An Old Gaelic conjunction rediscovered. Old Gaelic *ceni*, Scottish Gaelic *gar an* and related concessive conjunctions in Gaelic

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ABSTRACT: The meaning 'although not' has been expressed by a variety of conjunctions in the Gaelic languages over many centuries. This article considers the history and evolution of these forms and their variants, focusing in particular on *gar an* 'although not', and considers some related aspects of the historical development of the closely related conjunction *mani* 'if not', later *muna*, *mura*. The origin and significance of the Scottish Gaelic negative concessive conjunction *gar an* and its variants have not been satisfactorily explained to date. This article illustrates that *gar an* can be derived straightforwardly from the Old Gaelic conjunction *ceni* 'although not', previously thought to have disappeared completely from the language in the early medieval period. The survival of reflexes of Old Gaelic *ceni* as *gar an* and other variant forms in modern Scottish Gaelic represents a remarkable survival, which has hitherto been misunderstood and undetected. This new identification underlines the importance of Scottish Gaelic for gaining a deeper and nuanced understanding of the historical development of the Gaelic languages.

KEYWORDS: concessive conjunctions, morphology, Old Gaelic, Scottish Gaelic, *ceni*, *gar an*, *ged*, *mani*, *mura*

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1. Introduction

The meaning 'although not' has been expressed by a variety of conjunctions in the Gaelic languages over many centuries. In the written record at least, OGael. *ceni* 'although not, (even) if not' is replaced by *cenco, canco, cinco < ce + nico* by the Middle Gaelic period. The latter continues into the Modern period as *gion go*, where it varies with and is ultimately replaced by *cé nach / gé nach*—the prevalent forms in Modern Irish and Manx (*ga nagh*) dialects. While the latter is also represented in the Scottish Gaelic literary high register record, *ged nach* and variants are the forms that are generally used in the majority of modern Scottish Gaelic dialects, although *gar an*, as well as other forms, also occur. This article considers the history and evolution of these forms and their variants, focusing in particular on *gar an*, and considers some related aspects of the historical development of the closely related conjunction *mani* 'if not', later *muna, mura.*

The origin and significance of the Scottish Gaelic negative concessive conjunction *gar an* 'although not' and its variants have not been satisfactorily explained to date. This paper illustrates that *gar an* can be derived straightforwardly from the Old Gaelic conjunction *ceni* 'although not', previously thought to have disappeared completely from the language in the early medieval period. The survival of reflexes of OGael. *ceni* as *gar an* and other variant forms in modern Scottish Gaelic represents a remarakable survival, which has hitherto been misunderstood and undetected. This new identification underlines the importance of Scottish Gaelic for gaining a deeper and nuanced understanding of the historical development of the Gaelic languages.

In Scottish Gaelic, the negative concessive conjunction *gar an* 'although not, etc.' and its variants, always followed by dependent verbal forms, are found in a variety of sources, ranging in date from the seventeenth to the twenty-first century. It occurs frequently, though by no means exclusively, in verse texts. *Gar an* first appears regularly in eighteenth-century literary sources, although some of the texts can be dated to the seventeenth century, and in one case, at least, perhaps the sixteenth century. For instance, the first example of *gar an* in §2 comes from the song *Ta mulad air m' inntinn* 'There is sadness on my mind' contained in the Rev. James McLagan's eighteenth-century manuscript collection, held at the University of Glasgow (GUL MS Gen 1042/91) and which MacGregor 2019 argues may have been composed in the period prior to 7 December 1562 by Mòr Chaimbeul 'Marion Campbell', wife of the MacGregor chief, Griogair Ruadh, who died in 1570 A.D.; see n. 4. Similarly, the second example in §2 comes from a lament ascribed to Iain Lom for Aonghas mac Raghnaill Òig na Ceapaich, who was killed at the battle of Sròn a' Chlachain near Killin, Perthshire, in June 1646 (W. J. Watson 1918: 325[6068]; A. M. MacKenzie 1964: 10–13). The first example of *gar nach* (which implies the prior existence of *gar an*) in §2.4 is from Màiri nighean Alasdair Ruaidh's lament for Ruairidh Òg, MacLeod of Harris and Dunvegan, Isle of Skye, which was most likely composed shortly after his death in June 1699, although the earliest primary source we have for this text is Stewart & Stewart's *Cochruinneacha taoghta de shaothair nam bard*, published in 1804 (Ó Baoill 2014: 108–116). The form *gachar / gochar*

(MS *gigh ar*, *goch ir*) from the late seventeenth-century Fernaig Manuscript, if it derives from *gar* (*n*)*ach* or shows contamination with *gar an*, as argued below, provides further possible evidence from the seventeenth century; see §2.6. What may be a mixed form in the Book of the Dean of Lismore (§2.5), *gin gar*, could testify to the existence of *gar an* in early sixteenth-century Scotland. It does not occur in any of the early Scottish Gaelic religious texts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries or in the eighteenth-century Gaelic New Testament, published in 1767, or in any of the four volumes of the Old Testament published between 1783 and 1801, where Classical or high register *ge nach* is the norm; see §8.2. *Gen go* occurs in Carswell's *Foirm na n-urrnuidheadh* (1567) and in the Catechism of ca. 1630; see §8.2. The absence of *gar an* in these seminal texts is, no doubt, due mainly to the influence of the Irish translations of the Bible by Bishop William Bedell and William O'Donnell (McCaughey 2001), which have *gé nach / ge nach*, and if so, we can add conjunctions to the list of morphological features influenced by the earlier Classical Gaelic texts (Meek 1988: 18 & 1990: 6–7). This influence may account for its eschewal in formal written higher registers in Scotland until the eighteenth century. The most recent literary reference that I have for *gar an* comes from Donnchadh MacIllIosa's twenty-first century short story *An sleapan*, first published in the periodical *Gairm* in 2002 and reprinted in his collection, *Tocasaid 'Ain Tuirc*, in the year 2004 (MacIllIosa 2002: 244 & 2004: 127).[1]

Gar an appears in lexicographical and grammatical sources from the early nineteenth century onwards, and in dialectal sources from the early twentieth century. Although recorded in Wester Ross by the Rev. Charles M. Robertson (1904: 341) at the beginning of the twentieth century, and reported as being current in common speech in the 1920s by Calder 1923: 322 §218 and more recently by Wentworth (GWR s.v. *although*), and for Lewis by Donnchadh MacIllIosa, it seems to have become more or less obsolete in many if not most Scottish Gaelic dialects. It tends not to be mentioned in modern grammars and descriptions of the language from the second half of the twentieth century onwards; see §§3 & 4.

This article contains the following elements and sections:

[1.] Donnchadh MacIllIosa, a native of Ness, Isle of Lewis, informs me that *gar an* was once very common in his native dialect of Lewis (personal communication).

2. *Gar an* and related variants in Scottish Gaelic literary sources

The most commonly occurring negative form in the literature is *ged nach* although *gad nach / ghad nach* and *ge nach* also occur.[2] This section deals with *gar an* and related forms. In some sources, as we shall see, *gar an* occurs side by side with other variants such as *ge nach* and *ged nach*—even within the same verse in some cases. If there is a distinction in meaning between these variants, it is not always immediately obvious, but see §§7 & 7.1 for comment. In literary sources, we find the following main variants of *gar an:*[3]

(1)   a. *gar an, gar an', gar 'n, gar n, gar na* (< *gar an do*)
          gar am, gar 'm, gar m, gar a', gara
          ghar an
      b. *cor am*
      c. *ge 'r an, ge 'r m'*
      d. *gar nach, cor nach* [?]
      e. *gin gar*
      f. *gachar*

In this paper, I use the spelling *gar an*, following Modern Scottish Gaelic usage, although it might equally be written as *garan*. The following sections provide a list of representative examples, many but not all of which can be found in *Corpas na Gàidhlig*. The translations are mine unless otherwise stated; capitalisation and punctuation have been added silently to some quotations.

2.1. gar an / am

(2)   *Ta mulad air m' inntinn* (ca. 1562 [?])
      Ta mulad air m'Inntin
      gar an dubhraig mi Innseadh
      Cuir truim oram fhein mar throm Cheo. (GUL MS Gen 1042/91; MacGregor 2019: 4)[4]

      There is sadness on my mind,
      though I dare / wish not speak of it,
      putting a weight on me like heavy mist.

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[2] Examples may be found in *Corpas na Gàidhlig* (CorG). There are currently (September 2022) 6,190 examples of *ged nach*, 23 examples of *gad nach*, 1 example of *ghad nach*, 435 examples of *ge nach*, 13 examples of *gé nach* (including 2 examples of *gé náck*), and 1 example each of *ce nach* and *cé nach*. This compares with 67 examples of *gar an*, 3 examples of *ghar an* and 57 examples of *gar am*.

[3] *Gar an* is the form used with the present tense of the copula, and *gar am bu* with non-present forms.

[4] The date ca. 1562 holds if, as MacGregor 2019 contends, the song *Ta mulad air m' inntinn* was composed by Mòr Chaimbeul 'Marion Campbell', wife of the MacGregor chief, Griogair Ruadh (d. 1570 A.D.), in the period prior to 7 December 1562, when the first phase of a war had formally begun between MacGregor and the Campbells of Glen Orchy. Griogair was beheaded by Cailean Liath Campbell on 7 April 1570.

(3)   *Orain Iain Luim* ([ca. 1646–1680s] 1964)

    a. On a chaill mi na gadhair,
      Is an t-eug 'gan sìor thadhal,
      'S beag mo thoirt **gar an** tadhail mi 'm Bràighe. (A. M. MacKenzie 1964:
      10.77–79; cf. Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 98; Sinclair 1888: 7; W. J. Watson
      1918: 228.6071–6073)

      Since I have lost the greyhounds
      whom death is constantly seeking out,
      it matters little to me if I do not visit Brae Lochaber. (A. M. Mackenzie 1964: 11)

    b. Fhuair an t-Iarl air a thurus
      Bàrr 's a bhuinnig e mhàl oirbh,
      Gar an d'fhaod e bhith fuireach
      Ri cur ri cruinneach' na gràineig. (A. M. MacKenzie 1964: 170.2161–2164; cf.
      '**gar am** b' fhiach' [Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 69])

      The Earl in his expedition obtained
      more than the rent which he won from you,
      although he could not wait
      to busy himself adding to the hedgehog's hoard. (A. M. MacKenzie 1964: 171)

    c. 'S iomadh marcach eich stàtail,
      Gar an àiream ach cuid diubh. (A. M. MacKenzie 1964: 172.2165–2166; cf.
      Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 62; cf. J. Mackenzie 1841: 42)[5]

      Many a rider of stately steed,
      although I should enumerate but a few. (A. M. MacKenzie 1964: 173)

      Cf. Cha 'n e gaoir bhan a chlachain
      A tha mis 'an diu 'g acain,
      gar an d'thigeadh gin as de 'n choig ceud. (Sinclair 1888: 14 & 1890: 14 &
      328; cf. '**gar 'n** tigeadh' [Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 100; A. M. MacKenzie
      1964: 332])

      It is not the cry of the women of the village / of *Clachan*
      that I am today wailing
      even though not even one should survive of the five hundred.

[5.] *Gar an* occurs as a variant reading in a number of Iain Lom's poems: **gar an** *rùisg mi* 'though I will not reveal' for **cha** *rùisg mi* 'I will not reveal' in *Cumha Mhontrois* (A. M. MacKenzie 1964: 58.690 & 335); *Gar an d'theid mi g'a innse* 'though I will not go telling it' for *'S **ged nach** faodar leam innse* 'though I could not tell' in *Murt na Ceapaich* (A. M. MacKenzie 1964: 88.1082 & 343); and **gar an** *cuirim* lit. 'though I will not put' for **ged nach** *cuir mi* lit. 'though I will not put' in *Iorram do bhàta Mhic Dhomhnaill* (A. M. MacKenzie 1964: 106.1363 & 348).

(4)   *Bàrdachd Shìleas na Ceapaich* ([seventeenth-eighteenth century] 1972)
Gar am biodh ach Gòrdanaich 's Clann Dòmhnaill
Thachairt còmhladh anns a' bhlàr,
Cha toir an saoghal orm a shaoilsinn
Nach tug iad aodainn dàibh. (Ó Baoill 1972: 26.328–331)[6]

Even if only the Gordons and Clan Donald
were together on the field,
the whole world will not make me think
that they did not stand up to them. (Ó Baoill 1972: 27 §3)

(5)   Mairghread nighean Lachlainn, *Gaoir nam ban Muileach* ([ca. 1716] 1813)[7]
a. **Gar an** d' fhuair iad a dh-ùine,
Cead an armachd a ghiùlan. (Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 2; cf. Ó Baoill 2009: 72.538–539)

Though they did not get enough time
to let them carry their arms. (Ó Baoill 2009: 73 §4)

b. Cha n' eil fèum bhi ga innseadh,
'S iad a' measg an luchd mio-ruin
Gar an ann ri feall-intleachd a bha iad. (Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 6; cf. Ó Baoill 2009: 80)

There is no point in telling of it,
for they are among their enemies,
though they were never involved in treachery. (Ó Baoill 2009: 81 §18)

(6)   *The MacDiarmid MS anthology* ([1770] 1992)
a. **Gar an** d'fhuair mi
'M bliadhna t'fhuran. (D. S. Thomson 1992: 45.160–161)

Although I did not get
this year your welcome.

b. 'S mòr gum b' annsa nighean Dòmhnaill
Gar 'm bu bheò i ach oidhche. (D. S. Thomson 1992: 132.608–609)

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[6] Variant readings show **Gar am** *bi ann ach* 'even if there be only' varying with **Ged nach** *biodh ach* 'even if there would only be' (Ó Baoill 1972: 26.328 & 191[328]); cf. **Ged nach** *fhacas* 'though I did not see' and **Gar am** *facas* 'though I did not see' (Ó Baoill 1972: 30.368 & 191[368]).

[7] *Gaoir nam ban Muileach* was composed by Mairghread nighean Lachlainn (ca. 1660–ca. 1750) and concerns the death in 1716 of Sir Iain MacLean, chief of Duart, Mull, in the aftermath of the Battle of Sheriffmuir (Ó Baoill 2009: 158). It was first published by Mac-an-Tuairneir in his *Comhchruinneacha do dh'orain taghta, Ghaidhealach* in 1813.

Donald's daughter was more to be desired
even if she were alive for only one night.

c. **Gar am** bheil mi eòlach air cur an eòrna
Ghleidhinn duit feòil nam mang. (D. S. Thomson 1992: 241.1479–1480; cf.
J. Gillies 1786: 137)[8]

Though I am not well-acquainted with sowing barley
I would keep for you [supplies of] fawn meat.

(7)   *Comh-chruinneachidh orannaigh Gaidhealach* (1776)
Is sin an la a's leor a mhiad,
Gar an leìr [*sic*] è an diugh ach meanbh. (MacDomhnuill 1776: 224)

That's the day that will be immense
although it is only scarcely obvious today.

(8)   *Coir mor a Chriosduidh* (1783)
a. Tha 'n t anam anois' a' cuir roimhe básucha, ma dh' iarras DIA air é, **gar
a'bheil** é fhathasd ach aig a dhoras, agus aghai d' a ionnsu. (Mac-Pharlain
1783: 48; cf. 80, 108, & 186)

The soul is now resolving to die, if GOD requests it, although it is still only
at his doorway, and its face towards him.

b. Faodai sinn ann sin ruigheachd air cáil-eigin do chinnte m'ar staid, le
fianuis ar spioraid fein, **gar an** ruig sinn air lán chinnte mu timchioll.
(Mac-Pharlain 1783: 118)

We can then attain something of certainty about our condition, with the
testimony of our own spirit, although we cannot attain full certainty with
respect to it.

c. Bithidh anam 's a staid lán tearuinte leis a sin, a reir an sgriobtuir, **gar an**
labhair é mach na nithe sin le bheul. (Mac-Pharlain 1783: 197)

His soul and his condition will be fully protected with that, according to the
scripture, even if he doesn't speak out those things with his mouth.

d. '**Gar am** bi mi ach a' m' sheirbhiseach chum cosan luchd-muinntir mo
Thighearn' ionnlad.' (Mac-Pharlain 1783: 168)

Even though I be only a servant to cleanse the feet of the people of my Lord.

[8.] D. S. Thomson 1992: 314 seems to suggest that *gar* is used with verbs in the past tense and *gar a* with
the present tense in the MacDiarmid Manuscript. The following three examples do not bear this out,
however: *gar an d'fhuair mi* 'though I did not get' (45.160), *gar 'm bu bheò i ach oidhche* 'even if she were
alive for only one night' (132.609), and *gar am bheil mi* 'though I am not' (241.1479).

(9) *Sean dain, agus orain Ghaidhealach* (1786)

a. **Gar an'** tigeadh oirn o aon bhall eile. (J. Gillies 1786: 25)

Even though [he] didn't come on us from any other place.

b. Thug sud togbhail [mosgladh] air m' inntin,
Gar an d' fhaod mi chach innseadh. (J. Gillies 1786: 31; cf. Sinton 1906: 46)

That excited my mind,
although I couldn't tell anyone.

c. Cnuasachd riamh ni 'n drìnneam fein
Thuirt Mac Feadhaich nan gruaidh tla;
Gar an drinneam arsa Fraoch
Theid mi bhuain a chaor'n do Mhai. (J. Gillies 1786: 109)

'Gathering [fruit / berries] I never undertook before'
said Mac Feadhaich [i.e., Fraoch] of the gentle cheeks;
'but even if I haven't done [it before]' said Fraoch
'I will go to reap the rowan for May'.

d. **Gar am** bheil cùirte no cathraiche d' arn-earradh ann an sògh. (J. Gillies 1786: 64)

Although there are no courts or cities of our armour in pleasure.

e. **Gar am** páidhear an fheill-mártuinn
'S ged' rach an Righ — mháthair. (J. Gillies 1786: 80; cf. J. Mackenzie 1841: 262; cf. Sinton 1906: 159)

Although Martinmas [i.e., the rent] will not be not paid
and although the King would go [to] his mother.[9] (cf. Sinton 1906: 449)

f. O Gur mòr mo chuid mulaid;
Gar am fuiling sibh luaidh. (J. Gillies 1786: 133)

O great is my sorrow;
although you will not bear to [hear it] mention[ed].

(10) *Co' chruinneachadh laoidhe agus chantaicibh spioradail* (1786)

a. Bhuail e'n t slat 'sna creagan cruaidhe,
'S bhruchd an t uisge fuar anios;

[9.] Gillies' text of *Communn an uisge-bheatha* 'Fellowship of whisky' by Fear Srath Mhathaisidh (the Tacks-man of Strathmashie, Lachlann Macpherson, ca. 1723–1767) is from GUL MS Gen 1042/228. McLagan's manuscript has ''Sgad reachadh An Riogh gu Mhathair', which Gillies has chosen to censor.

'S ur a thog e fein an t āll ud,
Gar'n do chreid a dha chlar sgriobht'. (Kennedy 1786: 79 §X)

He struck the hard rocks with the stick,
and the cold water spurted up;
he vigorously raised that brood,
even though his two written tablets were not believed.

b. Thug e 'nios iad o thur Bhabel,
Gar am b' aill leo fein a rian. (Kennedy 1786: 80)

He took them down from the Tower of Babel,
even though they themselves didn't like his arrangement / instruction / rule.

(11)   *Orain Ghaidhealach, agus Bearla air an eadar-theangacha* (1792)
a. Cha'n ioghna leam idir,
Gar an deanadh iad piosach na stà. (Mac'Coinnich 1792: 104 §II)

It is no surprise to me at all
if they didn't prosper or make success.

b. A' toirt uath an cuid stòrais,
Gar an cur iad dheth mòran mun seach. (Mac'Coinnich 1792: 105 §VII)

Taking from them their wealth,
although they don't put much of it aside.

c. 'S **gar 'n** do dhearbh è bhi duineil. (Mac'Coinnich 1792: 57 §XI)

And although he did not prove to be manly.

d. **Gar am** bhèil mi fada uait. (Mac'Coinnich 1792: 35 §I)

Although I am not far from you.

e. Is **gar am** bheil [*sic è*] mi pailt do stor
Dh'èìghinn [*sic ì*] stòpa le taitneas. (Mac'Coinnich 1792: 35 §III)

And although I am not abounding in wealth
I would call for a stoup with pleasure.

f. Bhithinn fhein **gar am** b' fheudar dhomh ann. (Mac'Coinnich 1792: 220)

I myself would be there although I wouldn't have to.

(12)   *Nuadh orain Ghailach* (1798)
Gara bhael [*sic*] i fodh hoadhach [*sic*] aeh [*sic*] cruaidh. (Caimbeull 1798: 57)

Although she is (not) but hard under her clothes.

(13) *Orain Ghaelach* (1801)
      Bu chiontach mi 'o m-oig' gu' m aois,
      Bha mi gorach, eatrom, brais,
      'S **gar na** [< gar an do] chruinnich mi riamh maoin,
      Do' n leisg cha tug mi gaol na tlachd. (Mac Ghrigair 1801: 226)

      I was guilty from youth to old age
      of being foolish, giddy and rash,
      and although I never acquired wealth,
      I had no love or affection for indolence.

(14) *Cochruinneacha taoghta de shaothair nam bard* (1804)
There are 20 examples of *ged nach* in this source (e.g., Stewart & Stewart 1804: 49, 57,
& 146) and five examples of *ge nach* (Stewart & Stewart 1804: 32, 117, 375, 377, & 432),
but only one example of *gar an*, which co-occurs with *ge nach*. On the possible semantic
contrast here between *gar an* and *ge(d) nach*, see §§7 & 7.1.

      Gu'n cluinneams' do bhuinig,
      Ge nach faic mi thu tuille,
      Gar an iaradh tu idir
      Dhol fad' as an fhònn;
      Ach ann an àite na's deisail,
      Gun bhlar, na gun chreagan,
      'S ma gheibh m' ath-chuinges' freag'radh,
      Cha'n eagal duit bonn. (Stewart & Stewart 1804: 377–378; cf. J. Mackenzie 1841:
      363)

      May I hear that you are prospering [lit. 'winning'],
      though I will not see you any more,
      even if you would **not** desire
      to go far out of this [lit. 'the'] land
      but to reside [instead] in a more southern (covenient [?]) place
      without open ground or rocks,
      and if my prayer gets an answer,
      you will have nothing at all to fear.

(15) *Cuairt an oilthirich* (1812)
      Oir thuirt e ris fein **gar am** biodh agam san amharc ach mo bheatha a chao-
      mhnadh, 'se b' fhearr dhomh seasamh. (MacPharlain 1812: 45)

      Because he said to himself if my intention was only to save my life, it would
      be better for me to make a stand.

(16)   *Comhchruinneacha do dh' orain taghta, Ghaidhealach* (1813)

    a. **Gar an** d' theid mi g' a innse,
        Tha mi cinnteach a' m' sgeul. (Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 45; cf. J. Mackenzie
        1841: 37; cf. H. MacKenzie 1873: 14; cf. 'ged nach' [A. MacKenzie 1964:
        88.1082 & 343[1082]])

        Although I cannot be telling of it,
        I am certain of my tale.

    b. 'S **gar an** d' fhuasgail thu fearunn,
        Gu 'n robh firinn gun mhearachd fo d' chleoc. (Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 126)

        And although you didn't liberate land,
        truth without injustice defined you [lit. 'was under your cloak'].

    c. Tha m' aigne trom fo thùrsadh,
        Gar an rùisg mi e ri càch. (Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 322)

        My mind is heavy with mourning,
        although I do / will not reveal it to everyone.

    d. **Gar an** dean mi pilltinn. (Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 323)

        Although I will not return.

    e. **Gar an** toimhsinn troigh thair disinn,
        Ach mo shith bhi' 'm Pharais. (Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 333; cf. Sinton 1906: 170)

        Though I would not measure a foot across the dice,
        were but my peace in Paradise. (Sinton 1906: 455)

    f. 'S **gar an** d' fhuair mi chum arain,
        Ach m' ealdhain a's m' fhoghlum;
        Fhad 'sa mhaireas an saoghal,
        Bidh daoine 'm feum bhrògan. (Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 376)

        Although I only received as sustenance
        my trade and my learning;
        as long as the world exists,
        people will need shoes.

    g. **Gar 'n** do ghabh mi mor eolas,
        Air a Mhoirfhear so th['] agaibh. (Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 86; cf. A.
        MacKenzie 1964: 346)

Although I didn't have any great knoweldge
of this Lord you have.

h. Ach ni giullan feum le dhurachd,
   'Sa chùis so **gar 'n** d' fhuair e fhoghlum. (Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 207)

But a lad will do well with his diligence
in this business even though he received no instruction.

i. **Gar am** faiceadh tu do namhaid. (Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 36)

Even if you wouldn't see your enemy.

j. **Gar am** b' fhiach leis an duin' ud,
   Bhi ri cruinneachadh cnamhaig. (Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 69; cf. J.
   Mackenzie 1841: 45; cf. A. M. Mackenzie 1964: 170.2163)

Although that man would not condescend
to be gathering refuse.

k. THUG Clan Donuill an latha,
   Gar am b' ann leis a chlaidhe a truaill. (Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 125)

Clan Donald won the day
although it wasn't with the sword from a sheath.

l. **Gar am** faic mis' a choidhch e,
   Ma thionndas a chuibhle,
   Bidh Sasunnaich 's Guimhnich na 'n eiginn. (Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 162)

Although I will never see it,
if the wheel turns around,
the English and the Campbells will be in dire straits.

m.'S **gar am** bi na Guimhnich reidh riut. (Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 186; cf. N.
   MacLeod 1829–1831: 64)

Although the Campbells will not be at peace with you.

n. 'Nuair theid i air a ciad siubhal,
   olamaid *fòidhe*,
   Gar am faighear tuille luchd aisde,
   ach aon *bhòidhe.* (Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 369)

When she goes on her first voyage,
let us drink under her,

even if the only further cargo that is (not) got from her
is one single boy [i.e., 'a small vessel for liquids'; see DSL s.vv. *boy*, n. 2; *buye*].

o. **Gar 'm** faic mis' e le m' shuilean,
Gu 'm bi Dia leibh 's mo dhurachd. (Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 161)

Although I will not see it with my eyes,
may God be with you and my good wishes.

p. **Gar 'm** faighinn lea stor,
Cha bhithinn ga bhron. (Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 211)

Although I wouldn't find treasure with her,
I wouldn't grieve.

(17) *Poems in English, Scotch, and Gaelic* (1817)
'S **gar am** bheil annamsa ach lòpan,
'S ann do'n t'seorsa ud bha mo shean a'ir. (Walker 1817: 121)

Although I am only a farm-labourer [lit. 'a basket, creel']
my grandfather was of that ilk.

(18) *Co'chruinneachadh* (1828)
'S gu'n cuirinn ris ceisd mu ghnà mu'n do theasd;
Gar am freagair e 'm feasd mo dhàn. (T. MacLeod 1828: 112; cf. T. MacLeoid
1834: 140)

So that I might ask him about his experience before he died
although he will never answer my verse.

(19) *Songs and poems in the Gaelic language / Orain le Rob Donn* (1829)
Faileas dubh am bàrr a gruaige,
Is dreach an ubhail air a gruaidhean,
Mala chaol is i gun ghruaimean,
Gu tarruing suas,
Gar 'n deòin leath' bhi riu. (Mackay 1829: 35)

A black sheen in the top of her hair,
and the appearance of an apple in her cheeks,
a slender eyebrow without a frown,
for drawing up / alluring
although she was not willing to engage with them [i.e., suitors].

(20) *Co-chruinneach dh'orain thaghte Ghaeleach* (1831)
a. S cha ghluais mi an gradachd leam fhein,
Gar an dean mi chach innseadh. (Mac Intoisich 1831: 174)

   I will not move quickly by myself
   although I will not tell anyone.

b. As **gar n** dean sinn naird stor. (Mac Intoisich 1831: 71)

   And though we will not make up a store / riches.

c. **Gar n** urrinn mi ainmeach,
   Gach buaidh tha ga d leanmhin a naird. (Mac Intoisich 1831: 183)

   Although I cannot name
   every virtue that befits you.

d. T fhaotain poist ruim o n t shagart,
   S cead air leaba fhraoich leat,
   S **gar m** bi aigain [*sic*] ach am breacan,
   Chuirte s eachad [*sic*] oiche ann. (Mac Intoisich 1831: 81)

   To have you married to me by the priest,
   and leave to be on a bed of heather with you,
   even if we only had plaid,
   a night would be spent in it.

e. **Gar m** bheil aig a [*sic*] ach an oige,
   Bhiodh e deoineach leat mar mhnaoi. (Mac Intoisich 1831: 138)

   Although all he has is youth,
   he would be willing to have you as a wife.

f. Ach **gar am** faith mi gu dilinn,
   Fiach a phrine dheth t[']earras,
   Cha n e aobhar mo mhighean,
   Scha mhi fhein tha mi gearain. (Mac Intoisich 1831: 10)

   And even if I never get
   an iota [lit. 'the price of a pin'] of your wealth,
   it is not the reason for my displeasure
   and I am not complaining for my sake.

g. **Gar am** faic mi gu brath sibh,
   Bithith mo ghradhadhuibh [*sic*] dileas. (Mac Intoisich 1831: 16)

   Although I will never see you again,
   my love for you will be steadfast.

h. S **gar am** faod mi ad choir. (Mac Intoisich 1831: 27)

And though I can't be with you.

i. **Gar am** faic mi gu brath iad. (Mac Intoisich 1831: 47)

Although I will never see them.

j. **Gar am** bheil iad fuaighte ri oighreachd. (Mac Intoisich 1831: 80)

Although they are not connected with an estate.

k. **Gar am** faicinn sibh riamh. (Mac Intoisich 1831: 116)

Although I would never see you.

(21)   *An teachdaire úr Gàidhealach* (1836)
Tha dòchas againn gu'n gabh ar cairdean ar leisgeul **gar am** faigh gach aon diubh freagradh air leth. (Maclean 1835–1836: 96).

We hope our friends will accept our apology if every one of them does not receive a separate reply.

(22)   *Sar-obair nam bard Gaelach* (1841)[10]
In his poem on *Loch Eic* 'Loch Eck', the Loch Fyne Bard, Eòghan MacColla, uses *gar an* and *ge*(*d*) *nach* in consecutive lines. On the possible semantic contrast between *gar an* and *ged nach*, see §§7 & 7.1.

'Oide-altruim mhaith nam breac,
Gar an leatsa cath nan tonn,
'S <u>ged nach</u> d' amais long fo bhréid
Air t-uchd réidh riamh chur f'a bonn. (J. Mackenzie 1841: 357)

O great foster-father of the trout,
even if yours is **not** the strife of the waves,
and <u>although</u> a sailing ship <u>never</u> managed
to put your smooth bosom under its keel.

(23)   *Orain Ghaidhealach* (1848)
a. Tha breisleach na eanachainn,
    Is cabhag na sheannachas,
    Gar an innis mi ainm dhuibh. (Mac-an-Roich 1848: 164)

    His brain suffers from derangement,
    and his talk is hurried / troubled [?]

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[10]. J. C. Watson 1934: 150 s.v. *gar* notes that *gar* is 'regularly changed to *ged*' in this source, i.e., *gar an* is regularly changed to *ged nach*.

although I'll not tell you his name.

 b. 'S **gar 'n** d-ath'raich e *Ilium*,
  Pubis, na *Ischium*. (Mac-an-Roich 1848: 165)

  And though he didn't change *Ilium*,
  Pubis, or *Ischium*.

(24) *An duanaire* (1868)
 a. Hì hiù O! sid gu-n cluinneam,
  Hì hiù O! **gar am** faiceam,
  Hì hiù O! **gar am** bitheam,
  Hì hiù O! beò ach seachduin! (MacPherson 1868: 42)

  Hì hiù O! may I hear that,
  Hì hiù O! even if I may not see,
  Hì hiù O! even if I may only be,
  Hì hiù O! alive for a week!

 b. **Gar am** b' ann a ghoid chapull,
  No a ghadachd nam bò. (MacPherson 1868: 73)

  Though it wasn't to steal mares / horses
  or to rob cows.

 c. Nàile, dheanainn dut sithionn,
  Gar am fighinn do chlòth. (MacPherson 1868: 74)

  Truly, I would make for you venison.
  though I wouldn't weave your cloth.

 d. Ach, ma dh'fhaodas mi, theid mi 'shealg,
  'S gheibh mi baolum ort, **gar am** marbh. (MacPherson 1868: 101)[11]

  But, if I can, I will go hunting,
  I will take you by surprise, although [I] will not kill [you].

(25) *The Gaelic songster / An t-óranaiche* (1879)

 a. Cha bhi mi ga d' chàineadh
  Gar an dàn dhomh do phòsadh. (Mac-na-Ceàrdadh 1879: 285)

  I will not slander you
  even though it is not destined for me to marry you.

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11. This is the example cited by Dwelly (s.vv. *baolum*, *gar*). See §3 for comment.

b. Rinn do ghaol-sa mo bhuaireadh,
   Gar 'n d' bhuannaich mi thu. (Mac-na-Ceàrdadh 1879: 178)

   My love for you has disconcerted me,
   even though I did not win you.

(26)   *Northern chronicle* (30 January 1889)
       Nam faicinn am ministear measg a' phràbair ud, **gar a bheil** annam ach seann
       tàillear bochd. ([Campbell, Daniel] = Alltmhada 1889: 369)

       If I were to see the minister amongst that rabble, even though I am only an
       old poor tailor.

(27)   *Leabhar nan gleann* (1898)
       Ach 's fheudar dhomh bhi beo
       Gar am posadh tu mì. (Henderson 1898: 173)

       But I must keep alive
       even though you would not marry me.

(28)   *Leabhar na ceilidh* (1898)
       Beannachd Chaluim Ghobha leat—
       Ma thogair **gar an** till thu. (H. Whyte 1898: 202; verse / proverb quoted in
       prose; cf. 'Mo thogair **ged nach** till' in Nicolson 1881: 56)

       Calum the Smith's farewell to you—
       who cares even if you don't return.

(29)   *The poetry of Badenoch* (1906)
       Tha 'n oidhche 'n nochd ro ànranach,
       'S an geamhradh fada fuar;
       Leig crùban aig do chasan dhomh,
       Gar am faigh mi ach leth uair. (Sinton 1906: 6)

       This night is direly boisterous,—
       The winter long and cold;
       At thy feet let me crouch under,
       Though I got but half an hour. (Sinton 1906: 361)

(30)   *Para Piobaire, agus sgeulachdan eile* (1925)
       Sin agad a Mhàiri mar a chaidh dhòmhsa 's an tigh-mhòr, 's tha mi coma **gar
       an** tig an latha a bhios mi rithist ann. (J. Whyte 1925: 20)

       That's how I got on Màiri in the laird's house, and I couldn't care less if the
       day never comes that I will be there again.

I have noted the following single instance in published literature from the early twenty-first century:[12]

(31)   *Gairm* (2002); *Tocasaid 'Ain Tuirc* (2004)
   "**Gar an** dèanadh tu," ars esan, "ach clò san t-seachdain, no clò gu leth. (MacIllIosa 2002: 244; 2004: 127)

   "'Even if all you did", he says, "was a tweed every week or half a tweed'".

2.1.1. ghar an

The form *ghar an* occurs three times in *Leabhar nan gleann* (Henderson 1898: 116, 120, & 171), e.g.:

(32)   **Ghar an** dianainn dhut fighe
   Bhiog sithionn mu d'bhòrd. (Henderson 1898: 171)

   Though I wouldn't weave for you,
   there would venison on your table.

At least one of these examples, and possibly all three, comes from an Inverness-shire source, a Mr Siosal from Eskadale (Henderson 1898: 115 & 116). We may compare the Wester Ross form *ghor an* (§5.3.2).

2.2. cor am

Donald Matheson from Kildonan in East Sutherland has the form *cor am* in his *Laoidhean spioradail* (1825):

(33)   'S **cor am** faigh iad na's àill. (Mathanach 1825: 17; Robertson 1907: 109)

   And though they will not get anything more glorious.

In light of the initial ⟨c⟩- in the East Sutherland form *cod an / am* discussed below (§5.3.4), *cor* is to be understood as containing initial /kʰ/- and unlikely to be a mere spelling variant of *gor* occurring after 's, where we might expect the contrast between ⟨c⟩- and ⟨g⟩- to be neutralised. Robertson 1907: 109 & 118 simply notes that 'Matheson has cor for gar although [not]'. For the form *cor nach*, see §2.4.1.

2.3. ge 'r an / am

The form *ge 'r an* occurs once in Coinneach Mac'Coinnich's *Orain Ghaidhealach, agus Bearla air an eadar-theangacha* (1792):

[12.] The following example of *gar am* from *Gairm* 138 is a typographical error for *far am*: 'Air a' mhullach shuidh mi ri taobh creige **gar am** [*sic*] faighinn "sealladh sùil-eòin" air a' bhaile' 'On the summit I sat beside a rock where I could get "a bird's-eye view" of the village'. (NicFhionghuin 1987: 139).

(34)   Stric a dhearbh i mo's searbh 'na gnìomh,
      'Nuair bha i fàs 's blà a teachd o freamh,
      A nis o 'n thà i faigheinn àrd 'a miagh.
      Sean a Ghàilic **ge 'r an** d'fhàs i liath. (Mac'Coinnich 1792: [1])

      Often she proved too bitter in her exploits,
      when she was growing and a blossom coming from her roots,
      now that she is held in the highest esteem,
      Gaelic is old even if she hasn't grown grey.

It is not clear what, if any, significance may be attached to this form as *gar-* is the spelling which normally occurs in Mac'Coinnich's collection: *gar an* (2 examples), *gar am* (3 examples), *gar 'n* (1 example), *gar nach* (1 example) (Mac'Coinnich 1792: 35, 57, 104, 105, 220, & 229). It is possible that the spelling with *ge 'r* has been influenced by the spelling of the positive concessive conjunction, which is usually spelt as *ge d'*, although *ge 'd* also occurs in Mac'Coinnich (1792: 33, 36, 45, 46; 19, 21, 22, 94, 124); see §12.1. Similarly, the related form *ge 'r m' faca mi* occurs once in Raibeart Stiubhard's *Orain Ghaelach agus Bheurla-Ghaelach* (1802) against two examples of *gar an* (Stiubhard 1802: 132 & 158):

(35)   Thuirt an duine gu cialach;
      Na bigh ortsa bonn mi-thlachd,
      Ged a chas riut na siantan,
      'S **ge 'r m'** faca mi riamh thu,
      Ma bhis m' aitridhse dionach,
      Gheibh thu fasga 's riaracha bi. (Stiubhard 1802: 43, §IV[d])[13]

      The man said sensibly,
      don't you be the slightest bit upset,
      though the elements turned against you
      and even though I never saw you before.
      as long as my dwelling is waterproof,
      you will find shelter and serving of food.

The significance of the form *ge 'r* is once again unclear. Perhaps the spelling has been influenced by *ged,* which occurs very commonly in this source (Stiubhard 1802: 16, 43, et passim); see §12.1. Influence from the high register form *gé / ge* (§8.2) is also a possibility in both cases.

2.4. gar nach, cor nach [?]

Gar nach, which has developed an explicit negative marker, *nach*, occurs in modern literary sources from the eighteenth century onwards. This section provides a selection of

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[13.] William J. Watson, in his glossary to *Bardachd Ghaidhlig*, notes this example, but erroneously lenites *fhaca* (1918: 369, s.v. *gar an*).

examples. In the vast majority of sources where *gar nach* occurs, other variants co-occur such as *gar an*, *ged nach* and/or *ge nach*. Ó Baoill 2014: 118 notes *gar nach* as 'remarkable' for expected *gar an*; cf. J. C. Watson 1934: 150. On the development of *nach* in *gar nach* and possibly *cor nach*, we may compare the development of *nach* in reflexes of *muna / mana* 'if not', discussed in §2.6 and §12.2. Some of the variants may be due to editorial intervention. We may compare J. C. Watson's observation that *gar* is 'regularly changed to *ged*' in *Sar-obair nam bard Gaelach* (1841), i.e., *gar an* is regularly changed to *ged nach* (1934: 150, s.v. *gar*).

(36)   *Orain Ghaidhealach* (1768)
       gar nach b'e do mhiann
       Bhi cur bhian air an staing. (Mac-an-t-saoir 1768: 37; J. Mackenzie 1841: 229;
       cf. A. MacLeod 1952: 176.2468–2469)

       though 'twas never your ambition
       to put pelt upon the peg. (A. MacLeod 1952: 177.2468–2469)

This is the only example of *gar nach* from *Orain Ghaidhealach* (1768). I have not noted any examples of *gar an* or *ged nach* in this source, although *ge nach* occurs three times: *ge nach dean mi* 'though I do not', *ge nach d'rinn mi* 'though I have not made', *ge nach sámhach* 'though it is not peaceful' (Mac-an-t-saoir 1768: 12 & 90; A. MacLeod 1952: 18.244 & 245; 70.1037).

(37)   *Orain Ghaidhealach* (1792)
       Gidheadh **gar nach** maireann, an leannan bu sheasmhaich. (Mac'Coinnich
       1792: 229)

       Yet, though he lives not, the most faithful lover.

This is the only example of *gar nach* in *Orain Ghaidhealach* (1792). *Gar an*, *gar am*, *gar 'n* are the forms which occur otherwise in this source (Mac'Coinnich 1792: 35, 57, 104, 105, & 220). I have not noted any instances of *ged nach*; for *ge 'r an*, see §2.3.

(38)   *Màiri nighean Alasdair Ruaidh* ([ca. 1699]) / *Cochruinneacha taoghta* (1804)
       a. **Gar nach** toir mi dha creideas
          Gur beag orm ri luaidh e. (Ó Baoill 2014: 110.385–386; Stewart & Stewart
          1804: 447; cf. J. C. Watson 1934: 54.663)

          Though I do not give it credence
          I do not like to tell of it. (Ó Baoill 2014: 111 §7)

       b. **Gar nach** deach thu san tuam ud
          Far 'm bu dual duit od sheanair. (Ó Baoill 2014: 112.413–414; Stewart &
          Stewart 1804: 448; cf. J. C. Watson 1934: 56.691)

Though you were not laid in that tomb
which was your birthright from your grandfather. (Ó Baoill 2014: 113 §11)

c. **Gar nach** eil e ro dhearbhta
Gur searbh e ri èisteachd. (Ó Baoill 2014: 114.437–438; Stewart & Stewart 1804: 450; cf. J. C. Watson 1934: 58.715)

Though it is not well proven
it is bitter to hear. (Ó Baoill 2014: 115 §14)

The above three examples are from Màiri nighean Alasdair Ruaidh's lament for Ruairidh Òg, MacLeod of Harris and Dunvegan, probably composed in 1699 (Ó Baoill 2014: 116). The earliest source for this text is Stewart & Stewart's *Cochruinneacha taoghta*, published in 1804, where *gar an* appears only once, in another text (see §7.1). It is possible that Màiri nighean Alasdair Ruaidh's original text may have had *gar an*.

(39)　*Comhchruinneacha do dh' orain taghta, Ghaidhealach* (1813)

a. 'S **gar nach** 'eil i t-fhuil dhireach. (Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 8)

And although she is not directly of your own blood. (Ó Baoill 2009: 83 §24)[14]

b. **Gar nach** fuilngear' sa 'n am so a ràdhainn. (Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 3; cf. Ó Baoill 2009: 74.556)

Though at present it is not acceptable to say so. (Ó Baoill 2009: 75 §6)

c. **Gar nach** d' fhuair thu air t-fhacal. (Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 5; cf. Ó Baoill 2009: 78.611; cf. **Ged nach** d'fhuair—as with other examples passim [Black 2001: 66.115])

Though you never obtained under your control. (Ó Baoill 2009: 79 §13)

d. **Gar nach** eil mo chas crubach. (Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 101; cf. A. M. MacKenzie 1964: 108)

Although I am not lame of foot. (A. M. MacKenzie 1964: 109)

e. **Gar nach** eil mo bhian srachte [*sic*]. (Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 101; cf. Sinclair 1888: 25; A. M. MacKenzie 1964: 108.1384)

Although my skin is not torn. (A. M. Mackenzie 1964: 109)

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14. Cf. '**Ge nach** eil thu 'n fhuil rioghail' 'though you are not of royal blood' (MacCallum 1821: 162); ''S **ged nach** eil i 'd fhuil dhìreach' 'And though she's not of your kinsfolk' (Black 2001: 70.212 & 71); 'Is **gar nach** eil i dhe t'fhuil dhìreach' 'And although she is not directly of your own blood' (Ó Baoill 2009: 82.697 & 174[695–702]).

f. Tailleirean cloth ruaigh, **gar nach** fuaigh ach strachdadh. (Mac-an-Tairneir 1813: 242; cf. Matheson 1938: 10.148)[15]

Tailors of red cloth, though they'll not sew but tear. (Matheson 1938: 11)

There are eight examples of *gar nach* in *Comhchruinneacha do dh' orain taghta, Ghaidhealach* (1813) against 27 examples of *gar an* (11), *gar 'n* (3), *gar am* (7), *gar 'm* (3), and *ged nach* (3) (e.gg., Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 98, 100, 125, 161, & 185). Mairghread nighean Lachlainn's *Gaoir nam ban Muileach* from ca. 1716, but first published in Mac-an-Tuairneir's 1813 collection, has three examples of *gar nach* (Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 3, 5, & 8; cf. Ó Baoill 2009: 74, 78, & 82) and two instances of *gar an* (Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 2 & 6; cf. Ó Baoill 2009: 72 & 80).[16]

(40) *Daoine air an comhairleachadh an aghaidh bhi deanamh croin orra fhein* (1832)
a. Na biodh eagal sam bith ort do thaobh cunnairt o lagh na righeachd **gar nach** gabhadh sinn do leisgeil, anns a gniomh [*sic*] a tha thu air tì a dheanamh, ged a bhiodh cunnart ann. (Domhnullach 1832: 7)

Be not be afraid about risk from the law of the kingdom even though we would not excuse you in the act you are determined to commit, even though there would be risk associated with it.

b. **Gar nach** b' e sin a chrioch. (Domhnullach 1832: 8)

Although that was not the end.

c. **Gar nach** eil sinn a' deanamh mor fhuaim leis a chùis. (Domhnullach 1832: 54)

Although we are not making a big deal about the matter.

d. . . . agus a ni cho slàn iad is **gar nach** biodh iad riabh air an lotadh. (Domhnullach 1832: 58)

. . . and that will heal them so well as if they were never wounded.

Five examples of *gar nach* occur in this source and two examples of *ged nach* (Domhnullach 1832: 15 & 18).

(41) *Sar-obair nam bard Gaelach* (1841)
The only example of *gar nach* to occur in *Sar-obair nam bard Gaelach* is the sole example from *Orain Ghaidhealach* (1768): '**gar nach** b'e do mhiann' 'though 'twas never your

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[15.] *Ged nach fuaigh* 'though [they'll] not sew' is noted as a variant reading in Matheson 1938: 219[148].

[16.] *Gar an* and *gar nach* do not occur in William J. Watson's edition of the text in *Bardachd Ghaidhlig*, where only *ged nach* occurs (1918: 137.3687 & 3713).

ambition' (Mac-an-t-saoir 1768: 37; J. MacKenzie 1841: 229; cf. A. MacLeod 1952: 176 & 177.2468). The following variants also occur: *gar an* (4 examples), *gar am* (2 examples), *ged nach* (19 examples), which shows *ged nach* as the dominant variant in this collection (e.gg., J. Mackenzie 1841: 25, 37, & 45); on the editorial change of *gar* to *ged* in this source, see J. C. Watson (1934: 150, s.v. *gar*).

(42)   *Laoidhean Bean Torra Dhamh* (1902)
       'S **gar nach** 'eil mi sean no aosmhor. (Clark 1902: 22)

       And although I am not old or aged.

This is the only example of *gar nach* in *Laoidhean Bean Torra Dhamh*. The variants *gar na* (= *gar an do*) and *ged nach* each occur once also (Clark 1902: 20 & 22).

2.4.1. cor nach [?]

Donald Matheson from Kildonan in East Sutherland has the form *cor nach* in his *Laoidhean spioradail* (1825), which I take to be a possible variant of *cor an / am* (with explicit negative marker, *nach*), also used by Matheson in ''S **cor am** faigh iad' 'And though they will not get' (Mathanach 1825: 17; Robertson 1907: 109):

(43)   Bha do bhuaidhean-s' do-aireamh,
       Cor nach fhar mi do'n innseadh,
       Ged bhiodh agam gibht bhaird
       Do chuir 'mhan ann an sgriobhadh. (Mathanach 1825: 47)

       Your talents were innumerable,
       though I cannot recount them,
       even if I were to have a bard's gift
       to put [them] down in writing.

Dwelly, however, following Robertson 1907: 118 & 119, quoting this very example, takes *cor nach* to be a Sutherland variant of *air chor 's nach* 'so that not', the negative form of *air chor 's gun* 'so that':

(44)   cor, s.n. In 'air chor's gun' = so that. Used negatively in Sutherland locally, as cor nach fhar mi do' n innseadh, *so that I cannot recount them.'* (Clyne 1991: 57)

(45)   Air chor's gu 'n (so that), which occurs in xvi., Air chor 's gu 'm b' urra mi iomradh (so that I could tell) appears (negatively) in xix., as Cor nach fhar mo do 'n innseadh (so that I cannot recount them) for air chor 's nach. In some districts 's for is, or agus (and), is omitted. (Robertson 1907: 1118; cf. 119).

2.5. gin gar *(ms) and related forms in the Book of the Dean of Lismore*

As far as I can judge from edited materials, the predominant form to express 'although not' in the early sixteenth-century Book of the Dean of Lismore seems to be a variant form of *gion go*, although (46f) below may represent *gé gur*.[17] The second element of this conjunction is frequently spelt with a final *-r* (in seven out of nine examples in [46]) in the Scots-based orthography of this manuscript as the examples below illustrate, although there are examples without the final *-r* (46h–i).[18] The following nine examples are the only ones that I have noted from published editions of texts from the Dean's manuscript;[19] there may be others among the as yet unpublished texts. In each case, I provide my own transliteration into modern Scottish Gaelic orthography in the individual headings, followed by that of the editor and the manuscript form:

(46)   a. *gan / gion gur beith*
          gion go mbeith (ms **gan gir** beith / **gan ger** beith) (ms 143.8) (W. J. Watson 1937: 2 §3b)[20]

          although there should not be

       b. *gion / gun gur bh' áil lé*
          gion gurbh áil lé (ms **gin gir** walaa / **gin ger** walaa) (ms 139.13) (Meek, forthcoming: ix §56[b])[21]

          although she did not want

       c. *gion / gun gar bhfeilim*
          gion gor bhfeilim (ms **gin gar** wellwm) (ms 164.2) (Meek, forthcoming: xiv §1[d])[22]

          although I am not

[17.] I have not noted any examples of *gar an* or *ged nach* in texts from the Book of the Dean of Lismore.

[18.] Each of the manuscript readings from the Book of the Dean of Lismore has been examined using the *Irish script on screen* www.isos.dias.ie web resource and verified with Professor William Gillies for whose advice on manuscript readings I am most grateful.

[19.] Only one of the poems from which these examples are taken is transcribed in Quiggin's *Poems from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* (1937: 67), i.e., example (46i).

[20.] W. J. Watson 1937: 2 §3b transcribes as 'gion go mbeith'. McLauchlan 1862: 96 & 97 transcribes the manuscript form as 'gan gir' and interprets it as 'gun gur bu bhuadhach'. Cameron 1892–1894: i 99 has 'gan g' beich'. I am grateful to Professor Gillies who has confirmed (personal communication) that the contraction following the *g* in the manuscript may be expanded as 'g<u>ir</u>' or 'g<u>er</u>' in (46a–b).

[21.] Ross 1939: 54.694 has 'gion gur *shulchar* lé tanaig'. For other possible readings, see Ross 1939: 217[694]. McLauchlan 1862: 48 & 49 reads the manuscript form as 'gin ger' and interprets it as 'gun gur'; cf. 'gin 'g' (Cameron 1892–1894: i 74).

[22.] Ross 1939: 78.1012 has 'gion go bhfeilim'. McLauchlan 1862: 52 & 53 reads the manuscript form as 'gin gur' and edits as 'ged nach bheileam'. Cameron 1892–1894: i 80, on the other hand, has 'gin ga'', which W. J. Watson 1927: 281 reproduces.

d. *gion / gun gar fóire*

   gion gur fóir[*eadh*] (ᴍs **gin gar** for) (ᴍs 221.4) (Meek, forthcoming: xx §15[c])[23]

   although [Fionn] will not relieve

e. *gior / gur gar rugadh mise*

   gion go rugadh (ᴍs **gir gar** ruggi misi) (ᴍs 290.13) (Meek, forthcoming: xxv §19[a])[24]

   although I was not yet born

f. *gé gur dearnas*

   gion gor d[*e*]*arnas* (ᴍs **ge' ger** darnis / **ge ger** darnis / **ge gir** darnis)[25] (ᴍs 302.10) (Meek, forthcoming: xxvii §14[c])[26]

   although I have not done

g. *cion gar robh*

   cion gur [*r*]*obh* / *gion go raibh* (ᴍs **kin gar** [.]oyv[.])(ᴍs 61.11) (W. Gillies 2012: 325, 326, & 327 §4[d])[27]

   although [she] was not

With these, we may compare:

h. *gion / gun ga díon*

   gion go [*n*]*díon* (ᴍs **gyn̲ ga** deine) (ᴍs 19.14) (W. Gillies 1990: 167 §7[d])[28]

   even though [that] does not protect

[23.] Ross 1939: 138.1751 has 'Gion go bhfóireadh'. McLauchlan 1862: 14 & 15 has 'Gun ge 'r fòireadh' (ᴍs gin gar for). Cameron 1892–1894: i 24 & 25 has 'Ged nach fòireadh' (ᴍs gin gar for). W. J. Watson 1927: 273 has 'gion gur fóireadh' (ᴍs gin gar *for*). Professor William Gillies (personal communication) suggests 'gion gár fóire' with present rather than past subjunctive.

[24.] Ross 1939: 188.2417 has 'Gion go rugadh'. McLauchlan 1862: 68 & 69 has 'Ger ga 'r' (ᴍs gir gar). Cameron 1892–1894: i 90 contains only the first 7.5 quatrains (cf. T. F. O'Rahilly 1934: 45).

[25.] Professor William Gillies (personal communication) would read the manuscript form here as either *ge ger* or *ge gir*. This would seem to imply *gé gur* as the form being represented rather than *gion gur*.

[26.] Ross 1939: 200.2595 has 'gion go ndearnas', but notes that the manuscript form suggests 'gion gur' (1939: 253.2595). McLauchlan 1862: 38 & 39 has 'Ge gur dheanas' (ᴍs ge ger darnis). Cameron 1892–1894: i 64 & 65 has 'Ge gar dhèarnas' (ᴍs ge' ger).

[27.] W. Gillies 2012: 326 & 327 transcribes as *cion gur* [*r*]*obh* and *gion go robh*. On *robh* for Classical *rabha / raibhe* here, see W. Gillies 2012: 332 §4[cd] & 341. Although 'kin' may be a variant representation of *gion*, it is possible that the first element has been analysed as *cion* 'want, defect'. We may compare the influence of *cían* (*céin*) on the conjunction *cen co* (eDIL s.v. *cen*).

[28.] In light of the (46a–g), one wonders if (46h) might be a slip for 'gyn̲ gar'.

i. *gion / gun gun dtáinig*

   gion go dtáinig (ᴍꜱ **gin gin** dany^t) (ᴍꜱ 149.15) (W. Gillies 1978: 25, 27, & 29 §5^d)[29]

   although he did not come

The manuscript forms with the final elements 'gar', 'gir' / 'ger' (46a–g) are diffi-cult to explain. The short vowels of proclitic elements are most commonly represented by the vowel *i* or *y* in the Book of the Dean of Lismore, e.g., the article *an* as *in* or *yn*,[30] the possessive pronoun *do* as *dy*,[31] the conjunction *gur* as *gir*,[32] the conjunction *gun* as *gin*,[33] the preposition *gun* as *gin*,[34] the distributive adjective *gach* as *gi^t*, *gy^t*, or *gi*,[35] the conjunction *mura* as *mir a* and *mirri*,[36] the preposition *go* as *gi* (or *gow*),[37] and so on. Such spellings would appear to represent an indistinct schwa-like vowel. However, *a* and, more rarely, *e* also occur, e.gg.:

(47) *ag* (ᴍꜱ ag) 'at', *led* (ᴍꜱ lad), *red* (ᴍꜱ rad) 'to your', *nach* (ᴍꜱ na^t) 'not' (W. Gil-lies 1990: 167 §6^b),[38] *r'a* (ᴍꜱ ra 2×) 'to his', *gus a'* (ᴍꜱ gassyth) 'to the', *a* (ᴍꜱ a) 'his', *fa* (ᴍꜱ fa) 'was' (copula), *nach* (ᴍꜱ nach) 'not' (W. J. Watson 1927: 267, 272, 277, & 287); *gach* (ᴍꜱ ga^t) 'every' (Meek, forthcoming: xxvii §8^c); *re* (ᴍꜱ re) 'to, with', *ar* (ᴍꜱ er) 'for' (W. Gillies 1990: 166 §§3^b & 4^c; 167 §§5^b & 7^c).

Long *á* and sometimes long *é* in proclitics can also be represented by *a*, e.gg., *ná / na* (ᴍꜱ na) 'not' (W. Gillies 1990: 166 §§2^c & 3^a), *dhá* (ᴍꜱ ga) lit. 'to its' (W. Gillies 1990: 166 §4^b); *gé* (ᴍꜱ ga) 'although' (W. Gillies 1990: 166 §3^b); cf. *rér* (ᴍꜱ rar) 'with our' (W. J. Watson 1927: 265), although *é* is perhaps more often spelt *ai* or *ay*, e.gg., *lér* (ᴍꜱ layr), *rér* (ᴍꜱ rair 3×) (Meek, forthcoming: x §20^b; xxii §§10^c & 21^c; xxiii §1^b). The representation of proclitic *á* and *é* as *a* suggests that *a* in some procltics, if it does not represent long *á*,

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[29.] Quiggin 1937: 67 has 'g*in* g*in* dany^t'. The occurrence of 'g*in*' twice is unlikely to be an error of rep-etition, as seven syllables are required for the metre and *gion gun* makes sense in the context of this quatrain. Line b, however, has six rather than seven syllables.

[30.] E.gg., *an* (ᴍꜱ in) (W. Gillies 1990: 166 §1^c & 167 §5^a), *na bhFian* (ᴍꜱ ny wayn) (Meek, forthcoming: v §1^c)

[31.] E.g., *dy^t* (W. Gillies 1990: 166 §§2^a & 4^a).

[32.] Meek, forthcoming: iv §§11^d & 14^a; xiv §3^d; xix §1^b; xx §5^b; xxi §§11^c, 11^d, & 12^d; xxii §§4^c & 38^c; xxiii §24c; xxv §4^c. Of the 12 examples that I have noted, only one is spelt otherwise, viz., *gvr* (xxiii §24^c).

[33.] Meek, forthcoming: iii §4^c; ix §27^c; xiii §5^b; xvi §9^c; xix §9^d; xx §§26^c & 26^d; xxi §§12^b & 12^c; xxii §29^c; xxv §3^a; xxvi §13^c. Of the 13 examples that I have noted, 11 are spelt as *gin*, one as *gy'* (before *r*-) (xix §9^d), and one as *gon* (xxii §42^a); cf. *gow* (W. Gillies 1990: 167 §6^c), *gon* (W. Gillies 1990: 167 §6^d).

[34.] E.gg., *gin* (xxii §8^b); *gy'* (before *t*-) (xxiii §5^d) (Meek, forthcoming).

[35.] *gy^t* (i §5^c; ii §3^c; iv §2^a, etc.); *gi^t* (v §11^c; vi §6^b, etc.); *gi* (vi §42^b; xxvi §27^c). Of the 23 examples that I have noted, 10 are spelt as *gy^t*, eight as *gi^t*, and two as *gi*. Of the remaining three examples, there is one example each of *gych* (xii §20^d), *ga^t* (xxvii §8^c), and *gir* (before *fir*) (xxv §18^c).

[36.] Meek (forthcoming: v §15^c; vi §16^a; xxii §23^b). O'Rahilly 1932: 46 refers to a monosyllabic form in the Book of the Dean of Lismore, 'm^r woe' for *mur bhfuigheadh*, but provides no reference.

[37.] E.gg., *gi* (W. Gillies 1990: 167 §§2^b & 5^c), *gow* (W. Gillies 1990: 166 §1^a); *gi* (Meek, forthcoming: vi §4^c), *gow* (Meek, forthcoming: ii §1^a; v §10^c), etc.

[38.] Cf. *nach* (ᴍꜱ no^t) (W. Gillies 1990: 167 §6^d).

may also represent a clear *a* vowel, and, thus, raises the possibility, in turn, that short *a* in proclitics such as *ag*, *red*, *nach*, *r'a*, *gus*, *a*, *fa*, & *ar* above may, in some cases, also have been pronounced with a clear *a* vowel.

The first element in the Book of the Dean of Lismore's negative concessive conjunction is most commonly spelt with *i* (or *y*), i.e., in 5/7 or 7/9 examples. These and perhaps also the single instance of *a* are consistent with an indistinct schwa-like vowel, which we might transliterate as *gun*. However, *i* and *y* are also compatible with *gion* / *cion*, hence my representation as *gion* / *cion* / *gun* in the examples above. The single instance of *gan* may possibly represent /gan/ with clear *a*. The predominant spelling of the second element, however, is *gar* with *a* (cf. also *ga* in example [46h]), i.e., in 4/7 or 5/9 examples. The spelling *gir* / *ger* occurs in three examples; *gin* occurs once (46i). While all spellings (*gar*, *ger* / *gir*, and *gin*) are compatible with an indistinct vowel, which might be represented by *gur* / *gun*, the forms with *a* may well represent a clear *a* vowel, and possibily even a long *á* vowel. I have opted for a clear *a* vowel in my representation of the manuscript form, hence the spelling *gar* above.

Middle Gaelic *cenco*[H] < *ce* + *nico* becomes *gion go*[N] (with variants *gen* / *gein* / *gin go*[N]) by the Early Modern period; see, for instance, Mac Cionnaith 1938: 93 §28[a]; 269 §5[d]; 374 §11[b]). *Gion gun* would be the expected Scottish Gaelic reflex of *gion go*[N],[39] and this is what we appear to have in (46i) and perhaps in (46h) also—if not in all examples. Dissimilation between the two *n*-sounds could conceivably yield the form *gion gur* < *gion gun*; we may compare the manuscript form *gir gar* in example (46e), which seems to show the development *n* > *r* in the first element *gion* / *gun*. This would provide a neat parallel with one of the proposed explanations of the Fernaig form, *gogh ir*, i.e., **cenchon* > **cenchor* (§2.6). Alternatively, it might be argued that the second element contains a generalised subjunctive (or past tense) form of the copula used with *go*, i.e., *gur* < *go* + *ro*. Indeed, this may be what we have in example (46b). This explanation would involve a copular form spreading to the position before full verbs, with which we might compare the subjunctive forms *cid*, *ced*, *gidh*, which could replace the simple conjunction (eDIL s.v. 2 *cía*). *Gur* is typically represented by *gir* (or *gyr*) in the Book of the Dean of Lismore (Meek, forthcoming: v §§11[d] & 14a; xiv §3[d]; xix §1[b]; xx §5[b]; xxi §§11[c], 11[d], & 12[d]; xxii §§4[c] & 38[c]; xxv §4[c], but note *gvr*, xxiii §24[c]). *Gur* is, therefore, compatible with the *gir* reading in (46a, b, f), but perhaps less so with the *gar* forms in (46c, d, g, h), which may contain a clear *a* vowel or possibly a long *á* vowel. It might be suggested that the second element is *gér* (possibly realised as *gár*), i.e., a later form of *gé* / *ge* 'although' + subjunctive copula,[40] with a form **gion* / *gun gér* possibly developing to explicitly mark the presence of the concessive conjunction *gé*. If subjunctive *gur* / *gér* were the underlying element, the 'eclipsis' in (46c) (*bhfeilim*) can be seen to represent a generalised dependent form as has occurred in the case of *dtig*, *dtèid*, *dtoir*, *dtàinig*, *dtug* generally in Scottish Gaelic (T. F. O'Rahilly 1931: 116 & 117; Ó Maolalaigh 2018: 42).

[39.] We may compare *go*[N] > *gun* in *gun dtí bráth* (MS gin de bra) 'until doom come' (W. J. Watson 1927: 273).

[40.] The original present subjunctive forms are *cid*, *cith*, *ced*, *ce(i)th* (eDIL s.v. 2 *cía*), although a later form *cér'* occurs in the eleventh-century Codex Palatino-Vaticanus (McCarthy 1892: 66).

A more satisfactory explanation perhaps of the Dean's forms is that *gion* / *gun* / *gan gar* (possibly *gár*) represents a combination or mixed form based on Classical Gaelic *gion go* 'although not' and vernacular *gar* < *gara*(*n*) / *gar a*(*n*) 'although not', possibly pronounced with a clear *a* (or perhaps with a long *á*) and loss of final vowel. We may compare the pronunciation of reflexes of *mani* 'if not', the first syllable of which often has a clear *a* vowel in Scottish Gaelic (and Irish) dialects (see §12.2)[41] and whose final vowel is dropped in many mainland Scottich Gaelic dialects, ranging from Mid-Argyll-shire and Perthshire in the south to Sutherland in the north (*mun, man, mur, mar*); for some examples, see Tables 4, 5, 6 (§12.3.5). If, on the other hand, a long vowel is represented and if the interpretation offered here is correct, it may point to an earlier form *gár*, which may have come about due to the influence of *gé* / *gér* 'although' (eDIL s.v. 2 *cía*) or possibly *gá* / *gár* 'who, what' (eDIL s.v. 1 *cía*).

Importantly, our interpretation accounts for the mutation or lack of it following this particular conjunction. The apparent lack of mutation in (46a, d, g) (cf. also [46h]) may indicate an underlying form *gara*[H] (or possibly *gára*[H]), which is the form we would expect if *gar-* derives from *ceni*[H] as suggested in this paper; see §12. The apparent eclipsis in (46c)—*bhfeilim*—cannot be taken as evidence for *gar* (*an*) or eclipsing *gar*[N] < *gara*[N], as *bhfeil-* is likely to be a petrified eclipsed dependent form as previously mentioned. However, it is possible that *gar* (*an*) or eclipsing *gar*[N] < *gara*[N] is the underlying form in many of these examples with the nasal not represented orthographically as in the examples under (48b). In the Book of the Dean of Lismore in contexts of original eclipsis, the nasal element before *b-* and *d-* is variably (a) written separately and not coalesced with the following stop, (b) absent, or less commonly (c) occurs without the associated stop, e.gg.:[42]

(48) a. *án* (= *dán* = *dá*[N]) *dean-* (MS ane dane) 'if' + 'do / make',[43] *i mbia* (MS i<u>m</u> bey) 'in which be' (Gillies 1978: 37 §§2[a] & 3[b]); *ar a mbí* (MS er y<u>m</u> bei[t]) 'upon which be', *i ndiaidh* (MS in dey) 'after', *go ndeachaidh* (MS gy<u>n</u> dea[t]) 'until it went', *go ndeachaidh* (MS gin dea[t]) 'until it went' (W. Gillies 1981: 268 §9[d]; 269 §14[d]; 280 §§2[c] & 3[d]), *má mbí* (MS ma[ym] be) 'before / lest there be', *má mbí* (MS ma y<u>m</u> be) 'before / lest there be', *i mbréig* (MS i<u>m</u> brek) 'in a lie' (W. Gillies 1990: 166 §§3[d] & 4[d]; 167 §6[b]).

      b. *dá mbeidh* (MS da bi) 'if there had been', *go mb*[*iad*] (MS gy[t] b(.)) 'that they shall be') (W. Gillies 1978: 32 §§5[a] & 6[b]), *i mbáda* (MS a baada) 'in boats', *ó ndeachaidh* (MS o dai[t]) 'from which went', *go mb'éibhinn* (MS gi bevin) 'that it was pleasant', *dám*[*b*]*adh* (MS da[bi]) 'if it were' (W. Gillies 1981: 269 §13[c];

[41.] The examples I have noted of *mura* in the Book of Dean of Lismore, however, have *i* rather than *a*, e.gg., *mura bheith* (MS mir) 'if it were not', *mura dhéana* (MS mir a) 'unless I make', *mura ball* 'unless it is / was an item' (MS mirri baale) (Meek, forthcoming: v §15[c]; vi, §16[a]; xxii §23[b]). On the other hand, in modern Perthshire dialects, both clear *a* and schwa are found in reflexes of *mani*, e.gg., *mar* /mar/, *mur* /mər/ (Ó Murchú 1989: 370), with loss of final vowel.

[42.] Cf. Ó Maolalaigh 1998: 24 & 49[38].

[43.] For the textual difficulties here, see W. Gillies 1978: 38[2a].

280 §§1[a] & 2[d]; 282 §11[a]), *dá mbeith* (MS dai be) 'if there were', *dá ndearn-adh* (MS da di̱rna), *dhá ndearnadh* (MS ʒa di̱rna) 'from which was made' (W. Gillies 1983: 73 §4[a]; 79 §§1[a] 1[d]); *bhur bachla* (MS fir bachlaa) 'your croziers' (Meek, forthcoming: x §6[c]).[44]

c. *air nde(gh)ailt* (MS er nyilt) 'after separating' (Gillies 2007: 38 §1), *fá mbí(th)* (MS fai meith) 'about which there was' (W. Gillies 2012: 326 [§6]); cf. *caor ndearg* (MS keir nark) 'of red berries [gen. pl.]') (Meek, forthcoming: xxvii §16[c]).

It is possible that (46a, f, h) (and perhaps also [46d])[45] reflect the second category of representation with the nasal being absent. On the other hand, if *gara*[N] / *gar an* is the underlying element, the lack of eclipsis of *f-* in (46d) is not in keeping with the usual pattern in the Dean's book, which consistently represents eclipsed *f-* as *v-* or *w-*, with or without a preceding nasal element; cf. (46c) = (49), e.gg.:

(49)   *nà bhfaca* (MS na vagga) 'that didn't see' (iii §3[c]), *dhà bhfuil* (MS ʒa vil) 'of all that is' (iii §4[b]), *na bhFian* (MS ny wayn) 'of the Fiana' (v §1[c]), *na bhfleadh* (MS nyt wl{ey}') 'of the feasts [gen. pl.]') (v §3[d]), *a bhfaca tú* (MS a wakka tow) 'did you see?' (v §16[b]), *a bhFianaibh* (MS a waynow) 'in the Fiana' (v §16[d]), *a bhfoghar* (MS a woeyr) 'into speech' (vi §3[c]), *dhár bhFéin* (MS ʒair wane) 'to our Fian' (vi §19[a]), *mar bhfuil* (MS mir vil) 'where is' (ix §23[b]), *dàn bhfaicthea* (MS ane vaga) 'if you had seen' (iii §3[a]), *an bhfianaise* (MS an vaenissi) 'in presence' (vii §7[b]), *an bhfagus* (MS i' wagis) 'in proximity / nearby' (ix §72[b]), *gun bhfacamar* (MS gin wakcamar) 'until we saw' (xvi §9[c]), *gun bhfaca sinn* (MS gon vaggi sin) '(so that) we saw' (xxii §42[a]), *an bhfear* (MS i' var) 'in a man' (xxvi §19[a]), *fán bhfuil* (MS fane (f) wil) 'under which is' (xxvii §2[a]) (Meek, forthcoming).

Finally, it may be noted that the reduction of *gion gara*[N] / *gion garan* to two syllables, *gion gar*, would be unremarkable in a proclitic conjunction. For instance, we may compare the development *cenico > ceinco, cenco* 'although not' (C. O'Rahilly 1971: 114), albeit with syncope rather than apocope; the loss of final schwa, including *-a < - adh*, is common the Dean's book, which reflects a characteristic dialect feature of Perthshire Gaelic (W. J. Watson 1927: 273). This interpretation would imply that disyllabic *gara(n)* had already been reduced to monosyllabic *gar* in early sixteenth-century Perthshire Gaelic, as, indeed, occurred in the case of *mani > mar, mur* 'if not' in modern Perthshire dialects.

My conclusion is that the development of *gion / gun gar* (possibly *gion / gan gár*) most likely represents a hypercorrection based on high register *gion go* and vernacular

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44. Cf. *bhur gcluig* (MS fir glwkgi) 'your bells' in the same line (Meek, forthcoming: x §6[c]).

45. On the absence of a nasal before *f-*, see *an fiach* (MS a feyth) 'the raven' (W. Gillies 1978: 27 §6[a]), but contrast *an fo(gh)bhan* (MS i̱n foownn̲) 'the thistle' (W. Gillies 2007: 42 §13).

gar (*an*) or an organic analogical combination based on two speech variants, *gion go* and *gar* (*an*).

2.6. gachar *(Fernaig Manuscript)*

The forms *gar an*, *ged nach*, and *ge nach* do not occur in the late seventeenth-century Fernaig Manuscript. What we find are the forms *gigh ir* and *goch ir*, meaning 'although not', which Mac Phàrlain transliterates into Scottish Gaelic orthography as *gachar*. There are three examples as follows:

(50) a. **Gachar** (MS gogh, ir) leisgeul sin dòmhsa. (Mac Phàrlain 1923: 94–95 §11[cd])

   Although that is no excuse for me.

   b. Ach **gachar** (MS gogh ir) britheamh mi 'sa chùis. (Mac Phàrlain 1923: 172–173 §10[ab])

   But although I am no judge in the matter.

   c. **Gachar** (MS goch ir) fhuaradh leo cothrom. (Mac Phàrlain 1923: 206–207 §25[def])

   Although they did not get justice / equal terms / a chance.

The distributive adjective *gach* 'every' is regularly spelt as *gigh* in the Fernaig Manuscript, never as *gogh* or *goch* (although *goc* does occur once).[46] This suggests that the underlying form may be *gochar* or possibly *góchar*.[47] Mac Phàrlain 1923: 310 equates *gachar* with 'gar an or ged nach', but does not expore its derivation. One possible explanation of the Fernaig forms is to derive them from a metathesised form of *garach > *gachar*, which, in turn, could derive from *gar nach* or possibly *gé nach* or *ged nach*. A derivation from *gé nach* or *ged nach* would require the phonological developments *n* > *r* and *dn* > *r*, respectively. A derivation from *gar nach* is more straightforward. The development *rn* > *r* is paralleled by variants of the conjunction *muna* 'if not' that end in *-ch* in Scottish Gaelic: *marach* (St Kilda, pts 15 & 16), which varies with *marnach* at pt 15, the former presumably being a variant of the latter; *mur nach* (Ardgour, pt 78) and *mach* ~ *much* (Lochaber, pt 76), *mach* (Badenoch, pt 186), *meach* (Moray, pt 177), which represent reduced forms of either *mar(n)ach* or *machar, a metathesised form of *marach* < *mar nach*.[48] The variable loss of *n-* in *nach* in other conjunctions is also found in East

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[46.] See Mac Phàrlain 1923: 8 & 9 §6[abc]; §7[ac]; §9[a]; 10 & 11 §18[c]; 12 & 13 §23[ad]; §24[a], etc. The forms *gig* and *goc* occur once each (Mac Phàrlain 1923: 4 & 5 §7[d]; 64 & 65 §1[b]). Mac Phàrlain takes *goc* 'to be an unfinished word', i.e., presumably for *goc*[*h*] (1923: 293).

[47.] *gh* and *ch* are used regularly to represent Gael. *ch* in Fernaig; *gh* is not represented by *ch* (Mac Phàrlain 1923: 284 & 285).

[48.] The conjunction *mura* 'if not' occurs twice under the headword *mur* in the unpublished Linguistic survey questionnaires in §37 and twice under the headword *mura'n* in §39.

Sutherland *god* (*n*)*ach*, *cod* (*n*)*ach* 'although not', *dar ach* < *dar nach* 'when not', *gus* (*n*)*ach* 'until not', *nas lugha na* (*n*)*ach* 'unless not', *bhos ach* < *bhos nach* 'since not', *cleas* (*n*)*ach* 'as if not' (Dorian 1978: 135).[49]

Alternatively, *gachar / gochar* may derive from an unattested variant of the original underlying form of the Middle Gaelic conjunction *cenco*, which C. O'Rahily 1971: 114 derives from *ce + nico* 'though it is not that'. A variant with lenited *-ch-*, *cenicho > *cencho, paralleled by the ubiquitous negative Scottish Gaelic particle *cha* < *níchon* < *nícon*,[50] could, as a proclitic, conceivably develop; cf. *cenico > *cenco* (C. O'Rahilly 1971: 114). If eclipsis developed with a form *cencho, as it did with *cenco* > *gion go*[N], the expected Scottish Gaelic form would be *cenchon. Dissimilation between nasals in *cenchon could conceivably lead to *cenchor. Loss of the nasal before *ch* (with /Vn/ > /Ṽ/ > /V/) would yield *cechor, which would regularly yield *gachar / gochar*. On the other hand, final *-r* could be explained as being due to contamination with an already well established vernacular form *gar an*. See §2.5 for some evidence that could corroborate this interpretation.

3. Dictionary sources

The headword *gar* is found in the main Scottish Gaelic dictionaries from the early nineteenth century onwards. It is erroneously glossed as 'although' in Armstrong 1825, Highland Society of Scotland 1828, and MacBain 1896; the example cited below by Armstrong shows that it properly means 'although not'. It tends not to be mentioned in dictionaries from the second half of the twentieth century other than in reprints of earlier works, including Dwelly's *The illustrated Gaelic-English dictionary* (1901–1911), Mac Farlane's *The school Gaelic dictionary / Am briathrachan beag* (1912), which was reprinted in 1948 and 1949,[51] and MacLennan's *A pronouncing and etymological dictionary of the Gaelic language* (1925). It does not occur in more recent dictionaries, e.g., Mark's *The Gaelic-English dictionary* (2003). Examples include:

(51)   *A Gaelic dictionary* (1825)[52]
       Gar, *conj.* Though, although. **Gar an** d' thig e, *though he come not.* (Armstrong 1825: s.v.)

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[49] We may perhaps compare the loss of *n-* in *nuair* 'when' > *'air* [eð] (e.g., Oftedal 1956: 258; Dòmhnallach 1978: 15, 25, & 26) unless it is a reflex of *uair* itself (eDIL s.v. 2 *úar, úair*).

[50] For the most recent account of *nícon* and its meaning, and for further references, see Lambert 2014. For the variant *níchon*, see 'nīchon' (Strachan & O'Keefe 1912: 74.2067).

[51] See Ferguson & Matheson 1984: 110.

[52] *Gar / gar an* does not occur in P. MacFarlane's dictionary (1815) or in MacAlpine's *A pronouncing Gaelic-English dictionary* (1832).

(52) *Dictionarium Scoto-Celticum. A dictionary of the Gaelic language* (1828)
      Gar, *conj.* Although: etiamsi, vel etsi. *Gill.* 137.[53] Provin[cial] for Ged, q. Vide
      (Highland Society of Scotland 1828: s.v.)

(53) *Faclair Gaidhlic is Beurla* (1842)
      Gar, conj. though not, although not; **gar an** till e, though he should not return.
      (Mac-Eachainn 1842: s.v.)

(54) *An etymological dictionary of the Gaelic language* (1896)
      gar, although (Dial[ectic]): **ga-ro.* For *ga*, see *ge*; *ro* is the verbal particle. (Mac-
      Bain 1896: s.v.)

(55) *The illustrated Gaelic-English dictionary* (1901–1911)
      a. **gar**, *conj.* For ged nach. **Gar an** tig e, *though he come not*; gheibh mi baolum
          ort gar am marbh, *I will get a knock at you though I kill (you) not—Duanaire,
          301.* (Dwelly s.v. *gar*)[54]

      b. **gar am**, **gar an** conj. Although not. Gar an do thòisich. . . . ., *al-
          though. . . . did not begin*; ma 's e gar an e, *whether it is so or not.* (Dwelly s.v.
          gar am, *gar an*)

(56) *The school Gaelic dictionary / Am briathrachan beag* (1912)
      gar = ged nach, although not (Mac Farlane 1912: 60)

(57) *A pronouncing and etymological dictionary of the Gaelic language* (1925)
      gar, although, not; for **ge** + **ro**, the verbal particle (MacLennan 1925: 175)

4. Grammar sources

Gar an occurs in Gaelic grammars from the first half of the nineteenth century:

(58) *A practical grammar of the Scottish Gaelic* (1835)
      Ged nach is very commonly corrupted into gad nach, and ga nach; and this
      further into gara; as gara mi, gara bheil, for ged nach mi, ged nach 'eil. (Mun-
      ro 1835: 129[1])

[53.] *Gill* refers to 'Gillies's collection of Gaelic poems', i.e., John Gillies's *Sean dain, agus orain Ghaidhealach*
(1786). The example referred to is *gar am bheil mis'* 'though I am not' (J. Gillies 1786: 137). For other exam-
ples from this source, see §2.

[54.] Dwelly also gives this example under *baolum*, but he mistakenly takes *gar* to be the equivalent of
ged and translates incorrectly as 'I shall go a-hunting, and will get near enough to master you although
dead' (s.v. *baolum*). This has given rise to the misleading entry in DASG-FA on *baol* 'come near, go near'.
Dwelly's translation under the headword *gar* is, however, more accurate. I have translated these lines as
'But, if I can, I will go hunting, / I will take you by surprise, although [I] will not kill [you]' in §2.1. I take
baolum < *baoghlum to be a derivative of *baoghal* 'peril, danger', which can mean 'favourable opportunity'
in modern Scottish Gaelic (Dwelly s.v.) and, in the older language, 'unguarded condition, danger, hazard,
vulnerability; chance, opportunity (of taking by surprise, inflicting an injury)' (eDIL s.v. *báegul*).

(59) *A Gaelic grammar* (1923)

    a. **gar**—*though . . . not* for **ged nach**, corrupted into **gad nach**, **ga nach**, **gara**
       e.g. **gara mi**, **gara bheil** for **ged nach mi**, **ged nach ’eil**:—Munro 129
       For the disappearance of -**ch**- in **nach** cf. **neo** §150, 7; and for -**n**- becoming
       -**r**- cf. **mur** §145, 4 (Calder [1923]: 321 §218)

    b. Mo thogair **ged nach** till—
       I care not if he come not back:—N.G.P. 52[55]
       Mo thogair **gar an** till:—C[ommon] Speech] [‘who cares even if [he] doesn’t
       return’] (Calder [1923]: 322 §218; cf. H. Whyte 1898: 202)

(60) *Modern Gaelic. A basic grammar* (1936)

    ‘Ged (although); Gar an, for—Ged nach (though not) [. . .] Gar am faigh mi ach
    leth uair.’ [‘though I get but a half an hour.’] (Nicolson [1936]: 118).[56]

Gar an does not occur in William Shaw’s *An analysis of the Galic language* (1778)[57] or in Alexander Stewart’s *Elements of Galic grammar* (1801), who has *ged nach* (A. Stewart 1801: 134) in line with later grammars.[58] *Gar an* is not usually referred to in modern grammars of Gaelic, but is mentioned in passing by Cox: ‘Gheibhear *gar* no *gar an*^m ann an sgrìobhaidhean nas sine seach *ged nach*’ ‘*Gar* or *gar an* is found in older writings rather than *ged nach*.’ (Cox 2017: 304[7])[59]

5. Modern Scottish Gaelic dialects

The most commonly occurring affirmative form of the concessive conjunction in modern Scottish Gaelic dialects is *gad* [gad], [gəd] with initial broad *g*, although it is most frequently spelt as *ged* as if it contained initial slender *g*, which is a less common variant that also occurs: [gʲɛd]. Variants include *gad / ghad / ged / god / ghod* and *ced* (Arran), with *god / got / cod / cot* attested in East Sutherland. Though poorly evidenced in dialect monographs, the most commonly occurring reported negative forms in modern dialects are *gad nach* (also *ghad nach*) and in East Sutherland *cod nach.* Other negative forms found in modern dialects, which are of direct relevance to the present study, are: *gar an*, *ghor an*, *ghon an*, *god an / cod an.* Each of these is discussed in turn below.

[55.] This is from the proverb: ‘Beannnachd Chaluim Ghobha: “Mo thogair ged nach till”’. ‘Calum the Smith’s blessing: “I care not if he come not back”’. (Nicolson [1881] 1996: 56). Henry White has this with *gar an* in *Leabhar na ceilidh* (1898): ‘Ma thogair **gar an** till thu’ (H. Whyte 1898: 202).

[56.] This last example is cited from ‘*Songs of Badenoch*’, which is Sinton’s *The poetry of Badenoch* (1906: 6 & 361).

[57.] Shaw 1778: 100 has *ge* ‘though’.

[58.] *Ged* ‘although’ and *ged nach* ‘although not’ occur in A. Stewart (1801: 92, 134, 158, & 166).

[59.] indicates ‘co-choslachadh srònach’ ‘nasal assimilation’ (Cox 2017: lviii).

5.1. *Affirmative forms:* gad / ghad / ged / god / got / cod / cot / ced

Standard *ged* is usually pronounced as [gad] in Scottish Gaelic dialects. However, other variants are also occasionally found such as: [ɣad], [ɡʲed], [ɡʲɛd], [kʲed], [gəd], [gʀd], [gɔd], [gɔt], [kɔd], [kɔt]. Examples include:

(61) a. Lewis: *gad a* [gadə] (Oftedal 1956: 256 §314);[60] *gad a* [g̊aḍə] (Borgstrøm 1940: 109 §129c); *gead* [g̊ʲɛḍ] ~ *gad* [g̊aḍ] (LASID iv 260)[61]

b. South Uist: *gad* [g̊at] (Mac Gill-Fhinnein 1966: 37)

c. Benbeula: *gada* [gaḍə] (LASID iv 235 q. 710)

d. Wester Ross: *ghad* [ɣat] (GWR s.v. *though*); cf. *ghad* (Robertson 1904: 341), *ghod a* [ɣo̤ḍə] (LASID iv 268)

e. Glengarry (and Moidart): *gad* [gad] (Dieckhoff 1932: 93 & 96)[62]

f. Arran: *gad* (*a*) [gaD (ə)] ~ *ged* (*a*) [gʲeD (ə)] ~ *ced* (*a*) [kʲeD (ə)] (Holmer 1957: 142); *ged* (*giod* [?]) [gʲït] (LASID iv 207 q. 710)

g. Kintyre: *gad* [gaḎ], [g̊aḎ]; *ged* [g̊ʲeḎ] (Holmer 1962: 37 & 98 §178c)

h. Argyllshire: *god* (*a*) [kət(ə)]/ (Holmer 1938: 174); *gad a* [ka̤ṭə] (LASID iv 223 q. 710)[63]

i. Reay Country (i.e., Dùthaich MhicAoidh): *gad* in contrast to literary *ged* (Gunn 1898: 94)

j. Sutherland: *ged a* [gʲĕdə] (LASID iv 277 q. 710)

k. East Sutherland: *god a* [kəd ə] ~ *got a* [kɔtʰ ə] ~ *cod a* [kʰɔd ə] ~ *cot a* [kʰɔtʰ ə] (Dorian 1978: 134)

l. Easter Ross: *god* [gɔd], [gʀd] (*a*), *god* [gɔd], [gʀd] *nach* occasionally *cod* [kɔd] (*a*) / *cod* [kɔd] *nach*[64]

m. East Perthshire: *gad* [gàd] 'as if', but *ged thà* [gʲɛ̀ dá:] 'however' (Ó Murchú 1989: 350)

n. Cape Breton: *gad* [gad] (Mac Gill-Fhinnein 1973: 313)

The initial consonant is usually voiceless unaspirated ⟨g⟩-, although voiceless aspirated ⟨c⟩- occurs in Arran and East Sutherland. Initial broad and palatal ⟨g⟩- are found. Lenited forms, *ghad*, are reported for Wester Ross. We may compare *ghor an* 'although not' (§5.3.2; Robertson 1904: 341) and *ghon an* 'though . . . not' (see §5.3.3), also from

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[60.] Oftedal notes that *gad* 'may receive some stress (under special conditions of rhythm?)' (Oftedal 1956: 256 §314). Wentworth 2003a: 36 §22.4.2 also notes that /ɣat/, /kɑt/ can be stressed in assertive utterances. We may compare Mac Gill-Fhinnein's 1973: 115 §395 statement that *mara* can receive primary or secondary stress; cf. also the exclamatory function of *mara buil* /ˈmaːrə ˈbilʲ/ < *mara bhfuil* lit. 'if it is not so' (Ó Curnáin 2007: iii 1481 §8.27).

[61.] Wagner also has /g̊ed/ for Lewis, perhaps in error for /g̊ʲeḍ/ (LASID iv 254 q. 710).

[62.] Dieckhoff 1932: 96 notes: 'This pronunciation is common in other districts too, *e.g.* in Moidart.'

[63.] With unaspirated *k* and *t*, which Wagner denotes with a subscript dot.

[64.] Professor Seosamh Watson (personal communication), but see now S. Watson 2022: 152 & 216–217.

Wester Ross;[65] cf. also *ghar an* from an Inverness-shire source (Henderson 1898: 115 & 116) (see §2.1.1).

5.2. Negative forms: gad nach, ghad nach, god nach, cod nach

The most commonly occurring negative forms to be heard in modern dialects today are *gad nach, ghad nach* (also *ged nach*). These forms are, however, poorly evidenced in the dialect monographs. In East Sutherland, *gad nach* and *cod nach* occur. Examples include:

(62)   a. Lewis: *gad nach* /gad nax/ (Oftedal 1956: 261 §319)
       b. Wester Ross: *ghad nach* [ɣat nɑx] (GWR s.v. *though*)
       c. East Sutherland: *gad* (*n*)*ach* ~ *cod* (*n*)*ach* /kəd (n)ax/ ~ /kʰɔd (n)ax/ (Dorian 1978: 135)
       d. Easter Ross: *cod* [kɔd] *nach* ~ *god* /gɔd/, /gɤd/ *nach* (Watson 2022: 152 & 216)

5.3. Negative forms: gar an, ghor an, ghon an *and* god an / cod an

All negative forms are followed by dependent verbs. In modern dialects, the negative of *gad* (*a*) usually consists of *gad* (or variant) + *nach*, e.gg., *gad nach* (Oftedal 1956: 261 §319), *ghad nach* (GWR s.v. *though*), *god* (*n*)*ach* /kəd (n)ax/ (Dorian 1978: 136). However, a variety of forms containing (conservative) *an* rather than (progressive) *nach* are also found. These are discussed in the subsections which follow.

5.3.1. gar an

Calder's example from 'Common speech' shows *gar an* surviving in a common expression: 'Mo thogair **gar an** till':—C[ommon] S[peech]' ('who cares even if [he] doesn't return') (Calder [1923]: 322 §218; cf. H. Whyte 1898: 202). This, however, may come from the common saying: 'Beannachd Chaluim Ghobha leat— / Ma thogair **gar an** till thu.' (H. Whyte 1898: 202; cf. 'Mo thogair **ged nach** till' in Nicolson 1881: 56). The only modern dialect where I have so far noted *gar an* is the dialect of Ness in the North of Lewis. The Gaelic prose writer, Donnchadh MacIllIosa, informs me that it was very common in his native dialect of Lewis:[66]

(63)   'Se facal gu math bitheant a bha seo, ann a Nis. Agus a th' ann fhathast. Co-dhiù aca-san a tha greis là, mar a tha mi fhìn.

       This was a fairly common word in Ness. And still is. At least for those who are up in years, like myself.

[65.] For other instances of lenition, we may compare Wester Ross *ghos an* 'until' for standard *gos an / gus an* (Robertson 1904: 341; GWR s.v. *until*) and *go* > *gho* /ɣɔ/ (GWR s.v. *to*); cf. also *go* > *gho* /ɣɔ/ 'that' (Ó Curnáin 2007: iii 1465 §8.6).

[66.] Donnchadh MacIllIosa (personal communication).

He kindly provided the following examples and translations:

(64)   a. . . . **gar am** biodh ann ach an triùr againn . . .

   . . . even if it was just us three . . .

   b. **Gar am** biodh ann ach nach do sgrìobh e thugam nuair a bhàsaich Mur-
   chadh . . .

   He never even wrote to me when Murdo died, that's enough for me . . .

   c. **Gar an** tigeadh e idir, dè'n diofar . . .

   If he doesn't show up at all, what's the odds . . .

   d. Cha tèid mi ann, cha tèid mo chas, **gar am** biodh ann ach na th' agam ri
   dhèanamh . . .

   I'm not going. Apart from anything else I'm much too busy . . .

   e. **Gar am** biodh ann ach an tàmailt . . .

   To say nothing of the shame . . .

All examples involve the conditional / past subjunctive and four of the five examples
contain *ach* 'but'. The example from MacIllIosa's short story, cited in section §2.1, also
contains a conditional / past subjunctive verbal form used with *ach*: 'Gar an dèanadh tu
. . . ach . . . ' 'Even if all you did was . . . ' (MacIllIosa 2004: 127). This suggests that the
use of *gar an* in this dialect may have been restricted to these environments and usages,
although I appreciate that this is an extrapolation based on the evidence of one speaker.
MacIllIosa uses *ged nach* for (unmarked) 'although not' (2004: 9, 38, 87, 94, 118, 138).

5.3.2. ghor an

Robertson 1904: 341 notes *ghor an* 'though not' for Wester Ross: ***Ghor an** tigeadh e* 'though
he should not come'. We may compare *ghar an* from an Inverness-shire source (Hender-
son 1898: 115 & 116); see §2.1.1.

5.3.3. ghon an

The conjunction *ghon an* [ɣɔn əᴺ] 'though . . . not', 'even if . . . not' is reported by Went-
worth for Wester Ross. Examples with Wentworth's translations include:[67]

[67.] Most of these examples can be found in GWR s.v. *though*.

(65)　a.　Dh'fhaodadh tu fònadh thuige, **ghon an** digeadh e, nochd.

　　　　You might phone him, even though / even if he'd not come, tonight. (GWR
　　　　s.vv. *if*, *though*)

　　b.　**Ghon am** [ɣɔn ə ˈᵐbi] bi thu sgìth.

　　　　Though you'll not be tired. (GWR s.v. *though*)

　　c.　**Ghon an** e [ɣɔn əˈɴʲɛ] Iain a th' ann.

　　　　Though it's not John.

This is noted as an alternative way of saying *ghad nach e Iain a th' ann* (GWR 4).

　　d.　Fhuair na ciontaich uile dhachaigh
　　　　Cho saor 's **ghon an** d'reachadh an tarraínn [*sic* -í-].

　　　　The culprits all got home as free as though they'd never been taken up.
　　　　(GWR s.v. *though*)[68]

　　e.　Cha b' aonadh **ghon an** d'fhuair e ceartas,
　　　　Fear nach cùm a chloinn ri baisteadh.

　　　　It's no wonder though [= if] he didn't get justice, a man who will not have
　　　　his children baptised.' (GWR s.v. *though*)[69]

　　f.　Théid sinn ann **ghon a'** fuircheadh [ɣɔn ə ˈf̪üř̥ʲü̩ˌə] sinn ach uair a thìde.

　　　　We'll go there though [= 'even if'] we'd only stay an hour. (GWR s.v. *though*)

　　g.　*Very good Finlay*, **ghon am** biodh smid agam.

　　　　Very good Finlay, though I couldn't say a word (i.e., I wouldn't need to say
　　　　a word).[70] (GWR s.v. *though*)

　　h.　**Ghon am** biodh ann ach sin fhéin, bhithinn toilicht.'

　　　　Although that's all there'd be, I'd be happy. (GWR s.v. *though*)

　　i.　Thig a chomhád [*sic* -á-] orm **ghon am** bi na *Records* ann.

[68.] Wentworth notes this from the song *Òran air luchd-casaid nach do bhuannaich* by Duncan MacKenzie,
Bàrd Cheann Loch Iù.

[69.] Wentworth notes this from the song *Òran air luchd-casaid nach do bhuannaich* by Duncan MacKenzie,
Bàrd Cheann Loch Iù.

[70.] 'spoken as praise by the schoolmaster to the father of Seonachan in south Opinan' (GWR s.v. *though*).

Come and see me even though there aren't any *Records* (*Church magazine*). (GWR s.v. *though*)

j. Tha mi coma **ghon a'** faicinn nì.

I don't care even though [= if] I wouldn't see anything (of food). (GWR s.v. *though*)[71]

5.3.4. god an / am, cod an / am

In East Sutherland Gaelic, as well as *god (n)ach*, the negative forms *god an / am* /kɔd əⁿ/, *cod an / am* /kʰɔd əⁿ/ also occur. I would suggest that *cod an / god an* are mixed forms, based on positive *cod / god* and an older dialect negative form, *cor an / gor an* (or possibly **con an / *gon an*); we may compare the form *cor an* which Donald Matheson from Kildonan used (Mathanach 1825: 17; Robertson 1907: 109; see §2.2 above). Dorian 1978: 136 notes (emphasis mine):

(66) /ən/, evidently a different particle but also a nasalizing element, appears for many speakers as a negating particle in combination with the single conjunction /kɔd ə/ (etc.) 'although': /kʰɔd ə boːs i a/ [*cod am pòs i e*] '**although** she **won't** marry him'; /kɔd ən uriç a/ [*god an fhuirich e*] '**although** he **won't** wait'. This structure competes with /kɔd (n)ax/ 'although . . . not'. /kɔd (n) ax/ is slightly more likely to appear in Embo than in Brora or Golspie, but many speakers in all three villages vacillate between the two.

The lenition of *f* in *god an fhuirich e orms'* is noteworthy;[72] cf. *cod nach fhuirich e riumsa* /kʰɔd nax uriç a rəmːəs/ 'although he won't wait for me' (Dorian 1978: 135).

5.3.5. *Negative* ged a bheil

There are occasional examples in the literature of *ged a bheil* used with negative force, meaning 'though . . . not / even though . . . not', where *gar* appears to have been replaced by *ged*, e.gg.:

(67) a. Aig a cheart àm so tha e ro bhàsmhor feadh *America*; agus **ged a bheil** e co trom ann am Breatunn, tha e ann an iomad àite feadh Albuinn, Shasuinn agus Eirinn. ([n.a.] 1849: 630)

At this very time, it [i.e., cholera] is incredibly fatal throughout America though it is not as bad [lit. heavy] in Britain, it is in many places throughout Scotland, England and Ireland.

[71.] A saying used 'when one is ill and has no appetite' (GWR s.v. *though*).

[72.] On the lenition rather than nasalisation of *f-* in some cases in East Sutherland Gaelic, see Dorian 1978: 137.

b. Tha daoine òga a' smaoineachadh gur suarrach an ni beagan ainmhich—
ma tha rìomhadh ga 'n dìth, carson nach gabh iad e **ged a bheil** dòigh aca
air dìoladh air a shon aig a' cheart àm? (G 1849: 648)

Young people think that a little debt is an insignificant thing—if they want
some fine habiliment, why wouldn't they get it even though they have no
way of paying for it at the time?

See §6 for *ged* (*an*) + dependent verbal forms, meaning 'although'.

5.3.6. ged a bu

In addition to *ghad nach* and *ghon an* to express 'although not', Wentworth also notes
the form *ghad a bu* [ɣat ə b̥ə], which is used with the dependent verb *tig / dig*: *cha dèan
mise sin* **ghad a bu** *dig a' latha* [ɣat ə b̥ə d̥ʲikʲ ə La.a] *reaghadh a dhèanamh* 'I won't do that
though the day will never come it'll be done' (GWR s.v. *though*). This form, which seems
to contain a copular form, *bu*, may point to the existence of an underlying negative
form *ghad a*(*n*)—perhaps from copular formations *ged a*(*m*) *bu*—which is reminiscent of
East Sutherland *god an / cod an* (§5.3.4); cf. also *ged a bheil* (§5.3.5). Alternatively, perhaps
ghad a bu represents a reduced form of negative *ghad nach bu*. On the use of negative
conjunctions with *bu tig / dig*, see *nach bu tig / dig an latha* 'may the day never come'
and *nar bu tig / dig an dìle* 'may the day [lit. 'deluge'] never come' (Mac 'Ill' Fhialain
1972: 230). However, another explanation of this form is that *bu tig / dig an latha* has
been extracted from negative clauses beginning with *nach / nar* while still retaining its
negative meaning. This interpretation would seem to be supported by the following
example following *ach* 'but' from Aonghas Mac 'Ill' Fhialain's *Saoghal an treobhaiche*,
unless it is itself a reduced form of *nach*:

(68) Dh'fhalbh mise, 's cha robh mi fad ar falbh, nuair a bha mi gabhail an ai-
threachais nach dug mi leam an t-each ud ach **bu dig** an latha gheobhadh a
'm feur a chur suas, o nach robh eich aige a chuireadh a mach gual. (1972:
113, 217, 230)

I left, and I wasn't long gone, when I regretted that I didn't take that horse but
the day would never come that he would get the hay put up, since he didn't
have horses to put out the coal.

For positive *ged a bu* (= [?] *ghad a bu*) in Wester Ross, see: 'Cha ghabh mi bas ris an
fhuachd a tha seo **ged a bu** bhuidhe leotha e' 'I shan't take a bath during this cold
weather though they'd prefer it' (GWR s.v. *prefer*).

6. *Ged* + dependent verbal forms

In Modern Scottish Gaelic, *ged* 'although' is normally followed by an independent / relative verbal form, reflecting the usage of the earlier conjunction *ce* (Bergin 1934–1938: 206; eDIL s.v. 2 *cía*). However, dependent forms can also be used with all irregular verbs whose dependent form contrasts with the independent form, except for the verb *thoir* 'give', for which I have no examples, i.e., (*bheil*), *robh*, *faigh*(-), *faic*() and *dèan*.[73] The forms can be classified into two groupings, A and B. A-forms occur before (*bh*)*eil* and *robh* and B-forms lenite and occur with the other irregular verbs:[74]

(69)   A: *ge do*   *ged a*   *gad*   B: *ged*   *gad*   *gad d'*
              ged, *ge d'*   *ged an*   *ge'd*
                                                               ge do
                                                               ged a

These seem to be religious high register forms, representing mixed forms based on vernacular *ged* (+ independent verbal form) and literary / religious *ge go* (+ dependent verbal form). They are found from the eighteenth century onwards down to the twentieth century. Examples from twentieth-century literary sources usually occur in religious contexts, and often involve quotations of earlier religious texts, although occasional examples occur in dialect sources and other genres such as proverbs. A good example comes from an essay by the Rev. Coinneach Ros (1914–1990) from Glendale in the Isle of Skye, who quotes Isaiah I.18 (National Bible Society of Scotland 1953: 581):

(70)   Chan e mhàin gun cuala sinn am Bìobull a bhith ga leughadh, ach chuala
       sinn cuideachd caoban dheth an ùrnuighean nam bodach; thig Feasgarain na
       h-Eaglaise ud thall air ais thugam fhathasd, ann an agairt an Fhàidh :—'Thig-
       ibh a nis agus tagramaid ri chéile, deir an Tighearna; **ged robh** ur peacaid-
       hean mar an sgàrlaid bidh iad geal mar an sneachd; **ged robh** iad dearg mar
       chòrcuir, bidh iad mar olainn. (Ros 1972: 106)

       Not only did we hear the Bible being read out, but we also heard bits of it in
       the prayers of the old men (elders); the Church Evenings from long ago come
       to me still, in the plea of the Prophet:—'Come now and let us reason together,
       says the Lord; though your sins be like scarlet they shall be as white as snow;
       though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool.'

    It is difficult to say whether or not there is a contrast in meaning between the likes of *ged do / a bha* and *ged do / a robh*. Holmer 1938: 174 notes that 'ged a robh [kətə-ro·] may be heard for regular ged a bha [kətə-vɑː]', but he does not provide a translation;

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[73] I have noted one instance of *ged tèid*, which is perhaps ambiguous as it could represent an underlying *ged thèid*: '**Ged teid** mise sios' 'though I go down' (Calum na h-Aibhne 1899: 368).

[74] Note also leniting *ge* + dependent form in **ge dhean** *iad ' cheile a chasgradh* 'though they slaughter one another' (Macdonald 1836: 33).

nor does he note any contrast in meaning. He also notes *gad a robh* 'though there were' for Arran, which he notes as 'abnormal' (Holmer 1957: 142). Wagner also reports it for Arran in *ged robh mi* [gʲït̪ ˈro mi] (as the response for 'although I was') (LASID iv 207 q. 710). Examples from the literature include:

(71)   *Tiomnadh Nuadh* (TN) (1767)
       a. **ge do raibh** si (Romans 7.3)

       though she be

       b. **ge do raibh** sinne (2 Corinthians 13.7)

       though we be

(72)   *Leabhraiche an t-Seann Tiomnaidh* (ST) II (1787)
       ge do robh e (1 Samuel 14.39)

       though it be

(73)   *Leabhraiche an t-Seann Tiomnaidh* (ST) III (1801)
       ge d' robh thu (Job 11.17)

       though you be

Ged + dependent forms have been retained in the twenty-first century Gaelic version of the Bible published in 2000, e.gg., *ged robh i* 'though she be', *ged robh sinne* 'though we be', *ged robh e* 'though it be', *ged robh thu* 'though you be' (Comann-Bhioball na h-Alba 2000: 212 §7.3; 254 §13.7; 349 §14.39; 617 §11.17).

(74)   *Cuairt an oilthirich* (1812)
       ged a robh gach eolas aig duine, faodaidh e bith nach 'eil ann ach neo-ni. (MacPharlain 1812: 69)

       although a person may have every knowledge, it can be that it amounts to nothing.

(75)   *Leabhar nan cnoc* (1834)
       's **ged a robh** an rathad duilich, cha bhi do shaothair gun duais. (MacLeoid 1834: 163)

       and although the road may be difficult, your labour will not be without reward.

(76)   *Dain Ssioradail* (1836)
       a. 'S **gad robh** do ghraidhnachas mor. (Grannd 1836: 158)

       And though your conviviality was great.

b. **Gad robh** an dealachdain gabhaidh searbh. (Grannd 1836: 161)

Although the parting was terribly bitter.

c. 'S **gad robh** 'n teaghlach a fas. (Grannd 1836: 161)[75]

And though the household was growing.

(77) *Cuairtear nan gleann* (1840)
’s bhithinn ceart shuarach **ged robh** mo chlaisteachd ’s a’ chiste ruaidh ann an Tirithe ’s mi fhéin cho bodhar ri Iain Balbhan. (N. MacLeod 1867: 155; 1840: 345)

and I would have been just as miserable even if my hearing were in the red chest in Tiree and myself as deaf as John the Mute.

(78) *A collection of Gaelic proverbs and familiar phrases* (1881)
Ged robh e gun mhòine, cha bhi e gun teine. (Nicolson 1881: 225)

Though he be without peats, he won’t want fire.

(79) *An t-eileanach. Original Gaelic songs, poems and readings* (1890)
Ged a robh an reothadh cruaidh. (Macfayden 1890: 157)

Even if the frost were hard.

(80) *Am fear-ciuil. Dain, orain, oraidean, is sgeulachdan* (1904)
’S **ged a robh** an t-astar dùbailt. (MacEacharn 1904: 62)

Even if the journey / distance were doubled.

(81) *An t-ogha mor, no am fear-sgeoil air uilinn* (1913)
Tha mi ceart a coma, **ged an robh** sinn an Dun-éidionn fhathasd. (Mac Dhon-nchaidh 1913: 49)

I really wouldn’t mind even though / if we were still in Edinburgh.

(82) *Oiteagan o’n iar* (1913)
Ach na’n robh agamsa an diugh na bheil bhuam, cha’n fhaicinn mi fhéin falamh, **ged an robh** na bheil air uachdar Chnuic-mhaolagain air falbh leis na gaoithean ’s leis na h-uisgeachan. (MacCormick 1908: 31)

But if I had today what I lack, I wouldn’t see myself poor [lit. ‘empty’], even though all that is on the top of Cnoc Mhaolagain [in Mull] were to disappear with wind and water.

[75.] We may compare the independent form on the same page: ‘**Ged bha** broilleach co bla’ ‘though her bosom was so warm’ (Grannd 1836: 161).

(83) *Na baird Thirisdeach* (1932)
      'S **ged a robh** e dual
      Dhaibh bhi ri cron gach uair. (Camshron 1932: 201)

      And though it was their wont
      to be always up to mischief.

(84) *Gun fhois* (1987)
      Cha chuala mise mo mhàthair a' cruadhachadh a gutha ri m' athair no ri fear
      eile ach an aon uair ud, is chuir e sinn uile cho sàmhach is **ged an robh** an cù
      air bruidhinn rinn anns a' Ghàidhlig. (Watt 1987: 96)

      I never heard my mother harshening her voice to my father or any other man
      except for that one time, and it stunned us all into silence as if the dog was
      after speaking to us in Gaelic.

The following example of *ge do bheil sinn* 'although we are' occurs in the late eigh-
teenth-century Gaelic translation of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of En-
gland, *Leabhar na h'Urnuigh Choitchionn*, translated into Gaelic by Patrick Stewart:[76]

(85) Ach sinne cach uile (**ge do bheil** sinn air ar baiste agus air ar breith aris ann
      an Criosd) gidheadh tha sinn a deanamh eacoir ann an ioma ni. (P. Stewart
      1794: 463)

      But all of us (though we are baptised and reborn again in Christ) nevertheless
      we do wrong in many things.

We may also note *ged 'eil* from a love song composed by Rob Donn:

(86) **Ged 'eil** an rian sin air tigh'nn fo 's àird. (Mackay 1829: 142)

      Although that method has become common.

Holmer 1957: 142 also cites a dependent form without lenition from Arran: *ced faighinn
crùn* 'though I got a crown'. We may compare *ged fhaigh* with lenition, which occurs in
later versions of the Gaelic New Testament (e.g., National Bible Society of Scotland 1953:
848 §14.29; Comann-Bhioball na h-Alba 2000: 69 §14.29). The 1767 Gaelic translation of
the New Testament, however, has 'Ge do gheibh' (TN Mark 14.29). Other examples with
lenited *fhaigh*(-) / *fhuidh* include:

(87) *Laoidhe sprioradail* (1767)
      A nàmh cha choisinn air gu bràth,

[76.] Manx has *ga dy vel* 'although . . . is' (Broderick 1984–1986: ii 181 s.v. *ga*). However, this is likely to
represent *gé go* with the replacement of *go* with *dy* which is common in Manx; see Broderick 1984–1986:
ii 133–137.

Ged fhuidh e sàrachadh ri h-uair. (Bochannan 1767: 44; Meek 2015: 213)[77]

His enemy will never defeat him,
although he will be hard pressed / ground down on occasion.

(88) *Cochruinneacha taoghta de shaothair nam bard* (1804)
Ged fhaigh i cead bhi gàireachdaich. (Stewart & Stewart 1804: 47)

Though she will get permission to be laughing.

(89) *Songs and poems in the Gaelic language / Orain le Rob Donn* (1829)
a. **Ged fhaigheadh** e 'n t-aon-sa dha féin. (Mackay 1829: 76)

Though he were to get this one for himself.

b. Cha bhi thu sìthicht' **ged fhaigh** thu meall. (Mackay 1829: 135)

You will not be pleased though you might get a great amount (lit. 'a lump').

c. **Ged fhaigheadh** e 'm bàs de 'n spùt. (Mackay 1829: 175)

Though he might die of diarrhoea.

(90) *Dain spioradail* (1836)
Gad d'fhaidhinn bhi co oirdhearc. (Grannd 1836: 164)

Though I were to succeed to be so exquisite.

(91) *Metrical reliques of 'the men' in the Highlands* (1851)
a. **Ged fhaigh** thu iad comhla. (Rose 1851: 154)

Though you will find them together.

b. **Ged fhaigh** i na neamhan. (Rose 1851: 206)

Though she may attain the heavens.

The lenited dependent form *fhaic*(-) occurs from the eighteenth century onwards also:

(92) *Orain Ghaidhealach* (1768)
Gad fhaiceadh tu ghreidh uallach. (Mac-an-t-Saoir 1768: 37; W. J. Watson 1918: 65.1733; A. MacLeod 1952: 176.2478)

Though you might see the proud herd. (A. MacLeod 1952: 177.2478)

[77.] J. MacKenzie edits as '**Ged fhaigh** e sàrachadh ri h-uair' 'although he will be hard pressed / ground down on occasion' (Buchanan 1844: 30). Meek 2015: 321 notes that *fhuidh* is the same as *fhaigh*, and notes that *gheibheadh* would be the modern Scottish Gaelic usage.

(93) *Comh-chruinneachidh orannaigh Gaidhealach* (1776)
      Ge'd fhaiccin 's coig mile. (MacDomhnuill 1776: 266; W. J. Watson 1918: 52.1409)

      Though I were to see for five miles.

(94) *Comhchruinneacha do dh' orain taghta* (1813)
      'S beag a shaoil leam dhol ar seacharan,
      O thaic mo mhuinntir fein,
      Na gu b' ann le Deors' a rachaimid,
      Ged fhaicimid e 'm feum. (Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 154–155)

      Little did I think [that I would] go astray,
      from the support of my own people,
      or that it was with George that we would go,
      Though we would see him in need.

(95) *Co-chruinneach dh'orain thaghte Ghaeleach* (1831)
      Ged fhaicinn deise scarlaid orra. (Mac Intoisich 1831: 27)

      Though I would see a red suit of clothes on them.

(96) *Am fear-ciuil* (1910)
      'S **ged fhaicinn** air an t-sliabh iad. (Mac Fhionghain 1910: 292)

      Though I would see them on the hill.

The lenited dependent form *dhean* also occurs from the eighteenth century onwards:

(97) *Comh-chruinneachidh orannaigh Gaidhealach* (1776)
      Ge do dhean iad orm ea-coir. (MacDomhnaill 1776: 289; J. Gillies 1786: 277; Mac Ghrigair 1801: 223; W. J. Watson 1918: 238.6299–6300)

      Though they do me an injustice.

(98) *Earail dhurachdach do pheacaich* (1781)
      ge do dhean thu iomad urnaigh. ([Smith] 1781: 77)

      though you make many prayers.

(99) *Leabhraiche an t-Seann Tiomnaidh* IV (1786)
      a. **ge do dhean** thu (ST IV, Jeremiah 49.16)

          though you make

      b. **ge do dhean** i maille (ST IV, Habakkuk 2.3)

          though it tarry

(100) *Comhchruinneacha do dh' orain taghta* (1813)

    Ged a dhean iad oirnn eucoir. (Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 104)

Though they do us an injustice.

(101) *Dain spioradail* (1837)

    'S **gad dhean** us stri bheir es buaidh. (Grannd 1836: 157)

And though you strive he will be victorious.

    The use of dependent verbal forms in the examples above, meaning 'although', may reflect a mixed usage of affirmative *ged a* + lenition + independent / relative and negative *gar an* (and later mixed forms such as *gad an*) + dependent, which could have come about once *gar nach* and *gad nach / ged nach* had developed as negative forms, with explicit marking of the negative by *nach*. We may compare the occasional use of originally negative *gion go* (< *ce* + *nico*) as a positive concessive conjunction (C. O'Rahilly 1971: 117). However, the influence of Classical or high register *ge go* cannot perhaps be ruled out in the use of dependent forms with *ged*.

7. Semantics of *gar an, ged nach* and other variants

Gar an (and its variants) can usually be translated straightforwardly as '(al)though not' or 'if not'. However, other shades of meaning, more marked or emphatic, can also apply, where we might translate as 'even though not' and 'even if not', e.gg.:

(102) a. *. . . **gar am** biodh ann ach an triùr againn . . .*

    . . . even if it was just us three . . . (Donnchadh MacIllIosa, Ness, Lewis; see §5.3.1)

  b. ***Gar am** biodh ann ach nach do sgrìobh e thugam nuair a bhàsaich Murchadh . . .*

    He never even wrote to me when Murdo died, that's enough for me . . . (i.e., 'even if he had just written to me when Murdo died . . . '). (Donnchadh MacIllIosa, Ness, Lewis; see §5.3.1)

  c. *Dh'fhaodadh tu fònadh thuige, **ghon an** digeadh e, nochd.*

    You might phone him, even though / even if he'd not come, tonight. (GWR s.vv. *if*, *though*; see §5.2.3)

  d. *Tha mi coma **ghon a'** faicinn nì.*

    I don't care even though I wouldn't see anything (of food). (GWR s.v. *though*)

On the emphatic and modifying force of 'even' in English when used with 'though' and 'if', see Quirk et al. 1985: 1099 §15.40. Dwelly translates 'ma 's e **gar an e**' with 'whether':

(103) 'ma 's e **gar an e**, *whether it is so or not*.', lit. 'if it is, if it is not' (Dwelly s.v. *gar am*, *gar an*).

    Many examples involve the use of *ach* 'but', lending the force of 'only', which is especially common in Donnchadh MacIllIosa's usage, as is the use of the conditional / past subjunctive (§5.3.1), e.gg.:

(104) a. *Cha tèid mi ann, cha tèid mo chas,* **gar am** *biodh ann ach na th' agam ri dhèanamh.*

       I'm not going. Apart from anything else I'm much too busy . . . (i.e., 'I'm not going. My foot will not go if only for the reason of all I have to do.'). (Donnchadh MacIllIosa; see §5.3.1)

    b. **Gar am** *biodh ann ach an tàmailt.*

       To say nothing of the shame. (i.e., 'If it were only the shame'.). (Donnchadh MacIllIosa, Ness, Lewis; see §5.3.1)

    It may be that as the variant *ged nach* made its appearance, the meaning of *gar an* may have become more restricted or specialised in its use and meaning in some varieties of Gaelic. We may compare MacIllIosa's apparently specialised or marked usage of *gar an* with his unmarked usage of *ged nach* 'although not' (§5.3.1).

7.1. gar an *vs* ge(d) nach

I have noted the occurrence of *gar an* and *ged nach* in adjacent lines in two poems / songs, which raises the possibility of a semantic contrast between both. The first of these examples comes from the song *Mali chruinn donn* 'Neat brown-haired *Mali*', composed by the Gairloch and Lochbroom catechist, William McKenzie (*An Ceistear Crùbach* 'the lame catechist', born ca. 1670), for the young lady who was to become Mrs MacKenzie of Kernsary in Gairloch:

(105) Gu'n cluinneams' do bhuinig,
    <u>Ge nach</u> faic mi thu tuille,
    Gar an iaradh tu idir
    Dhol fad' as an fhònn;
    Ach ann an àite na's deisail,
    Gun bhlar, na gun chreagan,
    'S ma gheibh m' ath-chuinges' freag'radh,
    Cha'n eagal duit bonn. (Stewart & Stewart 1804: 377–378; cf. J. Mackenzie 1841: 363–364)

> May I hear that you are prospering [lit. winning],
> though I will not see you any more,
> **even if** you would **not** desire
> to go far out of this [lit. the] land
> but to reside [instead] in a more southern (covenient?) place
> without open ground or rocks,
> and if my prayer gets an answer,
> you will have nothing at all to fear.

The second example comes from the poem on *Loch Eic* 'Loch Eck', composed by the Loch Fyne Bard, Eòghan MacColla (1808–1898):

(106) 'Oide-altruim mhaith nam breac,
     Gar an leatsa cath nan tonn,
     'S ged nach d' amais long fo bhréid
     Air t-uchd réidh riamh chur f'a bonn. (J. Mackenzie 1841: 357)

     O great foster-father of the trout,
     even if yours is **not** the strife of the waves,
     and although a sailing ship never managed
     to put your smooth bosom under its keel.

Gar an and and *ged nach* also occur in consecutive stanzas in the song ''S ann aig Port an Tigh-àiridh' 'It was at *Port an Taigh-`airidh*', which laments the drowning of a young man from the island of Lunga:[78]

(107) 'S ann am bothan na buaile,
     'S an taice na h-uaisle,
     Rinn do ghaol-sa mo bhuaireadh,
     Gar 'n d' bhuannaich mi thu.

     Tha mo ghaol air an fhleasgach—
     Chuir mi litir g' a ghreasad,
     'S ged nach dean e mo fhreasdal,
     Tha mo chion air co-dhiubh. (Mac-na-Ceàrdadh 1879: 178)

     It was in the hut of the enclosure.
     and close to the gentility / nobility,
     my love for you has disconcerted me,
     even though I did **not** win you.

[78.] I associate this song with the island of Lunga based on the identification of *Port an Tigh-àiridh* with the place of the same name on Lunga, near the island of Mull: 'Port an Tigh-àiridh . . . A landing place for boats, near which the only houses in the island of Lunga are situated. Sig[nification] Port if the Sheal-ing-house' (OS1/2/66/29).

> My love is for the handsome young man—
> I sent a letter hastening him,
> and <u>though</u> he will <u>not</u> attend to me,
> my affection is for him nevertheless.

The use of *gar an* and *ged nach* in consecutive lines or stanzas suggests a semantic contrast between both, with *gar an* potentially being the more marked form. For Professor Donald Meek, who knows *gar an* from the literature, but not from his native Tiree Gaelic, *gar an* is more emphatic:

(108) *Gar an* is not known to me in Tiree Gaelic, but I am well aware of it in the literature. To me it is a fairly strong conjunction, stronger than *ged nach*. As in your examples [i.e., the two examples just cited], it has the force of 'even if not', as you translate it. (Donald Meek, personal communication)[79]

8. Historical origin of *ged, gad*

8.1. Previous explanations

In terms of the etymology of *ged / gad*, MacBain 1896: 192 elusively states: '*ge-ta; same as *ciod*'. His suggested etymology for *ciod* is to connect it with Ir. *cad* and OIr. *cote* (1896: 83). There is, however, no connection between ScG *ged* and Ir. *cad* or OGael. *cote*.[80] The hypothetical form *ge-ta seems to suggest a derivation involving the conjunction *ce* (eDIL s.v. 2 *cía*) and a form of the substantive verb *at·tá*, which seems unlikely, particularly from a phonological point of view, unless his intention was to suggest that *ged* has been extracted from *ge-ta through metanalysis. Calder 1923: 206 §145.2 suggests that *ged* derives from OGael. *ce* 'with o[ld]G[aelic] ed', presumably the neuter pronoun *ed* (i.e., modern *eadh*), with *ged* allegedly meaning 'though it be'; Calder 1923: 318 §216.2 writes 'ged—*though* (it be) *that*, O[ld]G[aelic] ce-ed'. It is difficult to imagine the older conjunction *ce* combining with a pronoun in this way.

8.2. 'although', 'although not' in early Scottish Gaelic sources

Gé / ge and *gé / ge nach* are the norm in Carswel's *Foirm na n-urrnuidheadh* (1567), with *gé / ge* frequently followed by the (lenited) verbal particle *do*, e.gg., *gē dho bhī* 'though there was' (5.100), *gē nach bfuaradar* 'though they did not get' (52.1789–1790), *gé dho thuillea-mar* 'though we deserved' (75.2627), *gé dho bheiddīs* 'though they might be' (82.2858), *gé*

[79.] I am grateful to Professor Meek for discussing the examples in this subsection with me and for suggesting improvements to my translations of them.

[80.] For *cote*, see Quin 1966. I hope to discuss the reflexes of *cote* and related forms elsewhere (Ó Maolalaigh, forthcoming b).

nach bfuilmaoid 'though we are not' (87.3031–3032), *gé do chumadar* 'though they made' (105.3708). *Gidh* occurs only in copular constructions in Carswell's text, e.gg., *gidh eadh* 'though it be [so] / nevertheless' (60.2090), *gidh iomdha* 'though (it is) many' (85.2962) and by analogy in *gidh bé h-iad* 'whoever they be' (68.2381). The conjunction *gen go* 'although not' occurs once (60.2086) (R. L. Thomson 1970).

The norm in the Gaelic version of John Calvin's *Catechismus Ecclesiae Genevensis* (ca. 1630) is *ge* with non-copular verbs and *gidh* in copular constructions, e.gg.:

(109) *ge ata se* 'though he is' (64 §139), *Ge do chuirdis* 'though they would put' (91 §317), *ge taid* 'though they are' (92 §321), *ge tigdis* 'though they would come' (32 §122); *gidh mó* 'though it is greater / more' (55 §215), *gidh aingidhe iad* 'though they are ungodly' (41 §156) (R. L. Thomson 1962).[81]

However, *gidh* replaces *ge* twice in *gidh dho bhimis* 'though we were' (59 §226) and *gidh be* 'whichever it be' (72 §260) (R. L. Thomson 1962: 137[226 b 6]).[82] *Gen go* 'although not' occurs frequently in this text, e.gg., *gen go bfuil se* 'though he is not' (7 §27), *gen go dtig comha-ontughadh* 'though agreement does not come' (55 §215) (R. L. Thomson 1962). The only form of relevance to occur in the Shorter Catechism of 1659 is *ge gu bfedsuid* 'though they can') (240 §56) (R. L. Thomson 1962).

An ceud chaogad, the Gaelic Psalms published in 1659, has two variants with non-copular verbs: *ge* (2 examples) and *ge gu* (4 examples):

(110) *ge do bheannaigh* 'though he blessed' (49.18[a]), *ge do theisdeadh* [= *shéisdeadh*] *me* 'though I was besieged' (27.3[a]);

(111) *ge gu phronn tu* 'though you pounded' (44.19[a]), *ge gu dfoligh thusa* 'though you covered' (44.19[c]), *ge gu dtanig* 'though it came' (44.17[a]), *ge gu raibh* 'though there was' (30.5[c]) ([Synod of Argyll] 1659).

The lenition in *ge gu phronn tu* appears to be a mixed form based on *ge do*[L] and *ge gu*, giving preference to the lenition associated with vernacular usage. This form was revised in the 1694 edition to *ge do phronn tu* ([Synod of Argyll] 1694: 76, Psalm 44.19). The 1694 edition has *ge* (5 examples) and *ge gu* (3 examples), with both variants occurring in Psalm 44:

(112) *ge dfosgail* 'though he opened' (138, Psalm 78.23), *ge do bheannuigh* 'though he blessed' (84, Psalm 49.18), *ge do phronn tu* 'though you pounded' (76, Psalm 44.19), *ge do rinn se* 'though he made / performed' (139, Psalm 78.32), *ge do théisdeadh* [= *shéisdeadh*] *me* 'though I was besieged' (41, Psalm 27.3);

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[81] There are no examples of *ge nach* in this text.

[82] This text and Carswell's texts suggest that the spread of *gidh* from copular constructions to non-copular constructions may have begun with the likes of *gidh bé* 'whichever' < *cia bé* 'whatever it be' (Bergin 1934–1938: 209).

(113) *ge gu dfoligh thusa* 'though you covered' (76, Psalm 44.19), *ge gu dtánig* 'though
       it came' (76, Psalm 44.17), *ge gu raibh* 'though there was' (46, Psalm 30.5)
       ([Synod of Argyll] 1694).

All examples are past tense and as *do / d* frequently marks the past tense in this source
(R. L. Thomson 1976: 159–160), these forms cannot necessarily be taken as evidence for
an underlying *ged* form unlike the forms found in the Bible (see below).

  Giodh 'although' occurs occasionally in eighteenth-century Scottish Gaelic sources
as a conjunction with non-copular verbs,[83] and is the form that consistently occurs in
the Rev. Alexander MacFarlane's translation, *Gairm an De mhoir* (1750), e.gg., *giodh mor*
'though great is', *giodh nach faiceadh shibh* 'though you would not see', *giodh nach do rug
e* 'though he did not catch', *giodh ta* 'though there is', *giodh do chuirreagh e* 'though he
would send' (MacFarlane 1750: xvi, xix, 9). William Shaw distinguishes between *giodh*
'although, though' and *ged* 'but' (1780: s.vv.). The only example I have noted of (cop-
ular) *giodh* from a twentieth-century source occurs in John MacDonald's *Guthan o na
beanntaibh*, where it occurs in a citation from the poem *Duanaire na sracaire* from the
Book of the Dean of Lismore: 'Giodh iomdha na h-andaoine / ar tí millidh na tuatha'
'though many are the evil men / who are set on spoiling the folk' (MacDonald 1927:
66; W. J. Watson 1937: 2 & 3 §2[ab]).[84] In the second volume of the Old Testament, pub-
lished in 1787, *ge* is glossed as 'giodh. Eir', i.e. '*giodh* [in] Irish' (ST II 210[7]). The variant,
geadh, occurs in Robert Mac Farlan's *A new alphabetical vocabulary* (1795) (Mac Farlan
1795: 89), which may reflect a blending between the Classical or Irish form *giodh* and
the vernacular Scottish Gaelic form *ged*; see, however, the forms *ced* below from Middle
Gaelic (§8.3, first paragraph).

  In the New Testament of 1767 and all volumes of the Old Testament, published be-
tween 1783 and 1801, the most common forms of the conjunctions 'although', 'although
not' to occur are *ge do / ge d'* and *ge nach*. The variants *ge d'nach / ged d' nach / ge d'nach*
occur three times (ST I, Deuteronomy 19.4; ST III, Nehemiah 6.1; ST IV, Isaiah 45.5). The
Irish variant *ge gu* occurs twice in the New Testament with dependent *bhuil / bheil*, but
never in the Old Testament. These examples occur in 1 Corinthians, and are thus likely
to be attributed to the same individual: *ge gu bhuil*, *ge gu bheil* (TN 1 Corinthians 5.15 &
9.5).[85] Leaving aside *ge gu*, there are similar patterns of usage in the New and Old Tes-
taments, although (a) the use of *ge do* and *ge d'* is less common in ST I and II compared

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[83.] For instance, the Rev. James McLagan's text of Iain Lom's *Song to Sir Donald of Sleat* has 'giodh thug'
'though brought', where other sources have *ged* (A. M. MacKenzie 1964: 146.1808 & 355[1808]).

[84.] We may compare *gidheadh* 'although, nevertheless, etc.' (Dwelly s.v.; Mark 2003: 331). Although he
did not derive *ged* from *giodh*, William Matheson made a connection between *giodh* and *ged* when he
noted '**giodh**: *ge* with the present indicative of the copula; replaced nowadays by *ged as*' (Matheson 1970:
111[254]).

[85.] Perhaps this feature can be ascribed to the Rev. James Stewart of Killin (1700–1789).

to TN and ST III and IV and (b) the use of *ge* (without *do* / *d'*) in copular constructions is limited to TN and ST III and ST IV; see Table 1:[86]

Table 1: Conjunctions 'although (not)' in TN and ST

	GE DO	GE D'	GE D' NACH	GE NACH	GE (+ COPULA)	GE GU
TN	62	7	0	21	5	2
ST I	11	1	1	1	0	0
ST II	12	0	0	5	0	0
ST III	54	11	1	6	1	0
ST IV	60	37	1	12	1	0

The forms cited below from the Scottish Gaelic Bible show clearly that the vernacular forms *ged* and *ged nach* existed beneath the veneer of the high register form *ge-*. They also reveal how the eighteenth-century translators of the Scottish Gaelic Bible viewed or interpreted the conjunction *ged*, i.e., as consisting of *ge + do*, which may support the origins suggested below for *ged* (§8.3).[87] There can be no question of an underlying historical or orginal *do* in many of these examples, including especially *ge do tha*, *ge d' nach*, etc.:[88]

(114) *Tiomnadh Nuadh* (TN) (1767)
    a. **ge do b' éigin** dhamh 'though I would have to' (Matthew 26.35)
    b. **ge do 's eigin** damh 'if I have to' (Mark 14.31)
    c. **ge do bha** 'n uiread sin ann 'though there was so much' (John 21.11)
    d. **ge do tha** iad 'though they are' (Romans 2.1)
    e. **ge do tha** sinne 'though we are' (Romans (12.5)
    f. **ge do raibh** si 'though she be' (Romans 7.3)
    g. **ge do tha** è 'though he is' (1 Corithinians 14.2)
    h. **ge do raibh** sinne 'though we be' (2 Corinthians 13.7)
    i. **ge d' bu chòir** dhuibh 'though you should' (Hebrews 6.12)
    j. **ge d' is è** 'though he is' (Galatians 4.1)

(115) *Leabhraiche an t-Seann Tiomnaidh* (ST) I (1783)
    a. **ge do b'éigin** duit 'though you would have to' (Genesis 31.30)

[86.] The examples are: *ge b' aithne dhuinn* 'though we have known' (TN 2 Corinthians 5.16), *ge bu Ghreugach e* 'though he was a Greek' (TN Galatians 2.3), *Ge bu Mhac è* 'though he were a Son' (TN Hebrews 5.8), *ge 'ta è* 'though he be' (TN Luke 18.7), *ge mar is ro-phailte ata gràdh agam dhuibh* 'though the more abundantly I love you' (TN 2 Corinthians 12.15), *ge h-ard an Tighearna* 'though the Lord be high' (ST III, Psalms 138.6), *ge b'ard* 'though it was high / loud' (ST IV, Jeremiah 51.55).

[87.] This is commented on by A. Stewart 1801: 134–135, who says: 'The translators of the scriptures appear to have erred in supposing "ge" to be the entire Conjunction, and that *d* is the verbal particle "do"'.

[88.] The relative particle is represented as *a* in these texts, e.g., 'a bhios' 'that will be' (e.g., TN Luke 11.17).

b. **ge do bha** sin 'though that was' (Exodus 14.17)

c. **ge d' nach robh** e 'though he was not' (Deuteronomy 19.6)

(116) *Leabhraiche an t-Seann Tiomnaidh* (ST) II (1787)

a. **ge do tha** iad 'though they are' (Joshua 17.18)

b. **ge do robh** e 'though he was not' (1 Samuel 14.39)

(117) *Leabhraiche an t-Seann Tiomnaidh* (ST) III (1801)

a. **ge d' nach do chuir** mi 'though I had not put' (Nehemiah 6.1)

b. **ge d' robh** thu 'though you were' (Job 11.17)

c. **ge d' is ann** mar loth asail fhiadhaich 'though it is as a wild ass's colt' (Job 11.12)

d. **ge do tha** mi 'though I am' (Solomon 1.6)

(118) *Leabhraiche an t-Seann Tiomnaidh* (ST) IV (1786)

a. **ge d'** is e ceann Shiria Damascus 'though the head of Syria is Damascus' (Isaiah 7.8)

b. **ge do bhios** do shluagh 'though your people be' (Isaiah 10.22)

c. **ge d' tha** cluasan aca 'though they have ears' (Isaiah 43.8)

d. **ge d'nach** baithne dhuit mi 'though you have not known me' (Isaiah 45.5)

e. **ge d'**bheuc iad 'though they roar' (Jeremiah 5.22)

f. **ge d'** tha eagal air na cinnich rompa 'though the heathens are afraid of them' (Jeremiah 10.2)

g. **ge d'tha** iadsan 'though they are' (Hosea 3.1)

h. **ge d' is** tigh ceannairceach iad 'though they be a rebellious house' (Ezekiel 2.6)

i. **ge do dhean** i maille 'though it tarry' (Habakkuk 2.3)[89]

In summary, *ge* is characteristic of the earliest Scottish Gaelic religious texts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, where *gen go* also occurs. *Ge go* is also found in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century texts. Although *ge nach* persists commonly into the eighteenth century (and the nineteenth and twentieth),[90] it and *ge* are replaced in the literature by forms that suggest an underlying *ged* from the eighteenth century. *Ge* is sometimes replaced by *gidh* / *giodh* from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

[89.] Professor William Gillies has kindly provided the following example from Alasdair mac Mhaighstir Alasdair's autograph copy (eighteenth century) of *Cath Fionntrágha*: *ged do marbad du* 'though you should kill' (NLS MS Adv. 72.2.11, p. 9.7).

[90.] John MacLean's twentieth-century translation of Homer's *Odyssey* contains two examples: *ge nach fiosaich mi* 'though I am no diviner', *ge nach leinn e* 'though it is not ours' (MacGilleathain 1976: 20 & 202). There are 45 examples of *ged* (*ged nach* does not occur in this text) (e.g., MacGilleathain 1976: 20, 21, 25, et passim).

8.3. Conclusion

The conjunction *ce* 'if, even if, although' (with variants *ce, ci, cia, ga, gé, gia*) was sometimes replaced by *cid / ced* (with final dental fricative [ð]), i.e., *ce* + the third singular present subjunctive of the copula (eDIL s.v. 2 *cía*), e.g., Mid.Gael. **ced** *donecmai bás ind* 'although he / if he chance to die for it' (Gwynn & Purton 1911–12: 146.19–20) and **cid** *ro chloí* 'although he conquered' (LL i 17.521). We may compare Donegal *gidh go* [gʲi gə] 'although' (Hamilton 1974: 192; Lucas 1979: 193). It is possible that the dental stop *d* in *gad / ged* derives from this *cid, ced* (Thurneysen 1946: 489 §805), with the original final dental fricative becoming a stop in sandhi[91] with compound verbs containing *do-* or possibly with *do* that came to mark the past tense, the conditional, and past habitual and by extension with the past tense, i.e., **ced + do·gní, *ced + do·beir, *ced + do chuir(f)eadh, *ced + do chuir*, etc.[92] Variation between *gé tá* (< *gé a·tá* with elision) and *gi(o)dh a·tá* may have led to metanalysis of *gé tá* as *ged(h) + tá*. If so, the original reflex of *ged* in Scotland could date to at least the Middle Gaelic period, i.e., before the dental fricative *d* (= /ð/) became a velar fricative. Alternatively, it is also possible that *ced / ged* (with *d* as a stop) developed through metanalysis in the environments listed above, e.g., *ge + do·beir > ged + do·beir*, etc. after the reduction of *do*; cf. Thomson (1962: 137[226 b 8]).[93]

9. Previous explanations of the historical origin of *gar an*

As cited in §4 above, James Munro, in his *A practical grammar of the Scottish Gaelic* (1835), claimed that: 'Ged nach is very commonly corrupted into gad nach, and ga nach; and this further into gara; as gara mi, gara bheil, for ged nach mi, ged nach 'eil.' (Munro 1835: 129[1]). In this, he was followed by George Calder (cited in §4 above), who, in his *A Gaelic grammar* (1923) stated that *gar / gara* was a corruption of *gad nach* with subsequent optional loss of *d* to *ga nach*, loss of *ch*, and replacement of *n* with *r*, as occurred in the conjunction *muna / mana > mura / mara* (on which, see §12.2), i.e., *gad nach > ga nach > *gana > gara* (1923: 321 §218). The reduction of *gad nach* to **gana*, although

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[91.] We may compare the developments *ionadh > ionad* 'place' and *iomadh > iomad* 'many', which may have developed in sandhi due to a following demonstrative *-sa* as McManus (1994: 354 §2.15) suggests; cf. also Ir. *mithid* 'time, due, etc.' < *mithidh + do, dhomh*, etc. (McManus 1994: 354 §2.15), which in turn must derive from a sandhi form of *mithich / mithigh* 'timely' + *do* 'to', *d(h)omh* 'to me', etc. Robertson 1908: 341–342 refers to ScG *iomadh > iomad* and Perthshire *thigead* 'ought to' < *thigeadh* 'would come, would become, would befit or suit', which he suggests may have arisen in the collocation *thigeadh duit*, which is often pronounced as *thigead duit* 'it would be becoming of you to do it, you ought to do it'. Robertson 1908: 341 also refers to the adjective *àraidh* and *àraid* (certain') which I hope to discuss elsewhere. Perthshire *a thuillead / thuilleid air sin* < *a thuilleadh air sin* 'moreover, in addition to that' (Robertson 1908: 341) presumably also derives from a sandhi form involving *tuilleadh* + preposition *de / do* (later replaced by *air*), perhaps reinforced by the feminine abstract ending *-ad*.

[92.] Cf. '**Gad d'**fhaidhainn bhi co oirdhearc' 'Though I were to succeed to be so exquisite' (Grannd 1836: 164).

[93.] On the use of *gé do* in the past tense (e.g., with *do·rinne seision* 'he made', *do chuiris* 'you put'), see Murphy 1953a: 273 s.v. *gé*).

theoretically feasible in proclitic position, involves the loss of final *-ch*, which would be unusual for Scottish Gaelic and does not immediately account for the final nasal in *gar an / gar am*, although it might be argued that it developed along the lines outlined in §12.3.5. As cited in §3 above, Alexander MacBain, in his *An etymological dictionary of the Gaelic language* (1896), suggested that *gar* derived from **ga-ro*, i.e., the conjunction *ge* + the verbal particle *ro* (1896: 189), and in this he was followed by MacLennan (1925: 175). This derivation does not account for the negative meaning of *gar an* and can be safely dismissed.

10. *gar an < gion go*ᴺ [?]

The possibility of deriving *gar an* from *gion go* is discussed briefly here, only to dismiss it.

10.1. gion gun

A derivation from *gion go* is perhaps possible for those dialects in which *go / gu* can be lenited to *gho / ghu*,[94] where it may have been further reduced in a univerbated form resulting in **gion(gh)a* or **gion(gh)an* if we assume a vernacular Scottish Gaelic form **gion gun*. This would also require the initial palatal *g* to be depalatalised, which would not be unusual in a proclitic element, and possibly through metanalysis of the first element as the preposition *gun* 'without'. The change from *r* to *n* could be explained as a case of dissimilation. The development could be described as the following sequences (119a), although other sequences are possible (119b, c) or indeed combinations of these:

(119) a. ⁽*⁾*gion go*(n) > **gunghu*(n) > **gunu*(n) = **gonan* > *gar a*(n)

   b. ⁽*⁾*gion go*(n) > **gurghu*(n) > **guru*(n) = **goran* > *gar a*(n)

(119a) could account for the Wester Ross form *ghon an < *gonan*. (119a) or (119b) could conceivably account for *gar an*. This explanation depends on a particular development of *gu > ghu*, which is restricted within Scottish Gaelic dialects, and this diminishes its attractiveness as a solution.

It might be argued that the Fernaig Manuscript forms *gogh ir* (2×), *goch ir* (1×) are relevant here and provide some support for a version of (118a) and/or (118b) above, in which the first *n* or *r* was lost before *gh* and the final *n* was changed to *r* and with metanalysis involving substitution of *gach* for *gugh*:

   c. **gunghu*(n/r) / **gurghu*(n/r) > **gughu*(n/r) > **gughar* = *gachar*

This solution amounts, however, to a great deal of ad hoc special pleading.

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[94] e.g. *go > gho* [ɣɔ] (GWR 807 s.v. *to*).

10.2. gion gar

Forms from the Book of the Dean of Lismore listed in §2.5 suggest a formation which involved *gion* or *gun* + *gar* (or possibly *gár*). We have outlined above the possibility that these forms may derive from *gion gun < gion go*[N] with dissimilation between the *n*-sounds, i.e., *gion gun > gion gur / gar* (§2.5). In such a derivation, it could be argued that the loss of the first element might result in the 'independent' form *gar / gár*,[95] or, in the case of Wester Ross, *ghon.* The Scottish Gaelic conjunction *man / man* 'before' could provide a parallel if it has arisen due to the loss of the first element through met-analysis in *seal / sul má*[N], *seal / sul mán* (*man*) *> man / mun* as R. A. Breatnach 1955: 104[7] suggests.[96] On the development from *gar / gár* to *gar an / gár an*, we might compare the development *mus > mus an* 'before', perhaps through analogy with *gus an* 'until', which occurs in a small number of eastern dialects in East Inverness-shire (pts 183, 184, 186, 187–189) and East Perthshire (pts 194 & 196).[97] A derivation from *gion gun > gion gur / gar > gun gur / gar > gar* (or, in the case of Wester Ross, *gion gun > gun > ghon*) would require the later analogical addition of *an / am* as may have occurred with *mus > mus an* 'before'.

A derivation from *gion gun* does not, however, account for the forms with initial *c-*: *cor, cod, cot, ced.* Any discussion of the Book of the Dean of Lismore forms cannot ignore the distinct possibility that they represent mixed forms based on Classical *gion go* and vernacular *gar* (*an*). Occam's razor would suggest that the explanation provided in §§11–12 is the most economical and satisfactory explanation for the origin of the conjunction *gar an* and its variants.

11. New explanation: *gar an < ceni*

ScG *gar an* can be shown to derive straightforwardly from the Old Gaelic negative conjunction *cení, ceni, cini* 'although not' (Thurneysen 1946: 561 §909) and, as such, represents a hitherto unacknowledged conservative survival in modern Scottish Gaelic. OGael. *cení, ceni, cini* is gradually replaced by *cenco, canco, cinco* from the Middle Gaelic period onwards and 'is the form already common in the twelfth century' (C. O'Rahilly 1971: 113; cf. L. Breatnach 1994: 281 §11.9). The use of *ceni* in an early sixteenth-century text is an obvious archaism as C. O'Rahilly 1971: 113 and Kuno Meyer have noted. The innovative form *cenco* has been derived from *ce / cía + nico* 'though it is not that' (C. O'Rahilly 1971: 114). It occurs as *cenco*[H] in the Middle Gaelic period and as *gen go*[N], *gein*

[95.] This could occur either through phonetic reduction or the dropping of what was perceived to be a superfluous element, perhaps due to metanalysis of the first element as *gun* 'without'.

[96.] I hope to discuss the origin of the conjunction *mas / mus / man / mun* 'before' elsewhere.

[97.] Information from the unpublished questionnaire (§38) records of the Linguistic survey at the School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh. I am grateful to Dr Cathlin MacAulay, Archives Curator at the Scottish Studies Archive, University of Edinburgh for providing me with access to the unpublished survey materials.

go[N], *gion go*[N] from the Early Modern period (C. O'Rahilly 1971: 115).[98] *Gen go* and *gion go* are found in Classical Gaelic texts from Scotland, e.g., *gion go* [*n*]*díon* (MS *gyn ga deine*) in the Book of the Dean of Lismore (W. Gillies 1990: 167 §7[d]) (= [46h] in §2.5 above); see §8.2 for more examples. *Gion gur mhisde sinne súd* 'were we even no worse' occurs in a MacMhuirich elegy from the first part of the eighteenth century (Black 2001: 90.29). We occasionally find *gion go* used positively (Murphy 1953a: 96; C. O'Rahilly 1971: 117), with which we may perhaps compare the use in Scottish Gaelic of *ged* + dependent verbal forms as positive forms, which probably represent contamination from negative forms *gar an* / *gad an* + dependent verbal forms and/or *gé go* (§6). By the seventeenth century, *gion go*, in turn, has been replaced in Irish by *gé nach* / *ciodh nach*, with an explicit negative marker *nach* (C. O'Rahilly 1971: 115), the forms that have developed and are extant in Irish and Manx. For *gé nach* in Scottish Gaelic texts, see §8.2.

Although *ceni* occurs in older inherited texts throughout the Middle Gaelic period and in an archaising text of the early sixteenth century (C. O'Rahilly 1971: 113),[99] it might be reasonably supposed, based on the written Irish evidence, that *ceni* had become obsolete in common speech before the end of the Middle Gaelic period. The Scottish Gaelic evidence, however, shows otherwise, and indicates that reflexes of *ceni* survived in the vernacular right through the Early Modern and Modern periods—in Scotland at least. There are several issues that need to be considered in outlining the historical development from *ceni*[H] > *gar an*.

12. *ceni*

12.1. Development of consonants

Original voiceless *c-* seems to have been retained in East Sutherland, where the form *cor an* / *am* once existed (Mathanach 1825: 17; Robertson 1907: 109), also supported by the mixed forms *cod an*, *cod* (*n*)*ach* and possibly *cor nach*; see §§2.2, 2.4.1, 5.1, & 5.3. We may also compare the positive forms such as Arran *ced* (*a*) and Easter Ross *cod* (*a*). Voicing (or, in the Scottish context, loss of marked aspiration) is common in proclitics and commonly weakly stressed functors, e.g. *cach* / *cech* > *gach* / *gech* 'every', *cen* > *gan* (Irish) / *gun* (ScG) 'without', *co* > *go* (Irish), *gu* (ScG) 'to', the conjunction *co* > *go* / *gun*

[98.] Ó Baoill 2014: 118 does not offer an etymology of *gar an*, but he does refer to 'the equivalent word' in Irish '*gion* (followed by *go*)', which he derives 'from Early Gaelic *ceni*'. C. O'Rahilly's 1971: 114 derivation from *ce* + *nico* 'though it is not that' is to be preferred.

[99.] E.g., *ceni denoid ait*[*h*]*righe* 'though they do not make repentance' (Friedel & Meyer 1907: 103). There are also a number of examples in the early seventeenth-century *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill*, e.gg., *ceni baoi* 'though he was not' (5 §3), *ceni chonrairleiccsett* 'though they did not permit' (36 §19), *ceni ba forréil* 'though is was not evident' (92 §51), *ceni ba liaa* 'though [they] were not more numerous' (102 §56), *ceni ba slán* 'though it was not whole / unimpaired' (108 §57), *ceni bátar* 'though they were not' (150 §78), *ceni beitis* 'even if they were not' (222 §118), *ceni beithsiom* 'though he was not' (354 §136), *ceni conghnitis* 'even if they did not help' (320 §176), *ceni beittis* 'though they were not' (332 §185), *ceni beith* 'although / unless it not be' (342 §191) (Walsh 1948).

'that' and, of course, ScG *ged* < *ce* itself. Such voicing or deaspiration of proclitic *c-* > *g-* accounts for the initial *g-* in *gar an*.

This *g* can be further weakened to *gh* as evidenced by *ghon an*, *ghar an*, *ghor an* and also the positive form *ghad a / ghod a* in Wester Ross (§5.1). We may compare *gho* [ɣɔ] < *go / gu* [ɡ̊ɔ] (GWR s.v. *to*) and *ghos* [ɣɔs] < *gos / gus* [ɡ̊əs] (GWR s.v. *until*).

All surviving dialectal forms of *gar an*, etc. show a non-palatal initial, which is paralleled by the development of *gad* itself, where the predominant dialect forms have non-palatal initial (§5.1). The loss of palatalisation in proclitics is common, e.g., *cech* > *cach / gach* 'every',[100] *cen* > *gan / gun* 'without', *di* > *do* 'of'; cf. *cén chaoi* > [kə xi] (Ó Curnáin 2007: iii 1498 §8.51). It is possible that the two late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century forms, *ge 'r an / am* (§2.3), are conservative forms which retain an earlier dialectal form with palatalised initial consonant (cf. *ceni*). However, in both cases, the sources from which they come also have *gar*, and it may be that the spelling has been influenced by *ge* and / or *ged*; see §2.3.

The second consonant (*n / r*) is always non-palatalised. The development from *n* to *r* is paralleled in the development of *mani > muna > mura / mara*, where the change can be seen to be one of dissimilation between the nasals *m* and *n*, but see n. 116.[101] The change in reflexes of *ceni* can also be seen to be a case of dissimilation in forms such as **gon an / *gan an* (cf. *ghon an* §5.3.3).

12.2. Parallels of development with mani *'if not'*

Lowering to *a* in reflexes of *ceni* may be due to the lowering that can somethings occur in proclitics, especially when the first element loses its palatal quality, e.g., *cen > gan*. We may compare the development in *ged > gad*; cf. also the lowering in ScG and Ir. *cha* 'not' < *nícon*. Alternatively, it is perhaps possible that the lowering is in part due to analogy with *muna > mana / mara*, based to a degree on the close semantics of both conjunctions; see §12.3.6.[102]

The development *ceni > *cana / *gana > gara* has a neat and direct parallel in the development of the conjunction *mani* (eDIL s.v. 3 *má, ma*), both of which contain the negative particle *ní / ni* (Thurneysen 1946: 268 §426; 558 §902; 561 §909; 538 §860). Both conjunctions witness the depalatalisation of *n*, the change from *n* to *r* and share similar following mutations. *Mani* developed a number of orthographic variants, which, to some degree, must reflect dialectal variants, e.gg., *mini*, *mane*, *mana*, *mane*, *meni*, *mine*,

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[100.] Palatalised *g* is found in some dialects, e.g., *geach* [ɡʲax] 'every' (Ó Buachalla 2017: 155 s.v. *gach*). I have noted four examples of *geach* in Scottish Gaelic: *as geach cearn* 'from every region' ([n.a.] 1874: 89), *leis geach ni* 'with every thing' ([n.a.] 1894: 1), *aig geach neach* 'at every person' ([n.a.] 1899: 3), *aig geach dorus* 'at every door(way)' ([n.a.] 1918: 2). It may be significant that three of these examples occur following palatalised consonanats, where an older variant may have been conservatively retained.

[101.] The form *muna* is used henceforth to represent the underlying form from which modern dialectal variants can be derived. *Mani* is occasionally used to refer to the historical form from which *muna* and its later variants derive.

[102.] It is possible that ⟨a⟩ may represent the lowering of an indistinct schwa-vowel.

mina, *muni*, *muna* (eDIL); cf. Mid.Gael. *mani*, *meni*, *mena*, *mono*, *monu*, *manu* (L. Breatnach 1994: 281 §11.8). These variants frequently show a non-palatalised lenited medial -*n*-. Similarly, the modern dialects have a range of reflexes of original *mani*, summarised in Tables 2 (Irish) and 3 (Scottish Gaelic),[103] all of which have a broad *r* or *n* (other than those forms which show the loss of the original intervocalic consonant).[104] In Tables 2 and 3,[105] I have used *a* to represent clear *a*-vowels and *u* to represent higher and more centralised vowels.

Table 2: Reflexes of *mani* 'if not' in Irish

	MVN(-)	MVR(-)	MV
-*a*- / -*u*-	muna	mura / mara / maran[106] / murna[107]	ma,[108] mu[109]
-*r*		mur / mar, amur[110]	
-*ch*		marach[111]	
+ *ná*		mur ná[112]	

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[103] I hope to describe the Irish and Scottish Gaelic forms and their development in more detail elsewhere. The Irish forms are based on LASID qq. 378, 733, & 950 and the well-known dialect monographs. The Scottish Gaelic forms are based on the unpublished morphological materials of the Linguistic survey of Scotland (n. 97) and the well-known dialect monographs. Only the less common variants are commented on in the footnotes.

[104] Ignoring here instances of phonetically palatalised *r* that derive regularly from historical broad *r* (e.g. in St Kilda, pts 14 & 15).

[105] These are based on the conjunction 'if not' and do not include *maireach*, *meireach* 'only for' (LASID i 172).

[106] *Maran* occurs commonly in copular forms where the form may have originated, e.g., South Galway (e.g., Ó Curnáin 2007: ii 1184–1185 §5.336). In Waterford, it occurs in copular forms, but also with non-copular verbs (LASID, pts 2, 3, 4, 5); cf. Ua Súilleabháin 1994: 526–527 §8.62; see n. 157.

[107] *Murna* [mornə] *rachas muid* 'if we didn't go' occurs in Downings / Rosgill, Co. Donegal (LASID iv 58 q. 733 [pt 71]). The use of the relative suggests perhaps that the final element is not the negative particle *nach*, but a mixed form based on *mura* and *muna* (*muna* is occasionally found in Donegal, e.g., LASID iv q. 950 [pt 74a]) or *mura n-* (before vowels, or with the copula), analysed as containing the relative particle *a* or perhaps influenced by homonymous *mar a* 'as'.

[108] *Mara* also has the less common variants *mar* and *ma* in Iorras Aithneach (Ó Curnáin 2007: iii 1480–1481 §8.27).

[109] *mu*N with loss of *r* occurs in Donegal and Mayo, e.gg., LASID iv q. 733 (pt 81) and LASID iii qq. 378, 733, & 950 (pt 56).

[110] MacBain 1896: 257 refers to the Monaghan form *amur* which he derives from *acht muna* 'unless'.

[111] *Marach* occurs as conjunction in Co. Waterford in *marach raghadh sé* 'if he didn't go' (LASID ii 47 [s.v. *marach*], pt 4). *Marach go* occurs in a variety of dialects, including Kerry (Ó Sé 2000: 456 §798) and South Galway (Ó Curnáin 2007 iii 1588 §8.147).

[112] *Mur ná* occurs in South-East Galway (LASID iii 44 q. 733 [pt 29]). The response 'mur ná gobhfadh muid' 'if we didn't go' is marked as doubtful by Wagner. Perhaps the form bears the influence of (translating) English 'if . . . not'.

Table 3: Reflexes of *mani* 'if not' in Scottish Gaelic

	MVN(-)	MVR(-)	MV
-a- / -u-	*mana*[113]	*mara / mura*	
-an	*manan / munan*[114]	*maran / muran*	
monosyllabic	*mun*	*mar / mur*	*ma / mu*
-ch / + nach	*manach / munach*	*marach, marnach / mur nach*[115]	*mach, meach, much*

The chief characteristics of the surviving dialect forms and their development may be summarised as follows.

(120) a. Variation between disyllabic and monosyllabic forms.
　　　b. Variation between the *a* and *u* ([ɤ] in Scottish Gaelic; range is between [u] and [ö] in Irish) in the first syllable.
　　　c. Variation between *n* and *r*.[116]
　　　d. The *-an* forms in Scottish Gaelic correspond to eclipsing forms in Irish; see §12.3.5.
　　　e. Loss of final consonant in *ma, mu*.
　　　f. Existence of *-ch* forms in both Irish and Scottish Gaelic, and also (-)*nach* in Scottish Gaelic.[117]
　　　g. Addition of negative particle *nach* (Scottish Gaelic) and *ná* (Irish), the latter being doubtful.

In Ireland, conservative forms with *n* occur in Antrim (*muna*, Holmer 1940: 38 §50), Rathlin (*muna*, Holmer 1942: 68 §1–3(b) & 113 §145), Donegal (*muna*, LASID iv q. 950 [pt 74a], *murna*, LASID iv q. 733 [pt 71]), Kerry (*muna*, Ó Sé 2000: 456–457 §798),[118] and possibly the Isle of Man ([mana], [manə] (also [mara]), [marna] (Broderick 1984–1986: i 144 & 145; ii 289), as well as [manɑx] [LASID iv 180 s.v. *if*).[119] In Scotland, conservative forms with *n* occur in Lewis (*mana*, pts 1–9) and south-west Argyllshire (*manan*, Arran, pts 31–35; *manan*, Kintyre, pts 39–40; *munan*, Kintyre, pt 41; *munan*, Islay, pts 54, 56).

[113.] Robertson 1899: 252 notes *muna* for Arran and, by indirect report, also for Islay, Lewis and Raasay.

[114.] SGDS pt 54.

[115.] Conjunctions ending in *-ach* were found at the following survey points: *manach* (East Perthshire, pt 196), *munach* (East Perthshire, pt 188), *marach* (St Kilda, pts 15 & 16), *marnach* (St Kilda, pt 15), *mur nach* (Ardgour, pt 78), *mach* (Lochaber, pt 76; Badenoch, 186), *meach* (Moray, pt 177), *much* (Lochaber, pt 76).

[116.] T. F. O'Rahilly 1932: 48¹ refers to a copula form *murbud* (= *munbad* 'if were not') in the Book of Leinster, but I have not succeeded in tracing this form. MacBain 1896: 257 suggests the change from *n* to *r* in *muna* 'is possibly due to the influence of *gur* and of the verbal particle *ro-* (in *robh*); *mun-robh* becoming *mur-robh*'. Rather than being a case of assimilation, it may be a case of dissimilation between the nasals *m* and *n*, resulting in denasalisation of *-n-*, with which we may compare *mná > mrá* 'women' (cf. T. F. O'Rahilly 1932: 22–23).

[117.] We may compare Manx *mannagh* 'if not' (T. F. O'Rahilly 1932: 48).

[118.] T. F. O'Rahilly 1932: 46 does not recognise *muna* as a 'current form'.

[119.] The Manx forms with *n* (*mannagh* = *manach*) seem, however, to derive from *má + nach*; cf. Lewin 2019: 91.

Robertson 1899: 252 notes *muna* for Raasay; however, the Linguistic survey records the form *mara* for Raasay. *Mun* occurs in Argyllshire in South Lorn (pt 60) and Appin (pt 70), and on the east coast in Embo, East Sutherland (pt 151); cf. Dorian 1978: 136.

A comparison of *gar an* / *ghon an* (and variants) with historical orthographic variants and modern dialectal reflexes of *mani* shows that both *n* and *r* can be easily accounted for in a derivation from *ceni*. The Wester Ross form with *n* (*ghon an*) can be seen as a conservative form with *n* retained,[120] and forms with *r* an innovation. The vocalism of *ghon an* with [ɔ] is paralleled by other proclitics such as *gu* / *go* / *gho*, e.gg., [ǵɔ], [ɣɔ] (GWR s.v. *to*) and *gos* / *ghos*, e.gg., [ɣɔs], [ǵəs] (GWR s.v. *until*). We may also compare the Middle Gaelic variants of *mani*: *mono* and *monu*. This leaves us to consider the question of mutations following *ceni*.

12.3. ceni *and* mani*: Following mutations*

The Scottish Gaelic forms *gar an*, *ghon an* suggest that these forms could derive from an underlying or original eclipsing particle *gana*[N] / *gara*[N]. In order to explain such a form, we need to consider the historical development of the conjunction *mani* 'if not' and the mutations associated with it, as well as the intial mutations associated with *ceni* itself in older forms of the language.

12.3.1. ceni[H]

We would expect *ceni* and its reflexes to be a 'geminating' conjunction as it contains the negative particle *ní*[H] / *ni*[H], i.e., to have no effect on a following consonant and to prefix *h-* to a following vowel[121]—just as reflexes of *mani*[H] do in many Scottish Gaelic dialects to this day (§12.3.3). In fact, *ceni* mirrors exactly *mani* in the earlier language. Overall, as the examples below illustrate, the evidence from the older language is consistent with *ceni* being a 'geminating' particle, i.e., *ceni*[H], although the orthography is ambiguous for eclipsis and no mutation in the case of voiceless *c-*, *t-*, *f-* and *s-*, for lenition in the case of *b-* and *d-*, and for *h*-provection or no mutation in the case of vowels.[122] I have no definite examples of eclipsing *ceni*[N]. Examples which ostensibly point to *ceni*[H] include:[123]

(121) a. ***cení césa* aíni na labor *n-oco*** 'although he does not endure fasting or labour thereby' (Ní Chatháin 1990: 417)

[120.] Although it is conceivable perhaps that *n* in these dialects derives from *gor an* / *gar an* with assimilation of *r* to *n*.

[121.] On gemination after *ní* / *ni*, see Thurneysen 1946: 152 §243.2.

[122.] Initial *t-*, *c-*, *f-* could represent radical or eclipsed *t-*, *c-*, *f-*. The lack of eclipsis of *b-* and vowels suggests that initial *t-*, *c-*, *f-* represent non-mutated *t-*, *c-*, *f-*. Initial *b-* could represent radical *b-* or lenited *b-*. The lack of lenition of *t-*, *c-*, *f-* and *s-* suggests that initial *b-* could represent radical *b-*. Initial vowels could represent initial vowels or vowels pronounced with a preceding *h-* in pronunciation, which was not represented in Old Gaelic orthography (Thurneysen 1946: 19–20 §25 & 150 §240).

[123.] cf. also the examples from the early seventeenth-century *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill*, cited in n. 99.

    b. ***Ceni creiti-si*** *do Patraic* 'even if you don't believe in Patrick' (Meyer 1910: 56.7)[124]

(122) a. ***cenitaibrea*** *digail taranæsi ade* 'although he might not inflict punishment on their behalf' (Ml. 93ª9)

    b. ***cenitabarthae*** *indaisndis nuallach tropdae* 'though the clamorous figurative declaration had not been put' (Ml. 40ᵈ20)

    c. ***ceni téised*** *fo bathais* 'though he had not been given a name / though he had not been baptised' (Carney 1964: 56.668 & 142–143⁶⁶⁸)[125]

    d. ***cenitormastar*** *homéit* 'even if it were not increased in quantity' (Ml. 20ª20)

    e. ***ceni tabair*** *sem desimrecht* 'though he gives no example' (Sg. 202ª3)

    f. ***ceni tísad*** *lim* 'if they don't come with me' (Stern 1903: 149)

    g. ***ceni tísad*** *Ulaid let* 'if the Ulstermen don't come with you' (Stern 1903: 149)[126]

(123) a. ***cenifesser*** *indaimser* 'if the time is not known' (Ml. 24ᵈ22)

    b. ***cinifesed*** *personam meam minimam* 'though he might not know my small person' (GP 3, 46ᵇ; translation based on CorPH)

    c. ***cení frecmairc*** *coibsina* 'even though he does not ask for confessions' (Gwynn & Purton 1911–1912: 135.15–16)

(124) ***ceni silsiter*** *acht i n-óenferaib ardeslig isind áth cach óenlathiu* 'though they will be struck down only one by one' (C. O'Rahilly 1976: 74.2430 & 192)

(125) a. ***ceniberat*** *diriug* 'though they may not succeed' (Ml. 54ª28)

    b. ***cení betis*** *degairíltin leu fessing* 'even if they had no merits themselves' (Ml. 91ª10)

    c. *mani gabthar deog de* ***ceni beth*** *nach aili isin tig* 'unless drink be taken from him, although there be no one else in the house' (Knott 1922: 32. 1085–1086)

    d. ***ceni berat*** *turchreic ar imfognam n-airchendai* 'though they do not give fief for determined service' (Meyer 1913: 9 §81)

    e. ***Ceni betis*** *líga uime* 'though there might not be bright colours around it' (Meyer 1913: 67 §799)[127]

[124.] LU 285.9476 has *ceni cretindso* 'though I didn't believe'.

[125.] Lit. 'though he had not gone under baptism'. eDIL s.v. *baithis* notes the manuscript reading as ***ceni teisi*** *fo bhathais*.

[126.] The last two examples occur in the Lebor na hUidre text as *céin co tisaid lim* 'if you (pl.) don't come' and *cén co tíasat Ulaid* 'if the Ulstermen don't come' (LU 247.8082 & 8083; Henderson 1899: 6 §6) with the innovative form *cé(i)n co*, a form of the conjunction *cion co*, influenced by *cían* (*céin*) (eDIL s.v. *cen*).

[127.] We could add here the archaising example from the late sixteenth-century referred to by C. O'Rahilly 1971: 113: ***ceni denoid*** *ait[h]righe* 'though they do not make repentance' (Friedel & Meyer 1907: 103). The form *cení dernus* from the 'Lament of the old woman of Beare', printed by Gerard Murphy and others, represents a restored form, but the mansucripts have *cincodearnus* and *cingonderna* (Murphy 1953b: 104 §31ᶜ & 105³¹).

    f. **cenibed** *áainmsom bes foir* 'although it might not be his name which he has' (Ml. 23ᵈ17)

    g. **cenibé** *ainmnid* 'though there be no nominative' (Sg. 138ᵃ1)

    h. **cenibed** *iarum na riam* 'even if it were not allowed after or before' (Gwynn & Purton 1911–1912: 129.28–29)

(126) a. **cení denæ** *crosfigill friu* 'though he does not perform a cross-vigil with them' (Gwynn & Purton 1911–1912: 138.30–31)

    b. **cení deni** *figild* 'even though he does not perform the vigil' (Gwynn & Purton 1911–1912: 139. 2)

(127) a. **cení airillet** *ón* 'though they do not deserve it' (Ml. 90ᶜ2)

    b. **ceni imroimsitis** 'even though they had not sinned' (Ml. 51ᵃ19)

    c. **ceni esérsitis** *inchoirp aracenn* 'even if the bodies did not rise to meet them' (Ml. 15ᶜ8)

    d. **cini eperthe** *frinn* 'even though it should not be said to us' (Wb. 19ᵃ5)

    e. *deitbeir damh* **ceni andais** 'it is fitting for me though they ceased [kindled [?]]' (Meyer 1913: 17 §180).

12.3.2. ceni*ᴸ*

I have noted two early examples with lenition following *ceni*:

(128) a. **cenithaisid** *ar ois* 'unless you (pl.) come thus willingly' (Ml. 33ᵇ15)

    b. **Mina thernat** *dia comorbaib* **Ceni therna** *dino rí Caisil . . .* 'If they don't return [they shall be given] to their heirs. If, however, the king of Cashel does not return . . . ') (O'Keefe 1931: 21 §17).

In the first example from the Milan glosses, an infixed 3. sg. neuter pronoun can be posited, which has quasi adverbial force, reflected in the translation 'thus'. In the second example from the text 'Dāl Caladbuig', however, an infixed pronoun seems unlikely as the verb *do·érni* is intransitive, with indirect objects usually signalled by a preposition, *ó* 'from' or *a*(*s*) 'from, out of' (eDIL s.v. *do-érni*).[128] This example would seem to suggest that lenition may have developed following *ceni* (as with *mina* in this example), perhaps through analogy with fossilised infixed pronouns in other conjunctions. It is not clear what if any credence should be given to the single example of leniting *ceni* in the archaising early seventeenth-century text, *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill*: *ceni chonrairleiccsett* 'though they did not permit' (Walsh 1948: 36 §19); all other examples involving *b-* (mostly) and *c-* (one other example) do not show lenition (see n. 99).

[128.] If the verb is transitive here, an infixed pronoun could refer to neuter *sluaiged* (eDIL s.v. *slógad*, *slúagad*) in the preceding sentence, in which case 'if they do / he does not escape the hosting' would be the meaning in both cases.

12.3.3. mani[H]

Mani, like *ceni*, contains the negative particle *ní / ni* and, as such, was originally a geminating particle that prefixed *h-* to vowels (cf. Calder 1923: 207 §145.4). The following examples from the Old Gaelic Milan glosses are compatible with this:[129]

(129) a. **mani** *cathaiged* 'if he did not fight' (Ml. 37ᶜ16)
    b. **maní** *comalla* nech 'if anyone should not fulfil' (Ml. 94ᵇ10)

(130) a. **mani** *taibred* 'if he had not put' (Ml. 35ᶜ26)
    b. **mani**toissed 'unless He had conquered' (Ml. 40ᵈ13)

(131) **mani** *fortachtaiged dia dam* 'unless God were to help me' (Ml. 88ᵇ16)

(132) a. **mani**be ómun dǽ les 'if the fear of God would not be with him' (Ml. 33ᶜ7)[130]
    b. **mani** *bet andiis* 'unless they should both be' (Ml. 35ᵈ24)
    c. **mani**berba 'if it should not boil' (Ml. 46ᶜ15)

(133) a. **mani**danaigthersu dam 'if you (sg.) do not give it to me' (Ml. 40ᵇ2)
    b. **mani**dente 'if it had not been made' (Ml. 29ᵃ6)
    c. **mani**dilga 'if it should not forgive' (Ml. 46ᶜ15)
    d. **mani** *dena maith* 'if he should not do good' (Ml. 35ᵈ14)
    e. **maní** *dene* 'if you (sg.) do not do' (Ml. 37ᶜ15)

(134) **mani** *mesraigea* 'if it should not moderate' (Ml. 46ᶜ15)

(135) a. **maní** *eroimet* 'if they should not receive' (Ml. 30ᵈ13)
    b. **maní** *erchissea ón* 'if it should not pity' (Ml. 46ᶜ15)
    c. **mani** *accastar* 'if it should not be seen' (Ml. 50ᵃ5)
    d. **maní** *inraiccaigther són* 'if you do not think fit' (Ml. 103ᵃ8)
    e. **mani** *airissedar ind lam* 'if the hand does not rest' (Ml. 131ᵇ4)
    f. **mani** *esersitis* 'if they did not rise' (Ml. 15ᶜ7)
    g. **mani**arnastar (MS mari aranastar) 'if she should not be betrothed' (Stokes
      & Strachan 1901–1903: ii 38.7)

    While the examples with initial *b-*, *d-*, *m-*, and vowels could conceivably represent an underlying leniting *mani*[L], the following form with *t-* for *d-* suggests that we are most likely dealing with *mani*[H] or possibly *mani*[N]: **mani**tentis maith 'if they had not done good' (Ml. 35ᶜ18).[131]

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[129] Some of the following translations have been slightly adapted in line with those provided in Griffith & Stifter 2011.

[130] *manibe* (Stokes & Strachan 1901–1903: 77), but *manibé* (Griffith & Stifter 2011), although this form is not listed amongst the corrections in the latter.

[131] Stokes & Strachan 1901–1903: i 86ᵇ suggest that *manitentis* should be read as *mani-d-déntis* (presumably with infixed Class C 3. sg. neuter pronoun *d*[L]), but this is unnecessary; cf. Griffith & Stifter 2011.

The original 'geminating' nature of *mani* is preserved in modern ScG *mana*[H], *mar-a*[H] / *mura*[H], *mur*[H], *mu*[H] (< *mur*[H]), e.gg., *mana h-òl i* 'if she does not drink', *mara cuir e* 'if he does not put', etc.[132] It represents a conservative survival in Scottish Gaelic and is found throughout Scotland except for a continuous crescent of peripheral dialects in the south-west and east, ranging from south-west Argyll (Arran, Kintyre, Islay, Jura, Colonsay) through Perthshire, central and eastern Inverness-shire, East Ross-shire, and East and North Sutherland, where *munan*, *mur*, etc. occur. It may be assumed that *muna*[H]/*mura*[H] / *mana*[H]/*mara*[H] was once much more common in Scotland, but that the *h-* has been lost either through analogy with preconsonantal forms or as a result of phonetic reduction, especially in those dialects where the conjunction has been reduced to monosyllabic *mur* or *mar*, i.e., *mur h-òl* > *mur òl*.[133] This is supported by the existence of *h*-provection occasionally in Perthshire and North Sutherland, where no mutation came to be the dominant form, e.gg., *mur h-abair* (pts 191 & 194) and *mu h-òl* (pt 205), *mu h-òl* (pt 138).[134]

The archaic nature of *h*-provection following reflexes of *mani* is reflected in the synchronic mutation of initial *f-* to *h-* in many Scottish Gaelic dialects, e.gg., *mana h-fhaigh* 'if does not get', *mara h-fhàg* 'if does not leave' (e.gg., Oftedal 1956: 260; Borgstrøm 1940: 109 §129c; GWR passim). This pattern is particularly common in north-western dialects, including Lewis, Harris, North Uist, Skye, Raasay, Muck,[135] and South-West Sutherland, but is also found further south and east in Mid-Argyll (pt 47), Easdale (pt 59), Port Appin (pt 69), Lochaber (pt 77), Mull (pt 81), North Sutherland (pt 138),[136] Easter Ross (pts 157, 158, 161), North-West and North-East Inverness-shire (pts 162, 167, 173), and North-West Inverness-shire (pts 191, 205).[137] Although some of these forms may conceivably represent instances of the reduction of *f* to *h* (see Ó Sé 1990), the majority, if not all, are best explained as instances of *h*-provection in original vowel-initial forms before prosthetic *f-* had developed in certain commonly occurring verbal forms, including the verb *ad·cí* 'sees',[138] e.gg., *mani* [*h-*]*aicci* / [*h-*]*accai* (3. sg. present), *mani* [*h-*]*aicced* (3. sg. past subjunctive), *mani* [*h*]*accathar* (3. sg. present subjunctive). Once prothetic *f-* developed in such verbs, the pattern *mani* + *f-* > *mani h-*V would have been established, thus giving the impression of the prefixing of *h-* to lenited *f-*. Once established in the

[132.] Cf. Ó Maolalaigh 2018: 45. The significance of these forms seems not to have occurred to O'Rahilly 1932: 46–48, who, presumably, taking his starting point from the Early Modern period, stated that *muna* 'originally lenited' (1932: 44).

[133.] We may compare the possible loss of *h-* following the first person plural possessive pronoun (*n*)*ar h-athair* > (*n*)*ar athair* 'our father' in some Scottish Gaelic dialects. I discuss the first and second personal plural possessive pronouns in Scottish Gaelic elsewhere (Ó Maolalaigh forthcoming a).

[134.] The form *mur f-òl* (pt 137) for *mura h-òl* further supports the non-leniting nature of *mur*(*a*) in North Sutherland.

[135.] From materials of the Linguistic survey of Scotland not published in SGDS taken down from Hugh Mackinnon of Muck.

[136.] The form at pt 138 is *mu h-fhaigh* < *mur h-fhaigh*.

[137.] The form at pt 205 is *mu h-fhaic* < *mur h-fhaic*.

[138.] Other verbs with prothetic *f-* include *fanaid* < *anaid* 'stays', *fásaid* < *ásaid* 'grows', *fíafraigid* (modern ScG *feòraich*) < *íarfaigid* < *íarmi·foich* 'enquires about', *fúaigid* < *úaigid* 'stitches together'.

class of verbs with prothetic *f-*, it would have spread to verbs with historical initial *f-*,[139] thus leading to synchronic and diachronic substitution of *f-* with *h-* as a new type of non-lenition mutation or provection of initial *f-*.

12.3.4. mani[L]

By the Middle Gaelic period, lenition following *mani* had developed in some contexts at least, presumably due to the fossilisation of the infixed 3. sg. neutral pronoun *a*[L] in the same way as had occurred with the negative particle *ní* (L. Breatnach 1994: 278 §11.1) and/or through analogy with *ní*.[140] Lenition following *mani* seems to have been particularly common with initial *t-* in verbs of motion. L. Breatnach cites examples involving the verbs *do·roich* 'reaches, comes to', *do·icc* 'comes', and *do·tét* 'comes' and *cuir-* 'puts':

(136) *mani thorasta* (SR), *manu thīsat* (LL), *mena thīsad* (LL), *mena thāetsad* (LL), *mona tháeth* (LL), *monu thīastaís* (LL) (L. Breatnach 1994: 281 §11.8); *mani chuirid* (SR) (L. Breatnach 1994: 279 §11.1).

Lenition may have developed in the first instance when these verbs (particularly *do·icc* 'comes' and *do·roich* 'reaches') were used transitively with the infixed 3, sg. neuter pronoun. Lenition in these contexts in frequently occurring verbs such as these may have contributed to the development of leniting *mani*[L].[141]

Lenition following reflexes of *mani* is common in the Early Modern period, and is generally seen as the norm in Classical Gaelic, and, as such, had clearly gained prestige by the end of the Middle Gaelic period. McKenna 1941: 65 notes *muna* as a leniting conjunction, although the manuscript evidence for Classical verse shows clearly that eclipsis following *muna* had also developed and was very common in the Classical period (Knott 1922: cv). Impersonal verbal forms are exceptions, where there is no consonant mutation; note the alliteration in: *muna fuasgailtear fonn Connacht* 'if the land of Connachta is not delivered' (McKenna 1939: 126 §24[a]), *muna háincear le hÉnrí* 'if [it] is not protected by Henry' (McManus & Ó Raghallaigh 2010: 344 §24[b]), *muna hinnisde i n-uaignios* 'unless it is told in private' (McKenna 1939: 166 §29[b]).

In Modern Irish dialects, eclipsis is the norm following reflexes of *muna* (T. F. O'Rahilly 1932: 46). Lenition and lack of mutation occur only rarely. I have noted a small

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[139.] A further possible source for mutated *f-* as *h-* has been put forward by S. Watson 1994: 692 §21.2, who suggests that *mana h-eil* developed under the influence of the copula form *mana h-e*, and that the pattern *nach* [fh]*eil* ~ *mana h-eil* spread to other verbs, whereby *mana h-aigh* and *mana h-aic* developed because of the existence of the analogical base *nach* (fh)*aigh* / *nach* (fh)*aic* and *nach* (fh)*eil*.

[140.] Although not visible in the orthography, we might cite **mani** *dendis* 'unless they did it' (Ml. 75[d]2) as an example, with initial [ðʲ] arising from the infixed 3. sg. neutral pronoun *a*[L]. Perhaps leniting *no*[L] (itself with fossilised infixed pronoun) played some influence on reflexes of *mani*. For *no*[L], see L. Breatnach 1994: 278 §11.1.

[141.] The transitive use of *do·tét* 'comes' occurs only rarely. Lenition following *mani* with this verb may be due to analogy with the semantically related *do·icc* 'comes'.

number of examples of lenition in southern Irish dialects with the conditional and past habitual, e.gg.

(137)   *maran chíorfainn* 'if I didn't comb' (q. 378, pt 5), *mara thiocfadh sé* 'if he wouldn't come' (q. 950, pt 8), *mara chíorainn* 'if I didn't comb' (q. 378, pt 9), *mara bhailídís* 'if they didn't gather together / take away' (pt 18),[142] *mur ghobhfadh sibh* 'if you didn't go' (q. 733, pt 30), *mur chíorainn* 'if I didn't comb' (q. 378, pt 36), *mura ghobhfadh muid* 'if we didn't go' (q. 733, pt 47) (LASID ii, iii).[143]

Similarly, Wagner has *manan chìorfainn* [mənəŋʲ ˈxʲiːᵊrij] from Kintyre in Scotland (LASID iv 214 q. 378). Holmer 1942: 64 notes *muna bhí* 'if there will not be' for Rathlin Island. Such instances may represent the use of independent verbal forms in place of dependent verbal forms, perhaps based on *má / ma* 'if'. I have noted non-lenition in Mayo in the following example: *mur cíorfaidh mé* 'if I don't comb' (LASID iii 354 q. 378, pt 62).

The survival of leniting *muna* in literary sources down to the seventeenth century, viewed against the almost categorical use of eclipsis in Modern Irish dialects (§12.3.5) and lack of (productive) leniting *muna* in Scottish Gaelic, suggests that the literary register had been out of step with vernacular usage for some time.

12.3.4.1. *mur*[f>ø] / *mun*[f>ø] ('if not') in Scottish Gaelic

O'Rahilly 1932: 47 assumes that leniting *muna* existed in an earlier stage of Scottish Gaelic, but that it 'may have been dropped . . . in order to avoid the risk of confusion with *mur* or *mar*, "as"'. Given the widespread preservation of the original mutation in reflexes of *mani*[H] in Scotland, it must be doubted whether lenition was ever prominent or productive in Scotland, but see leniting *muna*[L] with substative verb below (§12.3.4.2). Indeed, the distinction between *mani*[H] and leniting *mani*[L] is likely to have been an early differentiating feature between Gaelic dialects spoken in Ireland and Scotland. It should be noted that synchronic instances of the lenition of *f-* in Scottish Gaelic represent a special case which does not derive from diachronic lenition (§12.3.3). In mainland Scotland, 'lenition' of initial *f-* (mostly *faigh* in the examples from the Linguistic Survey) occurs frequently with monosyllabic forms *mar*, *mur*, *mun* and once each with *mu* (pt 205), *meachan* (pt 177), *marn* (pt 177).[144] It seems never to occur with disyllabic forms of *mura*, *mara*, etc. 'Lenition' of *f-* is particularly common in the north (Sutherland, pts 131, 132, 134–136, 139) and north east (Caithness, pt 140; East Sutherland, pts 141–150; Easter Ross, pts 152–155, 156, 160; Inverness-shire, pts 163–166, 169, 170, 174–176; Mo-

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[142.] LASID ii 208 s.v. *mara*.

[143.] These examples could represent the use of independent verbal forms, or perhaps could be due to the influence of past leniting copular *mara*[L] (e.g., Ó Sé 2000: 342).

[144.] Lenition of *f-* following *mun / manan* 'before' is found in Rathlin Island (Holmer 1942: 64). O'Rahilly 1932: 48 notes the lenition of *f-* following *mur* in some Scottish Gaelic dialects.

ray pts 177[145] & 180).[146] It is also found occasionally further south in Argyllshire (pts 45, 60, 61, 64, 70[147]), Inverness-shire (Lochaber, pt 76[148] and Arisaig, pt 92), and Perth-shire (pts 198–201 & 203–205). This is unlikely to be a reflex of leniting *muna*. Rather, 'lenited' *f-* is, in my view, best explained as a primarily phonetic weakening of forms with *h*-provection. With the reduction of disyllabic forms such as *mana h-fhaigh* / *mara h-fhaigh* to *man h-fhaigh / *mar h-fhaigh, the loss of *h-* following *n* and/or *r* would yield *man fhaigh* / *mar fhaigh*, thus yielding the impression of synchronic lenition. The loss of *h-* in such cases can be seen either as a phonetic development or an analogical one based on the absence of mutation before consonants. This is supported by the existence of *mar h-fhaigh* / *mur h-fhaigh* in nearby dialects, e.gg., pts 47, 69, 77, 128, 129, 130, 138, 157, 158, 161, 162, 167,[149] 173, 191, 205.[150] A similar development occurs with the first person plural possessive pronoun (*n*)*ar*[H] > (*n*)*ar*[ø] in Scottish Gaelic (Ó Maolalaigh, forth-coming a). Another factor may have been analogy with the negative particle *nochan fh-* / *chan fh* in those dialects where the form is *mun*.

12.3.4.2. *muna bheith, murach*

The Munster and South Galway preposition *murach*(*t*) / *maireach* / *meireach* / *meach* 'if not, only' and conjunction *murach go* 'only that' are traditionally derived from *muna bheadh* lit. 'if it were not', i.e., leniting *muna*[L] + *bed* (= *bheadh*), past subjunctive and later conditional of the substantive verb (*bh*)*eadh* (e.g., Ó Curnáin 2007: iii 1420–1421 §7.89).[151] These forms with final -*ach* reflect the realisation of conditional / past subjunctive -*adh* as -[əx] in southern Irish dialects.[152] In Classical Gaelic verse, this is regularly *muna bheith* rather than *muna bheadh*; see, for example, Bergin 1970: 128 §9[d]. An underlying dental fricative is confirmed by the sandhi forms in the related prepositional form *marach* in Galway: *marach sin* [maːreṭ ʃinʲ], *marach sé sin* [mareṭ ˈʃeˑ ʃinʲ] 'if it were not for that, 'but for that' (Ó Curnáin 2007: iii 1420 §7.89),[153] which could conceivably de-rive from either *muna bheith sin* or *muna bheadh sin*. The form *mara bheadh* is attested in LASID at pts 7, 9, 11, 13, 14, 17 and at pt 8, where there is variation between *mara bheadh* ~ *mara mbeadh* (LASID i 172; cf. Ua Súilleabháin 1994: 526–527 §8.62). Similarly,

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[145.] *meachan fhaigh* ~ *marn fhaigh* (pt 177).

[146.] *mar fhaigh*, but also variation between *mar thill* ~ *mar till* (pt 180).

[147.] *mun fhaigh*.

[148.] *mach fhaigh*.

[149.] *mur h-fhaic* (pt 167).

[150.] *mu h-fhaic* but *mu fhaigh* (pt 205).

[151.] Ó Curnáin notes the non-coalesced form [mar ex] (2007: iii 1420 §7.89). For ScG *marach* < *mar nach*, see §2.6. On the loss of initial *bh-* in this context, we may compare *mar a bheadh* 'as would be, like' [mar ə vʲex] ~ [mar ex] ~ [mar ox] ~ [marex] ~ [marəx] in Iorras Aithneach, Co. Galway and *mar a bheadh*, reduced to [marə] in Rann na Feirste, Co. Donegal (Ó Curnáin 2007: i 1124 §5.248 and n.1).

[152.] Scottish Gaelic forms with final -*ch* (*marach, marnach, mur nach, mach, meach, much*) have a different origin and show the influence of *nach*; see §2.6 and Table 3.

[153.] Cf. *muirist* [mo̯rəʃṭʲ], *ach muirist* [ax ˈmïṛiʃṭʲ] (pt 48), and *ach muireid* [ax mərʲedʲ] (pt 51) (LASID i 172), which must also derive from similar sandhi forms (with metathesis at pt 48) involving an original dental fricative.

Ó Murchú 1989: 370 derives the East Perthshire form [muri] from *mura bhitheadh*: *mur bhitheadh gun robh e annsein* [mûri gə nrô ɑ nǰɛ́n] 'if it were not [for] that he was there'.[154] There are occasional instances of *mura bhiodh* in Scottish Gaelic literature, e.gg., *Mura bhiodh dhomh mar a thachair* 'if it were not for what happened to me' (J. Gillies 1786: 257); *cha robh fios aca air cus mura robh fios aig an t-saighdear fhéin; mura bhiodh fhios aig a' choigreach a bha còmhla riu* 'they didn't know much about what happened unless the soldier knew; unless the stranger that was with them knew' (MacNeil 1987: 296, 298).[155] Lenition in reflexes of *muna bheadh* (*bheith*) may represent a relic survival of leniting *mani*[L] as is traditionally assumed.[156]

12.3.5. mani[N]

Eclipsis following reflexes of *mani* is the norm in all Modern Irish dialects (LASID ii–iv qq. 378, 733, 950).[157] Corresponding to these eclipsing forms, in Scotland we have di-syllabic forms ending in *-n*: *manan / munan* and *maran / muran*.[158] These forms occur in one or more of the following environments: before *f-* (*faigh*, *faic*), before stops (usually *c-* [*cuir*], *t-* [*till*] in the Linguistic survey examples), and before vowels (usually *òl* or *abair* in the Survey examples). Forms ending in a nasal occur more commonly before vowels than they do before stops; in turn, such forms occur more commonly before stops than

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[154.] The usual development of verbal *-adh*, however, in East Perthshire is -[əx], e.g., *bhitheadh / bhiodh* [viəx] (Ó Murchú 1989: 293). Perhaps the older subjunctive form *b(h)eith* was replaced by the infinitive *bhith* through hypercorrection; this would perhaps provide a more satisfactory derivation for East Perthshire [muri]. The form *mur bhith* is found frequently in Scottish Gaelic writing. There are currently (September 2022) 64 examples to be found in *Corpas na Gàidhlig*; see, for example, N. MacLeod 1867: 6, 85, 212, 386. In modern Scottish Gaelic *mura-bhith* can also be a noun, meaning 'exception'; see, for example, Mark 2003: 444.

[155.] See *Corpas na Gàidhlig* for a small number of other examples.

[156.] However, perhaps *bh* developed in unstressed copula past subjuntive forms *manbad* (*mainbad*, *man-ibed*, *minibed*, *minabad*, etc.), which, in turn, influenced the substantive verb (*mani beth / mani bed*). Lenition with the substantive verb could have spread to other verbs, thus providing an alternative source for leniting *mani*[L]. On the replacement of copular *mainbad*, *munbud* by the substantive verb (*mani beth*) already by the Middle Gaelic period, see C. O'Rahilly 1971: 114; for the copular and substantive forms, see eDIL s.v. *má, ma*. Perhaps this is what T. F. O'Rahilly 1932: 48[1] had in mind when he said: 'The various developments in Ir. and Sc. of Mid. Ir. *munbad* (once *murbud* in LL), E. Mod. Ir. *muna bheith*, 'were it not for,' must be reserved for discussion elsewhere, as they are without importance for our present purpose', but I am not aware that he ever took this subject up again.

[157.] The form *maran* has developed as conjunction, presumably from the copula form, in Co. Waterford, e.gg., *maran ~ mara raghaimíst* (pt 2, Waterford), *maran raghaimíst* 'if we didn't go' (pt 3), *maran chíorfainn* 'if I didn't comb' (form (lenition?) queried) (pt 5), *maran raghaimíst* 'if we didn't go' (pt 5) (LASID ii qq. 378 & 733); cf. Ua Súilleabháin 1994: 526–527 §8.62). The non-past form *maran* occurs with the copula fairly commonly, e.gg., *maran rud é* 'if it is not' (pt 1, Co. Waterford) (LASID ii 16 s.v. *mara*); *mara ~ maran* (Co. Kerry) (Ó Sé 2000: 341); *maran ea* 'if it is not [so]'; *maran rud éicint eile é* 'if it is not something else'; *marar, maran púcán a bhí a'd* 'if you didn't have a sailing boat'; *maran agad tá an glór* 'if it isn't you that has the voice' (Co. Galway) (Ó Curnáin 2007 ii 1196 7.g, 7.h). An example with the past tense of the copula is to be found in Iorras Aithneach, Co. Galway: *maran bh'ea* 'if it wasn't' (Ó Curnáin 2007 ii 1214 7.qq).

[158.] On the correspondence between -V[N] in Irish and -Vn in Scottish Gaelic, see Ó Maolalaigh 1995–1996: 160.

they do before the fricative *f-*. With very few exceptions, there is an implicational rela-tionship between these three environments: $\mathbf{N} + \mathbf{f}\text{-} \Rightarrow \text{-}\mathbf{N} + \mathbf{C}_{[+\text{stop}]} \Rightarrow \text{-}\mathbf{N} + \mathbf{V}\text{-}$,[159] i.e., if *-am* occurs before *f-*, *-an* also occurs with following stops, and if *-an* occurs before stops, *-an* also occurs before vowels. Disyllabic forms with a final nasal (e.gg., *manan / munan / maran / muran*) preceding at least one of these environments occur mostly in the south-west of Scotland: in Arran (pts 31–35), Kintyre (pts 39 & 41), Gigha (pt 40), Islay (pts 53–56), Jura (pts 51 & 52), Colonsay (pt 57), Mid-Argyll (pts 42, 43, 49), Cowal (pt 46); and parts of the west in Appin (pt 71), Morvern (pt 86), Sunart and Ardnamurchan (pts 79 & 87–89), Muck,[160] Knoydart (pt 97), and Glenelg (pt 98). *Muran / maran* occurs as a less widespread variant further north in Assynt (pt 128), e.g., *muran till, muran òl* and in St Kilda, e.g., *maran abair* (pt 14). It seems likely that instances of monosyllabic *mu*ᴺ (pt 44),[161] *mun* (pts 46 & 60), *mur*ᴺ */ mar n-òl* (pt 48),[162] *mum / mun* (pt 70) in south-western dialects may derive from original disyllabic forms ending in a nasal *-n*, which suggests a broader historical south-western locus in Scotland for disyllabic forms ending in a nasal. This is supported by variation between disyllabic and monosyllabic forms in some south-western dialects, e.gg., *manan cuir*, but *man abair* (pt 33), *muram faigh*, but *mun tig, mun òl* (pt 42); *muran cluinn, muran òl*, but *mur bhfaigh < muran + faigh* (pt 43); cf. syllab-ic *n* in *man(a)n cuir* [maṇŋʰur], *man(a)n till* [maṇ dʲẓʲilʲ], and two *n*s in *man(a)n òl* [man nɔ·ɫ] (pt 40). The same may or may not hold for monosyllabic forms ending in *-n* (or *-*ᴺ, e.g., *ma*ᴺ */ mu*ᴺ, pt 151) in the northern dialects of Sutherland (pts 132, 133, 136, 137), East Sutherland (pts 143 & 151), Easter Ross (pt 155), and Moray (pt 177). These may, however, derive from apocopated *muna*, which is perhaps supported by the lenition of *f-* (*mun fhaigh*) if these forms derive from *muna h-fhaigh* as suggested above in (§12.3.4.1). However, the existence of *meachn* and *marn* in pt 177, *murn* in Easter Ross,[163] and *muran* at pt 128 suggests that disyllabic forms ending in nasals were once a feature of more northerly dialects, which is supported by the forms *muran* and/or *maran* in Assynt and St Kilda cited above; see also §12.3.5.1. However, it is possible that *marn, murn, meachn* are mixed forms based on *mar ~ man, mur ~ mun, meach ~ mun / man*.

Eclipsis following reflexes of *muna* has been explained in a number of ways, usually involving influence from other functors. T. F. O'Rahilly's view was that '[e]clipsis after *muna* first arose in the same circumstances as eclipsis after *ní*', i.e., it originated in the lenited verbal forms *ní fhuil, ní fhuair, ní fhuighe* by the development of a labial glide 'between the *í* of *ní* and the following *u*'.[164] He further claimed that 'whereas eclipsis after *ní* remained confined to a couple of verbs, eclipsis after *muna* spread to all verbs'.

[159.] The symbol '⇒' means 'implies'.

[160.] The phonological materials from the Isle of Muck were not published in SGDS.

[161.] *mu*ᴺ represents the likes of *mu bhfaigh* (pt 44).

[162.] *mur*ᴺ represents the likes of *mur bhfaigh* (pts 43 & 48); *mu bhfaigh* occurs at pt 44 and *mu bfhaigh* [*sic*] < *mu bhfaigh* at pt 151. All of these forms can synchronically or diachronically be derived from forms ending in *-n*. We may compare the following forms from these dialects: *muran cluinn, muran òl* (pt 43), *muran gcuir, muran dtill, muran òl* (pt 44), *murn òl / mur n-òl* (pt 48), *mu gcluinn, mun òl / mu n-òl* (pt 151).

[163.] Professor Seosamh Watson (personal communication).

[164.] McCaughey 1968: 73, on the other hand, explained eclipsis in *ní bhfuil* as being due to the presence of a fossilised eclipsing infixed 3. sg. masculine pronoun.

Ruling out influence from eclipsing *dá*[N] 'if',[165] he explained the extension of eclipsis after *muna* as being 'due mainly to confusion with [eclipsing] *mar a*, "where (pron. *marə*, *mərə*)"', citing an early seventeenth-century example of *mar a* 'if it is not' (1932: 44 & 46). His explanation suggests that eclipsis developed only after *muna* had become *mura* / *mara*. However, *mar a*[N] and ScG *far an* 'where' (for which, see Cox 2007) may have been structurally similar enough to reflexes of *muna* to trigger the analogical use of eclipsis or final *-n* in Scottish Gaelic. T. F. O'Rahilly, however, explained ScG *muran* as being 'due to the influence of other subordinating conjunctions like *na'n* (Ir. *dá*[n]), *gu'n*, *gus an*' (1932: 47). Ua Súilleabháin sees eclipsis following reflexes of *mura* as being due to the influence of other particles such as *go* (1994: 527 §8.62).

Williams 1994: 461 §5.3, on the other hand, suggests that eclipsing *muna* may be derived from *muna* with eclipsing masculine infixed pronoun,[166] i.e., spreading from such examples as **maní** *nairi* 'if he should not find him' (Ml. 30d24) < *ar·icc* 'comes upon, happens upon'. Parallels for this explanation can be found in the development of negative *ní* and *nach*. We have already noted that *ní*, originally a geminating particle, developed into a leniting particle, *ní*[L], due to the presence of a leniting neuter infixed pronoun (§12.3.4). Eclipsing *ní*[N] is also attested, and can be derived from *ní* with an eclipsing masculine infixed pronoun. Indeed, this is the explanation put forward by McCaughey 1968: 73 for *ní bhfuil* / *ní bhfeil*.

The analogical spread of eclipsis from eclipsing conjunctions *-V*[N] to *mani*[H] may have been partially supported by the fact that the *-V*[N] and *-V*[H] would have had the same 'mutational' effect on words beginning with *l, m, n, r, s* (i.e., no effect), as well as the generalised 'stereotyped' dependent irregular verbal forms *dtig, dtéid, dtabhair* (> *dtoir*), *dtáinig, dtug*, etc., with fossilised eclipsed *t-* (T. F. O'Rahilly 1931: 117).

The negative conjunction *nach* developed as a backformation from the form of the conjunction *ná*[H] / *na*[H] used with infixed pronouns (1. sg. *nachim*[L] / *nacham*[L], 2. sg. *nachit*[L] / *nachat*[L], 3. sg. m. *nach*[N], 3. sg. f. *nacha*[∅], 3. sg. n. *nach*[L] / *nachid*[L], 1. pl. *nachin* / *nachan*, 2. pl. *nachib* / *nachab*, 3. pl. *nacha*[∅]) (Thurneysen 1946: 265 §419; T. F. O'Rahilly 1932: 39).[167] In written sources from the Middle Gaelic period until the end of the Early Modern period, *nach* is largely a non-mutating particle (T. F. O'Rahilly 1932: 39–40). In the modern dialects, three main variants are found: *ná*[H] (Munster), *nach*[N] (Connacht, Ulster, and

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[165.] O'Rahilly's objection to the influence of *dá* seems to be based on his observation that *dá* 'in the modern language has been yielding ground to *má* (leniting)' (1932: 46[1]).

[166.] Williams 1994: 461 §5.3 states: 'Ní léir cén bunús atá leis an urú céanna [i.e. i ndiaidh *muna*]. Seans go séimhítí [*recte* n-uraítí] i ndiaidh *muna* riamh anall i gcanúintí áirithe toisc an forainm iontáite firin-scneach a bheith leis (cf. *ní bhfuil*) ach nach nglactaí leis an urú sa teanga liteartha.' ['It is not clear what origin this eclipsis has [i.e. after *muna*]. Perhaps lenition [*recte* eclipsis] has always occurred after *muna* in some dialects due to the presence of the infixed masculine pronoun (cf. *ní bhfuil*) but that it wasn't accepted in the literary language.']

[167.] I use the suprascript symbol [∅] here to indicate 'no mutation'. *Nach* with suprascript [f-∅] indicates that *nach* lenites *f*, but not other consonants. I spell *nach* with short *a* although *nách* is also found.

North Leinster)[168] (O'Rahilly 1932: 39; Williams 1994: 460 §5.2), and *nach*[ø, f>ø] (Scottish Gaelic). Munster *ná*[H] is a direct reflex of the Old Gaelic form (T. F. O'Rahilly 1932: 39).

O'Rahilly 1932: 40 explains the eclipsing variant, *nach*[N], as arising in connection with irregular verbal forms such as *bhfuil* and *bhfuair*, partly due to the influence of *ní bhfuil* and *ní bhfuair*, which he derived from *ní fhuil* and *ní fhuair*, and partly due to the fossilised eclipsis in irregular verbal forms such as *dtug*, *dtig*, *dtéid*, *dtáinig*, etc., as well as analogy with other eclipsing particles such as *go*[N], *an*[N], etc. In the case of Manx *nagh* (= *nach*), prefixing *n*- to vowels, O' Rahilly 1932: 43 suggests that this could have come about due to the influence of *chan*. As cited above, Williams 1994: 460 §5.2 takes the view that eclipsing *nach*[N] in Irish derives from *nach* with eclipsing masculine infixed pronoun (*nach*[N]).

Williams 1994: 460 §5.2 states that non-mutating *nach*[ø] is not found in modern dialects: 'Níl [*nach* le loime ina dhiaidh] le fáil in aon áit anois, ach ba é an t-aon leagan é a d'fhaightí sa Ghaeilge Chlasaiceach'. ['*nach* with no mutation is not to be found anywhere nowadays, but it was the only form found in Classical Gaelic'.]) However, *nach* in Scottish Gaelic comes very close to Classical *nach*[ø] as ScG *nach* does not mutate vowels or consonants other than *f*-.[169] ScG *nach*[ø, f>ø] can be explained in a variety of ways: (a) *nach*[ø] could represent a mixed form based on *ná*[H] and *nach*(-) (used with infixed pronouns); (b) *nach*[ø] could represent a reflex of *nach*[N], with regular loss of nasalisation, which is common in particles with non-nasal consonantal codas in Scottish Gaelic (Ó Maolalaigh 1995–1996: 164–165); (c) *nach*[f>ø] may conceivably derive from *nach* with leniting neutral infixed pronoun (*nach*[L]); (d) however, *nach*[f>ø] may have originated with prototonic / conjunct foms of commonly occurring verbs which developed prothetic *f*-, whereby forms such as *nach aic*, *nach aca* were retained, thus giving the impression of lenition, i.e., *nach fhaic* and *nach fhaca*, respectively; (e) alternatively, the lenition of *f*- following *nach* may be a phonetic development whereby *f*- is lost in the cluster *ch+f*-; we may compare the loss of *f*- following *s* in the likes of *mas fheàrr*, *nas fheàrr*, although leniting relative *as*[L] cannot be ruled out in the case of the latter (Ó Maolalaigh 2016: 102 §51).

12.3.5.1. Influence of *man / mun* 'before'

An alternative or additional factor in the case of Scottish Gaelic, at least, is that variants of *muna* may have been influenced by the conjunction *man / mun* 'before'. Although it may be coincidental, it should be noted that disyllabic forms ending with -*n* occur in variants of *muna* only in dialects where the conjunction meaning 'before' is *man / mun* rather than *mas / mus* with only three exceptions: in SGDS dialect points 71 (Gleann

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[168.] In Ulster dialects, *nach* is often reduced to [Nah], [na] (Hamilton 1974: 305; Lucas 1079: 111). Wagner 1959: 84 §235 notes [Na:ᴺ] in Teelin, which presumably also represents *nach* but could conceivably represent *ná*.

[169.] Williams uses 'loime' (lit. 'bareness', i.e., no mutation) to refer to Classical *nach*[ø], which does not mutate consonants or vowels, and Munster *ná*, which does not mutate consonants, but prefixes *h*- to vowels (i.e., it is *ná*[H] rather than *ná*[ø]; see Ó Sé 2000: 333 §613).

Comhann), 98 (Glinn Eilg), and 128 (Ailbhinn, Asainn), *muran* 'if not' occurs with *mus* 'before'; however, in these dialects, variants of *muna / mana* without *-an* also occur;[170] see Table 4. With the exception of these three dialects, there is an implicational relationship between the occurrence of disyllabic *muran / maran* 'if not' and the ocurrence of *man / mun* 'before: *muran / maran* 'if not' $\Rightarrow$ *man / mun* 'before. In support of the suggestion that the development of *muna* in Scotland may have been influenced by the conjunction *mun / man* 'before', we may note the following: (a) in some dialects, both conjunctions have merged or partially merged, e.gg., mu^N / __ *f-*, *muran* (pt 44) and *maram* /__ *f-*, *maran* (pt 49), mun^L/__ *f-*, *mun* (pt 60); cf. pts 42, 46, 70; (b) reduction of reflexes of *mani* to monosyllables, perhaps partially through influence with *man / mun* 'before', e.gg., mur^N (pt 43), mu^N (pt 44), mar^N, *mur* (pt 48), etc.—cf. variation between disyllabic and monosyllabic forms reflexes of *muna / mana* in *muran ~ mun* (pt 42), mur^N *~ muran* (pt 43), mu^N *~ muran* (pt 44); (c) influence of reflexes of *muna / mana* on reflexes of *mun* 'before', e.gg., *muram, muran, maran, mur* 'before' (pts 42, 44, 48, 49).

Table 4: Reflexes of *muna* 'if not' vs variants of *man /mun, mas / mus* 'before' in Scottish Gaelic[171]

POINT	MANA / MARA 'IF NOT'			MAN / MUN, MAS / MUS 'BEFORE'	
	_ f-	_ c-	_ v-	_ f-	_ c-
14	mara	mara ~ mar	maran	ma	man
31	manam	manan	manan	ma	man
32	manam	manan	manan	mam	man
33	mana	manan	manan	mam	man
34, 35	manam	manan	manan	mam	man
36	muna	muran ~ munan	munan	man[f-Ø172]	man
37	mana	manan	manan	ma	man
39	mana	manan	manan	mu	mun
40	mana	manan[173]	manan[174]	–	man
41	muna	munan	munan	mu	mun
42	muram	muran ~ mun	mun	muram	muran
43	mur^N	muran	muran	mun	mun
44	mu^N	muran	muran	mu^N	muran
46	mar	mun ~ mur	mun	mur	mun

[170.] *Mur faigh, mur cuir, mura till* vs *muran abair* (pt 71), *mur cuir, mara faigh* vs *muran till, muran cluinn, muran can* (pt 98), *mura h-fhaigh* vs *muran till, muran cluinn, muran òl* (pt 128).

[171.] Note the contrast between *muna fill* 'if not' and *man fhill* 'before'.

[172.] *manan cuir* [maṇŋgˤr] and *manan till* [maṇdʲzʲilʲ·] with syllabic *n* in both cases.

[173.] *manan òl*, transcribed as [man nɔˤɫ].

[174.] I use ᴺ in Tables 4 and 5 to indicate a form with final nasal that disappears and voices a following consonant.

48	*mar*^{N}	*mur*	*mur n-*	*mur*	*mur*
49	*maram*	*maran*	*maran*	*maram*	*maran*
51	*mura*	*muran*	*muran*	*mu*	*mun*
52	*mura*	*mura*	*muran*	*ma*	*man*
53, 55	*mura*	*muran*	*muran*	*ma*	*man*
54	*muna*	*munan*	*munan*	*ma*	*mun*
56	*muna*	*munan ~ manan*	*munan ~ manan*	*ma*	*man*
57	*mura*	*muran*	*muran*	*mu*	*man*
60	*mun*$^{f\sim\text{ø}}$	*mun*	*mun*	*mun*$^{f\sim\text{ø}}$	*mun*
70	*mun*$^{f\sim\text{ø}}$	*mun ~ mur*	*mun*	*mum*	*mun*
71	*mur*	*mura ~ mur*	*muran*	*mus*	*mus*
79	*mura*	*mura ~ muran*	*mura*^{H}	*mu*	*mun*
87	*mura*	*mura*	*muran*	*mu*	*mun*
88	*mura*	*mura ~ mur*	*muran*	*mu*	*mun*
89	*mura*	*mura ~ muran*	*mura*^{H}	*mun*	*mun*
97	*mura*	*mura*	*muran*	*ma*	*man*
98	*mara*	*mur ~ muran*	–	*mas*	*mus*
128	*mura*$^{f\sim h}$	*muran*	*muran*	[*mus?*]	[*mus?*]

Variants of *muna / mana* have coalesced with or replaced variants of the conjunction meaning 'before' in the north-eastern dialects of East Sutherland (pt 151), Easter Ross (pt 155), and Moray (pt 177), as well as Perthshire (pt 198); see Table 5.

Table 5: Variants of *muna* ('if not, unless') vs variants of *man /mun, mas / mus* 'before' in some eastern Scottish Gaelic dialects

Point	*MANA / MARA* 'IF NOT'			*MAN / MUN, MAS / MUS* 'BEFORE'	
	_ f-	_ C-	_ V-	_ f-	_ C-
151	*ma*	*mu*^{N}	*mun*	*mus*	*mu*^{N} *~ mus*
155	*mur*$^{f\sim\text{ø}}$	*mu*	*mur*	*mus*$^{f\sim\text{ø}}$	*mu*
177	*marn*$^{f\sim\text{ø}}$ *~ meachn*$^{f\sim\text{ø}}$	*meach*	*meachn*	*meachn*$^{f\sim\text{ø}}$	*meach*[175]
198a[176]	*mar*$^{f\sim\text{ø}}$	*mar*	*mar*	*ma*^{N}	*man*
198b	*mar*$^{f\sim\text{ø}}$	*mar ~ mur*	*mur*	*mur*$^{f\sim\text{ø}}$	*mur*

Dorian 1978: 136 & 137 notes the merger between both conjunctions as *mu*(*n*) in Embo and as *mu*(*r*) for at least one speaker in Brora.[177] Similarly, S. Watson has noted considerable overlap between these conjunctions for Easter Ross. Both occur as *mu, mur*,[178] and *murn*, but *mun* occurs only as a form of the conjunction meaning 'before'; see Table 6.[179]

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[175] *Meach* is used here to represent the phonetic transcription [mʲax] at pt 177.

[176] 198a refers to John Campbell, the informant whose responses are published in SGDS. 198b refers to Donald Campbell whose responses were not published in SGDS.

[177] We may compare the development of *ma* > *mar / mur* 'if', which contrasts with *mar / mur* 'if not' by the use of independent / relative forms with the former and dependent forms with the later, e.g., *mar thig e* 'if he comes' vs *mar dtig e* 'if he doesn't come' in East Perthshire (Ó Murchú 1989: 370).

[178] The simple preposition *mu* 'about' also occurs as *mur*; see S. Watson 2007: 225 & 2022: 250.

[179] Professor Seosamh Watson (personal communication), but see also S. Watson 2007: 225 & 2022: 250, 253, & 254).

Table 6: Easter Ross 'if not, unless' and 'before'

'IF NOT, UNLESS'		'BEFORE'	
	Verbal Form		Verbal Form
mu	+ dependent	*mu*	+ dependent / + independent
–	–	*mun*	+ dependent
mur[180]	+ dependent	*mur*[181]	+ dependent
murn	+ dependent	*murn*	+ dependent
–	–	*murs, mus*	+ dependent / + independent

While *mas / mus* 'before' is the form associated with northern mainland dialects, the confusion between both conjunctions in north-eastern dialects and the existence of *mun / mu*[N] 'before' there suggests that *mun* 'before' was also a feature of north-eastern dialects alongside *mus*. S. Watson provides examples of *murn* 'before', which he spells as *mur'n* and *mur'm*: *mur'n d' rachadh*, *mur'n do chaochail*, *mur'n tàinig*, *mur'n do ruig* and *mur'm pòsadh* (2007: 15, 19, 96, 109, 83). He has provided me with the following examples of *murn* 'if not': *murn dèid*, *murn dàn'* (= *dànaig*).[182] While *murn* could be a mixed form based on *mur* and *mun*, it may represent a syncopated form of *muran*, and thus provides further evidence for the development of a disyllabic form ending in a nasal in north-eastern Scotland; and this is supported by the occurrence of *muran* as far north as Assynt (pt 128).

In Irish, it is possible that later reflexes of the conjunction *sul* 'before', which developed eclipsing adjuncts (R. A. Breatnach 1955: 104), influenced the development of eclipsis in reflexes of *mani* or vice versa, if they did not develop in parallel. Disyllabic eclipsing forms are found in Munster, Connacht, and Ulster, e.gg., *sula*[N] (pts 9, 22, 23, 47, 51, 61, 68, 74a, 75, 83, 86a), *shula*[N] (pts 52 & 62), *sara*[N] (pts 8, 17, 20), *shara*[N] (pts 12, 15, 59), *sura*[N] (pt 83a), *shura*[N] (pt 18), *sharla*[N] (pt 59).[183] The influence of reflexes of *mani* on *sul* may perhaps be seen in forms of the latter containing *r*, e.gg., *sara* (pt 8, 17, 20, 21), *shara* (pts 12–16, 19, 59), *shura* (pt 18), *sharla* (pt 59), *sura* (pts 66 & 83a); cf. R. A. Breatnach 1955: 104.[184]

Finally, in the case of Scottish Gaelic, it is perhaps possible that *manan / munan* 'if not' has arisen as a mixed form based on *mana / muna* 'if not' and reduced *man / mun* 'if not'.

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180. Lenites *faigh.*

181. Lenites *faigh.*

182. Seosamh Watson (personal communication). See now S. Watson 2022: 253.

183. I have not included here instances where the conjunction occurs before *r-* or where the conjunction ends in a final clear vowel.

184. *-r-* occurs in variants of *muna* in all of these dialects, i.e., at pts 12–16, 18, 19, 59, 66 (LASID i 172; ii–iii). The full questionnaire was not collected for pt 83a (LASID iv 146–151), but *-r-* occurs at pt 83.

12.3.6. *ceni[N]

The historical development of the conjunction *mani* shows evidence of gemination / *h*-provection—the original mutation maintained in many Scottish Gaelic dialects—and shifts to lenition and eclipsis. In the case of *ceni*, there is historical evidence for gemination / *h*-provection—the expected original mutation—and lenition, but not, apparently, eclipsis in earlier forms of the language. The evidence of ScG *gar an*, where the final *-n* would corrrespond to eclipsing **gara[N]* (were it to exist in Irish or earlier stages of the language), shows that eclipsis or its equivalent in Scotland also developed at some stage in refexes of *ceni*. The development of eclipsis or final *-n* in reflexes of *ceni* can be accounted for in exactly the same way as eclipsis in reflexes of *mani*, i.e., due to a petrified infixed masculine pronoun and/or the influence of other eclipsing particles (or particles ending in *-n* in the case of Scottish Gaelic). This influence includes especially *mani* given the structural (both contain *-ni*) and semantic similarities between both conjunctions: both conjunctions can mean 'unless, if not' (eDIL s.vv. 2 *cía*, 3 *má*, *ma*). On the semantic similarities between *cia* 'though' / *ceni* 'though not', and *má* 'if' / *mani* 'if not', see Bergin 1934–1938: 206, who notes that, as a conjunction, *cia* 'has the construction of *má*, with which it is often almost identical in meaning'; cf. Ó hUiginn 1991: 45.[185] On the overlap between condition and concession, see also Quirk et al. 1985: 1099 §§15.40 & 15.41. This accounts satisfactorily for the development *ceni[H]* > **gara[N]* / *gar an.*

13. Conclusion

The proposed development of conjunctions meaning 'although not' in the Gaelic languages is summarised in Figure 1.

   After many generations of insightful scholarship on the medieval Gaelic language and its modern dialects, it is unusual at this remove in time to discover the reflexes of an older functor in one of the modern Gaelic languages, thought to have disappeared from the language in the early medieval period, especially when we consider that functors consist of a very small class of words that have a high frequency of usage in languages. They have an almost Pareto-like distribution: ' . . . function words, account for less than one-tenth of one percent of your vocabulary but make up almost 60 percent of the words you use' (Pennebaker 2011: ix). This paper derives ScG *gar an* 'although not' from Old Gaelic *ceni*, and highlights the more conservative variants with initial *c-* or medial *n* retained. Parallel developments witnessed in other proclitics, especially, but not limited to, the conjunction *mani* 'if not', later *mura*—including initial consonant, vocalism, *n* > *r* and following mutations (gemination / *h*-provection, lenition and

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[185.] Note the co-occurrence of *mani* and *ceni* in the following example from §12.3.1: *mani gabthar deog de* **ceni beth** *nach aili isin tig* ('unless drink be taken from him, although there be no one else in the house') (Knott 1936: 32.1085–1086).
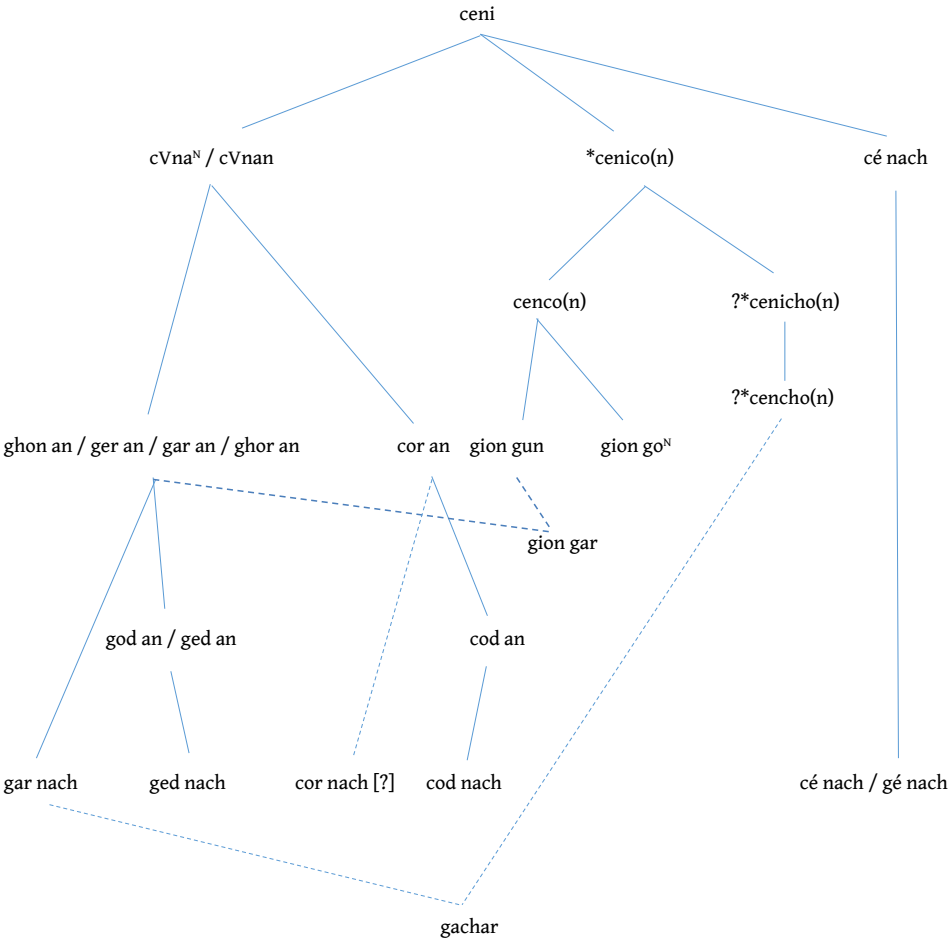
FIGURE 1: *Proposed development of conjunctions meaning 'although not' in Gaelic*

eclipsis / *n*)—account economically and satisfactorily for the development *ceni*[H] > *garan* / *gar an*, etc.

The written literary evidence would seem to suggest that *ceni* disappeared as a negative concessive conjunction by the Middle Gaelic period, having been replaced by *cenco* / *gion go*, which was itself later replaced by more lexically transparent or analytic forms: *cé nach*, *gé nach*, *ged nach*. The modern Scottish Gaelic evidence from the eighteenth century onwards illustrates that reflexes of *ceni* continued in vernacular Scottish Gaelic language and literature down to the twentieth and twenty-first centuries despite their eschewal in higher literary religious registers. The prevalence of *gar an* in Scottish Gaelic verse suggests that its survival may partly be due to its use in verse registers. Nevertheless, its survival in some of the modern dialects (e.gg., Lewis and Wester Ross), albeit with restricted semantic ranges in some cases, illustrates its tenacity in vernacular speech and the Scottish Gaelic tradition more generally.

Gar an is attested from the eighteenth century, in some cases in texts dating to the seventeenth century. If *gin gar* and related forms from the Book of the Dean of Lismore represent mixed forms based on Classical *gion go* and vernacular ScG *gar a*(*n*), as suggested above, we can trace its earliest 'attestation' in the modern period to the early sixteenth century. If the interpretation offered here for *gin gar* is correct, it illustrates how lower demotic features of language exerted an influence on literary forms; this is also seen in the use of dependent verbal forms with *ged* discussed in §6 and the apparently mixed form *ge gu phronn tu* discussed in §8.2. On the mutual influence between lower and higher registers in Gaelic, see Ó Maolalaigh 2013: 84–85.

The survival of *ceni* in the form *gar an* in Scottish Gaelic provides a remarkable example of a linguistic feature which flew undetected under the radar of attested literary usage for eight or even ten centuries. The absence of *gar an* (or related forms) in the standard literary language of the Classsical period (ca. 1200–1650 A.D.) provides a good example of a peripheral (Scottish) feature that was not included in that register which was centred and based on Irish linguistic features (Ó Maolalaigh 1998: 13–15). This study illustrates the essential and intrinsic value of modern Scottish Gaelic linguistic evidence for gaining a fuller picture and deeper and nuanced understanding of the history of the Gaelic languages. As further illustrative examples, we may compare the development of eclipsis in Scottish Gaelic (Ó Maolalaigh 1995–1996 & 2008: 241–258); non-leniting *a h-uile* 'every' in Scottish Gaelic and its origin in the (feminine) genitive of time (Ó Maolalaigh 2013: 83–85); the possible implications arising from the occurrence of nasalising *os* 'over, above' in Scottish Gaelic (Ó Maolalaigh 2016: 81–90); the possible survival of analogical *h-* in *do-h-icc* > *hig* > *thig* and related forms (Ó Maolalaigh 2018); nominal plural *n* in Scottish Gaelic (Ó Maolalaigh, forthcoming a); and the survival of *caidé* 'where is?' in Scottish Gaelic *cè* 'give me, show me' (Ó Maolalaigh forthcoming b).[186]

ABBREVIATIONS

CorG	=	https://dasg.ac.uk/corpus
CorPH	=	https://chronhib.maynoothuniversity.ie
DASG-FA	=	https://dasg.ac.uk/fieldwork
DSL	=	https://dsl.ac.uk
Dwelly	=	Dwelly 1901–1911
eDIL	=	www.dil.ie
GP	=	Stokes & Strachan 1901–03: i 3
GUL	=	Glasgow University Library, Special Collections
GWR	=	Wentworth 2003b
LASID	=	Wagner 1958–1969
LL i	=	Best, Bergin, & O'Brien 1954
LU	=	Best & Bergin 1929
Ml.	=	Stokes & Strachan 1901–1903: i 7–483
OS1	=	https://scotlandsplaces.gov.uk
Sg.	=	Stokes & Strachan 1901–1903: ii 49–224
SGDS	=	Ó Dochartaigh 1994–1997
ST	=	*Leabhraiche an t-Seann Tiomnaidh* (Dun-Eidin: Uilliam Smellie, 1783–1801)
TN	=	*Tiomnadh Nuadh* (Dun-eudain: Balfour, Auld agus Smellie, 1767)
Wb.	=	Stokes & Strachan 1901–1903: i 499–712

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