *Nǫ:v* 'holy' O.I. noib, *sǫvər* 'wealthy' O.I. saidbir.
 (2) O.I. fricative **m**, palatal and non-palatal: *fəvər* 'autumn'

- M.I. fogmar, *kðē:v* 'bone' O.I. cnáim, *Lã:v* 'hand' O.I. lám, *Rĩãvãx* 'root' cp. O.I. frém.
- (3) O.I. eclipsed **f** in (*ə*) '*vã*s 'here, on this side' cp. O.I. foss 'rest' and Mod.I. *i bhfos*, *vel* 'is' (dependent form) O.I. fil, feil, fail, Mod.I. (nach) bhfuil.
- (4) O.I. zero in forms of the preposition *vo* 'from' O.I. ó, úa, e. g. *vojã* 'from him' O.I. úa(i)d (these forms are also found with *f*).
- (5) Various O.I. fricatives: *e:vãxg* 'to shout' cp. M.I. pres. égim, *Le:vãg* 'to read' O.I. légend (*v* perhaps from *sgði:vãg* 'to write' O.I. scrí bend), *Rĩãv* 'interest' cp. M.I. ríad 'running' and rith 'running, accumulation of interest', *sur:vãL* (and *sur:ãL*) 'world' O.I. saígul.
- (6) O.N. **v**: *vãtãsj* island name O.N. Vatsøy. Radical initial *v* in a Lewis place-name is an almost infallible sign that the name is of Norse origin. In non-initial position: *ĩvãr* man's name O.N. Ívarr, *tã:b* '*vjãvãg*' name of a bay O.N. Mjávík.
- (7) O.N. non-initial **f** (probably pronounced [β]): *karãvanãx* 'marine perch(?)' O.N. acc. karfa, *sgarãv* 'cormorant' O.N. acc. skarf, *ta:v* 'hand-net for small coal-fish' O.N. acc. háf 'landing-net', *tavãj* island name O.N. Haføy.
- (8) E. *v*, as in *klãvãr* 'fast' (*clever*), *farãvãNt* 'servant', *se:vĩgãg* 'to shave', *trãvãlãð* 'traveller'.
sa:v 'a saw' is probably from M.E. sawe.

115. *f* is the regular lenited form of initial *p*. In synchronically non-lenited forms, it corresponds to

- (1) O.I. **f**, palatal and non-palatal: *fi-i*, *fi-ã* 'to weave, knit' O.I. fige, *faRãgã* 'rough sea' O.I. fairggæ, foirggæ, foirre, *fras* 'shower' O.I. frass, *flux* 'wet' O.I. fliuch; *ifriN* 'hell' (religious term) O.I. iffenn (certainly a reading pronunciation, cp. *juhuRn* 'hell' in profane language).
- (2) O.I. lenited **b** in *feð* (also *veð*) 'will give' O.I. do'beir, *d'ifãr* 'concern' (*xa* 'N'd'el a gã 'd'ifãr 'gð:sã 'it doesn't matter to me') cp. M.I. dethbir 'difference, distinction'.

- (3) O.I. zero in a great number of words: *fãk(ã)* 'saw' (dependent pret.) O.I. 'accãe, *fẽk* 'will see', *fẽkãg* 'would see' (dependent fut. and cond.) O.I. 'aicci, 'aiccid, *faLã* 'sweat' M.I. allas, *faðã* 'watch, to watch' M.I. aire, *fa:s* 'to grow' O.I. ás 'growth', *fafg* 'close, near' cp. O.I. acus, oculus, *fã:N'ã* 'ring' O.I. áinne, *ferãsd* 'easy' M.I. urusa, erusa, aurusa, *eð* '*fãg* 'throughout, all over' cp. M.I. ed 'space, extent', *fãsgLãg* 'to open' M.I. pres. oslaicim, *fegãL* 'fear' O.I. ecal 'timid', *fuãr* 'cold', *fuãxg* 'coldness, a cold' O.I. úar, úacht, *frasgen* 'eyelashes' cp. O.I. rosc 'eye', *frã-ark* 'eye-sight' M.I. rodarc. These are all back formations from forms where an initial consonant would be lenited (the regular lenited form of radical *f* is zero, see pp. 165 f.).
- (4) O.N. **f** in *fid'ĩgãRi* village name O.N. Fitjargerði.
- (5) O.N. **v** in *fã-ãl* 'ford' O.N. acc. vaðil.
- (6) E. *f*: *fãĩN'g* 'fank, the gathering of sheep for shearing; place where this is done', *fãĩnã* 'fine, thin'.
- (7) E. *p* in *fu:dãr* 'gunpowder'.

Words of uncertain etymology: *kafãg* 'blizzard', *kafãg* 'haste' (E. *havoc*? O'Rahilly, *Sc. Gael. Stud.* I p. 38), *flugãx* 'shy', *ãfiç* (and *ãviç*, *ãvhiç*) 'neck'.

Palatals.

116. The fricatives *j* and *ç* are mediopalatal, the narrowest part of the passage between tongue and palate being probably a little more advanced than the point of contact for the stops *g* and *k*, but more retracted than the point of contact for *d'* and *t'*. The auditory impression is approximately that of the German "ich-laut" or the Norwegian *ç* of *çã:kã kjãk* 'jaw' (in those dialects where the sound is a pure fricative and not an affricate [*t'ç*]). *j* is less energetically pronounced. The sound of friction is surprisingly weak considering that there is a phonemic distinction between this sound and the semivowel *j* (*jũsiç* 'taught, learned' ~ *jũsiç* 'teach, learn!'). (This distinction does not seem to exist

on the west coast of Lewis, see DOH p. 62.) *j* is found only in initial position; where historical considerations might lead us to expect *j* in other positions, the phoneme actually found is *j*.

117. *j* is the regular lenited form of radical *d'* and *g'*. It is never found as a radical consonant, but is frequent as a verbal prefix, in which case it represents the **d** of the O.I. preposition *do*, lenited and palatalized before front vowels. It is also found as an allomorph (or part of an allomorph) of the prepositions *dā* 'to' and the homonymous *dā* 'from', before front vowels. The O.I. counterparts were *do* and *de*.

118. *ç* in initial position is always the lenited representative of radical *k*. In non-initial position, it corresponds to

- (1) O.I. palatal **ch**: *d'eç* 'ten' O.I. *deich*, *aiç(ə)* 'night' O.I. dat. *aidchi*, *fiçad* 'twenty' O.I. gen. *fichet*, *kLuçə* 'to play' O.I. *cluiche*.
- (2) O.I. palatal **th** in *iç(ə)* 'to eat' O.I. *ithe*, *priç* 'to cook' M.I. *bruith(e)*.

Velars.

119. *γ* is a voiced velar fricative. It bears some resemblance to North German *g* in *sagen*. It has a more advanced articulation than other velars, especially after the vowel *ə*, where it sometimes resembles a retracted *j*: [*fsgγ*⁻] or [*fəj*⁻] *fəγ* 'yes'. In initial position, it is often pronounced with complete velar closure (or what sounds like it), giving the impression of a voiced and somewhat advanced *g*: [*gš̄iniç*] *γš̄iniç* 'asked'. It cannot be confused with the phoneme *g* because the latter is always voiceless.

x is articulated farther back, at about the same point as *g* and *k*. It resembles the German "ach-laut", but is never accompanied by the uvular or velar vibration which sometimes occur in the latter, giving it a certain rasping sound. Lb. *x* is a pure fricative and rather open.

120. *γ* in initial position is the lenited form of *d* and *g*. It is never radical, but is prefixed to back vowels in the same

manner as *j* to front vowels (see under *j* above). In non-initial position, it corresponds to

- (1) O.I. non-palatal fricative **d**: *biəγ* 'food' O.I. *bīad*, *fiγ* 'wood' O.I. *fid*, *fəγiN'* 'somebody' M.I. *fedan* 'party, team'.
- (2) O.I. non-palatal fricative **g**: *əγ* 'heifer' M.I. *ag*, *sLuəγ* 'people, crowd' O.I. *slóg*, *slúag*, *truəγ* 'sad, pitiable' O.I. *tróg*, *trúag*.
- (3) Older lenited *m* in *ūāγə* 'cave' M.I. *úam*.
- (4) Older **ng** in *sdrš̄iγ* 'string' M.I. *sreng*, *l'ēγə* 'tongue' O.I. *teng(a)e*, *mēγan* 'branch' cp. Mod.I. *meangán*, *beangán*.
- (5) O.I. zero in *Nš̄iγ* 'nine' O.I. *noi*, *Nūāγ* 'good, Christian' (also 'new', in *l'uumūnəγ* 'Nūāγ 'New Testament') O.I. *nu(a)e* 'new'.
- (6) O.N. **g** (fricative) in *Ləγ* 'law' O.N. *lɔg*, *dərəγ* 'fishing-line' O.N. *dorg*.
- (7) O.N. *ng* in *Lāγə* 'ling (fish)' O.N. *langa*, *Rāγən* 'ribs (in a boat)' O.N. *rɔng* gen. *rangar* (but note the different development of the same word stem in *RaNgəs* 'rubbing-piece').

121. Initial *x* is the lenited form of *k*, except in *(ə)* 'xəi' 'ever (in the future)' which has no radical counterpart but is historically a lenited non-palatal **c** (M.I. *chaidche*), and *(ə)* 'xulə' 'every' where *x* is prothetic (cp. Mod.I. *gach uile*). In non-initial position, *x* corresponds to

- (1) O.I. non-palatal **ch**: *flux* 'wet' O.I. *fliuch*, *frux* 'heather' M.I. *fráech*, *kš̄iəx* 'end, dividing-line' O.I. *crích*, *saLəxəx* 'dirt' M.I. *salchar*.
- (2) Apparently palatal O.I. *ch* in *š̄nš̄'xiN'* 'brain' O.I. *inchinn*, *drəxid'* 'bridge' M.I. *droichet* Mod.I. *droichead*.
- (3) O.I. **cht** in *ax* 'but' O.I. *acht*.

Glottal.

122. There is only one glottal fricative, *h*. It is normally voiceless and hardly distinguishable from the ordinary English *h*.

Like English *h*, it may probably be voiced between vowels, but this is very difficult to determine by ear.

h has some remarkable features of distribution in final position:

(a) Short stressed vowels before pausa are often followed by a more or less distinct *h* which seems to have no phonemic value. This *h* is not heard in other positions, and before pausa, it is apparently more distinct after high than after lower vowels: *nih* 'washed', (ə) 'N'd'uh 'to-day', but usually (ə) 'fə 'this, here', *aNə* 'fə and *aNə* 'hjə 'here', *γo*, *γə* 'took', *xa* 'Rə 'was not' (the verbal forms are common as complete utterances in answer to yes-or-no questions).

Many words, however, have a final *h* which may be termed innate. Innate *h* appears not only regularly before pausa, but also before vowels and sometimes before voiced consonants. Before voiceless consonants, it is regularly dropped: 'gle: 'vāh 'very well', *ha* 'La-a 'māh aN 'it's a fine day', but *gə* 'mā 'trik 'very often'; 'Le'Lā:n or 'Lēh'Lā:n 'half full'. Some forms with innate final *h* are: *dah* 'colour, to dye' (viç'də 'dah ə 'γa:Rnə 'Lēh 'one half [of the wool] would be dyed'), *duh* 'black' (*gə* 'Rə mə 'jefə 'γuh aram 'that I had my black suit on'), *jeh* 'from him, it' (*na* 'Nəðəγ ad 'jeh ə 'mpəRdsəs 'tegs 'if they took the purchase tax off it [the tweed]'), *jih* 'to her' (*hug* a 'jih a 'he gave it to her'), *keh* 'will be consumed, spent' (dependent fut.) (*mas* 'keh i 'before it [the peat] is used up'), *xrah* 'shook' ('xrah ə 'N'kāNiçə 'çāūN 'the merchant shook his head'), *Lēh* 'half' ('Le(h)'mī:lə 'half a mile'), *māh* 'good' (*s* 'māh ə 'γra:γ gə 'Ndā:nə du 'it's good, dear, that you have come'), (ə)'Ndah- 'next' ('Ndah'əiç(ə) 'the next night', 'Ndah'vlīəNə 'next year'), *ruh* 'ran' (*ruh* ad 'γaxi 'they ran home'), *teh* 'house' (gen.) ('karabad ə veð 'γaxi gənə 'Nteh i 'a car which takes it [the peat] home to the house'). The material does not suffice for making a complete list of forms with and without innate final *h*. If, in these pages, a word is quoted as ending in a stressed short vowel, it does not necessarily mean that it has no innate *h*; it may simply be that

it has only been recorded with a following consonant, a position where *h* is usually dropped. Inversely, some words apparently ending in *h* may have been recorded only before pausa, where it is not possible to distinguish between innate and pausal *h*.

(b) After long vowels (including diphthongs), a final *h* does not seem to occur at all, whether innate or pausal. (Compare Lb. 'gur: 'N'd'er 'east wind' with Be. [gλ:h ə N'] [æ], DOH p. 74.) The material is admittedly scanty on this point, and the above statement should not be taken as conclusive. In one of my texts, a song, we find *ha l'e 'liəh aqə* 'he has a grey one [i. e. *pδuγif*, pair of trousers]'. This text was written down after dictation; in a tape-recorded (sung) version of the same song, the *h* is omitted. But phenomena found in verse, whether sung or spoken, can hardly be considered as linguistic evidence unless corroborated by parallel facts from prose texts.

(c) Svarabhakti groups behave in this respect like long vowels: *faLà* 'go (away)!'.
vowels

Non-final *h* occurs freely after short and long ~~consonants~~ alike, see examples below.

h is the lenited form of *t*, *s*, *l'*, and *f* (as the lenited form of *l'* and *f*, it varies with the cluster *hj*, see the section on morphophonemics). A proclitic *h* is frequently met with in morphophonemics; its historical precedents cannot be demonstrated by references to O.I. and M.I. parallels, as it was not expressed in writing until a rather late date. Otherwise, *h* corresponds historically to

123. (1) O.I. **f** in certain forms: *huəð* 'got' O.I. 'fúair, *he:n*, *hī:n* 'self' O.I. féin, *juhuRn* 'hell' O.I. dat. ifurnn.
- (2) O.I. **c(h)** in personal forms of the preposition *gə* 'to': *hugəm* 'to me' O.I. cuccum, *hiqə* 'to him' O.I. cuc(c)i.
- (3) O.I. zero in *habəð* 'say!' O.I. epir; *jeh* 'from him' O.I. de, *jih* 'to her' O.I. dí.
- (4) O.I. medial or final **th**: *du:hiç* 'country, parish' M.I. dúthaig, *fehu* 'to wait' M.I. fethem, *kšhinaL* 'congregation' O.I. comthinól, *sNā:həd* 'needle' M.I. snáthat, *juLhiN* 'corn-

yard' O.I. dat. ithlaind, *kərham* (also *kərəm*) 'weight' M.I. com-thromm 'equal weight'; *bleh* 'to grind' O.I. mleith, *dah* 'colour, to dye' M.I. dath.

- (5) O.I. voiced fricatives: *duh* 'black' O.I. dub, *teh* 'house' (gen.) O.I. taige; *kōhəRəγ* 'earmark on sheep' O.I. com-arde 'sign, token', *kōhəRdiç* 'to bark' from *com-art-, cp. Welsh cyf-arth.
- (6) O.I. *š* in *mī:haLu* 'a scolding' (originally 'misfortune', heard in *'jo u də vī:haLu* 'you will get a scolding', 'you will get your misfortune') from *mī-shelb cp. O.I. selb 'possession'. The development is *mī:hjaLu > *mī:jhaLu > mī:haLu.
- (7) Initial radical *h* in place-names is an almost sure sign of Norse origin: *hāməRsadar* name of a hamlet O.N. Hamar(s)-setr, *nə 'herəγ* 'Harris' (gen. id., not *nə 'N'd'erəγ) O.N. Herað (or pl. Heruð), *hiRsd* 'St. Kilda' O.N. Hirtir (*Prestssaga Guðmundar Arasonar*, chapter 49; the name may be pre-Norse but has certainly been transmitted through Norse).
- (8) E. *h* in modern loans such as *hə-əs* 'hose'.
- (9) The origin of *ha-əsd* 'still, yet' is unknown. The current etymologies, M.I. fo-dechtsa 'from now on' and O.I. béus 'still, yet' are not very convincing; the former may, at any rate, be disregarded completely.

Sibilants.

124. *s* is dental, sometimes interdental, and energetically articulated.

It corresponds to:

- (1) O.I. non-lenited non-palatal *s* and *ss*: *saLiN'* 'salt' O.I. salann, *su:fd'* 'flail' O.I. súist, *sNā:* 'wool for knitting' M.I. snáth 'thread', *sLūN'əγ* 'surname' O.I. slondud 'signification'; *fa:s* 'empty' O.I. fás, *kas* 'leg' O.I. coss, *mīsa* 'worse' O.I. messa, *kəsNəγ* 'to earn' M.I. cosnam 'to contend, maintain'.

- (2) O.I. palatal non-lenited *s* in *iasəL* 'low' O.I. ísel (by attraction towards *uasəL* 'high' and perhaps the adverbs for 'down': *fiəs* [movement] and *hiəs* [repose]); also before an originally palatal but now neutral *m*: *smīr* 'marrow' O.I. smiur. For *sb(j)-*, *sf-* see under clusters, below.
- (3) O.N. *s* and *ss*: *Ləx 'sāūNdəvat* O.N. Sand(a)vatn, *sə-əvaL* hill name O.N. Sauðafjall, *suəRdəL* O.N. acc. Svarðdal; *krəsəbəsd* village name O.N. acc. Krossabólstað, *Rāūsəxəγ* 'to search' O.N. rannsaka, *Rī:saj* island name O.N. Hrísey.
- (4) E. *s*: *sə:v* 'a saw', *sualə* 'big wave' (*swell*), *sNā:fan* 'snuff' (*sneezing powder*), *smōkiçəγ* 'to smoke', *swetər* 'sweater'; *bras* 'brass', *ū:s* 'ounce' M.E. unce, *çisag* 'a kiss', *dresiçəγ* 'to dress'.
- (5) E. *z*: *dusan* 'dozen', *Re:səniç* 'explain!' cp. M.I. résún and M.E. resun 'reason', *Rə:sad* 'resin, rosin'.

Some words of less clear etymology: *sabəfd'* 'a fight, to fight', *səijan* 'young coal-fish' (Norse, English? See under *əi* p. 90), *səlt* 'tame', *sLək* 'a pit', *sLag* 'hollow', *smjō:rəx* 'a bird (thrush?)' cp. Mod.I. smólach 'thrush'.

125. *f* is a palatal sibilant, formed by the passage of the air through a median groove in the front part of the tongue. The narrowest part of the groove is apparently opposite the front part of the hard palate, near the alveolar ridge. The tip of the tongue is turned downwards.

f corresponds to

- (1) O.I. non-lenited palatal *s* and *ss*: *farəv* 'bitter' O.I. serb, *fiəL* 'seed' O.I. síl, *fLēviN'* 'slippery' O.I. slemon, slemun 'smooth', *fN'ēxg(ə)* 'snow' O.I. snecht(a)e; *kLuəf* 'ear' O.I. clúas gen. clúaise, *lef* 'with him' O.I. leiss, laiss, *pōifəγ* 'to break' M.I. brissed.
- (2) O.I. non-palatal *s* or *ss* in (ə) 'nifə, (ə) 'nif 'now' M.I. indosša, inñossai, *təfəx* 'a beginning' O.I. tossach

- (contaminated with *tɔ:fəxəɣ* 'to begin' cp. M.I. tússigecht 'to be first'; see also p. 71), *afəL* 'donkey' M.I. asal.
- (3) O.N. **s** in *fīðman* 'rope (especially one made of heather)' O.N. cas. obl. síma; *grumùfadər* village name O.N. Gromssetr (see VL p. 397), *N'if* parish name O.N. dat. Nesi, *fd'e:faL* hill name O.N. Steinsfjall.
- (4) O.N. **hj** if *faLtiN'* 'Shetland' is from O.N. dat. Hjaltlandi (a back formation from the lenited form *hjaLtiN'*).
- (5) E. *s*: *faràmənəxəɣ* 'to preach' cp. E. *sermon*, *farəvəNt* 'servant', *fəðəvafəx* 'servant' (from E. *service*), *fə:Rsə* 'sort, kind'; *pði:f* 'price' M.E. *pris*, *kufd'an* 'question'.
- (6) E. *z*: *pəifan* 'poison'.
- (7) E. *f*: *fu:kar* 'sugar', *fuRaj* 'sheriff' M.E. *shirreve*; *bləfiqəɣ* 'to blush', *Nð:fan* 'interest' (*notion*), *Rufi-a* 'Russia'.
- (8) E. *tf*: *fe:-ər* 'chair', *fe:nə* 'chain', *fiməlað* 'fireplace' (*chimney*); *trəifəð* 'plate' (*trencher*).
- (9) E. *dʒ*: *fe:məs* 'James', *fekad'* 'jacket', *fili* 'jam' (*jelly*), *fīnəlað* 'general', *fōnag* 'Joan'; *sdrāifəð* 'stranger'.

Of obscure origin are *fī:q* 'hay-stack' (cp. Mod.I. síog 'rick of corn'), *fu:Rsəx* 'whore'.

Nasals.

126. *m* is an ordinary bilabial nasal, usually voiced (about devoicing see §§ 94 and 195). Like the other labials, it varies in quality with the surrounding vowels and does not take part in any distinction of palatality.

m corresponds to:

- (1) O.I. non-lenited **m**, **mm**, and **mb**, palatal and non-palatal: *māLə* 'eyebrow' O.I. *mala*, *mīār* 'finger, toe' O.I. *mér*; *smə:N'əxəɣ* 'to think' M.I. *smuaintiugud*; *farəməd* 'envy' O.I. *format*, *īm* 'butter' O.I. *imb*, *krōūm* 'bent, crooked' O.I. *crumb*, *Le:m* 'a jump' O.I. *léim(m)*.
- (2) An older cluster **ngb** in *kūmal* 'to hold' M.I. dat. *cong báil*, and in the corresponding finite forms (*xōūm* 'held', *xūmiN'*

'I would hold', etc.) which are derived from the verbal noun rather than old finite forms such as M.I. perfect *ro'chongaib*.

- (3) O.N. **m**: *fīðman* 'rope' O.N. cas. obl. síma, *hāməRsədər* name of a hamlet O.N. Hamar(s)setr, *tarəməd* (-*ad*, -*əd*) man's name O.N. acc. Þormund.
- (4) E. *m*: *bəðəm* 'yeast' (*barm*), *dāūm* 'dam', *sdāmag* 'stomach'.
- (5) E. *v* in *mīnakəð* 'vinegar', a back formation from the lenited form.

Etymologically uncertain are *mīāraniq* 'to spin yarns, tell stories' and *mərəɣan* 'shingle, gravel'.

127. There are two non-palatal n-phonemes, *N* and *n*. The chief phonetic difference between them is located in the point of articulation: [*N*] is postdental, sometimes interdental, while [*n*] is articulated with the tip of the tongue against the lower part of the alveolar rim. *N* is not clearly velarized as in most other Hebridean dialects, but a preceding vowel is retracted and sometimes also lowered, cp. [*āNas*] *āNas* 'rarity' with [*ānal*] *ānal* 'breath'. Initial *N* and *n* are difficult to tell apart. The acoustic difference between them is very slight, almost imperceptible to the non-native speaker, and there is no preceding vowel by whose timbre the identity of the nasal can be ascertained. One occasional informant distinguished between (ə) '*Nā:bi* 'her neighbour' and (ə) '*nā:bi* 'his neighbour', but to the writer the difference was visible rather than audible. My regular informants used (ə) '*Nā:bi* for both forms; they used *N* both as radical and lenited initial in this and similar words. Initial stressed *n* seems to occur only as the lenited form of *sN-*, *N'-*, and *fN'-*, and I do not exclude the possibility that *N* may be used even here.

n does not occur before consonants. *N* has the velar allophone [ŋ] before *g* and *k*: [*Laŋgəðər*] *LaNgəðər* 'a kind of sea-weed', [*fuŋk*] *fuNk* 'anything' (said to be a "new word" equivalent to *ka:l*).

128. Apart from its use in environments where a lenited initial would be expected, *N* corresponds to:

- (1) O.I. non-lenited non-palatal **n**, **nn**, and **nd**: *Nāhəð* 'serpent' O.I. *nathir*, *Nā̃iγ* 'nine' O.I. *noí*, *Nā:v* 'holy' O.I. *noíβ*; *sNā:v* 'to swim' O.I. *snám*, *krāūN* 'plough; mast' O.I. *crann* 'tree', *xūNig* 'saw' (pret.) O.I. 'condaire, *L5ūN* 'beer' O.I. *lind* 'a drink', *blīāNə* 'year' O.I. acc. dat. *blíadnai*.
- (2) O.N. **n**, initial or geminated: *Nā:bi* 'neighbour' O.N. *nábúi*; *Ləx* 'grūNəvat' O.N. *Grunnavatn*, *L5ūN* (pl. *LūNən*) 'launching roller' O.N. *hlunn-*.
- (3) E. *n*: *Nūt(ə)*, *Nōt(ə)* 'pound sterling' (E. *note*), *gūNə* 'gun' M.E. *gonne*.

129. *n* is, as mentioned above, the lenited form of initial *sN-*, *N'-*, and *fN'-*. In other functions, it corresponds to

- (1) O.I. lenited **n**, most often non-palatal, but also palatal in a number of words: *bēn* 'wife, woman' O.I. *ben*, *kēīn(ə)* 'memory' O.I. *cuimne*, *Līānəγ* 'to fill' O.I. *línad*, *rā:nig* 'reached' O.I. 'rán(a)ic, *t'ānə* 'fire' O.I. *teine*. It should be noted that Lb. *n* does not, as a rule, correspond to O.I. final palatal *n*, which is usually represented by *N'*. Exceptions are *he:n*, *hī:n* 'self' O.I. *féin* and *fīn* 'that' O.I. *sin*.
- (2) O.I. **nn**, **nd** exceptionally: *na:* 'in his, in her, in their' O.I. *inna*, (ə) 'nīfə, (ə) 'nīf 'now' M.I. *indossa*, *innossai*.
- (3) O.N. **n** in *gðe:nəvaL* hill name O.N. *Grónafjall*, *Rā:niLr* woman's name O.N. acc. *Ragnhildi*.
- (4) E. *n*: *bōnad* 'bonnet', *mīnigəγ* 'to mean', *pēnə* 'pen', *tənə* 'tin'.

130. The third *n*-phoneme, *N'*, is a palatal nasal. A large portion of the front and central parts of the tongue is in contact with the hard palate; the tip of the tongue is bent down and usually pressed against the lower incisors. *N'* is usually followed by a short *j*-glide unless the next phoneme is a consonant: [*rāiN'j*] *rāiN'* 'did, made', [*bōN'jə*] *bōN'ə* 'milk', but [*kij iN'd'əx*] *kēiN'd'əx*

'certain'. A distinct on-glide is heard after back vowels: [*ū: iN'jə*] *u:N'ə* 'time', [*qō: iN'j*] *jō:N'* 'birds'; after short vowels, the on-glide is less noticeable.

Before a mediopalatal stop, *N'* has the mediopalatal allophone [*j*]: [*t'āi jg*] *tāiN'g* 'thanks'.

131. *N'* corresponds to

- (1) O.I. palatal **n**, **nn**, **nd** (only non-lenited **n** initially but also lenited **n** after vowels): *N'aRsd* 'strength' O.I. *nert*, *N'ēd* 'nest' O.I. *net*, *N'ī-ə* 'to wash' M.I. *nigi*, *nige*; *fN'īəv* 'to spin' M.I. *sním*, *fā:N'ə* 'a ring' O.I. *ánne*, *fūN'ə* 'to bake' O.I. *fuiñe*, *gēiN'* 'wedge' M.I. *geind*, *kōN'* 'dogs' O.I. *coín*, *Lī:N'* 'nets' O.I. *lín*.
- (2) O.I. non-palatal **nn**, exceptionally: *γāiN'* 'to us' O.I. *dún(n)*, *āN'u* 'scarce, rare' cp. M.I. *annam*.
- (3) O.N. **nd** if *ūN'ag* 'window' is from O.N. *vindauga*.
- (4) E. *n*: *N'ibōig* 'handkerchief' (from E. *naperly?*); *pēiN'd* 'pint', *tə* 'fēiN'f 'pub' (*change-house*), *tāiN'g* 'thanks'.

Laterals.

132. There are three *l*-phonemes, *L*, *l*, and *L*.

133. *L* is a velarized dental lateral. The tip of the tongue touches the front teeth and occasionally becomes visible between the upper and lower incisors. The front part of the tongue is lowered so as to produce a large cavity. The sound has a very "hollow" timbre, not entirely dissimilar to that of E. *l* in *hole*, *ball* etc., in spite of the difference of articulation. A native of Leurbost with some phonetic training (Headmaster Murdo MacLeod, M.A., of Whittingehame House School, Haddington, East Lothian) with whom I had the opportunity of discussing a couple of problems, told me that some old people used a phone without contact between tongue and teeth, thus producing a sound of the semivocalic *w* type. I did not hear this sound myself. (Mr. MacLeod also asserted that some people of the oldest living generation distinguished between lenited and non-lenited *L*, so

that their idiolects had four lateral consonant phonemes; I was unfortunately unable to interview any of the persons he mentioned, and, in spite of the astonishingly small phonetic differences that may have distinctive value in Lb. [as in the case of *N* and *n*], I feel fairly certain that all my informants have only one *L* phoneme.)

A short vocalic glide is not infrequently heard between *L* and a following *i*: [*a:L^oiN*] *a:LiN* 'fine, pretty'.

134. *L* is the lenited form of *sL*. In other functions, it corresponds to

- (1) O.I. lenited and non-lenited, non-palatal **l**, **ll**; *Lā:v* 'hand' O.I. *lám*, *Luā* 'ashes' O.I. *lúath*; *kLax* 'stone' O.I. *cloch*, *sLā:n* 'healthy' O.I. *slán*; *fā:Ləm* 'learning' O.I. *fogl(a)im(m)*, *fuLæg* 'to suffer' O.I. *fulang*, *ǵaL* 'white' M.I. *gel*, *ǵaLi* 'will promise' M.I. *gellaid*, (*ə*) '*NāūL* 'over here' (motion) O.I. *anall* 'from beyond, from there'.
- (2) O.I. **rl** in *bjā:Lā* 'English language' late O.I. *bérle* (earlier *bélre*) 'language', *fa:Lās* 'skylight' M.I. *forléss*, *faLəsgəy* 'the burning of heather to turn the moor into pasture' cp. O.I. *forloisethe* 'igni examinatus' (Ml 31^e28), *uLəxəy* 'to prepare, make ready' cp. M.I. *aurlam*, *ur-lam*, *er-lam* 'paratus'.
- (3) Other O.I. consonants and clusters: *kəLəx* 'likely; similar' and *kəLəs* 'likelihood; similarity' cp. O.I. *cosm(u)il* 'like', *ʼaLəx* 'fireplace, forge' M.I. *tenlach*, *tellach*, (*ə*) '*NāūL* 'over there' (motion) O.I. *innunn* (with *L* from the antonym (*ə*) '*NāūL* 'over here', cp. 1, above).
- (4) O.N. **l** in *Lāyā* 'ling' O.N. *langa*, *Ləy* 'law' O.N. *lqg*; *āūLaj* man's name O.N. acc. *Áleif* (the name was probably taken over when the Norse diphthong **ei** was still pronounced [*ai*]).
- (5) O.N. **hl** in *LšūN* 'launching roller' O.N. acc. *hlunn*.
- (6) E. *l* in *LāūNtað* 'lantern', *Lot(ə)* 'loft' (if not Norse), *Ləkəð* 'plane' O.E. *locer*.

Origin not clear: *La:dəx* 'a lot, great quantity', *La:d'ər*, *La:d'ir* 'strong', *Lə-əx* 'nice' (cp. Mod.I. *lāghach*), *Luəðan*

'dizziness', *Lu:ǵiN* 'I should wish' (defective verb, heard only in this form).

135. *l*, classed with the palatals in morphophonemics, is not a palatal phonetically. It is an apical alveolar lateral, articulated with the tip of the tongue against the lower part of the alveoli, lower down than the [*l*] in E. Norw. [*fa:le*], [*fa:li*] 'dangerous'. It resembles the Southern E. "clear" *l* as in *lily*. It is nearly always easy to distinguish from *L*, the only exception being some words ending in *-al* (*-əl*), where Cailean Ruairidh (but not the other informants) had a somewhat hollow-sounding allophone which I mistook for *L* at first.

136. *l* is the regular lenited form of *L*, *ʃL* and *fl*. When not in mutational correlation with these initials, it corresponds to

- (1) O.I. palatal lenited **l**: *glāūN* 'valley' O.I. *glenn*, *ful* 'blood' O.I. *fuil*, *mīlif* 'sweet' O.I. *milis*, *sa:l* 'heel' M.I. acc. *sáil*, *ulīN* 'elbow' O.I. *uilen*.
- (2) E. *l*: *laibrəri* 'library', *ləgfəri* 'luxury', *la:ri* 'lorry'; *aləsdər* 'overcoat' (*ulster*), *fəlar* 'funnel' (*filler*), *kəilə* 'wheel', *kəlar* 'collar', *pələ* 'pail', *sǵilīg* 'penny' O.E. *scilling*.

137. *L* is strongly palatal. The area of contact between tongue and palate is large: measured along the median line, it probably covers both the front and central parts of the hard palate, in about the same way as *N*'. It has a *j*-like off-glide if not followed immediately by another consonant: [*k'aL'əx*] 'wife, old woman'.

138. *L* corresponds historically to

- (1) O.I. non-lenited (geminated) palatal **l**: *LəhiN* 'wide, broad' O.I. *lethan*, *Lšūn* 'net' O.I. *lín*, *Lə-ər* 'book' O.I. *lebor*; *ʃLiəsid* 'thigh' M.I. *slíasait*, *kaLəx* 'wife, old woman' O.I. *caillech*, *mīLəy* 'to destroy' M.I. *milliud*, *saiL* 'fat, fatness' M.I. *sail*.
- (2) O.I. palatal single **l** in *fe:L* 'fair, market' O.I. *féil*, *N'ū:L* 'clouds' O.I. *níuil*.

- (3) M.I. non-palatal **ll** in *gíLə* 'lad' M.I. *gilla*, *braLəx* 'breast' M.I. *bróllach*.
- (4) O.N. **l** and **lj**: *Lə:d* man's name O.N. acc. *Ljót*, *Ləu-əs* 'Lewis' O.N. sagas *Ljóðhús* (probably pre-Norse but transmitted through Norse), *ˌtə:b* 'Le:ðavaj a bay O.N. acc. *Leiruvág*.
- (5) E. *l* in *ta:Ləð* 'tailor'.

Obscure etymology: *Lə:bag* (also *Lo:bag*) 'flounder', *Ləðmiç* 'to jump' (cp. *Le:m* 'a jump' O.I. *léim(m)*).

r-phonemes.

139. The chief allophone of *R* is an alveolar trill, usually consisting of two flaps. More flaps may occur in initial position, and sometimes the trill is reduced to a single flap between vowels. Ordinarily, *R* has a somewhat "hollow" timbre produced by a lowering of the front part of the tongue. This "velarization" is not very strong, and weaker after vowels than initially. *R* gives a darker timbre to both preceding and following vowels: [*Rã:v*] *Rã:v* 'oar' cp. [*ˈdɑ:ˈrã:v*] 'two oars', [*ˈbɑ:R*] *ba:R* 'cream' cp. [*kˈɑ:r*] *ka:r* 'motorcar'. The point of articulation is considerably farther back than for the alveolars *l* and *n*; as far as I can make out, the tongue flaps against the highest point of the alveolar rim. The sound is thus different from Bernera *R*, described by Borgström DOH p. 70, which is cacuminal. *R* has, however, a cacuminal or retroflex allophone used before dentals and alveolars: the clusters *-Rd*, *-Rt*, *-Rs*, *-Rl*, *-Rn* are phonetically [*d*, *-^ht*, *-s*, *-l*, *-n*], i. e. retroflex sounds which approach the cacuminals of E. Norw. and many Swedish dialects and the cerebrals of Hindustani. If *R* can be singled out as a segment at all, it is a very short semivocalic r-coloured glide intervening between vowel and consonant. The preceding vowel is r-coloured, but not so strongly as vowels before *r* in General American, cp. GAm. [*bɔ:rɔd*] board (strongly r-coloured [*ɔ:*], distinct semivocalic retroflex [*r*], alveolar [*d*]) with Lb. [*ˈbɔ:d*] *bɔ:Rd* 'table' (weakly r-coloured [*ɔ:*], hardly audible retroflex glide, retroflex [*d*]). *Rs* [*s*] is an

sh-like sound, but different from *f*: while the latter is a true palatal sound, articulated with the front part of the tongue, the tip of the tongue turned downwards, the former is produced with tip and blade of the tongue bent upwards towards the highest point of the alveolar rim or perhaps even the hard palate. *Rl* [*l*] and *Rn* [*n*] sound rather similar to *l* and *n*, but the tongue touches the alveolar rim above the highest point instead of below it, and the cavity thereby formed between the palate and the front part of the tongue produces the same hollow timbre as that heard in [*R*]. Further, all these retroflex consonants influence a preceding vowel in the same manner as [*R*].

140. *R* corresponds to

- (1) O.I. non-lenited or geminated **r**, **rr**, palatal and non-palatal: *Rə-əγ* 'frost, hoar, to freeze' O.I. *réud*, *RñNag* 'star' O.I. *rind*, *Ru:sg* 'peel, anything stripped off' O.I. *rúsc*; *faRàgə* 'rough sea' O.I. *fairggæ*, *foirggæ*, *foirre*, *ɔR(ə)* 'on her' O.I. *forrae*, *taRíg* 'to pull' M.I. *tarraing*; *mjã:Rlæx* 'burglar' M.I. *merlech*, *ɔRn* 'on us' O.I. *fornn*, *faRsig* 'wide' O.I. *fairsiung*.
- (2) O.I. **fr-** in *Riãvəx* 'root' O.I. *frém*.
- (3) O.N. **r:** *Ra-anif* village name O.N. *Ráarnes* (VL p. 398), *Rãũsəxəγ* 'to search' O.N. *rannsaka*, *Rə:əL* man's name O.N. acc. *Rəgnvald*, *Rə:niLl'* woman's name O.N. acc. *Ragnhildi*; *gə:Ri* 'piece of land surrounding a house or shieling' O.N. *gerði* 'fence; enclosed field', *gə:Rəγ* 'stone wall' O.N. acc. *garð* 'fence'; *ka:Rləvəγ* village name O.N. acc. *Karlavág*, *fd'ɔ:Rnəvəγ* 'Stornoway' O.N. acc. *Stjór-narvág* (? See VL p. 392 f.).
- (4) O.N. **hr** in *Ru:-an* 'pile of three or four peats put on end to dry' O.N. *hrúga*, *hrúfa* 'pile', *Ri:saj* island name O.N. *Hrísøy*.
- (5) E. *r*: *Ršũm* 'room', *Rũmə* 'rum'; *kuRan* 'carrot', *fuRaj* 'sheriff' (M.E. *shirreve*), *t'a:R* 'tar' (M.E. *terre*); *kəRlæx* 'curly', *bu:Rn* '(fresh) water' (Scots *burn*), *paRsal* 'parcel'.

141. *r* differs from *R* by being a single alveolar flap rather than a trill. Further, *r* lacks the hollow timbre of *R*; the tongue is in a neutral position for initial *r*; for medial and final *r* the front part of the tongue is often raised so that we get a palatalized flap. This is especially noticeable between vowels, e. g. in [maɾàv] *maràv* 'dead'. The palatalization is quite weak and is not accompanied by any audible j-glide. Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between *R* and *r* in medial position after short vowels (especially *ɔ*); *R* frequently has only one flap in this position, and *r* may lack palatalization. In morphophonemics, *r* is non-palatal.

142. In initial position, *r* is the lenited form of *R*-, *fr*-, and *sdr*-. Elsewhere, it corresponds to

- (1) O.I. lenited non-palatal **r**: *trəj* 'foot' O.I. *traig*, *kruaj* 'hard' M.I. *crúaid*; *ɔ:r* 'gold' O.I. *ór*, *auran* 'song' M.I. *amrán*, *kerk* 'hen' M.I. *cerc*.
- (2) Old lenited palatal **r**: (a) always after *d* and *t*: *sdrð̃y* 'string' M.I. *sreng*, *tru:ð* 'three (persons)' O.I. *triar*; (b) intervocally in *ãiret* 'strife, disagreement' cp. M.I. *am-réid* 'uneven, unreconciled', *gərid* 'short' M.I. *ga(i)rit*, *urəd* 'so much, as much, as many' M.I. *airet*, *eret*.
- (3) O.I. lenited non-palatal **n** after *g* and *k*: *grð̃-iç* 'business' cp. O.I. *gnó*, *krã:vən* 'bones' O.I. *cnámai*, *krð̃*: 'nut' O.I. *cnú* (gen. and compositional form *cnó*), *krð̃k* 'hillock' O.I. *cnocc*.
- (4) O.N. **r**: *brɔ:g* 'boot' if from O.N. *brók* 'breeches, long hose', *grumùfadər* village name O.N. *Gromssetr* (VL p. 397), *trɔsg* 'cod' O.N. acc. *þorsk*; *barə* 'wheelbarrow' perhaps from O.N. pl. *barar*, see Marstrander, *Bidrag* p. 59 (the sg. form is quoted from memory; only pl. *bariçən* is in my records), *elan* 'crásaj' a frequent name of islands connected with the mainland at low tide cp. Icelandic *Ør-firisey*, *nə* 'herəy' 'Harris' O.N. *Herað* or *Heruð*, *sgarp* island name O.N. saga *Skarp*.
- (5) O.N. **n** after *k*: *krǣp* 'heap; lump' O.N. acc. *knapp* 'knob,

button; hillock', *krē:biLl* 'garter' O.N. **knébelti* (*r* is unexpected in this word, where the front vowel would demand *ð* if the development were "regular").

- (6) E. *r*: *brãüdi* 'brandy', *trusəy* 'to gather' (*truss*); *baràbərə* 'Barbara', *ka:r* '(motor)car'.

143. *ð* is an interdental fricative, normally voiced. It is often but not always slightly palatalized. It sounds very like E. *ð* as in *these* and is used for this sound in the E. speech of the informants. The allophone [ʃ], an alveolar palatalized fricative similar to Southern E. *r* in *try*, is used after palatals in medial clusters: [ɔ:d'fəvaL] and [N'ifəvaL] mountain names, [ʃi'tfiç] 'to neigh', [ɔ:çfə] 'youth'.

ð does not take part in any initial mutations. It might be expected to serve as the lenited form of initial *fð*-, but the phoneme actually found in this function is *r*, as in *rihal* 'attended to' (infinitive *fðihaləy* and *fði-aLəy*).

144. Historically, *ð* corresponds to

- (1) O.I. lenited palatal **r**: (*ə*) *ðiəv* 'ever (in the past)' O.I. *rīam* 'before it', (*ə*) *ði-ifd* 'again' M.I. *arithisi*, *bðiaç* 'a lie' O.I. *bréc*, *kði-ə* 'heart' O.I. *cride*; *d'edəy* 'end' O.I. *dered*, *huəð* 'got, found' O.I. *fúair*, *kɔ:ð* 'generous' O.I. *coair*, *cóir*, *kiðk* gen. of *kerk* 'hen' M.I. *cerce*.
- (2) O.I. palatal **n** after initial velars: *gðē*: 'nature, disposition' O.I. *gné*, *gðīv* 'deed, effort' O.I. *gním*. *kðē:v* 'bone' seems to point to an earlier **eném* rather than O.I. *cnáim*. Also between vowels in *bðəN* 'female', *bðəNəx* 'woman' M.I. *boinenn*, in analogy with *fiðəN* 'male', *fiðəNəx* 'man' M.I. *firend*.
- (3) O.N. **r** near front vowels: *gðe:nəvaL* hill name O.N. *Gróna-fjall*; *tv:b* 'Le:ðvəj' name of a bay O.N. acc. *Leiruvág*, *sçeð* 'skerry' O.N. *sker*, *fd'u:ð* 'rudder' O.N. *stýri*.
- (4) E. *r*: *bði-əs* 'breeze', *kðu-ə* 'ship's crew', *pðūs* 'prince', *mã:ði* 'Mary', *sçí:ðə* 'parish' O.E. *scīr*.

Semivowels.

145. *j* is a more or less palatal semivowel. It has no audible friction and is thereby distinguished from the fricative *j*. Post-vocalic *j* sounds like a short non-syllabic narrow [j]; when it is devoiced before consonants or pausa, it is best described as a whispered semivowel: [tʰʲ] or [tʰʲ̥] *təj* 'house'. It is easily distinguished from the last element of the *i*-diphthongs, which is always voiced. In addition, diphthongs are always much longer than combinations of short vowel plus *j*, compare *mūi* [mūi] 'mane' with *mūj* [mūj̥] 'outside'. *i*-diphthongs may or may not be followed by *j* before an unstressed vowel in the same word: *Nāijan* 'baby', *əi-əl* 'pleasant'. This *j* is only a prolongation of the diphthong element into the following syllable. The presence or absence of *j* in this position has hardly any phonemic significance. In my notes, it is present in *fəijə* 'to beg', *Nāijan* 'baby', and *səijan* 'small coal-fish' but absent in *əi-əl* 'pleasant', *əi-əxg* 'lodgings, as for a night', and *əi-ifd* 'Uist' (island name). In all probability, we are here in the presence of a case of phonemic overlapping (see § 15).

Prevocalic *j* has a wider range of articulation. Before high vowels, it is a rather narrow non-syllabic [j] as in [pʰjū-ər] *pju-ər* 'sister', but if the vowel is lower, the vocalic quality of *j* varies from a narrow [ɟ] as in [ɟūsiç] *jūsic* 'teach! learn!' to an open [æ] as in [æLə] *jaLə* 'swan'. In some cases, this lowering of *j* affects the phonemic pattern, thus, *mō bheachd* 'my opinion' has two phonemic shapes, *mō 'vjaxg* and *mō 'væxg*; these are, as far as I can see, only the phonemic interpretations of the end-points of a continuous chain of possible pronunciations varying from [mō 'væaxk] to [mō 'væxk].

146. Initial *j* is the lenited form of *ffj*-. Radical initial *j* does not correspond to any Old Gaelic consonant, but is found in words which had stressed initial *i* and *e* (short, long, or diphthong element) at the Old and Middle Irish stages but which, in Lb., have a lower or more retracted vowel: *jaLə* 'swan' M.I. *ela*, *jaLəx* 'a load' M.I. *ellach*, *jaRəx* [ɟæRəx] 'spring' M.I.

errach, *jaRiN* 'part' M.I. *errand*, *jə:Ləx* 'knowing' cp. O.I. *éola*, *jə:N* 'birds, poultry' O.I. *éuin*, *éiuin*, *éoin*, *jšūmbəxəγ* 'to convert' cp. O.I. *impúd* 'turning', *jšūsəxəγ* 'to learn, teach' M.I. pres. *insaigim* 'I visit, look for', *juhuRn* 'hell' (in profane language) O.I. dat. *ifurnn*, *juLəð* 'eagle' M.I. *ilur*, *juLhiN* 'cornyard' O.I. dat. *ithlaind*. In words of this type, a glide or unstressed diphthong element has become syllabic at the expense of the originally stressed vowel which has lost its syllabicity: *[eLa] > *[eɟLə] > [ɟəLə], *[e:əi] > [ɟə:N].

In the initial *j*-clusters (*bj*-, *pj*-, *sbj*-, *vj*-, *ffj*-, *mj*-, *hj*-), the development has been the same: *j* reflects an original syllabic vowel (*i* or *e*), while the present stressed vowel originates in a glide or diphthongal element. Examples: *bjaxg* 'opinion' cp. M.I. *becht* 'exact, sure', *bjə:Lə* 'English language' O.I. *bélre*, *bérle* 'language', *bjə:* 'alive' O.I. *béo*, *béu*, *pju-ər* 'sister' O.I. *síur* (back formation from the lenited form O.I. *fiur*, *phiur*), *sbjaL* 'scythe' M.I. *spel*, *ffjə:l* 'meat, flesh' O.I. *féuil*, *féoil*, *mjəg* 'whcy' O.I. *medg*, *hjaul* 'looked' cp. M.I. pres. *sellaim*. This development is also found in the E. loan *pjəRnə* 'a reel' Scots *pirn*. In some other loans, a *j*-cluster corresponds to a similar cluster in the loan-giving language: *bjə:Rnəraj* island name O.N. *Bjarnarøy*, *pju-ər* 'pure' (homonymous with *pju-ər* 'sister').

The phenomenon of syllabicity shift is also met with in those cases where Lb. has a low or back vowel corresponding to an O.I. high front vowel after palatal consonants (*d'aLt* 'dew' M.I. *delt*, *Lə-ər* 'book' O.I. *lebor*, *flux* 'wet' O.I. *fliuch*, *fə:L* 'sail' O.I. *séol*, *fu:l* 'sails' O.I. *siuil*, etc.). In these cases, the original vowel has disappeared altogether as a phoneme and has only left traces in the palatality of the consonant and in the non-phonemic glides which appear under certain conditions. Further examples will be found under the vowels *a*, *ɔ*, *o*, and *u*, short and long, §§ 49, 3; 50, 3; 61, 3; 62, 3; 65, 3; 67, 2; 68, 2.

147. Postvocalic *j* corresponds to certain palatal consonants in O.I., mostly fricatives:

- (1) O.I. palatal fricative **d**: *bujə* 'yellow' O.I. *buide*, *kLāju* 'sword' O.I. *claideb*, *xaj* 'went' O.I. *do·cuaid*.
- (2) O.I. palatal fricative **g**: *dəljəs* 'sadness' cp. M.I. *doilgi* 'difficulty', *taj* 'house' O.I. dat. *taig*, *uaj* 'grave, tomb' M.I. acc. dat. *uaig*.
- (3) O.I. palatal fricative **b** in *dujə* gen. f. sg. of *duh* 'black', cp. O.I. gen. m. *duib* and gen. f. *dub(a)e*.
- (4) Older palatal **th**: *Luaj(ə)* 'quicker' M.I. *lúaitiu*, *lúaithe*, *Raj* 'quarter of a year' M.I. *ráithe*, *Ruj* 'to run' O.I. *rith*.
- (5) M.I. palatal fricative **m** in *krūj* 'little white worm' M.I. *cruim* 'worm, reptile'.
- (6) O.I. palatal **ng**: *ājəL* 'angel' O.I. *aingel*, *Lūjəs* 'navy' M.I. *longes* 'fleet'.

148. *w* is a rounded, labiovelar semivowel with no audible friction. It is not tangibly different from E. *w*. Although it is found only in apparently recent loans from E., I have not heard anybody having difficulties in pronouncing it. It is heard in words like *wel* 'well', *swetar* 'sweater', *sgwe-ər* 'square'.

Absence of Initial, Medial, and Final Consonants.

149. A stressed vowel may begin a word as in *ahəð* 'father', it may end a word as in *bLa*: 'warm', and it may be followed directly by a stressless vowel as in *d'i-ij* 'two (persons)'; in other words, the presence of a consonant is not compulsory in any position. Some words have no consonants at all: *ū*: 'udder', *ɔ-ə* 'grandchild'. The lack of consonant between two vowels belonging to different syllables is called hiatus. We shall also introduce the terms initial and final zero for the lack of consonants in initial and final position respectively. Neither hiatus nor zero will be considered as phonemes (although such an interpretation would be possible if the phoneme were defined accordingly); they are merely useful terms in the description.

Hiatus and final zero are never marked in the pronuncia-

tion by a glottal catch. A very weak glottal catch may perhaps be heard at initial zero, but not frequently.

150. Initial zero corresponds historically to

- (1) Initial zero in O.I., both when the lack of consonant is radical and when zero is the lenited form of **f** (see morphophonemics, pp. 166 ff.).
- (2) O.I. **f** in all forms of the preposition *eð* 'on' O.I. for: *arəm* 'on me' O.I. form, *eð* 'on him' O.I. fair, etc.
- (3) Other older consonants sporadically, as in *e:mriç* 'lowing of cow' cp. Early Mod.I. géim. This is a back formation from *(ə)* '*gé:mriç* '(at) lowing'.
- (4) In *aRsbag* 'the largest species of sea-gull' O.N. acc. *svartbak*, the O.N. cluster **sv** [**sw*] has been dropped, probably via some lenited form. The details of this development are obscure; compare the initial of the place-name *suəRdəL* O.N. acc. Svarðdal. *u:ç* [*u:ʲç*], a village and parish name, corresponds to O.N. Vík; *ūN'ag* or *ūN'ag* 'window' probably represents O.N. *vindauga*. In both these cases, the presumably semivocalic **v** has become entirely vocalic, reducing the following **i** to a palatal glide.

151. Hiatus corresponds to

- (1) O.I. hiatus in *a-a* 'liver' M.I. *ác*, *bi-i* (gen.) 'food' O.I. *bīid* (but monosyllabic *biəγ* from nom. *bīad*), *d'i-ij* 'two (persons)' O.I. *dīis*, *dīis* (acc./dat.), *fi-əx* 'raven' O.I. *fīach*, *fə-əm*, *fə-əd*, *fə-ə* 'under me, you, him' O.I. *foum*, *fout*, *fou*, *gū-əs* 'pine' M.I. *gíus*, *kə-əγ* 'mist, smoke' (gen.) M.I. *ciach*, *le-ə* 'with her' O.I. *lee*, *laee*, *læ*, *lə-ə* 'with them' O.I. *leu*, *leo*, *lethu*, *La-a* and *La-ə* 'day' O.I. *lae*, *laa*, *lá*, *mū-u* 'bigger' O.I. *móo*, *máo*, *móu* etc., *ɔ-ə*, *ɔ-ɔ* 'grandchild' O.I. *haue*, *pju-ər* 'sister' O.I. *sīur*, *rə-iN'* 'before us' O.I. *riun*, *Ra-əd* 'road' cp. M.I. *rout* 'length of a cast or shot', *Rə-əγ* 'frost, hoar, to freeze' O.I. *réud*.
- (2) O.I. fricative **b**: *go-al* (and *gu-al*) 'to take' O.I. *gabáil*

- (originally dat.), *ko-əð* 'comfort' O.I. *cobir*, *marà-əγ* 'to kill' M.I. *marbad*.
- (3) O.I. fricative **d**: *fə-əd'an* 'patience' O.I. *fodaitiu* (acc. **fodaitin*), *kði-ə* 'heart' O.I. *críde*, *mī-an* 'middle' O.I. *medón*.
- (4) O.I. fricative **g**: *Lw-ə* 'smaller' O.I. *laugu*, *lugu*, *laigiu*, *se-əd* 'arrow' O.I. *saiget*, *tə-əγ* 'to choose' cp. O.I. *togu*.
- (5) O.I. **gd**: *bðia-ə* 'pretty' M.I. *bregda* 'fine, fair', *fəijə* 'to beg' O.I. *foigde*.
- (6) Older **th**: *bLa-əs* 'warmth' cp. O.I. *mláith* 'smooth, gentle' and Mod.I. *bláithe* 'smoothness', *(ə)* 'ði-ífd' 'again' M.I. *arithisi*, *fði-aLəγ* (also *fðihaləγ*) 'to attend (to)' M.I. *fri-thalum*, *Lə-ad* 'a slope' O.I. *lethet* 'breadth, size', *mð-əxəγ* 'to perceive' M.I. *mothaigim*.
- (7) O.I. fricative **m**: *do:-iN* 'deep' O.I. *domuin*, *hð-if* 'measured' (pret.) cp. O.I. *tomus* 'weight, measure', *kñ-ad*, *kð-ad* 'to look, watch' O.I. *comét* 'to preserve', *kð-əRlə* 'advice' O.I. *comairle*, *kñ-əγ* 'narrow' M.I. *cumung*, *cumucc*, *ñ-iL* 'obedient' M.I. *umal* 'humble'.
- (8) O.I. **ng**: *kñ-aL* 'to tie' M.I. *cengal*, *nə* 'hñ-iN' 'of the girl' O.I. *inna* [h]ingine, *ñ-uNtəx* 'curious, surprising' M.I. *ingantach* 'wonderful'.
- (9) O.N. hiatus: *krə-əðgáRi* village name O.N. *Króargerði*, *Ra-anif* village name O.N. *Ráarnes*.
- (10) O.N. **f**: *kLə-u* 'tongs' O.N. cas. obl. *klofa* 'snuffers', *Ru:-əγ* 'first stacking of the peat' O.N. *hrúfa*, *hrúga* 'a pile'.
- (11) O.N. **ð**: *bo-o* 'submerged rock' O.N. cas. obl. *boða*, *fə-əl* 'ford' O.N. acc. *vaðil*.
- (12) O.N. fricative **g**: *bo-o* 'bow (for shooting and playing fiddle)' O.N. cas. obl. *boga*.
- (13) E. hiatus in *dra-að* 'drawer', *pa:-əγ* 'to pay' M.E. *paíen*. Many E. monosyllables are rendered as dissyllables with hiatus in Lb.: *bði-əs* 'breeze', *də-əs* 'dose', *hə-əs* 'hose', *kðu-ə* 'ship's crew', *fə:-ər* 'chair', *te-ə* 'tea', *to:-ə* 'a hoe', *təj* 'ə:əsð 'inn' ('host-house'). This may be an attempt

at reproducing the falling tone of E. (all stressed monosyllables have a rising or level tone in Lb., cp. pp. 16 ff.). But nothing final can be said about this until an investigation has been made of the variety of English from which these words were borrowed.

152. Final zero corresponds to

- (1) Final zero in O.I.
- (2) O.I. fricatives and the cluster **ng**, similarly to hiatus: (O.I. **d**) *Lui* 'hymn' O.I. *loíd* 'lay, poem', *Ré*: 'flat, even, bare' O.I. *réid*; (O.I. **g**) *Lui* 'calf' (gen.) M.I. *loíg*, *Ri*: 'king' O.I. *ríg*, *rí*; (O.I. **th**) *bLa*: 'warm' O.I. *mláith* 'smooth, gentle', *dLu*: 'close, tight' M.I. *dluith*, *fə*: 'muscle' M.I. *féith*, *gu*: 'wind' O.I. *gaíth*, *gui* gen. of the preceding (M.I. *gáithe*), *dəL ə* 'jñ: 'to be destroyed or lost' M.I. *díth* 'end, death', *kliə* 'a harrow' M.I. *elíath*, *Lwə* 'ashes' O.I. *lúaith*, *Lwə* 'quick' M.I. *lúath*, *sǵi*: 'tired' O.I. *scíth*, *sǵiə* 'wing' M.I. *scíath*, *sNā*: 'wool for knitting' M.I. *snáth* 'thread', *təw* 'country(side)' O.I. *túəth*, *təw* 'north' O.I. *túaith*; (O.I. **m**) *kLū* 'wool' M.I. dat. *clúim*; (O.I. **ng**) *mñ* 'mane' M.I. dat. *muing*, *moing*.
- (3) O.N. **ð** in *bu*: 'shop' O.N. *búð* 'booth'¹, *əi* 'narrow passage between two lochs' O.N. *eið* 'isthmus'.
- (4) E. *th* in *kLə*: (also *kLə* 'mo:r') 'tweed' (*cloth*).

Additional Remarks on Consonant Clusters.

153. Most of what has been stated about the individual consonants in the preceding paragraphs is valid for cluster components as well as for single prevocalic and postvocalic consonants. Some clusters, however, show certain peculiarities which entitle them to separate consideration.

¹ This word may equally well be Mod.E. from the phonetic point of view, but the deviation in meaning from the E. word points to a greater age of the loan, and it cannot be reconciled with M.E. *bothe*. It is perhaps significant that O.N. *búð* has developed the additional meaning of 'shop' in Mod.Norw. dialects.

154. Clusters of *s*, *f* plus stop.

The stops in such clusters as *sb*, *sd*, *fd'*, *sfj*-, *-fjg*, *sg*, *sbð*, etc., are voiceless and unaspirated. No aspirates occur in clusters with *s* or *f*. These clusters correspond to

- (1) O.I. **sp**, **st**, **sc**, **spr** etc.: *sbiræd* 'spirit' O.I. *spirit*, *sbðej* 'cattle' M.I. *spré*, *spréid*, *sfjal* 'tale, rumour' O.I. *scél*, *sga:han* 'mirror' cp. O.I. *scáth* 'reflection, shadow' and M.I. *scathán* 'mirror', *sgði:væg* 'to write' O.I. *scribend*; *usbag* 'little blow of wind' cp. Mod.I. *uspóg* 'pang; gasp', *ur:sd(ə)* 'old' M.I. *aésta*, *su:fd'* 'flail' O.I. *súist*, *sfjgaL* 'gospel' O.I. *soscéle*, *iæsg* 'fish' O.I. *íasc*.
- (2) (*sd*- and *fd'*-) older **-s ind-**, **-s int-** (contraction of preposition, article, and initial of noun): (ə) '*sdaj* 'inside' M.I. *isin taig*, (ə) '*sdäüræg* 'in summer, in the summer' M.I. *is-in t-sámrad*, (ə) '*sdəvæ* 'in (the) autumn' < **is-ind-fhogmar*, (ə) '*fd'ex* 'in, inside (movement)' M.I. *is-tech*, *is-in tech*, (ə) '*fd'aRæx* 'in (the) spring' M.I. *isind erruch*.
- (3) (*sdr*-) O.I. **sr-**: *sdra:d'* 'street' M.I. *srait*, *sdréh* 'row (as of potatoes in the field)' cp. O.I. *sreth* verbal noun of *sern(a)id* 'spreads, arranges', *sdræĩγ* 'string' M.I. *sreng*, *sdræ:N'* 'nose' O.I. *srón*, *sdruhan* 'stream' O.I. *sruth*.
- (4) (*-fd'* and *-fjg*) O.I. palatal **-ts** and **-cs**: *bafd'æg* 'to baptize' O.I. pres. *baitsim*, *fafg* 'close' cp. O.I. *acus*, *ocus* 'close, near', *aicse*, *oicse* 'proximity' (and M.I. *faicsi* 'closer').
- (5) (*sd*-) older **t-** in *sdaRsæx* 'threshold' M.I. *tairsech*.
- (6) O.N. **st**, **stj**, **sk** etc.: *fd'e:faL* mountain name O.N. *Steinsfjall*, *sd'c:Rnəvæg* 'Stornoway' O.N. acc. *Stjórnarvág(?)*, *fd'u:ð* 'rudder' O.N. *stýri*, *sgéð* 'skerry' O.N. *sker*, *sgíbæg* 'crew, working team (e.g. at peat)' cp. O.N. *skipan*, *sgarp* island name O.N. *saga Skarp*, *sgaLpaj* island name O.N. *Skalpøy*, *sgarəv* 'cormorant' O.N. acc. *skarf*, *Læx* 'sgu:dəvat' O.N. *Skútavatn*; *træsg* 'cod' O.N. acc. *þorsk*.
- (7) E. (modern and older) *sp*, *st*, *sk* etc.: *sbad'* 'spade', *sbət* 'spot', *sdāmag* 'stomach', *sda:lə* 'stall (as in a byre)', *sdə:L* 'stool' (from M.E. *stool* or possibly from O.N. acc. *stól*

'chair, seat'), *sdræĩfað* 'stranger', *sgelf* 'shelf' M.E. *schelfe*, *sgíbað* 'skipper' (from E. rather than from O.N. *skipari*), *sgíliq* 'penny' O.E. *scilling*, *sgí:ðə* 'parish' O.E. *scir*; *plasdær* 'plaster', *Rc:sdæg* 'to fry' (E. *roast*), *basgad'* 'basket', *masg* 'mesh' M.E. *maske*.

155. The cluster *Rsd*.

Rsd, phonetically a retroflex [ʃʔ], corresponds to

- (1) O.I. **rt**, palatal and non-palatal: *gəRsd* 'sore, painful' M.I. *goirt*, *kuəRsd* 'a walk', *ma* 'NkuəRsd' 'around, about' M.I. *cúairt* 'circle; going around', *N'aRsd* 'strength' O.I. *nert*, *əRsd* 'on you' O.I. *fort*.
- (2) Older **rd(d)** in *ka:Rsðæx* 'smithy' M.I. *cerdcha*, probably an interdialectal loan (**rd(d)** is normally *Rd* [d] in Lewis, while the dialects from Harris to Benbecula have [ʃʔ], see DOH p. 236). Note that the cognate M.I. *cerdd* is *ka:Rd*, with the normal development.
- (3) O.N. **rt** in *hiRsd* 'St. Kilda' O.N. *Hirtir* (*Prestssaga Guðmundar Arasonar*, chapter 49). The name may be pre-Norse, but the initial *h* shows it to have been transmitted through Norse.
- (4) E. *rt* in *kaRsd* 'cart' and *ku:Rsdaðan* 'curtains'.

156. The cluster *xg*.

xg, phonetically [xk], corresponds to

- (1) O.I. non-palatal **cht**: *bæxg* 'poor' O.I. *bocht*, *fuæxg* 'coldness, a cold' O.I. *úacht*, *fæxg* 'seven' O.I. *secht*.
- (2) O.N. **k** in *bðu:xg* 'seaweed cast ashore' O.N. *brúk*. As this O.N. word would normally yield **bru:g* or **bru:k* in Lewis, the word must have been adopted from a Southern Hebridean dialect, where O.I. postvocalic non-palatal voiceless **c** is regularly represented by [xk], see DOH p. 236.

157. Stops after consonants.

After most postvocalic consonants, there is no distinction between aspirated and non-aspirated stops. As aspiration, in

this position, consists in the devoicing of the preceding consonant (see § 94), only unaspirated stops can occur after consonants which are normally voiceless and thus cannot be devoiced (as in s-clusters, *xg*, and *çd'*).

158. After laterals, only aspirates are found; in other words, *L*, *l*, and *L* are always devoiced before stops. These aspirates correspond to

- (1) O.I. **t**, **c** (no example for **p**): *faLt* [faL̥t] 'hair', *baLt'an* 'villages' cp. M.I. *i mbailtib*, *ɔLk* 'evil' gen. *ulK* O.I. *olc* gen. *uilc*; with metathesis *aLtəx* 'grace (prayer at table)', *aLtəxəy* 'to say grace' O.I. *atlugud*, *uLtəx* 'armful' M.I. *utlach* 'lapful'.
- (2) O.N. **p**, **t**: *sgaLpaj* island name O.N. *Skalpøy*, *faLtiN'* 'Shetland' O.N. dat. *Hjaltlandi*.
- (3) E. *d* in *eiLl'aðan* 'elders (of the church)'.

159. After *r* and *ð*, only aspirates are found except in the village name *Lur:rbəsd* (O.N. ?-*rbólstað*): *sgarp* [skarp] island name (O.N. *saga Skarp*), *kerk* [k'ærk] gen. *kiðK* [k'iðK] 'hen' (M.I. *cerc*). After *R*, however, unaspirated *d* is the rule, corresponding to O.I. **d(d)**: *a:Rd* [a:d] 'high' O.I. *ardd*, *ɔ:Rdag* 'thumb, (big) toe' cp. O.I. *ord(d)u*. The cluster *Rt* has only been recorded in *sda:Rt* [sta:hʃ] 'started' (pret.), from E. (To O.I. **rt** corresponds Lb. *Rsd*, see above § 155, 1.)

160. After nasals, the facts are more complicated. The phonetic difference between aspirated and unaspirated stops is not too well defined in these clusters. The stops themselves are voiceless in all instances, and the nasal, completely devoiced before *p*, *t*, etc., is often partly devoiced even before *b*, *d*, etc. However, although there are no minimal pairs to show distinctions between aspirates and non-aspirates after nasals, pairs like *sāũNdəx* [sāũN̥dəx, sāũN̥təx] 'keen, ambitious' ~ *LāũNtað* [LāũN̥tað] 'lantern', *traNg* 'busy' ~ *baNk(ə)* '(sand) bank' indicate that at least two distinctions have to be made (*Nd* ~ *Nt* and *Ng* ~ *Nk*). The distribution of aspirates and non-aspirates

after nasals is partly dependent on the preceding vowel; the representative examples below will suffice to illustrate this.

161. *mb* and *mp* both correspond to O.I. **mp**: *jũmbəxəy* 'to convert' O.I. *impúd* 'turning', *ĩ:mpəðə* 'emperor' M.I. *imper*. E. *mp*: *trũmbad'* 'trumpet'.

162. *Nd* and *Nt* correspond to

- (1) O.I. **nt**, non-palatal: *bāũNtrəx* 'widow' M.I. *ban-trebthach*, *kāũNtraj* 'neap-tide' cp. M.I. *contracht*, *kəNtəx* 'guilty' M.I. *cintach*, *sāũNdəx* 'keen, ambitious' M.I. *sanntach* 'cupidus, avarus', *t'ũũNtəy* 'to turn' cp. O.I. *tintúth*, *tintúuth* 'translation'.
- (2) O.N. **nd** in *Ləx* 'sāũNdəvat' O.N. *Sand(a)vatn*.
- (3) E. *nd* and *nt*: *bəNtal* 'bundle', *LāũNtað* 'lantern', *pēNtəy* 'to paint', *pũũNd* (or *pũũNt*) 'pound (weight)'.

163. *N'd* and *N't* correspond to O.I. palatal **nt**: *dũ:N't(ə)* 'closed' *dũinte*, *ẽiN'd(ə)* 'in her' O.I. *innte*, *ẽiN'd'an* 'mind' *inntinn* (ultimately from Lat. *intentio*), *kāũN't* (*kāũN'd'?*) 'speech' M.I. *caint*, *kẽiN'd'əx* (*keiN'əx*) 'sure, certain' M.I. *cinntech*, *kLāũN'd'an* 'to hear' *cluintinn*, *Le:N't'an* 'shirts' M.I. *lénti*, *māũN'd'ər* (and *māũd'ər*) 'people' O.I. *muintər* 'familia', *sLā:N't'ə* 'health' M.I. *sláinte* (O.I. *slántu*).

164. *N'g* is found only in loans, where it usually corresponds to *ng* or *nk* in the language of origin: *bẽiN'g* 'bench' from Scots *bink* (according to MacBain), *fāũN'g* 'fank, the gathering of sheep for shearing; place where this is done', *tāũN'g* 'thanks', *tāũN'gal* 'thankful'; (ə) *rāũN'g* 'France' cp. Mod.I. an *Fhrain(n)c*.

165. *Ng* corresponds to

- (1) Older **ng**, **nc**: *kəNgí-an* 'medicine(s)' cp. M.I. *congnað* 'a helping', *pəNgəl* and *pəNgal* 'prompt, punctual' cp. M.I. *ponc* 'point'.
- (2) O.N. **ng** in *LaNgəðər* 'kind of sea-weed' O.N. *lang-* (**lang-* see *Appendix p. 372* fetill? See DOH p. 77), *RaNgəs* 'rubbing-piece (on boat)' O.N. *rang-* (cp. *rəng* gen. *rangar* 'rib').
- (3) E. [ŋ] or [yŋ] in *traNg* 'busy' Scots *thrang* (MacBain).

166. *Nk* corresponds to E. [ŋk] in *baNk(ə)* '(sand) bank', *īNk(ə)* 'ink'. *fūNk* 'anything' = *ka:l*, not often used, and characterized as a new word by one informant, is also probably from E.

Svarabhakti.

167. For the definition and phonetic description of svarabhakti, see pp. 27 ff.

The second vowel in a svarabhakti group is called the svarabhakti vowel. It is regularly a repetition of the first vowel in the group (although, of course, it may be represented by a different allophone such as in (ə) '*jaràmaLl*' 'Germany' where the first *a* is considerably more fronted than the second). An exception is '*Nāvì* 'd' *iæg* 'nineteen'. Svarabhakti vowels usually occur between consonants which cannot be combined in a cluster in the order given (e. g. *L* and *m*, *r* and *v*). If this latter rule were without exceptions, svarabhakti vowels might be described as non-significant vocalic glides appearing automatically between the members of certain consonant clusters. This interpretation is made impossible by the fact that svarabhakti vowels are also found (a) finally and before hiatus as in *faLà* (sg.), *faLà-u* (pl.) 'go (away)!', (b) between *L* and *p*, which are also found united in a cluster, cp. *kaLàp(ə)* 'calf of the leg' with *sǵaLpaj* island name, *sǵaLpiç* 'dandruff'.

. Both vowels in a svarabhakti group are always short. After long vowels, we sometimes meet with clusters not found after short vowels, such as *rf* in *mīārfaL* 'miracle' and *rx* in *mo:rxuf* 'proud, haughty' (cp. *baràfas* village name and *māràxəγ* man's name).

All vowels except *o* are found in svarabhakti groups; the absence of *o* may be purely accidental. The vowel *ε* is also very rare in svarabhakti, and *e* is found only in one svarabhakti word in my material (*mēðēg* 'rust').

168. Any svarabhakti vowel is preceded by a nasal, lateral, or r-phoneme, and may be followed by a consonant of almost

any class (stop, fricative, sibilant, nasal, lateral, r-phoneme, semivowel), providing that the latter consonant is heterorganic with the former. The absence of dental and prepalatal stops in this position is conspicuous and corresponds to a marked preponderance of precisely these stops in postvocalic clusters. The diagram below shows the recorded positions of svarabhakti vowels (the place of the vowel is marked by a hyphen; the symbol 0 stands for hiatus and final zero).

			<i>L-b</i>		<i>r-b</i>
	<i>n-p</i>		<i>L-p</i>		
			<i>l-ǵ</i>	<i>R-ǵ</i>	<i>ð-ǵ</i>
			<i>L-g</i>		<i>r-g</i>
	<i>N-k</i>			<i>R-k</i>	
	<i>n-v</i>		<i>L-v</i>	<i>l-v</i>	<i>r-v</i> <i>ð-v</i>
					<i>r-f</i>
<i>m-ç</i>	<i>N-ç</i>	<i>n-ç</i>			<i>ð-ç</i>
					<i>r-γ</i>
	<i>N-x</i>	<i>n-x</i>	<i>N'-x</i>	<i>L-x</i>	<i>L-x</i>
<i>m-f</i>					<i>r-x</i> <i>ð-x</i>
		<i>n-m</i>	<i>L-m</i>	<i>l-m</i>	<i>r-m</i> <i>ð-m</i>
<i>m-n</i>					
<i>m-r</i>					
				<i>l-j</i>	<i>ð-j</i>
			<i>L-0</i>		<i>r-0</i>

Besides these positions, where the last consonant is always of the postvocalic type, svarabhakti vowels are also found in some cases between a nasal, lateral, or r-sound and the initial consonant of a following stressed syllable, as in '*anà,keRsdas* 'bad treatment', '*fānā'xaLəx* 'old woman'.

169. Historically, the svarabhakti vowels stem from glides that arose between the heterorganic members of certain consonant clusters. The phenomenon is found in words of Norse and English origin as well as in the hereditary Gaelic material.

The following list, which gives examples of svarabhakti vowels in each of the positions listed above, will also serve to illustrate the historical development.

- L-b* : *aLàbə* 'Scotland' O.I. Albu.
r-b : *karàbad* 'wagon' O.I. carpat, *urùbəL* 'tail' M.I. erball.
n-p : *kanàp* 'hemp' (from *cainpthe 'hempen' rather than *cainp M.I. enáip 'hemp').
L-p : *kaLàp(ə)* 'calf of the leg' M.I. colptha.
l-ǵ : *l'ílǵal* 'to fling, throw' O.I. teilciud, *fulǵi* 'will suffer' cp. O.I. 2. plur. 'fulngid.
R-ǵ : *faRàǵə* 'rough sea' O.I. fairggæ, foirggæ, foirree.
ð-ǵ : *aðàǵəd* 'silver' O.I. argit, arggit.
L-g : *kaLàg* 'hair, fur' M.I. colgg, calgg 'bristle'.
r-g : *d'aràg* 'red' O.I. derg, *taràgad* 'target', from E.
N-k : *xũNũkəs* 'was seen'.
R-k : *kuRùkag* 'a bird (lapwing?)'.
n-v : *fēnē'vað* 'grandmother' M.I. senmáthir.
L-v : *taLàviN'* 'earth, land' (gen.) O.I. talman.
l-v : *d'alàv* 'to warp' cp. O.I. delb 'shape'.
r-v : *aràvər* 'corn' O.I. arbor, *maràv* 'dead' O.I. marb.
ð-v : *təðəv* 'bull' (gen.) M.I. tairb, *fəðəvafəx* 'servant' (from E.).
r-f : Only heard in the village name *baràfas* (also *baràvas* and *baràvhas*), from O.N. Borguóss? see VL p. 376.
m-ç : *l'imĩ'çəL* 'around' O.I. timmchell, *trumũçəN* 'dizzy'.
N'ç : *kāNā'çi* 'will buy'.
n-ç : *ānā'çi* 'knows' M.I. 1. sg. aithgnim.
ð-ç : *duðũçə* 'darker' cp. O.I. positive dorch(a)e.
r-γ : *mərðyan* 'gravel, shingle', *dərðy* 'fishing-line' O.N. dorg.
N-x : *dũNũ'xəy* 'Duncan' Donnchadh.
n-x : *fānə'xəs* 'story' O.I. senchas.
N'-x : *xəN'əxəs* 'will meet' (relative form).
L-x : (ə) *vaLàxu* 'boys!' (voc. pl.), *saLàchər* 'dirt' M.I. salchar.
L-x : *kaLàxən* 'wives, old women'.
r-x : *dərəx* 'dark' O.I. dorch(a)e, *urũxər* 'a shot' M.I. aurchor, erchor, etc.

- ð-x* : *faðàxgiN'* 'to feel'.
m-f : *āmā'fər* 'weather' O.I. aimser.
n-m : *ānā'm* 'name' O.I. ainm, *ānā'məx* 'late'.
L-m : *kaLā'mə* 'strong, brave' M.I. calma, *faLā'mar* 'haik, hake (fish)'.
l-m : *iliməg* 'navel' O.I. imbliu, *iliməx* 'to lick'.
r-m : *faràməd* 'envy' O.I. format, *Lurùməxg* 'naked' M.I. lomnocht.
ð-m : *kuðũm* 'to celebrate' O.I. cuirm 'ale, ale-feast', *bəðəm* 'yeast' M.E. berme.
m-n : *l'umũnəy* (*Nũāy*) '(New) Testament' cp. O.I. timne 'injunction'.
m-r : *imĩray* 'to mention' O.I. imrádud.
l-j : *dəljəs* 'sadness' cp. M.I. doilgi 'difficulty'.
ð-j : *suðũj* 'to court, woo' M.I. suirge.
L-0 : *māLā'-ən* 'eyebrows' cp. O.I. acc. pl. mailgea.
r-0 : *marə-əy* 'to kill' M.I. marbad.

Stressless Syllables

Structure

170. There are two types of stressless syllables:

Inherently unstressed are those syllables which have no stressed counterparts. Among these are the syllables which constitute the phonemic build of most conjunctions and particles, the article, and unstressed parts of polysyllabic words.

171. Unstressed by position are those syllables which are reduced forms of stressed syllables, which may lose their stress in certain environments.

Unstressed syllables occur in the following positions:

- Before the stressed syllable in stressed words.
- After the stressed syllable in stressed words.
- In unstressed words.

The structure of stressless syllables is much simpler than that of stressed syllables. There are no prosodemes of quantity or nasality (cp. §§ 30 and 36); the inventory of phonemes is somewhat reduced, and the number of possible clusters is smaller. The greatest variety of unstressed syllables is found in position b.

172. (a) In the position before the stressed syllable, the variety of unstressed syllables belonging to the same word is very small, as the great majority of polysyllables carry the stress on the first syllable. The most important exceptions are loanwords like *də'mbak(ə)* 'tobacco', *bə'Nta:t(ə)* 'potato(es)', *a'dres* 'address', *ɣa'resdiɣ* 'arrested' (preterite), and the names of weekdays: *d'ə'LiðN'* 'Monday', *d'ə'KiədiN'* 'Wednesday', etc. see *Indvordda* p. 372

173. (b) The stressed syllable of a word may be followed by one, two, or three unstressed syllables in the same word. The syllables recorded in this position are tabulated below. Most of these syllables occur in word-final position as well as medially; those which have only been recorded with another syllable following will be marked by hyphens.

With Single Consonant								With Cluster					
<i>a</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>içd'</i>				
<i>ab-</i>							<i>əb</i>		<i>axg</i>	<i>uxg</i>	<i>əxg</i>		
<i>ad</i>							<i>əd</i>		<i>aNt</i>	<i>ɔNt</i>	<i>uNt-</i>	<i>əNt-</i>	
<i>ad'</i>			<i>id'</i>				<i>əd'-</i>			<i>ɔN't</i>			
<i>aɣ</i>			<i>iɣ</i>						<i>aLt</i>		<i>əLt</i>		
<i>ag</i>							<i>əg</i>				<i>əLtr-</i>		
<i>at</i>									<i>aLt'</i>	<i>iLt'</i>	<i>əLt'</i>		
	<i>et'</i>	<i>et'</i>							<i>aRd</i>		<i>əRd</i>		
<i>ak-</i>										<i>uRn</i>	<i>əRn</i>		
							<i>əv</i>				<i>əRsd-</i>		
<i>aj</i>							<i>əj</i>				<i>əRp</i>		
			<i>iç</i>								<i>əRk</i>		
<i>aɣ</i>					<i>oɣ</i>		<i>əɣ</i>	<i>uɣ</i>			<i>əðk</i>		
<i>ax</i>				<i>ɔx</i>			<i>əx</i>			<i>ɔsd</i>	<i>əsd</i>		

With Single Consonant				With Cluster	
<i>am</i>				<i>əm</i>	<i>afd' ifd' ɔfd'</i>
				<i>uN əN</i>	<i>afɣ ifɣ</i>
<i>an</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>ən</i>		<i>un ən</i>	
<i>aN'</i>	<i>iN'</i>	<i>ɔN'</i>			<i>əsg</i>
<i>aL</i>				<i>əl</i>	
<i>al</i>	<i>il</i>	<i>əl</i>		<i>əl</i>	
<i>aL</i>	<i>iL</i>			<i>əL-</i>	
				<i>əR-</i>	
<i>ar</i>	<i>ir</i>			<i>ər</i>	
<i>að</i>				<i>əð</i>	
<i>as</i>				<i>əs us</i>	
<i>af</i>	<i>if</i>	<i>ɔf</i>	<i>uf</i>		

Examples.

With *a*: *barəbərə* 'Barbara', *bāNabi* 'woman neighbour', *kə-ad* 'to look', *basgad* 'basket', *kalaɣ* 'girl' (dative), *kalag* 'girl' (nominative), *Ləx* 'grūNəvat' name of a lake, *mīnakəð* 'vinegar', *tavaj* island name, *kə:Lay* 'together', *ɣibəRnax* 'cuttle-fish' (also *-əx*), *faranam* 'nickname', *aran* 'bread', *faLaN'* 'healthy', *ɔfɣaL* 'gospel', *togal* 'to lift, raise', *mīərfaL* 'miracle', *ka:lar* 'agreeable', *māiLað* 'miller', *fə:N'as* 'trifle', *ahəRaf* (also *-ɔf*) 'to mimic', *kə-axg* 'power', *kōmaNt* 'common', *ūā-aLt* 'lonely', *(ə)* 'N'd'edaLt' 'Italy', *sdaLaRd* 'spring balance', *sabaɣd'* 'a fight', *kəɣafɣ* 'conscience'.

With *ε*: *lə-ε* 'with her', *breslət'* 'bracelet'.

With *e*: *te-e* 'tea', *āiret'* 'strife, disagreement'.

With *i*: *daxi* 'a home', *fLiəsɪd'* 'thigh', *ga:liɣ* 'Gaelic', *āvhiç* 'neck', *Rudiɣin* 'something', *fəkiN'* 'to see', *Ləx* 'rɔfɣil' lake name, *fəkiL* 'tooth', *La:d'ir* 'strong', *d'ēviɣ* 'sheep-shears', *sə:riçd'(ə)* 'special, particular', *fəsgɪLt'(ə)* 'open', *(ə)* 'ði-ifd' 'again', *kāūriɣɣ* 'bareheaded'.

With *ɔ*: *lə-ɔ* 'with them', *ɣa:Rləx* 'Gairloch', *de:kən* 'deacon', *fəxɣəN'* 'week', *fə:məl* (also *fə:mal*) 'useful', *ahəRəɣ* (also *-af*) 'to mimic', *farəvəNt* 'servant', *'La-a nə 'sa:bəN't* 'Sunday', *Lu:rbəsd* village name, *brakɔfd'* 'breakfast'.

With *o*: *bo-o* 'a bow', *mī:voγ* 'an insult'.

With *u*: *faLu* 'empty', *iəRuN* 'iron', *N'i-un* 'girl', *mo:rxuf* 'haughty', *fuRuxg* 'shire, county', *i-uNtəx* 'surprising, curious', *juhuRn* 'hell'.

With *ə*: *pLad'ə* 'blanket', *d'i:ləb* 'heritage', *sə-əd* 'arrow', *fə-əd'an* 'patience', *kū-əg* 'narrow', *fə-əv* 'under you' (plural), *Lā:vhəj* 'axe' (dative), *d'eðəγ* 'end', *səLəx* 'dirty', *tut'am* 'to fall', *u:dəN* 'face', *fligən* 'shells', *fegəL* 'fear', *fə-əl* 'ford', *buəxəLə* 'shepherd', *kʃhəRəγ* 'earmark on sheep', *arəvər* 'corn', *obəð* 'work', *jp:Ləs* 'knowledge', *Nē-əxg* 'news', *kələNt(ə)* 'perfect', *sǰibəLt* 'active; smart', *ə-əLtranəs* 'adultery', *kagəLt'* '(old-fashioned) fireplace', *Ro-əRd* 'spring-tide', *d'ə'sahəRn* 'Saturday', *kʃvəRsdal* 'comfortable', *ə-ərp* 'effort', *frə-ərk* 'eyesight', *ə-əðk* 'horn', *ha-əsđ* 'still, yet', *mē-əfd'əð* 'master', *t'əgəsg* 'to preach'.

With *u*: *nə s* 'Luu-u' 'smaller', *turuγ* 'drought, dry weather', *turuus* 'journey, time'.

174. Vowel harmony. The vowels *a*, *ε*, *e*, *ə*, *o*, and *u* do not occur freely in word-final position, where each of them is found only after an identical stressed vowel followed by hiatus: *La-a* 'day', *lε-ε* 'with her', *te-e* 'tea', *lə-ə* 'with them', *bo-o* 'bow', *nə s* 'Luu-u' 'smaller'. Note, however, that *a* occurs finally also in some names such as *barəbərə* 'Barbara', *Rufi-a* 'Russia'. The vowels *i*, *u*, and *ə* are distinctive word-finally: *ǰaLi* 'will promise' ~ *faLu* 'empty' ~ *faLə* 'blood' (genitive). After identical stressed vowels and hiatus, all final vowels may be exchanged freely with *ə*: *La-a* or *La-ə*, *lε-ε* or *lε-ə*, *te-e* or *te-ə*, *lə-ə* or *lə-ə*, *bo-o* or *bo-ə*, *Luu-u* or *Luu-ə*; *fi-i* or *fi-ə* 'to knit, weave', *nə s* 'mū-*u* or *nə s* 'mū-*ə* 'bigger'. Some words with *-i* and probably some with *-u* are excepted from this rule; thus, the genitive of *biəγ* 'food' is always *bi-i*, never **bi-ə*. See also §§ 199 and 292. Sometimes, we find instances of vocalic harmony even before consonants and in non-final syllables: *Lə-ər* or *Lə-ər* 'book', *sə-əvəL* or *sə-əvəL* mountain name, *Ra-əd* or *Ra-ad* 'road'.

The variation between *ə* and "harmonic" vowels cannot be termed phonemic overlapping (cp. § 15); rather, the unstressed

vowel is so indeterminate and fluctuating in sound that it may variously be assigned to either phoneme.

In *turuγ* 'drought' and *turuus* 'journey, time', we have examples of vocalic harmony with an intervening consonant; these words may occasionally be perceived as *turəγ* and *turəs*. Compare also *fuRuxg* 'county' and *juhuRn* 'hell'; I have not heard these words with *ə*.

All unstressed vowels which participate in vocalic harmony will be identified with *ə* in the historical treatment.

Unstressed *u* is found only in vocalic harmony. *o* is found only in vocalic harmony and the word *mī:voγ* 'insult, impoliteness', where *-voγ* is a reduced lenited form of stressed *moy* '(polite) manner'. *ε* and *e* have been recorded only in one word each outside of vocalic harmony, *breslēt'* 'bracelet' (from English) and *āiret'* 'strife, disagreement' (cp. M.I. *a-m-réid* 'uneven, unreconciled'). The inventory of unstressed vowels to be dealt with further is thus reduced to five: *a*, *i*, *ə*, *u*, and *ə*.

As the table p. 144-5 shows, even these vowels are largely in complementary distribution. Thus, *i* and *ə* are rarely found in identical or similar environments; the same is true of *u* and *ə*. The syllables *uN* and *əN* are in complementary distribution, *uN* occurring after *b*, *R*, and *ɔ*: plus hiatus (*fiəbuN* 'soap', *iəRuN* 'iron', *Lə:-uN* 'lion'), *əN* in all other recorded environments. (This distributional rule is probably very incomplete, as both *uN* and *əN* are rather infrequent syllables in my material.) *un* is rare and is recorded only in *N'i-un* 'girl'.

Among the consonants, aspirated occlusives are very rare. *at* is found in the numerous lake names ending in *vat*; all other recorded instances of aspirated occlusives are listed among the examples above.

175. (c) Inherently unstressed words are all of a very simple phonemic build, and so are the unstressed forms of potentially stressed "form-words" (especially pronouns and prepositions). The following list includes most such words. For their meanings, see the chapters on the article, pronouns, prepositions, con-

junctions and particles; here we are only concerned with their phonemic structure. Many of the phonemic sequences listed have several meanings, such as *a*, which is article, possessive pronoun, preposition, relative particle, interrogative particle, and meaningless particle before adverbs.

a, ad, adər, aǵ, aǵə, aǵnə, aN, aNə, as, asnə, xa, xadə, ya, yan, yanə, ma, manə, maNtə, mas, nax, naxdə.

eð, eðə, eðnə, veð = feð, le, lenə, lef, lefnə.

i, mi, ði, ðifə, ðifnə.

ɔd, ɔs, ɔə, ɔənə, xɔ, xɔn, xɔnə, vɔ = vo, fɔ = fo.

u, du, fu.

ə, əd, ər, əs, də, gə, gən, gənə, mə, nə, sə, sən, fə.

Some of the words on this list contain apparent clusters which are not found in stressed syllables (e. g. *sn, fn, xd*). These are juncture phenomena rather than true clusters (cp. § 47); they could have been avoided by dividing up certain combinations (preposition plus article, conjunction plus preverbal particle) into two words each, but this would have created other difficulties, cp. my remarks p. 201.

176. Potentially stressed "lexical words" (notably nouns, adjectives, and verbs) which lose their stress under the influence of the sentence stress pattern or in word composition are often drastically reduced in phonemic structure. Initial consonants and clusters are nearly always preserved, although I have heard *asə Ndə 'xəfi* 'in the coffee-house', where the aspiration of the *t* of *təj, tə* 'house' is lost. Long vowels and diphthongs, however, are regularly replaced by short vowels, and final consonants and clusters are often reduced or lost: *sǵən ə 'vu:Rd* 'table knife' cp. *sǵiən* 'knife', *kru 'xərək* 'stack of oats' cp. *kruəx* 'stack'. Dissyllables with hiatus may be contracted: *ðifə N'ən 'duj* 'to the black (-haired) girl' cp. *N'ī-un* 'girl'. An example of extreme reduction is *mə 'sglə* 'schoolmaster', cp. *mē-əfd'əd* 'master'. Exceptional is *faiN'*, the reduced form of *fājiN'* 'to get', where the result of reduction is a diphthong.

Some further examples of reduction will be found in the discussion of the verbs, especially pp. 244—51.

Stable and caducous *a*.

177. Unstressed word-final *a* is nearly always dropped if followed by another vowel within the same pause-group: '*dūN'a* 'man' but '*dūN' 'a:Rad* 'a certain man'. It is preserved only in very slow or careful speech. An *a* which is dropped in this position, but preserved before pausa, will be termed stable.

In a great number of words, however, *a* is dropped everywhere except between consonants within the pause-group: '*Ndaiçə sə* 'this night', but '*aiç 'uər* 'a cold night', *eðə 'Ndaiç* 'at night'. Such an *a* will be called caducous and will be symbolized by (*a*) everywhere except in the rendition of connected speech: *aiç(a)* 'night'. Proclitic *a* (which usually constitutes a pronoun, preposition, particle, or the article) is regularly caducous; it is always dropped in normal speech except between consonants, even initially before such clusters as might be imagined to require a preceding vowel (*mb, Nt, etc.*)¹: '*xūNə fiN' ə 'mbaLəx* 'we saw the boy', but '*xūNə mi 'mbaLəx* 'I saw the boy', '*mbaLəx ə 'xūNə mi* 'the boy I saw'. Often, a particle, etc., dropped in this manner leaves its effect in the initial of the following word (see the chapter on initial mutations); thus, if we hear the two complete utterances *xrəsəbəsəd* and *Nkrəsəbəsəd* (as answers to the questions 'where [to]' and 'where' respectively), we know that the former contains the preposition (*a*)^{LF} 'to' which lenites a following initial and the latter the preposition (*a*)^N 'in, at' which nasalizes a following initial. If this village name is mentioned alone, without any preceding preposition, it is *krəsəbəsəd*. Some initials, however, are not susceptible to lenition or nasalization (see § 205), thus, the utterance *fd'ɔ:Rnəvay* may mean 'Stornoway', 'to Stornoway', and 'in Stornoway', and the presence or absence of one or the other preposition can be inferred only from the

¹ It is possibly retained in the pronoun *ər^h* 'our; your', but I have not heard this word in initial position.

context (preceding or following utterances). Cases like this, where a word with the phonemic shape (ə) is not directly observable but must be inferred from the context, are very frequent and may create difficulties for the readers of phonemic texts.

178. Two successive ə phonemes are replaced by one. It is immaterial whether we say that, in an utterance like 'NdūN'ə'xūNəmi 'the man I saw', the final (stable) ə of dūN'ə is dropped before the relative particle (ə), or that the relative particle is dropped after the final vowel of dūN'ə. This has consequences only for word division in the phonemic spelling; we choose arbitrarily to regard the preserved ə as the first in the sequence: 'NdūN'ə'xūNə mi.

A normally caducous, word-final ə is occasionally preserved before pausa, especially in the genitive of nouns of Type II and in the third person singular feminine and the third person plural of prepositional pronouns.

ə is always stable when preceded by a stressed vowel and hiatus.

Phonetics and History of the Separate Phonemes

Vowels.

a.

179. a is represented by the front allophone [a] in most positions. A more retracted allophone [ɑ] is found in the immediate neighbourhood of N, L, and R: [bāNāʔi] 'woman neighbour', [kʰʂhinaL] 'congregation', [staLaʔ] sdaLaRd 'spring balance'.

180. Historically, a corresponds to

(1) Various O.I. long vowels and diphthongs:

(a) O.I. **á**: ānal 'breath' O.I. anál, go-al, gu-al 'to take' O.I. gabáil, kūmal 'to hold' M.I. congbáil, fēnē'vað 'grandmother' M.I. senmáthir, began 'a little' O.I. becán and other diminutives in -an O.I. -án, imìray 'to mention' O.I. imrádud, ūāvasəx 'terrible' M.I. úathbásach.

(b) O.I. **é**: a 'he' O.I. é, elan 'island' M.I. oilén, ailén, kō-ad and kū-ad 'to look' O.I. comét 'to preserve', sǫǫal 'gospel' O.I. soscéle.

(c) O.I. **ó**: fiasag 'beard' M.I. fésóc and other diminutives in -ag M.I. -óc, kǎiLað 'candlestick' O.I. caindleóir and other words with the suffix -að O.I. -óir (ultimately from Latin -arius), mī-an 'middle' O.I. medón, ənað 'honour' M.I. dat. acc. onóir.

(d) Other vowels and diphthongs: fǫRsdanəx 'lucky, fortunate' cp. Mod.I. fortúnach, fʰūNtay 'to turn' cp. O.I. tintuúth, tintúth 'translation', kahað 'stool' O.I. cathaír, Lǎ:vay (also Lǎ:vəy, Lǎ:vhəy) 'axe' possibly from *lámh-thuagh 'hand-axe'.

- (2) Various O.I. short vowels lengthened (and subsequently shortened) in connection with the loss of a consonant: arəgəmad' 'quarrel' O.I. argum(e)int (if not from English), bānal 'beautiful' M.I. banamail 'womanly' and other words with the suffix -al O.I. -amail, fānad' 'to mock' M.I. fanamat, kəgafǫ 'conscience' M.I. co-cubus, kūNaRdəx 'dangerous' cp. O.I. cumtubart, cundubart 'doubt', fēnað 'grandfather' M.I. senathir.
- (3) Other O.I. short vowels in a limited number of words: ahəRaf (also ahəRəf) 'to mimick' M.I. aithris (aith-iris) 'to imitate', fǫi-aLəy, fǫihaləy 'to attend' M.I. frithalum 'attendance', iǫvaj 'facial expression' cp. M.I. imaig 'imago'(?), karabad 'wagon' M.I. carpat, kēinas 'hospitality' O.I. coibnius 'kinship', kuǫal 'distaff' M.I. cuicel, kī-aL 'a tie, to tie' M.I. cengal, Lə-ad 'a slope' cp. O.I. lethet 'breadth, size', LeçaN 'cheek', O.I. leth 'half' and cenn 'head', mī:haLu 'misfortune' (only recorded in the sense 'a scolding', 'jo u də 'vī:haLu 'you'll get a scolding') cp. the prefix mí- 'mis-' and O.I. selb 'possession', sNā:had (also sNā:həd) 'needle' M.I. snáthat.
- (4) Various O.N. vowels: long **á** in ka:Rləvay village name O.N. acc. Karlavág and other place names in -vay O.N.

vágr 'bay'; short **a** with secondary stress in *gðe:nəvaL*, *eɪ(ə)faL* mountain names O.N. Grónafjall, Eiðsfjall and other names in *-vaL*, *-aL* O.N. fjall 'mountain', *Læx* 'krø:gəvat lake name O.N. Krókavatn and other lake names in *-vat* O.N. vatn 'lake'; short stressless **a** (after a long vowel) in *Ra-anif* village name O.N. Ráarnes; further *āūLaj* man's name O.N. Áleifr (compare p. 92), *vatəsaɹ* island name O.N. Vat(n)søy and other island names in *-aj* O.N. øy 'island', *grumùsfadər* village name O.N. Gromssetr (? see VL p. 397). *ũN'ag* 'window' O.N. vind-auga and *aRsbag* 'the largest species of sea-gull' O.N. svartbagr have had their last components identified with the native diminutive suffix *-ag* (M.I. *-óe*, see 1, c above).

- (5) E. [ə] in a variety of combinations: *barəbərə* 'Barbara', *Rufi-a* 'Russia', *trəɪfar* 'plate' E. *trencher*, *mɛ:d'far* 'major', *paRsal* 'parcel', *bəNdal* 'bundle'. With attraction towards native suffixes: *patran* 'pattern', *pəɪfan* 'poison', *kufd'an* 'question', *tasdan* 'shilling' from Scots *testan*, *testoon*, *sNə:fan* 'snuff' from E. *sneezing* in *sneezing powder*, *kōmaNt* 'common', *mɪnad* 'minute', *Rə:sad* 'resin, rosin', *sđāmag* 'stomach', *travəlað* 'traveller', *fɪnəlað* 'general'.

i.

181. *i* in unstressed syllables is always a high front [i]. It is probably somewhat more lax before consonants than in final position and before vowels.

182. *i* corresponds to

- (1) O.I. short vowels before palatal consonants.

(a) With the following consonant preserved: *Ləhid* 'the like' M.I. lethet, lethit, *fLiasid* 'thigh' M.I. slíasait, *sNā:hid* 'needle' (genitive) M.I. snathaiti, *Rə-id* 'road' (genitive) M.I. roit, *hā:niɹ* 'came' O.I. 'tánaic, *mīniɹ* 'frequent, often' O.I. menic, *haRiɹ* 'pulled' M.I. do 'tharraing, *du:hiɹ* 'country, parish' M.I. dúthaig, *fudɪɹ*

'wait!' M.I. pres. fuirigim, *fjāniN* 'I would do' O.I. 'déninn, *juLhiN* 'cornyard' O.I. dat. ithlaind, *mādiN* 'morning' O.I. acc. matain, *fækil* 'tooth' O.I. fiacail, *kufil* 'vein' M.I. cuisle, *id'ir* 'at all' O.I. etir, *Lit'ir* 'letter' O.I. litir, *bāniɹ* 'wedding' M.I. banais, *egLif* 'church' O.I. eclais, *im'ifd* 'doubt' cp. O.I. imchesti 'contentiones', (ə) 'di-ifd' 'again' M.I. arithisi.

(b) Before a fricative which has been lost: *bēni* 'will touch' O.I. ben(a)id, *bi-i* 'food' (genitive) O.I. biid, *kruhi-əxg* 'creation' cp. M.I. cruthaigthech 'creative', *Labi* 'bed' M.I. lepaid, lepad, (ə) 'Nduri 'last year' O.I. ó'nn-urid (Wb 16^e14), *u:Rni* 'prayer, to pray' M.I. urnaigthe, irnigde, etc.

- (2) O.I. long **i** shortened in *i* 'she' O.I. sí.
- (3) O.N. short **i** and **e** before consonants which became palatal in Gaelic: *Rə:niLl* woman's name O.N. acc. Ragnhildi, *Læx* 'rəfɹil lake name derived from O.N. Hrossgil 'horse gully', *krē:biLl* 'garter' O.N. *knébelti, *Ra-anif* village name O.N. Ráarnesi and other place-names in *-niɹ* O.N. dat. nesi 'promontory'. Probably with attraction towards native suffixes: *ɹa:Ri* 'piece of land surrounding a house or shieling' O.N. gerði 'enclosure', *Nā:bi* 'neighbour' O.N. nábúi.
- (4) E. [i] and other stressless vowels in a great number of loans, some of them with Gaelic suffixes: *brāūdi* 'brandy', *kəfi* 'coffee', *mā:ði* 'Mary', *sɹilɹ* 'penny' cp. O.E. scilling, *pa:ðiɹ* 'field' (from M.E. parrok 'enclosure?'), *pəwɹiɹ* 'pair of trousers' E. *breeks*, *breeches*, *ɹresɹ* 'dressed' (preterite) and a great many other verbs with the suffix *-iɹ* (infinitive *-iɹəɹ*).

ɔ.

183. *ɔ* is usually a low back rounded and somewhat lax vowel. In the prepositions *fɔ*, *fə* 'under' and *vɔ*, *və*, *fɔ*, *fə* 'from' it is often higher and apt to fall together with the phoneme *o*;

this is also true, but not so often, of the dependent preterite *Rə*, *Ro* when unstressed.

184. *ɔ* corresponds to

- U a í
- (1) Older *á* in *d'íavəN* 'idle' M.I. *dí-máin* 'vain'.
 - (2) O.I. *o* or *a* in *fexgəN* (gen. *fexgənəx*) 'week' O.I. *sechtmon* gen. *sechtmaine*.
 - (3) O.I. *a* in the suffix *-əl* O.I. *-a mail: fe:məl* 'useful' cp. Mod.I. *feidhmeamhail*, *d'efəl* 'ready, finished', etc. This suffix is *-əl* in some speakers, *-al* in others.
 - (4) Other vowels occasionally: *ǵa:Rləx* 'Gairloch' from an older **gerr-loch* 'short loch', *ahəRəf* = *ahəRaf* 'to mimic' M.I. *aithris*, *fə* 'under' O.I. *fə*, *və*, *fə* 'from' O.I. *ó*, *úa*.
 - (5) O.N. *ó* in *Lur:əbəs*d and numerous other village names in *-bəsd* O.N. acc. *bólstað* 'farm'.
 - (6) Various E. sounds: *brakəf*d' 'breakfast', *de:kən* 'deacon', *karkəf* 'carcass', *farəvəNt* 'servant'.

u.

185. *u* has the high central rounded allophone [ú] (described § 66) in all positions except in the immediate vicinity of *N*, *L*, and *R*, where the high back rounded open allophone [U] is used: [iəRUN] 'iron', [t'aLU] 'earth', [fURUəxk] 'county'.

186. *u* corresponds to

- (1) O.I. short vowel plus labial fricative in word-final position: *āN'u* 'scarce' cp. M.I. *annam*, *d'īānu* 'to do, make' O.I. *dénium*, *faLu* 'empty' O.I. *folam*, *kehu* 'to be consumed; consumption' O.I. *ca(i)them*, *fesu* 'to stand' M.I. *sessom*, *keru* 'fourth' O.I. *cethramad* (the suffix *-u* has been generalized in the ordinals, cp. § 281); *arku* 'Orkney' from the older *i n-Orcaib* 'among the Orcs' (Watson p. 100), *eð* 'biaLu' 'in front of' M.I. *ar do bélaib* 'before your eyes', *hugu* 'to you' (plural) O.I. *cuc(c)uib* and several other prepositional pronouns in the 2. pl. (some, however, have final *-əv*, see § 270), *kLāju* 'sword' O.I. *claideb*, *Lānu*

'baby' M.I. *lenab*, *fu* 'you' (plural) O.I. *sib*. The imperative plural forms (e.g. *faLā-u* 'go (away)!', *kuðu* 'put!') contain the pronominal element *-u* (O.I. *-ib*, *-aib*, *-uib*) found in the prepositional pronouns; I believe that the same is true for vocative plural forms like (ə) '*vaLāxu* 'boys!', (ə) '*xənu* 'dogs!' which Borgstrøm supposes to represent old dative forms.

- (2) Older long *ú* in *mo:rxuf* 'proud; haughty', cp. *mo:r* 'great' and *ku:f* 'state, condition, matter'.
- (3) O.N. stressless vowel in combination with labial fricative in *kLo-u* or *kLə-u* 'pair of tongs' O.N. cas. obl. *klofa*.

Preconsonantal stressless *u* is usually in complementary distribution with *ə* and has the same origins as the latter.

ə.

187. This is a mid-central vowel, phonetically closely related to stressed *ə* (§ 72). It is pronounced with little tension and is easily influenced in timbre by surrounding vowels and consonants; in some positions it is in free variation or complementary distribution with other vowels, see above, § 174. Between two dentals or two alveolars, it is often represented by syllabic pronunciation of one of the consonants: [k'atL] *kadəL* 'sleep', [ifanŋ] *ifanən* 'chickens'. Also between an alveolar and a dental or prepalatal: [yanŋ 'N'ũN'ə] *yanə* 'NdũN'ə 'to the man', [yanŋ 'N'əx] *yanə* 'N'd'ex 'to the horse', but not if the alveolar comes last: [U:Lən] *u:Lən* 'apples', never *[U:Lŋ].

188. *ə* is a very frequent vowel; my material contains more examples of *ə* than of all other unstressed vowels together. It represents

- (1) Any O.I. short vowel.

(a) With stable *ə* (and other vowels in free variation with *ə*, see § 174 above): *aLābə* 'Scotland' O.I. *Albu*, *āN'ə* 'knowledge' O.I. *aithgne*, *aidgne*, *nəs* 'asə' 'easier' O.I. *assu*, *balə* 'village, town' M.I. *baile*, *bale*, *blīəNə*

'year' O.I. acc./dat. blíadnai, *dr̥m̥a* 'back' (genitive) O.I. drommo, *dūN̥a* 'man' O.I. du(i)ne, *d̥ā:N̥a* 'men' O.I. doíni, *fada* 'long' M.I. fota, *f̥ā:N̥a* 'ring' O.I. áne, *faR̥áǵa* 'rough sea' O.I. fairggæ, foirggæ, foirree, *fi-a*, *fi-i* 'to weave, knit' O.I. fige, *f̥a-a* 'under him' O.I. fou, *fūN̥a* 'to bake' O.I. fuine, *guij̥a* 'to swear' O.I. guide, *hiǵa* 'to him' O.I. cuc(c)i, *ima* 'about him' O.I. imbe, *kað̥a* 'fault, guilt, cause' O.I. caire, *kLuç̥a* 'to play' O.I. cluiche, *k̥ō:L̥a* 'door (-valve)' M.I. comla, *k̥ōi-a* 'heart' O.I. cride, *La-a*, *La-a* 'day' O.I. lae, laa, *n̥a s 'Lu-a* 'smaller' O.I. laugu, lugu, laigiu, *b-a* 'with them' O.I. leu, leo, lethu, *Le:n̥a* 'shirt' O.I. léine, *m̥ād'a* 'stick' M.I. maite, *m̥āL̥a* 'eyebrow' O.I. mala, *mar̥a* 'sea' (genitive) O.I. moro, mora, *m̥i:l̥a* 'thousand' O.I. míle, *n̥a s 'm̥i:s̥a* 'worse' O.I. messa, *m̥ūj̥a* 'churn' M.I. muide 'vessel', *n̥a s 'm̥ū-u*, *n̥a s 'm̥ū-a* 'bigger' O.I. móo, mó u, etc., *N̥i-a* 'to wash' M.I. nigi, nige, *sǵin̥a* 'knife' (gen.) M.I. sceine, *fLi-a* 'way' M.I. slige, *t̥ān̥a* 'thin' O.I. tanae, *tu-u* 'thatch' M.I. tuga, tuige, *t̥ān̥a* 'fire' O.I. teine, *t̥ēγ̥a* 'tongue' O.I. teng(a)e.

(b) With caducous *a*: *afd'(a)* 'out of her', *asd(a)* 'out of them' and nearly all other prepositional pronouns in the plural and the feminine singular, *bāif(a)* 'wedding' (genitive) M.I. baindse, baindsi, *aic(a)* 'night' O.I. dat. aidchi, *fāk(a)* 'saw' (dependent preterite) O.I. 'accæe, *iç(a)* 'to eat' O.I. ithe, *it'(a)* 'feather' O.I. itte, ette, *Lep(a)* 'bed' (gen.) M.I. leptha, *fN̥ēxg(a)* 'snow' O.I. snecht(a)e, *t̥aif(a)* 'ghost' cp. O.I. taidbsiu 'to show', *usfǵ(a)* 'rain; water' O.I. usce.

(c) With non-final *a*: *ad̥ar* 'between' O.I. eter, etir, *āj̥aL* 'angel' O.I. aingel, *ān̥am* 'soul' O.I. anim(m), *at̥aR̥(a)* 'between them' O.I. etarru, etarro, *bj̥āN̥axg* 'blessing' O.I. bendacht, *dar̥as* 'door' O.I. dorus, *d'ar̥agad* 'flea' O.I. dergnat, *a:br̥aN̥* 'ankle' O.I. odbrann, *a:v̥ar* 'cause, reason' O.I. adbar, *fak̥aL* and *fāk̥aL* 'word' O.I. focul, *fesg̥ar* 'evening' O.I. fescor, *f̥a-əd* 'under you' O.I.

fout, *f̥a-əm* 'under me' O.I. foum, *go-ar* 'goat' O.I. gabor, gabur, *i:b̥aRd* 'sacrifice' O.I. edbart, idbart, *j̥ān̥ay* 'would do, make' O.I. 'dénad, *kaL̥am* man's name M.I. Colum(b), *kal̥ax* 'cock' O.I. cailech, *k̥ag̥ay* 'war' O.I. cocad, *ko-əd* 'comfort' O.I. cobir, *L̥osg̥ay* 'to burn' O.I. loscud, *N̥āh̥ad* 'adder, grass-snake' O.I. nathir, *L̥ūj̥as* 'navy' M.I. longes 'fleet', *L̥ūn̥ay* 'to fill' O.I. línad, *pek̥ay* 'sin' O.I. peccad, peccath, *R̥āv̥ar* 'fat' O.I. remor, *R̥o-ay* 'frost, hoar' O.I. réud, *se-əd* 'arrow' O.I. saiget, *sbir̥ad* 'spirit' O.I. spirut, *f̥ān̥āx̥as* 'story; to chat' O.I. senchas, *t̥af̥ax* 'beginning' O.I. tossach, *t̥im̥i'ç̥aL* 'around' O.I. timmchell, *veð̥ay* 'would give' O.I. 'bered, *u:dr̥am* 'light' O.I. étromm.

- (2) Various older long vowels, diphthongs, and phoneme sequences, sporadically: *ai-æxg* 'lodgings, as for a night' M.I. óigedacht 'hospitality', *fa:L̥as* 'skylight' (in old-fashioned houses) M.I. forléss, *k̥af̥axg* 'to walk' M.I. cossidecht, *Leh̥ad* 'half-hour' (leth 'half' and úair 'hour'), *Leç̥ad* 'fifty, half-hundred' (cét 'hundred').
- (3) O.N. short vowels: *ak̥ad* 'anchor' O.N. akkeri, *bo-o*, *bo-a* 'submerged rock' O.N. cas. obl. boða, *bo-o*, *bo-a* 'bow' O.N. cas. obl. boga, *f̥a-əl* 'ford' O.N. acc. vaðil, *n̥a 'her̥ay* 'Harris' O.N. Heruð(?), *iðv̥ar* man's name O.N. acc. Ívar, *k̥r̥asab̥osd* village name O.N. acc. Krossabólstað, *kujh̥ar* village name O.N. Kvíar, *L̥āγ̥a* 'ling' (a fish) O.N. langa, *R̥a:-aL* man's name O.N. acc. Rognvald, *s̥o-avaL* or *s̥o-vaL* mountain name O.N. Sauðafjall, *su̥aR̥d̥aL* village name O.N. acc. Svarðdal, *tar̥af̥ǵar* 'peat-iron' O.N. torfskeri, *tot(a)* 'thwart' (oarsman's bench) O.N. þopta.
- (4) Other O.N. sources: *L̥ou-as* 'Lewis' O.N. Lj̥óðhús, *elan* 'cr̥asaj name of many islets connected with land at low tide' O.N. *Orfirisøy.
- (5) E. unstressed vowels or syllabic consonants; *b̥at̥aL* 'bottle', *fu:d̥ar* 'gunpowder', *m̥ēt̥al* 'metal', *m̥āid'aN* 'maid, bride' cp. O.E. mægðen, *p̥ōi:s̥aN* 'prison', *sup̥al* 'supple, flexible'.

a has in some cases been interpolated as an auxiliary vowel between consonants, e. g. in *kaganəy* 'to chew' M.I. *cocnam*, *kðiaxənəxəy* 'to end' M.I. pres. *críchnaigim*, *bukəs* 'box' (from English).

189. The addition of a final *a* occurs in a few Norse loans: *ba:t(a)* 'boat' O.N. acc. *bát*, *tot(a)* 'site of a (ruined) house' O.N. topt. This *a* is caducous. A stable *a* occurs at the end of a very large number of English loans, either before or after the final consonant.

(a) Before the consonant: *bði-as* 'breeze' *də-as* 'dose', *hə-as* '(rubber) hose', *pju-ər* 'pure', *fe:-ər* 'chair'.

(b) In word-final position: *dələ* 'doll', *dresə* 'dress', *fəina* 'fine, thin', *flagə* 'flag', *kəilə* 'wheel', *kðu-a* 'crew', *pələ* 'pail', *pe:nə* '(window) pane', *pēnə* 'pen', *sda:lə* 'stall', *sualə* 'big wave, swell', *fe:nə* 'chain', *te-a* 'tea', *tənə* 'tin', *to:-a* 'hoe', *trəgə* 'trick'.

Consonants.

190. Most consonants are represented in unstressed syllables, but aspirated occlusives are very rare. Outside of the clusters *Lt*, *Lt'*, *Nt*, and *Nt'*, they probably only occur in syllables which had secondary stress until a fairly recent period. *j* and *h* are absent, and *f* is only potentially distinct from *v* (in the prepositions *vɔ^L*, *fɔ^L* 'from' ~ *fɔ^L* 'under'). The inventory of clusters is greatly reduced.

191. For the phonetic description of consonants in unstressed syllables, I refer to the discussion of the phonetics of stressed consonants (pp. 98–131), from which the former do not differ noticeably. The only difference I can find is that postvocalic *d'*, *g'*, and *g* seem to be pronounced with more muscular tension in unstressed syllables than in stressed (contrary to what might be expected); compare [*k'arit'*] 'friend', [*ga:lik*] 'Gaelic', [*fu:lak*] 'sea-gull' with [*gəd'*] 'to steal', [*Laqə*] 'weakness', [*Lag*] 'weak' (phonemically *karid'*, *ga:liq'*, *fu:lag*; *gəd'*, *Laqə*, *Lag*). This statement is not valid for postvocalic *d*, which is usually

[*t*] both in stressed and unstressed syllables, and *b*, which is nearly always [*β*].

192. The historical development is similar to that found in stressed syllables. The following list is a brief survey of the main sources of the different consonants in position *b* (enclitic syllables within the word). In the second column, the abbreviation O.I. stands for both Old and Middle Irish. O.I. **b**, **d** and **g** represent fricatives only (except after consonants).

Lb. phoneme	Historical equivalent	Typical example
<i>b</i>	O.N. b	<i>krəsəβəsd</i> village name O.N. acc. Krossabólstað
<i>d</i>	O.I. t non-pal. O.N. t	<i>farəməd</i> 'envy' O.I. format <i>grumūsfədər</i> village name O.N. *Gromssetr ¹
<i>d'</i>	O.I. t pal. O.I. nt pal.	<i>karid'</i> 'friend' O.I. car(a)it <i>arəgəmad'</i> 'quarrel' O.I. argum(e)int
<i>g'</i>	O.I. c pal. ng pal.	<i>rā:niq'</i> 'reached' O.I. rán(a)ic <i>taRiq'</i> 'to pull' M.I. tarraing
<i>g</i>	O.I. c non-pal. O.I. ng non-pal.	<i>fiasag</i> 'beard' M.I. fésóc <i>fuLəg</i> 'to suffer' O.I. fulang
<i>v</i>	O.I. b O.N. v O.N. f	<i>ūNəv</i> 'in you' (pl.) cp. O.I. indib Lake names in <i>-vat</i> O.N. <i>-vatn</i> Mountain names in <i>-val</i> O.N. fjall (fell)
<i>j</i>	O.I. g pal. O.N. diphthong element	<i>īəvaj</i> 'facial expression' M.I. imaig Island names in <i>-aj</i> O.N. <i>-əy</i>
<i>γ</i>	O.I. d non-pal. O.I. th non-pal. O.N. ð O.N. g	<i>məLəγ</i> 'to praise' O.I. molad <i>t'əūNtaγ</i> 'to turn' O.I. tintúth <i>nə</i> 'herəγ' 'Harris' O.N. Heruð(?) Bay names in <i>-vaγ</i> O.N. acc. <i>-vág</i>

¹ See VL p. 397.

Lb. phoneme	Historical equivalent	Typical example
ç	O.I. g pal.	<i>ur:diç</i> 'clothing' (gen.) O.I. étaig
x	O.I. ch non-pal. O.I. g non-pal.	<i>ur:dæx</i> 'clothing' (nom.) O.I. étach <i>aLtxæγ</i> 'to say grace' O.I. attlugud
m	O.I. m(m) , mb	<i>ānəm</i> 'soul' O.I. anim(m), <i>kaLəm</i> man's name M.I. Colum(b)
N	O.I. nn non-pal. O.I. ng non-pal.	<i>ə:brəN</i> 'ankle' O.I. odbrann. <i>esgəN</i> 'eel' O.I. escung
n	O.I. n non-pal. O.I. n pal. O.N. n	<i>mī-an</i> 'middle' O.I. medón <i>taf'anæx</i> 'pleasant' M.I. taitnemach Promontory names in <i>-nif</i> O.N. dat. -nesi E. [n] <i>de:kən</i> 'deacon'
N'	O.I. nn , nd pal.	<i>ðnð'xiN'</i> 'brain' O.I. inchinn, <i>juLhiN'</i> 'cornyard' O.I. dat. ithlaind
L	O.I. n pal. O.I. ll non-pal. O.I. l non-pal.	<i>mādiN'</i> 'morning' O.I. acc. matain <i>mðgəL</i> 'mesh (of net)' O.I. mocoll <i>kðhinaL</i> 'congregation' O.I. eomthinól
	O.N. ll	Mountain names in <i>-vaL</i> , <i>-aL</i> O.N. fjall
	O.N. ld	<i>Rə:əL</i> man's name O.N. acc. Rognvald
	E. [l]	<i>bətəL</i> 'bottle'
l	O.I. l pal. O.N. l	<i>go-al</i> 'to take' O.I. gabáil <i>fə-əl</i> 'ford' O.N. acc. vaðil
	E. [l]	<i>paRsal</i> 'parcel'
L	O.I. ll pal.	<i>buæxəLæγ</i> 'shepherding' M.I. búachaillecht
	O.I. l pal.	<i>fəkiL</i> 'tooth' O.I. fiacail
R	O.I. rr	<i>atəR(ə)</i> 'between them' O.I. etarru
r	O.I. r non-pal. O.I. r pal. O.N. r	<i>ahər</i> 'father' (gen.) O.I. athar <i>Lit'ir</i> 'letter' O.I. litir <i>kujhər</i> village name O.N. Kvíar

Lb. phoneme	Historical equivalent	Typical example
r	E. [r]	<i>dəgdər</i> 'doctor'
ð	O.I. r pal. O.I. r non-pal. O.N. r E. [r]	<i>ahəð</i> 'father' (nom.) O.I. ath(a)ir <i>kərəð</i> 'four (persons)' O.I. cethrar <i>akəð</i> 'anchor' O.N. akkeri <i>t'əγəð</i> 'tether'
s	O.I. s , non-pal. O.N. s E. [s]	<i>səLəs</i> 'light' O.I. solus 'bright' <i>Ləu-əs</i> 'Lewis' O.N. Ljóðhús <i>bukəs</i> 'box'
f	O.I. s pal. O.N. s	<i>egLif</i> 'church' O.I. ecl(a)is Promontory names in <i>-nif</i> O.N. dat. -nesi

193. The history of consonant clusters is closely similar to that of clusters in stressed syllables. Note, however, that *sd*; *fd'*, and *fǵ* sometimes represent older single consonants: *ferəsd(ə)* 'easy' M.I. urusa, erusa, etc., (ə) 'ði-ífd' 'again' M.I. arithisi, *kəgafǵ* 'conscience' M.I. co-cubus.

Modern nominative singular forms with palatal finals often correspond to older dative, genitive, and accusative forms. This phenomenon is found especially in (feminine) nouns, but also occasionally in adjectives, e. g. *faLaN'* 'healthy' M.I. follán.

194. In words which are always or nearly always unstressed, the absence of initial aspirated occlusives is noteworthy. Several of these words had initial tenues in O.I.: *gən^L* 'without' O.I. cen, *gə^N* 'that' O.I. co, *gə* 'until' O.I. co, *du* 'you' (sing.) O.I. tú (*d* also in the stressed form *du*: and the emphatic form *dusə*). Compare also the loanwords *bə'Nta:t(ə)* 'potato(es)' and *də'mbak(ə)* 'tobacco'.

Juncture and Sandhi

195. There is a strong tendency to devoice otherwise voiced consonants when prepausal or utterance-final: [*xüð at 'fjʃǜləγ*

eð, *əγəs* 'f^hkał', *əγəs* 'bðnat' ə N'həið' að] 'they put a kilt on him, and a jacket, and the soldier's cap'; [*magə m'əγ i 'gaL*] 'as if she were crying'. This devoicing does not cause any phonemic changes; voiced fricatives, for instance, are not replaced by inherently voiceless ones. Thus, [*jaLəγ*] 'would promise' is different from [*jaLəx*] 'the moon'; the phonetic difference consists in a much stronger friction on the part of the inherently voiceless phoneme.

196. Voiced consonants, especially nasals, laterals, and r-sounds, may be partially or completely devoiced before voiceless consonants in word juncture: [*eð 't'w:v ə 'xLađiç*] 'beside the shore', [*ha nə 'N'ú:L' t'ú le 'dərðxəđəs*] 'it is overcast', literally 'the clouds are thick with darkness'. The same consonants are usually devoiced before voiced consonants in word juncture: [*grðŪN nə 'hāinə*] 'the bottom of the river', [*'bðiN' mə 'vrə:gən*] 'the soles of my shoes', [*'begaŋ 'vliŪNiçən*] 'a few years', [*'vʊsł mi*] 'I struck'.

197. Word-final *R*, *r*, and *ð* form retroflex allophones (see § 139) with following dentals and prepalatals in a number of fixed expressions where the juncture may be regarded as especially close. Phonemically, *r* and *ð* are replaced by *R*, and prepalatals are replaced by dentals, so that we get clusters like *Rs* [*ʃ*], *Rd* [*d*], etc. This kind of juncture will be symbolized by ɹ: (ə) 'f^hR_sən [(ə) 'fæʃən] 'that man, that one', cp. *f^hr* 'man' and *f^hn* 'that', (ə) 'NduəR_sən [(ə) 'N'Uəʃən] '(at) that time, then', cp. *uəð* 'time, hour', 'k^həR.'diəg ['k'ehə'diəg] 'fourteen', cp. *k^həð* 'four' and *d'iaγ* '-teen', 'tə:R_nə 'fa:R ['t'ɔ:ɲə'fa:R] 'much better', cp. *tə:R* 'much'. But: (ə) 'Ndobəð *f^hn* 'that work', *as ər* 'd'ə-i 'after us'.

198. Metathesis is found in the initial clusters *hr* and *hj* after vowels: 'gle: 'rhuəγ ['gle:r 'huəγ] 'very sad' from *gle:* and *hruəγ*, *aNə* 'jhɔ: [aNəj 'hɔ] and *aNə* 'hjɔ 'here', *nə* 'jhuxrəx [nəj 'hUxrəx] and *nə* 'hjuxrəx 'the key' (genitive).

199. A final unstressed *γ* is often dropped before consonants;

this occurs regularly in conditional forms of verbs before personal pronouns, see § 293.

A final stressless *i* is often replaced by *ə* before consonants, especially in the independent future of verbs, see § 292.

On the elision of stressless *ə* see §§ 177–8; on the elision of *a* in *ha* 'is', *va* 'was', see § 301.

MORPHOPHONEMICS

Initial Mutations

200. By initial mutations we shall understand certain recurrent changes in the initial phonemes of words (and in the separate components of compound words). These changes are usually conditioned by preceding morphemes. Thus, the possessive pronoun *mə* 'my' demands that a change of the type called lenition take place in the following word: *mā:həð* 'mother ~ *mə* 'vā:həð 'my mother', *d'efə* 'suit' ~ *mə* 'jefə 'my suit'. The change is morphemically a part of the pronoun, of which it is an important characteristic, not of the noun, whose meaning is not affected by the change as such. A morpheme which demands an initial mutation in the next word is not exhaustively described unless we provide it with a symbol for this quality, for instance a superscript *L* for lenition (*mə^L* 'my'). In the morphological section of this paper, this device will be used consistently. (See Eric P. Hamp, "Morphophonemes of the Keltic Mutations", *Language* 27.3, 1951.)

201. The mutating element must precede the mutated element immediately, and there must be a close syntactic relation between the two. The chief mutating elements belong to the following classes:

- (a) The article (§ 248).
- (b) Possessive pronouns (§ 255).
- (c) Prepositions (§§ 270-1).
- (d) Numerals (§ 277-81).
- (e) Nouns (mutate only attributive adjectives and attributive nouns, § 242).

- (f) Adjectives (mutate only following adjectives in juxtaposition, §§ 241-2).
- (g) Conjunctions, particles, and interrogatives (§ 314-19).
- (h) The copula (§ 304).
- (i) The first element of compound words, and derivational prefixes (not discussed in this grammar).

202. In some cases, lenition constitutes a morpheme (or at least an allomorph) by itself, without the necessity of any preceding element, such as in the independent preterite of regular verbs (*xuð* pret. ~ *kuð* imperative 2. sg. of the verb *kur*, *kuð* 'to put'). This use of lenition must not be confused with the many instances where the lack of a preceding element is only apparent and due to the predictable dropping of a caducous *a*, see § 177.

203. The term radical is used for the unchanged or basic initials, as found in utterance-initial nouns, predicative adjectives, and the imperative of verbs. Morphemes which demand radical initial in the next word might be marked with a superscript *R* (e. g. *xə^R* 'as, so' before adjectives), but we dispense with this by stating that radical initial is implied when nothing else is specified.

204. Consonantal mutations are changes in initial consonants, including the dropping of a consonant (*f*) and the prefixation of consonants (nasalization); prevocalic mutations consist of the prefixation of consonants to initial vowels. Prevocalic mutations apply not only to words with radical initial vowel but also to words which lose an initial prevocalic *f* by lenition. The semi-vowel *j* behaves in several respects like the vowels.

Consonantal Mutations.

205. All consonants except *j*, *γ*, *ç*, *x*, *n*, *r*, and *ð* may function as radical initials, but *v*, *h*, and *l* are rare as radicals (only in place-names of Norse origin and English loan-words: *vatasaj* island name, *hiRsd* 'St. Kilda', *la:ri* 'lorry'). Among the clusters,

those with initial nasal, *v*, *γ*, *x*, and *h* do not occur as radicals; the only exception is *mbr* in *mbrã-æn* 'women'.

Some consonants and clusters are immutable, i. e. they are not subject to initial mutations but preserve their radical forms in positions where other consonants are mutated. These are *v*, *h*, *L*, *l*, *N*, all clusters with *s* or *f* plus stop (except *sdr*), further *sm*, *smj* (and probably the rarely occurring *sw* in English loans). *ð* is also immutable, but in a different way: as an initial, it is found only in some adverbs and prepositional forms which are never exposed to mutations. Some further initials are subject to lenition but not to nasalization, see the table of mutations below.

206. Nasalization (morphophonemic symbol *N*) consists in the prefixation of nasals to initial stops (on the pronunciation of the resulting clusters see § 96). Other consonants remain unchanged.

Lenition (morphophonemic symbol *L*) consists in the exchange of initial stops, sibilants, and *m* with fricatives, the exchange of *N'*, *L*, and *R* with *n*, *l*, and *r* respectively, the dropping of *f*, the dropping of *s* and *f* before certain consonants, and the reduction of *sdr* to *r*.

Lenition after article (morphophonemic symbol *L_a*) is in reality a combination of nasalization (of dentals and prepalatals) and lenition (of labials, mediopalatals, and velars), supplemented by some other changes in sibilants. This type of mutation is found after the article in the dative and genitive singular masculine and in the nominative and dative singular feminine, cp. § 248.

207.

Unaspirated stops.

Radical	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d'</i>	<i>ǵ</i>	<i>g</i>
Nasalized	<i>mb</i>	<i>Nd</i>	<i>N'd'</i>	<i>N'ǵ</i>	<i>Ng</i>
Lenited	<i>v</i>	<i>γ</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>γ</i>
Len. after art.	<i>v</i>	<i>Nd</i>	<i>N'd'</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>γ</i>

Aspirated stops.

Radical	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>
Nasalized	<i>mp</i>	<i>Nt</i>	<i>N't'</i>	<i>N'k</i>	<i>Nk</i>
Lenited	<i>f</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>h, hj</i>	<i>ç</i>	<i>x</i>
Len. after art.	<i>f</i>	<i>Nt</i>	<i>N't'</i>	<i>ç</i>	<i>x</i>

Nasals, laterals, and r-sounds.

Rad. and nas.	<i>m</i>	<i>N'</i>	<i>L</i>	<i>R</i>
Lenited	<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>r</i>
Len. after art.	<i>v</i>	<i>N'</i>	<i>L</i>	<i>R</i>

Sibilants, *f*, and *j*.

Radical	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>j</i>
Nasalized	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>N'd'</i>
Lenited	<i>h</i>	<i>h, hj</i>	zero	<i>j</i>
Len. after art.	<i>Nt</i>	<i>N't'</i>	<i>Nd, N'd'</i> , zero	<i>N'd'</i>

s- and *f*-clusters.

Rad. and nas.	<i>sN</i>	<i>fN'</i>	<i>sL</i>	<i>fL</i>	<i>sdr</i>
Lenited	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>L</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>r</i>
Len. after art.	<i>Ntr</i>	<i>Ntr</i>	<i>NtL</i>	<i>Ntl</i>	<i>Ntr</i>

208. Examples:

b: *baLæx* m. 'boy' ~ nas. (ə) '*mbaLæx* 'the boy' ~ len. (ə) '*vaLiç* 'boy!' ~ len. after art. *γanə* '*vaLæx* 'to the boy'.

d: *dũN'ə* m. 'man' ~ nas. (ə) '*NdũN'ə* 'the man' ~ len. (ə) '*γũN'ə* 'man!' ~ len. after art. *ðifə* '*NdũN'ə* 'to the man'.

d': *d'ivəL* m. 'devil' ~ nas. (ə) '*N'd'ivəL* 'the devil'; *d'efə* f. 'suit' ~ len. *mə* '*ʃefə* 'my suit' ~ len. after art. (ə) '*N'd'efə* 'the suit'.

ǵ: *ǵaRəγ* 'to cut' ~ nas. *gə* '*N'ǵaRəγ a* 'that he would cut' ~ len. *ja:R a* 'he cut'; *ǵãürəγ* 'winter' ~ len. after art. *asə* '*ʃãürəγ* 'in (the) winter'.

g: *ga:liǵ* 'Gaelic' ~ nas. *aNə* '*Nga:liǵ* 'in Gaelic'; *gðian* f. 'sun' ~ len. (ə) '*γðian* 'the sun' ~ len. after art. *asə* '*γðe:N* 'in the sun'.

p: *pə:səy* 'to marry' ~ nas. *gə* 'mpə:səy ad 'that they would marry' ~ len. 'fə:s i 'she married'; *pððūs* m. 'prince' ~ len. after art. 'Ləx ə 'fððūs 'the Prince's Loch'.

t: *tuahanəx* m. 'farmer' ~ nas. (ə) 'Ntuahanəx 'the farmer'; *trðūm* 'heavy' ~ len. *rə* 'hrðūm 'too heavy'; *ta:Ləð* 'tailor' ~ len. after art. 'ifanən ə 'Nta:Ləð 'the tailor's chickens'.

t': *t'iaLiğəy* m. 'funeral' ~ nas. (ə) 'N't'iaLiğəy 'the funeral'; *t'iligal* 'to throw' ~ len. *hillig* 'threw'; *t'ðūNtay* 'to turn' ~ len. *hjðūNtaj* 'turned' (pret.); *t'ānə* 'fire' ~ len. after art. *xənə* 'N't'ānə 'to the fire'.

k: *kāūN* m. 'head' ~ nas. (ə) 'NKāūN 'the head' ~ len. (ə) 'çāūN 'his head' ~ len. after art. *asə* 'çāūN 'in the head'.

k: *kat* m. 'cat' ~ nas. (ə) 'Nkat 'the cat' ~ len. 'da: 'xat 'two cats' ~ len. after art. *yanə* 'xat 'to the cat'.

m: *mūLəx* m. 'top; roof' ~ nas. (ə) 'mūLəx 'the top' ~ len. (ə) 'vūLəx ə 'Nteħ 'onto the roof of the house' ~ len. after art. *eðə* 'vūLəx 'on the top'.

N': *N'ēd* m. 'nest' ~ nas. (ə) 'N'ēd 'the nest'; *N'i-un* 'girl' ~ len. (ə) 'nī-un 'girl!' ~ len. after art. *ðifə* 'N'i-un 'to the girl'.

L: *Labi* f. 'bed' ~ len. *də* 'labi 'your bed' ~ len. after art. *yanə* 'Labi 'to (the) bed'.

R: *Ruəði* man's name ~ len. (ə) 'ruəði (vocative); *Ra-əd* 'road' ~ len. after art. *eðə* 'Ra-əd 'on the road'.

s: *səid'að* m. 'soldier' ~ nas. (ə) 'səid'að 'the soldier' ~ len. *ha a na* 'həid'að 'he is a soldier' ~ len. after art. *ðifə* 'Ntaid'að 'to the soldier'.

f: *fesu* 'to stand' ~ nas. *ha ad na* 'fesu 'they are standing' ~ len. *ha mi na mə* 'hesu' I am standing'; *faLəy* 'to look; sight' ~ len. 'faLə 'as mə 'hjaLəy 'go out of my sight'; *fəxgəN'* f. 'week' ~ len. after art. (ə) 'N't'əxgəN' 'the week'.

f: *fa:g* 'leave!' ~ nas. *gə* 'fa:g a 'that he will leave' ~ len. *nax* 'a:g a 'that he will not leave'; *ful* f. 'blood' ~ len. after art. (ə) 'Ndul 'the blood'; *fəkiL* f. 'tooth' ~ len. after art. (ə) 'N'diakiL 'the tooth'; *fjə:l* f. 'meat' ~ len. after art. (ə) 'N'd'ə:l 'the meat';

fru:x m. 'heather' ~ len. after art. 'elan ə 'ru:ç 'Isle of (the) Heather' (a poetical name for Lewis).

j: *jaLə* 'swan' ~ nas. *nə* 'N'd'aLiçən 'of the swans'; *jaLəx* 'load' ~ len. after art. *lefə* 'N'd'aLəx 'with the load'.

sN: *sNā:həd* f. 'needle' ~ len. 'da: 'nā:həd (or -id) 'two needles' ~ len. after art. (ə) 'Ntrā:həd 'the needle'.

fN': *fN'ēxg(ə)* m. 'snow' ~ len. *də* 'nēxg 'of snow' ~ len. after art. *lefə* 'Ntrēxg 'with the snow'.

sL: *sLat* f. '(fishing-) rod' ~ len. 'da: 'Lat 'two rods' ~ len. after art. (ə) 'NtLat 'the rod'.

fL: *fLēviN* 'slippery' ~ len. 'gle: 'lēviN 'very slippery'; *fLi-ə* f. 'way' ~ len. after art. (ə) 'Nlli-ə 'the way'.

sdr: *sdrāiy* f. 'string' ~ len. 'da: 'rāiy 'two strings' ~ len. after art. (ə) 'Ntrāiy 'the string'.

209. As the lenited counterpart of *t'* and *f*, *h* is used before *i*, *e*, and usually *ε*, as well as diphthongs beginning with *i* or *e*. I have no certain examples for the position before *u*, where both *t'* and *f* are rare. Before other vowels and diphthongs, *hj* is used. Before *ε*, there is vacillation: *mə* 'hēnað and *mə* 'hjēnað 'my grandfather'. The vacillation between *ε* and *ja*, described § 145, operates in the word *t'ānə* 'fire' whose lenited forms are *hēnə* or (rarely) *hjānə*.

210. English loanwords occasionally retain an initial *f* in positions where lenition is expected: (ə) 'frɛ:sən, bɔ:rəy 'to Fraserburgh'. Lenited *f* after the article is zero before consonants other than *j*; before vowels and *j*, we get prevocalic nasalization whose palatal or non-palatal quality depends on the following phoneme (see vocalic mutations below).

Prevocalic Mutations.

211. Prevocalic mutations consist, as already mentioned, of the prefixation of consonants to initial vowels, including vowels which become initial by the lenition of *f*. Initial *j* receives the same mutations as high front vowels, but *j* itself is dropped

except in the first mutation (prefixation of *h*) (*juLəð* 'eagle', (ə) 'N'd'uLəð 'the eagle', *də* 'juLəð 'of an eagle', but *nə* 'hjuLəð 'of the eagle').

(a) Prefix *h-* (morphophonemic symbol ^h): *a:Rad'* 'particular' ~ *gə* 'ha:Rad' 'particularly', *eç* 'horses' ~ *nə* 'heç 'the horses'.

(b) Prefix *Nd-* or *N'd'-* (morphophonemic symbol ^N): *aiç(ə)* 'night' ~ (ə) 'Ndaiç(ə) 'the night'; *ifan* 'chicken' ~ *nə* 'N'd'ifanə 'of the chickens'.

(c) Prefix *t-*, *t'-* (morphophonemic symbol ^T) occurs only together with nasalization after the article in the nominative singular masculine: *ahəð* 'father' ~ (ə) 'Ntahəð 'the father', *εx* 'horse' ~ (ə) 'N't'εx 'the horse'.

(d) Prefixation of the fricatives *γ-*, *ǰ-* (morphophonemic symbol ^F): *fa:g* 'leave!' ~ *γa:g* 'left' (pret.), *iç(ə)* 'to eat' ~ *ha mi dəL ə* 'ǰiç 'I am going to eat'.

(e) Prefix *g-*, *ǰ-* (morphophonemic symbol ^G) is only found after the "infinitive mark" (ə)^G (cp. §§ 271 and 310): *u:Rni* 'to pray' ~ *ha a* 'gu:Rni 'he is praying', *iəsgəx* 'to fish' ~ *ha a* 'ǰiəsgəx 'he is fishing'.

212. For each mutation except the first, there are two consonantal prefixes, one palatal and one non-palatal. The palatal prefixes are used before *i*, *e*, *ε*, *ei*, *iə*, *ia*, and *j* ("slender vowels"), the non-palatal ones before all other ("broad") vowels.

Some words with *ε* and one with *e* receive non-palatal prefixes against the rule. My certain examples are *ε-ə* gen. sg. and *ε-ən* nom. pl. of *əγ* m. 'heifer' (gen. with art. (ə) 'Nde-ə), *εt'u* 'to thaw' (with infinitive mark *get'u*). Note *gə* 'fēk a 'that he will see' ~ *xə* 'Ndēk a 'he will not see' (but regularly *fēkiN* 'to see' ~ (ə) 'ǰēkiN' '(in order) to see', if my early notation of this form is reliable).

Some words with *ə* and *u* receive palatal prefixes contrary to the general rule: *əgLif* (also *egLif*) 'church' (with article (ə) 'N'd'əgLif), *fəyiN* 'some (people)' ((ə) 'N'd'əyiN *ǰin* 'those (people)'), (?) *ənd'xiN* 'brain'; *urübəL* 'tail' (with article (ə) 'N't'urübəL, quoted from memory), (?) *urüxər* 'a shot'.

This list of exceptions would probably be greatly extended if the material were complete.

Relations between Consonantal and Prevocalic Mutations.

213. Every mutating morpheme requires one type of consonantal and one type of prevocalic mutation, and should, in principle, be provided with a morphophonemic symbol for each. In many instances, however, one symbol will be a sufficient description of the mutating qualities of the morpheme. The chief combinations of consonantal and vocalic mutations are the following:

Consonantal mutation	Prevocalic mutation	Morphophonemic symbol	Sample mutating morpheme
radical	none	none	<i>xə</i> 'so, as'
radical	<i>h-</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>ərh</i> 'our'
radical	<i>g-</i> , <i>ǰ-</i>	<i>G</i>	(ə) ^G (infinitive mark)
nasalized	<i>Nd-</i> , <i>N'd'-</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>aNəN</i> 'in'
nasalized	<i>Nt-</i> , <i>N't'-</i>	<i>NT</i>	(ə) ^{NT} (see § 211, c)
lenited	none	<i>L</i>	<i>gle:L</i> 'very'
lenited	<i>γ-</i> , <i>ǰ-</i>	<i>LF</i>	<i>dəLF</i> , (ə) ^{LF} 'to'
lenited	<i>Nd-</i> , <i>N'd'-</i>	<i>LN</i>	<i>xəLN</i> 'not'
lenited after article	<i>Nd-</i> , <i>N'd'-</i>	<i>La</i>	<i>asəLa</i> 'in the' (sg.)

Other combinations are found in a few instances; these will be mentioned in the morphology (see especially irregular verbs, § 307, and the conjunctions [particles] *manə* and *nax*, § 317).

Irregular Initial Mutations,

such as *h ~ d*, are found in some irregular verbs, which also show irregular relations with the mutating morphemes; see the paradigms § 307.

Non-Initial Mutations

Palatalization.

214. The term palatalization denotes certain non-initial mutations of consonants and vowels, both stressed and unstressed. It may be used as a morpheme by itself or combined with terminations.

There are three sets of final consonants: (morphophonemic) non-palatals *d t g k γ x h s N n L r*, palatals *d' t' g' k' j ç f N' L' l ð*, and neutrals *b p v f m R*. The neutrals are not susceptible to palatalization. Consonantal palatalization means that a non-palatal consonant or cluster is replaced by a palatal consonant or cluster. The correspondences are as follows:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Non-pal.	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>γ</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>L</i>	<i>L</i>	<i>r</i>
Pal.	<i>d'</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>g'</i>	<i>k'</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>ç</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>N'</i>	<i>N'</i>	<i>L'</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>ð</i>

As *R* combines only with non-palatals in clusters (*Rd*, *Rn*, etc.), these clusters are neutral. The cluster *xg* is neutral although it consists of two non-palatals.

215. In monosyllables with svarabhakti, palatalization affects both the consonant before and the consonant after the svarabhakti vowel: *baLàg* 'bellows' gen. *bulùg'*. If one of these consonants is neutral, the other may nevertheless be palatalized: *sguràv* 'cormorant' pl. *sgaððv*.

Examples of consonantal palatalization: 1. *sNā:həd* 'needle' ~ gen. *sNā:hid'*, 2. *sLat* 'rod' ~ gen. *sLet'*, 3. *kalag* 'young girl' ~ gen. *kalag'(ə)*, 4. *sLək* 'a pit' ~ gen. *sLuk'*, 5. *sLuəγ* 'people, crowd' ~ gen. *sLuəj*, 6. *frux* 'heather' ~ gen. *fruç*, 7. *duh* 'black' ~ gen. f. sg. *dujə*, 8. *sLəs* 'light' ~ gen. *sLif*, 9. *krakəN* 'skin' ~ gen. *krakiN'*, 10. *auran* 'song' ~ gen. *auran'*, 11. *fi-əL* 'fiddle' ~ gen. *fi-iL*, *dauL* 'blind' ~ gen. *daiL*, 12. *d'iaəL* 'devil' ~ gen. *d'iaəL*, *kur:L* 'narrow' ~ gen. *kur:l*, 13. *ɔ:r* 'gold' ~ gen. *ɔ:ð*.

216. The palatalization of a final consonant or cluster is very

often accompanied by a mutation of the vowel or diphthong preceding the mutated consonant (of both vowels in svarabhakti monosyllables). The same or similar vocalic mutations are found in words with neutral final (cp. *kliəv* 'creel, hamper' ~ gen. *kle:v* with *iəsg* 'fish' ~ gen. *e:fg*). We shall call these mutations vocalic palatalization. When we speak of palatalization in morphology, we shall understand both purely consonantal, purely vocalic, and combined palatalization. All three have exactly the same grammatical functions.

When it is convenient to regard the palatalized form as primary, we shall use the term depalatalization, as in the gen. *faLə* of the nom. *ful* 'blood'.

217. In stressed syllables, we find the following types of vocalic palatalization:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Non-pal.	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a:</i>	<i>a:</i>	<i>a:</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>e</i>
Pal.	<i>ε</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>ε:</i>	<i>ɔ:</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>
	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	
Non-pal.	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>ɔ:</i>	<i>ɔ:</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ur:</i>	<i>ur:</i>	
Pal.	<i>u</i>	<i>ur</i>	<i>ε:</i>	<i>u:</i>	<i>ur</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ur</i>	<i>əi</i>	<i>ui</i>	
	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	
Non-pal.	<i>au</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>ɔu</i>	<i>ia</i>	<i>ia</i>	<i>ia</i>	<i>iə</i>	<i>iə</i>	
Pal.	<i>ai</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>əi</i>	<i>əi</i>	<i>(j)ɔ:</i>	<i>(j)ɔ:</i>	<i>e:</i>	<i>e:</i>	<i>i:</i>	

Examples: 1. *kat* 'cat' ~ gen. *ket'*, 2. *māk* 'son' ~ gen. *mīk'*, 3. *kas* 'leg' ~ dat. *kəf*, 4. *aLt* 'knuckle' ~ gen. *uLt'*, 5. *Lā:v* 'hand' ~ gen. *Lāiv(ə)*, 6. *ta:v* 'hand-net' ~ gen. *tə:v*, 7. *fa:d* 'single peat, sod of peat' cp. '*mō:N'ə* '*da:* '*ɔ:d* 'peat in two layers (in the peat-bank)' (literally 'two-sod peat'), 8. *ex* 'horse' ~ gen. *eç*, 9. *kərk* 'hen' ~ gen. *kiðk(ə)*, 10. *bðek* 'trout' ~ pl. *bðik'*, 11. *ɔLk* 'evil' ~ gen. *ulK'*, 12. *Ləsgəγ* 'to burn' ~ pret. *Lwfg'*, 13. *tə:b* 'bay' ~ gen. *tə:b*, 14. *fə:L* 'sail' ~ gen. *fu:l*, 15. *kroh* 'cattle, cows' ~ gen. *kruj*, 16. *sgoLtəγ* 'to split' ~ pret. *sgəLt'*, 17. *uh* 'egg' ~ pl. *ujən*,

18. *gur*: 'wind' ~ dat. *gəi*, 19. *Lur:γ* 'calf' ~ gen. *Lui¹*, 20. *kauL* 'to lose' ~ pret. *xaiL*, 21. *kāūN* 'head' ~ gen. *kēiN'*, 22. *krāūN* 'mast' ~ pl. *krēiN'*, 23. *tuL* 'hole' ~ pl. *təiL*, 24. *biaL* 'mouth' gen. ~ *bjə:l*, 25. *īān* 'bird' ~ pl. *jō:N'*, *ǰiay* 'goose' ~ pl. *ǰo:j* (and *ǰo:j*), 26. *bōiag* 'a lie' ~ dat. *bōe:ǰ*, 27. *gōian* 'sun' ~ dat. *gōe:N'* 28. *Līān* 'net' ~ pl. *Lī:N'*.

In svarabhakti words:

	29	30	31	32
Non-pal.	<i>a à</i>	<i>a à</i>	<i>ə ð</i>	<i>ə ð</i>
Pal.	<i>u ù</i>	<i>ə ð</i>	<i>u ù</i>	<i>ə ð</i>

Examples: 29. *kaLàg* 'hair, fur' ~ gen. *kulùǰ*, 30. *sgarāv* 'cormorant' ~ pl. *sgəðəv*, 31. *dərəx* 'dark' ~ comparative *duðùç(ə)* (also recorded *duðùçə*). Mutation 32 is somewhat doubtful; it was recorded once in *gəðəman* 'indigo dye', obviously containing the morpheme *ǰərəm* 'blue'. But 'more blue' was taken down as *guðùmə* according to 31.

218. In unstressed final syllables, the only vocalic palatalization is the substitution of *i* for *ə* and *u* before certain consonants:

Non-pal.	<i>-əd</i>	<i>-əx</i>	<i>-əs</i>	<i>-əL</i>	<i>-əN</i>	<i>-uN</i>	<i>-un</i>
Pal.	<i>-id'</i>	<i>-iç</i>	<i>-if</i>	<i>-iL</i>	<i>-iN'</i>	<i>-iN'</i>	<i>-iN'</i>

Examples: *sNā:həd* 'needle' ~ dat. *sNā:hid'*, *sə-əx* 'vessel' ~ dat. *sə-iç*, *səLəs* 'light' ~ gen. *səLif*, *fākəL* 'word' ~ pl. *fākiL*, *esgəN* 'eel' ~ dat. *esgiN'*, *iəRuN* 'iron' ~ gen. *iəRiN'*, *N'i-un* 'girl' ~ gen. *nə 'hī-iN'*.

-id' is in free variation with *-əd'*: *sNā:hid'* is also heard as *sNā:həd'*. The palatalized form of *-əγ* is usually *-i* (no Lb. word ends in *-ij*): *ǰāūrəγ* 'winter' ~ gen. *ǰauri*, *mərəxəγ* 'Murdo(ch)' ~ voc. *mərəxi*; but *Lā:vhəγ* 'axe' has the palatalized gen. *Lā:vhəj*.

In other cases, a stressless vowel is preserved before palatalized consonant: *bradan* 'salmon' ~ gen. *bradaN'*, *ka:Rləvaj*

village name ~ gen. *ka:Rləvaj*, *ūiN'ag* 'window' ~ gen. *ūiN'ag*, *fəvər* 'autumn' ~ gen. *fəvəð*, *d'ivəL* 'devil' ~ gen. *d'ivəL*, *de:kən* 'deacon' ~ gen. *de:kəN'*.

In *Ra-əd* 'road' ~ gen. *Rə-id'* and *Le-ad* 'slope' ~ gen. *Lə-id'*, both the stressed and unstressed vowels are mutated; the latter word has irregular mutation of *ε* to *ə*.

Mutations of Quantity.

219. Many dissyllabic word stems are contracted (synco-pated) before terminations, especially when the stem has hiatus. Contracted forms often have long vowels corresponding to short vowels in uncontracted forms. In principle, any short vowel may be lengthened in contraction: *karid'* 'friend' ~ pl. *ka:Rdən*, *bri-iN'* 'to speak' ~ fut. *brī:N'i* (and *brīN'i*), *Lə-ər* 'book' ~ pl. *Lə:riçən*, *so-əL* 'barn' ~ pl. *so:Liçən*, *u-əL* 'apple' ~ pl. *u:Lən*, *Lə-ər* 'hoof' ~ pl. *Lə:rən*. *Ra-əd* 'road' has combined lengthening and palatalization in the plural: *Rə:d'ən*. Short *ā* becomes *āi* in *ājəL* 'angel' ~ pl. *āiən*, *āviN'* 'river' ~ gen. *āiənə* pl. *āiñiçən*, *bāniç* 'wedding' ~ gen. *bāiç(ə)*; it becomes *āi* in *gāviN'* 'yearling calf' ~ pl. *gāiənə*.

220. Another type of quantitative mutation is the one where short stressed vowels occur in some forms, long vowels or diphthongs in others, according to the following principle: Short vowel is found before a single consonant followed by a vowel belonging to the same word, long vowel or diphthong before a word-final single consonant and before clusters (whether word-final or not). The consonant following the mutated vowel must be *m*, *N*, *N'*, *L*, *L'*, or *R*. My material contains these sub-types:

	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42
Long or diphth.	<i>a:</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>əu</i>	<i>əu</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>ei(əi)</i>	<i>əi</i>	<i>əi</i>	<i>əi</i>
Short	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ə</i>

33 is found only before *R*, the others before nasals and laterals.

¹ A final *-uij* is incompatible with the phonemic system.

Examples: 33. *t'a:R* 'tar' ~ gen. *t'aRə*, 34. *kāũm* 'crooked' ~ compar. *kāmə*, *faul* 'look!' ~ fut. *'faLə mi*, 35. *frũũN* 'harrowed' (pret.) ~ inf. *prũNəγ*, 36. *xũũm* 'held' (pret.) ~ inf. *kũmal*, *LũũN* 'launching-roller' ~ pl. *LũNən*, 37. *xaiL* 'lost' (pret.) ~ fut. *kaLi*, 38. *bēiN'* 'mountain' ~ gen. *bēN'ə*, 39. *heiL* 'turned' (pret.) ~ inf. *fiLəγ*, 40. *māiLə* 'mill' (genitive) ~ nom. *māliN'*, 41. *kLāiN'd'an* 'to hear' ~ fut. *kLũN'i*, 42. *kəiL't'an* 'woods' ~ sg. *kəLə*.

Combined Mutations.

221. Palatalization and mutations of quantity may enter into the same paradigm, so that we get combined mutations. A stem morpheme ending in one of the crucial consonants (*m*, *N*, etc.) may have allomorphic variation between three or four vowels as in the following sample systems (A means non-palatal, B palatalized, α diphthongal, β short monophthongal; the numbers refer to the lists of vocalic mutations above):

A	B	A	B	A	B
α <i>au</i> - 21 - <i>ei</i>		α <i>ɔu</i> - 23 - <i>əi</i>		α <i>au</i> - 21 - <i>ei</i>	
34	38	35	41	34	39
β <i>a</i> - 1 - <i>ε</i>		β <i>ɔ</i> - 12 - <i>u</i>		β <i>a</i> - 2 - <i>i</i>	

A	B
α <i>au</i> - 20 - <i>ai</i>	
34	37
β	<i>a</i>

An example containing a full set of four vowels is *bjāũNtən* 'mountains' ~ *bēiN'* nom. sg. ~ *bēN'ə* gen. sg. ~ *bjāNan* diminutive 'little mountain'. In my material, there are few stem morphemes that occur in combinations sufficiently varied to yield a full vowel set, but several mutations are best understood

if we assume underlying systems of possibilities such as those outlined above. Thus, on finding that the noun *drũim* 'back; ridge' has the genitive *drũmə*, we do not have to conclude that we are in the presence of a new mutation $\partial i - \partial$, but may describe the change as a combination of two mutations already known, either 23 $\partial i - \partial u$ and 35 $\partial u - \partial$ or 41 $\partial i - u$ and 12 $u - \partial$. In other words, we assume, if only as an explanatory device, an intermediate link **drũũm* or **drũm-*. This device is justified by the not infrequent instances where such an intermediate link actually exists. Thus, *drũm-* is found in the diminutive *drũman* 'little ridge'. Further instances are *kauL* 'to lose' ~ *xaiL* 'lost' (preterite) ~ *kaLi* 'will lose' (mutations 20 and 37), and *t'āũN* 'tight' ~ *t'āNəxəγ* 'tightening; constipation' ~ *t'iN'ə* 'tighter'. For *trũũm* 'heavy' ~ *trũmə* 'heavier' we assume an intermediate **trũũm* (mutations 23 and 41) or **trũm-* (mutations 35 and 12), etc.

Further Vocalic Mutations.

222. Some variations of vowels cannot be classed with any of the mutations dealt with above.

(a) (*j*)*a* - ϵ before n-sounds. Before *N*, (*j*)*a* is found but not ϵ (except in recent loans): *LāNtiN'* 'to follow', *bjāNtiN'* 'to touch'. If the n-sound is *n*, there is a variation which is partly free and partly dependent on the preceding consonant: *Lāni* 'will follow', but rel. fut. *lēnəs*, pret. *lān* or *lēn* (the latter two are very similar phonetically: [*lā·n*] and [*lǣn*]); *bēni* 'will touch', pret. *vēn*. *t'ānə* 'fire' has the lenited forms *hjäñə* [*hǣñ·nə*] and *hēñə* [*hǣñə*]. For phonemic vacillation between *ja* and ϵ compare § 145.

(b) Some vocalic mutations resemble palatalization either in grammatical function or in consonantal environment, but are not attested in environments which mark them clearly off as instances of palatalization. Among these are: $\epsilon \sim \partial$ in *t'eh* 'hot' ~ comparative *t'ə-ə*, *LshiN'* 'wide, broad' ~ compar. *Lə-ə*, *Lε-ad* 'a slope' ~ gen. *Lə-id'*; *u \sim i* in *t'uh* 'thick' ~ compar. *t'i-ə*; *u \sim i*

in *t'urùmæxəγ* 'to dry' ~ *t'idoəm* 'dry' (adj.); *iə* ~ *i* in *sgian* 'knife' ~ gen. *sgīnə*, *biəγ* 'food' ~ gen. *bi-i*; *ε* ~ *ə* in *tehən* pl. of *təj* 'house', *ε-ən* pl. of *əγ* 'heifer'; *a* ~ *ə* in *trajən* (also *trəjən*) pl. of *trəj* 'foot'.

(c) A number of mutations are quite unclassifiable; such are *ju* ~ *ε* in *pju-ər* 'sister' ~ gen. *pehər*, *u* ~ *ə*: in *dūN'ə* 'man' ~ pl. *dā:N'ə*, *o*: ~ *a*: in *bo*: 'cow' ~ gen. *ba:*, *u*: ~ *ə* in *ku*: 'dog' ~ gen. *k5N'*.

MORPHOLOGY

The Noun

Gender.

223. Nouns are divided into masculines and feminines. The distinction between the genders appears

- (a) In the form of a preceding article in the nominative and genitive singular (nominative masculine (*ə*)^{NT}, feminine (*ə*)^{La}; genitive masculine (*ə*)^{La}, feminine *nə^h*).
- (b) In the initial of a following adjective, likewise in the nominative and genitive singular: it is radical in the nominative masculine and the genitive feminine, lenited in the genitive masculine and the nominative feminine.
- (c) In the personal and possessive pronouns which refer to the nouns. Masculine nouns are substituted by masculine pronouns, feminine nouns by feminine pronouns. This rule is not without exceptions, see below. In the plural, the pronouns are the same for both genders.
- (d) In inflection: All nouns of the inflectional type I are masculine; all nouns of Types II, IV, and V are feminine. Types III and VI, however, contain nouns of both genders.
- (e) In the last part of many polysyllabic stems.¹ Typically masculine stem endings are *-an*, *-aδ*, *-əδə*, *-əγ*, *-əs*; typically feminine are *-ag*, *-ad'*, *-əxg* (*-axg*). Most of these are derivational suffixes. The suffix *-əx* is frequent both in masculine and feminine nouns.

¹ The nominal stem is formally identical with the nominative singular.

It should be noted that if a noun has been recorded only in the dative singular or in any plural case form, its gender cannot be determined with absolute certainty.

The genders have no meaning; they are merely two classes of nouns. They are, however, connected with sex in human beings and many species of animals (mostly domestic animals and game). Male beings are usually denoted by masculine nouns, female beings by feminine nouns. There are several exceptions: *trəç* 'dwarf' and *go-ər* 'goat' are always feminine and *ǵiay* 'goose' always masculine, regardless of sex. *bəðəNəx* 'woman' and *əy* 'heifer' are masculine although they denote female beings. Where gender is in direct conflict with sex, it is the latter which determines the selection of masculine or feminine pronouns.

muð 'sea' and *taLu* 'earth, land, soil' are masculine in the nominative and feminine in the genitive singular (they probably have no plural; in the dative singular the gender distinction does not become apparent): '*muð* 'garəv' 'rough sea' ~ '*ku nə* 'marə (for '*kur* . .) 'seasickness'; '*taLu* 'māh' 'good land' ~ '*Le nə* 'taLəviN' 'half (of) the land'.

Number.

224. There are three numbers, singular, plural, and dual. Dual forms are always bound forms: they occur only after the numeral *da:L* 'two'. The dual has, at least in the nominative and dative, the same form as the dative singular, which is identical with the nominative singular except in feminines of Type II. In these feminines, however, the dual is palatalized more consistently than the dative singular. For the gen. dual, I have only one example, '*mð:N'ə* '*da:* 'ə:d' 'peat of two layers (cut in two layers from the peat-bank)', where 'ə:d' is the gen. dual of '*fa:d* 'a peat'. The plural has the meaning 'more than one' (including 'two' when the numeral *da:L* is not prefixed).

The plural is expressed by non-initial mutations of the stem or by terminations added to the stem, sometimes both.

Case.

225. There are four cases: nominative, dative, genitive, and vocative. The vocative is always preceded by the particle (ə)^L (usually heard only as lenition of the initial consonant). In the plural, there is complete syncretism of nominative and dative; in the singular, the dative is potentially different from the nominative in words of Type II. Otherwise, the dative singular differs from the nominative singular only by causing lenition in a following adjectival or nominal attribute. The dual lacks a vocative and has probably complete syncretism of the three other cases.

For notes on the grammatical functions of the cases, see pp. 202 ff.

226. The cases are expressed by non-initial mutations, terminations, or combinations of both. Morphemes of case and morphemes of number are usually interwoven to such a degree that it would be purposeless to attempt to separate them linearly.

The initial consonant of a noun is conditioned by the immediately preceding element. If no nasalizing or leniting element precedes, the initial is radical. A noun, whether in the genitive or nominative, which is an attribute to a preceding noun without intervening article or pronoun, receives lenition according to the same rules as attributive adjectives. Thus, we find lenited consonant in the attributive noun in '*gLas* 'xɾəxi' 'padlock' (literally 'lock of hanging') and '*bLāniǵ* 'vuk' 'lard (of pig)' because *gLas^L* and *bLāniǵ^L* are feminine; a radical consonant appears in '*kliəv* 'mð:nəx' 'a hamper of peat' and '*bɔN'ə* 'bu:Rn' 'a drop of water' because *kliəv* and *bɔN'ə* are masculine.

Under certain conditions, however, the initial of nouns in the genitive is not regulated by grammatical environment but is inherent to the genitive form itself.

- (a) A noun in the genitive plural is always lenited unless preceded by article or possessive pronoun: '*began* 'xɾu:vəɳ 'a few (of) trees', '*tru:ð* 'vəðəNəx 'three (of) women'.

- (b) Masculine proper names are always lenited in the genitive: 'tə 'xaləm 'Calum's house', 'mərəxəγ 'γð:-iL 'Murdoch (son) of Donald', 'ifanən 'xalaN 'Colin's chickens'.
- (c) Feminine proper names always have radical initial in the genitive: 'aLəsðəð 'pegi 'Alasdair (son) of Peggy', 'bo: 'mā:ði 'Mary's cow'.

Place-names which are appellatives or consist of appellatives from the synchronic point of view, are not treated as proper names according to (b) and (c) above. Place-names which exist only as such (mostly of Norse origin) are treated like other proper names; as most of them are masculine, they usually receive lenition according to b: Ləx 'lu:rbəfd' 'the Loch of Leurbost', 'dū:n 'xa:Rləvaj 'the broch of Carloway'.

Occasionally, I have heard a Modern English name with radical instead of the expected lenited initial: 'təhən 'gɔ:Rdən 'Gordon's houses'.

Types of Declension.

227. The nouns may be divided into six types according to the manner in which the genitive singular is formed. Most of these types have subclasses characterized by different plural formations. A number of nouns must be classed as irregular.

Type I.

228. This declension contains masculine nouns whose nominative singular ends in a non-palatal or neutral consonant.

The dative singular has the same form as the nominative. The genitive and vocative singular are formed by palatalization. The nominative-dative plural is palatalized (like the genitive singular) in most words; in some instances we find the termination -ən. The genitive plural is usually like the nominative plural but may also have a non-palatal form homonymous with the nominative singular. The vocative plural (in those words which can take this form) is formed by the termination -u, sometimes

with syncope and svarabhakti (in certain polysyllables). The dual is like the nominative singular.

Paradigm of *baLəx* 'boy'.

	Sg.	Pl.	Du.
Nom.	<i>baLəx</i>	} <i>baLiç^L</i>	} 'da: 'vaLəx ^L
Dat.	<i>baLəx^L</i>		
Gen.	<i>baLiç^L</i>	<i>baLiç, baLəx</i>	
Voc.	(ə) 'vaLiç ^L	(ə) 'vaLəxu(- ^L ?)	

This type is founded on historical **o**-stems. On the termination -u of the vocative plural, see § 186, 1.

229. (a) Monosyllables. The nominative plural is always formed by palatalization. Examples¹: 0. *ba:s* 'death' ~ *ba:f*, *dū:n* 'heap; broch, fort' ~ *dū:N*, *gra:γ* 'love' ~ *gra:j*, *ka:L* 'cabbage' ~ *ka:l*, *La:r* 'ground, floor' ~ *La:ð*, *mā:r* 'factor, steward' ~ *mā:ð*, *ɔ:r* 'gold' ~ *ɔ:ð*, *sur:r* 'joiner' ~ *sur:ð*, *sLuəγ* 'people, crowd' ~ *sLuəj*, *ūān* 'lamb' ~ *ūāN*; 1. *dāv* 'male deer; ox (castrated)' ~ *dēv* (gen. pl. *dēv*), *kat* 'cat' ~ *keɾ*; 2. *māk* 'son' ~ *mīk*; 4. *aLɪ* 'knuckle' ~ *uLɪ*; 6. *Rā:v* 'oar' ~ *Rē:v*, *sa:v* 'saw' ~ *se:v*, *ta:v* 'hand-net' ~ *tə:v*; 8. *ex* 'horse' ~ *eç* (gen. pl. *ex*); 9. *fər* 'man' ~ *fið*; 10. *bðek* 'trout' ~ *bðik*; 11. *ɔLk* 'evil' ~ *ulk*, *pəsd* 'postman' ~ *pufd*, *sLək* 'pit' ~ *sLuç*, *trəsg* 'codfish' ~ *trufç* (gen. pl. *trəsg*); 13. *tə:b* 'bay' ~ *tə:b*; 14. *bɔ:Rd* 'table' ~ *bu:Rd* (gen. pl. *bu:Rd*), *kɔ:L* 'music' ~ *ku:l*, *fɔ:L* 'sail' ~ *fu:l* (gen. pl. *fu:l*); 15. *kroh* 'cattle, cows' ~ *kruj*, *krðk* 'hillock' ~ *krūk*; 19. *Lu:γ* 'calf' ~ *Lui*; 21. *kāūN* 'head' ~ *kēiN*; 22. *baul* 'member; thick rope' ~ *bəiL*, *gaul* 'person from the mainland' ~ *gəiL*, *krāūN* 'mast; plough' ~ *krēiN*; 23. *fūūN* 'tune' ~ *fēiN*, *pūūNd* 'pound (weight)' ~ *pēiN'd*, *təul* 'hole' ~ *təiL*; 24. *giay* 'goose' ~ *gɔ:j* (also *gɔ:j* according to 25), *fiar* 'grass' ~ *fjɔ:ð*; 25. *iān* 'bird (especially domestic)' ~ *jð:N* 'birds, poultry'; 27. *fiəγ* 'deer' ~ *fe:j*, *iəsg* 'fish'

¹ The first form given of each word is the nominative singular; the second form is the genitive singular or the homonymous nominative plural. The numbers refer to the vocalic mutations listed §§ 217 ff.; 0 denotes the absence of vocalic mutation.

~ gen. sg. *e:fǵ* (this word has apparently no plural; 'ten fish' is *d'eç* 'behiçan' *e:fǵ* 'ten animals of fish'), *klīav* 'creel, hamper' ~ *kle:v*; 28. *Līñ* 'net' ~ *Lī:N*'; 29. *baLàg* 'bellows' ~ *bulùg*, *kaLàg* 'hair, fur, horsehair' ~ *kulùg*; 30. *sgaràv* 'cormorant' ~ *sgəðàv*, *taràv* 'bull' ~ *təðàv* (gen. pl. *təðàv*); 31. *dərəy* 'fishing-line' ~ *duðùj*.

The nom. pl. of *tə:b* 'bay' has also been recorded as *tə:bən*.

230. (b) Polysyllables. These form their nominative plural by palatalization, by the termination *-ən*, or by a combination of both.

Nouns in *-əx* usually have the forms shown in the paradigm of *baLəx*, above. Plural by palatalization (*-iç*) has been recorded in *baLəx*, *bəðəx* 'old man; husband', *bəðəNəx* 'woman', *fiðəNəx* 'man', *ǵaLàvərəx* 'kind of mussel', *kaləx* 'cock', *La:rəx* 'track, footprint', *mə:rəx* 'mussel, shellfish (generally)', and words denoting local origin: *bakəx* 'person from Back', *Ru-əx* 'person from Eye Peninsula (*Ru-u*)', *u:ǵəx* 'person from Uig', *sasəNəx* 'Englishman' (*sasiN* 'England'). Nominative plural in *-ən* (combined with palatalization) has only been recorded in *behəx* 'animal' ~ gen. sg. *behiç* ~ nom. pl. *behiçən*. The following words either have no plural, or plural forms have not been recorded: *aLləx* 'grace (at table)', *bəNəx* 'bannock, scone', *darəx* 'oak', *kəNəx* 'Kenneth', *kLadəx* 'shore', *fjūNəx* 'fox', *u:dəx* 'clothes, clothing'. Vocative plural forms: (*ə*) '*vəðəxu* 'old men!', (*ə*) '*vaLəxu* 'boys!'.

Nouns in *-an*, gen. sg. *-aN*'. With nom. pl. palatalized: *auran* 'song' ~ gen. sg. *auraN*' ~ nom. pl. *auraN*', *bradan* 'salmon', *krōkan* 'bobbin', *fiasgan* 'mussel (*mytilus edilis*)', *kōðəxan* 'scallop'. With nom. pl. in *-ən*: *elan* 'island' ~ gen. *elaN*' ~ pl. *elanən*, *ifan* 'chicken; (wild) bird' (gen. pl. *ifanən*), *mēyan* 'branch', *Ru:-an* 'stack of three or four peats', *sgadan* 'herring', *fī:han* 'flower'. Both ways of forming the nominative plural are found in *d'aLàgan* 'spindle' ~ gen. sg. *d'aLàganN*' ~ nom. pl. *d'aLàganN*' and *d'aLàganən*. No plural recorded: *āmədan* 'fool, idiot', *aran* 'bread', *kalan* 'Colin'.

Words in *-əy*, gen. sg. *-i*. Verbal nouns in *-əy* (§ 299, b) belong

here: *krəxəy* 'to hang' ~ *krəxi*, *gliasəy* 'to grind, sharpen' ~ *gliasi*. Proper names: *dūNū'xəy* 'Duncan' ~ *ǵūNū'xi*, *mərəxəy* 'Murdo(ch)' ~ *vərəxi*. The nom. pl. is formed either by palatalization or by palatalization plus *-ən*: *sāūrəy* 'summer' ~ gen. sg. *sāūri* ~ nom. pl. *sāūri* (gen. pl. *sāūri*), *ǵāūrəy* 'winter' ~ *ǵāūri* ~ *ǵāūri* and *ǵāūri-ən*; *ga:Rəy* 'stone wall, fence' ~ *ga:Ri* ~ *ga:Ri-ən*.

Some words in *-əL* have gen. sg. in *-iL*, others in *-əl*: *dō:-əL* 'Donald' ~ *ǵō:-iL*, *fākəL* or *fakəL* 'word' ~ gen. sg. *fākiL* ~ nom. pl. *fākiL* (gen. pl. *fākiL*), *peðkəL* 'jaw' ~ nom. pl. *peðkiL*; *d'ivəL* 'devil', gen. sg. *d'ivəL*, and *su:vəL* (*su:-əL*) 'world', gen. sg. *su:vəL* (*su:-əl*). For the last two I have heard no plural forms.

Other words. With nom. pl. palatalized: *turus* 'journey; time' ~ *fia* '*turu*f' 'six times', *fəvər* 'autumn' ~ gen. sg. *fəvəð* ~ nom. pl. *fəvəð*, *iəRuN* 'iron' ~ *iəRiN*' ~ *iəRiN*'. Nom. pl. in *-ən* with palatalization: *darəs* 'door' ~ *darif* ~ *dəRsən* (with syncope and vocalic mutation 3), *Ra-əd* 'road' ~ *Rə-id*' ~ *Rə:d'ən*. No plural forms recorded: *adàǵəd* 'money, silver' ~ *adàǵid*', *Lə-ad* 'slope' ~ *Lə-id*', *səLəs* 'light' ~ *səLif*; *fasgəy* 'shelter' ~ *tu:* '*Ndasgaj* 'leeward side' (*tu:* is another form of *tur:v* 'side' used in certain expressions); *iðvər* man's name ~ *iðvəð*, *ka:Rləvəy* village name ~ *xa:Rləvəj*, *Ləu-əs* '(Isle of) Lewis' ~ *ləu-ij*. *so-əL* 'barn', gen. sg. *so-əl*, has the nom. pl. *so:Liçən*.

Type II.

231. This type consists of feminine nouns with non-palatal or neutral final consonant (sometimes final stressed vowel). The dative singular is formed by palatalization or is like the nominative; the variation between palatalized and non-palatalized forms is free when no adjective follows; before attributive adjectives, almost only non-palatal forms have been recorded. The genitive singular may also be like the nominative in a few words (*kas* 'leg', *mūk* 'pig'), but is usually formed by palatalization with or without the ending *-(ə)*. The *ə* is caducous but is sometimes preserved in final position, contrary to the general rule. Most often, however, it is dropped, and as feminine genitives are not

very often followed immediately by another word (cp. § 250, b), the *a* is rather elusive and has often escaped recording. This is one reason why many of the genitives quoted below lack the *a*.^{x see field. p. 372} The vocative singular has non-palatal final. The plural generally has the termination *-æn* (with or without palatalization) in all cases, but some words have a genitive plural homonymous with the nominative singular. The dual is like the dative singular, but more consistently palatalized.

Paradigm of *bāũNtræx* 'widow'.

	Sg.	Pl.	Du.
Nom.	<i>bāũNtræx^L</i>	} <i>bāũNtriçæn</i>	} 'da: 'vāũNtriç ^L
Dat.	<i>bāũNtriç^(L?), bāũNtræx^L</i>		
Gen.	<i>bāũNtriç(ə)</i>		
Voc.	(ə) 'vāũNtræx ^L		

Type II is based on historical *a*-stems.

232. (a) Monosyllables. The nom. pl. nearly always has the ending *-æn* without palatalization. Examples: 0. *brɔ:ǵ* 'boot' ~ dat. sg. *brɔ:ǵ* ~ gen. sg. *brɔ:ǵ* ~ nom. pl. *brɔ:gæn*, *gLas* 'lock' ~ gen. sg. *gLaf* ~ nom. pl. *gLasæn*, *kLax* 'stone' ~ dat. sg. *kLaç* ~ gen. sg. *kLaç(ə)* ~ nom. pl. *kLaxæn* (gen. pl. *kLax*), *mūk* 'pig' ~ dat. sg. *mūk* ~ gen. sg. *mūk* and *mūk* ~ nom. and gen. pl. *mūkæn*, 1. *sLat* 'rod' ~ gen. sg. *sLeł'*; 3. *kas* 'leg' ~ *kəf* ~ *kəf* (*kas*) ~ nom. pl. *kasæn*; 5. *Lā:v* 'hand' ~ *Lāiv* ~ *Lāiv(ə)* ~ *Lā:væn*; 9. *kærk* 'hen' ~ dat. sg. *kærk* ~ gen. sg. *Kiðk* ~ nom. pl. *kærkæn* (gen. pl. *kærk*); 18. *krur:v* 'tree' ~ dat. sg. *krəiv* ~ gen. sg. *krəiv(ə)* ~ nom. and gen. pl. *krur:væn*; 26. *bðiaǵ* 'a lie' ~ dat. sg. *bðe:ǵ* ~ nom. pl. *bðiaǵæn* (gen. pl. *bðiaǵ*); 27. *gðiaǵ* 'sun' ~ *gðe:N* ~ *gðe:N* (no plural).

18. *gur:* 'wind', dat. and gen. sg. *gəi*, forms its nom. pl. in a different way: *gur:t'æn*. *kLāũN* 'children' has no plural; it has combined mutations in the sg.: dat. *kLāũN* (20), gen. *kLāũN'* (20 and 37; the *a* is stable).

233. (b) Polysyllables.

The many nouns in *-ag* (gen. *-aǵ*) are inflected like *bāũNtræx* (see the paradigm above), but^x have never been recorded with

^x have no palatalization of the /g/ before the plural ending *-æn*, and.

final *-ə* in the gen. sg. Among them are *aRsbag* 'the largest variety of sea-gull', *bā:nag* 'sea-trout', *bəit'ag* 'angleworm', *du-ag* 'kidney', *duLag* 'leaf', *kəLag* 'a kind of mussel', *krur:bag* 'crab', *mītag* 'mittent', *ɔ:Rdag* 'thumb; big toe', *prɔ̃Nag* 'crumb of bread', *tðNag* or *tũNag* 'duck', *usbag* (*ɣəi*) 'breath (of wind)', *ũN'ag* 'window'.

Feminines in *-æx*, gen. sg. *-iç(ə)*, form their nominative plural by the termination *-æn*, usually with palatalization (*-içæn*) but also occasionally without palatalization (*-æxæn*): *ba:hæx* 'byre' ~ dat. sg. *ba:hiç* and *ba:hæx* ~ gen. sg. *ba:hiç(ə)* ~ pl. all cases *ba:hiçæn*, *bāũNtræx* 'widow' ~ gen. sg. *bāũNtriç(ə)* ~ pl. *bāũNtriçæn*, *ǵaLæx* 'moon' ~ dat. sg. *ǵaLiç* ~ gen. sg. *ǵaLiç*, *kũLæx* 'straw' ~ gen. sg. *kũLiç*, *kaLæx* '(old) woman, wife' ~ dat. sg. *kaLiç* and *kaLæx* ~ gen. sg. *kaLiç(ə)* ~ voc. sg. (ə) 'xaLæx ~ pl. *kaLæxæn*, *ka:Rsdæx* 'smithy' ~ gen. sg. *ka:Rsdic(ə)* ~ nom. pl. *ka:Rsdicæn*, *mð:t'æx* 'moor' ~ dat. sg. *mð:t'iç* ~ gen. pl. *mð:t'æx*, *sə-æx* 'vessel (receptacle or ship)' ~ dat. sg. *sə-iç* ~ gen. sg. *sə-iç(ə)* ~ nom. pl. *sə-içæn*, *tra:hæx* 'hay' ~ gen. sg. *tra:hiç*.

kaLæx '(old) woman, wife' has, besides the regular plural, a more frequent plural form with syncope and svarabhakti: nom.-dat. *kaLæxæn*, voc. (ə) 'xaLæxæn.

Other polysyllables: *esgəN* 'eel' ~ dat. sg. *esgiN* ~ gen. sg. *esgiN* ~ nom. and gen. pl. *esgiN'æn*, *krakəN* 'skin, hide' ~ gen. sg. *krakiN*, *ur:dəN* 'face' ~ gen. sg. *ur:diN*, *Lā:vhəɣ* 'axe' ~ dat. sg. *Lā:vhəj* ~ gen. sg. *Lā:vhəj* ~ nom. pl. *Lā:vhəjæn*, *sNā:həd* and *sNā:had* 'needle' ~ gen. sg. *sNā:hid* ~ nom. pl. *sNā:hədæn*, *fi-əL* 'fiddle' ~ gen. sg. *fi-iL*, *afəL* 'axle-tree' ~ gen. sg. *afiL*.

Type III.

234. Masculines and feminines with the termination *-ə* in the genitive singular. The *-ə* is rarely caducous. The nominative may have non-palatal, neutral, or palatal final in masculines, only palatal final in feminines. The genitive singular may have palatalization, depalatalization or unmutated final before the termination. The dative singular is like the nominative. The most common plural allomorph is *-æn* for all cases, but other

formations are also found. The dual is like the nominative singular. The type is based on old stems in **i**, **u**, and **s**.

(a) Genitive singular *-ə* without final mutation. Masculines and feminines. *būn* m. 'bottom, base' ~ gen. sg. *būnə*, *fiγ* m. 'wood' ~ gen. sg. *fiγə*, *kur* (*kuð*) m. 'to put, sow' ~ *ʃəL* 'kurə' 'seed'; *ǵeð* f. 'suet' ~ gen. sg. *ǵeðə*, *kLūī* f. 'wool' ~ gen. sg. *kLūījə* (also *kLūī*), *sgol* f. 'school' ~ gen. sg. *sgolə* ~ pl. *sgolan*, *sǵeð* f. 'skerry' ~ gen. sg. *sǵeðə*.

With mutation of quantity: 33. *ʼa:R* f. 'tar' ~ gen. sg. *ʼaRə*, 21—38. *bēīN'* f. 'mountain, hill' ~ gen. sg. *bēīN'ə* ~ nom. pl. *bjāūNtən*.

With syncope and mutations of quantity: 37. *bānif* f. 'wedding' ~ gen. sg. *bāif(ə)*, 40. *mūliN'* f. 'mill' ~ gen. sg. *māiLə* ~ nom. pl. *māiLən*.

(b) With palatalization plus *-ə*. Only masculines. 17. *uh* 'egg' ~ gen. sg. *ujə* ~ nom. pl. *ujən*, 21—39. *glāūN* 'valley' ~ gen. sg. *glīN'ə* ~ nom. pl. *glēīN'*. With irregular vocalic mutation resembling palatalization: *əγ* 'heifer' ~ gen. sg. *ε-ə* ~ nom. pl. *ε-ən*.

(c) With depalatalization plus *-ə* in the genitive singular. Mostly feminines. Masculine are *drāīm* 'back' ~ gen. sg. *drāmə* ~ nom. pl. *drāmənən* (combined vocalic mutations 23 and 35), and—with irregular mutation—*taj* or *tə* 'house' ~ gen. sg. *teh* (rarely *tε-ə*) ~ nom. pl. *tehən*. Feminines: 0. *ʃjə:l* 'flesh, meat' ~ gen. sg. *ʃjə:Lə*; 4. *ful* 'blood' ~ gen. sg. *faLə*. Masculine in the nom., feminine in the gen. is *muð* 'sea' (especially used about the sea-loch) ~ gen. sg. *marə*. With syncope: *āviN'* 'river' ~ gen. sg. *āīnə* ~ nom. pl. *āīniçən* (vocalic mutation 37; note that only the consonant is depalatalized, not the vowel); *du:hiç* 'country, region, parish' ~ gen. sg. *du:x(ə)*.

Type IV.

235. Feminines with a palatal final consonant in the nominative singular. In the genitive singular, the consonant is depalatalized and the termination *-əx* added. The second vowel is syncopated if the resulting cluster conforms with the general system

of intervocalic clusters. The dative singular is like the nominative. The plural has the ending *-içən* or *-ən*, preceded by depalatalization if the second vowel is syncopated. I have recorded no vocative in this type of noun. The dual is like the nominative singular.

Examples: *juxəð* 'key' ~ gen. sg. *juxrəx* pl. *juxriçən*, *Nāhəð* 'grass-snake' ~ *Nārəx* ~ *Nāriçən*, *obəð* 'work' ~ gen. sg. *obrəx*, *ʃexgəN'* 'week' ~ *ʃexgənəx* ~ *ʃexgəN'ən*, *tobəð* 'well' ~ *tobrəx* ~ *tobriçən*, *uəð* 'hour, time' ~ *uərəx* ~ *uəðən* (the plural *uəðənən* is used adverbially in the meaning 'at times, now and then, sometimes').

With irregular nominative singular: *mð:N'ə* 'peat' ~ dat. sg. *mð:N'ə* ~ gen. sg. *mð:nəx* (no plural).

Type IV probably originates in old guttural stems, although only *Nāhəð* can be shown to have belonged to this class in O.I.

Type V.

236. Feminines with the termination *-əγ* in the genitive singular. My material contains only three words of this type: *a*: 'kiln' ~ gen. sg. *a:həγ*, *kðia* 'clay' ~ *kðia-əγ*, and—with irregular mutation of quantity—*kə*: 'mist, fog, smoke' ~ *kə-əγ*. This inflection must be connected with the historical stems in lenited **d** (O.I. *cré* 'clay' ~ gen. *criad*).

Type VI.

237. Nouns indeclinable in the singular. This class of nouns is large and varied; it contains both masculines and feminines. It may be divided up into several subclasses.

(a) Nouns ending in a stressless vowel. Based mainly on old **io-**, **ia-**, and **i-**stems; many loans. Masculines and feminines. The plural has the same terminations in all cases. The dual is like the singular.

With plural in *-n* (*-ən*): *it'(ə)* f. 'feather' ~ *it'ən*, *mād'ə* m. 'stick of wood' ~ *mād'ən*, *ɔ:jə* 'nun' ~ *ɔ:jən*, *Nā:bi* m. 'neighbour' ~ *Nā:bi-ən*, and many others.

With plural in *-içən*: *blīðNə* f. 'year' ~ *blīðNiçən*, *ba:t(ə)* m.

'boat' ~ *ba:tiçan*, *jaLə* f. 'swan' ~ *jaLiçan*, *kði-ə* 'heart' ~ *kði-içan*, *La-a* or *La-ə* m. 'day' ~ *La-içan*, *ɔ-ɔ* or *ɔ-ə* m. 'grandchild' ~ *ɔ-içan*, *tot(ə)* f. 'site of (ruined) house' ~ *totiçan*.

Plural in *-xən*: *a:t'(ə)* m. 'place' ~ *a:t'axən*, *de:lə* m. 'wooden partition in black house' ~ *de:laxən*, *fā:N'ə* m. 'ring' ~ *fā:N'axən*, *gujə* 'swearing, swearword' ~ *gujəxən*, *təif(ə)* f. 'ghost' ~ *təifəxən*, *t'i:d'ə* f. 'time; weather' ~ *t'i:d'axən*.

Plural in *-Nən*: *əiç(ə)* f. 'night' ~ *əiçəNən*, *Lāγə* 'ling' (a fish) ~ *LāγəNən*, *mūgə* 'jug' ~ *mūgəNən*, *pək(ə)* m. 'sack, bag' ~ *pəkəNən*.

Plural in *-t'ən*: *balə* m. 'village' ~ *baLt't'ən*, *buələ* f. 'enclosure' ~ *buəLt't'ən*, *kəLə* f. ~ *kəiLt't'ən* (vocalic mutation 42), *Le:nə* 'shirt' ~ *Le:N't'ən*.

Vacillation between two or more plural formations: *kəilə* f. 'wheel' ~ *kəiliçan* and *kəiləxən*, *pLad'ə* f. 'blanket' ~ *pLad'içan* and *pLad'axən*, *gūNə* m. 'gun' ~ *gūNiçan* and *gūNi-ən*, *go-o* and *go-ə* 'blacksmith' ~ *go-iç*, *go-içan*, and *gāinə*.

māLə 'eyebrow' has the irregular plural *māLā'-ən*.

Many words without plural forms belong here. These words are consequently altogether indeclinable. Among them are *bə'Nta:t(ə)* 'potatoes', *bjə:Lə* 'English language', *bōN'ə* 'milk', *gɔRsdə* f. 'famine', *Lağf* f. 'weakness' (*Lag* 'weak'), *Lit'(ə)* m. 'porridge', *mā:di* 'Mary', *Ruədi* 'Roderick', *fī:də* m. 'silk', *te-ə* 'tea', *tuəf(ə)* f. 'wit, brains', *ū:N'ə* f. 'time, while', *t'ānə* m. 'fire', *uəf(ə)* 'rain' (occasionally also 'water').

(b) Nouns ending in a consonant or a stressed vowel. This subclass includes

(1) Most nouns with palatal final in the nominative singular (palatal consonant or neutral consonant preceded by a vowel that may be regarded as palatalized). It is possible that some of the words tentatively classed here would turn out, upon closer investigation, to have a caducous *ə* in the genitive singular, which would make it necessary to class them with Type III, a.

With plural in *-ən*: Masculines in *-ad*, such as *bərəbad* 'barber' ~ pl. *bərəbadən*, *bəbədəd* 'weaver', *bud'fað* 'butcher', *iəsgad*

'fisherman', *sdrāifað* 'stranger', *fə:Ltað* 'sailor', *uəðadað* 'clock', *ūāyað* 'wild man living in caves'. The rest are all, or nearly all, feminines: *bðe:d'* 'patch (on garment)' ~ pl. *bðe:d'ən*, *egLif* and *əgLif* 'church', *ə-əðk* 'horn', *grō-iç* 'business, affair, thing', *ku:f* 'condition, state of things', *kufiL* 'blood vessel' (pl. *kufiLən*), *Lui* 'hymn' (pl. *Luihən*), *pa:ðiç* 'enclosed field', *sbad'* 'spade', *sbiðiç* 'hen-roost' (pl. *sbiðiçən*), *sdra:d'* 'street', *su:l* 'eye', *trəç* 'dwarf'; *basgad'* 'basket', *bōnad'* 'bonnet', *mīnad'* 'minute'.

With plural in *-içən*. Only feminines: *akəð* 'anchor; stone weight to keep the thatch in place' ~ gen. sg. with article *nə* 'hakəð' ~ pl. depalatalized *akriçən*; *La:ð* 'mare' ~ *La:ðiçən*.

Without recorded plural (only feminines): *bəf* 'palm of the hand', *d'ej* 'ice', *fēmiN'* 'sea-weed', *fī:ðiN'* 'truth', *juLəð* 'eagle', *Ke:f* 'envelope', *mīl* 'honey', *mā:l* 'forehead', *pði:f* 'price', *pðuəgif* '(pair of) trousers', *sdrə:N'* 'nose', *t'əyað* 'tether', *u:f* 'age'.

(2) Nouns ending in a neutral consonant or cluster (labial, *h*, *R*-cluster, *xg*), preceded by a vowel that is unable or unlikely to receive palatalization: *ba:Rd* m. 'bard, poet' ~ pl. *ba:Rd*, *bjaRsd* f. 'loom' ~ pl. *bjaRsdən*, *sdrəh* f. 'row (as of potatoes in the field)' ~ pl. *sdrəhən*, *dah* m. (?) 'dye, colour' ~ pl. *dahən*, *ka:Rd* m. 'artisan, (gipsy) tinker' ~ pl. *ka:Rdən* and *ka:Rdi-ən*, *ānā'm* 'name' ~ pl. *ānā'məNən*. Without plural: *bjaəxg* 'opinion', *bu:Rn* m. '(fresh) water', *kaLəm* 'Calum, Malcolm', *fN'ēxg* 'snow'. Feminines in *-əxg*, *-əxg*, plural termination *-ən*: *Nē-əxg* 'news, story' ~ pl. *Nē-əxgən*; similarly: *ba:Rdəxg* 'poetry', *bjāNəxg* 'blessing', *əi-əxg* 'lodgings, as for a night or two', *kð-əxg* 'power', *Nā:bəxg* 'neighbourliness', *Ri:əxg* 'kingdom', *səid'adəxg* 'army', *tə:rəxg* 'revenge'.

(3) Nouns ending in a stressed vowel: *bu:* m. 'shop' ~ pl. *bu:t'ən*, *fə:* 'muscle, sinew' ~ pl. *fə:hən*, *Ri:* m. ~ pl. *Ri:ðən*.

(4) A few nouns ending in a non-palatal consonant which is not palatalized in the genitive singular: *afəL* f. 'donkey', *d'əx* f. 'drink', *Lux* f. 'mouse' ~ pl. *LuxiN'*, *N'ēd* m. 'nest' ~ pl. *N'ēdən*, *Rud* m. 'thing' ~ pl. *Rudən*.

Irregular Nouns.

238. A number of nouns have inflections of case and number which do not fit into any of the classes described above.

(a) The following nouns form their genitive singular by depalatalization:

ahað and *ahað* m. 'father' ~ gen. sg. *ahar* ~ pl. *ariçan* (rarely *ahaðan*).

bra:hað and *bra:hað* m. 'brother' ~ gen. sg. *bra:hær* ~ pl. *bra:ðhan*.

mā:hað and *mā:hað* f. 'mother' ~ gen. sg. *mā:hær* ~ voc. sg. (ə) *'vā:hæð* ~ pl. *mā:ðiçan*.

For *fēnað* m. 'grandfather', gen. *fēnar*, and *fēnē'vað* f. 'grandmother', gen. *fēnē'vær*, I have recorded no plurals.

(b) *pju-ær* f. 'sister' has a unique inflection: gen. sg. *pēhær*, pl. *periçan*.

(c) The genitive singular has the termination *N'* in *ku*: m. 'dog' ~ gen. sg. *kōN'* ~ nom.-dat. pl. *kōN'* ~ gen. pl. *kōn* ~ voc. pl. (ə) *'xōnu*, and *taLu* m. 'earth, land' ~ gen. sg. *taLāviN'* f. (*'Le nā 'taLāviN'* 'one half of the land').

(d) Various other nouns which are irregular in the singular (for irregular plurals, see § 240, g):

bēn f. 'woman' ~ gen. sg. *mbrā-ā* and *bēn*, pl. *mbrā-æn*.

biæg m. 'food' ~ gen. sg. *bi-i*.

bo: f. 'cow' ~ dat. sg. *bo*: ~ gen. sg. *ba*:. This word has no plural; the collective m. sg. *kroh* 'cows, cattle' (Type I, gen. *kruuj*) is used instead.

ku:rə f. 'sheep' ~ gen. sg. *ku:ræx* ~ voc. sg. (ə) *'xu:rə* ~ nom.-dat. pl. *ku:ðiç* (also *ku:riç*) ~ gen. pl. *ku:ræx* ~ voc. pl. (ə) *'xu:ðiç*.

Labi f. 'bed' ~ dat. sg. *Labi* ~ gen. sg. *Lep(ə)* ~ pl. *Lepænæn*.

N'i-un 'girl, daughter' has a very irregular inflection. The dative singular is ordinarily like the nominative, but after *nā^h* (preposition plus possessive pronoun, 'in her') it takes a form which is homonymous with the genitive singular: *hi-iN'*. The genitive singular occurs only after the article *nə^h*, so that the form

**i-iN'* is never found without a prefixed *h*. (A historical explanation of this surprising inflection is given by Borgstrøm, DOH p. 97.) The plural is apparently found only after numerals, and as the personal numerals demand the genitive case in a following noun, the plural has no other case forms than the genitive (*'tru:ð 'nī-un* 'three girls, three daughters'). Otherwise, the plural is replaced by the collective singular *kLa'N'i-un* f., (*kLāūN* f. 'children' plus gen. pl. *nī-un*).

sgjan f. 'knife' ~ gen. sg. *sgjīnə* and *sgjī-iN'* ~ pl. *sgjīnæn*.

Synopsis of Plural Allomorphs.

239. Where the genitive plural has a form different from the nominative-dative plural, the difference always consists in the lack of palatalization or termination on the part of the genitive. A distinct genitive plural is only rarely found outside of Types I and II and some irregular nouns (exceptions: *bjāūN* from f. sg. *bēiN'* [III, a] 'hill, mountain' and *krā:v* from m. sg. *kōē:v* [VI, b 1] 'bone').

A vocative plural, when different from the nominative-dative, is always formed by the addition of *-u* (my material has only a few instances, all masculines).

240. In the following survey of plural allomorphs, the term plural means only nominative-dative plural.

(a) Plural by palatalization is found only in words of type I and in *glēiN'* pl. of *glāūN* m. (III, b) 'valley'.

(b) The termination *-æn* (*-n* after stressless *-ə*) is the most common of all plural allomorphs and is represented in all types of nouns (except V, where no plurals have been recorded). The termination is usually simply added to the nominative singular. After a final long vowel or diphthong, an *h* may be inserted: *fē*: f. 'sinew, muscle' ~ *fē:hæn*, *Lui* f. 'hymn' ~ *Luihæn*. Other common changes of the stem are:

Palatalization: *Lā:vhæg* f. 'axe' ~ *Lā:vhægæn*, *uh* m. 'egg' ~ *ujæn* (vocalic mutation 17), *fu:kar* 'sugar' ~ *fu:kaðæn* 'sweets'.

Final *-ax* is regularly palatalized to *-iç-*, and final *-ay* in masculine nouns to *-i-*: *bāūNtræx* f. 'widow' ~ *bāūNtriçæn*, *ga:Ræγ* 'stone wall, fence' ~ *ga:Ri-æn*.

Depalatalization is rare but is found in *təj* m. 'house' ~ *təhæn* and *kðē:v* m. 'bone' ~ *krā:væn*, both with somewhat irregular mutations.

Simple mutations of quantity: 33. *ǵa:R* 'hare' ~ *ǵaRæn*, 36. *LšūN* 'launching-roller' ~ *LūNæn*.

Syncope is found in a number of instances, often combined with other mutations: *bra:həð* m. 'brother' ~ *bra:ðhæn* (with metathesis); *Lə-ər* 'hoof' ~ *Lə:ræn*, 40. *mūliN* f. 'mill' ~ *māiLæn* (with mutations of quantity); 3. *darəs* m. 'door' ~ *dəRsæn*, 5. *Nā:vid* 'enemy' ~ *Nāid'æn*, 37. *ājəl* m. 'angel' ~ *āilæn*, mut. 3 and lengthening *Ra-əd* m. 'road' ~ *Rə:d'æn* (with somewhat irregular palatalization); *fiəkiL* 'tooth' ~ *fiəkLæn* (with depalatalization); *kaLæx* f. 'old woman, wife' ~ *kaLāxæn*, *māLə* 'eyebrow' ~ *māLā'-æn* (with svarabhakti).

(c) The termination *-içæn* is especially frequent in Type VI, a, but is also found in Type IV and sporadically in other types. The termination is often preceded by syncope and mutations of quantity; palatal finals are depalatalized after syncope: *āviN'* f. 'river' (Type III, c) ~ *āiñiçæn*, *juxəd* f. 'key' (Type IV) ~ *juxriçæn*.

(d) The plural termination *-xæn* is only found in words of Type VI, a. In several words, it is used as an alternative to other terminations, see § 237.

(e) The termination *-t'æn* is limited to a few words, mostly of Type VI, a. Final unstressed *-ə* is dropped before this termination and resulting clusters are adjusted to fit into the general system of clusters. For examples from Type VI, a, see p. 190; other examples are *bu:* m. 'shop' ~ *bu:t'æn*, *gu:* f. 'wind' ~ *gu:t'æn*, *ǵēiN'* 'wedge' ~ *ǵēiN't'æn*, *kūān* m. 'sea, ocean' ~ *kūāN't'æn*.

(f) The termination *-əNæn*, *-Næn* is found in a limited number of words most of which belong to Type VI. Some of them have mutations of quantity before the termination. *āūm* 'time, period'

~ *āməNæn* (mutation 34), *ānā'm* m. 'name' ~ *ānā'məNæn*, *dršūm* m. 'back, ridge' ~ *dršmənən* (23—35), *aiç(ə)* f. 'night' ~ *aiçəNæn*, *Lāγə* 'ling' ~ *LāγəNæn*, *Labi* f. 'bed' ~ *LəpəNæn*, *mūgə* 'jug' ~ *mūgəNæn*, *pək(ə)* 'bag, sack' ~ *pəkəNæn*, *Ršūm* 'room' ~ *Rūmənən* (36), *uəð* f. 'hour' ~ *uəðəNæn* (and *uəðən*, see § 235).

(g) Some plural allomorphs are found only in one or two words:

ba:Rd m. (Type VI, b 2) 'bard, poet' ~ *ba:Rd* (this word is entirely indeclinable; comparative dialectology shows that it would belong to Type I if the group *-a:Rd* were not incapable of palatalization).

dūN'ə m. (Type VI, a) 'man, husband' ~ *dā:N'ə*.

ǵāviN' 'yearling calf' ~ *ǵāiñə*.

go-o, *go-ə* m. (Type VI, a) 'blacksmith' ~ *ǵāiñə* or *go-iç* (and *go-içæn*).

ǵūNə 'gun' m. (Type VI, a) ~ *ǵūNi-æn* and *ǵūNiçæn*.

ka:Rd m. (VI, b 2) 'artisan, (gypsy) tinker' ~ *ka:Rdi-æn* (and *ka:Rdæn*).

ku: m. (irregular) 'dog' ~ *kšN'*, gen. pl. *kšn*.

ku:rə f. (irregular) 'sheep' ~ *ku:ðiç*, gen. pl. *ku:rəx*.

Lux f. 'mouse' ~ *LuxiN'*.

Ri: m. (Type VI, b 3) 'king' ~ *Ri:ðæn*.

sǵiliǵ 'penny' ~ *sǵi-iN'*.

The Adjective

241. Adjectives are used

(a) As attributes to nouns, in which case they follow the noun directly: '*dūN'ə mo:r* 'a big man'. If two or more adjectives follow a noun, they are usually juxtaposed without a conjunction: '*dūN'ə mo:r tapi* 'a big strapping man'.

(b) As predicates to the substantive verb (*ha 'NdūN'ə sə mo:r* 'this man is big', to the copula (*xa 'vo:r ə 'jiəR u* 'it isn't much you have asked for'), or to the verb *fa:s* 'to grow, become'

('γa:s a 'dərðx 'it grew dark'). Several adjectives may be juxtaposed: *va mi 'säüNdax*, 'ɔ:g, 'tapi 'I was ambitious, young, and strong'.

(c) Adverbially, see § 268.

Declension.

242. Predicative and adverbial adjectives are not inflected. Attributive adjectives are, with some important exceptions, inflected for gender, number, and case in accordance with the nouns which they qualify. The inflectional techniques are palatalization and the termination -ə. The initial of the adjective is either radical or lenited, dependent on the form of the noun. Thus, the genitive of a masculine noun in the singular causes lenition of an attributive adjective even if the form of the adjective is nominative, see § 250.

The following paradigm shows the declensional forms of the adjective *mo:r* 'big, large, great', with the initials they take after the respective case and number forms of the noun.

	M. sg.	F. sg.	Pl.	Du.
Nom.	<i>mo:r</i>	<i>vo:r^L</i>	} <i>mo:rə, vo:rə</i>	} <i>vo:r^L</i>
Dat.	<i>vo:r^L</i>	<i>vo:r^L</i>		
Gen.	<i>vo:ð^L</i>	<i>mo:ðə</i>	}	}
Voc.	<i>vo:ð^L</i>	<i>vo:r^L</i>		

Most monosyllabic adjectives are inflected in this manner. Note: it is difficult to ascertain the genitive singular forms of many adjectives, for two reasons: the tendency to use nominative instead of genitive forms after masculine nouns in the genitive (p. 204), and the practice of putting both a feminine noun and its adjective in the nominative after the genitive form of the article (§ 250, b).

The -ə of the plural and the feminine genitive singular is not ordinarily caducous, but may sometimes be dropped.

The initial of the plural form is lenited if the plural of the

preceding noun is formed by palatalization; otherwise it is radical: 'baLiç 'vo:rə 'big boys' but 'dē:N'ə 'mo:rə 'big men; grown people'.

The morphophonemic ^L appended to some forms in the paradigm apply only to following adjectives in juxtaposition. Only the nom. sg. (m. and f.) is attested; in the other forms, the ^L is conjectural.

Examples of palatalization (the numbers refer to vocalic mutations): 0. *ur* 'new' ~ gen. m. sg. *u:ð* ~ gen. f. sg. *u:ðə*, *Ruəɣ* 'ruddy, light brown' ~ gen. m. sg. *ruəɣ* ~ gen. f. sg. *Ruəɣə*, *ku:L* 'narrow' ~ gen. m. sg. *xu:l*; 10. *beg* 'small' ~ gen. f. sg. *biçə*; 17. *duh* 'black' ~ gen. m. sg. *ɣuɣ* ~ gen. f. sg. *duɣə*; 30. *garəv* 'rough' ~ gen. f. sg. *gəðəv(ə)*.

Adjectives ending in a vowel (*dLu*: 'close, *sqi*: 'tired') do not receive palatalization and are therefore uninflected in the genitive singular; the same goes for many adjectives ending in *h* (e. g. *māh* 'good'), and those which end in a palatal in the nominative (*kū:N* 'calm', *taf* 'wet, damp'). These adjectives do not usually receive a final -ə and are, therefore, in reality indeclinable (except, of course, for initial mutations which we do not regard as features of adjectival declension).

The majority of polysyllabic adjectives are also indeclinable. They do not receive a final -ə, and as most of them have palatal or vocalic finals (-*al* as in *d'efal* 'ready', *fe:mal* or *fe:məl* 'useful'; -*iN* as in *LəhiN* 'broad', *ʃLēviN* 'slippery'; -*iç* as in *abiç* 'ripe', *fiə-iç* 'wild'; -*ə* as in *bujə* 'yellow', *bōia-ə* 'fine, pretty'; -*i* as in *Lanəbi* 'childish', *tapi* 'strong'; -*də*, -*d'ə* as in *gasd(ə)* 'nice, sympathetic', *sō:riçd'(ə)* 'special, particular'), they cannot be palatalized. The very numerous adjectives in -*ax*, however, have genitives in -*iç*: (ə) 'NdūN'ə 'vjaRsdiç 'of the rich man'.

Comparison.

243. There is one form for comparative/superlative; this is derived from the adjectival stem (or nominative singular of the positive) by palatalization and the addition of -ə. Examples:

0. *gLān* 'clean, pure' ~ *gLāN'ə*, *flux* 'wet' ~ *fluçə*, *kur:L* 'narrow' ~ *ku:lə*, *Lā:n* 'full' ~ *Lā:N'ə*, *ɔ:g* 'young' ~ *ɔ:gə*, *u:r* 'new' ~ *u:ðə*; 31. *dərðx* 'dark' ~ *duðùçə*, *gərðm* 'blue' ~ *guðùmə*; 34. *kāūm* 'crooked, bent (sideways)' ~ *kāmə*; 21—39. *t'āūN* 'tight' ~ *t'iN'ə*; 23—41. *trōūm* 'heavy' ~ *trūmə*.

Adjectives ending in a palatal add *-ə*, with mutation of quantity if the stem permits it: *kruaj* 'hard' ~ *kruajə*, *Lefǵ* 'lazy' ~ *Lefǵə*, 39. *t'ēiN'* 'ill, sick' ~ *t'iN'ə*.

At least some adjectives ending in a long vowel or diphthong add *-j* before vowel or pausa, *-jhə* or *-jə* before consonant: *bLa:* 'warm' ~ *bLa:j(hə)*, *tra:* 'early' ~ *tra:j(hə)*, *Luə* 'quick' ~ *Luəj(ə)*.

A few monosyllables which might theoretically be palatalized remain non-palatal before comparative/superlative *-ə*: *a:Rd* 'high' ~ *a:Rdə*, *fuər* 'cold' ~ *fuərə*, *ǵiar* 'sharp' ~ *ǵiarə*, *faràv* 'bitter' ~ *faràvə*.

Most polysyllables are not palatalized, whether palatalization is possible or not. Some of them receive a final *-ə* but the majority do not. Some examples are *faLu* 'empty', *faRsiǵ* 'wide', *fjūNar* 'cool', *kōvəRsdal* 'comfortable', *ur:drəm* 'light (not heavy)', all of which have the same forms in the comparative/superlative as in the positive. With final *-ə*: *faLaN'* 'healthy' ~ *faLaN'ə*, *kləvər* 'quick' ~ *kləvərə*, *La:d'ir*, *-ər* 'strong' ~ *La:d'irə*. A curious instance of palatalization is *grā:d'ə*, recorded once as the comparative of *grā:də* 'ugly'; similarly *fadə* 'long' ~ *ad'ə*.

More or less irregular are *duliç* 'difficult; sad' ~ *dulə*, *iəsəL* 'low' ~ *i:jiL*, *mīlif* 'sweet' ~ *mī:fLə* and *mīlif*, *t'uh* 'thick' ~ *t'i-ə*, *ur:sd(ə)* (with caducous *-ə*) 'old' ~ *ur:sdə* (with stable *-ə*).

In the following adjectives, the comparative/superlative is formed from a stem different from that of the nominative: *beg* 'small' ~ *Lur-ur*, *Lur-ə*, *dōnə* 'bad' ~ *mīsə*, *ferəs(ə)* 'easy' ~ *asə* (and *ferəs(ə)*), *gərid* 'short' ~ *ǵiRə*, *māh* 'good' ~ **ja:R* (see § 244), *mo:r* 'big' *mū-u*, *mū-ə*, *tre:n* 'strong' ~ *trəs* (and *tre:nə*).

244. The comparative/superlative cannot be used attributively but is always combined with the copula: (ə)s if the main verb is in the present or future, *bə^L* if the main verb is in the preterite

*L'ehiN' "wide, broad" ~ L'ɔ-ə.

or conditional. (ə)s is usually followed by radical initial, but it often lenites an initial *f*: *s afǵ(ə)* from *fajǵ* 'near', *s ad'ə* from *fadə* 'long', *s erəs(ə)* (and *s asə*) from *ferəs(ə)* 'easy', but *s faLaN'ə* from *faLaN'* 'healthy', *s faRsiǵ* and *s aRsiǵ* from *faRsiǵ* 'wide'. *bə^L* lenites most initial consonants but not dentals: *bə 'duðùçə* and prepalatals from *dərðx* 'dark', *bə 't'iN'ə* from *t'āūN* 'tight'. **ja:R* 'better, best' has only been recorded in (ə) *'fa:R* and (ə) *'bja:R*, where I write the copula together with the adjective because the irregular initial makes it difficult to separate them.

The copula is preceded either (a) by the relative particle (ə) ((ə) *s*, (ə) *bə^L*) or (b) by *nə* (*nə s*, *nə bə^L*), a particle which is difficult to analyze but probably contains the relative particle. Constructions of the type (a) may usually be translated by superlatives, those of the type (b) by comparatives: (ə) *'sdəkan* (ə) *bə 'vū-u v asə 'Les* 'the biggest plant there was in the garden', (ə) *'mbalə s 'afǵ 'ɔ:Rn* 'the village (which is) next to ours'; *ha a nə s 'asə* 'it is easier', *va NduN' 'elə nə bə 'trəs* 'the other man was stronger'.

245. Comparatives may be followed by *na* 'than', introducing the second term of comparison: *'Ru:-anən nə s 'mū-u na 'fīn* 'peat-stacks bigger than that', *ha a nə s 'asə 'ga:liǵ 'ləu-if ə ,huǵf na 'ga:liǵ nə 'herəγ* 'it is easier to understand Lewis Gaelic than Harris Gaelic', *nə bə 'trəs na a* '(who was) stronger than he'.

Adjectival Prepositives

246. The adjectives *ur:sd(ə)* 'old', *māh* 'good', and *dōnə* 'bad' each have a synonym which is used attributively. These attributes are not adjectives properly speaking because they are uninflected and precede the noun; rather, the whole unit of attribute plus noun is treated as a compound noun, where the second component receives the nominal inflection and the first component the initial mutations.

To *ur:sd(ə)* corresponds prepositive *fānə^L* before labials,

medio-palatals, and velars (*'f̃ñð'xaLəx* 'old woman', *'f̃ñð'fju-ər* 'old sister'), *f̃:* before dentals and prepalatals (*'f̃:dũN'ə* 'old man', *'f̃:'farəvəNt* 'old servant'). *f̃:^L* is sometimes also found in the former position (*'f̃:'çə:L* 'old music', *'f̃:'xu:* 'old dog'). *f̃ūn-* and *f̃ān-* appear before vowels: *'f̃ūn'ur:dəx* 'old clothes'.

To *māh* corresponds prepositive *d'e:^{L-}* (*'d'e:vLasd(ə)* 'good-tasting, palatable', an adjectival derivative from an unrecorded **d'e:vLas* 'good taste').

To *d̃ñə* corresponds prepositive *drəx^{L-}* (*'drəx'vLas* 'disagreeable taste', *'drəx'γūN'ə* 'bad man', *'drəx'asan* 'bad habit' from *fasan* 'fashion, habit').

ur:sd(ə) and *d̃ñə* are rarely if ever used as attributes, but are regularly replaced by the respective prepositives in attributive function; the prepositive *d'e:^{L-}* 'good', however, is not frequently met with, the synonymous adjective *māh* being used both in attributive and predicative functions.

Other prepositive attributes have no adjectival counterpart; among these are *a^{L-}*, *ah^{L-}* 'next, second' (*'Nda'vlīāNə*, *'Ndah'vlīāNə*, *'NdaflāNə* 'next year', *'Ndah'əiç(ə)*, *'Ndahiç* 'the next night', *aru-əγ* 'second stacking of the peat' cp. *Ru:-əγ* 'first stacking') and *kər-*, *kər̃-*, *kər^{L-}* 'odd, occasional' (*aNə* *'Nkər̃'a:t'ə* 'in an odd place, here and there', *'kər'uəð* 'now and then').

Most cardinal and ordinal numerals are closely related to the adjectival prepositives from the distributional point of view, but all numerals will be dealt with in a separate chapter because of their very specific meanings.

The Article

247. There is only one article. It corresponds roughly to the English definite article: (ə) *'NdūN'ə* 'the man'; *dũN'ə*, without article, means 'a man' or simply 'man'. The article always precedes its noun immediately, except where the noun is qualified by a cardinal or ordinal numeral: (ə) *'Nda:* *'γūN'ə* 'the two men', *nə* *'tri:* *'d̃: N'ə* 'the three men', (ə) *'Nko:gu* *'dũN'ə* 'the fifth man'.

In the dual, the numeral *da:^L* 'two' always comes between article and noun.

248. The article is inflected for number and gender, in which it always agrees with the noun, and for case, where the agreement with the noun is subject to certain reservations, cp. § 250, b. The article has no vocative. The inflectional forms are the following:

	M. sg.	F. sg.	Pl.	Du.
Nom.	(ə) ^{NT}	(ə) ^{La}	} <i>nə^h</i>	} (ə) ^N
Dat.	(ə) ^{La}	(ə) ^{La}		
Gen.	(ə) ^{La}	<i>nə^h</i>	<i>nə^N</i>	

I have recorded no genitive dual.

Since the initial (ə) is caducous, the article is very often observable only in the initial of the noun. If this initial is not susceptible to mutations, the article is not observable at all in those positions where a caducous ə is dropped; thus, *sdāmag* 'stomach' and (ə) *'sdāmag* 'the stomach' sound exactly alike in utterance-initial position and usually after vowels.

The article often requires special forms of preceding prepositions; e. g., the preposition *le* 'with' becomes *lef* before *ə^{LN}* (dat. sg., m. and f.), *lef* or *le* before *nə^h* (dative plural): *lefə* *'NdūN'ə* 'with the man', *lefne* *'d̃: N'ə* or *lene* *'d̃: N'ə* 'with the men'. I write these combinations as single words because it is not always easy to tell where the preposition ends and where the article begins. All recorded combinations of this kind will be found in the list of prepositions pp. 219—24.

If the combination of preposition and article contains an interpolated *n* (as in *gənə^{La}* or *xənə^{La}* from the preposition *gə* 'to', *γənə^{La}* from the preposition (ə)^{LF}, *də^{LF}* 'to' or the homonymous preposition meaning 'from'), the ə of the article is often heard as syllabicity of this *n* before a noun with dental initial: *γənə* *'NdūN'ə* [*γəŋ* *'N'ūN'ə*] 'to the man' (or 'from the man'). The syllabicity is sometimes absent, so that the ə is lost even phonemically: *γan* *'NduN'ə*. Even *γα* *'NdūN'ə* may be heard. Before *R*

and *L*, a second *n* may be interpolated: *xənən* 'Rə-*id*' 'to the road', but also *xənə* 'Rə-*id*' [*xənə* 'Rə-*id*'] or [*xəŋ* 'Rə-*id*']. These variations will not be listed with the prepositions, but a number of examples will be found in the texts.

The use of the article with nouns will be illustrated below, § 251.

Notes on the Case System

249. The case system is, from the historical point of view, in the process of breaking down. This has resulted in a very complicated distribution of forms, with a large amount of vacillation. Quite often, it is difficult to tell the case of a given nominal or adjectival form in isolation or even in the sentence. In order to establish a fairly consistent system of cases in the nouns, the classification has been based on the article, which, with the initial mutations it causes in the noun, is rarely equivocal. The cases of the noun will be defined by the following arbitrary criterion: in a sequence of article plus noun in utterance-final position, the article and the noun are always in the same case. Thus, the form *baLəx* 'boys' is genitive plural because it may, in utterance-final position, be combined with the article *nə^N*, which can be nothing but genitive plural: *nə* 'mbaLəx 'of the boys'. If we find the combination *nə* 'mbaLiç in the same environment (utterance-final position) and with the same meaning, we conclude that the genitive plural of *baLəx* 'boy' has two alternative forms which (at least in this position) are in free variation.

250. There are three main categories of vacillation between case forms of nouns:

(a) One case of the noun has more than one form, as in the example above (*baLəx/baLiç*). This is not merely a question of allomorphs, because the difference is potentially distinctive (thus *baLəx*, when it has a plural meaning, can only be genitive, while *baLiç* is homonymous with the nominative-dative). All instances

of duplicate case forms given in the chapter on types of declension belong here. The variation may be entirely free, as between *baLəx* and *baLiç* in utterance-final position after article, or conditioned by environment, as when the palatalized form *baLiç^L* is preferred before an attributive adjective: *nə* 'mbaLiç 'vo:rə 'of the big boys', not **nə* 'mbaLəx 'mo:r(ə).

(b) Vacillation between cases after the article. This is especially noticeable in feminine nouns with the article in the genitive singular. By definition, the noun is in the genitive when utterance-final: 'təj nə 'bāūNtriç 'the widow's house'. Before an attributive adjective, however (and, I believe, also before demonstratives like *sə* 'this' and *fin* 'that'), both genitive and nominative are found, apparently without any difference in meaning: 'təj nə 'bāūNtriçə 'biçə or 'təj nə 'bāūNtrəx 'veg 'the little widow's house'. The adjective has the same case as the noun.

(c) Vacillation between genitive and nominative (of nouns and sequences of article plus noun) in syntactic constructions. A full set of rules cannot be given here, but the following should be observed:

- (1) A nominal attribute to a preceding ordinary noun always has the genitive when preceded by the article or a possessive pronoun: 'gob nə 'sçīnə 'the point of the knife', 'krakəN də 'Lāiv 'the skin of your hand'. If no article or possessive pronoun is present, nominative is occasionally heard instead of genitive: 'mo:ran 'obəð 'much (of) work' (gen. obrəx), 'kLəx 'vūliN 'millstone' (gen. māiLə). Genitive is, however, much more frequent: 'kLəx 'yliasi 'grindstone', 'pi:s 'taLəviN 'a piece of land', 'began 'xru:vən 'a few trees'.
- (2) A nominal attribute to a preceding verbal noun (the "logical object" of the verbal noun) usually has the genitive if preceded by the article or a possessive pronoun: 'Luəγ ə 'xLə: 'to full the cloth', 'RāiN nə 'Nku:rəx 'to divide the sheep', 'kūmal nə bləN 'u:ðə 'to celebrate New Year', 'taxif ə 'çēiN 'scratching his head'. The nominative is quite rare

in this construction but is found now and then, especially if the noun is followed by an adjective or demonstrative: 'kðek ə NkLə 'mo:r 'to sell the tweed (big cloth)', *bi mi 'togał ə 'vð:N'ə sə* 'I'll be lifting this peat'. If no article or possessive pronoun is present, the nominative prevails: 'kūmal 'bānif 'to celebrate a wedding', 'gARəγ 'mð:N'ə 'to cut peat', 'fu-al 'ur:dəx 'to sew clothes', 'd'anu 'trəgíçən əð 'to play tricks on'. Exceptional is *kuð 'xru:vən* 'to plant trees', with genitive.

A sequence of article plus noun is here regarded as having the case indicated by the article; that is, if the article is in the genitive, the sequence as a whole counts as a genitive even if the noun is in the nominative.

The dative is used only with the article and—somewhat less consistently—with possessive pronouns: *asə 'Ntəj 'vo:r* 'in the big house', *na: 'vrə:g* 'in his boot'. Otherwise, it is replaced by the nominative: *aNə 'Ntəj 'mo:r* 'in a big house'. In fixed expressions, there are certain exceptions to this rule, e. g. *dəL əð 'xəf* 'to be instituted, brought about' (with dative of *kas* f. 'leg').

The vocative cannot be combined with the article. Attributive adjectives usually agree in case with their nouns, but an adjective in the nominative is often found after a masculine noun in the genitive singular: (ə) 'xūðN' 'γərðm 'of the blue sea', (ə) 'fəkə 'rhðūm 'of the heavy bag'.

The initial of an attributive adjective is entirely dependent on the preceding noun, regardless of the case of the adjective itself, as will be seen from the two examples just given, where adjectives in the nominative masculine singular have lenited initials.

251. The inflection of sequences of article plus noun will be demonstrated by the paradigms below. Most of our examples are the same as those given by Borgstrøm DOH pp. 94—95; this will serve to make clear the similarities and differences between Bernera and Leurbost.

1. Non-dental stops.

<i>kāūN</i> m. I 'head'			
	Sg.	Pl.	
Nom.	(ə) 'N'kāūN	}	<i>nə kēīN'</i>
Dat.	(ə) 'çāūN		
Gen.	(ə) 'çēīN'		<i>nə 'N'kāūN, (?) nə 'N'kēīN'</i> (cp. <i>nə 'mbaLiç, nə 'Nket'</i>)

<i>ba:t(ə)</i> m. VI 'boat'			
	Sg.	Pl.	
Nom.	(ə) 'mba:t(ə)	}	<i>nə 'ba:tiçən</i>
Dat.	(ə) 'va:t(ə)		
Gen.			<i>nə 'mba:tiçən</i>

<i>kLax</i> f. II 'stone'			
	Sg.	Pl.	
Nom.	(ə) 'xLax	}	<i>nə 'kLaxən</i>
Dat.	(ə) 'xLaç		
Gen.	<i>nə 'kLaç(ə)</i>		<i>nə 'NkLax</i>

2. Dental and prepalatal stops, nasals and liquids.

<i>təj</i> m. III 'house'		
	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	}	<i>nə 'təhən</i>
Dat.		
Gen.	(ə) 'Ntəh, (ə) 'Ntə-ə	<i>nə 'Ntəhən</i>

<i>tobəð</i> f. IV 'well, spring'		
	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	}	<i>nə 'tobriçən</i>
Dat.		
Gen.	<i>nə 'tobrəx</i>	<i>nə 'Ntobriçən</i>

<i>dũN'ə</i> m. VI 'man, husband'		
	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	(ə) 'NdũN'ə	} nə 'dã:N'ə nə 'Ndã:N'ə
Dat.		
Gen.		

Nã:bi m. VI 'neighbour'

Sing. all cases (ə) 'Nã:bi, plur. all cases nə 'Nã:bi-ən.

La-a, La-ə m. VI 'day'

Sing. all cases (ə) 'La-a, (ə) 'La-ə, plur. all cases nə 'La-içən

3. *m.*

<i>mĩšs</i> m. VI 'month'		
	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	(ə) 'mĩšs	} nə 'mĩšsən
Dat.		
Gen.		

mã:həð f. irreg. 'mother'

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	(ə) 'vã:həð	} nə 'mã:riçən
Dat.		
Gen.		

4. Sibilants and clusters with initial sibilant.

sãũrəɣ m. I 'summer'

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	(ə) 'sãũrəɣ	} nə 'sãũri
Dat.		
Gen.		

sNã:həd f. II 'needle'

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	(ə) 'Ntrã:həd, -ad	} nə 'sNã:hədən
Dat.		
Gen.		

5. *f* followed by vowel.

fēr m. I 'man'

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	(ə) 'fēr	} nə 'fið
Dat.		
Gen.		

fu:ləɣ f. II 'sea-gull'

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	(ə) 'Ndu:ləɣ	} nə 'fu:ləɣən
Dat.		
Gen.		

6. Vowels.

ɛx m. I 'horse'

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	(ə) 'N't'ɛx	} nə 'heç
Dat.		
Gen.		

əiç(ə) f. VI 'night'

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	(ə) 'Ndəiç(ə)	} nə 'həiçəNən
Dat.		
Gen.		

The inflection of sequences of article plus noun plus attributive adjective is shown in the paradigms of (ə) 'mbaLəx 'mo:r m. 'the big boy' and (ə) 'va:həx 'veg f. 'the small byre':

	Sg.	Pl.
I Nom.	(ə) 'mbaLəx 'mo:r	nə 'baLiç 'vo:rə
Dat.	(ə) 'vaLəx 'vo:r	
Gen.	(ə) 'vaLiç 'vo:ð	nə 'mbaLiç 'vo:rə

	Sg.	Pl.
I Nom.	(ə) 'va:həx 'veg	nə 'ba:hiçən 'begə
Dat.		
Gen.	nə 'ba:hiçə 'biçə,	nə 'mba:hiçən 'begə
	nə 'ba:həx 'veg	

Pronouns, Pronominals, and Adverbs

252. The pronouns are indeclinable, i. e. each pronoun consists of one morpheme only.

Personal Pronouns.

253. The personal pronouns may be classified into two numbers (singular and plural), three persons, and, in the third person singular, two genders (masculine and feminine). There are no dual pronouns, plural ones being used whenever "more than one" is to be indicated.

The simple personal pronouns are usually stressless; they are stressed only after the copula. Among the few recorded exceptions to this rule is əγəs 'hu:Rd 'ε: 'and he said' (lively narrative style). On the other hand, all personal pronouns are stressed after the copula except the pronoun of the third person singular masculine which is unstressed when it anticipates another pronoun or a noun (f ε 'afiN' 'it is he', f ε 'N'i-un əd

'it is that girl'). Emphatic forms are used both after the copula and elsewhere; they are compound pronouns obtained by adding emphasizing particles (cp. § 258). I write the resulting "emphatic pronouns" as single words because some of the personal pronouns in these combinations are represented by bound allomorphs not met with elsewhere.

	Stressless	Stressed	Emphatic
1. Sg.	mi, mə	mī:	mīfə
2. Sg.	u, du	du:	usə, dusə
3. Sg. M.	a; ε, e (i)	ε:, e: (i:)	afiN'
— F.	i	i:	if(ə)
1. Pl.	fiN'		fiN'ə
2. Pl.	fu		fu:fə
3. Pl.	ad	i-ad, e-ad	a:sən

In the second person singular, *du* and *duse* are used after certain verbal forms: regular independent future (termination -i, -ə), relative future (-əs), conditional (-əγ, -ə), independent future of the substantive verb (*bi:*, *bi*), and all simple forms of the copula; further, some other tense forms of irregular verbs, see the paradigms § 307. After all other verbal forms, *u* and *usə* are the forms used.

In the third person masculine singular, *a* is the normal form after all verbs except the copula. In the latter position, *ε*, *e*, or *i* is used, the last-mentioned allomorph being found only with the nasalized present of the copula, see § 304. The only function of ^{these} ~~this~~ ^{allomorphs} pronoun when stressless ^x is an anticipatory one, and it anticipates nouns and pronouns of all numbers and both genders (f ε 'N'i-un 'it is the girl', f ε 'a:sən ə 'rāiN' a 'it is they who did it'). The pronoun *a* also has a "neutral" function because, besides referring to masculine nouns or designations of male beings, it is used as a formal subject in sentences where no noun is referred to (*ha a 'ūāvasəx 'duliç ə* ^{x after the copula}

'*xòek ə NkLə* 'mo:r ə 'N'd'uh 'it is terribly difficult to sell the tweed to-day'). Referring to the weather, both masculine *a* and feminine *i* are used: *ha a* 'flux or *ha i* 'flux 'it is wet, it is raining'. The feminine pronoun seems to be favoured by the older generation in this connection.

Stressed simple pronouns for the first and second persons plural have not been recorded, owing to the fact that the copula is usually constructed with anticipatory *ε* or *e* and the emphatic pronouns for these persons: *f ε* 'fīN'ə nə 'sdrāīfaðən 'we are the strangers', literally 'it is we the strangers'. Similarly very often: *f ε* 'afiN' 'it is he', *f ε* 'if(ə) 'it is she', *f ε* 'a:sən 'it is they' (but always *s* 'mī: or *s* 'mīfə 'it is I', *s* 'du: or *s* 'dusə 'it is you').

Among the emphatic pronouns, *fīN'ə* and *fu:fə* have stable -ə; *if(ə)* has ordinary caducous -ə, while *mīfə* and *usə* (*dusə*) may drop the -ə, but only on rare occasions and only before vowels and pausa.

254. The second person plural is used not only in addressing several persons, but also as a polite term of address to single individuals. Children use it when speaking to their parents and others belonging to a generation older than their own; everybody uses it when addressing the minister and complete strangers (insofar as the latter are spoken to in Gaelic).

The personal pronouns are used as grammatical subjects and direct objects but not after prepositions, where they are replaced by bound morphemes resembling terminations. Thus, 'to me' is *r5ūm* (preposition *ði*), 'between them' is *atəRə* (preposition *adər*). These units of preposition plus bound personal morpheme are generally termed prepositional pronouns or conjugated prepositions; full lists of the recorded forms will be found under the separate prepositions.

Possessive Pronouns.

255. The possessive pronouns are proclitic and always unstressed. Column (a) contains the forms used before consonants, column (b) the prevocalic forms.

	Sg.		Pl.	
	a	b	a	b
1.	<i>mə^L</i>	<i>mb-</i>	} (<i>ə</i>) <i>r</i>	} (<i>ə</i>) <i>r^h</i>
2.	<i>də^L</i>	<i>d-</i>		
3. M.	(<i>ə</i>) ^L	zero	} (<i>ə</i>) ^N	} (<i>ə</i>) ^N
F.	(<i>ə</i>)	(<i>ə</i>) ^h		

Paradigms of *mə* 'γaxi 'my home' and *mbahəð* 'my father'.

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	<i>mə</i> 'γaxi	} (<i>ə</i>) <i>r</i> 'daxi
2.	<i>də</i> 'γaxi	
3. M.	(<i>ə</i>) 'γaxi	} (<i>ə</i>) 'Ndaxi
F.	(<i>ə</i>) 'daxi	

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	<i>mbahəð</i>	} (<i>ə</i>) <i>r</i> 'hahəð
2.	<i>dahəð</i>	
3. M.	<i>ahəð</i>	} (<i>ə</i>) 'Ndahəð
F.	(<i>ə</i>) 'hahəð	

256. Possessive pronouns are used especially before nouns denoting relatives, parts of the body, and garments, as well as some other belongings which it is taken for granted that nearly everybody has, such as *daxi* 'home'. With most other nouns, constructions with the preposition *aǵ* is used, e. g. '*mbal aǵiN* 'our village', '*N't'ex aǵəd* your horse'.

Possessive pronouns are further used before verbal nouns: *ha mi γa* 'dēkiN' 'I see you', literally 'I am at your seeing', and with compound prepositions: *as mə* 'jə-i 'after me', *as* 'mbā:nif 'without me'.

257. Five prepositions have special allomorphs which are used before possessive pronouns. These are *aNə^N* or (*ə*)^N 'in' which becomes *na*; *aǵ* 'at', (*ə*)^G (infinitive mark), *də^{LF}* or (*ə*)^{LF} 'to', and *də^{LF}* or (*ə*)^{LF} 'from' which all four are represented by *γa*. The *a* of *na* and *γa* is short when stressless; under stress, it becomes long before the pronouns of the third person singular

and all persons of the plural (which means, of course, that it has "absorbed" the caducous initial *ə* of these pronouns).

Paradigm of *na mə* (stressed forms):

	Sg.		Pl.	
	a	b	a	b
1.	<i>na mə^L</i>	<i>na mb-</i>	} <i>na: r</i>	} <i>na: r^h</i>
2.	<i>na də^L</i>	<i>na d-</i>		
3. M.	<i>na:^L</i>	<i>na:</i>	} <i>na:^N</i>	} <i>na:^N</i>
F.	<i>na:</i>	<i>na:^h</i>		

Other prepositions have essentially the same forms before possessive pronouns as before nouns. Note that prepositions cause no initial changes in possessive pronouns.

Emphasizing Particles.

258. There is a set of enclitic emphasizing personal particles which normally have the following forms:

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	<i>s(ə)</i>	<i>N'ə</i>
2.	<i>s(ə)</i>	<i>fə</i>
3. M.	<i>sən</i>	} <i>sən</i>
F.	<i>f(ə)</i>	

The special allomorphs found after personal pronouns have already been mentioned (§ 253) and will be disregarded here. The forms given above are used:

(a) After prepositional pronouns: *hiġəsən* 'to him' cp. *hiġə* 'to him', *asdəsən* 'out of them' cp. *asd(ə)* 'out of them'. I prefer to regard combinations of prepositional pronouns and emphasizing particles as single words because of certain phonemic changes which accompany the addition of the particles and which tend to eliminate phoneme combinations not normally found within words: Final *ə* becomes *i* before *f* (*afd'if(ə)* from *afd'(ə)* 'out of her', *ekif(ə)* from *ek(ə)* 'at her', *hikif(ə)* from

hik(ə) 'to her'); final *f* is dropped before *s* (*δisən* from *δif* 'to him', *lesən* from *lef* 'with him'); *ə* is inserted between *δ* and *s* in *eδəsən* from *eδ* 'on him' and regularly between *m* and *s* in the first person singular (*hugəməs* from *hugəm* 'to me', *rō-əməs* from *rō-əm* 'before me', *ūNəməs* or *ūNuməs* from *ūNəm* 'in me', etc.); in the first person plural, the final *N'* of the prepositional pronoun coalesces with the initial *N'* of the particle (*lδiN'ə* from *lδiN'* 'with us', *hugiN'ə* from *hugiN'* 'to us', etc.); *v* is dropped before *f* in *lδif(ə)* from *lδiv* 'with you'.

Paradigm with the preposition *aġ* (cp. § 270, 1).

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	<i>aġəməs, aməs</i>	<i>aġiN'ə</i>
2.	<i>aġəds(ə)</i>	<i>aġufə</i>
3. M.	<i>aġəsən</i>	} <i>akəsən</i>
F.	<i>ekif(ə)</i>	

(b) After nouns preceded by possessive pronouns. Here no phonemic changes take place in the juncture; therefore, I separate the particle from the noun in the transcription (*mə 'lə-ər sə* 'my book'; clusters like *rs* are not found within words). Emphatic particles are particularly frequent after verbal nouns. A sample paradigm is the one of (*va a*) '*ġa mə 'xδ-ad s(ə)*' (he was) looking at me', etc.:

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	<i>'ġa mə 'xδ-ad s(ə)</i>	<i>'ġa: r 'kδ-ad N'ə [-ġⁱN'ə]</i>
2.	<i>'ġa də 'xδ-ad s(ə)</i>	<i>'ġa: r 'kδ-ad fə</i>
3. M.	<i>'ġa: 'xδ-ad sən</i>	} <i>'ġa: 'Nkδ-ad sən</i>
3. F.	<i>'ġa: 'kδ-ad f(ə)</i>	

Fhéin.

259. The pronoun *he:n* 'self, own' has the allomorphs *hī:n*, used in the first person singular and plural, and *pe:n*, used in the second person plural. It is possible that *pe:n* is also used after pronominal forms in the third person plural which originally

ended in lenited **b** (cp. Borgstrøm's *γai* 'pe:n 'to themselves' DOH p. 100), but I have no examples of this.

he:n is used

(a) After stressless personal pronouns: *mi* 'hī:n '(I) myself', *u* 'he:n, *a* 'he:n, *i* 'he:n, *fiN* 'hī:n, *fu* 'pe:n, *ad* 'he:n. It is sometimes reinforced by an additional emphatic pronoun which is placed in front: 'mifə *mi* 'hī:n 'I myself'.

(b) After prepositional pronouns: *γδ* 'hī:n 'to myself'. With the preposition *ag* 'at': *agəm* 'hī:n, *ajəd* *he:n*, *agə* 'he:n, *ekə* 'he:n, *agiN* 'hī:n, *agu* 'pe:n, *akə* 'he:n.

(c) After nouns preceded by possessive pronouns: (ə) 'Ntehən 'he:n 'their own houses'. I have no certain examples of the use of the forms *hī:n* or *pe:n* in this function.

Demonstrative Pronouns and Adverbs.

260. Lb. has the following set of demonstratives:

a	b	c
<i>fə</i> 'this'	<i>fə</i> , <i>sə</i> , <i>s</i> 'this'	<i>aNə</i> 'fə, (ə) 'fə, <i>aNə</i> 'hɣə 'here'
<i>fīn</i> 'that'	<i>fīn</i> (<i>sən</i>) 'that'	<i>aNə</i> 'fīn, (ə) 'fīn, <i>aNə</i> 'hīn 'there'
<i>fid</i> 'that'	<i>ad</i> , <i>əd</i> , <i>əd</i> 'that'	<i>aNə</i> 'hid 'there'

The words in column *a* are stressed pronouns with a distribution similar to that of nouns: (*N'e*) 'fə 'N'ɪ'ɛx *ajəd* 'is this your horse?', 'de: *ha* 'fīn 'what is that?', *va* 'fid ə 'vlīəNə 'γa:s nə 'fā:N'əxən 'du:r 'that was the year when (wedding) rings became expensive'.

Column *b* contains stressless enclitic particles used after nouns preceded by the article: (ə) 'NdiūN'ə *fə*, (ə) 'NdiūN'ə *sə* (rarely (ə) 'NdiūN'ə *s*) 'this man', (ə) 'mbalə *fīn* 'that village', *nə* 'dā:N' əd 'those people'. I write these particles as separate words because of the existence of typical juncture phenomena between noun and particle such as in (ə) 'Lə-ər *sə* (not (ə) 'Lə-ər*sə*) 'this book'. The allomorph *sən* is used for *fīn* in a few fixed expressions where *f* is contracted with an r-sound into *Rs* [ʃ]:

(ə) 'NduəR*sən* 'at that time, then' (an uair sin), (ə) 'fēR*sən* 'that one' (am fear sin).

The forms in column *c* are adverbs. The variation between the forms with *f* and the forms with *h(j)* seems to be entirely free. These adverbs denote both movement and repose: 'hā:nə *mi* *aNə* 'hɣə *fə* *çəN* 'fia 'mīəsən 'I came here six months ago', *va* 'du:sgəγ *asnə* 'həg*Lifən* *aNə* 'fə 'there was a revival in the churches here'.

261. The forms based on *fīn* and those based on *fid* are all translatable by 'that, there'. They all denote places or objects located at a certain distance from the speaker, as opposed to *fə*, which contains the meaning 'near the speaker'. It appears that *fid* denotes places or objects which are conceived as being remote from both listener and speaker, while *fīn* may be used regardless of the position of the listener.

Further Pronominal Words.

262. Several of the words in the following list are nouns or adjectives but are semantically related to the pronouns:

tə:R, *mo:ran* 'much, many', *grōūN*, *grōūNan* m. 'a good deal, several', *kus* 'too much, too many', *urəd* 'so much, so many, as much, as many', *gə* 'Lə:r 'enough', *kə:R*, *tuLəγ*, 'baRəxg 'more', *beg* 'little', *began* 'a little', *ka:l*, *fūNk* (the latter characterized by one informant as "new word, little used") 'anything, something'. These are most often used with nouns without article, in the genitive or preceded by the preposition *də*^{LF}, (ə)^{LF} 'of, from': 'mo:ran 'vlīəNəxən 'many years', 'tə:R *də* 'je:gən 'fru:ç 'many sprigs of heather'. Most of them can also be used without a noun: *Rə* 'tə:R *eðə* 'vəs 'were there many (people) on the bus?', 'rāiN' *a* 'kus 'he did too much'. *tə:R*, *mo:ran*, *kus*, *urəd*, *tuLəγ*, (ə) 'vaRəxg, *began*, are also used as adverbs: 'tə:R*nə* 'fa:R 'much better', 'fe:mi *a* 'vi *nax* *el* *u* *γa* 'mbiəRi 'tuLəγ 'it must be that you don't want me any more'.

The following are used either without a noun or with nouns preceded by the article: *fer* m. 'man; one, any' (replaces a

masculine noun in the singular), *t'e:*, unstressed *t'e* f. 'one, any' (replaces a feminine noun in the singular), *fəɣiN'* f. 'some, somebody, anybody' (replaces plural nouns regardless of gender), *gin* 'one, any, some' (replaces nouns regardless of gender and number). (ə) '*fər*, (ə) '*N't'e:* 'the one', (ə) '*N'd'əɣiN'* 'the ones'. *dūN'ə* m. 'man; somebody, anybody', *Rudiḡin* 'something, anything'; *ka:x* 'the others'. Some examples: *ha mi ɛR₁sən ə ɣəL xənə 'NdɛNtisd. mbel 'fər* (or '*gin*) *aNə 'hjɔ?* 'I want to go to the dentist. Is there one here?' *xa N'd'el 'fər* (or '*gin*) *ə 'fɔ* 'There is none here'. *ha 'da:* '*sdamp a 'jih aram. mbel 'gin* (or '*fəɣiN'*) '*ajəds?* 'I need two stamps. Have you got any?' *mbel 'kəɪn ajəd eð 'fəɣiN' ɣanə 'hauraN'* 'Do you remember any of the songs?' *t'e 'va:n* 'a fair one' (about a girl), (ə) *fər 'elə* 'the other one'. *el 'dūN'ə 'id'ir asə valə ni 'Ntli-ə nə s 'kləvərə?* '*ha:*, *ha 'N'i-un asə val 'aḡiN'ə 'xəfiçəs ə 'Ntli-ə aNə 'Nduəð ə 'hi:d'ə ɣə 'Lɛh* 'Is there anybody in the village who can make the distance faster? Yes, there there is a girl in our village who can walk the distance in an hour and a half'.

ka:l, *fūNk*, *gin*, *fər*, *t'e:*, *dūN'ə* acquire the meanings 'nothing', 'nobody', 'none' in combination with a negated verb: *xa 'du:Rd a 'ka:l* 'he said nothing', *xa Rə 'dūN'ə 'āūN* 'nobody was there'.

elə 'other', *ulə* 'all', and *sə 'bih*, *sə 'mbih* 'any' are placed after nouns (or other pronouns): (ə) *NduN'* '*elə* 'the other man', (ə) *fər 'elə* 'the other one', '*u:dəx sə 'bih* 'any clothing'. (ə) '*xulə^h* 'every' and *ɣax* 'each' precede the noun: (ə) '*xulə 'həiç(ə)* 'every night', '*basɣad' eð ɣax 'tu:v* 'a basket on each side'.

Further Adverbial Words.

263. Adverbs of location and direction:

	Repos:	Movement
'over there'	<i>haul</i>	(ə) ' <i>NṣūL</i>
'over here'	(ə) ' <i>vəs</i>	(ə) ' <i>NāūL</i>
'in(side)'	(ə) ' <i>sdəj</i> , -' <i>sdə</i>	(ə) ' <i>fd'ex</i>
'out(side)'	(ə) ' <i>mūj</i>	(ə) ' <i>māx</i>

	Repose	Movement away from speaker	Movement towards speaker
'up'	<i>huəs</i>	<i>suəs</i>	} (ə) ' <i>Nūās</i>
'down'	<i>hiəs</i>	<i>fiəs</i>	

The adverbs translated by 'over here' and 'over there' are more clearly deictic in meaning than *aNə 'hjɔ*, *aNə 'hīn*, etc., and they often apply to greater distances. They are often used to reinforce the latter adverbs, e. g. *ha mi na mə 'hesu 'vəs ə 'fɔ* 'I am standing over here', *hiḡəɣ i 'NāūL aNə 'hjɔ* 'let her come over here'. But they are also used on their own, as in *xəj ə 'vɛn ə 'NṣūL ɣanə 'N't'ānə* 'his wife went over to the fire', (ə) '*N'd'erəN 'haul* 'the Scottish mainland', literally 'the district on the other side, over there'.—Note that the distinction between 'up' and 'down' is lacking when the movement is towards the speaker; *hiḡ ə 'Nūās 'hugəm* means both 'come up to me' and 'come down to me'.

264. The prepositional pronoun *āūN*, unstressed *aN* 'in it' is very frequently translatable by 'there' (movement and repose). It usually refers to a place mentioned earlier, e. g. *va a 'fiaxiN' diḡə 'vo: xuð ə 'Nda:Rdə 'vūLəx ə 'Ntɛh ... ax xa 'd'e-əɣ ə 'vo: 'āūN* 'he was trying to get the cow up on the roof of the house, but the cow couldn't get there'.

265. Some other adverbs of location and direction: *eð 'af* 'back', *eð 'ə-əRd* 'forwards', *hadif* 'across', *ɣaxi* 'home' (cp. *aḡə 'Ntəj* 'at home'), '*imī'çəL*, '*imī'çəL* 'around'.

266. Some adverbs of time: (ə) '*ðiəv*, (ə) '*xəi*, *id'ir* all mean 'ever', with negated verbs 'never'. (ə) '*ðiəv* refers to the past, (ə) '*xəi* to the future, and *id'ir* to the present. *id'ir* must very often be translated by 'at all'. (ə) '*N'd'u(h)* 'to-day', (ə) '*N'd'e:* 'yesterday', (ə) '*mā:rəx* 'to-morrow', '*Lā:N'ə 'vā:rəx* 'on the morrow, the next day', '*vð:* '*d'e:* 'the day before yesterday', (ə) '*N'd'erhəð* 'the day after to-morrow'. (ə) '*mbliṣNə* 'this year', (ə) '*Nduri* 'last year', (ə) '*Ndah'vliṣNə*, (ə) '*NdafləNə* 'next year'. (ə) '*Nṣxg* 'to-night', (ə) '*Rəið* 'last night'; *tra:*, *mox* 'early', *ānā'məx* 'late'; (ə) '*nif*, (ə) '*nifə* 'now', (ə) '*ðe:fd'(ə)* 'now', *ma 'rha:* 'already', *ha-əsð* 'still, yet; again', (ə) '*ði-ifd'* 'again', (ə) '*Ndra:sd(ə)* 'just

now', (ə) 'ɣajhar, asə 'sbət, a 'sbət 'at once, immediately', (ə) 'Nkō:ni 'always'. *fexəd* 'past, away' is both temporal and local.

267. Adverbs expressing general relations are *tɔ:R*, *mo:ran* 'much', *gle:L* 'very' (only before adjectives), *tuLəɣ* 'more, any more', *began* 'a little', *muR'sə* 'like this', *muR'sūn* 'like that, thus', *d'i:ðəx* 'just, directly', *çəRsd* 'just, exactly', *kud'əxg* 'too, also, as well', after negated verbs 'either'.

268. Both nouns and adjectives are frequently used adverbially. Nouns are used chiefly to indicate space and time: 'Lε-*mī:lə* 'māx as 'fd'ɔ:Rnəvay 'half a mile out of Stornoway', 'ɣuðic a 'fexgəN' 'he stayed for a week'. The noun *uəð* f. 'time, hour' has a special plural *uəðəNən* which is used only adverbially in the meaning 'at times, sometimes' (the ordinary plural is *uəðən*). Adjectives in the positive and comparative/superlative: *xə nə* 'Rudən *fin ə* 'māx a 'fasan 'gle: 'vo:r ə 'nif 'those things have gone very much out of fashion now', 'ūāvasəx 'du:r 'terribly expensive', *xə 'd'əx a nə b 'ad'ə* 'he didn't go any farther'. They may be preceded by the same qualifying adverbs and particles as those used before predicative adjectives, such as *xə* 'so, as', *gle:L* 'very'. A few adjectives are preceded by the particle *gə^h* both in adverbial and predicative use: 'ānā'çi mi 'dō:-əL *gə* 'māh 'I know Donald well', 'dūN'ə viɣ *gə* 'mā ji 'somebody who would be good to her', *mbel fu gə* 'māh 'are you well?' *gə* 'hə:Rad' 'particularly', cp. *a:Rad* 'a certain, particular'. *gə* 'Lɔ:r 'enough' and *gə* 'Le:ð 'aH, altogether' are never used without this particle. Most adjectives do not take the particle *gə^h* in adverbial functions. This is consequently not a general adverbializing particle as often stated in Gaelic grammars.

Prepositions

269. The great majority of simple prepositions govern the dative. A few probably govern the nominative and a fair number, among them all the compound prepositions, the genitive.

Most prepositions cannot be followed by personal pronouns. Instead, the simple prepositions receive what may be termed personal endings. The resulting words, each of which accordingly embodies a preposition and a personal morpheme, are called prepositional pronouns or conjugated prepositions. 'In us', for instance, is not rendered by a simple sequence of the preposition *aNəN* 'in' plus the pronoun *fiN* 'we, us', but by the word *ūNiN* which contains two bound morphemes. The compound prepositions, all of which govern the genitive when combined with nouns (*εR, sən ə 'xεt* 'for [the sake of] the cat'), are combined with possessive pronouns when a personal element is required (*eð mə 'hən* 'for me, for my sake', *eð ə 'sən* 'for her, for her sake').

270. The prepositions which have a fully developed system of prepositional pronouns are the following fourteen (the numbering is identical with Borgstrøm's):

1. *aɣ* 'at, with, near', especially frequent in expressions translating the verb 'to have', which lacks an equivalent in Gaelic: *ha 'bo: aɣə 'NdūN'ə* 'the man has a cow'. It further denotes immediate proximity: *aɣə 'Ntəj* 'at home', *aɣnə 'tehən* 'near the houses'. With article *aɣə^{La}*, plural *aɣnə^h*.

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	<i>agəm, əm</i>	<i>agiN</i>
2.	<i>ajəd</i>	<i>agu</i>
3. M.	<i>aɣə</i>	} <i>ak(ə)</i>
F.	<i>εk(ə)</i>	

2. *gə* 'to, until' governs the genitive, except for proper names which have at least potentially the nominative case after this preposition: *ha mi tɔRd ə 'vð:nə sə 'gə 'krəsəbɔsd* 'I am taking this peat to Crossbost' (gen. *xrəsəbɔsd*). *gə* usually indicates a movement in space or time; in many cases, it is difficult to distinguish its meaning from that of *də^{LF}*, (ə)^{LF} (No. 12), compare *ha mi dɔL 'xənə 'Lɔx* 'I am going to the loch' with *ha mi dɔL 'ɣənə 'valə* 'I am going to (the) town'. I believe, however, that *gə* has the more concrete meaning of the two.

With article *gəɲə^{La}* (m.), *gəɲə^h* (f. and pl.); some speakers use *xəɲə^{La}* and *xəɲə^h*.

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	<i>hugəɲ</i>	<i>hugiN'</i>
2.	<i>hugəd</i>	<i>hugu</i>
3. M.	<i>hiǵə</i>	} <i>huk(ə)</i>
F.	<i>hiǵ(ə)</i>	

3. *as* (before vowels and sometimes before consonants), *a* (only before consonants) 'from, out of': *ha mi t'in a tə 'xaLəm* 'I am coming from Calum's house', 'ko: *as ə 'ha: u* 'where are you from?'

With article *asə^{La}*, plural *asnə^h*.

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	<i>asəm</i>	<i>asiN'</i>
2.	<i>asəd</i>	<i>asu</i>
3. M.	<i>as</i>	} <i>asd(ə)</i>
F.	<i>afd'(ə)</i>	

4. *aNə^N*, (*ə*)^N 'in': *aNə 'Lu:rbəsd* 'in Leurbost, at Leurbost', *aNə 'mbariçən* 'in wheelbarrows', *aNə 'N'kãũN* (or (*ə*) 'N'kãũN) 'da: 'hjɛxgəN' 'at the end of two weeks, two weeks later'. On the adverbial use of the prepositional pronoun in the third person singular see § 264; on its use with the copula, §§ 303–5.

With article *asə^{La}*, plural *asnə^h*. These forms are used both with and without stress; the forms *aNsə^{LN}*, *ãũNsə^h*, etc. which are sometimes heard, are no doubt due to the wish to be "correct", cp. the written forms *anns an*, *anns na*.

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	<i>ãNəm</i>	<i>ãNiN'</i>
2.	<i>ãNəd</i> [<i>ũNɲt</i> , <i>ũNət</i>]	<i>ãNəv</i>
3. M.	<i>ãũN</i> , unstr. <i>aN</i>	} <i>ãũNt(ə)</i>
F.	<i>ẽiN'd'ə</i> , unstr. <i>iN'd'ə</i>	

The *ə* of the third person singular feminine is rarely dropped with this preposition.

5. *ma^L* 'about': *manə 'xəfd'aL* 'about the castle, around the castle', *ma 'dãfiç* 'about your neck', *ha 'N'd'efə 'fuər və nax Rə i 'ũməd fçəN 'trəf* 'the suit is cold because you haven't had it on for a while', literally '... because it hasn't been about you ...'

With article *manə^{La}*, plural *manə^h*.

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	<i>ũ-əm</i>	} ?
2.	<i>ũməd</i> , <i>ũ-əd</i>	
3. M.	<i>imə</i>	
F.	?	

Conjugated forms of this preposition are rare, and it was not possible to obtain a full paradigm. The informants would use other prepositions like *t'im'çəL eð* 'around, about' or *eð* 'on' when questioned for the lacking forms.

6. *rə^L* 'before, in front of, ahead of': *gəs ə 'fãjəɲ a ɲanə 'valə 'rənə 'vũLũ'xag 'xə:f* 'in order to get to the village before the lump of cheese'.

With article *rənə^{La}*, plural *rənə^h*.

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	<i>rõ-əm</i>	<i>rõ-iN'</i>
2.	<i>rõ-əd</i> (?)	<i>rõ-əv</i>
3. M.	<i>rẽ-ə</i> , <i>rẽhə</i>	} <i>rõp(ə)</i>
F.	<i>rẽp(ə)</i>	

7. *trə^L* 'trough': *xəj a 'trənə 'pa:ðiçən* 'he went through the fields'.

With article *trənə^{La}*, plural *trənə^h*.

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	<i>trõ-əm</i>	<i>trõ-iN'</i>
2.	<i>trõ-əd</i>	<i>trõ-əv</i>
3. M.	<i>trẽ-ə</i>	} <i>trõp(ə)</i>
F.	<i>trẽp(ə)</i>	

8. *fɔ^L*, *fo^L* 'under, below': *ha 'sgɔ: fɔnə 'jaLiç* 'there is a cloud under (below) the moon'.

With article *fɔnə^{La}*, plural *fɔnə^h*.

	Sg.	Pl.	
1.	<i>fɔ-əm</i>	<i>fɔ-iN'</i>	
2.	<i>fɔ-əd</i>	<i>fɔ-əv</i>	
3. M.	<i>fɔ-ə</i>	} <i>fɔp(ə)</i> ↓ ɔ:	
F.	<i>fɔ:j(ə)</i> <i>fɔ:jp(ə)</i>		

9. *fɔ^L*, *fo^L*, *vɔ^L*, *vo^L* 'from, away from': *hug mi 'fojə 'Ndad* 'I took the hat away from him', *vɔ 'La-a gɔ 'La-a* 'from day to day'. This preposition is the antonym of *gɔ* (No. 2) and is thus more concretely directional than *də^{LF}*, *(ə)^{LF}* 'of, from' (No. 13).

With article *fɔnə^{La}*, *vɔnə^{La}*, plural *fɔnə^h*, *vɔnə^h*.

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	<i>fɔ̃üm</i>	<i>fɔ̃iN'</i> , <i>vɔ̃iN'</i>
2.	<i>fot</i>	<i>fəiv</i>
3. M.	<i>fojə</i> , <i>vojə</i>	} <i>fop(ə)</i>
F.	<i>fojp(ə)</i> , <i>vojpp(ə)</i>	

10. *le* 'with': *'ka:l' el u 'dɔL lefə 'N'd'aLæx jin* 'where are you going with that load?', *ha 'sgian əd 'lɔ̃üms(ə)* 'that knife is mine', literally '... is with me'.

* With article *lefə^{La}*, plural *lefə^h* and *lenə^h*.

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	<i>lɔ̃üm</i> , unstr. <i>ləm</i>	<i>lɔ̃iN'</i>
2.	<i>let</i>	<i>ləiv</i> , unstr. <i>ləv</i>
3. M.	<i>lef</i>	} <i>lɔ-ə</i> , <i>lɔ-ɔ</i>
F.	<i>lɛ-ə</i>	

11. *ði* 'to', used after verbs like *bri-iN'* 'to talk', *gra-a* 'to say', *e:væxg* 'to shout' (but not after *ĩ:fə*, *ĩ:fəɣ* 'to tell', where No. 12 is used). It is further used after adjectives preceded by

xɔ 'so, as', e. g. *xɔ 'mā ði 'jin* 'as good as that', and after certain other adjectives, e. g. *kɔLæx ði* 'similar to', *kaðæx ði* 'guilty of'.

With article *ðifə^{La}*, plural *ðifə^h* (and *ðina^h?*).

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	<i>rɔ̃üm</i> , unstr. <i>rəm</i> ,	<i>rɔ̃iN'</i> , unstr. <i>riN'</i> , <i>ruN'</i>
2.	<i>rut</i> [<i>rum</i> ·	<i>rəiv</i>
3. M.	<i>ðif</i>	} <i>ru-ə</i> , <i>ru-u</i>
F.	<i>ði-ə</i> , <i>ði-i</i>	

12. *də^{LF}*, *(ə)^{LF}* 'to, for': *ha mi dɔL ə 'fd'ɔ:Rnəvay ə 'mā:ræx* 'I am going to Stornoway to-morrow', *feð 'mifə ɣut 'fã:N'ə ma feð u 'ɣð 'da: 'sguəb ɣanə 'N'd'ex* 'I'll give you a ring if you will give me two sheaves for the horse' (literally 'I shall give to you a ring if you will give to me two sheaves to the horse'). This preposition is especially frequent after verbs meaning 'give, bring', etc.; thus, it corresponds very often to the English morpheme of position which denotes the indirect object, as in the example above. It is frequently used before verbal nouns, e. g. *ha 'mifə dɔL ə 'hiLə(ɣ) 'ɣaxi* 'I am going to return home', *'Nda:l'ə 'ɣa: 'biəɣ ə hɔRd 'fiəs xɔnə 'xɛl'* 'instead of him taking food down to the cat', literally 'instead (of) for him food to take ...'. The form with initial *d* is only used now and then, and never before verbal nouns. I have not been able to find any rule for its distribution.

With article *ɣanə^{La}*, plural *ɣanə^h*.

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	<i>ɣð(h)</i>	<i>ɣãiN'</i>
2.	<i>ɣut</i>	<i>ɣəiv</i>
3. M.	<i>ɣa:</i> , unstr. <i>ɣa</i>	} <i>ɣaiiv</i>
F.	<i>ji(h)</i>	

Before the emphatic particle, the first person singular lengthens its vowel: *ɣð:s(ə)*.

13. *də^{LF}*, *(ə)^{LF}* 'of, from': *'fəyiN' ɣanə 'hauraN'* 'some of

the songs', 'pi:s də 'haLu 'māh 'a piece of good land' 'γāīniç ad 'jeh 'ka: Rə a 'dɔL 'they asked him where he was going', literally 'asked from him . . .'. The form with initial *d* is not very frequent.

With article *γanə^{La}*, plural *γanə^h*.

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	jīam	?
2.	jīat	jīav (?)
3. M.	jɛ(h), jɛ(h)	} jīav, unstr. jāv
F.	jī(h)	

For the first person plural, I have written *jīaN'* once, but I am not confident that it is correct. *jīav* in the second person plural is also badly attested.

14. *eð* 'on': *eðə* 'vɔ:Rd 'on the table', *ha* 'N'tesəx aram 'I have a fever' (literally 'the fever is on me'), *va* 'Nkat ə 'faLàv eð lenə 'hifanən 'the cat was taking the chickens away from him' (literally 'the cat was going away on him with the chickens').

With article *eðə^{La}*, plural *eðnə^h*.

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	arəm, unstr. aram	ɔ:Rn
2.	ɔRsd	əðəv, unstr. əðəv
3. M.	eð	} ɔR(ə)
F.	ɔR(ə)	

In a number of constructions, most of them fossilized expressions, we meet with a leniting *eð^L* which may usually be translated 'after': 'da: eð 'içəd 'twenty-two' ('two after twenty'), *eð* 'xauL 'lost' ('after loss'). This is a different preposition with a very limited distribution; historically, it represents an older iar 'after', while *eð* corresponds to O.I. for 'on'.

271. The preposition *adər* 'between' has prepositional pronouns only for the plural: *adəriN'* 'between us', *atru* 'between you', *atəR(ə)* 'between them'. In the singular, and sometimes also in the plural, the preposition may govern personal pronouns:

adər 'mifə s du 'he:n 'between me and you(rself)', *adər fiN'* 'hī:n 'between ourselves'.

gən^L 'without' (sometimes non-leniting before dentals: *gən* 'dūN'ə 'without a husband; without anybody', in one instance even nasalizing: *gə* 'N'təgu 'without doubt, doubtlessly') has no prepositional pronouns. In certain constructions, it is followed by a personal pronoun: 'xūNə mi 'drəx'γa 't'i-iN' eð 'Rədi, əγəs a 'gīəRi aram ə 'xələð 'əsgLəγ, əγəs gən a 'faðəxgiN' gə 'māh 'I saw Roddy's complexion turning bad, and he asked me to open his collar, saying that he wasn't feeling well', literally '. . . and without him feeling well'. Normally, however, another preposition, *as* 'ə:nif, is used to express 'without' when the complement is pronominal: *as* 'mbə:nif 'without me', etc. *xə N'd'el a 'mūj s xə N'd'el a 'sdəj s xə N'd'el ə 'Ntəj as 'ə:nif* 'it is not outside, it is not inside, and (yet) the house is not without it' (a riddle; the answer is 'u:ð ə 'vəLə, the filling of earth between the inner and outer dry-masonry walls of the old "black houses"). Examples of *gən^L* with nouns: *gən* 'vɔ:γən s gən 'sdəkiN'ən 'without boots or stockings', *xadə* 'γuðič 'dūNū'xəγ nə b 'ad'ə gən 'aLà 'Duncan didn't hesitate to go any longer' ('. . . didn't wait any longer without going').

adər and *gən* probably govern the nominative, but I have no certain evidence on this point, as both prepositions are rarely used before nouns with article in the (masculine) singular, the only forms where the distinction between nominative and dative is consistently maintained.

The infinitive mark (ə)^g is historically identical with No. 1 *ağ* but is formally different and must be regarded as a separate preposition with a strictly limited distribution. It is found only before verbal nouns; examples will be given § 310.

veð, *feð*, *fer* 'from, off' governs the genitive: *feðnə ha:ði* 'from the shieling'. I have no example of its use with any pronominal element.

272. Compound prepositions consist of a simple preposition followed by a noun, to which latter the governed noun is a

genitive attribute. Expressions like *ma 'vī-an ə 'N'larāmōN* 'about the middle of the sermon', *ði 'tu:v ə 'Rə-id'* 'beside the road, at the roadside' are an approach to constructions with compound prepositions, but I prefer to reserve this term for those cases where the noun following the preposition has no other function in the dialect. According to this definition, Lb. has few compound prepositions; the most frequent ones are *af 'd'e-i* (variant forms *af 'd'ə-i*, *a d'ə-i*, (*ə*) *'N'd'ə-i*) 'after', *as 'ḡ:nif* 'without' (recorded only with possessive pronouns), *vo 'çḡũN*, *fə 'çḡũN* (unstressed *fə çəN*, *vo çəN*) 'since, ago', *ma 'je-iN* 'about, concerning', *əR.'sən*, *əR.'sən* 'for (the sake of)', *eð 'biaLu* 'in front of', *eð 'fəγ* 'throughout'. These prepositions cannot govern personal pronouns, but possessive pronouns may be inserted before the nominal part of the preposition: *as mə 'je-i*, *as mə 'jə-i* (rarely *na mə 'jə-i*) 'after me', *ma mə 'je-iN* 'about me', *eð mə 'hən* 'for me'.

273. Paradigm of *as 'mbḡ:nif* 'without me' etc.

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	<i>as 'mbḡ:nif</i>	} <i>as əR 'hḡ:nif</i>
2.	<i>as 'dḡ:nif</i>	
3. M.	<i>as 'ḡ:nif</i>	} <i>as ə 'Ndḡ:nif</i>
F.	<i>as ə 'hḡ:nif</i>	

For emphasis on the pronominal element, the emphasizing particles (§ 258) may be added. Paradigm of *ma mə 'je-iN sə* 'about me':

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	<i>ma mə 'je-iN s(ə)</i>	, <i>ma: r 'd'e-iN Nə</i>
2.	<i>ma də 'je-iN s(ə)</i>	, <i>ma: r 'd'e-iN fə</i>
3. M.	<i>ma 'je-iN sən</i>	} <i>ma 'N'd'e-iN sən</i>
F.	<i>ma 'd'e-iN f(ə)</i>	

Examples with nouns: *ma 'je-iN 'bufN'əxg* 'concerning withcraft', *eð 'biaLu 'Nteh* 'in front of the house', *eð 'fəγ ə 'N'd'elaN* 'throughout the island'. The governed noun usually has the

nominative case if the article is absent (cp. § 250, c): *əR.'sən 'bLa-əs γanə 'Ntəj* 'for the heating of the house' ('for the sake of warmth to the house').

274. Simple prepositions, especially *eð* 'on', are often preceded by adverbs which modify their meanings, e. g. *taRsiN' eð* 'across', *f'imi'çəL eð* 'around' (also *f'imi'çəL* with genitive), (*ə*) *'NḡũL eðə 'Ləx* 'across the loch, over to the other side of the loch', *'hjauL a 'māx eðə 'NdũN'əg* 'he looked out of the window', *xəj a 'sdə sə 'Ntəj* 'he went into the house' ('inside in the house').

The Numerals

275. Both English and Gaelic numerals are in common use. I have not recorded the English numerals systematically, and the following list of some cardinal numbers, partly compiled from texts and occasional notes and partly quoted from memory, makes no claim to absolute reliability:

wən, *tu.*, *θri.*, *fə:r*, *fəiv* (*fəiv*), *siks*, *sevən*, *e:t* [*e:ht*], *nāin*, *tēn*, *i'levən*, *twelf*(?), *'θaRt'tin* [*'θah't'f'in*], *'foRt'tin*. *twēNti* 'twenty', *θaRti* 'thirty'. *'nāin'tin*, *θaRti'e:t* '1938'. Monoglot Gaelic speakers and some older bilinguals replace *θ* by *t*.

Numbers up to twenty are most often expressed by Gaelic numerals; higher numbers are frequently given in English. The tendency to use English numerals is strongest in young speakers. In church and at religious meetings, the numbers of chapters, psalms, and verses are given in Gaelic first and then repeated in English, presumably for the benefit of young people who may have difficulties in understanding higher compound numerals in Gaelic. The old and middle-aged, however, have no such difficulties; without hesitation they will translate any numeral given to them in English, cardinal or ordinal, as long as the number is below a million. For 'million', there is no Gaelic word.

When English numerals are used, their nearest syntactic environment is generally English as well. Thus, in a Gaelic

context, one may hear "sixpence" or "'*fia* 's*gi*-i*N*'", but never "'*siks* 's*gi*-i*N*'".

276. The following is a brief survey of the Gaelic numerals as used in Leurbost. The syntax of the numerals is very complicated, and only the forms and a few selected examples of their use will be given here. All numerals are uninflected.

Cardinal Numbers.

277. The forms given in column A are those employed when no noun or other numeral follows, e. g. in counting; the forms in column B are used before nouns and before numerals like *fiçad* 'twenty', *Kiäd* 'hundred', etc. to form compound numerals.

A	B
1 <i>änän</i>	<i>ä:</i> , <i>änä</i> ^L , <i>än</i>
2 (<i>ä</i>) ' <i>ya:</i>	<i>da:</i> ^L
3 (<i>ä</i>) ' <i>tri:</i>	<i>tri:</i>
4 etc.	<i>Kehäd</i>
5	<i>ko:g</i>
6	<i>fia</i>
7	<i>fexg</i>
8 <i>oxg</i> , <i>uxg</i>	<i>oxg</i> , <i>uxg</i>
9	<i>Näiγ</i>
10	<i>d'eç</i>
11 ' <i>häi(N')</i> ' <i>d'iäg</i>	<i>'ä:</i> (<i>änä</i> ^L , <i>än</i>) <i>d'iäg</i> , ' <i>jiäg</i>
12 ' <i>ya:</i> ' <i>jiäg</i>	<i>'da:</i> ^L . . . ' <i>jiäg</i>
13 ' <i>tri:</i> ' <i>d'iäg</i>	<i>'tri:</i> . . . ' <i>d'iäg</i> , ' <i>jiäg</i>
14 ' <i>KehäR</i> ' <i>d'iäg</i>	<i>'Kehäd</i> . . . — —
15 ' <i>ko:</i> ' <i>d'iäg</i>	<i>'ko:g</i> . . . — —
16 ' <i>fia</i> ' <i>d'iäg</i>	<i>'fia</i> . . . — —
17 ' <i>fexg</i> ' <i>d'iäg</i>	<i>'fexg</i> . . . — —
18 ' <i>ox(g)</i> ' <i>d'iäg</i>	<i>'oxg</i> . . . — —
19 ' <i>Nävi</i> ' <i>d'iäg</i>	<i>'Näiγ</i> . . . — —
20 <i>fiçad</i>	<i>fiçad</i>
21 ' <i>änän eð</i> ' <i>içad</i>	. . . <i>eð</i> ' <i>içad</i>

A	B
22 ' <i>ya:</i> <i>eð</i> ' <i>içad</i>	<i>'da:</i> ^L . . . <i>eð</i> ' <i>içad</i>
30 ' <i>d'eç</i> <i>eð</i> ' <i>içad</i>	<i>'d'eç</i> . . . <i>eð</i> ' <i>içad</i>
32 ' <i>ya:</i> <i>jäg</i> <i>eð</i> ' <i>içad</i>	
40 ' <i>da:</i> ' <i>içad</i>	<i>'da:</i> ' <i>içad</i> . . .
41 <i>da</i> ' <i>içad</i> <i>äs</i> ' <i>änän</i>	
50 <i>Leçad</i> , ' <i>Le</i> ' <i>çiäd</i>	<i>Leçad</i> , ' <i>Le</i> ' <i>çiäd</i> . . .
51 ' <i>Leçad</i> <i>äs</i> ' <i>änän</i> ,	
<i>da</i> ' <i>içad</i> <i>s ä</i> ' <i>häi</i> ' <i>d'iäg</i>	
60	<i>'tri:</i> ' <i>fiçad</i> , <i>tri</i> ' <i>fiçad</i>
80	<i>'Kehäd</i> ' <i>fiçad</i>
100	<i>'Kiäd</i> , ' <i>ko:g</i> ' <i>fiçad</i>
400	<i>'Kehäd</i> ' <i>Kiäd</i>
1000	<i>'m:lä</i>
4573	<i>'Kehäd</i> ' <i>m:lä</i> <i>s</i> ' <i>ko:g</i> ' <i>çiäd</i> <i>s</i> <i>tri</i> ' <i>fiçad</i> <i>s ä</i> ' <i>tri:</i> ' <i>d'iäg</i>

278. The numerals with initial consonant in column A are preceded by *ä* after consonants: '*ya:* *s ä* '*tri:* *s ä* '*Kehäd* *dä* '*ya:dän* '*kö:di* '*çe:lä* 'two and three and four peats together' (but not in counting, where each numeral has a final or suspensive contour: *änän*, *ya:*, *tri:*, *Kehäd* and so on).

The forms for 'one': *ä:* is used especially before dentals, *änä*^L before non-dental consonants, but there is some vacillation: '*ä:* '*düN*'ä 'one man', '*änä*' *xu:* and '*ä:* '*ku:* 'one dog'. *än* is used before vowels: '*än* '*uäð* 'once, (at) one time'.

The words for 'one', 'twenty', 'forty', etc., 'hundred' and 'thousand' govern nouns in the nominative singular: '*änä*' *xu:rä* 'one sheep', '*fiçad* '*ku:rä* 'twenty sheep', *tri* '*fiçad* '*ku:rä* 'sixty sheep'. *da:*^L governs nouns in the dual, which is homonymous with the dative singular (see § 224). Other numerals govern nouns in the nominative plural.

tri:, *Kehäd*, and *ko:g* may lenite a following *k* or *K* but apparently no other initials: '*tri:* '*xäN*' 'three dogs', '*ko:g* '*çiäd* 'five hundred'.

On the list above, the dots mark the place of the noun with

compound numerals: 'ko:g̃ 'xw:ðic̃ 'j̃iag̃ 'fifteen sheep', 'ku:r eð 'içad̃ 'twenty-one sheep', 'da: 'içad̃ 'ku:rə 'forty sheep'. Radical or lenited initial in *d'iãg* '-teen' depends, at least in part, upon the form of the preceding noun according to rules similar to those which govern the initials of attributive adjectives.

Note, for the compound numerals, the frequent use of constructions like 'ðnən eð 'içad̃ ə 'xw:ðic̃ (alternative: 'ku:r eð 'içad̃) 'twenty-one sheep'.

Personal Numerals.

279. There is a special set of numerals from two to ten denoting persons. These are:

2	<i>d'i-if</i>
3	<i>tru:ð</i>
4	<i>k̃erəð</i>
5	<i>ko:g̃ar, ko:g̃ar</i>
6	<i>f̃iðnər</i>
7	<i>f̃exgər</i>
8	<i>oxgər</i>
9	<i>Nðĩɣnər</i>
10	<i>d'eçnər</i>

280. The personal numerals may be used alone, meaning 'so and so many people' (*bi 's̃g̃ibəɣ ə d̃əL ə 'm̃āx, 'd'i-if ma 'N'd'iãRuN* 'a [peat-cutting] crew will go out, two men to the [peat-]iron') or with nouns in the genitive plural (*ma 'NkuəRsd eð 'd'eçnər 'ɣð:N'ə* 'about ten men').

For 'one' and numbers above ten, the cardinal numbers are used even about persons. There is a personal number for 'one person', *ð:nər*, but this is used only in expressions like *ha 'm̃ifə aNə 'fə na 'mbð:nər* 'I am here alone', literally 'I am here in my one-person'.

Ordinal Numbers.

281. The simple ordinal numbers are placed before the noun, where they behave formally rather like adjectival prepos-

itives or first elements of compound nouns. They are always preceded by the article but have some irregular initial mutations: (ə) 'çiãd^L 'the first', (ə) 'Ndoxgu 'the eighth', and (ə) 'N'd'iãdu 'the twentieth' are lenited (^{La}) even in the nominative masculine singular; the other ordinals all seem to have nasalized initial in the nominative, even if the following noun is feminine: (ə) 'Nko:g̃u 'N'i-un 'the fifth girl'. In the dative, however, lenition after the article occurs as usual: *açə 'çeru 'dũN'ə* 'at the fourth man'.

1	(ə) 'çiãd ^L
2	(ə) 'Nda:Rnə
3	(ə) 'Ntri-u
4	(ə) 'N'k̃eru
5	(ə) 'Nko:g̃u
6	(ə) 'fia-u
7	(ə) 'f̃exgu
8	(ə) 'Ndoxgu
9	(ə) 'Nðĩɣu
10	(ə) 'N'd'eçu
11	(ə) 'Ndð: . . . 'd'iãg, (ə) 'Ndðnð ^L . . . 'd'iãg
12	(ə) 'Nda:Rnə . . . 'd'iãg
20	(ə) 'N'd'iãdu
100	(ə) 'N'kĩadu

(ə) 'çiãd^L 'the first' lenites a following noun; all other ordinals are followed by radical initial, regardless of grammatical environment.

Examples of simple and compound ordinals: *eðə 'xo:g̃u 'La-ə də 'je:prəl* 'on the fifth of April', *eðə 'N't'ia-u 'La-ə 'fiçad̃ ə 'ɣð:gəsd* 'on the 26th of August', (ə) 'f̃exgu 'dũN'ə 'd'iãg f̃erə 'Nda: 'içad̃ 'the fifty-seventh man'.

The Verb

The Verbal Forms

282. The verb is inflected chiefly by means of endings and initial mutations. The irregular verbs also use interchange of root morphs as an inflectional technique.

There are no participles in Lb. Some adjectives in *-t̃* are semantically closely allied to verbs (*dū:N't̃(ə)* 'closed', *fəsgil't̃(ə)* 'open', cp. *dū:N* 'close!', *fəsgəl* 'open!'), but such adjectives are found only for a small number of verbs, so that the suffix *-t̃* must be regarded as a derivational rather than an inflectional ending. Historically, these adjectives are participles and correspond to the O.I. past participle passive.

The verb has only one nominal form, the infinitive or verbal noun, see below § 298.

Relation to subject.

283. The finite verbal forms may be divided into two sets, definable by their relation to their subjects, namely, the definite and the indefinite forms. I propose these terms instead of the classical "active" and "passive". Borgstrøm's "impersonal" for the latter is undoubtedly an adequate term, but in my opinion, this term is still better applied in a different sense, see below § 287.

• 284. The definite forms can always be assigned to some subject definable as to person and number and expressed by a noun (*'hā:niġ ə 'NdūN'ə* 'the man came'), a pronoun (*'fa:gə fiN'* a 'we shall leave it'), a personal form of the verb itself (*'faLà-u 'γaxi* 'go home!' [2d pers. pl.]), or the relative particle (*fēr ə va 'sdaj* 'the one who was inside'). A direct grammatical connection between verb and subject is not necessary; in answers to yes-or-no questions, the verb refers to a subject expressed in a preceding utterance: "*Ndug a 'lɛf ə 'Lit'ir?*" — "*xa 'dug.*" 'Did he take the letter with him?—No' (literally: 'did not take').

285. The indefinite forms have no expressed subject, or, to put it differently, the forms themselves incorporate an indefinite, impersonal subject, comparable, as pointed out by Borgstrøm, to French *on* or German *man*: '*xūNū'kas ə 'N'd'e*: a corresponds quite well to *on le vit hier*; a 'he, him' is the grammatical object, not subject as in the English rendering 'he was seen yesterday'. This is shown by the word order; a subject pronoun always follows its verb immediately, while an object may be separated from it by one or more interpolations. It is significant that Lb. speakers, when asked to translate English "passive" constructions, hardly ever use indefinite forms but render (often inexactly) phrases like 'I was deceived' by *va mi eð m̃ə 'vjāLay*, literally 'I was upon (or after) my deceiving'.

The indefinite forms are not very frequently used, and as they are also difficult to get at by ordinary methods of questioning, my material is incomplete at this point. The indefinite forms given in the paradigm of the regular verb *kuð* were obtained by the admittedly unsatisfactory method of direct suggestion. The other indefinite forms given in this chapter are more reliable, having been recorded in more natural situations.

Tense.

286. The regular verb has four simple tenses: Future-present (to be called future in the following), preterite, conditional, and imperative. There is no need to establish a mood system of indicative vs. imperative because the latter can better be regarded as another tense. The future corresponds formally to O.I. present, the preterite to O.I. preterite, and the conditional to O.I. imperfect, all indicative and all in the 3. person sg. except for the 1. person sg. conditional which preserves its personal ending. The full set of tenses is found only in the definite forms; the indefinite forms do not include an imperative. The substantive verb (see below § 300) distinguishes between future and present, thus bringing the maximum number of simple tenses up to five.

Person.

287. The definite verbal forms may be divided into personal and impersonal. In the former, the grammatical person of the subject is expressed in the verbal form itself: *xuðin* 'I would put', *kuðu* 'put!' (2. pers. pl.). These are never followed by a subject noun or pronoun. The impersonal forms contain no indication of the subject (except that the ending *-əɣ* of the conditional, for example, excludes the 1. person sg.), the subject being usually specified by a noun, pronoun, etc.: *'kuðə mi* 'I shall put', *'kuðəɣ a* 'let him put', *ha 'NdūN'ə sə 'La:d'ir* 'this man is strong'. Personal forms are found only for the 1. pers. sg. conditional and for the following forms of the imperative: 1. and 2. persons sg. and 2. person pl.

Dependence.

288. The regular verb distinguishes, in principle, between independent, relative, and dependent forms. All three forms are distinguished only in the definite future; in the other tenses, independent and relative forms are identical. In the preterite, dependent forms are preceded by the particle *də^{LF}* (for combinations with other particles and conjunctions, see § 317); the dependent conditional can be told apart from the independent and relative forms only by the initial mutations to which it is susceptible. This is also true for all tenses of the indefinite forms. The imperative has no distinctions of dependence.

Most irregular verbs lack the distinction between independent and relative, as will be seen from the paradigms.

289. The independent form is used when no conjunction, particle, or interrogative precedes the verb. For the further selection of independent, relative, and dependent forms, see §§ 314 ff.

Paradigms of Regular Verbs

290. The endings of the different forms of the regular verb are the following (0 means no ending):

	Independent	Relative	Dependent	Indefinite
Future	-i	-əs	0	-ər
Preterite	0			-əɣ
Conditional . . .	-iN' (1. sg.), -əɣ (other persons)			-ifd'(?), -içd'(ə)
Imperative . . .	-əm (1. sg.), 0 (2. sg.), -u (2. pl.), -əɣ (other persons)			

In the dependent forms, the initial may be radical, lenited, or nasalized according to the particle or conjunction which precedes. The independent future (definite and indefinite) always has radical initial, as well as all imperative forms. The independent preterite and conditional and all relative forms have lenited initial (*ɣ*, *j* prefixed to vowels and *f*). The complete paradigm of a regular verb will illustrate this. For the presentation of this and following paradigms, I adopt Borgström's technique in order to facilitate comparison. The modifying elements chosen to show the initial mutations of dependent forms are *nax* 'that not, which not' (lenites *f* but does not modify other initials), *xα^{LN}* 'not' (with nasalization of initial vowels, *j*, and lenited *f*, lenition of other consonants), *gə^N* 'that', and *manə^h* 'unless' (prefixes *h* to vowels and *j*, replaces *f* by *h*, no modification of other initials). Where nothing else is stated, the forms are definite.

291.

kur, kuð 'to put, to sow'.

	Fut.	Cond.	Pret.	Ipv.
Indep.	<i>kuði</i>	} <i>xuðəɣ</i>	<i>xuð</i>	<i>kuðəɣ</i>
Relat.	<i>xuðəs</i>			
Depend.	<i>nax 'kuð</i>	<i>nax 'kuðəɣ</i>	<i>naxdə 'xuð</i>	
	<i>xα 'xuð</i>	<i>xα 'xuðəɣ</i>	<i>xadə 'xuð</i>	
	<i>gə 'Nkuð</i>	<i>gə 'Nkuðəɣ</i>	<i>gənə 'xuð</i>	

Indefinite forms: Future *kuðər*Cond. *xuðifd'(?), cp. †āniçd'(ə)* 'would be said'Pret. *xuðəɣ*

292. The termination *-i* in the independent future has the allomorphs *-ə* and *-əs*. *-əs* is regularly used before the personal pronoun *i* 'she'. *-ə* is used before consonants at the normal speech rate; it may be replaced by *-i* in slow speech and also in rapid speech if preceded by a phonetically palatal consonant: *'tɔ:fiç'i mi* 'I will begin'. *-i* is used in all other environments, including utterance-final position. The complete paradigm of the independent future at the average rate of speech is the following:

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	'kuðə mi	'kuðə fiN'
2.	'kuðə du	'kuðə fu
3. m.	'kuði a	} 'kuði ad
3. f.	'kuðəs i	

293. The termination *-əγ* of the conditional has the allomorphs *-ə* and *-i*. *-əγ* is found before vowels and, in slow speech, also before consonants. It is the only allomorph used in utterance-final position. *-ə* is used before consonants in normal and rapid speech, and *-i* is occasionally heard after (phonetically) palatal consonants (only at a rather high rate of speech): *axə 'fēki fiN'* 'so that we might see'. In the 1. person sg., only the personal form in *-iN'* is used, without a pronoun. It should, however, be noted that the impersonal form is used in answers to yes-or-no questions, even when the person implied is the speaker himself: *"mbə du 'tɔliç'də na mbə 'tɔ:R 'aðəgəd əjəd?"* — *"'vi-əγ."* 'Would you be glad if you had much money?' — 'Yes' (literally 'would be').

Paradigm of the conditional:

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	'xuðiN'	'xuðə fiN'
2.	'xuðə du	'xuðə fu
3. m.	'xuðəγ a	} 'xuðəγ ad
3. f.	'xuðəγ i'	

294. Paradigm of the imperative, with personal and impersonal forms:

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	'kuðəm	'kuðə fiN'
2.	'kuð	'kuðu
3. m.	'kuðəγ a	} 'kuðəγ ad
3. f.	'kuðəγ i	

While the other tenses are combined with the negative *xa^{LN}* 'not', the imperative has a special negation *na* 'not': *na 'kuð* 'don't put!', *na 'kuðəγ 'fiN 'grūðman əRsd* 'don't let that make you gloomy' (literally 'don't let that put gloominess on you'). *na* causes no initial mutation in regular verbs; for irregular verbs see paradigms.

295. For the further illustration of initial mutations in regular verbs, the paradigms of *fa:gal* and *iç(ə)* are given below:

	<i>fa:gal</i> 'to leave'.			
	Fut.	Cond.	Pret.	Ipv.
Indep.	<i>fa:gi</i>	} <i>γa:gəγ</i>	<i>γa:g</i>	<i>fa:g</i> (2. sg.)
Relat.	<i>γa:gəs</i>			
Depend.	<i>nax 'a:g</i>	<i>nax 'a:gəγ</i>	<i>naxdə 'γa:g</i>	
	<i>manə 'ha:g</i>	<i>manə 'ha:gəγ</i>	<i>manTə 'γa:g</i>	
	<i>xa 'Nda:g</i>	<i>xa 'Nda:gəγ</i>	<i>xadə 'γa:g</i>	
	<i>gə 'fa:g</i>	<i>gə 'fa:gəγ</i>	<i>gənə 'γa:g</i>	

Indep. future:

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	'fa:gə mi	'fa:gə fiN'
2.	'fa:gə du	'fa:gə fu
3. m.	'fa:gi a	} 'fa:gi ad
3. f.	'fa:gəs i	

Conditional:

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	<i>γa:giN'</i>	<i>'γa:gə fiN'</i>
2.	<i>'γa:gə du</i>	<i>'γa:gə fu</i>
3. m.	<i>'γa:gəγ a</i>	} <i>'γa:gəγ ad</i>
3. f.	<i>'γa:gəγ i</i>	

	iç(ə) 'to eat'.			
	Fut.	Cond.	Pret.	Ipv.
Indep.	<i>içi</i>	} <i>jīçəγ</i>	<i>jīç</i>	<i>iç</i> (2. sg.)
Relat.	<i>jīçəs</i>			
Depend.	<i>nax 'iç</i>	<i>nax 'içəγ</i>	<i>naxdə 'jīç</i>	
	<i>manə 'hiç</i>	<i>manə 'hiçəγ</i>	<i>manTə 'jīç</i>	
	<i>xa 'N'd'iç</i>	<i>xa 'N'd'içəγ</i>	<i>xadə 'jīç</i>	
	<i>gə 'N'd'iç</i>	<i>gə 'N'd'içəγ</i>	<i>gənə 'jīç</i>	

Indep. future: 'içi mi, 'içi du, 'içəs i, etc.

Conditional: jīçiN', jīçəγ a, etc.

296. The great majority of regular verbs conform exactly to the paradigms above. In a number of verbs, however, there are some irregularities of inflection. Some of the irregularities may be only apparent, i. e. reducible to rules after an analysis of a more extensive material.

297. Many verbs have two allomorphs of the stem morpheme, one being used when no inflectional morpheme follows and the other before most or all terminations (including such infinitive terminations as -əγ, -al, cp. § 299).

(a) Short vowel before termination with initial vowel, long vowel or diphthong elsewhere (only in verbs ending in non-lenited nasal, lateral, or R):

• Indep. fut. *ǵaLi* 'will promise', pret. *jauL*, inf. *ǵauLtiN'*; indep. fut. *'faLə mi* 'I will look', pret. *hǵauL*, inf. *'fauLtiN'*; indep. fut. *kaLi* 'will loose', pret. *xaiL*, inf. *kauL*; cond. *xūmiN'* 'I would hold', inf. *kūmal*, pret. *xšūm*; inf. *'iLəγ* 'to turn', pret. *heiL*; inf. *miLəγ* 'to destroy', pret. *vēiL*; inf. *pršNəγ* 'to harrow' pret. *fršūN*; inf. *ǵaRəγ* 'to cut', cond. *gə 'N'ǵaRəγ*, pret. *ǵa:R*. But: indep. fut. *būN'i* 'belongs to', rel. fut. *vūN'əs*, dep. fut. *nax 'būN'*, pret. *vūN'*.

(b) Many verbs whose stems consist of two syllables have syncope of their last vowel before endings. If, through this syncope, a cluster arises which is incompatible with the rules

of consonant combinations, a svarabhakti vowel is inserted, or one of the consonants is altered (sometimes both).

Inf. *blə-ən* 'to milk', pret. *vbl-iN'*, indep. fut. *blə:N'i*; inf. *bri-iN'* 'to speak', indep. fut. *brī:N'i* and *brīN'i*; dep. fut. *xa 'Ndo-iN'* 'is not enough', indep. fut. *fo:ni* 'is enough'; inf. *taxəRd* 'to happen', pret. *haxəð*, indep. fut. *taxri*; rel. fut. *haxrəs*, cond. *haxrəγ*; pret. *xəN'iç* 'met', rel. fut. *xəN'əxəs*; pret. *çāNīç* 'bought', indep. fut. *'kāNā`çə mi*, rel. *çāNā`çəs*, cond. *çāNā`çəγ* (inf. *kāNəx*); pret. *ǵāniç* 'knew, recognized', dep. fut. *mas 'āniç*, *xa 'Ndāniç*, indep. fut. *ānā`çi* (inf. *ānā`xəγ* and *āN'əxəγ*); dep. fut. *xa 'Ndaðič* 'will not feel', indep. fut. *'faðāçə du* (inf. *faðāxgiN'* and *faðəxgiN'*); inf. *taRīg* 'to pull, carry', pret. *haRīg*, indep. fut. *taRāgi*, rel. *haRāǵəs*, cond. *haRāǵəγ*; pret. *ǵuliǵ* 'suffered', indep. fut. *fulūgi* (also heard *fulūǵə du*), cond. *ǵulūǵəγ* (inf. *fuləǵ*).

Syncope is, however, by no means universal in dissyllabic verbal stems, cp. pret. *ǵu-al* 'sewed', indep. fut. *'fu-alə mi* (inf. *fu-aL*); inf. *kō-ad* 'to look', pret. *xō-ad*, indep. fut. *'kō-adə mi* (also *kū-ad* etc.); pret. *hə:fiç* 'began', indep. fut. *'tə:fiçi mi* (inf. *tə:fəxəγ*, *tə:fəxgiN'*, and *tə:fiN'*); inf. *frəǵəRd* 'to answer', pret. *rəǵəð*, indep. fut. *'frəǵəðə mi*.

(c) Final stressless -iç belonging to the verbal stem is dropped before endings in the two verbs *e:ði* 'to rise, get up' and *fuðəx* (also *fuðəxg*) 'to stay, wait': pret. *ǵe:ðiç*, rel. fut. *ǵe:ðəs*; ipv. 2. sg. *fuðiç*, pret. *ǵuðiç*, dep. fut. *nax 'uðiç*, *xa 'Nduðiç*, indep. fut. *fuði*, cond. 1. sg. *ǵuðiN'*.

(d) The verbs *marə-əγ* 'to kill' and *faLə*, 'to go' have a stem-final *v* which is dropped in utterance-final position, before consonants, and before terminations but is preserved before the initial vowel of a following word: pret. *'varə mi*, *'varəv a*, inf. *marə-əγ*; pret. *'ǵaLə mi*, *'ǵaLəv a*, ipv. 2. sg. *faLə*, 2. pl. *faLə-u*.

The Infinitive

298. The infinitive or verbal noun is different from other nouns in several respects. Alone among nouns, it can be preceded

by the preposition (ə)^g ('the infinitive mark', cp. § 271); it has no plural; and its chief function is to form compound tenses with the substantive verb (see §§ 310 ff.). It has, however, also several features in common with other nouns. Thus, it has a genitive, used in such combinations as 'a:l'ə 'fuðic 'dwelling-place' (nom. fuðəx), ,kLax 'yliasi 'grindstone' (nom. gliasəy), ,gLas 'xrxaxi 'padlock' (krəxəy 'to hang'), 'auran 'Luəj 'waulking song' (nom. Luəy). Many verbal nouns have no corresponding finite verbs and are classed as verbal nouns only because they combine with the substantive verb and (ə)^g to form compound tenses. Among these are kō:ni 'to live, dwell', obəð 'to work', Ke:li 'to visit', kuəRsd 'to walk (about)', fedəðəxg 'to whistle', bðəbədəðəxg 'to weave, to be a weaver', e:mriç 'to low, moo', gəgədiç 'to cackle', kðhəRdiç 'to bark', mīāLiç 'to mew; to bleat', sdriahəRdiç 'to sneeze', fi'l'ðiç 'to neigh', sçjīāvəl 'to neigh; to grunt'. Some nouns may function both as verbal and ordinary nouns; that is, they are found both in compound tense forms and in the plural or after article: ha mi 'gobəð 'I am working' — 'Ndobəð 'the work', va ad ə 'kō:ray 'they were talking' — 'xuəLə 'N'i-un ə 'Nkō:ray açə 'the girl heard his talk', i. e. 'heard him talking', ha a 'gujə 'he is swearing; he is wishing' — gujəxən 'swearwords'.

299. Infinitives are formed in many different ways, and it is not possible to put down one or a few classes of infinitives as regular and describe the others as exceptions. The infinitives of irregular verbs will be found together with the paradigms; the following survey of infinitive formations applies only to regular verbs.

When the infinitive is formed by a termination, the same phenomena of syncope and quantity mutations are observed as in finite forms with terminations. In addition to this, we find, both in forms with and forms without endings, a phenomenon which may be termed depalatalization: the infinitive may have one or two non-palatal consonants where the finite forms have only palatals. This applies to consonants following the stressed vowel, whether they form a cluster or are separated by an un-

stressed vowel. Depalatalization may also imply mutation of the stressed vowel, as in kauL 'to lose' cp. pret. xaiL 'lost'. Syncope is usually accompanied by depalatalization.

(a) The infinitive is identical with the verbal stem: bleh 'to grind' (pret. vleh), faLəv, faLà 'to go (away)' (ipv. 2. sg. faLəv, faLà), fa:s 'to grow' (pret. ya:s), gəð 'to steal' (pret. çəð'), kðek 'to sell' (pret. xðek), kð-ad, kū-ad 'to look' (pret. xð-ad, xū-ad), Larəg 'to find, trace, look for' (pret. Larəg), Lə-if 'to cure' (pret. lə-if), RāiN 'to divide' (pret. rāiN'), sad 'to stop' (pret. sad), sguð 'to stop, cease' (pret. sguð), sNā:v 'to swim' (pret. nā:v), fN'īv 'to spin, twist, sprain' (pret. nīv), taxif 'to itch; to scratch' (pret. haxif), taRiç 'to pull, carry' (pret. haRiç). Note Ruj 'to run' (pret. ruh, rih).

With depalatalization: faLəx 'to hide' (pret. çaliç), fu-aL 'to sew' (pret. çu-al), fuLəç 'to suffer' (pret. çuliç), fuðəx 'to wait, stay, dwell' (pret. çuðic), kauL 'to lose' (pret. xaiL, indep. fut. kaLi), kLə-əx 'to dig' (pret. xLə-ic), kur (more commonly kuð) 'to put' (ipv. 2. sg. kuð), kãNəx 'to buy' (pret. çãNiç), kī-aL 'to tie' (pret. çī-al), Luəy 'to waulk, to full' (ipv. 2. pl. Luəju), saLəx 'to soil' (pret. haLiç), t'çūNtəy 'to turn' (pret. hçūNtəj).

(b) Termination -əy (gen. -i). This is the most common infinitive formation: bafd'əy 'to baptize' (pret. vafd'), bi:d'əy 'to bite' (rel. fut. vi:d'əs), fi-əy (also fi-ə) 'to weave, to knit' (pret. çi: [or çih?]), pðifəy 'to break' (pret. fðif), çəRəy 'to cut' (pret. çə:R), iriməy 'to row' (pret. çirim and çimər), i:fəy (also i:fə) 'to tell' (pret. çif), kə:Rdəy (ði) 'to please, be agreeable (to)' (pret. xə:Rd), krahəy 'to shake' (pret. xrah), krəxəy 'to hang' (pret. xrxəx), Lu:bəy 'to bend' (pret. Lu:b), Le:vəy 'to read' (pret. le:v), Lə-əy 'to melt' (pret. 'lə mi), marə-əy 'to kill' (pret. 'varəv a, 'varə mi), miLəy 'to destroy' (pret. vēiL), mçLəy 'to praise' (pret. vçL), pēNtəy 'to paint' (pret. fēNt), pə:səy 'to marry' (pret. çə:s), pçNəy 'to harrow' (pret. frçūN), Ru:-əy 'to put three or four peats together in a small stack' (pret. ru:), sadəy 'to fling, throw' (pret. had), sçəLt'əy (also with depalatalization sçəLtəy) 'to split' (pret. sçəLt'), sçði:vəy 'to write' (pret. sçði:v), sçur:ləy 'to spread'

(pret. *sgur:l*), *fe:d'əγ* 'to blow' (pret. *he:d'*), *tə-əγ* 'to choose' (pret. *'hə mi*), *t'iLəγ* 'to return' (pret. *heiL*).

All verbs with stem in unstressed *-iġ* seem to belong to this class: *dresigəγ* 'to dress' (pret. *γresig*), *fe:viġəγ* 'to shave' (pret. *he:viġ*). There are many verbs of this category; they are all either English loans or modelled on an English pattern: *bləfiġəγ* 'to blush', *bəRə-iġəγ* 'to borrow', *e:miġəγ* 'to aim', *iəRniġəγ* 'to iron' (cp. *iəRuN* 'iron'). *-iġ* obviously renders E. *-ing*.

With depalatalization: *buaLəγ* 'to strike' (pret. *vuaL*), *fði-aLəγ* (also *fðihaləγ*) 'to attend (to)' (pret. *rihal*), *Ləsgəγ* and *Lusgəγ* 'to burn' (pret. *Lufġ*), *sgoLtəγ* (also *sgəLt'əγ*) 'to split' (pret. *sgəLt'*), *pasgəγ* 'to fold' (ipv. *pasġ*). Most verbs with stem-final *-iç* belong here; they exchange *-iç* with *-əx-* before the infinitive termination: *ad'əxəγ* 'to admit, confess' (pret. *γad'iç*), *ānəxəγ* and *ānāxəγ* 'to know', (pret. *γāniç*), *ba:səxəγ* 'to die' (pret. *va:siç*), *d'aləxəγ* 'to part, separate' (pret. *jaLiç*), *jũmbəxəγ* 'to convert' (pret. *jũmbiç*), *jũsəxəγ* 'to learn, teach' (ipv. 2. sg. *jũsiç*), *karəxəγ* 'to move, turn' (*na 'kariç* 'don't move!'), *kiN'əxəγ* 'to flourish, grow well' (pret. *çiN'iç*), *krũN'əxəγ* 'to gather' (pret. *xrũN'iç*), *Lesəxəγ* 'to improve' (pret. *lesiç*), *mĩsgəxəγ* 'to mix' (pret. *vĩsgiç*), *Rāũsəxəγ* 'to search, ransack' (pret. *rāũsiç*), *smā:N'əxəγ* 'to think' (ipv. 2. sg. *smā:N'iç* and *smā:niç*), *t'əxəxəγ* 'to dry' (dep. fut. *asə 'N't'əxəmiç i* 'in which it will dry'; also heard with *u*: *t'urũməxəγ*).

• Syncopated: *fəsgLəγ* 'to open' (ipv. 2. sg. *fəsgəl*), *kəsNəγ* 'to earn, gain, win' (cp. pret. *xəfiN'*). With variant ending: *kur:xLəγ* 'to die, pass away' (pret. *xur:xəl*).

(c) Terminations *-iN'*, *-tiN'*, *-giN'*: *ftaxiN'* 'to try' (pret. *fiax*), *bjāNtiN'* 'to touch' (pret. *vēn*), *LāNtiN'* 'to follow' (indep. fut. *'Lānə mi*, rel. fut. *lēnəs*), *fauLtiN'* 'to look' (indep. fut. *'faLə mi*), *ġauLtiN'* 'to promise' (indep. fut. *ġaLi*). The termination *-giN'* is found in verbs in *-iç*, changed to *-əx* before the ending: *ba:səxgiN'* 'to die' (pret. *va:siç*, rel. fut. *va:siçəs*), *faðəxgiN'* and *faðəxgiN'* 'to feel' (dep. fut. *xa 'Ndaðiç*), *tə:fəxgiN'* (and *tə:fiN'*, *tə:fəxəγ*) 'to begin' (pret. *hə:fiç*).

(d) Termination *-al*: *fa:gal* 'to leave' (pret. *γa:g*), *go-al*, *gu-al*, *gə-al* 'to take' (pret. *'γə mi*), *kũmal* 'to hold' (pret. *xũm*), *Liġal* 'to let, let go' (pret. *liġ*), *togal* 'to lift, raise' (pret. *hog*; inf. also heard as *trogal*, apparently without distinction in meaning), *t'ilġal* 'to throw' (pret. *hiliġ*).

(e) Termination *-ə* (sometimes *-i* if immediately preceded by a stressed *i*): *fi-i*, *fi-ə* 'to weave' (for the pret., my notes show hesitation between *jih* and *ji:*), *iç(ə)* 'to eat' (pret. *jiç*), *Lajə* 'to lie (down)' (ipv. 2. sg. *Laj*), *N'ĩ-ə* 'to wash' (pret. *nĩh*), *suj(ə)* 'to sit, sit down' (ipv. 2. sg. *suj*). In *iç(ə)* and *suj(ə)*, the *ə* is caducous; it seems to be always retained in *fi-ə*, *Lajə*, *N'ĩ-ə*.

(f) Several other terminations, each only occurring in one or a few verbs: *e:vəxg* 'to shout' (pret. *je:v*), *fāinəxg* 'to ask' (pret. *γāiniç*), *kəfəxg* 'to walk' (pret. *xəfiç*), *iəRi* 'to want, ask for' (pret. *jiəR*), *e:ði* 'to rise, get up' (pret. *je:ðiç*), *sgur:Lt'əx* 'to spread for bleaching' (pret. *sgur:l*), *kəðəf(ə)* and *kəðəf'iN'* 'to believe' (dep. fut. *xa 'xəðə'*), *tugġf(ə)* 'to understand' (pret. *huġ*), *fəsu* 'to stand' (pret. *hes*), *kehu* 'to consume, to be consumed' (dep. fut. *mas 'keh*), *frəgəRd* 'to answer' (pret. *rəgəð*), *taxəRd* 'to happen' (pret. *haxəð*), *gLuəsd* (*gLuəsəd?*) 'to move' (ipv. 2. sg. *gLuəf*), *tut'am* 'to fall' (pret. *hwt'*).

Irregular Verbs

The Substantive Verb.

300. The substantive verb *vi(h)* 'to be' is the only verb which has ^{five} four tenses. When stressed, it has the following inflectional forms:

	Pres.	Fut.	Cond.	Pret.
Indep. } <i>ha:</i>		} <i>bi:</i>	} <i>vi-əγ</i>	<i>va:</i>
Relat. } <i>ha:</i>		} <i>vi-əs</i>		
Depend. {	<i>nax 'el</i>	<i>nax 'bi:</i>	<i>nax 'bi-əγ</i>	<i>nax 'Rə</i>
	<i>manə 'hel</i>	<i>manə 'bi:</i>	<i>manə 'bi-əγ</i>	<i>manə 'Rə</i>
	<i>xa 'N'd'el</i>	<i>xa 'vi:</i>	<i>xa 'vi-əγ</i>	<i>xa 'Rə</i>
	<i>gə 'mbel, gə 'vel,</i> <i>g el</i>	<i>gə 'mbi:</i>	<i>gə 'mbi-əγ</i>	<i>gə 'Rə</i>

Interrogative (*ə*) 'mbel, (*ə*) 'vel, *el*; imperative 2. sg. *bi:*, 3. sg. *bi-əγ*; cond. 1. sg. *vi-iN'*, *gə* 'mbi-iN', etc. Indefinite forms: pres. *ha-əs*, cond. *viçd'ə*, *asə* 'mbiçd'ə, pret. *va-əs*. The use of the indefinite forms may be illustrated by the following examples: 'fīn *aguf a manə ha-əs ə* 'būāN' *nə* 'mō:nəx 'this, you see, is how the peat is (being) cut'; *asə* 'La ad *viçd'ə* 'dah ə 'γa:Rnə 'Leh 'in those days, one half (of the wool) used to be dyed'; *gər h* 'āūN ə *va-əs ə* 'fēkiN' 'tə:R akə 'that it was there many of them were (being) seen'.

301. The forms of the substantive verb are more often stressless than stressed, in which case the following reductions take place: (a) Long vowels are shortened: *bi* 'dē:N'ə *dəL ə* 'māx 'men will go out'; *ha mi* 'kLāiN'd'ən 'I hear, I am hearing'; *va* 'bədəx *asə val* 'agiN'ə 'there was an old man in our village'. (b) Before prepositions and prepositional pronouns with initial vowel, *ha:* and *va:* are usually reduced to *h* and *v*: *xa N'd'el* 'ka:l ə 'jis *agəm* 'de: 'Ntānā`m ə *h eðə* 'Nāhəð ə *h aN* 'I have no idea what that adder is called', literally . . . 'which name is on the adder which is there'; *man ε* 'mifə *h* 'āūN, 'ko: *h* 'āūN? 'if it is not I, who is it?'; 'NdūN'ə *v asə* çifd'ə 'Lajə 'the man who was in the coffin'. (c) After vowels, stressless *ha:* is not infrequently reduced to *a*: 'de: *a* 'fid? 'what is that?'; *nax* 'ε: *a* 'flux 'isn't it terribly rainy?', literally 'is it not he who is wet?'. (d) *vi-əs* and *vi-əγ* (*bi-əγ*, *mbi-əγ*) are reduced to *vis*, *viγ* (*biγ*, *mbiγ*) or *vəs*, *vəγ*, *və* (*bəγ*, *mbəγ*, *mbə*): 'çi: *fiN* 'ko: *vəs* 'āūN ə 'Ntəfəx 'we shall see who will be there first'; 'a:t'ə *asə mbəγ ad ə* kuR, 'səxəd *nə* 't'i:d'ə 'a place where they could pass the time'. Note also *bis i* 'āūN 'she will be there' (indep. fut. with allomorph *-əs* before the pronoun *i*; the stressed form 'bi-əs *i* is not attested in my material).

The substantive verb has three semantically equivalent interrogative forms: (*ə*) 'mbel, (*ə*) 'vel, and *el*. Their distribution seems to be purely optional. All forms occur both with and without stress.

302. The substantive verb is used:

(a) to connect the grammatical subject with a predicative adjective, adverb, prepositional clause, or prepositional pronoun:

ha 'NdūN'ə *sə* 'La:d'ir 'this man is strong'; *xa Rə a* 'sdəj 'he was not in', *ha a na* 'həid'ad 'he is a soldier' (literally 'he is in his soldier'), *ha Lə-ər agəm* 'I have a book' ('a book is at me').

(b) to form compound tenses with infinitives, see below §§ 310 ff.

The Copula.

303. The copula (*ə*)s, etc., 'is' is a defective verb. It has only definite forms and only two tenses: a present, corresponding to present or future in the verb of a preceding or following clause, and an imperfect-conditional, corresponding to preterite or conditional in an accompanying verb. The present is, however, often used even before preterite and conditional: *s* 'mifə 'rāūN' *a* 'it was I who did it'. The copula has no imperative, no personal forms, and no infinitive.

The copula is never found in utterance-final position but must always be followed by some other element. It may be followed directly by certain adjectives and by personal pronouns. Otherwise it is extended, either by 'ε:, ε (before nouns, pronouns other than personal, and often also before personal pronouns) or by 'āūN, *aN* (before adverbs, complements—including prepositional pronouns—, and conjunctive clauses).

304. In the independent and relative present, the copula has the allomorph (*ə*)s before consonants and "broad vowels", (*ə*)f before "slender vowels" (cp. § 212). The dependent present is represented by zero, as seen from the following paradigm:

	Simple	With ε:	With āūN
Indep. and rel.	(<i>ə</i>)s, (<i>ə</i>)f	(<i>ə</i>)f 'ε:	(<i>ə</i>)s 'āūN
With <i>xa</i> ^{LN} 'not':	<i>xa</i> ^{LN}	<i>xa</i> 'N'ē:, <i>xa</i> N'ī:, <i>xa</i> 'N'ē:	<i>xa</i> 'NdāūN
— <i>nax</i> 'that not':	<i>nax</i>	<i>nax</i> 'ε:	<i>nax</i> 'āūN
— <i>gə</i> ^N 'that'	<i>gər</i> ^h	<i>gər</i> 'he:	<i>gər</i> 'hāūN, <i>gər</i> 'āūN
— interrogative particle		(<i>ə</i>) 'N'ē:, -ī:, -ē:	(<i>ə</i>) 'NdāūN
— <i>manə</i> 'unless'		<i>man</i> ε (unstressed)	

Long vowels and diphthongs are only found in the stressed forms. In unstressed position, (ə)f 'ε: is reduced to (ə)f ε, (ə)s 'auN to (ə)s aN, etc. gər 'hε: and gər 'hāũN are reduced to gər ε and gər aN.

Note the irregular initial mutation of ε: after *xa^{LN}* and the interrogative particle, *N'*- instead of the regular *N'd'*-. The form *N'í:* does not seem to contain the feminine personal pronoun as might be suspected; I have heard it repeatedly without reference to feminine nouns. There is apparently free variation between *N'ē:*, *N'í:*, and *N'ē:*; the first is the most common. Unstressed: *N'e*, *N'i*.

The imperfect-conditional is *bə^L* before consonants, *b* before vowels. It combines with ε: and *āũN* in the same manner as the present: *b 'ε:*, *b 'āũN*. After the negation *xa^{LN}*, it is not lenited: *xa bə 'vifə* 'it was not I', *xa b 'ε:*, *xa b 'āũN*. The imperfect-conditional does not distinguish between independent, relative, and dependent forms, except for initial mutations after conjunctions and particles.

305. The copula is used to express relations between subject and predicate which cannot be, or are not normally, expressed by the substantive verb. After the copula, the normal order of subject and predicate is reversed, so that the predicate comes first. The copula is always used when the predicate is a noun (with or without extensions), or a personal or demonstrative pronoun. The syntax of the copula has been described by Borgstrøm for Barra (DB pp. 202—4). His statements are also valid for Lb., so that a few examples will suffice here.

(a) Simple or with ε: *f ε 'i-aN' ə 'NdũN'ə* 'John is the man'; *s 'du:* ('*dusə*) *mə 'vā:həð* 'you are my mother' ('it is you [who are] my mother'); *f ε 'fə mə 'l-ər s* 'this is my book'; *f ε 'fín 'Lə-ər 'mā:ði* 'that is Mary's book'; *'fə 'afin'* 'this is he' (§ 306); *nax 'du: mə 'Nā:bi 'i-aN'?* 'aren't you my neighbour John?'; *xa N'e 'fin'ə 'Ndən əyiN' 'Lur:dəx ə h aN* 'we are not the only lazy ones'.

(b) Simple or with ε: *f ε 'pēn ə h aN* 'it is a pen' ('it is a pen

which is there'); *f ε 'fə:Ltaðən ə h 'ũNiN'ə 'kud'əxg* 'we, too, are sailors' ('it is sailors who are in us too'); *f ε 'iəsg ə h asə 'vðek* 'the trout is a fish' ('it is a fish which is in the trout'); *N'í 'i:m 'u:r a 'fə?* 'is this fresh butter?'; *xa bə 'vifə 'ɣə:Rsd a* 'it wasn't I who spilled it'; *f ε 'a:sən ə 'rāĩN' a* 'it was (literally is) they who did it'; *nax 'i-ad ə va 'kĩĩnal* 'weren't they hospitable!' ('isn't it they who were . . .').

(c) With *āũN* (before adverbs, complements including prepositional pronouns, and conjunctive clauses): *NdaN 'fias ə 'xaj a* 'was it down(wards) he went?'; *s aN ə çaN 'fa:drig ə 'xaj a* 'it was to Peterhead he went'; *s aN 'agəm ə vis 'kāNəx eð* 'I shall certainly have (more than) enough of it' ('it is at me that there will be a price on it'); *s aN eðə 'sguðəs fin' ɣan 'Nda:l'əx ə ha fin'* *ə dəL 'hikə* 'it is when we have finished the spring work that we go to it' (the peat).

(d) *s aN* is often prefixed to otherwise complete sentences whose verb, in this position, takes on the relative form. Often it cannot be translated; at other times, it corresponds vaguely to E. 'and then'. Occasionally, French 'c'est que' translates it pretty well: *xaj a 'māx ɣanə 'va:hiç ə həRd 'biəɣ ɣanə 'N'd'əx*, *s aN ə 'xũNiğ a 'sda:lə 'faLu* 'he went out to the byre to feed the horse, and (then) he saw the empty stall'; *s aN ə 'ha: a le 'fe:məs* 'c'est qu'il appartient à Jaques' (cp. *s aN le 'fe:məs ə 'ha: a* 'it belongs to James, it is to James it belongs'); *s aN a 'hā:niğ 'baLəx ə 'fd'əx* '(and) then a boy came in'.

(e) Before certain adjectives, not extended: *nax 'mā 'ɣa: 'N'kāũN ə h eð* 'isn't he clever!' ('isn't it good for him, the head which is on him'); *s 'mā nə 'hurəd ə 'Nðxg* is math na h-uiread a nochd 'this is enough for to-night'; *xa 'vo:r ə 'jiaR u* 'it isn't much you have asked for'; *xa 'vo:r nax 'tuig mi 'xulə 'ka:l ə 'nif* 'I understand almost everything now'; *s 'beg ə 'N'l'ĩənəɣ* 'it is no wonder', literally 'small is the wonder'; *bə 'vāũL lə-ə 'Nkasən əR,sən ə faiN' 'as* 'they were not slow in getting away' ('their legs were slow with them . . .', i. e. 'not fast enough for them'); *s 'uRiN' ɣš* 'it is possible for me', 'I can, am able to' (neg. *xa*

'NduRiN', ipf. *buRiN'*, *xa 'buRiN'*; there are also shortened forms *s 'uRə* etc.); *f 'e:dər* 'must', pret. *b 'e:dər*; *s 'a:vifd'* 'it is customary', rel. imperfect *manə b 'a:vifd'* 'as usual'; *bə 'xə:ð yut* 'you ought to'; *'fa:R_ləm* 'I prefer' (contracted from **f 'ja:R ləm*), ipf. *b 'ja:R_ləm* [*'bja:ləm*], e. g. *'fa:R_ləm 'te-ə na 'kəfi* 'I prefer tea to coffee'; *s 'kə:l ləm* [*s 'kə:ləm*], *bə 'xə:l ləm* 'I like, liked' (utterance-final in answers *s 'kə:l*, *xa 'xə:l*, cp. p. 86); *s 'āN'ə γō 'ən 'a:l'ə* 'I know one place'; *s 'də:x* 'perhaps', 'de: *s 'kaðəx?* 'what is the matter', ipf. 'de: *bə 'xaðəx?*, 'de: *s 'kaðəx ði 'fīn?* 'why is that, what is the cause of that?'

For the use of the copula with the comparative of adjectives, see § 244.

fəγ 'yes' and *xa 'N'd'əγ* 'no' may be regarded as containing the copula although the element *əγ* (representing O.I. ed 'it') is not found outside of these combinations. They are not used as answers to questions, but to corroborate or contradict positive or negative statements.

306. A characteristic feature of Lb. is that the copula may be left out entirely in nearly all its functions. Before the comparative, however, it is always preserved. (*f ε*) *'fə 'mbəðəNəx ə va mi 'bri-iN' ma 'je-iN'* 'this is the woman I was talking about'; (*N'e*) *'fīn ulə a?* 'is that all?', (*f ε*) *'La-a 'fuər ə h aN ə 'N'd'uh* 'it is a cold day to-day'; (*f ε*) *'ifan ə h asə 'çerk* 'the hen is a fowl'; (*NdaN*) *'fias ə 'xaj a?* 'was it down(wards) he went?'. Questions with omitted copula are answered with *f'ε:*, *s 'āūN*, *xa 'N'ē:*, *xa b 'āūN*, etc.

Other Irregular Verbs.

307. The irregular verbs in Lb. are not numerous. They are usually suppletive. One of their most characteristic features is that the future has no ending, not even in the independent forms. There are no special relative forms. Some initial mutations occur which are not met with elsewhere; these will be made clear by the paradigms. The dependent preterite lacks the particle *də^{LF}* except in the verb *d'īānu*. Many verbs have special forms

used in unstressed positions; the reductions consist mainly of the shortening of long vowels, monophthongization and shortening of diphthongs, and contraction of dissyllabic forms into monosyllables. In the paradigms, unstressed forms will be put between parentheses.

1. *d'īānu* (*d'anu*) 'to do, to make'.

	Fut.	Cond.	Pret.
Indep.			
and rel.	<i>nī: (ni)</i>	<i>jīānəγ (janəγ)</i>	<i>rāiN' (raN')</i>
Depend.	<i>nax 'd'īān (-d'an)</i>	<i>nax 'd'īānəγ (-d'anəγ)</i>	<i>naxdə 'rāiN'</i>
	<i>xa 'd'īān (—)</i>	<i>xa 'd'īānəγ (—)</i>	<i>xadə 'rāiN'</i>
	<i>gə 'N'd'īān</i>	<i>gə 'N'd'īānəγ</i>	<i>gənə 'rāiN'</i>
	<i>(-N'd'an)</i>		

Cond. 1. sg. *jīāniN' (janiN')*. Ipv. 2. sg. *d'īān*, 2. pl. *d'īānu* (*d'anu*), e. g. *d'anu 'suj* 'sit down!'. Indefinite cond. *jīāN'ə*.

2. *dəL* 'to go'.

	Fut.	Cond.	Pret.
Indep.			
and rel.	<i>he:d' (hed')</i>	<i>je-əγ</i>	<i>xaj (xaj, xa)</i>
Depend.	<i>nax 'd'e:d' (-d'ed')</i>	<i>nax 'd'e-əγ</i>	<i>nax 'd'ex(ə), nax 'd'ex</i>
	<i>xa 'd'e:d' (—)</i>	<i>xa 'd'e-əγ</i>	<i>xa 'd'ex(ə)</i>
	<i>gə 'N'd'e:d'</i>	<i>gə 'N'd'e-əγ</i>	<i>gə 'N'd'ex(ə)</i>
	<i>(-N'd'ed')</i>		

The final *-ə* of the dep. pret. *-d'ex(ə)* is not an ordinary caducous *ə* (cp. p. 149); *d'ex* and *d'exə* are apparently in free variation before consonants: *xa 'd'ex mi* and *xa 'd'exə mi* 'I did not go'. Before vowels, the *ə* is always left out.

Ipv. 2. sg. *hedīg*, *na 'd'edīg* (not very often used; *faLə* ipv. 2. sg. of the regular verb *faLə*, *faLəv* 'to go (away)' is ordinarily used to express the command 'go!').

3. *l'i-ən, l'i-in* (*l'in, l'ən*) 'to come'.

	Fut.	Cond.	Pret.
Indep.			
and rel.	<i>hiġ</i>	<i>hiġəγ</i>	<i>hã:niġ, hã:nə</i> (<i>haniġ, hanə</i>)
Depend.	<i>nax 'd'ig</i>	<i>nax 'd'igəγ</i>	<i>nax 'dã:niġ, -dã:nə</i> (-a-)
	<i>xa 'd'ig</i>	<i>xa 'd'igəγ</i>	<i>xa 'dã:niġ, -dã:nə</i> (-a-)
	<i>gə 'N'd'ig</i>	<i>gə 'N'd'igəγ</i>	<i>gə 'Ndã:niġ, -Ndã:nə</i> (-a-)

In the preterite, the forms with final *-ig* are used before vowels, those with final *-ə* before consonants. In the 2. person sg., the pronoun *du* is used, so that we get the following paradigm of the preterite:

(Indep.)	Sg.	Pl.
1.	<i>'hã:nə mi</i>	<i>'hã:nə fiN'</i>
2.	<i>'hã:nə du</i>	<i>'hã:nə fu</i>
3. m.	<i>'hã:niġ a</i>	} <i>'hã:niġ ad</i>
3. f.	<i>'hã:niġ i</i>	

With following noun: *'hã:niġ ə 'NdũN'ə* 'the man came', *'hã:nə 'dõ:-əL* 'Donald came'.

Ipv. 2. sg. *hiġ, na 'd'ig*, 3. sg. *'hiġəγ i* 'let her come'.

4. *fãjiN'* (*faiN'*) 'to get, to find'.

	Fut.	Cond.	Pret.
Indep.			
and rel.	<i>ĵo, ĵə</i>	<i>ĵo-əγ</i>	<i>huəð</i>
Depend.	<i>nax 'ã</i>	<i>nax 'ãjəγ</i>	<i>nax 'duəð</i>
	<i>xa 'Ndã</i>	<i>xa 'Ndãjəγ</i>	<i>xa 'duəð</i>
	<i>gə 'fã</i>	<i>gə 'fãjəγ</i>	<i>gə 'Nduəð</i>
	<i>manə 'hã</i>		

The dependent future sometimes has a final *-j*: *'ka: faj 'miġə 'ko:ġ 'Nõtə 'd'iaġ* 'where will I get fifteen pounds?'. The nasality of *ã* is lost in unstressed forms.

Ipv. 2. sg. *na 'fãj* 'don't get!'.

5. *fëkiN'* 'to see'.

	Fut.	Cond.	Pret.
Indep.			
and rel.	<i>çi:</i>	<i>çi-əγ</i>	<i>xũNiġ, xũNə</i>
Depend.	<i>nax 'ëk</i>	<i>nax 'ëkəγ</i>	<i>nax 'äk(ə)</i>
	<i>xa 'Ndëk</i>	<i>xa 'Ndëkəγ</i>	<i>xa 'Ndäk(ə)</i>
	<i>gə 'fëk</i>	<i>gə 'fëkəγ</i>	<i>gə 'fäk(ə)</i>
	<i>manə 'hëk</i>		

The finals *-ig* and *-ə* of the indep. preterite vary in conformity with the rule given for the preterite of *l'i-ən* (No. 3, above).

Ipv. 2. sg. *fëk, na 'fëk*. Indefinite pret. *'xũNũ'kəs ə 'N'd'e: a* 'he was seen yesterday'.

6. *tə-əRd* (*təRd*) 'to give, take, bring'.

	Fut.	Cond.	Pret.
Indep.			
and rel.	<i>veð, feð</i>	<i>veðəγ</i>	<i>hug</i>
Depend.	<i>nax 'dɔ-əð</i> (-dɔð)	<i>nax 'dɔðəγ</i>	<i>nax 'dug</i>
	<i>xa 'dɔ-əð</i> (—)	<i>xa 'dɔðəγ</i>	<i>xa 'dug</i>
	<i>gə 'Ndɔ-əð</i> (-Ndɔð)	<i>gə 'Ndɔðəγ</i>	<i>gə 'Ndug</i>

Cond. 1. sg. *vediN'*, ipv. 2. sg. unstressed *həð 'γðh a, həð 'γð a* 'give it to me!', *na dɔð 'γa: a* 'don't give it to him!'.

7. *gra-a, gra-ə* 'to say'.

	Fut.	Cond.	Pret.
Indep. and rel.	(<i>heð</i>)	(<i>heðəγ</i>)	<i>hu:Rd, hu-uRd</i> (<i>huRd</i>) <i>nax 'du:Rd</i> (- <i>duRd</i>) <i>xa 'du:Rd</i> (—)

Preterite with hiatus is rare. The forms *heð* (unstressed) and *heðəγ* for the future and conditional respectively have only been

recorded once each. As a rule, the future and conditional are supplied by the synonymous regular verb *kāNtiN'* (*kāNtə*): fut. indep. *kāni*, rel. *xānəs*, dep. *nax 'kān, xa 'xān, gə 'Nkān*, cond. indep. *xānəγ* (1. sg. *xāniN'*), *nax kānəγ*, etc. The imperative is also taken from this verb: 2. sg. *kān*, 2. pl. *kānu*. The imperative which historically belongs to this verb is *habəð* (cp. O.I. *epir*); it is still translated with 'say' by the native speakers, but its use is limited to certain expressions such as '*habəð a* 'certainly!' (literally 'say it!') and '*habəð 'La:dəx* 'that's a lot!'

8. *bəeh* 'to bear, to lay (eggs); to handle'.

This verb is irregular only by having alternant stems; the terminations are regular: indep. fut. *bəði*, with the pronoun *i*: '*bəðəs i* (another future form, *bəehi*, has been recorded once), indep. cond. *vəehəγ*, pret. indep. and rel. *rug*, dep. *naxdə 'rug*, etc. Indefinite pret. *rugəγ* 'was born'.

9. *kLāiN'd'an, kLāiN'd'iN'* 'to hear'.

The future is mainly regular but has the relative form *xLāiN'*. The dependent future shows vocalic mutation:

	Fut.	Cond.	Pret.
Independ.	<i>kLūiN'i</i>	<i>xLūiN'əγ</i>	<i>xuəLə</i>
Depend.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} nax 'kLāiN' \\ xa 'xLāiN' \\ gə 'NkLāiN' \end{array} \right.$	<i>nax 'kLūiN'əγ</i>	<i>nax 'kuəLə</i>
			<i>xa 'xuəLə</i>
			<i>gə 'NkuəLə</i>

Cond. 1. sg. *xLūiN'iN'*.

10. *Ri-iN'* 'to reach, to arrive at'.

The future is regular: *Ruǰi*, dep. *xa 'ruǰ*; pret. *rā:niǰ*, *rā:nə* (*-iǰ* and *-ə* distributed as in the pret. of *ʔi-ən*, No. 3 above).

Defective Verbs

308. It is, of course, impossible to decide which verbs are defective unless we possess a complete list of the inflectional

forms of all verbs, but even with a limited material, some defective verbs may be singled out on the basis of distribution of forms: if, say, the future and the conditional of a certain verb are found twenty or thirty times each in a material which contains no instance of the preterite form, it is very probable that this preterite form is non-existent (provided, of course, that the style is varied and allows for preterites of other verbs in sufficient quantity).

309. Among those verbs which are almost certainly defective in Lb. are the following:

- (1) Indep. fut. *fe:mi* 'must', rel. fut. *je:məs*, dep. fut. *gə 'fe:m*, cond. *je:məγ*, and *fu:di* 'may', rel. fut. *γu:dəs*, dep. fut. *xa 'Ndu:d*, cond. *γu:dəγ* are found only in these two tenses. The future usually has the meaning of present, the conditional the meaning of past.
- (2) *heb, həb* 'had nearly' (cp. French *faillir*) occurs only in the preterite: '*həb mi 'tuʔəm* 'j'ai failli tomber'.
- (3) *əs(ə)* 'said' (Latin *inquit*) occurs only in the indep. preterite; it is always unstressed.
- (4) *jid'ər* 'I know, I have heard' is seldom used; I have only heard it in this form, which is probably best classed as preterite. On its meaning, one informant explained: "'*jid'ər mi* comes next to '*xuəLə mi*.'"
- (5) *tro-əd* 'come!' and *fu-əd* 'go ahead! go on! continue!' seem to be used in the imperative only. The forms given are 2. pers. sg.; the 2. pl. forms are *tro-əd'u, fu:d'u*.
- (6) *hugiN'* 'let's go!' (e. g. '*hugiN' 'γaxi* 'let's go home!') functions as an imperative in the 1. pers. pl. Historically, it is probably identical with the prepositional pronoun *hugiN'* 'to us'.

Compound Tenses

310. Forms of the substantive verb combine with infinitives to make compound tenses. The link of connection between sub-

stantive verb and infinitive is the preposition (ə)^G (the “infinitive mark”), which, however, is not observable if preceded by a vowel or pause and followed by a consonant, cp. *ha ad ə 'gic(ə)* ‘they are eating’, *ha ad ə 'gobəð* ‘they are working’, *ha mi 'gic(ə)* ‘I am eating’, and *ha mi 'gobəð* ‘I am working’ with *ha mi 'fa:gal* ‘I am leaving’. The infinitive mark may be roughly translated with ‘at’: ‘I was at eating’.

311. The simple and compound verbal forms constitute a system of aspects, tenses, and modes of action. The simple forms are perfective, the compound forms imperfective. The present and future tenses are both current in the sense that they refer to actions in relation to the moment of speaking; the preterite and conditional are past in the sense that they refer to actions in relation to some moment or period anterior to the time of speaking. The present and past tenses may be termed contemporaneous because they denote actions actually taking place at the time of reference; the future and conditional denote actions taking place (actually or hypothetically) after the time of reference and may therefore be called posterior. The future and conditional are also used to denote actions taking place regularly or usually; they may be termed habitual as opposed to the present and past which express occasional actions (regarded as performed once or a more or less definite number of times).

		Time of Reference	Aspect	
			Perfective	Imperfective
Mode of Action	Contemporaneous or Occasional	Current		Cpd. pres. <i>ha a 'gic(ə)</i>
		Past	Simple pret. <i>'jic a</i>	Cpd. pret. <i>va a 'gic(ə)</i>
	Posterior or Habitual	Current	Simple fut. <i>'ici a</i>	Cpd. fut. <i>bi a 'gic(ə)</i>
		Past	Simple cond. <i>'jicəγ a</i>	Cpd. cond. <i>viγ a 'gic(ə)</i>

The forms in the table are definite, but there are also indefinite compound forms: *ha-əs ə 'd'ānu 'Ndobəð fin* ‘that work is (being) done’.

312. The “object” of a compound tense follows the infinitive if it is a noun; it is in reality a genitival attribute to the verbal noun and takes the genitive form under approximately the same conditions as a nominal attribute to an ordinary noun: *ha mi 'blə-ən nə 'ba:* ‘I am milking the cow’ (‘I am at the milking of the cow’). For exceptions, see pp. 203–4. If the “object” is pronominal, it precedes the infinitive as a possessive pronoun; it is combined with the infinitive mark as shown §§ 256–7: *ha mi γa 'blə-ən* (or . . . *'γa: 'blə-ən*) ‘I am milking her’ (‘I am at her milking’).

Note.

313. The terms habitual, contemporaneous, current, etc., are merely labels, designed to indicate the mutual semantic positions of the verbal forms in the system. They do not always seem appropriate when applied to isolated facts. Thus, the compound present *ha a 'gic(ə)* means ‘he is eating’ but may also, like the compound future *bi a 'gic(ə)*, be used for a habitual action ‘he is eating habitually, he will be eating’.

Meanings of other tense forms:

Pret. *'jic a* is almost equivalent to E. ‘he ate’, and *va a 'gic(ə)* to E. ‘he was eating’. The future and conditional correspond to E. constructions with the auxiliary *will, would* plus infinitive. The parallel is very close because this E. auxiliary also denotes either posterior or habitual actions: *'ici a* ‘he will eat (later or habitually)’, *bi a 'gic(ə)* ‘he will be eating’, *'jicəγ a* ‘he would eat’, *viγ a 'gic(ə)* ‘he would be eating’.

The conditional sometimes corresponds to constructions with modal auxiliaries in E.: *xa 'xūmiN' 'kəfəxg δif* ‘I couldn’t keep pace with him’, *xa 'd'e-əγ ə 'vo: 'āūN* ‘the cow wouldn’t (didn’t want to) go there’. In hypothetical sentences, the conditional is

used both in protasis and apodosis: *mbə du 'təliçd'ə na mbə(γ) 'tə:R 'aðàgíd' əjəd* 'would you be glad if you had much money?' (or: 'would you have been glad if you had had much money?').

The preposition *ði* is sometimes used as infinitive mark: *vi-iN' ði 'fēkiN' 'behiçən γan 'N't'ə:Rsə fin* 'I used to see (be seeing) animals of that sort'.

Some verbs denoting position do not form compound tenses with the infinitive mark, but are constructed with the preposition *aNə^N* and a possessive pronoun: *ha mi namə 'hesu* 'I am standing' ('I am in my standing'), *ep. fesu* 'to stand'. Similarly with *suj(ə)* 'to sit', *Lajə* 'to lie', *fī:nəγ* 'to lie (stretched out)'.

Particles, Conjunctions, and Interrogatives

314. These are all uninflected. They precede the words which they govern and, when used with verbs, determine the form (independent, relative, or dependent) of the latter. Conjunctions and verbal particles are different in that the latter may introduce single independent sentences, while the former can only connect two grammatical units (sentences, nouns, verbs, etc.). Both particles and conjunctions (except *eð 'N'ð* 'or [else]') are inherently unstressed; only occasionally a conjunction like *gadə^{LF}* 'although' may receive some stress (under special conditions of rhythm?). Interrogatives (with which I do not count the interrogative particle *(ə)^N*) are inherently stressed; they may lose their stress under appropriate conditions. The interrogatives may, like the particles, introduce single independent sentences.

Non-verbal particles have been mentioned earlier in this paper (the vocative particle *(ə)^L* § 225, the comparative particle *nə* § 244, the equative particle *xə* § 268, the adverbial and predicative particle *gə^h* § 268). In the following, we shall deal only with those particles, conjunctions, and interrogatives which may be used with verbs.

The first class, those which govern verbs in the independent

form, are also used with other word-classes such as nouns, pronouns, numerals and (more rarely) adjectives. They may be termed nominal-verbal conjunctions (there are no particles or interrogatives among them). Those which govern relative and independent forms of verbs are almost exclusively preverbal; exceptions are *de:^{LF}* 'what, which' and *ko:^{LF}* 'who'.

315. (a) With the independent form of the verb:

əγəs, (ə)s 'and': *əγəs bi 'du:l agəm gə 'fān a 'tri: 'fexgəN'ən 'elə* 'and I expect that he will stay for three more weeks'. *əγəs, (ə)s* followed by the relative particle means 'as' after adjectives with an "equative" sense: *ha 'N't'i:d'ə 'çεRsd xə 'dōnə aNə 'Nə:r,we: əγəs ə ha i aNə 'hɔ* 'the weather is just as bad in Norway as it is here', *ha 'çεRsd 'urəd ə 'γa:liç 'agəməs əγəs ə 'ha: agu 'pe:n* 'I know just as much Gaelic as you know'.

ax 'but; except': *'ha:, ax f e 'gle: 'veg* 'yes, there is, but it is very little'; *gən 'dūN'ə 'kō:rum ax mi 'hī:n* 'without any company but myself'.

na 'or' (usually causes no mutation in the following word but sometimes lenites numerals: *'tri: na 'çehəð 'urəd* 'three or four times as many'). I have no good example of this conjunction before a verb, where the following conjunction seems to be preferred.

eð 'N'ð(:), eðə 'jðh 'or else': *'faLà 'nīf, eð N'o bi du 'fadaLəx 'gə* now, or you'll be late', *hanə mi eð 'tuahanəx eð 'N'ð: 'bə-ər* 'I came upon a farmer, or Boer'.

316. (b) With the relative form of the verb:

Particles and conjunctions.

(ə)^{LF}, the relative particle, is used in relative clauses which are not negated (see *nax*) or governed by simple prepositions (see *(ə)^N*): *ha 'N'z-un asə val 'agiN'ə 'xəfiçəs ə 'Ntli-ə aNə 'Nduəð ə 'hī:d'ə gə 'Ləh* 'there is a girl in our village who will walk the distance in an hour and a half'; *'xulə 'biəγ ə*

vis fiN' ə 'gu-al 'all the food we will be eating'; *fə mbəðaNæx ə va mi 'bri-iN' ma 'je-iN'* 'this is the woman I was talking about'. The relative particle also enters into all or most other conjunctions, particles, and interrogatives that take the relative form of the verb.

fə^{LF}, və^{LF} (also *fə^{LF}, və^{LF}*) 'since': *Rə u 'gobəð fə 'ha:nə du as 'fd'ə:Rnəvay* 'have you been at work since you came from Stornoway?'.
vonə^{LF} (and *fənə^{LF}?*) 'because': *vonə va ad ə 'fa:s 'u:sd* 'because they were getting old'.

gadə^{LF} 'though, although': *xa N'd'el 'mifə mi 'hī:n, gadə vis mi d'anū 'tə:R 'bri-iN' ma 'je-iN' 'buFN'əxg, ə 'kəðd'fiN' iN'd'ə, 'id'ir* 'I myself, although I talk a lot about withcraft, do not believe in it at all'.

ma^{LF} 'if' (with verbs in the present, future, and preterite; for the conditional, see *na^N*): *ma vis a 'ftux 'fəsgər, xa d'ed' fiN' 'yanə 'valə* 'if it is wet in the evening we will not go to town'.

manə^{LF} 'as': *ha 'mifə manə va mi 'rē-ə* 'I am as I was before'.
Nduəðə^{LF}, Nduðə^{LF}, Ndeðə^{LF}, eðə^{LF} 'when': *Nduðə vis i gə 'Le:ð aqə 'Ra-əd* 'when it (the peat) is all by the road'.

Interrogatives.

de:LF, dədə^{LF} 'what', *de:* plus article 'which': *'de: 'xānəs du ði 'fīn aNə 'Nga:liq* 'what do you call that in Gaelic?'; *va a kLāiN'd'an 'de: va ad ə 'gra-a* 'he heard what they were saying'; *'de: 'Ntānā'm ə h 'əRsd* 'what is your name?' (literally 'what the name which is on you?').

'de: manə^{LF} 'how': *'de: manə 'ha: u* 'how are you?'.
'de: xə . . . (ə)s ə^{LF} 'how . . .' with adjectives: *'de: xə 'fadə s ə ha 'Ntli-ə* 'how long is the way?'.
ko:LF 'who': *'ko: h 'āūN* 'who is there?', *'çi: fiN' 'ko: vəs 'āūN ə 'Ntəfəx* 'we'll see who is there first'.

'ko: as ə^{LF}, ko 'as ə^{LF} 'from where': *'ko: as ə 'ha: u* 'where are you from?'; *ko 'lef ə^{LF}* 'with what': *ko 'lef ə ha u təRd nə*

'kLūi yanə 'ku:ðiq 'with what (implement) do you take the wool off the sheep?' *'ko: 'NduN'ə^{LF}* 'which man', *'ko: 'N'd'əyiN' ə^{LF}* 'which people'.

ko 'viəd, kə 'viəd, kə 'viəd ə^{LF} } 'how much, how many':
de:nə^{LF}

'de:nə h 'ajəd ə 'yaðàqəd 'how much money have you?', literally 'how much is at you of money?'.
kəR'əsn, kaR'əsn ə^{LF} (the *ə* is often dropped) 'why': *kəR'əsn (h)a u 'Lurūmæxg* 'why are you naked?'.
kūN'ə^{LF} 'when': *'kūN'ə 'jōūsiq u 'ga:liq* 'when did you learn Gaelic?'.
 317. (c) With the dependent form of the verb:

də^{LF}, the so-called preterite particle, is the mark of the dependent form in the preterite of all regular and some irregular verbs. Thus, it does not properly belong in this class of particles but is mentioned here because it combines with the following particles and conjunctions. For examples of its use, see the verbal paradigms §§ 291 ff.

(*ə*)^N, combined with the preterite particle: *nə^{LF}*, the interrogative particle. Besides entering into several of the conjunctions below, it has the following functions:

(1) Introducing direct and indirect yes-or-no questions: *mbə du 'təliq'd'ə na mbə 'tə:R 'aðàqid' ajəd* 'would you be satisfied if you had much money?'; *mbel 'is ajəd mbel a 'giəRi 'ex* 'do you know if he wants a horse?'.
 (2) Introducing relative clauses governed by simple prepositions. The prepositions take the forms they have in combination with the article: *'təj asə Rə 'tru:ð 'vəðəNæx* 'a house in which there were three women'.

axə^N 'so that, in order that': *'tro-əd axə 'fēk u mbel 'fə ma gə Lə:r* 'come and see (literally, come so that you will see) if this is good enough'.

faRə^N 'where' (relative): *xəj a 'fiəs faRə 'Rə i* 'he went down where she was'. A similar meaning has

Ndat' s ə^N (reduced from **do 'n àite anns an* 'to the place in which'): *haniġ ə 'NdūN'ə Ndat' s ə 'Rə a* 'the man came where he (the other man) was'.

gə^N, combined with the preterite particle: *gənə^{LF}*, 'that': *'smə:N'ic ad gə mbəy ad 'nə bə 'xvəRsdal* 'they thought that they would be more comfortable'. The corresponding negative conjunction is *nax*, see below.

gə^N 'until': *'γuðic ad gə N'd'ex a 'xadəL* 'they waited until he had gone to sleep'.

gəsə^N (1) 'so that, in order that': *təRd 'γα: 'biəy ə 'xulə La-ə, gəsə mbiy a 'marə-əy nə 'LuxiN'* 'giving him (the cat) food every day so that he would kill the mice'. (2) Apparently used as a variant of *gə^N* 'until' in some environments: *xa Rə a 'fad 'āūN gəsə 'fāk a 'dūN'ə 'Ruj . . .* 'he hadn't been long there before he saw a man running . . .'.

gəs gə^N, recorded once in *va a 'ġiəRi gəs gə 'N'd'icəy ə 'vo: 'fiar* 'he wanted the cow to eat the grass', literally 'he wanted that the cow would eat the grass'.

xa^{LN}, with the preterite particle *xadə^{LF}*, 'not': *xadə 'huġ ad 'de: v 'āūN* 'they didn't understand what it was'.

magə^N 'as if': *va 'alan na 'Lajə 'sa:vəx le 'hu:lən 'dū:N'ɿ, magə mbəy a 'marəv* 'Allan was lying still with his eyes shut, as if he were dead'.

manə^h (does not mutate initial consonants except *f* which is replaced by *h*; *h* is prefixed to vowels), with the preterite particle: *maNtə*, 'if not, unless': *manə 'fes ə 'vð:N'ə ruN'ə, 'fe:mə fiN' 'guəL ə 'çāNəx na 'ha:t'ə* 'if the peat doesn't last for us, we must buy coal in its place'.

mas 'before': *'d'īān manə ha mi 'ġiəRi əRsd, mas 'taxəð nə s 'mīsə yut* 'do as I tell you, before worse happens to you'.

na^N 'if', used only with the conditional: *na mbəy 'dus aN* 'if you were there'.

nax (followed by radical initial, except *f* which is dropped), with the preterite particle: *naxdə^{LF}*, 'not, that not, which not'. *nax* has several functions:

(1) Introducing negated relative clauses: *xa Rə 'dūN' asə 'valə nax Rə kuð 'ū-iL eð ə 'Ndəicə fin* 'there was nobody in the village who didn't notice him that night'.

(2) Introducing negative yes-or-no questions: *nax el u 'fuər* 'aren't you cold?'

(3) Serving as the negative of *gə^N* 'that': *'hu:Rd a nax 'd'e-əy a eð 'af* 'he said that he wouldn't go back'.

(4) Combined with other conjunctions to negate their clauses, see below, § 319.

ka:^N, ka:t'ə^N 'where' (interrogative): *'ka: 'Nduəð u 'fid* 'where did you find that?'

318. (d) With the imperative, only one particle is found, the negative *na: na 'gLuəf* 'don't move!' If this particle is stressed, as sometimes happens, the vowel is lengthened: *na:*.

319. If two particles, an interrogative and a particle, etc., occur in combination, the form of the verb, as well as its initial, is determined by the last particle or conjunction.

The following list will serve to show some of the chief relations between negated and non-negated preverbals:

Non-negated	Negated
<i>əγəs, (ə)s</i> 'and'	<i>əγəs, (ə)s xa^{LN}</i> 'and...not'
<i>ax</i> 'but'	<i>ax xa^{LN}</i> 'but not'
<i>(ə)^{LF}</i> 'which, who' (rel.)	<i>nax</i> 'which...not, who...not'
<i>(ə)^N</i> (yes-or-no question)	<i>nax</i> (negative yes-or-no question)
<i>gə^N</i> 'that'	<i>nax</i> 'that...not'
<i>və^{LF}</i> etc. 'since'	<i>və nax</i> 'since...not'
<i>gadə^{LF}</i> 'although'	<i>gad nax</i> 'although...not'
<i>Nduəð^{LF}</i> 'when'	<i>Nduəð nax</i> 'when...not'
<i>kəR_ 'sən ə^{LF}</i> 'why'	<i>kəR_ 'sən nax</i> 'why...not'
<i>gəsə^N</i> 'so that'	<i>gəs nax</i> 'so that...not'
<i>ma^{LF}</i> 'if'	} <i>manə^h</i> 'if...not, unless'
<i>na^N</i> 'if'	

TEXTS

Texts 1 to 14 were written down in the field; 15 to 20 have been transcribed from tape recordings.

Numbers 1 to 7 and 15 to 18 were obtained from Colin Mackenzie. Number 8 was told by Alasdair Smith (*Am Baker*) and number 9 by Alasdair Smith (*An Tàillear*). The long story, number 10, was translated sentence by sentence by Roderick Martin. It was taken from Vol. II of Lachlann MacFhionghuin's *Leabhraichean Leughaidh*. I read the text to the informant in an improvised English translation. The songs, numbers 11 to 14, were all recited by Ishbel Martin. They are probably all incomplete, as the informant admitted herself. Number 11 is an *òran* composed within living memory by a local bard, Donald Macleod; the other songs are traditional *òrain luadhaidh* or waulking songs, used as an accompaniment to the waulking or fulling of cloth. The chorus is sung before the first verse and repeated after each verse. Numbers 19 and 20 were spoken by Kenneth MacLeod.

In the tape-recorded texts, some superfluous repetitions have been omitted, but no further attempt has been made of "improving" the texts. Sentences which do not correspond to the usual rules of grammar have been preserved without change; e. g., *va 'du:l aǵə 'xulə 'mūLəx gə 'N'd'igəγ a, gə 'fēkəγ a a* (text 15), where *aǵə* serves a double purpose, normalized: *bha dùil aige, aig a h-uile mullach gu'n tigeadh e, gum faiceadh e e* (an *ἀπὸ κοινῶς* construction). Hesitation pauses are generally symbolized by a double dash (--). The transcription is phonemic; a sample text in phonetic transcription will be found on p. 330 f.

The accompanying orthographic transcription will be found

to differ on many points from what is generally recognized as good Gaelic usage. My intention was to render the local dialect as faithfully as possible within the widest limits of conventional spelling. This is why the prepositions *de* and *do* are always rendered with the characteristic doubling (*de dh'*, *do dh'*, *a dh'*) before vowels and lenited *f*. Where dative forms have been replaced by nominatives in speech, I spell them accordingly. I similarly write *cuibhle* for *cuibhill* in the nominative, as the genitive of this word has replaced the other case forms. In a couple of cases, I have taken advantage of common variations in spelling to indicate differences in pronunciation. Thus, *tabhairt* and *bhitheadh* indicate stressed dissyllables, while the synonymous alternative spellings *toirt* and *bhiodh* stand for unstressed monosyllables. On one point, I depart altogether from traditional spelling: the numeral *ānan* [ānə] 'one' which is used when no noun follows immediately, is rendered by *aonan* instead of *aon* or *a h-aon*. On the other hand, the adverbs *aNə 'hjə*, *aNə 'hid*, *aNə 'hīn*, variants of *aNə 'fə* etc., will be spelled *ann seo*, *ann siud*, *ann sin*, not *ann a sheo* or the like, which would probably be too unfamiliar to readers of Gaelic. Those English loanwords which have no recognized spelling in Gaelic (*automatic*, *tractor*, *plan*, *watch*) will be rendered in their English spelling and italicized, provided that their pronunciation does not differ very much from English, in which case I use *ad hoc* Gaelic spellings, italicized (*bracoist* 'breakfast', *stàla* 'stall').

The English translation which follows the texts is as nearly literal as I could make it. In those cases where interpolations were considered necessary they have been placed between square brackets; parentheses have been used for explanatory remarks.

1.

vo çaN 'd'ec 'blĩNə va 'du:sgəy asnə 'həgLiʃən aNə ,fə, eðə Rə 'Ntuʃ'əm akə. va 'tə:R 'γð:N'ə 'tuʃ'əm əγəs ə 'gɛ:vəxg eðə 'hə:ʃiçəy ə 'mĩniʃd'əd ə 'ʃarəmənəxəy. va 'sLuəy 'mo:r ə 'kriũN'əxəy asə 'xulə 'ha:t'ə γanə 'N'd'elan, ə 'jɛkiN' ə Rud ə va 'taxəRd. 'Ndəiçə sə va mi 'hĩ:n əγəs 'Rədi 'hiəs axə 'ʃɛki ʃiN' -- 'fəji ʃiN' ,ka:l γanə va 'dəL. əγəs ma 'vĩ-an ə 'N'arəmən' s aN ə 'xũNə mi 'drəx'γa ,t'i-in eð 'Rədi, əγəs a 'gĩəRi aram -- 'xələð 'əsgLəy, əγəs gən a 'faðəxgiN' gə 'māh. "'o:" əsə 'mĩʃə, "ha 'də-əs 'ajədsə γanə Rud a 'dəL." "'o:" əs ,afiN' "'fe:mə du ,faLə 'γaxi ləm, xa N'd'el mi 'faðəxgiN' gə 'māh." ax eðə 'huəð a 'māx asə 'N'd'əgLiʃ, xa 'xũmiN' 'kəʃəxg ðiʃ eðə 'Ntli-ə 'γaxi. xəj 'sgiaL ,t'imĩçəL ə 'valə gə Rə 'Rədi eð ə 'jũmbəxəy. 'Ndah'əiçə 'ði-ɪʃd' 'xriũN'ic nə 'həiL'adən γanə 'Ntəj aɣə 'xũmal 'kəN'u, ax s aN ə huRd a 'ru-ə: "'faLə-u 'γaxi ə 'γð:N'ə, ha 'mĩʃə manə va mi 'rɛ-ə."

2.

fo 'çũN 'began 'vlĩNiçən va 'da: ven 'uəsəL 'vjaRsdəx -- 'kə:ni aNə 'Ntəj 'mo:r, 'Ləh'mĩ:lə 'māx as 'ʃd'ə:Rnəvəy. 'smə:N'ic ad gə mbəy ad 'nə bə 'xvəRsdal ə 'Ndaxi ə 'jĩənu 'hiəs aNə 'sasiN', vənə va ad ə 'fa:s 'ur:sd. 'xðek ad ə 'Nda:Rniʃ əγəs ə 'Ntəj. xa Rə 'ka:l ak eð 'a:gal ax 'afəL. va i 'akə na 'pət asə 'Les. 'smə:N'ic ad gə Ndugəy ad 'ʃexəd i də ,γũN'ə viy gə ,nə ʃi. 'xũNiç ad ə 'La-ə sə 'dũN'ə dəL 'ʃexəd ə 'Ra-əd, əγəs 'γəĩniç ad 'jeh -- 'ka: Rə a 'dəL. "ha mi" əs ,afiN' -- "dəL 'γaxi 'γrumʊʃadər." "'de:" əsə 't'e: akə "xə 'fadə s ə ha 'Ntli-ə?" "'ha:" əs ,afiN' "'oxg 'mĩ:lə ʃeð 'mĩʃə 'da: 'uəð ə 'hi:d'ə γa 'xəʃəxg." "el 'dũN'ə 'id'ir asə 'valə ni 'Ntli-ə nə s 'kləvərə?" "'ha:," əs 'afiN', "ha 'N'ĩ-un asə val

1.

Bho chionn deich bliadhna bha dùsgadh anns na h-eaglaisean ann seo air an robh "an tuiteam" aca. Bha tòrr dhaoine a' tuiteam agus ag éigheachd 'air a thòisicheadh am ministear a' searmonachadh. Bha sluagh mór a' cruinneachadh as a h-uile h-àite de 'n eilean a dh' fhaicinn an rud a bha a' tachairt. An oidhche so bha mi fhìn agus Roddy shìos ach am faiceadh sinn am faigheadh sinn càil de na bha a' dol. Agus mu mheadhon an t-searmoin 's ann a chunnaic mi droch dhath a' tighinn air Roddy, agus e ag iarraidh orm a chollair fhosgladh, agus gun e faireachdainn gu math. "Ó," orsa mise, "tha dose agadsa de 'n rud a tha dol." "Ó," ors' esan, "feumaidh tu falbh dhachaidh leam, chan eil mi a' faireachdainn gu math." Ach 'air a fhuair e mach as an eaglais, cha chumainn coiseachd ris air an t-slighe dhachaidh. Chaidh sgeul timchioll a' bhaile gun robh Roddy air a iompachadh. An ath-oidhche a rithisd chruinnich na h-eilltearan do 'n taigh aige a chumail coinneamh, ach 's ann a thubhairt e riutha: "Falbhaibh dhachaidh, a dhaoine, tha mise mar a bha mi roimhe."

2.

Bho chionn beagan bhliadhnaichean bha dà bhean-ualas bheartach a' còmhnuidh ann an taigh mór, leth-mìle mach as Steòrnabhagh. Smaoinich iad gum biodh iad na bu chomhfhurtaill an dachaidh a dhèanamh shìos ann an Sasuinn, bho na bha iad a' fàs aosda. Chreic iad an àirneis agus an taigh. Chan robh càil aca air a fhàgail ach asal. Bha i aca 'n a pet anns an leas. Smaoinich iad gun tugadh iad seachad i do dhuine a bhiodh gu math dhith. Chunnaic iad an latha so duine a' dol seachad an rathad, agus dh' fhaighnich iad dheth 'c' à an robh e a' dol. "Tha mi," ors' esan, "a' dol dhachaidh a Ghruimseadar." "Dé," orsa té aca, "cho fada 's a tha an t-slighe?" "Tha," ors' esan, "ochd mìle. Bheir mise dà uair a thide 'g a choisichd." "'Eil duine idir anns a' bhaile a ni an t-slighe na 's clevere?" "Tha," ors' esan, "tha nighean anns a' bhaile againne a

'agiN'ə 'xəfiçəs ə 'Ntli-ə aNə 'Nduəð ə 'hi:d'ə gə 'Ləh." "wel" əs 'if, "ma 'nī: i 'fīn, 'hiçəγ i 'Nāül aNə 'hjə, əγəs feð 'mifə ji 'afəL, vis 'ekə 'taRiç nə 'mō:nəx."

eðə 'rā:niç 'dō:-əL 'γaxi, 'jī:f a 'Nē-əxg də 'vā:ði, əγəs gə 'Nda:l 'γresiq i i 'he:n aNə 'mpəuçif 'rəidiç əγəs 'γalà i 'jīəRi nə 'hafəL. eðə 'rā:niç i ven 'uəsəL, huRd i 'ði-ə nax də 'rug 'if eð 'afəL ə 'ðiəv. "xa N'd'el 'fīn gə 'd'ifə," əsə ven 'uəsəL, "ha mi 'hī:n ə 'gānā'xəγ əRsd -- gə mbi u 'gle: 'vā ji."

əγəs 'hog 'mā:ði 'əRə 'γaxi lefə 'NdafəL. eðə va i 'Nāül eðə 'Ra-əd, 'xəN'ic 'dūN'ə ði-ə, əγəs huRd a 'ði-ə: "kəR'sən nax el u 'Rəidiçəγ ə 'NdafəL?" "efd'" əs 'if, "xa Rə 'mif eð 'mūN' 'afəL ə 'ðiəv."

eðə 'rā:niç 'mā:ði 'Ntəj, 'γāīniç i γa 'bra:hað: "'de: 'mbiəγ ə 'feð mi γan 'NdafəL?" "'o:" əs 'afin' -- "xadə 'jiç ə 'NdafəL fin 'ka:l 'ðiəv ax 'ju:kaðən." "'o:" əs 'ifə, "s aN 'agəm ə vis 'kāNəx əRə, əγəs 'Nīl eð 'faLà lenə 'pōiNts aram." 'La:N'ə 'vā:rəx xaj i 'jīəs gə 'bu: ə 'cāNiç, əγəs huRd a 'ði-ə: "'xəLə mi 'vā:ði -- gə 'Nduəð u 'afəL." "'huəð" əs 'if, "ax xa N'd'el 'is agəm 'de: ni mi 'ði-ə. "'ī:fə 'mifə γut" əs 'afin'; "eðə va 'mifə dəL xənə 'N'd'iasçiq ə 'hjaLiN', vi-iN' 'ði 'fēkiN' 'behiçən γa 'N't'ə:Rə sin ə 'taRiç 'mō:N'ə, əγəs 'basgad' eð gax 'tu:v jəv, əγəs 'kuðə fiN' ə 'jīəRi γut 'basgad'ən, əγəs xa liç 'usə 'las 'kliəv 'mō:nəx -- xur eð də 'γrēim 'mblīāNə."

3.

asə 'vliāNə 'nāīn'tin,θaRti'e:t va 'mo:ran 'baLiç ('vaLiç?) 'ə:gə açə 'Ntəj aNə 'Lu:rbəsd. va a 'gle: 'γuliç γaiv gə 'mā 'triç -- 'a:t'ə 'āīN' asə mbəγ ad ə kuR'fexəd nə 't'i:d'ə, əγəs va 'fīn ə təRd 'əRə vi d'anu 'trəçiqən eð 'tə:R 'γā:N'ə -- 'əiçə nə bləN 'u:ð. 'smā:niç 'd'i-if ə 'Ndaičə sə s ad ə 'go-al ə 'Rə-id', əγəs 'bətəL ufsçə 've akə, gə 'N'd'e-əγ ad ə Janu 'trəçə -- eðə 'N't'ūNəx. 'γudiç ad

choisicheas an t-slighe ann an uair a thìde gu leth." "Well," ors' ise, "ma ni i sin, thigeadh i nall ann seo, agus bheir mise dhith asal a bhios aice a' tarruing na mònach."

'Air a ràinig Domhnall dhachaidh, dh' inns e a naidheachd do Mhàiri, agus gun dàil dhress-ig i i fhéin ann am briogais ride-ig, agus dh' fhalbh i dh' iarraidh na h-asal. 'Air a ràinig i a' bhean-uasal thubhairt i rithe nach do rug ise air asal a riamh. "Chan eil sin gu deifir," ors' a' bhean-uasal, "tha mi fhìn ag aithneachadh ort gum bi thu glé mhath dhith."

Agus thog Màiri oirre dhachaidh leis an asal. 'Air a bha i nall air an rathad, choinnich duine rithe, agus thubhairt e rithe: "C' arson nach eil thu ride-igeadh an asal?" "Eisd," ors' ise, "chan robh mise air muin asal a riamh."

'Air a ràinig Màiri an taigh, dh' fhaighnich i dh' a bràthair: "Dé am biadh a bheir mi do 'n asal?" "Ó," ors' esan, "cha do dh' ith an asal sin càil riamh ach siùcaran." "Ó," ors' ise, "'s ann agam a bhios ceannach oirre, agus Niall air falbh le na points orm." Latha 'r na mhàireach chaidh i sìos gu bùth a' cheannaiche, agus thubhairt e rithe: "Chuala mi, a Mhàiri, gun d' fhuair thu asal." "Fhuair," ors' ise, "ach chan eil fhios agam dé ni mi rithe." "Innsidh mise dhuit," ors' esan. "'Air a bha mise a' dol chun an iasgaich a Shealtainn, bhithinn ri faicinn beathaichean de 'n t-seòrsa sin a' tarruing mòine, agus bascaid air gach taobh dhiubh. Agus cuiridh sinn a dh' iarraidh dhuit bascaidean, agus cha leig thusa leas cliabh mònach a chuīr air do dhruim am bliadhna."

3.

Annas a' bhliadhna 1938 bha móran bhalaich òga aig an taigh ann an Liurbost. Bha e glé dhuilich dhaibh gu math tric àite fhaighinn anns am biodh iad a' cur seachad na tìde, agus bha sin a' toirt orra a' bhith a' deanamh treigichean air tòrr dhaoine oidhche na bliadhna-ùire. Smaoinich dithis an oidhche so, 's iad a' gabhail an rathaid, agus botul uisge-bheatha aca, gun téidheadh iad a' dheanamh treige air an t-Sionnach.

gə N'd'ex a 'xadəL, əγəs xaj 'Nda:Rnə 'fer -- 'fd'ex ə hɔRd 'ya: nə blɔN 'u:ðə, əγəs xaj ə fer 'elə 'Larəg 'fjūn'w:dəx 'səid'ad lefə 'Ndrəsīgəγ ad ə 'N't'ex aǵə. xud ad 'fjɔuləγ ed -- əγəs 'fɛkad', əγəs 'bɔnad' ə 'Ntaid'ad. ed ə 'hu:l ə fer ə va 'sdəj -- gə Rɔ 'N't'ex ed ə 'γresīgəγ aǵə N'd'er ə va 'mūj, hā:nīg a 'māx, əγəs 'xɔfiç ə 'N'd'i-if lefə 'N'd'ex 'suəs ə 'Ra-əd. edə 'xūNīg nə ,baLiç 'elə edə 'Ra-əd -- 'mbehəx sə 't'i-ən, xa də 'huǵ ad 'de: v 'āūN, va 'du:l akə -- gər ε Ləx 'nes 'mɔNsdər ed ə hen ed 't'i:ð, əγəs 'ruh ad 'γaxi. edə 'je:ðič ə 'fjūNəx asə 'vādiN', xaj a 'māx γanə 'va:hiç -- hɔRd 'biəγ γanə ,N'd'ex, s aN ə 'xūNīg a 'sda:lə 'faLu. 'heiL a 'fd'ex əγəs huRd a 'ði 'kuRsdī: "xa N'd'el 'Larəg edə 'N'd'ex. 'fe:mi a 'vih -- gə N'd'ex 'afiN' ə 'xūmal nə blɔN 'u:ðə 'kud'əxg, əγəs naxdə 'γāniç a 'Ntli-ə 'γaxi. 'gðəs 'ɔRsd, əγəs hɔð 'γð mə 'vrakɔfd', əγəs mi 'faLà ,ya: 'Larəg."

'γaLà ə 'fjūNəx 'bɔxg, əγəs xa Rɔ a ed ə γɔL 'fadə edə 'xūNīg a Rud 'ūāvasəx fin aǵə 'N'd'əgLiç. əγəs edə va a 'gɔ vi 'aǵə, 'stad a, əγəs 'hu:Rd a lef 'he:n: "fe 'Ndrəx'sbirəd a 'fid," s adə vo va ad ə 'fɛkiN' 't.ānə aNə 'fɔ. "ha 'mifə dɔL ə 'hiLə 'γaxi." 'heiL ə 'fjūNəx aNə 'hīn, əγəs xa 'd'ex a nə b 'ad'ə.

ma 'çehəð 'uəðən ə 'La-ə fin 'he:n -- va a na 'hesu asə 'Ndarəs. 'xūNīg a 'd'i-if 'vaLəx -- t'in ə 'Nūās ə 'Ra-əd, əγəs ə 'Rud 'ūāvasəx fin ə 'kɔfəxg 'kð: ru-ə. 'je:v 'fer akə: "'i-aN', 'fɔ 'N't'ex aǵəd?" "'o: ma f 'e:" əs 'afiN', "'xūNə 'mif a 'N'd'u ma 'rha:, əγəs s aN ə xud a 'fegəL mə 'veh aram, ax ha 'is aǵəm ə 'nifə 'ko: ,rāiN' 'fin ed."

4.

edə ha 'fiN'ə 'tɔ:fəxgiN' edə 'vð:N'ə -- 'xulə 'bliāNə, s aN edə 'sguðəs fin' γan 'Nda:t'əx -- ha fiN' ə dɔL 'hikə. 'Ntɔfəx ha 'd'i-if 'γð:N'ə -- dɔL ə 'māx le 'sbad'ən γa 'Ru:sgəγ: əγəs edə vəs

Dh' fhuirich iad gu 'n deach e a chadal, agus chaidh an darna fear a steach a thoirt dha na bliadhna-ùire, agus chaidh am fear eile a lorg sean-aodach saighdeir leis an dress-igeadh iad an t-each aige. Chuir iad féileadh air agus seacaid, agus boineid an t-saighdeir. 'Air a shaoil am fear a bha staigh gun robh an t-each air a dhress-igeadh aig an fhear a bha muigh, thàinig e mach, agus choisich an dithis leis an each suas an rathad. 'Air a chunnaic na balaich eile am beathach so a' tighinn, cha do thuig iad dé bh' ann. Bha dùil laige gur e an Loch Ness Monster air a thighinn air tìr, agus ruith iad dhachaidh. 'Air a dh' éirich an Sionnach anns a' mhaduinn, chaidh e mach do 'n bhàthaich a thoirt biadh do 'n each; 's ann a chunnaic e an stàla falamh. Thill e steach agus thubhairt e ri Cuirsti: "Chan eil lorg air an each. Feumaidh e bhith gun deach esan a chumail na bliadhna-ùire cuideachd, agus nach do dh' aithnich e an t-slighe dhachaidh. Greas ort, agus thoir dhomh mo bhracoist, agus mi a' falbh dh' a lorg."

Dh' fhalbh an Sionnach bochd, agus chan robh e air a dhol fada 'air a chunnaic e an rud uamhasach sin aig an eaglais. Agus 'air a bha e gu bhith aige, stad e, agus thubhairt e leis fhéin: "'S e an droch spiorad a tha siod," -- 's fhada bho bha iad a' faicinn teine ann seo --, "tha mise a' dol a thilleadh dhachaidh." Thill an Sionnach ann sin, agus cha deach e na b' fhaide.

Mu cheithir uairean an latha sin fhéin bha e 'n a sheasamh anns an dorus. Chunnaic e dithis bhalach a' tighinn a nuas an rathad, agus an rud uamhasach sin a' coiseachd còmh-riutha. Dh' éigh fear aca: "Iain, an e seo an t-each agad?" "Ó, ma 's e," ors' esan, "chunnaic mise e an diugh mu thràth, agus 's ann a chuir e feagal mo bheatha orm, ach tha fhios agam a nise có rinn sin air."

4.

'Air a tha sinne a' tòiseachdainn air a' mhòine, a h-uile bliadhna, 's ann 'air a sguireas sinn de 'n àiteach a tha sinn a' dol chuire. An toiseach tha dithis dhaoine a' dol a mach le

'fīn 'd'efl -- ha ad ə 'tɔ:fæxgiN' γa 'būðN', 'd'i-if 'f'imi'çəL eðə
'xulə 'hiəRuN, 'Nda:Rnə 'dūN'ə γa 'gəRəγ, əγəs ə NduN' 'elə γa
'f'iliǵal ə 'māx -- gə 'a:t' asə 'N't'urūmiç i. ha i eð ə 'fa:gal ə
'fīn əR_sən 'tri: 'fæxgəN'ən. 'NduəR_sən ha ad γa 'togal ə 'Nda:Rdə,
'kehəð na 'ko:ǵ ə 'γa:dən 'kō: ði 'çe:lə. af 'd'e-i fin ə 'ði-ifd', aNə
'N'kūūN 'da: 'hjæxgəN', ha ad ə d'anu 'Ru:-anən nə s 'mū-u na
'fīn, kur ə 'xulə 'γa: na 'tri: 'kō: ði 'çe:lə. ha i 'NduəR_sən 'd'efl
əR_sən ə kur 'xənən 'Rə-id', əγəs bi nə 'bəðəNiç əγəs nə 'fiðəNiç
-- 'faLà lə-ə eð ə 'mūN' -- aNə 'Nkliəv əγəs aNə 'mpəkəNən,
əγəs 'fəγiN' aNə 'mbariçən, γa kur 'xənən 'Rə-id'. ha i 'NduəR_sən
eð ə 'fa:gal na 't'u:Rə -- ði 'tu:v ə 'Rə-id', əR_sən 'γa: na 'tri:
'hexgəN'ən. ha 'NduəR_sən nə 'la:ri-ən γa 'taRiǵ 'γaxi, əγəs bi
'Nðīγ na 'd'eç ə 'γð:N'ə 'Līðnəγ nə 'la:ri. ha ad ə 'NduəR_sən --
d'anu 'kruəx jīh aǵnə 'tehən.

5.

fo çəN 'bliðN eð 'af -- va 'kat 'mo:r -- 'kō:ni aNə 'mba:həx
'i-aN' 'γəli. va a 'gle: 'vā 'γa:, təRd 'γa: 'biəγ ə 'xulə 'La-ə, gəə
mbiγ a 'marə-əγ nə 'LuwiN'. va 'fə 'gle: 'vāh -- gə 'Ndā:niǵ ə
'N't'εRəx. 'hə:fiç 'dē:N'ə 'ǵe:vəxg gə Rə ad ə 'kauL nə 'N'd'ifanən.
ax s aN ə 'hə:fiç 'i-aN' 'he:n -- 'ǵðūdraN' 'ifanən, əγəs 'γāniç a
gər ε 'Nkat ə va 'faLà lə-ə. əγəs asə 'vādiN' fə, 'Nda:l'ə 'γa: 'biəγ
ə həRd 'fiəs xənə 'xel', s aN ə xaj a asə 'jə-i lefə 'Ndərk(ə) 'jə:ð.
eðə 'huəð ə 'Nkat eð 'faLà 'pi:s 'fojə, hug a 'su:l eð 'i-aN', əγəs
huRd a 'ðif -- 'fe:mi a 'vih -- nax el u γa 'mbiəRi 'tuLəγ.
ha (a) xə 'mā γð γəL ə 'xð-ad εR_sən 'at'ə 'fuðič 'elə."

'γaLàv ə 'Nkat ə 'NduəR_sən 'fiəs ə 'γuðəx ə 'va:həx ə 'Nta:Lað,
əγəs 'sda:Rt a 'ǵiçə 'ifanən ə 'Nta:Lað əγəs 'ifanən 'xalaN'. va 'kalan
ə 'faLà aNə 'mplasdər le 'xas 'pðifd', əγəs xa b 'uRiN' 'γa: γəL af
'd'ə-i ə 'xel', əγəs xa Rə 'fis aǵə 'de: 'jīðnəγ a. ax ə 'La-ə sə hanə

spaidean dh' a rùsgadh. Agus 'air a bhios sin deiseil tha iad a'
tòiseachdainn 'g a buain, dithis timchioll air a h-uile h-iarunn,
an dàrna duine 'g a gearradh, agus an duine eile 'g a tilgeil a
mach gu àite anns an tiormaich i. Tha i air a fàgail an sin airson
trì seachduinean. An uair sin tha iad 'g a togail an àirde, ceithir
no cóig a dh' fhàdan còmh-ri chéile. As déidh sin a rithisd, ann
an ceann dà sheachduin, tha iad a' deanamh rùghanan na 's
motha na sin, a' cur a h-uile dhà no trì còmh-ri chéile. Tha i
an uair sin deiseil airson a cur chun an rathaid, agus bi na
boirionnaich agus na firionnaich a' falbh leo air am muin ann
an cliabh agus ann am pocannan, agus feadhainn ann am
baraichean, 'g a cur chun an rathaid. Tha i an uair sin air a
fàgail 'n a tiùrr ri taobh an rathaid airson dhà no trì (de)
sheachduinean. Tha an uair sin na lorry-an 'g a tarruing
dhachaidh, agus bi naoi no deich de dhaoine a' lionadh na
lorry. Tha iad an uair sin a' deanamh cruach dhith aig na taighean.

5.

Bho chionn bliadhna air ais bha cat mór a' còmhnuidh
ann am bàthach Iain Dholly. Bha e glé mhath dha, a' toirt
dha biadh a h-uile latha, gus am biodh e a' marbhadh nan
luchainn. Bha seo glé mhath, gu 'n tàinig an t-earrach. Thòisich
daoine ag éigheachd gun robh iad a' call nan iseanan. Ach
's ann a thòisich Iain fhéin ag ionndrainn iseanan, agus dh'
aithnich e gur e an cat a bha a' falbh leo. Agus anns a' mhaduinn
seo, an àite dha biadh a thoirt sìos chun a' chait, 's ann a chaidh
e as a dhéidh leis an fhore fheòir. 'Air a fhuair an cat air falbh
pìos bhuidhe, thug e sùil air Iain, agus thubhairt e ris: "Feumaidh
e bhith nach eil thu 'gam iarraidh tuilleadh. Tha e cho math
dhomh a dhol a choimhead airson àite fuirich eile."

Dh' fhalbh an cat an uair sin sìos a dh' fhuireach a bhàthach
an Tàilleir, agus start e ag ithe iseanan an Tàilleir agus iseanan
Chailein. Bha Cailean a' falbh ann am plaster le a chas briste,
agus cha b' urrainn dha dhol as déidh a' chait, agus chan robh

'ka:Rd ,l'imi'çəL, əγəs 'hə:fiç a 'gī:fəγ ,γa: manə va 'Nkat ə 'faLàv eð le(f)nə 'hifanən. "'i:fə 'mīfə γut" əs ə 'Nka:Rd, "'de: 'nī: u. eða hed' u 'xadəL ə 'Nəxg, ,d'iān 'auran γanə ,xat, əγəs xa 'd'ig a 'tuLəγ." 'hə:fiç 'kalan eða 'Ndauran, ax xa Rə a ,fāiN' eð 'ə-Rd 'gle: 'vā lef, va 'xas aǵə xə 'gəRsd. s aN ə ,hā:niǵ 'baLəx ə 'fd'ex, əγəs huRd a 'ðif "ha 'Nkat 'marəv 'hiəs aǵə 'va:həx (va:hiç) aǵəd." "'o:" əsə 'kalan, "'s 'mā va 'fis aǵə 'çə:Rd -- 'de: ,jīānəγ ə 'xu:f eða 'xat."

6.

eða va 'Rədi 'ɔ:g, va a 'suðùj eð 'N'i-un asə valə s 'afǵ ,ɔ:Rn, əγəs va 'du:l aǵə -- 'pɔ:səγ. va 'fid ə 'vlīāNə ,γa:s nə 'fā:N'əxən 'du:r. əγəs huRd i 'ðif ə 'Ndəiçə sə, "'fe:mə du 'fā:N'ə həRd ,γð." "'o:" əs ,afiN' "ha mi 'gle: 'jð:nəx, manə bi a 'rə 'γu:r." "'o: xa 'vi:" əs ,if, "'jə u fer ə 'ko:ǵ 'Nūta 'd'iaǵ le 'ko:ǵ 'dəimənən aN." "'o:" əs ,afiN' "xa 'vo:r ə 'jiəR u."

'γaLàv a 'γaxi ə 'Ndəiçə fīn, əγəs a 'taxif ə 'çēiN' -- 'Nūās ə 'Ra-əd, 'kāNtiN' lef 'he:n: "'ka: faj 'mīfə 'ko:ǵ 'Nūta 'd'iaǵ -- feð mi eð 'fā:N'ə?" xa Rə a eð ə hin 'gle: 'adə -- eða 'xəN'ic 'ka:Rd ðif le 'basǵad'. huRd a 'ðif "'s 'du: a 'kə-ad 'dəl." "'s 'beg ə 'N'i'ānəγ," əs 'afiN', "'s mə 'lāNan ə ,gra-ə 'rðūm gə ,fe:m mi 'fā:Nə həRd ,jih." "'o:" əs ,afiN', "'na 'kuðəγ 'fīn 'grūðman ɔRsd. feð 'mīfə γut 'fā:N'ə ma feð u 'γð 'da: 'sguəb γanə 'N'd'ex." "'o: 'gle: 'vāh' əs 'afiN', "'veð 'mīfə γut 'Lā:n nə 'kaRsd -- ma feð u 'γð 'fā:N'ə." xa Rə 'xə:R ma 'je-iN', ,rāiN' 'Rədi əγəs ə 'N'ka:Rd ə 'Ndi-əl, əγəs xa Rə 'dūN' asə 'valə nax Rə kuð 'ū-iL eð ə 'Ndəiçə fīn. 'γaLà 'Rədi ə 'Ndəhiç lefə 'Ndā:N'ə, əγəs hug a 'jih a. əγəs xuð a 'bɔ:d'an 'kruaj ɔRə, kaNtə 'ði-ə gə 'mpɔ:səγ ad aǵ 'd'eðəγ ə 'N'd'iaǵiç. 'γaLà 'Rədi manə b 'a:viʃd', əγəs s aN ə çəN 'fa:driǵ

fios aige dé dhèanadh e. Ach an latha so thàinig ceàrd timchioll, agus thòisich e ag innseadh dha mar a bha an cat a' falbh air le(is) na h-iseanan. "Innsidh mise dhuit," ors' an ceard, "dé ni thu. 'Air a théid thu chadal a nochd, dèan òran do 'n chat, agus cha tig e tuilleadh." Thòisich Cailean air an òran, ach chan robh e a' faighinn air adhart glé mhath leis, bha a' chas aige cho goirt. 'S ann a thàinig balach a steach, agus thubhairt e ris: "Tha an cat marbh shìos aig a' bhàthach (bhàthaich) agad." "Ó," orsa Cailean, "'s math a bha fios aig a' cheàrd dé dhèanadh a chùis air a' chat."

6.

'Air a bha Roddy òg bha e a' suirghe air nighean anns a' bhaile 's fhaisge oirnn, agus bha dùil aige a pòsadh. Bha siod a' bhliadhna a dh' fhàs na fàinneachan daor. Agus thubhairt i ris an oidheche so: "Feumaidh tu fàinne thoirt dhomh." "Ó," ors' esan, "tha mi glé dheònach, muna bi e ro dhaor." "Ó, cha bhi," ors' ise, "gheibh thu fear a cóig nota deug le cóig daoimeanan ann." "Ó," ors' esan, "cha mhór a dh' iarr thu."

Dh' fhalbh e dhachaidh an oidhe sin, agus e a' tachais a chinn a nuas an rathad, a' cantuinn leis fhéin: "C' à am faigh mise cóig nota deug a bheir mi air fàinne?" Chan robh e air a thighinn glé fhada 'air a choinnich ceàrd ris le bascaid. Thubhairt e ris: "'S tu a tha coimhead dull." "'S beag an t-iongnadh," ors' esan, "'s mo leannan ag radha rium gum feum mi fàinne thoirt dhith." "Ó," ors' esan, "na cuireadh sin gruaman ort. Bheir mise dhuit fàinne ma bheir thu dhomh dà sguab do 'n each." "Ó, glé mhath," ors' esan, "bheir mise dhuit làn na cairte ma bheir thu dhomh fàinne." Chan robh chòrr 'm a dheidhinn; rinn Roddy agus an ceard an deal, agus chan robh duine anns a' bhaile nach robh a' cur umhail air an oidheche sin. Dh' fhalbh Roddy an ath-oidheche leis an fhàinne, agus thug e dhith e. Agus chuir e bòidean cruaidhe oirre, a' cantuinn rithe gum pòsadh iad aig deireadh an iasgaich. Dh' fhalbh Roddy mar a b' àbhaist, agus 's ann do Cheann-Phàdruig a chaidh e, agus 's ann do

ə xaj a, əγəs s aN ə 'frɛ:sən,bərðy -- xaj 'if. s ə 'çiəd 'əiçə va
'dāūs ak aNə 'Ntehən 'gɔ:Rdən, s aN ə 'huul' nə 'kLaxən asə
'Ndā:N'ə. "o:" əs 'ifə, "s aN 'arəm a¹ 'Ndrəx'ləg. ha mi dɔL ə
'fɔ:səγ ə 'Ndui-ifd'ic." 'fɔ:s i 'vlīðNə fɪn əγəs xa 'Ndākə 'Rədi
'tuLəγ i.

7.

vo çəN 'tri: 'fɛxgɔN'an, aɣ 'da: 'uəR_sə 'vā:diN', hani 'giLə
'hjauLtiN' eð 'N'ĩ-un. eðə 'rā:niɣ a 'Ntəj xa Rə i 'sdəj. fɛr ə va
'fudəx asə 'Ntəj, 'xuəL a vi 'buəLəγ ə 'Ndarif. 'je:ðiç a, əγəs 'xũNiɣ
a NduN'ə 'mo:R_sin na 'hesu ə 'mũj, əγəs γə a 'fegəL gər e
'mjā:Rləx ə v 'āũN. "de:" əs 'afiN' "ə a¹ u 'giəRi ə 'fɔ?" "ha mi
'giəRi" əs 'afiN' "ə 'hjauLtiN' eð 'N'ĩ-un ə 'Nteh." "xa N'd'el
'N'ĩ-un ə 'fɔ" əs 'afiN' "ax ə 'vɛn 'agəməs, ax xa 'Ndā 'us i.
'faLə 'γaxi, eðə 'jðh -- kuðə 'mĩfə 'pələfman as də 'jə-i." asnə
'fākiL ə v 'āũN s aN ə 'xuəLə 'N'ĩ-un s i na 'kadəL asə 'Nda'həj,
'Nkð:ray aɣə. 'γāniç i gər e 'tarəməd ə v aN. 'je:ðiç i asə 'sbət
xənə 'hũN'aɣ, əγəs 'je:v i ðif: "s 'māh ə 'γra:j gə 'Ndā:nə du, s
mi gɔ vi 'ðifə 'vð:N'ə 'mā:rəx!"

8.

va mi 'hĩ:n ə 'La-ə eð 'pəlif 'd'u:ti -- 'mũj aNə 'sauθ 'afrika,
asə 'NtraNs'val. hanə mi eð 'tuahanəx eð 'N'õ: 'bɔ-ər, s aN ə
'd'ĩānu 'dāũm ə 'va: a. va a 'gobəð le 'sbad', əγəs 'xāniN' gər 'he:
'Riəsg xə 'bðia-ə s ə 'xũNə mi 'ðiəv ə v aN. 'hedə fɪN' xə 'gāũN
s ə va ad də 'γrð-içən ɛR_sən ə 'N't'ānə. 'jiəR mi 'sbad' eðə 'NdũN'ə.
'ja:R mi 'māx lefə 'sbad' aɣə 'dusan na 'γa: də 'γa:dən. 'sgu:l mi
'māx asə 'γðe:N' ad. huRd mi 'ðif ə 'NdũN'ə -- 'N'kāũN 'fɛxgɔN'
-- 'karəxəγ vednə 'fa:dən, 'ði-ifd' ə 'N'kāũN 'fɛxgɔN' 'elə, Nduðə
vəγ nə 'fa:dən eð 't'uurùməxəγ gə 'māh, ə 'fiaxiN' -- 'N'd'ĩānəγ

¹ a contracted from (ə) ha.

Fraserburgh (*sic*) a chaidh ise. 'S a cheud oidhche bha dannsa
aca ann an taighean Gordon, 's ann a thuit na clachan as an
fhàinne. "Ó," ors' ise, "'s ann orm a tha an droch luck. Tha
mi a' dol a phòsadh an Uibhistich." Phòs i a' bhliadhna sin,
agus chan fhaca Roddy tuilleadh i.

7.

Bho chionn trì seachduinean, aig dà uair 's a' mhaduinn,
thàinig gille a shealltuinn air nighean. 'Air a ràinig e an taigh
chan robh i staigh. Am fear a bha a' fuireach anns an taigh,
chuala e e a' bhith a' bualadh an doruis. Dh' éirich e, agus
chunnaic e an duine mór sin 'n a sheasamh a muigh, agus ghabh
e feagal gur e mèirleach a bh' ann. "Dé," ors' esan, "a tha
thu ag iarraidh an seo?" "Tha mi ag iarraidh," ors' esan, "a
shealltuinn air nighean an taighe." "Chan eil nighean an seo,"
ors' esan, "ach a' bhean agamsa, ach chan fhaigh thusa i. Falbh
dhachaidh, air neo cuiridh mise *policeman* as do dhéidh." —
Anns na facail a bh' ann, 's ann a chuala an nighean, 's i 'n a
cadal anns an ath-thaigh, an còmhradh aige. Dh' aithnich i gur
e Tormod a bh' ann. Dh' éirich i anns an spot chun na h-uinneig,
agus dh' éigh i ris: "'S math, a ghràidh, gun tàinig tu, 's mi gu
bhith ris a' mhòine am màireach!"

8.

Bha mi fhìn an latha air *police duty* a muigh ann an South
Africa, anns an Transvaal. Thàinig mi air tuathanach, air neo
boer, 's ann a' dèanamh dàimh a bha e. Bha e ag obair le spaid,
agus chanainn gur e riasg cho brèagha 's a chunnaic mi a riamh
a bh' ann. Theireadh sinn cho gann 's a bha iad de ghnòthaichean
airson an teine. Dh' iarr mi an spaid air an duine. Gheàrr mi
mach leis an spaid aige dusan no dhà de dh' fhàdan. Sgaoil mi
mach anns a' ghréin iad. Thubhairt mi ris an duine an ceann
seachduin a' carachadh bhàrr nam fàdan, a rithis, an ceann
seachduin eile, 'nuair a bhiodh na fàdan air tiormachadh
gu math, a' feuchainn an dèanadh e teine dha. Chaidh mi

a 'l'ānā ,γa:. xa mi 'l'īmī`çəL ə 'ði-ıf'd' ə ,N'kāūN 'mīās na 'γa:, əγəs 'xəliq¹ mi eð 'taj ə 'NduūN'ə. ,γāīniç mi 'γa: nā 'rāīN' a manā 'jīəR mi eð. huRd a gənə 'rāīN' a manā 'jīəR mi eð. xa Rə 'fe:m sə 'mbih εR₁sən ə 'N'l'ānā, xa 'γə-əγ ad ə 'N'l'ānā 'id'ir. xa Rə 'əL ,ṣūNt, va 'baRəxg 'kōīa-əγ² ,ṣūNtə na 'əL.

9.

ha 'mīfə aNə 'fə na 'mbō:nər, gən 'dūūN'ə 'kō: rum ax mi 'hī:n. 'ax ha 'du:l 'agəm ði 'dūūN'ə 'hi-iN' 'kō: rəm eðə 'Nda'həxgəN', əγəs ha a dəL ə 'γudəx 'kō: rəm 'tri: 'fəxgəN'ən. ha a ði 'faLəv əγəs ə 'l'in 'kō: rəm ə 'ði-ıf'd' aNsə 'vā:Rsd, əγəs bi 'du:l agəm gə 'fān a 'tri: 'fəxgəN'ən 'elə 'kō: rəm ə 'NduəR₁sən. əγəs xə 'fadə s ə vis a 'kō: rəm ha fiN' -- dəL ə 'vūūN' 'vō:N'ə. 'Nduəðə 'hiq ə 'sāūrəγ bi mi 'hī:n -- 'togal ə 'vō:N'ə sə. əγəs Nduəðə vis i 'l'idəm əR₁sən ə kuð 'gənə 'Rə-id', 'tə:fiçi mi 'NduəR₁sən na 'pəkəNən γa 'taRiğ gənə 'Rə-id'. əγəs Nduəðə vis i gə 'Le:ð aqə 'Ra-əd, jə mi 'karəbad ə veð 'γaxi gən 'Nteh i. ni mi 'NduəR₁sən 'kruəx 'vo:r jih a(ç) 'kāūN ə 'Nteh, əγəs bi mi 'jīn γa 'taRiğ afd'ə -- əR₁sən 'Ləsgəγ asə 'N'l'ānā, əR₁sən 'bLa-əs γanə 'Ntəj əγəs ə 'priç ə 'xulə 'biəγ ə vis fiN' ə 'gu-al aNsə 'Ntəj. mas 'keh i, 'fe:mi fiN' -- 'Nda'vlīāNə 'tə:fiN' eð ,būūN' 'mō:N'ə 'elə, əγəs ə 'Ndən 'obəð agiN' ə 'jīānu eðə 'vō:N'ə, əγəs ə va fiN' -- 'd'īānu 'blīāNə 'rənə fin. s ma 'xehəs ə 'vō:N'ə 'vūūN' fiN' ə 'mblīāNə, mas ,fāj fiN' -- N'l'e 'elə 'd'əfal, 'fe:mə fiN' 'guəL ə ,çāNəx, gə mbi N'l'e 'elə (N'l'e:lə) 'd'əfal εR₁sən -- 'taRiğ gən 'Nteh. ha 'Ndobəð fin -- dəL eð 'ə-əRd və 'vlīāNə gə 'blīāNə, aNsə 'valə h aNə 'fə, və s 'kāūNə 'lōūms. xa N'd'el 'is 'agiN'ə 'de: xə 'fadə s ə 'l'ēnəs ə 'Ndobəð jūN' -- dəL eð 'ə-əRd ,āūNəsə 'valə. xa N'd'el 'ka:l ə 'jis 'agiN'ə 'de: 'NtahəRəxəγ ə vis eðə 'xu:f fin 'fia 'blīāNə af 'd'e-i 'fə. manə 'fes ə 'vō:N'ə ruN'ə, 'fe:mə fiN' 'guəL ə ,çāNəx na 'ha:l'ə.

¹ Recorded *xəliq*, which is probably wrong.

² Recorded *kōīa-ə*.

timchioll a rithisd an ceann mìos no dhà, agus *chall*-aig mi air taigh an duine. Dh' fhaighnich mi dha an do rinn e mar a dh' iarr mi air. Thubhairt e gun do rinn e mar a dh' iarr mi air. Chan robh feum 's am bith airson an teine; cha ghabhadh iad an teine idir. Chan robh ola annta; bha barrachd crèadha annta na ola.

9.

Tha mise ann seo 'n am aonar, gun duine còmh-riam ach mi fhìn. Ach tha dùil agam ri duine a thighinn còmh-riam air an ath-sheachduin, agus tha e a' dol a dh' fhuireach còmh-riam trì seachduinean. Tha e ri falbh agus a' tighinn còmh-riam a rithis anns a' Mhàrt, agus bi dùil agam gum fan e trì seachduinean eile còmh-riam an uair sin. Agus cho fada 's a bhios e còmh-riam tha sinn a' dol a bhuaibh mhòine. 'Nuair a thig an samhraidh, bi mi fhìn a' togail a' mhòine so. Agus 'nuair a bhios i tioram airson a cur gu 'n rathaid, tòisichidh mi an uair sin 'n a pocannan 'g a tarruing gu 'n rathaid. Agus 'nuair a bhios i gu léir aig an rathad, gheibh mi carbad a bheir dhachaidh gu 'n taighe i. Ni mi an uair sin cruach mhór dhith aig ceann an taighe, agus bi mi an sin 'g a tarruing aisde airson a losgadh anns an teine, airson blathas do 'n taigh agus a' bruich a h-uile biadh a bhios sinn a' gabhail anns an taigh. Mas caith i, feumaidh sinn an ath-bhliadhna tòiseachdainn air buain mòine eile, agus an aon obair againn a dhèanamh air a' mhòine agus a bha sinn a' dèanamh bliadhna roimhe sin. 'S ma chaitheas a' mhòine a bhuaibh sinn am bliadhna mas faigh sinn an té eile deiseil, feumaidh sinn gual a cheannach gu 'm bi an té eile deiseil airson a tarruing gu 'n taighe. Tha an obair sin a' dol air adhart bho bhliadhna gu bliadhna anns a' bhaile a th' ann seo bho 's cuimhne leamsa. Chan eil fhios againne dé cho fada 's a leanas an obair sin a' dol air adhart anns a' bhaile. Chan eil càil a dh' fhios againne dé an t-atharrachadh a bhios air a' chùis sin sia bliadhna as déidh seo. Muna seas a' mhòine rinne, feumaidh sinn gual a cheannach 'n a h-àite.

10.

va 'kɔ:Rnað yanə 'Ndu:hiç aN asə Rə 'tɔ:R yanə 'bɔðəNiç 'glik əγəs 'tɔ:R yanə 'dɔ:N'ə 'gɔ:Rəx. veðəγ nə 'bɔðəNiç -- 'xɔðəf' ɔRə 'Rud sə mbi 'hogrəγ ad 'he:n (va nə 'dɔ:N'ə xə 'gɔ:Rəx əγəs gə 'Nkɔðə'əγ ad 'Rud sə mbi xanəγ nə 'mbrā-ən 'ru-u).

'ɔn 'uəð haniç 'kãNiçə 'ju-əl ,t'imĩ'çəL, axə 'fɛkəγ a N'ε 'N'd'i:ðiN' -- va a 'kLãiN'd'ən ma 'je-iN' ə 'Nda:t'. ax xa Rə a 'fad 'ãũN gɔsə 'fãk a eð ə 'hɔn 'he:n gər ε 'N'd'i:ðiN' -- v asə 'xulə 'ka:l ə 'xuəL a ma je-ən ə 'Nda:t'.

xa ,Rə a 'fad 'ãũN -- gɔsə 'fãk a 'dũN'ə 'Ruj xə 'kruə s ə b 'uRə ,γa:. va a 'Ruj 'fiəs 'Lε-ad εR,'sən 'gəRə 'gərid', gɔsə 'fãjəγ a yanə 'valə -- nə bə 'Luaj na ,Ra-əd 'mo:r. "'fãkə du 'mũLũ'xag 'xa:f -- ,Ruj lefə 'Lε-ad?" "xa 'Ndãk," huRd ə ,N'kãNiçə 'ju-əl. "Nduðə ,hã:nə mi gə 'mũLəx ə 'Lɔ-id', 'xũNə mi 'mũLũ'xag 'xa:f -- 'tut'am eðə 'Ra-əd, əγəs ə 'Rəliçəγ lefə 'Lε-ad. 'ha mi 'fɛkiN' gə mbel u 'fiaxiN' ðifə 'Ra-əd ə jĩānu let 'he:n, ax 'çi: fiN' -- 'ko: vəs 'ãũN ə 'Ntɔfəx.' 'hɔ:fiç mi 'Ruj xə 'Luə s ə b 'uRiN' γð, axə faiN'¹ 'rənə 'vũLũ'xag 'xa:f."

'xrah ə 'N'kãN'ičə 'çãũN, əγəs 'xɔũm a eð 'ə-əRd.' xa Rə a 'fadə eð 'faLə -- Nduðə ,hã:niç a gə 'təj -- va eð 'tur:v ə 'xLadiç. va 'baLə 'Nte xə 'iəsəL -- əγəs gə 'fur:dəγ 'dũN'ə 'kɔfəxg na 'vũLəx. xa Rə 'fis açə 'çãNiç -- 'de: 'xãnəγ a, Nduðə 'xũN'iq a 'dũN'ə -- 'fiaxiN' -- ðifə 'vo: -- xuð ə 'Nda:Rdə -- 'vũLəx ə 'Nteh. va a 'gĩəRi gɔs gə 'N'd'ičəγ ə 'vo: -- 'fiar -- va 'fa:s trənə 'Ntu-u, ax xa 'd'e-əγ ə 'vo: 'ãũN.

"manə ,hã u 'vo: xɔnə 'N'd'ɔ:ð, kɔR,'sən nax 'iax u ðifə 'N'd'iar ə hɔRd 'hiç?' ,γãĩniç ə 'N'kãNiç ,jeh. "xa 'γə a 'd'ĩānu," huRd ə ,NdũN'ə. "'de: veð u 'γð:sə ma 'nĩ: 'mif a?" huRd ə ,N'kãNiç. "veð mi 'γut 'grɔ:t." 'huəð ə 'N'kãNiç -- 'kɔRan, əγəs

¹ For *fãjiN'*, conditional 1. sg.

10.

Bha còrnair de 'n dùthaich ann anns an robh tòrr de na boirionnaich glic agus tòrr de na daoine gòrrach. Bheireadh na boirionnaich a chreidsinn orra rud 's am bith a thogradh iad fhéin (*different version*: Bha na daoine cho gòrrach agus gun creideadh iad rud 's am bith a chanadh na mnathan riutha).

Aon uair thàinig ceannaiche-siubhail timchioll, ach am faiceadh e an e an fhìrinn a bha e a' cluinntinn mu dheidhinn an àite. Ach chan robh e fada ann gus am faca e air a shon fhéin gur e an fhìrinn a bh' anns a h-uile càil a chuala e mu dheidhinn an àite.

Chan robh e fada ann gus am faca e duine a' ruith cho cruaidh 's a b' urrainn dha. Bha e a' ruith sìos leathad airson gearradh goirid, gus am faigheadh e do 'n bhaile na bu luaithe na an rathad mór. "Am faca tu mulchag chàise a' ruith leis an leathad?" "Chan fhaca," thubhairt an ceannaiche-siubhail. "'Nuair a thàinig mi gu mullach an leòthaid, chunnaic mi mulchag chàise a' tuiteam air an rathad agus a' roll-igeadh leis an leathad. 'Tha mi a' faicinn gum bheil thu a' feuchainn ris an rathad a dhèanamh leat fhéin, ach chì sinn có bhios ann an toiseach!' Thòisich mi a' ruith cho luath 's a b' urrainn dhomh, ach am faighinn roimh a' mhulchag chàise."

Chrath an ceannaiche a cheann, agus chum e air adhart. Chan robh e fada air falbh 'nuair a thàinig e gu taigh a bha air taobh a' chladaich. Bha balla an taighe cho ìosal agus gum faodadh duine coiseachd 'n a mhullach. Chan robh fios aig a' cheannaiche dé chanadh e 'nuair a chunnaic e duine a' feuchainn ris a' bhó a chuir an àirde a mhullach an taighe. Bha e ag iarraidh gus gu 'n itheadh a' bhó am feur a bha a' fàs troimh an tugh, ach cha téidheadh a' bhó ann.

"Muna faigh thu a' bhó chun an fheadir, c' airson nach fheuch thu ris an fheur a thoirt chuire?" dh' fhaighnich an ceannaiche dheth. "Cha ghabh e dèanamh," thubhairt an duine. "Dé bheir thu dhomhsa ma ni mise e?" thubhairt an ceannaiche. "Bheir mi dhuit gròta." Fhuair an ceannaiche corran, agus cha

xa 'dug a 'fadā -- gōsā Rō a 'vōs lefā 'N'd'iar. 'xriūN'ic a a, əγās 'hiliḡ a xōnā 'ba: a, əγās 'γαLāv a.

xaj a 'trōnā 'valā, s xaj a gō 'tāj -- asā Rō 'tru:ð 'vōðāNāx ā 'fN'īv eð 'kuḡaL. va a 'fiaxiN' -- ði Rudān ā 'xðek ru-ā, ax xa Rō a 'ferāsda γōL 'ru-ā. "ha mi d'anū 'māx nax 'būN' 'fu:fā γanā 'Nda:t'ā sā," əs 'afiN'. "o: s 'āūN γanā 'Nda:t'ā sā 'vūN'ās fiN', əγās xa 'xāN'ic 'mo:ran rut asā 'Nda:t'ā sā xō 'glik riN'." "ha mi 'tuḡfā gō mbel nā 'dā:N'ā asā 'Nda:t'ā sā 'gle: 'γō:Rāx," əs 'afiN'. "o: 'ha:, 'N'd'i:ðiN' aNā 'hīn. vēr,siN' ā 'xðād'f eð 'dā:Ńā -- 'Rud sā 'mbih -- 'hogrās fiN' 'hī:n." "mbel 'dā:N'ā agu gō 'Le:ð?" 'γāiḡic ā 'N'kāNiç 'γaiḡ. "ha:, əγās ha ad 'gle: 'erāsda 'Larāḡ aNā 'hjo." "wel, ha 'fā:N' 'v:ð agam aNā 'hjo, əγās 'feð mi a γanā 'N't'e: -- s 'mū-u feð ā 'xðād'f eðā 'NdūN'ā." va nā 'bōðāNiç 'ā:NtiN't' (?), s xaj ad 'γaxi gō 'Ntehān 'he:n.

f ε 'Ntānā'm ā v eðnā 'dā:N'ā ad 'alan əs 'i-aN' əs 'dūNū'xəγ. Nduðā 'hā:niḡ 'alan 'γaxi feðnā 'hā:ði faR ā Rō a 'ði 'buaxāLəxg, huRd ā 'vēn ðif: "o: 'γūN'ā 'vōxg, ha u 'kō-ad 'dōnā." "mbel?" əs 'afiN'. "o: 'ha: gō 'd'arāv, 'fe:mā du γōL γanā 'Labi asā 'spot." 'rāiN' 'alan ā Rud ā 'jiāR ā 'vēn eð. 'hjauL ā 'vēn ,na: 'hu:lān, s huRd i 'ðif gō Rō a 'bōxg γā 'ði:ðu. "mbel?" əs 'alan. va ā 'vēn magā mbəγ i 'gaL. "ha u 'ba:səxəγ," 'hu:Rd i. "mbel?" huRd 'alan. "ha:, əγās ha 'fin 'gle: 'Luā 'kud'əxg." 'rāiN' 'alan 'əsāN 'xruāj. xaj ā 'vēn 'NōūL γanā 'N't'ānā, s i 'druγan le-ā 'he:n. haniḡ i eð 'af xōnā 'Lep əγās 'hu:Rd i: "dū:N' dā 'hu:lān s na 'gLuāf, ha.u 'marāv ā 'niḡ. 'd'īān manā ha mi 'giāRi vRsd, mas 'taxəð nā s 'mīsə γut." va 'alan na 'Lajā 'sa:vəx le 'hu:lān 'dū:N't', magā mbəγ a 'marāv. xaj ā 'vēn ā 'māx, s 'γō:Rdiç¹ i 'kifd'ā 'Lajā (kaN 'kōiəx).

Nduð anig 'i-aN' 'γaxi, 'xāN'ic ā 'vēn ðif asā 'Ndarəs. "ko: 'usā" əs 'if. "ha: mā 'hī:n" huRd 'afiN'. "o: gō 'd'arāv xa 'du:

¹ Recorded ə:Rdiç.

tug e fada gus an robh e bhos leis an fheur. Chruinnich e e agus thilg e chun na bà e, agus dh' fhalbh e.

Chaidh e troimh a' bhaile, 's chaidh e gu taigh anns an robh triùir bhoirionnach a' snìomh air cuigeal. Bha e feuchainn ri rudan a chreic riutha, ach chan robh e furasda a dhol riutha. "Tha mi a' dèanamh mach nach buin sibhse do 'n àite so," ors' esan. "Ó, 's ann do 'n àite so a bhuineas sinn, agus cha choinnich móran riut anns an àite so cho glic rinn." "Tha mi a' tuigse gum beil na daoine anns an àite so glé ghòrrach," ors' esan. "Ó, tha ~~(is e)~~ an fhìrinn ann sin. Bheir sinn a chreidsinn air daoine rud 's am bith a thogras sinn fhìn." "Am beil daoine agaibh gu léir?" dh' fhaighnich an ceannaiche dhaibh. "Tha, agus tha iad glé fhuasda a lorg ann seo." "Well, tha fàinne òir agam ann seo, agus bheir mi e do 'n té a 's motha bheir a chreidsinn air an duine." Bha na boirionnaich aon-inntinneach, 's chaidh iad dhachaidh gu an taighean fhéin.

'S e an t-ainm a bh' air na daoine ud Ailean agus Iain agus Donnchadh. 'Nuair a thàinig Ailean dhachaidh bhàrr na h-àiridh far an robh e ri buachailleachd, thubhairt a bhean ris: "Ó dhuine bhochd, tha thu a' coimhead dona!" "Am beil?" ors' esan. "Ó, tha gu dearbh, feumaidh tu dhol do 'n leabaidh anns an spot." Rinn Ailean an rud a dh' iarr a bhean air. Sheall a' bhean 'n a shùilean, 's thubhairt i ris gun robh e bochd dha rìribh. "Am beil?" ors' Ailean. Bha a bhean mar gum biodh i a' gul. "Tha thu a' bàsachadh," thubhairt i. "Am beil?" ors' Ailean. "Tha, agus tha sin glé luath cuideachd." Rinn Ailean osann chruaidh. Chaid a bhean a null do 'n teine, 's i a' drughan leatha fhéin. Thàinig i air ais chun na leapa agus thubhairt i: "Dùin do shùilean 's na gluais, tha thu marbh a nis. Dèan mar a tha mi ag iarraidh ort, mas tachair na 's miosa dhuit." Bha Ailean 'n a laidhe sàmhach le a shùilean dùinte, mar gum biodh e marbh. Chaidh a bhean a mach, 's dh' òrduich i ciste-laidhe (ceann-crìoch).

'Nuair a thàinig Iain dhachaidh, choinnich a bhean ris anns an dorus. "Có thusa?" ors' ise. "Tha mi fhìn," thubhairt esan.

ə h 'ãũN, əγəs xa N'd'el 'is əm 'ko: h aN." "man ε 'mifə h ,ãũN, 'ko: h ,ãũN?" "f ε 'fīn də 'γrō-ic sə," huRd ə ,vɛn, "'faLà as mə 'hjaLəγ, s na 'bi: gə 'drəγ aram!" xaj 'i-aN' 'suəs eðə 'vɛĩN', s 'γəLiç a a 'he:n asə 'xəLə. xud a 'fexəd ə 'Ndəic aNə 'hīn, axə 'fɛkəγ a N'i a 'he:n ə v 'ãũN.

va 'dũNũxəγ aγ 'fe:L, s xa 'dã:niç a 'γaxi gənə 'Ndahiç. 'jĩ:f ə 'vɛn 'γα: -- gənə 'va:sic 'alan 'kafagəx, əγəs gə 'fe:məγ a vi eðə 'N't'iaLiçəγ -- ə 'Ndəicə fin 'he:n. "'fe:mə du γəL xənə 'N't'iaLiçĩ!" huRd i. "kuð 'jīat 'dur:dəx 'obrəx, s kuð 'ɔRsd də 'jefə 'γuh!" xud i eð 'faLəx -- 'N'd'efə 'γuh, s xa 'Ndəjəγ a 'Larəγ ɔR. 'γuðic a aNə 'hĩ:n 'Ru:fd', s a 'gəraN' lefə 'Nduəxg. hjəuL ə 'vɛn ə 'māx eðə 'NdũN'ag, s 'xũNiç i 'N't'iaLiçəγ ə 't'i-ən eðə 'Ra-əd. "'faLà 'nif, eð N'o bi du 'fadaLəx εR, sən ə 'N't'iaLiçĩ!" "xadə 'Larəγ mi mə 'jefə 'γu 'ha-əsə, s ha mi ,eð 'Rə-əγ 'kruaj." "o: 'γũN'ə 'vəxg, ha də 'jef 'ɔRsd. ha 'N'd'efə 'fuər və nax Rə i 'ũməd fəçəN 'trəf. 'gðəs 'ɔRsd xənə 'N't'iaLiçĩ!"

xadə 'γuðic 'dũNũxəγ nə b 'ad'ə gən 'aLa. 'xũNiç a 'N't'iaLiçəγ ə 't'i-ən, s xaj a 'trənə 'pa:ðicən gəsə ,fājəγ a 'rɛ-ə. Nduðə 'xũNiç ad ə 'NdũN'ə 'Ru:fd'ə rəp, γə ad 'fegəL, əγəs bə 'vãũL 'lə-ə 'Nkasən εR, sən ə faiN' 'as, s 'γα:g ad -- çifd'ə 'Lajə eðə 'Ra-əd.

va 'i-aN' ə 'kə-ad ə 'xulə 'ka:l ə va dɔL eð 'ə-əRd. Nduðə 'xũNiç a NduN'ə 'Ru:fd', na 'hesu ði 'tu:v nə kifd'ə 'Lajə, 'sguð a 'smə:N'əxəγ eð 'he:n, s 'hɔ:fiç a 'smə:N'əxəγ eðə 'NdũN'ə va 'Ru:fd'. xaj a 'jīəs faRə 'Rə a. "el u γə 'mbānəxəγ?" ,γđiniç a jeh. "nax 'du: mə 'Nā:bi 'i-aN'?" huRd ə NduN'ə 'Ru:fd', "ha u 'kə-ad 'kəLəx ðif." "huRd mə 'vɛn 'rđũm nax ε mi 'hĩ:n ə v 'ãũN, əγəs -- s 'kēĩN'd'əx gə vel 'jis 'ekif. kəR, sən ha u 'Lurũməxg?" "mbel mi 'Lurũməxg? huRd mə 'vɛn 'rđũm gə Rə mə 'jefə 'γuh

¹ Recorded *N't'iaLiçəγ*, but it is hardly likely that the nominative would be used here.

"Ó gu dearbh cha tu a th' ann, agus chan eil fhios 'am có th' ann." "Muna e mise a th' ann, có th' ann?" "S e sin do ghnóthaich-sa," thubhairt a bhean. "Falbh as mo shealladh, 's na bi gu dragh orm!" Chaidh Iain suas air a' bheinn, 's dh' fholaich e e fhéin anns a' choille. Chuir e seachad an oidhche ann sin, ach am faiceadh e an e e fhéin a bh' ann.

Bha Donnchadh aig féill, 's cha tàinig e dhachaidh gu 'n ath-oidhche. Dh' inns a bhean dha gun do bhàsaich Ailean cabhagach, agus gum feumadh e bhith air an tiodhlaiceadh an oidhche sin fhéin. "Feumaidh tu dhol chun an tiodhlaicidh," thubhairt i. "Cuir dhìot d' aodach obrach 's cuir ort do dheise dhubh!" Chuir i air falach an deise dhubh, 's chan fhaigheadh e lorg oirre. Dh' fhuirich e ann sin rùisgte, 's e a' gearan leis an fhuachd. Sheall a bhean a mach air an uinneig, 's chunnaic i an tiodhlaiceadh a' tighinn air an rathad. "Falbh a nis, air neo bi tu fadalach airson an tiodhlaicidh." "Cha do lorg mi mo dheise dhubh fhathast, 's tha mi air reothadh cruaidh." "Ó dhuine bhochd, tha do dheise ort. Tha an deise fuar bho nach robh i umad bho chionn treis. Greas ort chun an tiodhlaicidh!"

Cha do dh' fhuirich Donnchadh na b' fhaide gun fhalbh. Chunnaic e an tiodhlaiceadh a' tighinn, 's chaidh e troimh na pàircean gus am faigheadh e roimhe. 'Nuair a chunnaic iad an duine rùisgte rompa, ghabh iad feagal, agus bu mhall leo an casan airson faighinn as, 's dh' fhàg iad a' chiste-laidhe air an rathad.

Bha Iain a' coimhead a h-uile càil a bha a' dol air adhart. 'Nuair a chunnaic e an duine rùisgte 'n a sheasamh ri taobh na ciste-laidhe, sguir e smaoineachadh air fhéin, 's thòisich e smaoineachadh air an duine a bha rùisgte. Chaidh e sìos far an robh e. "Eil thu 'gam aithneachadh?" dh' fhaighnich e dheth. "Nach tu mo nàbuidh Iain?" thubhairt an duine rùisgte; "tha thu a' coimhead coltach ris." "Thubhairt mo bhean rium nach e mi fhìn a bh' ann, agus is cinnteach gum bheil fios aicese. — C' airson tha thu lomnochd?" "Am bheil mi lomnochd? Thubhairt

aram." va 'NdũN'ə v asə çifd'ə 'Lajə 'kLðĩN'd'ĩN' 'de: va 'i-aN'
 əs 'dũNũ`xəγ ə 'gra-ə, əγəs 'hə:fiç a 'ge:vəxg gər ε 'vĕn ə huRd
 'ðisən gə Rə a 'maràv. Nduðə 'xuəL 'i-aN' əs 'dũNũ`xəγ -- NduN'ə
 'maràv -- 'kð:ray, 'γə ad 'fegəL s 'ruh ad eð 'faLà. 'hã:niç ə
 'N'kãNiçə 'fu-əl 'l'ĩmĩ`çəL, s hug a 'N'kãũN asə 'çifd', s huRd a
 ðifə 'NdũN'ə 'e:ði s ə γəL 'γaxi. ax xadə 'xariç 'alan gə 'Ndã:niç
 ə 'vĕn, s 'ji:f i 'γa: gə Rə a 'bjə: s gə 'fu:dəγ a 'gLuəsð.

f ε ben 'alaN' ə 'xəfiN' ə 'fã:N' 'ə:ð. 'γa:g ə 'N'kãNiçə 'fu-əl
 ə 'mbalə, s 'hu:Rd a nax 'd'e-əγ a eð 'af -- 'γa:t'ə γanə 'N't'ə:Rs
 -- asə Rə nə 'dð:N'ə xə 'gə:Rəx.

11.

1. hi 'ði: hə 'ro: f ε 'N'ĩ-un əd,
 f ε 'N'ĩ-un əd, f ε 'N'ĩ-un əd,
 xa 'γə-iN' 'ka:l ə 'jĩ-uNtəs
 gadə 'jə-əγ i fer 'a:LiN'.
2. 'Ndəiçə 'xa mi 'çe:li əRsd
 'hu:Rd u gə Rə 'N'd'e:d'əγ əRsd,
 s aN 'smə:niç mi gə 'Ntre:çiN' u,
 s gə 'Leð gə 'N'd'ĩaniN' 'da:gal.
3. 'gadə 'xuð u 'γaxi mi
 xad 'γa:g u 'buləx 'faLu mi.
 xa 'duəð mi 'ðiəv də 'xadə γut
 nə b 'uRiN' γð də 'xã:N'əγ.
4. 'γə-iN' lefə 'N'd'e:d'əγ u,
 s 'γə-iN' u gən 'e:d'əγ əRsd,
 mas 'gə-iN' 'te: a 'Le:məray
 le 'karpəd 'Re: vo 'sa:lən.

mo bhean rium gun robh mo dheise dhubh orm." Bha an duine
 a bh' anns a' chiste-laidhe a' cluinntinn dé bha Iain is Donnchadh
 ag radha, agus thòisich e ag éigheachd gur e a bhean a thubhairt
 ris-san gun robh e marbh. 'Nuair a chuala Iain is Donnchadh
 an duine marbh a' còmhradh, ghabh iad feagal, 's ruith iad
 air falbh. Thàinig an ceannaiche-siubhail timchioll, 's thug e an
 ceann anns a' chiste 's thubhairt e ris an duine éiridh 's a dhol
 dhachaidh. Ach cha do charaich Ailean gu 'n tàinig a bhean 's
 dh' inns i dha gun robh e beò 's gum faodadh e gluasad.

'S e bean Ailein a choisinn am fàinne òir. Dh' fhàg an
 ceannaiche-siubhail am baile, 's thubhairt e nach teidheadh e
 air ais do dh' àite de 'n t-seòrsa anns an robh na daoine cho
 gòrrach.

11.

1. Hirì, horò, 's e an nighean ud,
 'S e an nighean ud, 's e an nighean ud.
 Cha ghabhainn càil a dh' iongantas
 Ged gheibheadh i fear àluinn.
2. An oidheh' a chaidh mi chéilidh ort
 Thubhairt thu gun robh an déideadh ort,
 'S ann a smaoinich mi gun tréiginn thu
 'S gu léir gun dèanainn d' fhàgail.
3. Ged a chuir thu dhachaidh mi
 Cha do dh' fhàg thu buileach falamh mi
 Cha d' fhuair mi riamh de choire dhuit
 Na b' urrainn dhomh do chàineadh.
4. Ghabhainn leis an (d)éideadh thu
 'S ghabhainn thu gun éideadh ort
 Mas gabhainn té a Leumaragh
 Le carpet réidh bho a sàilean.

5. 'gadə va u 'bɔ:jəx ləm
 ha 'fəyiN' 'āūN xɔ 'bɔ:jəx rut.
 ha 't'e: na 'ɣa: ə 'Ntɔ:ð aram,
 s mi 'faLəv eð 'vɔ:d'fə 'mā:rəx.

6. 'Ndəiçə 'xa mi 'ɣɔ:d'rəvaL
 'Ndul: s gə 'fājiN' 'kɔ:ray ɔRsd,
 s 'aN ə va 'mərəxəɣ 'mo:r əjəd
 ə 'Nkɔ:Rnað asə 'Nda:ði.

12.

Chorus: 'hi: mə 'lāNan, 'ho: mə 'lāNan,
 s 'e: mə 'lāNan ə fer 'u:r,
 'hi: mə 'lāNan, 'ho: mə 'lāNan.

1. f 'e: mə 'lāNan 'giLə 'Ruəði
 'eð nə 'ɣa:s ə 'Nkuələn 'dLu:.
2. f 'e: mə 'lāNan 'giLə 'dɔ:-əL.
 'kāiN't' ə 'vɔ:l xa 'd'e:d' eð 'xu:L.
3. f 'e: mə 'lāNan 'giLə 'kaLəm,
 'karpəNtar ə 'Ndariç 'u:ð.
4. 'NkuəLə fu man 'je:ðiç 'ɣɔ:sə:
 gən 'xuð ə 'Ntɔ:ɣað rəm ə 'xu:L?
5. 'mīsə 'mīfə 'fīn 'gle: 'huəRəx
 vənə 'huəð mi 'LāNan 'u:r.
6. 'xð-əRI vəðiN' 'hī:n eð 'gruəɣəx
 ə vi 'kūmal 'suəs ði 'tru:ð.
7. 'gadə 'jīānəɣ 'fer ə 'fa:gal
 viɣ ə 'ɣa: ek eð ə 'ku:L.

5. Ged a bha thu bòidheach leam
 Tha feadhainn ann cho bòidheach riut.
 Tha té no dhà an tòir orm,
 'S mi falbh air *voyage* am màireach.

6. An oidhch' a chaidh mi dh' Òidreabhal
 An dùil 's gum faighinn còmhradh ort,
 'S ann a bha Murchadh Mór agad
 An còrnair anns an àiridh.

12.

Chorus: Hì mo leannan, hò mo leannan,
 'S e mo leannan am fear ùr,
 Hì mo leannan, hò mo leannan.

1. 'S e mo leannan Gille Ruairidh
 Air an do dh' fhàs an cuailean dlùth.
2. 'S e mo leannan Gille Domhnull,
 Cainnt a bheòil cha téid air chùl.
3. 'S e mo leannan Gille Calum,
Carpenter an daraich ùir.
4. An cuala sibh mar dh' éirich dhomhsa:
 Gun do chuir an t-òigear rium a chùl?
5. Miosaidh mise sin glé shuarrach
 Bho na fhuair mi leannan ùr.
6. A' chomhairle bheirinn fhìn air gruagach
 A' bhith cumail suas ri triùir.
7. Ged a dheanadh fear a fàgail
 Bhiodh a dhà aic' air a cùl.

8. 'gadə 'viγ i gən 'dũN' 'id'ir
'jĩānəγ ə 'N'ĩ-un ə 'xu:f.

13.

Chorus: 'o: 'hi: hug i 'jo: 'və:rag s nə 'hə:ro 'jaLi,
'o: 'hi: hug i 'jo:.

1. 'və:rag 'veg niĕ iLə 'vā:RsdĩN',
'γə:LiN' də jəx 'sLā:N'ŕ a 'gLāN'ə.
2. 'fu:d'u 'fu:d'u 'Luəju 'NkLə:
gə 'pəwgiŕ 'fə:sdə γa mə 'lāNan.
3. xa 'N'd'el mə 'lāNan sə γa 'hiəRi,
ha ŕe 'liəh aǵə s ŕe 'haRsdan'.
4. ha ŕe 'elə aǵə 'Nta:Ləð,
s 'hiǵ i 'N'd'u na 'mā:rəx 'γaxi.
5. 'fjəuləγ 'beg s ə 'sbəran 'iəLəx,
s 'bđia-ə 'hiǵ fid γamə 'vaLəx.

(Last line corrected by another informant thus:

s 'bđia-ə 'Rud ha 'fə-ə eð 'faLəx.)

14.

Chorus: janiN' 'su:grəγ ðifə N'ən 'duj,
'o: 'e:ði asə 'vādiN',
janiN' 'su:grəγ ðifə N'ən 'duj.

1. janiN' 'su:grəγ ðifə 'vđĩd'əN
'xulə 'həiçə viγ i 'aǵəm.
2. janiN' 'su:grəγ rut eð 'a:ði
nə ,mbjāũN 'a:Rd əs 'ka:x na 'NkadəL.

8. Ged a bhiodh i gun duin' idir
Dhèanadh an nighean a' chùis.

13.

Chorus: Ó hì thug i ó, Mhòrag, 's na hòro gheallaidh,
Ó hì thug i ó.

1. 'Mhòrag bheag Nic 'Ille Mhàrtainn,
Dh' òlainn do dheoch slàinte a gloidne.
2. Siùidibh, siùidibh, luaidhibh an clò
Gu briogais phòsda do mo leannan.
3. Chan eil mo leannan-sa 'g a h-iarraidh,
Tha té liath aige 's té thartain.
4. Tha té eile aig an tàillear,
'S thig i an diugh no am màireach dhachaidh.
5. Am féileadh beag 's an sporan iallach,
'S brèagha a thig sìod do mo bhalach.

Different version:

... 'S brèagha an rud a tha fodha air falach.

14.

Chorus: Dhèanainn sùgradh ris an nighean duibh,
Ó éirigh anns a' mhaduinn,
Dhèanainn sùgradh ris an nighean duibh.

1. Dhèanainn sùgradh ris a' mhaighdean,
A h-uile h-oidhche bhiodh i agam.
2. Dhèanainn sùgradh riut air àiridh
Nam beann àrd 'us càch 'n an cadal.

3. *janiN* 'su:grəy rut eð 'buələ
'fias əs 'suəs ma 'vruəç də 'lepə.
4. *s* 'āūN d'ə'LūāN' ə 'N'd'ə-i d'ə'dō:niç
'γαLà fiN' le 'fō:nad' a 'arku.

15.

vo çəN 'kə:R əs 'kiəd 'bliāN eð 'af aNə 'Ləu-əs -- *va* 'dūN'ə
'fiə-iç ə 'faLà nə 'mō:l'əx, əγəs *va* 'fegəL 'mo:r aqə 'NtLuəy rē-ə.
asnə 'La-içən ə *va* 'fin, *xa* Rə 'Rə:d'an 'mo:rə na 'gəðəsən 'āūN
-- *adər* 'fd'ə:Rnəvay əγəs ə 'Ntuə, əγəs viy ə 'sLuəy gə 'trik ə təRd
'γaxi 'mbiəy əγəs Rudən 'elə, 'çāNā'çəy ad aNə 'fd'ə:Rnəvay, eð ə
'mūN'. 'Ndaiçə sə *va* 'bədəx 'tre:n -- *va* 'dūN'ə 'tre:n ə 'l'in 'γaxi
a 'fd'ə:Rnəvay, le boLə 'mīnə eð ə 'vūN'. *va* 'egəL ə 'NdūN'ə *va*
'fə eð, əγəs *va* 'du:l aqə 'xulə 'mūLəx gə 'N'd'igəy a, gə 'fēkəy a a.
'l'imī'çəL eð 'Le-əx 'fli-ə *adər* 'Lu:rbəsd əγəs 'fd'ə:Rnəvay haniç
ə 'NdūN'ə Ndat' s ə 'Rə a. "'ka:l'" əs 'afiN' "'el u 'dəL lefə 'N'd'aləx
fin?" "'ha mi" əs 'afiN' "'ə dəL 'γaxi lef." "'həð 'γō:s" əs 'afiN'
"'a, eðə 'jō" əs 'afiN' "'feð mi 'fot də 'vəh!" "'xa 'də-əð" əs 'afiN',
əγəs 'γə ə NduN' eð 'ə-əRd, ax 'hes ə NduN'ə 'rē-ə, əγəs xa liçəy
a 'as a. eðə 'xūNiç ə 'favað, na NduN'ə 'fiə-iç, gə Rə 'NdūN'ə
sə 'La:d'ir, huRd a 'ðif, "'ma feð u" əs 'afiN' "'γōh -- 'γa:Rnə
'Ləh, Liçī mi 'as u." "'xa dəð mi 'γut 'pāūNd je" əs 'afiN' "'manə
'kəfiN' u a." 'jiəx ad eð ə 'çə:lə 'ði-ifd', əγəs 'xūNiç ə NduN'ə
'fiə-iç gə Rə NduN' 'elə nə bə 'trəs 'na:, əγəs liç a eð 'ə-əRd a.
eðə 'rā:niç ə 'NdūN'ə 'Ntəj, 'ji:f a 'hjäñð'xəs, əγəs xuð a 'fegəL
'vo:r (sic) eðə 'NtLuəy. xəj 'sLuəy 'La-a na 'γa: a 'fd'e-i fin ə
'māx, 'd'i-if na 'tru:ð çR,sən ə 'NdūN'ə 'γLakəy. əγəs xadə 'Larəç

3. Dhèanainn sùgradh riut air buaile
Sios 'us suas mu bhruaich do leapa.
4. 'S ann Di-Luain an déidh Di-Dòmhnuch
A dh' fhalbh sinn le Seònaid a Arcaibh.

15.

Bho chionn còrr 'us ceud bliadhna air ais ann an Leòdhas bha duine fiadhaich a' falbh nam mòinteach, agus bha feagal mór aig an t-sluagh roimhe. Anns na lathaichean a bha sin chan robh rathaidean móra no goireasan ann eadar Steòrnabhagh agus an tuath, agus bhiodh an sluagh gu tric a' toirt dhachaidh am biadh agus rudan eile a cheannaicheadh iad ann an Steòrnabhagh, air am muin. An oidhche so bha bodach treun — bha duine treun a' tighinn dhachaidh a Steòrnabhagh, le bolla mine air a mhuin. Bha eagal an duine a bha seo air, agus bha dùil aige, aig a h-uile mullach gu 'n tigeadh e, gum faicheadh e e. Timchioll air leitheadh slighe eadar Liurbost agus Steòrnabhagh thàinig an duine do 'n àite 's an robh e. "C' àite," ors' esan, "'eil thu a' dol leis an eallach sin?" "Tha mi," ors' esan, "'a' dol dhachaidh leis." "Thoir dhomhsa," ors' esan, "'e, air neo," ors' esan, "'bheir mi bhuat do bheatha!" "Cha tabhair," ors' esan, agus ghabh an duine air adhart, ach sheas an duine roimhe, agus cha ligeadh e as e. 'Air a chunnaic am famhair, no an duine fiadhaich, gun robh an duine so làidir, thubhairt e ris: "Ma bheir thu," ors' esan, "'dhomh a dhàrna leth, leigidh mi as thu." "Cha toir mi dhuit punnd dheth," ors' esan, "'muna coisinn thu e." Dh' fheuch iad air a chéile a rithis, agus chunnaic an duine fiadhaich gun robh an duine eile na bu treise na e, agus leig e air adhart e.

'Air a ràinig an duine an taigh, dh' inns e a sheanchas, agus chuir e feagal mhór (sic) air an t-sluagh. Chaidh sluagh latha no dhà as déidh sin a mach, dithis no trìuir, airson an duine a ghlacadh. Agus cha do lorg iad tuilleadh e, ach theich(?) e bho

ad 'tuLəy a, ax 'heç a fənə 'Ndasdər, ^{ax} ~~ax~~ va a 'eð 'i:fə, gənə
raN' a 'kauL əyəs 'fegəL ə xuð eð 'dē:N'ə aNə ,mbadən 'elə yan
'N'd'elan.

16.

va 'bədəx asə val 'agiN'ə -- aḡə Rə 'Les 'xa:l 'vo:r. əyəs eðə
va nə 'sdəkanən ə 'fa:s iN'd'ə 'gə vi 'abiç, 'hə:fiç nə 'baLiç ya
'Ngəd' eð. əyəs xaj 'jo:-iN' 'bəxg -- xaj a 'fiə-iç lenə 'baLiç əyəs
huRd a 'ru-ə, 'çiəd er ə 'γLakəy aʃiN' aN, gə -- 'N'ḡaRəy a 'āvhiç.
ax 'smē:N'ic nə 'baLiç eð 'plānə, asə ,fājəy ad eð 'sdəkanən 'jo:-iN'
ə 'γəd', əyəs nax 'ēkəy a 'id'ir ad. 'çī-al ad 'sdrāīy ma 'vūn --
'sdəkan bə 'vū-u v asə 'Les, əyəs va 'Ntrāīy ə 'Ri-iN' 'suəs, faʃḡ eð
'kiəd 'sLat xənən 'Rə-id'. əyəs ə 'Ndəičə sə 'γuðiç 'jo:-iN' na 'xadif,
'wə'fijəy nə 'mbaLiç. haniḡ a 'yanə 'Les eðə 'γa:s a 'dərəx, əyəs
'pLad'ə 'mā 'uəxgər. xa Rə a 'fad 'āūN, eðə 'xūNiḡ a 'sdəkan ə
'faLà 'lef 'he:n. "'o 'hiəRnə 'ujāNiçd'ə" əs 'aʃiN', "xa 'Nduðiç
'mif asmə 'labi əR,sən ə 'fēkiN' Rud yan 'N'V'ə:Rsə sə 'tuLəy."
'γaLàv ə 'sdəkan 'suəs trən 'N'd'iar, s xaj a 'māx eðə 'γa:Rəy. xa
'Ndāk 'jo:-iN' ə 'sdəkan na nə 'baLiç 'tuLəy. eðə 'je:ðiç a asə
'vādiN', ,γāiN'ic ad 'jeh: "nə 'γLak u d'wN'ə 'Rəið 'jo:-iN'?"
'xadə 'γLak. xa 'Ndākə 'dūN'ə 'Ndənəs ə 'ðiəv, s aN ə vis a
ya 'adəxgiN'."

17.

ha mi 'gle: 'sḡi: jī gə 'd'arəv. aNə 'mī-an na 'd'eðəy 'mīəs
'e:prəl bi 'dē:N'ə dəL ə 'māx s ə 'ḡiarəxəy nə 'sbad'an, həRd 'ji
nə 'Ru:sg. f ε 'fīn ə 'çiəd rud ə 'je:məs d'a -- vi eðə janu 'ði-ə.
af 'd'e-i 'fīn bi 'sḡibəy ə dəL ə 'māx, 'd'i-if ma 'N'd'iaRuN, γa 'buəN'.
f ε 'fīn urəd s ə ha 'V'imī'çəL eðə 'vūūN' ekə. ha i təRd ə 'NduəR,sən

an astar, ach bha e air innse gun do rinn e call agus feagal a
chuir air daoine ann am badan eile do 'n eilean.

16.

Bha bodach anns a' bhaile againne aig an robh leas chàil
mhór. Agus 'air a bha na stocanan a' fàs innte gu bhith abaich,
thòisich na balaich 'g an goid air. Agus chaidh Eoghainn bochd
— chaidh e fiadhaich le na balaich agus thubhairt e riutha, a'
cheud fhear a ghlacadh esan ann, gun gearradh e a amhaich.

Ach smaoinich na balaich air *plan*, anns am faigheadh iad
air stocanan Eoghainn a ghoid, agus nach fhaiceadh e idir iad.
Cheangail iad sreang mu bhun an stocan (*sic*) bu mhotha a bh'
anns an leas, agus bha an t-sreang a' ruighinn suas, faisg air ceud
slat, chun an rathaid. Agus an oidheche so dh' fhuirich Eoghainn
'n a chaithris, a' *watch*-igeadh nam balaich. Thàinig e do 'n
leas 'air a dh' fhàs e dorcha, agus plaide m' a uachdar. Chan
robh e fada ann 'air a chunnaic e stocan a' falbh leis fhéin. "Ó
Thighearna Bheannaichte," ors' esan, "chan fhuirich mise as
mo leabaidh airson [a' bhith] a' faicinn rud de 'n t-seòrsa so
tuilleadh." Dh' fhalbh an stocan suas troimh an fheur, 's chaidh
e mach air a' ghàrradh. Chan fhaca Eoghainn an stocan no na
balaich tuilleadh.

'Air a dh' éirich e anns a' mhaduinn dh' fhaighnich iad
dheth: "An do ghlac thu duine an raoir, Eoghainn?" "Cha do
ghlac. Chan fhaca duine an donas a riamh — 's ann a bhios e
'g a fhaireachdainn."

17.

Tha mi glé sgìth dhith gu dearbh. Ann am meadhon no
deireadh mìos *April* bi daoine a' dol a mach 's a' geurachadh
nan spaidean, a thoirt dhith nan rùsg. 'S e sin a' cheud rud a
dh' fheumas bhith air a dhèanamh rithe. As déidh sin bi sgiobadh
a' dol a mach, dithis mu 'n iarunn, dh' a buain. 'S e sin uiread
's a tha timchioll' air a' bhuaib aice. Tha i a' toirt an uair sin

'tri: 'fexgəN'an na 'Lajə eð nə 'pəiL. ma vis 't'i:d'ə 'vāh aN, 'fu:di a 'viih -- gə N'd'ed' ə 'trogal nə s 'tra:jhə na 'fīn. ha-əs ə 'NduəR_sən ya 'trogal, ə d'anu -- kuð 'ya: s ə 'tri: s ə 'kehəð də 'ya:dan 'kō: ði 'çe:lə, 'ðe:ð ə fəR_sə 'blīðNə vis aN, 'Rud ðifə Nkan ad 'Ru:-əγ. af 'd'e-i 'fīn bi 'xud' 'vo:r kə 'ju: d'anu ə 'Nda'ru:-əγ əRə, d'anu 'Ru:-anən, kuð ə 'ya: s ə 'tri: ak -- yanə 'çiəd əyiN' ə 'rāiN' ad, aNə 'N'kāiN ə 'çe:lə. ha 'fīn ə 'kud'əxəγ le -- vi ya 't'wriüməxəγ nə 'fa:R, əγəs ya d'anu nə s 'ur:drəm əR_sən -- vi ya təRd 'xənən 'Rə-id'. ha 'fəyiN' 'āiN xə 'fəRsdanəx əγəs gə -- kuð ə 'Ntragdar xənən 'Rə-id' γaiu i, əγəs ə 'N'd'əyiN' nax 'el, f 'e:dər γaiu ə vi ya 't'er -- γa təRd 'lə-ə eð ə 'mūN'. ha-əs ə 'NduəR_sən kuð nə 'la:ri-ən ði-ə, əγəs ya təRd 'γaxi xənə 'Ntehən. ha-əs ə 'NduəR_sən γa -- ,dīānu 'kruəxən jiv, əγəs ha i 'āNə 'fīn gə N'd'ed' i 'Luusgəγ. 'fīn aguf a manə ,ha-əs ə 'būðN' nə 'mō:nəx.

18.

(de: nə 'behiçən 'fiə-iç ə h aNə 'Ləu-əs?)

'wel xa N'd'el 'mo:ran də 'vehiçən 'fiə-iç ə 'faLà 'mō:t'əx 'ləu-ij 'id'ir. ha 'Rəbad'an aN, əγəs ha 'ə:n 'a:t' aN, ðif ə Nkan ad ə 'fa:ðig, eðnə 'Ləxən, əγəs ha 'tə:R 'fe:j iN'd'ə. ha i -- ha i eð ə -- 'Nkūmal le 'dē:N'ə -- ha 'kō-ad asə ,N'd'ə-i, əγəs bi 'tə:R -- dəL ə 'fd'ex ə 'pəl'fiçəγ aNə ,hīn. va 'uəð ə va 'fe:j manə 'xafd'aL, aNə ,Ləu-əs, aNə 'fd'ə:Rnəvəγ, əγəs -- ax ə 'N'd'uh -- xa N'd'el 'mo:ran 'āiN, ha 'Nkafd'aL eð ə liçal 'fexəd, xa N'd'el 'uəxgəran as -- 'fuðəxg asə 'xafd'aL ə 'N'd'u 'id'ir, ha 'Nkafd'aL eð ə həRd 'fexəd də 'vəiL ə 'valə, ðifə ,Nkān ad ə 'Ntrəsd. əγəs xa N'd'el 'ka:l 'āiN ə 'N'd'u s aN ha 'mīfə 'kLāiN'd'ən, gə vel a eð ə -- gə vi eð ə həRd 'fexəd, əR_sən 'sgəl -- vis ə 'gōūsəxəγ 'baLiç 'ə:γə eð 'ka:Rdən əγəs eð Rudən 'elə əR_sən ə mbi 'bjə: ə jənu.

trì seachduinean 'n a laidhe air na puill. Ma bhios tìde mhath ann, faodaidh e bhith gun téid a trogail na 's tràithe na sin. Thathas an uair sin 'g a trogail, a' dèanamh — cuir a dhà 's a trì 's a ceithir de dh' fhàdan còmh-ri chéile, a réir an seorsa (*sic*) bliadhna a bhios ann, rud ris an can iad rùghadh. As déidh sin bi a' chuid mhór có dhiù, a' dèanamh an ath-rùghadh oirre, a' dèanamh rùghanan, a' cuir a dhà 's a trì aca — de 'n cheud fheadhainn a rinn iad, ann an ceann a chéile. Tha sin a' cuideachadh le — bhith 'g a tiormachadh na 's fheàrr, agus 'g a dèanamh na's aodruime airson a' bhith 'g a toirt chun an rathaid. Tha feadhainn ann cho fortanach agus gun — cuir an tractor chun an rathaid dhaibh i, agus an fheadhainn nach eil, 's fheudar dhaibh a' bhith 'g a toirt leo air am muin. Thathas an uair sin a' cur nan lorry-an rithe, agus 'g a toirt dhachaidh chun nan taighean. Thathas an uair sin 'g a — dèanamh cruachan dhiubh, agus tha i an sin gu 'n téid i a losgadh. Sin agaibhse e mar a thathas a' buain na mònach.

18.

[Question: Dé na beathaichean fiadhaich a th' ann an Leòdhas?]

Well, chan eil móran de bheathaichean fiadhaich a' falbh mòinteach Leòdhais idir. Tha rabaidean ann, agus tha aon àite ann, ris an can iad a' Phàirc, air na Lochan, agus tha tòrr féidh innte. Tha i air a — an cumail le daoine a tha coimhead as an déidh, agus bi tòrr a' dol a steach a' poach-igeadh ann an sin. Bha uair a bha féidh mu 'n chaisteal, ann an Leòdhas, ann an Steòrnabhagh, agus — ach an diugh chan eil móran ann. Tha an caisteal air a leigeil seachad, chan eil uachdaran a' fuireach anns a' chaisteal an diugh idir. Tha an caisteal air a thoirt seachad do bhuill a' bhaile, ris an can iad an *trust*. Agus chan eil càil ann an diugh, 's ann tha mise a' cluinntinn gum bheil e air a — gu bhith air a thoirt seachad airson sgoil a bhios ag ionnsachadh balaich òga air ceàrdan agus air rudan eile, airson am bith-beò a dhèanamh.

ha -- ha 'Nkat 'fiə-ic, kud'æxg, va a 'fīn -- 'kɔR 'er aN, ax xa N'd'el 'mo:ran ði 'fēkiN' akə. ha 'krɔud 'vo:r 'vlīəNiçən vɔ nax 'kuəLə mi 'dūN'ə 'xūNiç 'ðnən. ax f ε mə 'væxg gə vel 'began 'āūN 'ha-əsð jəv. xa 'NdāN'ə 'γð:sə 'xɔ:R də 'vehicən 'fiə-ic ə h 'āūN.

(nax el 'behæx 'āūN ðifə Nkan ad 'fjɔ:ləgan?)

'fjɔ:ləgan? 'o: 'ha: -- f ε a 'fīn 'fɔ:Rsə də 'Lux. 'behæx 'beg. (mbel 'Nāriçən aN?)

'ha:, ha 'Nāriçən aN. əγəs va 'uəð ə va ad 'gle: 'faL't', aNə 'Lɔu-əs, ax xa 'N'd'el ad xɔ 'paL't' ə 'N'd'uh, ax ha ad 'āūN. ha 'a:t'æxən 'āūN jīəv(?). ha ad ə 'gī:fə γð gər 'āūN aNə 'NgrɔūNd ə 'xəf'd'al, as nə 'grāūNds, manə 'xānəs ad, gər 'hāūN ə va-əs ə 'fēkiN' 'tɔ:R akə 'fɔçəN 'γərid'. 't'īmīçəL eðə 'vð:t'æx 'aqiN'ə s aN 'āN'u ə 'hiç 'dūN'ə 'taRsiN' eð 'ðnən aN (? aN instead of ak?).

H Nā (mbel 'pāifan asnə 'Nāriçən?)

ha ad ə 'gra-ə gə 'mbel, ma 'vi:d'əs ad u, gə vel 'tɔ:R 'pāifan 'ēiN'd'ə, s gə 'fe:m duN'ə 'Ndəgdar 'ēkiN' asə 'sbət. xa N'd'el 'ka:l ə 'jis aɡəm 'de: 'Ntānā'm ə h eðə 'Ndahəð ə h aN.

(mbel 'krur:vən 'id'ir asə 'N'd'elan sə?)

'ha:, 'began 'xru:vən aN, ax f e 'gle: 'veg. ha 't'īmīçəL eð 'kəf'd'aL 'fd'ɔ:Rnəvəj, ha 't'īmīçəL eð 'mī -- 'mī:lə 'skwe-ər aNə 'hīn, də 'xru:vən. ha a 'gle: 'vðia-ə 'sdāūrəγ, ax -- xa N'd'el 'mo:ran eð 'fəγ ə 'N'd'elaN' ax 'fīn 'he:n, manə 'hēk fu aNə 'Nkəɔð 'a:t'ə, 't'īmīçəL eð 'təj ə 'fid s ə 'fɔ, 'γa: na 'rhi: 'γa'nar,hi' 'xru:vən. ha ad ə 'gī:fə 'γð:sə, 'voçəN 'adə, gə Rɔ -- gə Rɔ 'N't'elan aqiN' fɔ 'xru:vən gə 'Le:ð. əγəs ha 'fīn 'gle: 'erəsð ə 'xðə'd'fīN', vɔ Ndeð ə vis fīN' ə 'būāN' nə 'mð:nəx, ha fīN' ə 'fēkiN' -- 'Rīāvəx nə 'Nkrur:vən, asə 'Riəsg, əγəs ha 'fīn ə 'gī:fə, gə Rɔ 'krur:vən aN 'uəðigīn. ga r 'bi 'de: 'haxəð 'γaiu, xa 'NduRə γð 't'fə 'γaiu.

Tha — tha an cat fiadhaich, cuideachd, bha sin — còrr fhear ann, ach chan eil móran ri faicinn aca. Tha *crowd* mhór bhliadhnaichean bho nach cuala mi duine a chunnaic aonan. Ach 's e mo bheachd gum bheil beagan ann fhathast dhiubh. Chan aithne dhomhsa a' chòrr de bheathaichean fiadhaich a th' ann.

[Q.: Nach eil beathach ann ris an can iad "feòileagan"?)

Feòileagan — ó, tha — 's e sin seòrsa de luch. Beathach beag.

[Q.: Am bheil nathraichean ann?]

Tha, tha nathraichean ann. Agus bha uair a bha iad glé phailt ann an Leòdhas, ach chan eil iad cho pailt an diugh, ach tha iad ann. Tha àiteachan ann dhiubh(?). Tha iad ag innse dhomh gur h-ann ann an grunn d' a' chaisteil, anns na *grounds*, mar a chanas iad, gur h-ann a bhathas a' faicinn tòrr aca bho chionn ghoirid. Timchioll air a' mhòinteach againne 's ann ainneamh a thig duine tarsuinn air aonan ann.

[Q.: Am bheil puinnsean anns na nathraichean?]

Tha iad ag radha gum bheil, ma bhìdeas iad thu, gum bheil tòrr puinnsean innte, 's gum feum duine an *doctor* fhaicinn anns a' *spot*. Chan eil càil de dh' fhios agam dé an t-ainm a th' air an nathair a th' ann.

[Q.: Am bheil craobhan idir anns an eilean so?]

Tha — beagan chraobhan ann, ach 's e glé bheag. Tha timchioll air caisteal Steòrnabhaigh, tha timchioll air mìle *square* ann sin, de chraobhan. Tha e glé bhrèagha anns an t-samhradh, ach chan eil móran air feadh an eilein ach sin fhéin, mur faic sibh ann an còrr àite, timchioll air taigh an siod 's an seo, dhà no thrì (*sic*) chraobhan. Tha iad ag innse dhomhsa, bho chionn fhada, gun robh an t-eilean againn fo chraobhan gu léir. Agus tha sin glé fhurasda a chreidsinn, bho 'nuair a bhios sinn a' buain na mònach, tha sinn a' faicinn reumhach nan craobhan, anns an riasg, agus tha sin ag innse gun robh craobhan ann uaireigin. Ge b' e air bith dé thachair dhaibh, chan urrainn dhomh innse(adh) dhuibh.

(*nax el 'krur:væn sà 'mbih eðà 'vð:l'ax ə 'N'd'uh'?*)

'wel xa 'N'd'el, xə 'fadə s əs 'āN'ə 'γð:s, eðə 'vð:tiç xa N'd'el
'krur:væn 'id'ir aN. f ε 'fi:ð 'xəfð 'sbət. s 'āN'ə γð 'ðn 'a:l'ə, na 'γa:,
asə 'vel 'began. əγəs ha ad γa 'N'gəRəγ 'fiəs. ax ha mi 'kLāiN'd'an,
gə vel 'bujəN eðə γəL eð 'xəf ə 'Ndra:sdə, ðifə Nkan ad ə 'fərəsdri
kə'mifən, əγəs gə vel ad ə dəL ə 'xur — 'krur:væn aNə 'Nda:l'əxən,
aNə 'Ləu-əs, əR'sən gə N'd'an ad 'fasgəγ də 'sbðe:j — də 'xur:ðič,
asə 'jāūrəγ. əγəs ha mi 'hī:n ə 'kðəð'fiN', gər ε 'Rud 'fe:məl ə vis
'āūN, ma 'haxrəs a.

(*mbel 'bufN'əxg aNə 'Ləu-əs'?*)

'o: 'wel — s 'i-ūNtəx gə vel 'a:l'ə sə 'bi 'kli-əd 'bufN'əxg.
əγəs xa N'd'el 'mifə mi 'hī:n, gadə vis mi d'anu 'tə:R 'brui-iN' ma
je-iN' 'bufN'əxg, ə 'kðəð'fiN' iN'd'ə, 'id'ir. ax — bi mi 'brui-iN'
eð 'fəγiN' eðə vel 'āvərəs agəm, əγəs bi mi təRd 'tə:R 'gə:ðəxgiN'
eð 'fəγiN', əγəs bi mi kuð 'fəγiN' 'elə 'fiə-iç, gə 'hə:Rad' eðə vis mi
'brui-iN' ma 'N'd'e-iN' 'he:n, əγəs manə 'haxəð γð 'hī:n, manə
'xaiL ə 'vo: 'mbðN'ə, manə hug mi 'Ləh ə 'La-a d'anu 'məsrəγ,
manə 'fðif mi mə 'xas ə 'Nduri, əγəs muR'sun eð 'ə-əRd. xa N'd'el
'd'eðəγ eð 'fəñð'xəs ə Janu eð 'bufN'əxg. ax ma vi — ha mi 'Ndo:xəs,
eðə 'va:sicəs ə N'd'əγiN' ə h 'āūN ə 'Ndra:sdə, nax 'a:g ad 'ka:l
— nax 'a:g ad 'd'i:ləb aq 'dūN'ə, əγəs gə mbi fiN' 'bjə: aNə
'su:vəL, 'tə:Rnə 'fa:Rna 'va: fiN'. va — 'huəð fiN' 'fis gə Rə
'le:bər 'gəvəRnməNt ə dəL (?), γa: Nkuð ə 'māx, gə Rə ad ə dəL ə
xuð — 'as γanə 'bānā'vufd'adən. f ε 'Ndə: rud 'vā naxdə
'rāiN' a, əγəs ha mi 'Ndo:xəs, mas 'd'e:d' ad ə 'māx a — a 'əfif,
gə 'fiəx ad ə 'N'd'i-içəL (sic), əγəs gə 'N'd'iān ad ə 'xur:f əRə.

19.

'wel, va a ma 'xlaɣəγ 'agəməs eðə va mi 'ə:g ə vi 'bðəbədəðəxg,
əγəs — f ε 'obəð ə va 'pa:əγ 'gle: 'vāh asnə 'La-içən asə Rə 'mifə

[Q.: Nach eil craobhan 's am bith air a' mhòinteach an diugh?]

Well, chan eil, cho fada 's is aithne dhomhsa. Air a' mhòintich chan eil craobhan idir ann. 'S e fìor chòrr *spot*. 'S aithne dhomh aon àite, no dhà, anns am bheil beagan. Agus tha iad 'g an gearradh sìos. Ach tha mi a' cluinntinn gum bheil buidheann air a dhol air chois an dràsda, ris an can iad am *Forestry Commission*, agus gum bheil iad a' dol a chur craobhan ann an àiteachan ann an Leòdhas, airson gun dèan iad fàsadh do spréidh — do chaoraich, anns a' gheamhradh. Agus tha mi fhìn a' creidsinn gur e rud feumail a bhios ann, ma thachras e.

[Q.: Am bheil buisneachd ann an Leòdhas?]

Ó, well — 's iongantach gum bheil àite 's am bith *clear* buisneachd. Agus chan eil mise mi fhìn, ged a bhios mi a' dèanamh tòrr bruidhinn mu dheidhinn buisneachd, a' creidsinn innte idir. Ach bi mi a' bruidhinn air feadhainn air am bheil amharus agam, agus bi mi a' toirt tòrr gàireachdainn air feadhainn, agus bi mi a' cuir feadhainn eile fiadhaich, gu h-àraidh 'air a bhios mi a' bruidhinn mu 'n deidhinn fhéin, agus mar a thachair dhomh fhìn: mar a chaill a' bhó am bainne, mar a thug mi leth an latha a' dèanamh measradh, mar a bhris mi mo chas an uiridh, agus mar sin air adhart. Chan eil deireadh air seachas a dhèanamh air buisneachd. Ach ma bhi — tha mi an dòchas, 'air a bhàsaicheas an fheadhainn a th' ann an dràsda, nach fhàg iad càil — nach fhàg iad dìleab aig duine, agus gum bi sinn beò ann an saoghal tòrr na 's fheàrr na bha sinn. Fhuair sinn fios gun robh an *Labour Government* a' dol d' an cuir a mach, gun robh iad a' dol a chur as do na bana-bhuistearan. 'S e an aon rud mhath nach do rinn e, agus tha mi an dòchas, mas téid iad a mach a *office*, gum feuch iad an dìchioll, agus gun dèan iad a' chùis orra.

19.

Well, bha e mar chleachdadh agamsa 'air a bha mi òg a' bhith a' breabadairachd, agus 's e obair a bha a' pàidheadh glé mhath

'bðebadaðæxg, f e 'obæð ə va 'pa:əy 'gle: 'vāh ə v 'āūN. ax xa Ro
i 'gle: -- 'aLaN' aNə 'N'ti:d'ə 'Ntāūri 'id'ir.

(de: 'Ndu:f ə ,va: u Nduæð ə 'hɔ:fiç u 'bðebadaðæxg?)

va mi 'ko:g 'bliðNə 'd'æg.

(əγəs 'de: xə 'fadə s ə 'lēn u 'Ndobæð fin?)

'o: hug mi 't'imi'çəL eð 'ko:g 'bliðNə mas d'ex mi 'γanə 'xəgəγ.
əγəs va mi 'ði-isd' 'da: 'vliðNə a 'd'e-i γð ,hi-ən 'asə 'xəgəγ, va mi
ði 'bðebadaðæxg ə 'ði-isd'.

(de: 'Rud ə 'je:məs fu 'd'īānu 'Ntəfəx lefə 'xLūi?)

lefə 'xLūi? 'o: 'wel f e 'fN'īəv nə 'kLūi, 'fN'īəv əγəs 'ka:Rdəγ
nə kLūi, f e 'fīn ə 'çiəd 'obæð ə ,ha-əs ə 'd'īānu ə 'hu:v ə xLə 'vo:ð
'id'ir. ax ha 'N'd'u, s aN ə ha-əs ə 'd'īānu 'Ndobæð fin asnə --
,āūNs nə 'māiLən. ax ə 'çiəd 'xāīnə h 'agəməs, s aN ha 'kāīn agəmə
eðnə 'kaLāxən asnə 'baL'ən ə va ma 'NkuəRsd əγəs asə 'val asnə
'hogəγ mə 'hī:n, ə vi 'fN'īəv əγəs ə 'ka:Rdəγ le 'kəiļiçən a -- ,āūNs
nə 'daxi-ən. f e 't'ānə 'mī-ən ə 'La:ð ə v asnə 'tehən ə 'NduəR_sən.
əγəs (sic) f e tehən 'du-ə ,xud' 'vo:r ə v eðə 'Ndasdər. ax fəçəN
'grōūNan 'mo:r 'vliðNəxən eð 'af γə nə 'māiLən ə 'NōūL ə NkLə 'mo:r
əγəs 'hɔ:fiç ad ə 'fN'īəv əγəs ə 'ka:Rdəγ asnə 'māiLən le 'iN'əLən
'u:rə h akə 'he:n εR_sən ə vi 'd'īānu nə ,Rudən.

(NdaN asnə 'tehən ə vəγ ad ə ,d'īānu 'bðebadaðæxg?)

s aN asnə 'tehən ə viγ nə 'bjaRsdən ə 'Nduæð ad. asnə 'tehən
əγəs asnə 'so:Liçən. 'gle: 'rhik asnə 'tehən ə viγ ad.

(əγəs 'de: manə ha 'fīn ə 'nif?)

wel ha 'ə 'nif, ha 'γrō-ic eð 'ahəRəxəγ 'gle: 'vo:r, ha 'fedīçən
akə eð ə 'hogal eð 'faLə fənə 'tehən, ha 'tehən 'u:r ak eð ə 'hogal
s a nə tehən 'duh eð ə γəL ə 'māx a 'bih, əγəs ha 'fedəxən ak eð ə

anns na lathaichean anns an robh mise a' breabadaireachd, 's
e obair a bha a' pàidheadh glé mhath a bh' ann. Ach chan robh
i glé fhallain ann an tìde an t-samhraidh idir.

[Q.: Dé an aois a bha thu 'nuair a thòisich thu air
breabadaireachd?]

Bha mi cóig bliadhna deug.

[Q.: Agus dé cho fada 's a lean thu an obair sin?]

Ó, thug mi timchioll air cóig bliadhna mas deach mi do 'n
chogadh. Agus bha mi a rithis — dà bhliadhna a déidh dhomh
thighinn as a' chogadh, bha mi ri breabadaireachd a rithis.

[Q.: Dé 'n rud a dh' fheumas sibh dèanamh an t-hoiseach
leis a' chlàimh?]

Leis a' chlàimh? Ó, well, 's e snìomh na clòimhe, snìomh
agus càrdadh na clòimhe, 's e sin a' cheud obair a thathas a'
dèanamh a thaobh a' chlà-mhóir idir. Ach tha an diugh — 's
ann a thathas a' dèanamh an obair sin anns na muilnean. Ach a'
cheud chuimhne a th' agamsa tha cuimhne agam air na cailleachan
anns na bailtean a bha mu 'n cuairt agus anns a' bhaile anns
an do thogadh mi fhìn, a' bhith a' snìomh agus a' càrdadh le
cuibhlichean anns na dachaidhean. 'S e teine am meadhon an
làir a bh' anns na taighean an uair sin. Agus 's e taighean dubha
a' chuid mhór a bh' air an astar. Ach bho chionn grunnan mór
bhliadhnaichean air ais ghabh na muilnean a null an clò-mór
agus thòisich iad a' snìomh agus a' càrdadh anns na muilnean le
innealan ùra a th' aca fhéin airson a' bhith a' dèanamh nan rudan.

[Q.: An ann anns na taighean a bhiodh iad a' dèanamh
breabadaireachd?]

'S ann anns na taighean a bhiodh na beartan an uair ud.
Anns na taighean agus anns na sabhlaichean. Glé thrìc anns na
taighean a bhiodh iad.

[Q.: Agus dé mar a tha sin a nis?]

Well, tha a nis, tha a' ghnòthaich air atharrachadh glé mhór,
tha shed-ichean aca air a thogail air falbh bho na taighean; tha
taighean ùra aca air a thogail 's tha na taighean dubha air a

'hogal. ha a 'faLaN' a vi 'gobadh ðũNt aγas ha a 'tɔ:Rnə 'fa:Rna va 'xu:f aNsə 'La ad.

(de: ha ad a 'd'ĩanu ðifə 'xLũĩ Nduəð a ha i eð a 'fN'ĩv?)

'o: 'wel ha 'xLũĩ a 'Ntəfəxg ði 'N'ĩ-a, s ha i 'NduəR_sən 'ði 'ka:Rdəγ. s eðə hed' a 'xLũĩ a 'xa:Rdəγ ha-əs -- ha-əs γa kuð 'eð -- eð 'iəL eðə 'xəilə. aγas a 'd'ə-i 'fĩn a 'ði-ıf'd' ha-əs a d'anu 'krōkaN' jih. aγas eðə hed' 'krōkaN' a janu 'ji ha-əs γa -- 'd'əlv, aγas a 'd'ə-i 'N'd'əlv ha-əs a kuð a 'xLɔ: γanə 'vjaRsd, bi ad a d'anu Rud ðifə Nkan ad 'bjaRsdəxəγ a 'NduəR_sən.

(de: 'fɔ:Rsə də 'bjaRsdən a h agu?)

'o: 'wel f e -- f e nə 'bjaRsdən 'u:rə, f e ɔtə'mätigs a heð ad 'ru-ə 'N'd'u ax -- 'çiad 'xəĩn a h 'agəməs xa Rə 'ka:l 'äũN ax 'bjaRsdən 'Läivə, 'bjaRsdən 'fiγə, eðə viγ nə 'bədiç a 'fi-əγ asə -- 'fi-i asə 'La ad. aγas 'rənə 'fĩn, rənə 'fĩn a 'ði-ıf'd', f e 'bjaRsdən nax Rə -- nax d'anəγ 'urəd a 'γobəð ði 'fĩn 'buləx a v 'äũN, 'bjaRsdən a va ad a 't'iligal a 'sba:L le 'Lä:v, ax xa N'd'el 'ka:l a 'xəĩn 'aməs eðə 'N'd'əγiN' fĩn. ax a N'd'əγiN' 'eðə vel 'kəĩn agəm f e -- s aN le 'Lä:v a viγ ad a 't'iligal a 'sba:L 'kaRsd gə 'Lɔ:r ax va -- va Rud ak ðifə Nkəniç'də 'LōNgag, lefə Rə ad a təRd 'kud'əxəγ 'mɔ:r, aγas f e 'ahəRəxəγ 'mɔ:r a v 'ēĩN'd'ə fənə -- 'N'd'i:ð 'hjəñð'vjaRsd.

(aγas 'fe:mə fu 'dah a xur eðə 'xLũĩ . . .)

'o: 'wel ha nə 'dahən a 'dɔL eðə 'xLũĩ 'gle: 'rhik mas 'd'e:d' a 'fN'ĩv. ha-əs γa 'N'ĩ-a, aγas γa 'dah, f e 'fĩn a 'xLũĩ -- ma ha fu ɔR_sən 'dah a 'vi eðə 'xLũĩ, ax 'gle: 'rhik ha-əs a d'anu -- eðə viç'd'ə d'anu 'kLɔ: asə 'La ad, viç'd'ə -- 'dah a 'γa:Rnə 'Leh, aγas a 'fa:gal a 'Leh 'elə gən a 'γah 'id'ir. aγas 'jo-əγ fu 'NdahəRəγ 'patran muR_sun, na -- gə 'N't'əgu 'γu:də fu 'xuLə 'fɔ:Rsə 'dah a 'xuð eðə 'xlũĩ. ax 'äũNs a 'La-a fĩn xa Rə 'dah 'äũN ax a 'NkrətəL.

dhol a mach a bith, agus tha *shed*-achan aca air a thogail. Tha e fallain a' bhith 'g obair anna agus tha e tòrr na 's fheàrr na bha a' chùis anns an latha ud.

[Q.: Dé tha iad a' dèanamh ris a chlàimh 'nuair a tha i air a sniomh?]

Ó, *well*, tha a' chlàimh an toiseach ri nighe, 's tha i an uair sin ri càrdadh. 'S air a théid a' chlàimh a chàrdadh, thathas — thathas 'g a cur air — air iall air a' chuibhle. Agus a déidh sin a rithis thathas a' dèanamh cnocain dhith. Agus 'air a théid cnocain a dhèanamh dhith thathas 'g a deilbh, agus a déidh an deilbh thathas a' cur a' chlà do 'n bheart, bi iad a' dèanamh rud ris an can iad beartachadh, an uair sin.

[Q.: Dé an seòrsa beartan a th' agaibh?]

O, *well*, 's e na beartan ùra, 's e *automatics* a their iad riutha an diugh, ach a' cheud chuimhne a th' agamsa chan robh càil ann ach beartan laimhe, beartan fiodha, 'air a bhiodh na bodaich a' figheadh — a' fighe anns an latha ud. Agus roimhe sin, roimhe sin a rithis, 's e beartan nach robh — nach dèanadh uireadh de dh'obair ri sin buileach a bh' ann, beartan a bha iad a' tilgeil an spàl le làmh, ach chan eil càil a chuimhne agamsa air an fheadhainn sin. Ach an fheadhainn air am bheil cuimhne agam — 's ann le làmh a bhiodh iad a' tilgeil an spàl ceart gu leòr, ach bha rud aca ris an canaichte longag, leis an robh iad a' toirt cuideachadh mór, agus 's e atharrachadh mór a bh' innte bho 'n fhìor-shean bheart.

[Q.: Agus feumaidh sibh dath a chur air a' chlàimh —].

Ó, *well*, tha na dathan a' dol air a' chlàimh glé thric mas téid a sniomh. Thathas 'g a nighe, agus 'g a dath, 's e sin a' chlàimh — ma tha sibh airson dath a bhith air a' chlàimh. Ach glé thric thathas a' dèanamh — 'air a bhiodhte a' dèanamh clò anns an latha ud, bhiodhte a' dath a' dhàrna leth, agus a' fàgail an leth eile gun a dhath idir. Agus gheibheadh sibh an atharrachadh patran mar sin, no — gun teagamh dh' fhaodadh sibh a h-uile seòrsa dath a chur air a' chlàimh. Ach anns an latha sin chan robh dath ann ach an crotal.

20.

ha 'ahəRəxəγ 'mo:r eð ə hen eð 'Ləu-əs fo çəN 'grəũNan 'vlĩNəxən eð 'af aNə 'hʲə-əx. va 'trəf aNə 'hid eðə 'sguð ə 'Nkəgəγ, s va 'tə:R 'adəgĩd' ði jənu aNə 'Ləu-əs. va 'fe:m 'vo:r eðə xLə 'vo:r s va 'mārkað' 'vāh eðə 'sgadan. ax le 'suʲəxəγ ə 'Ntu:-əl gə 'Le:ð xa nə 'Rudən fin -- 'māx a 'fasan 'gle: 'vor ə 'nĩf; ha NkLə 'vo:r eð ə 'varə-əγ le 'pəRdsəs 'tegs [p'əʃəs 't'ɛ'ks], s xa N'd'el 'fe:m sə 'bih eðə 'sgadan; ha 'mārkað' 'ruʃi-a, ha mi 'kðəð'fə gər 'hi: s 'kaðəx -- f'i: s 'kaðəx ði 'fĩn. ax raN' 'də:N' aNə 'hʲə, raN' ad 'raLiç 'vāh 'adəgĩd' əγəs raN' nə 'blĩNəxən əð 'fe:m 'vo:r də 'ləu-əs, kaRsd gə 'Lə:r, s ha 'də:N'ə 'N'd'u kuð 'ũ-iL eð manə ha -- 'N't'elan eð ə γəL xə 'fad eð 'af.

ha 'ə:ğðə 'ləu-if ə 'fu-əL nə 'NkũðN't'ən ə 'ði-ifð', manə viγ ad as -- 'kuð' 'vo:r ak asnə 'fəñð'La-içən. ax ha 'ku:fən ə 'N'd'u 'gle: 'rhuəγ, eðə 'xuLə 'də:j. ha 'sgadan -- ha 'sgadan 'gəũN, s xa N'd'el 'mārkað' 'vā γa 'āũN, s xa N'd'el 'mārkað' 'id'ir aN γanə xLə 'vo:r s ha 'ku:fən 'fu-asəx 'bəxg. ha mi 'd'i:ðəx ə 'smð:N'əxəγ g el -- g el 'Rudigĩn eð 'xu:L ə 'xuLə kal ə h 'āũN. (mbəγ nə 'ku:fən nə 'bjə:R manə biγ ə 'mpəRdsəs 'tegs aN?)

'o: 'wel, viγ ə NkLə 'mo:r 'tə:R nə 'bjə:R manə 'bi-əγ ə 'mpəRdsəs 'tegs, wel ha 'mpəRdsəs 'tegs γa 'varə-əγ, ha NkLə 'mo:r 'ũāvasəx 'du:r. Ndeð ə hed' a xənə 'mārkað' ə 'N'd'u fəγ ə h 'āũN -- 'ləgʃəri 'kləθ. əγəs xa 'N'd'iax a 'id'ir ə 'fði:f ə 'ha: a; gadə f e 'fi:ð'ur:dəx 'mā h asə xLə 'vo:r, xa 'N'd'iax a 'fði:f ə 'ha: a 'N'd'u 'id'ir. gə 'N't'əgu xa 'N'd'iax 'ur:dəx sə 'bih, na 'veg ə 'rudən sə 'bi ə 'fði:f ə 'ha: a 'N'd'u, ax gə 'ha:Rad' ə NkLə 'mo:r, ha a 'ũāvasəx 'du:r. ax gə 'N't'əgu na 'Ndəðəγ ə 'NgəvəRnmeNt, na Ndəðəγ ad 'jeh ə 'mpəRdsəs 'tegs, viγ ə NkLə 'mo:r -- viγ 'tə:R ə 'va:Rəxg 'γə:jən eð ə 'xðək na -- manə ha 'ku:fən ə 'N'd'uh.

20.

Tha atharrachadh mór air a thighinn air Leòdhas bho chionn grunnan bliadhnan air ais ann seo. Bha treis ann siod 'air a sguir an cogadh, 's bha tòrr airgid ri a dhèanamh ann an Leòdhas. Bha feum mhór air a' chlà-mhór, 's bha marcaid mhath air an sgadan. Ach le suidheachadh an t-saoghail gu léir chaidh na rudan sin a mach a fasan glé mhór a nis. Tha an clò-mór air a mharbhadh le *purchase tax*, 's chan eil feum 's am bith air an sgadan. Tha marcaid Ruisia, tha mi a' creidsinn gur h-i 's coireach — 's i 's coireach ri sin. Ach rinn daoine ann seo, rinn iad treallaich mhath airgid agus rinn na bliadhnan ud feum mhór do Leòdhas ceart gu leòr, 's tha daoine an diugh a' cur umhail air mar a tha an t-eilean air a dhol cho fada air ais.

Tha òigre Leòdhais a' siubhal nan cuaintean a rithis, mar a bhiodh iad anns — a' chuid mhór aca anns na sean lathaichean. Ach tha cùisean an diugh glé thruagh, air a h-uile dòigh. Tha an sgadan gann, 's chan eil marcaid mhath dha ann, 's chan eil marcaid idir do 'n chlà-mhór, 's tha cùisean fuathasach bochd. Tha mi dìreach a' smaoinachadh gum bheil rudeigin air chùl a h-uile càil a th' ann.

[Q.: Am biodh na cùisean na b' fheàrr mur biodh am *purchase tax* ann?]

Ó, well, bhiodh an clò-mór tòrr na b' fheàrr mur bitheadh am *purchase tax*, well, tha am *purchase tax* 'g a mharbhadh; tha an clò-mór uamhasach daor; 'nuair a théid e chun na marcaid an diugh, 's e th' ann "*luxury cloth*". Agus chan fhiach e idir a' phris a tha e; ged is e fìor aodach math a th' anns a' chlà-mhór, chan fhiach e a' phris a tha e an diugh idir. Gun teagamh chan fhiach aodach 's am bith, no a' bheag de rudan 's am bith, a' phris a tha e an diugh, ach gu h-àraidh an clò-mór, tha e uamhasach daor. Ach gun teagamh, na'n toireadh an *government*, na'n toireadh iad dheth am *purchase tax*, bhiodh an clò-mór — bhiodh tòrr a bharrachd dhòighean air a chreic na mar tha

ha a 'ũāvasæx 'dulic̄ ə 'xðek̄ ə NkLɔ'mo:r ə 'N'd'uh.

(əγəs 'de: manə ha 'vārkad' εR₁sən ə 'sgadan'?)

'nif̄ ha 'mārkad' ə 'sgadan' — ha i t'in eð 'ə-əRd ə 'nif̄ə
'Rud 'beg ə 'Ndra:sdə. s ha 'sgadan ə 'Ntāūri — 'Nkð:ni ha a
nə 'fa:R s ha a nə s 'erəsdə 'kðek̄ ,āiN' eð. ax ha 'puRsd ə h eðə
N'd'erəN 'hauL. ha ad ə tōRd ə — tōRd ə 'Ntre:d gə 'Le:ð fə
'fd'ɔ:Rnəvay.

(mbel 'tɔ:R 'va:tiçən 'sgadan' aNə 'Ləu-əs?)

'o: 'wel ha 'grðūNan 'mā 'va:tiçən 'sgadan' aNə 'Ləu-əs 'ha-əsð,
ax ha ad eð ə γɔL eð 'af 'gle: 'vo:r. va 'La-a va 'tri: na 'çehəð 'urəð
aN s ə h 'āiN ə 'N'd'uh. əγəs 'Rud 'elə 'N'd'uh, manə ha 'pði:f
nə 'Ngrð-içən eð ə γɔL ə 'Nda:Rdə, ha a xə 'dulic̄ 'ka:l sə 'bi ə
həRd ə 'ləu-əs əγəs 'ka:l sə 'bi ə xuð eð 'af — xuð ə 'NðūL xənə
've:nlaNd. wel ha 'fre:t ə 'marə-əγ ə 'Ntre:d aNə 'hjə eðə 'xuLə
'fɔ:Rsə 'dɔ:j.

(nax Rə 'fagdər̄is aN . . .?)

'ha: 'nif̄ə, ha 'fagdər̄i 'u:r aN, ðif̄ə Nkan ad ə 'Nkuġ 'fri:sin
ə h aNə ,hid. ax xa N'd'el 'f̄in ə 'tɔ:fiN' gənə — 'Nda:Rnə 'La-ə
də t'fu'lə-i. ha i 'fəsgLəγ eðə 'Nda:Rnə 'La-ə də t'fu'lə-i.

(N'e 'f̄in ə 'fagdər̄i 'u:r?)

'f̄in ə 'fagdər̄i 'u:r, f 'e:.

(nax Rə 'ku:riŋ ,fagdər̄is aN?)

'o: 'wel xa Rə 'fagdər̄is ə 'ðiəv aN; viy 'tɔ:R ə 'vaRəxg 'ku:raðən
ə t'in 'āiN eð nə ha t'in 'āiN ə 'Nd'uh. f ε kal əs 'dule γaiu ə
'N'd'u 'ājiN' aNə 'Ləu-əs, 'bððəNiç ɔR₁sən ə 'sgadan 'obrəxəγ. xa
N'd'el kLa'N'i-un 'ɔ:g ə 'N'd'u ə dɔL gə 'sgadan 'āiN. 'fa:R ,lɔ-ɔ
,faLə 'māx a 'fə gə hɔ'tels əγəs — ha ad ə 'fājiN' 'pa:-əγ nə 'fa:R
,āiN s ha mi 'kðəd'fə g el 'Ndobəð nə s 'gLāN'ə s ha a 'kɔ:Rdəγ
ði 'bððəNic̄ nə 'fa:R na va a — vi 'kutəγ ə 'sgadan'; xa b e 'obəð
'gle: 'γLān ə v 'āiN.

cùisean an diugh. Tha e uamhasach duilich a chreic an clò-
mór an diugh.

[Q.: Agus dé mar a tha a' mharcaid airson an sgadain?]

A nis tha marcaid an sgadain — tha i a' tighinn air adhart
a nise rud beag an dràsda. 'S tha sgadan an t-samhraidh — an
còmhnuidh tha e na 's fheàrr 's tha e na 's fhurasda creic fhaighinn
air. Ach tha puirt a th' air an fhearann thall, tha iad a' toirt an
trade gu léir bho Steòrnabhagh.

[Q.: Am bheil tòrr bhàtaichean sgadain ann an Leòdhas?]

Ó, well, tha grunnan math bhàtaichean sgadain ann an
Leòdhas fhathast, ach tha iad air a dhol air ais glé mhór. Bha
latha a bha trì no cheithir uiread ann 's a th' ann an diugh. Agus
rud eile an diugh: mar a tha pris nan gnothaichean air a dhol
an àirde, tha e cho duilich càil 's am bith a thoirt do Leòdhas
agus càil 's am bith a chur air ais — chur a null chun a' mhinland.
Well, tha am freight a' marbhadh an trade ann seo air a h-uile
seòrsa dòigh.

[Q.: Nach robh factories ann . . .?]

Tha, a nise, tha factory ùr ann, ris an can iad an quick
freezing a th' ann siod, ach chan eil sin a' tòis(eachda)inn gu 'n
dàrna latha de July, tha i a' fosgladh air an dàrna latha de July.

[Q.: An e sin am factory ùr?]

Sin am factory ùr, 's e.

[Q.: Nach robh curing factories ann?]

Ó, well, chan robh factories a riamh ann. Bhiodh tòrr a
bharrachd ciùrairean a' tighinn ann air na tha a' tighinn ann an
diugh. 'S e càil a 's duilghe dhaibh an diugh fhaighinn ann an
Leòdhas — boirionnaich airson an sgadan oibreachadh. Chan
eil clann-nighean òg an diugh a' dol gu sgadan ann. 'S fheàrr
leo falbh a mach a seo gu hotels agus — tha iad a' faighinn
pàigheadh na 's fheàrr ann 's tha mi a' creidsinn gum bheil an
obair na 's glaine 's tha e a' còrdadh ri boirionnaich na 's fheàrr
na bha a' bhith a' cutadh an sgadain; cha b' e obair glé ghlan
a bh' ann.

(*'de: manə va ad ə 'ku:riǵəɣ ə 'sgadaN', 'de: va ad ə d'anu 'ðif?*)

'o: 'wel va -- 'o: ɣa xud xənə 'märkad' eðə -- a 'd'ə-i 'çu:riǵəɣ, s viɣ 'klɔndaikeRs ə t'in -- 'tɔ:R 'xɔndaikeRs ə t'in ə 'fd'ex ə 'fd'ɔ:Rnəvəɣ ə 'NduəR_sən asə 'jarəmaLl' s ə tɔRd 'lɔ-ə 'traLiç vo:r 'sgadaN' a 'fɔ, ax xa N'd'el 'ǵin akə -- xa Rə 'ǵin akə 'fɔ vo çəN 'kɔ:R eð 'blīəNə 'nīf.

(*N'e 'kibəRs ə va ad ə 'd'īānu?*)

'o: 'wel va ad ə d'anu 'traLiç 'vā 'çibəRs, əɣəs ə 'saLəɣ ,traLiç 'vā je, 'd'i:ðəx manə ,ha: ad ə 'N'd'u 'he:n; ha ad ə d'anu 'traLiç 'vā 'çibəRs ə 'N'd'u 'kud'əxg. ha ad ə d'anu 'kibəRs 'sāūrəɣ s ə 'Nǵāūrəɣ. ax xa 'ɣo a 'çu:riǵəɣ, xa ,ɣo ə 'sgadan ə 'çu:riǵəɣ ax ə 'sdāūrəɣ 'he:n.

(*nax Rə 'kāniŋ ,fəgdəris aN ə 'ðiəv?*)

'wel ha ad ə 'gra-ə gə 'Rəh. ha ad ə 'gra-ə gə Rə 'kāniŋg [k'āniŋg] ,fəgdəris aNə 'hɔ 'kaRsd gə 'Lɔ:r, ax xa N'd'el 'ka:l ə 'xāīn 'aməs ɔR.

ax va 'La-a va 'ūāvas 'va:tiçən aNə 'fd'ɔ:Rnəvəɣ. ha mi 'kLāīN'd'ən 'fəɣiN' ɣanə 'bɔdiç ə 'gra-ə g el 'kāīn ak eð 'mī:lə 'ba:tə vi 'māx s ə 'fd'ex a 'fd'ɔ:Rnəvəɣ. xa N'd'el 'ka:l ə 'xāīn 'aməs eð 'Lɛ 'fīn ə vi aN.

[*Q.:* Dé mar a bha iad a' ciùraigeadh an sgadain, dé bha iad a' dèanamh ris?]

Ó, *well*, bha — ó, 'g a chur chun na marcaid 'air a — a déidh a chiùraigeadh; 's bhiodh *Klondykers* a' tighinn — tòrr *Chlondykers* a' tighinn a steach do Steòrnabhagh an uair sin as a' Ghearmailt 's a' toirt leo treallaich mhór sgadain a seo, ach chan eil gin aca — chan robh gin aca an seo bho chionn còrr air bliadhna a nis.

[*Q.:* An e *kippers* a bha iad a' dèanamh?]

Ó, *well*, bha iad a' dèanamh treallaich mhath *chippers* agus a' sailleadh treallaich mhath dheth, dìreach mar a tha iad an diùgh fhéin, tha iad a' dèanamh treallaich mhath *chippers* an diùgh cuideachd. Tha iad a' dèanamh *kippers* an samhradh 's an geamhradh. Ach cha ghabh e a chiùraigeadh, cha ghabh an sgadan a chiùraigeadh ach 's an t-samhradh fhéin.

[*Q.:* Nach robh *canning factories* a riamh ann?]

Well, bha iad ag radha gun robh. Tha iad ag radha gun robh *canning factories* ann seo ceart gu leòr, ach chan eil càil a chuimhne agamsa orra.

Ach bha latha a bha uamhas bhàtaichean ann an Steòrnabhagh. Tha mi a' cluinntinn feadhainn de na bodaich ag radha gum bheil cuimhne aca air mìle bàta a' bhith a mach 's a steach a Steòrnabhagh. Chan eil càil a chuimhne agamsa air leth sin a' bhith ann.

1.

Ten years ago there was a revival in the churches here which they called 'the falling'. Many people would fall [down] and shout when the minister began to preach. A large crowd gathered from every place in the island to see what was happening. One night I and Roddy were down [in the church] to see if we would get anything of what was going (i. e. if we would catch this "disease"). And in the middle of the sermon I saw a bad colour coming on Roddy, and he asked me to open his collar, [saying] that he wasn't feeling well. "O," I said, "you have a dose of what is going." "O," said he, "you must go home with me, I am not feeling well." But when he got out of the church, I could not keep pace with him on the way home. The story went about the village that Roddy had converted himself. The next night again, the elders gathered at his house to hold a [religious] meeting, but he said to them: "Go home, folks, I am [just] as I was before."

2.

A few years ago two rich ladies were living in a big house half a mile out of Stornoway. They thought they would be more comfortable making their home down in England, because they were getting old. They sold the furniture and the house. They had nothing left but a donkey. They kept it as a pet in the garden. They thought they would give it away to somebody who would be good to it. One day they saw a man going past on the road, and they asked him where he was going. "I am going home," he said, "to Grimseter." "How long," said one of them, "is the distance?" "It is," said he, "eight miles. It takes me two hours to walk it." "Is there anybody in the village who will walk the distance faster?" "Yes," he said, "there is a girl in our village who will walk the distance in an hour and a half." "Well," said she, "if she does that, let her come over here, and I will give her a donkey that will carry the peat for her."

When Donald came home he told the news to Mary, and without delay she dressed herself in riding pants and went to

fetch the donkey. When she came to the lady, she said to her that she had never handled a donkey before. "That doesn't make any difference," said the lady; "I can tell from your looks (lit. I myself am knowing on you) that you will be very good to it."

And Mary started out for home with the donkey. When she was out on the road she met a man, and he said to her: "Why aren't you riding the donkey?" "Shut up," she said, "I have never been on a donkey's back."

When Mary came home she asked her brother: "What food shall I give to the donkey?" "O," said he, "that donkey never ate anything but sweets." "O," said she, "I am sure that I shall have enough of it (the donkey), now that Neil is away with my points (rationing cards)." The next day she went to the merchant's shop, and he said to her: "I heard, Mary, that you got a donkey." "I did," said she, "but I don't know what to do with it." "I'll tell you," said he. "When I went to the fisheries in Shetland I used to see animals of that kind carrying peat, with a basket on each side. And we will send for some baskets for you, and you will not need to put a single creel of peat on your back this year."

3.

In the year 1938 there were many young boys at home in Leurbost. It was often very difficult for them to find a place where they could pass the time, and this led them to playing tricks on many people on New Year's Eve. That night two of them were walking on the road with a bottle of whisky, and they thought they would go and play a trick upon the Fox (a nickname). They waited until he went to bed, and one of them went inside to wish him a happy New Year. The other went to find an old soldier's clothing with which they would dress up the horse. They put a kilt on him and a jacket, and the soldier's bonnet. When the one who was inside thought that the one outside had the horse [ready] dressed up, he came out, and both walked up the road with the horse. When the other boys on the road saw this animal coming, they didn't understand what it

was. They thought it was the Loch Ness monster come ashore, and they ran home. When the Fox rose in the morning he went out to the byre to feed the horse, and he found the stall empty. He went in again and said to Christina: "There is no trace of the horse. It must be that he too went to celebrate the New Year and didn't find his way back. Hurry up and give me my breakfast; I am going to look for him."

The poor Fox went, and he hadn't gone far before he saw this awful thing near the church. And when he was getting close to it he stopped and said to himself: "That is the evil spirit." (Long ago they used to see a fire there.) "I am going to return home." The Fox turned there and didn't go farther.

About four o'clock on the same day he was standing in the doorway. He saw two boys coming up the road, and that awful thing walking together with them. One of them shouted: "John, is this your horse?" "O, I should say so (lit. 'o, if it is')," he said, "I have seen him to-day already, and then he gave me the fright of my life, but now I know who did that to him."

4.

When we start on the peat every year, it is when we have finished the spring-work that we go to it. First, two men go out with spades to peel it (i. e. remove the turf), and when that is finished they begin to cut (lit. reap) it, two people at each iron, one of them cutting it and the other throwing it out, to a place where it will dry. It is left there for three weeks. Then they lift it up (set the single peats on end), four or five peats together. After that again, after two weeks, they make stacks bigger than that, putting every two or three [of the small stacks] together. It is then ready to be taken to the road, and the women and the men carry it on their backs in a creel or in sacks, and some in wheelbarrows, taking it to the road. Then it is left in a big heap at the roadside for two or three weeks. Then the lorries bring it home, and nine or ten people fill the lorry. Then they make a stack of it near the houses.

5.

A year ago there was a big cat living in John Donaldsons' (Dolly is a pet name for Donald) byre. He was very good to him, feeding him every day, so that he would kill the mice. This was [all] very good until spring came. People began to complain that they were losing the[ir] chickens. But then John himself began to miss chickens, and he understood that it was the cat that was taking them away. And one morning, instead of taking food down to the cat, he went after him with the hayfork. When the cat got a little distance away from him he gave John a look and said to him: "It must be that you don't want me any more. I may as well go and look for another place to stay."

The cat then went down to stay in the Tailor's byre and started to eat the Tailor's chickens and Colin's chickens. Colin had his broken leg in a plaster cast (lit. was going in plaster with his leg broken), and he couldn't go after the cat, and he didn't know what to do. But one day a (gypsy) tinker came around, and he began to tell him how the cat was taking the chickens away from him. "I'll tell you what to do," said the tinker. "When you go to bed to-night, make a song for the cat, and he will never come back." Colin started on the song, but he didn't get on with it very well, his foot was so sore. Then a boy came in and said to him: "The cat is [lying] dead down by your byre." "O," said Colin, "the tinker knew well enough what would make an end to the cat."

6.

When Roddy was young he was wooing a girl in the village next to ours, and he intended to marry her. That was the year when rings became expensive. And one night she said to him: "You must give me a ring." "O," said he, "I am very willing, if it won't be too expensive." "O, no," said she, "for fifteen pounds you will get one with five diamonds in it." "O," said he, "is that all you are asking for?" (lit. 'it isn't much you asked for'.)

He went home that night, scratching his head [on his way] up the road and saying to himself: "Where do I get fifteen pounds to pay for a ring?" He hadn't come very far when he met a (gypsy) tinker with a basket. He said to him: "You're looking so depressed." "It's no wonder," said he; "my sweetheart says that I have to give her a ring." "O," said the other, "don't let that discourage you (lit. 'don't let that put gloom upon you'). I'll give you a ring if you give me two sheaves [of corn] for the horse." "O, very good," said he, "I'll give you the cart full if you give me a ring." Without further ceremony (lit. there was nothing more about it), Roddy and the tinker made the deal, and there was nobody in the village who didn't notice him that night. The next night Roddy went along with the ring and gave it to her. And he made her give solemn promises (lit. put hard oaths upon her), telling her that they would marry after the fisheries. Roddy went away as usual, and it was to Peterhead he went, and she went to Fraserburgh. And the first night they had a dance in Gordon's houses, the stones fell out of the ring. "O," said she, "I certainly have bad luck. I am going to marry the Uist man." She married that very year, and Roddy never saw her again.

7.

Three weeks ago, at two o'clock in the morning, a lad came to see a girl. When he arrived at the house, she wasn't in. The man who was staying in the house (the author, who had rented it) heard him knocking at the door. He got up, and he saw that big man standing outside, and he got afraid that it might be a burglar. "What do you want here?" he said. "I want," said the other, "to see the girl of the house." "There is no girl here," said he, "except my wife, and you won't get her. Go home, or else I'll send a policeman after you!" At these words the girl, who was sleeping in the next house, heard him speaking. She understood that it was Tormod. She got up at once [and went] to the window and shouted to him: "It's a good thing that you have come, dear, because I'm going to be at the peats to-morrow!"

8.

One day I was out on police duty in South Africa, in Transvaal. I came upon a farmer, or boer, and he was building a dam. He was working with a spade, and I would say that it was peat-ground as fine as I ever saw it. I knew (? lit. we would say) how short they were of fuel (lit. things for the fire). I asked the man to give me the spade. I cut out, with his spade, a dozen or two of peats. I spread them out in the sun. I told the man to ~~move~~ ^{turn} the peats after a week, and then, after another week, to try and start a fire for him[self]. I came around a month or two later and called at the man's house. I asked him if he had done as I asked him. He said that he had done as I asked him. There was no use whatever [in the peats] for the fire; they wouldn't catch fire at all. There was no oil in them; there was more clay in them than oil.

9.

I am here alone, without anybody for company but myself. But I am expecting a man to come to me next week, and he is going to stay with me for three weeks. He is going away and coming back to me again in March, and I expect that he will stay with me for another three weeks then. And as long as he is with me we are going to cut peat. When summer comes, I myself am going to lift that peat. And when it is dry [enough] to be taken to the road, then I will begin to carry it to the road in sackfuls (lit. in its sacks). And when it is all at the road, a lorry will take it home to the house. I will then make a big stack of it near the end of the house, and there I will take out of it [peat] to burn in the fireplace, for warmth in the house and [for] cooking all the food that we'll be eating in the house. Before it is used up, we must begin, next year, on a new peat-harvest, and do the same work at the peat that we did a year before. And if the peat we cut this year is used up before we get the new peat ready, we must buy coal until the new peat is ready to be taken to the house. That work is going on from year to year in

this village, as long as I can remember. We don't know how long that work will continue to go on in the village. We have no idea what change[s] there will be in this respect six years after this. If the peat doesn't last for us we must buy coal in its place.

10.

There was a corner of the country where many of the women were wise and many of the men stupid. The women could make them believe whatever they wanted (second version: the men were so stupid that they would believe anything the women said to them).

Once a travelling merchant came around to see if it was the truth he was hearing about the place. But he hadn't been there long before he saw for himself that everything he had heard about the place was true.

He hadn't been long there before he saw a man running as fast as he could. He was running down a slope for a short cut, so that he would get to the village faster than [by] the main road. "Did you see a ball of cheese rolling down the slope?" "No," said the travelling merchant. "When I came to the top of the slope I saw a ball of cheese falling on the road and rolling down the slope.¹ [I said:] 'I see that you are trying to make your own road, but we'll see who will be there first!' I started running as fast as I could in order to get ahead of the ball of cheese."

The merchant shook his head and went along. He hadn't got far when he came to a house near the shore. The wall of the house was so low that a man could walk on to the roof. The merchant didn't know what to say when he saw a man trying to put the cow up on the roof of the house. He wanted her to eat the grass that was growing through the thatch, but the cow wouldn't go there.

¹ There is a slight confusion here. The original text is "an uair a ràinig mi mullach a' bhruthaich thuit a' mhulchag chàise air an rathad is thug i 'na deann le leathad", which, of course, implies that the man had been carrying the cheese.

"If you can't get the cow to the grass, why don't you try to take the grass to her?" asked the merchant. "It can't be done," said the man. "What will you give me if I do it?" said the merchant. "I will give you a groat." The merchant got a sickle, and it didn't take him long to get up to the grass. He gathered it together and threw it to the cow, and he went away.

He went through the village and came to a house where three women were spinning on the distaff. He tried to sell things to them, but it wasn't easy to cheat them. "I suppose you don't belong to this place," said he. "Yes, we do belong to this place, and you won't find many here who are as wise as we are."¹ "I understand that the men here are very stupid," said he. "Yes, that is true. We make the men believe whatever we want." "Have you all husbands?" the merchant asked them. "Yes, and they are very easy to find here." "Well, I have a gold ring here, and I'll give it to the one [of you] who can make her husband believe the most." The women agreed and went to their own houses.

The name[s] of those men were Allan, John, and Duncan. When Allan came home from the shieling where he had been shepherding, his wife said to him: "O you poor man, you are looking bad!" "Am I?" said he. "Yes, you certainly are; you must go to bed at once." Allan did what his wife told him to. His wife looked into his eyes and said to him that he was poorly indeed. "Am I?" said Allan. His wife made as if she were weeping. "You are dying," she said. "Am I?" said Allan. "Yes, and that is very fast too." Allan gave a deep sigh. His wife went over to the fireplace and murmured to herself. She came back to the bed and said: "Close your eyes and don't move, you are dead now. Do as I tell you, or else worse [things] will happen to you." Allan lay quiet with his eyes shut as if he were dead. His wife went out and ordered a coffin.

When John came home he met his wife in the door. "Who

¹ Original: "is ann ainneamh a thachras duine cho glic riutsa ruinn" 'it is seldom that we have met with a man as wise as you'.

are you?" she said. "I am myself," said he. "O no, it isn't you, and I don't know who it is." "If it isn't myself, who is it?" "That is your own business," said his wife. "Go out of my sight and don't bother me!" John went up on the mountain and hid in the wood. He passed the night there trying to find out if he (lit. it) was himself.

Duncan was at a fair and didn't come home until the next night. His wife told him that Allan had died suddenly and that he had to be at the funeral that very night. "You must go to the funeral," she said. "Take off your working clothes and put your black suit on!" She had hidden the black suit, and he couldn't find it. He waited there stripped and complaining with the cold. His wife looked out of the window and saw the funeral [procession] coming on the road. "Go now, or else you will be late for the funeral." "I haven't found my black suit yet, and I am freezing." "O you poor man, you have the suit on. The suit is cold because you haven't had it on for a while. Hurry up to the funeral!"

Duncan didn't wait any longer, but went away. He saw the funeral coming and went across the fields to get before it. When they saw the stripped man before them they got frightened, and it didn't take them long (lit. their feet were slow with them, i. e. their feet seemed too slow to them) to get away, and they left the coffin on the road.

John was looking at everything that was happening. When he saw the stripped man standing beside the coffin he stopped thinking about himself and began to think of the man who was stripped. He went down to where he was. "Do you know me?" he asked him. "Aren't you my neighbour John?" said the stripped man; "you look like him." "My wife said that it wasn't myself, and it is certain that she knows. Why are you naked?" "Am I naked? My wife said to me that I had my black suit on." The man who was in the coffin heard what John and Duncan were saying, and began to complain that it was his wife who had told him that he was dead. When John and Duncan heard the dead

man speaking they got frightened and ran away. The travelling merchant came around, stuck his head into the coffin and told the man to get up and go home. But Allan didn't move until his wife came and told him that he was alive and able to move.

It was Allan's wife who won the gold ring. The travelling merchant left the village and said that he wouldn't come back to a place where the men were so stupid.

11.

1. Hiri, horo, it is that girl,
It is that girl, it is that girl.
It would not surprise me at all
If she were to get a fine husband.
2. The night I went to visit you
You said you had a toothache.
And I thought I would deceive you
And leave you altogether.
3. Although you sent me home
You did not leave me completely resourceless
I never found [sufficient] fault with you
To enable me to miscall you.
4. I would take you with the clothing¹
And I would take you without any clothes on
Before I would take a girl from Limervay
With a bare carpet under her heels.

¹ Or 'with the toothache'. This is probably a play on words (compare verse 2); *leis an éideadh* and *leis an déideadh* are homophonous.

5. Although I thought you beautiful
There are some who are as beautiful as you.
One or two are in pursuit of me,
But I am going on a voyage to-morrow.

6. The night I went to Oidreval
Expecting to get a talk with you
You had Big Murdo [hidden]
In a corner of the shieling.

12.

Chorus: Hi my sweetheart, ho my sweetheart,
My sweetheart is the new one.
Hi my sweetheart, ho my sweetheart.

1. My sweetheart is the lad Roderick
On whom the tight curly hair grew.
2. My sweetheart is the lad Donald:
The speech of his mouth does not perish
(i. e. he does not go back on his word).
3. My sweetheart is the lad Calum,
Carpenter of the new oak.
4. Did you hear what happened to me:
That the youth turned his back to me?
5. I consider that very trifling
Since I got a new sweetheart.
6. I myself would advise a maiden
To keep it up with three.

7. Even if one left her
She would have two on hand (lit. behind her).
8. Even if she was altogether without a man
The girl would do well enough.

13.

(The chorus cannot be translated; it is a patter of meaningless syllables.)

1. O little Marion Martin,
I would drink to your health out of a glass.
2. Go on, go on, full the cloth
For wedding trousers for my sweetheart.
3. My sweetheart does not want them:
He has a grey pair, and a tartan one.
4. Another pair is at the tailor's;
It will come home to-day or to-morrow.
5. The kilt and the thong-trimmed sporan:
Well do they become my lad.

Different version of the last line:

Fine is that which is hidden under it.

14.

Chorus: I would be sporting with the black[-haired] girl
—O, rising in the morning—
I would be sporting with the black girl.

1. I would be sporting with the maiden;
Every night she would be with me.

2. I would be sporting with you on a shieling
Of the high mountains, and the others asleep.
3. I would be sporting with you in a dairy-hut
Up and down on the edge of your bed.
4. It was on Monday after Sunday
That we left the Orkneys with the "Seònaid".

15.

More than a hundred years ago, in Lewis, there was a wild man haunting the moor, and the people were much afraid of him. In those days there were no highways nor conveniences [of travelling] between Stornoway and the country, and the people would often carry home on their backs their food and other things they bought in Stornoway. One night, a strong old man—a strong man was returning home from Stornoway, with a boll (16 pecks) of meal on his back. He was afraid of this man, and he expected, at every hilltop he came to, that he would see him. About half-way between Leurbost and Stornoway the man came where he was. "Where," he said, "are you going with that load?" "I am going home with it," said he. "Give it to me," said he, "or else," he said, "I'll take your life!" "No," said he, and the man charged ahead, but the [other] man stood before him and wouldn't let him go on. When the giant, or the wild man, saw that this man was strong, he said to him: "If you will give me half [of it]," he said, "I'll let you go on." "I will not give you a pound of it," said he, "unless you win it." They ^{hid} looked at each other again, and the wild man saw that the other man was stronger than he, and he let him go on.

When the man arrived home he told his story, and it frightened the people very much. A crowd went out a day or two later, two or three [together], in order to catch the man. And they never found him, but he fled from the district, and it was told that he had been lost and [was] frightening people in other spots of the island.

16.

There was an old man in our village who had a big cabbage-garden. And when the plants which were growing in it were getting ripe, the boys began to steal them on him. And poor Ewen got—he got angry with the boys and said to them that he would cut the throat (lit. neck) of the first one he caught at it.

But the boys thought of a plan according to which they would be able to steal Ewen's plants without him seeing them at all. They tied a string around the stem of the biggest plant there was in the garden, and the string extended upwards, about a hundred yards, to the road. And that night Ewen stayed awake, watching [for] the boys. He came to the garden when it had become dark, with a blanket over him. He hadn't been long there when he saw a plant going away by itself. "O Blessed Lord," he said, "I won't stay out of my bed any more in order to see a thing of this sort." The plant went up through the grass and went out across (or through) the stone fence. Ewen didn't see the plant nor the boys any more.

When he got up in the morning they asked him: "Did you catch anybody last night, Ewen?" "No. Nobody ever saw the devil: he only feels him."

17.

I am very tired of it (the peat), to be sure. In the middle or end of the month of April, people will go out and sharpen their spades, to take the turf off it. That is the first thing that must be done with it. After that, a crew will go out, two men at each peat-iron, to cut it. That is as much as there is [to be said] about the cutting of it. Then it takes three weeks lying on the banks. If the weather is good it may be that it is lifted earlier than that. Then it is lifted, by making—putting two and three and four peats together, according to the kind of year it is, which they call *rùghadh*. After that most people anyway give it a second *rùghadh*, making *rùghanan*, putting two and three of them—of

the first ones they made, together. This helps to dry it better and to make it lighter to carry to the road. There are some who are so fortunate that a tractor takes it to the road for them, and those who are not have to carry it on their backs. Then the lorries are driven up to it and take it home to the houses. Next, stacks are made of them (the peats), and there it (the peat) remains until it is going to be burned. Now you know how the peat is cut.

18.

[*Question*: Which kinds of wild animals are there in Lewis?]

Well, there are not many wild animals frequenting the moor of Lewis at all. There are rabbits, and there is one place which they call the Park, on the Lochs, and there are many deer in it. It is—[they are] kept by people who look after them, and many [people] go in there poaching. There was a time when there were deer around the castle, in Lewis, in Stornoway, and—but to-day there are not many there. The castle has been abandoned; there is no master living in the castle to-day at all. The castle has been given away to citizens of the town, whom they call the trust. And there is nothing in it to-day, and I hear that it has been—that it is going to be handed over for a school which will teach young lads to be artisans, and other things in order to make their living.

• There is—there is the wild cat, too, that was—an occasional one, but there are not many of them to be seen. There is a good many years since I heard [about] anybody seeing one. But it is my opinion that there are a few of them still. I don't know about any more wild animals being there.

[*Q.*: Isn't there an animal which they call *fedileagan*?]

Fedileagan—o, yes, that is a kind of mouse. A small animal.

[*Q.*: Are there vipers?]

Yes, there are vipers. And there was a time when they were very numerous in Lewis, but they are not so numerous to-day,

but they are there. There are places of them (i. e. they have certain haunts). They tell me that it was on the premises of the castle, in the *grounds*, as they say, that many of them were seen recently. Around our own moor, it is seldom that anybody comes across one there.

[*Q.*: Is there poison in the vipers?]

They say that there is, that if they bite you there is much poison in it¹, and that one must see the doctor at once. I have no idea of what the name of that viper is.

[*Q.*: Are there trees at all in this island?]

There are a few trees, but very few. There is around the castle of Stornoway—there is about a square mile of trees there. It is very pretty in summer, but there are not many throughout the island except those, unless you see, in an odd place, around a house here and there, two or three trees. They tell me that long ago our island was completely covered with trees. And that is very easy to believe, for when we cut the peat we see the root[s] of the trees in the peat-ground, and that tells [us] that there were trees some time. What ever happened to them I can't tell you.

[*Q.*: Are there no trees at all on the moor to-day?]

Well, no, not as far as I know. On the moor there are no trees at all. It is only an odd spot. I know of one place, or two, where there are a few. And they are cutting them down. But I hear that a body has been established just now, which they call the Forestry Commission, and that they are going to plant trees in places in Lewis in order to give shelter to [the] cattle—[the] sheep, in winter. And for my own part, I believe that it will be a useful thing, if it happens.

[*Q.*: Is there any witchcraft in Lewis?]

O, well—it's a wonder if any place at all is free of witchcraft.

¹ 'It' refers to *nathair* 'a viper' (f.). This is one of several cases where the purely oral character of these texts becomes tangible. Compare also above: *Tha i air a—an cumail le daoine a tha coimhead as an déidh* 'it (the Park) is—they (the deer) are kept by people who look after them'.

And for my own part, although I talk a lot of witchcraft, I don't believe in it at all. But I [often] talk about some people whom I suspect, and I make some people laugh very much, and I make other people angry, especially if I am talking about themselves, and about what has happened to myself: how the cow lost the milk, how I took half the day making butter, how I broke my leg last year, and so on. There is no end to the talk that can be made about witchcraft. But if—I hope that, when those [witches] that exist now are dead, they will leave nothing—they will leave no heritage to anybody, and that we'll be living in a far better world than we were [before]. We heard that the Labour Government was going to drive them away, that they were going to do away with the witches. It is the only good thing they haven't done, and I hope that, before they go out of office, they will do their utmost and make an end to them.

19.

Well, when I was young I used to be in the weaving trade, and it was a work that was paying very well in the days when I was in the weaving trade, it was a work that was paying very well. But it wasn't very healthy at all in the summer-time.

[Q.: How old were you when you started in the weaving trade?]

I was fifteen years [old].

[Q.: And how long did you continue [in] that trade?]

O, I put in about five years before I went to the war. And I was again—[for] two years after I came out of the war, I was in the weaving trade again.

[Q.: What is the first thing you must do with the wool?]

With the wool? O, well, it's spinning the wool, spinning and carding the wool, that's the very first work that is done concerning the tweed. But to-day that work is done in the mills. But [according to] my first recollection, I remember the old wives in the villages around and in the village where I was brought up myself, spinning and carding with spinning-wheels in the homes.

There was a fire in the middle of the floor in the houses at that time. And most of the houses in the district were black houses (dry-masonry, thatched cottages). But a good many years ago the mills took the tweed over, and they began to spin and card in the mills with new implements which they themselves have for doing the things.

[Q.: Was it in the houses they used to do the weaving?]

Yes, it was in the houses the looms used to be at that time. ^{In the houses and in the barns.}
[It was] very often in the houses they used to be.

[Q.: And how is that now?]

Well, now the circumstance[s] have changed very much; they have built sheds separated (lit. away) from the houses; they have built new houses and the black houses have disappeared (lit. gone out of existence), and they have built sheds. It is healthy to work in them, and it is much better than conditions were at that time.

[Q.: What do they do to the wool when it has been spun?]

O, well, the wool is first washed, and then it is carded. And when the wool is carded, it is—it is put on—on a strap on the spinning-wheel. And further, after that, balls are made of it. And when balls have been made of it it is warped, and after the warping, the cloth is put on the loom; they do what they call beaming, then.

[Q.: What kind of looms have you?]

O, well, it's the new looms, it's automatics they call them to-day, but [according to] my earliest recollection there was nothing but hand-looms, wooden looms, when the men were weaving in those days. And before that, before that again, it was looms that weren't—that wouldn't do quite as much work as that, looms [with which] they threw the shuttle by hand, but I don't remember anything at all about those. But the ones I do remember—it was by hand that they threw the shuttle right enough, but they had a thing that was called *longag* with which they got a great help, and there was a great change in it (the loom) from the really old loom.

[Q.: And you have to dye the wool—]

O, well, the dyes are very often applied to the wool before it is spun. It is washed and dyed, that is the wool—if you want to have a dye on the wool. But very often it is made—when cloth was being made in those days, half [of the wool] was dyed and the other half left without dyeing at all. And you would get the variegation of pattern like that, or—No doubt you might put all sorts of dyes on the wool. But in those days there was no dye but the moss (lichen).

20.

A great change has come over Lewis since a number of years back here (*sic*). There was a while when the war had ended, then there was much money to be made in Lewis. There was a big demand (lit. need) for the tweed and there was a good market for the herring. But with the settling of the whole world those things have now gone out of fashion to a large extent. The tweed is [being] killed by the purchase tax, and there is no demand at all for the herring. There is the market of Russia, I believe that it is that [market] which is the cause—it's that which is the cause of that [lack of demand]. But [some] people here made—they made a good deal of money, and those years did much good (lit. made much usefulness) to Lewis right enough, and to-day people notice how much the island has been set back (lit. how the island has gone so far back).

The youth of Lewis are travelling the seas again, as they were in—the larger part of them in the old days. But conditions to-day are very sad, in every way. The herring is scarce, and there is no good market for it, and there is no market at all for the tweed, and conditions are terribly poor. I really think there is something wrong with everything.

[Q.: Would conditions be better if it were not for the purchase tax?]

O, well, the tweed would be much better [off] if it were not for the purchase tax; well, the purchase tax is killing it; the tweed

is terribly expensive; when it goes to the market to-day it is [considered] 'luxury cloth'. And it is not at all worth its price; although the tweed is really good clothing it is not at all worth the price it sells for to-day. No doubt, no clothing whatever, or no goods whatever, are worth the price[s] asked for them to-day, but especially the tweed; it is terribly expensive. But no doubt, if the government would take—if they would take the purchase tax off it, the tweed would—there would be many more opportunities (lit. manners) of selling it than the way things are to-day. It is very difficult to sell the tweed to-day.

[Q.: And how is the market for herring?]

Now the herring market is—it is coming on now a little, just now. And the summer herring—it is always better and it is easier to sell (lit. to get sale on it). But ports on the mainland are—they are taking all the trade away from Stornoway.

[Q.: Are there many herring boats in Lewis?]

O, well, there are a good many herring boats in Lewis still, but they have gone back very much. There was a day when there were three or four [times] as many as there are to-day. And another thing to-day: the way the price[s] of things are going up, it is so difficult to bring anything to Lewis and to take anything back—take across to the mainland. Well, the freight is killing the trade here, in every way.

[Q.: Weren't there some factories?]

There are now, there is a new factory, which they call the 'quick freezing' which is there, but that isn't starting until the second of July; it is opening on the second of July.

[Q.: Is that the new factory?]

That's the new factory; yes.

[Q.: Weren't there any curing factories?]

O, well, there were never factories. There were many more curers coming here than are coming to-day. The most difficult thing for them to find in Lewis to-day is—women to work the herring. There are no young girls to-day going to herring[-work]. They'd rather go away from here to hotels and—they get a better pay

there and I believe the work is cleaner, and women like it better than gutting the herring; that wasn't a very clean work.

[Q.: How did they cure the herring, what did they do to it?]¹

O, well—o, sending it to the market when—after curing it, and Klondykers, many Klondykers, used to come in to Stornoway at that time from Germany and taking with them a good deal of herring from here, but there is none of them—there has been none of them here for more than a year now.

[Q.: Was it kippers they made?]

O, well, they made a good deal of kippers and salted a good deal of it (the herring), just as they do even to-day; they make a good deal of kippers to-day as well. They make kippers both in summer and in winter. But it cannot be cured, the herring cannot be cured except just in the summer-time.

[Q.: Were there never any canning factories?]

Well, they said there were. They say there were canning factories here right enough; but for my own part I don't remember anything about them.

But there was a day when there was a large number of boats in Stornoway. I hear some of the old men say they can remember a thousand boats going in and out (lit. out and in) of Stornoway. I can't even remember half as many as that to have been there.

Sample Text in Phonetic Transcription

Text number 1 is here given in a narrow transcription, intended to illustrate the distribution of allophones. It is not a direct reproduction of my field notes, where a simplified phonetic system of notation was used, but rather a reconstruction based on the rules of allophonic distribution arrived at through the phonemic analysis. In order to facilitate reading, word limits have been marked by spacing.

¹ This question was apparently misunderstood by the informant, being badly worded by the interviewer.

vo çəN 'd'eç 'b̥liŪNə va 'd̥i:skəy asnə 'həkLifən aNə ʃə, eðə
 Rə 'N'huf'təm a^bkə. va 't'v:R 'γð:~N'ə 't'uf'təm sγəs ə 'g̥e:væxk
 eðə 'hɔ:ʃiçəy ə 'm̥iniʃt'əð ə 'ʃæ:ràmɔnəxəy. va 'sLUəy 'mɔ:r ə
 'k'riŪN'əxəy asə 'xUlə 'hə:ht'ə γanɥ 'N'elan, ə 'j̥e'kiN' ə RUt ə
 va 't'axəq̥. 'N'siçə sə va mi 'h̥i:~n sγəs 'Rədi 'hiss axə 'f̥e'ki ʃiN'
 -- 'f̥āji ʃiN' ,ka:l γanə va 'd̥ɔL. sγəs ma 'v̥i-an ə 'N'h'æ:ràmɔN'
 s aN ə 'xŪNə mi 'd̥rɔx 'γa' ,t'd̥i-in eð 'Rədi, sγəs a 'g̥iə-Ri aram
 -- 'xɔləð 'sskLəy, sγəs gən a 'f̥aðəxkiN' gə 'm̥āh. "o:" əs 'm̥iʃə,
 "hə 'd̥ɔ-as 'ajətsə γanə RUt a 'd̥ɔL." "o:" əs ,afiN', "f̥e:mə d̥i
 ,f̥əLà 'γaxi ləm, xə N'eł mi 'f̥aðəxkiN' gə 'm̥āh." ax eðə 'h̥uəð
 a 'm̥āx asə 'N'skLif, xə 'x̥umiN' 'kɔʃəxk ðif eðə 'N̥li-ə 'γaxi.
 xəj 'skiaL 't'd̥imi'çəL ə 'valə gə Rə 'Rədi eð ə 'ẽð-ũm̥əxəy. 'N'ah-
 'siçə 'ð̥i-ift' 'xr̥iŪN'ic̥ nə 'h̥əiLl' aðən γanə 'N̥həj aq̥ə 'x̥umal 'kəN'ú,
 ax s aN ə hUq̥ a 'r̥u-ə: "f̥əLà-ù 'γaxi ə 'γð:~N'ə, hə 'm̥iʃə manə
 va mi 'r̥ẽ-ə."

INDEXES

(The numbers in these indexes refer to the pages.)

1. Leurbost Gaelic

Among the entries in this word list, some will be found which have not been used in the body of the book. These have been added in order to supplement the information on Leurbost vocabulary contained in the Index proper.

The spelling found in the entry words is based on Dwelly's and MacLennan's dictionaries. Among the variant spellings, those have been selected which conform best with the phonemic system of Leurbost, but forms which deviate considerably from those commonly used in Gaelic literature are entered also in the better-known spellings, with cross-references. Words for which I could find no adequate—or approximately adequate—spelling in the dictionaries are entered in an *ad hoc* orthography. These entries are preceded by an asterisk. Those English loans for which no accepted Gaelic orthography exists, have generally been left out, but will be found, together with the other recorded loans from English, in Index number 5.

The phonemic transcription is the one found in the body of the book, but for reasons of typography three modifications had to be made: (a) the vowel symbol *ə* is replaced by *ø* in stressed syllables (and consequently in the diphthongs *əi*, *iə*, and *uə*), while *ə* is retained in unstressed syllables; (b) the vowel symbol *u* is everywhere replaced by *y*; (c) the grave accent denoting svarabhakti is consistently placed after—instead of above—the svarabhakti vowel.

Nouns are entered in their nominative forms, with reference (in Roman numbers) to their declensional types where these have been ascertained. Nouns with final unstressed vowel may implicitly be taken as belonging to Type VI unless otherwise specified. The gender of nouns is specified only where it has been definitely ascertained. Nouns with unknown or badly attested gender are followed by the letter n or left unmarked. Verbs are generally represented by their infinitives (verbal nouns); only in a few cases they are entered in the second person singular of the imperative (the verbal stem).

Word classes are specified (by abbreviations such as adj., conj., etc.) only where the English translation is considered ambiguous in this respect.

Inflectional forms are often entered (but only in orthographic spelling), with cross-references to the "basic" entry forms. This is done in order to make the index more useful to those readers who are not intimately acquainted with Gaelic grammar.

The English translations are summary and intended to give recorded meanings only. In most cases the translations were given by the informants themselves.

Italicized page numbers refer to those places where the entries receive their fullest treatment, especially as regards inflection and grammatical function. Reference is not made to occurrences in the texts (pp. 262—309).

The following abbreviations are used:

adj.: adjective, adjectival	gen.: genitive	orig.: originally
coll.: collective(ly)	indep.: independent	part.: particle
cond.: conditional	(form)	pers.: person; personal
conj.: conjunction	inf.: infinitive, verbal	pl.: plural
cp.: compare	noun	poss.: possessive
cpd.: compound	interj.: interjection	ppv.: prepositive
def.: defective	interrog.: interrogative	pret.: preterite
dem.: demonstrative	intr.: intransitive	pron.: pronoun
dep.: dependent (form)	ipv.: imperative	prp.: preposition
emph.: emphatic, empha-	irreg.: irregular	rec.: recorded
sizing	joc.: jocularly	rel.: relative
esp.: especially	lit.: literally	sg.: singular
f: feminine (noun)	m: masculine (noun)	tr.: transitive
f., ff.: and following	n: noun without recorded	unstr.: unstressed
page(s)	gender	vb.: verb
fam.: familiarly	naut.: nautical term	voc.: vocative
fut.: future	num.: numeral	

a a prp. see as
 a (ə)^L voc. part. 49, 181, 256
 a (ə)^L his, its 42, 121, 211 f., 226
 a (ə)^{LF} prp. see de and do 2
 a (ə)^{LF} rel. part. 232, 257 ff.
 a (ə)^h her, its 42, 121, 211 f., 219, 226
 a (ə), (ə)^h part. before num. 228 f.
 a (ə) meaningless part. 32
 a' see ag and an 1
 abaich *abiç* ripe 197
 abair see radha
 abhainn *əviN'* f III river 42, 87, 111,
 175, 188, 194
 àbhaist *avjã'* 57, 248
 aca see aig

acair *akəð* f VI anchor; stone weight
 for keeping thatch in place 55, 110,
 157, 161, 191
 ach *ax* but; except 43, 115, 257, 261
 ach an *axə^N* so that, in order that 259
 achlais *axLif* armpit 51
 ad *ad* hat
 adag *adag* f II 1 haddock
 adag *adag* f 2 stook of corn
 a dh' see de and do 2
 àdha *a-a* liver 133
 adhairc *ə-əðk* f VI horn 84, 146, 191
 adhaltranas *ə-əLtranəs* adultery 84, 146
 air adhart *əd 'ə-əRd* on(wards), forwards,
 ahead 217

ag, a' (ə)^G "infinitive mark" 35, 171, 225, 240, 254 ff.
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 agus *əyəs*, (ə)s and 31, 32, 84, 257, 261
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 aideachadh *ad'əxəy* to confess 242
 aig *əj* prp. at, near, with 34, 53, 62, 108, 211, 212 f., 214, 219
 aigeach *a:əx* colt
 aighe, aighean see agh
 *aibhnean *aləvan* m elephant
 àile(adh) see fàileadh
 aileag *alag* n hiccup
 Ailean *alan* Allan 47
 *aileanach *aLanəx* adj. shy
 aimhreid *āirel'* strife, disagreement 86, 128, 145, 147
 aimsir *āmā'fər* f weather 143
 aineolach *āN'aLəx* ignorant
 aingeal *ājəL* m angel 87, 132, 156, 175, 194
 ainm *ānā'm* m VI name; 'a. 'karsd Christian name 49, 143, 191, 195
 ainmeachadh *ānā'məxəy* to mention
 ainneamh *āN'u* scarce(ly), seldom 123, 154
 air *əd* prp. on 26, 27, 28, 29, 34, 52, 54, 62, 69, 71, 127, 133, 137, 221, 224, 227
 àirde *a:Rdə* direction, quarter
 an àirde (ə) 'Nda:Rdə up(wards)
 aire *adə* f attention; care
 airgiod *adə'gəd* m I silver; money; 'a. 'bjə: mercury 53, 142, 185
 àiridh *a:di* f shieling, mountain or inland pasture with dairy-hut
 àirnejs *a:Rnif* f furniture 57
 airsoñ see under son
 air ais *əd* 'af adv. back 217
 aiseid see as
 aiseag *afəg* to ferry; 'bat 'afiq ferry-boat 29
 aiseal *afəL* f 1 II axle-tree
 aiseal *afəL* f 2 VI donkey 120, 191
 àite *a:l'(ə)* m place 102, 107, 190
 àiteach *a:l'əx* spring-work 57
 aiteamh *el'u* to thaw 58, 59, 170
 a dh' aithghearr (ə) 'yafhar at once 52, 218
 aithne *āN'ə* knowledge, used as an adj. in s 'ā. *yə* 'ən *a:l'ə* I know one place 53, 155, 246
 aithneachadh *ānā'xəy*, *ānəxəy* to know 142, 239, 242

aithreachas *adəxəs* repentance
 Alasdair *aLəsdəd* Alexander 182
 Alba *aLa'bə* Scotland 53, 103, 142, 155
 allt *auLt* brook, burn
 alt *aLt* m I knuckle 173, 183
 altach *aLləx* m I grace (at table) 138, 184
 altachadh *aLləxəy* to say grace 53, 138, 160
 àluinn *a:LiN'* fine, pretty 123
 am see an 1—4
 àm *āum* time 46, 91, 92, 194
 amadan *āmədan* m I fool, idiot 53, 184
 amaideach *āməd'əx* foolish
 amh *ev* raw 59
 amhach *āviç*, *āvhiç*, *āfiç* neck 111, 113, 145
 amharas *āvəras* doubt, misgivings, suspicion; notion
 Amhlaibh *āūLaj* Aulay (man's name) 92, 124, 152
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 an, am 1 (ə)^{NT} the article 49, 50, 52, 100, 101, 102, 171, 179, 200 ff., 205 ff., 219 ff.
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 an, am 3 (ə)^N interrog. part. 256, 259
 an, am 4 (ə)^N their 211 f., 226
 anaceartas 'ana' *keRsdəs* bad treatment 141
 anaíl *ānal* breath 39, 46, 53, 121, 150
 anam *ānəm* soul 156, 160
 anmoch *ānā'məx* late 143, 217
 ann an, ann am *aNəN*, (ə)^N prp. in 34, 35, 46, 49, 52, 78, 88, 92, 93, 122, 139, 159, 171, 211 f., 213, 217, 219, 220, 245 ff., 255
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 annas *āNəs* rarity; bit of news 46, 121
 annasach *āNəsəx* rare
 amnta see ann an
 aobhar *ə:vər* n cause, reason 44, 86, 156
 aobrann *ə:brəN* ankle 51, 86, 156, 160
 aocoltach 'y: *kəLəx* unlikely 83
 aodach *y:dəx* m I clothes, clothing 83, 160, 184, 200, 204
 aodann *y:dəN* f II face 81, 83, 146, 187
 ao-dionach see aoideanach
 aogaisg *y:gişj* f sickly appearance 83
 aoibheil *əi-al*, *əi-əl* pleasant 89, 90, 130
 aoideanach *y:d'anəx*, *y:d'anəx* leaky 43, 83
 aoiغهachd *əi-xəy* f VI lodgings, accommodation 90, 130, 157, 191
 aois *y:f* f VI age 80, 82, 191

aon(an) *ənən*, *ə:*, *ənd'*, *ən* one 83, 84, 85, 86, 90, 228 f.
 as aonais *as* 'ə:nif epd. prp. without 211, 225 f.
 aonar *ə:nər* one person 230
 aonranach *ə:nranəx* lonely 52, 86
 aosda *y:sd(ə)* old 80, 136, 198, 199, 200
 aotrom *y:drəm* light (not heavy); light-hearted 80, 83, 157, 198
 aparan *apərən* apron 104
 ar (ə)^r our 171, 211 f., 226
 àrach *a:rə* ladder
 àraidh *a:Rad'*, *a:Rhad'* special, a certain; *gə* 'ha:Rad' especially 38, 52, 56, 149, 170, 218
 aran *aran* m I bread 26, 27, 47, 145, 184
 arbhar *ara'vər* corn 142, 146
 àrc 1 *ark* m VI plug (in bottom of boat)
 àrc 2 *ark(ə)* f. VI cork (bark; cp. corcais)
 Arcaibh *arku* Orkney 154
 àrd *a:Rd* high, tall 38, 56, 138, 198
 àrdanach *a:Rdanəx* haughty
 argumaid *ara'gəmad'* quarrel 151, 159
 arsa *əs(ə)* vb. def. said, quoth 253
 arsbag *aRsbag* f II the largest species of sea-gull 52, 133, 152, 187
 as, a *as*, a prp. out of, from, away from 34, 35, 55, 156, 212, 220
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 asam see as
 asann *asəN* f rib
 asda see as
 an asgaidh (ə) 'Ndasgi adv. free, gratis
 astar *asdər* distance; district 51, 99
 atach *atəx* old clothes
 àth *a:* f V kiln 189
 ath- *ahL-*, *aL-* adj. ppv. next; second 116, 200, 217
 athair *ahəd*, *ahəd* m irreg. father; 'a. 'ke:lə stepfather; father-in-law 28, 49, 100, 101, 102, 132, 160, 161, 170, 192, 211
 athar *a-ər* sky
 atharrachadh *ahəRəxəy* to change, alter; a change 29
 atharrais *ahəRaf-*, *-əf* to mimic, tease by mimicking 145, 151, 154
 an ath-bhliadhna (ə) 'Ndah'vliəNə, (ə) 'NdafləNə next year 116, 200
 an ath-oidhche (ə) 'Ndah'oiç(ə), (ə) 'Ndahiç the following night; to-morrow night 116, 200
 *athrughadh *aru-əy* second stacking of the peat 200
 *athrughan *aru-an* m peat-stack (of the second stacking)

b' b see is
 bà see bó
 bac *bak* (sand-)bank 103, 110
 bacbòrd 'bak,bə:Rd windward side 103
 bàgh *ba:y* m I bay 103
 baile *balə* m village, town 46, 47, 53, 100, 101, 102, 138, 155, 190, 211
 bainne *bəN'ə* m milk 46, 69, 100, 122, 190
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 bàird see bàrd
 bàis see bàs
 baisteadh *başd'əy* to baptize 51, 136, 241
 balach *baLəx* m I boy 47, 53, 142, 155, 167, 183, 184, 202 f., 205, 208
 balbh *baLa'v* dumb, speechless
 balbhan *baLa'van* dumb person
 balg *baLa'g* m I bellows 54, 172, 184
 ball *baul* m I limb, member; thick rope 46, 89, 92, 183
 balla *baLə* m wall 46
 ballag-bhuachair see peallagan-buarach
 bànn *bān* fair(haired) 216
 bana- *bānə'L-* female, woman-
 *bana-bhuistear 'bānə'vuşd'ad witch
 bànağ *bā:nag* f II sea-trout 187
 banail *bānal* beautiful 151
 banais *bānif* f III wedding 87, 153, 156, 175, 188
 bana-mhaighistir *bānə'vaşd'əd* mistress; landlady
 ban-nàbaidh *bāNabi* woman neighbour 145, 150
 bannas *bāNəs* gums (of the mouth)
 banntach *bāūNtəx* (*bāūNdəx?*), pl. -içən hinge
 banntarach *bāūNtrəx* f II widow 38, 52, 92, 139, 186, 187, 194, 203
 ban-rìgh *bāūRi* f queen 91, 92
 baoiteag *boil'ag* f II angletworm 90, 107, 187
 bara *barə* wheelbarrow 128
 barail *bariL(ə)* m barrel (receptacle and part of gun)
 Barbara *bara'bara* 103, 129, 145, 146, 152
 Barbhas *bara'vas*, *bara'vhas*, *bara'jas* village and parish name 111, 140, 142
 bàrd *ba:Rd* m VI bard, poet 43, 56, 191, 195
 bàrdachd *ba:Rdəxg* f VI poetry 191
 bàrr *ba:R* top; crop; cream 38, 56, 126
 barrachd *baRəxg*-f more 53, 215
 barr-iall *barəL*, pl. -ən shoelace
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 bàs *ba:s* m I death 183

bàsachadh *ba:sæxy* and *ba:sæxiN'* to die 242
 bascaid *basgad'* f VI basket 55, 99, 103, 137, 145, 191
 bata *bat(ə)* m walking stick
 bàta *ba:t(ə)* VI m boat 29, 56, 103, 105, 158, 189, 205
 bàthach *ba:hæx* f II byre 28, 187, 208
 beachd *bjæxg* VI opinion 55, 130, 131, 191
 beag *beg* small, little 61, 62, 65, 81, 82, 108, 134, 146, 156, 197, 198, 203, 208, 215, 247
 beagan *began* a little 62, 150, 181, 203, 215, 218
 bean *bēn* f irreg. woman; wife; *b. 'ɔ:g* bride; *b. 'uəsəl* lady 49, 57, 58, 102, 122, 166, 192
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 beannachd *bjāNæxg* f VI blessing 38, 54, 156, 191
 beannan *bjāNan* little mountain 176
 beanntan see *beinn*
 beantainn *bjāNtiN'* to touch 58, 78, 153, 177, 242
 beàrn *bja:Rn* n notch
 beàrnach *bja:Rnæx* a species of mussel
 Beàrnaraidh *bja:Rnæraj* Bernera (name of several islands) 131
 beart *bjarsd* f VI loom 49, 191
 beartach *bjarsdæx* rich 49, 197
 beartachadh *bjarsdæxy* to beam, put the warp on the loom
 beatha *bæh* life 58
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 beinn *bēiN'* f III mountain 88, 176, 188, 193
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 beò *bjə:* alive 71, 131
 beud *bē:d* n harm
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 bho *fɔL, foL, vɔL, voL* prp. from, away from 40, 51, 74, 89, 90, 112, 153, 154, 158, 222
 bho 2 *fɔLF, foLF, vɔLF, voLF* conj. because, since (causal and temporal) 258, 261
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 biadhadh *bjøhøy* m bait
 bìdeadh *bi:d'æy* to bite 67, 103, 107, 241
 bìdeag *bi:d'æg* a bit, small portion or quantity
 bìdh see *biadh*
 big(e) see *beag*
 biodag *bidag* f II bayonet
 biodh see *bhith*
 bior *bir* pin 65
 biorach *biræx* sharp-pointed 65
 bioran *biran* m stick
 biorsamald *biRsamad', bjiRsamad'* spring balance 81
 bith *bih* existence; 's am bith *sə 'bih, sə 'mbih* at all, any 64, 216
 *bladraigeadh *bLadriğæy* to bother, to take trouble
 blas *bLas* n taste 49, 103, 200
 blàth *bLa:* warm 56, 103, 132, 135, 198
 blathas *bLa-əs* warmth 134
 bleideagan *bled'ægən* pl. sleet 43
 bleideil *blød'al* adj. slyly begging 43, 84
 bleidire *blød'ədə* person who begs constantly or slyly 84
 bleith *bleh* to grind 49, 50, 59, 103, 118, 241
 bleoghann *blɔ-ən* to milk 239, 255
 bliadhna *blīθNə* f year; (ə) 'mblīθNə this year; 'b. 'le:m leap year 31, 38, 49, 95, 122, 155, 189, 203, 217
 bliadhnach *blīθNæx* yearling (calf, lamb, etc.)
 blonag *bLāniğ* f lard 49, 54, 181
 bó bo: f irreg. cow 25 ff., 28, 44, 47, 74, 178, 182, 192
 bocadh *bøkæy* to trample 70
 bochd *bɔ:xg* poor 68, 137

bodach *bōdæx* m I old man; fam. husband; *b. 'Ruay* small codfish 68, 184
 bodha *bo-ə, bo-o* f and m (?) submerged rock 25 ff., 74, 103, 134, 157
 bodhar *bo-ər* deaf 73
 bog *bog* soft; wet 73, 109
 bogadh *bogæy* to soak
 bogha *bo-ə, bo-o* m bow; 'b. 'fi-iL violin bow, 'b. 'fræf rainbow 74, 103, 134, 146, 157
 boglach *bogLæx* bog
 bóidean *bo:d'æn* pl. vows, promises 71, 103
 bóidheach *bo:jæx* beautiful
 boineid *bōnad'* f VI bonnet 70, 122, 191
 boinne *bōN'ə* m (rec. *bōN'ə*) drop 181
 boirionn *bōðəN* adj. female 129
 boirionnach *bōðəNæx* m I woman 68, 129, 180, 181, 184
 bois *boj* f VI palm of the hand 68, 191
 bonn *bōūN* m I sole; foot of mountain 93
 bonn-a-sè 'būNə'fia halfpenny
 bonnach *bōNæx* m I bannock 46, 69, 184
 bōrd *bo:Rd* m I table 43, 71, 126, 183
 botul *botəl* bottle 70, 106, 157, 160
 brà bra: millstone 56
 bradan *bradan* m I salmon 174, 184
 braich *braç* malt 103
 bràithrean see *bràthair*
 branndaidd *brāūdi* brandy 91, 92, 103, 105, 129, 153
 brath *brah* advantage (by unfair means) 103
 bràthair *bra:həð, bra:həð* m irreg. brother 49, 52, 56, 192, 194
 breabadair *bðebadad* m VI weaver; 'b. 'Lə:ræx spider 57, 58, 190
 breabadaireachd *bðebadadæxy* f (occupation of) weaving 58, 240
 breabadh *bðebæy* to kick 58
 breac *bðek* 1 m I trout 60, 62, 78, 173, 183
 breac *bðek* 2 adj. speckled 78
 brèagha *bðia-ə* fine, nice, good-looking 134, 197
 bréid *bðe:d'* f VI patch (on clothes) 46, 49, 63, 191
 bréig(e) see *breug*
 breith *bðeh* to bear; to lay eggs; to catch; to handle 61, 77, 252
 breug *bðiag* f II lie 46, 49, 94, 129, 174, 186
 breugadaire *bðiagadad* m liar
 bric see *breac*
 brig *bði:ğ* f pile, heap 67

brìogadh *pðiğæy* to hack (in potato field)
 briogais *pðygiğ* f VI (pair of) trousers 49, 80, 81, 82, 104, 108, 153, 191
 briseadh *pðifæy* to break 49, 65, 104, 119, 241
 briste *pðifd'* adj. broken
 bròg *brɔ:ğ* f II boot 71, 103, 128, 186, 204
 broilleach *braLæx* breast 54, 126
 broinn *brāiN'* f belly; interior 87, 102
 bròn *brɔ:n* sorrow
 brúadar *bruədær* n dream 49
 bruaich *bruøç* (river) bank 98
 brùc *bðu:xy* seaware cast ashore 76, 103, 137
 bruich *priç* to cook 66, 104, 114
 brùid *bru:d'* animal 79
 brùideil *bru:d'al* brutal, cruel
 brùidhinn *bri-iN'* (*bry-iN'?*) to speak, talk 66, 175, 222, 239
 bruis *bryf* n brush 82
 buachaille *buøæLə* m shepherd 146
 buachailleachd *buøæLæxy* shepherding 160
 *buadhan *buøæn* pl. bowels
 buaidh *buøj* victory
 buaille *buølə* f enclosure for sheep or cattle
 buain *būūN'* harvest, gathering; to harvest, to gather, to reap, to cut (peat) 45, 97
 buaireadh *buøðæy* n quarrel
 bualadh *buøLæy* to strike, beat, rap 242
 buannachd *būūNæxy* to prosper
 buarach *buøæx* n shackle
 bucaid *pukad'* bucket 79, 104
 bucall *bukæl* n buckle 79
 bucas *bukæs* n box 79, 110, 158, 161
 buidhe *bujə* yellow 76, 77, 102, 132, 197
 buidheach *bujæx* f jaundice 76
 buidseir *bud'jad* m VI butcher 190
 buileach *bulæx* quite, altogether
 buill see *ball*
 buin(idh) see *buntuinn*
 buisneachd *bufN'æxy* witchcraft 51
 *buistear *buf'ad* wizard
 bun *būn* m III bottom, base 188
 buntàta *bə'Nta:t(ə)* m VI potatoes 31 f., 100, 102, 144, 161, 190
 buntuinn to belong, fut. *būN'i* (inf. not rec.) 78, 238
 bùrn *bu:Rn* m VI water (only freshwater) 80, 103, 127, 191
 bùth *bu:* m VI shop 44, 77, 135, 191, 194

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 cabhadh *kaʃəy* blizzard 110, 111, 113
 cabhag *kaʃəg* n hurry 111, 113
 cabhagach *kaʃəgəx* hurried, busy; important
 cadal *kadəl* m sleep; to sleep; (ə)
 'Nkadəl 'd'ili'ganəx the "pins and
 prickles" 54, 105, 155
 cagailt *kagəl't* (old-type) fireplace 146
 cagnadh *kagənəy* to chew 158
 caib(i)deil *kabdəl* chapter 51, 99
 càil *ka:l* 1 anything 121, 140, 215 f.
 càil 2 see càl
 caile *kalk* chalk
 caileag *kalag* f II young girl 145, 172
 Caillean *kalan* m I Colin 182, 184
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 cailleach *kaLəx* f II old woman, hag;
 fam. wife 44, 46, 53, 125, 142, 187,
 194, 200
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 *càilmhear *ka:lar* agreeable 145
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 cainb *kana'p* hemp 142
 càineadh *kā:N'əy* to slander, revile 56
 cainnt *kāiN't* (*kāiN'd'*?) speech 87, 139
 càirdeach *ka:Rdəx* related
 càirdeil *ka:Rdəl* related 56
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 c' airson *kaR'sən*, *kaR'sən əLF* why
 259, 261
 cairt *kaRsd* n 1 bark, cortex 46
 cairt *kaRsd* f II 2 cart 137
 cairteal *kaRsdal* (l sic) quarter, fourth
 part
 càise *ka:ʃ(ə)* cheese
 Càisg *ka:ʃg* Easter
 caisteal *kaʃd'aL* m I castle 49
 c' àite an *ka:N*, *ka:t'əN* interrog. where
 261
 caitheamh *kehu* to be consumed or
 spent; consumption, tuberculosis 58,
 59, 116, 154, 243
 Caitriona *ka'tri:nə* Catherine
 calg *kala'g* m I horsehair; fur 142,
 174, 184
 càl *ka:L* m I cabbage 183
 call *kauL* m to lose; to leak; leakage;
 èd 'xauL lost 47, 91, 174, 176, 177,
 238, 241
 Calluinn *kaLiN'* Hallowe'en
 calma *kaLā'mə* brave, strong 143
 calman *kaLa'man* pidgeon 54
 calpa *kaLa'p(ə)* calf of the leg 140, 142
 Calum *kaLəm* VI Malcolm 157, 182, 191
 cam *kāum* crooked, bent (to one side)
 91, 92, 176, 198

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 canach *kānəx* m cotton-sedge, also *k.*
 'ʃte:və
 cānan *kā:nan* language 57
 cantuinn *kāNtiN'*, *kāNtə* to say 235,
 252
 caochladh *ky:xLay* to die, pass away
 242
 caoidh *koi* to mourn
 caol *ky:L* narrow; slender 43, 82, 172,
 197, 198
 caolanan *ky:Lanən* pl. guts 82
 caolas *ky:Ləs* m I sound, straits
 caomh *kō:l* adj. agreeable; *s 'k. ləm* I
 like. Also used as a verb: *xa 'xθ:l u a*
 you don't like it 84, 86, 248
 caora *ky:rə* f irreg. sheep 80, 82, 110,
 192, 195, 203
 car *kar* n turn
 càr *ka:r* motorcar 126, 129
 carachadh *kaRəxəy* to move; to turn 242
 càradh *ka:rəy* to mend (clothes, shoes);
 to sew
 caraid *karid'* m friend 110, 158, 159, 175
 carbad *kaR'bad* wagon, car 142, 151
 carbhanach *kaR'vanəx* marine perch (?)
 28, 55, 110, 112
 carcais *karkəʃ* carcass 55, 154
 càrd *ka:Rd* wool-card
 càrdadh *ka:Rdəy* to card
 carrach *kaRəx* cross, peevish 47
 cas *kas* 1 f II leg, foot; handle 54, 109,
 118, 173, 185, 186, 204
 cas *kas* 2 adj. crabbed, angry
 casadaich *kasdiç* m cough
 casruisgte *kasrifç* barefooted
 cat *kat* m I cat 58, 59, 99, 105, 107,
 168, 173, 183, 205
 cathair *kahəd* stool 151
 *cé *ke:* give! (functions as an impera-
 tive) 60
 cead *ked* permission 58
 ceangal *kī-aL* to tie 66, 134, 151, 241
 ceann *kāiN* m I head; end; *kaN 'kōiəx*
 coffin 46, 49, 88, 92, 109, 168, 174,
 183, 203, 205
 ceannach *kāNəx* 1 price; reward;
 enough, too much
 ceannach *kāNəx* 2 to buy 47, 53, 54,
 142, 239, 241
 ceannaiche *kāNiç(ə)* m merchant; 'K.
 'ʃu-əl travelling merchant 47
 ceannard *kāūNaRd* m owner; master,
 boss
 ceann-chnagan *'kəNə'xRājən* pl. naut.
 ribs supporting the thwarts 85
 ceannruisgte *kāūrifç* bareheaded 91, 145

ceap *kep* (*kep?*) m spadeful 60, 62, 103
 cearc *kerk* f II hen 51, 55, 59, 128, 129,
 138, 173, 186
 ceàrd *ka:Rd* m VI artisan; (gypsy)
 tinker 56, 137, 191, 195
 ceàrdach *ka:Rsdəx* f II smithy 38, 137,
 187
 ceàrr *ka:R* wrong; left(-hand) 47, 56
 ceart *kaRsd* correct; right(-hand); ex-
 act; *çaRsd* exactly, just 38, 46, 54,
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 an ceathramh (ə) 'Nkeru the fourth 58,
 154, 231
 ceathrar *kerəð* four (persons) 47, 57, 58,
 161, 230
 céile *ke:lə* n in various expressions
 denoting reciprocity: *'kō: ði 'çe:lə* to-
 gether (lit. together with each other),
və 'çe:lə from each other, etc.
 ceilearadh *kelarəy* to warble, to twitter
 céilidh *ke:li* n visit; to visit 63, 240
 céir *ke:ð* wax 63
 céis *ke:ʃ* f VI envelope 64, 191
 ceist *keʃd'* question 62
 ceithir *kehəð* four 62, 162, 228 f.
 cèò *ko:* f V mist, fog; smoke 68, 71, 109,
 133, 189
 ceòl *ko:L* m I music 71, 79, 183, 200
 ceòl(mh)ar *ko:Lar* curious, uncommon,
 funny
 ceòthach *ko:həx* foggy, misty
 ceud *kiəd* hundred 96, 105, 228 f.
 an ceudamh (ə) 'N'kiədu the (one)
 hundredth 231
 ceum *ke:m* n step, stride 63
 ch-, see also under c-
 cha, chan *xaLN* not 90, 171, 235 ff.,
 246, 260
 a chaoidh (ə) 'xoi ever, with negation
 never (only used about the future)
 89, 90, 115, 217
 a' cheud (ə) 'çiodL the first 96, 231
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 bho chionn *ʃə'çūN*, *və çəN* cpd. prp.
 since, ago 93, 226
 cho *xə* so, as (before adjectives and
 adverbs) 165, 171, 218, 223, 256
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 cia mar see dé mar a
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 cinneachadh *kiN'əxəy* to prosper,
 flourish 242

cinnteach *kēiN'd'əx*, *kēiN'əx* sure, cer-
 tain 38, 51, 88, 122, 139
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 ciontach *koNtəx* guilty 70, 139
 cir *ki:ð* n comb 67
 clreadh *ki:ðəy* to comb
 circ(e) see cearc
 cire *ki:ðə* probably gen. f, rec. in 'krā:v
 ə 'K. chewing her cud (said about a
 cow)
 ciste *kiʃd'* (ə) chest; *k. 'Lajə* coffin
 cithean *kihan*, *ki-ən* pl. snow-flakes 65
 ciùin *kū:N'* calm 108, 197
 clach *kLəx* f II stone; *k. 'el'i* whetstone;
k. 'ylasi grindstone, whetstone; *k.*
'spəʃ flint; *kLəxən 'mjāLaN'* pl.
 hall(stones) 54, 58, 59, 87, 99, 124,
 186, 203, 205
 clachair *kLəxəd* mason
 cladach *kLədəx* m I shore 184
 cladhach *kLə-əx* to dig 50, 84, 241
 claidheamh *klāju* sword 42, 53, 110, 132,
 154
 claimhean *kLāivan* doorlatch 88
 clais *kLəʃ* n hollow
 claisneachd *kLəʃN'əxg* f sense of hearing
 clann *kLāūN* f II children; *kLa 'N'i-un*
 girls (serves as pl. of nighean) 92,
 186, 193
 clàr *kLar* wooden tray; also *k.*
'LəxLiN'əx 49, 56
 cleachdadh *kləxəy* custom, habit; to
 be accustomed 50, 55
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 cliabh *kliəv* m I creel, hamper 49, 95,
 110, 173, 181, 184
 cliath *kliə* n harrow 49, 95, 135
 cliathadh *kliəhəy* to harrow
 clò *kLə:* m (heavy) cloth, tweed; *kLə*
'mo:r tweed 49, 71, 135, 203, 204
 clobha *kLo-u*, *kLə-u* (pair of) tongs 74,
 110, 134, 155
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 clòimh *kLūi* f III wool 91, 135, 188
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 feathers) 44, 91
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 cluich *kLuçə* to play 77, 114, 156
 cluigean *kLuğan* tassel
 cluinntinn *kLūiN'd'ən*, *kLūiN'd'iN'* to
 hear 29, 44, 89, 98, 139, 176, 252, 253
 *cnacas *krəkəs* to chat
 cnag *krəg* thole-pin
 cnàimh *kðē:v* m bone 60, 112, 128, 129,
 193, 194
 cnàmh *krā:v* to chew; to wither, die 56

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 cnap *krāp* n heap, lump; bump (on road) 104, 110, 128
 cnatan *krātan* a cold 49
 cnébilt *krē:biLl'* garter 60, 103, 110, 129, 153
 cnò *krò*: nut 42, 74, 128
 cnoc *kròk* m I hill, hillock 73, 110, 128, 183
 cnocach *kròkəx* hilly
 cnocan *kròkan* m I ball of yarn 184
 cnuic see cnoc
 có *ko*: unstr. *ko*, *kə* who, which; *kə* 'ju: anyhow, in any case, at least 257, 258 f.
 cobhair *ko-əð* n comfort, solace
 còcaire *ko:kəðə* n cook
 còcaireachd *ko:kəðəx* cookery
 cogadh *kogəy* war 69, 110, 157
 coguis *kogəy* conscience 69, 145, 151, 161
 coibhneas *kə̀inas* kindness; hospitality 90, 151
 coibhneil *kə̀inal* hospitable 89
 coifi *kə̀fi* coffee 70, 110, 153
 cóig *ko:g* five 74, 108, 228 ff.
 an cóigeamh (ə) 'Nko:gu the fifth 231
 cóignear *ko:gar*, *ko:gar* five (persons) 230
 coileach *kaləx* m I cock 46, 53, 157, 184
 coille *kə̀Lə* f wood, forest 44, 84, 89, 176, 190
 coilleag *kə̀Lag* f II a species of mussel 84, 187
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 coimhead *kə̀-əd*, *kū-əd* to look 73, 78, 134, 145, 151, 213, 239, 241
 coimhlionta *kə̀LəNl(ə)* perfect 146
 coimhthional *kə̀hinaL* congregation 69, 117, 150, 160
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 Coinneach *kə̀N'əx* m I Kenneth 184
 coimneachadh to meet, dep. fut. *xə* 'xəN'ic, rel. fut. *xəN'əxəs*, pret. *xəN'ic* (inf. not rec.) 84, 142, 239
 coimneamh *kə̀N'u* n meeting 84
 coinnleir *kāiLəð* candlestick 87, 151
 còir *ko:ð* generous, righteous; *bə* 'xə:ð *yut* you ought to 71, 129, 248
 coirce *kə̀rk* m oats 69
 coire 1 *kaðə* fault, guilt; cause, reason 156
 coire 2 *kaðə* kettle
 coireach *kaðəx* guilty, wrong 47, 223, 248
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 coiseachd *ka:fəx*g to walk 69, 157, 243
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coltach *kə̀Ləx* similar; likely 67, 83, 124, 223
 coltas *kə̀Ləs* similarity; likelihood 124
 coma *kom(ə)* indifferent, not caring 38, 73, 74
 comhairle *kə̀-əRl(ə)* f (piece of) advice 73, 134
 combarradh *kə̀həRəy* m earmark (on sheep) 69, 118, 146
 comhartaich *kə̀həRdiç* to bark (of dogs) 73, 118, 240
 comhfhurtachd *kə̀vəRsdəx* f comfort, solace
 comhfhurtail *kə̀vəRsdal* comfortable 146, 198
 còmhla *kə̀:Lə* door, door-leaf (cp. dorus) 74, 156
 còmhla(mh) *kə̀:Lhəy*, *kə̀:Lhəy*, *kə̀:Ləy* adv. together 75, 145
 còmhla ri see còmh-ri
 còmhnaidh *kə̀:Rnəd* (and *kə̀:nəRd?*) flat, even; straight 74
 còmhnuidh *kə̀:ni* to dwell, live 74, 240
 an còmhnuidh (ə) 'Nkə̀:ni always 49, 218
 còmhradh *kə̀:ray* m to talk; talk, talking 74
 còmh-ri *kə̀: ði* together with 75
 comunn *kə̀məN* m gathering 73
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 connadh *kə̀Nəy* fuel 72, 73
 connlach *kə̀ūLəx* f II straw 187
 conntraigh 'kə̀ūN,tra:ç, *kə̀ūNtra:ç* neap-tide 93, 139
 conus *kə̀nəs* anger 70
 conus^g *kə̀nəs* gorse, furze 69, 70
 cop *kop*, *kə̀p* m foam; bubble 74
 copan *kə̀pan* m cup 68
 copar *kə̀par* copper 70
 corcais *kə̀rkis* cork (bottle stopper)
 còrdadh *kə̀:Rdəy* to please, to be agreeable 71, 241
 còrnaileir *kə̀:Rnələð* colonel 71, 110
 corpaileir *kə̀rpələð* n corporal 70
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 còrr 2 *kə̀r-*, *kə̀rə-*, *kə̀RL-* odd, occasional 200
 corrag *kə̀rag* (*kə̀Rag?*) finger
 corran *kə̀Ran* m sickle 68
 cosnadh *kə̀sNəy* to earn, gain, win 51, 69, 118, 242
 cotan *kə̀tan* cotton 70
 cothrom *kə̀rəəm*, *kə̀rəəm* weight; pl. *kə̀rəmiçən* balance, scales 69, 118
 cothromachadh *kə̀rəməxəy*, *kə̀rəməxəy* to weigh
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cracas see cnacas
 cràgan *krə:gan* pl. paws, claws (sg. not rec.)
 craiceann *krakəN* f II skin; hide 54, 172, 187, 203
 crann *krāūN* m I mast; plough; a part of the loom (beam?) 122, 174, 183
 crannchor *krāNə'xər* m fate
 craobh *kry:v* f II tree; potted plant 90, 181, 186, 203
 crathadh *krəhəy* to shake 49, 115, 241
 crè *kə̀tia* f V clay 94, 110, 189
 creachan *kə̀xəxan* m I a mussel (scallop?) 59, 110, 184
 creag *kə̀og* f crag, hillock
 creagan *kə̀ogəxan* m little crag
 creathail *kə̀ehəl* cradle
 creic *kə̀ek* to sell 49, 62, 109, 204, 241
 creidsinn *kə̀əd'(ə)*, *kə̀əd'fiN'* to believe 51, 84, 106, 243
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 creithleag *kə̀eləg*, *kə̀eləg* (wasp) 52, 58, 110
 creutair *kə̀:ətə*r creature 64
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 cridhe *kə̀i-ə* m heart 129, 134, 156, 190
 crìoch *kə̀iəx* end; boundary, dividing-line 95, 115
 crìochnachadh *kə̀iəxənəxəy* to end, to finish 49, 52, 158
 crìochnaichte *kə̀iəxiçd'* adj. finished
 crios *kə̀is* n belt
 criostail *kə̀iəstəl* godly 95
 crochadh *krəxəy*, *krəxid'* to hang 69, 185, 240, 241
 crodh *krəh* m I (bovine) cattle; cows (serves as a plural for *bó*) 73, 81, 173, 183, 192
 crògan *krə:gan* pl. grasping hands (sg. not rec.)
 cròic *krə:k* antler
 crom *krəūm* crooked, bent (esp. forwards; cp. cam) 110, 120
 croman *krəman* a kind of hoe
 cron *krən* n harm
 crosag *krəsgag* starfish 70, 110
 crotal *krətal*, *krətal* m lichen; moss 49, 72
 *crothadh *krə-əy* to walk or move in a circle
 cruach *krəəx* f stack (of peat, straw, etc.) 148
 cruaidh *krəuəj*, *krəuə* hard 128, 198
 crùb *krə:b* crouch! (only ipv. rec.) 79, 103, 110
 crùbag *krə:bəg* f II crab 187
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crùidh *krəi* horseshoe 89, 90
 cruimh *krəj* f small white worm 81, 132
 cruinn *krəiN'* 1 adj. round 89
 cruinn 2 see crann
 cruinneachadh *krəjN'əxəy* to gather, collect 81, 242
 cruthaidheachd *krəhi-əxg* f creation 153
 cù *ku*: m irreg. dog 69, 79, 123, 155, 178, 192, 195, 200
 cuagach *kuəgəx* lame, limping 110
 cuairt *kuəRsd* to walk (for pleasure or exercise) 137, 240
 mu 'n cuairt *ma* 'NkuəRsd adv. round, around 137
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 cuan *kūən* m I sea, ocean 45, 97, 194, 204
 cùbainn *ku:biN'* pulpit
 cùbair *ku:bəð* cooper 80, 103
 cùdaig *ku:diç* small coal-fish
 cuibhill, cuibhle *kə̀ilə* f VI wheel; spinning wheel 28, 89, 90, 110, 125, 158, 190
 cuibhrig *kə̀idiç* mattress
 cuid *ku:d'* f part 76, 77
 cuideachadh *ku:d'əxəy* to help; n help, assistance
 cuideachd *ku:d'əxg* too, also 77, 218
 cuideam *ku:d'am* weight
 cuidhill, cuidhle see cuibhill
 cuigeall *ku:gaL* distaff 77, 108, 151
 cùil *ku:l* f bin, e. g. potato-bin
 cuileag *ku:ləg* f II fly 76, 77
 cuilean *ku:lən* pup, whelp 76
 cuilg see calg
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 cuimhne *kə̀in(ə)* memory, recollection 89, 95, 122
 cuimhneachadh to remind, ipv. *kə̀iniç*, pret. *xə̀iniç* (inf. not rec.) 47
 cuin(e) *kūN'əLF* interrog. when 259
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 cuirm *ku:u'm* to celebrate 143
 cùirtean *ku:Rsdəðən* pl. curtains (sg. not rec.) 80, 137
 cùis *ku:f* f VI condition, state, circumstance 76, 79, 155, 191
 cuisil *ku:siL* f VI blood vessel 77, 153, 191
 cùl *ku:L* back side; bread crust 43, 79
 air cùl *əð* *ku:L* behind
 air cùlaibh cpd. prp. behind, only rec. in *əð ə* 'xə:L behind him
 cùl-fhiaclan 'ku:L,iəklən back teeth, molars 32
 cumail *kūmal* to hold; to celebrate 76, 78, 93, 120, 150, 176, 203, 204, 238, 243, 255

cumanta *kōmaNt* ordinary, common 73, 145, 152
 cumhachd *kō-axg* f VI power 145, 191
 cumhang *kū-əg* narrow 77, 134, 146
 cunghadhean *kōNgi-ən* pl. medicine(s), medicament 85, 139
 chunnacas, chunnaic see faicinn
 cunnartach *kūNaRdax* dangerous 77, 151
 cupan see copan
 cur *kuð*, *kur* m III to put; to sow, to plant 31, 47, 77, 78, 155, 165, 188, 234 ff., 241
 curracag *kuRu'kag* a species of bird 142
 curran *kuRan* carrot 75, 127
 cus *kus* too much 110, 215
 cutadh *kuṭəy* to gut (fish)
 d' see do 1
 dà, a dhà *da:L*, (ə) 'ya: two 56, 180, 200, 228 f.
 dachaidh *daxi* n home 145, 211
 daimh see damh
 daingean *dajəN* strong, brave 105
 dall *dauL* blind 46, 172
 dalladh *daLəy* to blind, make blind
 dām *dāūm* n dam 91, 121
 damh *dāv* m I ox; male deer 43, 59, 183
 damhan-allaidh *dara'van 'aLi* m spider
 dān *dā:N* destiny 56
 dāna *dā:nə* forward, impudent
 dannsa *dāūs* n dance 92, 105
 daolmean *dōimən* diamond 89, 90
 daoine see duine
 daolag *də:Lag* snail
 daor *dy:r* dear; expensive 82
 dara see dārna
 darach *darax* m I oak 184
 an dārna (ə) 'Nda:Rnə the second; the other; one (of two) 231
 dath *dah* m (?) VI colour; dye; to dye 28, 53, 99, 116, 118, 191
 de, de dh', a dh' *dəLF*, (ə)LF prp. of, from 34, 59, 95, 111, 114, 116, 117, 201, 211, 215, 223 f.
 dé *də:LF*, *dədaLF* what, which; dé mar a *də: manəLF* how 257, 258 f.
 an dé (ə) 'N'd'e: yesterday 63, 107, 217
 deach see dol
 deagh *d'e:L-* adj. ppv. good 200
 deagh-bhlasda 'd'e:vLasd(ə) palatable 200
 dealachadh *d'aLəxəy* to part 242
 dealanaich *d'aLaniç* lightning
 dealbh *d'aLa'v* picture 107
 dealgan *d'aLa'gan* m I spindle (for twining yarn) 184

dealt *d'aLt* dew 54, 131
 deamhais *d'əvif* f (pair of) sheep-shears 57, 59, 145
 dèan see dèanamh
 dèanadach *d'ianəNax* industrious
 dèanamh *d'ianu* to do; to make, produce 37, 44, 67, 87, 94, 107, 122, 153, 154, 157, 204, 248, 249, 255
 dearbhadh *d'ara'vəy* to test, to contend
 dearcadh *d'arkəy* to look out 55
 dearg *d'ara'g* red 142
 deargad *d'ara'gad* f flea 156
 dearmad *d'ara'mad* oblivion; to forget
 deas *d'es* south 47, 55, 57, 58, 106
 deatamach *d'etəməx* important; special; urgent 57, 59, 60
 deich *d'eç* ten 61, 114, 228 f.
 an deicheamh (ə) 'N'd'əcu the tenth 231
 deichnear *d'əçnar* ten (persons) 51, 230
 déid = téid, see dol
 déideadh *d'e:d'əy* toothache 63
 an déidh, a(s) déidh (ə) 'N'd'e-i, af'd'e-i, a 'd'ə-i, (ə) 'N'd'ə-i, etc., cpd. prp. after 62, 83, 84, 211, 226
 mu dheidhinn *ma 'je-iN'*, *ma 'je-ən* cpd. prp. about; concerning 33, 226
 deifir *d'ifər* n concern, care 112
 deigh *d'ej*, *d'øj* f VI ice 62, 107, 191
 deilbh *d'əlv* to warp 84, 142
 déile *də:lə* m wooden partition in "black house" (?) 61, 63, 190
 deilgneach *d'ili'ganəx* rec. in 'kadəL 'd'. the "pins and prickles" 64, 66
 deireadh *d'ədəy* n end; naut. stern 61, 129, 146
 deis *d'ej* ready, prepared; finished 61
 deise *d'ejə* f suit (of clothes) 61, 164, 167
 deiseil *d'ejəl*, *d'ejəl* ready, prepared; finished 61, 154, 197
 deoch *d'əx* f VI drink 49, 69, 191
 deònach *d'ə:nəx* adj. willing 73, 74
 deacon *də:kən* m I deacon 63, 105, 145, 154, 160, 175
 deud *d'e:d* (set of) teeth 46, 63, 107
 deug *d'ioç* -teen (in numerals) 90, 162, 223 ff.
 deur *d'iar* a drop (in the sense 'negligible quantity of liquid', usually with negation to express absolute absence of liquid) 94
 dh-, see also under d-
 dh' see de and do 2
 dha see do 2
 dhà see dà
 dhachaidh *ɣaxi* adv. home, homewards 217

dhaibh = dhoibh, see do 2
 dha riribh *ɣa: 'd̪:du* indeed 68
 dheth, dhibh, dhinn, dhiom, dhiot see de
 dhith see de and do 2
 có dhìù see under cò
 dhiubh see de
 dhoibh, dhomh, dhuibh, dhuinn, dhuit see do 2
 Di- *d'ə-* day (bound morpheme found only in the names of week-days: *d'ə'LūðN'* Monday, *d'ə'mā:Rsd* Tuesday, *d'ə'KiedIN'* Wednesday, *d'ə'R'dð:N'* Thursday, *d'ə'hð:N'* Friday, *d'ə'sahəRn* Saturday) 144, 146
 Di-Dòmhuich *d'ə'dð:niç* Sunday (rarely used, cp. Sàboinnn)
 Dia *d'io* God 95
 diabhol *d'ioəL* m I devil 95, 167, 172, 175, 185
 dias *d'ias* ear of corn
 dìchioll *d'i-içəL*, *d'i:çəL* utmost endeavour, one's best 66
 dìchiollach *d'i:çəLəx* industrious 66
 dì-chuimhne *d'io,xðin* n forgetfulness; act of forgetting (*raN' mi 'd'.* 'I forgot') 95
 dì-chuimhneachadh *d'io,xðinəxəy*, *d'io,xəNəxəy* to forget
 dìleab *d'i:ləb* heritage 67, 146
 dlobhairt *d'i:vəRd* to spew 67
 dloghaltas *d'y:Ltas* (*d'y:əLtas?*) n revenge
 dloghladh *d'y:Ləy* to revenge 81, 83
 dìomhain *d'ioəN'* adj. idle 42, 95, 154
 dìonach *d'ioəNəx* tight, not leaky 83, 95
 dìreach *d'i:ðəx* straight, just, directly 66, 218
 dìreadh *d'i:ðəy* to climb, to ascend 66
 dìth 1 rec. only in *dəL ə 'ji:* to be destroyed 135
 dìth 2 rec. in *ha ... ə 'jih aram* I lack ..., I need ...
 dìthis *d'i-if* two (persons) 65, 132, 133, 230
 an diugh (ə) 'N'd'uh to-day 116, 217
 diùltadh *d'jūLlTəy* (nasal diphthong!) to refuse 92, 93
 dùmach *d'ū:məx* angry 79
 dlùth *dLu:* 1 m warp
 dlùth *dLu:* 2 adj. tight 49, 105, 135, 197
 do 1, t' (d') *dəL*, *d-* poss. pron. your (sg.) 211 f., 226
 do 2, do dh', a dh' *dəLF*, (ə)LF prp. to, for 34, 37, 40, 49, 56, 73, 77, 87, 90, 114, 123, 171, 200, 211, 214, 219, 223
 do 3 *dəLF* pret. particle 234 ff., 248, 259

dòcha *də:x* adj., rec. only in s 'd. perhaps 248
 dòchas *də:xəs* n hope 71
 dòigh *də:j* manner, way
 doilghios *dəlv'jəs* sadness 69, 132, 143
 doimhne *dðIN'* ə depth 89
 doirsean see dorus
 dòirt see dòrtadh
 dol *dəL* to go 40, 46, 54, 58, 62, 63, 105, 107, 132, 249, 255
 domhain *də:iN'* deep 74, 134
 Domhnall *də:əL* Donald 74, 182, 185
 dona *də:nə* bad 46, 64, 66, 68, 69, 118, 156, 198, 199, 200
 donn *dəūN* (dark) brown 92, 93
 Donnchadh *dəNū'xəy* Duncan 78, 142, 185
 dorcha *dərx* dark 69, 105, 142, 174, 198, 199
 dorchadas *dərx'ədəs* darkness
 dorgh *dərx'ɣ* m I fishing-line 70, 105, 115, 142, 184
 dòrtadh to spill, only rec. in the pret. *ɣə:Rsd* 37, 71
 dorus *dərəs* m I door 53, 156, 185, 194
 dragh *dərx* n care, esteem; bother, inconvenience
 dranndan *dəūNdan* (-Nt-?) to grumble 38
 draoth *də:* ipv. stretch! 86
 an dràsda (ə) 'Ndra:sdə just now 49, 217
 dreas *dresə* n dress
 dripeil *dripəL* busy 104
 dròbh *dərv* f fair
 droch *dərxL-* adj. ppv. bad 49, 200
 drochaid *dərxid'*, *dərxid'* bridge 69, 115
 droma(nnan) see druim
 *drughan *druyan* to murmur
 druim *dəūm* m III back; ridge; keel 49, 69, 89, 105, 156, 177, 188, 195
 druimean *dəūman* m little ridge 177
 duais *duəf* n, prize
 duan *dūān'* poem 45, 97
 dùbailte *du:bəLl'* adj. double 80
 dubh *duh* black; black-haired 39, 77, 81, 116, 118, 132, 172, 197
 dubhag *du-ag* f II kidney 77, 187
 duibh(e) see dubh
 dùil *du:l* intention, thought, expectancy
 duilich *duliç* sad; difficult 78, 198
 duilleach *duLəx* foliage 43
 duilleag *duLəg* f II leaf 77, 187
 dùin *dū:N'* ipv. shut, close! 232
 duine *dūN'* ə m irreg. man; husband; *dyN'* 'uəəL gentleman 80, 81, 86,

149, 150, 156, 167, 178, 195, 200, 206, 216
 dùinte *dū:N't'*, *dū:N't'(ə)* (?) adj. shut, closed 139, 232
 duirche see dorcha
 duirgh see dorgh
 dumhail *dū-əl* (*dū-əL*?) dense, close (about air) 76
 dùn *dū:n* m I heap; hillock; broch, fort 79, 182, 183
 dùr *dur* dour 47
 dusan *dusan* dozen 79, 105, 119
 dùsgadh *du:sgəy* to wake up; a revival
 dùthaich *du:hiç* f III country; region; parish 76, 79, 117, 152, 188

e e, e, a, e, e, i he, him, it 60, 151, 208, 209 f., 214, 245 ff.
 each *ex* m I horse 43, 58, 61, 62, 170, 173, 183, 207, 211
 an Eadailt (ə) 'N'd'edaLl' f Italy 145
 eadar *adar* prp. between 55, 156, 160, 210, 224 f.
 eadh pron. it, only rec. in *foy* yes and *xa* 'N'd'əy no 84, 114, 248
 eagal see feagal
 eaglais *egLif*, *əgLif* f VI church 23, 51, 61, 62, 83, 85, 109, 153, 161, 170, 191
 eala *jaLə* f swan 54, 130, 131, 169, 190
 eallach *jaLəx* m load 54, 130, 169
 eanchainn *ənd'xiN'* brain 84, 85, 115, 160, 170
 an ear (ə) 'N'd'er (the) east; (ə) 'N'd'er'huə northeast, (ə) 'N'd'ara'jes southeast
 an earar (ə) 'N'd'erhəð the day after to-morrow 52, 217
 earball *yry'bəl* m tail 80, 82, 142, 170
 earrach *jaRəx* m spring(time); (ə) 'ja'arəx in (the) spring 54, 130, 136
 na h-Earradh see (na) Hearadh
 earrainn *jaRiN'* n part 131
 easbuig *esbiç* bishop
 easgann *esgəN* f II eel 160, 174, 187
 eathar *əhər* (rec. both as f and m) boat, small vessel; e. 'xy:Lif ferry-boat
 eatorra see eadar
 eich see each
 éigheachd *e:vəçy* to shout, to cry 43, 63, 112, 222, 243
 -eiginn see rud-eiginn
 'eil see bhith
 éildearan *eiLL'adən*, *əiLL'adən* pl. elders (of the church) 88, 138
 eile *elə* adj. other 62, 216
 eilean *elan* m I island 50, 62, 151, 184
 éirigh *e:di* to rise, to get up 63, 239, 243

éisg see iasg
 eòin see eun
 eòlach *jo:Ləx* adj. knowing; acquainted; used (to) 131
 eòlas *jo:Ləs* knowledge 71, 146
 eòrna *jo:Rnə* barley
 esan *afiN'* emph. pers. pron. he 32, 209
 eudach jealousy, only rec. in the gen.: 'Lā:n 'iadiç full of jealousy, i. e. jealous
 eun *iān* m I bird; hen 73, 75, 94, 123, 131, 174, 183 p. /;ç:N'/

fàbhar *fa:vər* n favour 57
 fàbharach *fa:vərəx* favourable
 faca see faicinn
 facal *fākəL*, *fakəL* m I word 41, 42, 53, 54, 156, 174, 185
 fàd *fa:d* n peat (single sod; cp. mòine) 37, 56, 105, 173, 180
 fada *fada* adj. and adv. long (in space or time) 37, 54, 156, 198, 199, 218
 fadalach *fadaLəx* adj. late, too late
 fadhail *fa-əl* f ford 85, 113, 134, 146, 157, 160
 fàgail *fa:gal* to leave 56, 168, 170, 232, 237, 243
 faic(eadh) see faicinn
 faiceallach *fekəLəx* careful
 faicinn *fēkiN'* to see 32, 42, 46, 53, 61, 62, 66, 72, 78, 109, 113, 122, 142, 145, 156, 170, 211, 233, 236, 251, 256
 faighinn *fājiN'*, unstr. *faiN'*, lenited also *e:n* to get, to receive, to find 46, 73, 84, 88, 98, 117, 129, 148, 250 f.
 faighneachd *fāinəçy* to ask 47, 114, 243
 fàilleadh *fa:ləy* n smell
 faileas *fa:las* reflected image
 faing *fāiN'ç* fank, gathering of sheep for shearing; place where this is done 88, 113, 139
 fàinne *fā:N'ə* m VI ring 53, 56, 113, 123, 156, 190
 fàirdein *fa:Rdin* farthing 57
 faire *fað* to watch 113
 faireachdainn *faðəçgiN'*, *faðə'çgiN'* to feel 143, 239, 242
 fairge see fairrge
 fairleus see farlas
 fairrge *faRa'çə* f rough sea 54, 112, 127, 142, 156
 faisg *fajç* near, close(ly) 54, 113, 136, 199
 fàitheam *fe:həm* n hem 60
 falach *faLəx* to hide; pret. rec. both as *yaLiç* and *yoLiç* 47, 241

falamh *faLu* empty; resourceless 26, 27, 146, 154, 198
 falbh *faLa'* to go, esp. go away 26, 27, 29, 117, 140, 155, 232, 239, 241, 249
 fallain *faLaN'* healthy 54, 145, 161, 198, 199
 fallosgadh *faLəsgəy* the burning of heather on the moor in order to make pasture 54, 124
 fallus *faLəs* n sweat 113
 falmadair *faLa'madað* tiller
 falmair *faLə'mar* hake, haik (a fish) 143
 falt *faLl* hair 51, 99, 137
 famhair *fa vad*, *fā vad* m giant, wild man 41, 97
 fanaid *fānad'* to mock 151
 fannachadh *fāNəçəy* weakness
 fantuinn to wait, only rec. stressless: *faNtə*, *fəNtə* (the usual word for 'wait' is *fuireach*, which see)
 faobhar *fy:vər* edge (of cutting implement) 44, 80, 82
 faochag *fy:çag* snail shell
 faodaidh *fy:di* vb. def. may, can 83, 253
 faoighe *foijə*, *foi* to beg 89, 130, 134
 faoileag *fy:lag* f II sea-gull 98, 158, 207
 faoin *fə:N'* crazy, mad 86
 faoineas *fə:N'as* n trifle 86, 145
 faòthachadh *fy:çəy* relief from suffering
 far an *far əN'* where (rel.) 259
 fàradh see àradh
 farainm *faranam* nickname 145
 farlas *fa:Las* skylight in thatch of "black house", to let light in and smoke out 56, 124, 157
 farmad *fara'məd* n envy 54, 120, 143, 159
 farsuing *faRsiç* wide, broad 53, 127, 198, 199
 fàs *fa:s* 1 to grow 53, 56, 113, 195, 241
 fàs *fa:s* 2 empty; hollow 56, 118
 fasan *fa:san* habit 200
 fasgadh *fasgəy*, *fasgəy* m I shelter; 'tu: ə 'Ndasgaj leeward side 54, 185
 feabhaidh see féileadh
 fead *fed* n whistle (whistling sound)
 feadag *fedag* n whistle (instrument) 58
 feadaireachd *fedəðəçy* to whistle 240
 feadan *fedan* brook, burn (smaller than allt)
 air feadh *ed* 'foy cpd. prp. throughout 84, 113, 226
 feadhainn *foyiN'* f somebody, some (coll.) 84, 115, 170, 216
 feagal *feçəL* (rarely *egəL*) m fear, fright 61, 62, 113, 146

feamainn *fēmiN'* f VI seaweed 57, 58, 191
 fear *fer* m I man; one (as substitute for some other m noun) 58, 64, 162, 183, 207, 214, 215 f.
 fearann *ferəN* (also rec. *fjaRəN*) ground, land 58, 217
 *fears *fjaRs* adj. straight, erect
 feasgar *fesgər* evening 58, 156
 féidh see fiadh
 féileadh *fjəuləy* m kilt 49, 93
 féill *fe:L* n fair, market 63, 125
 féisde see feusda
 féith *fe:* muscle; sinew 60, 135, 191, 193
 feitheamh *fehə* to wait 62, 117
 feòil *fjo:l* f III meat; flesh (apparently m in some combinations: *f. 'maRsd* beef, *f. ky:rəx* mutton) 71, 131, 168, 188
 *feòileagan *fjo:ləgan* pygmy shrew (*sorex minutus*) (Dwelly gives *feòlacan* 'dormouse' as a Lewis word, but neither spelling nor meaning seem to fit here)
 feòir see feur
 feòla see feòil
 feòlacan see feòileagan
 feuchainn *fiaxiN'* to try; to look 28, 45, 94, 242
 feudar see fheudar
 feum *fe:m* f use, usefulness; necessity, need
 feumach *fe:məx* needy, poor
 feumaidh *fe:mi* vb. def. must, has to 253
 feumail *fe:mal*, *fe:məl* useful 145, 154, 197
 feur *fiar* m I grass 68, 71, 94, 183
 feusag *fiasag* beard 94, 151, 159
 feusda *fe:sd(ə)* n treat 64
 feusgan *fiasgan* m I mussel (*mytilus edulis*) 94, 184
 fh-, see also under f-
 fhaide see fada
 fhaisge see faisg
 fhasa see furasda
 fhathast *ha-əsd* yet, still; once more 118, 146, 217
 fheàrr see math
 fhéin *he:n*, *hē:n*, *pe:n* self 63, 67, 104, 117, 122, 213 f.
 is fheudar *f'edər* is necessary 63, 248
 dh' fhidir *jid'ər* vb. def. knows 65, 107, 253
 fhin see fhéin
 fhuair see faighinn

fiacail *fiakil* f tooth 51, 95, 109, 110, 145, 153, 160, 168, 194
 fiach *fiax* 1 n value, worth; debt 25 ff., 45, 95
 fiach *fiax* 2 adj. valuable, worth
 fiadh *fiay* m I deer 95, 183
 fiadhaich *fi-a-ic* wild; stormy; angry 197
 fiamb *fiav* facial expression 95
 fiambachd see imheachd
 fiannaich *fiavNi* giant 38, 95
 fichead *fiçad* twenty 65, 114, 228 ff.
 an fhicheadamh (a) 'N'd'icadu the twentieth 231
 fidheall *fi-aL* f II fiddle, violin 172, 187
 fighe *fi-a, fi-i, fi-ay* to weave, to knit 37, 65, 112, 146, 156, 241, 243
 figheachan *fi-axan* n braid
 figheadh see fighe
 fiogh *fiy* m III wood 64, 65, 115, 188
 fioghull see fidheall
 fion *fiön* wine 47, 95
 fionnar *fiönNar* adj. cool 198
 fìor *fi:òL* adj. ppv. true; often used as modifier before adjectives: really, truly
 fios *fis* knowledge 64, 65
 firinn *fi:òin'* f VI truth 67, 191
 firionn *fiòN* adj. male 129
 firionnach *fiòNax* m I man (as opposed to woman) 65, 129, 184
 fitheach *fi-ax* raven; hawk 25 ff., 65, 133
 Flannach: *na helanàn* 'fLaNax the Flannan Isles 50
 fliuch *flux* wet; rainy 50, 76, 78, 112, 115, 131, 198
 *fliugach *flugax* adj. shy 113
 fo *foL, foL* prp. under, below 69, 133, 146, 153, 154, 156, 157, 158, 222
 fodha, fodhad, fodhaibh, fodhainn, fodham see fo
 fòghainn see fòghnaidh
 foghar *fovar* m I autumn; (a) 'sdovar in (the) autumn 84, 111, 136, 175, 185
 fòghlum *fo:Lam* n learning 86, 124
 fòghlumaiche *fo:Lamich* scholar 86
 fòghnaidh *foini* vb. def. is enough, suffices 73, 74, 239
 foighidinn *fo-ò'an* f patience 84, 134, 146
 foighidneach *fo-ò'anax* adj. patient
 fola see fuil
 fonn *foün* m I tune 183
 fopa see fo
 forc *for(a)* (*for(a)*?) n fork
 fortan *for(a)dan* fortunate

fortanach *for(a)danax* lucky, fortunate 151
 fosgailte *fosgilL'(a)* adj. open 145, 232
 fosgladh *fosglay* to open 52, 83, 85, 113, 232, 242
 fradharc *frò-ark* eyesight 84, 113, 146
 a' Fhraing (a) 'raün'g f France 139
 Frangach *frāNgax* adj. French; n Frenchman 39
 fraoch *fray:x* m I heather 46, 82, 115, 169, 172
 fras *fras* n shower 112
 frasach *frasax* n crib, manger 49
 frasgan *frasgan* pl. eyelashes 54, 113
 freagairt *frögäRd* to answer; to fit 85, 239, 243
 freumhach see reumhach
 friodhan *foiyan* n bristle 65
 frithealadh *foi-aLay, foihalay* to attend (to), to serve 65, 129, 134, 151, 242
 frith-rathad 'foi,ra-ad m by-road, foot-path 31 f.
 fuachd *fuoxg* coldness, chill; a cold 97, 113, 137
 fuaghal *fu-aL* to sew 29, 31, 76, 78, 204, 239, 241
 fuaim *fuom* sound, noise 97
 fuar *fuor* cold 98, 113, 198
 an fhuairidh gen., rec. in 'tu: a 'Nduori windward side
 fuaran *fuoran* well, spring
 fuathasach *fu-asax* terrible, terribly
 fùdar *fu:dar* gunpowder 80, 105, 157
 fuil *ful* f III blood 77, 125, 146, 168, 173, 188
 fuilngidh see fulang
 fuine *fün'a* to bake 77, 123, 156
 fuineadair *fün'adað* baker 77
 fuinn see fonn
 fuireach *fudax, fudaxg* to stay, live, dwell; to wait 77, 152, 239, 240, 241
 furasda *ferasð(a)* easy 59, 113, 155, 161, 198, 199
 gabhail *go-al, go-al, gu-al* to take; to eat, to drink 46, 69, 70, 73, 78, 116, 133, 150, 160, 180, 243
 gabhaltach *go-aLtax* contagious
 gabhar *go-or* f goat 73, 157
 gach *gax* each 109, 216
 Gàidheal *ge:-aL* Highlander 60
 Gàidhlig *gal:lig* f Gaelic language; adj. Gaelic 49, 57, 108, 145, 158, 167
 gaimhne see gamhainn
 gainmheach *gänv'vax* f sand 53
 gairm *gòðò'm* to crow 84
 gal *gal* to cry, weep

Gall *gauL* m I person from the mainland 46, 47, 183
 gamhainn *gävüN'* yearling calf 89, 175, 195
 gann *gänN* scarce; short of (de) 91, 98
 gaoith(e), gaoitean see gaoth
 gaol *gy:L* n love 81, 82
 gaoth *gy:* f II wind 80, 82, 89, 90, 109, 117, 135, 174, 186, 194
 garbh *gara'v* rough 197
 gàrradh *ga:Rax* m I stone wall or fence (between fields) 56, 109, 127, 185, 194
 gasda *gasd(a)* nice 197
 gèadh *giay* m I goose 68, 72, 75, 94, 108, 174, 180, 183
 geal *gal* white 54, 108, 124
 gealach *galax* f II moon 187
 *gealbharach *galav'arax* m I a species of mussel 184
 gealladh *galay* n promise 46
 gealltainn *galLtin'* to promise 92, 124, 146, 238, 242
 gearmhradh *gäüray* m I winter 92, 108, 167, 174, 185
 gearan *geraN'* to complain 47, 58
 a' Ghearmailt (a) 'jara'maLit' Germany 140
 Gearmailteach *gara'maLit'ax* adj. German
 gearr 1 *ga:R* hare 194
 gearr 2 see gearradh
 gearradh *ga:Rax* to cut 47, 49, 56, 167, 204, 238, 241
 gearraidh *ga:Ri* enclosure around a house; green plot around a shieling hut 57, 108, 127, 153
 Gearrloch *ga:Rlox* Gairloch 145, 154
 geata *get(a)* m gate 60, 63, 109
 ged a *gadolF* though, although 32, 256, 258, 261
 géimhleag *gäulag* crow-bar, lever 92
 geinn *gëin'* n wedge 88, 123, 194
 geir *gëd* f III suet 62, 188
 geòidh see géadh
 geug *ge:g* f sprig (of heather) 63
 geumraich *emric* to moo, to low 52, 133, 240
 geur *giar* sharp; sour 94, 198
 geurachadh *giaraxay* to sharpen
 gh-, see also under g-
 gheibh(eadh) see faighinn
 gibearnach *gibëRnax* species of cephalopoda, probably cuttle-fish 66, 145
 gille *gilè* m lad; bachelor 126
 gin *gin* n any, some 216
 giomach *gimax* lobster 66, 108

giorra see goirid
 giuthas *gu-as* pine-tree 78, 133
 glag *glag* m bell 50
 glaine see glan
 glais(e) see glas 1
 glaiste *glafid'(a)* adj. locked
 glan *glän* adj. clean 49, 198
 glaodh *gLy:* (*gLø:?*) m glue 81
 glas *gLas* 1 f II lock; 'g. 'xrxixi padlock 181, 186
 glas *gLas* 2 adj. grey; pale 53
 glé *gle:L* very 63, 162, 171, 218
 gleann *glään* m III valley 38, 49, 50, 88, 109, 125, 188, 193
 gleusadh *gliasay* to sharpen, to grind, to whet 94, 185, 203, 240
 glic *glik* wise, sagacious 65, 108, 109
 glinne see gleann
 gloine *gLän'* a f glass 54
 gluasad *gluosd* (*gluosad?*) to move 243
 glùn *glün:N'* knee 79, 109
 gnè *göe:* nature, disposition 60, 109, 129
 gnìomh *göiv* f deed; effort 49, 95, 96, 109, 129
 gnòthaich *grö-ic* f VI business; thing, matter 74, 109, 128, 191
 gob *gob* beak, bill; point of sharp instrument 73, 203
 gobha *go-a, go-o* m blacksmith 73, 89, 109, 190, 195
 gobhar see gabhar
 *gogadaich *gogadiç* to cluck; to quack 69, 240
 goibhne see gobha
 goid *god'* to steal 47, 83, 84, 106, 158, 241
 goil *gol* to boil 83
 Goill see Gall
 goireasan *göðsæn* pl. conveniences 67, 84
 goirid *gorid'* short (local and temporal) 84, 128, 198
 goirmean see guirmean
 goirt *göRsd* sore, aching; sour 37, 69, 137
 gorm *gorö'm* blue; green 69, 174, 198, 204
 görrach *gö:Rax* stupid 72
 gort(a) *göRsd(a)* (*göRsdø?*) f VI famine 190
 gràdh *gray* m I love; darling, dear 49, 56, 109, 183
 gràin *grän:N'* hatred 56
 grànda *grä:da, gra:da* ugly; nasty 41, 56, 198
 gràp(a) *gra:p* graip, dung-fork 104

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greannach *gðāNæx* cross, peevish 54
 greas *gðas* n speed, haste, hurry 85
 greim *gðe:m* n hold, grip 63, 109
 gréin(e) see grian
 greis see treis
 greusaiche *gðiasicə* shoemaker
 grian *gðion* f II sun 49, 63, 167, 174, 186
 grinn *gðēiN'*, *gðēiN'* smart; nice, well behaved 88
 grod *grəd* rotten, decayed
 gruag *gruəg* f wig 97
 gruagach *gruəgəx* young girl
 gruamán *grūōman* gloom, misery, sadness 97
 grúgach *gru:əx* dim, dull (of light) 49
 grunn *grūūN* n several, considerable amount 215
 grunnan *grūūNan* m a good deal 38, 215
 grunn(d) *grūūN* n bottom; ground(s) 49, 93
 gruth *gruh* n curds 77
 gu 1 *gə* prp. to, until 34, 47, 64, 66, 77, 108, 117, 154, 156, 201 f., 212 f., 219 f.
 gu 2 *gə^h* particle 218, 256
 guailleán *seə* gualainn
 gual *guəL* coal 96
 gualainn *guəLiN'* f shoulder 97
 gucag *gukag* n bud
 guidhe *gyjə* n VI to wish; to swear; oath, swearword 80, 81, 156, 190, 240
 guirmeán *gəðə`man* indigo dye 84, 174
 gul see gal
 gun, gum *gə^N* conj. that 49, 161, 235 ff., 260 f.
 gun *gən* (rarely *gə^N*) prp. without 32, 161, 225
 gu 'n *gə^N* conj. until 161, 260
 gunna *gūNə* m gun; *g. 'ky:L* shotgun 75, 79, 110, 122, 190, 195
 gus an *gə^N* conj. in order that; until 260 f.
 guth *guh* voice; accent

Hearach *herəx* m Harrisman, person from Harris
 na Hearadh *nə 'herəy* Harris 59, 118, 128, 157, 159
 Hirt *hiRsd* St. Kilda 118, 137, 165

i i; unstr. *i* she, her, it 153, 209 f., 214, 236, 244
 iad *i-ad*, *e-ad*, unstr. *ad* they, them 64, 209, 214
 iadsan *a:sən* emph. pers. pron. they, them 209 f.

Iain *i-aN'*, *i-aN'* John 65
 an iar (ə) 'N'd'iar (the) west; (ə) 'N'd'iar'huə northwest, (ə) 'N'd'iaras southwest
 iarnaigeadh *iəRniəy* to iron 38, 242
 iarraidh *iəRi* to ask for, to request, to want 95, 243
 iarunn *iəRuN* m I iron; 'i. 'mō:nəx peat-iron; *iRəN 'kō:haLəx* gaff, landing-hook for fish 95, 146, 147, 154, 174, 185, 242
 iasad *iəsəd* n loan
 iasg *iəsg* m I fish 95, 107, 136, 173, 183
 iasgach *iəsgəx* m to fish; fishery 170
 iasgair *iəsgaə* m VI fisherman 190
 idir *id'ir* adv. at all, ever 47, 66, 153, 217
 h-ighne see nighean
 ifrinn *ifriN'* hell (only in religious usage; cp. iutharn) 51, 78, 112
 im *i:m* m butter 38, 67, 120
 imcheist *im'çifd'* n doubt 65, 153
 imheachd *i:məx* facial expression (or features?) 43, 68
 imleach *ili'məx* to lick 64, 143
 imleag *ili'mag* navel 64, 65, 143
 impire *i:mpəðə* emperor 38, 51, 67, 99, 139
 imrich *idi'miç* f baggage; to flit, move (household) 64, 65
 Inbhir-nis *erə'nif* Inverness
 h-inghinn see nighean
 inneal *iN'əL* machine, tool 78
 innse(adh) *i:β*, *i:βəy* to tell 47, 67, 222, 241
 innte see ann an
 inntinn *ēiN'd'an* n mind 88, 139
 lobairt *i:bəRd* n sacrifice 67, 103, 157
 lobradh *i:bərəy* to sacrifice 67
 iodhlann see iothlann
 iolair *juLəð* f VI eagle 75, 78, 131, 170, 191
 iomair see iomramh
 iomallan *imi'Lən* pl. heddles
 iomhaigh *iəvaj* facial expression 151, 159
 iomhaigheachd see imheachd
 Iomhar *iəvər* Iver (man's name) 96, 112, 157, 185
 iompachadh *jūūmbəxəy* to convert 38, 51, 93, 99, 131, 139, 242
 iompair see impire
 iomradh *imi'ray* to mention 64, 65, 143, 150
 iomrall *iri'məL* n mistake 64
 iomramh *iri'məy* to row 64, 241

ionga *i:nə* f nail (of finger or toe); claw 67
 iongantach *i-uNtəx* surprising, curious 65, 134, 146
 iongantas *i-uNtas* n wonder, surprise
 ionndrainn *jūūdraN'* to miss 31, 51, 93
 ionnsachadh *jūūsəxəy* to learn; to teach 42, 47, 93, 113, 130, 131, 242
 iosal *iəsəl* adj. low 95, 119, 198
 iothlann *juLhiN'* cornyard 52, 78, 117, 131, 153, 160
 is (ə)s is (the copula) 31, 195, 198, 199, 210, 245 ff.
 ise *if(ə)* emph. pers. pron. she, her 209 f.
 isean *ifan* m I chicken; bird 155, 170, 182, 184
 ite *if(ə)* f feather 65, 107, 156, 189
 iteachan *if'əxan* bobbin
 iteag *if'ag* flight, act of flying
 itealach *if'aləiç* to fly
 ithe *iç(ə)* to eat 43, 65, 114, 156, 170, 238, 243, 254
 iuchair *juxəd* f IV key 76, 162, 189, 194
 iutharn *juhuRn* hell (in profane usage, cp. ifrinn) 76, 78, 112, 117, 131, 146, 147

là see latha
 làdach *La:dəx* great quantity, a lot 124
 ladharr *Lə-ər* hoof 84, 86, 175, 194
 ladhrach see under breabadair
 lag *Lag* weak 98, 158, 190
 lagh *Ləy* law 85, 115, 124
 laghach *Lə-əx* nice 124
 laghail *Ləyəl* lawful
 laidhe *Lajə* n to lie (down); lying position 243, 256
 làidhir *La:d'ir*, *La:d'ər* strong 57, 124, 145, 198
 laige *Lağə* f weakness 158, 190
 làimhe see lámh
 làir 1 *La:ə* f VI mare 47, 56, 191
 làir 2 see làr
 lámh *Lā:v* f II hand; handle 47, 87, 112, 124, 173, 186, 203
 lámhadh *Lā:vəy*, *Lā:vəy*, *Lā:vəy* f II axe 52, 111, 146, 151, 174, 187, 193
 làn *Lā:n* adj. full 32, 53, 198
 langa *Lāyə* ling (fish) 55, 115, 124, 157, 190, 195
 langadar *LāNgədər* f a kind of seaweed 99, 121, 139
 langannan see langa
 lanntair *LāūNtəð* lantern 92, 124, 138, 139
 laoch *Ly:x* m hero 82

laogh *Ly:y* m I calf 81, 82, 91, 135, 174, 183
 laoidh *Lui* f VI hymn 45, 91, 135, 191, 193
 *laomainn *Lā:miN'* moth
 làr *La:r* m I floor; ground 47, 56, 183
 làrach *La:rəx* m I track, footprint; scar 184
 latha *La-ə*, *La-a* m day; 'L. 'bjauLtiN' May-day 53, 133, 146, 156, 190, 206
 latha 'r na mhàireach 'Lā:N'ə 'vā:rəx, 'La-a na 'vā:rəx the following day 217
 le *le* prp. with; by; belonging to 34, 43, 52, 60, 61, 62, 70, 86, 89, 93, 105, 119, 133, 145, 146, 156, 200, 213, 222
 leabag see leòbag
 leabaidh *Labi* f irreg. bed 55, 57, 59, 103, 153, 156, 168, 192, 195
 leabhar *Lə-ər*, *Lə-ər* m book 68, 70, 71, 125, 131, 146, 175, 213
 leaghadh *Lə-əy* to melt 84, 241
 leam see le
 làna *Līānə* n plain, area of flat ground 94
 leanabaidh *Lana`bi* childish 197
 leanabh *Lānu* small child, baby 55, 154
 leanaidh see leantuinn
 leann see lionn
 leannan *LāNan* sweetheart
 leantuinn *LāNtiN'* to follow; to continue 51, 177, 242
 leapa(nnan) see leabaidh
 leas 1 *Les* f garden; cornyard 59
 leas 2 *las* necessity; only rec. in constructions like *xa liğ u 'las* you need not
 leasachadh *Lesəxəy* to improve 43, 59, 242
 leat, leatha see le
 leathad *Le-ad* m I slope 59, 134, 151, 175, 177, 185
 leathann *LəhiN'*, *LəhiN'* wide, broad 58, 125, 177, 197
 leathar *Ləhər* leather 59
 leibh see le
 leigeil *Ligal* to leave; to let 40, 66, 243
 leigheas *Lə-if* to cure 84, 241
 léine *Le:nə* shirt 38, 51, 63, 139, 156, 190
 leinn see le
 gu léir *gə 'Le:ə* completely, all, altogether 63, 218
 leis see le
 leisg *Ləfjə* lazy 51, 62, 198
 leisgeul *LəfjəL* n excuse 62

leitid see le
 leitid *Lehid'*, *Lehid'*, *Le-id'* n the like (of) 58, 59, 152
 leòbag *Lo:bag*, *Lo:bag* n flounder 126
 Leòd *Lo:d* Leod (man's name) 68, 71, 105, 126
 Leòdhas *Lou-as* m I (Isle of) Lewis 93, 94, 126, 157, 161, 185
 leòghann *Lo:-uN* f lion; 'L. 'varə sea lion 147
 leòmanna see laomanna
 leòn *Lo:n* injury, in expressions like *na a eò a 'lo:n* 'he was injured' 68
 gu leòr *gə 'Lo:r* enough 71, 215, 218
 leothaid see leathad
 leth *Leh*, *Leh*, *LeL-* n and adj. ppv. half 32, 58, 116
 lethcheann *LeçaN* cheek 151
 leth-cheud *Leçad* fifty 58, 157
 leth-uair *Lehəð*, *Lehəð* half-hour 58, 157
 leud *Liad* m width, breadth 59
 leughadh *Le:vay* to read 112, 241
 leum *Le:m* n jump 63, 120, 126
 leumnaich *Ləvə'miç* to jump 126
 liagh *Liəy* (ə 'Rē:v) blade (of the oar)
 liath *Liə* grey 117
 lin see lion
 lion *LiəN* m I fishing-net 40, 67, 95, 96, 123, 125, 174, 184
 lionadh *LiəNay* n to fill; rising of the tide; high tide 95, 122, 157
 lionn *LjūN* beer, ale 47, 93, 122
 lios see leas
 lite *Lil'* (ə) m porridge 190
 litir *Lil'ir* letter (in both senses: written message and graphic symbol) 47, 65, 153, 160
 liùgh *Lu:* lythe, pollack
 lium see le
 Liurbost *Lu:rboçd* Leurbost 15, 138, 145, 154, 182
 lobhar *Lo-əð(ə)* leprosy 69
 lobht *Loi(ə)* f loft, attic 74, 105, 124
 lobhta *Ləi'* (*Ləi'(ə)'*) rotten, decayed 84
 locar *Ləkəð* carpenter's plane 51, 124
 loch *Ləx* m lake; narrow arm of the sea 182
 lochd *Ləxg* mischief
 Lochlannach *LəxLiN'əx* m and adj. (a) Norse(man) in popular tradition, not always identified with modern Norwegians, for whom the English word is used. (b) Person from Lochs Parish, Lewis (Sgìre nan Loch)
 lochraichean see lochair
 loipeas see luingeas

loisg(eadh), loisgidh see losgadh
 lomnochd *Lyrj'məxg* naked 81, 82, 143
 *longag *LōNgag* unidentified part of old-fashioned loom
 lorg *Lara'g* n trace; (slightest) knowledge; to look for; to find 54, 241
 losgadh *Ləsgəy*, *Lysgəy* n to burn; 'L. *asə* 'vuð phosphorescence of the sea 31, 69, 82, 157, 173, 242
 lot *Lət* scar left by a boil 68, 69
 luadh(adh) *Luəy* to full, to waulk (cloth) 96, 203, 240, 241
 luaithe see luath 1 and 2
 luath *Luə* 1 f ashes 98, 124, 135
 luath *Luə* 2 adj. quick, adv. fast 132, 135, 198
 luchd *Luxg* people
 lùbadh *Lu:bəy* to bend 79, 241
 luch *Lux* f VI mouse 77, 191, 195
 lùdag *Lu:day* little finger; little toe
 lugha see beag
 luideach *Lud'əx* clumsy
 luideag *Lud'ag* n rag 75
 luidhe, luighe see laidhe
 lùiginn *Lu:giN'* vb. def. I (should) wish 125
 luingeas *Lūjəs* navy 78, 132, 157
 lunn *LjūN* launching roller; prop for keeping boat upright on shore 38, 47, 78, 93, 122, 124, 176, 194
 lurg *Luru'g* leg between knee and ankle
 lusan *Lusən* pl. herbs 77

m' see mo and mu
 ma *maLF* if 258, 261
 ma 's see mas
 mac *māk* m I son; *mak* 'mēnē'viN' imagination; *mak* 'taLə nə 'Nkəðg echo 51, 64, 66, 99, 109, 173, 183
 a mach (ə) 'māx adv. out (movement) 32, 46, 216, 227
 madadh-ruadh *madə 'Ruəy* m fox
 maduinn *mādiN'* morning 98, 104, 153, 160
 maide *mād'ə* m wood; stick; 'biran 'm. stick of wood 107, 156, 189
 mairdear *mē:d'far* n major 60, 152
 maighdean *məi'd'ən*, *məi'd'əN* f maid; bride; *m.* 'varə mermaid 44, 90, 107, 157
 maighistir *mē-əfd'əd* m master; *mə 'sgolə* schoolmaster 59, 148
 am maireach (ə) 'mā:rəx to-morrow 44, 56, 217
 Màiri *mā:di* Mary 57, 129, 153, 182, 190
 mairt see mart
 maitheanas *māhəNəs* forgiveness

mala *mālə* eyebrow 100, 101, 120, 143, 156, 190, 194
 mall *māūL* adj. slow (only in certain expressions such as *bə 'vāūL 'lə-ə* 'Nkasən their feet were [too] slow for them, i. e. they ran as fast as they could; cp. *slaodach*) 247
 maoidhean *māijən* to threaten 44, 91
 maoil *mə:l* 1 f VI forehead 86, 191
 maoil *mə:l* 2 adj. bald 86
 maoir see maor
 maor *mə:r* m I factor, steward (land agent) 183
 maorach *mə:rəx* m I mussel (of any kind) 44, 86, 184
 mar 1 *marL*, *mur-* as (before nouns and pronouns); *muR'isə* like this, *muR'sūn* like that 78, 218
 mar 2 *manəLF* conj. as (before verbs) 258
 mara see muir
 marbh *marə'v* dead 47, 53, 100, 101, 128, 142
 marbhadh *marə'v* to kill 47, 53, 134, 143, 239, 241
 *marcaid *markad'*, *mārkad'* f market 53
 marcaiche *markiç* rider 53
 margad(h) see marcaid
 mar gun, mar gum *magəN* as if 260
 mart 'bovine animal' rec. in *fjo:l 'maRsd* beef
 mas *mas* conj. before; or else 260
 masg *masg* mesh 53, 137
 math *māh* good 46, 53, 56, 116, 197, 198, 199, 200, 218, 247
 máthair *mā:həð*, *mā:həð* f irreg. mother; 'm. 'çe:lə stepmother; mother-in-law 42, 56, 164, 192, 206
 meadhon *mī-an* n middle 66, 134, 151, 159, 226
 meadhonach *mī-anəx* adj. middle, central 28
 meall *mjāūL* n shower; lump 49
 mealladh *mjāLəy* to disappoint, to deceive 54, 233
 meanbh-chuilleag 'mēnē'xulag f midge
 meangan *mēyan* m I branch, bough 115, 184
 meanmáinn, meanmna see under mac
 mearachd *mē:rəxg* n lie 59
 meas see miosan
 meirg *mēd'g* f rust 61, 62, 108, 140
 mèirleach *mjā:Rləx* m burglar 56, 127
 meog, meug *mjəg* n whey 85, 131
 co mhead *kə 'viəd*, *kə 'viəd* how much, how many 42, 96, 259
 meur *mīār* finger 94, 120

*meuranaich *mīāraniç* to ^{yawn} yawn, to tell yarns 121
 mi *mī:*, unstr. *mī* I, me 67, 209 f., 214
 mi- *mī:L-* prefix dis-, mis-, un- 67
 mial *mīəL* louse 95
 *miamhlaich *mīāLiç* to mew; to bleat 240
 miannachadh *mīəNəxəy* to desire, wish for
 mì-choltach *mī:çLəx* unlikely 67
 mì-fhortan 'mī:'əRsdan misfortune, bad luck 32
 mì-ghoireasach 'mī:'yəðəsəx inconvenient 67
 mil *mīl* f VI honey 64, 65, 191
 mile *mī:lə* 1 n mile 67, 218
 mìle *mī:lə* 2 thousand 67, 156, 229
 millis *mīlīs* sweet 51, 125, 198
 milleadh *mīLəy* to destroy 65, 88, 125, 238, 241
 mì-mhodh *mī:vəy* n insult 67, 146, 147
 mì-mhodhail 'mī:vəyəl impolite 67
 minig *mīniç* often, frequent(ly) 152
 *minigeadh *mīniçəy* to mean; to signify; to intend
 ministear *mīnifd'əd*, *mīnifd'əd* m minister 64, 66
 mionach *mīnəx* n sg. bowels 66
 mionaid *mīnad'* f VI minute 66, 152, 191
 mionaigr *mīnakəd* f vinegar 98, 121, 145
 miorbhuil *mīərfəL* miracle 52, 96, 140, 145
 miorbhuileach *mīərfəLəx* marvellous, wonderful
 mìos *mīəs* m month 95, 206
 miosa see dona
 miosan *mīsən* pl. fruits 64, 66
 miosgachadh *mīsgəçəy* to mix 66, 242
 mìostadh *mīəsdəy* mischief
 miotag *mītag* f II mitten 64, 106, 187
 mise *mifə* (rarely *mif*) emph. pers. pron. I, me 46, 209 f., 214
 mì-shealbh *mī:halu* n only rec. in the sense 'a scolding' (originally 'misfortune') 32, 118, 151
 mnathan see bean
 mo, m' *məL*, *mb-* poss. pron. my 49, 164, 211 f., 219, 226
 mò see mór
 moch *məx* adv. early 73, 217
 modh *moy* (polite) manner
 modhail *moyəl* well mannered, polite 67
 mogul *mōgəL* m mesh (of net) 160
 mòine *mō:N'ə* f IV peat 73, 74, 180, 189, 204

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mòinteach *mò:t'ax* f II moor 74, 107, 187
 moiteil *mò:l'al* proud 69, 107
 moladh *mò:Lay* to praise 69, 159, 241
 mór *mò:r* great, large, big; adv. much 42, 44, 73, 74, 78, 133, 146, 155, 156, 196, 198, 204, 208, 218, 247
 Mòr *mò:r* woman's name, often anglicized Marion 44
 móran *mò:ran* n much 203, 215, 218
 mórchuis *mò:rcusf* proud, haughty 52, 140, 146, 155
 morghan *mò:r'yan* gravel, shingle 70, 121, 142
 mort, mortair see murt, murtair
 mosach *mò:sax* avaricious
 motha see mór
 mothachadh *mò-axay* to perceive 73, 134
 mu *maL* prp. about 33, 64, 65, 78, 156, 221
 mu 'n conj. see mas
 muc *mūk* f II pig 77, 110, 185, 186
 mùchadh *mò:axay* to choke 75
 *muga *mūgə* jug 190, 195
 muic(e) see muc
 muidhe *mūjə* n churn 77, 156
 a muigh (ə) 'mūj adv. out, outside (repose) 45, 76, 130, 216
 muileann *mūliN'* f III mill 89, 176, 188, 194, 203
 muillear, muilnear *mò:LLað* miller 89, 145
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 muing *mūl* f. mane 45, 91, 130, 135
 muinntir *mūid'ar*, *mūiN'd'ar* n sg. people, inhabitants 89, 107, 139
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 Murchadh *mòrə'xay* Murdo(ch) 85, 140, 174, 182, 185
 murt *muRsd* n murder
 murtair *muRsdad* murderer
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 'n prp. see ann an
 'n poss. pron. see an a
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 na 2 *na* than 32, 199
 na 3 *nə* comparative part. 52, 199, 256

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 nàbachd *Nā:baxg* f VI neighbourliness, friendliness 191
 nàbaidh, nàbuidh *Nā:bi* m VI neighbour; friend 56, 103, 121, 122, 153, 189, 206
 nach *nax* conj. that not; which not; not 235 ff., 260 f.
 naidheachd *Nē-axg* f VI news 57, 59, 149, 191
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 nàimhdeil *Nāid'al* vicious; (?) hostile
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 naoi *Nāiy* nine 90, 115, 122, 140, 228
 naoidhean *Nāi'jan* baby 89, 90, 130
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 nead *N'əd* m VI nest 57, 59, 123, 168, 191
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 neart *N'aRsd* strength 53, 123, 137
 air neò *əd* 'N'ò(ə), *ədə* 'jōh or, or else 75, 256, 257
 neo-chiontach *N'ācuNtəx* innocent 53
 neònach *N'ò:nəx* curious; queer; funny 75
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 Niall *N'iəL* Neil 95
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 odhar *o-ar* dun-coloured 73
 òg ax young 71, 109, 198
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 oibreachadh *obrəxay* to handle, to work
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 oir ax edge (of table, etc.) 69
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 oisinn axfan corner
 oitir ax'ar f VI part of the sea with sandy bottom
 òl ax:L to drink 37, 71
 ola axL(ə) oil 37, 69
 olc axLk m I evil, mischief 51, 69, 138, 173, 183
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 òr ax m I gold 71, 128, 172, 183
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 pailt *paLl'* plentiful 104
 pailteas *paLl'əs* n plenty, abundance 47
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 Peigi *pegi* Peggy 182
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 plos *pi:s* piece 67, 203
 piuthar *pju-ər* f irreg. sister 58, 78, 130, 131, 133, 178, 192, 200
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 plumastair *pLuməsdað* m dull man (rec. as a nickname)
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 pòcaid *pəkad'* pocket 72
 poll *pəuL* m I peat-bank; cove 46
 pongail *pəNgal*, *pəNgal* punctual, prompt 39, 85, 139
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 prìosan *pði:səN* f jail, prison 67, 104, 157
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 *pruthach *pruhəx* whooping-cough 49, 104

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 (weight) 44, 88, 92, 93, 139, 183
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*rabhainn *Ro-iN'* n warning 73
 ràcaire *Ra:kəð* drake, male duck 57
 radha *gra-a*, *gra-a* to say 55, 117, 222,
 251 f.
 rag *Rag* stiff
 ràidh *Ra:j* quarter of a year 56, 132
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 raineach *Rēnax* fern 59
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 ràmh *Rā:v* m I oar 47, 60, 126, 183
 rànaíl *Rā:nal* to cry, weep
 rang *Rāy* rib (of boat) 115
 rangas *RaNgas* rubbing-piece on the
 gunwale of boat 53, 115, 139
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 119, 127, 242
 raodain *Rō:dan'* pl. timber-worms 86
 an raoir (ə) '*Rōid* adv. last night 32,
 89, 90, 217
 raon *Rō:n* patch (of land), '*R. nē:piçan*
 turnip patch 40, 84, 86
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 glicized Rachel 86, 122, 127, 153
 Raonull *Rō:al* Ranald 86, 127, 157,
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 a réir (ə) '*Re:ð*, (ə) '*de:ð* prp. according
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 213, 222 f., 256
 riadh *Riaw* interest (of money) 112
 riaghladh *RiəLəy* to rule, govern 95
 riamh (ə) '*diaw* adv. ever; with negation
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riasp *Riəsg* peat-ground 95
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 riochd *Ryaxg* form; appearance 81, 82
 riof *Rəf* reef (of sail) 111
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 145, 153, 161, 217
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 ro *rōL* too (before adjectives and ad-
 verbs) 49, 168
 robhairt *Ro-əRd* spring-tide 44, 146
 *rògais *Rō:gif* f starling 72
 roghainn *Ro-iN'* n choice
 roimh *rōL* prp. before (in time or space)
 35, 60, 61, 62, 74, 133, 221
 roimhe, roimpe see roimh
 roimhe sin '*rənə fin* before that, until
 then; roimhe so '*rənə fo* before this,
 until now
 roinn *RāiN'* to divide, to share 86, 203,
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 ròn *Rō:n* seal (animal) 71
 Rònaidh *Rō:naj* North Rona 71
 rong see rang
 ròsaid *Rō:sad'* rosin, resin 72, 119, 152
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 ròstadh *Rō:sdəy* to fry 72, 137
 ruadh *Ruəy* ruddy; light brown 96,
 197
 Ruairidh *Ruəði* man's name, anglicized
 Roderick 47, 97, 168, 190
 rud *Rud* m VI thing; rud-eiginn *Rudiçin*
 something 40, 75, 78, 145, 191
 rudha *Ru-a*, *Ru-u* m promontory,
 headland, point 37, 79, 184
 Rudhach *Ru-ax* m I inhabitant of
 Point or Eye Peninsula near Storno-
 way 184
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 rùghadh *Ru:ay* to stack peats (first
 stacking) 37, 77, 79, 134, 200, 241
 rùghan *Ru-an* m I peat-stack (of the
 first stacking) 79, 127, 184
 ruighinn *Ri-iN'* to reach; to arrive at
 56, 122, 159, 252
 rùisgte *Ru:fd'* (ə) adj. stripped, naked
 Ruisia Russia, only rec. in the gen.
rufi-a 120, 146, 152

ruith *Ruj* to run 78, 80, 116, 132, 241
 rùm *Rūm* room 93, 127, 195
 rùsg *Ru:sg* n peel; turf covering peat-
 bank 127
 rùsgadh *Ru:sgəy* to strip; to peel; to
 remove turf

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 -sa *s(ə)* emph. particle 212 f.
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 sàbh *sav* m I saw 43, 57, 60, 112, 119,
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 sabhal *so-əl* m I barn 73, 74, 175, 185
 Sáboinnd *sa:bōN't'*, *sa:bōd'* f VI Sunday,
 Sabbath; usually constructed with
 latha: '*La-a nə* 's. Sunday 145
 sadadh *sadəy* to throw, fling 99, 241
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 saighdear *soid'ad* m VI soldier 90, 168
 saighdearachd *soid'adəy* f VI army 191
 saighead *se-əd* arrow 57, 59, 134, 146,
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 sàil *sail* heel 56, 125
 saill *sailL* n fat; fatness 87, 125
 sailleadh *saLəy* to salt
 saillte *sailL'* adj. salt, salted 87
 sàl *sa:L* sea; salt-water (as opposed to
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 salach *saLəx* 1 adj. dirty 146
 salach *saLəx* 2 to soil 241
 salann *saLiN'* n salt 118
 salchar *saLa'xər* dirt 115, 142
 sàmhach *sā:vəx*, *sa:vəx* quiet, still 23,
 41, 42, 56
 samhradh *sāūrəy* m I summer 92, 136,
 185, 206
 -san *sən* emph. particle 212 f.
 sanntach *sāūNdəx* keen, ambitious 51,
 92, 138, 139
 saoghal *sy:vəL*, *sy:əl* m I world 81,
 82, 112, 185
 saoihbhir *səivər* wealthy 90, 111
 saoihbreas *səivərəs* (*səivərəs*?) wealth 51,
 90
 saoidhean *səijan* young coal-fish or
 saithe 89, 90, 119, 130
 saoilinn to think, only rec. in the pret.
hy:l
 saor *sy:r* 1 m I joiner 82, 183
 saor *sy:r* 2 adj. free; cheap 82
 Sasuinn *sasiN'* England 184
 Sasunnach *sasəNəx* m I Englishman
 184
 -se *f(ə)* emph. particle 212 f.
 sè(a) *fia* six 94, 228
 seacadh to shrink or sink, only rec. in

the fut. '*fekəs i* '*fios* it (the peat-
 stack) will sink or settle
 *seacaid *fekad'* jacket 60, 110, 120
 seachad *fexəd* adv. past; away; '*f. eð*
 prp. past
 seachd *fəxg* seven 51, 57, 59, 137, 228
 an seachdamh (ə) '*fəxgu* the seventh
 231
 seachdnar *fəxgər* seven (persons) 230
 seachduin *fəxgəN'* f IV week 31, 59,
 145, 154, 168, 189, 218
 sealbhach *saLa'vəx* lucky 54
 sealbhagan *saLa'vəgən* pl. a kind of
 plant (sorrel?)
 sealladh *saLəy* sight, compass of vision
 168
 sealltuinn *fauLtiN'* to look 91, 92, 131,
 176, 228, 242
 Sealtainn *saLtiN'* Shetland 120, 138
 sean *šə:(L)-*, *šənə'L-*, *šyn-*, *šən-* adj. ppv.
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 seanailear *šinaləd* m general 66, 120, 152
 seanair *šənəd* m irreg. grandfather 59,
 151, 169, 192
 sèanar *šīānər* six (persons) 230
 seanchas *šənə'xəs* n story; to chat 84,
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 sean-ghille '*šə:jiLə* m bachelor 86
 seanmhair *šənə'vad* f irreg. grand-
 mother 59, 142, 150, 192
 sean-nighean '*šə:'ni-un* old maid, spin-
 ster 86
 searbh *fara'v* bitter 55, 119, 198
 searbhant *fara'vəNt* servant 55, 112,
 120, 145, 154, 200
 searmon *fara'mən* m I sermon 28
 searmonachadh *fara'mənəxəy* to preach
 29, 31, 120
 searrach *faRəx* n colt 54
 seasamh *fəsu* to stand; to last, continue
 59, 154, 168, 243, 256
 seasg *fəsg* barren (applied to a cow
 without milk) 59
 an sèathamh (ə) '*fia-u* the sixth 231
 seiche *fəç* n hide (of horse or cattle;
 sheep-skin is called criceann) 62
 séideadh *fə:d'əy* to blow 63, 242
 seileastar *fələsdər* yellow iris (*iris*
pseudacorus)
 sèimh *šə:v* quiet 60
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 *séis *fə:f* bench 64
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aNə 'hjo(h), (ə) 'fo(h) here 116, 162, 214 f., 217
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 seumarlan f'āmāLan factor, steward (land agent)
 Seumas fe:məs James 64, 120
 sgadan sgadan m I herring 184
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 Sgalpaidh sgaLpaj Scalpay 55, 136, 138, 140
 sgamhan sgāvan lung
 sgaoileadh sgy:ləy to spread 82, 241
 sgaoilteach sgy:ll'əx to spread clothes on grass for bleaching; (layer of) peats spread on the bank to dry 80, 82, 243
 sgarbh sgara'v m I cormorant 55, 85, 98, 112, 136, 172, 174, 184
 Sgarp sgarp Scarpa (an island) 51, 128, 136, 138
 sgathadh sgahəy to cut the roots from barley straw for thatching
 sgàthan sga:han mirror 50, 136
 sgealpaich sgaLpich dandruff 51, 140
 sgeilp sgeilf shelf 52, 63, 137
 sgeir sgeòd f III skerry 63, 129, 136, 188
 sgeul sgiāL story; rumour 50, 94, 136
 sgeulachd sgiāLəxg story
 sgiamhall sgiāvəl to neigh; to squeal 94, 240
 sgian sgiōn f irreg. knife 40, 64, 66, 95, 96, 148, 156, 178, 193, 203
 sgiath sgiə f wing 95, 135
 sgillinn sgiilig penny 66, 125, 137, 153, 195, 228
 sgimileirean sgiāladān treadles (on loonf)
 sgiobadh sgiəy working team, crew (not used about ship's crew which is called kdu-ə m) 66, 103, 137
 sgiobair sgiəbā skipper 66, 103, 137
 sgiobalta sgiəbāLt quick, active; accurate; smart 146
 sgire sgi:ə parish 51, 67, 129, 137
 sgith sgi: adj. tired 65, 67, 135, 197
 *sgleòtag sgl:tag small lythe or pollack 50, 72
 sgoil sgoL f III school 69, 188
 sgoilteadh sgoLl'əy to gut (fish); to split 85, 241 f.
 sgoltadh sgoLl'əy homonymous with sgoilteadh 72, 73, 173, 241 f.
 sgoth sgo: cloud 72

sgriobhadh sgh:ivəy to write 50, 67, 112, 136, 241
 sguab sguəb broom; sheaf of corn 98
 sguabadh to sweep, only rec. in the pret. sguəb
 sgudal sguəL rubbish 78
 sguir sguə to stop, cease 31, 241
 *sgumar sguāmar landing-net
 sh-, see also under s-
 shlos hiəs down (repose) 119, 217
 shuas huəs up (repose) 217
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 siabunn siəbuN soap 147
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 Siarach siəxə person from the west side of Lewis
 sibh unstr. fu you (2d pers. pl.) 104, 155, 209, 214
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 sin fīn that; aNə 'fīn, aNə 'hīn, (ə) 'fīn there 32, 66, 78, 122, 214 f., 217, 218
 sinedh fī:nəy to stretch (intr.); to lie (stretched out) 67, 256
 sinn unstr. fīN' we, us 67, 209, 214
 sinne fīN'ə emph. pers. pron. we, us 209 f.
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 sloda si:də m silk 37, 67, 190
 slol siəL seed 95, 96, 119
 sloladh siəLəy to strain, filter
 sloman siəman m rope made of heather 96, 120, 121
 sionnach fūNəx m I fox 78, 184
 sionnachan fūNuxan phosphorescence
 siorrachd fūRuxg f shire, county 146, 147, 154
 siorram fūRaj sheriff 79, 120, 127
 siorruidheachd siəRi-əxg eternity 96
 slos siəs adv. down (movement away from speaker) 96, 119, 217
 sith si: fairy, rec. only in the pl. fī:hiçān and in ben 'fi: fairy woman and dgiN'ə 'fi: fairy man 46, 67
 *sithean si:han m I flower (generic term) 68, 184
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 sitrich siðič to neigh 51, 129, 240
 siubhad fu-əd vb. def. go ahead! go on! 253

siubhal fu-əL to travel, to wander 78
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 siùrsach fu:Rsəx f whore 120
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 slàinte sLā:N'l'ə f health 38, 139
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 slaod sLy:d vb. ipv. stretch 81, 83
 slaodach sLy:dəx slow 83
 slat sLat f II rod, esp. fishing-rod 169, 172, 186
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 sliasaid fLiasid' thigh 95, 125, 145, 152
 slige fLigə mussel-shell 66, 146
 slighe fLi-ə f way 49, 50, 66, 101, 156, 169
 slinn fL'ēiN' (pl. fL'iN'an) weaver's reed
 sloc sLək m I pit, depression 119, 172, 183
 sloinneadh sL'ēN'əy surname 81, 82, 118
 sluagh sLuəy m I crowd, people 49, 50, 115, 172, 183
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 smaoineachadh smə:N'əxəy to think 50, 86, 120, 242
 smeòrach smjə:rəx a bird, probably the song-thrush 50, 75, 119
 smigead smegad f chin 57, 59
 smior smir marrow 65, 119
 smuid smuid' n drizzle; joc. drink 79
 smùr smù:r dust, esp. of peat 79
 snaim sNātm n knot; to tie 87
 snàmh see snàmh
 snàithean, *snàithlean, snàithnean
 sNā:lan bit of thread (for darning)
 snàmh sNā:v to swim 50, 56, 122, 241
 snaoisean sNə:fan snuff 43, 86, 119, 152
 snasail sNasal handsome
 snàth sNā: yarn (for weaving); wool (for knitting) 56, 118, 135
 snàthad sNā:həd, sNā:had f II needle 117, 151, 152, 169, 172, 174, 187, 207
 sneachda fN'əxg(ə) m snow 119, 156, 169, 191
 sneaghan fN'əyan, fN'īyan, fN'əyan ant 84
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 soilleir səlād bright 83, 85
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 solta səlL tame 70, 119
 solus səlās m I light 69, 161, 172, 174, 185
 air son, airson eR' sən, əR' sən cpd. prp. for the sake of, for 33, 219, 226
 sonraichte sō:riçd'(ə) special, peculiar; certain 145, 197
 spaid sbad' f VI spade 136, 191
 spaideil sbad'al adj., dandy, (ostentatiously) well dressed
 an Spàinn (ə) 'sbā:N' Spain
 spāl sba:L f shuttle
 speal sbjaL scythe 50, 54, 131
 spealadh sbjaLəy to mow (with a scythe)
 speuclairean sbiakLadān pl. spectacles
 speuradair sbe:rədað weather-prophet 63
 speuradairachd sbe:ðədaðəxg (and -adəxg) to foretell the weather 63
 spiorad sbirəd spirit 50, 66, 136, 157
 spiris sbiðif f VI hen-roost 66, 191
 *spògail sbo:gəl to crawl
 sporan sboran sporan; purse 69
 spot sbət n spot; stain; asə 's. (a 's.) on the spot, immediately 136
 spoth sbəh to castrate 69
 spréidh sbə:ç cattle, live stock (including sheep) 50, 136
 sráid sdrā:d' f VI street 136, 191
 srann sdrāūN n snore (the informant translated the word by 'yawn', probably by mistake)
 *srannlaidh sdrāūLi pot-hook (in chimney)
 sreang sdrəy f string 90, 115, 128, 136, 169
 sreath sdrəh f VI row, as of potatoes in the field 136, 191
 srèathartaich sdrīahəRdiç to sneeze 50, 94, 240
 *sròcadh sdrə:kəy to wipe out
 sròn sdrə:N' f VI nose 71, 136, 191
 srùp sdrup n spout
 sruthan sdruhan (little) stream 136
 stàbùll sda:bəl n stable 57, 103
 stad sdað to stop, halt 50, 241
 staidhre sdaìr(ə) staircase 90
 a staigh (ə) 'sdəj, (ə) 'sdə adv. in, inside (repose) 136, 216, 227
 staillear(an) sdaLaRd spring balance 145, 150
 stairs(n)each sdaRsəx threshold 136
 stamag sdāmāg stomach 55, 121, 136, 152, 201
 starrag sdaRag a bird (the hooded crow?)

starran *sðaran* ford with stepping-stones
 a steach (ə) 'fd' ex adv. in, inside (movement) 59, 136, 216
 Steòrnabhagh 'fd':Rnəvay Stornoway (town and parish) 127, 136, 149
 stiùir 'fd'u:ð rudder 50, 80, 129, 136
 stòl sð:L stool 136
 strainnsear sðrāifad m VI stranger 88, 120, 137, 191
 *strioman sðriðman stripe
 striopach sðri:pax f whore 68, 104
 stuirt sðuRsd (speechlessness induced by) anger
 Suaineach sūðN'ax (rec. with -uə-) Swede
 suarrach suəRəx trifling, insignificant; (morally) bad 96
 suas suəs adv. up (movement away from speaker) 217
 *suasrainn suəsriN' adj. acquainted 51
 subhach rec. in 'd' tānu 'su-ax cheer up (ipv. 2. pl.)
 sùgradh su:grəy diversion, sport, play 51, 109
 suidhe syj(ə) to sit (down); 'd' tān 's. sit down! 80, 82, 243, 256
 sùil su:l f VI eye 79, 191
 sùil-chruthaich sul 'xruhiç f bog
 suim sðim n regard, esteem 89
 suipear syjpar, -ar supper
 suirghe syðy'j to court, to woo 80, 82, 143
 sùist su:fd' f flail 79, 118, 136
 sùith su:ç, sèiç soot
 surrag suRag vent of a kiln 78
 t' see do 1
 tàbh ta:v m I hand-net for cuddies (young coal-fish) 40, 43, 56, 60, 106, 112, 173, 183
 tabhairt tə-əRd, unstr. təRd to give; to take; to bring 44, 47, 62, 70, 77, 105, 112, 157, 232, 251
 taca tak(ə) m lease, farm (Sc. tack) 55, 106
 tacadh takəy to choke
 tachairt taxəRd to happen 51, 239, 243
 tachais taxif to itch; to scratch (in order to relieve itch) 203, 241
 tachdadh see tacadh
 taghadh tə-əy to choose 84, 134, 242
 tàib see tòb
 tàibh see tàbh
 taibhse təif(ə) f ghost 90, 105, 156, 190
 taigh təj, tə m III house; tə 'çerk hen-house; təj 'ə-əsd inn; tə 'fēiN'f (-ðī-)

pub (orig. change-house); tə 'səLif lighthouse 38, 52, 59, 72, 85, 88, 115, 118, 123, 130, 132, 134, 148, 178, 182, 188, 194, 204, 205, 217
 tàillear ta:Ləð m tailor 57, 126, 168
 taing tātN'g n thanks 38, 51, 88, 106, 123, 139
 taingeil tātN'gal thankful 38, 139
 tàinig see tighinn
 tairbh see tarbh
 tairge to offer, only rec. in the pret. hada'g
 tàirneanach ta:Rnaniç f thunder, thunderstorm
 tais taf damp, wet 197
 taitneach tal'anəx pleasant 160
 talamh taLu m and f irreg. earth, land, ground 42, 53, 142, 154, 180, 192, 203
 tàmalteach tā:maLl'əx pitiable, disgraceful
 tambaca də'mbak(ə) tobacco 32, 82, 185, 226
 tàmh tā:v n repose, immobility 40, 42
 tana tānə thin; shallow 46, 105, 156
 tanalach tānəLəx shallow place (in lake, etc.)
 taobh ty:v, tu:, unstr. tu m side; ði 't. beside; (ə) 'hy:v concerning 80, 82, 185, 226
 taobhan ty:van n rafter
 *taog ty:g bruise or dent, as on laminated metal (given by informant as synonym of tulg) 83
 taom tə:m vb. ipv. pour 86
 tapadh tapə n thanks 104, 106
 tapaidh tapi brave; strong 197
 tarbh tara'v m I bull 85, 142, 184
 targaid tara'gad' (shooting) target 55, 106, 110, 142
 tarrang taRəg f (pl. taRa'gən) (metal) nail
 tarruing taRig to pull; to transport, carry 29, 127, 152, 159, 239, 241
 tarsuinn air 'taRsiN' eð prp. across 52, 227
 tastan tasdan m shilling 55, 106, 152
 té t'e:, unstr. t'e one (referring to a female or a feminine noun) 64, 216
 teachd-an-tìr t'əxg ə 'N'l'i:ð n income, living
 teadhair t'əyəd f VI tether 85, 107, 161, 191
 gun teagamh gə 'N'l'əgu without doubt, doubtlessly 85
 teagasg t'əgəsg to preach 85, 146
 teagmhach t'əgəvəx doubtful 51, 85

teallach t'aləx fireplace, esp. the forge of a smithy 54, 124
 teanga t'əyə tongue 39, 57, 59, 106, 115, 156
 teann t'āūN 1 adj. tight, taut 46, 64, 177, 198, 199
 teann t'āūN 2 vb. ipv. move on, go
 teannachadh t'āNəxəy tightening; constipation 177
 teàrr t'a:R f III tar 57, 107, 127, 176, 188
 teas t'es n heat 47, 59
 teasach t'esəx fever 49
 téid see dol
 teidheadh see dol
 teillean t'elan butterfly
 teine t'ānə m fire 46, 55, 122, 156, 168, 169, 177, 190
 teinn t'ēiN', t'əiN' 1 distress
 teinn 2 see tinn
 teinne see teann 1
 teirig see dol
 teth t'eh (and t'eh) hot 39, 59, 177
 th-, see also under t-
 tha see bhith
 thàinig see tighinn
 thairis 1 hadif, hedif adv. across; 2 hedif in dəL 'h. to capsize 62, 217
 thall haul adv. over there (repose) 69, 216 f.
 thathas see bhith
 thèid, dh' theidheadh see dol
 their, theirèadh see radha
 thig, thigeadh see tighinn
 thoir, thoirte see tabhairt
 thu see tu
 thug see tabhairt
 thusa see tusa
 tide t'i:d'ə f time; weather 43, 107, 190
 tig, tigeadh see tighinn
 tigh see taigh
 tighinn t'i-an, unstr. t'in, t'an to come 43, 47, 56, 105, 107, 108, 152, 232, 250
 tilgeil t'ill'gal to throw 66, 107, 142, 168, 243
 tilleadh t'iLəy to turn (back), to return 88, 176, 238, 242
 timchioll t'iml'çəL, t'iml'çəL adv. and prp. with gen. around, about 64, 66, 142, 157, 217, 221, 227
 tinn t'ēiN', t'əiN' ill, sick 88, 198
 tinneas t'iN'as m sickness; disease; t'.'kəim diarrhoea 89
 tiodhlaicèadh t'ioLigəy m funeral; funeral procession 168
 tiomnadh t'yiny'nəy n will; testament 80, 81, 82, 115, 143

tionndadh t'jāNtəy to turn (around, upside down, etc.) 93, 107, 139, 151, 159, 168, 241
 tioram t'ioəm adj. dry 40, 66, 178
 tiormachadh t'yry'məxəy, t'əre'məxəy to dry 81, 82, 178, 242
 tìr t'i:ð land (esp. as opposed to sea) 67
 tiugh t'uh thick; dense; fat 78, 107, 177, 198
 tiùrr t'u:R(ə) m (large) heap; t'.'gānə'vhiç sand-bank
 tòb tə:b m I bay, cove 60, 71, 103, 106, 173, 183, 184
 tobar tobəð f IV well 43, 47, 73, 103, 189, 205
 tobhta tol(ə) f 1 thwart, rower's bench 74, 105, 106, 157
 tobhta tol(ə) f 2 site or walls of a ruined house 74, 105, 158, 190
 tothar tə-ər m manure 70
 togail togal to lift, raise; to bring up; to build 44, 73, 145, 204, 243
 togradh to please, to desire; rec. in the rel. fut. hogrəs and the cond. hogrəy
 toileachas tələxas m good wishes, congratulations
 toilichte toliçd'(ə) adj. satisfied; glad, cheerful 69
 tòimhseachan tō:fəxan n riddle 74
 toir see tabhairt
 tòir tə:ð n pursuit
 toirbhsgear tara'fsgər peat-iron 55, 105, 157
 toirt see tabhairt
 toiseach tō:fəx n beginning; stem (of boat); (ə) 'Ntəfəx (also (ə) 'Ntəfəxg) first, at first; in advance; eð 'həfəx forward 69, 71, 119, 157
 tòiseachadh tō:fəxəy, tòiseachdainn tō:fəxiN', tō:fiN' to begin 29, 71, 120, 236, 239, 242
 toll touL m I hole 46, 89, 93, 174, 183
 tom tōūm n hill; t'.'nīyanən ant-hill 73
 toman toman tussock 73
 tomhas to measure, rec. only in the pret. hō-if 73, 134
 tonn tōūN n wave 99
 topag topag f lark 47, 74, 104, 106
 tora tōRə, torə n drill, auger; goad, prickle 69
 torach torəx fruitful 69
 tòrachd tō:rəx f VI revenge 191
 Tormod tara'mad, -əd, -əd man's name, anglicized Norman 55, 106, 121
 tòrr tō:R n heap; much, many 71, 215, 218

← theab heb, həb def. vb. had nearly 253.

← tighearna t'iəRNa m. lord, esp. in the meaning 'God'.

tórradh *to:Rəy* to heap, to pile
 trághadh *tra:əy* ebb-tide 56
 tráigh *tra:j* ebb-tide; part of the shore
 between flood and ebb marks
 tráithe see tráth
 trang *traNg* busy 39, 51, 106, 138, 139
 traon *trə:n* corn-crake 40, 43, 84, 86
 tráth *tra:* early; *ma 'rha:* already 56, 198, 217
 tráthach *tra:hax* f II hay 187
 treabhadh *trə-əy* to plough 70
 tréine see treun
 treis *trəf, drəf* f while 85
 treise see treun
 treun *trə:n* strong 43, 61, 63, 198
 trí *tri:* three 67, 105, 200, 228 f.
 an tritheamh (ə) 'Ntri-u the third 231
 triúir *tru:ə* three (persons) 128, 181, 193, 230
 triuthach see pruthach
 trobhadh *tro-əd* vb. def. come! 49, 74, 253
 troc *trək* rubbish 70, 106
 trócaire *trə:kəð* mercy
 trod *trəd* n quarrel, scolding
 trogail *trogal* variant of togail, apparently completely synonymous with the latter
 troich *trəç* f VI dwarf 69, 180, 191
 troigh *trəj* foot (measure and part of leg); instep 85, 105, 128, 178 f.
 troimh *trəL* prp. through 34, 60, 61, 62, 70, 73, 74, 111, 221
 troimhe, troimpe see troimh
 trom *trəm* heavy 49, 93, 168, 177, 198, 204
 trom-cheann *trymy'çaN* adj. dizzy 81, 82, 142
 tromhad, tromhaibh, tromhainn, tromham, trompa see troimh
 trompaid *trəmhad* trumpet; elephant's trunk 93, 139
 trosg *trəsg* m I cod 49, 51, 70, 106, 128, 136, 183
 truagh *truəy* sad; lamentable; lazy 98, 115, 162
 truas *truəs* n pity
 truinnséar *trəi'fəd* n plate (for food) 90, 106, 120, 152
 truisg see trosg
 trusadh *trusəy* to gather 106, 129
 tu, thu *tu:*, unstr. *tu, u* you, thou, thee 161, 209 f., 214, 250
 tuarasdal *tuərəsdəL* wages, salary
 tuath *tuə* n 1 north, the north 97, 98, 135

tuath *tuə* n 2 country (as opposed to town) 97, 98, 135
 tuathanach *tuəhanəx* m farmer 96, 97, 168
 tubaist *təbifd'* accident 43, 85
 tuc *tu:k* m plug-hole (in boat)
 tug, tugadh see tabhairt
 tugha, tu-u, tu-əy, tu-uay n thatch 77, 156
 tuigse *tyg'f(ə)* to understand; brains, intelligence 43, 51, 80, 190, 243
 tuigseach *tyg'fəx* intelligent
 tuigsinn see tuigse
 tuil *tul* flood, great rainfall 77, 105
 tuill see toll
 tuilleadh *tyLəy* n and adv. (any) more 43, 80, 82, 215, 218
 tuiteam *tyt'am* to fall 80, 81, 146, 243
 tulg *tuLu'y* n bruise or dent, as on laminated metal
 tunnag *toNag, tuNag* f II duck 72, 73, 106, 187
 tūr *tu:r* tower 47, 80
 turadh *tyryy* dry weather, drought 82, 146, 147
 túrail *tu:ral* sensible, ingenious
 turus *tyrys* m I journey; time, occasion 80, 82, 146, 147, 185
 tusa, thusa *dusə, usə* emph. pers. pron. 2d pers. sg. you, thou, thee 209
 uachdaran *uəxgəran* m proprietor (of estate)
 uaigh *uəj* f tomb, grave 132
 uaigneach see uaircneach
 uain see uan
 uair *uəð* f IV time; hour; (ə) 'NduəR, sən then; *uəðəNən* at times, now and then 97, 162, 189, 195, 215, 218
 an uair a, NduəðəLF, NduəðəLF, NdeðəLF, eðəLF conj. when 253, 261
 uaircneach *ūāðknəx, ūāðkənəx* solitary, undisturbed 52
 uaireadair *uəðədəð* m VI watch 191
 uallach *uəLəx* n load
 uamha *ūāyə* cave 96, 97, 115
 *uamhair *ūāyəd* m VI man living in holes or caves, (?) outlaw 97, 191
 uamhalt *ūā-aLl* lonely
 uamhas *ūāvas* great quantity
 uamhasach *ūāvasəx* terrible, terribly 42, 97, 150, 218
 uan *ūān* m I lamb 45, 96, 97, 183
 uasal *uəsəL* high; noble 95, 119
 ubhal *u-əL* apple 75, 76, 77, 155, 175
 ucas *ukəs* grown coal-fish
 uchd *uəy, əy* lap, bosom 72

ud *ad, əd, əd* that (unstr. form of siod) 214
 uga *ugə* collar-bone
 ugh *uh* m III egg 77, 80, 173, 188, 193
 ùgh *ū:* udder 79, 132
 Uibhist *əi-ifd'* Uist 89, 130
 Uibhisteach *əi-ifd'əx* m person from Uist
 ùidh *əi* f narrow passage between two lochs; isthmus 135
 Uig *u:g* Uig (village and parish name) 80, 108, 133
 Uigeach *u:gəx* m I person from Uig 184
 uighe(an) see ugh
 uilc see olc
 uile *ulə* n and adj. all; (ə) 'xulə^h, (ə) 'xulə^h each, every, all 76, 77, 115, 216
 uileann *ulīN'* f elbow 77, 125
 uilt see alt
 uime see mu
 ùine *ū:N'ə* f time, while, period 123, 190
 uinneag *ūN'ag, ūN'ag* f II window 80, 81, 82, 123, 133, 152, 175, 187
 uinnean *ūN'an* anvil 78
 ùir 1 *u:ə* earth filling between the outer and inner dry-masonry walls of "black house" 79

ùir 2 see ùr
 uircean *uðkan* piglet, porkling 51
 ùire see ùr
 uiread *urəd* so much, as much, so many 78, 128, 215
 an uiridh (ə) 'Nduri last year 77, 153, 217
 uisge *yfj(ə)* m rain; (occasionally) water; y. 'beh whisky 80, 82, 156, 190
 ullachadh *uLəxəy* to prepare, make ready 78, 124
 Ullapul *uLəbəl* Ullapool
 ultach *uLəx* m armful 72, 138
 umad, umaibh, umainn, umam see mu
 umhail *ū-iL* n attention
 umhal *ū-iL* obedient 77, 134
 ùnnsa *ū:s* ounce 77, 93, 119
 ùr *u:r* new 79, 197, 198, 203
 urchair *yry'xəx* (also rec. *yry'xəð*) n shot 82, 142, 170
 ùrnaigh *u:Rni* n prayer; to pray 79, 153, 170
 urrainn *uRiN', uRə* possible, only in connection with the copula 247 f.
 ursainn *uRsiN'* dgor-post
 uspag *usbag* f II breath of wind 51, 136, 187

2. Old and Middle Irish

The forms entered are those found in the text. No attempt is made at normalizing the spelling: each word is quoted in the orthography used in the dictionary or glossary where I found it. The index does not distinguish between Old and Middle Irish.

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ADDENDA & CORRIGENDA ✓

- P. 51, line 24: After *faLt* 'hair', insert *əiLt'al* 'disgusting'.
- P. 93, line 18: *dout* 'doubt' is probably not a mishearing. Derrick Thomson, M.A., Lecturer in Celtic at the University of Glasgow, himself a Lewisman and a native speaker of Gaelic, informs me in a letter that in his English, he identifies the diphthong of the word *growl* with the Gaelic diphthong of *a null* rather than that of *a nall*. This indicates that English loans containing the diphthong [au] may be taken over with *ou* by Lewis Gaelic speakers.
- P. 139, line 31: *LaNgədar* 'a kind of sea-weed' may represent an O.N. acc. **langþara* 'long sea-weed'.
- P. 144: To the list of word categories with non-initial stress, add *adər'jaLəxəy* 'difference', *adər'jaLicd'(ə)* 'different', and possibly other words with a prefixed *ader-*.
- P. 186, between lines 3 and 4, insert: "All polysyllables except those in *-əx* seem to lack the *-ə* altogether."
- P. 198: To the list of adjectives with stem shift, add *LəhiN'* 'wide, broad' ~ *Lə-ə*.
- P. 199, line 5: After "dentals", insert "and prepalatals".

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