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 Ofstedal, 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 Ofstedal'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 Ofstedal'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 Ofstedal'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.
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.


What makes Ternes’ 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.
A LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF THE
GAELIC DIALECTS OF SCOTLAND
VOL. III
MAGNE OFTEDAL
THE GAELIC OF LEURBOST
ISLE OF LEWIS

NORSK TIDSSKRIFT FOR
SPROGVIDENSKAP
UNDER MEDVIRKING AV
Knut Bergsland, Harris Birkeland, Carl Hj. Borgstrøm,
Olaf Broch, Georg Morgenstjerne, Magnus Olsen,
D. A. Seip, E. W. Selmer, Alf Sommerfelt,
Chr. S. Stang, Hans Vogt

UTGITT AV
Carl J. S. Marstrander

SUPPL. BIND IV

NORWEGIAN UNIVERSITIES PRESS

Norwegian Universities Press
## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviations and References</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Introduction</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Community</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informants</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Field Work</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notation</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principles of Description</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Phonology</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Syllable</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosodemes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stress</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intonation</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasality in Vowels</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stressed Syllables</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Vowel System</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monophthongs</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diphthongs</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Consonant System</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clusters</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetics, Distribution, and History of the Separate Phonemes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vowels</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monophthongs</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diphthongs</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Consonants</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibilants</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r-phonemes</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowels</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absence of Initial, Medial, and Final Consonants</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional Remarks on Consonant Clusters</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Svarabhākti</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stressless Syllables</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetics and History of the Separate Phonemes</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowels</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consonants</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juncture and Sandhi</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morphophonemics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initial Mutations</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consonantal Mutations</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prevocalic Mutations</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relations between Consonantal and Prevocalic Mutations</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irregular Initial Mutations</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Initial Mutations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatalization</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutations of Quantity</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combined Mutations</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Further Vocalic Mutations</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morphology</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Noun</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Types of Declension</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— I</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— III</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— IV</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— V</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— VI</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irregular Nouns</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Synopsis of Plural Allomorphs</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Adjective</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Declension</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparison</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectival Prepositives</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Article</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes on the Case System</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronouns, Pronominals, and Adverbs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Pronouns</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive Pronouns</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphasizing Particles</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fhém</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrative Pronouns and Adverbs</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Further Pronominal Words</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Further Adverbial Words</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepositions</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Numerals</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardinal Numbers</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Numerals</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordinal Numbers</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Verb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Verbal Forms</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relation to Subject</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependence</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paradigms of Regular Verbs</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Infinitive</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irregular Verbs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Substantive Verb</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Copula</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Irregular Verbs</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defective Verbs</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compound Tenses</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Particles, Conjunctions and Interrogatives</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texts</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translation of Texts</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample Text in Phonetic Transcription</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indexes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Leurbost Gaelic</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Old and Middle Irish</td>
<td>361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Modern Irish</td>
<td>368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Norse Loans</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. English Loans</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Terms and Definitions</td>
<td>371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addenda &amp; Corrigenda</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Section</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>Stressless Syllables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>Phonetics and History of the Separate Phonemes - Vowels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>Phonetics and History of the Separate Phonemes - Consonants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>Juncture and Sandhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>Morphophonemics - Initial Mutations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165</td>
<td>Morphophonemics - Consonantal Mutations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169</td>
<td>Morphophonemics - Prevocalic Mutations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171</td>
<td>Morphophonemics - Relations between Consonantal and Prevocalic Mutations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171</td>
<td>Morphophonemics - Irregular Initial Mutations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172</td>
<td>Non-Initial Mutations - Palatalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>Non-Initial Mutations - Mutations of Quantity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>176</td>
<td>Non-Initial Mutations - Combined Mutations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177</td>
<td>Non-Initial Mutations - Further Vocalic Mutations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179</td>
<td>Morphology - The Noun - Gender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>Morphology - The Noun - Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td>Morphology - The Noun - Case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>182</td>
<td>Morphology - Types of Declension - Type I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185</td>
<td>Morphology - Types of Declension - I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Morphology - Types of Declension - III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188</td>
<td>Morphology - Types of Declension - IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189</td>
<td>Morphology - Types of Declension - V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189</td>
<td>Morphology - Types of Declension - VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192</td>
<td>Morphology - Irregular Nouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193</td>
<td>Morphology - Synopsis of Plural Allomorphs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>195</td>
<td>Morphology - The Adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>Morphology - Declension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197</td>
<td>Morphology - Comparison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>199</td>
<td>Morphology - Adjectival Prepositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>Morphology - The Article</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>202</td>
<td>Notes on the Case System</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208</td>
<td>Pronouns, Pronominals, and Adverbs - Personal Pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210</td>
<td>Pronouns, Pronominals, and Adverbs - Possessive Pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212</td>
<td>Pronouns, Pronominals, and Adverbs - Emphasizing Particles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213</td>
<td>Pronouns, Pronominals, and Adverbs - Fhín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214</td>
<td>Pronouns, Pronominals, and Adverbs - Demonstrative Pronouns and Adverbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>215</td>
<td>Pronouns, Pronominals, and Adverbs - Further Pronominal Words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>216</td>
<td>Pronouns, Pronominals, and Adverbs - Further Adverbial Words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>218</td>
<td>Pronouns, Pronominals, and Adverbs - Prepositions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227</td>
<td>The Numerals - Cardinal Numbers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228</td>
<td>The Numerals - Personal Numerals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230</td>
<td>The Numerals - Ordinal Numbers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>232</td>
<td>The Verb - The Verbal Forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>232</td>
<td>The Verb - Relation to Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233</td>
<td>The Verb - Tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>234</td>
<td>The Verb - Person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>234</td>
<td>The Verb - Dependence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>234</td>
<td>The Verb - Paradigms of Regular Verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>239</td>
<td>The Verb - The Infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>243</td>
<td>The Verb - Irregular Verbs - The Substantive Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>245</td>
<td>The Verb - Irregular Verbs - The Copula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>248</td>
<td>The Verb - Other Irregular Verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>252</td>
<td>The Verb - Defective Verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>253</td>
<td>The Verb - Compound Tenses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>256</td>
<td>The Verb - Particles, Conjunctions and Interrogatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>262</td>
<td>Texts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>310</td>
<td>Translation of Texts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>330</td>
<td>Sample Text in Phonetic Transcription</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>332</td>
<td>Indexes - Leurbost Gaelic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>361</td>
<td>Indexes - Old and Middle Irish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>368</td>
<td>Indexes - Modern Irish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>369</td>
<td>Indexes - Norse Loans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>370</td>
<td>Indexes - English Loans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>371</td>
<td>Indexes - Terms and Definitions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>372</td>
<td>Addenda &amp; Corrigenda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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. Marstrømder, 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

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).
Dr.: C. Borgstrøm, The Dialect of Barra in the Outer Hebrides, NTS VII, Oslo, 1937.
DOH: C. Borgstrøm, The Dialects of the Outer Hebrides, NTS Supplementary Volume No. 1, Oslo, 1940.
E.: English.
I.: Irish.
Lb.: The Gaelic dialect of Leurbost as described in the present volume.
M.E.: Middle English.
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.
O.E.: Old English.
O.I.: Old Irish.
O.N.: Old Norse.
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, freshwater 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 analfabets 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 Leurbøsd (genitive Leurbøsd'; an adequate Gaelic spelling would be Lùrbost. The name was originally a Norse farm name ending in -bóstagr; 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
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—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

1. Roderick Martin, called Roddy (Radi), 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 (drain luadhaidh and other drain, 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 ‘ruadi), 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 ceòlaidh, 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, alleging—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 Tàllear), 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. Borgström’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 Borgström’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 Borgström, 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 Borgström’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 Borgström’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
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 Borgstrøm’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.

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 (e.g. ‘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 (*krl*), which in its turn is derived from the Latin alphabet. In theory, there is nothing to prevent us from dividing the sequence *krl* 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 *krl* with the velar closure of *gil* (*gill*), and the aspiration of *k* with *h* as in *hrl* (*hill*), we may transcribe the word ‘kill’ as *ghrl*, thus arriving at four phonemes, whose differentiating value may be demonstrated by comparing the words *ghrl* (*kill*) — *bhrl* (*pill*) — *grrl* (*grill*) — *ghin* (*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 distinction 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 aglif ‘church’, səwax and səwax ‘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 Proside?", *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 "proside".

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', *fiax* 'debt' ~ *fi-xx* '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:

\[
\begin{align*}
    b & o o & \text{`cow' and `underwater rock'} \\
    f & i a x & \text{`debt' and `raven'}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\underline{level 2}} & \quad b o o \quad \text{or} \quad b o o \\
& \quad f i a x \quad \text{or} \quad f i a x
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\underline{level 1}} & \quad b o o \quad \text{or} \quad b o o \\
& \quad f i a x \quad \text{or} \quad f i a x
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\underline{level 2}} & \quad \text{\underline{faLà}} \quad \text{or} \quad \text{\underline{faLu}} \\
& \quad \text{\underline{aràm}} \quad \text{or} \quad \text{\underline{aran}}
\end{align*}
\]

while \( \text{faLu} \) and \( \text{aran} \) begin with a rising (sometimes perhaps high level) and end on a falling tone:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\underline{faLà}} & \quad f a L a \\
\text{\underline{araLà}} & \quad a r a m
\end{align*}
\]

There is also a difference in stress. \( \text{faLà} \) and \( \text{aràm} \) 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 vowel). \( \text{faLu} \) and \( \text{aran} \), on the other hand, have a strong stress on the first vowel while the second is pronounced with very little energy. (Borgström holds that, in the dialect of Bernera, there is an additional difference in the placement of the syllabic cut: in \( \text{aràm} \), the \( r \) belongs to the second syllable \( (a-ram) \), while in \( \text{aran} \) 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: \( bo \), \( f i a x \), \( faLà \), and \( aràm \) are regarded as monosyllabic, while \( bo-o \), \( fi-a x \), \( faLu \), and \( aran \) are dissyllabic. According to this interpretation, \( bo \) contains a single long vowel, \( f i a x \) a diphthong, while \( bo-o \) and \( fi-a x \) 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: \( \acute{a}n'd\acute{a}n \) `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 parallelism 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>d a h</td>
<td>'dye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>b o:</td>
<td>'cow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>f i o x</td>
<td>'deb t'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>a r à m</td>
<td>'on me'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Polysyllables,**
tone rising-falling or level-falling.

**(1) Dissyllables.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a d a h</td>
<td>'dyes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a f i o x</td>
<td>'raven'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b b a: h</td>
<td>'bye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b f i a x</td>
<td>'to y'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c f a r à</td>
<td>'sermon'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**(2) Trisyllables.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a a r i</td>
<td>'fathers'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a m i</td>
<td>'middle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b b a: h</td>
<td>'byres'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b k a i l</td>
<td>'wheels'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c k a r à</td>
<td>'marine perch (?)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Borgström 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 órain that have never been written down, a svarabhakti group is sung on one note. Compare Borgström’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. 'but 'afíg ['bàcht'afig]' 'ferry-boat' with 'ya: 'tàfig ['ya:'talafig]' '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. [xU-Ni-qa-Nu-Na-fia-iq-ga-Ra-Nw-Nm-lh-nu-ba-tras-
2. xaNiq a NduN a 'fia-iq ga Ro NduN 'e hablar ba 'tras
3. saw the man wild that was the man other stronger

(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 'sguò i 'she stopped' with 'sguòi 'will stop' (both phonetically ['sku-ò]), but operating with words saves us from having to regard, e.g., the ax- of x 'xuò 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', bliN-a 'year', Laxg-ay 'to burn', fexg-an- an 'weeks', judd-aN 'to miss', fara-m-an-ax-ay 'to preach', ba-Nt a: 'potato(e)s', fobi-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 disyllabic variants: as and ya as 'and', as 'is', ha and ha: 'is', ba 'was', va and vo: 'was'.
Prosodemes

Stress

23. Stress is significant in Lb., cp. ‘xuNiş ‘afIN’ chunnaic esan ‘he (stressed) saw’ with ‘xuNiş a feN’ 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 (do’mbak ‘tobacco’, ba’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 (Leh’Län ‘half full’, ‘föI,ra-ad ‘footpath’, ‘ku:L,iskLan ‘back teeth’, ‘mù:RsDsan ‘misfortune’, ‘föI:’dùN’ó ‘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 Imi:’aRsDan ‘misfortune’, lootpath’, and ‘ini:hLlu ‘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 (a) of (a) ‘mù:x ‘out’, (a) ‘Raíd ‘last night’, etc., nearly all simple conjunctions (exceptions: øgas ‘and’, na ‘than’, gadeLF ‘though’ which are occasionally stressed), the prepositions gaN, gaN ‘without’ and feö ‘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 Ro u ‘föI:’Ra:naway a ‘N’d’e? an robh thu an Steòrnabhagh an dé ‘were you in Stornoway yesterday?’ is answered either by ya: ‘yes’ (literally ‘was’) or by xa ‘Roh ‘no’ (literally ‘was not’). The common greeting ha ‘La-a ‘mù:x aN a ‘N’d’uh ‘to-day is a good day’ (literally ‘there is a good day to-day’) is usually answered with ‘ha:, ‘La-a ‘mù:x ya ‘öI:du ‘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: xulb ‘kaI: a ‘xulL a ma ‘je-iN’ a ‘Nd’ai: ‘everything he had heard about the place’; ha i øö a ‘fagal a ‘föI:Rs,Sm ‘tri: ‘fespN’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 Ro ‘xùR 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 øö a ‘hun ‘for him, for his sake’ with øö a ‘hun ‘hun ‘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 ‘baRaxg ‘agamas ed o h ‘ajads ‘I know more Gaelic than you’; xa ‘N’del a go ‘d’ífar ‘gő:s ‘it is just the same to me’.

Among the simple prepositions, daL, (a)L ‘to’ (do) and daL, (a)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 ‘vEn ‘rjfim ‘my wife said to me that . . . ’; ‘heil a ‘f’d’ex ‘ygas huRd a ‘dí ‘khusdí ‘he returned home and said to Christina’; fi:f i ‘ya: ‘go . . . ‘she told him that . . . ’; huRd i ‘dí-e nax do ‘rug if ed ‘qafL a ‘días ‘she said to her that she had never handled a donkey before’; ma fed u ‘yā ‘fi:N’é ‘if you will give me a ring’; ha mi taRd a ‘vód:Né ‘go ‘kross,bosd ‘I am taking this peat to Crossbost’. A good example of stressless verb plus stressed preposition, stressed verb plus stressless preposition is ‘ygas ‘N’dúd ‘vis i ‘čía:m ṣk,sa: n k ur ‘qás ‘R–íid, ‘áxqíj mi ‘NduR,ṣan ne ‘pokaNyn ya ‘lafíg qás ‘R–íid ‘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 na ‘má:ťfaxe:n a v edo ‘to:xRd? ‘did you take with you (take away) the matches that were on the table?’; ha mi daL. ‘bāN ‘I am going there’ (literally ‘in it’, cp. French j’é vais); xa mi ‘edо ‘xavt a ‘N’d:é ‘I went by motorcar (literally ‘on the car’) yesterday’; ha mi daL. ‘má:ť ‘Lax ‘I am going to the loch’; hit ‘i ‘vis do ‘xúna ‘Ndrasd ‘you will forget it now (i. e. the Gaelic language), literally ‘she will go out of your memory now’; ma vis a ‘fux ‘feșgar, xa d’ed’ fiN ‘qás ‘va:s ‘if it is wet (rainy) to-night, we will not go to town’; xa: ‘trela ‘paDíján ‘he went through (across) the

fields’; ha mi ‘in ‘a ‘kross,bosd ‘I am coming from Crossbost’; a:x a ‘faiN’é ‘qás ‘wi:lL’xang ‘xaj ‘so that I might get ahead of the ball of cheese (which was rolling down a slope)’; ‘gà:s a ‘fíjý:gy ‘tř–š ‘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 ‘dí ‘N’t–udaLaxý ‘she is washing clothes’; ha mi ‘name ‘huja ‘I am sitting’; ha a ‘ya: ‘wúlLax ‘sán ‘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 ma ‘vEn ‘rśúm ‘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'rav] or [ma'ra'] for ['marau] 'dead', as I have repeatedly done. It is, indeed, possible to make a non-contradictory description of the dialect even if we interpret [marau] phonemically as ma'rav, 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.

30. The distinction of vocalic quantity has two terms, long and short. Examples: ji: 'knitted, wove' ~ ji(h) 'to her', ni: 'will do, make' ~ ni(h) 'washed', fi:dan 'single) peats' ~ fada 'long', gaRsd 'sore' ~ g'exRsd 'spilled', aL 'to drink' ~ aL(a) 'oil', fi:da 'silk' ~ fid 'that', pa-ay 'to pay' ~ pa-ay 'thirst', Ru:-ay 'first stacking of the peat' ~ Ru-u or Ru-a '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 opening diphthongs): ba:R ‘top; cream’, a:R ‘high’, sda:Rt ‘started’, o:Rlax ‘inch’, iaR ‘to iron’, a:Rhad’ (and a:Rd) ‘a certain’. Exceptions are pjaRna ‘reel (of thread)’ and kaRlax ‘curly’. Before Rs, however, both long and short vowels are found: kaRsd ‘right’ ~ ka:Rsdax ‘smithy’.

(b) Before final and preconsonantal m (long vowels, closing diphthongs, and svarabhakti groups): 7:m ‘butter’, i:mpada ‘emperor’, j5iimbaxay ‘to convert’, ba03m ‘yeast’. (The m does not count as final if followed by a caducous a (p. 149): kom(a) ‘indifferent’ has a short vowel.)

(c) Before final N and medial and final Nd, N’t, N’d’, N’t’, N’g, and N’f (closing diphthongs; long vowels sometimes before a cluster): L5IN ‘launching-roller’, glaIN ‘valley’, dràNdan ‘to grumble’, bàòwNtrax ‘widow’, kàN’d’ax ‘certain’, sLà:N’t’a ‘health’, Le:N’t’an ‘shirts’, tàIN’gy ‘thanks’, tàIN’jal ‘thankful’, to ‘fàIN’f (and to ‘fàIN’) ‘inn, pub’.

Only short vowels and opening diphthongs are found before intervocalic N: LÀaN ‘launching rollers’ (pl. of L5IN), bjàNaxyg ‘blessing’, bìIN ‘year’, fìIN ‘great’. Exceptions are gràINnan ‘many, much, a good deal’ and tàINnraj 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 [yg]: paNgàl ‘prompt, punctual’, fràNgax ‘French (man)’, tràNg ‘busy’. Also before Nk [yk] which is recorded only in fàNk ‘anything’ (~ kà: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”: [a'nal] ánul ‘breath’, [t’d’ya] t’ëya ‘tongue’, [p’a’ya] pa-ya ‘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, ld, mb, etc.). Examples will be found under the historical treatment of the separate vowels, especially a, e, o, and the closing diphthongs (§§ 59, 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-anífr village name O.N. Ráarnes, so-ÓwAL mountain name O.N. Sauðafjall.

Sporadic instances of Lb. short vowels corresponding to older long vowels: Je-iN’ ‘I would go’ O.I. ‘festinn, 旅游业 ‘dry’ O.I. tirim, 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 ð and ñ, which are never nasal. Long e: is nasal only in N’re: (§ 304).

Borgström 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. lax ‘hand-net’ ~ la:v ‘rest, repose’) but also, although with less distinctive power, near nasal consonants (síjá ‘knife’ ~ lësn ‘fishing-net’, tro:n ‘corn-crake’ ~ Rë:sn, lenited ré: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 Borgström’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 Ñ, considerably less strong if it is n, 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 faka:l and fækA ‘word’, fävOd and fävaOd ‘wild man’, græ:da and græ:do ‘ugly’, sa:vax and së:vax ‘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 \textit{m} which has become lenited and then denasalized (phonemically if not phonetically), as \textit{fàv} `rest, repose' M.I. \textit{tám}. Phonetically, the \textit{v} may still be nasal \([f\ddot{a}:\ddot{d}]\), 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 \textit{m} as in (a) \textit{mà:had} `her mother' \textemdash (a) \textit{và:had} `his mother'.

2) A nasal consonant which has been dropped before another consonant: \textit{jòsaxay} `to learn, teach' cp. M.I. \textit{insaigid} `to look up, visit'.

3) An \textit{n} which has become \textit{r} or \textit{d} in the initial clusters \textit{gr}, \textit{gd}, \textit{kr}, \textit{kð} from older \textit{gn}, \textit{cn}, e.g. \textit{krð}: `nut' O.I. gen. \textit{cnó}.

Some words have vowels whose nasality is difficult to explain historically: \textit{òwN} `river' O.I. acc. \textit{ùim}, \textit{fàkð} `saw' (dependent preterite) O.I. \textit{ìccæ}, \textit{fèk} `will see' (dependent future) O.I. \textit{àicæ}, \textit{fàkәL} (and \textit{fàkәL}) `word' O.I. \textit{focul}, \textit{bàwæax} `terrible' M.I. \textit{úamhàsach}, \textit{kLàju} `sword' O.I. \textit{claideb}.

Other words have oral vowels where nasals might be expected: \textit{dòwN} `idle' M.I. \textit{dí-màín} `vain, useless', \textit{eV} `raw' cp. M.I. \textit{om}, \textit{ka} `viad `how much, how many' cp. O.I. \textit{mít}, \textit{móit} `size, quantity', (a) \textit{àin} `ever (in the past)' O.I. \textit{ríam} `before it' (cp. § 90, 3), \textit{sàwæ} (and \textit{sàwæ}) `quiet' M.I. \textit{sàm} `rest, ease'.

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

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.

\textbf{Monophthongs.}

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front unrounded</th>
<th>Back unrounded</th>
<th>Back rounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High.............</td>
<td>\textit{i}</td>
<td>\textit{u}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid..............</td>
<td>\textit{e}</td>
<td>\textit{o}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low..............</td>
<td>\textit{e}</td>
<td>\textit{a}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Word pairs demonstrating the chief phonemic distinctions:
\textit{i} \sim \textit{u}: Short: \textit{hiN} `will come' \sim \textit{huN} `understood'. For long \textit{i} \sim \textit{u}, I have no better example than \textit{(duN)hit\ddot{d}a} `(bad) weather' \sim \textit{ud\ddot{d}ax} `leaky'.
\textit{u} \sim \textit{u}: \textit{tuN\ddot{a}g} `more' \sim \textit{duN\ddot{a}x} `foliage'; \textit{kuN\ddot{a}} `narrow' \sim \textit{kuN\ddot{a}} `crust (of bread)'.
\textit{e} \sim \textit{e}: \textit{b\ddot{a}d\ddot{a}g} `sleet' \sim \textit{b\ddot{a}d\ddot{a}l} `slyly begging'; \textit{t\ddot{r}e\ddot{n}} `strong' \sim \textit{t\ddot{r}e\ddot{n}} `corn-crake'.
\textit{a} \sim \textit{a}: \textit{t\ddot{a}ib\ddot{a}d} `accident' \sim \textit{tob\ddot{a}d} `a well'; \textit{sN\ddot{a}fan} `snuff' \sim \textit{N\ddot{a}fan} `interest, notion'.
\textit{e} \sim \textit{e}: \textit{d\ddot{e}v} `oxen' \sim \textit{d\ddot{e}v} `ox'; \textit{se\ddot{e}w} `saws' \sim \textit{se\ddot{e}v} `a saw'.
\textit{a} \sim \textit{a}: \textit{ax} `but' \sim \textit{ax} `o, ah' (exclamation of reassurance, etc., e.g. \textit{ax} `ha: `o yes'); \textit{b\ddot{u}Rd} `poet, bard' \sim \textit{b\ddot{u}Rd} `table'.
\textit{i} \sim \textit{e}: \textit{iq} `eat!' \sim \textit{ic} `horses'; \textit{iuN\ddot{a}x} `facial expression' \sim \textit{iuN\ddot{a}x} `to shout'.
\textit{e} \sim \textit{e}: \textit{le\ddot{a}N} `with him' (emphatic) \sim \textit{le\ddot{e}N} `improved' (pret.); \textit{hewN\ddot{a}j} `shaved' \sim \textit{hew} `hand-nets'.

\textbf{Stressed Syllables}

\textbf{The Vowel System}
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.

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|}
\hline
\text{Closing} & \text{Opening} \\
\hline
\text{i-diphthongs} & \text{u-diphthongs} \\
\hline
ei & ui & au & io & uo \\
\hline
ao & ai & au & ia & ua \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

\( ei \approx ai : \text{pētN'd} \) 'pint' \( \approx \text{pāiN'd} \) 'pounds' (weight). Some speakers do not seem to make this distinction, cp. § 77.

\( ai \approx ui : \text{māt'd} \) 'maid, bride', \( k\text{lāiN'd} \) 'to hear' \( \approx \text{māt'jan} \) 'to threaten', \( k\text{lāi}d'ax \) 'down (of birds)'.

\( ai \approx ai : \text{rāiN} \) 'to us' \( \approx \text{rāiN} \) 'did, made'.

\( uo \approx au : \text{NāL} \) 'over there' \( \approx \text{NāL} \) 'over here'.

\( ia \approx ia : \text{fiax} \) 'debt' \( \approx \text{fiax} \) 'try!'

\( uo \approx ua : \text{kūā} \) 'sea' \( \approx \text{dāā} \) 'poem'; \( bāān \) 'to harvest' \( \approx \text{ūāN} \) 'lamb'.

i-diphthongs are different from groups of vowel plus the consonant (semivowel) \( j : \text{mūt} \) 'mane' \( \approx \text{mūj} \) 'out(side)', \( \text{Luihən} \) 'hymns' \( \approx \text{kuhər} \) 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.

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{Labial} & \text{Dental} & \text{Alveolar} & \text{Prepalatal} & \text{Medio-palatal} & \text{Velar} & \text{Glottal} \\
\hline
\text{Unaspirated stops} & b & d & d' & ġ & g \\
\text{Aspirated stops} & p & t & t' & ķ & k \\
\text{Voiced fricatives} & v & ū & ū' & j & γ \\
\text{Voiceless fricatives} & f & (θ) & θ & θ' & x & h \\
\text{Sibilants} & s & ū & ū' & ū & j \\
\text{Nasals} & m & N & n & N' \\
\text{Laterals} & L & l & L' \\
\text{Trills and flaps} & R & r & & & & & \\
\text{Semivowels} & (w) & & & & & & \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

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 \( d \) is only phonetically a dental fricative; in distribution and morphophonemics, it plays the part of a palatal r-sound; (b) the phonemes \( b \) 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
b & \sim d : \text{bauL} \ 'thick rope' \sim \text{daul} \ 'blind'. \\
\tilde{b} & \sim \tilde{d} : \text{d'eid} \ 'set of teeth' \sim \text{xe} \ 'd'eid' \ 'will not go'. \\
d' \sim \tilde{d}' : \text{(as)} \ 'v beads' \ 'in the' \text{patch} \sim \text{(as)} \ 'vocêg' \ 'in the' \text{lie}'. \\
\tilde{g} & \sim g : \text{gauL} \ 'promise!' \sim \text{gauL} \ 'person from the mainland'. \\
p & \sim t : \text{pouL} \ 'peat-bank' \sim \text{tauL} \ 'hole'. \\
t & \sim \tilde{t} : \text{\tilde{t}a}n\tilde{e} \ 'thin' \sim \text{\tilde{t}a}n\tilde{a} \ 'fire'. \\
\tilde{t}' & \sim \tilde{k} : \text{\tilde{t}a}\tilde{n}N \ 'tight' \sim \text{\tilde{k}a}\tilde{n}N \ 'head'. \\
\tilde{k} & \sim k : \text{ka}\tilde{R}\tilde{d} \ 'right' \sim \text{ka}\tilde{R}\tilde{d} \ 'bark' \ 'of tree'. \\
n & \sim \gamma : \text{jo} \ 'will find, get' \sim \gamma \text{c} \ 'took'. \\
\gamma & \sim x : \text{fru\gamma e} \ 'heather' \ 'gen.' \sim \text{fru\x e} \ 'heather' \ 'nom.'. \\
x & \sim h : \text{m\x e} \ 'out' \sim \text{m\x h} \ 'good'. \\
s & \sim \tilde{f} : \text{\tilde{b}o} \ 'visa' \ 'was worst' \sim \text{\tilde{b}o} \ 'viba' \ 'it was 1'. \\
f & \sim \tilde{c} : \text{fi} \ 'fairy' \ 'as in \text{d\tilde{a}n\tilde{N}a} \ 'fi' \ 'fairy man' \sim \gamma \text{c} \ 'will see'. \\
m & \sim N : \text{\tilde{a}N} \ 'time' \sim \text{\tilde{a}N} \ 'in him, in it, there'. \\
N & \sim \tilde{N} : \text{\tilde{a}Nas} \ 'rarity, novel' \sim \tilde{\text{\tilde{a}n}a} \ 'breath'. \\
N & \sim \tilde{N}' : \text{auran} \ 'song' \sim \text{auraN} \ 'songs'. \\
N & \sim \tilde{N}' : \text{b\tilde{s}N\tilde{a}x} \ 'bannock, scone' \sim \text{b\tilde{s}N\tilde{a}} \ 'milk'. \\
L & \sim \tilde{L} : \text{baL} \ 'wall' \sim \text{ba} \ 'village, town'. \\
L & \sim \tilde{L} : \text{kaL} \ 'cock' \sim \text{kaL} \ 'old woman, wife'. \\
\end{align*}
\]

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 \(*Nk\tilde{d}-\), for instance, are bound to exist in the dialect as the nasalized counterparts of \(pj-\) and \(k\tilde{d}-\). Clusters like \(*\tilde{L}l-\), \(*\tilde{L}l-\), \(*\tilde{d}l-\), and \(*\tilde{br}-\) are
very likely to exist, if only in one or two instances each, cp. the entries tlachd, tliscohd, 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, 0, L, l :
   bj- pj-
   br- pr- dr- tr- gr- kr-
   b0- p0- g0- k0-
   bl- pl- dl- gl- kl-
   bl- pl-

(b) Nasal + stop :
   mb- mp- Nd- Nt- N’d- N’t- N’4- N’k- Ng- Nk-

(c) Nasal + stop + j, r, 0, L, l :
     In principle, each of the clusters listed under a may be preceded by a nasal. The following combinations have been recorded: mbj-, mbbr-, mbbrd-, mbpr-, mbdr-, 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, 0, L, l :
   mj- vj- fj-
   vj- fr- yr- xr- hr-
   v0- j0- y0- x0-
taste', na 'helanan 'fLaNa 'the Flannan Isles', γLaγ 'bells' (gen. pl.), xLa-ic 'dug', sLe(h) 'ground' (pret.), flαx 'wet', (a) γyNα 'of the valley', xLaγx 'was accustomed to'.

(e) sbírad 'spirit', sdaθ 'to stop', fδuδ 'rudder', sγjΛL 'tale, rumour', syα:han 'mirror', sβjλxL 'scythe', sγL:tag 'small lythe or pollack', sNα:γx 'to think', sVei:v 'to swim', sMα:γay 'to write', sγLd 'crowd', fLi-a 'way', sMjii:rαx 'a bird (thrush?)', sβxer 'sweater', sγwe-ar '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-
   -bδ- -dδ- -tδ- -gδ-
   -dL- -kL-
   -df(-) -tf(-) -gf(-)
   -gu-
   -gd-

(g) Ending in a stop:
   -jp
   -rb- -rp(-) -rd(-) -Rt
   -Lp- -L(-) -L'(-) -Lk
   -mb -mp- -Nd(-) -N(-) -N'd(-) -N't- -N'γ(-) -Ng(-) -Nk(-)
   -sb- -sd(-) -fd(-) -fg(-) -sg(-)
   -fd -cδ(-) -xg(-)

(h) r-sound, l-sound or nasal with fricative or sibilant:
   -or(-) -fr- -sr- -fd- -xr-
   -sl -fl- -xL-
   -sN- -fN- -xn-
   -rf -Rs(-)
   -lN-
   -Ns-

(i) h-clusters:
   -vh- -jh- -Rh- -rh- -dh- -Lh- -lh-

(j) Other two-consonant clusters:
   -mr- -nr- -Rn(-) -Rl-

(k) Three-consonant clusters:
   -Rsβ- -Rsd(-) -sgL- -Ntr- -dkN-

Examples:

(f) a:braN 'ankle', j5ildraN' 'to miss', patran 'pattern', su:gray 'diversion, sport', Lakrīgan pl. of Lokaθ 'plane', N'iböç 'handkerchief', x'dowal mountain name, f'ldiç 'to neigh', x'γβa 'youth', egLif 'church', fLkLa 'teeth', kOa'dIN 'to believe', māl'faxan 'matches', tuγj(γ) 'to understand', t'qovax 'doubtful', kabaθ 'chapter', dōgax 'doctor'.

(g) fojp 'from her', Le:rbød village name, sγarp island name, x:Rd 'hammer', sda:Rt 'started', sδ:δ'αn 'parishes', yδ'kαn 'young pig', kerk 'hen', sγLpiç 'dandruff', fLk 'hair', 'māk a 'Ndulk 'son of evil' (term of abuse), ɔlK 'evil' (noun and adj.), jāmsag 'to convert', t'mpāδ 'emperor', sāNδax 'ambitious', LāNtIN 'to follow', kIN'd'ax 'sure, certain', Le:N'tan 'shirts', tāIN'gif 'thanks', trāNg 'busy', baNk(α) 'sand' bank', usbag 'breath of wind', astar 'distance', baf'ay 'to baptize', Le:fg 'lazy', trosq 'codfish', jīgf 'gift', viq'δα 'would be' (impersonal form), fexg 'seven'.

(h) sau'ras (sau'ras? recorded [sau'ras]) 'wealth', ifrIN 'hell', susrΝ 'acquainted', N'ifowal mountain name, taxri 'will happen', bre'l 'bracelet', mǔjL 'sweeter', axLif 'armpit', kosNay 'to win, earn', buN'axγ 'witchcraft', d'ecnar 'ten
46. In recent loans from English, we may find some clusters which are not mentioned in the list above, such as Rds [ts] and gs [ks] in paRdsas itcgs 'purchase tax'.

47. A few further clusters are found in combinations of preposition plus article in the plural, e.g. sn in asna 'in the', fn in lefnas 'with the', and in combinations of prepositional pronouns with emphasizing particles, e.g. ms in lămams(a) 'with me', is in yutis(a) '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: [Län] 'full', [baLax] 'boy', [baRax] 'more', [känax] 'to buy', [na 'faq:] 'better'. [a] is used in all other positions: [agäm] 'at me', [âras] 'door', [fâhkoL] 'word', [fäs] 'to grow', [fän:'] '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'äçuNtax '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. marâv 'dead' and marâ-ay 'to kill' have decidedly non-nasal a; this may also be true for markig 'rider' and markad' 'market', while a few other notations such as [Ravvas] 'rubbing-piece (on boat)', [mask] 'mesh', and [N'ast] 'strength' are in all probability due to mishearing.

49. Short a corresponds to:


(2) O.I. o. This vowel, usually represented by o or o in Lb., has become a in a number of words, e.g. agäm 'at me' O.I.
ocum, aràm 'on me' O.I. form, balàg 'bellows' M.I. bolg, bolc, bLàntúig 'lard' M.I. blonnais (dat.), braLàx 'breast' cp. M.I. brollach, fàlaN 'healthy' M.I. follán, fàkLo and fàkLo 'word' O.I. focul, fàLàsagay 'burning of heather in order to make grazing on the moor' cp. O.I. forloiscithe 'igni examinatus', faràmod 'envy' O.I. format, fasgàg, fàsagay 'shelter' M.I. foscud, fràsgean 'eyelashes' O.I. rosc 'eye', kàdLo 'sleep' O.I. cotlud, kalàman 'pidgeon' M.I. colmán, kas 'leg' O.I. coss, kLox 'stone' O.I. cloch, kraKo 'skin, hide' M.I. croce dend, crocunn, 'skin, hide' M.I. croccend, crocunn, xàj 'went' O.I. do-choid, do-ocuaid, Làràg 'a track; to look for, to find' M.I. lorg, lore, Ra-ad 'road' M.I. rout (but the gen. is Ra-id'). In some cases, there was vacillation between a and o already in O.I. and M.I.: fàda 'long' M.I. fota, fada, faLòg 'rough sea' O.I. fairggàe, foirggàe, fòrerce, fàsgàj 'close, near' cp. O.I. acus, ocus 'near' and aics, oics 'proximity', glàN '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 o is found only occasionally.

(3) O.I. e, especially before the consonants now represented by N, L, and R, where e, the normal representative of O.I. e before non-palatals, does not occur. Examples: bjàNàxyj 'blessing' O.I. bendacht, dàL 'dew' M.I. deil, gàdÀnx 'cross, peevish' cp. perhaps Windisch gregnaich 'long-haired, bristly', gàL 'white' M.I. gel, jalà 'swan' M.I. ela, jalàx 'load, burden' M.I. ellach, jalàx 'spring' M.I. errach, kàNàn 'to buy' M.I. cennach, kàlàRd 'right, correct' M.I. cert, mjàLo 'to deceive, disappoint' M.I. pres. mellaim, fàlànwàx 'lucky' cp. O.I. selb 'possession', fàlaLo 'colt' M.I. serrach, sbjal 'scythe' M.I. spel, fàlàx '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. tàna 'fire' O.I. tene with the lenited form hèn; dàrkày 'to look' M.I. pres. dercaim with kerk 'hen' M.I. cérc and 'on' M.I. ess. Further examples of a from older e: adhr 'between', atsàr 'between them' O.I. adhr, etir, etarru, etarrò, bàxàxyj 'opinion' cp. M.I. becht 'exact, sure, certain', habàd 'say!' O.I. epir M.I. apair, xlàxyj 'used to' (pret.) M.I. pres. clechtàim, Làbì 'bed' M.I. lepaid, lepad (but gen. Lepàd M.I. leatha), Lànà 'baby' M.I. lenab, las 'need' (xx liù u 'las 'you need not') O.I. less, Ràvàr 'fat, thick' O.I. remur, remor, faràw '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: asam 'out of me', as 'out of him' (O.I. ass), afìd(a) 'out of her' (O.I. eissi, esse), asu 'out of you' (pl.), asd(a) 'out of them' (cp. O.I. essib).

(4) O.N. a : akàd 'anchor' O.N. akkeri, Làx 'gaLàxyj lake name O.N. Galtargréf (name of a stream after which the lake is named), karàwànx 'a red sea-fish (marine perch?)' O.N. cas. obl. karfa, Làyg 'ling' O.N. langa, sgàr 'corn' O.N. acc. skarf, sgàLpàj and tanàj island names O.N. Skalpoj and Hafoy.

(5) O.N. o in taràfjàr 'peat-iron' O.N. tòrfskàeri, taràwd, taràmad, taràmad man's name (anglicized Norman) O.N. acc. Pormund.

(6) O.N. long ì before hiatus in the village name Ra-aníf O.N. Ràíurnes.

(7) Various E. vowels: basgàd 'basket', bràkàfd 'breakfast', bàrigàn 'bargain', dra-ad 'drawer', fàgu 'flag', kàrkàf 'car-cass', paLeàl 'parcel, patra 'pattern', faràwàN 'servant', sàdàmàg 'stomach', lakà 'farm' (Sc. tack), tòsàdà 'shilling' "from Sc. testan, testoan, a silver coin of the 16th century with Mary's head (testa) on it" (MacBain), taràgàd 'target', travelàd 'traveller'.

54 MAGNE OFTEDAL

THE GAELIC OF LEURBOST
50. Long a: corresponds to:


Obscure etymology: a:R’x ‘spring-work’, a:Rif ‘customary, (?) custom’ M.I. ábaise (the word corresponds well phonetically to O.N. *ávíst, suggested by Meyer, Archív I 96, but the meaning is hard to reconcile with the possible meanings of this hypothetical O.N. word), ga:Rí ‘Gaelic’ cp. M.I. Go:édl, ká:n ‘language’ cp. Mod. I. canamhain (with short a), Lá:d’ir, Lá:d’ar ‘strong’.

allophones of \( e \), but even between the phonemes \( e \) and \( e' \). I quote from my material: \([be\prime h] \) and \([ba\prime h] \) 'life', \([ehar], [e\prime har], [e\prime ahar], \) and \([ahar] \) 'boat', \([k\prime a\prime e] \) 'will be spent' (dependent form), but \([ar\prime as] \) and \([ar\prime as] \) relative form), \([k\prime eh\prime u] \) 'to be spent or consumed', \([Le], [Le\prime h], \) and (lenited) \([la\prime e] \) 'half', \([Le\prime hiN] \) and \([Le\prime hiN] \) 'broad, wide', \([le\prime it], [le\prime hi\prime it], \) and \([la\prime hi\prime it] \) 'the like of it'. This variation or fluctuation seems to be either individual or completely optional. Note: \([Le\prime g\prime t]\) 'fifty', \([Le\prime ha\prime d]\) '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 \( e' \), the distinction apparently subsists in \([be\prime ha\prime x] \) 'animal' ~ \([beh] \) 'life'; I have only heard \( e \) in the former and variants of \( e \) in the latter.

\( e' \) is absent before all palatals except \( t' \), where it appears in a few words: \( ket 'cats', k\prime la\prime x 'el\prime i 'whetstone', et' u 'to thaw'. \) The word \( k\prime delag 'wasp' \) is an exception to this rule; it is also, and more frequently, heard as \( k\prime delag, k\prime delhag. \) \( e \) does not occur before \( N, L, \) or \( R \), except in some recent loans from E., such as forms of the verb \( pe\prime n\prime t\prime s\prime ay. \) In contact with a nasal consonant, \( e \) is practically always nasal.

52. Short \( e \) corresponds to:

(1) O.I. \( e \) before most non-palatal consonants: \( beh 'life' \) O.I. \( be\prime rhu 'wife' \) O.I. \( be\prime ni 'will touch' \) O.I. \( be\prime na\prime id, b\prime de\prime h\prime rhy 'to kick' \) cp. Mod.I. \( p\prime e\prime ra\prime b\prime ad\prime h (b\prime de\prime b\prime ada\prime d 'weaver' and \( b\prime de\prime b\prime ada\prime d\prime ay 'weaving' \) are probably derived from this verb), d'\( ex 'went' \) (dependent pret.) O.I. \( de\prime ch\prime hu\prime id, d'\prime es 'south' \) O.I. \( de\prime ss, e\prime x 'horse' \) O.I. \( e\prime h, e\prime h a r 'boat' \) M.I. \( e\prime h a r, f\prime e\prime d\prime a\prime g 'a whistle' \) M.I. \( fe\prime t\prime a\prime n, m a 'fe\prime h a r 'of my sister' \) O.I. \( mo 'fe\prime t\prime a\prime h, \) \( \tilde{f}\prime e\prime m\prime i\prime N 'seaweed' \) cp. M.I. \( fe\prime m\prime n\prime a\prime c, fer 'man' O.I. \( fe, f\prime e\prime r a \prime n 'earth, land' \) M.I. \( fe\prime r a n d, f\prime e\prime s\prime g\prime a r 'evening' \) O.I. \( f\prime e\prime s\prime c\prime o r, \) \( \tilde{g}\prime e\prime r a \prime N 'to complain' \) M.I. \( p r e s. \) \( g e\prime r a n\prime a\prime g\prime i\prime m, \) \( k\prime e\prime d 'permission' \) M.I. \( ce\prime t, k\prime e\prime ra\prime d 'four persons' \) O.I. \( c\prime e\prime t\prime h\prime a r, (a) 'N'k\prime e\prime r u 'the fourth' \) O.I. \( c\prime e\prime t\prime r a m a d, \)

\( k\prime e\prime r k 'hen' M.I. \( c e\prime r c, L e\prime h a r 'leather' M.I. \( le\prime t h a r, n a 'L e p 'o f the bed' M.I. \( le\prime p h a, L e s 'garden, cornyard near the house' \) M.I. \( l e\prime s, L e\prime s a x\prime a y 'to improve' M.I. \( l e\prime s u g a d, m\prime \tilde{e}\prime r a x 'a lie' \) cp. perhaps M.I. \( me 'quick, sudden, merry' \) and \( m e 'madman', N\''\( e \) 'nest' O.I. \( n e, p e\prime k a y 'sin' O.I. \( p e\prime c c a d, p e\prime c c a d, \) \( s\prime m e\prime g a d 'chin' \) cp. M.I. \( s\prime m e, \) and \( s\prime m e g e t (O'Davoren's Glossary), (a) \( f\prime \tilde{e}x 'in, inside' \) (adverb of motion) O.I. \( t e\prime c h 'house', \) \( f e\prime x g 'seven' O.I. \( s e\prime c h t, f e\prime x g N ' 'week' \) O.I. \( s e\prime c h t m o n, \) \( f\prime e\prime n a d 'grandfather' \) M.I. \( s e\prime n a t h\prime i r, \) \( \tilde{f}\prime e\prime n\prime a\prime d 'grandmother' \) M.I. \( s e\prime n m\prime \alpha i\prime t h i r, f e\prime s g 'barren, dry' \) (about cows) M.I. \( s e, f s u 'to stand' O.I. \( s e\prime ss o m, \) \( \tilde{f}l\prime e t i N 'slippery' \) O.I. \( s l e\prime m o n 'smooth', \) \( \tilde{t}e\prime \tilde{g} o 'tongue' \) O.I. \( t e\prime n g(a), \) \( t 'e s 'heat' O.I. \( t e\prime s s. \)

(2) O.I. \( e \) in a few cases before palatal fricatives: \( b l e h 'to grind' \) O.I. \( m l e\prime t h, d e\prime s t a x e x \) cp. O.I. \( d e\prime s h i d e n 'care, concern', \) d'\( e v i l 'sheep-shearers' \) M.I. \( d e\prime m e s 'scissors', L e\prime a d 'a slope' \) cp. O.I. \( l e\prime t h e t 'breadth, size' \) (\( L i a d 'breadth' \) must have a different origin), \( L e h i d 'the like (of) M.I. \) \( l e\prime t h e t, l e\prime t h i d. \)

(3) O.I. \( e \) final or followed by hiatus: \( j e h 'from him' O.I. \( d e, \) \( t 'e h 'hot' O.I. \) \( t e\prime e. \)

(4) O.I. \( a \) or \( o \) before palatal fricatives and palatal \( t(t) \): \( d\prime e\prime o 'oxen' M.I. \( d a i m, e\prime a 'heifer' \) gen. (nom. \( a g \)) M.I. \( a i g e, k\prime e\prime h u 'to be consumed' \) (perhaps also 'to consume, waste' as in Dolvency's Dictionary, but only the former sense is attested in my material) O.I. \( c a(i) t h e m 'to consume', \) \( \tilde{f} e t 'cats' \) M.I. \( c a i t, m\prime e\prime s f d\prime a d 'master' M.I. \) \( m a g i s t e r, \) \( R e\prime n a x 'fern' M.I. \( r a i t h n e c h, s e\prime a d 'arrow' O.I. \) \( s a i g e t, s e\prime a x 'vessel' \) M.I. \( s o i d e a c h, l e h a n 'houses' \) O.I. \( t a i g e. \)

(5) Other O.I. (M.I.) vowels: \( f e\prime r a s d 'easy' \) M.I. \( u r u s a, e r u s a, \) a urusa, e\( o (s i c, n o n-nasal) 'raw' M.I. \) \( o m. \) \( \alpha y \) M.I. \( a i g e, k\prime e\prime h u 'to be consumed' \) (perhaps also 'to consume, waste' as in Dolvency's Dictionary, but only the former sense is attested in my material) O.I. \( c a(i) t h e m 'to consume', \) \( \tilde{f} e t 'cats' \) M.I. \( c a i t, m\prime e\prime s f d\prime a d 'master' M.I. \) \( m a g i s t e r, \) \( R e\prime n a x 'fern' M.I. \) \( r a i t h n e c h, s e\prime a d 'arrow' O.I. \) \( s a i g e t, s e\prime a x 'vessel' \) M.I. \( s o i d e a c h, l e h a n 'houses' \) O.I. \( t a i g e. \)

(6) O.N. \( e \) in \( n a 'h e r a y 'Harris', probably from O.N. \( H e r a\'d \) or pl. \( H e r a\'d. \)

(7) Loans from E.: \( d r e s i g a 'to dress', \) \( m\prime \tilde{e} t a l 'metal', \) \( \tilde{p} e n 'pen \)
(for writing), pěNtay 'to paint' (pret. fěNt), sweťar 'sweater', fekād 'jacket'.

53. Long \( e \): occurs only in a limited number of words. It corresponds in several cases to O.I. \( e \): Re: 'flat, even' O.I. réid, \( e_\text{e} \): 'give' identified by Borgström with O.I. cē 'here, this', \( f_\varepsilon \): 'muscule, sinew' M.I. féith, gōdē: 'nature, disposition' O.I. gnē, \( f_\varepsilon \): 'he is'; yes' O.I. isē, féw 'quiet' cp. Mod.I. sēimh. Corresponding to O.I. \( \ddot{a} \) before palatal consonants: këdēv 'bone' (with palatal \( \ddot{a} \), not \( r \) as expected) O.I. cnáim, fe:ham 'hem' cp. Mod.I. fáithim, fáithfhuaíim, Réév 'oars' from *Rōdū, cp. sg. Rēv. About gc:šL, 'Highlander' and N'èv 'heaven' see Borgström, DOH p. 28.

\( e \): corresponds to O.N. \( \ddot{e} \) in krē:bili' 'garter' O.N. *knébelti; in a couple of words, it represents O.N. \( \ddot{a} \) or \( \ddot{o} \) mutated through the palatalization of a following consonant: lev gen. sg. and nom. pl. of taiv 'hand-net' O.N. hāf (acc.), leb gen. sg. and nom. pl. of taib 'bay' O.N. hóp (acc.).

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

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 [ɛ], [ɛ:] before certain consonants (\( p, t, k, s \)): [ˈɛ:hp] 'a spadeful of earth', [ˈɛ:hsp] 'before her', [ˈɛ:hp] 'through her', [ˈɛ:hlt] 'gate', [ˈle:ht] 'with you', [ˈbɒhkt] 'trout', [ˈbɾɛ:stl̩] 'bracelet', [ˈle:sn] leis-san 'with him' (emphatic). These variants resemble the higher allophones of \( e \) very much, and as \( e \) and \( e \) are almost in complementary distribution, it is sometimes difficult to decide to which phoneme a given sound of this intermediate quality belongs. [ˈle:ht] 'with you' has decidedly the phoneme \( e \), while [ˈpɛ:ht] 'a pet' has \( e \). Border cases are [ˈnɛːhtal] 'metal', [ˈswɛtɡar] 'sweater', and [ˈdɛːhtamax] 'important', which all seem to have a vowel higher than that of [ˈpɛ:ht] but lower than that of [ˈle:ht]. I shall—somewhat arbitrarily—assign these variants to the phoneme \( e \): the material does not impose one or the other classification. (Both \( e \) and \( e \) 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-palatalts \( g, t, k, \) and \( s \). For \( t, k, \) and \( s \) see examples above, for \( g \): beg 'small', egLif (also agLif) 'church', feɡaL and eɡaL 'fear'. Noteworthy is the exceptionally great frequency of short \( e \) before \( l \) and \( ð \). 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-palatalts; the most important cases are xa 'Ndēi 'will not see' (and other nasalized forms of the verb fēkīN'), dek 'deck', pronominal forms of the prepositions \( r \) 'before' and \( t \) 'through': rē-a 'before him', tēp 'through her' etc.; de:la '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 međeg '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'èv (§ 304); short \( e \) is (independently) nasal only in forms of the verb fēkīN' and the pronominal prepositions (rē-a etc.) mentioned above.

55. Short \( e \) corresponds to:

(1) O.I. \( e \) before a palatal consonant: beði 'hears, lays (eggs)' O.I. berid, d'ɛc 'ten' O.I. deich; d'ɛf, d'ɛfəl, d'ɛfəl 'ready, prepared, finished' and d'ɛfa 'suit of clothes' are apparently derived from O.I. deiss 'south; right', desse 'right side' (for the development in meaning, cp. Mod.I. deisghim 'I mend, repair, put right, dress' and deise 'neatness, dress, accoutrement'); d'ɛbY '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, féd 'suet' M.I. geir, héidh 'go' ep. O.I. eirg, kéed 'to sell' O.I. creice 'to buy', kêdadh 'four' O.I. eethir, kêdol 'question' O.I. ceist, Leif 'lazy' M.I. lase, lef 'with him' O.I. leiss, lais(s), Leifol 'excuse' Mod.I. leithúséal, mbéid 'rust' O.I. meirg, péedol 'jaw' cp. Mod.I. preicell, preicell, breicall 'double chin', féch 'a hide' M.I. seiche, ved, féd 'will give' O.I. do-beir.

(2) O.I. e before certain non-palatal consonants: beg 'small' O.I. becc(e), began 'a little' M.I. beccán, beax 'animal' M.I. bethadhach, bdeik 'trout' M.I. brecc, -d'e-i (also -d'e-i) 'after' (as ma 'je-i 'after me') O.I. -degaid, egLif (also ægLif) 'church' O.I. ecl(a)is, fegL, and ægL 'fear' O.I. ecal 'timid', fëhù 'to wait' M.I. fëthém, kep 'spadeful' M.I. cèpp 'log, stump, trunk', let 'with you' O.I. latt but M.I. lett.

Note that O.I. e is often represented by e 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(a) '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), elo 'other' O.I. aile (but M.I. ci(e)le), eò 'on him' O.I. fàir, héòif 'across' O.I. tarais, M.I. tairis (this word also has the form háòif; one speaker made a distinction between the two: xaj a 'héòif 'he capsized' ~ xaj a 'háòif 'he went across'), fëk 'will see' (dependent form) O.I. 'aicci.

(4) Other O.I. vowels: je-iN 'I would go' O.I. 'téginn, treò 'through him' cp. O.I. triiù, M.I. also tremit, rëp(a) 'through her' cp. O.I. treo, M.I. also trempi, rëò 'before him' and rëp(a) 'before her' bear little resemblance to their semantic equivalents in O.I. (ríam and rémi respectively); they have obviously been remodelled on the pattern of other prepositional pronouns.

(5) O.N. e in sigd 'skerry' O.N. sker or dat. skeri.

(6) E. loans: bèga'd 'beggar', brestel 'bracelet', dék 'deck', e-ar 'air', grèf(a) 'gate', pëla 'pail', pet an 'waistcoat', according to MacBain from Sc. pelygoc 'a short sleeveless tunic worn by men', sigf 'shelf', te-a, te-e 'tea.'

56. Long e corresponds to O.I. è:


(2) Before non-palatal, è has mostly become ìu, but the following words have e: d:èd 'teeth' (collective sg.), O.I. dè 'tooth', f 'èdar b 'èdar 'has to, had to' cp. M.I. fètar 'can' (f 'èdar yò 'faLà 'I have to go'), gèg 'sprig (of heather)' M.I. gèc 'branch', tre:n 'strong' M.I. trèn. To this class belong perhaps sbèradad 'weather-prophet', sbè:adadaxg 'weather-prophesying', both derived from sbèr 'sky' (the latter word is lacking in my material and is quoted from memory), an early loan from Lat. sphaera.
in old-style house’ (from E. deal?), emigay ‘to aim’, kef ‘envelope’ (E. case), pe:na ‘(window) pane’, fe:or ‘chair’, fe:mas ‘James’, kef ‘bench’ (from E. chaise longue?), fe:widogay ‘to shave’. The words kde:tor ‘creature’ and fesd(o) ‘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 fer), with article (a) ‘N’t’e: ‘the one’ (opposite (a) ‘fer’), compare Mod.I. an té O.I. int-i which, however, means ‘he who’; (a) ‘de:fd(o) ‘now’.


[i] is similar to the vowel of French ile; [ɾi] 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). [ɾi] is less lowered and more retracted than [ɾi]; 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:


5 — Norsk Tidsskrift for Språkvidenskap, suppl. bind IV.
sbrad 'spirit' O.I. spirut, fìlay 'to drip, leak; to rain' M.I. silim 'tropfe, lasse fließen' (Windisch), fta 'that' O.I. sin, fLi-o 'way' M.I. slige, fLìgo 'shell' M.I. slice, tìmri-zL 'around' O.I. timmchell.

(2) O.I. in tìdám 'dry' O.I. tirim, fìh 'to her' O.I. di.

(3) O.I. e in some cases before palatals or in connection with nasality: inKadaL 'the pins and prickles' M.I. delgnech 'thorny', id'ir 'at all' O.I. etir, miNig 'often' O.I. menic, sgìna 'knife' (gen.) M.I. sceine, 'to throw' O.I. teilciud, (a) ivik 'his son's' M.I. meic (but O.I. maicc); kì-aL 'to tie' M.I. cengal, mi-an 'middle' O.I. medOn, minax 'bowels' M.I. menach, mìsen 'fruits' M.I. sg. mess, nas 'nisa 'worse' O.I. messa, misgàxay 'to mix' M.I. pres. mescaim.

(4) Various O.I. phonemes: bri-iN' (also 'to speak' cp. Mod.I. bruighean 'strife; nonsense talk'; higa 'to him' O.I. cuc(c)i, 'to her' O.I. cuicce, 'will let' O.I. 16icid, (a) inifa M.I. indossa, innossai, prie 'to cook' M.I. bruith(e), fid 'that' O.I. siut, si: 'fairy man', ben 'fi: 'fairy woman, banshee') M.I. sidè, fìg 'large hay-stack' cp. Mod.I. siog, gen. sige 'rick of corn'; fìnà 'to lie down' M.I. sinim 'I stretch', fì:ji 'tired' O.I. scith, trì: 'three' O.I. trì, tìdà 'land' O.I. tìr. — Before non-palatals, an older í has normally become ì; an exception is fì:di 'silk' M.I. sìta. The prefix O.I. mì- 'mis-, ill-, wrong' is usually represented by mì: regardless of the quality of subsequent phonemes: mì:axLax 'dissimilar, unlikely' (koLax 'similar, likely'), 'mì:gròsàx 'inconvenient' (cp. pl. gòdàsen 'conveniences'), 'mì:voor 'impolite', 'mòyov 'an insult' (cp. mòyal 'polite, good-mannered' and O.I. mòd 'modus')

(2) O.I. short í, lengthened before certain consonants and clusters: ím 'butter' O.I. imb, ífà 'to tell' M.I. innisin, ína 'nail (of finger or toe)' M.I. pl. ingni, ímpà 'emperor' M.I. ímpè, íbràd 'a sacrifice', íbráy 'to sacrifice' O.I. ídhàrt, édhàrt (this word had O.I. ò according to Pedersen, I p. 339).

(3) í: corresponds to O.N. ì and ý: bìd'ag 'to bite' O.N. bita, ìdN 'pòid (a river) O.N. Grýta, Ritàj (an island) O.N. Hrísoy.

(4) E. words: pis 'piece', poìsàN 'prison', sìgìs 'parish' O.E. scir, poìf 'price' M.E. pris.

The word for 'self', O.I. fìn, is usually hèn, but in the first person sg. and pl. it is always hèn, presumably developed under the influence of the pronouns mi and fìn (although it is used even after prepositional pronouns that do not contain í, e.g. agam hèn 'at myself').

(3) í is also found in some words of more or less obscure origin: bòig 'a pile, heap', dìchà 'heritage' cp. Mod.I. dìlb, dì:vràd 5.
'to spew', *iavax* 'facial expression', *pa* 'do:du 'indeed' Mod.I. dá ríribh, *strípax* 'whore' Mod.I. *strípa* 'lily' (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. *sía* (siéibe) 'foxglove', as a long vowel is usually shortened before old hiatus, but cp. Mod.I. (Lane) *siadhán, sióthán* siéibe).  

60. *a* 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 *[a-]* to a slightly higher *[a~]* 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 *a* is represented by relatively high allophones, of a quality similar to that of long *a*, 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: *[Ek̂xpan]* 'book', *[na Va^-ay]* 'of the mist'; *[p-dax]* 'old man; husband', *[1,5-na]* 'bad'. Before *p, t,* and *R*, it is often a little higher than before other consonants: *[Pahpan]* 'cup', *[Laht]* 'scar', *[kcaRan]* 'sickle'. *(a)* 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: *[jóxd 'grass' (gen.)*, *kLaNa'kla:d'Macleod' (Clann Mhic Lebid)*, 43:j* `geese' (also and more commonly do:j).  

Long *a* has the peculiarity of never being nasal, not even in those very few cases where it is in immediate contact with a nasal consonant: *eD a 'bán* 'injured' (masc.; fem. *L:a:n)*. 61. Short *a* corresponds to:  

(1) O.I. *o*: *bodax* 'old man; husband' cp. Mod.I. *bodach* 'clown, churl', *iavx* 'poor' O.I. *bocht*, *bodona* 'woman' cp. M.I. *boine* 'palms of the hand' M.I. dat. *bois(s), bais(s), dolbias 'sadness' cp. M.I. *doilgi* 'difficulty', *dión* 'bad' M.I. *dona, dorax* 'dark' O.I. *dorch(a)e, droidid*, *dribid* 'bridge' M.I. *droicht, d'ax* 'a drink' late O.I. *deoch, dróin* 'back' (gen.) O.I. *drommo, f'-ad* 'under you' O.I. *fóut, f'-a* 'under him' O.I. *fou, gogadh* 'to caclle' cp. Mod.I. *gogalach, gallsd* 'sore, painful' M.I. *goirt, goirn* 'blue, green' M.I. *gorm*, *kogaf* 'conscience' M.I. *co-cubus, kogaf* 'war' O.I. *coces*, *kásÍNaí* 'earmark on sheep' O.I. *com-être, M.I. comarta* 'sign, token', *kásÍn* 'congregation' O.I. *comthinn*í, *kásÍn* 'gorse' Meyer *conasc, kásÍn* 'dogs' O.I. *koran, karham* 'weight' M.I. *com-thromm, kork 'oats' M.I. *corea, kósÍx* 'to walk' Meyer *cossisecth, xsíN* 'won' (pret.) O.I. *cosn(a)i* 'contends, *xra* 'hanged' (pret.) M.I. *cros* 'walk'.  

(2) O.I. *a*: *b5N'a* 'milk, drop' M.I. *banna, bainne, banna, b5Nax* *bannock, girdle scone* Mod.I. *bannach, go-al* (also...
(2) Loans from E.: b5nad'bonnet', (3) O.I. e, é: Æ-ar, Æ-or 'book' O.I. lebor, b-o 'with them' O.I. leu, leo, lethu, R-j-e-y 'frost, hoar; to freeze' O.I. réud, t-r 'through' O.I. tre, tri, t-r-e-y 'to plough' M.I. trebad.
(4) Other O.I. sounds: kOtax 'guilty' M.I. cintach, c.o, c-o 'grandchild' O.I. haue, Æ-ar 'manure' cp. perhaps Mod.I. tuar 'field, bleach-green, dung'.
(5) Various E. sounds: bOtax 'vows, promises' (pl.) M.I. sg. môít, d0:es 'hope' M.I. dó:hus, y:Rsl (prot.) 'spilled' M.I. dó:rim, ko:ô 'generous' O.I. coair, cóir, go 'for' 'enough' O.I. lour, y:R 'young' O.I. úc, y:R 'nun' ep. M.I. óc, éc é 'integritás, virginity', a:R 'to drink' O.I. ói, ou, x 'gold' O.I. úr, pa:ay 'to marry' M.I. pósad, Ra:n 'seal' M.I. rón, xa:n' 'nose' O.I. rón; ta:faxGN', ta:faxay 'to begin', ho-fe 'began' are certainly derived from O.I. tóseach 'leader', where Æ must have been substituted for the diphthong ã at a rather early date; the meaning was probably influenced by ta:fax 'beginning, start'.
(6) Loans from E.: b5na: 'bonnet', b0:R-i:jy 'to borrow', b0:la: 'bottle', d0:la 'dull', d0:gdar [g0:kat] 'doctor, physician', b0:Rân 'abroad' (e. g. xaj a 'foran 'he went abroad') from E. foreign, bLok 'clock', kó:ft 'coffee', kóar 'copper', kóp há 'corporal', kóta:n 'cotton', p0:k(x) 'bag, sack' Sc. pok, pock, p0:lfí:a:n 'policeman'; b:Rs 'a dose', x:RfÁd 'afloat', kósla 'coast', p0:sd 'postman', b0:R-i:jy 'to roll', f5na: 'Jaan'; b0:R-bad 'barber', sn:zg 'smug', l0:sa: 'tassel', tRk 'rubbish' from E. truck.

Some words of doubtful origin: b0:Kay 'to trample', k0:nas 'anger' (homophonous with k0:nas 'gorse'), k0:sg 'starfish' (contains either G. cross or O.N. kross), m0:Ryán 'gravel', c-0:i:j, c-0:i:j 'year-old lamb', p0:radan 'a small crab' ep. Mod.I. p0:R:tan, sol:t 'tame'.

62. Long Æ corresponds to:

1. O.I. Æ, or Æ contracted with a following vowel: b0:dan 'vows, promises' (pl.) M.I. sg. mó:it, d0:es 'hope' M.I. dó:hus, y:Rsl (prot.) 'spilled' M.I. dó:rim, ko:ô 'generous' O.I. coair, cóir, go 'for' 'enough' O.I. lour, y:R 'young' O.I. úc, y:R 'nun' ep. M.I. óc, éc é 'integritás, virginity', a:R 'to drink' O.I. ói, ou, x 'gold' O.I. úr, pa:ay 'to marry' M.I. pósad, Ra:n 'seal' M.I. rón, xa:n' 'nose' O.I. rón; ta:faxGN', ta:faxay 'to begin', ho-fe 'began' are certainly derived from O.I. tóseach 'leader', where Æ must have been substituted for the diphthong ã at a rather early date; the meaning was probably influenced by ta:fax 'beginning, start'.
2. O.I. Æ, lengthened before certain consonants and clusters: b0:Rd 'table' M.I. b0:rd(d) (ultimately from O.E. b0:rd), b0:Rd 'hammer' O.I. ord, b0:Rdag 'big' toe; thumb' O.I. ord(d)u 'thumb', xo:Rtax 'inch' cp. Mod.I. órdlach, órdlach, xo:Rn 'on us' O.I. forn, b0:R 'heap; many' cp. Mod.I. t0:R 'pike, heap, etc'. Other products of lengthening: xo:Rtax 'books' cp. M.I. dat. pl. îe:braib, b0:Rd'an 'roads' cp. sg. ba:Rd, gen. Ra:Rd'.
3. O.I. Æ, Æ(i): Æ: for: living, alive' O.I. b0:ó, b0:u, fj0: 'meat, flesh' O.I. fêul, fêoil, f0: 'grass' (lentified gen.) O.I. fêuir, fj0:Las 'knowledge' cp. O.I. Æ:ta 'knowing', Æ: mist, fog, smoke' M.I. c6:0, xo:R 'music' M.I. c6:0, f0: 'sail' O.I. s6:0 (a loan from O.E. s6:0 according to Thurneysen, see his Grammar § 924).
4. In loans from Norse, Æ represents O.N. Æ and Au (probably also Æ, but of this I have no example from Lb.): b0:Rg 'boot' M.I. brÓc 'breeches' from O.N. brók 'breeches', L0:x x0:Rgavat (a lake) O.N. Krókavatn, L0:x (a man's name) O.N. acc. l:Rt, Ra:naj (an island, North Rona) O.N. Hraunsl, t:Rb 'bay' O.N. acc. h0:p.
5. Various E. sounds: k0:R2: 'tweed' E. cloth, k0:Rd:ay 'to agree with, please' probably from E. accord (e. g. ha 'fín a k0:Rd:ay ram 'I like that'); k0:Rnad 'corner', k0:Rnald 'colonel'.
taj 'x-asd 'inn' cp. E. host, asasad 'August', po:kad 'pocket' cp. E. poke, pr:faxl 'proud' cp. Mod.I. prós, próis 'prowess, ostentation' from M.E. prowess, proes, R:x p 'rope', R:xasad 'rosin, resin', R:xd:ay 'to fry' E. roast, f3:R:so 'sort, kind'.

Of uncertain origin are go:Rax 'stupid', R:xig 'starling', sgbl:tax 'small lythe or pollack', sgx: 'cloud' (hardly identical with O.I. scáth 'shadow, shelter').

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 [m5:Naeg] - [m5:Naeg] 'duck', [Nöhtl] - [NÜhtl] 'pound (sterling)', [oxk] - [Uxk] '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, [oxk] 'eight' ~ [Uxk] '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 [ú]. (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 [ULtax] 'armful' (always with [U]) with [skoLtay] 'to split' (always with [o]); [xUNaig] 'saw' (pret.) with [koNaig] 'fuel'.

The phonemic difference between o and a is clear, but occasionally there is overlapping: kroL and kroL 'moss, lichen', go:j and go: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 palatalas as in j8:N 'birds'. In contact with nasal consonants, long o: is generally nasal, with two important exceptions: mor: 'big, great' and f0:ní 'suffices, is enough' (as opposed to, e.g., m8:N's 'peat' and d'intax 'willing'). Short o, however, is very often non-nasal in the neighbourhood of nasal consonants: kom(o) 'not caring, indifferent' (but kōmNa 'a gathering', kōmNa 'ordinary'), koNa 'fuel', mœx 'early', toman 'small hillock or heap', toNa 'duck'.

64. Short o corresponds to:

(1) O.I. o, mostly in connection with a labial: boq 'wet, soft' O.I. hoc(e), bo-ar 'deaf' M.I. bodar, gob 'beak' M.I. gøb, go-o, go-a 'blacksmith' O.I. goba, yodh 'to me' O.I. dom, dam, hō:if 'measured' (pret.) cp. O.I. tomsus 'weight; to measure', kō-ad (and kū-ad) 'to look' O.I. comēt 'to preserve, guard', kō-ra 'advice' O.I. comairle, ko-ad 'comfort' O.I. cobir, kōhaRdiç 'to bark' (prefix comh-, cp. Welsh cyfarth), kōmNa 'a gathering' M.I. commond, cummann, mō:axay 'to perceive' M.I. mōthaigim, mœx 'early' M.I. moch, obad 'work' O.I. opair, obi 'abrupt, blunt' (in manner) cp. M.I. opond, tobad 'a well' O.I. topur, toman 'tussock' diminutive of tuNam M.I. tomm. Without a labial: koNa 'fuel' M.I. condud, connad, kroh 'cattle' M.I. crod, krokk 'hillock' O.I. cnoc, o-ar 'dun-coloured' M.I. odar, ox (and usx) 'eight' O.I. ocht, sgolLax 'to split' M.I. scoltad, togal 'to lift; build' M.I. tocBail, tocBail (also found in the form trogal), toNa 'duck' cp. Mod.I. tonnōg.

(2) O.I. a or e followed by a labial fricative: go-ar 'goat' O.I. gabor, gabur, go-al 'to take' O.I. gahail, yo 'took' O.I. 'gab, jo 'will get', jo-ay 'would get' (does not correspond exactly to O.I. gaband or gaib, but cp. Mod.I. (doo-) gheibh sé), Ro-iN 'warning' cp. M.I. rabad, so-L 'barn' M.I. saball, trō-ad 'through you' M.I. tremut.
(3) Other O.I. sounds: \( gn\theta\)-\( i\) 'business' cp. Mod.I. gnó 'business', gnóthaich 'busy', kom(a) 'not caring, indifferent' O.I. cumme, r\( o\)-am 'before me' O.I. rium, tr\( o\)-am 'through me' O.I. trium, voja, foja 'from him' O.I. úa(i)d, fut 'from you' O.I. úaí.

(4) Norse loans: bo\( a\), bo\( o\) (a) 'submerged rock' O.N. cas. obl. bo\( a\), bo\( o\) (b) 'bow' (fiddle bow or weapon) O.N. cas. obl. bo\( g\), kLo\( u\) 'pair of tongs' O.N. cas. obl. klo\( ta\). Lot(a) 'loft, attic' O.N. cas. obl. fot, 'from you' O.I.

(5) Loans from E.: ho\( a\), ho\( o\) (a) 'water'-hose', kop (also kap) 'foam' perhaps from M.E. copp 'vertex' (MacBain), Ned(a) (and N\( 5\)t(a)) 'pound (sterling)' E.

Of doubtful origin are topag 'lark' and tro\( a\)d pl. tro\( a\)d\'u 'comel'.

65. Long o: corresponds to:

(1) O.I. \( \mathbf{o} \): bo: 'cow' O.I. b6, ko: 'five' O.I. c6ic, kr\( o\) : 'nut' O.I. gen. cn\( o\), mort 'big, great' O.I. m\( o\)r, m\( o\):N\( a\) 'peat' cp. M.I. móin 'bog', m\( o\):t\( x\) 'moor' cp. M.I. móin and pl. móinte.

(2) O.I. \( \mathbf{a} \) 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', k\( o\):\( l\)a 'leaf of a door' M.I. com\( l\)a, k\( o\):\( n\)i 'to live, dwell' O.I. com\( n\)naide, k\( o\):\( R\)n\( d\) 'flat, even' M.I. com\( m\)\( h\)\( a\)rd, com\( h\)\( n\)\( a\)rd 'equally high, level', k\( o\):\( k\)\( a\)y 'to speak; speech, conversation' Mod.I. cómh\( h\)\( a\)rd, t\( o\):f\( x\)\( +\)an 'riddle' Mod.I. toimh\( s\)\( c\)h\( a\)n; a lengthened and labialized a is found in so:L\( e\)\( n\) 'barns' from \( *s\)\( a\)b\( l\) (sg. so-L\( e\) M.I. sab\( a\)ll). In d\( ë\):\( o\)\( L\) 'Donald', written Domhnall, the whole cluster -\( m\)h- has been lost. Unexpected is the long non-nasal o in d\( ë\):\( o\)N' 'deep' O.I. do:muin.

(3) O.I. \( \mathbf{a}\), \( \mathbf{i}\)u: d\( ë\):\( n\)ax 'willing', cp. M.I. deona\( g\)im 'I am willing, I assent', \( ë\):\( o\)j (also \( ë\):j) 'geese' from \( *g\)\( ð\):\( o\)id (M.I. nom. sg. \( g\)\( ð\)), j\( ë\):N 'birds' O.I. \( ë\):\( ï\)n, \( ë\):\( ï\)n, \( m\)\( ï\):\( r\)\( ï\):rax 'a bird (thrush)' M.I. sm\( ï\):lach.

(4) Loans from E.: N\( ë\):\( u\)n 'interest' (ha N\( ë\):\( u\)n agam a vi \( g\):\( ë\):\( s\)\( g\)\( ñ\) 'I take an interest in fishing') E. notion, lo:-\( a\) 'a hoe', lo:-\( í\)\( g\) 'to hoe'.

\( o\): corresponds apparently to an older \( u\) in m\( ë\):\( x\)\( y\) 'to choke' M.I. m\( ë\):\( x\)\( y\)l. Not quite clear are the etymologies of k\( ë\):\( L\)\( y\), k\( ë\):\( L\)\( h\)\( a\)y 'together' (see Borgström, DOH p. 73), k\( ë\): \( ë\) 'together with', N\( ë\):\( n\)\( a\)x 'curious, funny', e\( ë\) N\( ë\) 'also e\( ë\) a \( ë\)h 'or else'.

\( u\).

66. \( u\) has the two principal allophones [\( ù\)] and [\( ñ\)]. [\( ù\)] 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 [\( j\)u\] (use), [\( ë\)u\] (few). [\( ù\)] is very similar to the highest varieties of Norwegian and Swedish \( u\). Long [\( ù\)] especially when final, often ends in a phase of diminished tension, where the tongue reverts towards its neutral position, resulting in pronunciations like [\( ë\)u\:] for kw 'dog'.—[\( ñ\)] is phonetically very different from [\( ù\)] 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 [\( ë\)] intermediate between [\( ù\)] and [\( ñ\)]. [\( ñ\)] is found in the following positions:

(a) Immediately before and after N, L, and R: [\( g\)\( ð\)\( Ñ\)a\] 'gun', [\( ë\)U\( L\)\( Ñ\)] 'apples', [\( ë\)U\( ë\)\( Ñ\)] 'eagle', [\( ë\)\( ë\)R\( Ñ\)] 'carrot', [\( ë\)U\( ë\)\( Ñ\)] 'rag', [\( ë\)U\( ë\)] 'thing'.

(3) O.I. \( \mathbf{a}\), \( \mathbf{e}\)u: d\( ë\):\( ë\)nax 'willing', cp. M.I. deona\( g\)im 'I am
(b) Before x when short: [flUx] ‘wet’, [lUxu] ‘key’.


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 [mU] or an only slightly more retracted [u] in such words as [dU:u] ‘country’ (gen.), [bD:u:u] ‘seaware cast ashore’, [xU:j] ‘the condition, state’, [xU:j] ‘the part’, [xU:mU]N ‘I would hold, keep’. The word written a h-uile ‘every’ is a rather intriguing exception. By some speakers, it is pronounced [xUla], which conforms well to the rules (this form is found in my informant Kenneth MacLeod). But a more common pronunciation is [xUla], which would seem to demand the establishment of a phonemic distinction between [U] and [u], in view of such forms as *[xUlan], *[xUlag], lenited forms of [kuUan] ‘whelp’ and [kUlag] ‘fly’ (I have not recorded the two forms in question, but I have no doubt that I remember them correctly; compare also e.g. [xUag] and [xUmiN] 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

(0) x- is a morpheme although it does not exist outside of the combination (a) ‘tulua’ is proved by the existence of the word ulb ‘ula’ ‘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.)


Long u is always nasal in contact with a nasal consonant; short u is occasionally non-nasal in this position: muU ‘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:

(2) O.I. i, especially before u-coloured and other non-palatal consonants, rarely before palatal consonants, occasionally before hiatus followed by stressless u: flux 'wet' O.I. fliuch, gu-as 'pine tree' M.I. gius, juhaRa 'hell' O.I. dat. ifurrn, ifiurrn (juhaRa is the profane word for 'hell'; in religious language it is ifriN', certainly a reading pronunciation), juLad 'eagle' M.I. hùir, julRin 'cornyard' O.I. dat. ithlaind, pju-ar 'sister' O.I. siur, Ruj 'to run' O.I. rith, riuuth, RONag 'star' O.I. rind, RùNax 'mackerel' (from *rindach 'starred'; for a parallel semantic development cp. bdek 'speckled' and 'trout'), ONax 'fox' M.I. sinnach, sindach, pju-uL 'to travel' O'Clery siubhal, t'uh 'thick' M.I. tiug, fintad, 5-ad 'about you' O.I. immut, eiNad 'in you' O.I. indiut M.I. innut. — Unexpected is u in 5N'an 'anvir M.I. indeoin, cp. IN'aL `machine' M.I. indel(1) `toor.

(3) O.I. o (not very often): dulic 'sad, difficult' M.I. doilig, driNrexay 'Duncan' Book of Deer Donchad, kri-ad (also k5-ad) 'to look' O.I. com6t 'to preserve, guard', kfintal 'to hold' M.I. dat. congbdil, kur (also kud, influenced by finite forms) 'to put' O.I. cor, sinti (pret.) 'saw' O.I. 'condaire, Lùjas 'navy' M.I. longes, nas 'mù-u 'more' O.I. mó, mòo, múo etc., suRag 'vent of a kiln' cp. M.I. sornad.

(4) Other O.I. sounds: bùN'i 'belongs' O.I. ben(a)id (probably by contamination with some other word, as ben(a)id is also represented by bëni 'will touch'), fa-al (pret.) 'sewed' cp. M.I. faugim (with diphthong), ga-al (also go-al and ga-al) 'to take' O.I. gabail, maRsun [muRsun] 'thus' mar sin, Rad 'thing' O.I. réit, ursd 'as much, so much, as many, etc.' M.I. ered, airet, uLaxxy 'to make ready' cp. O.I. aurlam, airm, irlam, irlam 'ready', uRan 'doorpost' M.I. aursa, irsa (the two last-mentioned had O.I. ò according to Pedersen, § 238).

(5) O.N. u: LùNan 'launching rollers; props for keeping boat upright on shore' O.N. hlunn-, sgudaL 'rubbish' conceivably from an O.N. *skutI 'rubbish, waste' cp. Mod.Norw. skult 'to waste', Lax grùNvel O.N. Grunnavatn. — In the village name kujhär, uj represents the vi (phonetically [ui]) of Kvåar, 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 h.


68. Long u: corresponds to:


(3) O.I. ò (Pedersen § 238) in wRûi 'prayer to pray' O.I. irnígde, ernígde.

(4) O.N. ú: krùch 'crouch!' O.N. krùupa, krûpa (see Marmorstrander, Bidrag p. 40), Ru-an 'pile of three or four peats put on end to dry' and Ru-ay 'to pile the peats in this manner' O.N. hrûga, hrûfa 'pile, heap' (note that Ru-å 'promontory' has short u; in Bernera this latter word is [Ru-çay], and
Borgstrøm derives it too from O.N. hrúga, hrúfa), *Lax sgudavat O.N. Skútavatn.

(5) O.N. y in *jdrū "rudder' O.N. stýrí; O.N. vi [vi:] in the village and parish name viý O.N. Viý.


69. *w: 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(re-La)] or [t(r)La], 'more', [t(r)-k] 'to understand', [hur-k] 'understood'; this allophone is also found between r and h in [rur-h] 'ran'. Its auditory effect is comparable to that of Russian *w in *sampa 'fast'. A slightly less advanced variety is found in words like [w(i)k] 'rain', [p'duqif] 'trousers', [sudjif] 'to court', [hur't] 'fell', [suj] 'sit down!', [u'den] 'eggs', [gurja] 'to swear', [du:Na] 'man', [u:N'ag] 'window'. This sound type seems to have all its features in common with [u:] except for the lip-rounding of the latter; the auditory impression is similar to that of [u:], especially if a j follows: [gu:ja] sounds almost as [gju:] (but there can be no confusion between phonemes, as the phoneme *w: is represented in this position not by [u:] 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 [w:], which is found in most other positions: [urubaL] 'tail', [t'umunay] 'testament', [t'uruus] 'journey; time'. The description lower high-back unrounded also holds for the most frequent allophone of long *w:, as found in [urst] 'old', [urf] 'age', [ku:ra] 'sheep', [gur:] 'wind', [ur:drum] 'light (not heavy)', [fusor] 'cutting edge', [fu:n] 'side', [sju:ruL't'ax]

'spreading'. Finally, the phoneme *w: has some retracted and lowered variants [uw], [urw], [uw:], used both for long and short *w in contact with N, L, and R: [nas 'Lur:-w:], [nas 'Lur:-:]' smaller', [Lur't:maexk] 'naked', [Rur:xa] 'form, looks', [sLur:Na'y] 'sur-name', [Lu:zd] 'stretchl', [gu:zL] 'love'. A long [ur:] or [ur:] is not always easy to distinguish from allophones of the phoneme *a; in the word for 'glue' my notations show hesitation between [gu:zL:] and [gu:zL]. N, L, and R may influence *w: even if the contact is not immediate: [ur:shO:], [ur:-:Na] 'face', [sur:-:L] 'world'. A curious diphthongal sound is found between L and y in [Laty] 'calf'; this sound must be regarded as a further allophone of *w: (it cannot be identified with any other diphthong, and it seems to be in free variation with *w: in this particular position).

The distribution of *w: shows several interesting features. Both long and short *w: are found before palatals, non-palatals, and neutrals, but in the position after palatals they are rare, the only occurrences in my material being *tu:munay 'testament', *tu:ur'maxk 'to dry', *pduqif 'trousers', *hia:Rsema 'also bi:Rsema) 'balance', and *du:La 'to revenge'. *w: is hardly ever found between two palatals.

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

70. Short *w: corresponds to:

suíja, suíj 'to sit' O.I. suide, suiduíj 'to court, woo' M.I. suruje, tuLoj 'more' M.I. tuille 'addition', turuLj 'drought, dry weather' M.I. turud, lururs 'journey; time' M.I. turns, ufji(s) 'rain' (occasionally also 'water') O.I. usce 'water'.

(2) O.I. i before a non-palatal constant: Ruoxj 'form, looks, appearance' O.I. richt, tromùnauy 'testament' cp. O.I. timne 'injunction', tu:rùmùsaey 'to dry' cp. O.I. co thirmaigid (M1 44 d) and Mod.I. tiormughadh.

(3) O.I. o in a few cases: Stii N'Cay 'surname' M.I. sloinded, slondud, Stufgi 'will burn' M.I. loscid, Stusgay (also Lasgay) 'to burn' O.I. loscud, Sturtirmaxg 'naked' M.I. lomnocht, truirintiu.aN 'dizzy' cp. Mod.I. troim-cheannach.

(4) O.I. ō (Pedersen § 238): Nas Tur-ur, nas 'Lur-a 'smaller' O.I. laugu, lugu, laigiu, tu:rùmùsaey 'a shot' M.I. aurchor, urchor, erchor, erchar; urrairbal 'tail' is only attested as erball in M.I. but may have had ō.

In Norse loans, the phoneme ur is rare. It represents O.N. initial vi- [wi-] in u:uN'ag 'window' O.N. vindauge; the village name grunnarfadar is probably O.N. Gro mss etr, see VL p. 397.

Loans from E.: pdugif 'trousers' E. breeks, breeches, brulf 'brush'.

71. Long u: corresponds to:


(2) O.I. ē, especially in initial position: w:dx 'clothing' O.I. étach, ur:bn 'face' O.I. étan, wgi:ji 'bad look' M.I. écose 'appearance', ur:drum 'light (not heavy)' O.I. étromm, and other words with the prefix O.I. ē: ur:ánax 'leaky' (cp. d'ónax 'light'), ur:koLax 'unlikely' (cp. koLax 'similar, likely'). Also after f in fu:di 'may, can' M.I. féitaim.

ur is further found in d'uLoj 'to revenge' cp. O.I. digal 'vengeance', slud 'stretch!', sludax 'slow' cp. Mod.I. slaodaim 'I drag, trail' and slaodach 'drooping; sliding; lazy', lur:ga 'a bruise, as on laminated metal' (origin doubtful).

72. a 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 [s], 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 [a] as in sot 'sweet', in spite of the fundamental difference in articulation (Norwegian [a] is a front rounded vowel). It does not so much resemble the French [a] of peau or the German [a] 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: [faskLay] 'to open', [anun] or [anu] 'one', [bNva:li] 'bundle', [gad'] 'to steal', [gal] 'to boil', [sLad] 'bright'. In all these cases, [a] is heard as well.

In some words there is overlapping between a and e: hab and heb 'had nearly', egLiF and egLij 'church', of 'd'as-i and of 'd'ei 'after'.

a is found before and after palatals, neutrals, and non-
consonants. Exceptions are: ñan 'one', fín 'a story', fín 'old', fín 'brain', blad 'bundle', fné 'a while' (also fné 'a while') 'anf'. Long o, on the other hand, is nearly always nasal in contact with a nasal constant; I have only one certain exception of the rule, viz. tra'n 'corn-crake' (as opposed to e.g. Rá'n 'field, patch of land', 'dn' 'a two fields'). Independently nasal a is found e.g. in kdi '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-dl-trans 'adultery' O.I. adaltras, a-dök 'horn' M.I. adarc, ay 'heifer' M.I. ag, of 'd-a-i, a d-a-i' after O.I. in-degaid, e 'ay 'throughout, all over' M.I. ed 'space of time; extent of length', fné 'some, somebody' M.I. fedán 'party, team', fa-nd-an 'patience' O.I. fodañiu, fowar 'autumn' M.I. fogmar, fra-ark 'eye-sight' M.I. rodarc, kl-a-x 'to dig' M.I. pres. claidaim, claidim, La-ar 'hoof' M.I. ladar, La-ay 'to melt' O.I. legad, La-if 'to cure' M.I. leges, fay, hay 'yes' O.I. is ed, to-ay 'to choose' O.I. togu. Also in ñas 'and', where γ corresponds to an O.I. occlusive (occus).

(2) O.I. a, o (frequently) and e (occasionally) before palatals: blda'dl 'sly, slyly begging', bladö 'sly person' cp. Mod.I. bleideamhail, bleidire, d'ab 'to warp' cp. O.I. deib, Mod.I. deilbh, gat 'to steal' M.I. gait, garid 'short' M.I. ga(i)rit, gathsan 'conveniences' (only recorded in the pl.) cp. M.I. gaire 'proximity', gath 'to crow' M.I. gairm, gathsan 'indigo dye' goirmean, f (also fo) 'will get' < *gheibh (O.I. 'gaibh), kaLa 'wood, forest' M.I. coill, caill, caLa 'a kind of mussel' Irish coilleòg (O'Reilly), kófd(i)(a), kófdiN 'to believe' O.I. pres. creitid, xaN'ic 'met' and koN'u 'a meeting' cp. M.I. coinne 'meeting', Lat

'rotten, decayed' cp. M.I. lohaim 'decay', sgl ei (pret.), sgl ei 'split, cut open' M.I. pres. scolítim, sgl 'bright' cp. Mod.I. soilèir, taig and to 'house' O.I. dat. taig, tóblu 'bells' M.I. tairb, tajj 'foot' (pl. both tajil and tajil) O.I. tajil, tajja '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: sgl ei (and egl ei) 'church' O.I. eel(a)is, fsgol 'open!' M.I. pres. oslaicim, fsgol 'answer!' M.I. feac(c)raim, gòtas 'speed' (heard in the expression gòtas 'að sìd 'hurry up!') cp. M.I. gressim 'I urge on, stimulate', kGin 'an' (pl. form, has apparently no sg.) 'medicine(s), medicament' M.I. congnad 'a helping', eN 'brain' O.I. inchinn, ñan 'one' cp. O.I. oin, ñen.

Note also ñain 'brain' O.I. inchinn, ñan 'one' cp. O.I. oin, òan.


(5) Various E. phonemes: bas 'bus', blafjara 'to blush', bl 'gloomy' E. dull, fal 'funnel' E. fller, sgl 'ugly', sgl 'overcoat' E. ulster, kála 'curly', kála 'to cover', klub 'a haircut' E. clip, klav 'fast, quick' E. clever, stjórn 'red (of thread)' Sc. pín, Rebar 'rubber', stjórn 'servant' (probably E. service plus G. -ach), tóra 'tin', trá 'trick', týg ' 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: x:braN ‘ankle’ O.I. odbrann, x:var ‘cause’ O.I. adbar, fo:Ln ‘learning’, fo:Lnic ‘scholar’ O.I. foglaim(1), La:ron ‘hoofs’ ladhran (pl. of La-ar M.I. ladar), tra:n ‘corn-crate’ < *traghm-u, cp. Mod.I. tragh-an, troghan, and trauna.


(4) Norse loans: R3-x: (non-nasal a:) a man’s name O.N. acc. Rognumal, R3:nIl ‘a woman’s name O.N. acc. Ragnhildi.

(5) sN3:fan ‘snuff’ is probably from E. sneezing in “sneezing powder”.

Words of obscure origin: dœa: ‘stretch!’ (reminds one very much of O.N. draga ‘to pull, draw’, but the vowel would not normally be lengthened here), m3:rax ‘nussel, shellfish’ cp. Mod.I. maorach, R3:An ‘timber-worms’ cp. Mod.I. réadán, ð5:mn ‘pour!’ (it is tempting to associate this word with O.N. tómá ‘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 [i] as in E.

ai is chiefly found before palatal and neutral consonants. Before non-palatals, I have found it only in adna gen. sg., adnìcart nom. pl. of adnì ‘river’, and in aìrel ‘strife, disagreement’. ai is never preceded by a palatal except in recent loans like laibhri ‘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): ãlla pl. of ãL ‘angel’ cp. O.I. acc. pl. aingliu, bàf(a) gen. of bànin ‘wedding’ M.I. bainde, bàin ‘belly’ O.I. acc. broinn, kàLàod ‘candles’ cp. M.I. caindle ‘candle’ and Early Mod.I. caindleir, kàIn ‘speech’ M.I. caint, bàin ‘to divide, share’ M.I. dat. raind, roinn, ‘fat, fatness’ M.I. saill, saill ‘salt’ (adj) M.I. saill te.

(2) Before a preconsonantal palatal fricative, now disappeared or rather absorbed by the diphthong: adna gen. sg. and adnìcart pl. of adnì ‘river’, cp. O.I. dat. pl. aìnib, aìrel ‘(-t’ sic) ‘strife, disagreement’ cp. M.I. amrèid, bàin ‘did, made’ < *do-roigni, O.I. do•rigni (see Borgstrom, DOH p. 38), sNìnn ‘a knot; to tie’ M.I. snáidm. Ràdìn ‘fatness’ seems to represent an older *remrecht, cp. O.I. remur lb. Ràn ‘thick, fat’. An irregular development is found in kLàic gen. of kLàx ‘stone’, which I believe I have heard besides the regular kLàc, M.I. cloiche.

(3) Before a final or intervocalic palatal fricative in ðàw ‘to them’ O.I. doaib, dòib, duaib, and Làw(a) gen. of Làw ‘hand’ O.I. acc. láim and gen. lámæ.
The etymology of kláivan 'doorlatch' is uncertain; cp. Mod.I. clai bíin, clai mpin 'bolt for a door'. faín 'is often heard for fájín 'to get'.

Loans: fájín'óg 'fank' (from Scots), śdrāfád 'stranger', táín'óg '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 [ɛ]. In the speech of some individuals it is difficult to hear the difference between [pɛt̪eɪnˈdɹ] 'pint' and [tɛt̪eɪnˈdɹ] '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 ai.

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: bēín 'mountain' M.I. dat. beind, eín-d's 'in her' O.I. inte, eín-d'an 'mind' cp. Mod.I. inatinn (ultimately < Lat. intiento), géin (and pl. gēińd'an) 'wedge' M.I. geind, gəein 'valleys' glëin, gəeín 'smart, nice, well behaved' M.I. grind, grəin, heiL '(re)turned' (pret.) thill, kəeín 'head' (gen.) M.I. cind, kəein'ax and kəein'd'ax 'certain', sure M.I. cintech, faín 'to sing' cp. O.I. semnìd 'plays', t'əeín 'ill, sick' M.I. tind, veil 'destroyed' (pret.) cp. M.I. pres. millim.

Loans: bēín'óg 'bench' (Sc. bin), eil'adán 'elders' (of congregation), pët̪eín'd 'pint', to fəeín'f 'pub' ("change-house").

ai.

79. This diphthong has many variants, which, however, are not widely dissimilar. [ai], [aɪ], [aɪ], and [ai] resemble acoustically the Norwegian diphthong oy; the last-mentioned allophone has a weak lip-rounding. These variants are used indiscriminately in all positions. After labials, velars, N, R, r, and initially they are more often than not replaced by [ɛɹ] or [aɹ], which have a "hollower" sound that resembles that of ei, described below. Examples: [buril] 'thick rope' (gen.), [frin] 'from you' (pl.), [gurí] 'wind' (gen.), [k'uril] 'wheel', [xurí] 'never', [vər'ian] 'baby', [Rəd] 'last night', [k'urí] 'horseshoe', [sər'ian] 'small coal-fish', [ur-i-əl] 'pleasant', [ur-i-jd] 'Uist'.

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

80. ai corresponds to:

(1) O.I. u or o before a final or preconsonantal non-lenited palatal n or l, or m: boil 'thick rope' (gen.) O.I. baill, boil, də $('[back] O.I. druimm, kar̩l'an 'woods' M.I. dat. pl. caillitib, coillitib, fën'an kəən 'diarrhoea' (lit. 'illness of chest or bowels') cp. M.I. cuimm nom. pl. of comm 'waist, trunk', kləinn'd'an 'to hear' cp. M.I. cluinsin, kə́in 'round' M.I. cruind, múldar, múín'dar 'people, inhabitants' O.I. muinter 'family', múinə 'mill' (gen.) < mull 'mill' cp. M.I. mullind, múinəd 'miller' cp. Mod.I. måun t e 'regard, esteem' cp. Mod.I. suim 'sum; regard', t∠eL 'holes' tuill.

(2) O.I. a, o, or u followed by a preconsonantal palatal fricative: kə̂in 'depth' M.I. doimn, aix(ə) (usually non-nasal ai, contrary to most other Hebridean dialects) 'night' O.I. dat. aideh, fajə and fai 'to beg' O.I. foigde, gəín 'smiths' sə̂ĭnbn (sg. go-o, go-a), gəín 'yearling calves' gaimbn (sg. gəin'), kə̂ĭn(ə) 'memory' O.I. cuimnə, kə̂ĭn 'hos-
pitable' and kēnas 'hospitality' cp. O.I. coibnus 'kinship', xei 'ever' (combines with negative xa to render 'never') M.I. caídehe, chaídehe 'till night; ever', saida d 'soldier' M.I. saigtoir (Lat. sagittarius), saíor 'wealthy' and saíoras, saíoras 'wealth' cp. M.I. saidbir, saidbre, laíf(a) 'ghost' cp. O.I. taidhiu 'to show'.


(4) O.I. i in is N 'to us', rain 'to you' (pl.), lāín 'with us', liw 'with you' (pl.), O.I. frínn, fríb, liinn, lib.

(5) Other O.I. sounds and combinations: PIN', vín 'from us' O.I. dain(n), faí 'from you' (pl.) O.I. daib, yán 'to us' O.I. dtímn(n), 'd-iag 'eleven' O.I. a oin dé(e)c, krai 'horseshoe' cp. Mod.I. crudh, Níún 'nine' O.I. noi, (a) 'Raíd 'last night' M.I. irair.

(6) ai is not frequent in Norse loans. It represents O.N. ei or rather the whole combination eiò in ai 'a narrow passage between two lochs' O.N. ei 'isthmus'. ai-yf 'Uist' is called ëisit 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. sdrígh 'string', M.I. sréag, is a loan from O.N. (acc.) streng, according to Marstrander, Bidrog p. 22.

baíl'ag 'angleworm' comes ultimately from O.N. beita 'bait' but has probably passed through English. The same goes for saián 'young coal-fish, saithie' O.N. acc. seið.

(7) E. loans: daimon 'diamond', fāna 'fine, thin' (as e.g. china ware), kaila 'wheel; spinning wheel', mōdlán 'maid, bride', pāífan 'poison', Rādißag 'to ride', sdrígh 'staircase', tait 'tight', trífar 'plate' (trencher).

81. ui is always pronounced with one of the retracted varieties of u. [uí] is used after m, [UÍ] 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 independent nasal.

82. ui corresponds to:

(1) O.I. ái áe of óc before a palatal fricative: Lui (and pl. Luíhan) 'hymn' O.I. loid, Lui 'calf' (gen.) M.I. loíg, mūfan 'to threaten' cp. M.I. máidim Mod.I. maoidhím 'I boast'.

(2) O.I. a before certain palatals: klūi 'wool' and klūidax 'down' cp. M.I. clú(i)m 'down', mūl 'mane' M.I. dat. muing.

au.

83. au has two sets of allophones: (a) [aU], [æU], and (b) [au], [eU], [eæU]. 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: [gāU] 'scarce', [k'æUL] 'to lose', [hæUL] 'looked', [hāUÍ] 'queen', [rāCesxy] 'to search'. Also when nasal before d, as in [brāUÍ] (phonemically brādi) 'brandy'. The (b) variants are used in all other positions. They all resemble Norwegian au as in draum 'dream' or the diphthong of E. town, crowd as very commonly pronounced by Scottish speakers of Standard English. Examples: [dāum], [dázum] 'milldam', [k'æUL] 'crooked, wry', [sāum] 'time', [kæfrifE] 'bareheaded'. Note variations like [rāCesxy] 'to search' — [ráesiç] 'searched'.

The diphthong au is not very frequent outside of the position before m, n, and L. It may be preceded by palatalts, neutrals, and non-palatalts. 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 kraid '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: ðûm 'time' M.I. amm, ðûN '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', bûNtrax 'widow' M.I. ban-trethbach, bûNk 'queen' ban-righ, fuanLIn 'to promise' M.I. pres. gellaim, gûNrey 'winter' M.I. gernred, kuðm 'crooked, wry' O.I. camm, kLûN 'children' O.I. cland, kûN 'head' O.I. cenn, kûrify 'bare-headed' ceannrùisgte, NàizL 'over here' O.I. anall, M.I. gemred, the conditions: well with the classical O.N. spelling (although the initial à was undoubtedly nasal), but is quite consistent with the M.I. ren-name, O.N. Aleifr. The modern form does not correspond 61). It seems to have developed from a pre-literary O.N. form *Anlaif (acc.), where the superscript represents a disappearing nasal consonant. *Anlaif (acc.), where the superscript represents a disappearing nasal consonant.

In Norse loans, au corresponds to O.N. a under similar conditions: RûNsaxxy 'to search, ransack' O.N. rûnsaka, Lax sàûNdvat O.N. Sand(a)vatn. Noteworthy is àûLuñ, 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, AîmLeîf, etc. (see Marstrander, Bidrag p. 61). It seems to have developed from a pre-literary O.N. form *AîmLaîf (acc.), where the superscript n represents a disappearing but yet perceivable nasal consonant.

au also occurs in E. loans: brûði 'brandy', dûs 'dance', gûðlag 'crowbar' (ultimately corresponding to O.E. gæfeloc 'spear'), LûNdVlad 'lantern'.

au.

85. Like au, this diphthong has allophones with different types of u. [pU] 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: [pûN] 'dark brown', [p'ûN] 'pound' (weight), [p'ûNtray] 'to refuse'. In most other positions, we find a sound type that I have transcribed more or less indiscriminately by [au], [oU], and [au]. 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 dreaum '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 au are higher or more retracted or both. Examples of their use are [xUûm] 'held', [ûtraxN] 'to miss', [ûmavraN] 'trumpet'. Between a palatal s and ñ, the first component approaches the second in timbre, so that ñûsìq 'learn' may occasionally sound almost as [ûsìq] or [ûsìq]. After R, the diphthong is represented by [uar], an intermediate between [û] and [û], as in [ûruN] 'room'. Before l and hiatus, the first component has a distinct [o] or [ê] quality: [füoluy] 'kilt', [Loû-as] 'Isle of Lewis'.

The distribution of au 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 ñut 'doubt', which may be a mishearing for dant. [au] [üo], ñu-oy, [û], [û]

86. au corresponds to O.I. o, u, or i followed by non-lenited, non-palatal final or preconsonantal l, n (nd), m: bûNh 'sole; foot of mountain' M.I. bond, fo 'ðûN 'ago' cp. O.I. ar chinn, ar chinn 'before', ðûN 'dark brown' M.I. dund, dûNtay 'to refuse' O.I. diltud, jûNsaxxy 'to learn, teach' cp. M.I. insaigid 'to visit, look for', jûNtawxxy 'to convert' cp. O.I. impud 'turning', kûNtraj 'neap-tide' M.I. contrahct, lûm 'with me' O.I. li(u)mm, LûN 'beer' O.I. lind 'a drink', NûL 'over there' (motion) O.I. intrunn (with L in analogy with the antonym NàL, O.I. anall), ñûNh(a) 'in them' O.I. intiu, ðûm 'to me' O.I. frimm, frimm, ñuL 'hole' M.I. toll, ñuN 'heavy' O.I. trón, trón, tûmNtay 'to turn' O.I. tintúth.

Similarly in loans from Norse and English: grûNh 'bottom' O.N. æc. grunn or M.E. grund, LûN 'launching roller' O.N. æc. hlunn, pûNh 'pound' M.E. pund (note however ñûs 'ounce' M.E. unce), ðûN 'room' M.E. room, trûNbad 'trumpet'.

au must have a completely different origin in fûoluy 'kilt'
and Lau-as 'Lewis'. Of the former, I have seen no satisfactory etymology (it may be connected with the Úanfíblí of the Fled Bricrend); the latter probably reflects Ljóðhúís of the O.N. sagas, as Lau-as in the southern Hebridean dialects certainly does.

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.


I have not found early equivalents to the words málig 'mewing; bleating' (Mod.I. miahóileadh), sgüal 'neighing; grunting' (Mod.I. sceanmghail 'barking'), and sriabhàrdí '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 triaxlaaL O.N. Drælafjall.

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

[Liàn] 'net', [fiàn] 'wine' (when non-nasal, the allophone used is [iː]) even before n, as in [skían] 'knife'). The allophone [iːu] is found (a) always before x: [fiːu] 'debt; worth', [kːdiːu] 'end; dividing line' (exception: when x belongs to a subsequent morpheme the allophone used is [iː], as in [f'ia.xiin] 'oblivion', cp. káina 'memory'); (b) always before N: [bliːuNa] 'year', [fiːuNi] 'giant'; (c) before L, but only when nasal: [N'itUL] 'Neil', [miːuL] 'louse' (but [fiːuL] 'seed', [f'iaL] 'sense').

ia 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 fia 'facial expression, gòd 'deed; effort'.

90. ia corresponds to:


(2) O.I. ë before a non-palatal consonant: d'íaoN 'idle' M.I. dimatein, d'éannax 'tight' cp. M.I. din 'protection, shelter', d'íeaxiin 'oblivion; forgetfulness' M.I. di-chumne, fían 'wine' O.I. fin, gòd 'deed; effort' O.I. gím, isseL 'low' O.I. ísel (the non-palatal s probably comes from the antonym O.I. úasal Lb. ussel 'high'), fián 'from me' O.I. dim, kòax 'end; dividing line' O.I. críech, kóisal 'godly' cp. O.I. Críost 'Christ', Liàn 'a net' O.I. iàn, LiáN 'to fill; high tide' O.I. lín, miBL 'louse' O.I. míl 'animal', miBL

(3) O.I. dissyllabic *fí in *biay 'food' O.I. biad, (a) *fíav 'ever (in the past)' O.I. riam 'before it', *sífin 'knife' O.I. sítan. The lack of nasality in (a) *Oiav and *sífin (as opposed to e.g. *gíavi and *Lífin) reflects the original dissyllabicity: the nasalizing effect which the final *m and *n may have had upon the immediately preceding, stressless a [a] 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 Borgstrøm, DOH p. 43).

(4) O.I. í in *kiad 'hundred' O.I. cét, (a) í *av 'the first' O.I. cetn(a)e, and *ka 'viad 'how much, how many' cp. O.I. mé,t, méit 'size, quantity'.

(5) Norse loans: *fíar a man's name, O.N. acc. ívar (í nasal) or conceivably íngvar, Yngvar; *físmán 'rope, esp. one made of heather' O.N. cas. obl. síma.

91. *ua has the allophones [ua] and [Ua]. [Ua] is used when the phoneme is nasal: [Ua] 'lamb', [Cúa] 'cave', [NÚaS] 'up; down (toward speaker)'. [ua] is the non-nasal variant: *[HúahanaS] 'farmer'; in *[saráS] 'big wave' the first diphthongal component seemed to me somewhat more retracted. For the distribution and origin of this diphthong, see under *ua, below.

92. *ua has the allophones [ía] and [UaR], where [R] is a retracted and somewhat rounded element approaching [a]. The latter allophone is used whenever the diphthong is immediately preceded or followed by L or R: [RÚaR] 'light brown; reddish', [UaR-Rox] 'trifling; insignificant', [LÚaR] 'to full', [gÚaL] 'coal'. In other positions, even before ñ, the allophone [ía] is found: [t'lúa] 'south', [gówag] 'wig', [fúaxk] 'a cold'. There is frequently variation between the two allophones within the paradigm: *Ruairidh, a man's name (anglicised Roderick), is in the nominative [RÚaRí], but in the genitive or vocative (with lenited initial) [Rúahí]. Other examples: [gÚaLín'] 'shoulder' ~ pl. [gówLoN], [úah] 'hour, time' ~ [N'Ua-Šon] (phonemically NduasR,šon) 'at that time, then'.

*ua 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 *ua is nasal only in a very few words. Both are usually nasal in immediate contact with a nasal consonant; an exception is *fuam 'sound, noise' which is expressly marked "non-nasal" in my notes. *ua, but apparently not *ua, may be independently nasal. Neither diphthong is ever preceded by a palatal consonant; *ua is not infrequently followed by a palatal, which is only rarely the case with *ua.

93. Both *ua and *uw correspond to O.I. *úc, *ua has developed in connection with nasality, as in *díán 'poem' M.I. duan, (o) *Núah 'up; down' O.I. an-úas, *údhya 'cave' M.I. úam, *úghaS 'wild man living in holes or caves' (derived from the preceding; Borgstrøm's *[fúag] 'a giant' is probably the Bernera version of the same word and not, as suggested in DOH p. 44, connected with MacBain's *sambair and E.I. fómó, which is found in Lb. as fáwaS 'wild man, giant'), *díán 'lamb' O.I. úan; in *dúsaS 'terrible' M.I. úathbáisach and tunhánS 'farmer' (connected with *twa 'countryside' O.I. túnath) 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. *ua is found in *kídn 'ocean' M.I. cúan, búdn 'to harvest' M.I. búain, and regularly before non-lenited m as in *gruaim 'gloom, displeasure' cp. Mod.I. gruaim and fuam 'sound, noise' M.I. úaim. Further examples
of *ua are bruach 'river' bank' M.I. bruach, fuar 'cold' O.I. úar, hua 'go' cp. O.I. fo'fush, xuar 'heard' (pret.) O.I. 'chual(a)e, Lua 'ashes' O.I. lúath, Lua 'to waulk' cp. M.I. lua 'heard' (pret.) O.I. • chtal(a)e, Lua 'ashes' O.I. lùaith, Luay 'to waulk' cp. M.I. scuap, truay 'broom' M.I. scuap, truay 'broom' M.I.

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 medieae 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 weaker 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 (gáin [gáIN] 'scarce') and after stressed vowels (Lag [Lag] 'weak'), while the stronger degree is found after stressless vowels as in fùair [fùair] 'sea-gull'. After s, the allophone used is the stronger one: [skaral] 'cormorant'. An exception to the rule is d, which has the allophone [t] even after stressed vowels: màiN [máiIN] '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'LaN] is devoiced only in its first part, while the L of [faUL] is completely devoiced. Initial aspirated stops are very energetically articulated, more so than in most varieties of English, cp. for instance the initial of *LaN '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 [g] of LaNgadar [Langadar] 'a kind of seaweed' is voiceless only in its last part, while the [g] of buNk(o) [bagk(o)] 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'áptal] or [k'áptal] 'chapter', [astar] '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 *kabdel, asdar etc.


95. Historically, the aspirated stops correspond generally to O.I. voiceless stops or tenues. The unaspirated stops correspond to O.I. voiceless stops or medieae. 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 da'mbak(a) 'tobacco' and ba'Nta:t(a) '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 [(a) 'mbala] for (a) 'mbala 'the village', or [(a) 'N'hahad] for (a) 'Ntahad 'the father', but by far the most frequent pronunciations are [(a) 'm'ala] and [(a) 'N'hahad], 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 [m\text{\textipa{\textsc{a}}}] m\text{\textipa{\textsc{a}}} '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 [(a) 'm3N'a] (a) 'mb3N'a 'the milk' (cp. [b3N'a] b3N'a 'milk'), and (b) a non-nasal vowel sometimes follows a nasal consonant, as in [m\text{\textipa{\textsc{a}}}N] ma\text{\textipa{\textsc{a}}}N 'dead'. To solve the question of the phonetic difference between [m-] and [m'-], 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 [m\text{\textipa{\textsc{a}}}L] m\text{\textipa{\textsc{a}}}L, the velum is not raised until after the articulation of [a]. It may, indeed, remain open throughout the articulation of one or two following phones if their phonetic nature permits it.

In [m\text{\textipa{\textsc{a}}}L] mbala, 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\text{\textipa{\textsc{a}}}L] mbala, 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\text{\textipa{\textsc{a}}}N] mar\text{\textipa{\textsc{a}}}N, the initial [m\text{\textipa{\textsc{a}}}] is very difficult to distinguish from [m\text{\textipa{\textsc{a}}}] in [m\text{\textipa{\textsc{a}}}L]. 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\text{\textipa{\textsc{a}}}L], one may sometimes hear [m\text{\textipa{\textsc{a}}}L], but [m\text{\textipa{\textsc{a}}}L] is never heard for [mar\text{\textipa{\textsc{a}}}N]. 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'hahad] Ntahad 'the father', [N\text{\textipa{\textsc{a}}}li-a] N\text{\textipa{\textsc{a}}}li-a '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'hahad], [N\text{\textipa{\textsc{a}}}li-a]: [N\text{\textipa{\textsc{a}}}hahad], [N\text{\textipa{\textsc{a}}}li-a]. It is possible to interpret the aspirated nasalized stops as nasal
plus h, viz. wh-, Nh-, Nh', gh-, and gh-, 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 [gh-] and [gh-] to be counted as separate phonemes, whereas the interpretation N'h- and Nh- permits us to regard them as allophones of N and N' respectively.

The nasal element in the nasalized stops is not syllabic: mbala and Ntahad 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 p- and mp-, t- and Nt-, etc., secondly, because it would require the mediopalatal and velar nasals of [gh-] and [gh-] to be counted as separate phonemes, whereas the interpretation N'h- and Nh- permits us to regard them as allophones of N and N' respectively.

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(2) Older voiced $b$, especially before consonants: $pri\acute{c}$ 'to cook' M.I. $bruith(e)$, $p\ddot{a}f\ddot{a}y$ 'to break' M.I. brissed.

(3) In $pe:n$, the allomorph of $he:n$, $hi:n$ '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 $b$ $[\beta']$ of sib, occaib etc. and the initial $f$ $[\acute{f}]$ of féin: $^[\acute{f}]\beta' > ^{\acute{f}\cdot\beta'} \cdot p^-$. O.N. postvocalic $p$ in $krtip$ 'heap; lump', perhaps from O.N. acc. knapp 'button; small eminence of rock, earth, etc.', see NG Indl. p. 61.

E. $pe:n$ay 'to paint', $prifan$ 'poison', $pa:-ay$ 'to pay', $pet'an$ 'waistcoat' from Scots $petycot$ (Mac Bain), $p6i:saN$ 'prison, gaol', $pOi:f$ 'price:', $pais$ 'prince', $plasdar$ 'plaster'; $gra:p$ 'graip, iron dung-fork', $aparan$ 'apron'.

E. $b$ in $putaN$ 'button', $pukad'$ 'bucket', $p6urgif$ 'trousers' from E. breeks, breeches.

$p$ occurs in a number of words of doubtful origin: $pa:-ay$ 'thirst', $pall'$ 'plentiful', $pasgog$ 'to fold', $pel\ddot{a}d$ 'bullet' (late M.I. pel\'{e}r), $poRsdan$ 'a small crab' (Mod.I. $p\ddot{o}rt\ddot{a}n$), $pruha\ddot{x}$ 'whooping-cough', $pLa\ddot{d}\ddot{a}$ 'blanket' (Mod.I. pl\'{a}id), $pL\ddot{u}msal$, $-al$ 'to splash, paddle'; $ dri\ddot{p}La$ 'busy', $sdri:pax$ 'whore', $tap\ddot{a}$ '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 dental stop, but a preceding $i$ often has the lower allophone $[\acute{f}]$, see under Vowels, § 57.

(1) O.I. non-palatal $d$ (also written $t$): $dajaN$ 'strong, brave' O.I. daingen 'firm', $dL$ 'to go' O.I. dul, $d\acute{r}x$ 'dark' O.I. dorcha\'{e}, $d\ddot{a}m$ 'back' O.I. drum\'{i}, $dLw$ 'close, tight' M.I. dru\'{l}u$, $\acute{b}is\ddot{a}d$ 'hundred' O.I. c\'{e}t, $f\ddot{a}d$ 'single peat' O.I. f\'{o}t, $fou\ddot{t}$, $kab\ddot{a}dL$ 'sleep' O.I. cotul\'{d}.

(2) eclipsed O.I. $t$ (non-palatal) in dependent forms of irregular verbs: $xa$ 'd\'{o}-$\ddot{a}$d \'{o} will not give' O.I. $\ddot{a}bair$, $xa$ 'd\'{a}n\'{i}j' 'did not come' O.I. $\ddot{a}n\'{a}ic$, $xa$ 'd\'{u}g' 'did not give' O.I. $\ddot{u}c\ddot{u}$.

(3) O.N. $d$ in $dr\acute{e}y$ 'fishing-line' O.N. dorg.

(4) O.N. postvocalic $t$ in $L\ddot{a}d$ man's name O.N. acc. $Lj\ddot{a}t$, $\ddot{a}vIn'$ '\'{g}\ddot{o}d\ddot{c}$ river name O.N. Gr\'{y}t\'{a}, $LAs$ 's\'{g}\ddot{u}d\ddot{a}vat' O.N. Sk\'{u}t\'{a}vatn.

(5) E. $d$ in $d\acute{a}d\acute{a}$s 'dance', $de:kan$ 'deacon', $dusan$ 'dozen', $dra-a\ddot{a}$ 'drawer'; $br\ddot{a}d\ddot{i}$ 'brandy', $fu\ddot{d}ar$ 'gunpowder', $Ra\ddot{a}d\ddot{g}g\ddot{e}$ '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 $tr$: $t\'{a}na$ 'thin' O.I. tana\'{e}, $ta\ddot{a}f(s)$ 'ghost' cp. O.I. taidhsiu, $tu$ 'flood, great rainfall' O.I. tuile, $traj$ 'foot' O.I. traig, $tr\acute{i}$ 'three' O.I. trî; $let$ 'with you' O.I. lat(t), $kat$ 'cat' M.I. catt.

(2) O.N. $t$ in $tar\acute{a}f\ddot{g}g\ddot{e}$ 'peat iron' O.N. torfskeri, $tot(s)$ 'walls of ruined house' O.N. topt; $vat\acute{a}sj$ island name O.N. Vats\'{o}y, $ba:t(s)$ 'boat' O.N. acc. b\'{a}t.

(3) O.N. $pt$ (probably pronounced $[\acute{p}\ddot{t}]$) in $tot(s)$ 'walls of ruined house' O.N. topt, $tot(s)$ 'thwart' (oarsman's bench) O.N. $\acute{p}o\ddot{p}ta$. Perhaps also $lot(s)$ 'loft, attic' O.N. lopt if this word has not come through E.
O.N. **d** in tol(ə) 'thwart' O.N. þohta, iaràmad (e.t. -ad) man's name O.N. acc. ðormund(?), trasy 'codfish' O.N. acc. þorsk.

O.N. **h** in taw 'hand-net for small coal-fish' O.N. acc. háf 'landing-net', tawaf island name O.N. Haføy, tsh '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**.

E. **t** e.g. in bho 'tin', lasdan 'shilling' (Scots testan, testoon, a 16th century silver coin), tak(ə) 'farm' Scots tack, tarágad 'target', tráifar 'plate' (trencher), trak 'rubbish' (truck), trusay 'to gather' (truss); bōtL 'bottle', mitagan 'mittens', pet 'pet'.

E. **th** in taiN'g 'thanks', traNg 'busy' Scots thrang.

E. **h** in to:-a 'a hoe' (back formation).

**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'æs] d'æs 'south', [gæd] gad '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'ægə] t'ægə 'tongue' with [k'ðal'f(ə)] kðad'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 **g**, but more advanced and probably shorter than the full phoneme **g**. Non-initial **t**' followed by vowel or pause has an off-glide which also resembles **c** but is very short. Examples: [m'æl] m'æl 'proud', [æl] æl(ə) 'feather'; cp. [æl] æl 'would be' (indefinite). After a long vowel the friction of the glide is less perceptible than after short vowel: [mɒt'æx] mɒt'æx '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 **f**-like glide: [(a) 'N'd'ɛ:] [(a) 'N't'ɛ: 'yesterday', [(a) 'N''lask] [(a) 'N't'ɛg 'the fish'.

Prepalatais.

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'æs] d'æs 'south', [gæd] gad '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'ægə] t'ægə 'tongue' with [k'ðal'f(ə)] kðad'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 **g**, but more advanced and probably shorter than the full phoneme **g**. Non-initial **t**' followed by vowel or pause has an off-glide which also resembles **c** but is very short. Examples: [m'æl] m'æl 'proud', [æl] æl(ə) 'feather'; cp. [æl] æl 'would be' (indefinite). After a long vowel the friction of the glide is less perceptible than after short vowel: [mɒt'æx] mɒt'æx '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 **f**-like glide: [(a) 'N'd'ɛ:] [(a) 'N't'ɛ: 'yesterday', [(a) 'N''lask] [(a) 'N't'ɛg 'the fish'.

104. **d**' corresponds to

(1) O.I. palatal **d** (also written **t**): d'alòv 'picture' O.I. delb, d'ed 'set of' teeth' O.I. dèt 'tooth', d'áuna 'to do, make' O.I. dénum; fid'ar 'knows' O.I. ro•fitir, mäd'ar 'stick' M.I. maite, mäd'ar 'people' O.I. muinter 'familia'.

(2) O.I. eclipsed palatal **t** in dependent forms of irregular verbs: xa 'will not come' O.I. •tic, xa 'd'e: 'will not go' O.I. tëit (substitution of the O.I. absolute form for conjunct 'tëi').

(3) O.I. zero in d'ǫ: 'ice' O.I. aig (influenced by gen. ǫga). This is probably a back formation from the definite form (a) 'N'd'ǫ:.

(4) O.N. postvocalic **t** in bid'arg 'to bite' O.N. bittu, fid'airHí a place-name O.N. Fitjargerði.

(5) E. **d** in mèd'an (mèd'ar) 'maid; bride' M.E. maide(n) O.E. mægدن, l'itd' 'time, weather' M.E. tide.

105. **t**' corresponds to

(1) O.I. palatal **t** (tt): l'ílìgal 'to throw' cp. O.I. teileciu, l'cìbNavy 'to turn' O.I. tìntúth, tìntúth 'translation', t'uh 'thick' M.I. tiug; ad'(ə) 'place' M.I. áit, it'(ə) 'feather' O.I. itte, ette, (a) 'íell' of the cat' M.I. gen. caitt.

(2) E. **t** l'ayag 'tether', l'á:t'ar 'tar' M.E. terre, l'itd' 'time, weather' M.E. tide 'time, hour, season'; pet'arn 'waistcoat', see above under p (5) báil'ag 'angleworm' from E. báit.
MAGNE OFTEDAL

THE GAELIC OF LEURBOST

(3) O.N. ð before s (perhaps pronounced ts already in O.N.) in bëN’c′flaL (cf′flaL) mountain name O.N. Eiðsfjall.

Mediopalatals.

106. ð 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) ð 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: [ðfimæx] or [ðfimæx] (ðfimæx) ‘lobster’, while it is always heard distinctly before other vowels: [ðæl] or [ðæl] (ðæl) ‘white’. In utterance-final position, the glide is hardly perceptible: [ðæl] (ðæl) ‘Gaelic’. Unlike d′, g has a marked on-glide after vowels other than high front ones: [k(æ)’ð] (k(æ)’ð) ‘five’, [w(æ)’ð] (w(æ)’ð) uð village name.

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

The nasalized N’ð and N’k have off-glides closely similar to those of non-nasalized ð and k.

107. ð corresponds historically to

(1) O.I. palatal g (also written c): goal ‘white’ M.I. gel, gðaray ‘winter’ M.I. gemred, giay ‘goose’ M.I. ged; hið ‘will come’ O.I. òtic, kuðaL ‘distaff’ M.I. cuicel, meðð ‘rust’ O.I. meirg. Also O.I. ce, which is not always kept quite distinct from c (g) in writing: hiða ‘to him’ O.I. cuc(c)i, bìða gen. s. sg. of beg ‘small’ O.I. bìce. ð corresponds to O.I. non-palatal ce (c) in aða ‘at him’ O.I. oc(c)o, oc(c)a.

(2) O.N. g initially: ga:Rì ‘green plot around house or shieling’ O.N. gerði ‘enclosure, meadow’.

(3) O.N. postvocalic k in uð village and parish name O.N. Vík.

(4) E. g in get(‘) ‘gate’, gift ‘gift’; beggad ‘beggar’.

(5) E. k in ðìnag ‘a kiss’, tráfr ‘trick’.

108. k corresponds to O.I. voiceless palatal c (cc): kāN ‘head’ O.I. cenn, kāL ‘sense’ O.I. cail, kó ‘fog, mist, smoke’ M.I. céo; ga ’fhek mi ‘that I will see’ O.I. aicci, gi(f) ‘wise’ O.I. glice, kðek ‘to sell’ O.I. ceicce ‘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: [hug(‘)N’] (hug(‘)N’) ‘let’s go!’ (literally ‘to us’), [fi(h)k(‘)iL] (fi(h)k(‘)iL) fi(k)li(‘) ‘tooth’. The aspiration of k has little or no friction. In [k(‘)k] (k(‘)k) kas ‘leg’ it is a pure breathing sound similar to [h]; in [m(‘)k] (m(‘)k) or [m(h)k] (m(h)k) ‘son’, it is very much the same, in this case a voiceless continuation of [a].

110. g corresponds to


(2) O.I. palatal g in the initial palatal clusters gr- and gi-: gð:m ‘a hold, grip’ O.I. gréimm, glðN ‘valley’ O.I. glenn. Also in the cluster go- from older palatal go-: gðː: ‘nature, disposition’ O.I. gné, gðːv ‘effort, deed’ O.I. gain.

(3) O.I. voiceless non-palatal c in gax ‘each’ O.I. cach.

(4) O.N. g in ga:r’he ‘stone wall between fields’ O.N. acc. garð, Lax ‘gRúNavat O.N. Grunnavat, gðe:navaL mountain name O.N. Gránafljall, gránafljadar village name O.N. Grömssetr (see VL p. 397).
Fricatives.

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

The voice is not always complete, especially in v which is regularly half-voiced, sometimes almost completely devoiced, before h and in word-final position: [̩ᵊr-oʊ] ‘through you’ (pl.), [Là:vay] (also [Là:v1y], [Là:vay]) ‘axe’.

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 Borgstrom 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 kafay ‘blizzard’, kafag ‘haste’, Raf ‘reef-(on sail)’. In some words, it is in free alternation with v or vh, e. g. eifiv and eivi ‘neck’, bardfas, baràvas, and baràvhas 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


(2) O.I. fricative m, palatal and non-palatal: favi ‘autumn’

(3) O.I. eclipsed f in (ə) 'ros 'here, on this side' cp. O.I. foss 'rest' and Mod.I. i bhfoss, vel 'is' (dependent form) O.I. fil, feil, fail, Mod.I. (nach) bhfūil.

(4) O.I. zero in forms of the preposition vo 'from' cp. O.I. foss 'rest' and Mod.I. i bhfoss, vel 'is' (dependent form) O.I. fil, feil, fail, Mod.I. (nach) bhfūil.

(5) Various O.I. fricatives: ewaxg 'to shout' cp. M.I. pres. égim, Lëːvay 'to read' O.I. légend (v perhaps from sgēːvay 'to write' O.I. scribend), Rīːv 'interest' cp. M.I. rīːad 'running' and rith 'running, accumulation of interest', suːvəL (and suːvəL) 'world' O.I. saːgul.

(6) O.N. vː vatsonaːj 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: ëːvvar man's name O.N. ëːvvar, ëːvvaːŋ name of a bay O.N. Mjāvik.


(8) E. v, as in klaw 'fast' (clever), farvəːnt 'servant', fəːvɡay 'to shave', travalaː 'traveller'.

sav '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


(2) O.I. lenited b in ṭeːd (also ṭeːd) 'will give' O.I. doːɛərɪ, dəːfər 'concern' (ex 'N'dɛːl a ɡo dəːfər 'pōːsə it doesn’t matter to me') cp. M.I. dethbir 'difference, distinction'.

(3) O.I. zero in a great number of words: fək(a) 'saw' (dependent pret.) O.I. aːceɪ, fək 'will see', fəkɡ 'would see' (dependent fut. and cond.) O.I. aːccɪ, aːccɪd, fəlæs 'sweat' M.I. aːlæs, fəːda 'watch, to watch' M.I. aːfəs 'to grow' O.I. æːs 'growth', fəːsɡ 'close, near' cp. O.I. acus, oːcus, fəːNə 'ring' O.I. aːnne, fəːsəd 'easy' M.I. urusə, eːrusə, aːrusə, ɛːd 'fəːə 'throughout, all over' cp. M.I. ed 'space, extent', fəːsɡLəː 'to open' M.I. pres. oslaːcim, fəɡəL 'fear' O.I. eːcə 'timid', fəːar 'cold', fəːsɡə 'coldness, a cold' O.I. úːr, úːcht, fræːsaːŋ 'eyelashes' cp. O.I. rəːs 'eye', fraːark 'eye-sight' M.I. rədərɪc.

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 fəːdɪfəːlɪ village name O.N. Fitjargədɪ.

(5) O.N. v in fəːd 'förd' O.N. acc. vəːdɪl.

(6) E. fː fəːN'γ 'fank, the gathering of sheep for shearing; place where this is done', fəːna 'fine, thin'.

(7) E. p in fəːdər 'gunpowder'.


Palatals.

116. The fricatives j and ɛ 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 ɡ and ɛ, 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 ɛːkɔː kjake 'jaw' (in those dialects where the sound is a pure fricative and not an affricate [t'ɛ]). 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 (jəːsɪc 'taught, learned' ~ jəːsɪc '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 \( do \) ‘to’ and the homonymous \( do \) ‘from’, before front vowels. The O.I. counterparts were \( do \) and \( de \).

118. \( x \) in initial position is always the lenited representative of radical \( k \). In non-initial position, it corresponds to \( (1) \) O.I. palatal \( ch \): \( d'ec \) ‘ten’ O.I. deich, \( aig(a) \) ‘night’ O.I. dat. \( aiddh \), \( ficd \) ‘twenty’ O.I. gen. \( fichet \), \( kluga \) ‘to play’ O.I. cluiche.

(2) O.I. palatal \( th \) in \( ic(a) \) ‘to eat’ O.I. ithe, \( peic \) ‘to cook’ M.I. bruith(e).

Velars.

119. \( y \) is a voiced velar fricative. It bears some resemblance to North German \( g \) in \( saga \). It has a more advanced articulation than other velars, especially after the vowel \( a \), where it sometimes resembles a retracted \( j \) : \( [faiy] \) or \( [fayj] \) \( fay \) ‘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 \( g \): \( [g\!\!i\!\!n\!\!\!ic] \) \( y\!\!i\!\!n\!\!ic \) ‘asked’. It cannot be confused with the phoneme \( k \) 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. \( y \) 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 \( d \): \( b\!\!g\) ‘food’ O.I. \( b\!\!iad \), \( f\!\!y \) ‘wood’ O.I. \( fid \), \( f\!\!y\!\!i\!\!n\!\! \) ‘somebody’ M.I. \( fed\!\!an \) ‘party, team’.

(2) O.I. non-palatal fricative \( g \): \( ay \) ‘heifer’ M.I. \( ag \), \( s\!\!Luay \) ‘people, crowd’ O.I. \( sl\!\!og \), \( sl\!\!uag \), \( tr\!\!u ay \) ‘sad, pitiable’ O.I. \( tr\!\!og \), \( tr\!\!uag \).

(3) Older lenited \( m \) in \( d\!\!a\!\!g \) ‘cave’ M.I. \( u\!\!am \).

(4) Older \( ng \) in \( s\!\!dr\!\!\!g \) ‘string’ M.I. \( sr\!\!\!ng \), \( t\!\!y\!\!a \) ‘tongue’ O.I. \( t\!\!ng(a)\!\!e \), \( m\!\!yan \) ‘branch’ cp. Mod.I. \( meang\!\!an \), \( beang\!\!an \).

(5) O.I. zero in \( N\!\!\!\!y \) ‘nine’ O.I. \( noi \), \( N\!\!\!\!\!y \) ‘good, Christian’ (also ‘new’, in \( \'t\!\!um\!\!\!u\!\!\!\!n\!\!\!\!n\!\!\!\!\!y \) ‘New Testament’) O.I. \( nu(a)\!\!e \) ‘new’.

(6) O.N. \( g \) (fricative) in \( L\!\!\!\!y \) ‘law’ O.N. \( l\!\!\!\!g \), \( d\!\!ry\!\! \) ‘fishing-line’ O.N. \( d\!\!rg \).

(7) O.N. \( ng \) in \( L\!\!\!\!\!y\!\!a \) ‘ling (fish)’ O.N. \( l\!\!\!\!\!nga \), \( R\!\!\!\!\!yan \) ‘rib (in a boat)’ O.N. \( \!\!\!\!\!ng \) gen. \( \!\!\!\!\!n\!\!\!\!\!gar\!\! \) (but note the different development of the same word stem in \( Ra\!\!\!\!\!g\!\!\!\!\!s \) ‘rubbing-piece’).

121. Initial \( x \) is the lenited form of \( k \), except in \( (a) \) \( x\!\!i \) ‘ever (in the future)’ which has no radical counterpart but is historically a lenited non-palatal \( c \) (M.I. chaidche), and \( (o) \) \( x\!\!u\!\!a \) ‘every’ where \( x \) is prothetic (cp. Mod.I. \( g\!\!a\!\!c\!\!h\!\!\!\!\!u\!\!i\!\!\!\!\!l\!\!\!\!\!e \) (uile)). In non-initial position, \( x \) corresponds to \( (1) \) O.I. non-palatal \( ch \): \( flux \) ‘wet’ O.I. \( f\!\!iu\!\!ch \), \( fr\!\!u\!\!x \) ‘heather’ M.I. \( fr\!\!\!a\!\!ch \), \( k\!\!\!\!a\!\!\!x \) ‘end, dividing-line’ O.I. \( c\!\!\!\!r\!\!\!ch \), \( saL\!\!\!\!x\!\!\!\!\!ar \) ‘dirt’ M.I. salchar.

(2) Apparently palatal O.I. \( ch \) in \( \!\!\!\!\!n\!\!\!\!\!\!i\!\!\!\!\!\!n\!\!\!\!\!\!\!n\!\!\!\!\!\!\!n \) ‘brain’ O.I. \( in\!\!\!\!\!n\!\!\!\!\!h\!\!\!\!\!n\!\!\!\!\!n\!\!\!\!\!n\!\!\!\!\!n \), \( dr\!\!\!x\!\!\!\!x\!\!\!\!x\!\!\!\!x \) ‘bridge’ M.I. droicheit Mod.I. droichead.

(3) O.I. \( cht \) in \( ax \) ‘but’ O.I. \( a\!\!c\!\!h \).

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', (a) 'N'd'uh 'to-day', but usually (a) 'fə 'this, here', aNa 'fo and aNa 'hjo 'here', go, go 'took', xa 'Ro '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: 'vəh 'very well', ha 'La-a 'məh aN 'it's a fine day', but go 'mə 'triə 'very often'; 'LeLə:n or 'LəhLə:n 'half full'. Some forms with innate final h are: dah 'colour, to dye' (vəčdə 'dah ə 'γα:Rna 'Leh 'one half [of the wool] would be dyed'), dah 'black' (ga 'Ro ma 'fə: 'yəh aram 'that I had my black suit on'), hər 'from it', (na 'Nduhəy ad 'fəh ə 'mpəkəxas tegs 'if they took the purchase tax off it [the tweed]'), jih 'to her' ('hug a 'jiə a 'he gave it to her'), kəh 'will be consumed, spent' (dependant fut.) (mas 'kəh i 'before it [the peat] is used up'), xrah 'shook' ('xrəh ə 'N'kəNiγa 'təhN 'the merchant shook his head'). Leh 'half' ('Le(h)mə́:kə 'half a mile'), məh 'good' (s 'məh ə 'γα:γι ə 'N'də:nə da 'it's good, dear, that you have some'), (a) 'Ndəh- 'next' (Ndəh'vιc(a) 'the next night', 'Ndəh'vιlə:Na 'next year'), ruh 'ran' (ruh ad 'γα:ι x 'they ran home'), teh 'house' (gen.) ('karəbad ə ʋəd γα:ι γα:nə '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. 'γυ 'N'd'er 'east wind' with Be. [γικə N'tər], 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 'tə 'liəh afə 'he has a grey one [i.e. pəγyγif, 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: faLə:n 'go (away)!'.

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

h is the lenited form of t, s, t', and f (as the lenited form of t' 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

(2) O.I. c(h) in personal forms of the preposition go 'to': hugam 'to me' O.I. cəcəm, hiγə 'to him' O.I. cəc(e)j.
(3) O.I. zero in habad 'say!' O.I. epi r; jeh 'from him' O.I. de, jih 'to her' O.I. di.
(4) O.I. medial or final th: duhig 'country, parish' M.I. dúhig, fehu 'to wait' M.I. fəθəm, kiNhol, 'congregation' O.I. cəmθinəl, snəhəd 'needle' M.I. snəθət, jəluN 'corn-
yard' O.I. dat. ithlaind, kærhm (also koram) 'weight' M.I. com-thromm 'equal weight'; blyh 'to grind' O.I. mleith, dah 'colour, to dye' M.I. dath.


(6) O.I. s in nd:haLu 'a scolding' (originally 'misfortune', heard in 'jo u da VI:haLu 'you will get a scolding', 'you will get your misfortune') from *mi:shelb cp. O.I. selb 'posses-sion'. The development is *mi:jhaLu> *mi:haLu > mi:haLu.

(7) Initial radical h in place-names is an almost sure sign of Norse origin: hamaRsadar name of a hamlet O.N. Hamar(s)-setr, na 'heray 'Harris' (gen. id., not *na 'N'd'eray) O.N. Herah (or pl. Herað) hískd 'St. Kilda' O.N. Hirtir (Presttssaga Gudmundar Arasonar, chapter 49; the name may be pre-Norse but has certainly been transmitted through Norse).

(8) E. h in modern loans such as hø-æs 'hose'.

(9) The origin of ha-asd 'still, yet' is unknown. The current etymologies, M.I. fo-deehtsa 'from now on' and O.I. beus 'still, yet' are not very convincing; the former at any rate, be disregarded completely.

Sibilants.

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

It corresponds to:


(2) O.I. palatal non-lenited s in ináL 'low' O.I. ísel (by attraction towards ináL 'high' and perhaps the adverbs for 'down': fias [movement] and hias [repose]); also before an originally palatal but now neutral m: smír 'narrow' O.I. smíir. For sb(j)-, sj- see under clusters, below.

(3) O.N. s and ss: Lxe 'súNduvat O.N. Sand(a)vatn, so-val hill name O.N. Sauðafjall, sauRdal O.N. acc. Savrðdal; kríssbåsd village name O.N. acc. Krossabolstað, Rúðisøy 'to search' O.N. rannsaka, Risaj island name O.N. Hrísoy.

(4) E. s: sa:u 'a saw', suð 'big wave' (swell), sNáfan 'snuff' (sneezing powder), smokífj 'to smoke', swetar 'sweater'; bras 'brass', ús 'ounce' M.E. unce, gísa 'a kiss', dresí 'to dress'.

(5) E. z: dusan 'dozen', Ræssníc 'explain!' cp. M.I. résün and M.E. resün 'reason', Rosad' 'resin, rosin'.

Some words of less clear etymology: sabaid 'a fight, to fight', saifan 'young coal-fish' (Norse, English? See under ai p. 90), saLt 'taine', saLak 'a pit', saLag 'hollow', smj6:s 'a bird (thrush?)' cp. Mod.I. smólach 'thrust'.

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:


(2) O.I. non-palatal s or ss in (a) 'níf, (a) 'níf 'now' M.I. indosá, inNossai, tof 'a beginning' O.I. tossach
Of obscure origin are *fi:g* 'hay-stack' (cp. Mod.I. *siog* 'rick of corn'), *fu:Rs* '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:


2. An older cluster *ngb* in *kùmad* 'to hold' M.I. dat. *congbáil*, and in the corresponding finite forms (*xùm* 'held', *xùminiN'

(continued with *tò:jaxxy* 'to begin' cp. M.I. *tíussigcht* 'to be first'; see also p. 71), *afaL* 'donkey' M.I. *asal*.

3. O.N. *s* in *fòman* 'rope (especially one made of heather)' O.N. cas. obl. *síma; gròumùfudar* village name O.N. *Gromssetr* (see VL p. 397), *NÍf* parish name O.N. dat. *Nesi, fò:fsaL* hill name O.N. *Steinsfjall*.

4. O.N. *hi* if *fàLiN* 'Shetland' is from O.N. dat. *Hjaltlandi* (a back formation from the lenited form *hjàLiN*).

5. E. *s: fareunan* 'to preach' cp. E. *sermon, fareuNt* 'servant', *faNuaf* 'servant' (from E. *service*), *pra:Rsa* 'sort, kind'; *pdi:f* 'price' M.E. *pris*, *kufd'an* 'question'.

6. E. *z: pRfan* 'poison'.

7. E. *f: fu:kar* 'sugar', *fuRaj* 'sheriff' M.E. *shirreve*; *blafig* 'to blush', *N5:fan* 'interest' (notion), *Rufi-a* 'Tussia'.

8. E. *tf: fe:-ar* 'chair', *fe:na* 'chain', *fimalad* 'fireplace (chimney); *trgif* 'plate' (trencher).

9. E. *tf: mas* 'James', *fe:kaNt* 'jacket', *fili* 'jam' (jelly), *fàNnà* 'Joan'; *sdràf* 'stranger'.

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. [àNas] àNas `rarity' with [ànal] ànal `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 (a) 'her neighbour' and (a) 'hà:bi 'his neighbour', but to the writer the difference was visible rather than audible. My regular informants used (a) 'Nà: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 [*g*] before *g* and *k*: *[LaNgàdár] LaNgàdar* 'a kind of sea-weed', [*fàNg*] fàNg 'anything' (said to be a "new word" equivalent to *kà:*).

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

O.I. non-lenited non-palatal n, nn, and nd: Nāhōd 'serpent'
O.I. nathir, Nāry 'nine' O.I. noi, Nāv 'holy' O.I. noīh;
SāNēv 'to swim' O.I. snām, krāNū 'plough; mast' O.I.
Crann 'tree', xāNīg 'saw' (pret.) O.I. 'condaire, LāNū
'beer' O.I. lind 'a drink', bīNō 'year' O.I. acc. dat.
bīadanāi.

(2) O.N. n, initial or geminated: Nābī 'neighbour' O.N. nābūi;
Lāx 'grūNāvat O.N. Grūnavatn, LāNū (pl. LāNēn)
'launching roller' O.N. hlūnn-

(3) E. n: Nāt(a), Nāt(a) 'pound sterling' (E. note), gūNō 'gun'
M.E. gonne.

129. n is, as mentioned above, the lenited form of initial
SīN-, NīN-, and FN-. In other functions, it corresponds to

(1) O.I. non-lenited non-palatal n, nn, and nd: Nāhōd 'serpent'
O.I. nathir, Nāry 'nine' O.I. noi, Nāv 'holy' O.I. noīh;
SāNēv 'to swim' O.I. snām, krāNū 'plough; mast' O.I.
Crann 'tree', xāNīg 'saw' (pret.) O.I. 'condaire, LāNū
'beer' O.I. lind 'a drink', bīNō 'year' O.I. acc. dat.
bīadanāi.

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-glise unless the next phoneme is a consonant: [rāNē]
rāN 'did, made', [bāNē] bāNō 'milk', but [kīNē] kīNē 'ax

'certain'. A distinct on-glise is heard after back vowels: [ūNē]
ūNō 'time', [gōNē] gōN 'birds'; after short vowels, the on-
glise is less noticeable.

Before a mediopalatal stop, N' has the mediopalatal allophone
[ŷ]: [țăNăț] tăN'ŷ 'thanks'.

131. N' corresponds to

(1) O.I. palatal n, nn, nd (only non-lenited n initially but also
lenited after vowels): N'āRsd 'strength' O.I. nert, N'ěd
'nest' O.I. net, N'ēd 'nest' O.I. nit, N'ē 'to wash' M.I. nigi, nigē;
N'ēd 'to spin' M.I. snim, N'ēNō 'a ring' O.I. ānne, N'ēNō 'to bake'
O.I. fuine, gēNīN 'wedge' M.I. geind, kēNō 'dogs' O.I.
coin, LēNō 'nets' O.I. tin.

(2) O.I. non-palatal nn, exceptionally: găNē 'to us' O.I. dūn(n),
DēNū 'scare, rare' cp. M.I. annam.

(3) O.N. nd if āN'ag 'window' is from O.N. vindauga.

(4) E. n: Nī'baN 'headkerchief' (from E. naperie?); peNē 'pint',
ťōNē 'pub' (change-house), tāN'ŷ 'thanks'.

LATERALS

132. There are three l-phonemes, L, l, and E.
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 \( a \) in Lb. '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 \( l, \); \( L\vow \) 'hand'
   O.I. \( \text{lám} \), \( \text{Luâ} \) 'ashes' O.I. \( \text{lúai} \); \( kL\vow \) 'stone' O.I. \( \text{cloch} \), \( sL\vow \) 'healthy' O.I. \( \text{slán} \); \( f\vow L\vow \) 'learning' O.I. \( \text{fogl(à)m(m)} \), \( f\vow Luâ \) 'to suffer' O.I. \( \text{fulang} \), \( \text{gâL} \) 'white' M.I. \( \text{gel} \), \( \text{gàLi} \) 'will promise' M.I. \( \text{gellaid} \), (a) \( 'NàùL \) 'over here' (motion) O.I. \( \text{anall} \) 'from beyond, from there'.

2. O.I. \( r\vow \) in \( b\vow p\vow u\vow L\vow a \) 'English language' late O.I. \( \text{bërle} \) (earlier \( \text{bêrle} \) 'language', \( f\vow L\vow u\vow s\vow \) 'skylight' M.I. \( \text{forlìs\vow s\vow} \), \( f\vow L\vow as\vow g\vow a\vow y \) 'the burning of heather to turn the moor into pasture' cp. O.I. \( \text{forlo\vow is\vow c\vow h\vow t\vow e} \) 'igni examinatus' (M.I. 31e28), \( u\vow L\vow ax\vow ay \) 'to prepare, make ready' cp. M.I. \( \text{aurl\vow a\vow m\vow}, \text{ur-lam\vow}, \text{er-lam\vow parut\vow s\vow}. \)

3. Other O.I. consonants and clusters: \( kL\vow x\vow \) 'likely; similar' and \( k\vow L\vow x\vow \) 'likelihood; similarity' cp. O.I. \( \text{cos\vow m\vow(\vow u\vow)\vow i\vow l\vow e\vow k\vow i\vow h\vow o\vow} \) 'like', \( L\vow x\vow \) 'fireplace, forge' M.I. \( \text{ten\vow la\vow c\vow}, \text{tell\vow a\vow c\vow}, \) (a) \( 'NàùL \) 'over here' (motion) O.I. \( \text{inn\vow u\vow n\vow} \) (with \( L \) from the antonym (a) \( 'NàùL \) 'over here', cp. 1, above.

4. O.N. \( \text{l\vow a\vow y\vow} \) 'ling' O.N. \( \text{l\vow a\vow g\vow a\vow n\vow} \), \( \text{l\vow a\vow y\vow} \) 'law' O.N. \( \text{l\vow q\vow g\vow} \); \( d\vow a\vow L\vow a\vow j\vow a\vow n\vow s\vow \) man's name O.N. acc. \( \text{À\vow l\vow i\vow f\vow} \) (the name was probably taken over when the Norse diphthong \( ei\vow \) was still pronounced \( [\vow a\vow i\vow] \)).

5. O.N. \( \text{b\vow l\vow a\vow m\vow} \) 'launching roller' O.N. acc. \( \text{hl\vow u\vow n\vow} \).

6. E. \( L\vow a\vow L\vow a\vow j\vow \) 'lantern', \( L\vow o\vow t\vow(\vow a\vow)\vow 'loft' (if not Norse), \( L\vow k\vow a\vow d\vow \) 'plane' O.E. \( \text{lo\vow c\vow e\vow r\vow} \).

Origin not clear: \( L\vow d\vow o\vow x\vow \) 'a lot, great quantity', \( L\vow d\vow 'r\vow \), \( L\vow a\vow x\vow \) 'strong', \( L\vow a\vow x\vow \) 'nice' (cp. Mod.I. \( \text{làgh\vow a\vow c\vow h\vow}) \), \( L\vow a\vow d\vow n\vow \) 'dizziness', \( L\vow ã\vow ã\vow \) '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 [\( f\vow \)] in E. Norw. [\( \text{fa\vow l\vow e}\vow \), \( \text{fa\vow ã\vow ã\vow i\vow ū\vow i\vow} \) 'dangerous'. It resembles the Southern E. 'clear' \( l \) as in \( \text{líl\vow y\vow} \). It is nearly always easy to distinguish from \( L \), the only exception being some words ending in \( -\vow a\vow l\vow (-\vow a\vow l) \), where Callean 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 \( L, \vow L\vow \) and \( fL \). When not in mutational correlation with these initials, it corresponds to

1. O.I. palatal lenited \( l \): \( g\vow ã\vow ã\vow \) 'valley' O.I. \( \text{gl\vow e\vow n\vow} \), \( fL\vow i\vow \) ‘sweet’ O.I. \( \text{mil\vow is\vow} \), \( s\vow a\vow t\vow \) ‘heel’ M.I. acc. \( \text{s\vow a\vow ã\vow ã\vow} \), \( u\vow l\vow \) ‘elbow’ O.I. \( \text{ui\vow e\vow n} \).

2. E. \( l \): \( \text{la\vow b\vow r\vow a\vow i\vow} \) 'library', \( \text{l\vow a\vow g\vow a\vow r\vow a\vow i\vow} \) 'luxury', \( \text{l\vow a\vow r\vow i\vow} \) 'lorry'; \( \text{a\vow l\vow s\vow d\vow a\vow r\vow} \) 'overcoat' (ulster), \( \text{f\vow a\vow l\vow a\vow r} \) ‘funner’ (filler), \( \text{k\vow a\vow l\vow a} \) ‘wheel’, \( \text{k\vow a\vow l\vow a} \) ‘collar’, \( \text{p\vow e\vow l\vow a\vow r}\vow \) ‘pail’, \( \text{s\vow ã\vow ã\vow ì\vow ã\vow ì\vow} \) ‘penny’ O.E. \( \text{sc\vow i\vow l\vow i\vow n\vow} \).

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: \( [k\vow aL\vow b\vow x\vow] \) 'wife, old woman'.

138. \( L \) corresponds historically to

1. O.I. non-lenited (geminated) palatal \( l \): \( \text{Leh\vow i\vow ã\vow ã} \) 'wide, broad' O.I. \( \text{le\vow than\vow}, \text{L\vow ãn\vow 'net' O.I. \( \text{lin\vow}, \text{La-\vow ãr\vow 'book' O.I. \( \text{le\vow bor\vow} \), \( f\vow L\vow as\vow i\vow d\vow \) 'thigh' M.I. \( \text{si\vow ã\vow s\vow a\vow i\vow} \), \( kL\vow a\vow x\vow \) 'wife, old woman' O.I. \( \text{caille\vow ch\vow}, \text{mi\vow L\vow a\vow y} \) 'to destroy' M.I. \( \text{mi\vow li\vow u\vow d\vow}, \text{sa\vow L\vow 'fat, fatness' M.I. \( \text{sa\vow ã\vow l\vow} \).}

2. O.I. palatal single \( l \) in \( f\vow e\vow L\vow i\vow \) 'fair, market' O.I. \( \text{féi\vow l\vow} \), \( N\vow ã\vow L\vow i\vow \) 'clouds' O.I. \( \text{ni\vow fu\vow l} \).
M.I. non-palatal in *gίl* 'lad' M.I. *gilla*, *braLax* 'breast' M.I. *brollach*.


(5) E. *l* in *tu:Lαd* 'tailor'.

Obscure etymology: *Le:bag* (also *Lo:bag*) 'flounder', *Lar3inir* 'to jump' (cp. *Le:rn* 'a jump' O.I. 16i(m)).

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: *[Rα:]* *Rαn* 'oar' cp. *[qa: rαw]* 'two oars', *[ba:R]* *ba:R* 'cream' cp. *[kα:R]* *kar* '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 Borgstrom DOH p. 70, which is cacuminal. *R* has, however, a cacuminal or retroflex allophone used before dentals and alveolars: the clusters *-Rd, -Rt, -Rs, -Rn* are phonetically *[q, -n, -s, -l, -n]*, i.e. retroflex sounds which approach the cacuminals of E. Norw. and many Swedish dialects and the cerebrals of Hindu-Stani. 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:Rd]* board (strongly *r*-coloured *[x]*, distinct semivocalic retroflex *[f]*, alveolar *[d]*) with Lb. *[bɔ:R]* *bɔ:Rd* 'table' (weakly *r*-coloured *[x]*, 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


(2) O.I. *fr* in *Rάfrαx* 'root' O.I. *frέm*.


(4) O.N. *hr* in *Rα:an* 'pile of three or four peats put on end to dry' O.N. *hrǔga, hrúfa 'pile', *Rίςαj island name O.N. Hrίνοy*.

(5) E. *r*: *Rαm* 'room', *Rάm* 'rum'; *kuRαn* 'carrot', *fuRαj 'sheriff' (M.E. *shirreve*), *lα:R* 'tar' (M.E. *terre*); *kaRβαx* 'curly', *bu:Rα* '(fresh) water' (Scots *burn*), *paRsαl* 'parcel'.

Obscure etymology: *Lexαγ* (also *Lex:bag*) 'flounder', *La:μιετ* 'to jump' (cp. *Lex: 'a jump' O.I. 16i(m)).

r-phonemes.
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 \([\text{mar} âv]\) \( \text{mar} âv \) ‘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 \( a \)); \( R \) 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 \( r \): \( \text{traj} \) ‘foot’ O.I. \( \text{traig} \), \( \text{kruaj} \) ‘hard’ M.I. \( \text{crâuid} \); \( \text{auran} \) ‘song’ M.I. \( \text{amrân} \), \( \text{kerk} \) ‘hen’ M.I. \( \text{cerce} \).

2. Old lenited palatal \( r \): (a) always after \( d \) and \( t \): \( \text{dr} \text{Hy} \) ‘string’ M.I. \( \text{sreng} \), \( \text{tru:d} \) ‘three (persons)’ O.I. \( \text{triar} \); 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 \( \text{[mai.iv]} \) \text{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 \( a \)); \( R \) frequently has only one flap in this position, and \( r \) may lack palatalization. In morphophonemics, \( r \) is non-palatal.

143. \( ð \) is an interdental fricative, normally voiced. It is often but not always slightly palatalized. It sounds very like E. \( ð \) as in \( \text{these} \) and is used for this sound in the E. speech of the informants. The allophone \([\mathcal{f}]\), an alveolar palatalized fricative similar to Southern E. \( r \) in \( \text{try} \), is used after palatals in medial clusters: \([\mathcal{f} \text{favaL}]\) and \([\text{N'iffavaL}]\) mountain names, \([\mathcal{f}\mathcal{f} \text{Fic}]\) ‘to neigh’, \([\mathcal{f}\mathcal{f} \text{Fic}]\) ‘youth’.

\( ð \) does not take part in any initial mutations. It might be expected to serve as the lenited form of initial \( ð- \), but the phoneme actually found in this function is \( r \), as in \( \text{rihal} \) ‘attended to’ (infinitive \( \text{fðihalay} \) and \( \text{fði-aLay} \)).

144. Historically, \( ð \) corresponds to

1. O.I. lenited palatal \( r \): (a) \( \text{ldiav} \) ‘ever (in the past)’ O.I. \( \text{rYam} \) ‘before it’, (a) \( \text{li-if} \) ‘again’ M.I. \( \text{arithisi} \), \( \text{bðiaq} \) ‘a lie’ O.I. \( \text{bréč} \), \( \text{kð-ð} \) ‘heart’ O.I. \( \text{crie} \)di; \( \text{dëby} \) ‘end’ O.I. \( \text{dered} \), \( \text{hæð} \) ‘got, found’ O.I. \( \text{fúair} \), \( \text{kð-ð} \) ‘generous’ O.I. \( \text{coair} \), \( \text{cðir} \), \( \text{kðk} \) ‘bump’ gen. of \( \text{kerk} \) ‘hen’ M.I. \( \text{cerce} \).

2. O.I. palatal \( n \) after initial velars: \( \text{gd} \) ‘nature, disposition’ O.I. \( \text{gné}, \text{gdUv} \) ‘deed, effort’ O.I. \( \text{gnim} \), \( \text{k6E:v} \) ‘bone’ seems to point to an earlier *\( \text{en6im} \) rather than O.I. \( \text{endim} \). Also between vowels in \( \text{badaN} \), \( \text{badaNax} \) ‘woman’ M.I. \( \text{boinenn} \), in analogy with \( \text{fidaN} \) ‘male’, \( \text{fidaNax} \) ‘man’ M.I. \( \text{firend} \).

3. O.N. \( r \) near front vowels: \( \text{gðenawaL} \) hill name O.N. \( \text{Grónafjall} \), \( \text{tob} \) ‘\( \text{Le} \text{dón} \) name of a bay O.N. acc. \( \text{Leiruvig} \), \( \text{sfeð} \) ‘skerry’ O.N. \( \text{sker} \), \( \text{fðu:ð} \) ‘rudder’ O.N. \( \text{stýri} \).

4. E. \( r \): \( \text{bð-ð} \) ‘breeze’, \( \text{kðu-ð} \) ‘ship’s crew’, \( \text{pððus} \) ‘prince’, \( \text{má:ði} \) ‘Mary’, \( \text{sfi:ð} \) ‘parish’ O.E. \( \text{scir} \).

9 — Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap, suppl. bind IV.
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: [tʰa:j] or [tʰa:j] toj '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 mʊi:j [mʊi:j] 'mane' with mʊi [mʊi] 'outside'. i-diphthongs may or may not be followed by *j* before an unstressed vowel in the same word: Nʊi:jan 'baby', ai-al '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 *jai-al* 'sister', but if the vowel is lower, the vocalic quality of vowel has disappeared altogether as a phoneme and has only phonemic glides which appear under certain conditions. Further examples will be found under the vowels vowel has disappeared altogether as a phoneme and has only phonemic glides which appear under certain conditions. Further examples will be found under the vowels *a*, *e*, and *o*, and *u*, short and long, §§ 49, 3; 50, 3; 61, 3; 62, 3; 63, 3; 67, 2; 68, 2.

146. Initial *j* is the lenited form of *fj*-. 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: jaL(dx) 'a load' M.I. eIa, jaLax 'a load' M.I. eIa, jaRax [xeRax] 'spring' M.I. errach, jaRiN' 'part' M.I. errand, ja:Lox 'knowing' cp. O.I. éola, ja:jN' 'birds, poultry' O.I. éuin, éuin, eoIn, ja:jimbaxay 'to convert' cp. O.I. impúd 'turning', ja:jimbaxay 'to learn, teach' M.I. pres. insaigim 'I visit, look for', juhuRtn 'hell' (in profane language) O.I. dat. ifuRnn, juLuRd 'eagle' M.I. ilur, juLuRiN' 'cornyard' O.I. dat. ithlaIn'. 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] > *[egLa] > [gaLa], *[e:oi] > [g⁵⁰N]*. In the initial *j*-clusters (*bj*-, *pj*-, *sbj*-, *fj*-, *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', bjLo:x 'English language' O.I. bêre, bêre 'language', bjLo: 'alive' O.I. bêo, bêu, pjLo-ar 'sister' O.I. sjLo: (back formation from the lenited form O.I. sjLo:ri, sjLo:ri), sjLo:al 'scythe' M.I. spLo:, fjLo: 'meat, flesh' O.I. féuL, féuL, mjLo: 'whey' O.I. medg, hjLo:Rn 'looked' cp. M.I. pres. sellaiam. This development is also found in the E. loan pjLo:Rn 'a reel' Scots pîrn. In some other loans, a *j*-cluster corresponds to a similar cluster in the loan-giving language: bjLo:RnN' island name O.N. Bjarnaroy, pjLo-ar 'pure' (homonymous with pjLo-ar '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.al* 'dew' M.I. delt, Lo-ar 'book' O.I. lebor, fLx 'wet' O.I. fLiuch, fLo: 'sail' O.I. séol, fLo: '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, e, o, and u, short and long, §§ 49, 3; 50, 3; 61, 3; 62, 3; 63, 3; 67, 2; 68, 2.

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

\[^{9}\]
(1) O.I. palatal fricative d: buja 'yellow' O.I. buide, kLàju 'sword' O.I. cliaideb, xaj 'went' O.I. do·cuaid.


(3) O.I. palatal fricative b in duija gen. f. sg. of duh 'black', cp. O.I. gen. m. duib and gen. f. dub(a)e.

(4) Older palatal th: Luaj(a) 'quicker' M.I. litaithiu, a·the, Ra:j 'quarter of a year' M.I. rdithe, Ru:j 'to run' O.I. rith.

(5) M.I. palatal fricative m in krüj 'little white worm' M.I. cruim 'worm, reptile'.

(6) O.I. palatal ng: ðjæL 'angel' O.I. aingel, Lijæs '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-ar 'square'.

Absence of Initial, Medial, and Final Consonants.

149. A stressed vowel may begin a word as in ahǝd 'father', it may end a word as in bLa: 'warm', and it may be followed directly by a stressless vowel as in d'i-if 'two (persons)'; in other words, the presence of a consonant is not compulsory in any position. Some words have no consonants at all: ë: 'udder', ë-ǝ '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 pronunciation 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 ed 'on' O.I. for: aràm 'on me' O.I. form, ed 'on him' O.I. fair, etc.

(3) Other older consonants sporadically, as in e.nrić 'lowing of cow' cp. Early Mod.I. géim. This is a back formation from (a) 'je:nrić 'lowing'.

(4) In arsbaq the largest species of sea-gull O.N. acc. svarðbak, 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 suarðsL O.N. acc. Svarðdal. u:j [u:j], a village and parish name, corresponds to O.N. Vik; vn'ag or vn'ag 'window' probably represents O.N. vindaug. In both these cases, the presumably semivocalic v has become entirely vocalic, reducing the following i to a palatal glide.

151. Hiatus corresponds to


(2) O.I. fricative b: go-al (and gu-al) 'to take' O.I. gabál
(originally dat.), ko-∂d ‘comfort’ O.I. cobir, mar∂-∂γ ‘to kill’ M.I. marbad.


(8) O.I. nγ: k∂∂-∂ ‘bow (for shooting and playing fiddle)’ O.N. cas. obl. boga.

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. both. It is perhaps significant that O.N. b∂∂ 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', sf-, ff, sg, sb0, etc., are voiceless and unaspirated. No aspirates occur in clusters with s or f. These clusters correspond to


(2) (sd- and fd') older -s ind-, -s int- (contraction of preposition, article, and initial of noun):
   (d) isdaj 'inside' M.I. isin taig,
   (a) 'sdcleiray 'in summer, in the summer' M.I. is-in t-sdmrad,
   (a) isdavar 'in (the) autumn' < *is-ind-fhogmar,
   (a) 'fd'ex 'in, inside (movement)' M.I. is-tech, is-in tech,
   (a) 'fd'aRax 'in (the) spring' M.I. isind erruch.

(3) (sdr-) O.I. sr-:
   sdra:d"street' M.I. srait, sdreh 'row (as of potatoes in the field)' cp. O.I. sr eth verbal noun of s ern(a)id 'spreads, arranges', sdrny 'string' M.I. sreng, sdra:N"nose' O.I. sr6n, sdruhan 'stream' O.I. sruth.

(4) (-fd' and -f4) O.I. palatal -ts and -cs:
   bafd'ay 'to baptize' O.I. pres. baitsim, faf4 'close' cp. O.I. acus, ocus 'close, near', aicse, oicse 'proximity' (and M.I. faicsi 'closer').

(5) (sd-) older t. in sdaRsax 'threshold' M.I. tairsech.

(6) O.N. st, sj, sk etc.: fd'c:faL mountain name O.I. Steins-fjall, ad'x:Rnøvay 'Stormoway' O.N. acc. Stjórnarvág(?), fd'v:d 'rudder' O.N. stýri, s6ed 'skerry' O.N. sker, s6ibey 'crew, working team' (e.g. at peat) cp. O.N. skipan, sgarp island name O.N. saga Skarp, sgal:paj island name O.N. Skalpoy, sgarúw 'cormorant' O.N. acc. skar, Lax 'sgudvart O.N. Skótavatn; trosyg 'cod' O.N. acc. þorsk.

(7) E. (modern and older) sp, st, sk etc.: sbad 'spade', sbot 'spot', sädimag 'stomach', sda:L 'stall (as in a byre)', sda:L 'stool' (from M.E. stool or possibly from O.N. acc. stól 'chair, seat'), sdrefsdadf 'stranger', sgjelf 'shelf' M.E. schelde, sgibad 'skipper' (from E. rather than from O.N. skipari), sgjili'q 'penny' O.E. scilling, sgild 'paish' O.E. seir; plasdr 'plaster', R2:sdaday 'to fry' (E. roast), basgard 'basket', masq 'mash' M.E. maske.

155. The cluster Rsd.

Rsd, phonetically a retroflex [sf], corresponds to

(1) O.I. rt, palatal and non-palatal: gaRsd 'sore, painful' M.I. goirt, kuRsd 'a walk', ma 'NkuaRsd 'around, about' M.I. cuait 'circle; going around', N'altsd 'strength' O.I. nert, aRsd 'on you' O.I. fort.

(2) Older rd(d) in E:Rsdax 'smithy' M.I. cerdcha, probably an interdialectal loan (rd(d) is normally Rd [d] in Lewis, while the dialects from Harris to Benbecula have [sf], see DOH p. 236). Note that the cognate M.I. cerd is E:Rd, with the normal development.

(3) O.N. rt in hiRsd 'St. Kilda' O.N. Hirtir (Prestressaga GuOmun-dar 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 kuRsdadan 'curtains'.

156. The cluster xg.

Xg, phonetically [xk], corresponds to


(2) O.N. k in b6u:xg 'seaweed cast ashore' O.N. brúk. As this O.N. word would normally yield *bru:k or *brúk 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 yd).

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

(1) O.I. t, c (no example for p): faLt [faLt] 'hair', baLt'an 'villages' cp. M.I. i mbailtib, oLk 'evil' gen. uLk O.I. ole gen. uile; with metathesis alLax 'grace (at prayer at table)', aLtwoy 'to say grace' O.I. attlugud, uLtax 'armful' M.I. utlach 'lapful'.

(2) O.N. p, t: sgaLpaj island name O.N. Skalpoy, faLtiN' `Shetland' O.N. dat. Hjaltlandi.

(3) E. d in eiLt'adan `elders (of the church)'.

159. After r and d, only aspirates are found except in the village name Lurhosed (O.N. ?-hólstað): sgarp [skarp] island name (O.N. saga Skarp), crék [krêk] gen. crék [krêk] 'hen' (M.I. cerc). After R, however, unaspirated d is the rule, corresponding to O.I. d(d): a:Rd [a:V] 'high' O.I. ard, a:Rdag `thumb, (big) toe' cp. O.I. ord(d). The cluster Rt has only been recorded in sda:Rt [sta:ht] `started' (pret.), from E. (To O.I. rt corresponds Lb. Rad, 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 sãNdax [sãNdax, sãNdax] 'keen, ambitious' ~ LãNdàd `lantern', traNg 'busy' ~ baNk(a) '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: jãmbaxxy 'to convert' O.I. impåd 'turning', i:mpåd 'emperor' M.I. imper. E. mp: trãmbad 'trumpet'.

162. Nd and Nt correspond to

(1) O.I. nt, non-palatal: bãNtrax 'widow' M.I. ban-treblach, kãNtak 'neap-tide' cp. M.I. contracht, bãNtak 'guilty' M.I. cintach, sãNdax 'keen, ambitious' M.I. sanntach 'cupidus, avarus', tãNtay 'to turn' cp. O.I. tintùth, tintùth 'translation'.

(2) O.N. nd in Lax 'sãNdavat O.N. ñat(a)vatn.

(3) E. nd and nt: baNtul 'bundle', LãNdàd 'lantern', pãNtay 'to paint', pãNd (or pãnt) 'pound (weight)'.

163. N'd' and N't' correspond to O.I. palatal nt: dã:NT' (a) 'closed' dàinte, ëNd'(a) 'in her' O.I. innte, ëN'd'an 'mind' inntinn (ultimately from Lat. intentio), kãN't' (kãN'd') 'speech' M.I. caint, ëNd'ax (FraN'ax) 'sure, certain' M.I. cintech, kãN'd'an 'to hear' cluintinn, Le:N't'an 'shirts' M.I. lénti, mãNd'er (and mãNd'er) 'people' O.I. munter 'familia', sãNd't' 'health' M.I. slàinte (O.I. slàntu).

164. N'g is found only in loans, where it usually corresponds to ng or nk in the language of origin: bãN'g' 'bench' from Scots bink (according to MacBain), fãN'g' 'fank, the gathering of sheep for shearing; place where this is done', tãN'g' 'thanks', tãN'gal 'thankful'; (a) 'rãN'g' 'France' cp. Mod.I. an Fhrain(n)ce.

165. Ng corresponds to

(1) Older ng, nc: koNgí-on 'medicine(s)' cp. M.I. congnad 'a helping', paoNgol and poNgal 'prompt, punctual' cp. M.I. ponc 'point'.

(2) O.N. ng in LãNgard 'kind of seaweed' O.N. lang- (*lang- ? fettill? See DOH p. 77), RaNgas 'rubbing-piece (on boat)' O.N. rang- (cp. rong gen. rangar 'rib').

(3) E. [y] or [yy] in traNg 'busy' Scots thrang (MacBain).
166. Nk corresponds to E. [yk] in baNk(a) 'sand bank', ìNk(a) 'ink'. ìNk '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 (a) 'jarámaLi' 'Germany' where the first a is considerably more fronted than the second). An exception is 'Nóil 'díag '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(a) 'calf of the leg' with sgaLpaj island name, sgaLpaj '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 mórfaL 'miracle' and rx in morfaxuf 'proud, haughty' (cp. barafas village name and morfaxa man's name).

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

```
L-b   r-b
n-p   L-p
l-ô   R-ô  ô-ô
L-g   R-g
N-k   
N-ô   n-ô   l-ô   v-ô
D-ô   r-ô
N-x   N-x   L-x   L-ô
r-x   ô-x
m-ô   n-ô   L-ô   l-ô
r-m   ô-m
m-ô   m-r

L-ô   r-ô
```

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 'annà,keRdas 'bad treatment', 'fàna'xaLàx '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 : uLòba 'Scotland' O.I. Albu.

r-b : karàbad 'wagon' O.I. carpat, urrùbaL 'tail' M.I. erball.

n-p : kanàp 'hemp' (from *cainp the 'hempen' rather than *cainp M.I. cnáip 'hemp').

L-p : kalàp(a) 'calf of the leg' M.I. colptha.

l-g : t'ilígal 'to fling, throw' O.I. teileid, fulùgi 'will suffer' cp. O.I. 2. plur. -fulngid.

R-g : faràg 'rough sea' O.I. fairgve, foirggur 'target', from E.

L-g : kalàg 'hair, fur' M.I. colgg, calgg 'bristle'.

n-g : d'aràg 'red' O.I. derg, taràgad 'target', from E.

N-k : xìNfrkas 'was seen'.

R-k : kuRiikag 'a bird (lapwing?)'.

n-v : fEnE'va6 'grandmother' M.I. senmdthir.

L-v : taLàviN' 'earth, land' (gen.) O.I. talman.

1-v : d'alà3v 'to warp' cp. O.I. delb 'shape'.

L-x : (a) vaLàixu 'boys!' (voc. pl.), saLàchar 'dirt' M.I. salchar.

r-x : daràx 'dark' O.I. dor(h)a, urùxar 'a shot' M.I. aurchor, erchor, etc.

δ-0 : faðàxgiN' 'to feel'.

m-f : ãmà4or 'weather' O.I. aimser.

n-m : ãnàm 'name' O.I. aìnm, ãnà'max 'late'.

L-m : kaLà'ma 'strong, brave' M.I. calma, faLà'mar 'haik, hake (fish)'.

l-m : iilìmag 'navel' O.I. imbliu, iilmòx 'to lick'.

r-m : farìmod 'envy' O.I. format, Lurùxògy 'naked' M.I. lùnnocht.

δ-m : kuðòm 'to celebrate' O.I. cuirm 'ale, ale-feast', bòdòm 'yeast' M.E. herme.

m-n : fùmùnògy (Nàdy) 'New Testament' cp. O.I. timne 'injunction'.

m-r : imiray 'to mention' O.I. imrádud.

l-j : doðìas 'sadness' cp. M.I. doilgi 'difficulty'.

δ-j : suðìuj 'to court, woo' M.I. suirge.

L-0 : màLà-an 'eyebrows' cp. O.I. acq. pl. mailgea.

r-0 : marà-so '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:

(a) Before the stressed syllable in stressed words.
(b) After the stressed syllable in stressed words.
(c) 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 da’mbak(a) ‘tobacco’, ba’Nta:t(a) ‘potato(es)’, a’dres ‘address’, ya’resdid ‘arrested’ (preterite), and the names of weekdays: d’LàòN ‘Monday’, d’KidìiN ‘Wednesday’, etc.

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>With Single Consonant</th>
<th>With Cluster</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a e e i o u n m</td>
<td>ic’d’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ab-</td>
<td>ab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ad</td>
<td>ad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ad’ id’</td>
<td>ad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a#: i#:</td>
<td>a#:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aL</td>
<td>aL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al</td>
<td>al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ar</td>
<td>ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as</td>
<td>as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>af</td>
<td>af</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples.

With a:

With e: le-e ‘with her’, brestèl ‘bracelet’.

With e: te-e ‘tea’, dèrèt ‘strike’, disagreement’.


---

10 – Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap, suppl. bind IV.
174. Vowel harmony. The vowels a, e, 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', *le-e 'with her', *te-e 'tea', *bo-o 'bow', *na s 'Lu-u smaller'. Note, however, that a occurs finally also in some names such as *barðara 'Barbara', *Rufia 'Russia'. The vowels i, u, and ø are distinctive word-finally: *gaLi 'will promise' ~ *faLu 'empty' ~ *faLo 'blood' (genitive). After identical stressed vowels and hiatus, all final vowels may be exchanged freely with ø: *La-a or La-ø, *le-e or le-ø, *te-e or te-ø, *bo-ø or bo-ø, *Lu-ø or Lu-a; *fi-i or fi-ø 'to knit, weave', *na s 'mũ-u or *na s 'mũ-ø 'bigger'. Some words with -i and probably some with -ø are excepted from this rule; thus, the genitive of *biay 'food' is always *bi-i, never *bi-ø. See also §§ 199 and 292. Sometimes, we find instances of vocalic harmony even before consonants and in non-final syllables: *La-ør or Le-ør 'book', so-øval or so-øval 'mountain name, Ra-ød or Ra-ød 'road'.

The variation between ø 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 *turrøy 'drought' and *turas 'journey, time', we have examples of vocalic harmony with an intervening consonant; these words may occasionally be perceived as *turøy and *turas. Compare also *fjutuɔ 'county' and *juhuRn 'hell'; I have not heard these words with ø.

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

Unstressed ø is found only in vocalic harmony. ø is found only in vocalic harmony and the word mĩuøy 'insult, impoliteness', where -øy is a reduced lenited form of stressed moy 'polite' manner'. ø and e have been recorded only in one word each outside of vocalic harmony, *breslet 'bracelet' (from English) and *aifən 'strife, disagreement' (cp. M.I. a m-r6id 'uneven, unreconciled'). The inventory of unstressed vowels to be dealt with further is thus reduced to five: a, i, ø, u, and ø.

As the table p. 144–5 shows, even these vowels are largely in complementary distribution. Thus, i and ø are rarely found in identical or similar environments; the same is true of u and ø. The syllables uN and øN are in complementary distribution, uN occurring after b, R, and ø: plus hiatus (*fisbun 'soap', *iRuN 'iron', *Lo-uN 'lion'), øN in all other recorded environments. (This distributional rule is probably very incomplete, as both uN and øN 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 bat; 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.

\[a, ad, adar, a\ddot{g}, a\ddot{g}a, a\ddot{g}na, a\ddot{N}, a\ddot{N}a, as, a\ddot{sa}, xa, xada, \beta a, \\
\gamma a, \gamma \ddot{a}a, ma, mana, ma\ddot{N}a, mas, nax, nax\ddot{a}.
\]

\[e\ddot{d}, e\ddot{d}a, e\ddot{d}na, e\ddot{d} = \ddot{f}e\ddot{d}, le, l\ddot{e}na, lef, lef\ddot{e}n\ddot{a}.
\]

\[i, mi, di, \ddot{d}i\ddot{a}, \ddot{d}i\ddot{f}na.
\]

\[\sigma d, \sigma s, \sigma a, \sigma a\ddot{e}, \sigma a\ddot{e}a, xa, xon, x\ddot{e}na, wo = vo, f\ddot{o} = fo.
\]

\[u, du, fu.
\]

\[a, \sigma d, \sigma s, da, ga, ga\ddot{a}, ga\ddot{e}a, ma, na, se, sa, saa, \sigma a.
\]

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 sentential 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 \(asa\) N\(a\)d '\(x\ddot{a}fi\) 'in the coffee-house', where the aspiration of the \(t\) of \(taj, ta\) 'house' is lost. Long vowels and diphthongs, however, are regularly replaced by short vowels, and final consonants and clusters are often reduced or lost: \(s\ddot{f}an\ \sigma ''a:\ddot{m}ba\ddot{R}d\ 'table knife'\) cp. \(s\ddot{f}ian\ 'knife', kru 'xark\ 'stack of oats'\) cp. \(kr\ddot{u}ax\ 'stack'.\) Dissyllables with hiatus may be contracted: \(\ddot{d}i\ddot{f}a\ \ddot{N}a\ddot{n} 'duj\ 'to the black (-haired) girl'\) cp. \(N\ddot{t}-\ddot{u}n\ 'girl'.\) An example of extreme reduction is \(m\ddot{a}\ 'sg\ddot{a}la\ 'schoolmaster',\) cp. \(m\ddot{e}-\ddot{a}f\ddot{\ddot{a}}\ddot{d}\ 'master'.\) Exceptional is \(faN\)' the reduced form of \(f\ddot{a}j\ddot{i}N\ '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: '\(d\ddot{u}N\)\(a\) 'man' but '\(d\ddot{u}N\) '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 pause, will be termed stable.

In a great number of words, however, \(a\) is dropped everywhere except between consonants within the pause-group: 'N\(d\ddot{i}c\)\(a\) so 'this night', but '\(s\ddot{i}c\) '\(u\ddot{a}r\) 'a cold night', \(e\ddot{d}a\ 'N\ddot{d}\ddot{i}c\) 'at night'. Such an \(a\) will be called caducous and will be symbolized by \((a)\) everywhere except in the rendition of connected speech: \(\dot{\sigma}i\ddot{c}(a)\ 'night'.\) 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, N\(t\), etc.): '\(x\ddot{u}N\)\(a\) \(fi\ddot{N}\) '\(m\bb\)\(l\ddot{a}x\ 'we saw the boy', but '\(x\ddot{u}N\)\(a\) \(mi\) '\(m\bb\)\(l\ddot{a}x\ 'I saw the boy', '\(m\bb\)\(l\ddot{a}x\ (x\ddot{u}N\)\(a\) \(mi\) '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 \(x\ddot{r}\ddot{s}a\ddot{b}a\ddot{s}d\) and \(N\ddot{r}\ddot{s}a\ddot{b}a\ddot{s}d\) (as answers to the questions 'where [to]' and 'where' respectively), we know that the former contains the preposition \(a\)\(L\ddot{f}\) '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 \(k\ddot{r}a\ddot{s}a\ddot{b}a\ddot{s}d\). Some initials, however, are not susceptible to lenition or nasalization (see § 205), thus, the utterance \(j\ddot{d}a\bb\ddot{\dot{a}}:R\dddot{n}\dddot{a}w\dddot{a}y\) 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 \(a\NN '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 (a) 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 a phonemes are replaced by one. It is immaterial whether we say that, in an utterance like 'NduN'a:zunami 'the man I saw', the final (stable) a of duN'a is dropped before the relative particle (a), or that the relative particle is dropped after the final vowel of duN'a. This has consequences only for word division in the phonemic spelling; we choose arbitrarily to regard the preserved a as the first in the sequence: 'NduN'a 'zunami. A normally caducous, word-final a 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.

a 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 [a] is found in the immediate neighbourhood of N, L, and R: [hun'bhi] 'woman neighbour', [k'cilinl] 'congregation', [staLa] sdaLaRd 'spring balance'.

180. Historically, a corresponds to

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

(a) O.I. ą: anal 'breath' O.I. anal, go-al, gu-al 'to take' O.I. gabal, kámal 'to hold' M.I. congbal, féina 'grandmother' M.I. senmáthir, began 'a little' O.I. bécán and other diminutives in -an O.I. -án, imiray 'to mention' O.I. imrádud, üvased 'terrible' M.I. úathbásach.

(b) O.I. é: a 'he' O.I. é, elan 'island' M.I. oílén, ailén, kó-ad and kú-ad 'to look' O.I. comét 'to preserve', siiál 'gospel' O.I. soscél.

(c) O.I. ó: fiasag 'beard' M.I. fésóc and other diminutives in -ag M.I. -óc, káLa'd 'candlestick' O.I. caindíeir and other words with the suffix -ad O.I. -óir (ultimately from Latin -arius), mí-an 'middle' O.I. médón, unad 'honour' M.I. dat. acc. onóir.

(d) Other vowels and diphthongs: fRsdánx 'lucky, fortunate' cp. Mod.I. fortúnach, f'áNnay 'to turn' cp. O.I. túntúth, túntúth 'translation', kúad 'stool' O.I. cathair, Lá:v (also Lá:v, Lá:vay) 'axe' possibly from 'túm-thúagh 'hand-axe'.

(2) Various O.I. short vowels lengthened (and subsequently shortened) in connection with the loss of a consonant: erágamad 'quarrel' O.I. argum(e)int (if not from English), bánaal 'beautiful' M.I. banamail 'womanly' and other words with the suffix -al O.I. -amail, fána 'to mock' M.I. fanamát, kóngal 'conscience' M.I. co-cumas, kúNaRdáx 'dangerous' cp. O.I. cumtubart, cundubart 'doubt', fánad 'grandfather' M.I. senathir.

(3) Other O.I. short vowels in a limited number of words: ahaRaf (also ahaRàf) 'to mimic' M.I. aithris (aith-iris) 'to imitate', fó-aLay, fóhalay 'to attend' M.I. frithalum 'attendance', fóoaj 'facial expression' cp. M.I. imaíg 'imago' (?), karábad 'wagon' M.I. carpát, kúnas 'hospitality' O.I. cobnius 'kinship', kúgal 'distaff' M.I. ceicel, a-l 'a tie, to tie' M.I. cengal, Le-ad 'a slope' cp. O.I. lethet 'breadth, size', LeigA 'check', O.I. leth 'half' and cenn 'head', mihaLu 'misfortune' (only recorded in the sense 'a scolding', jo u do oíhaLu 'you'll get a scolding') cp. the prefix mi- 'mis-' and O.I. selb 'possession', sNá:had (also sNá:had) 'needle' M.I. snáthar.

(4) Various O.N. vowels: long á in ka:Rlavay village name O.N. acc. Karlavag and other place names in -vay O.N.
vágr 'bay'; short a with secondary stress in göe:nawal, e:i'f(a)jal mountain names O.N. Grónafjall, Eidsfjall and other names in -val, -al O.N. fjall 'mountain', Lax 'krzwagat' lake name O.N. Krókavat 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 húLaj man's name O.N. Áleifr (compare p. 92), vatsoj island name O.N. Vat(n)søy and other island names in -aj O.N. oy 'island', gruundrfadar village name O.N. Gradsetr (? see VL p. 397). áunag 'window' O.N. vind-auga and aRsbag 'the largest species of sea-gull' O.N. svartb akr have had their last components identified with the native diminutive suffix -ag (M.I. -45`&, see 1, c above).

(5) E. [ə] in a variety of combinations: baràbara 'Barbara', Rufi-a 'Russia', trnfar 'plate' E. trencher, mE:d'far 'major', paRsal 'parcel', b5Ndal 'bundle'. With attraction towards native suffixes: patran 'pattern', pgifan 'poison', kufd'an `question', tasdan `shilling' from Scots testan, testoon, sNg:fan `snuff' from E. sneezing in sneezing powder, keimaNt 'common', riinad 'minute', Ra:sad 'resin, rosin', sdeimag 'stomach', travala6 `traveller', finala6 `general'.

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.

(b) Before a fricative which has been lost: béni 'will touch' O.I. ben(a)id, bi-i 'food' (genitive) O.I. biid, kruhi-axg 'creation' cp. M.I. cruthaigthech 'creative', Labi 'bed' M.I. lepaid, lepad, (a) 'Nduri 'last year' O.I. ó:nn-urid (Wb 16'14), u:Rni 'prayer, to pray' M.I. urnaigthe, irnigde, etc.

2. O.I. long i shortened in i 'she' O.I. sí.


4. E. [i] and other stressless vowels in a great number of loans, some of them with Gaelic suffixes: brí:di 'brandy', kafi 'coffee', má:di 'Mary', sítí: 'penny' cp. O.E. scilling, pa:di: 'field' (from M.E. parrok 'enclosure')? pa:lúgí: 'pair of trousers' E. breeks, breeches, presí: 'dressed' (preterite) and a great many other verbs with the suffix -íg (infinitive -ígar).

183. ə is usually a low back rounded and somewhat lax vowel. In the prepositions fá, fo 'under' and no, vo, fá, fo '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 R₂, R₀ when unstressed.

184. ò corresponds to

(1) Older ò in d'sònN 'idle' M.I. dì-mò jun 'vain'.
(2) O.I. or ò in feògN (gen. feògna) 'week' O.I. seòchmon gen. seòchmaine.
(3) O.I. ò in the suffix -òl O.I. -amail: feòmal 'useful' cp. Mod.I. feòdhaìmean hail, d'éòl 'ready, finished', etc. This suffix is -òl in some speakers, -al in others.
(4) Other vowels occasionally: ga:Ròx 'Gairloch' from an older *gerr-loch 'short loch', aòhaRaf = aòhaRaf 'to mimic' M.I. aìthris, fò 'under' O.I. to, vô, fò 'from' O.I. ó, úa.
(5) O.N. ó in Lu:rbsd and numerous other village names in -bsd O.N. acc. bóisò 'farm'.
(6) Various E. sounds: brakòfò 'breakfast', de:kan 'deacon', korkòf 'carcass', faròiwnt 'servant'.

185. ù has the high central rounded allophone [u] (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: [iaRUN] 'iron', [t'aLU] 'earth', [fURUxk] 'county'.

186. ù corresponds to

(4) O.I. short vowel plus labial fricative in word-final position: òN'ù 'scarce' cp. M.I. annam, dòN'ú 'to do, make' O.I. dònum, faLú 'empty' O.I. folam, kehu 'to be consumed; consumption' O.I. ca(i)them, fesù 'to stand' M.I. sessom, kerò 'fourth' O.I. cethramad (the suffix -ù has been generalized in the ordinals, cp. § 281); orku 'Orkney' from the older i n-Orcaib 'among the Orcs' (Watson p. 100), eò 'bìaLù 'in front of' M.I. ar do bòlaib 'before your eyes', hugò 'to you' (plural) O.I. cuc(c)uib and several other prepositional pronouns in the 2. pl. (some, however, have final -òv, see § 270), klòju 'sword' O.I. clàideb, òNú

'baby' M.I. leòb, fu 'you' (plural) O.I. sib. The imperative plural forms (e.g. faLà-u 'go (away)!', kòdú 'put!') contain the pronominal element -u (O.I. -ib, -aib, -uib) found in the prepositional pronouns; I believe that the same is true for vocativo plural forms like ò (òvaLàxu 'boys!', ò (òdòmu 'dogs!' which Borgstrøm supposes to represent old dative forms.

(2) Older long ù in mo:xvuf 'proud; haughty', cp. mo:xr 'great' and kòff 'state, condition, matter'.
(3) O.N. stressless vowel in combination with labial fricative in kLo-u or klò-u 'pair of tongs' O.N. cas. obl. klofa.

Preconsonantal stressless ù is usually in complementary distribution with ò and has the same origins as the latter.

ò.

187. This is a mid-central vowel, phonetically closely related to stressed ò (§ 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'aL] kadaL 'sleep', [i'fäng] i'fan 'chickens'. Also between an alveolar and a dental or prepalatal: [yaŋ 'N'òN'å] yaN 'N'dòN'ò 'to the man', [yaŋ 'N'åx] yaN 'N'òx 'to the horse', but not if the alveolar comes last: [u:Lu:n] u:Lu:n 'apples', never *[u:Lu:p].

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

(1) Any O.I. short vowel.

(a) With stable ò (and other vowels in free variation with ò, see § 174 above): aòLòb 'Scotland' O.I. Alùb, òN'ò 'knowledge' O.I. aìthgne, aidgne, nas 'òa 'easier' O.I. assu, bòla 'village, town' M.I. baile, bòle, bòòNa

(b) With caducous s: afd(a) 'out of her', asd(a) 'out of them' and nearly all other prepositional pronouns in the plural and the feminine singular, M.I. baindse, baindsi, O.I. us ce.

a has in some cases been interpolated as an auxiliary vowel between consonants, e.g. in koganay 'to chew' M.I. còcenam, kòchaxanay 'to end' M.I. pres. crìch naigim. bukas 'box' (from English).

189. The addition of a final a occurs in a few Norse loans: ba:t(a) 'boat' O.N. acc. bát, to:t(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: bòt-as 'breeze' dòs-as 'dose', hò-as 'rubber hose', pij-ar 'pure', fe:-ar 'chair'.

(b) In word-final position: dala 'doll', dress 'dress', säna 'fine, thin', flag 'flag', köh- 'crew', pèla 'pail', pëna '(window) pane', pëna 'pen', sda:b 'stall', suab 'big wave, swell', fëna 'chain', te-a 'tea', tar-a 'hoe', treda 'trick'.

Consonants.

190. Most consonants are represented in unstressed syllables, but aspirated occlusives are very rare. Outside of the clusters Lt, Lt', Nt, and N't', 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 so, fo 'from' ~ fo- '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 j 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', [fù:lak] 'sea-gull' with [gaj] 'to steal', [La:j] 'weakness', [La:j] 'weak' (phonemically karid', ga:lig, fu:lag; gad', La:j, La:j). This statement is not valid for postvocalic d, which is usually

[f] both in stressed and unstressed syllables, and b, which is nearly always [b].

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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lh. phoneme</th>
<th>Historical equivalent</th>
<th>Typical example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>O.N. b</td>
<td>krossbòad village name O.N. acc. Krossabólstað</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>O.I. t non-pal.</td>
<td>farúmad 'envy' O.I. format</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O.N. t</td>
<td>grumultfuldar village name O.N. *Gromssetr1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'</td>
<td>O.I. t pal.</td>
<td>karid' 'friend' O.I. car(a)it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O.I. nt pal.</td>
<td>arógaod' 'quarrel' O.I. argum(e)int</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>O.I. c pal.</td>
<td>rà:nig' 'reached' O.I. rán(a)ic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O.I. ng pal.</td>
<td>tuRìg 'to pull' M.I. tarraing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O.I. ng non-pal.</td>
<td>fiasag 'beard' M.I. fésòc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>O.I. b</td>
<td>fùlag 'to suffer' O.I. fulang</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O.N. v</td>
<td>dúNu 'in you' (pl.) cp. O.I. indib</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O.N. f</td>
<td>Lake names in -vat O.N. -vatan</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mountain names in -vait O.N. fjall</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(fell)</td>
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<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>O.I. g pal.</td>
<td>tòvaj 'facial expression' M.I. imaig</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O.N. diphthong element</td>
<td>Island names in -aj O.N. -ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td>nòsàig 'to praise' O.I. molad</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O.I. th non-pal.</td>
<td>tòfinntig 'to turn' O.I. tintùth</td>
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<td></td>
<td>O.N. ò</td>
<td>nu herry 'Harris' O.N. Heòrð(?)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>O.N. g</td>
<td>Bay names in -vay O.N. acc. -vàg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 See VL p. 397.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lb. phoneme</th>
<th>Historical equivalent</th>
<th>Typical example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>O.I. g pal.</td>
<td>ur:dic ‘clothing’ (gen.) O.I. étai g</td>
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<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>O.I. ch non-pal.</td>
<td>ur:dax ‘clothing’ (nom.) O.I. étach</td>
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<td></td>
<td>O.I. g non-pal.</td>
<td>aL lax xy ‘to say grace’ O.I. attlugud</td>
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<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>O.I. (m), mb</td>
<td>ãnom ‘soul’ O.I. anim(m), kaLam man’s name M.I. Colum(b)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O.I. ng non-pal.</td>
<td>esgn ‘eel’ O.I. escung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>O.I. n non-pal.</td>
<td>mì-an ‘middle’ O.I. medón</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O.I. n pal.</td>
<td>taLanx ‘pleasant’ M.I. taitnemach</td>
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<td></td>
<td>O.N. n</td>
<td>Promontory names in -mif O.N. dat. -nesi</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E. [n]</td>
<td>dekN ‘deacon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N'</td>
<td>O.I. mn, nd pal.</td>
<td>òin’sN ‘brain’ O.I. inchinn, juLhiN ‘cornyard’ O.I. dati nthlaN</td>
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<td></td>
<td>O.I. n pal.</td>
<td>mìdiN ‘morning’ O.I. acc. maitn</td>
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<td></td>
<td>L O.I. ll non-pal.</td>
<td>mìgòL ‘mesh (of net)’ O.I. mocoll</td>
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<td></td>
<td>O.I. l non-pal.</td>
<td>kòhilaN ‘congregation’ O.I. comthinN</td>
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<td>O.N. ll</td>
<td>Mountain names in -val, -al O.N. fjall</td>
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<td></td>
<td>O.N. ld</td>
<td>Ro-L man’s name O.N. acc. Rògnvald</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E. [l]</td>
<td>bòL ‘bottle’</td>
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<td></td>
<td>l O.I. l pal.</td>
<td>go-al ‘to take’ O.I. gabáil</td>
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<td></td>
<td>O.N. l</td>
<td>fa-al ‘ford’ O.N. acc. vòdl</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E. [l]</td>
<td>paLsal ‘parcel’</td>
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<td></td>
<td>L O.I. ll pal.</td>
<td>buLxaxLaxg ‘shepherding’ M.I. bòachaillecht</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O.I. l pal.</td>
<td>fòkíL ‘tooth’ O.I. fòcail</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R O.I. rr</td>
<td>ataR(a) ‘between them’ O.I. etarru</td>
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<td></td>
<td>r O.I. r non-pal.</td>
<td>aher ‘father’ (gen.) O.I. athar</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O.I. r pal.</td>
<td>Lit’ir ‘letter’ O.I. litir</td>
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<td></td>
<td>O.N. r</td>
<td>kùjhar village name O.N. Kiùar</td>
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</tbody>
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193. The history of consonant clusters is closely similar to that of clusters in stressed syllables. Note, however, that sd, nd, and nd sometimes represent older single consonants: ferasad(a) ‘easy’ M.I. urusa, erusa, etc., (a) 16i-ifd”’again’ M.I. arithisi, kàgàd ‘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.: gan ‘without’ O.I. cen, gaN ‘that’ O.I. co, go ‘until’ O.I. co, du ‘you’ (sing.) O.I. tì (d also in the stressed form du: and the emphatic form duL). Compare also the loanwords ba’Nta:t(a) ‘potato(es)’ and da’mbak(a) ‘tobacco’.  

**Juncture and Sandhi**

195. There is a strong tendency to devoice otherwise voiced consonants when prepausal or utterance-final: [xùd at ‘fjùl0y

11 – Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap, suppl. bind IV.
they put a kilt on him, and a jacket, and the soldier’s cap’. [maga m’ay 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, [JaLeY] ‘would promise’ is different from [JaLaX] ‘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: [eO tu:x a ‘xLojd] ‘beside the shore’, [ha na ‘N’uí ‘I’ ú le ‘fOrxdas] ‘it is overcast’, literally ‘the clouds are thick with darkness’. The same consonants are usually devoiced before voiced consonants in word juncture: [’gr3UN no ‘hàtna] ‘the bottom of the river’, [’hàtn ‘na ‘wqan] ‘the soles of my shoes’, [’hegan ‘wUNig] ‘a few years’, [’wun 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 [s], Rd [q], etc. This kind of juncture will be symbolized by :;


199. A final unstressed y 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 a before consonants, especially in the independent future of verbs, see § 292.

On the elision of stressless a 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 *ma* 'my' demands that a change of the type called lenition take place in the following word: *mā:had* 'mother' ~ *mā* 'mā:had* 'my mother', *d'efa* 'suit' ~ *mā* 'jefa* '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 (*maL* '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).

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 (*xu₄* pret. ~ *kud* imperative 2. sg. of the verb *kur*, *kud* '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. *x₄R* '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, y, c, x, n, r,* and *d* 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, \(v, \gamma, x, \) and \(h\) do not occur as radicals; the only exception is \(mbr\) in \(mbr\text{-}a\text{n}\) ‘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 \(sm, say\) (and probably the rarely occurring \(sw\) in English loans). \(\delta\) 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.

### Table of Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Radical</th>
<th>Nasalized</th>
<th>Lenited</th>
<th>Len. after art.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aspirated stops.</td>
<td>(p)</td>
<td>(lt)</td>
<td>(k)</td>
<td>(k)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Np)</td>
<td>(N't)</td>
<td>(N'k)</td>
<td>(Nk)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(f)</td>
<td>(h)</td>
<td>(hj)</td>
<td>(\zeta)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Nf)</td>
<td>(N't)</td>
<td>(N'd^*)</td>
<td>(N'd^*)</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nasalized, laterals, and (r)-sounds.</th>
<th>(m)</th>
<th>(N')</th>
<th>(L)</th>
<th>(R)</th>
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<td>(v)</td>
<td>(n)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Nv)</td>
<td>(N'n)</td>
<td>(N'l)</td>
<td>(N'r)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(N)</td>
<td>(N't)</td>
<td>(N'd)</td>
<td>(N'd^*)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sibilants, (f,) and (j.)</td>
<td>(s)</td>
<td>(f)</td>
<td>(j)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(s)</td>
<td>(f)</td>
<td>(N'd^*)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(h)</td>
<td>(h, hj)</td>
<td>(zero)</td>
<td>(j)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Nt)</td>
<td>(N't)</td>
<td>(Nd, N'd^<em>, N'd^</em>)</td>
<td>(zero)</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>(s)- and (f)-clusters.</th>
<th>(N)</th>
<th>(fN)</th>
<th>(sL)</th>
<th>(fL)</th>
<th>(sdr)</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(n)</td>
<td>(N)</td>
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<td>(Nt)</td>
<td>(N't)</td>
<td>(NIL)</td>
<td>(N)</td>
<td>(Ntr)</td>
</tr>
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</table>

208. Examples:

\(b: \) \(ba\text{Lax} m. \) ‘boy’ ~ nas. \((a)\) ‘\(mba\text{Lax} ‘the boy’ ~ len. \((a)\) ‘\(va\text{L} ‘boy’! ~ len. after art. \(\text{ga} ‘\text{Lax} ‘to the boy’\).’

\(d: \) \(dh\text{n}\text{N} m. \) ‘man’ ~ nas. \((a)\) ‘\(\text{Ndh}\text{n}\text{N} ‘the man’ ~ len. \((\text{N}d\text{h}\text{N} ‘man!’ ~ len. after art. \(\text{ja} ‘\text{Ndh}\text{n}\text{N} ‘to the man’\).’

\(\delta: \) \(\text{iaw}\text{L} m. \) ‘devil’ ~ nas. \((a)\) ‘\(\text{N}\text{iaw}\text{L} ‘the devil’; \(\text{de}\text{f} f. \) ‘suit’ ~ len. \(\text{ma} ‘\text{f}\text{f} ‘my suit’ ~ len. after art. \((a)\) ‘\(\text{N}\text{df} ‘the suit’\).’

\(\zeta: \) \(\text{gakry} ‘to cut’ ~ nas. \(\text{g}\) ‘\(\text{gakry} a ‘that he would cut’ ~ len. \(\text{ja}\text{B} a ‘he cut’; \(\text{gatry} ‘winter’ ~ len. after art. \(\text{as} ‘\text{gatry} in (the) winter’\).’

\(y: \) \(\text{ga}\text{lir} ‘Gaelic’ ~ nas. \(\text{a}\text{g} ‘\text{Gaelic}; \(\text{g}\text{dan} f. \) ‘sun’ ~ len. \((a)\) ‘\(\text{g}\text{dan} ‘the sun’ ~ len. after art. \(\text{as} ‘\text{g}\text{dan ‘N ‘in the sun’}.’

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<tr>
<td>Unaspirated stops.</td>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>(d)</td>
<td>(d')</td>
<td>(\zeta)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(mb)</td>
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<th>Nasalized, laterals, and (r)-sounds.</th>
<th>(m)</th>
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<th>(R)</th>
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<td>(Nh, N'd, N'd)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sibilants, (f,) and (j.)</td>
<td>(s)</td>
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<th>(fN)</th>
<th>(sL)</th>
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<td>(NIL)</td>
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<td>(Ntr)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
p: possay ‘to marry’ ~ len. ga ‘married’; pdaiis m. ‘prince’ ~ len. after art. ‘Lax a ‘foddis ‘the Prince’s Loch’.

t: tuahanax m. ‘farmer’ ~ nas. (a) ‘Ntuahanax ‘the farmer’; traium ‘heavy’ ~ len. ra ‘hriuim ‘too heavy’; ta:Laod ‘tailor’ ~ len. after art. ‘ifunan a ‘Nta:Laod ‘the tailor’s chickens’.

f: ‘fiaLiag f. ‘funeral’ ~ nas. (a) ‘NfiaLiag ‘the funeral’; flihag ‘to throw ~ len. hlihg ‘threw’; fLaNdag ‘to turn’ ~ len. hjishNdag ‘turned’ (pret.); t’ana ‘fire’ ~ len. after art. xana ‘Nf’ana ‘to the fire’.

f: RadvN m. ‘head’ ~ nas. (a) ‘NkadvN ‘the head’ ~ len. (a) ‘fuddN ‘his head’ ~ len. after art. asa ‘fuddN ‘in the head’.

r: kat m. ‘cat’ ~ nas. (a) ‘Nkat ‘the cat’ ~ len. da: ‘xat ‘two cats’ ~ len. after art. yana ‘xat ‘to the cat’.

f: milax m. ‘top; roof’ ~ nas. (a) ‘milax ‘the top’ ~ len. (a) ‘milax a ‘Nteh ‘onto the roof of the house’ ~ len. after art. eda ‘milax ‘on the top’.

fN: N’Ed m. ‘nest’ ~ nas. (a) ‘N’Ed ‘the nest’; N’ti-un ‘girl’ ~ len. (a) ‘ni-un ‘girl’ ~ len. after art. dfag ‘N’ti-un ‘to the girl’.

E: Labi f. ‘bed’ ~ len. do ‘labi ‘your bed’ ~ len. after art. yanu ‘Labi ‘to (the) bed’.

R: Ruadhi man’s name ~ len. (a) ‘ruadhi (vocative); Ra-ad ‘road’ ~ len. after art. eda ‘Ra-ad ‘on the road’.

f: saidad m. ‘soldier’ ~ nas. (a) ‘saidad ‘the soldier’ ~ len. ha a na ‘haidad ‘he is a soldier’ ~ len. after art. dfaf ‘Nsaidad ‘to the soldier’.

f: fesu ‘to stand’ ~ nas. ha ad na ‘fesu ‘they are standing’ ~ len. ha mi na ma ‘hesu ‘I am standing’; faLaag ‘to look; sight’ ~ len. ‘fala as m ‘hjalaag ‘go out of my sight’; fraxgN f. ‘week’ ~ len. after art. (a) ‘Nf’raxgN ‘the week’.

f: fayg ‘leave!’ ~ nas. ga ‘fayg a ‘that he will leave’ ~ len. naax ag ‘that he will not leave’; faf f. ‘blood’ ~ len. after art. (a) ‘Nfual ‘the blood’; fiskil f. ‘tooth’ ~ len. after art. (a) ‘N’diskil ‘the tooth’; fisil f. ‘meat’ ~ len. after art. (a) ‘N’dorsil ‘the meat’; frux m. ‘heather’ ~ len. after art. ‘elan a ‘rux ‘Isle of (the) Heather’ (a poetical name for Lewis).

j: falax ‘swan’ ~ nas. na ‘Nd’aLiach ‘of the swans’; falax ‘load’ ~ len. after art. lefo ‘Nd’alax ‘with the load’.

sn: SNdax f. ‘needle’ ~ len. da: ‘Na:had (or -id) ‘two needles’ ~ len. after art. (a) ‘Ntrachad ‘the needle’.

fN: fN’exg(a) m. ‘snow’ ~ len. do ‘nexg ‘of snow’ ~ len. after art. lefo ‘Nd’exg ‘with the snow’.

sl: slat f. ‘(fishing-) rod’ ~ len. da: ‘Lat ‘two rods’ ~ len. after art. (a) ‘Nilat ‘the rod’.

fE: fEwini ‘slippery’ ~ len. gle: ‘lEwini ‘very slippery’; fEli-a f. ‘way’ ~ len. after art. (a) ‘Nli-a ‘the way’.

sdr: sdrxg f. ‘string’ ~ len. da: ‘rxi ‘two strings’ ~ len. after art. (a) ‘Ntrxi ‘the string’.

209. As the lenited counterpart of t’ and f, h is used before i, e, and usually e, as well as diphthongs beginning with i or e. I have no certain examples for the position before w, where both t’ and f are rare. Before other vowels and diphthongs, hj is used. Before e, there is vocalisation: ma ‘hEna0 and ma ‘hjEna0 ‘my grandfather’. The vocalization between e and ja, described § 145, operates in the word t‘ana ‘fire’ whose lenited forms are hEina or (rarely) hjEina.

210. English loanwords occasionally retain an initial f in positions where lenition is expected: (a) ‘freasan, bar3y ‘to Fraserburgh’. Lenited f after the article is zero before consonants other than j; before vowels and j, we get prevocalic nasализation whose palatal or non-palatal quality depends on the following phoneme (see vocalic mutations below).

The Gaelic of (the) Isle of Lewis

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) (julad 'eagle',
(a) 'Nd'ulad 'the eagle', do julad 'of an eagle', but na 'hjulad
'of the eagle').

(a) Prefix h- (morphophonemic symbol h): a:Rad'partic-
ular' ~ ga 'ha:Rad'particular', e: 'horses' ~ na 'hec 'the horses'.
(b) Prefix Nd- or N'd- (morphophonemic symbol N): a:Rad'aig(a)
'some (people)' ((a) 'Nd'oyiN 'in those (people)'), (a) 'Nd'oyiN
'brain'; uri:ba: 'tail' (with article (a)
'N'turi:bal ', quoted from memory), (a) uri:xor '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 con-
sonantal 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 follow-
ing:

| Consonantal mutation | Prevocalic mutation | Morpho-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>symbol</th>
<th>phonemic symbol</th>
<th>Sample mutating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>radical</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>radical</td>
<td>h-</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>radical</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasalized</td>
<td>Nd-</td>
<td>N'd-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasalized</td>
<td>N't-</td>
<td>N't-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lenited</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lenited</td>
<td>y-</td>
<td>LF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lenited</td>
<td>Nd-</td>
<td>N'd-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lenited after article</td>
<td>Nd-</td>
<td>N'd-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other combinations are found in a few instances; these will
be mentioned in the morphology (see especially irregular verbs,

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 \(d \ t \ g \ y \ x \ h \ s \ N \ n \ L \ r\), palatals \(d' \ t' \ j \ f' \ j' \ f \ N' \ L\), and neutrals \(b \ p \ v \ m \ R\). 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-pal.</th>
<th>Pal.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 (d \ t \ g \ y \ x \ h \ s \ N \ n \ L \ r)</td>
<td>1 (d' \ t' \ j \ f' \ j' \ f \ N' \ L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As \(R\) combines only with non-palatals in clusters (\(Rd, Rn\), etc.), these clusters are neutral. The cluster \(xy\) 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: \(baLag\) 'bellows' gen. \(bulg\). If one of these consonants is neutral, the other may nevertheless be palatalized: \(sgarau\) 'cormorant' pl. \(sgdr\).

Examples of consonantal palatalization: 1. \(sN\hat{a}:h\hat{a}d\) 'needle' \(\sim\) gen. \(sN\hat{a}:h\hat{a}d\); 2. \(sl\hat{a}:t\) 'rod' \(\sim\) gen. \(sl\hat{a}\hat{a}t\); 3. \(k\hat{a}l\hat{a}y\) 'young girl' \(\sim\) gen. \(k\hat{a}l\hat{a}y\); 4. \(sl\hat{a}k\) 'a pit' \(\sim\) gen. \(sl\hat{a}k\); 5. \(sl\hat{a}w\) 'people, crowd' \(\sim\) gen. \(sl\hat{a}w\); 6. \(fr\hat{u}:x\) 'heather' \(\sim\) gen. \(fr\hat{u}:x\); 7. \(d\hat{a}h\) 'black' \(\sim\) gen. \(d\hat{a}h\); 8. \(sL\hat{a}s\) 'light' \(\sim\) gen. \(sL\hat{a}s\); 9. \(k\hat{r}\hat{a}k\hat{a}N\) 'skin' \(\sim\) gen. \(k\hat{r}\hat{a}k\hat{a}N\); 10. \(aur\hat{a}:n\) 'song' \(\sim\) gen. \(aur\hat{a}:n\); 11. \(f\hat{a}:L\) 'fiddle' \(\sim\) gen. \(f\hat{a}:L\); 12. \(d\hat{a}u\hat{a}:L\) 'blind' \(\sim\) gen. \(d\hat{a}u\hat{a}:L\); 13. \(kr\hat{a}\hat{a}l\) 'narrow' \(\sim\) gen. \(kr\hat{a}\hat{a}l\); 14. \(\hat{c}\hat{a}:\hat{a}\) 'gold' \(\sim\) gen. \(\hat{c}\hat{a}:\hat{a}\).

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. \(k\hat{a}l\hat{a}v\) 'creel, hamper' \(\sim\) gen. \(kle:v\) with \(iasg\) 'fish' \(\sim\) 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. \(faLa\) of the nom. \(ful\) 'blood'.

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

1. \(a \ a \ a \ a \ a: a: \ a: \ e \ e \ e \)
2. \(i \ i \ u \ u \ e: \ e: \ i \ i \)
3. \(o \ o \ u \ u \ u: u: \ u \ u \ u: u: \)

Examples: 1. \(kat\) 'cat' \(\sim\) gen. \(ket\); 2. \(m\hat{a}k\) 'son' \(\sim\) gen. \(m\hat{a}k\); 3. \(k\hat{a}s\) 'leg' \(\sim\) dat. \(k\hat{a}\hat{f}\); 4. \(a\hat{l}\hat{a}:t\) 'knuckle' \(\sim\) gen. \(u\hat{l}\hat{t}\); 5. \(L\hat{a}:t\) 'hand' \(\sim\) gen. \(L\hat{a}:t\hat{a}\); 6. \(t\hat{o}:v\) 'hand-net' \(\sim\) gen. \(te:v\); 7. \(f\hat{a}:d\) 'single peat, sod of peat' cp. \(m\hat{a}:N\) \(\dot{a}:d\); 8. \(e:v\) 'peat in two layers (in the peat-bank)' (literally 'two-sod peat'), 9. \(e:v\) 'horse' \(\sim\) gen. \(e:v\); 10. \(k\hat{e}:k\) 'hen' \(\sim\) gen. \(k\hat{e}:k\); 11. \(b\hat{a}:k\) 'trout' \(\sim\) pl. \(b\hat{a}:k\); 12. \(k\hat{e}:l\hat{a}:t\) 'to burn' \(\sim\) pret. \(L\hat{a}:t\hat{a}\); 13. \(k\hat{a}:\hat{a}:f\) 'bay' \(\sim\) gen. \(t\hat{e}:b\); 14. \(f\hat{a}:L\) 'sail' \(\sim\) gen. \(f\hat{a}:L\); 15. \(k\hat{r}\hat{a}:t\) 'cattle, cows' \(\sim\) gen. \(k\hat{r}\hat{a}:t\); 16. \(s\hat{a}L\hat{a}:t\hat{v}\) 'to split' \(\sim\) pret. \(s\hat{a}L\hat{a}:t\); 17. \(u\hat{e}:v\) 'egg' \(\sim\) pl. \(u\hat{e}:v\);

28. Lain 'net' ~ pl. Lain.

In svarabhakti words:

29. Non-pal. a a a a a

Pal. a a a a a

Examples: 29. kalay 'hair, fur' ~ gen. kalay, 30. sgariN 'cormorant' pl. sga53v, 31. dar3x 'dark' comparative duAirc(a) (also recorded duiVu.a). Mutation 32 is somewhat doubtful; it was recorded once in gaiNinan 'indigo dye', obviously containing the morpheme gar3nt 'blue'. But 'more blue' was taken down as guAirma according to 31.

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

Non-pal. ....... -ad -ax -as -aL -aN -uN -un

Pal. ............ u li u ri u

Examples: 29. kalay 'hair, fur' ~ gen. kalay, 30. sgariN 'cormorant' pl. sga53v, 31. dar3x 'dark' comparative duAirc(a) (also recorded duiVu.a). Mutation 32 is somewhat doubtful; it was recorded once in gaiNinan 'indigo dye', obviously containing the morpheme gar3nt 'blue'. But 'more blue' was taken down as guAirma according to 31.

219. Many dissyllabic word stems are contracted (syncopated) 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:Rdan, briN' 'to speak' ~ fut. briN'i (and briN'i), Lai-ar 'book' ~ pl. Lai:riN, so:LaL 'barn' ~ pl. so:LiN, u-aL 'apple' ~ pl. u:LaN, Lo-ar 'hoof' ~ pl. Lo:raN. Ra-ad 'road' has combined lengthening and palatalization in the plural: Ra:ran. Short a becomes a in gaiL 'angel' ~ gen. gaiN pl. gaiN, baiN 'wedding' ~ gen. baiN pl. baiN, baiN 'devil' ~ gen. baiN acquire, baiN 'winter' ~ gen. baiN ariN, baiN 'yearling calf' ~ pl. gaiN.

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', R. My material contains these sub-types:

33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42

Long or diphth. a: au au au ai ei ei(ai) ai ai ai

Short: ......... a a a a e i u u w e

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

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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>α</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>α</td>
<td>au</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>β</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>ε</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>α</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>β</td>
<td>α</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An example containing a full set of four vowels is bjāNtn ‘mountains’ ~ běN’ nom. sg. ~ běN’ gen. sg. ~ bjāNn 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 drūm ‘back; ridge’ has the genitive drūma, we do not have to conclude that we are in the presence of a new mutation αi ~ o, but may describe the change as a combination of two mutations already known, either 23 ai ~ au and 35 au ~ o or 41 ai ~ ur and 12 ur ~ o. In other words, we assume, if only as an explanatory device, an intermediate link *drūm or *drūm-. This device is justified by the not infrequent instances where such an intermediate link actually exists. Thus, drūm- is found in the diminutive drūman ‘little ridge’. Further instances are kaIt ‘to lose’ ~ xaIt ‘lost’ (preterite) ~ kāI ‘will lose’ (mutations 20 and 37), and t’adūn ‘tight’ ~ t’adNνy ‘tightening; constipation’ ~ t’in’a ‘tighter’. For trūm ‘heavy’ ~ trūnma ‘heavier’ we assume an intermediate *trūm (mutations 23 and 41) or *trūm- (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 ~ e before n-sounds. Before N, (j)a is found but not e (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. ēnas, pret. lān or ēn (the latter two are very similar phonetically: [lān] and [lēn]); bēni ‘will touch’, pret. vēn. t’ān ‘fire’ has the lenited forms hjāna [hæ-āna] and hēna [hēna]. For phonemic vacillation between ja and e 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: e ~ o in t’ēh ‘hot’ ~ comparative t’ēo, LehItN ‘wide, broad’ ~ compar. Le-o, Le-ad ‘a slope’ ~ gen. Le-id; u ~ i in t’uN ‘thick’ ~ compar. t’i-o; ur ~ i
in *t'urim* ‘to dry’ ~ *t'idom* ‘dry’ (adj.); *iə* ~ *i* in *sji* ‘knife’ ~ gen. *sji*; *bii* ‘food’ ~ gen. *bi*-i; *iə* ~ *ə* in *tehan* pl. of *taj* ‘house’, *e-an* pl. of *a* ‘heifer’; *a* ~ *ə* in *trajan* (also *trajan*) pl. of *trak* ‘foot’.

(c) A number of mutations are quite unclassifiable; such are *ju* ~ *ə* in *pu* ‘sister’ ~ gen. *peh*; *w* ~ *ə* in *duna* ‘man’ ~ pl. *duna*, *a* ~ *ə*: in *bo* ‘cow’ ~ gen. *ba*; *u* ~ *ə* in *ku* ‘dog’ ~ gen. *k3*.

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**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 (*a*), feminine (*a*); genitive masculine (*a*), feminine (*a*)).

(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. Typically masculine stem endings are 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>-an, -ad, -sə, -ag, -as</td>
<td>-ag, -ad', -ax (-aax)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of these are derivational suffixes. The suffix -ax 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: *tré ‘dwarf’ and *go-xr ‘goat’ are always feminine and *gín ‘goose’ always masculine, regardless of sex. *bódNax ‘woman’ and *a ‘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.

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, *mô:N’s *da: ‘a:ð ‘peat of two layers (cut in two layers from the peat-bank)’, where a:ð is the gen. dual of f:ð ‘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 *a (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 *gLo:s *xuxxi ‘padlock’ (literally ‘lock of hanging’) and *bLá:ní: *aaker ‘lard (of pig)’ because gLo:s and bLá:ní: are feminine; a radical consonant appears in *kliav *mô:nax ‘a hamper of peat’ and *bN’a *bu:Rn ‘a drop of water’ because kliav and bN’a 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 *xru:ván ‘a few (of) trees’, *tru:ð *vôdNax ‘three (of) women’.
(b) Masculine proper names are always lenited in the genitive: 'ta 'xaLax 'Calum's house', 'mar'axxy 'yös'-iL 'Murdoch (son) of Donald', 'ifm'an 'xalaN' 'Colin's chickens'.

(c) Feminine proper names always have radical initial in the genitive: 'alasxda 'peyj 'Alasdair (son) of Peggy', 'bo: 'md:di '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: Lax 'laxbaId 'the Loch of Leurbost', 'xarLavaj 'the broch of Carloway'.

Occasionally, I have heard a Modern English name with radical instead of the expected lenited initial: 'tehan 'gaRdan '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 -an. 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 baLax 'boy'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>baLax</th>
<th>baLiç</th>
<th>Da: 'baLaxL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>baLaxL</td>
<td>baLiç</td>
<td>baLax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>baLiç</td>
<td>baLiç, baLax</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>(a) 'vaLiç</td>
<td>(a) 'vaLaxu(-L?)</td>
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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. Examples: 0. bas 'death' ~ baIf, dàn 'heap; broch, fort' ~ dà:N; gra:y 'love' ~ graIf, ka:L 'cabbage' ~ kaL, lax 'ground, floor' ~ lax:ò, mbrid: 'factor, steward' ~ mbrid: xve: 'gold' ~ xve:; surw 'joiner' ~ surw; lax 'people, crowd' ~ laxw, dàn 'lamb' ~ dànN; 1. dàv 'male deer; ox (castrated)' ~ dèv (gen. pl. dèw), kat 'cat' ~ kel'; 2. mèk 'son' ~ mèk; 4. alt 'knuckle' ~ uL'; 6. Ràw 'oar' ~ Ràw; saw 'saw' ~ saw; tav 'hand-net' ~ tav'; 8. ex 'horse' ~ eè (gen. pl. ex); 9. fer 'man' ~ fèd; 10. boil 'trout' ~ bòIf; 11. äLk 'evil' ~ uLk, pòsd 'postman' ~ pud', sLok 'pit' ~ sLuk, Tro:F 'codfish' ~ Tro:G (gen. pl. Tro:G); 13. tæ:b 'bay' ~ tæb; 14. bo:RD 'table' ~ bu:RD (gen. pl. bu:RD), fo:L 'music' ~ foL, fo:L 'sail' ~ fuL (gen. pl. fuL); 15. kroh 'cattle, cows' ~ krufi, kròk 'haddock' ~ kròf; 19. lax: 'call' ~ Lui; 21. dà:N 'head' ~ dè:T; 22. baUL 'member; thick rope' ~ bauL, goUL 'person from the mainland' ~ goUL, krà:n 'mast; plough' ~ krà:n; 23. fà:n 'tune' ~ fè:n, pò:n 'pound (weight)' ~ pòn'd'; tuL 'hole' ~ tuL; 24. giay 'goose' ~ grij (also goif according to 25), fìn 'grass' ~ ò:f; 25. dàn 'bird (especially domestic)' ~ dà:N 'birds, poultry'; 27. fèj 'deer' ~ fèj, lòs 'fish' 1

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 vocative mutations listed §§ 217 ff.; 0 denotes the absence of vocative mutation.
28. Lún 'net' ~ LÁN; 29. baLág 'bellows' ~ bulúg, kalág 'hair, fur, horsehair' ~ kulúg; 30. sgráw 'cormorant' ~ sgrdú, tarúw 'bull' ~ tédúw (gen. pl. tédúw); 31. dráy 'fishing-line' ~ dárújú.

The nom. pl. of tób 'bay' has also been recorded as tóbán.

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

Nouns in -ax usually have the forms shown in the paradigm of baLax, above. Plural by palatalization (-iç) has been recorded in baLax, bádax 'old man; husband', bòdánax 'woman', fíðánax 'man', gaLáwax 'kind of mussel', kalax 'cock', la:ra:x 'track, footprint', nárá:x 'mussel, shellfish (generally)', and words denoting local origin: bakax 'person from Back', Ru-ax 'person from Eye Peninsula (Ru-n)', wájúx 'person from Uig', sásanax 'Englishman' (säsín 'England'). Nominative plural in -an (combined with palatalization) has only been recorded in behax 'animal' ~ gen. sg. behiç ~ nom. pl. behiçan. The following words either have no plural, or plural forms have not been recorded: aLánax 'grace (at table)', bòánax 'hannock, scone', darrax 'oak', kànax 'Kenneth', klàdax 'shore', fúnax 'fox', wádax 'clothes, clothing'. Vocative plural forms: (a) 'wádaxu 'old men!', (b) 'wáLàxdaxu 'boys!'.

Nouns in -an, gen. sg. -aN. With nom. pl. palatalized: auran 'song' ~ gen. sg. auraN ~ nom. pl. auran, braidan 'salmon', krókan 'bobbin', fíósan 'mussel (mytilus edulis)', kósán 'scalllop'. With nom. pl. in -an: elán 'island' ~ gen. elán ~ pl. elánan, ifán 'chicken'; (wild) bird' (gen. pl. ifánan), méyan 'branch', Ru-an 'stack of three or four peats', sádan 'herring', fíchán 'flower'. Both ways of forming the nominative plural are found in d'álàgcan 'spindle' ~ gen. sg. d'álàgcan ~ nom. pl. d'álàgcan and d'alàganan. No plural recorded: ámadan 'fool, idiot', aran 'bread', kalan 'Colin'.

Words in -áy, gen. sg. -i. Verbal nouns in -áy (§ 299, b) belong here: kráxáy 'to hang' ~ kráxi, gílásáy 'to grind, sharpen' ~ gílasi. Proper names: dún 'Duncan' ~ ydún, marááy 'Murdoch' ~ marráí. The nom. pl. is formed either by palatalization or by palatalization plus -an: sàúrara 'summer' ~ gen. sg. sàúrri ~ nom. pl. sàúrri (gen. pl. sàúri), gáiráy 'winter' ~ gáirí ~ gáiri and gáiri-an; ga:Ray 'stone wall, fence' ~ ga:Rí ~ ga:Rí-an.

Some words in -IL have gen. sg. in -IL, others in -aL: dò-IL 'Donald' ~ ý:IL, fíkIL or fakIL 'word' ~ gen. sg. fíkIL ~ nom. pl. fíkIL (gen. pl. fíkIL), peódIL 'jaw' ~ nom. pl. peódIL; d'íwáIL 'devil', gen. sg. d'íwáIL, and su:uIL (su:-aL) 'world', gen. sg. su:uIL (su:-aL). For the last two I have heard no plural forms.

Other words. With nom. pl. palatalized: turrus 'journey; time' ~ fíu 'turruf 'six times', favar 'autumn' ~ gen. sg. favàd ~ nom. pl. favàd, iRa:uN 'iron' ~ iRIN ~ iRaIN. Nom. pl. in -an with palatalization: dárás 'door' ~ daríf ~ doRsan (with syncope and vocative mutation 3), Ra-ad 'road' ~ Ra-id ~ Rca:dan. No plural forms recorded: aðáig 'money, silver' ~ aðáíd, Le-ad 'slope' ~ Le-id, saLán 'light' ~ sa:íf; fíosgáy 'shelter' ~ tu: 'Ndosgáj 'leeward side' (tu: is another form of tur 'side' used in certain expressions); bò:an man's name ~ bò:ad, ku:Rwanay village name ~ xu:Rwanay, Lu:as-á (Isle of) Lewis' ~ lu:-íf, so-aL 'barn', gen. sg. so-aL, has the nom. pl. so:Ra:an.

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', múk 'pig'), but is usually formed by palatalization with or without the ending -(a). The a 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 ə is rather elusive and has often escaped recording. This is
one reason why many of the genitives quoted below lack the ə.
The vocative singular has non-palatal final. The plural generally
has the termination -an (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 bānNtrax 'widow'.

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<td>bānNtraxī</td>
<td>bānNtraxī</td>
<td>'da: ivāNtric-</td>
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<td>Dat.</td>
<td>bānNtricL</td>
<td>bānNtricL</td>
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<td>Gen.</td>
<td>bāNtric(a)</td>
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<td>Voc.</td>
<td>vāNtraxL</td>
<td>vāNtricen</td>
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Type II is based on historical a-stems.

232. (a) Monosyllables. The nom. pl. nearly always has
the ending -an without palatalization. Examples: 0. brág 'boot'
~ dat. sg. brág; gen. sg. brág ~ nom. pl. brág:an, glás 'lock'
~ gen. sg. glá:s ~ nom. pl. glás:n, klá:s 'stone' ~ dat. sg. klá:s
~ gen. sg. klá:s(a) ~ nom. pl. klás:n (gen. pl. klásx), mák 'pig'
~ dat. sg. má:k ~ gen. sg. má:k and má:k ~ nom. and gen. pl. má:k:n,
A. slat 'rod' ~ gen. sg. slát; 3. kas 'leg' ~ kás ~ kás (kas) ~ nom.
pl. kas:n (kas); 5. láv 'hand' ~ láv ~ láv(a) ~ láv:n; 9. kerkl 'hen'
~ dat. sg. kerkl ~ gen. sg. kérk ~ nom. pl. kérk:n (gen. pl. kerk);
pl. kru:v:n; 26. bádag 'a lie' ~ dat. sg. bá:dág ~ nom. pl. bá:dg:n
(gen. pl. bá:dg:ag); 27. gðán 'sun' ~ gðen: ~ gðe:N (no plural).
18. gu: 'wind', dat. and gen. sg. gai, forms its nom. pl. in
a different way: gur:an, kłá:n 'children' has no plural; it has
combined mutations in the sg.: dat. klá:n (20), gen. klá:Nə
(20 and 37; the ə is stable).

233. (b) Polysyllables.

The many nouns in -ag (gen. -ag) are inflected like bāNtrax
(see the paradigm above), but have never been recorded with
final -ə in the gen. sg. Among them are arbag 'the largest variety
of sea-gull', bá:nag 'sea-trout', ballag 'angleworm', du-ag 'kidney',
dulag 'leaf', kła: 'a kind of mussel', krú:bag 'crab', mitag 'mitten',
ř:Rdag 'thumb; big toe', przNag 'crumb of bread', bńag or
lńag 'duck', usbag (yai) 'breath (of wind)', ūńag 'window'.

Feminines in -ax, gen. sg. -ic(a), form their nominative plural
by the termination -an, usually with palatalization (-icən) but
also occasionally without palatalization (-axan): ba:hx (brie're)
ulax 'moon' ~ dat. sg. ńulx ~ gen. sg. ńulx, ńulax 'straw'
~ gen. sg. ńulx, ńulax ' (old) woman, wife' ~ dat. sg. ńulx and
ńulax ~ gen. sg. ńulx: ~ voc. sg. ńulx (a) ńulaxen, ńulx
ka:Rsidax 'smithy' ~ gen. sg. ka:Rsidic(a) ~ nom. pl. ka:Rsidan,
má:k: 'moor' ~ dat. sg. má:k: ~ gen. pl. má:k:x, se-ax 'vessel
(receptacle or ship)' ~ dat. sg. se-ic ~ gen. sg. se-ic: ~ nom. pl.
se-ic:n, trax: 'hay' ~ gen. sg. trax:ic.

kıax (old) woman, wife' has, besides the regular plural, a
more frequent plural form with syncope and svarabhakti: nom.-
dat. ka:R laxen, voc. (a) ńulaxen.

Other polysyllables: esgn 'eel' ~ dat. sg. esgn: ~ gen. sg.
esgn:n ~ nom. and gen. pl. esgn:n:an, kraṅa 'skin, hide' ~ gen.
sg. Lā:vhaj: ~ gen. sg. Lā:vhaj:n ~ nom. pl. Lā:vhajan, sNā:had and
sNā:had 'needle' ~ gen. sg. sNā:had: ~ nom. pl. sNā:hadan, fi-ə

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, de-palatalization or unmutated final before the
termination. The dative singular is like the nominative. The
most common plural allomorph is -ən 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 -a without final mutation. Masculines and feminines. būn m. 'bottom, base' ~ gen. sg. būn(a), fiy m. 'wood' ~ gen. sg. fiy(a), kur (kuð) m. 'to put, sow' ~ faL 'kura 'seed'; ġeð f. 'suet' ~ gen. sg. ġeð(a), klài f. 'wool' ~ gen. sg. klài(a) (also klài), sgàl f. 'school' ~ gen. sg. sgàla ~ pl. sgàloan, sgeð f. 'skerry' ~ gen. sg. sgeð(a).

With mutation of quantity: 33. t'oR f. 'tar' ~ gen. sg. t'oRa, 21—38. bēIN f. 'mountain, hill' ~ gen. sg. bēIN's ~ nom. pl. bīnNan.

With syncope and mutations of quantity: 37. bànNf f. 'wedding' ~ gen. sg. bànN(a), 40. mūNf f. 'mill' ~ gen. sg. mūN'a ~ nom. pl. mūNnan.


(c) With depalatalization plus -a in the genitive singular. Mostly feminines. Masculine are drēm 'back' ~ gen. sg. drēma ~ nom. pl. drēmaNnan (combined vocalic mutations 23 and 35), and—with irregular mutation—taj or ta 'house' ~ gen. sg. teh (rarely te-a) ~ nom. pl. tehNan. Feminines: 0. fjól 'flesh, meat' ~ gen. sg. fjól(a); 4. ful 'blood' ~ gen. sg. ful(a). Masculine in the nom., feminine in the gen. is muð 'sea' (especially used about the sea-loch) ~ gen. sg. muða. With syncope: ðiðN 'river' ~ gen. sg. ðiana ~ nom. pl. ðiðan (vocalic mutation 37; note that only the consonant is depalatalized, not the vowel); dutheic 'country, region, parish' ~ gen. sg. dutheic(a).

Type IV.

235. Feminines with a palatal final consonant in the nominative singular. In the genitive singular, the consonant is depalatalized and the termination -a added. The second vowel is syncope if the resulting cluster conforms with the general system of intervocalic clusters. The dative singular is like the nominative singular. The plural has the ending -iðan or -an, 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: juxa6 'key' ~ gen. sg. juxa6 pl. juxa6Nan, Nàhad 'grass-snake' ~ Nàrëx ~ NàrëxNa, òbàd 'work' ~ gen. sg. òbàd, feyN 'week' ~ feyNan ~ feyNNaN, töbad 'well' ~ töbad ~ töbadNan, wód 'hour, time' ~ wàrN ~ wàrNan (the plural wàrNan is used adverbially in the meaning 'at times, now and then, sometimes').

With irregular nominative singular: mòN'a 'peat' ~ dat. sg. mòN'a ~ gen. sg. mòN(a) (no plural).

Type IV probably originates in old guttural stems, although only Nàhad can be shown to have belonged to this class in O.I.

Type V.

236. Feminines with the termination -ay in the genitive singular. My material contains only three words of this type: a: 'kiln' ~ gen. sg. a:hay, k6iaa ~ k6ia-ay, and—with irregular mutation of quantity—kà: 'mists, fog, smoke' ~ kà:ay. This inflection must be connected with the historical stems in lenited d (O.I. cré 'clay' ~ gen. crið).

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 -an (-an): it'(a) f. 'feather' ~ it'ën, màd'an m. 'stick of wood' ~ màd'ën, ñòja 'nun' ~ ñòjaN, Nàbi m. 'neighbour' ~ Nàbi-an, and many others.

With plural in -içan: blòN a f. 'year' ~ blòNìçan, bòl(a) m.
'boat' ~ ba:tiçan; ja:La f. 'swan' ~ jaLiçan, kôi-ä 'heart' ~ kôi-icân, La-a or La-m. 'day' ~ La-icân, ã-ä or ã-ä m. 'grandchild' ~ ã-icân, tof(a) f. 'site of (ruined) house' ~ toiçan.

Plural in -æn: a:t'(a) m. 'place' ~ a:t'æxan, del'æ b. m. 'wooden partition in black house' ~ del:æxan, fä:N'æ m. 'ring' ~ fä:N'æxan, gujo 'swearing, swearword' ~ gujixan, taif(a) f. 'ghost' ~ toiæxan, t'id'a f. 'time; weather' ~ t'id:æxan.

Plural in -än: a:ic(a) f. 'night' ~ a:ic'änan, Läga 'ling' (a fish) ~ Läga'änan, mûga 'jug' ~ mûga'änan, pok(a) m. 'sack, bag' ~ pok'änan.

Plural in -än: ba:la m. 'village' ~ baLi'änan, buo:la f. 'enclosure' ~ buoLi'änan, kâLa f. ~ kâli'änan (vocalic mutation 42), Le:na 'shirt' ~ Le:N'änan.

Vacillation between two or more plural formations: kâla f. 'wheel' ~ kâliçan and kâliæan, pLa'd'æ f. 'blanket' ~ pLa'diçan and pLa'diæan, gûN'æ m. 'gun' ~ gûNïçan and gûNïæan, go-æ and go-æ 'blacksmith' ~ go-ic, go-ic'an, and goïna.

mâLa 'eyebrow' has the irregular plural mâLa'-än.

Many words without plural forms belong here. These words are consequently altogether indeclinable. Among them are ba':N'axa(a) 'potatoes', bja:La 'English language', bôN'æ 'milk', gôRâd'a f. 'famine', La:ût f. 'weakness' (Laq 'weak'), Lîi(a) m. 'porridge', mûâi 'Mary', Rôdî 'Roderick', fi:da m. 'silk', le-æ 'tea', tuñf(a) f. 'wit, brains', ãN'æ f. 'time, while', t'ânæ n. 'fire', uñf(a) '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 ã in the genitive singular, which would make it necessary to class them with Type III, a.

With plural in -än: Masculines in -o:õ, such as bôs'bôd 'barber' ~ pl. bôs'badon, bôs'bâd 'weaver', buj'ad 'butcher', bûs'ad

'fisherman', sdrô'fûd 'stranger', fo:Lin 'sailor', wôd'dôd 'clock', wôd'ôd 'wild man living in caves'. The rest are all, or nearly all, feminines: bô'dôd 'patch (on garment)' ~ pl. bô'dôdan, eglîf and egLiF 'church', ã-ãk 'horn', grô-ic 'business, affair, thing', kûf 'condition, state of things', kuñLi 'blood vessel' (pl. kuñLiän), Luî 'hymn' (pl. Luîhän), pündîf 'enclosed field', sba'd 'spade', sîBôd 'hen-roost' (pl. sîBôþän), sra:d 'street', sîl 'eye', troç 'dwarf'; basgad 'basket', bôna'd 'bonnet, minad 'minute'.

With plural in -än. Only feminines: akôd 'anchor; stone weight to keep the thatch in place' ~ gen. sg. with article na 'haku'd ~ pl. depalatalized akriçan; La'd 'mare ~ La:diçan.

Without recorded plural (only feminines): baf 'palm of the hand', d'ej 'ice', fënïN 'sea-weed', fënôN 'truth', juLa'd 'eagle', kef 'envelope', mîl 'honey', mô:îl 'forehead', pôf 'price', pôwûf (pair of) trousers', sdrô:N 'nose', t'rûad 'tether', urf 'age'.

(2) Nouns ending in a neutral consonant or cluster (labial, h, R-cluster, òg). preceded by a vowel that is unable or unlikely to receive palatalization: ba:Rd m. 'bard, poet' ~ pl. ba:Rð, bua:Rð f. 'loom' ~ pl. bua:Rðan, sdeh f. 'row (as of potatoes in the field)' ~ pl. sdehan, dah m. (?) 'dye, colour' ~ pl. dahän, ka:Rd m. 'artisan, (gipsy) tinker' ~ pl. ka:Rðan and ka:Rðän, ânô m. 'name' ~ pl. ânô'änänan. Without plural: bujxæg 'opinion', bu:Rn m. '(fresh) water', ku:La:m 'Calum, Malcolm', fïN'æxg 'snow'. Feminines in -æg, -øg, plural termination -en: Në-æg 'news, story' ~ pl. Në-ægen; similarly: ba:Rðæg 'poetry', bujxæg 'blessing', oî-æg 'lodgings, as for a night or two', kô-æg 'power', Nôbæxg 'neighbourliness', Rî-æg 'kingdom', sô:ðæg 'army', tæræxg 'revenge'.


(4) A few nouns ending in a non-palatal consonant which is not palatalized in the genitive singular: afaL f. 'donkey', d'æx f. 'drink', Lux f. 'mouse' ~ pl. LuxiN, Nô:ð m. 'nest' ~ pl. Nô:ðan, Rud m. 'thing' ~ pl. Ru:dan.
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:

- ahad m. 'father' ~ gen. sg. ahar ~ pl. arićan (rarely ahādān).
- bra:had and bra:har m. 'brother' ~ gen. sg. bra:har ~ pl. bra:han.
- mā:had and mā:har f. 'mother' ~ gen. sg. mā:har ~ voc. sg.

(b) ajdan.
- bra:had and bra:har m. 'brother' ~ gen. sg. bra:har ~ pl. bro:han.

(c) The genitive singular has the termination N' in ku: m. 'earth, land' ~ gen. sg. ku: ~ voc. sg. ku:n, and ku:L m. 'earth, land' ~ gen. sg. ku:laNf. ('Le na 'ku:laN' 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-on.
- bīy m. 'food' ~ gen. sg. bī-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. kro:han) is used instead.


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: bja:n from f. sg. bēN [III, a] 'hill, mountain' and kē:v from m. sg. kō: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 glēN' pl. of glē:N m. (III, b) 'valley'.

(b) The termination -an (-n after stressless -a) 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: fe: f. 'sinew, muscle' ~ fe:han, Lui f. 'hymn' ~ Lui:han. Other common changes of the stem are:

Palatalization: Lā:hvor f. 'axe' ~ Lā:hvor, uh m. 'egg' ~ uh:an (vocalic mutation 17), fu:kar 'sugar' ~ fu:ka:dan 'sweets'.

*N'N* is never found without a prefixed h. (A historical explanation of this surprising inflection is given by Borgstrom, 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 ('trac: ni-un 'three girls, three daughters'). Otherwise, the plural is replaced by the collective singular kLaN'uni f., (kLa:N f. 'children' plus gen. pl. ni-un).

sōjan f. 'knife' ~ gen. sg. sōjān and sōj-iN ~ pl. sōjānan.

Synopsis of Plural Allomorphs.

The Gaelic of Leurbost
Final -ax is regularly palatalized to -ic-, and final -ay in masculine nouns to -i: bàdNtrax f. 'widow' ~ bàdNtric, ga:Ray 'stone wall, fence' ~ ga:Ric.

Depalatalization is rare but is found in taj m. 'house' ~ tehan and khdn m. 'bone' ~ kràn, both with somewhat irregular mutations.

Simple mutations of quantity: 33. ga:R 'hare' ~ gaRan, 36. L5tiN 'launching-roller' ~ Làn.

Sycope is found in a number of instances, often combined with other mutations: bra:had m. 'brother' ~ bra:ðan (with metathesis); La-ð 'hoof' ~ La:ran, 40. màiN' f. 'mill' ~ máiN (with mutations of quantity); 3. dàsh m. 'door' ~ dàshàn, 5. Nà:vid 'enemy' ~ Nàid'an, 37. òjàl m. 'angel' ~ òlan, mut. 3 and lengthening Ra-ad m. 'road' ~ Ra:ðàn (with somewhat irregular palatalization); fiakiL 'tooth' ~ fiakLan (with depalatalization); kalax w. 'old woman, wife' ~ kalàxan, màlà 'eyebrow' ~ màlÀ-an (with svarabhakti).

(c) The termination -ican 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: òwàn' f. 'river' (Type III, c) ~ ânican, juxàd f. 'key' (Type IV) ~ juxrican.

(d) The plural termination -çan 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'an is limited to a few words, mostly of Type VI, a. Final unstressed -a 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:çan, gu: f. 'wind' ~ gu:çan, gé: 'wedge' ~ gé:çan, kàín m. 'sea, ocean' ~ kàîN'çan.

(f) The termination -AN, -NAN 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. ânim 'time, period'

~ ânNan (mutation 34), ânim m. 'name' ~ ânimmaNan, dràim m. 'back, ridge' ~ dràimmaNan (23–35), àjÇ(a) f. 'night' ~ àjÇaNan, Làya 'ling' ~ LàyaNan, Læbí f. 'bed' ~ LæpaNan, máyu 'jug' ~ máyuNan, pók(a) 'bag, sack' ~ pókàNan, RàmN 'room' ~ RàmàNan (36), wàd f. 'hour' ~ wàdàNan (and wàdàN, see § 235).

(g) Some plural allomorphs are found only in one or two words:

ba:Rd m. (Type VI, b 2) 'bard, poet' ~ ba:R, 36. L5tiN 'launching-roller' ~ LàN.

The Adjective

241. Adjectives are used

(a) As attributes to nouns, in which case they follow the noun directly: dàNàN 'mo:r 'a big man'. If two or more adjectives follow a noun, they are usually juxtaposed without a conjunction: dàNàN 'mo:r 'tapi 'a big strapping man'.

(b) As predicates to the substantive verb (ha 'NdtaN'a sa 'mo:r 'this man is big', to the copula (xa 'vo:r a 'jiaR u 'it isn't much you have asked for'), or to the verb fàs 'to grow, become'
MAGNE OFTEDAL

(‘ya:s a ‘dorlx 'it grew dark’). Several adjectives may be juxtaposed: ‘na ni ‘sááNdax, ‘yeg, ‘tapi ‘I was ambitious, young, and strong’.

(e) 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 -a. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M. sg</th>
<th>F. sg</th>
<th>PI.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>mo:r</td>
<td>vo:rL</td>
<td>mo:ra, vo:ra</td>
<td>vo:rL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>vo:rL</td>
<td>vo:rL</td>
<td>vo:ra</td>
<td>vo:rL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>vo:6L</td>
<td>mo:6a</td>
<td>vo:6a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>vo:6L</td>
<td>mo:6a</td>
<td>vo:6a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -a 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: ‘baLíc ‘vo:ra ‘big boys’ but ‘dá:N’a ‘mo:ra ‘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.


Adjectives ending in a vowel (dLu: ‘close, sji: ‘tired’) do not receive palatalization and are therefore uninflected in the genitive singular; the same goes for many adjectives ending in h (e. g. máh ‘good’), and those which end in a palatal in the nominative (kL:‘calm’, taf ‘wet, damp’). These adjectives do not usually receive a final -a 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 -a, and as most of them have palatal or vocalic finals (al as in d’esal ‘ready’, fe:mal or fe:mal ‘useful’; -iN’ as in LehiN’ ‘broad’, fLéviN’ ‘slippery’; -i as in abic ‘ripe’, fi:b ‘wild’; -a as in bu: ‘yellow’, bá:a ‘fine, pretty’: -i as in Lanbí ‘childish’, tapi ‘strong’; -a, -a as in gád:u(a) ‘nice, sympathetic’, sáirič:ί(a) ‘special, particular’), they cannot be palatalized. The very numerous adjectives in -arx, however, have genitives in -ič: (a) ‘Ná/N’a ‘ujar:idič ‘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 -a. Examples:
Adjectives ending in a palatal add -a, with mutation of quantity if the stem permits it: kruaj 'hard' ~ krudja, Lejq 'lazy' ~ Lejga, 39. t'¡IN' 'ill, sick' ~ t'¡IN'a.

At least some adjectives ending in a long vowel or diphthong add -j before vowel or pause, -jha or -ja before consonant: bLa: 'warm' ~ bLa:j(ha), tra: 'early' ~ traj(ha), Luaj 'quick' ~ Luaj(a).

Most polysyllables are not palatalized, whether palatalization is possible or not. Some of them receive a final -a: ad:Ra 'high' ~ ad:Ra, fa:R 'cold' ~ fa:Ra, giar 'sharp' ~ giar, far:R 'bitter' ~ far:Ra.

Comparatives may be followed by 

or conditional. (a)s is usually followed by radical initial, but it often lenites an initial f: s aff(a) from fath 'near', s ad:R from fadh 'long', s fersad(a) and s a:Ra from fersad(a) 'easy', but s faLaN'a from faLaN' 'healthy', s faRsiy and s aRsiy from faRsiy 'wide'. baL lenites most initial consonants but not dentals: ba 'dudla' ~ from dréx 'dark', ba 't'IN' ~ from t'¡IN' 'tight'. *ja:R 'better, best' has only been recorded in (a) jaf:R and (a) bijaR, 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 (a) s, (a) baL or (b) by na (na s, na baL), 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: (a) ursk(a) ba vau u a:Ra 'Les the biggest plant there was in the garden', (a) mba:la s faf:R 'the village (which is) next to ours'; ha na s a:Ra 'it is easier', na NduaN' els na ba tra: 'the other man was stronger'.

Adjectival Prepositions

The adjectives urs:R(a) 'old', m:R 'good', and dšna 'bad' each have a synonym which is used attributively. These attributes are not adjectives properly speaking because they are uninflexed 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 urs:R(a) corresponds preposition f:IN'z- before labials,

To māh corresponds prepositive d’e:L- (‘d’e:La slaughter’ ‘good-tasting, palatable’, an adjectival derivative from an unrecorded *d’e:La ‘good taste’).

To d̩nə̆ corresponds prepositive d̩xL- (‘d̩xvulə̆ ‘disagreeable taste’, ‘d̩xvə̆ ‘bad man’, ‘d̩xva:xan ‘bad habit’ from faʃan ‘fashion, habit’).

uːsi(ə) and d̩nə̆ 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 aL-, ahL- ‘next, second’ (‘Ndalvli5Na,’Ndah’v175Na, ‘NdaviaNa ‘next year’, ‘Ndah’ai(ə), ‘Ndahic ‘the next night’), aru:γ ‘second stacking of the peat’ cp. Ru-γ ‘first stacking’) and kar-, kar3-, koRL- ‘odd, occasional’ (aNa ‘Ndak3’a:t’a ‘in an odd place, here and there’, ikar’uad ‘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: (a) ‘NdâNə̆ ‘the man’; dūNə̆ 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: (a) ‘Ndaa: ‘p̩aNə̆ ‘the two men’, no ˈtri: ‘d̩iNə̆ ‘the three men’, (a) ‘Nko:γu ‘d̩uNə̆ ‘the fifth man’.

In the dual, the numeral du: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:

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a)NT</td>
<td>(a)La</td>
<td>nəh</td>
<td>(a)N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The article often requires special forms of preceding prepositions; e. g., the preposition le ‘with’ becomes lef before aL- (dat. sg., m. and f.), lef or le before nəh (dative plural): lef Na ‘NdâNə̆ ‘with the man’, lefna ‘d̩e:Nə̆ or lena ‘d̩e:Nə̆ ‘with the man’. 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 gona La or xonaLa from the preposition go ‘to’, γanLa from the preposition (a)LF, du:L- ‘to’ or the homonymous preposition meaning ‘from’), the n of the article is often heard as syllabicity of this n before a noun with dental initial: γan ‘NdâNə̆ [γaŋ ‘N’uNə̆] ‘to the man’ (or ‘from the man’). The syllabicity is sometimes absent, so that the n is lost even phonemically: γan ‘NdâNə̆. Even γa ‘NdâNə̆ may be heard. Before R
and L, a second n may be interpolated: \textit{xonon} 'Ro-id' 'to the road', but also \textit{xon} 'Ro-id' [\textit{xon} 'Ro-id'] or [\textit{xon} 'Ro-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 \textit{baLax} 'boys' is genitive plural because it may, in utterance-final position, be combined with the article \textit{naN}, which can be nothing but genitive plural: \textit{na 'mbaLax} 'of the boys'. If we find the combination \textit{na mbaLk} in the same environment (utterance-final position) and with the same meaning, we conclude that the genitive plural of \textit{baLax} '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 (\textit{baLax}/\textit{baLix}). This is not merely a question of allomorphs, because the difference is potentially distinctive (thus \textit{baLax}, when it has a plural meaning, can only be genitive, while \textit{baLix} 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 \textit{baLax} and \textit{baLix} in utterance-final position after article, or conditioned by environment, as when the palatalized form \textit{baLix} is preferred before an attributive adjective: \textit{na 'mbaLix} 'work' of the big boys', not \textit{*na 'mbaLax} 'work'.

(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: \textit{taj na 'bāNtrīx} 'the widow's house'. Before an attributive adjective, however (and, I believe, also before demonstratives like \textit{sa 'this} and \textit{fin 'that}'), both genitive and nominative are found, apparently without any difference in meaning: \textit{taj na 'bāNtrīx} 'big' or \textit{taj na 'bāNtrax} 'egg' 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:

\begin{itemize}
\item[(1)] A nominal attribute to a preceding ordinary noun always has the genitive when preceded by the article or a possessive pronoun: \textit{gob na 'sφnə 'the point of the knife', 'kraLLa da 'Lāvo 'the skin of your hand'. If no article or possessive pronoun is present, nominative is occasionally heard instead of genitive: \textit{moran 'obad 'much (of) work' (gen. \textit{obRax}), \textit{kLa 'vīLwN} 'millstone' (gen. \textit{mīLw}). Genitive is, however, much more frequent: \textit{kLa 'yīLīsas 'grindstone', \textit{pīs 'tāLōwN} 'a piece of land', \textit{began 'xwam 'a few trees'.}
\item[(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: \textit{Luay a 'xLa: 'to full the cloth', \textit{RāN} na 'Nkutax 'to divide the sheep', \textit{kāmal na blN 'uča 'to celebrate New Year', \textit{taxif a 'cīN} 'scratching his head'. The nominative is quite rare
\end{itemize}
1. Non-dental stops.

Kàdh m. I 'head'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom</td>
<td>'N'Kàdh</td>
<td>na Kàdh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat</td>
<td>Kàdh</td>
<td>na Kàdh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen</td>
<td>Kàdh</td>
<td>na 'Kàdh, (? na 'Kàdh'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mì. II 'stone'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom</td>
<td>Mì</td>
<td>na Mì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat</td>
<td>Na</td>
<td>na Mì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen</td>
<td>Na</td>
<td>na 'Mì</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Dental and prepalatal stops, nasals and liquids.

Tòadh m. III 'house'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom</td>
<td>'N'tòadh</td>
<td>na 'tòadh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat</td>
<td>'tòadh</td>
<td>na 'tòadh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen</td>
<td>'N'tèdh, ('N'tèdh</td>
<td>na 'N'tèdh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tòbàd f. IV 'well, spring'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom</td>
<td>'N'tòbàd</td>
<td>na 'tòbàd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat</td>
<td>'N'tòbàd</td>
<td>na 'tòbàd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen</td>
<td>na 'tòbàr</td>
<td>na 'N'tòbàr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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: asa 'Ntaj 'vo:r 'in the big house', na: 'vra:g 'in his boot'. Otherwise, it is replaced by the nominative: asa 'Ntaj 'morc 'in a big house'. In fixed expressions, there are certain exceptions to this rule, e.g. dàsL ed 'axf 'to be instituted, brought about' (with dative of kàs 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: (a) 'axàm 'of the blue sea', (a) 'fàka '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 Borgstrom DOH pp. 94—95; this will serve to make clear the similarities and differences between Bernera and Leurbost.
### The Gaelic of Leurbost

#### Sibilants and clusters with initial sibilant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sàilear</td>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>(a) 'sàilear</td>
<td>na 'sàiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>(a) 'Ntàilear</td>
<td>na 'sàiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>(a) 'Ntàilear</td>
<td>na 'sàiri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 5. If followed by vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fuilag</td>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>(a) 'fuir</td>
<td>na 'fùid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>(a) 'N'd'òr</td>
<td>na 'fùid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>(a) 'N'd'òr</td>
<td>na 'fùid</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 6. Vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sàilear</td>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>(a) 'sàilear</td>
<td>na 'sàiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>(a) 'Ntàilear</td>
<td>na 'sàiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>(a) 'Ntàilear</td>
<td>na 'sàiri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Notes
- **dùN'ò m. VI 'man, husband'**
- **Nà:bi m. VI 'neighbour'**
- **La-a, La-a m. VI 'day'**
- **màs m. VI 'month'**
- **màchad f. irreg. 'mother'**
- **sàilear m. I 'summer'**
- **sàilear m. I 'summer'**
- **sàilear m. I 'summer'**
The inflection of sequences of article plus noun plus attributive adjective is shown in the paradigms of (a) 'mbaLax 'mo:r m. 'the big boy' and (a) 'va:hax 'veg f. 'the small byre':

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Nom} & (a) 'mbaLax 'mo:r, \\
\text{Dat} & (a) 'vaLax 'vo:r, \\
\text{Gen} & (a) 'vaLiċ 'vo:d \\
\text{Nom} & (a) 'va:hax 'veg, \\
\text{Dat} & (a) 'ba:hićan 'beqa, \\
\text{Gen} & (a) 'ba:hićan 'beqa
\end{array}
\]

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 ayar 'hu:Rd 'e: '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 masculine singular which is unstressed when it anticipates another pronoun or a noun (f.e 'afN' 'it is he', f.e 'N't-un ad '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.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Stressless} & \text{Stressed} & \text{Emphatic} \\
1. Sg. & mi, mə & mǐ, mɪ & mifə \\
2. Sg. & u, du & du: & usə, dussə \\
3. Sg. M. & a; e, e (i) & e, e: (i) & afN' \\
\text{F.} & i & i: & ifə \\
1. Pl. & fiN' & fiN'ə \\
2. Pl. & fu & fu:fo & \\
3. Pl. & ad & i-ad, e-ad & a:son
\end{array}
\]

In the second person singular, du and duse are used after certain verbal forms: regular independent future (termination -i, -e), relative future (-as), conditional (-ay, -a), 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, e, 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 this pronoun when stressless is an anticipatory one, and it anticipates nouns and pronouns of all numbers and both genders (f.e 'N't-un 'it is the girl', f.e 'a:sonə rəN' '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.

14 - Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogdvidenskap, suppl. bind IV.
('xdek a NkLo 'more a '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 'fluor or ha i 'fluor '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 e or e and the emphatic pronouns for these persons: f e 'fIN'ο na 'sdrífiadon 'we are the strangers', literally 'it is we the strangers'. Similarly very often: f e 'afiN'ο 'it is he', f e 'if(a) 'it is she', f e 'a:sa: 'it is they' (but always s 'mif: or s 'mif: 'it is I', s 'du: or s 'du: 'it is you').

Among the emphatic pronouns, fIN'ο and fufos have stable -a; if(a) has ordinary caducous -a, while mifos and usos (duos) may drop the -a, but only on rare occasions and only before vowels and pause.

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 rǎum (preposition ð,i), 'between them' is ataRò (preposition adb). 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.
and all persons of the plural (which means, of course, that it has "absorbed" the caducous initial ə of these pronouns).

Paradigm of na ma (stressed forms):

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg.</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Paradigm with the preposition ag (cp. § 270, 1).

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<th>a</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg.</td>
<td>‘ya</td>
<td>‘ya</td>
<td>‘ya</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>‘ya</td>
<td>‘ya</td>
<td>‘ya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

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<tr>
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<th>b</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg.</td>
<td>s(ə)</td>
<td>N's</td>
<td>fə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>s(ə)</td>
<td>fə</td>
<td>sə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The special allomorphs found after personal pronouns have already been mentioned (§ 253) and will be disregarded here.

(a) After prepositional pronouns: hiɡəsən 'to him' cp. hiɡə '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 (agəf(ə) from agə(ə) 'out of her', ek(ə) from ek(ə) 'at her', hiɡ(ə) from hiɡ(ə) 'to her'); final f is dropped before s (diṣən from diɡə 'to him', leson from lefə 'with him'); ə is inserted between d and s in eðəsən from eðə 'on him' and regularly between m and s in the first person singular (huɡəsən from huɡəm 'to me', rə-əməsən from rə-am 'before me', âNəməs or âNəməsən from âNəmə 'in me', etc.); in the first person plural, the final N' of the prepositional pronoun coalesces with the initial N' of the particle (liNə from liN' 'with us', həgiN'ə from həgiN to 'us', etc.); ə is dropped before f in laif(ə) from laif with 'you'.

(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 (ma 'b-ar sa '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) 'ya ma 'xə-ad s(ə) ' (he was) looking at me', etc.:
ended in lenited b (cp. Borgström’s yai ‘pen ‘to themselves’ DOH p. 100), but I have no examples of this.

hen is used
(a) After stressless personal pronouns: mi ‘hên ‘(I) myself’, a ‘hen, i ‘hen, fiN ‘hên, fu ‘pen, ad ‘hen. It is sometimes reinforced by an additional emphatic pronoun which is placed in front: ‘milå mi ‘hên ‘I myself’.
(b) After prepositional pronouns: yô ‘hên ‘to myself’. With the preposition a‘at’: agän ‘hên, ajad he:n, a‘gä ‘hên, ekä ‘hên, agiN ‘hên, agu ‘pen, aka ‘hen.
(c) After nouns preceded by possessive pronouns: (a)INtshan ‘hên ‘their own houses’. I have no certain examples of the use of the forms hên or pe:n in this function.

Demonstrative Pronouns and Adverbs.
260. Lb. has the following set of demonstratives:

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<th>a</th>
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<th>c</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fo</td>
<td>fo, sa, s ‘this’</td>
<td>aNa ‘fo, (a) ‘fo, aNa ‘hjo ‘here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fin ‘that’</td>
<td>fin (san) ‘that’</td>
<td>aNa ‘fin, (a) ‘fin, aNa ‘hên ‘there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fid ‘that’</td>
<td>ad, ad, ad ‘that’</td>
<td>aNa ‘hid ‘there’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The words in column a are stressed pronouns with a distribution similar to that of nouns: (N’e) ‘fo ‘N’t’ëx ajad ‘is this your horse?’, ‘de: ha fiN ‘what is that?’, wa ‘fin e ‘vëiNNa , yañ na ‘fï:N’aßen ‘dwar ‘that was the year when (wedding) rings became expensive’.

Column b contains stressless enclitic particles used after nouns preceded by the article: (a) ‘NdëNNa fo, (a) ‘NdëNNa sa (rarely (a) ‘NdëNNa s) ‘this man’, (a) ‘mbalë fin ‘that village’, na ‘dë:N’ ad ‘those people’. I write these particles as separate words because of the existence of typical juncture phenomena between noun and particle such as in (a) ‘L-së r sa (not (a) ‘L-së:R,sa) ‘this book’. The allomorph san is used for fin in a few fixed expressions where fin is contracted with an r-sound into Rs [s]:

Further Pronominal Words.
262. Several of the words in the following list are nouns or adjectives but are semantically related to the pronouns: 

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<th>c</th>
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| txR, mo: ran ‘much, many’, gr5N, gr5N nan m. ‘a good deal, several’ | la ‘too much, too many’, urad ‘so much, so many, as much, as many’, ga ‘L:or ‘enough’, ka:R, tuLay, ‘baRax ‘more’, beg ‘little’, began ‘a little’, kaL, fiNk (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 db’s, (a)L ‘of, from: ‘mo: ran ‘blëNnan ‘many years’, txR da ‘jegsan ‘fru: ‘many sprigs of heather’. Most of them can also be used without a noun: R4 ‘txR eðò ‘es ‘were there many (people) on the bus?’, ‘rëNN ‘a ‘kus ‘he did too much’. txR, mo: ran, kuS, urad, tuLay, (a) ‘baRaxg, began, are also used as adverbs ‘txR, na ‘ja:R ‘much better’, fe:mi a ‘vi nax el a ya ‘mblëRi ‘tuLay ‘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

(2) ‘NdëR, san ‘at that time, then’ (an uair sin), (a) ‘feR, san ‘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 reposition: ‘hà:na mi aNa ‘hjo fo çëN ‘fëa ‘mësan ‘I came here six months ago’, na ‘du:way asna ‘hagLifan aNa fo ‘there was a revival in the churches here’.

261. The forms based on fin 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 fo, 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 fin may be used regardless of the position of the listener.
masculine noun in the singular), t'ë, unstressed t'ë f. 'one, any' (replaces a feminine noun in the singular), fayIN' f. 'some, somebody, anybody' (replaces plural nouns regardless of gender), t'ë 'one, any, some' (replaces nouns regardless of gender and number). (a) fer, (a) N'të: 'the one', (a) 'N'd'ayIN' 'the ones'. daaN'ë m. 'man; somebody, anybody', Rudijëin 'something, anything'; kax 'the others'. Some examples: ha mi eRs,son a yOL xONa 'NdeNtisd. mbel 'fer (or 'gin) aNa 'hja? 'I want to go to the dentist. Is there one here?' xa N'del 'fer (or 'gin) a 'fa 'There is none here'. ha 'da: 'sdamp 	 'jih aram. mbel 'ffin (or fayIN') 'ajads? 'I need two stamps. Have you got any?' mbelIN'a m. 'man; somebody, anybody', RudijIN' 'something, anything' ; kax 'the others'. Some examples:

ha mi ek,,san
a yaL xana 'NdeNtisd. mbel 'fer (or 'gin) aNa 'hja?
'want to go to the dentist. Is there one here?'
xa N'del 'fer (or 'gin) a 'fa
'There is none here'.

Further Adverbial Words.

263. Adverbs of location and direction:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Repose</th>
<th>Movement away from speaker</th>
<th>Movement towards speaker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'up'</td>
<td>hiuæ</td>
<td>stæs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'down'</td>
<td>hiæs</td>
<td>fîæs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The adverbs translated by 'over here' and 'over there' are more clearly deictic in meaning than aNø 'hjo, aNø 'hîn, etc., and they often apply to greater distances. They are often used to reinforce the latter adverbs, e. g. ha mi na ma 'hesu 'voa a 'fo 'I am standing over here', hi'gy a 'Nûls aNò 'hjo 'let her come over here'. But they are also used on their own, as in xa j 'wêN a 'Nûls yana 'N'táa 'his wife went over to the fire', (a) 'N'd'æraN 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; hi'gy a 'Nûås 'hugem means both 'come up to me' and 'come down to me'.

264. The prepositional pronoun aNø, unstressed aNø 'in it' is very frequently translatable by 'there' (movement and repose). It usually refers to a place mentioned earlier, e. g. na a 'fiNIN' dîs 'wo: xud ò 'N'da:Rdo 'NîLax a 'Ntëh ... ax xa 'd'e-ay a 'wo: 'aNø '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: eò 'af 'back', e6 'a-aRd 'forwards', haNIN' 'across', t'ayIN' 'home' (cp. aNø 'Ntaj 'at home'), t'iN'iG, t'iN'iN 'around'.

266. Some adverbs of time: (a) diav, (a) xai to the future, and id'ir to the present. id'ir must very often be translated by 'at all'. (a) 'N'd'u(h) 'to-day', (a) 'N'd'e: 'yesterday', (a) 'N'd'acc 'to-morrow', 'LàNø 'NîLax 'on the morrow, the next day', 'e: 'd'e: 'the day before yesterday', 'N'd'erhad 'the day after to-morrow'. (a) miNIN' 'this year', (a) 'Nduri 'last year', (a) 'Ndah'vlaNø, (a) 'NdaflaNø 'next year'. (a) 'N'x9 'to-night', (a) 'Ri6 'last night'; tra:, mox 'early', ak'înax 'late'; (a) 'nîf, (a) 'nîf 'now', (a) 'de:fd(a) 'now', ma 'rha: 'already', ha-asd 'still, yet; again', (a) 'di-iff 'again', (a) 'Ndra:sd(a) 'just
now', (a) 'yajhar, ass 'sbot, a 'sbot 'at once, immediately', (a) 'Nkōni 'always', žezd 'past, away' is both temporal and local.

267. Adverbs expressing general relations are tɔ:R, mɔrɔn 'much', gle:l 'very' (only before adjectives), tuLɔγ 'more, any more', began 'a little', muRısò 'like this', muRısun 'like that, thus', d'idæx 'just, directly', caRɔd 'just, exactly', kuRɔxy '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: 'Le- mï:tis 'māx as 'fɔR:x:læwov 'half a mile out of Stornoway', 'pœdïg a 'fæxɔN' 'he stayed for a week'. The noun wɔd f. 'time, hour' has a special plural wɔdNan which is used only adverbially in the meaning 'at times, sometimes' (the ordinary plural is wɔduñ). Adjectives in the positive and comparative/superlative: xa nɔ 'Rudan fìn a 'mɔx a 'fæsan gle: 'vɔœr s 'nɪf 'those things have gone very much out of fashion now', 'ðæwæxæx 'dɔvæ 'terribly expensive', xa 'd'æx a nɔ b 'uɔdæ '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 xa 'so, as', gle:l 'very'. A few adjectives are preceded by the particle gaₜ both in adverbial and predicative use: ðænægi mi 'dɔl-æL ga 'māx 'I know Donald well', 'ðæNɔn viæ ga 'mā jî 'somebody who would be good to her', mbeł fu ga 'māx 'are you well?' ga 'ha:Rad 'particularly', cp. a:Rad 'a certain, particular'. ga 'Læx 'enough' and ga 'Leð 'aL, altogether' are never used without this particle. Most adjectives do not take the particle gaₜ 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 aNɔNR 'in' plus the pronoun žN 'we, us', but by the word aNɔNë which contains two bound morphemes. The compound prepositions, all of which govern the genitive when combined with nouns (eR₂₅₉N æ 'ææt 'for [the sake of] the cat'), are combined with possessive pronouns when a personal element is required (eN ma 'høn 'for me, for my sake', eN æ 'mæn '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 Borgström's):

1. aq 'at, with, near', especially frequent in expressions translating the verb 'to have', which lacks an equivalent in Gaelic: ha 'bo: aq 'NdæaN's 'the man has a cow'. It further denotes immediate proximity: aq 'Ntsj 'at home', aqNsa 'tæsan 'near the houses'. With article aqN₃₇₉, plural aqN₃₇₉.

2. ga 'to, until' governs the genitive, except for proper names which have at least potentially the nominative case after this preposition: ha mi tɔRd æ 'vɔ:næ sæ 'ga 'krazbødz 'I am taking this peat to Crossbost' (gen. xæzbød/æd'). ga usually indicates a movement in space or time; in many cases, it is difficult to distinguish its meaning from that of dæLₑF, æLₑF (No. 12), compare ha mi dæL 'æxæs 'Læx 'I am going to the loch' with ha mi dæL 'γæñs 'valæ 'I am going to (the) town'. I believe, however, that ga has the more concrete meaning of the two.
With article ganaLa (m.), ganaLa (f. and pl.): some speakers use xanaLa and xanaLa.

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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>hugam</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>hugad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. M.</td>
<td>higo</td>
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<td>F.</td>
<td>hik(a)</td>
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3. as (before vowels and sometimes before consonants), a (only before consonants) 'from, out of': ha mi t'in a lo 'xaLa 'I am coming from Calum's house', 'ko: as a 'ha: u 'where are you from?' With article asaLa, plural asnaLa.

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<td>asam</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>asad</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. M.</td>
<td>as</td>
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<td>F.</td>
<td>asd(a)</td>
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4. aNvN, (a)N 'in': aNv 'Leurbost' 'in Leurbost, at Leurbost', aNv 'mbrich 'in wheelbarrows', aNv 'N'kannN (or (a) 'N'kannN) 'da: 'hjexpN' '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 asaLa, plural asnaLa. These forms are used both with and without stress; the forms aNsaLN, ãinNaN, etc. which are sometimes heard, are no doubt due to the wish to be "correct", cp. the written forms anns an, anns na.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>ãNsm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>ãNd [ČNñt, ČNnt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. M.</td>
<td>ãN, unstr. aN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>ãIN'da, unstr. iN'də</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The a of the third person singular feminine is rarely dropped with this preposition.

5. maLa 'about': mana 'raf'daLa 'about the castle, around the castle', ma 'dàf 'about your neck', ha g'de 'flur to na' Ro i 'umar fćaN 'traf 'the suit is cold because you haven't had it on for a while', literally '... because it hasn't been about you ...'

With article manaLa, plural manaLa.

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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>ã-sm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>ã-ad (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. M.</td>
<td>ã-fa</td>
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<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>ã-fa</td>
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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'intrqtLa eò 'around, about' or eò 'on' when questioned for the lacking forms.

6. raLa 'before, in front of, ahead of': gas a 'fàar a gan 'vála 'ran 'vàla 'xaj 'xaj 'in order to get to the village before the lump of cheese'.

With article ranLa, plural ranLa.

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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>rã-sm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>rã-ad (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. M.</td>
<td>rã-fa</td>
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<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>rã-fa</td>
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7. traLa 'through': xaj a 'traLa 'paðiñ 'he went through the fields'.

With article traLa, plural traLa.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>trã-sm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>trã-ad (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. M.</td>
<td>trã-fa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>trã-fa</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
8. fo\(b\), fo\(l\) 'under, below': ha 'sg\(a\) f\(a\)La\(c\) 'there is a cloud under (below) the moon'.

With article f\(a\)n\(a\)\(b\), plural f\(a\)n\(a\)\(b\). 

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fo(a)m</td>
<td>fo(a)IN'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fo(a)d</td>
<td>fo(a)v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fo(a)</td>
<td>fo(a)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

9. fo\(b\), fo\(l\), vo\(b\), vo\(l\) 'from, away from': hug mi 'foja 'Ndad 'I took the hat away from him', vo 'La-a go 'La-a 'from day to day'. This preposition is the antonym of go (No. 2) and is thus more concretely directional than daLF, (a)LF 'of, from' (No. 13).

With article f\(a\)n\(a\)\(b\), vo\(n\)a\(b\), plural f\(a\)n\(a\)\(b\), vo\(n\)a\(b\). 

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<th>Sg.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f(a)IN'</td>
<td>vo(n)IN'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fo(a)</td>
<td>fo(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fo(a)p((a))</td>
<td>fo(a)p((a))</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. le 'with': 'kai: el u 'doL lefs 'Nd''aLax fin 'where are you going with that load?', ha 'sq\(a\)n and 'b\(a\)m\(a\) 'that knife is mine', literally '... is with me'.

* With article lefs\(a\), plural lefn\(a\) and len\(a\).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Is(a)m, unstr. lam</td>
<td>b(a)IN'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>let</td>
<td>b(a), unstr. lav</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lef</td>
<td>lb-(a), lb-(a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. di 'to', used after verbs like bri-in' 'to talk', gra-a 'to say', e\(m\)ax 'to shout' (but not after i\(j\)a, i\(j\)\(a\) 'to tell', where No. 12 is used). It is further used after adjectives preceded by x\(a\) 'so, as', e.g. x\(a\) 'm\(a\) di 'f\(a\)n' 'as good as that', and after certain other adjectives, e.g. ko\(a\)k\(a\) di 'similar to', ko\(a\)k\(a\) di 'guilty of'.

With article d\(i\)fn\(a\), plural d\(i\)fn\(a\) (and d\(i\)n\(a\)).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>r(a)m, unstr. ran,</td>
<td>r(a)IN', unstr. ri(a)N', ru(a)N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r(a)</td>
<td>ru(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d)i, (d)i-</td>
<td>ru-a, ru-u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12. do\(b\), (a)\(b\) 'to, for': ha mi doL a 'f\(a\)x:R\(a\)naw a 'm\(a\)r\(a\)x 'I am going to Stornoway to-morrow', fe\(d\) 'm\(a\)f\(a\) yut 'f\(a\):N\(a\) \(m\) fe\(d\) u 'y\(a\) da: 'sq\(a\)\(a\) yana 'N\(a\)d\(a\)' 'I'll give you a ring if you will give me two sheaves for the horse' (literally 'I shall give 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 'm\(a\)f\(a\) doL a 'hi\(a\)x(\(a\)) 'p\(a\)zi 'I am going to return home', 'Nd\(a\):l\(a\) 'ya: 'b\(a\)\(a\)\(a\) h\(a\)R\(a\) f\(a\)\(a\)\(a\) x\(a\)\(a\) x\(a\)\(a\) '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 yana\(a\), plural yana\(a\). 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>y(a)h</td>
<td>y(a)IN'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y(a)</td>
<td>y(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y(a)</td>
<td>y(a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Before the emphatic particle, the first person singular lengthens its vowel: y\(a\)\(\(a\)\)x(\(a\)).

13. do\(b\), (a)\(b\) 'of, from': 'f\(a\)\(a\)N' yana 'h\(a\)ura\(a\)' 'some of
the songs’, ‘pìc di ‘hàLu ‘màh ‘a piece of good land’ ‘yàiniò ad ‘fàh ‘ka: Rò u ‘dàL ‘they asked him where he was going’, literally ‘asked from him . . .’. The form with initial d is not very frequent.

With article γaṇɔLa, plural γaṇɔ²:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>jiäm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>jiät</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. M.</td>
<td>je(h), je(h)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>jì(h)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the first person plural, I have written jiän‘ once, but I am not confident that it is correct. jiän in the second person plural is also badly attested.

14. ed ‘on’: ed ‘xovRd ‘on the table’, ха ‘N’tësax aram ‘I have a fever’ (literally ‘the fever is on me’), ва ‘Nkat a ‘fàLàò ed lena ‘hifanan ‘the cat was taking the chickens away from him’ (literally ‘the cat was going away on him with the chickens’).

With article edɔLa, plural edɔn²:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>aràn, unstr. aram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>ɔRsd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. M.</td>
<td>ed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>ɔR(ɔ)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a number of constructions, most of them fossilized expressions, we meet with a leniting edL which may usually be translated ‘after’: ‘da: ed ‘igɔd ‘twenty-two’ (‘two after twenty’), ed ‘xovL ‘lost’ (‘after loss’). This is a different preposition with a very limited distribution; historically, it represents an older iar ‘after’, while ed corresponds to O.I. for ‘on’.

271. The preposition adɔr ‘between’ has prepositional pronouns only for the plural: adɔrNiN ‘between us’, ɔtra ‘between you’, ɔtra(ɔ) ‘between them’. In the singular, and sometimes also in the plural, the preposition may govern personal pronouns:

adɔr ‘mìfɔ s du ‘he:n ‘between me and you(yself)’, adɔr ɔN’ ‘tìn ‘between ourselves’.

ganL ‘without’ (sometimes non-leniting before dentals: gan ‘dàNɔ ‘without a husband; without anybody’, in one instance even nasalizing: ga ‘N’tɔgy ‘without doubt, doubtlessly’) has no prepositional pronouns. In certain constructions, it is followed by a personal pronoun: xaNiN mi ‘drɔx’:Ya ,tìNiN ed ‘Ròd, ya:Ya a ‘gìaRi aram e ‘xɔla ‘sagLog, ya:Ya gan ‘a ‘fàdxgiN’ ga ‘màh ‘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 ɔ:nif, is used to express ‘without’ when the complement is pronominal: as ‘mbì:nif ‘without me’, etc. xa N’d’el e ‘nìj s xa N’d’el e ‘sda: s xa N’d’el e ‘Nlaj as ɔ:nif ‘it is not outside, it is not inside, and (yet) the house is not without it’ (a riddle; the answer is ‘xɔd ‘xɔLa, the filling of earth between the inner and outer dry-masonry walls of the old “black houses”).

Examples of ganL with nouns: gan ‘prɔgan s gan ‘sdbiN’ ‘Nun ‘without boots or stockings’, xaNda ‘yìdàch ‘dàNà’xay na b ‘adɔ gan ‘aLà ‘Duncan didn’t hesitate to go any longer’ (‘. . . didn’t wait any longer without going’).

adɔr and gan 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 (a)c is historically identical with No. 1 ad 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.

ved, fed, fer ‘from, off’ governs the genitive: fedɔ 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 'vi-an ‘N’taròmàN* ‘about the middle of the sermon’, *di ‘tawà ‘Ro-íd* ‘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-i-i*, *a ‘d-e-i*, *a ‘N’d-e-i*) ‘after’, *as ‘5:nif* ‘without’ (recorded only with possessive pronouns), *vo ‘còN*, *fò ‘còN* (unstressed *fò ‘còN*, *vo ‘còN*) ‘since, ago’, *ma ‘fe-iN* ‘about, concerning’, *eò ‘son*, *dò ‘son* ‘for (the sake of)’, *eò ‘biaLu* ‘in front of’, *eò ‘fay ‘throughout’. These prepositions cannot govern personal pronouns, but possessive pronouns may be inserted before the nominal part of the preposition: as *ma ‘fe-i*, as *ma ‘fa-i* (rarely *ma ‘fa-i* ‘after me’, *ma ‘fe-iN* ‘about me’, *eò ‘hàn ‘for me*.

273. Paradigm of *as ‘mbò:nif* ‘without me’ etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td><em>as ‘mbò:nif</em></td>
<td><em>as ‘hò:nif</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td><em>as ‘dò:nif</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. M.</td>
<td><em>as ‘ò:nif</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td><em>as ‘hò:nif</em></td>
<td><em>as ‘N’dò:nif</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For emphasis on the pronominal element, the emphasizing particles (§ 258) may be added. Paradigm of *ma ma ‘fe-iN* sa ‘about me’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td><em>ma ma ‘fe-iN</em> s(ạ)</td>
<td><em>ma: r ‘d-e-iN</em> N’ạ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td><em>ma de ‘fe-iN</em> s(ạ)</td>
<td><em>ma: r ‘d-e-iN</em> fa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. M.</td>
<td><em>ma ‘fe-iN</em> sən</td>
<td><em>ma ‘N’d-e-iN</em> sən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td><em>ma ‘d-e-iN</em> f(ạ)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples with nouns: *ma ‘fe-iN* ‘bufN’axg ‘concerning withcraft’, *eò ‘biaLu ‘Nteh* ‘in front of the house’, *eò ‘fay ‘N’d’elaN* ‘throughout the island’. The governed noun usually has the nominative case if the article is absent (cp. § 250, c): *eò ‘son ‘bLa-as ‘yana ‘Nlaj* ‘for the heating of the house’ (‘for the sake of warmth to the house’).

274. Simple prepositions, especially *eò ‘on*’, are often preceded by adverbs which modify their meanings, e.g. *tarsìN* eò ‘across’, *t’imì ‘càL* eò ‘around’ (also *t’imì ‘càL* with genitive), *a ‘N’dàN* eò *lxc* ‘across the loch, over to the other side of the loch’, *hìaL* a ‘màx eò *NdàN* ‘he looked out of the window’, *xaj a ’slo sà ‘Nlaj* ‘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:

*wan*, *tw*, *bri*..., *for*, *faw* (*fiaW*), *siks*, *sevən*, *e:lt* [e:lt], *nàin*, *lèn*, *i’levan*, *twel(l)*, *dàRtì’inn* [’dahnt’i’inn], *fòRtì’inn*, *twénti* ‘twenty’, *dàRtì* ‘thirty’, *nàin’inn*, *dàRtì’e:lt* ‘1938’. Monoglot Gaelic speakers and some older bilinguals replace *t* by *l*.

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 "s'gə-iN", but never "siks s'gə-iN".

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 figad "twenty", kiad "hundred", etc. to form compound numerals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 5nan</td>
<td>3; 5nɔ-L, 3n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 (a) 'ga:</td>
<td>da:-L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 (a) 'tri:</td>
<td>kehad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 etc.</td>
<td>ko:ɡ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>fia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>fexɡ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 oxɡ, uxɡ</td>
<td>oxɡ, uxɡ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Nɔɡy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>d'ɛɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 'hɔ(N')</td>
<td>'d'ing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 'ga: 'jiɣy</td>
<td>'da:-L . . . 'jiɣ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 'tri: 'd'ing</td>
<td>'kehad . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 'Kehad,'d'ing</td>
<td>'kehad . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 'ko: 'd'ing</td>
<td>'ko:ɡ . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 'fia 'd'ing</td>
<td>'fia . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 'fexɡ 'd'ing</td>
<td>'fexɡ . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 'oxɡ 'd'ing</td>
<td>'oxɡ . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 'Nɔni 'd'ing</td>
<td>'Nɔgiy . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 fićad</td>
<td>fićad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 5nan ed 'iċad</td>
<td>. . ed 'iċad</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

278. The numerals with initial consonant in column A are preceded by a after consonants: 'ga: s a 'tri: s a 'Kehad da 'ga:5an 'kɔdɪ 'ce:lo 'two and three and four peats together' (but not in counting, where each numeral has a final or suspensive contour: 5nan, ya:; tri:, kehad and so on).

The forms for 'one': 3; is used especially before dentals, 5nɔ-L before non-dental consonants, but there is some vacillation: 3; 'dɔnN:ə 'one man', 5nɔ 'ɔw: and 5; 'kw: 'one dog'. 5n is used before vowels: 5n 'iwa: 'one, (at) one time'.

The words for 'one', 'twenty', 'forty', etc., 'hundred' and 'thousand' govern nouns in the nominative singular: 5nɔ 'xurra 'one sheep', fićad 'kur:ra 'twenty sheep', tri 'fićad 'kur:ra '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.

trí, kehad, and ko:ɡ may lenite a following k or k but apparently no other initials: 'trí: 'are 'three dogs', ko:ɡ 'ciad 'five hundred'.

On the list above, the dots mark the place of the noun with
compound numerals: 'ko:4 'xtu:dig jiag 'fifteen sheep', 'kur: eò 'icad 'twenty-one sheep', 'da: 'icad 'kur: era 'forty sheep'. Radical or lenited initial in d'iag -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 5nan eò 'icad a 'xtu:dig (alternative: 'kur: eò 'icad) 'twenty-one sheep'.

Personal Numerals.

279. There is a special set of numerals from two to ten denoting persons. These are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Numeral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>d'i-if</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>iu:ð</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kerad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ko:4ar, ko:4ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>fi:nar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>fexgar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>oxgar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Nñynar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>d'e:gnar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

280. The personal numerals may be used alone, meaning 'so and so many people' (bi 'sgibeg a doL e 'mãx, 'd'i-if ma 'Nd'icad a [peat-cutting] crew will go out, two men to the [peat-iron]) or with nouns in the genitive plural (ma 'Nd'icad eò 'd'e:gnar 'yã:Z:a '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', ñynar, but this is used only in expressions like ha 'mi:fa aNñ 'fo na 'mbñ:ñar '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: (a) 'ciadL 'the first', (a) 'Nd'icad 'the eighth', and (a) 'Nd'icad 'the twentieth' are lenited (a) 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: (a) 'Nd'icad 'Nd'i-un 'the fifth girl'. In the dative, however, lenition after the article occurs as usual: aða 'çeru 'du:Nñ 'at the fourth man'.

1 (a) 'ciadL
2 (a) 'Nd'icad
3 (a) 'Nd'i-un
4 (a) 'Nd'icad
5 (a) 'Nd'icad
6 (a) 'Nd'icad
7 (a) 'Nd'icad
8 (a) 'Nd'icad
9 (a) 'Nd'icad
10 (a) 'Nd'icad
11 (a) 'Nd'icad
12 (a) 'Nd'icad
20 (a) 'Nd'icad
100 (a) 'Nd'icad

(a) 'ciadL 'the first' lenites a following noun; all other ordinals are followed by radical initial, regardless of grammatical environment.

Examples of simple and compound ordinals: eða 'xoxu 'La-a do 'çeru 'on the fifth of April', eða 'Nd'i-un-a 'La-a 'fexgu 'yã:Z:a 'on the 26th of August', (a) 'fexgu 'du:Nñ 'd'icad 'fex
'Nd'icad 'Nd'icad '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 -t'a are semantically closely allied to verbs (dû:N'I('a) 'closed', fsgîll('a) 'open', cp. dû:N 'close!', fsgal 'open!'), but such adjectives are found only for a small number of verbs, so that the suffix -t'a 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". Borgström’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 (‘hâ:nîg a ‘Ndû:N’ the man came’), a pronoun (‘fâ:ça fîN’ a ‘we shall leave it’), a personal form of the verb itself (‘fâ:la-u ‘paxi ‘go home!’ [2d pers. pl.]), or the relative particle (fer a 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 ‘lef a ‘Lît’ir?’ — ‘xa ‘dug.’ ‘Did he take the letter with him? — No’ (literally: ‘did not take’).

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: xudí 'N' 'I would put', kudí '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 -uy of the conditional, for example, excludes the 1. person sg.), the subject being usually specified by a noun, pronoun, etc.: 'kudí mi 'I shall put', 'kudí a 'let him put', ha 'NðuíN'sa 'Lax'ír '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 daLF (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 well as independent and conditional. 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future</th>
<th>-i</th>
<th>-uy</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>-uy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preterite</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-uy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td>-íN' (1. sg.), -uy (other persons)</td>
<td>-íN', -íuy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>-uy (1. sg.), 0 (2. sg.), -uy (2. pl.), -uy (other persons)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (γ, 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 Borgstrom'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), xaLN 'not' (with nasalization of initial vowels, J, and lenited f, lenition of other consonants), gaN 'that', and mana '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, kud 'to put, to sow'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indefinite</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Relative</th>
<th>Dependent</th>
<th>Indefinite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-uy</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-uy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preterite</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-uy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td>-íN' (1. sg.), -uy (other persons)</td>
<td>-íN', -íuy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>-uy (1. sg.), 0 (2. sg.), -uy (2. pl.), -uy (other persons)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Gaelic of Leurbost
292. The termination -i in the independent future has the allomorphs -a and -as. -as is regularly used before the personal pronoun i 'she'. -a 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: 'tsofici 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:


293. The termination -ay of the conditional has the allomorphs -a and -ay. -ay is found before vowels and, in slow speech, also before consonants. It is the only allomorph used in utterance-final position. -a 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): axa 'fek 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: "mba du 'tshiad' na mba 'tsoR 'a∂oaq ajad?' — "w{i-ay}," 'Would you be glad if you had much money?' — 'Yes' (literally 'would be').

Paradigm of the conditional:


294. Paradigm of the imperative, with personal and impersonal forms:


While the other tenses are combined with the negative xaL− 'not', the imperative has a special negation na 'not': na 'kuð 'don't put!', na 'kuðay fin 'griðman fisk '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(a) are given below:


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 -aL, -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. gaLi 'will promise', pret. giàL, inf. giàLiN'; indep. fut. faLa mi 'I will look', pret. hôLaL, inf. hôLaLiN'; indep. fut. kàLi 'will loose', pret. vaiL, inf. kaul; cond. xiNìN 'I would hold', inf. kûmal, pret. xûm; inf. lûLa 'to turn', pret. heiL; inf. miLà 'to destroy', pret. wëL; inf. pràNay 'to harrow' pret. fràN; inf. gaRay 'to cut', cond. go 'N'gaRay, pret. ja:R. But: indep. fut. bàN'i 'belongs to', rel. fut. vûNës, dep. fut. nax 'bûN', pret. vûN'.
- (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. baL-ta 'to milk', pret. bàL-aL, indep. fut. bàL-N'i; inf. briN-ta 'to speak', indep. fut. bri:N'i and briN'i; dep. fut. xa 'Ndo-aL' 'is not enough', indep. fomi 'is enough'; inf. tààNd to happen', pret. hààNd, indep. fut. tààxri, rel. fut. hààxs, cond. hààxxy; pret. xaN'i 'met', rel. fut. xaN'ëks; pret. gàNì 'bought', indep. fut. tààNà'cN mi, rel. gàNà'cNs, cond. gàNà'cNy (inf. kàNà);
pret. gàNì 'knew, recognized', dep. fut. màs 'àNì, xa 'NdàNì, indep. fut. àNà'ci (inf. àNà'cNy and àN'ëxNy); dep. fut. xa 'NdaNì 'will not feel', indep. fut. fààNàc du (inf. fààNàcNyN' and fààNàcNyN');
inf. tààRì 'to pull, carry', pret. hààRì, indep. fut. tààRì, rel. hààRì, cond. hààRì, pret. gààtì 'suffered', indep. fut. fààtì (also heard fààRìN du, cond. gààRìNy (inf. fààRìNy). Syncope is, however, by no means universal in dissyllabic verbal stems, cp. pret. yu-al 'sewed', indep. fut. fààtu du (inf. fààtì);
inf. kà-àd 'to look', pret. xà-àd, indep. fut. kà-àd du (also kà-àd du etc.); pret. hà-sì 'began', indep. fut. tò-sì mi (inf. tò-sìNy, tò-sìNyN' and tò-sìN');
inf. tòà-sìN 'to answer', pret. tòà-sì, indep. fut. fààsì mi.

(c) Final stressless -i belonging to the verbal stem is dropped before endings in the two verbs eòi 'to rise, get up' and fààx (also fààx) 'to stay, wait': pret. jèòíì, rel. fut. jèòíì; dep. fut. nax 'ùíì, xa 'Nduíì, indep. fut. fàà, cond. 1. sg. gûNìN'.

(d) The verbs marà-aL 'to kill' and fààLà, 'to go' have a stem-final ò which is dropped in utterance-final position, before consonants, and before terminations but is preserved before the initial vowel of a following word: pret. varà mi, varàò a, inf. marà-aL; pret. yàala mi, yàalaò a, inf. yàala, 2. pl. yàala-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 (α)² ("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 'aita ‘fudič 'dwellings-place' (nom. fudaxe), kLax 'glikes 'grindstone' (nom. glikesy), gLas 'xexi 'padlock' (kraxγ 'to hang'), 'qurān 'Luay 'waulking song' (nom. Luγ). Many verbal nouns have no corresponding finite verbs and are classed as verbal nouns only because they combine with the substantive verb and (α)² to form compound tenses. Among these are kōni 'to live', oβaH 'to work', keli 'to visit', karaH 'to walk (about)', fēdaxγ 'to whistle', bōbadaγ 'to weave, to be a weaver', eμriγ 'to low, moo', gogadič 'to cackle', kōhaRdīč 'to bark', mōlīģ 'to mew; to bleat', sāridhāRdīč 'to sneeze', ğit'ić 'to neigh', sāfāv 'to neigh; to grunt'. Some nouns may function both as verbal and ordinal nouns; that is, they are found both in compound tense forms and in the plural or after article: ha mi 'gobai 'I am working' — 'NdbeaH 'the work', va ad a 'kō:ray 'they were talking' — 'xwạLo 'N'-un a 'Nkō:ray adī 'the girl heard his talk', i.e. 'heard him talking', ha a 'gujía 'he is swearing; he is wishing' — gujías 'scream'.

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 kauλ 'to lose' cp. pret. xaiλ 'lost'. Syncope is usually accompanied by depalatalization.

(a) The infinitive is identical with the verbal stem: bēkH 'to grind' (pret. vlebH), falâv, falâ 'to go (away)' (ipv. 2. sg. falâv, falâ), fas 'to grow' (pret. yasγ, yaf 'to steal' (pret. yadeγ), kōkH 'to sell' (pret. xeβקH), kō-ad, kō-ad 'to look' (pret. xō-ad, xō-ad), Larāγ 'to find, trace, look for' (pret. Larāγ), Lo-if 'to cure' (pret. lo-if), fānN 'to divide' (pret. fānN), sād 'to stop' (pret. sādād), sguδ 'to stop, cease' (pret. sguδ), sNův 'to swim' (pret. nū:w), fNδv 'to spin, twist, sprain' (pret. nōgδ), tāxif 'to itch; to scratch' (pret. haxif), tāRif 'to pull, carry' (pret. hāRif). Note 'Raj 'to run' (pret. ruH, riH).

With depalatalization: fāLax 'to hide' (pret. yulaH), fa-ulu 'to sew' (pret. yulaH, faLay 'to suffer' (pret. yuliγ), fubH 'to wait, stay, dwell' (pret. yudicγ), kauλ 'to lose' (pret. xaiH, indep. fut. kāLH), kLa-x 'to dig' (pret. xLa-ic), kur (more commonly kuH) 'to put' (ipv. 2. sg. kuδ), bāNax 'to buy' (pret. bāNāγ), kā-tl 'to tie' (pret. grā-t), Luay 'to waulk, to full' (ipv. 2. pl. Luaju), saLax 'to soil' (pret. hulaH), fNδnLay 'to turn' (pret. hēNδnLaj).

(b) Termination -aγ (gen. -i). This is the most common infinitive formation: baf'daγ 'to baptize' (pret. baf'dH), bī'daγ 'to bite' (ref. fut. vid'aH), fi-aγ (also fi-a) 'to weave, to knit' (pret. fi: [or fiH?]), pōibyaγ 'to break' (pret. pōibH), gārīγ 'to cut' (pret. gāH), irīmīγ 'to row' (pret. irīmH and jīmH), īfyaγ (also īfH) 'to tell' (pret. īfH), kō-Rdāγ (όi) 'to please, be agreeable (to)' (pret. xri:Rd), krahāγ 'to shake' (pret. xraH), krxγ 'to hang' (pret. xran), Lu:by 'to bend' (pret. Lu:by). Lu:by 'to read' (pret. lev), Lu-aγ 'to melt' (pret. o'i mi), marā-aγ 'to kill' (pret. o'arāH, o'arāH, mīLay γ 'to destroy' (pret. νελH), mīLay 'to praise' (pret. νελγ), pεNvγ 'to paint' (pret. fNγ), po:ssy 'to marry' (pret. fásγ), prēNγ 'to harrow' (pret. frēNγ), Ru-γ 'to put three or four peats together in a small stack' (pret. ruH), sādy 'to fling, throw' (pret. had), sγoLyaγ (also with depalatalization sγoLtγ) 'to split' (pret. sγoLtγ), sγ:Rivaγ 'to write' (pret. sγ:Riva), sγu:-laγ 'to spread'.
(pret. squr), fefel 'to blow' (pret. he'd), to-y 'to choose' (pret. 'ha mi), t'faxay 'to return' (pret. he'il).

All verbs with stem in unstressed -i offset by English loans or modelled on an English pattern: blush', 'to burn' (pret. shu), beati to aim', 'to iron' (ep. iatN 'iron'). -i offset obviously renders E. -ing.

With palatalization: busalay 'to strike' (pret. vinal), fa-falay (also fo-fo) 'to attend to' (pret. rihal), Lasgay and Lungay 'to burn' (pret. Lasgait), sugLay (also sugLay) 'to split' (pret. sugLay), pasgay 'to fold' (ipv. paffit). Most verbs with stem-final -i offset belong here; they exchange -i offset with -ox before the infinitive termination: ad'saxay 'to admit, confess' (pret. yad 'i'), anaxay and anaxay 'to know' (pret. yani, baaxay 'to die' (pret. vasi, d'alaxay 'to part, separate' (pret. falay), jasaxay 'to convert' (pret. jaglay), jasaxay 'to learn, teach' (ipv. 2. sg. jasit), karaxay 'to move, turn' (na kari 'don't move!'), lin'axay 'to flourish, grow well' (pret. gin'i, krakaxay 'to gather' (pret. xnN'i), Lasgay 'to improve' (pret. leisi, niasgaxay 'to mix' (pret. visit), Riasgaxay 'to search, ransack' (pret. radit), smaxay 'to think' (ipv. 2. sg. smxN'i and smxit), t'oxaxay 'to dry' (dep. fut. axa 'N'taraxaxay i 'in which it will dry'; also heard with au: t'auramaxay).

- Syncopated: fasglay 'to open' (ipv. 2. sg. fasgat), kasNay 'to earn, gain, win' (ep. pret. efinN). With variant ending: kurxlay 'to die, pass away' (pret. xuraxat).

(c) Terminations -iN', -itiN', -gin'N: faxin'N 'to try' (pret. jiax), biaNini 'to touch' (pret. vini), Laniini 'to follow' (indep. fut. 'Ena 'mi, rel. fut. lani, faanini 'to look' (indep. fut. 'aflo 'mi), gapanini 'to promise' (indep. fut. gapl). The termination -gin'N is found in verbs in -iN, changed to -ax before the ending: baaxginiN 'to die' (pret. vasi, rel. fut. vasiN, faaxginiN and faaxginiN 'to feel' (dep. fut. xa 'NdaN, laxaxginiN 'and laxN, laxaxay) 'to begin' (pret. hojic).

- Variants: aLaxay (also aLaxay) 'to part, separate' (pret. aLay), jaxay 'to open' (ipv. 2. sg. jaxay). With variant ending: karaxay 'to move, turn' (na kari 'don't move!'), lin'axay 'to flourish, grow well' (pret. gin'i, krakaxay 'to gather' (pret. xnN'i), Lasgay 'to improve' (pret. leisi, niasgaxay 'to mix' (pret. visit), Riasgaxay 'to search, ransack' (pret. radit), smaxay 'to think' (ipv. 2. sg. smxN'i and smxit), t'oxaxay 'to dry' (dep. fut. axa 'N'taraxaxay i 'in which it will dry'; also heard with au: t'auramaxay).

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(d) Terminations -al: fasgal 'to leave' (pret. vay), go-al, gu-al, go-al 'to take' (pret. vay, al 'mi), kamaal 'to hold' (pret. xaxam), Leigal 'to let, let go' (pret. liaj, togal 'to lift, raise' (pret. hog; inf. also heard as trogal, apparently without distinction in meaning), t'iligal 'to throw' (pret. hilj).

(e) Terminations -a (sometimes -i if immediately preceded by a stressed i): fi-i, fi-a 'to weave' (for the pret., my notes show hesitation between jih and ji), ji(a) 'to eat' (pret. ji), Laja 'to lie (down)' (ipv. 2. sg. Laaj, N't-a 'to wash' (pret. nih), sufi(a) 'to sit, sit down' (ipv. 2. sg. suf). In ji(a) and sufi(a), the a is caducous; it seems to be always retained in fi-a, Laja, N't-a.

(f) Several other terminations, each only occurring in one or a few verbs: evoxg 'to shout' (pret. jëw), fiaxay 'to ask' (pret. yaini, fiasay 'to walk' (pret. xajf), idiri 'to want, ask for' (pret. jëR, e'di 'to rise, get up' (pret. jëD), squitay 'to spread for bleaching' (pret. squit), nandf(a) and nandf(a) 'to believe' (dep. fut. xa 'xnad), tuq(f) 'to understand' (pret. hujf), fesu 'to stand' (pret. kes), kehu 'to consume, to be consumed' (dep. fut. mas (keh), fragal 'to answer' (pret. ragal), taulat 'to happen' (pret. haual), gisfud (gisfud?) 'to move' (ipv. 2. sg. gisfud), t'ilat 'to fall' (pret. huj).

Irregular Verbs

The Substantive Verb.

300. The substantive verb vi(h) 'to be' is the only verb which has five tenses. When stressed, it has the following inflectional forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres.</td>
<td>bi</td>
<td>vi-ey</td>
<td>va</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relat.</td>
<td>vi-as, nax 'el</td>
<td>nax 'bi</td>
<td>nax 'bi-ey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent</td>
<td>xa 'N'del</td>
<td>xa 'vi</td>
<td>xa 'vi-ey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga 'mbel, ga 'vel, ga 'mbi</td>
<td>ga 'mbi-ey</td>
<td>ga 'Ro</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Interrogative (a) 'mbel, (a) 'vel, el; imperative 2. sg. bi-, 3. sg. bi-γ; cond. 1. sg. vi-iN', ga 'mbi-iN', etc. Indefinite forms: pres. ha-as, cond. viçd'a, aos 'mbiçd'a, pret. va-as. The use of the indefinite forms may be illustrated by the following examples: 'fin aguf a mana ha-as a 'bāN' na 'mō:nax 'this, you see, is how the peat is (being) cut'; aos 'Lo ad viçd'a 'dah a 'ya:BN 'Loh 'in those days, one half (of the wool) used to be dyed'; gar h 'āN a va-as a 'şēN' 'tš:R a xk a 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 1d5':N'a daL a 'max 'men will go out'; ha mi 'kL5IN'd'an 'I hear, I am hearing'; va 'badax asa val 'aɡiN'a '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'l 'kav a 'jīs agam 'de: 'NīN'm a h ᵐ a 'NīN'd'a h aN 'I have no idea what that adder is called', literally . . . 'which name is on the adder which is there'; man ā 'mīfB h 'āN, 'ko: a 'h aN? 'if it is not I, who is it?'; 'NīN'm a v ase āfšd'a 'Loa 'the man who was in the coffin'. (c) After vowels, stressless ha: is not infrequently reduced to a: 'de: a 'fōd 'what is that?'; nax ā 'a 'āfū 'isn't it terribly rainy?', literally 'is it not he who is wet?'. (d) vi-as and vi-γ (bi-γ, mbi-γ) are reduced to vis, viγ (biγ, miγ) or vos, voy, ao (boγ, miγ, mboγ): 'viN' 'ko: a 'mīfB 'Nīf N 'we shall see who will be there first'; 'aγiN 'aso umay e da 'kur' 'sexos > a 'šīd 'a place where they could pass the time'. Note also bis i 'āN a 'she will be there' (indep. fut. with allomorph -as before the pronoun i; the stressed form 'bi-as i is not attested in my material).

The substantive verb has three semantically equivalent interrogative forms: (a) 'mbel, (a) '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 'NīN's a 'Loa: 'this man is strong'; xa Rg a 'śdγ 'he was not in', ha a na 'hād-a: 'he is a soldier' (literally 'he is in his soldier'), ha Lo-xr a:γm '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 (a)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 'mīfB 'rāN' 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 ā: or i (before nouns, pronouns other than personal, and often also before personal pronouns) or by 'āN, aN (before adverbs, complements— including prepositional pronouns-, and conjunctive clauses).

304. In the independent and relative present, the copula has the allomorph (a)s before consonants and "broad vowels", (a)f before "slender vowels" (cp. § 212). The dependent present is represented by zero, as seen from the following paradigm:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple</th>
<th>With ā:</th>
<th>With 'āN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha 'NīN' a</td>
<td>'Loa: 'this man is strong'; xa Rg a 'śdγ 'he was not in', ha a na 'hād-a: 'he is a soldier' (literally 'he is in his soldier'), ha Lo-xr a:γm 'I have a book' ('a book is at me').</td>
<td>ha 'NīN' a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With xaN 'not':</td>
<td>xaN</td>
<td>xaN 'Nē', xa xa 'NīN'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xaN 'Nē', xa xa 'NīN'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nax 'that not':</td>
<td>nax vē</td>
<td>nax 'āN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaN 'that':</td>
<td>gar h</td>
<td>gar 'hāN', gar 'rāN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interrogative particle</td>
<td>gar h</td>
<td>gar 'hāN', gar 'rāN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mana 'unless'</td>
<td>(a) 'Nē', -1, -ē. (a) 'NīN'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man ā (unstressed)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Long vowels and diphthongs are only found in the stressed forms. In unstressed position, (a)f 'e: is reduced to (a)f e, (a)s 'auN to (a)s aN, etc. gar 'he: and gar aN are reduced to gar e and gar aN.

Note the irregular initial mutation of e: after xa LN and the interrogative particle, N'- instead of the regular N'd-. The form N'e: 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'e:, N't-. and N'ë:; the first is the most common. Unstressed: N'e, N'i.

The imperfect-conditional is baL before consonants, b before vowels. It combines with e: and ãaN in the same manner as the present: b 'e:, b 'ãaN. After the negation xaN, it is not lenited: xa ba 'ôif 'it was not I', xa b 'e:, xa b 'ãaN. 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 Borgstrom for Barra (DB pp. 202-4). His statements are also valid for Leurbost, so that a few examples will suffice here.

(a) Simple or with e: f e 'i-aN' a 'NdãN' 'John is the man'; s 'du: ('du'na) ma 'ôahad 'you are my mother' ('it is you [who are] my mother'); f e 'fô ma 'b-er s 'this is my book'; f e 'fôn 'Lo-er 'nûdôi 'that is Mary's book'; fô 'afîN' 'this is he' (§ 306); nax 'du: ma 'Nâbih 'i-aN'? 'aren't you my neighbour John?'; xa N'e 'fîN' a 'Ndôn ayîN' 'Luar:ax a h aN 'we are not the only lazy ones'.

(b) Simple or with e: f e 'pên a h aN 'it is a pen' ('it is a pen which is there'); f e 'fô:Lo:ôa n a 'NûiN' a 'kud'ëxg 'we, too, are sailors' ('it is sailors who are in us too'); f e 'isôg a h osa 'ôdek 'the trout is a fish' ('it is a fish which is in the trout'); N'ë 'më a fô? 'is this fresh butter?'; xa ba 'ôif 'ôshad 'a 'it wasn't I who spilled it'; f e 'ûsan a 'ûaN' a 'it was (literally is) they who did it'; nax 'i-ad a va 'kôm'ail 'weren't they hospitable!' ('isn't it they who were . . .').

(c) With ãaN (before adverbs, complements including prepositional pronouns, and conjunctual clauses): ÑdaN fôô xôaj a 'was it down(wards) he went?'; s aN a çàN 'fôvôôiô g xôaj a 'it was to Peterhead he went'; s aN 'agam a vis 'kàNax eô 'I shall certainly have (more than) enough of it' ('it is at me that there will be a price on it'); s aN edÔ 'squots fîN' yàa 'Ndôa:ax a ha fîN' a ãôL 'hôa '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: xôaj a 'môx yàa 'ôa:hiô g hôôd 'hizg yàa 'N'd'ex, s aN a 'ôa:hiô g sôàlôs 'fàLu 'he went out to the byre to feed the horse, and (then) he saw the empty stall'; s aN a 'ha: a le fèmàs 'c'est qu'il appartient à Jaques' (cp. s aN le fèmàs a 'ha: a 'it belongs to James, it is to James it belongs'); s aN a 'hôa:hiô 'bàLa:ax a fôl'ex (and) then a boy came in'.

(e) Before certain adjectives, not extended: nax 'tnô 'yàa: 'N'kàNax a h eô 'isn't he clever!' ('isn't it good for him, the head which is on him'); s 'môa na 'huràd a 'N'ëxg is math na h-uiread a nochd 'this is enough for to-night'; xa 'vôr a 'fôôR u 'it isn't much you have asked for'; xa 'vôr nax 'tûj g mi 'xulô 'kudô a 'nîf 'I understand almost everything now'; s 'bg a 'N'ëlôôy 'it is no wonder', literally 'small is the wonder'; ba 'ôah a 'ôhà ôs 'Nkonan eR-ôa a fàN' a 'as they were not slow in getting away' ('their legs were slow with them'); i.e. 'not fast enough for them'; s 'ûriN yàs 'it is possible for me', 'I can, am able to' (neg. xa
2. 'NduRiN', ipf. buRiN', xa 'buRiN'; there are also shortened forms s 'aRi etc.); f 'e:dar 'must', pret. b 'e:dar; s 'au:ifd' it is customary', rel. imperfect mana b 'au:ifd' 'as usual'; ba 'xo:R yul 'you ought to'; fa:R:lam 'I prefer' (contracted from f 'ja:R:lam'), ipf. b 'ja:R:lam ['bja:lam'], e. g. 'fa:R:lam 'te-a na 'kafi 'I prefer tea to coffee'; s 'k:il:lam [s 'k:il:lam], be 'xo:il:lam 'I like, liked' (utterance-final in answers s 'k:il:, xa 'xo:il:, cp. p. 86); s 'N'd'e:d' go 'xo:' a'f 'I know one place'; s 'dx: 'perhaps', 'de: s 'ka:dx? 'what is the matter', ipf. 'de: bo 'xa:dx?', 'de: s 'ka:dx 'd 'f:in? 'why is that, what is the cause of that?'.

For the use of the copula with the comparative of adjectives, see § 244.

'fay 'yes' and xa 'N'd'e:d' 'no' may be regarded as containing the copula although the element 'fay (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 e) 'fo 'mb:baNax a ve mi 'bri-iN' na 'f:in 'this is the woman I was talking about'; (N'e) 'f:in uo a? 'is that all?', (f e) 'La-a 'fuar a h aN a 'N'd'u: 'it is a cold day to-day'; (f e) 'ifan a h oxa 'c'erk 'the hen is a fowl'; (N'daN) 'fos a 'xo:j a? 'was it down(wards) he went?'. Questions with omitted copula are answered with f'e:, s 'a:uN, xa 'N'e:, xa b 'a:uN, 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 do: except in the verb d'i:anu. 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 disyllabic forms into monosyllables. In the paradigms, unstressed forms will be put between parentheses.

1. d'i:anu (d'anu) 'to do, to make'.

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<tr>
<td>Indep.</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>and rel.</td>
<td>n:i: (ni)</td>
<td>jì:này (jì:ny)</td>
<td>rà:ín' (ra:N')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nàx 'd:i:àn (d'an)</td>
<td>nàx 'd:i:ànày (d'anày)</td>
<td>nàxà: 'd:ì:nà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(N'd'an)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Cond. 1. sg.</td>
<td>jì:nàN' (jì:ny)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ipv. 2. sg.</td>
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2. d'e: (d'a) 'to go'.

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<tr>
<td>Indep.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and rel.</td>
<td>h:ed' (hed')</td>
<td>jì:gy</td>
<td>xaj (xaj, xa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nàx 'd'e:äd' (d'ëd')</td>
<td>nàx 'd'e:gy</td>
<td>nàx 'd'ëx(a), nàx 'd'ëx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depend.</td>
<td>xa 'd:e:äd' ( — )</td>
<td>xa 'd'e:gy</td>
<td>xa 'd'ëx(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ga 'N'd'e:äd'</td>
<td>ga 'N'd'e:gy</td>
<td>ga 'N'd'ëx(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(N'd'e:äd')</td>
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</table>

The final -ë of the dep. pret. 'd'ëx(a) is not an ordinary caduceous a (cp. p. 149); d'ëx and d'ëxa are apparently in free variation before consonants: xa 'd'ëx mi and xa 'd'ëxa mi 'I did not go'. Before vowels, the a is always left out.

Ipv. 2. sg. hëbi:j, na 'd'ëbi:j (not very often used; faLa ipv. 2. sg. of the regular verb faLa, faLa 'to go (away) is ordinarily used to express the command 'go').
In the preterite, the forms with final -i.sg are used before vowels, those with final -a before consonants. In the 2. person sg., the pronoun du is used, so that we get the following paradigm of the preterite:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>(Indep.)</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. .............</td>
<td>'hâ:na mi</td>
<td>'hâ:na fiN'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. .............</td>
<td>'hâ:na du</td>
<td>'hâ:na fi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. m. ..........</td>
<td>'hâ:nig a</td>
<td>'hâ:nig ad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. f. ..........</td>
<td>'hâ:nig i</td>
<td>'hâ:nig ad</td>
</tr>
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</table>

With following noun: 'hâ:nig a 'NdâN'o 'the man came', 'hâ:na 'dâ:2L 'Donald came'.

Ivp. 2. sg. hiig, na 'd'i, 3. sg. hiig y 'let her come'.

4. fâiN' (faN') 'to get, to find'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ivp. 2. sg.</th>
<th>Cond.</th>
<th>Pret.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>niN'</td>
<td>'hâ:na fiN'</td>
<td>'hâ:na fiN'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dependent future sometimes has a final -j: 'ka: fâj 'mîfâ 'koo:j 'Ndâa 'd'iag' where will I get fifteen pounds?'. The nasality of â is lost in unstressed forms.
recorded once each. As a rule, the future and conditional are supplied by the synonymous regular verb kántin’ (káNta): fut. indep. káN, rel. xánas, dep. nax ‘kán, xa ‘xán, go ‘Nkán, cond. indep. xánay (1. sg. xáníN’), nax káNay, etc. The imperative is also taken from this verb: 2. sg. kán, 2. pl. kánu. The imperative which historically belongs to this verb is habad (cp. O.I. epi); it is still translated with ‘say’ by the native speakers, but its use is limited to certain expressions such as ‘habad a ‘certainly!’ (literally ‘say it!’) and ‘habad ‘La'adax ‘that’s a lot!’

8. bóch ‘to bear, to lay (eggs); to handle’.

This verb is irregular only by having alternant stems; the terminations are regular: indep. fut. beóas i, with the pronoun i: ‘beóas i (another future form, bóchí, has been recorded once), indep. cond. vdehay, pret. indep. and rel. rug, dep. naxda ‘rug, etc. Indefinite pret. rugay ‘was born’.

9. kllän’dën, kllän’d’in: ‘to hear’.

The future is regular but has the relative form xllán’. The dependent future shows vocalic mutation:

---|---|---
Indep. kláníN’i | xllán’ay | xuvla
Depend. | nax ‘kláN’ | nax ‘kláníN’ay | nax ‘xuvla

Cond. 1. sg. xllän’iN’.

10. Ri-in’ ‘to reach, to arrive at’.

The future is regular: Ruqí, dep. xa ‘ruqj; pret. râniq, rânsa (-iğ and -a distributed as in the pret. of t’i-an, 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. fe:mas, dep. fut. go ‘fe:m, cond. fe:may, and fu:di ‘may’, rel. fut. yur:diıs, dep. fut. xa ‘Ndur’d, cond. yur:day are found only in these two tenses. The future usually has the meaning of present, the conditional the meaning of past.

2. heb, hab ‘had nearly’ (cp. French faillir) occurs only in the preterite: ‘hab mi ‘tut’am ‘j’ai failli tomber’.

3. as(a) ‘said’ (Latin inquit) occurs only in the indep. preterite; it is always unstressed.

4. fid’er ‘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: “‘fid’er mi comes next to ‘xuvla mi.’”

5. tro-ad ‘come!’ and fu-ad ‘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-ad’u, fu:du.

6. hugiN’ ‘let’s go!’ (e.g. ‘hugiN’ ‘ya’xi ‘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 (a) the "infinitive
mark"), which, however, is not observable if preceded by a
vowel or pause and followed by a consonant, cp. ha ad a 'gic(a)
'they are eating', ha ad a 'gobad 'they are working', ha mi 'gic(a)
'I am eating', and ha mi 'gobad 'I am working' with ha mi 'fagad
'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).

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time of Reference</th>
<th>Aspect</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perfective</td>
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<tr>
<th>Mode of Action</th>
<th>Time of Reference</th>
<th>Aspect</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contemporaneous or Occasional</td>
<td>Current</td>
<td>Cpd. pres.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Past</td>
<td>Simple pret.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Simple fut.</td>
<td>ha a 'gic(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posterior or Habitual</td>
<td>Simple cond.</td>
<td>ha a 'gic(a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms in the table are definite, but there are also indefinite
compound forms: ha-xe a 'd'ianu 'Ndobad 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 'bza-an na '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 ya 'bza-an (or ... ga: 'bza-an) '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(a) means 'he is eating' but may also, like the
compound future bi a 'gic(a), be used for a habitual action 'he is
eating habitually, he will be eating'.

Meanings of other tense forms:

Pret. 'gic a is almost equivalent to E. 'he ate', and va a 'gic(a)
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(a) 'he will be eating', 'iciy a 'he would
eat', viy a 'gic(a) 'he would be eating'.

The conditional sometimes corresponds to constructions with
modal auxiliaries in E.: xa 'xumini' 'kafaxg 6if 'I couldn't keep
pace with him', xa d'e-ay a 'we: ñgk 'the cow wouldn't (didn't
want to) go there'. In hypothetical sentences, the conditional is
MAGNE OFTEDAL

used both in protasis and apodosis: mba du 'tsliç'da na mba(y) 'l:R 'adågïd' ajod 'would you be glad if you had much money?' (or: 'would you have been glad if you had had much money?').

The preposition di is sometimes used as infinitive mark:

vi-In' di 'fèR'd' 'behççn yan 'N'lt'ëRsó jin '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 aN and a possessive pronoun: ha mi nama 'hssu 'I am standing' ('I am in my standing'), cp. fesu 'to stand'. Similarly with swj(s) 'to sit', Lajo 'to lie', fi:nay '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 eò 'N'ô 'or [else]') are inherently unstressed; only occasionally a conjunction like gads LF 'although' may receive some stress (under special conditions of rhythm?). Interrogatives (with which I do not count the interrogative particle (a)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 (a) LF § 225, the comparative particle na § 244, the equative particle xà § 268, the adverbial and predicative particle ga'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:

swj(s) 'and'; swj bi 'duc' sahm ga 'fín a 'tri: 'fèxogN'ën 'eló 'and I expect that he will stay for three more weeks'. swj(s) followed by the relative particle means 'as' after adjectives with an "equative" sense: ha 'N't'l'id's 'ègèsd xà 'dina aNa 'N'ër, we: swj s hà hi aN a 'hjó 'the weather is just as bad in Norway as it is here', ha 'ègèsd urad o 'gàlìq' 'agamàs swj s 'hà: ågu 'pe:n 'I know just as much Gaelic as you know'.

ax 'but; except': 'hàc; ax f e 'gle: 'veq 'yes, there is, but it is very little'; gan 'dùN's' kò:run ax mi 'hî:n 'without any company but myself'.

na 'or' (usually causes no mutation in the following word but sometimes lenites numerals: 'tri: na 'ègèd' urad '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.

eò 'N'ô(ô), eò jòb 'or else': 'fàLà 'nîf, eò N'o bi du 'fàduLax 'go now, or you'll be late', hàna mi eò 'tuahanax eò 'N'ô: 'bo-on 'I came upon a farmer, or Boer'.

316. (b) With the relative form of the verb:

Particles and conjunctions.

(a) LF, the relative particle, is used in relative clauses which are not negated (see naax) or governed by simple prepositions (see (a)N): ha 'N't'l-un aso val 'agín'ë 'xçñïs o 'N'lí-a aNa 'N'dùn o 'hèd's ga 'Leh 'there is a girl in our village who will walk the distance in an hour and a half'; xulá 'hía v
vis fiN' a 'gu-al 'all the food we will be eating'; 'fj mbóðaNax a va mi 'bri-iN' ma 'fe-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.

faLF, voLF (also foLF, volF) 'since': Ra u 'gobóð fó 'há:na du as 'fó:R:Rnu:vay 'have you been at work since you came from Stornoway?'.

vonaLF (and fonaLF?) 'because': vona va ad e 'fá:z 'wá:sd 'because they were getting old'.

gadaLF 'though, although': xa N'dé: 'mí:fa mi 'hi:n, gada vis mi d'anu 'bó:R 'bri-iN' ma 'fe-iN' 'búfN:arf, e 'k'id:fiN 'iN'd', 'id'ír 'I myself, although I talk a lot about withcraft, do not believe in it at all'.

maLF 'if' (with verbs in the present, future, and preterite; for the conditional, see naN): ma vis a 'fí:z 'fesgar, xa d'ed' 'fiN' 'yana 'vá:la if it is wet in the evening we will not go to town'.

manaLF 'as': ha 'mí:fa mana va mi 'r'í-í 'I am as I was before'.

Interrogatives.

de:Lc, dadaLF 'what', de: plus article 'which': 'de: 'xá:nas du dí . 'fí:in aNó 'Ngá:lit 'what do you call that in Gaelic?'; va a kllá:iN'd:á:n 'de: va ad e 'grá:a 'he heard what they were saying'; 'de: 'Ntá:ná:m a h 'ó:rsd 'what is your name?' (literally 'what the name which is on you?').

'de: manáLF 'how': 'de: maná 'ha: u 'how are you?').

'de: xà . . . (á) aL 'how ...' with adjectives: 'de: xà 'fá:da s e ha 'Nlí:i-á 'how long is the way?'.

ko:LF 'who': 'ko: h 'á:NN 'who is there?', 'qí: fiN' 'ko: vaG 'á:NN a 'Nló:fa 'we'll see who is there first'.

ko: as aL, ko 'as aL 'from where': 'ko: as e 'ha: u 'where are you from?'; ko 'lef aL 'with what': ko 'lef e ha u tló:nd a

ko 'viád, ko 'viád, ko 'viád aL } 'how much, how many':

denáLF } 'how much money have you?', literally 'how much is at you of money?'.

kó:n'aLF 'when': 'kó:n' e 'fá:siG u 'gá:lit 'when did you learn Gaelic?'.

Interrogatives.

de:Lc, dadaLF 'what', de: plus article 'which': 'de: 'xá:nas du dí . 'fí:in aNó 'Ngá:lit 'what do you call that in Gaelic?'; va a kllá:iN'd:á:n 'de: va ad e 'grá:a 'he heard what they were saying'; 'de: 'Ntá:ná:m a h 'ó:rsd 'what is your name?' (literally 'what the name which is on you?').

'de: manáLF 'how': 'de: maná 'ha: u 'how are you?').

'de: xà . . . (á) aL 'how ...' with adjectives: 'de: xà 'fá:da s e ha 'Nlí:i-á 'how long is the way?'.

ko:LF 'who': 'ko: h 'á:NN 'who is there?', 'qí: fiN' 'ko: vaG 'á:NN a 'Nló:fa 'we'll see who is there first'.

ko: as aL, ko 'as aL 'from where': 'ko: as e 'ha: u 'where are you from?'; ko 'lef aL 'with what': ko 'lef e ha u tló:nd a

ko 'viád, ko 'viád, ko 'viád aL } 'how much, how many':

denáLF } 'how much money have you?', literally 'how much is at you of money?'.

kó:n'aLF 'when': 'kó:n' e 'fá:siG u 'gá:lit 'when did you learn Gaelic?'.

317. (c) With the dependent form of the verb:

dáLF, 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.

(a)N, combined with the preterite particle: nanLF, 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: mba du 'tsilég' na mba 'tsó:R 'á:daGid' ajad 'would you be satisfied if you had much money?'; mbel 'is ajad mbel a 'jó:Ri '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: 'tj ajad Ro 'trú:ð 'wó:dNax 'a house in which there were three women'.

axaN 'so that, in order that': tó:ad axa 'fó:R u mbel 'fó ma gá LoG 'come and see (literally, come so that you will see) if this is good enough'.

faRH 'where' (relative): xaj a 'fí:as faló: Ro i 'he went down where she was'. A similar meaning has
Ndat's aN (reduced from *do'aite anns an 'to the place in which'): hanig a 'NdàibN'a Ndat's a 'Ro a 'the man came where he (the other man) was'.

gaN, combined with the preterite particle: gæaLF, 'that': *sæibN'ìc ad ga mbay ad 'na bò 'xæibRdol 'they thought that they would be more comfortable'. The corresponding negative conjunction is nax, see below.

gaN 'until': 'µuaverage ad ga N'd'ex a 'xæibL 'they waited until he had gone to sleep'.

gæaN (1) so that, in order that': òRo 'ga: 'bìib ë'xæib La-a, gæa mbay a 'marav-ìg nó 'LuxiN 'giving him (the cat) food every day so that he would kill the mice'. (2) Apparently used as a variant of gaN 'until' in some environments: xa òRo a 'fàd 'dàibN gæa 'fàib a 'dàibN'a 'Raj ... 'he hadn't been long there before he saw a man running ...'.

gæa recorded once in va a 'gìibìi gæa 'N'd'ex ë 'va: 'fàib 'he wanted the cow to eat the grass', literally 'he wanted that the cow would eat the grass'.

xaLN, with the preterite particle xæibLF, 'not': xæib 'huììy ad 'de: 'v 'àibN 'they didn't understand what it was'.

magaN 'as if': va 'alan na 'Læjì 'sanex ë 'huìibN 'dùibN't, maga mbay a 'marà 'Allan was lying still with his eyes shut, as if he were dead'.

mandh (does not mutate initial consonants except f which is replaced by h: h is prefixed to vowels), with the preterite particle: mæaNF, 'if not, unless': mæa 'fèex ë 'vòibN'ìt ìniN, 'fèex ëxìN' 'guàL ò 'ìxæibN' na 'huìib 'if the peat doesn't last for us, we must buy coal in its place'.

mas 'before': 'dùìibì ìxæib ha mi 'gìibìì òRo, mas 'taxèò ìxìì 'miibì yìì 'do as I tell you, before worse happens to you'.

naN 'if', used only with the conditional: na mbay 'dus aN 'if you were there'.

nax (followed by radical initial, except f which is dropped), with the preterite particle: naxæaLF, 'not, that not, which not'. nax has several functions:

(1) Introducing negated relative clauses: xa òRo 'dùibN' aN 'vala nax òRo kàò 'ùìil ëò ë 'Ndàibììa fin 'there was nobody in the village who didn't notice him that night'.

(2) Introducing negative yes-or-no questions: nax el u 'fììar 'aren't you cold?'

(3) Serving as the negative of gaN 'that': hùibìì a nax 'dè-ìg a ëò 'af 'he said that he wouldn't go back'.

(4) Combined with other conjunctions to negate their clauses, see below, § 319.

kaN, ka'ìN 'where' (interrogative): 'ka: 'Ndàib ë u 'fììar 'where did you find that?'

318. (d) With the imperative, only one particle is found, the negative na: na 'gùaf '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

ьяас, (ъ)s 'and'

ьяас, (ъ)s xaLN 'and...not'

на 'but'

на xaLN 'but not'

(ъ)LF 'which, who' (rel.)

(ъ)LF 'which, who...not'

(ъ)N (yes-or-no question)

(ъ)N 'which...not'

(ъ)LF 'although'

gadeLF 'although...not'

NdàibLF 'when'

Ndàib LF 'when...not'

kaR'òb ìxìì aLF 'why'

kaR'òb ìxìì aLF 'why...not'

gæaN 'so that'

gæaLF 'so that...not'

mæaLF 'if'

mæaLF 'if...not, unless'
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 Tìittear). The long story, number 10, was translated sentence by sentence by Roderick Martin. It was taken from Vol. II of Lachlann MacPhionghuin's Leabhrainnean 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 óran composed within living memory by a local bard, Donald Macleod; the other songs are traditional órain 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 'da:1 aqo 'zula 'múLax go 'N'd'i6eg a, go 'zé6eg a a (text 15), where aqo serves a double purpose, normalized: bha duil aige, aig a h-ule mullach gu’n tigeadh e, gum faicseadh e e (an áró ñóov6 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, tabhaic’l and bhitheadh indicate stressed disyllables, while the synonymous alternative spellings toirt and bhiodh stand for unstressed monosyllables. On one point, I depart altogether from traditional spelling: the numeral ñan [ñn] ‘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 aNa ‘hja, aNa ‘hid, aNa ‘hin, variants of aNa ‘fo etc., will be spelled ann see, ann stuid, 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.

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 éigeachd 'air a thòisich an robh a' searmonachadh. Bha sluagh mòr a' cruinneachadh as a-hùile h-ùite de 'n eilean a dh' fhìcinn an rud a bha a' tachairt. An oidhche so bha mi fhìn agus Roddy shìos ach a' fhaigheadh sin a bh' cìil de na bha a' dol. Agus mu mheadhdon an t-searmoin 's ann a chunnach ma droch dhath a' tighinn air Roddy, agus e ag iarraidh orm a chollair fosgladh, agus gun e faireachdainn gu math. "Ó," orsa mise, "tha dose agadsa de 'n rud a tha dol." "Ó," orsa esan, "fear a bhith dhachaidh leam, chan eil mi a' faireachdainn gu math." Ach 'air a fhuaire e mach as an eaglaigh, cha chum a chumachd ris air an t-slighe dhachaidh. Chaidh sgeul tìmcheòl a h-bhaile gun robh Roddy air a iompachadh. An ath-oidhche a' rithisid chuimhnic na h-ùirean do 'n taigh aige a chumail coinneamh, ach 's ann a thubhairt e riutha: "Falbhaibh dhachaidh, a dhaoine, tha mise mar a bha mi roimh." 

2.

Bho chionn beagan bliadhna beagan bha dà bhean-uasal bheartach a' còmhndhuid ann an taigh mòr, leth-mìle mach as Steòrnabhagh. Smaoinich iad gum biodh iad na bu chomhfhurthail an dachaidh a dhéanamh shios ann an Sasuinn, bho na bha iad a' fhas aodsa. Chreic iad ann d'air neis agus an taigh. Chòun robh cáil aca air a bhàghach a chasal. Bha i aca 'n a pet ann an leas. Smaoinich iad gum tugadh iad seachad i do dhuine a bhiodh gu math dhith. Chunnaic iad ann an latha so duine a' dol seachad ann an rathad, agus dh' fhàchadh iad dheith c' a an robh e a' dol. "Tha mi," ors' esan, "a' dol dhachaidh a Ghrumiseadar." "Dé," orsa te aca, "cho fada's a tha an t-slighe?" "Tha," ors' esan, "ochd mile. Bheir mise dà uair a thide 'g a choiseachd," "'Eil duine idir anns a' bhaile a ni an t-slighe na 's clevere?" "Tha," ors' esan, "tha nighean anns a' bhaile againge a
"Well," ors' ise, "ma ni i sin, thigeadh i nall ann seo, agus bheir mise dhíth 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 fhein ann am briogais ride-ig, agus dh' fhalbh i dh' iarraidh na h-asal. 'Air a ràinig i a' bhean-usal thubhairt i rìthe nach do rug ise air asal a riamh. "Chan eil sin gu deifir," ors' a' bhean-usal, "tha mi fhin ag aithneachadh ort gum bi thu glè mhath dhìth.

Agus thog Màiri oirre dhachaidh leis an asal. 'Air a bha i nall air an rathad, choinnich duine rìthe, agus thubhairt e rìthe: "C' arson nach eil thu ride-geadh an asal?" "Eisd," ors' ise, "chan robh mise air muin asal a riamh."

'Air a ràinig Màiri an taigh, dh' fuair ise, "ma ni i sin, thigeadh i nall ann seo, agus bheir mise dhíth asal a bhios aice a' tarruing na mònach.

"Dé am biadh a bheir mi do 'n asal?" "Ó," ors' esan, "cha do dh' ith an asal sin cùil riamh ach súcharan." "Ó," ors' ise, "s ann agam a bhios ceannaiche oirre, agus Niall air falbh le na points orm." Latha r' e na mhàireach chaidh i sios gu bùth a' cheannaiche, agus thubhairt e rìthe: "Chuaf a mi, a Mhàiri, gun d' fhuaire thu asal." "Fhuaire," ors' ise, "ach chan eil fhios agam dé a' fhuaire thu." "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' dhiubh bascaidean, agus cha leig thusa leas cliabh mònach a chufr' air do dhruim am bliadhna."

3.

Anns a' bhliadhna 1938 bha mòran bhalaich òga aig an taigh ann an Liùrbost. Bha e g16 dhuilich dhaibh gu math tric a'ite fhaighinn ann am biodh iad a' cur seachad na tide, agus bha sin a' toirt orra a' bhith a' deanamh treigichean air tòrr dhaoine oideche na bliadhna-ùire. Smaoinich dithis an oideche so, 's iad a' gabhail an rathaid, agus botul uisge-bheatha aca, gun tèidheadh iad a' dheanamh treige air an t-Sionnach.
Dh' fhuirich iad gu 'n deach e a chadal, agus chaidh an dàrna 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 seachad, agus boineid an t-saighdeir. 'Air a shaol am fear a bha staigh gun robh an t-each air a dress-igeadh aig an fhear a bha muigh, thàinig e mach, agus choisich an dòigh leis an each suas an rathad. 'Air a chunnaca na bàilteile eile 'am beathanach so a 'tighinn, cha do thuig iad dé bh' ann. Bha duil laighe gur e an Loch Ness Monster air a thiginn air tir, 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 chunnaca 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 chunnaca e an rud uamhasach sin aig an eaglais. Agus 'air a bha e gu bhithe aige, stad e, agus thubhairt e leis fhein: "'S e an droch spiorad a tha siod," — 's fhada bh' ann 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 fhein bha e 'n a sheasamh anns an dorus. Chunnta e dithis hchalach a' tighinn a nuas an rathad, agus an rud uamhasach sin a' coiseachd còmh-riutha. Dh' eigh fear aca: "Iain, an e seo an t-each agad?" "Ó, ma 's e," ors' esan, "chunnaca 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."
270

MAGNE OFTEDAL

THE GAELIC OF LEURBOST

271

fìn 'd'èal — ha ad a 'hòfraxgurN' ga 'hùsN', 'd'-ìf 'fìnèdL eòs 'xula 'hòRùN, 'Nda:Rn 'dùN'n ga 'gàlòN, gà'os a 'Nduan' 'èla ga 'lìfìdòl è 'màx — go 'a:t' asa 'N'ìurnìric i. ha i èd a 'fàgal è fìn àR'san trì: 'hèxgurN'an. 'NduarRh «n ha ad ga 'tògal è 'Nda:Rdr, 'kèchad na 'koìg è 'yu:nàn 'kò: òì cì:le: af 'd'e-i fìn è 'bì-if'd, af 'N'ìfàN' 'ta: 'hèxgurN', ha ad è d'anna 'Ru:-anò na 's 'màu na 'fìn, cur è 'xula 'ga: na trì: 'kò: òì cì:le: ha i 'NduarRh 'dèal àR'san è d'¢URx, ga 's bi na 'hòfrìnic 'sàs ga 'fànuNìc — 'faòlù lo-e òd è 'màN'n — aNa 'NkìòN' gà'os aNa 'mbràcN'an, gà'os 'fèrìN' aNa 'mbàri:ch, ca kur 'xònàN 'Ro-id'. ha i 'NduarRh èd a 'fàgal na 'fù:Rò — òì 'tìuò è 'Ro-id', àR'san 'ga: na trì: 'hèxgurN'an. ha 'NduarRh «n èd 'lari-òn ga 'tuRìgh 'à:xì, gà'os bi 'Nìliù na 'd'e ò 'ràgN'n 'lìòNgh na 'lairì. ha ad è 'NduarRh — d'ann 'krùx ìòìh àgòì 'teòn.

5.

fo àN 'bùN'N èd 'af — na 'kat 'mo:x — 'kò:èì aNa 'mbà:chax 'i-aN' 'gòì, ha a 'gìle: 'nà 'gàs, tàdR 'ga: 'bìòg è 'xula 'La-a, gà'sò 'mòìg a 'màrdàg 'ìò 'LucìN', na 'fà 'gìle: 'nuh — na 'Ndàfìnic è 'N't'eRax. 'hòfrìc 'dììN'n 'çì:waxg gh 'Ro ad è 'kàuL na 'N'd'ìfànan. ax s aN è 'hòfrìc 'ì-aN' 'heìn — na 'gìdìàrN' 'ìfànan, gà'os 'gà:èìc a . geà e 'Nkat è na 'faòlù lo-e. gà'os asà 'vùdìnN' fo, 'Nda:R'n 'ga: 'bìòg è 'hàRd 'fìas 'xòa 'xèl', s aN è àxò a asà 'fà:ì leò 'Nbràk(ì) 'fòd', èdà 'hùxì a 'Nkat èd 'faòlù 'pìcs 'fòja, hug a 'súì èd 'ì-aN', gà'os huRd a 'òfì — 'fì:wì: mi a 'wìh — nau el u ga 'mbòirì 'tàLo:ì. ha (a) àx 'màì ghò 'gàL è 'xò-àd èh'sa:x 'at'e 'fùdìc èdà.'

'gaLàò à 'Nkat è 'NduarRh 'fìas è 'gàdòx è 'vàxax è 'Nà:Rdàò, gà'os 'sdà:R 'ìò 'dìùìc 'ìfànan è 'Nà:Rdàò gà'os 'ìfànan 'xòalN', na 'kàlan à 'faòlù aNa 'mò:lsàdàr le 'xòas 'pòifòd', gà'os xa b 'ruRìN', 'ga: 'gàL of 'd'-ì è 'xèt', gà'os xa 'Ro 'fìs àgòì 'de: 'Jìòdòh a. àx è 'La-a è d'has

spaidean dh' a rùsgadh. Agus 'air a bhios sin deiseil tha iad a' töiseachdainn g' a buain, dòthich timechiol air a h-ùile h-iarunn, an dàrrna duine g' a garradadh, agus an duine eile g' a tilgeil a mach gu àite anns an tiormaich i. Tha i air a fàgail air an sin airson tri seachdunean. An uair sin tha iad 'g a togal an àirdhe, ceithir no cóig a dh' fhàdan còmh-rì chèile. As déidh sin a rìthidh, ann an ceann dà sheachduin, tha iad a' deannam rùghanan na 's motha na sin, a' cur a h-ùile dhà no tri còmh-rì chèile. Tha i an uair sin deiseil airson a cur chun an rathaid, agus bi na boirionnaich agus na fìrionnaich a' falbh leo air am muin ann an cliabh agus ann am pocannan, agus feadhainn ann am barraichean, 'g a cur chun an rathaid. Tha i an uair sin a' fàgail 'n a tìùrr ri taobh an rathaid a de a dhà no trì (de) sheachdunean. 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' deannam cruach dhìth aig na taighean.

5.

Bho chionn bliadhra air ais bha cat mòr a' còmhnuidh ann am bàthach Iain Dholly. Bha e glè mhath dha, a' toirt dha biadh a h-ùile latha, gus am biodh e a' marbhadh nan luchainn. Bha seo glè mhath, gu 'n tàinig an t-earrach. Thìosich daoine ag éigheadh gun robh iad a' call nan iseanan. Ach 's ann a thòisich Iain fhein 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 thòirt sìos chun a' chait, 's ann a chaidh e a de dheàdh leis an fhore feòur. 'Air a fhuaire an cat air falbh pios bhuaidhe, thug e sùil air lain, agus thubhairt e ris: "Feumadh e bhith nach eil thu 'gam iarraidh tuilleadh. Tha e cho math dhomh a dhol a choimhead airson àite fuirich eile."

Dh' fhàlbh an cat air an uair sin sios a dh' fhuireach a bhàthach an Tàilleir, agus start e ag ith e iseanan an Tàilleir agus iseanan Challein. Bha Callean a’ falbh ann am plaster le a chas briste, agus cha b’ urrainn dha dhol as déidh a’ chait, agus chan robh
MAGNE OFTEDAL

272

THE GAELIC OF LEURBOST

273

\[ \text{MAGNE OFTEDAL} \]

272

OFTEDAL THE GAELIC OF LEURBOST

273

272

OFTEDAL THE GAELIC OF LEURBOST

273

Air a bha Roddy òg bha e a' suirghe air nighean anns a' bhaile 's fuair e an òrann anns a' bhaile 's fuair e an òrann. Bha siod a' bhliadhna a bhàtheidh e 's bha siod a' bhliadhna a bhàtheidh e. "Feumaidh tu fàinne thoirt dhomh." "O," orsa, "tha mi gle dheònach, muna b' e ro dhaor." "O," orsa, "gheibh thu fear a' cheàrd de dhèanadh a chitis air a' chat." Thòisich Roddy air an òran, ach chan robh e a' faighinn air adhart gle mhath leis, bha a' chas aige cho goirt. "S ann a thaing balach a steach, agus thubhairt e ris: "Tha an cat marbh shios aig a' bhàthach (bhàthach) agad." "O," orsa Cailean, "s math a bha fios aig a' cheàrd dhèanadh a chuins air a' chat."
Fraserburgh (sic) a chaidh ise. 'S a cheud oidhche bha dannsa aca ann an taighean Gordon, 's ann a thuirt 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 tri seachduinean, aig dà uair 's a' mhaduinn, thàinig gille a shealltuinn air nighean. 'Air a ràinig e an taigh chan robh i stiag. 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 mòr sin 'n a sheasamh a muigh, agus ghabh e feagal gur e mèirleach a bh' ann. "Dè," 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, "'a ech a' bhean agamsa, ach chan fhaigh thusa i. Falbh dhachaidh, air neo cuirdh mise policeman as do dhèidh." — 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 chu'n na h-uinneig, agus dh' éigh i ris: "S math, a ghràidh, gun tàinig tu, 's mi gu bhith ris a' mhòine tu 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' déanamh dàm a bha e. Bha e ag obair le spaid, agus chanaimh gur e riasg cho brèagha 's a chunnaic mi a riamh a bh' ann. Theireadh sinn cho gann 's a bha iad de ghnuthachean airson an teine. Dh' iarr mi an spaid air an duine. Gheàrr mi mach leis an spaid eige dusan no dhà de dh' fhàdhan. Sgaoil mi mach anns a' ghréin iad. Thubhairt mi ris an duine an ceann seachduin a' carachadh bhàrr nam fàdan, a rìthis, an ceann seachduin elle, 'nuair a bhiodh na fàdan air tìrachadh gu math, a' feuchainn an dèanadh e teine dha. Chaidh mi
MAGNE OFTEDAL

276


9.


1 Recorded xalig, which is probably wrong.
2 Recorded kbía-á.

9.

Tha mise ann seo ‘n am aonar, gun duine cómh-ríom ach mi fhin. Ach tha dùil agam ri duine a thighinn cómh-ríom air an ath-sheachd-duin, agus tha e a’ dol a dh fhuirreach cómh-ríom tri seachduinean. Tha e ri falbh agus a’ tighinn cómh-ríom a rithis anns a’ Mhàrt, agus bi dùil agam gum fan e tri seachduinean eile cómh-ríom an uair sin. Agus cho fada ‘s a bhios e cómh-ríom thia sin a’ dol a bhuaín mhòine. ’Nuair a thig an samhradh, bi mi Thin a’ togail a’ mhòine so. Agus ’nuair a bhios i tioram airson a cor gu ‘n rathaid, tòisichd mi aon uair sin ‘n a pocan-n ‘g a tarruing gu ‘n rathaid. Agus ’nuair a bhios i gu lèir aig an rathad, gheibh mi carbad a bheir dhachaidh gu ‘n taighe i. Ni mi an uair sin cruach mhòr 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 bidh a bhios sinn a’ gabhail anns an taigh. Mas caith i, feumaidh sinn an ath-bhliadhna tòiseachd-dairn air buain móine eile, agus an aon obair againn a dhéanamh air a’ mhòine agus a bha sinn a’ déanamh bliadhna roimh sin. ’S ma chaithneas a’ mhòine a bhuaín sin am bliadhna mas faigh sinn an te eile deiseil, feumaidh sinn gua a cheannach gu ‘m bi an te 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 leasans an obair sin a’ dol air adhart anns a’ bhaile. Chan eil cail a dh fhios againne dé an t-atharrachadh a bhios air a’ chòius sin sia bliadhna as déidh seo. Muna seas a’ mhòine rinne, feumaidh sinn gua a cheannach ‘n a h-àite.
Bha còrnair de 'n dùthaich ann ann am robh tòrr de na boirionnaich glic agus tòrr de na daoine gòrrach. Bheireadh na boirionnaich a chreidinn 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 thúnig ceannaire-siubhail timchioll, ach am faicheadh e an e an fhírinn a bh' anns a h-uile càil a chuala e mu dheireadh an àite. Ach chan robh e fada ann gus am faca e air a shon fhéin gur a fhírinn a bh' anns a h-uile càil a chuala e mu dheireadh an àite.

Chan robh e fada ann gus am faca e duine a' ruith cho crauidh 's a b' urrainn dha. Bha e a' ruith sios leathad airson gearradh goirid, gus am faigheadh e do 'n bhaile na bu luaithe an rathad mòr. "Am faca tu mulchag chàise a' ruith leis an leathad?" Chan fhaca," thubhairt an ceannaire-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 beile thu a' feuchainn ris an rathad a dhéanamh leat fhéin, ach chi sinn có bhios an toiseach!" Thòisich mi a' ruith cho luath 's a b' urrainn dhomh, ach am faighinn roimh a' mhulchag chàise.'

Crhath an ceannaire a cheann, agus chum e air adhart. Chan robh e fada air falbh 'nuair a thàinig e gu taigh e bh' aird a bha air taobh a' chladaich. Bha balla an taigh e cho lúsal agus gum faoidh duine coiseachd 'n a mhullach. Chan robh fios aig a' cheannaire dé chanadh e 'nuair a chunnaic e duine a' feuchainn ris a' bhò a chuir an àirde a mhbullach an taighde. Bha e ag iarraidh gus gu 'n itheadh a' bhò am feur a bha a' fàs troimh a an tugadh, ach cha tèidheadh a' bhò ann.

"Muna faigh thu a' bhò chun an fheòir, c' airson nach fheuch thu ris an fheur a thoirt chuse?" dh' fhaisgnich an ceannaire dheth. "Cha ghabh dèanamh," thubhairt an duine. "Dé bheir thu dhomhsa ma ni mise e?" thubhairt an ceannaire.

"Bheir mi dhuit gròta." Fhuair an ceannaire corran, agus cha
‘tug e fada gus an robh e bhos leis an fheur. Chruinnich e e agus thig e chun na bá e, agus dh’ fhalbh e.

Chaidh e troinm a’ bhaile, ‘s chaidh e gu taigh anns an robh triùr bhoirionnach a’ sniomh air cuigeal. Bha e feuchainn ri rudan a chrie 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 bhunneas sinn, agus chuinnich moran riut anns an àite so cho glic rinn.” “Tha mi a’ tuige gum beil na daoine anns an àite so gile ghròchar,” ors’ esan. “Ó, tha (is-e) an fhìrinn anj sin. Bheir sinn a chreidsinn air daoine rud ‘s am bith a thogras ann.”

Well, tha fàinne òir agam anns an àite, ‘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 buachaileachd, thubhaint e bhean ris: “Ó dhuine bhochd, tha thu a’ coimhead dona!” “Am beil?” dh’ fhaighnich a bhàin. “Tha, agus tha gu dearbh, feumaidh tu dhol do ‘n leabaidh anns an spot.” Rinn Ailean an rud a dh’ iarr a bhean air. Sheall a bhàin e a bhàin e a bhàin e a bhàin e a bhàin e a bhàin e a bhàin e a bhàin e a bhàin e a bhàin e a bhàin.

Naòd, bheil e a’ bhuachaillearachd, thubhairt a bhàin ris: “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 dúnta, mar gum biodh e marbh. Chaidh a bhean a mach, ‘s dh’ òrdui a ciste-laidhe (ceann-crìoch).

a h ‘dáN, garas xa N’d’el ‘is am ‘ko: h aN.’ “man e ‘nife h aN, ‘ko: h aN?” “f’ e ‘fin do ‘grí-íc s,” hurrdo ‘vén, “‘fáLa as na ‘hjáLa, s na ‘bh: go ‘drágh aram!” xaj ‘i-aN’ s’was e’d ‘teN,” s ‘goLíc a ‘a ‘hein ase ‘xéLa. xaj a ‘fexad ‘a ‘Ndísic aNo ‘hín, aea ‘fheáy a N’ai a ‘hein ‘n u ‘dáN.


hurrd a ‘LaRág mi te ‘fhe ‘y u ‘ha-asd, s hu ‘aRsd ‘e gíe ‘yuh!”


“méil mi ‘Lurúmáxxy?” hurrd ma ‘véin ‘rúim gæ ‘Ro ma ‘fhe ‘yuh

“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 ghnothaich-sa,” thubhairt a bhean. “Fálbh as mo shealladh, ’s na bi gu dragh orml!” Chaidh Iain suas air a’ bheinn, ’s dh’ fholaich e a fe Gün ann a’ choille. Chuir e seachad an oidheach an sin, ach am faceadh e an e a fe Gün a bh’ ann.


Cha do dh’ fhuirich Donnchadh na b’ thaidh gan fhalbh. Chunnaic e an tiodhalaceadh a’ tighinn, ’s chaidh e troinbh na pàircbeag gus am failheadh e roimhe. ’Nuair a chunnaic iad an duine ruisgse rompa, ghabh iad feagal, agus bu mhall leo an casan airson faighinn as, ’s dh’ fhág 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 ruisgse ’a sheasamh ri taobh na ciste-laidhe, sguir e smaoineachadh air fe Gün, ’s thòisich e smaoineachadh air an duine a bha ruisgse. Chaidh e sios far an robb e. “’El thu ‘gam aithneachadh?” dh’ fhàighinn e dhuibh.

“Nacht tu mo nábuidh Iain?” thubhairt i. “Dh’ fhaireadh a dhutaidh; ’s tha thu a’ coimhead collach ris.” “Thubhairt mo bhean do chum a bh’ ann, agus is cinnteach gum beull fios aisce. — C’ airson thu lomnochd?” “Am bheil mi lomnochd? Thubhairt

1 Recorded ‘N’tíLiágh, but it is hardly likely that the nominative would be used here.

THE GAELIC OF LEURBOST 283

MAGNE OFTEDAL

THE GAELIC OF LEURBOST 283

MAGNE OFTEDAL

THE GAELIC OF LEURBOST 283

MAGNE OFTEDAL
mo bhean rium gun robh mo dheise dhubh orm.” Bha an duine a bh' anns a' chiste-laidhe a' cluimintinn dé bha Iain is Donnchadh ag radha, agus thòisich e ag éigheachd gur e a bhean a thubhaint 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 ceanaireachd-siubhal timchionn,'s thug e an ceann anns a' chiste 's thubhaint e ris an duine éirdh 's a dhol dhachaidh. Ach cha do charaiche Ailein gu 'n tìnnig 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 e an ceanaireachd-siubhal am baile, 's thubhaint e nach teidheadh e air ais do dh' aile de 'n t-seòrsa anns an robh na daoine cho gòrrach.
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’ Óidreadbhal
   An dùil ’s gum faighinn còmhradh ort,
   ’S ann a bha Murchadh Mór agad
   An còrnair anns ann an àiridh.

12.

**Chorus:** Hi mo leannan, hò mo leannan,
   'S e mo leannan am fear úr,
   Hi 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,
   Caint a bheòil cha téid air chùl.

3. 'S e mo leannan Gille Calum,
   **Carpenter** an daraich úr.

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 fhuaire mi leannan úr.

6. A’ chomhailrle bheirinn fhin air gruagach
   A’ bhith cumail suas ri triùir.

7. Ged a dheanadh fear a fàgail
   Bhiodh a dhà aic’ air a cùl.
8. 'gad mh'ig i ghn 'dàin' idir
    fillim ag 'N'f-an ag 'xwfr.

13.
Chorus: 'o: 'hi: hug i 'jo: 'w:rag s nu 'ho:ro 'fa:Li,
    'o: 'hi: hug i 'jo:

1. 'w:rag 'veg ní iL 'và:Rdín',
    'go: 'Lí:N do jàx 'slà: N' a 'glà: N'.
2. 'fu:dh' 'fu:dh' Luaj 'NkLo:
    go 'pàugif 'fàsdo gà mò 'là: N.
3. xa 'N'd'el mo 'là: N na ga 'hia: Rì,
    ha 'e: 'li:sh áf ò s 'è: 'hà:Rsdà:n'.
4. ha 'è: 'è: òf òf 'Ntà:Làd,
    s 'hi: ì 'N'd'ún nu 'mà: to: 'gàx.
5. 'fàulfr 'beg s ò 'shòran 'ià: Lèx,
    s 'bòia ò 'hi: fid yàna 'và: Lèx.

(Last line corrected by another informant thus:
    s 'bòia ò 'Rud ha 'fà: o 'è: 'fà: Lèx.)

14.
Chorus: 'janiN 'sugrày òfà 'N'àn 'dufj,
    'o: 'è:dà ò: 'nà: di:N',
    'janiN 'sugrày òfà 'N'àn 'duf.
1. 'janiN 'sugrày òfà 'vòd'àN
    'rà: 'hàic' ùgh i 'agum.
2. 'janiN 'sugrày rut èd ò 'a:dí

8. Ged a bhiodh i gun duin’ idir
    Dhèanadh an nighean a’ chuíis.

13.
Chorus: Ò hì thug i ó, Mhòrag, ’s na hòro gheallaidh,
    Ò hì thug i ó.
1. ’Mhòrag bheag Nic ’Ille Mhàrtainn,
    Dh’ òlainn do dheoch slàinte a gleorn.
2. Siùidibh, siùidibh, luaidibh an cò
    Gu briogais phòsda do mo leanan.
3. Chan eil mo leanan-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 fòleadh beag ’s an sporan iàllach,
    ’S brèagha a thig siod do mo bhalach.

Different version:

... ’S brèagha an rud a tha bodha air fàlach.

14.
Chorus: Dhèanainn sugradh ris an nighean duibh,
    Ò éirigh ans a’ mhaduinn,
    Dhèanainn sugradh ris an nighean duibh.
1. Dhèanainn sugradh ris a’ mhàighdean,
    A h-uile h-oidhche bhiodh i agam.
2. Dhèanainn sugradh riut air airidh
    Nam beann àrd 'us each 'n an cadal.

19 – Norsk Tidskrift for Språkvéstakap, suppl. bind IV.
3. Dhèanaimh sùgradh riut air bhuail.
Sìos 'us suas mu bhruaich do leapa.

4. 'S ann Di-Luain an déidh Di-Dòmhnuich
A dh' fhalbh sinn le Seònaid a Acaibh.
16.

Bha bodach anns a’ bhaile againne aig an robh leas chaít mhór. Agus ‘air a bha na stocanan a’ fás iomad gu bhith abhaich, thòisich na balaich ‘g an goid air. Agus chaithd Eoghainn bochd — chaithd e fiadhainn le na balaich agus thubhain e rithe, a’ cheud fhear a ghlaedach esan ann, gun gearradh e a mhaimh.

Ach smaoinich na balaich air plan, anns ann am fuigeadh a’ air stocanan Eoghainn a ghoid, agus nach fhaceadh e iad iad. Cheangail iad sreang mu bh' anns an leas, agus chaithd e stocan A' rachadh suas, fa fhaoi eus iad a chur a' rachadh suas, a' cheud riutha, a' cheud riutha, a' cheud riutha.

An leas, a’ cheud riutha, a’ cheud riutha, a’ cheud riutha, a’ cheud riutha, a’ cheud riutha, a’ cheud riutha. Chan fhaca Eoghainn an stocan no na balaich tuilleadh.

Air a dh' chur e anns a’ maduinn 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 fhaireadh iad.”

17.

Tha mi gle sgìth dhith gu dearbh. Ann an meadhon no deireadh mios April bi daoine a’ dol a mach ‘s a’ geurachadh nan spaidean, a thoir dhith na rùgh. ‘S e sin a’ cheud rud a dh’ fheumas bhith a’ dhèanamh rithe. As do dhíth sin bi sgiobadh ‘a’ dol a mach, dìthis mua ‘n iarunn, dh’ a buain. ‘S e sin uileadh ‘s a tha timchioll air a’ bhuain aice. Tha i a’ toirt an uair sin an astar, ach bha e air innse gun do rinn e call agus feagal a chuair air daoine ann am badan eile do ‘n cilean.
MAGNE OFTEDAL

18.
(de: na ‘hèich àn ‘fà-ìc h a Ndà ‘Loù-as?)

18.
[Question: Dé na beathaichean fiadhach a th’ ann an Leòdhais?]
Well, chan eil moràin de bheachtaichean fiadhach 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 inntse. Tha i air a — an cumail le daoine a tha coinhead as an dèidh, agus bi tòrr a’ dol a steach a’ poch-igeadh ann an sin. Bha uair a bha féidh mu ‘n chaisteal, ann an Leòdhais, ann an Steòrnabhagh, agus — ach an diugh chan eil moràin ann. Tha an caisteal air a leigeil seachad, chan eil uachdar an’ fuireach an’ns 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 cail ann an diugh, ’s ann tha mise a’ cluinninn gum bhell e air a — gu bhith air a thoirt seachad airson sgoil a bhios ag ionnseachad balaich òga air ceàrdan agus air rudan eile, airson am bith-beò a dhèanamh.

tri seachduinean ’n a laidhe air na puill. Ma bhios tide mhath ann, faodaidh e bhith gun tèid a trogail na ’s tràithe na sin. Thathas an uair sin ’g a trogail, a’ dèanamh — cuir a dhà ’s a tri ’s a ceithir de dh’ fhàdàn cómh-ri chèile, a réir an seorsa (sic) bliadhna a bhios ann, rud ris an can iad rùghadh. As dèidh sin bi a’ chuid mhòr có dhiù, a’ dèanamh an ath-rùghadh oirre, a’ dèanamh rùghahan, a’ cuir a dhà ’s a tri aca — de’n cheud fhèdhaíin a rinn iad, ann an ceann a chèile. Tha sin a’ cuideachadh le — bhith ’g a tiorachadh na ’s fhàrr, agus ’g a dèanamh na’s aodrùime aironson 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 fhèidhainn 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.
ha — ha 'Nkat 'fióa-ic, kud'essg, va a 'fin — 'kR 'er aN, ax xa 'Nd'el 'mor' of 'fekín' ake, ha kroud 'vor 'ÝthNíocán vo nan 'kindl mi 'dáN'N' 'sín' shean. ax j e ma 'nexeq ga veI 'began 'dáN' ha-sed jow. xa 'NdáN', 'göss 'xK r do 'vehiscán 'fióa-ic e h 'dáN.
(nax el 'behax 'dáN dífta Nkan ad 'fx:logan?)

'fx:logan? 'ot: ha; -- -- -- -- 'fin 'jorRs do 'Lux. 'behax 'beg. (mbl 'Náriocán aN?)

ha, ha 'Náriocán aN. agus na 'vod 2 na va ad 'gle: 'faL', aN' 'Louv-s, ax xa 'Nd'el ad xK 'paLi 2 'N'd'uh, ax ha ad 'dáN. ha 'aíl'se an 'dáN, jöv(?). ha ad 'gÍ-fs od gar 'dáN aN' 'NgäNüd a xad'al, as na 'grädNds, man a xánsa ad, gar 'háN 2 va-so e 'fekín' 2:xR ake 'fexN 'parid'. 'l'mhíorL edh 'völt'ax 'agINo aN 'dáN a 'hif 'dákN' 'tulsIN ed 'sìan aN (?) aN instead of ak?). (mbl 'pífan asna 'faddriocán) ha ad a 'gró-ga ga 'mbl, ma 'víd'ds ad u, go vel 'toR 'pífan 'fIN'd2, s go 'frum dun'a 'Ndagdär 'fekín aN' asa 'sbo't. xa 'Nd'el 'káil a 'jís agam de: 'NtäN'm e h edh 'Ndadó s h aN.
(mbl 'krwawan 'idhir asa 'N'd'elan sa?)

ha, 'begam 'xru:ván aN, ax j e 'gle: 'veg. ha 'l'mhíorL edh 'kof'dal 'fá:Rnuvaj, ha 'mhmíorL edh 'mi' -- 'míl's 'skw'ar aN' ,hÍn, de 'xru:ván. ha a 'gle: 'vöia-a 'sádúrsy, ax -- xa 'Nd'el 'mor'an ed 'fay 2 'N'd'elan'N' ax 'fin 'hecn, mana 'hék fu aN 'Nkär 'a'I', 'l'mhíorL edh 'taj 2 'síd s 2 'fs, 'ga na 'xhi: [xh'ëN.ns,ht] 'xru:ván. ha ad a 'gí-fs 'göss, 'nu:vçN' adh, go R - -- go R 2 'N'd'elan agIN' a 'xru:ván ga 'Led'. agus ha 'fin 'gle: 'traúd 2 'wáb'dFin', go 'Ndód a vis fiN' 2 'bdhN' na 'móiré, ha fiN' 2 'fekín' -- 'Riánsa na 'Nkru:ván, asa 'Rusg, agus ha 'fin 2 'gí-fs, go R 2 'krú:ván aN 'wadiN. ga r 'bi 'de: 'huaud 'gáu, xa 'NdúRo yó 'fsa 'gáu.

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Tha — tha an cat fladhach, cuideachd, bha sin — còrr fhear ann, ach chan eil móran ri faicinn aca. Tha crowd mhór bhliadhnaichean bho nach cadaí a cuideachta a chunnaic aonan. Ach 's e mo sheandhram gum bheil beagan ann fhathast dhiuibh. Chan aithe dhomh a' chròir dhe bheathaichean fìadaich a th' ann.

[Q. Nach eil beathaich ann ris an can iad "fèòileagan"?]
Fèòileagan — ò, tha — 's e sin seòrsa de luach. Beathaich beag.

[Q. Am bheil nathraichean ann?]
Tha, tha nathraichean ann. Agus bha uair a bha iad glè phaill ann an Leòdhas, ach chan eil iad chu phalt aon diugh, ach tha iad ann. Tha àiteachan ann dhiuibh(?). Tha iad ag innse dhomh gur h-ann ann an grind a' chaisteil, anns an grounds, mar a chanas iad, gur h-ann a bhathas a' faicinn tòrr aca bho chinn ghoirid. Timchill air a' mhòinteach againne 's ann an inneamh a thig duitse tarsuinn air aonan ann.

[Q. Am bheil puinnsean anns na nathraichean?]
Tha iad ag radhast gum bheil, ma bhìdeas iad thu, gum bheil tòrr puinnsean inne, 's gum feum duine an doctor fhìaìnn anns a' spot. Chan eil càil de dh' fhios agam d6 an t-ainm a th' air an nathair a th' ann.

[Q. Am bheil craobhan idir anns na eilean so?]
Tha — beagan craobhan ann, ach 's e glè bheag. Tha timchill air caisteal Steòrnabhagh, tha timchill air mile square ann sin, de craobhan. Tha e glè bhreagha anns an t-samhradh, ach chan eil móran air feadh an eilean airch sin fhéin, mur faic sibh ann an còrr aite, timchill air taigh an siod 's an seo, dhò a thri (sic) craobhan. Tha iad ag innse dhomhba, bho chionn fhada, gun robh an t-eilean againne fhù crhoabha gan lèir. Agus tha sin glè thuasada a chreidsean, bho 'nuair a bhios sinn a' buain na mònach, tha sinn a' faicinn reumhach nan craobhan, anns an riag, agus tha sin ag inne gun robh crhoabhan ann uaireigin. Ge b' e air bith dé thachdair dhiabh, chan urrainn dhomh innse(adh) dhiabh.
Well, chan eil, cho fada 's is aithne dhomhsa. Air a' mhòintich chan eil craobhan idir ann. 'S e flor chòrr spot. 'S aithne dhomh aön àite, no dhà, anns am bheil beagan. Agus tha iad 'g an gearradh sios. 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 fasnachd do sprìdh — do chaoraich, anns a' gheamhradh. Agus tha mi fhin a' creidsinn gur e rud feumail a bhios ann, ma thachras e.

Q.: Nach eil craobhan 's am bith air a' mhòinteach an diugh?]

Well, bha e mar chleachadh agamsa 'air a bha mi òg a' bhith a' breabadairchead, agus 's e obair a bha a' pàidheadh glè mhath
MAGNE OFTEDAL
Ib6Ebadadaxg, f e 'obad a va 'pa:-ay 'gle: 'váh e v 'ááN. ax xa Ra i 'gle: "- 'aLaN' anNa 'N't'id'ax 'Ndáüri 'id'ir. (de: 'Ndurf e va: a 'Ndóò a 'hoeifie u 'boébedadaxg?)
va mi 'koj b'litNo 'd'ág.

(ayas 'de: xa 'fada s e 'lén u 'Ndobad 'fin?)
'o: hag mi 't'imi'çéL ed 'koj b'litNo mas d'ex mi 'jana 'xogay, ayas na mi 'di-ifd' 'da: 'ááN a 'd'e-ki ô,i-hi-an 'as 'xogay, va mi di 'boébedadaxg u 'di-ifd'.

(de: 'Rud e 'jé:mas fu 'd'áünu 'Ndóox lef 'x'áü?)
lefs 'x'áü? 'o: 'wel f e 'fN'ëow na 'kLáü, 'fN'ëow ayas 'ka:Rlóy na kláü, f e 'fin a 'çidob e 'há-ats e xLo 'vró:v id'ir, ax ha 'Nd'u, s aN e 'há-ats e 'd'áünu 'Ndóob fin asna -- 'ááN na 'máéliÁn. ax o 'çid'ááxána h' agámas, s aN ha 'kátin again eñna 'káLóxan asna 'balÁen e na mi 'NkúäuRd ayas asa 'val usna 'hogyg na 'hí:n, a vi 'fN'ëow ayas e 'ka:Rlóy de 'kailián a -- -- 'ááN na 'dáxi-an. f e 't'ána 'mí-an e 'Làd e v asna 'tehan e 'NdáüRsan. ayas (sic) f e 't'ána 'dú-a 'xuÁp 'tov a u eda 'NdáüRsan. ax fóÁN 'gróÁNun 'mór 'vliÁxan ed 'af ga na 'máéliÁn e 'Ndáü, e NkáNun 'mór ayas 'hafiç ad e 'fN'ëow ayas e 'ka:Rlóy asna 'máéliÁn le 'N'ëow áxá na 'káhx en 'R'xan u vi 'd'áünu na 'Róxan. (Ndáü asna 'tehan e xya ed a 'd'áünu 'boébedadaxg?)
s aN asna 'tehan e xya na 'bjaRóxan e 'Ndóox ed. asna 'tehan ayas ayas asna 'soe:Léxan. 'gle: 'rhiÁk asna 'tehan e xya ad. (ayas 'de: maná ha 'fín e 'ný?)
wele ha 'a nýf, ha 'r'ri-çé ed 'ahaRácxy 'gle: 'voor. ha 'fecoñan ake ed a 'hógal ed 'fálÁ fán 'tehan, ha 'tehan 'ur: ak ed a 'hógal s a na 'tehan 'dah ed e xol e 'máx a 'bih, ayas ha 'fecoñan ak ed e

anns na lathaichean anns an robh mise a' breabadaireachd, 's e obair a bha a páidheadh glé mhaith a bh' ann. Ach chan robh i glé fhallain ann an tide an t-samhraidh idir.

[Q.: Dé an aois a bha thu 'nuair a thóisich thu air breabadaireachd?]
Bha mi còig bliadhna deug.

[Q.: Agus dé cho fada 's a lean thu an obair sin?] Ó, thug mi timchioll air còig bliadhna mas deach mi do 'n chogadh. Agus bha mi a rithis — dà bhliadhna a déidh dhomh thiginn as a' chogadh, bha mi ri breabadaireachd a rithis.

[Q.: Dé 'n rud a dh' fheumas sibh dèanamh an thoiseach leis a' chlóimh?]
Leis a' chlóimh? Ó, weil, 's e sniomh na clóimhe, sniomh agos càrdadh na clóimhe, 's e sin a' cheud obair a thathas a' dèanamh a thaobh a' chló-mhòr idir. Ach tha an diugh — 's ann a thathas a dèanamh an obair sin anns na muilnean. Ach a' cheud chuimhne a th' agams/ta cuimhne agam air na caileachan anns na baillean a bha mu 'n cuairt agus anns a' bhaile anns an do thogadh mi fhín, a' bhith a' sniomh agus a' càrdadh le cuibhlichian anns na dachaidhean. 'S e teine am meadhon an lár a bh' anns na taighean an uair sin. Agus 's e taighean dubha a' chuid mhòr a bh' air an astar. Ach bho chionn grunnan mòr bhliadhnaichean air ais ghabh na muilnean a null an clò-mór agus thóisich iad a' sniomh agus a' càrdadh le cuibhlichian anns na dachaidhean. 'S e teine am meadhon an lár a bh' anns na taighean an uair sin. Agus 's e taighean dubha a' chuid mhòr a bh' air an uair ud. Anns na taighean agus anns na sabhlaichean. Glé thric anns na taighean a bhiodh iad.

[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 thric anns na taighean a bhiodh iad.

[Q.: Agus dé mar a tha sin a nis?]
Well, tha a nis, tha a' ghnothaich air atharrachadh glé mhòr, tha shed-ichean aca air a thogail air falbh bho na taighean; tha taighean úra aca air a thogail 's tha na taighean dubha air a
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’ chús ann an latha ud.

[Q.: Dé tha iad a’ déanamh ris a chloimh 'nuair a tha i air a sniomh?]

Ó, well, tha a’ chloimh an toiseach ri nghe, ’s tha i an uair sin ri cardadh. ’S air a thèid a’ chloimh a chàrdadh, thathas — thathas ’g a cur air — air iall air a’ chuibe. Agus a déidh sin a rithis thathas a’ déanamh cnocain dhith. Agus ’air a thèid cancaoin dh thathas ’g a deilbh, agus a déidh an deilbh thathas a’ cur a’ chlo do ’n bheart, bi iad a’ déanamh rud ris an can iad beartachadh, an uair sin.

[Q.: Dé an seòrsa beartan a th’ agaibh?]

Ó, 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 bodach a’ figheadh — a’ fighe anns an latha ud. Agus roimhe sin, roimhe sin a rithis thathas — thathas a' dèanamh cnocain dhith. Agus 'air a théid a' dèanamh dh thathas 'g a deilbh, agus a déidh an deilbh thathas a’ cur a’ chlo do ’n bheart, bi iad a’ déanamh rud ris an can iad beartachadh, an uair sin.

[Q.: Agus feumaidh sibh dath a chur air a’ chloimh —]

Ó, well, tha na dathan a’ dol air a’ chloimh glè thric mas tèid a sniomh. Thathas ’g a nighe, agus ’g a dath, ’s e sin a’ chloimh — ma tha sibh ann a chur air a’ bhith air a’ chloimh. Ach glè thric thathas a’ déanamh — air a bhiodh dh’ a’ déanamh cló anns an latha ud, bhiodh dh’ a’ dath dh’ dhàrna leth, agus a’ fàgaill an leth eile gun a dhaith idir. Agus gheibheadh sibh an atharrachadh patran mar sin, no — gun teagamh dh’ fhaodadh sibh a h-ùile seòrsa dath a chur air a’ chloimh. Ach anns an latha sin chan roib dath ann ach an crotal.
20.

Tha atharrachadh mór air a thiginn air Leòdhas bho chionn gruannan bliadhnachan air ais ann seo. Bha treis ann siod 'air a squir an cogadh, 's bha tòrr airgid ri a dhèanamh ann an Leòdhas. Bha feum mhòr air a' chlò-mhòr, 's bha marcaid mhath air an sgadan. Ach le suidheachadh an t-saoghail gu lèir chaithd na rudan sin a mach a fasan glè mhòr a nis. Tha an clò-mòr air a mharbhadh le purchase tax, 's chan eil feum 's am bith air an sgadan. Tha marcaid Rusia, tha mi a' creidinn gu hi-s coireach — 's i-s coireach ri sin. Ach rinn daoine ann seo, rinn iad treallaich airgid agus rinn iad an t-saoghail gu leòr, 's tha daoine an diugh a' cur umhail air mar a thà 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 mhòr aca anns na sean lathaichean. Ach tha cùisean an diugh gu thrugh, air a h-uile dòigh. Tha an sgadan gann, 's chan eil marcaid dha ann, 's chan eil marcaid idir do 'n clò-mhòr, 's tha cùisean fuithasach bochd. Tha mi dìreach a' smaoineachadh gum bheil rudeigin air chul a h-uile cail a th' ann.

Q.: Am biodh na cùisean na b' fheàrr mur biodh am purchase tax ann?

O. well, bhiodh an clò-mòr tòrr na b' dheàrr mur biodh am purchase tax, well, tha am purchase tax 'g a mharbhadh; tha an clò-mòr uamhasach doar; 'nuair a th' ann "luxury cloth". Agus chan fhiach e idir a phràs a tha e; ged is e fior aodach math a th' anns a' chlò-mhòr, chan fhìach e a' phràs a tha e a an diugh idir. Gun teagamh chan fhìach aodach 's am bith, no a' bheag de rudan 's am bith, a' phràs a tha e a an diugh, ach gu h-àraidh an clò-mhòr, thà a' uamhasach doar. Ach gun teagamh, na'n toireadh an government, na'n toireadh iad dheth am purchase tax, bhiodh an clò-mòr — bhiodh tòrr a bharrrachd dhòighean air a cheiric na mar tha
cúisean an diugh. Tha e uamhasach duilich a chreic an cló-mhór 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 còmhniudh tha e na ’s t-heàrr ’s tha e na ’s fhurasda creic fhàighinn air. Ach tha puirt a th’ air an fhearann thall, tha iad a’ toirt an trade gu lèir 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 glè mhor. Bha latha a bha tri nó cheithir uireadh 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’ mhainland. Well, tha am freight a’ marbhadh an trade ann seoir air a h-uile seòrsa doigh.

[Q.: Nach robh factories ann . . .?]

Tha, a nise, tha factory ur 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 ur?]

Sin am factory ur, ’s e.

[Q.: Nach robh curing factories ann?]

Tha, a nise, tha factory 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.
MAGNE OFTEDAL THE GAELIC OF LEURBOST

(‘de: mana na ad e ‘cuiriòg e ‘sgadain’, ‘de: na ad e d’anu ‘dìf’?)


vox ‘sgadain’ a ‘fo, ax xa N’d’el ‘ginn ake — xa Rò ‘ginn ake ‘fo

vo eX N ‘lo:R eò ‘biòNò ‘nìf.

(N’e ‘kibars e na ad e ‘dìòna?)


(nax Rò ‘kaNìg ,fagdaírais aN e ‘dìòs?)

‘wel ha ad e ‘gra-e ga ‘Rò:sh. ha ad e ‘gra-e ga Rò ‘kàNìg [k‘aNìg], fagdaírais aNò ‘hjo kaRsd go ‘Lo:x, ax xa N’d’el ‘ka:l e ‘xìnì amas eR.

ax xa ‘La-a na ‘ùònas ‘vatìcian aNò ‘fd’ex:Rnuav. ha mi ‘klànì’sd’on ‘fàsìN ‘gàna ‘bòidìc e ‘gra-e g el ‘kàin ak ed ‘nìò ‘bàite vi ‘nìò s e ‘fd’ex e ‘fd’ex:Rnuav, xa N’d’el ‘ka:l e ‘xìnì aìos ed ‘Le ‘fìn e vi aN.

[Q.: Dé mar a bha iad a’ ciùraigeadh an sgadain, dé bha iad a’ déanamh ris?]

Ó, well, bha — ó, ’g a chur chun na marcaid ’air a — a dèith a chiuiraigeadh; ’s bhiodh Klondykers a’ tighinn — tòrr Chlondykers a’ tighinn a steach do Steòrnabhagh an uair sin as a’ Ghearmailt ’s a’ toirt leo treallaich mhòr sgadain a seo, ach chan eil gìn aca — chan rohb gìn aca an seo bho chionn còrr air bliadhna a nis.

[Q.: An e kippers a bha iad a’ déanamh?]

Ó, well, bha iad a’ déanamh treallaich mhath chippers agus a’ sailleadh treallaich mhath dheth, direach mar a tha iad an diugh fhèin, tha iad a’ déanamh treallaich mhath chippers an diugh cuideachd. Tha iad a’ déanamh kippers an samhradh ’s an geamhradh. Ach cha ghabh e a chiuiraigeadh, cha ghabh an sgadan a chiuiraigeadh ach ’s an t-samhradh fhéin.

[Q.: Nach robh canning factories a riakh 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 bodach ag radha gum bhell cuimhne aca air mile 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 Grimsetter." "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 nick-name). 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."

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.

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 their 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."

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 de-pressed." "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.

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!"

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 the peats after a week, and then, after another week, to try and start a fire for himself. 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.

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.” [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.

There is a slight confusion here. The original text is “an uair a ràinig mi
mullach a’ bhruathach thuirt a’ mhulchag chàise air an rathad is thug i ‘na
deann le leathad”, which, of course, implies that the man had been car-
rying the cheese.
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 clothing
   And I would take you without any clothes on
   Before I would take a girl from Limervay
   With a bare carpet under her heels.

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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.

21 -- Norsk Tidsskrift for Språkvidenskap, suppl. bind IV.
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 4efisked—over
    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 rûghadh. After that most people anyway give it a second
    rûghadh, making rûghan, 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 (the deer) 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—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 feòileagan?]

Feòileagan—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 it, 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.
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, the houses and in the homes.

[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?]

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.

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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.

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1 This question was apparently misunderstood by the informant, being badly worded by the interviewer.
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 Dwellly'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 $e$ is replaced by $e$ in stressed syllables (and consequently in the diphthongs $ae$, $ia$, and $ue$), while $a$ 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 final unstressed vowel may implicit
dùibh = dùibh, see do 2
dha chribh: prn: dìud indeed 68
dheth, dùibh, dhinn, dhioim, dhit see
dhith see de and do 2
co dìdh see under co
dùibh see de
dùibh, dùibh, dùibh, dhùin, dhùnt see
do 2
Di'-d' -day (bound morpheme found
one in the names of weekdays: d'-Là's5) Monday, d'-d'ìdear Rad
Tuesday, d'-d'ììnd'N5 Wednesday,
d'-d'ììnd'N5 Thursday, d'ììnd'N5 Fri-
day, d'sàbtaí'sa Ve 144, 146
Dì-Dhiùnach d'ììnd'N5 (Sunday rarely
used, cp. Sàboinnò)
Dìa dh'èidh God 95
dhiùbal dìwàl m 1 dèal 167, 172, 176, 187
dìas d'òs ear of corn
dhichìoll d'i'-ìgl, d'ìgl umtost end-
avour, see best 66
dhibhail a' Fhìolair industrious 66
dhì-chumhne d'a'dìthn forfuthness;
act of forgetting (ra'N5 m'ìd't). 'I
forgot' 95
dhibhail a' chothadh d'hà, d'ìgl, d'ìgl,
d'i'sììmì to forget.
dìlabh a'ìgl heritage 67, 146
dhìdhàil a'ìgl neasd to spew 67
dhì thag 'a' Fhìolair (d'ìgl-us?) n
revenge
dhìdhàil a'ìgl neasd to spew 67
a'ìgl razmitt (d'ìgl-us?) n
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dhìdhàil a'ìgl neasd to spew 67
a'ìgl razmitt (d'ìgl-us?) n
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revenge
dhìdhàil a'ìgl razmitt (d'ìgl-us?) n
revenge
dhìdhàil a'ìgl razm
Gall gaul m I person from the mainland 46, 47, 183
ghabhail gheàin 'yearling calf' 89, 175
gann gòdN 'scarce; short of (de) 91, 98
gaoith(e), goaitean see goaith
gal go: Lu' n love 81, 82
gaoth gur (i) 'wind wind' 82, 89, 90, 109,
117, 135, 174, 186, 194
garbh gao 'rough' 197
gercadh gur 'in' I stone wall or fence
(fichier f) 56, 109, 127, 183, 194
gasda goid(a) 'nice' 197
géidh gao 'm I goose 68, 72, 75, 94,
108, 174, 180, 183
gael gaul white 54, 108, 124
gealach gaul f I moon 187
*gealbharach gaul 'm I species of musk
184
gealadh gaul 'n promise 49
gealatainn gaul 'n to promise 92, 124,
146, 238, 242
gearmhradh gao 'm I winter 92, 108,
167, 174, 185
gearan gao 'n to complain 47, 58
*geamharchaun gaul 'm I a species
of musk 184
gealadh gaul 'n promise 49
gealatainn gaul 'n to promise 92, 124,
146, 238, 242
gearmhradh gao 'm I winter 92, 108,
167, 174, 185
gearan gao 'n to complain 47, 58
*geamharchaun gaul 'm I a species
of musk 184
gealadh gaul 'n promise 49
gealatainn gaul 'n to promise 92, 124,
146, 238, 242
gearmhradh gao 'm I winter 92, 108,
167, 174, 185
gearan gao 'n to complain 47, 58
*geamharchaun gaul 'm I a species
of musk 184
gealadh gaul 'n promise 49
gealatainn gaul 'n to promise 92, 124,
146, 238, 242
gearmhradh gao 'm I winter 92, 108,
167, 174, 185
gearan gao 'n to complain 47, 58
*geamharchaun gaul 'm I a species
of musk 184
gealadh gaul 'n promise 49
gealatainn gaul 'n to promise 92, 124,
146, 238, 242
gearmhradh gao 'm I winter 92, 108,
167, 174, 185
gearan gao 'n to complain 47, 58
*geamharchaun gaul 'm I a species
of musk 184
gealadh gaul 'n promise 49
gealatainn gaul 'n to promise 92, 124,
146, 238, 242
gearmhradh gao 'm I winter 92, 108,
167, 174, 185
gearan gao 'n to complain 47, 58
*geamharchaun gaul 'm I a species
of musk 184
gealadh gaul 'n promise 49
gealatainn gaul 'n to promise 92, 124,
146, 238, 242
gearmhradh gao 'm I winter 92, 108,
167, 174, 185
gearan gao 'n to complain 47, 58
*geamharchaun gaul 'm I a species
of musk 184
gealadh gaul 'n promise 49
gealatainn gaul 'n to promise 92, 124,
Iain t-aN', t-aN' John 65
an lar (s) 'N'd'er (the) west; (a) 'N'd'er bus northwest, (e) 'N'd'oras southwest
larinaigeadh iaRuǐgű to iron 38, 242
laradh leAs to ask for, to request, to want 95, 235 ff., 215 f., 219 f.
larun leAthN m I iron; 't, 'měnax peat-iron; iRaN 'bClhàLax gail, landing-hook for fish 95, 146, 147, 154, 174, 184, 245
iasad iasN n loan
law lase m I fish 95, 107, 136, 173, 182
iasag impe:s m to fish; fishery 170
iasgair leAthN v fisherman 190
idar id'er adv. at all, ever 47, 66, 153, 217
h-ighne see nighenan
frinn ifrinn 'hN' Hill (only in religious usage: cp. ifrinn) 76, 78, 112, 117, 131, 153, 184, 198
im prp. with; by; belonging to 34, 43, 52, 60, 61, 62, 70, 86, 89, 93, 105, 119, 133, 145, 146, 156, 200, 213, 223
le prp. by: to belong to 34, 43, 52, 60, 61, 62, 70, 86, 89, 93, 105, 119, 133, 145, 146, 156, 200, 213, 223
leabhadh see leòbag
leadbaidh Leòb l irreg. bed 55, 57, 59, 103, 153, 156, 168, 192, 195
leaibr Leòr, Leòr m book 68, 70, 71, 125, 131, 146, 175, 213
leagadh Lo-r to melt 84, 241
leam see le
leana Lànaù a plain, area of flat ground
leananbh Lànà'f childish 197
leannabhd Lànà small child, baby 55, 154
leannadhbh see leantuin
leann see liann
leanann Lànà'ñ sweetheart
leantuin Lànà'n to follow; to continue 51, 177, 224
leausn/man (nn) see leabaidh
leas 1 Les a garden; cornyard 59
leas 2 las necessity; only rec. in constructions like xa lìf u 'has you need not
leasachadh LŁísE to improve 43, 59, 242
leat, leatha see le
leathd Le-ad m I slope 59, 134, 151, 175, 177, 185
leathan LëitN', LëitN' wide, broad 58, 125, 177, 197
leathar Leòr leather 59
leibh see le
leig leigèl to leave: to let 40, 66, 243
leigeais Le-o-f to care 64, 241
leithead Leòr shirt 38, 51, 68, 139, 156, 213
lein see le
leis Leòg lazy 51, 62, 198
leisgeul Leòg u excuse 62
longa hns f nail (of finger or toe); claw 67
lochian t-arN' Interesting, curious 65, 134, 146
longantas t-arN' a wonder, surprise; iondhrainn 'hddhàN' to miss 31, 51, 93
ionnsachadh 'hFhOasaY to learn; to teach 42, 47, 93, 130, 131, 242
iosal ioSÁL adj. low 59, 119, 198
iothann juLinh' cornyard 52, 78, 117, 131, 153, 160
is (s) is (the) copula 31, 195, 198, 199, 210, 242 f.
is ile emph. pers. pron. she, her 209 f.
is ean ifan m I chicken; bird 155, 170, 182, 184
is eil' id'(a) f feather 65, 107, 156, 170
it heas t'Ntas moth 38, 87, 114, 156, 170
it' eil' t'Ntas moth 38, 87, 114, 156, 170
itcachan 'hSàn bobbin
iteachan 'hSàn flight, act of flying
iteachan 'hSàn to fly
iteachan 'hSàn to eat 43, 56, 114, 156, 170, 238, 243, 345
lucair juxad I IV key 76, 102, 198, 194
lucair juxad I IV to fish; fishery 170
lucair juxad I IV hall (in profane usage, cp. ifrinn) 76, 78, 112, 131, 146, 147
lu ca leath
lìdach Lòdàis great quantity, a lot 124
lòdach Leor hoof 84, 175, 194
lòdhrach see under bhràdaide
lag Lag weak 98, 158, 190
lagh Leòr saw 85, 115, 124
lagh Leòr eggs 124
lagh Leòr nice 124
laghail Lòylàr lawful
laidhe Lòys n to lie (down); lying not
ladhír Lòd'ar, Lòd'ar strong 57, 124, 149
laige Lòys weakness 158, 190
laimhe see 1 lìmh
lair 1 Lòd'ar Mòire 47, 56, 191
lair 2 see lìar
lìamh Leòr f II hand; handle 47, 87, 112, 124, 173, 186, 203
lòmhàd Leòr, Leòr, Leòr f II
lìamh Leòr saw 85, 115, 124
lìamh Leòr lining (fish) 55, 115, 124, 157, 199, 195
lagadar LòNger f a kind of seaweed 99, 121, 130
lanntain see lànda
lanntail Lànà'ña lantern 92, 124, 138, 139
laoch Leòg m hero 82
laugh Lòg corresponding to 143, 177, 182
laith Lòi f VI hymn 45, 91, 135, 193
laithd Leòr m I track, footprint; scar
lahach Leòr to write 47, 56, 173
lahach Leòr see leòbag
mùchadh
*muga
muinntir
muing
mullach
'mùlax m top, summit; roof
'n poss. pron. see an
42, 44, 73, 74, 78, 133, 146, 155, 156, 198, 204, 208, 218, 247
Mòr woman's name, often angli-
cized Marion
mòtaí morcan n much 208, 216, 218
mòrchuis mòt̂x̂f proud, haughty 52,
140, 146, 155
mòrgan mòr'yan gravel, shingle
57, 121
nìrt, mortair see murt, murtair
mosaich mòs u avaricious
mòtha see mòr
mòthachd mòt̂x̂fy to perceive 73, 134
mu mòt̂h ppr. about 33, 64, 85, 78, 156, 221
mu 'n coni., see mòs
mùch mòt̂h f if pig 77, 110, 185, 186
mùchadh mòt̂x̂fy to choke 75
*nuga mòg jud 109
mòte(n) see mòc
mùcheal mòs u n churn 77, 150
a mòthog (a) mòd̂ ch. adv. out, outside
(repose) 45, 76, 130, 216
mùilean mòt̂hN' f 111 mòil 89, 176,
184, 195, 196
muilear, muilean mòt̂hd̂ miller 89, 145
muilean see muilean
muin mòt̂hN' n back
muiling mòt̂h f, mane 45, 91, 130, 150
muinntir mòt̂hN', mòt̂hN’dr n sg.
people, inhabitants 89, 107, 139
mùr mòd̂h u n 111 ocean, see 77, 156, 180, 188
muilleadh mòt̂hx̂yg f rec. in m. ‘x̂y in
a ball of cheese
muilleadh mòl̂x̂y m top, summit, roof;
celling 77, 168
mùr mòd̂h conj. if not, unless 235 ft., 269 ft.
Marchadh mòt̂x̂yg Murdo(ch) 85, 140,
174, 182, 185
mùr mòt̂ĥd̂ n murder
tcurity mòt̂ĥd̂d̂ murderer

'n article see an 1
'n ppr. see ann an
'n poss. pron. see ann 4
na 1 no na (only before imperatives)
237, 261
na 2 na than 32, 299
na 3 to comparative part. 52, 189, 256
tòrradh to:Rèy to heap, to pile
tràghadh trà-gèy ebb-tide 56
tráig tràg ebb-tide; part of the shore
between flood and ebb marks
tráith see tráith
trang tràng busy 39, 51, 106, 139, 138
trao trao corn-cake 40, 43, 84, 86
tráith trá: early; ma 'chur already 56, 198, 217
tráthach tráchx f I huy 187
tràthchad trá-th: go to plough 70
tréne see tréen
treis tre: phle 85, 85
tréen tré:en strong 48, 61, 63, 198
trí trí: three 105, 200, 228 f.
án trítheamh (a) 'Ntri:u the third 231
tríùrr tríù:ir three (persons) 128, 181, 193, 239
tríùitacht see prathach
tróibh tro-:d vb. def. come! 59, 74, 187
tròd tró:d rubbish 70, 106
troneach tró:chd mercy
tróid tróid n quarter, scolding
troigile tróigal variant of togail, ap-
tróigle see tróig, tróigadh
true see tuigse
trúsin see tuigse
trúa, trúasal wages, salary
trúas n 2 country (as opposed to
-town) 97, 98, 135
trúasgheal trúasghxe m farmer 96, 97, 188
trúbaist tòbís' accident 43, 85
túc túc m plug-hole (in boat)
tug, tugadh see täbhairt
tugha, tug, tugadh see tuig, tuigé n thatch 77, 156
tuigfeal tuigfe:is to understand; brains,
intelligence 43, 51, 190, 138
tuigfeal, tuigfealintelligent
tuitig sam tua tuigse
tuill tuil flood, great rainfall 77, 105
tuill see toil
tuileadh tuilx y and adv. (any) more
45, 90, 92, 215, 215
tuitaim tuif'man to fail 80, 81, 146, 243
tuig tuilx úr n.dwirn or dent, as on
laminated metal
tunnag tuNag, tuNag f II duck 72, 73, 106, 187
túr f ur tower 47, 80
tuairisg tuairisgd dry weather, drought 82, 146, 147
tuairseal tuairisgd sensible, ingenious
tuirsig truirsig m 1 journey; time, occasion
80, 82, 146, 147, 185
tusa, thus thurs, the emph, pers. pron.
2d pers. sg. you, thou, thee 209
uachdara uachdara m proprietor (of
estate)
uairg uairg I tomb, grave 132
uairnach see uairneach
uairn see uair
uairn f. IV time; hour; (o) Na:daill sa:n
then; u:ndaill at times, now and then
97, 162, 189, 195, 215, 218
an uairn Na:daill, Na:daill, Na:daill, co:Naill
co:Naill when 238, 241
uairneach u:ndaill, u:ndaill, u:ndaill, u:ndaill,
solidary, undisturbed 52
ullairneach u:ndaill na VI watch 191
ullairneach u:ndaill u load
uamha dho' cne ca:ve 96, 97, 115
*urainmar do' cne: m VI man living in
holes or caves, (3) outlaw 97, 191
ullamh ùb-làil lonely
uamhas ùb-làil great quantity
uamhasach ùb-làilx terrible, terribly 42, 97, 150, 218
uamh do' cne: m lairbd 45, 96, 97, 187
uasal uasal: high; noble 95, 119
ubhal u:il apple 75, 76, 177, 156, 175
cúis nùis grown cown-fish
uchd uchd, uchd lap, bosom 72
ud ud, ad, ad that (unstr. form of siod)
214
uga uga collar-bone
ugb u:gb m 111 egg 77, 80, 173, 188, 193
ugh u:gh u:gher 70, 152
Uibhist si-f'd Uist 80, 130
Uibhisteach si-f'dax m person from
Uibhist
údhis f narrow passage between two
lochs; isthmus 135
Uig uig Ulig (village and parish name)
108, 133
Uigceach u:ge:s m 1 person from Uig 184
ugile(an) see uig
tuilleadh see uig
uile uile (v. & adj. all; (o) 'zulA, (o) 'zul:as each, every, all 76, 77, 115, 216
ullean uén' f elbow 77, 125
ull see ait
tum see mu
úrn f. III time, while, period 123, 190
úrneag cún' a, cún' a f II window 80,
81, 123, 133, 152, 195, 187
úrnearn cún' anuill 78
úr I earth earth filling between the outer
and inner dry-masonry walls of
"black house" 70

2. Old and Middle Irish

The forms entered are those found in the text. No attempt is made at normalizing
the spelling; any word is quoted in the orthography used in the dictionary or
stylistic where I found it. The forms do not distinguish between
Old and Middle Irish.

ábaise 57
ab(u)nud 12, 111
a:caoe 42, 56, 113, 156
acht 115
acu 113, 136
ad:tras 84
ad:as 84
adbar 86, 156
adh 133
adh 133
ad:ta 136
ag 84, 115
-alb (termination) 135
altb 82
alt 107
amh 53, 155
althagaim 142
ath-iris. athiris. 151, 154
Aibh 58, 105, 143, 155
atlas 113
(small (suffixed) 151, 154
amara: anu: 32
Amlaif: 92
amall 92
ammar 53
am Ámlaif: 92
amnì 53
an:all 92, 154
and 92
anam(m) 156, 160
anam 123, 154
anu: 56, 113, 123, 156
an-u:as 97
apair 55
arb 36, 156
argat 34

TRADUCTIONS

2. Old and Middle Irish

The forms entered are those found in the text. No attempt is made at normalizing
the spelling; any word is quoted in the orthography used in the dictionary or
stylistic where I found it. The forms do not distinguish between
Old and Middle Irish.
3. Modern Irish

flaithnaimh 95
flaithnacht 151
geim 133
geimh 133
gleithnesc 62
maoldhaim 91
maorach 88
meangan 115
miamhaodeach 94
moiteamhail 69
mulineoir 89
órthach, òrthach 71
peircéal 62
plaid 104
portan 70, 104
preadhadh 58
preiceal 62
próis, próis 72
rèadan 86
(re) rithibh 68

4. Norse Loans

Unless otherwise stated, the entries are in Old Norse with a conventional spelling.

akkeri 55, 110, 157, 161
Àleifr 92, 124, 152
*avist 57
bakborði(1) 103
bakk 103, 110
barar pl. 128
bát 56, 103, 155
belt 90
bita 67, 103, 107
Bjarnarry 131
bóli 74, 103, 134, 157
bogli 74, 103, 134, 157
bósltard 154
Borðguð 142
brók 71, 103, 128
búk 103, 137
bú ñ ñ
búð 70, 105, 115, 142
draga 86
e ñ 90, 135
Eidsfjall 63, 108, 152
fell 159
Fjallgerðri 107, 113
tjall 152, 159, 160
Gaitegrófi 55
garð 56, 109, 127
garði 56, 108, 127, 153
Grómssetr 82, 109, 120, 128, 152, 159
Grumnavatn 79, 108, 122
grimur 93
Grýta 67, 105
Grímsfjalli 63, 108, 122, 129, 152
tor 71
trághan, tráocoa 86
treis 85
troghan 86
troimcheannacht 82
tur 70

[guch] uile 115
usgo 136
úth 79

Hríssey 67, 119, 127
Hrosgil 70, 153
hrásta, hrúga 79, 80, 127, 134
Ingvarr 96
Ivarr 96, 112, 157
Ivist 90
karfl 55, 110, 112
Kárlavági 57, 110, 127, 151
ekfl 74, 110, 134, 155
knappar 104, 128
*Knebeli 80, 103, 129, 153
krjópa 79, 103, 110
Króargerði 70, 110, 134
Krókavatn 71, 110, 152
kross 70
Krossabúťi 70, 110, 119, 157, 159
krossfisk (Mod. Norw.)
kross- 90
krosskunta (Mod. Norw.)
krosskunta 90, 129, 136
krosslak (Mod. Norw.)
krosslák 90, 129, 136
kú (terminus) 155
kú ñ (termination) 155
kúl 77, 125
úir 79
úmal 77, 134
úr 79
úrchór 82
úmr-uríð 77, 153
úrnaithe 153
urusa 59, 113, 161
usce 82, 156
uth 79
uítlaich 138

rang- 139
rannsaka 92, 119, 127
Rognvaldr 86, 127, 157, 160
rón 115, 139
San(s)vatn 92, 119, 139
Saðastjall 40, 70, 119, 157
seír 90
simi 96, 120, 121
Skalpoy 55, 136, 138
skarfl 55, 85, 112, 136
Skarp 128, 136, 138
sker 63, 129, 136
skilpan 66, 130, 136
skilpan 66, 137
Skúttavatn 80, 105, 136
*skul 79
Steinsfjall 63, 120, 136
Stjórnarvöllr 127, 156
stól 136
stræng 90
styri 80, 129, 136
Svartdalar 119, 123, 157
svartbakr 133, 152
stótt 74, 105, 158
Tórskari 55, 105, 157
tóma 86
stóta 74, 105, 156, 157
Pormundr 55, 106, 121
borskr 70, 106, 128, 136
Breiðsfjall 94
váll 85, 113, 134, 157, 160
väx 103, 152, 159
vatn 152, 159
Vatn(son) 105, 112, 152
Vik 80, 108, 133
vindaug 82, 123, 152
Yngvarr 96

Yngvarr 96
ey 152, 159
eyland 62
Öfrírsey (Icel.) 70, 128

24 - Norsk Tidsskrift for Sproglidenskap, suppl. bind IV.
### 5. English Loans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>afloat</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>address</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>air</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apron</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bait</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banker</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bank</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basket</td>
<td>55, 103, 137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beggar</td>
<td>63, 109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basket</td>
<td>55, 103, 137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barm (O.E.)</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blush</td>
<td>85, 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bink (Sc.)</td>
<td>88, 139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barm (O.E.)</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>85, 120</td>
</tr>
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<td>88, 139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barm (O.E.)</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blush</td>
<td>85, 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bink (Sc.)</td>
<td>88, 139</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6. Terms and Definitions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>allophone</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aspirated stops</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cacuminal</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conjuncts</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>copula</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>def</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>depelatalization</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dependent (nasality)</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dependent (verbal forms)</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diphthong</td>
<td>27, 43 f.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ADDENDA & CORRIGENDA

P. 51, line 24: After *fl* 'hair', insert *sil*al 'disgusting'.

P. 93, line 18: *daut* 'doubt' is probably not a mishearing. Derek 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 *null*. This indicates that English loans containing the diphthong [au] may be taken over with *au* by Lewis Gaelic speakers.

P. 139, line 31: *LaNgadar* 'a kind of sea-weed' may represent an O.N. acc. *langpara* 'long sea-weed'.

P. 144: To the list of word categories with non-initial stress, add *adarjaLaxay* 'difference', *adarjaLied*(a) 'different', and possibly other words with a prefixed *ader-.*

P. 186, between lines 3 and 4, insert: "All polysyllables except those in -ax seem to lack the → altogether."

P. 198: To the list of adjectives with stem shift, add *LehiN* 'wide, broad' ~ *Lo-.*

P. 199, line 5: After "dentals", insert "and prepalatalts".
A Linguistic Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland

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