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**‘BOCHANAN MODHAIL FOGHLAIMTE’:
TIREE GAELIC, LEXICOLOGY AND GLASGOW’S
HISTORICAL DICTIONARY OF SCOTTISH GAELIC**

A: Introduction

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

The HDSG oral archive contains the word *bochanan*, recorded by Ailig O’Henley from the South Uist *bàrd*, Dòmhnall Aonghais Ruaidh, where it is glossed as ‘a Tìree word which means a right proper gentleman’, and cited in the contextual phrase ‘*bochanan modhail foghlaimt*’. It is hard to think of a more apt description of Professor Meek himself who, during his extraordinarily industrious and productive scholarly career, has consistently shown himself to be a most learned, generous, courteous and ‘proper gentleman’. Although I have so far not succeeded in confirming the word and its meaning with current speakers of Tìree Gaelic, I take it that *bochanan* derives from the proper name Buchanan. The name Buchanan will have a number of different resonances for Professor Meek. It will remind him of the renowned sixteenth-century intellectual and Scottish historian, George Buchanan (1506–82), born in Killearn, Stirlingshire, and tutor to King James VI and translator into Latin of the Psalms of David. Similarly, it will remind him of the great eighteenth-century spiritual poet Dùghall Bochanan (1716–

68), whose works he is currently editing. But nearer to home, it will remind him of the much respected nineteenth-century Tìree doctor, Dr Alexander Buchanan (1836–1911), for whom a memorial monument was erected at Baugh. It would be extraordinary if Dùghall or George Buchanan were commemorated in the complimentary word *bochanan*. However, if the word derives from the famous Tìree doctor's name, as is tentatively suggested here, we have a datable instance of a metonymical semantic development in Gaelic involving the personification of laudable characteristics – qualities which are eminently applicable to the honorand of the present volume. As a past student and colleague of Professor Meek, it is a great pleasure and honour to offer the present paper on his native Tìree Gaelic.

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

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

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

Peat Working	(G+E)
Cattle	(E)
Ecclesiastical Terms	(E)
Sheep	(E)
Shellfish	(G)

Agriculture / Àiteach	(G+E)
Wool Working	(E)
Achfainn Iasgaich / Fishing Tackle	(G)
House and Furnishings / Taigh Gàidhealach	(G)
Coltas an Duine / Personal Appearance	(G)
Lobster fishing (E)	(E)
Personality / Nàdar an Duine	(G)
Recreation: Toys, Games, Contests	(E)
Biadh is Deoch	(G)
Weather	(E)
Death / Burial	(G)
Landscape Features	(E)
Faireachdainn	(G)
Names and uses of medicinal plants	(E)
Togail Bhàtaichean	(G+E)
Eathraichean	(G)
Herring fishing (E)	(E)
Piobaireachd	(G)
Saoirsinneachd (G)	(G)
Clachaireachd (G) ¹	(G)

The domains covered by the various wordlists include the following:

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

HDSG oral materials relating to Tìree consist of 11 separate items: 8 questionnaires and 3 wordlists. The questionnaires relate to the lexical domains of Cattle, *Coltas an Duine* ('Personal Appearance'), *Faireachdainn* ('The Senses'), Land Cultivation, Lobster-fishing,

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

The Digital Archive of Scottish Gaelic (DASG), recognised as a British Academy research project, was initiated in the Department of Celtic in the year 2006, under the direction of the present author, exactly 40 years after the historical dictionary project was launched. The principal aims of DASG are: (a) to preserve and enhance the archive generated by the Historical Dictionary of Scottish Gaelic project (1966–96) by digitising it in database form and making it publicly available on the internet; (b) to contribute to the inter-university project *Faclair na Gàidhlig*;² and (c) to facilitate and stimulate new research in Gaelic-related studies in a variety of disciplines, including semantics and areas of study within the ambit of the Social Sciences.

B: Tìree Gaelic

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

1. PHONOLOGY³**1.1 Vocalic**1.1.1 Breaking of long *è* to *ia*

ghiar (§1.2),⁴ *sia* (§2.1), *bial* (§2.5), *briagha* (§4.3), *ian* (§5.4.1), *fiath*, *fiathail* (§5.4.1); cf. *breacan-sian* (§4.2). Breaking does not occur in the loanwords *peuta* (§3.3), *feucag* (§4.3) but contrast the development in *piatan* (§3.3).

1.1.2 *mòran*

The word *mòran* in *mòran chaora* (§3.5) is reported with low-mid [ɔ:] rather than high-mid [o:]. This contrasts with the Tìree forms, *mòr* and *mòran* (both with [o:]) cited in *SGDS* (628, 632).⁵ Alan Boyd informs me (personal communication) that the citation form of *mòran* has [o:] but that a reduced form is used when a noun follows, e.g. *mòran dhaoine* 'many people'.

1.1.3 Long *ì* retained before non-palatalised consonants

Long *ì* is retained before non-palatalised consonants in Tìree Gaelic; this contrasts with the development /i:/ > /iə/, /ia/ in other dialects. See *dìomhain*, *fion*, *fior*, *iobairt*, *ìomhaigh*, *lìon*, *mìorbhailt*, *mìos*, *sgriobadh*, *sgriobhadh*, *sioda*, *siol*, *snìomh*, *spìon* (*SGDS*: 311, 429, 431, 522, 525, 577, 620, 621, 763, 764, 766, 767, 784–87, 795). The spelling *sileadh* for *sioladh* (§ 5.4.10) would appear to be indicative of Tìree phonology without diphthongisation; cf. *mìolan* with /i:/ not /iə/ (§3.7).⁶ On this feature in south-western Gaelic dialects, see Grandd 2000: 52–53 and Ó Maolalaigh 2003a: 262–64.

1.1.4 Raising of *oi* > *ui*

The stressed vowel of *soitheach* is realised as a high back unrounded vowel in Tìree (*SGDS*: 792). The form *saothach* (§2.5) is indicative of such a pronunciation. The raising of *o* before palatals to a higher position is also indicated by the spellings *guille*, *guilltean* (§2.5) for *goile* and *goiltean* respectively; cf. *goile* [gũ'ɪ̯ə] (*SGDS*: 493) and also *luige* (§4.6).

1.1.5 *earball* / *urball*

The initial vowel of the word *earball* is realised with /u/ in Tìree (*SGDS*: 371); on the stressed vowel in this and similar words, see Ó

Maolalaigh 2003b. This is corroborated by the HDSG materials: *urball* (§2.5).

1.1.6 Raising of *e* to *i* in *teine*

Stressed *e* is raised to *i* in *teine* (§5.9.2).

1.1.7 Epenthesis

Epenthesis in the environment of the sonorants *r* and *l* is found in: *bleatairaich* (§1.5), *doma \underline{m} las* (§2.5), *tiora \underline{m} achadh* (§2.7), *boga \underline{l} ach* (§2.11), *neo-shoca \underline{r} ach* (§4.7); cf. *curra \underline{c} hdagan* (§5.12.2).

1.1.8 *èa*

Compensatorily lengthened original *e* before non-palatalised consonants is realised as *è* [e:] rather than *à* in Tìree, e.g. *cèardach* [e:] and *fhèarr* [e:] (SGDS: 173, 605). This is corroborated by the forms *b' fhèarr* (§5.13) and also *bèarnach* (§4.2).

1.1.9 Lowering of *o* to *a*

Lowering of *o* to *a* occurs in *clach* (§1.2), *casan* (§2.5), *caitcheann* (§3.4); cf. *caigeann* (§3.6).⁷

1.2 Consonantal

1.2.1 Palatalised *r*

The quality of palatalised *r* is quite distinctive in Tìree Gaelic (Meek 2004: 233). It is usually realised as a palatal approximant [j] or a semivowel [i] with or without some *r*-colouring: see, for example, *làir*, *mairbh*, *Màiri*, *morair(e)*, *muinntir*, *muir*, *oighre*, etc. (SGDS: 548, 601, 595, 631, 638, 639, 672). It is also realised as a voiceless fricative [ç], or occasionally as [ʃ̣] (retroflex) or [ṣ], especially when unvoiced at the end of unstressed syllables or in the vicinity of voiceless sounds, e.g. *coirce* [ç]/[ṛ'ç], *làidir* [ç^(d)], *Alasdair* [ç^(d)],⁸ *thachair* [ç^(d)], *litir* [ʃ̣], *idir* [ṣ] (SGDS: 233–34, 546, 29, 818, 578, 514). The voiced fricative [ẓ] and devoiced retroflex [ẓ̥] also occur, e.g. *màthair*, *idir* (SGDS: 606, 513). Palatalised *r* is realised as a palatal fricative in *icheann* and *icheannach* for *ifreann* and *ifreannach* (§4.5) respectively. The form *odharc* ‘female sheep up to a year old and before giving birth’ (§3.1) seems to represent a hypercorrection based on the particular Tìree realisation of /ṛ/,

whereby *othaisg* came to be interpreted as *odhairc*, which was subsequently altered to *odharc*, with contamination with *adharc* being a possible factor. In support of this interpretation, Alan Boyd informs me (personal communication) that the form *odhairc* is also found in Tìree. A similar development is found in Tìree *sùirste* (= *sùiste* ‘flail’)⁹ and presumably *sùirstean* (§3.7) also.

1.2.2 *-idh / -imh > -ich*

bocsa-dìpich (§3.5), *a’ chloich* (§2.10; *SGDS*: 203). On the development, see Ó Maolalaigh 1999. This development does not occur in *lòinidh* (§3.7).

1.2.3 Glottalisation

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

1.2.4 Preaspiration

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

1.2.5 Intervocalic palatal *gh / dh*

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

1.2.6 Loss of final unstressed *-dh*

fionna (m) < *fionnadh* (§2.5). This development is frequent in sandhi

environments, e.g. *milleadh-moighich* > *mille-moighich*.¹⁰

1.2.7 Merger of stops *t* / *d* after long vowels

The spelling *spud* for *spùt* is indicative of the merger of *t* and *d* following long vowels. We may compare Tìree *bàta* [b̥aːd̥ə] (*SGDS*: 81).

1.2.8 *cn* > *cr*

creat (§1.7.1), *crog* (§3.1).

1.2.9 Prosthetic *f*

fruisg (§1.2). Alan Boyd (personal communication) provides the further examples from Tìree Gaelic: *fàradh* ‘ladder’, *feasgann* ‘eel’ and *Feadailteach* ‘Italian’.

1.2.10 *moighich*

The genitive of *moigheach* ‘hare’ is given as *moigheach* (§4.2), which is indicative of a pronunciation $-\text{[j}^{\text{a}}\text{ç]}$.¹¹

1.2.11 *buin*

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

1.2.12 *dam*

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

1.2.13 *ùth* > *ùgh*

The hypercorrect development of stressed morpheme-final *ù* > *ùgh* may be noted in the forms *ùgh* [uːɣ] and *ùghan* [uːɣən] (§2.5).

1.2.14 Vocalisation of word-internal *mh*

ceòthar < *ceòmhar* (MS *ceo-ar*, §5.8.4), *seasach* < *seasmhach* (§5.1.1).

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

1.2.15 *-adh* > *-ag*

The spellings *cluaiseag* for *cluaiseadh* (§1.6) and *cròthag* for *cròthadh* (§3.5) indicate that the velar fricative may have been

produced (or perceived) with some degree of closure. Although this is not attested in the speech of the *SGDS* Tiree informant, it is found in nearby dialects, for instance in Morvern: see, for example, *moladh* (*SGDS*: 627, point 86).

1.2.16 Palatalised *ll* for *l*

A few instances of palatalised *ll* for *l* may conceivably be indicative of the partial merger of /L'/ and /l^(j)/, although this seems unlikely, e.g. *coillich* (§1.7.1), *guille* (§2.5).

2. MORPHOLOGY

2.1 Genitive singular *-adh*

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

2.2 Genitive singular

feòir (§2.8), *cruidh* (§2.8), *guir* (§4.2); *gaoth* (§1.7); *circe* (§4.1); *aighe* (§2.1), *droma* (§2.5), *caca* (§4.4), *mara* (§§5.8.3, 5.12.2.), *sùla* and possibly *sùl* (§1.2).¹²

2.3 Genitive plural

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

2.4 Dative singular feminine

sròin (§1.8), *grèin* (§5.2.5); see also following section.

2.5 *teinidh*

The dative form, *teinidh*, functions as a dative and genitive singular form of *teine* 'fire' (§4.2).

2.6 Monosyllabic plural adjectives

The singular form of the adjectives *cam* and *àrd* occur in the following plural contexts: *cluasan cam* (§1.5) and *neòil àrd* (§5.3.2). With these we may contrast *tonnan mòra* (§5.6.6). The contrast between compensatory-lengthened vowels (*cam*, *àrd*) and

historically long vowels (*mòr*) may be noteworthy here, and perhaps worthy of further study as a possible variable in the use of singular for plural forms of monosyllabic adjectives. The contrast which would exist between singular *cam* (with /ãũ/) and plural *cama* (with /ã/) may be a factor in the selection of singular for plural; this would not, of course, hold in the case of *àrd*, which would retain its compensatorily lengthened vowel /a:/ in the plural form.

2.7 *ro* for *tro*

‘*Roimh* [pronounced *ro* is] used in Tìree instead of *troimh* [pronounced *tro*]’ (§5.4.11).

2.8 *claiستهachd*

The form *claiستهachd* rather than *claisneachd* is used (§1.1; cf. §1.6), no doubt due to contamination with *èستهachd*.

2.9 Plural

The following plural forms are found:¹³

Palatalisation

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

-an

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

-ichean

bagaichean (§2.5), *stàlaichean* (?*stàilichean*) (§2.9), *cnogaichean* (§3.1), *trochaichean* (§3.4), *bolaichean* (§4.1),

màthraichean (§4.2), *bòtaichean* (§5.10.6); cf. *bristichean* (§5.6.7, singular *bristeadh*), *deannaichean* (§5.4.4), *streallaichean* (§1.5).

-achan

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

-tean

goiltean (§2.5).

-annan

troicheannan (§4.1).

-ich

caoraich (§3.2), *luchaich* (§1.7.1).

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

2.10 *sealltainn*

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

2.11 *sneachd(a)*

Variation seems to occur between *sneachd* and *sneachda*. The usual nominative singular form in Tìree appears to be *sneachd* (cf. *sneachd* (SGDS: 783)). The form *sneachda* occurs particularly in genitive contexts in the HDSG materials, e.g. *bòta-sneachda* (§5.10.6), *bodach-sneachda*, *muc-shneachda* (§5.10.7) (and presumably also in *cathadh-s(h)neachda* §5.10.4 but see next section), but not apparently in *a’ cur an t-sneachd*.¹⁴ However, the disyllabic form occurs in the nominative in *sneachda trom* and *sneachda mòr*¹⁵ (§5.10.5) but contrast *sneachd fliuch* (§5.10.3).

2.12 *dhuit*

The second person singular prepositional pronoun *dhuit* (standard Scottish Gaelic *dhut*) is pronounced with palatalised *t* in south-west

Argyll dialects, in a contiguous area ranging from Tiree to Arran (Grannid 2000: 17, 78). This is reflected in the form *dhuìt* (§1.10).

3. MORPHOPHONOLOGY

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

3.1 Indefinite genitive plural

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

3.2 Feminine noun + qualifying noun

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

3.3 Masculine nominative plural noun formed by palatalisation + qualifying noun

fìr-chlis (§5.2.6), *neòil thàirneanach* (§5.3.3). Lenition does not, however, occur in *buill-dòbhrain* (§4.2) or *neòil duathail* (§5.3.3), where traditional homorganic (in this case dental) delenition applies (see following section).

3.4 Homorganic delentition

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

4. Semantic relations

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

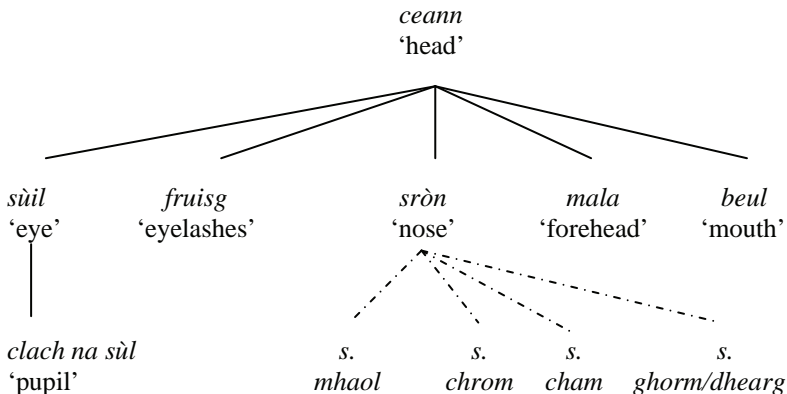


Figure 1: Hierarchical structures: The partial meronymic structure of *ceann* and the partial taxonomic structure of *sròn*; unbroken lines indicate meronymic relations; broken lines indicate taxonomic relations

An interesting case of automeronymy occurs in *corp* ‘belly’ (§2.5), whereby an original superordinate word comes to designate a subpart of the original whole (Cruse 2004: 109).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

uan ‘lamb’, *odharc* ‘female up to a year old and before giving birth’, *caora* ‘female has lambed’, *cnog* ‘cast ewe after seven years’ (§3.1).

The meaning of lexical items can contrast on the basis of a single binary feature; some of these relational features are more recurrent than others and therefore of more semantic structural relevance:

GENDER:	FEMALE <i>ropag</i> ‘untidy female’	MALE <i>ropan</i> ‘untidy male’	(§4.9)
PERMANENCY:	PERMANENT <i>duine bacach</i> ‘a lame man’	TEMPORARY <i>duine crùbach</i> ‘a lame man’	(§4.1)
ANIMAL TYPE:	COW <i>ladhar</i> ‘hoof’	HORSE <i>bròg</i> ‘hoof’	(§2.5)

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

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

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

A number of synonyms occur although there is insufficient detail given to enable us to establish for certain whether these are absolute

synonyms, cognitive synonyms or merely near-synonyms:¹⁷

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

A small number of antonyms / near-antonyms occurs:

- bruidhinn shiobhalta* ‘speaking politely’ ~ *bruidhinn mhìomhail* ‘speaking rudely’ (§1.5)
geanail ‘friendly, smiley’ ~ *gruamach* ‘gloomy’ (§4.8)
glan / *sgiobalta* / *snasar* / *snasmhor* ‘tidy’ ~ *ropach* ‘untidy’ (§4.9)
side thioram ‘dry weather’ ~ *side fhliuch* ‘wet weather’ (§5.1.4).

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

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

- sùil* ‘eye’
Tha mo shùil air ‘I am interested in it, lit. my eye is on it’ (§1.4).

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

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

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

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

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

cluas ‘ear’

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

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

sròn ‘nose’

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

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

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

Other instances of metaphor include:

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

Instances of metonymy also occur, e.g. *glanadh* ‘afterbirth, *lit.* cleaning’ (§2.6), *bleoghann* ‘milking time, *lit.* milking’ (§2.7). The form *fruisg* ‘eyelashes’ represents a metonymical development from original *ros* ‘eye’ with accompanying phonological differentiation (in this case with prosthetic *f*), thus resulting in lexical split. In the

dialect of Harris a similar lexical split with phonological differentiation (with lowering of *o* to *a*) results in the form *rasg* ‘eyelash’. For a preliminary discussion of this type of lexical and semantic split, see Dillon 1953.

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

C: Editorial Policy

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

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

The process of editing for publication the HDSG materials presented here has highlighted a number of problems and challenges associated with the oral materials of the HDSG archive. Given the phonetic (and often pre-*GOC*) spellings utilised, a certain amount of

editorial intervention and interpretation is necessary before the raw materials of the archive can be released for public consumption. The use of accents (or rather the lack of use) of accents can be particularly challenging as it is not always possible to be certain if a particular vowel should be long or short. An intimate knowledge of the dialect in question is essential for the interpretation of individual word forms (*odharc* §3.1, *sùirstean* §3.7, *ùghan* §2.5, *aighe*, *aighean* (MS *agha*, *aghan*) §2.1).

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

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

D: Questionnaires

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

1. Faireachdainn

1.1 Faireachdainn ‘sense’

<i>mo bhuidhean</i>	my senses
<i>claisteachd</i> ^a (f)	sense of hearing
<i>fàileadh</i> (m)	sense of smell
<i>sealladh</i> (m) ¹⁸	sense of sight
<i>blas</i> (m)	sense of taste

faireachdainn (f) sense of touch

^a ‘not *claisneachd*’.

1.2 An t-sùil I

<i>sùil bhiorach</i>	good eyesight
<i>sùil gheur</i> ^a	good eyesight
<i>claon-shùileach</i>	tired-looking eyes
<i>fiar-shùileach</i>	squint-eyed
<i>clach na sùil</i> ^{b 19}	pupil
<i>fruisg</i>	eyelashes
<i>fruisg na sùla</i>	eyelashes
<i>sealladh astarach</i>	good visibility
<i>sealladh goirid</i>	bad visibility
<i>teine-sionnachain</i> ^c (m)	phosphorescence

^a *ghiar*. ^b *sùil [sic]*. ^c *teine-sionachan*.

1.3 An t-sùil II

<i>fon t-sùil</i> ^a	sideways
<i>a’ sealltainn dùr</i> ^b <i>air duine</i>	
<i>a’ sealltainn gruamach air duine</i>	
<i>Sheall mi air gu gruamach.</i>	

^a possibly *bhon t-sùil*. ^b *dur*.

1.4 An t-sùil III

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

1.5 Am beul

<i>gìosgan fhiacal</i> ^a	gnashing of teeth
<i>cagnadh</i>	chewing
<i>deothal</i> ^b	sucking
<i>feadaireachd</i>	whistling
<i>dùrdail</i>	humming
<i>slugadh</i>	swallowing
<i>cuir siud air do gholàiream</i> ²⁰	drink that up in one go!
<i>logamail</i> ^c <i>dhiabhlaidh</i> ^d	an awful amount of drink
<i>Tha an daorach air.</i>	
<i>Tha an deoch air.</i>	
<i>Tha smùid air.</i> ²¹	
<i>Tha e air an daorach.</i>	
<i>Tha e air an deoch.</i>	
<i>Ghabh e 'n daorach.</i>	
<i>Ghabh e 'n deoch.</i>	
<i>Ghabh e streallaichean.</i>	He took too much (drink).
<i>Ghabh e rathùiream.</i> ^{e 22}	He took a real bender.
<i>bleadraich</i> ^f	blethering
<i>bruidhinn bhlaodach</i>	speaking slowly
<i>bruidhinn shocrach</i> ^g	speaking slowly
<i>bruidhinn mhìomhail</i> ^h	speaking rudely
<i>bruidhinn shìobhalta</i>	speaking politely
<i>bruidhinn chiùin</i>	polite, respectable talk
<i>mionnachadh</i>	swearing
<i>lachanaich</i>	loud hearty laughing
<i>Rinn e clap-gàire.</i> ²³	He made a loud laugh or gafall [= gafaw].
<i>snodha-gàire</i>	a sneer or chuckle
<i>gagach</i>	stuttered speech
<i>Tha mi gagail.</i>	I am stuttering.

^a *fhiacail.* ^b *deoghal.* ^c *logamal.* ^d *dhiolaidh.* ^e *rathuiream.*
^f *bleataraich.* ^g *shocaireach.* ^h *mhìobhail.*

1.6 A' chluas I

cumadh nan cluasan

[the shape of the ears]

cluasan biorach

pointed ears and keen hearing too

*cluasan fada**cluasan cam**corra-chluasach*stumped ears as in beast (also
cauliflower ears)*cluasaire (m)*

a big-eared man

cèir-cluaiseadh^a

earwax

toll na cluaiseadh^b

the earhole

*Cùm do chluas fosgailte.**Tha èisteachd^c bheag annam.*

I am hard of hearing.

*Tha mo chlaisteachd a' fàs dona.**cluasan fionnach*

hairy ears

^a *cèir-cluaiseag.* ^b *cluaiseag.* ^c *éisdeachd.*

1.7 A' chluas II

mualan a' chuain

the bellowing of the ocean

sgreadail na gaoth

high pitched sound of the wind

rànaich (f)

roar

ràn

a roar

mualanaich

low pitched

1.7.1 Fuaimean Bheothaichean

[sounds of animals]

mèilich chaora

bleating

geumnaich

lowing

comhartaich coin

barking

miagail^a cait

mewing

gogail chearc

cackling

gnothail muice

grunting

fàngail thunnagan

quacking

bìogail^{b 24} rodan / luchaidh

squeaking [of rats / mice]

bìogail^b eun

chirping [of birds]

glaoth coilich^c

shout [of a cockerel]

ràcail^d [coilich]

crow [of a cockerel]

sgiamh faoilinn

screech [of a gull]

gorachdail

sound of pheasant, grouse, etc.

† <i>sítear eich</i> ²⁵	naying
<i>brùchd</i> (m)	belch
<i>braim</i> ²⁶	fart
<i>Rinn e braim.</i>	
<i>rot</i>	a loud one [i.e. fart]
<i>Rinn e rot.</i>	
<i>cast</i>	a cough
<i>cnead</i> ^e	a soft cough (half on purpose)
<i>sreathart</i>	sneeze
<i>aileag</i> ^f (f)	hiccup
<i>Tha an aileag</i> ^g <i>orm.</i>	
<i>crith</i>	shiver
<i>air chrith leis an fhuachd</i>	
<i>mo chorp a’ rùbail</i> ^h	movement of air in stomach when hungry
^a <i>miagal.</i> ^b <i>biogal.</i> ^c <i>coillich.</i> ^d <i>racal.</i> ^e <i>creat</i> ^f <i>alag</i> (<i>aileag?</i>). ^g <i>alag.</i> ^h <i>rubail.</i>	

1.8 An t-sròn

<i>sròn mhaol</i>	blunt nose
<i>sròn chrom</i>	Roman nose
<i>sròn cham</i>	twisted nose
<i>sròn ghorm</i>	drinker’s nose
<i>sròn dhearg</i>	drinker’s nose
<i>cnòsan</i> (m)	sound in chest denoting catarrh
<i>boladh</i> (m)	stink
<i>samh</i> (m)	bad smell
<i>fàileadh grot</i> ^a	rotten smell
<i>fàileadh fuaraidh</i>	stale smell
<i>malcte</i>	stale, rotten
<i>fàileadh taitneach</i>	nice smell
<i>fàileadh cùbhraidh</i>	nice smell
<i>Thug a shròn ann e.</i>	His nose took him there (curiosity).
<i>Bidh a shròn sa h-uile rud.</i>	
<i>Ghabh e san t-sròn e.</i>	He took it badly.

^a *grot.*

1.9 An làmh

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

^a *clìbheag*. ^b *deiseag*. ^c *thon*. ^d *phluch*.

1.10 An cridhe

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

2. Cattle

2.1 Cattle

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

^a *do-bhliadhnaich*, *do-bhliadhnaich*. ^b *aghan*; ‘Tìree, not *aighean*’ [i.e. not [ajən]]. ^c *agha*.

2.2 Different breeds of cattle

<i>crodh gallda</i>	Ayrshire
<i>crodh Gàidhealach</i> ²⁹	Highland
<i>crodh dubh</i>	Aberdeen Angus, Galloway

2.3 Outward appearance of cattle

<i>droch òrdan</i>	bad condition of coat
<i>bochd</i>	bad condition of coat
<i>bochd</i>	thin
<i>caol</i>	thin
<i>òrdan math</i>	good condition

2.4 Names for certain beasts

<i>peata</i> (m), <i>peatachan</i> (pl)	pet cow
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2.5 Parts of the body

<i>ceann</i>	
<i>amhach</i>	
<i>adhaircean</i> ³⁰	
<i>mala</i>	forehead
<i>beul</i> ^a	
<i>seiche</i> (f)	hide
<i>casan-toisich</i>	forelegs
<i>ladhar</i> (f), <i>ladhran</i> (pl)	hoof (cow)
<i>bròg</i> (f)	hoof (horse)
<i>glùn mairt</i>	knee
<i>corp</i> (m), <i>corpan</i> (pl) ³¹	belly
<i>urball</i> (m), <i>urbaill</i> (pl)	tail
<i>ùgh</i> (m), <i>ùghan</i> (pl) ^{b 32}	udder
<i>sine</i> (f), <i>sinean</i> (pl)	teats
<i>cnàimh an droma</i> (m)	backbone
<i>an t-sliasaid</i>	hindleg above knee
<i>cridhe</i>	
<i>fèithe</i> ^c [f] <i>mhòr</i>	artery
<i>fèithean</i> ^d	veins
<i>slinnean</i> (f), <i>slinneanan</i> (pl)	shoulder of horse
<i>sgamhan</i> (m), <i>sgamhain</i> (pl)	lungs

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

^a *bial.* ^b *ugh, uighean.* ^c *féithe.* ^d *féithean.* ^e *airnein.*
^f *domalas.* ^g *saothach.* ^h *guille, guilltean.*

2.6 Calving

<i>a' toirt mart don tarbh</i>	
<i>tha am mart a' breith</i>	
<i>glanadh</i> (m)	afterbirth

2.7 Milking

<i>a' bleoghann</i>	milking
<i>a' tiormachadh</i> ^a	milking to the last drop
<i>a' deothal</i> ^b	suckling
<i>an ceud bhainne</i>	milk yielded after calving
<i>bleoghann</i> (m)	milking time
<i>cuach</i> (f), <i>cuachan</i> (pl)	vessel(s)
<i>peil</i> (m), <i>peileachan</i> (pl)	vessel(s)

^a *tioramachadh.* ^b *deoghal.*

2.8 Feeding

<i>a' biathadh</i> ^a	feeding
<i>bhiath</i> ^b <i>mi an laogh</i> ^c	
<i>ceannag</i> (f)	bundle of hay tied with a <i>sùgan</i> (a meal for an animal)
<i>ceannag-fhedir</i>	bundle of hay tied with a <i>sùgan</i> (a meal for an animal)

<i>sùgan</i>	
<i>sguab</i>	sheave
<i>ag uisgeachadh</i>	watering (indoor & outdoor)
<i>dh'uisgich mi iad</i>	
<i>feurach</i>	grazing
<i>tha iad air feurach</i>	
<i>buachailleachd</i> (f)	tending of cattle
<i>buachailleachd a' chruidh</i>	tending of cattle

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

2.9 Apparatus

<i>ceangail, ga cheangal</i>	tying indoors
<i>feiste</i> (f)	tether, tying outdoors
<i>tha i air feiste</i>	
<i>cipean</i> (m), <i>cipeanan</i> (pl) ^{a 34}	tether stake
<i>an ceangal aice</i>	neck rope, rope around neck in stall
<i>stàl</i> (f), <i>stàlaichean</i> (pl) ^{b 35}	stall in byre
<i>buarach</i> (f), <i>buarraichean</i> (pl)	fetter for milking
<i>langaid</i> (f), <i>langaidean</i> (pl)	fetter to keep animal from wandering away
<i>cròcadh</i> ^c (f)	instrument to prevent calf suckling
<i>cròch</i> [?]	

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

2.10 Disease

<i>a' chloimh</i> ^a	scab (horses)
<i>feursagan</i> [pl], <i>feursag</i> (f) ^b	warbles (worms in hide)
<i>foinneachan</i> [pl], <i>foinne</i> (f)	warts
<i>at</i> (m)	swelling

<i>galar a' chinn</i>	horses: go mad; causes: worms in intestines or stone (lime or sand) in gullet. Never recommended to buy horses from Lismore as they were liable to have a 'limestone' in their gullet.
<i>dalladh</i> <i>a' chaitheamh</i> <i>an spùt^c</i>	going blind T.B. diarrhoea; <i>galar</i> caused by intestinal worms known as <i>dathagan</i> [pl], <i>dathag</i> (f)
<i>àirneach</i> (m)	urine trouble in horses, connected with kidneys
<i>fiabhras a' bhainne</i>	milk fever; before and / or after calving, due to a lack of calcium
<i>searg</i> (m)	pine; due to a lack of cobalt
^a <i>chloich.</i> ^b <i>fearsagan, fearsag.</i> ^c <i>a' spùd.</i>	

2.11 Miscellaneous

<i>tarraing</i>	away with you
<i>sugan</i>	pet name for calf; suckler
<i>dròbh</i> (m), <i>dròbhan</i> (pl)	herd or collection of cattle
<i>buaille</i> (f)	herd or collection of cattle
<i>buaille de chrodh</i>	herd or collection of cattle
<i>['n] sàs ann am fèithe^a</i>	stuck in a bog
<i>['n] sàs ann am boglach^b</i>	stuck in a bog
<i>cac mairt^c</i>	cow-dung
<i>cac cruidh^c</i>	cow-dung

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

3. Sheep

3.1 Sheep

<i>uan</i> (m), <i>uain</i> (pl)	lamb (male and female)
----------------------------------	------------------------

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

^a *odharcain*. ^b *gam*.

3.2 Sheep's appearance

<i>caora chros</i>	white-faced sheep
<i>caora dhubhcheannach</i> ^{a36}	black-faced sheep
<i>caora dhubh</i> , <i>caoraich dhubha</i>	black sheep
<i>caora adhairceach</i> ,	
<i>caoraich adhairceach</i>	horned sheep
<i>caora mhaol</i>	sheep with no horns
<i>caora reamhar</i>	fat sheep for butchering

^a *dhuibhcheannach*.

3.3 Miscellaneous

<i>piatan</i>	pet lamb
<i>peuta</i>	pet lamb
<i>càraid</i> (f), <i>càraidean</i> [pl]	twin lamb
<i>caor-uain</i>	milk ewe
<i>caora-chàraid</i>	sheep with twins
<i>caora chaille</i>	a sheep that has strayed
<i>rig</i> ^a , <i>rigeachan</i>	partly castrated ram
<i>reithe beag</i>	small ram

^a ‘English’.

3.4 Feeding and grazing

<i>a' biathadh</i> ^a	hand feeding
<i>troch</i> (f), <i>trochaichean</i> (pl)	trough
<i>feurach</i>	grazing for sheep
<i>sliabh caitcheann</i> ^b	beat of a sheep on the moor
<i>machaire caitcheann</i> ^b	beat of a sheep on the moor ³⁷

[Note:] 'No hay fed to sheep in Tíree; sheep left to find their own water.'

^a *biadhadh.* ^b *caitcheann.*

3.5 Handling of sheep

<i>cìobaireachd</i> (f)	handling of sheep
<i>crò</i> ^a (<i>a' cròthadh</i> ^b)	enclosing sheep in a fank or fold
<i>crò</i> ^a (m)	enclosure, fank, fold
<i>caigeann</i> ³⁸ <i>chaora</i>	a few sheep
<i>mòran</i> ^c <i>chaora</i>	many sheep
<i>gan cnogadh</i>	taking ewes out of the breeding flock after 7 years (casting)
<i>chnog mi iad</i>	I cast them
<i>fang</i> (m)	fang
<i>cù-chaorach</i>	sheepdog
<i>thig a-nuas</i>	command
<i>thig a-staigh</i>	command
<i>fan a-mach</i>	command
<i>bogsa-dìpidh</i> ^d	dipping trough
<i>a' dìpeadh</i>	dipping
<i>tha mi cur 'keel'</i> ^e <i>air a' chaora</i> ³⁹	marking

^a *cròth.* ^b *cròthag.* ^c 'not *móran* in Tíree', i.e. pronounced with [ɔ:] not [o:]. ^d *bocsa-dìpich.* ^e *kil.*

3.5.1 Ear-marking⁴⁰

<i>leigeadh</i>	slit
<i>toll</i>	
<i>beum-cùil</i> ^a	
<i>barra-gòbhlag</i>	

bàcan
comharradh
smeòrach

1/2 barra-gòbhlag

^a cul.

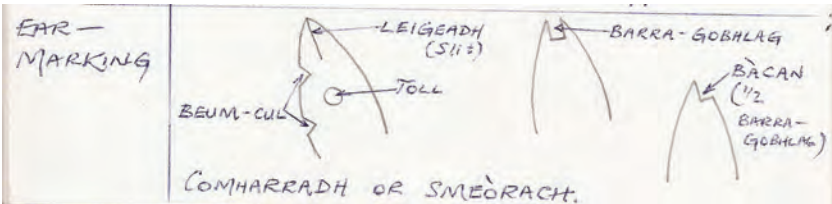


Figure 2: Illustrations of ear-markings from questionnaire by Alan Boyd

3.6 Apparatus, means of tying⁴¹

feiste^{a 42}
cipean^{b 43}
udalan

*udalan dùbailte (nan robh iad ann an caigeann*⁴⁴)

[Note]: '2 on one *feiste*;⁴⁵ *bha iad ann an caigeann* [they were in a pair]'

^a *feiste*. ^b *cìoban*.

3.7 Diseases

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

<i>a' chloimh</i> ^a	scab
<i>mìolan</i> ^b <i>chaorach</i>	sheep louse
<i>galar nan gamhna</i>	ringworm in cattle, 6–18 months

^a *ch[l]oich*. ^b *miolan*.

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

<i>sùirstean</i> ^a (m) ⁴⁶	disease of the head; pocket of fluid pressing on the brain
<i>dalladh</i> ^b	blinding – cataract

^a *suirsdéan*. ^b ‘cure: salt – pepper – *glainne*⁴⁷ *air a phronnadh* [sic] – tobacco spat’.

(c) diseases of the bone structure, causing deformity or lameness:
lòinidh^a

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

^a *loinidh*.

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

[no Gaelic word given]

liverfluke

[no Gaelic word given]

roundworm in intestines

(e) injury of any kind

cas-bhristeadh

4. Coltas an duine (‘Personal Appearance’)

4.1 Shapes and general appearance

<i>lùireach</i> (m), <i>lùirichean</i> (pl) ^{a 48}	a large clumsy person
<i>garbh</i>	brawny, muscular
<i>àrd</i>	tall and slim
<i>troich</i> (m), <i>troicheannan</i> ^b (pl)	dwarf
<i>bola</i> ^c (m), <i>bolaichean</i> (pl) ⁴⁹	wee fat man (derogatory)
<i>crotaire</i> (m), <i>crotairean</i> (pl)	hunchback
<i>duine bacach</i>	a lame man (permanent)
<i>duine crùbach</i>	a lame man (temporary)
<i>pleadhach</i> (adj)	splay feet
<i>cama-chasach</i> (adj)	either splayed feet or hen-toed
<i>craiceann-circe</i>	goose pimples

^a *lùireach*, *lùirichean*. ^b *troicheanan*. ^c *l* with ‘glottal stop’.

4.2 Deformities, blemishes, scars

<i>brecadh an teinidh</i> ^a	fireside tartan
<i>brecan-seun</i> ^b	freckles

<i>milleadh-moighich</i> ^c	harelip ⁵⁰
<i>corr-chluasach</i>	deformed ears
<i>fiar-shùileach</i>	squint (eyes)
<i>duine bèarnach</i> ^{d51}	one with gaps in teeth
<i>duine gagach</i>	stutterer
<i>balbhan</i> (m), <i>balbhain</i> (pl)	dummy
<i>dall</i>	blind person
<i>ball-dòbhrain</i> (m), <i>buill-dòbhrain</i> [pl] ^e	mole
<i>triubhas</i> (m), <i>triubhais</i> (pl)	birthmark
<i>foinne</i> (m), <i>foinneachan</i> (pl)	wart
<i>a' bhreac</i>	the pox (smallpox)
<i>breac</i> (adj)	
<i>neasgaid</i> (f), <i>neasgaidean</i> (pl)	boil
<i>màthair-ghuir</i> , <i>màthraichean-guir</i> (pl)	abscess
<i>cnàimhseag</i> (f), <i>cnàimhseagan</i> [pl] ^f	pimple
<i>an galar-sploiceadh</i> ^g	mumps
<i>an anacair</i> ^h uasal	V.D.
<i>an clap</i>	
<i>crùban</i> (m), <i>crùbain</i> [pl]	crabs

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

4.3 Beauty and ugliness

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

^a *feuchdag*, *féachdag*, *féachdagan*. ^b *bòdhach* ‘Tìree for *bòidheach*’. ^c *briagha*.

4.4 Ugliness

grànna

ugly

*mi^a-mhaiseach*ugly (not so extreme as *grànna*)^a *mi.*

4.5 Insults

cullach (m), *cullaich* (pl)

a boar – ugly in character

cullach-caca^a

a boar – ugly in character

galla

both male and female

*mac na galla**nighean^b na galla**trustair* (m), *trustairean* (pl)

a cheap rascal

*siùrsach!**bugair, bugairean**diabhal^c de dhuine**duine diabhalta^d**a mhic an diabhail^e**ifreannach* (m), *ifreannaich* (pl)^f

hellyon

ifreann^{g52}

hell

^a *cachda.* ^b *ni'n.* ^c *diobhal.* ^d *diobhalta.* ^e *a' diabhail.*^f *icheannach, icheannaich.* ^g *icheann.*

4.6 Strength, fitness and the opposite

*duine làidir**duine lag**duine comasach*

fit, able man

luige

weakness

neart

strength

duine foghaineach

a strong, well-built man

smearail

able, diligent

truaghan [m], *truaghain* (pl)

weakling (and wretch)

duine uileasach

a stiff man

4.7 Ways of walking, sitting, lying

coiseachd làidir

walking smartly

coiseachd slaodach

walking slovenly

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

^a *shocarach.* ^b *latha*; ‘instead of *laighe* in Tìree’.

4.8 Pulling faces, frowns, other expressions; also gestures

<i>draoin</i>	making faces
<i>Chuir mi draoin orm.</i>	I made an ugly face.
<i>Bha gruaim orm.</i>	I had a frown.
<i>caog</i> (verb)	wink
<i>Chaog mi rithe.</i>	I winked at her.
<i>briobail</i> (verb)	blink
<i>a' briobal</i>	
<i>fiamh a' ghàire</i> ⁵³	smile
<i>Rinn mi gàire rithe.</i>	I laughed at her.
<i>geanail</i>	friendly, smiley
<i>gruamach</i>	gloomy

4.9 Clean and untidy

<i>glan</i>	tidy
<i>sgiobalta</i>	tidy
<i>snasar</i>	tidy
<i>snasmhor</i> ^a	tidy
<i>ropach</i> ^b	untidy
<i>ropag</i> ^c	untidy female
<i>ropan</i> ^d	untidy male
<i>duine sèimh</i>	reserved, quiet and peaceful man
<i>diùid</i>	shy

^a *snasmhór.* ^b *ròpach.* ^c *ròpag* ^d *ròpan.*

5. Weather

5.1 General terms

5.1.1 General terms for good weather

*an t-side mhath*⁵⁴

sìde sheasach

là aibhseach^a a beautiful day

^a *aiseach*.

5.1.2 General terms for bad weather

droch shìd'

mosach wild

duathail^{a 55} terrible

curs^{a 56} terrible

sìde iarghalta troubled weather

^a *duathal*. Both *duathail* and *curs* are 'more extreme than *mosach*'.

5.1.3 Temperature

sìd' chas sharp, cold, dry weather in winter; crisp
& anticyclonic. NE & n[orther]ly winds

*crannadh*⁵⁷ sharp, cold, dry weather in winter; crips
& anticyclonic; NE & n[orther]ly winds

sìde throm sultry, hot

sìde chadalach sultry, hot

sìde chlos (clos fhèin)^a sultry, hot, (close)

teth, blàth

^a English 'close'.

5.1.4 Dryness, wetness

sìde thioram

sìde fhliuch

bog damp

5.2 The sky and the weather

5.2.1 A clear sky by day

speur glan

5.2.2 A clear night sky

oidhche bhrèagha^a

oidhche lurach

speur glan

^a *bhriagha*.

5.2.3 A red sky

speur dearg. Ma tha e ri fhaicinn tha fiughair ri gaoth an eara-dheas gun dàil. Speur dearg anns a' mhadainn tràth anns an earrach bha fiughair ri an-shìd gun dàil.

5.2.4 An overcast sky

salach

speur salach

† *samh* (m)^{a 58}

haze

† *samhar*

hazy

^a Pronounced 'sev'.

5.2.5 Unusual appearance of the moon or the sun

buaile (f)⁵⁹ (*fiughair ri uisge*)

The larger the halo is, the sooner rain can be expected.

a' ghrian na trì

the sun appearing as 3 low in sky
eclipse of the sun

cliob^a *air a' ghrèin*

big sunbeams in morning;

casan on ghrèin^b

forecast high wind within 24

hours. Also known as *gaithean*

na grèineadh^{c60}

^a *clip*. ^b *ghrèin*. ^c *grèineadh*; 'Tiree genitive'.

5.2.6 The northern lights

[*na*] *fir-chlis*

5.2.7 Terms connected with the stars

<i>rionnag</i> (f), <i>rionnagan</i> (pl) ^a	stars twinkling – frost ⁶¹
<i>an crann</i>	the Plough
<i>an grioglachan</i> ^{a 62}	the Pleiades
<i>rionnag</i> ^b <i>a' dol air imrich</i>	shooting star
<i>Bheunas</i> ^c	Venus
<i>breac a' mhuilinn</i>	Milky Way

^a *griaglachan*. ^b *runnag, runnagan*. ^c *Bhéanas*.

5.3 Clouds

5.3.1 Light cloud

neòil shoilleir
neòil aotrom

5.3.2 Cirrus cloud

neòil àrd
urball each^a (*fiughair ri gaoth*) mares' tails

^a possibly *urbaill each* was intended here

5.3.3 Thick cloud

neòil thàirmeanach cumulonimbus
neòil duathail^{a 63} grey and heavily overcast

^a *duathal*.

5.3.4 Rainbow

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

^a 'Tíree gen. with *-adh* at end'.

5.4 Wind

5.4.1 Dead calm

fèath (noun) (*fèath nan eun*^{a)}^b

fèathail^c (adj)

ciùin

can also mean the smir of drizzle

^a *ian.* ^b *fiath.* ^c *fiathail.*

5.4.2 Light breeze

oiteag (f)

could also be a whirlwind as experienced at springtime and harvest-time

5.4.3 Fresh breeze

brìos^a

breeze

^a *brìos.*

5.4.4 Gusts

gaoth na deannaichean

oiteag

a gust

5.4.5 Wind of variable direction

very seldom

5.4.6 Strong wind

*gaoth làidir*⁶⁴

5.4.7 Gale

gèil^a (f)

^a *geal.*

5.4.8 Hurricane

stoirm (f)

5.4.9 Terms for a rising wind

a' ghaoth a' buannachd

5.4.10 Terms for a dying wind

a' ghaoth a' toirt dheth

a' ghaoth a' sìoladh^a

^a *sìleadh.*

5.4.11 Winds associated with particular seasons of the year

gaoth-earraich – an eara-dheas (SE)

a' ghaoth ann àm^a *foghair – an ear-thuath* (NE)

Trì gaothan as fuaire:

gaoth ro^b *tholl* (coldest)

gaoth fo sheòl (2nd coldest)

gaoth-aiteimh^c (3rd coldest)

^a *am.* ^b *roimh.* ^c *aiteamh.*

5.5 Tides: *Làin*

5.5.1 Flowing

[*an*] *làn a' buannachd*

[*an*] *làn a' tighinn a-staigh*

5.5.2 Ebbing

[*an*] *làn a' toirt dheth*

5.5.3 High tide

muir-làn

5.5.4

Low tide

muir-tràigh

5.5.5 Spring tide

tràigh^a *-reothairt*

làn-reothairt

low spring tide

high spring tide

^a *traigh.*

5.5.6 Neap tide

conntraighe^a

^a *conntraighe.*

5.5.7 Turn of the tide

tionndadh an làin

5.6 Weather and the sea

5.6.1 A calm sea

cuan lom

5.6.2 A light swell

'swell' *beag*

5.6.3 A heavy swell

'swell' *trom*

5.6.4 A choppy sea

fairge chas

5.6.5 A stormy sea

*fairge churs*⁶⁵

5.6.6 Large waves

tonnan mòra^a

^a *móra.*

5.6.7 Breakers

bristichean (aon bhristeadh)

5.6.8 Surf

stoth

5.6.9 Spindrift

catha(dh)^a *a' chuain*
rùid (f), *rùidean* (pl)

a wave, but not breaking

^a *cath.*

5.7 Rain

5.7.1 Drizzle

*smugalach-uisge*⁶⁶

[†] *sgios de dh'uisge*⁶⁷

5.7.2 Light shower

fras aotrom

5.7.3 Heavy shower

*fras throm**steall uisge*

5.7.4 Prolonged rain

fìor uisge

5.7.5 Driving rain

uisge-sgaoil

5.7.6 Expressions associated with getting soaked

bog fliuch

5.8 Mist

5.8.1 Light mist

ceòban

5.8.2 Heavy mist

ceò

5.8.3 Sea mist

ceò mara

5.8.4 Other terms associated with mist

*Chan fhacas riamh ceò earraich gun chathadh às a dhèidh.**ceòthar*^a

misty

^a *ceò-ar.*

5.9 Thunder and lightning

5.9.1 Different terms for thunder

tàirneanach cruaidh

loud thunder

torman (m^a)

distant thunder

^a f [*sic*].

5.9.2 Different terms for lightning

<i>tein-adhair</i> ^a	lightning
<i>fear gorm</i>	fork lightning between cloud & ground
<i>tein</i> ^b - <i>adhair bàn</i>	sheet lightning between clouds

^a 'Pronounced *tin-ad[h]air* in Tìree'. ^b *tin*'.

5.10 Snow and hail

5.10.1 Different types of snowflake

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

[Note:] 'No word in Tìree for small snowflakes.'

5.10.2 Sleet

fliuchana-shneachda

5.10.3 Different types of snow

sneachd fliuch wet snow

5.10.4 Driving snow

*cathadh-s(h)neachda*⁶⁹

5.10.5 Heavy fall

sneachda trom

5.10.6 Snowdrifts

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

^a *botaichean*.

5.10.7 Snowman and rolled ball of snow

bodach-sneachda

muc-shneachda

muc-bhàn

5.10.8 Hailstone(s)

clach-mheallain^a

^a *mheallan*.

5.11 Frost

5.11.1 Hoarfrost

liath-reothadh

5.11.2 Hard frost

reothadh cruaidh

5.11.3 Ice

deigheannach (f)^a

Cha robh reothadh an lòn^b làin riamh buan.

^a ‘*deitheanach* – Tíree pronunciation’; *h* is written below the *-gh-* to indicate a pronunciation with intervocalic *h*.⁷⁰ ^b *lòin*.

5.11.4 Thaw

aiteamh (f [*sic*])

5.12 Signs foretelling weather

5.12.1 Foretelling good weather

(1) *A’ ghaoth a’ leantail na grèineadh*.^a (clockwise direction)

(2) *Sprèidh^b a’ dol suas na beanntan.*

(3) Deep red skye at night.

^a *gréineadh*; ‘Tíree gen. for *grian*’. ^b *spreidh*.

5.12.2 Foretelling bad weather

(1) *An cuan a bhith^a mosach*. Influence of a gale on the sea-state hours before it actually comes.

(2) When no surf at all on beach – like a loch.

(3) When *currcagan^b* (lapwings) gather in large flocks.

(4) *Fìor chomharradh^c na h-an-shìd’ – eòin na mara tighinn gu tìr.*

(5) [†]*A’ ghorra-chrithreach⁷¹* (heron) *a’ dol gun chladach^d san fheasgar.*

(6) Ducks (esp. mallard) making for sheltered spots such as boggy places and pools.

(7) The larger the *buaille* round the moon the closer rain is.⁷²

(8) *Badag chruaidh^e* [cf. §5.3.4].

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

5.13 General sayings or proverbs connected with the weather

- (1) *Fèath^a an Fhaoillich agus gaol siùrsaich.*⁷³
- (2) *B’ fhèarr leam ruag^b is creach a thighinn don tìr na madainn mhìn^c an Fhaoillich.*
- (3) *Gheibheadh tu geamhradh math nan robh earrach geal grianach ann agus foghar breac riabhach na dhèidh^d.*
- (4) *Faileas (reflection) sam bith^e anns an loch bhiodh sin na chomharradh [? air] droch-shìd’.*
- (5) *Beanntan a’ sealltainn^f nas fhaisge ort na tha iad ann da-rìreadh.*⁷⁴
- (6) *Gaoth an ear, tart is crannadh^g*
- (7) *Gaoth a tuath fuachd is feannadh
gaoth an iar iasg is bainne
gaoth a deas teas is toradh
gaoth an ear tart is crannadh.*⁷⁵
- (8) *Ma chailleas tu [a’] ghaoth, iar⁷⁶ an deas i.*
- (9) *Speur dearg anns a’ mhadainn tràth anns an earrach, bha fiughair ri an-shìd’ gun dàil, agus gaoth an eara-dheas.*
- (10) *An oiteag luaineach feadh nam bruach tha gluasad barr an fheòir.*

^a *Fiath*. ^b possibly *ruaig* was intended. ^c *mhìn*. ^d *dhéidh*. ^e *bi*.
^f ‘Tìree instead of *a’ coimhead*’. ^g line crossed out but see (7).

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ABBREVIATIONS

*	hypothetical form
†	forms which have not been confirmed by Tìree speakers
E	English
CSD	<i>The Concise Scots Dictionary</i> , ed. by M. Robinson (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1985)
f	feminine
GOC	<i>Gaelic Orthographic Conventions 2005</i> (Scottish Qualifications Authority, 2005)
HDSG	Historical Dictionary of Scottish Gaelic, project within the Department of Celtic, University of Glasgow (1966–96)
G	Gaelic
lit.	literally
m	masculine
MS	manuscript
sg	singular
SGDS	<i>Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland</i> , 5 vols, ed. by C. Ó Dochartaigh, (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1994–97)

NOTES

- ¹ The last two questionnaires are extant only as sample questionnaires; no filled-in questionnaires exist.
- ² See <http://www.faclair.ac.uk/> (accessed July 2008).
- ³ In this section on phonology MS forms are cited in order to represent dialectal forms.
- ⁴ Unless otherwise stated, numerical references in this paper refer to the numbered sections in the edition of the questionnaires, i.e. 'D: Questionnaires' below.
- ⁵ All references to *SGDS* refer to point 84, i.e. Tìree, unless otherwise specified.
- ⁶ Monophthong realisation confirmed by Sarah MacLean and Janet Brown (July 2008).

- ⁷ To the list of vocalic features, we may probably add the raising of *a* to *e* in †*samh* (pronounced ‘sev’ i.e. presumably [ɛ̃]) (§5.2.4). However, the form *samh* has yet to be corroborated by Tíree speakers.
- ⁸ Pronounced as if *Ealastair* in Tíree (SGDS: 29).
- ⁹ The form *an t-sùirste* ‘flail’ (MS *an t-suirside*) occurs in Hugh MacLean’s questionnaire on Land Cultivation (not published here) in the section concerned with ‘Corn threshing’.
- ¹⁰ Information from Alan Boyd (personal communication).
- ¹¹ Confirmed by Alan Boyd (July 2008)
- ¹² cf. *clach na sùil*(?) (MS *clach na sùil*) (§1.2).
- ¹³ The list is not intended to be exhaustive.
- ¹⁴ Noted from both Janet Brown and Alex MacArtair (July 2008).
- ¹⁵ Janet Brown (July 2008).
- ¹⁶ On the distinction between taxonomy and meronymy, see Cruse 2004: 176–83.
- ¹⁷ On the terminology here, see Cruse 2004: 154–57.
- ¹⁸ The word *lèirsinn* is also used in Tíree with the meaning ‘sight’ as is *fradharc* but the latter only rarely. Information from Alan Boyd (personal communication).
- ¹⁹ Perhaps *sùl* or *sùla* was intended; cf. *fruisg na sùla* (§1.2). Compare *geal na sùl* ‘the white of the eye’ (Janet Brown, July 2008).
- ²⁰ The stress is on the second syllable. Janet Brown (July 2008) pronounced the word as *ghoilèiream* (? *gholèiream*) (with the vowel [ɛ:]).
- ²¹ See now Meek 2006.
- ²² The stress is on the second syllable and the *ù* is long; corroborated by Janet Brown (July 2008). We may compare the South Uist word *rath-thùileam*, recorded by Fr Allan MacDonald, and which he glosses as ‘confusion, confused gathering; seems slang, perhaps “reunion”’. If the word only dated from six or seven years ago, when Gaelic “Reunions” in Glasgow have been so frequent, the derivation would be likely, but I am told that it is quite an old word. (J. M’Kinnon, Dalibrog).’ (Campbell 1991: 199). Professor William Gillies informs me (personal communication) that he has heard *ra-thùileam* from a family with Barra (Eolaigearraidh) connections with the meaning ‘a surpassing fine party’.
- ²³ Alan Boyd has heard *lachan-gàire* also in Tíree (personal communication).
- ²⁴ Perhaps the MS form *biogal* represents a sandhi form.
- ²⁵ Perhaps for *sit(i)rich*? Janet Brown (July 2008) reported the form *sit(i)rich*.
- ²⁶ *Braim* has been chosen in preference to *braidhm* (GOC) as better representing the historical form.
- ²⁷ The MS form *aghan* is intended to indicate the Tíree pronunciation *a-an*, which derives from *aighean* (cf. *taighean* pronounced as *ta-an* in Tíree). A derivation from *aghan* would result in *[ɣ-ən] in Tíree. The note ‘Tíree, not *aighean*’ is intended to indicate that the pronunciation is not [ajən].

- ²⁸ The spelling *agha* is intended to indicate a pronunciation *a-a*. See previous note.
- ²⁹ Pronounced *Gà-alach* in Tìree.
- ³⁰ The form *adhraicean* with metathesis is also found in Tìree. Information from Alan Boyd (personal communication).
- ³¹ Note the contrastive plural forms *corpan* ‘bellies’ and *cuirp* ‘corpses’. Information from Janet Brown (July 2008).
- ³² The forms *ùgh* [u:ɣ] and *ùghan* [u:ɣən] have been confirmed by Janet Brown and Sarah MacLean (July 2008).
- ³³ The word *bagaichean* is written below *clachan* but not translated. From the context of the questionnaire it may have been intended as a synonym of *clachan* ‘testicles’.
- ³⁴ This word is pronounced as [k’içbãN’] in Tìree (*SGDS*: 188); also confirmed by Janet Brown (July 2008) from Heylipol.
- ³⁵ MS *stol*, *stolaichean*. The form *stàlaichean* (? *stàilichean*) was reported by Sarah MacLean, Janet Brown and Alex MacArtair (July 2008). Information from Alan Boyd (personal communication).
- ³⁶ Pronounced as if *dhuthannach*. Information from Alan Boyd (personal communication).
- ³⁷ The field notes have ‘*sliabh, machaire*’ with *caiticheann* occurring on the following line.
- ³⁸ cf. §3.6.
- ³⁹ This is Scots *keel*, the substance which is used to mark the fleece of sheep (*CSD* s.v. *keel*); cf. Ross (1962: 63).
- ⁴⁰ Alex MacArtair (July 2008) referred to *eig* as the Gaelic word for ‘ear-mark’; *eig anns a’ chluais*.
- ⁴¹ This and the following section are written in pencil and less clearly than previous sections.
- ⁴² cf. §2.9.
- ⁴³ cf. §2.9.
- ⁴⁴ cf. 3.5.
- ⁴⁵ MS *feised* [*sic*].
- ⁴⁶ *Tha sùirstean oirre* (Janet Brown) but *tha sùirstean innte* (Alex MacArtair) (July 2008).
- ⁴⁷ MS *glaoine*.
- ⁴⁸ Confirmed by Niall. M. Brownlie (July 2008); can be used of males or females and means an ‘untidy’ or ‘clumsy’ person.
- ⁴⁹ Alan Boyd (personal communication) has heard in Tìree *bola beag de dhuine* ‘a wee fat man’.
- ⁵⁰ Alan Boyd informs me (personal communication) that there was a superstition in Tìree that if a pregnant woman was startled by a hare it was believed that her child would have a harelip; cf. *milleadh-maighiche* ‘harelip’ (Forbes 1905: 195).

- ⁵¹ Alan Boyd (personal communication) has confirmed that *bèarnach* rather than *beàrnach* is the pronunciation in Tìree.
- ⁵² I take the MS form *icheann(-)* to be a phonetic representation of the Tìree pronunciation of *ifreann(-)*, with devoiced palatalised *r*. See ‘B: Tìree Gaelic’, §1.2.1 above.
- ⁵³ The form *fiamh a’ ghàire* may conceivably represent *fiamh-ghàire* with epenthetic vowel or, alternatively, *fiamh de ghàire*. However, the article may be underlyingly present, hence the form presented here.
- ⁵⁴ Alan Boyd informs me that *sìd* rather than *side* is the correct form for Tìree; cf. *droch shìd*’ (§5.1.2), *sìd’ chas* (§5.1.3), *an-shìd* (§5.2.3.), *an-shìd*’ (§§5.12.2(4), 5.13 (9)).
- ⁵⁵ cf. §5.3.3.
- ⁵⁶ cf. §5.6.5.
- ⁵⁷ cf. §5.13 (7).
- ⁵⁸ Speakers of Tìree Gaelic have not corroborated this meaning of †*samh*. Niall M. Brownlie glossed *samh* as *sàil na mara* ‘the salt water of the sea’ (July 2008).
- ⁵⁹ See §5.12.2 (7).
- ⁶⁰ ‘Tìree genitive’.
- ⁶¹ Presumably meaning that ‘stars twinkling’ co-occurred with ‘frost’.
- ⁶² *Grioglachan* is the usual form in Scottish Gaelic.
- ⁶³ cf. §5.1.2.
- ⁶⁴ The phrase *rannt math de ghaoth* ‘a good strong wind’ was reported by Janet Brown (July 2008).
- ⁶⁵ cf. §5.1.2.
- ⁶⁶ The forms *smùdan*, *smùdan-uisge* ‘drizzle’ and *uisge-min* ‘drizzle, small rain’, and in the latter context, *nach i a tha drùidhteach?* ‘isn’t it penetrating?’ were reported by Sarah MacLean and Janet Brown (July 2008). Alex MacArtair’s form is *smugaraich-uisge* (July 2008), whereas Niall M. Brownlie’s form was *ceòraigich-uisge* (with clear [a] in the second syllable) (July 2008).
- ⁶⁷ Added at end of page. Perhaps *sgios* was intended. None of the speakers of Tìree Gaelic consulted seemed to recognise this word.
- ⁶⁸ See Ó Maolaláigh (forthcoming).
- ⁶⁹ *Cathadh* pronounced as [kahu] by Janet Brown (July 2008); *tha i a’ cathadh*. The lenition of *sneachda* here is unexpected. See ‘Morphophonology’ (§3).
- ⁷⁰ Pronunciation with [h] has been corroborated by Janet Brown (July 2008).
- ⁷¹ For more usual *corra-ghrithreach*.
- ⁷² For *buaile*, see §5.2.5.
- ⁷³ Alan Boyd provides (personal communication) the following variant: *Tha fèath [=fiath] an Fhaoillich cho buan ri gaol na siùrsaich*.
- ⁷⁴ The form *da-rìreadh* may represent a literary spelling. The form recorded in *SGDS* for Tìree is *da-rìribh* with final *-əv/* (*SGDS*: 59). However, forms with

final *-əy/* have been recorded in Jura, east Mull, Eigg, Lismore, Benderloch, Glencoe and Morvern (ibid.).

⁷⁵ cf. §5.1.3.

⁷⁶ A pun on the verb *iarr* seems to be intended here.

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