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Deposited on: 12 January 2009
‘BOCHANAN MODHAIL FOGHLAIMTE’: TIREE GAEIC, LEXICOLOGY AND GLASGOW’S HISTORICAL DICTIONARY OF SCOTTISH GAEIC

A: Introduction

The present paper is intended as a modest contribution towards the study of Tiree Gaelic, particularly its lexicon, drawing on a small part of the archives of the Historical Dictionary of Scottish Gaelic (HDSG) held in the Department of Celtic, University of Glasgow. In a volume celebrating the scholarship and career of Professor Donald E. Meek, one of Scotland’s most prolific Gaelic scholars, the present contribution can be seen to be appropriate from a number of perspectives. As a native of Tiree Professor Meek has a deep-rooted interest in Tiree Gaelic. As Assistant Editor of the Historical Dictionary from 1973 until 1979 (when he was appointed to a lectureship in Celtic at the University of Edinburgh) he had an intimate connection with HDSG (Thomson 1983, MacDonald 1983, Meek 2003).

The HDSG oral archive contains the word bochanan, recorded by Ailig O’Henley from the South Uist bàrd, Dòmhnall Aonghais Ruaidh, where it is glossed as ‘a Tiree word which means a right proper gentleman’, and cited in the contextual phrase ‘bochanan modhail foghluimt’. It is hard to think of a more apt description of Professor Meek himself who, during his extraordinarily industrious and productive scholarly career, has consistently shown himself to be a most learned, generous, courteous and ‘proper gentleman’. Although I have so far not succeeded in confirming the word and its meaning with current speakers of Tiree Gaelic, I take it that bochanan derives from the proper name Buchanan. The name Buchanan will have a number of different resonances for Professor Meek. It will remind him of the renowned sixteenth-century intellectual and Scottish historian, George Buchanan (1506–82), born in Killearn, Stirlingshire, and tutor to King James VI and translator into Latin of the Psalms of David. Similarly, it will remind him of the great eighteenth-century spiritual poet Dùghall Bochanan (1716–
whose works he is currently editing. But nearer to home, it will remind him of the much respected nineteenth-century Tiree doctor, Dr Alexander Buchanan (1836–1911), for whom a memorial monument was erected at Baugh. It would be extraordinary if Dùghall or George Buchanan were commemorated in the complimentary word *bochanan*. However, if the word derives from the famous Tiree doctor’s name, as is tentatively suggested here, we have a datable instance of a metonymical semantic development in Gaelic involving the personification of laudable characteristics – qualities which are eminently applicable to the honorand of the present volume. As a past student and colleague of Professor Meek, it is a great pleasure and honour to offer the present paper on his native Tiree Gaelic.

The Historical Dictionary of Scottish Gaelic was established in the Department of Celtic, University of Glasgow in the year 1966 on the initiative of Professor Derick S. Thomson. Kenneth MacDonald, the dictionary’s editor, described the dictionary as follows:

The aim of the project is to produce a dictionary of Scottish Gaelic which will illustrate the history of all recoverable words in the language by means of citations selected from all available sources. This involves the scrutiny of manuscripts and printed sources ranging in date from the sixteenth century to the present, as well as the collection of hitherto undocumented oral vocabulary. (MacDonald 1983: 62)

The HDSG archive contains oral materials (in various states of completeness) relating to 25 different questionnaires and a wide-ranging number of wordlists, each relating to different lexical domains in traditional Gaelic society. The titles of the questionnaires are as follows:

- Peat Working (G+E)
- Cattle (E)
- Ecclesiastical Terms (E)
- Sheep (E)
- Shellfish (G)
The domains covered by the various wordlists include the following:

- beasties, birds, boats, carts, clothing, creatures, cures, deer, domestic articles, drawings and explanation, earmarks (on sheep), farm or croftwork, female personal names, fishing, nets, fishing-tackle, flowers, forestry work, grammar, literature, human body, disease, human nature, knitting, land usage & apportionment, landscape, line fishing, thatching houses, Norse mill, place names, plants, plough, proverbs & expressions, riddles, sea, seashore, seaweed, sheepdogs, shellfish, survivals in Scots, wild flowers.

HDSG oral materials relating to Tiree consist of 11 separate items: 8 questionnaires and 3 wordlists. The questionnaires relate to the lexical domains of Cattle, Coltas an Duine (‘Personal Appearance’), Faireachdainn (‘The Senses’), Land Cultivation, Lobster-fishing,
Sheep, Weather and a school questionnaire on Shellfish. There are 3
wordlists, one miscellaneous, one devoted to the birds of Tiree and
the other to old Tiree houses. The bulk of the Tiree materials was
collected by Alan Boyd in the Summer of 1981 when he was a
student at the Department of Celtic, University of Glasgow. His main
Tiree informant was Eòghann Dhòmhnaill Eòghaimh Mhòir
MacIllEathain (Hugh MacLean, 1916–2002) from Goirtean
Dòmhnaill (Barrapol), then aged 64. Mr MacLean provided the
materials for 6 of the questionnaires and the wordlist on Eòin
Thiriodh ‘The Birds of Tiree’. This paper publishes for the first time
materials from five of the Boyd-MacLean questionnaires, namely
those relating to Faireachainn, Cattle, Sheep, Coltas an Duine and
Weather. By publishing these materials I hope to draw attention to
the linguistic, cultural and ethnological value of the oral materials
collected for the historical dictionary, and also to publicise a new
related project based in the Department of Celtic at the University of
Glasgow.

The Digital Archive of Scottish Gaelic (DASG), recognised as a
British Academy research project, was initiated in the Department of
Celtic in the year 2006, under the direction of the present author,
exactely 40 years after the historical dictionary project was launched.
The principal aims of DASG are: (a) to preserve and enhance the
archive generated by the Historical Dictionary of Scottish Gaelic
project (1966–96) by digitising it in database form and making it
publicly available on the internet; (b) to contribute to the inter-
university project Faclair na Gàidhlig; and (c) to facilitate and
stimulate new research in Gaelic-related studies in a variety of
disciplines, including semantics and areas of study within the ambit
of the Social Sciences.

B: Tiree Gaelic
This brief section outlines the main features of Tiree Gaelic which
are found in the materials edited below. For some general comments
on the affinities of Tiree Gaelic, see Meek 2004: 232–33.
1. PHONOLOGY

1.1 Vocalic

1.1.1 Breaking of long è to ia
ghiar (§1.2), sia (§2.1), bial (§2.5), briagha (§4.3), ian (§5.4.1), fiath, fiathail (§5.4.1); cf. breacan-sian (§4.2). Breaking does not occur in the loanwords peuta (§3.3), feucag (§4.3) but contrast the development in piatan (§3.3).

1.1.2 mòran
The word mòran in mòran chaora (§3.5) is reported with low-mid [ɔː] rather than high-mid [oː]. This contrasts with the Tiree forms, mòr and mòran (both with [oː]) cited in SGDS (628, 632). Alan Boyd informs me (personal communication) that the citation form of mòran has [oː] but that a reduced form is used when a noun follows, e.g. mòran dhaoine ‘many people’.

1.1.3 Long i retained before non-palatalised consonants
Long i is retained before non-palatalised consonants in Tiree Gaelic; this contrasts with the development /iː/ > /iə/, /ia/ in other dialects. See diomhain, fion, fior, iobairt, iomhaigh, lion, miorbhailt, mios, sgriobadh, sgriobhadh, sioda, siol, snìomh, spion (SGDS: 311, 429, 431, 522, 525, 577, 620, 621, 763, 764, 766, 767, 784–87, 795). The spelling sileadh for sioladh (§ 5.4.10) would appear to be indicative of Tiree phonology without diphthongisation; cf. miolan with /iː/ not /iə/ (§3.7). On this feature in south-western Gaelic dialects, see Grannd 2000: 52–53 and Ó Maolalaigh 2003a: 262–64.

1.1.4 Raising of oi > ui
The stressed vowel of soitheach is realised as a high back unrounded vowel in Tiree (SGDS: 792). The form saothach (§2.5) is indicative of such a pronunciation. The raising of o before palatals to a higher position is also indicated by the spellings guille, guilltean (§2.5) for goile and goiltlean respectively; cf. goile [ɡṹlˈe] (SGDS: 493) and also luige (§4.6).

1.1.5 earball / urball
The initial vowel of the word earball is realised with /u/ in Tiree (SGDS: 371); on the stressed vowel in this and similar words, see Ó
Maolalaigh 2003b. This is corroborated by the HDSG materials: \textit{urball} (§2.5).

1.1.6 Raising of \textit{e} to \textit{i} in \textit{teine}
Stressed \textit{e} is raised to \textit{i} in \textit{teine} (§5.9.2).

1.1.7 Epenthesis
Epenthesis in the environment of the sonorants \textit{r} and \textit{l} is found in: \textit{bleataraich} (§1.5), \textit{domalas} (§2.5), \textit{tioramachadh} (§2.7), \textit{bogalach} (§2.11), \textit{neo-shocarach} (§4.7); cf. \textit{currachdagan} (§5.12.2).

1.1.8 \textit{èa}
Compensatorily lengthened original \textit{e} before non-palatalised consonants is realised as \textit{ê} [ɛ:] rather than \textit{à} in Tiree, e.g. \textit{cèardach} [ɛ:] and \textit{fhèarr} [ɛ:] (SGDS: 173, 605). This is corroborated by the forms \textit{b’ fhèarr} (§5.13) and also \textit{bèarnach} (§4.2).

1.1.9 Lowering of \textit{o} to \textit{a}
Lowering of \textit{o} to \textit{a} occurs in \textit{clach} (§1.2), \textit{casan} (§2.5), \textit{caitcheann} (§3.4); cf. \textit{caigeann} (§3.6).\textsuperscript{7}

1.2 Consonantal
1.2.1 Palatalised \textit{r}
The quality of palatalised \textit{r} is quite distinctive in Tiree Gaelic (Meek 2004: 233). It is usually realised as a palatal approximant [j] or a semivowel [i] with or without some \textit{r}-colouring: see, for example, \textit{làir}, \textit{mairbh}, \textit{Màiri}, \textit{morair(e)}, \textit{muinntir}, \textit{muir}, \textit{oighre}, etc. (SGDS: 548, 601, 595, 631, 638, 639, 672). It is also realised as a voiceless fricative [ç], or occasionally as [ʃ] (retroflex) or [s], especially when unvoiced at the end of unstressed syllables or in the vicinity of voiceless sounds, e.g. \textit{coirce} [ç]/[ʃ], \textit{làidir} [ç\textsuperscript{(l)}], \textit{Alasdair} [ç\textsuperscript{(l)}], \textit{thachair} [ç\textsuperscript{(l)}], \textit{litir} [ʃ], \textit{idir} [s] (SGDS: 233–34, 546, 29, 818, 578, 514). The voiced fricative [z] and devoiced retroflex [ç\textsuperscript{´}] also occur, e.g. \textit{màthair}, \textit{idir} (SGDS: 606, 513). Palatalised \textit{r} is realised as a palatal fricative in \textit{icheann} and \textit{icheannach} for \textit{ifreann} and \textit{ifreannach} (§4.5) respectively. The form \textit{odharc} ‘female sheep up to a year old and before giving birth’ (§3.1) seems to represent a hypercorrection based on the particular Tiree realisation of /r\textsuperscript{´}/, 
whereby *othaisg* came to be interpreted as *odhairc*, which was subsequently altered to *odharc*, with contamination with *adharc* being a possible factor. In support of this interpretation, Alan Boyd informs me (personal communication) that the form *odhairc* is also found in Tiree. A similar development is found in Tiree *sùirste* (= *sùiste* ‘flail’) and presumably *sùirstean* (§3.7) also.

1.2.2 -idh / -imh > -ich
*bocsa-dipich* (§3.5), *a’ chloich* (§2.10; SGDS: 203). On the development, see Ó Maolalaigh 1999. This development does not occur in *lòinidh* (§3.7).

1.2.3 Glottalisation
The word *bola* (§4.1) is reported with glottalised *l* (i.e. *l* articulated with glottal stop); cf. *balach* (SGDS: 69). On this type of glottalisation in southern Argyll, see Jones (2000; 2006).

1.2.4 Preaspiration
Preaspiration in the form of [x] before *c* is marked in the following forms: *cròchdadh* (§2.9), *cachd* (§§2.11, 4.5), *anachdar* (§4.2), *feuchdag*, etc. (§4.3), *currachdagan* (§5.12.2). On the use of *chd* to represent *c* in Scottish Gaelic from the seventeenth century, see Ó Maolalaigh 2005: 111–13.

1.2.5 Intervocalic palatal *gh / dh*
Intervocalic palatal *gh / dh* is often dropped in Tiree Gaelic after non-front vowels, e.g. *taighe* (SGDS: 822, note on point 84), *thràigheadh* (SGDS: 862), *bòidheach* (SGDS: 118). This is corroborated by the notes on the words *bòidheach* and *laighe* which state that they are pronounced as *bòdhach* and *latha* (§§4.3, 4.7) respectively. We may compare the plural (*aighean*) and genitive singular (*aighe*) forms of *agh* ‘heifer over 2 years’ (§2.1), with similar loss of palatal *gh*. Against this tendency, however, we may note that *deigheannach* ‘ice’ is pronounced as *deitheannach* with intervocalic *h* (§5.11.3); cf. also *moighich* in section §1.2.10 below.

1.2.6 Loss of final unstressed -*dh*
*fionna* (m) < *fionnadh* (§2.5). This development is frequent in sandhi
environments, e.g. *milleadh-moighich > mille-moighich*.

1.2.7 Merger of stops *t / d* after long vowels
The spelling *spud* for *spùt* is indicative of the merger of *t* and *d* following long vowels. We may compare Tiree *bàta* [ḅaːdɔ] (SGDS: 81).

1.2.8 *cn > cr*
*creat* (§1.7.1), *crog* (§3.1).
1.2.9 Prosthetic *f*
*fruisg* (§1.2). Alan Boyd (personal communication) provides the further examples from Tiree Gaelic: *fàradh* ‘ladder’, *feasgann* ‘eel’ and *Feadailteach* ‘Italian’.

1.2.10 *moighich*
The genitive of *moigheach* ‘hare’ is given as *moigheaich* (§4.2), which is indicative of a pronunciation -[jaːç].

1.2.11 *buin*
The Tiree form is *buin* (§1.4), not *boin*.

1.2.12 *dam*
The prepositional relative *dam* (§1.4) rather than *dham* occurs in Tiree.

1.2.13 *ùth > ûgh*
The hypercorrect development of stressed morpheme-final *ù > ûgh* may be noted in the forms *ùgh* [uːv] and *ùghan* [uːvən] (§2.5).

1.2.14 Vocalisation of word-internal *mh*
*ceòthar < ceòmhar* (MS *ceo-ar*, §5.8.4), *seasach < seasmhach* (§5.1.1).

The following two features are less certain and may reflect the fieldworker’s perception of the informant’s pronunciation.

1.2.15 *-adh > -ag*
The spellings *cluaiseag* for *cluaiseadh* (§1.6) and *cròthag* for *cròthadh* (§3.5) indicate that the velar fricative may have been
produced (or perceived) with some degree of closure. Although this is not attested in the speech of the SGDS Tiree informant, it is found in nearby dialects, for instance in Morvern: see, for example, moladh (SGDS: 627, point 86).

1.2.16 Palatalised \( l l \) for \( l \)
A few instances of palatalised \( l l \) for \( l \) may conceivably be indicative of the partial merger of /L´/ and /l(\( ^{\prime} \))/, although this seems unlikely, e.g. coillich (§1.7.1), guille (§2.5).

2. MORPHOLOGY

2.1 Genitive singular -adh
The genitive singular by extension in -adh occurs in grèineadh (§§5.2.5, 5.12.1), cluaiseadh (§1.6), bogha-froiseadh (§5.3.4) and possibly also in sploiceadh (§4.2); cf. Mac Gill-Fhinnein 1966: 26.

2.2 Genitive singular
feòir (§2.8), cruidh (§2.8), guir (§4.2); gaoth (§1.7); circe (§4.1); aighe (§2.1), droma (§2.5), caca (§4.4), mara (§§5.8.3, 5.12.2), sùla and possibly sùl (§1.2).\(^{12}\)

2.3 Genitive plural
gamhna (§3.7), each (§5.3.2). The word caora seems to have a short and a long genitive plural form: mèilich chaora (§1.7.1), caigeann chaora (§3.5), mòran chaora (§3.5) and cù-chaorach (§3.5), mìolan chaorach (§3.7).

2.4 Dative singular feminine
sròin (§1.8), grèin (§5.2.5); see also following section.

2.5 teinidh
The dative form, teinidh, functions as a dative and genitive singular form of teine ‘fire’ (§4.2).

2.6 Monosyllabic plural adjectives
The singular form of the adjectives cam and àrd occur in the following plural contexts: cluasan cam (§1.5) and neòil àrd (§5.3.2). With these we may contrast tonnan mòra (§5.6.6). The contrast between compensatory-lengthened vowels (cam, àrd) and
historically long vowels (mòr) may be noteworthy here, and perhaps worthy of further study as a possible variable in the use of singular for plural forms of monosyllabic adjectives. The contrast which would exist between singular cam (with /aũ/) and plural cama (with /ā/) may be a factor in the selection of singular for plural; this would not, of course, hold in the case of àrd, which would retain its compensaorily lengthened vowel /a:/ in the plural form.

2.7 ro for tro
‘Roimh [pronounced ro is] used in Tiree instead of troimh [pronounced tro]’ (§5.4.11).

2.8 claisteachd
The form claisteachd rather than claisneachd is used (§1.1; cf. §1.6), no doubt due to contamination with èisteachd.

2.9 Plural
The following plural forms are found:¹³

Palatalisation
fruisg (§1.2), laoigh (§2.1), siaraich (§2.1), dò-bhliadhnaich (§2.1), daimh (§2.1), tairbh (§2.1), mait (§2.1), neòil (§§5.3.2, 5.3.3), urbaill (§2.5), sgamhain (§2.5), balbhain (§4.2), triubhais (§4.2), crùbain (§4.2), cullaich (§4.5), truaghain (§4.6), eòin (§5.12.2).

-an
buaidhean (§1.1), cluasan (§1.6), adhaircean (§2.5), casan (§2.5), ladhran (§2.5), corpan (§2.5), sinean (§2.5), ūghan (§2.5), slinneanan (§2.5), cuachan (§2.7), cipeanan (§2.9), langaidean (§2.9), dròbhan (§2.11), odharcan (§3.1), càraidean (§3.3), crotaircean (§4.1), neasgaidean (§4.2), trustairean (§4.5), bugairean (§4.5), cliobairean (§4.7), rùidean (§5.6.9), currcagan (§5.12.2); cf. buaraichean (§2.9, singular buarach), lùirichean (§4.1, singular lùireach)

-ichean
bagaichean (§2.5), stàlaichean (?stàilichean) (§2.9), cnogaichean (§3.1), trochaichean (§3.4), balaichean (§4.1),
màthraichean (§4.2), bòtaichean (§5.10.6); cf. bristichean (§5.6.7, singular bristeadh), deannaichean (§5.4.4), streallaichean (§1.5).

-achan
peatachan (§2.4), peileachan (§2.7), foinneachan (§§2.10, 4.2), reitheachan (§3.1), rigeachan (§3.3).

-tean
goiltean (§2.5).

-annan
troicheannan (§4.1).

-ich
coraich (§3.2), luchaich (§1.7.1).

miscellaneous: daoine (§1.4), gamhna (§2.1).

2.10 sealltainn
It is explicitly noted in the HDSG materials that a’ sealltainn is used rather than a’ coimhead in Tiree (§5.13(5)) in the sense of ‘looking, seeming like, appearing’; cf. §§1.3, 5.13.

2.11 sneachd(a)
Variation seems to occur between sneachd and sneachda. The usual nominative singular form in Tiree appears to be sneachd (cf. sneachd (SGDS: 783)). The form sneachda occurs particularly in genitive contexts in the HDSG materials, e.g. bòta-sneachda (§5.10.6), bodach-sneachda, muc-shneachda (§5.10.7) (and presumably also in cathadh-s(h)neachda §5.10.4 but see next section), but not apparently in a’ cur an t-sneachd. However, the disyllabic form occurs in the nominative in sneachda trom and sneachda mòr (§5.10.5) but contrast sneachd fliuch (§5.10.3).

2.12 dhuit
The second person singular prepositional pronoun dhuit (standard Scottish Gaelic dhut) is pronounced with palatalised t in south-west
Argyll dialects, in a contiguous area ranging from Tiree to Arran (Grannd 2000: 17, 78). This is reflected in the form *dhuit* (§1.10).

3. MORPHOPHONOLOGY

Lenition of nouns occurs most frequently with indefinite genitive plural nouns, and nouns qualifying preceding feminine nominative singular or masculine nominative plural nouns ending in palatal(ised) consonants. It is also found in the compounds *cas-bhristeadh* (§3.7) and *fliuchana-shneachda* (§5.10.2) where the first element functions as the qualifying element and where lenition traditionally occurs. Lenition occurs in similar adjectival compounds where the first element qualifies the second: *cama-chasach* (§4.1), *corr-chluasach* (§4.2). Lenition in *cathadh-s(h)neachda* (§5.10.4), if it is not an error, may have been influenced by the likes of *fliuchana-shneachda* (§5.10.2); alternatively, the form may derive from a dative context or possibly an elided *de / a* ‘of’ may be present. The historically correct form *an ceud bhainne* (§2.7) without lenition of *ceud* when followed by a masculine noun contrasts with the modern Scottish Gaelic categorical use of *a’ chiad*; see, for instance, Calder 1980: 28.

3.1 Indefinite genitive plural

*gìosgan fhiacal* (§1.5), *gogail chearc* (§1.7.12), *fàngail thunnagan* (§1.7.1); *mèilich chaora* (§1.7.1), *caigeann chaora* (§3.5), *mòran chaora* (§3.5); *cù-chaorach* (§3.5), *miolan chaorach* (§3.7).

3.2 Feminine noun + qualifying noun

*ceannag-fheòir* (§2.8), *caora-chàraid* (§3.3), *màthair-ghuir* (§4.2), *muc-shneachda* (5.10.7), *clach mheallain* (§5.10.8). Lenition does not, however, occur in *cèir-cluaiseadh* (§1.6); cf. *comhartaich coin* (§1.7.1).

3.3 Masculine nominative plural noun formed by palatalisation + qualifying noun

*fìr-chlis* (§5.2.6), *neòil thàirneanach* (§5.3.3). Lenition does not, however, occur in *buill-dòbhrain* (§4.2) or *neòil duakhir* (§5.3.3), where traditional homorganic (in this case dental) delenition applies (see following section).
3.4 Homorganic delenition
Traditional Gaelic provides many instances of an inherited homorganic delenition rule, e.g. Dòmhnall Chaluim Bàin, sgian-

dubh, droch cù (cf. Calder 1980: 27), not Bhàin, dhubh or chù
traditionally. At the dental place of articulation there are remnants of
this rule in the Tiree HDSG materials (buill-dòbhrain (§4.2), neòil
duathail (§5.3.3)); cf. comhartaich coin (§1.7.1) which may reflect a
synchronic instance of the failure of lenition to apply rather than a
reflex of the traditional homorganic delenition rule. However,
lenition is by far the norm at homorganic boundaries in lenition
environments as the following examples illustrate, e.g. claon-
shùileach (§.2), logamail dhiabhlaidh (§1.5), bruidhinn shocrach
(§1.5), sròn dhearg (§1.8), an-shid (§5.2.3), neòil shoilleir (§5.3.1),
fras trom (§5.7.3).

4. Semantic relations
The lexical material published below in ‘D: Questionnaires’ provides
important information about, and evidence for, the semantic structure of
Tiree Gaelic, and the semantics of Gaelic more generally. It provides
partial hierarchical taxonomies and meronomies for a number of word
fields and semantic domains of both the branching and linear types.¹⁶

![Diagram of hierarchical structures]

*Figure 1*: Hierarchical structures: The partial meronymic structure of *ceann* and
the partial taxonymic structure of *sròn*; unbroken lines indicate meronymic
relations; broken lines indicate taxonymic relations.
An interesting case of automeronomy occurs in *corp* ‘belly’ (§2.5), whereby an original superordinate word comes to designate a subpart of the original whole (Cruse 2004: 109).

Different types of linearly structured chains occur, with successive points or areas of the chain generally representing different degrees of a scaled property such as size or intensity. An example of a bipolar chain whose two extremes are antonyms is provided by: *tioram* ‘dry’, *bog* ‘damp’, *fliuch* ‘wet’ (§5.1.4). Other examples or partial examples include:

- *grànna* ‘ugly’, *mi-mhaiseach* ‘ugly (not so extreme as *grànna*)’ (§4.4), *bòidheach* ‘pretty’, *maiseach* ‘handsome (m/f)’, *brèagha* ‘“nice” with reference to a girl’s figure’, *grinn* ‘beautiful, nice’, *lurach* ‘really handsome; more extreme than *grinn*, the ultimate!’ (§4.3).

- *duathail* ‘terrible’ / *curs* ‘terrible’, *mosach* ‘wild’, where *duathail* and *curs* are ‘more extreme than *mosach*’ (§5.1.2).

- *braim* ‘fart’, *rot* ‘loud fart’ (§1.7.1).

Although not lexicalised, we may compare the following contrasts: *gaoth ro tholl* ‘coldest wind’, *gaoth fo sheòl* ‘second coldest’, *gaoth-aiteimh* ‘third coldest’ (§5.4.11).

The lexicalisation of the different stages in the lifecycle of significant animals is a common feature of the language of agriculturally based societies and Gaelic is no exception:

- *laogh* ‘calf’, *gamhainn* ‘stirk’, *siarach / sia-ràithean* ‘eighteen-month old beast / shearling’, *dò-bhliadhmnach* ‘two-year old beast’, *agh* ‘heifer over two years’, *mart* ‘a cow which has calved’ (§2.1).

- *uan* ‘lamb’, *odharc* ‘female up to a year old and before giving birth’, *caora* ‘female has lambed’, *cnog* ‘cast ewe after seven years’ (§3.1).
The meaning of lexical items can contrast on the basis of a single binary feature; some of these relational features are more recurrent than others and therefore of more semantic structural relevance:

**Gender:**
- **Female:** ropag ‘untidy female’
- **Male:** ropan ‘untidy male’ (§4.9)

**Permanency:**
- **Permanent:** duine bacach ‘a lame man’
- **Temporary:** duine crùbach ‘a lame man’ (§4.1)

**Animal Type:**
- **Cow:** ladhar ‘hoof’
- **Horse:** bròg ‘hoof’ (§2.5)

As in other languages the noises made by different animals are independently lexicalised, e.g.

*mèilich chaora* ‘bleating’ (sheep), *geumnaich* ‘lowing’ (cow), *comhartaich coin* ‘barking’ (dog), *miagail cait* ‘mewing’ (cat), *gogail chearc* ‘cackling’ (hen), *glaodh coilich* ‘shout’ (cockerel), *gnothail muice* ‘grunting’ (pig), *fàngail thunnagan* ‘quacking’ (duck), *biogail rodan / luchaich* ‘squeaking (rats and mice), *biogail eun* ‘chirping’ (birds), *ràcail [coilich]* ‘crow’ (cockerel), *sgiamh faoilinn* ‘screech’ (gull), *gorachdail* ‘sound of pheasant, grouse, etc.’, †*sitear eich* (possibly for *sit(i)rich* ‘naying’ (horse) (§1.7.1).

Languages often have what are referred to as lexical gaps, i.e. there are concepts for which no single lexical item exists (Cruse 2004: 181–82). Instances in Gaelic include ‘uncle’ and ‘aunt’. In bilingual contexts borrowing often occurs to fill such gaps, e.g. *pàrant* ‘parent’. The materials published below refer explicitly to lexical gaps. For instance, we are informed that there is no Gaelic for ‘foot-rot in sheep’ in Tiree Gaelic (§3.7). Tiree Gaelic has a word for a ‘large snowflake’ (*clàdan* §5.10.1) but apparently not for ‘a small snowflake’, and so on.

A number of synonyms occur although there is insufficient detail given to enable us to establish for certain whether these are absolute
synonyms, cognitive synonyms or merely near-synonyms:  

\[(\text{bruidhinn}) \text{ bhlaodach} \sim (\text{bruidhinn}) \text{ shocrach} \quad \text{‘(speaking) slowly’} \quad (\S 1.5)\]
\[(\text{fàileadh}) \text{ taitneach} \sim (\text{fàileadh}) \text{ cùbhraidh} \quad \text{‘nice smell’} \quad (\S 1.8)\]
\[\text{siarach} \sim \text{ sia-ràithean} \quad \text{‘18 month old beast’} \quad (\S 2.1)\]
\[(\text{mart}) \text{ gamhnach} \sim (\text{mart}) \text{ seasg} \quad \text{‘a cow not in calf’} \quad (\S 2.1)\]
\[\text{dròbh} \sim \text{ buaile} \quad \text{‘herd or collection of cattle’} \quad (\S 2.11)\]
\[\text{fèithe} \sim \text{ boglach} \quad \text{‘bog’} \quad (\S 2.11)\]
\[\text{duathail} \sim \text{ curs} \quad \text{‘terrible [of weather]’} \quad (\S 5.1.2)\]
\[\text{side throm} \sim \text{ side chadalach} \sim \text{ side chlos} \quad \text{‘sultry, hot’} \quad (\S 5.1.3)\]
\[\text{glan} \sim \text{ sgiobalta} \sim \text{ snasar} \sim \text{ snasmhor} \quad \text{‘tidy’} \quad (\S 4.9).\]

A small number of antonyms / near-antonyms occurs:

\[\text{bruidhinn shiobhalta} \quad \text{‘speaking politely’} \sim \text{bruidhinn mhiomhail} \quad \text{‘speaking rudely’} \quad (\S 1.5)\]
\[\text{geanail} \quad \text{‘friendly, smiley’} \sim \text{gruamach} \quad \text{‘gloomy’} \quad (\S 4.8)\]
\[\text{glan} / \text{ sgiobalta} / \text{ snasar} / \text{ snasmhor} \quad \text{‘tidy’} \sim \text{ ropach} \quad \text{‘untidy’} \quad (\S 4.9)\]
\[\text{side thioram} \quad \text{‘dry weather’} \sim \text{ side fhliuch} \quad \text{‘wet weather’} \quad (\S 5.1.4).\]

There is evidence for different types of polysemy. The adjective bochd, which has the core or prototypical sense of ‘poor’, can mean ‘thin’ or ‘bad condition of coat’ when referring to the outward appearance of cattle (\S 2.3). Oiteag is reported as meaning variously ‘a light breeze’ or ‘a gust’ (\S 5.4.4) although it ‘could also be a whirlwind as experienced at springtime and harvest-time’ (\S 5.4.2). The word caigeann (< *con-ceann; MacBain 1982 [1896] s.v.) primarily means ‘a pair’, e.g. ann an caigeann (\S 3.6). However, as with the English word couple, it has developed the slightly vague meaning of ‘a few’, e.g. caigeann chaora ‘a few sheep’ (\S 3.5).

There are instances of metaphor, most notably among meronyms of the word com ‘body’:

\[\text{sùil} \quad \text{‘eye’} \]
\[\text{Tha mo shùil air} \quad \text{‘I am interested in it, lit. my eye is on it’} \quad (\S 1.4).\]
‘BOCHANAN MODHAIL FOGHLAIMTE’

Tha mo shùil oirre ‘I am interested in her, lit. my eye is on her’ (§1.4).

Tha sùil glè mhath agam air crodh ‘I have a good eye for cattle, lit. I have a very good eye on cattle’ (§1.4).

Tha mo shùil ann ‘I want it, lit. my eye is in it’ (§1.4).

Tha sùil agam innte ‘I fancy her, lit. I have my eye in her’ (§1.9).

Bheirinn mo shùil ‘I desire, lit. I would give my eye’ (§1.9).

cluas ‘ear’

Cùm do chluas fosgailte ‘listen out, lit. keep your ear open’ (§1.6).

Bheirinn mo chluas ‘I desire, lit. I would give my ear’ (§1.9).

sròn ‘nose’

Thug a shròn ann e ‘Curiosity took him there, lit. his nose took him there’ (§1.8).

Bidh a shròn sa h-uile rud ‘he interferes with everything, lit. his nose is in everything’ (§1.8).

Ghabh e san t-sròin e ‘He took it badly, lit. he took it in the nose’ (§1.8).

Other instances of metaphor include:

ubhall sgòrnain ‘larynx (human), lit. ‘apple of the throat’ (§2.5),
soitheach an laoigh ‘womb, lit. vessel / container of calf’ (§2.5),
craiceann-circe ‘goose pimplles, lit. skin of a hen’ (§4.1),
milleadh-moighich ‘harelip, lit. damage of a hare’ (§4.2), cullach ‘a man ugly in character, lit. boar’, used as an insult (§4.5), casan on ghrèin ‘sun-rays, lit. feet from the sun’ (§5.2.5), buaile ‘halo, lit. enclosure’ (§5.2.5), an crann ‘the Plough, lit. the plough’ (§5.2.7).

Instances of metonomy also occur, e.g. glanadh ‘afterbirth, lit. cleaning’ (§2.6), bleoghann ‘milking time, lit. milking’ (§2.7). The form fruisg ‘eyelashes’ represents a metonymical development from original rosg ‘eye’ with accompanying phonological differentiation (in this case with prosthetic f), thus resulting in lexical split. In the
dialect of Harris a similar lexical split with phonological differentiation (with lowering of \(o\) to \(a\)) results in the form rasg ‘eyelash’. For a preliminary discussion of this type of lexical and semantic split, see Dillon 1953.

Some words can have expressive in addition to, or in place of, descriptive meaning. The word *cullach* (lit. ‘boar’) is listed as an insulting name (§4.5). The word *bola* is used as a derogatory word for a ‘wee fat man’. The genitive *caca* has expletive function in *cullach-caca* (§4.5); cf. the use of *galla* ‘bitch’ in *mac na galla* (§4.5).

**C: Editorial Policy**

The materials have been arranged into numbered sections in order to facilitate presentation and cross-referencing, and are presented in the order in which they occur in the original questionnaires. The numbering system adopted here does not entirely correspond to the numbering of the original questionnaires as there were gaps in the returns received for some sections; I have sought to maintain a continuous numbering sequence from section to section.

Fieldworkers were encouraged to spell phonetically especially when important dialectal information could be captured by so doing. In the edition of the field notes below, spelling has been standardised although significant MS readings, especially those indicating (possible) dialectal features, have been reproduced in the lettered notes following each subsection. The conventions outlined in *Gaelic Orthographic Conventions 2005 (GOC)* have for the most part been implemented silently, although some dialectal spellings have been retained, e.g. *urball* (§2.5), *ugh* (§2.5), *seasach* (§5.1.1). This has included both the silent addition and removal of hyphens in some cases. Where accents do not occur in the original, these have been provided and the original form given in the lettered notes at the end of each subsection. Editorial additions are included within square brackets. Spelling mistakes have been silently emended.

The process of editing for publication the HDSG materials presented here has highlighted a number of problems and challenges associated with the oral materials of the HDSG archive. Given the phonetic (and often pre-*GOC*) spellings utilised, a certain amount of
editorial intervention and interpretation is necessary before the raw materials of the archive can be released for public consumption. The use of accents (or rather the lack of use) of accents can be particularly challenging as it is not always possible to be certain if a particular vowel should be long or short. An intimate knowledge of the dialect in question is essential for the interpretation of individual word forms (odharc §3.1, sùirstean §3.7, úghan §2.5, aighe, aighean (MS agha, aghan) §2.1).

Ideally, all materials should be thoroughly checked with the original informant (or, failing that, with informants from the same area) and the fieldworker if possible. Clearly, this may be impossible in particular instances. In some cases it may be impossible to corroborate or confirm individual forms which renders the reliability of such forms questionable e.g. †samh (§5.2.4), †sgios / ? sgìos (§5.7.1). Such instances have been marked with a preceding (†) in the edition below.

In many cases words, phrases and even whole sentences are left without translations. Where such gaps occur translations have not been provided in the edition below. Note that translations are not always literal, e.g. ceangail, ga cheangal ‘tying indoors’, an ceangal aice ‘neck rope, rope around neck in stall’ (§2.9).

D: Questionnaires
This section presents the five questionnaires collected by Alan Boyd in consultation with Mr Hugh MacLean of Goirtean Dòmhnaill, Tiree, on the subjects of Faireachainn, Cattle, Sheep, Coltas an Duine and Weather. As well as containing lexical information, idioms and sayings also occur, the latter being particularly common in the questionnaire on weather.

1. Faireachdainn

1.1 Faireachdainn ‘sense’

mo bhuaídhean my senses
claisteachd a (f) sense of hearing
fäileadh (m) sense of smell
sealladh (m) sense of sight
blas (m) sense of taste
faireachdainn (f) sense of touch

a ‘not claisneach’. 

1.2 An t-sùil I

sùil bhiorach good eyesight
sùil gheur a good eyesight
claon-shùileach tired-looking eyes
fiar-shùileach squint-eyed
clach na sùì b19 pupil
fruisg eyelashes
fruisg na sìla eyelashes
sealladh astarach good visibility
sealladh goirid bad visibility
teine-sionnachain c (m) phospherescence

a ghiar. b sùil [sic]. c teine-sionchan.

1.3 An t-sùil II

fon t-sùil a sideways
a’ sealltainn dùr b air duine
a’ sealltainn gruamach air duine
Sheall mi air gu gruamach.

a possibly bhon t-sùil. b dur.

1.4 An t-sùil III

Tha mo shùil air. I am interested in it.
Tha mo shùil oirre. I am interested in her.
Tha sùil glè mhath agam air crodh. I have a good eye for cattle.
Tha mo shùil ann. I want it.
taibhsearachd second sight
ga aithneachadh a rèir coltas a shlìochd, no a dhaoine, no a shinnsearachd
Dh’aithnich mi e air na daoine dam buineadh e. recognising a person from hereditary looks
1.5 Am beul

giosgan fhiacal a

cagnadh

deothal b

feadaireachd

dùrdail

slugadh

cuir siud air do gholàiream 20

logamail c dhiabhlaidh d

Tha an daorach air.

Tha an deoch air.

Tha smùid air. 21

Tha e air an daorach.

Tha e air an deoch.

Ghabh e ’n daorach.

Ghabh e ’n deoch.

Ghabh e streallaichean.

Ghabh e rathùiream. 22

bleadraich f

bruidhinn bhlaodach

bruidhinn shocrach g

bruidhinn mhìomhail h

bruidhinn shìobhailta

bruidhinn chiùin

mionnachadh

lachanaich

Rinn e clap-gàire. 23

snodha-gàire

gagach

Tha mi gagail.

He took too much (drink).

He took a real bender.

blethering

speaking slowly

speaking slowly

speaking rudely

speaking politely

polite, respectable talk

swearing

loud hearty laughing

He made a loud laugh or gafall

[= gafaw].

a sneer or chuckle

stuttered speech

I am stuttering.

a fhiacaill.  b deoghail.  c logamal.  d dhiolaidh.  e rathuiream.

f bleatraich.  g shocaireach.  h mhiobhail.
1.6 A’ chluas I

cumadh nan cluasan
[the shape of the ears]
cluasan biorach
pointed ears and keen hearing too
cluasan fada
cluasan cam
stumped ears as in beast (also
cauliflower ears)
corra-chluasach
cluasaire (m)
a big-eared man
cèir-cluaiseadh
earwax
toll na cluaiseadh
the earhole
Cùm do chluas fosgailte.
Tha èisteachd c bheag annam.
I am hard of hearing.
Tha mo chlaisteachd a’ fàs dona.
hairy ears
cluasan fionnach

1.7 A’ chluas II

mualan a’ chuain
the bellowing of the ocean
sgreadail na gaoth
high pitched sound of the wind
rànaich (f)
roar
ràn
a roar
malanaich
low pitched

1.7.1 Fuaim Bheathaichean
mèilich chaora
bleating
gemainich
lowing
comhartaich coin
barking
miagail a’ cait
mewing
gogail chearc
cackling
gnothail muice
grunting
fàngail thunnagan
quacking
biogail b 24 rodan / luchaich
squeaking [of rats / mice]
biogail b eun
chirping [of birds]
glaodh coilich c
shout [of a cockerel]
rácait d [coilich]
crow [of a cockerel]
sgiamh faoilinn
screech [of a gull]
gorachdail
sound of pheasant, grouse, etc.
† sitear eich

brùchd (m)
braim
Rinn e braim.
rot
Rinn e rot.
cast
cnead
sreathart
aileag
Tha an aileag orm.
crith
air crith leis an fhuaich
mo chorpa rùbail

a miagal.  b biogal.  c coillich.  d racal.  e creat  f alag (aileag?).  g alag.  h rubail.

1.8 An t-sròn
sròn mhaol
sròn chrom
sròn cham
sròn ghorm
sròn dhearg
cnòsan (m)
boladh (m)
samh (m)
fàileadh grod
fàileadh fuaraidh
malce
cùileadh taitneach
fàileadh cùbhraidh
Thug a shròn ann e.
Bidh a shròn sa h-uile rud.
Ghabh e san t-sròn e.

a grot.
1.9 An lámh

cliobhag\(^a\) (f) a light slap (as with a child)
Thug mi cliobhag\(^a\) air. I slapped him.
deidhseag\(^b\) a spank
Thug mi deidhseag\(^b\) air a thòin\(^c\).
Shuath mi air. I rubbed it.
Phlùch\(^d\) mi e. I pressed it.

\(^a\) clìbheag. \(^b\) deiseag. \(^c\) thon. \(^d\) phluch.

1.10 An cridhe

fearg air a’ chaothach
eagal Ghabh mi uillt.
gaol Tha sùil agam innte.
miann Bheirinn mo chluas.
Bheirinn mo shùil.
gràin Chuir e sgreamh orm. I was disgusted with him
Ghabh mi fuath dhuit.
Dh’fhàs mi coma oirre. I went off her

2. Cattle

2.1 Cattle

laogh (m), laoigh (pl) calf
gamhainn, gamhna (pl) stirk
siarach (m), siaraich (pl) 18 month old beast (shearling)
sia-ràithean 18 month old beast (shearling)
dò-bhliadhnaich (m),
dò-bhliadhnaich (pl)\(^a\) 2 year old beast
agh (m), aighean (pl)\(^b\)\(^27\) heifer (over 2 years)
an aighe (genitive)\(^c\)\(^28\)
damh (m), daimh (pl) castrated beast (over 2 years)
tarbh (m), tairbh (pl) bull
mart (m), mairt (pl) cow (which has calved)
mart gamhnach a cow not in calf
mart seasg a cow not in calf

\(^a\) do-bhliadhnaich, do-bhliadhnaich. \(^b\) agha; ‘Tiree, not
aighean’ [i.e. not [ajən]]. \(^c\) agha.
2.2 Different breeds of cattle

crodh gallda  
Ayrshire

crodh Gàidhealach\textsuperscript{29}  
Highland

crodh dubh  
Aberdeen Angus, Galloway

2.3 Outward appearance of cattle

droch òrdan  
bad condition of coat

bochd  
bad condition of coat

bochd  
thin

caol  
thin

òrdan math  
good condition

2.4 Names for certain beasts

peata (m), peatachan (pl)  
pet cow

2.5 Parts of the body

ceann

amhach

adhaircean\textsuperscript{30}

mala  
forehead

beul\textsuperscript{a}

seiche (f)  
hide

casan-toisich  
forelegs

ladhar (f), ladhran (pl)  
hoof (cow)

bròg (f)  
hoof (horse)

glùn mairt  
knee

corp (m), corpan (pl)\textsuperscript{31}  
belly

urball (m), urbaill (pl)  
tail

ùgh (m), ùghan (pl)\textsuperscript{b,32}  
udder

sine (f), sinea (pl)  
teats

cnàimh an droma (m)  
backbone

an t-sliasaid  
hindleg above knee

cridhe

féithe\textsuperscript{c} [f] mhòr  
artery

féithean\textsuperscript{d}  
veins

slinnean (f), slinneanan (pl)  
shoulder of horse

sgamhan (m), sgamhain (pl)  
lungs
ubhal sgòrnain | larynx (human)
grùthan (m) | liver
àirnean e (pl), àirne (sing. m) | kidney
domlas f ‘a’ ghrùthain | gall bladder
clachan | testicles
bagaichean | [? testicles / ? scrotums]33
soitheach g an laoigh | womb
goile (m), goiltean (pl)h | gullet
mionach (m) | intestines
geir (f) | abdominal fat (suet)
fionnna (m) [< fionnadh] | coat

2.6 Calving
a’ toirt mart don tarbh | afterbirth
tha am mart a’ breith
glanadh (m) | afterbirth

2.7 Milking
a’ bleoghan | milking
a’ tiormachadh a | milking to the last drop
a’ deothal b | suckling
an ceud bhainne | milk yielded after calving
bleoghan (m) | milking time
cuach (f), cuachan (pl) | vessel(s)
peil (m), peileachan (pl) | vessel(s)

tioramachadh. deoghal.

2.8 Feeding
a’ biathadh a | feeding
bhiath b mi an laogh c | bundle of hay tied with a sùgan (a meal for an animal)
ceannag (f) | bundle of hay tied with a sùgan (a meal for an animal)
ceannag-fheòir
sùgan
sguab
ag uisgeachadh
dh‘uisgich mi iad
feurach
tha iad air feurach
buachailleachd (f)
buachailleachd a’ chruidh

a biadhadh.  b bhia.  c ‘Tiree’ added in brackets, thus implying a contrast with other dialects, the contrast presumably referring to the form bhia.

2.9 Apparatus
ceangail, ga cheangal
feiste (f)
tha i air feiste
cipean (m), cipeanan (pl)a 34
an ceangal aice
stàl (f), stàlaichean (pl)b 35
buarach (f), buaraichean (pl)
langaidean (pl)
crócadh c (f)
cróch [?]

a ciopan, ciopanan.  b stol, stolaichean; possibly ? stàil, stàilichean.  c cròchdadh; cf. Dwelly s.v. cròcadh.

2.10 Disease
a’ chloimh a
feursagan [pl], feursag (f)b
foinneachan [pl], foinne (f)
at (m)

a biadhadh.  b bhia.  c ‘Tiree’ added in brackets, thus implying a contrast with other dialects, the contrast presumably referring to the form bhia.
galar a’ chinn  horses: go mad; causes: worms in
intestines or stone (lime or sand)
in gullet. Never recommended to
buy horses from Lismore as they
were liable to have a ‘limestone’
in their gullet.

dalladh  going blind

a’ chaithreamh  T.B.

an spùt c  diarrhoea; galar caused by
intestinal worms known as
dathagan [pl], dathag (f)

àirneach (m)  urine trouble in horses, connected
with kidneys

fiabhras a’ bhainne  milk fever; before and / or after
calving, due to a lack of calcium

searg (m)  pine; due to a lack of cobalt

a chloich.  b fearsagan, fearsag.  c a’ spùd.

2.11 Miscellaneous
tarraing  away with you

sugan  pet name for calf; suckler

dróbh (m), dròbhan (pl)  herd or collection of cattle

buailé (f)  herd or collection of cattle

buailé de chrodh  herd or collection of cattle

[ ’n] sàs ann am fèithe a  stuck in a bog

[ ’n] sàs ann am bogalach b  stuck in a bog

cac maìrt c  cow-dung

cac cruidh c  cow-dung

a sas an am fèithe.  b sas an am bogalach.  c cachd.

3. Sheep

3.1 Sheep

uan (m), uain (pl)  lamb (male and female)
odharc (f), odharcan a (pl) female up to a year old and before giving birth (hog); after weaning
caora female [that] has lambed (ewe)
cnog (crog) (f), cnogaichean (pl) cast ewe (after 7 years)
molt (m), muilt (pl) wether (after weaning)
spoth caora kept for breeding (male)
tha mi dol gan b spoth ram
uan-reithe
reithe, reitheachan old ram
seann reithe

a odharcaim. b gam.

3.2 Sheep’s appearance
caora chros white-faced sheep
caora dhubhcheannach a 36 black-faced sheep
caora dhubh, caoraich dhubha black sheep
cora adhairceach, horned sheep
coraich adhairceach
caora mhaol sheep with no horns
cora reamhar fat sheep for butchering

a dhuibhcheannach.

3.3 Miscellaneous
piatan pet lamb
peuta pet lamb
càraid (f), càraidean [pl] twin lamb
cao-uaín milk ewe
cora-chàraid sheep with twins
cora chaillte a sheep that has strayed
rig a, rigeachan partly castrated ram
reithe beag small ram

a ‘English’.
3.4 Feeding and grazing

*a’ biathadh* a

_troch_ (f), _trochaichean_ (pl)

_feurach_

_sliabh caiteann_ b

_machaire caiteann_ b

hand feeding
grazing for sheep
beat of a sheep on the moor
beat of a sheep on the moor

[Note:] ‘No hay fed to sheep in Tiree; sheep left to find their own water.’

a _biadhadh_. b _caiteann_.

3.5 Handling of sheep

_ciobaireachd_ (f)

_crò_ a (*a’ cròthadh* b)

_crò_ a (m)

_caigeann_ 38 _chaora_

_mòran_ c _chaora_

_gan cnogadh_

_handling of sheep_  

_enclosing sheep in a fank or fold_  

_enclosure, fank, fold_  

_a few sheep_  

_many sheep_  

_taking ewes out of the breeding flock after 7 years (casting)_

_chnog mi iad_  

_I cast them_  

_fang_ (m)

_sheepdog_  

_command_  

_command_  

_command_  

_dipping trough_  

_dipping_  

_marking_

a _croth_. b _crothag_. c ‘not _mòran_ in Tiree’, i.e. pronounced with [ɔ:] not [o:]. d _bocsadipich_. e _kil_.

3.5.1 Ear-marking40

_leigeadh_  

_slit_  

_toll_  

_beum-cùil_ a  

_barra-gòbhlag_
3.6 Apparatus, means of tying

feiste \(^{a}\) \(^{42}\)
cipean \(^{b}\) \(^{43}\)
udalan
udalan dùbailte (nan robh iad ann an caigeann \(^{44}\))

[Note]: ‘2 on one feisde;\(^{45}\) bha iad ann an caigeann [they were in a pair]’.

\(^{a}\)feisde.  \(^{b}\)cioban.

3.7 Diseases

(a) diseases of the skin affecting the wool; warts, swellings, spots, ticks found in wool, worms in the skin:

a’ chloimh \(^{a}\) scab
miolan \(^{b}\) chaorach sheep louse
galar nan gamhna ringworm in cattle, 6–18 months

\(^{a}\)ch[\i]oich.  \(^{b}\)miolan.

(b) diseases of the head (eyes, mouth, etc.), neck and throat:

sùirstean \(^{a}\) (m)\(^{46}\) disease of the head; pocket of fluid pressing on the brain
dalladh \(^{b}\) blinding – cataract
(c) diseases of the bone structure, causing deformity or lameness: 
lòinidh

[Note:] ‘foot-rot in sheep: no Gaelic’.

(d) diseases of the internal organs (heart, liver, kidneys etc.):

[no Gaelic word given] liverfluke
[no Gaelic word given] roundworm in intestines

(e) injury of any kind
cas-bhristeadh

4. Coltas an duine (‘Personal Appearance’)

4.1 Shapes and general appearance

lùireach (m), lùirichean (pl) a a large clumsy person
garbh b brawny, muscular
àrd c tall and slim
troich (m), troicheannan b (pl) dwarf
bola c (m), bolaichean (pl) wee fat man (derogatory)
crotaire (m), crotairean (pl) hunchback
duine bacach a lame man (permanent)
duine crùbach a lame man (temporary)
pleadhach (adj) splay feet
cama-chasach (adj) either splayed feet or hen-toed
craiceann-circe goose pimples

a lùireach, lùirichean. b troicheannan. c l with ‘glottal stop’.

4.2 Deformities, blemishes, scars

breacadh an teinidh a fireside tartan
breacan-seun b freckles
milleadh-moighich c  harelip 50
corr-chluasach  deformed ears
fiar-shuíleach  squint (eyes)
duine bèarnach d 51  one with gaps in teeth
duine gachag  stutterer
balbhan (m), balbhain (pl)  dummy
dall  blind person
ball-dòbhrain (m), buill-dòbhrain [pl] e  mole
triubhas (m), triubhais (pl)  birthmark
foinne (m), foinneachan (pl)  wart
a’bhreach  the pox (smallpox)
breach (adj)
neasgaid (f), neasgaidean (pl)  boil
màthair-ghuir, màthraichean-guir (pl)  abscess
cnàimhseag (f), cnàimhseagan [pl] f  pimple
an galar-sploiceadh  g  mumps
an anacair h  uasal  V.D.
an clap
crùban (m), crùbain [pl]  crabs

a ‘Tiree nom., gen. and dative of teine’.  b sian.  c moigheach.
d bearnach.  e dobrhan.  f cnaiseag.  g possibly sploiceach is
intended?  h anachdar.

4.3 Beauty and ugliness
bòidhchead, maise  beauty
fèacag, fèacagan (pl.) a  a beautiful girl
bòidheach b  pretty (girl)
maiaseach  handsome (male or female)
brèagha c  nice (with reference to a girl’s figure)
eireachdail  handsome (male or female)
grinn  beautiful, nice (girl)
laghach  nice in character, kindly (male or female)
lurach  really handsome (girl); more extreme
than grinn, the ultimate!

a feuchdag, féachdag, féachdagan.  b bòdhach ‘Tiree for
bòidheach’.  c briagha.
4.4 Ugliness

grànna  
 ugly

mi "mhaiseach  
 ugly (not so extreme as grànna)

4.5 Insults

cullach (m), cullaich (pl)  
a boar – ugly in character

cullach-caca  
a boar – ugly in character

galla  
both male and female

mac na galla  

nighean na galla  

trustair (m), trustairean (pl)  
a cheap rascal

siùrsach!  

bugair, bugairean  

diabhal  
de dhuine

duine diabhalta  
a man a diabhail

ifreannach (m), ifreannaich (pl)  
hellyon

ifreann  
hell

4.6 Strength, fitness and the opposite

duine làidir  
fit, able man

duine lag  
weakness

duine comasach  
strength

luige  
a strong, well-built man

neart  
able, diligent

duine foghaineach  
weakling (and wretch)

smearail  
a stiff man

truaghan [m], truaghain (pl)  
walking smartly

duine uileasach  
walking slovenly

4.7 Ways of walking, sitting, lying

coiseachd làidir  
walking smartly

coiseachd slaodach  
walking slovenly
coiseachd gu rèidh  
walking slowly
a’ sràideamachd  
walking aimlessly
Ghabh mi sràid. 
I took a walk.
cliobach  
clumsy
neo-shocrach a  
fidgety
cliobaire [m], cliobairean (pl)  
a a clumsy man, clot
socrach a  
relaxed
Tha e na laighe. b  
He is lying.
Gabh air do shocair. 
Relax.

a shocarach.  
b latha; ‘instead of laighe in Tiree’.

4.8 Pulling faces, frowns, other expressions; also gestures
draoin  
making faces
Chuir mi draoin orm.  
I made an ugly face.
Bha gruaim orm.  
I had a frown.
caog (verb)  
wink
Chaog mi rithe.  
I winked at her.
brioibail (verb)  
blink
a’ briobal
fiamh a’ ghàire 53  
smile
Rinn mi gàire rithe.  
I laughed at her.
geanail  
friendly, smiley
gruamach  
gloomy

4.9 Clean and untidy
glan  
tidy
sgiobalta  
tidy
snasar  
tidy
snasmhór a  
tidy
ropach b  
untidy
ropag c  
untidy female
ropan d  
untidy male
duine sèimh  
reserved, quiet and peaceful man
diùid  
shy

a snasmhór.  
b ròpach.  
c ròpag  
d ròpan.
5. Weather

5.1 General terms
5.1.1 General terms for good weather

- *an t-side mhath* \(^{54}\)
- *side sheasach*
- *là aibhseach* \(^{a}\) a beautiful day

5.1.2 General terms for bad weather

- *droch shìd’*
- *mosach* wild
- *duathail* \(^{a}\) \(^{55}\) terrible
- *curs* \(^{a}\) \(^{56}\) terrible
- *side iarghalta* troubled weather

\(^a\) *duathal*. Both *duathail* and *curs* are ‘more extreme than *mosach*’.

5.1.3 Temperature

- *sid’ chas* sharp, cold, dry weather in winter; crisp & anticyclonic. NE & n[orther]ly winds
- *crannadh* \(^{57}\) sharp, cold, dry weather in winter; crips & anticyclonic; NE & n[orther]ly winds
- *side throm* sultry, hot
- *side chadalach* sultry, hot
- *side chlos (clos fhèin)* \(^a\) sultry, hot, (close)
- *teth, blàth* \(^a\) English ‘close’.

5.1.4 Dryness, wetness

- *side thioram*
- *side fhliuch*
- *bog* damp
5.2 The sky and the weather
5.2.1 A clear sky by day
   *speur glan*

5.2.2 A clear night sky
   *oidhche bhrèagha*\(^a\)
   *oidhche lurach*
   *speur glan*
   \(^a\) *bhriagha*.

5.2.3 A red sky
   *speur dearg*. *Ma tha e ri fhaicinn tha fiughair ri gaoth an eara-dheas gun dàil*. *Speur dearg anns a’ mhadainn tràth anns an earrach bha fiughair ri an-shid gun dàil*.

5.2.4 An overcast sky
   *salach*
   *speur salach*\(^†\)
   *samh* (m)\(^a\) *haze*
   *samhar* *hazy*
   \(^a\) Pronounced ‘sev’.

5.2.5 Unusual appearance of the moon or the sun
   *buaile* (f)\(^59\) (*fiughair ri uisge*) The larger the halo is, the sooner rain can be expected.
   *a’ ghrian na tri* the sun appearing as 3 low in sky
   *cliob*\(^a\) *air a’ ghrèin* *eclipse of the sun*
   *casan on ghrèin*\(^b\) *big sunbeams in morning; forecast high wind within 24 hours. Also known as gaithean na gréineadh*\(^60\)

   \(^a\) *clip*. \(^b\) *ghrèin*. \(^c\) *gréineadh*; ‘Tiréan genitive’.

5.2.6 The northern lights
   *[na]* *fir-chlis*
5.2.7 Terms connected with the stars

- **rionnag** (f), **rionnagan (pl)**
  - stars twinkling
- **an crann**
  - the Plough
- **an grioglachan**
  - the Pleiades
- **rionnag**
  - shooting star
- **Bheunas**
  - Venus
- **breac a’ mhuilinn**
  - Milky Way

5.3 Clouds

5.3.1 Light cloud

- **neòil shoillieir**
- **neòil aotrom**

5.3.2 Cirrus cloud

- **neòil àrd**
  - mares’ tails
  - possibly **urbaill each** was intended here

5.3.3 Thick cloud

- **neòil thàirneanach**
  - cumulonimbus
- **neòil duathail**
  - grey and heavily overcast

5.3.4 Rainbow

- **bogha-froiseadh**
- **badag chruaidh**
  - small section of rainbow suspended in sky. Includes all rainbow colours. Generally seen in showery weather.

5.4 Wind

5.4.1 Dead calm

- **fèath** (noun)
- **fèath nan eun**

\(^a\) ‘Tiree gen. with -adh at end’.
fèathail c (adj) can also mean the smir of drizzle

ciùin

a ian. b fiath. c fiathail.

5.4.2 Light breeze
oiseag (f) could also be a whirlwind as experienced at springtime and harvest-time

5.4.3 Fresh breeze
brìos a breeze

a brìos.

5.4.4 Gusts
 gaoth na deannaichean oiteag a gust

5.4.5 Wind of variable direction
very seldom

5.4.6 Strong wind
gaoth làidir

5.4.7 Gale
gèil a (f)

a geal.

5.4.8 Hurricane
stoirm (f)

5.4.9 Terms for a rising wind
a’ ghaoth a’ buannachd

5.4.10 Terms for a dying wind
a’ ghaoth a’ toirt dheth
5.4.11 Winds associated with particular seasons of the year

_**gaorth-earraich** – **an eara-dheas** (SE)
_**a’ ghaoth ann am** a **foghair** – **an ear-thuath** (NE)

_Tri gaothan as fuaire:_

_**gaoth ro** b __**tholl**_ (coldest)
_**gaoth fo sheòl**_ (2nd coldest)
_**gaoth-aiteimh** c_ (3rd coldest)

_a am. b roimh. c aiteamh._

5.5 Tides: **Làin**

5.5.1 Flowing

*[an] làn a’ buannachd*
*[an] làn a’ tighinn a-staigh*

5.5.2 Ebbing

*[an] làn a’ toirt dheth*

5.5.3 High tide

_**muir-làn**_

5.5.4 Low tide

_**muir-tràigh**_

5.5.5 Spring tide

_**tràigh** a **reoithairt**_ low spring tide
_**làn-reoithairt**_ high spring tide

_a **traigh**._

5.5.6 Neap tide

_**conntraigh** a_

_a **contraigh**._
5.5.7 Turn of the tide
\textit{tionndadh an làin}

5.6 Weather and the sea
5.6.1 A calm sea
\textit{cuan lom}

5.6.2 A light swell
‘swell’ \textit{beag}

5.6.3 A heavy swell
‘swell’ \textit{trom}

5.6.4 A choppy sea
\textit{fairge chas}

5.6.5 A stormy sea
\textit{fairge churs}\textsuperscript{65}

5.6.6 Large waves
\textit{tonnan mòra}\textsuperscript{a}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{móra}.
\end{itemize}

5.6.7 Breakers
\textit{bristichean (aon bhristeadh)}

5.6.8 Surf
\textit{stoth}

5.6.9 Spindrift
\textit{catha(dh)}\textsuperscript{a} \textit{a’ chuain rùid (f), rùidean (pl)}\textsuperscript{a}
a wave, but not breaking
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{cath}.
\end{itemize}

5.7 Rain
5.7.1 Drizzle
\textit{smugalach-uisge}\textsuperscript{66}
\textsuperscript{†}\textit{sgios de dh’uisge}\textsuperscript{67}
5.7.2 Light shower
*fras aotrom*

5.7.3 Heavy shower
*fras throm
steall uisge*

5.7.4 Prolonged rain
*fìor uisge*

5.7.5 Driving rain
*uisge-sgaoil*

5.7.6 Expressions associated with getting soaked
*bog fliuch*

5.8 Mist
5.8.1 Light mist
*ceòban*

5.8.2 Heavy mist
*ceò*

5.8.3 Sea mist
*ceò mara*

5.8.4 Other terms associated with mist
*Chan fhacas riamh ceò earraich gun chathadh às a dhèidh.*

*ceòthar* \(^a\) misty

\(^a\) ceò-ar.

5.9 Thunder and lightning
5.9.1 Different terms for thunder
*tàirmeanach cruaidh* loud thunder
*torman (m\(^a\))* distant thunder

\(^a\) f [sic].
5.9.2 Different terms for lightning

- *tein-adhair* \(^a\) lightning
- *fear gorm* fork lightning between cloud & ground
- *tein\(^b\)-adhair bán* sheet lightning between clouds

\(^a\) ‘Pronounced *tin-ad[h]*air in Tiree’. \(^b\) *tin’.

5.10 Snow and hail

5.10.1 Different types of snowflake

- *clàdan* (m), *clàdain* (pl)\(^68\) large snowflakes in spring and winter, not too cold. Would cover a penny.

[Note:] ‘No word in Tiree for small snowflakes.’

5.10.2 Sleet

*fliuchana-shneachda*

5.10.3 Different types of snow

- *sneachd fliuch* wet snow

5.10.4 Driving snow

* cathadh-s(h)neachda \(^69\)

5.10.5 Heavy fall

* sneachda trom

5.10.6 Snowdrifts

- *bòta-sneachda, bòtaichean\(^a\)-sneachda* (pl)

\(^a\) *botaichean.*

5.10.7 Snowman and rolled ball of snow

- *bodach-sneachda*
- *muc-shneachda*
- *muc-bhàn*

5.10.8 Hailstone(s)

- *clach-mheallain\(^a\)*

\(^a\) *mheallan.*
5.11 Frost

5.11.1 Hoarfrost

*liath-reothadh*

5.11.2 Hard frost

*reothadh cruaidh*

5.11.3 Ice

*deigheannach (f)*

Cha robh reothadh an lòin b làin riamh buan.

a ‘deitheanach – Tiree pronunciation’; *h* is written below the -gh- to indicate a pronunciation with intervocalic *h*.  

5.11.4 Thaw

*aiteamh (f [sic])*

5.12 Signs foretelling weather

5.12.1 Foretelling good weather

1. A’ ghaoth a’ leantail na grèineadh.  
   (clockwise direction)
2. *Sprèidh* a’ dol suas na beanntan.
3. Deep red skye at night.

   a *grèineadh*; ‘Tiree gen. for *grian*’.  
   b *spreidh*.

5.12.2 Foretelling bad weather

1. An cuan a bhith *a mosach*. Influence of a gale on the sea-state hours before it actually comes.
2. When no surf at all on beach – like a loch.
3. When *currcagan* (lapwings) gather in large flocks.
4. *Fìor chomharradh* na h-an-shìd’–
   eòin na mara tighinn gu tir.
5. *A’ ghorra-chritheach* (heron) a’ dol gun chladach san fheasgar.
6. Ducks (esp. mallard) making for sheltered spots such as boggy places and pools.
7. The larger the *buaile* round the moon the closer rain is.  
   (8) *Badag chruaidh* [cf. §5.3.4].
5.13 General sayings or proverbs connected with the weather

(1) Féath a an Fhaoillich agus gaol siùrsaich.73

(2) B’ fhèarr leam ruag is creach a thighinn don tir na madainn mhin c an Fhaoillich.

(3) Gheibheadh tu geamhradh math nan robh earrach geal grianach ann agus fóghar breac riabhach na dhéidh d.

(4) Faileas (reflection) sam bith e an loch bhiodh sin na chomharradh [sic] air droch-shìd’.

(5) Beanntan a’ sealltainn f nas fhaisge ort na tha iad ann darireadh.74

(6) Gaoth an ear, tart is crannadh 8

(7) Gaoth a tuath fuachd is feannadh gaoth an iar isag is bainne gaoth a deas teas is toradh gaoth an ear tart is crannadh.75

(8) Ma chaileas tu [a’] ghaoth, iar an deas i.

(9) Speur dearg anns a’ mhadainn tràth anns an earrach, bha fiughair ri an-shid’ gun dàil, agus gaoth an eara-dheas.

(10) An oiteag luaineach feadh nam bruach tha gluasad barr an fheòir.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish in the first instance to thank Mrs Sarah MacLean (nighean Dhonnchaidh Alastair Lachainn) from Baile Phuill for permission to publish materials so generously provided by her late husband, Hugh MacLean, to the Historical Dictionary of Scottish Gaelic project in 1981. I am very grateful to Alan Boyd for discussing the Tiree materials with me, for double checking forms with some of the speakers of Tiree Gaelic named below, for reading over my transcripts of materials collected by him and for providing useful comments on these. I am also grateful to the following speakers of Tiree Gaelic for confirming particular words and meanings, and for providing further information: Sarah MacLean (baintreach Eòghainn Dhòmhnaill Eòghainn Mhòir) from Baile Phuill, Janet

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a bhi. b curachdagan. c possibly chomharra was intended. d cladach [sic]. e possibly a’ bhadag chruidh was intended.

---

\(^{73}\) possible ruag was intended.
\(^{74}\) ‘Tiree instead of a’ coimhead’.
\(^{75}\) line crossed out but see (7).
Brown (Seònaid Sheumais Alastair) from Heylipol (An Cruadh-Ghoirtean / An Cruairtean), Alex MacArtair (Ailig a’ Chìobair) from Heylipol and Niall M. Brownlie. I gratefully acknowledge here the sterling work of Dr Anja Gunderloch who prepared a number of invaluable reports on the HDSG archives under the direction of Professor Cathair Ó Dochartaigh in the 1990s, which has facilitated my task greatly in navigating my way through the labyrinth archives of the dictionary.

**ABBREVIATIONS**

* hypothetical form  
† forms which have not been confirmed by Tiree speakers  
E English  
f feminine  
GOC *Gaelic Orthographic Conventions 2005* (Scottish Qualifications Authority, 2005)  
HDSG Historical Dictionary of Scottish Gaelic, project within the Department of Celtic, University of Glasgow (1966–96)  
G Gaelic  
lit. literally  
m masculine  
MS manuscript  
sg singular  
SGDS *Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland*, 5 vols, ed. by C. Ó Dochartaigh, (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1994–97)

**NOTES**

1 The last two questionnaires are extant only as sample questionnaires; no filled-in questionnaires exist.  
3 In this section on phonology MS forms are cited in order to represent dialectal forms.  
4 Unless otherwise stated, numerical references in this paper refer to the numbered sections in the edition of the questionnaires, i.e. ‘D: Questionnaires’ below.  
5 All references to SGDS refer to point 84, i.e. Tiree, unless otherwise specified.  
6 Monophthong realisation confirmed by Sarah MacLean and Janet Brown (July 2008).
To the list of vocalic features, we may probably add the raising of \( a \) to \( e \) in \( \hat{\text{samh}} \) (pronounced ‘sev’ i.e. presumably \([\text{\varepsilon}]\)) (§5.2.4). However, the form \( \text{samh} \) has yet to be corroborated by Tiree speakers.

Pronounced as if \( \text{Ealastair} \) in Tiree (\( \text{SGDS}: 29 \)).

The form \( \text{an t-sùirste} \) ‘flail’ (MS \( \text{an t-suirsde} \)) occurs in Hugh MacLean’s questionnaire on Land Cultivation (not published here) in the section concerned with ‘Corn threshing’.

Information from Alan Boyd (personal communication).

Confirmed by Alan Boyd (July 2008)

cf. \( \text{clach na sùil} (?) \) (MS \text{clach na sùil}) (§1.2).

The list is not intended to be exhaustive.

Noted from both Janet Brown and Alex MacArtair (July 2008).

Janet Brown (July 2008).

On the distinction between taxonomy and meronomy, see Cruse 2004: 176–83.

On the terminology here, see Cruse 2004: 154–57.

The word \( \text{lèirsinn} \) is also used in Tiree with the meaning ‘sight’ as is \( \text{fradharc} \) but the latter only rarely. Information from Alan Boyd (personal communication).

Perhaps \( \text{sùl} \) or \( \text{sùla} \) was intended; cf. \( \text{fruisg na sùla} \) (§1.2). Compare \( \text{geal na sùl} \) ‘the white of the eye’ (Janet Brown, July 2008).

The stress is on the second syllable. Janet Brown (July 2008) pronounced the word as \( \text{ghoilèream} \) (? \text{gholèiream}) (with the vowel \([\varepsilon:]\)).

See now Meek 2006.

The stress is on the second syllable and the \( \text{ù} \) is long; corroborated by Janet Brown (July 2008). We may compare the South Uist word \( \text{rath-thùileam} \), recorded by Fr Allan MacDonald, and which he glosses as ‘confusion, confused gathering; seems slang, perhaps “reunion”’. If the word only dated from six or seven years ago, when Gaelic ‘Reunions’ in Glasgow have been so frequent, the derivation would be likely, but I am told that it is quite an old word. \( \text{J. M’Kinnon, Dalibrog.} \)’ (Campbell 1991: 199). Professor William Gillies informs me (personal communication) that he has heard \( \text{ra-thùileam} \) from a family with Barra (\( \text{Eolaigearraidh} \)) connections with the meaning ‘a surpassing fine party’.

Alan Boyd has heard \( \text{lachan-gàire} \) also in Tiree (personal communication).

Perhaps the MS form \( \text{biogal} \) represents a sandhi form.

Perhaps for \( \text{sit(i)rich} \)? Janet Brown (July 2008) reported the form \( \text{sit(i)rich} \).

\( \text{Braim} \) has been chosen in preference to \( \text{braidhm} \) (\( \text{GOC} \)) as better representing the historical form.

The MS form \( \text{aghan} \) is intended to indicate the Tiree pronunciation \( \text{a-an} \), which derives from \( \text{aighean} \) (cf. \( \text{taighean} \) pronounced as \( \text{ta-an} \) in Tiree). A derivation from \( \text{aghan} \) would result in \( \text{*[x-\text{\textsc\text{-}}\text{\textsc{\-}}\text{n}]} \) in Tiree. The note ‘Tiree, not \( \text{aighean} \)’ is intended to indicate that the pronunciation is not \( \text{[aj\text{\textsc{-}}\text{\textsc{-}}\text{\textsc{\-}}\text{n}]} \).
28 The spelling *agha* is intended to indicate a pronunciation *a-a*. See previous note.

29 Pronounced *Gà-alach* in Tiree.

30 The form *adhraicean* with metathesis is also found in Tiree. Information from Alan Boyd (personal communication).

31 Note the contrastive plural forms *corpan* ‘bellies’ and *cuirp* ‘corpses’. Information from Janet Brown (July 2008).

32 The forms *ùgh* [u:ɣ] and *ùghan* [u:ɣən] have been confirmed by Janet Brown and Sarah MacLean (July 2008).

33 The word *bagaireach* is written below *clachan* but not translated. From the context of the questionnaire it may have been intended as a synonym of *clachan* ‘testicles’.

34 This word is pronounced as [k´içbaN´] in Tiree (*SGDS*: 188); also confirmed by Janet Brown (July 2008) from Heylipol.

35 MS *stol*, *stolaichean*. The form *stàlaichean* (? *stàilichean*) was reported by Sarah MacLean, Janet Brown and Alex MacArtair (July 2008). Information from Alan Boyd (personal communication).

36 Pronounced as if *dhuthannach*. Information from Alan Boyd (personal communication).

37 The field notes have ‘sliabh, machaire’ with *caittenach* occurring on the following line.

38 cf. §3.6.

39 This is Scots *keel*, the substance which is used to mark the fleece of sheep (*CSD* s.v. keel); cf. Ross (1962: 63).

40 Alex MacArtair (July 2008) referred to *eig* as the Gaelic word for ‘ear-mark’; *eig anns a’ chluais*.

41 This and the following section are written in pencil and less clearly than previous sections.

42 cf. §2.9.

43 cf. §2.9.

44 cf. §3.5.

45 MS *feised* [sic].

46 *Tha sùirstean oirre* (Janet Brown) but *tha sùirstean innte* (Alex MacArtair) (July 2008).

47 MS *glaoine*.

48 Confirmed by Niall. M. Brownlie (July 2008); can be used of males or females and means an ‘untidy’ or ‘clumsy’ person.

49 Alan Boyd (personal communication) has heard in Tiree *bola beag de dhuine* ‘a wee fat man’.

50 Alan Boyd informs me (personal communication) that there was a superstition in Tiree that if a pregnant woman was startled by a hare it was believed that her child would have a harelip; cf. *milleadh-maighiche* ‘harelip’ (Forbes 1905: 195).
Alan Boyd (personal communication) has confirmed that bèarnach rather than beàrnach is the pronunciation in Tiree.

I take the MS form icheann(-) to be a phonetic representation of the Tiree pronunciation of ifreann(-), with devoiced palatalised r. See ‘B: Tiree Gaelic’, §1.2.1 above.

The form fiamh a’ ghàire may conceivably represent fiamh-ghàire with epenthetic vowel or, alternatively, fiamh de ghàire. However, the article may be underlingly present, hence the form presented here.

Alan Boyd informs me that sid rather than side is the correct form for Tiree; cf. droch shìd’ (§5.1.2), sid’ chas (§5.1.3), an-shìd (§5.2.3.), an-shìd’ (§§5.12.2(4), 5.13 (9)).

The phrase rannt math de ghaoth ‘a good strong wind’ was reported by Janet Brown (July 2008).

The forms smùdan, smùdan-uisge ‘drizzle’ and uisge-min ‘drizzle, small rain’, and in the latter context, nach i a tha drùidhteach? ‘isn’t it penetrating?’ were reported by Sarah MacLean and Janet Brown (July 2008). Alex MacArtair’s form is smugaraich-uisge (July 2008), whereas Niall M. Brownlie’s form was ceòraigich-uisge (with clear [a] in the second syllable) (July 2008).

Added at end of page. Perhaps sgios was intended. None of the speakers of Tiree Gaelic consulted seemed to recognise this word.

See Ó Maolalaigh (forthcoming).

Cathadh pronounced as [kahu] by Janet Brown (July 2008); tha i a’ cathadh. The lenition of sneachda here is unexpected. See ‘Morphophonology’ (§3).

Pronunciation with [h] has been corroborated by Janet Brown (July 2008).

For more usual corra-ghritheach.

For buaile, see §5.2.5.

Alan Boyd provides (personal communication) the following variant: Tha feath [= fiath] an Fhaoillich cho buan ri gaol na siùrsaich.

The form da-rìreadh may represent a literary spelling. The form recorded in SGDS for Tiree is da-rìribh with final -/əv/ (SGDS: 59). However, forms with
final -/ɔy/ have been recorded in Jura, east Mull, Eigg, Lismore, Benderloch, Glencoe and Morvern (ibid.).

A pun on the verb *iarr* seems to be intended here.

**REFERENCES**


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ROIBEARD Ó MAOLALAIGH